

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE CONFERENCE ON

MODERN HERITAGE OF AFRICA

Held at the
University of Cape Town,
22-24 September 2021

Editors:
Shahid Vawda and Edward Denison



Modern Heritage of Africa



Patrimoine Moderne de l'Afrique



Title:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON MODERN HERITAGE OF AFRICA.

Held at the University of Cape Town, 22-24 September 2021

ISBN: 978-0-6397-2493-5

DISCLAIMER: This e-book publication of the Modern Heritage of Africa conference proceedings is published for research and educational information purposes. The viewpoints expressed by the various authors and participants in this e-publication do not necessarily reflect the opinions and viewpoints of the organisations and institutions that supported the workshops and conference organised by the MoHoA collective. While every effort was made by the editors to ensure that copyright and academic writing conventions were adhered to, including the images, the various authors of the articles in this publication bare final responsibility for their texts.

The MoHoA acknowledges the support of the following organisations



Cover image reproduced under licence from istock photos
Printed in Cape Town by Source Corporation
www.sourcecorp.co.za

CONTENTS

Welcome Addresses	20
Keynote Addresses	27
Abstracts	49
Conference Papers	94
Assembling/Genealogies of Modern Heritages	95
Godwin and Hopwood: Within the genealogy of tropical architecture (1956-1960)	96
L'Abissa : un patrimoine traditionnel indissociable du patrimoine moderne	101
On the way to a thousand Kasbahs: Tourist settlements of modernity, a heritage that needs to be preserved	107
Cultural Landscapes And The Vernacular: A Case Study Of The Tankwa Karoo	113
A Treasure Trove Of Modern Architecture: Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (1960-1976)	120
The Modern Architecture of Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria	127
Le(S) Patrimoine(S) Des Indépendances Pour Une Approche Moderne Du Patrimoine Africain: Les Exemples Ivoirien Et Sénégalais	133
De-Centering Official Heritage	139
Relations Around Monumental Architecture in Post-Independence Côte d'Ivoire: Explored Through the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace in Yamoussoukro	140
Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: Modern Heritage of Africa Workshop	146
Heritage, Conflict and Change	153
Lived Space – Of Soul and Joy: The lived representational experience of Thokoza: Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda	154
Heritage, Sustainability and the Environment	159
When Reconversion Doesn't Meet Sustainability: The Case Of An Abandoned Market In Casablanca	160
L'architecture Coloniale Du Littoral Ivoirien : Un Patrimoine Moderne En Danger A Sauvegarder Et A Valoriser Pour Un Développement Durable	169
Between Modernity And Tradition: House Biermann And The Preservation Of Modern Architectural Heritage In South Africa	175
A Lesson In Sustainability Given By Modern Heritage In The Democratic Republic Of The Congo: The Sacred Architecture Of Paul Dequeker	182
The N4 Highway: Space and form	190
Infrastructure and Immateriality	194
Heritage as Restitution: The Dadaab Refugee Camps, Kenya	195
Mmila (The Road) and the Great Stoep	199

Past And Present in Heritage.....	204
All that Glitters is not Gold: Authenticity and historical accuracy in representations of Mapungubwe	205
Learning from Steinkopf	210
Reclaiming African Heritage for the Post-COVID Era: A COVID-19 Impact Study.....	217
Performance and Orality as Contemporary/Modernity	225
Qaswida as a modern heritage.....	226
The Role Of Revolutionary Songs In The Struggle Against Colonialism And Apartheid.....	228
Artworks, Artisans and The Influence Of Culture on Heritage.....	233
Urban Heritage, Colonialism and Modernity	236
Towards defining the modern heritage of the coast of Kenya:.....	237
Expressing liberation movements through modern architecture in Africa: ‘Afro-Brazilian and neo-Moorish’ liberation architectures	240
Imagining new forms of urban development through the enhancement of the local culture of living: The Pemba case study in Mozambique.....	247
Whose Shared Heritage?	254
Whose heritage? Ambivalence and African Modernity in State-Building(s).....	255
The curious case of Satyagraha House, Johannesburg	261
Reading Modern Architecture in Mozambique as a palimpsest of (re)appropriations	266
Asmara’s architectural heritage as a bricolage: The case of St. Mary’s Orthodox Cathedral	272
Shared Heritage Africa: A documentary rediscovery.....	279
A glance into public memory. Which public? Whose memory? The demise of Red Location cultural precinct.....	285
The Cape Town Document On Modern Heritage (2021).....	291
Epilogue to Modern Heritage of Africa MoHoA Conference.....	296

Acknowledgements

There are so many people behind the scenes that have made this publication possible. We wish to acknowledge all the authors who have submitted articles for the first conference of Modern Heritage of Africa held at the University of Cape Town in September 2021 and then subjected themselves to the peer review process established by the Scientific Committee of the conference that oversaw this publication of the conference proceedings. Our sincere thanks to the external copy-editor, Jill Weinthrob who unfailingly was always available throughout the process of publication. Mr Riyaz Noordien, administrator to the Mafeje Chair and webmaster to the collaborators of the Modern Heritage of Africa collective, kept a close watch on the submissions of articles and editorial process, and played a major role in ensuring that we kept track of where articles were in their various stages of preparation. We also wish to thank the Conference Management Centre (CMC) of the University of Cape Town, in particular Diedre Raubenheimer, Janet Sirmongpong, Janet Brown, Jaques Fouche and the entire CMC team that made the workshops and conference a success and that ultimately led to this conference proceedings. They made the experience seamless in a time when all of us were learning to transition from physical face to face conferences to online face to face conferences with multiple keynote addresses, plenary and parallel sessions that, thanks to the CMC team, are now available online in perpetuity. It was an amazing experience in real time.

The conference's success would not have been possible without the support of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, particularly the Deputy-Director, Jyoti Hosagrahar, and Chief of the Africa Unit, Muhammad Juma, as well as the African World Heritage Fund, and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) for sponsoring the workshops and website. The opening remarks and welcome addresses of Professor Sue Harrison (UCT), Dr Jyoti Hosagrahar (WHC) Mr Souayibou (AWHF), Mr Joseph King (ICCROM), Professor Lunigisile Ntsebeza of the Centre for African Studies (UCT) and Professor Shadreck Chirikure (UCT and Oxford) set the scene for vigorous debate, which in turn influenced the many ideas presented in these articles of this conference proceedings. The keynote speakers of the workshops that preceded the conference, Professor Achille Mbembe (University of Witwatersrand) and Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty (University of

Chicago), and during the conference itself, Professor Ola Uduku (University of Liverpool) and Dr. Olga Bialostoka (Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa), challenged us and their insights and constructive provocations reverberate in the papers presented and in the draft Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage. Their combined critical comments were and continue to be invaluable. No conference proceeds without the outstanding contributions of all those that presented their research and the valuable work of those who chaired the many different sessions to elicit such rich discussions: Shahid Vawda, Laura Robinson, Muhammad Juma, Toma Berlanda, Mike Turner, Philippa Tumubweinee, Shadreck Chirikure, Albino Jopela, Noeleen Murray-Cooke, Edward Denison, and Ishanlosen Odiaua. A special thanks to Professor Mike Turner whose sense of humour, tireless shepherding, and attention to detail as chair of the organizing committee of MoHoA made this all possible. Finally, to Dr Albino Jopela, without whose fund-raising efforts and support this publication would not have seen the light of day.

Shahid Vawda and Edward Denison

March 2022.

The Editors of the Proceedings

Shahid Vawda is currently researcher at the History Workshop, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, at the University of Witwatersrand. He is the immediate past holder of the Archie Mafeje Chair in Critical Humanities at the University of Cape Town (2017-2021). Before taking up academic positions he worked in the various NGOs. He has taught and held positions as head of Anthropology at the Universities of Durban-Westville (now University of KwaZulu-Natal) and Witwatersrand, and was Professor and the Head of the School of Social Science at the University of Witwatersrand. He has been active on the boards of various research institutions in South Africa, and committees and panels related to culture and heritage of the International Council of Museums, the World Heritage Centre and the United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Africa and Our World Heritage. He is also an alumnus of the Salzburg Global Seminar. Dr Vawda has researched and published on trade unions, race, class, ethnicity, land reform, traditional authorities, migration, urbanisation and religion. His current research interests are on re-centering Afro-Asia, modern heritage of Africa, the cultural politics of transitions, and supervising postgraduate research projects.

Edward Denison is Professor of Architecture and Global Modernities at The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, and has twenty-years' experience as an independent consultant specialising in urban and cultural heritage. He is Director of the MA Architecture and Historic Urban Environments, Module Coordinator of 'Multiple Modernities Architecture' on the MA Architectural History, and a PhD Supervisor. Professor Denison's wide-ranging research is motivated by the notion of 'historiographical inequity', exploring the resistance to and the role, practice and imperative of non-canonical architectural histories, especially outside the west and in relation to modernity. Underlying all of his work is a deep concern for sustainability – ecologically, culturally and socially. Current research is focussed on other histories of architecture, the Anthropocene and the modern heritage of Africa. This has evolved partly from two-decades of work in Eritrea, culminating most recently in the inscription of Asmara, Eritrea's capital city, onto UNESCO's World Heritage List in 2017 - a first for Eritrea and a first for modernism in Africa.

The Scientific Committee of the MOHOA:

Professor George Abungu, Okello Abungu Heritage Consultants, Kenya
Professor Toma Berlanda, University of Cape Town, South Africa (Chair)
Professor Shadreck Chirikure, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Professor Edward Denison, University College London, United Kingdom
Professor Timpoko Hélène Kienon-Kaboré, Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny de Cocody,
Côte d'Ivoire

Dr Nomusa Makhubu, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Dr Sibongile Masuku, Sol Plaatje University, South Africa
Professor Dawson Munjeri, University of Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe
Dr Ishanlosen Odiaua, ICOMOS-Nigeria
Ms Bakonirina Rakotomamonjy, CRAterre, France
Professor Abdoul Sow, Université Gaston Berger, Senegal
Dr Philippa Tumubweinee, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Professor Ola Uduku, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

The Organising Committee of the Conference:

Professor Toma Berlanda, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Professor Shadreck Chirikure, University of Cape Town, South Africa and
Oxford University, United Kingdom
Professor Edward Denison, University College London, United Kingdom
Mr Espéra Donouvossi, ICCROM
Mr Russell Galt, Urban Alliance, IUCN
Dr Jeremie Hoffmann, World Heritage Modern Cities Reporting
Dr Albino Jopela, African World Heritage Fund
Mr Joseph King, ICCROM
Mr Riyaz Noordien, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Ms Laura Robinson, ICOMOS
Professor Mike Turner, Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem and advisor to the
Director of the World Heritage Center (Chair)
Professor Ola Uduku, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom
Professor Shahid Vawda, University of Cape Town, South Africa

Prolegomena to Reconceptualising Modern African Heritage

Shahid Vawda and Edward Denison

This project began in early 2020 when a group of researchers and colleagues from inside and outside the University of Cape Town began meeting to discuss what modern heritage means in the African context and how this might contribute to achieving more just futures. Colleagues assembled from several universities, organizations and disciplines inside and outside of Africa, and included significant voices from the African World Heritage Fund¹, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS, IUCN, Modern Cities Network, and the Getty Conservation Institute. Much of our subsequent work has been conducted online through various communications platforms. This was not only a reflection of the COVID-19 times we were in, but also afforded an important opportunity to establish a global network swiftly and effectively, and draw a wide range of people into a critical conversation about modern heritage that would have been impossible before the pandemic.

One of the key animating factors for this initial inclusive discussion was the 20th anniversary of UNESCO's *Modern Heritage Programme*, launched by UNESCO in 2001. An important occasion presented itself to reflect on the transformative cultural experiences and global consequences of the twentieth century – modernism's century - and the dawn of the Anthropocene. The emphasis on Africa and its diaspora emerged from their affinity with the Modern Heritage Programme and from the desire to acknowledge and address the varied and deeply rooted historical inequities reflected by Africa's experience. Modern Heritage and Africa, as a geographic and a cultural entity, are under-represented in the collective memory of global, regional and local registers. Africa, for example, has just 89 cultural World Heritage sites (less than Italy and Spain combined), compared with Europe's 439. When modern heritage and Africa are combined, only one site exists on the List – *Asmara: a Modernist African City* the former Italian colonial city and capital of Eritrea.

Another reason why Africa was the focus of the early phase of MoHoA is that the continent

is expected to experience the highest rates of urbanization in the world over the next 30 years. This will place enormous and unsustainable pressures on the existing built environment and its heritage assets, as well as the surrounding hinterland, straining populations, urban and rural landscapes, and placing modern heritage at serious risk of alteration or destruction, and more susceptible to climate change. Modern heritage, in all its forms, therefore is the overarching theme because it presents the paradox of being of modernity and yet threatened by its consequences.

Despite modernity's planetary impact, the heritage of this seminal period is unevenly researched, appreciated, conserved and protected around the world. Nowhere is this more conspicuous than in Africa, where, despite initiatives like the *Modern Heritage Programme* and the 2004 Regional Meeting on Modern Heritage for Sub-Saharan Africa² there remains a serious oversight globally of the legacies (positive, negative, tangible or intangible) that transformed the continent, particularly during the twentieth century and which continues to remain deeply entwined in the challenges it faces in the future.³

Indeed, in our discussions it became clear modern heritage, with all its contested meanings, is among the most marginalised heritage categories on the continent, which says as much about Africa's relationship with modernity as it does about modernity's relationship with Africa. In line with the Global Strategy for a credible, balanced and representative World Heritage List, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) has identified modern heritage as one of the

1 AWHF is an intergovernmental organization created in 2006 with the mission to support the effective conservation and protection of natural and cultural heritage of outstanding universal value in Africa. In partnership with the African Members States of UNESCO, African Union, UNESCO and Advisory Bodies (ICCROM, IUCN and ICOMOS), the AWHF is engaged in assisting African States Parties to implement the World Heritage Convention.

2 3rd Regional Meeting on Modern Heritage, for Sub-Saharan Africa 4-7 March 2004. Organised by the World Heritage Centre, in collaboration with the Government of Eritrea and Africa 2009 (ICCROM, UNESCO-WHC, CraTerre-EAG, African cultural heritage institutions) as counterparts. It brought together 20 experts from various African countries, who presented Asmara (Eritrea), the Kenya Cultural Centre and National Theatre (Kenya), Mzizima Historic Garden Quarter in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Inhambane (Mozambique), a South African Township Serial Site (South Africa), Modern Heritage in Guinea (Guinea) and the Confluence Town of Lokoja (Nigeria) as case studies in modern heritage from their countries

3 Africa has just 89 cultural World Heritage sites, compared with Europe's 439 (France 42, Germany 49, Italy 53, Spain 43), and only one of these is exclusively 'modern heritage' – *Asmara: a Modernist African City* the former Italian colonial city and capital of Eritrea

marginalised heritage categories that urgently needs identification and documentation if it is to be more fairly represented on the World Heritage List.

By developing and extending new professional and academic networks, critically reflecting on Africa's encounter with modernities, and carrying out comprehensive research on the continent's modern heritage, this global collaboration aims to support the sustainable agenda in Africa, from strengthening urban resilience to promoting inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List to give "heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes".⁴

Despite global focus on the urban as the modern, it became very clear that Africa's modern heritage has a vital role in promoting rural and urban sustainability in line with the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and the UNHabitat New Urban Agenda. In developing this intimate connection between the urban and rural spaces and places, and recognising current planetary challenges, from ecological crises and pandemics to rapid urbanisation and sustainable development, the *Modern Heritage of Africa (MoHoA)* initiative was created and established with its website hosted by the University of Cape Town. This initiative will embrace all stakeholders on the continent together with worldwide supporters of this theme.

The following goals and objectives are anticipated;

The goal of MoHoA is to support the sustainable agenda in Africa through the research, protection, utilization and reinterpretation its modern heritage and to contribute to improving the implementation of the World Heritage Convention on the African continent. Specifically, the Programme aims to:

- examine the meanings of Modern Heritage of Africa and to understand the role this heritage can play in promoting sustainability, notably SDG 11, of the human settlement in Africa;
- develop skills among heritage practitioners and other public and private sector stakeholders in associated fields, including research, training, conservation, advocacy and management;
- raise awareness about the significance of Modern Heritage of Africa amongst different stakeholders, including academics, heritage practitioners,

developers, policy makers and civil society, especially amongst women and youth;

- address the underrepresentation of the Modern Heritage of Africa in the World Heritage List by building capacity amongst heritage practitioners in the identification and presentation of properties to be inscribed on Tentative Lists and potential future World Heritage nominations.

Focusing on the correlation between modern heritage and the Anthropocene, this initiative employed a transdisciplinary approach to generate circular knowledge and undertake critical research on the definition, identification and sustainable conservation of Africa's modern heritage.

The initiative was launched in 2020 with an initial brainstorming workshop in August, the *isivivana*, and further thematic workshops between April and September 2021⁵. The first symposium focusing on Africa taking place in September 2021 hosted by the University of Cape Town and a second planned for late 2022 co-hosted by The Bartlett School of Architecture (UCL) and the School of Architecture at Liverpool University taking the lessons learned from Africa and placing them in a planetary context framed by the Anthropocene.

Critical to these discussions were two key notes presentations by Professor Achille Mbembe and Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty at the April 2021 workshop.

Introduction to first keynote speaker, Professor Achille Mbembe

Professor Achille Mbembe needs no introduction. Based at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Witwatersrand, he is one of the foremost thinkers on the question of postcoloniality and contemporary politics on the African continent. Mbembe was Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University, New York (1988-1991), a Senior Research Fellow at the Brookings Institute in Washington, D.C. (1991-1992), Associate Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania (1992-1996), Executive Secretary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in Dakar, Senegal (1996-2000). He was also a Visiting Professor at the University of California, Berkeley (2001), at Yale University (2003), at the University of California at Irvine (2004-2005), at Duke University (2006-2011) and at Harvard University (2012). He is the recipient

⁵ These thematic workshops and the MoHoA website were funded by a grant from the Bartlett Innovation Fund, The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment at UCL

⁴ Article 5 – World Heritage Convention, 1972

of an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Paris VIII (France) and Universite Catholique de Louvain (Belgium). He has also held the Albert the Great Chair at the University of Koln (2019) and was an Honorary Professor at the Jakob Fugger-Zentrum, University of Augsburg (Germany). He has been awarded numerous awards including the 2015 Geschlechter Scholl-Preis, the 2018 Gerda Henkel Award and the 2018 Ernst Bloch Award.

His seminal books include *On the Postcolony* (University of California Press, 2001), *Critique of Black Reason* (Duke University Press, 2016), *Necropolitics* (Duke University Press, 2019) and *Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization* (Columbia University Press, 2020). His address to this workshop on modern heritage of Africa problematised the idea of modernity in Africa, particularly its Eurocentric and colonial roots. In his address he poses the question of whether heritage in Africa can be understood without reference to its Eurocentric modern origins, and if so what kind of concept of heritage will that entail for futures yet to come on the African continent that is intimately linked to the rest of the world.

Introduction to second keynote speaker, Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty

Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty is currently the Lawrence A. Kimpton Distinguished Service Professor in History, South Asian Languages and Civilizations, and the College at the University of Chicago. He is the Faculty Director, University of Chicago Center in Delhi, a faculty fellow of the Chicago Center for Contemporary Theory, an associate of the Department of English, and by courtesy, a faculty member in the Law School.

His distinguished career includes founding member of the editorial collective of *Subaltern Studies*, consulting editor of *Critical Inquiry* and founding editor of *Postcolonial Studies*. He has made profound contributions to the intersections between history and postcolonial theory and has published widely, including many seminal books: *Rethinking Working Class History* (1989), *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000), *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (2002); *The Crises of Civilization: Exploring on Global and Planetary Histories* (2018), And, we congratulate him on the very recently published, *The Climate of History in a Planetary Age* (2021)

Professor Chakrabarty placed the question of heritage as memory in its multiple manifestations

including the interpellation of societal and physical environmental changes over millennia squarely in the current climate crisis. Heritage may well be an important tool to think of our planetary future.

Thematic Workshops

Two additional thematic workshops were held in July 2021 designed to further interrogate questions around modern heritage in the context of Africa. The first comprised a pair of consecutive online workshops with the Getty Conservation Institute on 7 and 14 July. As part of the Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative, the workshop was designed to critically re-examine the recently published *Twentieth Century Historic Thematic Framework through an African lens*. The workshop was delivered in partnership with ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) to explore its utility for new approaches to and surveys of modern heritage in Africa. The importance of taking a less Eurocentric view of the modern in African heritage was a significant discussion point, and how it may be incorporated into the Thematic Framework. A summary of the results of the workshop are in the paper published in this volume.

A second was an all-day *Modern Heritage for Africa Workshop* on 8 July hosted by Swahilipot⁶, the East Africa Regional Heritage Hub in Mombasa under the auspices of the National Museums of Kenya. The hybrid event invited young artists and professionals from across the East Africa region

6 The Swahilipot Hub was founded in 2016 by partners including the National Museums of Kenya, the Ministry of Information Communication and Technology (ICT) and Seacom for use particularly by the youth to utilize the space as a co-working space and training center to grow their talents through networking, technical training, support and professional mentorship. In addition, the Hub was to build a collaborative innovation ecosystem in Mombasa that would facilitate increased learning, interaction and innovation in Technology and Arts environments. Over the years, the number of community members using the hub has grown steadily with more than 1,000 youth having passed through the space. The Hub acts as an incubation center where young talents and innovative ideas and skills are nurtured to help solve the problems facing people in the communities within the coastal region. Currently, the Hub has more than 300 youths registered as members who are actively involved in innovative projects. Some of the initiatives by the youth at the Hub include;

- Software design and development: both desktop and mobile applications
- Participation in computer programming
- Social Entrepreneurship training's and mentorship
- Leadership and Civic training
- Fashion and modelling talents expos
- Performing arts talents including music, poetry and drama

to consider what modern heritage meant to them from their own diverse artistic and disciplinary perspectives. The variety of responses was extraordinary and ranged from re-analysing the ancient architectural influences from across the Indian Ocean and Europe that has contributed to the local distinctiveness of the East African coast, to the historical development and growth of Swahili music into its various contemporary genres, including performances of Swahili rap and poetry. Other contributions included new directions in arts and crafts, including fashion, based on rich lineages of the many groups of people on the coast and immediate hinterland and its incorporation into the everyday of people lives. As intended, recordings of these works, including the performative pieces, made a vital contribution to the Cape Town Conference.

The MoHoA Cape Town Conference, 22-24 September 2021

The online conference had 47 presentations, made up of plenary sessions on conceptualizing modern heritage of Africa and its globality and universal relevance. Subthemes covered the following issues:

- Assembling/Genealogies of Modern Heritages
- Heritage, Sustainability and Environment
- Infrastructure and Immateriality of the Built Environment
- Pedagogy and Heritage
- De-centering Official Heritage
- Heritage, Conflict and Change
- Past and present in Heritage
- Performance and Orality as Contemporary/Modernity
- Urban Heritage, Colonialism and Modernity
- Whose Shared Heritage?

Many of the papers, as reflected in these proceedings, take up the issues raised by Professors Mbembe and Chakrabarty. These two papers reflect on ongoing debate about the usefulness and conceptual meaning we attach to the words modern, modernity and modernism. These, of course, are not all the same and vary significantly depending on their disciplinary usage. For example, modernism is very much, in its Eurocentric conception, tied to the history of architecture, where meaning is derived from the often radical new forms and functions of the built environment from the nineteenth century industrial capitalist revolution and became

fully manifest in ideological treatises and 'movements' from the 1920s. In its more artistic expression, it was very much a late nineteenth and twentieth century phenomenon that emphasized the difference and distance from the formalism of the classical period. Indeed, it is to these conventional and often Eurocentric usages that the Modern Heritage of Africa programme focused its attentions. Indeed, as one of the keynote speakers at the conference, Dr. Olga Bialostoka, emphasized, that understanding modern heritage in Africa must, perforce, include considerations of coloniality as the dark side of modernity. The very idea of dualisms such as civilisation/primitive, progressive/static, old/new, urban/rural, modern/tradition, history/non-historical time are conceptual tools that derive directly from the European Enlightenment and continue to sustain its inequitable consequences, whether intellectually or through the definition and valorisation of heritage. As many papers have indicated, these conceptual tools are both an imposition and re-constitution of heritage on African soil, and need urgent, rigorous, and more widespread interrogation by way of research, critical analysis and debate.

All the papers of the conference either directly or indirectly addressed how should the issue of the modern or modernity be addressed, often from an inter-disciplinary perspective. For all participants, the historical context loomed large, in that the question of modernity in Africa comes from its entanglement with global processes, including colonialism, that precede current globalization. However, the centrality of European colonialism was indicative of the form of social relationships that was subsequently formed in the wake of slavery, colonial subjects and post-colonial citizenship in relation to the built environment and its public spaces and urban landscapes.

For some, the question was about the acceptance of the linearity of colonialism and the post-colonial period where the 'modern' became the ubiquitous form in which to situate the self, community and the state. This historical trajectory, beginning with various first contacts with the European traders and subsequent colonists, became the fulcrum around which anything modern was addressed. In very simple terms it meant no more than the difference from the pre-colonial past and the expectation that modernity promised. In this sense the modern embodied the break with the past. This meant a rejection of the precolonial, of the long entanglement of Africa both within itself and among the rest of the world, and the acceptance of the modern on the terms dictated by colonial expansion, imperialism and industrial capitalism.

It manifested itself in the colonial city and towns, its urban design and racial ecology, and in public heritage spaces that paid tribute to colonial conquest in its architectural forms and features, especially visible in the concrete, brick, steel and glass structures, its museums, and other public performance spaces. The pre-colonial was consigned to the all-encompassing category of 'tradition', 'primitive', or 'vernacular' of a static unchanging pre-colonial past, whether this was acknowledged in earthen or stone structures of the built environment or the lived meaningful expression of social and cultural lives singularly manifested in post-colonial government buildings, universities, schools and places of worship, especially churches, but always as the 'other' accommodating to the modern in a permanent state of alterity.

But this gives a rather binary view especially in the immediate post-colonial phase, where African leaders considered themselves as leaders of an inexorable movement to claim their place among the modern nations of the world, from the Bandung conference of 1955 to taking leadership roles in multilateral institutions such as United Nations, UNESCO, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, among others. Yet it still was premised on there being a backward pre-colonial world and a progressive post-colonial modern national state. Modern heritage needed to and did reflect this early phase of post-independence decolonisation. Indeed, monuments (or mausoleums) to these modernizing leaders abound all over the continent.

This tension between the old and the new is addressed in most of the papers in the collection of proceedings. It is a central theme in conceptualizing modernity as bringing into being something new that should be of benefit to people, while building on or assembling, or breaking away from that which preceded it - the past. This may be posed as a set of questions: is the 'new' of such a decisive nature that it bears little or no resemblance to the past? Is it the continuity in form and substance from the past that must be recognized? In the African context is modern heritage a combination of breaking from certain aspects of the past and sustaining the lineages of its antiquity? In trying to make sense of this, retrospectively, some authors have pointed to the layering and multiple uses of tangible and intangible cultural heritage through various historical periods, to the resuscitation and incorporation of erased or subverted histories. Others have invoked ideas of tracing influences from multiple original sources including ideas that resonate with indigeneity. Significantly, others have detected in this modern post-

colonial period the arrival of something new and different: some new forms that urgently require our attention as to their heritage status, whether this is the discarding of old colonial monuments and heritage sites, or the creation of new ones, whether as new performances that rely on various living traditions, or as completely new forms of the built environment such as refugee camps that, however temporary in their original conception, have now existed for two decades or more. Refugee camps highlight their permanence and claim as heritage pertinent to post-colonial human fragility. They are both symbolic of and a material reflection of the troubled times we live in. Mostly importantly, therefore, how do we acknowledge these as part our contemporary heritage? These forms of forced migration, semi-nomadic existence and exile endured by countless people displaced from their original places of living offer insights into what future heritage might be and pose new questions about contemporary understandings about these new forms of violence, oppression, surveillance, and living, what the philosopher Agamben calls, 'bare life' (1998). What is it of this bare life, a dehumanised existence that needs to be incorporated into, or shifts, the focus in museological practices of collection and preservation that displays the betrayal of human rights in historical situations that highlight conflictual relationships between various contemporary post-colonial authorities and political powers?

In an important sense all the papers lead into another theme that animates the question of what and whose heritage are these? How do these contested heritages, existing among other forms of heritage, challenge the moral conscience of present and future generations?

In other presentations there was a strong sense of the alienating presence of colonial heritage which must also be addressed, whether this takes the form of statues and other monuments that celebrate their empires and self-proclaimed cult of progress (Olusoga, 2018). Or perhaps it is also the unacknowledged and neglect of re-purposed colonial sites, whether these were administrative offices, places of leisure and recreation or education and worship such as mission stations and churches. Perhaps this seemingly alienating presence of coloniality must perhaps be the starting point in consideration of modern heritage in Africa, a point strongly suggested in all the keynote papers, and taken up by a number of papers in this collection.

In his keynote address in the thematic framing workshop that preceded the conference, Achille Mbembe points out that heritage should not

be conceived as a property, as a thing that has to be owned and consumed, but rather a social relationship that is indicative of several important processes that reconfigures what is meant by the tangible today. It is not only that the tangible is locked within repatriable African material culture as displayed and conserved in major museums around the world, particularly Europe and North America, but represents loss of knowledge and meaningful social relationships embedded in them. Yet he argues this loss should suggest that an alternative conception of heritage that encompasses the long durée of the past and present where modernity is only a part of the ruptures induced by colonialization. Mbembe refers to this as 'refashioning' within the context of loss and a collective discursive, often re-invented understandings of multiple African cultures coming to terms with the idea of capitalist industrialism and individualism. Of-course this introduces tensions, but has a different ontological imperative where difference and sharing are not opposites. It is a different kind modernity where cosmopolitanism replaces normative expectations of homogeneity, consensus on the path to modernization. It challenges official views that interpolate social inclusion to a nation state. Perhaps the challenge in reading these papers is to ask whether there are many presents of the past, a notion that accommodates to Mbembe's conception of an African cosmopolitanism that accepts diversity, rather than the straight jacket of a western universalism. Heritage, he contends, or that which is characterised as modern heritage of Africa, should make allowance for something new to emerge from this conjuncture, whose elements have long been in the making from at least early liberation movements that accepted new forms of representing a sustainable industrious Africa in the contemporary world. A wealth of papers in the conference reference this 'refashioning', the ensemble of encounters or genealogies from times past and present in contemporary manifestations of African heritage.

Dipesh Chakrabarty, in the second keynote address, explores the idea of sustainability and heritage on a planetary scale. He draws attention to the fact that modernity is about industrialization with its origins in the Enlightenment understanding of progress as rationality and colonial-capitalism that has since the turn of the twentieth century accelerated the pace of technological achievements based on fossil fuels, and simultaneously created the conditions that now threaten the very existence of the human species. Heritage in this context, humanity's past and present achievements and its sustainability, based on the idea of a single universal truth defined by Europeans, is a

questionable assumption. Rather he agrees with Mbembe that refashioning, remaking, suturing, or creating or co-creating a new environment that de-centers the human species away from the Enlightenment mold of individual humans as the centre of progress is a necessity. Universal heritage in such a context cannot be defined as a singular value defined for all time by the tenets of a Eurocentric modernity, but rather a new modernity that should be appreciative of principles of sustainability that comes from the "other" and understanding the past though the present. It is possible, Chakrabarty contends that those many non-Europeans societies, dismissed as 'backward' or primitive, contain cultural practices that may embody historically valuable sustainable principles that recognize not only other sentient beings, but contributions to humanity as equals in their differences. The idea that we both recognize humanity, and our differences in a world that is planetary in its scope of interaction invokes a sobering thought about how we go about our business of identifying the modern in our heritage.

Conference keynotes and themes

Taking a different perspective on the global predicament that we find ourselves, Dr. Olga Bialostoka, one of the keynote speakers at the conference, makes the critical point that the modern cannot be divorced from colonialism. In many ways she takes up from where Mbembe and Chakrabarty left off with regard to the varying colonial impacts on African social lives and culture, their material existence and its tangible and intangible manifestations as heritage in the present. It is clear that colonial influences stretch back to the first contacts of the Portuguese as they travelled down the West African coast in the fifteenth century, around the Cape, and over the Indian Ocean to diverse sites in Asia.

Historic places of first contact and subsequent colonisation by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British are extremely visible in the built environment. But Bialostoka asks us to engage with the conceptualisations of these events of colonialism as constitutive of modernity. Rather than accept the conceptualisation of bringing civilisation to the natives consider that modernity has its twin dark side: the rise and dominance of European rationality and technological advancement that cannot and should not be separated from colonialism, and, equally important, that its enduring impact is a coloniality in the present. Her argument is that modernity exists as the flip side of colonialism, and the entanglement of colonial conquest with local African polities is what rendered them as

mimicries and dependencies in the post-colonial period. Dr. Bialostoka's presentation, drawing from the work of Mignolo and others alongside that of Mbembe and Chakrabarty, questions the universalism of the Enlightenment as its spread with colonialism. Her notion of coloniality frames the colonial encounter as modernity, and shapes the understanding of the period of colonial modernity as an intricate entanglement with already existing African polities from the smallest of villages to the majesty of its civilisations and empires.

Professor Ola Uduku's keynote takes up the challenge of how to confront the colonial encounter in reconciling what she calls the historical-vernacular (precolonial), the colonial period and the early post-colonial period of a variety of modern building that reflects the golden age of post-independence and a belief in the modernization path that was charted, but which changed quite rapidly under the pressure of structural adjustment and neo-liberalism in the 1980s. With the rise of a distinctive African middle class and their links to global international corporates, the built environment began to reflect the 'glass and curtained window towers' of most buildings in capital cities around the world. These categories of buildings within the built environment provide a challenge as to how Africans themselves see these structures that symbolize both the wealth and unequal divisions of post-colonial societies. Uduku points to at least two additional considerations in conceptualizing what is modern of the built environment: firstly, the poor and working classes still mostly live in informal settlements and poorly designed, supposedly functionally built and badly maintained housing estates, and, secondly, some re-purposing of older buildings that make public culture a centrepiece in the urban environment such as the District Six museum or Freedom Square in Lagos Island. One way, of course is to document all these buildings from the pre-colonial period, to that colonial and post-colonial periods. However, it still begs the question of how Africans think of this long period from its early civilisations such as the monuments of Great Zimbabwe, to those glass and steel structures of the 1980s and 1990s that are now being officially inscribed as architectural heritage. Whose heritage is this and how might it be analysed and considered modern heritage outside of the linear trajectories of western modernism?

One of the most important themes that emerged in the conference was conceptualizing the lineages, traces, genealogies and influences on heritage in Africa over the last millennia or more. This theme is not only about tracing the

origins of historically important sites, events and the materiality of the intangible, but also about the interconnectedness and disruption of what we have come to associate with modernity in its multiplicity of expressions. In most instances this related to buildings created in the last few hundred years such as Fort Jesus in Mombasa and Mozambique Island, on the one hand, and to the centres of powerful states such as Great Zimbabwe, and further back to civilisations and states on the great rivers such as the Nile and Niger.

The papers of this conference have also illuminated more recent intangible inheritances from multiple places such as in the variety of Swahili music along the east coast of Africa. In other instances, it is the arresting complex of refugee camps, built as temporary shelters in times of recent late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries crises that have morphed into permanent settlements. Refugees, as they unpack their meagre belongings into United Nations defined shelters, re-create in their surroundings as best they can their culturally meaningful lives as it intersects with local and global events, non-governmental organisations and the states that provide shelter. Their contemporary existence has its traces in multiple pasts, not least that of coloniality. It is this theme that has dominated the conference and asks the question repeatedly as to how to understand and analyse those traces as it contributes to modern heritage of Africa. It is important to trace the genealogies of all these inheritances, and which of these are important to modern heritage within the continent and to the world.

This issue of heritage provenance when viewed from individual papers presented at the conference can clearly be traced in empirical detail. These are in a sense what the World Heritage Listing requires, and in many cases are implicitly articulated by the authors. It is possible, for example, to provide an account of the impact of Bauhaus modernism in the buildings of a university campus, that mingles and transforms itself in response to Yoruba cultural historical influences that emphasizes conviviality, of meeting and enjoying human contact. Such genealogical considerations can also be literally traced in railway lines and tarred roads that brought towns and cities nearer to the countryside. It can be seen in colonial inspired buildings, architecturally designed churches becoming mosques, or where old colonial buildings become new administrative centres for the post-colonial state. Yet it begs questions of what makes this approach of tracing a heritage provenance different from the authorized heritage enshrined in the procedures

of the World Heritage Listing. These are modern heritages yet connected to previous waves of African connections by trade and exchange of ideas, religion, and political alliances to the world outside of colonial modernity. Does it still mean that we operate only with Eurocentric binaries such as 'tradition-modern', with some local elements assimilated into the dominant western conception of architectural history? Does the railway and road infrastructure merely provide transport corridors, or additionally a link to a conception of urban as modern (because that is where the train or the road journey starts or ends) and reaches into the darkness of the unchanging rural, personified as traditional culture. Subverting this might be a church, school, mission station, a new mosque, or a university founded in the liminal contact zones between urban centres and deep rurality. Yet others tug at our conscience, where colonial designed utilitarian block buildings become both the entrance to a new world of slavery and exit from the continent with its different senses of association, time, space and the built environment. Traces of these are not only found in the diasporic plantations of the Americas but also in Asia and the Arabian littoral.

Other papers explored sites of more recent vintage, such as universities exhibiting both classical and twentieth century modernist styles, extolling the value of education as the path to modernization, rather than the questionable implicit acceptance of the framing of the debate on the modern in Africa as simply a twentieth century phenomenon of liberation and decolonisation. Indeed, the question must be posed, if the past has an imprint on the present, heritage, modern or otherwise, obliges us to ask how the present shapes the past. More specifically in our contemporary times, given the planetary impact of climate change, the question to address is how the modern shapes our understanding of the past without reference to a Eurocentric linear trajectory.

Given the discomfort of singularity so evident in these papers, other authors emphasized the ambivalence towards straightforward historical tracing, opting for a focus on researching, writing, speaking, and performing heritage against the grain of linear western conceptions of modernity. In the various presentations at the conference the linear mode of observing transitions in the built environment, as a form of cultural heritage-scape, or historical landscape, is to be noted. In this light several authors reference, to greater or lesser extent, their research in the debate about tropical or vernacular architecture in Africa. While this is not the place to debate at length the concept of tropical architecture, the

papers that reference such a typology in these proceedings question its epistemological basis in western ideas of how space is made, used and with what materials, while others suggest a move away from western dominated forms to that which freely borrows from the west while developing a break from the specificity of western design and use of industrial building materials. New forms of design based on existing cultural conceptions are evident, as indeed the idea that these may co-exist with locally sourced earthen materials. At present new emerging palimpsest forms of heritage, whether as part of the built environment or in its intangible forms as knowledge, meanings and associated behaviour require far more research. The papers that speak to this issue are surely a welcome start in this direction and an indication that a much more systematic approach is required with new insights as what makes this the modern heritage of Africa, rather than as a pastiche of what comparatively recently has become known as the Global North. Such research may also offer critical insights into the principles of sustainability that Dipesh Chakrabarty mentioned in his keynote address and which are among the main themes of the second MoHoA conference in October 2022, titled Modern Heritage in the Anthropocene.

Reference to vernacular architecture and traditions is more ambiguous. In the papers presented, there are two very broad understandings of vernacular. The first is reference to the use of vernacular principles in the design and construction of new public buildings as being guided by a post-colonial or decolonial aesthetic. However, the evidence of its acceptance by the public as such seems muted. While African elites may wish to proclaim heritage status based on indigenous knowledge, the fertile grounds for public acceptance is ambiguous or hardly exists. It may be that expectations of modernization are still strong. However, there are two important issues that need to be highlighted. First, that heritage as it is currently conceived is very much in the public domain as to who may or may not find such heritage as overtly appealing on aesthetic or other grounds such as being sensitive to the historical cultural context. This does raise the issue of what role does the public, or publics of the post-colonial state, play in the process of creating or valorising heritage in the contemporary period. It is an important question about whose heritage counts, and whether there is any dispute or disagreements as to what constitutes such heritage. How is heritage made acceptable, legitimate and official? This question of disputed or conflicted heritage and its publics is addressed later in this introductory section.

The second issue is about the difference in approaches to heritage: between an imagined past in the present, and the present that acknowledges the past for a future. More concretely is heritage a deliberate design by experts that appeals to an imagined community or memories of historical and cultural pasts as the ideological binding agent of inclusivity of community or nations states? This references the use and abuse of heritage by various interest groups, principally state actors in any society, and which contrasts with an approach incorporating known symbols that resonates with the present, creating a new style or momentum that embeds the seeds of a different cultural heritage trajectory that speaks to the future of how modern heritage is to be understood as diverse and shared.

A second conceptualisation of the vernacular is understood as 'built for the people, by the people', acknowledging the local historically informed construction and assembling techniques, that incorporates ritualized tropes, procedures, and registers of meanings, albeit incorporating new materials on their own terms from historical periods and places vastly different from the original. This can be seen in reference to papers that highlight performance, whether this is in the ritual of assembling 'traditional' material for building shelters or sites of worship, in festivals, rituals, poetry, music, film, new multi-media and other performances. This approach of heritage 'on their own terms' often elides official heritage meanings, though not exclusively so. It often speaks to the heritage that is not foregrounded through official categorization. It may be hidden, forgotten, erased or unrecognised save for those who attach significance or shared meanings to it. In a world where cultural practices are often contested in the public domain, its locality, as much as its localness and historicity, lies firmly within the realm of contested modern heritage.

Although contested history is not a specifically large theme in these papers, at least two of the papers offer ways in which to capture the multitude of twentieth century sites that begins to take a decolonial perspective. The Twentieth Century Historic Thematic Framework offers a way to identify important heritage that relates social, technological, political and economic phenomena, including existing typologies, and provides the basis for comparison and further development of heritage typologies that includes tangible heritage related to buildings, cities, industrial heritage and landscapes. This tool currently relates specifically to the twentieth century. It poses the question as how this may be used for earlier periods and for intangible aspects.

A second approach that attempts to capture contested heritage is known as counter-mapping which depends heavily on documenting oral testimony and poses the question as to whether these can be incorporated into a set of official checklists of what is considered heritage, drawn as it from the policies and procedures for World Heritage Listing. Both these tools as described in the respective papers provide examples drawn from urban contests. It is a consideration as to whether these can be used in other spatial zones, including in rural areas whose complexity regarding heritage is relatively sparse in these collected papers.

At the centre of much of the discussion of the presented themes is a question about the ability to create, influence, shape and generally give effect to the emergence of heritage. This ability to make heritage possible, and ensure its continuity over time, places contestation and power at the centre of any analysis of heritage. All the papers in this collection presume or explicitly mention a process of consultation over the status of a site or intangible heritage. From the position of the World Heritage Centre consultation is a prominent and necessary process towards listing heritage. The process should not be taken for granted, especially since most of the papers in this collection of the proceedings describe heritage, or rather potential heritage that is located at present outside officially authorized sites. It cannot be taken for granted that state-parties will automatically agree on their listing for world heritage status, or indeed for these heritage sites to be inscribed on their own national or localized heritage lists. The potential for disagreement is about as much as there is for agreement, particularly those sites that are still be recognized and in need for conservation and protection. This is particularly the case where alternative interpretations may be at a distance from conventional acceptances of their provenance, or there is lack of adequate research, or where sites are potentially disruptive of accepted norms, or point to the erasure of a people and their environment. This takes on a sharper edge when the challenge offers an unconventional approach such as infrastructure as heritage, or who should be considered heroes, especially if considerations of gendered and, or urban bias are taken into account, or the incorporation of stories of land lost in wars, or through prejudicially motivated colonial land dispossession. Alongside this is also what has become known as liberation heritage, which is not always a settled issue as who should be considered liberation heroes. The vital point here is that consultation, as part of the expanding public cultural sphere, is very much a modern phenomenon in which discussion, debate and

dissent that speaks back to the state are integral to achieve consensus through an equality of participation.

Toward the Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage

The MOHOA programme is set up to support the sustainable heritage agenda in Africa through the research, protection, utilization and reinterpretation of its modern heritage and to contribute to improving the implementation of the World Heritage Convention on the African continent. It has the following specific goals:

- examine the meanings of Modern Heritage of Africa and to understand the role heritage can play in promoting sustainability,
- develop skills among heritage practitioners and other public and private sector stakeholders in associated fields, including research, training, conservation, advocacy and management;
- raise awareness about the significance of Modern Heritage of Africa amongst different stakeholders, including academics, heritage practitioners, developers, policy makers and civil society, especially amongst women and youth;
- address the underrepresentation of the Modern Heritage of Africa in the World Heritage List by building capacity amongst heritage practitioners in the identification and presentation of properties to be inscribed on Tentative Lists and potential future World Heritage nominations.

Four workshops and a conference within a year is not of such an episodic nature that will automatically lead to a radical reinterpretation of the modern heritage of Africa. Nonetheless, this strategic intellectual endeavour is of critical importance as it supports and encourages research into the contested concept of modern heritage. At this point the sheer will of the participants in this conference is unlikely to increase the representation of modern African heritage on World Heritage listings. However, it lays the foundation for that process to unfold with dynamism, as is evidenced by those that made presentations or participated as observers and commentators. What was also particularly invigorating and uplifting was the strength and originality of ideas among a younger generation of researchers and heritage professionals.

The workshops were a crucial steppingstone as initiators towards assessing where heritage professionals, stakeholders and workers were in terms of these goals, the knowledge and skills

that had been acquired and are still needed, and as platforms to share ideas, many of which were converted into papers later presented at the conference. The conference papers, as discussed above were a crucial reflexive opportunity to confront key issues that need to continue to be amplified, and where shortcomings need to be addressed.

The conference addressed many crucial issues that are critical to re-thinking the current understanding of modernity within the policies of the World Heritage Convention and its associated advisory and affiliated bodies, and to challenge these policies and guidelines. This was one of the main aims of the conference, to rethink the past and the present, reflecting on the multiple, often unequal experiences of what modern means for African people in the context of heritage and their long historical association with the rest of the world. There are valuable lessons to learn from this global shared, albeit contested, heritage of Africa and its entanglement and inequitable recognition within the rest of the world.

It is also fundamental to reframing the experiences and contributions of Africa and other countries that represent what the educator and anti-racist scholar, Rosemary Campbell-Stephens, refers to as the 'global majority'. As a major component of the global majority, Africa's role in the world is a constant reminder of a deeply and often brutally unequal and discriminatory past, and the urgent need to realise a future in which structural inequalities and racism are consigned to the past, replaced by systems and practices that are equitable and sustainable. This must simultaneously and necessarily address the existential challenges precipitated by climate and environmental crises that have been at least 500 years in the making and are inherently entwined with the exploitation of African resources, including its people. Addressing human sustainability and justice in the future alongside acknowledging the value of Africa's heritage and its contribution to humanity is an urgent modern agenda.

These are the issues that the *Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage* seeks to address and can be encapsulated by one of the principal claims that modernity 'represent[s] no single history and derive[s] from no single origin, culturally, geographically, or conceptually, but [is] part of a constellation of multiple historical experiences' in all its ruptures and continuities over long periods including the European colonial period.

The *Cape Town Document* represents the start of a process of change aimed at redressing the long-standing views that European civilization represents the only solution to and framework

for human progress. More fundamentally, the *Cape Town Document* reflects the content and debates that took place in the conference and its preceding workshops, and seeks to create the framework for a reconceptualization of 'the modern' that can be untethered from its Eurocentric, colonial or universalizing origins and help pave the way for an equitable and sustainable future. As a project designed to critically address historical inequities and iniquities dating back over half a millennium, the authors and contributors are under no illusion as to the scale of the task and the time it will take, but start we must.

Note on the contents: division between abstracts and the papers.

Not all the authors found it possible or wanted to submit their presentation in written form for this publication, although the vast majority did. The organisers of the conference, the members of the scientific committee and the members of MoHoA research group want to thank all those that participated in the conference, and especially those that had the unenviable task of distilling from the fascinating presentations the central ideas into the succinct draft Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage. We also want to thank the participants that came from all over the world, and especially those that came from Africa, whether being on the continent or in the diaspora, for contributing to the debates that posed searching questions and highlighted important and sometimes very painful issues. We also want to sincerely thank the chairs and rapporteurs and those that took the time to write up their oral presentations into the formal abstracts and papers. The result is this collection of the conference proceedings.

It is formally divided into sections, beginning with the welcome speeches, followed by keynote addresses, a section with all the abstracts, and followed by the papers grouped according to the themes as outlined in the conference agenda. The draft Cape Town Document is the culmination of two days of intense and inspiring exchanges which we hope will change the course of heritage research, policy and its implementation on the continent and will have a global, if not planetary, resonance.

Welcome Addresses

Welcome by Professor Sue Harrison,

Deputy Vice Chancellor, Research and Internationalisation, University of Cape Town

It is my great pleasure to be able to take part in the opening of the Symposium on Modern Heritage of Africa, hosted by the Centre for African Studies at UCT. The subject is one that is centre-stage at UCT currently and embedded into its Vision 2030, and so UCT supported the brainstorming session held last year, and the follow-on conceptualisation meeting in April this year to make this inaugural event organised by the African World Heritage Fund, the Heritage Hub at UCT, the Bartlett School of Architecture at UCL and UNESCO World Heritage Centre become a reality.

The goal of the Modern Heritage of Africa Initiative is to shine a spotlight on the heritage of the contemporary times, characterised by continuity, change, the tangible and intangible. There is need to define modern heritage in inclusive ways, acknowledging different regional histories and traditions, and celebrating their contribution to these contemporary times.

As a research-led and research intensive university, UCT has, through developing its Vision 2030, highlighted our focus on our role both in Africa and globally and intensified our intent to use our unique global south position to solve local, African and global south problems with these contributions also contributing actively to global knowledge and addressing world problems. Our southern location, being human and advancing Africa are strongly embedded in our strategic foci, with Heritage a key component, and our heritage hub a growing treasure. We are happy to partner with the African World Heritage Fund, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICCROM, UCL, and other partners to contribute towards heritage conservation and its integration into the economy.

UCT is very grateful to ICCROM for the partnership that created the African Heritage Hub and Research Centre with its focus on youth, entrepreneurship and heritage. The Heritage Hub will be officially launched in February 2022. As the focal point of the Heritage Hub, UCT acknowledges the contribution of local partners Iziko Museums, SAHRA, Robben Island and the South African National Parks in mobilising effort and resources towards a common goal. UCT will use its depth and strength across faculties and departments to work collaboratively with partners to develop an interdisciplinary Masters and PhD Programme, which will include a

component on Modern Heritage. As per our Vision 2030, in which UCT focuses on unleashing human potential for a fair and just society and positions our research to unleash knowledge in, for and from Africa to re-define and co-create a sustainable global future, we will work with African institutions and those in the Global South to strengthen South-South Cooperation, without neglecting our friends in the north.

As UCT we are also excited that you decided to launch the Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage which is aimed at initiating global conversations on this type of heritage with the goal of having it represented more on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This will hopefully benefit Africa, one of the regions that is underrepresented on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Last week UCT hosted a global conversation on SDGs in Africa as a summit – for which 1650 delegates registered from 85 countries including 40 in Africa – focusing on the deep conversations needed around equity, poverty, access to health, governance, resilience, transdisciplinarity etc. Heritage and sustainability are fundamental elements of these shared goals. In line with our Vision 2030, we will work with partner organisations to ensure that we continue to make contributions to heritage research, conservation and accelerating the attainment of Agenda 2063 in Africa. Alongside this, we will create teaching and learning opportunities for heritage to contribute towards rebuilding our societies, achieving redress for our past and responding to the impact of the pandemic.

I wish you a successful symposium and look forward to the deepening of collaboration across delegates into the future.

Welcome by Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza,

AC Jordan Chair in African Studies and Director of the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Welcome to the Vice-Chancellor/Deputy-Vice Chancellor, the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), UNESCO and its various agencies, such as the World Heritage Organisation and ICCROM, the Bartlett School of Architecture at the University College London, the Getty Foundation, the colleagues of the Modern Heritage of Africa Research Group, all the presenters and participants and the representatives of the various organisations present.

A special welcome to the presenters, whose research and reflections over the next two days will be so crucial towards the formulation of the Cape Town document, and towards further research that will be inform the next conference at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London in 2022. I want to acknowledge and offer the CAS's sincere appreciation of the support of the Bartlett School of Architecture and the University College London has given this research initiative.

It is a great honour for me, as Director of the Centre for African Studies at UCT to welcome you all this significant conference on the Modern Heritage of Africa.

It is indeed extremely important not only to affirm the heritage of Africa, but also the African contribution to world heritage arising out of its long connection to the world, particularly since the advent of European colonialism along-side the inherent traumas and injustices perpetrated. This conference seeks to rethink the past and the present, reflecting on the multiple experiences of what modern means for African people in the context of heritage. It is also fundamental to reframing Africa's, and other developing countries, contribution to the world in ways that not only reminds us of the unequal and discriminatory past, but that the future must proceed in a way that seeks an end to racism, injustice and structural inequalities, while simultaneously addressing the existential crisis of humanity precipitated by a climate and environmental crisis that has been at least 500 years in the making. Addressing human sustainability and justice in the future alongside acknowledging the value of Africa's heritage and its contribution to humanity is an urgent modern agenda. There are valuable lessons to learn from the shared, albeit contested heritage of Africa and its entanglement with the rest of the world.

I am pleased that the Centre for African Studies and the Mafeje Chair has been able to support MoHoA over the last year through various workshops and other initiatives leading up to this conference. As a Centre that has grappled with the issues of injustice and inequality in Africa, in both rural and urban settings, it gives me great pleasure to know that this research work will seek a reformulation of what constitutes modernity in an African context, recasting it in ways that will inform international policy on heritage and address the developmental challenges that face Africa within a world-wide framework. I take this opportunity to affirm the CAS's commitment to support the ideas and ideals inherent in this research and policy directed initiative to decentre and reframe the conceptualisation of modern heritage towards a more just and equal world.

I wish you all well with your critical tasks ahead and also look forward to next years conference at UCL's Bartlett School of Architecture. We hope, of course, that the Corvid pandemic will be sufficiently eased to allow for a more personal interactive participation next year.

Welcome once again.

Welcome by Dr. Jyoti Hosagrahar,

Deputy-Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Research and Internationalisation of the University of Cape Town, Director- Centre for African Studies-UCT Executive Director of the African World Heritage Fund, Director for Partnership and Communication of ICCROM

Esteemed Colleagues,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Please let me begin by expressing my great pleasure for joining you today on this much-awaited occasion of the Symposium on Modern Heritage of Africa. Let me also bring you the warm greetings of our Director, Ms Mechthild Rössler, who will be retiring at the end of this month, as most of you know.

At the outset, I wish to thank all the partners for the tremendous work already accomplished and the progress made since this initiative took off in August 2020 and the organization of such an important event, today.

To UNESCO this initiative began already in March 2004 when the third Regional Meeting on Modern Heritage for Sub-Saharan Africa took place in the modernist city of Asmara (Eritrea), which was since inscribed as a World Heritage property in 2017. I am particularly encouraged by this Symposium, hosted by the University of Cape Town, that will be followed and supported by UNESCO for a full thematic study and gap analysis in the months to come.

I am emphasizing the importance of this topic, which has primordial significance for UNESCO and myself for two fundamental reasons.

Firstly, being at the top of UNESCO's priorities, the Africa region remains the focus of much of the UNESCO's attention and energy. It should be reminded that one of the core strategic objectives in the Regional Action Plan for Africa (2021-2027) which was developed by all 47 African States Parties and endorsed by World Heritage Committee is to ensure a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List. Exploring the notion of Modern Heritage in the African context can therefore contribute decisively for a strengthened and confident representation of the region on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The African continent is facing increasing and pressing challenges that include demographic

pressure, fast-paced urbanisation, unsustainable economic development, and disputed/conflicting socio-cultural identities, among many others. I believe that grasping and defining African modern heritage can play a vital role in responding to some of these challenges for aligning itself with most of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and the principles inscribed in the New Urban Agenda, the African Union's Agenda 2063, and the Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) Approach.

Twenty years ago, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre initiated a programme to look at the concept of modern heritage. Back then, we had diverse objectives, but I will mention only a few that are important for this discussion: First, the programme intended to support the representativity of heritage in its diversity on the World Heritage List in line with the Global Strategy. The second target was to develop methods for identifying and documenting this heritage category which was, and still is, threatened. Third was the awareness raising of the concept and finally the harmonisation of the Tentative Lists of the States Parties.

Modernity has its roots in Enlightenment thought in 18th century Western Europe. However, its encounters with and trajectories both within Europe and in other continents were vastly different as were the forms that emerged from it. However, the forms of modernity that emerged in Africa bear further thoughtful reflection. What are the forms and landscapes of African Modernity?

Therefore, it may not be so important from which point of view we reflect on this concept of modern heritage. Our target should be to reinforce it by accommodating changes and diversity.

With Modern Heritage of Africa being often marginalised and underestimated, the need for re-invigorated investment and commitment to fulfil that role in the continent is even more evident. With this new initiative UNESCO is committed to push forward a set of actions to promoting sustainable management and conservation of properties, engaging communities, and raising awareness on the efforts to preserve Heritage, and enhancing regional expertise in the field of World Heritage.

This includes more investment in research and documentation, better methods of understanding and assessing significance, increased public awareness, and promoting inscription on either local or global registers as important steps forward to allow the Modern Heritage of Africa to play such regenerative role.

That is why The Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage provides us all with an unmissable opportunity to set the basis for further reflection upon not only the obstacles of the present but also the virtues of a more equitable, diverse, and inclusive understanding of global encounters with modernity, their geo-cultural identities, respective experiences, and their interconnectedness.

Wishing you all fruitful and innovative discussions.

I thank you for your kind attention.

Welcome by Souayibou Varissou,

Executive Director of the African World Heritage Fund

Programme Director, Officials from hosting and partnering institutions, Distinguished guests, Colleagues, friends, Ladies and gentlemen, All protocols observed

In Yorubaland in Nigeria and Benin Republic, people would say (that is, in Yoruba): *“ohun ti a nwa ni Sokoto inbe ni sale sokoto wa”*, meaning literally “what we are looking for in the city of Sokoto [i.e. far from Yoruba land] is in our pants [i.e., just nearby]”. Shona people in Zimbabwe would express a similar idea when saying, approximately translated: “Why should we cross the river when what we are looking for is in our own village”? We cannot run away from that kind of popular sayings when addressing African issues through the filter of modern heritage, no matter what definition we give to that concept.

A few years ago, when we started this whole discussion within the broad ambit of revisiting a few thematic areas about the profile of the African continent in literature and various other cultural spheres, the theme of modern heritage in Africa came up as a critical area of interest. In a context where painful slavery and colonial experiences left deep marks in the landscapes and on the peoples of Africa; in a context where within global and sometimes regional strategic levels, African views and perspectives usually don't come out boldly in the conceptual designs or in decision-making mechanisms, the theme under discussion today, on the African continent, amongst ourselves, in relation to the rest of the world appears quite relevant.

The African World Heritage Fund was established in South Africa in 2006 following a combined initiative within UNESCO and the African Union. The mandate is to provide technical and financial support to African States about the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, mainly through capacity building initiative. Within the modern heritage of Africa programme, our work is to support various dynamics including the development of strategic documents most importantly the Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage. It's an encouraging move that the University of Cape Town (UCT) with the support of the Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment (University College London, UCL), UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS and other partners are leading this initiative. We are confident this symposium will touch once again on the purpose of world heritage sites and sharpen its development in Africa including

allowing our academics and professionals to think beyond established legacies which are mainly forged around Eurocentric and Arabo-centric understanding of modernism as reflected in the usually proposed properties for World Heritage listing.

The African World Heritage Fund would also like to see practical reflections of a redesigned modern heritage concept to be included on the World Heritage Listing process. A paradigm shift or rather paradigm contextualization is indeed a precondition which will allow the enrichment of the World Heritage List to better reflect the diversity of natural and human evidence having Outstanding Universal Value. Beyond their colonial roots, Cidade Velha (Cape Verde), Ilha de Mozambique (Mozambique), Fort Jesus (Kenya), Grand Bassam (Cote d'Ivoire) and Asmara (Eritrea) are easily considered because of their non-colonial attributes. The same applies to Rabat (Morocco) and Historic Cairo (Egypt). In that context, one would underline the accuracy of a Mosi saying in Burkina Faso stating: “When you are sleeping on the mat of your neighbor every night, you cannot say you are not sleeping on the floor”. Indeed, what will happen if the neighbor withdraws his or her mat tonight? One will then inevitably find themselves sleeping on the floor revealing therefore the relatively unsecure sustainability of modern heritage when the main measurement filter is exogenous parameters.

I cannot conclude my brief remarks without reiterating the warmest gratitude of the African World Heritage Fund to the University of Cape Town and their partners for taking the lead in this strategic meeting of the Modern Heritage of Africa programme. Our gratitude goes also to the Norwegian and German Ministries of Foreign Affairs (through their embassies in South Africa) for their unwavering support to the programme. I would like to ensure you about the continued engagement and support of the African World Heritage Fund toward successful outcomes from our deliberations. No doubt the steps ahead are still many, but as usually alluded to in a common saying that originated from a Chinese proverb, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step". We remain confident that we will successfully walk the journey together no matter how hard and stressful it may be.

I thank you for your attention.

Welcome by Joseph King,

Director, Partnership and Communication (on behalf of the Advisory Bodies to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN)

I am pleased to be able to make these remarks on behalf of my Director General, Dr. Webber Ndoro. He unfortunately had another commitment this morning and was unable to join us, but he asked me to thank our partners and all of the participants to this important symposium. This opening address is also made on behalf, not just of ICCROM, but also our sister Advisory Bodies to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, ICOMOS and IUCN.

The topic of modern heritage in Africa is an important one. When people from outside this region think about African heritage, many things come to mind. The archaeological heritage is often mentioned, as are the traditional architectural heritage, colonial heritage, and oral tradition and other forms of intangible heritage.

But I have to say that in my 30+ years of working on heritage in this region, I have found that the issue of modern heritage has been addressed most often at the level of specialists and from a western perspective. And it is for this reason that symposia such as this one are so valuable. Bringing attention to the modern heritage of the region will enable professionals and communities in the region to better protect this important component of the overall African Heritage. It will also promote a more balanced and inclusive World Heritage List, as the Tentative Lists of States Parties in the region are updated and nominations are prepared. As many of you know, Africa is very underrepresented on the World Heritage List and one of the ways that we can address this overall imbalance is to begin the process of identifying types of heritage that have not been much looked at in the past.

And it is hoped that the efforts we are starting today, as well as the ongoing work of the Modern Heritage Programme of the World Heritage Centre which is celebrating its 10th anniversary, and that of the Getty Conservation Institute which has been developing a 20th Century Historic Thematic Framework for modern heritage may help in the process of identification, nomination, and eventual inscription of more modern heritage from Africa.

In particular, thanks go to our partners in this initiative, the African World Heritage Fund which is also a partner with ICCROM on a new programme called Youth.Heritage.Africa, The Bartlett School at UCL, and our sister Advisory

Bodies, ICOMOS and IUCN. I also want to place a particular emphasis on the inclusion within this symposium of the interlinkages between cultural and natural heritage. This is an area where Africa has much to offer the rest of the world, and I am very pleased that IUCN has joined with us on this initiative.

And most importantly, thanks go to the University of Cape Town and its professors and staff which have worked hard on putting the symposium together. It is worth noting that UCT has recently suffered a significant fire which had an effect on some of its buildings which could be considered as part of the modernity in the region. And this calls attention to another important point. It is not just a question of identification and listing of the modern heritage on the World Heritage List or recognition in other venues at the national or international level. It is also important to ensure its conservation over time. This means focusing on a wide, interdisciplinary approach to conservation. We must look at material conservation, but also heritage management, disaster risk management (as emphasized by the recent fire), tourism and interpretation, to name a few. But perhaps most importantly, it will mean involving the people of the region, and improving on the general recognition of this heritage by the wider population. It will be important to work with communities to ensure that they are included and have a voice in both the identification and conservation of this heritage.

With those few words, I again thank everyone involved in this symposium, both organizers and participants. ICCROM looks forward to the results and most importantly to the follow-up. Thank you again on behalf of the Director General and Advisory Bodies, and I hope that everyone has a great few days of discussion and debate.

Keynote Addresses

Heritage and Modernity - 1st Keynote Presentation

Professor Achille Mbembe

Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research University of the Witwatersrand

Expert Working Session, 21 April 2021

I will not be speaking directly to the issue of heritage as it seems to me that the concept of heritage is not uncontroversial, but it is somewhat easier to problematise than that of modernism or modernity.

It is easier to problematise if only we agree that – and this seems to me really important – heritage is not a property. Heritage is not the customary. If we agree that not all heritage is tangible, that, in fact, our own historical trajectories in Africa, most of these are not at all tangible, and the little we had that was tangible we have lost. What we have lost is that kind of loss that is so radical that it is irreparable – it cannot be repaired. One example of such a loss has to do, for instance, with our art objects or what came later on to be taken as art objects, most of which are now housed in various museums in the western world. Of course these could be subjected to a process of restitution and these debates are going on as we speak and they are extremely important debates. But it is not clear that even if we were to recover the totality of what is housed in museums in the west whether such a repatriation would compensate for all that was lost in terms of the knowledge that was embedded in most of those objects, in terms of the *savoir faire* or the infrastructures of various kinds that made the production of such objects possible – and even more so in terms of the various meanings and significations that were attached to such objects.

So, this question of loss and of restitution and of reparation seems to me to be key when in our case we speak about heritage and not all of it is tangible. It seems to me that properly understood heritage can be defined as that which is priceless. When I say that which is priceless what I mean is that which cannot be measured, at least not using quantitative criteria, financial or otherwise. What I mean is that which is in other words incalculable because it is always in excess. And it is in excess because fundamentally heritage is a life force. Because it is incalculable and immeasurable it allows us to open up the possibility of a different aesthetics, of a different kind of politics. A politics of inhabiting the earth, of repairing and sharing life. That is how I would define heritage, at least seen from our own historical trajectory, as that of societies that have

lost a lot. The kind of loss that is to some extent irreparable.

Now the other concept: modern, or modernism or modernity, is more complicated, if we want to read it from the point of view of our many histories, because Africa does not have one history, we have many histories because we have undergone a variety of historical trajectories. Now, of course, like many other terms or concepts or notions, this one we borrow from elsewhere. It is a concept that is difficult to define in our context, but so it is where it comes from. It is difficult because even in Europe there remain disagreements about the boundaries of the modern and its meanings. Let me just say that in Europe modernism signalled many things but most importantly it signalled a particular attitude towards the present and a conscious departure from the past that had ruptured. It did not just happen by accident. Rather the rupture was consciously constructed. It was deliberately constructed. I do not think this has ever been the case in Africa; the conscious construction of rupture with the whole of the past. Of course during anti-colonial struggles we imagined various ways in which we could build such a rupture, but this was a rupture solely with the colonial past, which was not equivalent to a wholesale rupture with all of our past. In fact, a huge part of our history has often forced us to keep relying on our past as a resource for sustenance in a present that was extremely hard. When one looks, for instance, at African independent churches within the Christian tradition, on the one hand, these are churches that espoused the gospel coming from outside and to a large extent they embraced the habitus that was attached to these moralities of Christian faith that came from outside. And yet, what they tried to do, these African independent churches, was to graft these forms of Christianity coming from outside to important elements taken from our own past and therefore they ended up creating syncretic faith formations that were hybrid, both in terms of their content of the faith and in terms of the forms of the faith. Is this what we mean by modernism? I am not sure if indeed we take seriously the fact that modernism in its context of origin signalled a particular attitude towards the present, which involved a conscious departure from the past.

From a cultural historical point of view, it does not seem to me that is the approach that most parts of the continent followed.

Now if we take modernity as defined by scholars today, it engages a whole set of things, a whole set of social changes, which imply, for instance, urbanisation, industrialisation, wage labour, the factory system and the becoming of individual human subjects, of a people who previously was understood to belong primarily to a community. So, modernity implies, indeed, that antagonism or that element of conflict between the individual and the community, where the individual freed himself or herself gradually from the shackles of the community, becoming a subject in his or her own right. Now when we look at our own historical context, of course, meaning some parts of the continent where we are familiar with the experience of city life and this even before colonialism. In West Africa, for instance, we are familiar with the fact of the urban in pre-colonial times. We are also familiar with its colonial instantiation and its post-colonial instantiation of contemporary urbanisation, which has not much to do with the historical process of urbanisation in Europe in the sense that the urbanisation that leads to modernity was to a huge extent undergirded by capitalism, by the capitalist economy. Now it was not only, let us say, buttressed by the capitalist economy, it was unleashed by the Industrial Revolution. These were the cities that emerged out of the Industrial Revolution.

But here in our continent, with the exception of South Africa in the late 19th century, no other part of the continent has truly gone through a process of Industrial Revolution. Our cities, such as Lagos, Abidjan, Dakar, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Luanda, Kinshasa, and so on, are not the products of the Industrial Revolution. They are the product of other types of processes connected to the expansion of capitalism, but not in its industrial form, and, as I am saying, in European modernity or modernism, to a large extent is part of that broad historical process of capitalism in its industrial form, and nowadays its financial algorithmic forms. I could go on and on in terms of wage labour. Here again, really it is not the dominant, let us say economic, or socio-economic fabric. Not at all. So very clearly we are dealing here with a different historical trajectory, different realities, we should legitimately call for a different name. And this has been at the heart of most debates on modernity, modernism and so forth and so on for a very long time, as Programme Director Professor Shadreck Chirikure mentioned, on post-colonial theory and so forth, in the work of Edward Said and those before him, and many others after him. There have been

many attempts at accounting for these forms, let me just call them forms of worldliness, which emerge out of different historical contexts, most of which have at some point or the other become entangled in each other producing therefore, effects and new realities that are not exclusively European, that have an element of Europe in them, but are also more than just Europe. So many have been talking about our alternative modernities. It is a term that has been pushed forward in particular by Indian scholars such as cultural historian Professor Dilip Gaonkar and a number of others. Many others have proposed the term 'plural modernities', but this has not put an end to the controversy. The controversy is continuing because clearly we need a different name for these processes.

Now in so far as modernism is concerned, broadly speaking, it designates artistic practices associated with modernity of course, but modern art practice, whether in European or other contexts, also signals a sense, I would argue, of continual difference, a self-conscious process of refashioning the self and, as I said early on, the projection of particular attitudes towards the past and the present. But let me comment briefly on this issue of self-refashioning because this is African, if I can speak in such broad terms. The idea of refashioning the self we find at the heart of African pre-colonial systems of thought, in particular in West Africa, Central Africa, and probably also in eastern southern Africa. The theory according to which identity, or what we call identity, is fundamentally about two things: it is about relations, which is not exactly the same as in the kernel of western philosophy where identity is about ontological questions. The question of being is at the heart of western philosophy from the Greeks until now. But, when you look at what is told to us in African cosmologies, identity is about relations and identity is about becoming. It is about openness to that which is not yet there. When you read, for instance, the novel written in the 1950s by the Nigerian author Amos Tutuola, who I think most captures this metaphysics in the most dynamic and powerful way. It ensures the extent to which identity is about movement, it is also about motion, it is about openness, it is about the capacity to become somebody else. If this is not self-refashioning, what else is it? And if we really want to append the concept of the 'modern' to Africa, this is the hook. It is indeed through this hook that we can redeem that concept in our context. So those are some of the comments I wanted to make in so far as the concept of the modern in relation to Africa is concerned.

Now when we look at the literature, of course, we find a lot written on so-called African modernism. Then the question we might want to ask is what do we understand by that? What is African in African modernity or modernism? How does, what is called African modernity, operate in global contexts since ours is a global continent – it has always been – and how can it be theorised? I raise these issues because they are at the heart of scholarly debates on this topic. You take someone like Valentin Mudimbe, probably one of our best and most significant philosophers who teaches in America. He wrote a book in 1998 called 'The Invention of Africa', in which among many things, he shows that Africa is a complex intellectual construct. He does not define Africa the way the German philosopher Hegel, for instance, defined it, but for Mudimbe, it is fundamentally a complex construct. It is partly according to Mudimbe an invention and partly the affirmation of certain historical features, or cultural characteristics, but also values, which contribute to turning Africa into a civilisation that is different from those say of Asia or Europe. Africa is a diverse and highly complex historical entity. I keep insisting on that element of highly complex and of the historical because for those who are familiar with this debate, when the question of modernism or modernity, or the modern, is raised for the first time in relation to the continent, it is precisely to deny the continent that element of complexity and that element of historicity. So, we might want then to ask how is it that we take this concept of the modern, which was used precisely to turn the continent into something inert, something unchangeable, the epitome of difference and tradition, but tradition understood as custom, the customary as that which never changes, that which is always the same, that which lacks historicity? How can we recover that concept and apply it now to that of heritage, which as I said early on, signifies precisely life forces that cannot be contained, that which are immeasurable and priceless. It is a total contradiction, one would argue, to speak in terms of the African modern, and even more so of the African modern in heritage? But I mean these days we borrow concepts from international organisations and create a lexicon and things become mixed up if we want to look into them. From a purely scholarly point of view, these are the kinds of contradictions and up-endings. I could go on and on highlighting those apparent contradictions. But I'm not sure that this will be helpful for you or for anybody else, but let us be conscious, when we use terms like this, of what they might open up in the end.

Now, the question is, since the term being used, 'African Modern Heritage', what can it possibly mean? Can we supplement it? Can

we translate it in a way such that it highlights the life potentials, the life forces, the concept of heritage has meant in the continent? How would we do it? I think we can do it, first of all, once again by recognising the highly complex and historical nature of the continent by taking seriously the fact that several trajectories have contributed to the making of its patrimony, of its heritage. I could mention a number of colonial primitivisms in the context of what came before colonialism and what came after, if one is to adopt a rather linear historical chronology. The plurality of trajectories in the sense that these colonial trajectories were extensively shaped by the colonial experience, but in turn, they created parallel internalised divisions as well as moments of connections, including international links and overlaps in the sense that divisions such as North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa have never really been entirely prominent. In terms of trajectories, there has always been a diasporic element, a diasporic dimension constitutive of the making of African heritage. When I mention diaspora, I do not simply refer to African diasporas in the new world or in Europe. One is also thinking about internal diasporas including all those who came from outside, which make it such that it is impossible if you want to speak of Africa as only inhabited by black people. Several trajectories also in the sense that much of the heritage has been constructed by people who spent most of their time in exile. This means people who led an itinerant life, which is exactly the case in the visual arts. For instance, think of people like the artists Jackson Hlungwani, Gerard Sekoto, Dumile Feni, Ibrahim El-Salahi, Malangatana Ngwenya, George Pemba, Abdoulaye Konante, and many others. The fact is that it is a generation of artists comparable to the generation of African literary figures most of whom ushered a new era of so-called modern African literature from a position of displacement or itinerancy or exile, in the process of which they look for new tropes of self-representation and self-expression.

But let me end these comments because it is not really a lecture, it is a set of comments to help us to make sense of not only the past but really our future. That is how I understand this thematic of heritage. I mention loss, but heritage has fundamentally to do with the creation of new forms. It is not about the conservation of old forms. It is about the creation of new forms, of the real, mobile forms that can move. It is not about returning to some primary scene at all costs. It is not about reiterating the gestures of the past in the present. It is about creating new forms of life for the future. That is how the concept of heritage has always been understood in African pre-colonial metaphysics. But heritage has also been understood in African pre-colonial

metaphysics as a way of inhabiting the world. The business of heritage, the real name for heritage, modern or not, has been worldliness; ways of inhabiting one's own time and the world at large, and in the process, learning how to take care of the world at large in one's own times, and learning how to repair our world. I will end with these two motifs: of care, and of reparation and repair. If you want care and reparation of that which is immeasurable, of that which is priceless; of life forms and life processes. If we are to be able to reinterpret the modern in Africa in terms translated into those old languages of ours, then maybe we can reopen a different future for ourselves and for our planet.

Thank you very much.

Heritage In the Planetary Age - 2nd Keynote Presentation

Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty

Lawrence A. Kimpton Distinguished Service Professor in History, South Asian Languages and Civilizations,
University of Chicago

Expert Working Session, 21 April 2021

I am, of course, deeply honoured to be here to speak to you, but also, I am a little at a loss to think about what to say since I am neither a specialist of Africa nor really a specialist of heritage, though as a historian I have had to think about heritage a fair amount, and also about the distinction between the two. Two events, actually, two experiences, guided me in thinking about what to say today. One was the tragic event of the fires on Table Mountain on Friday, which destroyed the Jagger Reading Room and other library buildings and part of the campus of the University of Cape Town. Those fires reminded me of fires in Australia, in my university town of Canberra, in 2003, that led me to think about climate change, global warming, the Anthropocene and all of those problems that my book just published in the USA is based on. This book, 'The Climate of History in a Planetary Age', is about the age we are in, which I am now calling a planetary age rather than simply a global age. I will talk about that in a little bit. It was that tragic experience that has guided my thoughts.

What interested me in your concept note and allowed me to find the point of connection between my interests and yours is the word sustainability. This is because sustainability is one of the key issues in the world today. People are asking about civilisation, the industrial technological civilisation that was built on the basis of European empires, colonisation and capitalism, of course, and eventually the American domination of the second half of the 20th century. Whether that civilisation needs to become even more technological to sustain itself? Whether this is a civilisation that actually gambles on technology? Or, whether given the unsustainability for most human beings of this civilisation, we may want to look at other civilisations? We may want to look at other forms of life, both past and present, to see if there are at least principles of sustainability that one can inherit as a global citizen. So then, any discussion of sustainable heritage in any part of the world is no longer a local parochial conversation.

Clearly, if most world heritage sites are to be found in Europe today it means that Europeans and European civilisations acted on the assumption that European achievements, or mostly European achievements, were worth

preserving. But those achievements while they have contributed to humanity in many ways have also produced a civilisation, and not just European; I mean the industrial technological civilisation, as well as producing a civilisation, which now has brought back the question of sustainability in an important way, and therefore I think we need to talk about other civilisations. There was a time not very far away, including the middle of the 20th century when about 80 percent of the world's population was ruled by one European power. Starting in the 15th century, European expansion and the spread of European thought created what Heidegger called the Europeanisation of the world. Following from this high degree of abstraction there are two kinds of functions that Europeans perfected. The first one, I think, was a world making function that was both destructive and constructive, and a globe making function. The globe making function really was this question of how the Europeans brought this feat together. I suggest they brought it together by technology, starting from the construction of deep-sea vessels pioneered by the Dutch, and reproduced by the British. The second was 19th century technological inventions like the telegraph, then telephonic electricity, with that technology leading to the smartphone and the connections that bring us all together in the present. The geologist Peter Haff has raised an interesting problem: isn't human life now dependent on technology? I mean, have we not made this planet into a ship where, for example, when you're on a ship on the sea or in an airplane your life depends on technology? He has produced some calculations to show that if we did not have all the technological attachments that connect us, such as travel and electronic connections, if these were suddenly broken, by his calculation human population would crash to 11 million. He therefore argues that technology has become the pre-condition for biology, for the sustenance of human life. It is this thought, based on his calculations, that produces this argument that we need more technology to keep this world going; or should we be looking somewhere else?

The fires, the extreme weather events, the pandemic – all these have indicated or point to a planetary environmental crisis that now looks like it is the price for the extension, somewhat

mindlessly, of the human domain on this planet. Dr Anthony Fauci, who was in charge of the pandemic in the USA during Trump's time, wrote with his colleague David Morens, an article ('Emerging Pandemic Diseases: How we got to Covid 19') last year (September 2020) in the biological journal *Cell*, arguing that we have entered an era where the possibility of pandemics repeating themselves has become a strong probability, so that we may actually suffer pandemics or potential pandemics with increasing frequency. In the last 20 years, they argue, 75 percent of new infectious diseases have come from wild animals, which they have called zoonotic diseases. As you know, wild animals don't seek us out. It is because we destroy forests and habitats that we force them to come close to us, so that viruses and bacteria can jump species. Similarly, the fires have to do with many man-made things including the excessive heat in seasonally hot weather places like Australia, which suffered severely in 2020.

Now these are not unconnected phenomena on the planet today. If you go back and think about the last 500 or 600 years from the European expansion to today, then you see on the one hand there was this technological globe-making function, which has really become a force of its own, and on the other hand there was the world-making function where the Europeans redesigned the world. I mean, we, many of us come from colonised people but we were not colonised in the same way. There were parts of the world where the Europeans wanted other people's land, and they displaced them. And they are mostly indigenous people because that is where one form of colonialism happened. It happened in Africa too. Not only in different parts of Africa but also in former colonies such as Australia, New Zealand, North America. Then there were places where Europeans wanted land and labour. Africa has undergone this kind of colonialism. In places like India where they wanted mainly to rule and skim off the revenue of the place and produce a middle class in the process, that produced a kind of love and hate relationship with Europe. I am a descendant of that kind of class. And then in some places they wanted your bodies and enslaved you to acquire mastery over your bodies.

Alongside these, and the other destructive things I mentioned, Europe at the same time underwent the so-called scientific revolution, Enlightenment, fighting against superstition, which was imported and happened in every country where Europeans went.

Wherever the Europeans colonised people, they responded to them differently, producing hybrid

solutions, producing the kinds of mimicry that my friend Homi K. Bhabha writes about. There is also the hybridity that Achille Mbembe was talking about this morning. But in the 1950s and 1960s, as decolonisation was proceeding, you will recall that throughout the world there were anti-colonial modernising leaders in Asia and Africa. I always remember Aimé Césaire's essay 'Discourse on Colonialism' (1950), where in the first and second chapters he ends by saying that colonialism was a broken promise. Europeans promised us more industries, more hospitals, more factories, more schools; but they did not deliver them. It is now our turn to actually build them, to actually keep the promise Europeans made but broke. Out of that modernisation drive and, of course, spurred on in the second half of the 20th century by the Cold War with the Soviet Union and the Americans promising different kinds of modernisation theories.

The last 70 years have seen an enormous growth in human population, human activity, and an expansion of human demands on the biosphere of the planet, which in turn has produced some of the problems that we face today. The question is what is sustainable? Does anything in our human past in different countries and contexts give us global resources to tackle the issue of sustainability? That is why any discussion about heritage is now, I think, a global discussion and we all need to start to learn from it.

Just to give you a sense of the state of the world since the end of the Second World War, I want to show you some graphs from people who work on climate change, known as the Great Acceleration Graphs. I take this from a piece by Professor Will Steffen and his colleagues who are Earth System scientists. This was published in 2015 and is updated regularly. (Slide 1)

The following graphs will give you some sense of what was happened and why the 20th century was so distinct in human history. *Homo sapiens*, our species, is about 300 000 years old and it took us almost 300 000 years to reach the number one billion. In 1900 we humans were about 1.6 billion in total and in 100 years, by the end of that century – in the year 2000 – we were 6 billion. And now, 20 years into this new century, or close to it, global population has reached 7 billion. You can see that in the past 120 years, humans have flourished in a way that they have not flourished before.

But the problem is that in all that flourishing we took the planet for granted and while we expanded all our activities the planet reacted. I think that is the general setting within which I want to talk about the question of heritage. But just to give you a quick glimpse of these graphs,

The trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration

Will Steffen,^{1,2} Wendy Broadgate,³ Lisa Deutsch,¹ Owen Gaffney³ and Cornelia Ludwig¹

The Anthropocene Review 2015, Vol. 2(1) 81–98

© The Author(s) 2015 Reprints and permissions: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav DOI: 10.1177/2053019614564785
anr.sagepub.com

¹Stockholm University, Sweden

²The Australian National University, Australia

³International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP), Sweden

Slide 1

I'll show you some slides

These are called the great acceleration graphs (Slide 2). There are a couple of lines in orange, and this is what shows what humans have been doing. The dotted vertical line marks the year 1950. If they were to put in a line for 1970 you would see that the graph becomes even steeper. The graphs show the population, real GDP, foreign direct investment, urban population, primary energy use, fertilizer consumption, large dams, water use, paper production. This is also a period of reconstruction of the world after the war. Much of the reconstruction initially comes from OECD countries, but also from decolonised countries pushing on with their modernisation programmes.

Slide 3 breaks it down into OECD countries, BRICS countries, and then the others. You can see that if you imagine that line of 1970 onwards or 1990 onwards, you will see that the contribution from BRICS goes up. That is urban population, large dams, paper production and so on. These two sets of graphs are about the expansion of human activities including population growth.

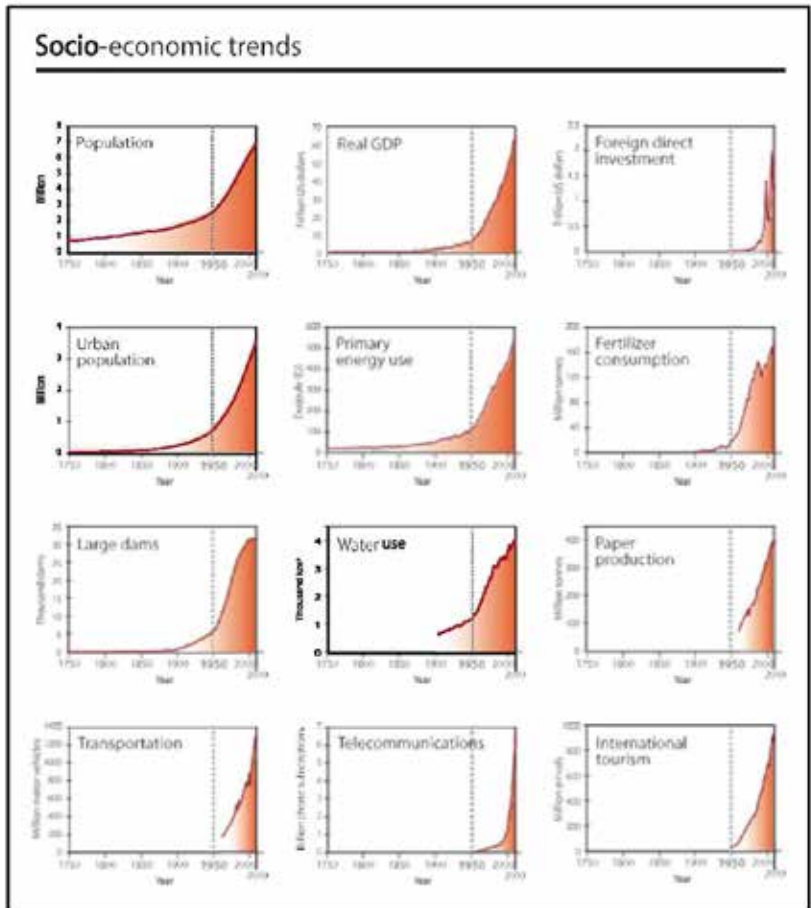
The blue graphs (Slide 4) are really about how the planet reacts to what we do. If you look at the emission of carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, methane, the three prominent greenhouse gases, the depletion of stratospheric flows is pushing up surface temperature, and ocean acidification, which has an impact on marine life and eventually on biodiversity, shrimp aquaculture, and coastal zones from tropical forest loss to domesticated land. And that is where the forests are being lost

to terrestrial biosphere degradation. That is how the planet has reacted that is showing up in some graphs. It is showing you the factors behind the planetary environmental crisis.

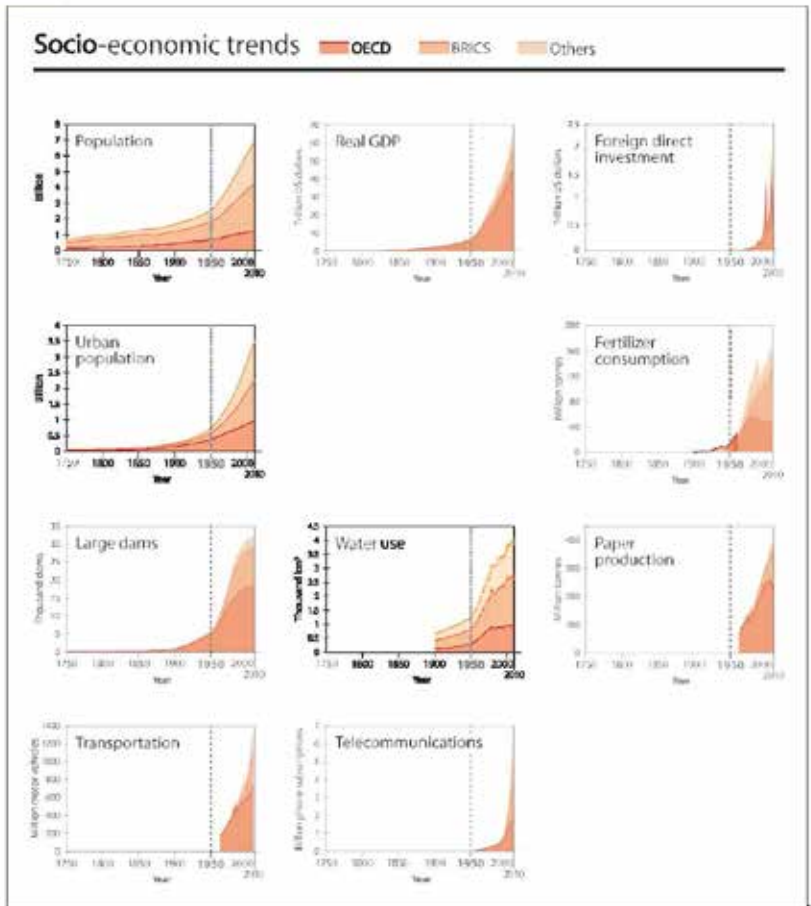
Some Earth System sciences, including scientists such as Will Steffen, have come out with this kind of visual aid to show what they are calling planetary boundaries. They have different factors in their climate change model: genetic diversity, land-system change, ozone depletion, atmospheric aerosol loading, phosphorus nitrogen and so on. The green is where we are meant to be, yellow is the zone of uncertainty, the red is definitely beyond the zone of uncertainty, and it indicates a high risk.

That is context, that is, the planetary context or the global context, if you want to call it so. Then the question is what do we do? How do we think about history and heritage in this context? When Europeans made the claim that they were civilising others, they made that question into one about universalisms and particulars, and they ultimately claimed that their civilisation represented universal values while the natives were embroiled in their parochial local values. For Europeans their civilisation was paramount because it was based on extolling rationality, on elevating the place of reason in life, on science and technology, while native worlds were full of superstition and non-rational practices; such as when Achille was talking about the hybrid things we produce out of this European claim.

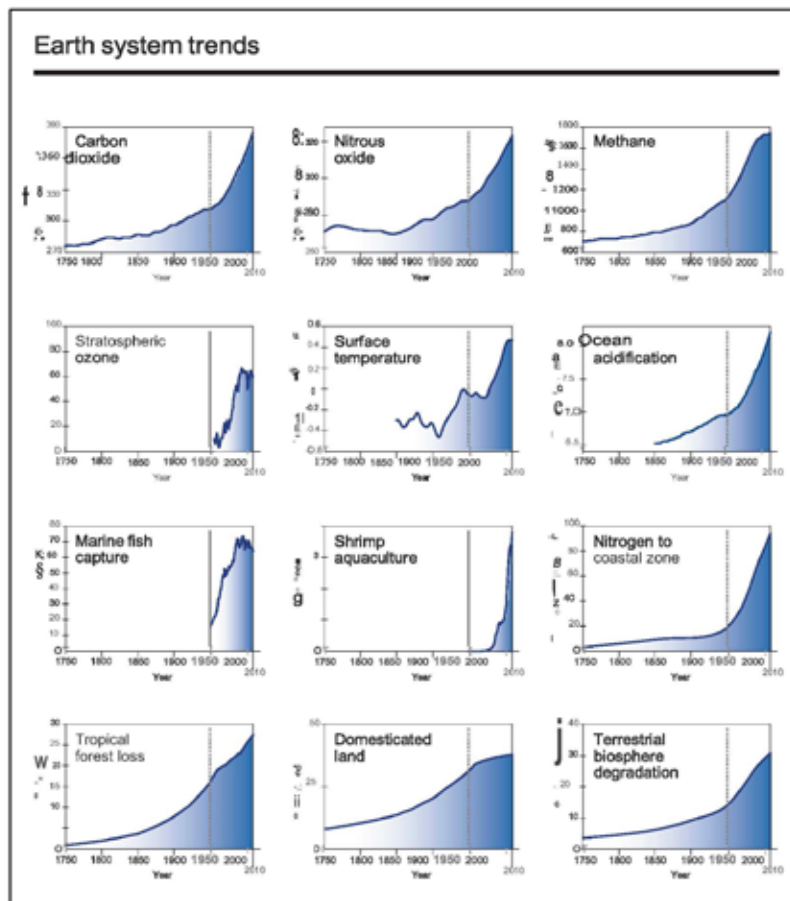
It reminded me of a story about Jomo Kenyatta's autobiography "Facing Mount Kenya, wherein he



Slide 2



Slide 3



Slide 4

tells the story of having once been a participant in his grandfather's practice as a 'magician' [indigenous healer]; and because he also trained in anthropology he tries to justify it by saying 'don't dismiss magic. There might be ways in which magical thoughts telepathically transmit themselves and produce vibrations in other people's bodies and create certain effects.' But he had also asked his old teacher, Bronisław Malinowski, the famous anthropologist, to write an introduction to his book. If you read Malinowski's introduction, you'll see what trouble Malinowski was in trying to endorse this book. The only way he could endorse Kenyatta's statements on magic was by saying 'we can't blame Kenyatta when Europeans themselves practice a lot of occultisms'. It is those sorts of tensions and hybridisations that are so profoundly part of this experience of colonisation and the idea of the universe was profoundly a part of European ideology itself.

There is something you realise when going to the history of colonisation, is that while there are universals about human beings, I mean, who can deny that we all belong to the species *homo sapiens*? Who can deny that we are all connected to each other in that large scale evolutionary history? But it is also clear that the universal cannot be mobilised only for political ends. What we think of as good universals are

often mobilised for political ends, for power that you would not approve of. That is what Sartre wrote in his preface to Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, where he said, and it is a point that would go back to Hegel, I guess, where he said, it is only because one human being recognises the humanness of another that he can make a slave out of the second person. The fact that we make slaves out of human beings, not animals, because animals can give us obedience, but only a slave gives us the recognition that a master wants from a slave. It means that – for all that is common between us as humans – that universal substance cannot actually stop slavery, or, in my Indian context, cannot stop the kind of humiliation that Dalits, the so-called, ex-untouchables of India, have had to undergo at the hands of upper castes throughout history. That is why I think one of the problems I was working with in writing *Provincializing Europe*, was to say that one might think of the universal as a form, such as when you look at the human being, you see a human form, because you need two human beings to see that the form belongs to this category called human. But it is an abstraction, and when an empirical entity like Britain or France comes to you and says 'I embody the universal, I am the universal', what they are doing is usurping the place of the universal, which can only be a form and not a substance in that sense. So, when you make the universal into a substance like our shared genetic

history or shared evolutionary history, then that substance can be mobilised to make wars or to produce slavery, to inflict humiliation and oppression on Dalits, on women; where humans who oppress other humans do so because they recognise the other person's humanity.

It can also produce forms of welcome. Every history of colonisation in which you find the European facing the native – even when they don't share a language – they recognise each other as human because the European would only ask the native, not another animal, to find out where water was available, or where shelter might be available. The fact that we recognise each other as human is not enough to prevent the oppressions we also create. This is where I think now the question of heritage becomes important.

I want to go back to something I have learned from Achille Mbembe. I want to develop it a little bit. In a very interesting essay on proximity, in Achille's recent book in English 'Out of the Dark Night', he discusses this question of the universal and points out that universalism – he discusses particularly French universalism – that universalism has to be distinguished from cosmopolitanism. Often universalism is non-cosmopolitan because one person says 'I am universal and you are not, and you have to be like me in order to be universal'. Universalism, or rather the ideology of universalism, can come to you as an oppressive ideology of assimilation and, of course, assimilation produces resistance in other forms as we saw in the Negritude movement, as we have seen throughout the colonial world. Assimilation, as we see in the contemporary French debate about Islam, leftism, and similar issues, is a universalism that says 'I am the universal', is actually parochial because it is never a cosmopolitanism. Achille Mbembe opposes such a universal, such a parochial universalism; an idea of having something in common, having something that is actually cosmopolitan, even if it is not universal in the sense that it does not happen everywhere. What does that mean? First, for me, it means that in today's world when we think about heritage and we think about world heritage, preserving something for the interest of all humanity, where all of us are subject to the dangers of fires and pandemics, and when all of us are thinking about the question of what is sustainable? Who are we in that context? Where the question of non-western heritage, the question of what the histories of indigenous peoples may have to teach us, in terms of new ways of thinking about the relationship between nature and culture, might arise? This is something that has been emphasised for some time now in the writings of

Bruno Latour, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro from Brazil, and others in Australia, who are looking at indigenous society to see what they can teach us about principles of sustenance. Here, I mean discerning the principles of sustainability, not discovering practical solutions, because you cannot discover principles from past societies where populations were smaller and problems were of a different kind. There is still the question of how you scale them up for nine billion or ten billion people but finding these principles in past practices is very important. I completely agree with what Achille was saying and some of you have repeated since then that heritage is not just about the built environment; it is about practices and it is about intangibles. But the question is do we find in these practices and intangibles some principles from which we can learn. We don't have to copy these principles and that is why it seems to me that Achille's notion of what is in common, what is cosmopolitan, has to be an expansive aspirational category. In other words, your heritage has to be of a kind in order for that to be considered world heritage – that it can speak to other people's aspirations. Another way of putting it might be to say that there was a time when many people adopted European manners because Europeans were leaving an expansive conception of themselves. Similarly, can we think of our own heritages on this expansive principle? It does not mean an imperialising principle; rather it means a cosmopolitan principle in which we can organise our heritage in such a way that other people have something to learn from it.

To close off this question and I'd be happy to discuss this more if there's a wish during question-and-answer time. One experience I had of such an attempt at preserving local heritage, but which immediately spoke to my sense of the cosmopolitan, was the experience I had when I visited the District Six Museum in Cape Town, South Africa, a long time ago, soon after apartheid was gone. The historian Ciraj Rassool from the University of the Western Cape wanted to give me a surprise and took me on a drive, ending at a strip of rubble road in the middle of nowhere, just empty ground on both sides. Ciraj suddenly stopped the car in the middle of this road and asked me to get out. I was puzzled as I did not know where we were. Then he pointed to the road and said 'do you see the road?' I said 'Yes, of course, we are standing on it, but it's not going anywhere.' And Ciraj said, 'I grew up on this road.' I replied that I did not know what he meant. Then he told me the story of District Six and the plan to completely empty the neighbourhood and pull it down. He told me the entire story and then he took me to the District Six Museum. I was not only overwhelmed by what I saw as an ongoing creative human attempt to memorialise

past joys and sorrows as well as human cruelties, but I was also overcome with the desire to see such museums come up in my own country in India. I have written about District Six Museum in different places and about that experience, because I can think of many other displaced communities. Climate change will produce these spaces and communities. Climate change will produce refugees. The number of world refugees is 65 million or something of that official number currently. With climate change we will be dealing with hundreds of millions of displaced populations if temperatures rise further. The question of heritage preservation, the question of these populations preserving their memory is to still be able to tell the story of the devastation that civilisation has wrought. We will need ways of being together, ways of being cosmopolitan such that we desire to be in each other's places; that I take something from your life, and you take something from mine while being appreciative of our differences. My ancestors did not experience the kind of colonialism that many working-class people did. In India or elsewhere in Africa or that enslaved people did.

I have come to the end of the time I gave myself, but I will finish by saying some things that a colleague of mine, Pierre Charbonnier in France, has written a book about freedom, liberty, and abundance. He develops a distinction that some of my colleagues in America have also found, a distinction that is a characteristic of well-to-do countries, the countries that did well under imperialism, and they still do well. The distinction is between the land you live on and the land you live from, which, to give one example, if you look at people in the USA, they don't only eat things that are grown on US soil. They consume things that are grown everywhere in the world. So that is why people say that if you have to sustain people at this level of consumption, the human population will run out of land. There will be a need for three or four other planets to sustain this level of consumption. There is a Hoover Institute Report on contemporary consuming classes. The numbers for the year 2000 showed that 70 percent of the consuming classes came from the usual suspects you know, the US, the North Americans, Japan, the industrialised part of western Europe; the affluent countries. Now, 70 percent of them come from China, India and some parts of Africa and other developing countries. The question in front of us is: Is the civilisation that Europe built and on the shoulders of which we have built globalisation, Chinese and Indian modernisation, and so on, sustainable for everybody? Or do we need to turn to other principles and other examples? Can we find them only in the past or in the present or somewhere else?

There is an American scholar, Roy Scranton, who has written a book called 'Learning to Die in the Anthropocene' (2015). His argument is that the crisis is such that this industrial technological civilisation probably will not survive, and we should resort to philosophy so that we can learn how to let this civilisation die. Now that is not everybody's solution. There are many people who say there should be geo-engineering, we should do this and that, and that humanity should be in charge of the planet. The problem with that proposition is what the pandemic shows: that we are a minority form of life on the planet. The majority forms of life by weight and numbers are microbial. It is viruses and bacteria, not insects, and it is hard for us to know how to manage that world of bacteria and viruses. I mean the pandemic shows how helpless we sometimes are when they get the better of us. In the 1980s I had a colleague who worked on justice who once wrote a sentence saying where nature was once, there will be human justice. What kind of human justice can prevail over viruses? I think this whole question of heritage and history and sustainability will have to be looked at in the context in which we are, which is, almost, a planetary context and therefore no serious discussion of world heritage in any part of the world can be carried out in without looking to the state the world is in, the state in which the tragic fires at UCT on Friday are but only a symptom.

Thank you very very much.

Liberating African Heritage From Modernity Through A Radical Decolonial Path - 3rd Keynote Speaker

Olga Bialostocka

Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA)
Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

Wednesday, 22 September 2021

Author biography

Olga Bialostocka received her PhD in Archaeology, specialising in Egyptology, from the University of Warsaw (Poland). She holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Development Studies from the same institution, and a Diploma in Advanced Studies in Ancient History from Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV (France). She was a postdoctoral fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2013. Her archaeological experience includes more than a decade of excavation and conservation work at several sites, including Deir el-Bahari (Egypt) and El-Zuma (Sudan).

Abstract

What is modernity and why do Africans aspire to arrive at it? Do African cultures embrace the values of modernity and do the existing conceptualisations of modernity cover African axiologies? If modern heritage is a manifestation of modernity, are modern heritage sites in Africa necessarily rooted in coloniality? Can African modern heritage be conceptualised in a way that makes it more than a subcategory of (Western) modern heritage?

This conceptual paper addresses the above questions from the perspective of decoloniality. It analyses the precepts of modernity in order to reclaim the place of African heritage of the 20th century and liberate it from modernity's Western/Eurocentric legacy and associated values. It questions the rhetoric of alternative modernities, seeking alternatives to modernity instead. Guided by the 'border thinking' of the decolonial school of thought, it proposes defining post/colonial heritage of Africa through 'exteriority' and transmodernity, in recognising the existence of a counter-narrative to the Western modern movement/modernism. It proposes a new transversal heritage category, rooted in decoloniality movements, as a way of decentring modernist histories and cultural heritages of Africa.

Keywords: modernity, coloniality, decolonial de-linking, exteriority, transmodern heritage

Libérer le patrimoine africain de la modernité par une voie décoloniale radicale

Résumé:

Qu'est-ce que la modernité et pourquoi les Africains aspirent-ils à y parvenir? Les cultures africaines embrassent-elles les valeurs de la modernité et les conceptualisations existantes de la modernité recouvrent-elles les axiologies africaines? Si le patrimoine moderne est une manifestation de la modernité, les sites du patrimoine moderne en Afrique sont-ils nécessairement enracinés dans la colonialité? Le patrimoine moderne africain peut-il être conceptualisé d'une manière qui en fasse plus qu'une sous-catégorie du patrimoine moderne (occidental)? Ce document conceptuel aborde les questions ci-dessus dans la perspective de la décolonialité. Il analyse les préceptes de la modernité afin de récupérer la place du patrimoine africain du 20^{ème} siècle et de le libérer de l'héritage occidental/eurocentrique de la modernité et des valeurs associées. Il remet en question la rhétorique des modernités alternatives et cherche plutôt des alternatives à la modernité. Guidée par la "pensée des frontières" de l'école de pensée décoloniale, elle propose de définir le patrimoine postcolonial de l'Afrique par l'"extériorité" et la transmodernité, en reconnaissant l'existence d'une contre-narration du mouvement moderne/modernisme occidental. Il propose une nouvelle catégorie de patrimoine transversale, enracinée dans les mouvements de décolonialité, comme un moyen de décentrer les histoires modernistes et les patrimoines culturels de l'Afrique.

Mots-clés : modernité, colonialité, déliaison décoloniale, extériorité, patrimoine transmoderne.

The roots of modernity

From a historical perspective, the beginnings of modernity can be linked to the 'discovery' of the New World in the 15th century CE. From a philosophical perspective, modernity originated some two centuries later when the Reformation and the Enlightenment movement took over Europe (Mignolo, 2007). The decolonial school of thought considers the invasion of America by Spain as the geopolitical opening for modernity in the West, which led to the introduction of capitalism, the invention of the colonial system, and eventually to the control of the world system by Europe. From the decolonial perspective then, colonialism, the world-system, and capitalism are intertwined with and constitutive of modernity.

Modernity is 'a European phenomenon constituted in a dialectical relation with a non-European alterity that is its ultimate content' (Dussel, cited in Mignolo, 2007: 453). To become the centre of the world, or the 'core', Europe needed a periphery for reference, against which it could define itself. This periphery was created through the invention of tradition, which was juxtaposed against modernity; the latter seen as the pinnacle of a universal socio-cultural progressive transition. The rhetoric of modernity thus constructed tradition and placed it in its exteriority (Mignolo, 2007). Applying further the Western linear theory of socio-cultural transformation to non-European populations, it created a binary of pre-modern/traditional (understood as primitive) and modern (constructed on the premises of rational and scientific thinking, secularisation, materialism, individualism and man's control over nature) (Gusfield, 1967). This Western theoretical understanding of the concepts of modernity and tradition was further used as a tool to marginalise and suppress colonised, 'traditional' communities, which were represented as in need of being saved through conversion, civilisation and development (Mignolo, 2009). All of these 'salvage projects' were rooted in the logic of coloniality that 'enforced control, domination, and exploitation disguised in the language of salvation, progress, modernisation, and being good for everyone' (Mignolo, 2005: 6). Coloniality – the 'dark side of modernity' as Walter Mignolo (2009) calls it – was invented using the concept of 'colonial difference'. At its core was the process of assigning values to differences through, among other models, racial ranking of human beings to establish a hierarchy of 'beings'. This hierarchy was subsequently used to rule over the inhabitants of the exteriority through:

- (1) the management and control of economy,
- (2) the control of authority,
- (3) the control of gender and sexuality, and
- (4) the control of subjectivity and knowledge (Mignolo, 2007).

These four mutually articulated domains have been the basis of the colonial matrix of power, a system still upheld today by the underlying racial and patriarchal organisation of knowledge-making and by capital.

Alternative modernities – why not?

As part of their project to question the universality of the trajectory of economic and socio-cultural transformations suggested by the West to achieve modernity, the countries from the periphery saw a possibility to construct their own 'modernities', by mixing elements of their local cultures with ideas and solutions adopted from 'global' culture.

In this pursuit, Asian countries transformed their economies while protecting their local cultural precepts and values. Meanwhile, African countries, in the hope of reaching the status of a 'modern state', chose to 'modernise' their cultures, often perceived as relics and obstacles to development. Whatever the trajectory chosen to pursue an 'alternative' modernity, the eventual outcome of the process of socio-cultural transformation was envisaged to be the same – the concept of a 'modern state' remained unquestioned; only the path leading to it has been changed. From a decolonial perspective, the construction of such plural modernities does not lead to a changed narrative.

Expressions such as alternative modernities, subaltern modernities and peripheral modernities were introduced to account for modernity but from non-European perspectives. All of them have one common problem: these narratives and arguments maintain the centrality of Euro-American modernity assuming one 'modernity of reference' and putting themselves in subordinate positions (Mignolo, 2009: 42).

All of these new modernities continue to speak from within the same frame of modern/colonial system and reproduce the problematic binary of tradition and modernity.

Alternative to modernity

In order to describe the reality from the perspective of exteriority, a radical path is proposed by Mignolo (2009). His decolonial option of de-linking questions modernity with its capitalist economy as the 'imaginary construction' and proposes instead a decolonial epistemic shift through de-linking from both the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality (Mignolo, 2007). This path opens up a way for alternative epistemologies and principles of knowledge to come to light, and for other socio-economic systems and 'new' ethics to be acknowledged. The decolonial option breaks away from the delusion of universality of the European model rooted in coloniality and moves towards the knowledge of a locality (Mignolo, 2007). It questions the core on which modernity has been constructed, in order to bring to light 'alternative' realities constituted through epistemologies and ontologies of the exteriority. This 'border thinking' is what in the end connects the diversity of local cultures subjected to the modern world colonisation, as it leads to the universal project of pluriversality.

The alternative realities, previously silenced by the rhetoric of modernity, can now be used as a basis for what Enrique Dussel calls transmodernity (Dussel, 2012). When Europe colonised Africa, it subdued the existing economic and political systems that it encountered on the continent to exploit African people and accumulate capital. The diverse cultures of the oppressed peoples, denigrated and left out, survived hidden from the eyes of the oppressor who deemed them useless. With their diverse economic and political models, technological innovations, and ethical values, they evolved in the face of modernity. Being exterior to modernity, they can be deemed as simultaneously pre-modern (older than modernity) and contemporary to modernity. Free from the Western binary of tradition and modernity, they display a transversal nature, announcing the possibility of a new, future-oriented transmodern reality. A transmodern culture, as imagined by the decolonial scholars, assumes the positive moments of modernity while being rooted in a tradition distinct from the modern (Dussel, 2012).

Transmodernity is not the same as cultural relativism. Since each local history today has to deal with the rhetoric of modernity and its counterpart – the logic of coloniality – all these diverse local histories have the experience of the modern/colonial world system in common with each other, which they can use to connect across their differences (Mignolo, 2007).

Transmodernity – a tool to reframe UNESCO's modern heritage

The category of 'Modern Heritage' was created by UNESCO for reasons of representivity on the World Heritage List, and as a result of the realisation that the outstanding examples of architecture, town planning and landscape design of the 19th and 20th centuries were under threat from many developmental and other factors (UNESCO, 2003). The conceptual framework included in the UNESCO paper on Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage (2003), situates the beginning of 'modern society' at the end of the Victorian age. The geopolitical point of enunciation is thus well established. Defining 'modernisation', the UNESCO paper states: 'Although modernisation as a technical term was introduced only in the 1950s, its main driving forces were the processes of individualisation, democratisation and industrialisation that started in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (UNESCO, 2003: 9). The framework uses the moment Europe became the 'centre' of the world as a point of departure to speak of modernity. The choice of this specific timeframe is based on Jürgen Habermas' understanding of modernity as the concept that refers to:

a bundle of processes that are cumulative and mutually reinforcing: to the formation of capital and the mobilisation of resources; to the development of the forces of production and the increase in the productivity of labour; to the establishment of centralised political power and the formation of national identities; to the proliferation of rights of political participation, of urban forms of life, and of formal schooling; to the secularisation of values and norms (Habermas, cited in UNESCO 2003: 9).

Elements of the colonial matrix of power that underlies modernity are clearly articulated in this short exposé.

UNESCO makes space for local variations of modernity but claims the primacy of Western modernity nevertheless, presenting it as an ultimate point of reference (UNESCO, 2003: 10). It therefore suggests that there exists another narrative to Western modernity, hinting at the process of de-westernisation (as represented by the previously mentioned example of Asian countries). This process produces alternative modernities, but it does not interrogate the rhetoric of modernity itself, which hides its 'dark side' – coloniality.

Given that alternative modernities can only be considered a subcategory of Western

modernity, African modern heritage defined using this concept keeps being entangled in the colonial matrix of power rooted in the racialised hierarchies of colonial difference. In order for the category of 'modern heritage' to reflect the experiences of African people and account for the narratives of the cultures of exterior, it needs to be reframed using the decolonial option of delinking. The 'transmodern heritage' thus created will open the space for cultures (and heritages) that evolved 'on the sidelines' of modernity to be included on their own terms. Being transversal, this new heritage category will simultaneously comprise traditional and modern cultural expressions and will be able to embrace Western and non-Western conceptualisations of heritage, time and space, held by people around the world.

Bibliography

- Dussel, E. 2012. 'Transmodernity and Interculturality: An Interpretation from the Perspective of Philosophy of Liberation'. *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1(3), 28-59.
- Gusfield, J. 1967. 'Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change'. *American Journal of Sociology* 72(4), 351-362.
- Mignolo, W. 2005. *The Idea of Latin America*. Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mignolo, W. 2007. 'Delinking'. *Cultural Studies* 21(2), 449-514.
- Mignolo, W. 2009. 'Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity'. In *Modernologies: Contemporary Artists Researching Modernity and Modernism*, edited by C. Breitwischer. Catalogue of the Exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona, Spain. Barcelona: MACBA, 39-49.
- UNESCO. 2003. *Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage*. World Heritage papers 5. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Conceptualising Modern Heritage In Africa - 4th Keynote Address

Professor Ola Uduku

Liverpool School of Architecture, University of Liverpool

Wednesday, 22 September 2021

Ola Uduku, is Head of School at the University Liverpool School of Architecture, prior to this she was Research Professor at Manchester School of Architecture, Manchester Metropolitan University. From 2011 – 2016 she was Reader in Architecture, and Dean International for Africa, at Edinburgh University. Her research specialisms are in Architectural Modernism in West Africa, the history of educational architecture in Africa, and the contemporary issues related to social infrastructure provision for minority communities in cities in the 'West' and 'South'.

Abstract

This contribution examines what might be considered 'modern architecture' from an African perspective. The context is set by referencing historic architectures such as the Katsina Walls in Nigeria, (Figure 1). the Wa Na's Palace in Ghana, and Great Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe. Further context is provided through a discussion of historical-vernacular architecture found more generally in Africa, which straddled the traditional but was not necessarily recognised as modern, including colonial heritage buildings found in many historic towns and cities, as well as contemporary vernacular architectures such as the now demolished Ilojo Bar in Lagos, the Seaview Hotel in Jamestown, Accra, the now conserved Water House in central Lagos (Figure 2). Further discussion addresses the understanding and conceptualisation of the 'new' and the 'modern' within the purview of African architecture, while considering how African nations deal with the concept of modernity with respect to the built environment. This highlights the need to identify how modern heritages can be identified in African countries irrespective of the classification used to determine what is 'modern', and reiterates the obligation to consider how local communities can be involved as partners in conservation activities, and how conservation in Africa and elsewhere in the global South is intertwined with local community and business sustainability. It also highlights case studies to demonstrate how the connection to community, youth and local space can be successfully used to create and develop heritage awareness in Africa and the potential for regional–continental alliances.

Keywords: vernacular; architecture; colonial; heritage; historic; towns; cities; local; community; youth; sustainability

Résumé

Cette contribution examine ce qui pourrait être considéré comme « l'architecture moderne » d'un point de vue africain. Le contexte est défini en faisant référence à des architectures historiques telles que les murs de Katsina au Nigeria (Figure 1). le palais de Wa Na au Ghana et le Grand Zimbabwe au Zimbabwe. Un contexte supplémentaire est fourni à travers une discussion sur l'architecture vernaculaire historique que l'on trouve plus généralement en Afrique, qui chevauchait le traditionnel mais n'était pas nécessairement reconnu comme moderne, y compris les bâtiments du patrimoine colonial trouvés dans de nombreuses villes et cités historiques, ainsi que les architectures vernaculaires contemporaines telles que le bar Ilojo maintenant démolé à Lagos, le Seaview Hotel à Jamestown, Accra, la Water House maintenant conservée dans le centre de Lagos (Figure 2), . Une discussion plus approfondie porte sur la compréhension et la conceptualisation du « nouveau » et du « moderne » dans le cadre de l'architecture africaine, tout en examinant comment les nations africaines traitent le concept de modernité par rapport à l'environnement bâti. Cela souligne la nécessité d'identifier comment les patrimoines modernes peuvent être identifiés dans les pays africains indépendamment de la classification utilisée pour déterminer ce qui est « moderne », et réitère l'obligation d'examiner comment les communautés locales peuvent être impliquées en tant que partenaires dans les activités de conservation, et comment la conservation dans L'Afrique et ailleurs dans le Sud global est étroitement liée à la communauté locale et à la durabilité des entreprises. Il met également en évidence des études de cas pour démontrer comment la connexion à la communauté, à la jeunesse et à l'espace local peut être utilisée avec succès pour créer et développer la sensibilisation au patrimoine en Afrique et le potentiel d'alliances régionales-continrentales.



Figure 1: Katsina Walls (Ola Uduku c. 1994)



Figure 2: Water House, Afro Brazilian Architecture Lagos (Ola Uduku 2014)

Mots-clés : vernaculaire ; architecture; colonial; patrimoine; historique; les villes; villes; local; communauté; jeunesse; durabilité

African architecture's modernist past

Much of Africa has had a history that predates the understanding of the modern period in the Western canon. Arguably there have been centres of architectural interest in Africa dating from the 'discovery' of the pyramids and the hanging gardens of Babylon to the ruins Great Zimbabwe. Towns such as Zanzibar, Mombasa, Cape Town, and even Lagos, were arguably by their coastal locations and centrality to trade and economic networks, in themselves 'modern' in both culture and infrastructure, well before the contemporary term as pertains to a specific period in the western architectural canon, was defined and claimed by historians.

Difficult heritage

As with other continents, Africa's encounters, internal and transnational, have borne various institutional physical and cultural remains and traces embodied in areas such as the East African coastal seaboard, often called the 'Swahili Coast', including the historic island of Zanzibar. To the west, the tragically named 'Slave Coast' has coastal heritage remains from the barbarous trade, but also cultural and physical traces that pre- and post-date the period it is named after. Other sites of challenging heritage include the Mau Mau camps in Kenya, the remains of rubber plantations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, various battle sites across South Africa and historical penal institutions such as the old Lagos Prison on Lagos Island, now called Freedom Park (figure 3) in which colonists and Africans fought for territorial control.

Africa's encounter with the International modern

The traditional western-defined International modernism canon is well represented across Africa, exemplified by the work of Fry, Drew, Chomette and others in West Africa, and the South African architects Eaton, Martienssen, Cooke and others in southern Africa. North Africa has strong links to this canon with Le Corbusier's plans for Algeria and Écochard in Morocco and elsewhere in Africa. While there is some debate as to whether the origins of tropical modernism are in Latin America or North Africa, the effect of this new architectural landscape can be clearly identified in Africa's 20th century metropolises, visible across built environments from schools,

hospitals and other social infrastructures, to modernist planned cities and towns such as Tema, the university campuses of Ibadan, Makerere and Port Elizabeth, and KNUST Kumasi, Ghana (figure 4)) to commercial buildings across the continent.

Post-modernism in Africa by contrast, coincided with the collapse of Africa's golden post-independence era. African post-modernism was more mediated affair, with most examples being of commercial buildings that were commissioned and funded by multinational corporate interests. This change can be understood within the context of the neoliberal settlement following the collapse of essentially nationalist state funded programmes of development and building, which followed the independence era, to the retreat of the state following the economic collapse worldwide in the 1970s. From the 1980s in much of Africa, international corporate interests were the primary drivers of development and infrastructure delivery in cities.

Resource rich countries such as Nigeria and South Africa featured corporate regional headquarters often built by international design consortiums, creating the international glass-curtained tall buildings synonymous with central business districts across the world. Tourism and commercial hubs such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam and Durban benefited from international investment in tourism infrastructure. The 'safari-ecture' design trends to be found across this area, relating directly to these investments (figure 5). The conference centre complexes in Addis Ababa, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (figure 6) are examples of this late modern, early post-modern contribution to African architecture.

Individual dwellings provide an equally telling commentary on design trends in Africa. For the poor, housing provision has been dominated by informal settlement approaches to using all forms of available cheap and otherwise discarded materials to create informal settlements. The middle and upper classes in much of tropical Africa by contrast looked to the USA for their design influences emulating the high energy consuming air-conditioned homes of Los Angeles and the American South. Examples of sustainable climate and context driven architectures have been one-offs as seen in the Kumasi House staff housing complex at the University of Lagos, and a number of upper middle-class residences in what was apartheid South Africa



Figure 3: Freedom Square Lagos (Ola Uduku, 2015)



Figure 5: "Safari-tecture" nr. Dixcove Ghana (Ola Uduku, 2018)



Figure 4: Tropical Modernism University Hall of Residence, KNUST Kumasi (Ola Uduku, 2018)

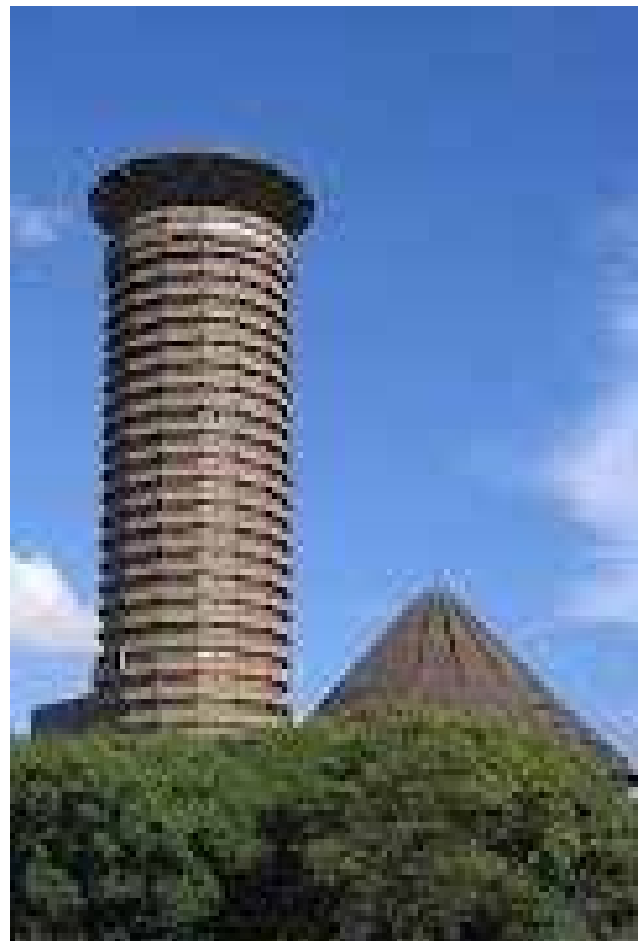


Figure 6: Kenya international conference centre (Ola Uduku, 2016)

Contemporary trends

Since the 1990s with full independence attained across Africa (South Africa in 1994, Eritrea in 1993), and further breakaway republics established in Somaliland and South Sudan, architecture has taken on an 'aid' as well as a post-modernist twist. The work of Kere (educational), Anahory (institutional), Adeyemi (provocational installations), Lawson and Ikemelang & Lange (building re-purposing and re-use), show this range. Osae-Addo and Lokko have demonstrated how individual domestic dwellings can break with conventional building trends and embrace sustainable building materials and methods (Figure 7) The aid architecture complex has a heavy and extensive presence in Africa, having transformed the historic missionary, then peace corps and other international-funded approaches to small development projects synonymous with village schools, clinics and small-scale infrastructure to today's award winning fully equipped high-tech hospitals in countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan, with Studio Tamassociati, and Mass Architectures ongoing infrastructure projects underway for educational and health buildings in Rwanda and elsewhere.

While many of these buildings remain contemporary some are already due their repurposing as historic buildings, effectively becoming heritage buildings in their own right. Others are likely to become heritage buildings as has been seen in the 'west' where buildings of the 1980s and 1990s are becoming part of national heritage registers.

Issues of heritage education, identification, conservation

With this long and varied historical background, how do we address issues related to our engagement with and conservation of modernist African heritage in all its forms and guises? Clearly the traditional approach, which focused on the appreciation of architecture as with all material culture from the anthropological context, has less relevance when considering today's contemporary heritage, which involves an appreciation of socio-economic value transnational influences, and local linkages, to name a few aspects. The challenge is to identify and, in some cases, to leverage factors such as the socio-economic benefit to the local community that a well-designed cultural programme run within a contemporary historical landmark of note, such as the Freedom Square development on Lagos Island and the District Six Museum in Cape Town, have been able to achieve (Figure 3 and 8)

How do we identify the structures we most need to conserve? How do we celebrate this heritage? These are key issues that we need to engage with and explore. The ways and means by which we do this are varied. Archiving has become the global trend that has arrived in Africa also. The Alan Vaughan Richards archive project involved the digitisation of 300 items, most being drawings of the late British-Nigerian Architect Alan Vaughan Richards, whose early demise meant that his drawings were left in his Lagos residence in the care of his daughter. The author worked with Ms Vaughan Richards to have the drawings digitised and returned to Lagos where they remain part of her family heritage (Figure 9). The Accra Metropolitan archive has benefited from international funds and involves the digitisation of archived records of Accra's metropolitan planning office from the late 19th to the mid 20th century, many of these involving historic buildings in and around the Jamestown area of Accra town (figure 10).

Several writing programmes have been held to support the development of youth awareness of contemporary heritage. Heritage programmes do exist in African universities but their success in delivering the transformational change needed to engage the public in recognising and protecting local heritage has been limited. These non-curriculum programmes have however been almost exclusively funded and delivered by international agencies and organisations, with the implication being that the knowledge transfer remains asymmetrically balanced to the funders and not to recipient institutions and countries. It is critical to ensure trans-national collaborations, such as writing workshops (figure 11) and the co-creation of new archival knowledge, and to address all histories, 'difficult' or otherwise, that are original and relevant to the unique needs of 21st century Africa, as both an ambition and aim for future conservation of modernist heritage in Africa.

After all, *'You cannot know your future if you do not know your past...'* (African Proverb).



Figure 7: Addo House (source Ola Uduku, 2004)



Figure 10: Jamestown area of Accra (Ola Oduku, n.d.)



Figure 8: District Six Museum Poster, Cape Town. (Ola Uduku, 2022)



Figure 11: Writing Workshop Programme, University of Edinburgh. The main funders were the British Academy (Ola Uduku, 2017)

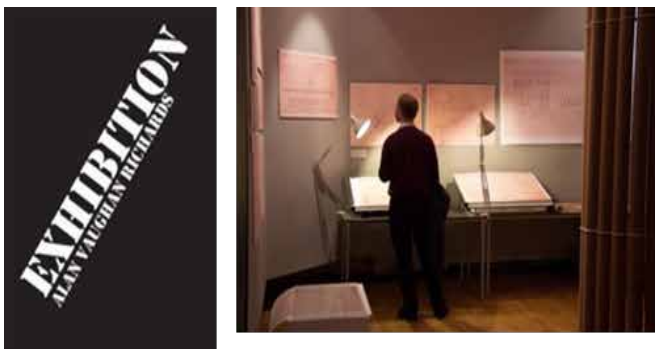


Figure 9: Alan Vaughan Richards Archive (Ola Uduku 2014)

Abstracts

Assembling/Genealogies of Modern Heritages

Liberating African Heritage From Modernity Through a Radical Decolonial Path

Olga Bialostocka

Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA)
Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)
obialostocka@hsrc.ac.za

What is modernity and why do Africans aspire to arrive at it? Do African cultures embrace the values of modernity and do the existing conceptualisations of modernity cover African axiologies? If modern heritage is a manifestation of modernity, are modern heritage sites in Africa necessarily rooted in coloniality? Can African modern heritage be conceptualised in a way that makes it more than a subcategory of (Western) modern heritage?

This conceptual paper addresses the above questions from the perspective of decoloniality. It analyses the precepts of modernity in order to reclaim the place of African heritage of the 20th century and liberate it from modernity's Western/Eurocentric legacy and associated values. It questions the rhetoric of alternative modernities, seeking alternatives to modernity instead. Guided by the 'border thinking' of the decolonial school of thought, it proposes defining post/colonial heritage of Africa through 'exteriority' and transmodernity, in recognising the existence of a counter-narrative to the Western modern movement/modernism. It proposes a new transversal heritage category, rooted in decoloniality movements, as a way of decentring modernist histories and cultural heritages of Africa.

Keywords: modernity, coloniality, decolonial de-linking, exteriority, transmodern heritage

Libérer le patrimoine africain de la modernité par une voie décoloniale radicale

Qu'est-ce que la modernité et pourquoi les Africains aspirent-ils à y parvenir? Les cultures africaines embrassent-elles les valeurs de la modernité et les conceptualisations existantes

de la modernité recouvrent-elles les axiologies africaines? Si le patrimoine moderne est une manifestation de la modernité, les sites du patrimoine moderne en Afrique sont-ils nécessairement enracinés dans la colonialité? Le patrimoine moderne africain peut-il être conceptualisé d'une manière qui en fasse plus qu'une sous-catégorie du patrimoine moderne (occidental)? Ce document conceptuel aborde les questions ci-dessus dans la perspective de la décolonialité. Il analyse les préceptes de la modernité afin de récupérer la place du patrimoine africain du 20ème siècle et de le libérer de l'héritage occidental/eurocentrique de la modernité et des valeurs associées. Il remet en question la rhétorique des modernités alternatives et cherche plutôt des alternatives à la modernité. Guidée par la "pensée des frontières" de l'école de pensée décoloniale, elle propose de définir le patrimoine postcolonial de l'Afrique par l'"extériorité" et la transmodernité, en reconnaissant l'existence d'une contre-narration du mouvement moderne/modernisme occidental. Il propose une nouvelle catégorie de patrimoine transversale, enracinée dans les mouvements de décolonialité, comme un moyen de décentrer les histoires modernistes et les patrimoines culturels de l'Afrique.

Mots-clés : modernité, colonialité, déliaison décoloniale, extériorité, patrimoine transmoderne.

Conceptualising modern heritage in Africa

Ola Uduku

Liverpool School of Architecture, University of Liverpool
o.uduku@liverpool.ac.uk

This contribution examines what might be considered 'modern architecture' from an African perspective. The context is set by referencing historic architectures such as the Katsina Walls in Nigeria, the Wa Na's Palace in Ghana, and Great Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe. Further context is provided through a discussion of historical-vernacular architecture found more generally in Africa, which straddled the traditional but was not necessarily recognised as modern, including colonial heritage buildings found in many historic towns and cities, as well as contemporary vernacular architectures such as the now demolished Ilojo Bar in Lagos, the Seaview Hotel in Jamestown, Accra, the now conserved Water House in central Lagos. Further discussion addresses the understanding and conceptualisation of the 'new' and the 'modern'

within the purview of African architecture, while considering how African nations deal with the concept of modernity with respect to the built environment. This highlights the need to identify how modern heritages can be identified in African countries irrespective of the classification used to determine what is 'modern', and reiterates the obligation to consider how local communities can be involved as partners in conservation activities, and how conservation in Africa and elsewhere in the global South is intertwined with local community and business sustainability. It also highlights case studies to demonstrate how the connection to community, youth and local space can be successfully used to create and develop heritage awareness in Africa and the potential for regional–continental alliances.

Keywords: vernacular; architecture; colonial; heritage; historic; towns; cities; local; community; youth; sustainability

Conceptualiser le patrimoine moderne en Afrique

Cette contribution examine ce qui pourrait être considéré comme « l'architecture moderne » d'un point de vue africain. Le contexte est défini en faisant référence à des architectures historiques telles que les murs de Katsina au Nigeria. le palais de Wa Na au Ghana et le Grand Zimbabwe au Zimbabwe. Un contexte supplémentaire est fourni à travers une discussion sur l'architecture vernaculaire historique que l'on trouve plus généralement en Afrique, qui chevauchait le traditionnel mais n'était pas nécessairement reconnu comme moderne, y compris les bâtiments du patrimoine colonial trouvés dans de nombreuses villes et cités historiques, ainsi que les architectures vernaculaires contemporaines telles que le bar Ilojo maintenant démolé à Lagos, le Seaview Hotel à Jamestown, Accra, la Water House maintenant conservée dans le centre de Lagos. Une discussion plus approfondie porte sur la compréhension et la conceptualisation du « nouveau » et du « moderne » dans le cadre de l'architecture africaine, tout en examinant comment les nations africaines traitent le concept de modernité par rapport à l'environnement bâti. Cela souligne la nécessité d'identifier comment les patrimoines modernes peuvent être identifiés dans les pays africains indépendamment de la classification utilisée pour déterminer ce qui est « moderne », et réitère l'obligation d'examiner comment les communautés locales peuvent être impliquées en tant que partenaires dans les activités de conservation, et comment la conservation dans L'Afrique et ailleurs dans le Sud global est étroitement liée à la communauté

locale et à la durabilité des entreprises. Il met également en évidence des études de cas pour démontrer comment la connexion à la communauté, à la jeunesse et à l'espace local peut être utilisée avec succès pour créer et développer la sensibilisation au patrimoine en Afrique et le potentiel d'alliances régionales-contininentales.

Mots-clés : vernaculaire ; architecture; colonial; patrimoine; historique; les villes; villes; local; communauté; jeunesse; durabilité

Godwin and Hopwood: Within the genealogy of tropical architecture (1956-1960)

Dr. Ben Tosland

Independent Scholar
New York University, London
t2269@nyu.edu

John Godwin and Gillian Hopwood are significant architects whose partnership and work has spanned eight decades, much of this undertaken in Nigeria between 1956 and 2017. Within these years, Godwin and Hopwood worked on more than 1000 projects to varying stages of completion, and thus had a key role in the creation of post-colonial and independent Nigeria's built environment. To narrow the scope, this paper targets the four years leading up to Nigeria's independence in 1960, a period that established the foundation for their careers in post-colonial Nigeria. My focus is to tease out the importance of their experimental approaches to passive cooling techniques while acknowledging capital's complex relationship with power and in turn biopolitics. Such physical building techniques, however, remain important today in studying architectural forms and methods that conserve energy in maintaining buildings.

Keywords: architecture, environment, climate, post-colonial, Nigeria, Lagos, heritage

Godwin et Hopwood: Dans la généalogie de l'architecture tropicale (1956-1960)

John Godwin et Gillian Hopwood sont des architectes importants dont le partenariat et le travail s'étendent sur huit décennies, dont une grande partie a été réalisée au Nigeria entre 1956 et 2017. Au cours de ces années,

Godwin et Hopwood ont travaillé sur plus de 1000 projets à différents stades d'achèvement, et ont donc joué un rôle clé dans la création de l'environnement bâti du Nigeria post-colonial et indépendant. Pour restreindre le champ d'application, cet article se concentre sur les quatre années qui ont précédé l'indépendance du Nigeria en 1960, une période qui a jeté les bases de leurs carrières dans le Nigeria post-colonial. Mon objectif est de faire ressortir l'importance de leurs approches expérimentales des techniques de refroidissement passif tout en reconnaissant la relation complexe du capital avec le pouvoir et la biopolitique. Ces techniques de construction physique restent toutefois importantes aujourd'hui dans l'étude des formes architecturales et des méthodes qui permettent de conserver l'énergie dans l'entretien des bâtiments.

Mots-clés : Architecture, Environnement, Climat, Post-Colonial, Nigéria, Lagos, Patrimoine

A Treasure Trove of Modern Architecture: Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (1960-1976)

Adekunle Adeyemo* and Bayo Amole

Department of Architecture, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria.

*Corresponding author, arcade2000ng@gmail.com, +2348033781149

This paper considers the Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, as a treasure trove of modern architecture – not only for its architectural significance, but also for its palimpsest of meanings. Located in the tropical forests of southwestern Nigeria, on a tabula rasa removed from city life and designed by a Bauhaus alumnus on an aid mission from the State of Israel, the campus presents a unique spectacle, offering itself as a modernist city built into the natural forest landscape with hills in the background. It employs the forms, materials, and technologies of the Modern Movement, stretching them to the limits of creativity. Yet the design differs from the popular colonial Modernist architecture in its adoption of form following climate and cultural sensitivity. Postcolonial in both chronology and concept, the architecture carried meaning for the university as an institution in an African setting, and for its patrons as leaders of the Western region, where it was viewed as a sign

of progress, development, a political tool, and an expression of ideology. Deconstructing the architecture and these layers of meaning reveals the aesthetic, historic, and social values and shows that modern architecture does not have to be acultural to be significant.

Keywords: Bauhaus, critical regionalism, modern architecture, modern heritage, tropical architecture

Un trésor d'architecture moderne : campus de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo d'Arie Sharon, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (1960-1976)

Cet article considère le campus de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo, Ile-Ife, comme un trésor de l'architecture moderne - non seulement pour sa signification architecturale, mais aussi pour son palimpseste de significations. Situé dans les forêts tropicales du sud-ouest du Nigeria, sur une tabula rasa retirée de la vie urbaine et conçu par un ancien élève du Bauhaus en mission d'aide de l'État d'Israël, le campus présente un spectacle unique, s'offrant comme une ville moderniste construite dans la nature paysage forestier avec des collines en arrière-plan. Il utilise les formes, les matériaux et les technologies du mouvement moderne, les étirant jusqu'aux limites de la créativité. Pourtant, la conception diffère de l'architecture moderniste coloniale populaire dans son adoption de la forme en fonction du climat et de la sensibilité culturelle. Postcoloniale à la fois chronologique et conceptuelle, l'architecture avait un sens pour l'université en tant qu'institution dans un cadre africain, et pour ses mécènes en tant que dirigeants de la région occidentale, où elle était considérée comme un signe de progrès, de développement, un outil politique, et une expression d'idéologie. Déconstruire l'architecture et ces couches de sens révèle les valeurs esthétiques, historiques et sociales et montre que l'architecture moderne n'a pas besoin d'être aculturelle pour être significative.

Mots-clés : Bauhaus, régionalisme critique, architecture moderne, patrimoine moderne, architecture tropicale

The Modern Architecture of Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Professor Emmanuel Babatunde Jaiyeoba

Department of Architecture, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
ebjaiye@oauife.edu.ng, +234 8037880023

Professor Zvi Efrat

Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem, Israel
zvi@efrat-kowalski.co.il; +972 544611686

The modern heritage of Africa emerges from diverse sources ranging from the indigenous to the contemporary and their transformation at different periods in history including the precolonial, colonial and the post-colonial. The University of Ife, now renamed after the pre-independence and post-independence first Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria as Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, was conceived immediately after Nigeria's independence in 1960. The Ile-Ife campus is the largest project executed outside Israel by Bauhaus trained architect Arie Sharon (1900-1984). It is one of the most written about campuses in Africa. Along with Lagos based architects Egbor and Partners, the master plan was conceived within the tenets of modern architecture and the International Style to meet the aspirations of the then Nigeria Western Region government and the sociocultural and climatic context of Ile-Ife, the historical source of the Yorubas of western Nigeria, West Africa and their diasporas.

Walter Gropius founded the Bauhaus in 1919 as a school that unified Arts and Crafts. It charted a new direction for training in the Arts, signifying a change in theoretical and practical narratives strong enough to suggest new political and cultural directions. The Israeli government also had socio-political and technical relations with African countries on the brink of independence, resulting in the choice of the Chief Architect of the State of Israel, Arie Sharon. This paper narrates the modern architecture of Ile-Ife campus using the film titled The Most Beautiful Campus in Nigeria, made by the Israeli architectural historian Professor Zvi Efrat, to promote the campus as a site of heritage worth preserving.

Keywords: modern architecture, tropical architecture, heritage, Bauhaus, campus design

L'architecture moderne du campus de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo d'Arie Sharon, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Le patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique provient de diverses sources allant de l'indigène au contemporain et de leur transformation à différentes périodes de l'histoire, y compris la précoloniale, la coloniale et la postcoloniale. L'Université d'Ife, rebaptisée d'après le premier Premier ministre de la région occidentale du Nigéria avant et après l'indépendance en tant qu'Université Obafemi Awolowo, Ile-Ife, au Nigéria, a été conçue immédiatement après l'indépendance du Nigéria en 1960. Le campus Ile-Ife est le plus grand projet exécuté en dehors d'Israël par Arie Sharon (1900-1984) formé au Bauhaus et l'un des plus écrits sur les campus en Afrique. Avec les architectes basés à Lagos - Egbor and Partners, le plan directeur a été conçu avec les principes de l'architecture moderne et du style international pour répondre aux aspirations du gouvernement de la région occidentale du Nigéria de l'époque et au contexte socioculturel et climatique d'Ile-Ife, la source historique de les Yorubas du Nigeria occidental, d'Afrique de l'Ouest et des diasporas.

Walter Gropius a fondé le Bauhaus en 1919 en tant qu'école unifiant les arts et l'artisanat. Il a tracé une nouvelle direction pour la formation dans les arts, signifiant un changement dans le récit théorique et pratique suffisamment fort pour suggérer de nouvelles directions politiques et culturelles. Le gouvernement israélien avait également des relations socio-politiques et techniques avec les pays africains au bord de l'indépendance, ce qui a conduit au choix de l'architecte en chef de l'État d'Israël, Arie Sharon.

Cet article raconte l'architecture moderne du campus d'Ile-Ife à l'aide du film intitulé Scènes Du Plus Beau Campus d'Afrique réalisé par l'historien de l'architecture israélien, le professeur Zvi Efrat, en tant que patrimoine à préserver.

Mots-clés : Architecture moderne, Architecture tropicale, Patrimoine, Bauhaus, Campus Design

Le(s) patrimoine(s) des Indépendances pour une approche moderne du patrimoine africain les exemples ivoirien et sénégalais

Alyssa K. Barry

Alyssa.k.barry@hotmail.com

La période allant de la fin des années 50 au début des années 60 marque un tournant pour une grande partie des pays africains, qui accèdent à l'indépendance après près d'un siècle de domination coloniale. Obtenues de façon plus ou moins pacifique selon les pays et les puissances coloniales associées, les décolonisations se veulent dès lors être le symbole d'une nouvelle ère synonyme d'espoir et de nouvelles opportunités, l'occasion pour les nations nouvellement constituées de (ré)écrire leur propre histoire.

Les républiques de Côte d'Ivoire et du Sénégal obtiennent leur indépendance respectivement le 7 août 1960 et le 4 avril 1960. Chacun de ces pays reliés par une histoire marquée par la colonisation française, emprunte alors sa propre voie vers la construction d'une nouvelle nation avec à la tête les présidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire) et Léopold Sédar Senghor (Sénégal). Cette construction passe notamment par un développement culturel mettant l'accent sur la notion d'identité, qui se manifeste à travers un patrimoine culturel urbain (issu des capitales et des grandes villes) prenant ses origines aussi bien dans les politiques culturelles mises en place par les gouvernements que dans les pratiques du quotidien des populations. Le patrimoine prend alors plusieurs formes, allant du matériel (architecture, urbanisme) à l'immatériel (pratiques sociales) en passant par les industries culturelles et créatives (arts), et pouvant être réparties en trois catégories:

- Le patrimoine étatique, découlant des stratégies et politiques culturelles pensées par les États
- Le patrimoine populaire, pouvant être qualifié de vernaculaire, issu des populations urbaines
- Le patrimoine contestataire, agissant en opposition aux pouvoirs en place, souvent initié par le milieu intellectuel et/ou d'avant-garde.

Quelles formes a(ont) revêtu ce(s) patrimoine(s) en Côte d'Ivoire et au Sénégal et qu'en reste-

t-il aujourd'hui ? En quoi constitue(nt)-t-il(s) l(es) exemple(s) d'une vision moderne pour le patrimoine africain ?

The Heritage(s) of Independence for a Modern Approach to African Heritage: the Ivorian and Senegalese Examples

The 1950s and 1960s were a turning point for African countries, most of which achieved independence after nearly a century of colonial domination. Obtained in a more or less peaceful manner depending on the case, decolonizations represent the symbol of a new era synonymous with hope and new opportunities, the opportunity for the newly constituted nations to (re)write their own history.

Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal obtained their independence on August 7 and April 4, 1960 respectively. Each of these countries, linked by a history marked by French colonization, took its own path towards the construction of a new nation, led by Presidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Léopold Sédar Senghor.

This construction involves a cultural development centered on the notion of identity, manifested through an urban cultural heritage that has its origins in cultural policies as well as in everyday practices. Heritage takes many forms, from the tangible to the intangible, including cultural and creative industries, and can be divided into three categories:

- A state heritage, resulting from the strategies and cultural policies conceived by the states
- A protest heritage, acting in opposition to the powers that be, often initiated by the intellectual and/or avant-garde milieu
- A popular heritage, originating from urban populations.

What forms did this (these) heritage(s) take in Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal and what remains of it (them) today? In what way do they constitute an example of a modern vision for African heritage?

Keywords: Africa, Heritage, Independence, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal

Abissa : Un patrimoine traditionnel indissociable du patrimoine modern.

Affoh Guenneguez

Centre for Research in African Studies,
University of Leiden, Netherlands
Affoh.guenneguez@gmail.com

En Afrique, il n'existe pas de dichotomie entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel qui sont souvent imbriqués. Qu'en est-il des sites du patrimoine moderne qui sont le résultat de l'histoire coloniale et de la rencontre douloureuse entre l'Afrique et l'Occident ? Un site hérité de la colonisation peut-il être lié à un patrimoine immatériel et traditionnel ? La première capitale coloniale de Côte d'Ivoire, appelée « Quartier France » et un village de l'ethnie N'zima composent le site de la « ville historique de Grand-Bassam » inscrit sur Liste du patrimoine mondial depuis 2012. Les N'zima considèrent le « Quartier France » comme une extension de leur village. Cette symbiose entre les deux espaces est particulièrement exprimée durant l'Abissa, une fête traditionnelle N'zima transformée aujourd'hui en un festival d'envergure nationale. L'Abissa se tient tous les ans, durant une semaine, au mois d'octobre. Ce moment crucial pour l'identité N'zima est également devenu important pour la ville historique en raison de la visibilité, l'attention médiatique et l'attractivité qu'il engendre.

Par ailleurs, durant l'année, le village enregistre peu de retombées économiques car les touristes se cantonnent souvent aux hôtels et restaurants du Quartier France. Or, durant l'Abissa, cet ordre est inversé. La fête engendre des retombées économiques directes pour la communauté ainsi que pour les hôtels et restaurants qui affichent complets durant toute la semaine.

L'essentiel du festival se déroule sur la place de l'Abissa, un espace recouvert de sable, que les N'zima considèrent comme un monument, interrogeant ainsi la perspective monumentale et occidentale du patrimoine. Comment ce « monument » traditionnel est-il devenu indissociable du patrimoine moderne hérité de la colonisation ? Comment est-il devenu une activité génératrice de revenu qui bénéficie aussi bien à la communauté locale qu'aux complexes hôteliers et restaurateurs du Quartier France ?

Abissa: a traditional heritage inseparable from modern heritage

In Africa, there is no dichotomy between tangible and intangible heritage which are often intertwined. The African continent is home to an important architectural and urbanistic heritage resulting from the modern movement, which was established in the 19th century during the colonial period. Can a site inherited from colonization be linked to an intangible and traditional heritage? The first colonial capital of Côte d'Ivoire, called "Quartier France" and a village of the N'zima socio-cultural group make up the site of the "historic town of Grand-Bassam" inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2012. Each year, the N'zima celebrate their traditional new year: the Abissa. This paper focuses on the process by which the Quartier France was accepted, appropriated, and integrated into the Abissa celebration by the N'zima people.

The data used were collected during a 6-month field research (August 2014 to February 2015) in Grand-Bassam to write a research paper within the African Studies Research Center of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. A methodology that combines expert interviews with key actors, semi-structured interviews with residents and direct and indirect observations in the field was applied.

This article demonstrates how a people, previously dominated, knew how to give a new use and a new meaning to a colonial legacy during a crucial festival for its identity. It illustrates the existence of transmodern heritage practices on the African continent.

Keywords: Côte d'Ivoire, Grand-Bassam, modern heritage, Abissa, N'zima,

Cultural Landscapes and the Vernacular: A Case Study of the Tankwa Karoo

Karen Munting

Department of Architecture, Planning & Geomatics
Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment,
University of Cape Town
matjesfontein66.kai@gmail.com

The Tankwa Karoo forms part of the Nama Karoo Biome, both biologically distinct areas and the world's only entirely arid region diversity hotspot. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether the preponderance of a specific language of vernacular architecture adds cultural significance to the natural heritage of the Tankwa. The research scope is defined geographically by the limits of the Tankwa Karoo basin, by means of a case study analysis of four sites. The Heritagescape methodology framed the research objective. Dry packed stone kraals, built by transhumant herders, and later vernacular architecture of adobe and stone with brakdak* roofs define a built heritage that effectively provides shelter in an arid climate. The research uncovered the intangible cultural heritage embodied in the act of building and concludes this constitutes a living heritage worth preserving in an evolving contemporary society. The craftsmanship applied to building and maintenance broadens the knowledge base necessary to facilitate migration from carbon intensive to net-zero energy construction methods, with relevance for similar climates worldwide. Support for intergenerational transfer of the earth-building heritage practices found in the Tankwa, can trigger a project model with broadscale implementation potential.

The research concludes that the layers of significance of both tangible, natural, and cultural heritage found in the Tankwa Karoo constitutes substantial criteria for classifying this area as a continuing cultural landscape as defined by the terms of the UNESCO Convention for World Heritage of 1972.

*Brak' (Afrikaans), adobe made with saline water and reinforced with hay; 'dak' (Afrikaans), roof.

Paysages Culturels et Vernaculaire : Une Étude de Cas du Tankwa Karoo

Le Tankwa Karoo fait partie du Nama Karoo Biome, deux zones biologiquement distinctes et le seul point chaud de la diversité des régions entièrement arides du monde. Le but de cet article est de déterminer si la prépondérance d'une langue spécifique de l'architecture vernaculaire ajoute une importance culturelle au patrimoine naturel des Tankwa. La portée de la recherche est définie géographiquement par les limites du bassin de Tankwa Karoo, au moyen d'une étude de cas portant sur quatre sites. La méthodologie du paysage patrimonial a défini l'objectif de recherche. Les kraals de pierres sèches, construits par des éleveurs transhumants, et plus tard l'architecture vernaculaire d'adobe et de pierre avec des toits de brakdak définissent un patrimoine bâti qui fournit efficacement un abri dans un climat aride. La recherche a permis de découvrir le patrimoine culturel immatériel incarné par l'acte de construire et conclut qu'il s'agit d'un patrimoine vivant qu'il vaut la peine de préserver dans une société contemporaine en évolution. Le savoir-faire appliqué à la construction et à l'entretien élargit la base de connaissances nécessaire pour faciliter la migration des méthodes de construction à forte intensité de carbone vers des méthodes de construction à consommation énergétique nette zéro, avec une pertinence pour des climats similaires dans le monde entier. Le soutien au transfert intergénérationnel des pratiques patrimoniales de construction de la terre qui se trouvent dans les Tankwa peut déclencher un modèle de projet avec un potentiel de mise en œuvre à grande échelle. La recherche conclut que les couches d'importance des deux tangibles, le patrimoine naturel et culturel du Tankwa Karoo constitue un critère important pour classer cette zone en tant que paysage culturel permanent tel que défini par les termes de la Convention de l'UNESCO pour le patrimoine mondial de 1992.

On the way to a thousand Kasbahs: Tourist settlements of modernity, a heritage that needs to be preserved

Daniela Ruggeri

Università Iuav di Venezia
daniela.ruggeri@iuav.it

An art auction organised in April 2021 is jeopardising Moroccan heritage. The works on sale are painted ceilings and interior elements by the artists Mohammed Chabâa and Mohamed Melehi created for the Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès in Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-1972). The hotel, designed by architects Abdeslem Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, is the first of three they realised along a tourist itinerary that later would be known as 'the route of the thousand kasbahs', named for the presence of many ancient cities built in raw earth. Thereafter, the architects completed the Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadès (1972-74), and the Hôtel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine (1974), all three projects reinterpreting the ancient, fortified city. Les Roses du Dadès is an example of modern architecture in continuity with traditional Moroccan culture, thanks to the collaboration between architects and artists, which is the result of an integrated design carried through from interior to exterior, keeping strong relations between the building and the landscape, between the present and the past. The aim of this paper is to highlight the cultural value of these modern buildings and artworks. It also aims to underline two considerations about African modernity and its historical landscape. The first is the recognition that the hotels by Faraoui and de Mazières are not the only cases of Moroccan modern architecture at risk, as many buildings have been altered, abandoned, or demolished. The second aspect is to note that the buildings and the artworks mentioned deserve to be preserved holistically within their landscapes as part of a unitary system.

Keywords: heritage, Moroccan modernity, tourist settlements, ancient city, Faraoui and de Mazières

En route vers mille kasbahs : Établissements touristiques de la modernité, un patrimoine à préserver

Une vente aux enchères d'œuvres d'art organisée en avril 2021 vient de mettre en danger le patrimoine marocain. Les œuvres mises en vente sont des plafonds peints et des éléments de décor intérieur des artistes Mohammed Chabâa et Mohamed Melehi réalisés pour l'hôtel Les Roses du Dadès à Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-1972). L'hôtel, conçu par les architectes Abdeslem Faraoui et Patrice de Mazières, est le premier d'une série de trois qu'ils ont réalisés le long d'un itinéraire touristique qui sera plus tard connu sous le nom de "route des mille kasbahs", appelé ainsi en raison de la présence de nombreuses cités antiques construites en terre crue. Par la suite, les architectes ont réalisé l'Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès à Boumalne Dadès (1972-74), et l'Hôtel Ibn Toumart à Taliouine (1974), trois projets qui réinterprètent l'ancienne ville fortifiée. Les Roses du Dadès est un exemple d'architecture moderne en continuité avec la culture traditionnelle marocaine, grâce à la collaboration entre architectes et artistes, qui est le résultat d'une conception intégrée menée de l'intérieur à l'extérieur, gardant des relations fortes entre le bâtiment et le paysage, entre le présent et le passé. Le but de cet article est de mettre en évidence la valeur culturelle de ces bâtiments et œuvres d'art modernes. Il vise également à souligner deux considérations sur la modernité africaine et son paysage historique. Le premier est la reconnaissance du fait que les hôtels de Faraoui et de Mazières ne sont pas les seuls cas d'architecture moderne marocaine en danger, car de nombreux bâtiments ont été modifiés, abandonnés ou démolis. Le second aspect est de noter que les bâtiments et les œuvres d'art mentionnés méritent d'être préservés de manière holistique dans leurs paysages en tant que partie d'un système unitaire.

Mots-clés : patrimoine, modernité marocaine, établissements touristiques, ville ancienne, Faraoui et de Mazières

Heritage, Sustainability and Environment

Is nature and society a simple dichotomy or a complex one? Investigating the implications of bridging the gap between cultural and natural heritage in promoting sustainable development in Africa

Oscah Mahoso

omahoso@gmail.com

The nature–culture split is a Western society-created artificial barrier. It is a widely spread social concept that does not exist in some non-Western societies. The absence of divide between certain societies, however, has become more evident through the recognition by the international platforms like the Intergovernmental Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Affairs, and Local and Indigenous Knowledge System Program, (LINKS) at UNESCO and the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992 (CBD). In the heritage field, the Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 (ICH), and the progress in the implementation of the Convention on the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage of 1972 (World Heritage Convention), with the inclusion of cultural landscapes categories, and the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC), as well as the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), have invited different ways of understanding heritage and, consequently, the diversity of understandings of the relationship between what we usually call culture and nature. All these agreements and documents have contributed to mainstreaming that there are a variety of conceptions of nature, and not every culture understands nature in the same way that Western societies have established hegemonically. It will be difficult to abandon this structure in favor of a more integrated system for long-term sustainability. It is against this background that the researcher intends to unpack the implications of bridging the gap between cultural and natural heritage in promoting sustainable development in Africa. Therefore, this study brings a more nuanced reflection of the nexus between culture and nature and their role in societal development

in Africa. In order to attain this, the researcher intends to utilise a desktop research methodology upon which a thorough detailed research review is going to be undertaken.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, Natural Heritage, Dichotomy, Sustainable Development

La nature et la société sont-elles une dichotomie simple ou complexe ? Enquête sur les implications de combler le fossé entre le patrimoine culturel et naturel dans la promotion du développement durable en Afrique

Le clivage nature-culture est une barrière artificielle créée par la société occidentale. C'est un concept social largement répandu qui n'existe pas dans certaines sociétés non occidentales. L'absence de clivage entre certaines sociétés est toutefois devenue plus évidente grâce à la reconnaissance par les plateformes internationales telles que la Plateforme intergouvernementale pour la biodiversité et les services écosystémiques, l'Instance permanente des Nations Unies sur les affaires autochtones et le Programme sur les systèmes de connaissances locales et autochtones (LINKS) à l'UNESCO et la Convention sur la diversité biologique de 1992 (CDB). Dans le domaine du patrimoine, la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de 2003 (PCI), et les progrès dans la mise en œuvre de la Convention pour la protection du patrimoine mondial naturel et culturel de 1972 (Convention du patrimoine mondial), avec l'inclusion des catégories de paysages culturels, et le Consentement libre, préalable et éclairé (FPIC), ainsi que le Document de Nara sur l'authenticité (1994), ont invité différentes façons de comprendre le patrimoine et, par conséquent, la diversité des compréhensions de la relation entre ce que nous appelons généralement culture et nature. Tous ces accords et documents ont contribué à faire comprendre qu'il existe une variété de conceptions de la nature et que toutes les cultures ne comprennent pas la nature de la même manière que les sociétés occidentales l'ont établie de manière hégémonique. Il sera difficile d'abandonner cette structure au profit d'un système plus intégré pour une durabilité à long terme. C'est dans ce contexte que le chercheur a l'intention de débattre les implications de

comblent le fossé entre le patrimoine culturel et naturel dans la promotion du développement durable en Afrique. Par conséquent, cette étude apporte une réflexion plus nuancée sur le lien entre la culture et la nature et leur rôle dans le développement sociétal en Afrique. Afin d'atteindre cet objectif, le chercheur a l'intention d'utiliser une méthodologie de recherche documentaire sur laquelle un examen approfondi et détaillé de la recherche sera entrepris.

Mots-clés : Patrimoine culturel, Patrimoine naturel, Dichotomie, Développement durable

Between modernity and tradition: House Biermann and the preservation of modern architectural heritage in South Africa

Silvia Bodei and Rodney Harber

School of Built Environment and Development Studies,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban
bodeis@ukzn.ac.za

In September 2020, the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA) KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Regional Heritage Committee launched an urgent national and international appeal to support the preservation and defence of an important architectural artefact: the house of Barrie Biermann in Durban. The building, considered the most significant project carried out by the South African architect and academic, is today in danger of being demolished. Built in 1962 with great economy in the residential district of Westridge, it represents a particular vision of modern architecture and was an interesting experiment in domestic space. Influenced by historical and local architecture and attentive to the conditions of the subtropical climate, this work, defined by Biermann as 'regional vernacular', reflects the architect's vision expressed in publications and discussed during his university lectures at the then University of Natal (University of KwaZulu-Natal after 2004), which influenced generations of architects in Durban and South Africa. Biermann himself, when describing the house and the limited means for its construction, writes that it is a real theoretical manifesto specifying that 'there is nearly always a choice in the disposition of elements that will allow for an efficient theory of architecture'.

The present article briefly reconstructs, through a selection of archival materials from the Technical

Reference Library (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban), the context, references, and design ideas of the project and some constructive features. This, in particular, related to the use of brick, characteristic of the work, and highlights the importance and need to protect the heritage of modern architecture in the context of South African cities.

Entre modernité et tradition: la Maison Biermann et la préservation du patrimoine architectural moderne en Afrique du Sud

En septembre 2020, le Comité régional du patrimoine du South African Institute of Architects (Institut sud-africain des architectes) (SAIA) KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) a lancé un appel national et international urgent pour soutenir la préservation et la défense d'un important artefact architectural: la maison de Barrie Biermann à Durban. Le bâtiment, considéré comme le projet le plus important réalisé par l'architecte et universitaire sud-africain, risque aujourd'hui d'être démolie. Construit en 1962 avec une grande économie dans le quartier résidentiel de Westridge, il représente une vision particulière de l'architecture moderne et a été une expérience intéressante dans l'espace domestique. Influencé par l'architecture historique et locale et attentif aux conditions du climat subtropical, ce travail, défini par Biermann comme «vernaculaire régional», reflète la vision de l'architecte exprimée dans des publications et discutée lors de ses cours universitaires à l'Université du Natal (Université de KwaZulu-Natal après 2004), qui a influencé des générations d'architectes à Durban et en Afrique du Sud. Biermann lui-même, décrivant la maison et les moyens limités pour sa construction, écrit qu'il s'agit d'un véritable manifeste théorique précisant qu'« il y a presque toujours un choix dans la disposition des éléments qui permettra une théorie efficace de l'architecture ».

Le présent article reconstruit brièvement, à travers une sélection de documents d'archives de la Bibliothèque de référence technique (Université du KwaZulu-Natal, Durban), le contexte, les références et les idées de conception du projet et quelques caractéristiques constructives. Ceci, en particulier, lié à l'utilisation de la brique, caractéristique de l'ouvrage, et souligne l'importance et la nécessité de protéger le patrimoine de l'architecture moderne dans le contexte des villes sud-africaines.

The sacred architecture of Paul Dequeker: A lesson in sustainability given by modern heritage in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Manlio Michieletto

Department of Architecture,
School of Architecture & Built Environment (SABE)
University of Rwanda, Kigali, Rwanda
m.manlio@ur.ac.rw

Victor Bay Mukanya

Department of Architecture,
Higher Institute of Architecture and Urbanism (ISAU)
Kinshasa, DR Congo

The Tropical Modernism that rapidly spread in sub-Saharan Africa consigned to history indelible architectural artefacts. The Democratic Republic of the Congo preserves some precious examples of tropical architecture that were realised before and after Independence was declared in June 1960. The aim of this paper is to examine this heritage and the sustainability already embedded in the language of tropical architecture, and its application in the design process through analysing quintessential instances of Paul Dequeker's work, in particular his sacred architecture. Four projects in Congo are presented: King Christ church (1963), St. Luke church (1963), St. Augustine church (1977), and St. Raphael church (1988). The Belgian architect left to the next generations of architects not only inspiring buildings but also several written works, including Tropical Architecture, Theory and Practice in Tropical Humid Africa, and The Tropical Church. This research explores each case study through a qualitative method analysing, first, historical documents relating to their conception as architectural projects, and second, as part of an African modern heritage that needs to be classified, studied, and protected. Moreover, our analysis focuses on the tropical details and features characterising Dequeker's architectural practice, noting where these are applicable to different building typologies.

Our aim is to respond to issues raised by the 11th Sustainable Cities and Communities goals (SDGs), to work towards sustainable and green development programmes that are rooted in an awareness of past practices and how these might guide development in the future. We assert that close study of architectural heritage is necessary in order to adequately address sustainability

in the future without losing the fundamental teachings.

Keywords: Dequeker, Kinshasa, architectural heritage, tropical architecture, sustainability

L'architecture sacrée de Paul Dequeker : Une leçon de durabilité donnée par le patrimoine moderne en République Démocratique du Congo.

Le modernisme tropical qui s'est rapidement propagé en Afrique subsaharienne a consigné dans l'histoire des artefacts architecturaux indélébiles. La RD Congo conserve quelques précieux exemples d'architecture tropicale réalisés avant et après l'Indépendance obtenue en juin 1960. L'objectif de cet article est d'examiner une partie de ce patrimoine et la durabilité déjà ancrée dans un langage architectural précis, le langage tropical et son application dans le processus de conception analysant des cas par excellence du travail de Paul Dequeker ciblant en particulier son architecture sacrée. Quatre des projets réalisés au Congo sont ici présentés : L'église Christ-Roi (1963), l'église Saint Luc (1963), l'église Saint Augustin (1977) et l'église Saint Raphael (1988). L'architecte belge a non seulement laissé aux prochaines générations d'architectes des bâtiments inspirants mais aussi plusieurs ouvrages écrits, entre autres : L'Architecture tropicale : théorie et mise en pratique en Afrique tropicale humide et Églises tropicales. La recherche explore les études de cas à travers une méthode qualitative analysant d'abord les documents historiques découverts liés à leur conception en tant que projets architecturaux puis en tant que partie du patrimoine moderne africain qui doit être classé, étudié et protégé. De plus, l'analyse se concentre sur les détails et les futurs tropicaux qui caractérisent l'architecture tropicale récupérée des travaux de Dequeker et qui sont applicables à différentes typologies de bâtiments. Les réponses aux questions soulevées par les 11e SDG - « Villes et communautés durables », vers un développement durable et vert sont également enracinées dans le passé et la conscience du passé guidera les développements futurs. Par conséquent, il est nécessaire -comme dit, de lire, d'étudier et de préserver le déjà fait, le patrimoine architectural, afin d'aborder de manière adéquate les prochaines étapes durables sans perdre les enseignements fondamentaux.

When reconversion doesn't meet sustainability: The Case of an abandoned market in Casablanca

Majda Abida

École Nationale d'Architecture de Marrakech, Maroc
abida@enamarrakech.ac.ma

Giovanni Santi

Department of Energy, Systems, Territory, and
Constructions engineering, University of Pisa
giovanni.santi@unipi.it

Architecture and urban planning in African cities took a new turn during the colonial era, creating shared histories of urban development. However, this heritage remains underrated, especially in previously colonised countries. Some, such as Morocco, began to roll out initiatives to prevent demolition and inappropriate transformation. This research focuses on a number of buildings featuring distinctive typologies of buildings. Among the sample are industrial buildings and markets, which have been marginalised in cities such as Casablanca. The research examines how technologies such as Hbim and photoscan can be used to identify, record and design recovery strategies for disavowed heritage buildings. Interviews with urban residents showed that heritage buildings affected urban development, and evolved into deeper research into the abandoned Crio Market located in the formerly industrial zone of Roches Noires in Casablanca. The case study draws an historical timeline of the building, showing its progression from expressing modernism with its 'thin concrete shell' architecture, to becoming subject of several reconversions for private profit, resulting in a distortion of the building's original architecture. The market offers proof that not demolishing a building does not necessarily guarantee successful and sustainable maintenance of modern heritage. The research culminated in the making of a 3D model alongside a set of recovery guidelines offered as a first step towards a sustainable reconversion project.

Keywords: Modern heritage, Casablanca, concrete shell, architectural reconversion, sustainable design.

Quand reconversion ne rime pas avec durabilité : le cas d'un marché abandonné à Casablanca

L'expression de l'architecture et l'urbanisme dans les villes africaines a émergé à l'époque coloniale, créant un historique commun de développement urbain. Cependant, ce patrimoine est déprécié, notamment dans les pays précédemment colonisés. Certains, comme le Maroc, ont commencé à déployer des initiatives pour empêcher la démolition et la transformation inappropriée. Cette recherche se concentre sur un certain nombre de bâtiments présentant des typologies distinctives. Dans cette sélection se trouvent des constructions industrielles et des marchés, qui ont été marginalisés dans des villes telles que Casablanca. Ce travail analyse la manière dont des technologies telles que Hbim et Photoscan peuvent être utilisées pour identifier, enregistrer et concevoir des stratégies de récupération pour les bâtiments patrimoniaux désavoués. Des entretiens avec des citoyens ont montré que les bâtiments patrimoniaux influencent le développement urbain, chose qui a mené à étudier le cas du marché abandonné de Crio situé dans l'ancienne zone industrielle de Roches Noires à Casablanca. L'étude retrace le développement du bâtiment, sa progression depuis l'expression moderniste de son enveloppe en béton, à travers plusieurs reconversions à but lucratif, entraînant une distorsion de l'architecture originale du bâtiment. Le marché est une preuve que ne pas démolir un bâtiment ne garantit pas forcément un maintien réussi et durable du patrimoine moderne. Cette recherche aboutit à la réalisation d'un modèle 3D accompagné d'un ensemble de directives de récupération proposées comme première étape vers un projet de reconversion durable.

The N4 Highway: Space and form

Michael Boyd

PhD Candidate, Development Studies
University of Pretoria
michael.boyd@tuks.co.za

This paper, drawn from my PhD research, will use the N4 highway as a theoretical and physical framework to explore the nature of space. With a consideration of the historical, social, and literary narratives of the landscapes along the

highway, the research investigates impact on the surrounding region, as well as how the areas through which the N4 travels have influenced the highway itself. Underpinning the investigation is literary scholar Caroline Levine's study of the affordances of form. Key to Levine's theory is the viewing of spaces through literary forms as conceptual frameworks. Levin's framing of areas as material or immaterial space resonates with the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) in his classic study on how space is produced, in which the notion of evoked space suggests a theoretical human connection with, and impact on, space and how it is experienced. This paper will explore some of the spaces surrounding the N4, both as affordances of form, but also with a theoretical understanding and consideration that space simultaneously exists within multiple modes of spatial practice. The hope is that these theories work cohesively to expose insightful perspectives of the changing landscape of the area.

Keywords: road, infrastructure, form, space, poetics of space, materiality, immateriality, heritage

L'autoroute N4 : Espace et forme

Cet article, tiré de mes recherches doctorales, utilisera l'autoroute N4 comme cadre théorique et physique pour explorer la nature de l'espace. En tenant compte des récits historiques, sociaux et littéraires des paysages le long de l'autoroute, la recherche étudie l'impact sur la région environnante, ainsi que la façon dont les zones traversées par la N4 ont influencé l'autoroute elle-même. L'enquête repose sur l'étude de l'universitaire littéraire Caroline Levine sur les affordances de la forme. La clé de la théorie de Levine est la vision des espaces à travers les formes littéraires en tant que cadres conceptuels. Le cadrage des zones par Levine en tant qu'espace matériel ou immatériel résonne avec le travail d'Henri Lefebvre (1991) dans son étude classique sur la façon dont l'espace est produit, dans laquelle la notion d'espace évoqué suggère une connexion humaine théorique avec, et un impact sur, l'espace et la façon dont il est vécu. Cet article explorera certains des espaces entourant le N4, à la fois comme des affordances de forme, mais aussi avec une compréhension théorique et une considération que l'espace existe simultanément dans de multiples modes de pratique spatiale. L'espoir est que ces théories fonctionnent de manière cohésive pour exposer des perspectives perspicaces du paysage changeant de la région.

Mots-clés : route, infrastructure, forme, espace, poétique de l'espace, matérialité, immatériauité, patrimoine.

L'architecture coloniale de Côte d'Ivoire : un patrimoine moderne en péril à sauvegarder et à valoriser pour un développement durable.

**Professeur Kienon-Kabore
Timpoko Hélène**

Université Félix Houphouët Boigny
Institut des Sciences Anthropologiques de
Développement (ISAD)

Les côtes de l'actuelle Côte d'Ivoire ont été marquées par une expansion atlantique des européens, qui dès le XVIème siècle, vont connaître la traite négrière, le commerce de produits manufacturés et divers autres échanges. En 1893, le gouvernement français constitue officiellement la colonie de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ainsi donc s'établit la colonisation française sur ces territoires avec des conséquences sociétales, culturelles, techniques et politiques. Les témoins matériels de cette période de la colonisation sont majoritairement des infrastructures qui s'échelonnent sur tout le littoral de l'actuelle Côte d'Ivoire, notamment à Grand-Bassam, Dabou, Assinie, Tabou, San Pedro, Sassandra, Grand-Lahou et bien d'autres villes. Ce patrimoine moderne colonial est le témoignage d'une histoire avec des sentiments ambivalents dans la mémoire collective des populations de la Côte d'Ivoire. En effet, cette richesse architecturale rappelle une histoire douloureuse et éveille également une certaine fierté liée à la lutte d'hommes et de femmes qui a permis ainsi d'accéder à l'indépendance de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ce patrimoine architectural, résultat d'expérimentations, de rencontre de savoirs et de savoir-faire européens et locaux, d'innovations techniques, tenant compte du contexte culturel et environnemental, est majoritairement en ruine sur le littoral. Les outils juridiques pour sa protection sont rares. Compte tenu de son importance historique et patrimoniale, il mérite d'être documenté, sauvegardé et valorisé afin de laisser le choix aux générations actuelles et à venir de construire le pont entre le présent et le futur.

Mots-clés : colonial, architecture, patrimoine, sauvegarde, valorisation.

The Colonial Architecture of Cote d'Ivoire: a Modern Heritage in Danger to be Safeguarded and Enhanced for Sustainable Development.

The coasts of what is now the Ivory Coast were marked by an Atlantic expansion of Europeans, who from the 16th century onwards experienced the slave trade, trade in manufactured products and various other exchanges. In 1893, the French government officially established the colony of Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, French colonization is established on these territories with its corollary of societal, cultural, technical and political consequences. Witnesses to this period of colonization are mainly materialized by a diversity of colonial architecture that spans the entire coast of present-day Côte d'Ivoire, in particular in Grand-Bassam, Dabou, Assinie, Tabou, San Pedro, Sassandra, Grand-Lahou and many other cities. This colonial heritage is the testimony of a history with ambivalent feelings in the collective memory of the populations of the Ivory Coast. Indeed, this architectural wealth recalls a painful history and also awakens a certain pride linked to the struggle of men and women which thus made it possible to achieve independence for the Ivory Coast. This architectural heritage, the result of experiments, the meeting of European and local knowledge and know-how, technical innovations, taking into account the cultural, environmental and societal context, is in ruins on the coastal sites. The legal tools for its protection are rare and also the lack of interest of the populations in the appropriation of this heritage. Given its historical and heritage importance, it deserves to be documented, safeguarded and enhanced in order to leave the choice to current and future generations to build the bridge between the present and the future.

Keywords: colonial, architecture, heritage, preservation, valuation.

Infrastructure and Immateriality of the Built Environment

Heritage as Restitution: The Dadaab Refugee Camps, Kenya

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi

Barnard College, Columbia University
asiddiqi@barnard.edu

Recognising architectures of unelected migration as sites of modern history and heritage not only expands the consideration of modernities in Africa but also constitutes a form of restitution to those who have fled insecurity and violence imposed by others. In this paper and pictorial presentation based on 12 years of archival and on-site research, I argue that the Dadaab refugee camps and their inhabitation of the Kenya-Somalia borderland may be understood and valued for a long history as well as a recent materiality, which has taken form in architecture, spatial practices, and territorial construction. Rather than accepting the relegation of refugee architecture to policy studies or the applied social sciences, which privilege the logics of emergency and an epistemology of the security state over knowledge stemming from people's migratory lives, this paper takes seriously the paradoxes of Dadaab as a heritage site. At Dadaab, the Kenyan government and UNHCR established relief operations in a region inscribed with colonial and postcolonial frontiers and wars, carrying a memory of detention and an imaginary of a borderland. These modern historical forces are reiterated in humanitarian settlements holding half a million registered refugees and unregistered migrants, enacting confinement in architectures figured as much by the visual frailty of dwellings dusted red by the wind and clad in recovered textile fragments as by a spectacular array of satellite dishes, aeronautic fleets on tarmac, aluminum and polyvinyl chloride water storage towers, and hydraulic extraction machinery penetrating a Jurassic-era aquifer. These architectures signal transience even if anchored in the earth and sky, part of an ecology that once supported pastoralists and now undergirds another migratory world. My pictorially oriented paper uses these historical and aesthetic paradoxes to argue for this complex African heritage site, and with it, restitution of a fraught landscape of migration through a

meaningful reconsideration of modern heritage.

Keywords: Dadaab, Kenya, refugee camp, UNHCR, heritage, restitution, Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti, Sada Mire, Edward Said

Le patrimoine comme restitution : les camps de réfugiés de Dadaab, Kenya

Reconnaître les architectures de la migration non choisie comme des sites d'histoire et de patrimoine modernes n'élargit pas seulement la considération des modernités en Afrique mais constitue également une forme de restitution à ceux qui ont fui l'insécurité et la violence imposées par d'autres. Dans cet article et cette présentation picturale, basés sur 12 années d'archives et de recherches sur place, je soutiens que les camps de réfugiés de Dadaab et leur occupation de la zone frontalière entre le Kenya et la Somalie peuvent être compris et valorisés pour une longue histoire ainsi que pour une matérialité récente, qui a pris forme dans l'architecture, les pratiques spatiales et la construction territoriale. Plutôt que d'accepter la relégation de l'architecture des réfugiés aux études politiques ou aux sciences sociales appliquées, qui privilégient les logiques d'urgence et l'épistémologie de l'État sécuritaire par rapport aux connaissances issues de la vie migratoire des gens, cet article prend au sérieux les paradoxes de Dadaab en tant que site patrimonial. À Dadaab, le gouvernement Kenyan et le HCR ont mis en place des opérations de secours dans une région marquée par les frontières et les guerres coloniales et postcoloniales, porteuse de la mémoire de la détention et de l'imaginaire d'un territoire frontalier. Ces forces historiques modernes sont réitérées dans les installations humanitaires accueillant un demi-million de réfugiés enregistrés et de migrants non enregistrés, mettant en œuvre l'enfermement dans des architectures représentées tant par la fragilité visuelle des habitations dépoussiérées par le vent et revêtues de fragments de textiles récupérés que par un ensemble spectaculaire d'antennes paraboliques, de flottes aéronautiques sur le tarmac, de tours de stockage d'eau en aluminium et en chlorure de polyvinyle, et de machines d'extraction hydraulique pénétrant dans un aquifère datant du Jurassique. Ces architectures signalent leur caractère éphémère, même si elles sont ancrées dans la terre et le ciel, et font partie d'une écologie qui a autrefois fait vivre les pasteurs et qui sous-tend aujourd'hui un autre monde migratoire. Mon article, orienté vers l'image, utilise ces paradoxes historiques

et esthétiques pour plaider en faveur de ce site complexe du patrimoine africain et, avec lui, pour la restitution d'un paysage de migration difficile à travers une reconsidération significative du patrimoine moderne.

Mots-clés : Dadaab, Kenya, camp de réfugiés, UNHCR, patrimoine, restitution, Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti, Sada Mire, Edward Said

Roads as Heritage

Tsholofelo Joshua Koopedi

University of Pretoria
u20821175@tuks.co.za

This conference paper explores and questions the promise of service delivery and infrastructural upgrades made in the City of Ekurhuleni in postapartheid South Africa, in relation to its immateriality in relation to concepts of modern African heritage. The paper is drawn from my PhD research and compares how the Roads and Stormwater Repairs, and Maintenance Budget of the City of Ekurhuleni has been resourced, organised and distributed across the city's townships since 2000. It interrogates the budget process and its effectiveness as a political tool – rather than a technical tool – that pursues spatial justice and transformation of these previously underdeveloped townships. Section 153(a) of the South African Constitution delegates a municipality to 'structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community' (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Keywords: infrastructure, inequalities, postapartheid townships, Roads and Stormwater Repairs and Maintenance Budget, African heritage, modernity, spatial justice

Ce document de conférence explore et remet en question la promesse de prestation de services et d'améliorations des infrastructures réalisées dans la ville d'Ekurhuleni en Afrique du Sud après l'apartheid, par rapport à son immatérialité par rapport aux concepts du patrimoine africain moderne. Le document est tiré de ma recherche doctorale et compare la façon dont le budget d'entretien et de réparation des routes et des eaux pluviales de la ville d'Ekurhuleni a été financé, organisé et distribué dans les cantons de la ville depuis 2000. Il interroge le processus budgétaire et son efficacité en tant qu'outil politique – plutôt qu'en tant qu'outil technique –

qui poursuit la justice spatiale et la transformation de ces cantons auparavant sous-développés. Le paragraphe 153(a) de la Constitution sud-africaine délègue à une municipalité la responsabilité de « structurer et de gérer ses processus d'administration, de budgétisation et de planification afin de donner la priorité aux besoins fondamentaux de la communauté et de promouvoir son développement social et économique » (Constitution de la République d'Afrique du Sud, 1996).

Mots-clés : infrastructures, inégalités, townships postapartheid, budget de réparation et d'entretien des routes et des eaux pluviales, patrimoine africain, modernité, justice spatiale.

In the Middle of Nowhere: Infrastructural Mining Schemes and the Making of Global Africa

Filippo De Dominicis

Assistant professor of Architectural and Urban Design
DICEEA (Department of Civil, Environmental and
Architectural Engineering) - University of L'Aquila filippo.
dedominicis@univaq.it

In 1957, the French journal *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* came up with a monographic issue on sub-Saharan Africa, with a steel beam printed on the front cover. Apart from architectural case-studies, great emphasis was put on the general framework allowing future development due to industrial growth. The opening paper of the then-governor of French Guinea, a mining engineer called Roland Pré, outlined a new and to some extent unexpected scenario, inextricably related to the African quest for independence: to play its own future, Pré said, the African continent had to look at the virgin lands of the inland, where the presence of raw materials encouraged new perspectives for industrial growth. Actually, Pré's ambition was supported by the evidence of the facts: in 1957, at least ten infrastructural corridors were under construction or planning, with roads, railways and sometimes cableways connecting extraction sites to the Atlantic coast. Schemes like Boke, Fria, Edea, Cansado and Tema- Akosombo, however, were definitely in line with pre-war colonial operations. New company towns built by Western corporates to accommodate their managers acted as industrial exclaves in the middle of nowhere. At the same time, unexpectedly, infrastructural corridors offered new scenarios to aggregate local workers and rediscover - at least embryonically - the

web of internal patterns the colonial "outward looking layout" had temporarily erased. In this sense, the industrial layout set by Euro-American corporates went far beyond Pré's expectations: the rush for raw materials, in fact, was not really an instrument to shape the "afro-european society" claimed by Pré, but rather the opportunity to make Africa part of a global - westernized? - network requiring new and pioneering forms of large-scale infrastructural planning. This contribution explores those earliest contradictory forms of postwar territorialization in West Africa as instruments of modernization and global control beyond former colonial schemes. By examining the joint action of corporates and global practitioners such as Ecochard, Dimitrijevic, Fry and Doxiadis, *In the Middle of Nowhere* investigates the agency of mining infrastructural schemes in the making of global Africa, as well as their legacy in terms of planning and architectural practice. Schéma d'une sidérurgie atlantique, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui" n.70, 1957

The Massawa-Asmara Ropeway: From a Component of a Multimodal Transport System in the 1930's to a Missing Heritage'

Dawit Abraha

wedebrahaa@gmail.com

Nelly Cattaneo

nelly.cattaneo@polimi.it

Between 1934-35, when the Italian fascist regime planned to attack Ethiopia, their colony of Eritrea was turned into a logistical base structured on a modern and efficient transport system to enable the first "war of movement". In this frame, the Massawa-Asmara axis, of paramount importance since 1890 as the link between the port (and therefore Italy) and the capital city Asmara, became a strategic priority to transfer soldiers and military equipment onto the highlands, near the border with Ethiopia. The project of a ropeway was intended to integrate with and support the road and railway transport, which had limitations due to steep altitude difference between the sea level and Asmara's altitude at over 2.300 metres. Due to technical difficulties, the construction of the 75 km long triple-cable way, which was the longest of its kind in the world, was completed in 1937, after the

Ethiopian war. Therefore its role was turned to boosting colonial production and trade in Eritrea. Under the British Military Administration (1941-52), the ropeway service was suppressed and, although it underwent regular maintenance to enable future reopening, all the stock materials and equipment necessary for extraordinary repairs was sold or transferred abroad by the British. In the 1960s, when Eritrea was part of Ethiopia, the whole infrastructure, which had not been used for two decades, was dismantled, including all the metal pylons. Through the few existing archival documents available in Eritrea and Italy, and an outcome of a survey carried out in 2018, this paper aims to outline the short history of this extraordinary infrastructure in relation to the territory and the landscape between Massawa and Asmara. Despite its short life, the impact of such an impressive and unprecedented “futuristic” infrastructure has been profound on the collective memories of both Eritreans and Italians. The iconic photos of suspended cables overcoming mountains, deep valleys, semiarid plains have nourished a well-rooted memory, and enable to interpret the currently scattered remains as part of a unique modern heritage landscape.

Le téléphérique Massawa-Asmara : d'une composante d'un système de transport multimodal dans les années 1930 à un patrimoine manquant

Entre 1934 et 1935, lorsque le régime fasciste italien projette d'attaquer l'Éthiopie, leur colonie d'Érythrée se transforme en une base logistique structurée sur un système de transport moderne et efficace pour permettre la première « guerre de mouvement ». Dans ce cadre, l'axe Massawa-Asmara, d'une importance primordiale depuis 1890 comme lien entre le port (et donc l'Italie) et la capitale Asmara, est devenu une priorité stratégique pour transférer des soldats et du matériel militaire sur les hauts plateaux, près de la frontière avec l'Éthiopie. Le projet de téléphérique visait à intégrer et à soutenir le transport routier et ferroviaire, qui présentait des limites en raison de la forte différence d'altitude entre le niveau de la mer et l'altitude d'Asmara à plus de 2 300 mètres. En raison de difficultés techniques, la construction de la voie à trois câbles longue de 75 km, qui était la plus longue du genre au monde, a été achevée en 1937, après la guerre d'Éthiopie. Par conséquent, son rôle a

été tourné vers la stimulation de la production coloniale et du commerce en Érythrée. Sous l'administration militaire britannique (1941-52), le service de téléphérique a été supprimé et, bien qu'il ait fait l'objet d'un entretien régulier pour permettre une réouverture future, tout le matériel et l'équipement nécessaires aux réparations extraordinaires ont été vendus ou transférés à l'étranger par les Britanniques. Dans les années 1960, lorsque l'Érythrée faisait partie de l'Éthiopie, toute l'infrastructure, qui n'avait pas été utilisée depuis deux décennies, a été démantelée, y compris tous les pylônes métalliques. À travers les quelques documents d'archives existants disponibles en Érythrée et en Italie, et les résultats d'une enquête menée en 2018, cet article vise à retracer la courte histoire de cette infrastructure extraordinaire en relation avec le territoire et le paysage entre Massawa et Asmara. Malgré sa courte durée de vie, l'impact d'une infrastructure «futuriste» aussi impressionnante et sans précédent a été profond sur la mémoire collective des Érythréens et des Italiens. Les photos emblématiques de câbles suspendus surmontant des montagnes, des vallées profondes, des plaines semi-arides ont nourri une mémoire bien enracinée, et permettent d'interpréter les vestiges aujourd'hui dispersés comme faisant partie d'un paysage patrimonial moderne unique.

De-centering Official Heritage

Relations autour de l'architecture monumentale en Côte d'Ivoire post-indépendance : explorées à travers la basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix à Yamoussoukro

Leonhard von Reinersdorff

Bartlett School of Architecture
University College London
leonhard.tenczin.20@ucl.ac.uk

This paper analyses the monumental and understudied architecture of post-independence Côte d'Ivoire through one particular edifice, the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace (1985-1989) in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire's official capital city since 1983. Both the Basilica – designed by the Lebanese-Ivorian architect Pierre Fakhoury and commissioned by Côte d'Ivoire's first president Félix Houphouët-Boigny – and the overall project of the new capital, represent a challenging modern heritage for the country. In a country where Catholics are a minority, this monumental church with its reminiscence of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome raises questions of power distribution and coloniality.

Alongside most of Africa's modern monuments, the Basilica is virtually unknown to many people and is underrepresented in Western archives and architectural histories or portrayed in a negative or patronising manner in international media reviews. This study therefore highlights and critiques its own positionality within European academia and aims to challenge the Western gaze. By examining its commission, design and construction, the study foregrounds the power relations behind the Basilica, employing stylistic, religious, social, and material readings to produce a multi-layered analysis of the building's history and heritage. The thesis is being theorised through discourses of modernity, post-colonialism, and decolonisation, by analysing networks of affiliation, which can be seen in the wider context of sub-Saharan Africa. Thereby, the Basilica is understood as a building deeply embedded in the context of the twentieth century and as part of the modern heritage of Africa.

Keywords: Basilica of Our Lady of Peace, Yamoussoukro, re-centering Africa, 20th century monuments, networks of affiliation

Relations autour de l'architecture monumentale en Côte d'Ivoire post-indépendance : explorées à travers la basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix à Yamoussoukro

Cet article analyse l'architecture monumentale et peu étudiée de la Côte d'Ivoire au lendemain de son indépendance, en se concentrant sur un édifice: la basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix (1985-1989) à Yamoussoukro, capitale officielle de la Côte d'Ivoire depuis 1983. La basilique - conçue par l'architecte libano-ivoirien Pierre Fakhoury et commandée par le premier président de la Côte d'Ivoire, Félix Houphouët-Boigny - et le projet global de la nouvelle capitale constituent un héritage moderne difficile pour le pays. Dans un pays où les catholiques sont minoritaires, cette église monumentale -qui n'est pas sans rappeler la basilique Saint-Pierre de Rome- soulève des questions concernant la répartition du pouvoir et la colonialité.

Comme la plupart des monuments modernes d'Afrique, la basilique est pratiquement inconnue et sous-représentée dans les archives et les histoires architecturales occidentales- quand elle n'est pas dépeinte de manière négative ou condescendante dans les revues médiatiques internationales. Cette étude met donc en lumière et critique sa propre position au sein du monde universitaire européen, en cherchant à défier le regard occidental. En examinant sa commande, sa conception et sa construction, l'étude met en avant les relations de pouvoir qui se cachent derrière la basilique, en utilisant des lectures stylistiques, religieuses, sociales et matérielles pour produire une analyse à plusieurs niveaux de l'histoire et du patrimoine du bâtiment. La thèse est développée à travers les discours de la modernité, du post-colonialisme et de la décolonisation, en analysant les réseaux d'affiliation, qui peuvent être vus dans le contexte plus large de l'Afrique sub-saharienne. Ainsi, la basilique est comprise comme un bâtiment profondément ancré dans le contexte du 20ème siècle et comme une partie de l'héritage moderne de l'Afrique.

Mots-clés : Basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix, Yamoussoukro, recentrage de l'Afrique, monuments du 20ème siècle, réseaux d'affiliation.

Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: Modern Heritage of Africa Workshop

Jeff Cody

Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Chandler McCoy

Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Gail Ostergren

Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, CA, USA
(corresponding author, gostergren@getty.edu)

In July 2021, the Getty Conservation Institute's Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative hosted an online virtual workshop to introduce African heritage professionals to the Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework, a collaboration between the GCI and the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) International Twentieth Century Scientific Committee. The workshop was created in partnership with the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) to introduce the Thematic Framework and explore its utility for an upcoming survey of modern heritage in Africa. This paper summarises the outcomes of this workshop.

The Thematic Framework is a tool for assessing twentieth-century heritage places. It is intended to be used and adapted by people who are working to identify heritage places anywhere in the world. It includes 10 broad themes that represent the primary phenomena, events, and developments that characterised the twentieth century. The thematic approach helps users organise and contextualise places that are being considered for heritage listing.

The first in a series of regional workshops to be conducted by GCI, the workshop introduced participants to the framework and demonstrated how it can be applied in Africa. The programme included presentations on the Thematic Framework, a robust plenary discussion of how the framework could be used and whether it is applicable to the African context, and an exercise using examples of heritage places in Africa that demonstrated how the themes relate to modern heritage in Africa and identified where adaptation

might be needed. Participants acknowledged the workshop's potential usefulness as they move forward with identifying Africa's significant modern heritage.

Keywords: heritage inventories; twentieth-century heritage; thematic framework; African modern heritage; heritage significance

Cadre thématique historique du XXe siècle : Atelier sur le patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique.

En juillet 2021, l'Initiative de conservation de l'architecture moderne du Getty Conservation Institute a organisé un atelier virtuel en ligne pour présenter aux professionnels du patrimoine africain le Cadre thématique historique du vingtième siècle, une collaboration entre le GCI et le Comité scientifique international du vingtième siècle de l'ICOMOS. L'atelier a été créé en partenariat avec le Fonds du patrimoine mondial africain (AWHF) pour présenter le cadre thématique et explorer son utilité pour une prochaine enquête sur le patrimoine moderne en Afrique. Ce document résume les résultats de cet atelier.

Le cadre thématique est un outil d'évaluation des lieux patrimoniaux du XXe siècle. Il est destiné à être utilisé et adapté par des personnes qui travaillent à l'identification de lieux patrimoniaux partout dans le monde. Il comprend dix grands thèmes qui représentent les principaux phénomènes, événements et développements qui ont caractérisé le vingtième siècle. L'approche thématique aide les utilisateurs à organiser et à contextualiser les lieux envisagés pour une inscription au patrimoine.

Premier d'une série d'ateliers régionaux organisés par GCI, l'atelier a présenté le cadre aux participants et a démontré comment il peut être appliqué à l'Afrique. Le programme comprenait des présentations sur le cadre thématique, une solide discussion plénière sur la façon dont le cadre pourrait être utilisé et s'il est applicable au contexte africain, et un exercice utilisant des exemples de lieux patrimoniaux en Afrique qui a démontré comment les thèmes se rapportent au patrimoine moderne dans l'Afrique et identifié où une adaptation pourrait être nécessaire. Les participants ont reconnu l'utilité de l'atelier alors qu'ils progressent dans l'identification de l'important patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique.

Mots-clés : inventaires du patrimoine; patrimoine du XXe siècle; cadre thématique; patrimoine moderne africain; importance patrimoniale

Honouring National Heroes through Architecture: a case of the Presidential Mausoleum

Dr. Ralwala Anthony Oduor

Senior Lecturer,
Department of Architecture and Building Science
University of Nairobi

Honouring national heroes and tribal leaders in Africa is a practice that can be traced to Ancient Egypt, where the pyramid was the culmination of a typological series of interment building forms that evolved from the mastaba. The pyramid's architectural largesse, grandeur, simplicity and cultural symbolism are attributes that exemplify some of the concepts and principles of an 'architecture of the dead'. The traditional vernacular architecture of African communities in the pre-colonial period also exhibits instances where the living dead and tribal ancestors were bestowed with such honour. In the post-colonial period, the presidential mausoleum has emerged as a novel architectural typology which has been procured by African states to honour their fallen leaders. These Presidents, who are actually national heroes, either died in active duty, like Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, or in retirement, like Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. The mausoleum buildings form part of the Modern Heritage of Africa and are worthy of study because they are highly revered in the countries where they are located. This paper explores the architecture of the presidential mausoleum, seeking to highlight the importance of this typology to national built heritage. Through performing a hermeneutic reading of the images of the mausoleums of Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Julius Nyerere, Levy Mwanawasa, Laurent-Desire Kabila, Kwame Nkrumah, Bingu Mutharika, Kamuzu Banda and Mobutu Sese Seko, as cultural texts, an analysis and interpretation of the architecture of the presidential mausoleum is undertaken. Commonalities and differences in the design of these mausoleums are highlighted to provide material that can be used for instruction in architectural academia, and to inform Afrocentric architectural praxis additionally.

Honorer les héros nationaux par l'architecture : un cas du mausolée présidentiel

Honorer les héros nationaux et les chefs tribaux en Afrique est une pratique qui remonte à l'Égypte ancienne, où la pyramide était l'aboutissement d'une série typologique de formes de construction d'inhumation qui ont évolué à partir du mastaba. Les largesses architecturales, la grandeur, la simplicité et le symbolisme culturel de la pyramide sont des attributs qui illustrent certains des concepts et principes d'une « architecture des morts ». L'architecture vernaculaire traditionnelle des communautés africaines de la période précoloniale présente également des exemples où les morts-vivants et les ancêtres tribaux ont reçu un tel honneur. Dans la période post-coloniale, le mausolée présidentiel est apparu comme une nouvelle typologie architecturale qui a été procurée par les États africains pour honorer leurs dirigeants déçus. Ces présidents, qui sont en réalité des héros nationaux, sont soit morts en service actif, comme le Kenyan Jomo Kenyatta, soit à la retraite, comme le Tanzanien Julius Nyerere. Les bâtiments du mausolée font partie du patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique et méritent d'être étudiés car ils sont très vénérés dans les pays où ils se trouvent. Cet article explore l'architecture du mausolée présidentiel, cherchant à souligner l'importance de cette typologie pour le patrimoine bâti national. A travers une lecture herméneutique des images des mausolées de Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Julius Nyerere, Levy Mwanawasa, Laurent-Désiré Kabila, Kwame Nkrumah, Bingu Mutharika, Kamuzu Banda et Mobutu Sese Seko, comme textes culturels, une analyse et l'interprétation de l'architecture du mausolée présidentiel est entreprise. Les points communs et les différences dans la conception de ces mausolées sont mis en évidence pour fournir du matériel pouvant être utilisé pour l'enseignement dans les universités d'architecture et pour informer en outre la pratique architecturale afrocentrique.

Heritage, Conflict and Change

How might the everyday lived experiences of Black women and women of colour (WOC) in Cape Town reimagine approaches to improving safe space social infrastructures and ultimately play a role in refiguring the visibility of Black women in architectural and spatial archives?

Khensani De Klerk

Khensanideklerk.work@gmail.com

This proposal extends on the research surrounding the platform 'public aGender' which the author created as a digital ethnographic approach to better understanding the spatial perspectives of Black women and WOC Gender-based violence (GBV) survivors in Cape Town. With a focus on the medium of digital eidetic photomontage collage as both a conduit and vessel, the project is interested in displaying a methodology that communicates those experiences of everyday city-goer-storytellers whilst acting as an archive in flux, gleaned often overlooked experiences that contribute to the urban condition of Cape Town, further reflecting the engrained nuances of this specific African context. The proposal reflects on public aGender, particularly those responses from participants that focus on mobility and what it means to dwell and be stretched between what bell hooks refers to as Margin and Centre. Looking particularly at the tactics and strategies employed by many Black women and WOC in Cape Town, the proposal hopes to shine light on how informal and social acts of negotiation affect a sense of safety that could, when recognised as quintessential for everyday survival, be valued and transformed with the aid of design into counterpublics that encourage the development and fruition of anti-GBV safe space typologies. Through collage, the proposal hopes to emphasise how eidetic photomontage can be used a tool to render these invisibilised types visible, subverting the erasure of Black women in space and image-making (de Klerk, 2021). In doing so, the proposal argues how the

forementioned plays a role in the recording of modernities of mobility, safe space ephemera and tactics of finding joy in Cape Town, South Africa.

Comment les expériences quotidiennes des femmes noires et des femmes de couleur (WOC) au Cap pourraient-elles réinventer les approches visant à améliorer les infrastructures sociales des espaces sûrs et, en fin de compte, jouer un rôle dans la refiguration de la visibilité des femmes noires dans les archives architecturales et spatiales ?

Cette proposition s'étend sur la recherche entourant la plate-forme "public aGender" que l'auteur a créée comme une approche ethnographique numérique pour mieux comprendre les perspectives spatiales des femmes noires et des survivantes de la violence basée sur le genre (VBG) du WOC au Cap. En mettant l'accent sur le médium du collage de photomontages eidétiques numériques en tant que conduit et réceptacle, le projet s'intéresse à l'affichage d'une méthodologie qui communique ces expériences de conteurs de citoyens de tous les jours tout en agissant comme une archive en flux, glanant des expériences souvent négligées qui contribuent à la condition urbaine du Cap, reflétant davantage les nuances enracinées de ce contexte africain spécifique. La proposition réfléchit sur l'aGender public, en particulier les réponses des participants qui se concentrent sur la mobilité et ce que signifie habiter et être étiré entre ce que bell hooks appelle la marge et le centre. En examinant en particulier les tactiques et les stratégies employées par de nombreuses femmes noires et WOC au Cap, la proposition espère mettre en lumière la façon dont les actes de négociation informels et sociaux affectent un sentiment de sécurité qui pourrait, lorsqu'il est reconnu comme la quintessence de la survie quotidienne, être valorisé et transformés à l'aide du design en contre-publics qui encouragent le développement et la concrétisation de typologies d'espaces sûrs anti-VBG. À travers le collage, la proposition espère souligner comment le

photomontage eidétique peut être utilisé comme un outil pour rendre visibles ces types invisibles, renversant l'effacement des femmes noires dans l'espace et la création d'images (de Klerk, 2021). Ce faisant, la proposition explique comment ce qui précède joue un rôle dans l'enregistrement des modernités de la mobilité, des éphémères spatiaux sûrs et des tactiques pour trouver la joie à Cape Town, en Afrique du Sud.

The Significance of the De Bult Enclave Heritage in the Town of Carnarvon, Northern Cape.

Peet van Biljon

peet@vbba.co.za

Carnarvon, serving a rural community in the Northern Cape represents an important part of South African history – commencing at a time in the 19th century when a mix of migrating cultures and religious impetus created small, social footholds on the northern frontier of the Cape Colony. The town originated from a meagre missionary oasis which developed and became a proclaimed Rhenish mission station in 1860. Within its immediate surrounds, De Bult enclave (De Bult referencing 'the low hill in the landscape') was bound, both in spirit and location, to the Rhenish church in the centre of a developing town. Thus evolved a closely-knit Coloured community from 1847 onwards and therein lies the paradox – the seemingly coherent living between the people of the De Bult enclave of the so-called "onderdorp" (a derogatory term meaning 'lower town' as opposed to "bo-dorp" meaning 'upper town') near the centre of town and the White inhabitants of the town through all the decades to the present. The following paragraph from the NHRA is relevant to this project as it reminds us as custodians of the built environment and its inhabitants of our commitment and responsibility towards our heritage: "However, this may be in part due to lack of knowledge and insight, or prejudice and social complexity, but in the context of the healing process of restitution advocated by the NHRA, the significance and value of this legacy should be acknowledged and conserved so that it may be "bequeathed to future generations." (NHRA,1999)

This research project evaluated and established an in-depth look at the significance of the framed heritage, tangible and intangible, specifically of De Bult spatial status as a declared heritage area, as well as the De Bult enclave. The study

has revealed that it is the very strong social, intangible, and generational significance and sense of belonging and ownership that has caused the coherent resistance to evictions, resulting in the enabling of the physical preservation of the built form. I argue that the rich tangible and intangible heritage makes a significantly valuable contribution towards the (official) declared heritage of De Bult in Carnarvon and should rightfully be acknowledged as such, although currently this heritage area has been occluded from the public realm. The heritage framing of 1994 had secured the built as tangible heritage form and consequently the social intangible heritage of the area, effected by the inhabitants. Currently they present this intangible heritage only as part of their culture and is it not recognised as an official declaration of their complex past. Only when we recognise and include such intangible heritage in the public domain can the transformation, restitution and healing that the South African government has decreed aimed to achieve, begin.

L'importance du patrimoine de l'enclave De Bult dans la ville de Carnarvon, Northern Cape.

Carnarvon, au service d'une communauté rurale du Cap Nord, représente une partie importante de l'histoire sud-africaine - commençant à une époque du XIXe siècle où un mélange de cultures migrantes et d'élan religieux a créé de petites implantations sociales à la frontière nord de la colonie du Cap. La ville est née d'une maigre oasis missionnaire qui s'est développée et est devenue une station missionnaire rhénane proclamée en 1860. Dans ses environs immédiats, l'enclave De Bult (De Bult faisant référence à «la colline basse dans le paysage») était liée, à la fois dans l'esprit et l'emplacement, à l'église rhénane au centre d'une ville en développement. Ainsi s'est développée une communauté de couleur étroitement liée à partir de 1847 et c'est là que réside le paradoxe - la vie apparemment cohérente entre les habitants de l'enclave De Bult de la soi-disant «onderdorp» (un terme péjoratif signifiant «ville basse» par opposition à «bo-dorp» signifiant «ville haute») près du centre-ville et des habitants blancs de la ville à travers toutes les décennies jusqu'à nos jours. Le paragraphe suivant de la NHRA est pertinent pour ce projet car il nous rappelle, en tant que gardiens de l'environnement bâti et de ses habitants, notre engagement et notre responsabilité envers notre patrimoine : "Cependant, cela peut être en partie dû à un manque de connaissances et de perspicacité, ou les préjugés et la complexité

sociale, mais dans le contexte du processus de guérison de la restitution prôné par la NHRA, l'importance et la valeur de cet héritage doivent être reconnues et conservées afin qu'il puisse être « légué aux générations futures ». (NHRA, 1999)

Ce projet de recherche a évalué et établi un regard approfondi sur l'importance du patrimoine encadré, matériel et immatériel, en particulier du statut spatial De Bult en tant que zone patrimoniale déclarée, ainsi que de l'enclave De Bult. L'étude a révélé que c'est la très forte signification sociale, immatérielle et générationnelle et le sentiment d'appartenance et de propriété qui ont provoqué la résistance cohérente aux expulsions, ce qui a permis la préservation physique de la forme bâtie. Je soutiens que le riche patrimoine matériel et immatériel apporte une contribution significative au patrimoine déclaré (officiel) de De Bult à Carnarvon et devrait légitimement être reconnu comme tel, bien qu'actuellement cette zone patrimoniale ait été exclue du domaine public. La structuration patrimoniale de 1994 avait sécurisé le bâti en tant que forme patrimoniale matérielle et par conséquent le patrimoine social immatériel du territoire, réalisé par les habitants. Actuellement, ils ne présentent ce patrimoine immatériel que comme faisant partie de leur culture et il n'est pas reconnu comme une déclaration officielle de leur passé complexe. Ce n'est que lorsque nous reconnaissons et incluons ce patrimoine immatériel dans le domaine public que la transformation, la restitution et la guérison que le gouvernement sud-africain a décrété visant à réaliser, peuvent commencer.

Lived Space – Of Soul and Joy: The lived representational experience of Thokoza: Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda

Nocebo Bucibo

University of Pretoria
u20815132@tuks.co.za

Photography has been used as a medium to tell the story of the South African Thokoza migrant labour hostels. The popular photographic narrative of three Thokoza hostels, Mshaya`zafe, Khuthuza and Madala, was set in the early 1990s, leading up to the first South African democratic elections. The transition to a new democracy was plagued with violence and the three hostels were at the centre of the violence in which many

people lost their lives and were displaced. A large contingent of local and international journalists and news photographers who were regarded as outsiders, captured these events. This resulted in a singular visual account of events within the area and its hostels emerging. This paper seeks to introduce a second voice to the photographic narrative of Thokoza's hostels, by interrogating the lived experience and contemporary images created by photographers residing in Thokoza who are participants of a community photography project that uses social media as a platform for sharing and creating an archive of their photographs and activities. This paper further seeks to analyse the role the Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa Facebook book page plays in the user-generated archive in preserving the heritage of the Thokoza hostels. This will be done by observing and critically analysing the data from one post on the page.

Keywords: Thokoza hostels; Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa; photography; social media; the production of space; archive

Espace vécu – Of Soul and Joy: L'expérience de représentation vécue de Thokoza : Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda

La photographie a été utilisée comme moyen de raconter l'histoire des foyers de travailleurs migrants sud-africains Thokoza. Le récit photographique populaire de trois foyers de Thokoza, Mshaya`zafe, Khuthuza et Madala, s'est déroulé au début des années 1990, à l'approche des premières élections démocratiques sud-africaines. La transition vers une nouvelle démocratie a été marquée par la violence et les trois foyers se sont trouvés au centre de cette violence, au cours de laquelle de nombreuses personnes ont perdu la vie et ont été déplacées. Un important contingent de journalistes locaux et internationaux et de photographes d'actualités, considérés comme des étrangers, ont capturé ces événements. Il en est résulté un récit visuel singulier des événements survenus dans la région et dans ses foyers. Cet article cherche à introduire une seconde voix dans le récit photographique des foyers de Thokoza, en interrogeant l'expérience vécue et les images contemporaines créées par des photographes résidant à Thokoza et participant à un projet de photographie communautaire qui utilise les médias sociaux comme plateforme de partage et de création d'archives de leurs photographies et activités. Cet article cherche en outre à

analyser le rôle que joue la page Facebook de Photography Project Of Soul and Joy, South Africa, dans les archives générées par les utilisateurs pour préserver le patrimoine des foyers de Thokoza. Pour ce faire, nous observerons et analyserons de manière critique les données d'une publication sur la page.

Mots-clés : Thokoza hostels, Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa, Photographie, réseaux sociaux, production d'archives spatiales

Urban Heritage, Colonialism and Modernity

Imagining new forms of urban development through the enhancement of the local culture of living: The Pemba case study in Mozambique

Corinna Del Bianco

Independent researcher and Adjunct Professor
Politecnico di Milano
email corinna.delbianco@polimi.it
corinnadelbianco@gmail.com
IG, FB, Academia Edu
[Linkedin @corinnadelbianco](#)

The African continent is undergoing urbanisation, and in many cases, this has resulted in a spontaneous importation of rural housing models into cities through the construction skills of the inhabitants themselves. Since 2011, the Spontaneous Living Spaces research project has been studying the ways in which self-built houses are constructed and inhabited, treating them as mirrors of the local cultural identity. The project examines spontaneous living as an important element of the urban cultural landscape and of local tangible and intangible forms of heritage, and it seeks to preserve, communicate, and enhance the diversity of cultural expression. The studies are conducted through field surveys that produce a variety of documentation (architectural drawings, urban analysis, interviews, photo-reportage, etc.), and case studies have so far been developed in Sao Paulo, Hong Kong, and Pemba.

Keywords: cultural landscape, spontaneous living, housing, self-building, changing cities, Pemba, Mozambique

Imaginer de nouvelles formes de développement urbain à travers la valorisation de la culture de vivre locale : l'étude de cas de Pemba au Mozambique

Le continent africain est en voie d'urbanisation, et dans de nombreux cas, cela s'est traduit par une importation spontanée de modèles d'habitat rural dans les villes grâce aux compétences de construction des habitants eux-mêmes. Depuis 2011, le projet de recherche Spontaneous Living Spaces étudie les façons dont les maisons auto-construites sont réalisées et habitées, les traitant comme des miroirs de l'identité culturelle locale. Le projet examine la vie spontanée en tant qu'élément important du paysage culturel urbain et les formes locales matérielles et immatérielles du patrimoine, et il cherche à préserver, communiquer et renforcer la diversité de l'expression culturelle. Les études sont menées à travers des enquêtes sur le terrain qui produisent une documentation variée (dessins architecturaux, analyse urbaine, entretiens, photo-reportage, etc.), ainsi que des cas d'études développés jusqu'à présent à Sao Paulo, Hong Kong et Pemba.

Counter-mapping Heritage: Memory and Significance in places of Racialised land Dispossession: The Case of Lower Claremont, Cape Town

Maurietta Stewart

Heritage Planner, City of Cape Town
Mphil:conservation of the built environment(UCT)
maurietta@gmail.com

In this study I investigate the use of counter-mapping methodologies to identify memories and significance in landscapes of racialized dispossession in the City of Cape Town. I use oral history, a go-along or walking interview and focus group workshop to test the counter-mapping process. In doing so it traces the historical process of land and housing loss under apartheid as an extension of colonialism and its modernist project of racial separation, and effects and affects on those dispossessed into the post-apartheid period. I critically assess the official frameworks

of heritage resource management, especially in the post-apartheid period which have continued to focus on the built environment and aesthetics, despite officials attempts to incorporate consultation of communities, stakeholders and their values. I do so in order to highlight the need for transformation and inclusion in current heritage practice in order to address disparities in the practice. Counter-mapping methodologies are presented in the research as potential tools to address these contentious practices. These contentions intersect strongly in areas which are included in the Heritage Protection Overlay Zoning in the City of Cape Town. The research shows that the HPOZ is geared towards managing the built environment and give attention to contextual development issues. It is however, not able to deal with memories and intangible values of the dispossessed in places where it intersects with land dispossession. The study also presents how the research participants understand their own heritage, which at times strengthens the official framework, and at other times stands in opposition to and in contrast to the official framework. These significances are mapped using counter-mapping methodologies. The study concludes that counter-mapping methodologies are able to represent memory and intangible significance in places of racialised land dispossession, and that the methodologies have multiple uses for varying settings and purposes that speaks to a modernist vision in post-apartheid's constitutional democracy that fulfils promises of fairness and justice.

Contre-cartographie du patrimoine : mémoire et importance dans les lieux de dépossession racialisée des terres : le cas de Lower Claremont, Cape Town

Dans cette étude, j'étudie l'utilisation de méthodologies de contre-cartographie pour identifier les souvenirs et la signification dans les paysages de dépossession racialisée dans la ville du Cap. J'utilise l'histoire orale, une entrevue en accompagnement ou à pied et un atelier de groupe de discussion pour tester le processus de contre-cartographie. Ce faisant, il retrace le processus historique de perte de terres et de logements sous l'apartheid en tant qu'extension du colonialisme et de son projet moderniste de séparation raciale, ainsi que des effets et des effets sur les dépossédés de la période post-apartheid. J'évalue de manière critique

les cadres officiels de gestion des ressources patrimoniales, en particulier dans la période post-apartheid qui ont continué à se concentrer sur l'environnement bâti et l'esthétique, malgré les tentatives officielles d'intégrer la consultation des communautés, des parties prenantes et de leurs valeurs. Je le fais afin de souligner le besoin de transformation et d'inclusion dans la pratique actuelle du patrimoine afin de remédier aux disparités dans la pratique. Les méthodologies de contre-cartographie sont présentées dans la recherche comme des outils potentiels pour aborder ces pratiques controversées. Ces conflits se recoupent fortement dans les zones incluses dans le zonage superposé de protection du patrimoine de la ville du Cap. La recherche montre que le HPOZ est orienté vers la gestion de l'environnement bâti et accorde une attention aux problèmes de développement contextuels. Elle n'est cependant pas en mesure de traiter des souvenirs et des valeurs immatérielles des déposés là où elle croise la dépossession foncière. L'étude présente également la façon dont les participants à la recherche appréhendent leur propre patrimoine, qui parfois renforce le cadre officiel, et à d'autres moments s'oppose et contraste avec le cadre officiel. Ces significations sont cartographiées à l'aide de méthodologies de contre-cartographie. L'étude conclut que les méthodologies de contre-cartographie sont capables de représenter la mémoire et la signification immatérielle dans les lieux de dépossession racialisée des terres, et que les méthodologies ont de multiples utilisations pour différents contextes et objectifs qui témoignent d'une vision moderniste de la démocratie constitutionnelle post-apartheid qui tient ses promesses, d'équité et de justice.

Towards defining the modern heritage of the coast of Kenya:

Fatma S Twahir

Principal Curator
Fort Jesus World Heritage Site
National Museums of Kenya
Email: fatma.twahir@museums.or.ke

The deep history of the East African coast is explained within the context of established, flourishing city states trading regionally and internationally, taking advantage of their maritime location. The indigenous architecture was initially comprised of residential, or administration buildings, constructed of coral rug and mud mortar covered with lime plaster. The roof would be of palm fronds traditionally

supported by mangrove poles. These are materials easily available locally and ready for construction. This local building pattern was subsequently spiced by a succession of 'rulers' eager to control the resources of the region, initially the eastern traders followed by Chinese and later western powers with superior navigation and military power. This array of successive powers brought with them cultures and practices, influencing the local and fusing it into something unique and typical of its location, equally represented in its architecture.

Keywords: Maritime, Swahili, Materials, Fusion, Flexibility, Identity

Vers la définition du patrimoine moderne de la côte du Kenya

L'histoire profonde de la côte de l'Afrique de l'Est est expliquée dans le contexte de cités-états établies et florissantes faisant du commerce régional et international, profitant de leur situation maritime. L'architecture indigène était initialement constituée de bâtiments résidentiels ou administratifs, construits en tapis de corail et en mortier de boue recouvert de plâtre de chaux. Le toit était constitué de feuilles de palmier traditionnellement soutenues par des poteaux de palétuvier. Ce sont des matériaux facilement disponibles localement et prêts à être construits. Ce modèle de construction local a ensuite été épicé par une succession de "souverains" désireux de contrôler les ressources de la région, d'abord les commerçants Worientaux, puis les Chinois et plus tard les puissances occidentales dotées d'une navigation et d'une puissance militaire supérieures. Cet ensemble de puissances successives a apporté avec lui des cultures et des pratiques, influençant le local et le fusionnant en quelque chose d'unique et de typique de son emplacement, également représenté dans son architecture.

Mots-clés : Maritime, Swahili, Matériaux, Fusion, Flexibilité, Identité

Expressing liberation movements through modern architecture in Africa: 'Afro-Brazilian and Neo-Moorish' liberation architectures

Rim Kelouaze

Department of Archaeology
University of Cape Town
Klzrim00@myuct.ac.za; / Rimkelouaze@gmail.com

This contribution studies 19-20th century modern architectures in Africa that expressed ideas of liberation. It aims to rethink narratives and re-evaluate perceptions through an objective reading. Liberation architectures are born out of popular resistance movements, artistic expressions of voices for liberation, driving forces arising from resistance or cultural responses to political pressure from populations.

Two cases are studied. The first concerns pre-liberation architectures in early 19th century Algeria that emerged when popular resistance to integration between Algerians and pieds noirs (the "pieds noirs" are the settlers who were repatriated from Europe by France to form the population of the colony of settlement in Algeria, and their descendants between 1830 and 1962) provoked the colonial administration to facilitate the creation of the neo-Moorish style as a way of allowing the autochthonous to identify themselves within the city through a new architecture inspired by pre-colonial architecture. The second case studies post-liberation architectures through Afro-Brazilian architecture initiated by returned formerly enslaved people (Lagos/Benin), who expressed through architecture their freedom to reflect shifting identities and complex associations between their lives and lands. Both examples challenge notions of authenticity and recognition. neo-Moorish is perceived as a fake mix of two dissociated architectures; Afro-Brazilian is regarded as imported and less authentic than local architectures. Yet the authenticity of both architectures lies in the motivation underlying their creation: Afro-Brazilians who returned to where they were captured and enslaved to create masterpieces, and Algerians who forced the coloniser to make a unique cultural compromise to appease the population, created two forms of liberation architecture of undeniable authenticity.

Keywords: modern heritage, colonial heritage, modern architecture, architecture of liberation, decolonisation

Cet article examine l'architecture moderne du 19ème- 20ème siècle en Afrique qui exprime des idées de libération. Il vise à repenser les récits et à réévaluer les perceptions à travers une lecture objective. Les architectures de la libération sont nées de mouvements de résistance populaire, d'expressions artistiques des voix de la libération, de forces motrices de la résistance ou de réponses culturelles à la pression politique des populations.

Deux cas sont étudiés, les architectures pré-libération à travers l'architecture néo-mauresque en Algérie au début du 20ème siècle reflétant la pression exercée par les populations qui a généré une réponse de l'administration coloniale quant à la création du style néo-mauresque pour permettre aux autochtones de s'identifier à travers une nouvelle architecture inspirée de l'architecture précoloniale pour leur donner un sens de propriété de la ville en vue de la proposition d'intégration entre les Algériens et les pieds noirs. Le second cas étudie les architectures post-libération à travers l'architecture afro-brésilienne initiée par les ex-asservis (Lagos/Bénin) où ils ont exprimé par l'architecture une stratégie de liberté reflétant leurs identités changeantes et ont matérialisé l'association complexe entre leurs vies et leurs terres. Les deux exemples montrent un challenge d'authenticité et de reconnaissance. Le néo-mauresque est perçu comme falsifié en tant que mélange de deux architectures dissociées et l'afro-brésilien comme importé et moins authentique que les architectures locales. Pourtant, l'authenticité des deux architectures réside dans la motivation de leur création. Les Afro-Brésiliens qui sont retournés là où ils ont été captivés et réduits en esclavage pour créer des chefs-d'œuvre et les Algériens qui ont forcé le colonisateur à faire un compromis culturel unique pour tenter de se réconcilier avec la population ont créé deux formes d'architecture de libération d'une authenticité incontestable.

Urban heritage for transformative futures: Architecture, intangible heritage and belonging in Cape Town

Naomi Roux and Deirdre Prins-Solani

University of Cape Town
n.roux@uct.ac.za / deirdreprins17@yahoo.com

Our starting point for this work was the question: is it possible to think about architectural conservation in South African cities as a tool for spatial justice. Historically, built environment conservation in South Africa has been rooted in politically conservative and colonial architectural and aesthetic values and practices. The framing of the post-apartheid South African National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 reflected a global shift towards inclusivity, participatory practices and acknowledgement of the intangible. In practice, however, “heritage resource management” remains inextricably entangled with the language of urban spatial management, the primacy of materiality, and a concept of heritage that is rooted in “modern” ideologies around cadastral boundaries, land ownership, capital and power.

In Cape Town in recent years (as in many other places), we have seen increasing contestation, resistance, anxiety and fragmentation related to the entangled questions of heritage protection, gentrification, urban development, and spatial transformation. Spatial transformation in this context is sometimes received positively in the interests of social and spatial justice, and sometimes strongly resisted as destructive and violent. In many cases, the existing systems of “heritage management” – in the legal and procedural sense – have proven completely inadequate in addressing these tensions and fragmentations, largely because they are not very good at accounting for intangible values and meanings beyond those directly associated with physical heritage fabric or objects. Yet, these intangible qualities are often what most strongly drive contestation over heritage recognition and preservation. This became clear, for example, in work we did with the Salt River Heritage Society in 2020, where we began to articulate what longstanding residents actually felt to be at risk from built environment interventions, and how a sense of protectiveness over the built environment is more often than not a proxy for anxieties over threats to ways of life, cultural practice, community relationships, intangible

heritage elements, and so on. At the same time, the built environment itself often supports these intangible practices and ways of being and belonging, in ways that “heritage management” is not well equipped to recognise and protect. In this paper, we begin to unravel some of these questions and complexities through a positioning of the relationships between materiality and intangibility; and a consideration of the blind spots of a relatively inflexible and materially-oriented approach to heritage that has its roots in Enlightenment philosophies and nineteenth-century Romanticism, which has reached us in 21st-century South Africa via the filters of colonial land dispossession, apartheid displacement, and ongoing processes of ruination in the name of capital and power. We situate the conversation in contemporary Cape Town, via a range of examples including Salt River, the Two Rivers Urban Park, Bo-Kaap and others.

Patrimoine urbain pour des futurs transformateurs : architecture, patrimoine immatériel et appartenance au Cap

Notre point de départ pour ce travail était la question : est-il possible de penser la conservation architecturale dans les villes sud-africaines comme un outil de justice spatiale. Historiquement, la conservation de l'environnement bâti en Afrique du Sud a été enracinée dans des valeurs et des pratiques architecturales et esthétiques politiquement conservatrices et coloniales. L'élaboration de la loi de 1999 sur les ressources du patrimoine national sud-africain post-apartheid a reflété une évolution mondiale vers l'inclusivité, les pratiques participatives et la reconnaissance de l'intangible. Dans la pratique, cependant, la « gestion des ressources patrimoniales » reste inextricablement liée au langage de la gestion de l'espace urbain, à la primauté de la matérialité et à un concept de patrimoine enraciné dans les idéologies « modernes » autour des limites cadastrales, de la propriété foncière, du capital et du pouvoir.

Au Cap ces dernières années (comme dans de nombreux autres endroits), nous avons vu augmenter la contestation, la résistance, l'anxiété et la fragmentation liées aux questions enchevêtrées de la protection du patrimoine, de la gentrification, du développement urbain et de la transformation spatiale. La transformation spatiale dans ce contexte est parfois accueillie

positivement dans l'intérêt de la justice sociale et spatiale, et parfois fortement combattue comme destructrice et violente. Dans de nombreux cas, les systèmes existants de « gestion du patrimoine » - au sens juridique et procédural - se sont révélés totalement inadéquats pour faire face à ces tensions et fragmentations, en grande partie parce qu'ils ne sont pas très bons pour rendre compte des valeurs et des significations immatérielles au-delà de celles directement associées à tissu ou objets du patrimoine physique. Pourtant, ces qualités immatérielles sont souvent ce qui motive le plus la contestation de la reconnaissance et de la préservation du patrimoine. Cela est devenu clair, par exemple, dans le travail que nous avons effectué avec la Salt River Heritage Society en 2020, où nous avons commencé à articuler ce que les résidents de longue date ressentaient réellement comme étant menacés par les interventions sur l'environnement bâti, et comment un sentiment de protection vis-à-vis de l'environnement bâti est plus souvent qu'autrement, un proxy pour les inquiétudes sur les menaces aux modes de vie, aux pratiques culturelles, aux relations communautaires, aux éléments du patrimoine immatériel, etc. En même temps, l'environnement bâti lui-même soutient souvent ces pratiques et modes d'être et d'appartenance intangibles, d'une manière que la « gestion du patrimoine » n'est pas bien équipée pour reconnaître et protéger. Dans cet article, nous commençons à démêler certaines de ces questions et complexités à travers un positionnement des relations entre matérialité et immatérialité ; et une prise en compte des angles morts d'une approche relativement inflexible et matériellement orientée du patrimoine qui a ses racines dans les philosophies des Lumières et le romantisme du XIXe siècle, qui nous a atteint dans l'Afrique du Sud du XXIe siècle via les filtres de la dépossession coloniale des terres, de l'apartheid les déplacements et les processus continus de ruine au nom du capital et du pouvoir. Nous situons la conversation dans le Cap contemporain, à travers une série d'exemples, notamment Salt River, le parc urbain de Two Rivers, Bo-Kaap et d'autres.

Pedagogy and Heritage

Evaluating Great Zimbabwe through Analytical Drawing

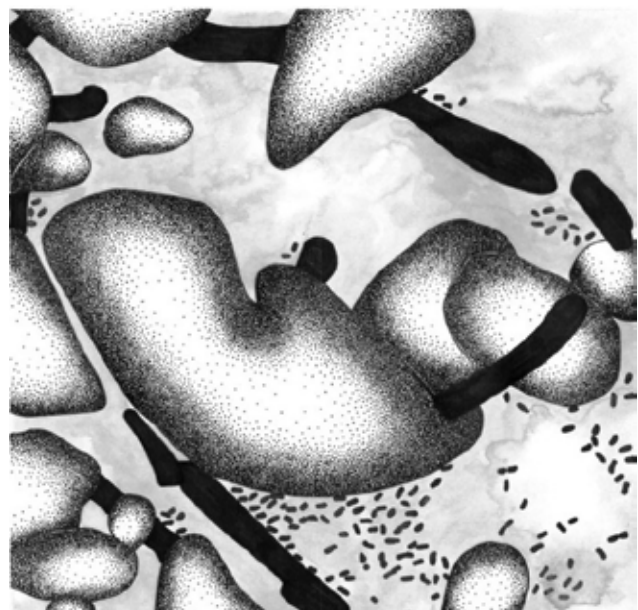
Bianca Muponda

Master of Architecture Professional, School of Architecture, Unitec Institute of Technology
bianca.muponda@gmail.com

Annabel Pretty

Senior lecturer, School of Architecture, Unitec Institute of Technology
apretty@unitec.ac.nz

Great Zimbabwe is a compact web of giant stone covering an expanse of hills and valleys, unembellished vastness juxtaposed by the humble character of the countryside modest, gentle plains filled with savannah woodlands and scarp made from granite hills. Located in Zimbabwe in which the country got its name from, it sits between the town of Masvingo and Lake Mutirikwe, lying on 4000ft to 5000ft on a scarp, in the high plateau spanning at 722 hectares, making it the largest settlement, a collection of ruins in the south of the Sahara in Africa. Accepted to be the capital of The Kingdom of Zimbabwe during the late Iron Age between the eleventh and the fifteenth century, the old city contains approximately 182 000 cubic feet of stonework. (Garlake, 1974, p27) This paper uses the architectural notion of analytical drawing to evaluate the plans of Great



Balcony Enclosure at Hill Complex, Great Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, investigating the form, function, and features that are crucial to understanding why and how the site was erected as such. Although there are many theories regarding the origins of Great Zimbabwe, the analysis will be mainly based on the work of two academics: American and resident of South African Professor Emeritus Thomas Huffman (1944-) and Zimbabwean born South African residing Professor of Archaeology Innocent Pirikayi (1963-). Huffman's assessment of Great Zimbabwe (Huffman 2010, 2018) goes into detail to uncover what was the most probable function of the many ruins at Great Zimbabwe— at the same time, acknowledging that the Shona tribespeople correlates the hills and height with status and leadership, which is essential to note regarding locations of some of the ruins at the site. Huffman identifies strong themes at play within the structures, such as "the private" and "the profane" in the front section and "the private" and "the sacred" at the back, as well as strong male and female themes along the length of the building; symbolised by monoliths and parallel passages with long grooves, respectively. One could draw a similar parallel in terms of form to the work of sculptor Richard Serra. Innocent Pirikayi (Pirikayi 2008, 2013; Pirikayi & Chirikure 2011) goes into more detail to discuss the form of the structures; how not only Great Zimbabwe but other ruins that came after, such as The Khami Ruins, Bulawayo: both of which represent styles related to natural form. Pirikayi examines the role of stone architecture in tradition and clarifies how social and political power are derived from ideological concepts of nature and are enacted through the built environment via monumental architecture. The drawings explore these ideas and offer a more analytical way of understanding the elements and qualities of the built environment of Great Zimbabwe and similar sites.

Évaluation du Grand Zimbabwe par le dessin analytique

Le Grand Zimbabwe est un réseau compact de pierres géantes couvrant une étendue de collines et de vallées, une immensité sans fioritures juxtaposée au caractère humble de la campagne, des plaines modestes et douces remplies de savanes boisées et d'escarpements faits de collines de granit. Situé au Zimbabwe d'où le pays tire son nom, il se trouve entre la ville de Masvingo et le lac Mutirikwe, allongé sur 4000 pieds à 5000 pieds sur un escarpement, dans le haut plateau s'étendant sur 722 hectares, ce qui en fait la plus grande colonie, une collection de ruines au sud du Sahara en Afrique. Reconnue

comme la capitale du Royaume du Zimbabwe à la fin de l'âge du fer entre le XIe et le XVe siècle, la vieille ville contient environ 182 000 pieds cubes de maçonnerie. (Garlake, 1974, p27) Cet article utilise la notion architecturale de dessin analytique pour évaluer les plans du Grand Zimbabwe, en étudiant la forme, la fonction et les caractéristiques qui sont essentielles pour comprendre pourquoi et comment le site a été érigé en tant que tel. Bien qu'il existe de nombreuses théories concernant les origines du Grand Zimbabwe, l'analyse sera principalement basée sur les travaux de deux universitaires : le professeur émérite américain et résident sud-africain Thomas Huffman (1944-) et le professeur d'archéologie résident sud-africain d'origine zimbabwéenne Innocent Pirikayi. (1963-). L'évaluation de Huffman du Grand Zimbabwe (Huffman 2010, 2018) va dans les détails pour découvrir quelle était la fonction la plus probable des nombreuses ruines du Grand Zimbabwe - en même temps, reconnaissant que les membres de la tribu Shona corrént les collines et la hauteur avec le statut et le leadership, ce qu'il est essentiel de noter concernant l'emplacement de certaines des ruines du site. Huffman identifie des thèmes forts en jeu dans les structures, tels que "le privé" et "le profane" dans la section avant et "le privé" et "le sacré" à l'arrière, ainsi que des thèmes masculins et féminins forts sur la longueur du bâtiment; symbolisés par des monolithes et des passages parallèles avec de longues rainures, respectivement. On pourrait établir un parallèle similaire en termes de forme avec le travail du sculpteur Richard Serra. Innocent Pirikayi (Pirikayi 2008, 2013 : Pirikayi & Chirikure 2011) va plus en détail pour discuter de la forme des structures ; comment non seulement le Grand Zimbabwe mais d'autres ruines qui ont suivi, telles que les ruines de Khami, Bulawayo : qui représentent toutes deux des styles liés à la forme naturelle. Pirikayi examine le rôle de l'architecture en pierre dans la tradition et clarifie la façon dont le pouvoir social et politique est dérivé de concepts idéologiques de la nature et est mis en œuvre à travers l'environnement bâti via l'architecture monumentale. Les dessins explorent ces idées et offrent une manière plus analytique de comprendre les éléments et les qualités de l'environnement bâti du Grand Zimbabwe et de sites similaires.

A call for Academic Platforms for Teaching a New Pedagogy in African Centered Architecture.

MS Nmadili Okwumabua

amadiusa@gmail.com

The Community Planning and Design Initiative Africa (CPDI Africa) is a culture based, research centered initiative focused on developing modern African architectural languages that are culturally and environmentally sustainable. Our presentation at MoHaA2021 will highlight our commitment to African modernity, the SDGs, and the preservation of heritage in African built landscapes. The presentation will use case studies for the CPDI Africa Global Studio for African Centered Architecture, which provides architects and designers an African centered academic platform for learning technical solutions for problem solving in their communities, while preserving culture and heritage through design. Believing that the development of our built environment should be as it has always been, a collaborative effort between the community members and designated masterbuilders, Nmadili Okwumabua will deliver a ground breaking lecture on the evolution and transformation of African culture, aesthetics, spirituality, materials, design philosophies, and the contemporary translation of these elements in today's built environment. Creating a new pedagogy for teaching African centered architecture in the process, the lecture will chronicle emerging CPDI Africa narratives for development, supplicating collaboration from the design community at large for the accomplishment of its vision - to source tried and true African design philosophies and practices in sustainable design, science and technology, for the development of a holistic and eco friendly global built environment. Contributors to the presentation by Nmadili Okwumabua, are leading faculty, professors and architects, renowned for their pedagogy in teaching African centered architecture. Our stakeholders understand architecture is not separate from the lexicon of creative arts, but an integral part of the full human experience.

CPDI Africa was launched in Atlanta Georgia USA by Nmadili Okwumabua, Africanist, urbanist, educator and renowned cultural designer. She resides in Atlanta Georgia and Abuja Nigeria where she continues to offer international consultancy services in urban design and real estate asset management

Un appel à plateformes académiques pour l'enseignement d'une nouvelle pédagogie dans l'architecture centrée sur l'Afrique.

L'Initiative de planification et de conception communautaires en Afrique (CPDI Afrique) est une initiative basée sur la culture et axée sur la recherche, axée sur le développement de langages architecturaux africains modernes qui sont culturellement et écologiquement durables. Notre présentation au MoHaA2021 soulignera notre engagement envers la modernité africaine, les ODD et la préservation du patrimoine dans les paysages bâtis africains. La présentation utilisera des études de cas pour le CPDI Africa Global Studio for African Centered Architecture, qui fournit aux architectes et aux concepteurs une plate-forme académique centrée sur l'Afrique pour apprendre des solutions techniques pour la résolution de problèmes dans leurs communautés, tout en préservant la culture et le patrimoine par la conception. de notre environnement bâti devrait être comme il l'a toujours été, un effort de collaboration entre les membres de la communauté et les maîtres constructeurs désignés, Nmadili Okwumabua prononcera une conférence révolutionnaire sur l'évolution et la transformation de la culture africaine, de l'esthétique, de la spiritualité, des matériaux, des philosophies de conception et la traduction contemporaine de ces éléments dans l'environnement bâti d'aujourd'hui. Créant une nouvelle pédagogie pour l'enseignement de l'architecture centrée sur l'Afrique dans le processus, la conférence fera la chronique des récits émergents du CPDI Afrique pour le développement, suppliant la collaboration de la communauté du design dans son ensemble pour l'accomplissement de sa vision - pour trouver des philosophies et des pratiques de conception africaines éprouvées et vraies dans conception, science et technologie durables, pour le développement d'un environnement bâti mondial holistique et respectueux de l'environnement. Les contributeurs à la présentation de Nmadili Okwumabua sont des professeurs, des professeurs et des architectes de premier plan, réputés pour leur pédagogie dans l'enseignement de l'architecture centrée sur l'Afrique. Nos parties prenantes comprennent que l'architecture n'est pas séparée du lexique des arts créatifs, mais fait partie intégrante de l'expérience humaine complète.

CPDI Afrique a été lancé à Atlanta en Géorgie aux États-Unis par Nmadili Okwumabua, africaniste,

urbaniste, éducateur et designer culturel de renom. Elle réside à Atlanta en Géorgie et à Abuja au Nigeria où elle continue d'offrir des services de conseil internationaux en design urbain et en gestion d'actifs immobiliers.

Cultivating Afro-Centric pedagogies through heritage institutions: A critical analysis of post apartheid South African high school history curriculum

Sibongiseni Phumguza

Phnsiboo1@myuct.ac.za

The curriculum of history as a high school subject in post apartheid South Africa has been one that been identified as one of the areas that need radical reform since the dawn of the new democratic dispensation. Due to the history of colonialism and apartheid in the country which resulted in the regulation and subsequent legislation of what should be taught in schools and to whom, the curriculum was biased, racist, sexist and littered with state ideology that perpetuated the violent oppression of Black people in the country. This issue has therefore been an ongoing debate in the country with students, academics and policy makers alike contributing to the debate on how to go about reforming the curriculum in South Africa. Following the Rhodes Must Fall movement which erupted in universities around the country, there has been renewed energy in the curriculum reform debate but this has been limited to higher education institutions, with very minimal discussion about Basic Education especially the FET phase which is grade 10-12. This paper critically analyses the integration of heritage institutions into the curriculum, how these institutions as institutions of knowledge production contribute towards building an Afro-centric curriculum that does not confine itself to the parameters of Eurocentric thought. It argues that by centering Africa at the centre of knowledge production and education, a process Ndlovu-Gatsheni terms as the de-provincialisation of Africa. At the centre of the paper is the question of how do we integrate heritage institutions to teach the topics that are covered in the current curriculum by using African examples which form the base of the research and knowledge that is produced and disseminated by these institutions.

Cultiver des pédagogies afro-centrées par le biais d'institutions patrimoniales : une analyse critique du programme d'histoire des lycées sud-africains après l'apartheid

Programme d'histoire en tant que matière secondaire dans l'Afrique du Sud post-apartheid a été identifié comme l'un des domaines nécessitant une réforme radicale depuis l'aube de la nouvelle dispensation démocratique. En raison de l'histoire du colonialisme et de l'apartheid dans le pays qui a abouti à la réglementation et à la législation ultérieure de ce qui devrait être enseigné dans les écoles et à qui, le programme était biaisé, raciste, sexiste et jonché d'idéologie d'État qui perpétuait l'oppression violente des Noirs. Cette question a donc fait l'objet d'un débat permanent dans le pays avec des étudiants, des universitaires et des décideurs politiques qui ont contribué au débat sur la manière de réformer le programme scolaire en Afrique du Sud. Suite au mouvement Rhodes Must Fall qui a éclaté dans les universités du pays, il y a eu un regain d'énergie dans le débat sur la réforme des programmes, mais cela s'est limité aux établissements d'enseignement supérieur, avec très peu de discussions sur l'éducation de base, en particulier la phase FET qui est de la 10^e année. Cet article analyse de manière critique l'intégration des institutions patrimoniales dans le curriculum, comment ces institutions en tant qu'institutions de production de connaissances contribuent à la construction d'un curriculum afro-centrique qui ne se limite pas aux paramètres de la pensée eurocentrique. Il soutient qu'en centrant l'Afrique au centre de la production de connaissances et de l'éducation, un processus que Ndlovu-Gatsheni qualifie de dé-provincialisation de l'Afrique. Au centre de l'article se trouve la question de savoir comment intégrer les institutions du patrimoine pour enseigner les sujets qui sont couverts dans le programme actuel en utilisant des exemples africains qui constituent la base de la recherche et des connaissances produites et diffusées par ces institutions.

Past and Present In Heritage

Considerations of Architecture and Urbanism: Designing, Theorizing, Photographing Cities and Structures

Noëleen Murray

University of Pretoria
noeleen.murray-cooke@up.ac.za (corresponding author)

Svea Josephy

University of Cape Town
svea.josephy@uct.ac.za

As creative practitioners and academics, our work has, for the last 20+ years, focused on considerations of architecture and urbanism, variously designing, theorising, photographing cities and structures. While Svea (and Noëleen in less expert ways) photographs architecture, our work offers a critique of architectural photography, an approach to visualising and thinking about cities that is critical and analytical. Our collaborative work is set up in dialogue with conventional forms of architectural scholarship and photography.

For the last 12 years, we have been working on a project that emerged out of Noëleen's doctoral work in African Studies at the University of Cape Town, around the question of 'apartheid's modernities'. Our present collaborative project concerns the documentation of architect and UCT professor Roelof. S. Uytenbogaardt's buildings. Uytenbogaardt died in the late 1990s and his papers are lodged at UCT Library's Department of Manuscripts and Archives. During the past 12 years we have been collecting and constructing our own archive, and we have documented a large number of Uytenbogaardt's public buildings, projects and sites across South Africa, including the Crown Mines project, the Welkom South NG church, the Steinkopf Community Centre, the UCT Sports Centre, the Werdmuller Centre, the Salt River Community Centre, the Bonwitt Factory (now Hilton Double Tree), and the Remembrance Garden, Simonstown.

The project is continuing, and other sites are yet to be photographed in their entirety. This presentation offers a rough cut of the fieldwork images that we have been made. We will also

present our mock-ups of publications, drawn from photography books in progress, created during 2021 as a record of a dialogue between artist and architect.

Keywords: photography, modern heritage, modern architecture, South Africa, Roelof Uytenbogaardt

Apprendre de Steinkopf

En tant que praticiens créatifs et universitaires, notre travail se concentre, depuis plus de vingt ans, sur des considérations d'architecture et d'urbanisme, en concevant, théorisant et photographiant des villes et des structures. Alors que Svea (et Noëleen de manière moins experte) photographie l'architecture, notre travail propose une critique de la photographie d'architecture, une approche de la visualisation et de la réflexion sur les villes qui est critique et analytique. Notre travail de collaboration s'inscrit dans un dialogue avec les formes conventionnelles de la photographie et de la recherche en architecture.

Depuis 12 ans, nous travaillons sur un projet issu du travail de doctorat de Noëleen en études africaines à l'université du Cape Town, autour de la question des "modernités de l'apartheid". Notre projet de collaboration actuel concerne la documentation de l'architecte et professeur de l'UCT Roelof. S. Uytenbogaardt. Uytenbogaardt est décédé à la fin des années 1990 et ses papiers sont conservés au département des manuscrits et des archives de la bibliothèque de l'UCT. Au cours des 12 dernières années, nous avons rassemblé et constitué nos propres archives et nous avons documenté un grand nombre de bâtiments publics, de projets et de sites d'Uytenbogaardt à travers l'Afrique du Sud, notamment le projet Crown Mines, l'église Welkom South NG, le Steinkopf Community Centre, le UCT Sports Centre, le Werdmuller Centre, le Salt River Community Centre, le Bonwitt Factory (now Hilton Double Tree), et le Remembrance Garden, Simonstown.

Le projet se poursuit, et d'autres sites doivent encore être photographiés dans leur intégralité. Cette présentation propose un montage brut des images de terrain que nous avons réalisées. Nous présenterons également nos maquettes de publications, tirées des livres de photographies en cours, créées au cours de l'année 2021 comme trace d'un dialogue entre artiste et architecte.

Mots-clés : photographie, patrimoine moderne, architecture moderne, Afrique du Sud, Roelof Uytenbogaardt

Salvaging Tradition, Developing Modernity: Practices and Problematics in Infrastructure's Heritage Impacts, Southern Africa

Dr Rachel King

UCL Institute of Archaeology,
University College London & Rock Art Research Institute
University of the Witwatersrand
rachel-king@ucl.ac.uk

The 'polluter pays' principle for mitigating building and manufacturing impacts informs the treatment of heritage jeopardized by development across southern Africa: material, archaeological, and (increasingly) intangible heritage assets are identified, risk assessed, and salvaged through a variety of methods sometimes supported by legislative or museum structures. These practices are essential to mitigate the damage and loss that affects rural and urban communities alike, and fuel an industry of heritage management professionals that represents a sizable body of jobs and expertise in the southern African heritage sector. In light of the on-going boom in infrastructure building across the region, this field represents a significant knowledge- and value-making arena for heritage and demands sustained, systematic scrutiny. With reference to Lesotho and South Africa, I draw directly from salvage reports and policy documents to query how heritage is deemed worth saving ahead of development. I consider the relative priority accorded to heritage assets associated with antiquity versus modernity (e.g. industrial heritage sites), and explore the rise in intangible heritage assessments that capture the irreducibility of these categories. Given that such salvage operations represent a locus of heritage management and valuation that will continue growing in the coming decades, I argue that a fundamental revision of heritage-worth-saving is necessary to avoid perpetuating a spurious divide between traditional and modern that diminishes the worth of the latter. Finally, I introduce a new research programme designed to give the first comprehensive overview of how bureaucracies, developers, and impacted people in South Africa have salvaged modern heritage (or failed to) when this is threatened by development.

Récupérer la tradition, développer la modernité : pratiques et problématiques des impacts patrimoniaux des infrastructures, Afrique australe

Le principe du « pollueur-payeur » pour atténuer les impacts de la construction et de la fabrication informe le traitement du patrimoine mis en péril par le développement dans toute l'Afrique australe : les biens matériels, archéologiques et (de plus en plus) immatériels du patrimoine sont identifiés, les risques évalués et récupérés par une variété de méthodes parfois soutenues par des structures législatives ou muséales. Ces pratiques sont essentielles pour atténuer les dommages et les pertes qui affectent les communautés rurales et urbaines, et alimenter une industrie de professionnels de la gestion du patrimoine qui représente un ensemble important d'emplois et d'expertise dans le secteur du patrimoine d'Afrique australe. À la lumière de l'essor continu de la construction d'infrastructures dans la région, ce domaine représente une arène importante de connaissances et de création de valeur pour le patrimoine et exige un examen soutenu et systématique. En ce qui concerne le Lesotho et l'Afrique du Sud, je m'inspire directement des rapports de sauvetage et des documents politiques pour demander comment le patrimoine est jugé digne d'être sauvé avant le développement. J'examine la priorité relative accordée aux biens patrimoniaux associés à l'antiquité par rapport à la modernité (par exemple, les sites du patrimoine industriel), et j'explore l'augmentation des évaluations du patrimoine immatériel qui capturent l'irréductibilité de ces catégories. Étant donné que de telles opérations de sauvetage représentent un lieu de gestion et de valorisation du patrimoine qui continuera de croître dans les décennies à venir, je soutiens qu'une révision fondamentale du patrimoine qui vaut la peine d'être sauvé est nécessaire pour éviter de perpétuer un faux clivage entre traditionnel et moderne qui en diminue la valeur. Enfin, je présente un nouveau programme de recherche conçu pour donner le premier aperçu complet de la façon dont les bureaucraties, les développeurs et les personnes concernées en Afrique du Sud ont sauvé (ou échoué) le patrimoine moderne lorsqu'il est menacé par le développement.

Reclaiming African Heritage for the Post-COVID Era: A COVID-19 Impact Study

Dr. Denise L. Lim

Yale Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage
denise.lim@yale.edu

As modern African heritage passes through the hands and hearts of diverse African professionals trained in multiple methods of preserving and transmitting culture, this COVID-19 impact study honours all the participants who embody the rich living traditions and legacies of distinct regional contexts. Though every sector of cultural heritage has been hard hit by the ongoing pandemic, these consequences are far from geopolitically monolithic. When considering the entangled relationships that countries in the global North have with those of the global South, it cannot be ignored that there are fraught legacies of imperialism and colonial extraction, violence, and oppression that continue to have complex effects on Africa's cultural landscape. This study acknowledges those histories, but also attempts to go beyond a colonialist view and explore how African cultural heritage professionals view and represent themselves.

Keywords: COVID-19; pandemics; African cultural heritage; African cultural economy; tangible heritage; intangible heritage; heritage workers; cultural heritage management

Récupérer le patrimoine africain pour l'ère post-COVID : une étude d'impact de la COVID-19

Alors que le patrimoine africain moderne passe entre les mains et le cœur de divers professionnels africains formés à de multiples méthodes de préservation et de transmission de la culture, cette étude d'impact COVID-19 rend hommage à tous les participants qui incarnent les riches traditions vivantes et les héritages de contextes régionaux distincts. Bien que tous les secteurs du patrimoine culturel aient été durement touchés par la pandémie en cours, ces conséquences sont loin d'être géopolitiquement monolithiques. Lorsque l'on considère les relations enchevêtrées que les pays du Nord global entretiennent avec ceux du Sud global, on ne peut ignorer qu'il existe un lourd héritage d'impérialisme et d'extraction coloniale, de

violence et d'oppression qui continue d'avoir des effets complexes sur le paysage culturel de l'Afrique. Cette étude reconnaît ces histoires, mais tente également d'aller au-delà d'une vision colonialiste et d'explorer comment les professionnels africains du patrimoine culturel se voient et se représentent.

Mots-clés : COVID-19 ; pandémies; patrimoine culturel africain; économie culturelle africaine ; patrimoine matériel; patrimoine immatériel ; travailleurs du patrimoine; gestion du patrimoine culturel

All that Glitters is not Gold: Authenticity and historical accuracy in representations of Mapungubwe

Alexander Andreou

Nedbank Limited
aandreou@nedbank.co.za

The (Re)Discovery of Mapungubwe in 1933 sparked an ongoing 89-year journey of interpretation, re-interpretation, hidden agendas, scientific racism and an evolution of worldviews. Being as deeply meaningful and entrenched in the South African psyche as it is, Mapungubwe features in a variety of representations. For this study, a selection of these representations was made of those considered historical and contemporary. These were discussed and unpacked in accordance with the broader research question, which examines whether accuracy matters. Archaeological theory is discussed as part of this examination, as well as the nationalist ideology and racial science that was attributed to it in the early 20th century. In addition to the selection of representations, a history of the re(discovery) and discoveries of Mapungubwe is also discussed. Ultimately, it does not matter if representations of Mapungubwe are accurate or authentic, as these facets are framework dependent, and have been found to each carry their own meaning or 'truth' around the Mapungubwe story.

Keywords: Mapungubwe, representations, authenticity, archaeology, racial science

La (re)découverte de Mapungubwe en 1933 a déclenché un voyage continu de 89 ans d'interprétation, de réinterprétation, d'agendas cachés, de racisme scientifique et d'évolution des visions du monde. Étant aussi profondément significatif et ancré dans la psyché sud-africaine qu'il l'est, Mapungubwe figure dans une variété de représentations. Pour cette étude, une

sélection de ces représentations a été faite parmi celles considérées comme historiques et contemporaines. Celles-ci ont été discutées et débattues conformément à la question de recherche plus large, qui examine si la précision est importante. La théorie archéologique est discutée dans le cadre de cet examen, ainsi que l'idéologie nationaliste et la science raciale qui lui ont été attribuées au début du XXe siècle. En plus de la sélection des représentations, une histoire de la re(découverte) et des découvertes de Mapungubwe est également discutée. En fin de compte, peu importe si les représentations de Mapungubwe sont exactes ou authentiques, car ces facettes dépendent du cadre et ont été trouvées pour porter chacune leur propre signification ou «vérité» autour de l'histoire de Mapungubwe.

Performance and Orality as Contemporary/Modernity

The Role of Revolutionary Songs in the Struggle Against Colonialism and Apartheid

Lindinxiwa Mahlasela

Port Elizabeth Museum/ Bayworld
l.mahlasela@bayworld.co.za

Throughout the history of human oppression music has proved to be not only a uniting factor, but also a powerful tool to give a voice – and so power – to the oppressed. In South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the role of music has been crucial. Songs protested everything from racially based employment and land dispossession to forced removals and white people's control of public spaces during the colonial arena. Performance became an integral part of resistance during the decades of the apartheid era and particularly in the military training of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives in Angola. The music that emerged reflected a dramatically changing society and contributed to shaping that new society through sharing, making and imagining together.

Keywords: protest, songs, colonialism, struggle, apartheid, freedom.

Le Rôle des Chansons Révolutionnaires dans la Lutte Contre le Colonialisme et l'Apartheid

Tout au long de l'histoire de l'oppression humaine, la musique s'est avérée non seulement un facteur d'union, mais aussi un outil puissant pour donner une voix – et donc du pouvoir – aux opprimés. En Afrique du Sud et au Zimbabwe, le rôle de la musique a été crucial. Les chansons protestaient contre tout, de l'emploi racial et de la dépossession des terres aux expulsions forcées et au contrôle des espaces publics par les Blancs pendant l'ère coloniale. La performance est devenue une partie intégrante de la résistance pendant les décennies de l'ère de l'apartheid et en particulier dans la formation militaire des agents de Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) en Angola.

La musique qui a émergé reflétait une société en profonde mutation et a contribué à façonner cette nouvelle société en partageant, en créant et en imaginant ensemble.

Mots-clés : contestation, chants, colonialisme, lutte, apartheid, liberté.

Qaswida as a modern heritage

Yahya Mohammed

Swahilipot , Mombasa
mohammedyahya972@gmail.com

Robert Mrima

Swahilipot, Mombasa
robert.katavi@gmail.com

With roots in the Arabic and Swahili connections forged through East African coastal cities and the trading worlds of the Indian Ocean, Qaswida music has a rich history. As one of the primary facets of Swahili music in East Africa, it is synonymous with relaying positive teachings in society. Over the years, it has transformed and adapted to modern trends and, as this paper argues, is and should be regarded part of the modern heritage of Africa. As this research shows, this achievement has been made possible through the evolution of technology to embrace improved ways of recording and preserving the music, including on CDs, and online platforms such as YouTube.

Keywords: Qaswida, Nasheed, Arabic, Swahili, East Africa, modern, music, religion

Qaswida comme héritage moderne

Avec des racines dans les connexions arabes et swahili forgées à travers les villes côtières d'Afrique de l'Est et les mondes commerciaux de l'océan Indien, la musique Qaswida a une histoire riche. En tant que l'une des principales facettes de la musique swahili en Afrique de l'Est, elle est synonyme de relais d'enseignements positifs dans la société. Au cours des années, elle s'est transformée et s'est adaptée aux tendances modernes et, comme le montre cet article, elle fait et doit être considérée comme faisant partie de l'héritage moderne de l'Afrique. Comme le montre cette recherche, cette réalisation a été rendue possible grâce à l'évolution de la technologie pour adopter des méthodes améliorées d'enregistrement et de préservation de la musique, y compris sur CD, et des plateformes en ligne telles que YouTube.

My life and the progress of Ethiopia

**Keren Kuenberg, Dr. Takele Merid,
William Heath, Pauline Swaby-Wallace**

Keren.k.berg.berg@gmail.com

A live performance that explores what sort of architecture and intangible modernism remains were left on the sites of the domestic spaces of the last Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie I. As a modernist protagonist in Ethiopia and within the entire continent, Selassie left a distinct mark wherever he went. Those material and oral ripples can still be detected and explored through a new output from the new initiative of local agencies that are working together remotely to share and question heritage knowledge on-site and in relation to other legacies outside of Ethiopia.

The diverse sites in which he took residence, can be seen in the context of this proposal, as a new network of solidarity that can draw out multi-layered histories that aspire to give voice to collaborative multiple modernities over time. His temporary homes in exile (Jerusalem and Bath) remain sites of contested heritage and ownership (as are his palaces in Ethiopia and Eritrea). These places still contain unaccounted "ideas of progress", governments' different approaches to African experiences of modernities. As such, these homes also contain an often-overlooked reservoir of artefacts and intangible memories. Examining these closely—their maintenance, materiality, placement, care, or neglect—can reveal the inherited knowledge of marginal material culture. This process aims to challenge how those places are commemorating his legacy and their wider context of enriching the way history is written, told, and performed in conferences.

The event will be performed by members of the international network: Esther Sellassie Antohin, Keren Kuenberg, Dr. Takele Merid, William Heart, and Pauline Swaby-Wallace.

Ma vie et les progrès de l'Éthiopie

Une performance en direct qui explore les vestiges de l'architecture et du modernisme immatériel laissés sur les sites des espaces domestiques du dernier empereur d'Éthiopie, Haile Selassie

En tant que protagoniste moderniste en Éthiopie et sur tout le continent, Selassie a laissé une marque distincte partout où il allait. Ces ondulations matérielles et orales peuvent encore être détectées et explorées grâce à une nouvelle sortie de la nouvelle initiative d'agences locales qui travaillent ensemble à distance pour partager et remettre en question les connaissances patrimoniales sur place et en relation avec d'autres héritages en dehors de l'Éthiopie.

Les divers sites dans lesquels il a élu domicile, peuvent être vus dans le cadre de cette proposition, comme un nouveau réseau de solidarité qui peut tirer des histoires à plusieurs niveaux qui aspirent à donner la parole à de multiples modernités collaboratives au fil du temps. Ses maisons temporaires en exil (Jérusalem et Bath) restent des sites d'héritage et de propriété contestés (tout comme ses palais en Éthiopie et en Érythrée). Ces lieux contiennent encore des « idées de progrès » inexplicables, des approches différentes des gouvernements face aux expériences africaines des modernités. En tant que telles, ces maisons contiennent également un réservoir souvent négligé d'artefacts et de souvenirs intangibles. Les examiner de près - leur entretien, leur matérialité, leur placement, leur entretien ou leur négligence - peut révéler les connaissances héritées de la culture matérielle marginale. Ce processus vise à remettre en question la manière dont ces lieux commémorent son héritage et leur contexte plus large d'enrichissement de la manière dont l'histoire est écrite, racontée et interprétée lors de conférences.

L'événement sera interprété par des membres du réseau international : Esther Sellassie Antohin, Keren Kuenberg, Dr. Takele Merid, William Heart et Pauline Swaby-Wallace.

Artworks, Artisans and The Influence Of Culture on Heritage

Mr. Raphael Abdulmajid Igombo

National Museums of Kenya
roughigo@hotmail.com
raphael.igombo@museums.or.ke
Cell: +254722253458

Contemporary artists bring about ideas that reflect and implement change in the society to make the world a better place to live in. These ideas can be directed at solving emerging or entrenched issues and social concerns such as

climatic change, drug abuse, or female genital mutilation. They also engage with and make use of various traditional and historically important mediums of artistic expressions while creating their works of art. This article focuses on the artisanal door sand Portuguese paintings in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, alongside Vigango, or tomb sculptures, created by the Giriama people, to illustrate this combination and assimilation of various mediums in the present.

Keywords: Contemporary, traditional art, indigenous Culture, emerging issues, Visual Arts, Social concerns, climate change, Female genital mutilation, Modern.

Œuvres d'art, artisans et l'influence de la culture sur le patrimoine

Les artistes contemporains proposent des idées qui reflètent et mettent en œuvre des changements dans la société afin de faire du monde un endroit où il fait bon vivre. Ces idées peuvent viser à résoudre des problèmes et des préoccupations sociales émergents ou bien ancrés, tels que le changement climatique, la toxicomanie ou les mutilations génitales féminines. Ils utilisent également divers moyens d'expression artistique traditionnels et historiquement importants pour créer leurs œuvres d'art. Cet article se concentre sur les peintures portugaises artisanales en sable de porte de Fort Jesus, à Mombasa, aux côtés des Vigango, ou sculptures funéraires, créées par le peuple Giriama, pour illustrer cette combinaison et cette assimilation de divers médiums dans le présent.

Mots-clés : Contemporain, art traditionnel, culture indigène, questions émergentes, arts visuels, préoccupations sociales, changement climatique, mutilation génitale féminine, moderne.

Whose Shared Heritage?

Public memory, which public? Whose memory?

Palesa Kadi

palesakadi@gmail.com

In 2021, an international award-winning Red Location museum termed as a 'national site of struggle' by Noero Architects lies derelict in the township of New Brighton in Port Elizabeth. As a depiction of the peoples struggle against apartheid, the museum was opened to the public on the 10 of November 2006. This structure continued to be a living museum as it is located in the exact area of hardships and traceable footprints of political leaders who contributed to the struggle for democracy.

There is a continuous narrative of state-built infrastructure being held hostage during community protests. The advance nature of these community protests have seen a major effect in one of Gqeberha's, formerly Port Elizabeth, multi-million modern heritage, named Red Location Cultural Precinct (RLCP). The hostage effects are becoming harsher with time and more meaning should be sought on the connotation of public/s and whose memory we intend to document. Given the intense brawls during the conceptualisation of the project, the said compromises by the community dictated fundamental infrastructural housing delivery yields. To a certain extent, this presents two scenarios; a museum building without artefacts or community houses that are living museums. Could this be that the Red Location community wants direct imparting of knowledge about their destiny or ownership of telling their plight? Urbanisation of cultural institutions like township museums requires a review of the idea itself. When one juxtaposes, Lwandle and Hector Peterson museum in Johannesburg with Red Location museum, the dynamism of the precinct hood in these modern heritage context supersedes the narrative of poverty which these sites are located in. This has created a safety net and a sense of ownership for some institutions but not for RLCP. Whilst reflecting on this snubbed cultural precinct I will relate to Lefevre's notion of production of space and social space. This will be parallel to Marx and Engels concept of production by narrowing the narrative not only on production of a product in form of a museum, but on the enquiry of who produces social spaces using imagination, creativity and what limitations exist.

Mémoire publique, quel public ? À qui la mémoire ?

En 2021, un musée Red Location primé au niveau international, qualifié de «site national de lutte» par Noero Architects, est abandonné dans le canton de New Brighton à Port Elizabeth. En tant que représentation de la lutte des peuples contre l'apartheid, le musée a été ouvert au public le 10 novembre 2006. Cette structure a continué d'être un musée vivant car elle est située dans la zone exacte des difficultés et des empreintes traçables des dirigeants politiques qui ont contribué à la lutte pour la démocratie.

Il y a un récit continu d'infrastructures construites par l'État prises en otage lors de manifestations communautaires. La nature avancée de ces manifestations communautaires a eu un effet majeur sur l'un des patrimoines modernes de plusieurs millions de Gqeberha, anciennement Port Elizabeth, nommé Red Location Cultural Precinct (RLCP). Les effets d'otages se font plus durs avec le temps et il faut chercher plus de sens sur la connotation du/des public(s) et dont on entend documenter la mémoire. Compte tenu des bagarres intenses lors de la conceptualisation du projet, lesdits compromis de la communauté ont dicté les rendements fondamentaux de la livraison de logements infrastructuraux. Dans une certaine mesure, cela présente deux scénarios; un bâtiment de musée sans artefacts ou des maisons communautaires qui sont des musées vivants. Se pourrait-il que la communauté Red Location veuille transmettre directement des connaissances sur leur destin ou la propriété de raconter leur sort? L'urbanisation d'institutions culturelles telles que les musées municipaux nécessite une révision de l'idée elle-même. Lorsque l'on juxtapose le musée Lwandle et Hector Peterson à Johannesburg avec le musée Red Location, le dynamisme du capot de l'enceinte dans ce contexte patrimonial moderne remplace le récit de la pauvreté dans lequel ces sites se trouvent. Cela a créé un filet de sécurité et un sentiment d'appartenance. pour certaines institutions mais pas pour le RLCP. Tout en réfléchissant à cet espace culturel snobé, je m'attacherai à la notion de production d'espace et d'espace social de Lefèvre. Ce sera parallèle au concept de production de Marx et Engels en resserrant le récit non seulement sur la production d'un produit sous la forme d'un musée, mais sur l'enquête de qui produit des espaces sociaux en utilisant l'imagination, la créativité et quelles limites existent.

Ambivalence and African Modernity in State-Building(s)

**Kuukuwa Manful, Innocent Batsani-Ncube
and Julia Gallagher**

SOAS, University of London
kuukuwa_manful@soas.ac.uk

This article examines recent attempts to create specifically African forms of modernist political architecture that draw on 'traditional' or 'pre-colonial' aesthetic forms and ideas. Such buildings have been discussed in academic literature in terms of their architectural success, but little is understood about what they represent to citizens about themselves and their political institutions. Taking examples of three prestigious structures – the presidential palace in Ghana, the parliament in Malawi and the Northern Cape regional parliament in South Africa – the article shows how vernacular ideas have been incorporated into state-of-the-art political architecture. Then, drawing on a series of interviews and focus group discussions in the three countries, it begins to tease out tensions between the ideas of modern African statehood held by those who commissioned and built these grand new buildings, and the ideas of national identity and state authority they convey to citizens who live alongside them. The study uncovers some of the challenges of making state symbols that embody a representative political collective.

Ambivalence et modernité africaine dans la construction(s) étatique(s)

Cet article étudie les démarches récentes visant à créer des formes spécifiquement africaines d'architecture politique moderniste inspirée par des formes et des idées d'esthétiques 'traditionnelles' ou 'précoloniales'. De nombreuses recherches universitaires ont préalablement examiné la question en mettant en avant le succès de ces formes architecturales. Toutefois, à ce jour nous ne savons que très peu des imaginations que ces architectures politiques permettent aux citoyens d'avoir d'eux-mêmes ainsi que des institutions politiques qu'elles représentent. Dans cet article, nous prenons exemple sur trois prestigieux édifices – le palais présidentiel du Ghana, le parlement du Malawi et le parlement régional du Cap-Nord en Afrique du Sud – pour montrer comment

des idées du terroir ont été incorporées dans des architectures politiques de dernier cri. Puis, nous appuyant sur une série d'entretiens et de focus groups conduits dans chacun de ces trois pays, nous soulignons les tensions qui existent entre les conceptions de l'Etat africain moderne telles qu'envisagées par les commanditaires et les bâtisseurs de ces chefs-d'œuvre d'une part et, d'autre part, les conceptions de l'identité nationale et de l'autorité de l'État que ces architectures sont supposées représentées pour les citoyens qui vivent aux environs. L'étude révèle ainsi les défis quant à la conception des symboles d'Etat qui incarnent le groupe politique dans son ensemble.

The curious case of Satyagraha House, Johannesburg

Harriet McKay

School of Art, Architecture and Design,
London Metropolitan University
mckayh@staff.londonmet.ac.uk

What can the case of Satyagraha House, the luxury guesthouse and museum complex established on the site of a domestic building briefly inhabited by Mohandas Gandhi from 1908 to 1909, suggest about the complexities attached to heritage and preservation in the contemporary South African context? Almost 30 years into democracy, in the post Fees Must Fall environment, what can this hybrid museum combined with guesthouse space offer to advance dialogue around the heritage of modern Africa, which allows alternatives to the 'traditional' museum to emerge. It is equally valuable, if not essential, however, that when innovative modes of presenting heritage arise as a result of initiatives from outside the country, the need to pay due diligence to local memory and understanding is considered as being of paramount importance. Failure to do so, as I argue has inadvertently taken place at Satyagraha House, will place modern heritage and museum practice in South Africa as belonging to the past rather than to the present and future of modern African heritage.

Keywords: Museology, contested, modern heritage, dialectic, satyagraha, coloniality

Le cas curieux de Satyagraha House, Johannesburg?

Que peut suggérer le cas de Satyagraha House, la maison d'hôtes de luxe et le complexe muséal

établi sur le site d'un bâtiment domestique brièvement habité par Mohandas Gandhi de 1908 à 1909 sur les complexités attachées au patrimoine et à la préservation dans le contexte sud-africain contemporain ? Près de 30 ans après le début de la démocratie, dans l'environnement post Fees Must Fall, que peut offrir ce musée hybride combiné à l'espace de la maison d'hôtes pour faire avancer le dialogue autour du patrimoine de l'Afrique moderne, ce qui permet à des alternatives au musée "traditionnel" d'émerger. Cependant, il est tout aussi précieux, sinon essentiel, que lorsque des modes innovants de présentation du patrimoine émergent à la suite d'initiatives extérieures au pays, la nécessité de prêter une attention particulière à la mémoire et à la compréhension locales soit considérée comme primordiale. Ne pas le faire, comme je le soutiens, a eu lieu par inadvertance à Satyagraha House, placera le patrimoine moderne et la pratique muséale en Afrique du Sud comme appartenant au passé plutôt qu'au présent et au futur du patrimoine africain moderne.

Mots-clés : Muséologie, contestée, patrimoine moderne, dialectique, satyagraha, colonialité

Reading Modern Architecture in Mozambique as a palimpsest of (re)appropriations

Patricia Noormahomed

Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM);
Universidade Wutivi (UniTiva)
p.noormahomed@gmail.com

During the second half of the 20th century under Portuguese colonial rule, Mozambique witnessed a period of extraordinary urban growth that modified the appearance of its main cities through the implementation of an architecture based on the principles of the Modern Movement. This architecture has recently been (re)discovered in specialist and academic literature, making public the significance of Mozambique's modernity. However, as the specialised literature on this topic continues to expand, it begins to reveal, through its prevailing Eurocentric discourse, its limited capacity to make local authorities and populations appreciate this legacy as part of their cultural heritage. Within this framework, this paper proposes a new way of approaching the study of Mozambique's modern architecture. This new approach is founded on the understanding of this legacy as a social construction based on dynamic processes of appropriation and

reappropriation, superimposed in time as a palimpsest of meanings. To prove its potential, a paradigmatic case will be explored. The example is the Torres Vermelhas in Maputo, whose construction was interrupted by the events that led to the country's independence in 1975. By studying both the parameters applied at the time of conception of this project and its formal and spontaneous mechanisms of postcolonial appropriation and transformation, this paper demonstrates the need to address the modern legacy of Mozambique in its different temporalities, especially when facilitating debate on the cultural heritage of the country.

Keywords: appropriated modernism, colonial architecture, shared heritage, collective housing, Mozambique

Lire l'architecture moderne au Mozambique comme palimpseste des (ré) appropriations

Au cours de la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, sous la domination coloniale portugaise, le Mozambique a connu une croissance urbaine extraordinaire qui a modifié l'apparence de ses principales villes en raison de la mise en œuvre d'une architecture basée sur les principes du Mouvement Moderne. Cette architecture a récemment été (re) découverte par la littérature académique qui, au long de ces dernières années, a réussi à dévoiler au public spécialisée des références importantes du modernisme mozambicain. Mais elle s'est aussi montré incapable, en raison du discours eurocentrique dominant, de faire assumer aux autorités et populations locales cet héritage comme faisant partie de leur patrimoine culturel. Dans ce cadre, cet article propose une nouvelle manière d'aborder l'étude de cette architecture fondée sur la compréhension de la modernité au Mozambique comme une construction sociale basée sur des processus dynamiques d'appropriation et de réappropriation, superposés dans le temps comme un palimpseste de sens. Pour prouver les potentialités de cette nouvelle lecture, un cas paradigmatique de cette architecture sera exploré : les Torres Vermelhas à Maputo, dont la construction a été interrompue par les événements qui ont conduit à l'indépendance du pays en 1975. En étudiant à la fois les paramètres appliqués au moment de la conception de ce projet et ses mécanismes formels et spontanés d'appropriation et de transformation postcoloniale, cet article démontre la nécessité d'aborder l'héritage moderne du Mozambique dans ses différentes

temporalités, notamment, lors de la construction d'un débat sur le patrimoine culturel du pays.

Mots-clés : modernisme approprié, architecture coloniale, patrimoine partagé, habitat collectif, Mozambique.

Asmara's architectural heritage as a bricolage: The case of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral

Thomas Kordonouri

Architect, MA
The Bartlett School of Architecture UCL,
Dipl. Arch. University of Patras
thomikor@outlook.com

Biniam Teame

BSc Civil Engineering, Asmara Heritage Project

Edward Denison

Professor of Architecture and Global Modernities
The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL

Eritrea's capital, Asmara, is a former colonial city in an African setting that constitutes a palimpsest of Italian modernist architecture and other local and colonial architecture. In 2017, Asmara was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List under Criteria 2 and 4, while rejecting the claim to Criterion 3: 'to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared'. Acknowledging Criterion 3 would have recognised the significant role of Eritrean cultural traditions in realising the modern city of Asmara, notably the ancient construction techniques, local skills and labour, and local materials, which are constituent parts of Eritrea's modernist language.

Through viewing Asmara's architecture as a 'bricolage' and by analysing this concept as a totality of classified heterogeneous objects linked with a symbolic meaning, this paper questions UNESCO's rejection of Eritrea's claims to Criterion 3 exploring the role of African building traditions and objects in the continent's only modernist site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The paper highlights St Mary's Orthodox Cathedral, which embodies the cultural traditions on which modernism in Asmara relied. Through the reuse of methods and fragments, emerges the aesthetic of rupture, which emphasises variety creating dialogues between the coloniser and the colonised, memory, materiality and typologies

that evoke, engender and establish new meanings. Finally, the bricolage identity defines Asmara's claims to modernism, a modernism not of Europe, but of Africa.

Keywords: bricolage, Asmara, colonial architecture

Le patrimoine architectural d'Asmara comme bricolage : le cas de l'église orthodoxe Sainte-Marie

La capitale de l'Érythrée, Asmara, est une ancienne ville coloniale dans un cadre africain qui constitue un palimpseste de l'architecture moderniste italienne et d'autres architectures locales et coloniales. En 2017, Asmara a été inscrite sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO sous les critères 2 et 4, tout en rejetant la prétention au critère 3 : « apporter un témoignage unique ou du moins exceptionnel sur une tradition culturelle ou sur une civilisation vivante ou qui a disparu ». La reconnaissance du critère 3 aurait reconnu le rôle important des traditions culturelles érythréennes dans la réalisation de la ville moderne d'Asmara, notamment les techniques de construction anciennes, les compétences et la main-d'œuvre locales et les matériaux locaux, qui sont des éléments constitutifs de la langue moderniste de l'Érythrée.

En considérant l'architecture d'Asmara comme un « bricolage » et en analysant ce concept comme un ensemble d'objets hétérogènes classés liés à une signification symbolique, cet article interroge le rejet par l'UNESCO des prétentions de l'Érythrée au critère 3 explorant le rôle des traditions et des objets de construction africains dans la construction du continent. Seul site moderniste inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. L'article met en lumière la cathédrale orthodoxe Sainte-Marie, qui incarne les traditions culturelles sur lesquelles s'appuyait le modernisme à Asmara. À travers la réutilisation de méthodes et de fragments, émerge l'esthétique de la rupture, qui met l'accent sur la variété créant des dialogues entre le colonisateur et le colonisé, la mémoire, la matérialité et les typologies qui évoquent, engendrent et établissent de nouvelles significations. Enfin, l'identité bricolage définit les prétentions d'Asmara au modernisme, un modernisme non pas européen, mais africain.

Mots-clés : bricolage, Asmara, architecture coloniale

Patrimoine urbain du Grand Abidjan et d'Alexandrie : attractivité et repulsion

Gonné Franck Privat

Etudiant à l'Université Senghor,
Spécialité Gestion du Patrimoine Culturel,
Stagiaire au Centre d'études Alexandrines
(CEAlex, USR 3134 CNRS)
franck.gonne.2019@etu-usenghor.org

Le contexte mondial est marqué par une course effrénée des villes et des territoires pour le positionnement international, une compétition sans précédent. Ce désir de différenciation ou de positionnement s'inscrit dans la volonté "d'attractivité territoriale", qui se fait désormais par des stratégies de marketing territorial. Elle se matérialise par la capacité à attirer les investisseurs, des résidents, des chercheurs d'emplois, des touristes, etc. Mais aussi, permettre aux populations de savoir qu'elles existent car leur ville compte dans le concert des villes du monde de par son rayonnement. La présente étude porte sur le patrimoine urbain des villes du Grand Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) et d'Alexandrie (Égypte). Il s'agit de mener une réflexion sur l'appropriation de la mémoire et de l'histoire par ces communautés pour qui ces biens conservent la mémoire collective et sont des facteurs-clés de la construction des identités. Mais aussi, étudier comment sous la pression d'un renouvellement urbain le patrimoine culturel immobilier dans cet espace participe à l'attractivité ou non d'une ville. De plus, cette recherche vise à déterminer les attributs de l'attractivité territoriale pouvant être utilisés afin de positionner une destination touristique. Pour cela, une recension des écrits a été réalisée afin d'identifier les principaux attributs de l'attractivité du territoire touristique. Par la suite, les attributs ont été divisés en quatre grands groupes (patrimoine naturel, logistique, produits touristiques et facteurs sociaux économiques) afin d'identifier ceux présentant une plus grande influence.

Mots-clés: patrimoine urbain-marketing territorial-attractivité-renouvellement urbaintourisme

Shared Heritage Africa: A documentary rediscovery

Uta Pottgiesser

TU Delft / TH OWL / Docomomo Germany
u.pottgiesser@tudelft.nl / uta.pottgiesser@th-owl.de

Mark Olweny

Uganda Martyrs University / University of Lincoln
molweny@umu.ac.ug

Kuukuwa Manful

SOAS, University of London / Docomomo Ghana
kuukuwa.m@gmail.com

Ola Uduku

University of Liverpool / Docomomo UK
O.Uduku@liverpool.ac.uk

Taibat Lawanson

Centre for Housing and Sustainable Development (CHSD)
University of Lagos
tlawanson@unilag.edu.ng

The documentation of buildings and sites tells a lot about the nature of the relationship between culture, society, and politics. The project Shared Heritage Africa (2021-2023) will focus on the documentary rediscovery of modern university campuses from the 1950s to the 1970s as examples of cultural landscapes from the period of independence from colonial rule (Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960, and Uganda 1962). The rediscovery of this significant heritage will concentrate on exploring the values, challenges and opportunities through the eyes of their contemporary users. All case studies were built in the postwar decades (1950s to 1970s) and a comparative analysis reveals contrasting and complementary aspects. The paper highlights the combination of local workshops, including student writing and photography workshops, exhibitions and 'digital fellowships' using the internet for dissemination. Exploratory interviews and narratives will be used to collect testimonies of contemporary users. Aspects discussed are, among others, the physical; deterioration (technical, functional, social), the cosmological; through the sense of identity, community, place attachment, maintenance and taking care, ownership and appropriation, and the environmental; considering the quality, and sustainability of spaces, and also conditions of comfort and satisfaction. The method is in development, but preliminary conclusions can be sketched.

The written, visual, and digital documentation of built cultural heritage of Africa is a prerequisite for sustainable urban and social development. The approach builds upon African and international DOCOMOMO initiatives and identifies students and young professionals as important target groups to develop social, cultural, and political awareness and further participatory tools.

Keywords: documentation; digital fellowships; modern heritage; university campus

Patrimoine partagé: Une redécouverte documentaire

La documentation des bâtiments et des sites en dit beaucoup sur la nature des relations entre culture, société et politique. Le projet "Shared Heritage Africa" (2021-23) se concentrera sur la redécouverte documentaire des campus universitaires modernes des années 1950-1970 en tant qu'exemples de paysages culturels de la période d'indépendance vis-à-vis du régime colonial (Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960 et Ouganda 1962), et revêt une grande importance. La redécouverte de ce patrimoine se focalisera sur l'exploration des valeurs, des défis et des opportunités à travers les yeux de leurs utilisateurs contemporains. Toutes les études de cas ont été construites dans les décennies d'après-guerre (années 1950-70) et une analyse comparative révèle des aspects contrastés et complémentaires. Le document souligne la combinaison d'ateliers locaux, y compris des ateliers d'écriture et de photographie pour les étudiants, d'expositions et de 'Digital Fellowships' utilisant l'internet pour la diffusion. Des entretiens exploratoires et des récits seront utilisés pour recueillir les témoignages des utilisateurs contemporains. Les aspects abordés sont, entre autres, les suivants: le physique, la détérioration (technique, fonctionnelle, sociale), le cosmologique, à travers le sentiment d'identité, la communauté, l'attachement au lieu, l'entretien et le soin, la propriété et l'appropriation, et l'environnemental, en considérant la qualité et la durabilité des espaces, ainsi que les conditions de confort et de satisfaction. La méthode est encore en cours de développement, mais des conclusions préliminaires peuvent être esquissées.

La documentation écrite, visuelle et numérique du patrimoine culturel bâti de l'Afrique est une condition préalable à un développement urbain et social durable. L'approche s'appuie sur les initiatives africaines et internationales de DOCOMOMO et identifie les étudiants et les jeunes professionnels comme des groupes cibles

importants pour développer une conscience sociale, culturelle et politique et pour approfondir les outils participatifs.

Conference Papers

Assembling/Genealogies of Modern Heritages

Godwin and Hopwood: Within the genealogy of tropical architecture (1956-1960)

Dr. Ben Tosland

Independent Scholar
New York University, London
Bt2269@nyu.edu

Author biography

Dr. Ben Tosland is currently teaching at New York University, London and is an independent scholar. His work is primarily concerned with notions of identity through the built forms of architecture, with specific interests in designing for climate and the environment. Currently, he is working towards the publication of a book on Godwin and Hopwood's work in Nigeria and its role in the modernisation of the independent state. He is a Senior Historic Environment and Townscape Adviser at the property consultant Montagu Evans in London and advises on major planning applications.

Abstract

John Godwin and Gillian Hopwood are significant architects whose partnership and work has spanned eight decades, much of this undertaken in Nigeria between 1956 and 2017. Within these years, Godwin and Hopwood worked on more than 1000 projects to varying stages of completion, and thus had a key role in the creation of post-colonial and independent Nigeria's built environment. To narrow the scope, this paper targets the four years leading up to Nigeria's independence in 1960, a period that established the foundation for their careers in post-colonial Nigeria. My focus is to tease out the importance of their experimental approaches to passive cooling techniques while acknowledging capital's complex relationship with power and in turn biopolitics. Such physical building techniques, however, remain important today in studying architectural forms and methods that conserve energy in maintaining buildings.

Godwin et Hopwood : Dans la généalogie de l'architecture tropicale (1956-1960)

Résumé

John Godwin et Gillian Hopwood sont des architectes importants dont le partenariat et le travail s'étendent sur huit décennies, dont une grande partie a été réalisée au Nigeria entre 1956 et 2017. Au cours de ces années, Godwin et Hopwood ont travaillé sur plus de 1000 projets à différents stades d'achèvement, et ont donc joué un rôle clé dans la création de l'environnement bâti du Nigeria post-colonial et indépendant. Pour restreindre le champ d'application, cet article se concentre sur les quatre années qui ont précédé l'indépendance du Nigeria en 1960, une période qui a jeté les bases de leurs carrières dans le Nigeria post-colonial. Mon objectif est de faire ressortir l'importance de leurs approches expérimentales des techniques de refroidissement passif tout en reconnaissant la relation complexe du capital avec le pouvoir et la biopolitique. Ces techniques de construction physique restent toutefois importantes aujourd'hui dans l'étude des formes architecturales et des méthodes qui permettent de conserver l'énergie dans l'entretien des bâtiments.

Keywords: Architecture, Environment, Climate, Post-Colonial, Nigeria, Lagos, Heritage

Introduction

Architects John Godwin and Gillian Hopwood worked together in a career partnership spanning eight decades. During this time, they were involved in more than 1000 projects, many of these located in Nigeria between 1956 and 2017. Thus, they have made a key contribution to the creation of post-colonial and independent Nigeria's built environment. Their office in Nigeria remains open to this day, with the architect Biola Fayemi in charge. Godwin and Hopwood's experimentality was fostered in the decade before they arrived in Nigeria. Hopwood worked on the design for an army base in Cyprus for Alistair MacDonald, son of the first British Labour Prime Minister, James Ramsay MacDonald, who was noted for his investigations into materials, building science and the promotion of building research (MacDonald, 1993). In the case of

Godwin, he has said that he was often marked out at school and at the Architectural Association (AA) as being an experimenter, as shown by the cantilevered, reinforced concrete bench in his parents' garden at Coulsdon in Surrey. This was built during one summer when, as a 20-year-old, it was constructed using knowledge gained from an AA module that focused on reinforced concrete (Zamarian, 2020). Both Godwin and Hopwood studied at the AA, often working closely together on projects in the studios; both were taught by leading architects and engineers. Among these was Ove Arup, who held a degree of influence over their careers in part due to this early connection coupled with his firm's influence in West Africa and on 20th century engineering, making unlikely architectural projects into reality.

The 'genealogy of tropical architecture' is a term popularised by Jiat-Hwee Chang in his 2016 book, the title of which merged the Foucauldian definition of genealogy with tropical architecture. For Chang, a genealogical study is one that seeks to understand the present condition with 'historicizing how we got here': specifically by not studying it in a linear fashion or searching for origins, but by asking today's questions (for example, on the climate emergency), and answering them critically using historical sources (Garland, 2014). The notion 'tropical architecture' has its own historiographical complications. It is a term that Anthony D. King has called 'anodyne', while 'masking controversial facts', his concern being that tropical architecture was for 'people of alien cultures exercising colonial power' (King, 1995; Purser, 2003; Chang, 2016, p. 4). In expanding this idea, Iain Jackson has stated that 'the notion of tropical architecture is particularly problematic ... a kind of modified European architecture enhanced to respond to hot climates, and scientifically calibrated to suit the local conditions of particular countries' (Jackson, 2017). As Godwin and Hopwood conceded in their book on the artist Demas Nwoko, they did not 'admit to the significance of traditional design in the development of architecture in Nigeria' in relation to thermal comfort, demonstrating that their work, particularly between 1956-1960, was an importation of European building that used the latest climatic technology and research to override any surviving vernacular techniques (Godwin and Hopwood, 2009, p. 21). This was intertwined into a complex context of demanding clients with tight budgets, who, as Godwin and Hopwood wrote in the *Architectural Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa*, was 'unfettered by restrictions' in relation to building, within a wider 'charged business atmosphere' (Hopwood and Godwin, 2021, p. 544).

The framework for Chang's study is based on Foucauldian analytics of power and conceptualised as a triangle of sovereignty-discipline-government, encouraging what he defines as a biopolitical analysis of architecture through this trilateral paradigm. He postulated that the colonial state aimed to install disciplinary power in different segments of the colonial population through biopolitics, or the construction of buildings that would control the populace in a given manner. Godwin and Hopwood worked on a handful of publicly funded buildings during this period, and therefore were producing a capitalist product for clients based around comfort, driven partly by their own interest in 'improving working conditions on the factory floor' (Hopwood and Godwin, 2021, p. 544). Godwin and Hopwood's genuine interest and compassion for Nigeria is evident through their choosing to live in Nigeria across their careers because of their love of its culture, while also assimilating into its prevailing professional structures. Both gained Nigerian citizenship in 2014, taught in Nigerian universities, employed Nigerian architects, and worked closely to establish and consolidate the Nigerian Institute of Architects. Yet, in classifying their early architecture, it would be labelled as being of the problematic 'tropical architecture' category, the tradition in which other western architects such as Fry and Drew or James Cubitt also worked (Barber, 2020).

Godwin and Hopwood's work contributes to this category, by tempering both climatic and social conditions clarifying their form of modernism as a flexible means of building adapted to different environmental and conditions of use. It was technocratic, based on empirical observations, working closely with the British Research Stations, and reading specification manuals such as Adolf G. Schneck's *Fenster: Aus Holz Und Metall* (Windows: Made of Wood and Metal), or literature such as Thomas Bedford's *Principles of Heating and Ventilation*, which Godwin has referred to as being a 'bible', after being exposed to it during post-graduate studies on heating and ventilation. These influences show their work to be of a techno-scientific problem solving nature, rather than a conscious cloaking of architecture in a colonial ideology, a criticism often levelled at architecture of a transnational variation particularly of western subjects in a colonial setting.

Godwin and Hopwood's earliest projects exemplify the condition of a colonial country going through a phase of modernisation. Their first three projects show this range, with two unexecuted projects: Job one, railway offices at Zaria, with job two being a house for a private

client. Both were abandoned, though drawings show a clear articulation of flat roofs with large eaves and significant shading techniques. The third, their first completed project, was offices for the West Africa Examination Council (WAEC), with its formation, land owning status and need for offices exemplifying the growing status of education, notably in western style, and the requirement for educational buildings within a modernising system. All three, in plan and elevation, exhibited a combination of the same features shown through the various taxonomies of tropical modernism that have been written about in the established secondary literature on the subject including brise-soleils, centre-hinged windows, louvres, breeze blocks and moving screens.

Job number four, at 27 Boyle Street, is one of Godwin and Hopwood's most recorded buildings. It was their house and office for most of their time in Lagos, following their move from Berkeley Street, where they had lived and worked. The building itself is an essay in the forms of tropical modernism and the experimental characters of its architects. It typifies the flexible spaces found in the Dom-ino diagram by Le Corbusier demonstrated by the steel frame used in Godwin and Hopwood's buildings bearing the structural load of the building, thus freeing up the elevations for a combination of climate management and expressive materialities or forms. The building is four storeys in height and occupies a slender site overlooking a small park, with each storey's facade being treated in a different manner. An assistant architect working for them at the time of its completion in 1959 commented that the building resembled a filing cabinet, a cheeky, if a little harsh, observation when considering the way each storey is an experiment in passively cooling the interior, with one floor retaining an awning, another with centre-hinged windows designed in collaboration with Crittall, and another with the recognisable pierced block screen, all within a building on a slim site with the spatial requirements of the live-in architects. The specific proportions for this project were taken from a feasibility project by the architects for primary schools in Lagos.

Such climatic research was published by Godwin and Hopwood in 1955, when they wrote and presented three separate papers on the subject, titled 'Design of window walls in hot humid climates', 'Design on ventilator panels in Lagos', and 'Design on Solar Screens using solar charts and shadow angle protractor'. These presentations and the research that went into them would have informed features such as the 'pierced block screen', which was used across a number of projects and unified their buildings

with the visual motif giving the façade, as Hannah le Roux has said, a 'woven rather than monolithic quality', a linguistic link to Gottfried Semper's observations of African grass cloths he had seen at the Great Exhibition in 1851, and published the same year in his essay 'the Four Elements of Architecture' (le Roux, 2004, p. 448). Twenty-seven Boyle Street was the first building to use the distinct pierced block screen, which was constructed out of stacked rectangular components with a long slender block supported by two tapering stands, each of which would be placed on top of one another. This would later have to be reinforced, following the collapse of a screen during construction, possibly at the Broadcasting Committee Offices at Enugu (1957), but would still be used, including in projects such as the Northern Police College, Kaduna (1957), and a School for the Blind in Lagos (1958). Given that these years were prior to the wide accessibility of air conditioning, its purpose was to passively ventilate buildings and provide shade or dappled light to the interior; it is also noted that in a lecture in 1930, Le Corbusier had stated that 'architecture is about sunlight on floors' (Barber, 2020, p. 37). Le Roux summarised the 'building boundary', in this case I have applied it to the pierced block screen, as being a 'filtering element' and an 'aesthetic device' that also mediates between public and private. Le Roux says this of its often mechanical nature, which is not true of the pierced block screens but more of the brise soleil, or 'sunbreakers', which Godwin and Hopwood were using on other projects around this time (Hopwood and Godwin, 2021, p. 544).

One such project was Allen and Hanbury House in Tinubu Square, Lagos, which was given permission to begin work on in September 1956 and was completed in 1959. For this early period, in terms of typology at least, it was an anomaly given its commercial function when Godwin and Hopwood were soon to be known for their industrial and educational building work (Hopwood and Godwin, 2021, p. 544). It was built on a prominent site in Tinubu Square, with the surrounding public area being reshaped to accommodate a building of such stature. Its prominence is exemplified by its height against existing buildings and a historic neighbouring Methodist Chapel, with the concave pitched roof of the Schindler's lift overrun visible from the corners of the square; its forms exacerbated by the blank façade that acts as a backdrop to the hipped roofs and irregular pattern in the foreground. Allen and Hanbury House is a case study in the importance given to passive ventilation through a façade constructed entirely of sun breakers because of its orientation within the square, which could not be altered given the

context of fronting the public space. In recent recollection, Godwin and Hopwood have noted that this project was the first where they could put into practice their research into tropical buildings, as shown with the angles of the sun breakers being dictated by the sun path pattern diagrams drawn up at the conception stage. It remained functional, with comfortable office spaces on the top three floors above a double height showroom on the ground and first floors fronting Tinubu Square. As with 'anyone who has entered a large stone church on a hot summer day' experiencing its 'comforting coolness', as Victor Olgay explained in his book *Design with Climate* (1963), Allen and Hanbury's interior walls were clad with marble and the floor with terrazzo, both to reflect light (Olgay, 193, p. 113). Both of these materials ensured that minimal heat was absorbed into the fabric, retaining a coolness to the room. In their construction, they went further, with the marble cladding touching the walls lightly through cemented spots allowing for a cavity between the slab and wall to ensure little heat conductivity.

Arising from this depth of thought and attention to detail, Godwin and Hopwood's works generally hold a high degree of historic and architectural significance, especially in relation to the development of a taxonomy of modern tropical architecture. Unlike their later careers where they worked within a broadly independent and developing economy, the years 1956 to 1960 show their work within the last years of colonial rule though their output did not sway in its empirical characteristics and relationship to capitalism. Debates surrounding tropical architecture are much contested, particularly in relation to post-colonialism. The buildings by Godwin and Hopwood of the 1950s contribute to these discussions and are of significance when assessing experiments relating to energy-conserving architecture through their passive cooling techniques, relating the human body's comfort within the interior, whether this be for workers in a factory or office, or residents in a comfortable home. As an overview, these case studies from the end of the colonial period in Nigeria, as designed by Godwin and Hopwood, are entirely climate responsive in their passivity to cooling rather than the actively cooled, sealed skins of buildings in later decades. In terms of a Foucauldian genealogy seeking to 'use historical materials' to bring about a 'revaluing of values in the present' (Garland, 2014), as physical objects, the buildings therefore hold significance as a documentation of how to conserve energy in hot environments without high energy usage, providing case studies in their built techniques

relevant to architects and designers today.

Bibliography

- Daniel Barber, (2020) *Modern Architecture and Climate: Design before air conditioning*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Peter Blundell-Jones, (2002) *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies*, (London: Architectural Press)
- Jiat-Hwee Chang. 2016. *A Genealogy of Tropical Architecture*. London: Routledge.
- Mark Crinson. 1996. *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*. London: Routledge.
- Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. 1964. *Tropical Architecture in the Dry and Humid Zones*. New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- David Garland. 2014. What is a 'history of the present'? On Foucault's genealogies and their critical preconditions. *Punishment and Society* 16(4), 365-384.
- John Godwin and Gillian Hopwood. 2019. *The Architecture of Demas Nwoko*. Lagos: Farafina Books.
- Gillian Hopwood and John Godwin, (2021) 'Godwin and Hopwood: in their own words' in Philipp Meuser and Adil Dalbai (eds.) *Architectural Guide: Sub-Saharan Africa*, (DOM Publishers: Berlin)
- Iain Jackson and Jessica Holland. 2015. *The Architecture of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew*. London: Ashgate
- Iain Jackson. 2017. *Tropical Architecture and the West Indies: From military advances and tropical medicine, to Robert Gardner-Medwin and the networks of tropical modernism*. *The Journal of Architecture*, 22(4), 710-738.
- Anthony D. King. 1995. *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hannah le Roux. 2004. *Building on the Boundary: Modern Architecture in the Tropics*. *Social Identities* 10(4), 439-453
- Hannah le Roux. 2003. *The Networks of Tropical Architecture*. *The Journal of Architecture* (8), 337-354.
- Hannah le Roux. (n.d.) *Tropical Architecture/ Building Skin*. *Bauhaus*, (3)

Susan MacDonald. 1993. 'Obituary: Alistair MacDonald', *The Independent*.

Victor Olgyay. 1963. *Design with Climate*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Margaret Purser. 2003. The View from the Verandah: Levuka Bungalows and the Transformation of Settler Identities in Later Colonialism. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 7(4), 293-314

Patrick Zamarian. 2020. *The Architectural Association in the Post War Years*. London: Lund Humphries.

L'Abissa : un patrimoine traditionnel indissociable du patrimoine moderne

Affoh Guenneguez

Centre de recherche en études africaines,
Université de Leiden,
Affoh.guenneguez@gmail.com

Biographie

Affoh Guenneguez est consultante indépendante en patrimoine culturel, basée en Côte d'Ivoire.

Elle s'est spécialisée sur la perception du patrimoine moderne de la ville historique de Grand-Bassam en Côte d'Ivoire durant son master de recherche en études africaines à l'Université de Leiden aux Pays-Bas (2015).

En 2016, elle a travaillé comme chargée de projet adjointe au Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. Depuis 2018, elle collabore avec le Fonds pour le patrimoine mondial africain et l'École du patrimoine africain dans la mise en œuvre de projets, de programmes de renforcements des capacités ou pour la réalisation d'études.

Résumé

En Afrique, il n'existe pas de dichotomie entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel qui sont souvent imbriqués. Le continent africain abrite un important patrimoine architectural et urbanistique issue du mouvement moderne, implanté au XIX^{ème} siècle durant la période coloniale. Un site hérité de la colonisation peut-il être lié à un patrimoine immatériel et traditionnel ?

La première capitale coloniale de Côte d'Ivoire, appelée « Quartier France » et un village du groupe socio-culturel N'zima composent le site de la « ville historique de Grand-Bassam » inscrit sur Liste du patrimoine mondial en 2012. Chaque année, les N'zima célèbrent leur nouvelle année traditionnelle : l'Abissa. Cet article s'intéresse au processus par lequel le Quartier France a été accepté, approprié et intégré à la célébration de l'Abissa par le peuple N'zima.

Les données utilisées ont été recueillies durant une recherche de terrain de 6 mois (août 2014 à février 2015) à Grand-Bassam pour rédiger un mémoire de recherche au sein du Centre de recherche en études africaines de l'Université de Leiden aux Pays-Bas. Une méthodologie qui combine entretiens d'experts avec des acteurs clés, entretiens semi-directif avec les habitants et

observations directes et indirectes sur le terrain a été appliquée.

Cet article démontre comment un peuple, auparavant dominé, a su donner un nouvel usage et un nouveau sens à un legs colonial lors d'une fête cruciale pour son identité. Il illustre l'existence de pratiques transmodernes du patrimoine sur le continent africain.

Mots-clés: Côte d'Ivoire, Grand-Bassam, patrimoine moderne, Abissa, N'zima,

Abstract

In Africa, there is no dichotomy between tangible and intangible heritage which are often intertwined. The African continent is home to an important architectural and urbanistic heritage resulting from the modern movement, which was established in the 19th century during the colonial period. Can a site inherited from colonization be linked to an intangible and traditional heritage?

The first colonial capital of Côte d'Ivoire, called "Quartier France" and a village of the N'zima socio-cultural group make up the site of the "historic town of Grand-Bassam" inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2012. Each year, the N'zima celebrate their traditional new year: the Abissa. This paper focuses on the process by which the Quartier France was accepted, appropriated, and integrated into the Abissa celebration by the N'zima people.

The data used was collected during a 6-month field research (August 2014 to February 2015) in Grand-Bassam to write a research master's thesis at the African Studies Centre of Leiden University in the Netherlands. A methodology that combines expert interviews with key actors, semi-structured interviews with residents, and direct and indirect field observations was applied.

This article demonstrates how a previously dominated people were able to give a new use and meaning to a colonial legacy during a festival crucial to their identity. It illustrates the existence of transmodern heritage practices on the African continent.

Keywords: Côte d'Ivoire, Grand-Bassam, modern heritage, Abissa, N'zima

Abstract

En Afrique, il n'existe pas de dichotomie entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel qui sont souvent imbriqués. Ces deux types de patrimoine interagissent constamment et se construisent l'un par rapport à l'autre : l'immatériel construit le matériel et, en même temps, le matériel incarne et exprime des valeurs immatérielles (Herzfeld, 2004).

Le continent africain abrite un important patrimoine architectural et urbanistique issue du mouvement moderne, implanté au XIX^{ème} siècle durant la période coloniale. Au sortir de l'indépendance, ce patrimoine a été détruit dans certains pays et conservé, dans d'autres, pour des raisons pratiques et utilitaires ; malgré son association à des souvenirs douloureux et des difficultés pour son acceptation (Eloundou, 2005).

Le patrimoine moderne fait donc partie du quotidien des populations africaines aujourd'hui. Dans les territoires où il subsiste, il y a lieu de se demander s'il a pu être accepté, approprié et intégré à des pratiques traditionnelles et endogènes. Autrement dit, le patrimoine immatériel africain est-il entré en interaction avec le patrimoine moderne ?

En Côte d'Ivoire, la première capitale coloniale appelée « Quartier France » et un village du groupe socio-culturel N'zima composent le site de la « Ville historique de Grand-Bassam », inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO en 2012. La ville historique abrite deux types de patrimoine. Le premier est matériel, représenté par l'importance du bâti colonial, l'organisation

urbaine qui est demeurée la même depuis la fondation de cet espace et par le village N'zima. Le second est immatériel, représenté par la présence du royaume N'zima, son espace social et la fête de l'Abissa.

L'Abissa est la célébration de la nouvelle année N'zima. Elle constitue un moment crucial pour leur identité car elle contribue à la perpétuation de leurs valeurs et traditions ainsi qu'au maintien de la cohésion sociale. Ces dernières années, elle a connu d'importants changements qui en ont fait un événement culturel majeur de Côte d'Ivoire. Ces transformations ont également impacté les rapports entretenus par les N'zima avec le Quartier France.

Par quels processus, l'Abissa est-elle devenue indissociable du patrimoine moderne hérité de la colonisation ?

C'est une perspective émique qui est adoptée tout au long de cet article. Les données présentées ont été recueillies durant une recherche de terrain de 6 mois dans la ville historique (août 2014 à février 2015) et ont fait l'objet de chapitres dans un mémoire de recherche (Guennegez, 2015).

Brève histoire du village N'zima et du Quartier France

La ville de Grand-Bassam se situe à quarante kilomètres au sud-est d'Abidjan, la capitale économique de Côte d'Ivoire. Le village N'zima et le Quartier France sont situés sur une bande de terre entre la lagune ouladine et l'Océan Atlantique. Ils sont donc naturellement séparés du reste de la ville.

Au XV^{ème} siècle, les N'zima kôtôkô s'installent à Grand-Bassam. Ils constituent un sous-groupe du peuple Akan, originaire du Ghana, d'où ils



Figure 1: © Ministère de la Culture et de la Francophonie de Côte d'Ivoire <https://whc.unesco.org/fr/list/1322/>.

ont émigré par vagues successives en raison des guerres de succession qui secouaient le royaume N'zima du Ghana. Les N'zima commercent avec les puissances occidentales qui effectuent du cabotage le long des côtes durant des décennies.

En 1842, après la signature de traités avec des chefs locaux, Grand-Bassam devient un protectorat français. En 1843, l'occupation française se concrétise avec la création du Fort Nemours puis la généralisation de la politique de traité qui aboutit à la création de la colonie de Côte d'Ivoire en 1893. Les Français installent leur capitale, le Quartier France, sur la bande de terre. Il est construit selon les principes hygiéniste qui prévalent à cette époque, à savoir, une organisation urbaine en 3 zones fonctionnelles : résidentielle, administrative et commerciale. Cette dernière est la plus proche du village N'zima.

En 1900, en raison d'une épidémie de fièvre jaune qui tue les trois-quarts des européens qui y vivent, la capitale est déplacée à Adjamey-Santey (Bingerville). Toutefois le Quartier France demeure le port principal jusqu'en 1930 et le centre judiciaire jusqu'à l'accession à l'indépendance en 1960.

Aujourd'hui le Quartier France concentre les activités administratives et services culturelles de Grand-Bassam. Il est un lieu de villégiature prisé durant les week-ends pour ses plages et nombreux hôtels-restaurants.

Distanciation par rapport au passé

En 2012, Le Quartier France et le village N'zima ont été inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO sous l'appellation de « ville historique de Grand-Bassam » ; selon les critères (iii) et (iv). Les N'zima ont développé un attachement affectif pour le Quartier France. Leur proximité avec ce dernier et plusieurs facteurs leur ont permis de se distancier de ce qu'il représentait dans le passé.

Sur le plan local, la distanciation s'amorce dès l'époque coloniale lorsque des commerçants N'zima, enrichis par des années de commerce avec les puissances européennes, construisent des maisons inspirées du style colonial. Ces bâtisses leur ont permis de montrer leur statut et de brouiller les catégories rigides du système colonial. Ces maisons sont des biens remarquables de la ville historique et font la fierté des N'zima.

D'un point de vue historique, en 1949, huit militants indépendantistes sont arrêtés et emprisonnés au Quartier France. En décembre 1949, entre 2000 et 4000 femmes convergent à

pied vers la prison pour réclamer leur libération. Le Quartier France devient le théâtre du premier mouvement collectif d'envergure contre les décisions de l'administration coloniale. Dès l'accession à l'indépendance, un monument est érigé à l'entrée du Quartier France pour la commémorer. « La marche des femmes sur Grand-Bassam » est également enseignée à l'école. Le Quartier France est ainsi devenu un lieu de mémoire de la lutte pour l'indépendance et un symbole de fierté pour les Ivoiriens.

Par ailleurs, les N'zima pratiquent quotidiennement le Quartier France. Ils le traversent pour rentrer et sortir du village. La présence des bâtiments coloniaux leur est familière presque naturelle ce qui favorise un attachement affectif pour ces derniers. A leurs yeux, l'ancienne ville coloniale n'est autre qu'une extension de leur village.

Enfin, selon la tradition orale N'zima, avant d'ériger leur village sur la bande de terre, des accords ont été scellés avec l'esprit des lieux, le génie « Bouakézo ». Le Quartier France ayant été érigé près de ce dernier, il bénéficie également de la protection du génie, ce qui en fait une extension du village.

Au-delà de cette distanciation et de l'attachement affectif, les N'zima se sont symboliquement appropriés le Quartier France à travers des actions. On parle d'appropriation symbolique lorsqu'« une portion d'espace terrestre (un lieu ou un ensemble de lieux) est associée à un groupe social ou catégorie au point de devenir l'un de ses attributs, c'est-à-dire de participer à définir son identité sociale » (Ripoll, Veschambre, 2006)

Cette appropriation symbolique se manifeste particulièrement à travers l'Abissa.

Abissa quoi ! Signification actuelle d'une célébration traditionnelle

L'Abissa est la nouvelle année N'zima. Elle est l'occasion pour tous les N'zima de se réunir dans la capitale de leur royaume pour les célébrations. La fête se déroule traditionnellement sur la place de l'Abissa : un espace de 20 mètres de large sur 180 mètres de long, au centre du village, ensablé en raison de la proximité de la plage.

La fête s'étend sur deux semaines. La première, appelée *Siédou* est celle de l'austérité durant laquelle les villageois demeurent dans le recueillement. Les effusions sont interdites. Elle démarre avec une sortie de *l'Edongbolé*, le tam-tam sacré sur la place de l'Abissa. La seconde semaine, appelée *Gouazo* est celle des effusions et des festivités. *L'Edongbolé* est



Figure 2: Edongbolé, tam-tam sacré (© Affoh Guenneguez, n.d).

décoré et apporté à la cour royale. Le roi effectue des libations et remet le tam-tam à la foule. Les N'zima disent alors que l'Abissa appartient au peuple. Durant toute la semaine, l'autorité traditionnelle échappe au roi et à ses notables. Elle revient à la population. C'est une période de liberté d'expression totale durant laquelle la crainte d'éventuelles représailles émanant du roi ou de ses notables face à ce que l'on pourrait dire, faire ou dénoncer s'efface. L'Edongbolé est emporté sur la place de l'Abissa où il reviendra quotidiennement accompagné de groupes de chansonniers et de danses. Différentes communautés de N'zima de Côte d'Ivoire se succèdent pour danser au rythme du tam-tam. C'est un moment de réjouissance où les N'zima « font l'unité » mais également un moment de résolution pacifique des conflits grâce à la critique

sociale. Des groupes s'adressent au roi et à ses notables à travers des proverbes et paraboles pour dénoncer les actions et les paroles qui n'ont pas été appréciées dans le courant de l'année. Ils le font sans risque de représailles car il est dit que durant l'Abissa « tout est permis ».

L'Abissa a connu de profonds changements sous l'impulsion de ses rois.

Dans les années 1990, le roi d'alors ouvre la fête au public, aux non-N'zima. Puis en 2004, le roi actuel Awoulae Amon Tanoé, met sur pied un comité d'organisation dans le but est de pérenniser et professionnaliser l'organisation son organisation. Or, « la pérennisation d'un évènement représente un enjeu d'appropriation » (Veschambren Gravari-Barbas, 2005).



Figure 3: Danse des komlins (prêtresses-guérisseuses) sur la place de l'Abissa (© Affoh Guenneguez, n.d).

L'Association Abissa est créée en 2004 en vue de promouvoir la fête et véhiculer son message à l'échelle nationale et internationale. Elle compte 8 commissions chargées des fonctions suivantes : communication, logistique et transport, animation, sécurité, santé, archives, documentation, restauration.

Les modifications apportées par l'Association Abissa ont conduit à une festivalisation de la fête avec de nombreux impacts.

Les conséquences de la festivalisation

Le premier impact est lié à la fréquentation. La fête est devenue une attraction touristique majeure de Côte d'Ivoire qui attire des milliers de visiteurs à chaque édition.

Durant l'année, le village enregistre peu de retombées économiques car les touristes se cantonnent souvent aux hôtels et restaurants du Quartier France. Or, durant l'Abissa, cet ordre est inversé. La fête engendre des retombées économiques directes pour le village et le Quartier France. Les villageois installent des restaurants et commerces ponctuels dans le village ou louent leurs espaces à des commerçants extérieurs tandis que les hôtels affichent complets plusieurs mois à l'avance.

Le second impact concerne la matérialité de la fête. L'Abissa s'étend à la zone commerciale du Quartier France à travers l'installation de maquis et villages gastronomiques d'une part. D'autre part, elle donne lieu à une appropriation physique et ponctuelle de bâtiments inspirés du style colonial qui se transforment en lieux de fête. C'est le cas du bâtiment Ganamet, transformé en maquis durant la journée et en piste de danse, le soir. En voyant cela, les touristes et visiteurs associent de fait les N'zima au Quartier France.

Le dernier impact de la festivalisation est d'ordre symbolique. Il engendre une reconnaissance



Figure 4: Bâtiment Ganamet (© Affoh Guenneguez, n.d).

extérieure du lien que les N'zima entretiennent avec la première capitale. L'Association Abissa recourt à une communication événementielle importante qui crée une nouvelle image du Quartier France systématiquement associée au royaume N'zima. Pour ce faire, elle fait appel aux médias traditionnels : la radio, la télévision et les journaux. L'importante médiatisation renforce l'affluence et favorise la perception de la fête comme un événement d'envergure nationale. Dans leurs discours, les médias associent systématiquement les N'zima à la ville de Grand-Bassam et au Quartier France en particulier. En 2014, on pouvait lire par exemple ceci : « Préparatifs de l'Abissa 2013 : Le Quartier France à pied d'oeuvre » (Abidjan.net, 2013) ou encore l'Abissa « a pris fin le dimanche 02 Novembre dans la première capitale de Grand-Bassam » (Fraternité Matin, 2014). Ces associations systématiques entre le peuple N'zima et le « Quartier France » ou « la première capitale » ou engendre une « fusion ville-événement » (Barton, Garat, Gravari-Barbas, Veschambre, 2010) qui contribue à l'émergence d'une nouvelle image de ce dernier : « Le festival, apporte ainsi sa contribution dans l'image que la ville projette à l'extérieur... » (Barton, Garat, Gravari-Barbas, Veschambre, 2010).

L'Association Abissa recourt également à des panneaux d'affichage placardé à Abidjan et d'autres villes. On y aperçoit l'emblème de la royauté N'zima Kôtôkô (à gauche) ainsi que la formule « Grand-Bassam, patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO » (à droite). Depuis l'inscription de la ville historique sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO en 2014, cette référence au label UNESCO s'est systématisée dans les supports de promotion de l'Abissa. Cela favorise l'émergence de la nouvelle image de la ville coloniale désormais associée à l'Abissa et au peuple N'zima. « Les événements festifs contribuent doublement à l'émergence de lieux : ils ont d'une part un impact spatial, matériel, à la fois éphémère, pendant leur déroulement [...]; ils ont, d'autre part, un impact



Figure 5: © Affoh Guenneguez, n.d.

immatériel, grâce à leur capacité à accorder aux villes une visibilité et une notoriété importante, une nouvelle image... » (Barton, Garat, Gravari-Barbas, Veschambre, 2010).

Conclusion

Pendant longtemps, le Quartier France de Grand-Bassam, issu du passé colonial de la Côte d'Ivoire a été uniquement associé à ses bâtiments coloniaux, ses hôtels/restaurants et à ses plages. En raison de plusieurs facteurs, à la fois historique, locaux et traditionnels, les N'zima ont réussi à se distancier de ce qu'il représentait dans le passé et à se l'approprier symboliquement à travers différentes actions, notamment autour de la fête de l'Abissa. La festivalisation de l'Abissa a fait émerger une nouvelle image de la première capitale coloniale étroitement associée à la royauté N'zima.

La fête engendre une fusion ponctuelle entre le traditionnel, le colonial et le contemporain, l'urbain et le rural, le patrimoine moderne et traditionnel, le patrimoine matériel et immatériel. La ville historique devient alors l'espace d'expression d'une culture postcoloniale et d'une transmodernité qui renforce l'imbrication entre le village, la ville coloniale et leurs différents patrimoines.

Bibliographie

- Barthon, C., Garat, I., Gravari-Barbas, M., Veschambre, V. 2010. « L'inscription territoriale et le jeu des acteurs dans les événements culturels et festifs : des villes, des festivals, des pouvoirs ». *Géocarrefour*, Vol. 82/3 | 2007, mis en ligne le 01 octobre 2010, consulté le 23 avril 2015. En ligne : geocarrefour.revues.org/2155
- Di Méo, G. 2001. Le sens géographique des fêtes// The geographical meaning of festivities. In: *Annales de Géographie*. 2001, t. 110, n°622. pp. 624-646. DOI: 10.3406/geo.2001.1705. En ligne: https://www.persee.fr/doc/geo_0003-4010_2001_num_110_622_1705
- Eloundou, L. 2005. « Le patrimoine architectural moderne en contexte africain », in *Repenser les limites : l'architecture à travers l'espace, le temps et les disciplines*, Paris, INHA (« Actes de colloques »). [En ligne], mis en ligne le 31 octobre 2008, consulté le 19 mars 2015. En ligne: <https://books.openedition.org/inha/902>
- Gravari-Barbas, M., Veschambre, V. 2005. S'inscrire dans le temps et s'approprier l'espace : enjeux de pérennisation d'un événement éphémère. Le cas du festival de la BD à Angoulême, *Les Annales de géographies*, p. 285-306.
- Gueneguez, A. 2015. « Le processus d'appropriation symbolique d'une ancienne capitale

coloniale patrimonialisée – Cas de la Ville Historique de Grand-Bassam en Côte d'Ivoire », Centre de recherche en études africaines, Université de Leiden. En ligne : <https://studenttheses.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/35171>

Herzfeld, M. 2004. *The Body Impolitic: Artisans and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Kanga, E. 2013. « Préparatif de l'Abissa : Le Quartier France à pied d'oeuvre! ». *Abidjan.net*. 25 octobre 2013. En ligne: <https://news.abidjan.net/articles/478596/preparatifs-de-labissa-2013-le-quartier-france-a-pied-doeuvre>

Kanga, A. 2014. « Grand-Bassam : l'Abissa ou le nouvel an pour le peuple N'zima kôtôkô ». *Fraternité Matin*. 3 novembre 2014. En ligne: <https://www.fratmat.info/article/66839/65/grand-bassam-l-abissa-ou-le-nouvel-an-pour-le-peuple-nzima-kotoko>

On the way to a thousand Kasbahs: Tourist settlements of modernity, a heritage that needs to be preserved

Daniela Ruggeri

Università Iuav di Venezia
daniela.ruggeri@iuav.it

Author biography:

Daniela Ruggeri obtained her PhD in Architecture at Iuav University in Venice with a thesis entitled *Tra Mediterraneo e Sahara. André Ravéreau e la valle del M'Zab* (Lettera Ventidue, 2020). Since 2012, she has been teaching at Iuav University, where she has carried out research, as well as organised seminars and exhibitions. She is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at Iuav within the Erasmus + project MèLiMed, *Métropoles du littoral méditerranéen*. Her research concerns urban transformation processes, with a focus on the circulation of architectural models in the Mediterranean, and the interrelations between the new and the ancient city, investigating strategies to reactivate historical centres.

Since 2016 she has participated in joint research projects between Iuav and international partners, including ENSA Marseille, A*MIDEX, LAM - Sétif, CERAU - Rabat, LAAM -Tunis. In 2015 she curated the Architecture section of *Africa Big Change, Big Chance, Big Challenge* exhibition (Triennale di Milano; CIVA di Bruxelles). Since 2013, she has coordinated eight editions of W.A.Ve., Summer Iuav Workshop of Architecture in Venice.

Abstract:

An art auction organised in April 2021 is jeopardising Moroccan heritage. The works on sale are painted ceilings and interior elements by the artists Mohammed Chabâa and Mohamed Melehi created for the Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès in Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-1972). The hotel, designed by architects Abdeslem Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, is the first of three they realised along a tourist itinerary that later would be known as 'the route of the thousand kasbahs', named for the presence of many ancient cities built in raw earth. Thereafter, the architects completed the Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadès (1972-74), and the Hôtel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine (1974), all three projects reinterpreting the ancient, fortified city. Les Roses du Dadès is an example of modern architecture in continuity with traditional Moroccan culture, thanks to the collaboration between architects and artists,

which is the result of an integrated design carried through from interior to exterior, keeping strong relations between the building and the landscape, between the present and the past. The aim of this paper is to highlight the cultural value of these modern buildings and artworks. It also aims to underline two considerations about African modernity and its historical landscape. The first is the recognition that the hotels by Faraoui and de Mazières are not the only cases of Moroccan modern architecture at risk, as many buildings have been altered, abandoned, or demolished. The second aspect is to note that the buildings and the artworks mentioned deserve to be preserved holistically within their landscapes as part of a unitary system.

Keywords: heritage, Moroccan modernity, tourist settlements, ancient city, Faraoui and de Mazières

Résumé

Une vente aux enchères d'œuvres d'art organisée en avril 2021 vient de mettre en danger le patrimoine marocain. Les œuvres mises en vente sont des plafonds peints et des éléments de décor intérieur des artistes Mohammed Chabâa et Mohamed Melehi réalisés pour l'hôtel Les Roses du Dadès à Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-1972). L'hôtel, conçu par les architectes Abdeslem Faraoui et Patrice de Mazières, est le premier d'une série de trois qu'ils ont réalisés le long d'un itinéraire touristique qui sera plus tard connu sous le nom de "route des mille kasbahs", appelé ainsi en raison de la présence de nombreuses cités antiques construites en terre crue. Par la suite, les architectes ont réalisé l'Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès à Boumalne Dadès (1972-74), et l'Hôtel Ibn Toumart à Taliouine (1974), trois projets qui réinterprètent l'ancienne ville fortifiée. Les Roses du Dadès est un exemple d'architecture moderne en continuité avec la culture traditionnelle marocaine, grâce à la collaboration entre architectes et artistes, qui est le résultat d'une conception intégrée menée de l'intérieur à l'extérieur, gardant des relations fortes entre le bâtiment et le paysage, entre le présent et le passé. Le but de cet article est de mettre en évidence la valeur culturelle de ces bâtiments

et œuvres d'art modernes. Il vise également à souligner deux considérations sur la modernité africaine et son paysage historique. Le premier est la reconnaissance du fait que les hôtels de Faraoui et de Mazières ne sont pas les seuls cas d'architecture moderne marocaine en danger, car de nombreux bâtiments ont été modifiés, abandonnés ou démolis. Le second aspect est de noter que les bâtiments et les œuvres d'art mentionnés méritent d'être préservés de manière holistique dans leurs paysages en tant que partie d'un système unitaire.

Mots-clés : patrimoine, modernité marocaine, établissements touristiques, ville ancienne, Faraoui et de Mazières

An art auction organised in April 2021 jeopardised Moroccan heritage.¹ Among the works for sale were painted ceilings and interior elements by the Moroccan artists Mohammed Chabâa (1935-2013) and Mohamed Melehi (1936-2020), created for the Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès in Kelaa M'Gouna (Figure 1a, 1b). Les Roses du Dadès was designed between 1971 and 1972 by two Moroccan architects, Abdeslem Faraoui (1928-2004) and Patrice de Mazières (1930-2020), both protagonists of the Modern movement in Morocco. Both architects graduated at Ecole Speciale d'Architecture de Paris in 1956. They established their first agency in Rabat in 1961, and a second in Casablanca in

1 See Azimi R. 2021. *Au Maroc, le patrimoine architectural contemporain négligé*. Available at: www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2021/05/08/au-maroc-le-patrimoine-architectural-contemporain-neglige_6079574_3212.html (accessed 25 March, 2022).



Figure 1a: Mohamed Melehi, painted ceilings in Hotel Les Roses du Dadès, Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-72), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières © Archives Toni Maraini

1971. While their early works are influenced by French architecture, the subsequent works are dedicated to the search for synthesis between traditional values and modern perspectives. In 1964, for example, the firm participated in the reconstruction of the destroyed city of Agadir by building apartment complexes reflecting the earlier French methods of building (Kultermann, 1983).

Both architects gained experience in the construction of tourist buildings, and, according to Kulterman, the first in a series of projects they realised in important tourist destinations across Morocco, the Club Méditerranée in Malabata near Tangier of 1964-1965, represents a new beginning in their architectural practice (Kultermann, 1983). This was likely because the challenge behind this kind of architecture was to find a synthesis between an architecture 'for foreigners but although not necessarily foreign in style' (Galli, 2014: 188), and to represent the identity of independent Morocco without falling into exoticism. Faraoui and de Mazière have attempted, in a number of recreational projects,



Figure 1b: Mohammed Chabaa's wood claustras and mousharabiyas in Hotel Les Roses du Dadès, Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-72), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières. Courtesy Faraoui & de Mazieres studio. Patrice and Pauline de Mazieres archives, www.thenationalnews.com



Figure 2: Hotel Les Roses du Dadès, Kelaa M'Gouna (1971-72), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, Archives Cabinet Faraoui de Mazières

to create an 'architecture of leisure', which does not appear as an intrusion. Not only are their hotels 'integrated into the local terrain and evocative of vernacular building styles, but they incorporate the talents of Moroccan artists and craftsmen in their interior and exterior finishings' (Faraoui, de Mazières, 1980: 69).

The Hôtel Les Roses du Dadès, built in the framework of a campaign to promote tourism in Morocco launched by the Ministry of Tourism between 1968 and 1972, is the first of three hotels the architects realised in the southern hinterland of Morocco, along a tourist itinerary that today is known as 'the route of the thousand kasbahs', from the presence of many ancient cities built in raw earth (Figure 2). The architects' words make clear the philosophy

behind these three projects: 'Southern Morocco boasts a very lively indigenous architecture. We



Figure 3a: Hotel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadés (1972-74), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, www.archnet.org



Figure 3b: Hotel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadés (1972-74), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, www.archnet.org

try not to imitate it, but to realize its essential spirit in hotels at Boumalne of Dades, El Kelaa and Taliouine. The striking natural environment also proved a constraint and compelled modest and harmonious designs' (Faraoui, de Mazières, 1980: 69).

Les Roses du Dadès is a true example of modern architecture in continuity with a specific regional Moroccan tradition. The building, with walls in stonework and structure of reinforced concrete, is inward oriented and 'conceived in a system of cubic elements in harmony with the traditional Berber architecture of the region. The spectacular exterior gives no hint as to the interior courtyards, inner circulation and recreational amenities within the building' (Kultermann, 1983: 64). The collaboration between architects and artists to curate interiors – the painted ceiling by Mohamed Melehi, cloisters by Mohamed Chebaa, and painted mirrors by Ait Amza – is an important part of overall project vision, which in some ways anticipates an approach that is today known as 'integral design'.² All materials were sourced from Morocco. The windows and terraces are designed to have shaded areas in an extreme climate. From the attention to the interior to that of the exterior, the design keeps strong relations between the building and the landscape, between the present and the past.

Between 1972-1974, Faraoui and de Mazières completed the Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadés (Figure 3a, 3b). This hotel was designed with similar settlement and

² A method that considers in a balanced way the different perspectives of approaching a topic or a design project based on the 'integral theory' of philosopher Ken Wilber, and developed by architect Marc Dekay of the University of Tennessee.

construction principles as the Hôtel Les Roses du Dades and like the first one recalls and reinterprets an ancient, fortified city. Through the repetition and overlapping of modules, the architects not only evoke a new fortified city but also redesign the orography and the shape of the landscape, simulating a mountainous relief. The modules are arranged around a courtyard with a swimming pool. The volumes are staggered, by a pair of rooms, providing individual privacy to each terrace opening to the landscape. Although the reference to vernacular architecture is clear, the hotel differs from it in both construction technique and formal aspects. For example, the building is mainly constructed of concrete and cement block covered with a mud and cement coating, and not of raw earth, and furthermore, ancient cities did not rely on the repetition of modules. Even the scale is completely different: while the pattern of the ancient city is based on the living cell, here the pattern is based on the hotel room. The interior design of this hotel was curated by the artist Mohamed Chebaa.

In 1974 Faraoui and de Mazière designed the Hôtel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine, which is not far away from a Kasbah, with similar criteria to those of the two previous buildings. 'Design has been guided by a desire to integrate the hotel with the existing casbah and gardens, parts of which have been restored' (Faraoui, de Mazières, 1980: 72). (Figure 4)

These three projects are not only part of a possible tourist itinerary, but are linked by a common design approach reflecting a refined search for an architecture integrated with its context and heritage; they should be considered part of the country's contemporary heritage.



Figure 4: Hotel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine (1974), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, © Courtesy of the architect for www.mammagroup.org



Figure 5: Hotel Les Gorges du Dadès in Boumalne Dadès (1972-74), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, photo 2015.

Today the more popular of the three hotels – perhaps because it was shortlisted in the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (1989) – is the Hôtel Les Gorges du Dadès, now the 4-star Dades Xaluca. Unhappily, Les Gorges du Dadès has been partially altered and emptied of its artworks created by Mohamed Chebaa. Today, despite the change in colour of the facades, from earth tone to a sort of ‘synthetic pink’, (Figure 05) it remains possible to appreciate the originality of the architecture and its strong landscape value. However, the Hôtel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine is now abandoned and at risk of demolition (Figure 06).

The art auction mentioned at the beginning of this paper sparked debate in Morocco on the danger of the loss of important artworks and brought attention to the issue of preserving modern heritage. An important role in this debate was played by the action of an association of volunteers, MAMMA (Modernist Architects of Morocco Memorial Association), which mobilised to stop the sale of the artworks as well as the demolition of the hotel in Taliouine, and campaigned to include the three hotels described above in the list of protected buildings of Morocco. However, the artworks sale was not stopped, even though it is forbidden to take the artworks out of Morocco. For the moment, the demolition of the Hôtel Ibn Toumart is suspended.

Starting with this episode as a case study, the aim of this paper is to highlight the cultural value of these modern buildings that are not protected, and to consider the artworks within them as an integrated part of the project. In addition, this

paper aims to underline two considerations in regard to African modernities and its historical landscapes: The first is to recognise that these three hotels by Faraoui and de Mazières are not the first cases of Moroccan modern architecture at risk, as many other buildings have been altered, abandoned, or demolished. For example, the New Club (previously Holiday Club), a tourist resort near M’diq, completed by Faraoui and de Mazières in 1969, was demolished in 2000 and replaced by the Hôtel Sofitel Tamuda Bay Beach and Spa, opened in 2016 (Loudaoui, 2020). This phenomenon is not merely related to tourism and the demand for accommodation, nor is it linked to the function of a building but is most likely the result of a lack of the awareness of the value of modern architecture. The Office national du thé (Henri Tastemain and Elie Azagury, 1960-1962) in Casablanca, and The Centre d’hygiène de Bab el Had (Eliane Castelnaud, 1967-1968) in Rabat, are two other examples of modern architecture recently demolished. Particularly significant is the case of the Centre d’hygiène de Bab el Had, representing an atypical modern insertion within the walls of the medina, as an example of a possible hybridisation between different cultures and between modernity and heritage that has been annulled (Ruggeri, 2019). The inclusion of modern architecture among the buildings to be preserved as part of Moroccan heritage would be a first step. Such an action requires extensive study and classification work that cannot be managed only by an association staffed by volunteers, but should be facilitated by the state.

The three hotels of Abdeslem Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières in the southern hinterland



Figure 6: Hotel Ibn Toumart in Taliouine (1974), Archt. Abdeslem Faraoui, Patrice de Mazières, © MAMMA – L. El Mounni 2017, www.mammagroup.org

of Morocco and the artworks mentioned above deserve to be preserved. Both Les Roses du Dades and Les Gorges du Dades are located within a valley crossed by the wadi Dades, the ‘backbone’ of a balanced anthropic and natural landscape with its ancient towns and modern tourist settlements, and should therefore be preserved as part of a unitary system.

Bibliography

A+U, revue africaine d’architecture et urbanisme (1969), n. 6.

Faraoui A., de Mazières P. 1980. ‘Tourist Architecture in Morocco: Hotels by Faraoui and de Mazières’. In *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*, edited by L. Safran. Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 69-75.

Galli, J. 2014. ‘Abdeslem Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières. Hôtel Les Gorges du Dades, modern vernacular’. In *Africa Big Change, Big Chance*, edited by B. Albrecht. Bologna: Editrice Compositor, 188-189.

Kultermann U. 1983. ‘The Architects of Morocco’. *Mimar: Architecture in Development*, 7, 60-66.

Loudaoui T. 2020. ‘Tourisme et modernité, la villégiature à Cabo Negro Village Vacances d’Élie Azagury 1964-1975’. *Revue GéoDév.ma*, 8.

Ruggeri D. 2019. ‘Rabat, (la sorte di) un caso atipico intra moenia’. In *Altre modernità. Energie etiche per il progetto*, edited by J. Galli. Milano-Udine: Mimesis, 65-83.

Web pages

www.archnet.org/authorities/64

www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2021/05/08/au-maroc-le-patrimoine-architectural-contemporain-neglige_6079574_3212.html

www.mammagroup.org/

Cultural Landscapes And The Vernacular: A Case Study Of The Tankwa Karoo

Karen Munting

Department of Architecture, Planning & Geomatics,
Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment,
University of Cape Town
matjesfontein66.kai@gmail.com

Abstract:

The Tankwa Karoo forms part of the Nama Karoo Biome, both biologically distinct areas and the world's only entirely arid region diversity hotspot. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether the preponderance of a specific language of vernacular architecture adds cultural significance to the natural heritage of the Tankwa. The research scope is defined geographically by the limits of the Tankwa Karoo basin, by means of a case study analysis of four sites. The Heritagescape methodology framed the research objective. Dry packed stone kraals, built by transhumant herders, and later vernacular architecture of adobe and stone with brakdak¹ roofs define a built heritage that effectively provides shelter in an arid climate. The research uncovered the intangible cultural heritage embodied in the act of building and concludes this constitutes a living heritage worth preserving in an evolving contemporary society. The craftsmanship applied to building and maintenance broadens the knowledge base necessary to facilitate migration from carbon intensive to net-zero energy construction methods, with relevance for similar climates worldwide. Support for intergenerational transfer of the earth-building heritage practices found in the Tankwa, can trigger a project model with broadscale implementation potential.

The research concludes that the layers of significance of both tangible, natural, and cultural heritage found in the Tankwa Karoo constitutes substantial criteria for classifying this area as a continuing cultural landscape as defined by the terms of the UNESCO Convention for World Heritage of 1972.

¹ 'Brak' (Afrikaans), adobe made with saline water and reinforced with hay; 'dak' (Afrikaans), roof.

Paysages Culturels Et Vernaculaire : Une Étude De Cas Du Tankwa Karoo

Résumé:

Le Tankwa Karoo fait partie du Nama Karoo Biome, deux zones biologiquement distinctes et le seul point chaud de la diversité des régions entièrement arides du monde. Le but de cet article est de déterminer si la prépondérance d'une langue spécifique de l'architecture vernaculaire ajoute une importance culturelle au patrimoine naturel des Tankwa. La portée de la recherche est définie géographiquement par les limites du bassin de Tankwa Karoo, au moyen d'une étude de cas portant sur quatre sites. La méthodologie du paysage patrimonial a défini l'objectif de recherche. Les kraals de pierres sèches, construits par des éleveurs transhumants, et plus tard l'architecture vernaculaire d'adobe et de pierre avec des toits de brakdak définissent un patrimoine bâti qui fournit efficacement un abri dans un climat aride. La recherche a permis de découvrir le patrimoine culturel immatériel incarné par l'acte de construire et conclut qu'il s'agit d'un patrimoine vivant qu'il vaut la peine de préserver dans une société contemporaine en évolution. Le savoir-faire appliqué à la construction et à l'entretien élargit la base de connaissances nécessaire pour faciliter la migration des méthodes de construction à forte intensité de carbone vers des méthodes de construction à consommation énergétique nette zéro, avec une pertinence pour des climats similaires dans le monde entier. Le soutien au transfert intergénérationnel des pratiques patrimoniales de construction de la terre qui se trouvent dans les Tankwa peut déclencher un modèle de projet avec un potentiel de mise en œuvre à grande échelle. La recherche conclut que les couches d'importance des deux tangibles, le patrimoine naturel et culturel du Tankwa Karoo constitue un critère important pour classer cette zone en tant que paysage culturel permanent tel que défini par les termes de la Convention de

l'UNESCO pour le patrimoine mondial de 1992.

Keywords: Tankwa Karoo, vernacular architecture, brakdak, continuing cultural landscape, intangible cultural heritage

Funding details

The completion of this study was made possible by a bursary from the South African Department of Arts and Culture, via the University of Cape Town, for the 2020/21 academic year.

Karen Munting is a professional architect with over 23 years post registration experience. She completed a Master's degree in Conservation in the Built Environment (UCT) in 2021. Her professional career was developed in private practice for 21 years, as partner in an architects' practice in Pretoria, South Africa (1995-2003), and later in Windhoek, Namibia (2004-2019). She currently works as an architect at the Department of Transport and Public Works: Health Infrastructure, for the Western Cape provincial government. She is passionate about generating change in society in a holistic manner by creative strategic and policy interventions in the fields of sustainability, education, health, and cultural heritage.

Central research question

The Tankwa Karoo forms part of the Nama Karoo Biome, a biologically distinct region and the world's only entirely arid diversity hotspot. The preponderance of a specific language of vernacular architecture here adds another layer of cultural significance to the rich natural heritage of the greater biome. Does the proliferation of the *brakdak*, mudbrick and stone vernacular structures in the Tankwa Karoo

constitute sufficient tangible heritage to deepen the region's cultural heritage significance and support declaring this area a continuing cultural landscape? If so, does the act of building these earth and stone structures constitute a living heritage worth preserving within the context of an evolving contemporary society?

Research methodology

Garden (2006) described 'The Heritagescape' as a methodology designed to analyse universal characteristics and elements that shape significance at a range of similar heritage sites. The Heritagescape theory argues that tangible structures can be better understood if read in relation to the intangible cultures associated with them, within the context of a landscape in which they are found. Sites and their built structures cannot be fully understood until all these factors are considered: As landscapes that take in both tangible elements and the intangible, experiential qualities, heritage sites are less well understood. The author (2006: 271) notes:

Because 'heritage' and 'heritage sites' are inextricably linked, a failure comprehensively to grasp how heritage sites work and what they 'do' over time will impact on our understanding of heritage as a social construction and will have a notable effect on the ways in which we understand how both heritage and heritage sites change and grow over time.

I chose to use a Heritagescape methodology to frame my research because it facilitated analysis of a broad landscape like the Tankwa Karoo region. This research could not be limited to a single site since the vernacular structures (either brakdak houses, stone kraals, or a farm



Figure 1: Stone kraal on a hill at Quaggafontein farm, with rain approaching and the Roggeveld mountains in background (Enya M. Munting, April 2020). The presence and placing of this kraal at this node in this wide expansive landscape can only be understood once the observer gains a better understanding of the history and the cultures that built it.

settlement) collectively illustrate the importance of these humble structures and the reason for their existence in this context. Valuable research into a typical farmyard site was conducted on the farm Elandsvlei, on the Tankwa river in 2003 by Annemarie van Zyl (Van Zyl, 2003). A qualitative approach was used to analyse four sites in the region. The Heritagescape methodology provided a structure to interpret sites by coherent, replicable, and flexible means. It is a structured approach, yet flexible enough to portray the nuances and characteristics that make each site unique.

Location

The Tankwa Karoo is located on the southwestern edge of the Great Karoo. The area is best illustrated in Slingsby's map 'Tankwa Karoo and the Roggeveld escarpment' (2018). It is bounded by the Swartruggens and Cederberg mountains to the west and the Roggeveld escarpment to the east. The north-western boundary is the Onder Bokkeveld near Nieuwoudtville and in the northeast by the Hantam Karoo near Calvinia. The south entrance is defined by the Karoo Poort valley, about 50 km north of Ceres. Here the tar road ends, and the C355 dirt road continues for 225 km to Calvinia. It is the longest uninterrupted stretch of dirt road in South Africa, infamous in its reputation for destroying vehicle tyres. It is not advisable to travel to the area by ordinary sedan vehicle.

The word Tanqua or Tankwa is of Khoi origin and means either 'Place of the San' or 'thirst land'. It is derived from a name for a clan of the San. 'Karoo' originates from the San 'Kuru' meaning 'hard, dry, sparse place'. There is speculation that it may be one of the oldest place names on earth. Similar records for the name exist in other languages such as: Xhaeruh, Carrow, Carro, Karow, Karró and Karroo. The Khoi words Garo (to be dry) and !Garob (desert) also relate to the name (Nell, 2008:220).

The Tankwa Heritagescape study site

The Tankwa Karoo Heritagescape was interrogated by analysing four sites, Gembokfontein (Koppieskraal farms) in the west, and three farmyards within the Tankwa Karoo National Park (TKNP) in the north-central area. The TKNP comprises a total area of 146 373ha, all of which used to be farmland. The three farmyards analysed were Uintjiesbosch and Waaikop towards the south of the park, and Pramberfontein in the north-central area. The research provides the grounds for defining the Tankwa Karoo cultural landscape, inclusive

of the tangible vernacular architecture and the living heritage as expressed in the building and maintenance thereof. The limitations of scope for a 60 credit Master's dissertation precluded study of a broader range of sites, and limited ethnographical research. The scope exists for further study of this subject, as would be necessary to provide comprehensive grounds for declaration of this area as a UNESCO Heritage site.

Landscape and culture

This study set out to interrogate both the natural and socio-cultural reasons for the preponderance of *brakdak* buildings and stone *kraals* in the Tankwa Karoo region, collectively described as Tankwa vernacular architecture. It shows this heritage is comprised of the historical overlay of many different cultures that over centuries lived and moved through this land. Stone *kraals* were first introduced by migrant pastoralists, specifically the San and the Khoikhoi transhumant² herders. These people established a route through the area, connected to available water sources and resting spots for animals (Munting, 2021). The semi-desert landscape of the Tankwa Karoo necessitated continual movement of animals between the fertile Bokkeveld and Roggeveld plateaus in summer and the temperate winter rainfall area of the Tankwa Karoo (Amswand, 2009). This pattern was established by early pastoralists as a wise response to the sustainable use of this fragile ecology (Burchell, 1822). When the trekboer colonists arrived in the late eighteenth century, they too followed this pattern of transhumance, learning the practices of '*trekking and kraaling*'³ from local herders (Regensberg, 2016). Initially, these routes and watering spots, and the kraals attached to them, were shared cooperatively by both cultures. With the rapid expansion of the Cape Colony into land previously communally owned and farmed by indigenous peoples, the colonists eventually devised structured forms of land ownership and pattern of use. The first peoples' independence was finally and officially eliminated with the establishment of the Caledon Code or 'Hottentot' Proclamation of 1809. In the words of Dr John Phillip of the London Missionary Society (LMS): '*The Hottentot*'⁴ are condemned

2 Transhumance: The action or practice of moving livestock from one grazing ground to another in a seasonal cycle, typically to lowlands in winter and highlands in summer.

3 *Trekking* is an Afrikaans word referring to the movement of people and their animals from one point to another. *Kraaling* is the containment of animals within a protected enclosure, usually at night to prevent loss of livestock from predators.

4 *Hottentot*: Pejorative term used by European colonialists to describe the nomadic pastoralist peoples mainly of KhoiKhoi descent, of Southern Africa.



Figure 2: Dry packed stone *kraal* at Uintjiesbos (Tankwa Karoo National Park) collectively built by the Karsten, De Lange and Theron families (K. Munting, May 2020).

to a perpetual state of servitude, nor have they the power, by any exertion, however great and praiseworthy, of liberating themselves from bondage’ (Penn, 2005: 269). This disruption of indigenous arrangements remains to this day an unresolved legacy within South Africa’s contested land debate.

Permanent farms were established in either the Bokkeveld or Roggeveld from the early 1800s onwards, and a *legplek* farm in the Tankwa registered as a subsidiary for winter grazing (Amschwand, 2016). The pattern of movement became defined and regulated, with various *outspan* (resting) farms registered along the route to facilitate this annual migration (Moll, et al., 2021).

The Tankwa became permanently settled, with the consequent need for lasting shelter. Houses built by these first settlers were *brakdak* houses, of mudbrick, stone and clay sourced from the site. *Kraals* were still of stone, a readily available building material, but now rectangular in shape, larger and higher with dressed stone masonry

walls. Mud and stone construction methods developed and were refined, augmented by craftsmanship skills that arrived in the area with eighteenth and nineteenth century European settlers (Moll, et al., 2021; Van Zyl, 2003). These skills were taught to residents of Khoi and San descent, who became renowned for their building expertise and were employed on several Tankwa farms. The semi-desert ecology of the land could not support intensive, profitable farming, and the houses and structures in the landscape illustrate this certainty. They rarely developed into the elaborate Cape Dutch style vernacular found elsewhere, as the funds were simply not available to import building materials. One exception is Elandsvlei Farm on the Tankwa river, a persistent water source that allowed for extensive irrigation of crops. Elandsvlei in its heyday thus developed into an oasis in the desert.

The Tankwa valley became dotted with these *brakdak* houses and stone *kraals*. It is a common feature in the landscape to this day. Various iterations of the iconic image of a *brakdak*



Figure 3: Uintjiesbos. Barn by Albert Petoors (K. Munting, May 2020).



Figure 4: Uintjesbos. Karsten brakdak house with Roggeveld mountains (K. Munting, May 2020).

building are found, some constructed with unfired mudbrick walls and clay plaster, others with stone and mud walls with clay or lime plaster. Building materials were determined by locally available resources. *Brak* roofs are often replaced by pitched galvanised metal sheeting roofs in restorations, since regular maintenance of the *brak* is critical for its structural stability. This can be cumbersome and dangerous if not diligently implemented. The use of the *brak* layer as effective insulation against the climatic extremes of the desert was a crucial advantage, resulting in hybridisation of old and new materials: galvanised sheeting and wood as sub-structure for internal structural stability, and *brak* for insulation. The arrival of modern materials such as builders' plastic sheeting, and cement wash paint expanded the repertoire of the local builders, an evolution to address contemporary needs, but still applying the locally available building resources. Some old houses are restored as accommodation for tourists, others remain as housing. Many are vacated, neglected, and are slowly returning to the earth they originate from. A modern interpretation of the *brakdak* house can be found at Elandsberg tourist housing in the TKNP.

While these vernacular structures are a tangible document of occupation and the historical overlay of different cultures, they carry a deeper significance as the embodiment of the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) encapsulated within their making and maintenance. Larsen and Marstein (2016), in their work on the conservation of historic timber structures, discuss the vital role of preserving craftsmanship techniques as living culture and generator of tangible heritage. They contend that 'we have to relearn the traditional knowledge of materials and construction techniques to help our monuments to survive' (Larsen & Marstein, 2016: 2). I found craftsmen practicing their trade on Gemsbokfontein farm who traced their knowledge of the craft back to descendants of Albert Petoors of Waaikop, a

local resident who learnt his skill from Richard Shepherd, an English stonemason and migrant to the area in the late 1800s. (Moll, et al., 2021). Their knowledge and skill remain alive, in part because they are still building and maintaining occupied mudbrick and *brakdak* buildings on the farm. Charles Willemse, part owner and farm manager, attests to the fact that these buildings are far more comfortable to live in than others built of contemporary cement brick with galvanised steel roofs. The *brakdak* ensures effective passive cooling and heating in this climate, is affordable and aesthetically well connected to the landscape. However, Willemse is reluctant to build new structures in this manner, as his labour force is aging, and no young craftsmen are available. The absence of trained craftsmen thus limits the continued practice of using adobe and natural stone construction for building in the Tankwa. This was confirmed by officials at the TKNP, who struggle to find craftsmen to maintain the vernacular structures and the newer Elandsberg units under their care. The continuation and support of this living heritage within the Tankwa Karoo is thus deemed critical for the survival of both tangible and intangible heritage. The tangible in this instance cannot persist if not maintained by the craftsmen, and neglect of the knowledge base instilled in the living practitioners will result in the demise of the structures themselves. This certainty is a profound illustration of the interconnected nature of heritage, where intangible is integral to the sustainability of the tangible. The living heritage in this context does not necessarily indicate a longing for a return to historical authenticity but shows scope to renew and change to suit contemporary applications. This in turn can inform the global imperative towards an appropriate, effective response to building net zero energy buildings that will contribute to the survival of humanity's heritage.

My research led me to conclude that the Tankwa Karoo Landscape can be described



Figure 5: Gemsbokfontein artisans. From left to right, Jan Jacobs (60), Jonathan Jacobs (19), Hansie Kloete (57), and Willem Kloete (43) (K. Munting, January 2021. Permission obtained verbally from subjects prior to photographing).

as an organically evolved, continuing cultural landscape per the UNESCO Convention of 1992 (Gfeller, 2013). The natural landscape falls within an exceptionally bio-diverse and unique ecology. It is part of the Succulent Karoo biome, one of the world's most biologically diverse and distinct, and the only entirely arid region biodiversity hotspot globally (Mucina, et al., 2006). This invaluable natural heritage is augmented by the rich overlay of socio-cultural heritage, illustrated by the diversity of cultures that have lived and moved through this space. The vernacular architecture of the area, and the living heritage of its making and maintenance remain as documents to this cultural memory. The application of the living heritage in the respectful, appropriate use of materials to create comfortable, healthy abodes in this unforgiving environment, and the way in which this contributes to the spirit of place, become integral elements of this continuing landscape. It is my assertion that the continuation of this living heritage plays a vital role towards a fitting human interaction with this sensitive, yet profoundly beautiful natural environment. Support towards research, development, and education in this field, specifically aimed at craftsmanship skills development of Tankwa residents, but with scope to educate craftsmen from further afield, will play an important role in the sustainability of the Tankwa cultural landscape.

The term 'vernacular' in this context, as an architecture built 'by the people, for the people' becomes important within the cultural heritage landscape. Augmenting the local craftsmen's

technical knowledge in the fields of earth and stone construction will not threaten the heritage. The evolution of knowledge is vital to the continued relevance of this valuable cultural resource in a contemporary society. Here, simple vernacular buildings define an expanded scope of what constitutes heritage. The concept of a continuing cultural landscape such as the Tankwa Karoo region can enrich the heritage debate about what is preservation worthy.

The use of heritage protection overlay zones within a municipal context is well established in town and city contexts in South Africa. However, with the move towards large scale installation of renewable energy developments in rural landscapes, the status of heritage landscapes (Heritagescapes) needs to be addressed urgently within official heritage discourse. The Tankwa Karoo is not immune to development of this kind, as evidenced by the Paardekraal Wind farm to the south, and other developments earmarked for implementation at Baakenskop, Oya and Kudusberg soon. These large-scale projects have a significant visual and ecological impact on the sensitive environment, and it is vital that their effect on the landscape is considered not only based on the impact to farming activities, but within the broader cultural landscape context as outlined in this study.

Bibliography

- Amschwand, N. 2016. 'Legplekken- from Tradition to Dispossession: A Short History of the Lay Farms of the Roggeveld'. *Digging Stick* 33(2), 5-7.
- Amschwand, N. 2009. 'Seasonal Stock Movement in the Onder-Bokkeveld'. *Digging Stick* 26(2), 13-15.
- Burchell, William J. 1822. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa with Numerous Engravings*. London: Longman, Hirst, Rees, Orme and Brown.
- Garden, Mary-Catherine E. 2006. 'The Heritagescape: Looking at Landscapes of the Past'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12(5), 394-411. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600821621>.
- Gfeller, Aurélie Elisa. 2013. 'Negotiating the Meaning of Global Heritage: 'Cultural Landscapes' in the Unesco World Heritage Convention, 1972–92'. *Journal of global history* 8(3), 483-503. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022813000387>.
- Larsen, K. E. and N. Marstein. 2016. *Conservation of Historic Timber Structures. An Ecological Approach*. Oslo: Riksantikvaren.
- Munting, K. 2021. Cultural Landscapes and the vernacular: A case study of the Tankwa Karoo. MPhil dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Moll, B. Moll, M. Steyn, H. 2021. The heart and soul of the Tankwa Karoo National Park. SHR SANPARKS Honorary Rangers. Blueprint, Cape Town
- Mucina, L, N. Jürgens, A. Le Roux, M. C. Rutherford, U. Schmiedel, K. J. Esler, and L. Powrie. 2006. 'Succulent Karoo Biome: The vegetation of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland. *Strelitzia* 19, 221-99.
- Nell, L. 2008. *Great Karoo*. Cape Town: Struik. pp 220
- Penn, N. 2005. *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Regensberg, R. M. 2016. Pastoralist Systems of the Roggeveld in the 18th and 19th Centuries. MSc dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Slingsby, P. 2018. 'Tankwa Karoo and the Roggeveld Escarpment'. In *Slingsby Maps*, edited by P. Slingsby. Muizenberg: Slingsby Maps.
- Van Zyl, Annemarie. 2003. 'n Ondersoek Na Die Bewarenswaardigheid Van Die Elandsvlei Gebouekompleks. MPhil dissertation, Stellenbosch University.

A Treasure Trove Of Modern Architecture: Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (1960-1976)

Adekunle Adeyemo and Bayo Amole

arcade2000ng@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper considers the Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, as a treasure trove of modern architecture – not only for its architectural significance, but also for its palimpsest of meanings. Located in the tropical forests of southwestern Nigeria, on a *tabula rasa* removed from city life and designed by a Bauhaus alumnus on an aid mission from the State of Israel, the campus presents a unique spectacle, offering itself as a modernist city built into the natural forest landscape with hills in the background. It employs the forms, materials, and technologies of the Modern Movement, stretching them to the limits of creativity. Yet the design differs from the popular colonial Modernist architecture in its adoption of form following climate and cultural sensitivity. Postcolonial in both chronology and concept, the architecture carried meaning for the university as an institution in an African setting, and for its patrons as leaders of the Western region, where it was viewed as a sign of progress, development, a political tool, and an expression of ideology. Deconstructing the architecture and these layers of meaning reveals the aesthetic, historic, and social values and shows that modern architecture does not have to be acultural to be significant.

Keywords: Bauhaus, critical regionalism, modern architecture, modern heritage, tropical architecture

Résumé

Cet article considère le campus de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo, Ile-Ife, comme un trésor de l'architecture moderne - non seulement pour sa signification architecturale, mais aussi pour son palimpseste de significations. Situé dans les forêts tropicales du sud-ouest du Nigeria, sur une *tabula rasa* retirée de la vie urbaine et conçu par un ancien élève du Bauhaus en mission d'aide de l'État d'Israël, le campus présente un spectacle unique, s'offrant comme une ville moderniste construite dans la nature paysage forestier avec des collines en arrière-plan. Il utilise les formes, les matériaux et les technologies du mouvement moderne, les étirant jusqu'aux limites de la créativité. Pourtant, la conception diffère de l'architecture moderniste coloniale populaire

dans son adoption de la forme en fonction du climat et de la sensibilité culturelle. Postcoloniale à la fois chronologique et conceptuelle, l'architecture avait un sens pour l'université en tant qu'institution dans un cadre africain, et pour ses mécènes en tant que dirigeants de la région occidentale, où elle était considérée comme un signe de progrès, de développement, un outil politique, et une expression d'idéologie. Déconstruire l'architecture et ces couches de sens révèle les valeurs esthétiques, historiques et sociales et montre que l'architecture moderne n'a pas besoin d'être aculturelle pour être significative.

Introduction

The 1932 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) titled 'The International Style', curated by Henry Russel Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, signalled the emergence of modern architecture, also known as the Modern Movement in architecture. From there, it spread across the world through exhibitions such as those staged by MoMA and events by organisations such as Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), in the international practice of design school alumni such as the Bauhaus and masters of the Modern Movement, as well as through colonialism, which was prevalent at the time. The introduction of modern architecture to Africa occurred primarily through colonial administrators, with much of Africa under colonial rule until the mid-1970s (Crinson, 2003).

As African nations achieved independence, they continued to use modern architecture as a means of nation building and to express their unfolding national identities (Herz, et al., 2015). While some countries recruited architects from their former colonisers, others, in an attempt at self-liberation and to forge diplomatic ties, sought the support and collaboration of other nations (Stanek, 2020). One such collaboration – between the Israeli government and the Western Regional Government of Nigeria – led to the creation of the campus of the University of Ife, now known as Obafemi Awolowo University, in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. The Israeli architect Arie Sharon (1900-1984), an alumnus of the Bauhaus, was chosen to design and build the new university.

However, the place of the Obafemi Awolowo University campus within Modernist architecture remains underexplored.

This paper therefore examines the architecture of the Obafemi Awolowo University campus as an exemplar of modern architecture built in the post-independence period in Nigeria. It begins by examining the inception of the university and then moves on to the master planning of the campus as a modernist city. It further scrutinises the modernist credentials of the architecture of the campus before proceeding to investigate how the architecture presents a reinterpretation of Modernist architecture.

Inception of a new university

The University of Ife as it was then known, was founded by the government of the Western Region of Nigeria contrary to the recommendation of the multinational Ashby commission, which investigated higher education in Nigeria in 1959/1960 (Damkaer, 2013; Krieger, 1987). Notwithstanding the recommendation, the western regional government passed a resolution in the House of Assembly and published a White paper outlining its plans for a regional university. To avoid being inhibited by the then Federal government, which was funding and establishing other universities at the time, the western regional government proposed to fund its university itself.

Also running against the grain of the Federal government's decision to seek aid from the United Kingdom and the United States, the western regional government sought assistance from the Israeli government, which, under Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, was on a diplomatic mission to contribute to the progress of other developing countries (Yacobi, 2010). For the university project, the Israeli government in 1960 assigned the task to Arie Sharon, an alumnus of the Bauhaus, Dessau, who had studied under Hannes Meyer between 1926 and 1929. Sharon had worked in Meyer's office until 1931, where they together executed many projects. This situates Sharon in the Modernist tradition, a tradition he chose to stretch to its limits. By the 1950s and 1960s, Sharon was one of the most prominent Israeli architects (Efrat, 2013; Gitler, 2011).

Sharon proceeded to do two things: first, to select a location chosen from 16 different towns, and second, to organise visits, together with delegates from the Western Regional Government to a number of British, American, South American and Israeli universities (Sharon, 1976). During a visit to universities in Jerusalem,

Sharon noted the positive impression the buildings and environments had made on Nigerian officials (Sharon, 1976). On his return to Nigeria, a site two miles from the town of Ile-Ife was chosen for the campus.

The Modernist credentials of the campus

Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus was modernist in two ways: it was planned as a modernist city, and the buildings were modernist in character. An examination of these is expedient.

3.1 A Modernist city

The master plan drawn up by Sharon conceived the campus as a typical modernist city. Scholars have shown how the university has become a model for the city, describing its progression from the oldest continental universities through to the conception of the university campus as 'academical village' as defined by Jefferson in the Virginia University (Amole, 2001). The Ife campus is indeed a small city complete with living, working and support services.

The campus embodies the modernist city's strict zoning principles, elucidated by Elleh (1997). The three zones are the central or main core, the students' residential facilities and the staff residential area. The service buildings and facilities are located between them in accordance with their relationship to the three sections.

The main core is the central business district (CBD) as any modern city would have, and it is the primary working area of the university. It has three buildings around the university piazza: the Library, the Assembly Hall with an Amphitheatre, and the University Hall /Secretariat. Each of the three symbolise the three functions of the university – Academic, Social and Administration – reminiscent of what any modernist city would have in its CBD.

The student residences to the west of the main core are designed to follow the form of modernist mass housing projects yet are skilfully adapted to student living conditions with adequate dining and study facilities. The staff quarters to the east of the main core evoke a sub-urban setting, involving over 25 different house types set in spacious lush green surroundings (Amole, 2001).

Across campus, priority is given to a hierarchy of connecting access roads, streets, and pedestrian pathways. For example, student residences are



Figure 1: Assembly Hall, 1972-1976. (Adekunle Adeyemo, 2021).

within walking or cycling distance of the main core, while the staff live within driving distance.

3.2 Modernist buildings

No matter the theory or manifesto one uses to examine the architecture, be it Corbusier's five points of a new architecture (Corbusier, 1986), Philip Johnson's seven crutches (Johnson, 1955), or Bruno Zevi's seven invariants (Zevi, 1976), Sharon's campus for the university in Ife was modernist, as can be seen by its many features.

These include Corbusier's *pilotis*, which were used in the Assembly Hall and in the Administration,

Law, Social Sciences, and Education faculty buildings in the campus main core (Figure 1). Furthermore, the modernist free plan is in play in all the buildings as the structural support system does not use walls as load bearing elements. As a result, the free façade is evident, as the elevations are free from impediments (Figure 5). The long window, or *fentre en longue*, made possible by the structure, is also evident in the buildings (Figure 5).

Another modernist idiom is the truth to materials, as shown in the extensive use of stone and concrete in pavements, retaining walls and walkways. Features like board marked concrete, and projecting beams, aligning with the Brutalist



Figure 2: Dining Hall, Hall of Residence, 1964. (Adekunle Adeyemo, 2021).



Figure 3: Faculty of Education, 1968-1972 (Adekunle Adeyemo, 2021).

genre of the Modern Movement were also used, evident in the Assembly Hall and Administration, Law, Social Sciences, and Education faculty buildings (Figures 1 and 4). Reinforced concrete was used extensively, including large cantilevers, as evident in the Vice Chancellor's lodge. Folded concrete roofs were employed in the Dining Hall of the Hall of Residence, constructed in 1964, and in the roof of the Assembly Hall (Figure 2).

The modernist monochromatic colour scheme of white and greys, the dissonance shown by features such as asymmetry, the continuity between building and landscape, and the abandonment of classical taboos, together portray evidence of the modernist credentials of

the campus. Sharon clearly revealed his Bauhaus roots through the architecture of the campus.

Modernist architecture reinterpreted

Despite manifesting itself as modern architecture, the Obafemi Awolowo University campus also presents a reinterpretation of Modernist architecture as it shows a departure from the Colonialist modern that was in vogue in Africa at the time, while also reinterpreting formal Modernist traditions. Two things particularly show this departure: the approach to climate control, and the reference to local culture.



Figure 4: Faculty of Social Sciences, 1972-1976. (Adekunle Adeyemo, 2021).

4.1 Form following climate

Arieh Sharon rejected applied climate control in favour of the form of the building as the climate controlling device, something he defined as 'form follows climate' at the International Health Seminar in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1971 (Yacobi, 2016; Efrat, 2013). This is contrary to popular tropes of tropical architecture where a 'skin' encloses the building in the form of screen walls or shading devices, as deployed by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew in the colonial government's University College Ibadan, now University of Ibadan, begun in 1951 (Jackson & Holland, 2014; Levin, 2012).

Sharon used the inverted pyramid to address his climate concerns, deploying the mass and shape for protection and ventilation, as evident in the Humanities, Library and Education buildings, and in the Assembly Hall (Efrat, 2013) (Figures 3 and 5). The upper floors overhanging the lower floors block direct sunlight, thus making the buildings cool inside.

By making the lowest floors open and having covered internal courts in the buildings with roofs possessing avenues for hot air to escape, Sharon utilised what is called the 'stack effect' to facilitate passive cooling. This is evident in the Administration, Law, Social Sciences, and Education faculty buildings (Figures 3 and 4).

4.2 Cultural sensitivity

The other way in which Sharon's campus departed from the Colonialist modern was in terms of its reference to the local culture. The architecture is replete with cultural references such as a

concrete replica of the Ife staff, 'Opa Oranmiyan', set in a curvilinear background at the base of the Library ramp (Figure 5). Others are the abstract murals adorning the walls of buildings such as the Assembly Hall, Amphitheatre, and University Hall / Secretariat building (Gitler, 2011).

Sharon also used corrugated texture for wall grooves in the Assembly Hall, Library, and other buildings, in apparent reference to the grooves on the 14th century bronze figurine in the museum in Ile-Ife (Figure 5). He placed a picture of the Assembly Hall showing the corrugated texture alongside one showing the figurine in his 1976 book, *Kibbutz+Bauhaus* (Sharon, 1976; Gitler, 2011).

Sharon employed a network of courtyards, a prominent feature of Yoruba traditional architecture, on the campus. This is seen clearly in the main core of the campus, with all the buildings arranged to form courtyards opening from one to another.

Unity of the core area

The main core of the campus is also worthy of special attention. Built between 1962 and 1976, having a square shape, it is the central business district of the campus and embodies the 'Sharon design principles' not only in the buildings but also in the landscape and circulation.

The buildings in the main core form a unified structure although bearing different forms: the Assembly Hall is hexagonal, the Amphitheatre semi-circular, and the faculty buildings rectangular, but the principal idea that unifies the core area is the inverted pyramid seen in virtually all the buildings.



Figure 5: Library, 1967-1970. (Adekunle Adeyemo, 2021).

Another typically modernist device in the main core is grid planning, defined here by walkways. The walkways, mostly covered, run through vertically and horizontally, not interrupted by any feature. Where these are interrupted, there is a link to another walkway. The buildings are lifted by *pilotis*, so that walking through is possible in virtually any direction. This makes circulation fluid, while providing continuity between the buildings and the landscape, a modernist invariant identified by Bruno Zevi (Zevi, 1976).

Sharon removed the rigidity that would have arisen from grid planning by making the entrances of the buildings open. In the absence of formal entrances, the buildings become part of the landscape and they are erected into the landscape, with a clever play in levels utilising the natural slope of the site and providing linkages for the entire core. There is a blend of hard and soft landscaping with seating areas outdoors and within the buildings, trees shading carparks and uncovered walkways, and fountains in the university piazza.

Synthesis of meanings

The founding of the university at Ife as a regional facility, as opposed to the federal institution at Ibadan, fits with the ideology of the Action Group-led Western Regional Government, which had promised rapid educational improvements to liberate the society from economic exploitation and ignorance (Ayoade, 1985). The university was a political tool in the battle of the regions in Nigeria at the time and was viewed as an index of development.

Sharon's campus for the university at Ife was not only postcolonial chronologically in terms of being after the colonial, but also conceptually, as it rejected the British colonial model not only in the academic programme, but also in the architecture. The selection of the architect and the architecture employed clearly demonstrated an opposition to the colonial ethos and expressed the will of the people of southwestern Nigeria intent on development for their region.

Conclusion

The Obafemi Awolowo University campus shows us again how modern architecture has become accessible and easily adaptable across a range of contexts (Amole, 2001; Frampton, 1983; Wilson, 1995). Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus makes a compelling contribution to the already well-documented versions of Modernist architecture. It is particularly significant because it is linked to the very heart of modern architecture, the Bauhaus. The architecture further evidences

the fact that modern architecture keeps on evolving (Wilson, 1995).

Sixty years on, Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus deserves more than a passing mention, as ignoring it diminishes our understanding of not only African, but the world's heritage of modern architecture.

Funding details: This research was supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

Biographical notes: Adekunle Adeyemo is a Gerda Henkel PhD Fellow in the Department of Architecture, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria. He is presently conducting research for his doctoral thesis on Modern Architecture in Nigeria using Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Campus of 1962-1976 as an exemplar.

'Bayo Amole is a Professor of Architecture in the Department of Architecture at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, where he leads the project 'Obafemi Awolowo University, Arie Sharon, 1962-76, Ile Ife, Nigeria, Development of a Conservation Management Plan', made possible by the Getty Foundation with complementary measures supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. He is widely published.

Established in 1929, MoMA organised exhibitions showcasing modern architecture in different geographical and typological contexts as well as the works of individual architects of the Modern Movement and produced influential catalogues for each.

Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne is the French interpretation for International Congress of Modern Architecture. Composed of the most prominent architects of the time, CIAM existed between 1933 and 1959.

The Bauhaus was established by Walter Gropius (1883-1969) in Weimar, Germany in 1919. It trained architects as well as other arts and crafts professional who spread throughout the world taking its ideas with them.

The leading proponents of modern architecture such as Walter Gropius (1883-1969), Le Corbusier (1887-1965), Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), and Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) designed buildings around the world.

Although coloniality has been identified as the 'darker side of modernity'. See Mignolo (2007).

Bibliography

- Amole, B., 2001. The cité universitaire in Ile-Ife: An architectural critique. In: *Architects and architecture in Nigeria: A book of readings in honour of Professor Ekundayo Adeyinka Adeyemi*. s.l.:Association of Architectural Educators in Nigeria (AARCHES), pp. 57-76.
- Ayoade, J. A. A., 1985. Party and ideology in Nigeria: A case study of the Action Group. *Journal of Black Studies* 16, no. 2, pp. 169-188.
- Corbusier, L., 1986. *Towards a New Architecture*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc..
- Crinson, M., 2003. *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Damkaer, D. M., 2013. Sanya Dojo Onabamiro (1913-1985), Nigerian Copedologist and Statesman. *Journal of Crustacean Biology* 33, no. 1, pp. 143-149.
- Efrat, Z., 2013. Form Follows Climate. *Bauhaus Magazine* 5, pp. 70-75.
- Elleh, N., 1997. *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Frampton, K., 1983. Towards a critical regionalism: Six points for an architecture of resistance. In: *The anti-aesthetic: Essays on postmodern culture*. New York: New Press, pp. 17-34.
- Gitler, I. B.-A., 2011. Campus architecture as nation-building: Israeli architect Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. In: D. Lu, ed. *Third world modernism: Architecture, development and identity*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 113-140.
- Herz, M., Schroder, I., Focketyn, H. & Jamrozik, J., 2015. *African modernism: The architecture of independence: Ghana, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia*. Zurich: Park Books AG.
- Jackson, I. & Holland, J., 2014. *The architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century architecture, pioneer modernism and the tropics*. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Johnson, P., 1955. The Seven Crutches of Modern Architecture. *Perspecta* 3, pp. 40-45.
- Krieger, M., 1987. Education and Development in Western Nigeria: The Legacy of S. O. Awokoya, 1952-1985. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 20, no. 4, pp. 647-667.
- Levin, A., 2012. Exporting architectural national expertise: Arie Sharon's Ife University Campus in West-Nigeria (1962-1976). In: *Nationalism and architecture*. London: Routledge, pp. 53-66.
- Mignolo, W., 2007. Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity. *Cultural Studies* 21, nos. 2-3, pp. 155-167.
- Sharon, A., 1976. *Kibbutz+Bauhaus: An architect's way in a new land*. Stuttgart: Karl Kramer Verlag.
- Stanek, L., 2020. *Architecture in global socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the cold war*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Wilson, C. S. J., 1995. *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture: The Uncompleted Project*. London: Academy Editions.
- Yacobi, H., 2010. The architecture of foreign policy: Israeli architects in Africa, 1950-1970. *OASE* (82), pp. 35-45.
- Yacobi, H., 2016. *Israel and Africa: A genealogy of moral geography*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Zevi, B., 1976. Foreword. In: *Kibbutz+Bauhaus: An architect's way in a new land*. Stuttgart: Karl Kramer Verlag, pp. 6-7.

The Modern Architecture of Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University campus, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Professor Emmanuel Babatunde Jaiyeoba

ebjaiye@oauife.edu.ng

Professor Zvi Efrat

zvi@efrat-kowalski.co.il

Author biographies

Professor Emmanuel Babatunde Jaiyeoba is head of the Department of Architecture, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife (formerly University of Ife), Nigeria. In addition to an interest in the intersection of Architectural research and practice, Professor Jaiyeoba's latest research lies in the area of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary studies at the intersection of Architecture and the Humanities, the built environment and health and, social inequality and sustainability studies. He is the project supervisor of the team that won the Getty-Keep-It-Modern 2020 grant for a Conservation Management Plan for Arie Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria (1962-1980), and the Complementary Measures Grant for the same project from Gerda Henkel Stiftung in 2021.

Architect and Architectural Historian Professor Dr Zvi Efrat is a partner at Efrat-Kowalsky Architects and was previously head of the Department of Architecture at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem. He holds a B.Arch. from the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, an MA in Cinema Studies from New York University, and a PhD in Architectural History and Theory from Princeton University. He has taught and lectured worldwide, published extensively and curated numerous exhibitions. His book, *The Israeli Project: Building and Architecture 1948-1973*, was published in Hebrew in 2004. His subsequent book, *The Object of Zionism: The Architecture of Israel* was published by Spector Books, Leipzig, in 2018.

Abstract

The modern heritage of Africa emerges from diverse sources ranging from the indigenous to the contemporary and their transformation at different periods in history including the precolonial, colonial and the post-colonial. The University of Ife, now renamed after the pre-independence and post-independence first Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria as Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, was conceived immediately after Nigeria's independence in 1960.

The Ile-Ife campus is the largest project executed outside Israel by Bauhaus trained architect Arie Sharon (1900-1984). It is one of the most written about campuses in Africa. Along with Lagos based architects Egbor and Partners, the master plan was conceived within the tenets of modern architecture and the International Style to meet the aspirations of the then Nigeria Western Region government and the sociocultural and climatic context of Ile-Ife, the historical source of the Yorubas of western Nigeria, West Africa and their diasporas.

Walter Gropius founded the Bauhaus in 1919 as a school that unified Arts and Crafts. It charted a new direction for training in the Arts, signifying a change in theoretical and practical narratives strong enough to suggest new political and cultural directions. The Israeli government also had socio-political and technical relations with African countries on the brink of independence, resulting in the choice of the Chief Architect of the State of Israel, Arie Sharon.

This paper narrates the modern architecture of Ile-Ife campus using the film titled *The Most Beautiful Campus in Nigeria*, made by the Israeli architectural historian Professor Zvi Efrat, to promote the campus as a site of heritage worth preserving.

Keywords: modern architecture, tropical architecture, heritage, Bauhaus, campus design

Résumé

Le patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique provient de diverses sources allant de l'indigène au contemporain et de leur transformation à différentes périodes de l'histoire, y compris la précoloniale, la coloniale et la postcoloniale. L'Université d'Ife, rebaptisée d'après le premier Premier ministre de la région occidentale du Nigéria avant et après l'indépendance en tant qu'Université Obafemi Awolowo, Ile-Ife, au Nigéria, a été conçue immédiatement après l'indépendance du Nigéria en 1960.

Le campus Ile-Ife est le plus grand projet exécuté en dehors d'Israël par Arie Sharon (1900-1984)

formé au Bauhaus et l'un des plus écrits sur les campus en Afrique. Avec les architectes basés à Lagos - Egbor and Partners, le plan directeur a été conçu avec les principes de l'architecture moderne et du style international pour répondre aux aspirations du gouvernement de la région occidentale du Nigéria de l'époque et au contexte socioculturel et climatique d'Ile-Ife, la source historique de les Yorubas du Nigeria occidental, d'Afrique de l'Ouest et des diasporas.

Walter Gropius a fondé le Bauhaus en 1919 en tant qu'école unifiant les arts et l'artisanat. Il a tracé une nouvelle direction pour la formation dans les arts, signifiant un changement dans le récit théorique et pratique suffisamment fort pour suggérer de nouvelles directions politiques et culturelles. Le gouvernement israélien avait également des relations socio-politiques et techniques avec les pays africains au bord de l'indépendance, ce qui a conduit au choix de l'architecte en chef de l'État d'Israël, Arie Sharon.

Cet article raconte l'architecture moderne du campus d'Ile-Ife à l'aide du film intitulé *Scènes du plus beau campus d'Afrique* réalisé par l'historien de l'architecture israélien, le professeur Zvi Efrat, en tant que patrimoine à préserver.

Mots-clés : Architecture moderne, Architecture tropicale, Patrimoine, Bauhaus, Campus Design

Introduction

The task of identifying and recognising heritage in Africa is problematic. Even more problematic is the inadequate study of the diverse sources of heritage in Africa and the individual, corporate, national and international value placed on African heritage in a globalising world. Projecting the modern heritage of Africa is therefore a necessity through placing on record the significance of identifiable modern heritage.

The Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife (formerly University of Ife) campus in Nigeria is one of the identifiable modern heritage sites of Africa. It is significant to the history of tertiary education and the political history of Nigeria and especially to the global history of modern architecture, the International Style, and tropical architecture, interpreted as the adaptation of modern architecture to the tropical climate (Jaiyeoba, 2019; Asojo and Jaiyeoba, 2016). Furthermore, the campus design by the *Bauhausler* Arie Sharon (1900-1984), situates the Bauhaus style modern architecture within the sociocultural context of Ile-Ife, Nigeria, historically known as the origin of the Yoruba people whose homeland is in South Western Nigeria, with substantial population in other

West African countries such as the Republic of Benin, Ghana, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone. The Yoruba culture and language is prominent in other parts of Africa, Europe, South America and North America. Yoruba is a national language in Brazil especially in the Bahia state, and Yoruba culture is prominent in El Salvador, Cuba, Haiti, the Caribbean Islands, and the United Kingdom. Yoruba is the most widely spoken African language outside the continent of Africa. Yoruba architecture is a strong influence on the shotgun (narrow) houses of New Orleans, which are central to the development of Afro-American architecture (see Jaiyeoba, 2021).

The implantation of modern architecture into the Ile-Ife Yoruba context by Arie Sharon confirms the Bauhaus as not only a school of design, architecture and applied arts but also a cultural movement. The school was founded in Weimar Germany by its first director, Walter Gropius, in 1919. Arie Sharon was in the first generation of students between 1926 and 1929.

The campus design is so important to the Bauhaus history that during the Bauhaus 100, the centennial celebrations of the Bauhaus school in 2019, the film about the campus, *Scenes from the Most Beautiful Campus in Africa*, was part of exhibitions staged around the world by the Bauhaus Imaginista. Bauhaus Imaginista was a grand project put on between 2016 and 2019 involving artists, designers and curators from around the world. Scholars, research curators and visual artist in Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, China, India, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States were involved in the dialogical principle project. According to Bauhaus imaginista curator and artistic director Marion Von Osten, the dialogical principle is based on international independence whereby modernism is not considered a movement from North to South but a concept in circulation subject to reinterpretation and renegotiation in different contexts (<http://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/6266/a-migratory-life-from-dessau-to-moscow-to-mexico>). Bauhaus was active in producing designers and artists that were part of transnational movements, representing the artistic and cultural mobility critical for cultural production of national and international heritage.

This presentation accentuates the significance and value of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, as a heritage site by using the film *Scenes from the Most Beautiful Campus in Africa*, adding additional narratives to achieve this end. The director of the film is Zvi Efrat with research by Keren Kuenberg and Zvi Efrat.

The film

Scenes from the Most Beautiful Campus in Africa,
A film by Zvi Efrat (24 mins)

In his film *The Most Beautiful Campus in Africa*, architect and architectural historian Zvi Efrat documents and explores the planning and design of the University of Ife campus (now known as Obafemi Awolowo University) in West Nigeria.

The University of Ife was conceived in 1960, immediately after Nigeria's independence, as part of the initial decolonisation and nation-building process and in protest against British colonial education policy. Arie Sharon, a Bauhaus graduate and Hannes Meyer's protégé, was chosen to design the campus. His involvement with the master-planning of the Ife campus and the design of many of its buildings, in collaboration with the Nigerian office of Egor and Partners, and the Israeli company AMY, was part of Israel's 1960s development aid programme in Africa. He considered the Ife campus his last grand ensemble and worked on it for over two decades, from 1960 until the early 1980s, a formative period in Nigerian culture and education referred to by some as postcolonial, by others as quasi-colonial.

What makes the story of this campus epic is a genuine shared ambition among all of the politicians, educators and planners involved to construct an architecture itself as the ultimate pedagogical apparatus, the scaffold and casing of a new intellectual agenda, a new curriculum, and new layouts of formal and informal academic activity. Specifically, it is colonial modernism, in its rather transposable Structuralist, Brutalist and Tropical modes that seem to be effectively elaborated and reclaimed as a (passively) well-tempered environment readily adaptable to the local habitus.

The narrative

The film opens in silent mode with the location of Ile-Ife on the map of Nigeria coming up later. Forty-seven seconds later a voice comes up to say let us sing our school item... Great Ife... Great Ife... Africa's Most Beautiful Campus... the image of Arie Sharon sketching... then... images of the campus set in the natural environment... A reverse view of the entrance ramp into the library from inside the library, amplifying the length of the ramp and the axis it defines from the formal landscaped plaza/square uniting the administrative building, the library and the sculptural social hall known as Oduduwa Hall.

The OAU campus is located in the traditional city regarded as the cradle of the Yoruba people, Ile-

Ife, Nigeria. Yoruba is one of the three primary ethnic groups in Nigeria, the others being the Hausa/Fulani of the North and the Igbo of south eastern Nigeria. Most Yoruba in Nigeria live in the southwest. With a distinct culture that predates colonialism, Yoruba people are also present in the Republic of Benin, Togo, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone and other countries of West Africa. Through slave trade and emigration, the Yoruba have a greater presence and cultural influence in the African diaspora than any other African group in North and South America. Yoruba is one of the official languages of Brazil since it is the most spoken language in the Bahia state; it is widely spoken in El Salvador, Cuba and the United Kingdom. Yoruba cultural influence is evident in all the countries and regions of North and South America including many states in the United States with an Africa diaspora presence.

The master plan of the campus exhibits a contextualisation of modern architecture physically into the topography, climatically into the tropics, socially into the spontaneous way of life of Yoruba, and culturally into the miscellaneous use of courtyards and open spaces in Yoruba and other African architectures.

The anthem is over. About three minutes into the film Professor Bayo Amole starts to speak on the idea of the university as a sacred space the town people have special respect for... a city away from the Ile-Ife town itself. ... The obelisk at the beginning of the ramp that defines the entrance to the University Hall comes up... more images of the administrative building appear...

In Arie Sharon's autobiography *Kibbutz + Bauhaus: An Architect's Way in a New Land*, in which the Ile-Ife campus features prominently as the most challenging and elaborate work of his career, Sharon recalls inserting Yoruba sculptural elements into the master plan and buildings. The obelisk defining the entrance to the University Hall is one of Sharon's conceptual ideas, a design by which to introduce the art and sculpture of the context in a functional way, not merely as decoration, but also to keep faith with the ideals of modern architecture and the philosophy of the Bauhaus.

About the fourth minute of the film, Professor Mrs Dolapo Amole describes the panoramic view that unfolds after the meandering long driveway into the campus reveals how the buildings fit into the undulating landscape...

The campus design depicts the interdependence of buildings and landscape, and the ethic of honesty to the landscape. Buildings are terraced along the slope and pedestrian movement gradually encounters different levels with gentle

ramps and stairs. Formal and informal landscapes occupy in-between spaces of buildings in white, offwhite and grey colours to complement the vista of nature as the campus unfolds while accessing the campus. The undulating hills seemingly form a background to the decidedly horizontal white lines of the building façade with the other façade colours matching the natural landscape. The retaining walls are mostly in natural materials like rubble stone and 'beton brute' reinforced concrete or finished in grey colours or local artistic impressions to complement the ecologically sensitive environment.

The fifth minute onwards refers to embedding the International Style in the local context according to Professor Bayo Amole... while Professor Osasona talks about not just transferring modern architecture or Bauhaus style to West Africa... but also to fit into Nigeria... not like a pastiche... not like a discordant tune... but everything flowing together. ... Buildings are massive but not oppressive like the earlier colonial architecture of power... Professor Jaiyeoba in a comparison with the Yoruba Palace architecture in the integration of traditional arts and supergraphics as decorations on the wall...

Also, the integration of the Staff of Office (the obelisk at the start of the long flight ramp into the library) of Oranmiyan, the first king of Ile-Ife who is the first son of Oduduwa, the progenitor of the Yorubas. ... In addition, the re-interpretation of the traditional courtyard system of the Yoruba at different scales... the open spaces that one formal plaza is called 'motion ground'; the appropriation of the International Style in formal and informal ways for all categories of users: students, staff, and others. There is something African about the fact that we are able 'to see ourselves from far' in buildings said to be 'as long as train stations' that 'have no doors'....

The International Style and modern architecture credentials of the master planning and the design of individual buildings and group of buildings is not in doubt. Another significance is how the modern style fits into the social context, a fusion of design and cultural ideas of the Bauhaus and the Yoruba-ness in the context. Yoruba architecture features in the arrangement of functional spaces around courtyards. Adjoining spaces to the courtyard may be living spaces, sleeping spaces or religious or sacred spaces, or service spaces for cooking, bathroom or toilet, depending on the typology and hierarchy of the owner in the society. Openness is one of the primary concepts of the Yoruba vernacular. The flow of internalised rooms to series of courtyards depends on the number,

size, and volume of spaces. In public residential architecture of palaces for example, there are hierarchies of courtyards in different sizes and locations with different functions. Locations may define public and private; sizes and functions may be dependent on expected users: inner or extended family, visitors, profane or sacred, and may be gender sensitive. However, courtyards can be appropriated for miscellaneous use for social activities. In the Ile-Ife campus design, the courtyard and the openness allow appropriation for socio-educational and socio-cultural activities in the everyday as a diversion or break from serious educational activities that predominate.

From the 10th minute the 'Form follows Climate' imperative was highlighted by discussants in the film. The appropriation of spaces for diverse uses as a result of the flexible design and space needed. 'The building that marks the campus', the main social hall named after the progenitor of the Yoruba (Oduduwa) was featured.

Arieh Sharon worked with the second director of the Bauhaus, Hannes Meyer, on the ADGB Trade Union school in Bernau, Germany, one of the Bauhaus Heritage sites we visited during Bauhaus 100 in 2019. Marion Von Osten avers, based on archival materials including Hannes Meyer's unpublished book manuscript and writings, that 'it was not by chance that the University of Ile-Ife campus in Nigeria built by Arieh Sharon, one of Meyer's most famous Bauhaus students as well as a collaborator on the Federal Trade Union School in Bernau, is an example of what today is called passive, climatic, culturally sensitive architecture'. Hannes Meyer, though cosmopolitan like his predecessor and Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius, augmented the founder's vision with a sensitivity to local conditions adaptable to 'emergent and unforeseen' social contexts and material conditions, the society and environment relatable to Meyer's background in socialist utopianism. Also, Arieh Sharon must have imbibed the idea that the landscape is better understood as the physical space on which a building is built and is as important as the building itself, as distinct from the 'nationalist and right-wing notions of "nation" and "homeland"' (Von Osten, 2019). The physical space and material conditions in this landscape rarely change though political power might transit, as against the trend of International Modernist architecture's denial of local conditions in adopting universalist methodology.

The Oduduwa Hall with the amphitheatre that is now roofed is a reinforced concrete sculpture carved to create open spaces outside and enclosed spaces inside so that the internal

raked social space mirrors the external open amphitheatre space around the back-to-back stages. The building exhibits the strength and plasticity of reinforced concrete and the honesty of the designer to the nature and properties of the material as enunciated by the Modern Movement. The Oduduwa Hall plan, façade and three-dimensional form feature triangular and circular patterns in form and artistic finishes, which are translation of 'Yoruba abstract forms and repetitive patterns into a modern idiom', according to Ben-Asher Gitler (p 72, Efrat, 2013). Efrat (2013) notes that Ben-Asher Gitler believes that Sharon was fascinated by traditional and modern Nigerian art, and regularly collected and used the images, motifs, and gestures. Oduduwa Hall's design epitomises the statement in the Bauhaus manifesto: 'Let us call for, devise and create the construction of the future comprising everything in one form... architecture, sculpture and painting'.

From about the 15th minute, the difficult-to-define size of the land on which the university is situated comes into the discussion. The campus was a city away from the town but has dominated and affected the growth of Ile-Ife town and the immediate environment. How the choice of the site in Ile-Ife came about, the passion of Arie Sharon for the landscape and the design ideology that evolved therefrom was highlighted by Dr Ayala Levi. The point of departure of the campus design from earlier tropical architecture came into focus especially the first university in Nigeria, the University of Ibadan, established by the colonial master Great Britain, and designed by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. The debate on whether the Ile-Ife campus is pre, post or colonial continues and aspects of the social production of the University of Ife was highlighted (see Jaiyeoba, 2019). How these affected Arie Sharon's design approach was enunciated by Dr Ayala Levin and Professor Bayo Amole. A few maintenance issues arising from the use of flat reinforced concrete roof were mentioned but with the affirmation that the unassailable architectural design quality of the Ile-Ife campus is what everyone agrees on.

Conclusion

The campus design of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, is a distinct colonial and postcolonial period example of tropical architecture different from the earlier campus designs in West Africa. The inverted pyramidal conception ensures protection from the elements and combined with the compulsive upward sucking of air from the openness at the ground level to the restrictive openings beneath the roof in other interpretations of the inverted pyramid, is a study in passive – and indeed sustainable –

eco-sensitive architecture.

The response of Arie Sharon to the campus design is a combination of the Bauhaus modernist tradition and the conceptual Yoruba vernacular architecture of openness and interconnection of series of courtyards and conviviality of interactions in a natural setting. In addition, the honesty to the landscape and natural materials by using grey and white colours is interspersed with arts and crafts from the Yoruba context in three-dimensional form and surface finishes.

Many of the campus buildings completed after the Arie Sharon signature in Ile-Ife have attempted to keep up with the legacy, while other new campuses in Nigeria have tried to emulate the pacesetting characteristics of what past and present students refer to as 'the most beautiful campus in Africa'. This has become the common description of the Obafemi Awolowo University campus in many publications, one of the most written about campuses in Africa.

The campus design provides an opportunity to examine cultural dialogue between the Bauhaus International Style and modern architecture philosophy and Yoruba vernacular architecture. It is a site for studying the adaptation of modern architecture and International Style to the African context. This is a campus featuring the ultimate display of Bauhaus modern architecture style and philosophy outside of Germany, Europe and the Americas, a place to which Bauhaus masters and *proteges* migrated when being persecuted.

It is a unique example of modern architectural heritage located in Nigeria and indeed Africa. It is worth preserving as a significant part of the architectural history and heritage of Modernism in Africa for the world.

References

- Asojo, Abimbola & Jaiyeoba, Emmanuel. 2016. 'Modernism and Cultural Expression in University Campus Design: The Nigerian Example'. *ArchNet-International Journal of Architectural Research*, USA. 10(3), 21-35.
- Efrat, Zvi. 2013. 'Form Follows Climate' in *Bauhaus Tropen/Tropics*, the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation's Magazine. Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, 70-75.
- Jaiyeoba, Emmanuel. 2021. 'On the Search for Identity in African Architecture'. In *Pathways to Alternative Epistemologies in Africa*, edited by A. Afolayan, O. Yacob-Haliso and S. Oloruntoba. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 141-164.
- Jaiyeoba, Emmanuel. 2019. 'Bauhaus Modernism and the Nigerian Connection -The SocioPolitical Context of Arie Sharon and the University Of Ife Design'. <http://www.bauhausimaginista.org/>

articles/5550/bauhaus-modernism-and-the-nigerian-connection(accessed 15/10/2021)

Von Osten, M. (2019). 'A Migratory Life—from Dessau to Moscow to Mexico; Hannes Meyer and Lena Bergner and the Arts'. <http://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/6266/a-migratory-life-from-dessau-to-moscow-to-mexico> (accessed 15/10/2021).

Funding

The film *Scenes from the Most Beautiful Campus in Africa* was funded and supported by the Goethe Institute, Bauhaus Kooperation, HKW Berlin, and Kulturstiftung des Bundes.

The Conservation Management Plan of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, is presently funded and supported by:

Getty Keep-It-Modern 2020 Conservation Management Grant for Arieh Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife (1962-1976), and Gerda Henkel Stiftung Grant for Complementary Measures for Obafemi Awolowo University, Arieh Sharon, 1962-1976, Ile Ife, Nigeria, Development of a Conservation Management Plan (November 10, 2020).

Supplemental Online Material

The link to the film *Scenes of the Most Beautiful Campus in Africa* is: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1udFYZGMx8zjvPt3yjNYIJk0FJSJ8N41fl/view>

Le(S) Patrimoine(S) Des Indépendances Pour Une Approche Moderne Du Patrimoine Africain: Les Exemples Ivoirien Et Sénégalais

Alyssa K. Barry

Résumé:

Les années 1950 à 1960 marquent un tournant pour les pays africains, la plupart accédant à l'Indépendance après près d'un siècle de domination coloniale. Obtenues de façon plus ou moins pacifique selon les cas, les décolonisations représentent dès lors le symbole d'une nouvelle ère synonyme d'espoir et de nouvelles opportunités, l'occasion pour les nations nouvellement constituées de (ré)écrire leur propre histoire.

La Côte d'Ivoire et le Sénégal obtiennent leur indépendance respectivement le 7 août et le 4 avril 1960. Chacun de ces pays reliés par une histoire marquée par la colonisation française, emprunte alors sa propre voie vers la construction d'une nouvelle nation avec à la tête les présidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny et Léopold Sédar Senghor.

Cette construction passe notamment par un développement culturel centré sur la notion d'identité, manifesté à travers un patrimoine culturel urbain prenant ses origines aussi bien dans les politiques culturelles que dans les pratiques du quotidien. Le patrimoine prend alors plusieurs formes, allant du matériel à l'immatériel en passant par les industries culturelles et créatives, et pouvant être réparties en trois catégories:

1. Un patrimoine étatique, découlant des stratégies et politiques culturelles pensées par les États;
2. Un patrimoine contestataire, agissant en opposition aux pouvoirs en place, souvent initié par le milieu intellectuel et/ou d'avant-garde;
3. Un patrimoine populaire, issu des populations urbaines.

Quelles formes a(ont) revêtu ce(s) patrimoine(s) en Côte d'Ivoire et au Sénégal et qu'en reste-t-il aujourd'hui? En quoi constitue(nt)-il(s) l(es) exemple(s) d'une vision moderne pour le patrimoine africain?

Mots-clés : Afrique, Patrimoine, Indépendance, Côte d'Ivoire, Sénégal

Abstract:

The 1950s to 1960s were a turning point for African countries, most of which gained independence after nearly a century of colonial domination. Obtained more or less peacefully depending on the case, the decolonizations were the symbol of a new era synonymous with hope and new opportunities, the opportunity for the newly constituted nations to (re)write their own history.

Ivory Coast and Senegal gained their Independence on 7 August and 4 April 1960 respectively. Each of these countries, with a history marked by French colonization, took its own path towards building a new nation under the leadership of Presidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Léopold Sédar Senghor.

This construction involved a cultural development centered on the notion of identity, manifested through an urban cultural heritage that originated from both cultural policies and everyday practices. Heritage therefore took on several forms, ranging from the tangible to the intangible and including the cultural and creative industries, and can be divided into three categories:

1. A State Heritage, resulting from cultural strategies and policies planned by the States;
2. A Protest Heritage, acting in opposition to the powers in place, often initiated by the intellectual and/or avant-garde milieu;
3. A Popular Heritage, originating from urban populations.

What forms did this (these) heritage(s) take in Ivory Coast and Senegal and what remains of it (them) today? In what way do they constitute an example of a modern vision for African heritage?

Keywords: Africa, Heritage, Independence, Ivory Coast, Senegal

Biographie de l'auteure :

Alyssa K. Barry est une architecte-urbaniste sénégalaise, spécialiste du patrimoine culturel africain. Sa carrière est ponctuée de diverses expériences dans les domaines de l'architecture, l'urbanisme, la coopération internationale, le patrimoine culturel et l'art contemporain. Alyssa s'intéresse particulièrement à la notion d'Africanité dans les villes et sociétés africaines d'aujourd'hui et à leur place dans la mondialisation, et croit fermement au rôle de la culture comme vecteur de développement durable. Elle travaille actuellement en tant que spécialiste du patrimoine culturel africain au Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, et est la fondatrice d'AFREAKART, une plateforme digitale dédiée à l'art contemporain africain.

Le(s) patrimoine(s) des indépendances pour une approche moderne du patrimoine Africain : les exemples Ivoiriens et Sénégalais

Introduction

Les années 1950 à 1960 marquent un tournant pour les pays africains, dont la plupart accède à l'Indépendance après près d'un siècle de domination coloniale. Obtenues de façon plus ou moins pacifique selon les pays et les puissances coloniales associées, les décolonisations se veulent dès lors être le symbole d'une nouvelle ère synonyme d'espoir et de nouvelles opportunités, l'occasion pour les nations nouvellement constituées de (ré)écrire leur propre histoire.

En 1960, ou « L'année de l'Afrique », la Côte d'Ivoire et le Sénégal obtiennent leur indépendance respectivement les 7 août et 4 avril, avec à leur tête les présidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny et Léopold Sédar Senghor. Les deux pays, reliés par une histoire commune marquée par la colonisation française, sont également caractérisés par une certaine rivalité puisqu'ils se disputent depuis la colonisation le titre de grande puissance, d'abord à l'échelle de l'Afrique Occidentale Française puis encore aujourd'hui à l'échelle de l'Afrique de l'Ouest francophone.

La construction de ces nations passe notamment par un développement culturel mettant l'accent sur la notion d'identité, et se manifestant en particulier à travers un patrimoine culturel

urbain issu des capitales et des grandes villes. Ce patrimoine, qui prend ses origines aussi bien dans les politiques culturelles que dans les pratiques du quotidien, représente à la fois un produit (le résultat des Indépendances) et un processus (le passage des périodes coloniale à post-coloniale) qui fournissent aux sociétés un ensemble de ressources héritées du passé, créées dans le présent et mises à disposition des générations futures, et comprennent à la fois le patrimoine matériel et le patrimoine immatériel (UNESCO, 2014). Il prend ainsi plusieurs formes, allant du matériel à l'immatériel en passant par les industries culturelles et créatives, et pouvant être réparties en trois catégories: un patrimoine étatique, un patrimoine contestataire et un patrimoine populaire.

Cet article propose de questionner, à travers les exemples de la Côte d'Ivoire et du Sénégal, le(s) patrimoine(s) créé(s) par les mouvements des Indépendances entre les années 1960, moment des Indépendances, et les années 80, où apparaissent les premières manifestations de désillusion marquées notamment par les programmes d'ajustement structurel mis en place par la Banque mondiale et le Fonds monétaire international. Quelles formes ces patrimoines ont-ils pris? Qu'en reste-t-il aujourd'hui? Et en quoi constituent-ils finalement une approche moderne pour le patrimoine africain?

I. Le patrimoine étatique: (re) construire pour mieux régner

Les Indépendances africaines marquent un nouveau départ, avec des présidents élus devenant dès lors les « Pères » de ces nouvelles nations dont ils vont guider voire dicter, pendant une vingtaine d'années, la reconstruction. C'est ainsi le cas des présidents Félix Houphouët-Boigny et Léopold Sédar Senghor.

Houphouët-Boigny naît en 1905 dans le village de N'Gokro (par la suite rebaptisé Yamoussoukro), situé à 270 kilomètres au nord d'Abidjan. Il est tour à tour chef traditionnel, médecin, planteur et dirigeant syndical, puis député français, membre de gouvernements français, président de l'Assemblée nationale ivoirienne, maire d'Abidjan, et Premier ministre ivoirien (1959-1960), avant de devenir le 27 novembre 1960 le premier président de la République de Côte d'Ivoire jusqu'à la fin de sa vie en 1993.

Senghor naît quant à lui en 1906 à Joal, petite ville côtière située au sud de Dakar. Poète et écrivain, il est le fondateur, avec les antillais Aimé Césaire et Léon-Gontran Damas, du concept de « négritude », un courant littéraire et politique désignant l'ensemble des caractéristiques et

valeurs culturelles des peuples noirs. Senghor est également un homme d'État français (député, secrétaire d'État, maire, sénateur et ministre conseiller) avant de devenir le président de la République du Sénégal le 7 septembre 1960 jusqu'en 1980.

Au cours de leurs mandats, ces présidents s'attachent à donner une nouvelle identité à leurs pays, d'abord à travers la création de symboles nationaux parmi lesquels on peut citer les drapeaux, devises, armoiries, hymnes, ainsi que les nombreuses images associées à l'Indépendance retrouvés notamment sur les timbres postaux. Les fêtes de l'Indépendance, commémorées chaque année à l'occasion d'une cérémonie marquée de discours, spectacles et défilés grandioses, en sont également le témoignage.

Cette reconstruction passe également par la planification des villes, dont les capitales sont les principales vitrines. Elle donne vie à des plans et espaces urbains symboliques de la grandeur et du pouvoir, se manifestant en particulier à travers la réappropriation ou la création de place publiques et de monuments nationaux.

On peut ainsi citer pour le Sénégal des places symboliques à l'exemple de l'ancienne place Protêt (du nom du capitaine de vaisseau français Auguste-Léopold Protêt considéré comme le fondateur de la ville de Dakar) rebaptisée place de l'Indépendance le 3 mars 1960 après avoir accueilli en 1958 le général De Gaulle à l'occasion du référendum pour l'Indépendance de ses colonies. La place de la Nation, ou place de l'Obélisque, en est un autre exemple. Construite en 1963, elle accueille en son centre un obélisque symbolisant le monument de l'Indépendance, sur lequel sont inscrits la devise du pays (Un Peuple - Un But - Une Foi), les lettres MCMLX (1960), année d'accession à l'indépendance, ainsi que les emblèmes que sont le lion et le baobab. C'est par ailleurs le long de l'axe allant du centre-ville à cette place (Boulevard du général De Gaulle) qu'a lieu tous les ans le défilé organisé à l'occasion de la fête de l'Indépendance, la tribune présidentielle siégeant au milieu de la place.

En Côte d'Ivoire, c'est notamment à travers le transfert de Yamoussoukro en tant que nouvelle capitale que la planification urbaine atteint son apogée. En effet, Houphouët-Boigny fait de son village de naissance une véritable ville-modèle moderne qui deviendra la capitale politique et administrative de la Côte d'Ivoire en 1983.

Dakar, Abidjan et Yamoussoukro, deviennent les vitrines d'une architecture de la démesure, qui se matérialise notamment à travers des bâtiments administratifs ou liés au monde des

affaires, de l'économie et de la finance. On y retrouve ainsi, entre autres, des centres d'affaires et de conférences, des banques ou encore des hôtels de luxe, qui présentent par ailleurs des similarités architecturales ayant souvent pour origine les mêmes architectes, la plupart du temps occidentaux, à l'exemple du français Henri Chomette.

À Yamoussoukro, la Basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix demeure l'exemple le plus marquant. Construite de 1986 à 1989 sur les plans de l'architecte ivoiro-libanais Pierre Fakhoury, cette œuvre monumentale représente le plus haut édifice chrétien au monde devant la basilique Saint Pierre de Rome. Elle fut par ailleurs consacrée par le pape Jean Paul II en 1990.

Enfin, la construction identitaire nationale passe par la promotion des arts, notamment à travers la mise en place de politiques culturelles mettant en avant les arts comme symboles de la Renaissance culturelle mais aussi et surtout comme outils essentiels d'éducation et d'information, voire de propagande.

Ces politiques sont accompagnées par la création de structures nationales, telles que des écoles et institutions dédiées à l'art et l'artisanat (Ecole des Arts et Institut National des Arts en Côte d'Ivoire - 1961 et 1963; Ecole des Beaux-Arts et Manufacture nationale de tapisserie au Sénégal - 1961 et 1966), au cinéma (Société ivoirienne de cinéma - 1962) ou encore au théâtre (Compagnie nationale du théâtre Daniel Sorano au Sénégal - 1965).

À cela s'ajoute l'organisation de grands événements culturels panafricains, à l'exemple du Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres organisé à Dakar en 1966. Cette rencontre, qui a pour objectif principal de présenter la contribution culturelle de l'art africain à la civilisation universelle, réunit des personnalités venant de tout horizons et contribue à promouvoir les arts d'Afrique et du Sénégal.

II. Le patrimoine contestataire: créer pour mieux dénoncer

Au-delà de servir le propos d'une Renaissance culturelle africaine, les artistes se servent également des industries culturelles pour critiquer le pouvoir en place et remettre en question la période post-coloniale, notamment à travers le cinéma, la littérature et l'art.

Le cinéma en particulier passe rapidement d'un moyen pour affirmer son identité et recomposer son image afin de se reconstruire, à un moyen pour « enseigner, informer et promouvoir la connaissance des sujets et problèmes africains »,

comme défini dans la Charte du cinéaste africain établie en 1975 par la Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes (FEPACI).

L'une des illustrations les plus significatives dans le milieu est l'écrivain, réalisateur et scénariste sénégalais Ousmane Sembène. Né en 1923 à Ziguinchor (Sénégal), Sembène est docker pendant 10 ans à Marseille, période pendant laquelle il devient militant et s'intéresse à l'écriture et à la littérature. Il publie plusieurs romans dont le premier, *Le Docker noir*, en 1956, avant de s'installer en Afrique en 1960 suite aux Indépendances. C'est alors qu'il décide de se consacrer au cinéma, dans l'idée de proposer une chronique de la société sénégalaise à un public plus accessible et plus large.

Après des études à l'Institut national de la cinématographie de Moscou (VGIK), il réalise plusieurs films dont son premier court-métrage *Borom-Sarret (le charretier)* en 1962 et son premier long-métrage *La Noire de...* en 1966. Dans ses films, Sembène dénonce les maux de la société sénégalaise, que ce soit les inégalités de classes et l'émergence d'une nouvelle bourgeoisie créée par l'Indépendance, les problèmes liés à l'urbanisme, le rapport entre tradition et modernisme, la condition de la femme, la corruption ou encore l'omniprésence de la France.

La littérature africaine propose elle aussi de faire un réquisitoire des mœurs des sociétés contemporaines africaines. C'est particulièrement le cas en Côte d'Ivoire, avec les exemples de Bernard Dadié, Ahmadou Kourouma et Jean Marie Adiaffi, trois grands noms de la littérature africaine.

Dadié (1919-2019), considéré comme le père de la littérature ivoirienne et africaine, propose dans son œuvre littéraire une critique du colonialisme, puis des injustices qui ont lieu à la suite de l'Indépendance. C'est notamment le cas dans sa pièce de théâtre *Monsieur Thôgo-Gnini* (1966), qui fait la satire des inégalités sociales et du déni des valeurs ancestrales.

Kourouma (1927-2003), déjà politiquement engagé alors qu'il est étudiant en France, connaîtra ensuite la prison et l'exil en raison de sa critique du régime d'Houphouët-Boigny après son arrivée en Côte d'Ivoire. Son premier roman *Les Soleils des indépendances* (1968) offre un regard critique sur les gouvernements de l'après-décolonisation, dénonçant avec ironie la fausse démocratie et la réduction de l'homme à une pauvreté économique, morale et intellectuelle.

Adiaffi (1941-1999), à la fois réalisateur, philosophe et écrivain, propose quant à lui,

notamment avec *La Carte d'identité* (1980), une réflexion sur l'aliénation africaine post-coloniale à travers les thèmes d'identité, de liberté et de dignité.

Enfin, l'art sert également d'outil de contestation. En témoigne notamment l'artiste sénégalais Joe Ouakam (1945-2017), de son vrai nom Issa Samb. À la fois peintre, sculpteur, poète, dramaturge, philosophe et écrivain, il est un des premiers artistes à ouvertement critiquer l'idéologie de la négritude propre à Senghor ainsi que sa politique culturelle, se positionnant ainsi à contre-courant de l'École des Beaux-Arts. En 1974, il crée avec le cinéaste Djibril Diop Mambéty, le peintre El Hadji Sy et le dramaturge Youssoupha Dione, le Laboratoire Agit-Art: un collectif d'artistes, d'écrivains, de réalisateurs et de musiciens unis pour critiquer et contester la philosophie de la négritude régnant au Sénégal, à travers la publication de manifestes et la création d'installations soulevant des questions sur la société africaine contemporaine. Le Laboratoire devient très vite un lieu d'expérimentation se positionnant en repère de la contre-culture dakaroise, et est encore aujourd'hui considéré comme l'un des collectifs d'art africain les plus influents du XX^{ème} siècle.

III. Le patrimoine populaire: vivre l'ordinaire du quotidien

Les Indépendances ont également créé de nouvelles façons de vivre au quotidien, produisant un patrimoine découlant de la vie quotidienne des populations citadines.

Ces populations *habitent* tout d'abord les villes. Que ce soit à Abidjan ou à Dakar, la ville coloniale est divisée avec d'un côté le Plateau, accueillant un mode de vie « à l'européenne » avec des bâtiments et habitations « en dur »; et de l'autre les quartiers « indigènes » se distinguant par la prédominance de baraques en bois. Peu avant les Indépendances, on assiste à une véritable politique du logement qui devient le projet central du développement des villes, et qui va s'accroître au moment des Indépendances.

À Dakar, cette politique est notamment marquée par la création de structures nationales, à l'exemple de la Société immobilière du Cap-Vert (SICAP) créée en 1950 et la Société nationale des Habitations à Loyer modéré (SNHLM) créée en 1959. Ces institutions donnent lieu à la création de nouvelles typologies de logements urbains, qui passent des concessions traditionnelles (parcelles composées de plusieurs foyers et cellules familiales disposés autour d'une cour centrale commune) à des maisons pavillonnaires individuelles et des immeubles d'appartements

destinés à des familles mononucléaires. À cela s'ajoute également l'extension de la ville à la banlieue et la multiplication du phénomène d'auto-construction.

Vivre au quotidien signifie également se *déplacer*. On assiste ainsi à l'apparition de nouveaux modes de transports, avec les Gbaka et les *Wôrô Wôrô* en Côte d'Ivoire et les *Car-rapides* au Sénégal. Ces derniers, qui surgissent à Dakar dans les années 1970, correspondent à des fourgons Renault « customisés » à partir de techniques et savoir-faire locaux faisant intervenir les métiers de la mécanique et de la tôlerie mais également les arts, les véhicules étant peints en jaune et bleu puis ornés de motifs, couleurs, écritures, amulettes et talismans. Un exemplaire est d'ailleurs exposé depuis 2016 au Musée de l'Homme à Paris.

Ensuite, les populations se *nourrissent* et se *divertissent*, avec en particulier l'arrivée dans les villes de la « Street-Food », dont un des exemples les plus représentatifs est le Maquis abidjanais. Ces espaces mythiques de la capitale qui rassemblent des citadins aux origines et aux profils variés sont à la fois des lieux de restauration, de communication, d'information, de culture et des fora politiques, avant de se transformer la nuit venue en lieux de fête.

Enfin, les populations *communiquent*. En Côte d'Ivoire, on assiste dans les années 1970 à la naissance du *Nouchi*, un argot mélangeant le français et plusieurs langues de Côte d'Ivoire telles que le soussou, le dioula, le malinké, le bété et l'attié. D'abord parlé par les jeunes des quartiers défavorisés et des gangs, il s'étend progressivement à la comédie populaire ivoirienne puis à la musique, avant de devenir aujourd'hui le langage de toute la jeunesse, puisque parler *Nouchi* correspond à être « branché », être à la mode.

Conclusion

Le(s) patrimoine(s) des Indépendances représentent donc trois types de patrimoines initiés par trois différents types d'acteurs: un patrimoine étatique établi par les gouvernements, un patrimoine contestataire soutenu par les artistes, et un patrimoine populaire porté par les populations. On passe ainsi d'un patrimoine *dicté* à un patrimoine *vécu*, qui permettent de finalement envisager une approche holistique pour le patrimoine culturel faisant intervenir une diversité de catégories, de typologies et d'acteurs. Cette nouvelle approche correspond à une vision moderne du patrimoine culturel africain, à la fois plus proche des réalités actuelles et des populations de la génération d'aujourd'hui.

Bibliographie

- Barlet, O. 2008. 'Les six décennies des cinémas d'Afrique'. [en ligne] Disponible sur: <http://africultures.com/les-cinq-decennies-des-cinemas-dafrique-7304/>
- Barry, A. 2016. Polarités et places publiques à Dakar. Marseille. Mémoire de Master en architecture. Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Marseille
- Chevrier, J. 1974. 'L'itinéraire de la contestation en Afrique noire'. in Le Monde. [en ligne] Disponible sur: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1975/05/CHEVRIER/33159>
- D'Almantrule, C. 'Cinéma et indépendance en Afrique'. [en ligne] Disponible sur: https://www.academia.edu/9766058/Cinema_et_Independance_en_Afrique
- Djigo, A. 2015. 'Patrimoine culturel et identité nationale : construction historique d'une notion au Sénégal'. in Journal des Africanistes. en ligne] Disponible sur: <https://journals.openedition.org/africanistes/4617>
- Epelboin, A. Touré, N. 2016. 'Un car rapide du Sénégal au Musée de l'Homme à Paris'. in HAL Archives. [en ligne] Disponible sur: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01258195/document>
- Gourlay, Y. 2020. 'Yamoussoukro, capitale endormie de la Côte d'Ivoire'. in Le Monde. [en ligne] Disponible sur: https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2020/07/20/yamoussoukro-capitale-endormie-de-la-cote-d-ivoire_6046762_3212.html
- Gaillard, F. 2020. 'Afrique, 1960 : quatre visages de l'indépendance'. in France 24. [en ligne] Disponible sur: Afrique, 1960: quatre visages de l'indépendance - YouTube
- 'Guide de la Côte d'Ivoire: Arts et culture.' in Le petit futé. [en ligne] Disponible sur: CÔTE D'IVOIRE, Arts et culture, guide touristique Petit Futé (petitfute.com)
- Herz, M. 2015. African Modernism – Architecture of Independence. Zurich. Parks Books.
- Kodjo, F. 1979. 'Les cinéastes africains face à l'avenir du cinéma en Afrique'. in Tiers-Monde, tome 20, n°79, 1979. pp. 605-614.
- Kouakou N'Guessan, F. 1983. 'Les « Maquis » d'Abidjan. Nourritures du terroir et fraternité citadine, ou la conscience de classe autour d'un foutou d'igname'. in Cah. O.R.S.T.O.M., sér. Sci. Hum., vol. XIX, no 4, 1983: 545-550. [en ligne] Disponible sur: https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/pleins_textes_4/sci_hum/15966.pdf
- Mboup, N., Geffriaud, C. 2020. Habiter Dakar. Dakar. Goethe Institut.
- Murphy, D. 2015. 'Culture, Development and the African Renaissance: Ousmane Sembene and

Léopold Senghor at the World Festival of Negro Arts (Dakar 1966)'. In: LJ V & Fofana A (eds.) Ousmane Sembène and the Politics of Culture. After the Empire: The Francophone World and Postcolonial France. Lanham, MD (USA): Lexington, pp. 1-16. [en ligne] Disponible sur: <https://rowman.com/ISBN/9780739192542/Ousmane-Sembene-and-the-Politics-of-Culture->

Uduku, O. 2021. 'Challenging Modern Movement Heritage Conservation in Africa'. [en ligne] Disponible sur: https://www.academia.edu/37073540/CHALLENGING_MODERN_MOVEMENT_HERITAGE_CONSERVATION_IN_AFRICA

UNESCO. 2014. Indicateurs UNESCO de la culture pour le développement. Manuel méthodologique. UNESCO.

De-Centering Official Heritage

Relations Around Monumental Architecture in Post-Independence Côte d'Ivoire: Explored Through the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace in Yamoussoukro

Leonhard von Reinersdorff

leonhard.tenczin.20@ucl.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper analyses the monumental and understudied architecture of post-independence Côte d'Ivoire through one particular edifice, the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace (1985-1989) in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire's official capital city since 1983. Both the Basilica – designed by the Lebanese-Ivorian architect Pierre Fakhoury and commissioned by Côte d'Ivoire's first president Félix Houphouët-Boigny – and the overall project of the new capital, represent a challenging modern heritage for the country. In a country where Catholics are a minority, this monumental church with its reminiscence of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome raises questions of power distribution and coloniality.

Alongside most of Africa's modern monuments, the Basilica is virtually unknown to many people and is underrepresented in Western archives and architectural histories or portrayed in a negative or patronising manner in international media reviews. This study therefore highlights and critiques its own positionality within European academia and aims to challenge the Western gaze. By examining its commission, design and construction, the study foregrounds the power relations behind the Basilica, employing stylistic, religious, social, and material readings to produce a multi-layered analysis of the building's history and heritage. The thesis is being theorised through discourses of modernity, post-colonialism, and decolonisation, by analysing networks of affiliation, which can be seen in the wider context of sub-Saharan Africa. Thereby, the Basilica is understood as a building deeply embedded in the context of the twentieth century and as part of the modern heritage of Africa.

Keywords: Basilica of Our Lady of Peace, Yamoussoukro, re-centering Africa, 20th century monuments, networks of affiliation

Résumé :

Cet article analyse l'architecture monumentale et peu étudiée de la Côte d'Ivoire au lendemain de son indépendance, en se concentrant sur un

édifice: la basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix (1985-1989) à Yamoussoukro, capitale officielle de la Côte d'Ivoire depuis 1983. La basilique - conçue par l'architecte libano-ivoirien Pierre Fakhoury et commandée par le premier président de la Côte d'Ivoire, Félix Houphouët-Boigny - et le projet global de la nouvelle capitale constituent un héritage moderne difficile pour le pays. Dans un pays où les catholiques sont minoritaires, cette église monumentale -qui n'est pas sans rappeler la basilique Saint-Pierre de Rome- soulève des questions concernant la répartition du pouvoir et la colonialité.

Comme la plupart des monuments modernes d'Afrique, la basilique est pratiquement inconnue et sous-représentée dans les archives et les histoires architecturales occidentales- quand elle n'est pas dépeinte de manière négative ou condescendante dans les revues médiatiques internationales. Cette étude met donc en lumière et critique sa propre position au sein du monde universitaire européen, en cherchant à défier le regard occidental. En examinant sa commande, sa conception et sa construction, l'étude met en avant les relations de pouvoir qui se cachent derrière la basilique, en utilisant des lectures stylistiques, religieuses, sociales et matérielles pour produire une analyse à plusieurs niveaux de l'histoire et du patrimoine du bâtiment. La thèse est développée à travers les discours de la modernité, du post-colonialisme et de la décolonisation, en analysant les réseaux d'affiliation, qui peuvent être vus dans le contexte plus large de l'Afrique sub-saharienne. Ainsi, la basilique est comprise comme un bâtiment profondément ancré dans le contexte du 20^{ème} siècle et comme une partie de l'héritage moderne de l'Afrique.

Mots-clés : Basilique Notre-Dame de la Paix, Yamoussoukro, recentrage de l'Afrique, monuments du 20^{ème} siècle, réseaux d'affiliation.

Author biography

Leonhard von Reinersdorff is an MSc student of architecture at RWTH Aachen University, Germany. He holds an MA in Architectural

History from the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College London. Since 2019 he is a Cusanuswerk scholar of the German Catholic Church. His interests lie with networks of affiliation and material flows in connection with global modernities and Christian architectures as well as informal and digital design practices.

Relations Around Monumental Architecture in Post-Independence Côte d'Ivoire: Explored Through the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace in Yamoussoukro

A grand dome hovers over the greenery of the Ivorian forest at Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire's official capital city. Offering room for 7 000 seated and 11 000 standing worshippers in the sanctuary as well as 150 000 people in an oval piazza, the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace is one of the largest churches in the world but virtually unknown to many people. Under the commission of Côte d'Ivoire's first president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the Basilica was designed and realised by Lebanese-Ivorian architect Pierre Fakhoury between 1985 and 1989 and consecrated by the Pope in 1990. The Basilica proved to be controversial with its estimated cost of \$200-300m US – officially privately funded by the president himself, but probably with diverted state funds (Elleh, 2002: 84) – and was signed over to the Vatican as a gift in 1992.

Only a handful of publications discuss the Basilica in detail. Thus, compared to any Western architectural project of corresponding scale and prestige, relatively little about the Basilica is known or accessible, indicating the extent of Africa's omission from (Western) archives and architectural history, a negligence that I wish to counteract. With this research I challenge my own position and education because I had little knowledge about Africa and its architecture and the image painted by Western media, as Manuel Herz poignantly puts it, is that 'Africa always stands for the poor, the violent, the raw, the exotic, and the peripheral' (Herz, et al., 2015: 13). I aim to re-evaluate historical biases engendered by past scholarship and education, particularly Eurocentric standpoints and canons of architectural history, which have excluded Africa.

This essay acknowledges its own limitations: being confined in European academia and

relying on anglophone archives and literature, it is hindered by both geographical and linguistic barriers. The subject could have been explored further with access to local archives and primary sources, which remained inaccessible to me. Therefore, my methodological approach is to survey the stylistic, material, constructive, social, and religious relations around the Basilica, based on comparative study of secondary and online sources, supported by a decolonial theoretical framework.

Western news

My point of departure for this study is the analysis of articles published in international newspapers and magazines, shaping public perceptions of Yamoussoukro and its Basilica in the West. I wish to acknowledge that 'the West' is an ambiguous designation, which always creates an Other and 'the result is usually to polarize the distinction' (Said, 1978: 54). I will use the term to refer to such mainly European and North American frameworks of culture, tradition, and society, which remain centred and invested in themselves.

Western media characterise Yamoussoukro as 'a ghost town, a capital in name alone' (Onishi, 2001), 'an overgrown village' (*The Economist*, 2012), 'a near-deserted, forest-surrounded town of empty six-lane highways that [lead] nowhere' (Mark, 2015), presenting an image of Côte d'Ivoire's capital as peripheral and conquered by nature. The Basilica's reviews are similarly condescending. West Africa magazine's headline (1990) reads, 'Pope Paul Consecrates a Controversial \$200 million Basilica. Beauty or Beast?' (Elleh, 2002: 7-8), while Time marginalises the edifice as 'The Basilica in the Bush' (Ostling, 1989). Described as 'a replica' (Iskyan, 2004), even a 'brash imitation of the Vatican's holy shrine' (Mark, 2015), the building's originality, authenticity, and independent artistic value are questioned. Caricatured as 'a gigantic white parachute' (Henry, 1990), a 'giant pearl-gray dirigible' (Ostling, 1989), 'a sandy-beige concrete behemoth' (Ostling, 1989), a 'ridiculous white elephant monument to Christianity' (Iskyan, 2004), the unflattering, condescending rhetoric sets the tone for hard-hitting criticism. Most authors agreed that the cost was extreme, especially for an African country described as 'impoverished' (Elleh, 2002: 9). *Le Figaro* argued that 'Africa had too many economic problems, and the last thing the continent needed was a basilica like Our Lady of Peace' (Elleh, 2002: 8), which supposedly was 'reviled by many as an insult to Africa's poor' (Elleh, 2002: 9). Where this criticism points at a serious and problematic reality, the articles also reiterate

an overly generalising picture of Africa as an impoverished continent. This view can be seen as deeply patronising, symptomatic of what Achille Mbembe calls 'a Eurocentric canon ... that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production' (Mbembe, 2015: 7).

The context

Yamoussoukro was President Houphouët's home village, which he transformed into a modern city and declared the Ivorian capital in 1983, with major landmarks and institutions he hoped would solidify Côte d'Ivoire's presence on the international political stage after its independence from French colonial rule in 1960. However, Abidjan remained the political and economic centre of the country. Planned for a million inhabitants, Yamoussoukro is now a provincial town with 220 000 inhabitants, characterised by its low density and underutilised infrastructure. Before becoming Ivorian president, Houphouët was a member of the French parliament and the first African to hold a ministerial post. After independence, he advocated 'mutual dependence between Africa and metropolitan countries' (Elleh, 2002: 17-18). Hence, Houphouët stands for both de-colonisation and neo-coloniality. Keeping close ties with its former coloniser France, he successfully continued to develop the country's strong agricultural economy, supported by an open policy towards immigration, which became known as the 'Ivorian Miracle'. In the 1980s, however, when he commissioned the construction of the Basilica, Côte d'Ivoire went through a devastating recession caused by the falling market value of cocoa and coffee, which the Ivorian economy relied on. Completed at the end of Houphouët's life, the Basilica appears to be a final personal manifesto before his death in 1993.

The church's design encompasses a domed rotunda surrounded by a longitudinal porticus with the dome, the oval piazza surrounded by colonnades, and the baldachin under the dome, being its most outstanding elements alluding to St. Peter's design. It forms an integral part of Yamoussoukro's ensemble of monumental, mainly modernist architectures, revealing an interesting relationship with African modernism, because there was a first modernist design proposal for Our Lady of Peace by Italian Studio Ing. Aldo Spirito, who had already designed St. Paul's Cathedral, Abidjan. In contrast to Fakhoury's superscale historicism, Spirito proposed a building with a gigantic roof suspended from a central pylon by 56 steel cables. Houphouët rejected the proposal and asked for a second design, greater than St.

Peter's and similar to its style, which, in turn, the Italians refused (Franzosi, no date). The two designs embody divergent associations and thus implied relations: whilst Spirito's modernism would have supported the narrative of African post-independence modernisation and empowerment, the purposeful association with St. Peter's and a European architectural tradition indicates a wish to compete with the West and a declining belief in modernisation.

Stylistic perspective

Through its stylistic, semiotic language, the building reveals a close relationship with Europe, which can be read in two different ways. On the one hand, it can be seen in neo-colonial terms, substantiating the Eurocentric, educational assimilation of the president and West African elite into Western culture, and implying a cultural, economic, and political inferiority complex, internalised through the colonial experience, which the monument is meant to compensate for. By differentiating the elite from those not fully assimilated, 'it falls within the category of the discourse that Jean-Paul Sartre described as "anti-racist's racism"' (Elleh, 2002: 160). Its dissociation from the Ivorian context leads to an inaccessibility and lack of identification for the local people. The oppression and negligence of African culture and identity is a central problem of coloniality continued by the Basilica. Frantz Fanon's famous characterisation *Black Skin, White Masks* depicts how, through European dominance, education and assimilation strategies, Africans grew culturally alienated from their heritage. The Basilica can be seen as such a white mask, which, in effect, means putting Europe at the centre.

On the other hand, the Basilica could be understood in light of 'Sartre's thesis that the language of the colonialist could be used to overthrow the colonialist' (Elleh, 2001: 237). Architect Fakhoury made three drawings comparing the size of Our Lady of Peace Basilica with Notre Dame, Paris, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and St Peter's Basilica, Rome – the architectural crown jewels of the French, British, and Catholics. They are evidence for the ambitious and decolonial intentions of the project, which can be seen as overcoming colonial Europe on its own architectural terms. There is African agency in this act of deliberate and intentional appropriation, as the rejection of the modernist design proves. The Basilica's intentions are related to the building's reference and address, Europe, attracting tourists and representing the president's ability, and also to its context, Africa, attracting pilgrims from all over West Africa and representing African ability and dignity. Fakhoury's book about the

Basilica opens with the confident words, 'Rome is no longer in Rome. Rome is in Yamoussoukro' (Fakhoury, Arthus-Bertrand and Quino, 1990), revealing the power of the Basilica for putting Africa at the centre.

Considering the paradoxical relations and meanings that the style of the building constructs, the Basilica does not reveal a clear identification with either Africa or Europe, making binary judgements insufficient. 'In Ngugi's terms, "decolonization" is a project of "re-centering"' (Mbembe, 2015: 12, emphasis in original). This involves redirecting the Western gaze towards Africa, which tends to remain vested in its own biases, for example recognising that many European buildings were also built around great poverty and with evidently exploitative financing, instead of condemning African buildings. 'Decolonizing (*à la* Ngugi) is not about closing the door to European or other traditions. It is about defining clearly *what the centre is*' (Mbembe, 2015: 12, emphasis in original). This centring, putting the African first, may help to cast off the strong neo-colonial associations of Our Lady of Peace. On a practical basis, Mbembe suggests that 'the decolonization of buildings and of public spaces is inseparable from the *democratization of access*' (Mbembe, 2015: 4, emphasis in original). For him this is characterised by a 'right to belong' (Mbembe, 2015: 4). With its foreign style and isolated monumentality, the Basilica complicates a sense of belonging or ownership for local Ivorians but the slow waves of Ivorian and West African pilgrims who appropriate the church as a meaningful place in their lives contribute to the process of decolonisation of Our Lady of Peace.

Material-constructive perspective

When we analyse the construction materials and the nationalities of the contributors to the construction of the Basilica (Figure 1), it is important to realise that in the framework of global modernity, 'an architect's origin was never neutral, never innocent. ... Architecture was always also a vehicle to establish networks or reinforce diplomatic relations' (Herz, 2015: 12). The Basilica, perhaps unsurprisingly, is evidence for close ties with Europe, especially France, but also reveals connections with Israelis, and the strong Lebanese diaspora in West Africa through the architect Fakhoury. With his transformation of Yamoussoukro, Houphouët had demonstrated that in the globalising and homogenising world that modernisation proclaimed, projects of any size were possible anywhere (Elleh, 2002: xi). Together with the monumental architectures produced in post-independence Cote d'Ivoire, the Basilica attests to the international collaborations

within the construction market that made them possible as products of a globalised world. They also constitute a testament to local institutions and bureaucracies that diverted international flows towards Côte d'Ivoire, which can be seen as centring Africa. But there are also limitations to the internationality of such projects. Modern African architecture is dependent on materials, experts, and industries not local to Africa, necessitating import, which creates a neo-colonial relationship of dependency, furthering the dominance of European or foreign actors over the African context. Production, profit and expertise remain external.

Socio-religious perspective

Côte d'Ivoire is predominantly Muslim. All Christian denominations together accounted for 27.5 percent of the Ivorian population in the 1980s (Elleh, 2002: 78), meaning that the Catholic Basilica's scale 'raises issues of social justice and power dynamics' (Elleh, 2002: 78). When missionaries introduced Christianity during the colonial period through schools, they created an educated, indigenous Christian elite, favoured and empowered by the colonial system, which Houphouët was part of. The political discrimination along these religious and also ethnic lines has led Côte d'Ivoire into two civil wars, 2002-2004 and 2011.

Intended to be a cathedral, the Basilica was not declared the seat of Yamoussoukro's bishop. Instead, Yamoussoukro's cathedral, St. Augustin, is a much smaller and humbler structure, which may be seen as a rebuke to Houphouët. Many Catholics opposed the papal consecration of the president's Basilica, especially clerics and Cardinal Bernard Yago, Archbishop of Abidjan, for years the president's most outspoken critic (Elleh, 2002: 66). In fact, Yago had the humble and inventive Marian Shrine of Our Lady of Africa (1985-1987), built in Abidjan at the same time as the Basilica, which is a powerful alternative to Houphouët's sumptuous Lady of Peace and was, ironically, designed by Studio Spirito. The liturgical constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* defines that sacred art 'should strive after noble beauty rather than mere sumptuous display' (Vatican Council II, 1963, para. 124). Thus, the ostentatious qualities of Our Lady of Peace were not welcome to Catholics nor to the Vatican to whom Houphouët offered it as a gift. The pope reluctantly accepted only under the condition that a hospital would be built for the poor, which was eventually built in 2012 and opened in 2015. For these reasons, the *International Foundation Our Lady of Peace of Yamoussoukro* was established in a 1992 contract between the Holy See and the Ivorian state, an agreement

Material/Contribution	Company	Nationality
Architect	Pierre Fakhoury (PFO)	Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon
Concrete/Cement	SOCIMAT (Société Ivoirienne de Ciments Matériaux), now LafargeHolcim CI, SCA (Société des Ciments d'Abidjan)	Côte d'Ivoire, imported clinker
Steel/Aluminium	CFEM (Compagnie Française d'Entreprises Métalliques), now Eiffage	France
Structural Work	Dumez Afrique, now Vinci Group	France, African workers
Earthworks	Sonitra (by Shikun & Binui International)	Côte d'Ivoire, Israel
Stained Glass	Verrerie de St. Just, Didier Alliou and Eric Bonte	France
Models for columns, etc	Jean-Paul Ravit	France
Marble and Granite	ItalMarbre	France, Italy
Bells	Bollée-Fonderie	France
Organ	Allen Organ Company	United States
Air Conditioning System		Italy
Iroko Wood Pews		Côte d'Ivoire
Sculptures		Italy, Spain

Figure 1: Nationalities of materials and contributors to the construction of the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace

granting the foundation great freedoms and protection by the state. The premises, documents and finances of the foundation are inviolable, exempt from criminal and civil jurisdiction, and from all direct taxation (Vatican, 1992), making it a protected national and Catholic heritage. Consequently, 'during the country's decade of periodic civil conflict, citizens often sought refuge within its walls, knowing it would never be attacked' (Mark, 2015), and contributing to the acceptance and accessibility of the Basilica as a national monument.

Conclusion

My research has found the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace inseparable from the life of Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who was equally shaped by the frameworks of (neo-)colonialism and French association as well as African independence and decolonisation. The Basilica proves that decolonial and neo-colonial ideas are often paradoxically intertwined, necessitating a hybridised architectural history as opposed to our exclusive and predominantly Western narratives and canon. With the *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*, the Basilica can be clearly identified as a twentieth century monument through its contexts of internationalisation, new nation-states, tourism, world trade and global corporations, (Marsden and Spearritt, 2021: 7) embedded in the frameworks of the modern and

post-colonial period.

To decolonise and reappropriate this heritage therefore means to overwrite the neo-colonial language with African meanings and to re-examine its Afrocentric characteristics. Through its use as a West African pilgrimage site and a faith in its intention to lift up the African spirit, I suggest that Our Lady of Peace Basilica is able to shed the burdensome heritage of its neo-colonial connotations. Then, it may inspire the self-confidence of future generations. The Basilica is an astonishing and beautiful achievement that has the potential to transform the limited Western image of Africa the Poor, the Violent, the Raw, and the Peripheral, by being a monument to its riches, its peace, its formality, and its re-centring.

Bibliography

- Elleh, N. 2001. 'Architecture and Nationalism in Africa, 1945-1994'. In *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945-1994*, edited by O. Enwezor. Munich: Prestel, 234-245.
- Elleh, N. 2002. *Architecture and Power in Africa*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Fakhoury, P., Y. Arthus-Bertrand, and F. Quino. 1990. *La Basilique: Notre-Dame de la Paix, Yamoussoukro*.

- Liege: Pierre Mardaga Editeur.
- Franzosi, R. No date. Cattedrale di Yamoussoukro, Studio di Architettura Roberto Franzosi. Available at: <http://www.architettofranzosi.it/entri+Religiosi&id=Cattedrale+di+Yamoussoukro> (Accessed: 14 June 2021).
- Henry, N. 1990. 'Basilica Rises in Ivory Coast - Cathedral Awaits Pope's Blessing', *The Seattle Times*, 5 August. Available at: <https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=19900805&slug=1086192> (Accessed: 16 August 2021).
- Herz, M., I. Schroeder, H. Focketyn and J. Jamrozik. 2015. *African Modernism: The architecture of independence: Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia*. Zurich: Park Books.
- Herz, M. 2015. 'The New Domain: Architecture at the Time of Liberation'. In *African Modernism: The architecture of independence: Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia*, edited by M. Herz, I. Schroeder, H. Focketyn and J. Jamrozik. Zurich: Park Books, 5-15.
- Iskyan, K. 2004. 'What drives a country to switch its capital city?' *Slate Magazine*, 1 March. Available at: <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2004/03/what-drives-a-country-to-switch-its-capital-city.html> (Accessed: 16 August 2021).
- Mark, M. 2015. 'Yamoussoukro's Notre-Dame de la Paix, the world's largest basilica - a history of cities in 50 buildings, day 37'. *The Guardian*, 15 May. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/may/15/yamoussoukro-notre-dame-de-la-paix-ivory-coast-worlds-largest-basilica-history-of-cities-in-50-buildings-day-37> (Accessed: 14 June 2021).
- Marsden, S. and P. Spearritt. 2021. *The Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Mbembe, A. 2015. *Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive, Platform for Experimental Collaborative Ethnography*. Available at: <https://africaisacountry.atavist.com/decolonizing-knowledge-and-the-question-of-the-archive> (Accessed: 12 August 2021).
- Onishi, N. 2001. 'Yamoussoukro Journal; For a Great White Elephant, a New Lease on Life'. *The New York Times*, 25 May. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/05/25/world/yamoussoukro-journal-for-a-great-white-elephant-a-new-lease-on-life.html> (Accessed: 15 June 2021).
- Ostling, R. N. 1989. 'Religion: The Basilica in the Bush'. *Time*, 3 July. Available at: <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,958078-1,00.html> (Accessed: 16 June 2021).
- Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- The Economist. 2012. 'Better late than never'. 16 June. Available at: [https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2012/06/16/better-late-](https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2012/06/16/better-late-than-never)
- than-never (Accessed: 16 August 2021).
- Vatican. 1992. 'Convention entre le Saint-Siège et la République de Côte d'Ivoire concernant la «Fondation Internationale Notre-Dame de la Paix de Yamoussoukro»'. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 84, 840-844.
- Vatican Council II. 1963. *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Available at: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (Accessed: 12 August 2021).

Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: Modern Heritage of Africa Workshop

Jeff Cody

Chandler McCoy

Gail Ostergren

gostergren@getty.edu

Author biographies

Jeff Cody, PhD, is a senior project specialist in the Getty Conservation Institute's Buildings and Sites department of, where he coordinates an urban conservation training course in Penang, Malaysia, for mid-career practitioners from ASEAN countries. An architectural historian with a background in historic preservation planning, Jeff taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong from 1995 to 2004, and he served for four years on Hong Kong's Antiquities Advisory Board. In 2019, the Getty published *Historic Cities: Issues in Urban Conservation*, an anthology of writings about urban conservation that Jeff coedited with Francesco Siravo.

Chandler McCoy manages the Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative at the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles whose mission is to advance the practice of conserving modern heritage. He has spent his career in the fields of architecture, planning, and heritage conservation. He is a registered architect and a LEED-accredited professional. He received his Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Virginia School of Architecture and his Master of Architecture degree from Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation in New York City. In 1992 he attended ICCROM's (The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) architectural conservation programme in Rome.

Gail Ostergren is a research specialist with the Getty Conservation Institute's Buildings and Sites department, where she works with a number of projects including the Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative, the Eames House Conservation Project, and the Los Angeles African American Historic Places Project. Gail earned her PhD in history at UCLA. She serves on the historic preservation commission in West Hollywood, CA, and is a founding board member of the Docomomo/SoCal chapter. She is one of the authors of the GCI's *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*.

Abstract

In July 2021, the Getty Conservation Institute's Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative hosted an online virtual workshop to introduce African heritage professionals to the *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*, a collaboration between the GCI and the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) International Twentieth Century Scientific Committee. The workshop was created in partnership with the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) to introduce the Thematic Framework and explore its utility for an upcoming survey of modern heritage in Africa. This paper summarises the outcomes of this workshop.

The Thematic Framework is a tool for assessing twentieth-century heritage places. It is intended to be used and adapted by people who are working to identify heritage places anywhere in the world. It includes 10 broad themes that represent the primary phenomena, events, and developments that characterised the twentieth century. The thematic approach helps users organise and contextualise places that are being considered for heritage listing.

The first in a series of regional workshops to be conducted by GCI, the workshop introduced participants to the framework and demonstrated how it can be applied in Africa. The programme included presentations on the Thematic Framework, a robust plenary discussion of how the framework could be used and whether it is applicable to the African context, and an exercise using examples of heritage places in Africa that demonstrated how the themes relate to modern heritage in Africa and identified where adaptation might be needed. Participants acknowledged the workshop's potential usefulness as they move forward with identifying Africa's significant modern heritage.

Keywords: heritage inventories; twentieth-century heritage; thematic framework; African modern heritage; heritage significance

French

En juillet 2021, l'Initiative de conservation de l'architecture moderne du Getty Conservation Institute a organisé un atelier virtuel en ligne pour présenter aux professionnels du patrimoine africain le Cadre thématique historique du vingtième siècle, une collaboration entre le GCI et le Comité scientifique international du vingtième siècle de l'ICOMOS. L'atelier a été créé en partenariat avec le Fonds du patrimoine mondial africain (AWHF) pour présenter le cadre thématique et explorer son utilité pour une prochaine enquête sur le patrimoine moderne en Afrique. Ce document résume les résultats de cet atelier.

Le cadre thématique est un outil d'évaluation des lieux patrimoniaux du XXe siècle. Il est destiné à être utilisé et adapté par des personnes qui travaillent à l'identification de lieux patrimoniaux partout dans le monde. Il comprend dix grands thèmes qui représentent les principaux phénomènes, événements et développements qui ont caractérisé le vingtième siècle. L'approche thématique aide les utilisateurs à organiser et à contextualiser les lieux envisagés pour une inscription au patrimoine.

Premier d'une série d'ateliers régionaux organisés par GCI, l'atelier a présenté le cadre aux participants et a démontré comment il peut être appliqué à l'Afrique. Le programme comprenait des présentations sur le cadre thématique, une solide discussion plénière sur la façon dont le cadre pourrait être utilisé et s'il est applicable au contexte africain, et un exercice utilisant des exemples de lieux patrimoniaux en Afrique qui a démontré comment les thèmes se rapportent au patrimoine moderne dans Afrique et identifié où une adaptation pourrait être nécessaire. Les participants ont reconnu l'utilité de l'atelier alors qu'ils progressent dans l'identification de l'important patrimoine moderne de l'Afrique.

Keywords: inventaires du patrimoine; patrimoine du XXe siècle; cadre thématique; patrimoine moderne africain; importance patrimoniale

Introduction to the Workshop

In July 2021, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), in partnership with the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), conducted a two-part virtual workshop (July 14 and 21) to introduce the *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework* (TCHTF, Marsden and Spearritt 2021) and explore its utility as a tool for identifying and evaluating the modern heritage in Africa in an upcoming survey. The AWHF created a task team comprising four representatives of Modern Heritage of Africa (MoHoA) who helped to

develop the workshop agenda and selected its participants. The 25 participants, many of whom are actively involved with MoHoA, were knowledgeable about Africa's modern heritage.

In addition to introducing participants to the TCHTF, the workshop was designed to solicit feedback from participants on how the framework relates to and can be used within the African context. Finally, using examples of heritage places selected by participants, the group explored its applicability to actual places in Africa.

Overview of the *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework*

Published in early 2021, the *Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework* is a tool to assist in identifying and contextualising twentieth-century heritage places. It is intended to promote broad thinking about the historical processes that shaped the twentieth century built environment globally. The TCHTF identifies the principal social, technological, political, and economic phenomena that characterise the century, and considers a wide variety of heritage typologies, including buildings, cities, industrial heritage, and landscapes.

The TCHTF was a joint project between the Getty Conservation Institute and the ICOMOS Twentieth Century Heritage International Scientific Committee (ISC20c). In 2009, ISC20c initiated the effort to develop this framework and GCI began working with them in 2011. The catalyst for the work was the lack of recognition and protection for twentieth-century heritage and the need to contextualise it when making decisions about listing. ISC20c was especially interested in helping the World Heritage Centre identify a more diverse array of twentieth-century sites and fostering comparative analysis of sites. Our intention was to look beyond the styles and works of great architects that predominate the twentieth-century sites presently inscribed on the World Heritage List and instead to look holistically at the full range of significant twentieth-century heritage places in order to identify them before they are at risk. We also wanted to produce a framework that could be used globally, but could also be easily adapted to local, national, or regional contexts.

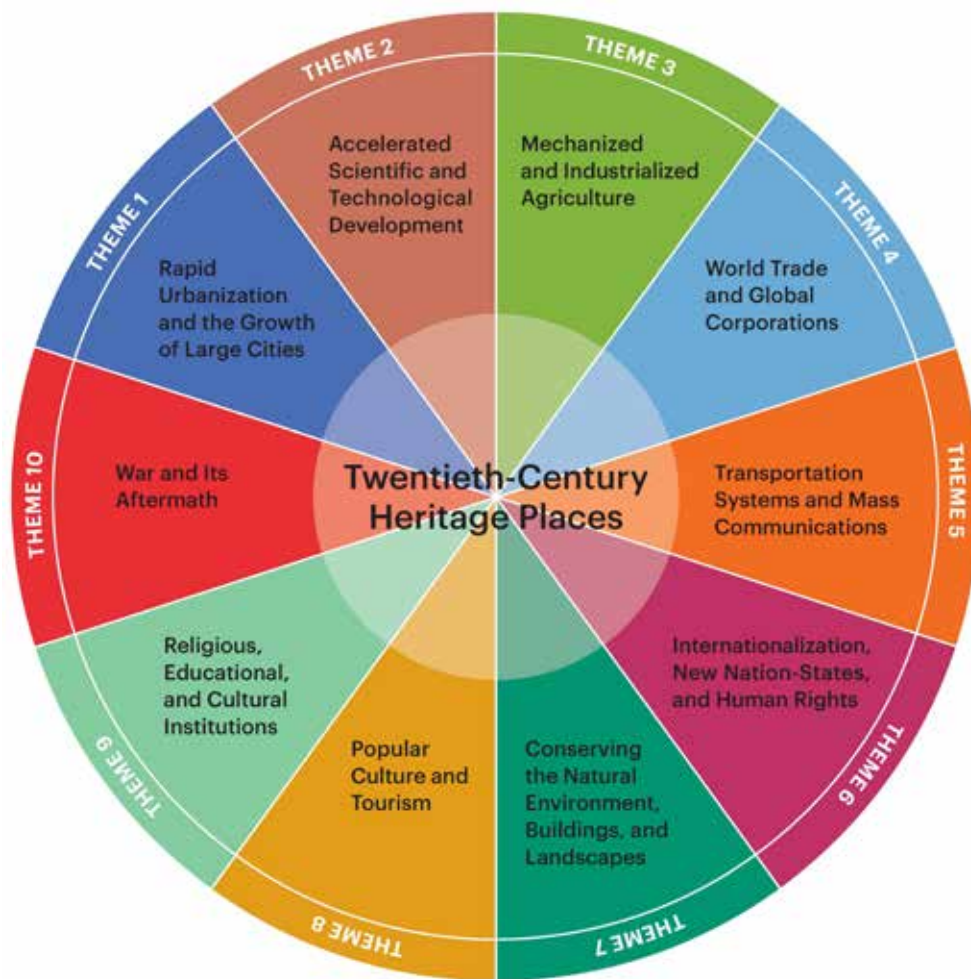


Figure 1: The 10 interconnected themes that shaped the built environment and heritage places of the twentieth century globally. Image: © J. Paul Getty Trust (TCHTF p. 7)

The thematic approach can broaden our understanding of heritage so that the places we identify and protect are more inclusive. Since it doesn't rely on chronology or architectural significance – two common approaches to heritage identification – it helps us to focus on other important historical issues like social, cultural, technological, economic, and political trends. This can lead to a more egalitarian process and the identification of heritage places that represent the full range of historical experience.

In creating the TCHTF, we considered a vast array of possible themes and topics and distilled them into 10 interconnected historic themes that relate to twentieth-century heritage places (Figure 1). Each of these themes, which identify the principal social, technological, political, and economic drivers that shaped the twentieth century globally, is explored in one of the TCHTF's brief essays. Not all themes will be represented in all places, but some aspect of most of them will be found in most places

Each of the ten overarching themes is amplified with a number of related subthemes that further articulate the theme itself; these subthemes are

the link between the ten themes and types of places, and finally actual places. We identified a range of types of places that exemplify each theme. The subthemes and types of places identified for each theme are conveyed in a table, as seen in Figure 2. Not all of the subthemes and types of places identified for each theme will be found everywhere, nor are these lists comprehensive. They are a starting point, which users should modify as necessary to reflect the context of their specific locale. Subthemes should be broad enough to represent historical trends and be exemplified by a number of sites or types of places.

Each of the theme essays is accompanied by a photo gallery that depicts diverse examples of places from around the world that could be identified under the theme and its subthemes. Some of these places are already listed as heritage, but many are not. We have presented them merely as examples and are not proposing that they be listed as heritage.

Theme 6 INTERNATIONALIZATION, NEW NATION-STATES, AND HUMAN RIGHTS	
Subthemes	Types of Places
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evolution of totalitarianism, communism, and democracy • Evolution of imperialism and colonialism • Decolonization • Postcolonialism, independence movements, and emerging nation-states • Establishment of international NGOs • Global response to disasters • Development of international law • Struggle for and recognition of human rights • Social movements and the recognition of individual rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public spaces and monuments that celebrate new nation-states • Public spaces and monuments that express political ideology or national identity • Purpose-built capital cities and administrative centers • Independence monuments and memorials • Sites related to national reunification • Infrastructure developed by new nation-states • Places related to international organizations and groupings • Sites related to natural or human-made disaster • Sites related to human rights abuses • Sites related to social movements • Countercultural sites and settlements

Figure 2: Sample table of themes, subthemes, and the types of places that exemplify them. Image: © J. Paul Getty Trust (TCHTF pp, 13 and 110).

The Modern Heritage of Africa Workshop

The workshop, conducted over Zoom in the early evening hours in South Africa, took place in two sessions held one week apart. The first session (July 7) was 90 minutes in length, while the second (July 14) lasted 120 minutes.

First Session (July 7, 2021)

Following opening remarks by representatives of MoHoA and GCI, the session began with a presentation of the TCHTF's contents. This was followed by a robust plenary session, where participants expressed initial reactions to the Thematic Framework and impressions of its potential use in a modern heritage survey in Africa. Comments included the following:

- A number of participants expressed concerns that the language and approach is Eurocentric. The African philosophical viewpoint needs to be incorporated.
- The theme of 'Rapid Urbanisation' does not take into account rural development or the resilience of rural areas and the persistence of traditional patterns of living.
- Liberation heritage is an important theme for Africa and it is not clear where this would sit in the framework.
- The African place examples given depict expatriate activities, rather than indigenous activities.

- What is meant by 'African' heritage? Many of the buildings and structures in the TCHTF were designed by architects from outside of Africa. Where are the places designed by African architects?
- The twentieth century as a time frame is a Western construct. Modernity or modernism needs to be defined in the African context and it may need to look beyond that time period.
- Everyday modernity and vernacular places – architecture that was not designed by an architect – must be considered. How can the framework be applied to domestic buildings, most of which are not designed by architects? Where does everyday modernity, using traditional buildings and materials, fit in?
- In order to understand the modern heritage present in Africa, we must consider alternative themes, and additional themes, and the cross-cutting nature of the themes.

In the plenary's concluding remarks, representatives of MoHoA noted that the Thematic Framework could apply to the African situation and could be a useful tool for the survey, but that it would require some modifications to accurately reflect the context. Of particular concern were such things as the twentieth century as a time frame, the particular nature of urbanisation in Africa, an overemphasis on Western design concepts, and questions of where certain types of heritage places – genocide memorials, liberation heritage, vernacular

heritage – might fall thematically. They remarked on the cross-cutting nature of many of the themes and noted that by refining, combining, or reconceptualising some themes, they could be made much more relevant.

In preparation for the next session, participants were asked to reflect on the day's discussion, review the Thematic Framework document, and identify a place in Africa that relates to the themes and subthemes for discussion.

Second Session (July 14, 2021)

The second day opened with a recap of the previous session and a review of the TCHTF's utility for the development of the African modern heritage survey. Particular emphasis was placed on the importance of looking at the ten themes and their subthemes – which explain and expand upon the themes – together.

One of the key issues that must be considered in creating the modern heritage survey for Africa is the determination of significance. What is it about a place that makes it significant? What is important about this place? Why protect it?

The Thematic Framework is a tool for organising information. It can be used to contextualise places, to do comparative analysis between similar places, and to start assessing significance. It can also be used to link the contexts provided by the framework to actual places (Figure 3). Questions of context and the relative significance of places are critical to the creation of heritage inventories at any level, from local to World Heritage, and these are some of the central questions that MoHoA and AWHF will need to address in creating an inventory of modern heritage in Africa. At the World Heritage level, comparative analysis is essential to making a case for Outstanding Universal Value. The TCHTF can help users address these key questions both in creating a modern Africa tentative list and in local heritage inventories.

The TCHTF is a flexible tool that can and should be modified as necessary to work in the African context. For instance, some of the issues that were raised on the first day could be addressed by adding to or refining the lists of subthemes. As an example, participants noted the absence of the important concepts of 'liberation' and 'resistance' in the framework. Theme 6 (Internationalisation, New Nation-States, and Human Rights, see Figure 2) contains subthemes related to decolonisation and independence movements, so liberation and resistance fit under this theme, but the language needs to be more specific in this instance. To improve the

framework's relevance, users could add liberation and resistance as subthemes, then identify related types of places. It was noted that these subthemes might also relate to Theme 10 (War and Its Aftermath); this serves as a reminder that most places exemplify multiple themes.

Up to this point, workshop discussions had been largely theoretical. The remainder of the session was dedicated to an interactive exercise designed to help participants make connections between the themes and actual places. Using photos of twentieth-century African buildings, sites, and landscapes supplied by individual participants, each participant introduced their example, explained why they selected it, described its significance, and proposed possible themes. The group then discussed each example, elaborating on the information provided and brainstorming additional themes.

Throughout the exercise, the places discussed illustrated ways in which the Thematic Framework worked, and how it might need to be revised to better fit the African context. Digital notes were taken in real time, capturing the related themes and key details about the site's history and significance (Figure 4).

To give one example, a participant presented the Great Mosque of Porto-Novo, Benin, (constructed in the early twentieth century). As she described, from the end of the eighteenth century, Porto-Novo was an arrival point for formerly enslaved people as they returned to the African continent from Brazil. Many of these returnees, known as the *Agudá*, were craftsmen who adapted building techniques learned in Brazil to the African setting. Some *Agudá* had converted to Islam in rebellion against their Brazilian enslavers. The mosque is an example of the Afro-Brazilian building type. It was inspired by the cathedral of Salvador de Bahia in Brazil. In a poor state of conservation, it is still in use today, although a new mosque has recently been constructed adjacent to it.

The group identified a number of themes that the mosque exemplifies, though in some cases they found it necessary to expand on how the theme is described in the framework or to consider historical trends that occurred prior to the twentieth century:

- Theme 4 (World Trade and Global Corporations) – the mosque is directly linked to the global slave trade, though this predates the twentieth century.
- Theme 6 (Internationalisation, New Nation-States, and Human Rights) – the mosque exemplifies this theme when we speak about formerly enslaved people returning to Africa. It also relates to issues of human

A TOOL FOR ASSESSING HERITAGE PLACES

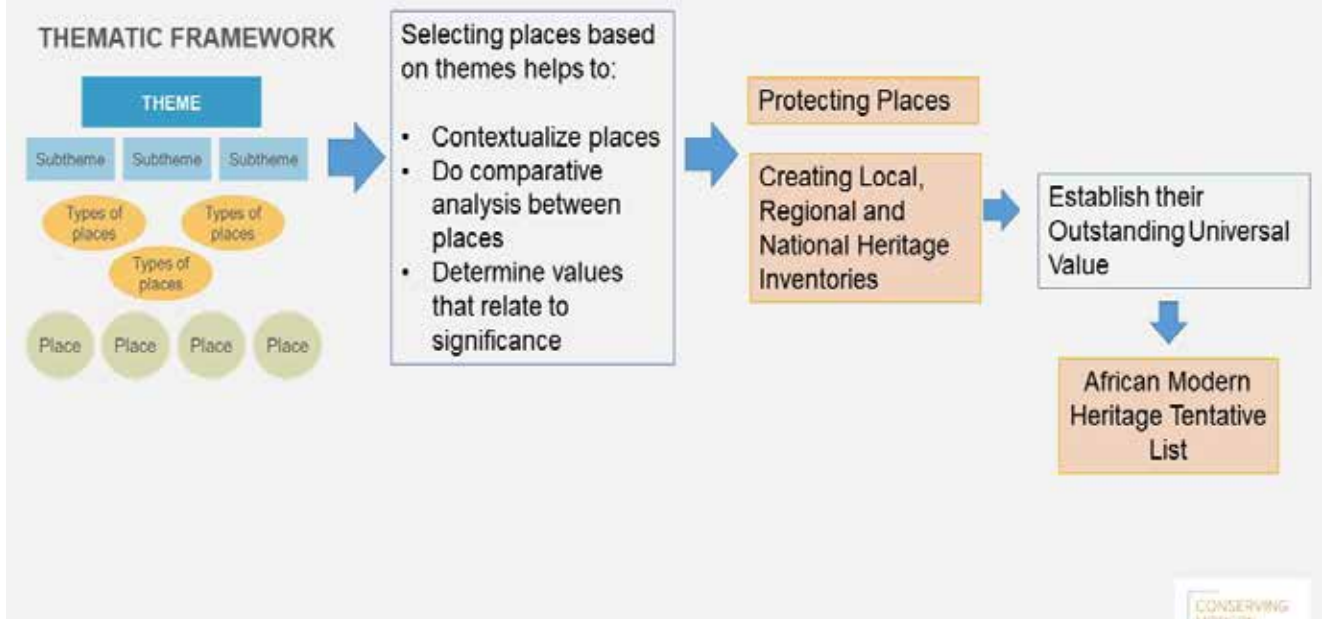


Figure 3: The TCHTF is a theme-based tool for organising information related to themes, subthemes, types of places, and actual places. Using it helps to contextualise the places that are being selected, and allows for comparative analysis between them. This, in turn, can be useful in arguing for the Outstanding Universal Values of a place. Image: © J. Paul Getty Trust.

Great mosque of Porto-Novo, Benin (1912/1953)

Great Mosque of Porto-Novo. Photo by Kottiobed, 2020. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0

- 4 World Trade and Global Corporations
Commerce international et multinationales
- 6 Internationalization, New Nation-States, and Human Rights
Internationalisation, nouveaux Étatsnations et droits de l'homme
- 9 Religious, Educational, and Cultural Institutions
Institutions religieuses, éducatives et culturelles
- 1 Rapid Urbanization and the Growth of Large Cities
Urbanisation rapide et croissance des grandes villes

Afro-Brazilian architecture

Return of former slaves who had converted to Islam

Slave trade

Inspired by cathedral of Salvador de Bahia

Figure 4: Sample digital whiteboard showing notes captured and themes identified for one site during the interactive exercise. Image: © J Paul Getty Trust. Photo by Kottiobed, 2020, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0.

rights and international relations.

- Theme 9 (Religious, Educational, and Cultural Institutions) – as a house of worship, the Great Mosque of Porto-Novo exemplifies this theme.
- Theme 1 (Rapid Urbanisation and the Growth of Large Cities) – the mosque exemplifies the subtheme of population migration to urban areas.

In total, the group analysed 13 sites that represented a diverse range of place types. Among them were several religious structures in different countries; Lake Katwe salt factory in Kampala, Uganda; a series of hotels in Algeria; a small, vernacular, rural residence in Uganda; Zimbabwe National Heroes Acre; District 6 in Cape Town, South Africa; and the historic city of Kano, Nigeria. In each instance, the discussion was wide ranging. Relevant themes and subthemes were identified for each place, but there was also frank discussion of ways that the TCHTF does not fully reflect the African context. The session demonstrated that the Thematic Framework could provide a useful methodology for the future African Modern Heritage Survey, but also illuminated some specific areas where themes and subthemes need to be adjusted and the contents of the document otherwise modified. It also demonstrated ways that GCI can better explain the document's flexibility, particularly with regard to the identification of additional subthemes and place types.

We ended the workshop with the hope that those developing the African Modern Heritage Survey will consider using this framework and, through revision and modification, find it a vital tool to help with the difficult task of identifying places and determining their significance.

References

Marsden, Susan, and Peter Spearritt. 2021. *The Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: A Tool for Assessing Heritage Places*. With contributions from Leo Schmidt, Sheridan Burke, Gail Ostergren, Jeff Cody, and Chandler McCoy. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute. https://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs_historic_thematic_framework_tool. Note: A French-language translation is available at the same URL.

Heritage, Conflict and Change

Lived Space – Of Soul and Joy: The lived representational experience of Thokoza: Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda

Nocebo Bucibo

u20815132@tuks.co.za

Biography:

Nocebo Bucibo is a doctoral candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Her research, titled *eGoli Kwandonga Ziyaduma. Kwanyama Ayipheli Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda: The Photographic Production of Space in Three Hostels in Thokoza, South Africa (1958–2020)*, is supervised by Professor Noëleen Murray, in the Chair in Critical Architecture and Urbanism. Nocebo's qualifications include a Master's in Fine Arts awarded with distinction from Wits University, a Bachelor of Technology in Photography and a National Diploma in Photography, both obtained from the Vaal University of Technology.

Abstract

Photography has been used as a medium to tell the story of the South African Thokoza migrant labour hostels. The popular photographic narrative of three Thokoza hostels, Mshaya`zafe, Khuthuza and Madala, was set in the early 1990s, leading up to the first South African democratic elections. The transition to a new democracy was plagued with violence and the three hostels were at the centre of the violence in which many people lost their lives and were displaced. A large contingent of local and international journalists and news photographers who were regarded as outsiders, captured these events. This resulted in a singular visual account of events within the area and its hostels emerging. This paper seeks to introduce a second voice to the photographic narrative of Thokoza's hostels, by interrogating the lived experience and contemporary images created by photographers residing in Thokoza who are participants of a community photography project that uses social media as a platform for sharing and creating an archive of their photographs and activities. This paper further seeks to analyse the role the *Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa* Facebook book page plays in the user-generated archive in preserving the heritage of the Thokoza hostels. This will be done by observing and critically analysing the data from one post on the page.

Keywords: Thokoza hostels; *Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa*; photography; social media; the production of space; archive

Espace vécu – Of Soul and Joy: L'expérience de représentation vécue de Thokoza : Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda

Résumé:

La photographie a été utilisée comme moyen de raconter l'histoire des foyers de travailleurs migrants sud-africains Thokoza. Le récit photographique populaire de trois foyers de Thokoza, Mshaya`zafe, Khuthuza et Madala, s'est déroulé au début des années 1990, à l'approche des premières élections démocratiques sud-africaines. La transition vers une nouvelle démocratie a été marquée par la violence et les trois foyers se sont trouvés au centre de cette violence, au cours de laquelle de nombreuses personnes ont perdu la vie et ont été déplacées. Un important contingent de journalistes locaux et internationaux et de photographes d'actualités, considérés comme des étrangers, ont capturé ces événements. Il en est résulté un récit visuel singulier des événements survenus dans la région et dans ses foyers. Cet article cherche à introduire une seconde voix dans le récit photographique des foyers de Thokoza, en interrogeant l'expérience vécue et les images contemporaines créées par des photographes résidant à Thokoza et participant à un projet de photographie communautaire qui utilise les médias sociaux comme plateforme de partage et de création d'archives de leurs photographies et activités. Cet article cherche en outre à analyser le rôle que joue la page Facebook de *Photography Project Of Soul and Joy, South Africa*, dans les archives générées par les utilisateurs pour préserver le patrimoine des foyers de Thokoza. Pour ce faire, nous observerons et analyserons de manière critique les données d'une publication sur la page.

Mots-clés : Thokoza hostels, *Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa*, Photographie, réseaux sociaux, production d'archives spatiales

Photography is not only about telling the truth by recording facts but instead holds a more complex meaning. I see photography as a three-

dimensional object with a spiritual element. I define the spiritual as the ‘internal experience evoking a particular emotional state unique to the individual’s own experience – whether it is a belief system or a sense of humanity or memory that may trigger the rediscovery of something. That, which cannot be seen, but is felt and experienced. It triggers this response because of its emotive, multi-layered and subjective status’ (Bucibo, 2018:13). Therefore, I argue that photographs of the Thokoza migrant hostels are paradoxes open to multiple interpretations. In the early 1990s, these hostels were sites of violence; this violence was captured by photographers identified as outsiders such as the photographic collective known as ‘The Bang-Bang Club’ (Marinovich and Silva, 2000). The images coming from this period created a negative narrative of the space and its inhabitants, creating a gap in the photographic representation of the Thokoza hostels. This paper looks at the photographic interpretation of the Thokoza hostels from the perspective of a community-based photography project that makes use of photovoice as a method to explore the modern heritage of the Thokoza hostels, by reflecting on both the negative and positive modernities of the space. This research draws from my PhD.

This paper forms part of a chapter titled *Lived Space – Of Soul and Joy: The lived representational experience of Thokoza: Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda*. The chapter focuses on the social media images of the community photographic project *Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa* (OSJ), located in Thokoza and established by Rubis Mécénat in 2012, to examine the role these play in the production of the Thokoza hostels. In their article *On the Relevance of using social media platforms as archives for the writing of African history* (2020), professor of African History at the University of Vienna Birgit Englert, and Master’s student Immanuel Harisch, argue that social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook can be used as a ‘kind of archive for writing African histories for everyday life. These platforms provide user-generated archives in the sense that they are built by users who document their everyday life by uploading items (photographs, videos, graphics, texts), which they created themselves’ (2020: 31).

The OSJ social media images provide a lived experience of the Thokoza hostels and what it means to be a resident of the hostels. The notion of the lived experience forms one tier of the Lefebvrian social space triad in special practice taken from Marxist urban socialist Henri Lefebvre’s seminal text *The Production of Space* (1991). Lefebvre defines the lived experience as a space ‘directly lived through its associated

images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users”, but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe’ (Lefebvre, 1991:39). It is the personal perception made up of the spoken and written word of other members of society and one’s dissemination of them. ‘Lived experience’ is a mental image informed by your own experience, constantly in motion (Lefebvre 1991: 133).

The chapter on the lived experience of the OSJ participants forms part of my doctoral research project titled *eGoli Kwandonga Ziyaduma. Kwanyama Ayipheli Kuphela Amazinyo Endoda: The Photographic Production of Space in Three Hostels in Thokoza, South Africa (1958-2020)*. Translated into English from isiZulu, the title is ‘eGoli is a place where the walls are busy. Where the “meat” never runs out, but it’s where a man’s teeth get finished.’ This Nguni language phrase is used to describe the multiple layers of the city of Johannesburg as it is perceived by migrants to the concrete city of Johannesburg. Some of the migrants moving into the city end up living in the municipal hostels.

According to Nomkhosi Xulu-Gama, hostels are a ‘kind of a bachelor barracks to which workers retire when off-shift to bunk beds in communal dormitories and receive their meals in specially provided communal kitchens (Xulu-Gama, 2017:44). Local authorities, to house only black migrant workers migrating from the rural ‘bantustans’ of apartheid, to the urban space, built these barracks.

Three of these barracks, namely Mshaya`zafe, Khuthuza and Madala, were built along Thokoza’s main street, Khumalo Street. Thokoza is an apartheid-era township to the southeast of Johannesburg, in what was known as the East Rand. Today it is part of the City of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. The hostels in this area were a continuing site of violence in the early 1990s leading up to the first South African democratic elections on 27 April 1994, where thousands of people lost their lives. Because of the violent clashes in the area, Thokoza has become synonymous with trauma.

In her book, *A bed called home: Life in the migrant labour hostels of Cape Town* (1993), Mamphela Ramphele states that it should come as ‘no surprise that some hostel dwellers may have chosen violence to draw attention to the structural violence of their condition of life (1). My research on the violence in the area has led me to place the violence into three categories. I have called the first category Political War: Between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha

Freedom Party (IFP). In her review of *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid: War on the Reef*, Franziska Rueedi states that according to historian Gary Kynoch 'the overwhelming majority of the violence pitted supporters of the ANC against the Zulu Nationalist IFP' (Rueedi, 2020: 386). My second category of violence is titled Cultural War: Between the 'Xhosa and Zulu tribes'. This idea of 'cultural war' is contained in the following response from a male interviewee in Kynoch's article (2013), 'Most Zulus lived in hostels, they started attacking Phola Park squatter camp because most Xhosas lived there and Mandela is a Xhosa' (Kynoch, 2013: 33). The third and last category I have created is Residential War: Between hostel and township residents, which describes the well-documented tensions between residents within Thokoza and other similar areas. Photography was used as a medium to document this violence.

The press photography of the hostels was produced for newspapers to expose events in Thokoza to an international audience (Marinovich and Silva, 2000: 21). This act of publication and international circulation drew attention to the violent clashes between opposing factions and the police brutality of the early 1990s.



Figure 1: A Photovoice path, 2005. Graphic by Laura Lorenza (Photovoice worldwide website).

Unlike the 'Bang-Bang Club' photographers, OSJ is not creating photographs of the Thokoza hostels as an exposé for newspapers. Instead, their photographs are created with the intention of providing a new generation of photographers, called the 'Born Free' generation born after 1994 at the same time as the birth of democracy, to bear witness to the deep changes occurring in their country and its quest for identity (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2021). The participants of the project make use of Photovoice as a method to bear witness to the changes occurring in their area. Created by Professor Caroline Wang from the University of Michigan, and Mary Ann Burris, programme officer for Women's Health at the Ford Foundation, Photovoice is the process that 'entrusts community members with cameras in order to enable them to act as 'recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image to furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise and knowledge' (1997: 369) (Figure 1).

Since 2019, the OSJ participants have been implementing the Photovoice method to create a project that focuses its lens on Khumalo Street. According to the project leader and photographer Jabulani Dhlamini, the project aims to 'help students reflect in some way on the area's history. In the early 1990s, the township was the site of significant violence between members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress' (Kirkwood, 2021). The photographs emerging from this project have been 'consciously selected, organised, displayed and curated' on the OSJ social media archival platforms.

In his article *The power of the archive and its limits* (2002), Achille Mbembe, defines the relationship between the state and the archive as 'Paradox'. He states: 'On the one hand, there is no state without archives – without its archives. On the other hand, the very existence of the archive constitutes a constant threat to the state' (Mbembe, 2002: 23, cited in Hamilton et al., 2002).

Englert and Harisch confirm my and Mbembe's arguments, stating that social media posts are in constant flux 'characterised by constant interaction of social media users' (2020:40). This is evident below, where a page member has made a comment on a photograph posted on the OSJ Facebook page.

One of the photographs posted by the OSJ page administrator (Figure 2), is drawn from Lunathi Mngxuma's portrait series and appears with the caption 'discover the new work by Lunathi Mngxuma!' An ongoing series initiated in 2019,



Figure 2: Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa. 2020. Lunathi's work speaks to the recreation of the history of the young men who were the target from the clash, which led them into dressing as women to disguise their identification. [Facebook]. [Date accessed 15 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2104133453056559&id=150677718402152 (Of Soul and Joy Photography, South Africa Facebook page).

this body of work references the historical clashes between the ANC and IFP during 1990-1994 in Khumalo Street, Thokoza, when hostel residents and IFP supporters started attacking Thokoza residents, most of whom were ANC supporters. The portrait series revolves around dilemmas faced at the time of the clashes, such as the predicaments of identity, gender and belonging. Identities had to be hidden in different ways for safety reasons; community members, especially men, if interrogated, would not tell their true names. Lunathi's work speaks to the recreation of the history of young men, who, as primary targets, were led to dressing as women to disguise their identification (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2020).

To date, the post has received 22 'likes' and four heart emojis; it has been shared three times. I have not been able to trace who shared the post and the reactions on their pages. I assume this is because I am not Facebook friends with these

individuals.

There are four comments made in response to the post. The first comment is from Priscilla Matoba, a Fine Arts lecturer at Vaal University of Technology. The second commentator is Tshepiso Mazibuko, a member of the first cohort of the OSJ project, and lastly, from Lizzy N. Muholi, whose Facebook profile states she is a photojournalist at Ziqu Bum Productions and that she studied photography at the Market Photo Workshop. The comment thread created by these three individuals reads as follows.

Pricilla asks, 'In the series shown above, why is it that it is of the female gender?' (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2020). This post got one 'like' from Siboniso Lwazi Lwart Mazibuko. Pricilla goes on to post a second question, asking 'As well the objects masking their faces, do they have any symbolic meaning?' (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2020). This post has one 'like' from Moenirah Daniels; it is not clear whether the question is directed at the Facebook administrator or the photographer, Lunathi Mnqxuma.

Tshepiso Mazibuko replies to Pricilla's question by directing it to the photographer. She does this by tagging him in her response and writes 'Lunathi Mnqxuma for your interaction' (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2020). There is no response from Lunathi. However, there is one 'like' from Moenirah Daniels. There is no further interaction on this comment, but Muholi posts a new comment that reads 'I like this body of work it's speaking to me, my younger brothers used to wear our clothes during those days' (Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, 2020). This is the last comment on this post; there has been no further interaction.

From my analysis of the comments, images and captions in the OSJ Facebook post, I conclude that when using social media as an archive in preserving heritage, one must consider the multiple ways in which the post has been modified through public engagement. One cannot view it as a singular layer and only read the photographs and text posted by the administrator. Englert and Harisch state that 'social records are constantly recreated, as there is not just one archivist but the crowd of users are the archivists' (2020: 41).

Following on from Englert and Harisch and my analysis of the OSJ Facebook archive, I conclude that my findings are vital in evaluations of South Africa's hostel heritage, in a context where photographers identified as 'outsiders' have for years visually documented the Thokoza hostels. The OSJ project equips young residents of Thokoza with cameras to create photographs

from an insider's perspective. By posting these images on their social media platforms, the project goes on to create its own content, showing visitors to their pages the lived experience of the participants. By sharing their experiences, they are contributing a contemporary narrative to the Thokoza hostels. Furthermore, the ever-changing interaction of the public on the OSJ social media pages indicates there is more than one archivist. Social media archives are multi-layered and open to subjective interpretations, therefore making them spiritual and Paradox.

Funding

My participation in this conference was made possible by a scholarship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation grant *Challenging world (in) equalities*, grant number G-31600702.

Bibliography:

- Englert, Birgit and Harisch, Immanuel R. 2020. On the Relevance of Using Social Media Platforms as Archives for the Writing of African History. *Vienna Journal of African Studies* 39(20), 31-53.
- Kynoch, G. 2013. Reassessing transition violence: Voices from South Africa's township wars, 1990-4. *African Affairs* 112(447), 283-303.
- Kynoch, G. 2018. *Township Violence and the End of Apartheid: War on the Reef*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey; Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford, UK.; Cambridge, MA.: Blackwell.
- Marinovich, G. and Silva, J. (2000). *The Bang-Bang Club*. London: Struik.
- Ramphela, M. (1993). *A Bed Called Home: Life in the Migrant Labour Hostels of Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Rueedi, F. 2020. The war on the Reef. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 46(2), 386-388.
- Wang, C, and Burris M. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessment. *Health, Education & Behaviour* 24(3), 369-387.
- Xulu-Gama, N. (2018). *Hostels in South Africa: Spaces of Perplexity*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Kirkwood, M. 2021. *Focus on South Africa: The Of Soul and Joy Programme*. [Online]. [Accessed 25 August 2021]. Available from:

- <http://lenscratch.com/2021/07/focus-on-south-africa-the-of-soul-and-joy-program/>
- Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa. 2021. *Rubis Mécénat Of Soul and Joy: A platform for learning photography South Africa*. [Press Kit]. [Accessed 15 August 2021]. Available from: <https://www.rubismecenat.fr/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/RUBIS-DP-OSJ-ANG-2021-BAT-doubles-BD.pdf>
- Of Soul and Joy Photography Project. 2020. *Discover the new work by Lunathi Mngxuma! Currently an ongoing series initiated in 2019, this body of work references the historical clashes between two political parties Africa National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) during 1990-1994 in Thokoza, Khumalo Street [...]*. [Facebook]. 3 December. [Accessed 15 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2104133453056559&id=150677718402152
- Rubis Mécénat and Easigas. (2020). *Of Soul and Joy Photography Project, South Africa*. Available at: <http://www.rubismecenat.fr/en/social-cultural-projects/of-soul-and-joy-project-south-africa/>

Heritage, Sustainability and the Environment

When Reconversion Doesn't Meet Sustainability: The Case Of An Abandoned Market In Casablanca

Majda Abida

École Nationale d'Architecture de Marrakech-Maroc. abida@enamarrakech.ac.ma

Giovanni Santi

(DESTeC) Department of Energy, Systems, Territory, and Constructions engineering. University of Pisa, Italy.
giovanni.santi@unipi.it

Majda Abida is an architecture student in her final year at l'École Nationale de l'architecture de Marrakech-ENAM, Morocco. In 2019, she was part of the Erasmus exchange programme at l'ENSA Toulouse (in partnership with l'ENAM), where she completed her third (licence) year studies in the architecture programme. Her collaboration with Professor Santi began in 2020. The collaboration extends on her research at l'ENAM, investigating the preservation, recuperation, and reuse of modern state patrimonial buildings in Morocco, and specifically buildings exhibiting distinctive typologies.

Giovanni Santi is an assistant professor of Architecture Technique at the Department of Energy Engineering, Systems, Territory and Construction, University of Pisa. He achieved an M.D. in Architecture in 1999 at the University of Firenze, and in 2008 completed his PhD in "Science and techniques of civil constructions" at the Faculty of Engineering, University of Pisa. His scientific research focuses on aligning issues of technology and architecture through methods for controlling the building process, knowledge of construction techniques and materials, and the reuse of heritage buildings. Since 2018, his research has been based at l'École Nationale de l'Architecture de Marrakech-ENAM.

Abstract:

Architecture and urban planning in African cities took a new turn during the colonial era, creating shared histories of urban development. However, this heritage remains underrated, especially in previously colonised countries. Some, such as Morocco, began to roll out initiatives to prevent demolition and inappropriate transformation. This research focuses on a number of buildings featuring distinctive typologies of buildings. Among the sample are industrial buildings and markets, which have been marginalised in cities such as Casablanca. The research examines how technologies such as Hbim and photoscan can be used to identify, record and design recovery strategies for disavowed heritage buildings. Interviews with urban residents showed that

heritage buildings affected urban development, and evolved into deeper research into the abandoned Crio Market located in the formerly industrial zone of Roches Noires in Casablanca. The case study draws an historical timeline of the building, showing its progression from expressing modernism with its 'thin concrete shell' architecture, to becoming subject of several reconversions for private profit, resulting in a distortion of the building's original architecture. The market offers proof that not demolishing a building does not necessarily guarantee successful and sustainable maintenance of modern heritage. The research culminated in the making of a 3D model alongside a set of recovery guidelines offered as a first step towards a sustainable reconversion project.

Résumé :

L'expression de l'architecture et l'urbanisme dans les villes africaines a émergé à l'époque coloniale, créant un historique commun de développement urbain. Cependant, ce patrimoine est déprécié, notamment dans les pays précédemment colonisés. Certains, comme le Maroc, ont commencé à déployer des initiatives pour empêcher la démolition et la transformation inappropriée. Cette recherche se concentre sur un certain nombre de bâtiments présentant des typologies distinctives. Dans cette sélection se trouvent des constructions industrielles et des marchés, qui ont été marginalisés dans des villes telles que Casablanca. Ce travail analyse la manière dont des technologies telles que Hbim et Photoscan peuvent être utilisées pour identifier, enregistrer et concevoir des stratégies de récupération pour les bâtiments patrimoniaux désavoués. Des entretiens avec des citoyens ont montré que les bâtiments patrimoniaux influencent le développement urbain, chose qui a mené à étudier le cas du marché abandonné de Crio situé dans l'ancienne zone industrielle de Roches Noires à Casablanca. L'étude retrace le développement du bâtiment, sa progression depuis l'expression moderniste de son enveloppe en béton, à travers plusieurs

reconversions à but lucratif, entraînant une distorsion de l'architecture originale du bâtiment. Le marché est une preuve que ne pas démolir un bâtiment ne garantit pas forcément un maintien réussi et durable du patrimoine moderne. Cette recherche aboutit à la réalisation d'un modèle 3D accompagné d'un ensemble de directives de récupération proposées comme première étape vers un projet de reconversion durable.

Keywords: Modern heritage, Casablanca, concrete shell, architectural reconversion, sustainable design.

1. Introduction

The post-colonial Maghreb emerged as a field of experimentation for new forms of living while reconnecting with local identities and traditions. In little more than a decade after independence, the antagonistic relationship between occupying countries and colonies dissolves, leading countries to look for a new identity far removed from a specific historical period. In Morocco, for instance, recently built heritage is still new, yet, its preservation is subject of debate today. However, many colonial buildings were demolished at the end of the last century including a number of special typologies buildings.

Studies have shown that these types of architectures enjoy protection and preservation on other continents, e.g. in Europe (Cossons, 2012; Poretti, et al., 1999). Furthermore, the adaptive re-use of these buildings, from working spaces to lofts, allowed them to tell their stories while serving new functions in response to a sustainable urban development. In this context, the market precinct, in its various forms and declinations, has always played a central role in the layout of cities, offering a place of commerce and human interaction. And, in the last century, the market building became a prototype and example of the possibilities of thin reinforced concrete shells. Pioneering French and German engineers at the beginning of the 1920s began to experiment with the shape resistance of various geometries, including curved surfaces such as domes, cylindrical vaults, and ridges, as well as the hyperbolic paraboloid (Joedicke, 1963).

The curves used for the design of concrete shells are comparable to arches. Their resistance is drawn from their shape. For this reason, no further reinforcements and supports are needed, and the free plan becomes a fundamental element of the design. These vaults became the new international face of markets, from the Naples fish market (1929-1935), designed by Luigi Cosenza (1905-1984) and organised around a large trading hall covered by a round concrete vault, to the market in the city of Reims (called

the vault sister of our case study) designed by Émile Maigrot and Eugène Freyssinet in 1922 in which they covered the space with a 7 cm thick concrete shell, and a large vault with a parabolic section.



Figure 1: The Crio Market (M. Abida, May 2021).

In Casablanca, the first thin reinforced concrete vaults were built by the Perret brothers in 1917 (Unesco, 2013). Our case study, the Crio Market, is located in the eastern part of Casablanca in an area called Roches Noires. One of the first industrial districts designed by Prost, it used to host many businesses and industrial buildings (Royer, 1932; Bouin, 2014; Vassal, 1951). But today it is abandoned, as a result of economic, political among other factors.

This research, begun in 2019 and continuing through lockdown periods in 2020 to the present, seeks to design a strategy for a sustainable reconversion of the market precinct¹.

2. Methods

The fragmentary nature of the available information, and lack of documentation, pushed the research to rely on direct knowledge methods both traditional (on-site surveys) and innovative (photoscan and application of Hbim). This has allowed us to reconstruct the modern heritage from the information collected, and to make estimates about the original state based on research of similar cases. In other words, documentation, imagination and technology combined to help rebuild heritage virtually.

¹ Collaboration between ENAM and University of Pisa (DESTeC) in 2018 signed by Dr. A. Tayyibi (directeur d'ENAM) and Dr. G. Santi (University of Pisa), proposing new courses focusing on the recovery of the architectural heritage and on sustainable techniques and technologies for architecture.

It is important to realise that, for the initial phase of knowledge about such heritage, it is necessary to draw up special evaluation sheets of the elements:

- Territorial (urban location)
- Formal (planivolumetric aspects)
- Distributive (typological aspects)
- Constructive (constructive aspects)
- Technological (main technology nodes)

Subsequently, it becomes possible to create a cognitive framework based on the following fundamental points:

2.1 Understanding the building:

- Collecting all types of documents about the building's location, function, architect, architecture, architectural movement, plans, materials, structure, articles, historic photos, its condition today, interviewing people (active interactions).

2.2 Understanding the building and its urban situation (macroscale):

- Urban development from the year of construction of the building until today.
- Urban analysis of the situation of the market: then and now, what changed?
- Testimonies from people of the neighborhood, their attitudes towards the case study.

2.3 Reconstructing and analysing the building (microscale):

- Redrawing the original plans on smart softwares to recreate the 3D model.
- Representation of every element marking the building on the 3D model.
- Exploring the evolution of the building with the help of Hbim.
- Use of photostan for more accurate representation (special elements & decays).

LOCALISATION	
Quartier	Gare Nord
Adresse actuelle	Abdellah ben Yassine, boulevard - Mahrouf Mohamed, rue - Mohamed
Titre foncier	T12629/C

IDENTIFICATION	
Dénominations	
Appellation d'origine	Marché de gros
Appellations	
Type	Equipement

DESCRIPTION	
Nombre de niveaux	RDC
Implantation sur la parcelle	Bâtiment îlot
Usages actuels	Aucune
Usages actuels du RDC	Aucune
Écritures architecturales	Moderne lyrique

HISTORIQUE	
Datation	1939
Période_d'apparition chronologie	1935 à 1942
Maîtrise d'ouvrage	
Maîtrise d'œuvre	Perrotte Paul
Entrepreneurs	

ETAT DE CONSERVATION	
Etat du bâti	B- Moyen
Intégrité de l'œuvre	Extension perturbant l'intégrité
Authenticité de l'œuvre	

CRITERE D'EVALUATION	
Valeurs patrimoniales	Constituant urbain, unique architectonique
Valeur du bien	A- Elevée

Figure 2: Screenshot from patrimonial information register by the urban agency of Casablanca (April 2021) .

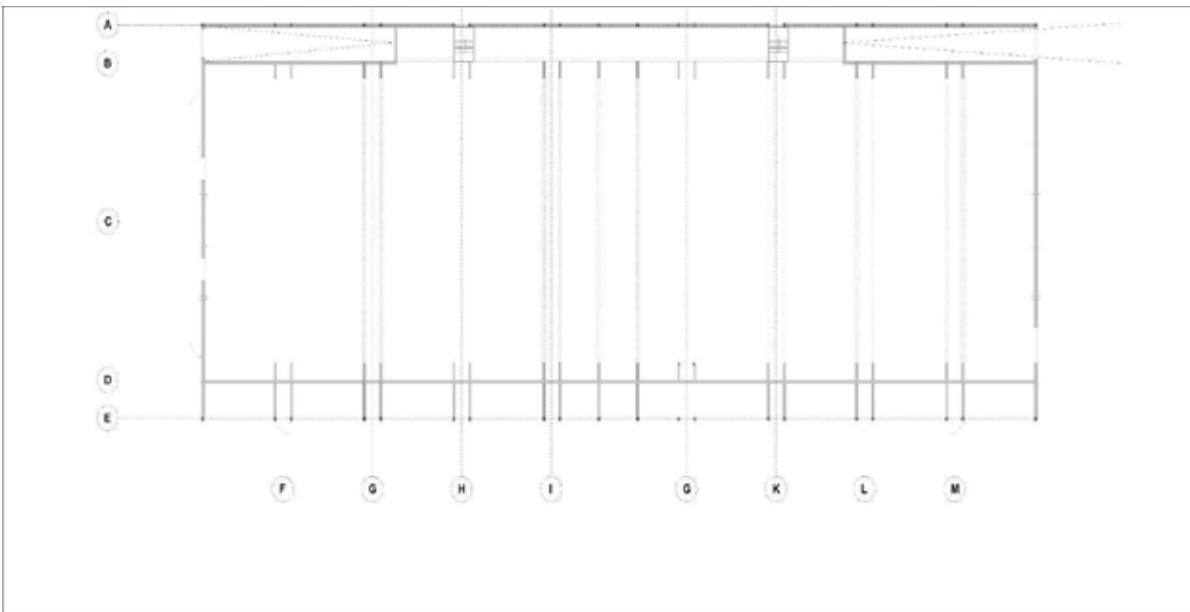


Figure 3: Hypothetical plan of the original state of the market's ground floor.

3. Case study

The documentation was facilitated thanks to the *Patrimonial Information* register², allowing access to information about the location and function of the building, historical information, and state of conservation.

The market was constructed between 1936 and 1939, following an architectural competition won by the French architects Paul Perrotte and

Balois (Neiger, et al., 2018 ; Cohen et al., 1998).

The name 'Crio' comes from the market 'at the auction' – the concept of dlala³.

It became the biggest market in Casablanca, with 5000m² capacity allowing a 120 m long circuit without columns, thanks to its catenary shape (Boudarham, et al., 2006; Neiger, et al., 2018) (Figure 3).

2 Inventory created by the urban agency proposing buildings with patrimonial characteristics to register in the national inventory according to *loi n° 22-80* (morocco) to preserve architectural, urban and natural heritage of Casablanca.

3 As explained by Khadija Rabeh, architect and project manager in *Casamémoire* : Association de sauvegarde du patrimoine architectural du XXe siècle au Maroc. (Documentation phase in April 2021).

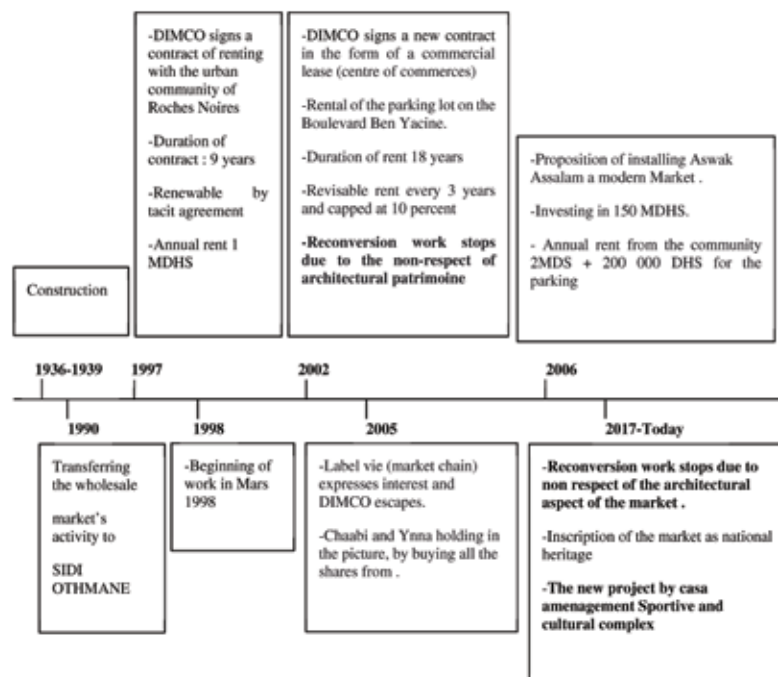


Figure 4: Historical timeline following the events marking the building

The timeline (Figure 4) traces the important events marking the building, and follows the history of intervention proposals from the French DIMCO (développeur immobilier commercial) proposing a modern market with many boutiques to the Moroccan company Ynna Holdings, offering a location for their supermarket chain (Bouardham, et al., 2006 ; Laaboudi, 2010).

Both interventions have kept, more or less, the context of the market but have failed to see light today, which shows the importance of understanding the building in all its aspects.

For example, the market today is connected to other parts of the city by tramway line, and its function changed from an industrial zone to a service, administrative and residential zone. There has also been the development of informal

economic activity with trucks parked near the market to provide shifting 'pop-up' services called "moqef".

We translated the information gathered and the observations made in the 3D model using Hbim to explore the building showing the various approaches: original state, interventions (Figure 5), exploded axonometric of the architectural elements and the structural composition with the load bearing elements in red and the non load holding in blue (Figure 6).

In this process, some unique architectural elements characterising the building had to be personalised by us, since they cannot be found in Bim libraries.

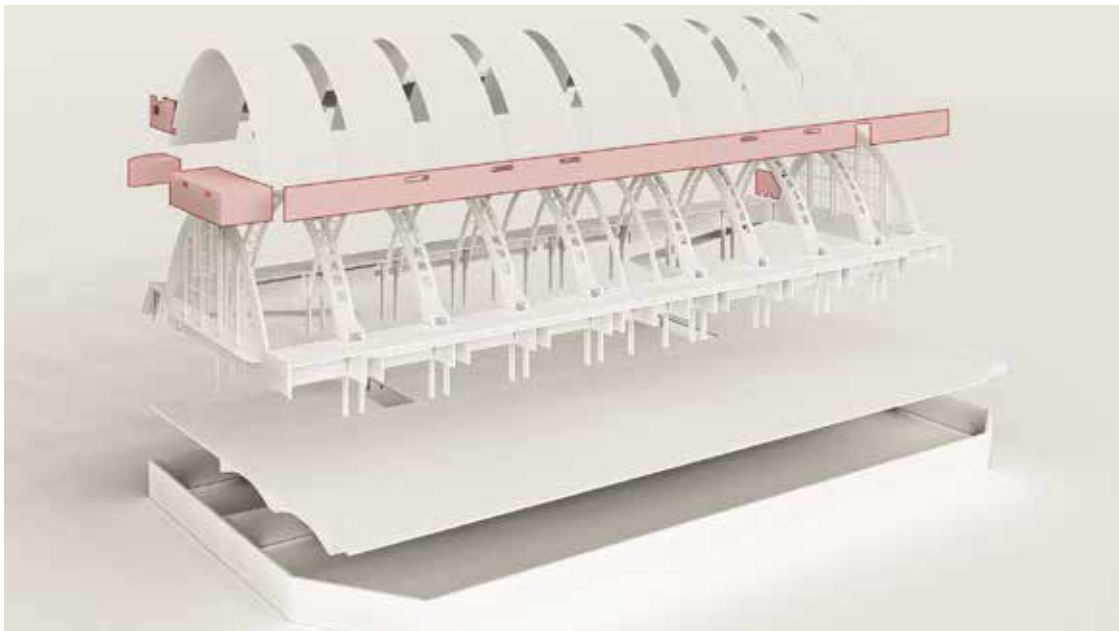


Figure 5: 3D exploded axonometric view of architectural intervention elements in red.

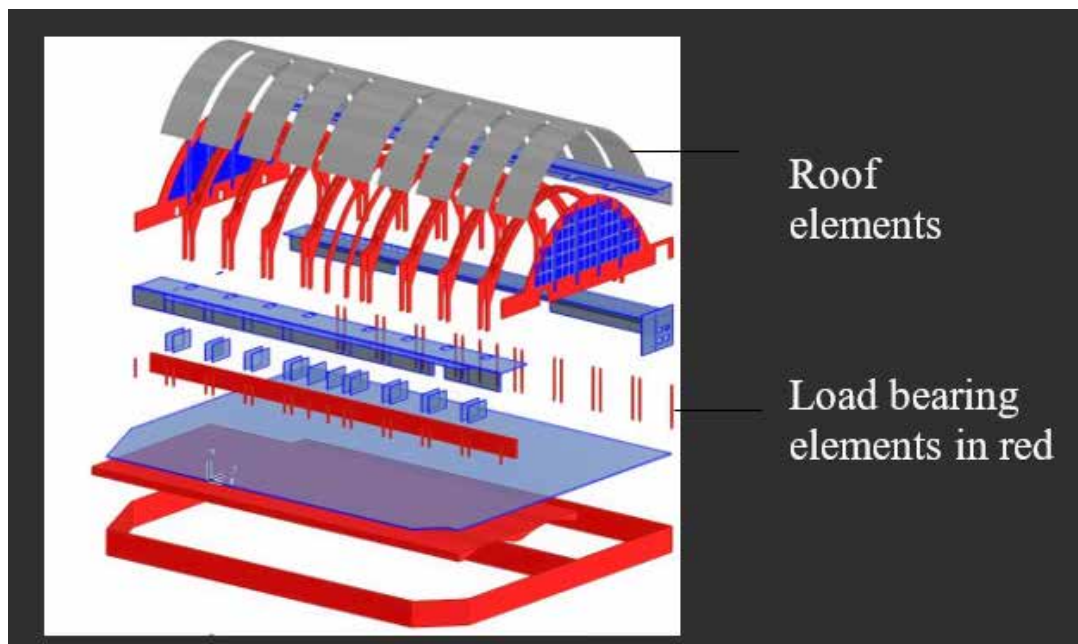


Figure 6: 3D exploded axonometric view of elements of structure.

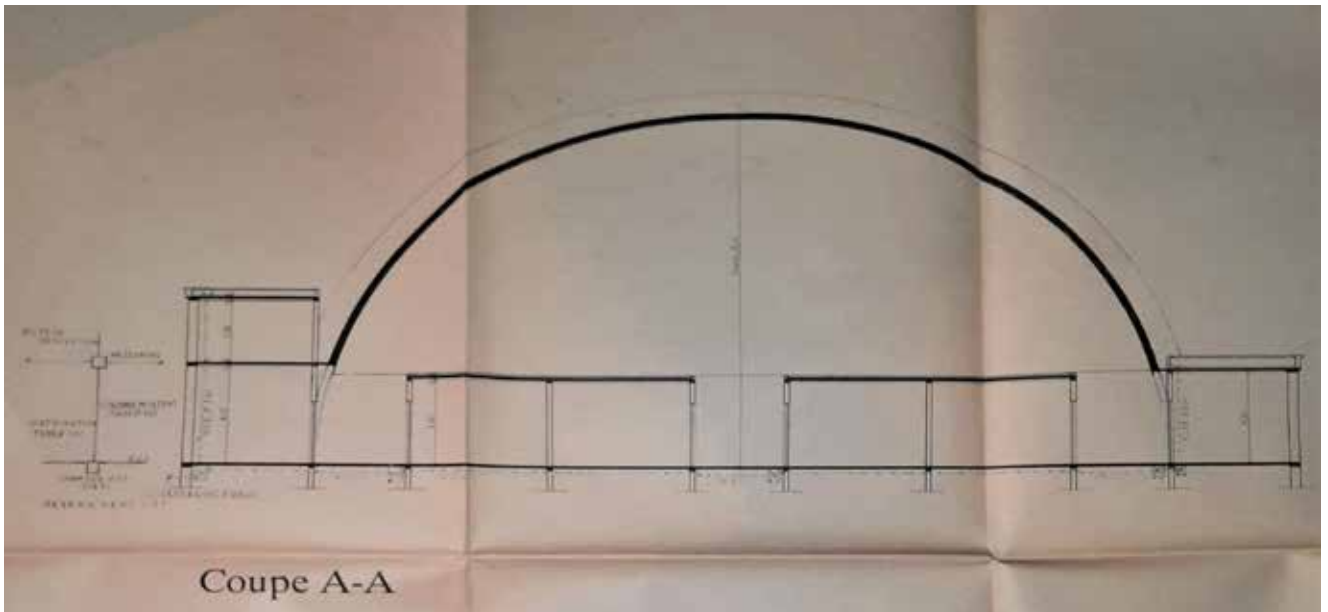


Figure 7: A reconversion proposal turning the market into a commercial centre, 1998.

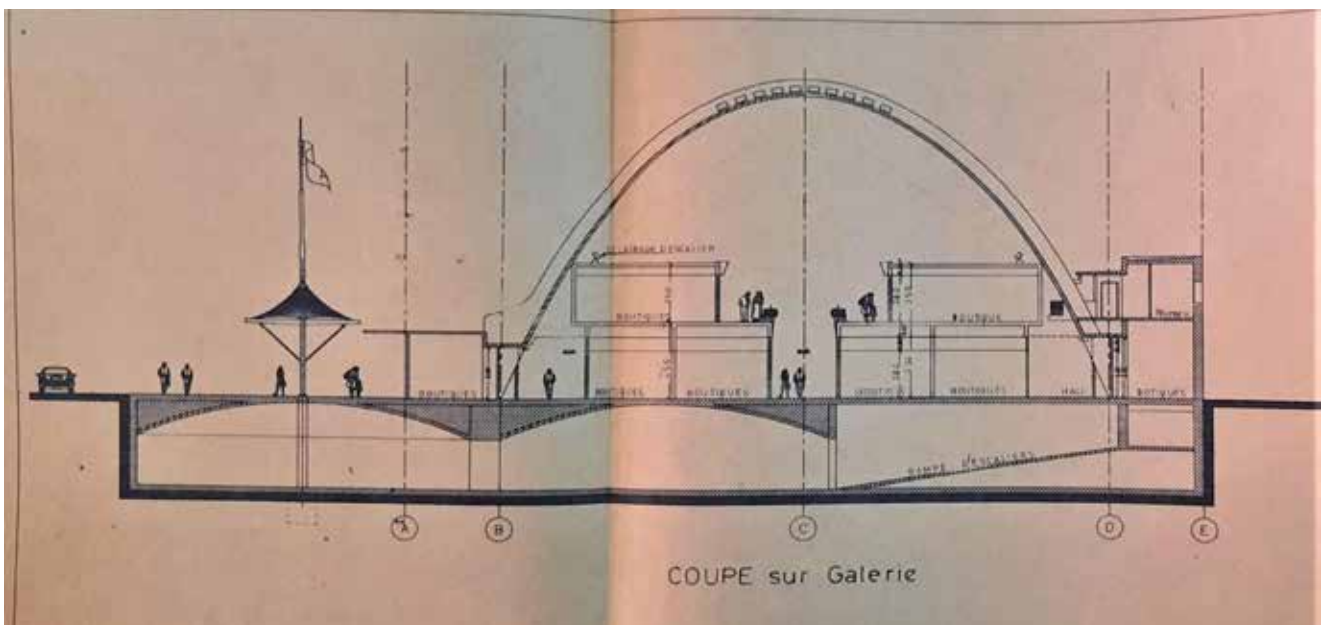


Figure 8: A reconversion proposal turning the market into a modern commercial market, 2002.



Figure 9. 3D hypothetical reconstruction of the original state of the market.



Figure. 10: 3D model of the building's state today: East facade on the left ; West facade on the right

It is important to note that the difference in the architectural representations in the market interventions' documents (Figures 7 and 8) led to a hypothetical proposal of its original state consolidated from the memories of some of the people interviewed (Figure 9).

The photoscan method allows accuracy in the terms of the model reconstruction by taking on-site pictures and then importing them on the Metashape software to build a 3D model, which is then imported on the Rhinoceros software, where we add data, such as degree of decay, which is in turn imported from other software including Archicad.

Decay such as cracking in parts of the principal facades, exfoliation, efflorescence and graffiti on walls (Figures 10 and 11), as a consequence of time, severe exposure, the climate and other factors (Castelluccio, et al., 2018). The interventions led to additional degradation, such as adding to or cutting across architectural elements of the facade and exposing part of the basement. Also, interventions by Ynna Holdings covered the facades' claustra and added roofing

elements to improve waterproofing.

4. Results and Discussion

The result is an informative 3D model that will be offered to authorities in the hope that it will encourage its use to assess abandoned built heritage, not only as a tool to sensitize concerned citizens, but also to alert and inform potential investors by allowing them to fully explore and understand the architectural, historical, urban and structural conditions of heritage buildings earmarked for possible renovation (figure 12).

'The conversion of industrial buildings requires compliance with current construction standards, safety, fire, hygiene, sound and thermal insulation rules, as well as accessibility' (Real, 2015).

Furthermore, we propose design guidelines with sustainable modifications that can be generated for these buildings from improving to removing: an adaptive and reversible re-use.

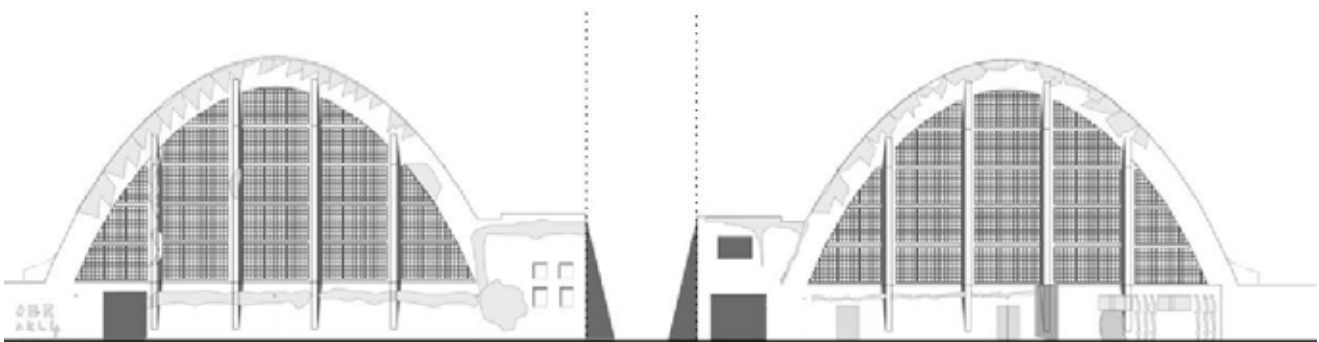


Figure 11: Representation of the degree of decay on the two principal facades.



Figure 12: 3D construction of the Market Crio's state today with Hbim tools.

Parts to improve:	Parts to add:	Parts to remove:
Accessibility	Insulation	New architectural volumes in front of the facade
Fire escape plan	Ventilation system	Electrical cables
Openings protection	Heating system	Exposed plumbing
Stability of structure	Thermal insulation	
Lightening system	Sound insulation	
Thermal insulation	Energy efficiency	

Table 1: Design Guidelines overview.

To summarise, the reversion either works or fails, and that depends on the importance given to its pros and cons, such as:

PROS :

- Preservation of heritage.
- Economic sustainability.
- Environmental sustainability.

CONS :

- Difficulty of maintenance.
- Rigidity of structure.

In the future, research will focus on verifying the will of citizens through a participatory process and assessing aspects of economic sustainability.

5. Conclusion

The first results of the research show the importance of the cognitive phase, especially with the use of tools like Hbim. An informed and informative building model facilitates the design process, and above all the possible future maintenance phases for an optimised management. The choice of new use for buildings similar to the case study is influenced by many factors from architecture and construction from short to long term economic sustainability of the project, so it is important to examine the financial opportunities of public-private partnerships (the latter aspect will be central to further research). Furthermore, new uses should be linked to the needs of the territorial and local contexts, involving all stakeholders from the planning stage. Finally, the best re-use strategy cannot be defined without considering the needs of conservation and preservation of the architectural identity of the building.

'When reversion doesn't meet sustainability?'

The failure of the previous reconversion interventions in the case study is due to:

- **Human negligence** where the well being of the people is not considered in the reconversion process.
- **Design negligence** where the architectural and historical aspects of the building were not taken seriously in consideration.
- **Long term negligence** where the economic and urban development of the wider area needs to be considered because we believe that regenerating only one building can lead to regeneration across the whole area and vice versa.

References :

- Agence urbaine de Casablanca, 2020. Plan d'aménagement du secteur Assoukhour-Assawda. <https://auc.ma/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/RAPPORTS-JUSTIFICATIF-ESSOUK HOUR-ASSAWDA.pdf> (access on 08/08/2021)
- Bouin Y. 2014. Patrimoine industriel de Casablanca. <https://www.cilac.com/1424-revue-de-web-patrimoine-industriel-de-casablanca> (access on 09/08/2021)
- Cohen J. L. et Eleb M. 1998. Casablanca. Mythes et figures d'une aventure urbaine. Edited by Belvisi/Hazan.
- Cossons, N. 2012. Why preserve industrial heritage? In *Industrial Heritage Retooled. The TICCIH guide to Industrial Heritage Conservation*, edited by J. Douet. Lancaster, UK., Carnegie Press, 6-16.
- Joedicke, J. 1963. *Shell Architecture*. New York: Reinhold Publishing.
- Laaboudi J. 2010. L'ancien marché de gros de Casablanca devient un centre commercial. <https://www.bladi.net/marche-gros-casablanca.html> (access on 10/05/2021)
- Neiger E, Alexandre N, 2018. Lire Casablanca. Une grammaire d'urbanisme et d'architecture. *Senso Unico*, 202-203.
- Poretti, S., Casciato M., Mornati, S. 1999. *Architettura Moderna in Italia. Documentazione e conservazione*. Atti del Primo Convegno Nazionale Docomomo Italia, EdilStampa, Roma.
- Cremnitzer J.B. 2012. Quelques problématiques de la reconversion des bâtiments industriels. <https://www.citedelarchitecture.fr/fr/video/quelques-problematiques-de-la-reconversion-desbatiments-industriels>. (access on 18/07/2021)
- Castelluccio, R. Infante, M. and Vitiello, V. 2018. The technology of reinforced concrete elements. Determination of Project parameter: concrete cover, XVI Forum internazionale "Le Vie dei Mercanti", Napoli-Capri, Gangemi editore spa – ISBN 978-88-492-3629-3, 747- 756.
- Real E. 2015. Reconversions. L'architecture industrielle réinventée. *In situ* <https://journals.openedition.org/in situ/11745> (access on 29/06/2021)
- Royer, J. 1932. L'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux. Premier tome, Edited by Delayance. <http://colonialarchitecture.eu/islandora/object/uuid%3A5f5e3ed2-e820-417c-8145fe71fb74d89c/datastream/PDF/view> (access on 03/05/2021).
- Unesco. 2013. Casablanca, Ville du XXème siècle, carrefour d'influences <https://whc.unesco.org/fr/listesindicatives/5848/> (access on 12/08/2021).
- Vassal S. 1951. Les industries de Casablanca. In: *Cahiers d'outre-mer*. N° 13 - 4e année, Janvier-mars. 61-79. https://www.persee.fr/doc/caoum_0373-5834_1951_num_4_13_1718#caoum_0373-5834_1951_num_4_13_T1_0069_0000 (access on 03/08/2021).

L'architecture Coloniale Du Littoral Ivoirien : Un Patrimoine Moderne En Danger A Sauvegarder Et A Valoriser Pour Un Developpement Durable.

The colonial architecture of Côte D'Ivoire: Threatened modern heritage needs to be protected and enhanced for sustainable development

Timpoko Hélène Kienon-Kabore

Félix Houphouët Boigny University, at the Institute of Anthropological Sciences of Development (ISAD),
Cocody in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.
tkienon@gmail.com

Jean Jacques Ahoue

University of Félix Houphouët Boigny ,
Cocody, Abidjan. Côte d'Ivoire
ahouejeanjacques7@gmail.com

Koutouan Marilyne Djako

PhD student in Archaeology at the Félix Houphouët Boigny University of Cocody, Abidjan ,Côte d'Ivoire
koutouanmarilynedjako@gmail.com,
koutouan.djako.2017@alumni-usenghor.org

Biographie des auteurs

Professeur Kienon-Kabore Timpoko Hélène West archéologue, historienne et anthropologue. Elle est professeure Titulaire à l'Université Félix Houphouët Boigny, à l'Institut des Sciences Anthropologiques de Développement (ISAD), de Cocody à Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Responsable de l'équipe de recherche *Archéologie, Technique et Patrimoine (ATPa)* dans laquelle un axe de recherche est consacré à l'étude du patrimoine colonial en Côte d'Ivoire. Elle est également Conseiller Technique du Ministre en charge de la culture en Côte d'Ivoire.

Jean Jacques Ahoue, Docteur en Archéologie est diplômé de l'université Félix Houphouët Boigny d'Abidjan. Il est spécialiste du patrimoine colonial et membre de l'équipe de recherche Archéologie, Technique et Patrimoine (ATPa)

Koutouan Marilyne Djako, doctorante en Archéologie à l'Université Félix Houphouët Boigny de Cocody Abidjan, est diplômée d'un master professionnel en développement de la spécialité Gestion du Patrimoine culturel de l'Université Senghor d'Alexandrie. Membre international et nationale de l'ICOMOS, elle est aussi diplômée de l'institut national supérieur des Arts et de l'Action culturelle en Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique

d'accès au corps des professeurs des collèges modernes pour l'enseignement des arts dans le secondaire dans la spécialité Archéologie et Patrimoine. Fonctionnaire d'Etat en service à l'Office Ivoirien du Patrimoine Culturel (OIPC)

Résumé

Les côtes de l'actuelle Côte d'Ivoire ont été marquées par une expansion atlantique des européens, qui dès le XVIème siècle, vont connaître la traite négrière, le commerce de produits manufacturés et divers autres échanges. En 1893, le gouvernement français constitue officiellement la colonie de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ainsi donc s'établit la colonisation française sur ces territoires avec des conséquences sociétales, culturelles, techniques et politiques. Les témoins matériels de cette période de la colonisation sont majoritairement des infrastructures qui s'échelonnent sur tout le littoral de l'actuelle Côte d'Ivoire, notamment à Grand-Bassam, Dabou, Assinie, Tabou, San Pedro, Sassandra, Grand-Lahou et bien d'autres villes. Ce patrimoine moderne colonial est le témoignage d'une histoire avec des sentiments ambivalents dans la mémoire collective des populations de la Côte d'Ivoire. En effet, cette richesse architecturale rappelle une histoire douloureuse

et éveille également une certaine fierté liée à la lutte d'hommes et de femmes qui a permis ainsi d'accéder à l'indépendance de la Côte d'Ivoire. Ce patrimoine architectural, résultat d'expérimentations, de rencontre de savoirs et de savoir-faire européens et locaux, d'innovations techniques, tenant compte du contexte culturel et environnemental, est majoritairement en ruine sur le littoral. Les outils juridiques pour sa protection sont rares. Compte tenu de son importance historique et patrimoniale, il mérite d'être documenté, sauvegardé et valorisé afin de laisser le choix aux générations actuelles et à venir de construire le pont entre le présent et le futur.

Mots-clés : colonial, architecture, patrimoine, sauvegarde, valorisation.

Abstract

The coast of what is now Côte d'Ivoire is marked by an expansion of Europeans across the Atlantic, and, from the 16th century onwards, the experience of the slave trade together with expanding trade in manufactured products and other exchanges. In 1893, the French government officially established the colony of Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, French colonialism was established in these territories with its corollary of societal, cultural,

technical and political consequences. Witnesses to this period of colonisation are materialised by a diverse colonial architecture that spans the entire coast of present-day Côte d'Ivoire, in particular in Grand-Bassam, Dabou, Assinie, Tabou, San Pedro, Sassandra, Grand-Lahou and other cities. This colonial heritage is the testimony of histories freighted with ambivalent feelings in the collective memory of the people of Côte d'Ivoire. Indeed, this architectural wealth recalls a painful history, and also awakens a sense of pride linked to the struggle of men and women to achieve independence. This architectural heritage – the result of experimentation, the meeting of European and local knowledge and know-how, technical innovation, and taking into account the cultural, environmental, and societal contexts – is in ruins in coastal sites. The legal tools for its protection are rare. Given its historical and heritage importance, this architecture deserves to be documented, safeguarded and enhanced in order to leave the choice to current and future generations to build the bridge between the present and the future.

Keywords: colonial, architecture, heritage, safeguard, enhancement



Figure 1: Carte de situation de la zone d'étude

Introduction

La côte ivoirienne, première zone du pays où s'est établi le contact avec les européens, regorge de vestiges témoins d'un passé récent. Plusieurs Etats européens se ruèrent vers les côtes de l'actuel Côte d'Ivoire à partir du XVI^e siècle pour de nombreuses raisons dont les échanges commerciaux. Ces Etats sont le Portugal, la Hollande, l'Angleterre et la France. Durant leur processus d'implantation et de colonisation, des infrastructures ont été mises en place. L'Architecture coloniale, héritage d'une période de bouleversements importants pour les populations, est diverse. L'état de conservation de celle-ci diffère d'une zone à une autre. Quelles sont les typologies et l'état de conservation de ces constructions ? Quelles sont les mesures de sauvegarde et de valorisations de ces biens ?

A partir de documents écrits nous essayons de répondre à ces problématiques. Il s'agira d'abord de présenter de façon succincte le littoral ivoirien avec ses atouts qui ont attiré les occidentaux. Ensuite nous donnons la typologie de l'architecture coloniale, leur état de conservation et les stratégies de sauvegarde et de valorisation.

I-la Zone du Littoral : Un Cadre Environnemental Favorable Aux Activités Commerciales

Présentation de la zone d'étude

Le littoral ivoirien couvre une superficie de 23 253 km², 566 km de long et de 20 à 30 km de large. Il s'étend du département de Tabou à l'ouest à la région d'Assinie à l'est. (Figure1). Il représente la zone qui renferme une potentialité économique énorme du pays, des réserves naturelles, des sites touristiques, etc. Le littoral est traversé par des cours d'eaux dont le fleuve Sassandra, les lagunes Ebrié et Aby. De petites rivières parcourent la région. La végétation y est marquée par la forêt et à certains endroits par des mangroves. Le relief est majoritairement plat avec de bas plateaux et de hauts plateaux par endroits progressant à l'intérieur des terres. Le climat est équatorial humide avec des températures variantes entre 24° et 32° Celsius.

Dans cette zone, ont accosté les premiers explorateurs européens à partir du XVI^e siècle. Ainsi débuta la traite négrière, le commerce de divers produits, l'exportation de matières premières agricoles et l'implantation des infrastructures administratives, économiques, portuaires et routières un peu plus tard pendant la période coloniale (S. P. EKANZA, 1978 p. 59)

Le littoral ivoirien fut ainsi un site de convoitise pour les européens qui s'opposaient pour prendre le contrôle des côtes. Les matières premières, les atouts géographiques ainsi que les ressources humaines sont les richesses qui ont motivé la colonisation et favorisé l'installation des européens avec la construction d'infrastructures utiles au bon fonctionnement de la colonie.

II-La Typologie de L'architecture Coloniale Et Leur Etat De Conservation

Type d'architecture et état actuel du bâti colonial du littoral ivoirien

Le développement des villes est marqué par l'installation des postes, l'aménagement des localités, la création des quartiers administratifs, résidentiels et commerciaux dans les villes du littoral ivoirien. En effet, au milieu du XIX^e siècle des comptoirs fortifiés avaient été construits, dont ceux d'Assinie, de Grand-Bassam et de Dabou. Ces installations marquent le développement de certaines villes côtières en Côte d'Ivoire. Ensuite, d'autres infrastructures sont mises en place pour une bonne prise en main de la colonie. C'est l'exemple des bâtiments administratifs, des résidences etc. Enfin, les travaux publics à travers les constructions des phares, des ponts, des gares, des wharfs ont favorisé un dynamisme économique pour la colonie de Côte d'Ivoire.

Style architectural de certaines résidences et quelques Matériaux de construction du bâti colonial du littoral ivoirien

Nous enregistrons des constructions de maisons basses et celles à étage. Les niveaux supérieurs étaient bâtis en maçonnerie généralement plus légère et servaient d'habitation. Les toits étaient en tuiles importées d'Europe, l'ossature était en bois supportée par des poteaux également en bois ou en béton. Le rez de chaussée était surélevé par une maçonnerie de briques de pierres latéritiques ou granitiques locales pour éviter surtout l'humidité et créer aussi une circulation d'air dans la superstructure. Les portes et fenêtres étaient munies de menuiseries persiennes pour laisser passer l'air. Toutes ces caractéristiques techniques sont le fait d'une association de matériaux locaux et importés qui permet d'améliorer les conditions de vie et de minimiser les coûts à l'époque coloniale.

Présentation de quelques villes coloniales du littoral ivoirien

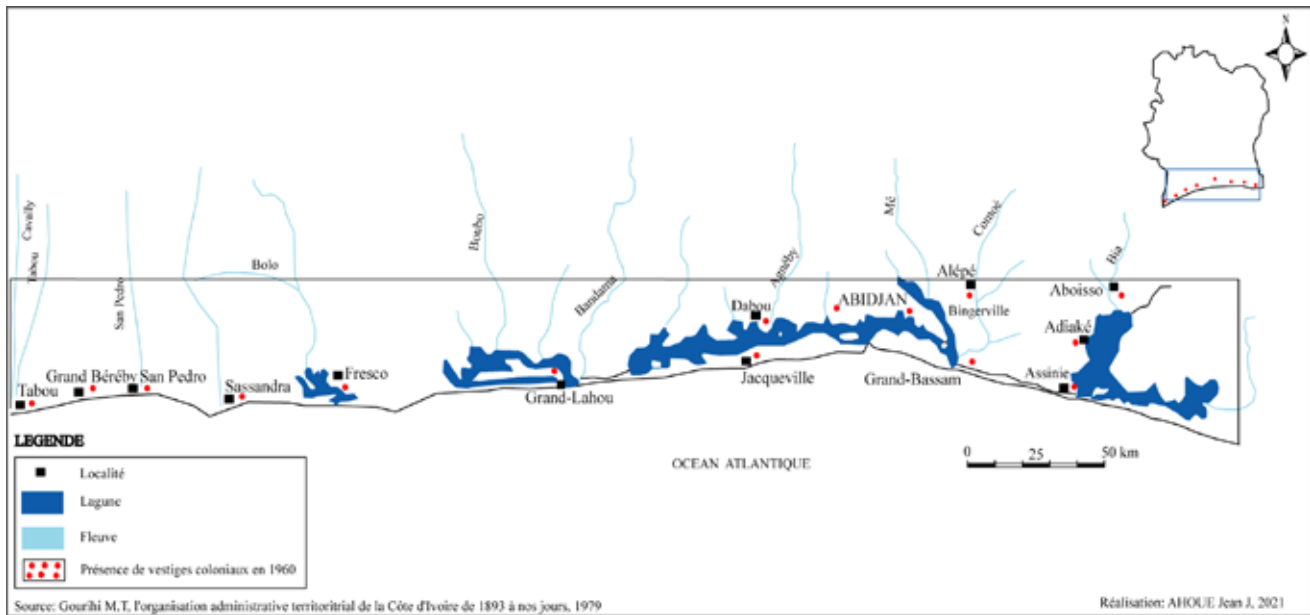


Figure 2 : Carte du littoral ivoirien.

Quelques bâtiments en bon état de conservation et utilisés actuellement

Abidjan



Figure 3: Le phare de Port-Bouet (1930) (Djako Koutouan Marilyne, Mémoire de Master, 2018).

Sassandra



Figure 4: La cathédrale saint André de Sassandra (1924) (Kienon-Kaboré, 2018).

Dabou



Figure 5: Pont Eiffel, à partir de 1921 (Jean Jacques Ahoue, 2019)..

Quelques vestiges coloniaux en mauvais état de conservation et inutilisés

Sassandra



Photo 4: ancien Palais du Gouverneur à Sassandra
Crédit photo : KIENON-KABORE, 2016

Assinie



Photo 5: La résidence d'Arthur Verdier à Elima (zone d'Assinie)
Crédit photo : KIENON-KABORE, 2018

On voit sur le terrain que la conservation des constructions coloniales sont difficiles sur tout le long de la côte. La bonne conservation d'une construction nécessite une attention particulière. Plusieurs éléments entrent en compte dans la conservation des infrastructures architecturales. On peut citer le climat, la végétation, le relief, le type de matériaux, les actions humaines etc. Dans la mauvaise conservation du patrimoine architectural les facteurs naturels, anthropiques et économiques sont le plus souvent les causes. En effet, le raz-de-marée, le vent et l'embrun marin, les pluies et inondations, la flore envahissante, les champignons etc. entraînent la dégradation rapide des structures.

L'architecture coloniale du littoral ivoirien réunit plusieurs catégories de biens. Il s'agit de construction religieuses, d'hôpitaux, de bâtiments administratifs, d'écoles, de résidences (palais pour les gouverneurs, résidences de fonctionnaires européens, résidences de commis, ainsi que les maisons de commerces et les infrastructures de travaux publics. Toutes ces constructions ont été réalisées pour satisfaire les besoins de la colonie. Malheureusement beaucoup de bien ont disparu, certains sont en bon état de conservation et d'autres en état de ruine. Il faut penser une stratégie de sauvegarde pour permettre une transmission de la mémoire.

III-Quelques Reflexions Sur Les Strategies De Sauvegarde Et De Valorisation

Réflexion sur la gestion et l'avenir de ce patrimoine historique

Une prise en charge de ces constructions est nécessaire, car elles constituent des éléments de mémoire et des structures d'aménagement importantes et utiles. Ce patrimoine constitue des éléments pour la connaissance de notre histoire. Une cartographie et une documentation de ces bâtiments coloniaux sur toute la côte sont nécessaires pour mettre en place une politique de prise en charge. Une approche pluridisciplinaire est aussi recommandée pour une connaissance globale. Il s'agit de l'histoire, l'archéologie, les experts du patrimoine etc.

Malgré des perceptions qui divergent en ce qui concerne ces biens légués, le bâti colonial reste tout de même un patrimoine dont la préservation, la valorisation et la transmission peut contribuer au développement durable.

Conclusion

Retenons que le littoral ivoirien, porte d'entrée des Européens sur l'espace actuel de la Côte d'Ivoire a été lourdement marqué par la colonisation laissant au passage des traces matérielles importantes que sont : les infrastructures au style architectural particulier. De Tabou à Assinie, nous pouvons observer ces vestiges historiques édifiés à partir de matériaux locaux associés aux matériaux provenant de l'Europe. Certains de ces vestiges sont rénovés et réutilisés par les administrations actuelles du pays ou des privées. Par contre, d'autres sont dégradés, laissés pour compte et même détruits. Le présent article permet d'avoir une idée de l'ampleur de la destruction de ce patrimoine moderne. Pour assurer leur pérennité et la transmission aux générations futures pour un développement durable, un plan de préservation doit être envisagé pour promouvoir l'ensemble de ces biens, témoins de grands moments d'histoires douloureuses, avec des bouleversements politiques, économiques, techniques et culturelles.

Bibliographie

KIENON-KABORE, T. H. HUYSECOM, E. LOUKOU, S. B. et KOFFI K. S. (2016). « Programme international Nord Sud pour l'étude d'Assinie et sa région : un symbole patrimonial unique pour la Côte d'Ivoire. ». *Revue des Sciences Sociales (RSSPASRES)*, Numéro 12, pp31-44. (Ajout)

KIENON-KABORE, T. H. AHOUE, J. J. DJAKO, K.M. (2021). *Contribution de l'archéologie dans les stratégies de sauvegarde et de valorisation du patrimoine colonial de Grand-Bassam (Sud-Côte d'Ivoire). Atelier sur le patrimoine mondial et le développement durable en Afrique : Mise en œuvre de la politique de 2015*, (non publié), 13p. (Ajout)

KOUASSI, K. S. (2007). *Archéologie de la Côte d'Ivoire côtière (Grand-Bassam – Grand-Lahou)*, Thèse de doctorat, nouveau régime, Abidjan, université d'Abidjan, 485p.

KIPRE, P. (1981). *Les villes coloniales de la Côte d'Ivoire économie et société (1893 à 1940, tome 1*, thèse de doctorat d'État en lettres. Université de Paris VII. UFR de géographie-histoire et sciences de la société, 290p.

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES CULTURELLES. (1981). *Chronique de la Côte d'Ivoire à l'époque coloniale*, Bordeaux-France. Imprimerie Etourneau & Fils, 129p.

DJEZOU, K. I. (2018). L'HABITAT TRADITIONNEL NEYO DE SASSANDRA : ELEMENTS D'AUTHENTICITE ET DE MUTATION. *Revue Africaine d'Anthropologie*,

Nyansa-Pô, n°X-, p 10

DOUTREUWE, S. F. (1985). *Architecture coloniale en Côte d'Ivoire : Inventaire des sites et monuments de la Côte d'Ivoire*. Volume 1, MAC, Abidjan, éditions CEDA, 313p.

LASME, Y. J. T. G. (2014). *Archéologie du bâti colonial : cas de la ville de Dabou*. Mémoire de master non publié, Université Félix Houphouët Boigny, département d'archéologie, 127p.

SEMI, B. Z. (1973). *La politique coloniale des travaux publics en Côte d'Ivoire (1900-1940)*, thèse pour l'obtention du doctorat de 3e cycle d'histoire, Université Paris VII, 386p.

LAFARGE, I. (2006). *Monuments historiques et archéologie : concerter deux démarches de la connaissance de la conservation du patrimoine*. Rapport de fin de formation avant titularisation, session 178, 18 p.

GONNE, F. P. (2014). *Sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immobilier du département de Sassandra*. Mémoire de master professionnel d'histoire, Université de Cocody, 72p.

AHOUE, J. J. (2019). *Archéologie du bâti colonial dans la région de San Pedro (sud-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire)*. Thèse de doctorat en Anthropologie, option Archéologie, Université Félix Houphouët Boigny d'Abidjan-Côte d'Ivoire, 369 p.

DJAKO, K. M. (2018). *L'Archéologie du bâti colonial de la ville d'Abidjan*. Mémoire de master, Abidjan, 83p.

EKANZA, S. P. (1978,). *La pénétration française en Côte d'Ivoire*. Nouvelles éditions africaines, 237 p. (Ajout)

Website

Biens Classés Patrimoine National. En ligne Disponible à : «<https://oipc.ci/biens-classes-patrimoines-nationaux-m/> » Consulté le 10/09/2021 (Ajout)

Between Modernity And Tradition: House Biermann And The Preservation Of Modern Architectural Heritage In South Africa

Silvia Bodei, Rodney Harber

School of Built Environment and Development Studies,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban
bodeis@ukzn.ac.za

Author biographies

Silvia Bodei is an architect who qualified at the Università Iuav di Venezia (IUAV) in Venice. She has a PhD in Architecture from the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC), Barcelona, and was a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Cagliari (Italy). She is a senior lecturer in Architecture at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa, where she teaches Design Studio and History of Architecture. She has authored several research papers and publications on the work of Le Corbusier, modern architecture, industrial heritage and Italian, Spanish, and South African architecture and urban design.

Rodney Harber is an architect, urban and regional planner and heritage practitioner. He was trained at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa, before teaching there for nearly 40 years. Following further teaching commitments at the Technical University of Darmstadt (TU) and at the Durban University of Technology, he assumed full-time private practice. He remained active in education matters on the Africa Union of Architects, the International Union of Architects' (UIA) Education Commission, and the UNESCO/UIA Validation Council in Paris until 2017. His work has been exhibited and he has presented more than 100 papers worldwide, on subjects ranging from developmental architecture to settlements.

Abstract

In September 2020, the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA) KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Regional Heritage Committee launched an urgent national and international appeal to support the preservation and defence of an important architectural artefact: the house of Barrie Biermann in Durban.

The building, considered the most significant project carried out by the South African architect and academic, is today in danger of being demolished. Built in 1962 with great economy in the residential district of Westridge, it represents a particular vision of modern architecture and

was an interesting experiment in domestic space. Influenced by historical and local architecture and attentive to the conditions of the subtropical climate, this work, defined by Biermann as 'regional vernacular', reflects the architect's vision expressed in publications and discussed during his university lectures at the then University of Natal (University of KwaZulu-Natal after 2004), which influenced generations of architects in Durban and South Africa. Biermann himself, when describing the house and the limited means for its construction, writes that it is a real theoretical manifesto specifying that 'there is nearly always a choice in the disposition of elements that will allow for an efficient theory of architecture'.

The present article briefly reconstructs, through a selection of archival materials from the Technical Reference Library (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban), the context, references, and design ideas of the project and some constructive features. This, in particular, related to the use of brick, characteristic of the work, and highlights the importance and need to protect the heritage of modern architecture in the context of South African cities.

Résumé :

Entre modernité et tradition: la Maison Biermann et la préservation du patrimoine architectural moderne en Afrique du Sud

En septembre 2020, le Comité régional du patrimoine du South African Institute of Architects (Institut sud-africain des architectes) (SAIA) KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) a lancé un appel national et international urgent pour soutenir la préservation et la défense d'un important artefact architectural: la maison de Barrie Biermann à Durban.

Le bâtiment, considéré comme le projet le plus important réalisé par l'architecte et universitaire sud-africain, risque aujourd'hui d'être démoli. Construit en 1962 avec une grande économie dans le quartier résidentiel de Westridge, il représente une vision particulière de l'architecture moderne et a été une expérience intéressante dans

l'espace domestique. Influencé par l'architecture historique et locale et attentif aux conditions du climat subtropical, ce travail, défini par Biermann comme «vernaculaire régional», reflète la vision de l'architecte exprimée dans des publications et discutée lors de ses cours universitaires à l'Université du Natal (Université de KwaZulu-Natal après 2004), qui a influencé des générations d'architectes à Durban et en Afrique du Sud. Biermann lui-même, décrivant la maison et les moyens limités pour sa construction, écrit qu'il s'agit d'un véritable manifeste théorique précisant qu'« il y a presque toujours un choix dans la disposition des éléments qui permettra une théorie efficace de l'architecture ».

Le présent article reconstruit brièvement, à travers une sélection de documents d'archives de la Bibliothèque de référence technique (Université du KwaZulu-Natal, Durban), le contexte, les références et les idées de conception du projet et quelques caractéristiques constructives. Ceci, en particulier, lié à l'utilisation de la brique, caractéristique de l'ouvrage, et souligne l'importance et la nécessité de protéger le patrimoine de l'architecture moderne dans le contexte des villes sud-africaines.

Barrie Biermann, architect and scholar

The cover of the *Natal Institute of Architects Journal (NIA)* published in April 1992 as a tribute to Barrie Biermann after his death on 29 March 1991, featured a collage by the painter and Biermann's friend Andrew Verster. The drawing shows an African landscape with the Egyptian pyramids in the background and the face of a person watching the scene (probably Barrie Biermann himself). Verster, evoking the personality and interests of this important South African architect, scholar and educator, described his collage with the following words: 'The African scene is landscape which spans centuries and continents. The allusions are puzzling, intriguing, amusing and contradictory. At the edge, a man is watching. His expression does not betray his thoughts' (Verster, 1992, p. 1).

In the essay published in the same issue, Verster defined Biermann as a 'prophet and a missionary' with knowledge and interest in 'the African Landscape', and at the same time interested in an architecture 'which span centuries and continents' from Venice to Durban, from the vernacular architecture in South Africa to the architectures of ancient Greek architecture and Michelangelo's Laurentian Library in Florence (Verster, 1992: 8). Indeed, Biermann, thanks to the mastery and proficiency fuelled by his studies and travels in Africa, Europe and America, had

the ability to create visionary linkages between places and architectures of all times.

In a previous article published in the *NIA* journal in 1991, Hans Hallen, an important architect in Durban from the 1960s to the 1980s, added a further reflection on the figure of Biermann – defining him 'as the successor to' Rex Martienssen, the architect and pioneer of Modernism in South Africa in the 1930s (Hallen, 1991: 9; Herbert, 1964). Hallen writes: 'Since the death of Dr Rex Martienssen, South African architecture has needed a man of scholarship to fulfil the cultural need we have for heroes of myth and legend. Biermann seemed a natural successor for this role, for he knew well the decline into schism and rigidity that brought the Modern Movement [...]' (Hallen, 1991: 9). The thought of Biermann was in continuity with the Modern Movement, but also represented a particular vision of architecture, characterised by a continuous tension between tradition and modernity, past and present, which influenced a generation of architects in Durban and South Africa.

An academic at the University of Natal in Durban between 1952 and 1989, Biermann carried out research and regularly published articles and essays on a variety of themes, including Cape Dutch architecture (the topic of his doctoral thesis), South African indigenous Zulu architecture, traditional mud buildings, colonial architecture in the Cape, Ancient Greek architecture, and modern architecture in Brazil and South Africa (Biermann, 1947, 1950, 1952, 1977). He was also a skilled draftsman capable of capturing details and images from the most varied contexts in his drawings. These are preserved at the Technical Reference Library (UKZN, Durban) and are precious testimonies to his interests. In his notes, thoughts and lessons, there is revealed his distinctive way of reading modern architecture and evidence of his deep research on traditional and ancient buildings, details, and landscapes.

The House Biermann as a mosaic of references

Biermann designed and built only few buildings (Polwarth, 1994), but the first and most significant project was his house at 38 Glenwood Drive in Durban, where he spent part of his life with his partner, Willem Visser. Then, after his partner's death, he lived there alone, sometimes sharing the space with friends, students and scholars, who were invited to stay in an autonomous annex in the lower part of the garden.



Figure 1: House Biermann, plan and long section (Technical Reference Library, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)



Figure 2: House Biermann, facades (Technical Reference Library, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)

Built in 1962 in the residential district of Westridge, the house represents his particular vision of modernity and is an interesting experiment in the domestic space of that period. With great economy, Biermann built a one-storey building of about 230 square metres placed on a sloped site, attentive to the conditions of the subtropical climate and integrated with dense vegetation, all solutions influenced by Brazilian modern architecture (Polwarth, 1994). The building is developed around a central courtyard that follows the topography (Figures 1,2). Biermann (1985: 46) described his project in a few words: 'Old Fashioned Modern Design + Economic Necessity = Regional Vernacular', adding

Within imposed limitation, there is nearly always enough choice in the disposition of elements that will allow for an efficient 'theory of architecture': harmony and contrast. In this context 'theory' is best understood not as an abstract system but as a union of factual experiences that creates good results.

If we walk through the house and observe some images of the building, we can recognise the aspect of 'regional vernacular' made by 'a union of factual experiences' – details and solutions where traditional and ancient architectures are interpreted in a new way through the modern language. Colin Sydney Polwarth (1994: 121) describes these aspects in his research on the house:

The serpentine walls twist along the south property boundary, enclosing spaces for sitting, reflecting, a place for a dovecote (a Cape Dutch feature, and therefore Renaissance feature) [...]. The organic forms are integrated into the house as independent sculptural items [...]. The kitchen and entrance walls emerge like modernist stalagmite formations which float ceremoniously in the internal, three-dimensional, mono-pitched lounge space; adding interest to the entrance, dining and lounge areas.

Polwarth also reports, through a selection of original documents, that the plan and the definition of the curved walls of the garden and the elliptical volume of the bathroom are a reinterpretation of the Great Enclosure and Conical Tower of Great Zimbabwe and the cylindrical masonry water-tower of the Karoo landscapes in South Africa – both architectural structures studied and observed by Biermann in his notes and research (Polwarth, 1994). The house is therefore conceived as a mosaic and collage of architectural references, which are built

in a coherent and organic way. The combination of squared and curved volumes, the cast-iron decorative details, the brick textures of the floors, the coloured skylights, the facades and the metal staircase, rich in details and expertly designed, are some of the solutions used that reflect Biermann's studies and interests that went from the past to the present, and where elements of the vernacular and historical architecture were 'translated', as Biermann himself use to say (Polwarth, 1994: 131), into solutions that recalled Modernist forms and features.

The use of brick as a fundamental constructive element

The intellectual rigour displayed in the aesthetics of the design of the house is, in turn, carried through to construction. We can take just one element, the brick, to demonstrate how Biermann could overturn and renew age-old traditions.

Fired bricks have been used for thousands of years, and especially by the Romans. The size of a brick is in proportion to the width of the hand that picks it up, lays it onto the bed of mortar, and points it with the trowel, which is held in the other hand. Dimensions of bricks are therefore remarkably consistent between all cultures and countries.

All the bricks Biermann used were a then recent development: Corocell bricks. These deeply pressed, moulded bricks had been developed for the low-cost housing market. Unusually, these bricks were laid on their edge with a large cavity left between two bricks for economy. Corocell bricks proved to be unpopular because the resulting wall was weaker. The thin-walled, cellular nature of the bricks also meant that they were virtually impossible to cut on-site with a bolster, which would shatter them. In addition, in houses built of Corocell bricks it was difficult to knock through openings and to enlarge the structures. User rejection was also socially motivated because the larger exposed top face of the brick was noticeable, and so expressed a 'poor man's house'.

Biermann probably acquired these Corocell bricks at a reduced price and since they had the same standard outer dimensions, he could use them conventionally. This uniformity made it possible for him to start building the house onto the walls of a former building that remained on the site. Polwarth summarises Biermann's design rationale, including that 'the reuse of existing buildings in a design gives an air of inevitability and is economically advantageous' (Polwarth, 1994: 119).

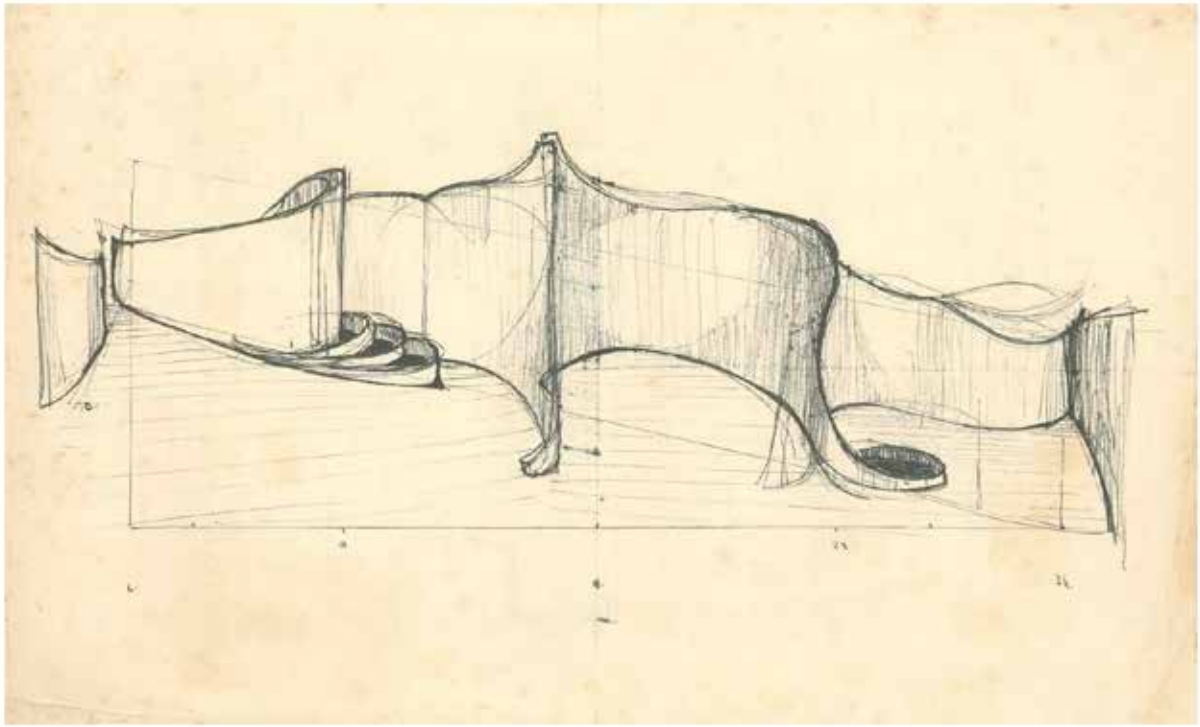


Figure 3: House Biermann, study drawing of the garden walls (Technical Reference Library, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa)

The original building was a conventional, plastered brick building with vertical and straight walls. Biermann built onto these walls and so their position predetermined the squared off and vertical outer walls of the new house. However, the new brickwork added to the original walls was bagged and painted white to express each brick individually.

The new walls are free flowing and even curved upwards in places, thereby breaking free of the orthogonal constraints (Figure 3). Biermann, describing the project, explained that the 'surfaces should be treated as independent planes distinguished by appropriate tones, colours and textures [...] mass should be dematerialised to present minimum interference with the activities contained by its envelope' (Biermann, 1985: 46). The new interior walls are corbelled in places to support work surfaces and give rise to the tight, interior circulation. This has resulted, for example, in the cooking area being hidden behind a riot of curves, while still carefully crafted to accommodate actual functions and to dictate circulation patterns. Creating tight curves with complete bricks resulted in 'basket-weave' patterns so that each brick is expressed individually. Biermann illustrated this by placing bricks on edge, as originally intended, but reversed to expose their deeply set cellular frogs, thereby emphasising the main entrance of the house and the shadows of the delicate wrought-iron overhead (Figure 4).



Figure 4: House Biermann, picture of the current state of the entrance with the detail of the Corocell bricks placed on edge and reversed. (Silvia Bodei, 2021).



Figure 5: House Biermann, showing the state of the West facade (Silvia Bodei, 2021)

When building the garden walls, the contractor Jan Mellema, stated that Biermann's ideas were impossible to construct in brickwork. Upon hearing this, Biermann apparently enquired if Mellema had an apprentice starting that day. Fortunately, he did, and so the young apprentice was tasked with constructing the deeply articulated plans of the garden walls. These 'unusual' walls were originally planted with large-leaved subtropical vegetation or were sometimes curved downwards to form tight conversation spaces or even leaned over in places.

The same outer-exposed brick faces were used for paving the level interior floor but reversed in places to celebrate mementos such as coins built into the cavities. The bricks were also used externally, but more creatively, to form patterns, and often broke free of level surfaces and ramped up in the garden to restrain banks.

Today, this important house stands bare and unused, bereft of its original subtropical vegetation and cast-iron decorative features. It serves as a vital reminder of how an innovative and penetrating modernist design/designer should challenge age-old building traditions.

Modern heritage at risk of demolition

Coming back to the *NIA* journal issues published in April 1992 after Biermann's death, we find another article entitled 'Save Barrie's house', written by the South African architect Jack Barnett (1992:1), who tried to raise public awareness that the house was in danger of abandonment:

[...] the fate of the Biermann house – that is, whether it is preserved or allowed to drift unimpeded onto the insensitive property market – will represent an important yardstick of the community's aesthetic maturity. It is my contention, and there are many in the profession who support this view, that the house should be bought, restored and permanently kept as a museum for the benefit of the whole South African community. It should be furnished and landscaped as when Barrie lived in it and be opened to the public from time to time as a museum, but perhaps also have a functional role of an appropriate kind.

Despite various owners at different times after Biermann's death, and the salience and value of the house, this building is now abandoned again and at risk of demolition (Figure 5). In September 2020, the SAIA Regional KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Committee launched an urgent national and international appeal for the preservation and defence of this important architectural artefact, and currently, its members are occupied in a heritage recognition process to have the building provisionally declared (Munro, 2020).

The house, while in a vulnerable situation, is considered to be the most significant project carried out by Barrie Biermann. It is a small but important piece of modern architecture in South Africa, rooted in its context and tradition. The building's preservation could mark the beginning of its recognition and promotion. We don't know what the future of the house will be, but what is happening poses an important question about modern heritage preservation in Africa – clearly part of its landscape.

References

- Barnett, J. 1992. 'Save Barrie's House'. *Natal Institute of Architects Journal* 2(16), 1.
- Biermann, B. 1947. 'Mud as a Building Material'. *South African Architectural Record* 9(32), 248-253.
- Biermann, B. 1950. 'Observations on fenestration in Brazil'. *South African Architectural Record*, 6(34), 151-162.
- Biermann, B. 1952. *A contribution to the study of the origins of colonial architecture at the Cape*. PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Biermann, B. 1977. 'Indlu: The domed dwelling of the Zulu'. In *Shelter in Africa*, edited by Paul Oliver. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 96-105.
- Biermann, B. 1985. 'Architect's House (1962-)'. *International Union of Architects Journal* 8, 46-47.
- Hallen, H. 1991. 'Obituary Barrie Biermann 1924-1991'. *Natal Institute of Architects Journal* 2(16), p. 9.
- Herbert, G. 1974. *Martienssen and the international style. The modern movement in South African architecture*. Cape Town: Balkema.
- Munro, K. 2020. 'Durban architectural gem under threat'. Available at: <https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/durban-architectural-gem-under-threat> (Accessed 10 October 2021).
- Peters, W. (2020). 'House Biermann at risk of demolition'. *Journal of the KwaZulu-Natal Region of the South African Institute of Architect* 45(2), 8-9.
- Polwarth, C. S. 1994. 'A study of the influence of Barrie Biermann on the architectural culture of southern Africa.' Master's Dissertation, University of Natal.
- Verster, A. 1992. 'Planting palms in the desert: A tribute to Barrie Biermann.' *Natal Institute of Architects Journal* 17(2), 1-8.

A Lesson In Sustainability Given By Modern Heritage In The Democratic Republic Of The Congo: The Sacred Architecture Of Paul Dequeker

Manlio Michieletto

University of Rwanda, Kigali, Rwanda
m.manlio@ur.ac.rw

Victor Bay Mukanya

Author biographies

Manlio Michieletto is an Italian architect. He graduated in 2007 from the IUAV University of Venice and earned a PhD in Architectural Composition in 2010 from the IUAV School of Doctorate Studies. After undertaking various academic roles and professional work experience in Europe (Italy and Germany) and Africa (Burkina Faso and DR Congo), he has since 2016 been a senior lecturer and Dean of the SABE School of Architecture and the Built Environment at the CST College of Science and Technology at the University of Rwanda (UR).

Victor Bay Mukanya studied Architecture at the ISAU Higher Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning, Department of Architecture, Kinshasa, D. R. Congo, graduating in 2005. After professional experience in different African countries in 2011, he became assistant lecturer at ISAU. He is a doctoral student at the PhD School of IUAV University in Venice, working on research related to tropical architecture

Abstract

The Tropical Modernism that rapidly spread in sub-Saharan Africa consigned to history indelible architectural artefacts. The Democratic Republic of the Congo preserves some precious examples of tropical architecture that were realised before and after Independence was declared in June 1960. The aim of this paper is to examine this heritage and the sustainability already embedded in the language of tropical architecture, and its application in the design process through analysing quintessential instances of Paul Dequeker's work, in particular his sacred architecture. Four projects in Congo are presented: King Christ church (1963), St. Luke church (1963), St. Augustine church (1977), and St. Raphael church (1988). The Belgian architect left to the next generations of architects not only inspiring buildings but also several written works, including *Tropical Architecture, Theory and Practice in Tropical Humid Africa*, and *The Tropical*

Church. This research explores each case study through a qualitative method analysing, first, historical documents relating to their conception as architectural projects, and second, as part of an African modern heritage that needs to be classified, studied, and protected. Moreover, our analysis focuses on the tropical details and features characterising Dequeker's architectural practice, noting where these are applicable to different building typologies. Our aim is to respond issues raised by the 11th Sustainable Cities and Communities goals (SDGs), to work towards sustainable and green development programmes that are rooted in an awareness of past practices and how these might guide development in the future. We assert that close study of architectural heritage is necessary in order to adequately address sustainability in the future without losing the fundamental teachings.

Keywords: Dequeker, Kinshasa, architectural heritage, tropical architecture, sustainability

Le modernisme tropical qui s'est rapidement propagé en Afrique subsaharienne a consigné dans l'histoire des artefacts architecturaux indélébiles. La RD Congo conserve quelques précieux exemples d'architecture tropicale réalisés avant et après l'Indépendance obtenue en juin 1960. L'objectif de cet article est d'examiner une partie de ce patrimoine et la durabilité déjà ancrée dans un langage architectural précis, le langage tropical et son application dans le processus de conception analysant des cas par excellence du travail de Paul Dequeker ciblant en particulier son architecture sacrée. Quatre des projets réalisés au Congo sont ici présentés : L'église Christ-Roi (1963), l'église Saint Luc (1963), l'église Saint Augustin (1977) et l'église Saint Raphael (1988). L'architecte belge a non seulement laissé aux prochaines générations d'architectes des bâtiments inspirants mais aussi plusieurs ouvrages écrits, entre autres : *L'Architecture tropicale : théorie et mise en pratique en Afrique tropicale humide et Églises tropicales*. La recherche explore les études de cas à travers une méthode qualitative analysant d'abord les

documents historiques découverts liés à leur conception en tant que projets architecturaux puis en tant que partie du patrimoine moderne africain qui doit être classé, étudié et protégé. De plus, l'analyse se concentre sur les détails et les futurs tropicaux qui caractérisent l'architecture tropicale récupérée des travaux de Dequeker et qui sont applicables à différentes typologies de bâtiments. Les réponses aux questions soulevées par les 11e SDG - « Villes et communautés durables », vers un développement durable et vert sont également enracinées dans le passé et la conscience du passé guidera les développements futurs. Par conséquent, il est nécessaire -comme dit, de lire, d'étudier et de préserver le déjà fait, le patrimoine architectural, afin d'aborder de manière adéquate les prochaines étapes durables sans perdre les enseignements fondamentaux.

Introduction

African spirituality is perceived differently from imported religion and years of colonisation in Africa has resulted in spaces of worship following the architectures of those found in Europe (Ortolani, 1977). However, most of the churches built in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and then in the so called Republic of Zaire between the 1960s and 1990s had different typological and construction aspects when compared to many Catholic missions built in Africa. This change was due to the significant influence of tropical architecture both before and after Independence, and in the case of Congo is linked to the impressive architectural production of Paul Dequeker. The missionary architect imposed a design and a construction process that had been reproduced for several years and that in the vernacular language is often defined as *kotonga ya ba sango* (architecture of the priests). Dequeker understood that it was not only required to transpose the architecture of the past into a contemporary language, but that it was necessary also to integrate into the architecture the social and technological

developments of the time and the particular *genius loci* (Dequeker and Mudiji, 1984). This research aims to present some of the religious work of the Belgian architect, as an indicator of the rich architectural heritage entrusted to DR Congo, a heritage that needs to be rediscovered, studied and protected.

In 1960, Dequeker published an article on architecture in Congo in the Italian magazine *Edilizia moderna*. It was a special issue devoted to Africa, where he described with Jean Herbert and Eugene Palumbo, various buildings in Kinshasa, focusing on listing the criteria for efficient architectural design of tropical modernism in the hot and humid climate (Dequeker, 1960). This was the beginning of a technical influence that Dequeker drew not only from architects already working in Congo, but also from architects who had exploited the tropics as an experimental ground, including Marcel Lambrich, René Schoentjes, Van Ackere, Anibal Bado, Eugene Palumbo, and Claude Laurens. Alongside these architects, the Scheut Brother mentioned Rudolf Schwartz as an important influence architect. The four churches discussed here depict a synecdoche of the entire legacy of tropical modernism, accentuating the urgent requirement for a thorough process of classification, study and protection to preserve these buildings for the future. Folkers defines monument care in Africa as a Pharaonic invention (Folkers and van Buiten, 2010) that began with the restoration of funerary monuments. We hope this examination of the sacred spaces realised by Paul Dequeker will offer a way to carve out an adequate approach to future architectural development in the country that without the consciousness of the past cannot re-think the next sustainable steps. The paper argues that the reference for a climate responsive design lies in tropical modernism, offering a genuine local bioclimatic architecture.



Figure 1: Chapel by Paul Dequeker in Nyundo, Rwanda (Robert Nishimwe, 2020).

Paul Dequeker: A Missionary Architect

After his secondary studies at the Saint-Pierre college in Louvain, Dequeker obtained, in 1954, the Diploma in Architecture at the Saint-Luc Institute in Ghent. He was then admitted into the Congregation of Missionaries of Scheut (an order founded in Belgium) and made his first vows in 1956. After graduating, Dequeker completed a postgraduate programme in Tropical Architecture at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. There he worked with Maxwell Fry who would become an important influence and inspiration for his future work. He was assigned to the Catholic mission in Leopoldville, the capital of the Belgian Congo, where he worked, until Independence in 1960, on the construction of education facilities. For 35 years, he worked as an architect in Africa, serving the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), other congregations and dioceses of Congo, as well as in Congo Brazzaville, Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon, Nigeria, Togo and Senegal.

Tropical architecture: Theory and practice

In 1992, Dequeker and Kanene published *Tropical Architecture. Theory and Practice in Tropical Humid Africa*, a manual illustrated with images and examples of the construction techniques applied by the architect during his 30-year career. The book expresses the association of theory with practice and advises against superficial imitation of West methods, which, the authors say, ignore the local context by adopting inappropriate models that engender a form of alienation of design. Tropical architecture is defined as the implementation of methods of protecting dwellers at the equator, between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, through the construction of buildings that can provide a pleasant indoor microclimate in extreme heat conditions (Dequeker and Kanene, 1992). According to Dequeker, any architectural achievement must be in harmony with its environment, therefore the artefacts must comply with fundamental rules or principles: correct orientation according to the site, adequate natural ventilation, and appropriate solar heating protection. The Olgyay charter and the Mahoney tables recurred often in the explanation of his design approach towards a bioclimatic architecture, especially on protecting the building against heat, with heat dissipation made possible through natural ventilation.

Research method

This research explores the four case studies through a qualitative method, analysing first the historical documents related to their conception as architectural projects, and then as part of the African modern heritage that has to be classified, studied and protected. The analysis focuses on the tropical details and features that characterise the tropical architecture programme outlined in Dequeker's work and applicable to different building shapes. The greatest obstacles encountered were linked to the conservation status and provenance of the archives and recorded material left by the architect. With the exception of the documents kept in the archives of Paul Dequeker in the Catholic Documentation Center (KADOC) at the University of Louvain, we were unable to access documents due to their poor state of conservation or outright disappearance especially in Congo. The review of the literature and research on the work of Paul Dequeker led to the discovery of books, documents, articles published by the missionary architect; site visits and building surveys were conducted in order to complement the collected material.

Findings and discussion

In the 1950s, the African Cities Office (OCA) intervened in Congo to provide housing to the growing indigenous population. Also at this time the colonial authority began the construction of churches in the new urban settlements. The Congolese church tried to offer the local population churches that would re-connect worshippers to a lost identity and at the same time to reduce construction costs to enable as many religious buildings as possible to be built. The Archbishop of Kinshasa, Joseph-Albert Malula, appointed Paul Dequeker to supervise most of the project, and offers a reason for his productivity. Four of the buildings completed in this programme are analysed here: King Christ church (1963), St. Luke church (1963), St. Augustine church (1977) and St. Raphael church (1988). These case studies allow us to present a comprehensive overview of heritage buildings and sacred spaces displaying the quintessential principles of tropical architecture. The Tropical Churches is not just the title of a book published by the Belgian Brother in 1984 but also the regesto of his sacred space production with an eye to the tropical architecture principles and details used in the design of this distinctive typology of buildings.

King Christ Church

The Christ King church was built in 1963 based on the plans of Paul Dequeker. The plot forming an arch connected by two perpendicular avenues did not offer much choice of orientation to the architect and indeed directed him towards a cross shape. The cross layout allows ventilation openings to be oriented north-south following the direction of the prevailing winds. In tropical zones, the cross is a constraint for adequate interior ventilation; to respond to this concern, Paul Dequeker recommended large windows to the north of the building and medium-sized openings protected with *claustras* to the south. All east and west facing walls are blind, and perforated walls are used to both obscure the sun and to enable a permanent cross ventilation that makes the interior comfortable even when large numbers gather to attend the African Catholic masses (Dequeker and Mudiji, 1984). A system of double walls on the east and west sides enhances the thermal insulation of the indoor space. This option is reinforced by the use of a void ceiling, usually in wood, which generates a chamber of ventilation. The path of the wind through the room is not influenced

by the wind speed, but by the geometry of the building and the existence of places of pressure and depression (Dequeker and Kanene, 1992). Paul Dequeker pays special attention to the roof design according to the different shapes that usually become a simple gabled roof. The roof assumes the role of the core architectural element and the walls are dematerialised with a reiterated perforation (Olgay, 1963). The bearing metal structure increases the span avoiding intermediate supports. The interior arrangement shows evidence of close regard to the idea of placing the people of God around the altar to allow a truly participatory celebration, and to recover the etymological meaning of the *domus ecclesiae*, by the study of the precepts of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Dequeker worked also in accordance with the Liturgical Movement and the thought of Romano Guardini, which aimed during the 1920s at a new organisation of space for more active participation of the assembly: the church would no longer be merely a symbolic space, but would be structured as a community place.

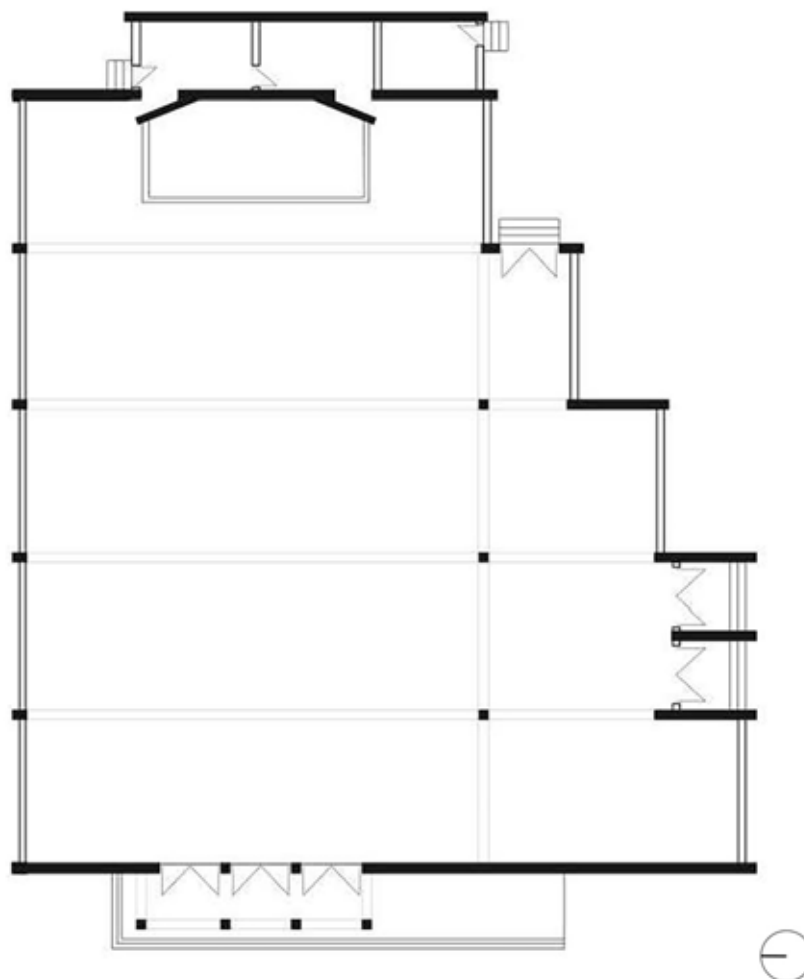


Figure 3: Plan view, St. Luke church (drawing by Victor Bay Mukanya, 2021).

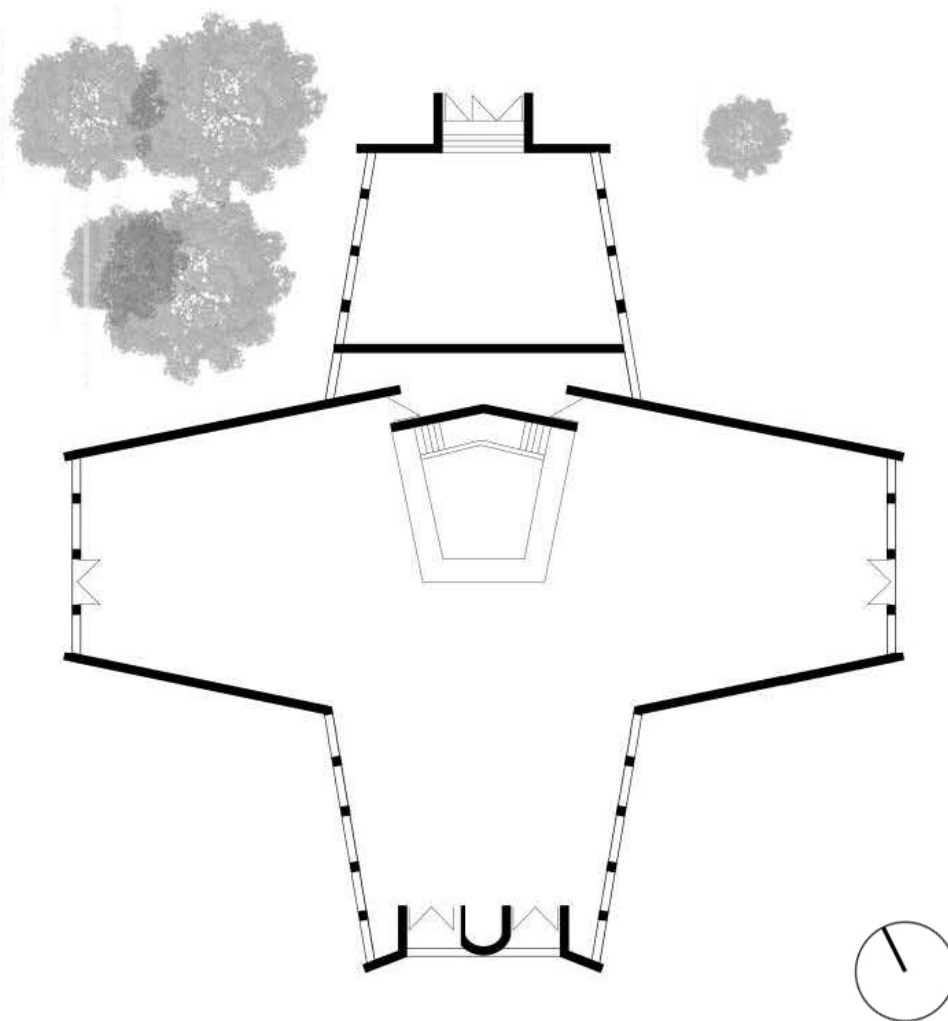


Figure 2: Plan view King Christ church (drawing by Victor Bay Mukanya, 2021).

St. Luke church

As Kinshasa expanded towards the east, it was decided to build the Church of St. Luke within that expansion. The church, designed by Dequeker on a hexagonal plan, is able to host a maximum of 600 people. The characteristic element of response to the climate is the optimisation of tropical ventilation provided by the lower openings (the doors) and the multiple perforated surfaces on the upper part. In tropical churches, in addition to facilitating ventilation, the perforated walls are used to ensure sufficient natural light inside the building. As in all of Paul Dequeker's projects, the foundation is in rubble stone masonry, while the elevation walls are of baked bricks surmounted by perforated walls as described previously. The roof frame was originally made of wood, but when it was renewed in 2010, the wood was replaced by a metal structure. The ceiling, which has also been restored, was originally made of cement fibre sheets replaced by wooden panelling slats. In the same spirit of renewal, the old roofing of corrugated sheets of asbestos was replaced by aluminium-zinc trays. It was already recognised that Paul Dequeker avoided

using gently sloping roofs to reduce the risk of rainwater leaking into the building. The architect of St. Luke church aimed to express a perfect trinity, dividing the base circle into three equal crescents along axes oriented in three directions of 120° each. This logic was also reproduced in the elevations, with the Y shape of the dominant axes formed by the direction of the alternating edges of the polygon (hexagon) of the lower walls and the angle formed by the slopes of the roof constitute three axes regularly spaced 120° . The consequence is quickly perceived on the ridge of the roof projected orthogonally on the façade, which forms an inverted Y also at 120° . Moreover, all this distinctive geometry is surmounted by three diamond-shaped roof slopes; the rhombus being one of the geometric shapes widely used in sacred African art can be seen in the diamond-shaped sculptures of the Kuba and Pende groupings, to mention just two.

St. Augustine church

The church is located on Avenue Kwalemba in the municipality of Lemba in Kinshasa. This municipality was considered to be the

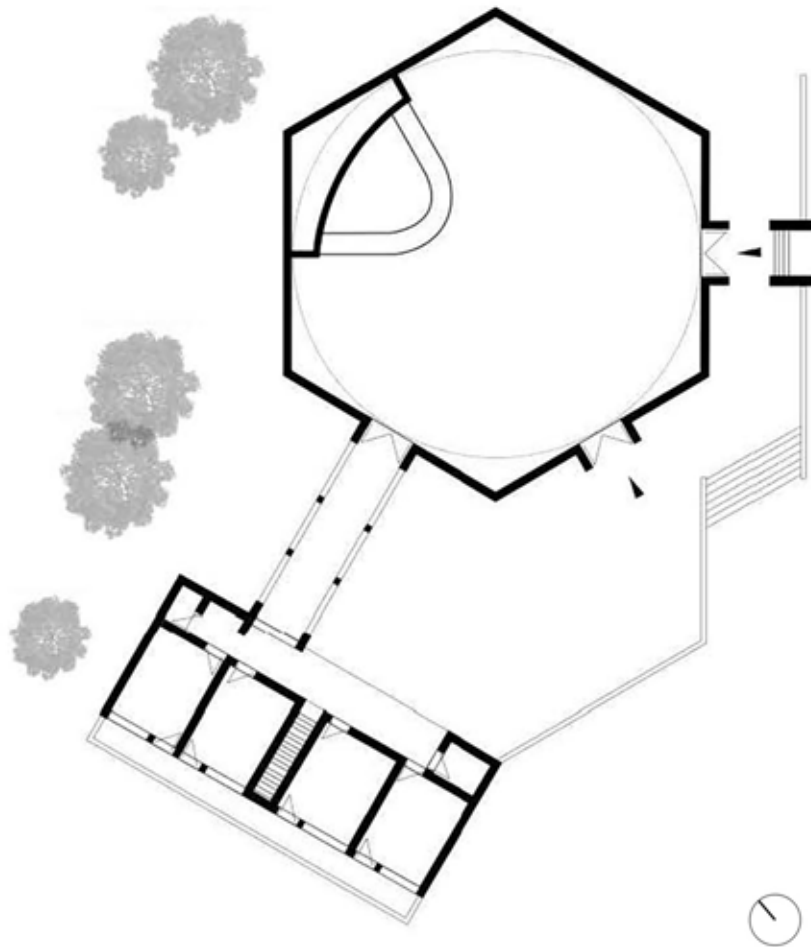


Figure 4: Plan view St. Augustine church (drawing by Victor Bay Mukanya, 2021).

neighbourhood of Congolese intellectuals, made famous thanks to impressive architectural artefacts including as the campus of the University of Kinshasa, former Lovanium, and the international fairground of Kinshasa. In keeping with this built environment, Dequeker decided to design a church that would make an ambitious statement within the existing context. The St. Augustine church is shaped in the form of a stepped pyramid and the interior of the church is articulated by a series of reinforced concrete porticoes, with façades made of perforated walls. The choice of these forms is generally not fortuitous, it is above all dictated by the desire to better bring together and unite the assembly of the faithful around the altar. The interior volume is underlined by triangular concrete porticoes that make it possible to cover large open spaces. Perforated walls characterised the north and south elevations: they advantageously replace the glazed windows, allow permanent interior ventilation, and block intruders. Finally, they are painted white to allow a good distribution of light. The perforated panel must have an area three to four times the area of the window it is replacing to ensure adequate air and light. Light

was regarded as a construction material and one that provided interior decoration in the church through a sequence of clerestories placed at different heights.

St. Raphael church

Initially, a room was set up in the grounds of the Saint Raphaël school in Kinshasa to serve as a place of worship. In 1974, the government declared the school a public educational institution. Thereafter, in 1984, the parish obtained a large piece land for the construction of St. Raphael. The triangular shape of the church is surely influenced by the shape of the plot, a figure reiterated in plan and in elevation. To meet climatic requirements, the parish church of St. Raphael is oriented north-south to gain permanent ventilation. The perforated panels allow, as in the previous examples, adequate ventilation and light inside the church. The structural frame is simply made of concrete porticoes that carry a wooden structure to bear ceiling load at the bottom, and metal sheets at the top. The ceiling accentuates the effect of the *crescendo* towards the altar. Paul Dequeker

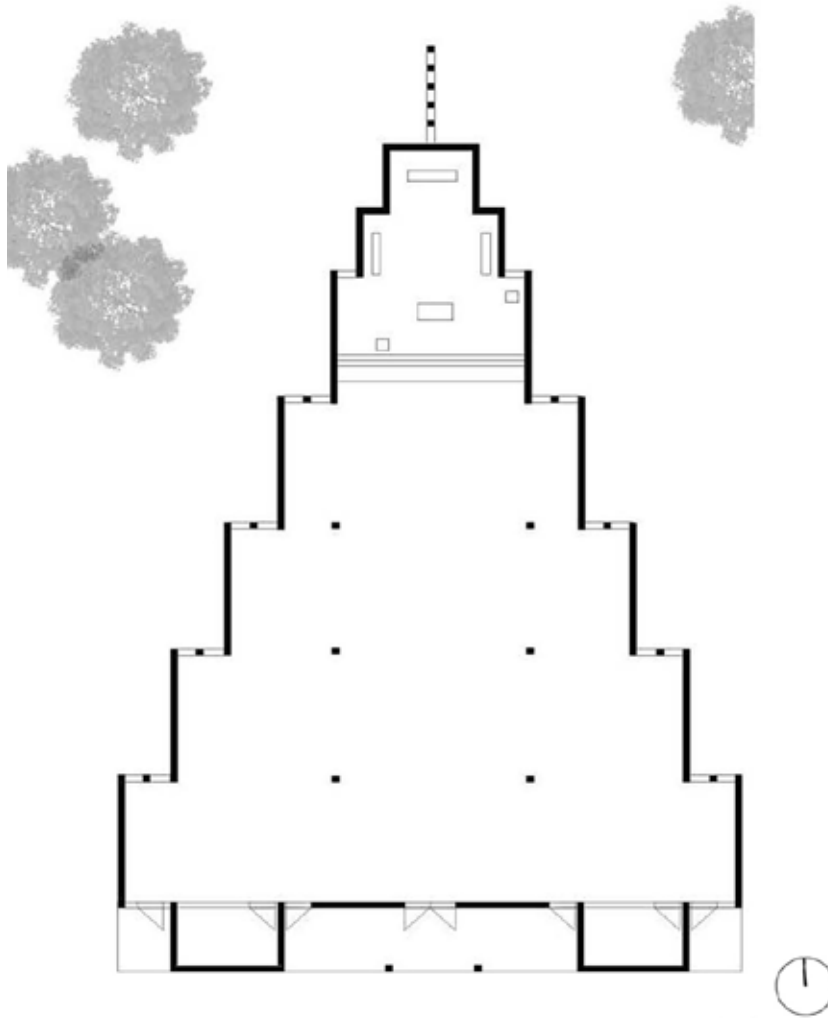


Figure 5: Plan view, St. Raphael church (drawing by Victor Bay Mukanya, 2021).

uses this rising rhythm in the height of the portico beams as a sequence of growing musical sections, which not only provides ventilation and increases the penetration of natural light from the top, but also generates a physical ascension to the Holy Spirit.

Conclusion

The modern heritage in Congo is an undeniably important chapter in the history of architecture in the sub-Saharan region. This research takes into account a subchapter of this history, a sort of monographic *excursus* on Paul Dequeker's sacred spaces focusing on four churches built in Kinshasa after Independence. The desire to enhance the Capital City with appropriate religious infrastructure boosted the process of construction of various parishes, which constitute the core topic analysed in this paper. Each project is representative of a precise distributive character on which the hall type is interpreted and composed according to a regenerated spiritual identity. The work of rediscovery and protection is necessary to not only preserve artefacts, but in addition, to preserve an active

or progressive memory of this architectural heritage that is capable of transferring a still valid teaching on architecture adapted to context.

References

- Dequeker, P. 1960. 'La profession dell'architetto in Congo' [The profession of the architect in Congo]. In *Edilizia Moderna*. n89-90. Milano: Poligrafico G. Colombi, 123-129.
- Dequeker, P. and Mudiji, M. P. 1984. *Eglises Tropicales* [Tropical Churches]. Kinshasa: Éditions CEP.
- Dequeker, P. and Kanene, M. 1992. *L'Architecture Tropicale. Théorie et mise en pratique en Afrique tropicale humide* [Tropical Architecture. Theory and practice in the tropics]. Kinshasa: Centre de Recherches Pédagogiques.
- Folkers, A. and Van Buiten, B. 2010. *Modern Architecture in Africa*. Amsterdam: SUN.

Olgay, V. 1963. *Design with Climate: Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ortolani, S. 1977. *Essais d'architecture authentique en République du Zaïre : Sante Ortolani 1972-1976* [Essays on authentic architecture in the Republic of Zaire: Sante Ortolani 1972-1976]. Rome : Tipolitografia A. Pucci.

The N4 Highway: Space and form

Michael Boyd

michael.boyd@tuks.co.za

Author bio

Michael Boyd is a doctoral candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, co-supervised by Professor Noëleen Murray and Dr Jonathan Cane (Warwick University) in the Research Chair in Critical Architecture and Urbanism. His research focuses on the N4 highway and its impact on the northern Gauteng and North West provinces of South Africa. Michael is an English teacher at St John's College in Johannesburg and holds a BA (Hons) from the University of Kent, UK, and an MA from the University of the Witwatersrand. With his background in various literatures, Michael's research seeks to explore how this impact is reflected through literature and storytelling in the area.

Abstract

This paper, drawn from my PhD research, will use the N4 highway as a theoretical and physical framework to explore the nature of space. With a consideration of the historical, social, and literary narratives of the landscapes along the highway, the research investigates impact on the surrounding region, as well as how the areas through which the N4 travels have influenced the highway itself. Underpinning the investigation is literary scholar Caroline Levine's study of the affordances of form. Key to Levine's theory is the viewing of spaces through literary forms as conceptual frameworks. Levin's framing of areas as material or immaterial space resonates with the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) in his classic study on how space is produced, in which the notion of evoked space suggests a theoretical human connection with, and impact on, space and how it is experienced. This paper will explore some of the spaces surrounding the N4, both as affordances of form, but also with a theoretical understanding and consideration that space simultaneously exists within multiple modes of spatial practice. The hope is that these theories work cohesively to expose insightful perspectives of the changing landscape of the area.

Keywords: road, infrastructure, form, space, poetics of space, materiality, immateriality, heritage

L'autoroute N4 : Espace et forme

Résumé

Cet article, tiré de mes recherches doctorales, utilisera l'autoroute N4 comme cadre théorique et physique pour explorer la nature de l'espace. En tenant compte des récits historiques, sociaux et littéraires des paysages le long de l'autoroute, la recherche étudie l'impact sur la région environnante, ainsi que la façon dont les zones traversées par la N4 ont influencé l'autoroute elle-même. L'enquête repose sur l'étude de l'universitaire littéraire Caroline Levine sur les affordances de la forme. La clé de la théorie de Levine est la vision des espaces à travers les formes littéraires en tant que cadres conceptuels. Le cadrage des zones par Levine en tant qu'espace matériel ou immatériel résonne avec le travail d'Henri Lefebvre (1991) dans son étude classique sur la façon dont l'espace est produit, dans laquelle la notion d'espace évoqué suggère une connexion humaine théorique avec, et un impact sur, l'espace et la façon dont il est vécu. Cet article explorera certains des espaces entourant le N4, à la fois comme des affordances de forme, mais aussi avec une compréhension théorique et une considération que l'espace existe simultanément dans de multiples modes de pratique spatiale. L'espoir est que ces théories fonctionnent de manière cohésive pour exposer des perspectives perspicaces du paysage changeant de la région.

Mots-clés : route, infrastructure, forme, espace, poétique de l'espace, matérialité, immatérialité, patrimoine.

My PhD study, which is still in its initial stages, utilises the framework of the N4 highway as the subject of the investigation. The N4 runs in an east-west direction across the northern parts of southern Africa from the Botswana border at Lobatse in the north-west, to Komatipoort in the east on the border between South Africa and Mozambique. My focus lies on just a portion of the highway, however, the section that travels from Tshwane the capital of South Africa, to Lobatse, a town in Botswana close to the border. The reason for this is two-fold. Firstly,



Figure 1: The N4 Highway – City of Tshwane to Lobatse border post. [Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/@-25.3708214,27.3196576,8.28z>]

the distance the route follows far exceeds the capacity of a study of this scale. Secondly, on a personal note, it is a road I know well and have travelled many times for a multitude of reasons. The study, as I shall explain later, relies, in part, on bringing personal experience and meaning to the highway.

Travelling the N4 Highway

Let me begin by provoking an imaginative view of the path of the highway. The N1 and N4 highways merge on the eastern side of the city of Tshwane and travel together until they split just north of the city: the N1 continues north, and the N4 turns west once we pass the first of three tollgates between Tshwane and Rustenburg. Already the city itself is hidden by a range of hills that rise steadily to become the Magaliesberg, alongside which the N4 curves gently northwards. To the driver's left, the Magaliesberg look like frozen, lapping waves, while on the right, the land stretches out flat until, increasingly, large mine shafts and giant chimneys – some belching smoke and fire reminding one of Mordor from Lord of the Rings – soar above the land. One of these, at the off-ramp to the Pilanesberg Nature Reserve, is the now-infamous Marikana.

More tollgates and exits to minor settlements – Buffelspoort, Kroondal – appear along the highway, which is filled with trucks and alternates between single- and double-lanes throughout the journey to Rustenburg, a town nestled within the hills, and through which we drive before rising through Magatasnek, near the Bafokeng capital of Phokeng. After this, with the Magaliesberg vanishing in the rear-view mirror as the road runs, straight, into the distance through thick bushveld, until the silhouetted church steeple of Swartruggens appears, seemingly always towering over a police roadblock.

The final tollgate of the highway announces the Groot Marico district at the centre of which is the hamlet of the same name that has tied itself to the legend of Herman Charles Bosman. In fact, he never lived here – although there is an annual festival dedicated to him, and a recreation of the schoolhouse where he taught has been built. As we travel the highway, only a petrol station and a bar-grill restaurant signal the town. About 20 kilometres on, through hills with dense veld that seems to be ever-green, we reach Zeerust. We are finally nearing the real Bosman country – he speaks of it in his stories – but not quite yet. The fourth turn to the right, on the R49, would take us north, over Sephton's Nek, to where only the foundations of Bosman's actual schoolhouse still exist and where Kaditshwene, the ancient Tswana city, lies in ruins. But the N4 continues in a westerly direction, into what appears to be even denser vegetation, past Lehurutshe and signs pointing south to Mahikeng, until finally reaching the border with Botswana, at Lobatse – one of Botswana's oldest settlements.

The description, I hope, provides a sense of the region that I know so well. Although these places along the N4 will be taken into consideration for the larger project, my initial case study will be that of the connector that brings these spaces together: the N4 highway itself. In particular, my study is concerned with deliberations of form, spatial theories and the debates surrounding material studies.

Reforming the N4

The theoretical basis of the project lies in two studies. The first of these is Caroline Levine's study *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (2015), offering a novel approach to the study of form, which Levine defines as 'an arrangement of elements – an ordering, patterning and shaping' (Levine, 2015: 3). Levine's argument

is that there is an opportunity to broaden our existing definition of form so that it does not merely lie with aesthetics, but also in the socio-political experience. She draws on the idea that the language of form can be applied outside of the literary and the arts, because, in essence, the work of form is to order and arrange – and this can be applied to the social and political spheres. Her ideas bring together the traditionally separate ideas of social and aesthetic forms to produce, as she calls it, ‘a new formalist method’ (Levine, 2015: 3) – which is what I propose to achieve.

The initial case study and research for this project investigates the road as a specific form in its route through the country. This takes into account the conventional perspective of the road, from the materials from which it is made to the purpose of its construction. The other forms the road encounters – physical geography, people, settlements and so on – create conflicts of form. Ostensibly, the road cutting its way through a continent is a dominant form. The materiality of the road collides with other materials. This is the first step, even the starting point of my investigation. I will take this a step further and, like Levine, argue that if the road is a dominant material form that impacts other material forms, there is an opportunity to explore how this collision creates a series of immaterial forms to activate or become apparent. This will enter the realm of the socio-political and even the aesthetic, such as legal implications of the conflict, personal responses and narratives told by those affected by the impact of the road; the displacement and the loss of belonging felt by a community.

Again, this can be expanded, and key to this is the affordances of form suggested by Levine: that each form brings with it a set of affordances – possibilities, potentialities – that are portable and can move between materials, as well as between time and space. It is the affordance of form that Levine relies on: the possibilities that one form offers, especially when forced to operate with another form.

Levine’s argument is embedded in literary studies, and she points to the fact that literary forms are not of the material world they describe. But there is a relationship, and I am interested in this idea that the immateriality of literature can draw out possibilities within the material world. A formalist reading of a text will often lead to a search for a formal relationship – a mimicking – between the literature and the content it is describing – binding the literary with the material. For example, a poem about the ocean may include a regular rhythm and rhyme, to reflect that of the waves, with alliteration that repeats the soft ‘c’

and the wispy ‘w’ sounds, filled with sibilance – the repetition of the ‘s’ sound – to provide the reader with a sensory reflection of the water, wind and of the material ocean itself. But, what about a novel? Which is about mountains and food and blankets – the form of the literature cannot possibly convert itself to reflect each of these. Levine suggests that the ‘extratextual world’ (2015: 10) is always assumed dominant, because ‘the materials described or evoked by literary texts do not determine their forms in the same way that stone determines durability’ (2015: 10). But if we are able to overlap forms – to hold forms up against each other, it may open possibilities of discovery – as Levine says, ‘when forms meet, their collision produces unexpected consequences’ (2015: 8). If a material road represents a journey, through travel and access and direction, then what conclusions might be drawn if it is compared to the aesthetic: to a novel, a short story or a poem with narrative qualities that relate to the idea of a quest or a journey? This can be taken into further detail. Could we find new meanings of the road by holding it up against the form of the paragraph, or even the sentence; with ideas and choices and relationships of syntax, diction and punctuation linked to the progression of a road, through and around physical materials, punctuated by towns and petrol stations and tollgates. My research intends to bring together unlikely forms, from which the collision produces unpredictable conclusions and new contestations of numerous ideologies. This applies and expands Levine’s idea of ‘intersectional analysis’ (2015: 4) – the overlapping of different forms to arrive at a multitude of possible conclusions. That is, when an encountering of literary form with a material or political form can produce new meanings.

The result of this is open to many possibilities but is able to explore how we inhabit the world, as well as understanding that, as Levine suggests, ‘there is a great deal to be learned about power by observing different forms of order as they operate in the world’ (2015: 23). Examples of this could be an exploration of binary oppositions, hierarchical structures, and the resulting injustices of both.

It must be noted that this is not the first study that utilises Levine’s ideas of form, as instanced by Danny Hoffman’s application of the theory in his exploration of ruined buildings in Monrovia, Liberia, in his study, *Monrovia Modern: Urban Form and Political Imagination* (2017).

In addition, and in conjunction with, Levine’s work, the second study that I am using as the basis of my study is Henri Lefebvre’s classic, *The Production of Space* (1991). In this, Lefebvre

explores what he terms ‘the science of space’ (Lefebvre, 199: 7) – a study into the concepts surrounding our interaction with space, and particularly how ‘we evoke space’ (1991: 12). Lefebvre suggests a ‘unitary theory’ (1991: 11) concerning space, that various levels or modes of space exist simultaneously – which he categorises within ‘the triad of the perceived, the conceived and the lived’ (1991: 39). It is the theory that space can operate and be produced at a conceptual as well as physical level.

This theory can clearly be linked to the essence of my study. If we, for a moment, return to Levine, and the theory that out of material forms we can activate immaterial forms and subsequent meanings, then Lefebvre’s ideas surrounding the production of a conceptual space that is directly connected to our experience, imagination and knowledge, can be explored in the spaces where forms collide.

Within Lefebvre’s work, the idea of the ‘lived’ space mentioned earlier is of most interest to my project. Lefebvre further defines this as ‘representational’ space (1991: 39), which is concerned with the experience one brings to a space – as Lefebvre describes it, it ‘overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects ... representational space is alive: it speaks’ (1991: 41-42).

This relates directly to my project in two ways. Not only does it suggest that we bring a series of experience to any space, which informs and alters that space, but also that this project takes on a personal aspect. Features of representational space, specifically identified by Lefebvre, as ‘childhood memories’ and ‘dreams’ (1991: 41) inform and influence my study and experience of the N4 highway because of my existing relationship with the road. Therefore, in addition to the study of form and space, the fieldwork and research along the N4 highway will allow a personal response to these spaces and how they are produced by my own perspectives, which will, in turn, inform and influence both the outcome and the texture of the project.

Conclusion

This is, in essence, an outline of the starting point of my PhD study around form and space. The materiality of the road, and its conventional functions, is simply the starting point of what the intersection of formal conflicts, as well as the production of space, are able to evoke and realise. A large part of this is the aesthetic forms that are activated by the clashing of forms – and I am particularly concerned with the literary constructs that are both resultant but can also be

operate alongside the material form of the road, particularly concerning narratives and responses to this conflict.

The study of the N4 is an application of theory that I am seeking to prove successful – but also to achieve a cohesion between the studies that, in turn, can produce novel and insightful perspectives of the areas along the N4, as well as to introduce new meanings and possibilities in terms of aesthetic forms and literary studies. This is brought together by the idea that representational space can be produced and observed by the colliding forms of the socio-political world and the aesthetic realm. What I will also suggest is that my own personal experience and history will have a bearing on the outcome of the project through my own selection of form, as well the space that I am able to evoke.

My aim (and hope) is that by applying the theories of Levine and Lefebvre, I can investigate the N4 Highway beyond its material form, and all the ideologies that arise in that sphere, and, in a sense, explore the forces and forms at work, that are specific to the N4, to uncover the highway as an immaterial entity of infrastructure.

Bibliography

Hoffman, D. 2017. *Monrovia Modern: Urban Form and Political Imagination in Liberia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Levine, C. 2015. *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Timpoko Kienon’s The Colonial Architecture of Cote D’Ivoire goes here

Infrastructure and Immateriality

Heritage as Restitution: The Dadaab Refugee Camps, Kenya

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi

Barnard College, Columbia University
asiddiqi@barnard.edu

Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi is an assistant professor at Barnard College, Columbia University. She specialises in histories of architecture and spatial practice centering African and South Asian questions. Her book *Architecture of Migration: The Dadaab Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Settlement* (Duke University Press, 2023) analyses the history, visual rhetoric, and spatial politics of the Dadaab refugee camps in northeastern Kenya, as an epistemological vantage point in African and Islamic worlds. At Columbia University, Siddiqi directs the Center for the Study of Social Difference working group Insurgent Domesticities and co-chairs the University Seminar Studies in Contemporary Africa. In Nairobi, she works with the GoDown Arts Centre

Abstract

Recognising architectures of unelected migration as sites of modern history and heritage not only expands the consideration of modernities in Africa but also constitutes a form of restitution to those who have fled insecurity and violence imposed by others. In this paper and pictorial presentation based on 12 years of archival and on-site research, I argue that the Dadaab refugee camps and their inhabitation of the Kenya-Somalia borderland may be understood and valued for a long history as well as a recent materiality, which has taken form in architecture, spatial practices, and territorial construction. Rather than accepting the relegation of refugee architecture to policy studies or the applied social sciences, which privilege the logics of emergency and an epistemology of the security state over knowledge stemming from people's migratory lives, this paper takes seriously the paradoxes of Dadaab as a heritage site. At Dadaab, the Kenyan government and UNHCR established relief operations in a region inscribed with colonial and postcolonial frontiers and wars, carrying a memory of detention and an imaginary of a borderland. These modern historical forces are reiterated in humanitarian settlements holding half a million registered refugees and unregistered migrants, enacting confinement in architectures figured as much by the visual frailty of dwellings dusted red by the wind and clad in recovered textile fragments as by a spectacular array of satellite dishes, aeronautic

fleets on tarmac, aluminum and polyvinyl chloride water storage towers, and hydraulic extraction machinery penetrating a Jurassic-era aquifer. These architectures signal transience even if anchored in the earth and sky, part of an ecology that once supported pastoralists and now undergirds another migratory world. My pictorially oriented paper uses these historical and aesthetic paradoxes to argue for this complex African heritage site, and with it, restitution of a fraught landscape of migration through a meaningful reconsideration of modern heritage.

Le patrimoine comme restitution : les camps de réfugiés de Dadaab, Kenya

Résumé:

Reconnaître les architectures de la migration non choisie comme des sites d'histoire et de patrimoine modernes n'élargit pas seulement la considération des modernités en Afrique mais constitue également une forme de restitution à ceux qui ont fui l'insécurité et la violence imposées par d'autres. Dans cet article et cette présentation picturale, basés sur 12 années d'archives et de recherches sur place, je soutiens que les camps de réfugiés de Dadaab et leur occupation de la zone frontalière entre le Kenya et la Somalie peuvent être compris et valorisés pour une longue histoire ainsi que pour une matérialité récente, qui a pris forme dans l'architecture, les pratiques spatiales et la construction territoriale. Plutôt que d'accepter la relégation de l'architecture des réfugiés aux études politiques ou aux sciences sociales appliquées, qui privilégient les logiques d'urgence et l'épistémologie de l'État sécuritaire par rapport aux connaissances issues de la vie migratoire des gens, cet article prend au sérieux les paradoxes de Dadaab en tant que site patrimonial. À Dadaab, le gouvernement kenyan et le HCR ont mis en place des opérations de secours dans une région marquée par les frontières et les guerres coloniales et postcoloniales, porteuse de la mémoire de la détention et de l'imaginaire d'un territoire frontalier. Ces forces historiques modernes sont réitérées dans les installations

humanitaires accueillant un demi-million de réfugiés enregistrés et de migrants non enregistrés, mettant en œuvre l'enfermement dans des architectures représentées tant par la fragilité visuelle des habitations dépoussiérées par le vent et revêtues de fragments de textiles récupérés que par un ensemble spectaculaire d'antennes paraboliques, de flottes aéronautiques sur le tarmac, de tours de stockage d'eau en aluminium et en chlorure de polyvinyle, et de machines d'extraction hydraulique pénétrant dans un aquifère datant du Jurassique. Ces architectures signalent leur caractère éphémère, même si elles sont ancrées dans la terre et le ciel, et font partie d'une écologie qui a autrefois fait vivre les pasteurs et qui sous-tend aujourd'hui un autre monde migratoire. Mon article, orienté vers l'image, utilise ces paradoxes historiques et esthétiques pour plaider en faveur de ce site complexe du patrimoine africain et, avec lui, pour la restitution d'un paysage de migration difficile à travers une reconsidération significative du patrimoine moderne.

Keywords: Dadaab, Kenya, refugee camp, UNHCR, heritage, restitution, Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti, Sada Mire, Edward Said

The Dadaab refugee camps in northern Kenya raise the question of how a place can be understood as part of critical heritage, when its utilitarian role as a form of infrastructure is matched only by its seeming immateriality. This condition disallows it from being seen at all, let alone being acknowledged as a heritage site by conventional standards, that is, within the systemic practices of nation-states, which have fraught relations with indigenous people in the present even while monumentalising their built works from the past. Considering a refugee camp as a heritage site, even in contexts in which the architecture of the camp has been inhabited for generations, produces another aporia in terms of the belonging of people within the place of refuge. This belonging is a condition that might be contested by the host state, the people of the host nation, and the refugees themselves, for whom home lies elsewhere. Belonging for most people who made the Dadaab refugee camps is a transborder condition, and thus enters into complexities of identity and ethnonationalism that only a critical approach to heritage can address.

To counter the invisibility produced by these complexities, this paper, as given at the University of Cape Town Centre for African Studies Symposium on Modern Heritage of Africa (MoHoA) on 22 September, 2021, was accompanied by a stream of photos from the refugee settlements at Dadaab. This was intended to facilitate an immersion in the

paradoxical environment of the Dadaab camps, which are massive yet ephemeral, and are inhabited by migrants displaced by powers they may not have been able to withstand, but that nevertheless render them the custodians of a crucial heritage. Many refugees, some pictured and some not, took the time to speak with me. Their contributions impacted this formulation of the problem of heritage as a form of restitution.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) established an emergency relief site at Dadaab in 1991, and for much of the time since then, it was the largest operation the agency had ever administered. The UNHCR has a mandate to offer protection to people fleeing across borders because of political persecution. Many of its hosting sites are in African countries. The largest number of refugees in the world is hosted on the continent, legally protected by the UNHCR and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU augmented the UNHCR legal instruments by adding provisions for people fleeing not only political instability, but climate and economic insecurity. At Dadaab, the UNHCR and the Kenyan government established relief operations in a former colonial frontier and battleground in postcolonial territorial wars between the Kenyan government and pastoralist people. The region holds the memory of detention and an imaginary of a borderland. The camps are located in the scrub of semi-arid plains, in hyena country. Marabou storks loom against the landscape. Images of the first humanitarian settlement established at Dadaab, Ifo camp, are now commonly available after being photographed by the cameras of the 'keyhole' satellites, formerly owned and operated by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Dadaab began to appear on maps only with the advent of Google Earth in 2001, after the company acquired those satellites. As of this writing, it hosts nearly a quarter of a million registered refugees in five settlements, with unregistered migrants bringing the total to nearly half a million. After Nairobi and Mombasa, this is the third largest population grouping in Kenya, a country for whom the city as a sociospatial form is in many ways still in the making, with its capital Nairobi constructed barely a century ago in a colonial context and itself comprised of contested territories. The scale of the Dadaab camp complex emerged out of a Kenyan government policy designed to segregate refugees and curtail their mobility. People who sought refuge in Dadaab remain dependent upon aid. The trade in humanitarian food and non-food items has become integral to the local economy. The site has accommodated a diverse international humanitarian labour force and facilitated considerable financial flows, with investment in refugee-related operations

reaching \$100 million US and overall trade volume at \$25 million US in 2010. Within 20 years after the camps were established, the surrounding host population had grown tenfold. Its boundedness as well as its accessibility have made it a recurring object of study by academic and policy researchers in a range of disciplines, more so than other UNHCR sites. Three generations have been born in the camps, all subject to legal restrictions on education, work, mobility, and migration. It was intended as a legal and political point of transit, but the camp complex has entrenched itself in various ways, suspending refugees in a prolonged liminal state, and creating a sociopolitical and built form, which might persist even if the Kenyan government decommissioned the camps, as it has threatened to do. This political ephemerality is also architectural. That is to say, Dadaab is made even more complex by its own ephemerality.

The Dadaab settlements have endured for more than two decades under the paradox of permanent impermanence. The architecture of the camps is one of lightweight, additive elements, built of found and recycled material. Yet, this immateriality anchors hard infrastructures in the earth and sky. Its empirical signs of impermanence belie the concrete infrastructure engaged with the surrounding ecosystem. It has produced a heavy infrastructural footprint, in contrast to the lighter touch of most UNHCR camps. The central compound, where humanitarian organisation and international agency staff members reside, where they store and distribute food and water and administer medical aid and social services, is composed of buildings and structures designed for durability. It is an architecture of masonry rather than textiles. The technologies that enable long-range transportation and wireless communication, which support aid operations outside of mapped networks, has left a body of concrete artifacts. This hardware includes telecom masts standing out against the red dusty plains, ground vehicles adapted as mobile antennae, and satellites in space that connect the field offices with headquarters around the planet. The settlements themselves, which are usually understood only in terms of protracted political crisis, result from the continuous yield of a Jurassic-era aquifer and the system of borewells penetrating it. Again, in spite of these permanent structures from below the surface of the land to points beyond the Earth's atmospheric borders, the prolonged humanitarian intervention has instantiated a persisting and changing body of architectural ephemera, including mobile dwellings and repurposed materials and goods, which have imprinted into the landscape the lives and works of refugees, migrants, traders, aid workers, officials, journalists, researchers –

all the people whose engagements with Dadaab endow the place in spite of its intangibilities. The architecture of Dadaab has been figured as much by the visual frailty of dwellings dusted red by the wind and clad in recovered textile and sheet metal fragments as by a spectacular array of satellites and their dishes, aeronautic fleets sitting on tarmac, all-terrain vehicular convoys, aluminum and polyvinyl chloride water storage towers, hydraulic extraction machinery, and the large settlements themselves. Ironically, this materiality and aesthetics is cloaked in an architecture that appears as little more than shanties and huts in the bush, and has become a scaffold for many lives, many loves, many deaths, and many joys.

To speak of Dadaab is to speak of several paradoxes. Its incipient urbanity grows unexpectedly out of emergency and unsettlement, the tenuous architectures that signify a camp. The shocking ephemerality of this massive complex of settlements is often framed in the most pejorative of terms, which undermine the lives of people – mostly women and unaccompanied minors – who have run for their lives, in the words of the poet Warsan Shire, 'when home is the mouth of a shark'. What is almost never narrated is that the instability and crisis behind this running stems almost purely from climate-based insecurity imposed by the industrialised parts of the world, which have so concretely failed refugees. How might we think of material and psychic repair for these wrongs? How can profound ephemerality be countered with the terms of restitution? For this, I would like to turn to heritage.

Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti have written on 'refugee heritage' in their attempt to nominate Dheisheh refugee camp and the 44 villages in Palestine to the World Heritage List. They ask: 'Is the camp just a site of misery or does it produce values that need to be acknowledged and protected? And how should the concept of heritage change in order to acknowledge the camp's condition?' The archaeologist Sada Mire writes of cultural heritage as a basic need. She writes specifically of the nomadic pastoral culture, a culture that is familiar to many people who live in Dadaab, 'where people keep very little and they keep (intangible) knowledge instead. They preserve their way of life through oral transmission of knowledge. They preserve the knowledge of building huts, making objects and technology through practice and training from early age. Since everything is organic that they make and it can disappear anytime, what they need to keep is the knowledge to recreate it when they need it.'

I would like us to focus on this 'knowledge-

centered approach', as she calls it, in thinking about heritage as a form of restitution. The material forms of Dadaab may not follow the conventions of monuments, yet they act as heritage forms for those whose knowledge they capture, and they serve as elements of the critical heritage for us all. To illustrate that, I will end by turning to a talk on academic freedom given by Edward Said in Cape Town in the time just preceding Nelson Mandela's election in 1994, the years just following the establishment of the Dadaab refugee camps. Perhaps this moment was pregnant with thought on restitution. In it, Said takes a contradictory path *through* and *to* academic freedom, concluding with two images for inhabiting the academic and cultural space provided by school and university. The first image is of the king, or potentate, for whom academic freedom rests upon authority and power, mastery and detachment. The second is of the traveler, who need not defend that authority, but instead '*crosses over*, traverses territory, and abandons fixed positions, all the time'. Said chooses the domain of the traveler, to migrate with the greatest intellectual freedom, free of the need for self-protection and self-adulation, free of dogma, open to play and to joy. 'To do this with dedication and love as well as a realistic sense of the terrain' Said writes, 'is, I believe, a kind of academic freedom at its highest.' An acknowledgment of heritage in a refugee camp offers that kind of freedom. In honoring that academic freedom, the knowledge-centered approach to an immaterial, infrastructural architecture presents a profound challenge, as well as a compelling, healing form of restitution.

Mmila (The Road) and the Great Stoep

Tsholofelo Joshua Koopedi

University of Pretoria
u20821175@tuks.co.za

Author biography

Tsholofelo Koopedi is a PhD candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. His PhD research, titled *Space, Infrastructure and Budgets: A Case of Roads and Stormwater Maintenance in the City of Ekurhuleni, South Africa, 2000-2020*, is supervised by Professor Noëleen Murray in the Chair in Critical Architecture and Urbanism. Employed in the Strategy and Corporate Planning Department, City of Ekurhuleni, his qualifications include an undergraduate degree in Local Government Finance (Tshwane University of Technology), and two Master's degrees: Public and Development Management (PDM) and another in Business Leadership (MBL) from the universities of the Witwatersrand and South Africa respectively.

Abstract

This conference paper, titled *Mmila (The Road) and the Great Stoep*, explores and questions the promise of service delivery and infrastructural upgrades made in the City of Ekurhuleni in postapartheid South Africa, in relation to its immateriality in relation to concepts of modern African heritage.

The paper is drawn from my PhD research and compares how the Roads and Stormwater Repairs, and Maintenance Budget of the City of Ekurhuleni has been resourced, organised and distributed across the city's townships since 2000. It interrogates the budget process and its effectiveness as a political tool – rather than a technical tool – that pursues spatial justice and transformation of these previously underdeveloped townships. Section 153(a) of the South African Constitution delegates a municipality to 'structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community' (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Keywords: infrastructure, inequalities, postapartheid townships, Roads and Stormwater Repairs and Maintenance Budget, African heritage, modernity, spatial justice

Résumé

Ce document de conférence, intitulé *Mmila (The Road) and the Great Stoep*, explore et remet en question la promesse de prestation de services et d'améliorations des infrastructures réalisées dans la ville d'Ekurhuleni en Afrique du Sud après l'apartheid, par rapport à son immatériabilité par rapport aux concepts du patrimoine africain moderne. Le document est tiré de ma recherche doctorale et compare la façon dont le budget d'entretien et de réparation des routes et des eaux pluviales de la ville d'Ekurhuleni a été financé, organisé et distribué dans les cantons de la ville depuis 2000. Il interroge le processus budgétaire et son efficacité en tant qu'outil politique – plutôt qu'en tant qu'outil technique – qui poursuit la justice spatiale et la transformation de ces cantons auparavant sous-développés. Le paragraphe 153(a) de la Constitution sud-africaine délègue à une municipalité la responsabilité de « structurer et de gérer ses processus d'administration, de budgétisation et de planification afin de donner la priorité aux besoins fondamentaux de la communauté et de promouvoir son développement social et économique » (Constitution de la République d'Afrique du Sud, 1996).

Mots-clés : infrastructures, inégalités, townships postapartheid, budget de réparation et d'entretien des routes et des eaux pluviales, patrimoine africain, modernité, justice spatiale.

Mmila (The Road) and the Great Stoep

There are all sorts of roads and in the precolonial African epistemology there are roads of spiritual nature that take one through their spiritual journey from before they are born to beyond their death. We should also remember that Mmila (roads) are a natural part of nature, in that in precolonial Africa, the indigenous people will allow their livestock to create these paths that would lead them to an essential resource such as water sources and or grazing fields. Even before the people had livestock, they would follow the paths that would be created by undomesticated animals for them to find essential water sources. Even when we

think of roads today, they lead us to places where the people can access essential resources to sustain their livelihoods
(Papa Mogolo Mokgethi, 2020).

These words were the immediate thoughts of Papa Mogolo Mokgethi (73) when I told him that my PhD thesis *Space, Infrastructure and Budgets: A Case of Roads and Stormwater Maintenance in the City of Ekurhuleni, South Africa, 2000-2020* will be focusing on roads and how roads affect and recreate the spaces where they are built as well as the fact that the lack of maintenance makes these spaces worse-off places. The conversation took place between myself, and my grandfather-in-law made me think more deeply about the road as infrastructure, and its genesis as part of our heritage.

My careful reflection on his input (because in my culture you do not respond to an elder), was that indeed roads have been a critical infrastructure for people from the beginning of time. I decided to write as I reflected further on my thoughts after our conversation. For even the roads of today have been influenced by colonialism and apartheid, to ensure that the capitalist extraction of labour from 'black townships' occurs as quickly and efficiently as possible to guarantee the maximisation of surplus value. In fact, it is my presupposition that the reason there were never tarred roads in black townships was to remind those previously classified as 'Bantu' that we belonged to the dirt, that we belonged to that area where the space must never be clean and must be always full of dust.

I also reflected that for many black people, before the democratic dispensation in South Africa in the early 1990s, there was an excitement and a promise of a smooth day when they would use the highway to access the City or 'white townships/suburbs' – this is because in typical township lexicon they would be overexuberant about the journey and say "Si'gibela i'stoep" (translated into English as 'getting on to the highway'). A *stoep* is a South African term for 'porch'. Porches are typically well cared for and always kept shiny. If I think of the purpose of a stoep, I think of it as a modern-day infrastructure that enhances (modernises) the space around the house. I am just not sure what the actual thoughts of those that first referred to the highway as a *stoep* was. This is perhaps analogous to what we might think of as the immateriality of infrastructure and its complicated relationship to heritage.

In the main, this conversation reaffirmed my hypothesis that the equitable maintenance of roads and stormwater infrastructure in black townships is essential in the creation of a just space, which never existed in the apartheid black township.

Part of my hypothesis also states that municipal budgets to cover repairs and maintenance should not be seen as technical tools that must be at least 10% of the capital budget, but that they should be seen and accepted as political tools that will ensure spatial justice in black townships. This argument is at the heart of this paper and speaks directly to infrastructure and the immateriality and/or materiality of the built environment. As Frans Fanon (1961: 81) reminds us, that the 'settlers' town is a 'strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt. ... His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stone'. Little has changed in postapartheid South Africa despite political change, and in many ways Fanon's words remain relevant today. 'The town belonging to the colonized people ... is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light' (Fanon, 1961: 81).

Colonisation of a special type, apartheid, and developmental local government

South African cities are not only a reflection of the apartheid city, but they also reflect the colonial city. The nexus between colonial and apartheid South African state is generally accepted by David Simon (1989) and many others.

I reference the nexus of the colonial and apartheid state to reaffirm that, indeed, the apartheid city and subsequent supporting legislation was solely aimed at 'total racial segregation at all geographic scales' (Simon, 1989: 4). Propositions about the postcolonial city or developmental local government cannot be sustained if they are not located in the national context in which local government operates. As argued by David Barron and Gerald Frug (2006), 'Cities are not free to do whatever they please. They can exercise power only within the legal frameworks that others have created for them' (Barron and Frug, 2006: 1).

Unfortunately for South Africa, there seems to be no consensus of the posture that developmental local government must take in relation to the complex histories of our national context. This is perhaps typified in the now famous tweet by Helen Zille. The support it generated reflects the lack of consensus on what the developmental local government should seek to attain: 'I completely agree that colonialism was bad. All I said was that its Legacy is not ONLY negative' (Zille, 2017).



Figure 1: Two black men pass a road sign reading Caution Beware of Natives, South Africa, 1956 (SA History Online, www.sahistory.org.za).

Such sentiments are not only shared on social media but seem to have been part of the local government development policies in the City of Cape Town where Zille's political party, the Democratic Alliance, has majority support and whose recent City Improvement districts (CIDs) 'seek' to alter or rather enforce a neo-segregated built environment in the city. Jodi Allemeier's (2021: 3) comment on the Draft CID Policy and By-Law asserted that 'with an increasing number of CIDs being established in residential areas, the link to economic development becomes more about protection of property values. While this can service City's interests from a revenue perspective in the short term, it can contradict key spatial restructuring and spatial justice mandates, and financial efficiency objectives in the long-term'.

The characterisation of developmental local government is informed by the realities of the legacy of apartheid on the South African local government system. Hence objectives of postapartheid legislation clearly call for the 'redress the imbalances of the past and to ensure that there is equity in the application of spatial development planning and land use management systems' (SPLUMA 2013: 12).

The extent to which such imbalances have been undone will reflect in the spaces and spatial justice created within the built environment. For this conference discussion, I am focusing on road infrastructure (including its maintenance), as a catalyst for spatial justice.

Space and spatial justice

The developmental perspectives laid out in the White Paper are correct in stating that apartheid fundamentally damaged the spatial environment of local government. This resulted in spatial injustice, which was the thesis of the apartheid city. It thus follows that the antithesis of the apartheid city should be reflected through spatial justice.

Space is therefore organised in line with the prevailing policies of the governing party, through various national and local institutions and established legislation. Space is also managed through the investment in and maintenance of infrastructure. As Henri Lefebvre argues in his seminal work *The Production of Space* (1991), 'spatial practice consists in a projection onto a (spatial) field of all aspects, elements and moments of social practice. In the process these are separated from one another, though this does not mean that overall control is relinquished even for a moment: society as a whole continues in subjection to political practice – that is state power' (Lefebvre, 1991: 8).

As it relates to spatial justice, geographer Edward Soja conceptualises spatial (in)justice as 'an intentional and focused emphasis on the spatial or geographic aspects of justice and injustice. As a starting point, this involves the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them' (Soja, 2008: 3).

It is therefore clear that apartheid sought to create socially unjust geographic spaces. This is affirmed by Thomas Chapman (2015: 2) in reference to works by proponents of spatial justice theory: 'Harvey (2008, 2009) shows how inequality is a key component of postcolonial aspiring industrialist capitalist cities like Johannesburg, while Lefebvre (1991) looks more at the social production of space'.

Space and indeed spatial justice are a function of the built environment; however, to truly traverse the built environment, one needs to have a basic understanding of infrastructure.

Traversing the built environment

The hypothesis that I presented in the first section of this paper is affirmed by Antina von Schnitzler (2018: 138), who states that in 'several ways, apartheid as a political project depended upon and was conjured into being by specific infrastructural modalities of power'. She further argues that 'infrastructures became symbols, conduits and forms of power, but they also shaped habits and the senses. ... Indeed, it could be argued that apartheid was precisely about infrastructures – institutional separation meant the use of separate infrastructures (from schools, to transport, public spaces, etc.) and the production of a racial economy' (von Schnitzler, 2018: 138).

On the definition of infrastructure, Brian Larkin (2013: 138) argues that 'infrastructures are built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for exchange over space'. Indeed, when traversing the built environment in the black township one is immediately overwhelmed by the spatial injustice that is prevalent in the space. After all, 'apartheid infrastructures had as one of their primary goals to prevent the emergence of a public of sorts, this was most obvious in the mass building of townships from the 1950s onward as spaces intentionally without important city features' (von Schnitzler, 2018: 139).

The apartheid road infrastructure, in black townships, certainly created what Achille Mbembe (2019) terms necropolitics, and at the micro or subnational level, townships created death-worlds in that 'the grids of streets were planned such that they could be easily surveyed and closed off. In many townships, radial roads led to spaces built specifically to be used as potential weapon arsenals in case of protests' (von Schnitzler, 2018: 140).

As we think about how we traverse through the built environment, it should be remembered that in the delivery of infrastructure at local

government level, 'urban planning becomes a potentially powerful governing tool with which to shape the people's lives and subjectivities' (Yiftachel 2009: 9). Indeed, we cannot separate politics from infrastructure delivery and planning 'infrastructure delivery has also been shown to be dependent on the ability of planning authorities' (Baker and Hincks 2009: 4). Amina Nolte (2016: 3) argues that 'politics and 'the political' are always inherent to infrastructure, as an assemblage of 'simultaneous forces, movements, agents and politics that co-produce the nature of contemporary urbanism'.

The kind of space created by road infrastructure is essential; as contended by Harvey and Knox (2015: 25), 'we approach the question of what kinds of spaces road construction projects produce in a more open way: we are interested in how these infrastructures come to "compose the spaces of which they are a part"' (Allen, 2011, cited in Harvey and Knox, 2015 25). However, my approach goes beyond the composition of road infrastructure in the space and as a function of the built environment. I am interested in the granular discussion about the maintenance of such infrastructure. 'Because the basic object of infrastructure is so diverse and can be analysed in so many ways, the choice of methodology is a theoretical question. Are infrastructures technological systems...? Are they financial instruments...? Are they biological...? Or are they social...? (Larkin, 2013: 12). I choose the latter as the object of (road) infrastructure, when well maintained, will have a material effect on the built environment which is that of ensuring spatial justice.

Epilogue - Crescent or Cul-de-sac

The discussions articulated in this paper dictate that we ask question 'What is the role of infrastructure in bringing about immateriality or materially of the built environment?'

In my attempt to answer this question, I affirm the Modern Heritage of Africa's view that 'infrastructure development and transport systems (of which roads are an essential part) are activators of modernism'. It is not my intention to enter the scholarly debate about modernism or modernity, save to seek guidance from some of the pointers made by Achille Mbembe during the expert meeting (April 2021) of the Modern Heritage of Africa Symposium, where he presented on the Conceptualisation of the Modern Heritage of Africa. In this discussion, Mbembe states that modernity 'as defined by current scholars espouses and engages a whole lot of social changes which imply urbanisation...'.

I do however attempt to link the view that states that infrastructure and transport systems, in particular roads, are activators of modernism in line with what Mbembe states about modernity above. If we accept that the apartheid city is our past and that apartheid greatly damaged the spatial environment in local government and that this was (one of) the main theses of apartheid, then we should surely agree that the antithesis to the spatial injustices remaining in local government is an attitude that envisions the provision of spatially just spaces in local government. The first signs of such an attitude should be an investment in roads that must be accompanied by sufficient and equitable repairs and maintenance budgets.

Secondly, since politics is always inherent to infrastructure, the attitudes of both policy makers and policy implementors cannot be that the legacy of colonialism was not all negative and/or that budgets are a mere administrative function or tool. In fact, a departure from the past should be a rupture. Such a departure needs all stakeholders to remember that roads 'deliver the basic conditions for modern living, although, as all scholars of modernity are aware, the benefits are uneven and unpredictable' (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 7). Modern living in spaces that were previously unjust needs disruption; such disruption is and has been the rollout of massive road infrastructure projects in black apartheid townships, and for such investments to have a meaningful impact on the creation of spatially just spaces, they need to be accompanied by the sufficient and equitable distribution of repairs and maintenance budgets. In the absence of such, these investments will remain a pothole stop-gap measure in the pursuit of spatial justice in black townships.

Bibliography

Allemeier, J. 2021. The Capacity to Deliver, fairly. Comments on Draft CID Policy and By-Law. www.jodi.city

Baker, M., & Hincks, S. 2009. Infrastructure Delivery and Spatial Planning: The Case of English Local Development Frameworks. *The Town Planning Review*, 80(2), 173–199.

Barron, D. & Frug, G. 2006. International local government Law. *The Urban Lawyer* 38(1), 1-62.

Chapman, T. P. 2015. Spatial Justice and the Western Areas of Johannesburg. *African Studies*, 74(1), 76-97.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, A. O. 1996. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. Republic of South Africa.

Fanon, F. 1961. *The Wretched of The Earth*. 1st Edition. Paris: Francois Maspero. New York: Grove/Atlantic, Inc.

Harvey, P. & Knox, H. 2015. *Roads: An Anthropology of Infrastructure and Expertise*. Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press.

Larkin, B. 2013. The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42, 327-343.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mbembe, A. *Necropolitics*, New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781478007227>

Mbembe, A. 2021. Conceptualisation of Modern Heritage of Africa. Modern Heritage of Africa, Expert Meeting Session: 26 April 2021.

Nolte, A. 2016 Political infrastructure and the politics of infrastructure, *City*, 20:3, 441-454, DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2016.1169778

Simon, D. 1989. Crisis and Change in South Africa: Implications for the Apartheid City. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 14, 189-206.

Soja, E. W. 2008. The city and spatial justice. Conference on Spatial Justice. Nanterre, Paris.

SPLUMA. 2013. Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, 16 of 2013. In: REFORM, D. R. D. A. L. (ed.). Pretoria: Republic of South Africa.

THE WHITE PAPER ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT 1998. The White Paper on Local Government 1998. In: DEVELOPMENT, M. O. P. A. A. C. (ed.). Republic of South Africa

TREASURY, N. 2016. CIDMS National Stakeholder Workshop. CIDMS National Stakeholder Workshop.

Turok, I. 1994a. Urban Planning in the Transition from Apartheid: Part 1: The Legacy of Social Control. *The Town Planning Review* 65, 243-259.

von Schnitzler, A. 2018. Infrastructure, Apartheid Technopolitics, and Temporalities of 'Transition'. In *The Promise of Infrastructure*, edited by Nikhil Anand, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 133-154.

Yiftachel, O. 2009. Theoretical Notes on 'Gray Cities': The Coming of Urban Apartheid? *Planning Theory* 8, 13.

Zille, H. 2017. Legacy of Colonialism not Bad. Twitter @hellenzille.

Past And Present in Heritage

All that Glitters is not Gold: Authenticity and historical accuracy in representations of Mapungubwe

Alexander Andreou

Nedbank Limited
aandreou@nedbank.co.za

Author biography

Alexander Andreou completed his undergraduate study in Archaeology and Ancient Cultures at the University of Pretoria in 2013, followed by a post-graduate programme in Heritage and Museum studies (also at UP). During this time, he worked at the University of Pretoria Museums as Cultural Officer to the Mapungubwe Collection while taking courses in Heritage Conservation and Museology through the University of Stellenbosch. He left UP in 2016 to join Nedbank Limited as a Heritage Consultant, where he now serves as the Heritage and Arts Manager in the Corporate Real Estate Centre of Excellence. In 2019, he began work on an MPhil in Conservation of the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town, completed in 2021. This research forms the basis of what follows. He is currently enrolled for his PhD in Development Studies at the University of Pretoria.

Abstract

The (Re)Discovery of Mapungubwe in 1933 sparked an ongoing 89-year journey of interpretation, re-interpretation, hidden agendas, scientific racism and an evolution of worldviews. Being as deeply meaningful and entrenched in the South African psyche as it is, Mapungubwe features in a variety of representations. For this study, a selection of these representations was made of those considered historical and contemporary. These were discussed and unpacked in accordance with the broader research question, which examines whether accuracy matters. Archaeological theory is discussed as part of this examination, as well as the nationalist ideology and racial science that was attributed to it in the early 20th century. In addition to the selection of representations, a history of the re(discovery) and discoveries of Mapungubwe is also discussed. Ultimately, it does not matter if representations of Mapungubwe are accurate or authentic, as these facets are framework dependent, and have been found to each carry their own meaning or 'truth' around the Mapungubwe story.

Keywords: Mapungubwe, representations, authenticity, archaeology, racial science

To condense the myriad layers and contextual dialogues that form the extent of this research is a disservice to the conversation. It is for this reason that I package this broad overview of my research and direct you to the full work where its full and intricate complexity may be discovered.

The topic All That Glitters is not Gold: Authenticity and historical accuracy in representations of Mapungubwe came about from my several years of working intimately with the Mapungubwe collection at the University of Pretoria Museums. This engagement with the collection was the ignition point of what has been just short of a decade of personal adoration of the site. This love for the collection, and my exposure to it, gave me a deeper relationship to the site than most. From this grew my awareness of the importance of accurately representing the site. As a result, I decided to pursue this study to assess this idea of correctness and accuracy, and, more importantly, if it matters.

Mapungubwe, also referred to as the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape as declared by UNESCO, is in the northern Limpopo Province within the SANParks Mapungubwe National Park, where the borders of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana meet (UNESCO, 2002; Meyer, 2011b; Huffman, 2008). Environmentally, Mapungubwe is predominantly a sandstone complex with abundant Mopane and Acacia shrubland, located on what was previously known as the farm Greefswald 37MS (Forssman, 2013; Meyer & Cloete, 2010). The Mapungubwe Complex is formed primarily by three main stages of occupation found in the archaeological record. These are the Middle Iron Age sites of Schroda (CE 900-1020), K2 (CE 1020-1220) and Mapungubwe Hill (CE 1220-1295) (Huffman, 2000; Antonites, 2016; Tiley-Nel, 2017).

The archaeological record of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape boasts a host of typologies and areas that have become the focal points of specialised study and enquiry within the archaeological field. These range from studies in faunal remains, human remains, metallurgy, architecture, trade, bead and glassware manufacture, low fired-ceramics and ceramic technologies, and archival assemblages (Antonites & Tiley-Nel, 2015; Tiley-Nel & Botha,

2013; Chirikure, 2013; Weber, 1937; Pearson, 1937; Stanley, 1937; Steyn, 2007; Steyn, 2011; Meyer & Cloete, 2010; Prinsloo et al., 2005; Prinsloo, 2011; Tiley-Nel, 2015; Tiley-Nel, 2018).

Of the associations and connotations linked to Mapungubwe, none is more prominent than the famous Gold Rhino. This emergent foil form was discovered in 1932 by the van Graan expedition; it has become the crowning symbol of Mapungubwe and is internationally recognisable (Tiley-Nel & Botha, 2013; van Graan, 2011). The rhino, now on permanent display at the University of Pretoria, is immortalised in its iconography in the highest of South Africa's National Orders, The Order of Mapungubwe – awarded for extraordinary achievement in aspects such as nation-building, creative and performing arts, journalism and sport, and bravery. Mapungubwe and its rich and layered history is a crucial aspect of what former President Thabo Mbeki coined as the African Renaissance (Carruthers, 2006; Pikirayi, 2011). Mapungubwe is inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and today falls under the management of the South African National Parks portfolio as Mapungubwe National Park (UNESCO, 2002; Meyer & Cloete, 2010; Meyer, 2011b; SANParks, 2019).

As a globally renowned archaeological site, it has been interpreted according to a traditional archaeological framework, in which artefacts and remnants are interpreted within a scientific and rationalist epistemology to construct a set of commonly accepted 'facts' about its past and its meanings. However, since Mapungubwe's peak occurred beyond any form of living memory, the only way to understand the site is through material interpretations, which have their own parameters of bias and incorrectness.

Given this reliance on the interpretive process, which is for the most part learned and often biased, certainty can we view the 'facts' of such a place? This is coupled with the existence of various representations and uses of the site's narrative that lie beyond the academic scope. These re-tellings are in many cases found to be missing the mark when relating them to the core 'facts' about Mapungubwe. Alongside these academic and scientific interpretations of Mapungubwe, however, exist many creative, literary, and contemporary interpretations of its histories and significance. Examples include Zakes Mda's *The Sculptors of Mapungubwe* (Mda, 2013); K.A. Nephawe's *Legends of the Lost Sacred Kingdom* (Nephawe, 2014), and Chris Angus's *Winston Churchill and the Treasure of Mapungubwe* (Angus, 2014). In many of these creative and interpretive works, alternative or imagined versions of Mapungubwe's history are

presented, alongside elements of mythology, metaphor, and fiction. These treatments of the Mapungubwe story, when viewed from the standpoint of traditional archaeological interpretations, lend themselves to accusations of 'historical inaccuracy' or misinterpretation.

During my research, I aimed to provide a more nuanced reading of the ideas of truth and scientific accuracy as they pertain to Mapungubwe. I was interested in the extent to which such interpretive, creative, or fictionalised representations of the site might enable the conveyance of particular kinds of 'truth' that the scientific archive cannot access, and, as a corollary, the ways in which the 'official' or academic archive is also constructed and potentially open to multiple interpretations. As a result, my research adopted the central question: To what extent is the concept of 'historical accuracy' and authenticity a useful measure for assessing interpretations of Mapungubwe's history and significance?

My aim was to compile and critically analyse a selection of representations of Mapungubwe's history (both historical and non-historical/contemporary in nature). While representations of the site appear in a broad scope, including in newspapers and print media; textbooks, artworks, reproductions, poetry and prose, videography, music, research and journal articles, exhibitions, the official archive, novels, symbols and iconography, and architecture, the decision was made to refine these parameters and select a dataset with a targeted number of representations. These were historical representations in the form of archival data as well as data from the archaeological record. For this I focussed on the Gold Rhino, read as document, and the 1934 Skeletal Study by Dr Alexander Galloway (Galloway, 1937). For the contemporary representations, I focussed on a work of fiction, *The Sculptors of Mapungubwe* by Zakes Mda (2013), a work of poetry *Mapungubwe* by H.J. Pieterse (2000), and a museological exhibition, 'Gold of Africa' at Javett-UP.

Starting from the premise of this research and the question 'what is accuracy' when dealing with the archaeological record, I began by examining the theoretical frameworks on which archaeological practice is based. Here, the works of Foucault, Carr and von Ranke are discussed as well in associating the idea of authenticity to the archaeological process and importantly, to the interpretative nature of the praxis (Foucault, 1972; Carr, 1990; von Ranke, 1885). Through the research question, sub-elements in addressing the representations by their 'accuracy' when the 'meaning' they manifested was more 'true' than

other more supposedly 'accurate' scientific and archaeological representations emerged.

The study positions the known and accumulated history of Mapungubwe, and how this knowledge came into being and circulation in the public and academic space. This knowledge (especially around the discovery and (re)discovery) can become clouded as a result of the inaccuracy posed by the reconstruction of memory. This is seen in respect of Jerry van Graan's written and verbal recounts. While these inaccuracies did not change the weight of the story, they stood testament to how easily 'fact' and fiction can blur. An important aspect is the evolution of ideology in South Africa, which has moved from an antiquarian and nationalist stance on the historical and archaeological praxes to the adopting of a post-processual framework (Darvill, 2008; Ndlovu & Smith, 2019). Through this, the evolution of archaeology as an adjunct discipline in its infancy and its growth into an important tool in the understanding of the many pasts of our country was also brought to light (Ndlovu & Smith, 2019; Carruthers, 2006).

The concept of accuracy in representation in tangible settings is brought to the fore, in the discussion about previous exhibitions showcasing reproductions in place of originals, and the importance of an associable context to a decontextualised entity. The aspect of 'aura' was an crucial facet to keep in mind, and how this illusion is able to stimulate a sense of meaning based on an aesthetic (Frijey, 2017; Benjamin, 2008). In the space of archaeological context, there is often little to no living memory to work from, which results in the reliance on an historical or a prehistorical source base in order to access and assess a site, object, or space. This, as is demonstrated in this work, is reliant on contextual interpretation, re-interpretation and in some cases an inference of absence in order to do so (Jones, 2001; Ascher, 1961; Kelly & Thomas, 2013; Greene, 1995; Hodder, 1985; Frijey, 2017).

The need to address contemporary representations as part of my research was important for me, as it was testament to a transcendence of meaning away from what is positioned and represented as 'fact', and allowed an exploration of 'truth' on a level that speaks to the personal and the attributable meaning of an object, site, or space. This additional layer allots and stacks an additional depth to this narrative, which in the case of something as sacred and as special as Mapungubwe, far outweighs any clinical or dictionary definition stemming from dust-laden textbooks offering up a chosen meaning.

Through the course of the research and as is documented in my thesis, the tangible aspect of the dehumanisation of Mapungubwe has been clear. From the day that the van Graans set foot on the site, up to the latest representation in the 'Gold of Africa' exhibition, the focus and approach to the site and its layers has been scientific, archaeological and inaccessible. While it could be considered that science and history can be disassociated from this 'human' aspect, there is the strong sense of forgetting that the creation of science and history is a direct result of being human. This is evident from as early as Carr's approach to the relationship and dependence between fact and historian (Carr, 1990). The same is clear in the importance of the contextual bridge between an object and its history, as discussed in Benjamin (2008) and Frijey (2017).

It is therefore critical that representations not only of Mapungubwe, but all sites and spaces of cultural importance be viewed in the vein of enquiry adopted in this research: how does the 'accuracy' of a representation matter when the 'meaning' it manifests is more 'true' than other *more* 'accurate' scientific and archaeological representations? This is, after all, the broader depth of Processual and Post-Processual approaches – to integrate the understanding of the intangible humanity behind the materiality. the archive and the 'source' of Mapungubwe knowledge at the University of Pretoria is flawed, imperfect and decontextualised. This is a reality of most museums and archives across the world (Tiley-Nel, 2018; Stoler, 2002; Guha, 1983; Denning, 1995; Fischer, 1991). This means that there is no 'true font' of knowledge to draw from; interpretation of the past is subjective, biased and relative to a host of contingencies. These contingencies, which are often permanent stains on a history, are slowly being washed away as new processes are emerging to inform the ways in which we understand objects, sites and peoples (Butzer, 1980; Jones, 2001; Guha, 1983; Denning, 1995; Schoeman & Pikirayi, 2011).

While it has taken 70-odd years to get to this point, Mapungubwe has gone from being seen as the supposed 'graveyard' of Great Zimbabwe and then as the Ancient City State of the Limpopo Province, to being a bastion of inspiration for fictional literary works. It is a source of context for art, meaning, and power. For this to happen, it means that this place is going to be remembered not just as part of the academy, but also as part of humanity.

Ultimately, to answer to my initial research question, it appears that it does not matter if representations of Mapungubwe are different

from each other or are seen as inaccurate or inauthentic. Each representation holds the possibility to bring about a new meaning to Mapungubwe based on its own 'brand' of authenticity, accuracy, and truth through its unique type of knowledge and approach. These layers of knowledge matter, and all should be seen as part of the collective archive of memory and meaning of the site, that we as a nation create. Mapungubwe is so much more than an accumulation of shiny things laid bare on a table, or glass cabinets filled with pots and sherds – it is a quintessential facet of our South African identity.

While we will never be able to know how we have fared in our accumulation and interpretations (and re-interpretations) of Mapungubwe over the past 89 years, the message for me is clear: Mapungubwe is not a place, it is a feeling. A beacon of hope that dawns each day on the horizon and all that it is to be part of one of the most important heritage stories the world has ever seen.

Long may Mapungubwe be remembered.

References:

- Angus, C. 2014. *Winston Churchill and the Treasure of Mapungubwe Hill: A Novel*. Yucca Publishing: USA.
- Antonites, A. & Tiley-Nel, S. 2015. *Archaeological worked bone and ivory: A guide to best practice in preservation, research and curation – a museum conservation research case study from the K2 and Mapungubwe Collection*. University of Pretoria: South Africa.
- Antonites, A. 2016. Zhizo and Leokwe Period Human Remains and Burial Practices at Schroda. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 71(203), 14-26.
- Ascher, R. 1961. Analogy in Archaeological Interpretation. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17(4), 317-325.
- Benjamin, W. 2008. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Translation by J.A. Underwood. London: Penguin Books.
- Butzer, K. 1980. Context in Archaeology: An Alternative Perspective. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 7(4), 417-422.
- Carr, E.H. 1990. *What is History?* (Second Edition). London: Penguin Books.
- Carruthers, J. 2006. Mapungubwe: An historical and contemporary analysis of a World Heritage cultural landscape. *Koedoe* 49(1), 1-13.
- Chirikure, S. 2013. The metalworking industry of Mapungubwe. *Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA)*. Research Report 2013, 68-75.
- Darvill, T. 2008. *The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Archaeology* (Second Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dening, G. 1995. *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology*. Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press.
- Fischer, P. 1994. *Making and Effacing Art: Modern American Art in a Culture of Museums*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Frije, A.M. 2017. *Aura of Authenticity: The Impact of Original Objects in the Museum Guest Experience*. MA dissertation, History and Social Studies Education, State University of New York, Buffalo.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Galloway, A. The Skeletal Remains of Mapungubwe. In *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo: Reports on Excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal), February 1933 to June 1935*, edited by L. Fouché. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 127-174.
- Greene, K. 1995. *Archaeology, An Introduction: The History, Principles and Methods of Modern Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Guha, R. 1995 [1983]. The process of counter-insurgency. In *Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by N. Dirks, G. Eley, & S. Ortner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 336-371.
- Hodder, I. 1985. Postprocessual Archaeology. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, 1-26.
- Huffman, T. 2008. Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe: The origin and spread of social complexity in southern Africa. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 28 37-54.
- Huffman, T. 2000. Mapungubwe and the origins of the Zimbabwe Culture. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 8, 14-29.
- Jones, A. 2001. *Archaeological Theory and Scientific Practice: Topics in Contemporary Archaeology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, R.L. & Thomas, D.H. 2013. *Archaeology* (6th Edition). Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Mda, Z. 2013. *The Sculptors of Mapungubwe*. Johannesburg: Kwela Books.
- Meyer, A & C.E. Cloete. 2010. Architectural traditions of Mapungubwe and Bambandanyalo (K2), *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 6, 241-270.
- Meyer, A. 2011b. An Introduction to the Mapungubwe and K2 Cultural Landscape. In *Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria*, edited by S. Tiley-Nel et al. Johannesburg: Chris van

- Rensburg Publications, 105-121.
- Ndlovu, N. & Smith, B. 2019. The Past is a Divided Country: Transforming Archaeology in South Africa. *African Archaeological Review* 36, 175-192.
- Nephawe, K.A. 2014. *Legends of the Lost Sacred Kingdom*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.
- Pearson, R. 1937. Gold from Mapungubwe. In *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo: Reports on Excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal), February 1933 to June 1935*, edited by L. Fouché. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 116-117.
- Pieterse, H.J. 2000. *Die burg van Hertog Bloubaard*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Pikirayi, I. 2011. The Past Within the Present: The Contemporary Uses of Mapungubwe. In *Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria*, edited by S. Tiley-Nel. Johannesburg: Chris van Rensburg Publications, 263-271.
- Prinsloo, L.C., Wood, N., Loubser, M., Verryn, S.M.C., and Tiley, S. 2005. Re-dating of Chinese celadon shards excavated on Mapungubwe Hill, a 13th century Iron Age site in South Africa, using Raman spectroscopy, XRF and XRD. *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 36, 806- 816.
- Prinsloo, L. 2011. A silent testimony of imported shards and glass trade beads. In *Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria*, edited by S. Tiley-Nel. Johannesburg: Chris van Rensburg Publications, 204-213.
- SANPARKS. 2013. Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site: *Management Plan*. Available Online at: https://www.sanparks.org/assets/docs/conservation/park_man/mapungubwe_approved_plans.pdf. [Last accessed: 03/03/2021].
- Schoeman, M.H., & Pikirayi, I. 2011. Repatriating more than Mapungubwe remains: Archaeological material culture, a shared future and an artificially divided past. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29(4), 389-403.
- Stanley, G.H. 1937. Mapungubwe Metallurgical Material. In *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo: Reports on Excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal), February 1933 to June 1935*, edited by L. Fouché. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 117-119.
- Steyn, M. 2007. The Mapungubwe Gold Graves Revisited. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 62(186), 140-146.
- Steyn, M. 2011. Mapungubwe and K2: Bones of Contention over 75 years. In *Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria*, edited by S. Tiley-Nel. Johannesburg: Chris van Rensburg Publications, 222-229.
- Stoler, A.L. 2002. Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content of the Form. In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by C. Hamilton, V. Harris, M. Pickover, G. Reid, R. Saleh & J. Taylor. Cape Town: David Philip, 82-102.
- Tiley-Nel, S. & Botha, H. 2013. The conservation of the Mapungubwe gold collection, South Africa. *Journal of the Institute of Conservation* 36, 1-16.
- Tiley-Nel, S. 2015. *Culture war brews over South African golden rhino figurine* (Interview of Sian Tiley-Nel by AFP News Agency) [Video File]. Available online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ue2OMETEq6s>. [Last accessed 09/03/2021].
- Tiley-Nel, S. 2017. *National Treasures: The Mapungubwe Gold Collection of the University of Pretoria*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria Museums.
- Tiley-Nel, S. 2018. Past Imperfect: The Contested Early History of the Mapungubwe Archive. DPhil thesis, Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria.
- UNESCO. 2002. Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape: World Heritage Nomination Dossier. Available Online <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1099.pdf> [Last accessed: 23/02/2021].
- van Graan, J. 2011. The Discovery of Mapungubwe. In *Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria*, edited by S. Tiley-Nel. Johannesburg: Chris van Rensburg Publications, 43-52.
- Von Ranke, L. 1885. *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.
- Weber, M. 1937. Notes on Gold Ornaments. In *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo: Reports on Excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal), February 1933 to June 1935*, edited by L. Fouché. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 114-116.

Learning from Steinkopf

Noëleen Murray

University of Pretoria
noeleen.murray-cooke@up.ac.za

Svea Josephy

svea.josephy@uct.ac.za

Abstract

As creative practitioners and academics, our work has, for the last 20+ years, focused on considerations of architecture and urbanism, variously designing, theorising, photographing cities and structures. While Svea (and Noëleen in less expert ways) photographs architecture, our work offers a critique of architectural photography, an approach to visualising and thinking about cities that is critical and analytical. Our collaborative work is set up in dialogue with conventional forms of architectural scholarship and photography.

For the last 12 years, we have been working on a project that emerged out of Noëleen's doctoral work in African Studies at the University of Cape Town, around the question of 'apartheid's modernities'. Our present collaborative project concerns the documentation of architect and UCT professor Roelof. S. Uytendogaardt's buildings. Uytendogaardt died in the late 1990s and his papers are lodged at UCT Library's Department of Manuscripts and Archives. During the past 12 years we have been collecting and constructing our own archive, and we have documented a large number of Uytendogaardt's public buildings, projects and sites across South Africa, including the Crown Mines project, the Welkom South NG church, the Steinkopf Community Centre, the UCT Sports Centre, the Werdmuller Centre, the Salt River Community Centre, the Bonwitt Factory (now Hilton Double Tree), and the Remembrance Garden, Simonstown.

The project is continuing, and other sites are yet to be photographed in their entirety. This presentation offers a rough cut of the fieldwork images that we have been made. We will also present our mock-ups of publications, drawn from photography books in progress, created during 2021 as a record of a dialogue between artist and architect.

Keywords: photography, modern heritage, modern architecture, South Africa, Roelof Uytendogaardt

Apprendre de Steinkopf

Résumé

En tant que praticiens créatifs et universitaires, notre travail se concentre, depuis plus de vingt ans, sur des considérations d'architecture et d'urbanisme, en concevant, théorisant et photographiant des villes et des structures. Alors que Svea (et Noëleen de manière moins experte) photographie l'architecture, notre travail propose une critique de la photographie d'architecture, une approche de la visualisation et de la réflexion sur les villes qui est critique et analytique. Notre travail de collaboration s'inscrit dans un dialogue avec les formes conventionnelles de la photographie et de la recherche en architecture.

Depuis 12 ans, nous travaillons sur un projet issu du travail de doctorat de Noëleen en études africaines à l'université du Cape Town, autour de la question des "modernités de l'apartheid". Notre projet de collaboration actuel concerne la documentation de l'architecte et professeur de l'UCT Roelof. S. Uytendogaardt. Uytendogaardt est décédé à la fin des années 1990 et ses papiers sont conservés au département des manuscrits et des archives de la bibliothèque de l'UCT. Au cours des 12 dernières années, nous avons rassemblé et constitué nos propres archives et nous avons documenté un grand nombre de bâtiments publics, de projets et de sites d'Uytendogaardt à travers l'Afrique du Sud, notamment le projet Crown Mines, l'église Welkom South NG, le Steinkopf Community Centre, le UCT Sports Centre, le Werdmuller Centre, le Salt River Community Centre, le Bonwitt Factory (now Hilton Double Tree), et le Remembrance Garden, Simonstown.

Le projet se poursuit, et d'autres sites doivent encore être photographiés dans leur intégralité. Cette présentation propose un montage brut des images de terrain que nous avons réalisées. Nous présenterons également nos maquettes de publications, tirées des livres de photographies en cours, créées au cours de l'année 2021 comme

trace d'un dialogue entre artiste et architecte.

Mots-clés : photographie, patrimoine moderne, architecture moderne, Afrique du Sud, Roelof Uytenbogaardt

Author biographies

Noëleen Murray is a South African architect and academic. She holds the Research Chair in Critical Architecture and Urbanism at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. Her key academic books include *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Postapartheid City* (2007), *Becoming UWC, Reflections, pathways and the unmaking of apartheid's legacy* (2012). *Hostels, Homes, Museum: Memorializing migrant labour pasts in Lwandle South Africa*, co-authored with Leslie Witz, appeared in 2014, and was awarded the Michael M. Ames Award for Innovative Museum Anthropology by the Council for Museum Anthropology of the American Association of Anthropologists.

Svea Josephy is Associate Professor in Fine Art (Photography) at Michaelis School of Fine Art, at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. She has exhibited her solo creative work including *Framing Documentary* (2001), *Twin Town* (2008) and *Satellite Cities* (2016). Her work has been included in international group exhibitions such as *Crossing Boundaries* (Qatar), *Format Photography Festival* (UK), *Chobi Mela V* (Bangladesh), *The Position of South African Photography* (Germany), *Shuttle 99*, (Finland) and DAKART 2010 (Senegal). Svea's research interests include southern African photography, documentary photography, contemporary South African lens-based practice and post-apartheid photography, particularly as it connects to the politics of structures, land and space.

Funding (Josephy)

This work is based on the research supported in part by the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa [grant number 90943]. Any opinion, finding and conclusion or recommendation expressed in this material is that of the author's and the NRF does not accept any liability in this regard.

Learning from Steinkopf

When Denise Scott-Brown and Robert Venturi went to the desert town of Las Vegas, they produced a book that documented the architecture they found in new ways. Writing in the preface to the revised edition of *Learning from Las Vegas*, Scott-Brown playfully claimed, 'We architects can learn from Rome and Las Vegas and from looking around us wherever we happen to be' (Scott Brown et al., 1977). In August 2018, Svea and I visited a small desert town in the Northern Cape of South Africa. Our interest was in a building designed at about the same time in the 1970s by Roelof Uytenbogaardt and published in the Union of International Architects Special Edition on *Southern Africa* in 1985 under the title of the practice of Roelof Uytenbogaardt and Norbert Rosendal (Beck, 1985: 12-13).

Together, as creative practitioners and academics, our work has, for the last 20 years, focused on considerations of architecture and urbanism, variously writing, theorising and photographing cities and structures. Our work together proposes a critique of architectural photography, a visualising and thinking about cities and structures that is critical and analytical. Our collaborative work is set up in dialogue with conventional forms of architectural scholarship and photography (Josephy, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2020; Murray, 2010, 2013a, 2018).



Figure 1: Steinkopf Community Centre panorama (Svea Josephy and Noëleen Murray, 2018).

The work we are sharing at the MoHoA Symposium has, as its central focus, the question of the place, form, and future of modern architecture as heritage (or not?) (Murray et al., 2007).

For some time, we have been working on a project that emerged out of Noëleen's doctoral work in African Studies at the University of Cape Town (UCT), around the question of 'apartheid modernities' (Murray, 2000). Our current collaborative project continues this work with the documentation – through photography and archival research – of architect and UCT professor Roelof Uytenbogaardt's buildings. Uytenbogaardt died in the late 1990s and his papers are lodged at UCT Library's Department of Manuscripts and Archives (Murray, 2010; UCT, BC1264).

During the past 12 years we have been collecting and constructing our own archive, and we have documented a large number of Uytenbogaardt's public buildings, projects and sites across South Africa. These include the Crown Mines Project (Murray, 2018), the Welkom South NG church (visited in 2019), the UCT Sports Centre; the Werdmuller Centre (Murray, 2013a), the Salt River Community Centre, the Bonwitt Factory (now Hilton Double Tree Hotel), the Garden of Remembrance in Simonstown, and the Steinkopf Community Centre, which is the subject of our



Figure 2: Steinkopf Community Centre interior

conference presentation for the session Past and Present in Heritage, in which we reference Scott-Brown's contribution to thinking about architecture and heritage differently.

This presentation is a rough cut of the raw field work images that we have made. The Steinkopf Community Centre is described on the Artefacts website in the following manner:

The Steinkopf Community centre is a notable design in South Africa's Architectural history and was awarded an SAIA Award of merit. Only phase 1 of a more ambitious project was ever completed. The Louis Kahn influences are clear in the design. Its multiple flying roofs were justified as shade making devices but sometimes derided as the designer's folly. The centre point of the programme is the main hall attached to an extended spine. It was built partly from community labour.

Sadly the building fell into disrepair and was later no longer used. Although it has been significantly vandalised the basic structure is still largely intact.

Its only function now is the play place for the local children and an escape from Steinkopf's harsh sun.

It remains arguably Uytenbogaardt's most pure design.

[Mike Bell, January 2012]

(Artefacts, <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=9194>)

We are working on our mock-ups of publications, drawn from photobooks in progress, created in 2021 as a record of a dialogue between artist and architect. The shift to working with the photobook emerged from an engagement and partnership between the photography section at the Michaelis School of Fine Art and *Hydra*, an educational and photobook platform in Mexico.

Steinkopf, originally a small mission settlement of the London Missionary Society and later taken over by the Rhenish Mission, is now a post-apartheid town located 70 km short of the Namibian border in the far north of South Africa's Northern Cape Province, on the N7 national road. The Northern Cape has been mined for diamonds and minerals since the boom in Kimberley during the 1870s, with large tracts of land owned by De Beers (Carstens, 2001).



Figure 3: Steinkopf Community Centre in landscape (Svea Josephy and Noëleen Murray, 2018).

The building that we are interested in is the Steinkopf Community Centre, completed by Uytendogaardt in 1978. The centre is situated on the site of a former community vegetable garden and was commissioned by De Beers as a contribution to the upliftment of the residents of the settlement, a parting gift at a time when the mining company was leaving the area (Beck, 1985).

The Surveyor Generals Office (today known as the National Geo-Spatial Information) (NGI) regularly photographed settlements across South Africa from the air for population management, control and other surveillance purposes under apartheid. The archive created out of these activities carried out from 1964 and 1985, shows the spatial transition and growth of the town into which the community centre scheme was inserted (NGI, 2019).

The award-winning community centre built by Uytendogaardt was, from its inception, hardly used by the 'community' for whom the architects had imagined it. Even in 1985, the year of the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA) Award of Merit, and in which the photographs published in the American Special Edition, show the empty space (Beck, 1985). The imposing forms and austere finishes that rise out of the small-scale fabric of the mission housing, dominate the landscape, and contributed to the poor reception of the building by residents. Very soon, the building became run down and derelict, and by the late 1990s, the complex was entirely abandoned. A more conventionally recognisable community centre was developed close by and residents gravitated towards the new facility, which was deemed more central,

practical and usable, with its unassuming façade and ample parking, and a hall that could be decorated for festivities like weddings, funerals and other events (Murray, 2013).

Uytendogaardt is considered as one of the masters of South African modern architecture. Our interest is less concerned with the narratives of 'great men and great lives' as so often portrayed in monographs and through architectural and art history, where it is a trope of both. Rather, we are interested in the life of these buildings and the people who have been subjected to them (Murray, 2010).

The way we work is through visiting the sites celebrated as seminal instances of modern architectural heritage. Often, what we find is that buildings have changed over time and comparing these changes to the original vision is an integral part of the archival documentary research that we undertake, alongside our contemporary investigations. The vision for Steinkopf – in the mind of Uytendogaardt – was to create an oasis of sorts in the arid landscape of the town. It was envisaged as much as an urban design scheme, as it was a provision of facilities. The functional programme for the centre envisaged a community hall, daycare facilities, a swimming pool, a community garden. It was conceptualised as both a refuge from the hot sun and an inspiring structural form that used natural light and natural materials in sculptural and organic flourishes of modernist form. The scheme as described by the architects was 'romantic' in the sense of the Western tradition in art and architecture, echoing the materiality and shape of the rocky stone outcrops, known as *koppies*. The materiality extended into the



Figure 4: Steinkopf Community Centre interior with arch (Svea Josephy and Noleen Murray, 2018).

very construction of the building as the bricks and cement were made locally with the sand from the area. The building was instantly revered by architects and celebrated in the UIA Special Edition on architects in southern Africa in 1985, at the height of apartheid (Beck, 1985).

Uytenbogaardt's experience as a Rome Scholar documenting the Italian hill towns is salient to his design of the Steinkopf Community Centre. There is evidence in his plans of the romance associated with the Grand Tour and Rome, central to which is the idea of the ruin. Abbè Laugier's famous etching of the merging of nature and architecture signals the beginning of this romantic tension with the classicism of ancient Rome. Uytenbogaardt brought this romantic sentiment into many of his designs and urban schemes (Silverman, 2000). Yet the irony of what we found in the contemporary landscape was that it was only a ruin, in place of the romantic building. The trajectory of the passage of the building into ruin is paralleled by the claims and calls for Utenbogaardt's work to be celebrated in the category of modern heritage (Murray, 2013a).

In contemporary photography, there has been a fascination with what critics have called 'ruin

porn', where abandoned buildings and sites of trauma have become the objects of opportunistic photographers capturing urban decay and structures in decline (Lyons, 2018). Often photographed in black and white and shown on Instagram, modernist and brutalist buildings are staged and emphasised as derelict, abandoned, and accompanied by calls to conserve and repair as tragic losses of heritage. This practice often uses lighting, tone and depressing overcast sky to foreground the demise of structures, which were once grand. Often there is a nostalgia for these and similar buildings where the images are filtered, toned or manipulated to underplay the material deterioration (Matthew, 2021). As Svea Josephy (2017: 81) identifies in an article about the modernist Ponte City in Johannesburg, these ruin porn tropes have become familiar in South African photography, as well as globally.

We have followed this phenomenon with interest and discomfort, as ruin porn constructs and manipulates the viewer and image alike. So how then do we photograph the remnants of modern architecture as we find it *in situ*? Architectural photography as we have written elsewhere, seeks to show buildings at the moment of their completion to showcase the realisation of a project's vision; in other words, to portray the work of architecture in its best possible light (Murray, 2010: Visual Essay). These architectural projects are almost always promotional and not seen in their context.

In our approach, we too seek to show the buildings as we encounter them in their best possible light, using natural light on the forms of the buildings; we time our visits to photograph according to the light. Yet as these photos of Steinkopf show, the polish of the finished product has disappeared over time. Our images determinedly seek to show the buildings as we find them, without consistently emphasising them as ruin, so as to show the decay of the building, but also to show tenderness and care. In our boarder thinking and work over the last years we have also considered the social, physical, political, and environmental contexts in which these buildings are inserted into sites, towns, or landscapes. Specifically, we have deliberately asserted the colonial and apartheid contexts that were so noticeably absent in the portrayal of buildings in architectural photography from the 1960s onwards.

Rather than the singular image that is the hallmark of the contemporary ruin porn photographer, we are making photobooks. We believe the photobook offers the opportunity to present visual arguments (alongside our conventional academic writing), which allow us



Figure 5: Steinkopf Community centre exterior (Svea Josephy and Noëleen Murray, 2018).

to work with multiple responses to visiting the sites. This includes their local contexts, archival and published materials in the form of journal articles, as well as archives of photographs, drawings, site-notes, and building plans, where these exist in whole or in part.

Heritage documentation, of course, also does this within a formal format. Our photobooks are positioned in relation to this practice of the heritage report or documentation entry, where we raise questions about the selection, role, and classificatory modes of heritage practice, both locally and internationally.

These books are collections of our creative interpretations and critical research. Whereas heritage is set up as preservable, restored, fixed, we are attentive to the used, discarded, appropriated, eroded. We are interested in the 'post' work of architecture, as we find its dematerialisation, preservation, or domestication.

The final reflection in our presentation showed images (not reproduced here) that we took during the events that unfolded on 18 April 2021, where much of the Jagger Reading Room within the University of Cape Town Library was tragically destroyed by a run-away bush fire. Contained in the basement were the archives of Uytenbogaardt, including Steinkopf and many other buildings (BC 1264). Over the following weeks we found ourselves involved in the emergency recovery of these archives and the question of the future of heritage, posed by the ruin of the archive itself. This provided the impetus for the assemblage of our books, as a way to think through documentation and ruin in

a practice-based manner.

Returning to the idea of learning from Rome and Las Vegas as suggested by Scott Brown, we circle back to the desert town of Steinkopf, where we are reminded of Uytenbogaardt's romance with Rome. As a Rome scholar in the 1960s, his time spent at the British School, sketching the arches, vaults and domes of classical antiquity and the hill towns of rural Italy comes through in powerful yet abstract ways in his modern architecture in Africa. He also studied the great public buildings constructed during the golden age of Rome, which were meant to instill civic pride, built in displays of power. So too in Steinkopf, in a desert in Africa, where the De Beers commissioned community centre was intended as a display of corporate generosity and, of course, power.

The consideration of heritage past and present, in the MoHOA session we contributed to, in relation to the award-winning modernist architecture in ruin, poses the question of what heritage should be preserved and what should be let go in a time of growing inequality and a global pandemic – and once again - what are the politics and ethics of African heritage?

Primary source

The Roelof Sarel Uytenbogaardt Collection, BC1264, Department of Manuscripts and Archives Architectural Collections, University of Cape Town Libraries.

Bibliography

- Beck, Haig (ed). 1985. *UIA International Architect: Southern Africa* (Issue 8). London: International Architect.
- Bell, M. 2012. 'Steinkopf' in *Artefacts* http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/image_slide.php?type=2&bldgid=9194&rank=8
- Last accessed 20 October 2021.
- Carstens, P. 2001. *In the company of diamonds: De Beers, Kleinzee, and the control of a town*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Fisher, R. 2000. 'A South African style-line'. In *Architecture 2000: A review of South African architecture*, edited by I. Prinsloo, I. L. van Wyk, I. de Beer and H. Jacobs. Cape Town: Picasso Headline, 45-51.
- Fisher, R., Le Roux, H., Murray, N. and Sanders, P. 2003. 'The modern movement architecture of four South African cities'. *do.co.mo.mo*, 28, 68-76.
- Josephy, S. 2014. 'Fractured compounds: Photographing post-apartheid compounds and hostels'. *Social Dynamics: A journal of African Studies* 40(1), 444-470.
- Josephy, S. 2016. *Satellite Cities*. Solo exhibition by Svea Josephy, 19 January - 6 March, WAM Johannesburg, (exhibition catalogue), Wits City Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Josephy, S. 2017. 'Satellite Cities'. Photographic essay. *Thesis Eleven* 14(1), 67-85; 103-108.
- Josephy, S. 2020. 'Johannesburg, 2nd Greatest City after Paris: Reflections on photographing Hermann Kallenbach's Johannesburg through the lens of Walter Benjamin's Arcades in the age of digital reproduction'. *Critical African Studies* 12(2), 186-202.
- Lyons, S (ed). 2018. *Ruin Porn and the Obsession with Decay*. Sydney: Palgrave.
- Matthew, G. 2021. De Beers: Destruction Is Forever. *The Revelator*. <https://therevelator.org/de-beers-destruction-forever/> Last accessed 17 October 2021.
- Murray, N. 2006. 'Reframing the "contemporary", architecture and the postcolony'. In *Contemporary Architecture in a Landscape of Transition*, edited by T. Deckler, A. Graupner and H. Rasmuss. Cape Town: Double Storey, 4-8.
- Murray, N. 2007. 'Review: Roelof Uytenbogaardt Senza tempo / Timeless', editor Giovanni Vio Publisher: Il Poligrafo'. *Architecture South Africa*, the Journal of the South African Institute of Architects, July /August, 92-93.
- Murray, N., Shepherd, N. and Hall, M. (eds). 2007, *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Postapartheid City*. London: Routledge ArchiText Series,
- Murray, N. 2010. *Architectural Modernism and Apartheid Modernity in South Africa: A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer Roelof Uytenbogaardt, 1960-2009*. PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Murray, N. 2010. 'The Werdmuller Centre: A visual essay in conversation with Svea Josephy' in *Architectural Modernism and Apartheid Modernity in South Africa: A critical inquiry into the work of architect and urban designer Roelof Uytenbogaardt, 1960-2009*. PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town. (Un-numbered).
- Murray, N. 2013. 'Architecture Dreaming: Forms of practice in the architectures of new museums post 1994'. Conference proceedings *Healing through Heritage and Memorialisation*. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, March 2013,
- Murray, N. 2013a. 'Love and loathing in Cape Town'. *ABE Journal* [Online], 3 | 2013. <http://journals.openedition.org/abe/376>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.376> Last accessed 17 October 2021.
- Murray, N. 2018. 'Envelopes of the un-planned in Johannesburg's South', In *Reversing Urban Inequality in Johannesburg*, edited by M. Myambo. Oxford: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 135-144.
- Scott Brown, D., Venturi, R. and Izenour, S. 1972 [1977]. *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Silverman, M., 2000, 'Urbane Thinking'. Exhibition review, *Mail & Guardian*, 23-29 June.
- Van Wyk, D., Cronjé, F. and Van Wyk, J. 2009. *SADC Research Report. Corporate social responsibility in the diamond mining industry on the west coast of South Africa*. Bench Marks Foundation and Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA).

Reclaiming African Heritage for the Post-COVID Era: A COVID-19 Impact Study

Dr. Denise L. Lim

Yale Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage
denise.lim@yale.edu

Biography

Dr. Denise Lim is an independent researcher for the Yale Institute of the Preservation of Cultural Heritage (IPCH). Dr. Lim has a B.A. in English and Sociology from Bryn Mawr College, an MA in African Studies, and a Ph.D in Sociology from Yale University. Dr. Lim has worked for over 16 years in the transdisciplinary sociology of diverse African communities, concentrating on southern Africa and the region's diverse cultural practices.

Acknowledgements:

This study was commissioned by Alison Gilchrest, director of Applied Research and Outreach at the Yale Institute for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage (IPCH), for the October 2021 Global Consortium for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage (GCPCH) hosted by the University of Pretoria. Funding was provided to IPCH by the UK-based Arcadia Fund. We extend our special thanks to all our translators for their time, expertise, and dedication to ensuring that the online survey instrument and interview questionnaire were translated into other major languages spoken by our sample population. These translators include Nour Al Ghraoui (Arabic), Inês de Almeida Forjaz de Lacerda (Portuguese), Pamela Kimario (Kiswahili), Alexandra Morrison (French), and Nandipa Sipengane (isiZulu). We thank the members of our applied research and outreach team at Yale IPCH for their assistance with transcribing interviews. These team members are Josh Davis, Khari Evans, Madison Evans, Alison Gilchrest, Vanessa Lamar, and Katherine Schilling. I would also like to thank Salomé le Roux (University of Pretoria) for helping to conduct interviews in South Africa, Liam Sweeney for his preliminary graphs and visualisations for our quantitative data, and Adam Osman and Zakiyyah Haffejee of brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa, for the final set of data visualisations that appear in this publication. And finally, I thank my research assistant, Sonya Solanki, for all her editorial and research contributions, as well as Alison Gilchrest, Maggi Loubser (University of Pretoria), and Isabelle McGinn (University of Pretoria) for their continued support and input in the research design, development, and implementation of this project.

Abstract

As modern African heritage passes through the hands and hearts of diverse African professionals trained in multiple methods of preserving and transmitting culture, this COVID-19 impact study honours all the participants who embody the rich living traditions and legacies of distinct regional contexts. Though every sector of cultural heritage has been hard hit by the ongoing pandemic, these consequences are far from geopolitically monolithic. When considering the entangled relationships that countries in the global North have with those of the global South, it cannot be ignored that there are fraught legacies of imperialism and colonial extraction, violence, and oppression that continue to have complex effects on Africa's cultural landscape. This study acknowledges those histories, but also attempts to go beyond a colonialist view and explore how African cultural heritage professionals view and represent themselves.

Keywords: COVID-19; pandemics; African cultural heritage; African cultural economy; tangible heritage; intangible heritage; heritage workers; cultural heritage management

Abstrait

Récupérer le patrimoine africain pour l'ère post-COVID : une étude d'impact de la COVID-19

Alors que le patrimoine africain moderne passe entre les mains et le cœur de divers professionnels africains formés à de multiples méthodes de préservation et de transmission de la culture, cette étude d'impact COVID-19 rend hommage à tous les participants qui incarnent les riches traditions vivantes et les héritages de contextes régionaux distincts. Bien que tous les secteurs du patrimoine culturel aient été durement touchés par la pandémie en cours, ces conséquences sont loin d'être géopolitiquement monolithiques. Lorsque l'on considère les relations enchevêtrées que les pays du Nord

global entretiennent avec ceux du Sud global, on ne peut ignorer qu'il existe un lourd héritage d'impérialisme et d'extraction coloniale, de violence et d'oppression qui continue d'avoir des effets complexes sur le paysage culturel de l'Afrique. Cette étude reconnaît ces histoires, mais tente également d'aller au-delà d'une vision colonialiste et d'explorer comment les professionnels africains du patrimoine culturel se voient et se représentent.

Mots-clés : COVID-19 ; pandémies; patrimoine culturel africain; économie culturelle africaine ; patrimoine matériel; patrimoine immatériel ; travailleurs du patrimoine; gestion du patrimoine culturel

Introduction and method

'Reclaiming African Heritage for the Post-COVID Era' is a pilot study that offers a prototype for producing data-driven projects that do not merely reproduce colonial ideologies implicit in social scientific methods. Rather, this study is an opportunity to unsettle normative ways of conducting research so that evaluations of the global impact of COVID on African cultural heritage sectors can acknowledge the inherent structural inequalities that exist in the very disciplines and professions that purport to produce value-neutral knowledge about African people and places. One of the key challenges in designing this type of survey lies in determining how 'cultural heritage' is defined, socially constructed, and practically reinforced. What *is* cultural heritage and how is it defined as a profession in the job market throughout multiple African contexts? In our survey, we defined cultural heritage as encompassing the following 12 sectors:

1. Government and private-funded museums
2. Historic sites and monuments
3. Heritage and cultural tourism
4. Government and policy
5. Environmental conservation
6. Communications and digital media
7. Library information and archives
8. Education
9. Archaeology
10. Art
11. Education
12. Architecture

This pilot study not only tests the feasibility of such a project, but also forces researchers to evaluate how culturally sensitive and appropriate their survey instruments and methods are, particularly for researchers like

myself who live and work in North America. Though I hold a Master's degree in African Studies, a PhD in Sociology, and have spent the past 16 years conducting interdisciplinary social research on diverse African cultures throughout southern Africa, I can still be met with much understandable scepticism, mistrust, or resistance from participants. I feel I owe it to all those who so generously gave their time and energy to participate in this survey to remain open to improving this instrument to ensure a truly diverse, inclusive, but representative, sample population whose views are heard and respectfully represented.

In designing our study, we collected both quantitative and qualitative data. I thank my colleagues at the University of Pretoria who compiled a list of contacts and sent a recruitment flyer in English to solicit participation. Because this directory covered mostly Anglophone African countries, I endeavoured to expand this sample pool by having our recruitment flyer translated into other major languages, including Modern Standard Arabic, French, Portuguese, Kiswahili, and isiZulu. With additional resources, I would recommend that future researchers translate their recruitment instruments into as many major African languages as possible. I am sensitive to the fact that how we define cultural heritage as a professional field may differ from one cultural context to another. Language is one way in which we transmit different epistemological frameworks.

I am also aware that not everyone has equal access to a stable internet connection or technological resources. Those who participated in the study are far from a comprehensive list of all cultural heritage professionals working across the continent. These were individuals who happened to have access to internet, received and read our recruitment email, and voluntarily gave their time to participate. A truly representative sample could be collected if research teams located in each African country were able to collaborate to offer accessible options for recruiting, disseminating, collecting, and interpreting survey responses.

Between May and September 2021, 84 participants completed an online questionnaire distributed using the Qualtrics platform. Of those 84 people, 31 volunteered to participate in individual interviews over the video-conferencing platform Zoom. These interviews lasted anywhere between 45 minutes to 1.5 hours. Our study participants represented about 14 different African countries including Algeria, Botswana, Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Morocco,

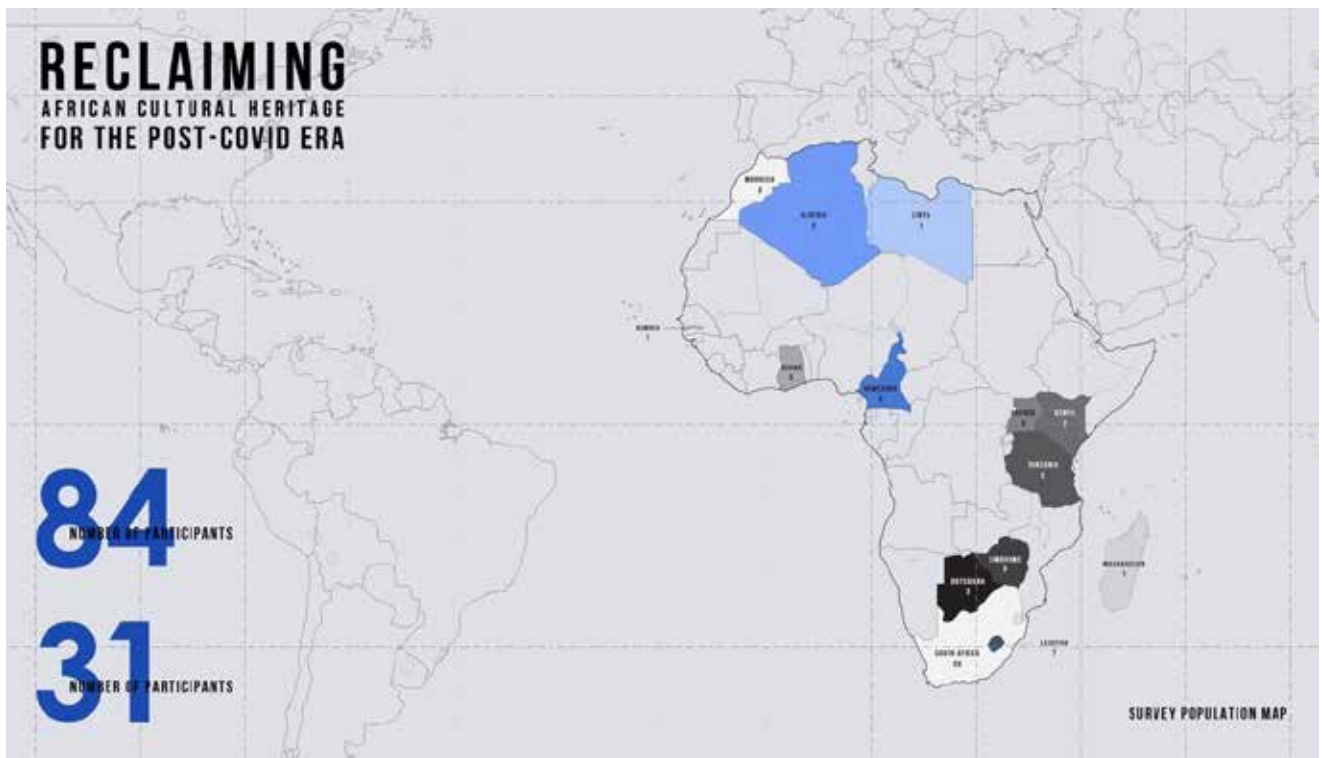


Figure 1: Map of survey population by country and number of participants per country. Graphic design by brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.

South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. In this continental map, each of the numbers you see listed within the highlighted countries are raw numbers. In total, 46% of our sampled population were living and working in South Africa, as many of our institutional networks were initially concentrated there.

Demographic survey findings

The following data visualisations offer a summary of some of the results we were able to cull from the data captured in this online survey. Though our total sample size was 84 participants, we made it optional for participants to share personal demographic information such as gender identity, race, ethnicity, and age. Though demographic identity categories are social constructs that are defined in complex ways in multiple societal contexts, some categories were simplified for our descriptive statistics.

When examining the distribution of gender by employment status, of the 50 participants who identified as male, a vast majority (88%) were unemployed. However, these included participants who were enrolled in further undergraduate or postgraduate education, as well as those undergoing an unpaid apprenticeship or internship. Employment was defined as either a paid part-time or full-time job. Of the 34 participants who identified as female, two-thirds (67%) were employed.

Figure 2 shows the sample population's distribution of gender by highest level of educational attainment. Even though our sample was male skewed, females in the sample were found to be more highly educated than their male counterparts across the various educational levels. Within Bachelor's degree, Master's, PhD and alternative diploma or certificate, over 50% of participants were female in each educational category.

Race as a social construct is challenging to navigate for a continent-wide survey. In the future, I would recommend that researchers design questionnaires with demographic categories that cater to and make the most sense for their local context. Though this question was designed to have text box entry so that participants could self-describe, we divided the responses by those who self-described as black, white, with those in the 'other' category indicating those who responded outside of these racial frames. This could include, in general, describing oneself as African, a citizen of the world, of mixed race, and so on. Some of these nuances are expounded upon by the follow-up question we inserted regarding ethnicity or cultural identity. Across all educational levels of attainment, respondents predominantly identified as white. Those who identified as neither black or white had a diploma or certificate qualification. Majority (41%) of black participants indicated they had a Bachelor's degree.



Figure 2: Distribution of gender by educational attainment. Graphic design by brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.

Participants were asked to characterise their employment status by indicating if they were academic faculty or staff, working in cultural heritage, or an undergraduate or postgraduate student. I review the distribution of age by each of these occupational categories. The youngest cohorts (23-27) are underrepresented in the working sector, whether it be in academia or

cultural heritage sectors. Majority of participants working in the academic or cultural sector are between the ages of 36-45. Our data shows that younger cohorts are involved in either undergraduate or postgraduate studies, and older participants work primarily in professional cultural heritage sectors, followed by those who are undergoing postgraduate studies or work as



Figure 3: Distribution of race by educational attainment. Graphic design by brickstreet studios in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.



Figure 4: Distribution of age by employment status. Graphic design by brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.

academic staff. In Figure 5, the size of each half-moon shape is proportional to the percentage of participants who identified working in one of the 12 cultural heritage sectors referenced earlier. Among those already working in cultural heritage, we found that 39% of participants were working in museums, 22% had a private or independent

business, 22% were in studio art, and those working in government and policy, architecture, archaeology, environmental conservation, and communications and digital media amounted to 11% each.

Participants were given statements to which they could respond on a five-point scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree. We

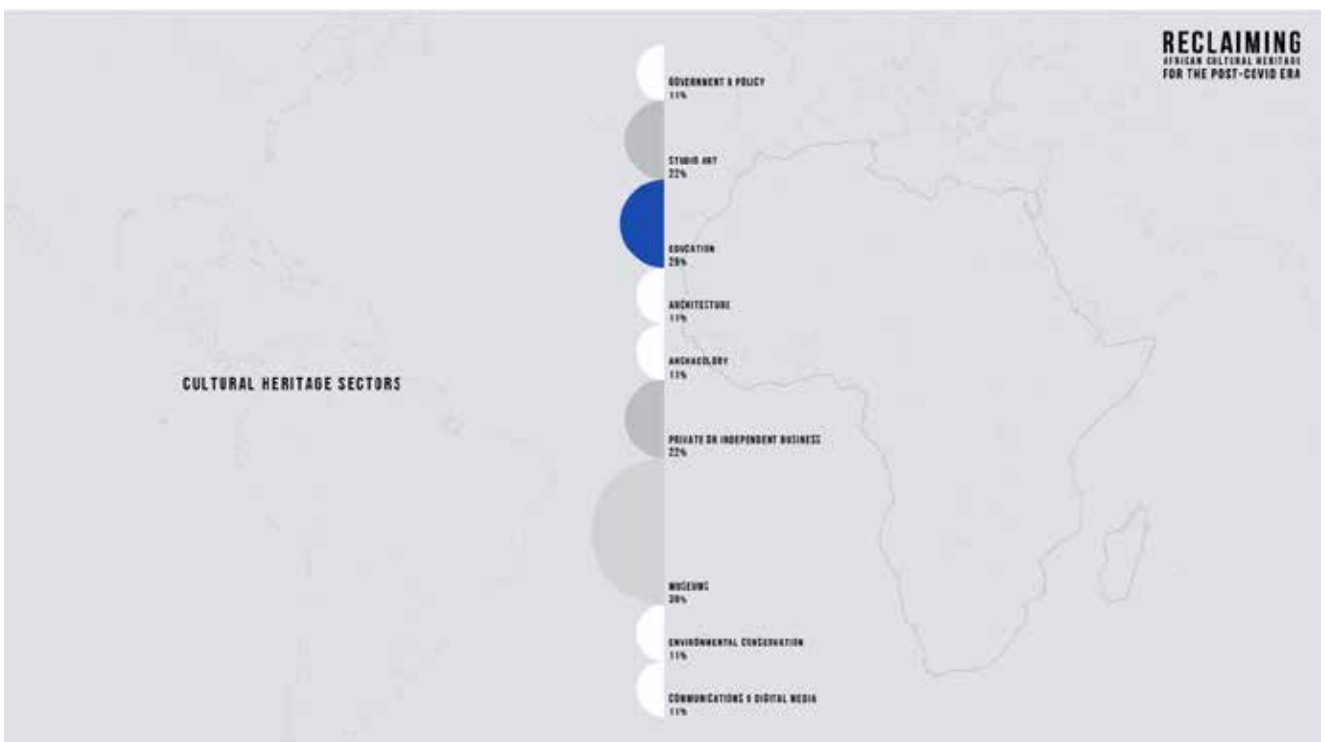


Figure 5: Distribution of sample population by identified cultural heritage sectors. Graphic design by brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.

combined responses of strongly and somewhat agree or disagree as the distinctions between these were not statistically significant enough to warrant their separation. When asked whether they agreed with a series of statements related to the impact of COVID-19 on their work, a vast majority of respondents (88%) expressed concern about job security. However, 76% of respondents agree that their place of work has taken the appropriate protective measures against COVID-19. At least 70% of the sample maintain that they are concerned about being exposed to the virus. Though 59% of the sample feel that they have an adequate workspace at home, 57% of respondents expressed difficulty with gaining access to technology.

When asked how work was conducted before the COVID-19 pandemic, the majority indicated that it was conducted entirely in person. The second largest ratio comprised those who said they had a hybrid model of working virtually and in-person. When asked how they had been conducting training *during* the pandemic, we see that the majority have been using a hybrid model of working both virtually from home *and* meeting in-person. When asked how they would prefer to conduct their work or training after the pandemic, the majority indicated that they would like to maintain working virtually and in-person.

Interview responses

Qualitative interviews focused on open-ended questions related to cultural heritage. These questions include but are not limited to:

1. How would you define cultural heritage and how did you get involved with cultural heritage work in your country?
2. How have you been able to adapt to challenges brought on by the pandemic, if at all?
3. Can you describe what you think would be most helpful in strengthening and improving your sector of cultural heritage work in your country?

Though not all interviewees are represented in this report, the following individuals represent frontline cultural workers living and working in Morocco, Botswana, Ghana, Madagascar, and South Africa.

Zineb Akkabouch (Morocco)

Zineb Akabbouch is a 32-year-old woman who was born, raised, and trained in Morocco. She received her Master's degree in wood art, and completed technical specialisation in graphic design, visual communication, and heritage restoration in Casablanca.

When I asked her how she would define cultural heritage and why she feels it is an important field to be involved with in Morocco, she stated:

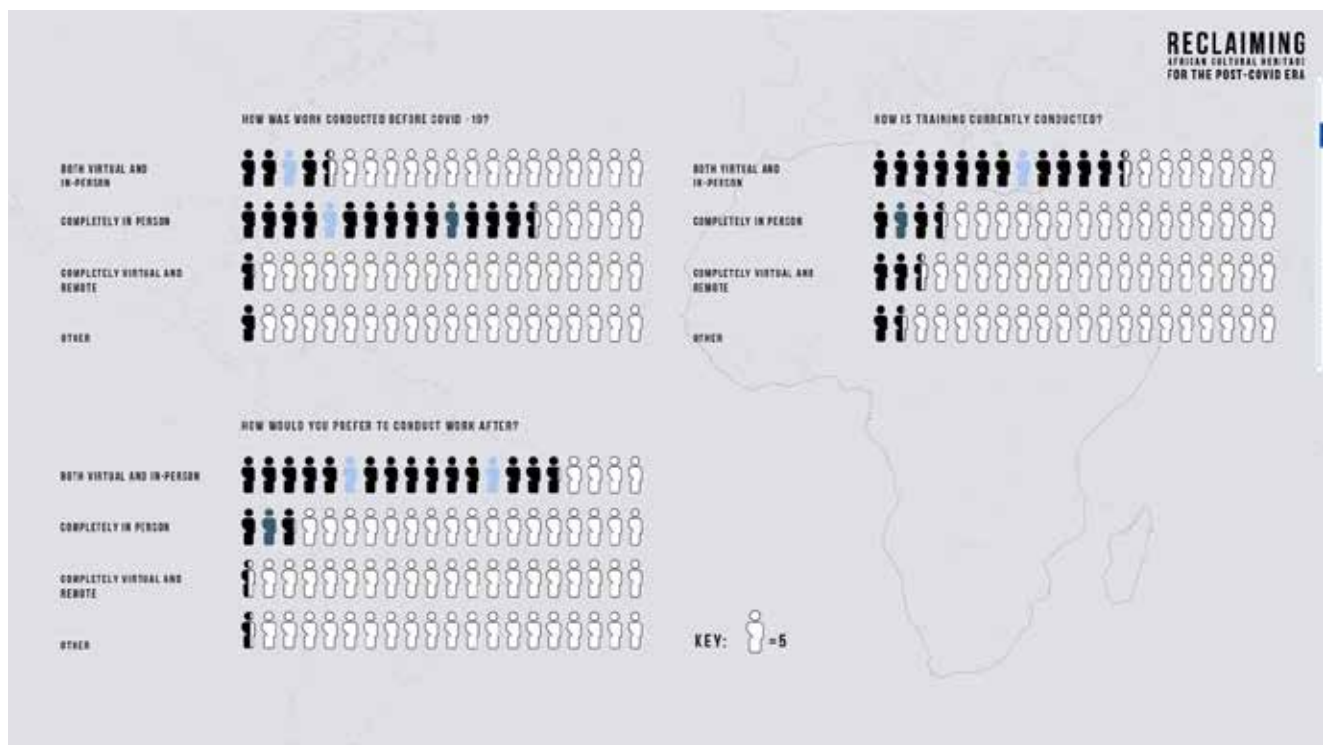


Figure 6: Three graphs indicate preferences for how participants would prefer to conduct their work before, during, or after the COVID-19 pandemic. Graphic design by brickstreet studio in Johannesburg, South Africa. October 2021.

Cultural heritage represents my identity and my memory. It informs me about the logic of physical and ideological belonging to my society and my country. It surpasses the notion usually limited to materiality because, on another hand, it represents an immaterial entity, abstract and transmissible through ideas, traditional habits, stories of places and people that my grandmother tells me. Cultural heritage traces a link between the past and the present, it can make scenes and historical moments come alive. It is a collective memory and a form of protection against oblivion and the consideration that this resource means the recognition of the culture and the know-how of my ancestors.

Zineb's definition of cultural heritage is important, as it is not only shared by most participants in the study but also helps explain the relevance that cultural heritage has for today's youth. Some professionals mentioned the importance of empowering African youth to take up the mantle of stewarding both their tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Susan Keitumetse (Botswana)

Dr Susan Keitumetse is the new UNESCO Chair for African Heritage Studies and Sustainable Development and is a research scholar at the University of Botswana's Okavango Research Institute. She is the author of the seminal text *African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice from Southern Africa*, and holds a PhD in African Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development from the University of Cambridge, UK. When asked about the challenges of trying to continue her work during the pandemic, Susan mentioned how crucial it was that she is able to go out and be with the local communities whom she regards as the stewards of particular heritage sites, or is able to travel with her students to carry out assessments, identify key stakeholders and community leaders, and work on a face-to-face basis. Though she has access to internet to work remotely, she felt that this was not always a culturally appropriate means to sustain her community partnerships.

When asked what would be most helpful in strengthening and improving cultural heritage work in Botswana, Susan mentioned the need for political buy-in. As she put it, one of her primary missions was to raise awareness regarding the importance of cultural heritage in Africa. In order for local governments to invest, she felt that African cultural heritage professionals needed

to be strategic in building partnerships with international organisations such as UNESCO. Where cultural heritage was under threat among vulnerable populations, Susan advocated for engaging with youth to be the next generation of ambassadors who will tend to important areas of tangible and intangible heritage.

Judith Opoku-Boateng (Ghana)

Judith Opoku-Boateng completed her Bachelor's degree in Sociology and Political Science, and a Master's degree in Archival Studies at the University of Ghana. She currently works at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. Judith works on multiple projects, including collecting vintage photographs from the 1950s, 60s, and 70s from the personal collections of various individuals throughout Ghana, digitising national heritage photos for the Ministry of Information, and storing audio archives of music that researchers request to have translated and transcribed for further study.

When asked what Judith wishes she could pass on to the next generation of cultural heritage professionals in Ghana, she shared with me that her main concern was to make archiving an attractive profession for young people. She shared that many of the students she works with will say that they thought of archival preservation as so-called 'dirty' work. But as Judith sees it, she considers archiving to be a form of activism. To her, these objects are precious. She used the analogy of archival materials being much like human babies who need specialised care. As Judith said, 'If there's some kind of threat to the materials, you have to be able to identify it. Babies can't even express themselves. So, you have to be a proper parent to these materials.' Judith takes her commission as a cultural steward seriously and hopes that subsequent generations will do the same as they reinvent and expand what African cultural heritage means today.

Bako Rasoarifetra (Madagascar)

Many participants expressed their commitment to giving back to their local communities by working in cultural heritage in their home countries. Dr Bako Rasoarifetra, in her late 60s, is from Madagascar and holds a PhD in Languages, Literatures, and Civilizations from the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris, with specialisations in Archaeology and Heritage. Though she presently works in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Antananarivo in Madagascar, she is a historian by training and was attracted to archaeology because of the emphasis on the

study of material remains in order to reconstruct history. At present, she is collaborating with foreign universities on an archaeological project related to iron and stonework in the northeast region of Madagascar. In museology, she works on documenting the iconography of their collections, setting up collaborative restoration projects between museums abroad and her institution in Madagascar. When asked what could be done to enhance the cultural heritage sector in Madagascar, Bako saw considerable potential in encouraging young people to apply their skills in digital technologies to propel heritage work forward:

I think we need to develop the digital sector, train dynamic and competent young people with a spirit of creativity and innovative ideas to work in this field. What is missing in Madagascar is the professionalization of the personnel of the cultural heritage sector. Already we have taken a step forward in the field of museums.

Since 2019, storage rooms across 12 museums in Madagascar had been upgraded thanks to the support of UNESCO and the Japanese government, which funded a Reorganization of Museum Storage programme initiated by ICCROM. Though international funding helps, Bako argued that it is not enough. Like other study participants from Lesotho, Tanzania, and Uganda, Bako felt there ought to be greater investment in the capacity-building of local communities.

Alexio Motsi (South Africa)

Alexio Motsi was born in Zimbabwe and received a Master's degree in Records, Archives, and Record Management from the University of Scotland in Dundee. He currently works in the National Archives of South Africa, which has received funding as part of an employment stimulus package for COVID recovery. Alexio is currently working on a project to digitise more than 1.5 million records at the National Archives, with the hope of eventually employing about 163 unemployed youth. Alexio discussed the need for cultural heritage workers to do metadata development, conservation, scanning, and digitisation.

When asked how he came into cultural heritage work, it was Alexio's personal research interest in the ancient Timbuktu manuscripts of Mali that sparked his interest. He stated that in the African context, most of the techniques and methods of preservation taught have a Western origin. But when he learned about the Timbuktu manuscripts,

this was the first time that I had to look at something that goes back to the 13th century, that is still in good condition, and there's been no Western influence in its preservation. That sort of attracted my interest, as to whether there are any indigenous methods of preservation that have been used on the African continent. I found this to be fascinating because I think the knowledge that you then get from there is quite interesting. A lot of it is based on the involvement of the communities.

Though there were political skirmishes and military coups in Timbuktu that damaged about 4,000 manuscripts out of a total of 100,000, what surprised Alexio was that most of these manuscripts were safely and secretly moved to a secure location by local community members. No external governmental bodies, organisations or institutions intervened to do this. Rather, it was local communities who took it to be their duty and obligation to be the stewards of these sacred manuscripts.

Alexio mentioned his gratitude toward postgraduate programmes like the University of Pretoria's Master's degree in Tangible Heritage Conservation because he fears that future generations of African youth may lose the skills required to preserve complex forms of African heritage. Particularly as it relates to indigenous methods of preserving, he stated that there was still so much to learn in spaces where these practices thrive. In his opinion, cultural material was better preserved by the people who respected the cultures that they were created in.

Conclusion

Our study participants speak to the importance of empowering local youth to study different sectors of cultural heritage work, provide practical training opportunities, and incentivise national governments and local communities to not only take pride in preserving their own heritage, but also to mobilise their own cultural capital to create sustainable employment opportunities. Though jobs in cultural heritage are predominantly in the museum and tourism sectors, the pandemic has economically depleted these industries and left an uncertain picture of recovery. These study results demonstrate how African cultural heritage professionals are adapting their training to bolster a labour infrastructure that best befits their context. They recognise the agency and resilience of the originating communities they work for, with, and alongside, and propose ethical ways to raise public awareness regarding the importance and relevance of African cultural heritage on the global stage.

Performance and Orality as Contemporary/Modernity

Qaswida as a modern heritage

Yahya Mohammed

mohammedyahya972@gmail.com

Robert Mrima

robert.katavi@gmail.com

Author biographies

Yahya Mohammed is a Muslim singer, composer, music producer, multi-instrumentalist, filmmaker and journalist who comes from East Africa Kenya. He has composed over 60 songs and won several awards including best performance in guitar instrument at the Kenyan national traditional music festival 2021, kalamu awards 2009 cit best male song bird in his bank. he sings both nasheed and qaswida genre of music and has appeared on several tv shows and youtube content. He has studied

- Arabic Maqamat online
- Diploma in journalism and communication
- Diploma tourism management
- Certificate in music and entertainment management
- Animation and filmmaking
- Islamic and Christian studies
- French language
- He has performed thought East Africa in Kenya, Tanzania in concert halls, TV stations, Radio and other media tours.

Robert Mrima is passionate about research, finance and data analytics to ensure that productivity and efficiency is achieved in Organizations and the business world. He holds a bachelor's degree in Arts (Economics and History) from Egerton University. He has five years of experience in research and is comfortable working with both the qualitative and quantitative data. He has worked for the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Currently he works at the Swahilipot Hub as a strategic manager. He is also the founder and director of UtafitiData Hub, a data analytics and market research firm that focuses on providing market intelligence to start ups, and micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in Kenya by embracing science, creativity, and innovation and is co-founder and director of ROKA Designs, social enterprise changing the story of fashion Industry in Kenya by recycling redundant billboards and banners, and turning them into trendy and eco-friendly bags.

Abstract

With roots in the Arabic and Swahili connections forged through East African coastal cities and the trading worlds of the Indian Ocean, Qaswida music has a rich history. As one of the primary facets of Swahili music in East Africa, it is synonymous with relaying positive teachings in society. Over the years, it has transformed and adapted to modern trends and, as this paper argues, is and should be regarded part of the modern heritage of Africa. As this research shows, this achievement has been made possible through the evolution of technology to embrace improved ways of recording and preserving the music, including on CDs, and online platforms such as YouTube.

Keywords: Qaswida, Nasheed, Arabic, Swahili, East Africa, modern, music, religion

Qaswida

Qaswida is an ancient Arabic word and form of writing poetry, often translated as ode, which has been passed to other cultures after the Arab Muslim expansion. Various topics are addressed in this genre of music, about the creator, creation, love of the prophet, or teachings of matters of faith.

It is divided into

- **Qaswida** with instruments or
- **Nasheed**, which is a Capella music

In East Africa this has evolved from an Arabic to Swahili form, which is through the usage of Swahili poetry to the usage of goatskin handdrums called *twari*, and flute *kasba* made from bamboo or plastic pipes, but we still have groups that use the Oud, Arabic dambuk and violin.

The classic form of Qaswida maintains a single elaborate meter throughout the poem, and every line rhymes on the same sound. It typically runs from 15 to 80 lines, and sometimes more than a hundred. The genre originates in Arabic poetry and was adopted by Persian poets, where it developed to be sometimes longer than 100 lines.

In Swahili poetry, they write eight syllables *Mizani* on each paragraph, or it can also be seven or six, which has to be written in the style of eight words per line in a stanza.

Qaswida as a modern heritage

Qaswida is now also considered to be modern heritage because of updated instrumentation where goatskin hand drums called *twari* have been substituted by piano beats or nylon tambourines and flutes made from bamboo. These are now made of plastic pipes, but we still have groups that use the Oud, Arabic dambuk and violin or *nasheed* substituted from a Capella to using pads instrumentation.

Recording of music was previously done on tape, but now we have digital recording in studios. In the past, musicians were skilled at playing these instruments, but today most youth do not have the skill required to play proficiently.

While in the past, the best singers were selected to perform based on merit. Today, the availability of digital and other forms of enhancement has meant that genuine and proficient singers are not easy to find.

Events and audiences

In ancient times, qaswida music and nasheed songs were performed in front of rulers, sultans and caliphs, or at festivals such as weddings or birthdays. Today, it is a form of entertainment consumed via digital platforms like radio, televiaion and digital streaming including Apple music, mdundo, and across social media platforms.

Challenges

- Lack of singing and playing skills because there are few *maqamat* or sound tutors available.
- Commercialisation of the music has diminished its message and lyrics.
- Auto tune programming has made singers lazy and performances have dwindled.
- Inadequate or absent funding from corporates to support the genre has made people turn away from it.
- Modernization has influenced people to abandon the culture.
- Secularism is pervasive, and many people prefer other genres.
- The resistance from Salafism, a school of thought that believes all music is forbidden.

Conclusion and recommendation

Qaswida music has a rich history and is one of the primary facets of Swahili music in East Africa. It is synonymous with relaying positive teaching in society, which cuts across from young to old. Over the years. it has transformed and adapted to modern trends and can thus be regarded as part of the modern heritage of Africa. This has been made possible through the evolution of technology to embrace improved ways of recording and preserving the music, including on CDs, and online platforms such as YouTube. Technology has also made qaswida music able to travel to many communities around the world, and it is thus listened to and appreciated by many.

This, however, has come with many challenges including a failure to seamlessly merge the ancient with the modern. Another concern is the lack of support from primary stakeholders and conflicting religious beliefs.

YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCN25b4B-fiUdF3dcVPoiR3g>

The Role Of Revolutionary Songs In The Struggle Against Colonialism And Apartheid

Lindinxiwa Mahlasela

I.mahlasela@bayworld.co.za

Abstract

Throughout the history of human oppression music has proved to be not only a uniting factor, but also a powerful tool to give a voice – and so power – to the oppressed. In South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the role of music has been crucial. Songs protested everything from racially based employment and land dispossession to forced removals and white people’s control of public spaces during the colonial arena. Performance became an integral part of resistance during the decades of the apartheid era and particularly in the military training of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives in Angola. The music that emerged reflected a dramatically changing society and contributed to shaping that new society through sharing, making and imagining together.

Keywords: protest, songs, colonialism, struggle, apartheid, freedom.

Le rôle des chansons révolutionnaires dans la lutte contre le colonialisme et l’apartheid

Abstrait

Tout au long de l’histoire de l’oppression humaine, la musique s’est avérée non seulement un facteur d’union, mais aussi un outil puissant pour donner une voix – et donc du pouvoir – aux opprimés. En Afrique du Sud et au Zimbabwe, le rôle de la musique a été crucial. Les chansons protestaient contre tout, de l’emploi racial et de la dépossession des terres aux expulsions forcées et au contrôle des espaces publics par les Blancs pendant l’arène coloniale. La performance est devenue une partie intégrante de la résistance pendant les décennies de l’ère de l’apartheid et en particulier dans la formation militaire des agents de Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) en Angola. La musique qui a émergé reflétait une société en profonde mutation et a contribué à façonner cette nouvelle société en partageant, en créant et en imaginant ensemble.

Mots-clés : contestation, chants, colonialisme, lutte, apartheid, liberté.

Introduction

Throughout what has gone down in history as one of the darkest, most brutal periods -slavery, colonialism and apartheid- of human oppression the globe has seen (Vershbow, 2010), music has proved to be not only a uniting factor, but also a powerful tool to give a voice – and so power – to the oppressed (Periphery Center, 2015). In South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the role of music is seen in the *chimurenga* and *toyi-toyi*. Songs protested everything from land dispossession and the devastating forced removals that secured the white control of public spaces within the colonial arena (F. Inglese, 2014). Performance became an integral part of resistance during the decades of the apartheid era and particularly in the military training of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives in Angola (V. Mavimbela, 2018). The music that emerged ahead of the advent of democracy in South Africa – and beyond – served to not only evoke memories of the past while reflecting a dramatically changing society, but also contributed to shaping that new society through sharing, making and imagining together (D. Constant- Martin, 2013).

Theoretical Orientation

Collective memory highlights the behaviour of groups and individuals involved in remembrance, and argues that collective remembrance is the product of individuals and groups coming together not at the behest of the authorities, in the form of state institutions and organisations, but because they have to speak out (J. McCormack, 2007). Thus, the singing of revolutionary songs is not only a means of acknowledging the past as meaningful, but is also an effective instrument in the struggle for healing from the traumatic experiences of torture, imprisonment, police harassment and resistance to the mutilation of memory.

Liberation And Music: Zimbabwe

Professor Mickias Musiyiwa, is quoted in the *New Yorker* (A. Dwamena, 2018) as referring to *chimurenga* music as the “one platform that Zimbabweans always resort to whenever they want to express their grievances”. *Chimurenga* means liberation in Shona, one of Zimbabwe’s official languages. The popular music genre was

coined and popularized by Thomas Mapfumo and Murenga is believed to be an early ancestor and warrior of the Shona. Musiyiwa explain in the interview that guerrillas based in Mozambique and Zambia set up choirs to sing these songs, derived from folk hymns and other folk songs, during Zimbabwe's liberation war of the 1960s and 1970s. Interestingly, on his own website, Mapfumo describes the role of the genre as including to inform, educate and to, within the modern reality, raise social awareness. His songs, including examples such as *Muka, Muka!* ("Wake Up, Wake Up!") and *Tumira Vana Kuhondo* ("Mothers Send Your Children to War"), were a tool to politicize, but also to educate Zimbabweans about the circumstances driving the need for the war for independence. Post liberation however, as the struggle changed and a new reality emerged, he makes it clear that the job of the music shifted too, to accord with social challenges that are or have emerged as Zimbabwe fell into a severe economic crisis post-2000. Thus, music stood as a narrative of the bad times for ordinary citizens, effectively, translating "everyday experiences into living sound", so sensitizing listeners to the "reality" and the "truth" (J.C. Friedman, 2013). Thus, it would seem as Abdullah Ibrahim once commented, that "there has rarely been a liberation or protest movement that has not, at some stage, used song as a tool to rally people to its cause, keep up morale, or mourn those who have fallen or have been arrested" (M. Mbhele, 2017).

Liberation And Music: South Africa

The United Democratic Front (UDF) formed in the mid-1980s made revolutionary songs a central feature of their protest action that demanded the release of imprisoned political activists. Performances became an engine of social change, contributing to the emancipation of the oppressed classes, giving voice to their struggle to be heard and to make themselves known (Fanon, 2001). The Periphery Centre (2015), describes the communal act of singing, more than any other kind of performance, as "essential fuel" for the movement, not only helping heal wounds that were felt but couldn't be seen, highlighting the injustices of the day, and raising the spirits of especially the most downtrodden of South Africa's citizens. The songs were unapologetically critical of the apartheid regime, overtly encouraging political protests. For example, when Sophiatown, west of Johannesburg, fell victim to the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Resettlement Act (1954) and army trucks and armed police removed 60 000 people to an area designated for Africans, another iconic song was born (Vershbow, M.

2010). The lyrics of "*Meadowlands*" voiced the devastation of the forced removal:

"We will move all night and day/to go stay in Meadowlands/you'll hear the white people saying/let's go to Meadowlands".

Recordings by Nancy Jacobs and Sisters, and by Miriam "Mama Afrika" Makeba, popularized the song which was originally composed by Strike Vilakazi. The success of the song, including internationally, helped shine a spotlight on the injustices being suffered by oppressed racial groups in South Africa.

Schumann (2008) argues in her paper that music in South Africa went, however, from reflecting common experiences and concerns such as forced removals in the early years of apartheid, to eventually functioning as a force to confront the state, and a means to actively construct an alternative political and social reality. She cites, for example, the effect of the song "*Senzeni Na?*" (What have we done), saying the effect lies not so much in the actual lyrics but in their repetition. She quotes musician Sibongile Khumalo as follows: "Can you imagine, that's one line, Senzeni Na? 'What have we done', repeated over and over ... You have no other option but to stand up and go fight". In the 1950s, she suggests, songs of protest openly addressed the politicians in question, mirroring common concerns of the day. In the 1960s the music got "mournful", reflecting the sentiments of the oppressed majority following the Sharpeville massacre and the banning and arrest of the African National Congress (ANC) leadership. Mounting censorship later saw politically-sensitive meaning hidden in lyrics. But by the 1980s these lyrics were rebelliously challenging the status quo.

Popular Songs That Defined The Struggle Against Apartheid

Senzeni Na?

Funerals provided a platform for marginalised South Africans to raise their voices against the oppressive apartheid regime, and make demands for the abolition of racial segregation. *Senzeni Na?* was among the revolutionary songs mobilised society against apartheid President P.W. Botha's violent regime.

Senzeni Na? (x4)
What have we done?

Senzeni Na? Senzeni Na? (x4)
What have we done? What have we done?

Sono sethu (x2)

Our sin

Sono sethu bubumnyama (x2)

Our sin is being black

Tyala lethu (x2)

Our transgression

Tyala lethu yinyaniso (x2)

Our transgression is truth

Amabhulu (x2)

Boers

Amabhulu azizinj (x2)

Boers are dogs

Ayakufa (x2)

They will die

Ayakufa ezizinja. (x2)

They will die dogs

Poet and playwright Duma Ka Ndlovu compared *Senzeni Na?* to the anti-slavery and abolitionist song *We Shall Overcome*. He says it is correct that the song takes its rightful place in the history books, not least because “at one time, a mass body of people related to that song and touched each other’s hearts using that song” (Songs of Freedom: Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony, 2002). Indeed, the song was relevant to the political upheaval that was unleashed by former President Botha’s total strategy in 1985. Botha, South Africa’s first executive State President from 1984 to 1989, greatly enhanced the capability of its military to crush political resistance to his oppressive apartheid regime. The lyrics *Senzeni Na?* in the form of a question, forced an introspection and a reflection on the part of victims of such violence. More than a question, the song was also an expression of a deep pain and sorrow. Yet, despite the fact that the lyrics of the song exude a sense of both pain and protest, what’s absent is the angry challenge that formed the premise of many protest songs that emerged in the later years of the struggle (N. Makky, 2007).

Senzeni Na? is purported to have emerged in the aftermath of the forced removals in Sophiatown between 1955 and 1960, the repressive Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the banishments and long-term imprisonments of the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement in the 1960s (H.C. Groenewald, 2005).

Hamba Kahle Mkhonto (Farewell Comrade)

Following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 the resistance movement was forced to review peaceful protest approach in favour of more militant tactics. The songs reflected that shift, transforming from peaceful protest songs promoting civil disobedience to the more aggressive stance inherent in the toyi-toyi. The armed struggle was under the leadership of Mkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC. The (racial) identity of the enemy and the consequences of an armed struggle were clearly worded in songs (H.C. Groenewald, 2005).

The lyrics of *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* are a case in point:

Hamba

Go

Hamba kahle mkhonto

Go well spear

Mkhonto

Spear

Wemkhonto mkhonto wesizwe

Spear spear of the nation

Thina

We

Thina bantu bomkhonto siz’misele

We people of Mkhonto we are determined

Ukuwabulala

To kill

Wona lamabhulu

The boers

One of the songs capturing the fearlessness inherent in the freedom fighters, it was especially ubiquitous during the period of heightened State repression in the mid-1980s. Throughout the militarisation, songs continued to ignite the spirit of African resistance. The songs themselves also took up arms and assumed more military forms. The Sharpeville massacre and the Soweto youth uprising that followed 16 years later, when police opened fire on protesting schoolchildren, killing at least 176 and injuring a further 4 000, were atrocities that brought death to the doorsteps of black South Africans. Makky quotes former militant and MK operative Lindiwe Zulu as saying of those burials in Soweto: “We never used to cry, we used to sing.” MK soldiers were often present at funerals such as these to mourn the deaths of their members. The funerals were

politically charged and began with songs like *Hamba Kahle* – a “melancholic and militant, a powerfully evocative mix of hymn and war song, protest and pain” (N. Makky, 2007).

Groenwald cites the severe clampdown of the apartheid government on resistance groups that led to the Rivonia trial and imprisonment of the ANC leadership for the first wave of refugees out of South Africa. The second wave was the youth who fled in the wake of the crackdown of the Soweto uprising. Many ended up in training camps in other African countries where, while undergoing combat training, they learned new songs. According to John Matshikiza (South African Freedom Songs), the youths arrived at the training camps with a new dynamic and a sense of urgency. They sang new kinds of songs, which differed because they did not originate in the church as was usual, but rather in the yards and on the streets of Soweto.

Interestingly, as recently as 2010, IOL reported that former Tshwane mayor Smangaliso Skwatsha had mooted a possible change in wording for those struggle songs that might be regarded as offensive by some sections of the community. The article made reference to ANC leaders, including the late Adelaide Tambo and former Defence Minister Lindiwe Sisulu, publicly substituting the words of the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) dirge, *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, with less inflammatory phrases, including at the funerals of former sports minister Steve Tshwete in 2002, and of former intelligence minister Joe Nhlanhla in 2008. This included swapping the “We people of Mkhonto are prepared to kill those boers” with the more conciliatory “We are prepared to live with the boers”.

The song *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* is reported to have been composed in the late 1960s when MK combatants made the first attempt to return to the country. Precisely, this was in 1967 when they joined their Zimbabwean counterparts and crossed the Zambezi River. The mission became known as the Wankie campaign.

Awudubul’ ibhulu

“Kill the boer, kill the farmer”, according to a Daily Maverick article *Kill the Boer: A brief history* (K. Bloom, 2010), was a refrain first uttered at a Chris Hani memorial rally in Cape Town in 1993, during the explosive months when it seemed possible that South Africa would descend into all-out race war. Bloom wrote: “On that day, Peter Mokaba, the then president of the ANC Youth League, galvanised his organisation’s deep anger at Hani’s murder by right-wing whites into something concrete: a song that perfectly (and

terrifyingly) expressed the anger.”

Ayesab’ amagwala (x2)
Cowards are frightened

Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham (x2)
Shoot shoot, shout with the gun

Dubul’ ibhulu(x2)
Shoot the boer

Dubula Dubula Dubula ngesbham (x2)
Shoot shoot, shout with the gun

The accuracy of this version is however questioned by Joellen Pretorius (University of the Western Cape) in her article “*Dubula ibhunu*” (*shoot the boer*): *A psycho-political analysis of farm attacks in South Africa*, published in 2014. Pointing out that the song was often sung by comrades of all races, she quotes ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe as saying that “*ibhunu*” is a metaphor for oppressor. She quotes Ampie Coetzee (2000:10): “Since the institutionalisation of apartheid by the Afrikaner government, boer became Boer and got definite ideological connotations with police, military and power”. She adds the views of Simphiwe Sesanti (IOL, 2011), saying he too red-flagged the ambiguity of the term: *Ibhunu* “was both literal and symbolic, synonymously. [It] refers to whites as whites and as symbol of oppression.”

Conclusions

Revolutionary songs have inspired courageous behaviour and character, a virtue that, history has shown, has encouraged people to put aside their personal differences as they focused on an achievement for the greater good. This has emerged as particularly relevant in the context of South Africa’s history, where unity was critical in the struggle against racial oppression to challenge the power of a ruling regime that constantly sought to exploit disparities in order to divide and rule. The literature confirms the invaluable contribution that liberation songs have made, since those early examples that inspired acts of resistance to a historical record that was otherwise in danger of being lost altogether.

This study also notes that revolutionary and freedom songs are important instruments for memory, while also reorganising the history of a group “in order to make it meaningful and useful for the present”, as (D. Constant-Martins 2013) argues: “Memory conjures up a ‘present from the past’, it selects facts, ties them with new logics to produce social representations relevant to the present.” It is in this particular respect that I believe this study will fill an important gap in the available knowledge and research, going way

further than only the significance of these songs to the many generations to whom they offered hope of escape from the oppressive and violent circumstances in which they lived

References

- Bloom, K. (2010) 'Kill the boer': A brief history, Daily Maverick
- Dwamena, A. (2018): Zimbabwe's Powerful Music of Struggle, The New Yorker
<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/zimbabwes-powerful-music-of-struggle>
- Fanon, F. (2001) *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Books, London
- Friedman, J.C. (2013) *The Routledge History of Social Protest in Popular Music*, Routledge,
<https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-History-of-Social-Protest-in-Popular-Music/Friedman/p/book/9781138216228>
- Groenewald, H.C. (2005), The role of political songs in the realization of democracy in South Africa, Vol. 26 DO-10.4102/lit.v26i2.231
- Inglese, F. "Choreographing Cape Town through Goema Music and Dance". *African Music: Journal of the International Library of African Music*, Vol. 9, no. 4, 1, pp. 123-45, doi: <https://doi.org/10.21504/amj.v9i4.1889>.
- Martin, D. (2013), *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*, African Minds, Somerset West
<http://www.africanminds.co.za/sounding-the-cape-music-identity-and-politics-in-south-africa/>
- Mavimbela, V. (2018), *Time Is Not The Measure: A Memoir*, Real Africa Publishers, Johannesburg
- Makky, N. (2007). *Song in the Anti-Apartheid and Reconciliation Movements in South Africa*:
<https://kb.osu.edu/bitstream/handle/1811/28447/ThesisFinalSubmissiontoOSUpdf.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> accessed 11. 07. 2019
- Mbhele, M. (2017) *Struggle Songs Let Us Be Heard*, Mail
<https://mg.co.za/article/2017-10-13-00-struggle-songs-let-us-be-heard/>
- McCormack, J. (2007) *Collective Memory: France and the Algerian War (1954- 1962)*, Lexington Books, Lanham
- Periphery Center: *Songs of Struggle: Music and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of South Africa*.
<http://www.peripherycenter.org/music/music-anti-apartheid-south-africa>
- Pretorius, J. (2014) "Dubul' ibhunu" (shoot the boer): A psycho- political analysis of farm attacks in South Africa, on-line version ISSN 2309-8708
- Schumann, A. (2008). *The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance Against Apartheid in South Africa*, Vol 8, 14(17-39) <https://www.africabib.org/http.php?RID=316131423>
- Sesanti, S. (2011) *Black consciousness lost in translation*.
<https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion-black-consciousness-lost-in-translation-1105315> accessed 26/09/2020
- Songs of Freedom, Amandla: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony* (A documentary about Freedom Songs, 2002)
- Vershow, M. E. (2010). "The Sounds of Resistance: The Role of Music in South Africa's Anti-Apartheid Movement." *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse*, 2(06). Accessed from <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=26527>. 8. 2019

Artworks, Artisans and The Influence Of Culture on Heritage

Mr. Raphael Abdulmajid Igombo

Affiliation: National Museums of Kenya.
roughigo@hotmail.com
raphael.igombo@museums.or.ke

Author biography

Raphael Igombo is an employee of the National Museums of Kenya and head of the Education and Public Programs Department at Fort Jesus World Heritage site. He holds a diploma in Special Needs Education, a Bachelors of Education from Kampala International University, as well as a Masters in World Heritage Sites and Cultural Projects Management from ITC-ILO, University of Turin, Italy. In addition, He has completed training programs in Exhibition Design and Education at the British Museum and the Getty Foundation. In February 2017, he worked with the Sultanate of Oman to revise and update the exhibition and interpretation at Fort Jesus Museum. He has been a member of teams working on the research and development of permanent exhibitions at Kenya's Rabai Museum, the Kenya Ports Authority Maritime Museum, and the National Mashujaa Museum in Nairobi among other projects. He supervises tour guiding and tourism management courses for students from different colleges in the country. He oversees the training of local guides who receive visitors in fort Jesus and Old town Mombasa. Mr. Raphael also coordinates Education programs to schools and colleges on curriculum issues and develop programs on outreach to schools that cannot access the cultural site.

Abstract

Contemporary artists bring about ideas that reflect and implement change in the society to make the world a better place to live in. These ideas can be directed at solving emerging or entrenched issues and social concerns such as climatic change, drug abuse, or female genital mutilation. They also engage with and make use of various traditional and historically important mediums of artistic expressions while creating their works of art. This article focuses on the artisanal doors and Portuguese paintings in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, alongside *Vigango*, or tomb sculptures, created by the Giriama people, to illustrate this combination and assimilation of various mediums in the present.

Keywords: Contemporary, traditional art, indigenous Culture, emerging issues, Visual Arts, Social concerns, climate change, Female genital mutilation, Modern.

Œuvres d'art, artisans et l'influence de la culture sur le patrimoine

Résumé:

Les artistes contemporains proposent des idées qui reflètent et mettent en œuvre des changements dans la société afin de faire du monde un endroit où il fait bon vivre. Ces idées peuvent viser à résoudre des problèmes et des préoccupations sociales émergents ou bien ancrés, tels que le changement climatique, la toxicomanie ou les mutilations génitales féminines. Ils utilisent également divers moyens d'expression artistique traditionnels et historiquement importants pour créer leurs œuvres d'art. Cet article se concentre sur les peintures portugaises artisanales en sable de porte de Fort Jesus, à Mombasa, aux côtés des *Vigango*, ou sculptures funéraires, créées par le peuple Giriama, pour illustrer cette combinaison et cette assimilation de divers médiums dans le présent.

Mots-clés : Contemporain, art traditionnel, culture indigène, questions émergentes, arts visuels, préoccupations sociales, changement climatique, mutilation génitale féminine, moderne.

Introduction

In the popular imagination, contemporary art is regarded as art produced in the current period, while traditional art comprises art produced by an indigenous culture.

In the traditional milieu, artists and artisans have held a major role and responsibility in the society since the existence of mankind. From earlier times, art was created to

1. Please gods
2. Intimidate enemies
3. Keep records of events like war, harvest.

Contemporary artists bring about ideas that reflect and implement change in the society to make the world a better place to live in. These ideas can be directed at solving emerging or

entrenched issues and social concerns such as climatic change, drug abuse, or female genital mutilation. Traditional works of art often draw on or are inspired by ancient ideas and thoughts, which reflect traditional ways of life as compared to modern ways of life.

Contemporary artists engage with and make use of various mediums while creating their works of art. Traditional works are mainly represented through sculpture and paintings. Often, Traditional works of art are created within and belong to a particular group or community. *Vigango*, or tomb sculptures, created by the Giriama people, are an example of this kind of traditional art.

Art in culture and heritage

Visual art has helped to facilitate understanding and appreciating culture and heritage in the following ways:

1. Expression and inspiration

Through artworks created by traditional artisans and displayed in museums, members of the public are able to access the information and knowledge stored within the art; this in turn may provide a way to creatively respond to and solve



Figure 1: Artisanal door, Fort Jesus Museum, Mombasa (Omani door, 16th century). Photograph by: Raphael Igombo. 13th August 2021

problems of the 21st century. Modern artisans are inspired by designs created by ancient artists, which offer suggestions and ways to modify and come up with new designs. Evidence of this process can be seen in the doors found at Fort Jesus Museum, where designs by Arab artisans during the height of the city states of East African coast between the 7th to 15th century CE have influenced the Types of doors and furniture the artisans are producing in the coastal areas of Mombasa today.

2. Interpretation of history of a particular place

During the creation of artworks, artists capture something of the history of a place. When interpreting these ancient artworks, we are able to understand the history of a place at a particular time. Artworks are influenced by the lifestyles of people living at a particular place at a particular time. Thus, we are able to appreciate in the artworks done by the Portuguese people who built Fort Jesus, something of the contexts, practices and activities of their day-to-day lives.



Figure 2: Portuguese Wall Paintings That Were Done By Portuguese Soldiers Who Were Held Under Siege In December 1698 In The 17Th Century During The Omani Naval War To Recapture The Fort.

3. Culture preservation

Drawing on artworks produced across time, we are able to read aspects of culture practiced by a particular group of people at a particular time. Through close study of parental art in caves and rock shelters, we are able to make assumptions about the ways of humans living many millennia in the past. In contemporary museum displays,

we are able to see *Vigango* made by the Giriama people, and to learn about how these were placed on the edge of homesteads of prominent elders at a particular time. This provides evidence of the ways in which traditional artworks are reinterpreted so as to capture modern culture and lifestyle.



Figure 3: Vigango displayed at Fort Jesus to showcase the Traditional Religious Belief in appeasing the ancestors. (Practiced in the 15th century). Photography: Raphael Abdulmajid Igombo= 13th August 2021.



Figure 4: Social programs aimed at youth (Kids with Art at Fort Jesus, 13th August 2021). Photography: Shadrack Musyoki

4. Environmental and Social activism

Contemporary artists have played a significant role in advocacy campaigns for sustainable living. Through creative expression, they have communicated to a wide public audience the dangers of climatic change and the need to lead a sustainable life for a better tomorrow.

Institutions like Fort Jesus Museum have joined hands with contemporary artists to offer programs to educate the youth on modern ideas through art. This is aimed at promoting culture and heritage, and also to help to ameliorate emerging and existing social issues including drug abuse, female genital mutilation, youth depression, unemployment and early marriage.

Several artist that partner with the museum in their temporary exhibition at the space, like Shadrack Musyoki among others from Kenya, is one of the many contemporary artists who have taken an active role in raising awareness about climatic change through art. In Musyoki's case, he uses plastics in his art to show the extreme effects of climate change and the devastating consequences of plastic pollution on environmental ecologies.

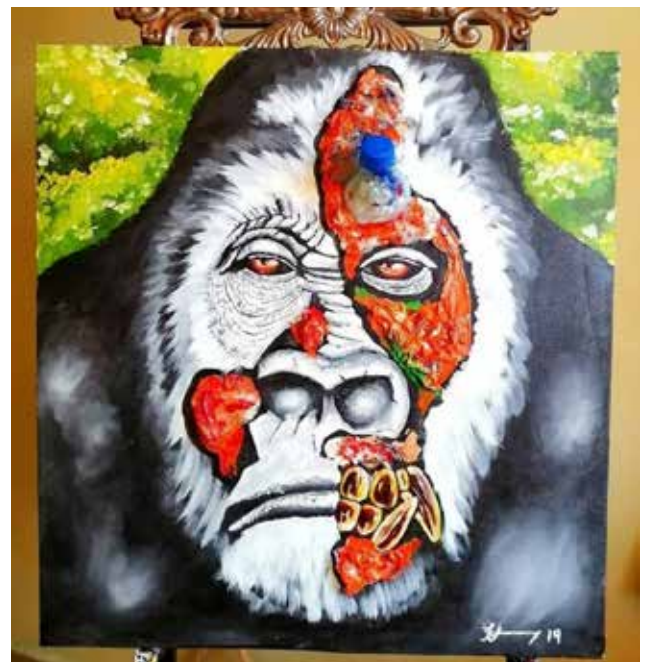


Figure 5: Kenyan artist Shadrack Musyoki uses plastics in his art to raise awareness about the devastating effects of climate change and plastic pollution on human and animal life (Wild Contemporary Art, 12 April 2021).

Urban Heritage, Colonialism and Modernity

Towards defining the modern heritage of the coast of Kenya:

Fatma S Twahir

fatma.twahir@museums.or.ke

Author biography

Fatma Twahir is the Principal Curator of Fort Jesus World Heritage site on Mombasa Island. She holds a Bachelor's in Architecture and an MSc in Environmental Engineering. Twahir is an accomplished Lead Environmental Expert registered by the National Environmental Management Authority of Kenya (NEMA). She is a trained conservationist in Built Heritage and Disaster Risk Management. She has been working with the National Museums of Kenya for the past 13 years, fulfilling duties involving adaptive re-use, heritage management and monitoring.

Abstract

The deep history of the East African coast is explained within the context of established, flourishing city states trading regionally and internationally, taking advantage of their maritime location. The indigenous architecture was initially comprised of residential, or administration buildings, constructed of coral rug and mud mortar covered with lime plaster. The roof would be of palm fronds traditionally supported by mangrove poles. These are materials easily available locally and ready for construction. This local building pattern was subsequently spiced by a succession of 'rulers' eager to control the resources of the region, initially the eastern traders followed by Chinese and later western powers with superior navigation and military power. This array of successive powers brought with them cultures and practices, influencing the local and fusing it into something unique and typical of its location, equally represented in its architecture.

Keywords: Maritime, Swahili, Materials, Fusion, Flexibility, Identity

Résumé

Vers la définition du patrimoine moderne de la côte du Kenya

L'histoire profonde de la côte de l'Afrique de l'Est est expliquée dans le contexte de cités-états établies et florissantes faisant du commerce régional et international, profitant de leur situation maritime. L'architecture indigène était

initialement constituée de bâtiments résidentiels ou administratifs, construits en tapis de corail et en mortier de boue recouvert de plâtre de chaux. Le toit était constitué de feuilles de palmier traditionnellement soutenues par des poteaux de palétuvier. Ce sont des matériaux facilement disponibles localement et prêts à être construits. Ce modèle de construction local a ensuite été épicé par une succession de "souverains" désireux de contrôler les ressources de la région, d'abord les commerçants orientaux, puis les Chinois et plus tard les puissances occidentales dotées d'une navigation et d'une puissance militaire supérieures. Cet ensemble de puissances successives a apporté avec lui des cultures et des pratiques, influençant le local et le fusionnant en quelque chose d'unique et de typique de son emplacement, également représenté dans son architecture.

Mots-clés : Maritime, Swahili, Matériaux, Fusion, Flexibilité, Identité

Introduction

The deep history of the East African coast is explained within the context of established, flourishing city states trading regionally and internationally, taking advantage of their maritime location. The indigenous architecture was initially comprised of residential, or administration buildings, constructed of coral rug and mud mortar covered with lime plaster. The roof would be of palm fronds traditionally supported by mangrove poles. These are materials easily available locally and ready for construction. This local building pattern



Figure 1: Swahili building (source: Okoko)

was subsequently spiced by a succession of 'rulers' eager to control the resources of the region, initially the eastern traders followed by Chinese and later western powers with superior navigation and military power. This array of successive powers brought with them cultures and practices, influencing the local and fusing it into something unique and typical of its location, equally represented in its architecture.

With prosperity came the need to identify within a hierarchical social system. This may have resulted from economic achievements or political ties. The coastal architecture then saw an introduction of additional floors, with the floor slab being supported by the stronger thicker mangrove beams, carved doors, with intricacies dependent on economic prosperity. With the coming of the Indians during the construction of the railway that started in 1896, we see an introduction of wooden balconies made of carved lattice and plaster decoration on wall surfaces.

The approach

As one works towards defining the typical representation of modern architecture of the coast, a series of consultations to determine stakeholder attitudes are carried out. The first involves students of architecture at local universities, 3rd and 4th year students who have studied the history of architecture and have an appreciation of western understandings of modern architecture. The methodology involves the presentation of various pictorial representations of different types of construction in the past and at present. Key considerations were to identify materials of construction, function, scale, and decorative components.



Figure 2: Graded building (source: Okoko)



Figure 3: County Assembly, Mombasa (source: Okoko)

Limitations

The outcome presented here is a result of discussions with one group of stakeholders. There is need to acquire the opinions of others in the field, and that of different user groups, in order to consolidate a common understanding of the definition of modern heritage. This would allow for identification of the buildings that conform to this definition.

Research on key concepts in the design and significance of indigenous architecture needs to be investigated so that this concept can be translated into the identified modern buildings.

The definition

Traditional building styles within the Old Town of Mombasa were considered indigenous or vernacular but not modern. Impressive colonial buildings such as the County Assembly were excluded from classification as 'modern' as they featured little representation of what was considered as the local identity.



Figure 4: Mombasa Governor's Office (source: Okoko)

However, there was intense deliberation about the Governor's office. This building started out as a post office and was later turned into municipal education and environment departments, before becoming the Governor's office. Swahili architecture featured a flexible approach to functional spaces, allowing for a range of usages. The Governor's building conformed to this aspect as it had accommodated variable usages through time.

This building has the typical arched openings, massive carved doors, wooden balconies and contemporary plaster work. However the addition of round columns along the entrance façade discredited it. The Pwani University (formerly Polytechnic) Building seemed to meet the approvals of many due to the presences of arches, plaster work, lattice work, grand opening/door and the cusps on the parapet wall.

Conclusion

The ideal representation of modern architecture on the Kenyan coast emerges through the translation of key components of indigenous or vernacular architecture into modern materials and functions. These components assist in carrying the identity of the coast along through time, and hence can be regarded modern.



Figure 5: Pwani University building (source, Okoko).

Expressing liberation movements through modern architecture in Africa: 'Afro-Brazilian and neo-Moorish' liberation architectures

Kelouaze.R

Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town
Klzrim00@myuct.ac.za; Rimkelouaze@gmail.com

Author biography

Rim Kelouaze is an architect and PhD student in archaeology, holder of a master's degree in sustainable heritage conservation assisted by new technologies. She worked as a lecturer at the Institute of Architecture, University of Blida in Algeria between 2013 and 2017 and has held several positions in heritage projects management. She is a consultant in heritage management and conservation. Her fields of interest are modern heritage, decolonisation and heritage in/of Africa.

Abstract

This contribution studies 19-20th century modern architectures in Africa that expressed ideas of liberation. It aims to rethink narratives and re-evaluate perceptions through an objective reading.

Liberation architectures are born out of popular resistance movements, artistic expressions of voices for liberation, driving forces arising from resistance or cultural responses to political pressure from populations. Two cases are studied. The first concerns pre-liberation architectures in early 19th century Algeria that emerged when popular resistance to integration between Algerians and *pieds noirs* (the "pieds noirs" are the settlers who were repatriated from Europe by France to form the population of the colony of settlement in Algeria, and their descendants between 1830 and 1962) provoked the colonial administration to facilitate the creation of the neo-Moorish style as a way of allowing the autochthonous to identify themselves within the city through a new architecture inspired by pre-colonial architecture. The second case studies post-liberation architectures through Afro-Brazilian architecture initiated by returned formerly enslaved people (Lagos/Benin), who expressed through architecture their freedom to reflect shifting identities and complex associations between their lives and lands. Both examples challenge notions of authenticity and recognition. Neo-Moorish is perceived as a fake mix of two dissociated architectures; Afro-Brazilian is regarded as imported and less authentic than local architectures. Yet the authenticity of both architectures lies in the

motivation underlying their creation: Afro-Brazilians who returned to where they were captured and enslaved to create masterpieces, and Algerians who forced the coloniser to make a unique cultural compromise to appease the population, created two forms of liberation architecture of undeniable authenticity.

Résumé

Cet article examine l'architecture moderne du 19^{ème}- 20^{ème} siècle en Afrique qui exprime des idées de libération. Il vise à repenser les récits et à réévaluer les perceptions à travers une lecture objective.

Les architectures de la libération sont nées de mouvements de résistance populaire, d'expressions artistiques des voix de la libération, de forces motrices de la résistance ou de réponses culturelles à la pression politique des populations.

Deux cas sont étudiés, les architectures pré-libération à travers l'architecture néo-mauresque en Algérie au début du 20^{ème} siècle reflétant la pression exercée par les populations qui a généré une réponse de l'administration coloniale quant à la création du style néo-mauresque pour permettre aux autochtones de s'identifier à travers une nouvelle architecture inspirée de l'architecture précoloniale pour leur donner un sens de propriété de la ville en vue de la proposition d'intégration entre les Algériens et les pieds noirs. Le second cas étudie les architectures post-libération à travers l'architecture afro-brésilienne initiée par les ex-asservis (Lagos/Bénin) où ils ont exprimé par l'architecture une stratégie de liberté reflétant leurs identités changeantes et ont matérialisé l'association complexe entre leurs vies et leurs terres.

Les deux exemples montrent un challenge d'authenticité et de reconnaissance. Le néo-mauresque est perçu comme falsifié en tant que mélange de deux architectures dissociées et l'afro-brésilien comme importé et moins authentique que les architectures locales. Pourtant, l'authenticité des deux architectures réside dans la motivation de leur création. Les Afro-Brésiliens qui sont retournés là où ils ont

été captivés et réduits en esclavage pour créer des chefs-d'œuvre et les Algériens qui ont forcé le colonisateur à faire un compromis culturel unique pour tenter de se réconcilier avec la population ont créé deux formes d'architecture de libération d'une authenticité incontestable.

Keywords: modern heritage, colonial heritage, modern architecture, architecture of liberation, decolonisation

Introduction

After centuries of occupation by European countries, either through colonisation (where land is occupied and resources are exploited)¹ or by colonial settlement (such as Algeria), together with the trans-Atlantic slave trade triangle, Africa has been profoundly entangled within a system conceived without consensus or respect of human rights, in which a two-way cultural exchange (North-South) is entrenched, even if the influence is often recognised only in the North-South North-centric direction.

End of colonisation and slavery

The return of formerly enslaved people began in the 18th and 19th centuries (Tèriba, 2017), involving African American, Caribbean and British former enslaved, and gave rise to popular resistance against violations of the principle of self-determination and calls for independence by colonised African countries from the 1950s. This materialised in the return of land and the end of the era of oppression and the withdrawal of colonising countries and the powers propping up the international slave economy.

In the subsequent phase, the recording and writing of new postcolonial histories was a priority for international powers. This was achieved through the dissemination of an apologist discourse of imperialism, in which the gravity and criminality of colonial abuse was trivialised, while the exploitation of resources – and human beings – on the other side of the Mediterranean was justified as a necessary evil prior to the industrial revolution. An example of this apologist discourse is revealed in the words of a coloniser quoted by Frantz Fanon: 'We are not angels. But at least we feel remorse' (quoted in Sartre, 2001).

Narratives of colonialism and slavery

The discourses of colonial domination are familiar and have attracted academic interest. Colonial projects on the one hand 'were imbued

with grandiosity, heroism and epic; valorising masculinized notions of adventure, discovery and bravery. On the other hand, they presented looting in altruistic terms, emphasizing the gifts of civilization, Christianity, science, etc' (Bentley, 2015).

After the Cold War, however, international discourse shifted to the use of a different 'grammar', presenting an emerging 'international morality', manifested by elites who advocated for a 'reenergized liberal internationalism' (Bentley, 2015). This discourse included questions directed at western states and highlighting their culpability.

At this point, the narratives of the western world began to be challenged, so that colonisation was no longer seen as glorifying. This was the beginning of a long process of advocacy that resulted in the obligation of states involved in colonisation to acknowledge their crimes and apologise to states and peoples.

This has led colonising states to adjust narratives to make them compatible with the new discourses, although formerly colonised states had earlier built representative narratives of postcolonial national identity around sites of memory, monuments of popular resistance and independence, museums and other heritage sites.

Rethinking colonial narratives

Political narratives have attracted academic and even popular interest and are at the center of debates between formerly colonial states and the previously colonised countries; they are relentlessly revived, revisited and reformulated to inform decolonisation projects and intercontinental North-South relations. The cultural narratives of art, art history and architecture, especially concerning indigenous people, have not attracted the attention of even the elites, nor have they been subject to revision or reconsideration. Yet, like the history of colonisation, colonial architectures have at least two histories. Being subject to power relations and power imbalances (still existing), it is the most powerful that writes the history. Thus, the narratives around architectures and arts during the colonial period, in the version dedicated to the international, continue to reflect the power imbalances between coloniser/colonised, perpetrator/victim.

Colonial architectural narratives in African academia

In order to understand the frame of reference and

1 By Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Germany.

consideration of architectures of and in Africa, this paper analyses the discourses around these architectures in the academic texts of African scholars. Two case studies will be analysed: Afro-Brazilian architecture created by African former enslaved returned from Brazil, and neo-Moorish architecture initiated in Algeria. Two modern architectures of the 19th and 20th centuries whose discourses were adopted by African researchers will be compared with the historical facts for an objective rethinking through a logical analysis.

Narratives and perceptions around neo-Moorish and Afro-Brazilian architectures:

Afro-Brazilian

Afro-Brazilian architecture refers to an architecture that was initiated by Afro-Brazilians who were descendants of enslaved Africans captured and transported to Brazil. Having worked in the construction sector, they were able to recreate an iconic form of architecture inspired by the Latin-American architectural styles they had worked on.

In African academic references, it is mentioned that Afro-Brazilians must have repaired or 'seen' this architecture in Brazil (Tèriba, 2020), which is a way of questioning the ability of Afro-Brazilian designers and builders who nevertheless left masterpieces testifying to their skills.

Shockingly, the foundations for the creation of this architecture are considered psychological, allegedly 'the Atlantic Slave Trade impacted the psychological mind-set of former slaves, and perhaps served as part of the impetus for architecture that people like the individuals in the story would build in order to recreate their lives' (Tèriba, 2020: Para.2). Afro-Brazilian architecture is then in this context considered 'therapeutic architecture', designed 'to seek solace' (Tèriba, 2020). Furthermore, Afro-Brazilians who returned to Africa are stigmatised for not having a clear identity, to the point of being an object of contention: 'Lagos became a psychological battleground between relatives who were trying to understand who they were' (Tèriba, 2020: Para.14). The same author (Tèriba, 2017), however, acknowledges the impossibility of finding archival evidence to reconstruct the history of the built environment created by Afro-Brazilians, which opens up the possibilities for other unexpected methods. He admits that the growing incorporation of non-Western architecture into global discourses of architectural history must be consolidated by

asking again what is and is not historical evidence. This is a call to question conventional reflections on the subject that carry a judgment about the legitimacy of Afro-Brazilian intellectual property within this architecture.

Neo-Moorish

Neo-Moorish architecture in Algeria is a modern architecture initiated at the beginning of the 20th century that incorporated architectural elements of the local pre-colonial architecture but constructed with modern industrial materials. It is a hybrid architectural style that on the facade reflects the utopia of the local architecture of the medina, and at the same time on the functional level is conceived according to the principles of modern western architecture. In African academia, the neo-Moorish style is considered 'superficial' in representing local architecture, reflecting 'the image of the protector'² (who is the governor of colonised Algeria) (Boulbene, 2012: P.100). Even more, the style is named after the governor Charles-Célestin Jonnart, that is to say, 'Jonnart style' (Cohen, Oulebsir, Kanoun, 2003).

G. Guiauchain describes it as a 'shameful pastiche', referring to a work poorly copied with the form having no originality, and the Algerian architect A. Bouchama³ asserting that the style is initiated 'under the pretext of restoring the Arab art' with all the elements of this architecture being 'voiceless and engenders a real malaise' (Bouchama, 1966, cited in Oulebsir, 2004: P.313).

It is alarming to note that a doctoral thesis on neo-Moorish architecture in Algeria mentions that this style was invented to 'tame'⁴ the natives (Boulbene, 2012)⁵. The term is used in zoology to describe the act of making a wild animal docile or domesticated. It is not a term that can be used to describe any relationship between two human beings, and is only used for animals.

Chronological analysis:

This chronological study of historical facts through a geopolitical and sociocultural diachronic analysis is presented in order to find answers to the allegations implicitly or explicitly induced in the discourses put forward at the international level and adopted by Africans.

2 In French « les villes algériennes se voient dotées d'une nouvelle image, l'image du protecteur ou ce qu'on appellera communément style Jonnart.

3 First architect of the independent Algeria.

4 In French « APPRIVOISER », a term used only for animals.

5 In French : « ...dans le but d'apprivoiser les autochtones « indigènes » (Boulbene, 2012 : 17).

Afro-Brazilian

First, the preconception that the returning enslaved people were ‘freed slaves’ (Tèriba, 2020) is not correct. The abolition process was not a simple act of liberation as is commonly assumed. ‘Abolition was more complex than the mere freeing of the enslaved’ (Bulter, 1998: P.2).

Brazil was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery and did so gradually between 1864 and 1899 (Salles, 2019). Yet, the return of Afro-Brazilians began at least 40 years earlier, between 1820 and 1899 (Matory, 2005, cited in Tèriba, 2017). Still, during the period preceding the return of Afro-Brazilians, their resistance was manifested through several recorded instances of revolt including the uprising of ‘Malê Rebellion’ in Salvador in 1835 (Reis, 1993; Castillo, 2016). This resistance was pursued even by the unreturned Afro-Brazilians who decided to be ‘full free, which could only be won through struggle’ (Bulter, 1998). This explains that Afro-Brazilians initiated their liberation – among other things – by their resistance decades before slavery was abolished.

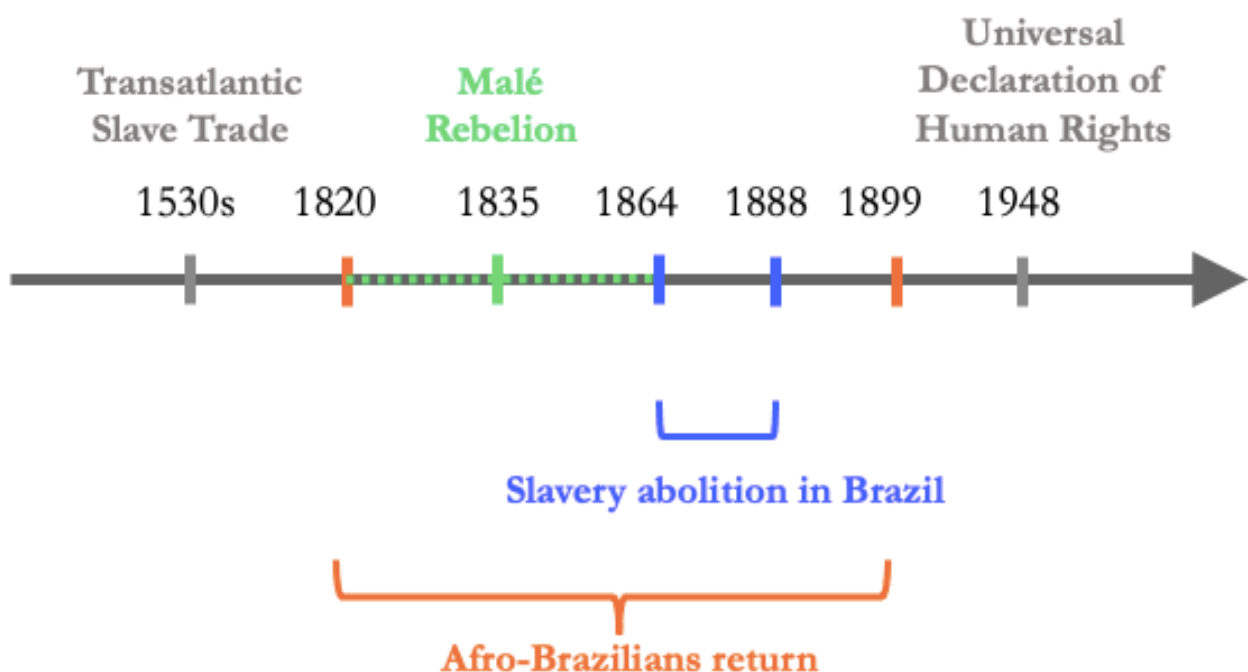
Additionally, Afro-Brazilians, from the moment they arrived in Brazil, named their new cities after African ones (Tèriba, 2020), so as to never cut ties with Africa nor forget where they came from. Once they or their descendants returned

to Africa, they named African cities after Brazilian ones to remember an extremely challenging victory. This clearly shows that they were mapping their historical trajectory with pride and determination. It is clearly not a psychological state nor a disputed identity nor an ‘existential crisis’ in need of ‘therapeutic architecture’, when an identity has been maintained against erasure across 300 years of enslavement, after a succession of 12 generations in other lands (more than 6000 km away). On the contrary, it is a ‘unique return in history’, for Afro-Brazilians returned deliberately, consciously and relying on their own will and resources without support from missionaries. But above all, they did not return to any place in Africa, but to the place where they had been captured (Olabiyi Babalola Joseph Yai in Brown, 2020: Para.16). As for their qualifications as architects and craftsmen, they were without similar examples (Harrison, Igwe, 2016), yet they developed skills to the point of creating a second generation of Afro-Brazilian style, which became a regional architectural aesthetic (Tèriba, 2017).

Neo-Moorish

Unlike widespread academic consensus, neo-Moorish is not a recovery of an Arab architecture. Moorish is a term used by Christian

Afro-Brazilian Architecture



Europeans to designate the Muslim inhabitants of the Maghreb, the Iberian Peninsula – Spain, Sicily and Malta (Africanus, 2010); ‘neo’ is a prefix that means new, as in neo-classicism, neo-modernism. Furthermore, neo-Moorish is not an orientalist architecture, because the latter implies the fragmentation of architectural elements and their ‘de-contextualization’, like Orientalism in Europe which includes elements of Arab architecture. (Labrusse, 2010). In fact, it is an Algerian local architecture, which inspires a new revisited version of architecture in its own context. The style cannot be compared with the Arabisance architecture that appeared later in Morocco and Tunisia for two reasons: the ideological sociopolitical foundations that constitute the ideal context, and the scope of the interventions that is evidence of a commitment to reform on a national scale.

Recalling the ideological context, as in all French colonies in Africa, France applied the policy of assimilation that had been in view since 1848 (Thénault, 2016), but was implemented from 1870. The Algerian populations were impossible to assimilate (unlike the colons and the Jews) and the policy proved a failure (Pervillé, n.d). In 1900, Marchal, the deputy of Algiers, called for ‘No Assimilation!’ (Grandmaison, 2009). Governor Jonnart promulgated the Jonnart Law of 4 February 1919, on the accession of native Algerians to political rights. This put an

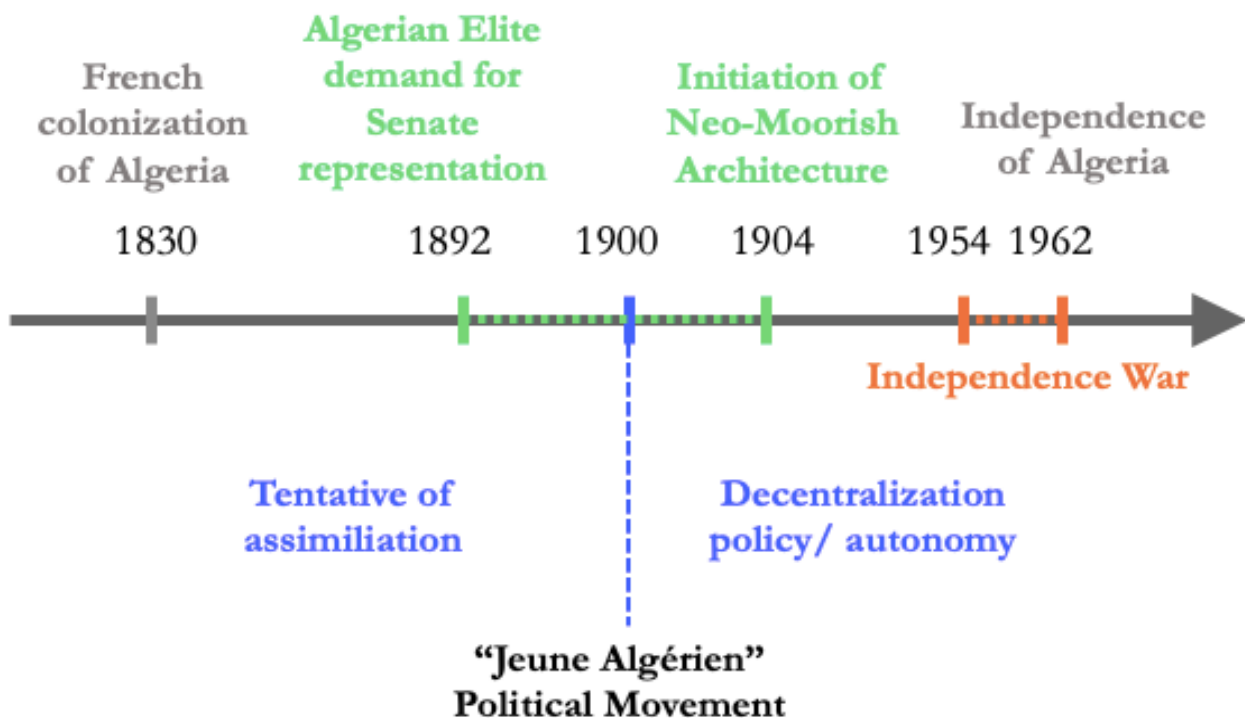
end to the policy of assimilation and replaced it with a policy of decentralisation (autonomy) announced through the law of 19 December 1900. This policy is also called the policy of association (Grandmaison, 2009), because it associates the indigenous people who had until then a different status from the French, namely ‘Indigène’ defined by the Code of Indigénat published in March 1871.⁶

This sudden political and socio-cultural shift restructuring colonised Algeria did not come by chance after 70 years of colonisation. At the end of the 19th century, the Algerian elite – literate Algerians – began to claim their rights through a mobilisation of intellectuals which led in 1892 to demands for the representation of Algerians in the Senate. In 1900, they established the political movement ‘Jeune-Algérien’, thus transforming popular resistance into an official and structured political resistance. Faced with this movement, France decided to attempt reconciliation, which led to the promulgation of several laws and decisions including that of initiating the neo-Moorish style and gradually generalising it from 2 December 1904.

French researchers (Argeron, 1970; Deluz, 1988; Graebner, 2007) have argued that this did not represent a shift in attitude towards the culture

⁶ In French Code of Indigénat, often translated “Code of the Natives” (Mann, 2009: P.331).

Neo-Moorish Architecture



of the colonised, yet Governor Jonnart's speech that accompanied the launch of the neo-Moorish mentioned the idea of 'walking fraternally' with the indigenous. Algerians have been subjected to the Code of Indigénat (Sebai, 2016), a law of segregation similar to the code of slavery in sub-Saharan Africa. They criticised the absence of change in the educational curriculums, but this was understandable in a settlement colony where the French school was attended by colonial populations (in 1900, only 24,000 Algerians were schooled).

It is obvious that the shift was cultural – an irreversible cultural compromise. One of its outcomes was that cities like Skikda and Annaba were built entirely in neo-Moorish style. The scope of the shift to neo-Moorish can be compared to the limited influence of Orientalism / Arabisation, which appeared in individual buildings or works of orientalist architects but never across entire cities or as a national style. The neo-Moorish is a local style revisited and restituted in its geographical and cultural context (neither orientalist nor Arabisation), extended across entire cities, whose creation was motivated by popular resistance and the coloniser's compromise and attempt to reconcile them.

Conclusion: Decolonizing narratives around liberation architectures

Two main points arise out of this study:

First, the need to rethink and review the discourses and narratives adopted in academia regarding modern architecture and art during the colonial period, as the discourses commonly disseminated are taken as axiomatic and yet often they represent only the coloniser's version justifying an act that is now considered criminal. It is therefore fundamental to rethink the history of architecture and to question the information conveyed in international discourses. From this analysis, it follows that some colonial, foreign or hybrid architectures in Africa are the result of popular resistance movements against colonialism and slavery and are therefore 'liberation architectures'.

Liberation architectures

Liberation architectures are born out of popular resistance movements, artistic expressions of liberation voices, driving forces of resistance, or cultural responses to the political demands of the people. The motivation behind their creation is directly related to the liberation struggle whether this liberation is achieved ex-ante or ex-post ('before or after the creation'). They are

classified into two types:

Pre-liberation architectures: Liberation architectures in which architecture is an intellectual means of struggle for liberation, where architectural creation precedes the acquisition of freedom (ex-ante liberation).

Post-liberation architecture: Liberation architectures in which architecture is a means of expression of a freedom already won after the struggle, where the architectural creation takes place in the post-liberation phase (ex-post liberation).

Bibliography:

- Africanus, L. 2010. *The History and Description of Africa: And of the Notable Things Therein Contained* (Vol. 2). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ageron, C. R. 1970. Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919). *Revue Historique*, 243(Fasc. 2 (494)), 355-36.
- Arsenault, N. & Rose, C. 2004. *Africa Enslaved: A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems for Grades 9-12*. Austin: University of Texas.
- Bentley, T. 2015. *Empires of Remorse: Narrative, postcolonialism and apologies for colonial atrocity*. New York: Routledge.
- Bouchama, A. 1966. *The Singing Arch (l'Arceau qui chante)*, Alger: SNED.
- Boulbene, I. F. 2012. Le style neo-mauresque en algerie fondement-portee-reception.
- Brown, R. 2020. In a capital's Afro-Brazilian architecture, traces of a complex story. *The Christian Science Monitor*, [online] Available at: <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2020/1123/In-a-capital-s-Afro-Brazilian-architecture-traces-of-a-complex-story>
- Butler, K. D. 1998. *Freedoms given, freedoms won: Afro-Brazilians in post-abolition Sao Paulo and Salvador*. New York: Rutgers University Press.
- Castillo, L-E. 2016. Mapping the Nineteenth-century Brazilian Returnee Movement: Demographics, Life Stories and the Question of Slavery. *Atlantic Studies* 13(1), 25.
- Cohen, J-L., Oulebsir, N., Kanoun, Y (eds). 2003. *Alger : Paysage Urbain et Architectures, 1800-2000*. Paris: De l'imprimeur.
- Deluz, J. J. 1988. *L'urbanisme et l'architecture d'Alger: aperçu critique*. Bruxelles: Pierre Mardaga S.A., Soledi.
- Graebner, S. 2007. Contains Preservatives: Architecture and Memory in Colonial Algiers. *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 33(2), 257-276. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41299412>
- Grandmaison, O. L. C. 2009. De l'assimilation à la politique d'association. [From assimilation to

- association policy]. In *La République impériale: Politique et racisme d'État*. Paris: Fayard, 109- 177.
- Guiauchain, G. 1909. Algiers (Alger, 1905), Alger. impr. Algérienne. p.121.
- Harrison, E. & Igwe, J. M. 2016. *Afro-Brazilian Style Of Architecture In Lagos*. Lagos: University of Lagos Library.P.3. Available at: <https://ir.unilag.edu.ng/handle/123456789/7187>
- Labrusse, R. 2010. Oulebsir Nabila et Volait Mercedes (dir.), *L'Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, Paris, CNRS et Picard, 2009, 300 p. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*.
- Mann, G., 2009. What was the indigénat? The 'empire of law' in French West Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 50(3), pp.331.
- Matory, J. L. 2005. The English Professors of Brazil. In *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matrarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*, edited by J. L. Matory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 38-73.
- Oulebsir, N. 2004. Les usages du patrimoine [The uses of heritage]. Paris: Editions MSH.
- Pervillé, G. n.d. *Première table ronde : 1830 - 1945, l'Algérie entre colonisation et assimilation*. [First round table: 1830 - 1945, Algeria between colonisation and assimilation]. Available at: <https://www.senat.fr/ga/ga105/ga1051.html>
- Reis, J. 1993. *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 73-128.
- Salles, R. 2019. The Abolition of Brazilian Slavery, 1864-1888. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, Para.1. Available at <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.733>
- Sartre, J. P. 2005. *Colonialism and neocolonialism*. New York: Routledge.
- Sebai, A. 2016. نوناق ل رخال هجولا <<انيجيدنألا>> نوناق دوسلا [Code of the indigenous, the other face of the slavery code], [Dirasat] , 5(2), P 196-212.
- Tèriba, A. 2017. Afro-Brazilian Architecture in Southwest Colonial Nigeria (1890s-1940s). Doctoral dissertation, Princeton University.
- Tèriba, A. 2020. The Burden of Freedom: Therapeutic Architecture as Self Fashioning in the British Protectorate of Lagos (1830s-1900). *Europe Now Journal, Council for European Studies (CES)*, [online] Available at: <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2020/10/11/the-burden-of-freedom-therapeutic-architecture-as-self-fashioning-in-the-british-protectorate-of-lagos-1830s-1900/>
- Thénault, S. 2016. *L'Algérie assimilée? Populations et territoires. Du mythe à la réalité* [Assimilated Algeria? Populations and territories. From myth to reality]. Made in Algeria, Hazan/MUCEM, p. 143-164. Available at: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02356515/>

Imagining new forms of urban development through the enhancement of the local culture of living: The Pemba case study in Mozambique

Corinna Del Bianco

Independent researcher
Adjunct Professor, Politecnico di Milano
corinna.delbianco@polimi.it,

Author biography

Corinna Del Bianco is a researcher in architecture and urban studies. She is PhD and adjunct professor of Urban Design at the Politecnico di Milano, Italy. Her research and professional interests concern the documentation and analysis of the cultural identity of places, with a focus on the culture of living in self-built urban environments. She is founder and board member of the Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, based in Florence, Italy, dedicated to dialogue among cultures. Since 2017, she has worked as an independent researcher, working on curatorship projects and educational activities.

www.corinnadelbianco.com,
www.spontaneouslivingspaces.com

Abstract

The African continent is undergoing urbanisation, and in many cases, this has resulted in a spontaneous importation of rural housing models into cities through the construction skills of the inhabitants themselves. Since 2011, the Spontaneous Living Spaces research project has been studying the ways in which self-built houses are constructed and inhabited, treating them as mirrors of the local cultural identity. The project examines spontaneous living as an important element of the urban cultural landscape and of local tangible and intangible forms of heritage, and it seeks to preserve, communicate, and enhance the diversity of cultural expression. The studies are conducted through field surveys that produce a variety of documentation (architectural drawings, urban analysis, interviews, photo-reportage, etc.), and case studies have so far been developed in Sao Paulo, Hong Kong, and Pemba.

Résumé

Le continent africain est en voie d'urbanisation, et dans de nombreux cas, cela s'est traduit par une importation spontanée de modèles d'habitat rural dans les villes grâce aux compétences de construction des habitants eux-

mêmes. Depuis 2011, le projet de recherche Spontaneous Living Spaces étudie les façons dont les maisons auto-construites sont réalisées et habitées, les traitant comme des miroirs de l'identité culturelle locale. Le projet examine la vie spontanée en tant qu'élément important du paysage culturel urbain et les formes locales matérielles et immatérielles du patrimoine, et il cherche à préserver, communiquer et renforcer la diversité de l'expression culturelle. Les études sont menées à travers des enquêtes sur le terrain qui produisent une documentation variée (dessins architecturaux, analyse urbaine, entretiens, photo-reportage, etc.), ainsi que des cas d'études développées jusqu'à présent à Sao Paulo, Hong Kong et Pemba.

Keywords: cultural landscape, spontaneous living, housing, self-building, changing cities, Pemba, Mozambique

Among the countries of Africa, Mozambique is particularly interesting because of its rurality; here, it is possible to observe ways of living that merge rural and urban characteristics, with self-construction generating alternative ways of making cities. In this transition from rural to urban, however, much of the traditional knowledge and cultural expression of the peasant world – full of awareness related to the environment and nature – are at risk of being lost and need to be protected. Pemba, an intermediate coastal city born as a Swahili settlement and capital of the Cabo Delgado region, is experiencing a rapid population increase. Though design, its domestic buildings show the evolution of local cultures and life ways, allowing one to imagine new development dynamics rooted in the cultural and environmental context.

The value of valueless things: Recognising and documenting through Spontaneous Living Spaces research

Our daily lives are often characterised by things that are not considered of cultural value, but that take a distinctive form, shaping identity and thus influencing contemporary culture. Giving

cultural significance to constructions that seem insignificant allows us to value them for their intangible meaning as part of a modern life rooted in local culture. Recognising and documenting the characteristics of these buildings is essential for working with the population's awareness of local value.

Self-construction, in its formal and informal forms, represents a large part of the urban landscape of cities in developing countries. Self-built houses arise from the need for shelter, from the haste in obtaining it and from limited economic possibilities. Often considered temporary at their time of construction, in many cases, instead of being destroyed or abandoned, they evolve to become a constituent part of the city. As they lose their initial character of temporariness, these settlements need to be considered as an integral part of the urban fabric. They should be recognised, documented and studied as a stage of development of the urban organism in which it is possible to identify elements and characteristics of contemporary living. Furthermore, since they are not designed by professionals, they represent a direct response to the local cultural needs of living in each place, allowing for a greater understanding and deeper analysis of socio-cultural dynamics.

By treating ways of living as a form of cultural expression, an understanding of their diversity allows a deeper knowledge of the context and a consideration of its tangible and intangible heritage and traditional knowledge to emerge, so that it can be conserved, communicated, and enhanced with respect to the local cultural identity (UNESCO, 2005).

Spontaneous Living Spaces is a research project started in 2011 to examine the cultural characteristics of living (inhabiting) in rapidly expanding urban contexts by investigating the relationships between public and private spaces in different socio-economic and cultural contexts. The study of these spaces takes place through a typo-morphological analysis integrated at different scales, from the urban level to that of objects, and integrated by various tools, including architectural surveys, spaces and functions, photo-reportage, videos, interviews, and historical documentation. To date, three case studies have been conducted that can be compared: the Guapira II favela in Sao Paulo, called *Jardim Filhos da Terra*; the historic district of Pok Fu Lam in Hong Kong; and four districts of Pemba, the intermediate Mozambican city that



Figure 1: Ines, a community leader of the Alto Gingone neighbourhood, in front of her house (Corinna Del Bianco, 2016).

is the subject of this paper.¹

From a methodological point of view, each case follows a specific path but always with four phases: 1) preliminary documentation, 2) onsite survey, 3) analysis to determine the prevalent typologies of the studied areas and, where possible, 4) identification of the variances from and consistencies with traditional houses. The onsite survey and contact with the local community are of fundamental importance because it is the inhabitants who, by sharing their spaces, experiences, and memories, allow an understanding of the space, its evolution and its potential to emerge, while maintaining respect for their real needs. Since this type of documentation is particularly invasive, the methods for involving the community are studied and periodically tested with the help of an attentive local guide who accompanies the onsite work and can act as a 'cultural interpreter' – and sometimes also as a linguistic interpreter. This initial process is necessary to explain the research to inhabitants and help them to appreciate that it is aimed at enhancing the local culture, thus facilitating the delicate unfolding of interpersonal understanding that allows access to the houses that will be documented and analysed.

The Pemba case study

In the three decades following the end of the civil war,² Mozambique has experienced significant demographic and economic development, which has been encouraged by foreign investment linked to the extraction of raw materials, including the extensive deposits of liquid natural gas in the Cabo Delgado region (Newitt, 2017). Nevertheless, the country is not stable: it is criss-crossed by political and religious tensions, which add to the difficulty of coping with the COVID-19 health emergency in a context characterised by settlements with poor hygienic and economic conditions. The country is also experiencing the

1 The Sao Paulo case study (2012) was developed under the supervision of S. Boeri and with the support of the Municipality of Sao Paulo. It was published under the title *Jardim Filhos da Terra: Spontaneous Living Spaces in São Paulo* in 2021 by LetteraVentidue, with a preface by E. França (Executive Secretary of the Housing Secretariat of the City of São Paulo). The Hong Kong case study (2013) was developed with the help of the University of Hong Kong and the Red Cross. The Pemba case study was developed as part of a research doctorate at the Politecnico di Milano, concluded with Honours in December 2018, under the supervision of M. Ugolini (Politecnico di Milano) and M. Turner (UNESCO Chair in Urban Design and Conservation Studies of the Bezalel Academy in Jerusalem). It was published under the title *Pemba: Spontaneous Living Spaces* (2020), with an introduction by Turner.

2 From independence in 1975 until 1992.

effects of climate change, with violent weather episodes, including two cyclones in 2019: Idai in March, which mainly affected the city of Beira, and Kenneth in April, which hit the coastal areas in the north, particularly Ibo island and Pemba, causing numerous deaths and extensive damage (Del Bianco, 2020). In this climate of difficulty and uncertainty, the urbanisation process has intensified, escalating the flow of people from rural to urban areas.

Pemba fits into this picture. The city, with a total population of 200 529 and a population density of 1033 inhabitants per km²,³ is booming, welcoming a persistent flow of new inhabitants from rural areas. As Turner (2020) states, medium-sized and growing cities like Pemba represent places of great importance for Africa's future, as they connect cities and rural areas. In many cases, upon arrival, migrants find no homes available and must seek hospitality in the homes of friends or relatives, which may have been adapted to this purpose, or create their own shelters. Consequently, self-built city houses are always changing and are representative of the construction techniques and cultural expressions typical of the rural environment. Furthermore, the houses bear the marks of the aspirations of the inhabitants, who introduce construction or decorative elements that belong to other social classes or cultural contexts.

The survey campaigns

Two phases of surveys and analysis were conducted in Pemba based on a common matrix – the first in 2016⁴, and the second in 2020.⁵ The 2016 study included four Pemba neighbourhoods –Paquitequete, Natite, Alto Gingone and Chuiba – representing four phases of the city's development, while the 2020 study extended the analysis to the Josina Machel and Eduardo Mondlane neighbourhoods.

The surveys documented about 90 self-built dwellings, with more than 50 in 2016 and roughly 40 in 2020. The neighbourhoods vary from predominantly formal and laid out on an orthogonal settlement matrix, through informal and recently established with irregular plots, to those with primarily rural characteristics. In most

3 Instituto Nacional de Estatística de Moçambique (INE) (2017).

4 Part of the author's PhD research.

5 The research was conducted by C. Del Bianco and A. Macchiavello; coordinated by L. Montedoro of the DASTU Department of the Politecnico di Milano for the design of a low-cost sustainable housing module as part of the *DECOR-Pemba Project: Desenvolvimento Comunitário Resiliente na Cidade de Pemba*; coordinated by the Municipality of Pemba in collaboration with the E35 Foundation, Avsi Foundation, Anamm and Municipality of Reggio Emilia; and financed by the European Union.

cases, the houses have a land use permit (DUAT [*Direito de Uso e Aproveitacion da Terra*])⁶ and are therefore not technically considered informal. However, they are slums according to the UN Habitat definition.⁷

The surveys highlighted the spaces, functions, and characteristics of living in Pemba, with particular attention paid to social customs and the relationship between public and private spaces. The study allowed researchers to determine a common typology that inhabitants identified themselves with, that corresponded to their needs and that they could independently recreate, thus contributing to urban development in line with the identity of the place.

As Sarr (2018) notes in his essay *Afrotopia*, to be sustainable, development must be rooted

6 The permits are valid for 99 years and are common in the most popular neighbourhoods, but there are still cases in which informality occurs.

7 'A group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area who lack one or more of the following: 1. Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions. 2. Sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room. 3. Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price. 4. Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people. 5. Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.' (UN Habitat, 2007).

in local culture. The way of life in the self-built houses that followed the studied typology was (1) a representative element of Mozambican cultural identity, which was worth improving and protecting; (2) part of the traditional knowledge of the population, enabling inhabitants to self-build, with potential to adapt to low-cost urban development programmes; (3) proportional to the environmental context; and (4) productive, contributing to the family economy with production from chicken coops, vegetable gardens and fruit trees. The self-built homes found in Pemba therefore represent elements of modern Mozambican heritage and, despite their apparent worthlessness, are idenitarian elements that should be documented and enhanced, and improved rather than replaced.

Living in Pemba: Public and private spaces

Since early Swahili settlement centuries ago, Pemba has been a reference point for sailors, as it stands on the bay of Pemba, which is a deep and safe natural harbour. Unlike many Mozambican cities, the Pemba settlement has a long history that is reflected in its urban fabric, and its original core is identified with the Paquitequete neighbourhood. During the Portuguese occupation (1505-1975), the city, then named Porto Amelia, developed as a port centre and as a holiday resort attractive for its

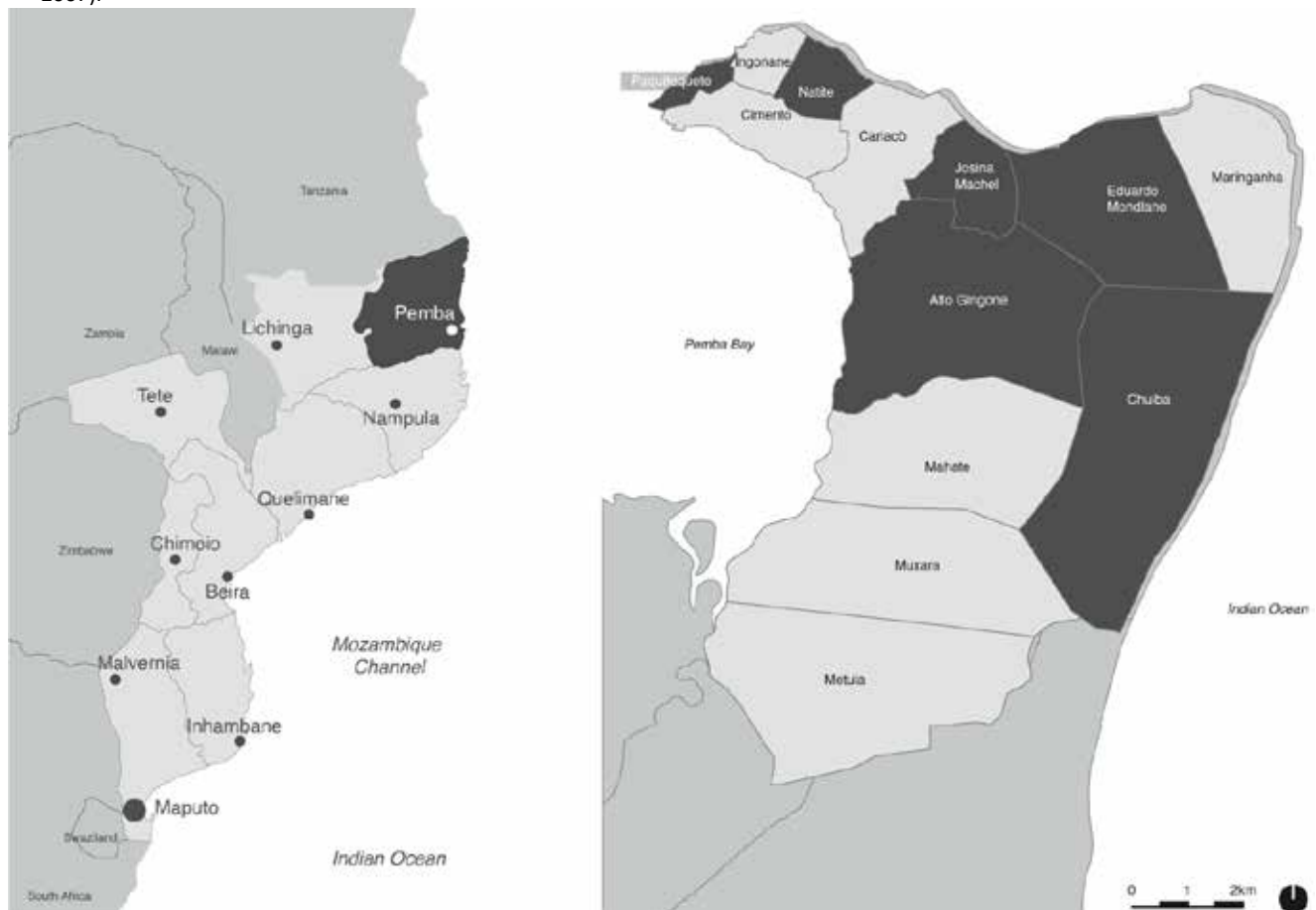


Figure 2: Map showing Mozambican neighbourhoods selected for study (Corinna Del Bianco, 2020).



Figure 3: Spreads from the book *Pemba Spontaneous Living Spaces* published by Routledge, showing a sample of two survey sheets alongside neighbourhood analysis on facing page (left), with typological and photographic analyses (right) (Corinna Del Bianco).

white beaches, nearby coral reef and proximity to the Quirimbas Archipelago park, which is now a UNESCO biological reserve.⁸

Pemba is divided into thirteen neighbourhoods that are homogeneous in terms of habits and customs. Although the inhabitants are mainly of Macua, Makonde, and Mwanì origins, the Macua ethnic group, which is Muslim, is prevalent (Municipality of Pemba, 2019: 17). Even among the houses, there are uniform characteristics that highlight a common way of living.

The contemporary self-built house prevalent in northern Mozambique derives from the union of two African typologies: the rectangular Swahili house and the circular house of African origin. The self-built houses – or at least those not designed by architects and technicians – thus have the potential to express needs that are rooted in the cultural, social, and economic context, highlighting their essential elements. These must be understood in order to design more efficiently and sustainably, respecting and protecting cultural identity and traditional local knowledge. Furthermore, self-built houses are

the physical representation of the aspirations and ambitions of the inhabitants (Morton, 2019), which can be identified in their characteristics, including dimensions, materials, and construction elements. Understanding local ways of living is a design need of fundamental importance especially in self-built contexts, which are often far from the designers in charge of designing homes. Therefore, these studies help to ensure the culture and habits of the population are considered, thus ensuring acceptance of the project by the local community.

With rapid urbanisation underway, changes inevitably occurred between 2016 and 2020. The two surveys were therefore compared using a common data collection matrix and analysis, adding to the latter survey a field for the growth in the number of inhabitants – adults and children – considering variations in the last ten years.

House characters

Among the houses surveyed, each representing different phases of expansion in the city, an important plot organising system was identified,

⁸ <https://en.unesco.org/biosphere/africa/quirimbas>

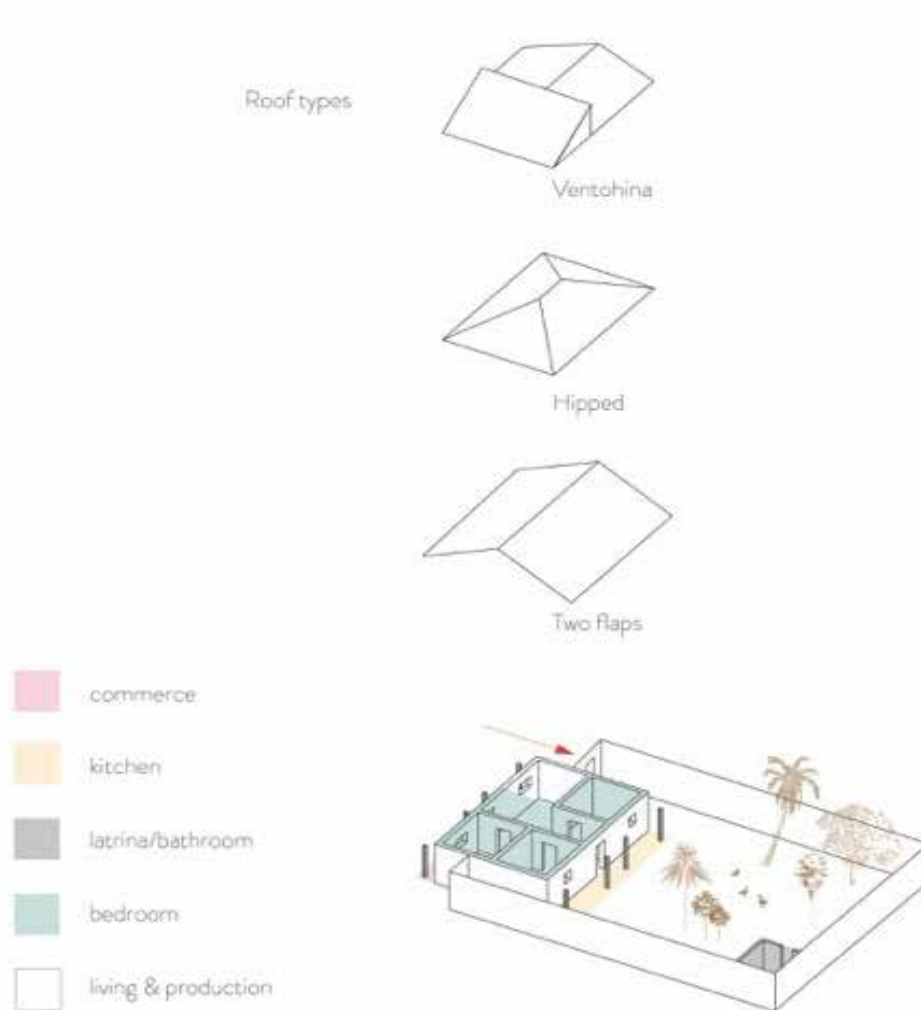


Figure 4: Axonometric diagram of the organisational layout of a house in Pemba (Corinna Del Bianco).

involving the fence being interrupted by the main building, which had, on its two long sides – facing the street and the courtyard – a veranda to host daily public or private functions. The ‘break’ in the fence made by the house creates dynamism along the street fronts that would otherwise be characterised only by a succession of blind fences.

The courtyard also represents wealth for this form of living, and could be considered an instrument of urban growth and development, as it creates a productive and green space. The courtyard represents a link with the earth – a sign of power and a place where one can keep animals, grow fruit trees, plant a small vegetable garden or build an oven. Finally, the traditional *pau à pique*⁹ is a characteristic of the urban landscape of Pemba, a resource for the constructive capacity of the inhabitants and for the ease of finding low-cost materials for its construction.

9 A vertical construction system consisting of two rows of bamboo containing stones and mud.

Conclusions

In order to identify modern heritage, it is necessary to study the daily life and contemporary production of people in order to identify elements that constitute identity; this process is part of working with the concept of modern local heritage and making it an economic resource and an opportunity for younger generations. People thus take part in an empowerment process, being aware of their value and aspiring to improve what is identarian for them rather than replacing it with development models that do not represent them and have proven to be unhealthy for both people and the environment.

The Pemba case study is one of three developed to date by the Spontaneous Living Spaces research project, which conceptualises the house as a cultural phenomenon resulting from a set of socio-cultural factors that are adapted to local elements, such as climatic conditions, sites, economic possibilities, technologies, and materials (Rapoport, 1969). The study aims to enhance local contemporary cultural heritage, with the hope of continuing, with new case

studies, to give value to what seems to have none, and to contribute to the development of urban contexts in synergy with the culture and environment of the place.

References

- Del Bianco, C. 2020. *Pemba: Spontaneous Living Spaces*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Del Bianco, C. 2021. *Jardim Filhos da Terra: Spontaneous Living Spaces in São Paulo*. Siracuse: LetteraVentidue.
- Morton, D. 2019. *Age of concrete*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Newitt, M. 2017. *A short history of Mozambique*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Pillai, J. 2013. *Cultural mapping: A guide to understanding place, community and continuity*. Selangor: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Rapoport, A. 1969. *House form and culture*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Sarr, F. 2018. *Afrotopia*. Bologna: Edizioni dell'asino.
- Turner, M. 2020. 'Foreword'. In *Pemba: Spontaneous Living Spaces*, edited by Corinna Del Bianco. Oxford: Routledge.
- Documents*
- MoHoA. 2021. *The Cape Town document on the modern heritage of Africa*.
- Municipality of Pemba. 2019. *Eduardo Mondlane neighbourhood integrated local development plan*.
- UN. 2016. *Pretoria declaration for Habitat III 'Informal Settlements'*.
- UN. 2017. *New urban agenda, Quito declaration on sustainable cities and human settlements for all*.
- UNESCO. 2003. *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*.
- UNESCO. 2005. *Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions*.
- UNESCO. 2011. *Historic urban landscape recommendation*.
- UN Habitat. 2007. *The state of World's cities 2006-2007*.
- UN Habitat. 2014. *The state of African cities 2014: Re-imagining sustainable urban transitions*.

Whose Shared Heritage?

Whose heritage? Ambivalence and African Modernity in State-Building(s)

Kuukuwa Manful, Innocent Batsani-Ncube and Julia Gallagher

SOAS, University of London
Corresponding author: Kuukuwa Manful,
kuukuwa_manful@soas.ac.uk

Kuukuwa Manful is a trained architect and researcher who creates, studies and documents architecture in Africa. She runs the Accra Archive project, which digitises endangered historical architectural material in Ghana, and curates *adansisem*, an architecture collective that documents and showcases stories of Ghanaian architecture. Her current research, towards a PhD at SOAS, University of London, examines the sociopolitics of nation-building and modernity in Ghana through a study of school building(s). She holds Master's and BSc (Architecture) degrees from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana, and an MSc in African Studies from the University of Oxford.

Innocent Batsani-Ncube is a political sociologist from Zimbabwe with research and teaching interests in African parliaments, political parties and sports organisations. He is presently at SOAS, University of London, writing his PhD thesis on the politics and implications of Chinese government-funded parliament buildings in Lesotho, Malawi, and Zimbabwe. He has over 16 years' experience of strengthening political institutions in Africa through academic research and policy engagement. Innocent is a recipient of the Chevening Scholarship, which supported his MSc studies at Royal Holloway, University of London. He has a BA in International Relations and Diplomacy from the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Julia Gallagher is a professor in African Politics at SOAS, University of London, and Visiting Professor at the University of Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Studies. Julia has published widely on African politics, including books on Britain and Africa under Blair (2011) and Zimbabwe's International Relations (2017), and the edited volume *Images of Africa: Creation, Negotiation and Subversion* (2015). At present she leads an EU-funded project on architecture and politics in Africa, exploring state-society relations through architecture in Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Ethiopia and South Africa.

Abstract

This article examines recent attempts to create specifically African forms of modernist political architecture that draw on 'traditional' or 'pre-colonial' aesthetic forms and ideas. Such buildings have been discussed in academic literature in terms of their architectural success, but little is understood about what they represent to citizens about themselves and their political institutions. Taking examples of three prestigious structures – the presidential palace in Ghana, the parliament in Malawi and the Northern Cape regional parliament in South Africa – the article shows how vernacular ideas have been incorporated into state-of-the-art political architecture. Then, drawing on a series of interviews and focus group discussions in the three countries, it begins to tease out tensions between the ideas of modern African statehood held by those who commissioned and built these grand new buildings, and the ideas of national identity and state authority they convey to citizens who live alongside them. The study uncovers some of the challenges of making state symbols that embody a representative political collective.

Cet article étudie les démarches récentes visant à créer des formes spécifiquement africaines d'architecture politique moderniste inspirée par des formes et des idées d'esthétiques 'traditionnelles' ou 'précoloniales'. De nombreuses recherches universitaires ont préalablement examiné la question en mettant en avant le succès de ces formes architecturales. Toutefois, à ce jour nous ne savons que très peu des imaginations que ces architectures politiques permettent aux citoyens d'avoir d'eux-mêmes ainsi que des institutions politiques qu'elles représentent. Dans cet article, nous prenons exemple sur trois prestigieux édifices – le palais présidentiel du Ghana, le parlement du Malawi et le parlement régional du Cap-Nord en Afrique du Sud – pour montrer comment des idées du terroir ont été incorporées dans des architectures politiques de dernier cri. Puis, nous appuyant sur une série d'entretiens et de focus groups conduits dans chacun de ces trois pays, nous soulignons les tensions qui existent entre les conceptions de l'Etat africain moderne

telles qu'envisagées par les commanditaires et les bâtisseurs de ces chefs-d'œuvre d'une part et, d'autre part, les conceptions de l'identité nationale et de l'autorité de l'État que ces architectures sont supposées représentées pour les citoyens qui vivent aux environs. L'étude révèle ainsi les défis quant à la conception des symboles d'Etat qui incarnent le groupe politique dans son ensemble.

Funding details

Research for this article is part of the African State Architecture project at SOAS, University of London, which receives funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 772070).

Keywords: African modernism, architecture, Ghana, Malawi, South Africa

Early postcolonial African states were often depicted as projects of modernity and described by high-modernist monumental new buildings constructed at independence (Hess, 2000; 2006; Uduku, 2005; Hertz et al, 2015; Gutschow, 2012; Hoffman, 2017). Yet modernity in state-building was always ambiguous: modernity was desirable as part of the mid-twentieth-century agenda of modernisation, of 'catching up', but also criticised as a rearticulation of colonial state forms (Murray, 2007). There was unease about the degree to which the use of conventional Western techniques, forms and materials, and the widespread use of Western architects, exemplified the critique often levelled at post-colonial states themselves of being hollowed out echoes of the West, rather than assertively African (Englebert, 1997). This ambiguity spoke to a dilemma: did African modernity mean 'not traditional' (in a conventional Western sense) or did it mean not colonial (in which case should it draw on indigenous, possibly pre-colonial aesthetics and techniques)? Could it be both things?

If early post-colonial state architecture projects often opted for high modernism, more recent state architecture projects have explored a 'not colonial' approach, drawing on vernacular forms and ideas to express the state. These take what might be described as traditional ideas and forms – often not explicitly from indigenous architecture – and use them to create new aesthetics that are intended to present a distinctly 'authentic' modern state form.

This paper looks at how such African modernisms have been envisaged and expressed in three prestigious architectural projects: Jubilee House

in Ghana, the new Parliament in Malawi and the Northern State Legislature in South Africa. It looks at the buildings themselves and what they were intended to represent. In particular it explores how these modern African expressions are being received by citizens who live and work in and around them. To do this, we draw on interviews and focus group discussions collected from fieldwork in Ghana, Malawi, and South Africa, carried out over six periods between 2016 and 2019.

We ask: how is modernity expressed and read in these projects? What does modernity mean? And to what degree does it mean different things to different groups?

Ghana's Jubilee House

Ghana's Presidential Palace joins a constructed national tradition centred on Akan culture to a prestigious internationally facing symbol of the Ghanaian presidency and state. Completed in 2008, the building was designed and constructed as a 'gift' from India to Ghana, its completion overseen by the Indian company Shapoorji Pallonji (Murthy, 2021). It marks a significant break with the earlier modernisms that dominated state-building in the country post-Independence (Manful, 2021).

It sits in a prime area, well back from Liberation Road, north of Accra's city centre. Embassies, residences, and a zoo were demolished to make room for the new complex, which comprises the main building, Jubilee House, facing the road, and other buildings including presidential and vice-presidential villas and the original colonial Flagstaff House.



Figure 1: Jubilee House, Accra, Ghana (Julia Gallagher, March 2019).

The architectural symbolism of the Presidential Palace is meant to reflect a national *Ghanaianness* but is predominantly based on Akan culture.¹ Jubilee House itself evokes at least one of two things depending on how conversant the viewer is with Ghanaian architectural forms and cultural motifs. The first symbol evoked and confirmed by the local architectural consultants during a tour of the facilities in 2008 and later interviews in 2018 is that of an Asante royal stool.² The second is the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, created to resemble a grand tree cut short. The Asante royal stool symbolism follows in Nkrumah's 1950s approach to nation-building where Asante symbols of royalty (including stools, staff and kente cloth patterns) were used to make Ghanaian national symbols (Fuller, 2014). More recently, in the same vein, David Adjaye has used symbols of Asante culture as representative of *Ghanaianness* in his design of the proposed national cathedral of Ghana (Ofori-Sarpong, forthcoming).

Yet these uses of traditional indigenous symbolism are not always obvious to casual observers, many of whom do not belong to an Akan group.³ Apart from architects who correctly identified the royal stool symbol the building was meant to evoke, many others were slower to identify it. Once mentioned, people did see it. However, feelings about this aesthetic were ambivalent. In one group discussion a woman said: 'the structure doesn't depict any form of African or Ghanaian structure'. When we pointed out that the shape was that of an Asante stool, everyone in the group agreed: 'yes it can be described as the *asesedwa*'.⁴ One man described it as 'like a Ghanaian thing, but in a modernised form',⁵ but another was less convinced: 'it doesn't look like an African way of building, it looks more of European standard... everything there is foreign'.⁶

Non-elite respondents could not imagine entering the facility and were frightened of even walking too close to it. Indeed, several interview requests were turned down because people did not feel comfortable talking about the building.

Not all Ghanaians could, or desired, to relate to

1 See Marleen de Witte and Birgit Meyer (2012) for a broader discussion of the use of Akan aesthetics in the creation of the Ghanaian nation.

2 Interviews with architects, 12-20 April 2018; Architects Registration Council (ARC), 2019.

3 Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana, with about 10 million people.

4 FGD, Pentecostal church members, Accra, 18 August 2019.

5 FGD, elders, Accra, 13 August 2019.

6 FGD, manual labourers, Accra, 30 July 2019. See also Gallagher, Mperere and N'djoré, 2021.

the symbolism of the Asante royal stool, and the national symbols found on Jubilee House, drawn predominantly from Akan culture, were not universally recognised, accepted, or admired. One respondent pointed out that, where he was from in the Upper East Region of Ghana, 'the chiefs, they sit on skins'. He did not feel any particular affinity for the stool motif. Neither did he find the adinkra symbols compelling as national symbols. To him, they were Akan symbols for the 'Akan presidents', even though Ghana had a Gonja president living there at the time of our interview.⁷

Malawi's new Parliament

The new Parliament of Malawi building, inaugurated in 2010, is located at the epicentre of Lilongwe, adjacent the Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda Mausoleum and also (since 2015) the President's Hotel and Bingu wa Mutharika Convention Centre. It was initially designed by the MNA Consortium of Malawian Architects and constructed by Terrastone and Deco, but later completed by Anhui Foreign Economic Construction Corporation after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Malawi and the People's Republic of China.

The complex consists of a front-end security reception office at the gate, a mini-stadium complex abutting Greek or Roman-style colonnades and the main structure, which houses the chamber and administrative offices. The chamber, a large theatre resplendent with a dome – the largest in Lilongwe – occupies 1,256 square metres, with 282 fitted seats for members

7 Interview with resident of nearby building, May 2016.



Figure 2: Malawi Parliament, Lilongwe, Malawi (Innocent Batsani-Ncube, July 2019).

and an upper floor gallery for visitors.

The design of the building in general, and the dome, which is the outward signifier of the debate chamber in particular, are emblematic of both the aspirations and the tensions of domesticated modernity in Malawi's quest for state consolidation.⁸ Since Lilongwe was designated the capital in 1975, new state buildings in the city have described the political elites' imagination of an independent sovereign state. The new parliament building was part of that rationale from the start, when the architects were told that the building, 'should really look Malawian and should have features which depict traditional Malawian'.⁹

One of the elements chosen to symbolise the 'traditional' features of Malawi was the dome. The dome's meaning is understood differently, depending on who you speak for. For example, elites tend to associate it with traditional Malawian hospitality. An architect described it thus:

If you look at the dome the way it was designed, it had a meaning on its own, it is like a pot. You know Malawians always would want to invite their guests, sit down to have some meals. The idea was to bring this element of a dome as a pot, meaning despite the fact that we have different parties, ideologies but still people can sit down, cook food together and eat on table just like you know in a family.¹⁰

However, in practice, the dome is a source of consternation for sitting MPs because of its propensity to leak during the rainy season (Khamula, 2020). The Chinese contractors remain on site as part of the maintenance agreement between China and Malawi, trying to mend the dome for the past ten years without lasting success. This has resulted in public interpretations of the dome that are diametrically different from what the elites intended. In many interviews people appeared unimpressed. One woman commented that the dome was 'some sort of technology, maybe there are some cables connected there for communication. Just my thoughts. But to say that there is any symbol depicting Malawian culture or tradition, we don't agree on that one'.¹¹ And a male colleague insisted that 'there is nothing about Malawian culture or tradition [about the dome] since the

building was constructed by the Chinese'.¹²

South Africa's Northern Cape Legislature

The Northern Cape Legislature is a daring attempt to create a building complex that breaks with the colonial and apartheid past (Malan, 2003). It sits not in Kimberley, the state capital, but next to Galeshewe, the large township outside it. The complex is therefore surrounded by wasteland (untidy, smelly and, locals report, dangerous) rather than the buildings of the town or manicured gardens one often finds surrounding state buildings (notably at the National Parliament in Cape Town, which sits alongside the famous Company's Gardens).



Figure 3: Northern Cape Legislature, Galeshewe, South Africa (Julia Gallagher, July 2018)

The aesthetic is based on pre-colonial ideas, in shapes and colours and in the use of outdoor space where locals are meant to gather and petition their representatives. The main building represents a bullhorn, an instrument once used to call people to meetings. There is a small balcony on the side of it for representatives to receive petitions and address the people. Its confident aesthetic is incongruous within the neglected landscape.

Jonathan Noble (2011: 93) argues that the complex deliberately eschews the 'transcendental ideal' of colonial-era buildings and offers instead a 'cosmopolitan representation': 'Narrative remains open, totality unresolved' (ibid: 105). Federico Freschi (2006) is less complimentary, describing the complex as a post-modern mess.

The 'African' aesthetics and forms of the building seem to provoke a fuzzy sense of affection and pride. But the ideas and engagement engendered by them are actually linked to more conventional forms of modern statehood than the open,

¹² Ibid.

⁸ Malawi's is not the only new parliament to attempt such a project using Chinese funding. See Batsani-Ncube (forthcoming, 2021).

⁹ Interview with an architect, 11 July 2019, Lilongwe.

¹⁰ Interview, designers, 11 July 2019, Lilongwe.

¹¹ FGD traditional leaders, Lilongwe, 14 August 2019.

cosmopolitan ethos that Noble suggests. People spoke approvingly of the security around the building: 'you feel like you are in a safe place'; it's 'feng shui'.¹³ One woman described the building in distinctly transcendental terms, saying that it has 'that spirit' of a Catholic cathedral, a sacred atmosphere that 'brings those goosebumps'.¹⁴ For those less involved in local politics, or impressed by state symbolism, there were tangible benefits. One man explained: '90 per cent go for the freebies' handed out at public events.¹⁵

The horn itself is associated with modern symbols. One young woman thought it was like a 'giant lipstick',¹⁶ and an older man explained how 'it's built like a ship' with a chimney. His view was less that the building embodied a pre-colonial authority, but that it properly and finally realised a state project imperfectly executed under colonialism. 'Jan van Riebeeck was supposed to make a ship out of [the Cape Town Parliament], but he didn't do that... he didn't do it properly'.¹⁷ For this man, the Northern Cape Legislature was less a symbol of authentic African political authority and more a seeing through of a project only half-finished by the colonialists.

Conclusion

Despite political elites' commitment to buildings that speak to new and daring forms of African modernism, these three buildings appear to miss the mark when it comes to popular opinion. In part, this could be a result of dissatisfaction with the elites themselves, and in the case of the Ghanaian and Malawian examples, with the foreign contractors and finance that supported their projects. But we also think that there is something that sits uneasily about linking the idea of a modern state to aesthetics and ideas that are seen to draw on traditional, pre-colonial eras. We hope to develop our thinking on this as we work further on the paper.

13 FGD with community activists, Galeshewe, Kimberley, 21 January 2019.

14 FGD with community activists, Galeshewe, Kimberley, 21 January 2019.

15 FGD with care home employees, Galeshewe, 21 January 2019.

16 FGD with youth volunteers, Galeshewe, Kimberley, 23 January 2019.

17 FGD with community activists, Galeshewe, Kimberley, 21 January 2019.

Bibliography

- Batsani-Ncube, I. Forthcoming, 2021. 'Whose building: Tracing the politics of the China funded parliament building in Lesotho'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*.
- Englebert, P. 1997. 'The contemporary African state: Neither African nor state', *Third World Quarterly* 18(4), pp. 767-776.
- Freschi, F. 2006. 'Imagining unity: The construction of an imaginary of 'unity in diversity' in the decorative programme of the Northern Cape Legislature building'. *Southern African Humanities* 18(2), pp. 155-172.
- Gallagher, J., D. Mpere and Y. N'djoré. 2021. 'State aesthetics and state meanings: Political architecture in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire'. *African Affairs* 120(480), pp. 333-364.
- Gutschow, K. 2012. 'Das Neue Afrika: Ernst May's 1947 Kampala Plan as Cultural Programme'. In *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and contested histories*, edited by Fassil Demissie. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 373-406.
- Hess, J. 2000. 'Imagining architecture: The structure of nationalism in Accra, Ghana'. *Africa Today*, 47(2), pp. 35-58.
- Hess, J. 2006. *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company.
- Hoffman, D. 2017. *Monrovia Modern: Urban form and political imagination in Liberia*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Khamula, O. 2020. 'Chinese-built Malawi parliament's Chamber leaks, affect proceedings'. *Malawi Nyasa Times - News from Malawi about Malawi*. 14 February 2020. <https://www.nyasatimes.com/chinese-built-malawi-parliaments-chamber-leaks-affect-proceedings/> [Cited 20 April 2020].
- Malan, C. and P. McInerney. 2003. *Building an African Icon: The Northern Cape Provincial Government Complex*. Johannesburg: Meyer Pienaar.
- Manful, K. 2021. 'Introduction: Ghana'. In *Architectural Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Philipp Meuser and Adil Dalbai. Berlin: DOM, pp. 258-267.
- Murray, N. 2007. 'Remaking modernism: South African architecture in and out of time'. In *Desire Lines: Space, memory and identity in the post-*

apartheid city, edited by N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall. London: Routledge, pp. 43-66.

Noble, J. 2011. *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White skin, black masks*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Ofori-Sarpong, E. Forthcoming, 2022.

'Building heaven on earth: Political rhetoric and ritual over Ghana's national cathedral'. In *Architecture and Politics in Africa: Making, living and imagining identities through buildings*, edited by J. Tomkinson, D. Mulugeta and J. Gallagher. Oxford: James Currey.

Third World Architecture. 2018. 'The Flagstaff House'. *Third World Architecture* 11 January 2018: <https://3rdworldarchitecture.wordpress.com/2018/01/11/the-flagstaff-house-accra/> [cited 22 October 2019].

Witte, M. de and B. Meyer. 2012. 'African Heritage Design: Entertainment media and visual aesthetics in Ghana'. *Civilisations* 61(1), pp. 1-23.

Uduku, O. 2005. 'Modernist Architecture and "the tropical" in West Africa: The tropical architecture movement in West Africa, 1948-1970'. *Habitat International* 2005, doi:10.1016/j.habitatint.2004.11.00

The curious case of Satyagraha House, Johannesburg

Harriet McKay

School of Art, Architecture and Design, London Metropolitan University
E:mckayh@staff.londonmet.ac.uk

Author biography

Harriet McKay is a Senior lecturer on the Interior Design programme at the School of Art, Architecture and Design, London Metropolitan University. She has worked as a curator, opening the first Modern Movement house to the public for the UK heritage organisation the National Trust and as an academic delivering the MA in Heritage Studies at the School of World Art and Museology at the University of East Anglia. A graduate of the Royal College of Art, she later taught in the RCA School of Design. Subsequently her focussed interest on design in Southern Africa has led to publications on design and apartheid, Ponte City apartments, Johannesburg and the South African online design platform Design Indaba. She works *pro bono* with not-for-profit organisations D'lala Nje, Johannesburg and Monkeybiz, Cape Town and for the Design History Society in the UK.

Abstract

What can the case of Satyagraha House, the luxury guesthouse and museum complex established on the site of a domestic building briefly inhabited by Mohandas Gandhi from 1908 to 1909, suggest about the complexities attached to heritage and preservation in the contemporary South African context? Almost 30 years into democracy, in the post Fees Must Fall environment, what can this hybrid museum combined with guesthouse space offer to advance dialogue around the heritage of modern Africa, which allows alternatives to the 'traditional' museum to emerge. It is equally valuable, if not essential, however, that when innovative modes of presenting heritage arise as a result of initiatives from outside the country, the need to pay due diligence to local memory and understanding is considered as being of paramount importance. Failure to do so, as I argue has inadvertently taken place at Satyagraha House, will place modern heritage and museum practice in South Africa as belonging to the past rather than to the present and future of modern African heritage.

Keywords: Museology, contested, modern heritage, dialectic, satyagraha, coloniality

Years ago, when applying for a job that would include curating various artefacts from across sub-Saharan Africa, I went to seek the advice of

a colleague who worked at the British Museum in London. This move was a mistake on my part. I realised – when the colleague in question described working on an advisory panel in Nairobi designed to train East African museum professionals – that she and I came from entirely different positions. For her, this was simply how the world worked. According to some inherently received natural order of things, the British curator would inevitably be a valuable asset in providing an education for their African counterpart. The shock of encountering this ethos in 2011, as it was at the time, has remained with me. It has also informed the writing of this paper.

Certainly the UK museum and heritage landscape offers insights gained through long-lived museological and heritage practice, and dates back to the founding of Oxford University's originally private museum, the Ashmolean, in 1682, and to the establishment of the British Museum in 1753.¹ However, museum practice in the UK is not without its critics, and this disapprobation includes rightly disputed and contentious issues. As I write this paper (September 2021), the question of the British Museum's returning looted Benin bronzes in its collection is once more in the news.² Clearly, longevity does not necessarily always equate to *best practice*.

It is with these and other issues related to decoloniality, and also with audience in mind, as well as questions about *whose* archaeological /curatorial histories we are sharing when considering modern African heritage, that have informed the writing of this paper. While my focus is the curious case of Satyagraha House, one-time home of Mohandas Gandhi, as discussed below, the building and its contents present as much a vehicle for thinking about a quasi-colonial museal presence in South Africa in the 21st century as they present a site for exploring modern African heritage per se. Satyagraha House is also a site for contested memory in

1 The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is named after the British antiquary Elias Ashmole who gifted his collection to Oxford University in 1682. The museum opened its doors to the public and became Britain's first museum the following year. The British Museum, in London, opened to the public in 1759

2 The British Museum's bronzes were plundered by British troops in 1897 from the Kingdom of Benin in what is now modern-day Nigeria.



Figure 1: Lamp-lit garden, Satyagraha House (Harriet McKay, March, 2019).

that it gives rise to distinctly different views of its famous occupant.

It is expressly the aim of this paper to conform to the University of Cape Town's Modern Heritage of Africa (MoHoA) research centre's ethos. Specifically, my writing concurs with MoHoA's position of seeking to explore Africa's experiences of plural modernities whether these be positive or negative, colonial or postcolonial, tangible or intangible. In discussing Satyagraha House, a site for querying museological praxis and for contemporary debate, I hope to give voice to some of MoHoA's dialectic principals.

On a warm late summer evening in March 2019, I found myself being guided up the path of a beautifully lamp-lit garden towards the original building within the renovated Satyagraha House guest house complex, in which Gandhi lived from 1908 to 1909, in Orchards, Johannesburg (Figure 1). The air was laden with a heady mix of frangipani and paraffin from the lamps lighting the garden paths. It was nothing if not heavily atmospheric. But was this ambience over authenticity, I wondered? And, if so, did it matter?

My stay at the Satyagraha House guesthouse came at the tail end of a research trip made for work I was doing related to the high-rise Ponte City apartment building in Berea, Johannesburg. A building that has a B-rating on South Africa's Heritage Register, Ponte, built in 1975, could not be more different than Satyagraha on the face of it. And yet, my work on both buildings has a key issue in common in that both sites can be

interpreted in terms of their expressing certain 'truths'. In my writing about Ponte, I have tried to steer a path around the 'Tower of Terror' label previously visited on the building whose infamous past has been described as a 'vertical slum'. This characterisation does not tell the full story.

Similarly, Satyagraha House (*satyagraha* meaning 'truth force' and representing the concept of non-violent resistance): how might the 'truth' be told at the site? Given the context, the home of the Mahatma for whom, in his own words, 'there is no higher god than truth', (Berkley Centre, undated) how might the various narratives that the house enshrined be played out, I wanted to know?

I had been drawn to stay at Gandhi's South African home since the venue proclaimed itself to be at *one and the same time*, museum, and guesthouse. The prim British curator in me worried over the propriety of allowing guests to live among museum contents. How might authenticity be maintained in this instance? For one thing, given that by 1908, Gandhi's devotion to a strict asceticism was coming to the fore, how might an accurately curated environment also accommodate the paying guest?

The original rondavel style building that now houses the museum rooms at Satyagraha was designed in 1907 by his close friend the German architect Hermann Kallenbach. Gandhi and Kallenbach occupied the house between 1908 and 1909. It was not until just over a century later that the house took on its present status as museum and guesthouse. In 2011, following its purchase by the French tourism company Voyages Du Monde, the restored house and new outlying buildings opened to the public as bookable accommodation and museum. Its website announces:

Renovations overseen by a team comprising a historian, a curator, an architect, two interior designers, and their respective teams, have restored the original spirit of the house, bringing back an important page in the history of both South Africa and Mohandas Gandhi. The Satyagraha House is now a registered part of the country's historical heritage and presents an innovative accommodation concept linking guesthouse to museum (Satyagraha House, 2021).

In fact, I would argue that little of what is traditionally understood to be 'museum' is actually present. While the original house does have explanatory displays and didactic information (Figures 2 and 3), its contents are



Figures 2 and 3: Museum displays and interpretation spaces at Satyagraha House (Dawn Bradnick Jorgensen, 2017).

neither strictly authentic nor site specific. The attic room in which Gandhi slept and which is viewable, has been dressed with a suitable and literally, low-key floor mattress and modest furnishings (the round, wire-framed spectacles, carefully placed on the bookstand by the bed to my mind a rather theatrical element of set-dressing). Furniture and fittings were sourced during renovations, however, and purchased from Indian antique vendors. At Satyagraha, the interior designer of the team has been at least as important as the curator / archaeologist in realising the project, one senses; all is so beautiful. Indeed it comes as no surprise that the house received at least as much, if not more attention from the interior decor media, as far I have discovered, as it did museological interest. To stay at the house is to find oneself in a centrefold for the glossy South African interior decoration magazine *Visi* and also beautifully captured by the blogger Dawn Jorgensen on her site, *The Incidental Tourist* (Jorgensen, 2017) (Figure 4).

I highlight these juxtapositions because according to my UK-based heritage training,



Figure 4. Guest bedroom, Satyagraha House (Dawn Bradnick Jorgensen, 2017).

authenticity and therefore supposed sanctity of the building/object is key. But how much does this curious mix matter for the modern heritage of Africa? Satyagraha is of interest to me not just because of the subject matter, nor indeed as it is such a visually stunning experience but because it causes me to reflect on my prejudices and assumptions.

Might it not be appropriate that the house in which the Mahatma began to think about decolonisation – the house occupied by him in the years shortly before South Africa's own independence from Britain – offer an alternative approach for modern African heritage? Income and maintenance, preservation, education, and information are all provided by Satyagraha's mixed status. Above all, a building that is important to the histories of three countries on three separate continents, India, the UK, and South Africa, has been preserved where it might otherwise not have been. In thinking through these issues, it is useful to invoke the German cultural commentator Andreas Huyssen's insightful thoughts on the nature of 'museum' here:

Fundamentally dialectical, the museum serves both as burial chamber of the past –with all that entails in terms of decay, erosion, forgetting – as site of possible resurrections, however mediated and contaminated in the eyes of the beholder. No matter how much the museum, consciously or unconsciously, produces and confirms the symbolic order, there is always a surplus of meaning that exceeds set ideological boundaries, opening spaces for reflection and counter-hegemonic memory (Huyssen, 1995, cited in Coombes, 2004: 148).

I have not managed to resolve for myself questions around the probity of the Satyagraha

House approach. What I do feel, though, is that in the end my uncertainty lies not over matters of centred or decentred curatorial approaches but in a more universal theme. On the one hand, so long as the public is nowhere misled, or misinformed as to evidence and authenticity, then I increasingly tend towards viewing the initiative positively.

On the other hand, imperatives relating to interpretation are critical. The house can be read as providing a counter-narrative to that famously written by early 19th century English Romantic poet John Keats' sentiment that 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty' (Peterfreunde, 1986: 62).³ To do its job as a museum in Johannesburg, does Satyagraha House, this monument to truth, and exemplar of exceptional interior decoration, need to speak rather more loudly, of 'the ugly'? Of apartheid as a vicious regime based upon lies and deceptions? Indeed, the extent to which 'truth-force' is present through Satyagraha's museum commentary on Gandhian philosophy is a salient question.

During the northern hemisphere summers of 2019 and 2020, against the background of South Africa's Rhodes Must Fall movement and the toppling of statues to Confederate generals in the US, also gathering momentum in the UK was the desire to remove statues of British slave-traders from their pedestals around the country.⁴ Rather less well known in Europe, and in Britain, were the calls to remove statues of Gandhi. The African continent is ahead of the curve on this account, a monument to Gandhi removed in 2019, covertly, from its site at the University of Ghana amidst protests centred on the young Gandhi's documented racism towards his black African compatriots. It might also come as a surprise to British and French visitors to Satyagraha House that the Gandhi whom they revere as *the* voice of non-violent political protest had been keen to join the British fight against the Zulu nation in 1906.⁵ Although, according to commentator Pieter Friedrich, Gandhi's autobiography determinedly places him on the side of the Zulu, as follows⁶

3 This phrase is taken from Keats' 1819 poem Ode on a Grecian Urn.

4 For example, the statue to Edward Colston (1636-1731), Bristol merchant and slave trader, was toppled as part of a Black Lives Matter demonstration in Bristol, UK, in June 2020.

5 Led by Bambatha kaMancinza (ca. 1860-1906) the Bambatha Uprising (known in the UK as the Zulu Rebellion) was a revolt against British rule and taxation in Natal.

6 Friedrich quotes Gandhi as using the wholly unacceptable word 'Kaffir' which I also retain here as providing insight into the latter's mindset at that time and in line with my commentary below, p. 8.

from his battlefield reports, we discover the following ... on July 3, Gandhi says, 'we had a narrow escape' when 'we met a Kaffir who did not wear the loyal badge'. ... On July 10th, after 'narrowly escaping' from a Zulu who did not wear 'the loyal badge', 'We finished the day ... with no Kaffirs to fight' (Friedrich, 2017: 20).

It would be disingenuous of me not to consider Gandhi's British education and training as having been a likely contributor to his anti-African standpoint and to his position that the Indian populations he worked with in South Africa were superior to their 'African' compatriots. Indeed, this mindset accords only too well with the racial hierarchy theories of Victorian Britain.⁷ Whatever the origins of his views, Gandhi's writing from the early 20th century, for example, appears peppered with the use of the word 'kaffir', a term recognised across Africa for its repugnance.

In October 2018, writing for The Heritage Portal (an online news and information platform for the heritage sector), Eric Itzkin (2019) commented that Gandhi 'was on trial again':

In a test of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's reputation and approval rating in South Africa, a motion to remove the name and statue of the Indian leader from the city centre was debated in recent weeks by the Johannesburg City Council, the country's largest municipality. The motion called for the removal of the bronze statue at Gandhi Square – sculpted by Tinka Christopher, it depicts Gandhi as a young activist lawyer in his legal gown – and the re-naming of the site after Sophie de Bruyn, a well-known anti-apartheid activist.

Is the misunderstanding, or perhaps more properly, the lack of understanding, that has seen a French tourist agency create a monument to a contested figure in South Africa a modern day – though benign – repetition of the colonial injustices visited upon the country by its former British colonisers?

By way of offering a rounding up of the thoughts presented here, I am reminded of Annie Coombs' seminal work on the reshaping of the museum and heritage landscape following the advent of democracy in 1994. In *History After Apartheid* (2003), Coombes writes of the text and her aim to discuss the new narratives needed as South Africa's museumscape transitioned to representing a democratic society. She posits

7 Supported pseudoscientific ideas, these theories were deployed in support of notions of racial inferiority/superiority in Victorian Britain and across its Empire.

(Coombs, 2003: 5)

Many commentators have written about the shortcomings of the new dispensation. ... But it seems to me that if nothing else, the South African debates on history and heritage, on 'truth' and lies, and on memory and make-believe, demonstrate the health and vitality of a political culture of critique and counter critique that was forged in the most difficult of circumstances and whose main protagonists have often paid dearly for their beliefs ... the contested histories [discussed in the text] are not just the internal debates among a small elite but concern a much larger public than might normally be the case.

Almost 30 years into democracy, whatever the 'rights' or 'wrongs' of the Satyagraha case, it is surely of value that that space exists within dialogue around the heritage of modern Africa, which allows alternatives to the 'traditional' museum to emerge. It is equally valuable, if not essential, however, that when innovative modes of presenting heritage arise as a result of initiatives from outside the country, the need to pay due diligence to local memory and understanding is considered as being of paramount importance. Failure to do so, as I argue has inadvertently taken place at Satyagraha House, will place modern heritage and museum practice in South Africa as belonging to the past rather than to the present and future of modern African heritage.

Bibliography

Berkley Centre for Religion, Peace and World Affairs. No Date. *Mohandas Gandhi on the Meaning of Truth*, 1 January 1927.

<https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/quotes/mohandas-gandhi-on-the-meaning-of-truth>; accessed 16 October 2021

Coombs, A. 2003. *History After Apartheid. Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Desai, A. and Vahed, G. 2016. *The South African Gandhi. Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*. Stanford, CT.: Stanford University Press.

Friedrich, P. 2017. *Gandhi: Racist or Revolutionary?* www.PieterFriedrich.org

Itzkin, E. 2019. *Gandhi on Trial Again*, The Heritage Portal

<https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/gandhi-trial-south-africa-again>; accessed 15 November 2021.

Jorgensen, D. B., 2017. The Incidental Tourist,

Satyagraha – Gandhi's House. In Johannesburg <https://dawnjorgensen.medium.com/satyagraha-gandhis-house-in-johannesburg-2ee6a730490f>
Peterfreund, S. 1986. The Truth about 'Beauty' and 'Truth': Keats's *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, Milton, Shakespeare, and the Uses of Paradox. *Keats-Shelley Journal* 35, 62-82.

The Satyagraha House. 2011. <http://www.satyagrahahouse.com/>; accessed 1 September 2021.

Reading Modern Architecture in Mozambique as a palimpsest of (re)appropriations

Patricia Noormahomed

Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM); Universidade Wutivi (UniTiva)
p.noormahomed@gmail.com

Abstract

During the second half of the 20th century under Portuguese colonial rule, Mozambique witnessed a period of extraordinary urban growth that modified the appearance of its main cities through the implementation of an architecture based on the principles of the Modern Movement. This architecture has recently been (re)discovered in specialist and academic literature, making public the significance of Mozambique's modernity. However, as the specialised literature on this topic continues to expand, it begins to reveal, through its prevailing Eurocentric discourse, its limited capacity to make local authorities and populations appreciate this legacy as part of their cultural heritage. Within this framework, this paper proposes a new way of approaching the study of Mozambique's modern architecture. This new approach is founded on the understanding of this legacy as a social construction based on dynamic processes of appropriation and reappropriation, superimposed in time as a palimpsest of meanings. To prove its potential, a paradigmatic case will be explored. The example is the *Torres Vermelhas* in Maputo, whose construction was interrupted by the events that led to the country's independence in 1975. By studying both the parameters applied at the time of conception of this project and its formal and spontaneous mechanisms of postcolonial appropriation and transformation, this paper demonstrates the need to address the modern legacy of Mozambique in its different temporalities, especially when facilitating debate on the cultural heritage of the country.

Keywords: appropriated modernism, colonial architecture, shared heritage, collective housing, Mozambique

Résumé

Au cours de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, sous la domination coloniale portugaise, le Mozambique a connu une croissance urbaine extraordinaire qui a modifié l'apparence de ses principales villes en raison de la mise en œuvre d'une architecture basée sur les principes du Mouvement Moderne. Cette architecture a récemment été (re)découverte par la littérature

académique qui, au long de ces dernières années, a réussi à dévoiler au public spécialisée des références importantes du modernisme mozambicain. Mais elle s'est aussi montré incapable, en raison du discours eurocentrique dominant, de faire assumer aux autorités et populations locales cet héritage comme faisant partie de leur patrimoine culturel.

Dans ce cadre, cet article propose une nouvelle manière d'aborder l'étude de cette architecture fondée sur la compréhension de la modernité au Mozambique comme une construction sociale basée sur des processus dynamiques d'appropriation et de réappropriation, superposés dans le temps comme un palimpseste de sens. Pour prouver les potentialités de cette nouvelle lecture, un cas paradigmatique de cette architecture sera exploré : les *Torres Vermelhas* à Maputo, dont la construction a été interrompue par les événements qui ont conduit à l'indépendance du pays en 1975. En étudiant à la fois les paramètres appliqués au moment de la conception de ce projet et ses mécanismes formels et spontanés d'appropriation et de transformation postcoloniale, cet article démontre la nécessité d'aborder l'héritage moderne du Mozambique dans ses différentes temporalités, notamment, lors de la construction d'un débat sur le patrimoine culturel du pays.

Mots-clés : modernisme approprié, architecture coloniale, patrimoine partagé, habitat collectif, Mozambique.

An introduction to a pending heritage

During the second half of the 20th century, Mozambique witnessed a period of extraordinary urban growth that modified the appearance of its main cities through the implementation of an architecture based on the principles of the Modern Movement. This cycle of modernity took place within the affirming framework of Portuguese colonial imperialism, under the

political regime of the Estado Novo,¹ which opposed the decolonisation initiatives underway elsewhere on the African continent.

In Mozambique, the reception and experience of this architecture have left a significant built legacy, both quantitatively and qualitatively, which is today at serious risk of destruction. This urban and architectural production has recently been (re)discovered by specialised literature that, particularly in the last ten years, has come to reveal important references of Mozambique's modernity to the academic public.² However, despite the value attributed by these investigations to this legacy, neither the local authorities nor the populations themselves identify this architecture as an integral part of their cultural heritage.³ One of the reasons for this is the Eurocentric narrative adopted by most of these publications, in which Mozambique's modern architecture is defined as a closed chapter in the history of Portuguese architecture of the 20th century when its final development is linked with the end of the era of colonisation in 1975. This has led to a partial reading of this legacy by failing to frame it within the complex background of changes and transformations that Mozambique has undergone in the last 45 years. A reading that seems to suggest that the processes of transition from colonialism to independence, with radical transformations at the political, socioeconomic, and cultural levels, had no effect on this architecture.

Within this framework, this paper proposes a new reading of Mozambique's modernity where the independence of the country is taken not as the end of its modern architectural production, but as the beginning of its heritage construction.

1 The Estado Novo was an authoritarian, autocratic, and corporatist political regime that was in force in Portugal from the approval of the 1933 Constitution until the Revolution of April 25, 1974, also known as the Carnation Revolution. Its central figure was António de Oliveira Salazar, who served as prime minister until 1968.

2 On the subject of modern architecture in Mozambique, see Albuquerque, A. 1998. 'Arquitetura Moderna em Moçambique: Inquérito à produção arquitectónica em Moçambique nos últimos vinte e cinco anos do Império Colonial Português (1949-1974).' Coimbra: Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia, Universidade de Coimbra; Fernandes, J. 2009. 'Geração Africana. Arquitectura e Cidades em Angola e Moçambique, 1925-1975.' Lisboa: Livros Horizonte; Magalhães, A. & Gonçalves, I. 2009. 'Moderno Tropical. Arquitectura em Angola e Moçambique 1948-1975.' Lisboa: Edições Tinta da China; Milheiro, A. V. 2012. 'Nos trópicos sem Le Corbusier: Arquitectura luso-africana no Estado Novo.' Lisboa: Relógio d'Água; Tostões, A. 2014. 'Arquitetura Moderna em África: Angola e Moçambique.' Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio.

3 Law 10/88, which currently regulates cultural heritage in Mozambique, excludes from this category any building or site built under colonial rule after 1920.

This question is particularly relevant because, when Mozambique achieved self-determination, the exodus of citizens of European origin left a large number of abandoned buildings in the urban centre of the country's main cities. These were later occupied by a part of the native population, formerly restricted to the peripheries,⁴ given place to a complex process of (re)appropriation of colonial buildings. A process that, superimposed in time, has endowed this legacy with new layers of value and meaning as if it were a palimpsest.

Reading modern architecture in Mozambique as a palimpsest of (re)appropriations thus proposes considering this legacy not as a static image of the past, as most research on the subject has done, but rather as a 'cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings' (Smith, 2006: 11). A heritage understood as a social construction in which coexist 'multiple values ... in dynamic processes of (re)appropriation and negotiation' (Lagae, 2008: 15). Understanding this heritage as a social construction 'implies, finally, that it is or may be historically changing, according to new criteria or interests that determine new goals in new circumstances' (Prats, 1997: 19).

Proof of this is the *Torres Vermelhas* complex, a paradigmatic case of Mozambique's modern architecture where construction was interrupted by the events that led to the country's independence in 1975, making it the subject of an intense and rich process of unforeseen transformations that have given it new nuances in meaning. These transformations are explored in this paper, together with the parameters applied at the conception of the project, in order to demonstrate the potentialities of addressing Mozambique's modern legacy in its different temporalities in terms of an open narrative, still under construction.⁵

4 On June 5, 1976, the new post-independence government decreed the nationalisation of all abandoned houses and rental units, leaving these in the hands of the State for their later distribution among the Mozambican population.

5 For a more comprehensive exploration of this case study, see Noormahomed, P. 2020. 'Transición, transformación y latencia. Las diferentes vidas del conjunto "Torres Vermelhas"'. Cuaderno de notas, 21, 176-193.

A diachronic reading of the *Torres Vermelhas* complex

The *Torres Vermelhas* is a reference in today's urban landscape of the capital of Mozambique, the city of Maputo (Figure 1). The buildings were promoted in 1970 by the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* in an attempt to show, in the context of the anti-colonial struggle, an apparent economic stability and their confidence in the Portuguese permanence in Mozambique (Pereira, 2019).



Figure 1: The *Torres Vermelhas* complex as an urban reference in the city of Maputo, 1998 (Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotográfica de Moçambique).

Between 1964 and 1975, the beginning of the conflict over self-determination for Mozambican territory forced the Estado Novo regime to adopt a series of measures to reinforce its colonial rule in its 'overseas territories'. Measures such as promoting migration from the mainland, which, in Mozambique, caused an influx of citizens of European origin from about 31 221 inhabitants in 1945 to a total of 162 967 in 1970 (Castelo, 2012). The rapid increase in population led to accelerated construction to meet the growing demand for accommodation, heading in turn to a radical transformation of the country's urban centres. Especially in the case of the Mozambican capital, the 'tropical character' was replaced by an image of an international, vertically defined metropolis (Morais, 2001).

It is in this framework of exponential growth of high-rise buildings that the *Torres Vermelhas* project arises. Designed by architect Carlos Veiga Pinto Camelo, with the collaboration of Octavio Rego Costa, the project symbolises the culmination of the technical and creative capacities of Mozambique's modernity with the exaltation of some of the principles that characterised the architecture of the Modern Movement, such as collective housing, standardised structures in reinforced concrete, and a rational organisation of space. Following these principles, the general idea of the architects was to build two towers intended exclusively for

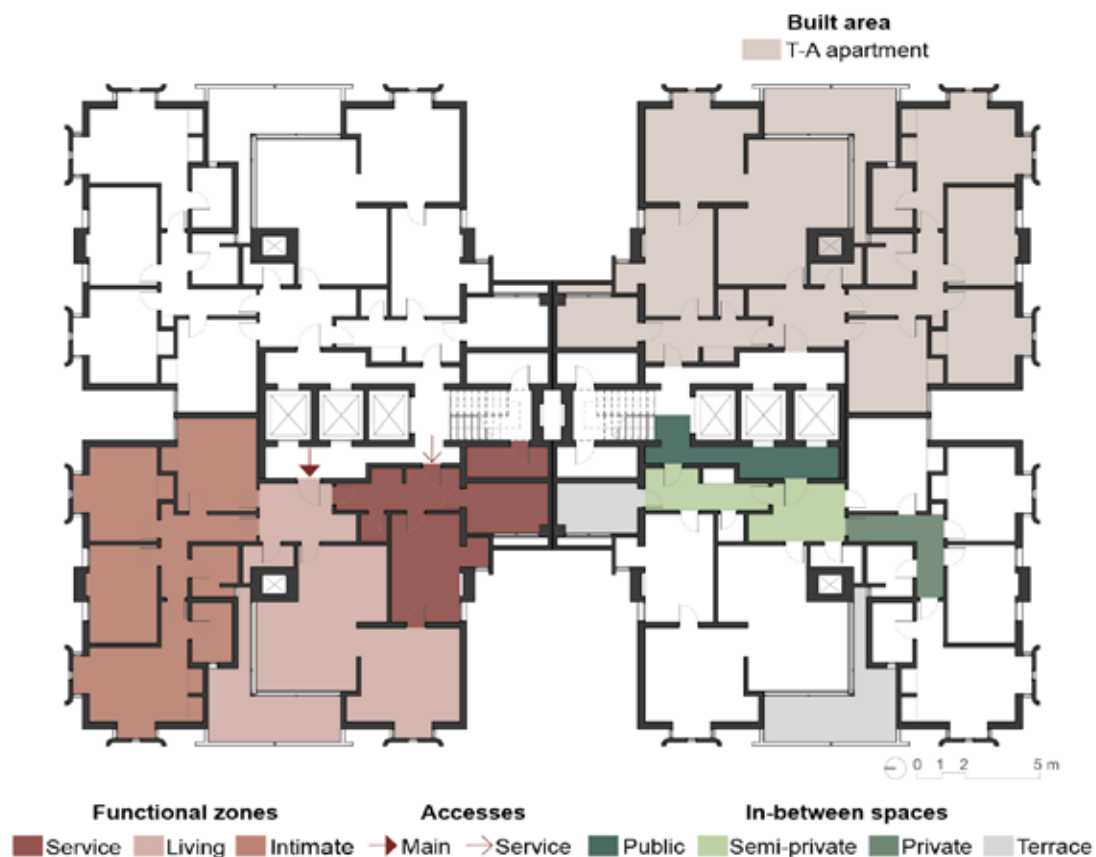


Figure 2: Original project. Standard floor plan for floors 1 to 13 (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, PC 268/70).



Figure 3: The construction of the *Torres Vermelhas* left unfinished after Independence (<http://kundalini-pt.blogspot.com/2007/04/maputo-ontem-lourenomarques.html>).

housing, with each tower fragmented into four volumes of different heights, the tallest being 25 floors. With this, the aim was to distinguish the complex from the block housing prototype adopted in other contemporary residential buildings in the city.

In functional terms, the articulation of the different volumes would be done through a vertical communications core that, at the same time, would allow the distribution of accesses to the different apartments. The apartments themselves would consist of four models, each of which being a mutation of the main Type A in response to the volumetric variations. Their functional plan was designed to satisfy the requirements of the elites of colonial society, with the spatial distribution following the

characteristic tripartite organisation of the bourgeois habitat, thus being divided into three zones: service, living, and intimate (Figure 2).

Each tower was intended to house 81 dwellings, making a total of 162 apartments in the complex. However, this configuration did not materialise as a result of the uncertainty produced in the wake of the Carnation Revolution that overthrew the Estado Novo regime in 1974. This situation led many companies and professionals in the construction sector to stop their activities in Mozambique (Rita-Ferreira, 1988), leaving the construction of the *Torres Vermelhas* unfinished, with only its structure raised (Figure 3). Other buildings that underwent the same fate are the *Trinta e três andares* building, originally designed by Marcos Miranda Guedes, and the Commercial and Industrial Credit Bank, a project from architect João José Tinoco (Albuquerque, 1998).

Several years passed like that until the so-called *Comissão para a Conclusão dos Prédios em Construção* (CCPC) was formed. This organisation was created with the aim of completing the various buildings that had been left unfinished at the time of independence. Among them was the *Torres Vermelhas* complex, which was subject to an extensive alteration project carried out between 1982 and 1990 by a team of Bulgarian development workers, the so-called *cooperantes*, who participated in state-led architectural projects. At that time, the post-independence government was aware of the size of the urban population and its housing deficit. Thus, they urged the project team to take advantage of the already erected towers and to transform their interior distribution in order to house a greater

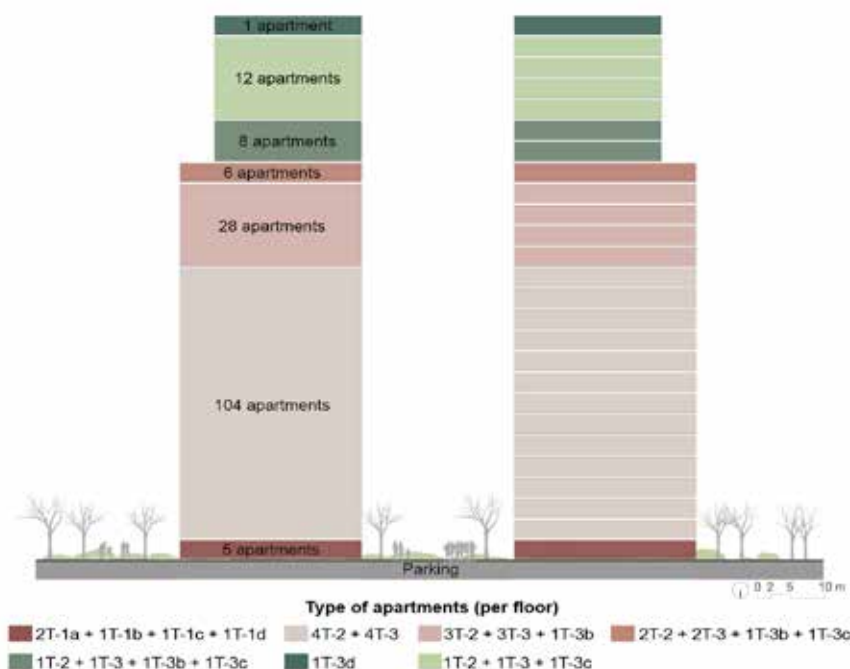


Figure 4: Alteration project. Standard floor plan of floors 1 to 13 (Projecta).

number of dwellings than what was initially planned (Pereira, 2019). Spatial characteristics which had guided the original project, such as the adaptation of space to the tropical climate and the interior zoning, were then subjected to a radical transformation in favour of economic and functional requirements. Thus, of the four apartment models originally conceived, nine different models were proposed. These no longer followed the previous tripartite organisation, but instead adopted a rationalist distribution of the interior based solely on the separation between day and night-time areas. Therefore, the original Type A apartment was transformed into two, and altogether, of the 81 dwellings originally planned; each tower would now hold 164 in total (Figure 4).

In this way, from a residential complex initially designed for an upper middle class, the *Torres Vermelhas* was redesigned for the modest. However, when the towers' renovation project was finally completed in the late 1980s, the political and economic situation in the country was quite different. The socialist ideology of the post-independence government had given way to a neoliberal market model with the State distancing itself from its role as provider of housing. This ideological change was accompanied by an accelerated process of degradation of the nationalised housing stock which produced various outcomes for the future of the *Torres Vermelhas*: while the apartments in one of the towers were made available as rentals in 1989 through the State real estate administration (APIE), the other tower was handed over to the Bank of Mozambique, being formally inaugurated in 1994. The latter was then constituted as a private and closed compound, which meant that, from then on, the unitarian reading of the complex was lost. This loss is observable and accentuated by the differences in the state of preservation of the buildings, with the Bank of Mozambique's tower in much better condition than the other given the greater capacity of this institution to perform maintenance.

As a result, the *Torres Vermelhas* complex has gained a new meaning: if originally, the towers symbolised the strength of the colonial power to later represent the achievements of the newly independent regime, now they have become a symbol of the socio-economic inequalities existing in the country. But not only this. Since several of their inhabitants no longer belong to the modest social class for which the alteration project was designed, the buildings have taken on a new life as a reflection of people's changing living practices. The inhabitants have begun to appropriate the space and make theirs an

architecture that was not, initially, designed for them. Through a process of successive transformations that range from a resizing of daytime dwelling spaces to a privatisation of the common areas and a general customisation of the interior, they have managed to challenge the constraints imposed not only by the segregationist spatial organisation of the colonial system but also by the functional and excessively fragmented schemes of the alteration project. Perhaps for this reason, for having managed to adapt the apartments to their different ways of life, there is, according to surveys carried out at the site, an appreciation of the need to maintain the buildings and promote their sustainable use.

Conclusions

Through the diachronic reading of the *Torres Vermelhas* complex carried out in this paper, an attempt has been made to (re)locate this architecture in its specific framework of changes and transformations and determine the links established not only with the society that conceived it but also with the residents who occupied and inhabited it thereafter. In doing so, it is possible to see how this project cannot be read as a single project developed exclusively in the colonial period, but, rather as a shared project carried out between its original architects and its subsequent diverse agents: from the public authorities and their regulations, which promoted the alteration project; the new team of Bulgarian designers who transformed, in a first phase, each building's interiors; and the residents themselves who continue to successively adapt the space to their needs.

These processes of continued appropriation seem to indicate that Mozambican society has already intuitively assumed this legacy as part of its collective memory. Furthermore, with their various interventions, the inhabitants have begun to write their own narratives around this architectural production. These narratives should now be collected, from the history and criticism of architecture, as a means of generating new ways of producing knowledge that stimulates greater social awareness towards this continuing legacy, instead of continuing to concentrate on physical aspects or conservation (or otherwise) status of these buildings. Such a shift in focus reiterates the idea that heritage 'is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings' (Smith, 2006: 4), but is also about the construction, reconstruction, and negotiation of 'a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in the present' (Smith, 2006: 3).

Author biography

Patricia Noormahomed is a PhD candidate in Architectural Heritage at Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM) and a lecturer at Universidade Wutivi (UniTiva). She is an architect and holds a Master's degree in rehabilitation, restoration and integral management of built heritage. She has been visiting researcher at *Habiter* research centre (Faculté d'Architecture La Cambre-Horta, Université Libre de Bruxelles), a member of the project Coast to Coast – Late Portuguese infrastructural development in continental Africa, and, currently, is a researcher in the project 'ARCHWAR'. Her research field is the architecture of the 20th century, focusing on modern housing in late colonial Mozambique.

References

- Albuquerque, A. 1998. *Arquitetura Moderna em Moçambique: Inquérito à produção arquitectónica em Moçambique nos últimos vinte e cinco anos do Império Colonial Português (1949-1974)*. Coimbra: Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia, Universidade de Coimbra.
- Castelo, C. 2012. "O branco do mato de Lisboa": a colonização agrícola dirigida e os seus fantasmas'. In *Os outros da colonização - Ensaios sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*, edited by Castelo, C., Thomaz, O., Nascimento, S. & Silva, T. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 27-50.
- Fernandes, J. 2009. *Geração Africana. Arquitetura e Cidades em Angola e Moçambique, 1925-1975*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.
- Lagae, J. 2008. 'From "Patrimoine partagé" to "whose heritage"? Critical reflections on colonial built heritage in the city of Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of the Congo'. *Afrika Focus* 21, 11-30.
- Magalhães, A. & Gonçalves, I. 2009. *Moderno Tropical. Arquitetura em Angola e Moçambique 1948-1975*. Lisboa: Edições Tinta da China.
- Milheiro, A. 2012. *Nos trópicos sem Le Corbusier: Arquitetura luso-africana no Estado Novo*. Lisboa: Relógio d'Água.
- Morais, J. 2001. *Maputo: Património da Estrutura e Forma Urbana. Topologia do Lugar*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.
- Noormahomed, P. 2020. 'Transición, transformación y latencia. Las diferentes vidas del conjunto "Torres Vermelhas"'. *Cuaderno de notas* 21, 176-193.
- Pereira, F. 2019. Interview by the author. Maputo, Mozambique.
- Prats, L. 1997. *Antropología y patrimonio*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, S. A.
- Rita-Ferreira, A. 1988. 'Moçambique post-25 de Abril: Causas do êxodo da população de origem europeia e asiática'. In *Moçambique - Cultura e história de um país*, edited by Centro de Estudos Africanos. Coimbra: Instituto de Antropologia, Universidade de Coimbra, 121-169.
- Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.
- Tostões, A. 2014. 'Arquitetura Moderna em África: Angola e Moçambique.' Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópico.

Asmara's architectural heritage as a bricolage: The case of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral

Thomas Kordonouri ^{1*} Biniam Teame ² Edward Denison ³

¹ Architect, MA The Bartlett School of Architecture UCL, Dipl. Arch. University of Patras

² BSc Civil Engineering, Asmara Heritage Project

³ Professor of Architecture and Global Modernities at The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL

*thomikor@outlook.com

Abstract

Eritrea's capital, Asmara, is a former colonial city in an African setting that constitutes a palimpsest of Italian modernist architecture and other local and colonial architecture. In 2017, Asmara was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List under Criteria 2 and 4, while rejecting the claim to Criterion 3: 'to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared'. Acknowledging Criterion 3 would have recognised the significant role of Eritrean cultural traditions in realising the modern city of Asmara, notably the ancient construction techniques, local skills and labour, and local materials, which are constituent parts of Eritrea's modernist language.

Through viewing Asmara's architecture as a 'bricolage' and by analysing this concept as a totality of classified heterogeneous objects linked with a symbolic meaning, this paper questions UNESCO's rejection of Eritrea's claims to Criterion 3 exploring the role of African building traditions and objects in the continent's only modernist site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The paper highlights St Mary's Orthodox Cathedral, which embodies the cultural traditions on which modernism in Asmara relied. Through the reuse of methods and fragments, emerges the aesthetic of rupture, which emphasises variety creating dialogues between the coloniser and the colonised, memory, materiality and typologies that evoke, engender and establish new meanings. Finally, the bricolage identity defines Asmara's claims to modernism, a modernism not of Europe, but of Africa.

Keywords: bricolage, Asmara, colonial architecture

Abstract

La capitale de l'Érythrée, Asmara, est une ancienne ville coloniale dans un cadre africain qui constitue un palimpseste de l'architecture moderniste italienne et d'autres architectures

locales et coloniales. En 2017, Asmara a été inscrite sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO sous les critères 2 et 4, tout en rejetant la prétention au critère 3 : « apporter un témoignage unique ou du moins exceptionnel sur une tradition culturelle ou sur une civilisation vivante ou qui a disparu ». La reconnaissance du critère 3 aurait reconnu le rôle important des traditions culturelles érythréennes dans la réalisation de la ville moderne d'Asmara, notamment les techniques de construction anciennes, les compétences et la main-d'œuvre locales et les matériaux locaux, qui sont des éléments constitutifs de la langue moderniste de l'Érythrée.

En considérant l'architecture d'Asmara comme un « bricolage » et en analysant ce concept comme un ensemble d'objets hétérogènes classés liés à une signification symbolique, cet article interroge le rejet par l'UNESCO des prétentions de l'Érythrée au critère 3 explorant le rôle des traditions et des objets de construction africains dans la construction du continent. Seul site moderniste inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. L'article met en lumière la cathédrale orthodoxe Sainte-Marie, qui incarne les traditions culturelles sur lesquelles s'appuyait le modernisme à Asmara. À travers la réutilisation de méthodes et de fragments, émerge l'esthétique de la rupture, qui met l'accent sur la variété créant des dialogues entre le colonisateur et le colonisé, la mémoire, la matérialité et les typologies qui évoquent, engendrent et établissent de nouvelles significations. Enfin, l'identité bricolage définit les prétentions d'Asmara au modernisme, un modernisme non pas européen, mais africain.

Mots-clés : bricolage, Asmara, architecture coloniale

Biographical notes:

Thomas Kordonouri is currently working as an architect in Zurich, Switzerland. She holds a Master of Arts in "Architecture and historic urban environments" from The Bartlett School

of Architecture (UCL), UK and a Diploma in Architectural Engineering from University of Patras, Greece. Her research on architectural theory and cultural heritage in case studies of Europe and Africa has been presented to the scientific community at several international conferences and published in architectural journals.

Biniam Teame is a Civil Engineer based in Asmara, Eritrea. He is working in Asmara Heritage Project and conducts research on historical and civic buildings of Asmara, which has been contributed in the inscription of Asmara on UNESCO World Heritage List. Since January 2021 he is a member of ICOMOS.

Edward Denison is Professor of Architecture and Global Modernities at The Bartlett School of Architecture (UCL) and an independent consultant, writer and photographer specialising in global histories of architecture and the built environment. His work for various international organisations in places as diverse as Africa, China and Europe regularly features in print, electronic and broadcast media internationally. In 2016 and 2017 he won the RIBA President's Medal for Research for 'Asmara - Africa's Modernist City' and for 'Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria', respectively.

Introduction

Asmara's modernist heritage, adjudged to possess, 'outstanding value to humanity' is an example of the heritage of bricolage combining the architecture of locals and the 'colonisers', and defined by Eritrea's modernist encounters. Asmara was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2017, under Criteria 2 and 4, and remains Africa's only modernist site.

Employing the concept of bricolage to examine some of Asmara's most notable buildings, this paper aims to question UNESCO's rejection of Eritrea's claim under Criterion 3, which is intended to acknowledge the essential contribution of indigenous cultural traditions in the creation of modernism in Asmara. The principal case study is St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral, a building with deep symbolic, religious and cultural meaning and embodied material and constructional histories.

The concept of 'bricolage'

The concept of bricolage as described by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962), refers to a process or a skill of reuse of objects in different combinations in order to create something new, and to construct mythological narratives. Roland Barthes (1988) described the characteristics of bricolage as

heterogeneous objects that are considered as signs that conceal a 'symbolic meaning' and are classified. These signs may appear as 'cognitive structures' that affect memory and spatial perception. However, it is not only the signs themselves that make the work meaningful but also the fact that they collide with each other creating a dialectic, which depends on their classification. Furthermore, signs can be either material or representational objects that belonged to a place before being involved in the bricolage. Through this reuse emerges the aesthetic of rupture, rejecting classical coherence, rationality, and homogeneity, while emphasising variety (Hansen, 2003). Finally, an architectural form as a bricolage gives birth to dialogues between memory, materiality, proportions, and styles, bringing out new meanings.

The historical context of Asmara: Encounters of an African city with the 'other'

Asmara, an architectural landscape possessing various meanings, styles and bricolages, is a former colonial city that developed its cultural identity through its encounters with many civilisations through trading networks and colonial and quasi-colonial experiences over centuries (Denison, 2007). Its proximity to the Red Sea connected it to the border of present-day Ethiopia, associating it with assorted civilisations. Among others, Eritreans came into contact with Italians, Yemenis, Ottomans, British, Ethiopians, as well as settlers such as Greeks, Swedish, Jews, Indians, Armenians and Sudanese (Asmara Heritage Project, 2016). This explains Asmara's cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity, and the importance placed on the values of tolerance and unity. In the built environment these values were marked through the creation of buildings dedicated to various religions, to commercial and residential accommodation, and public spaces.

Following the Italian occupation of Asmara in 1889, the settlement became the capital of what became Italy's African Empire in 1900 and was later furnished with an architectural plurality displaying various historicist styles including Novecento, Rationalism, Monumentalism and Futurism (Denison, et al., 2017). Between 1935 and 1941, from Italy's invasion of Ethiopia to their defeat to the Allies, Asmara became a city celebrated for its modern urban planning and the ubiquity of modernist architecture. Constructions slowed almost completely in 1941 when the British Military Administration took control of Eritrea until 1952, when Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia. Eritrea did not gain

independence until 1991.

Asmara's bricolages: From local signs to the bricolage of St Mary's Orthodox Cathedral

Eritrea's many cultural traditions include local construction techniques using local materials and labour, which Italians relied on to realise their modernist designs. In particular, granite, wood, marble, sandstone, basalt and, later, cement, brick and coloured tesserae were abundant in Eritrea (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017). Also, Eritrean labourers possessed the expertise to use these materials in many different ways including dry stone walling, quarrying, chiselling and dressing. The most common material in Asmara was basalt, a hard and impermeable material that fashioned into blocks 30 to 50 cm thick, which were ideal for foundations and load bearing walls. Basalt gave the modernist architecture of Asmara a distinct character. In many cases, it is concealed behind plaster, but is also found exposed or presented in a pattern on the façade (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017).

Other important references or signs of local traditions being incorporated into Asmara's modernist architecture, reinforcing the creation of a bricolage, include the *hidmo*, the *agdo* and *aderash* (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017).

The *hidmo* is a building typology found only in the Eritrean highlands, recognised by its rectangular form, made of wood, stone and soil and covered by a flat roof. Its indoor space is divided in two areas that can be accessed through a main doorway from the front of the building and one or two other doors at the rear. The roof is extended at the front to form a shelter. The *agdo* is a dwelling typology found in most areas of Eritrea. It is characterised by its circular plan, measuring approximately three metres in diameter. Its walls are made of stone and sometimes covered in soil for insulation, with a conical grass roof on top. The interior is divided into two areas, with only one entrance. The two-storey form of the *agdo*, which is rare, is called an "*aderash*".

Another unique form of building is known as

'monkey-head'. Its name comes from the use of protruding, rounded-off wooden cross-members (dowels) to bind together horizontal layers of wood between layers of stone in a wall, since these protruding dowels resemble the tops of monkey's heads (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 261). This method predated the introduction of lime mortar to Eritrea from Yemen in the mid-17th century. The 'monkey-head' technique, which was widely used during the Axumite period (first century C.E.), was designed to connect the wall and to provide support, while using available resources. Some Italian architects adopted it in their designs, albeit superficially.

St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral

St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral or, Enda Mariam, as it is referred to locally, constitutes an example of bricolage of Italian Rationalism and African vernacular architectures. Its history starts in the 13th century. When Asmara's four villages were united, the church occupied the area, and, after the Italians arrived, it remained of vital importance to the indigenous Eritrean Orthodox community (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 261). At this point in time, the church was a *hidmo*, surrounded by a wall and trees, being built with the 'monkey-head' technique and topped with an Orthodox cross. As Cogliati (1901) noted in *Tre anni in Eritrea*, it resembled more a 'cave than a temple' (Figure 1). The interior was decorated with brightly coloured paintings of saints on the walls and stored sacred scriptures.

The first form of bricolage appeared in 1920, when the Italians took the original vernacular architecture into consideration in a complete redesign and construction of the church. The architect Ernesto Gallo designed a new church that replaced the *hidmo* structure. In his design he assimilated the *aderash*-style in the roofs of the two towers that were positioned at each corner of the church and were used for storage. The main church, rectangular in plan, had a raised central nave. Also, its walls were built displaying the monkey-head technique, with dowels of white juniper (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 240).



Figure 1: St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral in 1900, 1920 and 1940 (Biniam Teame, 2021).



Figure 2: A 4th century AD excavated Byzantine church on the Eritrean coast displaying building techniques similar to those used in many modernist structures in Asmara, as seen here in the detail of the layered façade of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral (Biniam Teame, Thomais Kordonouri, 2020).

Later, in 1938, this church was replaced by a larger church designed by the architect Giuseppe Malaguti, following Gallo's style, but simplifying its form. This church, which still survives, consists also of two massive towers at each corner and the main building between them (Figure 1). Its construction strongly reflects the Italians' dependence on local materials, construction techniques and labour. With the exception of steel reinforcement bars, concrete and paints, it bears a striking resemblance to the construction methods employed in the 4th century church excavated on the Eritrean coast (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 240). Imitating this church, Enda Mariam's façade is also made of layers of stone slates and brick (Figure 2). Also, imitating Gallo's design, the 12-metre-tall towers, have retained their *agdo* roofs, but these were separated from the layered stone by additional vertical openings of concrete, indicating the Rationalist character of the church.

The main building has many Rationalist features that also display Lombardi architecture, having a rectangular plan with a modern interior with colonnades surrounding the nave. Its ceiling is parallel vaulted with lights at either end that may be seen from outside as a line of semi-circular apertures (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 240). Moreover, the interior is decorated with coloured frescoes of religious figures. On the exterior, a vertical frame divided into seven parts, each representing the seven sacraments of the orthodox church, contains mosaics designed by the Eritrean-Italian artist Nenne Sanguineti Poggi in 1963. An Orthodox cross crowns the ensemble, while below it is the main entrance of a pair of round-arched doorways set back in stepped frames.

A large gate and a wall, in a similar style to that of the church, enclose the entire compound (Figure 3). At the front stands an auxiliary building, known as Deghe Selam (Figure 4). It



Figure 3: The compound of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral, showing (from right to left) Deghe Selam, St Mary's Orthodox Cathedral (background) and the main gateway in a similar style (Biniam Teame, 2020).



Figure 4: Deghe Selam of Enda Mariam Church, designed by Odoardo Cavagnari, 1917 (Biniam Teame, 2021).

was built in 1917 and designed by the engineer-architect Odoardo Cavagnari Cavagnari (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 240). In 1945-1946 new rooms were added, so, today, the building serves as office space for the church. Deghe Selam features many reinstated references to Eritrean indigenous architecture, such as the conical concrete roofs of the *agdo*, placed above its central core of the building and its ends, walls and pillars that imitate the 'monkey-head' technique under the concrete crossbeams, and frescoes in the Eritrean Orthodox style (Asmara Heritage Project, 2017, 240). Moreover, the symbolisms are included in the waterspout, that are made to represent the head of an animal resembling a panthera, in frescoes of different designs, and in other elements in concrete referring to the first *hidmo* church.

An African city of 'bricolages' in UNESCO's World Heritage List and its identity

Like most urban sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List, Asmara's inscription under Criterion 2 'exhibits an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design'. Additionally, its inscription under Criterion 4 reveals 'an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history' (UNESCO, 2017). However, UNESCO rejected Asmara's claims to Criterion 3: 'to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony

to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared'.

Criterion 3 would have recognised the significant role of Eritrean cultural traditions in realising Asmara's modernist character, through tangible and intangible features. Firstly, these traditions include the ancient practices of construction and local materials, the aforementioned material signs of a bricolage, which are integral to Eritrea's unique modernist language. Additionally, it is noteworthy that despite its transformation from an indigenous centre of administration to a colonial city, and then to a modern capital of an independent country, it not only retained local materials, techniques and spatial typologies in bricolages, but also the intangible qualities of language, cultural traditions and national identity remained authentic. In particular, after the post-colonial period Eritrea underwent a second wave of quasi-colonialism under different Ethiopian regimes, during which Ethiopians attempted to destroy Eritreans national identity, denying local languages and traditions (Denison, et al., 2017). Asmara became an emblem of Eritrean resistance, symbolising loss and promise, expressed through music, poetry, and theatre. Throughout the Cold War, actors, artists, sculptors, and authors celebrated Asmara as a symbol for the larger quest for national independence (Denison, et al., 2017).

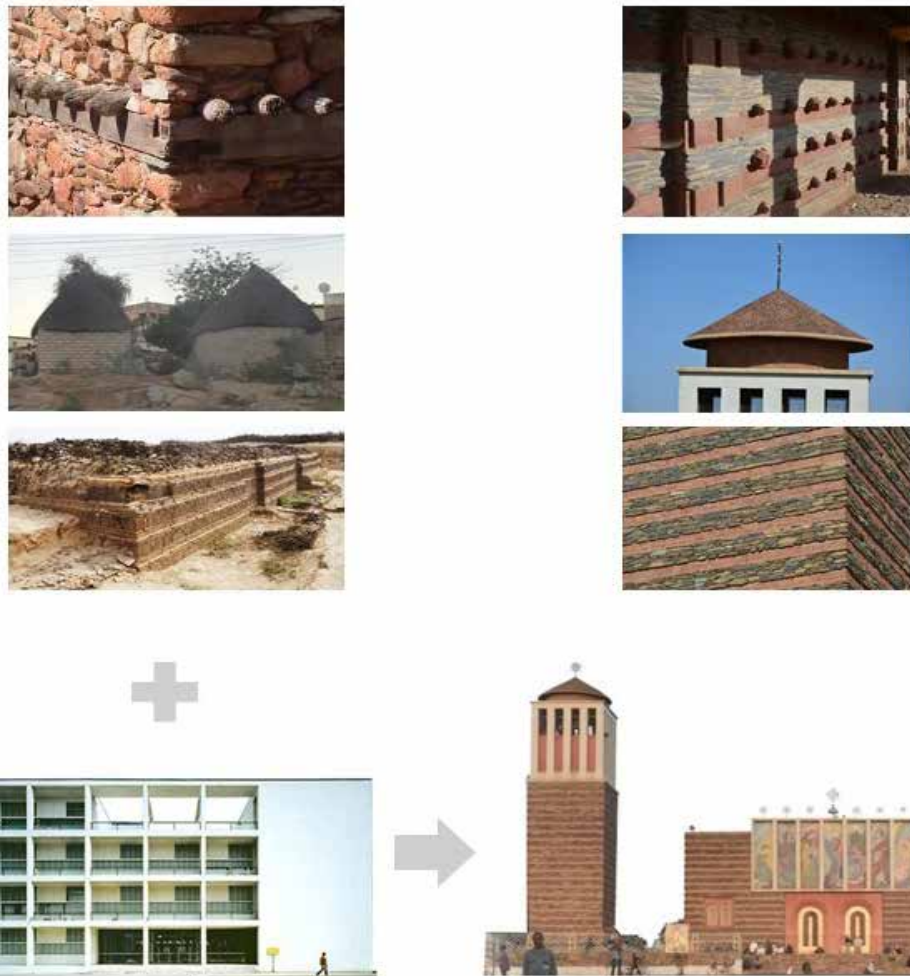


Figure 5: Towards a bricolage of African modernism (collage by Thomais Kordonouri, 2021)

Therefore, Asmara's claims to Criterion 3 are made evident and strengthened through architectures of bricolages, which denote the local traditions, and other symbols that express its cultural values and traditions, while competing with other civilisations (Figure 5).

Conclusion

To conclude, Asmara does possess 'outstanding value to humanity', but not for its urban and architectural modernism framed within a European conceptualisation. Architecturally it not only possesses many modernist structures, but also bricolages that have incorporated indigenous elements of the past. These are historical construction materials, typologies, building techniques and skills, that are reproduced not only for structural reasons, but also to reinstate vernacular heritage of the area. Some, albeit few, Italians recognised Asmara's past and in creating a distinctive urban landscape, acknowledged their debt to both Eritrean labour and its cultural traditions. The bricolages they created are distinguished by the apportioned forms that give birth to dialogues between materiality, memory, and different

constructional styles and techniques. In this sense, it can be said that Asmara fulfils UNESCO's Criterion 3 responding with the preservation of its traditions that are connoted through tangible and intangible traditions and symbols that retain old practices and create new meanings. Together they shape an authentic modern heritage, not of Europe, but of Africa.

Bibliography

- Asmara Heritage Project. 2016. *Asmara: Africa's Modernist City*. Nomination Dossier for UNESCO World Heritage Listing.
- Asmara Heritage Project. 2017. *Interim Report Responses for: Nomination of Asmara: Africa's Modernist City for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List*. Nomination Dossier for UNESCO World Heritage Listing.
- Barthes, R. 1988. *The Semiotic Challenge*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Cogliati, L. 1901. *Tre anni in Eritrea*, Milano: Corso Porta Romana.

Denison, E., Teklemariam, M., Abraha D. 2017. 'Asmara: Africa's Modernist City (UNESCO World Heritage Nomination)'. *Journal of Architecture* 22(1), 11-53.

DOI: 10.1080/13602365.2016.1276093

Denison, E. 2007. *Eritrea*. UK: Bradt Travel Guides Ltd.

Hansen, F. M. 2003. *The Eloquence of Appropriation. Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum* 33. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1962. *The Savage Mind*. Paris: Librairie Plon.

Other sources

UNESCO World Heritage List, *Asmara: A Modernist African City*, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1550/> .

Shared Heritage Africa: A documentary rediscovery

Uta Pottgiesser

TU Delft / TH OWL / Docomomo Germany
u.pottgiesser@tudelft.nl / uta.pottgiesser@th-owl.de

Mark Olweny

Uganda Martyrs University / University of Lincoln
molweny@umu.ac.ug

Kuukuwa Manful

SOAS, University of London / Docomomo Ghana
kuukuwa.m@gmail.com

Ola Uduku

University of Liverpool / Docomomo UK
O.Uduku@liverpool.ac.uk

Taibat Lawanson

Centre for Housing and Sustainable Development (CHSD), University of Lagos
tlawanson@unilag.edu.ng

Author Biographies

Uta Pottgiesser is Professor of Heritage & Technology at TU Delft, the Netherlands, and Professor of Building Construction and Materials at Detmold School of Architecture and Interior Architecture, Germany. She holds a Diploma in Architecture from the TU Berlin and a PhD from the TU Dresden. She is a licensed architect, and her research is focused on the protection, conservation and reuse of the built environment, in particular of modern heritage. Uta served as vice-chair of DOCOMOMO Germany and chair of the DOCOMOMO International Specialist Committee on Technology (ISC/T) from 2016 to 2021. Since 2022 she acts as chair of DOCOMOMO International.

Mark R. O. Olweny is programme leader of the Bachelor of Architecture at the Lincoln School of Architecture and Urban Design and Research Associate Professor in Architecture in the Faculty of the Built Environment at Uganda Martyrs University. He has previously worked in architectural/urban design practice in Australia, Canada, the Republic of Ireland and Uganda. Mark's research interests are in colonial and postcolonial architecture and urbanism of East Africa, environmental performance of and energy use in East Africa and pedagogies in architectural education. Mark is a member of several international networks, including the Genealogy of Urban Design and the African Innovation Network.

Kuukuwa Manful is a trained architect and researcher who creates, studies, and documents architecture in Africa. She runs the Accra Archive project, which digitises endangered historical architectural material in Ghana, and curates adansisem – an architecture collective that documents and showcases stories of Ghanaian architecture. Her current research – towards a PhD at SOAS, University of London, examines the socio-politics of nation-building and modernity in Ghana through a study of school building(s). She holds Master's and BSc Architecture degrees from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) and an MSc in African Studies from the University of Oxford.

Ola Uduku is Head of School of the School of Architecture at the University of Liverpool. Before she was appointed Professor of Architecture at Manchester School of Architecture and Associate Professor at the University of Edinburgh. She studied architecture at the University of Nigeria and earned her doctoral degree at the University of Cambridge, where she researched factors that impacted the design of schools in Nigeria. She researches school buildings and design, focusing specifically on Africa. She also investigates thermal comfort and the creation and development of apps as teaching tools for their measurement.

Taibat Lawanson is Professor of Urban Management and Governance at the University

of Lagos, Nigeria, where she leads the Pro-Poor Development Research Cluster. Her research focuses on the interface of social complexities, urban realities, and the pursuit of spatial justice. She is well known for her inter-sectoral work which engages students, policy makers, local communities, and civil society actors. Taibat serves on the international advisory committee of UN-Habitat's flagship 'State of the World's Cities'. She is a member of the board of directors of the Lagos Studies Association, a pioneer World Social Science Fellow of the International (Social) Science Council and a proud alumna of the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Centre.

Abstract

The documentation of buildings and sites tells a lot about the nature of the relationship between culture, society, and politics. The project Shared Heritage Africa (2021-2023) will focus on the documentary rediscovery of modern university campuses from the 1950s to the 1970s as examples of cultural landscapes from the period of independence from colonial rule (Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960, and Uganda 1962). The rediscovery of this significant heritage will concentrate on exploring the values, challenges and opportunities through the eyes of their contemporary users. All case studies were built in the postwar decades (1950s to 1970s) and a comparative analysis reveals contrasting and complementary aspects. The paper highlights the combination of local workshops, including student writing and photography workshops, exhibitions and 'digital fellowships' using the internet for dissemination. Exploratory interviews and narratives will be used to collect testimonies of contemporary users. Aspects discussed are, among others, the physical; deterioration (technical, functional, social), the cosmological; through the sense of identity, community, place attachment, maintenance and taking care, ownership and appropriation, and the environmental; considering the quality, and sustainability of spaces, and also conditions of comfort and satisfaction. The method is in development, but preliminary conclusions can be sketched.

The written, visual, and digital documentation of built cultural heritage of Africa is a prerequisite for sustainable urban and social development. The approach builds upon African and international DOCOMOMO initiatives and identifies students and young professionals as important target groups to develop social, cultural, and political awareness and further participatory tools.

Résumé

La documentation des bâtiments et des sites en dit beaucoup sur la nature des relations entre culture, société et politique. Le projet "Shared Heritage Africa" (2021-23) se concentrera sur la redécouverte documentaire des campus universitaires modernes des années 1950-1970 en tant qu'exemples de paysages culturels de la période d'indépendance vis-à-vis du régime colonial (Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960 et Ouganda 1962), et revêt une grande importance. La redécouverte de ce patrimoine se focalisera sur l'exploration des valeurs, des défis et des opportunités à travers les yeux de leurs utilisateurs contemporains. Toutes les études de cas ont été construites dans les décennies d'après-guerre (années 1950-70) et une analyse comparative révèle des aspects contrastés et complémentaires. Le document souligne la combinaison d'ateliers locaux, y compris des ateliers d'écriture et de photographie pour les étudiants, d'expositions et de 'Digital Fellowships' utilisant l'internet pour la diffusion. Des entretiens exploratoires et des récits seront utilisés pour recueillir les témoignages des utilisateurs contemporains.

Les aspects abordés sont, entre autres, les suivants: le physique, la détérioration (technique, fonctionnelle, sociale), le cosmologique, à travers le sentiment d'identité, la communauté, l'attachement au lieu, l'entretien et le soin, la propriété et l'appropriation, et l'environnemental, en considérant la qualité et la durabilité des espaces, ainsi que les conditions de confort et de satisfaction. La méthode est encore en cours de développement, mais des conclusions préliminaires peuvent être esquissées.

La documentation écrite, visuelle et numérique du patrimoine culturel bâti de l'Afrique est une condition préalable à un développement urbain et social durable. L'approche s'appuie sur les initiatives africaines et internationales de DOCOMOMO et identifie les étudiants et les jeunes professionnels comme des groupes cibles importants pour développer une conscience sociale, culturelle et politique et pour approfondir les outils participatifs.

Keywords: documentation; digital fellowships; modern heritage; university campus

Introduction

The documentation of buildings and sites tells a lot about the nature of the relationship between culture, society, and politics. The project Shared Heritage Africa (2021-2023) will focus on the documentary rediscovery of modern university campuses from the 1950s to the 1970s as

examples of cultural landscapes. Their design and construction fall in the period of independence from colonial rule, here from the United Kingdom (Ghana 1957, Nigeria 1960 and Uganda 1962), and is an era of great significance. The rediscovery of this heritage will focus on exploring the values, challenges and opportunities through the eyes of their contemporary users. Concentrating on the post-war modern buildings constructed after independence from colonial rule between the 1950s and 1970s, the project seeks to celebrate projects situated at the periphery of architectural discourse, and thus seldom documented, despite their social, economic, and political significance. The project will investigate sites in Ghana, Nigeria, and Uganda primarily, but will be open to contributions from other parts of Africa. Among them are:

- Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi, Ghana (1952/1961), (Figure 1).
- University of Lagos (UNILAG), Lagos, Nigeria (1962), (Figure 2).
- University of Nigeria (UNN) (formerly Nigeria College of Arts Science and Technology), Nsukka, Nigeria (1950s).
- University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria (1975).
- Busitema University (formerly National College of Agricultural Mechanisation), Busitema, Uganda (1968).
- Kyambogo University (formerly Uganda Polytechnic), Kampala, Uganda (1958).

By merging different media, the documentations also foster exchange between professional and institutional actors as well as laymen and society in general.

Key research question/critical issue

This two-year project, Shared Heritage Africa: Rediscovering Masterpieces, is an initiative to investigate modern urban history and heritage in three countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, and Uganda) The project is funded by the Federal Funds of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany (BfAA) from 2021-2023, and aims to understand, discuss and evolve the potential of this heritage to promote sustainable urban and social development. The project further refers to the fact that ‘universities were crucial institutions in decolonising nations’ (Livsey, 2017, 2) and that higher education ‘belonged to a distinctive post-war phase of British colonialism distinguished by “development”, in which the empire was reframed as a force for political, economic, and social progress that would prepare colonies for eventual self-government’ (Livsey, 2017, 4). In the second half of the 20th century many European architects from different countries



Figure 1: Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), College of Planning Admin Block, Kumasi, Ghana (1952-1961), Photo: 2016 © Adansisem



Figure 2: University of Lagos, Main Auditorium, Lagos, Nigeria (1962), Photo: 2016 © CC BY-SA 4.0.



Figure 3: Girls' School Aga Khan (Mädchenschule), Kisumu, Kenya (1949-51), Architect: Ernst May, Photo: 2018 © Jean Molitor.

and for different reasons came to Africa to build (Figure 3), and to teach architecture (May, 1953; Stanek, 2020).

The West African partner organisations in Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda have already dealt with these relevant aspects and topics in various ways in teaching and research, through adansisem, a Ghanaian architecture research collective that ‘research(s) and document(s) the (hi)stories, theories, practices and products of architecture in/of/from Ghana’ (adansisem, 2021) and SOCIARCHI, a design, architecture and construction collective which ‘is geared towards innovative, historico-culturally informed and context-specific interventions’ (SOCIARCHI, 2021). In Nigeria, the *ARUA Centre of Excellence for Urbanization and Habitable Cities* with a focus on pro-poor governance and management in Africa connects academic with practical work to support capacity building. Also, the East African partners in Uganda have studied the role of universities and of architectural modernism in Kampala. While the explorations of the topic in Makerere University are ongoing, an engagement with the subject outside the capital city has not been undertaken (Figure 4).

All these initiatives have in common that they describe and analyse the learning spaces in Africa (Uduku, 2020) not only from a historical point of view, but before all with regard to their potential for future development, and the following aims and key issues:

- to raise awareness of non-European Modernism and its structural and social environment,
- to raise awareness of the peculiarities and importance of sites and buildings as a prerequisite for their care and preservation,
- to establish partner- and sponsorships for the documentation, care, and preservation of the built cultural heritage in general,



Figure 4: Kyambogo University (originally Uganda Technical College), Kampala, Uganda (1958), Photo: Year and photographer unknown.

and that of Modernism in particular,

- to promote the participation and digitisation through the integration of different disciplines and aspects in the international online platform hosted by Architectuul and connect it with African initiatives,
- to promote the importance of post-war modern buildings within the framework of African programs for sustainable urban and social development.

The focus on the universities and colleges has further practical advantages and synergies:

- the accessibility of buildings and places can be directly ensured by the partner organisations,
- the universities have rooms and IT equipment for the workshops,
- the safety and health of participants can be ensured more easily on campus than in other institutions,
- the documentation of the campuses allows the ‘digital fellows’ not only to critically engage with the history and origins of the buildings, but also to develop their own visions and ideas for the design of sustainable learning places in 21st century Africa,
- the possibility to cooperate with German and European universities, which also deal with digitisation and sustainability as part of their future viability.

A comparative analysis of case studies will reveal contrasting and complementary aspects through a combination of local student writing and photography workshops, exhibitions and ‘digital fellowships’, using the internet for dissemination. In addition, exploratory interviews and narratives will be used to collect testimonies of users to complement texts and photographs. By merging different media, the documentations foster exchange with professional and institutional actors as well as laymen and society in general. Aspects discussed are, among others:

- the physical: deterioration (technical, functional, social),
- the cosmological: the sense of identity, community, place attachment, maintenance and taking care, ownership and appropriation,
- the environmental: considering the quality, and sustainability of spaces, and also conditions of comfort and satisfaction.

The approach builds upon existing DOCOMOMO and African initiatives and identifies students and young professionals as important target groups

to develop awareness and further participatory tools – students and young professionals will act as ‘digital fellows’ based on their fieldwork on site and aiming at two dimensions:

- Locally, it is important to raise awareness of the specificities and importance of sites and buildings beyond professional circles. This is an essential prerequisite for initiating care and maintenance and subsequently developing management strategies for the building stock. The project therefore deliberately starts with schools and universities (learning spaces), as in this way many young people are reached, and, local history and capacity building can be facilitated.
- Internationally, it is an objective to draw attention to non-European modernism and its structural and social developments, especially after the independence of the states.

For both levels and perspectives, comprehensive documentation is an essential prerequisite for preservation and repair.

Gaps in research and methodology

Next to documentation, ‘Shared Heritage Africa’ combines some of the supporting initiatives, including building capacity in the knowledge and recording of built heritage cultural artefacts, as well as establishing international partnerships and interdisciplinary networks. The project will focus on students of architecture and urbanism or from architecture related fields who will participate in a series of hands-on collaborative workshops with professionals and students, geared towards exploring heritage as a sustainability concept for sub-Saharan Africa. The outcomes of the project will include a series of publications on the different sites, concepts, and architects, as well as an exhibition hosted in



Figure 5: Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Delhi, India, Architect: Jugal Kishore Chowdhury, 1961, Photo: 2014 © Jean Molitor.

different cities in the study countries.

‘Shared Heritage Africa’ aims to promote participation and digitisation by integrating various design and planning disciplines and aspects in a holistic way. Through the combination of social participation, academic teaching, writing and photography workshops and research in the field of built heritage, the project will create an interdisciplinary and international exchange to promote awareness of the importance of post-war modernism (beginning of independence) buildings within the framework of African programmes for sustainable urban and social development.

The workshop concept is based on the experiences of the writing workshops of the African Studies Association of the UK (ASAUK) first run in 2009, and repeated and developed over time. The 2021 edition of the workshops directly linked the students with their campuses, which are still widely undocumented and deserve to be rediscovered. Also in 2009, the photographer Jean Molitor began to document modern buildings before demolition in Burundi where he experienced the impact of his documentary work in public, which led to the buildings gaining esteem and being saved from demolition (Sleek Magazine, 2018). It is another goal to bring this school of vision and perception closer to the public (Figure 5), not only to the students (Barth, 2018).

The close cooperation with local universities also aims is to integrate this or similar workshop formats combining writing, photography, digital publishing into the curricula of individual courses of study. This option has already been discussed in Ghana and Nigeria, and Uganda will follow. It is also an opportunity to explore further virtual formats, which will make use of the material produced by writing and photography (Pottgiesser, Dragutinovic & Loddo, 2021). In addition, targeted access from scholars of the African continent will be made possible, which will then be continued in cooperation with DOCOMOMO Germany and DOCOMOMO International – preferably by establishing new national DOCOMOMO working parties or by setting up a ‘DOCOMOMO International Digital Fellowship’ from 2022, which will be given priority to applicants from the global South.

Conclusion

By rediscovering masterpieces ‘Shared Heritage Africa’ contributes to the idea of exploring post-war modern heritage as a sustainability concept for sub-Saharan Africa urban and social development. The written, visual, and digital

documentation contributes to develop social, cultural and political awareness and further participatory tools.

Funding details

This work is supported by the Federal Funds of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany (BfAA) by a funding grant for the project 'Shared Heritage Africa. Rediscovering Masterpieces' from 10/2021 until 09/2023 (AZ99210073). The project is coordinated by DOCOMOMO Deutschland e.V. in cooperation with Architectuul (Estonia), photographer Jean Molitor (Germany), Liverpool School of Architecture (UK), University of Lagos, Centre for Housing and Sustainable Development (CHSD) (Nigeria), DOCOMOMO Ghana (Accra Chapter), Uganda Martyrs University (UMU) and DOCOMOMO International (NL).

Bibliography

adansisem. 2021. URL: <http://www.adansisem.com>.

Barth, N. (ed.). 2018. *Jean Molitor. bau1haus - die moderne in der welt*, Berlin: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

Livsey, T. 2017. *Nigeria's University Age: Reframing Decolonisation and Development*. London, Palgrave Macmillan UK. URL: <https://de1lib.org/book/3396814/b56f10>.

May, E. 1953. Bauen in Ostafrika. In *Bauwelt 1953, Heft 6*. Berlin: Bauwelt Verlag Berlin, 104-111.

Pottgiesser, U., Dragutinovic, A. & Loddo, M. (eds). 2021. *MoMove Modern Movement and Infrastructure*. Detmold: OWL University of Applied Sciences. URL: <https://www.th-owl.de/elsa/record/5491>.

Sleek Magazine. 2019. The modernist photobook tracing the global spread of Bauhaus architecture. *Sleek Magazine*, 23 January. URL: <https://www.sleek-mag.com/article/bauhaus-architecture/>.

SOCIARCHI. 2021. URL: <https://sociarchitecture.wordpress.com/sociarchi/>.

Stanek, Ł. 2020. *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Uduku, O. 2020. *Learning Spaces in Africa: Critical Histories to 21st Century Challenges and Change*. London: Routledge.

A glance into public memory. Which public? Whose memory? The demise of Red Location cultural precinct

Palesa Kadi

University of Pretoria
u20821591@up.ac.za

Author biography

Palesa Kadi is a researcher and historian. She is registered as a PhD candidate at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Supervised by Professor Noëleen Murray, her PhD research is titled 'The promise of planning in post-apartheid South Africa: Red Location Museum and Cultural Precinct's urban planning and heritage discourse from 1994 to 2020'. Kadi obtained a BA Hons in Political Studies and an MA in Heritage and Museum Studies from the University of the Western Cape, followed by a Post Graduate Diploma in Public and Development Sector Monitoring and Evaluation from the University of the Witwatersrand. She serves as the chairperson of the South African Geographical Names Council – SAGNC.

Abstract

In 2021, the international award-winning Red Location Museum - RLM (located within the Red Location Cultural Precinct), termed a 'national site of struggle' by Noero Wolff Architects, lies derelict in the township of New Brighton¹ in Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth), in South Africa's Eastern Cape province. Intended to depict peoples' struggle against apartheid, the museum was opened to the public in November 2006.

This paper is about the continuing narrative of state-built infrastructure being held hostage to community protests. The advanced nature of these community protests has had a significant impact on the Red Location Cultural Precinct (RLCP). In the RLCP, there are three buildings constituting a museum, which opened in 2006, an art gallery and a library completed in 2010 but never opened (Riordan, 2007). In this precinct, my focus is on the museum and its depiction of the public/s that made Red Location. When referring to the RLCP, one will be referring to the various component of the precinct, and reference to the RLM should be viewed as the museum which was once a fully functional part of the RLCP. The RLM has been closed

1 Following an outbreak of bubonic plague, in 1903, the Cape Colonial government established New Brighton to rehouse Africans relocated from Port Elizabeth's inner-city locations.

since 2013, and some suggest that the hostage effect is intensifying over time. As I shall argue in the paper, more attention should be paid to the questions of museum public/s and whose memory heritage projects intend to document.

During the conceptualisation and design phase of the museum and cultural precinct in the early 2000s, there were intense contestations (brawls, some have suggested). Compromises demanded by 'the community' dictated basic infrastructural housing delivery be part of the cultural precinct's brief. Could it be that the residents of Red Location wanted ownership over the stories of their struggles while faced with the multi-million-rand expenditure allocated to developing the RLCP?

As the paper argues, the place of cultural institutions such as township museums requires a review of the idea itself. Given this context, I discuss two intertwined narratives, one of the concept of the promise of infrastructure, and the second, that of the impact of politics on heritage.

Keywords: space, heritage, planning, memorialisation, community

Résumé

En 2021, le Red Location Museum (RLM) primé au niveau international, qualifié de « site national de lutte » par Wolff et Noero Architects, est à l'abandon dans le canton de New Brighton à Gqeberha (anciennement Port Elizabeth), en Afrique du Sud. Destiné à représenter la lutte des peuples contre l'apartheid, le musée a été ouvert au public en novembre 2006.

Cet article traite du récit continu des infrastructures construites par l'État prises en otage lors des manifestations communautaires. La nature avancée de ces manifestations communautaires a eu un impact majeur sur la Cité culturelle de Red Location (RLCP). Le musée est fermé depuis 2013 et certains soutiennent que l'effet d'otage s'intensifie avec le temps. Comme je l'expliquerai dans l'article, une plus grande attention devrait être accordée aux questions du/des public(s) des musées et dont les projets de patrimoine mémoriel entendent documenter.

Lors de la phase de conceptualisation et de conception au début des années 2000, il y a eu d'intenses contestations (rixes, certains ont suggéré). Les compromis exigés par la « communauté » ont dicté que la fourniture de logements d'infrastructure de base fasse partie du mandat de l'enceinte culturelle. Se pourrait-il que les habitants de Red Location veuillent s'approprier les histoires de leurs luttes face au développement des dépenses de plusieurs millions de rands du RLCP ?

Comme le soutient l'article, la place des institutions culturelles comme les musées des cantons nécessite une révision de l'idée elle-même. Dans ce contexte, dans cet article, je discute de deux récits entrelacés, l'un du concept de promesse d'infrastructure et le second étant celui de l'impact de la politique sur le patrimoine.

Mots-clés : espace, patrimoine, aménagement, mémorialisation, communauté

Acknowledgements

This PhD research was made possible by a doctoral scholarship from the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS). The audio visual material from the trailer to the film *New Brighton Noah* is written and produced by Zwai Mgijima of Gijima Arts (Pty Ltd) and is reproduced with his permission. The audio visual inputs were edited by Carson Smuts from MIT Media Lab.

The demise of Red Location Cultural Precinct

In a fitting tribute to the significance of the events that took place in New Brighton, in 1998, the newly formed African National Congress (ANC)-led municipality embarked on an ambitious memorial initiative. This was followed by the launch of an international architectural competition for a national 'apartheid museum' to be sited in Red Location. As in many South African cities, as a form of illustrating a change of South Africa's apartheid regime in 1994, a considerable amount of scholarship has equally dealt with the construction of new public identities through memory and heritage (Coombes, 2003; Judin and Vladislavić, 1998; Nuttall and Coetzee, 1998; Rassool, 2000).

For the longest time, the township of New Brighton was envisaged as a site for creative re-imagining. It was imagined as a cultural and artistic hub, a home where jazz-music, theatre, dance, and visual arts could be properly resourced to grow and flourish in the new South Africa. The competition attracted entries from architects in South Africa and beyond and in

1999 was eventually awarded to Jo Noero and Heinrich Wolff of Noero Wolff Architects. In the early days of the post-apartheid period, this high-profile and well-resourced project quite literally put Port Elizabeth on the museum and heritage map. Around the same time in Cape Town and Johannesburg, there were new urban regeneration initiatives linked to the idea of the 'Creative City'. Swiftly, the idea of an apartheid museum was taken from Red Location and the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, a commercially funded private museum, opened its doors in 2001.

Faced with this national competition, the ambitious creative project in New Brighton was transformed into the Red Location Cultural Precinct. It won a string of prestigious architectural awards for its design (Murray, 2013). The subsequent history of the now disavowed Red Location Museum and its cultural precinct comprising a library, computer hub, theatre and art gallery in New Brighton has been one of relentless dispute and contestation, leading to the precinct's closure in October 2013. Red Location's struggles cannot be separated from similar heritage projects. The contestations on public history in some of the oldest townships namely; Alexandra (Nieftagodien 2015; Sihlongonyane 2009) and in Kliptown (Kuljian 2009; Judin, Roux and Zack 2015) should be noted. These township-based heritage and urban development projects have presented ambitious spatial transformation prospects like that of Red Location. Producing similar contestations to those playing out in Red Location, similarly, ambitious heritage projects anchoring ambitions of spatial transformation emerged.

In the early 1990s, the idea of transforming Red Location, part of New Brighton near the then Port Elizabeth, was offered in the promise of greater development for the area through a public memory narrative of a museum. This was meant to memorialise the space and its contribution to the struggle against apartheid. According to Riordan, the council's Administration and Finance Committee resolved to put R52-million in municipal funds towards seven township-based developmental projects. These included a three-year, R13-million commitment to a cultural centre in Red Location (Riordan, 2007). From this council resolution, three of the RLCP buildings were complete: a museum, opened in 2006; an art gallery; and a library, completed but never opened. A plan for a theatre and 210 subsidized houses still remain an idea.

A sizeable structure heralding transformation, freedom, and prosperity was envisaged. The sustainability of this development was meant



Figure 1: Red Location Museum (Zwai Mgijima, 2020).



Figure 2: Damaged restaurant area, Red Location Museum (Zwai Mgijima, 2020).



Figure 3: Reception area, Red Location Museum (Zwai Mgijima, 2020).



Figure 4: Outside Red Location Museum (Zwai Mgijima, 2020).

to be realised through tourism, a script that was sold to the community together with the liberation struggle commemoration narrative – a predisposition that is often found in post-apartheid modern heritage projects in South Africa.

In my presentation at the Modern Heritage of Africa Symposium at the University of Cape Town (22-24 September 2021), I showed filmmaker and actor Zwai Mgijima's short video clip from the trailer to his forthcoming full-length film titled *New Brighton Noah*. The clip is a powerful visual depiction of the demise of Red Location Cultural Precinct (RLCP), with poetic narration provided by Mgijima himself. Mgijima is a New Brighton-born thespian, one of the shining stars trained by the late Winston Ntshona, the Tony Award-winning actor and playwright who collaborated with John Kani and Athol Fugard on acclaimed productions including *The Island* and *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*. Figures 1-4 show Mgijima from his time making the trailer in 2020.

In my presentation, I then juxtaposed these against those of Noero Wolff Architects, in a manner intended to be thought-provoking (<https://www.noeroarchitects.com/project/red-location/>). In my quest for transcribing

the spatial history of New Brighton, I have opted for a visual presentation because there is no amount of description nor explanation that can better describe the prevailing state of the precinct. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1tnX70fr-wc1bfOEW1HSWubkuJRsuc_5Z/view?usp=sharing

As a project social facilitator working with Rory Riordan, the business development consultant of RLCP, Mgijima, with an artistic enquiry and concern, commences the video by stating that 'men built places of healing, heritage structures, legacy and continue to ask how many stones can destroy a structure? When art is silent, the wicked takes over and society crumbles.' This is Mgijima's reality as a practitioner in the arts. In his trailer, Mgijima includes footage of himself crawling in and out of the museum to show how people access the museum now. This is in a context where municipal officials are strictly banned by the community from entering the premises.

Mine is an attempt to give a perspective firstly, on the RLCP closure and as in Mgijima's cinematic sentiments of disappointment, what this closure means to the residents, the municipality, and heritage practitioners. Furthermore, I explore

how political hindrances are viewed, and examine how projects are framed in such a way that buildings are expected to interact with the community instead of the community interacting with buildings.

In 2013, the slogan 'No Housing No Museum' accompanied 'service delivery' protests in New Brighton (Murray & Kadi, forthcoming 2022). New Brighton, close to the former city of Port Elizabeth, officially renamed Gqeberha in 2020, is home to one of South Africa's most ambitious post-apartheid visions epitomised by the cultural precinct located in Red Location. Known as *Ilali Ebomvu*, Red Location is New Brighton's oldest neighbourhood and ironically remains a space of underdevelopment and poverty. Residents who were dissatisfied with the pace of housing delivery alongside the R22-million cultural precinct began to air their dissatisfaction by forcing the museum to close (Sizani, 2019).

Yet the question of housing in South Africa's second-oldest city cannot be delinked from its past. New Brighton was first established in 1902. It is situated approximately 10km north of Port Elizabeth's central business district and consists of seven housing schemes, namely Red Location (1902), White Location (1925), McNamee Village (1938), Kwa Ford (1948), Boastville (1948), Elundini (1951), and Thembaletu (1962) (Baines, 1994: 9).

According to Vuyisile Msila, the forced removal of people from Korsten led to the establishment of Red Location, while fear of plague was one of the reasons that led to the formation of New Brighton (Msila, 2014: 89). In her thesis 'The power of apartheid: territoriality and state power in South African cities: Port Elizabeth 1921-1972', Jennifer Robinson argues that the 'location strategy' was a way of entrenching white colonial hegemony, governing the undisciplined, and ensuring that black people could be contained where they could be monitored and controlled effectively (Robinson, 1990). Described by Msila as corrugated iron houses built in 'barrack type' dwellings left over from the South African War concentration camp in Uitenhage, Red Location's original make up of 8x10m and 8x30m units (Msila, 2014, 67) advances the size and shape the debate of the prevailing housing delivery debacle.

In 1961 Frantz Fanon wrote 'the town belonging to the colonized people ... is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other ... The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light' (Fanon,

1961: 38. Fanon's famous passage evokes common and intrinsic nuances in spatial justice and planning in Red Location. As in many places in South Africa, the experience of infrastructure has long been an affective and embodied distinction between the settlers' town and the town belonging to the colonised people (Mrázek, 2002; Barak, 2013). Fanon's description of 'men living on top of each other' is in many instances a depiction of Red Location and migrant labour.

Since its establishment, Red Location has always been a space of one struggle or another. Baines succinctly explains that, with its deplorable and overcrowded living conditions, Red Location has become a haven for the criminal and delinquent elements among New Brighton's youth (Baines, 1994: 212). In this site of struggle, many acclaimed political and cultural leaders were either born or lived. With an overwhelming impression of Port Elizabeth's townships as places of poverty and squalor, Baines further confirms that the original 90-odd-year-old structures have never been upgraded and remain among the most unsightly places in Port Elizabeth's townships (Baines, 1994: 243). However, this was until the post-1994 promise of 'housing for all' (ANC Election Manifesto, 1994), which in 2013 led to a sweeping cessation of access to a cultural precinct in which outsiders including municipal and state administrative officials were refused entry. Harsch reminds us that when Nelson Mandela became president, he proclaimed 'housing for all' an unbreakable promise (Harsch, 2011). This now broken promise was meant to be delivered through the government's policy of Reconstruction and Development (RDP).

The RDP housing programme refers to the state's provision of low-cost housing to poor South Africans with a combined income of R3500 or less (Greyling, 2009). With all the complexities related to delivery, the involvement of people is a crucial requirement within the model (National Housing Code, 2009), and a 'bottom-up' approach should have been implemented. In most cases, however, beneficiaries are drawn in at the later stages of projects, and their involvement is minimal with limited room to sanction their expectations (Manomano, 2015). As seen in Red Location, the participation of beneficiaries and other stakeholders remains problematic; their continuing exclusion from consideration as projects are rolled out has resulted in endemic violence (Chakuwamba, 2010).

As previously themed in the now-demolished museum display, New Brighton was home to hundreds of single male migrant labourers. It is therefore unsurprising that the national Defiance Campaign started there on 26 June

1952. This is where Raymond Mhlaba² led a group of 30 volunteers through the 'Europeans-Only' entrance of the New Brighton railway station (Baines, 1994: 214). On display inside the museum there were 12 'memory boxes', one dedicated to migrants who were a significant part of Red Location and thus formed part of the public memory of the place.

In contemporary South Africa, there is a persistent narrative of state-built infrastructure being held hostage during community protests. The effects of this kind of 'hostage-taking' are becoming more extreme with time, intensifying the need for serious reflection on the connotation of the term 'public/s', which is clear about which public is being referred to and whose memory is chosen to be documented.

In light of the intense contestations during the conceptualisation of the project, the compromises eventually entered into by the community dictated that fundamental infrastructural housing improvements be delivered. This delivery was the deal maker for the opening or closing of the RLCP. To a certain extent, this presents two scenarios: one, a museum building without artefacts, or two, community houses that are living museums. Could it be that the Red Location community wants direct participation in the imparting of knowledge about their destiny, or put differently, direct ownership of telling their plight?

In a context of urbanisation, do cultural institutions like township museums require a review of the idea itself? When one juxtaposes Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum in Cape Town and Hector Peterson Museum in Johannesburg with Red Location Museum and its surrounding cultural precinct, the dynamism of the precinct in a modern heritages' context supersedes the narrative of poverty in which these sites are located. This has created a safety net and a sense of ownership for some institutions, but not for RLM and its surrounding precinct. An observation of Soweto's Vilakazi Street buzzing with enormous tourism potential continues to set a path for some of the heritage projects established for the same purpose.

While reflecting on RLCP as a 'snubbed' cultural precinct, I recollect that for more than two decades, Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool have investigated sites of historical production in which complex ideas about pasts are invoked, and have suggested how we might navigate a path toward understanding the agencies of image-making and memory

² Raymond Mhlaba was a resident of Red Location, union leader and a Rivonia Trialist sentenced to 25 years in prison with Nelson Mandela

production (Witz, Minkley, Rassool, 2017). Their intensive and collective research outlines many questions we might ask related to the beginning and end of RLCP. These are inclusive of the cultural politics of social history, tourism as an arena of place-making and historical construction of museums as sites of heritage production for a new South Africa.

In conclusion, a politicization of cultural heritage has become widespread in South Africa. The very sites and museums that were built after the end of the apartheid era have made this point distinct and continue to do so in the dominant narrative of the ANC. I have examined how the interchange of heritage and tourism with politics finds expression from project development to implementation and space production. This has led to a phenomenon of lack of 'social maintenance', which refers to the formation of positive relationships mainly by means of promoting self-representation in others (Chevallier, Troiani, Brodtkin, Schultz, 2012: 231). In this context, 'social maintenance' could mean the continued presentation of the precinct development plans to the RLCP community. But this was not the case and as a result, conflict continued from the initial stage right up to the demise of the RLCP.

A politics of correctness and redress in heritage landscape has taken center stage in the RLCP project. To this end, the absence of political stability and unity for redress has given this entity time to speedily mature to its 'end of life' and destruction by the very same politics that were at the forefront of its development. Finally, given the rise and fall of this award-winning public memory entity, what should be of interest is how architects developing these projects might think about the end of life of a building, about ruins, closure, or worse case scenarios. Given the number of closed heritage projects in South Africa, should this not provoke a need to focus on the limitations of architecture in planning for the unknown?

Bibliography

- African National Congress. 1994. *Election Manifesto*.
- Barak, O. 2009. Scraping the surface: The technopolitics of modern streets in turn-of-twentieth century Alexandria. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24: 187-205.
- . 2013. *On time: Technology and temporality in modern Egypt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Chakuwanba, A. 2010. Housing delivery and Empowerment in Post-Apartheid South Africa. The Case of Nkonkobe Municipality. M Soc dissertation.

University of Fort Hare.

Chevallier, C., Kohls, G., Troiani, V., Brodtkin, E. S. and Schultz, R. T. 2012. *The social motivation theory of autism. Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 16(4), 231-239.

Coombes, A. E. (2003). *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham and London: Duke University Press

Greyling, C. 2009. The RDP Housing System in South Africa. BSc (Hons) dissertation. University of Pretoria.

Fanon, F. 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove.

Judin, H., & Vladislavic, I. (eds.). (1998). *Blank__ : Architecture, Apartheid and after*. Cape Town and Rotterdam: David Philip and NAI

Judin, H., Roux, N. & Zack, T. (2015). Kliptown: Resilience and despair in the face of 100 years of planning. In Harrison, P., Todes, A., Gotz, G., & Wray, C. (eds.), *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. (pp319–342)

Kuljian, C. (2009). The Congress of the People and the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication: from public deliberation to bureaucratic imposition in Kliptown. *Social Dynamics* 35(2). 450- 464

Manomano, T. 2015. *The Implementation of Housing Programmes in the Amathole District, Eastern Cape Province of South Africa*. PhD thesis. University of Fort Hare.

Mrázek, Rudolf. 2002. *Engineers of happy land: Technology and nationalism in a colony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Msila, V. 2014. *A Place to Live: Red Location and its History 1903–2013*. Johannesburg: Sun Media Metro.

Murray, N. & Kadi, P. (forthcoming 2022). 'No Housing No Museum'; From Port Elizabeth to Gqeberha's Red Location Museum.'. In *Creative Cities in Africa: Critical Architecture and Urbanism*, edited by N. Murray and J. Cane. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Murray, N. 2013. 'Architecture Dreaming: Forms of practice in the architectures of new museums post 1994'. Conference Proceedings *Healing through Heritage and Memorialisation*. Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Nieftagodien, N. (2015). Public history in Alexandra: facing the challenges of tourism and struggle heroization. In Silverman, R. (ed.) *Museum as Process: translating local and global knowledges*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nuttall, S., & Coetzee, C. (Eds.). (1998). *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Cape Town and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Department of Human Settlements, South Africa. 2009. *National Housing Code*. Simplified and Policy

Context.

Rassool, C. (2000). The Rise of Heritage and Reconstitution of History in South Africa. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 26. 1–21

Riordan, R. (2007). *Red Location Phase 2: Business Plan*. (Unpublished document). Nelson Mandela Bay: Dojon Financial Services

Robinson, J. 1990. The power of apartheid: territoriality and state power in South African cities: Port Elizabeth 1923-1972. PhD thesis. University of Cambridge.

Sihlongonyane, M. (2009). *Invisible Urbanism in Johannesburg: A scourge for urban planning?* (unpublished D.Phil dissertation). University of Oxford, Oxford.

Witz, L., Minkley, G. & Rassool, C. 2017. *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

The Cape Town Document On Modern Heritage (2021)

Preamble

1. We, the participants from MoHoA at the Conference assembled in Cape Town (South Africa), wish to acknowledge the initiative of the University of Cape Town (UCT), the support of The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment (University College London, UCL), in providing a timely forum in which to address the challenges in defining the heritage of our time, and the knowledge that recognises the vital role of Africa in contributing ways and means of broadening our horizons to bring greater respect for and understanding of contemporary heritage.

2. We also wish to acknowledge the value of the framework for discussion provided by the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Heritage Centre (WHC), and the Africa World Heritage Fund (AWHF), and the professional contributions of the Advisory Bodies, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings (DOCOMOMO) and their commitment to contemplate the broadening of understandings of modern heritage so that it equitably reflects the experiences of all societies and their encounters as exhibited by social and traditional practices, the creation of heritage through the interconnections between culture and nature, historic urban landscapes, and tangible and intangible cultural values.

3. In developing this document we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the UNESCO *Modern Heritage Programme* and build upon debates and definitions of Modern Heritage related to the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, including, inter alia, the 2004 Regional Meeting on Modern Heritage for Sub-Saharan Africa¹, World Heritage Centre (2015),

1 3rd Regional Meeting on Modern Heritage, for Sub-Saharan Africa 4-7 March 2004. Organised by the World Heritage Centre, in collaboration with the Government of Eritrea and Africa 2009 (ICCROM, UNESCO-WHC, CraTerre-EAG, African cultural heritage institutions) as counterparts. It brought together 20 experts from various African countries, who presented Asmara (Eritrea), the Kenya Cultural Centre and National Theatre (Kenya), Mzizima Historic Garden Quarter in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Inhambane (Mozambique), a South African Township Serial Site (South Africa), Modern Heritage in Guinea (Guinea) and the Confluence Town of Lokoja (Nigeria) as case studies in modern heritage from their countries

African Modern Heritage, DOCOMOMO (2016), ICOMOS 20th Century Architecture (2017), Twentieth Century Thematic Framework, Getty (2021).

4. Achieving aspiration 5 of Agenda 2063 of the *Africa We Want*, which emphasises strong cultural identity and common heritage values and ethics, will only be possible if communities, in particular youth, women and other marginalised voices, are included in the conservation and promotion of their heritage.

5. *The Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage* is presented to align with and supplement existing conventions and recommendations, including the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*², ICOMOS Culture in the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda,

2 I. Definition

8. The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.

9. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.

10. This definition provides the basis for a comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework.

11. The historic urban landscape approach is aimed at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces, while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. It integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development. It is rooted in a balanced and sustainable relationship between the urban and natural environment, between the needs of present and future generations and the legacy from the past.

12. The historic urban landscape approach considers cultural diversity and creativity as key assets for human, social and economic development, and provides tools to manage physical and social transformations and to ensure that contemporary interventions are harmoniously integrated with heritage in a historic setting and take into account regional contexts.

13. The historic urban landscape approach learns from the traditions and perceptions of local communities, while respecting the values of the national and international communities.

the UN Sustainable Development Goals, The Ngorongoro Declaration on sustainable development, the Culture Urban Future and the New Urban Agenda, and elaborate on how they may contribute to safeguarding heritage to make our environments and resources safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable.

6. *The Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage* is conceived in the spirit of the Nara Document on Authenticity and the subsequent NARA + 20 text and expands the understanding of what constitutes 'the modern' in response to the diverse nature of geo-cultural groupings and their regional cultural perceptions and practices within bio-geographic provinces.

7. It also acknowledges that climate change and biodiversity loss caused by anthropogenic activities that characterise *the modern* need to be urgently addressed to achieve sustainable planetary futures. In confronting these challenges, *The Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage* builds on existing interdisciplinary knowledge and advocates new creative approaches.

SECTION 2: COMPONENTS

1. Identity and Meaning

- The terms modern, modernity and modernism are complex and interrelated. They represent no single history and derive from no single origin, culturally, geographically, or conceptually, but are part of a constellation of multiple historical experiences born out of local, regional, and global networks that have grown to have a planetary impact.
- Modern heritage embodies the disruption and reconstitution of identity and sense of belonging as part of an open-ended, perpetually self-refashioning experience that has generated new identities born out of hybridity, globality, and transculturality.
- Modern heritage derives value not from the mutual exclusivity of dichotomies, oppositions and contradictions, as in tradition and modernity, urban and rural, and old and new, but from their mutual dependence.
- Modern heritage bears testimony to the historicity of its place, as well as to transformations that embody the connection between the local and the global providing for pride of place.

2. Ruptures and Continuities

- Ruptures and continuities are complementary attributes of modernity whose cultural expressions are embodied in modern heritage.

- Modern heritage embodies a disruption of temporal constructs and narratives, especially, but not exclusively, towards linear conceptualisations and chronologies.

- Modern heritage embodies the interaction of different linguistic systems, often bearing testimony to their ruptures caused by external factors and political forces. These ruptures have subsequently informed the definition and valorisation of this heritage.

- Modern heritage acknowledges its debt to regional Industrial Revolutions and the ruptures it brought, especially to cities, frequently possessing continuities that exist because of industrial absence.

3. Expanding Definitions

- There is need for a transcultural understanding of modern heritage that goes beyond existing universal definitions and taxonomies to acknowledge the local traditions, practices, materials, and methodologies used to create modern heritage.

- The definition of modern heritage needs to expand beyond *modernism* by acknowledging and including geo-cultural practices that are ephemeral and intangible, including but not limited to oral testimonies, spoken word, texts, artworks, performative practices, and non-material or digital media.

- Modern heritage recognises the interactions and interconnections between nature and culture and between tangible and intangible values in both contemporary built forms and landscapes, both urban and rural.

- Modern heritage embodies and promotes the intangible lived experiences of all those connected with this heritage, especially voices, stories and experiences of the marginalised that by definition have not been considered components of the modern narrative.

4. Diversity and Complexity

- Modern heritage is layered and is part of the cumulative and accelerated stratification of multiple memories and narratives, from the individual to the collective, and from the local to the global.

- Modern heritage recognises the diversity of local and traditional knowledges and continuing practices that have engaged with modernity and contributed to the development of modern built forms, landscapes, and cultural practices.

- As a cultural manifestation of a planetary condition, modern heritage embodies and

embraces complexity which should be reflected in its interpretations.

5. Sustainability and Equity

- Some components of modern heritage have origins in exploitative and inequitable practices, and there is a need for these to be recognised and redressed in the protection, restitution and valorisation of modern heritage assets.
- The application of innovation and equitable access to resources are a prerequisite for modern heritage practices globally ensuring its durability, resilience, and sustainability.
- Modern heritage practices recognise the intrinsic connection between environmental and cultural sustainability and human rights, and therefore align with the UN Sustainable Development Goals, *The Ngorongoro Declaration* and UNESCO's *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*.
- There is a need to respond to the priorities and processes of the World Heritage Convention including the Global Strategy, and the increasing pressures of urbanization and threats to rural landscapes to recognise the subsequent potential threats to modern heritage. These impacts may include limited capacity to react to disasters, both natural and man-made, socio-economic disparities, inequitable landownership and use, and ecological and environmental crises.

6. Cooperation, dissemination, and capacity building

- The recognition and protection of modern heritage depends on an inclusive and trans-disciplinary approach to develop academic, professional and managerial frameworks that can effectively define geo-cultural heritage typologies.
- Modern Heritage addresses communities including women and youth and its relevance should be part of local comprehensive awareness, education and interpretative activities especially in connecting the younger generations with initiatives that will make heritage a source of economic and social opportunity for their benefit.
- A full thematic study and gap analysis of modern heritage is necessary to harmonise and facilitate the process of identifying modern heritage and to revise the Tentative Lists of States Parties, especially those currently under-represented on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage was drafted by the Modern Heritage of Africa

initiative and approved at the Cape Town Conference on Heritage Day, 24 September 2021.

APPENDIX 1: Definitions

Modern Heritage: Inherited cultural and natural attributes of the modern era, the temporal extent of which is disciplinarily varied and ranges from the past two centuries to the past two millennia. (*Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention defines cultural heritage as monuments, groups of buildings and sites of cultural value*).

Bio-geographic provinces: Biotic subdivisions of biogeographic realms subdivided into ecoregions, which are classified based on their biomes or habitat types and correspond to the floristic kingdoms of botany developed by Udvardy (1975) as in paragraph 71 of the Operational Guidelines.

Geo-cultural groupings: Groups of geographical locations each possessing their own distinct cultural characteristics as in paragraph 71 of the Operational Guidelines.

Temporalities: Subjective states existing within or having some relationship with time.

Sustainability: "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (UN Brundtland Commission, 1987)

Equity: The state, quality or ideal of being just, impartial, and fair.

Conservation: All efforts designed to understand cultural heritage, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard and, as required, its presentation, restoration and enhancement.

APPENDIX 2: Texts and Bibliography

Afef Benessaïeh, 'Multiculturalism, Interculturality, Transculturality' in *Amériques transculturelles Transcultural Americas*, ed. by Afef Benessaïeh (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2010).

Adamson, Peter. 2014. *Classical Philosophy: A History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps*, Volume 1. Oxford University Press

Araoz, G.F., 2008. World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscapes: Defining and Protecting Authenticity. *APT Bulletin: Journal of Preservation Technology*, 39 (2), 33–37.

Bandarin, Francesco, and Ron van Oers, eds. 2014. *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell

Boas, Franz, *The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology: Science*, Dec. 18, 1896, *New Series*, Vol. 4, No. 103 (Dec. 18, 1896), pp. 901-

- 908, American Association for the Advancement of Science;
URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1623004>
- Cameron, Christina, ed. 2006. *Heritage and the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes*. Montreal: University of Montreal. <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-47-4.pdf>
- Edward Denison, 'Modern Heritage, the Other, and the Anthropocene', *Built Heritage*, Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2019, p.31-41.
- Edward Denison, Medhanie Teklemariam, Dawit Abraha, 'Asmara: Africa's Modernist City (UNESCO World Heritage Nomination)', *Journal of Architecture*, Volume 22, Number 1, 2016, pp.11-53.
- Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017) (or for a shorter version: Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, (2018) 'Ultra-Modernism in Manchuria,' *The Journal of Architecture*.)
- Edward Denison, *Architecture and the Landscape of Modernity in China before 1949*, (London: Routledge, 2017).
- 'Early Modernities', *Dædalus*, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Volume 127, Number 3, Summer 1998.
- Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2011).
- Folki, A. and van Buiten, B.A.C. 2019 *Modern Architecture in Africa: Practical Encounters with Intricate African Modernity*. Springer, Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-01075-1>
- Great Zimbabwe Expects Document on Authenticity: JAPHA, D. The social program of the South African Modern Movement. In: H. Judin and I. Vladislavic, (eds) *Blank Architecture, Apartheid and After*. Cape Town/Rotterdam, 1998
- Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice and the Question of Everyday Life*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- Hosagrahar, Jyoti. *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*, New York, London, New Delhi: Routledge, 2005.
- ICOMOS; IUCN. (2015). *Connecting Practice Project: Final Report*. IUCN. Retrieved from <http://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/1561>
- International Congress for Modern Architecture - CIAM. (1973). *Le Corbusier - The Athens Charter*. (J. Giraudoux, J. L. Sert, Eds., & A. Eardley, Trans.) New York: Grossman Publishers.
- LeCorbusier. (1931). *Towards a New Architecture* (1st ed.). (J. Goodman, Trans.) London: J. Rodker.
- Marsden, Susan & Peter Spearritt. 2021. *The Twentieth-Century Heritage Thematic Framework: A Tool for Assessing Heritage Places*. Getty Conservation Institute
- Manuel Herz, Ingrid Schröder, Hans Focketyn, and Julia Jamrozik. (Eds) 2015. *African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Zambia*. Zurich: Park Books AG. ISBN 978-3-906027-74-6.
- Morens, D., M. and Fauci, A., S, 2020. *Emerging Pandemic Diseases: How We Got to COVID- 19*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cell.2020.08.021>
- 'Multiple Modernities', *Dædalus* (Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences), Volume 129, Number 1, Winter 2000.
- Nara Document on Authenticity 1994. <http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/nara- e.pdf>
- Nathalie Karagiannis and Peter Wagner, *Varieties of World Making: Beyond Globalization*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007).
- Ndoro W. 2001. *Great Zimbabwe Your Monument Our Shrine: The Preservation of Great Zimbabwe*. *Studies in African Archaeology* 19. Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University,
- Nelson, R.H. 2003. *Environmental Colonialism: "Saving" Africa from Africans*. *Independent Review*, 10861653., Vol. 8, Issue 1, 65-86.
- Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*, (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
- Partha Mitter, *Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery*, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Dec 2008), pp.531-548.
- Dominic Sachsenmaier and Jens Riedel (eds) with Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Reflections on Multiple Modernities: European, Chinese and Other Interpretations*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007).
- UNESCO Culture Sector. 2018. *Culture for the 2030 Agenda*. Paris: UNESCO
- UNESCO 2016. *The Ngorongoro Declaration on Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development*. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1506>
- Ron van Oers and S. Haraguchi (editors). *Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage*, *World heritage Papers*. 2003
- Rausch, C. 2013, *Rescuing Modernity: Global Heritage Assemblages and Modern Architecture in Africa*. *Universitaire Pers Maastricht*
- Steffen, W., Wendy Broadgate, W., Deutsch, L., Gaffney, O and Ludwig, C., 2015. *The trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration*. *The Anthropocene Review*, Vol. 2(1) 81–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053019614564785>
- Sharon Rotbard, *White City Black City*, (London:

Pluto Press, 2015)

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Turner, M. 2018. *Repositioning Urban Heritage—Setting the Scene*. *Built Heritage* 2, 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/BF03545679>

Tanaka, Stefan 2019, *History without Chronology*, Lever Press

Tutuola, A. 1952. *Palm Wine Drinkard and His Dead Palm-wine Tapster in the Dead's Town*. London (UK) Faber and Faber Inc.

Jord den Hollander (director) 2007 'Many words for modern'. A survey for Tanzania architecture.

UNESCO. (2016). *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. World Heritage Centre. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2011). *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO Culture Sector. (2018). *Culture for the 2030 Agenda*. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved December 20, 2018, from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/flipbook/culture-2030/en/mobile/index.html#p=47>

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (2013). *Swahili Historic Urban Landscapes - Report on the HUL Workshops and Field Activities on the Swahili Coast in East Africa 2011-2012*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM. (1994). *Nara Document*. Nara: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Valerie Fraser, *Building the New World: Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America 1930-1960*, (London: Verso, 2000).

Peter Wagner, *African, American and European Trajectories of Modernity: Past Oppression, Future Justice?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

William Lim and Jiat-Hwee Chang, *Non-West Modernist Past: On Architecture and Modernities*, (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2012).

Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality - the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage Publications, 1999).

World Heritage Centre. (2003). *World Heritage Papers 5 - Identification and Documentation of Modern Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

World Heritage Centre. (2005). *World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape*. Vienna: World Heritage Centre.

Epilogue to Modern Heritage of Africa MoHoA Conference

Christoph Lindner

Dean, The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment,
University College London

It is a great honour to be invited to address you all at the end of this outstanding conference on the Modern Heritage of Africa. I am very aware of the wider aims and objectives of this timely and urgent initiative, and I applaud the contributions you have all made in achieving these through your participation in this conference.

Today marks the conclusion of a very significant stage in a long process that, at its heart, sets out to learn from the experiences of Africa in seeking to revisit, reframe, and rethink, our relatively recent past to build a better future.

It is my profound privilege as the Dean of The Bartlett, University College London's Faculty of the Built Environment, to be able to invite you all to the next stage in this process a year from now in a follow-up conference hosted by The Bartlett, in collaboration with the University of Cape Town (UCT), the Africa World Heritage Fund (AWHF), UNESCO through the outstanding commitment of the World Heritage Centre, and many other global partners.

I am especially pleased that The Bartlett has been able to support MoHoA over the last year through various workshops and other initiatives leading up to this Cape Town conference. I have been particularly inspired and uplifted by the energy and enthusiasm demonstrated by the artists involved in the Swahilipot in Mombasa, whose outstanding performative work has brought a sense of joy to the critical reflections in this conference.

MoHoA has cast an important light on the inequalities, contradictions, and discriminatory practices that were not only inherent in our varied and collective experiences of 'the modern', but also continue through all kinds of legacies of the modern era, from institutional racism to historiographic and disciplinary biases that impact what we learn and how we learn. I welcome and applaud the critical self-reflection of partners like UNESCO and The Getty that necessarily precedes and accompanies their support of and solidarity with MoHoA, and I want to take this opportunity to affirm the same commitment from The Bartlett.

As a Faculty with a long and proud history of radical thinking, we too find ourselves facing a moment of reflexivity as we grapple with the confluence of existential issues that have forced us to look critically at ourselves and our practices, and to recognise the need to change. Many of these issues are already the hallmarks of the twenty-first century but their roots were formed and nourished in the modern era that MoHoA is concerned with: the climate crisis, sustainability, racism, identity, and social, spatial, and environmental justice.

As part of our commitment to change and to encourage our students to build a better future, we are really excited and honoured to be able to welcome MoHoA to UCL next year. Building on the commitment to learn from Africa and your extraordinary efforts and collective contributions, next year's conference will seek to recast modern heritage in a global frame and in light of the planetary crises we now face. This will be encapsulated in the presentation of the Cape Town Document on Modern Heritage to UNESCO, which seeks to decentre and reframe the conceptualisation of modern heritage and the way we ascribe value to 'the modern'. We thoroughly endorse this effort to modify international policy and guidance on modern heritage in line with present and future planetary challenges of ecological, social and economic equity.

It's a privilege for The Bartlett to be part of this initiative and I once again extend my gratitude to you all for your outstanding contributions this week and for inviting me to welcome you all to The Bartlett next year.