

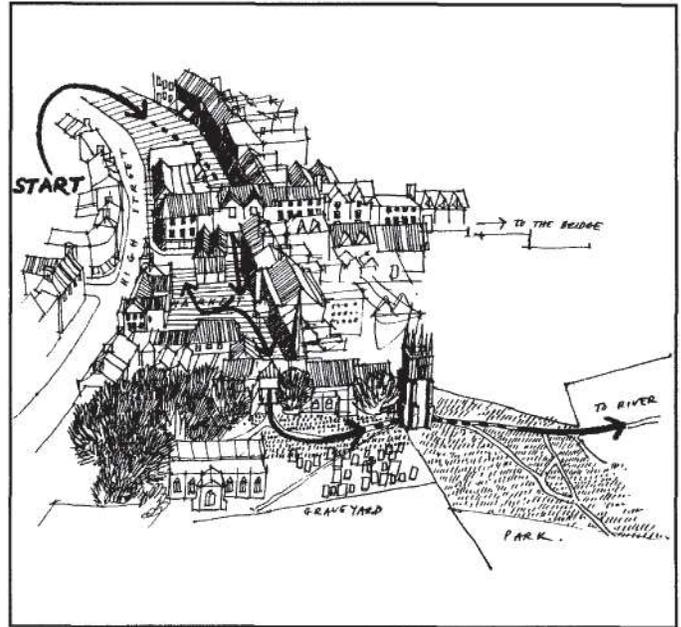
## Gordon Cullen

### Summary

Articles that formed the basis for *Townscape* (1961) first appeared in *The Architectural Review*. Like Jane Jacobs, William Whyte, Kevin Lynch, Robert Venturi and others in 1960s–70s, Gordon Cullen (1914–1994) approached urban design based upon ‘the experience, perception, and particulars of specific places, as opposed to the rationalism of modernist urban theory, which was seen as abstract, formalist and disengaged. While there may be a tendency to see his position as picturesque and as the superficial use of “heritage” and cosmetic streetscapes, Cullen’s seemingly lighthearted sketches were meant to illustrate a more rigorous theory based not on Images but on underlying visual relationships that evoke a broad range of human response.

### Key words

city, optics, place making, sketches, town square, viewscape, visual survey



# Introduction to townscape

## I INTRODUCTION

There are advantages to be gained from the gathering together of people to form a town. A single family living in the country can scarcely hope to drop into a theater, have a meal out or browse in a library, whereas the same family living in a town can enjoy these amenities. The little money that one family can afford is multiplied by thousands and so a collective amenity is made possible. A city is more than the sum of its inhabitants. It has the power to generate a surplus of amenity, which is one reason why people like to live in communities rather than in isolation.

Now turn to the visual impact, which a city has on those who live in it or visit it. I wish to show that an argument parallel to the one put forward above holds good for buildings: bring people together and they create a collective surplus of enjoyment; brings building together and collectively they can give visual pleasure which none can give separately.

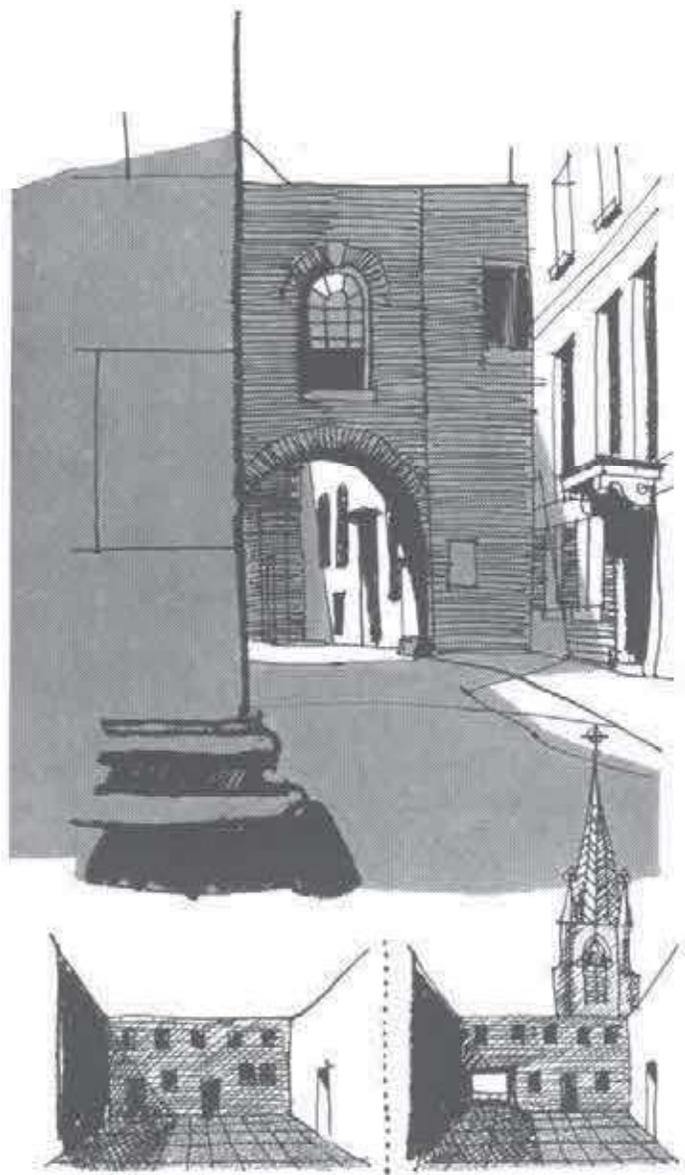
One building standing alone in the countryside is experienced as a work of architecture, but bring a half dozen buildings together and an art other than architecture is made possible. Several things begin to happen in the group, which would be impossible for the isolated building. We may walk through and past the buildings, and as a corner is turned an unsuspected building is suddenly revealed. We may be surprised, even astonished (a reaction generated by the composition of the group and not by the individual building). Again, suppose that the buildings have been put together in a group so that one can get inside

the group, then the space created between the buildings is seen to have a life of its own over and above the buildings which create it and one’s reaction is to say “I am inside IT” or “I am entering IT.” Note also that in this group of half a dozen buildings there maybe one which through reason of function does not conform. It may be a bank, a temple or a church amongst houses. Suppose that we are just looking at the temple by itself, it would stand in front of us and all its qualities, size, color and intricacy would be evident. But put the temple back amongst the small houses and immediately its size is made more real and more obvious by the comparison between the two scales. Instead of being a big temple it towers. The difference in meaning between bigness and towering is the measure of the relationship.

In fact there is an *art of relationship* just as there is an art of architecture. Its purpose is to take all the elements that go to create the environment: buildings, trees, nature, water, traffic, advertisements and so on, and to weave them together in such a way that drama is released. For a city is a dramatic event in the environment. Look at the research that is put into making a city work: demographers, sociologists, engineers, traffic experts; all cooperating to form the myriad factors into a workable, viable and healthy organization. It is a tremendous human undertaking.

And yet...if at the end of it all the city appears dull, uninteresting and soulless, then it is not fulfilling itself. It has failed. The fire has been laid but nobody has put a match to it.

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**Fig. 1. Here and There.** Man-made enclosure, if only of the simplest kind, divides the environment into Here and There. On this side of the arch, in Ludlow, we are in the present, uncomplicated and direct world, our world. The other side is different, having in some small way a life of its own (a withholding). And just as the prow of a boat visible over a wall tells you of the proximity of the sea (vast, everlasting) so the church spire turns simple enclosure (left), into the drama of Here and There (right).

Firstly we have to rid ourselves of the thought that the excitement and drama that we seek can be born automatically out of the scientific research and solutions arrived at by the technical man (or the technical half of the brain). We naturally accept these solutions, but are not entirely bound by them. In fact we cannot be entirely bound by them because the scientific solution is based on the best that can be made of the average: of averages of human behavior, averages of weather, factors of safety and so on. And these averages do not give an inevitable result for any particular problem. They are, so to speak, wandering facts, which may synchronize or, just as likely, may conflict with each other. The upshot is that a town could take one of several patterns and still operate with success, equal success. Here then we discover a pliability in the scientific solution and it is precisely in the *manipulation of this pliability* that the art of relationship is made possible. As will be seen, the aim is not to dictate the shape of the town or environment, but is a modest one: simply to *manipulate within the tolerances*.

This means that we can get no further help from the scientific attitude and that we must therefore turn to other values and other standards.

We turn to the *faculty of sight*, for it is almost entirely through vision that the environment is apprehended. If someone knocks at your door and you open it to let him in, it sometimes happens that a gust of wind comes in too, sweeping round the room, blowing the curtains and making a great fuss. Vision is somewhat the same; we often get more than we bargained for. Glance at the clock to see the time and you see the wallpaper, the clock's carved brown mahogany frame, the fly crawling over the glass and the delicate rapierlike pointers. Cézanne might have made a painting of it. In fact, of course, vision is not only useful but it evokes our memories and experiences, those responsive emotions inside us which have the power to disturb the mind when aroused. It is this unlooked-for surplus that we are dealing with, for clearly if the environment is going to produce an emotional reaction, with or without our volition, it is up to us to try to understand the three ways in which this happens.

### Concerning Optics

Let us suppose that we are walking through a town: here is a straight road off which is a courtyard, at the far side of which another street leads out and bends slightly before reaching a monument. Not very unusual. We take this path and our first view is that of the street. Upon turning into the courtyard the new view is revealed instantaneously at the point of turning, and this view remains with us whilst we walk across the courtyard. Leaving the courtyard we enter the further street. Again a new view is suddenly revealed although we are traveling at a uniform speed. Finally as the road bends the monument swings into view. The significance of all this is that although the pedestrian walks through the town at a uniform speed, the scenery of towns is often revealed in a series of jerks or revelations. This we call *Serial Vision*.

Examine what this means. Our original aim is to manipulate the elements of the town so that an impact on the emotions is achieved. A long straight road has little impact because the initial view is soon digested and becomes monotonous. The human mind reacts to a contrast, to the difference between things, and when two pictures (the street and the courtyard) are in mind at the same time, a vivid contrast is felt and the town becomes visible in a deeper sense. It comes alive through the drama of juxtaposition. Unless this happens the town will slip past us featureless and inert.

There is a further observation to be made concerning serial vision. Although from a scientific or commercial point of view the town may be a unity, from our optical viewpoint we have split it into two elements: the *existing view* and the *emerging view*. In the normal way this is an accidental chain of events and whatever significance may arise out of the linking of views will be fortuitous. Suppose, however, that we take over this linking as a branch of the art of relationship; then we are finding a tool with which human imagination can begin to mold the city into a coherent drama. The process of manipulation has begun to turn the blind facts into a taut emotional situation.

### Concerning Place

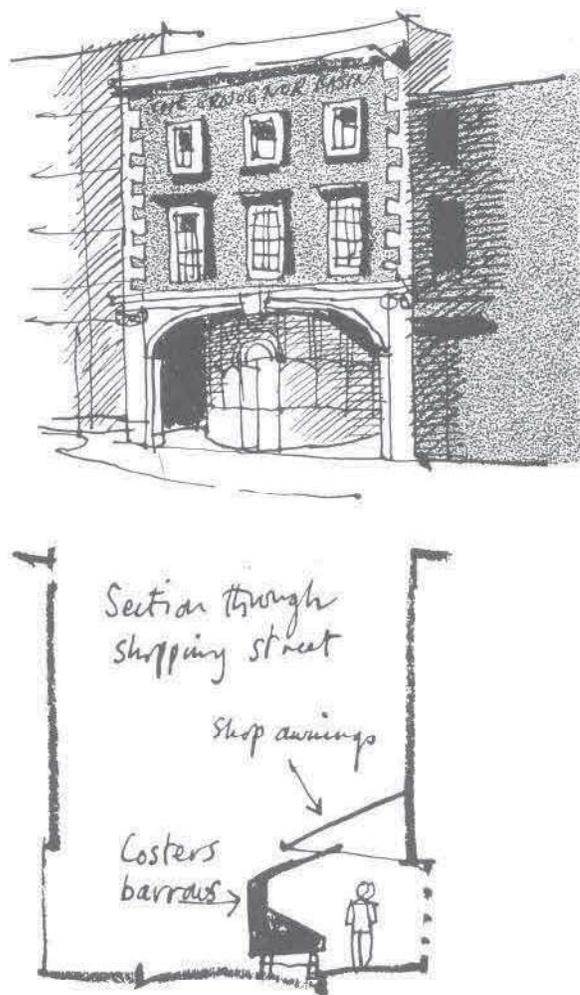
This second point is concerned with our reactions to the position of our body in its environment. This is as simple as it appears to be. It means, for instance, that when you go into a room you utter to yourself the unspoken words, "I am outside IT, I am entering IT, I am in the middle of IT." At this level of consciousness we are dealing with a range of experience stemming from the major impacts of exposure and enclosure (which if taken to their morbid extremes result in the symptoms of agoraphobia and claustrophobia). Place a man on the edge of a 500-ft. (152-m) cliff and he will have a very lively sense of position, put him at the end of a deep cave and he will react to the fact of enclosure.

Since it is an instinctive and continuous habit of the body to relate itself to the environment, this sense of position cannot be ignored; it becomes a factor in the design of the environment (just as an additional source of light must be reckoned with by a photographer, however annoying it may be). I would go further and say that it should be exploited.

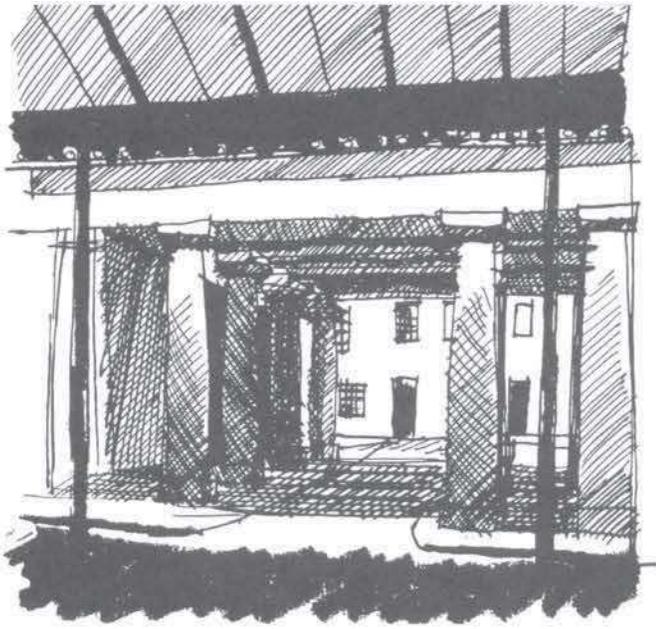
Here is an example. Suppose you are visiting one of the hill towns in the south of France. You climb laboriously up the winding road and eventually find yourself in a tiny village street at the summit. You feel thirsty and go to a nearby restaurant, your drink is served to you on a veranda and as you go out to it you find to your exhilaration or horror that the veranda is cantilevered out over a thousand-foot drop. By this device of the containment (street) and the revelation (cantilever) the fact of height is dramatized and made real.

In a town we do not normally have such a dramatic situation to manipulate but the principle still holds good. There is, for instance, a typical emotional reaction to being below the general ground level and there is another resulting from being above it. There is a reaction to being hemmed in as in a tunnel and another to the wideness of the square. If, therefore, we design our towns from the point of view of the moving person (pedestrian or car-borne) it is easy to see how the whole city becomes a plastic experience, a journey through pressures and vacuums, a sequence of exposures and enclosures, of constraint and relief.

Arising out of this sense of identify or sympathy with the environment, this feeling of a person in street or square that he is in IT or entering IT or leaving IT, we discover that no sooner do we postulate a HERE than automatically we must create a THERE, for you cannot have one without the other. Some of the greatest townscape effects are created by a skillful relationship between the two, and I will name an example in India, where this introduction is being written: the approach from the Central Vista to the Rashtrapathi Bhawan in New Delhi. There is an open-ended courtyard composed of the two Secretariat buildings and, at the end, the Rashtrapathi Bhawan.



**Fig. 2. Inside Extends Out.** The corollary of this is the expression of inside volumes externally. In the case of the public house, the normal street façade is the shopping street shows how on one side, the left, we simply have shop windows interrupted by the bulge which expresses the function. Again, the section through whilst on the right the awnings and costers' barrows form an enclosure which transforms the whole street from an arid inside/outside statement to a comprehensive and dramatic linear market.



**Fig. 3. Space Continuity.** Similarly but on a larger scale, this view of Greenwich market, produces the effect of spatial continuity, a complex interlocking of volumes in which the quality of light and materials denies the concept of outside and inside.

All this is raised above normal ground level and the approach is by a ramp. At the top of the ramp and in front of the axis building is a tall screen of railings. This is the setting. Traveling through it from the Central Vista we see the two Secretariats in full, but the Rashtrapathi Bhawan is partially hidden by the ramp; only its upper part is visible. This effect of truncation serves to isolate and make remote. The building is withheld. We are Here and it is There. As we climb the ramp the Rashtrapathi Bhawan is gradually revealed, the mystery culminates in fulfillment as it becomes immediate to us, standing on the same floor. But at this point the railing, the wrought iron screen, is inserted; which again creates a form of Here and There by means of the screen vista. A brilliant, if painfully conceived sequence.

### Concerning Content

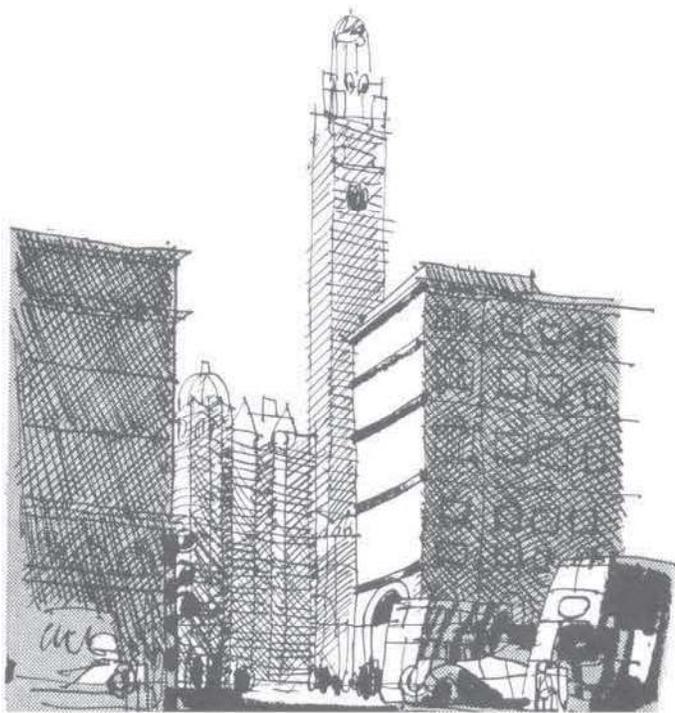
In this last category we turn to an examination of the fabric of towns: color, texture, scale, style, character, personality and uniqueness. Accepting the fact that most towns are of old foundation, their fabric will show evidence of differing periods in its architectural styles and also in the various accidents of layout. Many towns display this mixture of styles, materials and scales.

Yet there exists at the back of our minds a feeling that could we only start again we would get rid of this hotchpotch and make all new and fine and perfect. We would create an orderly scene with straight roads and with buildings that conformed in height and style. Given a free hand that is what we might do...create symmetry, balance, perfection and conformity. After all, that is the popular conception of the purpose of town planning.

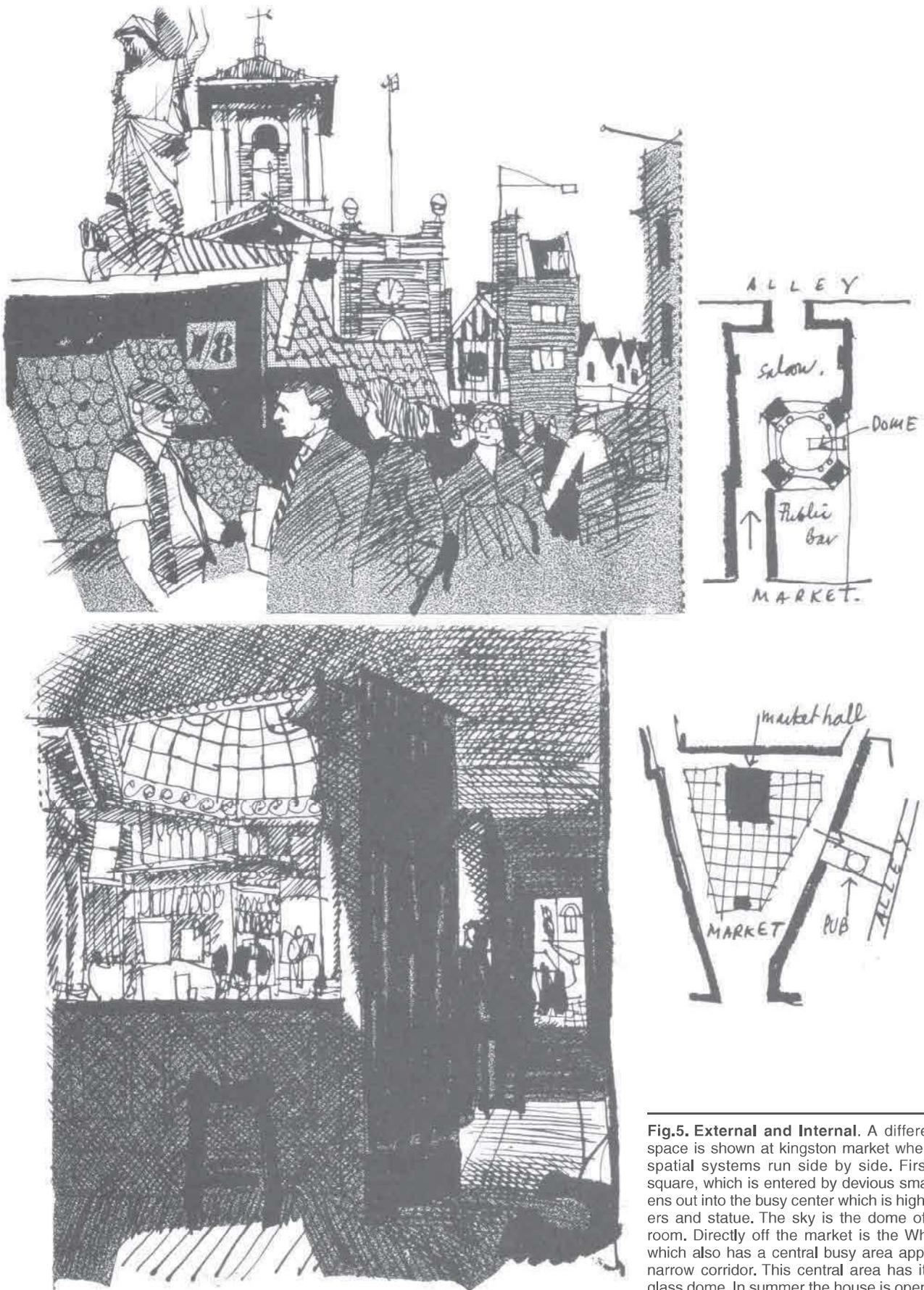
But what is this conformity? Let us approach it by a simile. Let us suppose a party in a private house, where are gathered together half a dozen people who are strangers to each other. The early part of the evening is passed in polite conversation on general subjects such as the weather and the current news. Cigarettes are passed and lights offered punctiliously. In fact it is all an exhibition of manners, of how one ought to behave. It is also very boring. This is conformity. However, later on the ice begins to break out of the straightjacket of orthodox manners and conformity and real human beings begin to emerge. It is found that Miss X's sharp but good-natured wit is just the right foil to Major Y's somewhat simple exuberance. And so on. It begins to be fun. Conformity gives way to the agreement to differ within a recognized tolerance of behavior.

Conformity, from the point of view of the planner, is difficult to avoid but to avoid it deliberately, by creating artificial diversions, is surely worse than the original boredom. Here, for instance, is a programme to rehouse 5,000 people. They are all treated the same, they get the same kind of house. How can one differentiate? Yet if we start from a much wider point of view we will see that tropical housing differs from temperate zone housing, that buildings in a brick country differ from buildings in a stone country, that religion and social manners vary the buildings. And as the field of observation narrows, so our sensitivity to the local gods must grow sharper. There is too much insensitivity in the building of towns, too much reliance on the tank and the armored car where the telescopic rifle is wanted.

Within a commonly accepted framework—one that produces lucidity and not anarchy—we can manipulate the nuances of scale and style, of texture and color and of character and individuality, juxtaposing them



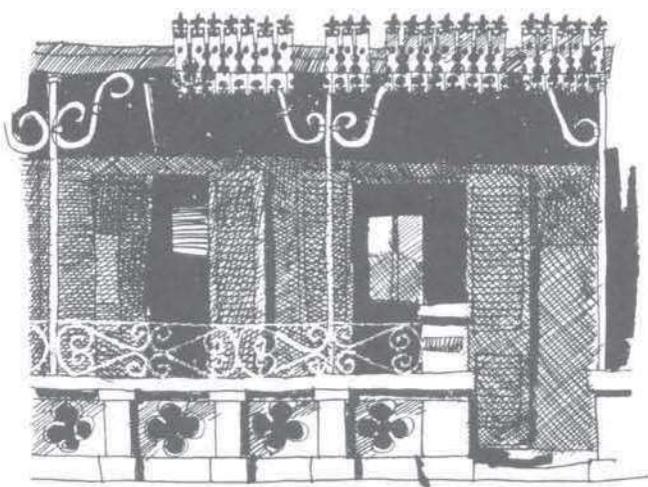
**Fig. 4. Public and Private.** Emphasizing this difference are the various qualities attached to parts of the environment, qualities of character, scale, color, etc. In this case the change is from a public Here (Victoria Street) to a private or precinctual There (Westminster Cathedral).



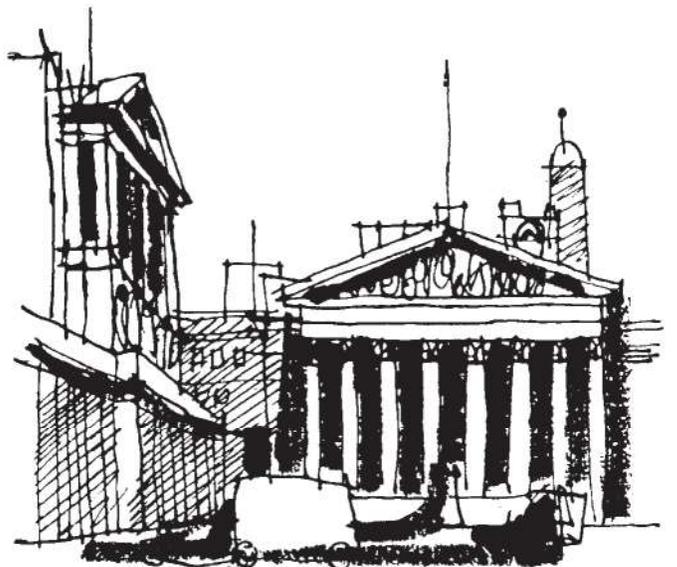
**Fig.5. External and Internal.** A different aspect of space is shown at Kingston Market where two similar spatial systems run side by side. First the market square, which is entered by devious small roads, widens out into the busy center which is heightened by towers and statue. The sky is the dome of this outdoor room. Directly off the market is the Wheatsheaf Inn which also has a central busy area approached by a narrow corridor. This central area has its own sky, a glass dome. In summer the house is open from back to front and in walking through one is struck by this unity of space sequence.



**Fig. 6. Space and Infinity.** The effect of infinity is not normally apparent in sky seen over rooftops. But if sky is suddenly seen where one might reasonably expect to walk, i.e., at ground level, then there is an effect of infinity or shock.



**Fig. 7. Captured Space.** The carved frets reach out and grip space, the slender rail and posts enclose it, the pierced wall reveals it. Behind, the louvered openings reveal the next dim layer of internal space and the windows complete it.



**Fig. 8. Projection.** Space, being occupiable, provokes colonization. This reaction may be exploited by placing space to achieve the desired results. In this view of the Bank of England the lofty portico, left, elevates the spirit more than a lofty solid building might.

in order to create collective benefits. In fact the environment thus resolves itself into not conformity but the interplay of This and That.

It is a matter of observation that in a successful contrast of colors not only do we experience the harmony released but, equally, the colors become more truly themselves. In a large landscape by Corot, I forget its name, a landscape of somber greens, almost a monochrome, there is a small figure in red. It is probably the reddest thing I have ever seen.

**Statistics are abstracts:** when they are plucked out of the completeness of life and converted into plans and the plans into buildings they will be lifeless. The result will be a three-dimensional diagram in which people are asked to live. In trying to colonize such a wasteland, to translate it from an environment for walking stomachs into a home for human beings, the difficulty lay in finding the point of application, in finding the gateway into the castle. We discovered three gateways, that of motion, that of position and that of content. By the exercise of vision it became apparent that motion was not one simple, measurable progression useful in planning, it was in fact two things, the Existing and the Revealed view. We discovered that the human being is constantly aware of his position in the environment, that he feels the need for a sense of place and that this sense of identity is coupled with an awareness of elsewhere. Conformity killed, whereas the agreement to differ gave life. In this way the void of statistics, of the diagram city, has been split into two parts, whether they be those of Serial Vision, Here and There or This and That. All that remains is to join them together into a new pattern created by the warmth and power and vitality of human imagination so that we build the home of man.

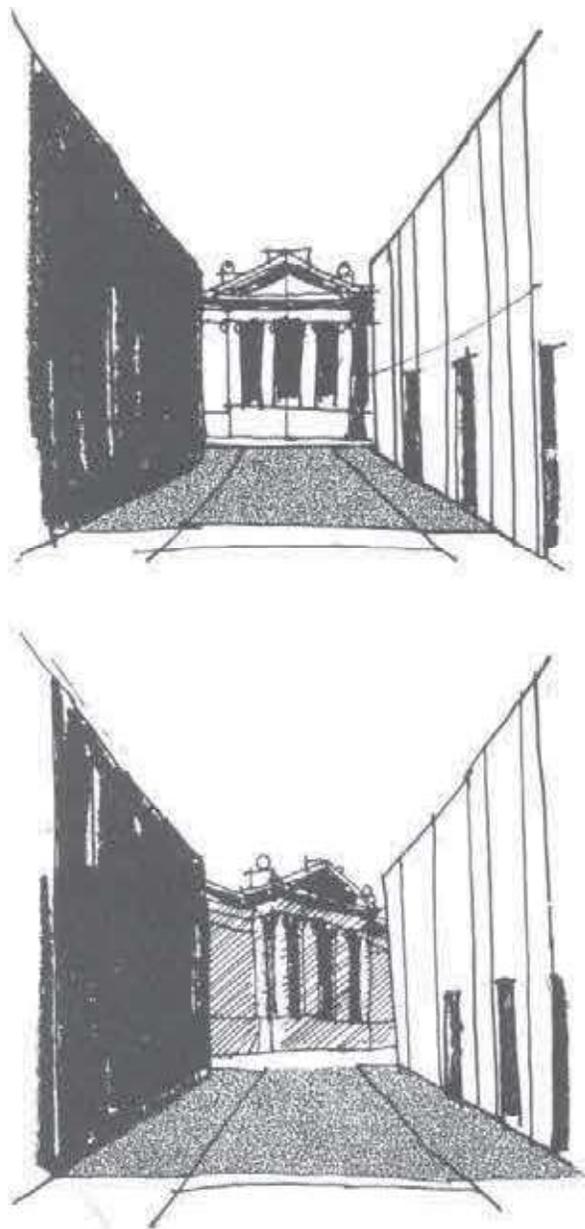
That is the theory of the game, the background. In fact the most difficult part lies ahead, the Art of Playing. As in any other game there are recognized gambits and moves built up from experience and precedent. In the pages that follow an attempt is made to chart these moves under the three main heads as a series of cases, and later to show their application by means of town studies and planning proposals.

## 2 HERE AND THERE

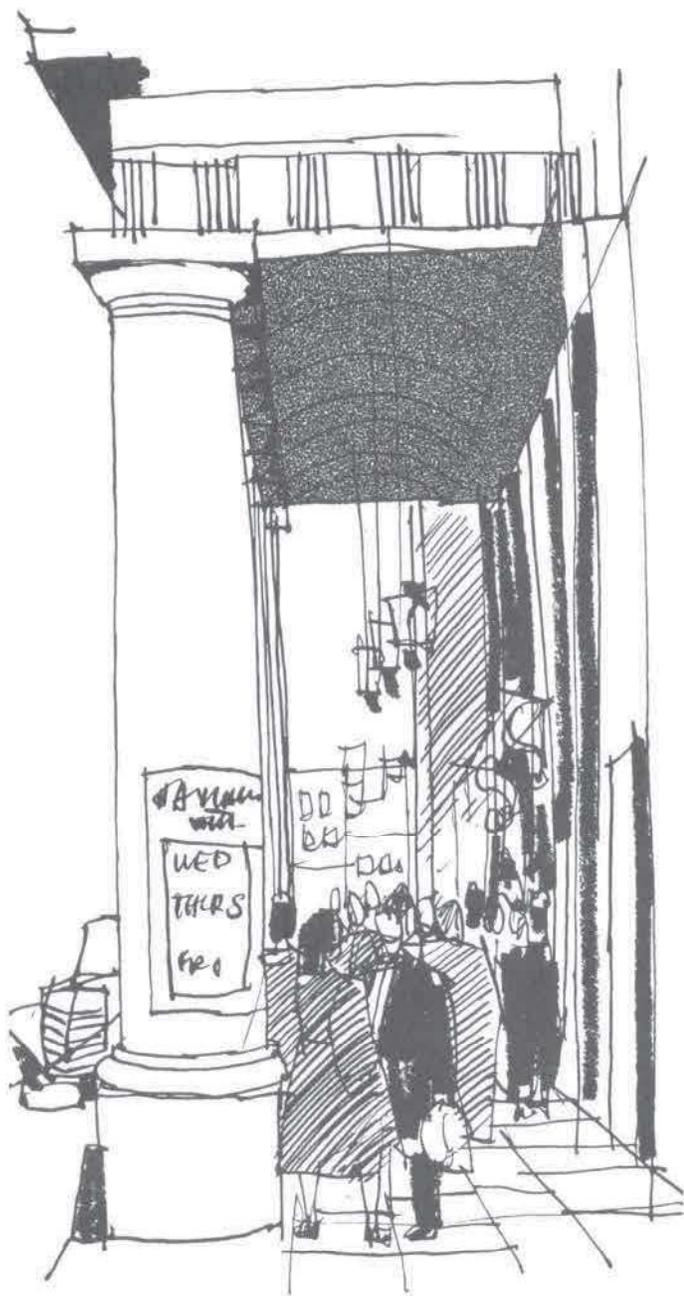
On a flat plain a house is built. It is an object standing up on the flat surface. Inside the house there are rooms, volumes of space: but from the outside these are not obvious. All we see is the object. Many houses built together form streets and squares. They enclose space and thus a new factor is added to the internal volumes or spaces... the outside spaces. Whereas internal volumes, rooms, are justified in the purely functional sense of construction and shelter, there is no such forthright justification for external space/volume. It is accidental and marginal. Or is it?

In a purely materialistic world our environment would resemble a rock-strewn river, the rocks being building and the river being traffic passing them, vehicular and pedestrian. In fact, this conception of flow is false since people are by nature possessive. A group of people standing or chatting on the pavement colonize the spot and the passer-by has to walk round them. Social life is not confined to the interior of buildings. Where people forgather, in market place or forum, there will therefore be some expression of this to give identity to the activity. Marketplace, focal point, clearly defined promenade and so on. In other words, the outside is articulated into spaces just as is the inside, but for its own reasons.

We can therefore postulate an environment which is articulated; as opposed to one which is simply a part of the earth's surface, over

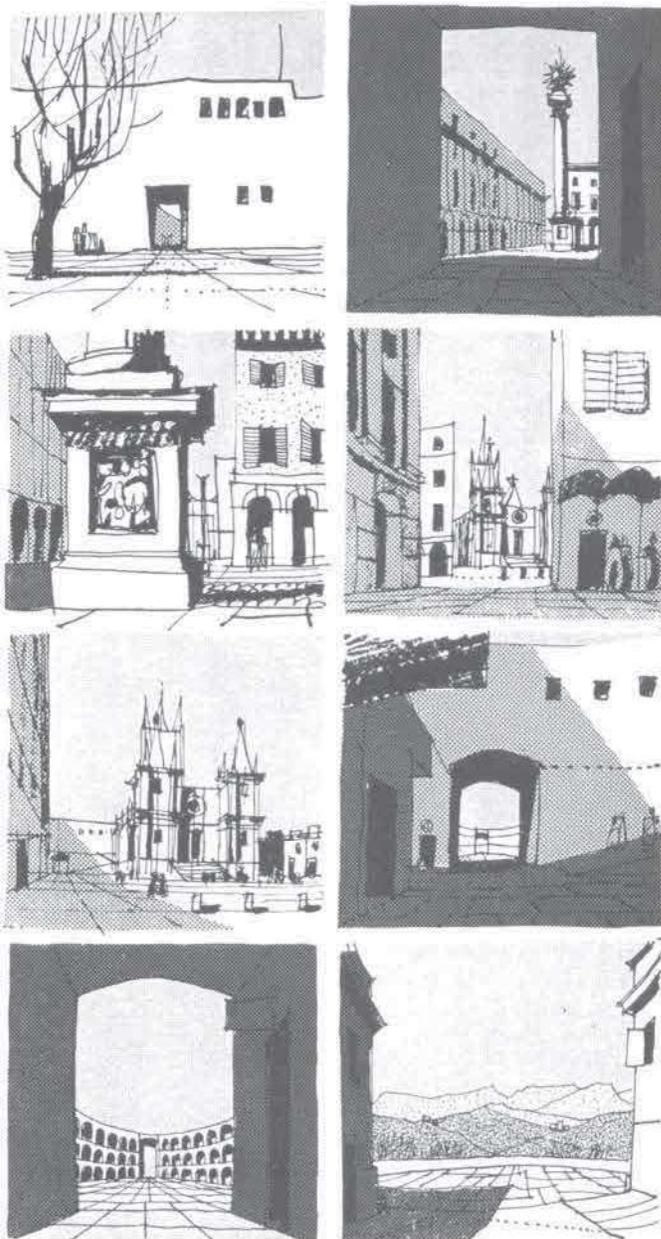


**Fig. 9. Deflection.** Where a view is terminated by a building at right angles to the axis then the enclosed space is complete. But a change of angle in the terminal building, as here in Edinburgh, creates a secondary space by implication. A space which you cannot see but feel must be there, facing the building.



**Fig. 10. Functional Space.** What better way of emphasizing an event in the street such as a theater, than by giving this function its own space, which becomes alive and informed by sparkle and conversation and tension.

which unlike people and vehicles are forever swarming and on to which buildings are plonked at random. Consequently, instead of a shapeless environment based on the principle of flow, we have an articulated environment resulting from the breaking up of flow into action and rest, into corridor street and marketplace, alley and square (and all their minor devolutions).



**Fig. 11. Casebook: Serial Vision.** To walk from one end of the plan to another, at a uniform pace, will provide a sequence of revelations which are suggested in the serial drawings. The even progress of travel is illuminated by a series of sudden contrasts and so an impact is made on the eye, bringing the plan to life (like nudging a man who is going to sleep in church). My drawings bear no relation to the place itself; I chose it because it seemed an evocative plan. Note that the slightest deviation in alignment and quite small variations in projections or setbacks on plan have a disproportionately powerful effect in the third dimension.

The practical result of so articulating the town into identifiable parts is that no sooner do we create a **HERE** than do we have to admit a **THERE**, and it is precisely in the manipulation of these spatial concepts that a large part of urban drama arises. The drawings in this article depict some points relevant to this use of space in urban scenery. ■