Charles W. Moore and the Idea of Place

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Figure 1: Rural barn near Sea Ranch, CA.
Image courtesy of John Spelman.

1962 was a good year in the career of Charles Willard Moore. He was named Chair of Architecture at the University of California Berkeley, having only finished his PhD in architecture at Princeton, the first granted by the University's School of Architecture, in 1957.[1] In 1962, he finished his first major building, his own house in Orinda, California.[2] This house garnered immediate attention, winning a citation from *Progressive Architecture* in its annual design awards before it was even built,[3] and with good reason: it gave formal expression to a new theoretically-sophisticated departure from the then much-discussed traditional modernism of the San Francisco Bay Region. In the autumn of the same year, he published an article in collaboration with three of his fellow professors at Berkeley: Donlyn Lyndon, an old friend from Moore's Princeton days, Sim van Der Ryn, and Patrick J. Quinn. It appeared in the small but stylish interdisciplinary journal *Landscape* and was titled "Toward Making Places".[4] It was the initial public statement of Moore's position about the nature of architecture.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Moore was a part of a small group of writers in various disciplines who forged a new way of talking about place, dwelling, and the cultural landscape in which the creation of a place was redefined as the phenomenological groundwork necessary to make any act of human habitation possible, and a basic structural requirement for all human societies visible even in the most ordinary vernacular landscapes. Though this discussion had powerful implications for the design of the built environment, very few of the scholars involved were architects: they were geographers like J. B. Jackson, historians of religion like Suzanne Langer, and philosophers like Gaston Bachelard. Moore's contribution in the years following 1962 was to apply this discussion of place to the real situation of architectural practice. His most important accomplishments arose from his struggle to satisfy a deep yearning for place in a modern society that seemed to institutionalise placelessness, while at the same time still being engaged with the realities of modern life. Throughout Moore's built and written works, one can identify three broad tenets in his idea of place: an interest in the common phenomenological experience of spaces, an insistence on regionalism and the use of vernacular forms, and a conviction that

dwelling was essentially an act of cosmogony, that is, the creating of a world. These tenets became the tools through which he generated architectural form.[5] This essay will analyse Moore's idea of place (or place-idea), trace the lineage of its three tenets, and demonstrate how it is reflected in Moore's architecture from the period 1962-1972, to show the possibilities and problems of the integration of place theory into the process of architectural design.

"Toward Making Places" was arranged as a symposium and was polemical in tone. Near the beginning, Moore offers his principal argument:

> Architecture is in a bad way ... in [its] chaos of self-expression, careful or sloppy, the basic function of architecture has somehow been forgotten: past the provision merely of shelter, past the expressive manipulation of materials or even of space, it is the creation of place, of what Susanne Langer calls an 'ethnic domain'. This creation of place amounts at first to taking possession of a portion of the earth's surface. Then, architecture being an act, that process of taking possession is abstracted, as life is abstracted by the playwright.[6]

He goes on to explain that the chaos of our present-day environment comes from an architecture that is too 'general', attempting self-expression on the part of the architect, or, as Moore says, 'the diagram of an independent idea, conceived in isolation.' He argues instead for a 'specific' approach, which 'starts with a place, makes it habitable, and enhances the quality of the specific place by making it responsive to the needs of the people who use it.'[7] Moore's specific approach requires a set of ordering devices meant to enact a visual and experiential delineation of the occupation of spaces: things like portals, processional axes, or landmarks suggesting importance. He allows that other devices might also work but insists that one of the fundamental attributes of place-making is to establish a clear division of inside and outside. This division is not necessarily a literal position so much as a psychological state to be enacted visually. For Moore and his collaborators, a building establishes an internal order in opposition to the chaos outside. Some of the aspects of this argument might have seemed unusual to the reader in 1962: an appeal to timelessness in design motifs mated with a kind of regionalism, all at the expense of the ideas of progress or of the architect as an artist. At the same time, this argument operates differently from the traditional delineation between construction and decoration that were about to be subject to a radical new analysis by Moore's former Princeton classmate, Robert Venturi: for Moore, overtly symbolic decoration was secondary to the proto-symbolic resonances inherent to basic architectural forms.

Further into the article, Moore's co-author Lyndon argues that 'a work of architecture is a statement of beliefs, a projection of our attitude towards reality into a three-dimensional environment.'[8] Between Lyndon and Moore, place-making becomes the very creation of the occupants' conception of their environment, an idea that would later be more explicitly tied to primitive spirituality in Moore's writing. In this simple rhetorical gesture, delivered with an appropriate tone of awe, the concerns of visual art and of historical progress are brushed away—recast as petty distractions. The place-making architect must give up the romantic idea of self-expression as a useless conceit, but in exchange, he assumes the headier duty of constituting 'the user's ordered image of the universe.'[9]

The idea of place that Moore and his co-authors outline is a culturally contingent organisation of meanings and associations meant to establish a seemingly durable, coherent human habitat. A place has to be sensible and legible to its occupants, but it also has to resonate more deeply with their conceptions of themselves and of their world. Moore, Lyndon, Quinn and van Der Ryn believed that the architect's purpose is to guide the experience of the people who use his or her buildings by making the structure a world in itself. Though this meant that every building must be in several senses universal, the authors also argued that every building is obliged to be a specific solution tailored to a specific setting of human activity. Place-making has to work at different scales: though a building must be a place in itself, it must also be a part of its place. Moore and Lyndon are not talking about the manipulation of built environment to determine the behaviour of its inhabitants, which would be the personal aggrandizement of the architect, but rather the conditioning of the environment for the inhabitants to take psychological possession of a place, so that the only thing expressed is their notion of habitation.

"Toward Making Places" should not be overestimated as a literary or theoretical accomplishment; if its authors had not gone on to have influential careers, it would be of little interest. In Moore's subsequent writing, this new way to conceive place quickly developed into a sophisticated approach to the act of building, but we can see that even at this early stage, the key elements were already in place: phenomenological experience, cosmogony, and participation in vernacular context, taken together to be the definition of place.

John Brinckerhoff Jackson, editor of the journal where the article appeared, wrote much later that when "Toward Making Places" was first submitted, he was surprised to find that rather than 'still another of the familiar admonitions to architects and planners to design with nature,' several of which he had already published, the manuscript read 'more like a manifesto than a warning.'[10] Jackson's recollection of surprise may be a bit disingenuous (he seems to have had a hand in originally introducing the co-authors to one another),[11] but whatever the story of the article's creation, the sentiments it expressed were very much in line with Jackson's developing philosophy about the cultural landscape. Moore and his co-authors knew Jackson's work and had certainly been reading *Landscape*,[12] and in their article they cited and adopted the rhetoric of a number of works that were at the root of the new sensibility Jackson espoused.

Jackson was perhaps also being disingenuous when in the same recollection he refers to his journal as a 'very small and very obscure periodical struggling to survive.' By the end of the 1960s, *Landscape* was perhaps the most influential journal in the field of geography, despite its small circulation, and its success had earned Jackson professorships at both Berkeley and Harvard.[13] Even in 1962, the journal was in its twelfth year and it was hardly the obscure publication it had been at the beginning. "Toward Making Places" appeared in the first issue of volume twelve; issues of the eleventh and twelfth volumes included articles or excerpts from such established scholars as the critic Lewis Mumford, historian Siegfried Giedion, the geographer Carl Ortwin Sauer, and the spatial psychologist Edward T. Hall. These issues also included a number of scholars who in the ensuing years would become well-known for their work relating to the idea of place: geographers Yi-Fu Tuan, David Lowenthal, and Clarence Glacken, planner Herbert Gans, and by the next volume, the architectural theorist Christopher Alexander and philosopher Gaston Bachelard. By about 1957, *Landscape* was popular reading in Moore's Princeton milieu, and was clearly the ideal forum for Moore's first manifesto.[14]

When Jackson founded the publication in 1950, it was intended to be a journal of the human geography of the south-western United States. Regional specialisation was the standard approach to human geography in the middle of the twentieth century, following on theoretical foundations of the 1920s and 1930s, principally Carl Sauer's "Morphology of Landscape" and Richard Hartshorne's "Nature of Geography".[15] As early as 1952, Jackson abandoned this regional focus in favour of a more universal approach. He writes:

> Not Man the Product of nature, nor Man the Product of economic forces, but Man the creator of dwellings and landscapes; the creator of his own habitat, his own microcosm .... [If] we are to study Man the Inhabitant, his habitat provides the most reliable indication of his essential identity. The region is but an extension and an elaboration of the province; the province, if it possesses genuine homogeneity, is merely a countryside on a larger scale. The countryside in turn is but a magnified version of the true microcosm, the dwelling and its immediate surroundings. In short, *the primary study of the human geographer must be the dwelling* and the establishment of dwelling types corresponding to those psychological areas ... [The] dwelling is to be regarded as the microcosm, as the prime example of Man the Inhabitant's effort to recreate Heaven on earth.[16]

In 1952, Jackson already assumes what Moore and others would elaborate in the coming years, a position contrary to the progressive modernism that had recently come to preside over most American schools of architecture. There are a few central tenets in Jackson's early position on the significance of place, all of which are present in the passage above: first, he focuses on the experience of an individual but interchangeable man and asserts that these experiences may be understood through their principal material counterpart, the dwelling.

For Jackson as for Moore, this position is essentially phenomenological, as we will see below. Second, Jackson accepts that there exist coherent regions with different but directly comparable dwelling types relating to certain cultural practices. This is a type of anthropological structuralism very common in academic geography since the anthropogeography of Friedrich Ratzel and the regional studies of Paul Vidal de la Blache at the turn of the century. On the surface, these first two tenets seem to make conflicting assumptions of universalism and particularism, respectively. The reconciliation between these ideas comes from the third tenet, which is Jackson's principle argument: that any dwelling is a microcosm of the larger cosmos, and that thus the act of inhabitation must be a creation of the world, similar in spirit to the proto-religious attempt 'to recreate Heaven on earth'. The religious connotation is adopted, as we will see, from certain writers on the history of religion – that is, its influence on both Jackson and Moore concerns the age-old use of spirituality for generating meaningful architectural forms, and nothing directly to do with a specific religious ideology or belief. These three ideas – that through the experience of place, man is represented in and created by his dwelling; that the type of this dwelling is both culturally and geographically contingent; and that to build a place is to create a world – form the foundation of the new place-theory. Yet perhaps it is too much to call it a theory; the clearest statements of this theory are the ones quoted in this essay, and none of its proponents seem ever to have tried to explain the significance or implications of the notion at any length. For this reason, I prefer the term place-idea, to avoid the implication of a more thorough elaboration than the one that in fact took place.

Jackson helped to bring these three tenets together into a comprehensive whole, but the ideas themselves were all already in circulation. For example, they may be found in a different form in the writings of the French geographer Pierre Deffontaines. Jackson founded *Landscape* in 1950, two years after Deffontaines's 1948 foundation of the *Revue de Géographie Humaine et d'Ethnographie*. Deffontaines's work is possibly the earliest recognisable form of the new attitude toward place, or rather, the first occasion in which the several elements of the idea were brought together.[17] In an early issue of *Landscape*, Jackson printed his own translation of a 1948 passage by Deffontaines under the title "The Place of Believing".[18] The phenomenological, structural, and cosmic ideas are all intimated in this passage, but never clearly stated. For example, there are fragments like 'the primordial imprint made by Man on the earth's surface is the dwelling' or 'within its wall the dwelling encloses a more or less visible and tangible element of a cosmogony', which certainly partake of the rhetorical savour of much later writing from Moore, Jackson, and their many followers. If Moore was to be probably the first and certainly the most influential person to apply the new place-idea to architecture, then Jackson was probably

the first and certainly the most influential person to condense the set of notions about dwelling into a coherent place-idea to begin with, and certainly the first within the English-language discourse.[19]

Even before this condensation had taken place, Deffontaines drew attention to an attribute of dwelling that would later pose a problem for the present use of the place idea as an architectural principle. He writes: 'Fidelity to ancient beliefs can in itself preserve a dwelling type which harks back to a period long outgrown and forgotten. The house evolves more slowly than do ideas, and it will always contain atavistic features.'[20] Both Deffontaines and Jackson noticed that this cumulative nature of place-as-history was active not only in relictuary landscapes but also in new construction. This time lag is both the ground of hope and a danger for anyone trying to apply what is essentially a pre-industrial form of cosmological place-making in a desacralised post-industrial world. In other words, this problem poses the question of whether we can still enact a supposedly sacred process in the profane modern world, or whether the absence of a pre-modern religious mindset empties the old process of meaning. If place-making is the inevitable basis of human dwelling, then it should not have been possible for it ever to lapse in practice. The question is thus to determine which of two ideas is the more fundamental: place-making as a basic human operation, or a modernity that transcends even such a basis.

We can see early apprehension of this wider problem in a number of books and articles as early as the middle of the nineteenth-century; one such apprehension that was important for Moore may be found in the written work of the English architect W. R. Lethaby.[21] Lethaby seems to have been the first to work out the relationship between architecture and religion, the central tenet of the three elements of place-making. His 1892 book, *Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth*, was widely read and very influential, especially on the members of the Arts & Crafts movement, for whom it served as a justification of their use of local rural vernaculars. In 1928, at the end of his career, Lethaby rewrote the book as a series of articles in *The Builder*, taking into account nearly forty years of subsequent scholarship. These articles were finally published in book form only in 1956, under the title *Architecture, Nature, and Magic*. Moore read this book soon after its publication; he refers to it in his 1957 dissertation.[22] The first chapters of Lethaby's book show that he had already come up against the problems that Moore would face in his crusade for place-making. Compare the following complaint by Lethaby with Moore's 'Architecture is in a bad way':

> Our western architectural methods of designing whimworks in the sham styles can hardly compete with such symbolical art; common sense is the only way open to us. Those ancient works were imitations of paradise, ours are exercises in commercial 'grandeur' and advertising vulgarity. Design must have some motivating idea in it: what idea can we modern people think except structure for reasonable service?[23]

But if Lethaby laments the modern condition, he nonetheless sees it as inescaple:

> there is, and must be, an impassable gulf between all ancient arts and our own. At the heart of ancient building were wonder, worship, magic, and symbolism; the motive of ours must be human service, intelligible structure, and verifiable science.[24]

In this sense, the problem that Moore found himself uncovering in about 1960 was something that had been brewing slowly under the surface of architectural modernism since its inception.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, a number of scholars wrote works subscribing and contributing to what I have called the new place-idea. These works can each be classified as part of one of the three tenets I have identified in Jackson and Moore's formulation. The cosmological element became a popular topic in the comparative study of religions. Mircea Eliade's works, for example, made great strides in a direct line from Deffontaines in explaining how dwelling symbolically recreates the world. His most important book for the place-idea is *The Sacred and the Profane*, which was available in English in 1959 and which Moore had read by the 1970s.[25]

Another work that influenced Moore's conception of the religious element in place-making was Suzanne Langer's 1953 book *Feeling and Form*, a popular work on the philosophy of art. In the margins of "Toward Making Places," Moore and his co-authors reproduced part of the passage where she coined the idea of the 'ethnic domain'. She argues that a self-contained place like a ship or a gypsy camp may occupy many different locations but still retain its essential character, while a site with a house on it is not the same place if the house burns down. She writes:

> A place, in this non-geographical sense [sic], is a created thing, an ethnic domain made visible, tangible, sensible. As such, it is, of course, an illusion … The architectural illusion may be established by a mere array of upright stones defining the magic circle that severs holiness from the profane, even by a single stone that marks the centre, i.e. a monument. The outside world, though not physically shut out, is dominated by the sanctum and becomes its visible context, the horizon, its frame.[26]

Langer's definitions of architecture as the art of making places and of place as an 'ethnic domain' became a convenient shorthand for Moore.

The site-specific, anthropological element of Moore's place-idea was supported by the rapid rise of interest in vernacular architecture during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Notably, this was championed by writers from within the camp of architectural modernism. In 1957, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, wife and collaborator of the late Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and design professor at the Pratt Institute, wrote a book titled *Native Genius in Architecture*, following a

similar article from two years earlier.[27] Then, in 1964, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) organised an exhibition curated by Bernard Rudofsky entitled "Architecture Without Architects".[28] Both Moholy-Nagy and Rudofsky are interested in the vernacular as a resource for contemporary practice, but while Rudofsky limits his discussion to pre-industrial examples from exotic locales, Moholy-Nagy also includes the ordinary rural architecture of North America. Around the time of the MoMA show, Moore and his partners began to draw on 'indigenous nonarchitect architecture' in their designs.[29] By the 1970s, Moore listed Rudofsky as one of his sources.[30]

The most important influence on Moore's developing sense of site specificity was the "townscape" project, a series of diatribes and case studies principally organised by the editors of *The Architectural Review* (*AR*), which had begun to gain in currency from the mid-1940s.[31] Gordon Cullen was listed as an assistant editor of the review starting in February 1947, and it was from him that the first article using the townscape rubric appeared in August 1948.[32] Throughout the 1950s, Cullen and others would elaborate townscape into a mode of interpreting the built environment that could also prescribe an approach to design practice. In 1961, he published *Townscape*, a book that was in essence a compendium of his studies in the *AR*. The term townscape, the elision between town and landscape, refers not only to the view and visual experience of an individual in a city, but to a method and approach to urban design. Cullen's position accepts the vernacular as a given without any special attitude toward its historical role; it insists on individual sensory experience as the basis for architectural design and on maintaining the character of any given locale so as to give it a definite identity as a place. But although Cullen uses the term "place" as one of his guiding tenets, it is without any of the wider implications that Moore and Jackson would bring to the subject. Place, Cullen says, 'is as simple as it appears to be … at this level of consciousness we are dealing with a range of experience stemming from the major impacts of exposure and enclosure.'[33] Although Cullen's role in *Townscape* has tended to be exaggerated in recent decades, he had a considerable impact on making possible the place discussion in architecture, even if it was ultimately limited by the confines of his – and his contemporaries' – approach.

Moore's interest in the physical experience of architecture was bolstered by a pan-disciplinary wave of interest in spatial psychology in the 1950s and early 1960s,[34] and took its specific tone from new efforts in academic philosophy to delve into the phenomenological aspects of place and dwelling. The most significant phenomenologist for the students of J. B. Jackson and especially for Moore was the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard.[35] Moore made considerable use of Bachelard's book *Water and Dreams* in his dissertation,[36] so he knew very well the poetic, almost mystic phenomenology that Bachelard developed at the end of his career. In 1958, a year after Moore's dissertation, Bachelard published his last book, *The Poetics of Space* (Engl. ed. 1964),[37] a meditation on the deeper significance of a great number of seemingly commonplace elements of living in one's home. For Bachelard, Townscape's shallow world of serial vision and the interrelationship of buildings explodes into a series of deeper meanings, like the idea of intimacy in a seashell, or the idea of opening in a doorknob, and all the associations of imagination, experience, memory, and dream that might attach to these objects and activities. Bachelard more than anyone else developed the means to describe deep meaning in basic architectural and environmental experiences. Moore's interest in Bachelard separates him from the more general enthusiasm for user experience and spatial perception then becoming popular in architectural discourse. The sensible circulation patterns and urbane contextuality of, for instance, Jose Luis Sert's school of urban design were of secondary importance for Moore: for him, the discussion of experience must be abstracted to the level of phenomenological resonances and not left at the level of practical urbanism to fit well with the idea of architecture as cosmogony.

Several of Moore's professors at Princeton were key in negotiating Moore's attempt to derive an architectural ideology out of this flowering of place-literature. Of the three tenets in Moore's idea, one might say that the Chair of Architecture, Jean Labatut, represented the phenomenological, Louis Kahn represented the mystic-religious, and Enrico Peressutti the geographic-contextual part of the concept.[38] Jean Labatut was most famous for a work of architectural ephemera: he designed the fountains and firework spectacles for the 1939 New York World's Fair. Labatut's focus on the control of individual experience in architecture is evident in those carefully choreographed spectacles, but also in his courses, such as his seminar on camouflage, or in his lectures on light, illumination, and architecture.[39] We may suppose that Labatut introduced Moore to the writings of Bachelard.[40]

Kahn was a greater inspiration for Moore as a designer.[41] Kahn largely ignored the questions of style and modernity to focus instead on a more or less philosophical abstraction about the ultimate meaning of any given space or building, often in the form of an almost totemic animation of the spirit of a thing, what that thing 'wants to be', or its 'existence-will'.[42] It seems that this attitude of Kahn's was Moore's entry point into the mystical aspect of place-making.

Enrico Peressutti exercised a different sort of influence on Moore. Peressutti's teaching was almost revolutionary at the time in its insistence on subjecting modern building to historical and geographical contexts.[43] From 1957 to 1960, Peressutti's firm BBPR designed and built its most famous building, the Torre Velasca, an office tower in the medieval core of Milan that matched colours

Figure 2: BBPR, Torre Velasca, Milan.
Image courtesy of Giampaolo Bellavite.

with the surrounding buildings and had a general form clearly reminiscent of Milan's medieval towers. The building was denounced when BBPR presented it at CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Peter Smithson called the building 'immoral' because of its historical formal language; Jacob Bakema attacked Rogers for 'resisting contemporary life', and Aldo van Eyck accused it of succumbing to 'the pitfalls of eclecticism, regionalism, and modernism'.[44] Moore found himself firmly on the side of his teacher on this issue, and incorporated similar strategies in almost all of his buildings after leaving Princeton.

Here another word should be said about Aldo van Eyck. Despite his opposition to regionalism in the case of BBPR, van Eyck's contributions to the CIAM '59 in Otterlo are the closest that any architect had come to embracing the new place-idea before Moore, and particularly in its phenomenological aspect. It is easy to imagine the young Charles Moore's excitement at reading a passage such as this one from van Eyck's talk:

> What then, I ask, is the greater reality of a door? Well, perhaps it is the localized setting for a wonderful human gesture: conscious entry and departure. That's what a door is, something that frames your coming and going, for it is a vital experience not only for those that do so but also for those encountered or left behind. A door is a place made for an occasion that is repeated millions of times in a lifetime between the first entry and the last exit. I think that is symbolical. And what is the greater reality of a window? I leave that to you.[45]

In the ensuing years, Moore picked up this gauntlet. He gave van Eyck due credit; besides quoting him in the margin of his article, he cited van Eyck's orphanage in Amsterdam as an exemplar of a specific, place-making architecture.

Figure 3: Louis Kahn, Trenton Bath House, Trenton, NJ.
Image courtesy of Lisa Cerami.

The new place-idea was not a clearly-defined theory so much as a sensibility cobbled together from sympathetic ideas arising in a large variety of otherwise unconnected sources. The last of the major influences on Moore's place-making, the architectural historian Sir John Summerson, was indeed distant from the rest of these sources. Yet it was an idea from Summerson's 1949 essay "Heavenly Mansions" that became the basis for many of the houses Moore designed in the 1960s, most importantly his own house in Orinda.[46] The way Moore adopted and used this idea clarifies just how creative and even aggressive his synthesis of ideologies could be. Summerson writes at length about the use of the aedicule, or little building, a ceremonial or symbolic house-within-the-house, such as might be embodied in a baldachin or a pedimented portal. He points out that the aedicule in its various guises seems to have a pervasive psychological appeal that manifests itself either as a feeling of "cosiness" or a feeling of ceremony.[47] These are both manipulations of scale, either allowing for an imaginary, child-like smallness or conversely by amplifying the human presence in a large space.

Moore was fascinated by this idea—the aedicule fit neatly into his ideal of creating timeless and resonant human experience through architecture. From Summerson's description, the aedicule can enact a powerful phenomenological response, a tension in the sensation of one's own body in relationship to the built world, not just a symbol of cosiness or ceremony, but a direct feeling of their presence. By manipulating the scale of architecture in relation to people, the aedicule could work to create cosmos-microcosm relationships within individual buildings. What is more, the aedicule seemed to explain part of the mystique of Louis Kahn's 1955 Trenton Bath House, which Moore admired.[48] Moore resolved to build an aedicule into a house as a place-making experiment.

When Moore and his colleagues met Summerson in London, they told him that they had been working with the aedicule. Summerson was horrified, and insisted that the form was long since obsolete. Moore was undaunted. Much later, he wrote, 'Summerson said I couldn't, so I did two of them because it was my own house.'[49] Once again, Moore's enthusiasm for timelessness collided with a modernist historicism that denied the validity of the principle. Here in the form of the aedicule, we can see what Moore took to be the "religious" aspect of place-making: a symbolic and phenomenal establishment of heightened place-specificity explicitly making use of the formal and rhetorical strategies of religious architecture.

The Orinda house is the finest example of this first stage of Moore's place-making in practice. The aedicules are each formed by four massive wooden columns topped by pyramidal roofs with skylights at the top. The larger aedicule defines a centre for the living space of the house, the smaller encompasses a large sunken bathtub, which might seem an ironic twist in the light of Moore's later irony-laden architecture, though at the time he insisted that he was in fact reinforcing the importance of the act of bathing. The roof derives structural support from the aedicular columns, not the walls. The insides of the aedicule roofs are painted white while the rest of the roof is left dark. In contrast to the sturdy forms of the aedicules, the house itself is as insubstantial as possible. Half of each of its thin walls is a sliding door suspended from the roof, so the walls do not reach the corners they define and may easily be opened to the outdoors. Thus, the walls of the house are a permeable barrier, while the true sense of interiority is created only symbolically by the aedicules. From the outside, the Orinda house is an unassuming square of ordinary materials set in the semicircular curve of a hill, looking neither new nor old and drawing little attention to itself. In all, the house is an argument about how an ordered sense of place based on the division of inside and out can be symbolically constructed so effectively that the real boundaries of the house may be undermined without adverse effect.

Moore adopted and helped develop the new place-idea for a concrete reason: he thought that it was the solution to a dissatisfaction he felt with the built environment around him. The same unrest with the modern scene and the inability of professional architecture to improve it was easily visible in almost any issue of *Landscape*. The sentiment was showing itself in architecture as well, as van Eyck's call to rediscover the archaic principles of human nature shows; indeed this anxiety pervaded the CIAM Otterlo conference. "Toward Making Places" began at the same point, with Moore's declaration that 'architecture is in a bad way'. This was especially visible in the modern city. The idea that the modern urban landscape was rapidly losing the virtues of the pre-industrial city was gaining wide currency with the popularity of books such as Lewis Mumford's

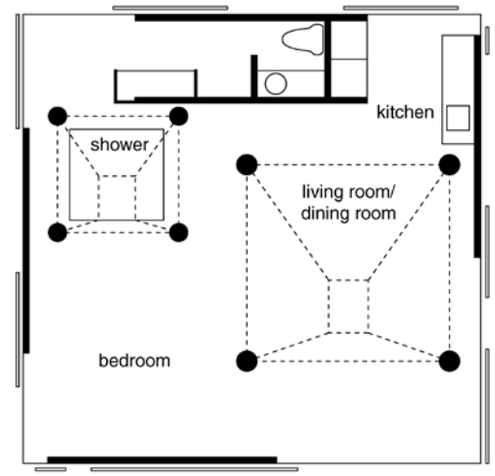


Figure 4: Charles Moore, Orinda House, Orinda, CA.
Image courtesy of Betsy Stoel.

1961 *The City In History* or Giedeon Sjoberg's 1960 *The Preindustrial City*.[50] This unrest was hardly new, though, as we can see from such standard works as Lethaby's writings, the city planning critiques of Camillo Sitte as far back as 1889,[51] or in the philosophical work of Oswald Spengler, who both the old Lethaby and the young Moore quote on the subject.[52]

Moore believed that the root of the problem was the waning of our society's competence in making places, that architecture had drifted away from its real purpose and was no longer guiding the creation of the built world. There was, however, a problem with this: if the new place-idea was correct about the foundations of human habitation, if the idea justified itself through its spontaneous appearance in every regional vernacular style, then one could scarcely account for the rampant chaos that so many critics perceived in the common landscapes of a commercial society – highway strips, suburban sprawl, and the like. Jackson tried to answer this question by looking for order in the chaos of the ordinary American landscape, in pieces such as his "Other Directed Houses" of 1957 and "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder" of 1958.[53] Other writers also used *Landscape* to address this question; for example, in 1963 the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argued for a return to phenomenology in his article "Architecture and Human Nature".[54] Then, in 1965, the architectural critic Reyner Banham adopted a Jacksonian position in his article "The Missing Motel: Unrecognized American Architecture," first published in *The Listener* and then immediately reprinted by Jackson.[55] Moore explained the decline and future

role of place-making in two articles published in the 1965 and 1966 issues of *Perspecta*, the Yale architectural journal, which will be discussed below.

Moore left Berkeley in 1965 to become Dean of the Yale School of Architecture , and two long articles in the school's journal of architecture marked his arrival, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," and "Plug it in, Rameses, and see if it lights up, because we're not going to keep it unless it works".[56] The first article was written at the behest of the issue editor, Robert A. M. Stern, while Moore was still at Berkeley. In it, Moore argues for the intersection of monumentality, place, and the public realm. He writes:

> The process of achieving an urban focus is the same as that of achieving monumentality: it starts with the selection, by some inhabitants, of a place which is to be of particular importance, and continues when they invest that place with attributes of importance, such as edges or some kind of marker. This process, the establishing of cities and the marking of important places, constitutes most of the physical part of establishing civilization. Charles Eames has made the point that the crux of this civilizing process is the giving up by individuals of something in order that the public realm may be enhanced. In the city, that is to say, urban and monumental places, indeed urbanity and monumentality themselves, can occur only when something is given over by the people to the public.[57]

Moore finds that in the urban landscapes of California, and in Los Angeles especially, there is almost no contribution on behalf of the public and subsequently an almost complete absence of the public realm. Without a public experience to grant an overarching order to the social world, the countless individual worlds of a sprawling suburbia are cast into the chaos of a mutual irrelevance. This is Moore's first answer to the problem of creating sensible places in the modern world: that the connection between cosmos and microcosm has been severed not at the scale of the individual dwelling, but at the public scale, and that the reconnection must be made there.

Moore does see certain examples of a new approximation of a public realm in California in those places where people can be convinced to sacrifice their money, their solitude, and their time. He points to isolated but successful examples like the 1929 Santa Barbara County Courthouse and to the future prospect of a new public realm in and on the freeways. More notoriously, he singles out Disneyland as the most successful public place in Southern California.

> Indeed, by any conceivable method of evaluation that does not exclude the public, Disneyland must be regarded as the most important single piece of construction in the West in the past several decades ... Curiously, for a public place, Disneyland is not free. You buy tickets at the gate. But then, Versailles cost someone a great deal of money, too. Now, as then, you have to pay for the public life.[58]

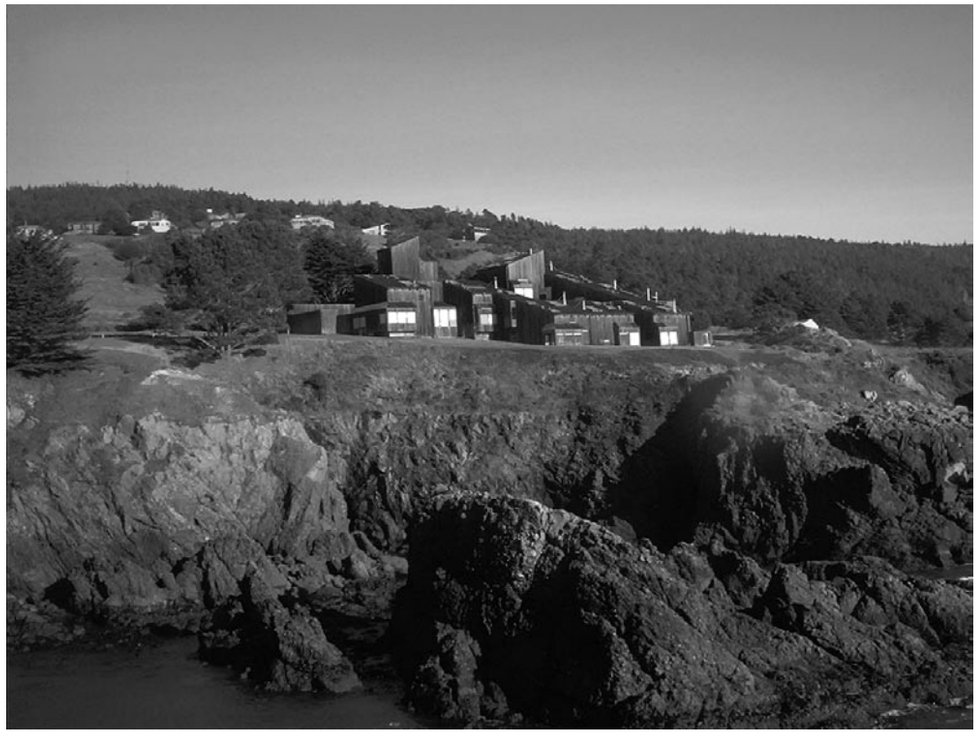


Figure 5: MLTW, Sea Ranch, CA, landscape context.
Image courtesy of John Spelman.

First, note that Moore is taking a swipe at contemporary criticism: Disneyland was certainly not at this time regarded as an important construction by the architectural establishment, because, as Moore argues, its methods of evaluation exclude public opinion. He goes on to explain the creation of place at Disneyland, illustrating it in detail with nearly twenty pages of photographs and a map. He focuses on the same three elements that were brought together by J. B. Jackson fifteen years earlier: the creation of an enclosed microcosm of the world, the control of the experience of the people who go there, and the use of a series of recognisable, culturally contingent typologies. To this he adds the demand that the method of evaluating architecture should include the public, especially since, in the case of Disneyland, the public are expected to pay directly for what they once paid for only with their taxes, as at Versailles. Moore accepts that Disneyland, like Versailles, does not offer the full range of public life – political experience, say, or the potential for revolutionary action – but believes that it is far more successful than the works of upscale professional architecture on the American West Coast, which are irrelevant to their context and offer nothing to the public sense of place.

This idea of creating the place not only for individual dwelling, but also for a coherent public life is at the heart of Moore's architectural masterpiece of the period, the 1964 Sea Ranch Condominium, designed in collaboration with Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, and Richard Whitaker (who together formed the firm MLTW[59]). Much has been written about Sea Ranch; most relevant to the present discussion is how it negotiates the place-idea on the interrelated scales of dwelling, community, and regionality, as well as how it relates to the architectural style in which Moore chose to embody his ideas. Sea Ranch is a cluster of ten condominiums on a rocky rural outcrop on the north coast of California, intended as a weekend or resort community. Each of the condominiums is a tall, square, open space, and most of them contain two free-standing miniature "houses". One of these houses is a four-post aedicule like the ones in the Orinda house, by this time incorporating a hearth and a sleeping loft for more potent symbolic resonance along the lines of van Eyck's doorway, or the mythical resonance of hearth/fire and sleep/dream explored by Bachelard. The other is a small tower containing a kitchen below, a bathroom and dressing room above, and in some of the condominiums a second sleeping loft above even that. In short, each dwelling is an advancement upon the symbolic place-making of the Orinda house, using its techniques of phenomenological symbolism

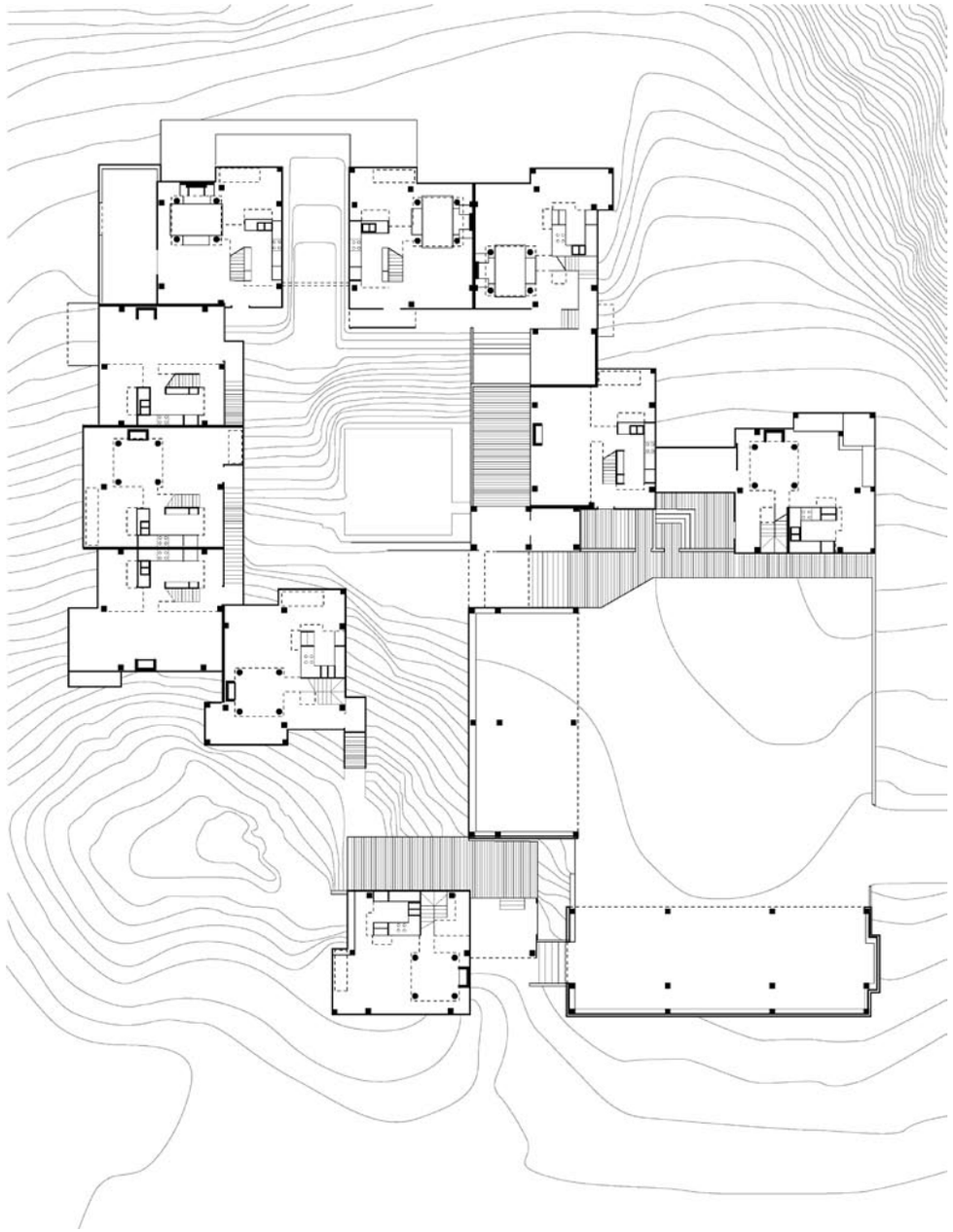
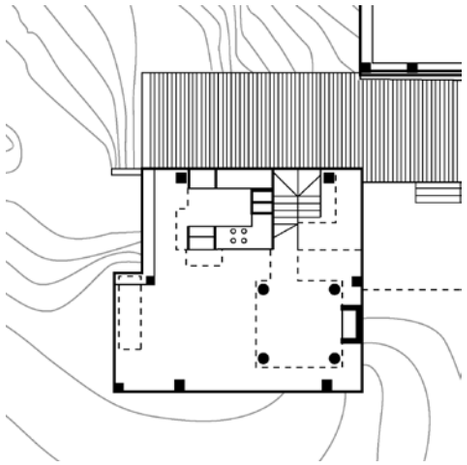
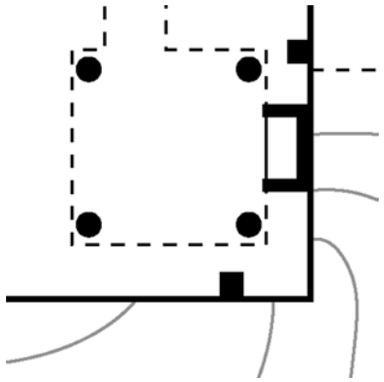


Figure 6 (opp. left): Sea Ranch, entrance to courtyard;
Figure 7 (opp. right) interior of a unit.
Images courtesy of John Spelman.

Figure 8 (above): Sea Ranch, general plan.
Image courtesy of Betsy Stoel.





Figures 9 & 10: Sea Ranch, unit plan, and aedicule.
Images courtesy of Betsy Stoel.

and resonance. The ten condominiums face a central courtyard, with major entrances and common spaces arranged to provide an enclosed, easily accessible public space. From a distance, the condominiums seem to crowd together, a group of separate but inwardly pointing rooflines, but with a general massing that both responds to the landscape like a tree stump and echoes the materials and shapes of the vernacular barns and farm buildings of the surrounding countryside without directly imitating them. Sea Ranch is set on a rocky knoll, gnomishly rooted to a rough landscape overlooking the sea; the paths from the road and the ocean both enter into the protected enclave before opening onto anything. The complex is considered a colony by its designers, stubbornly closed in against the surrounding world, but it is also clearly a part of its region as a continuation of its traditional materials and forms. In the original plan, this new colony plan was to be made more a part of the vernacular landscape by being repeated with variations along a great length of coastline.

Sea Ranch is a matching part of a regional typology that is arranged within itself as a coherent, inward-looking, group of dwellings. Together, these form an unbroken cosmic chain: the hearth is the microcosm of the aedicule, which is the microcosm of the house, which is the microcosm of Sea Ranch, which is the microcosm of the landscape itself, and so on, beyond the range of the individual architect. The architects strive to make each of these levels a world unto itself, each microcosm a cosmos. But Sea Ranch, like all of Moore's most successful designs, is not a public place. To succeed in producing coherency, Moore always needed a degree of isolation and complete control that precluded the messy compromises of an urban, public building. He needed the power to delimit which parts of the modern world might enter his microcosm.

Sea Ranch also offers a good opportunity to examine the style in which Moore executed his architecture of place. Before Moore went to Princeton, he intended to become a Bay Region architect, and when he left Princeton for Berkeley in 1959, it was at the invitation of Dean William Wurster, the leading figure of that movement.[60] The Bay Area style is remembered as a kind of humanised architectural modernism, in which the international style is tempered with a regional vocabulary and an unpretentious concern with the ordinary. It also offered an unbroken lineage between Arts & Crafts architecture (which had had a strong presence in the Bay Area at the turn of the century) and later modernism. This style as executed in the works of architects like Wurster or Joseph Esherick was the starting point of Moore's architecture upon moving back to the West, and this may be seen in Sea Ranch's shed roofs, redwood siding, rustic interiors, general massing, reference to local barns and churches, and handmade aesthetic. The Bay Area style embraced the regional tenet of the place-idea, and thus was a useful precedent for a firm working in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay. The fit between theory and form is always an approximation, however, and although Wurster and his peers did not conceive of architecture in the same way as Moore, in their buildings most of Moore's methods are nevertheless anticipated.

A good example of this is Wurster's most famous building, the Gregory Farmhouse at Scotts Valley of 1928. The farmhouse, like Sea Ranch, is undecorated modernism, yet based on local precedent in such a way that its apparent age is ambiguous, at once new and old. Like Sea Ranch, the farmhouse takes possession of a piece of land by surrounding it and marking it visibly with a low tower echoed in the group at Sea Sanch. In both places, the courtyard is made to feel very different from the harsh space outside, just as the indoors differs from the courtyard, and both buildings emphasise the act of transition from one place to the next, with a raised path and a passageway at Sea Ranch and a wall with a great sliding gate at the Gregory Farmhouse. In the farmhouse, Wurster satisfies most of the requirements of an attitude toward place that had not yet been developed, and uses many of the key features by which Moore's architecture of place differs from the ordinary modernism of its day. He does not go so far as to employ an aedicule (Summerson's essay was still twenty years away), but it is clear that Wurster's work was a useful precedent for Moore while he was at Berkeley; we can also say that the Gregory Farmhouse, at least, may be counted as evidence of the continuity of an older "traditional" place-making extending into the modern period.

The establishment of a public realm was not enough to satisfy Charles Moore's concerns about the placelessness of the modern cultural landscape.

There seemed to be a deeper reason why traditional place-making was losing its potency, especially in the city, a problem that had been implicit in the place-idea from the beginning: the critical analyses of place-making became untenable when one tried, as Moore did, to use the idea to generate contemporary landscapes. To understand this decline, Moore went back to the messy chaos of the contemporary commercial landscape. In 1966 he published his next article in *Perspecta*, "Plug it in, Rameses, and see if it lights up, because we aren't going to keep it unless it works". The article begins on a familiar note:

> If architects are to continue to do useful work on this planet, then surely their proper concern must be, as it has always been, the creation of place, the ordered extension of man's idea about himself in specific locations on the face of the earth to make what Susanne Langer has called 'ethnic domain'. This, supposedly, will be useful to help people know where they are which will aid, by extension, in helping people know who they are.[61]

Moore explains that places have traditionally worked in a contiguous space, where the divisions of inside and out were spatial facts as well as mental constructs. He argues that now this continuity has been broken by new methods of transportation and communication. The visual and historic order that has always previously established the sense of place must give way to a more fluid "electronic" simultaneity. This amounts to a crisis in Moore's idea of architecture: 'Where, then, does this leave us? What might architect place-makers do, if anything?'[62] Finally, Moore is ready to face this contradiction within the place-idea.

Moore does not claim to have the answer to the problem, but he does propose that such an answer will come from what he calls the architects of inclusion, not the prevailing architecture of exclusion. These categories seem to be roughly similar to his distinction between specific and general architecture in "Toward Making Places". He lists Frank Lloyd Wright's Hanna House (begun in 1937) and Mies van der Rohe's Illinois Institute of Technology (1939-56) as examples of an architecture of exclusion, and claims that they have failed to 'gain control of the physical environment'.

> The architects of exclusion have for generations now perfected their art, and built their buildings on the plots assigned to them. But somehow the commercial strip which they abhor has arrogated to itself more vitality, more power of growth, indeed more inevitability of growth, than their whole tidy output put together.[63]

The architects of inclusion, on the other hand, 'are willing to accept into their systems of organisation those ambiguities and conflicts of which life is made.'[64] Moore counts Robert Venturi and his own collaborator Donlyn Lyndon as inclusivists, but he also counts the builders of The Madonna Inn, a California highway-side motel. The motel embodies an exuberant admixture of varied and often-conflicting cultural and historical elements presented all at once to the building's users.

It would be easy to credit Moore's idea of inclusivism to his new familiarity with Venturi,[65] but in fact, Jackson had been embracing the vernacular exuberance of the commercial strip since the late 1950s, in his own attempt to reconcile the lessons of traditional place-making to the alien characteristics of the contemporary landscape. Jackson asks: 'How are we to tame this force unless we understand it and even develop a kind of love for it?'[66] At the same time that Moore was praising The Madonna Inn, Reyner Banham published his "The Missing Motel" article (mentioned above), which made many of the same points about the virtues of unrecognised American architecture. Even while attempting to work through the fracture of the cosmological system of place-making, Moore operates within the discourse established by Jackson. But for Moore, the stakes are higher. Unlike Jackson, Moore is actually trying to build new places.

After 1966, Moore's development of the place-idea was fundamentally complete, though as we have seen necessarily unresolved about the role of place-making in the present day. Moore did not stop walking this line between the place-making tradition and an indifferent modernity, though he no longer tried to move past it. Instead, he began to explore a wider range of basic forms within the ideology he had already outlined. The best work to illustrate this mature stage of Moore's creation of place is the Kresge College of the University of California at Santa Cruz, designed in collaboration with William Turnbull from 1965 to 1972 and built in 1974.

The programme was for a college for 650 students, half of whom would be actively in residence; Kresge was to be the sixth such college built at the university. Moore and Turnbull chose an irregular ridge in a second-growth stand of redwoods as the site for the new college, which necessitated a dense, meandering, linear arrangement of buildings.[67] Along this ridge, the architects defined the edges of a pedestrian street with a series of small buildings in a common style slightly abstracted from a Mediterranean village vernacular. The street is 300 metres long, rising about 13 metres from its main entrance to its terminus at the top of the hill. The street twists several times along this path, periodically widening in a processional rhythm of small public plazas, which are the locations for the college's classrooms and common facilities. These plazas are marked by a series of what Moore calls 'trivial monuments, which do not bear any hierarchical onus.'[68] The residential buildings have no internal corridors, since each room or apartment has its entrance on a common porch looking out over the street. Though there are many small outlets from the street into the surrounding woodland, very few of the buildings themselves have any rear exits. The decoration of the college is staid: the fronts of the buildings are painted white, with limited colour marking the public spaces like the post office and the laundry. The outer side of the college is painted a uniform brown to match the natural landscape. The general effect of the complex is scenographic, like a

Figure 11 (upper left): Kresge College, entrance to interior street; and Figure 12 (upper right) , interior street.
Images courtesy of John Spelman.

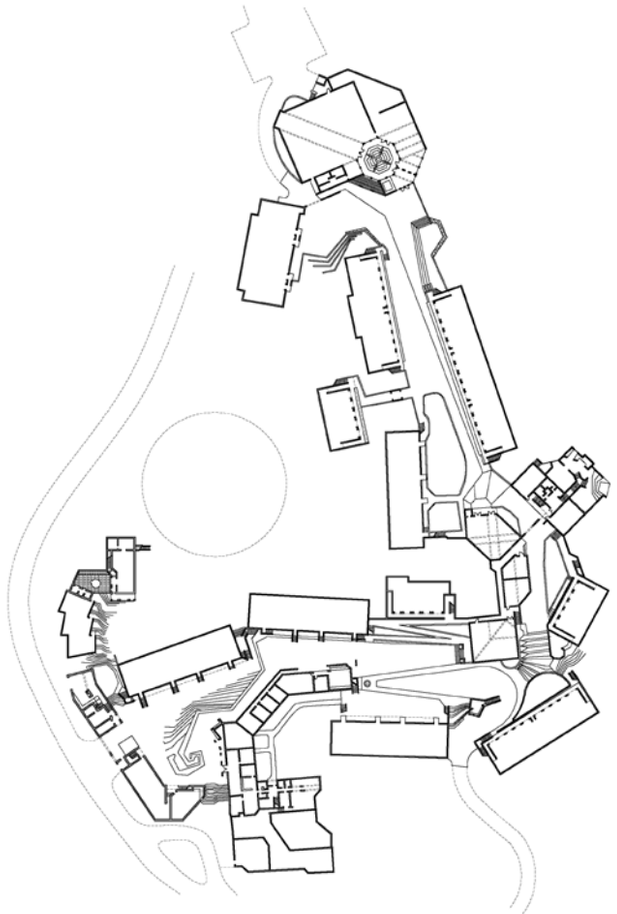


Figure 13 (left): Moore and Turnbull, Kresge College, University of California Santa Cruz, plan.
Image courtesy of Betsy Stoel.

Figure 14: Kresge College, public space.
Image courtesy of John Spelman.

stage set for student life. This seems to be part of Moore's strategy to combine traditional place-making and modernity, learned from Disneyland: that today, the public scene can only be enacted self-consciously, by willing participants, though not, as in Disneyland, by trying to recapture the past or to authenticate unreality.[69]

This scheme incorporates all of the place-making arguments of Moore's previous work and writing. It very consciously controls the experience of its occupants as they move through and live in the complex. It adopts a coherent and recognisable typological form. It succeeds in establishing a clear and self-contained world unto itself. The college also satisfies Moore's major qualifications for a specifically modern place-making: its attention is almost wholly given over to the production of a public realm, with far less focus on the scales of the individual dwelling or of the whole university. The ambiguity and conflicts embraced by the inclusivist approach are also here, in the incongruous use of a Mediterranean village form in a coniferous forest and in the abrupt transition from quiet, camouflaged exterior to the bright, bustling village inside. The college was also inclusive in the sense that Moore and Turnbull had organised the extensive involvement of students in the process of its design – Moore's 'any conceivable method of evaluation that does not exclude the public'. In Kresge College, Moore moved away from grand claims of the divine origins of place-making to attempt instead a more humble use of its basic elements. Though he and Turnbull argued that they had 'used a timeless symbolism to create a new, real place,' the college was nonetheless intended not to be a sacred place, 'but rather an extension of familiar, ordinary places.'[70]

Finally, however, notice what Kresge College is not. The structure is cheap and insubstantial, not the durable and enduring model that, say, Sea Ranch was meant to be. The organic sprawl of the "village" implies not an ambiguous relation to history, but the caricature of slow growth and maturation. The very symbol of the familiar Mediterranean village is abstracted into smooth, white surfaces simply punctured with windows and doors – a game of modernism aping the vernacular. For all its inclusivism, this is not an architectural rebellion in the way that something like the Madonna Inn might have been, any more than Venturi's Guild House, say, was rebellious like the commercial strip it was supposed to comprehend. Moore and Venturi had arrived at a criticism of architectural modernism from within, and not, as originally promised, an alternative practice that might avoid its failures. This is ultimately the limitation of all Moore's attempts to create places: they are not successful as orthodox modernism, but they are too modernist truly to be anything else.

In 1974, the year Kresge College was finally built, Moore published his first book, *The Place of Houses*, written in collaboration with Gerald Allen and Donlyn Lyndon.[71] *The Place of Houses* simplified and condensed Moore's ideology, then reviewed the works of MLTW to explain how that idea might be applied. The book was meant as a guide for people who wanted to design their own houses, so it maintains a simple, plain-worded tone. The overt theoretical statement of the book is limited to a single page, but all of the themes discussed above are there: laying claim to a place, the division of inside from outside, the placelessness of the modern world, the need for both a physical and metaphoric habitation, that a house is a world unto itself, and that the house expresses an attitude toward life – now a simple set of truisms meant to humanise modernist architecture and impress upon the casual reader how building a house might be a weighty undertaking. The rigour and rebellion of a decade before is no longer in evidence, and from this point Moore's architecture no longer strives for the standard it maintained in the 1960s.

By the middle 1970s, the study of place had become an accepted branch of academic discourse in geography in a series of books that became standard reading in departments of geography and landscape architecture throughout the United States, Canada, and England, most of which went through multiple editions within a few years of their first release.[72] The new place-idea became ingrained as one of the principal new theoretical modes of these two disciplines, and in a lesser way entered the discussion of various related fields. In this process, it slowly lost its original insistence on sacred foundations; just as at Kresge College, the pressing interests of urban design made the religious element seem like an antiquarian concern or a naïve enthusiasm.

The impact of the new place-idea in architecture was not so pervasive as in geography and landscape architecture, but it was significant and has endured, and is still centred on the figure of Moore as much as the first branch is centred on Jackson. But the very separation between these branches has been a recent development, coming into full effect only as they flowered in the 1970s. Now, it is rarely noted that both of these schools of thought spring from a common root, that they shared common assumptions about the nature of place, and that they were once both a part of a common philosophical discourse wider than the provinces where either branch found its final home. When Moore declared that the duty of architects is to make places, he was not merely improvising a justification for his personal agenda; he was making a contribution toward the larger understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of the human inhabitation of the earth, and the success or failure of his architecture may be judged by this standard. In the original formulation of the place-idea, however, there may be something still more valuable than the architecture it has so far inspired.

NOTES

1. Moore, born in 1925, had finished his undergraduate degree in architecture at the University of Michigan in 1945. He taught architectural history and design at the University of Utah from 1950-52, and after that served as a second lieutenant in the army, mostly in Korea. When he came to Princeton University it was as a promising but experienced young man of 32 on the G. I. Bill. See the following texts for biographical details: Eugene Johnson (ed.), *Charles Moore: Buildings and Projects 1949-1986* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989); Kevin P. Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life: Memoirs and Memories of Charles W. Moore* (Boston: Little and Brown Co., 1996); and David Littlejohn, *Architect: The Life and Work of Charles W. Moore* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984)

2. All dates given here for the design and construction of Moore's houses are from the survey by Gerald Allen, *Charles Moore* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1980). My thanks are due to Eve Blau, who has advised the development of this essay, to Neil Levine and Michael Hays who read it in its first form, and to Donlyn Lyndon and Leslie Luebbers, who gave valuable advice on this project.

3. See *Progressive Architecture* 43, no. 1 (January 1962): 146-48.

4. Donlyn Lyndon, Charles W. Moore, Patrick J. Quinn & Sim van Der Ryn, "Toward Making Places," *Landscape* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1962): 31-41. Donlyn Lyndon was a partner in Moore's firm MLTW, collaborated with Moore on many written works until Moore's death in 1993, and served as head of the architecture departments at the University of Oregon, Massachusetts Institute of Techonology, and the University of California-Berkeley, and as founding editor of the journal PLACES. Sim van der Ryn rose to prominence as an early leader of the movement for ecologically sustainable architecture, notably serving as the State Architect of California in the 1970s in the administration of Governor Jerry Brown. Patrick J. Quinn became Dean of Architecture at the Renssalaer Polytechnic Institute, writing on sacred space and the built environment. It is notable that all of them served as professors of architecture at Berkeley.

5. The terms "sense of place" and "place-making" have been subject to such varied use in the last few decades of architectural criticism that they seem to carry no solid meaning. When they were first introduced into their current popularity, however, they were the hallmark of both a novel theoretical movement and an approach to the practice of architecture intended to embody this movement. The idea of a "place" had no special connotation within the range of architectural discourse when Moore's career began, but ten years later, to those familiar with the American architectural discourse the invocation of "place" drew instant associations with Moore and his followers.

6. Lyndon, Moore, et al., "Toward waterMaking Places," 31.

7. Lyndon, Moore, et al., "Toward Making Places," 33.

8. Lyndon, Moore, et al., "Toward Making Places," 35.

9. Lyndon, Moore, et al., "Toward Making Places," 31. Moore, not Lyndon, makes the attack on self-expression in architecture on page 32.

10. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, untitled article, *PLACES* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1984): 3-6.

11. Pers. comm., Donlyn Lyndon, November 3, 2001. According to Lyndon, Jackson introduced the professors to one another after giving a lecture at Berkeley.

12. Pers. comm., Donlyn Lyndon. The students in Moore's circle at Princeton were familiar with the journal.

13. Note that Jackson had no professional degrees and did not write a book until 1972, so his success was almost entirely due to the rising esteem for his journal. Both his professorial appointments were in Landscape Architecture, though at Berkeley he was also supported by the Department of Geography and at Harvard University also worked with the Carpenter Center for Visual Studies. He maintained lectureships at both universities, alternating semesters between Cambridge and Boston, and spending summers at his ranch in New Mexico. For an account of Jackson's early career, see D. W. Meinig, "Reading the Landscape" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D. W. Meinig (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 195-243.

14. Pers. comm. (corr.), Leslie Luebbers, January 11, 2002. Luebbers has this information on the authority of Donlyn Lyndon.

15. Carl Sauer's 1925 "The Morphology of Landscape" was reprinted in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); and Richard Hartshorne's 1939 "The Nature of Geography" originally appeared as two complete issues of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, and was subsequently reprinted in book form (Lancaster, PA: AAG, 1939).

16. Jackson, "Human, all too human, Geography," *Landscape* 2, no. 2 (Autumn 1952): 1-5. Original italics.

17. It is unclear whether the single passage of Pierre Deffontaines's work discussed below is the best representation of his similarity to the American discussion of place, it is merely the only passage I know to have appeared in the American discussion. Deffontaines's work in human geography was extensive and ranges from the 1920s to 1978, the year of his death. His work on the geography of religion, particularly *L'homme et la religion* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948; it is unclear whether this is identical to a book also occasionally cited as Géographie et religions), seems to anticipate some of the themes later popularised by Mircea Eliade. Also see Chris Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), 17.

18. Pierre Deffontaines, "The Place of Believing," *Landscape* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1953): 22-28. Originally published 1948. Neither Moore nor any of the writers mentioned in this piece, except for Jackson, seem to have read Deffontaines.

19. Though all of the ideas involved in the place idea derive from European academic discourse, the use of a central idea to connect them seems to be an original American phenomenon, at least in the form presented by Jackson or by Moore.

20. Deffontaines, "The Place of Believing," 28.

21. Just as Lethaby seems to anticipate Moore, and Ratzel anticipates Jackson, we might also say that Schmarsow's study of spatial effects anticipates later phenomenology, and that Lethaby also anticipates later comparative studies of religion. There seems to exist a strong parallel between the Moore/Jackson moment and the philosophical climate of the *fin-de-siècle,* but a full treatment of the grounds for this parallel lies beyond the scope of the present study.

22. Charles W. Moore, "Water and Architecture," PhD diss., Princeton University, 1957.

23. W. R. Lethaby, *Architecture, Nature, and Magic* (London: Duckworth, 1956). Originally published as a series of articles in *The Builder*, 1928-39.

24. Lethaby, *Architecture, Nature, and Magic*, 16.

25. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (1957; New York: Harcourt, Brace 1959). The book appears in Moore's first attempt at a short bibliography of place-making, in Kent C. Bloomer & Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977), 141-42.

26. Suzanne Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York: Scribner, 1953), 95. This appears as part of the first of nine long marginal quotations spread over the article. Other quotations are by figures including van Eyck and Kahn.

27. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, *Native Genius in Anonymous Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1957); "Environment and Anonymous Architecture," *Perspecta* 3 (1955): 2-7, 77.

28. Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: An Introduction to Non-pedigreed Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964).

29. According to William Turnbull, concerning the design for Sea Ranch. Quoted in Littlejohn, *Architect*, 138.

30. For instance, in the short bibliography of Bloomer and Moore. Note also that there are several other works that might be mentioned in the context of this part of the discussion. For example, Vincent Scully's 1962 book *The Earth, The Temple, and the Gods*, which Moore reviewed in *Landscape* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1963): 35-36. Scully is interesting here for his early relation of architecture to landscape and religion, which Moore duly notes.

31. Moore quotes Gordon Cullen in "The Architecture of Water," *Canadian Architect* 4, no. 11 (1959): 40-55.

32. Cullen, "Legs and Wheels [Townscape]," *Architectural Review* 104, no. 620 (August 1948): 77-80. The other editor of note from the 1940s and 1950 was Hubert de Cronin Hastings, chief editor and owner of the Architectural Press and its subsidiary, the *Architectural Review*, along with Nikolaus Pevsner, J. M. Richards and later Hugh Casson. See Mathew Aitchison, "Visual Planning and Exterior Furnishing: A Critical History of the Early Townscape Movement, 1930 to 1949," PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2009. Also see Gordon Cullen's various articles on Townscape in the *Architectural Review* from August 1948 onwards – esp. 104, no. 620 (August 1948): 77-88; and with "I. De Wolfe," 106, no. 636 (December 1949): 355-74. For the specific terms I quote in the next sentences, see Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (1971; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1980).

33. Cullen, *Concise Townscape*, 9. Aitchison points out that predating Cullen's more applied studies in urban design, the Townscape discourse of the 1940s pointed to ideas surrounding the figure of the genius loci to emphasize their idea regarding site-specificity, consistent with their role as a part of the concurrent "picturesque revival". See, for example, the special edition of *Architecture Review* (June 1945).

34. In 1959, Edward T. Hall published his influential book on spatial psychology, *The Silent Language* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday). In the same year, The MIT Press issued Steen Eiler Rasmussen's *Experiencing Architecture*, a basic text discussing the sensory experience of architecture. In 1960, The MIT Press issued Kevin Lynch's seminal *The Image of the City*, an investigation of how people comprehend cities in terms of basic types of visual information. The participants in the place discussion received Lynch's book with particular enthusiasm, and Moore began to adopt Lynch's five cognitive spatial categories (paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks) almost immediately.

35. Many of Martin Heidegger's works of this period are closely related to the new place-idea, most notably "an ontological consideration of place" and the oft-reprinted essay "building dwelling thinking," which of all his works would have the greatest impact on architecture (dated 1951 as "Bauen Wohnen Denken," in *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (1954; Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000). Still, as important as Heidegger would later become for architectural culture, he was not a significant presence in the place discussion at this early moment, his popularity having temporarily waned due to his association with Nazism. The phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, though it was much more easily available, seems also to have been marginal to the place-discussion.

36. Gaston Bachelard, *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter*, trans. Edith R. Farrell (1942; Dallas: Pegasus, 1983); Moore, "Water and Architecture".

37. Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (1957; New York: Orion Press, 1964)

38. Moore also had ties to Professors E. Baldwin Smith and Donald Drew Egbert in the Department of Art History, but the influence of the professors in the architecture school on Moore's thinking seems to have been greater.

39. See Labatut Archive, Princeton, NJ, Rare Collections, The Firestone Library, esp. box 13. For the Fireworks and Fountains, see boxes 38 and 40. The architecture of spectacle was a popular trend at the time in the space between public relations and political control; consider Albert Speer's Cathedral of Ice at the 1934 Nuremberg rally, then consider how the New York Fair was organized by Robert Moses, whose power over his metropolis was perhaps even greater than Speer's over Berlin.

40. It seems clear that Moore's dissertation project was closely adapted from a paper by Labatut, dated 1937 and titled "Evolution of the Use of Water in Landscape Design." See Labatut Archive, box 13, folder 2. Moore claimed that Labatut had never had the strong influence over him that Peressutti and Kahn exercised, and it is fair to say that Labatut's most direct disciple was his slightly earlier student, Robert Venturi. For this see Moore cited in Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life*, 53. There is preserved in the Labatut Archive a rather delicate letter from Venturi dated June 9, 1965, informing Labatut that Moore and not Venturi had been named Chair of Architecture at Yale University. See box 11, folder 4.

41. Moore taught with Kahn in the latter part of his time at Princeton, and when his post-doctoral fellowship was ending had to choose between working for Kahn or teaching at Berkeley. Moore says, 'I had never heard of Louis Kahn when I first went to Princeton, but he eventually came to seem more important than anyone else … he made everything seem so wonderful. It was a whole new world. There was so much moral fervor to everything: it really mattered what color bricks you picked. That business of keeping rooms "sanctified places": it was all very highly charged.' Quoted in Littlejohn, *Architect*, 126.

42. Consider the following two passages about animals and built structures: '[Nature] will make any form that answers to the very nature of things. That is why we have what we call such peculiar-looking animals. Because there is a certain existence-will in this kind of thing which produces itself in the kind of animal and nature is not concerned about form – but we are. So, therefore, the existence-will of something, an auditorium, a street, a school, will be the thing that makes the form. Think of a school for a minute. A school. What is the existence-will of a school?' Kahn cited in Oscar Newman (ed.), *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Inter-relations* (Stuttgart: Kramer, 1961), 206. And: 'If we trace the artistic form of things, made by man, to their origin, we find a direct imitation of nature. The thought behind a ship is the imitation of a fish. So to the Egyptians and the Greeks the "Black Ship" bore traces of this descent, and two eyes were painted at the prow.' W. R. Lethaby, *Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth* (1892; New York: Braziller, 1975), 4. I emphasise the similarity between the two works to show how strongly Kahn stands in the traditional correlation between architecture and religious experience.

43. In Moore's first close experience with him in the winter of 1955-56, Peressutti flew the entire class of first-year architecture students to the Yucatán to show them the ruins at Chichén Ítza in connection with a design project for a modern museum to fit in with the ruins, showing respect to them without aping their style. See Littlejohn, *Architect*, 121-22; Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life*, 58.

44. In Newman (ed.), *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*: Ernesto Nathan Rogers and respondents, "The Torre Velasca," 92-101; Peter Smithson, 94-96; Jacob Bakema, 97; Aldo van Eyck, "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values," 26-28, 27.

45. van Eyck, "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values," 28.

46. John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays* (London: Cresset, 1949), 1-28.

47. Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions*, 2, 4.

48. See Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life*, 65.

49. Moore in Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life*, 118, 169. The Orinda house was actually Moore's second use of the aedicule; the first was the Jobson house of 1961. Therefore, we can assume that Moore met Summerson late in 1961 or early in 1962, since from the conversation he had apparently already built an aedicule, but had not yet done the two in his own house.

50. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1961); Giedion Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (Glencoe, Il.: Free Press, 1960).

51. Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George R. Collins & Christiane Crasemann Collins (1889; New York: Random House, 1965)

52. Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West* (1917, 1920; New York: Modern Library, 1962); Lethaby in *Architecture, Nature, and Magic*, 140; Moore through Lethaby in his dissertation, "Water and Architecture".

53. Jackson, "Other-Directed Houses," *Landscape* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1956-57), 29-35; "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder," *Landscape* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1957-58), 22-27.

54. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Architecture and Human Nature," *Landscape* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 16-19.

55. Reyner Banham, "The Missing Motel: Unrecognized American Architecture," *Landscape* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1962): 4-6.

56. Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," *Perspecta* 9-10 (1965), 57-106; and "Plug it in, Rameses, and see if it lights up, because we aren't going to keep it unless it works," *Perspecta* 11 (1966): 32-43.

57. Charles Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," 58. Notice how Moore's discussion of "edges" and "markers" shows the influence of Kevin Lynch, while his inside/outside boundaries show the influence of van Eyck.

58. Moore, "You Have to Pay for the Public Life," 65.

59. Johnson suggests that the name MLTW was chosen in imitation of BBPR. *Charles Moore*, 64.

60. Moore declares his original intention in Littlejohn, *Architect*, 125; his invitation from Wurster is printed and discussed in Keim (ed.), *An Architectural Life*, 70-73. On Wurster, see Marc Treib (ed.), *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996). On Bay Region Architecture, see Sally Woodbridge (ed.), *Bay Area Houses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

61. Moore, "Plug it in," 35.

62. Moore, "Plug it in," 38.

63. Moore, "Plug it in," 40.

64. Moore, "Plug it in," 40.

65. Venturi and Moore both became associated with the supposed inclusivist camp, largely as a result of Robert A. M. Stern's 1969 book, *New Directions in American Architecture* (1969; New York: Braziller, 1977). Stern attributes the inclusive/exclusive dichotomy to Moore. Stern, *New Directions in American Architecture*, 8, and note 1 above.

66. Quoted in Meinig, "Reading the Landscape," 217.

67. See Sally Woodbridge, "How to make a Place," *Progressive Architecture* 55, no. 5 (May 1974) 76-83. Turnbull did a master plan for the west side of campus in 1967; he and Moore could have chosen any site on that side of campus, but intentionally chose the difficult ridge for its dramatic possibilities.

68. Bloomer & Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture*, 118.

69. Woodbridge, "How to make a Place," 81-82.

70. Paraphrased by Woodbridge, "How to make a Place," 82; also see Bloomer & Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture*, 119.

71. Charles Moore, Gerald Allen, and Donlyn Lyndon, *The Place of Houses* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974)

72. J. B. Jackson's first book, *American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865-1876*, was published in 1972 (New York: Norton). Yi-Fu Tuan published *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values* in 1974 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall) and *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* in 1977 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). David Lowenthal and Martyn Bowden edited the volume *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy in Honor of John Kirtland Wright* in 1975 (New York: Oxford University Press). Edward Relph published *Place and Placelessness* in 1976 (London: Pion) And in 1979, essays by Jackson and his principle disciples (including both Tuan and Lowenthal) were collected in Meinig's *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*.