Urban Revisions: Berlin After the Wall

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Walls are the physical manifestation of a politically motivated border line. They define a community and create a distinction between the inside and outside. They have as much impact on the shape of a city as other border lines such as streets, lot lines, etc. Even the faint traces of former walls can govern the evolving character of a city. To overcome such a division is a difficult undertaking: it calls for grand visions that go beyond the linking of parts once segregated.

For most of its history, Berlin has been surrounded by walls. Like no other structures, these walls have determined Berlin's shape, fabric and function. The Medieval wall protected the city-state and ensured the independence of its burghers. In the Renaissance, the wall became a giant military infrastructure that guaranteed the absolute rule of the prince. In the eighteenth century, the wall provided the king with a steady income from sales taxes. Berlin's most recent wall divided the city and separated two opposing political, financial and military systems until November 1989. Each of the walls, in turn, has been reused or replaced or made obsolete. Once abandoned, these former boundaries reinvigorated Berlin's search for new city form and identity. The chance to drastically improve the city, however, was seldom used. Recent proposals for the no-man's-land are no exception: conservative in approach and unimaginative in design they fail to offer compelling visions for a democratic capital in the twenty-first century.

This study investigates the relationship between walls and the planning proposals for the lands they once separated. A morphological analysis of Berlin's four walls reveals their impact on the physical fabric of the city and explains how the development of Berlin's many neighborhoods, with their highly individual character and social composition, was influenced by the former boundaries. A critical reading of proposed and executed plans for the no-man's-land will shed light on the internal and external forces that motivated them and question the substance of these urban visions.

ORIGINS AND ESTABLISHMENT

Berlin is believed to date back as far as the late twelfth century. Following the Ascanian' invasion of the Slavic territories under Albert the Bear, a group of settlers established a trading post at the sole crossing point of the river Spree. Whether the original choice of site was due to trade and transport or strategic considerations is still uncertain. A river-crossing was, however, an ideal site for commercial development. Bridges imposed tolls and the collection of tolls resulted in halts and delays,[2] which led to a need for inns and markets. By 1240, two relatively small settlements, Berlin and its neighbor Colln, had emerged as a result of the river crossing. Each settlement was built around a parish and marketplace located at the intersection of two major thoroughfares. The geometry of these intersections determined the fabric of each city; their dissimilar angles created distinctly different layouts in each settlement.

Ten years later both Berlin and Colln received their city rights. This title consisted of tax-rights, jurisdiction rights, the right to print money and to hold markets. As a result, a field-stone rampart was built. Two halves encased each settlement respectively and distinguished the newly estab-

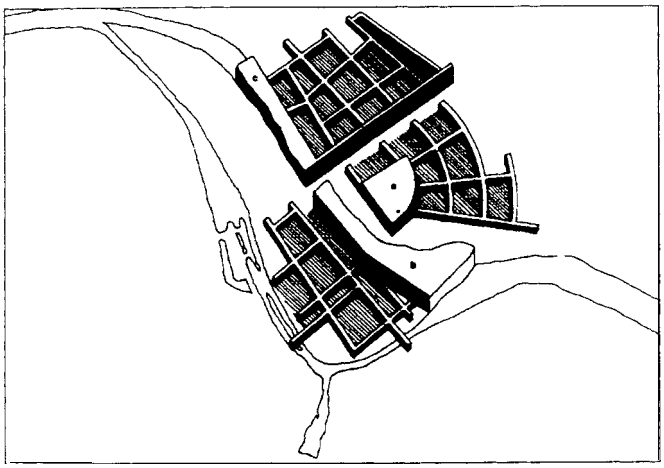

Fig. 1. Generators of the Urban Fabric I
Medieval Berlin consisted of three distinct layouts: a) the radial grid shaped by Berlin's original core (market square and parish church St. Nicolas), b) Cölln's elongated grid generated by the shape of the island and c) the checker-board of Berlin's northern addition generated by the preliminary wall and the river bank.

lished city from surrounding villages. Shortly thereafter, Berlin added a further grid-type to the area comprising Berlin-Colln. As did the two initial settlements, Berlin's northern extension featured a distinct layout: a regular nine-square grid, a market place and a parish church. Both cities together possessed all the features necessary for the success of a medieval town:' a river-crossing linked to major merchant roads; a strong social force expressed in three parishes, two city halls and a hospital; and a legal title.

THE MEDIEVAL WALL

In 1309, as a result of their successful development, Berlin and Colln became independent from the Ascanian territorial rulers and merged together to form a city-state.[4] A new wall was needed to accentuate the city's independent status, to protect Berlin's northern addition from potential invaders and to differentiate between inside and outside areas. The brick wall was tightly strung around Berlin's three different grids and neither interrupted nor changed the course of the roads. No undeveloped land was included within the walls. Institutions such as hospitals, cemeteries and execution areas, although an integral part of each town, were usually located outside the walls and close to the gates. Beyond this distinction of what could lie inside or outside the gates,[5] the wall in this period did not affect its layout nor did it interfere with the functioning of the town. Its primary purpose was to dress the city in a new gown.

The dual city's independence, however, was short-lived. In 1412, the line of the Ascanian rulers became extinct and Emperor Sigismund made the Count of Hohenzollern the Elector of the Mark Brandenburg. The following 30 years were marked by continuing efforts among the Hohenzollern ruling family to weaken the government of Berlin and to establish its members as rulers.[6] Through a series of political intrigues, they aroused animosity among the various guilds

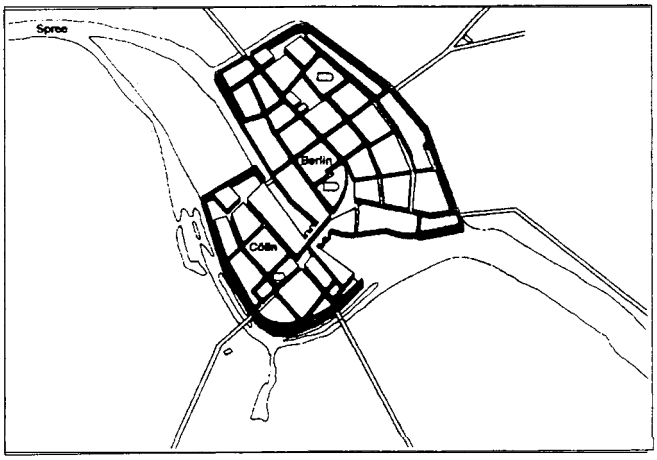

Fig. 2. The Medieval Wall
In 1310, a brick wall was tightly strung around the three preexisting grids of Berlin. The city was dressed in a new gown; the wall did not affect its layout, nor did it interfere with the functioning of the town. Besides offering protection, its primary purpose was to accentuate the city's status.

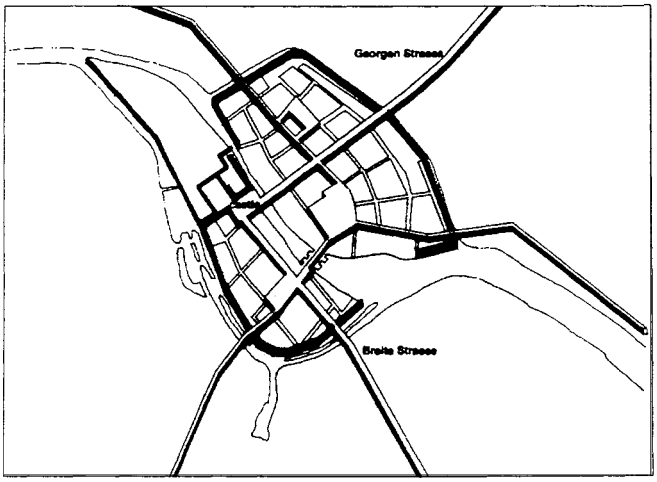

Fig. 3. The Castle as Focal Point
In 1450, the erection of the castle at the edge of Cölln shifted the focus from the dual city's civic cores to the front courtyard of the elector's residence. The two major thoroughfares intersected in front of the castle. The Spree island provided protection against invaders.

and between working men and noblemen. By 1442, the communal government had collapsed and Berlin had become subject to the absolute rule of the Prince of Hohenzollern, Elector of the Mark Brandenburg. From now on all government decisions, in particular the disposal of communal territory, the layout of future extensions and the planning of new fortifications, would be made by the elector. Prince Friedrich II immediately used his ruling privilege to confiscate communal land from Cölln's northern edge for the construction of his princely residence.

The site for the castle was chosen for a number of reasons. Located prominently between the two cities, the castle clearly communicated the elector's presence and control to the citizens. At the same time, a fork in the river protected the grounds on three sides from unruly subjects.' Although the location of the castle had little immediate effect on the cities' physical appearance, it had a far-reaching impact on the future development of Berlin's city form. The castle diverted the focus of the thoroughfares from the civic cores to the front-court of the elector's residence. This concentration of power in the northwest shifted the hub temporarily to the edge of the city. Over the following centuries, the rulers of the Mark Brandenburg favored the extension of their city towards the west to underscore the importance of their residence as the center of Berlin.

THE BASTION WALL

The Thirty Years' War left Berlin in ruins. Although the city was never actually captured, close to half the housing stock was abandoned by residents fleeing the oncoming enemy and others killed in battle.[8] After the war, under the rule of Friedrich Wilhelm, active measures were taken to expand the city and update its fortifications. The military technology employed in the Thirty Years' War had rendered the

medieval wall obsolete and a new wall with thirteen bastions was planned. The shape of the new wall was based on treatises by Italian military engineers who, at the time, favored a circular layout for defense structures. A circular form provided more enclosed space with less surrounding structure than other geometric forms. Furthermore, military doctrine required that gates be placed halfway between two bastions to ensure equal coverage by artillery. Of the five previous gates, only the Georgen gate coincided with the old. This street, the Elector's triumphal route to his castle, remained uninterrupted. The other new gates changed traffic flow in the cities and generated new points of arrival, thereby significantly influencing the fabric of the dual cities.

The construction of this imposing bastion wall took 25 years to complete and went hand in hand with the western extension of the dual city. Inspired by the ruler's wish to have the residence, an icon' of centralized power, located in the center of Berlin rather than on the city edge, additional suburbs were plotted in front of the city's western boundary. The first addition, Friedrichswerder, was planned inside the new fortification and received civic rights in 1662. Its street layout and orientation were entirely determined by the new wall thus adding a new grid type to the city. Another new settlement, Dorotheenstadt, was laid out directly beyond the wall west of Friedrichswerder shortly thereafter. South of Dorotheenstadt, a new borough for Huguenot refugees was projected as soon as the bastion wall was completed.[9] The layout of this new suburb, called Friedrichstadt, was planned as a continuation of Dorotheenstadt's gridiron plan. For the first time in the urban history of Berlin, an addition continued the layout of its neighbor rather than following an independent plan. In spite of their identical layout, Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichstadt were planned around a separate civic center, city hall and parish church, and were considered independent entities, each of which was subject to the elector's orders.

Due to Berlin's increase in population,[10] the planned western additions became densely settled and could not accommodate all of the immigrants. As a result, many Vorstadte or faubourgs" sprung up outside Berlin's eastern fortification. In contrast to the rigid layout of the western additions, these squatter settlements followed no underlying planning principle. Building activity was supposed to be restricted to the roads connecting Berlin with neighboring towns but the area's residents did not comply with this stipulation. No civic infrastructure was imposed on these areas. The ruler's concern did not extend beyond the wall.

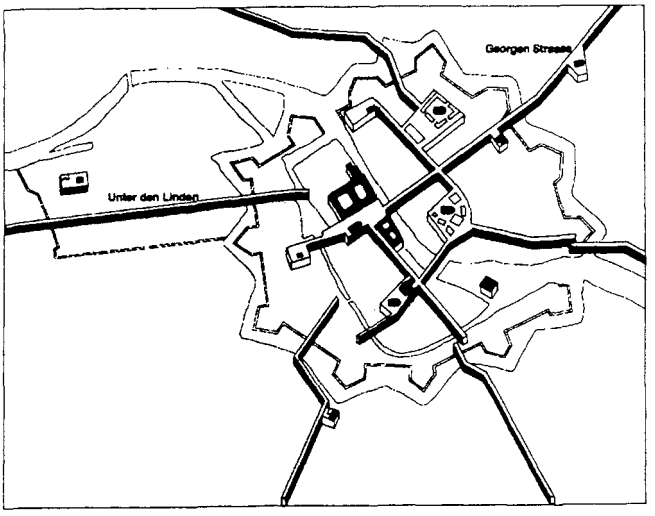

Fig. 4. Berlin's Urban Armature
The location of the gates was not determined by the previously established thoroughfares, but adhered to military rules that required their placement between two bastions. The new gates changed the course of traffic in the city, generated new points of arrival. and thus influenced the future fabric.

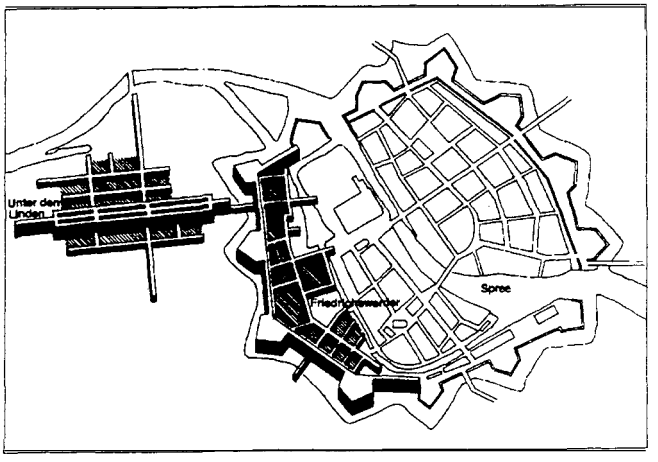

Fig. 5. Generators of the Urban Fabric II
The structure of the Bastion Wall dominated the entire street layout and orientation of Friedrichswerder. A wide street (Wall Strasse) followed the course of the fortification and connected the bastions in order to distribute military supplies efficiently.

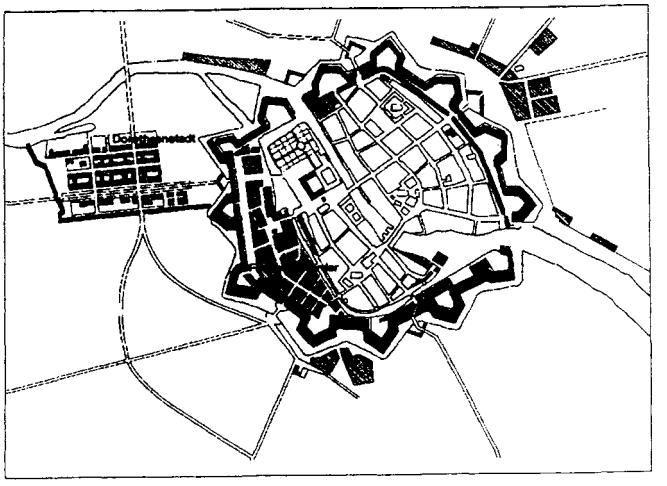

Fig. 6. Planned and Unplanned Additions
The construction of the Bastion Wall in 1688 introduced a strong directionality at the city's edge. The INSIDE was clearly defined and played up against the OUTSIDE.

THE CUSTOMS WALL

Forty years later, the elector replaced the land tax by a sales

tax, also called an excise (Akzise). This tax applied only to imported items that were also manufactured or produced in Prussia, such as textiles, metals, leather and tobacco, and was collected at the city gates. Because the outside additions were not surrounded by the wall, they did not supply tax revenues for the king.[12] In order to increase the internal revenue for the royal residence, King Friedrich Wilhelm I ordered the erection of a tax wall in front of the bastion wall.

The new wall, called the Akzisemauer, extended the ruler's control to the Vorstädte, keeping its inhabitants under the reins of his government. It consisted primarily of a wooden palisade which could be moved in response to the city's growth and, in contrast to the bastion wall, required only a small footprint of land." The Akzise wall also defined the new edge of the city beyond which unwanted institutions such as veteran hospitals, prisons, execution facilities, cemeteries, brothels and shelters for the poor were to be moved. Hence, the new wall divided the metropolitan area into two contrasting parts: a bourgeois core and a series of inferior suburbs. This differentiation shaped the character of Berlin well into the twentieth century.

The construction of the customs wall took place in several increments over a 30-year period. The first segment was erected in 1705 and encircled the Vorstadte north-east of Berlin. Like the medieval rampart, the tax wall adhered to the already established road network and allowed the thoroughfares to continue uninterrupted to the city proper. It did, however, change the status of the earlier Vorstadte which it now encircled. Spandauer Vorstadt, Konigstadtand Stralauer Vorstadt received city rights, were provided with churches, city halls and police stations, and became equal members of the greater Berlin council. To the south, the area between the

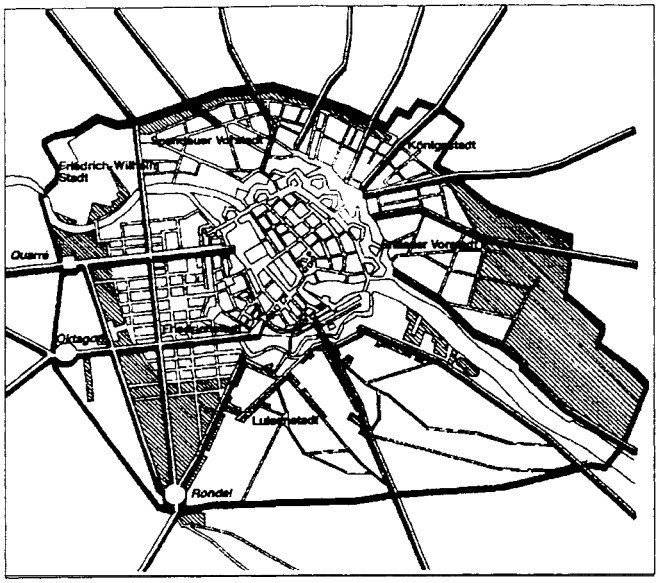

Fig. 7. The Akzise Wall 1780
The wall's primary purpose was to mark the extent of Berlin's tax jurisdiction. In a few places it extended beyond the *Vorstadte* to include land for future development. While affecting the placement of the formal squares, the wall did not interrupt the thoroughfares.

Akzise wall and the bastions increased in density and the restrictive characteristic of the latter became intolerable. As a result, parts of the old bulwark were either torn down or integrated into housing blocks. Other segments were leveled and their footprint became the site for factories and warehouses. Although Berlin became one of the first European capitals to raze its fortification it never developed an overall design scheme for the transformation of its bastion wall. Unlike Vienna or Paris which transformed the wall's footprint into cultural ring streets, public parks or boulevards, the need to provide leisure areas was not acknowledged by the Prussian capital.[14]

Like all of Berlin's other definite boundaries, the Akzise wall soon lost its original function and ceased to be a tax barrier. In 1834, Prussia decreed a new tax law and joined the German Tariff-Union with Berlin as the economic capital of a vastly expanded customs district. From this time on, taxes were raised upon entering the district instead of the city. No longer used to collect taxes, the Akzise wall continued to serve as a boundary between the city and the settlements at its periphery. Citizens of Berlin were entitled to property ownership and freedom of trade while those living outside the barrier remained subject to feudal rule. They could neither obtain fire insurance for their dwellings nor were the streets lit or maintained by the city government.[15] Consequently, population and property values inside the municipal area increased dramatically and any attempt to confine urban growth to an area defined by a wall proved futile. In 1841 and 1861, however, the municipal jurisdiction was extended well beyond the Akzise wall and made ineffectual the physical confinement of the city. The wall's subsequent demolition in 1867 mirrors the victory of industrial production over feudalist restraint.[16]

IRON BORDERS

By 1845, five railroad lines had emerged out of Berlin's rapid industrialization. They ran parallel to the medieval routes and formed a radial network connecting Berlin with Stettin, Hamburg, Potsdam, Halle and Frankfurt (Oder). Ironically, while the railroads prepared the ground for the urbanization of the country and the subsequent dismantling of the city, they were severely constrained by Berlin's policy of restrictive growth. Four of the five railroad lines were forbidden to enter the city and merge into a central station. Instead, they ended abruptly in terminals at the gates of the tax wall and emphasized these gates as points of arrival. When the wall and gates were tom down, the terminals themselves became the new gateways whose purpose was to accentuate certain streets and direct the traveler on his or her journey through the city.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, two elevated railways, the Stadtbahn and the L, an electrified urban line, were constructed on the footprint of former walls. Instead of following Vienna's example which had converted the footprint of its bastion wall into a ring-boulevard," Berlin

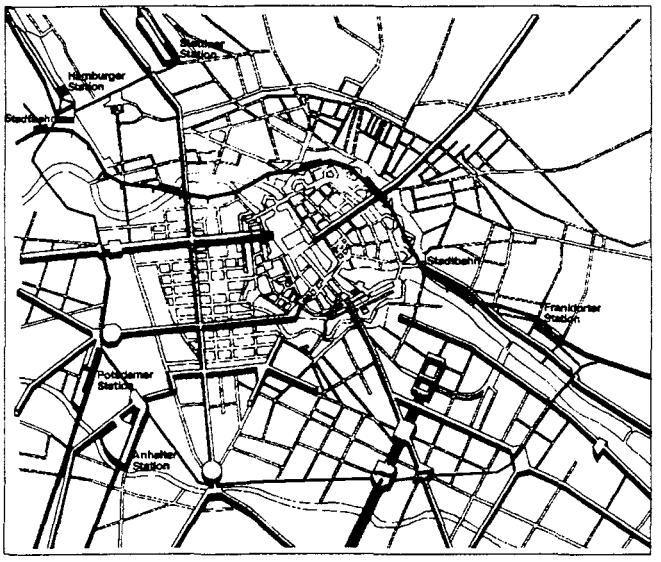

Fig. 8. Iron Borders and Urban Armature
Four of the five terminals were built immediately outside the Akzise wall, next to major thoroughfares. The railway line connecting the five stations replaced the wall as a boundary and interrupted the flow of traffic.

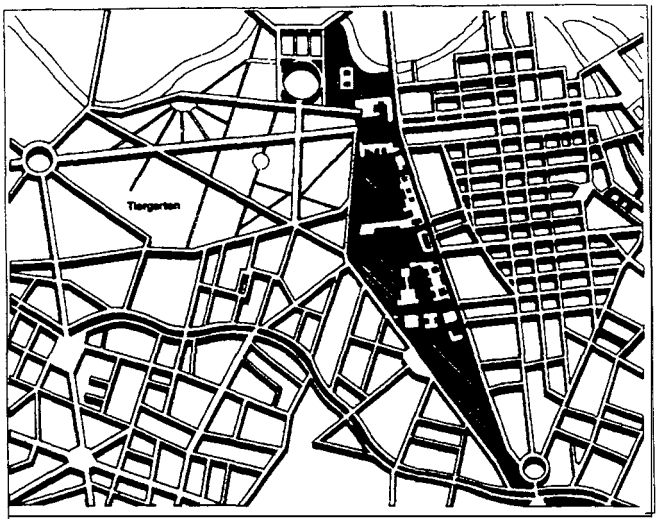

Fig. 9. Governmental Quarter
The area between the Brandenburg gate and the Potsdamer square was an ideal location for the new governmental quarter due to its proximity to railways and major thoroughfares. The former edge became the new center.

developed the only remainder of its bastioned fortification, the moat Konigsgraben, into a second-rate transportation system. Here, the Stadtbahn towered on metal arches above an unnecessarily narrow street, ruining Berlin's chance for redevelopment of the tight medieval layout into a spacious, tree-lined boulevards connecting the old core with Unter den Linden. Similarly, an elevated rapid transit line was erected on the footprint of the demolished Akzise wall from the Rondel to the Stralauer gate. Although both lines, due to their raised structures, posed no hindrance to crossing roads, they nevertheless acted as visual barriers and maintained the function of previous walls the segregation of one part of the city from another.

OVERCOMING THE BOUNDARIES

At the turn of the century, Berlin, no longer restricted by borders, extended rapidly beyond its western boundary. Its wealthy citizens moved to the suburbs to avoid the rental barracks while the working class continued to live in the congested inner city. The rail-network connecting the settlements with the city center became increasingly efficient at a time when development was an extremely profitable enterprise. The space between the city and the suburbs was subsequently developed and, as a result, two new hubs emerged to the west of the medieval core, challenging its dominance.

One of these hubs was located south of Zoological Garden. By 1930, this area had developed into Berlin's most fashionable shopping center. It extended along Tauentzien Strasse and Kurfürstendamm for over a mile and was lined with expensive shops and luxury apartments. Simultaneous to the appearance of this new commercial center, the government of the now unified Germany also moved westward and claimed the former edge of the city between the Brandenburg gate and Potsdamer square. This stretch of land was ideal for the relocation of the governmental quarter, because huge parcels of land were available for construction. Neither the tight rational grid in the east nor the Grand Manner layout in the west traversed the area, thus allowing for development on a large scale.

Several government buildings, encasing the Potsdamer Platz on both sides and a row of Ministries, were built from the square to the Brandenburg gate. Under Nazi rule, Hitler's new Reich Chancellery was built next to the square. Plans for the transformation of Berlin into Germania[18] were also drawn up for a central north-south axis running parallel to the governmental quarter. Thus, what had been Berlin's edge for more than one hundred years was converted into the focal point of a new political order.

THE WALL OF SHAME

Twelve years after Hitler's assumption of power, the Third Reich ceased to exist. Germany was divided into four zones of occupation. Berlin, which had surrendered to the Russian Army on May 2, 1945, was also divided into four sectors. The Americans, British, and French shared 12 of the 20 boroughs and the Soviets controlled the remaining eight. The plans for Berlin's division were based on its earlier subdivision into 20 administrative districts in the 1920's. These districts corresponded with partitions created by the Vorstädte in the eighteenth century. Thus, former legal boundaries, at times manifested by the tax wall, re-surfaced and determined the shape and content of the Allied zones.

Due to growing cold war hostilities, the political opposition between East and West led to the formation of two

German republics and the subsequent division of Berlin. East Berlin became the capital of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and West Berlin became an enclave, located more than one hundred miles within the Soviet zone. The city's division began in 1948 when a man painted a line on the ground separating the East from the West. The boundary, only painted on the ground, was unable to keep the inhabitants of Berlin in their respective sectors. Instead, it provoked an exodus which, by 1961 had reached proportions frightening to the German Democratic Republic. On August 13,1961, the East German government tookmeasures to stop the flight of its people into the West by erecting a permanent barrier that surrounded the western half of the city. This wall, commonly referred to as the Berlin Wall, came to possess all the features of a fortification. Its width was extended to include several obstructive elements such as tank barriers, mine fields and wire mesh fences. The glacis, a sixteenth century innovation, was revived and oriented towards socialist territory, indicating that attempts to traverse the boundary were expected from this direction.

Following the wall's construction, both governments attempted to ignore each other's existence. East Berlin closed most of the thoroughfares and power lines linking it with the West. Only the sewage lines remained open. It also did nothing to revive the former governmental district, which had been heavily hit by Allied air raids. Instead, government and cultural functions were consecutivelymoved eastwards. The socialist regime established itself in Berlin's original center, the feudal core. The castle for the Socialists a symbol of past oppression was demolished in order to build the House of Parliament.[19] Alexander Square, located next to the governmental precinct and a pre-war counterpart to Kurfürstendamm, was resurrected as a showcase of eastern economy. Crowned by one of the world's largest television towers, this area increasingly acted as East Berlin's social and cultural fulcrum.

West Berlin, on the other hand, carefully avoided interfering with the pre-war layout, except in the case of the Kulturforum. It kept all streets along the wall intact and rebuilt most of the destroyed buildings in an attempt to reestablish the status quo. It did, however, have to set up a new administrative center because most of the former government buildings lay on Eastern territory. The Schoneberg city hall, sufficiently deep inside the American sector, was named the "temporary"[20] quarters for West Berlin's central government and was surrounded by a belt of administrative offices.

EAST - WEST COMPETITION

Although neither government wished to recognize the other, Cold War tensions generated competition between the Eastem and Western sectors of Berlin as early as the mid 50's. In 1957, Western powers promoted an international design competition that encompassed the entire city. Its explicit objective was to recreate a symbolic center for a unified Germany. Because the political relations between the East and the West were so strained, however, this objective had no practical application and served mainly as propaganda for the West.

Interestingly, the general attitude of many entries resembled the attitude towards planning present in the Eastern half of Berlin. Many traces of the past were erased and those monuments that did survive were deprived of their former context. Large streets, such as Friedrichstrasse, Unter den Linden and Stalinallee were widened without regard for the pre-existing fabric. Dense inner courts where the urban poor labored were cleared to provide light and air for a more healthy environment.[21] Although these proposals were similar to the East German regime's own planning strategies, it rejected them as an act of imperialism. Its competitions were limited to members of the socialist community and restricted to the territory of East Berlin.

West Berlin, however, continued with planning that involved the entire city. In 1959, the building director of West Berlin, Hans Scharoun, planned a group of buildings, called the Kulturforum, that included a concert hall, museum and library.[22] This forum was designed with the goal of bringing the divided culture together. Accordingly, the site chosen was next to the border line. Scharoun felt that art had to have its place in "the middle, between east and west, between north and south"[23] in order to renew life at the center of the war's devastation.

Indeed, Scharoun's goal was not realized. Shortly after he completed his design, the Berlin Wall was built. The Kulturforum therefore could not serve both East and West Berlin and was suddenly at the edge of a city rather than in its center. Although several memorable contributions to architecture were made at this site, such as Mies van der Rohe's Nationalgalerie , the entire forum was never completed. What had been conceived as a homogeneous ensemble was fragmented by a six-lane highway. Instead of initiating a new center, culture was banned to the periphery.

After the construction of the Berlin Wall, the competition between East and West manifested itself along its length. Architecture played an important role in this conflict. The Axel Springer publishing house, a 20-story office tower built next to the wall along Zimmerstrasse, flashed Western propaganda across the barrier into East Berlin's governmental core via an electronic message board. This triggered the construction of a series of Eastern apartment towers that intercepted the messages and prevented them from reaching their destination.[24]

Years later, West Berlin used the International Building Exhibition (IBA) as an opportunity to re-construct the fabric in areas near the wall. The IBA's guidelines focused on making the city more attractive, ameliorating living conditions in disadvantaged regions, and creating areas important to the identity of Berlin since Kurfürstendamm was no longer an adequate symbol for the city.[25]

The IBA organized numerous competitions that, with two exceptions,[26] were limited to a five-block band that followed

the course of the southern wall in western territory. This band traversed Kreuzberg, Luisenstadt and Friedrichstadt, districts that had deteriorated into rundown neighborhoods housing the urban poor. These neighborhoods were chosen as much for their proximity to the wall as for their state of disrepair. It was here, next to the wall, that the Senate wished to create a showcase of western prosperity that would be clearly visible in the East.

RE-VISIONS

For more than 30 years the Wall of Shame shaped Berlin's character, appearance and growth. The wall's opening on November 9, 1989 and its subsequent dismantling reconnected east and west and, more importantly, left a large, unbuiit stretch of land at the gap between the two cities. Unfortunately, neither the Federal Government nor Berlin's municipal planning authorities had a concept for Berlin's future urban development. Taken completely by surprise by the rapid disbandment of the socialist state, the planning authorities instigated architectural competitions requesting urban visions for the future metropolis in general and proposals for the no-man's-land in particular. Although all parties participatingin this effort agreed that places like the Potsdarner Platz and Friedrichstrasse held enormous potential and were crucial to the fate of the now unified city, competitions for these areas yielded meager results. According to Axel Schultes, these areas "have become places where narrow investment surveys with prearranged results are going ahead unchallenged. The attitude here is to work with the solution in mind, rather than the problem."[27]

The winning entries of recent competitions seem to support Mr. Schultes' statement. Apparently architects and urban planners interested in participating in the city's building fever have to adhere to the dogma of 'critical reconstruction.' This set of rules, developed for the International Building Exhibit during the 1980's, governs the height, size and typology of new buildings, and demands that historical street patterns be respected. Both the winning entry for Potsdamer Platz by Hilmer & Sattler[28] and the urban infill proposals for Friedrichstrasse are based on this paradigm. Proposed structures are crowded tightly together, feature monolithic sandstone facades and transform the traditional mixed-use fabric into an endless array of office parks with few residential units on top. Rather than envisioning a diverse and stimulating urban environment, current proposals mark a return to the confining and often heavy-handed urbanism practiced during the nineteenth century.[29]

The planning of a new governmental quarter took a similar direction. On June 20, 1991, the Federal Parliament decided to name Berlin the capital of Germany,[30] and selected the Spreebogen, an area encircled by the river Spree and the Tiergarten Park for its parliamentary district. The 200-page competition program completely ignored contemporary communications technology, which could have led to

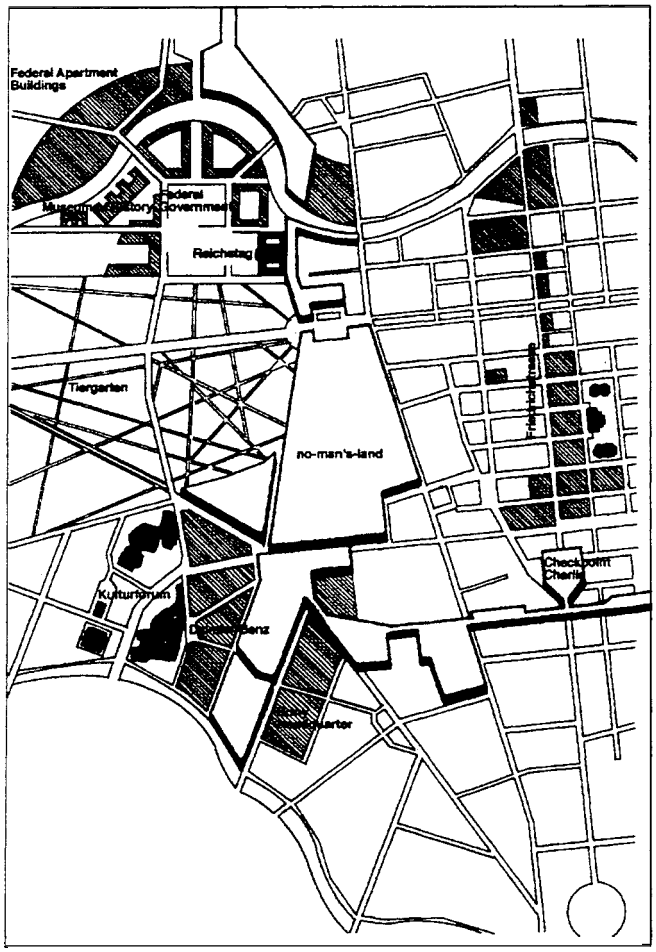

Fig. 10. The Metropolis
The no-man's-land, freed from the wall, instigated several proposals. The Federal Government and commercial investors are interested in the area that will shape Berlin's future.

new spatial relationships by dispersing the programmatic functions throughout the city. Instead it favored a more symbolic assemblage of impressive structures. Of the eight prize-winning schemes, only one suggested that the site be covered with an urban grid. This proposal by Gartenmann, Werren, and Johri successfully integrated the Reichstag, the House of Parliament and the Federal Chancellery into a dense and diverse urban context rather than accentuating their monumentality by treating them as free-standing icons. All other prize-winning entries create a more celebrated setting for these representative structures. Although the winning proposal by Schultes & Frank concentrated most governmental functions within a narrow band, it resorted to a classical siting for the three most important structures. The Reichstag exerts a hard, axial authority over the adjacent mall, much as the Capitol does in Washington, DC. The circular inner court recalls the Washington Monument, and the Chancellery, elevated by 40 meters, imitates the White House in stature. It is unfortunate that the expression of a democratic Germany has to borrow so heavily from past examples.

CONCLUSION

Berlin's many walls have defined the city edge, restricted urban sprawl and shaped its inner fabric. They have provided a framework that allowed the many additions to the core settlement to develop into distinct neighborhoods. Walls clearly defined each addition, supported the emergence of a unique layout, and restricted the number of links between the various districts. Each addition thus developed an individual character and social composition that outlasted the wall's physical existence. Yet today, Berlin resembles a patchwork, an assemblage of many neighborhoods, each based around a local center within a distinct layout.

Berlin's urban history has been marked by discontinuity, collision and rupture. Despite the many attempts of its autocratic rulers to create a unified image of the city, Berlin has remained a stimulating amalgam of independent entities, each home to a diverse urban culture. Should current trends to homogenize the city[3'] continue, Berlin will lose its mixed fabric, its varying scales and the independence of its many quarters. Governmental officials, architects and planners should re-evaluate Berlin's current policies and study the city's history to decide on its fate in the twenty-first century. One can only hope that they will recognize how well this diverse city could support the trend toward decentralization currently appearing in business, technology, and society. If, as at present, they continue to ignore Berlin's urban history, the new capital will soon no longer contain a series of neighborhoods, full of life, that want to be explored.

NOTES

[1] Around 1140, the Ascanians, nobility from the Harz Mountains in central Germany, began the second conquest of the Slavic territory to the east of the Elbe around the Havel and the Spree. Their ultimate goal was the Oder and the route to the Baltic. Ernst Badstiibner, *Berlin-Its History and Face from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London: AD Profile No 50, 1983), p.16.

[2] M. Beresford, "Beau Lieu: Or, the Choice of Site," in *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p.115.

[3] Ibid. p.104.

[4] The merger of the two cities was expressed through the construction of a new town hall on the Long Bridge (an extension of the Georgen Strasse into Cölln), which was mainly used for occasional meetings of the joint administration. The destruction of the town hall in 1442 due to loss of independence amplifies its symbolic meaning.

[5] The hospitals St. Georg and St. Gertrude were erected outside the gates while the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, next to the Spandauer Gate and inside the fortification, dated from before the extension period in the late thirteenth century.

[6] Badstübner, p 18. Berlin was the first of the cities in the Mark Brandenburg to lose its independence. Ernst Badstiibner suggests that a decline in economic resources of the city-state, due to the damage of the two fires in 1376 and 1380, also contributed to the success of the Hohenzollern.

[7] Werner Hegemann, 1930, *Dassteinerne Berlin* (Braunschweig: Bauwelt Fundamente 3, 1988), p.28. The river Spree protected the castle not only from attacks by outside invaders, but also from riots by the cities' residents, who revolted against their new ruler in 1447-48. Indeed, they attempted to prevent the completion of the castle, which had become a symbol of oppression.

[8] Hegemann, p.38, rendered an unpleasant picture of the city. An estimated 300 of the 845 houses in Berlin and 150 of the 364 houses in Cölln were abandoned. Pigs scavenged in the sheets and the dual city fell into disrepair.

[9] David Leatherbarrow, *Friedrichstadt - A Symbol of Toleration* (London: AD Profile No 50, 1983), p. 30. According to Leatherbarrow, the layout of Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichstadt is based on the "policy of toleration" which was represented architecturally in the undifferentiated style of the new developments. No hierarchy was inherent in the layout beyond the central core. Not one of the residential blocks was superior to another. The buildings were unified through the similarity of their facades and the height limitation to two storeys. Thus, the policy of toleration, through the lack of differentiation, reduced civil discord and the aggravation of opposite sentiments in the city.

[10] ibid., p. 24. Whereas some governments tried to put limits on the growth of their capitals, as in London or Paris, Berlin's rulers encouraged immigration. They especially favored whole bodies of people, mostly religious refugees, with superior professional skills. As a reaction to the Edict of Nantes, the Great Elector issued the Edict of Potsdam in 1685, granting "sure and free retreats in all lands and provinces in our dominion." By 1687, 45 per cent of those living in Berlin were French Huguenots and, by the same date, 20,000 persecuted Protestants had emigrated to Prussia from France and Holland.

[11] A faubourg is an unplanned settlement, usually next to a city gate, along one of the main routes outside a wall. It provided comforting proximity to the center without being subject to the law or the taxation practices of the city. In this text, a faubourg will be referred to as a Vorstadt.

[12] The kingdom of Prussia was formed in 1701. Berlin became the official capital of Prussia and, in order to tighten the civic government, the four cities of Berlin: Cölln, Friedrichswerder, Dorotheenstadt and Friedrichstadt were combined to form one administrative body in 1710.

[13] In fact, the Akzise-wall was moved several times to include extensions. In 1716, the wall was moved 40 meters towards the east around the Frankfurter gate. In 1723, the northern segment was pushed in front of the Linien Strasse.

[14] Mark Girouard, *Cities and People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p.144 and p.213. In contrast to Berlin, Antwerp and Lucca had planted trees on their fortifications as early as 1580 to provide a greenbelt for their citizens. In Vienna, the rampart became a promenade scattered with trees and cafes and was redeveloped as the Ring Strasse in 1860.

[15] Hegemann, p.191.

[16] Walter Seitter, *Dismantlement - On the Obscenity of Towns* (Berlin: Daidalos No 13, 1984), p.48-49. "The town emancipates itself from the necessity of defense against the 'country', i.e. against the outside world. ...It is namely a matter of civil expansion of trade of the free exchange of goods, but of men and ideas, too. This communication needs to be without barriers."

[17] In 1857, the Austrian emperor had ordered the demolition of the bastion wall and redevelopment of the area into a fashionable boulevard. The Ringstraße became Vienna's prime location for offices, warehouses, big hotels, grand apartment blocks and many of the city's public buildings. It undoubtedly inspired August Orth's proposal for the Konigsgraben. He proposed to plant trees along the 40 meter wide moat, add statues and fountains, and thus convert the linear stretch into a green common with the viaduct line in its center. These measures would have attracted respectable businesses and led to considerable appreciation of the vacant properties adjacent to the

boulevard. In turn, this would have allowed the city to pay for the embellishment by selling building sites.

[18] Hitler imagined Berlin as the future world capital, hence its name was changed to Germania.

[19] "Das Schloß muß fallen," *Der Spiegel,* 3611990, p.238. Historic value was attributed only to the one balcony, on which Karl Liebknecht stood while declaring the Republic in 1918. The whole portal was saved and bolted in front of the Staatsrat building next door.

[20] The West never accepted the divided nature of Berlin and Germany. Although reunification was very unlikely, all opportunities to sanction the division were carefully avoided.

[21] Alan Balfour, *Berlin: The Politics of Order* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), pp 164-180.

[22] The Museumsinsel, the site of Berlin's most prestigious museums, was part of the eastern sector. West Berlin needed to develop a cultural center to house its collections.

[23] Balfour, p. 214.

[24] Balfour, p. 187. A precedent for Springer's message board was set in 1951 by the news board of the Berlin Free Press. In this case, rather than block the transmission of news by constructing buildings, the East Germans sought to detract from its importance by erecting a billboard with advertisements for a state-owned department store.

[25] *Architectural Review,* April 1987, p. 28.

[26] The IBA also held competitions around the Prager square and in Tegel, a suburb of West Berlin.

[27] Axel Schultes, "Berlin - The Belated Capital," in Alan Balfour, ed., *World Cities: Berlin,* (London: Academy Editions, 1995), p. 39.

[28] ibid., p. 69. Alan Balfour criticizes the project as "a plan shaped to be consciously modest, free from Utopian desire, free from the promise of reformation. A plan without a future."

[29] Heinrich Klotz, former director of the Architecture Museum in Frankfurt, points out that the 'Prussian style' was favored by the Nazis and compares these 'cold, neoclassical boxes' to the architecture of the Third Reich. *Der Spiegel,* 4211994, p. 57. Translation by the author.

[30] This resolution fulfilled a pledge made by the Federal German Government on November 3, 1949: "The leading Federal executives will relocate in the capital Berlin as soon as general, free, equal, secret and direct elections have been held in Berlin and the Soviet-occupied zone. The parliament will then assemble in Berlin." *Der Spiegel,* 26/1991, p. 20. Translation by the author.

[31] Hans Stimmann, Planning Director of Berlin, is indifferent to the city's historic development and argues that "one cannot build a different city on each comer of Berlin." *Der Spiegel,* 421 1994, p. 57. Translation by the author.