CARTOGRAPHY AND VISUAL CORRESPONDENCES THOUGHT AND REALITY OF MODERNISM IN EUROPE AND CHINA

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Abstract

With the coming of the second industrial revolution in England, great changes took place also within the European society, in particular a new concept of urban planning, and an early form of soil gentrification came to light. The middle class had finally won a place in politics, while academics invited the governments to review the entire landscape of human relationships through the eye of Modernism. Europe then engaged in a civilizing mission, transplanting factories and thoughts worldwide.

Considering the modernist movement from a transcultural perspective we thus aim to analyze the development and implementation of the theories into the practice, as to underline the differences and convergences among some places on a global level. We look in particular at Europe and China as a flourishing urban milieu, with the Chinese city of Chongqing as basis to study the turning points between ancient and modern society in China, and Paris in France as the place in which the ideas of urbanization, social regulation, and sanitation have come into being in their very first stage.

We focus our discourse on the divergence between cartography and reality, putting emphasis on the concept of visual utopia. Through the analysis of some Chongqing old maps it will be finally possible to appreciate the Chinese peculiar cartographic methods, and the subsequent assimilation of the European 'scientific' methods of cartographic survey in China.

Keywords: Modernism, cartography, transcultural approach, visual utopia, social regulation, urbanization, Europe, China

1. INTRODUCTION

The cartographic sign represents from an historical point of view an indelible mark, something drawn and intended for its propagation to the next generations. Old maps are the memory of the place but not in terms of real depiction of the territory; we could rather consider them as the reproduction of a mental image, and therefore they are significant of the cultural substratum lying beyond their creation, which is peculiar to a place and strictly connected with the traditions and habits of the people living there (Barthes, 1970).

Before the coming of the modern age, a passage that can be traced back to the Renaissance of the fifteenth century in Europe and that took place only some centuries later in China, the geographical representation followed a *concrete* pattern which emphasized the local signs of the territory. In Fig. 1 we see a map of the Ba-Shu land during the 23th year of Daoguang's reign, Qing dynasty (1844 AD) whose current territories cover the administrative areas of the Chongqing Municipality and the Sichuan Province in the southwestern part of China. The

design employs flowing, curvilinear forms that resemble the loops of the rivers running there, i.e. the Changjiang, better known as Yangtse, and its tributary the Jialing River. The area marked in black color is a peninsula, the nuclear center of the Ba culture, and currently hosts the Chongqing central district and local government. The use of geometry is biased, as the distances and the exact position of the various localities whose names are written in the map are not objective. The composite morphology of this territory made of hills and streams is thus establishing and shaping the image of the place, and leads the observer to take as fundamental fact the inability to have a global and static vision of it. The map reveals its complexity and tortuosity, while a sense of human inadequacy in relation to this picture helps to understand the difficulties of living there in the past.

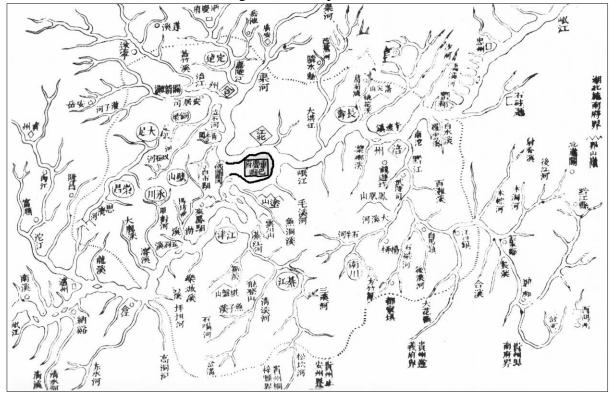


Figure 1. Ba-Shu Reign (Source: Li Linfang, Xue Changde, Old Maps, Lao ditu, 老地图)

The Chongqing case has to be considered as a peculiarity in view of its specific position and land structure; in fact most of the ancient Chinese cities had been built in the plain and their maps experience significant differences from those representing Chongqing. In Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 we compare the old Chinese capital Chang'an (now Xi'an) with Chongging: through a visual analysis it is possible to capture some interesting elements like the formal disjunction between the two cities and, furthermore, the attempt to recreate a city which structure recalls in mind the Chinese model of the perfect city represented in the Kaogongji (Fig. 4). The grid in which the city is segmented describes the urban settlement as a whole manifestation of the union between Heaven and Earth, the tiandi, according to which the cardinal points follow the rules of fengshui, and they establish the proper angle in order to build a settlement that has to be squared, walled and protected at least by four turrets (Granet, 1930). In the middle we cannot find a square dedicated to human activities, as could be traced in the agora of the ancient Western cities as cited in Plato, Republic (around 380 BCE), but rather a sacred area designed for the ruler's residence, while the remaining urban area is marked by a scheme that divides the land into walled squares created for residential purpose. ii The visual utopia appears therefore through the transposition of the cartographic and

administrative model into the reality of Chongqing, in which the hilly nature of the soil made impossible any attempt to recreate the model, and as result the urban grid in fact gives way to road intersections that follow the hilly course of the terrain. The dichotomy has been well expressed by Farinelli in 2009:

"There is no possible reconciliation between state and place but in *Utopia*"iii as to indicate the human inability to converge at the same time the higher aspirations connected with the management of land and population with the reality of facts, through which emerges the complexity of the local nature and society. These two different maps are also read as expression of regular planning (Chang'an) and organic planning (Chongqing): while the former should embrace the Confucian ideal of a patriarchal society, the latter one should be an emblem of the "fusion with nature" advocated by the philosophical school of Taoism.^{iv}



Figure 2. Chang'an during the Sui and Tang Dynasties, VI-X centuries (Source: www.chinahighlights.com)

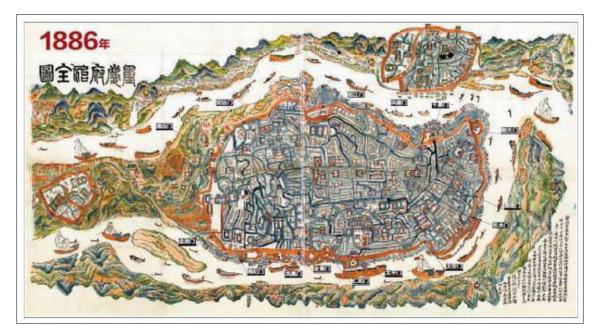


Figure 3. Map of Chongqing Prefecture. Chongqing fuguan quantu, 重庆府官全图 by Liu Ziru 刘子如, 1886 (Source: Baidu)

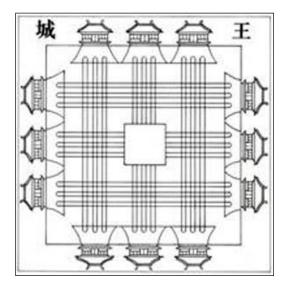


Figure 4. Rulers city, Wangcheng 王城 after the Book of Diverse Crafts, Kaogongji, 考工记 (Source: Baidu)

The ancient Greek tradition on the other hand is not exempt from the ideation of maps that embrace the double purpose of formally shape a city and manage the space on a political and social level. This is the case of the philosopher Hippodamus from Miletus (500 BC-408 BC), remembered by Aristotle as the progenitor of the grid conceived like a physical and social separation within the city, represented in the reconstruction of Miletus in Fig. 5. Albeit the division of the population in classes the philosopher however figured out the use of the square, the *agora*, as a place for a public and equal political discussion, a common place where the social differences disappeared in front of the idea of community membership. The republican seeds were thus innate in his planning vision.

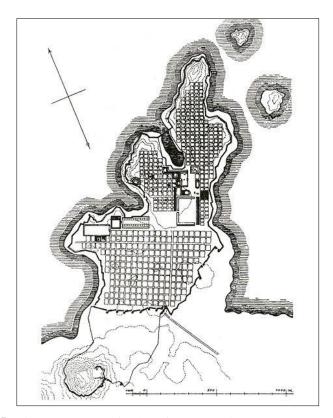


Figure 5. Miletus. Topographic Plan after von Gerkan, 1935 (Source: Google)

The passage to the modern era is signed in Europe by the creation of a visual artifice, i.e. the *perspective*, invented through the implementation of the Euclidean geometry: the space turns out to be static and based on the immobility of the subject. The real protagonist of the modern era is in fact the human being as fixed observer of a *space* which includes the absence of place (Farinelli, 2009). From a cartographic point of view, the place no longer determines what will be depicted on a map, but rather the map itself conceptualizes and creates the space all around. The earth becomes a plain where each location is determined by a numerical calculation, as long as the observer stands still in the same position. The logic of the European Renaissance is still visible in the Italian city of Palmanova which was erected in the 16th century under the Venetian Republic: the anthropocentrism is exasperated by a radial pattern and the persistence of the city wall prevented the loss of its original shape across the centuries. The precise geometric order is linked with the urban ideal of Sforzinda, an imaginary town dedicated to the noble family of Sforza (Fig. 6).^{vi}

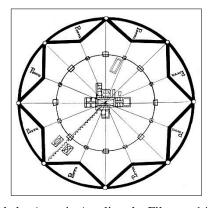


Figure 6. Sforzinda by Antonio Averlino the Filarete, 1464 ca. (Source: Google)

2. THE MODERNIST THEORY

In the mid-fifties of 1800 a new historical avant-garde called Modernism takes shape in response to the First World's Fair held in London (1851), an event that let England being in the limelight for what concerns the architectonical and mechanical fields, thanks to the success achieved through its two industrial revolutions. If hitherto the clashes between nations have been resolved on the battlefield showing superiority through the conquest of territories, now the contest moves also on the intellectual level as a reaction to the imperialistic claims of some European states; such politics have been already preceded by what has been considered in comparison as a faint colonialism (Stone, 1988), and their origins could be traced back to some European aristocratic attitudes in the sixteenth century, when kings and emperors already used to challenge each other for the primacy in the arts and for the embellishment of their courts (Burke, 1998). The aim for the French sovereign at the Second Universal Exhibition in 1855 is therefore to prove the *progress* of his nation on diverse scientific fields; it is in this context that Georges Eugène Haussmann known to posterity as the Baron Haussmann is appointed prefect of the Seine Department by Napoleon III (ruler of France from 1853 to 1869).

Although he has a noble title from the maternal side, Haussmann nicely embodies the new ideals of the bourgeois *homo novus* since he conceptualizes the rebirth of Paris on a scientific pattern. In particular he understands the importance of releasing the city from the old and the static to allow the *movement* of people and goods: the *tabula rasa* is imposed in large portions of the city in order to replace the buildings with tree-lined avenues, or *boulevard*. In Figure 7.1 the black circle running around the center, an avenue, still remembers us the shape of the city walls that before their demolition used to embrace the French capital. This scientific approach to the need of civil renovation provides a radical change of aesthetics: the practice of urban demolition, that is the favorite technique for the restoration and the imposition of order, opens enormous gaps in what was once a congested soil (Fig. 7.2). The poor population is forced to move to remote areas in order to accomplish the idea of spatial *sanitization*. In Europe the urban change is expression of the social revolution taking place, and at the same time dignifies and legitimate it, filling the void that otherwise would have been formed by the rise of a social class based on individualistic principles and devoid of any common cultural substratum (Mainardi, 1987).

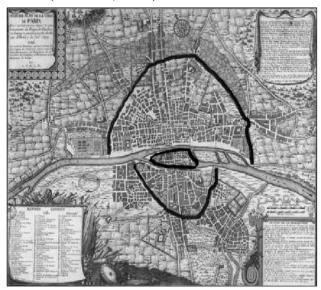


Figure 7.1. Map of Paris as walled city, 1853 (Source: Google)

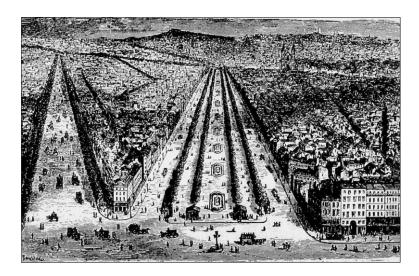


Figure 7.2. View of Paris after Haussmann (Source: Google)

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF MODERNISM IN CHINA

In the 19th century the Chinese empire faces dynastic decline, corruption, and invasions perpetuated by some Western countries, which try by various means to destroy the Asian giant: the unfair trade treaties are followed by the constriction to liberalize some ports, to conclude with the appropriation of lands that formally cease to be under Chinese jurisdiction. A first attempt to modernize the country is made in the second half of 1800s by Qing Emperor Guangxu (the so called Guangxu rebirth, *Guangxu zhongxing* 光绪中兴), and it can also be read as the last desperate attempt to restore the ancient glories of the Ming period: young lover of science, he has an hard life at court because of his progressive political thought, even though his call for change has not been entirely rejected. In fact the city of Shanghai during the 1920s and 1930s assimilates with ease the modernist belief thanks to the strong foreign presence, and that is why since 1949 it will be branded as a symbol of dishonor and destined to downsize in form and importance (Pye, 1993).

The explosion of the Shanghai fashion touches all the Chinese main economic and administrative centers, and covers also some remote cities such as Wuhan and Chongqing. Here takes shape a slow and controversial process of modernization and industrialization that begins formally in 1891 with the opening of the port to foreigners: the prefecture of Chongqing and then after the proclamation of Republic in 1911, a weak municipal government working together with the local warlord Liu Xiang, are concentrated in an attempt to purify the place from the age-old tradition left by a decayed empire. Turning point is the Japanese invasion of the coast in 1937: the nationalist government loses its position and backs up to establish the new capital in this peninsular town on the Yangtze in 1937 (Zhou, 2003). xiii

Despite the uncertainty given by the war and by a subordinate position compared to other urban centers located in the east coast, Chongqing has big expectations through the emulation of Shanghai that now suffers under the Japanese bombs. The preface written by the American urban planner Mr. Gorden to the book guide for the post-war reconstruction (1946), i.e. Provisional Plan for the ten-year Construction of the War Capital (Peidu shinian jianshe jihua cao'an, 陪都十年建设计划草案), drawn up together with a group of Chinese experts authorized by the government, puts a new light on the urban situation of the city, analyzes the

planning theories, and suggests how to move forward in the local process of modernization:

"How then does planning today differ from that in the past? The present era is an industrial one. We must therefore plan for the automobile, the airplane, the railroad. We must plan for industry. The present era is a healthy one. Life expectancy has been increased from twenty odd years to sixty or seventy odd years in some areas. This means we must plan for health and sanitation, for education, for development of sound bodies and for enjoyable living. [...]

The job of planning a city is never complete. New problems are constantly arising and conditions are constantly changing. To the extent that it is impossible to see accurately into the future, the plan as a drawn up must be considered flexible.

The mistakes that have been made in America and Europe should not be made in China. In the last fifty years that America and Europe have developed, many mistakes have been made from which China can profit.

There is no doubt that if these proposals are carried out, the Chungking of 1965 will be much place to work in, to live in, and to invest in."

The historical reasons that led to the decision to hire a foreigner with the aim of developing a plan for restructuring the urban environment are manifold: the strong presence of American citizens in the Southwest, the anti-Japanese war, the beginning of a process of large-scale industrialization in the area, the sense of a Western superiority (derived from some attitudes of both the two parts, Chinese and foreigners), and the influence of Western thought on Chinese politicians and academics.

Although it has been almost a century since Baron Haussmann was able to plan and implement his urban project for Paris, the new *modus vivendi* derived from the social changes required a longer period for its statement and therefore in 1940s it was still considered as one of the best solutions for a city approaching to modernization. The key-points that can be inferred from the letter of Mr. Gorden concern capitalism, industry, communication lines, education, health and wellness, zoning and displacement. The transition to the modern era occurs through a shift in the planning pattern, from a static and closed model to a dynamic one in which the object under examination turns to be "the emptiness" (the *space* itself; Heidegger, 1976). Roads and railways overlap now into a tangle of paths, outlining spatial structures and functions. Western academics instill an obsession for the "house ideology" (*Wohnungsfrage*), while from an architectural perspective the Palladian style already imposed as principle of the English bourgeois aesthetics in the eighteenth century, becomes the milestone together with Neoclassicism for the introduction of the *colonial style* (Fig. 8).^{xv}

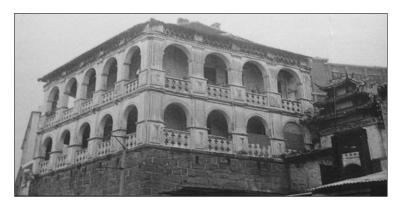


Figure 8. Headquarters of the French Navy in Chongqing, Nan'an district, 1902 (Source: Chongqing National Three Gorges Museum)

In Figure 9 the old city of Chongqing still maintains some features connected with the Chinese ideal of city, for example the doors located all around the walls, each one invested with a particular function (Li and Xue, 2007). A portion of these walls, i.e. that section facing the west central part of the city, will be demolished in 1926, signing a clear passage to modernism well depicted in Figure 10 with the delineation of the new administrative boundaries. The map realized around the 1940s is much more linear in comparison with the ancient maps of the city, and outlines the new spirit of the time imbued with rationalism and geometrical thought. The nature of the place has given way to the *table*, i.e. the paper on which the urban planner designs the space and therefore the future of the city.

The new spatial structure follows the principle of *social zoning*, according to which rich and poor won't share the same space any longer; in fact the bourgeoisie takes ownership of entire neighborhoods for exclusive use of this new social group. The rulers incorporate then the production facilities in well-defined industrial districts.

Besides the residential purposes the city absorbs new functions that lead to different and original forms of urban land use; consequently the consumption of territory is greater in comparison with that of the pre-capitalistic phase. In order to fulfill the emerging needs of the population, the local government implements the building of public parks, schools, factories, railways, hospitals and modern prisons.

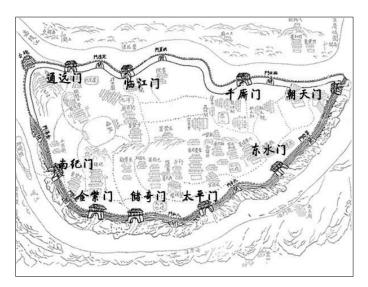


Figure 9. Map of Chongqing before 1926 with the seventeen wall doors in detail (Source: Old Maps, *Lao ditu*, 老地图)

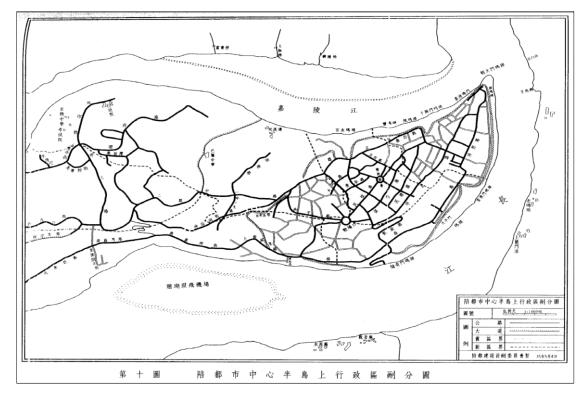


Figure 10. Administrative boundaries of Chongqing central district during the war, with particular attention to the new roads and avenues opened in the peninsula (Source: Provisional Plan for the Ten-year Construction of the Wartime Capital, 1946. Unpublished, *Peidu shinian jianshe jihua cao'an*, 陪都十年建设计划草案)

4. MODERNISM AND CARTOGRAPHIC SIGNS IN COMPARISON

Considering the city of Chongqing as parameter we can assume two phases of urbanization: the first one answers to the population growth with an increase in population density and a more intensive use of the old urban areas (elevations, renovations, replacement of buildings, overbuilding of green areas close to the walls), while the second stage involves the overcoming of those boundaries that helped the inhabitants in shaping the reality outside of them in the pre-modern era (the *limen*; Heidegger, 1976). The urbanization of peripheral areas allows a lowering of density, but also the development of peri-urban transportation and the introduction of a composite city planning to regulate the new districts. In this period are elaborated new theoretical concepts such as "enlargement plan", "construction plan" and "recovery plan" through which the urban tissue is dismantled into a discordant pattern. The municipality in fact authorizes the expulsion of a large part of the poor population from the historic centre, and that contributes to the development of a preliminary real estate speculation dictated by that set of interests involving land owners, building contractors, real estates and financial companies as well as local administrators. To the poor is also not guaranteed any dwelling, forcing many people to settle in slums just outside the city.^{xvi}

If in Europe during the first industrial phase the factories are camouflaged among the residential compounds and only afterwards distributed into the suburbs where new working-class neighborhoods have been created (thus allowing areas previously affected by production activities to redevelop as residential areas), Chongqing witnesses a reverse phenomenon: the first industries near the rivers are implanted by foreigners in virgin lands far from the city center, and this guarantees some discontinuity between residential and productive areas. Workers are accommodated in the dormitories of the factories, which only in the 1920s start to be thought as finished and self-sufficient housing units.

Modernizing means alignment to Western standards: hence the signs of the ancient city are seen as negations of the progress and conceived almost as immoral elements. Scientific positivism invokes hygiene as a true social commitment for the community. Civil engineering projects like sewage systems and water purification systems are thus implemented, in addition to the task of street paving and the opening of wide roads. These purposes are achieved also in Chongqing with the demolition of the city walls normally replaced by ring roads, squares and straight roads.

The city that for centuries has thus operated as an autonomous and self-referential mechanism ceases to exist with modernism. With the words of the urban planner Alberto Mioni, the capitalist trend of development and the industry let that

"[...] It is no longer possible to talk about the city as something that *is*, and that could be described statically, but as something that changes, and continuously grows, develops, or enters into crisis. In any case it evolves and changes substantially with increasing rapidity."xvii

The cartographic models of that time then could be well inserted in this context as a perfect representation of the ideal, i.e. like a picture of "how the world should be" (Farinelli, 2003). The analysis then moves from the sphere of reality to that of abstraction and compulsory education, as further suggests the geographer Martin Dodge (2011):

"Since the 1870s, historians have blithely talked about the cartographies of ancient Greece, Renaissance Europe and modern North America as if they were all one and the same thing. The underlying presumption is that what we perceive today as cartography existed in essentially the same form in each of these widely differentiated societies. Such historical writing is a key manifestation of modern Western culture's pervasive and persistent idealization of 'cartography' as a coherent and moral body of practice and knowledge that is properly pursued by trained and disciplined individuals for the betterment of their own societies and indeed for human civilization, that is applied uniformly across all geographic scales of social organization, and that exemplifies the strictly experiential creation of knowledge (and is thus 'empiricist' in character). The problem is that this idealized cartography bears little, if any, resemblance to the multiple ways in which people have actually produced and consumed maps."

Despite the difficulties experienced through the reading of old maps, however it is basic to perceive the difference between the archaic system of representation of the city and the modern scenery: the urban space is changing now so fast that it is no longer recognizable as a source for stable and predictable meanings. The new city-in-fieri (in progress) that the map should represent introduces the idea of a city without limits; hanging in the balance between preserving its ancestral sense of place and walking towards the progress through a "scientific path", the city suffers from a kind of dispersion both in the perspective of the physical territory and in that of its inhabitants' imagined sense of place.xviii This does not mean, however, that the modernist urban planner has no claim to organize the living spaces; on the contrary, the modernist movements exacerbate the relations among planners and citizens, as the human being becomes in fact subjected to a new type of control which is temporally marked by work and technology. Bruno Taut designs in Berlin the first European working class neighborhoods (Siedlungen, 1925) while in England at the end of 1800 Ebenezer Howard had already planned the famous 'garden city' as a sub-urban agglomeration able to decongest the residential environment of London city. The architect Le Corbusier resumes later all these projects in his theoretical thought on urbanism, as opposed to the work of the Spaniard Arturo Soria y Mata who elaborates the concept of 'linear city', later fully exploited by some Soviet planners (see for example the urban planning for Kaliningrad and Shanghai).xix

At the end of the nineteenth century the modernist form of urbanism enhances the urban planners with the power of *building the space*, making the human movement being coerced

and somehow mechanical: the first modernist planners are in fact driven from the deep by the desire to predict human movements, thus denying man of free willingness. Architecture, as great expression of the new enlightenment, has the duty and the potential to lead the cultural change: control over persons should then be exerted not only on a physical level, but also as a principle of consciousness manipulation. The 'plan for the industrial city' developed by the French Tony Garnier is a clear example of a comprehensive planning which ranges from the private to the social sphere, passing through the labor activities.^{xx}

5. CONCLUSIONS

The theorization of a modern era and its gradual implementation from Europe to the Far East influence quite different urban environments, affecting that local cultural substratum that found expression in formal and visual manifestations. The event of the *demolition of the city walls* in particular is fundamental for the comprehension of the historical facts that later have contributed to characterize the modernist movement. The act of destroying the borders considered as sacred boundaries in pre-modern societies is in fact the keystone of the transition in a different historical period (Rykwert, 1976). In different places and cultures, as well as in cartography, the disappearance of the wall is a symbol of the overcoming of the border, and it will inevitably lead to oblivion all the cultural values that were based on it.

The cartographic mark changes within the transit to modernism: the shift is from putting on evidence the boundaries between what is enclosed inside the wall (i.e. the city as a unit of people sharing the same mental scheme to set the world) and what is located outside (the chaos, the unknown), and finally lingering on transit spaces that could be epitomized as the *emptiness* (Castells, 1994). The communication lines as highlighted in the urban planning of Chongqing are an emblem of the opening of the city both considering the waterways and the inland streets. Crossed the wall of popular culture and tradition which symbols were imprinted in the *place*, the modern era of industrialization and capitalism begins its rise in a new world dominated by *spaces*.

NOTES

ⁱ The *Kaogongji* or "Book of Diverse Crafts" was composed during the Warring States period and became part of the Rites of Zhou (*zhouli*). The original text in Chinese is available in Zhang (2004). Cf. also Steinhardt (1990), Lewis (2006), and Jun Wenren (2013).

With regard to the mechanisms of pressure exerted on the population, we would like to remember the application at the community level of the *li-fang* and then of the bǎojiǎ 保甲 system to strengthen law and civilian control. The first one consisted in the subdivision of the residential neighborhoods in blocks delimited by roads along the perimeter, while a wall prevented unconditional access. Introduced in Song period (between 1069 and 1076), the system of *baojia* continued to be in force until the Qing, when it was used as a means to gain a more strict tax collection; abolished, the Republican government reintroduced it again until its repeal in 1949. Although in a different shape, even the CCP adopted a similar method to better exercise control over the population, in particular in relation to the mobility on the territory: the hùkǒu 户口 system. It is however interesting to note, as the sinologist Michael Dutton have done, that the *baojia* system was not only acting in the negative terms of state coercion, but it rather had a positive influence over the community in the functions related to education, welfare, self-defense and other forms of mutual service. Cf. Bray (2005) and Zhou Yong (2003). About the *fang-xiang* 均稠 system, see Wei Yingtao (1991).

iii The geographer Farinelli (2009) refers to the book *Utopia* written by Thomas More in 1516.

^{iv} Cf. Clement Noel, *Le Kaogongji sur le Terrain*, http://clement-noel.douady.pagesperso-orange.fr/cocKaoRavages.html [in French].

V Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*; Luigi Mazza, *Hippodamus and the Planning* (Ippodamo e il Piano, https://www.academia.edu/3443307/Ippodamo_e_il_piano) [in Italian]; V. B. Gorman, 1995. Aristotle's

- Hippodamos (Politics 2.1267b 22-30). In Historia: 4, pp. 385-395.
- vi The Sforza family was a noble family which origins and destiny are connected with the history of Milan, in northern Italy. See more at http://www.britannica.com/topic/Sforza-family.
- The term boulevard is of German origin and did not indicate a road, but the fortified embankment which coincided with the defensive walls (bulwark). The term went then to indicate the ramparts that surrounded the walls, which had to be kept always clear to prevent the enemy from using it as a hideout. It was Louis XIV of France in 1670 to order that the city walls had to be torn down and replaced by tree-lined streets with contre-allées (i.e. with additional roadways). Two centuries later, Haussmann completed the work of demolition. For more details see *United States*. A different country (Stati Uniti. Un paese diverso) in Casabella 586 587, p. 54 [in Italian and English].
- viii The new English bourgeois ideology and morality found their artistic and architectonic expression through the discovery and manipulation of the technique developed by the Italian architect Antonio Palladio from Vicenza. Cf. Wittkower (1974).
- ix For more historical details see Kasaba (1993); Sforza (1927); Waldron (1991); Bello (1998).
- ^x Cf. Karl and Zarrow (2002). For a discussion on the recent recycling of the term "rebirth" made by the CCP (see for example the inaugural speech of President Xi Jinping at the end of 2012), and its connection with the spread of a renewed nationalist feeling in China, please see Bonato (2013).
- The Ming Dynasty (1368 1644) in Chinese culture is considered as one of the greatest historical period for its splendor, as the empire expanded the boundaries, trade was prosperous and the arts and culture flourished. It is compared to and partly coeval with the Italian Renaissance.
- Please see Lu Xun and Guo Moruo speeches on the topic. Cf. also E. Yuan, *Kuo Mo-jo: the literary profile of a modern revolutionary, 1924 to 1949*. For more details on Chinese modernism and related trends between XIX and XX century, see also R. Murphey, *The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization*, http://teaching.ust.hk/~huma552/week5/W5_Rhoads.pdf; W. Goetzmann, A. Ukhov, N. Zhu, *China and the World Financial Markets 1870- 1930: Modern Lessons from Historical Globalization*, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=289139. Cf. also Eisenstadt (1965); Kirby (1995); Whyte (1973), and Pickowicz (1991).
- xiii For a more complete historical view on Chongqing city, see M. Bonato, *Chongqing: urban details of a city in motion. Survey on urban planning and demographic developments of Chongqing city proper (Chongqing:*dettagli urbani di una città in movimento. Indagine urbanistica e demografica sulla città di Chongqing), pp. 44-74 (M.A. Thesis, 2012). Copy available at Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Italy), Department of Oriental Studies.
- xiv We have unfortunately lost any historical trace about Norman J. Gorden, and until now it has been impossible to reconstruct his story. We just know that around 1940s he was in Chongqing, China, as City Planner Advisor during the wartime government (1937-1946) according to the *Provisional Plan for the Tenyear Construction of the Wartime Capital*, 1946, *Peidu shinian jianshe jihua cao'an* 陪都十年建设计划草案 (unpublished).
- xv Cf. M. Tafuri, F. Dal Co, Contemporary Architecture (Architettura Contemporanea). See also F. Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1845; B. Taut, Bauen. Der neue Wohnbau, 1927; C. Aymonino, The formation of a modern concept of edile types (La formazione di un moderno concetto di tipologia edilizia), http://www.lab2.altervista.org/attachments/004_Aymonino.pdf; A. Colquhoun, Twentieth-Century Concepts of Urban Space.
- The Chinese journalist Danke Li in her *Echoes of Chongqing* (2009; pp. 86 ff.) remembers how the Chongqing government had forbidden the reconstruction of wooden houses destroyed during the Japanese bomb attacks in 1939 to avoid further fires in the city. Many displaced people who did not have enough money to rent a room, became part of the so-called "guerrilla residents": citizens building temporary bamboo-dwellings that they were able to disassemble and reconstruct in another place in case the police would have forced them to leave the land they occupied.
- xvii Translation edited by the author. Cf. TCI Touring Club Italiano eds. (1980), *Understanding Italy, The Cities* (Capire l'Italia, Le città) Milan: TCI, p. 129.
- xviii For a discussion on the meaning of limit as "space in which there is the principle of a form", and "landscapes limit", see Heidegger (1991); K. Lynch (1960), *The image of the city*; Augé (1993); La Cecla (1993).
- conception nouvelle pour l'aménagement des villes); L. Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture (Storia dell'architettura moderna, 1960). Rome-Bari: Laterza. For more details on Ebenezer Howard, see E. Howard (1898), Garden Cities of To-morrow; T. Edwards (1914), A Further Criticism of the Garden City Movement. In The Town Planning Review.

xx Cf. S. Tintori, *Tony Garnier and his political and architectural ideas for the "industrial city"* (Tony Garnier e la sua idea politica e architettonica per la "città industriale", 1961). Casabella, n. 255.

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