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Figure 1. Plague column, Klagenfurt, 1680. Photograph by author.

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# Meet Me at the Plague Column

## Monuments and Conservation Planning

An eighteenth-century plague column, or *Pestsaüle,* sits at the center of the pedestrian zone in Klagenfurt, Austria (Figure 1). It was restored and placed there in 1965, three years after planners pedestrianized the area, the first such effort in Austria. It was a small part of the reinvention of the town, and especially its historical center, in the postwar period. For almost two centuries the column had stood on a square that lies at the edge of the pedestrian area. It now marks the town's medieval core, the crossroads of the Alter Platz. It thus satisfies the multiple formal and social demands of such a space. As a monument, it anchors the rather amorphous funnel of the street and lends gravitas to an area that otherwise can read as denuded, an effect of the overly vigorous scrub of postwar reconstruction, restoration, and gentrification. The city was bombed forty-seven times. Seventy percent of the buildings were destroyed. What you see in Klagenfurt is as much artful reconstruction as it is fastidious preservation. As an eyecatcher, the plague column draws tourists into the flow of the center. As a historical marker (#6 on the map; see Figure 2), it offers a station on the tourist itinerary, which one can trace following a map from the tourist office with blurbs about Klagenfurt's major historic sites.[1]

Uprooted from its former position in front of the Heiligengeistkirche on Heiligengeistplatz (#41 in Figure 2), the plague column, whose first incarnation goes back to 1680, is no longer in dialogue with the church that gave it its sacred meaning (Figure 3). The column embodies another urbanistic shift, one that enabled pedestrianization to take place. Planners displaced it to the Alter Platz only after they turned the Heiligengeistplatz into the bus depot—so much for the Holy Ghost! This disencumbered the Alter Platz, which became a space for leisure, shopping, and tourism. Tourists now arrive at the bus depot and shuffle through the older city without having to encounter cars. Along the way, they can play connect the dots with the major monuments and historic draws. The column, meanwhile, with its representation of the Trinity, no longer resonates with the statue of Christ affixed to the front of that Heiligengeist church (Figures 4 and 5). For centuries, these features faced one another on the square. In fact, without the help of an additional plaque, tourists (and locals) would need special knowledge to deduce its original intent (Figure 6).

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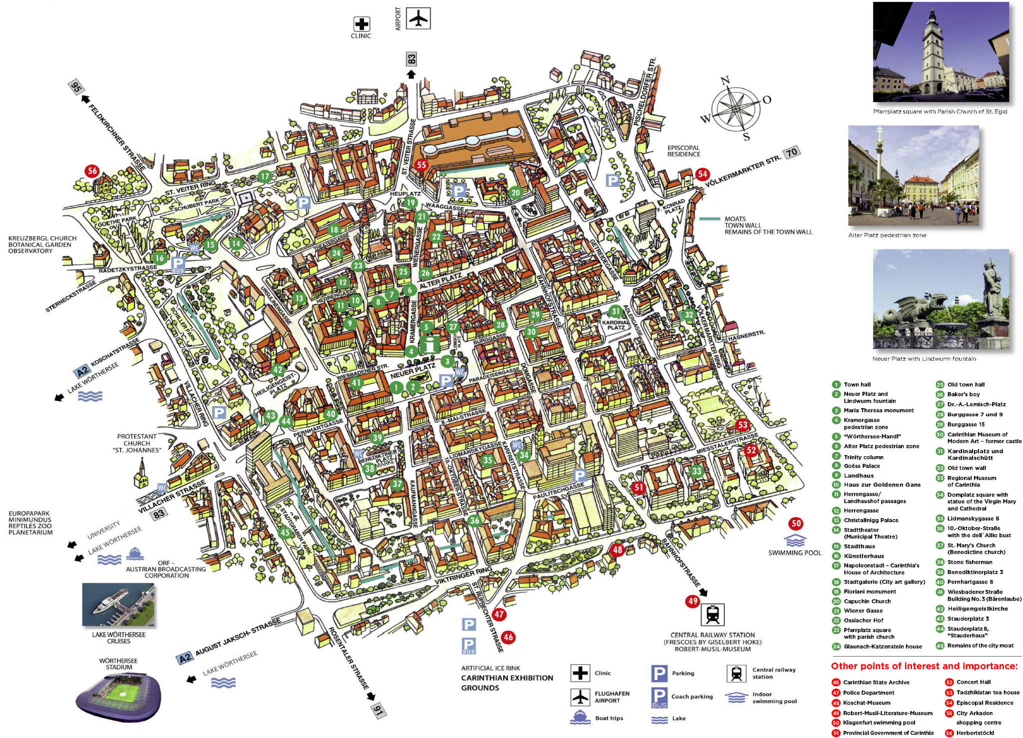


Figure 2. Map from Klagenfurt am Wörthersee Tourism Region's brochure, "A Walk through the Old Town." Copyright 2017, Tourism Region Klagenfurt am Wörthersee GmbH.

It is just one of many changes for the column, which received its half moon and cross in 1683 to mark the Austrian victory over the Ottomans in battle, a second plague from which the town was spared (Figure 7). In its new place, instead of invoking God for sparing the town from these plagues, it evokes a generic sense of history, an aesthetic of age that puts it in dialogue with the square it pins down. Tourists (and locals), after all, don't want to shop and take coffee amid reminders of plague—and the *Pestsaüle* in its new position poses no such threat. It can take its rest as a beautiful, vertical ornament imported as scenery. It may be seen as an urban form of *repoussoir,* the painterly technique that plants a formal element, often a building or tree, in the foreground of an image in order to frame and give measure to the middle and background. It is a compositional strategy that leads the eye into a scene. From the crossroads of the Alter Platz, the column gives a spatial gauge to the "new old" area—whether or not Klagenfurt's urban planners were aware of such pictorial effects.

The plague column is but one part of a larger urban strategy in Klagenfurt. Since the 1960s, the town has systematically marked off its pedestrian zone with a series of memorials and dedicated monuments. Postwar planners inherited a north–south axis already marked with two monuments: at the top, the Floriani Monument of 1781, erected in memory of a disastrous fire, which sits in the Heuplatz on the northern

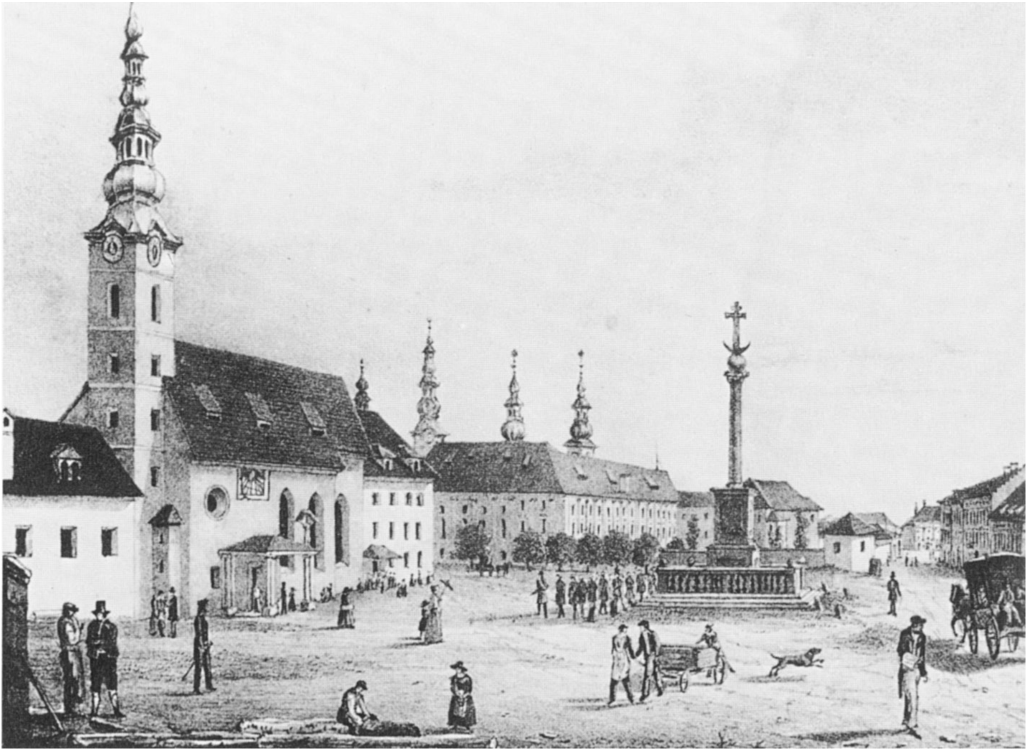

Figure 3. Engraving from Siegfried Hartwagner, *Klagenfurt, Stadt: Ihre Kunstwerke, historischen Lebens-un Siedlungformen* (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1980), 116. Courtesy of Verlag St. Peter.

entrance to the pedestrian zone (#21 in Figure 2); and the Lindwurm (built originally in 1593), a dragon that serves as the mythical symbol of Klagenfurt's founding, which closes off the south side of this axis on the Renaissance Neuer Platz (#3 in Figure 2) (Figure 8).

A third monument, the Maria Theresia Monument of 1765 was originally erected on west side of the Neuer Platz, facing the Lindwurm (Figure 9). An angel awkwardly perched on her royal eminence trumpets the perpetual arrival of the empress of the Hapsburg Empire. In what quickly becomes a dizzying catalogue of changes, she sits on the base of a seventeenth-century monument to her grandfather, Leopold I, who was melted down for his lead. Maria Theresia met the same fate as her grandfather, but she was rebuilt in 1870, liberated from her angel, and mounted on a different base. A century later she was moved to other side of the Neuer Platz (Figure 8). This would put her in dialogue with a monument to the medieval founder of Klagenfurt, Bernhard von Spanheim, in nearby Lemisch Platz (#24 in Figure 2) (Figure 10).

Yet, like Maria Theresia's statue, Spanheim's neo-Romanesque monument began life elsewhere and in a different form. He was originally erected in the Alter Platz in 1932, at the core of the town he founded (Figure 11). But the original Spanheim, who was made of metal, was melted down in 1940 for obvious reasons, only to be rebuilt in stone in 1954 on the same site. Pedestrianization displaced Spanheim eight years

Figure 4. Plague column, detail. Photograph by author.

Figure 5. Heiligengeistkirche, detail. Photograph by author.

later, when the *Pestsaüle* was erected just feet from where he had stood. He didn't find his present home until 1981. Spanheim looks longingly at Maria Theresia from his fountain in Lemisch Platz, where he anchors this important mid-block entry into the pedestrian zone from the Neuer Platz (Figure 12).

One more twist further complicates the story. Spanheim replaced a statue to Franz-Joseph, Maria Theresia's great-great grandson and the Habsburg emperor who created the Ringstrasse in Vienna and oversaw the modernization of Austria just as the statue to Maria Theresia was being rebuilt in Klagenfurt. The two could discuss the greatness of the Habsburg Empire in its waning years as he stood guard at the edge of an eponymous square that later became Lemisch Platz.

The shifting fate of these monuments is telling. Marching the medieval Spanheim into the modern urban fabric was part of a common practice in European cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when local heroes were often situated at sites of major urban change. Spanheim is a latecomer to what Sergiusz Michalski calls the statuomania of the period, and his destruction a part of the inevitable statuophobia that followed.[2] But this misses the larger urbanistic point. The strategy provided a way to recall founder myths at the precise moment and place that modernization and urbanization transformed historic cores. Tradition and history were symbolically thrust into the fray. But to recommit to this practice anew in 1954, as happened in Klagenfurt, aligns the city's immediate postwar planning with the sort of eerily faithful reconstruc-

Figure 6. Plaque on plague column. Photograph by author.

Figure 7. Plague column, detail. Photograph by author.

tion that took place in cities such as Nuremberg after the war. In displacing the statue of Franz-Joseph, a distant and nearly mythic past erased more recent history.

Without putting too fine a point to it, the local memory of medieval Klagenfurt displaced national memory at the juncture of the medieval core, while Spanheim, in gazing at Maria Theresia, directs *our* gaze from the local founding back to a symbol of empire long before it eroded. Monuments hold Klagenfurt's pedestrian zone in a web of local, royal, national, and mythic gestures of founding and survival, but none too vivid to upset the tourist. History is never allowed to challenge heritage in the urban scenography of the townscape. When the *Pestsaüle* rose in the Alter Platz in 1965, at the center of this web, it began the process of locking the historic core into place with memorials as heritage posts.

The value of this analysis is to point out how important it is to see memorials in terms of other memorials as parts of postwar schemes in conservation planning and the deliberate construction of heritage cores that cater to tourism. Klagenfurt is but an example *in extremis* of what happened in many European cities across the twentieth century. Its example points out the convergence of monuments, tourism, and urban planning within the project of heritage conservation, with monuments being visual, spatial, and symbolic pieces with which cities created their larger effects.[3] Like deconsecrated churches, Klagenfurt's monuments speak less to specific memories, or even precise historical events — even if they can still be asked

Figure 8. Lindwurm, 1593, and statue of Maria Theresia, 1870. Photograph copyright Alexander Loigge.

to do just that—than they nod generically to history. In fact, relieved of the burden of specific commemorative practices, they are free to adorn, mark space, or, as an ensemble, demarcate and ennoble the old city, in effect, to affirm its historicity in another pivotal moment of transformation.

Still, we have to ask what made Klagenfurt susceptible to this sort of manipulation? Like most European towns, it was transformed by the geopolitical and technological dislocations of the past two hundred years. As towns modernized in the nineteenth century, their old cores were often left to molder, becoming undesirable places to live. The physical fact of their premodern urban morphology made them resistant to cars and other forms of modern transportation, as well as to the modern infrastructure of comfort and communication. Electricity, heating and air conditioning, plumbing, and other amenities were easier to build into new developments than to retrofit into medieval or Renaissance towns.[4] An openly hostile attitude set in and municipal administrators began to eviscerate the historic fabric of cities in the name of modernization. Georges Haussmann's assault on medieval Paris is but the best known of what became endemic to European urbanism after mid-century.[5] Space precludes a detailed history of Klagenfurt's transformation in the nineteenth century, but it followed the general pattern of many European towns as they recommodified themselves after the World War II. In the postwar decades, commercial and residential patterns of land use altered dramatically, creating "a functional vacuum" into which cities plugged "a mixture of leisure-shopping functions," including

Figure 9. Original statue of Maria Theresia, 1765, from Siegfried Hartwagner, *Klagenfurt, Stadt: Ihre Kunstwerke, historischen Lebens-un Siedlungformen* (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1980), 166. Courtesy of Verlag St. Peter.

craft shops, boutiques and antique stores, cafés and restaurants, most closing outside of shopping hours.[6]

Between the "brave new world" approach to modernization after the war, as seen in Rotterdam's archetypal modern pedestrian zone, the Lijnbaan, and to the other extreme, the fossilization of historic centers as "large open-air museums," towns reinvented themselves into what has been called, appropriately if inelegantly, the tourist-historic city.[7] What saved historic cores from the deadening effects of many American downtowns during the same period was their historical value and the concentration of population near them. The past could be manipulated, but only if planners could take control of the historical material as if it were a plastic medium.[8]

And this could only happen if it were grafted onto a more expansive mission. Throughout the nineteenth century, and especially in the twentieth, official government bodies slowly absorbed the apparatus of conservation in the form of commissions on art and monuments, which began listing buildings and creating a theoretical basis for conceptualizing patrimony. In the postwar era, when attitudes towards government's role in heritage conservation changed significantly, urban planning absorbed conservation. As land-use planning emerged as a field unto itself, it had to reconcile reconstruction and development with the historic parts of cities that had survived the two world wars.[9] Conservation, long the bailiwick of "private initiatives and local, civic, rather than national, concern," became part of public planning.[10] At the same time, the purview of

Figure 10. Bernhard of Spannheim Monument, Lemisch Platz, Klagenfurt, 1954. Photograph by author.

conservation widened to include neighborhoods or districts, and a form of conservation zoning emerged, formalized in the idea of the *zone protégé,* a term coined in 1962, the same year that Klagenfurt pedestrianized its historic area.[11] Klagenfurt's planners, who seemed hopelessly backward in 1954 with the Spanheim monument, were in step with the vanguard by the early 1960s. Or perhaps they moved in two directions at once.

This emphasis on historical townscape in place of the monument "brought the town planner to centre stage in place of the architect and art historian."[12] Conservation planning thus assimilated the grand, utopian planning of the early twentieth century, taking on its moral prerogatives, visions of totality, and the role of government in the process. Under cover of preservation, heritage, and patrimony, all terms that matched the more conservative ethos of the period, planners were able to channel some of the ideas birthed in the more radical context of the rise of the Modern movement in architecture, Le Corbusier's visions for Paris being the most widely cited example.[13] The same areas that architects and planners had proposed to raze and rebuild were now under their control to be planned comprehensively in terms of preservation. It became standard across Europe (and to a lesser extent in the United States) to place large urban tracts under designation, submitting them to "a new permanent and general form of urban management."[14] While historians of preservation understand these vast institutional and socioeconomic shifts, less attention has been paid to the subtler sleight of hand of nudging historic monuments into useful places in order to construct (not reconstruct) a meaningful urban diagram — a diagram that is fundamentally modernist in its clarity, and consumerist in its intentions.

As modernist as this diagram is, it also looks backward to Camillo Sitte, whose figure–ground diagrams were still a presence in planning education and practice in the postwar

Figure 11. Postcard of Spannheim Monument. Author's collection.

Figure 12. View of Maria Theresia from Spannheim Monument. Photograph copyright Alexander Loigge.

period — a Viennese publishing house reprinted the third edition in 1965, just as Klagenfurt refashioned its historic core.[15] Sitte was also a seminal figure in redeeming the medieval town and forging a counterargument against Haussmannesque destruction.[16] What would Sitte have thought of Klagefurt's playful use of monuments?[17] While he may have frowned upon displacing the column so casually, he would have recognized

the “artistic principles” that his fellow countryman put into practice. Sitte derided the “modern folly” of centering “every little statue” in a magnificent public space. The ancients, he counseled, “placed their monuments around the plazas and against walls.”[18] He considered it a *principle*—that high-minded word nineteenth-century ideologues wielded with near biblical fervor—to keep the centers of plazas open and devoted his entire second chapter to the topic. The plague column in Klagenfurt is Sittean in this regard. It is “set aside from the central axis,” where it makes no pretense to magnificence and disencumbers the space visually and functionally.[19] It also recognizes the irregularity of the space, where multiple streets decant into the lozenge-shaped plaza. The rest of the statues are placed more formally, befitting their more formal plazas, and thus un-Sittean.

Whether or not Klagenfurt’s planners looked directly at Sitte, his way of thinking about the relationship of public spaces, buildings, and monuments persists to this day in urban design, especially in Austria and Central Europe. But Sitte could not have anticipated what happened in Klagenfurt, where the town’s memorials have been used to frame its protected zone. It should be no surprise that, with all of this movement and change, the historical integrity of the entire area is thrown into doubt.

At the same time that Klagenfurt pedestrianized its historical core, a kind of architectural museum called Minimundus was founded (Figure 13). Here we have two parallel and interrelated processes, the creation of a historic center and the establishment of a pseudo-historical theme park, albeit in miniature, both of which arose out of an emerging attention to heritage or patrimony and an attempt to use it to generate tourism. While Minimundus displays models of architecture from around the world, it is heavily skewed toward Austria, with the expected spate of castles and modern Austrian buildings and infrastructure sharing space with the chestnuts of the architectural canon.

As a highly selective romp through the history of architecture, Minimundus supplies what Klagenfurt’s medieval core cannot: a worldly and expansive experience, from ancient Egypt to the contemporary moment as told through the monuments of the world. The Parthenon and the Palazzo Vecchio join the Sydney Opera House and Mendelsohn’s Einstein Observatory. Minimundus makes a sincere attempt to show major monuments from around the world, including the Osaka Fortress, El Castillo at Chichen Itza, and the Temple at Borobudur. All but one of these buildings is demountable and taken under cover in winter. This makes the arrangement at Minumundus malleable—not unlike the way Klagenfurt has treated the monu-

Figure 13. View of Minimundus, Klagenfurt. Photograph by author.

ments of its old city, as moveable props in a game of urban theater. The combination of close, archaeological reconstruction of the monuments alongside the extraordinarily liberal grouping suggests that Minimundus and Klagenfurt's historical core share a similar ethos. In both cases, the high fidelity of detail obscures the quiet deceit of the ensemble.

Two other similarities deserve mention. Minimundus's larger monuments are roughly the same scale as the memorials that define Klagenfurt's pedestrian zone — and both are pedestrian zones: the one verdant, the other urban. The early theme parks, such as Disneyland and Minimundus, emerged at the same time as postwar pedestrianization. They were self-consciously created as places of refuge from the car: suspension of disbelief required such a break. At Minimundus, the view of the street and parking area is totally obscured, but the memory of the street makes the bodily experience of the encounter with the monument all the more poignant. The same relationship of the monument to the body of a walker and the memory of the car or bus occurs in the old city.

The two ventures, pedestrianization of the historic core and Minimundus, are spatially related, as well, since Klagenfurt is a staging ground for lake tourism and Minimundus lies on the axis between the town and lake Wörthersee, creating a triad of related attractions: old city, historical theme park, and a resort based on the natural resources of the lake and

mountains, all of which are part of the heritage of the area. As an ensemble, these three layers of tourism provide a variety of complementary attractions in different seasons. Minimundus offers the otherwise provincial Klagenfurt, which lacks major individual architectural monuments, an encounter expressly through major monuments, and many exotic ones at that. This is a theme park that understands how to abstract a monument from its place for the benefit of a larger aesthetic and quasi-historical experience. It could have offered the same lesson to historic Klagenfurt.

Minimundus, founded in 1958, just four years before the pedestrianization of Klagenfurt's historic core, provides the context for the restaging of the plague column. After all, the plague column is nearly as artificial as the models of Minimundus; but their juxtaposition produces the opposite reading. Minimundus makes the Alter Platz seem authentic and enduring after it had undergone such radical change that it no longer behaved like its former self. This, of course, is distinct from Jean Baudrillard's famous reading of Disneyland as a simulacrum.[20] Instead of a perfect copy of something that never existed, Klagenfurt simply staged a graceful setting for tourism using its historical assets as props. Its indifference to historical precision is, in fact, modernist. In spirit it lies somewhere between Sitte and Le Corbusier. It is also ordinary.

It seems appropriate to end by speculating about what lies behind this artifice, a word that might be greeted as much with sympathy as with the usual disdain. The fashion to pedestrianize the historical centers of Europe, Klagenfurt's included, undoubtedly had many motivations, but one of its consequences was the creation of an urban body-language that veiled the emerging economic order. It is now difficult to see vibrant, functional areas like Klagenfurt's as invented, and even harder to see them as postmodern, but this is exactly what they became in the late twentieth century. The pedestrianized cores of many European towns have become themed environments of a sort, as contrived as Minimundus, but the theme (whether you call it tradition, hypertradition, continuity, or history lovingly preserved) obscures the back room of wires and the credit system, and now satellites, that brought it to life as a new kind of place.[21] This is not to condemn the work of reconstruction and preservation in Europe's historical cores (much of which was a casualty of war) but rather to acknowledge how strange these spaces must have been at first when they were reinvented. It is not merely the reconstruction of a city like Nuremburg that comes close to Sigmund Freud's idea of the uncanny, but also the creation of an urban Other that at first appears disturbingly like the original.[22]

The changes are deceiving, but again we should withhold disapproval. Although the car is a relative newcomer to the many medieval cores of European towns, these areas were never pedestrian in the modern sense. Originally horses and carts, animals and hawkers, filled them up, joining the flotsam and jetsam, sounds and smells that these forces throw into the street. The Alter Platz had a fish market in the eighteenth century and semipermanent stalls blocked the statue of Franz-Joseph. The old city, in general, grew up out of the heterogeneous mix of commerce, pre-industrial production, and residential life born of medieval protocapitalism, before modern technology and its spatial needs abandoned or razed these spaces. In many cities that succumbed late to industrialization, their historic cores had not changed appreciably deep into the twentieth century. What modernization did not accomplish, war often did. In Klagenfurt's case, bombs cleared the way for what Manuel Castells famously called the informational city, which is nowhere in particular, but emerges to create places wherever it can attract people to its products.[23]

According to Castells, in an information-based economy, the traditional deterministic links between production and place are broken, and the locus of control of knowledge is scattered "across undifferentiated locations and secretive spaces," which "denies the specific productive meaning of any place outside its position in a network whose shape changes relentlessly in response to the messages of unseen signals and unknown codes."[24] This spelled the unraveling of "place-based societies."[25] The development of an information-based economy encouraged processes already at work in the historical cores of European cities. It helped the neglected or bombed-out historical cores of European cities to reinvent themselves, now as centers of pleasure, tourism, shopping, and service, and to do so while insulating themselves from some of the aspects of the place-based economy that are most troubling, especially industry. Without cars and industrial sites — or decrepit housing and fish markets — as visual and polluting reminders of the old economy, they became pristine service centers, in some cases more isolated and purer than malls, which rose in roughly the same period to satisfy similar conditions and exhibit some of the same traits.

Klagenfurt's pedestrianization dovetails with the beginnings of this process. Its newly paved streets in the 1960s were a form of modernization dressed in nostalgic clothing, but preservation and the quarries of paving stones that covered the two historical cross streets of the Alter Platz could not alone create a sense of place out of the essentially cold placelessness of the economics behind its emergence. The creative use of historical monuments, which are more malleable and

moveable than buildings, gave it the trappings of a traditional place. The plague monument, in particular, embodies this process. It offers a gesture toward civic space, a place to gather. Why are these gestures important? Sitte would have an aesthetic response, but perhaps it is because conventions of gesture, movement, and interaction in space don't immediately adjust to economic or geopolitical changes. Nor should they. As Castells writes, "people live in places, power rules in flows."[26] Globalization does not necessarily make a body global, and in fact, it may encourage some bodies to act locally, to embrace modes of encounter or behavior in space that provide succor in the face of change. The plague monument provides a prop for an otherwise potentially alienating space in which people can carry on spatial practices at the exact location where the information age has disrupted these practices.[27]

Biography
Andrew Shanken is Professor in the Department of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley. His book, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Homefront* (Minnesota, 2009), examines anticipatory designs for postwar architecture and cities created during World War II. *Into the Void Pacific* is an architectural history of th e 1939 San Francisco World's Fair. He has published widely on the topic of architecture and memory, including a current project called *The Everyday Life of Memorials*.

Notes

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[1] For Klagenfurt's cultural history, see Siegfried Hartwanger, *Klagenfurt, Stadt: Ihre Kunstwekre, historischen Lebens- und Siedlungsformen* (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1980), and Dieter Jandl, *A Brief History of Klagenfurt* (Klagenfurt: Heyn, 2000).

[2] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), especially 42–45.

[3] Related issues can be found in D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren, eds., *Architecture and Tourism* (Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 2004).

[4] G. J. Ashworth, "From History to Heritage: From Heritage to Identity: In Search of Concepts and Models," in *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture, and Identity in the New Europe,* ed. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham, 13–30 (London: Routledge, 1994).

[5] Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991): 82.

[6] G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City* (London; New York: Belhaven, 1990), 102.

[7] Ibid. See also Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[8] For the general context, see the essays in Ashworth and P. J. Larkham. Also, see Kostof, *The City Shaped,* 82.

[9] Ashworth and Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City,* 10–14.

[10] Ibid., 13.

[11] Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument,* trans. Lauren M. O'Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially 117–37.

[12] Ashworth and Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City,* 14.

[13] Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning,* trans. Frederick Etchells (London: J. Rodker, 1929).

[14] Ashworth and Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City,* 17. See also Zbigniew Zuziak, *Managing Historic Cities* (Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 1993) and *Managing Tourism in Historic Cities* (Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 1992).

[15] Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (Vienna: G. Prachner, 1965). The same year, Christiane Crasemann Collins and George R. Collins published their English translation: *City Planning according to Artistic Principles* (London: Phaidon Press, 1965).

[16] Kostof, *The City Shaped,* 82–83.

[17] Thanks to Marta Gutman for suggesting the connection to Sitte.
[18] Collins and Collins, *City Planning according to Artistic Principle,* 156–57.
[19] Ibid., 162.
[20] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation,* trans. Shiela Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), especially 164–84.
[21] Nezar Alsayyad, *Traditions: The Real," the Hyper, and the Virtual in the Built Environment* (London: Routledge / Taylor & Francis Group, 2014).
[22] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny* [1919], trans. David McLintock (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).
[23] Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information, Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989).
[24] Ibid., 348.
[25] Ibid., 349.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Edward W. Soja calls this effort to reclaim or reconstitute spatial practices as the information age disrupts them "reterritorialization." Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 212.