This *EAP* completes 24 years. We enclose a renewal form and appreciate prompt responses so there will be fewer reminders to send in the winter 2014 issue. Making the decision last year to distribute *EAP* in digital, open-source format has considerably reduced our subscribership. We continue to have editing, printing, and distribution expenses and would appreciate renewals and donations from readers. At least for the near future, we will continue to publish a paper version of *EAP*.

This issue begins with a review by Kansas State University Architecture student **Nadav Bittan** of architect **Howard Davis's** *Living over the Store,* a study of the role of mixed-use buildings in the history of cities, past and present. This *EAP* includes two essays, the first by architect **M. Reza Sharazi**, who considers architectural theorist **Kenneth Frampton's** contributions to architectural phenomenology. The second essay, by Geography student **George Ananchev**, considers how a phenomenological perspective might provide important archeological insights into the travel experiences of ancient Roman roads.
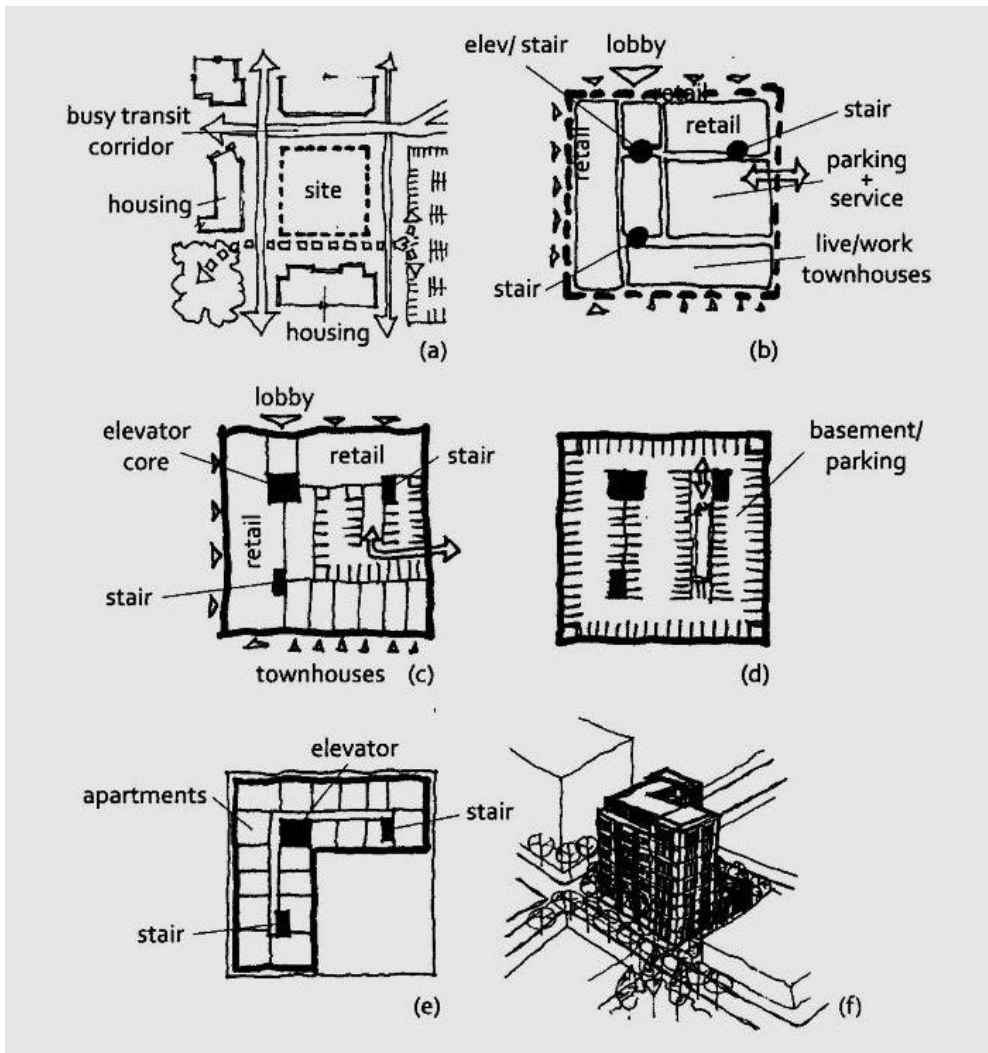
Left: A sequence of drawings from architect Howard Davis's **Living over the Store: Architecture and Urban Life** *(Routledge, 2013)—see the review in this issue of* EAP*, pp. 5–7. These drawings illustrate the design for an urban mixed-use building with an 'L'-shaped residential block on a square base of retail and parking: "The location of the vertical cores allows retail space to be maximized and for efficiency of the residential floors above and parking below" (p. 168). Diagrams by Kevin Sauser, Ankrom-Moisan Associated Architects, Portland, Oregon.*

PUARL Conference

Sponsored by **PUARL** (Portland Urban Architecture Research Laboratory), the conference, **"Battle for the Life and Beauty of The Earth,"** will be held November 1–3, 2013, in Portland, Oregon. Drawing on the title of architect Christopher Alexander's recent book (see *EAP,* winter 2013, for a review), the conference theme is "the variety of ways in which urban environments and urban buildings, as well as their design and production, can support life, beauty, and wholeness, in addition to confronting the challenges implicit in attaining these goals. Life as a complex web of relationships, as an emergent process over time, and as a human feeling will be discussed in terms of complexity theory, pattern theory, ecology, sustainability, and landscape to address contemporary discourses and debates in environmental design, urban design, and urban architecture." http://puarl.uoregon.edu/events.php.

Citations Received

Ritu Bhatt, ed., 2013. *Rethinking Aesthetics: The Role of Body in Design.* **NY: Routledge.**

This volume's ten chapters focus on "the relationship between body and design." Contributors include **Chris Abel** ("The Extended Self: Tacit Knowing and Place-Identity"); **Galen Cranz** ("Somatics and Aesthetics"); **Yuriko Aito** ("The Moral Dimension of Japanese Aesthetics"); **David Seamon** ("Environmental Embodiment, Merleau-Ponty, and Bill Hillier's Theory of Space Syntax"); and **Juhani Pallasmaa** ("Mental and Existential Ecology").

Stephan Doesinger, ed., 2008. *Space between People.* **Munich: Prestel.**

"Second life" is an on-line virtual world whose users, called "residents," interact through digital characters called "avatars." This edited collection overviews the entries from the 2006 First Annual Architecture and Design Competition in Second Life, of which all submissions were from professional architects and designers. The jury was to give attention to "projects that were largely abstract formally, invited other users to get involved, or were simply more exciting than reality."

"So what reality might that be?" writes Doesinger in his introduction. "What sort of reality is it where terms such as 'mixed realities', 'augmented realities', 'virtual spaces', hybrid spaces', or 'the metaverse' have become commonplace? Numerous projects succumbed to the lure of a formal 'anything goes', and let rip an orgy of forms. Unencumbered by

static and commercial constraints, Sullivan's dictum that 'form follow function' seems to have degenerated into farce. What function could that be, anyway? What are the functions and effects of designs in virtual space?" This volume offers a provocative picture of the future of virtual realities and virtual places. See sidebar, below.

Chairs and Virtual Space

Exploring the virtual landscapes of Second Life, a new visitor might be surprised by the large number of chairs in the environment and the prominence of the "sit" button in the context menu. Do avatars get tired from all the flying and need to rest frequently? In real spaces, chairs support our bodies, fulfilling an important physical function. Chairs let us comfortably spend time in the same place for long periods of time.

Because the role of chairs in the real world derives solely from the physiological needs of real humans, it seems ironic that a virtual environment should have chairs in it at all; avatars don't get tired, so why would they need chairs? The answer lies in the social function of showing your commitment to not moving, which makes chairs, virtual or real, excellent examples of rich social objects from which we can learn a number of lessons about designing virtual social spaces….

Sitting in a chair, real or virtual, communicates a commitment to space; a seated person is settled in, not likely to leave, and engaged with what's going on in this space. In contrast, people or avatars that are standing feel transient. They're just observing until they sit down…. Also, how the chairs are arranged in a space and where someone chooses to sit is important….

This richness makes chairs one of the most socially successful objects in Second Life. Although some aspects of the function of physical chairs don't make sense in a virtual environment, the bulk of the meaning encoded in chairs and interactions surrounding chairs can be expressed successfully in a virtual environment. Chairs are a model for the level of social significance we think should be expected from Second Life objects.

—from *Space between People,* p. 70.

David Faflik, 2012. *Baording Out: Inhabiting the American Urban Literary Imagination 1840–1860.* **Evanston, Illinois: Nothwestern Univ. Press.**

This English professor argues that "the urban American boardinghouse exerted a decisive shaping power on the period's writers and writings." Focusing on such authors as Thoreau, Hawthorne, Wendell Holms, and less known popular writers of the time, Faflik contends "that boarding was at once psychically, artistically, and materially central in the making of our shared American culture."

Joe L. Frost, 2010. *A History of Children's Play and Play Environments: Toward a Contemporary Child-Saving Movement.* **NY: Routledge.**

This book provides a history of children's play and play environments." It argues that today "we need to re-establish play as a priority" and "to preserve children's free, spontaneous outdoor play… and natural and built play environments."

Kathleen Galvin and Les Todres, 2012. *Caring and Well-Being: A Lifeworld Approach.* **NY: Routledge.**

"Health and illness are often measured in policy documents and in economic terms; clinical outcomes are enmeshed in statistical data, with the patient's experience left to one side." These phenomenological psychologists are "concerned with how to humanize health and social care and keep the person at the centre of practice."

Sonia Hirt and Diane Zahm, eds., 2012. *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs.* **NY: Routledge.**

This collection of 17 chapters reconsiders the urban and economic legacies of urban critic Jane Jacobs. Key questions include: "What explains Jacobs' lasting appeal and is it justified? Where was she right and where was she wrong. What were the most important themes she addressed?"

Shaun Moores, 2012. *Media, Place and Mobility.* **London: Palgrave Macmillan.**

This professor of media and communications aims for "a new understanding of media uses as place-making practices in everyday living." Drawing primarily on phenomenological perspectives, Moores focuses on "the ways in which people inhabit physical and media environments…" He explores "the bodily and technologically mediated mobilities that are involved in this activity of dwelling." See sidebar, right.

From Moores's Media, Place and Mobilty

On social geographer Doreen Massey's prejudice against the centering qualities of place:

[Massey's] argument that the conceptualisation of place must take account of an 'intersection' of local and global social relations is a crucial one… However, despite Massey's many references to practice…, I believe that what is missing in her approach is precisely detailed attention to environmental experience, and to matters of dwelling or habitation….

Implicitly, Massey is associating phenomenological geography with those notions of 'place as closed' that she has long sought to counter, and yet I can see no reason, in principle, why a concern with habituation and embodied practices should be a odds with an interest in the openness of places or in contemporary transnational connections. Both of these are necessary for coming to terms with forms of dwelling in a world of flux (pp. 81–82).

Moores' discovering phenomenology:

Looking back at my own work over many years on issues of media in everyday life, I now realize that a key difficulty for me was in finding a conceptual vocabulary that could do justice to the lived experiences of the everyday.

When I was a student, and for a long time after, the field of media studies was strongly influenced by 'structuralist' and 'post-structuralist' theoretical perspectives. Most notably, a Marxist-inflected semiotic approach involved conceptualising 'media processes' primarily in terms of ideology, representation, codes, sign-systems, texts and reading.

It is true that the field's development was shaped, in addition, by a 'culturalist' tradition (also largely Marxist-inflected), which allowed considerably more room for an exploration of the experiential dimension of contemporary living, but even this tradition… could not illuminate, at least to my satisfaction, what I now think of as people's everyday environmental experiences, including their practical, embodied, and sensuous involvements with media of communication.

Only in recent years, since engaging with phenomenological philosophy and phenomenologically inspired approaches in the social sciences and humanities, have I felt that I am finding an adequate set of concepts for 'my' non-media-centric media studies (p. 109).

Tim Ingold, 2012. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description.* **NY: Routledge.**

Beginning with the idea of "life as a process of wayfaring," this anthropologist explores "movement, knowledge, and description as dimensions not just of being in the world, but of being alive to what is going on there." He writes: "[The essence of what it means to dwell] is literally to be embarked upon a movement along a way of life. The perceiver-producer is thus a wayfarer, and the modes of production is itself a trail blazed or a path followed. Along such paths, lives are lived, skills developed, observations made and understanding grown… To be, I would now say, is not to be *in* place but to be *along* paths. The path, and not the place, is the primary condition of being, or rather of becoming…. [M]y contention is that wayfaring is the fundamental mode by which living beings inhabit the earth. Every such being has, accordingly, to be imagined as the line of its own movement or—more realistically—as a bundle of lines" (pp. 12–13).

Robert K. Merton & Elinor Barber, 2004. *The Travels and Adventures of Serendipity.* **Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.**

Originally written in first draft in 1958 and updated in its published version, this book, co-written by the eminent sociologist Robert Merton (1910–2003), traces the history of *serendipity,* a word first coined by British man of letters Horace Walpole in 1754. One of the most precise definitions offered in the book is poet Ogden Nash's "Serendipity is merely the knack of making happy and unexpected discoveries by chance," a line from his poem, "Don't Look for the Silver Lining: Just Wait for It." The authors write: "over a span of some 200 years…, the word serendipity has changed considerably: After initial rejection, the word was given very limited currency among a few literary erudites; it gradually attained wider currency in more diversified literary circles; and finally it became popular in the world of science and among those journalists who describe the progress of science to the general public."

These two sociologists provide a wonderful example of how a lifeworld phenomenon sooner or later gets itself described explicitly. The authors demonstrate the curious way that serendipity's meaning evolved serendipitously and how not everyone, particularly some scientists, believes that serendipity is a real phenomenon. See sidebar, right.

Juhani Pallasmaa, 2012. *Encounters 2: Architectural Essays.* **Helsinki: Rakennustieto.**

This second set of essays by the Finnish architect and architectural theorist are "drawn from an intensive decade of teaching, lecturing and writing in the new millennium, as well as from a lifetime of critical observations on both architects and artists." Also note that Pallasmaa's *Encounters 1* is now published in a second edition (384 pages—same length as the first edition).

Aaron Passell, 2013. *Building the New Urbanism: Places, Professions, and Profits in the American Metropolitan Landscape.* **NY: Routledge.**

This sociologist works to situate "the growth of the New Urbanism in the history of urban and suburban policy and development." His conclusions regarding new urbanism as genuine place making are ambivalent. In his last chapter, he describes a 2012 visit to the suburban Washington DC new-urbanist communities of Kentlands and the Lakelands: "…it is clear that Kentlands and Lakelands have become real places…. Underlying my initial interest in the New Urbanism as a movement dedicated to creating new places and building community is an old urbanite's disbelief in the possibility of authentic new places… Despite the undeniable physical reality of it all…, I'm still not sure that I believe in the Kentlands exactly, but my visit makes it clear [that people living there do]."

From *Travels and Adventures…*

Instances of serendipity are among the experiences that people like to remember and report, as they happened both to themselves and others. Encountering the word serendipity may serve as a stimulus for describing such happy accidental discoveries. As far back as 1881, [a reader] responded to [essayist] Edward Solly's explanation of serendipity in *Notes and Queries* by describing his accidental discovery of an elusive quotation from Cicero.

Again, when Mancroft's article on "Serendipity" appeared in the *Saturday Review* in 1918, a Mr. Edward Hodge from Cape Town, South Africa [provided] some examples of serendipity from the field of mining engineering, which was his profession.

The appearance of Winifred Rugg's article on serendipity in the *Christian Science Monitor* moved [a reader to write]: "I had an excellent example of serendipity myself just the other day. I was searching a magazine for a reproduction of a Gainsborough portrait, which I believed to be there; instead, I came upon a map showing the distribution of the Nine-Banded Armadillo. We are all too familiar with maps of population, food or rainfall distribution, but it is few among us who are privileged to look on a map showing the distribution of the Nine-Banded Armadillo. That I am one of these few, I owe to serendipity."

Serendipity is obviously something pleasant to have and to tell about, and the pride that… people appear to take in the possession of the word may be aroused not only by its aptness and its rarity, but by the aura of good luck with which its possession associates them (p. 84).

Book Review

Howard Davis, 2012. *Living over the Store: Architecture and Local Urban Life.* New York: Routledge.

Reviewed by Nadav Bittan

In *Living over the Store,* architect Howard Davis pictures the current Western city as "a disembodied entity… reduced to fragmented zones, functions and professional institutions" (p. 7). Drawing partly on the work of urban critic Jane Jacobs and architect Christopher Alexander, Davis attributes fractured urban place to a morphological transformation that included the decline of the traditional *shop/house*—i.e., a mixed-use building that incorporates some combination of residence and business. Davis's aim is to describe the shop/house as "embedded in the social and economic life of the urban district" and expressing "continuities across different cultures and historic periods" (p. vi). Most importantly, he works to demonstrate that the shop/house is a building type crucial to the future of cities because there is "a growing need for urban and architectural forms that can flexibly accommodate innovation and enterprise at the grassroots" (ibid.).

In the book's 13 chapters, Davis suggests that the Western city's loss of the shop/house—what he calls in his title, "living over the store"—played an important role in depleting the character of modern urban life economically, socially, and demographically. He advocates a return to updated versions of the shop/house, which might invigorate higher densities, greater connectivity, and a layered environmental complexity "in all its multiplicity and ambiguity" (p. 10)—a mode of neighborhood fabric that many urban districts currently lack (see building design, p. 1).

In the first part of the book, "The Shop/house as Global Phenomenon," Davis provides a worldwide survey of shop/houses in Asia, continental Europe, England, and America. Making use of shop/house commonalities and differences, he convincingly develops a historically and geographically informed argument in relation to the building's malleable social, economic, and design qualities. The

A hybrid of old and new

The fragmentation that modern institutions have inflicted on daily life will only be partly repaired by our emerging globalized and digitized culture… This new culture is sometimes interpreted as eliminating the need for localism, which is often seen as anti-modern and a throwback to a past world.

But less visible than the internet and the increasing pervasiveness of a global media is a new sense of the importance of place, of local production, of a recognition that the environmental imperative has implications in the way people will live, and of the need for buildings that are not bound to ways of life and work that are becoming outmoded. What we have is not a fight between the local and the global… but a necessary accommodation of one to the other.

Many people want the ability to live local lives in a global world and have the means to do so… Other people in the West, caught in the pits and cracks of unstable economies, want to be able to free themselves from dependence on uncertain unemployment. And yet other people, in still-"developing" countries, are doing what they have always done, seeing enterprise-at-home as a natural part of their lives.

Undoubtedly… new forms [of the shop/house] will emerge—perhaps as the dysfunctional low-rise suburbs of American cities or the high-rise suburbs of European cities are transformed…. The emerging urban fabric that harbors shop/houses will itself be a hybrid of the new and the old, and incorporating neighborhoods with people of all economic means.

—from *Living over the Store,* p. 231.

shop/house, he contends, is "part of a continuously dynamic process of cultural diffusion and adjustment" that helps explain its invariable presence throughout the world in a wide range of social, economic, and vernacular forms (p. 12).

Historically, the distinction between family and shop life has most often been fluid: "The building's flexibility allows [occupants] to develop businesses in their houses with a minimum of financial investment, and to expand and contract space devoted to business as necessary" (p. 13). In this sense, the shop/house is "a product of urban morphological conditions that result in the two functions of dwelling and commerce each being optimized for the same location" (ibid.). Davis provides a wide geographical and historical range of shop/house examples. For example, in China, the shop/house is often an elongated transformation of the traditional courtyard house. In contrast, the Thai shop/house "represents an evolution from a hybrid of the European party-wall building introduced… during the nineteenth century and the traditional Thai wooden dwelling" (p. 19).

In the second part of the book, "The Fabric of Everyday Life," Davis asserts the practical and lived value that the shop/house might have in the contemporary and future city. Most important is how the shop/house, in its multivalent forms and functions, might play a critical role in how "the building, the neighborhood, and the city—and the inhabitants of the city—form one interconnected system" (p. 87).

Davis suggests that the current Western urban system of mono-functional zoning has fragmented the city's physical frame for living and compromised the fluidity of economic and social life by undermining new social and technological realities. The shop/house's functional and design flexibility allows for hybrid architectural and lifeworld situations that respond astutely to locational context and dynamics.

This ordered urban structure is the result of thousands of individual decisions and reminds one of architectural theorist Bill Hillier's space syntax, which emphasizes pathway configuration and is also cognizant of economic carrying capacity, safety, and the dynamics of land value vs. density. The result, place-wise, is a maximizing of economic opportunity through which "a vibrant urban structure may naturally emerge" (p. 110). This symbiotic relationship between building and economy allows for both a resilient tolerance *for* change as well as a resilient response *to* change, whether economic, technological, or place-grounded. Davis writes:

In the end, we come back to everyday hybridity: the idea that everyday life is not easily classifiable into clear functional zones or standard architectural types. The daily life of a household, street, or neighborhood is characterized by interactions among the functions that make it up that are so powerful that they render a reductionist analysis much too simplistic. In support of this complex daily life, the shop/house is a "model hybrid." It connects people and functions inside it; it is symbiotically connected to the neighborhood outside it; it changes cyclically over time in its use and is malleable in its architectural form (p. 231).

In the third part of the book, "The Death and Life of the Modest Shop/house," Davis narrates the shop/house's world-wide decline between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, a time when public functions moved "from outside to inside" while production functions moved "from inside to outside" (p.176).

Davis details how this transformation unfolded through changes in commerce, zoning ordinances, and the evolving character of the shop/house. Eventually, the geographical separation between places of production and consumption led to the city's fragmentation into functionally specific quarters. As the ground floor of a shop/house was occupied commercially, residential floors above became less significant functionally and rent-wise.

Further, the early twentieth century shop/house in Western cities was besmirched and used as a symbol for failure, messiness, and poor health. Davis suggests that the decline of the shop/house coincides with the appearance of suburban sprawl and urban renewal, and with the decline of family business, street vitality, craftsmanship, and class empowerment.

In his conclusion, "Hybrid Urban Practice," Davis is optimistic. He sees hopeful signs that citizens, policy makers, developers, and designers are recognizing the need for an adaptable building type that helps mitigate market and social fluctuations. The shop/house may be the most effective model because it responds to "social, economic and energy/material sustainability" (p. 205). Mixed-use buildings might transform the "brittle city" into urban resilience through both new construction and historic preservation. Already, creative zoning codes, including "mixed-use residential zones," prove that, although more expensive initially, "the value of building for

the long term" becomes clear again. Cities (one examples Davis uses is Portland, Oregon) come to recognize the "the potential of an increased tax base from quality mixed-use buildings, and the advantages to infrastructure costs of urban infill" (p. 215).

In his largely descriptive and historical account, Howard infuses just enough assertions to create a compelling argument for the return of the mixed-use building to our current and future urban landscapes. Davis's shop/house case studies are perhaps most interesting from a phenomenological perspective, partly because they deal with a phenomenon that is "hard to categorize and easy to ignore" (p. 5). In other words, the shop/house is intriguing phenomenologically because it focuses attention on a mostly forgotten aspect of city morphology: The everyday urban lifeworld as contributed to architecturally (see sidebar, right). Davis's study unveils the unexpected relevance of the shop/house in regard to family dynamics, transformations of gender roles, manufacturing, commerce, and robust urban districts. In regard to lifeworld, the shop/house's most invaluable dimension might be its taken-for-granted effect on the city's largely habitual daily life. In this sense, the shop/house contributes to those elusive qualities often missing from current environments—the charm, vitality, and ambience so difficult to define and sustain in modern urban places.

In this sense, the shop/house becomes one practical and symbolic means for restoring urban exuberance to the public realm, which, as the philosopher Hanah Arendt explained, "gathers us together and yet prevents us falling apart." In the relationship between city buildings and public spaces, Davis' account lends unexpected but sensible merit to the necessary, inescapable practical and lived relationships between "architecture and local life" (p. 231).

Bittan is a 5th-year student in the Master of Architecture program at Kansas State University. His review is a distillation of several reading critiques he wrote for EAP *Editor David Seamon's Architecture seminar on "Theories of Place," which included Davis's book as one of the required texts.* nbittan@ksu.edu.

Supporting everyday life

The shop/house is useful because it supports everyday life, in the most ordinary and common sense. Everyday life—reading the newspaper with a cup of coffee, chatting with a neighbor on the street, putting the key in the front door when arriving home, working hard to meet a deadline, buying bread and a quart of milk, taking children to school, meeting friends, going to the bank on a lunch break, stopping at the dry cleaners on the way home—is the ground of people's experience. It is overlaid with inner lives of thoughts and dreams, and punctuated by the surprising moment, the special occasion, and the beautiful. It is always present, sometimes in the background and sometimes in plain view—and it is lived more than it is thought.

The relationship between the shop/house and everyday life is supple. On a day-to-day basis, work may be easily done in the house or in easy access to the house; workplace and dwelling are sometimes the same, sometimes together, easily intertwined and overlapped. In sustaining an easy movement back and forth between domestic and economic uses, the shop/house may accommodate functions that readily expand and contract. Economic uses may include the rental of space to people outside the family—a boarder, a student renting a basement room, a rental apartment in a multi-unit building. The family can stay in place by allowing the building to be used in ways that are diverse and easily changeable.

This smooth relationship between daily life and its environment has been, at various times in history, typical of cities. Until relatively recently, the locus of daily life was largely local, not governed by remote economic or political institutions. While larger economic and political forces always affected what happened locally in cities, people's actions, work and decisions were happening within local structures and institutions, and characterized by immediate relationships between individuals. Although life might not have been easy, it was personal rather than bureaucratic—and the shop/house, with its spatial hybridity and resilience over time, was connected to and supportive of this constellation of personal relationships.

—from *Living over the Store,* pp. 89–90.

Critical Regionalism, Raum, and Tactility:
Kenneth Frampton's Contribution to Phenomenological Discourse in Architecture

M. Reza Shirazi

Shirazi is an architect, lecturer, and senior researcher at the Berlin University of Technology. His research and writing focus on architectural phenomenology, socio-cultural sustainability, and changes in the built environments of the Middle East and North Africa. Earlier essays by Shirazi can be found in the spring 2009, winter 2011, and fall 2012 issues of EAP. *He recently published the book* Toward an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture *(London: Routledge, 2013).* © 2013 M. Reza Shirazi. *m.shirazi@mail.tu-berlin.de.*

Kenneth Frampton's critical approach to architecture is the meeting point of two different lines of philosophical thought: on one hand, phenomenological existentialism and Heideggerian phenomenology; on the other hand, the critical thinking of the Frankfurt School. Nevertheless, at least on the surface, Frampton's architectural intention is more imbued with a Marxist interpretation of history and is essentially colored by the critical thought of Hanna Arendt and the Frankfurt School rather than by Heidegger's phenomenological approach.

I argue here that, though Frampton never employs phenomenology in a classical way, his architectural thought is permeated by themes and concerns essentially phenomenological. In this way, he makes a constructive, though indirect, contribution to the phenomenological discourse in architecture. To justify this contention, I focus on the concepts of *raum* and *tactility*, incorporated in the themes of "defined boundary" and "urban enclave" on one hand; and in "tactile architecture" and "nearness" on the other. These concepts grant Frampton's architectural thought a significant "phenomenological flavor."

A Critical Regionalism

Frampton's project of "critical regionalism" integrates contrasting traditions of phenomenology and critical thinking to establish a constructive dialogue between Habermas' "unfinished project of modernity" and Heidegger's insistence on "being as becoming" (Frampton 2002a, 77–89).

First coined in Liane Lefaivre and Alex Tzonis's 1985 article interpreting the work of Greek architects Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis (Lefaivre & Tzonis 1985), critical regionalism as a concept was later defined by Frampton extensively and formulated as a theory of architecture imbued with the significance of both phenomenology and critical thinking. On this parallel influence, Frampton (1989, 79) writes:

Anyone familiar with my writing will at once detect the influence of two different lines of critical thought which in the main are German in origin—lines stemming from Hegel and Marx and culminating in Gramsci and the Frankfurt School; and another line, stemming from Nietzsche and Husserl, the school which encompasses in its range both phenomenology and existentialism and stretches to the writings of Heidegger and Hanna Arendt.

Nonetheless, the influence of the Frankfurt School and Hanna Arendt is much more observable than the other philosophical traditions that Frampton highlights here. In the introduction to his *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, Frampton (1992) indicates that he never follows a distinct method of Marxist analysis but, like many other scholars of his generation, is influenced by "a Marxist interpretation of history." He states that the critical theory of the Frankfurt School alerted him to the dark side of the European Enlightment which, "in the name of an unreasonable reason, has brought man [sic] to a situation

where he begins to be as alienated from his own production as from the natural world" (ibid., 9).

For Frampton, the Frankfurt School is "the only valid basis" upon which to generate a postmodernist critical culture (Frampton 1988, 63). In a similar way, Arendt's ideas have always been a main source of inspiration; he confirms that her *Human Condition* "was and still is an important reference for my work. It's not a Marxist thesis, but certainly a political one" (Frampton 2003a, 42).

Critiquing Postmodernism

Here, I draw on the two themes of *raum* and tactility to delineate a line of thought that grants Frampton's architectural intentions a "phenomenological flavor." Frampton's attention to these two themes derives from his critical approach to postmodernity and postmodern architecture. He understands postmodernism as a pseudo-avant-garde reactionary attitude claiming a "reconciliatory historicism."

Frampton contends that "Postmodernism attempts to resuscitate or reinterpret with varying degrees of irony and/or cynicism, accepted forms of bourgeois culture which were prevalent before the cultural break celebrated and effected by Modernism" (Frampton 1982a, 25). He points out that postmodernism claims to escape contemporary life dominated by scientific-industrial values. In fact, it follows the rule of the production/consumerism cycle and thus

reduces architecture to a condition in which the 'package deal' arranged by the builder/developer determines the carcass and the essential substance of the work, while the architect is reduced to contributing a suitably seductive mask (Frampton 1992, 307).

Frampton claims that "The so-called Post-Modern architects are merely feeding the media society with gratuitous, quietistic images rather than proffering, as they claim, a creative *rappel ă l'ordre* after the supposedly proven bankruptcy of the liberative modern project" (Frampton 2002a, 80).

In contrast to postmodernism, Frampton favors an architecture of resistance—a more sensitive, relevant architecture missing in the dominant cultural and communication centers of the world but sometimes present on the "periphery" and incorporating an innovative place identity "against which the inundation of the placeless consumerist environment will find itself

momentarily checked" (Frampton 19982b, 82). These "peripheral nodes," Frampton emphasizes, "sustain a more multi-layered complexity of architectural culture" (Frampton 1988, 55). They stand far away from the mainstream of "stardom architecture" and thereby present a "different approach to the task of place creation in late-capitalist urban economy" by resisting the "placelessness of Megalopolitan development" (Frampton 1982c, 85).

Frampton claims the result is that these "interstitial, borderline cultural manifestations" can, on one hand, "qualify the received consumerist civilization through a consciously cultivated 'culture of place'"; and, on the other hand, contribute to a self-conscious, local expression of place expressed in "sensuous, concrete and tactile elements of either a topographic or tectonic nature" (Frampton 1988, 55).

Placelessness and Raum

Frampton's emphasis on place arises from his critique of modern-day placelessness. He criticizes the inability of architects to create places in contemporary culture: "In our ubiquitous 'non-place' we congratulate ourselves regularly on our pathological capacity for abstraction; on our commitment to the norms of statistical coordination; on our bondage to the transactional processes of objectification that will admit to neither the luxury nor the necessity of place" (Frampton 1996, 443).

One of the first academic formulations of placelessness was sociologist Melvin Webber's "non-place urban realms," untethered to a specific location and incorporating "community without propinquity" (Webber 1968). According to Webber, cities, regions, and communities were traditionally tied to place and territorial separation. Today, however, the necessary condition is no longer place propinquity but, rather, place accessibility. For Frampton, this understanding of city, community, and place is essentially critical. He argues that this "non-place urban realm" leads to a "rush city" leaving no room for true places. This loss of place is indicated by the various physical expressions of mass culture—for example, billboard facades and extensive technological rationalization.

Frampton argues that, because of the universal triumph of the "non-place urban realm," a return to place and boundaries is important. He speaks of "a

commitment to *place* rather than *space*" (Frampton 1983, 162). Here, Frampton introduces Heidegger's German term for place—*raum*—the meaning of which is different from a modernist abstract understanding of space (*extensio*, *spatium*), referring to an endless continuum of spatial components or integers. *Raum* designates a place freed for settlement and refers to a space for which room has been made through a boundary.

For Heidegger, however, this boundary "is not that at which something stops, but, as the Greeks recognized,... that from which something begins its presencing" (Heidegger 1993, 356). Drawing on Heidegger, Frampton suggests that "the condition of 'dwelling' and hence ultimately of 'being' can only take place in a domain that is clearly bounded" (Frampton 2002a, 85). Frampton writes: "Only such a defined boundary will permit the built form to stand against the endless processual flux of the megalopolis" (ibid.)

Urban Enclaves

Frampton contends that, in an urban context, this understanding of boundary might be realized in the manner of an "urban enclave", envisioned through a reinterpretion of traditional street and block typologies. This approach might contribute to an urban morphology "creating or sustaining 'cities within cities'" (Frampton 1982d, 45).

In illustrating this possibility practically, Frampton presents several examples ranging from single buildings to urban complexes. For example, Frampton points to Alvaro Siza's Beires house in Póvoa de Varzim, Portugal, as exemplifying a bounded domain rather than a free-standing object. The design is "an unequivocally modern house and yet inflected by such 'regional' allusions as the yellow ochre rendering of its bounding walls or the black lacquered, lightweight fenestration of its curtain wall" (Frampton 1986, 18). At a larger building scale, Frampton references Mario Botta's Morbio Inferiore School in Swizerland, said to provide a micro-urban realm functioning as a cultural compensation for the loss of urban civic life (Frampton 1992).

At the scale of urban downtown, Frampton highlights Tadao Ando's Festival Center in Naha, Japan, as generating a new kind of urban shopping center:

"'The Festival' serves as an introspective city in miniature, wherein the open escalator, full height atrium, and gallery present themselves jointly as a compensatory realm, a realm that continues on the inside of the volume, the 'street-site building' continuum of the surrounding downtown area" (Frampton 1992, 11).

Yet again, Frampton points to Richard Meier's Los Angeles Getty Center as a "city in miniature" that provides a "cultural focus for the entire region" (Frampton 2003b, 16). Frampton sees the Getty complex as a "cultural Acropolis" (Frampton 1991a, 9) in which modernist syntax is adapted to such traditional urban forms as avenue, block, and arcade (Frampton 1991b, 14). Here, "the economic instrumentality that otherwise dominates the entire continent finds itself momentarily suspended" (ibid., 19). The result is a "city in miniature" that proclaims the values of a pre-globalization bourgeois America.

Visual vs. Tactile

Frampton argues that, today, the media dominate Western architectural practice. The design aim is to make the work of architecture attractive, market-wise. He contends that architects produce images rife with stylistic tropes: "buildings tend to be increasingly designed for their photogenic effect rather than their experiential potential" (Frampton 1991c, 26).

The frequent result is that works of architecture are dramatically reduced to a "picture" devoid of any deeper meanings or associations. This media-bound architecture suffers from the experiential "distancing" of photography and film, since the camera reduces architecture to the perspectival—"to an exclusively visual, reproducible image that, by definition, is removed from our everyday tactile and phenomenological experience of built form" (Frampton 2002a, 10).

This visual "distancing" constricts architecture to a two-dimensional medium devoid of real life: "The veil that photo-lithography draws over architecture is not neutral. High-speed photographic and reproductive processes are surely not only the political economy of the sign but also an insidious filter through which our tactile environment tends to lose its concrete responsiveness" (Frampton 1982d, 45).

As an architectural counter to this distancing, Frampton points to "an architecture of tranquillity":

an architecture that lies beyond the agitations of the present moment, an architecture that returns us, through the experience of the subject, to that brief illusive moment touched on by Baudelaire, to that instant evoked by the words *luxe*, *calme*, *et volupté* (Frampton 1991c, 26).

This opposition between the visual and tactile runs parallel to the current societal tension between information and experience. The visual presents information supported by the image-oriented postmodern culture, but experience requires tactility and direct lived encounter. One technological manifestation of these oppositions is the medium of television, which cannot provide (at least currently) direct bodily experience: "I am opposing here the split between body and mind, the semiotic, communicational manipulation that television represents in dividing body from mind" (Frampton 1989, 86). Frampton concludes that the ubiquitous presence of media and the reduction of architecture to information threatens human "dwelling" and hence the human body as the archaic center of resistance (ibid.; also see Lyotard 1989).

Digital Virtuality

From another vantage point, the lack of tactility in architectural work is aggravated by the growing influence of computers and virtuality. Frampton confirms that digital-based design provokes new generations of forms "hitherto unimaginable" for designers, though he emphasizes that this shift

is not sufficient justification, in itself, for architecture to pursue the allure of spectacular form for its own sake or to strive for a technocratic legitimacy based on its computer generation of exotic form. Thus, we need not only assimilate the computer but also to guard against its abuse, above all, perhaps, the exploitation of cybernetic perspectival projection as a seductive substitute for all other modes of representation (Frampton 2008, 335).

The computer facilitates drawing, provides new envisioning possibilities, and insures accurate structural calculation, but "its stochastic use for the generation of form as an end in itself is more questionable, since this can be just as gratuitously formalistic as any other heuristic device solely indulged in for the purpose of aesthetic display" (Frampton 2002b, 10). One danger is that computer-based programs are used to intensify the formal appearance. Too often, these form-producing drawing aids powerfully satisfy the aesthetic attractiveness of architectural form but re-

strict more direct architectural experience or existential confrontation.

As a counter, Frampton speaks of a more balanced approach incorporating a design cycle moving from manual drafting through digital plotting to the physical modelling of form. Currently, when almost everything is susceptible to digital and virtual manipulation or representation, architects need to give equal attention to tactility and to tectonics. Ironically, in a time dominated by the ubiquitous flow of digital information, "building as a generic process remains… heavy, massive, expensive, static, and relatively intractable" (Frampton 2008, 334). This fact highlights the necessity of emphasizing materiality and the ineluctability of construction.

Toward this possibility, Frampton argues that the architectural task is to awaken us to the authentic implications of "dwelling" in its phenomenological meaning as indicated by Heidegger and others: "Building, by its very nature, is involved with the more basic, less dynamic, aspects of existence and hence is more intimately connected to the slower metabolic rhythms of the biosphere" (ibid., 334).

What is needed, then, is "boundaries" free from the hegemony of information and media, where the essential dimensions of dwelling are available. As Kelbaugh remarks, "the fleeting world of electronic information increases the human appetite for real, palpable place" (Kelbaugh 2007, 192).

Tactility

Frampton argues that the dominant Western mode of perception is very much image-based and perspectival-oriented. This situation is reflected in the etymology of "perspective," which implies "rationalized sight or clear seeing" and largely neglects the role of the other senses in the perceptual process. The priority of vision over the other senses reduces "experience" to "mere information, to representation or to the simple evocation of a simulacrum substituting for absent presences" (Frampton 2002a, 89). This one-dimensional experience—what Frampton calls "far-experience"—leads to the "'loss of nearness" (ibid.). Frampton's interpretation here is parallel to Heidegger's concern that the current abolition of physical distances through technology impels a "uniform distancelessness" that doesn't always bring us

closer to things, since nearness is much more an existential mood than a physical proximity (Heidegger 1971, 166).

In this sense, one key aim for Frampton is "readdressing the tactile range of human perception by resisting the historical privilege of vision and criticizing the "rationalized sight" of perspective that favors "formal representation" at the expense of multivalent tactile experience (Frampton 2002a, 62). Vision's supremacy is not a modern phenomenon but has a long history in Western culture. As Pallasmaa demonstrates, classical Greek thought emphasized the accurateness of vision. For Plato, vision was the greatest gift to humanity; for Aristotle, the most noble of the senses (Pallasmaa 1996). This ocular-centric tradition gained particular prominence and strength during the Western Renaissance and later through the thinking of prominent modern architects like Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius.

Frampton emphasizes that, in contrast to the visual, the tactile employs the entire body as the site of perception as a means to become intimate with things and capture their materiality:

The tactile opposes itself to the scenographic and the drawing of veils over the surface of reality. Its capacity to arouse the impulse to touch returns the architect to the poetics of construction and to the erection of works in which the tectonic value of each component depends upon the density of its objecthood. The tactile and the tectonic jointly have the capacity to transcend the mere appearance of the technical in much the same way as the place-form has the potential to withstand the relentless onslaught of global modernization (Frampton 2002a, 89).

Frampton points to several architects whose works evoke a comprehensive tacticity. One example he cites is Alvar Aalto's work after 1934, in which the architect drew on fragmentation, layering, multiplicity, and organic growth to counter Western rationalism's emphasis on order, regularity, symmetry, and inertial pattern. Frampton contends that Aalto's architecture impels the full range of tacticity: haptic juxtaposition, rhythmic repetition, and asymmetrical inflection. Frampton suggests that Aalto's oeuvre was

totally antithetical to the reduction of building to modular spatial arrangements largely determined by proximal or productive considerations, or to provisional assemblies predominantly conceived to provide a spectacular image—the cult of the 'decorated shed' against which he reacted throughout his life (Frampton 1998, 120).

One example Frampton uses is Aalto's 1952 Sāynātsulo Town Hall. Frampton notes how the brick-work of the stair—as well as the treads and risers—provokes the kinetic impetus of the body for climbing the stair. This corporeal experience is much different from that evoked by the timber floor of the town hall's council chamber: "This chamber asserts its honorific status through sound, smell and texture" (Frampton 2002a, p.89) and thus sustains a comprehensive lived experience of building and place.

In generalizing about Aalto's architecture as it invokes a comprehensive tactility, Frampton writes: "For Ando, the main hope for our survival resides in our tactile awareness rather than in distanciation effected by the power of sight, our ocular senses having long since been overwhelmed by mediatic abstraction" (Frampton 2002b, 317).

Homecoming vs. Freedom

In discussing architectural possibilities for the future, philosopher Karsten Harries (2006) speaks of the antinomy of "place" and "space." Grounding its claim in the inescapable presence of the lived body, "place-oriented" line of thought insists on the priority of place over space. Our being as being-in-the-world is essentially place-oriented; to be in the world signifies bodily placement.

In contrast to the placial dimension of being-in-the-world, Harries emphasizes that human beings also partake in mobility and freedom—lived situations that demand open space. He concludes that this dialectic between freedom and homecoming—in German, *Heimweh* and *Fernweh*—is constitutive of what and who we are as human beings. In this sense, this tension can never be resolved or elided (ibid., 76).

I would argue that this lived dialectic between homecoming and freedom points to a key challenge for architects: how, in one work, to evoke both the enclosure of place *and* the openness of space? To be sure, Frampton's emphasis is largely an architecture of homecoming that might counter the dominating impacts of globalization, placelessness, and virtuality.

Phenomenological geographer Edward Relph (2009, 30) emphasizes the need for balancing globalizing, placeless forces with "preserving a sense of local identity, home, and community." He suggests that

this call for "place" and "defined boundaries" has become so widespread that the current dominance of "space" may be replaced by "place." He writes:

Place is central to future planning strategies: There has been a deep epistemological shift away from the rationalistic assumptions of modernism—assumptions that promoted universal, placeless solutions to environmental and social problems—to an acknowledgement of the significance of diversity (ibid., 28).

I have argued here that Kenneth Frampton has played a vital role in formulating and supporting this shift in epistemology and praxis. Frampton criticizes the growing presence of "space" in architectural works as well as in urban projects. This emphasis on space is crystallized in modernist and postmodernist ideas of megalopolis, non-place urban realms, and decorative shed.

As an alternative, Frampton advocates a return to "place" on one hand, and to "essences," on the other. In this regard, the idea of urban-enclave-as-boundary resists the ubiquity of "placelessness," by connecting human beings to the earth through dwelling. Moreover, Frampton's emphasis on tactility as an "anti-ocular-centric attitude" contributes to suspending the distancing character of images so that human beings are brought back closer to things and essences through more grounded, multivalent experiences.

These two themes of place and tactility contribute, in two ways, a "phenomenological flavor" to Frampton's thinking about architecture: First, they employ a phenomenological vocabulary in their explications; second, they fuse phenomenological concerns with critical thinking. In this sense, Frampton's thought and writings make a significant contribution to the phenomenological discourse in architecture.

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Perceptions of Landscapes of Movement
Phenomenology and the Archaeology of Roman Roads

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In studying how past peoples understood their lives and how this understanding shaped their actions, it is important to consider the relationships they had with space and landscape. Because landscapes incorporate different meanings and values, the relationship between humans and landscapes is dependent on the sociocultural construction of those meanings and values. The road is an important venue for studying perceptions of and movements through space and landscapes because it "embodies issues of ideology, power and identity, and [is] intimately involved in our social constructions of the world" (Witcher 1998).

Several works (Thomas 2001; Tilley 1994; Witcher 1998) have approached the study of landscape and movement from a phenomenological perspective and address questions concerning agency and decision-making, perception and experience, and power and ideology. A phenomenology of roads can illuminate how perceptions of space and landscape are imbued with power and domination.

Here, I address how power and ideology can be explored in the experience of the traveler of Roman roads. I argue that the phenomenological perspective illuminates some of the ways that road users in Roman Italy could perceive or be exposed to notions of power and ideology in landscapes of movement. By simply using the road, the traveler, whether he or she was consciously aware of it or not, encountered objects and landscapes imbued with meanings that served to legitimize the hegemony of Rome.

Before these dimensions of Roman roads are explored, we must understand the theoretical implications of discussing roads as experienced landscapes. Landscape archaeology is essential to a phenomenological study of roads. The emergence of landscape archaeology was a result of a rejection of the way space was conceptualized by previous scholarship in spatial science. Rather than looking at space as "a bare physical structure of objects and distances" (Thomas 2001, p. 172), landscape archaeologists made an effort to humanize space and understand it as "a medium rather than a container for action" (Tilley 1994, p. 10).

Christopher Tilley (ibid., p. 11) emphasizes that space cannot be understood apart from its relational significance to people and places: "What space is depends on who is experiencing it and how." Highlighting the human element, Emma Blake (2004, p. 235) explains that place is "a conscious demarcation of space" from which "world views emerge." Places are embedded in landscapes, which can be seen as a mixture of the physical, representational, and experiential (Thomas 2001, p. 166). Landscapes provide context for people and their actions. They can only be experienced through lived relationships between people and places, and the meanings that emerge from those relationships (Thomas 2001; Tilley 1994).

This emphasis on experience is addressed by the phenomenological approach to the archaeology of landscapes. Generally speaking, this perspective seeks to reexamine how we interpret the past. It seeks to explore the distinctive meanings and values that landscapes and places had for their inhabitants. By investigating how perception, human action, inten-

tionality, and awareness reside "in systems of belief and decision-making, remembrance and evaluation," (Tilley 1994, p. 12) archaeologists can improve on interpretations of human-landscape relationships.

These relationships have what Tilley (ibid., p. 26) calls "perspectival" effects. The experience of landscapes and places will not be equally shared by all because "each person occupies a distinctive position in relation to their landscape" (Thomas 2001, p. 176). Systems of domination can control and exploit the understanding and use of landscape and place, an issue that Tilley (1994, p. 26) says is absent in "virtually all phenomenological theory." Tilley (ibid., p. 26) indicates that spatial domination, among small-scale societies in particular, is "usually organized along the axes of age, gender, kin, and lineage." Whether one can know about or be in a particular place may be restricted according to one's standing in society.

A fundamental feature of the use of power as domination is "the ability to control access to and manipulate particular settings for action" (ibid., p. 27). Tilley (ibid., p. 21) considers Foucault's notion that the control and structuring of space is disciplinary. In the case of Roman roads, disciplinary power can be seen in the sanctioning of movement through landscapes that helped to further legitimize Roman power (Witcher 1998).

As a part of the dynamic relationship between people, things, and places, movement is intimately tied with landscape and our perceptions of it (Gibson 2007; Thomas 2001; Witcher 1998). Movement allows for the landscape and its meanings to "unfold and unravel before the observer" (Tilley 1994, p. 31). Erin Gibson (2007, p. 63) writes that social landscapes are created through "the formation and experience of place, memories, time and movement." Due to the relational nature of landscapes, movement allows individuals to orient themselves "in relation to familiar places or objects" and to make decisions regarding further action (Tilley 1994, p. 16).

To explore power in landscapes of movement, we must consider the notion that roads "order places and the ways in which they are encountered" (Witcher 1998, p. 4). They ultimately help to construct experiences and perceptions of landscape. Roads can il-lustrate much about how relationships with landscape are imbued with power.

When we consider roads in this way, it is important to understand that they are embedded with meanings that extend beyond the bounds of any particular archaeological site. Roads cannot be reduced to points and lines on a map or treated as bounded spaces, as traditional archaeological emphasis on sites and monuments would call for (Snead et al. 2009).

Clearly, roads can be interpreted as physical features of the built environment—they can be described, classified, analyzed, and interpreted like artifacts or architecture (ibid., p. 2). But the analysis and interpretation, as Robert Witcher (1998, p. 2) writes, would need to consider that "roads are not built through an empty abstract and neutral space; they are built through spaces produced by people." Witcher (ibid., p. 3) indicates that roads can be seen as a focus of ideological conflict, because they "embody new and potentially conflicting perspectives of space."

The case of Roman roads illustrates the relationship between hegemonic power and perceptions of space. Witcher (ibid., p. 9) argues that Roman roads served to manipulate identity and modify power relationships. For the Roman leaders, road construction was a political act that integrated the rationalization of function with the structuration of human action (Laurence 1999; Witcher 1998).

Although there were roads in Italy before the Roman republic, the most significant road construction occurred between 312 BC and 44 BC (Laurence 1999, p. 11). Fourth-century BC Roman Italy had a loose concept of territory and space, and the distribution of people could be seen as a "mosaic of peoples, rather than unified territories" (ibid., p. 12). With the construction of a road network, Roman officials could begin to overcome the problem of distance when dealing with far-away colonies (ibid.).

Laurence (ibid.) argues that road construction was crucial to Roman hegemony and the proliferation of the empire. Rome was to be the center of the road network, which "assured the city's cultural and political dominance over the places on the roads themselves" (ibid., p. 197). A system of communication between Rome and other Italian cities was achieved not only through the construction of roads but also

with the establishment of urban centers of government, which were used for tax collection and the recruitment of soldiers (ibid., p. 194).

By the end of the first century BC, Roman hegemony in Italy was extended with the establishment of an ideology of *tota Italia*, a politically established geographical unit that emphasized "unity through difference" (ibid., p. 194). As a Roman concept, *tota Italia* can be seen as a method of Romanization "that stressed the distinctiveness of the Italian peoples, but united them politically with Rome at the center" (ibid., p. 176).

Laurence (ibid.) argues that the state's creation and recognition of regions that identified with particular ethnicities, and the geographical knowledge thereof, discouraged further development of new ethnicities in Italy. Rome's hegemony was embedded in the consent of Italy's population and in the geographical organization of Italy, which defined what places were "privileged as colonies, named as towns" (ibid., p. 195). The discouragement of other identities through citizenship gave rise to dual identities. Each individual was a citizen of both Rome and of his or her hometown, and each city or town was part of a region recognized by Rome to be part of *tota Italia*. This dual identity "promoted a conception of a greater space than that of the locality" (ibid., p. 194) and helped to further promote a Rome-centric view of the world.

Rome's view of the world, "one that divided features of the landscape into individual units" (Chevallier 1976, p. 58), was communicated in the systematic classification of roads. This organization was written into the law. By definition, a road, or *via,* "had to be wide enough to drive a vehicle along it" (ibid., p. 58), since its main function was to carry wheeled transport. A fifth-century BC law code set the precedent for defining a road: "roads were to be eight feet wide along straight sections and sixteen feet wide where they went around a bend" (ibid., p. 58). Eventually, traffic increases necessitated some roads to be even wider to facilitate passing. If it did not fit this description, the road would be deemed an *actus*, given that it was wide enough for a pack animal to use. While other formal distinctions among roads existed, anything narrower than an *actus* was only known as a path or right-of-way, usually traversed on foot or horseback. This system of categorization could be seen as a way for Rome to codify and enforce its ideological supremacy.

Among the roads*,* the distinction between public and private was of significance. The quality, function, and features of a road were based on ownership (ibid., p. 59). The state-financed public highways, named after their Roman builders, were the major roads of Italy that connected major cities. As "the key features of the Roman state in Italy" (ibid., p. 60), they were most influential in structuring the Roman conception of space. Locally built roads were also publicly accessible but usually branched off the main highway to connect to other roads or highways. Private roads, built by elite landowners, had restricted access. A traveler might come across a sign indicating the ownership of a road, as exemplified in an early example marked with the inscription: "The lower road is the private property of Titus Umbrenius, son of Gaius. Please request permission to use the road. No animal or vehicle traffic is allowed" (ibid., p. 61).

I would argue that this sign does not represent any inherent power of the landowner but instead reflects the ways that individuals would have understood power to work in the sociocultural conditions of Roman road networks. In this instance, the landowner assumed that the sign would deter travelers from using the road freely. The traveler either obeyed or defied the sign, but it is not mentioned in what manner trespassing would be penalized.

Chevallier (ibid., p. 62) indicates that private roads were "simply an issue for the person who had built them." This claim allows us to further understand the dynamic between power as experienced on public roads versus private roads. Public roads, which were relatively open to most, were spaces where Rome could exercise power and propagate ideology on a mass scale. Private roads, however, were limited in the ways that their owners could impose power or ideology. It would have been much more efficient for elites to use spaces along public roads to display wealth and prestige (Laurence 1999), illustrating that travelers and what they saw were of concern for many people in power.

The experience of the traveler is the main focus of a phenomenology of roads. Although the limited scope and perspective of the historic sources does not allow for a complete understanding of who was allowed free movement on the roads, we get the sense that military personnel, merchants, and the elite were the most frequent users (Laurence 1999; Leyerle 2009). Leyerle (2009) indicates that, in addition to military affairs, road use could have been prompted by business, higher education, sightseeing, and family or religious matters. It seems likely that the majority of road users would not have traveled long distances regularly and "few would have conceived of [roads] as entities from end to end" (Witcher 1998, p. 3). Witcher (ibid.) writes that, "for local populations, experience of these roads was limited to those stretches which physically and psychologically infringed upon them."

Whether it was local or long-distance, transportation and mobility was deeply embedded in the social structure of Roman Italy (Laurence 1999, p. 136). The mode of transport was an immediate indication of one's social standing. Major differentiation occurred in the type of vehicle used, which was either pulled by animals or carried by people. For the elite, who were the most mobile sector of society, travel was a formal activity (Chevallier 1976; Laurence 1999, p. 145). For short-distance travels, many elites were carried in litters, or sedan chairs. Long-distance journeys would necessitate pulled carriages, which had room for personal possessions or goods (Laurence 1999, p. 136). Elite women, when not traveling with their husbands, were limited by law regarding the type of vehicle they could use, which was taxed much higher than that of a man (Laurence 1999, p.

136). The rural farmer would ride his mule, use a simple two-wheeled cart, or travel on foot.

While the traveler's social standing would vary, much of what was included on the roads aimed to appeal to all road users. Referencing the geographic term, "the traveler's gaze," Laurence (1999, p. 148) writes: "The traveler's gaze depended on a series of signs that indicated the location in the landscape of physical and human presences." Roman roads were an opportune setting for the workings of power to be displayed. Road use acquainted the traveler with the structured geography of Italy and the empire. The sheer grandeur of bridges and viaducts spanning wide valleys was a testament to Rome's control over nature and the sanctioning of movement through landscape (ibid., 76). Some parts of the road included "watertanks, troughs or wells for travelers to quench their thirst" (Chevallier 1976, p. 79), further privileging road use and discouraging alternative modes.

The features that a traveler would encounter on the road marked degrees of belonging to both a Roman identity and *Italia* (Leyerle 2009; Laurence 1999). Public roads had milestones that

marked their course from Rome and "enabled a person to describe with accuracy the position of a place in the landscape of Italy" (Laurence 1999, p. 83). The system of milestones created a greater understanding of the geography of Italy, allowed for the traveler to locate him or herself in the landscape, and also propagated a Rome-centric view of the world (ibid., p. 84).

Approaching or leaving a city, a traveler would encounter cemeteries and tombs (Chevallier 1976, p. 78). Zanker (1988, p. 18) indicates that tomb monuments were especially crowded along the roads leaving and entering Rome and other larger Italian cities. While tombs held bodies of elites, they could also be used as landmarks, milestones, or spaces of ostentation (Chevallier 1976, p. 78; Zanker 1988, p. 15). Witcher (1998) argues that the distinction between practicality and ideology is blurred, and the tomb locations alongside roads are not just a result of laws against urban burial.

Tombs and cemeteries served "to give depth and meaning to these roads, both legitimating and being legitimated themselves" (ibid., p. 6). By using the road, the traveler would inadvertently participate in an "act of ancestral remembrance" (ibid.). Zanker (1988, p. 15) suggests that some of the tomb monuments can be seen as having "frantic displays of wealth and success." These displays, however, were mainly directed at members of the same social class and can be seen as a form of competition among elites (ibid.), leaving one to wonder how members of a different social class would perceive these monuments or whether they would even be concerned or interested in them.

Regardless of class, the traveler's perception of space and time must have been heavily affected by the creation of itineraries (Laurence 1999, p. 78). By quantifying the distinction between near and far, itineraries allowed for informed decisions to be made about the time needed for certain distances (ibid.). The traveler could now conceive of the road as a list of places structured in a particular order, with Rome finding a place at the beginning or end of most itineraries (Chevallier 1976; Laurence 1999).

The construction of roads and the creation of itineraries produced new spatial relations for the traveler and the residents of the towns and cities connected to the road network (Laurence 1999, p. 78). These new sets of spatial relations "caused a certain amount of compression of the temporal distance between places" (Laurence 1999, p. 81). Some of the earliest recordings of the speed of travel on Roman roads indicate that a messenger, using relays of vehicles and draught animals, "could cover between fifty and eighty miles per day in Italy" (ibid.).

But the speed of travel varied based on the mode of transport, the type of route used, and road and weather conditions (ibid.). Among the restrictions faced by the traveler, the physical landscape shaped the decisions one could make. Adams (2001, p. 140) notes that many roads were not suited for vehicle travel due to topography, leaving the traveler to continue on foot or animal.

While there are many ways for us to attempt to comprehend the experience of the traveler, using a phenomenological approach has its share of implications. Hamilton et al. (2006) indicate that, if not approached carefully, phenomenology tends to assume the universality of the human body, which is at odds with the post-processual view of rejecting the universal laws of processual archaeology. Perception and experience vary according to context, class, gender, and "the natural variability of the human body (small child, pregnant woman, etc.)" (Hamilton et al. 2006, p. 34). Much of the literature regarding Roman roads (Adams 2001; Chevallier 1976; Laurence 1999), largely excludes the travel experience based on gender, age, or (dis)ability, and instead focuses solely on class distinctions.

Issues of intentionality and awareness are also necessarily part of phenomenological analysis. Witcher (1998, p. 4) argues that "sharing in the purpose of a path should not be read as either acceptance or even awareness of the underlying ideologies and power structures they embody." Despite the abundance of theoretical and observational material, descriptions of phenomenological methodology have not been explicit for the most part (Hamilton et al. 2006). Tilley (1994, p. 11) definitively writes that there "can be no clear-cut methodology," as it would largely depend on the specific context of the research.

Furthermore, the privilege of the archaeologist's access to maps and aerial photography can be seen as

"the antithesis of the phenomenological experience of space" (Hamilton et al. 2006, p. 37) because these representations of landscape separate the subject (the observer) from the object (the landscape), seemingly contradicting the practice itself. Thomas (2001, p. 171) indicates that these "objective, high-tech methodologies" allow the archaeologist to understand and, in turn, perceive reality in a way that was unavailable to people in the past, who would necessarily have had "distorted and impoverished versions of reality." Such a perspective, however, can invalidate past peoples' conceptions of space and landscape. I would argue that Roman road builders and travelers did not have such "impoverished versions of reality." In fact, through the use of maps, itineraries, and milestones, they had particularly structured views of space and landscape that corresponded to their reality.

I would suggest that further inquiries into the phenomenology of Roman roads should focus less on class distinctions and, instead, emphasize an understanding of the variability of experience based on context, including that of age, gender, and other social and biological distinctions, as well as the geographical context of proximity to Rome. As Julian Thomas (2001, p. 176) points out, the experience of landscapes and places will not be equally shared by all, since "each person occupies a distinctive position in relation to their landscape."

Given, however, the nature of the historical writings on Roman roads, sometimes all we can use in analysis is class distinction. If this is the case, any phenomenological study should approach Roman roads with a thorough understanding of social hierarchy and class distinction within Roman culture at any given point in time. Snead et al. (2009, p. 3) argue that "the next step in building the framework for landscapes of movement is the thorough establishment of context, with all the intricate cultural and material details that this implies." Perhaps a more variable understanding of Roman road-traveler experiences can be obtained from a holistic, interdisciplinary approach to archaeological study.

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Photograph, p. 17: Roman road near Tall Aqibrin in Syria. This road connected the ancient cities of Antioch and Chalcis. Photograph by Bernard Gagnon.