

Abstract: Dealing with Gordon Cullen's ideas in the decade of the fifties refers us to his articles in the magazine "The Architectural Review" and the campaign orchestrated by its publishers to defend the ideas of Townscape applied to urban design and New Towns. The articles by Cullen always included masterful drawings through which he managed to synthesise and transmit his concepts to the readers, which were not always easy to describe in words. This paper analyses his graphic proposal for a possible New Town located on a meander of the River Thames, next to the small town of Marlow. This idea was never actually built, although Gordon Cullen tried to put forward an alternative to urbanism in 1950 and the architecture of New Towns that were being created in the English countryside.

Key words .Gordon Cullen. Drawing. Urban design. Townscape. Outrage. Subtopia.

Gordon Cullen and Townscape.

Today, Gordon Cullen (1914-1994) is known above all for his book *Townscape* (1961), which was published in an abridged version in the Anglo Saxon world under the title *The Concise Townscape* [figures 1 and 2], being considered a classic in the historiography of architecture and urbanism¹. After the past fifty years his figure and his work underwent several reviews, and it is possible that more than an urban planner Cullen is valued today for his role as artistic director of *Architectural Review*,

1 I have paid special attention to the work of Gordon Cullen, his drawings and graphic strategies in two recent articles. Carlos Montes Serrano and Marta Alonso Rodríguez, "Dibujando el Townscape: en el centenario de Gordon Cullen", *EGA: Revista de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 26 (2015): 36-47; and "Drawing the Changing City: A Tribute to Gordon Cullen" in *Disegno & Città*, Anna Marotta and Giuseppa Novello, coord. (Rome: Gangemi, 2015): 1129-1132.

Gordon Cullen y *The Architectural Review*: Ideas no construidas para Marlow New Town

Gordon Cullen and *The Architectural Review*: Unbuilt Ideas for Marlow New Town

CARLOS MONTES

Resumen: Tratar de las ideas de Gordon Cullen en la década de los cincuenta, nos remite a sus artículos en la revista *The Architectural Review* y a la campaña orquestada por sus editores en defensa de las ideas del Townscape aplicadas al diseño urbano y a los New Towns. Los artículos de Cullen incluían siempre dibujos magistrales con los que conseguía sintetizar y transmitir a sus lectores sus conceptos, no siempre fáciles de exponer por escrito. En el presente ensayo analizamos su propuesta gráfica de un posible New Town situado en un meandro del río Támesis, junto a la pequeña localidad de Marlow, idea no construida con la que Gordon Cullen pretendía ofrecer en 1950 una alternativa al urbanismo y a la arquitectura de los New Towns que se estaban creando en la campiña inglesa.

Palabras clave: Gordon Cullen. Dibujo. Diseño urbano. Townscape Subtopia Outrage.

Gordon Cullen y el Townscape

Hoy día Gordon Cullen (1914-1994) es conocido sobre todo por su libro *Townscape* (1961), que desde 1971 sigue editándose en una versión abreviada en el mundo anglosajón con el título *The Concise Townscape* [figuras 1 y 2], siendo considerado un clásico de la historiografía de la arquitectura y del urbanismo¹. A la vuelta de cincuenta años su figura y su obra han experimentado varias revisiones, y es posible que más que como urbanista hoy día se le valore en especial por su papel como director

1 Me he ocupado de la obra de Gordon Cullen, con especial interés en sus dibujos y estrategias gráficas, en dos artículos recientes. Carlos Montes Serrano y Marta Alonso Rodríguez, “Dibujando el Townscape: en el centenario de Gordon Cullen”, *EGA: Revista de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 26 (2015): 36-47; y “Drawing the Changing City: A Tribute to Gordon Cullen” en *Disegno & Città*, Anna Marotta y Giuseppa Novello, coord. (Roma: Gangemi, 2015): 1129-1132.

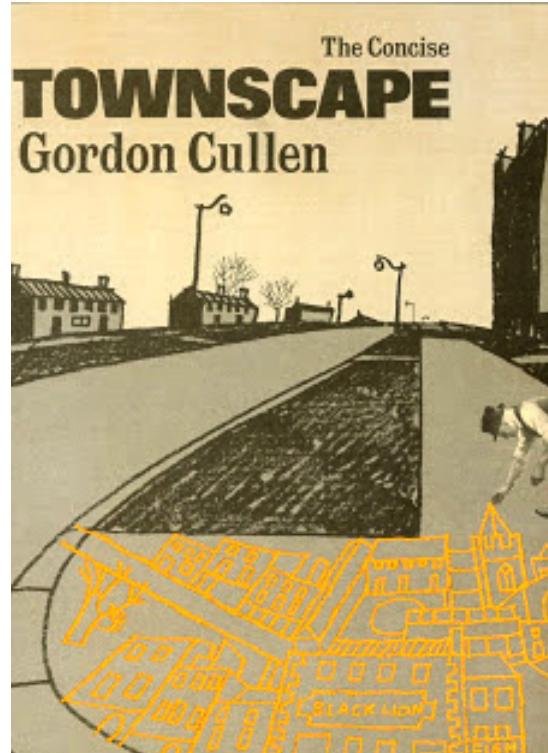
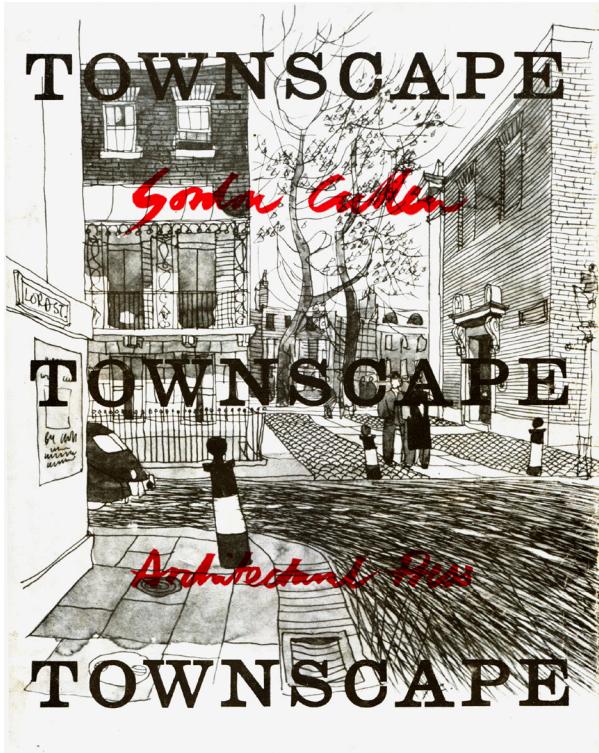
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1. G. Cullen,
Townscape, 1961.

2. G. Cullen, *The Concise Townscape*, 1971.



owing to his analytical ability, that “teaching how to see” or “educating your vision” that were so typical of the fifties, and for his wonderful drawings through which he explained his ideas.

It must be said that the translation of the book into Spanish under the title *El paisaje urbano* (1974) is not a translation of the original 1961 book, but of the abridged 1971 version, in which the publishers shortened the book by half to make it more commercial, leaving out the colour images and over twenty case studies, including the proposals for the Westminster area, the St. Paul’s Cathedral area, renovation of the Southbank area in London or his ideas for a New Town on the banks of the River Thames². For people interested in Cullen’s drawings, leaving out this second part of the book is a huge loss, since in the analysis of existing towns (Ludlow, Evesham, Shrewsbury, Trowbridge, etc.) and the ten proposals for regenerating urban fabric, Gordon Cullen made use of the most different graphic strategies to present his ideas in a clear, decisive, effective manner.

This provides a mutilated vision of Gordon Cullen’s ideas, whose figure could be hailed as that of an architect interested in the specific aspects of urban design, with a picturesque, vernacular outlook on the reality of architecture outside modernity. Nevertheless, it is precisely the second part of the book where the true personality of Gordon Cullen is brought out, an architect who excelled as an illustrator and sketcher of some of the finest examples of the first stage of English Modernity in the thirties, cooperating for renown architects such as Berthold Lubetkin in projects such as Highpoint Two, Finsbury Health Centre or Dudley Zoo, or for Wells Coates and Maxwell Fry, who hired him in 1936 to make the assembly panels for the exhibition on modern architecture in England³.

It is true that Gordon Cullen rejected the urban utopia of Le Corbusier in the *Ville Radieuse* style⁴, but not modern architecture adapted to the conditions of the site and coexisting with previous architecture. This can be seen in many of his proposals, in which Cullen did not have any qualms

- 2 Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1961). Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1971); the abridged version left out pages 193 to 312 from the original. Abridged version in Spanish: *El paisaje urbano: tratado de estética urbanística* (Barcelona: Blume, 1974); abridged version in Italian: *Il Paesaggio Urbano* (Bologna: Calderini, 1976).
- 3 The most complete work about the architect in: David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen: Visions of Urban Design* (London: Academy Editions, 1996). Also the monographs: Matthew Aitchison (ed.), “Townscape Revisited”, *The Journal of Architecture* 5 (October 2012), and *Urban Design quarterly* 52 (Autumn 1994).
- 4 Clément Orillard, “Gordon Cullen beyond *The Architectural Review*: some new perspectives from his personal archives”, *The Journal of Architecture* 5 (2012): 719-731.



TOWNSCAPE. The granite sets break in waves against the cliff of the curb, the bicyclist throws a cloak of shadow as of a cloud upon the sea, the drain-cover wears the shower that will suck heedless match-ends through fifteen avid little mouths into the sinister underground organization that underlies the city. Of such elements does the field of human vision consist. To such is the conventional town-planner almost completely blind. Yet these are the elements—the trivia of the visual scene—which in fact determine the character & pattern of the urban landscape. A truth which, according to the article opposite, the Picturesque Movement of the eighteenth century has devised to bring home in its own field, the park, to landscape gardeners. In this sense the Picturesque philosophy has a contemporary message. It exhorts the visual planner—particularly the English visual planner—to preoccupy himself with the vast field of anonymous design and unacknowledged pattern which still lies entirely outside the terms of reference of official town-planning routine.

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3. I. de Wolfe
“Townscape”,
The Architectural Review, 1949.

TOWNSCAPE

In 1794 Sir Uvedale Price published his *Essay on the Picturesque*. This, it is argued here, was a key-moment in art-history since Price actually succeeded, despite the handicap of eighteenth-century art-jargon, in isolating what had not been isolated before—a way of looking at the world that might be called perennially English. So regarded the Picturesque Movement has a significance far transcending its local position in landscape-gardening history, for acknowledgment in our own day of the existence of a perennially English visual philosophy could revolutionize our national contribution to architecture and town-planning by making possible our own regional development of the International style, as a result of our own self-knowledge—techniques given in marriage to psychology. This is Mr. de Wolfe's case. His method or lack of it is demonstrated in miniature in the section which follows this article.

A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy founded on the true rock of Sir Uvedale Price

IF WE EXCEPT LOUDON, the universal provider, no serious effort has been made since the eighteenth century to create a literature of landscape. This is, if you think about it, rather staggering. Every jingle, little ditty, rendering itself has a literary parentage—terminology; most have long terminologies and vast literatures; alone amongst the major human activities, landscaping is the art of ours where, which incorporates and encodes all such operations, makes no sense of all the other arts—where the other arts, are, ultimately, redundant—remain a dead-letter. Result, the brickish-a-brashish mid-twenties, the days of barbed-wire, wire-mesh, twisted-wire, wire-mesh, telegraph-wire, electric cables, on crazy fir standards, through which as through a cage darkly we are permitted to get an eyeful of lone villages, poultry farms, Radar stations, motor-car graveyards. Homes for Incurables—all clipp'd around with plantations of larch and fields of surprised looking wheat.

It is not only the decay of rurality, it is the waste, in the towns, of outside them, the clutter, the vast areas of Non-Man's-land. We fool ourselves, for surely this is a kind of visual refuse heap, if not insanitary, inelegant, with the shameless utter inelegance of an upset dustbin. Nor can those who feel deeply the importance of landscape, who would like to communicate their distress to others since there exists no literature or vocabulary of landscape. And in the absence of a literature, of a vocabulary even, of a few rules of thumb even, how is anyone to make the necessary comparisons between a civilized and a barbarous landscape? How, in the absence not merely of any theory, but of any reference to it, in any quarter, can even the literate public be expected to guess that an art of landscape exists at all?

As things stand to-day while every tsepup gets itself documented by some famous expert, the greatest question our society has to face, involving the way of life of the whole community, goes by default, isn't it, to the experts for discussion, just because there are no terms to discuss it with.

Here is the anomaly which this article sets out, if not to cure, to hold so to say a protest meeting about. Some means must be found of getting round the difficulty. The first requirement is a vocabulary of landscape—after all it isn't the only art to have suffered from that trouble. But the first requirement, the creation of a vocabulary, isn't a thing the artist himself ought to have to struggle with alone; it is rather a matter for the poet, the philosopher, the poet—*in fact, the man of letters*—upon whom, since the Jesuits came into disrepute in the eighteenth century, the responsibility for the higher education of the race has fallen. That anyway, was Lord Baudelaire's opinion when the contribution made by, for instance, Baudelaire to the vocabulary and thus the appreciation of the fine arts is taken into account, one sees what he meant.

Baudelaire it was who spotted the immense significance of the German writer E. T. A. Hoffmann's surprising confession that when he breathed the odour

1. It is of some importance to our present purpose to determine the true nature of the Picturesque. We find ourselves in a difficulty, however, in that it is only to be developed from that use which, while it has recently been the proud of itself, has now become the reverse. The term, as used by the eighteenth century, stood as to become definitely serviceable. Probably no word in the language of criticism (of which the Picturesque has been the object of so frequent or so prolonged dispute) has more easily given rise to a host of meanings, and it seems to me to be a matter of small interest to investigate the essence of that

Ruskin on the term 'picturesque'. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (The Lamp of Memory).

artístico de *Architectural Review*, por su capacidad analítica —ese “enseñar a ver” o “educar la mirada” tan propio de los años cincuenta—, y por los soberbios dibujos con los que exponía sus ideas.

Hay que advertir que la traducción del libro al castellano con el título *El paisaje urbano* (1974), no se corresponde a la versión original del año 1961, sino a la versión abreviada de 1971, en la que los editores redujeron el libro a la mitad para hacerlo más comercial, omitiendo las imágenes en color y más de veinte casos de estudio, entre ellos las propuestas para la zona de Westminster, el entorno San Pablo, la revitalización del Southbank de Londres, o sus ideas para un *New Town* a las orillas del Támesis². Para los interesados en el dibujo de Cullen la omisión de esta segunda parte del libro es una gran pérdida, pues en los análisis de localidades existentes (Ludlow, Evesham, Shrewsbury, Trowbridge, etc.) y en las diez propuestas de regeneración del tejido urbano, Gordon Cullen hacía uso de las estrategias gráficas más dispares para presentar sus ideas de forma clara, rotunda y eficaz.

Con ello se nos ofrece una versión mutilada de las ideas de Gordon Cullen, cuya figura podría ser interpretada como la de un arquitecto interesado en aspectos puntuales del diseño urbano, con una visión pintoresca y vernacular de la realidad arquitectónica ajena a la modernidad. Sin embargo, es precisamente esta segunda parte del libro la que nos muestra la verdadera personalidad de Gordon Cullen, un arquitecto que sobresalió como dibujante de algunos de los protagonistas de la primera Modernidad inglesa de los años treinta, colaborando como dibujante con arquitectos de la talla de Berthold Lubetkin —en proyectos como Highpoint Two, el Finsbury Health Centre, o el Dudley Zoo—, o con Wells Coates y Maxwell Fry, que le contratarían en 1936 para realizar los paneles del montaje de la exposición sobre la arquitectura moderna en Inglaterra³.

Es cierto que Gordon Cullen rechazaba las utopías urbanas de Le Corbusier al estilo de la *Ville Radieuse*⁴, pero no así la arquitectura moderna adaptada a las condiciones del lugar y conviviendo con la arquitectura preexistente. Así lo observamos en muchas de sus propuestas, en las que Cullen no tiene

- 2 Gordon Cullen, *Townscape* (Londres: The Architectural Press, 1961). Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (Londres: The Architectural Press, 1971); la edición abreviada prescindió de las páginas 193 a 312 de la versión original. Edición española abreviada: *El paisaje urbano: tratado de estética urbanística* (Barcelona: Blume, 1974); edición italiana abreviada: *Il Paesaggio Urbano* (Bolonia: Calderini, 1976).
- 3 El trabajo más completo sobre el arquitecto en: David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen: Visions of Urban Design* (Londres: Academy Editions, 1996). También los números monográficos: Mathew Aitchison (ed.), “Townscape Revisited”, *The Journal of Architecture* 5 (octubre 2012), y *Urban Design quarterly* 52 (otoño 1994).
- 4 Clément Orillard, “Gordon Cullen beyond The Architectural Review: some new perspectives from his personal archives”, *The Journal of Architecture* 5 (2012): 719-731.

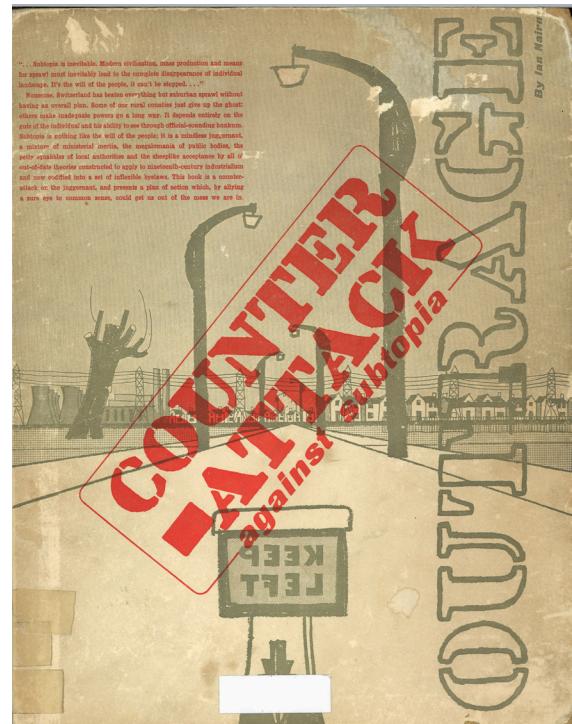
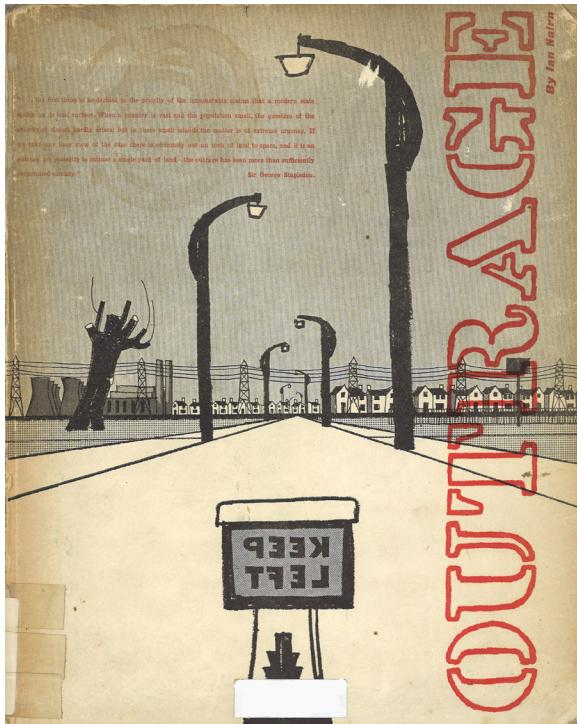
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4. G. Cullen, portada de *Outrage*, 1955

5. G. Cullen, portada de *Counter-Attack*, 1956



about including contemporary buildings in historical centres, some of which were on a domestic scale, that could remind us of the New Empiricism of Nordic architecture, so present in the English architectural debate in the postwar years when this term was coined in 1947 in *The Architectural Review*.⁵

Townscape had a long gestation period, as Gordon Cullen brought together an entire series of works and reflections that he had been developing since the middle of the forties through his articles in *The Architectural Review (AR)*. We must point out that many of the ideas described and drawn by Gordon Cullen in his texts were jointly discussed with the owner and president of Architectural Press (the publisher of *AR* and *Architect's Journal*), Hubert de Cronin Hastings (1902-1986), who claimed inventing the term in his article "Townscape: A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy Founded on the Rock of Sir Uvedale Price" [figure 3], published under the pseudonym of Ivor de Wolfe in the issue of December 1949 of *AR*, followed by a long paper by Gordon Cullen titled "Townscape Casebook", the embryo of what would become his famous book.⁶

Actually, the term in question, adopted by architects and town planners, but foreign to English vocabulary, is the result of joint thinking, the fruit of an editorial line shared by the editors of *AR*, since, with Cronin Hastings and Gordon Cullen other authors also contributed to the magazine such as the well-known historian Nikolaus Pevsner, who provided the historical side with his articles about the idiosyncrasy of English art and the *genius loci* of its towns and cities,⁷ the architect James M. Richards, or the young and problematic writers Reyner Banham, hired in 1951, and Ian Nairn, a leading activist since he joined in 1954.

The Architectural Review and the concept of Subtopia

Perhaps we should pause here to explain some aspects of the editorial line of *AR* from the forties to the seventies. It is often said that the magazine, and this includes J.M. Richards and Cronin Has-

5 J. M. Richards, "The New Empiricism: Sweden's Latest Style", *The Architectural Review* 606 (June 1947): 199-204.

6 About H. de Cronin Hastings, his book (under the pseudonym): Ivor de Wolfe, *The Italian Townscape* (London: The Architectural Press, 1963), 2nd ed. (London: Arifice, 2013); and in: Erdem Erten and Alan Power, "Introduction": v-xx. Also, Susan Lasdun, "H. de C. reviewed", *The Architectural Review* 1195 (September 1996): 68-72.

7 Many of the ideas by N. Pevsner about *townscape*, *genius loci*, *visual planning*, or particularly about *picturesque*, appeared in his book: Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (London: Penguin, 1956). About Pevsner and his contribution to *AR*, see the critical edition of an unfinished manuscript for a book: Nikolaus Pevsner, *Visual Planning and the Picturesque* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010); and particularly: John MacArthur, Matthew Aitchison, "Pevsner's Townscape": 1-43.



6. Ian Nairn,
“Subtopia”, *The
Architectural
Review*, 1955.

empacho alguno en incluir en los centros históricos edificios contemporáneos, algunos de ellos de escala doméstica, que podrían recordar el *New Empiricism* de la arquitectura nórdica, tan presente en el debate arquitectónico inglés en los años de postguerra desde que se acuñó este calificativo en 1947 en *The Architectural Review*⁵.

Townscape tuvo una larga gestación, ya que Gordon Cullen reunió en él toda una serie de trabajos y reflexiones que había ido madurando desde mediados de los años cuarenta a través de sus artículos en *The Architectural Review (AR)*. Hemos de indicar que muchas de las ideas expuestas y dibujadas por Gordon Cullen en sus textos fueron tratadas conjuntamente con el propietario y presidente de *Architectural Press* (la editora de *AR* y *Architect’s Journal*), Hubert de Cronin Hastings (1902-1986), quien solía atribuirse el haber inventado la palabra que da título al libro de Cullen en su artículo “*Townscape: A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy founded on the rock of sir Uvedale Price*” [figura 3], publicado bajo el seudónimo de Ivor de Wolfe en el número de diciembre de 1949 de *AR*, 199-20 seguido por un largo trabajo de Gordon Cullen titulado “*Townscape Casebook*”, embrión de lo que sería su famoso libro⁶.

En realidad el término en cuestión –asumido por los arquitectos y urbanistas, pero ajeno al vocabulario inglés– es el resultado de un pensamiento coral, fruto de una línea editorial compartida por los editores de *AR*, pues con Cronin Hastings y Gordon Cullen colaboraban en la revista otros autores, como el conocido historiador Nikolaus Pevsner, que otorgaba el soporte histórico con sus escritos sobre la idiosincrasia del arte inglés y el *genius loci* de sus pueblos y ciudades⁷, el arquitecto James M. Richards, o los jóvenes y polémicos escritores Reyner Banham, contratado en 1951, y Ian Nairn, un activo protagonista desde su incorporación en 1954.

The Architectural Review y el concepto de *Subtopia*

Quizá debamos hacer un alto para explicar algunos aspectos de la línea editorial de *AR* desde los años cuarenta a los setenta. Se suele decir que la revista –y con ella J. M. Richards y Cronin Hastings, direc-

5 J. M. Richards, “The New Empiricism: Sweden’s Latest Style”, *The Architectural Review* 606 (junio 1947): 199-20.

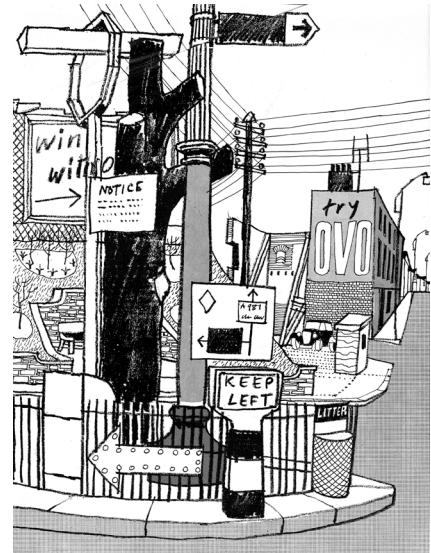
6 Sobre H. de Cronin Hastings cfr. su libro (bajo seudónimo): Ivor de Wolfe, *The Italian Townscape* (Londres: The Architectural Press, 1963), 2^a ed. (Londres: Arifice, 2013); y en él: Erdem Erten y Alan Power, “Introduction”: v-xx. También, Susan Lasdun, “H. de C. reviewed”, *The Architectural Review* 1195 (septiembre 1996): 68-72.

7 Muchas de las ideas de N. Pevsner acerca del *townscape*, el *genius loci*, el *visual planning*, o sobre lo *picturesque*, aparecieron en su libro: Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (Londres: Penguin, 1956). Sobre Pevsner y su contribución en *AR*, véase en la edición crítica de un manuscrito inacabado para un libro: Nikolaus Pevsner, *Visual Planning and the Picturesque* (Los Ángeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010); y en él especialmente: John MacArthur, Mathew Aitchison, “Pevsner’s Townscape”: 1-43.

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7. Hemel Hempstead New Town, en *Outrage*, 1955.

8. G. Cullen, Efectos de los sprawls, en *Counter-Attack*, 1956.

tings, director and editor in chief respectively, was the main agent for dissemination of the Modern Movement in England in the thirties. The editors of the magazine understood that English architecture had lost any sense of direction more than a century ago, since the time of John Nash and John Soane, and that after the *revivals* historicists found themselves in a dead end street. Hence the bitter debates between the traditionalist and modernist architects of that decade with the magazine finally deciding on the side of Modernity from 1935 onwards.

After the war, having put that debate behind them, *AR* and its team of writers decided to start campaigns to attract new subscribers, creating new polemics that would forge loyalty among its readers. During the forties their articles centred on the reconstruction of London and other cities that were badly damaged during the war. But very soon afterwards, before the turn of the decade, they started to criticise some of the reconstruction postulates, the new urban fringes and the *New Towns* created after 1946.

Doubts were raised about the suitability of some of the ideas imported from Le Corbusier and the CIAM and applied in England, such as giving priority to vehicular transit over pedestrians, the division of functions through *zoning*, the concentration of communal usages and shops in civic centres, the large green zones, the routine poverty in the design of fringe areas and in general the dull, repetitive, banal urbanism that was being implemented throughout the United Kingdom. It is notable that back in 1937 at the CIAM in Paris, Hubert de Cronin Hasting, along with three representatives from the English branch, delivered a dissertation titled “The Theory of Contacts and its Application to the Future of London”, where they put forward that the new urban proposals fostered by CIAM should not overlook contact between people in accordance with the traditional way of life in villages and urban centres .⁸

These media campaigns, cemented in the premises of Architectural Press, took shape in the form of incessantly repeated neologisms, issue after issue, in permanent sections aiming to create opinion, controversy and debate. Of all of them, the most successful was that of *Townscape*, a word that was used to summarise an entire array of questions about the quality of urban design. Other neologisms were *subtopia*⁹, a more light-hearted, expressive term invented by Ian Nairn that would soon be included in the vocabulary used by readers of the magazine, having impact in the media beyond the scope of the profession; or *New Brutalism*, coined by Reyner Banham, with better fortune in the critical history of contemporary architecture .¹⁰

8 It was described in Le Corbusier, *Logis et Loisirs: 5e Congrès CIAM Paris*, (Boulogne-sur-Seine: Éditions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1938). Cited in: Erdem Erten and Alan Power, “Introduction”: vii.

9 “Subtopia: Making an ideal of suburbia. Visually speaking, the universalization and idealization of our town fringes. Philosophically, the idealization of the Little Man who lives there (from suburb + Utopia)”. Ian Nairn, “Outrage”, *The Architectural Review* (June 1955): 365.

10 Steve Parnell, “Nairnmania”, *The Architectural Review* 1407 (May 2014): 118-119.



9. G. Cullen,
“Pedestrian only”,
Townscape, p. 120.

10. G. Cullen,
“Prairie Planning”,
Townscape.

tor y editor propietario, respectivamente—, fue el principal agente para la difusión del Movimiento Moderno en Inglaterra en los años treinta. Los editores de la revista entendían que la arquitectura inglesa había perdido el rumbo hacía más de un siglo, desde la época de John Nash y John Soane, y que tras los *revivals* historicistas se encontraba en un callejón sin salida. De ahí que en los agrios debates entre los arquitectos tradicionalistas y modernos de aquella década, la revista se decantase decididamente por la Modernidad desde 1935.

Tras la guerra, superado aquel debate, *AR* y su equipo de redactores se plantearon iniciar algunas campañas que atrajese a nuevos suscriptores creando nuevas polémicas que fidelizaran a sus lectores. Durante los años cuarenta sus artículos se centraron en la reconstrucción del Londres y otras ciudades fuertemente dañadas durante el conflicto bélico. Pero muy pronto, y antes de acabar la década, comenzaron a someter a crítica algunos de los postulados de la reconstrucción, de las nuevas periferias urbanas y de los *New Towns* creados a partir de 1946.

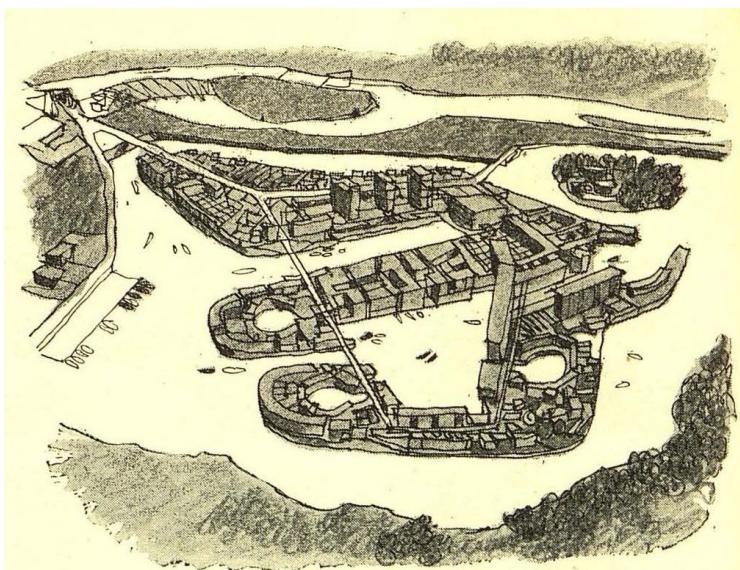
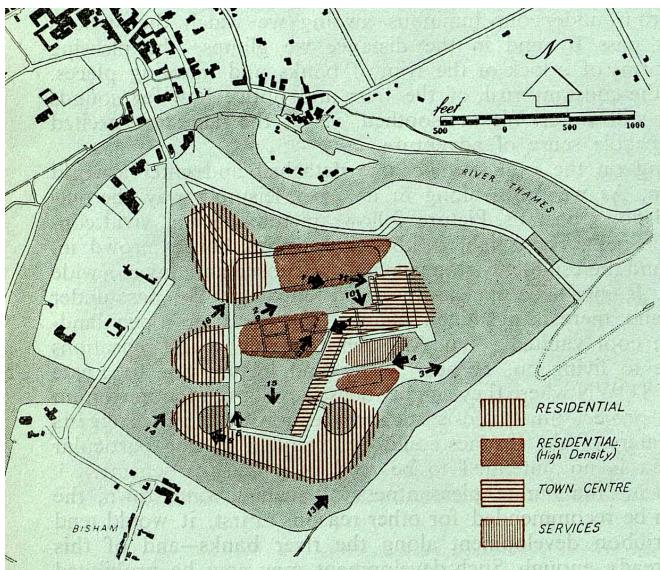
Se comenzó a poner en duda la conveniencia de aplicar indiscriminadamente en Inglaterra algunas de las ideas importadas de Le Corbusier y de los CIAM, como pudieran ser la prioridad de la circulación de vehículos sobre el peatón, la división de funciones mediante el *zoning*, la concentración de usos comunes y comercios en centros cívicos, las amplias zonas verdes, la pobreza rutinaria en el diseño de las periferias, y en general el urbanismo insulso, repetitivo y banal que se estaba planteando en todo el Reino Unido. Es de notar que ya en 1937, en el CIAM de París, Hubert de Cronin Hasting, junto a los tres representantes de la rama inglesa, presentaron una ponencia titulada “The Theory of Contacts and its application to the Future of London”, en la que proponían que las nuevas propuestas urbanas auspiciadas por los CIAM no descuidasen el contacto entre las personas acorde con el modo de vida tradicional de los pueblos y núcleos urbanos⁸.

Esas campañas mediáticas, fraguadas en los locales de *Architectural Press*, tomaron forma en neologismos machaconamente repetidos número tras número en secciones fijas con las que se pretendía crear opinión, controversia y debate. De todas ellas la que más éxito tuvo fue la de *Townscape*, palabra con la que se resumía toda una amplia serie de cuestiones sobre la calidad del diseño urbano. Otros neologismos fueron el de *subtopia*⁹, un término desenfadado y expresivo inventado por Ian Nairn que pronto caló en los lectores de la revista, llegando a tener un impacto mediático mucho más allá de los ámbitos de la profesión; o el de *New Brutalism*, acuñado por Reyner Banham, con mayor fortuna en la historia crítica de la arquitectura contemporánea¹⁰.

8 Fue recogida en Le Corbusier, *Logis et Loisirs: 5e Congrès CIAM Paris*, (Boulogne-sur-Seine: Éditions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1938). Citado en: Erdem Erten y Alan Power, “Introduction”: vii.

9 “Subtopia: Making an ideal of suburbia. Visually speaking, the universalization and idealization of our town fringes. Philosophically, the idealization of the Little Man who lives there (from suburb + Utopia)”. Ian Nairn, “Outrage”, *The Architectural Review* (junio 1955): 365.

10 Steve Parnell, “Nairnmania”, *The Architectural Review* 1407 (mayo 2014): 118-119.



11. G. Cullen, *The New Plan*.

12. G. Cullen,
Disposition of lagoon and island.

It is revealing to recall the origin of the term *Subtopia*, which was first seen in a special issue of *AR* in June 1955, all of which was by Ian Nairn and Gordon Cullen, titled *Outrage* where they wanted to clearly show the mediocre vulgarity of urban design, a subject they would deal with again in another special issue in 1956 called *Counter-Attack against Subtopia* [figures 4 and 5]¹¹. With this purpose, Nairn travelled from south to north, almost in a straight line, documenting his journey in a visual report every twenty-five miles, showing how “the end of Southampton will look like the beginning of Carlisle; the parts between will look like the end of Carlisle or the beginning of Southampton” [figure 6].

The conclusions were devastating. As Nairn explains in the opening paragraphs of his report, with the term *subtopia* he was trying to describe a violation of the visual qualities of the urban landscape; an affront against individuality or the *genius loci* of each place; an attack by town planners and local authorities that was ruining the country through poor uniformity of urban design patterns. “The whole country is beginning to look like this”, denounced through a photograph of the New Town of Hemel Hempstead [figure 7], where the results of dispersed urban design, the *suburban sprawl*, could be seen that were indiscriminately colonising the English countryside in a highly populated country with not a particularly large territory¹².

At the same time as the suburbs were growing, the former villages were in decline and losing inhabitants, traditional shops were closing and the empty spaces were not filled after old houses decayed and were demolished. Either that, or the local authorities implemented a *ruralisation* process with flower beds, gardens, supposedly “rustic” urban features, or attempts at *modernisation* by widening pavements, building car parks, fitting signposts, noticeboards, posts and roundabouts, as in the suburbs [figure 8]. Basically, *sprawls* were also destroying the true nature of those small English villages, which were more uniform, making them look like each other in their carelessness and with occasional items with supposedly rustic designs.

I think that with this brief initial discussion we can better understand what motivated Gordon Cullen in many of his articles. If we look at the cover pages of the two versions of his book, we can see that the drawing of the original version of 1961 is for an article (“Legs and Wheels”, *AR*, 1947) which tried to bring a stop to the free transit of vehicles and reserve certain areas for pedestrians, proposing treating the paving according to each use [figure 9].

11 This special issue of *AR* was published as a book the following year. Ian Nairn, *Outrage* (London: The Architectural Press, 1955). In another special issue in December 1956, titled Counter-Attack, Nairn tried to provide some solutions to the outlined problems, and in the long-term even had an influence on the elaboration of more sensible guidelines in some towns. Cf. Ian Nairn, *Counter-Attack against subtopia* (London: The Architectural Press, 1956).

12 Ian Nairn contributed to disseminating the concept of *sprawl* in England in his monographs in *AR*. See the articles included in *Counter-Attack against subtopia*: Walter Manthorpe, “The Machinery of Sprawl”, pages 409-426, and Elizabeth Denby, “Oversprawl”, pages 427-430.



13. G. Cullen,
*Entertainment
Centre in the Long
Basin.*

14. G. Cullen, *The
Residential Basin.*



Resulta revelador recordar el origen del término *Subtopia*, que nace en un número especial de *AR*, de junio de 1955, todo él elaborado por Ian Nairn y Gordon Cullen, con el título de *Outrage* con el que deseaban mostrar a las claras la mediocre vulgaridad del diseño urbano, tema en el que volverían a insistir en otro número especial de 1956 titulado *Counter-Attack against subtopia* [figuras 4 y 5]¹¹. Con este fin Nairn realizó un viaje del sur al norte, casi en línea recta, documentando el viaje en la revista con un reportaje visual realizado cada veinticinco millas, mostrando cómo “the end of Southampton will look like the beginning of Carlisle; the parts between will look like the end of Carlisle or the beginning of Southampton” [figura 6].

Las conclusiones fueron devastadoras. Como Nairn explica en los primeros párrafos de su reportaje, con el término *subtopia* intentaba describir un atropello contra las cualidades visuales del paisaje urbano; un ultraje contra la individualidad o *genius loci* de cada lugar; un atentado provocado por los urbanistas y los responsables locales que estaba arruinando el país mediante una pobretona uniformidad de los patrones de diseño urbano. “The whole country is beginning to look like this”, denunciaba por medio de una fotografía del New Town de Hemel Hempstead [figura 7], en la que se puede observar los resultados del diseño urbano disperso –el *suburban sprawl*– con el que se estaba colonizando indiscriminadamente la campiña inglesa en un país con una gran población y un territorio no muy extenso¹².

Al mismo tiempo, a la vez que crecían los suburbios, los antiguos núcleos urbanos entraban en decadencia al perder habitantes, cerrarse los comercios tradicionales, y al no colmatarse los espacios vacíos tras la ruina y demolición de las viejas viviendas. O bien se los sometía por parte de las autoridades locales a un proceso de *ruralización*, con parterres, jardincillos, mobiliario urbano supuestamente campestre; o a un intento de *modernización* con aumentos de calzadas, aparcamientos, señales, anuncios, farolas, postes y rotundas, al modo de los suburbios [figura 8]. En síntesis, los *sprawls* también estaban destrozando el verdadero carácter de aquellos pequeños pueblos ingleses, que tendían a la uniformidad, a parecerse unos a otros en su descuido y en aspectos puntuales de un diseño aparentemente rústico.

Creo que con esta breve exposición inicial podemos entender mejor los propósitos de Gordon Cullen en muchos de sus artículos. Si nos fijamos en las portadas de las dos versiones de su libro, comprobamos que el dibujo de la edición original de 1961 corresponde a un artículo (“Legs and Wheels”, *AR*, 1947) que trata de poner freno a la libre circulación de vehículos y reservar ciertas zonas para los viandantes, proponiendo un tratamiento del pavimento acorde a unos u otros (figura 9).

11 Este número especial de *AR* se reprodujo en forma de libro al año siguiente. Ian Nairn, *Outrage* (Londres: The Architectural Press, 1955). En otro número especial de diciembre de 1956, titulado *Counter-Attack*, Nairn intentó ofrecer algunas soluciones a los problemas señalados, llegando a influir a la larga en la elaboración de pautas más juiciosas en algunos núcleos. Cfr. Ian Nairn, *Counter-Attack against subtopia* (Londres: The Architectural Press, 1956).

12 Ian Nairn contribuyó a difundir en Inglaterra el concepto de *sprawl* en los monográficos de *AR*. Véase los artículos incluidos en *Counter-Attack against subtopia*: Walter Manthorpe, “The Machinery of Sprawl”, pp. 409-426, y Elizabeth Denby, “Oversprawl”, pp. 427-430.

CARLOS MONTES

Gordon Cullen y *The Architectural Review: Ideas no construidas para Marlow New Town*
 Gordon Cullen and *The Architectural Review: Unbuilt Ideas for Marlow New Town*

The photo-montage of the cover of *Concise Townscape*, the 1971 abridged version, is from another of his articles (“Prairie Planning in the New Towns”, *AR*, July 1953), which has a more complex meaning and can be better understood from the premises sketched out in *Outrage* [figure 10]. It depicts an old pensioner who lives in one of these *subtopias*, either on an urban fringe or in a *New Town*. Lost in that inhospitable place, more appropriate for a car than for a pedestrian, he feels nostalgia for his small hometown, with its green, church, pub, shops and market..., and with a gesture of powerlessness, he draws what he yearns for with a piece of chalk, as if wanting to send out a message to the planners of that estate¹³. The village the unknown pensioner longs for probably lacked the conditions of rationality, hygiene, sunlight, functionality and transport, but at least it had characters, its own personality, and would be a compact core where the different buildings were together, thus encouraging daily contact between people, and an attractive visual appearance for its inhabitants.

We therefore have two illustrations depicting the objectives of most of the studies by Gordon Cullen for *AR*. Although most of the articles reflect on how to improve the existing reality through certain design and planning strategies, others were more ambitious, even suggesting alternative solutions to what he considered a failed attempt by architects and town planners. It must be made clear that most of his proposals were not taken into account at the time, more often than not because of excessive idealism by Cullen, although in the long-term the principles of *Townscape* were adopted by architects and town planners, and even had a decisive influence on subsequent planning in the United Kingdom.

In this article I would like to show some of the graphic and analytical strategies used by Gordon Cullen, from an article dated 1950 in which he proposes creating a New Town on the banks of a meander of the River Thames. These are drawings and ideas that still survive on the pages of *AR*, although access to them is difficult for readers in our country, since these issues of the magazine are not found in the libraries of our Schools of Architecture¹⁴.

Imagining alternatives to *subtopia*: *New Marlow*.

In the article *New Marlow*, Gordon Cullen tried to show an example of applying ideas to *Townscape*, a possible town near Marlow on the banks of the River Thames. It was actually a way of concreting the study on the landscape and architecture along the river, elaborated by Eric de Maré and published in a monograph in *AR* in July 1950, with the intention of promoting a Linear National Park where New Marlow would be the civic centre and a focal point for social attraction and summer leisure for the entire site¹⁵.

Although in his proposal Cullen claimed that he had been advised by the engineering company Ove Arup, the entire design was much more Utopian for that period, since a lot of earth movement and excavation would have to be carried out to create a lagoon with docks and central islands [figures 11 and 12]. It was therefore stated in the text that the project was a mere suggestion about how the potential of the river could be used to create a place with distinctive qualities. Gordon Cullen's urban proposal was the most elaborated ever put forward at that time, where his ability as a planner, and his outstanding drawing and visual skills were brought to light.

The article consists of eleven pages, and includes some photographs to show the site, five colour perspectives [figures 13 to 16] and another fifteen sketches where Cullen strives to show what the design of the urban space and its architecture would be like [figures 17 to 20]. When studying these drawings, we could reach the conclusion that New Marlow would be a key modern alternative to

13 In reference to this image, Gordon Cullen writes: “A victim of prairie planning traces out his public protest, the remainder of a properly concentrated town”.

14 It is worth quoting Norman Foster, an enthusiast of Cullen's drawings from his time as a student: “Gordon Cullen was like a wizard as with a few deft strokes he would make a social commentary and also capture a mood, you could almost hear the breeze that swept his trees and grass. In an age of computer simulation it is ironic that such skills become even more precious”, in David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen*, 7.

15 Gordon Cullen, “New Marlow”, *The Architectural Review* 643 (July 1950): 56-67. Cfr. also: John Pendelbury et al., *Alternative visions of post-war reconstruction: Creating the modern townscape* (London: Routledge, London 2015): 40 and following. David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen*, 36-39.

El fotomontaje de la portada del *Concise Townscape*, la versión abreviada de 1971, procede de otro de sus artículos (“Prairie Planning in the New Towns”, *AR*, julio 1953), su significado es algo más complejo y se entiende mejor desde las premisas esbozadas en *Outrage* [figura 10]. En él observamos a un viejo pensionista que vive en una de esas *subtopias*, bien en una periferia urbana o en un *New Town*. Perdido en aquel inhóspito lugar, más apropiado para el coche que para el peatón, siente nostalgia por su pequeño pueblo, con su plaza, su iglesia, el pub, las tiendas, el mercado..., y con un gesto de impotencia dibuja con tiza aquello que ahora echaba en falta, como queriendo lanzar un mensaje a los que proyectaron aquella urbanización¹³. Es probable que el pueblo que añoraba el desconocido jubilado careciera de las condiciones de racionalidad, higiene, soleamiento, funcionalidad y facilidad para el transporte, pero al menos tenía un carácter distintivo, una personalidad propia, y sería un núcleo compacto en el que se apiñaban los distintos edificios, favoreciendo el contacto diario entre la gente y una apariencia visual atractiva para sus habitantes.

Nos encontramos pues en estas dos ilustraciones con los propósitos de la mayoría de los estudios emprendidos por Gordon Cullen para *AR*. Si bien la mayoría de los artículos se dedicaban a reflexionar sobre cómo mejorar la realidad existente mediante ciertas estrategias de diseño, otros fueron más ambiciosos, llegando a proponer soluciones alternativas a lo que consideraba un intento fallido por parte de arquitectos y urbanistas. Hay que dejar claro que la inmensa mayoría de las propuestas no fueron tenidas en cuenta en su día, muchas veces por un exceso de idealismo por parte de Cullen, aunque a la larga los principios del *Townscape* fueron calando entre arquitectos y urbanistas llegando a influir decisivamente en el planeamiento posterior en el Reino Unido.

Quisiera en este artículo mostrar alguna de las estrategias gráficas y analíticas empleadas por Gordon Cullen, a partir de un artículo de 1950 en el que propone crear un *New Town* en un meandro en las riberas del río Támesis. Dibujos e ideas no construidas que perviven en las páginas de *AR*, si bien resultan muy poco accesibles para el lector de nuestro país ya que esos números de la revista no se encuentran en las bibliotecas de nuestras Escuelas de Arquitectura¹⁴.

Imaginando alternativas a la *subtopia*: *New Marlow*

En el artículo *New Marlow* Gordon Cullen pretendía mostrar un ejemplo de la aplicación de las ideas sobre el *Townscape* a una posible localidad cercana al pueblo de Marlow, situado junto al Támesis. En realidad era una manera de concretar el estudio sobre el paisaje y la arquitectura que bordea el río, elaborado por Eric de Maré y publicado en un monográfico de *AR* de julio de 1950, con la intención de promover un *Linear National Park* en el que New Marlow sería un centro cívico y un foco de atracción social y veraniega para todo el conjunto¹⁵.

Aunque en su propuesta Cullen afirmaba que contaba con el asesoramiento de la empresa de ingeniería de Ove Arup, todo el diseño tiene mucho de utópico para aquella época, ya que habría que hacer un gran movimiento de tierra para crear una laguna con sus dársenas e islotes centrales [figuras 11 y 12]. De ahí que se indicara en el texto que el proyecto no es más que una mera sugerencia de cómo se podrían aprovechar las potencialidades del río para crear un lugar con cualidades distintivas. Con todo Gordon Cullen realiza la propuesta urbana más elaborada por él hasta entonces, en la que se aprecia tanto su capacidad como proyectista, como sus grandes dotes para el dibujo y el análisis visual.

El artículo tiene once páginas, y en él se incluyen, además de algunas fotografías para mostrar el carácter del lugar, cinco perspectivas a color [figuras 13 a 16] y otros quince apuntes en los que Cullen se esfuerza por mostrar cómo podría ser el diseño de los espacios urbanos y su arquitectura (figuras 17 a 20). Al estudiar todo este conjunto de dibujos, se deduce que New Marlow sería una alternativa en

13 A propósito de esta imagen escribe Gordon Cullen: “A victim of prairie planning traces out his public protest, the remainder of a properly concentrated town”.

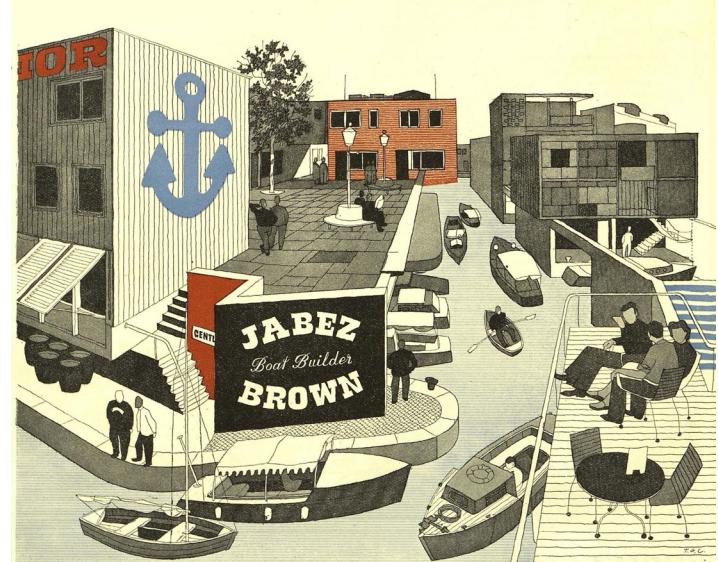
14 Merece la pena citar a Norman Foster, un entusiasta de los dibujos de Cullen desde su época de estudiante: “Gordon Cullen was like a wizard as with a few deft strokes he would make a social commentary and also capture a mood, you could almost hear the breeze that swept his trees and grass. In a age of computer simulation, it is ironic that such skills become even more precious”, en David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen*, 7.

15 Gordon Cullen, “New Marlow”, *The Architectural Review* 643 (julio 1950): 56-67. Cfr. también: John Pendelbury y otros, *Alternative visions of post-war reconstruction: Creating the modern townscape* (Londres: Routledge, Londres 2015): 40 y ss. David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen*, 36-39.



15. G. Cullen, *The Hotel from the Water Square*.

16. G. Cullen,
Between the Long Basin and Water Square.



traditional English towns, with a significant concentration of houses and equipment to favour contact between people.

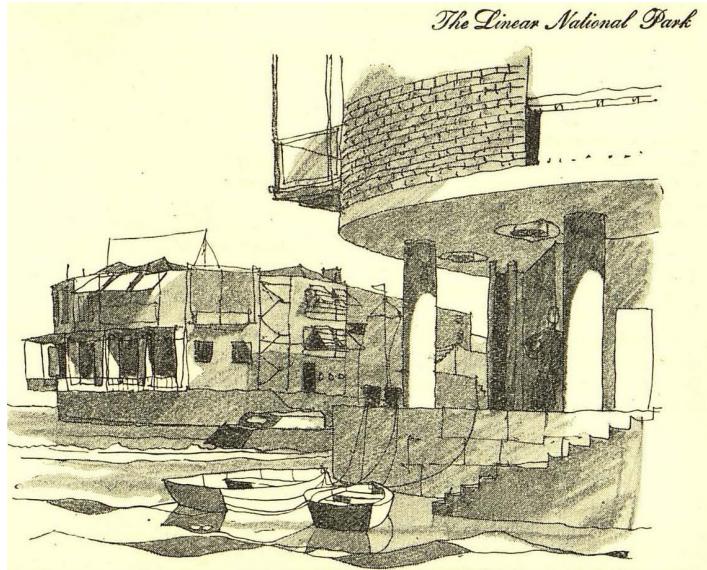
The five watercolours were published in the original issues of the book *Townscape* and although they were left out of the abridged version, they have been included in the book by David Gosling. Through these paintings, David Cullen manages to evoke the best qualities of attractive, enjoyable places for residents who are depicted walking around the place or travelling along the river. The sketches are less known, and through them his intention was to afford one of his *serial visions*, similar to those of his book, with sequential images of a leisurely stroll around the place; or as he writes “a sequence of fragmentary revelations set down in drawings”.

It is remarkable that the type of architecture Cullen drew for his proposal are merely indicative buildings, but all of them meet the modern criteria, or what *AR* called *new empiricism*. In fact some of the designs, as sketched outlines, such as the three apartment block towers aligned over the dock [figure 20], could still be valid today. With this, what I am trying to point out is that Cullen was not a picturesque architect or a defender of adaptations of vernacular English architecture, as some claimed in the eighties last century, anticipating the post-modern proposals.

There is an attempt to include many ideas sketched out in his *Townscape casebook* in the design of *New Marlow*, through urban design emphasising the visual and perceptive qualities of the place, which Cullen describes in detail at the start of his article. Moreover, with this proposal through the pages of *AR* he tried to show how each *New Town* should respect the *genius loci* or distinctive character of the place. It is not disparate therefore to think that *New Marlow* would be the critical response, from the urban design and architectural point of view, to *New Harlow*, one of the first New Towns created to de-congest the urban area of London, whose original approach is attributed to the architect Frederick Gibberd, one of the pioneers of English modernity in the thirties.

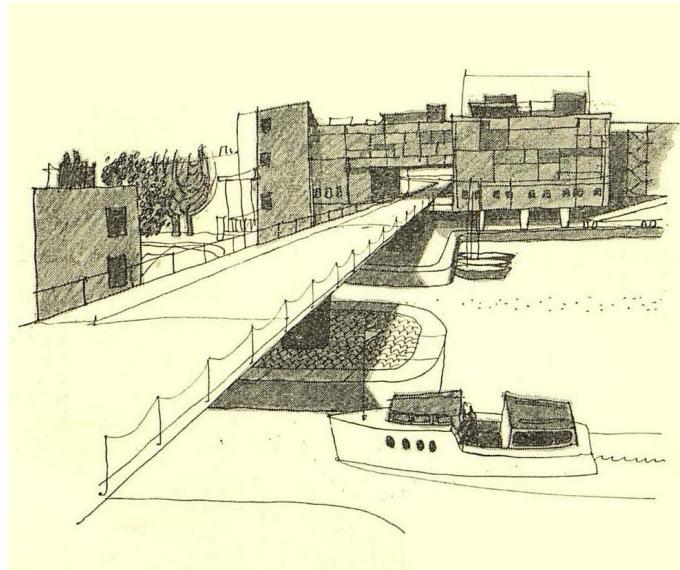
Although the proposal to turn Marlow into an urban river area in 1950 could have seemed a fantasy, a centre would be created in the seventies which was very similar to Cullen’s idea at St. Katharine Docks, just a short distance from the Tower of London, developed by the *London Docklands Development Corporation*. This was a small enclave of offices, houses and shops or facilities (bars, restaurants, terraces, gardens and jetties), which fairly closely reproduces the series of suggestions and principles described in his book *Townscape* and in his project for New Marlow¹⁶.

16 It is interesting to remark that Gordon Cullen always felt a special attraction for maritime and river shores and banks, hence his early proposals for regeneration of the South bank of London, or his urban studies in the eighties for the Isle of Dogs and the Greenwich Peninsula, for the *London Docklands Development Corporation*.



17. G. Cullen,
*Entrance to Water
Square.*

18. G. Cullen, *The
high level service
road.*



clave moderna a las localidades inglesas tradicionales, con una significativa concentración de viviendas y equipamientos para favorecer el contacto con la gente.

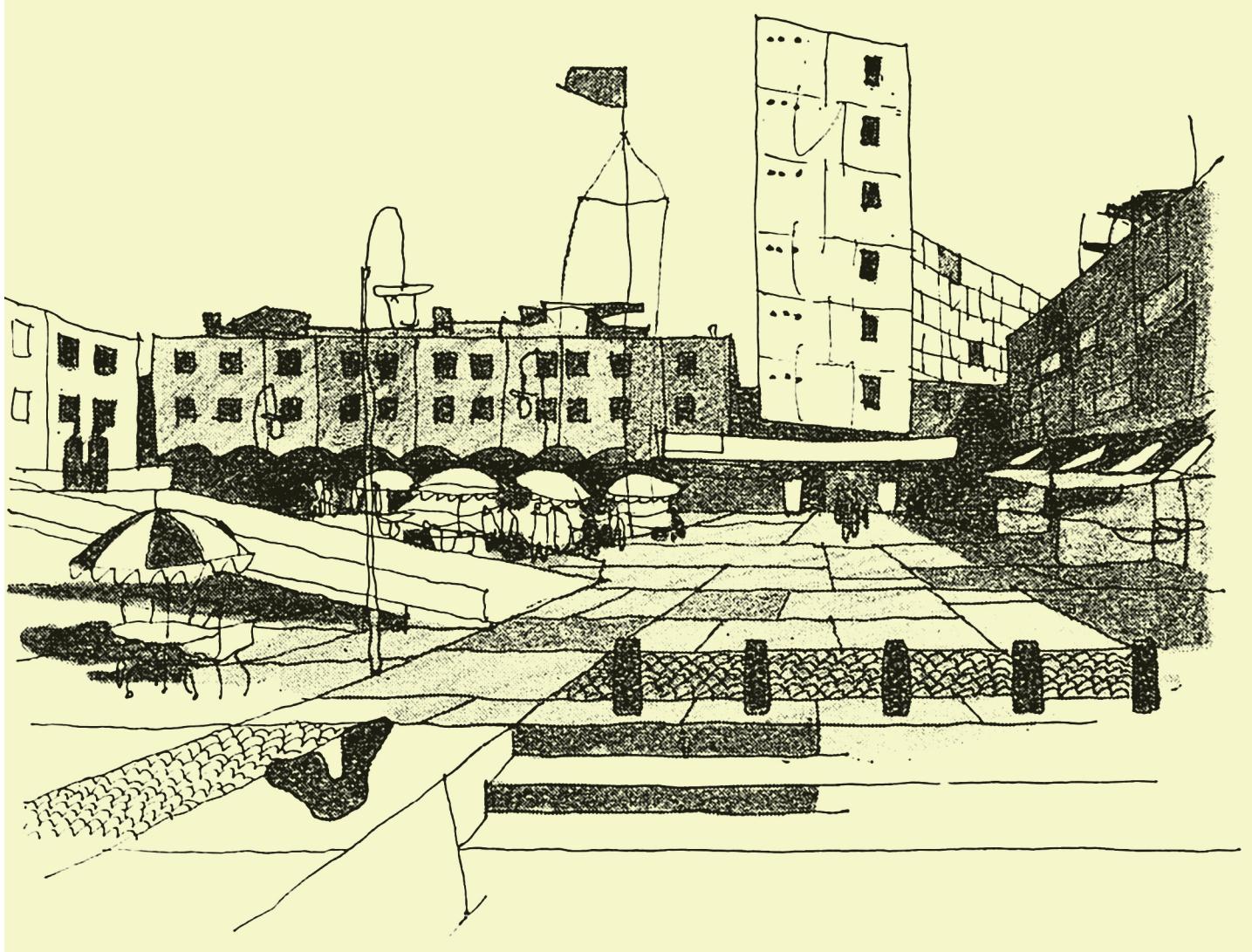
Las cinco acuarelas fueron publicadas en las ediciones originales del libro *Townscape*, y aunque se omitieron en la versión abreviada, se han vuelto a incluir en el libro de David Gosling. En ellas Cullen logra evocar las mejores cualidades de unos espacios a menos y atractivos para el residente que recorriera a pie el lugar o que se desplazase por el río. Los apuntes son menos conocidos y con ellos se pretendía ofrecer una de sus *serial vision* –similar a las elaboradas en su libro–, con imágenes secuenciales de un paseo lento por el lugar; o como él escribe, “una secuencia de revelaciones fragmentarias plasmadas en dibujos”.

Es de notar el tipo de arquitectura que Cullen dibuja para su propuesta; son edificios meramente indicativos, pero todos responden a criterios modernos, o a lo que en *AR* se dio en llamar el *new empiricism*. De hecho algunos diseños tan sólo esbozados, como las tres torres de apartamentos alineadas sobre la dársena (fig. 20), podrían tener su vigencia aún en nuestros días. Con ello pretendo resaltar que Cullen no era un pintoresquista o un defensor de adaptaciones de la arquitectura vernácula inglesa, como algunos han querido juzgarle en los años ochenta del pasado siglo, haciendo de él un adelantado de las propuestas postmodernas.

Hay un intento por incorporar al diseño de *New Marlow* muchas de las ideas esbozadas hasta entonces en su *Townscape casebook*, por medio de un diseño urbano en el que se enfatiza las cualidades visuales y perceptivas del lugar, que Cullen describe por extenso al principio de su artículo. Además, con esta propuesta se intentaba mostrar desde las páginas de *AR*, cómo cada *New Town* debería ser respetuoso con el *genius loci* o carácter distintivo del lugar. No es pues disparatado pensar que *New Marlow* sería la respuesta crítica, desde el diseño urbano y arquitectónico, a *New Harlow*, uno de los primeros *New Towns* creados para descongestionar el área urbana de Londres, cuyo planeamiento original se debe al arquitecto Frederick Gibberd, uno de los pioneros de la modernidad inglesa en los años treinta.

Si bien en 1950 la propuesta de crear en Marlow un recinto urbano de carácter fluvial pudo parecer una fantasía, a partir de los años setenta se crearía un centro muy similar al ideado por Cullen en St Katharine Docks, a poca distancia de la Torre de Londres, promovido por la *London Docklands Development Corporation*. Se trata de un pequeño enclave de oficinas, viviendas, locales comerciales y equipamientos (bares, restaurantes, terrazas, jardines y embarcaderos), que recrea bastante bien el conjunto de sugerencias y principios expuestos tanto en su libro *Townscape* como en su proyecto para *New Marlow*¹⁶.

16 Interesa recordar que Gordon Cullen siempre sintió un especial atractivo por los bordes marítimos y fluviales, de ahí sus tempranas propuestas de regeneración del Southbank de Londres; o sus estudios urbanos de la década de los ochenta para la Isle of Dogs y la Greenwich Peninsula, para la *London Docklands Development Corporation*.



19. G. Cullen,
*The Water Square
and the Hotel.*

People who have visited St. Katharine Docks, or other more recent enclaves in London Docks, such as Shadwell Basin or Limehouse Basin (developed in the last decades of the 1900's), will be able to see Gordon Cullen's ideas actually became a reality under other architects and town planners.

As Sir Norman Foster pointed out in the Obituary to Cullen, referring to his drawings and designs¹⁷: "They influenced the way that generations of architects not only expressed themselves graphically and the way in which they thought, especially their sense of social values. In fact, the messages that Gordon Cullen promoted in these works about the importance of the urban landscape are more relevant now than ever before".

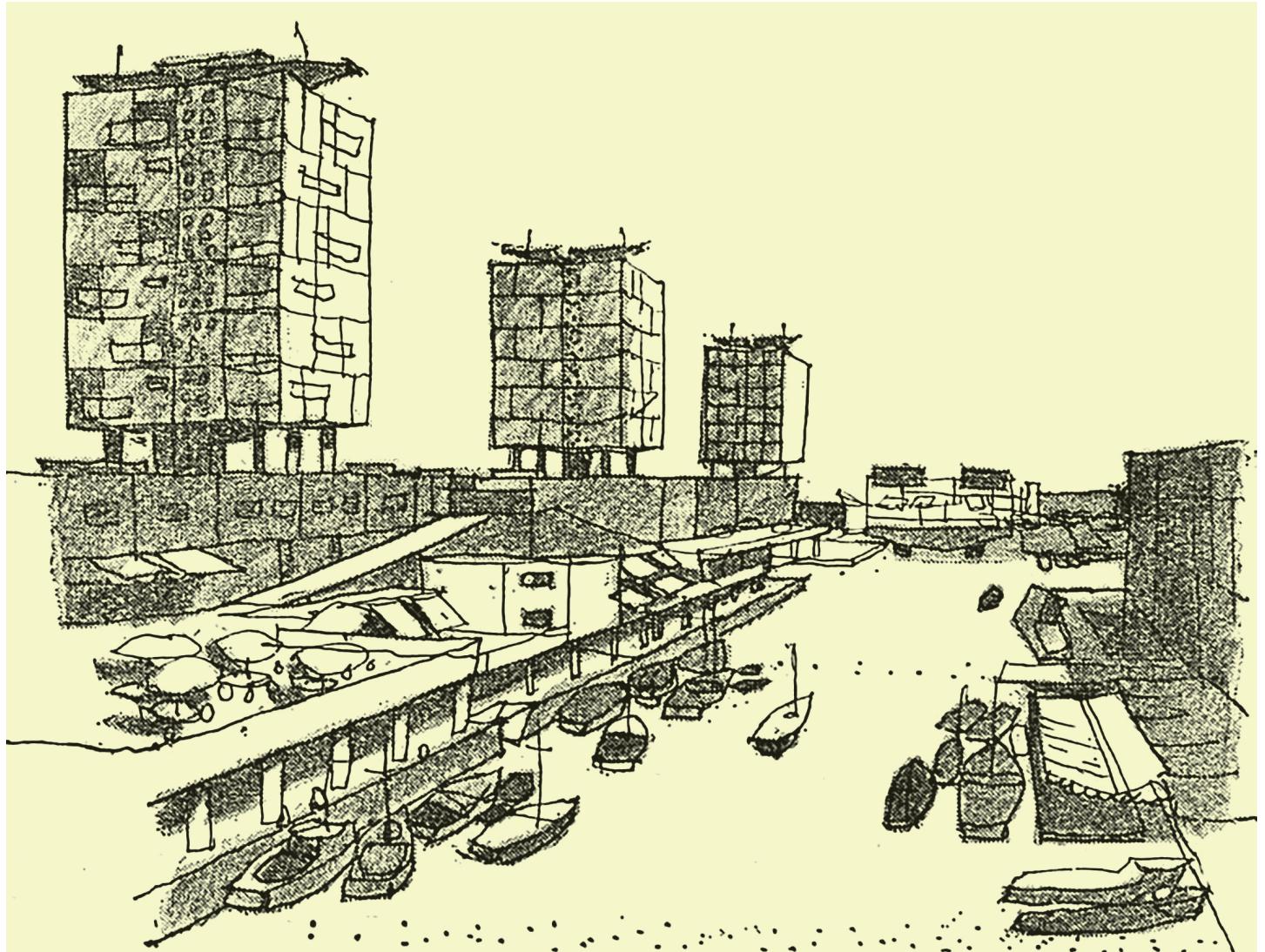
Source of the images

All the images are taken from *Architectural Review* and the book *Townscape* (1961). The graphic information has been taken from the copies of the magazines at the libraries of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia and the University of Navarra.

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17 Norman Foster, "Obituary", *The Architectural Review* 1174 (October 1994): 11.



20. G. Cullen,
The Long Basin.

Quienes hayan visitado St Katharine Docks, u otros enclaves más recientes de los London Docks, como Shadwell Basin y Limehouse Basin (promovidos en las últimas décadas del siglo pasado), podrán comprobar que las ideas de Gordon Cullen llegaron a convertirse en una realidad de mano de otros arquitectos y urbanistas.

Como señaló sir Norman Foster en el Obituario de Cullen, refiriéndose a sus dibujos y diseños¹⁷: “They influenced the way that generations of architects not only expressed themselves graphically and the way in which they thought, especially their sense of social values. In fact, the messages that Gordon Cullen promoted in these works about the importance of the urban landscape are more relevant now than ever before”.

Procedencia de las imágenes

Todas las imágenes proceden de *Architectural Review*, y del libro *Townscape* (1961). La información gráfica se ha obtenido de los ejemplares de las revistas custodiados en las bibliotecas de las E.T.S. de Arquitectura de la UPC y de la Universidad de Navarra.

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