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TERRAIN VAGUE

Poetics of the Urban Interspace in French Modernity

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D'ailleurs on aura soin de ne pas abattre les palissades, en tôles et madriers capables de résister cent ans. Car quelque agrément qu'on éprouve quand on y rôde, le terrain vague se déploie d'abord, entre ces interstices, comme un plan de méditation.

Incidentally, one will take care not to knock down the fences, hoardings and beams capable of withstanding a hundred years. For some pleasures, experienced when one roams there, the vacant land firstly spreads out between the cracks, like a programme of meditation.

Jacques Réda: *Les Ruines de Paris*

The opening sequence of Melville's gangster film *LE DOULOS* (*THE FINGER MAN*) transports the viewer to an out-of-the-way spot. Having come from Montmartre, the centre of the Paris underworld, one of the two protagonists enters an isolated house on the city outskirts, shoots a fence dead and then buries the murder weapon and loot on a stretch of waste land, featureless except for passing trains (fig. 1). Later, he identifies the spot for his enigmatic accomplice by marking it on a sketch-map, treasure-trove style, in block capitals, as 'TERRAIN VAGUE' (fig. 2). The accomplice, for his part, goes straight to the spot to recover the objects buried there. Mapping and labelling the neglected spot makes it into a magnetic pole that others are also drawn to visit. Such spaces and such processes are the central concern of this paper.<sup>1</sup> I should like to begin on a systematic basis, defining the contours of a place that in France has been designated for exactly two hundred years now, and latterly elsewhere too, as terrain vague. My second step will be to highlight a number of historical paradigms from the literary and photographic depiction of the terrain vague in French

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1 The origins of which are my IKKM Lecture in Weimar on 11 January 2012. I would like to thank the following for their critiques and suggestions following on from this lecture: Peter Bexte, Michael Cuntz, Lorenz Engell, Laura Frahm, Rupert Gaderer, Thomas Y. Levin, Bernhard Siegert and Barbara Wittmann. In addition, significant assistance was provided by the unpublished paper of Jacqueline Broich and Daniel Ritter, 'Terrains vagues. Ästhetik und Poetik vager Zwischenräume in der französischen Kultur der Moderne', Cologne, 2010. An abbreviated German version of the lecture appeared in *Merkur*, no. 758, 2012, pp. 638–644; a full German version in *Comparatio*, vol. 5, 2013, pp. 1–18.

modernity. In what I have to say, my overarching theme will be that it is precisely the undefined status of the *terrain vague* as a temporary vacant space, a neglected wasteland, that lends it its enduring aesthetic fascination and, now more than ever before, its readily discernible poetic potential — even if perceptions of it have changed appreciably.

## 1. SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTION

The concept of *terrain vague* is by now widely known, having acquired currency in, for instance, both English and German, yet has received relatively little theoretical attention. Evidently it is as difficult to define as it is to translate. Several attempts have indeed been made, in a number of different quarters, to establish a firmer conceptual grip on the place that it designates. Outstanding among them are a short but much-cited essay by the Spanish architect Solà-Morales, and a report by the French philosopher and geographer Philippe Vasset — though published in 2007, this remains regrettably untranslated — on excursions he had undertaken into the ‘blank zones’ of the topographical map of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Vasset’s publication, with its ironic title of ‘A White Paper’ (*Un livre blanc*), will serve as a reference framework for my description of some peculiarities of the *terrain vague* from a number of different perspectives: topological and economic, aesthetic and poetological.

### 1.1 Topology: Vacant space and transitory place

In topological terms, a *terrain vague* is an ‘interspace’ (*Zwischenraum*) in the literal sense, an urban place that first and foremost is intermediate.<sup>3</sup> It constitutes a vacant space in the cityscape, as the adjective *vague*, derived from Latin *vacuus*, indicates. Its prototypical manifestation is the vacant building site in residential and commercial districts or — as in Melville’s *DOULOS* — the unused land bordering roads and railway lines. The German language has no comparable collective term for such zones, apart perhaps from the expression *Gstetten*, which according to the Austrian dictionary denotes ‘a neglected piece of land within a built environment’.<sup>4</sup> Such places accordingly appear on topographical city maps as white zones, as do prohibited areas and unplanned slum developments. Unlike these, however, the *terrain vague* is also and essentially a transitory place. In expanding cities at least, it has only temporary status. As Vasset notes, vacant building plots in Paris are now promptly fenced off and locked up, so that the white zones on the map shift constantly from place to place. Delay too long in seeking them out, and one will no longer find them, but be left to experience nothing more than the ‘revelation of a world-devouring

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2 Ignasi de Solà-Morales, ‘Terrain vague’, in Cynthia Davidson (ed.), *Anyplace*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press 1996, pp. 118–123; Philippe Vasset, *Un livre blanc. Récit avec cartes*, Paris, Fayard, 2007 (henceforth ‘Vasset’, 2007).

3 For the pivotal role of interspaces in topology cf. Peter Bexte, ‘Zwischen-Räume: Kybernetik und Strukturalismus’, in Stephan Günzel (ed.), *Topologie. Zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, Bielefeld, Transcript, 2007, pp. 219–233.

4 *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*, Wien, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, <sup>37</sup>1990, p. 239.

transience'.<sup>5</sup> Thus the *terrain vague* lies both spatially and chronologically between other, more enduring places. As a space that is in equal measure porous and dynamic, it marks the antithesis of a fully consolidated, interspace-free cityscape like that of present-day Paris: 'a fully colonized and demarcated inner city with no play at all between the different buildings'.<sup>6</sup>

## 1.2 Economics: Neglected wasteland

The topological special status of the *terrain vague* has a counterpart in its economic special status. This is not merely an empty place: it is also an abandoned place with no readily identifiable owner, a transition zone between public and private space. On the evidence of Vasset's explorations, it tends to be closed off; but usually there is a concealed way in, a kind of 'cat-flap', quietly tolerated in practice as it averts more substantial damage to the fencing.<sup>7</sup> The adjective *vague*, too, if one derives it from the Latin *vagus*, points to this indefinite status, which is the linking feature common to *terrain vague* and the military 'no man's land' or neutral territory between opposing front lines.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the latter, however, *terrain vague* is envisaged first and foremost as a place unused, a fallow area or 'dead zone' lying between functional areas.<sup>9</sup> It shows evidence of former productive or infrastructural functions now ceased: weed growth, scrap metal, broken wheels, overgrown tramlines. All this is to be seen in a sequence from the Tati comedy *MON ONCLE*, in which the viewer can step through the traditional gap in the fence and into an urban interspace, as in a picture-book (fig. 3, 4). But it is precisely their utter lack of function that makes fallow spaces of this kind so eminently suitable for new and unplanned uses. Vasset accordingly describes them as realms of the possible *par excellence*, as 'zones of pure potentiality'.<sup>10</sup>

Seen in this way, *terrain vague* may be characterized in rather more detail with the help of two fundamental concepts from cultural studies spatial theory. Using the first approach, it is seen as the exact opposite of 'non-places' in the social anthropologist Marc Augé's sense, i.e. the opposite of late modernity's hyperfunctional transit spaces in which the recognising of standardized signs and objects replaces the experience of strangeness and the new that still remains possible in so-called 'anthropological places'.<sup>11</sup> A vacant, ownerless and non-functional piece of land is quite different in that in its character as a 'place where the Unknown originates' (Vasset) it still affords the possibility of such an

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5 Vasset, 2007, p. 61.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

8 For an extensive description of those zones so described since the First World War cf. Ernst Jünger, 'Das Wäldchen 125' (1925), in *Sämtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1978–2003, vol. 1, pp. 371–377.

9 Cf. Gil Doron, "...those marvellous empty zones at the edge of cities". Heterotopia and the "dead zone", in Michiel Dehaene and Lieben de Cauter (eds), *Heterotopia and the City. Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, New York, Routledge, 2008, pp. 203–213.

10 Vasset, 2007, p. 61.

11 Cf. Marc Augé, *Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Paris, Seuil, 1992 (La librairie du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle), pp. 97–144.

experience.<sup>12</sup> In this sense it shows an affinity to a utopia, which in Augé stands in sharp contrast to the ‘non-place’. This is why the *terrain vague* is so often characterized in utopian terms as a place of freedom and adventure, where the new may originate or be discovered, especially by children playing there. This is exemplified perfectly on Tati’s scrap-metal-strewn patch precisely because of its contrast with the ‘non-place’ of a modern housing estate nearby, or again in many of the images created by Robert Doisneau, photographer of the suburbs (fig. 5). The notion of treating the *terrain vague* as an adventure playground has been embraced with such widespread alacrity as to make the emergence of dissenting views only a question of time. Blaise Cendrars, author of *La banlieue de Paris*, illustrated by Doisneau, was referring to the exuberant photographs of children Doisneau had contributed to his book when he emphasized that certain shadow zones always remain hidden from the photographer.<sup>13</sup> And the poet and critic Jacques Réda, who excels almost all others in portraying vacant pieces of land, in his prose volume *The Ruins of Paris* plays with the idea of ‘founding a society for the preservation of *terrains vagues*’, a further object being to resist their downgrading to mere ‘playparks for toddlers’.<sup>14</sup>

The second of our two approaches is to regard the *terrain vague* as a modern and extreme example of what Foucault called ‘heterotopias’. The term, often interpreted later in much too broad a sense, was originally used by Foucault himself to designate identifiable ‘counter-places’, outside everyday lived-in space, that manifest their defects or compensate for them.<sup>15</sup> In terms of the spectrum of such ‘other spaces’, the urban interspace would correspond in formal typology to a chronological heterotopia in that it always exists for a limited time only, and in functional typology to a heterotopia of compensation in that it shows up the organisation of normal space as problematic. In the case of the *terrain vague*, however, compensation does not take the form of an enhancement of the ordering principle such as happens in a park or cemetery, but of the opposite, a minimising of order, amounting to a hole in the woven fabric of the city. Yet in this way too it is conducive to the continued presence of the sacred even in the — in theory — desacralized space of modernity, of which Foucault finds evidence in the post-Christian cult of the dead in necropolises on city outskirts. Those partaking of an extraordinary, quasi-religious spatial experience of this

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12 Vasset, 2007, p. 123. For the contrast between urban wasteland as a place of discovery and the standardized urban non-place cf. Paul Farley and Michael Symmons Roberts, *Edgelands. Journeys into England’s True Wilderness*, London, Vintage, 2011, pp. 136–149.

13 Cf. Blaise Cendrars, ‘La banlieue de Paris’ (1949), in Claude Leroy (ed.), *Le lotissement du ciel. La banlieue de Paris*, Paris, Denoël, 2005 (Tout autour d’aujourd’hui, 12), pp. 359–441, spec. p. 372, 379.

14 Cf. Jacques Réda, *Les Ruines de Paris* (1977), Paris, Gallimard (Poésie), 1993, p. 45; on the *terrain vague* in Réda see the author’s ‘*Terrains vagues* und Nicht-Orte. Städtische Räume in *Les ruines de Paris*’, in Andreas Mahler and Wolfram Nitsch (eds), *Réda’s Paris. Topographien eines späten Flaneurs*, Passau, Stutz, 2001, pp. 31–49.

15 Cf. Michel Foucault, ‘Des espaces autres’ (1967), in *Dits et écrits*, Paris, Gallimard, 1994, vol. 4, pp. 752–762, also Doron, ‘Heterotopia and the dead zone’ (*supra*, n. 9). For a reconstruction of this concept from the perspective of literary criticism, see Rainer Warning, *Heterotopien als Räume ästhetischer Erfahrung*, München, Fink, 2009, pp. 11–41.

nature are generally adults; in the printed version of his treatise, Foucault deleted a reference to the ‘other spaces’ of children.<sup>16</sup> In this respect, definition of the *terrain vague* as a heterotopia accords well with another constant of its visual depiction, namely its use as a setting for a putative crime scene or as an eerie place generally. Melville’s desolate gun cache site would be an example of this, as would the *terrain vague* in the photograph bearing that title by the surrealist Man Ray (fig. 6). This photograph of a piece of waste ground, on which rusting metal and steps nonetheless betoken human presence, recognizably alludes to the spookily empty street and city fringe scenes in Atget, which have been compared with photographs of a crime scene.<sup>17</sup> What in Doisneau is given a utopian twist through the presence of playing children appears here, by contrast, with a deeply disquieting ambience.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, it is important not to overlook an important difference between the *terrain vague* and Foucault’s heterotopias. The latter are invariably purpose-designed spaces, while the *terrain vague* is one that has come about randomly and without authorisation. In this sense it constitutes an ‘other place’ of a special kind, one that only becomes such as an outcome of certain circumstances.

### 1.3 Aesthetics: A landscape for drifters and surveyors

That brings us to the issue of the aesthetic dimension of the *terrain vague*, of how it is perceived when economic interests are set aside. Other than children, who takes any interest in this strange place? Who passes through its more or less discreet entrance and regards it primarily as landscape? One stock answer is the *flâneur*.<sup>19</sup> However, it can be objected that the *flâneur* figure, sauntering about town since his appearance around 1800, has always been notably relaxed in style and bearing. For the subtly eerie interspaces, the sources seem to indicate that other, distinctly less poised characters among ambulant city-dwellers are better fitted. The most obvious would be the vagabond or drifter (*rôdeur*), the *flâneur*’s impoverished cousin, who is likewise attested for the 19th century. He may be characterized as a solitary figure, a ‘man of the crowd’, in Poe’s sense, a type one finds Walter Benjamin already contrasting with the classic *flâneur*, but who, in this case, has

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16 Cf. Michel Foucault, *Le corps utopique. Les hétérotopies* (1966), Daniel Defert (ed.), Paris, Lignes, 2009, p. 24.

17 Cf. Walter Benjamin, ‘Kleine Geschichte der Photographie’ (1931), in Detlev Schöttker (ed.) *Medienästhetische Schriften*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 2002, pp. 300–324, spec. 309, 315; also Ian Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams. Surrealism and Documentary Photography in Interwar Paris*, Toronto, University of British Columbia Press, 2002, pp. 114–143. For a cultural exploration of the *terrain vague* in suburban impressionist painting see Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life. Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1985, pp. 191–193.

18 The deeply sinister formality of the *terrain vague*, which is merely concealed by children at play is emphasized by Pierre Sansot, *Poétique de la ville* (1973), Paris, Payot, 2004 (Petite Bibliothèque Payot), pp. 465–467.

19 Along these lines, in respect of Réda’s *Ruines de Paris*, see Stephanie Gomolla, *Distanz und Nähe. Der Flâneur in der französischen Literatur zwischen Moderne und Postmoderne*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2009 (Saarbrücker Beiträge, 46), pp. 151–175.

dropped out of the crowd.<sup>20</sup> His identifying traits are his habit of aimless roaming, a kind of vagabondage — another word derived from Latin *vagus* — and a wholly involved, indeed manic relationship to the urban setting, manifested above all in his fascination with damaged and unsettling things.<sup>21</sup> There is consequently always something suspect about the drifter, most notably when he visits a *terrain vague*, or, in Julien Gracq's considered phrase, a 'zone de libre vagabondage'.<sup>22</sup> At such places, as Vasset notes, one may easily be mistaken for a morally bankrupt pleasure-seeker or — in recent times at least — a spray-can artist bent on illicit mural self-memorialisation.<sup>23</sup>

Vasset himself, by his own account, resembles a different and relatively modern type of urban Rambler on waste land: the surveyor (*arpenteur*). As such he practises a 'parallel geography', working not to public or private commission but still in the style of professional geodesists and geographers, his activities comparable with the 'strollology' (*Promenadologie*) launched by Lucius Burckhardt.<sup>24</sup> This entails seeking out white zones, and more particularly establishing their access details through recourse to topographical maps and recording them in notebook and sketchbook or by technical means such as camera and tape recorder. It is not every freelance *arpenteur* that possesses such expensive equipment, or that aims, as Vasset does, to make the solo project into a communal undertaking — in which, incidentally, he succeeded, as is attested by the organized activities of the 'Atelier de Géographie Parallèle' documented on the 'Un site blanc' website. All that really matters to the surveyor is the project of systematic exploration of out-of-the-way places which he then records in images or words — unless he emulates Melville's gangster by mapping them himself. In this way he generates a secondary network out of the unconnected blank spaces in the city fabric and transport network, an alternative city tour away from the beaten track of civic and tourist set-pieces. Like the drifter, he rejects the staged and privileged circuit and gains in its place an urban experience full of the tension between known and unknown that is now threatened with extinction by the continuing process of regulation and musealisation of city tour routes.<sup>25</sup>

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20 Cf. Walter Benjamin, 'Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire' (1939), in Rolf Tiedemann (ed.), *Charles Baudelaire. Ein Lyriker im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 1980, pp. 101–149, spec. pp. 114–125.

21 Cf. Wilhelm Genazino, 'Vom Flaneur zum Streuner', in *Die Belebung der toten Winkel*, München/Wien, Hanser, 2006, pp. 87–107.

22 Julien Gracq, *La forme d'une ville*, Paris, Corti, 1985, pp. 61–63. On the drifters' affinity with the *terrain vague* cf. Jean-Paul Clébert, *Paris insolite*, Paris, Denoël, 1952, p. 50f, which seeks out the vacant lands on the city's edge as 'rôdeur de barrières', as well as Réda, *Les Ruines de Paris* (*supra*, n. 14), p. 56, from which the epigraph to this work originates.

23 Vasset, 2007, p. 119.

24 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 33–35, also Lucius Burckhardt: 'Spaziergangswissenschaft' (1995), in *Warum ist Landschaft schön? Die Spaziergangswissenschaft*, Berlin, Schmitz, 2006, pp. 257–300.

25 Cf. Olivier Mongin, *La condition urbaine. La ville à l'heure de la mondialisation*, Paris, Seuil, 2005 (Points Essais), pp. 21–127.

#### 1.4 Poetics: Empty stage for the imagination

The *terrain vague*'s poetological dimension, finally, comes into play when a visit to such a place is followed by a description or picture. It is no doubt due to the transient nature of the *terrain vague* that this happens remarkably often, that indeed there are now whole photo sequences, exhibitions and compositions bearing the name.<sup>26</sup> Doisneau began to take photographs, he has said, to give permanence to the short-lived *terrains vagues* of his childhood.<sup>27</sup> Here too, on the issue of this duplication of white zones in image and text, Vasset has valuable thoughts to offer. On the one hand, the visitor to neglected urban wasteland is sure to run into difficulties over depicting it adequately. There is a danger that the emptiness of the space will spill over into the language of the description, with a few words like *abandoned*, or *debris*, or *ruins* coming in for endless repetition.<sup>28</sup> Réda puts the point in a lapidary formulation, confessing in his *Ruins of Paris* that: 'I love the bits of rail, the scrap metal, the rust.'<sup>29</sup> Yet on the other hand this very emptiness presents the opportunity to fill it with imagined supplementary material. In Vasset's *Livre blanc*, fictions and metaphors alike play this kind of role. He peoples the silent railway lines of the former freight-yard at Paris-Bercy with scenes from cinema and television crime. And at the end of his excursions he condenses his experiences into a memorable image: the white zones on the city fringes are what one sees billowing continuously from the holes in the hull of the luxury liner Paris.<sup>30</sup> The deserted stretch of land thus becomes the empty stage for a free-roaming imagination. With this original variation on the old metaphor of the city-ship on the Seine, Vasset was also acknowledging the void spaces in the cityscape as the last hiding-place of adventure in a completely charted and accessible world. Clearly this was not the view of the city planning authorities, for otherwise they would not have instituted official *terrains pour l'aventure* — incidentally with little success, according to dictionary of urbanism.<sup>31</sup> The far greater attractive power exerted by the *terrains vagues* evidently only becomes manifest in literary texts: here the experiencing of urban space is observed from inside, from the perspective of those who dwell in it.

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26 Such as Bettina Steinacker's photo series 'Terrain vague' (2004), or the orchestral piece 'Terrains vagues' (2000) from Per Norgaard.

27 Cf. his disclosure from 1980, 'Mon enfance, c'était les terrains vagues. J'ai commencé à faire des photographies pour inscrire ce que je voyais tous les jours', quoted according to Jean-François Chevrier (ed.), *Robert Doisneau. Du métier à l'œuvre*, Göttingen, Steidl, 2010, p. 25.

28 Vasset, 2007, p. 101

29 Réda, *Les Ruines de Paris* (*supra*, n. 14), p. 50: 'J'aime les rails, la ferraille, la rouille'.

30 Vasset, 2007, p. 135: 'Le monde, c'est ce mouvement incessant entrevu par les trous de la coque de nos capitales, désormais paquebots de croisière pour le troisième âge'.

31 Françoise Choay and Pierre Merlin (eds), *Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement*, Paris, PUF, 1996 (Quadrige), pp. 880–881.

## 2. HISTORICAL PARADIGMS

In its early stages at least, the conceptual history of *terrains vagues* is almost inseparable from the history of literature. The expression first appeared exactly two hundred years ago, in one of the major works of French Romanticism: Chateaubriand's diary of his journey from Paris to Jerusalem. In it he mentions a landscape of ruins just outside Athens and the reverie that it induced.<sup>32</sup> It was only from 1830 onward, probably beginning with Balzac, that the concept began to be applied to the periphery, and ruins, of Paris.<sup>33</sup> This was the beginning of the singular career of the *terrain vague* in literature, a career that I now propose to illustrate with the help of a few prominent examples. However the story will only be properly understood against the background of the headlong expansion of urban space on the threshold of the modern age.

### 2.1 Emergence: Signature of the deformed city

The expression *terrain vague* originated during the transition period around 1800, which saw a host of radical changes, and in particular the de-fortification of the traditional city.<sup>34</sup> As the anthropologist Marcel Hénaff has shown, the city had been seen up to that date primarily as a monument: a multi-functional built ensemble with public and private space physically demarcated from each other, and with an outer boundary, in the form of city walls, that could be seen from far and wide.<sup>35</sup> This cityscape was so clearly structured and so well defined that it came to be interpreted symbolically as a microcosm, and sharply segregated from the chaos that had been banished beyond the walls — from Neolithic times until the end of the 18th century, when it was still possible for Mercier, in his *Tableau de Paris*, to refer to the French capital as the 'epitome of the universe'.<sup>36</sup> It was only in the course of the Industrial Revolution, with factory sites and railway infrastructure thrusting the walls aside, that the traditional cityscape lost its clear outlines. At the same time, two further dimensions of the city emerged, having been hidden hitherto by the monumental perspective. Through the removal of its fortifications, the metropolis became recognisable as a great machine and as a complex network: as a technological and social energy core and the productive core for all that was new, but also as a nodal point for transport and communication.<sup>37</sup>

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32 François-René de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), in Jean-Claude Berchet (ed.), Paris, Gallimard, 2005 (Folio classique), p. 189.

33 Honoré de Balzac, 'Mémoires de Sanson' (1830), in Pierre-Georges Castex et al. (eds), *Œuvres diverses*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990–96 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), vol. 2, p. 487; Gérard de Nerval, 'La main enchantée' (1832), in Claude Pichois et al. (eds), *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1989–93 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), vol. 3, p. 355.

34 Cf. Walter Seitter, 'Entfestigung. Zur Obszönität der Städte', 1984, in *Physik des Daseins. Bausteine zu einer Philosophie der Erscheinungen*, Wien, Sonderzahl, 1997, pp. 86–94.

35 Cf. Marcel Hénaff, *La ville qui vient*, Paris, L'Herne, 2008 (Carnets), pp. 20–79.

36 Louis-Sébastien Mercier, 'Tableau de Paris' (1781–88), in Michel Delon (ed.), *Paris le jour, Paris la nuit*, Paris, Laffont, 1990 (Bouquins), p. 26.

37 Cf. Hénaff, *La ville qui vient* (*supra*, n. 35), pp. 80–151.



The development outlined thus in general terms by Hénaff took an unusual turn in the case of Paris. While the walls encircling other cities were falling for good, in Paris the decade of the 1840s saw the construction parallel to the railway network and on the site of the present Boulevard Périphérique of, once again, a gigantic fortified rampart. Outside this outermost ring of the consistently concentric expansion of the capital lay a vast encircling tract, the *zone de servitude militaire*, on which building was, initially, strictly prohibited. Following piecemeal settlement over the course of time, this belt evolved into what was called the *zone*, and this in turn was the nucleus of what is now called the *banlieue*.<sup>38</sup> However, the *terrains vagues* within it that Atget photographed for the first time at the beginning of the 20th century were by no means a new phenomenon in Paris. There had already been such areas along the length of the old customs wall, where they betrayed an epochal change in urban design practice that the new rampart could do little to camouflage. The point was that the *terrain vague* as an empty space forms no part of a monumental cityscape, yet, as a relatively inaccessible, neglected area, it also resists absorption into an urban network or an urban machine, and so, more clearly than almost anywhere else, becomes the signature of the industrially deformed city. Since Balzac this disturbing signature has been written again and again in different hands, and has turned the urban interspace into a literary setting — a setting to be either cast as a utopia, or as a theatrical backdrop of a heterotopia.

## 2.2 Nineteenth century: Sinister setting

Balzac's literary discovery of the *terrain vague* on the fringe of the expanding capital city took place within the compass of Romantic horizons. Since the beginning of the 19th century, Romanticism had included interest in the abandoned and the indefinite, but sought it initially in ancient ruin fields or remote natural settings, such as a beach, a favourite haunt of emptiness.<sup>39</sup> It was not until mid-century that the Romantics-tinged lens first registered empty tracts of land in Paris, offshoots, as it were, of such sublime transition spaces, right by the city gates. This is seen exceptionally clearly in Victor Hugo's late novel *Les Misérables*, in which the *terrains vagues* along the old customs wall are described in great detail. They surround a venerable slum known as Masure Gorbeau, one of the principal settings for the action, which takes place at the end of the Restoration period. Building and surrounding land are textbook exemplars of that amphibious interspace that the novel's narrator, a declared city fringe loiterer (*rôdeur de barrières*) spends time observing:

Observer la banlieue, c'est observer l'amphibie. Fin des arbres, commencement des toits, fin de l'herbe, commencement du pavé, fin des sillons, commencement des boutiques, fin des

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38 As to which, see Thankmar von Münchhausen, *Paris. Geschichte einer Stadt von 1800 bis heute*, München, DVA, 2007, pp. 71–73, 164–166, 264–267; cf. also Éric Hazan, *L'invention de Paris. Il n'y a pas de pas perdus* (2002), Paris, Seuil, 2004 (Points), pp. 13–27.

39 Cf. Alain Corbin, *Le territoire du vide. L'Occident et le désir du rivage (1750–1840)*, Paris, Aubier, 1988; Remo Bodei, 'Art. "Vage/unbestimmt"', in Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, vol. 6, Stuttgart, Metzler, 2003, pp. 312–330.

ornières, commencement des passions, fin du murmure divin, commencement de la rumeur humaine; de là un intérêt extraordinaire.<sup>40</sup>

From this perspective exactly, Masure Gorbeau, amid the surrounding *terrains vagues*, is a quintessentially intermediate place. It is located between inhabited city and uninhabited countryside, appearing simultaneously bustling and abandoned: ‘an inhabited locality in which no-one was to be seen, a desert in which someone was living’. In addition, it is next door both to the former Paris and to the new industrial Paris. Nearby, there are urban ruins, but also factories redolent of the ‘bleak monotony of right angles’. Fittingly, the slum building has a double street number, being known to the postmen as ‘Number 50–52’.<sup>41</sup> In its essential indefiniteness it resembles a *faux terrain* such as those that had been marvelled at in Paris panoramas since 1831: an interspace peopled with clay model figurines and objects, somewhere between a circular painting and a viewing platform, blurring the borderline between image and reality.<sup>42</sup> The surrounding *terrains vagues* are, furthermore, a supremely transitory zone, as the narrator’s historical excursus explains. They point back into a dark past, and forward into a turbulent future. On the one hand they mark — and have marked since the Empire — an area of evil repute like no other in the district, for those sentenced to death would pass by on their way to the scaffold, and once, there was actually a murder, ‘as in a melodrama’. Yet at the same time these pieces of waste ground are about to give way to a new railway route. Thus they form a grim setting for criminal acts, a setting that is itself overshadowed by the threat of eradication.<sup>43</sup> And this is still not the last word regarding the *terrains vagues* on the city margin. At a later point in the novel, the narrator relates how, time and again, he has watched children playing right here in this ‘Parisian limbo’. They, and other unruly creatures of humble origins populating the Romantic writer Hugo’s metropolitan, novel represent the social energy that opens up a utopian perspective and finally explodes in the battles of the barricades.<sup>44</sup> Played in by children, the sinister setting seems like the workshop from which a better society will emerge.

Such a utopian casting for the empty fringe zones was not for the Realist, Balzac. It is indicative that only his early work — not his great cycle of novels, *La comédie humaine* — has a scene of children running wild on a ‘terrain vague et abandonné hors de la ville’.<sup>45</sup>

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40 Victor Hugo, *Les misérables* (1862), ed. Maurice Allem, Paris, Gallimard, 1951 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), p. 595. ‘To study the suburbs is to study the amphibious animal. End of the trees, beginning of the roofs; end of the grass, beginning of the pavements; end of the furrows, beginning of the shops, end of the wheel-ruts, beginning of the passions; end of the divine murmur, beginning of the human uproar; hence an extraordinary interest.’ (trans. Isabel F. Hapgood, 1887, London, Canterbury Classics, 2013, p. 986).

41 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 445–451.

42 Cf. Peter Geimer, ‘Faux terrain. Ein Zwischenraum des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in Steffen Haug (ed.), *Arbeit am Bild*, Köln, König, 2010, pp. 78–85.

43 Cf. Hugo, *Les misérables* (*supra*, n. 40), pp. 448–451.

44 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 596–597. As to the utopian-allegorical dimension of the novel, see Karlheinz Stierle, *La capitale des signes. Paris et son discours* (1993), Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2001, ch. II.4.

45 Balzac, ‘Mémoires de Sanson’ (*supra*, n. 33), p. 487.

But in his *Ferragus*, the prelude to the *Scènes de la vie Parisienne*, a similar terrain appears in an entirely different light. This is an extensive esplanade at the south end of the Jardin du Luxembourg, described in the closing chapter as a neutral ‘espace sans genre’:

En effet, là, Paris n’est plus; et là, Paris est encore. Ce lieu tient à la fois de la place, de la rue, du boulevard, de la fortification, du jardin, de l’avenue, de la route, de la province, de la capitale; certes, il y a tout cela; mais ce n’est rien de tout cela: c’est un désert.<sup>46</sup>

In the paradoxical double definitions and the lengthy enumeration one senses the difficulty experienced by the normally so exuberantly informative narrator in describing this urban ‘desert’. It is neither street nor square, neither rampart nor garden, neither city nor country, yet simultaneously it is both. In this respect it forms no part of the microcosm Paris, which has already figured several times in the narrative.<sup>47</sup> The capital may indeed — as the novel’s opening explains — be divided into three mutually distinct spheres, of ‘prestigious’, ‘respectable’ and ‘mean’ streets respectively; the rational grid layout of the Père-Lachaise cemetery may indeed, as later explained, serve as a ‘microscopic’ model of the metropolis, reflecting this ordering of things on a reduced scale. And yet, taking account of the *terrain vague* lying beyond the equally lucid grid structure of the park, the narrator, posing as city guide, is forced to acknowledge his limitations. But it is this interspace that provides the last hiding-place for the novel’s eponymous hero, Ferragus, a ruthless criminal. Now at the end of his criminal career, he has degenerated into a grotesque kibitzer figure, given to following the games of *boules* played out on the esplanade, and in particular the unpredictable movements of the jack. In this role he appears as elusive and indefinable in nature as his immediate surroundings. If these constitute an ‘espace intermédiaire’, he himself embodies an ‘espèce intermédiaire’, a hybrid social species that eludes classification even by the physiognomically literate narrator. Ferragus, recognized from his name in the first place, but also from his technological knowhow, as representing the industrial era, in a sense personifies that era’s distorting impact on the capital city, embodying it in his own physique. At the same time he has been transformed from a dangerous intriguer to a mere plaything of the chance that rules in the metropolis, a toy tossed about like the symbolic *boules* — a ‘génie fantastique du cochonnet’.<sup>48</sup> Where in Victor Hugo the *terrain vague* is seen as a wellspring of youthful energy and social progress, in Balzac it stands for decadence and the rule of contingency.

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46 Honoré de Balzac, *Ferragus* (1833), ed. Michel Lichtlé, Paris, Flammarion, 1988, p. 204. ‘There, Paris is no longer; and there, Paris still lingers. The spot is a mingling of street, square, boulevard, fortification, garden, avenue, high-road, province, and metropolis; certainly, all of that is to be found there, and yet the place is nothing of all that, it is a desert’. (*Ferragus, Chief of the Devorants*, trans. Katharine Prescott Wormeley, London, Benediction Classics, 2012, p. 83).

47 Cf. Wolfram Nitsch, ‘Vom Mikrokosmos zum Knotenpunkt. Raum in der Kulturanthropologie Leroi-Gourhans und in Balzacs Ferragus’, in Jörg Dünne, Hermann Doetsch, and Roger Lüdeke (eds), *Von Pilgerwegen, Schriftspuren und Blickpunkten. Raumpraktiken in medienhistorischer Perspektive*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2004, pp. 175–185.

48 Balzac, *Ferragus* (*supra*, n. 46), pp. 205–206.

### 2.3 Twentieth Century: Prohibited zone

Since the radical redesign of Paris by Haussmann as City Prefect in the second half of the 19th century, there have been sightings of *terrains vagues* in the inner city too. Relevant descriptions occur already in Zola's cycle of novels *Les Rougon-Macquart*, in which a vacant building plot on one of the new boulevards, say, or the land adjoining a railway station might be referred to as a *terrain vague*.<sup>49</sup> The ubiquitous presence of empty zones during the process of modernising the capital triggered a livelier aesthetic interest in such areas during the 20th century. The *terrain vague* progressed to become a favourite resort not only of modern photographers such as Atget, Doisneau and Man Ray, but of modern *litterati* too, a point corroborated by the very founding of a publishing house of the same name in Paris in 1955. The Existentialists laid stress on its utopian dimension, though not against the same background as the city fringe idlers of the Romantic period. A text to read here is the essay by Sartre — published shortly after the end of the war — on American cities. He is struck by the many vacant sites dotting the cityscape:

Nulle part je n'ai vu tant de terrains vagues: il est vrai qu'ils ont une fonction précise: ils servent de parcs à autos. Mais ils n'en rompent pas moins brusquement l'alignement de la rue. Tout d'un coup, il semble qu'une bombe soit tombée sur trois ou quatre maisons, les réduisant en poudre, et qu'on vienne tout juste de déblayer.<sup>50</sup>

Although routinely used as parking lots, the innumerable *terrains vagues* lend transatlantic cities an openness rare in Europe, both in the spatial and in the chronological perspective. They open up even the downtown area to the surrounding vastness, so that the skyscraper quarter itself can resemble a nomadic 'encampment in the desert'. And they also, wherever encountered, point to the incessant change that makes the urban landscape into a 'shifting landscape', a *paysage mouvant*, temporary in character. Anything that actually remains in place here tends to suggest some forgotten remnant rather than a cherished monument. When Sartre accordingly compares the American *terrains vagues* to a recently cleared rubble-field following a bombing raid, his metaphor is devoid of any connotation of bitterness such as might have been expected while memories of wartime air-raids were still raw. The point for him is that the fracturing of Old European monumentality effected by the vacant areas chimes with his philosophy of radical thrownness and autonomy of decision. Future-oriented enthusiasm for ruins, in Existentialist mode, was a note that went on sounding far into the postwar period, one example being the film melodrama *TERRAIN VAGUE*, a late work by Sartre's contemporary Marcel Carné. Here on the outskirts of Paris, just across the street from the non-place of anonymous apartment blocks, a rubble-heap

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49 Cf. in this respect, Warning, *Heterotopien als Räume ästhetischer Erfahrung* (*supra*, n. 15), pp. 153–154.

50 Jean-Paul Sartre, 'Villes d'Amérique' (1945), in *Situations III*, Paris, Gallimard, 1949, pp. 93–111, spec. pp. 105–106. 'Nowhere have I seen so many terrains vagues: it is true that they have a specific function: they serve as car parks. But they break up the alignment of the streets no less abruptly. All of sudden, it seems as if a bomb has fallen on three or four houses, reduced to dust, the rubble just swept away.'

and industrial wasteland becomes a magnet for young people escaping everyday routine to celebrate competitive games of chicken — tests of nerve that culminate in a daring blindfold leap.

For their part, the Surrealists and their successors emphasize the *terrain vague*'s heterotopian dimension. This is foreshadowed in Breton's programmatic *Nadja*, where as central a spot as can be imagined, Place Dauphine on the Île de la Cité, is made to appear 'one of the worst vacant areas in Paris', and triggers erotic regression fantasies and paranoid delusions.<sup>51</sup> The utopian undertones still unmistakably discernible in Breton fade out completely in the relevant place-descriptions found in Michel Leiris, ex-Surrealist, ethnographer and autobiographer. In his treatise on 'The Sacred in Everyday Life', written during his association with the famous Collège de Sociologie, he interprets the *terrain vague* in terms of the school of cultural anthropology associated with the College, namely as a prohibited zone, a modern survival of a sacred precinct in which basic taboos may be overridden in the name of ritual. Thus, in the course of family walks on the outskirts of Paris, he had experienced the 'no man's land' between the ramparts area and the Auteuil racecourse as the exact antithesis of the middle-class world, and even more emphatically antithetical to the outing's actual destination, which was a public park featuring an orderly grid of copiously signposted avenues. While the park actually outdid the measure of orderliness to which he was accustomed at home, he found the 'ill-defined realm' of the transitional zone to be the opposite, a place of unrestrained violence and lust, a playground of the morally and sexually depraved.<sup>52</sup> Leiris' depiction of the prohibited zone along the city ramparts suggests that the scenes of transgression that he locates there spring from the imagination of a Sunday walker. Imagined content plays a still greater role in the aura of the *terrain vague* in a dream diary contained in a late work by Leiris, *Le Ruban au cou d'Olympia*. This short but labyrinthine text is less about what happens in an urban district surrounded by wasteland than about how one gets there in the first place. The only firm information is that this 'eccentric quarter' is situated — like many a blank area in modern Paris — on the near side of the city periphery, and in particular that it can only be reached by Metro or tram. However vague its location on the city map may remain, its incorporation into the transport network and its recurrent appearances in dreams ensure that it is, in principle, localized, whether in the real topography of the capital or in a parallel topography of an imagined world:

[Ce] quartier à proximité duquel me dépose le tramway (ou un deuxième tramway, car à peu près à mi-route il est peut-être nécessaire d'en changer), ce quartier sans attrait situé probablement au-delà — ou en deçà? — d'une zone qui, sur une carte ancienne, apparaîtrait presque

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51 André Breton, 'Nadja' (1928), in Marguerite Bonnet (ed.), *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988–2008 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), vol. 1, p. 695. Place Dauphine, which as early as Nerval (supra, n. 33) originated from a *terrain vague*, here stands as a prototype for the heterotopian interspace, which Peter Handke, in his *Parisian Journal*, erroneously quoted Breton's description as 'un des plus purs terrains vagues qui soient à Paris'; cf. *Das Gewicht der Welt*, Salzburg, Residenz, 1977, p. 134.

52 Michel Leiris, 'Le sacré dans la vie quotidienne' (1938), in Denis Hollier (ed.), *Le Collège de Sociologie (1937–1939)*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995, pp. 94–119, spec. p. 109.

aussi vide qu'une *terra incognita*, est-il un vrai quartier de Paris ou est-il, comme l'espèce d'immense terrain vague qu'est la zone quasi désertique traversée — ou contournée? — par la ligne de tramway, un quartier imaginaire dont je viens de rêver mais que, peut-être, je n'ai pas inventé puisque, peut-être, il s'était déjà manifesté dans d'autres rêves [...]<sup>53</sup>

It certainly speaks in favour of a parallel topography that at the time when Leiris drafted the text there had been no trams in Paris for years past; the orbital services running today were not introduced until later. So it is not the everyday transport network that opens up access to the desert-like *terrain vague*, but an imagined counter-network, one in which obsolete conveyances set the tone. The lead role played here by the tram ultimately points back to the semantic takeover of no man's land in the study of the sacred in everyday life; for it had been one of the tram's highest-profile roles over a long period to convey Parisians to various places of amusement on the city's outskirts.<sup>54</sup> Leiris does not say what it is that drives him into the 'eccentric quarter' in the middle of a white zone or *terra incognita*. However, he does at least indicate that the Metro station at which one changes is near Montmartre — and thus in close proximity to that demi-monde and underworld whose emblem, in Melville's DOULOS as elsewhere, serves as the point of orientation for the viewer transported off into the *terrain vague*.<sup>55</sup>

#### 2.4 Present Day: Ethnographic field

The so-called re-haussmannisation of Paris, which reshaped the cityscape during the postwar era with a radicalism resembling that of Haussmann's reconstruction about a century earlier, also had its effect on the treatment of vacant spaces.<sup>56</sup> As a result of increasing building density in the area enclosed by the Boulevard Périphérique, and of the continuing interlinking of this area with the Paris regional conurbation as a whole, which is becoming a fully-fledged *Zwischenstadt* (area of continuous semi-urban sprawl between cities), the former city fringe zones, once perforated by its many unbuilt gaps and prowled by its many *litterati*, is gradually vanishing, so that to find white zones one must look beyond.<sup>57</sup> In this context, Vasset's 'White Paper' is no exception, but stands alongside

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53 Michel Leiris, *Le ruban au cou d'Olympia*, Paris, Gallimard, 1981, pp. 80–81. 'This quarter in which the tram drops me off (or rather a second tram, for it is necessary to change just about mid-journey), this quarter without appeal, probably on the other side — or on this side? — of a zone which, on an old map, would appear almost as empty as a *terra incognita*, is it really part of Paris or is it a type of vast vacant tract that is a semi-arid area, crossed — or by-passed? — by the tramlines, an imaginary quarter I dream of, but which, perhaps, I haven't invented since it has, perhaps, already revealed itself in other dreams...?'

54 Cf. Wolfram Nitsch, 'Un véhicule littéraire: le tramway', in *Médium*, no. 7, 2006, pp. 79–95.

55 For the relocation of the world of gangster from Montmartre to the edge of the city in LE DOULOS cf. Ginette Vincendeau, *Jean-Pierre Melville. An American in Paris*, London, BFI, 2003, pp. 142–152.

56 Cf. in this regard Bernard Marchand, *Paris, histoire d'une ville. XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1993 (Points Histoire), pp. 288–305.

57 Cf. Jean-François Lyotard, 'Zone', in *Moralités postmodernes*, Paris, Galilée, 1993 (Débats), pp. 25–36; Thomas Sieverts, *Zwischenstadt. Zwischen Ort und Welt, Raum und Zeit, Stadt und Land*, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, Vieweg, 1997.

comparable projects in contemporary French literature, concerned with a systematic, essentially ethnographic, exploration of the Paris region including the *terrains vagues* in their new, more distant locations.<sup>58</sup> One of the best-known of these projects, François Maspéro's travelogue *Roissy-Express*, soon strikes out on the path of utopian description already prepared by Hugo and Sartre. At the very outset of his three-week expedition into the northern and southern environs of the capital, in the company of a photographer and following the line of the RER B municipal railway, the author queries the fitness for purpose of the expression *terrain vague*. The musealisation of central Paris, he contends, has forced much of the city's life outwards to the periphery, which in practice has become the new centre. But as a result it has also become the exact opposite of a *terrain vague* in that term's double meaning as a vacant area and a source of vague melancholia, a 'terrain pour vague à l'âme':

Où était passée la vie? En banlieue. Le 'tout autour' ne pouvait donc pas être un terrain vague, mais un terrain plein: plein de monde et de vie. Le vrai monde et la vraie vie.<sup>59</sup>

Now, since the exodus of ordinary people from Paris, the whirl of real life is to be found out there in the sticks, out in what Parisians had hitherto imagined to be an inhospitable interspace. And on the very first leg of his journey into no man's land Maspéro finds corroboration for this claim. On an indefinable tract of land — half parkland, half public sports ground — two young women pushing prams assure him that here, unlike in the city, people at least have space and fresh air: 'Comment peut-on vivre à Paris?'<sup>60</sup>

On a similar expedition, reported in his book *Zones*, Jean Rolin surveys the vacant zones of the Paris region with a far less humanist eye. During a circular tour of several weeks' duration, following the bus routes along an orbital swathe taking in the Boulevard Périphérique and its environs, he keeps coming across *terrains vagues*, which he describes as unfathomable counter-spaces opposed to the well-ordered heterotopia of the city park. This contrast is brought out particularly sharply when this ethnographer of the capital, coming from a piece of wasteland by the Stade de France construction site, walks into a park of severely regular design in Saint-Denis. This garden fulfils its recreational mission in that it has an observation platform affording a clear view over a 'industrial and motorway no man's land'.<sup>61</sup> In this way, the solitary stroller suddenly ends up once again in a void, one that — unlike the construction-site margin with its clochards — offers nothing tangible whatever to grasp. The impact of the newly created Parc de la Villette in the extreme north-

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58 Cf. Frédéric Martin-Achard, "'Des promenades dans cette épaisseur de choses reconstruites": Introduction au récit périurbain (Bon, Rolin, Vasset)', in *Compar(a)ison*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 5–27.

59 François Maspéro, *Les passagers du Roissy-Express* (1990), Paris, Seuil, 2004, p. 25. 'Where has the life gone? To the suburbs. The "surroundings" could not, therefore, be vacant lands, but lands full, full of the world, full of life. The real world, and real life'.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

61 Jean Rolin, *Zones*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995, p. 139. For the *terrain vague* in Rolin cf. Catherine Poisson, 'Terrain vague: Zones de Jean Rolin', in *Nottingham French studies*, vol. 39, 2000, pp. 17–27.

east of Paris is still more disorientating. Here the opposite poles of wasteland and garden seem, paradoxically, to coincide:

C'est l'un des agréments de ce parc qu'autant de gens puissent y vaquer à des activités différentes — jouer au foot, battre des tams-tams, promener des chiens, fumer des joints, courir ou flirter, peut-être même commettre des crimes dans les coins les plus touffus et les plus retirés — sans se gêner mutuellement. C'est dire qu'il présente presque autant d'avantages, ménages presque autant d'opportunités, qu'un terrain vague, ce qui est bien le plus haut degré de perfection qu'un parc puisse atteindre désormais.<sup>62</sup>

Although it originated as a by-product of the *grands travaux*, the Pharaonic-scale civic works undertaken around 1990, the new park presents itself as a gigantic *terrain vague*, actually emphasising its emptiness rather than filling it with the customary park accoutrements. But this is precisely why, for Rolin, it approaches perfection as a park. It is a place where anyone and everyone can do their own thing in a way that used to be possible only in the white zones in the city, playing football or committing crimes as whim may dictate. In this ironic tribute standing at the end of a long literary tradition, the interspace with its latent eeriness has become the measure of all things.

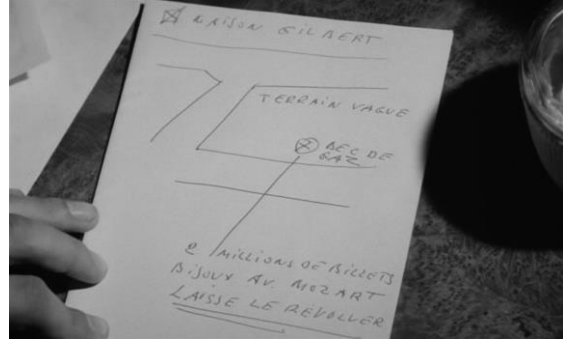
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62 *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58. 'It is one of the pleasures of this park that so many people are able to engage in a variety of activities there — football, playing tom-toms, walking the dog, smoking joints, running or flirting, perhaps even committing crimes in the most bushy and secluded corners — all without getting in each other's way. It goes to show that it presents almost as many advantages, and preserves almost as many opportunities, as a terrain vague, which is the highest degree of perfection that a park can henceforth achieve.'





1. LE DOULOS, F 1963, Jean-Pierre Melville



2. LE DOULOS, F 1963, Jean-Pierre Melville



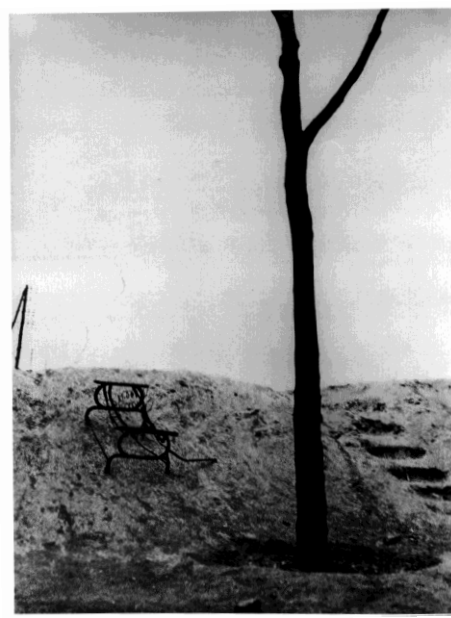
3. MON ONCLE, F 1958, Jacques Tati



4. MON ONCLE, F 1958, Jacques Tati



5. Robert Doisneau:  
*La poterne des peupliers* (1934)



6. Man Ray: *Terrain vague* (1932)