

PART 1

EATON FOR AFRICA — 50 YEARS LATER

Given contemporary debates around post-colonial identities and decolonisation, Eaton's architectural attempts to value place, tradition and identity remain pertinent.

By: Marguerite Pienaar

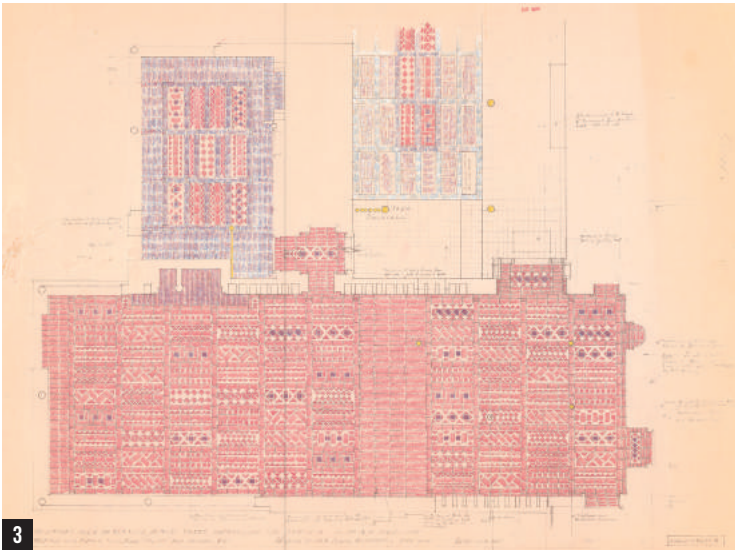
It's just over 50 years since the passing of well-known South African architect Norman Eaton (1902–1966). Emerging trajectories on post-colonial identities, entangled histories, and positions on decolonisation makes the reappraisal of his legacy necessary. This feature posits snapshots of his legacy to open new dialogues on the meaning of his contribution to the South African architectural cultural landscape.

Two works by theorist Hilde Heynen will frame these snapshots, namely 'The intertwining of Modernism and colonialism: A theoretical perspective' (2013) and, anecdotally, *Architecture and modernity: A critique* (1999). In order to explore Eaton's work as hybrid expressions that operate in the space in between

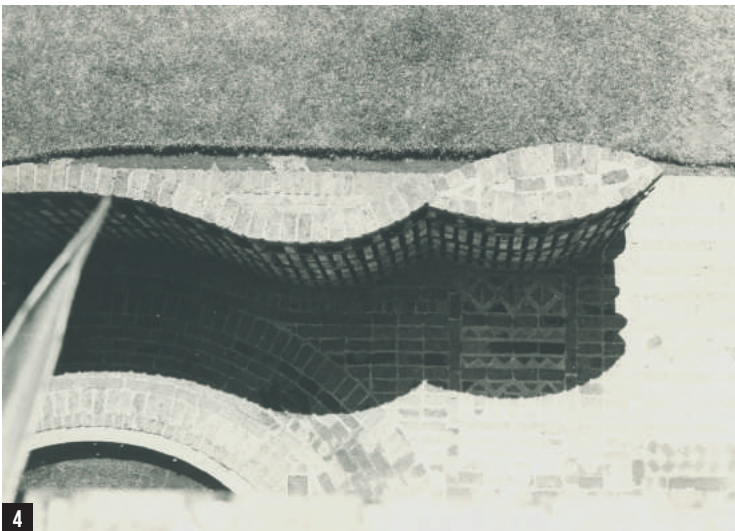
the west and Africa, the various manifestations of hybridity are extracted respectively as surface/symbol, mimetic detailing and undulating wall. His agency is contextualised within the apartheid paradigm and the possibility of a subversive text is explored in his work.

INTRODUCTION

The first snapshot of Eaton's work under consideration is doubly framed: by Edward Said's *Orientalism*¹ and Hilde Heynen's post-colonial interpretation of the work of Adolf Loos, Charles-Édouard Le Corbusier and Bernard Rudofsky. In 'The intertwining of modernism and colonialism: A theoretical perspective',² Heynen introduces an architectural argument that originates from Said's (1935–2003) seminal publication *Orientalism*, which considers the power relationships between cultures. Said maintained that the discourses that justified colonialism were not marginal to European culture but, rather, informed a core ingredient of European thinking about modernity. To demonstrate the denouement of colonialist thinking in architecture, Heynen explores the notion of 'the primitive'³ in modernity and highlights the colonialist bias in the work of Le Corbusier⁴ (1887–1965), Loos⁵ (1870–1933) and Rudofsky (1905–1988). She links Loos and Le Corbusier, and derives a thought-provoking comparison: on the one hand, for Loos⁶, the primitive was the pre-rational that must be overcome; for Le Corbusier, on the other hand, the primitive was the primary, the original, the authentic – that which must be re-established.⁷ The primitive is our so-called 'other'⁸ – Rudofsky involuntarily equates the primitive as the 'other' of the modern,⁹ implying that modern architecture has to regain the qualities it lost, which are mirrored in primitive architecture. Heynen argues that from a postcolonial perspective, one can undeniably criticise this kind of approach because it implies either a sanitised or a romanticised version of primitive architecture.



IN EATON'S WORK, THE IDEA OF AN AFRICAN IDENTITY PLAYS OUT ON THE SURFACES OF THE MODERNIST ENVELOPES — AS ABSTRACTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT(URE)S



SURFACE AS SYMBOL

Eaton used a local material – humble face-brick – to perform a dual function of structure and pattern as early as 1940 in House van der Merwe. It was a conscious attempt to, in his own words, ‘bear in mind the simple effects in indigenous bead and basket work’.¹⁶ Brick surface ‘carpets’ bound inside and outside space in his later work, documented in carefully crafted hand drawings, again recalling African motifs of weaving and making to emulate woven textures, as documented in his sketch books.

Allusions to African motifs are restrained in Eaton’s work as Semperian¹⁷ distillations: mat-like bamboo screens, untreated wooden poles, brick screen walls, rectangular piers topped with simple conical lanterns, and freestanding cylindrical brick drums to articulate entrances. In his later work, interconnected courtyards with linked pavilions recall Ndebele settlements. The combination of vertical and horizontal textures on various scales is carefully considered to give the appearance of having been woven like African grass mats, which he collected on his travels. In later years, Eaton used specially manufactured corrugated, glazed tiles that he called ‘faggots’ as a metaphor to recreate reeded surface patterns in his bank buildings (e.g. Land Bank Potchefstroom, 1940–1941), reminiscent of African reed weaving. His artist friend Alexis Preller (1911–1975) suggested that the derivation of ‘faggoting’ came from Eaton’s appreciation of the bas-relief wall in the Tomb of Ti at Saqqara, which he had visited on his travels to Egypt.¹⁸

Textured planar fields were always carefully considered to complement hierarchical differences in space and add a sense of meaning to surfaces within a modernist envelope. In Eaton’s work, the traditional woven carpet as spatial divider was reduced to the ‘dressing’ of a wall. The spatial essence of the wall is enacted by the dressing, not by the load-bearing wall behind it. This differs from traditional surface treatments where a distinction between naturalistic painting and structural, material and surface patterns result from the arrangement of bricks or stones, or by leaving gaps in walls. Material patterns result from using stones of different geological character in horizontal bands or geometrical configurations to create surface patterns that comprise of chevrons, triangles, rectangles, diamonds and a variety of curved shapes. Such original African wall patterns attributed cultural significance or symbolical values of, for example, chieftaincy, protection or fertility.

In Eaton’s work, the idea of an African identity plays out on the surfaces of the modernist envelopes – as abstractions of the original text(ure)s. The theorist Dalibor Vesely argues that architecture should relate abstract ideas to concrete situations through its representational dimension in order for it to play a meaningful role in society.¹⁹ In his hypothesis, architecture can be thought of as a mediating force, where the idea of mimicry or mimesis plays a central role. In a way, Eaton’s treatment of surfaces is then a form of mimicry, a visual correspondence between things – a representation of symbols to present new meanings or imbue alternative forms of identity.

MIMETIC DETAILING

In Eaton’s work, details take on several forms, differentiated by small objects within the large schemes – as door handles, furniture, light fittings and often water spouts that complement the modernist structure of space. The interior detailing of the Netherlands Bank

(1953), Pretoria, exemplifies the latter, where intricate detailing is forefronted against the uniformity of ‘faggot’ surfaces. Selective object detailing has a strong African reference, which can sometimes be traced directly to a sketch from his diaries, especially from the 1950s onwards. Perhaps because of their small scale and exquisite craftsmanship, these objects lose their sense of being curios and, fortunately, do not fall victim to becoming Disneyfied architectural souvenirs. Eaton was not interested in rhetorical exuberance: objects were rendered in a restrained way, as carefully considered articulations of architectural elements in an overall considered composition. All textures and ornament conformed to the outline of a precise geometry, which was perhaps an extension of the idea of interweaving ‘wholeness’ he referred to as the essence of life itself.²⁰

THE UNDULATING WALL

With few exceptions, Eaton seldom applied African organic form-giving in the overall architectural massing of his work, rather translating organic form to planar fields. When he did apply African form, however, allusion to the African homestead would be offset with rigid standardised structures. Similar to his contemporary Alvar Aalto (1898–1976), Eaton recognised that by making and juxtaposing forms that are more individual, the rigours of didactic form give way to warmth, richness, and emotion.²¹ While his use of sinuous line was an initial African translation of Brazilian influences, he later transformed the sinuous line to a disciplined geometry of repetitive circles and semicircles that were used to define outside perimeters, while regular geometries were used to define building envelopes – as exemplified in all his final house designs. The pedestrian walkway and undulating wall of the Little Theatre (c.1940–1950) forge a connected surface of patterned masonry that sets up an imaginative dialogue of ever-changing patterns and shadows (see Figure 4).

WHITED SEPULCHRE?

Let us consider the context within which Eaton was operating in order to consider the way(s) Eaton’s agency was linked to the political paradigm of apartheid, as a colonial construct.

Following the advent of apartheid²² in 1948, South African architecture drew inspiration from Brazilian Modernism²³, with buildings commissioned by the Public Works Department giving the cue to the new functional idiom. Modern architecture became the tool to inscribe apartheid onto the South African landscape.²⁴ Eaton received one of the most prestigious commissions of his career in 1944, just prior to the formalisation of apartheid, for the then Ministry of Transport. This is significant because the project was one of the most ambitious of its time and was constantly in the press because of its anticipated scale and cost.²⁵

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One would expect the commission to have been awarded to an architect central to the architectural fraternity.

Yet, within this context, Eaton was a marginal figure in more ways than one – despite his reputation as an excellent master of his craft. His reclusiveness is well documented; he was also leftist in his political convictions.²⁶ In fact, in 1938 Eaton designed the now well-known house for Advocate Bram Fischer, struggle icon and leader of the South African Communist Party. Fischer was on the periphery of Eaton’s extended circle of friends – both having Afrikaner roots. The house designed by Eaton later became a symbol for the struggle against apartheid.²⁷ Eaton was also homosexual, which was against the law at the time. Tony Morphet has variously linked the expressiveness of his work to his marginality.²⁸

Why, then, did he receive such a large commission? There might be some connection between the fact that the then Minister of Railways and Harbours, F. C. Sturrock, had a son, Frederick, who had studied architecture at the Architectural Association School of Architecture and might have introduced him to the architectural fraternity.²⁹

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One also has to consider that the timeframe within which Eaton operated was one of incredible growth. Large new suburbs and towns were constructed from the 1940s onwards.³⁰ A comparison with one of Eaton’s contemporaries – Hellmut Stauch (1910–1970), for example – contextualises his output: there are 762 commissions in Stauch’s archives for the period 1943–1958, of which 659 were new houses.³¹ By comparison, only 105 residential buildings, including alterations and additions to existing structures, are documented in the Eaton Repository, dating from 1932 to 1964, with approximately 50 offices, institutional or other commissions³² – totalling about 155 commissions in total. In diary entries towards the end of his life, there are repeated entries reading ‘no work in sight’.³³ >

³ Eaton’s construction drawing of the brick carpet binding interior and exterior spaces of the Courtyard House, Pretoria, 1961 (from the Eaton Collection, UP Repository). ⁴ The undulating, woven wall of the Little Theatre (c. 1950), Pretoria (from the Eaton Collection, UP Repository).

HE SPECIFICALLY CONDEMNED NEW COMPANY TOWNS, SUCH AS VANDERBIJLPARK (ISCOR), AND TOWNS RESULTING FROM FORCED REMOVAL AND RESETTLEMENT, SUCH AS ATTERIDGEVILLE IN PRETORIA

Next, let us move from economics to body politics in order to consider Eaton's attitude to constructs of apartheid as a continuation of the intertwining of the ideas surrounding Modernism and colonialism.

Unlike the lack of contextualisation in the work of Rudofsky, Eaton was well aware of social inequalities and living conditions, evidenced from diary entries, collected newspaper clippings (UP Repository) and his criticism of the 'European' way of life in Southern Africa, which he described 'as manifested in ... complex, disharmonious, ostentatious and chaotically ugly ensembles'.³⁴ He specifically condemned new company towns, such as Vanderbijlpark (IsCOR), and towns resulting from forced removal and resettlement, such as Atteridgeville in Pretoria. In criticism levelled at apartheid planning, a diary entry from 1951 reads:

'Talk, talk, talk – theory upon theory – paper plain upon paper plain – reason, cold, commercial reason – based upon the lowest common denominator of collective ideas averaged out of the endless and frustrated work of tired committees, counsels,

commissions, suppressive local authorities, and what have we got? – Vanderbijlpark, Atteridgeville! What has this to do with native art and architecture? Just this... These two hideous, soulless, lonely eruptions – these cancerous growths upon the violated face of Africa are examples (but two of thousands) of the depth to which our collective conceit has brought us' (Eaton, 1951).

This sentiment was repeated in an unpublished 1953 manuscript that described apartheid housing as 'conceited clumsiness'. Even

though Eaton was critical of the postwar urban planning of the apartheid government, he was no political activist. However, during the repressive years of the 1950s, local architects remained 'as quiet as mice'³⁵, which renders Eaton's criticism(s) as noteworthy.

Markedly, Eaton was anxious that local architecture should reference the specifics of place. In a 1943 diary entry, written whilst visiting Kampala, Uganda, for instance, he described how he tried to 'persuade' the local official to 'do all he could' to see that their new Houses of Parliament building was 'native in conception and not European'.³⁶

When the clients of the Greenwood House (1948–1953) therefore commissioned Eaton to design living quarters for their servants (unusual in itself) – seemingly after he had completed the design of their Wright-inspired house – he saw this as an opportunity to provide an answer or alternative to his criticism of soulless apartheid housing.

The commission of the Greenwood House coincided with the formalisation of apartheid in 1948. It was the first assignment since his return from an architectural tour of the Americas during 1945 that gave him first-hand exposure of the Brazilian variant of modern architecture. A rectilinear design, dated August 1948, with strong horizontal emphasis and Wrightian traits, Eaton wanted wide projecting eaves, as described in his diary entry: 'far-flung and shaded in appearance to suit the site ... something that fitted quietly into the site rather than contrast it'.³⁷ External walls are of coursed random rubble stone, quarried on the site. Terraced banks embrace this planted lawn clearing while separating 'cultivated nature' from natural veld on the slightly higher levels beyond. Richly decorated brick paving with *rondel*³⁸ patterns and insets on the constructed terraces contrast the discipline of the standardised grid of the house, repeated in the kidney-shaped mountain pool and the sinuous lines that bind the dwelling to the landscape – possibly a 'sublimation of the Brazilian impact found to be compatible with African qualities'.³⁹ Allusion to African plasticity of form is offset with rigid standardised structures.

The design of the servants' quarters – conceived two years after the design of the house, with the drawings dated April 1950 – takes on a very different idiom than that of the main house. Instead of a horizontal architecture of disappearance, Eaton articulated an association with the 'village' through the use of verticality – a highly visible expression as one enters the site. The idea of the house as village is translated somewhat literally in the Greenwood Village, where the simple *rondavel*, arguably, has its genesis in Moerdyk's *rondawelhuis* – a device that he had employed in much of his earlier work. In terms of the domestic planning of the time, it is noteworthy that the usual relationship of servants' quarters to the house would be of a separate grouping of buildings to the main house.⁴⁰ However, in the lineage of Eaton's domestic architectural endeavours, he always planned the servants' quarters with great care as part of the same spatial *parti* diagram of the main house⁴¹ – he usually employed a series of courtyards with linked pavilions that recall Ndebele settlement. The Greenwood Village was perhaps an exception, due to being designed after the main house. This is an important point – if one considers 'Eaton-the-designer' and the obsession of a completed *parti* diagram and *gestalt* of his designs. >

IN THE LINEAGE OF EATON'S DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURAL ENDEAVOURS, HE ALWAYS PLANNED THE SERVANTS' QUARTERS WITH GREAT CARE AS PART OF THE SAME SPATIAL PARTI DIAGRAM OF THE MAIN HOUSE



HEYNEN ARGUES THAT THERE IS ALWAYS A MOMENT OF ARTISTIC AUTONOMY THAT PROVIDES THE ARCHITECT THE OPPORTUNITY TO FULFILL THE BRIEF OF THE CLIENT BUT ALSO TO SIGNAL SOMETHING THAT COULD UNDERCUT OR EVEN NEGATE THE LEGITIMATE RHETORIC

In later years, he also added an extension to the Greenwood House in the form of a guest cottage to contrast the horizontality of the main house – in similar fashion to the Greenwood Village.

Unlike the genealogy of all his other work, he positioned the servants' quarters some distance to the east of the main house, so that it would be highly visible upon driving up the steep entry road to the house. It was conceived as an irregular village reminiscent of a traditional 'kraal' enclosure. More rounded, conical rubble stonework, as opposed to the coursed, horizontal and rectilinear shaped rubble stonework for the main house, was used for the huts and enclosing walls of the village that step along with the site.

Now, David Bunn politicises the Greenwood ensemble. He notes how the monumetal reference to village life reaches a 'bizarre conclusion' in the Greenwood Village, where 'exploitative labour relations are concealed by an architectural fantasy about vanishing tribal identity and the past'.⁴² For Bunn, the unequal exchanges between 'master' and 'servant' are theatricalised as a relationship between modernity and African tradition.

However, against the backdrop of an Afrikaner Nationalist identity diluted to a functional architecture, the opposition of Greenwood Village was an attempt towards expressing visibility and identity within a political system that denied it.

When Eaton built his own house *Cul de sac* (c.1960–1964) some years later, he employed exactly the same verticality, formal conical gestures, organic stonework, undulating

walls and traditional forms as formal and material articulation (see Figure 5). Here, the so-called 'other', or primitive as articulated by Said and Heynen, becomes the main linguistic tool, the formal gestalt. This begs the question: What statement is Eaton making in terms of his position in relation to the so-called 'other'?

REPRESENTATIONAL TACTICS

In *Architecture and modernity* (1999), Heynen takes a political position in terms of architecture and its representational aspect. Her argument is that if architecture can engage mimesis, it may find moments of subversive intensity. In this way, built space may reveal subjugated aspects of building, creating fissures that encourage us to question what we are in danger of forgetting. Heynen argues that there is always a moment of artistic autonomy that provides the architect the opportunity to fulfill the brief of the client but also to signal something that could undercut or even negate the legitimate rhetoric.⁴³

To test Heynen's argument in Eaton's work, one could consider his design for the *Wachthuis*, a new office building for the South African Police Provident Fund commissioned in 1957. He designed the building as an adaptable, permeable container. Initial public reaction >

5 The image to the left is of Eaton's own home, *Cul de Sac* (c. 1960), Pretoria and 6 to the right, the Greenwood Village (1950–1953), Pretoria (images from the Eaton Collection, UP Repository).



AS A MARGINAL FIGURE WORKING IN A MODERN CONTEXT, EATON'S ADOPTION OF AN AFRICAN IDENTITY WAS NOTEWORTHY

to this was one of 'surprise and disappointment'⁴⁴, for a building to house the police surely had to resemble a solid, massive fortress – “*n mens assosieer nie so maklik 'n polisie uniform met 'n glaskas nie*” (one does not associate a police uniform with a glass cupboard).⁴⁵

Typical of Pretoria inner-city blocks, on ground level the *Wachthuis* was designed with an arcade that connects adjacent streets. Called Polley's Arcade (1957),

Eaton designed the pedestrian linkage as a carpet of mosaic that lines the entire interior. Eaton translated the symbolic Brazilian mural⁴⁶ into a metaphor of woven African pattern to give new meaning to surfaces. Set at the heart of the Police Provident Fund Building is an African tribal shield that evidently inspired the central

oval pattern shape, with parallel 'ever-changing patterns' of bands recalling *Litema*⁴⁷ arrangements. Was this a moment of artistic autonomy? Could this have been a form of subversive metaphor that undercuts the official

narrative? Was Eaton raising uncomfortable questions with this representation? Probably not – Eaton's agency was limited to a determination to locate architecture in South Africa as part of a broader African continent, to infuse a modernist sensibility with what he called 'an African feel' – an architecture that draws from an African response to site and use of local materials, through woven surface treatment, handling of objects and, to a lesser extent, form-giving. The same is evident at Greenwood Village.

CONCLUSION

Eaton was evidently against apartheid, but simultaneously positioned himself within the parameters of the very system he opposed – yet could not change. This he did in a practical manner, as someone whose primary concern was his work. With the Greenwood Village, which was one of a handful of inconsistencies in his design lineage, he evidently attempted to provide an alternative to his criticism of apartheid housing – perhaps as a form of subversion, but mostly to express a positive assertion of identity within a system that denied it. Through hybrid manifestations, especially in his translation of textures, he arrived at an architecture that attempts to value place, tradition, and identity on equitable terms, and in a manner that remains pertinent for today. >

7 The *Wachthuis* shortly after completion (1960) and to the right, 8 The African tribal shield motif in Polley's Arcade, *Wachthuis* (1957–1959). Photograph by Morné Pienaar, 2008.

As a marginal figure working in a modern context, Eaton's adoption of an African identity was noteworthy – in the architectural realm, it was a unique and original endeavour. And arguably, it was left to the next generation to locate architecture within a particular place-identity – as Chipkin notes, architects like André Hendrikz, Donald Turgel, Mannie Feldman, Wibo Zwart, Jack Clinton, Michael Sutton, Mira Fassler Kamstra and Marcus Holmes would achieve this.⁴⁸ A subsequent wave probably includes the work of Peter Rich and 'Ora Joubert, whose work responds to regional but also African sensibilities of place-making. Eaton's work offers a springboard through which to explore such hybrid trajectories. ■

¹Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. United States: Vintage Books.

²Heynen, H. 2013. The intertwining of Modernism and colonialism: A theoretical perspective. *do.co.mo.mo* Journal 48-2013/1: 10-19.

³According to Said, there is a distinction between the 'rationality' of the West versus 'other' rationalities that paved the way for a European identity that was considered superior to non-European cultures and served as a pretext for domination. Western scholars portrayed the Orient as inferior, regressive, primitive, and irrational, emphasising the superiority, progress, and rationality of the West. Heynen postulates that the idea of the primitive as the authentic that has to be reinstalled makes up an attitude of primitivism in architecture (Heynen, 2013).

⁴Le Corbusier or Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris (1887–1965).

⁵Adolf Franz Karl Viktor Maria Loos (1870–1933).

⁶Heynen refers to Loos' famous essay 'Ornament and crime' (1908), where Loos constructed a comparison between Papuan and European culture as a justification for the superiority of his ornament-less Modern architecture (Heynen, 2013:13).

⁷Heynen refers to the 1998 book Le Corbusier the noble savage: *Towards an archeology of modernism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, by Adolf Max Vogt, who claimed that Le Corbusier's work mediated between rationality and geometric order, and primary facts in archeology and architecture (Heynen, 2013: 13).

⁸See endnote 3.

⁹Rudofsky, B. 1964. *Architecture without architects: A short introduction to non-pedigreed architecture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

¹⁰The Northern Ndebele people are a Bantu nation and ethnic group in southern Africa.

¹¹See endnote 9. The imagery that Rudofsky displayed in his book is not well identified, nor is adequate information provided (Heynen, 2013: 15-16).

¹²Hosagrahar, J. 2005. *Indigenous modernities. Negotiating architecture and urbanism*. London: Routledge.

¹³Heynen, 2013: 19.

¹⁴Murray, N. Josephy, S. Dowling, T. Garuba, H. and Smuts, C. 2008. *Notes towards an alternative glossary of (South) African architecture. African Cities Reader*. Available at http://www.africancitiesreader.org.za/reader/chapters/25_NM.pdf.

¹⁵Pienaar, M. 2013. *The Norman Eaton legacy: A critical appraisal of the documentation of his domestic oeuvre*. Unpublished M. Arch dissertation, University of Pretoria. Available at <http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/41017?show=full>.

¹⁶Eaton, 1946: 110.

¹⁷The translation of a pliable material into permanence and the re-interpretation of brick course as a 'woven' entity are elaborated by German architect Gottfried Semper in *The four elements of architecture* (1851). Semper explains that the enclosing membrane (wall) has its origin in weaving. The art of the wall builder had originally been that of weaving of mats and carpets, later the light mat walls were transformed into clay tile, brick, or stone walls. Semper continued to make a distinction between two categories of enclosing membrane: the one being the German Wand (a screen-like partition); the other – the Mauer – represents mass. Frampton (1995) points out that both Wand and Mauer translate in English as 'wall'. However, when masonry is bonded into coursework, it becomes a form of weaving.

¹⁸Preller, 1966: 10.

¹⁹Vesely, 2004: 387.

²⁰Eaton, 1960: 17.

²¹This is one of the findings of my Master's dissertation on Eaton (see Pienaar, 2013).

²²The term apartheid is Afrikaans, and means 'separateness'. It applies particularly to the policy of racial separation in force in South Africa during the latter half of the twentieth century (Peters, 2007: 537).

²³Also see endnote 32 (Peters, 2007: 538).

²⁴Peters, W. 2007. *Apartheid politics and architecture in South Africa. Social identities: Journal for the study of race, nation and culture*, 10:4: 537-547. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1350463042000258953>.

²⁵Harrop-Allin, 1975: 47.

²⁶Eaton was a member of the so-called Left Book Club – a key left-wing organisation of the late 1930s and 1940s (Clingman, 1998: 158).

²⁷Pienaar, 2014: 40.

²⁸Morphet, 1998: 148-161.

²⁹Personal communication with Professor Roger Fisher.

³⁰Peters, in Fisher et al, 1998: 175.

³¹Peters, Fisher et al, 1998: 187.

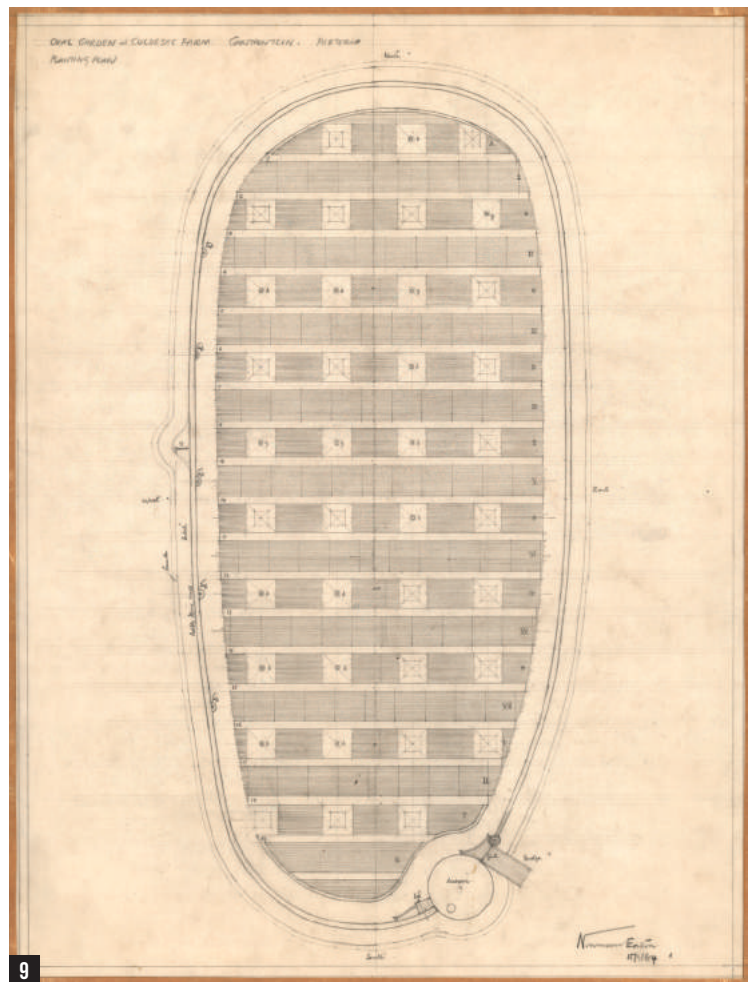
³²Pienaar, 2013: 7.

³³Harrop-Allin, 1975: 114.

³⁴Direct quote by Eaton, cited in Harrop-Allin, 1975: 68.

³⁵Schlapobersky, 1994: 17.

³⁶Extracts from his 1943 diary, Eaton Collection, UP Repository.



³⁷Harrop-Allin, 1975: 73.

³⁸Rondel, from Old French, is the diminutive of roont, 'round', meaning 'small circle'.

³⁹Chipkin, 1993: 293.

⁴⁰Peters in Fisher et al, 1998: 176.

⁴¹See the entire lineage of his domestic work as unpacked by Pienaar (2013).

⁴²Bunn in Judin, Vladislavici, 1998: 115.

⁴³Heynen, 1999: 200.

⁴⁴Harrop-Allin, 1975: 100.

⁴⁵Die Vaderland, 7/1/60 from Harrop-Allin, 1975: 114.

⁴⁶In the immediate postwar period, many South African architects were turning to an unexpected source of inspiration: Brazilian modernity, which swung away from the rigid International Style. Eaton travelled to South America in 1945, which had given him first-hand experience of the Brazilian variant of modern architecture. Eaton had been impressed with the work of Oscar Niemeyer, whom he had met along with several other prominent figures (28/8/45 diary entry, Eaton Collection, UP Repository). 47) Litema designs are symbolic surface patterns that originate from traditional Basotho homes.

⁴⁸The second 'Johannesburg vernacular' is described by Chipkin as referring to the domestic vernacular architecture that developed in Johannesburg suburbs during the 1950s to 1970s, with a seminal post-Bauhaus component and mainly influenced through the dissemination from the work of Norman Eaton (Chipkin, 1993: 294-304).

REFERENCES

Refer to <http://www.businessmediamags.co.za/arch-sa/> for a full list of references.

9 Plan of Eaton's own homestead, *Cul de Sac* (1964) (Eaton Collection, UP Repository).