



CHANGING THE SKYLINE: HILLBROW, BEREA AND THE BUILDING OF PONTE

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Ponte was the biggest, grandest, most swaggeringly ambitious residential block in Africa. When it was planned in the late 1960s, at the height of apartheid-era confidence, the outlook for white Johannesburg could not have seemed rosier. Hillbrow and Berea, adjoining suburbs that form a single vibrant neighbourhood north of the city centre, were booming. In Hillbrow, towering apartment blocks were rising everywhere and South Africa's first 24-hour shops were opening. At the centre of it all, the Hillbrow Tower, 269 metres high and capped by a stylish revolving restaurant, was set to redefine the city's skyline. The slightly quieter residential streets of Berea were changing too as one huge block after another went up, with Ponte destined to be the hugest of them all.

Demand for flats was so intense that units were often rented out, and occupied, while buildings were still under construction.¹ 'Flats were so scarce you couldn't build fast enough. Tenants didn't mind the noise and the dust, they were just too thankful to get accommodation.'²

But in the six long and difficult years that it took to construct Ponte, everything changed. Simmering township unrest turned into outright revolt in the Soweto student uprising of 1976, the property market collapsed, and white confidence gave way to anxiety. In time, the dramatic building on the Berea Ridge, which had once shouted unbridled development and irrepressible optimism, came to signal hyperbole, if not hubris.

Hillbrow was established in the 1890s as a predominantly residential neighbourhood consisting of detached houses for middle-class workers.³ At the time, Hillbrow was portrayed as 'the healthiest and most fashionable portion of Johannesburg, within two minutes of the Hospital Hill tram.²⁴ From the very beginning, the area's proximity to transport and to jobs in the inner city accounted for its attractiveness. But there was always also a sense of impermanence: Hillbrow was seen as a place to make the transition from the city to the countryside, 'a transit camp to suburbia.²⁵

By the late 1920s, Hillbrow's position between the city centre and the northern suburbs made it particularly attractive to property speculators. Soon low-rise detached houses were being pulled down to be replaced by three- and four-storey flat blocks intended for rental.

During the 1950s, in the period of industrial expansion after the Second World War, the physical fabric of Hillbrow was radically altered by the construction of high-density, high-rise apartments. A number of things encouraged this unprecedented boom: a large population of predominantly single, skilled white workers from various European countries in need of rental accommodation; the removal of height restrictions under the newly revised town-planning scheme of 1947; and the highly charged market for rental flats near to 'town.' Hillbrow became a speculator's market, where construction companies flourished, prompted by developers who realised that it was now a prime site for shops, offices and high-rise flats.

At the same time, modernist ideas about housing were spreading under the influence of international architects like Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius. Some tenets of this utopian faith were readily absorbed in South Africa, where the apartheid government was embarking upon the deluded social engineering project of creating racially defined townships and homelands. Local acolytes of the European modernist architects were soon caught up in solving the problems of providing low-cost housing on a mass scale.

While one range of modernist ideas was being tested in the sprawling matchbox zones of the townships, another was being tested in the closely packed city blocks of Hillbrow and Berea. More and more detached houses were demolished to make way for what were now eight- to ten-storey flat blocks.

This modernist architecture resonated powerfully with social and economic conditions of the time to produce a fully functional, though racially exclusive, urban ensemble. The manufacturing boom provided full employment for the skilled white workers who inhabited the area, allowing them to pay market-related rentals for their well-serviced flats. These white artisans, many of them immigrants from Europe, were accustomed to high-density urban living. They also contributed a cosmopolitan flair to the area, supporting a café-society culture.

By the early 1970s, Hillbrow had become an entertainment magnet for ordinarily conservative white suburbanites. The area offered clubs, jazz bars, late-night book stores, record shops and cafés whose very names evoked a sophisticated European urban ambience – 'Café Pigalle, Café Zürich, Café Wien, Café de Paris, Café Florian.' Hillbrow was Johannesburg's equivalent of London's Soho or New York's Greenwich Village. 'The first time I saw it,' recalls Paddi Clay, '– blazing in neon, peopled edge-to-edge, pulsating with noise – I was amazed. I hadn't realised South Africa possessed such an example of twentieth century life.'

For the most part, the Hillbrow/Berea area was the product of Jewish capital and entrepreneurial nous, or *kop* in Jewish parlance. Although a few big players did put up some large flat blocks – Tygerberg by Norman Banks, Highpoint by the Schlesinger Organisation – most of them were built by small-scale Jewish venture capitalists. Unable to assemble the capital necessary for large-scale developments on their own, they formed themselves into syndicates. Often the contractors were Jewish too, with the Miodownik Group involved in many of the bigger projects – Preston Place, Aintree, the Park Lane Hotel, and Ponte. 'Half the flats in Hillbrow were built by Miodownik,' says Pieter Smith, the man who managed Ponte's construction from inception to completion.

Hillbrow epitomises the speed and exuberance of development in Johannesburg. This, according to architectural historian Clive Chipkin, was 'a product of canniness... There were canny builders from Scotland, canny builders from the north of England and they set up the big English contracting companies – Lobban which became Trescon, LTA, Murray and Roberts – but they were canny and cautious. The Jewish contractors were canny too, but they would take on *anything*. At any moment, Miodownik was working on five big buildings at a time. You couldn't help but admire them. They were the archetype of the kind of company that built Johannesburg.' 12

The Miodownik Group had three directors, each playing a distinctive role. 'Max Miodownik would get the job. Ivan Block was the backroom boy, the only one who knew anything about business. Cyril Reid was the hatchet man. He was impossible, always hysterical, whittling away at the architect's original ideas to bring down the costs. Max, ordinarily a big tough bloke, was Mr Nice Guy. He would say, "Calm down!" After one of these meetings, the architects were happy to settle for half of what they had dreamed of: 13

While he may have been in the backroom, Ivan Block liked to keep an eye on things too. His son Michael, then a schoolboy, vividly remembers going on site with his dad every weekend to check on progress.¹⁴

In order to build Ponte, ¹⁵ a huge consortium was established. Dubbed Nasbou, the company, which was incorporated in 1969, comprised mostly Jewish capital, including that of Miodownik, ¹⁶ along with significant inputs from the Afrikaner bank Santam. ¹⁷ 'Up until the 70s,' says Chipkin, 'the Jewish contractors were happy to throw in their lot with the English banks. But they soon came to realise that these aristocratic links were finished. It made more sense to back the Afrikaners.' ¹⁸

The success of the Jewish builders, in turn, rested on tough, hardworking, hard-driving Afrikaans-speaking foremen. Max Silverman, another architect who worked with Miodownik, recalls: 'These guys set themselves crazy deadlines – they would commit to casting a new floor-slab every fortnight. There was barely enough time for the concrete to set.' When Ponte was being built, more than a thousand people were employed on the site. ²⁰ It took so long for the builders to reach the upper floors in the tiny workmen's hoist that half an hour was added to the working day and Miodownik was forced to pay overtime. ²¹

Although the imperatives of the development were undoubtedly financial, and possibly aesthetic, there may also have been a political agenda on the part of the Afrikaner backers. Ponte, festooned with banners advertising the newly incorporated Nasbou – a contraction of the Afrikanes for 'nation building' – can be seen as staking a claim. This was the period when Afrikaner organisations formed to break the English control over business were coming to prominence. Insurance giants Sanlam and Santam, tobacco corporation Rembrandt, industrial vehicle Federale Volksbeleggings, financial institutions Volkskas and Trust Bank, and the iron giant Iscor were beginning to assert their strength in an economy that had previously been dominated by large-scale capitalists like the Oppenheimers. Now 'Hoggenheimer' – the caricature of the mining capitalist – 'was no longer the oppressor of the Afrikaner volk, but a trusted and valued partner in the joint quest for profit.' ²²

Ponte was defined by its geometrical form, a bold cylinder rising

up out of the koppie; by its visibility from every part of the city; and most significantly by its bigness. The building was big in terms of the site it occupied; the complexity of uses it accommodated, combining seven floors of parking, 464 flats and 54 shops; and its height. Initially planned to be 64 storeys high, but later reduced to 54 at the insistence of the municipality, the 173 m structure was 'the tallest residential building in the world outside of America' according to the Guinness Book of Records, or stated another way, 'the tallest residential building in Africa.'

This bigness brought with it a number of complex challenges. Firstly the land parcel had to be assembled. This required consolidating six separate stands²⁶ straddling two townships, Berea and Doornfontein; the realignment of the surrounding roads; and the introduction of new traffic lights.

Bigness also required an elaborate professional team. The chosen architects were Manfred Hermer and Grosskopff, whose offices were then located in the Volkskas building in town. In Chipkin's view, the firm's flamboyant architect Mannie Feldman made a major design contribution. 'His sense of drama, geometry and monumental scale had been acquired in Erno Goldfinger's atelier, in London, where he had worked after qualifying at Wits. Like Goldfinger, Feldman saw buildings as giant sculptural forms modelled to promote vigorous expressionism.'²⁷ According to Chipkin, the inspiration for Ponte was Trellick Tower, a massive London housing project completed in 1968 – 'Brutalist concrete, monumental scale.'²⁸ Like Ponte, Trellick Tower soon became associated with crime and social prob lems, but is now regarded as an iconic landmark. The circular core of Ponte, says Chipkin, was 'with the exception of the cooling towers… the greatest volumetric space in Johannesburg.'²⁹

Bigness demanded state-of-the-art technological solutions. The building relied on sophisticated scientific investigations, including rigorous wind tests in the newly unveiled wind tunnel at the National Building Research Institute in Pretoria. The concrete was also tested regularly to make sure that it would reach the required strengths when set. But setting also proved to be a challenge: the building was so tall that the concrete started to harden while being hoisted from the ground to the upper floors and chemical retardants had to be added to the mix to prevent it from solidifying too soon.





CHANGING THE SKYLINE

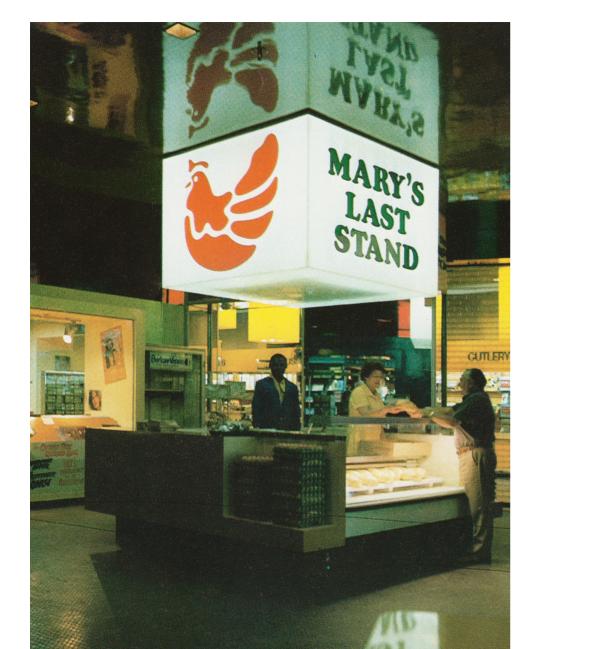
But in other respects the building was also the product of a back-yard, can-do inventiveness summed up by the Afrikaans expression '*'n Boer maak 'n plan'* – a farmer makes a plan. Pieter Smith, known as Smithy by his colleagues, thinking back 42 years, recalls that 'nobody really knew what was needed to build at this scale. When we started on the job, I was given a couple of thousand rand to go out and buy equipment... So I started with two small concrete mixers, but then I had to scratch my head to think what more do I need? No one could believe that these two tiny mixers were responsible for all the concrete that went into that building. We had an American visitor on site once and he said, "Do you mean to tell me you built this with those two little coffee mills?"... And when Ponte was finished, we took the two mixers into the workshop and overhauled the machines to get them ready for the next job.' Smithy also remembers using railway lines as reinforcing around the perimeter of the building, because 'there wasn't reinforcing steel that was thick enough.'

Not everything went smoothly. In 1972 there was a crisis on the site: when the building got up around the 19th floor the workmen installing the guide rails for the lifts discovered that there was a twist in the lift shaft. Under the guidance of structural engineer Robert Ehrlich, the foundations of the shaft were stabilised with anchor cables and the shaft itself aligned using a horizontal strut. A second stiffener beam was installed around the 34th floor.³¹ Marc Feldman, holidaying in the Cape with his family, remembers his dad Mannie receiving phone calls from the site during the crisis. Marc says the struts always irritated his father: in the initial design the 'backbone' of the building was an unbroken vertical column and the struts spoilt the pure simplicity of the form.³²

According to a feature article published as Ponte neared completion, ³³ the concept for the building was 'a village,' designed to accommodate a mix of households and uses, including a swimming pool, children's playground, tennis courts, as well as an indoor shopping centre – the Nucleus – to meet residents' daily needs. The architects compared the population of Ponte, estimated at between 1500 and 2000 people, to that of towns like Sabie, White River, Bredasdorp and Beaufort West.³⁴

The 1974 tenant mix layout for the shopping area showed a bottle store, estate agency, ladies and gents hairdressing salon, art gallery,

CHANGING THE SKYLINE



florist, hardware shop, book store, and a large food market with alcoves for vending machines. The area between the shops accommodated free-standing kiosks selling African Curios, Home Movies, Puzzles and Novelties, Adult Games, Unisex Fashion, Jewellery, Hosiery and Scarves, and a host of other items. In anticipation of the long-awaited introduction of television in 1976, there was even a Record, Hi-fi, Radio, Camera and TV shop. There was also a restaurant, later fitted out as a pizzeria – something of a novelty then, and in keeping with the Italian name of the building – which spilled out onto a large outdoor terrace.

Although the various flats, ranging from minimalist studios to four-bedroom penthouses,³⁶ were arranged hierarchically, with the smaller units below the 40th floor and the more luxurious ones above, the building facade is startlingly uniform, showing alternating bands of glass and fluted off-shutter concrete. This was obviously an attempt to emphasise the building's height as well as the volumetric integrity of the cylindrical form. It is not possible to read from the outside that there is a variety of accommodation inside. Any architectural differentiation would have detracted from the compositional whole, from the building's massive quality and monumental form. Looking at the building from afar, it would have been very hard for a tenant to identify the floor on which they lived, let alone their particular unit.

It is clear from the plans (floors 41 to 46) that it was the 'luxury bachelor pad' that excited – possibly titillated – the architects. These units received the most attention on the plans. The spaces in each pad orbited around a raised platform holding a double bed that offered tantalising views over the open-plan bathroom and living room. No fewer than three stairways provided access to this inner sanctum. Carpeting swept up these stairs and then continued up the base of the bed. Soft-core pornography rendered in concrete. The ideal tenant of the luxury bachelor pad, undoubtedly male, would have bought his clothes from the kiosk downstairs selling Men's Leisure Shirts and his pictures from the stall selling Unisex Posters in an effort to personalise his flat, which came fully furnished in the cloying, often fruity colours of the time – chocolate brown, orange, avocado.

If sex and gender were the underlying subtext on floors 41 to 46, race and class were the dramatic narrative on the roof of the building. Here 'Bar-B-Q' roof terraces and sundecks attached to the

ultra-luxury four-bedroom triplex flats 'Pallazzo-en-Paradiso'³⁷ were interspersed with the spartan rooms designed to accommodate 42 servants. Although sharing the same floor level and the same spectacular views, sheer side walls ensured physical separation between white penthouse inhabitants and the black servants. However, should it be necessary for a servant to clean the 'Bar-B-Q' or for the sundeck user to access the fire escape, a small lobby, situated within the stairway connecting the penthouses to the roof, accommodated these practicalities.

This bizarre arrangement was the outcome of a five-year debate between the architects and the Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD) of the City of Johannesburg (some of these documents can be seen in Booklet XVI, 'Europeans Only'). The initial plan was to locate the servants' quarters at the base of the building. contrary to the convention of the time, which was to house servants on the roof. The architects argued in a letter dated 11 December 1969 that locating the servants 'on the roof would tax the lift system very heavily' and that 'Bantu servants would be hesitant to live at this height.' Near the base, the servants' quarters were 'designed and positioned in such a way as to screen them from view, both from the road and neighbouring buildings, and the design is such that they should prove no nuisance either visually or from a noise point of view.' Neither seen nor heard. In 1971, the debate about who would be afforded space on the roof was still continuing. J. C. de Villiers, director of NEAD, returned the sketch plan of Ponte to the City Engineer objecting to the fact that the 'Bantu quarters [were] situated on the same floor level as the caretaker's flat.' Finally, in February 1975, the approved drawings revealed that an uncomfortable compromise had been reached, with servants and sundecks sharing the roof, albeit looking out past one another. According to Rodney Grosskopff, one of Ponte's architects, 'The sills had to be above six foot so that they [the black staff] couldn't look out at the white apartments.'38 Neither seen nor allowed to see.39

By the time of the 'topping out ceremony' on 24 September 1975, the rampant building boom of the preceding two decades had started to slow. The much heralded completion of Ponte, celebrated with hot air balloons in Donald Mackay Park,⁴⁰ marked the end of this heady period.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 dampened the property market throughout South Africa and signalled the start of a long period of political upheaval and economic decline. Within three years of the opening, Ponte's retail component was in trouble and had to be reconfigured on much more modest lines. While the supermarket and dry-cleaner survived, the free-standing kiosks made way for two bowling alleys.

The flight of white capital from the inner city in the 1980s and the simultaneous 'greying' of Hillbrow and Berea, as black people moved into the area in defiance of the law, produced new pressures. Exploitative rentals, subletting and overcrowding, the strain on services and sheer neglect took their toll, and by the late 1990s the area was a slum. This is the Hillbrow of novelist Phaswane Mpe, in which 'two women were raped and then killed in Quartz Street... Three Nigerians who evaded arrest at Jan Smuts Airport were finally arrested in Pretoria Street for drug dealing... At least eight people died and thirteen were seriously injured when the New Year's Eve celebrations took the form of torrents of bottles gushing out of the brooding clouds that were flat balconies... Welcome to our Hillbrow...'41

A new wave of African immigrants arrived in the same decade to a less-than-warm welcome. Phillipe who came to Hillbrow from the Congo put it this way: 'At first when you meet a South African black man... the first question they will ask you is, "Where are you from?" The second one, "Why did you come here?" The third one, "When are you going back to your place?" Nevertheless, tens of thousands of new arrivals found a home in the high-rise blocks, including Ponte. In the following years, the building would go through periods of extreme neglect followed by enthusiastic and sometimes misguided efforts at redevelopment.

Forty years after it was built, Ponte continues to appal and enthral. For Michael Block, whose childhood was dominated by his father Ivan's involvement with the building, the problem with Ponte was that it was ahead of its time, a precursor of the mixed-use precinct like Melrose Arch so popular in contemporary Johannesburg. 'Ponte *then* is what Melrose Arch is *now* – Live, Work and Play in the same place... Today, I still get the shivers when I see Ponte on my way in from the airport: I am part of that

skyline.'43 For Smithy, however, there was never any sense that he was working on something extraordinary: 'You took it in your stride, it was a daily job.'44

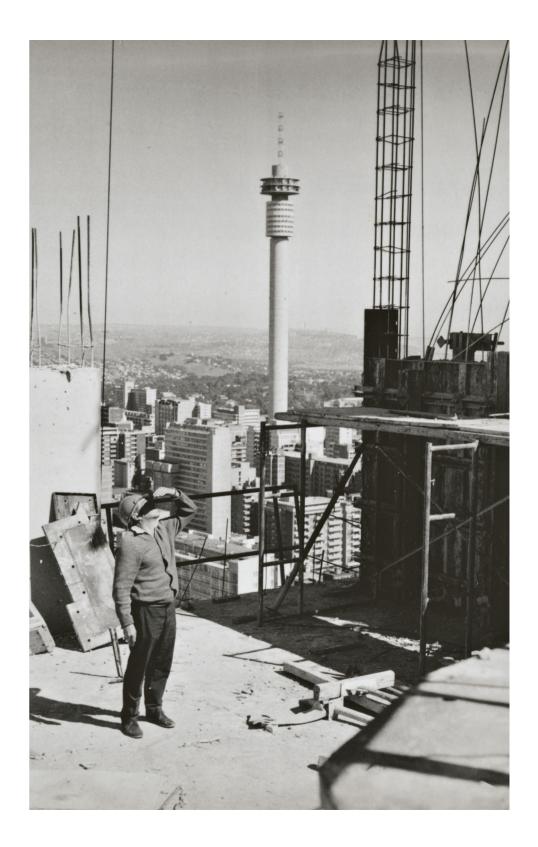
- One year before the upper floors of Ponte were completed, floors 11 to 19 had been occupied. Planning & Building Developments, 17, November/December 1975, p. 33.
- Interview with Pieter Smith, 19 July 2013.
 Smith was the public relations and safety officer for the Ponte project for the duration of its construction, overseeing the work of three foremen. Now living in an old-age home in Rosettenville, Smithy is one of the few surviving senior construction managers associated with Ponte.
- 3. A. Morris, Bleakness and Light:
 Inner-City Transition in Hillbrow,
 Johannesburg (Johannesburg, University
 of the Witwatersrand Press, 1999); P. Clay,
 Hillbrow (Cape Town, Don Nelson, 1982).
- 4. Clay, Hillbrow, p. 18.
- 5. Clay, Hillbrow, p. 25.
- M. Silverman and T. Zack, 'Grey areas:
 Land management and democratic
 governance issues in Hillbrow/Berea,
 an inner city area of Johannesburg,'
 unpublished report prepared for CUBES
 and Planact, 2007.
- 7. Clay, Hillbrow, p. 87.
- 8. Clay, Hillbrow.
- 9. Clay, Hillbrow, p. 7.
- Interview with Max Silverman, 8 June 2013.
 Silverman, a retired architect, was involved in developing and designing a number of Hillbrow flat buildings, some of which were constructed by Miodownik.
- 11. Interview with Pieter Smith, 19 July 2013.
- Interview with Clive Chipkin, 6 June 2013. Chipkin is an architectural historian who has authored two indispensable books on Johannesburg's buildings.
- 13. Interview with Clive Chipkin, 6 June 2013.
- Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.
 Michael Block is the son of Ivan Block,
 one of the directors of Miodownik and the Managing Director of Nasbou.

- 15. The building, whose southern edge is flanked by Saratoga Avenue, was initially called Saratoga Heights. However, according to Pieter Smith, the name was changed to Ponte after one of the directors had travelled to Italy. (Interview with Pieter Smith, 19 July 2013.) According to Rodney Grosskopff, the name was chosen because it was on all the plans: 'the ground was owned by an Italian called Ponte.' A. Karras, 'Ponte-ficating on a classic,' The Times, 14 September 2007, p. 21.
- 16. Miodownik formed an investment vehicle called MAIVCY Investments (Pty) Ltd specifically for the Ponte project. The company name was an acronym based on the first two letters of the three directors' first names. For another building they established MIOBLORE, based on the first letters of the directors' surnames. (Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.) With a number of buildings being developed by multiple consortia, directors were often hard pressed to find new names.
- 17. Planning & Building Developments, p. 15.
- 18. Interview with Clive Chipkin, 6 June
 2013. An article in the Sunday Times
 dated 12 January 1975 confirmed these
 unexpected financial alliances: the list of
 Nasbou directors included Blumberg and
 Miodownik alongside Van Niekerk and
 Wolmarans. (Tanja Glavovic, 'Live in Ponte
 and never go out.')
- 19. Interview with Max Silverman, 8 June 2013.
- 20. Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.
- 21. Interview with Pieter Smith, 19 July 2013.
- D. O'Meara, Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934–1948 (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983), p. 254.
- L. Davie, 'Ponte: Rent the best view in town,'
 December 2003. http://www.joburg.org.
 za/index. Accessed 2 July 2013.
- 24. Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.
- 25. Planning & Building Developments, p. 15.



- 26. The following plots were consolidated to create a site large enough to accommodate the development: 1336 Berea, 1335
 Berea, Portion 2 Doornfontein, Portion 4
 Doornfontein, Portion 8 Doornfontein,
 Portion 106 Doornfontein RE, Portion 1
 Doornfontein. The owners were granted a servitude by the municipality over RE
 Portion 11 Doornfontein to construct a ramp leading from Lily Street into the building.
- C. Chipkin, Johannesburg in Transition: Architecture and Society from 1950 (Johannesburg, STE Publishers, 2008), p. 405.
- 28. Chipkin, Johannesburg in Transition, p. 405.
- 29. Chipkin, Johannesburg in Transition, p. 404.
- 30. Planning & Building Developments, p. 17.
- 31. Interview with Robert Ehrlich by Mikhael Subotzky and Patrick Waterhouse, 2009.
- Interview with Marc Feldman by Ivan Vladislavic and Nadiva Schraibman, 10 July 2013.
- 33. Planning & Building Developments, 17, November/December 1975 had a full-colour photograph of Ponte on the cover. The theme of the entire publication was tall buildings,

- no doubt prompted by the completion of Ponte that year. At the time a conspicuous silence emanated from the architectural press, perhaps indicative of reservations about the building.
- 34. Planning & Building Developments, p. 17.
- 35. Tanja Glavovic, 'Live in Ponte and never go out'.
- 36. Rents at the time ranged from R85 for an unfurnished bachelor to R800 for a penthouse. Tanja Glavovic, 'Live in Ponte and never go out'.
- 37. Planning & Building Developments, p. 23.
- 38. A. Hartford, http://nplusonemag.com/ponte-city. Accessed 25 July 2013.
- 39. The servants were recently moved to the bottom of the building to make more room for tenants on the rooftop.
- 40. Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.
- 41. P. Mpe, Welcome to Our Hillbrow (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2001), p. 5.
- 42. Morris, Bleakness and Light, p. 312.
- 43. Interview with Michael Block, 12 June 2013.
- 44. Interview with Pieter Smith, 19 July 2013.



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Right: 'R250000 vir so 'n nessie!', *Die Vaderland*, 1981. Back cover: 'Topping out ceremony', *Planning & Building Developments*, 17, November/December 1975, 34





Chairman of Nasbou, Mr I Block, Ma or of Nasbou, Mrs Neppe, His Worship the M nesburg, Clr. Max Neppe, and Mr Cyri ive Technical Director of Nasbou, at the t

omony on Ponto's 54th floor parlier this ve