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The Magic of Belgrade – A City Where Heritage Meets the Modern[1]

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Abstract
The capital of Serbia, Belgrade, is a city with a lengthy history dating back to the seventh millennium BC. In the third century BC the Celts named it Singidunum, whereas since the ninth century AD it has been known as Beligrad, meaning The White City. Strategically located on the crossroad between the Occident and the Orient, between the Pannonian Valley and the Balkans, at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava River, this city, in which heritage meets the modern, is also the meeting point of influences from West and East. The city has been depicted by many authors, both Serbian and foreign, but among these literary works stands out the oeuvre of Momo Kapor, who devoted his whole life to writing about and painting scenes of life in Belgrade. Kapor was well known and successful both as a painter, having exhibited his work in renowned galleries in Serbia and abroad, and as a writer, since his forty-odd novels and short story collections are bestsellers in Serbia and have been translated into dozens of foreign languages. In *The Magic of Belgrade*, Momo Kapor does not only describe the monuments and people of this beautiful city, he even searches for what he calls 'the spirit of Belgrade'. The purpose of this paper is to pinpoint such elements of Kapor's work that capture the spirit of the place by reflecting, on the one hand, its heritage and, on the other, its urban growth which has resulted in its modernity.

Keywords: Belgrade, Momo Kapor, heritage, modernity

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"Belgrade is not simply a city – it is a metaphor, a special way of life, a viewpoint. Belgrade is in the idea which impregnates the world wherever its spirit reaches. Belgrade is found in a joke, in a random gesture, in the congenital casualty with which victories and defeats are received, where the unit for measuring style is charm!"[2]
(Momo Kapor: *Hello, Belgrade*)

Brief History of Belgrade

The spirit of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, is best described by the following passage, pinpointing both its modernity and its heritage, since according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Belgrade is "a *cosmopolitan* city at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers; Stari Grad, Belgrade's old town, is dominated by an *ancient* fortress called the Kalemegdan and includes well-preserved examples of *medieval* architecture and some of eastern Europe's most-renowned *restaurants*." (Belgrade – National Capital, Serbia, emphasis ours) What can better illustrate the mixture of heritage and modernity, or in other words, "this whirlwind of past and present times" (Velmar-Jankovic 2009: xiii), than the mixture of the words *cosmopolitan – ancient – medieval – restaurants* in the same sentence. Describing Belgrade's fortress Kalemegdan, David Norris writes: "It is here that the story of Belgrade begins in all its incarnations: a city ruled by many different regimes and the capital city of various countries – Serbia, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, communist Yugoslavia, and most recently of Serbia again." (Norris 2009: 2)

It is quite true that Belgrade has survived despite many turbulences it has gone through over the centuries – it has been demolished over forty times and then rebuilt again, occupied in various periods by different foreign powers and changed hands between Romans, Franks, Bulgarians, Austrians, and Ottoman Turks, among others. Its lengthy history started as early as the seventh millennium BC, when Neolithic settlements were founded in its surroundings, which means that Belgrade is among the oldest European cities. However, it was only in the third century BC that a Celtic tribe (Scordisci) established a town at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava River and named it Singidun[3], which later on the Romans – who occupied this territory in the first century AD – turned into Singidunum. During the Roman rule of several centuries, the town was extremely prosperous, especially after Emperor Hadrian granted it municipal rights, and in the fourth century AD due to its favorable strategic location it became an important settlement in the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire.

This meant, likewise, that it was also an attractive target for invaders because of that same strategic location on the crossroad between the Occident and the Orient,

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[2] For the translation of all the texts quoted in this paper that were originally written in Serbian credits go to Bosko Francuski, one of the authors of the paper.
[3] The first part of the name probably originated from Sings – a Thracian tribe living in the area before the Celts (cf. "Singidunum, the fortress of the Singi", Norris 2009: xi), while the second part is derived from the Celtic word *dun*, meaning a fortress, a lodgement or a town – still visible in the name of Lon*don*.

between the Pannonian Valley and the Balkans, at the junction of three main Eurasian roads: the first one following the course of the Danube in the direction west (Vienna) – east (Black Sea), the second one going from Belgrade westwards towards Italy, and the third one southwards towards Greece and the Mediterranean. On the other hand, it was therefore exposed to different cultures and influenced by traditions of each of these conquerors, be it from the east or the west. Having been razed to the ground by ferocious Huns in the fifth century AD, Belgrade continued to be the prey of conquering campaigns undertaken by numerous other invaders, such as: Sarmatians, Goths, Gepidaes, Avars, Slavs, Byzantium again, Franks, Bulgarians, Habsburg Austrians, Hungarians, Ottoman Turks, and of course by the Austro-Hungarian and German armies during the two World Wars, respectively.

The population of Serbia mostly consists of South Slavs, who settled in this region starting from the sixth century AD, and they gave Belgrade its present name – Beligrad, meaning The White City, which was first mentioned in the ninth century, in a letter written by Pope John VIII in 878 (cf. Norris 2009: 7). Nevertheless, at that time Belgrade still remained the battlefield of neighbouring powers[4], and it was only in 1284 that the city came under the rule of Serbian nobles, for the first time ever, when Hungary gave it as a wedding gift to the then Serbian King, Stefan Dragutin. Even after that, the town was again seized by other foreigners, so it became the capital of Serbia as late as in 1403, when Despot Stefan Lazarevic became a Hungarian ally and obtained it as part of possessions he received from Hungary, but after his death in 1427 Belgrade was reclaimed by Hungary yet another time.

Be that as it may, this was not the end of Belgrade's plight since the worst was yet to come – the Ottoman Turks started besieging Belgrade from 1440 (Sultan Murad II), then in 1456 (Sultan Mehmed II), in 1521 (Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent), after which Turkey and Austria took turns in occupying the town until the end of the eighteenth century. It was only in 1807, during the First Serbian Uprising against the Turks (1804-1813), that the Serbs, led by Djordje Petrovic Karadjordje, liberated Belgrade, but when the uprising was crushed in 1813 the Turks occupied it again. During the Second Serbian Uprising (1815-1817), led by Milos Obrenovic, the Serbs drove the Turks out of Belgrade, and Serbia was granted partial autonomy, but a Turkish garrison remained in Belgrade until 1867, when Serbia gained full independence and Belgrade was finally liberated.

Unfortunately, not long after that, the first half of the twentieth century was marked by two world wars that ravaged Europe, and Belgrade was not an exception. In World War One, Belgrade was shelled and captured by the Austro-Hungarian army, and in World War Two it was bombed and invaded by the Nazi German army (on April 6th 1941). However, it is worth mentioning that the enemy's bombs still could not manage to bottle up the famous 'spirit of Belgrade' because "their grenades did not

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[4] From the ninth to the thirteenth century alone, it changed hands eight times only between Hungary and Byzantium, not to mention occupation by Bulgaria and several destructions by Crusaders on whose route to the Holy Land it was situated.

even reach Slavija[5], and the square was swarming with people who moved freely. The cafes and markets were full of people." (Deroko 2000: 87)

For the last time, Belgrade was shelled on the very eve of the twenty-first century, over the course of two and a half months in 1999 (March-June), by the NATO forces, with many casualties and lots of destroyed buildings, some of which had testified before they were torn down to it being one of the oldest European capitals in which culture had thrived long before many others were even founded. Therefore, we can fully agree with the statement that in the case of Belgrade "the price of freedom was heavy indeed" (Yovitchitch 1926: 72), but now our city faces the future, treading towards progress and development, so it was rightly named[6] "City of the Future of South Europe".

Books on Belgrade

Of course, Belgrade has been the subject of numerous articles and books written by both its citizens and visitors. Even though the Serbian authors will be represented in the next chapter by Momo Kapor, so this one will mostly consist of a short summary of those coming from abroad, the books written by Serbs that are also worth mentioning are *Belgrade* (1984) by Slobodan Glumac, *Uspomene Beograđanina* (in Serbian, *Memories of a Belgrader*, 2000) by Aleksandar Deroko, *Belgrade – the City of Secrets* (2004) by a group of authors, *Belgrade, Cultural Treasury* (2004) and *Belgrade Past and Present* (2005) by Branko Vujovic, *On the Hill above the Rivers: Belgrade in Guidebooks for Travellers (1800-1945)* by Djordje Kostic (2009), and *Belgrade, the Eternal City: a Sentimental Journey Through History* (2015) by Aleksandar Diklic.

Among these works stands out the book published by Lena Yovitchitch in 1926 – *Pages from Here and There in Serbia*. She devoted an entire part of her book (Fourth part: Life in Belgrade, pp. 71-105) to the city of Belgrade. It starts with the words by which she tried to capture the spirit of Belgrade and its inhabitants, therefore they deserve to be cited in full here: "A city undoubtedly reflects the mentality of the nation which conceives, and plans, and builds it. Viewed in this light, mere bricks and mortar assume a psychological interest, and are seen as the tangible embodiment of ideas, to be judged according to their practical utility and esthetic value. Thus, the design of a school building, a church, or a house tells its tale more plainly than any words could do. Despite riches or poverty, the spirit and aspirations of a people are welded into every construction – be it high or low – which meets the eye. This is particularly the case in Belgrade, where the history of the country for several decades back can be traced in the various stages of architecture prevalent in the town." (Yovitchitch 1926: 71)

The fact that Lena came from a mixed marriage, since her father was a Serb and mother British, so that she spent most of her life in Scotland and travelled frequently

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[5] Slavija is one of the main downtown squares.
[6] In the competition organised by the *Financial Times* for 2006/07.

to Serbia, might probably be the reason why her books exude romantic nostalgia and are thoroughly saturated with the magic of Belgrade and Serbia, as it is obvious from the following passage: "Towards sundown is the time to stroll through the gardens of the Kalemegdan. From here one looks down on the river Sava, which takes a graceful bend in its course as it flows rapidly towards the Danube. The confluence of the two rivers is plainly discernible: where the waters meet, a dividing line runs like a silver thread from bank to bank. Beyond, lie the great plains, formerly Austrian territory. For generations past, the Serbs have gazed across from the Kalemegdan on to this stretch of country, dreaming, hoping, trusting, that some day they would come into their own." (Yovitchitch 1926: 72)

The city of Belgrade has also attracted many foreigners who either lived in it for an extended period of time or passed through Belgrade during their travels, leaving as valuable testimony their written works, be it documentary texts, travelogues, or fiction. These are some of the most important foreign authors and their works on Belgrade and Serbia, listed in chronological order:

- Jérôme-Adolphe Blanqui (French), *Voyage en Bulgarie pendant l'année 1841* (*Travel to Bulgaria during the Year 1841*, 1843)
- Andrew Archibald Paton (British), *Servia, Youngest Member of the European Family or, a Residence in Belgrade and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 and 1844* (1845), written and published while the Turks were still in Belgrade[7], which is evident from some of the titles in the two chapters he devoted to Belgrade: Chapter V (Description of Belgrade. Fortifications. Street and street population. Cathedral. Large square. Coffee-house. Deserted villa. Baths) and Chapter VI (Europeanization of Belgrade. Lighting and paving. Interior of the fortress. Turkish Pasha. Turkish quarter. Turkish population. Panorama of Belgrade. Dinner party given by the prince)
- Felix Philipp Kanitz (Austro-Hungarian), *Die römischen Funde in Serbien* (*The Roman Finds in Serbia*, 1861), *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente* (*The Byzantine Monuments of Serbia*, 1862), *Reise in Südserbien und Nordbulgarien* (*A Journey to South Serbia and North Bulgaria*, 1868), *Serbien — historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien* (*Serbia — Ethnographic and Historical Travel Studies*, 1868), *Römische Studien in Serbien* (*Roman Studies in Serbia*, 1892), *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (*The Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian People from Roman Times until the Present*, 1904)
- Mary Edith Durham (British), a fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, who was in charge of refugee relief shelters during the Balkan Wars, and on the basis of her experiences she wrote seven books and many articles, among which the most famous is *Through the Lands of the Serb* (1904)
- Alexander Powell (American), *The New Frontiers of Freedom: From the Alps to the Aegean* (1920), *The Danger on the Danube* (1927), *Embattled Borders: Eastern Europe from the Balkans to the Baltic* (1928)

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[7] As it was explained above, in the first chapter of the paper.

- David John Footman (British), *Balkan Holiday* (1935), *Half-Way East* (1935)
- Malcolm Burr (British), *Slouch Hat* (1935)
- Lovett Fielding Edwards (British), *Profane Pilgrimage: Wanderings through Yugoslavia* (1938), *A Wayfarer in Yugoslavia* (1939), *Danube Stream* (1941), *Yugoslavia* (1971)
- Rebecca West (British), *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1941), an extremely important book on almost twelve hundred pages, based on the events during her 1937 visit to the then Kingdom of Yugoslavia, containing valuable facts about the history, ethnography and culture of the country
- Lawrence Durrell (British), who worked as Press Attaché in Belgrade from June 1949 to December 1952, and wrote several works based on his experiences[8]: *White Eagles over Serbia* (1957), *Esprit de Corps: Sketches from Diplomatic Life* (1957), *Stiff Upper Lip* (1958), *Sauve qui peut* (1966), *Spirit of Place, Letters and Essays on Travel* (1969)
- Nicolas Bouvier (Swiss), who used the entries made in his journals during the trip made in an old Fiat from Geneva all the way to the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, with Belgrade as its first destination, and wrote his miraculous[9] *L'Usage du monde* (*The Way of the World*, 1963)
- Florence Hamlish Levinsohn (American), *Belgrade: among the Serbs* (1994)
- David A. Norris (British), *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and modernity* (1999), *Belgrade: A Cultural History* (2008)

This last volume is the crown of all these books, as it is devoted specifically to the city of Belgrade, its history, traditions, culture and inhabitants, written in a scientific manner but also full of emotions and tenderness for the White City, its destiny and its inhabitants – "a metaphoric Belgrade, a synecdoche for a nation, a state, a government, for which it stands symbolically at the head […] the city as an experience in itself. Belgrade is more than the sum total of its buildings and inhabitants; […] it is a small world in itself. It has its own history and unique identity that set it apart from other places and even acts upon the people who live there, shaping their lives as it is shaped by them" (Norris 2009: xx), concludes the distinguished Professor at Nottingham University David Norris.

Momo Kapor – a True Belgrader

Although Momo Kapor was born in Sarajevo[10] (in 1937), when he was only four years old his mother was killed by a bomb during a Nazi air raid, trying to protect

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[8] See more about Lawrence Durrell's impressions of Belgrade in Djoric Francuski 2007, for instance: "It can certainly be said that, when he wrote about Yugoslavia, Durrell managed to catch not only *the spirit of the place*, but also of the times spent in our country and depicted in his writing." (Djoric Francuski 2007: 156, emphasis ours)

[9] This is not an exaggeration given that Bouvier appealed with astonishing power to all senses, especially the ones of smell and hearing, so when he describes a small café on the bank of the Sava river from which he liked to watch the sunset, "breathing in *the odour of the town* as if I might die the next day", he delicately mentions 'fragrant plum brandy' and the smells of melon and boiled cabbage (Bouvier 2007: 41, emphasis ours).

[10] Now the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

him, so after the war was over he moved to Belgrade with the rest of his family, once his father was released from the prisoner-of-war camp in Nurnberg. From that moment until his death (in 2010), he spent his days in Belgrade, undeletably leaving his stamp on the city itself and on all of us, its residents. He graduated from the Academy of Art at the University of Belgrade, major in painting, but his another great passion was writing, so his career combined both and Kapor always illustrated his works himself. In those two streams of his career, he was equally successful, and his artwork was displayed at many exhibitions and in renowned galleries in Belgrade, as well as abroad, while his literary output was also extremely fruitful, counting over forty novels, numerous collections of short stories, travelogues, screenplays and autobiographic works, translated into more than twenty languages.

It is very hard to single out the best of Kapor's works because they all marked entire generations and over the years we were looking forward to each of his books with impatience and enthusiasm, as we knew that another gem would embellish our lives. Among these books, however, some are devoted especially to Belgrade which was his everlasting inspiration – to the everyday life in this city, Belgraders and their loves and hopes, joys and sadness, 'victories and defeats' as Momo Kapor would call them, as well as their relationship with the city in which they live – in one word, the spirit of Belgrade. Those are: his *Belgrade Trilogy*, consisting of *011*[11], *Istok–Zapad* (*East-West*) and *Halo, Beograd* (*Hello, Belgrade*), published in 1990; *Blokada 011* (*Blockade 011*, 1992); *Legenda o Taboru*[12] (*The Legend of Tabor*, 2002) and of course *Magija Beograda* (*The Magic of Belgrade*, 2008).

The Magic of Belgrade

The title of the first chapter in this book is simply "Belgrade is Belgrade". On the very first page, its author poses the eternal question that has puzzled us all: "I have spent years and years poring over hundreds of written pages, trying to solve the riddle of *the spirit of Belgrade* and to understand what it is that draws us back into its embrace, and here I am, knowing today less than I knew at the beginning." (Kapor 2008: 5, emphasis ours) Well, the answer may be right in the title of this chapter: "Belgrade is Belgrade". As simple as that.

The next chapter, "The Spirit of Belgrade", brings a more detailed answer to this question for all readers, especially Belgraders, as Kapor claims that "There are few things in it that I have not already seen elsewhere… Maybe only three: its rivers, its sky and its people. Out of these three primeval elements, *the unique spirit of Belgrade* is born." (Kapor 2008: 12, emphasis ours) What's more, Belgrade itself is a *spirit* because, unlike other cities, it is not materialised in its buildings and streets (cf. Vladusic 2015: 40), whereas according to Kapor two of its primordial components represent two of the three elementary elements: water (its rivers) and air (its sky), which could mean that the third one – fire – remains as the symbol of its people. This is what has resulted in the correct statement that "Belgrade is the point in which

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[11] The area code for Belgrade.
[12] The Bohemian restaurant Tabor is still a cult place in Belgrade.

special city metaphysics has developed" (Vladusic 2015: 40), especially taking into consideration its uniqueness and openness to modernity while still cherishing tradition.

It is, however, the chapter "Belgrade Is the World", devoted to each and every one of those Belgraders "scattered on all four sides of the world" (Kapor 2008: 160), in which Kapor equates Belgrade to their photos, ideas and names, that "perhaps best evokes such an immaterial existence of Belgrade: a city that exists in memory, in the past, in memories, an emigrant city." (Vladusic 2015: 40) To all those who, for some reason, do not live in Belgrade any longer, Kapor dedicates the following words of yet another great Belgrader, Dusko Radovic[13]: "If this morning you woke up in Belgrade, you have done enough for one day!" (cited in Kapor 2008: 175)

Another segment of Belgrade's magic consists of food and drinks, for instance the delicacies like "*sarma* (pickled cabbage leaves stuffed with minced meat)" and "a calf's head in tripe" (Kapor 2008: 396), or strawberries and horseradishes that are bigger and redder than elsewhere (cf. Kapor 2008: 251), while entire chapters are devoted to: "Grill Cooks", "Roast Lamb", "Coffee[14]", "Cabbage", "Pastries", "Vanilla Cookies" and "Fish Chowder" which we call *riblja corba*. In the following passage Kapor reminisces about his childhood and compares Belgrade to New York: "The appearance of the first cherries was a true festivity. The first cherries were bought in small bunches (to make children happy), while those in pairs were hung on ears, like springtime earrings. I have never seen prettier jewelry! What do I care for the December cherries in New York? They only take away from me the sweet, superstitious waiting for real cherries, because when you eat them for the first time you must wish upon something and your wish will come true, without fail!" (Kapor 2008: 254)

As for the drinks, of course there are numerous references to our national alcoholic drink – *rakija* (a kind of brandy), which is drunk especially when it is cold, as well as Serbian wines, which are the best in the summer, when many Belgraders leave for holidays, so the city's magic is further intensified by its emptiness, or in Momo Kapor's words: "In summertime, Belgrade should be sipped through a straw. In July, it turns into a therapeutic provincial spa […] To start with, you have to relax sitting at some shady table with a view to a bottle of white wine, a siphon of soda water and exciting sidewalks, trod upon by a flood of agitated beauty in search of itself. The city discovers once more its long-lost measure of humanness and turns into a small town." (Kapor 2008: 403)

Another element of Belgrade's magic are some of its unique places which differentiate it from other big European cities, although it can also be considered as a

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[13] Dusko Radovic was the greatest Serbian aphorist ever, especially famous and loved because of his numerous collections of aphorisms entitled *Good Morning Belgrade*.

[14] Unlike many European countries in which tea is the national beverage, in Serbia this place is taken by what we call 'Turkish coffee' (although Turks nowadays also mostly drink black tea) – or, as Kapor says: "Coffee is the most important secondary thing in our lives. It seems we can do without everything but coffee!" (Kapor 2008: 82)

megalopolis. Those are, above all, its green markets, "the space which restores the city to the rhythm of nature" (Vladusic 2012: 198), and especially the famous downtown Kalenic market, which Kapor describes as "a sort of village embassy in the capital" and adds that "It is where, every morning without fail, green credentials are handed over to wan Belgraders, who lost their roots and contact with the soil and its fruits a long time ago." (Kapor 2008: 252)

Although some of the chapters are devoted to Belgrade's heritage and monuments, like those two on the Bohemian quarter called Skadarlija, or the one entitled "A Stroll in Kalemegdan" – Belgrade's old fortress, while in others Kapor mentions "the inconsolably ruined facades shedding their flowery ornaments in the Vienna Secession style", "its snug urban homes", "the most beautiful architectural masterpieces" (Kapor 2008: 395-396), on the other hand, he also praises its rapid urban development: "Carried away by our success, skipping centuries, we managed to raise modern buildings almost overnight" (Kapor 2008: 396). In *The Magic of Belgrade*, "Belgrade functions as a necessary correction of modernity, and not as an absolute value against modernity. It takes us back to the archaic and human that has not melted in modernity, but not by closing the door in front of the modern" (Vladusic 2015: 40), and in this way Momo Kapor emphasises that *Belgrade is truly a City where Heritage Meets the Modern*.

Conclusion

Belgrade's history has been extremely lengthy and turbulent, and the traces left in it by its numerous occupiers are still visible, thus reflecting its antiquity. For instance, the old part of the city is crowned by the well-preserved fortress, Kalemegdan, dating from the third century BC. Furthermore, this ancient area is still based on the network of roads built by the Romans at the beginning of that millennium, and "the line of one such road, probably Singidunum's main street, has been preserved more or less to today" (Norris 2009: xi). Later on, Belgrade was invaded by Ottoman Turks, and "Long years of bondage under Turkish rule have left their imprint upon many a house." (Yovitchitch 1926: 71)

Nonetheless, though Belgrade cherishes its heritage, on the one hand, it has managed to develop and progress, on the other, towards becoming a modern European city: "The Belgrade of today is an agglomeration of Eastern and Western ideas moulded and adapted to meet the requirements of this corner of the world. The contrast between the old and the new town is thus accentuated." (Yovitchitch 1926: 73) No matter how true it is that Belgrade is marked by a contrast between its tradition and modernity, the heritage and the progress, they still coexist in great harmony and the city is moving forward at an unbelievable pace: "Belgrade has earned a reputation for changes, rapid changes, in more senses than one perhaps. […] The remarkable rapidity with which the changes are being accomplished is almost unbelievable. […] One can call it nothing else than 'transformation'." (Yovitchitch 1926: 82, 84)

Belgrade's ability to transform itself innumerable times, to survive after so many attacks and to rise literally from the ashes like a phoenix must be one of the reasons

for its being so magical. In the course of its history, full of falls and rises, Belgrade has managed to preserve its cultural scene and to offer its inhabitants the opportunity of being as educated and cultivated as any citizen of contemporary Europe. In his *Diary of a Nobody*, Branko Lazarevic follows the thorny road Belgrade has trodden and underlines that prior to World War One "books published abroad, especially in Paris, would be in the hands of our intellectuals in a matter of days […] People travelled and knew languages. Journals and magazines were subscribed to. […] the National Theatre staged plays soon after their premieres abroad. […] Then came the war of 1914 to 1918, which wiped the slate clean. […] However, in the years leading up to 1941 Belgrade cultivated itself once again with literature, science, architecture, music, painting and sculpture. […] All of that did not amount to much, but it was evidence that Belgrade cultivated itself and began to resemble, at the very least, Central European towns. Then came the collapse of 1941, and everything which followed it." (cited in Milutinovic 2011: 14)

The period of the two world wars was only one of the turbulent stages that Belgrade has gone through: "The history books say that Belgrade was razed and put to the torch forty times. This, then, would mean that it was rebuilt forty-one times. Yet different each time, different from the preceding community, almost as if to deny its very existence." (Glumac 1984: 21) However, Belgrade's 'transformation' has not been restricted only to its buildings and roads, because we know that "Cities are more than built spaces: they are historical, social and political products. […] Cities are the ever-fluctuating product of an array of forces, including social, political, and imaginative ones, that operate both from the top down and the bottom-up. In this sense, cities are collective intentions and plans." (Estrada-Grajales, Foth, Mitchell, 2018) Consequently, Belgrade has been transformed and reshaped by its inhabitants, who are the ones to be thanked for having *collectively* created its unique 'spirit of the place' and magic.

We hope that in this paper we have managed to show that Belgrade is a modern European city which deserves to be visited not only due to its historical and cultural value but also because of the fact that its citizens have managed to shift "from passive residents to city co-creators" (Estrada-Grajales, Foth, Mitchell, 2018) and thus helped enrich the spirit of the city and create *The Magic of Belgrade*.

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Pop Culture in Arabian Peninsula Cinema

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Abstract

Culture is characterized as the combination of ideas, values and beliefs, as well as a mixture of traditions, lifestyle of a group of people living together on a piece of land. There is no doubt that the tribal societies formed over the centuries in the Gulf region and the Arabian Peninsula, have succeeded in creating their own culture that is distinctive from others, and today it has begun to reap the fruits of that unique personality in all its cultural and artistic products. The aim of this research is to focus on the Bedouin culture , through analyzing four of the most amazing gulf films THE CRULE SEA- Kuwait 1972 , Theeb 2014 which shaved away its successes until it reached the representation of the entire Arab region in the Oscars for the year 2016, Sea Shadow - UAE 2011-, New Day inOld Sanaa - Yemen 2005 and finally Wadjda - Saudi Arabia 201The research will concentrate on how these films as a product reflect the role of the local popular culture and its impact on their values, and whether these films succeeded.

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Introduction

Most learned definitions depict culture as a mix of ideas, values and beliefs, combined with traditions, customs and life styles that distinguish a human group living on a particular piece of land. With the historical development of this group's collective life, its culture becomes emblematic of its unique identity, enabling the creation of cultural products that express the group's environment and its shared history.

The tribal communities that arose in the region of the Arabian Gulf and Peninsula were no doubt able to create a very distinctive culture, whose features can be seen today in various artistic and cultural products, with film being a particularly heightened medium of such expression.

For while the road ahead, towards a regionally influential cinematic movement, is still quite long, there can be no question that important steps have been taken along that road.

Why these movies?

Many films were produced – especially in the last few years – which are worthy of study and careful analysis for the aesthetic values they reflect, and the symbolic references they make to the wider culture of the Arabian Peninsula in all its folkloric and popular aspects. So why does our list contain these movies to the exclusion of all others?

In point of fact, our first choice, *The Cruel Sea*, was all but inevitable. This movie is the first feature film to be produced in the Gulf region, dating back to the 1970s. It has the merit of trailblazing, on one hand, but on the other it also has several features that make it emblematic of folk culture in Kuwait and the entire Peninsula. The sea, as sustenance and livelihood to the population, is both the main character and the moving spirit of this film.

Our last choice, *Theeb*, is almost a mirror-image of *The Cruel Sea*; it's the latest to be produced, and the most successful with critics and audiences alike, having reached the Osacrs' final list for best foreign-language film. It's also unique on our list in featuring the desert as locale and main character, allowing us to observe its formative role in the emergence of local Arabian cultures.

Similarly, *A New Day in Old Sanaa* was chosen from Yemen (the birthplace of all Arabian tribes) for its different and unique vision of life in the Yemeni capital, through the eyes of an Italian photographer-narrator.

Sea Shadow (UAE) and *Wadjda* (KSA) were chosen as representative of the two most active states in the region in terms of production and support for young filmmakers. While the UAE and Saudi Arabia have both witnessed several cinematic ventures in the past, each of these two films is the first feature made for commercial theaters[1] in its respective country.

[1] During *Wadjda*'s filming, the government of Saudi Arabia had not yet legalized the opening of commercial movie theaters, although the film could be commercially shown in other Arab countries.

Let us now present the synopses of these five films, ordered chronologically from earliest to latest:

1-The Cruel Sea

1972   Drama・1h 46m

The first feature film to be made by the state of Kuwait. It is a period piece about Kuwait before the discovery of oil when fishing was the predominant occupation. Bas Ya Bahr is the story of a crippled pearl diver who forbids his son Mussaid to go to sea to dive for pearls. Mussaid's father got the 'bends' after resurfacing too fast during a shark attack on his boat. However, the boy cannot see any other way to make enough money to marry Nura, his beloved. Nura is the daughter of a merchant who wants her to marry for money. Finally, his father gives Mussaid permission to go to sea and even gives him his special black diving suit. Mussaid then works with the man to whom his father owes money. While Mussaid is away, Nura is forced by her family to marry a rich, older suitor. During his last dive Mussaid puts his hand inside a huge clam which closes on it. Mussaid is gasping for air and his friend has to amputate his arm in order to 'rescue' him. However Mussaid was dead long before he was brought to the boat. Nura meanwhile is raped by her husband on her wedding night. Mussaid's best friend looks through his cache of oysters and gradually starts opening all of them. Finally when he gets to the last one he finds a huge pearl inside. Maybe Mussaid's death will not be in vain if he can give this to Mussaid's family. When the boat reaches Kuwait, Mussaid's mother is welcomed by the dead body of her son and his prize - the pearl - for which he lost his life. The mother stares at the sea with unbridled rage and flings the pearl into it uttering the phrase: "Bas ya bahr" (enough o sea!)

1- A New Day in Old Sana'a

2005 -Drama/Romance・1h 26m
A young photographer named Tariq has to choose between his duty to his family -- marry the daughter of a judge -- or follow his heart and marry his lover, an orphan of a lower class.

2- Sea Shadow – 2011- Drama・1h 38m

Mansoor, a 16 year-old teenager, living in a coastal "freej" (an Emirati neighborhood), has strong feelings for 16 year-old girl Kaltham. But culture and tradition, as well as family hardship, make it difficult for him to express his feelings. A conversation with his "know-it-all" friend convinces him that a gift is the best way to express love, and so, he begins to look for ways to save money for the gift without arousing the suspicion of his family and friends.

3- Wadjda

2012 -Drama/World cinema・1h 38m
A rebellious Saudi girl (Waad Mohammed) enters a Koran recitation competition at her school and hopes to win enough money to buy her own bicycle.

WADJDA is a 10-year-old girl living in a suburb of Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. Although she lives in a conservative world, Wadjda is fun loving, entrepreneurial and always pushing the boundaries of what she can get away with. After a fight with her friend Abdullah, a neighborhood boy she shouldn't be playing with, Wadjda sees a beautiful green bicycle for sale. She wants the bicycle desperately so that she can beat Abdullah in a race. But Wadjda's mother won't allow it, fearing repercussions from a society that sees bicycles as dangerous to a girl's virtue. So Wadjda decides to try and raise the money herself. At first, Wadjda's mother is too preoccupied with convincing her husband not to take a second wife to realize what's going on. And soon enough Wadjda's plans are thwarted when she is caught running various schemes at school. Just as she is losing hope of raising enough money, she hears of a cash prize for a Quran recitation competition at her school. She devotes herself to the memorization and recitation of Quranic verses, and her teachers begin to see Wadjda as a model pious girl. The competition isn't going to be easy, especially for a troublemaker like Wadjda, but she refuses to give in. She is determined to continue fighting for her dreams.

4- Theeb

2012- Drama/Thriller · 1h 40m
In the Ottoman province of Hijaz during World War I, a young Bedouin boy experiences a greatly hastened coming-of-age as he embarks on a perilous desert journey to guide a British officer to his secret destination.

I- Folk Locales in the Cinema of the Arabian Peninsula

Space is an essential dimension of narrative, interacting as it does with plot, characters and time. And when qualifying narrative space as a "folk" locale, we emphasize those spaces which evoke a folk atmosphere, in distinction to others. In consequence, when reference is made to a certain locale as folk, we are not merely delineating a physical space, but also, and primarily, pointing out its implications for the dramatic arc, its role in the unfolding of the plot, the development of characters, and the determination of opposing forces.

Accordingly, a folk locale is a living space used by a traditional community, stratified into social classes determined by the framework of their folk culture, where a whole fabric of different social articulations is being woven.

Between sand and water

Traditional tribal communities in the Arabian Peninsula have long been pinched between desert and sea. Water is the main attraction here, the vital, sough-after element, mentioned in the Quran ("Out of water We made all that lives" -21:30). In a sea-side community, sea water will be the ubiquitous element around which life revolves, looming large in each consciousness with the possibilities of livelihood, travel and danger. Desert communities, on the other hand, can only thrive in oases, around water wells or natural springs, where a different sort of life is lived, utterly

dependent on water in abundance or scarcity. Social structures will reflect this dependence, with concomitant values and customs.

A- Sea

A community that arises by the sea will be dependent on it for livelihood and travel, a dependence which will in turn be reflected in folk tales and traditional lore, but also in values, traditions and customs.

Perhaps attentive reflection on the sea as a special locale can lead us to a conceptual framework for approaching the human inhabitants of that locale, and open a gateway for interpreting their psychological and emotional formation. For sea people act as if they were created by the sea, absorbing its qualities and identifying with it even while it evokes their anger or their fear. Across numerous cultures, the sea is seen as a perplexing conglomerate of antinomies; never standing still, but always in flux between high tide and low ebb, mighty storms and mirror-like quiet. Standing ashore, you'd yearn to wade into those waves, but board a ship tossed by those very waves and you'd be praying to reach a safe haven. A surface swimmer cannot know what lies beneath, and a diver has no access to what goes on up top. The sea can be an idyll for lovers, or a lure for desperate suicides. In presence of its swell, two persons side by side can harbor diametrically opposed emotions, one gleefully wishing to jump right in, and another trembling in fear at the mighty roar. The sea can provide bountifully for one fisherman, while denying another his livelihood, or even his very life, thus becoming, at once, both life-giver and executioner. We could go on and on, enumerating the sea's mind-boggling contradictions, so let's instead focus on how those contradictions were portrayed in those movies chosen for our study.

In two of our movies, the sea figures almost as a mythical being, its presence encompassing even the titles: *The Cruel Sea* and *Sea Shadow*.

The first film starts and ends with the sea, which overshadows every moment in-between. It opens with a glimpse of two contrasting views of the sea: Mussaid's father (Abdallah, a former pearl diver, who had his arm crippled by a shark attack, thereby turning from family provider to family burden) feels nothing but fear and loathing towards the sea, while his friend sees it as source of life and happiness to all Kuwaitis, who depend upon it for their livelihood.

The sea is also a measure of manliness and courage; the son, Mussaid, rebels against his lowly status in the community, and insists on sailing with the next ship, opposing his father who kept him home out of fear. In the eyes of the community, the home is a woman's place, where no real man should stay.

The sea has also provided the pearl merchant with his fabulous wealth and his lofty social standing, where his word is everybody's command.

If patience is a virtue, the community has the sea to thank for it. Men go out on the sea in trips that can last up to 4 months, in tiny boats with barely enough provisions of food and fresh water; they learn to withstand hunger and thirst, sea-salt pricking their flesh with each dive. They also learn a greater patience, that of the long separation from kith and kin. Women, on the other hand, endure the absence of fathers,

husbands, sons, brothers and lovers, along with a life of grinding hardship, until the boats return with their expected bounty. Their dreams of a better future are also haunted by the sea, as evidenced by Nura, Mussaid's girlfriend: does she encourage him to take up pearl diving, or surrender to her fear of the sea's ferociousness?

It is also from the sea that the characters derive their pride and dignity, and their tough stance in the face of trials, while treating their children with tender loving care. The father opposed the son's decision to go out on the sea, but this opposition turned into prayers, support and advice. Nura, married off to the rich old trader, bows down to her father's will, but refuses to give herself to that husband. And in the final scene, the mother rejects the pearl extracted by Mussaid before his drowning, throwing it back to the sea and demanding that it giver her back her son. Surely it was the sea, with its tumult and swell, that gave her such strength.

For a fishing village, the sea is life itself, with all its rituals and vows, as attested in the scene of the kitten being washed in sea water, in the belief that it would quench the evil urges of the waves. Or when a broom was burned and thrown to the surf, in hope that malevolent spirits would be swept away. Even the simple washing of clothes is left to the sea, as seen at one point.

In *Sea Shadow*, the sea seems to be the origin of life and the symbol for all that is good and meaningful about it. It's the spot for heart-to-heart sessions between Omar and his friend, and the place for crab roasting picnics, where reminiscence flows freely around the simple, pure past. The sea becomes an icon of purity and simplicity. And it is the interlocutor to confide in, where Omar goes to unburden himself after the departure of his girlfriend, Kaltham, away from the neighborhood. She had gone to another sea-side town, so maybe, when Omar throws his body in the sea, its very waters can work as a nexus, of sorts?

Thus can water, as an eco-system, become the mainstay of people's lives, in these two films.

B- Desert

Desert is the other frontier in the Arabian Peninsula, and like the sea, it has its share of antinomies that shroud people and seep into their souls, fashioning them out of sand and wind. Desert is limitless sand that fails to retain water or sustain greenery. Those immense dunes that succeed each other in seeming serenity are also capable of hiding terrible storms which can erase those same dunes in searing wind and monsters of stinging sand. Desert is oppressive days and frosty nights, death in water's absence, and Edenic gardens where springs erupt or wells are dug up. It symbolizes strength and survival, while harboring death at every turn.

And *Theeb* is the sole film in this collection which portrayed the desert in all its violent glory and overwhelming presence. You see it in close-ups, lining the characters' faces. The oppressive heat had tanned their skins, while staring at the hazy horizon with kohl-lined eyes. Their choice of clothes was naturally dictated by the desert, opting for light colors to reflect back the heat of the sun, and for loose, flowing robes to allow freedom of movement and bodily ventilation. The desert's hardship had imprinted its inhabitants with superhuman endurance; in their long trips across the

sands, the scarcity of food and water can only make them tougher and stronger. This is perhaps why with some of them toughness sours into cruelty, like those gangs of desert brigands, whose hearts seem hewn out of mountain stones, as shown in the sequence of fighting over loot, or, more cruelly, when they poisoned the water of the well, the only one available for travelers on that route.

With all its quiet, aridity and dread, the desert educates its inhabitants in patience and endurance. Thus we see the lengthy watchful vigil between the band of brigands, on one hand, and the two brothers Hussain and Theeb on the other, through a cold, lonely night, with sporadic shots fired now and again. "Eat or be eaten" was the sage advice of the father, learned from the desert and bequeathed in turn to his son Hussain. Harsh advice, born from a desert of stark desolateness.

Even those sudden upheavals between heat and cold, quiet and storm, are reflected in the band's members shameful betrayals of each other. And Theeb himself, when he finally has power over his brother's killer, does not hesitate to take him down, even after accompanying the man in a long trip, and enjoying his wisdom and protection. Theeb kept his hatred hidden, to be acted upon only at the right moment, when he becomes a true "wolf" of the desert.

The well comes to the fore as a privileged site of the movie's action, for it is as much a necessity for survival in the desert as a bone of contention, even a grave for the dead, as shown in the sequence of discovering how its waters were contaminated with the blood of those slain and buried within. Thus it was charged with its full significance in a desert environment, holding the dichotomy of survival and extinction in creative tension, and adding aesthetically to the film's cinematography, as a dramatic necessity for desert travelers. The well, indeed, is an ideal exemplification of desert locales.

C- City/ Township/ Borough

By its nature, urban life is more complex in most of its aspects. There are more job choices and more specializations in trade and services, consequently different social structures. Trade specialties are no longer confined to basic necessities like food; they branch into jewelry, musical records and toys. And then we have barbers and chauffeurs, and myriads of merchandise to deal in, as shown in *Wadjda* and *Sea Shadow*. To gain a living, some may even sell home-made meals to friends and acquaintances, as did Omar's mother in *Sea Shadow*, helping out a helpless husband. Amal, in *A New Day in Old Sanaa*, gains a meagre living by selling hard-boiled eggs on the streets of Sanaa. Alongside, we observe such different occupations as those of judge, policeman, teacher, photographer, and Inas the henna artist who henna-paints brides preparing for their weddings. A rigid hierarchy holds all of them together, according to the relative weight and social importance of each, and the possibilities of friendship and marriage are delimited by your place on that scale.

All of which can inspire anxiety and rejection, as did the father in *Sea Shadow*. He refused to leave for Abu Dhabi with his son, preferring instead to stay with the memories of his late wife in the home they shared. He chose the traditional borough over the bustling, modern capital.

In urban settings, novel locales arise for social interaction, and chief among those is the coffee-house. The coffee-house is a central space in traditional conurbations, serving as a locus for gathering characters in social occasions. In *The Cruel Sea* we see the coffee-house as a forum for friendly chit-chat, but also as the nodal point for work meetings, trip planning and loan distribution.

Small grocery stores play a similar role, where Omar meets his friend, or demands payment form Kaltham's father, the barber, in *Sea Shadow*. Even in *A New Day in Old Sanaa*, one such store is the site of meetings and acquaintance between characters, depicting a representative scene of urban life in that ancient town.

The school comes to the fore in *Wadjda* as a community in its own right, reflecting the social ills of an extremely conservative society. Contrasting with the diehard insularity of the girls' school, the street outside – in such a large city – becomes a site for openness and intermingling, albeit still furtively and under special circumstances, as with the note carried by Wadjda from her friend to the boy waiting in his car. The movie succeeded in heightening this contrast, by showing both the school's high walls and the wide-openness of the street outside.

II- The *Dramatis Personae* of the folk culture of the Arabian Peninsula

Inevitably, a folk culture produces some distinctive stereotypes that can serve as indicators of deeper meanings and patterns pertinent to the culture in question. And they may naturally appear in films made in the context of a particular culture, as a reflection of that culture's collective consciousness, or sometimes as a dramatic necessity arising from the needs of narrative progression.

A- The Gossipmonger

This is a common stereotype that appears in numerous films, playing the functional role of relaying rumors and secrets, as personified by the water-bearer in *The Cruel Sea* and the egg saleswoman in *A New Day in Old Sanaa*. This latter turned out to be the action mover and the nexus between various characters, which may be considered a limitation of the screenplay, depending as it did on this hackneyed ploy to move the action along. The objective equivalent is real, nonetheless, and enjoys analogous power and influence in real life. In *Wadjda* the same role is played, not by a single character personifying the stereotype, but by several of them who use cell phones to keep the wife abreast of her husband's news, performing an apparently indispensable social function.

B- Patriarchal Authority

A dominant male figure that enjoys enormous power, approaching sanctity in some instances, is still important in Arab societies in general. His power derives from his role as protector, arbiter or sage adviser, as the case may be.

B1- Tribe Elder

This was the elder brother of both Hussain and Theeb in the latter's eponymous movie. He inherited the position from his late father, becoming commander to the

tribe, obeyed in all matters from the hosting of guests to guiding them to the Roman well on the ancient pilgrimage road.

B2- Despotic Father

This appears in most of our films as a tyrant, barring the son Mussaid from joining the fishing trip, before finally allowing it in response to Mussaid's pleas, in *The Cruel Sea*. His authority is absolute and inescapable, according to the traditions imposed by society and the environment, as previously explained. In the same movie, Nura's father marries her off to an old, wealthy merchant. Rebel as she might, she can finally but acquiesce, albeit without surrendering her body to the husband. This is also the father/husband in *Wadjda*, seeking a second wife and running the household with an iron fist, oblivious to the feelings of its members, and even allowing the mother/wife to be ruled by proxy by the Pakistani chauffeur, who dictates the mother's and daughter's movement in his run-down jalopy. In *Sea Shadow* too we see the distant father, disallowing any change in the lives of the two daughters.

B3- Influential Rich Man

This can be seen as a developmental step up from Tribe Elder, coming along with the increased complexity of social structures and economic relations. The Influential Rich Man comes to control who works in what, reflecting the power of capital and its determination of social life and class stratification. In *The Cruel Sea* this figure chooses who leads the pearl diving trip, approves the recruitment of Mussaid, even convincing his reluctant father, and loans everybody against the expected profits from the trip. And when another rich man asks for Nura's hand in marriage, her parents welcome him as a means to enhance the family's status. Money talks and everyone has to listen.

B4- Crippled/Disabled Husband

The halo of sanctity bestowed on the father in traditional societies is swiftly removed if he fails to perform his social role. In both *The Cruel Sea* and *Sea Shadow*, the fathers (Mussaid's and Omar's) fail to provide for their families, and consequently lose some of their powers to the mothers, who replace them as head of the family. The father is also the object of rebellion in *Sea Shadow*, where the brother departs with both sisters (Kaltham and Mariam) in tow, leaving a lonely father in the borough he cannot forsake in his widowhood.

III-   Customs and Traditions in Arabian Peninsula Film

A tradition is a belief or behavior passed down within a group or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past. Common examples include holidays or impractical but socially meaningful clothes, but the idea has also been applied to social norms such as greetings.

A custom is defined in several Arabic lexicons as a pattern of conduct or behavior that is so routine as to become almost mechanical in its execution, e.g. the custom of smoking or customary lying. It also pertains to the primitive life of early man, before progress or advancement. [Definition of "custom", www.almaany.com, accessed on 30-06-2018].

Traditions, for their part, are defined as those inherited customs, beliefs, actions and cultures which one generation bequeaths to the next. [Definition of "tradition", www.almaany.com, accessed on 30-06-2018].

Customs are conventions inherited by successive generations to become part of their belief system, lasting as long as they are pertinent to a core belief of the culture. Traditions, on the other hand, are conventions of behavior based on inter-subjective concordance. They derive their power form society, pointing to the accumulation of experience and wisdom throughout this society's history, passed down from one generation to the next. Traditions, in essence, are social customs that had a very long life, passing form past to present and thence to the future, and acting like an internal organization of a particular society. [Faiza Isaad, *Social Customs and Traditions in Urban Contexts, between Convention and Modernity*, www.theses.univ-oran1.dz, accessed on 30-06-2018].
As views of the self and its surroundings, the chosen films reflect on a number of the traditions and customs of the region of the Arabian Peninsula.

A- Women's status and their social perception

It is a well-known fact that women have an inferior status in the folk culture of Arabia, sinking lower the further we move from urban culture towards the more impoverished, Bedouin communities. And *Theeb* is a perfect illustrator of this fact, depicting the life of a nomadic group in the 1900's, across an arid, lifeless desert. Women simply have no place in the action of the movie, and they were mentioned by the male characters only twice: when Hussain told Theeb off and ordered him to go to his mother, and during the caravan's night chat around the campfire with the British soldier, when the subject of women, and Hussain's imminent marriage, came up.

In *The Cruel Sea*, women are represented, on one hand, by the bereaved mother and suffering wife, who has no control over her life, nor chance to affect the slightest change in her fate or that of her loved ones. The other image of women is provided by Nura, Mussaid's girlfriend, seen at the beginning form the window of a room that looks like a prison, and driven at the end to marry against her will. She could only acquiesce, however long she may protest, gaining nothing from protest except humiliating abuse.

A more active image is seen in *Sea Shadow*, where the wife gets to work to support her family, and to have a say in their affairs, but always under suspicion and muted blame form the husband, or not so muted from the son Omar. But the same movie reverts to the egregious stereotype of the man-crazed divorcee, ever waiting for a suitor while endlessly prettifying herself. Klatham cuts a middle figure between those two, and perhaps represents a more realistic example of the urbanized girl in a conservative society; she bows down to most traditions and customs, but finally rebels to escape with her brother towards the modernity of Abu Dhabi.

A New Day in Old Sanaa offers several examples of women and their status, starting with the gypsy-like Inas, the henna artist who dances at dawn in a white dress found by chance, prepares a bride for her wedding, and befriends the egg saleswoman who trades in gossip. She falls in love with young Tariq, the bridegroom preparing for

imminent marriage, and declares her love, but the movie dashes her tender dreams, and dooms her instead to lifelong, lunatic waiting for a lover that will not come. He is seen performing his prayers after standing her up, as though purifying himself from her love, expiating its guilt. Traditions were the governing factor of that relationship, and class differences pronounced it still-born. Those traditions and class differences are the all-powerful undertow, imperceptibly influencing every action, as witnessed in the scramble to attend the judge's daughter's wedding, which confers status in a stratified society where to work in selling eggs or painting henna is to invite additional scorn and disdain, on top of hiding all women behind the burqa. They do not even dare expose their painted hands for the camera, making the Italian photographer resort to painting his own hand and calling on Tariq to take the shot.

Wadjda takes women's dreams as high as they may go, demanding her right to ride a bicycle in a society that denied women – at the time of *Wadjda's* filming – the right to drive cars. She keeps asking why it's not allowed, to receive infuriating answers like bicycle riding is only for boys or it might harm your fertility. The most telling scene comes when she falls off her bicycle screaming "blood!" Her mother comes running, anxious to find the source of bleeding and relaxing only when she discovers it's Wadjda's knee. Viewers can infer that the really important thing is not Wadjda's wellbeing, but her material virginity. It's catastrophic for a girl to lose the integrity of the hymen to a bicycle accident, in a society that keeps her covered, suppressed, negated and excluded. As for the mother, her life is consumed with terror lest her husband take a second wife, which he does by the end of the movie, giving her the determination to adopt Wadjda's cause: she buys her the coveted bicycle, thereby turning it into a symbol for wider and freer horizons for future women.

B- Singing

Performance arts are among a society's most prominent manifestations of its culture, for they are at once more popular and more wide-spread than all other forms. *The Cruel Sea* gave pride of place to such performances, representing – perhaps excessively – many scenes of group signing, at the beginning of a diving trip; with women chanting in propitiation to the sea; and to celebrate the bride during the wedding. The filmmakers were apparently so enamored of traditional singing, it was almost like a night of Kuwaiti folklore.

In *Sea Shadow* we find a unique mix of traditional and modern singing, particularly when the divorcee told Omar how much she likes the songs of Saudi singer AbdulMajeed Abdullah, calling him "the prince of love". Omar goes out to buy all of Abdullah's tapes for her, and it was only her subsequent marriage that came between her and this gift.

Even in *Theeb* we hear some Bedouin chants, when the brigand sang for Theeb around their campfire, a song that was expressive of the ferociousness of the desert and its wolves, whether animal or human.

C- Mythology and Superstition

The Cruel Sea underlines the rituals accompanying the voyage out to sea in one scene where women gather with a kitten and a palm-frond broom. The kitten is dunked in

sea water and the broom is set alight and thrown to the waves. The point of the ritual is for the kitten to absorb the sea's rage while investing it with its own meekness, and for the broom to "sweep" away malevolent spirits, but also, since fire and water are opposing forces, one is supposed to subdue the other. The rituals represent attempts, on the part of folk culture, to tame the sea beast for the sake of the men about to throw themselves in its maw.

A New Day in Old Sanaa is a mythology unto itself, with its unique style and narrative spirit. Starting with Tariq seeing Inas dance at night in a white dress, on to the gossamer style of cinematography that reminds us of magic realism, to the ending that portrays her waiting nightly on the bridge, like a female Sisyphus, it seems like mythologizing Sanaa is the whole point of the movie. Sanaa itself is complicit in this intention, with its spectacular traditional architecture, caught by the camera of the Italian photographer, as if in surrender to an enchanting spell.

The atmosphere of *Theeb*, too, is reminiscent of ancient sagas or pre-historic myths, brimming, in spite of the sparse dialogue, with Bedouin proverbs and traditions, almost a tale out of *The Thousand and One Nights*. The harmony is perfect between the visual backdrop of desert mountains and ravines, the period costumes, and the music that takes us there in place and time.

D- Wedding Celebrations

In an impoverished setting, wedding celebrations become a chance to wrest some joy out of the hard reality: a breathing space, a forum for social interaction, and maybe also a meeting ground to facilitate further marriages. A wedding celebration, too, is an economic locomotive, as many would buy new clothes or gifts, and parents of the bride and groom would lavish food on their guests, and a *trousseau* for the bride, and so on. A great machine of economic and social activity is set in motion as a result of this uniquely social event. Weddings dominated the action of two of our movies, and strongly influenced a third one.

In *A New day in Old Sanaa*, the action revolves around a wedding from the very first shot, showing how invitations are coveted, and how elaborate the preparations can be. The rationale of going through with it was the subject of heated discussions between Tariq and his sister, haunting him all through the movie, and contrasting with the anti-climactic scene of the bride ringed around with women.

In *Wadjda*, the nagging fear of the father's second marriage was the mother's primary concern, driving her to distraction and to tears many times, and determining her stance from Wadjda's demand. Only after her final defeat, when the husband got his second wife, did she realize that her daughter's cause is really hers too: to fight back against customs and traditions that are flagrantly unfair. She bought Wadjda the bicycle, a seemingly small and childish dream, but actually a great leap forward and a *cri-de-coeur* in the face of an unjust society.

Only the wedding in *The Cruel Sea* is left to us now; a wedding that added to the lovers' pains, and greatly hurt Mussaid's parents, before they were stymied by news of his drowning. The scene suffered, perhaps, for being a bit too long, maybe because the filmmakers wanted to display some of Kuwait's pre-oil folklore, and in this they gave us what can be considered a cinematic document.

E- Blood Feuds

The toughness of life in arid Arabia gives its inhabitants a strong sense of self-esteem, for to survive in such a ruthless and forbidding environment takes a tough self indeed. And maybe it is this heightened sense of self that makes it hard to forget and forgive. The slightest provocation can develop into a long blood feud, as evidenced by Arabic folk tales, for example that of the Bassous war.

We should not, then, be startled when we see Theeb, a ten-year old boy, draw a gun to shoot his brother's killer, in spite of their common journey and the killer's exhortations against betrayal. For it is unimaginable for Theeb to live the rest of his life and let his brother's killer off the hook. The desert's values and its ineluctable laws are reflected in this scene, and the glares of mutual defiance, before Theeb releases the lethal bullet. He remains defiant of the authority of the Ottoman force, until they let him go.

Conclusion

Since we're discussing folk culture and its manifestations in film, we can only point out how it overwhelmed *The Cruel Sea*, which gave up a lot of screen time to scenes of folkloric singing and dancing, sacrificing some of its artistic integrity.

In contrast, *Sea Shadow* was overwhelmed by its main theme, the struggle between modernity and traditional values, to such an extent that it sacrificed a chance for visual authenticity. The characters, as an example, never wore traditional Emirati garb, although it is actually cherished in the UAE.

Those were five movies form five countries, unknown to many except as vast deserts, dotted with palms and camels, and swimming over a sea of oil. But a close, intelligent look will reveal the similarities, springing from the common tribal roots, the common language, and the blanketing Arab-Islamic culture.

And they represent different and promising steps on the road towards a modernistic current for cinema in this part of the world. In attempting to reflect the reality of their societies, they managed to unearth some of their folk roots.

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Marmaray Project Sirkeci Rescue Excavations in the Case of Stratification as an Urban Archaeology Example and Its Effects on City Planning[1][2]

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Abstract
The Marmaray Project was prepared to connect Asian and European parts of the Bosphorus as the biggest transportation project in Istanbul whereby it emerged a great opportunity to connect archaeological dots of the city's history and even surprised with a lot of new discoveries. Rescue excavations of the three major sites in Marmaray, were held under the authority of Istanbul Archaeological Museums (IAM) in 2004-2012, became the most important example of urban archaeology in the history of Turkey. This paper is focused on Sirkeci Station of Marmaray within the Historic Peninsula where archaeological stratification has demonstrated the architectural inventory from Early Turkish Republican, Ottoman, Byzantine to Roman Period (also some published archaeological pieces dated to Hellenistic Period). Rescue excavations implement with some problems not only about time but also documentation process. For instance, classical documentation process could hold all information about archaeological inventory with report and CAD folder and consequently, this crucial inventory cannot be a part of not only the scientific investigation but also modern planning process. This paper offers a solution with a GIS project as a contemporary digitalization and documentation method. With the contribution of the GIS, archaeological potential can present its periodical changes by examining the ancient topography, architectural remnants, their building techniques, materials, and urban relationships. For this reason, documentation of Sirkeci Rescue Excavations was transferred to the GIS database and its opportunity of the multidisciplinary perspective was discussed.

Keywords: Urban archaeology, rescue excavations, Marmaray Project, multi-layered, Istanbul, GIS, stratification

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Introduction

This paper focuses on why the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) is needed for a multidisciplinary approach, and how an important role it has on both archaeological research and urban planning process in a case of Marmaray Project Sirkeci Rescue Excavations in Istanbul.

Our method is to represent a model with GIS Database for architectural archive process of this rescue excavations. The digital archive used for recording archaeological interventions' data is a part of a larger archive which, alongside archaeological data, also included data from historical maps, the current situation of the physical environment, plan decisions for the future and so on. Moreover, the GIS application on the archive of archaeological determination has so far been facilitating, mainly due to multidisciplinary research and city planning process.

Marmaray Transportation Project which was planned by not taking the account of the archaeological potential reveals the most valuable archaeological deposits of the city on the contrary. This GIS database of Sirkeci Rescue Excavations is one of the beneficial results of Marmaray.

1. Marmaray Transportation Project

Istanbul is a modern metropolis with a very rich history and important location which is situated on two parts called European and Asian side by the Bosphorus on the north coast of Turkey. It houses more than 15 million population which causes a lot of urban problems. The worst one is a traffic congestion all around the city.

One of the most important projects to propose a solution for this traffic problem was Marmaray[3] Transportation Project which is commuter rail mass transit system, connecting the old rail lines, by upgrading them, to new ones with a tube tunnel under Bosphorus (Belkaya, Ozmen, Karamut, 2008: 26) (Fig.1).

Fig. 1: The Marmaray Project Route Plan and Section (Altun&Baltaş, 2014: 30-31)

The project started in 2004 by the authority of the Ministry of Transportation (Ozmen, 2007: 26). After a while project started, archaeological pieces were found which started the rescue excavations.

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[3] Marmaray is combined word with Marmara the name of the sea, and ray is Turkish word for rail.

2. Rescue Excavations

According to legislation in Turkey, archaeological excavations can be made by the permission of the TC. Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Archaeological museums and universities carry out excavation work under the authority of Ministry. In addition to scientific excavations, due to the demands of private property and public needs, also rescue excavations are conducted in both rural and urban conditions. Marmaray Transportation Project was an urgent need of the city and its rescue excavations conducted by IAM.

Marmaray Rescue Excavations was the biggest urban excavation project in Turkey not only by the means of square meter but also about the content. Three stations, Yenikapı and Sirkeci in the Historical Peninsula and Usküdar and Ayrılıkçeşme on the Asian side had these excavations (Fig.2).
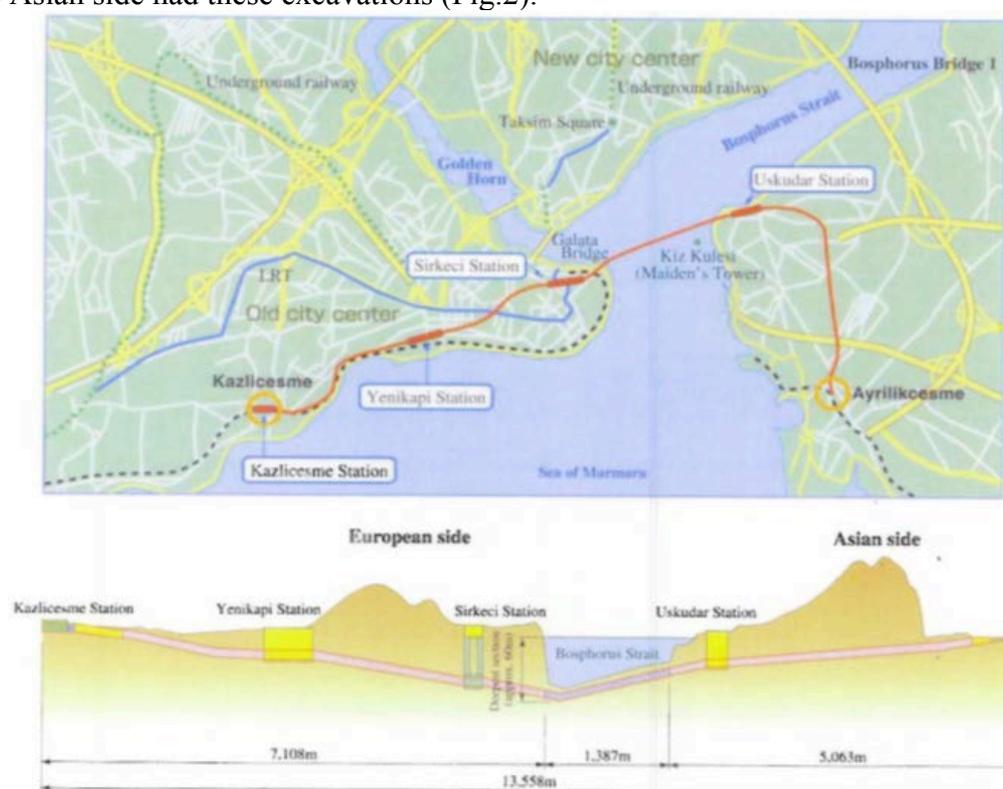
Fig. 2: The Marmaray Rail Tube Tunnel Plan and Section (Heidenhain, 2010: 1)

The excavations started in 2004 and they took eight years to finish. After archaeological site works were completed in 2012, one more year was needed for the final documentation. When everything was finished, all the material and archive was handed to IAM. Meanwhile, Marmaray was opened in 2013. It has been used every day by a large number of people since then.

As the beginning of Marmaray Project, no one would think that its rescue excavations would change and enlighten the history of Historical Peninsula and Istanbul, a cultural heritage site of UNESCO, with a huge amount of archaeological and architectural evidence dating to different periods. Existing fabric of the city has been peeled for new infrastructures such as subways which helped archaeologists to understand the historical stratification in a new sense (Crow, 2007: 252).

Rescue excavations have different properties than rural archaeology in terms of time, working conditions and administrative issues. Example of Marmaray set up a lot of priorities for urban excavations. The site work was handled in every weather condition because it continued for whole year. The shifts were regular from 8 am to 5 pm but for some periods, there were three shifts for 24 hours. The construction project was also going on which created intersected process by sharing the neighbourhood of the archaeological site. Also, structures needed some consolidation for safety reasons, the archaeological area was bounded in these terms.

Archaeology has a multidisciplinary working principle by the definition. But in an urban excavation like Marmaray, construction teams were also involved in the process which created a new perspective not in methodology of archaeology but the interdisciplinary structure of it. Archaeologists, anthropologists, architects, restorators, conservators, photographers and more professionals related to different disciplines worked on and off the site. Museum staff were responsible for administrative part. Beside professionals, so many workers labour was committed to the project.

3. Rescue Excavations of Sirkeci Station

Sirkeci is a neighbourhood in the heart of the Historical Peninsula, close to Topkapı Palace, Blue Mosque and Hagia Sofia. It has been an important intersection site for the transportation of the city with the Sirkeci Railway Station, which was built in the late 19th century, and the ferry quays which has been also harbour area for centuries. Rescue excavations of Sirkeci Station, which is the deepest station, in Marmaray, is the case study area for this paper. Sirkeci has two entrances (north-south) and two shafts (east-west) with different shapes and sizes for the construction project (Fig.3).
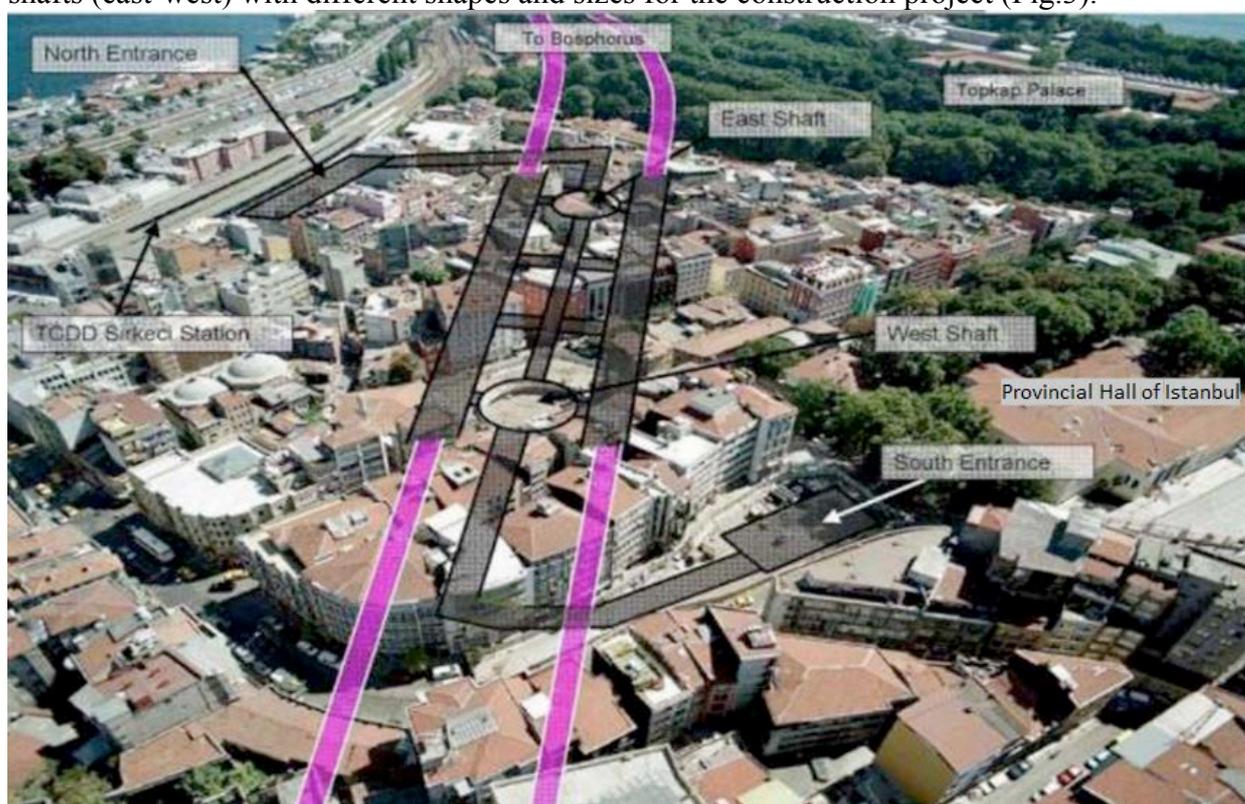
Fig. 3: Sirkeci Station Excavation Areas (Irmak, 2010: 68)

Because of the depth of the archaeological deposits, underground water, surrounding urban settlements and protection of the area, four areas have bored piles around them for safety and technical reasons (Girgin, 2007: 98) (Fig.4).

Fig. 4: Sirkeci Station Overview (Authors adapted from Google Earth)

All four areas had rescue excavations. They didn't start at the same time due to the construction process and did finish at different times. The start was in 2004 and finish was in 2012. Through all the excavations, there were more than 30 archaeologists, 5 architects[4] and other professionals worked on the project under the supervision of IAM.

Four excavation areas have a dense architectural inventory, starting from Early Turkish Republican Period to Ottoman, Byzantine, Roman and Hellenistic Periods. Because of the obligatory boundary of the sites, the context of the architectural elements was sometimes not clear or couldn't be followed on the same level but regardless this challenges it gave very important information about the historical stratification (Başaran& Kızıltan, 2016: 51). Beside architectural remnants, all sites

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[4] This paper's main author worked in Marmaray Sirkeci Excavations for almost six years and spent time at Yenikapı and Ayrılıkçeşme Station Excavations on the site. Also worked on the archive study of whole Marmaray Excavations.

have also an immense data of archaeological artefacts which are studied by different scholars.

3.1.   North Entrance

It is situated on the south part of the Sirkeci Railway Station. This site is important for being a new example of civil architecture complex of Byzantine Period (Tan, 2009:24). It is also understood that this site was in the ancient port of Prosphorion with some part of the east shaft (Asal, Eskalen, 2013: 251). The archaeological deposit finished in -26 m. deep which gives a new perspective to the relationship with the sea level change (Kızıltan, 2014: 70).

Fig. 5: North entrance

3.2.   South Entrance

This site is so close to Governorship House dated t 19th c. on a sloppy street in Cağaloğlu District in Sirkeci (Fig. 6). It has an architectural inventory sometimes mixed into each other on the Turkish, Ottoman and Byzantine Period levels which demonstrates an uninterrupted urban life for long ages (Kızıltan, 2014: 71).

Fig. 6: South entrance (Authors adapted from nyakin.com)

3.3.   East Shaft

East Shaft has two rings, one small and one large, for ventilation which is now used as another entrance for Marmaray Station (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: East shaft (two rings together) (Irmak, 2010: 75)

The small shaft has the earliest archaeological pieces dated to BC 7th c. in Sirkeci Excavations (Girgin, 2007: 101). Large shaft a significant building complex dated to AD 5-7th c. which was removed to establish in another site by the Regional Conservation Board decision (Tan, 2009: 24). Both rings have similar architectural deposits since they are so close to each other, yet they are unique in their own way.

3.4.   West Shaft

West Shaft is also a ventilation shaft which was excavated as the deepest area of Marmaray for construction. Even the north part of the shaft was ruined in early 20th c. until the Byzantine Period level, the whole shaft has very important architectural remnants (Girgin, 2007: 104).

Fig.8: West shaft (Belkaya, Ozmen, Karamut, 2008: 2)

3.5.   Architectural Documentation of Sirkeci Excavations

Architectural documentation process of the excavations starts on the site. When archaeologist finishes working on a certain level (sometimes because of constructional reasons, sometimes archaeological reasons such as following the periodical change), architect collects coordinated data of architectural remnants on a proper sketch with a survey team who uses total station equipment for digital measurement (Fig. 9 a, b). The architect also takes photographs from every point of view (Fig 9 c). Then office work starts. Architect combine sketch, raw data from survey and photographs to draw 2D architectural plans, sections and elevations on a CAD-based program (Fig. 9 d). When all drawings are finished including material, mass-void, periodical analysis etc., the drawing files are submitted to the Regional Conservation Board with a detailed report prepared by IAM. This process continues until the bedrock unless any request comes from the board. If any decision, such as protecting the remains in-situ, new drawings are made and handed to IAM for applications.

Fig.9 a, b, c, d: Architectural documentation (Author's personal archive)

After all excavations on the site were finished, an archive of Sirkeci Excavations prepared by the architectural team. All files were arranged by submission date and year for four areas. After completion of the archive, everything was sent to IAM in paper and digital form.This process is a classical approach for documentation in an urban rescue excavation. With this paper, a GIS integrated solution is studied for Sirkeci Rescue Excavations as an important example for future.

4. The Process of the GIS Database

The development of multi-layered cities in the historical process increases the responsibility of archaeological museums both in the maintenance of archaeological cultural inventory and their part in the development of planning systematics in urban scale. In this paper, one of the most important aims is to represent a method with GIS for documentation method of the archaeological inventory in the example of urban archaeology. This method has many opportunities to understand the urban pattern of the past periods of the city and the planning process for the future of the city.

This GIS project can be separated into two parts. The first part was progressed for a master thesis[5]. And the second part which includes Sirkeci Rescue Excavations was progressed for a PhD thesis[6].

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[5] The first part of the database was prepared by paper's co-author for her master thesis. This database includes archaeological inventories, historical maps, natural environment knowledge, present physical information, plan decision for the future and seven architectural remnants which are situated in Tahtakale Region-Istanbul.

4.1.   First Database Structure

The first part of the GIS Database was prepared in order to associate the planning process with archaeological inventories. Within the scope of the 2010 European Capital of Culture Projects, studies covering the 40-year period between 1970 and 2010 of archaeological soundings and determinations carried out under the control of the archaeological museum were compiled[7]. The photographs and drawings in the annexes of the reports in the archives were scanned and stored on the computer.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOUNDING MAP OF HISTORICAL PENINSULA
SOUNDINGS OF HISTORICAL PENINSULA
PRESENT ROAD SYSTEM
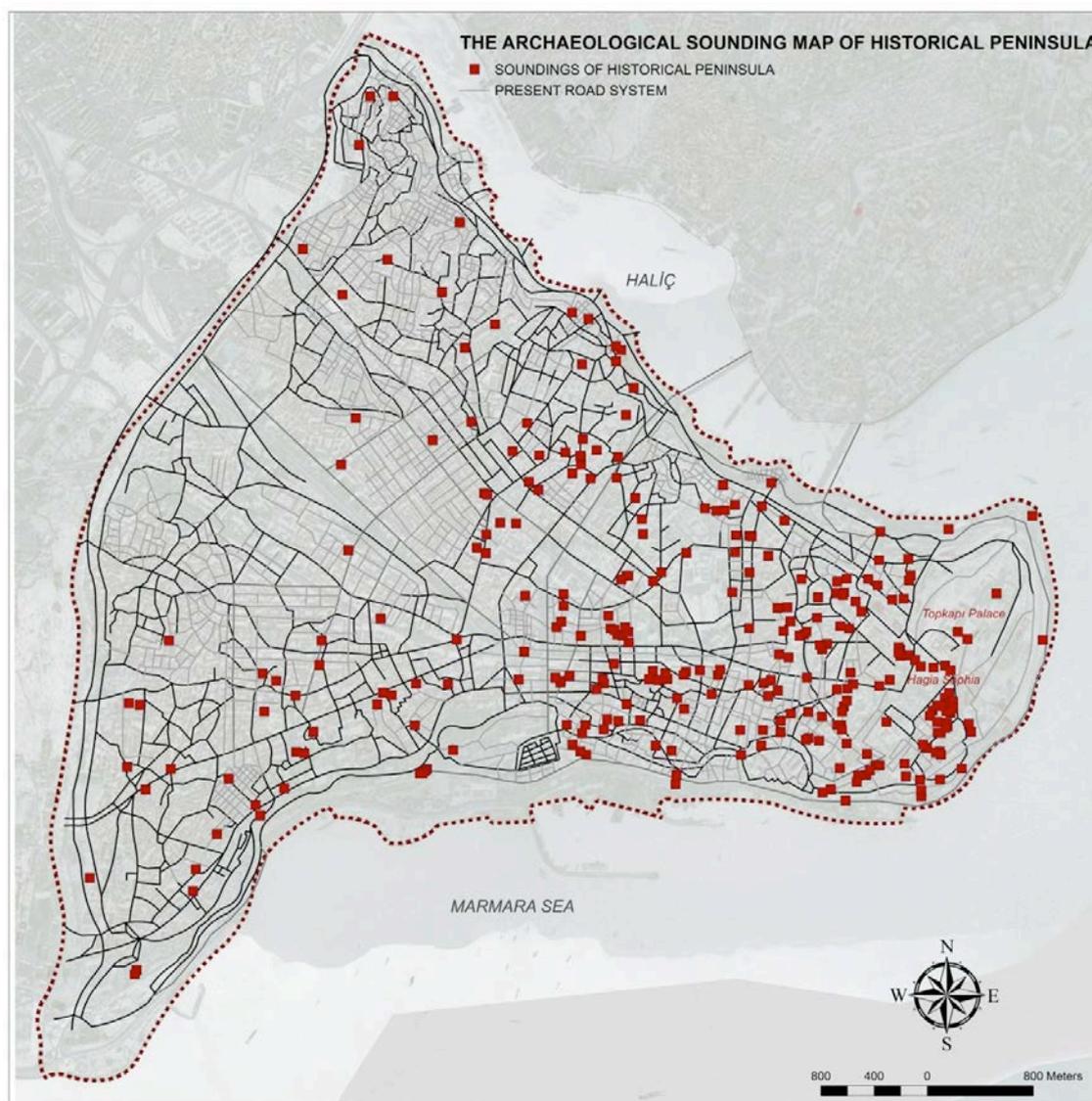
Fig.10 Archaeological Determination at Historical Peninsula

The method followed by transforming museum data into spatial datasets can be summarized as follows;

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[6] The second part of the database is a part of paper's main author PhD Project created with paper's co-author, by the permission of IAM. Sirkeci rescue excavation document was transferred to the first GIS database. With this project, more than 150 CAD folder has transferred to the database and its volume has expanded.

[7] Archaeological soundings and determinations were published as an excel list which includes some information about them by Turgut Saner and Zeynep Kızıltan.

The GIS' satellite image of the historical peninsula has been used and 414 museum files related to their location in urban space have been coordinated on smart maps. The drilling information plugs are created for each archaeological determination. The data are given in the appendix of the resource used for the creation of the database, Museum File Number, Location, Coordinates, Period, Residue Type and Finds[8]. Data are processed to these chips, so the archaeological remains which were uncovered as a result of 40 years of studies, detailed numerical data about the characteristics of the finds were obtained.
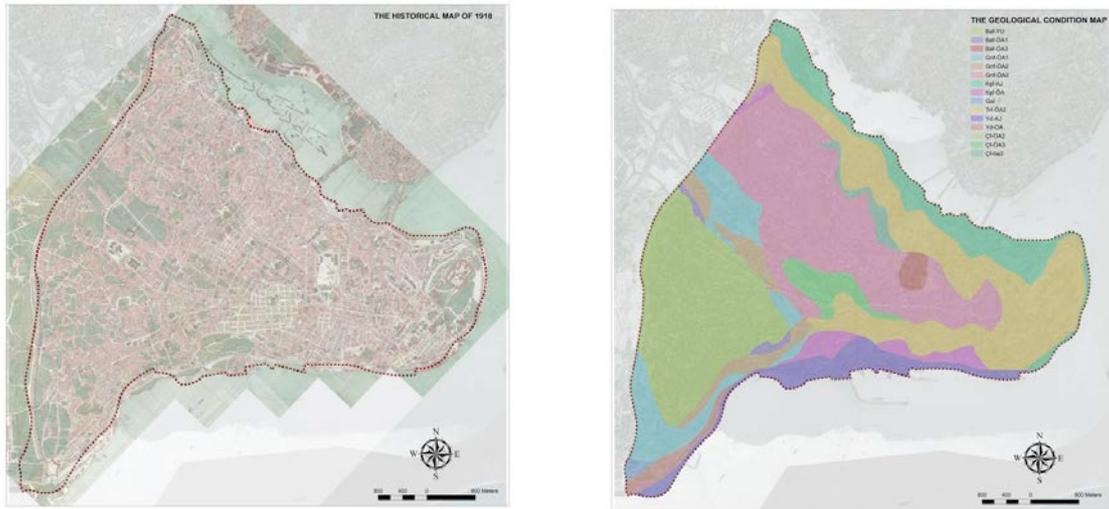
Fig.11 a,b: Historical Maps and Geological Condition

In order to determine the archaeologically protected areas, it is necessary to determine the cultural fill areas. In this context, urban archaeology and periodical topography studies are required (Emre B, 2017:166-185). Therefore, historical maps, natural environment analyses and topographic data have been added to the database.
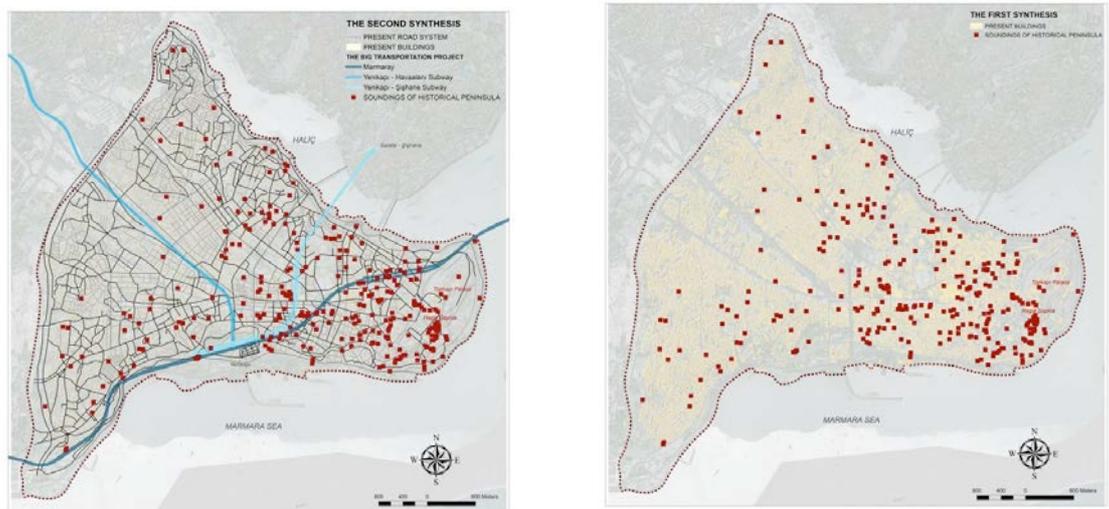
Fig.12 a,b: Physical Environment (Buildings Information and Transportation Network)

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[8] All this information is stored in the system with the help of attribute table.

In order to prioritize archaeological-protected areas, it must be determined the areas where the existing conditions of construction are mostly damaged (Emre B, 2017:186-214). Fig.12 shows that present physical condition and we can observe transportation network condition as well as building positions on the archaeological inventory.

In this database, it was emphasized that each archaeological determination should be transferred to this system with museum files, because the museum files include archaeological inventory with their measurements and proportions, as well as the data of the elevation. Thus, the decision-making process in urban space will proceed in a healthy way with the awareness of the archaeological deposit areas.

4.2.   Sirkeci Database Structure

The second part of the GIS database has been carried out for the study of Sirkeci Excavations and its environment, which is a very important harbour area in ancient Istanbul, in the context of urban archaeology. This part includes the process of transferring the architectural elements of the Sirkeci rescue excavations with the elevation, period and material knowledge.

The work carried out on four excavation areas which were recorded with more than 150 cad files which could be seen in the example of east shaft archive (Fig. 13).
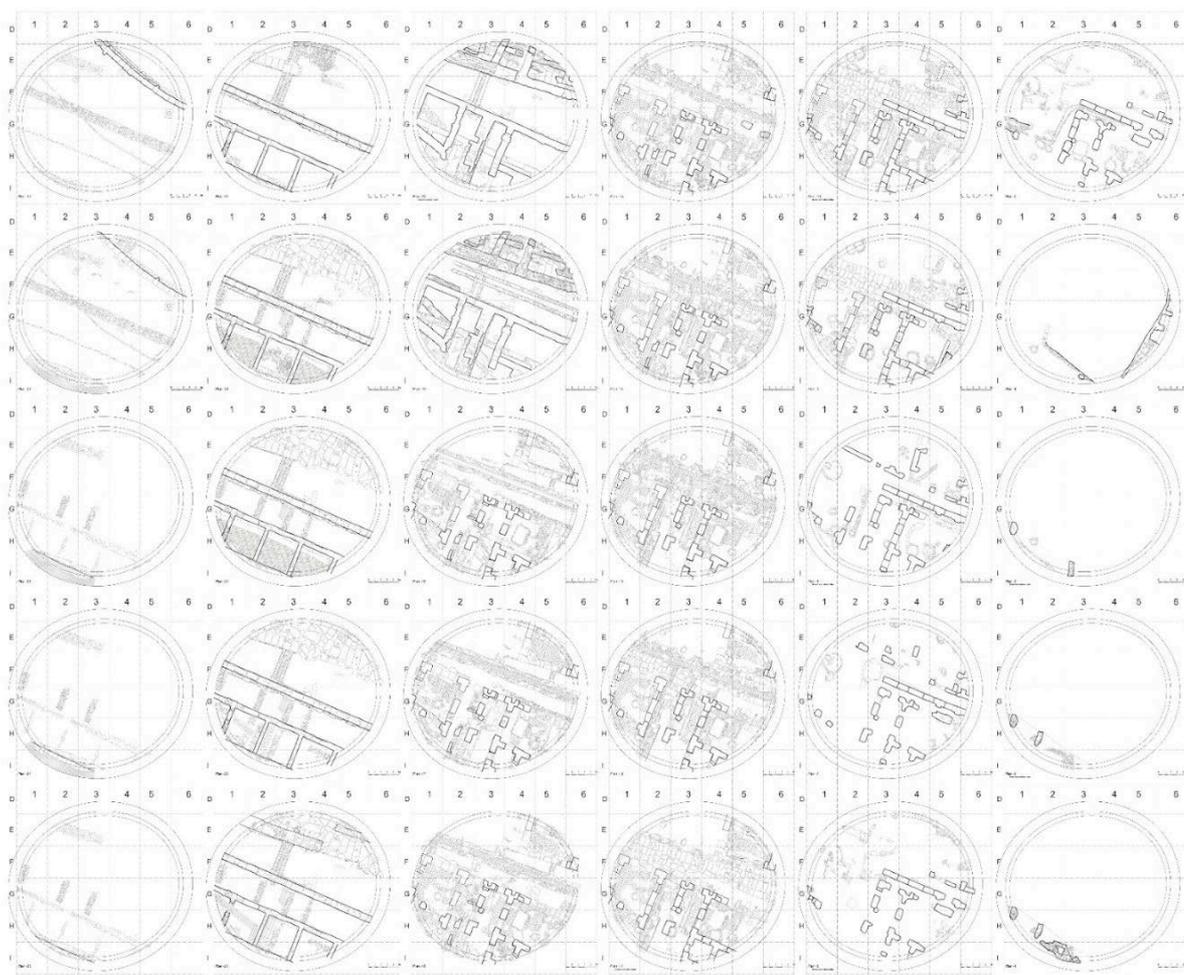
Fig.13 East Shaft Large Ring Drawing Archive

First, these files are converted into spatial data. Afterwards, the transfer operation was started from the upper level, only the new parts from each CAD file were added to the system with elevation, material and period data and the process was repeated until the bedrock. This information is kept in the attribute table. The Arc-GIS program working with GIS can be used to make queries based on different characteristics. Fig. 14 was prepared with material information for four excavation areas, based on data of peer period.

Fig.14 The site plan of the Sirkeci Excavations

Thanks to the database developed in two stages, it is possible to make serious inferences both on the urban scale and spatial scale for both archaeological research and planning process. This system is open to store the knowledge of the archaeological inventory from the smallest to the largest architectural monumental structures. It is the most important feature of the system to ensure that the different data sets are combined and open to different definitions (Emre B. & Ozturk A., 2018, 53-88). Therefore, all the finds could be evaluated in a holistic way within the urban context.

4.3.   Advantages and Disadvantages

In Turkey and in the world, the planning decisions taken in the urban space hosts together advantages and disadvantages for urban archaeology. Determining the archaeological inventory is vital for planning in terms of spatial continuity as well as archaeology and urban studies.

Ensuring spatial continuity in historical multi-layered cities requires a combination of many components. Today, one of the main problems encountered in the historical environment is to lose its references to the past. In the UNESCO World Heritage Committee meeting in New Zealand in 2007, urban infrastructure projects, contemporary architecture and high buildings and the devastating effect of urban change and development were highlighted by the countries participating in the meeting (Dinçer, 2013: 23). Cultural heritage in countries where there are extensive contemporary investments, such as Turkey, is under serious threat with difficulty to keep the balance between the economic improvements and preservation of the inventory (Kızıltan and Uyar, 2011: 8). The basis for these problems is the lack of a proper database of different periods of history in the urban area. All this can be achieved depending on the quality and quantity of a strong pool of data and the combination of different disciplines.

The city history was rewritten with transportation projects in Istanbul. Now the importance of this city is more clearly known. Therefore, it is a great necessity to carry out serious research on the city's potential archaeological sites which are under the threat of existing building conditions.

All over the Historical Peninsula entire urban archaeological inventory with elevation values should be digitized in the GIS database. This inventory must be considered when urban planning especially for the transportation systems. In this way, it will prevent the destruction of the cultural heritage areas and make the decisions by seeing this inventory and adding them to the design (Emre B, 2017: 207). In the multi-layered urban system, it is imperative to benefit from past knowledge and to preserve cultural values. Sustainable development, increasing the quality of urban life and simultaneously protecting concrete and intangible cultural assets is very difficult (Dinçer, 2013: 22-23). All these requirements can only be achieved through correct planning approaches and using different planning tools like archaeological inventories' database.

Conclusion

To create GIS database for Historical Peninsula and Sirkeci Rescue Excavations plays an important role in the perspective of archaeological research, conservation strategies of archaeological inventory and planning process.

One of the most important opportunity of the study is explaining the relationship between archaeological inventory and transportation project. There are many options that processed with the GIS in order to detect, record, analyse, synthesize, evaluate, conserve and manage the data of archaeological inventories.

Archaeology uses and needs complicated knowledge from different disciplines. The placement of archaeological studies in GIS provides great convenience for interdisciplinary work by using overlap features. Another important benefit of transferring archaeological studies to GIS is that the system, which can store data at different scales, utilizes to make a holistic assessment and multiple interrogations.

Archaeological studies are carried out with many difficulties in the urban area, especially such a lively and multi-layered city like Istanbul. The studies provide information about the different periods of ancient Istanbul from the archaeological determination and rescue excavations. Marmaray Sirkeci Excavations as a case study are very important to present the potential of using a new approach for more efficient documentation process, especially for architectural part. This kind of database in archaeology would give opportunities to interpret complex relationship between cultural stratifications and with ancient topography as well. It would also create awareness for the cultural heritage protection by emphasizing its presence. It is also significant for further research for all kind of disciplines studying on the archaeology which could make only database more useful and profound with new additions (Fig.15).
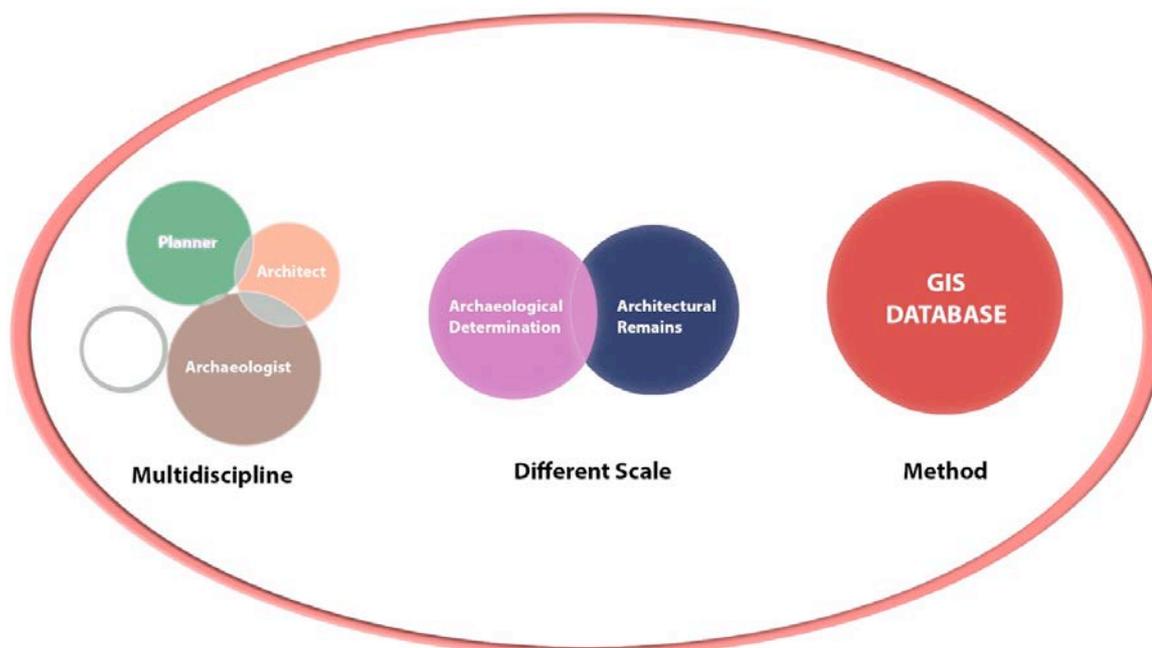
Fig.14 Schematic holistic approach

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The Value of Yunnan-Vietnam Railway as an Urban Industrial Heritage: Historical Analysis of its Landscape Changes

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Abstract
Yunnan-Vietnam Railway, also named Indochina-Yunnan railway, as a historical corridor between China and Southeast Asia, constructed in the 1900s according to the development plan of French Indochina, is one of the earliest built railways, the first international railway, as well as the longest narrow gauge and single-track railway in China. This study focuses on the area along this railway in the Chinese section (Kunming-Hekou), which links a series of urban centers, cultural heritage and landscape resources in Yunnan, witnessed many important historical events, telling a history of collaboration and friendship, tumult and hostility. This article, based on the historical records and maps, will figure out the value of this railway as urban industrial heritage, from the aspect of the relationship between dynamic changing of the main urban areas in Yunnan and this railway in the history. The methodology of historical cartography analysis with the support of a Geographic Information System (GIS) will be employed, to evaluate the consequences of the transformations of environment and landscape along the railroad, to analyze its changing pattern in three periods: before the construction, under the influence of French Indochina, and the Chinese modernization. The factors of population and urbanization will be taken into consideration. Through the visual analysis, it will discuss the role of Yunnan-Vietnam railway in the modern history of Yunnan, for a better understanding and protection of this heritage in the future.

Keywords: industrial heritage, urban development, Yunnan, modern history, landscape change

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Introduction

Landscape is both a physical existence and a comprehensive concept, which reflects the relationship between human beings and the environment. At the same time, it is not static, and it can be modified even created. Since the industrial revolution, with the acceleration of urbanization and modernization, human activities have been changing both the natural landscape and cultural landscape. The factors that lead to landscape change are incredibly complicated, they are summarized into two categories of the driving factors of landscape change: natural factors (climate change, hydrology, soil environment, etc.) and human factors (population, technological progress, political and economic systems, cultural concepts, etc.) (Wu et al., 2012). The case studies of landscape change and its driving forces have been scientific topics for a long time, along with the introduction of advanced technologies such as remote sensing and geographic information system. This article takes the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway as an example to study its historical value from the perspective of landscape change. Moreover, the cultural factors are discussed principally to reveal the relationship between the development of this railway and the landscape change.

Yunnan-Vietnam Railway (CFY)[1] constructed in 1910 between China and Vietnam, is the most famous and important one-meter gauge railway in China, also a crucial part of the current North-South railway system in Vietnam. The Chinese section starts from Kunming, extending to Hekou, with a length of 465 km. It built a route of international cooperation and cultural exchanges between Yunnan and other Southeast Asian countries, leading Yunnan to the modernization. From the viewpoint of art, history, culture, and technology, it is a valuable cultural heritage in both China and Vietnam. Some of its single remains have already been inscribed as protected historical and cultural sites, such as a few railway stations and the bridges, and the whole rail route was officially inscribed as an industrial heritage by the Chinese government in 2018.

The value of this railway and its profound impact on Yunnan province have been widely studied. Initially, the transportation program was the central part of French colonial policy to connect Indochina with China and to build a new colonial pattern, invading and plundering Southeast Asia, politically, economically, militarily and culturally (Zhao, 2009). In reality, along the Red River, the building of the transportation system was a turning point for Yunnan, especially for the social and economic changes. The opening-up situation stimulated the development of commodity economy, as well as the urbanization of the cities along the railroad, such as the main stations of CFY - Kunming, Kaiyuan, Bisezhai, and Hekou (Che, 2010; Yang & Li, 2011). The relation between this railway and the economic development of Yunnan has also been analyzed, which resulted in positive influence on the mining, industry, trading, and transportation of Yunnan (Zhao, 2014). As a symbol of industrialization and civilization, it changed not only the methods of construction and management of other railways in Yunnan but made the modern science and technology widely spread, profoundly influenced the culture, custom, religion, even the ideology, daily behavior and lifestyle of common people (Che, 2007).

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[1] Chemins de fer de l'Indochine et du Yunnan, abbreviation CFY

This article, based on the historical records and maps, will figure out the value of this railway as urban industrial heritage, from the aspect of the relationship between dynamic changing of the main urban areas in Yunnan and this railway in the history. The methodology of historical cartography analysis with the support of a Geographic Information System (GIS) will be employed, to evaluate the consequences of the transformations of environment and landscape along the railroad, to analyze its changing pattern in three periods: under the influence of French Indochina, the WWII and the Chinese modernization. The factors of population and urbanization will be taken into consideration. Through the visual analysis tool, it will discuss the role of Yunnan-Vietnam railway in the modern history of Yunnan, for a better understanding and protection of this heritage in the future.

Before the construction of the railway (1840-1910)

In the history of Yunnan, due to the position in the southwestern mountainous area and the inconvenient situation of transportation, the development model of politics and economy in Yunnan was different from that in inner China. Yunnan was lagged far behind the rest parts of China until Qing dynasty[2]. However, it was always an attractive and mysterious land for foreign explorers. The enthusiasm of the exploration in Southeast Asia lasted for nearly one century since the late 18th century, with a large number of explorers participated. Making business was their primary purpose, along with other fields of research such as geography, geology, biology, and anthropology. Among these, there were more than twenty times of exploration happened in Yunnan province. In particular the Britain and France, by virtue of their colonial advantages from Indochina and Burma, they tried to open the Chinese market through the corridors in Yunnan (Yang, 2011).

Doudart de Lagrée and François Garnier were the early French explorers in China. They investigated the area of Yunnan, Sichuan and the Yangtze River in the 1860s. Their expedition crossed about 10,000 km in China, and it was considered as one of the most significant scientific expeditions in the 19th century. In 1881, A.S. Colquhoun took his voyage from southern China to Burma. Later, he published a series of reports related to Yunnan. He described Yunnan as the wealthiest province in the south of China, with abundant mineral resources, which would be a vast potential market for Britain (Colquhoun, 1882). British Major Henry Rodolph Davis also conducted four times of scientific survey in Yunnan from 1894 to 1900, with the journey of totally 15,000 km. He recorded the towns in Yunnan, reported detailed information about the population, housing and size of cities along his trip and made the first relatively complete map of Yunnan in the late Qing dynasty.

After the Sino-French War[3], France obtained the right to build railway in Yunnan. In 1898, The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed two delegations to Yunnan to survey and design the rail line between Yunnan and Indochina. After the inspection

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[2] From 1644 to 1912 in Chinese history, the late Qing dynasty refers to 1840 – 1912.

[3] 1884 – 1885, *Treaty of Tientsin* was signed after this war.

between Mengzi-Kunming and Laocai-Mengzi, they pointed out that the area around Laocai and Mengzi was sparsely populated, with torrid climate, turbulent currents, and traffic inconvenience. On the contrary, from Mengzi to Kunming, it turned out to be rich in natural resources, populated settlements, suitable in climate, and convenient connections between cities. They also found the mineral-rich areas, such as Gejiu, Kaiyian, Jianshui, and Yiliang, since searching for mineral resources origins was one of the strong reasons for their selection of station sites.

Based on the historical map made by Henry Rodolph Davis, figure 1 shows the situation of main cities in Yunnan before the construction of CFY. In the traditional agricultural society, the level of regional development is significantly correlated with the resources of arable land and water. There were five agricultural centers in Yunnan relied on their advantage of the location near the lake or river, namely Dali, Yunnanfu, Lin'an, Chuxiong and Qujing[4]. These cities are surrounded by plain and fertile lands, with the five largest arable areas. The early cities also distributed along the original roads. Dali, Chuxiong, and Kunming were located along the road of Sichuan-Yunnan-Burma; Qujing was located along the Yangtze River Road; Tonghai, Jianshui, Wenshan were situated on the ancient road of Yunnan-Vietnam; The rise of Manhao originated from the shipping activity of Red River. With the French infiltration in Yunnan, Mengzi, Simao, Tengyue, and Hekou were set as customs in the 1880s, stimulated the business development of the southern Yunnan. The traditional cities and emerging centers are labeled in figure 1.
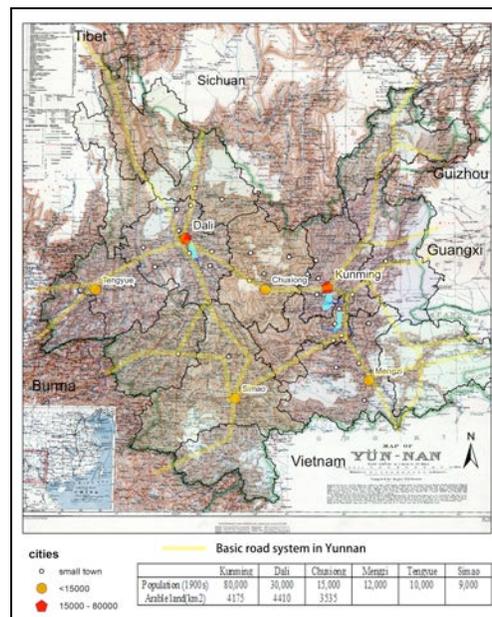
Figure 1: Early urban areas in Yunnan in the late Qing dynasty[5]

In comparison, the natural geographical conditions of other areas lead to sparse population and lower degree of external relations, which hindered the urban development.

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[4] Yunnan Fu namely the current Kunming, Lin'an namely current Jianshui

[5] The base map is cited from the Beinecke Digital Collections: https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/4229818

For example, during the exploration of H. R. Davis, he recorded that the Mengzi was a busy city for its position as a trading center, but other small towns had no trace of commercial activity, with only dilapidated roads and bridges (Davis, 1909). For the living conditions in Yunnan in the late Qing Dynasty, French consul and government delegate in Yunnan - Auguste Français took a series of photos and records. His thousands of photographs combined with writings and films are one of the earliest and most complete documentary photos in existence that provide us with a vision of Kunming in the past. Figure 2 demonstrates the huge difference between the prosperity in the city and the poor condition out of the city.

Figure 2: The city Kunming (Yunnanfu) in 1903 (right) and the roads in the mountainous area (left)[6]

After the construction of Yunnan-Vietnam Railway (1910-1949)

Since the late Qing Dynasty, Yunnan has gradually changed from a closed region to an open atmosphere with more cultural and economic exchanges, even the contacts with western worlds. During this period, the spatial structure in Yunnan also changed dramatically. Some of the traditional cities have declined, and others were getting to be prosperous. Transportation was a principal driving force of spatial expansion in the modern history of Yunnan, especially in the southern and southeastern Yunnan after 1910 (Guan & Lyu, 2016). At that time, the project of the Chinese section of Yunnan-Vietnam Railway was finished under the control of French Indochina and Yunnan Railway Company (CIY). There were 200,000 – 300,000 Chinese workers and nearly 60,000 European technicians involved. It did fulfill some masterpieces such as the Namti Bridge and Bisezhai station. And the whole railroad was considered as an engineering miracle in the early 20th century.

The operation of the CFY has greatly improved the traffic condition of Yunnan and accelerated the transformation of Yunnan's economic situation. With the development of early industrialization, the commodity economy in Yunnan had stepped into a stage of prosperity, which led to the urbanization along the railway and its surrounding areas. The landscape changes were manifested in population growth, changes in land use and urban

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[6] Source: http://geopolis.francetvinfo.fr/un-train-pour-le-yunnan-les-tribulations-de-deux-francais-en-chine-55977
http://photographyofchina.com/blog/auguste-francois

functions. The classification of the stations stimulated the differentiation of the level of urbanization, and the cities closer to the railway have more obvious changes. The agricultural functions have been destroyed, but the business activities were booming. For example, the first-class station - Hekou, a small agrarian village containing only 3-5 households, turned into a town with more than 4,000 residents and many merchants. The only one special-class station – Bisezhai[7] was thoroughly modified into an international area with modern banks, restaurants, companies and post offices. Oppositely, the old roads for transporting goods by caravans or waterway were substituted by train freight through this new line, the spatial evolution of other areas had been stalled, and the traditional cities like Manhao and Jianshui had declined quickly.

Cities	Kunming	Chenggong	Yiliang	Kaiyuan	Jianshui	Mengzi
1910	85,000	51,584	64,865	54,602	179,659	60,912
1932	143,700	77,526	110,706	96,408	198,165	131,587
Rate	69.1%	50.3%	70.7%	76. 6%	10.3%	116.0%
Cities	Gejiu	Chengjiang	Maguan	Huaning	Pingbian	Mile
1910	10,682	51,547	151,771	70,066	49,535	57,365
1932	93,586	70,389	197,374	97,206	72,812	113,918
Rate	776.1%	36.6%	30.0%	38.7%	47.0%	98.6%

Table 1: The growth rate of urban population (1910-1932) of cities along the railway[8]

As is proved by table 1 and figure 3, the completion of the CFY has promoted the growth of population along the railway. The average growth rate of the urban population of main cities along the CFY in 1910–1932 was 30%. Remarkably, from 1910 to 1932, the urban population of the Gejiu had increased by seven times, then in Mengzi and Mile it has doubled. The development of the mining industry in Gejiu, with a large number of working opportunities, have attracted lots of rural labors and merchants from surrounding cities. Owing to the export of tin, Gejiu has become an important industrial city in Yunnan with a high level of urbanization, ranking the second place in Yunnan after the capital Kunming. All the capital, labor, and technology concentrated in Kunming - the terminal station of CFY, its role as the administrative, diplomatic, economic, cultural and industrial center for the whole province had been enhanced. The urban area of Kunming was expanding. The number of shops and modern companies had also increased dramatically. From 1910 to 1932, its urban population had increased 69.1% (He et al., 2010).

[7] Bisezhai is not a city, but a village belonging to Mengzi city

[8] The population data is collected from the Yunnan Archive and the research of He et al., 2010
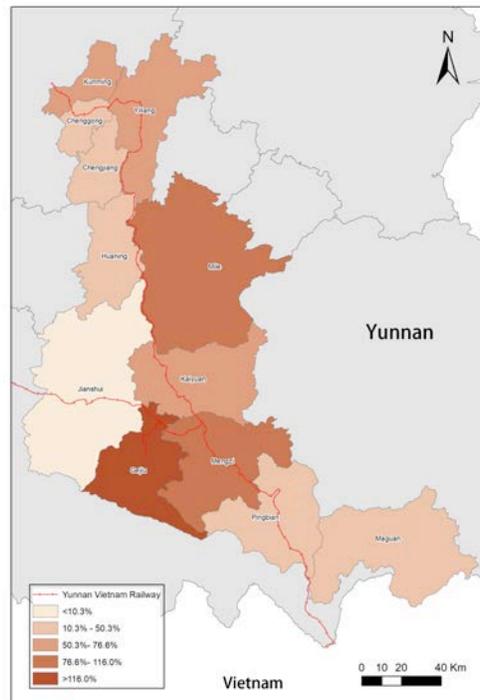
Figure 3: Urbanization level of cities along the CFY[9]

Chinese Modernization period (after 1949)

The modernization of Yunnan began in the sector the military industry in the late 19th century. The construction of the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway was the direct factor in the formation of an industrial system in Yunnan, which took the mining industry as the core, under the influence of foreign capitalism (Ma, 1981). During the Second World War, because of the important strategic position of Yunnan, the modern industrialization of Yunnan has reached an unprecedented level, especially in Kunming, 78% of the new factories were established in this area (Chen, 2001). After years of construction and development since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Yunnan has formed a complete industrial system with its local characteristics. The industries of tobacco, sugar, and phosphorus chemicals have developed based on the advantages of local resources, occupying the prominent position in Chinese market.

In the regional development research of China, William Skinner and his theory of "the Skinnerian Model" have a broad impact. As an American anthropologist, he was one of the earliest scholars studied the urbanization of China, as well as the region of Yunnan province. He made the regional analysis of social changes between the 19th and 20th centuries in China. Through the core-periphery zone, he revealed the dynamic changes and differences in the spatial and temporal dimension of Chinese regions. He stated Yungui region[10] was unique and isolated from other areas, but inside of this region, the

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[9] The urbanization level here is reflected by the growth rate of population

[10] Yunnan and Guizhou, two southeastern provinces in China

sub-regions closely related to each other. In figure 4, the core–periphery model by Skinner shows that in the 20th century, the Yunnan had only one regional core, namely Kunming. Its central position depends on its provision of retail goods and services to its hinterlands, the position in the distribution channel connecting other economic centers, and the position in the transport network (Skinner, 1977). Apparently, in the 20th century, the development of sub-centers in Yunnan basically follows the transport pattern in Qing dynasty, which means the traffic was always the main factor in the dynamic spatial changing in Yunnan.

In this process, Kunming has become the dominant center in Yunnan, which owns more urban infrastructures than other cities and areas. In 1937, the urban population of Kunming changed from 143,000 in 1937, to 197,000 in 1938, then 255,000 in 1945. The urban area was expanded to the surrounding area on the basis of the town in Ming Dynasty. Municipal functions and land use types in Kunming were diversified (Figure 5). There were more constructions of the industrial and commercial zones, urban recreational areas, public facilities, urban settlements, etc. However, the cities along CFY gradually lost their advantages because the network of the standard railway was gradually constructed and improved. In 1966, the Guikun (Kunming - Guiyang) line was completed, then in 1970 Kunming – Chengdu line, in 1997 Kunming – Nanning, making Yunnan linked with its adjacent provinces. Until 2014, the Mengzi - Hekou line opened for both passengers and freight, which means that the traditional transportation function of Yunnan-Vietnam Railway in China was completely replaced.
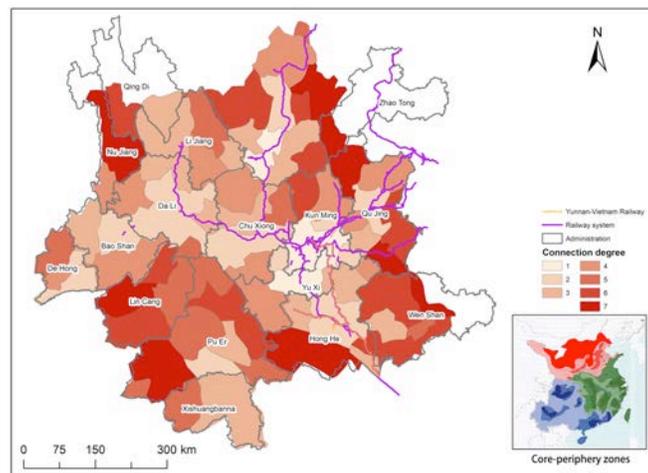
Figure 4: Provisional Core-periphery zones in Yunnan[11]

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[11] The data of this map is cited from the map by William Skinner from the University of Washington Libraries: https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/skinner/search
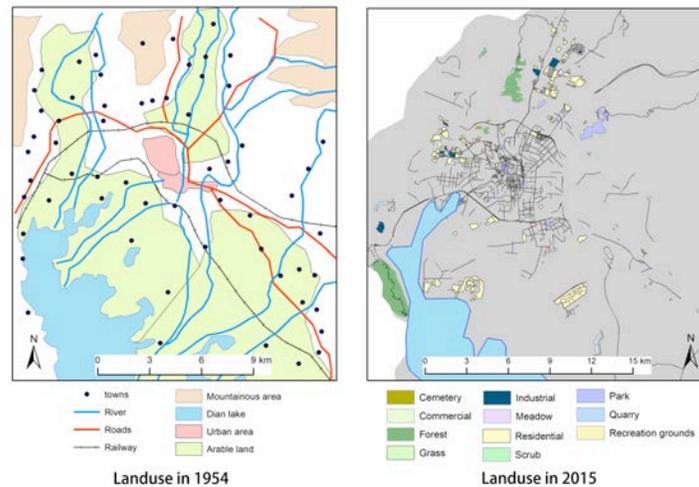
Figure 5: Land use changing around Kunming[12]

Conclusions

In the three periods in the history of Yunnan, traffic condition was always the dominant factor for the spatial development and changing of the whole province. Nowadays, the entire railway is considered as cultural heritage or urban heritage, the principal value of this railway is reflected from its function in history. As the most important historical event in the transportation history, the Yunnan Vietnam Railway did influence not only the cities along this line but also other areas, especially the landscape changing of the main station cities, from the aspects of urban population, city function and the land use. Conversely, the urban constructions are one of the obstructions for the protection for this railway heritage. Under the pressure of urban expansion and the building of new rail lines, the management of this old railway is really a big challenge. The local governments are trying to reuse and redevelop the heritages along the railway for touristic activities. Within a few years, there emerged the projects of industrial park, touristic train and railway museum along the sites, but how to deal with the relationship between the urban development and the heritage protection is still a challenge for Yunnan, which needs more concerns and studies.

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[12] The land use data is cited from the map made by the U.S. Army Map Service in 1954 from University of Texas Libraries: https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/china/

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From Indraprastha to Delhi: The Cityscape as Sediment of Memories

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Abstract

Urban centres evolve due to the convergence of large swathes of people in search of better opportunities; or cataclysmic events in the history of a nation may transform the demography of a place, leading to mutation in its culture. Cities become melting pots for diverse cultures and tend to be more cosmopolitan and eclectic in character. With an assortment of stimuli jostling for space, the processes of accommodation and assimilation that seethe under its vibrancy may be glimpsed through a study of cities. A 'million mutinies' threaten the cohesive social fabric of a city and it negotiates these by accommodating, embracing, or overwhelming diversity. This may enable an understanding of ways to resolve larger conflicts. The paper attempts to trace the stamp of various influences on the city of Delhi that has survived successive onslaughts through the ages as depicted in literature, including the most recent of tumultuous demographic change wrought upon the city at the time of independence and partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. Through a reading of English fiction about Delhi, the paper traces the changes in the fabric of the city wrought over the ages to explore the ways in which chaos is charted and may be negotiated by a city to sustain itself as a vital life force of a nation.

Keywords: diversity, accommodation, assimilation

iafor

Introduction

Delhi which was once the Jewel of the world,
Where dwelt only the loved ones of Fate,
Which has now been ruined by the hand of Time,
I'm a resident of that storm-tossed place….   Meer Taqi Meer (Ali, 1940, p. 4-5)

Urban centres usually evolve due to the convergence of large swathes of people in search of better opportunities to earn a livelihood. In addition, cataclysmic events in the history of a nation may transform the demography of a place, leading to mutation in its culture.[1] Large scale human migration to a place results in diverse people bringing their unique individual cultures into play. As the migrant and the host culture come into contact with each other, one's native culture mediates between the two to adjust to the emotional and social dissonance that might be caused. With an assortment of stimuli jostling for space, the processes of accommodation and assimilation that churn under its vibrancy may be glimpsed through a study of urban centres or cities. A 'million mutinies', to use V.S. Naipaul's coinage, continuously threaten the cohesive social fabric of a city and it negotiates these by accommodating, embracing, and sometimes, subduing diversity. The article attempts to trace the imprint of various influences on the city of Delhi that has survived successive onslaughts through its three thousand year old history as depicted in literature, including the most recent of tumultuous demographic change wrought upon the city at the time of independence and partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. It proposes to show how varied interactions enabled different, even inimical, communities to arrive at a workable solution for coexistence, and may offer pointers to resolution of conflict. This is traced through vignettes of the city from a few literary texts – Khushwant Singh's *Delhi: A Novel* (1990), William Dalrymple's *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (1993), and Ahmed Ali's *Twilight in Delhi* (1940).

Change, Continuity and Connections…

In *Twilight in Delhi*, Ahmed Ali says, "… the city of Delhi, built hundreds of years ago, fought for, died for, coveted and desired, built, destroyed and rebuilt, for five and six and seven times, mourned and sung, raped and conquered, yet whole and alive…. the city stands still intact, as do many more forts and tombs and monuments, remnants and reminders of old Delhi, holding on to life with a tenacity and purpose which is beyond comprehension and belief" (1940, p. 3). Over the millennia, a large number of invaders carved a path through the north-western range of mountains to traverse the broad bosom of the north Indian plains with Delhi as a nucleus.[2] It endured pillage and plunder, massacres, destruction of buildings, forcible evacuation of populations twice – one as recently as 1947; and yet managed to limp back to life time and again. This has created the city's quintessentially resilient character in the face of recurrent violent turmoil. Some of the invaders made it their home and enriched the cultural ethos with their distinctive cultural practices. Even those invaders who made brief incursions stamped their influence on the landscape and the mindscape of the subcontinent. This

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[1] The migration of a large number of people to escape persecution, poverty and starvation is a tragedy that unfolds every day even today.

[2] By and large, the city has remained contained within the Delhi Triangle – the Aravalli range of mountains in the south and west and the river Yamuna in the east.

has given rise to a hybrid culture, commonly known as the Ganga-Jamni tehzeeb – suggesting the confluence of two great rivers.[3]

The narrator in Khushwant Singh's *Delhi* is an ageing, rancoteuring roué, whose sexual escapades with various women are interspersed with his love-hate relationship with Bhagmati, a transgender that mirrors his relationship to Delhi. In the opening sentence of the reminiscences, he says, "I return to Delhi as I return to my mistress Bhagmati when I have had my fill of whoring in foreign lands. Delhi and Bhagmati have a lot in common. Having been long misused by rough people they have learnt to conceal their seductive charms under a mask of repulsive ugliness. It is only to their lovers, among whom I count myself, that they reveal their true selves" (1990, p. 1-2). Waxing eloquent over how Delhi is perceived once one has accepted it, he says, "Then the skies over Delhi's marbled palaces turn an aquamarine blue; its domed mosques and pencil-like minarets are spanned by rainbows, the earth exudes the earthy aroma of *khas*[4], of jasmine, and of *maulsari*[5]. Then the dusky Bhagmati glides towards you swaying her ample hips like a temple dancer; her mouth smells of fresh cloves and she speaks like her Imperial Majesty the Empress of Hindustan" (Ibid.). It is, he says, "a simple formula: use your heart not your head, your emotion and not your reason" (Ibid.).

William Dalrymple's travelogue, *City of Djinns* recounts his stay in Delhi over a period of one year in 1989 after falling in love with it during a visit in 1984. He runs through the entire gamut of the extremities of the weather from the onset of the Indian autumn that heralds respite from the sticky heat of the monsoons to the blistering cold; and then the balmy spring season that rapidly metamorphs into the scorching heat of the summer. He peels Delhi's history layer by layer, harking to the rumblings of the djinns in every era as he burrows further and further into the recesses of time.

Both these texts offer a panoramic view of Delhi, albeit they narrate it from opposite ends of the timeline. Dalrymple starts from the present, and then moves back into its successive pasts in an inverse order to Singh's *Delhi*, that travels from the remotest past to the present. This could be because Singh's connection with the city is intimate, having spent the better part of his life there. Dalrymple, on the other hand, arrives as a foreign traveller who peels the city's thick patina one layer at a time as he gradually grasps the city's rich past. While Dalrymple's account is in the first person, in Singh's account, the present is narrated through the first person and the past is presented in diverse narratorial voices – of a conqueror, ruler, invader, subaltern, poet, among others. Both accounts oscillate between the past and the present to relieve the grimness of the past as well as to demonstrate how things have changed (or not). The two texts dovetail into each other quite serendipitously and an anecdote in one text, at times, highlights an aspect of the other.[6] *Twilight in Delhi*, written in 1940 at the cusp of the decade of independence and partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and

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[3] This is somewhat different from the melting pot theory.
[4] Botanical name: *Vetiveria Zizanoides*, a kind of fragrant grass and widely used for various purposes.
[5] Botanical name: *Mimusops Elengi*, a tree with fragrant flowers, and used in medicines.
[6] For example, the same incident of the Sufi saint, Khwaja Nizammudin not being willing to entertain kings is given in both texts.

Pakistan, also reflects upon the city at the time of the first war of independence against British rule in 1857; it is a plaintive account of a dying culture – both Muslim and the Ganga-Jamni tehzeeb of the country.

Several remarkable points about Delhi emerge from these accounts that trace and illustrate the history of Delhi through the ruins of the myriad monuments dotting the city landscape. Making a lewd comment at a lady, Singh quotes a well-known line, "Ruins proclaim the past splendour of an ancient monument" (1990, p. 25). The first feature of the city, indeed of the Indian civilization as a whole, has been assimilation of diverse thought, even if inimical, and a synthesis of both. The rambling, haphazard Hindu temples gave way to the imposition of order of the Mughal gardens and the grandeur of their palaces and forts, which yet fused the ancient Hindu architecture to create a unique Indo-Islamic style. This, in turn, yielded to Indo-Sarasenic architecture of British imperialism that assimilated features from indigenous tradition.[7] Each time the city was reborn, new monuments were built as an assertion of imperial power but the past managed to stay alive, sometimes in unexpected ways. Rather than comprehensive destruction of the one, or the total rejection of the other, the new catalyzed with the old to make something different. This served both to maintain harmony and to create a beautiful, enriched heritage for the subcontinent. This also bred an unprecedented ethic of tolerance for the diverse.

The twist in the tale is that the melody of the present is infused with the echoes of the past. Rather than clear-cut successive layers as they occurred chronologically, the strata have coalesced into an amalgamation, where the features remain distinctive and visible simultaneously. Successive patinas of the past shine through the present as cultures and ruins from different eras co-exist instead of being phased out in the course of time. Dalrymple says, "The djinns – (ghosts of this "groaning necropolis, a graveyard of dynasties") – are the metaphorical presence of all successive ages of the history of Delhi in simultaneous co-existence, awkwardly, if not harmoniously" (1993, p. 8).

Not only do different eras co-exist, their continuity, almost unbroken, may be glimpsed even today in the city. The oldest legends about Delhi continue to be relevant to a large number of people, as if to stubbornly assert their right to space in modernity. Dalrymple says, "Somehow different areas of Delhi seemed to have preserved intact different centuries, even different millennia. The Punjabi immigrants were a touchstone to the present day; with their nippy Maruti cars and fascination with all things new, they formed a lifeline to the 1980s, the old majors you would meet strolling in the Lodhi Gardens were pickled perhaps half a century earlier. Their walrus moustaches and Ealing comedy accents hinted that they had somehow got stuck in about 1946. The eunuchs in the Old City, some speaking courtly Urdu, might not have looked so out of place under the dais of the Great Mogul. The *sadhus* at Nigambodh Ghat I imagined as stranded citizens of Indraprastha, the legendary first Delhi of the *Mahabharata*, the great Indian epic" (1993, p. 8-9).

Delhi is believed to have originated in myth and celebrated in the Indian epic, *Mahabharata*, as the capital of the kingdom ruled by the Pandavas and was known as

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[7] These changes permeated other aspects of life as well – customs, language, food, clothing, etc.

Indraprastha, or in Pali 'Indapatta'.[8] Evidence is inconclusive but excavations have revealed Painted Grey Pottery that is dated before 900 BCE and points to habitation there.[9] After emerging victorious from the battle at Kurukshetra, the Pandavas performed the ashwamedha yagna[10] at the banks of the river Jamuna, further north.[11]

Though there is continuity in history since its mythical origin, the texts under study pick up the strand of history from the seventh and eighth century onwards.[12] The red sandstone fort, Lal Kot, of the Tomara, further fortified by Prithviraj Chauhan and

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[8] As with all things Indian there is an exuberant multiplicity even in the name of the city – it has been known by a variety of appellations – Yoginipura, Indapatta (in Pali), Indraprastha, Dilli, Dehli, and now Delhi and New Delhi. There are various theories as to how the term 'Delhi' came into existence. The most common belief is that this originated from a Raja Dhilu or Dilu of the Mauryan Dynasty who ruled in the first century BCE. Dihlika, Delhi or Dili has been derived from his name. Another story is that a nail was hammered in the ground that was believed to have gone right down to the underworld. But it was loose, so it was 'dheeli' killi ('loose' nail). Yet another popular story according to historians is that the word *Dili* is derived from *dehleez* or *dehali*, i.e. 'threshold' in Hindi-Urdu. This looks at Delhi as the gateway to the Indo-Gangetic Plain. What is interesting is that none of these theories cancel out the other; all of them illustrate differing truths.

[9] The reputed archaeologist, B.B. Lal believes it to have been a rustic one and not the grand, sophisticated one as portrayed in the *Mahabharata*; which he ascribes to the poetic license exercised by the author. Till as recent as 1913, a village called Inderpat existed around what was regarded as the original spot of Indraprastha.

[10] A ritual performed by ancient Hindu kings to prove their supremacy. A horse, accompanied by the King's soldiers was allowed to wander all over the territory. If it was challenged, a battle would ensue to establish sovereignty. If the horse returned alive after one year, it would be sacrificed and the King's supremacy would be considered undisputed.

[11] The place to perform the ashwamedha yagna to celebrate their victory in the battle in Kurukshetra was chosen by them because of an even older myth. At the end of Dwaparyuga, the third yuga in Hindu mythology (the Hindu notion of cosmology of time epochs – four age cycles – a complete yuga starts with Satya, goes through Treta, Dwapar and Kali. Dwaparayuga ended in 3102 BCE when the Kurukshtretra war ended). Brahma, the Creator, is believed to have suffered a fit of divine amnesia and forgotten all the *Vedas* and sacred scriptures soon after the creation of the world. He performed a series of yogic exercises and austerities and dived into the Jumna. Soon afterwards, during the monsoon when the waters were in full spate, the flooded river miraculously threw up the sacred texts on the right bank of the river, and this place was named Nigambodh Ghat, the Bank of Sacred Knowledge.

[12] Dalrymple says "… trying to disentangle the history of pre-Muslim Delhi was like penetrating deeper and deeper into a midsummer dust storm: the larger landmarks stood out, but the details were all obliterated" (1993, p. 320-321). Singh, too, eschews the mythical birth of the city and starts his tale from the thirteenth century CE, "633 Hijri corresponding to the year 1265 of the Christian calendar. It was the beginning of the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban" (1990, p. 50).

renamed Qila Rai Pithora (now Mehrauli), was burnt down in 1192 by Mohammed Ghori, heralding Muslim rule in the country. Ghurid, Mamluk, Khilji, Tughlaq rule followed; after which the Mughal Empire was established. Delhi underwent further avatars as Siri, Tughlagabad, Jahanpanah, Feroze Shah Kotla, Dinpanah, Shahjahanabad, after which the British built what is known as Lutyens' Delhi. In 1947, the landscape and the demography were transformed due to the massive influx of Hindu and Sikh refugees and the exodus of Muslim refugees.

The advent of Islam in India was not a peaceful one. An early example from the two histories of Delhi under study is the building of the first mosque, Quwwat-ul-Islam, around 1192 for which twenty-seven Hindu and Jain temples were destroyed. Local craftsmen were engaged to build a tower of victory, the Qutub Minar, in the same complex and they recycled the vandalized columns to do so. Since iconography was not permitted in Islam, the carvings and inscriptions were plastered over. Later, the plaster flaked off to reveal the original carvings. The fifth century CE iron pillar, earlier installed in Lal Kot in the tenth century, was brought here. The pillar still stands there; a metaphor for how the ancient remains couched through several epochs, sometimes in an unexpected way even when the attempt is to stamp it out.[13] Domes and arches, virtually unknown before the influence of Islamic architecture, henceforth dominated the landscape of Delhi in majestic glory. Skilled workforce trained in Indian traditions incorporated indigenous features; for example, use of traditional stone masonry instead of brick. The use of ornate overhanging balconies or jharokhas, and pillared pavilions or chhatris was reminiscent of Rajasthani architecture.

The British too built over the Mughal structures, without destroying them entirely.[14] The British Residency was built on the ruins of Dara Shikoh's library not by knocking it down; they "merely erected a classical façade over a Mughal substructure" (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 111).[15] The process of building the city anew began in 1911 when the capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi.[16] British architects, Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker used the original point of Indraprastha as a landmark to

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[13] In Singh's account, the narrator picks up a stone lying on the ground in the Qutab Minar complex. It has "a swastika on top, two lotus flowers on either side with 'Allah' inscribed on it in Arabic" (1990, p. 49) suggesting the mesh of identities. A subaltern living in those times, a young Hindu scribe, "Musaddi Lal, son of Lala Chagan Lal, Hindu Kayastha of Mehrauli in the city of Delhi…." takes his wife to visit the Qutab Minar complex where they see a slab with an inscription, *Sri Visvakarme Prasade Rachita* (conceived with the grace of Vishwakarma, the Hindu deity of creative power) (Ibid., p. 53).

[14] *Twilight in Delhi* is a melancholic account of the anger that is felt by the residents of Delhi at not only what the British were doing to its landscape, but at the imminent demise of a culture and a way of life with the construction of a new Delhi outside the old city.

[15] Similarly, Dalrymple says about the Indophile, William Fraser's grave, "The design, suitably enough, had a European form, but its substance, Mughal marble inlay, was wholly Indian" (1993, p. 146).

[16] "The transfer of the capital to Delhi was widely welcomed…. Delhi had always been the capital of Hindustan. It was closer to the heart of the country" (Singh, 1990, p. 320).

map the new imperial city.[17] Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, wished some "eastern features" to be included so that the architecture was palatable and familiarly imperial to the people (Metcalf, 1985, p. 395). Lutyens incorporated several elements from indigenous architecture despite his professed contempt for it. A Buddhist dome was used to crown the Viceroy's residence (now the Rashtrapati Bhavan), and as R G Irving says in his article, "Architecture for Empire's Sake: Lutyens's Palace for Delhi," "the hues and shadows of Mughal facades were married to the sculptural massing and subtle proportions of European architecture.… To the visitor, Lutyens's creation seems to be at one and the same time a giant Indian bungalow, embattled Rajput fortress, and Mughal tomb…." (1982, p. 4) Still another characteristic Indian architectural element acts as a crucial unifying feature of Lutyens's palace: "the chajja, a beetling, downswept stone cornice common in Mughal buildings and found in Indo-Aryan temples as early as the eleventh century, to protect palace interiors from what Lutyens called the 'tremendous violence' of Indian light'" (Ibid., p. 4-5). The dome "… married past and present, linking the legacy of the Roman, Asokan, and Mughal empires with Britain's physical and spiritual heritage.… [t]he dome became an ecumenical metaphor in stone, a transcendent symbol for that supreme synthesis of cultures, the British Empire" (Ibid., p. 9).

The eclecticism of monuments with sediment of memories of several epochs of history has ensured their enduring legacy and significance for the present. For example, Purana Qila or the Old Fort built around Indraprastha and used later by the British as a reference point for the new city, became a refuge for a large number of Muslim refugees en route to Pakistan in August 1947. Similarly, the Red Fort and Jama Masjid built as part of Shahjahanabad in the seventeenth century, symbols of the might of the Mughals, epitomised anti-imperialism during British rule by recognising the last Mughal, Bahadur Shah Zafar, as the rightful king. Almost a century later, in 1945, the (in)famous Red Fort public trials of the Generals of Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army fighting British rule were held there; the nationalist heroes were finally acquitted and released due to public protests over their arrests.[18] It is from here that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made his 'tryst with destiny' Independence Speech as the tricolour was hoisted on 15 August 1947; as it is on every subsequent Independence Day. "It is a site where the past and the present coalesced to mark a newly independent nation's step towards the future. On every Independence Day, as the prime minister speaks from the rampart of the Red Fort in what is a formal, choreographed event, the site itself shimmers with the sheen of an inclusive memory, like a talisman" (Sinha, 2017). Today British-era buildings are seats of power for the government of independent India. Originally conceived as the ultimate symbol of the might of the British Raj over a vast geography of the subcontinent and even beyond, the Viceregal House is now the official residence of the President of India.

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[17] Anyone who builds a new city is believed to be cursed with a short rule. The British rule, too, came to a close in just over thirty years after building the imperial buildings that had seemed to exemplify 'the Empire on which the sun never sets' at the time of their construction.

[18] A popular slogan of the times was, "*Chaalis crore-on ki awaaz! Sehgal, Dhillon, Shah Nawaz!!* i.e. "Forty crore people shout in unison! Sehgal, Dhillon, Shah Nawaz!!" These three were the Generals in the INA – a Hindu, a Sikh, and a Muslim – symbolic of the religious integration of the country.

In Singh's *Delhi*, this medley of architectural features is summed up in the musing of a soldier as landmarks are pointed to an English officer, Hodson Sahib. About Firoze Shah's fort built around 1354, he is told, "That Sahib is a Buddhist pillar on top of the palace of Firoze Shah" (1990, p. 302). A soldier wonders, 'I ask you what can a Buddhist pillar be doing on top of a Mussalman king's palace?" (Ibid.) "We pass very high walls of an ancient fort…. This sir, is the Purana Qila – the old fort – said to have been first built by the Aryans and was known as Indraprastha. Inside there is a mosque of Sher Shah Suri and the library of Emperor Humayun.' Who is to tell the Sahib that there cannot be a mosque inside a Hindu fort!" (Ibid.).

The architectural mesh of features from diverse sources epitomises the social and cultural adjustment and assimilation that took place. Musaddi Lal shows how ordinary Hindus adjusted to the new regime by learning Arabic, Turki, and Persian and served under the new rulers.[19] Though he did not convert, he adopted their dress and some of their customs. He and his wife became "members of a community which worshipped both in Hindu temples and in Sufi hospices…. celebrated Hindu festivals as well as the Muslim…. (Singh, 1990, p. 61). He brought up his son as a Hindu and named him Kamal – that meant 'lotus flower' in Hindi and 'excellence' in Arabic, when pronounced as 'Kamaal'. If asked if they were Hindu or Muslim, "we would reply we were both" (Ibid., 62). He did feel discriminated against at times, but was resigned to it. "I realized that I belonged neither to the Hindus nor to the Mussalmans…. Indeed, I was like a *hijda* who was neither one thing nor another but could be misused by everyone" (Ibid., p. 71). The subaltern's view is significant as the fight for supremacy is amongst the elite; the common people only wish to be allowed to lead their lives in peace. Hundreds of years later, Punjab Singh, Dalrymple's driver's father, echoes the same sentiment at their forced migration in 1947. "We had heard about the idea of Pakistan, but we thought it would make no difference to us. We realized a Mahommedan government would take over from the Britishers. But in our Punjab governments often come and go. Usually such things make no difference to the poor man in his village" (1993, p. 40).

The fusion of religious thought was one of the most remarkable features. Even before the advent of outside influences, the ritualistic Vedantism that the originally amorphous Hinduism had succumbed to, gave birth to two indigenous responses – Jainism and Buddhism – to articulate resistance to orthodox codification and engineer a social revolution. And as Islam and later Christianity came to India, there were efforts to engage with it and absorb some of their elements.[20] New influences became

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[19] He says, "The Hindus hatred of the Mussalmans did not make sense to me. The Muslims had conquered Hindustan…. They were quite willing to let us Hindus live our lives as we wanted to provided we recognized them as our rulers. But the Hindus were full of foolish pride. 'This is our country!' they said…. The Hindus lived on the stale diet of past glory" (Singh, 1990, p. 54).

[20] Emperor Akbar frequently held discussions with priests of various religions and advocated a new religion, *Din-i-ilahi* in the sixteenth century that fused all that he thought was best in every religion. Even the orthodox Aurangzeb is known to have given grants to build Hindu and Sikh temples. Shah Jahan's eldest son, Dara Shikoh, an erudite scholar in Persian and Sanskrit had Hindu religious texts "… had the Hindu *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Yoga-Vashishta* translated into Persian and himself composed religious and mystical treatises. The most remarkable was the

diffused into people's lives, but they did not erase the old way of life which retained its distinctiveness and gleamed through, much like the Hindu temple pillars that were co-opted into the symbol of Muslim victory. As Meer, Singh records, "Like other Muslims I went to the mosque every Friday. Like Hindus I had drawn castemarks on my forehead, worshipped in temples of idolatory and ages ago abandoned Islam" (1990, p. 224).

A significant development during these centuries was the emergence of the Sufi sect within Islam that created bridges across cultural and religious chasms. Liddle notes that by locating the city in Delhi that exuded royal power, "Shah Jahan was drawing on the strong traditions of spiritual and temporal power that the populace associated with the site" (2017, p. 5). Mystic saints like Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and Khwaja Hazrat Nizamuddin stood like apostles of peace and unity; a Sufi was an "… umbrella against the burning sun of Muslim bigotry and the downpour of Hindu contempt" (Singh, 1990, p. 62). Throughout the ages, Sufis upheld service to mankind as the noblest ideal and the idea of One God. "There are innumerable ways of approaching Him…. His path may lead to the mosque or the tabernacle, to a temple full of idols or to a solitary cave in the wilderness" (Ibid., p. 67). Their appeal is enduring as people believe that mystic benevolence is more potent than worldly power; kings come and go but saints are immortal. "The saints do not die…. They merely disappear behind a veil" (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 294). That is why even though the palaces and forts of kings lie in ruins, people still throng the dargahs of penniless saints to seek blessings. Dalrymple endorses this when he visits a shrine in Daulatabad, "… the shrine of the penniless dervish had survived – maintained and venerated – while the palaces of his rich and powerful contemporaries had decayed into roofless ruins" (Ibid., p. 297). As their message of love proved stronger than that of bigotry practiced by some rulers, they influenced even non-Muslim population, because, as Dr. Jaffrey explains, people were "impatient for the divine. They want to see in this life a glimpse of the face of God" (Ibid., p. 280). It did not matter that the face of God that they would see would be different.[21] Typically, and perhaps, inevitably, they became fused with Hindu legends. Dalrymple gives an example of Khizr Khan, the Green Sufi, who was soon believed to be an incarnation of Vishnu! (Ibid., p. 300).[22]

Majmua-ul-Baharain ('*The Mingling of the Two Oceans*'), a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam which emphasised the compatibility of the two faiths and the common source of their divine revelations" (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 196).

[21] Dr. Jaffery narrates an anecdote told by Jala-ud-din Rumi about a city of blind men who came back with different interpretations after groping different parts of an elephant. "All three men stuck by their stories and for the rest of their lives they refused to speak to each other. Each professed that they and only they knew the whole truth. So it is with us. We see Allah one way, the Hindus have a different conception, and the Christians have a third. To us, all our different visions seem incompatible and irreconcilable. But what we forget is that before God we are like blind men stumbling around in total blackness…." (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 280-281).
The beheading of Sarmad, a Sufi mystic during Aurangzeb's time was an indication of the fear that even the rulers felt about the power of the Sufis.
[22] Khwaja Khizr was regarded as a saviour of all Sufis and believed to be still alive, wandering all over the earth. He is assimilated into native lore and becomes Raja Khidar, God of Boatmen; … propitiated by feeding Brahmins. Dalrymple searches for the Khizr tradition in Delhi and is able to locate it in the Mehrauli Idgah. His

The spot where the Pandavas were supposed to have performed the ashwamedha yagna at Nighambodh Ghat is commemorated by an ancient temple dedicated to Lord Shiva that stands to this day. It is known as Nili Chattri temple, literally 'Blue Umbrella'.[23] The temple is a Mughal tomb, yet it has been cherished and held sacred for aeons by Hindus. Over centuries of co-existence, the festivals of the two faiths have long become confused and mingled. Dalrymple notices people praying at a tomb and placing oil lamps and hanging garland of marigold at a Sufi shrine at Diwali, a Hindu festival.[24]

The characteristics of fusion, simultaneity and continuity may be glimpsed in other areas as well. A new language, Urdu, was born out of the interaction of the Turks with the natives of the people of Delhi. Urdu borrowed from the local as well as the invader's vocabulary and adopted the scripts of both. Later, the eighteen century witnessed the zenith of the confluence of the Hindu and Muslim culture, especially in the rich repertoire of Urdu poetry and literature. Meer Taqi Meer. Ghalib, Zauq….[25] The rulers introduced their own languages like Arabic and Persian into Indian administration. The existing Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati etc. were considerably influenced by Persian, Arabic and Turkish languages of the Muslim community. In this process of linguistic intermingling, the literary tradition of the country underwent a sea-change. Many Indian texts were translated into Persian and Arabic and vice versa. With the advent of English, another process of assimilation and absorption transformed both English and the other languages of the subcontinent that it came in contact with. After 1947, Punjabi became a major language in Delhi and was acknowledged as a state language; today in Delhi, all sign posts are in four languages – English, Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi![26]

companion, Dr. Jaffery explains that nowadays it was very difficult to be able to summon the spirit of Khizr due to living in the age of spiritual decay – echoing the Hindu belief of the Kali Yuga – epoch of destruction after the epoch of creation. (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 304).

[23] The name derives from its dome originally ornamented with blue caustic tiles (a feature of Mughal architecture) as it is said to be the tomb of Naubat Khan, a state official during Akbar's time, built in 1565.

[24] An enduring example of the amity between two of the largest religious groups is the observance of '*Phool Walon Ki Sair*' or '*Sair-e-Gul Faroshan*' meaning "procession of the florists." A procession of people, accompanied by musicians and dancers and carrying large floral fans offer them to the dargah of the thirteenth century Sufi saint, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki and to Yogmaya Temple (Even before the ancient dwelling of the Pandavas, an area to the south of their Indraprastha was believed to be the abode of yoginis, or female ascetics, known as Yoginipura). It was discontinued after the British Mutiny and revived by the first Prime Minister of independent India in the 1960s. Today it is an emblem of national unification of diverse peoples.

[25] This period has been described as the "Delhi Renaissance. The city was 'magnificent' and 'celebrated' and it was a time of prosperity, urban growth, and cultural and religious harmony; an age rich in the arts when the Court was 'a school of manners' for India and had 'a cultural influence of great value'" (Baig, n.d., p.127).

[26] The eclecticism of Akbar and the orthodoxy of Aurangzeb have become a part of popular lore (even though historical accounts demonstrate that the latter gave grants to build Hindu and Sikh temples). Similarly, due to the frequent raids by Ahmed Shah

Conclusion

The idea of urban heritage as an ideal suggests a space for a harmonious symphony of multifarious voices. These accounts offer a glimpse into the taut, tenuous balance that is maintained between conflicting impulses as the texture of the city accommodates diversity. The danger of the destructive impulse overwhelming the Other is ever-present, however. Dr. Jaffery says that in Delhi 'culture and civilization have always been very thin dresses. It does not take much for that dress to be torn off and for what lies beneath to be revealed' (Ibid., p. 190).[27]

Delhi, too, has witnessed the disabling of the ethic of assimilation and adjustment from time to time. The last major conflagration discussed in these texts was the 1984 anti-Sikh riots after the assassination of the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Dalrymple notes a "new intolerance which, like an unstable lump of phosphorus, could quite suddenly burst into flames" (Ibid., p. 25). After independence, Delhi has witnessed the degeneration of the confluence of cultures that has enriched generations of Indians. Prejudice is extended against the refugees of partition in 1947, and later migrants, too. A colleague tells a Sikh migrant, "It is no longer the Delhi I grew up in and loved. You Punjabis who invaded us in 1947 have buggered it out of shape" (Singh, 1990, p. 379) In turn, the Sikh answers, 'It is the others coming in every day who are creating the problems. Do you know 70,000 pour into Delhi every year from all over India? As if Delhi is the nation's orphanage' (Ibid., p. 379-380). Thus the resentment is turned towards Indians from other states swarming into Delhi.

The silver lining is that these bursts of frenzy are followed by feelings of compassion. Memories that endure are of shared harmony rather than those of the violence and displacement suffered in 1947, as Dalrymple finds to his surprise. The rehabilitation has reduced the pain of the latter, but the pang of the former lingers.[28] Even after the

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Abdali, the very attitude of the Punjabi towards life underwent a change because to spend money was preferable to saving it for Abdali to plunder; and to this day, open-handedness is seen as a Punjabi trait. (A saying in Punjab is, 'Eat, drink and be merry, all the rest Ahmed Shah will carry'). Apart from this, though a well-meaning king, Tughlaq's ruthlessness in imposing his will has turned him, in popular discourse, into a metaphor for whimsical, arbitrary power. Noted film actor and playwright, Girish Karnad has a play by this name to show the chasm between good intentions and disastrous implementation. Dalrymple gives the example of Brigadier General John Nickolson, 'the Lion of the Punjab,' who was killed in the storming of Delhi in 1857 but who was still worshipped long afterwards as a hero by the British and as a god by a Punjabi sect called the Nikalsini" (1993, p. 115).

[27] Dr Jaffery: 'My parents lived in an area that had always been traditionally Hindu. During Partition they went into hiding, and for a fortnight their good Hindu friends brought them food and water. But one day they were betrayed; a mob came I the night and burned the house down. We learned later that the traitor was a neighbour of my father's. My father had helped him financially. This was how the man repaid him…' (Ibid., p. 190).

[28] Dalrymple's taxi driver, Balwinder's father, Punjab Singh, who faced the 1984 riots too, remembers the time of their displacement from their village in Samundra, in district Lyallpur, now in Pakistan. He remembers with affectionate nostalgia their

1984 riots, Dalrymple finds there is little visible bitterness. When Sohan Singh, who watched his family members being killed during the 1984 riots is asked if he feared that it might happen again; and the latter answers, "No: now we are no longer worried. I am still the granthi of the Gurdwara. I give langar (food) to the poor Hindus; the rich Hindus give us offerings. These wounds are healed now" (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 35). At the end, it is examples of inter-faith tolerance that endure and make life at all possible. Redemption lies, as it has in the past, in embracing an ethic of forgiveness, despite intermittent senseless violence or the petty, trifling mean and debasing irritants in daily interaction.

In the Delhi of today, too, tensions abound, yet every day, ordinary people perform acts of extraordinary empathy and courage to let the subterranean flow of oneness nourish the city. Singh says, "Herds of Hindu women in white carrying brass plates full of flowers and coconuts are shuffling along towards the Jamna…. A weary oil-lamp flickers on the headstone of Sarmad's grave…. Hundreds of RSS boys drill with staves under the podium in the wide acres of the Ram Leela ground…. We pass the massive equestrian statue of Shivaji brandishing his sword towards New Delhi" (Singh, 1990, p. 119). The buildings created by Lutyens to imprint imperial power are today populated by the postcolonial (or neo-colonial) power. (Perhaps some things don't change after all!). As migrants from different states flood Delhi, space, not just physical, has expanded to absorb customs and festivals and culinary and sartorial diversity more than ever before.[29] The city shall endure because, as Pavan Varma says, "the strength of New Delhi lies in the *plurality* of its character, its vibrant cosmopolitanism…. In the years gone by, Delhi sought to mould the territories it governed in its own image. Today, the country it governs has sought to recreate it in *her own mould*" (2001, p. 215).

The article has tried to explore the ways in which chaos is charted and may be negotiated by a city to sustain itself as a vital life force of a nation. The journey reveals the enmeshing of successive layers of archaeological time as an example of how the land and the culture has been enriched and fertilized over millennia. As it is borne upon one how the DNA of many cultures permeates one's blood, one can

shared harmony before partition. Even after having lived through the 1984 riots, he is reasonably happy with his life.

[29]As a migrant group gains ascendancy because of their strong demographic and economic presence, it becomes imperative to accommodate their point of view. Festivals such as Durga Puja, traditionally celebrated by Bengalis, Chhatt Puja, mostly by the people of Bihar are common now in Delhi, as is Ganeshotsav, which was earlier largely confined to Maharashtra.

comprehend the imperative to seek, and to create space for contesting beliefs and ways of life rather than a wishful desire for blending in seamlessly. Acknowledging legitimate compulsions of diverse peoples to accommodate them enriches the city as a whole. The only remedy is to engage – proactively and creatively. As Dalrymple says in the Preface, "The symbol which Delhi has represented down through the ages is the symbol of empire; and, therewith, it remains today the symbol of pan-Indian nationalization and unification" (1993, p. xii).

The message of the poet strikes a resonant note:

I have gone beyond the temple and the mosque,
I have made my heart my sanctuary;
On this thorn-strewn path end
All my wandering and my journey. -Meer Taqi Meer (Singh, 1990, p. 224).

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Re-Inventing Panthalayani Kollam: An Investigation on Heritage Tourism Potential of Panthalayani Port

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Abstract

Panthalayani Kollam is a forgotten medieval port town situated at present day Koyilandi of Kozhikode in Kerala. The place was found to be a trade center of Moorish people,Chinese people etc with influence of the port. It is mentioned as Pandarani by Portuguese writers, the Flandarina by Friar Odoric, and Fandreeah by Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin, the Fandaraina by Ibn Batuta' says Logan in his Malabar Manual This port city was destructed in fire in 1800s. The study is to map and reinvent cultural and heritage wise potential of this coastal area. The study is done through historic and heritage mapping of the place. By exploring heritage potential of the area, tourism possibilities can be worked out. The intangible and tangible heritage of the area is mapped and guidelines for conserving each are proposed.

Keywords: Fandarina, Intangible Heritage, Heritage Tourism, Medival Port

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Introduction

Panthalayani Kollam was, a well-known medieval port city, blessed as it is with natural mud banks which ensured calm water on the open coast all through the south-west monsoon. It is mentioned as Pandarani by Portuguese writers, the Flandarina by Friar Odoric, and Fandreeah by Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin, the Fandaraina by IbnBatuta' says Logan in his Malabar Manual. 15 Medieval archaeological evidence in the form of Chinese porcelain and other pottery brought to light corroborate the literary evidence of foreign contacts of Pantalayani Kollam. According to historical evidences, it comprises an area of 537.96 acres with a small market.

Aithihyamala 16 refers that a group of Vaisyas came here from southern Kollam (Kurakkeni Kollam) and they took rest under an '*Ayini'* tree which has many branches as a *pantal*(shade giving area) so they called it as Pantalayani and later the place was known as Pantalayani Kollam.

Today, it is a coastal small town,which is forgotten and present generation does not know the heritage value of the site. It is found to be existed at Koyilandy (or Quilandy/Quilandi)which is a taluk and a Municipality town in Kozhikode district in North Malabar region of Kerala. This town is between Kozhikode and Vatakaraon NH 66 (previously NH 17).close to historic Tyndis. The sacrificial rock *balikallu* or *velliyamkallu* is where many soul was butchered, is a little way north to Panthalayani Kollam. The study is on re-inventing the importance of this place and to propose conservation values of the area.
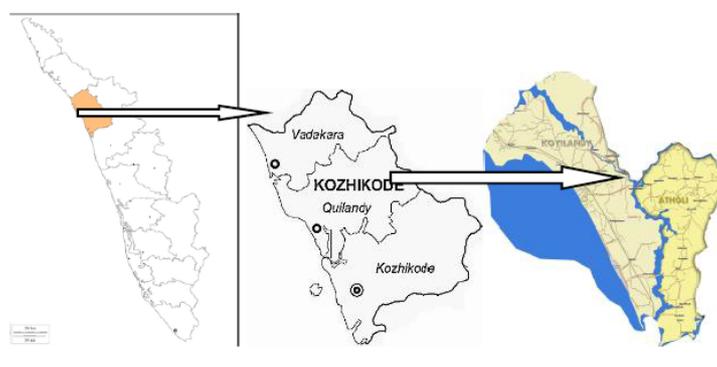
Figure 1: Location of study area

Study Methodology
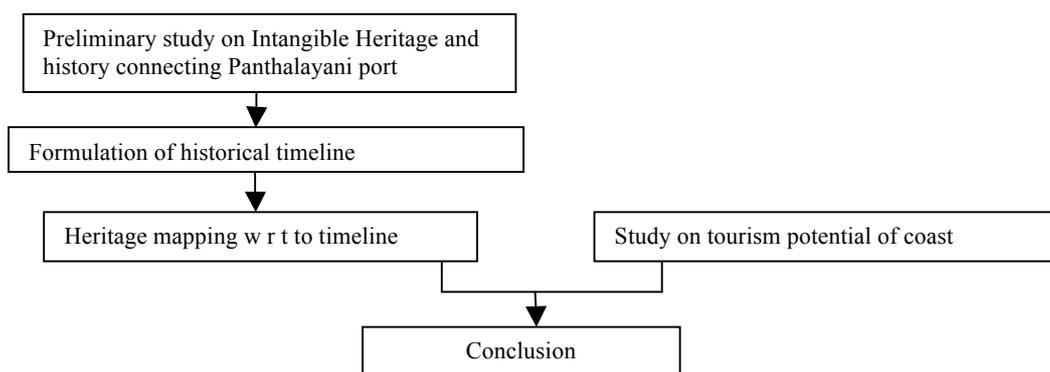
Figure 2. Study Methodology

Historical Mapping

Panthalayani Kollam is a place which went through drastic events and change from 1300 AD. Many Historical travelers are mentioned about this medieval port in their travelogues at different periods of time. A time line has been prepared considering this series of events in history of Panthalayani Kollam.

Figure 3: Timeline

The historical evidences show that, though the port existed at early times, it became popular only after 9th century due to two things. One is movement of Arab, Chinese

Quilon and Cragnore(Present Kodungalloor) to base their trade at Calicut and second when Zamorin took charge.

According to SreedharaMenon's 'Survey of Kerala History' the Viceroy (KVK Iyer states kinsman of Viceroy) of Pantalayani belonging to the Kolathunadfamily met & fell in love with the Thampurati of the Zamorin family during a visit to Calicut and thence eloped to Panthalayani. The enraged Zamorin attacked & captured the port area and then aimed his sights at the Kolathiri Raja. This shows that the place had much importance and was a sizeable and rich place in those times, providing revenue to the Zamorin.The settlement of Zamorin was called as "Ananthapuram" and which can be seen around Ananthapuram temple.

Historians are pointing that pearl diving was popular off the Panthalayani coast line in ancient times and there were many oyster beds present. Several historians like K V Krishna Iyer and Prof Jussay had found out that there was also a Jew settlement and which was the second great center of Jews. Some believed that the Ben Yiju, theAdenese trader had lived here. Fandarina is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar, where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor

"*From Bana [Thana] to Fandarina is four days' journey. Fandarina is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar [Malabar] where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages, and flocks. The cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods. From Fandarina to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river, is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. Pepper grows in the neighboring mountains*"*
(Al Idris,1150)

The Famous traveler Ibn Batoota visited the port in 1340s and he mentioned P. Kollam as one of the three ports where Chinese ships moored during monsoon. According to his statement Muslims occupied 3 quarter and each quarter had a mosque within it. Likewise in the statements of Frior Odorico it can be seen that there was war between Christian and Jews who resided there in which the Christians always won these wars. In 1540's Zainuddeen Makhdum stated that Pantalayani became prosperous because of the Muslim population after explaining the visit of the Cheraman Perumal, construction of the mosque by Malik bin Dinar etc.

Some of the records are showing that Vasco Da Gama landed in Kappad beach in 1498 and was directed to Panthalayani Port by Zamorin as it was the port suitable to Moore ships in monsoon.These incident is showing the importance of port in the medieval period and the port had equal importance as Calicut port during that time period. The place witnessed a lot of fights between Portugueese and "Marakkars"(They were Muslim Warriors of Zamorin) during 1524 and which resulted in burning of city and Juma masjid in 1524. About a third of the Muslims living there have lost their life in fights with the Portuguese according to Logan. The large graveyard of Parappilli is a proof of this. Kunhali Marakkar and team went in boats from this port, toVelliamkalluwere they hide and attacked. Logan says that this was where the EIC ship Morning star struck a mud bank and was wrecked in 1793.

He points out that this was the mud bank that 'supposedly' protected Vasco Da Gama's ship during the monsoon months of 1498. South of the Mohammedan burial ground is a small bay where ships could dock. Arabian ships used to call at this port if they were blown off course even in the 19th century and early 20th century. Another Important factor due to which port flourished port wasMecca trade. There is a general belief that the Marakkars, the Zamorin's admirals were settled in Pantalayani Kollam before they moved to Kotakkal.

Chinese Mongol dynasty documents of 1296 states that it was prohibited to export more than 50,000 ting in paper money worth of goods to Maprah (Malabar), &Fantalaina during those days. The Chinese Sailor Wang Dayuan was the first to mention the availability of precious stones at Fandarina. This was in 1349. Asia's maritime bead trade By Peter Francis mentions that the port was frequented by Chinese traders. Once Chinese trade declined, the port also started to fall apart until Varthema's visit when he pointed out that it was a miserable place.Place names of the region are proving the Chinese connection with the area like "China Paramba","China mosque" etc. China mosque still exists in the present Panthalayani Kollam. Several Chinese Porcelain wares were excavated from the region as archeological evidence of Chinese connection with the port.
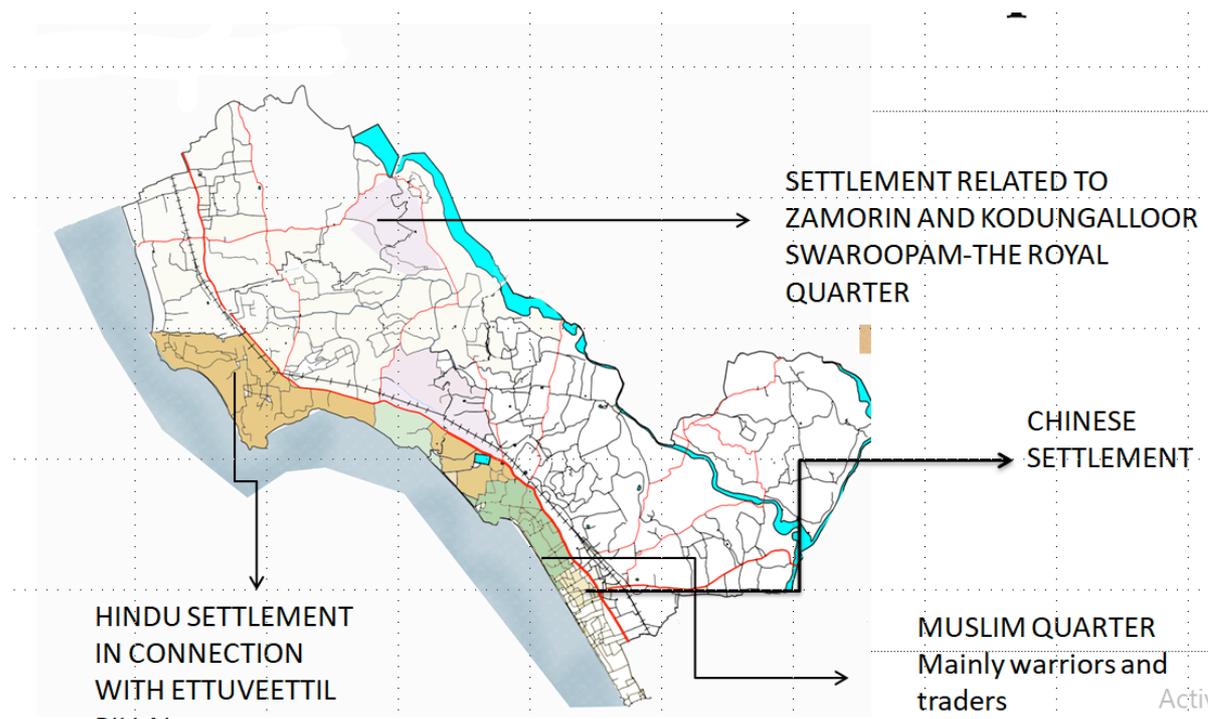
Figure 4: Possible settlement Mapping

Heritage Mapping

Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the crafts. Existing Heritage structures in the locality were mapped out based upon this intangible heritage as well as historical timeline. Three settlements were mapped in the region with respect to the history. (Figure 4).

Heritage structures Mapping

A.Muslim Quarter

The History is showing that three quarters of Muslims existed in the region and many of them lost their lives during fight with Portuguese. The Muslims in the region are mainly Traders. They had settled along coastal line of Panthalayani. The departure of Cheraman Perumal to the Mecca made the port a center for pilgrimage. Later on during spread of Islam in Kerala, Malik ibn Dinar established 10 mosques in Kerala. And one of which is in Panthalayani Kollam, present Parapalli mosque. The large graveyard of the mosque , presence of several ancient mosques and Mansions of Muslim Joint Families area are the existing Muslim heritage.

1. Parapalli Mosque

It is an ancient mosque on the shores of sea coast situated near rocky beach. Importance:-One of the 10 mosques constructed by Malik Dinar and team in Kerala. Also there is a foot print in rock which is believed to be of Prophet Adam. The burial ground of Thameemul Ansari who was a warrior in sacred war of Badar can be seen here in the makham inside the mosque complex. The place is having a sacred value due to this. The mosque complex consists of several small mosques on the seacoast.

Figure 5:. *Muslim quarter, land marks*

B. Hindu Settlements

Hindu settlements in the region are mainly around Pisharikav temple which was established *by EttuveettilPillais* from Kollam. The 8 houses of *Pillais* and Houses of *Chettis* etc can be seen around the temple. Settlement consists of Anakkulam which was pond of Kollam Thali temple and which is another historical temple in the region. Another settlement is near to Urupunyakaav which is another pilgrimage point in the area famous for rituals like *Balitharppanam*. Following are the elements of Hindu settlement

1.Pisharikaav temple

Centuries before, remaining members of the *"Ettuveettil"*family after conspiracy against Marthandavarma(King of Travancore) settled down in the village named Kollam near present-day Koyilandy in Calicut district. The family by the grace of mother Badhra Kali became very rich and powerful. They paid Samoothiri-King of kozhikode and brought a land there and settled down there with their family and built a beautiful temple here and worshiped the *Nandakkam* sword, it is believed that 8 families have migrated from south, namely Kiziyil, Vazhayil, Elayedathu, Echarathil, Punathil, Nanothu, Mundakkal, Erothu. Native people called them "*vyapari"(*merchants) at that time. The community is existing even now and they have special rights for conducting festival called "*Kaliyattam"*.

2. Kollam Thali Temple

It is a temple older than 500 years ago which is one of the *Thali*temples in Kerala. Main deity of the temple is Vishnu. Temple is with less number of daily visitors. It is constructed in Kerala traditional architecture. But structure is not well conserved as authority in economic crisis.

3.*Tharavads* of *EttuveetilPillais*

The locality consists of 8 *Tharavads* of Ettuveetil Pillais constructed in traditional Kerala architectural style. During *'Kaliyattam'* of Pishaarikaav temple, these families have roles in temple rituals.

Legend
1. Ananthapuram temple
2. Pishaarikavu temple
3. Ettuveetil Tharavads
4. Kollam Thali temple
5. Anakkulam pond

structures older than 100 years

Figure 6: Hindu Settlement and Land marks

C. Royal settlement

Royal quarter is the sector of Panthalayni Kollam where Zamorin established their settlement,which is called as 'Ananthapuram'. The quarter consisted *Kovilakams*(Palace of Zamorin) , Ananthapuram temple, several *agraharams*(dwelling of Brahmins) etc.

1.Ananthapuram Temple

It may have been built by either the Kolatthiris or the Zamorins - midway between the two more famous Ananthapuram Temples in Kasaragod and Trivandrum. It is one of the oldest temples in Panthalayani. Old Palace of Zamorins was situated close to this temple. But it is not existing more. Several Agraharams also existing connecting to this temple

2. Kottayil Shiva Temple,Muchukunnu

A best example of traditional architecture. It is with a huge and well-structured compound wall and a pond. Over six acres of land surrounded to the temple is a sacred grove called KottayilKavu, with thick foliage and rich biodiversity. According to a report by Kerala Forest Research Institute (KFRI), Peechi, KottayilKavu is the one among the 22 remaining Virgin Forests of Kerala. It is said that the temple earlier belonged to the Zamorin, the King of Kozhikode, and it was handed over to the Rajas of KodungallurKovilakom as per a deal between them. From the Rajas of KodungallurKovilakom, the management of the temple and sacred grove went into the hands of feudal lords of Nair community. At present the whole property including the temple and sacred grove is managed by a family trust called the MuchukunnuDevaswom Trustee Board and is supported by a public committee 'KshethraSamrakshanaSamithi'. The present Koyilothumpaditemple was earlier functioned as *Kovilakom*, the home of Rajas for camping during their visits.

3.Koyiloth Temple

It was established by Kodungalloorswaroopam and later handedover to a Nair family. It is connected with MuchukunnuKotta temple

D. Public Buildings

Another Important Heritage building in the area is Kadalur Point Lighthouse. It is situated in Kadalur, near to existed port.The circular stone masonry tower has a height of 34 meters. The tower is painted with black and white bands. The lighthouse started its operation in 1907 to reduce ship wreckage due to Velliyamkallu . The light house was constructed by British during pre-independent era.

Intangible Heritage Mapping

Panthalayani Kollam is a land of myths. There are a lot of stories and beliefs connected with each heritage structure of Panthalayani. There are some traditions also which was grown due to influence of port. Koyilandi Hukkah is one of them.

1.Koyilandi Hukkahs

Koyilandy hookahs, were famous across North India, the Gulf and Pakistan. Prepared by Moosari, a coppersmith community, these Hookahs were once considered as a pride of Koyilandy. However it is not so any more. But in Gulf countries, Koyilandy hookahs are still very popular as "Malabar Hookah".

The craft owes it origin to a group of Yemeni merchants who had taken up residence at Koyilandy about 500 years ago. They commissioned the local craftsmen to make hookah, an object of oriental culture. Made by local craftsmen, the Hookah impressed Yemeni traders and soon came to be known as Koyilandy Hookah. Besides being ornately designed with attractive motifs, the Koyilandy Hookahs have a coconut shell as the water holder. Even today, these hookahs are exported to gulf countries

Panthalayani and Tourism

Presently, Panthalayani is not a highlighted point in tourism map of Kerala. Only Tourism point is Kappad Beach, it is where Vasco Da Gama was landed according to history. The place were a lot of personalities like IbnBatuta ,Gamaetc came is not even having any tourism value and native people doesn't know about intangible heritage of the region. The rocky beach of Parapalli and Driving Beach of Thikkodi etc are having wide scope of tourism development due to geographical character as well as scenic values.

 Conclusion

The heritage and historical potential of Panthalayani Kollam should be explored more and there is a wide scope of conservation and development similar to Muziris port re-establishment. The tangible heritage of area should be conserved and necessary actions can be taken for development of intangible heritage. Interpretation centres, Heritage museums etc. can be proposed for conserving intangible heritage. The name of Panthalayni Kollam have to be reinvented in heritage map of Calicut. Also there is a wide scope for Pilgrimage tourism as already area consist of three pilgrimage hotspots and a very scenic coastal line.

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Linguistic Landscapes and Superdiversity in Istanbul – A Focus on Kumkapı, "Istanbul's Mogadishu"

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Abstract

Throughout its history extending more than two thousand years, Istanbul has played host to diverse ethnic communities making it one of the most complex and cosmopolitan urban metropolises on the planet. Although the large historic communities of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians no longer populate the neighborhoods in the old city or along the Bosphorus, Istanbul continues to be a magnate for Anatolian Turks and Kurds, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants from Uzbekistan to Senegal hoping to improve their circumstances. In the past 40 years, Istanbul has experienced explosive growth from three million people in 1980 to its present day population of over 16 million. This paper reports on superdiversity in Istanbul from the perspective of a linguistic landscape analysis of Kumkapı, a historic district and former Armenian enclave. Superdiversity is a term recently coined to indicate the qualitatively different demographic and social conditions of today's migrant communities in urban metropolises. A linguistic landscape analysis evaluates visible language on a city's signage. Kumkapı's linguistic landscape was twice documented, once in January 2017, and a second time 17 months later in July 2018. An evaluation of the differences between the two data sets reveals the dynamics of an underground market for lodging in the Kumkapı neighborhood. As more Central Asians, particularly Uzbeks, have settled in, Turkish landlords have shifted strategies to attract favored potential renters.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Linguistic landscape, Superdiversity, Istanbul, Kumkapı

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Introduction

Istanbul is among the largest and most complex urban spaces on the planet and, from any perspective, it presents a challenge to anyone hoping to document its rich heritage. This historic city, reputed for its cosmopolitan past, has grown from a generous three million in the early 1980s to its present day population of more than 16 million inhabitants. It has attracted ethnic Turks and Kurds from the eastern parts of the country, economic migrants from Central Asia to West Africa, and asylum seekers, in addition to absorbing tens of thousands of Syrian refugees fleeing the war in Syria. Istanbul is also the cultural and financial capital of Turkey and, by any measure, is one of the world's most dynamic global cities.

Beginning in the 1990s, a novel demographic phenomenon was emerging in Europe that has since been called "superdiversity" following the landmark article by Vertovec (2006). Superdiversity, understood as the "diversification of diversity", is characterized by larger numbers of migrants arriving from a greater range of country origins resulting in new formations of communities—new formations not just in terms of nationalities, but in terms of ethnicities, uncertain visa statuses, reasons for migrating, intentions, and ideas about their own future. These are highly mobile migrant populations in which the individuals feel little pressure to assimilate to local cultures. Communication with the home country is accessible and rapid; present day Internet and information technology resources mean that migrants may continue to participate in their home country's social, cultural and political life (Blommaert 2010, 2013). While these new migrants can maintain an 'online presence' in their home countries, their bodies are elsewhere. Superdiversity is a feature that characterizes many of Europe's cities; Istanbul is one such city (Eraydin, et. al. 2017).

This paper will examine superdiversity in Istanbul from the perspective of a linguistic landscape analysis. The results and discussion are based on (a) one section of an examination of Istanbul's linguistic landscapes conducted in 2016-2017 and, (b) new data collected in July 2018. For the original study, ten districts around Istanbul were chosen for documentation based on their historical and present-day importance in the life of the city. Most of the districts were historic ethnic communities. The main results for the original study can be found in Wendel (2017) and will not be reviewed here. The particular research interest of the present linguistic landscape analysis is the historic district of Kumkapı in the old section of the city of Istanbul.

Kumkapı is located along the Sea of Marmara, down the steep slopes from the hyper-touristic Grand Bazaar. Formerly an Armenian enclave and the seat of the Armenian Patriarchiate (which continues to function as such today), Kumkapı fell into decline after the Armenians were driven out during the several expulsions in the early years of the republic, or squeezed out because of the wealth tax laws in the 1940s. Many of the abandoned properties were eventually taken over by Anatolian Kurds and Turks who moved into the district in the 1980s and 1990s. Zazaki (a language in the Kurkish formation) is heard along the streets as frequently as is Turkish in many parts of this district. More recently, this district has also become the destination for newly arrived Central Asian and African populations of small-time traders, unskilled laborers, and refugees. Kumpakı, dubbed "Istanbul's Mogadishu" and "Somali Street" by the Turkish press (Seibert 2011), was the most linguistically diverse of all the districts surveyed for the original 2016-2017 study.

The most common objective of linguistic landscape studies is to produce a sociolinguistic profile of a given area such as a neighborhood or city. A sociolinguistic profile addresses such questions as, What speaker groups live in a given district? What is the sociolinguistic regime of the neighborhood? What is the relative status and prestige of languages in the area? Why do some languages appear in the landscape but not others? and, What is the vitality of speaker groups in the district? Apart from the visible language in the environment, historical, demographic and other contextualizing information must also be considered as part and parcel of any linguistic landscape analysis. To date, there have been a number of linguistic landscape studies conducted on cities including Tokyo (Backhaus 2010), Bangkok (Huebner 2009) , Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael et. al. 2006), and Antwerp (Blommaert 2013). Wendel (2017) and the present investigation are the only instances of linguistic landscape research undertaken on Istanbul.

As one of the first investigators of linguistic landscapes (or what he called "l'environment graphique", Calvet 1994/2011:170), Louis-Jean Calvet demonstrated that signs in the environment have a story to tell us, they show us that synchrony and diachrony are inseparable, and that collectively, signs give us indications concerning the relative prestige of languages and the status of speakers in the communities. As such, signs can be analyzed along several parameters including function, agency, number of languages, salience, and choice of script among others. Signs have both an informational and a symbolic function (Landry and Bourhis 1997:25-29). On the one hand, language used on the signs can be used to refer to things in the real world such as goods or services or as markers of territory. On the other, a sign can function essentially to promote solidarity as in a political slogan or an expression of individual protest as graffiti on building walls. Often, a sign will function in both ways. Another distinction is agency, that is, who put the sign up: in the case of a national or municipal government, the sign is classified as top-down; in the case of a small business or individual, it is classified as bottom-up. The distinction between top-down and bottom-up is fundamental because each sign type has been shown to have distinctive features and uses. For example, Backhaus (2008) found that language choice on top-down signs "is determined by power relations, whereas nonofficial [i.e., bottom-up] signs tend to make use of foreign languages in order to express solidarity" (Backhaus 2008:62). Additionally, as Ben-Rafael points out, "Top-down items are designed by experts appointed by functionaries and are committed to serve official policies and the 'dominant culture', that is the culture represented by authorities" whereas "bottom up signs are designed much more freely by autonomous actors" (Ben-Rafael 2008:49).

This paper is organized in two parts. The first part is based on data collected from Kumkapı in January 2017 for the original 2016-2917 study of ten linguistic landscapes of Istanbul (Wendel 2017). The second part reports on data collected anew from Kumkapı in July 2018 and includes an evaluation of the changes that have taken place in the district during the 17 month interval between visits.

The original survey (January 2017): Methods and Procedures

The two research questions for the original survey were, (1) What are the linguistic landscapes of present-day Istanbul? and (2) What processes are shaping Istanbul's linguistic landscapes? As one of the chosen districts for the original linguistic

landscape study, all signs along the main commercial street in Kumkapı were documented and analyzed. The study area comprised about 700m along sections of three streets: Sevgi Sok., Molla Taşı Cad., and Katip Kasım Cami Cad. A sign was considered, as in Backhaus' (2007) study, to be "any piece of written text within a definable frame" (2007:66). In total, 327 signs were collected in Kumkapı. (Table 1).

Results and discussion (January 2017)

As Table 1 shows, monolingual Turkish signs dominated the Kumkapi landscape with 74% percent of the total number of signs, of which 15 were top-down—mainly street signs. English did not account for a great share of the total signs: 23 bilingual Turkish and English signs (all of them commercial) and 14 monolingual English signs (again, all commercial signage).

Table 1. Language and agency breakdown for Kumkapi (Jan 2017)

	Turkish	Turk + Eng	English	Other	
Top Down	15	0	0	2	15 (5%)
Bottom Up	226	23	14	47	312 (95%)
Totals	241 (74%)	23 (7%)	14 (4%)	49 (15%)	327 (100%)

The "Other" category in Table 1 consists of (a) monolingual signs in any languages except Turkish or English, and (b) signs having two or more languages in any combination apart from Turkish/English bilingual signs. The 'Other' category included the following languages: Turkish, English, Russian, Arabic, Uzbek, Uygur, Amharic, Armenian, and French for a total of nine languages found in the Kumkapı linguistic landscape. A breakdown by overall frequency of appearance of languages on the signs appears in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of appearance of languages (Jan 2017)

Language	Freq	Percent
Turkish	274	83.79
English	53	16.21
Russian	18	5.50
Arabic	15	4.59
Uzbek	7	2.14
Uygur	5	1.53
Amharic	5	1.53
Armenian	4	1.22
French	2	0.61

Russian and Arabic are significant languages in Kumkapı because each is a potential lingua franca: Russian for ethnic Russians and Central Asians; Arabic for ethnic Arabs and North Africans. The Russian and Arabic signs were associated mainly with beauty salons or 'room for rent' signs. Uzbek and Uygur are both Turkic languages and can be considered as of a piece with the Central Asian boom in Kumkapı: in each case, these signs were associated with restaurants or 'for rent' signs. There is a community of Ethiopians who live in or visit the district which accounts for Amharic signs (Figure 1); all instances of Amharic were associated with one beauty salon and included five Amharic monolingual or English-Amharic bilingual signs. Armenian

was found on four signs, all of them associated with the Armenian Patriarchate and immediate surroundings—not one of them serve a commercial function. Rather these signs function as information markers for tourists or to provide onlookers with the name of the Armenian architect of a building. The two appearances of French deserve mention: French appeared on a Turkish-Russian-Arabic-French Telecom store sign announcing international money transfers; French was also on a bilingual English-French 'help wanted' sign (see Figure 2) in a beauty salon store-window. Both the French and English in this sign are non-standard (English: "Help Wanted" instead of the "Vacancy"; French: "Recherche Une Coiffeuse" instead of "Recherche Dune Coiffeuse"). The fact that a number of bottom-up monolingual and bilingual signs in languages other than Turkish appear in Kumkapı is indicative of the multi-ethnic mix of the residents and visitors to this district.

Figure 1. Amharic beauty salon sign

There is one glaring absence in Table 2, that of Zazaki. Although the streets of Kumkapı are alive with children shouting and playing in Zazaki and with adults negotiating their purchases in the markets in Zazaki, I have never seen one Zazaki sign in Kumkapı or, for that matter, anywhere around Istanbul in all of my walks spanning several years. (This condition prevails in the city in which Eraydin et. al. (2017:29) claim that "around 20% of Istanbul's residents are Kurdish.") The absence of Zazaki representations has to do with the long history of conflict between the Turkish and Kurdish communities, and with Turkish laws and prohibitions against the use Kurdish institutionally, commercially, or in the public sphere (Haig 2003).

Figure 2. 'Vacancy' sign in English and French

Most striking about the linguistic landscape of Kumkapı in January 2017 was the large number of 'for rent' signs (with associated contact information) taped, pasted, tacked, stapled or glued to walls, fences, lamp-posts or any available public surface along the streets surveyed. These signs were mostly printed by computer on B4 or A3 white copy paper. In total, there were 73 'for rent' signs—all monolingual. Of these, 65 (89%) were in Turkish, 4 in Russian, 3 in Uzbek, and 1 in Arabic. A content analysis revealed that 25% of the Turkish signs specifically targeted Central Asians by including in the announcements the Turkish words for 'foreigner' (*yabanci*), Uzbek (*Üzbek*), or Turkmen (*Türkmen*)—see Figure 3 for an example. Of course, the Russian and Uzbek signs targeted Russian and Uzbek audiences. These facts suggest that Uzbeks and other Central Asian populations are settling into the district, that this district is a 'first arrival' destination for many such migrants, that there likely are communication networks in place in Kumkapı for both migrants and Turkish owners, and that there is an underground market for rooms and apartments in Kumkapı.

Figure 3. Turkish sign targeting foreigner renters, 'yabanci'

Wherefore an underground market? First of all, the signs themselves are made of flimsy, impermanent material: white copy paper. Wind, rain, and the competition for space (evidenced by the signs that had been torn off or overlaid by newer signs on building or fence surfaces) to display one's sign meant that any given sign had a very short life. For the above reasons, just as these signs are easy to make, they are easy to destroy. They are also inexpensive to make and require nothing more than a piece of paper and a black pen, in the case of hand-written signs.

In the volatile political, social, and economic climate of present-day Istanbul and Turkey, the above features work considerably to the advantage of both the owners and candidate renters. For one thing, in the past five years, there has been an explosion in the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers (particularly from war-torn Syria), economic migrants, and transients attempting to pass through Turkey into Europe. Tens of thousands of these migrants make their way to or through Istanbul (Eraydin 2017), stretching social services and local good-will. Many of these migrants have a valid visa status, but for most, their visa status is uncertain or they are simply undocumented. In other words, most migrants do not have the documentation required for legal residence in Turkey, and therefore they have no bank account, no Turkish tax number, and no local identification. Migrants in such circumstances benefit by not having to show locally valid ID to the owners, not having to conclude formal leases, and have the chance to barter their labor in exchange for housing (many of the 'for rent' signs, in addition to announcing available rooms, also announce available work: "*iş var*" or 'there is work'). For their part, the owners enjoy the similar flexibility in that they do not have to conclude formal leases contracts, they do not have to pay taxes on any financial gains, they have the opportunity to exploit vulnerable migrants having uncertain residence status, and most importantly, their arrangements are advertized and conducted through channels that are 'quiet', easily go unnoticed, ephemeral (literally, the signs are 'gone with the wind'), and best of all, leave no trace for the authorities. Even in today's digital world, when the circumstances oblige, there are unforeseen opportunities for the old-fashioned Guttenberg way securing lodging.

The second survey (July 2018): Methods and Procedures

For the second survey, I documented signage along the same Kumkapı streets as in the first January 2017 survey—amounting to a 17 month interval between visits. But for this second survey, I documented only the 'for rent' signs for several reasons. For one, as above, 'for rent' signs are an optimum vehicle in the linguistic landscape for evaluating demographic movements. Also, as the materials used are short lived, I was interested to see if a whole new set of signs had been posted. Thirdly, this was an opportunity to provide time depth to one district from the original study, something that is not often done in linguistic landscape research. In addition to the 'for rent' signs, however, I also noted other things relevant to the investigation of superdiversity that were found in the self-same locations as the 'for rent' signs. I also took note of new restaurants which I found along the same streets. My research questions were, (1) What differences, if any, can be found across the two 'for rent' data sets collected in Kumkapı? and, (2) How can any such differences be explained?

Results and discussion (July 2018)

As Table 3 shows, the second survey yielded 133 'for rent' signs, nearly twice the number as the January 2017 survey. The most interesting change to note, however, is in the languages on the signs. Whereas in January 2017, Turkish signs comprised 89% of the total, in July 2018, it was Uzbek signs that represented the greater share with 65%. How can this difference be explained?

Table 3. Results for Kumkapi 'for rent' signs across visits

	January 2017	July 2018
Total signs	73=N	133=N
Turkish	65 (89%)	49 (37%)
Printed	63	35
Hand	2	14
Uzbek	3 (4%)	83 (63%)
Uzbek, Latin	0	37
Printed	0	33
Hand	0	4
Uzbek, Cyrillic	0	46
Printed	0	9
Hand	3	37
Russian (hand)	4 (5%)	0
Arabic (script)	1 (1%)	1 (<1.0%)

The first question to address is that of agency: in other words, who is making and posting the signs? The Turkish signs, we can assume are made and posted by Turkish owners who are specifically targeting, as above, foreigners. What about the Uzbek signs? Reason itself dictates that it couldn't be the Uzbeks themselves who are renting their own properties, and therefore, Uzbeks are not the makers of the Uzbek signs. A closer examination of the signs themselves, to which we next turn, offers clues.

In the first survey, there were only three Uzbek signs in the Cyrillic script, all handwritten. Data from the second survey is more complex. We find not only handwritten and printed signs, but also Uzbek signs in both the Latin and Cyrillic script. What governs the choice of script (Latin vs. Cyrillic) and mode of production (printed vs. handwritten)? Based on the data above, we can discern a pattern. If the Uzbek signs are written in the Latin alphabet, they will be printed by computer nine times out of ten (89% of the time); if the signs are rendered in Cyrillic, they will be handwritten eight times out of ten (80% of the time). What might explain this choice? Printing the Uzbek signs in the Latin alphabet is an easy thing to do as owners can use their Turkish keyboard (see Figure 4). Cyrillic is a different matter, and the owners seem not to have access to keyboard software for Cyrillic as 37 of the Cyrillic signs are handwritten while only 9 are printed.

Figure 4. Uzbek sign printed in Latin alphabet

In fact, many of the Cyrillic handwritten signs display features suggesting that they were written by non-native writers (see Figure 5). These signs display a clumsiness and a labored effort reminiscent of children learning the first letters of their alphabet. The conclusion is that many of the handwritten Cyrillic signs, in fact, are written by Turkish owners. Following on this conclusion, it is also likely that the few handwritten Cyrillic signs featuring a 'native' hand were written by Uzbeks on behalf of Turkish owners. In addition, 33% of the Turkish signs specifically targeted foreigners, Uzbeks, or Turkmens; and even the signs written in Uzbek targeted "Uzbeks" in 25 out of the 83 signs, that is 30% of the time.
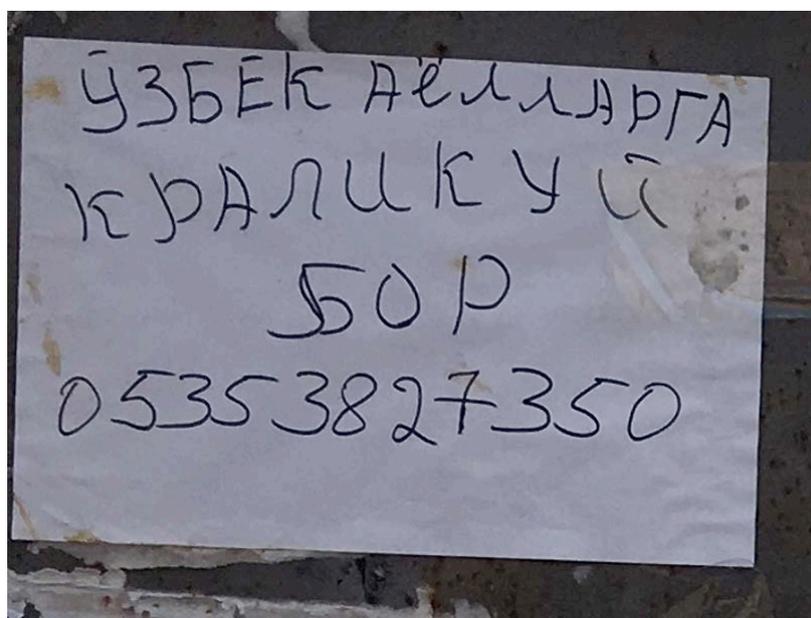
Figure 5. Uzbek sign: Non-native hand

Interestingly, many of the Uzbek signs evidence Turkish-Uzbek language mixing and non-standard usages. Uzbek and Turkish are both Turkic languages and quite similar in both syntax and morphology; further, the essential vocabulary words used in 'for rent' signs are cognates (example: the expressions for *by the day*, *by the month*, and

work in Turkish are <u>günlük</u>, <u>ayık</u>, <u>iş</u>; in Uzbek: <u>kunlik</u>, <u>oylik</u>, <u>ish</u>). Yet we find cases where the author is using the incorrect plural ending for the associated noun in Uzbek. For example in Figure 6, the word for *men* in Turkish is <u>erkekler</u>, in Uzbek is it <u>erkaklar</u>; but the author has written <u>erkakler</u> connecting the Uzbek word for *man* (<u>erkak</u>) with the incorrect Turkish plural ending (-<u>ler</u>)—and violating the rule for vowel harmony, one of the defining characteristics of the Turkic languages. In another example in Figure 6, the word for *work* in Turkish is <u>iş</u>, in Uzbek it is written as <u>ish</u>, but the author has spelled out the word in Turkish <u>iş</u>—even though the sign is intended to be Uzbek. These confoundings are mere details and there is no doubt that Uzbek audiences can read and understand such signs. The point is, these non-standard usages reveal the Turkish authorship behind Uzbek signs, not only the handwritten Cyrillic signs, but also those printed in the Latin alphabet. Most fascinating, however, is the evidence of such language contact phenomena which deserves a deeper analysis than can be included in the present discussion.

Figure 6. Uzbek sign with errors and language mixing

But the question remains, why write in Uzbek at all? Why not write signs in Turkish as did 89% of the authors of 'for rent' signs in January 2017? Why would Turkish sign makers take the trouble to write in a language not their own? To address this issue, we must turn to two matters: script reform in Uzbekistan following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the symbolic capital of script itself.

Very briefly, in 1929, most Central Asian soviet republics, including Uzbekistan, decided (with Soviet encouragement) to change from Arabic script to the Latin alphabet. Under a Russification campaign in the early 1940s, however, the Soviet government mandated a changeover from the Latin to the Cyrillic alphabet. Following independence in 1991, the Uzbekistani government in 1993 reintroduced the Latin alphabet, the whole process of derussification to be completed by 2010. This process has been slow and the government has not instituted strict language policies, allowing for a more lax, evolutionary process to take place in lieu of top-down enforcement. As a result, today the Cyrillic alphabet "is widely used in public and political life" (Topilov 2017). In sum, Uzbekistan has had four alphabets in 80 years. Although both

the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets continue to be used in government and commercial publications, and on commercial signs in Uzbekistan, the direction of change is towards eventual Latinization of the writing system. In the meantime, as one observer has put it, "A stranger or foreigner in Uzbekistan will be hard pressed to tell what script in this country is official. All street signs from billboards to posters to signboards to road signs offer a staggering hodgepodge of languages and alphabetic notations" (Sharifov 2007).

As far as symbolic capital is concerned, the choice of national language and script are matters of great importance for all nations, particularly newly emergent nations. National languages and their writing systems reach deeply in matters of ethnicity, identity and the founding of national ideologies. In addition to establishing titular languages (and also moving to English as the new lingua franca), former Soviet republics such as Moldova, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan have shifted away from Cyrillic script to the Latin alphabet since the Soviet dissolution. They do so in part to make a clear symbolic break away from their past status as Soviet-ruled dependencies, and in part to align themselves with Latin-based Western economies and cultures.

What do the above considerations imply, if anything, for language and script choice of the 'for rent' signs in Kumkapı? First, the perceptions among Turkish sign makers may be that although both Turkish and Uzbek are acceptable, and although (as we have seen) if writing in Uzbek, both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets are in practice acceptable, it is more efficient and friendlier to write in the Uzbek language, and further, to use the Cyrillic alphabet, the 'authentic', as it were, script of the Uzbek people.

At this point in the discussion, it is useful to recall Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) three principles regarding language choice for signage in multilingual environments.

1. Write in a language you know.
2. Prefer to write in a language that your readers are able to read.
3. Prefer to write in your own language or a language with which you wish to be identified.

The first is a skill-based condition and explains why there may be errors when non-native speakers compose signs in a language they may not know well. The second is also directly relevant to the present study. The Turkish owners are targeting Uzbeks to fill their vacant rooms and apartments, so why not display the for rent signs in their language. And to sweeten the deal, so to speak, why not write in a script that is closer to the Uzbek's heart: the Latin alphabet speaks to the mind of the Uzbek, might go Turkish perceptions, but the Cyrillic alphabet speaks to the heart. This takes us to the third of Spolsky and Cooper's principles, what they have called the "symbolic value condition" (Spolsky 2009:33) in which the choice of language itself is the significant message and takes precedence over the informational content of the sign. In this case, writing in the Latin, but especially the Cyrillic alphabet, conveys the welcoming message that, 'Uzbek people, language and culture are valued here', or in the spirit of post-modern commercialism, "We speak your language!" Of course, having the signs posted in Uzbek increases the chances that interested Uzbeks will fill their vacancies before they turn to owners who have posted their signs unilingually in Turkish.

Imagine yourself in a similar situation: which of two landlords would be more attractive to you, the one who wrote in his own language or the one who attempts, no matter how clumsily, to appeal to you in your language?

Finally, a word about what these two sets of 'for rent' sign suggest with respect to superdiversity. Not only the increase in numbers of 'for rent' signs over a 17-month interval, but also the emerging sophistication of the advertizing market (in terms of language and script choice) strongly suggest that greater numbers of Uzbeks (and perhaps other Central Asian migrants) are settling into the neighborhood and that the migrant communication networks are expanding. There is also additional evidence that supports this conclusion. In the first survey, I found only one Uzbek restaurant and one Pakistani restaurant along the indicated streets; on the second visit, I counted two Pakistani restaurants, one Turkmen, and six Uzbek restaurants. I also found signs advertising for baby-sitting services (see Figure 7) and signs announcing the opening of a kindergarten for Uzbek children (both signs are in Uzbek, printed in Cyrillic). These baby-sitting and kindergarten signs, I assume, were posted by enterprising Uzbeks seizing opportunities to provide services for newly arrived parents who need care for their children during business hours. It is obvious that Kumkapı continues to function as a superdiversity district. Clearly, the sociolinguistic regime of this district is complex, not wholly Turkish, and includes communities of speakers from Central Asian and African origins.

Figure 7. Uzbek sign for baby-sitting services

4. Conclusion

This study has considered the historical district of Kumkapı in Istanbul to demonstrate a useful role for linguistic landscape analyses in documenting superdiversity. 'For rent' signs are an ideal instrument for assessing population movements in urban centers. The profusion of such signs posted around the streets of Kumkapı points to an active and changeable underground market for lodging. In particular, having the majority of signs most recently posted in Uzbek shows that these migrants are favored renters, no doubt in part because the owners and renters have many things in common: religion and shared roots in both culture and language. It is clear that linguistic landscape analyses that take a quantitative approach can generate insights into the dynamics of superdiversity; but it is also just as clear that undertaking an ethnography focusing on individual communicative practices in Kumkapı would be a hugely rewarding and insightful endeavor (as in Blommaert 2013).

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Does the New 'FIX' Fit? Adaptive Building Reuse Affecting Local Sustainable Development: Preliminary Results

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Abstract
Adaptive building reuse constitutes a major factor for the city resource exploitation, to wit the local sustainable urban development. Economic potential and sustainability in the wake of an adaptive reuse project, given the several variables involved, is an important subject of study. The adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage in particular is known by the wider scientific community to add value to a city. This study attempts to explore all the value-adding parameters of such projects, focusing on the transformation of the old FIX factory into the National Museum of Contemporary Art - EMST in Athens, Greece, namely, the resulting city development, the social and economic effects, as well as the environmental footprint. The objective, based upon a Fuzzy-DEMATEL model analysis, is to identify critical factors influencing the local sustainable development through adaptive industrial building reuse, as well as to assess the direction and level of interaction between them, which will eventually serve as a tool for future decision-making in sustainable city development.

Keywords: adaptive reuse, sustainable development, industrial buildings

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Introduction

The adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage is considered to be a pervasive concept. The contribution of the entire notion of what constitutes adaptive reuse, along with the heritage buildings importance assigned, seems to be more explicit in sustainable development than ever. Adaptation outlines renovation or restoration projects which do not entail changes of use (Holyoake and Watt, 2002 as cited in Bullen, 2007a), at least necessarily. Reuse can be translated to something exceptional, exclusive and sometimes even expensive. This paper, in order to approach its research objective, is framed within the following definition of 'adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage'; An industrial building conversion process, to undertake a change of use, retaining as much as possible of the original construction, while upgrading the performance to meet current standards.

As several researchers have highlighted, a quite significant amount of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage examples exist (indicatively: Ball, 1999; del Pozo, Calderón Calderón, & Ruiz-Valdepeñas, 2016; Haidar & Talib, 2013; Ingalls & Moore, 2001; Shen & Langston, 2010; Mitoula, Theodoropoulou, & Karaki, 2013; *New into Old*, 2017), depicting sustainability in terms of economic impact, social life involvement, energy saving, functionality, etc. (Ijla & Broström, 2015), tending to elevate the matter in a field of scholarly study in its own right. Thus, the more adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage increases as a phenomenon, the bigger is the opportunity to positively affect the sustainable development of natural, social and cultural environments.

As Shen & Langston (2010) state, adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage is considered to be a core principle of the local sustainable development and communities have a lot to gain from such a transformative renewal (Lewin & Goodman, 2013). Accordingly, del Pozo et al., (2016) notes that the preservation field is a growing economy resource with numerous positive side effects. For instance, reuse projects add value into the heritage assets, converting them to be tourist resources that can contribute to urban sustainable development not only economically, but also ecologically, socially and culturally. Likewise, adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage bolsters the life cycle of material and resources and reduces waste by reusing structural elements and recycling materials, while safeguards the world's cultural heritage (Yung & Chan, 2012). This research interest can be attributed amongst others to the global industrial historical identity which involves a shared cultural heritage as well as to the nature and characteristics of building reuse. The article discusses adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage, with a focus in the local transformations of a city, which render, from a sustainability standpoint, new cultural poles of built-up, urban and tourist attraction and recreation.

The current research approaches one of the most famous case studies in the field of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage in the recent history of Athens, Greece -The FIX Building- in order to examine the extent to which local sustainable development was (/is) influenced as a system of interrelated relationships. Late 1860, given the growing demand, the FIX Brewery moves its infrastructure to Andrea Syngrou Avenue in Koukaki, a southeast neighborhood of Athens with no visible signs of development at the time. Nearly one hundred years later, and in order to meet the opportunities presented by the industrial restructuring and development in Greece, the FIX Brewery administration decides to rebuild the industrial premises.

The new industrial building was completed in 1961. The design, by the architect Takis Zenetos and his colleague Margaritis Apostolidis, in their attempt to create a flexible, capable of changing and adapting to future industrial uses form, embraced the principles of the modern movement in architecture: a dynamic shape with austere linearity in order to give a sensation of the building extending to infinity, long openings to further stress the longitudinal axis and recreate a connection with its environment, open plans, use of clear-cut materials, etc.. Very soon, the new industrial building was destined to be a historic landmark of modern architecture and the city. Unfortunately, ten years later, FIX Brewery production was transferred away from the city center and the building was abandoned. Around 1994, the northern part of the building was demolished to make room for the subway construction works. This act was sharply criticized by architects, urban planner, heritage preservatives and scholars (N. Theodoropoulou, 2018). In 2000, preceded by a number of consultations and considerations the old FIX Brewery was decided to be adaptively be reused as the new house of the Hellenic National Museum of Contemporary Art (EMST) (www.emst.gr/en). The project was assigned to 3SK Stylianidis Architects and K. Kontozoglou, I. Mouzakis & Associate Architects and Tim Ronalds Architects, and was completed late 2014.

Figure 1 The FIX Building as a factory (left) and as a Museum (right)

The current study will attempt to address the title pun question in terms of providing a number of reasons as to why the adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage consist of an important element in the entire spectrum of the sustainability concerns. To do so, a Fuzzy-DEMATEL model was applied in order to identify critical factors influencing the local sustainable development through adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage, as well as to assess the direction and level of interaction between them.

The overarching goal set for the scope of the current research is evidently not to invent a brand new way of thinking regarding adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage, but rather to highlight the direct relations among various existent concepts.

Methods

The selected methodological approach for this research had two major steps. Firstly, through an extensive literature review accompanied by field research, a comprehensive list of factors influencing the local sustainable development following the recent FIX Building reuse is proposed. Secondly, using a fuzzy-DEMATEL approach, the interrelationships among the factors are obtained.

Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage: Generated factors affecting the local sustainable development

Table 1 The factors affecting local sustainable development via adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage projects.

PILLAR	F	FACTOR	Description	Literature
Economy	F1	ECONOMIC GROWTH	• Growing Investorsment • Local Business & Market Creation • Creating Jobs • Taxpaying • Increasing Property Values • Relieved demand on Local Authorities	(Kimball & Romano, 2011)(Moore & Ingalls, 2010) (Yuceer & Vehbi, 2014) (Lewin & Goodman, 2013) (Ijla & Broström, 2015) (Cano, Garzón, & Sánchez-Soto, 2013) (Tam, Fung, & Sing, 2016) (Haidar & Talib, 2013) (Yildirim & Turan, 2012) (Langston, Feng, Yu, & Zhao, 2008) (Loures, 2015) (Greffe, 2004)
	F2	TOURISM (CULTURAL) ECONOMIC GROWTH	• Attractive Cities • Visitors' Sentiment and Architecture • Promoting -cultural- tourism	(Orbasli, 2009)(Cano et al., 2013) (Yuceer & Vehbi, 2014) (Stamatiou, Lacroix, Gekas, & Mastorakis, 2008) (Gholitabar, Alipour, & Costa, 2018) (Agaliotou, 2015) (Wang, 2011) (Prat Forga & Cànoves Valiente, 2017) (Mitoula et al., 2013) (Kostakis, Lolos, & Doulgeraki, 2018) (Kostakis & Theodoropoulou, 2017)
	F3	LOCAL VALUE ENHANCEMENT	• Through their variety, character and a sense of familiarity and safety	(Orbasli, 2009)(del Pozo et al., 2016) (Lewin & Goodman, 2013) (Haidar & Talib, 2013)
Society	F4	QUALITY OF LIFE IMPROVEMENT	• Income Growth • Environmental Quality • Healthy & Hospitable Environment • Health • Safety • Leisure • Resilient and Sustainable city of Residence	(Bullen, 2007b) (Pickard, 1996) (Ijla & Broström, 2015) (Yung, Chan, & Xu, 2014) (Vlek, Skolnik, & Gatersleben, 1998) (Orbasli, 2009) (Langston et al., 2008)(Cano et al., 2013) (Mitoula et al., 2013) (Savvides, 2015)
	F5	COMMUNITY ACTION AND INVOLVEMENT EMPOWEREMENT	• Cultural sites provide programming that examine Homelessness, Poverty, and the need for Social Networks to support Community and inspire people to personal and Collective Action	(Bullen & Love, 2011) (Yung et al., 2014) (Yildirim & Turan, 2012) (Cano et al., 2013) (Maccannell, 2015)
Environment	F6	ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT	• Climate Change Mitigation • Eco-Building • Energy Efficiency • Renewable Energy Systems • Extending Life Cycle for Buildings, Materials and Resources • Landfill Demolition Waste Reduction • Reduce GHGs • Reduce Resources Consumption • Recycling	(Bullen & Love, 2011) (Langston et al., 2008) (Lewin & Goodman, 2013) (Ijla & Broström, 2015) (Conejos, Langston, Chan, & Chew, 2016) (Mohamed & Alauddin, 2016) (Hu, 2017) (Rodrigues & Freire, 2017) (Orbasli, 2009) (Suridechakul, 2015) (Akhtarkavan, Alikhani, & Ghiasvand, 2008) (Misirlisoy & Günçe, 2016) (Shen & Langston, 2010) (Conejos, Langston, & Smith, 2011) (Vardopoulos & Konstantinou, 2016a) (Vardopoulos & Konstantinou, 2016b) (Vardopoulos, 2017) (Vardopoulos, 2018)
	F7	LAND CONSERVATION	• Reduce Urban Sprawl	(del Pozo et al., 2016) (Lewin & Goodman, 2013) (Langston et al., 2008) (Dorsey, 2003) (Loures, 2015)
Culture	F8	PUBLIC ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS & EDUCATION	• Contribution to Educational potential, Cultural Skills and Knowledge • Public Environmental Awareness	(Embaby, 2014) (Sutter, 2008) (Kostakis, Theodoropoulou, & Mitoula, 2015) (Kyramarigiou & Vardopoulos, 2017) (Poulos, Stamopoulos, Vardopoulos, & Theodoropoulou, 2018)
	F9	TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION	• Technological Innovation Integration • Recovering Local Traditional Construction Techniques	(Hein & Houck, 2008) (Papalou, 2015) (Di Giulio, Zaffagnini, Brunoro, Longo, & Piaia, 2006)
	F10	LOCAL MEMORY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY PRESERVATION	• Maintain Local Memory • Identity • Diversity • Vitality • Aesthetic Enhancement • Retention of Visual Amenity	(Bullen & Love, 2011) (Tam et al., 2016) (Alias, Zyed, & Chai, 2016) (Misirlisoy & Günçe, 2016) (Lewin & Goodman, 2013) (Tsilika, 2017)
	F11	CULTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION	• Safeguard the words' cultural and natural heritage • Heritage Preservation • Industrial Past	(Bullen & Love, 2011) (UN, 2015) (Alias et al., 2016) (Plevoets & Cleempoel, 2012) (Zhang, 2007) (Tsilika, 2014)

The questionnaire

The questionnaire was composed with the following five subsections: a: cover letter; b: introduction; c: sort factors description; d: explanations of how to be filled in; e: pair-wise comparisons of the factors. The experts were welcomed, providing their personal opinions, to evaluate the direct influence relationship -if any- and its strength or weakness degree among factors, scoring on a five point scale from 0 to 4. Each score was also expressed as a triangular fuzzy number. Additionally, in order to address the ambiguity of the subjective judgment of the experts, a linguistic variable was employed. The result is presented in Table 2.

For the scope of the current research recipients of the questionnaire were two abundant qualified and experienced experts[1], a government expert and a university scholar.

Table 2 Fuzzy Linguistic Variables

Linguistic Variable	Influence Score	Corresponding Triangular Fuzzy Numbers
Very high influence (VH)	4	(0.75, 1.0, 1.0)
High influence (H)	3	(0.5, 0.75 1.0)
Low influence (L)	2	(0.25, 0.5, 0.75)
Very low influence (VL)	1	(0.0, 0.25, 0.5)
No influence (NO)	0	(0.0, 0.0, 0.0)

The Fuzzy DEMATEL Model

In order for scholars to be able to examine the causal relationship of fuzzy variables and define the degree of interactive influence among them, they use the fuzzy-DEMATEL model which combines the fuzzy theory, holding the fuzzy linguistic aspect, with DEMATEL[2].

The influence factors for the system used in the current research were identified studying a vast amount of the literature in this topic, denoted as F_1, F_2, … , F_{11}.
The basic computational steps of the fuzzy-DEMATEL model taken in the current research, after are presented as follows:

Step A: Develop evaluation variables. First an influence integer score scale ranging from zero to four was developed to express degree of the strength or weakness of the relationship among factors. Then, instead of asking the experts to present their views and determine the direct influence among factors using the integer scale, and in order to address the human subjective view ambiguity, the conventional influence score scale was substituted with a fuzzy linguistic scale. Lastly, triangular[3] fuzzy numbers were used to determine the degree of influence. All the evaluation variables are presented in Table 2.

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[1] Typically individuals with a doctoral degree or at least ten years of experience
[2] The Decision Making Trial and Evaluation Laboratory - DEMATEL is a useful technique for visualizing the structure of complicated causal relationships with matrices or digraphs, employed by Fontela and Gabus in 1971 (Gabus & Fontela, 1972). The DEMATEL model can convert the relationship between the causes and effects of factors into an intelligible structural model of the system (Falatoonitoosi, Leman, Sorooshian, & Salimi, 2013).
[3] Based on the Li and Tzeng concepts (Chung-Wei & Gwo-Hshiung, 2009).

Step B: Collect experts' evaluations. A couple of experts were invited to conduct pairwise comparison in order to evaluate the interactive influence degree among the factors identified by using the fuzzy linguistic scale developed in Step A.

Step C: Receive final report. Through registering and entering all the above stated information about the matter raised to the corresponding pages of the Fuzzy Decision (www.fuzzydecision.com) software website, the final reports are extracted. At this point it should be noted that given certain delimitations -especially computational- set for the scope or the current preliminary research, from the total number of factors, it was possible to examine only three. Thus, through systematic study, it was made possible to reach to the conclusion that the three far-reaching factors to be considered are the F_2, F_5 and F_{11}.

Results and Discussion

The current research used a particular approach as previously described. The factors affecting local sustainable development via 'adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage' projects are presented in Table 1. The evaluation variables developed are presented in Table 2. Two experts provided their thoughts on the direct influence relationship and its degree of strength or weakness among factors using a fuzzy linguistic scale, and the results are presented in Table 3 and Table 4 respectively.

Table 3 Direct Influence Matrix by Expert A

No.	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_4	F_5	F_6	F_7	F_8	F_9	F_{10}	F_{11}
F_1		H	VH	H	L	H	NO	VL	H	VL	VL
F_2	VH		VH	VH	VL	NO	VL	VL	VL	H	VH
F_3	VH	L		H	L	L	L	VL	VL	H	H
F_4	NO	L	H		L	L	NO	L	VL	L	L
F_5	H	H	H	H		H	L	H	NO	VH	H
F_6	L	L	VL	H	L		H	VH	VH	VL	L
F_7	H	VH	VH	VH	VH	VH		L	L	VH	L
F_8	L	L	H	L	H	VH	L		H	VL	L
F_9	H	VL	VL	H	VL	H	NO	H		VL	VH
F_{10}	L	VH	VH	VH	H	VL	VH	H	NO		VH
F_{11}	VH	VH	VH	VH	VH	H	H	VH	VH	VH	

Table 4 Direct Influence Matrix by Expert B

No.	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_4	F_5	F_6	F_7	F_8	F_9	F_{10}	F_{11}
F_1		H	VH	H	L	H	NO	VL	H	VL	VL
F_2	VH		VH	VH	VL	NO	VL	VL	VL	H	VH
F_3	VH	L		H	L	L	L	VL	VL	H	H
F_4	NO	L	H		L	L	NO	L	VL	L	L
F_5	H	H	H	H		H	L	H	NO	VH	H
F_6	L	L	VL	H	L		H	VH	VH	VL	L
F_7	H	VH	VH	VH	VH	VH		L	L	VH	L
F_8	L	L	H	L	H	VH	L		H	VL	L
F_9	H	VL	VL	H	VL	H	NO	H		VL	VH
F_{10}	L	VH	VH	VH	H	VL	VH	H	NO		VH
F_{11}	VH	VH	VH	VH	VH	H	H	VH	VH	VH	

Using the variables scale (see Table2) Table 3 and Table 4 are respectively converted to Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5 Pairwise comparison by Expert A

No.	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_4	F_5	F_6	F_7	F_8	F_9	F_{10}	F_{11}
F_1	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)
F_2	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_3	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)
F_4	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_5	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)
F_6	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_7	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_8	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_9	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_{10}	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_{11}	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**

Table 6 Pairwise comparison by Expert B

No.	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_4	F_5	F_6	F_7	F_8	F_9	F_{10}	F_{11}
F_1	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)
F_2	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_3	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)
F_4	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_5	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)
F_6	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_7	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_8	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)
F_9	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_{10}	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.25, 0.50)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_{11}	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	**(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)**

Certain calculations were performed in order to extract the results using specific formulas. Table 7 presents the mean of the pairwise comparisons as provided by the experts for the factors F_2, F_5 and F_{11}, along with the formula used. Accordingly Table 8 presents the normalized matrix and the respective formulas used. In Table 9 the total relation fuzzy matrix is presented as well as the computational formulas used. Finally, following further calculations employed using the total fuzzy relations matrices (see Table 9), the influential impact D, the influenced impact R, the degree of importance (D + R) and the causal degree (D - R) values are extracted and listed in Table 10. The defyzzy degree of importance (D + R) and causal degree (D - R) values are shown in Table 11. Lastly, the three selected factors were plotted on the horizontal axis according to the degree of importance (D + R) defuzzy value and in the vertical axis according to the causal degree (D - R) defuzzy value as depicted in Figure 1.

Table 7 Mean of pairwise comparisons

No.	F_2	F_5	F_{11}
F_2	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.25, 0.50, 0.75)	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)
F_5	(0.50, 0.75, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.62, 0.88, 1.00)
F_{11}	(0.75, 1.00, 1.00)	(0.62, 0.88, 1.00)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)

$$\tilde{z} = \frac{\tilde{x}^1 \oplus \tilde{x}^2 \oplus \tilde{x}^3 \oplus \dots \oplus x^p}{p}$$

Formula 1   **p: 2 (number of experts)**

Table 8 Normalized matrix

No.	F_2	F_5	F_{11}
F_2	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.12, 0.25, 0.38)	(0.38, 0.50, 0.50)
F_5	(0.25, 0.38, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)	(0.31, 0.44, 0.50)
F_{11}	(0.38, 0.50, 0.50)	(0.31, 0.44, 0.50)	(0.00, 0.00, 0.00)

$$\tilde{H}_{ij} = \frac{\tilde{z}_{ij}}{r} = \left(\frac{l'_{ij}}{r}, \frac{m'_{ij}}{r}, \frac{u'_{ij}}{r}\right) = (l''_{ij}, m''_{ij}, u''_{ij})$$

$$r = max_{1\le i \le n}\left(\sum_{j=1}^{n} u_{ij}\right)$$

Formula 2

Table 9 Total relation fuzzy matrix

No.	F_2	F_5	F_{11}
F_2	(0.31, 1.46, 7.00)	(0.35, 1.43, 6.67)	(0.60, 1.86, 7.33)
F_5	(0.53, 1.81, 8.00)	(0.25, 1.29, 7.00)	(0.59, 1.90, 8.00)
F_{11}	(0.66, 2.02, 8.00)	(0.52, 1.71, 7.33)	(0.41, 1.76, 7.67)

$$\tilde{t}_{ij} = (l^t_{ij}, m^t_{ij}, u^t_{ij})$$

$$[l^t_{ij}] = H_l \times (I - H_l)^{-1}$$

$$[m^t_{ij}] = H_m \times (I - H_m)^{-1}$$

$$[u^t_{ij}] = H_u \times (I - H_u)^{-1}$$

Formula 3

Table 10 Importance and cause effect fuzzy values

Factors	$\widetilde{D}_i + \widetilde{R}_i$	$\widetilde{D}_i - \widetilde{R}_i$
F_2	(2.78, 10.05, 44.00)	(-21.73, -0.55, 19.49)
F_5	(2.51, 9.43, 44.00)	(-19.62, 0.57, 21.87)
F_{11}	(3.20, 11.02, 46.00)	(-21.41, -0.02, 21.39)

$$\widetilde{D} = (\widetilde{D}_i)_{n\times 1} = \left[\sum_{j=1}^{n} \tilde{T}_{ij}\right]_{n\times 1}$$

Formula 4

$$\widetilde{R} = (\widetilde{R}_i)_{1\times n} = \left[\sum_{i=1}^{n} \tilde{T}_{ij}\right]_{1\times n}$$

Formula 5

Table 11 Importance and cause effect defuzzy values

Factors	D Sum	Rank	R Sum	Ranking	$\left(\widetilde{D}_i + \widetilde{R}_i\right)^{def}$	Rank	$\left(\widetilde{D}_i - \widetilde{R}_i\right)^{def}$	Rank
F_2	7.945	3	8.775	2	16.72	2	-0.83	3
F_5	8.595	2	7.745	3	16.34	3	0.85	1
F_{11}	8.9	1	8.91	1	17.81	1	-0.01	2

$$B = defuzzy(\tilde{A}) \quad if:$$

$$\tilde{A} = (a_1, a_2, a_3)$$

$$B = \frac{(a_1 + a_3 + 2 \times a_2)}{4}$$

Formula 6
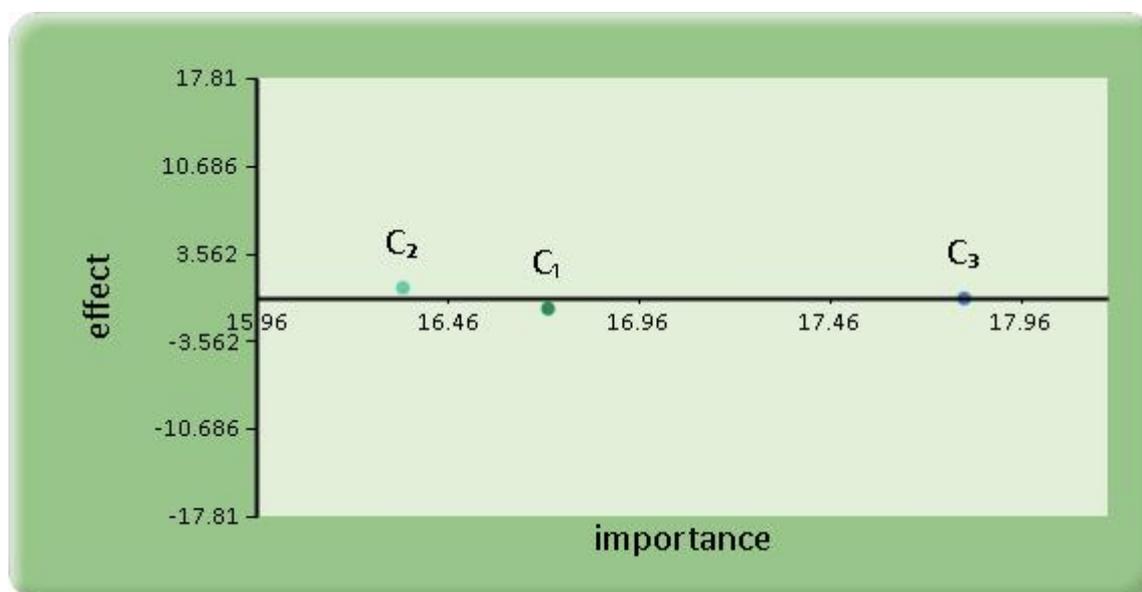
Figure 2 Interactive relationships of the three criteria.

Based on the coordinate positions of the degree of importance (D + R) and of the causal degree (D - R) the certain conclusions can be drawn. From a single factor perspective, both the degree of importance (D + R) and the causal degree (D - R) ranking should be considered to identify the critical factors. According to the causal degree (D - R) values, the factors affecting the local sustainable development through 'adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage' projects can be grouped into two categories; cause factors (positive) and effect factors (negative). Cause factors compared to effect factors, are considered to be the most fundamental, stable and initiative factors affecting the entire system. For that reason, special attention should be given during their analysis. As listed in Table 11, cause factor is the Community Action and Evolvement Empowerment (F_5) factor. In this case particularly, and because the influential impact D value is greater that its influenced impact R value, it certainly has a direct impact on other factors and its performance can directly affect the system objective. The Community Action and Evolvement Empowerment (F_5) factor while it owns a positive causal degree (D - R) value, it has

the third highest degree of importance (D + R) score with 16.34 and the third highest influential impact D. Thus it can be confirmed that Community Action and Evolvement Empowerment (F_5) cause factor has a great influence in the whole system and it should be stressed providing a basis on which to undertake long-term sustainability measures to improve local sustainable development as a result of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage projects. On the other hand, the rest of the factors are more prone to change as too easily affected by other factors, a fact that suggests some short-term sustainability measures are need to improve the entire system. In particular, the Cultural Heritage Protection (F_{11}) factor has the highest degree of importance (D+R) score with 17.81, while the value of its influential impact D is 8.9, also ranking first. Although the causal degree (D - R) score is slightly less than zero, its influenced impact R value with 8.91 score obtains the highest score, therefore the Cultural Heritage Protection (F_{11}) factor is considered to be a factor in the system with an important influence. Similarly, the degree of importance (D + R) of the Tourism Economic Growth (F_2) factor is 16.72 and ranks second along with its influential impact D value which is 8.595. The Tourism Economic Growth (F_2) factor causal degree (D - R) value is negative, hence although a key factor it can be easily affected by other factors.

Nonetheless, there are certain delimitations set for the scope of the current paper and future intended research should further expand the above mentioned methodology and results. In this preliminary study, only three factors were computationally analyzed. Also, only two experts were approached, from government and university. Future research should analyze all proposed factors and further expand the experts' range and number to engineers, enterprise, industry associations and elected government officials. Meanwhile, given the educational background and professional experience variety within experts, naturally, it is considered that their view should have a specific weight. Thus, from this point of view, a non-ambiguous determination set of variables for the importance of the experts' judgment should be carried out. Furthermore, and since the redundancy of the information provided through the eleven factors is not addressed, future research in order to avoid possible unnecessary duplication of facts in the index system and improve the accuracy of the study, should first use an in depth interview analysis system. Moreover, perhaps the use of trapezoidal intuitionistic fuzzy numbers rather than the triangular fuzzy numbers might express further support through an advance computational accuracy to the arguments raised in the current research. In addition, in order to avoid possible biases and verify the robustness of the results, a sensitivity analysis[4] might be proven helpful. Similarly, an analysis from the sum calculations of the various factors dimensions discussed standpoint would make sense in order to obtain a multilevel conclusion drawn. Lastly, some more adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage representative examples should be respectively examined in order to validate these results.

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[4] Sensitivity analysis could be undertaken using Chi-square tests in order to prove the consistency of the results under various experts' evaluations.

Conclusion

Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage is an important global topic. In the context of sustainable development and the effects of environmental degradation caused by previous disregard, adaptive reuse has an important role to play. Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage projects, adopting certain strategies can achieve an optimum balance among initial investments, energy savings, environmental impacts minimization, heritage preservation and urban regeneration.

The current study attempted to provide a number of reasons as to why the adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage consists an important element in the entire spectrum of the sustainability concerns. To do so, first this paper comprehensively considering and discussing all relevant matters pertinent to the local context, systematically proposes eleven factors affecting the local sustainable development via adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage projects, and in particular the FIX Building reuse, through literature review and field research, each one categorized accordingly to the four pillars of sustainability. Then, a Fuzzy-DEMATEL model was applied in order to assess the direction and level of interaction among them. The aforementioned method was selected because it enables variables causal relationship analysis including the level of interactive influence among them. Through systematic study, cause factor is the Community Action and Evolvement Empowerment (F_5) factor and effect factors are the Tourism Economic Growth (F_2) factor and the Cultural Heritage Protection (F_{11}) factor.

Grounded in practice, the study encompassing the real dilemmas captures the complicated adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage process and provides a reference point for future development projects or research. The FIX case is significant as it illustrates how solutions can be created as old industrial urban corridors become obsolete. To conclude, this paper argues that adaptive reuse of industrial buildings of cultural heritage with economic development activities, social regeneration, ecological efficiency, in addition to the cultural heritage preservation, serve the key concepts of sustainability and the sustainable development goals.

Acknowledgments

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Heritage's Meaning in New Towns of Modern Era: Defining "Urban Heritage" Starting from the Case Study of Italian's New Towns

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Abstract

With the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes - known all over the world as the main unresolved Italian heritage - and the construction of the New Towns during the 30's, the Fascist Party achieves its most significant territorial project. This project becomes the first Regime's propagandistic instrument concluding, in less than ten years, the reclamation and the construction of New Towns in Agro Pontino. As a Fascist's propagandistic tools, the New Towns change drastically their meaning - and consequently their form- through time. Starting from this consideration three main questions arise: How the changing of culture can modify the urban space? How, this specific urban space, becomes Urban Heritage? What is the role of memory to defining the Urban Heritage in Modernist New Towns? Starting from the case study of Italian's New Towns this paper tries to highlight the meaning of Urban Heritage understood as a set of architectural artefacts, which constitute the city, and which over time reinvent themselves and adapt themselves to the society's new behaviors and models of life. With this paper I intend also to define the term "Urban Heritage" starting from the concept of resilience of modern buildings which, despite their symbolic meaning, are able to build – or to destroy – human relationship inside the city even today. Finally, the Urban Heritage will be used as a tool to read again these cities with a new perspective able to give a new meaning to the "historical memory" of the buildings and the cities of modern era.

Keywords: New Towns, Architecture, Propaganda, Urban Heritage, Utopia, Aprilia, Modern City

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New Towns in Agro Pontino: A Short Introduction

The new settlements system of Agro Pontino was newly designed in a geographic area contiguous to the capital city and directly connected to the integral reclamation project elaborated by the agricultural economist Arrigo Serpieri starting from 1923. The work is part of a wider policy of "displacement from the city" and "ruralization", reiterated by Mussolini in the famous "Ascension speech", pronounced at the Chamber of Deputies on May 26, 1927. In this background is central the role of the colonization process initiated by fascism to evacuate cities. All those settlers were laid inside the Agro Pontino to replace the relationship between man and land, and to set in motion all the social activities able to give life to a new Fascist society. The necessity to give to the settler socializing spaces is the reason of the birth of the New Towns in Agro Pontino. All these new settlements, - that are called Agro-Towns (in the case of the middle cities) and Rural Village (also called Borghi) -, were built following a polycentric system of "Core"- or Town Square – bounded by public facilities. The architecture and the urban composition of these buildings are specifically studied to become the tool to educate the masses[1] thanks to their ability to set in motion *formative processes of identity*. [2]

From the literature about the case study it is therefore clear the importance of the role of the architecture and the urban composition within the creation of new identity process inside the Fascist new towns. Thus, architecture becomes in Italy (at the same time as the definition of modern architecture was being defined) a totalitarian experiment. It doesn't matter therefore if the architecture is modern or traditional. The only important thing is that architecture has to be something Italian and something in which Italians can see their ideals mirrored. According to a former Mussolini's idea only the rationalist architecture was able to reflect the Fascist ideals, and that is why

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[1] Nicoloso, P. (2008-2011) *Mussolini architetto. Propaganda fascista e paesaggio urbano nell'Italia Fascista.* Torino: Einaudi Storia.
"Architecture becomes an instrument to educate the masses. Even if Mussolini at first used architecture to receive the support of the masses, he later made architecture a tool for his dictatorship. So, architecture was used to change the character, habits and mentality of Italians. Also, the thesis sustained here is that architecture becomes an indispensable element of the totalitarian turn of the regime. Mussolini uses architecture to educate the masses according to a fascist point of view using his powers of manipulation. Italian fascism stands out for implementing a mass policy based on myth; it was necessary for example, to unite the Roman imperial past with the present revolutionary: to weld the people and cement it in the figure of the Chief (Mussolini); to spread the model of the "new man", warrior and builder at the same time. The architecture is the tool used to build the immense theatrical scene for the new Italian Fascist Man. As we know, architecture has always played a fundamental role in the formative process of identity. The architectural monument can transmit meanings capable of reaching a whole community, which in it then comes to be recognized. [...] This determines the transition from an architecture instrument of consent to an instrument of education. [...] The preference is expressed for an architecture that is modern, but classic, well expressed by the E42 buildings. [...] An architecture that educates the masses must have clear forms, understandable by everyone. It is therefore necessary to "invent" a style that, without renouncing the characters of modernity, speaks to the memory of the nation, which is a synthesis of that classical tradition that had its original splendour in ancient Rome."
[2] Ivi:
"Architecture has always played a fundamental role in the formative process of identity. The architectural monument has the ability to transmit meanings capable of reaching a whole community, which in it then comes to be recognized. [...] This determines the transition from an architecture instrument of consent to an instrument of education. An architecture that educates the masses must have clear forms, understandable by everyone. It is therefore necessary to "invent" a style that, without renouncing the characters of modernity, speaks to the memory of the nation, which is a synthesis of that classical tradition that had its original splendour in ancient Rome. [Architecture] must be able to unite all Italians, now in the present, but also in a historical perception. In which the reference to classicism, a common feature of Italian art, will have to highlight its eternal character and universalistic vocation. Again, as in the past, through architecture we want to affirm the primacy of Italian civilization in the world. "

Pagano himself, in one of his articles[3] would designate Mussolini as the savior of modern Italian architecture. However, after just one year, Mussolini changed his mind and defined the traditionalist architecture (made of arches, static and trumpet symbolizing a return to Romanity) to be able to reflect the Fascist ideals. Therefore, architecture isn't important in itself, but is important as an instrument capable to transmit the sense of fascist power in the present and in the future.[4] We can easily say that Mussolini had the desired effect. As a matter of fact, today, inside fascist architecture we can clearly see the power of that time, but it is also possible to read the strong political contradictions that characterize the Fascist party. What is important here to remember is that, within the architectural history, the definition of Italian Modern Architecture is consistent with the definition of the Fascist Architecture. To this end, a series of articles were published in the most important architecture magazines, where the architects try to give a precise definition not of the Fascist architecture rather than the Italian modern architecture.
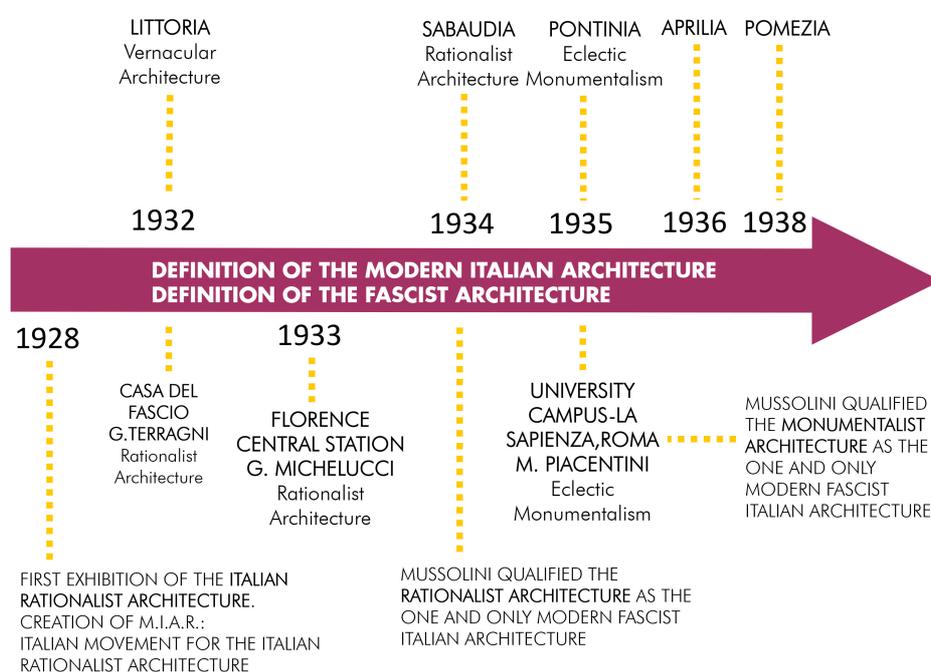
Figure 1: Timeline of main events and contradiction

So we are witnessing to the rise of an architecture based mostly on a political meanings rather than an innovative and modernist vision; on a communicative rather than functional vision; an architecture where the hierarchy of spaces and the treatment of facades has nothing to do with the intended use (it is not a coincidence that they used to put over the main facade writing as "school" or "power plant" that clarify the intended use [5]); an architecture where the vernacular is reinterpreted in a monumental key to become itself the mausoleum of the state; an architecture capable of

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[3] G. Pagano (1934) "Mussolini salva l'architettura italiana", in *Casabella*, 78

[4] Cfr. P. M. Bardi (1931) "Rapporto sull'architettura per Mussolini" in *Critica Fascista*, 131- 132
"Building for Fascism means "to stay". A fortunate effort awaits the generation of today, in all the pictures of national activity: but it is certainly to the builders that the most delicate task is entrusted: forming with the consistency of stone, cement, steel and the noblest and most enduring elements of nature and ingenuity, with a breath of Italian art, the gigantic footprint of Mussolini, so that posterity will be amazed"

[5] Ciammaruconi, C. (2009) Tra estetica del potere ed esigenze identitarie. Iconografie "scritture d'apparato" e "scritture esposte" fasciste nell'Agro Pontino. *Studi Storici,* 1 , 15-56

representing the State through the definition of its own style: The Eclectic Monumentalism.[6]

Italian New Towns as an Historical Evidence

What is clear looking the architecture and the urban composition of Littoria, Sabaudia and Pontinia, is how the Agro-Towns were the physical laboratories where the research of the canons of modern Italian architecture was carried out. To better understand the process of definition of a national modern style we cannot forget that the strong political influence of the Regime did not allow the development of a sufficiently clear and defined architectural current. It also must be always remembered that even those architects who proposed a more "contemporary" style aimed for a definition of the fascist architecture, rather than a definition of an Italian rational modern architecture. Despite the heated debate and the contrasting achievements of the first years of the 20th century in Italy - before the architectural realizations assumed a common figuration under the guidance of Piacentini - it is possible to clearly read the evolution of modern Italian architecture looking at the artifacts and at the urban composition of the Italian New Towns in Agro Pontino.

Vernacular elements reworked and proposed at first following an eclectic monumental key are all collected in the great book written by Littoria, Sabaudia and Pontinia. The architecture that characterize these buildings, despite being the symbol of a political ideology, assume their value not as representative of it, but as physical documents that bear witness to the historical evolution of Italian modern architecture. The architecture of Frezzotti, the architect who followed the works, is therefore the testimony (Fig 2 and 3) of how modern architecture has evolved within a heated debate between modernity and tradition, and it is the result of the strong political influence applied by Fascism.

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[6] Mariani, R. (1976) *Fascismo e città nuove*, Milano: Feltrinelli

"Their result [of the traditionalist architects] came much closer to what Mussolini meant by architecture, by city, than moderns proposed; his biological reading of his history, his adherence to the criterion of the cycles of civilizations, ended when alienated from the earth, imposed on him considerations and parameters much more sensitive to the idea of the great style intended as an element of growth like a plant, which not for a more or less articulated, but intellectual and cumbersome system.
The meaning of an architecture that was not in fact neither classical nor really traditional, nor national, but only Monumental Eclectism or better Eclectic Monumentalism, gave Mussolini the possibility of creating spaces in which to gather that "rural civilization" that was partially building. "

Figure 2: Oriolo Frezzotti 1932, Littoria. Porch in Square of the Square (Piazza del Quadrato) (Photo of the author)

Figure 3: Oriolo Frezzotti 1935, Littoria. Porch in People's Square (Photo of the author)

Thus, this text wants to highlight the importance of a new retelling of the fascist new towns able to determine the importance that they have today and that they assume over time. They would therefore require a new critical re-reading not influenced by current or past political conditions. Only through an objective reading of its physical elements and their variations, will be possible to identify, within these artefacts, the role of architecture in the years of Fascism and consequently, identify them as Modern Urban Heritage. Also, these architectural products assume even more value today because they show, in their current conformation, the danger of the human approach to the "modern" heritage, under the influence of the political perception of the story.

Uncomfortable Memories: Potential and Danger of The Heritage Definition

To give an answer to the three questions arisen in the abstract, is essential to know the definition of the word "Heritage". As we know, the word Heritage has a lot of

meanings nowadays. The concept of Heritage can be understood on one hand as physical reminders – or tangible heritage - in the case of concrete evidence (i.e. a building); in the other hand as intangible heritage. In this case the value of an entity (i.e. the identity process set in motion in a specific place) arise from its ability to define and forward – even in the future- cultural values belonged to a past society.

But what happen when people do not want to preserve this kind of memory? The first big mistake - and the most danger - is the overlap of the two Heritage definition described above. In particular, for the case study of Italian new towns, the problem starts when the value of the intangible heritage is strictly related to specific identities and behaviours belonging to a specific society. In this case, the preservation of memory translates firstly into preservation of the Fascist values as intangible heritage- first mistake – and secondly into the tangible heritage, making the architecture and the urban composition the physical expression of the intangible heritage – second mistake.

This overlapping happened in a specific area inside the Agro Pontino. This is the case of the city of Aprilia, built in 1936 by Petrucci, Tufaroli, Paolini and Silenzi. In 1944 the city, called "The Factory" was completely destroyed after the Battle of Anzio. At the end of the WWII the standing buildings were only the Casa del Fascio, the Church- without the bell tower- and the Town Hall with a huge scar left by the tank tower, symbol of the union between eclectic monumentalism and modern functionalism. In 1946 started the reconstruction work following the original drawing. The aqueduct and the train station were rebuilt in the same place and the buildings inside the downtown acquire the original form. At the end of the '50s technicians start to talk about the reconstruction of the two main towers- the bell tower and the civic tower that should have followed the original design but with some technical transformation related to the new technologies. The reconstruction project of the two towers will not be carried out because too expensive, but at the end of the 60s the "Perimetro Petrucci" and its volume was almost completely replaced with the exception of the two verticals elements. The drama starts in the 1972, when the Town Hall and the Casa del Fascio, both considered as minor architecture, were demolished in the name of a new modern expansion full of new values, changing drastically – and irreparably- the urban image of the downtown. As Giovanni Papi says[7] in that case the *damnatio memoriae* took over:

" The buildings were again demolished to eliminate the indirect "posthumous" testimonies of a detested past. Unfortunately, the second reconstruction also violated the planimetric layout, which, as we know, of an urban organism constitutes the most basic (and fundamental) level of protection of historical memory."

The very interesting thing is that today, after the right detachment by the history, inhabitants loudly demanded to replace the original "decoro" of the city, restoring the original project by Piccinato, Tufaroli, Paolini and Silenzi. But it is well known that history repeats itself. As a matter of fact, until few years ago, in the other Italian new towns, something similar happened (and sometimes still happening). Most of the buildings, hollowed out, empty of the previous moral value, were abandoned and left

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[7] Papi, G. (2006). Ricostruzioni e trasformazioni del centro storico. In Carli, C.F., Papi, G. (Eds.), *Aprilia, città della terra. Arte, architettura, Urbanistica*. (pp. 100-107) Roma: Gangemi Editore

to themselves waiting the moment when they would be to dangerous for the citizen and in need to be demolished. A change of direction was taken some years ago, when a new community arrived in the Agro Pontino: the Sikh Community[8]. People, migrants, from India start to use the urban space in the same way as the settler during the 30s: using architecture to create a new sense of community. The Fascist public building, ceased to be "Fascist" and start to be only "Public" proving their abilities – so their resilience- even today, to create a sense of community and new behaviours despite their intrinsic political value.

Uncomfortable Memories: How to Overcome The *Damnatio Memoriae*

Reading literature about the case study of Aprilia, It is clear how can be dangerous the overlapping, described above, between the two heritage meanings. Today, after the Aprilia's experience we know the results of the cancellation of historical memory. To overcome the *damnatio memoriae* it is therefore necessary to re-establish the definition of memory and the definition of realism (understood as the comprehension of a specific reality). These two definitions help us to perceive the concept of urban heritage in all its complexity. Nowadays the main point about the "definition" of the Urban Heritage is to find a general book of rules able to survive to the continuous cultural change that characterize our dynamic era. As a matter of fact, today our political, sociological, religious and even aesthetic values change at any moment. And most of the new values arise from the contradiction of the previous ones. This contradiction, if brought to the extreme, such as the example of Aprilia, risks the cancellation or demolition of previous memories. This means, in our dynamic society, the risk of cancelling too much or even the risk of not saving anything for the future.

Thus, the definition of a certain reality (and its contextualization as a historical memory) and the definition of the concept of memory becomes fundamental in cases, such as the one of the Agro Pontino, where the political and social aspect of an epoch finds its direct physical materialization in architecture and urban design. It is therefore necessary to investigate the relationship between architecture and realism: visualization of reality passes from a perceptive process that includes our actions, and our personal cultural baggage. I believe that this is not a one-way process, as a matter of fact, it cannot only allow the reality to be perceived through our actions, but also allows our actions to give concrete form to a specific reality. The product of man then becomes the physical representation of the reality that man is experiencing at that precise moment. And one of the products of man par excellence, according to Pagano[9], is architecture. To support that thesis, I would also be referring to the definition of Ernesto Nathan Rogers where architecture means setting an era inside space. Definition that starts from the Proust's postulate where the literary work is only a sort of optical instrument that the writer (or the man in general) offers to the reader to allow him to discover what, without a book, he wouldn't have seen in himself.

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[8] Today the case of the Sikh is strictly connected to the reletionship beetween immigration and integration inside other communities. To better understand see the Documusical "The Harvest" product by SMK videofactory to denounce the current working conditions of the Sikh community in Agro Pontino: https://www.theharvest.it/

[9] Pagano, G. (1940). Centre for the Arts in Milan. Presentation. *"But who wants to deny architecture to be the most formidable social expression: an absolute document of the greatness and misery of peoples?"*

In the chaos of the infinite definitions of reality that have come to us, is with these thought from Rogers and Pagano that I would limit the concept of realism in architecture. That is possible to summarize as follow: the reality (that is personal) is a dynamic entity in continuous evolution and never equal to itself, assimilable by man through a process of perceptive action. Moreover, it can be represented by man through the creation of a perceptible object, concrete and observable by several subjects simultaneously.

However, it would be spontaneous to define architecture as an art, a museum piece. But as many other architects have already explained - Rogers himself explains this concept with mastery - architecture plays a fundamental role as a man-made product to create man's space. A space in which humans put into practice all those social dynamics which represent a specific reality. Since architecture is the space in which man lives, we can configure it as the most complete representation of a determined and specific reality.

After a short definition of the role of reality within the architecture, becomes essential to understand the role of memory. Once again, the strong relationship between the work and the user is emphasized, and the concept of experience becomes fundamental. As already wrote above, the architectural work becomes an object capable of representing a specific reality in space and time and therefore it is confronted with the world not only in a well-defined physical space, but also in its evolution and transformation over time. This means that the perception of the single architectural artifact is not reduced to a single historical moment. A a matter of fact, the entire definition will arise only taking into account even the perception – so the experience- that comes from the past. It is indeed clear that every man observes the world - and therefore architecture too - through the experiences previously made, so his reading of "reality" will undoubtedly be filtered by the experiences previously lived out of his own past.

At this point it is possible to approach the essay "Matter and memories" of Bergson[10], where the sense of memory becomes fundamental. He imagines the relationship between past and present as an inverted cone where the base represents the memory and the vertex the present. The summit is also the point of contact of reality. According to this scheme, therefore, memory and perception of reality cannot be distinguished because they are the same thing, one is formed on the other. The theory of the inverted cone of Bergson is well suited to the vision of Rogers who intends the architecture produced in the present as an element able to come into contact with the plane of reality and which, at the same time, is the human product and therefore the product of a set of experiences lived and belonging to the past. It is therefore essential for architecture the past, and therefore the memory. Furthermore, it is possible to introduce the theories of Heisenberg and Paci which intend the reality as a continuous becoming, a form never defined, a principle where mutation is essential. Everything changes and is generated in relation to what has already been, so in relation to common experiences or, in detail, to one's own experiences. The reality is therefore something that cannot be objectifiable because it is filtered by a single man eyes, with his own (pre)judice, it will never be knowable in absolute terms, but can still be

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[10] Bergson, H. (1896-2004), *Matter and memory. Essay on the relation of body and spirit*. Mineola, New York: Dover publications, INC.

represented in its dynamism and incompleteness. And as claimed by Rogers, it is the architect the one who is the best representative of reality because he/her can create, almost always, the synthesis between the social, moral, technical and physical world that characterize, according to his experiences and perceptions, the reality of that precise moment.

At least, leafing through any book about history of architecture it is easy to understand that architecture doesn't always represent only a specific type of reality, but often becomes the spokesman of a utopia, of an ideal that unites men. Ideal that they pursue in the hope of abandoning their reality to reach a better one. So, the architecture becomes, in particular for this case study, the material expression of a Utopia.

Conclusions

In conclusion it is possible to say that all the Fascist new towns were built to give life to a conception of a common reality, and therefore to make men and women recognize within a specific social group. So, the new towns represent a sort of materialization of a utopian reality. Summing up, they do not represent the concrete reality perceived by men in that precise historical moment but represent the utopian reality to which, those same men aspired: the idea of a city, which is not a city but a rural centre able to accommodate the public activities of the worker, materialized in the hope of giving life to a new reality, a reality that is therefore utopian. We can therefore say that paradoxically, through the newly founded fascist cities, we are witnessing to the real presence of utopia. The utopia which then becomes concrete, which leaves the world of possibilities and penetrates the world of perceptions, thus becomes concrete even if it is not completely realized.

As we know, from the first years after the foundation, it became immediately clear how difficult it was, if not impossible, to pursue certain ideological goals. To demonstrate this, or the concrete materialization of utopia through the city, is the perception that these cities have taken over time. As a product of Fascist politics, they represented, especially in the years immediately following the war, a memory difficult to face and preserve. A physical weight on territory that did not deserve to be preserved only for that utopian ideal that they represented. Therefore, even in the passing of time, these cities were read as the physical reality of a utopia and not as the product of the men who lived in a certain reality. The results of this type of perception are devastating today. Just think once again to Aprilia, "razed to the ground" with the sole objective of erasing the weight of the memory they represented. Only nowadays, after the succession of years necessary to adopt the necessary detachment, we realize that we have erased a fundamental piece of history and therefore the reality that represents us and constitute us.

Defining the Italian new towns of modern era as Urban Heritage help us to understand how is important to accept the political meaning of an artifact only as a document of a specific era. Trying to delete the physical expression of a Utopia will always mean the destruction of a piece of our history good or bad that it is. And humans are made to collect memories to define themselves.

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Preservation and Conservation of Grooves and Sacred Trees; A Form of Cultural Heritage in Selected Towns in Lagos State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Traditionally, the South Western (Yoruba) people appreciate and hold their traditional heritage in high esteem. In an attempt to keep it, efforts are made to protect it through taboos, signs and symbols to scarce people either from entering it incessantly to break the rules that guides it or destroy some of the artifacts or materials sacred to their use. However the development to upgrade villages to town and towns to cities threatened their existence especially the grooves, sacred trees and place of meeting or worship. In this regard l intend to evaluate how these cultural heritage are being preserved or retain in the selected towns, how does modernization or social development affect their preservation?, Is there any benefit or disadvantage to their preservation or total eradication? It's social implications in day to day activities will also be examined. In order to achieve this, l will interview those who are benefiting from its preservation i.e. the worshipers, custodians and the members of the community where this can be found. The latter will be divided into two groups; adults and the youths. I also intend to visit some of the existing ones to access their sustainnancy in the nearest future.

Keywords: Preservation, Conservation, Heritage, Grooves, Sacred Trees and Culture

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Introduction

The quest for serving/worshiping God and probably finding answers to some problems beyond human understanding leads man to seek for an intermediary. The gods in Yoruba beliefs acts as intermediary between them, hence any object that looks abnormal are worship in appreciation to God. As an unquestionable God, he made things the way it pleases Him, therefore any strange things or human are seen as exceptional things that needs to be worship or adore.

Not all the trees are sacred, what makes a tree sacred might be it's form or probably a human being turned to a tree or river, for instance a palm tree with two heads or tree with strange shape is likely to be worship. As reiterated by Arpita and Bharucha (2014) many traditional societies all over the world reverse and worship nature and consider certain plants and animals as sacred.

Indigenous African Religion is difficult to typify but some of their shared features are as follows;

• Myths about a rupture that once occurred between the creation deity and human.
• A pantheon that includes a high god and many secondary supernatural ranging from powerful gods to lesser spirits.
• Elaborate initiation rituals.
• Rituals including animal sacrifices and other offerings, meals and dance.
• Altars within shrine as focal places where humans and deities meet.
• Close links with healing (Barbara, 2011:304).

History of Lagos and Epe

Lagos is one of the largest cities in Nigeria, fondly called "Eko" by residents, located at 6°34'60"N, 3°19'59"E along the West Africa Coast and was formally known as the capital city of Nigeria since the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914. Lagos remains the economic capital of the country as it conveys a distinctive pattern in the history of growth and development of urban areas in Nigeria (Ajayi 2017; Olabode 2018).

There are twenty (20) Local governments in Lagos state, two of the Local governments. Epe and Eredo was selected for this research because of his proximity, also Eredo was carved out of Epe Local government. It is located on the north side Lekki Lagoon. Epe is a town and also a port, Lagos state, south western Nigeria it lies on the North bank of the coaster Lagos Lagoon and has road connection to Ikorodu and Ijebu-ode. A traditional settlement of the Ijebu people (a sub group) it was established by the mid 18 century as the chief port. It later served as the refuge for the forces of Kosoko, the Yoruba king ousted from Lagos. Modern Epe is the collecting point for the Export of fish, cassava, maize, vegetables etc (www.Ilove Lagos. Com.ng).

Although 80% of Epe people claimed to be Muslim but this did not affect their religion affinity with traditional religion. Jimoh (2016) admits that the relationship between adherents of Islam and those of other religion especially the traditional religion worshippers were not eventless.

In Eredo, there is a grove called Sungbo walls which is being taking care by a Caretaker, whose dedication and personal devotion have kept the walls open and accessible. Because there was virtually no support from any quarters in maintaining the walls, some years now the wall have deteriorated (yourstrully-uche.blog sport.Com>2016/02)

Sacred Trees and Grooves in Yoruba Land

Traditional Knowledge has been used for centuries by indigenous Local communities to manage natural resources under Local Laws, custom and traditions. Arpita and Bharucha (2014)

There are shrines for divinities in grooves of trees and others near lakes, streams and rivers e.g. Akoko tree is sacred to Ogun and Osun is worshipped on a river bank shrines for Oro are found in grooves, and the Ifa initiation ceremony takes place in a thick forest. Ogun and Esu shrines are located outside the house. Their shrines are found at cross roads, by roadsides in open places in a village or city, outside the entrance to a house. (Beier, 1957; Simpson, 1994)

Idowu (1963) in Simpson(1994) emphasizes that "the Yorubas do not build sacred houses in which worshippers congregate. The congregations assembles in the open air in front of the temple or shrine at a shrine, the devotees gives the divinity his dues, and in turn he bestows his blessing on them.

In recent time, there a lots of sacred houses where people assembles for their meeting, there can be open processions round the town or certain designated places for cleansing of the town and rituals. Although most of the sacred trees are found in the open places closed to a major road.

All religion has mythologies and doctrines that provide for continuity in their beliefs and practices. Yet no religion is frozen and unchanging (Miller, 2011:305) He went further to supports that Religious beliefs are enacted in rituals that are periodic and non-periodic. Some common rituals worldwide are life-cycle rites, pilgrimage, rituals of inversion and sacrifice.

Preservation of Sacred Trees and Grooves as a Cultural Heritage

Preservation has been defined by Eluyemi, (2002: 2) as the promotion of cultural property whether of concrete or non-concrete nature past or present, written or unwritten /oral. He further posits that preservation involves the identification, documentation (appropriate registration) and proper storage of cultural objects whether in private hands or in museums. The preservation of Nigeria cultural heritages is arguably threatened by human activities, natural forces, biological and chemical agents among others (Ogundele, 2014; Okpoko, 2012). However, the little successes made over the years in the preservation of Nigerian cultural heritages has been attributed to conscious systematic and scientific efforts and researches connoted by professionals in the disciplines of archaeology, cultural anthropology, linguistic, ethnography, museum studies etc among other cultural resource managers (Ogundele, 2014; Onwuka, 2002; Andat, Okpoko and Folorunso, 1993; Okpokp,2011).

Preservation is very vital because of its capacity to promote the past ways of life that are useful to contemporary societies. (Fasuyi, 1973).

Arguably, the past is essentially the key to the present and platform into the future. This generational pattern of preserving Nigerian cultural heritages was completely or partially truncated in most parts of Nigeria due to unsolicited incursion of colonialism.

An understanding of the preservation of Nigerian cultural heritages can be best be described in three dimensions namely the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial. Nigerian cultural heritages during the pre- colonial era were preserved in royal places of tribal kingdoms and empires by kings, heads of families and kindred, deity priests in charge of shrines and groves among others. (Fasuyi, 1973).

Colonialism, thus earned the influence of traditional rulers and their role in preserving Nigerian cultural heritages.

These grooves are a rich source of fruit bearing trees and small water bodies and act as habitat for several birds and reptiles. Resource extraction in the Grooves is limited by a variety of rules to placate the deity. Cultural and biological diversity is even today relevant as a tool for natural conservation. In the villages in with grooves are protected regionally relevant folk knowledge supports traditional conservation practices.

Local people have evolved their own traditional rules and management based on ancient practices which led to conservation and maintaince of the grooves as relatively intact patches of forests as a by-products of their religious sentiments. During the last two decade farmers have sold large pieces of land to speculators for urbanization. This is due to the enormous rise in the price of land. This change has triggered several socio economic and cultural aspects in the region of a consequent loss of protective sentiments for the sacred grooves.

Efforts at preserving cultural heritage have gained new momentum throughout the world. Protecting cultural heritage in both economical and historical. This submission could not be used for the preservation of Grooves and sacred trees in Epe and Eredo local governments area. This is because no one except the worshippers and their leaders have access to the sacred place.

Heritages are cherished characteristic features of a society passed down for generation to generation through conscious preservation. Heritages refer to the riches of extinct and extant societies which are of historic, recreational and economic importance preserved and handed over from one generation to another.

Heritages could be categorized into two, based on their sources namely; ecological/natural heritages and cultural heritages. Ecological or natural heritages emanate from nature and environment. Ecological heritages can be defined as the relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas which it's wild plants (flora) and animals (fauna) and it's geomorphic features(caves, rivers, lakes, hills, mountains etc.

Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group

or society that are inherited from past generations maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generation. (http:\\en.wikipedia.org/.wiki/cultural-heritage).

Cultural heritages evolve from man's ingenious activities, preserved and transmitted through oral traditions or in written concrete forms across generations of human societies (Onyima,2016;274).

Cultural heritages can be defined as the sum total of the people's cherished arts, customs, festivals, sacred or worship sites, norms, calves, ideologies, dress and dress patterns, traditions monuments and architectures, technology and technological sites and other artifacts are cherished and conserved for their historical, political, educational, recreational and religious significance among others (Onyima 2016;275).

Colonialism ushered in an era of unrestricted negative human activities such as looting, vandalism, thefts, unscientific excavation of grave goods, iconoclasm, wars, illicit, trafficking of cultural objects among others.

In Post colonial period, the creation of National Commission for Museums Monuments to replace the Nigerian Antiquity Service with her headquarters in Abuja while national museum is in Onikan, Lagos State (Aremu, 2008). There are also private museums in Anambra, Jos, Esie Kwara state etc.

Methodology

According to Odukomaiya, (2002) sampling is taking of any small portion of the total population that is representing the complete population.

The population for this study in drawn from two (2) local government area of Lagos state out of 20 local government. 200 respondents were selected and sampled.

The questionnaires was divided into two part, the first part is for the 200 respondents which is general, the second part is specifically designed for the priests and the interview was taken orally, recorded and transcribed later.

Discussion

It is undeniable that the worship of the spirit inhabited tree has usually, if not always been limited with and in many cases overshadow by the other cults; that is Sun, moon and stars, sacred springs and stone, holy mountains, and animals of the most diverse kind have all been approached with singular impartiality by primitive man as enshrine or symbolizing a divine principle. But no other forms of pagan ritual can trace or appeal so closely to modern sympathies as the worship of tree.

It had been observed that almost all races at a particular time of their development had regarded the tree as the home, it may be impossible one can haunt, or embodiment of a spiritual essence...it may be impossible to found any country in the world that hardly not approached the tree with reverence or fear because of it spiritual potency.

In the Local context the sacred grooves have ecological values, economic concerns,

societal functions and use of traditional sacred. There are local institutions and rules of behavior towards the sacred site which lead to resources preservation. The Local people have evolved their own traditional rules and management based on ancient practices led to conservation and maintenance of the grooves as relatively intact patches of forests as a by-product of their religious sentiments. The change through enormous rise in the price of land triggered several socio-economic and cultural aspects in the region with a consequent loss of protective sentiments for the sacred grooves.

It is note worthy that most of the observed preservation cannot be effective in Yoruba land, especially the sales of sacred land/Tree or grooves. Despite, the effect of two other religion (Islam and Christianity), the fear to entered or cultivating/building on sacred trees/grooves is high.

However, there are some universal or acceptable way of preserving the sacred places worldwide as observed by Arpita and Bharucha (2014).

• Demarcated by palm fronts by entrance and thick forest.
• Not(always) maintained (emphasis is mine)
• The preservation of grooves is a result of strong ancient beliefs that any damage to the Groove would anger the deity who would take revenge on the intruder who desecrate its integrity.
• Women cannot enter the grooves.

Sacred Trees are mostly affected now because they were located in an open place very close to the major road; I think this one to is due to development because majorly most sacred trees are located in central area of the market or outside the town. However the grooves are always located at the outskirts of the town, no recent relocation of the groove is identified.

Also natural disaster can affect sacred trees especially wind and storms, despite this, both the worshippers and the member either attributes such to the Awesome power of God or that someone or the priest had offended someone whose power is higher, no one believes it's natural.

Like in other culture, it is not a common practice to own a sacred tree or grooves but it is possible to own a shrine.

Ten questionnaires were set for 200 respondents in order to find out their awareness of grooves and sacred trees in writing their community.

Groove in Epe is used as a store house for charms that cannot be kept in the town because it may be harmful.

Also it is for ritual activities during the operation of a dead pregnant woman, or hunch person before their burial, for they will be buried in the grooves.

Although, most trees that are found in the grooves are planted, but there are specific ones like life trees that are panted as poles for the gates where palm fonts are tied to protect intruders from entrance.

Table 4.1.1 Analysis of Age Distribution of Respondents

Observed year	Frequency	Percentage
15-20	22	11%
21-30	64	32%
31-40	42	21%
41-50	52	26%
51-60	20	10%

4.1.2 Gender Analysis of Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Male	100	50%
Female	100	50%
Total	200	100%

4.1.3 Analysis of Religion of the Respondents

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Christian	36	18%
Muslim	94	47%
Traditional	44	22%
Others	26	19%

4.1.4 Analysis of the Educational Qualification of Respondents

Educational Background	Frequency	Percentage
SSCE	94	47%
NCE/DIPLOMA	68	34%
HND / B.SC	38	19%
OTHER	-	-

4.1.5. Information on longetivity of sacred trees and grooves

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Male	100	50%
Female	100	50%
Total	200	100%

72% of the Respondent agreed that they are of the existence of sacred tree and grooves 26% were between age 50 and above, who confirmed that the grooves and sacred tree can be existence between 50years and above. This indicates the strong believe that they rate of security and preservation in high. It was established that almost all the towns and villages have one or more grooves but sacred trees are not found in all the town, although they may be found in the grooves either by planting it of grow by itself.

4.1.6 Information about the power of government to relocate a sacred tree or grooves

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
YES	146	73%
NO	34	17%
I DON'T KNOW	30	15%

Although 73% of respondents agreed that the government has power to relocate a groove or sacred tree, this shows that this set of people are knowledgeable about the Yoruba Culture. Before the colonial rule, it is believed that the land belong to the king (Fadipe,2012:98), due to civilization and western education and social development there was a shift and all lands belong to the government(FGN,1978 &1990).

The power of the government over the grooves and sacred trees is limited, this is evident at the recent ongoing road construction within the two Local governments, while the churches, mosques and houses were pulled down without delay and interference, and the two major sacred trees in each of the Local government were paid for sacrifice before they were pulled down. One out the two was relocated very close to the former site.

4.1.7 Information On Sacrifice And Preparation For Goooves And Sacred Trees

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
YES	112	56%
NO	58	29%
I DON'T KNOW	30	15%

4.1.7 56% of the Respondent agreed that there must be a sacrifice before a sacred tree or groove is relocated. This was confirmed by the priest that before a sacred tree is cut down for sacrifice he must be prepared to appease the gods that is why the tree cannot be cut down by any ordinary people except the ritualist and natural disaster.

4.1.8. Information about conservation and preservation of Trees and Grooves

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
YES	86	43%
NO	56	28%
MAYBE	58	29%
I DON'T KNOW	-	-

The percentage of 43% of the respondent support the use of local law as a means of preserving the sacred tree and grooves from being encroached by the outsiders while 28% and 29% support the use of Tattoos and symbols or objects like tying of palm fronts, red clothes etc. To sustain place as sacred, another tree may be planted if the being cut down.

4.1.9. Information about the power of community our the grooves

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	122	61
No	62	31
I don't know	16	8

61% of the Respondent agreed that the community have power over the grooves and sacred trees. One of the priest interviewed indicated that the sacred trees might be cut down if the community or the chief priest detected that the tree is bewitched or harbors evil spirits that is killing or working against the people of the town.

Conclusion

From the ongoing, it is evident that there are no major ways of preserving the sacred trees or the grooves for either the future use or from being vandalized than the local rules. It is not written but everyone can bold read lines through sign pests and symbol. It is only the stranger from another tribe or country that can go in to the groove or buy it for building or something else. I want to categorically say here that the effect of Christianity, Islam and education has major impact on the preservation and conservation of these grooves and sacred trees.

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Appendix

Questionnaires on Preservation and Conservation of Grooves and Sacred Trees

Part A

Section A

Instruction: please select (tick) the options appropriate to you

1. Age (a) 15-20   (b) 21-30 (c) 31-40 (d) 41-50 (e) 51-60
2. Sex (a) Male   b) Female
3. Educational Background a) SSCE b) NCE/DIPLOMA c) HND/B.SC d) OTHERS
4. Religion.   (a) Christian (b). Muslim   (c). Traditional   (d). Others

Section B.

1. Do you have any Grooves/Sacred Tree close to you?

(a.) Yes (b.) No (c.) Maybe   (d.) Often

2. How many years do you think the Grooves/Sacred Tree have been there?

(a.) Below 5years (b.) 5-20years   (c.) 20-50years   (d.) Above 50

3. Do you know of any Grooves/Tree being relocated?

(a.) Yes (b.) No (c.) Not know

4. Why was it relocated?

(a.) Road Construction   (b.) Town Development (c.) Natural Disaster   (d.) Not Know

5. Was there any sacrifice or preparation for it's relocation?

a. Yes b. No c. Not Known

6. How do they preserve the Groove/sacred Tree from being destroyed?

a. Local Law b. Taboos c. Symbol & objects

7. Did the community have power of the Grooves?

a. Yes b. No c. I don't know

8. Do people have access to the Grooves?
a. Yes b. No c. I don't know

9. Is there any benefit for keeping the Grooves?

a. Yes b. No c. I don't know

10. Do Government have power to relocate any Grooves/Sacred trees?

a. Yes b. No c. I don't know

Part B

1. Do you know of grooves being relocated?

If yes,where and Why?

2. Where was it before?

3. Was there any sacrifice or preparation for its relocation?

4. Is there any conservative/preservative methods for the grooves around you? If yes, what are they?

5.What are the effect of relocating the grooves?

Hospital as a City: Reorganization of Future Healthcare Environments in the context of Twenty-First Century Civilization Challenges

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Abstract
The twenty-first century is a time of tremendous technological breakthrough. Simultaneously with finding ourselves in the innovative world, we have to face the reality of major shifts and social problems on the global scale. Comparing to the last century, the most essential problems are demographic changes and the complexity of population. Staggering density increase in urban centers can be observed, due to a high migration rate. Furthermore, people in the world are rapidly becoming the ageing societies. According to the enormous innovations in medicine industry, which happened in terms of postwar development, humans were given additional thirty years of life. People are living longer and qualitatively better. Notwithstanding this fact, hospital units are overcrowded with people – similar to cities being overpopulated. The study explores an approach for improving future healthcare. With such strong structure resemblance between hospitals and cities, the main purpose was to identify and reveal the most critical aspects of hospital spatial organization. Research investigates both patients and medical staff. Medical personnel is particularly important, because of being literally a main employer and economic engine in societies, what was proven in the research result. Mixed methods research has been undertaken in order to compare both quantitative and qualitative data. The collected information through surveys was juxtaposed with peculiar design examples within healthcare facilities. Spatial organization and its efficiency plays a meaningful role in advancing care quality and overall hospital performance, what impacts significantly on public city infrastructure, sustainability and the local environment.

Keywords: *healthcare architecture, medical technologies, hospital optimization*

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Introduction

To design a well-working hospital nowadays is remarkably challenging responsibility. Designing a healthcare facility differs significantly from other architectural buildings, due to highly advanced medical technology in the building structure. The proper hospital planning equals to optimal spatial conditions creation needed for realization of medical procedures. In every architectural design field architects are obligated to use the Vitruvius rule: "firmitas, utilitas, venustas". "Function, form and construction" is a classic definition repeated for centuries and its meaning is particularly essential during hospital design. The space within hospital facility should be organized in the way to let users function naturally and perform duties easily.

When the key objective is human life and health, the perfection of functioning is crucial.

It is well known fact, that medicine and architecture change and develop constantly. More and more research is being conducted among scientists involving those two disciplines. After analysis and adaptation of the results, solutions for hospital optimization are developed in order to increase recovery effectiveness and ameliorate patient's treatment.

There are several researches and projects carried out in the world, which make people aware of a revolution that is slowly taking place in the field of healthcare. Along with the significant advances in *medical technology*, responsive progress must be made in *architectural technology*. Most importantly, architecture must adapt to these technologies, as well as the city must adapt to the new hospital structures.

Hospitals are the inherent fabric of cities and self-sufficient organisms that are inseparable with the other urban parts. City and hospital affect each other, sometimes mutually exclusive but mostly beneficial. In this article the bilateral effect between two urban fabrics named as: "city agglomeration" and "medical agglomeration" is studied.

HOSPITAL AS A CITY: Columbia University Medical Center Case Study

Columbia University Medical Center in New York City is a perfect example of circulation between the two mentioned above organisms. The "city agglomeration" describes the parts of the city, that are not directly related to health, but should be health-promoting, whereas the "medical agglomeration" is the hospital areas, that are characterized as illness-fighting, disease-related. The total area of the medical center is over 130,000 square meters[1]. It is comparative to a city district, the size of a few modern housing estates. For instance, the CUMC area is 8 times bigger than a block from Manhattan. The average number of people living in one block would be circa 1,400 people per block[2], what gives 11,200 citizens. By comparing the data, it can be observed, how extensive exposure into the surrounding environment is made in the case of CUMC campus and how valuable is the presence of such massive medical center in strict urban fabric. What is more, other hospital units correlated to this center

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[1] Columbia University Irving Medical Center (CUIMC) site: https://www.cuimc.columbia.edu/about

[2] Department of New York City Planning site: https://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/index.page

are scattered all over the city, giving the impression of entering and affecting the close, concentrated urban pattern. The highly advanced hospital campus is composed of multiple hospitals, institutes, schools and colleges.

It is a strong fact, that hospital is a place, which is rather not friendly associated. Yet, it has a major power to control the city balance. Hospitals as buildings should be transfigurative and adaptive from the viewpoint of the function. They are a main employer for a lot of citizens. The way hospitals are located in the city structure influences significantly the local environment. What is more, the existence of well-working functionally healthcare facility is a strong economic impulse and it brings profits to the city. Hospital should be a place entirely opened to people. Also, as an institution, it is probably the only one, that must work constantly 24 hours per day, the whole week, the whole year. All of the mentioned features describes perfectly the work inside of the Columbia University Medical Campus, that might be exemplified wider as an outline for future hospital urban planning, which completes well the urban city context with its extensive form and cubic capacity.
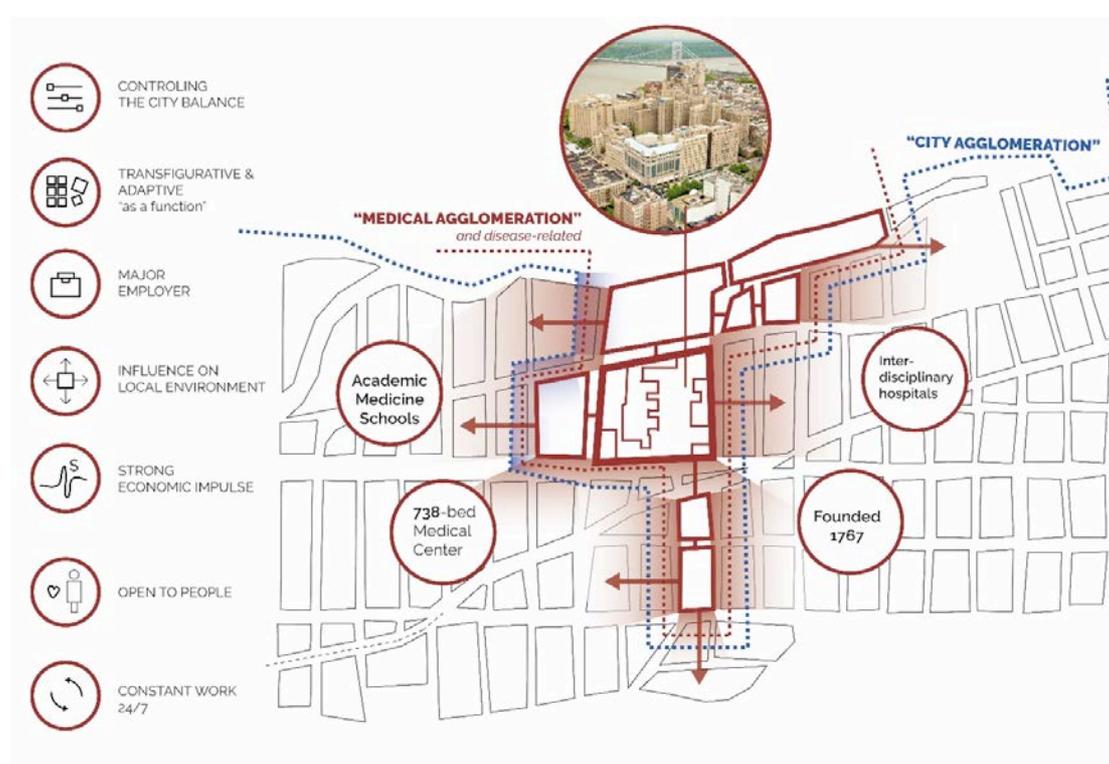
Figure 1: Columbia University Medical Center as a case study. Author's graphic design.

Healthcare in the light of social problems and challenges of XXI century

Characterizing the work of hospital structures and trying to place them upgraded in the future planning is not scientifically sufficient. Multiple external factors influence the current condition of healthcare.

There are particular issues and challenges occurring in XXI century, which are observed to exacerbate in the next years. As a result, the vision of healthcare from the viewpoint of both patients and personnel will be spectacularly changed. The three

main problems to cope with, are: ageing population, increase of urban areas and migration.

One of the problems result as staggering demographic changes in comparison to the previous century, also, as well as population complexity. All European countries are aging societies, what is associated with the phenomenon of less children being born and people living approximately one generation longer than before, due to appealing career perspectives and better healthcare provision. Already in 2020 majority of nations will have over half of the populations visibly aged, with a low birth indicator[3]. As a consequence, much more adults and elderly people will require professional medical care and hospitalization.
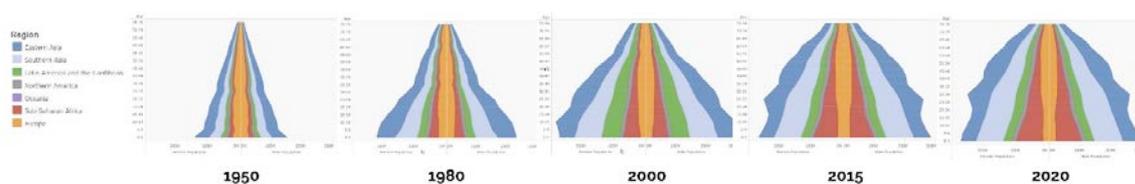
Figure 2: Population structure through centuries.

Moreover, there is a constantly increasing density of metropolitan areas around the world. Almost half of humanity live in developed urban centers. Statistics show a rapid urban grow, already in 2050. Up to 2,5 billion of people (that is 13% more of the whole world population) are projected to live in urban areas, newly designed or expanded. It is estimated, that 90% of areas around the globe will become urbanized in the end of the 21st century.[4] Resultantly, the priority and mission of metropolitan healthcare services will be the establishment of new healthcare facilities capable of hospitalize more citizens in the most efficient way.

Another prognosis pertains to migration. People struggle with war all over the world in order to defend their own homes and neighborhoods, simultaneously with seeking for safety and better life somewhere else. In the figure 3, the amount of people abandoning their homelands can be observed[5]. This situation creates questions on how to help quickly recreate what had been destroyed and how to provide care in a modular and mobile way.

Furthermore, the health policy has changed radically. The breakthrough in development of medical achievements, such as: implementation of hygiene and sterility principles, genetics, diagnostics, transplantation, antibiotics, geriatrics, balanced nutrition and new management methods allow for longer and dignified life. However, the protection against diseases from the last century did not excluded the occurrence risk of the new ones. The generation of longevity have to face new health issues - civilization diseases.

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[3] The Oxford Institute of Population Ageing: https://www.ageing.ox.ac.uk/publications
[4] United Nations World Urbanization Prospects 2018:
https://population.un.org/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2018-PressRelease.pdf
[5] United Nations World Urbanization Prospects 2018: https://population.un.org/wpp/
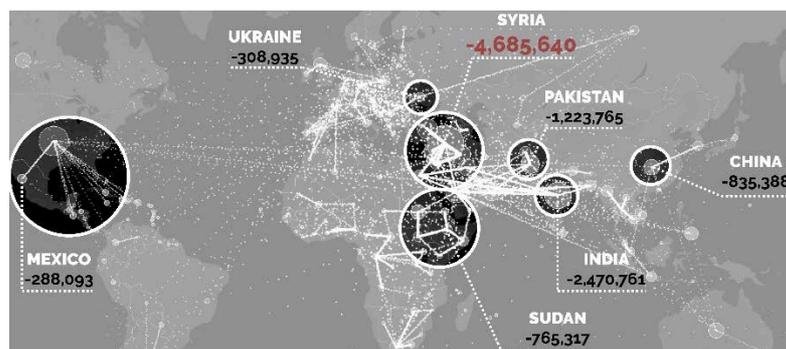
Figure 3: Migration map. Author's graphic design.

The priority concerns for 2019 are still elemental, for instance, the expansion and upgrade of water systems, educational and employment opportunities for everyone. There are also adopted safety programs, like "Strengthening Security Standards for Refugee Resettlement". The most essential one is concessional financing to build schools and hospitals[6].

All above-mentioned factors pursue questions: How to design a city for the sick and aging citizens? How to act nowadays and in the future, in the context of new diseases and social problems occurrence? In the conducted studies, the problem was analyzed starting from architectural space planning, to specific solutions to ensure users of the maximum comfortable life, with a healthy, multifunctional form, conducive for recreation, balanced lifestyle and promoting prophylaxis. As much as city changes, twice this much hospitals and healthcare policy should innovatively change.

In the light of all the problems of 21st century, the unnecessary errors, which could endanger the health and life of medical personnel and patients must not happen.

"The Personnel-Centered Study for Advancing the Hospital Care" Research - methodology and results

The carried out research on advancing the hospital care is founded on empirical observation, case studies and inferences from data collected via questionnaires. The research was done by the author in the scientific team at Faculty of Architecture in Poznan University of Technology in Poland, published on the poster at European Healthcare Design Conference in London[7], June 2018. The meaning behind the title "The Personnel-Centered Study for Advancing the Hospital Care" refers to author's theory, that w*hen personnel has a chance to perform at the workplace easily, the patient will recover and rehabilitate easily.*

The object chosen for research is Pediatric Hospital in Poznan, Poland. Among 3.484.975 citizens of the region, who the hospital services, there are 11.000 doctors and twice as much of nurses employed. It is discernible, that there are only 32 employed doctors and 13 nurses for 10.000 citizens, while the whole number of citizens in the Poznan agglomeration is 647.018[8]. The part of methodology was a 12-

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[6] Table of Contents Congressional Presentation Document Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) FY 2019: https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/285785.pdf
[7] Poster: http://www.salus.global/article-show/ehd2018-p08
[8] Data from the Polish Central Statistical Office GUS: stat.gov.pl/

item questionnaire, which respondents were polish doctors, nurses and other personnel management.
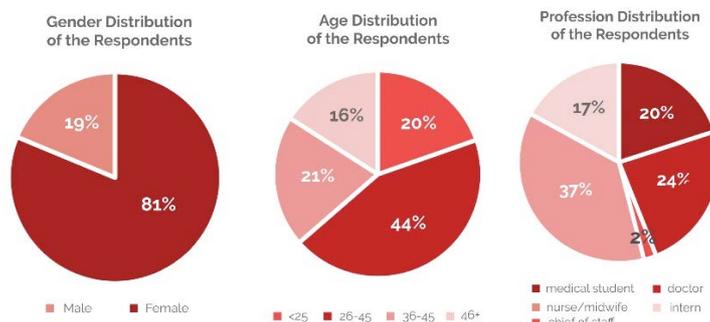
Figure 4: Part of a questionnaire: respondents characteristics.

It is inferred from the concluded questionnaire, that medical personnel in polish hospitals is encumbered with physical work in predominantly non-ergonomic environment, with an extensive need for improving the working space and necessity for new technologies implementation. The personnel had a chance to comment on what exactly is unsuitable during their work and in the hospital architecture. Analyzing the results, it is clear, that lack of integrity dominates in polish hospitals, quoting: "lack of designated space for patient consultations", "cramped spaces", "no access to the bed from any of 3 sides", "too narrow doors", "too little space dedicated to examine a patient", "lack of overall architectural cohesion".
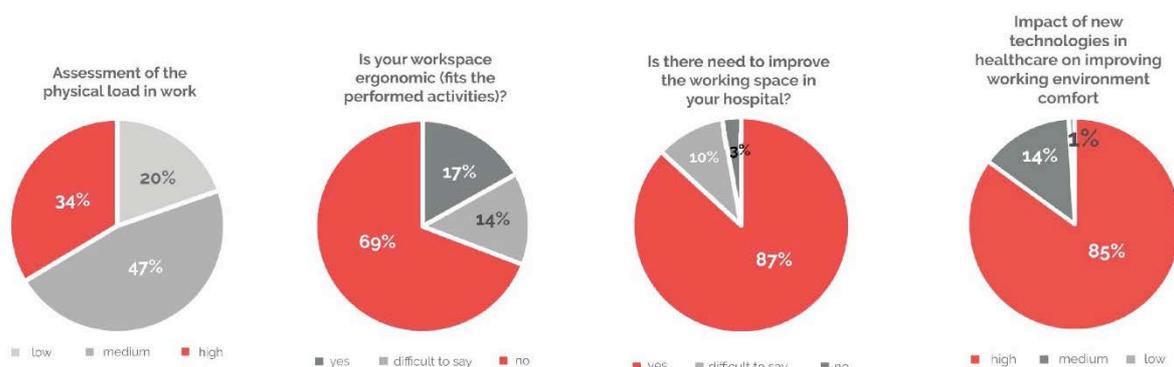
Figure 5: Part of a questionnaire: graphs illustrating personnel working conditions.

The second item to mention from the questionnaire refers to perpetration of medical errors. Respondents say, that the causes of medical errors are mostly exhaustion at work, lack of time and space to rest, unsuitable equipment but also lack of knowledge. In the era of technological peak, there is still a lot of work to do in the area of providing an humane place to work and to heal. The statistics show that 24,7% of medical treatment in Germany ended with medical errors in which 19,9% ended with direct health damage.[9] From the 2017 data, there are 251,000 lives lost due to medical errors in the United States.[10] However, in Poland, it is impossible to observe the quantity and frequency of medical errors, while the official register does not exist.[11]

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[9] Statistics on medical errors in Germany: https://aok-bv.de/presse/medienservice/politik/index_20679.html
[10] Statistics on medical errors in the USA: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28186008
[11] Statistics on medical errors in Poland: https://rejestrbledowmedycznych.pl/

All in all, the presented data are the apt summary of how the innovative achievements in healthcare architecture design created parallel variety of other problems in the last decades.

Hospital Optimization. *Optimized hospitals study cases.*

According to Gensler Research "Impact by Design: Resilience strategies shaping the future of cities"[12] from 2018, the term *resilience* is, in fact *the new sustainability*. Optimization is an upgrade to functionality, by merging two factors: operational performance and human experience. These combined, optimized systems will also connect to other urban systems and infrastructure. Those two systems can be dynamically managed in response to real-time conditions either by building medical staff and automated algorithms (AI, machine learning); or a combination of the two.

The history of forming the hospital interiors proves how strong is the correlation between patient and personnel and also implies how to maximize and humanize the correlation.
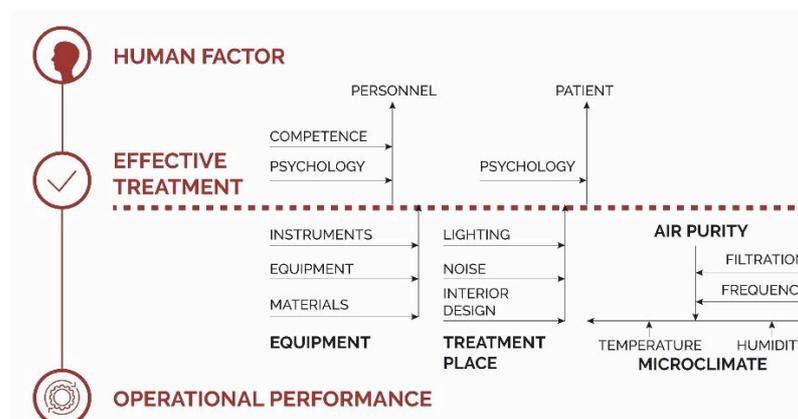
Figure 6: Hospital optimization components. Author's study and schema design.

Already in XIX century, when a shortage of dignified hospital care commonly existed, a world-famous nurse and caregiver, known as Florence Nightingale developed a comprehensive publication "Notes on Hospitals". She collected mistakes made by architects then and commented on them from her own viewpoint - a viewpoint of an experienced nurse. During the elaboration, she specifically paid attention on room ventilation issue, capacity of a ward and a patient room, equally with location of hospital wards to administration section. She distinguished functional forms such as two wards in line, central administration, with projecting center or separable wards. What is more, she precisely wrote, that architects should avoid designing long corridors in hospitals and overloaded rooms with patient beds in case of minimizing infections. In 1890, John Marshall, British anatomist and surgeon, Professor of Surgery at University College and Anatomy at the Royal Academy in London invented the system of circular wards for hospitals. Marshall's strongest arguments pro-circular wards were similar to Nightingale's opinion: improving opportunities for light, air, and ventilation. With the ward's openings and corridors disposed evenly around it, Marshall made an analogy with the circular tent, and the

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[12] Gensler Research on Impact by Design: https://www.gensler.com/research-insight/sustainability/2018

freedom of natural ventilation. Professor's research can be seen as marginal in terms of the overall hospital-construction programme in England. Yet, the eight of his projects were built. Though, as a variation in ward planning, and in the manipulation of the form of the ward space in hospitals, the idea launched by Prof. Marshall had achieved a recognizable place in healthcare design of the 1890s.
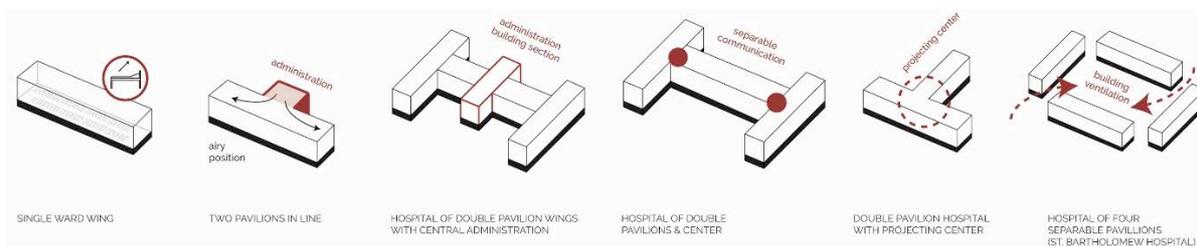
Figure 7: Florence Nightingale's 1863 research on
Hospital wards space optimization. Author's study and schema design.

Over 100 years later, Jane Jacobs, American journalist, and activist who influenced urbanism studies, sociology, and economics, made a research on rapidly increasing in number circular nursing floors. She tried to reveal if there is a relevant idea between the theory that, "*if nurses and their equipment can be stationed at a point absolutely central to the patient they serve, travel time and energy can be reduced to minimum and if the proportion of patients who can be seen from the station is increased, fewer trips are presumably necessary.*"[13] It is claimed, that a circle is the most economic form for enclosing an area. An interesting research conducted in 1958 by Herbert P. McLaughlin and analyzed by Jacobs, considers series of comparisons between round and rectangular schemes of nursing units in three area sizes: 40-bed nursing unit (7379 sq. ft.), 24-bed nursing unit (4866 sq. ft.) and 12-bed nursing unit (3635 sq. ft.). The result of the research comparing round and rectangular nursing units shows, that average distance of nurses station to patients' bed is 53 ft. in round and just 46 in rectangular. Total area is much bigger as round one, but the perimeter of exterior wall is smaller than in rectangular one. There is also smaller distance to check all of the patient beds. Apart from that, the cost variations between round and rectangular units are not significant enough to influence and change the major considerations regarding design for better optimized nursing unit. McLaughlin's efficient rectangles suggest possibility, that it might be "purer" to achieve better circular nursing floor inside rectangular than inside literal circles. Furthermore, the esthetics of circular units are rather questionable. In plan, they look architecturally reasonable, because of the completeness of the form and solid simplicity. However, in elevation they become buildings in the shape of cylinders.

All in all, the trend of making nurses wards in round faded away, but one thing lasted - the concept of round nurse station. Due to accessibility and working convenience, the circular form allows to facilitate monitoring all of the patients.

In 2015, the TIME magazine published the results of research on future hospital interiors, involving vice president of SKANSKA company - Andrew Quirk and design office NXT Health. SKANSKA contributed to implementation of the design

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[13] Jacobs, J. (July, 1961). Hospitals in round. Architectural Forum Magazine, Volume 115, Number 1. p: 98-102. Time Inc. New York, N.Y.

by building the prototype of the model future-patient room, designed by NXT HEALTH design office.

The space in "Patient Room 2020" is adapted and designed in the way to improve the quality of care and the performance at most. By doing the observation of future design hospital interiors from the past, it can be noticed, that the research was based on one constantly being repeated aspect: changing the details of composition in terms of interior architecture. For instance, many research papers exist, concerning color as an influencing factor on patients mental health. For this reason, majority of hospital renovations consist only of repainting hospital interiors. Project Patient Room 2020 is not only about modernizing patient room, but more about the perspective of futuristic technology-oriented design.

From patients' psychological point of view, they wish to stay in the hospital the possible shortest period of time. However, when it is a necessity and there is no other choice, than to recover in the hospital, it is wished that the place, where patients are staying would be a clean, neat one, designed in a comfortable and friendly environment.
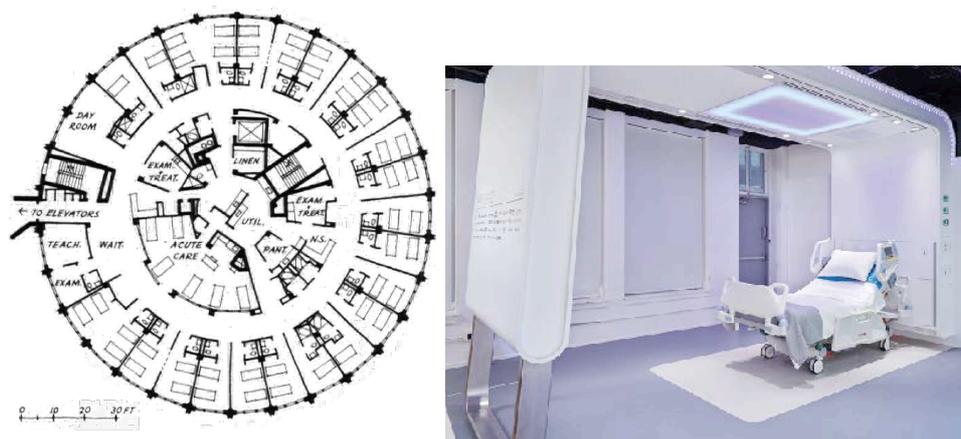
Figure 8: Round shaped nurse ward from Jacobs's analysis and Patient Room 2020 design.

The essential aspect is patient's safety. Unsafe surroundings are a major issue for healthcare institutions. Data provided in Health Management in 2014, show that "*In the U.S. an estimated 1.7 million Hospital Acquired Infections (HAIs) occur each year in hospitals, leading to about 100,000 deaths and $28-$33 billion in excess costs.*"[14] Infections are completely preventable, thus hospital room design can have a positive effect on medical personnel work ergonomics and comfort, as well as the proper design provides good hygiene conditions and infection control. Especially when the entirety is architecturally cohesive.

One of the innovative ideas used in the project is special flooring, that prevents patients from falling and injuring. This concept creates simplified correlations between patients and personnel. The floor monitors patient's steps and sends alarming

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[14] Campbell, L. (2014). The Patient Room 2020: Next Generation In-Patient Care. Health Management, Volume 16, Issue 1/2014.

report to personnel in case of accident. Moreover, the other facilities, like: computer station located in the room and Wi-Fi network provide insight into the patient disease history.

To sum up, the idea of modern "Patient Room 2020", is a surely proper way to strengthen medical personnel state of mind and gives more upgraded perspective on hospitals, than those that are within reach nowadays. As Andrew Quirk said: "If we even have one element in here, that is incorporated into a hospital, that is a success".

Conclusion. Results of research and implementation.

The final diagnosis of critical areas research and their spatial sense in existing hospital modernization shows, that architects should take care mainly of redesigning patients' rooms, areas dedicated to the personnel, completing areas dedicated to treatment rooms and reorganizing through improvement of communication channels.
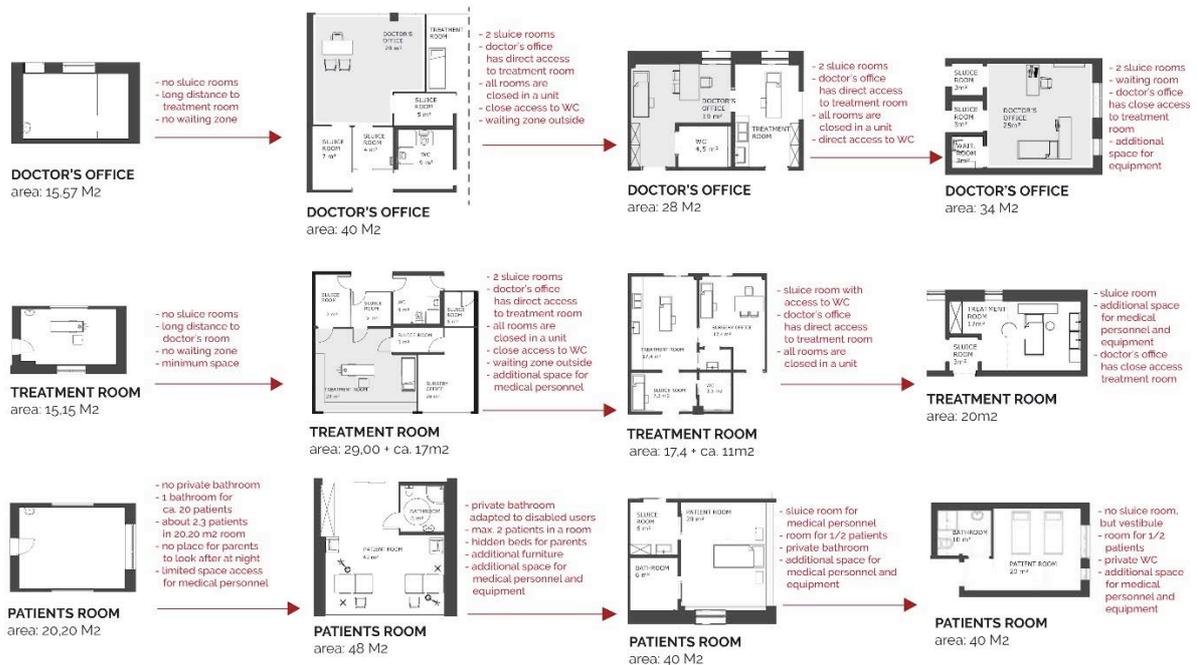
Figure 9. Diagrams of arrangement problems in the concept of modernization project of Sporna Hospital. Author's study and schema design.

Figure 10. Analysis of communication channels and paths. Author's study and schema design.

It must be noted, that apart from implementing the innovations, hospital should have a positive impact on environment, by its good form or adaptation, materials used, energy consumption and intelligence. The technology used in hospital should be exploited at most and properly. It should become upgraded from sustainability to resilience – the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties and supported by sustainable policies and strategies.

Hospital itself is a heritage, a history of humanity in a nutshell and it should be created with responsibility and concern for surrounding environment, with a view to building humane environment for future generations.

Hospital is a place, which accompanied people strictly from the cities foundations. In the past, hospitals were just poorhouses located near churches. People came there not exactly to be cured, but more to die peacefully. Hospitals' walls and workers had seen so many pain and illnesses that no one ever should experience. But also, they were witnesses of miracles and the majestic force of life. The tremendous breakthrough of hospital technology began in XIX century. There were icons like Nightingale, Sklodowska - Curie, Lister, Roentgen, Fleming and many more, who changed the vision of today's medicine. It is relevant to mention, that every hospital should take an example from Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. A slogan "Amazing things are happening here"[15] is a signature sign of this hospital, and amazing things should happen in every example of architecture craft, that architects create those days, especially in the wake of so many social challenges, especially in hospitals.

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[15] "Amazing things are happening here" Project: https://www.nyp.org/amazingthings/

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Temporal and Regular Placemaking: A Stimulating Tool for Reinforcing Local Identity and Pride

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Abstract
Placemaking has been one of the attempts by grassroots communities to improve the aesthetic appeal of informal settlements, kampungs in Indonesia, in hopes of creating new opportunities for the residents to develop creative output relevant to their historical value of the place and cultural specialty. Hence, they will be able to strengthen and use their local identity as a form of resistance against the government's demolishment plan of their kampung. However, it is still unclear whether these initiatives have contributed to the betterment of kampung and its inhabitant. Therefore, the main purpose of this sequential mixed-method study was to examine the effects of placemaking in Indonesia's kampung. Two main research questions are addressed: How is the relationship between types of placemaking and perceived social outcome measure, in this case, is the local identity and pride? What distinguishes each of these relationships? In order to answer these questions, a quantitative survey and in-depth interviews were conducted in two Indonesian kampungs, Dago Pojok and Bustaman.

Keywords: Placemaking, informal settlements, local identity and pride, mixed methods

Introduction

The terms 'kampung' initially referred to rural space in Indonesia, which also has a very strong relationship with Indonesian culture itself (Roychansyah, 2010). However, throughout its development, the terms are also used to describe an informal settlement area that exists in a city (Setiawan, 2010). Nowadays, kampungs are equivalent to urban villages and mostly associated with the slum. They are the smallest administrative unit in the urban area, which can be classified as a neighborhood unit. Despite the poor physical quality and lack of adequate basic services, it is believed that kampung in Indonesia substantially plays an important role in the process of urban development as it represents informality of marginalised community in a modern city that is surrounded by formality (Sihombing, 2004).

An example of the informality of kampung can be obviously seen from its physical and environmental condition. From the view of shanty houses with rusty iron sheeting to the elders who can be found everywhere on the streets in their tattered underwear, giving smiles to the random passers-by. But the prime example of this informality is indeed its social system, such as the 'non-governmental and non-bureaucracy' leadership structure of local communities and the mutual self-help that is shown in the way its inhabitants improve their lives (Setiawan, 2010). In this context, kampungs are believed to convey more vibrancy and creative informal activity, which also give identity to the city (Sastrosasmito 2009 in Hutama 2016).

For almost a decade, placemaking is one of the attempts by some grassroots community, to improve the aesthetic appeal of kampung in the hope to create opportunities for local residents to produce and develop creative output relevant to their own potential neighbourhood and communities. Many authors have described placemaking earlier as an on-going process of enhancing the quality of places through creation and transformation, which in these cases, refer to the built environment in various scales from public places, urban open space, neighbourhood, town, city, to region (Benson and Jackson 2013; Brunnberg and Frigo 2012; Buser et al. 2013; Douglas 2016; Elwood, Lawson, and Nowak 2015; Lombard 2014; Quayle and Driessen Van Der Lieck 1997). Franz et al. (2008, 316) defined placemaking as "collective appropriation of the own environment by the residents that has the potential to create new 'places' of identification for the local residents".

The placemaking movement in kampungs has started in different cities in different years by different local organizations, but they departed from the same starting point. The movement has started from local creative communities that aim to improve the poor social and environmental conditions of kampung, through a participatory approach, by which the poor act as active participants and use local creative resources. In this case, the creative resources are not limited to the production of hand-made crafts, but also through activities which are hoped to be the solutions to generate local economic activities run by local inhabitants (Ekomadyo et al., 2013).

However, it is still unclear whether the placemaking practices, particularly the ones by external initiatives, have made any real contribution in strengthening the local identity to face the rapid modernization that has been putting more pressure on the kampung. Most of the placemaking research (Indrarajasa, 2010; Harimurti et al., 2013; Prasetyo and Iverson, 2013; Safira, 2012) in the country is more focused on the

design and spatial perspectives, and tend to pay less attention to the influence of institutional aspects of the involved actors. Moreover, given that socioeconomic, physical, and institutional contexts of developing countries are clearly different from those in the developed world, the outcomes which mainly discuss from the 'West' context might different in developing countries, particularly for informal settlement settings. Therefore, understanding the type of significant influential factors and outcomes of placemaking in an informal settlement is important.

Research Questions

This paper, therefore, aims to investigate the social outcomes of placemaking, particularly the local identity and pride, towards residents in *kampung* and to explore factors which affect them. While most previous research has focused on a variety of outcomes of placemaking, a few studies explicitly deal with the relationship between influential factors and outcomes of placemaking. Three main research questions were addressed to guide the study:

- Is there any significant relationship between regular and temporal placemaking with local identity respectively?
- How is the relationship between types of placemaking and the perceived social outcome measures? Why the relationships are different?

Literature Review

The definition of 'regular' and 'temporal' placemaking

Although extensive research has been carried out on the position of placemaking as an everyday social process of making and remaking spaces, there is no general agreement about the specific type and frequency (daily, weekly, monthly, annually) of activity that is considered as 'everyday life' placemaking. This is, however, resulting in a broad range of activities that are considered as everyday life. For instance, in his study about Shan-Hsia, a 1500 years-old neighbourhood in Taiwan, Friedmann (2007, p.272) defined placemaking as "observable patterns and rhythms of everyday life that are centered on local institutions where the daily rituals of life are performed, creating new subjectivities". In this way, he included all recurrent activities of residents in the neighbourhood, from daily prayers at the temple, weekly open-air markets, to annual county fair as an everyday experience. This study clearly showed that everyday life placemaking was boundless in terms of its occurrence, location, and the type of activity.

Meanwhile, recent authors seem to draw the fine boundary of the everyday activities, more particularly in informal settlements where construction of places is done through dynamic and contextualized process. By using placemaking approach to investigate residents' mundane life, Lombard (2014) limited the type of everyday practices only to those activities that can be seen as a form of resistance to what she called as 'discursive constructions of place'. There were three types of placemaking based on the nature of activity: 'spatial placemaking' refers to acquiring land and building, 'social placemaking' refers to religious practices and schooling, and 'cultural placemaking' refers to vernacular architecture and place naming. These activities were chosen because through the processes of making the places in the

neighbourhood, they keep the residents from being marginalized by the reproduction of external's stigma towards their settlements. Indeed, those activities help the residents becoming part of the city.

Unlike Lombard, instead of seeing placemaking based on the nature of an activity, Kern (2015) divided the type of placemaking by residents based on the time occurrence and involved actors, which led to another concept of placemaking other than everyday life. While everyday life placemaking refers to daily activity by ordinary residents such as talking, smoking, playing cards, or drinking coffee while sitting in a corner of a parking lot in neighborhood; weekly farmers markets and music performances, occasional flea markets, one-off events, and annual summer festivals were grouped under 'temporal events'. By this, the temporal placemaking, refers to place activations through occasional events, both small and large scale, in public spaces. His intention to divide the two was because he found that the latter one, which was more formally organized by local neighborhood-level organizations, had influenced the 'everyday life' of a particular group of residents.

While this study was not intentionally framed around particular authors, in general, the classification of placemaking in this research seemed to be in line with the previous studies. First, residents' recurrent activities were divided based on the timescale. While the daily, weekly, and monthly activities of residents were grouped under 'small-regular activity', the occasional and annual events were grouped under 'strategic-temporary activity'. Second, the activities were also classified based on their type, in this case, there were divided into sixteen categories. Furthermore, the activities limited only to those that related to collective works and engagement with the community, although unnecessarily restricted in publicly owned spaces. On that note, limited public spaces in informal settlements made the residents to use privately-owned spaces, such as resident's house or local organization's space, for particular community activities.

Local Identity and Pride

In several studies, place is considered to have an influence on the formation of identity as it could provide social and cultural connections through which self- and group-identity can be preserved and declared (Andres, 2012; Piribeck and Pottenger, 2014). By this, placemaking is important to identity, not only due to its ability to improve identity of the place itself, but the identity of its inhabitant. Previous researches demonstrated that while placemaking was able to strengthen the local community's confidence towards their own selves, cultural and communal identity (Chan, 2011; Lombard, 2014; Rota and Salone, 2014), it also resulted greater sensitivity of the inhabitants towards place histories (Ho and Douglass, 2008; Lazarevic et al., 2015), and affected local action including participation in grassroots organisations (Main and Sandoval, 2015). One study by Chan (2011) showed that in the process of reworking public image of their places and creating cultural representations for themselves, the local residents in a Taiwanese village enhancing their communal spirit and identity. Despite the various initial motivation to participate in voluntary activities, the study found that many residents developed pride towards their local culture and attachment to their place by participating in placemaking activities for an extended period.

Meanwhile, Grodach et al. (2014) pointed out that the cultural-based temporal project that interlaces a mutual relationship with the host urban context can engender positive impacts in terms of artistic clustering and image building. However, successful projects would not likely occur unless they are situated in an area that provides adequate space and they contain suitable activities for the area. In this way, he argued that the type of spaces and activities are the main factors that influence the success of the cultural-based project, where 'success' refers to the (resulting) physical form of the area. While Campo and Ryan (2008) argued that the symbiosis mutualism between temporal practices and an urban area does not necessarily require major changes in the built environment in the related area. By this, they considered the lasting transformation on a human and social aspect of the area is more important than the physical aspect. This perspective was in line with Rota and Salone (2014) who viewed that the success of temporal practices, which they referred to 'unconventional art events', was highly dependent on their impact on the existing spaces rather than creating the new ones. On their studies, they demonstrated that art festival successfully created a more vibrant and dynamic neighbourhood, as well as reinforcing social ties and renovating local identity of both places and its people.

Research Method and Materials

Areas of Study

The residents of Kampung Dago Pojok in Bandung City and Kampung Bustaman in Semarang City were chosen as target populations in this study.

Kampung Dago Pojok is located within the administrative zone RW 03, covering 30 hectares of Dago land and providing a house for at least 3.852 people with the head of a family equal to 1.035. Like many kampungs in Indonesian cities, the majority of people residing in Dago Pojok are poor, but there are also middle and higher-middle income households also settled in the kampung. The kampung is located adjacent to the urban renewal area, Dago Street, which has been well known as a major tourist and commercial area in the city. As the area has been rapidly developed into upper-class residential areas and shopping centers, this situation led to the increase of social problems in Dago Pojok, along with the threat of its existence due to poverty. In order to save the kampung from demolishment, a placemaking movement, which became popular under the term "creative kampung movement", was initiated in 2003. However, only 6 out of 9 blocks (RT) in RW 03 were included as part of Creative Kampung, which are RT 01, RT 02, RT 03, RT 04, RT 07, and RT 09. While the other three RTs were excluded because it was a luxury residential area.

The other kampung, called Bustaman, is a high-density urban settlement located in Purwodinatan sub-district. It consisted of 0.6 ha with a population density equal to 590 people per ha. The kampung consists of 2 RT, namely RT 04 and RT 05, where approximately 400 inhabitants live. It is one of the old kampungs in the city which has been popular with its Gulai Kambing or goat curry making, a local tradition since the Dutch colonial period. Most residents rely on goat trading with various jobs, from butchers, goat merchant to catering that specializes in the goat curry. Despite its limitation as of the city's slum area, it has a high productivity level based on its goat-trading and culinary activity.

Data collection and sampling

Most of the foundational research in placemaking was done with the qualitative approach, which makes the operationalization of this concept as a contextualized social process become quite challenging. Therefore, a combination of quantitative and qualitative assessment methods is needed to deeply understand the concept of the social outcome of placemaking. This research is based on the sequential mixed method which indicates compiling and analysing quantitative and then qualitative data in two consecutive phases within one study. While the quantitative survey was applied to measure the relationship between influential factors and social outcomes of placemaking and also to gather socioeconomic data of the kampung dwellers, the qualitative method is used to further explain and integrate the results from the surveys by interviewing a few selected local residents.

This research used questionnaires and semi-structured personal interviews as data-collecting techniques. A survey of 227 was completed to gain a general perception of local residents of two kampungs in Indonesia. The sample size was identified based on Yamane's formula with 7% precision level and confidence level is 95%. Regarding the sampling in each kampung, the 67 respondents were residing in Kampung Bustaman; while the other 169 respondents were living in Kampung Dago Pojok. For the latter sampling group, nine respondents rejected and not completed the questionnaires, so they are not included as respondents of this research.

The survey was followed by 33 in-depth interviews with purposefully selected individuals from residents involved in the kampung to explore and elaborate those survey results. For the semi-structured interview, the selection and sample size of participants was based on purposive sampling. The participants were asked to participate and were interviewed up to a point of saturation. Lastly, documentary sources ranging from books, a website to newspapers were also considered as an additional source of information.

Results

In the statistical sample, the majority of respondents who filled in the questionnaires were female (66,5%). The data collected also shows that 180 households were female-headed (20.7%) because of the death of their spouse. Most of the respondents (47.6%) were the spouse of the household head. For the average age of the respondents was in the range of 41 – 50 years old. The majority of respondents were born in the same city of residence (80.6%), while the rest (19.4%) were from other cities. The reasons for migration were varied, but mostly because the respondent's spouse and family who move to the kampung they live in now.

Findings from regression showed that temporal placemaking (β = .322) had a higher impact on local pride and identity than regular placemaking (β = .216). Both of placemaking types were found positively significant at $F_{(2,224)}$ = 19.765, p = .000, with an R^2 of .150. The equation which forecasts the factors influence on this aspect implied that respondent's pride and identity increased by 0.214 and 0.143 for each point of the arrangement and participation in temporal placemaking and regular placemaking consecutively.   On the other hand, the qualitative interviews with a few selected residents seemed to be consistent with the regression results. More positive

responses were found related to temporal placemaking outcomes rather than regular placemaking. According to the interview, temporal placemaking positively influenced local identity on four aspects: greater sensitivity to place history, recollection of traditional culture and heritage, integration between old tradition and modern art, and preservation "gotong royong".

Table. 1 Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

Local pride and identity (Alpha: 0.829)						
Constant	3.734		91.298	.000***		
Temporal Placemaking	.214	.322	5.223	.000***	1	1
Regular Placemaking	.143	.216	3.500	.001***	1	1
Regression equation: Local pride and identity = 3.734 + .214 (Temporal Placemaking) + .143 (Regular Placemaking)						
R^2 = .150		$F (2, 224) = 19.765$		$(P=.000)$ ***		

Source: Analysis, 2018

Greater sensitivity to place history

The first positive outcome of temporal placemaking was that it increased the sensitivity of participants towards their kampung history. However, this outcome was only found in Bustaman.

From historical values, Bustaman has been known as kampung of where the most internationally known Indonesian painter, Raden Saleh, was born and raised. The kampung itself got its name from Raden Saleh's great-grandfather, Kyai Bustam, which was also a religious leader and a communicator between the Dutch government and the locals in the 18th century. Despite those popular facts about Bustaman, some participants notably had known little about the history of their kampung, especially before Tengok Bustaman was held. They further explained that the event made them understand their history better through its various range of activities, including mural painting, historical theatre, art exhibition, discussion and activities related to the past and current circumstances of the kampung.

The most obvious one is the mural painting along the kampung walls, which was made with particular themes and incorporating famous or important symbol, so it can be either an inspiration or reminder for the residents. For instance, Bustaman was historically built around a goat slaughterhouse, and thus the art was popularized with a 'goat spirit'. On the other sides of the kampung, some murals are seen, portraying the likeness of kampung founders and dwellers who significantly contribute to the kampung, along with a narrative about them. In the center of the kampung, one can see huge, bright, and colorful murals with the aforementioned symbols as well as long narratives and pictures explaining the historical significance of the village. As the kampung is poor and rather slum, the value of the mural painting is doubled up, which bring enjoyable aesthetics and expose the local sense of pride.

Regarding the use of mural as one of the placemaking tools in the kampung, Jones

(2017) also stated that it is not only aesthetically pleasant for the kampung residents but also proposed as a tool for leveraging the inhabitants' voices in city policy development. Often times, the government provides public spaces in the city, which is based on the top-down approach. But through these mural paintings, Hysteria and the kampung residents wanted to prove a successful example of public spaces improvement based on the community needs.

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

Figure 1: Murals in Bustaman

Recollection of traditional culture and heritage

The second outcome showed that temporal placemaking brought back some of the forgotten heritage in both kampungs. Interestingly, both kampungs showed that it was their art festivals which played important roles in recollecting their potentials.

In Bustaman, some participants admitted that many of the residents, particularly the natives, tend to sell their goat curry outside of the kampung. They thought that there would be fewer buyers in the kampung since many of the residents can make goat curry and there were not much visitors come to the kampung. It was only since Tengok Bustaman was held that almost every resident in the kampung sold their goat curry. There was part of the event called Festival Kampung Kambing or Goat Meat Festival, where for two consecutive days from morning to evening, the kampung residents collectively sell any kind of local cuisine which is based on goat meat. During the event, almost every resident sold their local dishes on a wagon and put it in front of their houses. A participant explained that by doing this, the residents wanted to introduce two things: their specialty in culinary including their signature dish, which is the goat curry, and also their habits that make their front yards as their kitchen. Although there has not been any significant change in the number of residents who sell goat curry in the kampung, the event successfully made many residents selling the products, which was something unusual.

Meanwhile, in Dago Pojok, the recollection of traditional art was clearly seen through Creative Kampung Festival, which using Sundanese culture as the primary entertainment. Indeed, it was one of the main program's aims to bring back the local cultural heritage that handed down from the kampung ancestors and yet had been neglected by the current residents. The kampung was formerly known to have rich

potential in Sundanese traditional art and culture, from a martial art, dances, music instruments, crafts, to culinary. Therefore, since 2012, Creative Kampung Festival has been held for two days as a part of kampung's annual program to promote and rebuild Sundanese traditional culture and art in Dago Pojok. The annual festival exposed the kampung potentials, which mainly comprised various Sundanese based activities, including music and dance performances. There were also other activities such as art exhibition, free movie screening, and food bazaar.

This recollection of cultural heritage has emerged not only through the festival alone. Indeed, it was through pre-event preparation and regular practices where the residents improved their skill while also fostering their pride towards the heritage. For instance, the Martial Art Groups or *Silat* often train weekly to maintain their performance skills for the annual festival. Similar responses also came from other participants who joined the Batik workshop which was held as pre-preparation for an art exhibition at the festival. The workshop was started two years ago where the housewives were invited, particularly those who did not have other things to do after they finished their household works. The participant admitted that before participating in the workshop, she knew nothing about the Batik and its making process. However, ever since her participation in the activity, she has been able to make Batik by herself even though she was no longer participated.

Integration between old tradition and modern art

The interview finding, specifically in Bustaman, also demonstrated that temporal placemaking has not only brought back and strengthened local tradition, but also can be a positive attempt to recognize the old tradition and combine it with modernity through the facilitation of art practice. As a result, a new tradition is formed and can be an additional identity to the kampung.

Since 2013, Gebyuran has been annually held in Bustaman. It takes place a week before Ramadhan, where local residents throwing water and colored powder to each other. It was believed that Kyai Bustam used to have a tradition before Ramadhan in which he showered his descendants with water from an old wall in the kampung to make them become 'holy' again. This tradition, whether was true or not, inspired a resident named Hari Bustaman to recollect the tradition and at the same time integrating it with modern art. The event was held only for two until three hours, from late afternoon to evening and took place in the entire communal space in the kampung. It was followed with eating food together which was usually donated by some residents. For the first event, most of the participants were only residents. But in the following years, there have been participants come from outside kampung. To add more excitement in the event, since 2016 music performance was also held after the participants finished with the water throwing.

Source: Fanyanto, 2017

Figure 2. *Gebyuran* tradition

What is more interesting from Gebyuran is that it can make a new ritual while also bring back local tradition without making it too rigid and religious. As stated by another researcher that it is difficult to say the event is sacred because it is not really the same with other common religious rituals (Ramdhon, 2018). The only thing that makes the event sacred is the opening where two kampung representatives pouring water to local kids. This was supported by finding from the interview that although the event seems like a ritual and local tradition, actually the residents want to emphasize on two things: to strengthen connection among residents and to add more identity to the kampung. For the former, there is an agreement among the event's participants that they are not allowed to get angry whenever and from whomever they got hit. This is also one of the interesting things from Gebyuran because actually the message of the ritual that makes the participants 'become holy again' is not the water itself, but instead by the time they throwing water to other participants. They use the 'water war' event as positive ways to release their anger, hatred, and grudge.

While for the latter point, which is to add more kampung's identity, some participants explained that the event is part of local's strategy to save their kampung from demolishment. It was stated by Hari Bustaman (2017) himself as an initiator of Gebyuran, "Art is part of our attempts in strengthening kampung, particularly when its existence is not important enough in the eyes of the government and other high-rank officers. In that case, our value would be low". Regarding his statement, he further explained that the more events take place in the kampung, the more exposure from media, the more popular Bustaman in public, the more people would recognize their existence. By that, the harder it would be for government and other parties to demolish the kampung. On his article, Ramdhon (2018, p.6) also stated the role of media in supporting the kampung. "Attracting the mass media is one of their (kampung residents) decent ways to emphasize their existence and Gebyuran is a cultural diplomacy which denoting that they exist and significant for the city".

Preservation of "gotong royong"

The impact of temporal placemaking is not limited to bring back the history and cultural heritage, but also maintaining a particular identity of the kampung residents. In this case, some participants explicitly stated how they used *gotong royong*, means

sharing burdens or mutual assistance, in temporal placemaking. Some other authors even say that it is a national identity of Indonesia which enables kampung dwellers to sustain amid the pressure of urbanization and difficulties of inequality of urban areas (Rahmi et al. 2001).

Some other participants also mentioned implicitly how the *gotong royong* was implemented during other temporal placemaking practices in the kampung, namely Tengok Bustaman, Gebyuran, and Creative Kampung Festival. In this case, the events required conceptual to logistical cooperation with other residents. There were multiple sessions during the first until third Tengok Bustaman where artists and local residents cleared trash and debris from unused lots, installed new street lighting fixtures, rerouted carts and stalls to a different central location, and organized a park for bikes so as not to block the narrow entrances to the village. Besides, it was noticed in all the temporal placemaking practices that during the preparation and on the event, residents divided some tasks For instance, in Tengok Bustaman, youth's role is related to conceptual, operational, and public relations; gentlemen' is funding, and housewives' is cooking and catering. The same was also implemented in Dago Pojok, where almost every activity had a specific group whose task was to coordinate and prepare for the festival.

Regular Placemaking and Local Identity

There were only a handful of participants mentioned the direct impact of the organised regular activities in their kampung towards their identity. Interestingly, in Bustaman, it was actually their "unorganised" daily and mundane activities that held fundamental point in making the kampung unique and distinctive with other kampungs.

An extraordinary identity from ordinary activities

Multiple responses from a number of participants in Bustaman showed that regardless of the ill-maintained housing and inadequate infrastructure in the settlement, the kampung was cherished by its inhabitants. One of the reasons was because it has a certain rhythm with which they all are familiar with. Regarding this, some participants described their kampung as a place that never sleeps because almost every single night, there were always things happening in the kampung for 24 hours. During afternoon till evening, the kampung was packed with various local merchants who sell their specialty in front of their houses. While there were also local residents who buy food while also having daily conversations with the sellers or other consumers. Then from evening to midnight, groups of youth gather in a corner of the kampung. Sometimes they just chat, play guitar, cards, or eat together. While from evening to midnight, some external merchants from outside kampung usually come and go alternately. Around the time, some gentlemen already wake up to start preparing their businesses until sunrise. It is this rhythm, these daily repetitive cadences that allowed particular identity to emerge from Bustaman and its dwellers. In this case, the everyday living and the connections available to individuals and communities have given meaning to the form of places. By that, an enriching sense of belonging can also be cultivated.

Conclusion

The results of both quantitative and qualitative analysis indicated that temporal placemaking hold a more important role than regular placemaking in influencing local identity and pride. The most obvious component of temporal placemaking that made the practice become superior was the use of what Kern (2016, p.1) called as "placemaking events". There was a large volume of published studies describing the role of bottom-up practices through artistic and cultural intervention, including festivals, exhibitions, and other art and culture-led events in "formal" neighborhood. It was said by them that the artistic and cultural practices impacted different positive results, such as attracting different segments of audience and visitors in less frequented part of the cities, creating collective entertainment opportunities in the public space, and engender pride in a community (Hannigan 2003, Lewicka 2005, Richards & Wilson 2007).

In agreement with them, this study apparently found that the similar events in the kampung, namely Tengok Bustaman, Gebyuran, and Creative Kampung Festival, also helped the community to build local pride by gaining external recognition for their potentials. Firstly, the residents could see from someone else's perspective about their potentials. In this case, enthusiasm and encouragement from various communities and stakeholders who involved during discussions, workshops, and the main event, contributed to making the community more aware. In another way, the kampung started to build more positive image since their potentials become positively popular among different segments of audience and visitors who came to the events.

That external recognition was notably important for kampung dwellers, seeing that they lived under negative stigmatisation on their 'illegal', 'slum', 'poor' status, which is also felt by other millions of urban informal settlers. Such stereotypes often cause discrimination, exclusion, eviction, displacement, and marginalisation by other citizens, as well as a "pretext to justify redevelopment of settlements" by the authorities (Lombard 2014, p. 4). It was through these events too, that the kampung residents were trying to change the stigma while were in the process of becoming part of the city. Since the first time the events took place in the kampung, its main purpose was to strengthen the kampung identity until it can be acknowledged at the city level. By then, the kampung would not be easily swayed by external forces. An earlier author who found a unique Brazilian *favela* which was distinctive from other *favela*s, precisely stated what Bustaman and Dago Pojok residents missed: "What they do not have is an opportunity to fulfill their aspirations" (Perlman 1976 in Lombard 2014, p.8). In this regard, the cultural and art events in both kampungs were used as an opportunity for the kampung dwellers to evidence their potentials and gain attention from the public, particularly the authorities. It was in the hope that once they get the attention, they could fulfill their aspirations, like an access to adequate housing and build creative industry-based kampung.

Acknowledgment

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Bucharest: Towards a Rethinking of the Urban Heritage

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Abstract

Bucharest is an 'exotic' city at the juxtaposition of the Oriental world and the Central-Eastern influences. Its fascinating urban tissue is composed out of palimpsest-like layers that reveal an almost organic evolution of the city. From Byzantine sediments to Modernist compositions, from Postmodern interventions to contemporary 'small gestures' on urban heritage, Bucharest can be read in many keys. Its views continuously reveal hidden 'heritage treasures' and mysterious points of view in the urban composition. This five-senses journey has been described in the writings of many foreign visitors of the city along its history. One of the most fascinating though, is through the words and croquis of Le Corbusier (then Charles Jeanneret) in his '*Voyage vers l'Orient*' of 1911. Bucharest's diversity inspired him in his future Modernist compositions. The urban heritage of Bucharest has always been challenged by politics. It has been the bourgeois identity that needed to be hidden by the Communist ideology through urban operations. It is at the same time the forgotten 19th Century and inter-war monument, caught in a 'collection of litigious situations'. It is exposed to the debates between those who try to save and reactivate it and those who see it as an obstacle for the Modern City development. Therefore, Bucharest has a vital need to envision a long-term scenario to harmonise the Urban Heritage and the Modern City. This article's hypothesis proposes the integration of Bucharest heritage as an asset in a dynamic future network by rethinking Urban Policies.

Keywords: palimpsest, Orient, Occident, heritage, permeable limits, modern network, dynamic city

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01. Modern Bucharest's key traits of urban heritage in one image: a coexistence of contrasts, collisions, palimpsest like tissue. "*Bukarest: Straße Rosetti, Lincoln Laden und Bauer /* 1937", photography by Willy Pragher, *Staatsarchiv Freiburg* W 134 Nr. 012238, *Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg*

Rethinking the urban heritage - to reassess, to reconsider from an adapted perspective to the times, changes and challenges ahead, a refreshed view, a matter of human geography understanding and its new values, while guarding the essence.

Modern - according to Webster's Dictionary: new, contemporary, present-day, up-to-date, modernised, modernistic, 20th Century, streamlined, of our time; recent, current, contemporaneous, in vogue, modish, fashionable, in contrast with antique.

Modern Bucharest - characterised by times of synchronisation and desynchronisation with the Western and the Eastern Europe. It refers to four stages in the Modern evolution of the city -1831 to 1906, 1906 to 1930's, 1947 to 1989s and 1989 to present time. Each stage has either a certain amount of modernisation through urban regulations, Modernist language import or interpretation, as well as modern symptoms.

Introduction

Why should one consider the **urban heritage** an asset for the future city ?

Because it is a mark of cultural **identity**. Because it contains **archetypes** of architecture, an 'archive' of its civilisation history, as well as stories of *vies privees*. Therefore it has not only a cognitive role, but an educational one. Urbanity and atmosphere can be best read within these heritage protected areas that are genuine 'immersive experiences'. Because over time, it becomes the **image of the city** in the collective mind of its inhabitants and visitors.

Urban Heritage and the Modern City: possible relationships

By defining the notion of **urban heritage** throughout time we can understand its key importance in the future of a capital city: the case of Bucharest.

A form of heritage preservation dates back to the Roman Empire age, when *Augustus, Hadrian* or *Maioranus* were concerned with the protection of Greek architectural **archetypes**, evolving towards the idea of 'monument as model' in Renaissance and the importance of its research and 'archeological' understanding. The 17th Century introduces the term 'historic monument' and the French Revolution the educational and cognitive role of heritage buildings.

A theoretical approach though starts in the 19th Century, through the writings of John Ruskin, Camillo Sitte, Patrick Geddes or Gustavo Giovannoni, continuing with the "Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments" and later the UNESCO and ICOMOS recommendations (1956 - present time).

The first significant relationship between the "**Urban Heritage** and the **Modern** City" is marked by discontinuity of heritage doctrine power during the **Modernist** age. Giovannoni stated in his 1913 "*Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*" article, that there is a conflict between 'Life and History' in a city's evolution beginning in the 19th Century, due to the **Modernists**. The **Modern** life introduced by the Industrial Revolution challenge the old cities (and especially the capital cities) in many ways:

crisis of dwellings, circulations, hygiene, density, ideology, etc. Therefore, the principles of 1931 "Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments" based on Giovannoni's ideas to integrate the urban heritage into the urban planning and design, were rejected by the **Modernists** through CIAM[1] principles and project proposals, such as Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin* of 1925. Urban operations and the architectural **modern** language is therefore a statement for new values and the **modern** society of the future.

Le Corbusier's "Towards and Architecture" book of 1923 - the **Modern** architectural treatise - speaks of the architect-engineer, of competitive architectural market analogue to the car production one, of an entire 'mechanical menagerie'[2] to be used as metaphor in the architectural discourse: the car, the airplane, the transatlantic, the train. Even the wide spreading of his ideas is possible through the means of new technologies and devices - the print, radio, mass-media, international exhibitions[3] and conferences both in the European cultural space as well as in the USA and South America. These ideas are echoed[4] in Norman Bel Geddes's book entitled "Horizons", 1932, as well as in his project for General Motors at the New York World Fair - "Futurama - I Have Seen the Future", 1939.

Even the 'daring' photographic analogy of the car with the Parthenon, in the pages of "Toward and Architecture" can be read not only as a safe reference for the new language, a need for engineering precision and competition, but simultaneously as a manifesto for rethinking the relationship with heritage. To learn from its model, yet to create something new.

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[1] International Congresses of Modern Architecture, 1928-1959.

[2] Zacharias Vultur, I., *"The Machine Metaphor in Modern Architectural Discourse. Le Corbusier and Norman Bel Geddes", PhD Thesis, 2012* an imagery that might be inspired by Jules Verne's literature.

[3] The Art Deco Exhibition 1925 , Modern Architecture International Exhibition, 1932.

[4] Zacharias Vultur, I., *Idem.*

"**Modern** life demands, and is waiting for, a new kind of plan, both for the house and for the city."[5]
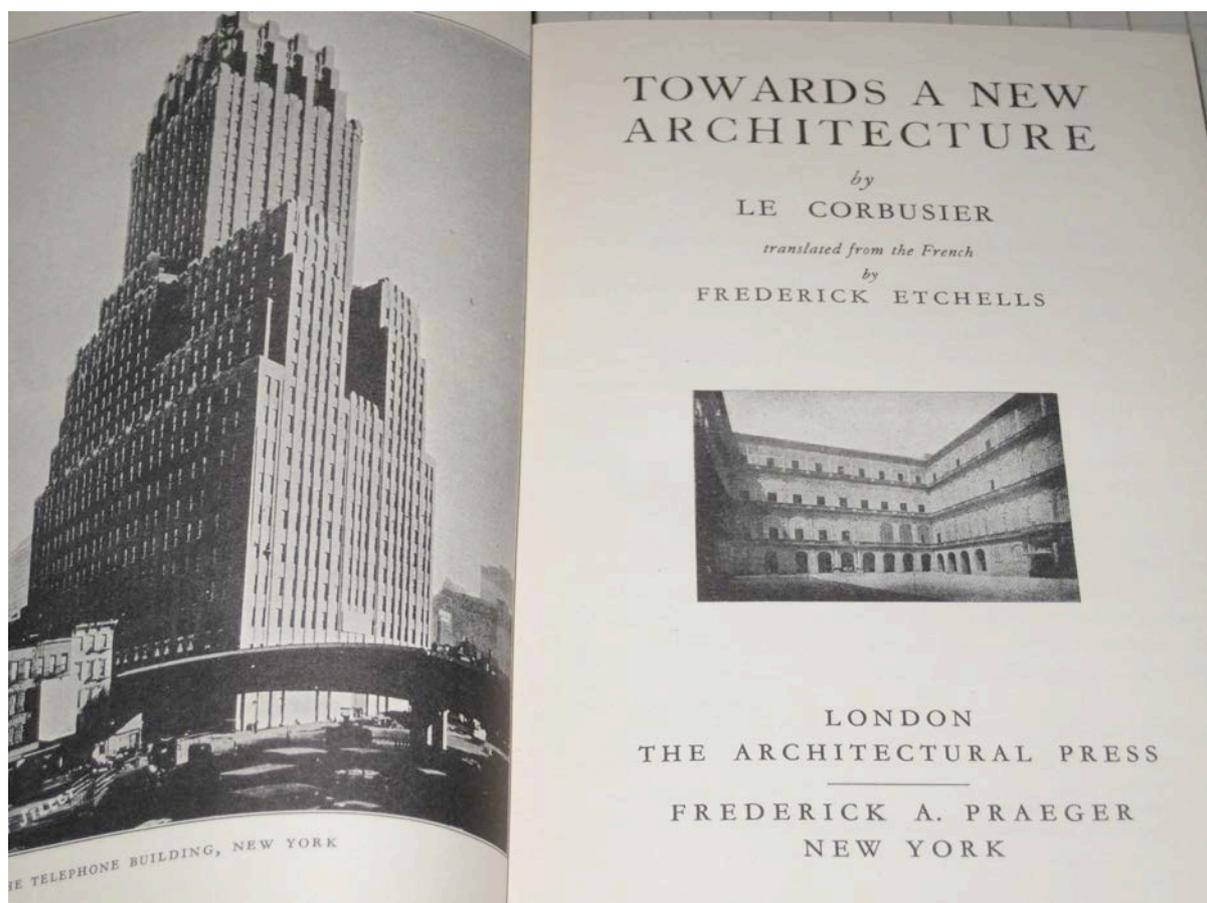
02. An intriguing discovery: 'Towards a New Architecture", Le Corbusier, 1931. On the left inner-cover of the American edition, an image of The Telephone Company Building, New York. The same Telephone Company from New York builds Bucharest's first skyscraper 1931-1933.

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[5] Le Corbusier, "Toward an Architecture" ("Towards a New Architecture"), 'Plan", edition, Dover Publications, Mineola, New York, edition of 1986 reprinted after the 1931, p.3.
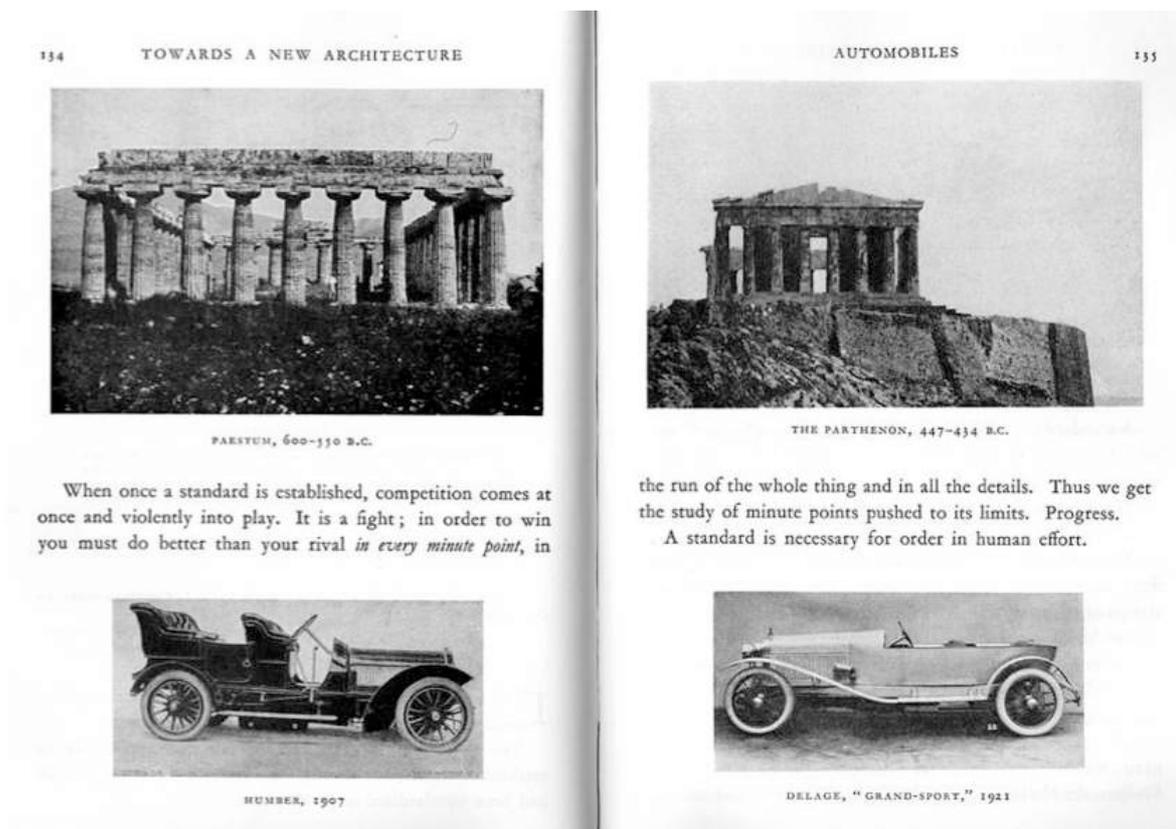
03. "Towards a New Architecture", Le Corbusier, 1931 (1923). The 'daring' of the car with the Parthenon.

One can therefore observe how **disruptive technology** and new transportation devices can model a city's design and its relationship with heritage, in fact, its past. The *flaneur* spirit of Walter Benjamin is replaced with new dynamic ways of 'reading the city': from the speed of the car, from the perspective of the transatlantic or the train, from the aerial view of the airplane. By increasing the 'reading' speed, the cityscape should use clean shapes, without ornament.

Nevertheless, Le Corbusier himself during the early years of formation and extensive travel - one could say - approached heritage sites of the world with an investigative and archeological eye, learning from the vernacular[6] or historic models, sketching and writing, in the manner of Beaux-Arts spirit and even the preservation doctrines. Later, in his treatise he states that 'historic styles' are a 'lie' and that geometric pure forms and spatial order are key for the new society. From an anthropological point of view, it is valid that man can (eventually) adapt and that the city has power into modelling human behaviour.

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[6] Le Corbusier, *Voyage d'Orient, Carnets, Fondation Le Corbusier*, 2002.

04. The Telephone Company Building in Bucharest, the first skyscraper of the city, in Art Deco style, with steel structure. Designed by the American architect Louis Weeks and the Romanian (of Dutch origin) architect Edmond Van Saanen Algi, built between 1931-1933. *'Bukarest: Calea Victoriei mit Telefonhaus vom Schlossplatz, vom Auto aus, mit Autoverkehr'* / 1941, (left) and *'Bukarest: Calea Victoriei mit Telefonhaus vom Schlossplatz' /* 1941 (right), W 134 No.030232, photographies by Willy Pragher, *Staatsarchiv Freiburg*, *Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg.*

It is somehow using the idea of P. Geddes, about the organic link between a city and its society, but by seeing the **Modern** metropolis as a generator tool for a new society (machinic) order.

For Bucharest as well, **Modernist** architecture and urban planning meant new aspirations, manifested through two distinct key phases: the synchronised and moderated one between 1906-1930s and the Soviet source one during the Communist regime of 1947-1989, under the political decision that turned it into a sterile architectural language and a real disconnection with heritage. Le Corbusier - by then still named Charles Jeanneret - visited Bucharest in an eight days tour described in his five months "*Voyage vers l'Orient*" of 1911, when he visits also the Parthenon (later used as reference in "Toward and Architecture", 1923). One can decode on his hand drawn itinerary the interest elements by initials: C (culture), F (folklore) and I (industry).

Le Corbusier's influence on Bucharest's architecture and some studio teaching in the Architecture School is in the first phase (1920's-1930's) perfectly synchronised with the French trend and publications[7]. During the Communist regime it is mainly filtered by the Soviet building typologies, then in 70's by a nationalist approach.

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[7] Zacharias Vultur, I. , "Ion Mincu University Press", (2013), The Journal of Sciences and Travel. A review of the 1947-1949 editions*, sITA - Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, p. 198: https://sita.uauim.ro/f/sita/art/12_sITA_Vultur.pdf

05. The Modernist Boulevard in Bucharest, built between 1928-1930s. "*Bukarest: Boulevard Bratianu, von oben auf Scala, höher gehalten/* 1937", photography by Willy Pragher, *Staatsarchiv Freiburg* W 134 Nr. 012234a, *Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg*

By that time, Europe is already in a return towards the heritage, monument, ecology and a Giovannoni like method of city design. Therefore, since 1960's and Postmodernism, the urban development policies of cities integrate heritage. Both books - Aldo Rossi's "Architecture of the City" (1966) for the European cultural space and Robert Venturi's "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture" (1966) for the American cultural space - express this new concern with monuments, the urban artefact or duality in architecture.

UNESCO then, in 1976 proposes the "Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas". In October 1987, ICOMOS General Assembly adopts the "Washington Charter for the Conservation of Historic Monuments and Sites and Urban Areas"[8], followed by the Valetta Principles of ICOMOS and HUL (Historic Urban Landscape) regulations of UNESCO, in 2011.

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[8] https://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf

Bucharest's Urban Heritage layers

Bucharest's Urban Heritage is continuously to be deciphered and revealed, as a four dimensional collage of time and space. The city is perceived since the beginning of the 20th Century as a blending cultural space between the Orient and the Occident[9], synchronised and desynchronised with the Western Architectural discourse[10] and urban planning.

Let's read this 'exotic' interlayering within the urban heritage as well as in the Bucharest's society lifestyle according to Willy Pragher's photographs, such as the one in the beginning of the article, entitled "*Bukarest: Straße Rosetti, Lincoln Laden und Bauer,* 1937". The title of the photography points out the coexistence of a variety of urban heritage languages - Byzantine, Classical and **Modernist** - the contrasting social layers of the metropolitan citizens and the peasant; the luxury car and the rural, the real and the reflection in the window, the old and the new. All these compose an urban scenography that is still alive in contemporary Bucharest.

The capital city's destiny is by definition particular, as it usually becomes a first 'space' for political, economic and cultural experiments. It usually represents a geographical and geopolitical landmark and Bucharest has always been at the crossroads of distinct powers. In this context, diplomacy, tolerance and sometimes political obedience have been key to survival and peace.

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[9] Harhoiu, D., *Simetria* Publishing House, Union of Architects in Romania and ARCUB, *Bucharest. A city between Orient and Occident,* Bucharest, 1997.
[10] Zahariade, A.M., *Introduction in Contemporary Architecture, Ist year course,* UAUIM: https://www.uauim.ro/en/departments/itcp/courses/it-1/

06. The initial Constantinople-like religious organic model of the city, with 300 concentric churches, *mahala* neighbourhoods and *maidane* spaces, in *Bucharest. A city between Orient and Occident* book, Dana Harhoiu.

One can see Bucharest's urban heritage as a direct representation of its people's personality and the absorbed influences over time: Ottoman, Greek, Austrian, Russian, French and to some degree since interwar times, American. These cultural influences blended both in the city's Architectural language, as in its urbanity.

Through layering over time, coexistence and collision[11], the initial Constantinople-like religious organic model of the city, with 300 concentric churches, *mahala* neighbourhoods and *maidane* spaces added new sediments and urban operations. The city's Wallachian - Oriental 'skyline' looked more like a rural settlement with 300 church towers and only ground-floor and one storey buildings, until the 19th Century.

To this layer, **Modern** interventions appeared: institutional **modernisation** brings the first institution buildings that generally use the Academist architectural language, then the Organic Regulation of 1831 - a law imposed by the Russian Empire to

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[11] Ghenciulescu, St., Ion Mincu University Press, (2017), Porosity and Collisions. About Bucharest and its Limits, *sITA - Studies in History & Theory of Architecture:* https://sita.uauim.ro/5/a/56/

Westernalize the country - brings many basic urban planning rules and the first *embellissment* of the city principles, as well as public parks and civil engineering works.
This is the beginning of **Modern Bucharest**.

The Architectural Language of the 1830's in Bucharest townscape was essentially the Classical one, arrived in the beginning with projects designed by the foreign architects that graduated Beaux-Arts in Paris, Vienna or Berlin or Rome, as well as some Romanians. The first and best-known Romanian architect that graduated Beaux-Arts was the creator of the nowadays University of Architecture and Urbanism: Ion Mincu.

The first form of Architectural education was established in Bucharest in 1864 as part of the School of Bridges and Roads, Mines and Architecture and the first Architecture diplomats appeared in 1891. The profession of architect was therefore a **Modern** one.

These Classical language insertions and urban compositions bring the first contrast in scale and urban aesthetics.

By analogy, this variety can be read also in the polarised social texture of the city: a coexistence of the very few wealthy and highly educated, with the large poor mass.

The lifestyle and **urbanity** of the 19th Century Bucharest are an 'exotic' and pictorial blending: Oriental fashion elements, habits and gastronomy (Turkish coffee, Narghiles, deserts, etc.), with French top hats, fashion accessories, language, salutations and expressions (such as *Bonjour, Mon Cher,* etc.), Cyrillic writing and Latin publications, and peasant popular outfits. Bucharest's society and city life is described by many foreign visitors in their writings as an unusual contrast of luxury and poverty.

Bucharest enters its "Little Paris" age.
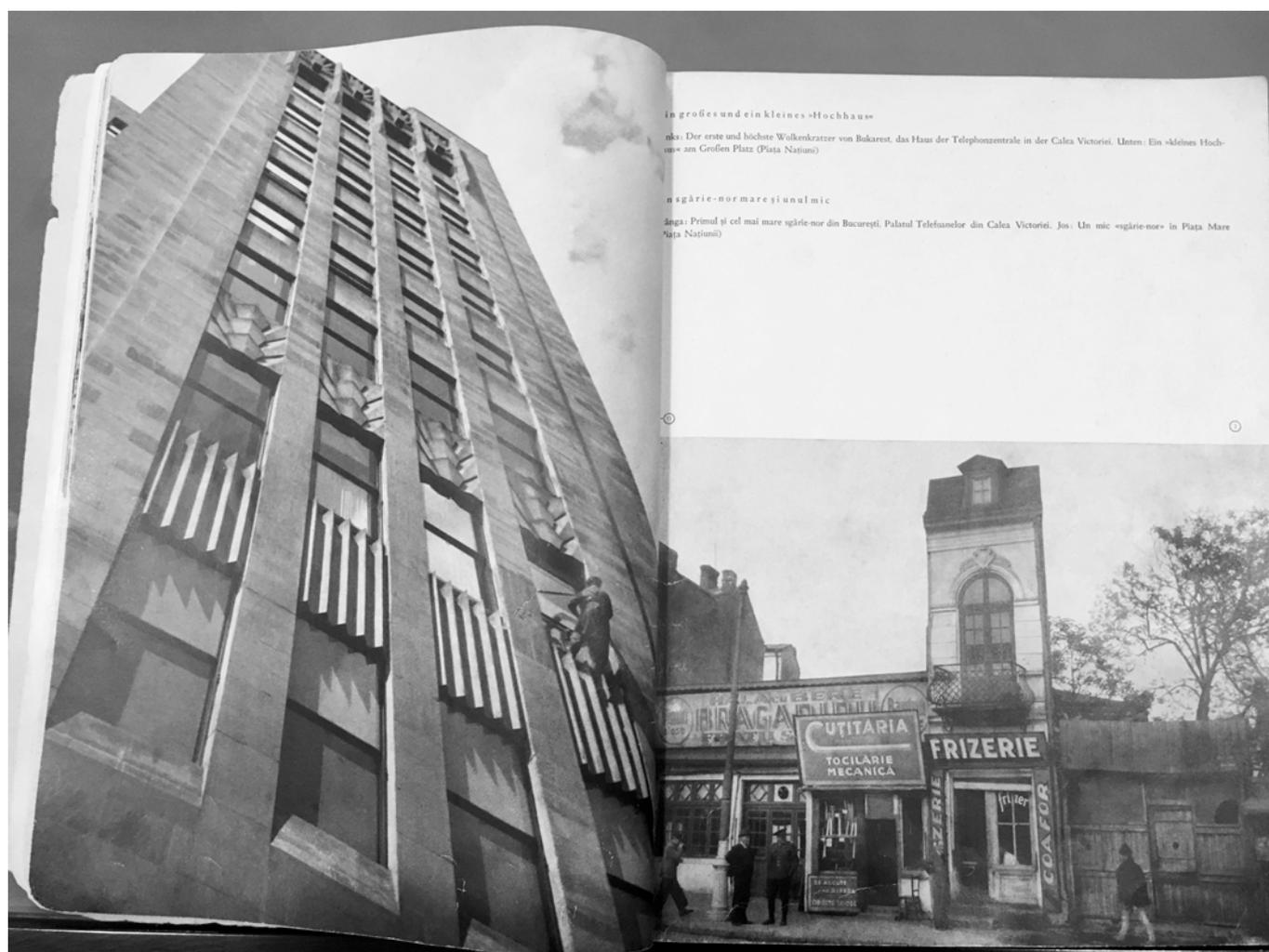
07. Entitled "A big skyscraper and a small skyscraper" a slogan and two collated photographs by Willy Pragher - one is The Telephone Building, Bucharest (1931-1933) - in his book, *Bukarest: stadt der gegensatze, Wiking Verlag, Berlin, W 35,* 1941.

Later on, in 1911, Charles Jeanneret (Le Corbusier who was then 25) visited Bucharest in an eight days tour[12] of his famous long *Voyage vers l'Orient.* He describes Bucharest's architecture, urbanity and colours in a very pictorial manner, intrigued by the flavoured blending of the Oriental world with the Western one:

``*Bucharest is totally impregnated of Paris. Moreover: under a terrible light, the women are combed with care and are beautiful; they are adorned with exquisite outfits [...] With the same melancholy we recall the seducing visions of Paris chic. Here everything is perceived as fatally leading to the feminine cult, and it is said that the idol of this city, the great goddess, is the woman, because of her great beauty.*``[13]

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[12] CSAV Journal, Ion Mincu University Press, (2015), coord. since 2012 by the author of this paper: http://csav.ro/

[13] Caceide Daza R.E., Ion Mincu University Press, (2015), CSAV Journal, Arquia, Barcelona, *Le Corbusier's journey to Bucharest in 1911,* chapter from the doctoral thesis *Tras el viaje de Oriente. Charles-Edouard Jeanneret - Le Corbusier*, p.165.

The image of the city has its first authentic **Modernist** insertions of architecture and urban planning during the interwar time, arriving through professional and technical[14] publications and foreign architects, as well as by some of the University of Architecture and Urbanism teachers. A few boulevards are designed in **Modernist** style - such as the coherent Magheru Boulevard - richly photographed by Willy Pragher during its 'glamour' years. The *coule-de-sac* plan composition is also frequently used around shapes designed according to the automobile movements (ex. Dacia Boulevard). The French influence of **Modernist** architectural discourse[15] is accompanied by the Art Deco language buildings, some as coming from the American influence.

During the 1931 - 1933 in "Little Paris" the first New York like 'skyscraper' in Art Deco style is inserted: The Palace of the Telephone Company, on 35 *Victoriei* Avenue. It is designed by the American architect Louis Weeks and the Romanian architect Edmond Van Saanen-Algi for the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, the New York company. It is "one of the rare structures with a rigid steel skeleton mounted with rivets and the second built by the American company […] in Europe"[16]. The elegant building remains the tallest one in Bucharest until 1970.

The aspiration towards a Western-like metropolis skyline is encouraged by a strong synchronisation with the trends and news coming from Europe and the United States: the latest news in the journals, the foreign *Calea Victoriei* Avenue shops (Lafayette, etc.), the first luxury automobile brands, the few foreign businessmen investing in industry and stock-exchange. The language of the car, train, transatlantic ships and streamline designed airplanes is discretely preparing Bucharest for new city aesthetics and lifestyle, yet the Great Depression followed by the Second World War change its destiny. During 1930-1940s the Monarchy of Charles the 2nd is characterised by economic growth and cultural development, though in an unstable political environment. The 1940's earthquake and the war bombing affects Bucharest's urban heritage in a relatively reduced manner (destroying the old National Theatre and partially the Atheneum, unlike the abdication of the King Charles the 2nd (1940), followed by the forced abdication of his son, King Michael the 1st in 1947 that bring the institution of the Communist regime.

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[14]Zacharias Vultur, I. , "Ion Mincu University Press", (2013), The Journal of Sciences and Travel. A review of the 1947-1949 editions, *sITA - Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, p. 198: https://sita.uauim.ro/f/sita/art/12_sITA_Vultur.pdf
[15]Zacharias Vultur, I., *"The Machine Metaphor in Modern Architectural Discourse. Le Corbusier and Norman Bel Geddes", PhD Thesis, 2012.*
[16] Criticos, M., "B:MAD. Bucharest: Modernism Art Deco 1920-1945", p.29: https://artdecobucharest.ro/

08. Photographs by Willy Pragher, depicting the Modernist Boulevard of Bucharest and the urban heritage contrasts.

As the capital city and therefore the first architectural and political 'urban laboratory', Bucharest is marked during 1947-1989 by the Communist ideology and censorship. Of course, nuances can be traced in each stage, with moments of apparent creative freedom, extreme control or sterile visions. Principles of economy, equality, atheism, control of the masses, can be directly read in the urban planning and architecture. The directed **Modernism**, the censored and politically decided housing dimensions, the "Little Moscow" vision, the Institutes of Design (*Institut de Proiectare,* 1952*)* or the large Civic Centre operation (1978) are perhaps the strongest guiding marks of this 'Golden Age'.

The urban heritage 'disliked' by the Communist party is composed out of the sediments of the old bourgeois houses, the **modern** institutions built during the Monarchy and the churches (and monasteries). The most visible techniques used for 'hiding' or 'erasing' this **urban heritage** are: demolition - *tabula rasa* - (of some churches and 465 hectares of old city tissue for the Civic Centre), the building of 'citadel-like walls out of block of flats' bordering the main boulevards and translating some churches in blocks of flats inner-courtyards. This created a new contrast in the old variety of Bucharest: the scale contrast. The "Bucharest 2000" International architecture competition tried to mediate this scale and volume difference into the Civic Centre (House of the People) area through gradual relationships, yet the winning project was never implemented.

For the **Architectural profession**, the change in 1952 means the forced abandon of the free-market, freelancing and personal studio, the freedom of choice of projects (and clients), for the Soviet model of the Design Institute. This structure is during 1952-1989 the only place for an architect to design in Romania, entirely controlled from the centre and clearly subordinated to political decision. The moment is marked by the creation of The State Committee for Architecture and Constructions (CSAC), later The State Committee for Constructions, Architecture and Systematisation (CSCAS).

The genuine **Modernist** language of 1930's - 1940's Bucharest is now replaced with the 'realism socialist' style both in practice and in architectural education. The urban planning and architectural projects are established by the central political decision, the access to Western Architectural magazines is censored and ultimately eliminated so that the inspiration comes from the Soviet building standards, books and ideas. Very few lucky architects had the chance to have now and then a forbidden edition of the *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui,* which they secretly lended in to some colleagues. This institution is a complex structure, where aside from architectural design, the employees must attend political propaganda sessions, outdoor collective 'sports activities' and parade mobilisation when needed.

Despite the given context of the 1980's, Romanian architects and urban planners are still the ones to locally save the values of Bucharest's urban heritage from demolition, by small tricks in front of the political decision: falsely marking in plans unimportant buildings in order to save the valuable ones.

Today Bucharest has 98 Protected Areas (Z.C.P.)[17], some grouped in Historic Reference Subzones (S.I.R.)[18], 27 particular typology allotments designed between 1912-1944 and some 152 *couls-de-sac* built between 1831 - 1939[19] catalogued so far, out of which many in **Modernist** style.

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[17] As one can observe in the **98 Protected Zones** of urban heritage in Bucharest, general map, below.
[18] Reference to the Z.C.P. no.10 - *Dorobanti* area, Bucharest, Substantiating study of 2010, where I participated as team member.
[19] According to various studies of the History and Theory of Architecture & Heritage Conservation Department, UAUIM.

09. The 98 Protected Zones of urban heritage in Bucharest. General map.

Each is a coherent reservation of architectural style and urban particularities, that make Bucharest resemble a coexistence of smaller cities, therefore with an 'inter-urbanity' character as Prof. Jean-Louis Cohen describes it.

Monuments and protected areas are concentrated mainly in the heart of the city, which makes them accessible and visible, yet their status is uncertain, neglected or illicit. It is hiding in plain sight. The passing of the time and unknown owners make them ideal for the foreign cinematography: open-air urban and interior scenography, especially for American movies.

One 100 years later, the words of Patrick Geddes are very assorted with the case of Bucharest: "*I do not advocate the retention of things useless…I plead merely for fair trial before condemnation…and the open minded consideration of each survival of the past and of its value whether as an actual **asset** or as a possible one*".

When in debate about the urban heritage of Bucharest, voices of professionals, politicians and inhabitants, notwithstanding many regulations, overrule or misunderstand the manner in which a city could evolve. How to select, protect or demolish should be wisely mediated.

The historic and the **Modern** (future) cityscape should harmoniously coexist and highlight one another. The design of the city should be dynamic and adapted, without loosing its identity landmarks and 'charisma'.

Conclusion

Bucharest: Towards a Rethinking of the Urban Heritage
"I Have Seen the Future!"[20]

09. The "Futurama" conveyor system view above the 1 acre city model of the future - for 1960. It is a Norman Bel Geddes project for General Motors, at New York World Fair, 1939. A subject of my PhD thesis, "The Machine Metaphor in Modern Architectural Discourse. Le Corbusier and Norman Bel Geddes".

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[20] New York World Fair, 1939, Norman Bel Geddes "Futurama" project for General Motors, the conveyor overflying a very large model of the city of the future - an immersive experience with the technology of the time.

Bucharest needs an **urban policy** regarding a continuous involvement of the administration and community in reactivating this common good, in dynamic relation with the challenges ahead - economic, social, technological. This **urban policy** should consider a **dynamic network** of sites to be constantly restored, activated, adapted and promoted not only at local or national level, but in a landscape and regional context. This could also become an **educational tool** and **heritage conservation live studio** for Architecture students, a live-learning tool for heritage 'lovers', a rebranding of the profession of Architect.

New methods of deciphering Bucharest's heritage could follow still the words of Patrick Geddes in "Cities in Evolution. An Introduction to the town planning movement and to the study of civics" published in 1915.

"*In short, then, to decipher the origins of cities in the past, and to unravel their life-processes in the present, are not only legitimate and attractive inquiries, but indispensable ones for every student of civics - whether he would visit and interpret world-cities, or sit quietly by his window at home. [...] these very webs are themselves anew caught up to serve as threads again, within new and vaster combinations. Yet within this labyrinthine civicomplex there are no mere spectators. Blind or seeing, inventive or unthinking, joyous or unwilling - each has still to weave in, ill or well, and for worse if not for better, the whole thread of his life.*"[21]

P. Geddes is known for his **three dimensional** ability to envision things and concepts, which in the opinion of many scholars makes him a very contemporary thinker. The 'Observation Tower' metaphor is composed out of two superposing layers: the physical city and the digital one. The researchers at MIT Senseable City Lab introduce through their 2016 book "The City of Tomorrow: Sensors, Networks, Hackers, and the Future of Urban Life" a neologism: 'future-crafting', that is, designing interventions and experimental projects that explore what city life could be like this year or next if we made some adjustments"[22]. As in the beginning of the Industrial Revolution we find ourselves again challenged to adapt to **disruptive technologies**, that we could use as tools to generate more awareness, gather more data, archive an inventory of restoration proposals and promote urban heritage among its citizens and visitors. In such a manner, the urban heritage sites could be even 'digitally promoted' as '**assets**' with potential in the organism of the city.

Bucharest is a 'living laboratory' of **urban heritage** where augmented and immersive experiences of the city can be new forms of research and knowledge in architecture, urban planning, cinematography and virtual reality.

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[21] Geddes, P., (1915), *The Evolution of cities - Cities in evolution*, in *Cities in evolution: an introduction to the town planning movement and to the study of civics,* pp.4-5"
[22] https://www.newyorker.com/tech/annals-of-technology/augmented-urban-reality, http://news.mit.edu/2016/book-cities-tomorrow-urban-design-0705

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Resources

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The Establishment of an Enduring City from the Perspective of "Sakuteiki"

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Abstract

From the Asuka to Heian Period, the location of Japan's capital city has changed several times throughout history. In this study, we provide an overview of these transitions and reveal how the planning of these cities referred to ancient Chinese concepts. Heian-kyo, meaning "tranquility and peace capital," was a city established using concepts found in the Chinese Zodiac and also the "Sakuteiki," which is the oldest Japanese theory on the creation of a garden. This paper first reviewed Mizuno's (2008) interpretation of direction and time concepts in ancient Chinese philosophy—especially "Ki-mon," the entrance of the *Oni* (i.e., demons). This paper assumes that God's furious side and people's unhappy thoughts produce *Oni*. As an installation of a shrine, which worshiped the God and a temple which studied human nature sincerely were established before Heian-kyo construction in the northeast direction. An analysis of *Sakuteiki*'s and the Bible's descriptions indicates that the Existence of *Oni* was not always considered evil; the *Oni* was considered an indicator of God's emotion. It was thought that, if its warnings were noticed, it would lead to happiness. We explain how the city planners carefully selected construction locations to avoid activating negative *Oni* energy.

Keywords: Heian Period, Yin-Yang, city, garden, location, Heian-kyo, Sakuteiki

Introduction

Tokyo is now Japan's *de facto* capital. The Japanese capital city has long been thought to be determined by where the Emperor lives. Prior to 1868, the Emperor dwelled in the Kyoto District of Japan, upholding a tradition established 1084 years ago. During this Imperial reign from the Kyoto District, two cities were built: Nagaoka-kyo, the Imperial Court from 784 to 794, and Heian-kyo, whose dominance spanned multiple generations, from 794 to 1869.

In March 1868, Emperor Meiji declared the Charter Oath from Kyoto Imperial Palace, which enacted Japan's transition toward a modern democratic country. Following this proclamation, the Emperor relocated to Tokyo in October of that same year (The Meiji Shrine, 2008). This historic event marked the first departure of the emperor from the old capital in 1074 years. In this respect, Heian-kyo endured as the Imperial seat for the longest period of time in Japanese history. As such, we will focus on this city and its legacy.

We will examine the founding of Heian-kyo and its endurance by using a theory recorded in *Sakuteiki*, the oldest Japanese book on creating gardens.

First, we will illustrate the background of both Heian-kyo and *Sakuteiki*. Next, we will extract a theory provided in *Sakuteiki* to examine if it efficiently explains elements of the city's construction. Theories introduced in *Sakuteiki* contain best practices and prohibitions. These have often been dismissed as irrational superstition. However, after meticulous investigation of ancient Chinese traditional methods, Mizuno (2014) suggests these practices do, in fact, have a rational basis. She backs this claim with her findings, which describe how spatial direction in *Sakuteiki* also corresponds to the temporal understandings prevalent in ancient China—ideas that were later transmitted to Japan.

Mizuno suggests that this interpretation opens up the gardening theory for use as a basis for the planning of broader areas. From this, she hypothesizes that the gardening theory may have influenced the shape of the northeast Tsukiji Fence of the Imperial Palace and the placement of Enryaku Temple (Mizuno, 2016). This paper uses Mizuno's interpretation to illustrate how the theory of Sakuteiki was applied to city formation and provides an introduction to her ideas for an English-speaking audience. Available data and folklore will also be collated, and the final result will be presented in a map form to further substantiate her theories.

Through this exploration of Mizuno's theories, we hope to demonstrate the effectiveness of Heian-kyo's construction by taking into account the canceling of negative elements, especially those of spirits known as Oni, entering into the city. We will also show how Sakuteiki's prohibition on setting stones can be compared with western Biblical passages to demonstrate a more universal basis for these ideas. In so doing, we will fill the gap between the general legend and the explanation Sakuteiki provides and come to a better geographic and cross-cultural understanding of this cancelling method.

Background

Brief history before Heian-kyo. The first Japanese major capital city was built in Fujiwara-kyo, now known as Asuka district. Since then, the capital city has been relocated four times (Kawajiri, 2011). Figure 1 shows these historical locations over the centuries prior to Heian-kyo's foundation.

In Figure 1, cities used for longer than a year are connected with an arrow line. Some were used for very brief periods during tumultuous times when family dynasties quarreled over the location. However, once formed in the 8th century, Heian-kyo seems to have become rooted for posterity.
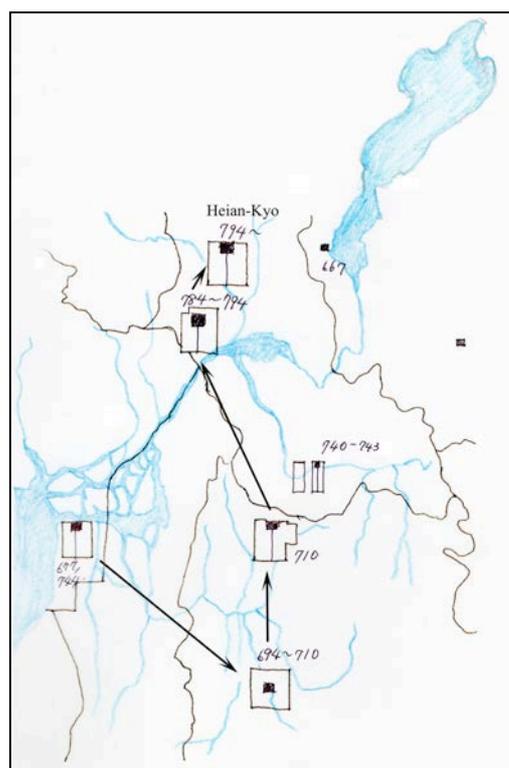

Figure 1: The capital city transition before Heian-kyo.

Reproduction from a series of Japanese ancient history books (Kawajiri, 2011).
The location of the Imperial palace and the administrative body is indicated with a black square. The numbers indicate the year.

Description of *Sakuteiki*. *Sakuteiki*, or "Records of Garden Making," describes the methods for making artificial scenery in dwelling spaces. The text illustrates the appropriate way to place stones, make mountains, create ponds, islands, waterfalls, and streams, and to plant trees. The first scroll mainly explains proper practice, while the second scroll describes prohibitions.

Sakuteiki was originally written in the early 12th century (Hida, 2014). Composed roughly 300 years after Heian-kyo was built, the book itself could not have been the source of the city's planning. However, formal gardening practices in Japan date back

to the early 7th century (Ono, 2009). *Sakuteiki* preserved these ancient techniques as a collection of two scrolls.

Originally written as a guidebook to the contemporary aristocrats' ideal dwelling space, the recording of these teachings was completed during a time of political upheaval. The early 12th century marked the end of the dominance of the aristocrat class and the rise of samurai in the Kanto District. Given the political climate, the word *kuden*, or secret teachings, appears throughout the text, hinting at the motivation to preserve these oral teachings as the centers of power shifted. Because of this secrecy, we believe that, while *Sakuteiki* was created long after the completion of Heian-kyo (794-1192), it contains practices from an older era that were in regular use by the aristocracy prior to and after the city's founding.

Extracted Principals. In the age of *Sakuteiki*, placing stones not only referred to the literal human activity but the construction of gardens. Every prohibition in *Sakuteiki* about placing stones has been enumerated by Okajima (Okajima, 2017). Adhering to these prohibition guidelines provides an effective method for people to cancel out negative influences. (For our purposes, we have extracted passages where the Bible relates a similar scene, as detailed in later sections of this study.) The English translation of *Sakuteiki* by Takei and Keane was used in this exercise (Takei & Keane, 2008).

PART	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION	LINE NUMBER OF *Sakuteiki* TANAKA (1990)
Overall description	"Regarding the placement of stones, there are many taboos. If so much as one of these taboos is violated, the master of the household will fall ill and eventually die, and his land will fall into desolation and become the abode of devils."	503-506
1	"The taboos are as follows: Using a stone that once stood upright in a reclining manner or using a reclining stone as a standing stone. If this is done, that stone will definitely become a phantom stone and be cursed."	507-510
2	"A stone that is 1.2 to 1.5 meters tall should not be placed in the northeasterly direction. This will become a phantom stone. Since it would become a landmark to aid the entry of evil spirits, people will not be able to live there for long. However, if a Buddhist Trinity is placed in the southwest, there will be no curse; neither will devils be able to enter."	514-518
3	"Also, do not set a stone that is more than 1.5 meters tall in the northeast, as this will allow devils to enter from the devil's gate. (complement of Part 2)"	570-573

Table 1: Extracted prohibition statements from *Sakuteiki*.

From two of the descriptions (Part 2 and Part 3), we notice that there are mentions of "devil" and that, if a stone taller than 1.5 meters is set in a northeasterly direction, it becomes a "devil's" gate. The original Japanese word for "devil" here is 魔縁 *ma-en* in Part 2 and 鬼 *oni* in Part 3, but both seem to refer to a similar concept. We cannot understand this way of thinking about "devil" through contemporary definitions. In Japanese, there is no equivalent for "devil," so we must find an appropriate English translation.

According to the English dictionary, "devil" means "the most powerful evil spirit in Christianity; SATAN" (Longman, 1995). In the Bible, there is the well-known story of Job, a person on the brink of death because of Satan's influence (Job 1:6 New Jerusalem Bible). However, especially in the Old Testament, people were often slain by the Lord as well. We must then confront the two faces of the Lord: a merciful side and a furious side.

In ancient Japan, if a person died holding a severe grudge, their soul could cause evil phenomena in this world. Such a phenomenon seemed to correlate with the *Oni*'s arrival. *Oni* then contains both the furious side of the Lord's character and the cause for negative feelings produced in human beings suffering from misfortune. Since "devil" does not seem to include both of these internal and external aspects of evil, hereafter, even if the proper English translation describes *Oni* as "devil," we will use the original word, *Oni.*[1]

Another interpretation important to the ideas presented here is Mizuno's explanation of the Part 2 and Part 3 *Sakuteiki* descriptions (Mizuno, 2014). She points out that ancient Chinese beliefs were applied to these prohibitions, and a brief explanation of her claim is necessary. In *Sakuteiki,* the North, South, East, and West directions are depicted by animals matching those of the ancient Chinese Zodiac. For example, in Part 2, northeast is originally written as the 丑寅 *ox-tiger* direction.

This paragraph is summarized from information available online[2] as follows. Directions, as indicated by animal names from the 十二生肖 or the Chinese zodiac, had been in use since the Qin Dynasty (B.C.E. 778-206). Before the animal names were provided, there were twelve elements called 十二支 or Earthly Branches, which were said to be of very ancient origin in China. There were also ten elements called 天干,十干 or Heavenly Stems from the Shang Dynasty (B.C.E. 1600-1046). An image of the ancient Chinese Zodiac is shown in Figure 2.

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[1] There are more phenomena that the ancient Japanese connected with an *Oni*'s existence (Baba, 1988). Here, we provide a simplification.
[2] Retrieved from:
https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%94%9F%E8%82%96
https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%8D%81%E4%BA%8C%E6%94%AF
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earthly_Branches

Figure 2: The twelve signs of the Chinese Zodiac: Carving from the Kushida Shrine in Japan. Image by J. Halun (2010). Reprinted from Wikipedia. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chinese_Zodiac_carvings_on_ceiling_of_K ushida_Shrine,_Fukuoka.jpg. Image modified and used under Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International, 3.0 Unported, 2.5 Generic, 2.0 Generic, and 1.0 Generic license.
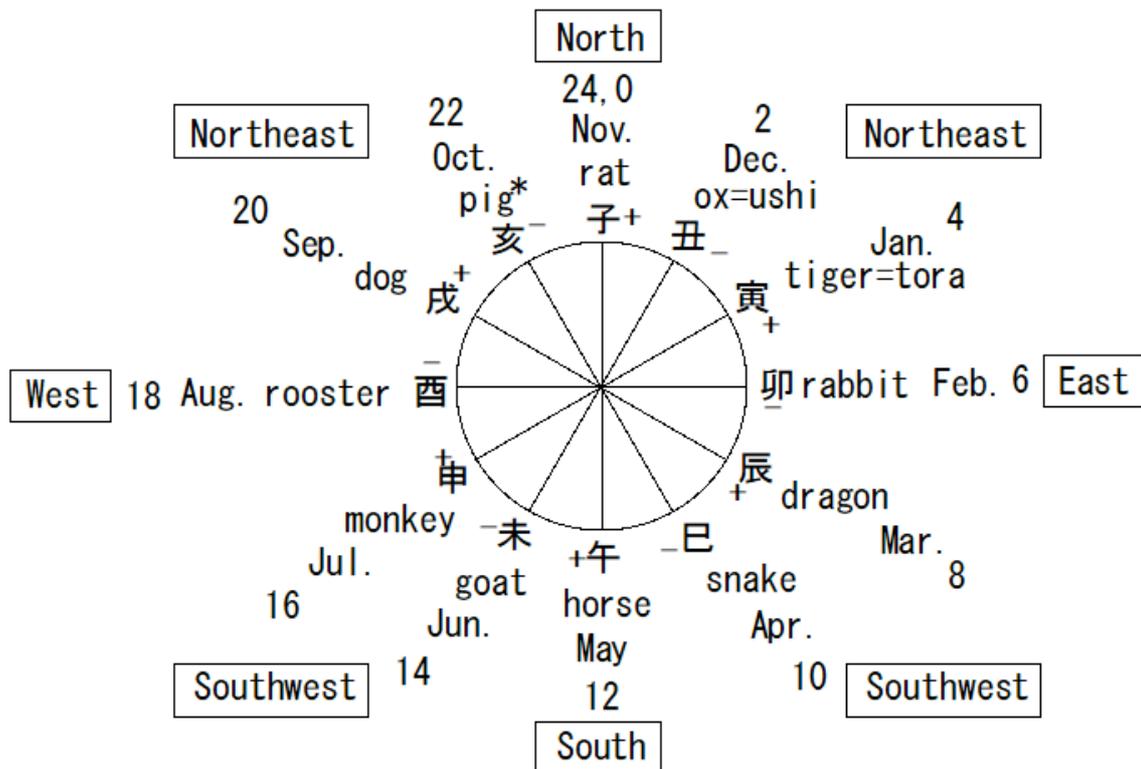
Figure 3: Graphic interpretation of the Ancient Chinese Zodiac System. Image created by author based on image by Yoshino [1983].

In Figure 3, we offer a graphic representation of the same Chinese Zodiac based on the work of both Mizuno (2014, 2016) and Yoshino (1983). We have added several suggested meanings, and this information is described from the inside to the outside. Innermost is the Earthly Branch and the corresponding Ying and Yang aspect (negative or positive). Next is the Zodiac animal, followed by the month and then the hour, with the cardinal directions listed on the outer rim. Using this representation, we can see that, when the prohibition in *Sakuteiki* Parts 2 and 3 describes the evil spirit and *Oni*, it also states that these *Oni* come from the *ox-tiger* direction, or the northeasterly direction.

An important relationship shown in Figure 3 is that of the ox-tiger direction and the relationship to December and January. The month between ox and tiger was also the time *oni* were believed to appear, and Saito explains that the Japanese have held a *dai-nanogi* ritual on the last day of the year since the Nara period (C.E. 710) (Saito, 2014). Saito further points out that, in this pivotal time of the year, yin and yang lose their natural balance (2014).

In the Chinese tradition, *ekiki* means "demon that spreads contagious diseases,"[3] and these demons also were believed to appear at the end of the year (Mizuno, 2014, pp. 164). To prevent *ekiki* from coming, they held a special ceremony called *nanogi*. Because of this relationship, Mizuno's interpretation also suggests that we have to consider both timing and spatial principals as they relate to the zodiac. In that respect, even if people do not set a tall stone as a landmark in the northeast, it is still possible that *Oni* can enter the site from that direction.

However, Part 2 also states that, even if a tall stone set in the northeast becomes a sign for *Oni* to enter, if Buddhist trinity stones are set in the southwest direction, an *Oni* will not be able to come. This powerful and positive arrangement suggests the existence of a line, as shown below in Figure 4.
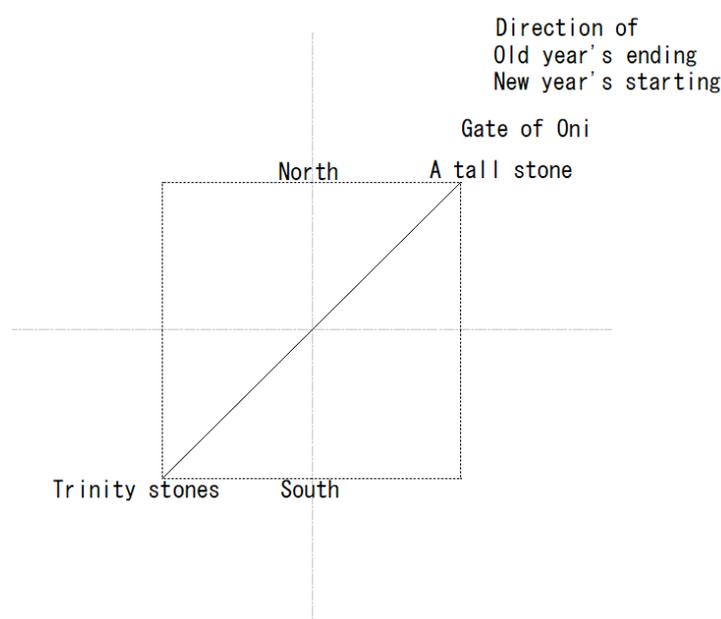

Figure 4: A line connects northeast and southwest.

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[3] This definition is quoted from the weblio website of the Japanese-English dictionary. Retrieved from " https://translate.weblio.jp/"

Traditionally, the Japanese referred to the northeast direction as *ki-mon*, *Oni*'s gate, or *Oni*'s front gate, while this southwest direction is referred to as *ura-kimon*, *Oni*'s back gate.[4] *Sakuteiki* verifies this *Oni*'s entrance and prescribes the way to avoid it while also situating an imaginary and invisible line, which connects northeast to southwest. It seems likely this venerable belief would be considered with respect to a city, even if the scales are different than that of making a garden.

Examination

We examined the concept of stone placement extracted from *Sakuteiki* above. From here, we will show how the city of Heian-kyo was designed to avoid violating the established prohibition by examining how countermeasures were enacted around Heian-kyo to hedge out *Oni*. To find evidence of these countermeasures, Kojiki (The Records of Ancient Matters, C.E. 713) and information about local shrines and temples, including their locations, were examined.

Kojiki, a collection of ancient traditional texts from Japan, describes the genealogy of the descendants of Opo-Tosi-No-Kami. About these descendants, it says: "Next [is] Opo-Yama-Gupi-No-Kami, [who is] also named Yama-Suwe-No-Opo-Nusi-Kami.[5] This deity dwells on Mount Piye in the land of Tika-Tu-Apumi…" (Philippi, 1969).

Kami here refers to a deity. This sentence explains how the deity named Opo-Yama-Gupi-No-Kami appeared on Mount Piye, which is depicted on the map in Figure 5. This map corresponds with the same area shown in Figure 1.

In Figure 5, mountain ranges are a flax color. The yellow rectangle is Heian-kyo. Mount Piye, now called Mount Hiei, is underlined and shown on the left side of Lake Biwa, the largest lake in Japan. To worship the deity of the mountain, Hiyoshi Taisha Shrine was established around 91 B.C.E. in the 7th year of Emperor Sujin and following the presumed descent of the deity (Hiyoshi Taisha Shrine web site). From its position in relation to Heian-kyo, we believe this shrine to be the old warding point of this direction[6]. This is because *Oni* is the other side of *Kami*. When people respect the *Kami* at the shrine, the *Oni* (the *Kami*'s anger) cannot appear, and it is therefore warded off.

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[4] In ancient Chinese, "論衡, Lunheng" by 王充 Wang Chong (27- 100 C.E.) first recorded the word "鬼門 *kimon*." Simple 鬼門 *kimon* is commonly called 表鬼門 front *kimon*. The opposite place is called 裏鬼門 back *kimon*. The origin of the words "front" and "back" were unknown. In the ancient Chinese, *Oni* was acknowledged, but the concept seemed to change in Japan.

[5] This is the *Kami* that rules over the mountain (Nakamura, 2000).

[6] Retrieved from "http://hiyoshitaisha.jp/about/".
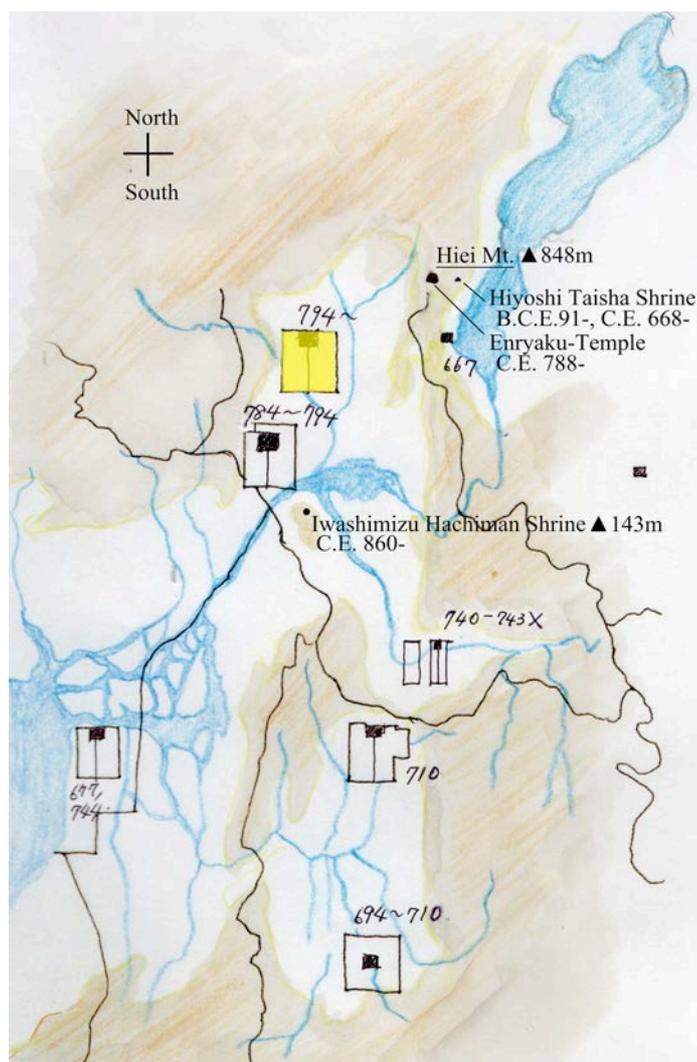
Figure 5: Heian-kyo and its guardian.
▲ : mountain height, beige color: mountain

To further support our theory, we note that, in 788, the patriarch Denkyo Daisi Saicho established the Buddhist temple of Enryaku. This placement corresponds with the second warding position of Heian-kyo. We believe this because, in the previous section, we mentioned that *Oni* have at least two aspects. These aspects include a God furious aspect and one produced by energy caused by the misfortunate sentiment of human beings. The former aspect is guarded by the shrine, and the latter is guarded by the temple for these reasons: In Shinto shrines, priests serve as intermediaries between man and *Kami* (Yamaguchi, 2014). In the Buddhist temple, monks study the nature of human beings and pray for the peace of southeast Heian-kyo city.[7]

The northeast direction of Heian-kyo was guarded from the incursion of *Oni* by *Kami*, who had descended onto the Hiei mountain along with the shrine and the temple. Interestingly, these elements had already been established before Heian-kyo's construction, and the city was founded after the countermeasures for an *Oni*'s

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[7] The trainee monks pray for the peace of the city on mount Hiei. This is a practice called "Gyoku tai sugi."

negative effect had been fully established. Following this, in 860 C.E., the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, which worshiped three deities, was established. After this, the analogy of Figure 4 seems to have been fulfilled. Our invisible line connecting the northeast and the southwest has been completed, and it also appears to be an invisible barrier, preventing influences coming from the previous cities located to the south.

Examination 2

We will now compare *Sakuteiki*'s prohibitions, shown previously in Table 1, with matching Biblical references to provide a more universal utility of these ideas, which have often been dismissed as local superstition or myth. By making such comparisons, we can also examine the practice critically from a different perspective. The results of this comparison are included in the following table.

PART	Sakuteiki - English Description	Matching reference from the New Jerusalem Bible
Overall Description	"Regarding the placement of stones, there are many taboos. If so much as one of these taboos is violated, the master of the household will fall ill and eventually die, and his land will fall into desolation and become the abode of devils. The taboos are as follows:"	"You will not bow down to their gods or worship them or observe their rites, but throw them down and smash their cultic stones." (Exodus 23:24)
1	"Using a stone that once stood upright in a reclining manner or using a reclining stone as a standing stone. If this is done, that stone will definitely become a phantom stone and be cursed."	"Taking one of the stones of that place, he made it his pillow and --- Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, 'Truly, Yahweh is in this place and I did not know!' He was afraid and said, 'How awe -inspiring this place is! This is nothing less than the abode of God, and this is the gate of heaven!' Early next morning, Jacob took the stone he had used for the pillow, and set it up as a pillar, pouring oil over the top of it." (Genesis 28:11-19)
2	"(A stone that is 1.2 to 1.5 meters tall should not be placed in the northeasterly direction. This will become a phantom stone. Since it would become a landmark to aid the entry of evil spirits, people will not be able to live there for long.) However, if a Buddhist	"'I am the God of your ancestors,' he said. 'The God of Abraham, the God of Issac, and the God of Jacob.'" (Exodus 3:6) "He who comes from heaven bears witness to the things he has seen and heard, but his testimony is not accepted by anybody; though anyone who does accept his testimony is attesting that God

	Trinity is placed in the southwest, there will be no curse; neither will devils be able to enter."	is true, since he whom God has sent speaks God's own words, for God gives him the Spirit without reserve. The Father loves the Son and has entrusted everything to his hands. Anyone who believes in the Son has eternal life, but anyone who refuses to believe in the Son will never see life." (John 3:31-36) "…but the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything and remind you of all I have said to you." (John 14:26)
3	"Also, do not set a stone that is more than 1.5 meters tall in the northeast as this will allow devils to enter from the devil's gate. (complement of Part 2)"	

Table 2. Sakuteiki and the Bible description.

In Table 2 Part 1, *Sakuteiki* explains that, if a stone, which was originally reclining, is set vertically or if a vertical stone is set in a horizontal position, it will become a phantom stone. In the Bible, Jacob slept on a stone, which he had used as a pillow. After having a mysterious dream, he then sets the stone upright. By setting the stone upright, Jacob blesses the location because he saw Yahweh there. However, Jacob broke *Sakuteiki*'s prohibition. After this event, Jacob was continually blessed by God. If the Biblical description is true, the phantom stone is not necessarily a bad thing.

In Japanese, "ox" is translated into "o-ushi" (male ox), and "tiger" is "tora." When Moses went up to Mount Sinai, he received the first commandment, but the Israelites created a molten calf. Therefore, God said, "I see that this is a stiff-necked people. Now, let Me be, that My anger may blaze forth against them and that I may destroy them, and make of you a great nation" (Tanakh, 1985). God was furious at that time. Moses assuaged God's anger (Exodus: 32). Then, Moses got the chance to go up to Mount Sinai again, and he received God's words (Exodus: 34). This is thought to be the Torah.[8] The Torah is thought to be the precious words of God. Thus, the Torah gave humanity a new history. It is divided between the previous ages and the later ages. In this way, the Torah plays a "mediating" role between God's peaceful and furious sides.

In Table 2 Part 3, *Sakuteiki* describes the effect of placing trinity stones in the southeast direction. Takei and Keane's translation shows "Buddhist trinity stones," but the direct translation from Japanese is "three precious stones." When Moses observed the burning bush, he heard the voice of God say, "I am the God of your

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[8] Information retrieved from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/judaism/texts/torah.shtml

ancestors. The God of Abraham, the God of Issac, and the God of Jacob." God here refers to himself by using the names of three important ancestors in biblical tradition.

Taking these two descriptions into account, the line connecting northeast and southwest in Figure 4 seems to be revealing God's presence.

Conclusion

Established in 794, Heian-kyo (also called Kyoto) stood as the Imperial City for 1074 years. Kyoto retains much of this unique history and attracts visitors from across the globe. This paper examines how the theory presented in *Sakuteiki* is reflected in the establishment of this city. From the oldest Japanese book on creating gardens, a theory can be extracted, which identifies the way to prevent *Oni* from entering into a specific site. These *Oni,* a complicated, dual-natured existence believed in by the ancient Japanese, could presumably be enticed by the placement of a stone or be prevented from appearing altogether through similar, but opposing, methods. While study suggests *Oni* entered a site from the northeast direction, the prescribed way to prevent its coming was with the placement of Buddhist trinity stones in the southwest. This juxtaposition creates an imaginary and invisible line connecting northeast and southwest. Taking Mizuno's (2008) explanation into account, this line showed a further link between not just spatial but also temporal placement between the months of December and January. This line also seems to be the barrier line to prevent the entry of negative influences from the south. This study reveals that this established practice took place in the Heian-kyo District as well in order to prevent *Oni* from entering. We found three corresponding elements in the northeast *Kami*—the shrine, the temple, and another shrine to three deities—which is located in the southeast. These connections have sometimes been pointed out in general folklore, but here, we verified when those elements were constructed. The northeast guarding elements had been realized before Heian-kyo was built, leading to the possibility that their presence influenced the placement of the city.

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Exploring the Bearing of Urban Geography on Physical Well-Being of Communities in Ibadan, Southwest Nigeria

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Abstract
Due to increasing human activities in cities, occurrences widely known as pollution, residential inadequacy, congestion and related challenges like slums, deplorable neighborhoods impinge directly or indirectly on people's quality of life and well-being. Nonetheless, the range of the influences of urban geography on citizen's health and well- being remains largely unexplored. This paper is aimed at reconnoitering the bearings of urban geography on city dweller's health and well-being. With the backdrop of UN forecast that 75% of the world's population will reside in cities by year 2050. Ibadan, a provincial capital and commercial hub was selected as a culturally rich conurbation in Southwest Nigeria with historical antecedents in its evolution as a metropolis with over 3 million aggregate inhabitants. The highlights of a qualitative and exploratory technique of evaluation on the old city centers of Beere, Oje and Mapo are elucidated. This morphological investigation showed that except for demographic and territorial expansion in the last sixty years, Ibadan remains a predominantly 'rural city' characterized by the kaleidoscopic rusty-brown tin roof unique to this urban landscape affected by British colonial heritage. Contrary to predictions, the historical-cultural inclination and antecedents of this municipal seem not give credence to the UN conception of cities as the major or viable settlements for urbanite's well-being in future. The study advocates that planning professionals and stakeholders should pay attention to people-oriented urban geographical concerns supported by architectural planning inventiveness with cultural inclinations in promoting the health and well-being of urban communities.

Keywords: impact, health, heritage, urban geography, well-being

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Introduction

The two central dimensions of well-being and the environment are people and places. To understand this relationship, it is important to understand how people engage sensorially with the environment and its impact on their well-being over time by Cooper et.al. (2013).Urban geography is the stand-in discipline of geography which focuses on the portions of the globe's surface that have a high concentration of several building typologies and infrastructures. This suggests that this is an area of study concerned with the products of other disciplines such as Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Building Construction, Urban Planning, Environmental Psychology and Human Ecology Human Ecology and their contributions to the urban milieu and its populations. Katcher & Beck, (1987); Axelrod & Suedfeld, (1995). (Maller et al., (2005); Groenewegen et al., (2006) However, there is paucity of knowledge and information in this area of study in the Nigerian context and Ibadan municipal in particular. Ibadan (Yoruba: Ìbàdàn) is the capital of Oyo State, Southwest Nigeria and the most populous city in the region with a population of over 3 million. It is the third most populous city in Nigeria, after Lagos and Kano, the country's largest city by geographical area. Based on literature in the study of Western cities, theories opined that the way in which communities are designed and built for living has significant impacts on physical, mental, social, environmental, and economic well-being of people. Dannenberg, Frumkin & Jackson(2011).

Background to the Study

Ibadan is about 120km east of the border with the Republic of Benin and the city elevation ranges from 15.0m in valley to 27.5m above the sea level at the central part of the city. The city has an approximate area of 1,190sqmi (3,080km2), a city naturally drained by four major River at the center with other three at the outskirt making a total of seven. The rivers that drain the central city are River Ona from the north, Ogunpa River flows through the city, Kudeti River in the Central, Ogbere River to the East. The Rivers that drain the outskirt are Egberi River to the Eastern part, Omi River also to the Eastern part and Omi River (Omi Adio) western part of the city.
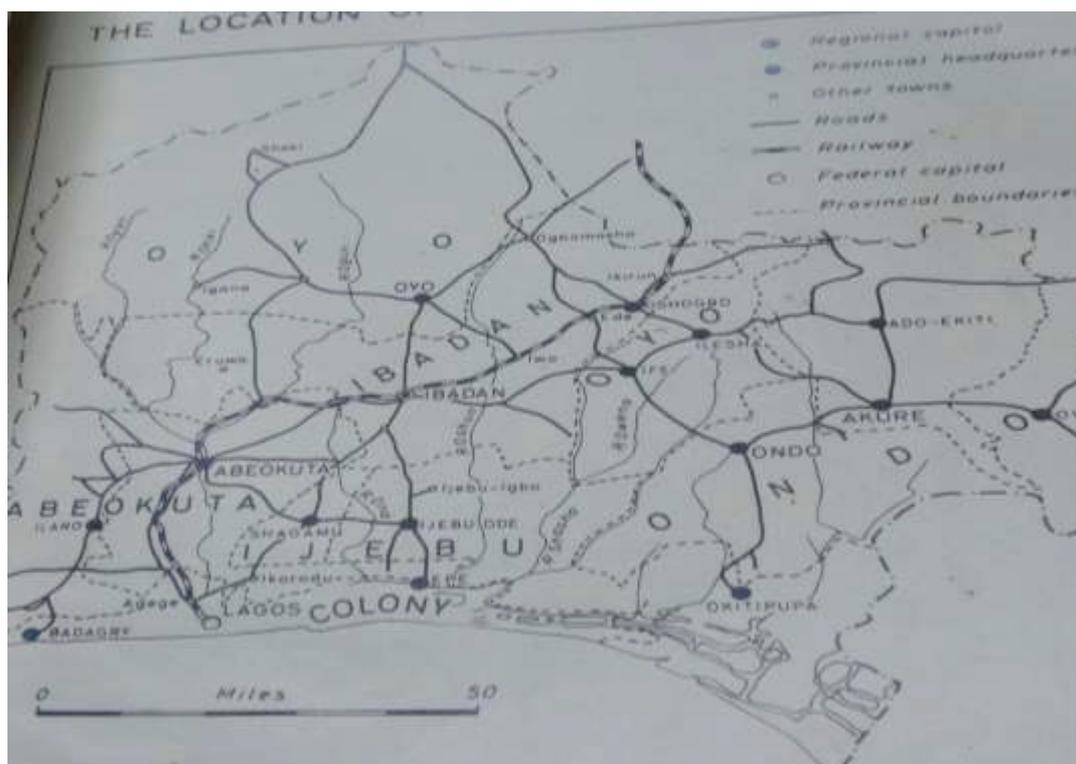

Fig.1.Location of Ibadan in Yorubaland: source Akinola (1963).
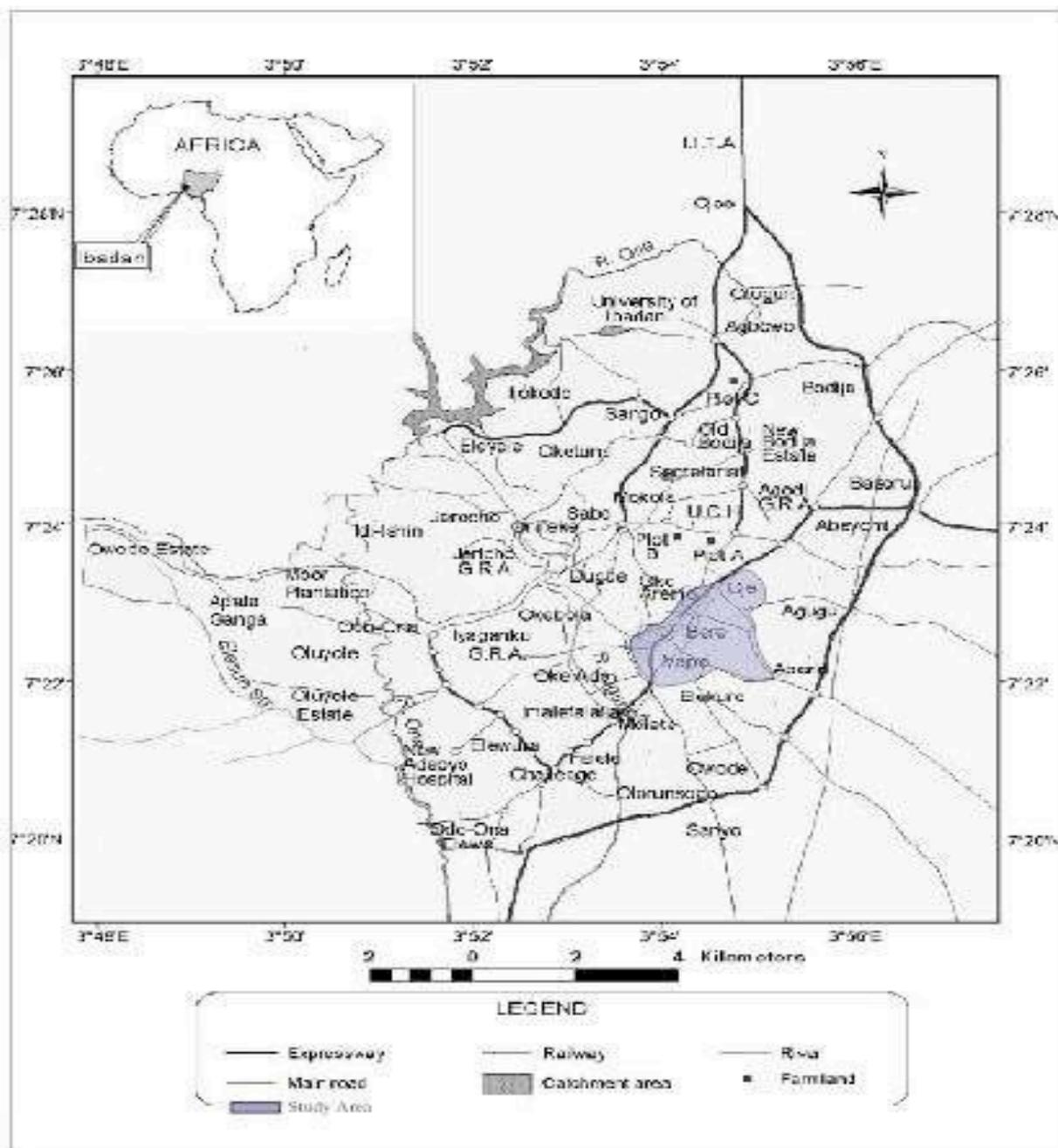
Fig. 2. Map of Ibadan showing the study area: source-Oyo State Ministry of Information (2017**)**

Historical Evolution of Ibadan City

The city was established in the 1820s following the collapse of old Oyo Empire and the influx of migrants. It served as a military base during the raids of Fulani warriors. It came under British protectorate in the year 1893 with the establishment of Ibadan Town Council in the year 1897. The aim of the town council was to allow indigenous chiefs to oversee the administration of the town. The council established consists of Baale, Otun Baale, Osi Baale, Balogun and eight to twelve other high chiefs.

There has been a tremendous expansion in the size of the city in the last five decades. Rapid and persistent growth resulted in speedy and sustained urbanization. This mishandled and unprecedented growth of the city is associated with problems that disrupted progress. Spence, Clarke Annez, & Buckley (2009). Khandaker (2016). With an expanding geographical area, population distribution, industrialization, business, and lately computerization, high technology and other urban components are factors that shaped the physical characteristics and determine the fundamental reorganization in operation concerning the growth of urban communities. Hawley (1969), Mabogunje (2002). According to Amos Hawley (1971), the impossibility of separating the city from the societal context in which it is rooted had a significant bearing on its growth or sprawl. The city development was a convoluted process which directly affected the development of the municipal as a whole.
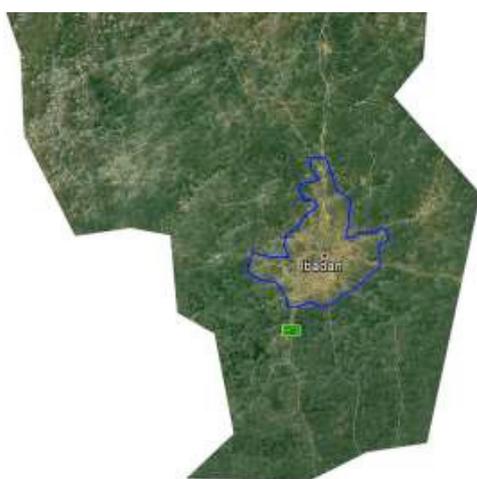
Spatial Growth of Ibadan, 1988

Spatial Growth of Ibadan, 1998

Spatial Growth of Ibadan, 2008

Spatial Growth of Ibadan, 2018

Fig.3.

Time series analysis of Ibadan spatial growth

Year	Population	% Increase Population	Land Area sq. km.	% Increase Land Area	Important Landmarks
1951	100,000		10.0		
1931	387,133	287.0	12.5	25.0	Railway Line, Gbagi Market
1963	625,000	82.9	30	140.0	Establishment of University College & its Teaching Hospital Ibadan becomes the Capital of Old Western Region Commissioning of the City Bypass (Ring Rd.)
1973	1,119,280	79.1	112	273.3	Effects of Ring Road Construction of the Expressway IITA Ibadan Polytechnic Sango Road
1981	1,783,962	59.4	136	218.2	New Airport, Breweries, Ajoda New Town, Oluyole Estate, New Gbagi Market, Agbowo Shopping Complex, Adamasingba Recreation Centres, Leyland Motors
1984	2,033,200	14.0	176	29.4	
1988	2,158,688	6.2	214	21.6	

Table 1: Spatial Growth of Ibadan at Different Time Periods, 1931-1988. Source: Onibokun, 1988a.

The last known population of Ibadan according to the Oyo State Government Administrative unit is approximately 3,160, 200 in 2015. This is representing 1.734% of total Nigeria population assuming a population growth rate would be same as in period 2006-2015, (+4.14% per annum. The population in 2018 is unofficially calculated to be approximately 3,569, 507. Until 1970, Ibadan was the largest city in sub-Saharan Africa.Lloyd, Mabogunje & Awe (1967).

The Physical Characteristics of Ibadan City

Ibadan is a city categorized into two major forms based on the physical characteristics. The first is the core area which is the traditional area like. Mapo, Beere, Oje amongst others as a sub-urban largely inhabited by the migrants. Ibadan city, specifically the core area (traditional city) is synonymous with the brown tin roof especially when viewed from Mapo hill. The traditional compound system of housing has disintegrated over time, this reflected changes in socio-economic and cultural disintegration of the city. The traditional city-center consists of oldest, lowest quality and high-density residential buildings made with construction materials such as mud, timber rafters covered initially with thatched roof which was later replaced with

the modern zinc-tin roof commonly used during the independence. These old neighborhoods lack basic amenities and sanitary facilities beneficial to good health and well-being. Other major challenges include poor basic infrastructure such as good accessibility to houses, portable water, and poor waste collection infrastructure. Abdu M.S (1997). Due to the Yorubaic world belief systems rooted in cultural philosophy and earth worship mythologies of *"Ibadan omo a joro sun",* investigations showed that many residential building and neighborhood structure in the Beere and Oje city centers remained untouched for cultural and traditional reasons for the past six decades despite the technological innovations for a global smart city agenda. The buildings and lands were sacred to the indigenous families that own them, therefore urban renewal resourcefulness supported by municipal administration became difficult to achieve in the land use of the area. Hence these physical characteristics remained largely unchanged for past sixty years. Poor residential conditions and a high concentration of dilapidated houses ascending from the high cost of maintenance of Brazilian style houses (residences with one or two floors and a verandah). Lloyd et.al. 1967).

Plate 1: Typical Ibadan narrow streets with no sidewalk, showing mud houses with brown tin roofs: source- Oyo State Ministry of Information 2017.

Pate 2: deteriorating inner cities.-Bere and Oje. Source- Fourchard(2003).

The study confirms that the city still has the following characteristics. It is the highest density area of the city because it has a high percentage of the population by households. It has a very high percentage of land devoted to residential land use, as high as 90% in some wards. The presence of many old markets. Due to place-making attachments, indigenous beliefs does not agree with the notion by past reseaserch studies that categorized a large part of the inner city is an urban commercial purlieu. Kumuyi, (1987). There is a complete lack of urban management and urban planning; no waste disposal, no gutters and inadequate number of roads. There is a general lack of basic facilities like water and electricity supply. Access to health centers is also limited. In 1983, "not a single hospital was located in the traditional core areas of Ibadan. With majority located in the peri-urban areas. (Iyun 1983: 601-616) It has a very high percentage of indigenous populations, the presence of non-Yorubas in this part of the city is uncommon. There is a strong cultural identity, characterized notably by a strong attachment to the ancestral land ownership of the grandfathers, forefathers of the city. Khandaker (2016)

Findings on the Genius Loci of Ibadan as a Typical Yoruba 'City'

The pervading spirit of Ibadan as a place rich in Yoruba culture, its historic location and significance is relevant to its growth as a city. Onibokun(1988). The guardianship deity of the Ibadan people as enshrined in the Oke-Ibadan Earth worship and "hometown" belief seems to be responsible for its processes of urbanization. The Yoruba village or town growth is essentially a product of the belief system of the Oba's Palace as the center of 'power' around which development and expansion revolves. Mabogunje, (1962); Akinola, (1963).

The definition that town people are primarily engaged in non-agricultural activities and that their economy is different from that of the rural population has no relevance in Yorubaland. See Fig.4. The oldest and largest deteriorating neighborhoods are the core area of the city, which covers the entire pre-colonial town. A large part of the ancient walled city can be seen as a slum, even if the inhabitants do not agree that they live in a slum for historical reasons. (Mabogunje, 1968).
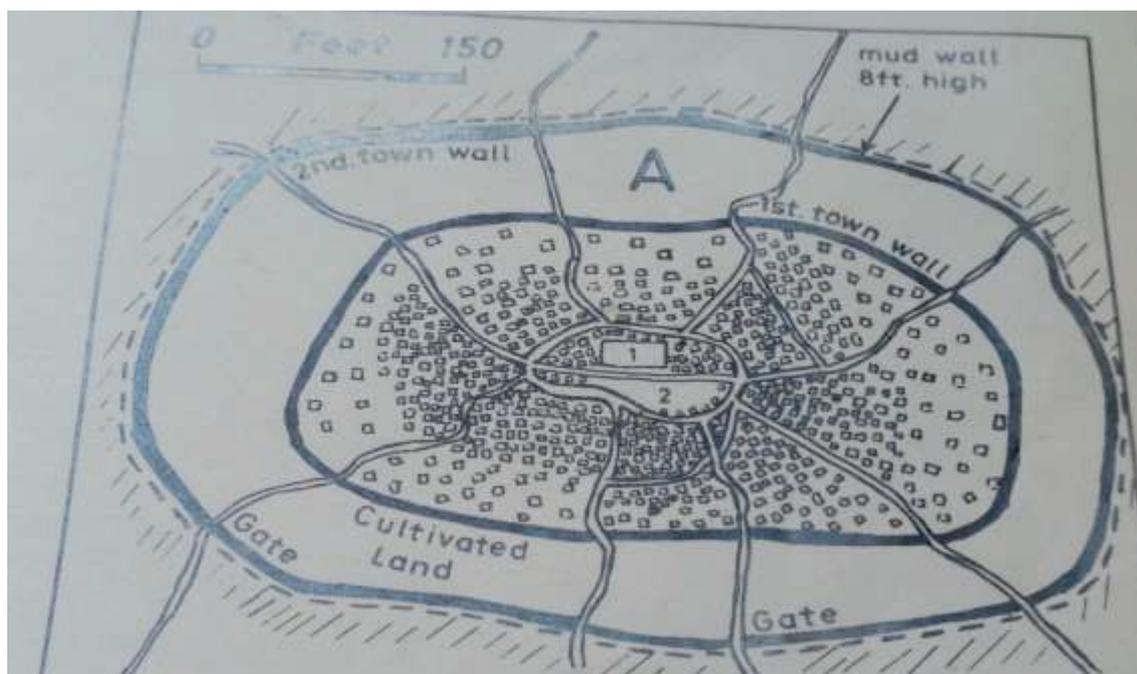
Fig. 4 A typical form of a Yoruba Town plan: source Akinola (1963)
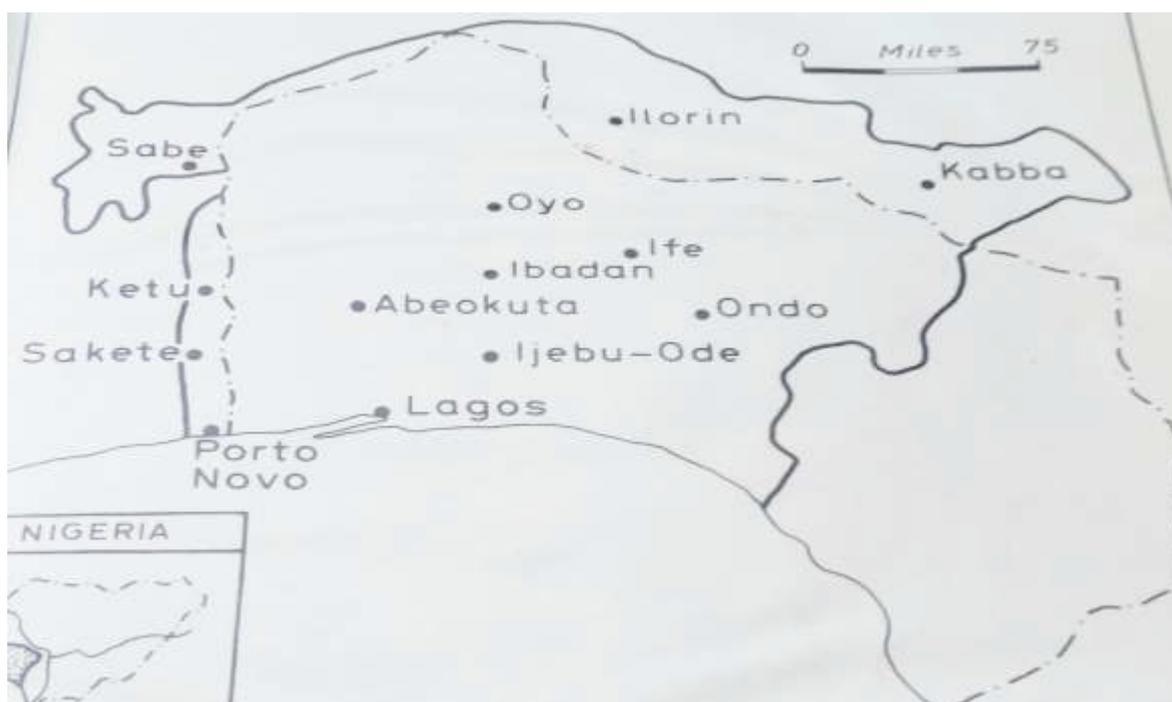
Fig.5: Unscaled map showing extent of the Yoruba speaking nation:
source Akinola (1963).

The clear-cut distinction between town dwellers and villagers, which for centuries has been so well developed in in Western Europe is not pronounced in Yorubaland. The population of Ibadan, a prominent city varies according to the seasons and to the interest of populations in surrounding peri-urban areas. The constant influx and outflow of populations between the towns and villages is still conspicuous and

consequently the distinctions and criteria of urban geography in Western countries cannot be directly applied to the study of Ibadan as atypical Yoruba city with its peculiar historical antecedents, social and economic backgrounds.

The chief occupation is farming and Ibadan core neighborhoods of Bere, Oje, and Mapo still have a traditionally rural character Mabogunje (1962). Mabogunje argued that despite the fact that the economic and functional specialization in most Yoruba towns is at a low level and largely pre-industrial in the 1960s, most of these settlements are towns in the real sense. He further states that towns and invariably cities are products of their time and culture and must be appreciated within that context. Akinola (1963); Mabogunje (2002), Jiboye (2010).

Open Spaces and Dweller's Well-being.

Recreational needs and the satisfaction derived are age long desires, the provision for leisure and recreation supports sustenance of quality of life and well-being. Consequently, Candilis (1967) argued that it is not possible to separate the problem of leisure from the concept of man's life. In Nigeria, although, there are various potentials for the development of the recreation industry, this sector has remained largely under-developed Ikporukpo (1993). The inadequacy of these recreational facilities in Ibadan was pertinently estimated by Obateru (1981) who posits that ideally, Ibadan should have at least 500 children playgrounds, but has none, 125 neighborhood playgrounds, but has only a small one: 125 neighborhood parks but none. 31 district parks but none: of the 10 city parks it should have, it possesses only two: the city has two stadia although one expects the city to have at least 10. This is not to say that forest reserves in Ibadan did not have recreation component. The pond at "Agbadagbudu" (Edward Price Park was acquired by the city council and developed in memory of Edward Price, the Resident, Officer who ensured that Ibadan had an Independent Native authority in 1934 while the capital returned to Ibadan from Oyo. The spring had been serving the core area of Ibadan especially Oke-Aremo, Odoye, Oke-Are, Beere and Mapo. The popular "Alalubosa Lake" which used to be flourishing recreation center during the Easter Holiday is no more. The site was acquired for redevelopment by the Federal Government but it is now sand filled as a result of deforestation and development of GRA plots. There is an "Ogunpa Lake" (called Dandaru by the Indigenes) at the upper course of Ogunpa River. The State Government (Ministry of Agriculture) had established Agodi Gardens near the lake for recreational activities during the public holidays.

Conclusions

The development of cities in the Western world has been guided by evolution of cultural and historical precedents over many centuries. There is cultural difference that separates the growth of cites in the Geo-political Southwest of Nigeria from the concepts of colonial cities. This difference is rooted in the earth worship culture prevalent in the communities. Consequent on this major differences, the study advocates that planning professionals and stakeholders should pay attention to people-oriented urban geographical concerns supported by architectural planning inventiveness with cultural inclinations in promoting the health and well-being of urban communities.

Urban Management framework that will integrate and provide for basic infrastructures such as people-centered open spaces, accessible civic centers, trading places and efficient sanitary structure in order to improve well-being of the vulnerable communities in these core of Ibadan City. The city center as constituted by Bere, Oje and Mapo can be preserved as a local heritage neighborhood in scale, material, building and landscape as a glimpse into the richness of its cultural history.

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