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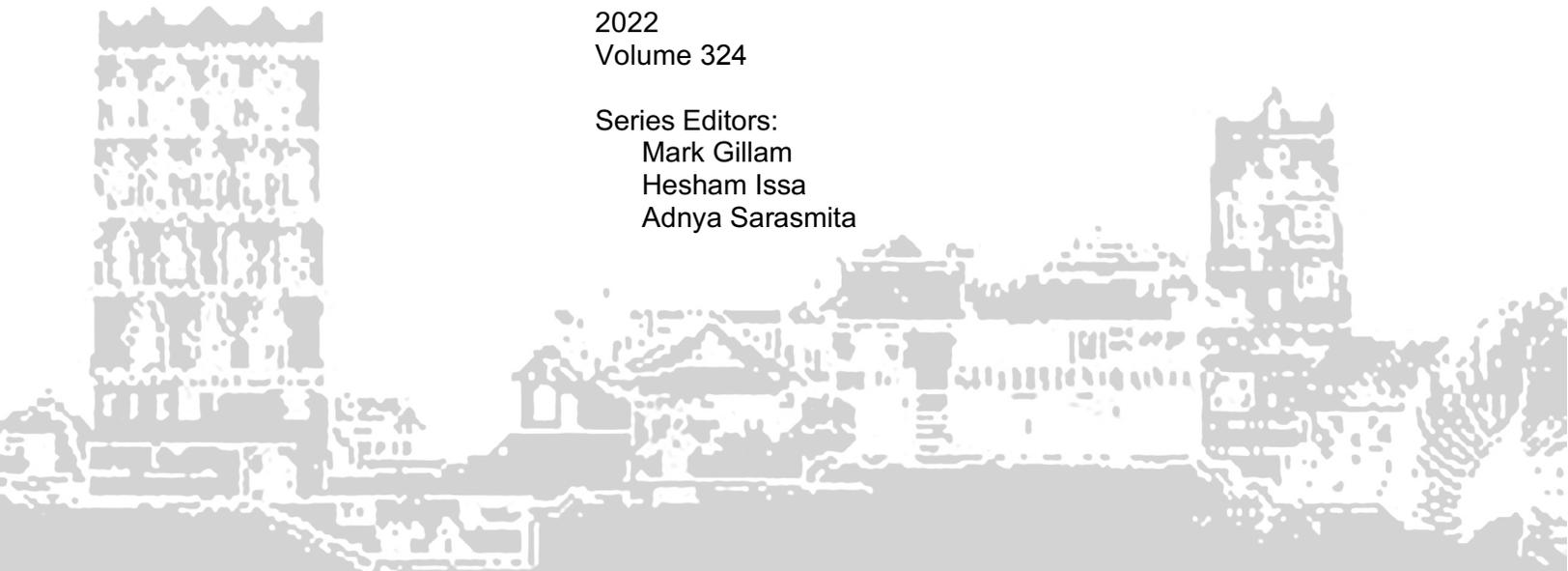
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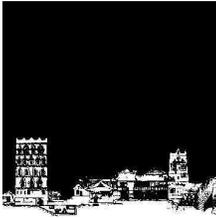
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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
Working Paper Series

**PALLADIAN ASPIRATIONS ON THE VIRGINIA
FRONTIER**

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PALLADIAN ASPIRATION ON THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER



Architecture is perhaps the most successful cultural tool for maintaining continuity over time, despite wars, pestilence, fire, famine, etc. Yet this continuity must be tended, intended, maintained, re-created and re-envisioned for it to endure. Such continuity is easily seen in a house typology we call, "The Palladian Frontier House," a particular house type found in the Chesapeake area of Virginia. It is commonplace to see houses with additions. These add-ons are usually built to respond to developing utilitarian needs of the inhabitants: a study, new bedrooms, or more recently, a garage. Over time, such additions, if not carefully done, obscure or distort the compositional order of the original home, becoming unwanted and unneeded encrustations. On the other hand, additions may be carefully designed so as to extend or enlarge the original order of the house. In this case an abstract model or ideal image is often driving these new developments. Such an ideal image provides a continuity of purpose through time, riding above the disasters and upheavals of the circumstantial world. This paper identifies an ideal derived from Andrea Palladio's work in 16th century Italy. We will follow its development through the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe, and then, as it arrives in 17th century America. The various parts of the house become additive elements of 18th century plantation manor houses as the colonies grew and prospered. Additions and extensions were employed to approach and extend the ideal. The paper will examine in detail a number of tidewater plantation homes with their individual stories reflecting their travels through to the present. They all took differing paths and yet have common visual elements. This "extended house" typology will be shown to have continuity over centuries, and over continents. Even now this house type reinforces an ideal of the good life and a set of values that extend backward to Socrates and Plato. It continues to be a most popular house into the 21st century.

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of Virginia is a confluence of disparate influences. A palimpsest of imagination, achievement and changing economic conditions, the unexpected twists and turns of fate have rendered the tale of the Tidewater Plantation homes more and more interesting. Virginia has a unique material environment combining forests and fields, meadows and wetlands with the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Coast. As in all settlement endeavors, unforeseen events have intervened.

The homes built by the Virginia colonists have their own stories to tell, often very different than the original conception of their first owners. Who built them and why? How did they develop and change? When did they flourish and when did they fall into disrepair? What happened along the broader 400-year American experiment which influenced their current aspects? How in turn have they left their mark on today's concepts of idealized home styles?

After the Gutenberg Bible was printed, all hell broke loose in Europe. This, combined with the discovery of the New World, led to a race to own and occupy the Americas by competing European dynasties. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of intense suffering by much of Europe's population. Religious revolutions caused economic revolts resulting in societal chaos. Those at the bottom of the economic spectrum were motivated to escape to new horizons and those with money looked for new ways to profit.

It was in this context that the Virginia Colony was begun in 1607 with the founding of Jamestown by the Virginia Company. Its English shareholders were motivated purely by profit. Land was given to notables often depending on how many “colonists” they brought to Virginia. The bigger the population, the more economic activity there would be and hence more profits for the shareholders.

These “colonists” came in many flavors. The most fortunate paid for their own passage and set themselves up upon their arrival. Others were indentured servants who were contractually bound to work for a landowner for a set number of years in exchange for their passage. History has forgotten the white slaves and the contributions they made. They were prisoners, the homeless and those who were literally pulled off the streets and impressed into service. Later the African slave trade added to the population, especially in Virginia. Without this “cheap working class,” the story of Virginia would have been a very different one.¹

2. “PALLADIAN FRONTIER HOUSE”

We have chosen seven typically Tidewater Virginia “Palladian Frontier” homes to discuss. We will attempt to tell their individual voyages through time. All have some characteristics in common, but often it is the subtle differences among them which make their stories interesting. They were constructed with the materials at hand: wood, homemade brick or stucco with plastered interiors. They were simple structures, for the most part, built without architectural assistance by craftsmen drafted into service.

These homes were inspired by the stylistic preference the British had for symmetrical Palladian² manor houses. The overall form of these houses were often derived from pattern books. One such book, well known in the colonies was, *Select Architecture*, by Robert Morris, published in 1757³. Plate three from this book is a good example of what we are calling, “The Palladian Frontier” home (Fig.1). Its salient characteristics are its long extended wings.

This Palladian derived image has often been cited as an inspiration for Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello³. We suspect it has been an inspiration, or at least, the background cultural awareness for many of the houses below.

These designs were then adapted to the Virginia climate and frontier environment. Because of the need for aeration in the humid summers they were usually only one room thick. This provided ventilation from at least two opposing sides. These homes were nearly always constructed over time and therefore have an additive nature, often growing longer with each successive generation until an archetypical, symmetrical Palladian plan had been achieved.

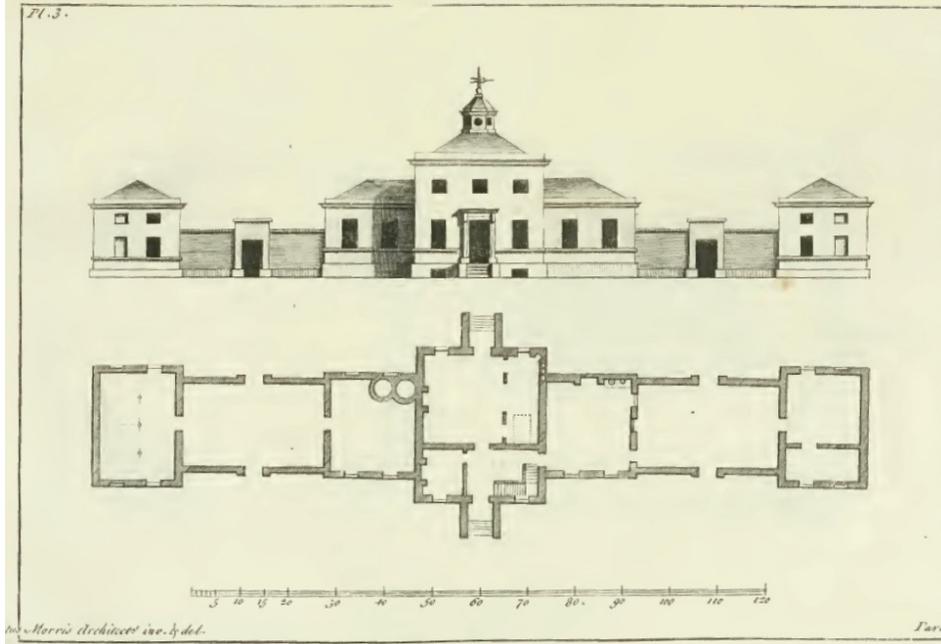


Figure 1. “Extended House,” from R. Morris, *Select Architecture*, Plate 3. (Source: Internet Archive, 2010).

3. SHERWOOD FOREST PLANTATION 1616^{4,5}

Beneath these centuries old trees walked Native Americans, colonists, Revolutionary and Civil War troops, and presidents of the United States. Va. Route 5, near the James River is the old Indian trail of Pocahontas’ father, Chief Powhatan. Hundreds of years old, it is one of the oldest roads in English speaking America, second to the Jamestown road.

- (From the Sherwood Forest Plantation Brochure)

The site was originally the site of an Indian village along the north bank of James River, eight miles above the English fort at Jamestown along the old Indian trail of Pocahontas’s father. Considered to be one of the “James River Plantations,” Sherwood Forest Plantation dates back to 1616 when it was part of Smith’s Hundred, named after Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the Virginia Company.

The center of the current house (A& C in Fig.3) was built in 1660 by William Byrd of Westover Plantation as a ‘Hall and Parlor’ house typical of the time. The kitchen (B in Fig.3) was a separate dependency removed from the house proper in case of fire. Called Walnut Grove until purchased by the Tylers, its acreage had once been combined with the Minge family’s Creek Plantation of 1600 acres.



Figure 2. Sherwood Forest. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherwood_Forest_Plantation).

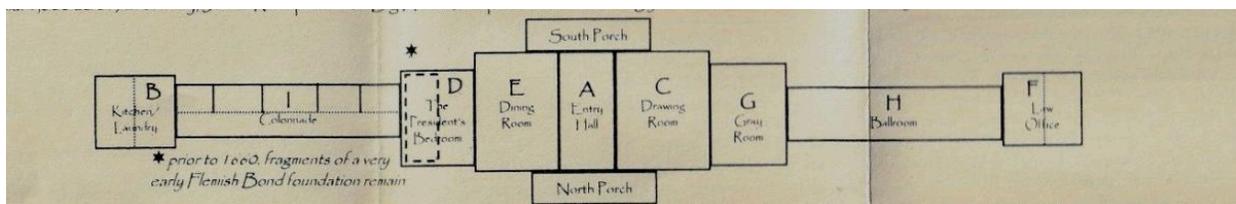


Figure 3. Sherwood Forest Plan, from Anon, *Sherwood Forest Plantation*. (Source: Charles City: Xperts, 2002).

The home was added onto in 1780 (D&E in Fig.3) then again in the early 19th century (F&G in Fig.3). It reached its full length after it was purchased by President John Tyler in 1841. He renamed it Sherwood Forest after Henry Clay teased him about being an outlaw to the Whig party, a kind of political Robin Hood. President Tyler's younger wife added the ballroom addition (H in Fig.3) to the right wing, joining it to the existing office (F in Fig.3). This long ballroom has an unusual vaulted ceiling. It was intended to better reflect the sounds of a musical ensemble - perfect for dancing the Virginia Reel.

This move to add the ballroom to the north, rather than to connect it to the kitchen to the south, is of some historical interest. There is a house type in the Chesapeake area so common that it has its own name: "the big house, little house, colonnade kitchen." As the name suggests, this is an asymmetrical pattern with a main block, subsidiary addition, then a long colonnade connecting finally to a kitchen. This pattern seems to derive from a kitchen initially placed at a distance from the main house for fire prevention, then connected at a later date. The resulting asymmetrical house is simply the result of pragmatic concerns.

By all accounts, at Sherwood Forest, the long colonnade (I in Fig.3.), was connected to the kitchen (B in Fig.3) on the south side of the house *after* the addition of the ballroom to the other side. Here, a sense of social necessity rather than practical sense drove the sequence of additions in opposition to the traditional pattern. The intent to make the house more than a simple shelter can be seen in the Greek Revival details of the front porch and columns.

This final addition made the house a truly grand symmetrical scheme (Fig.2). At 300 feet or the length of a football field, Sherwood Forest currently holds the record for being the longest frame house in America. Sherwood Forest is still home to the Tyler family.

4. WARNER HALL 1642 ⁶

Located on the banks of the Severn River in the midst of a forested peninsula, Warner Hall (Fig.4) was established in 1642 by George Washington's great grandfather. Augustine Warner I acquired 600 acres in Gloucester County along the Severn River. As the story goes, George Washington learned to dance in the Warner Hall ballroom. Augustine Warner's cash crop was tobacco. Although Augustine Warner had other land holdings in the county and was a shareholder in a cargo ship, he also served as Justice of the Peace and Burgess for Gloucester County. He served as well as the Colonel of the local militia. Famous descendants of Augustine Warner are George Washington, Meriwether Lewis, Robert E. Lee, and Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 4. Warner Hall. (Source: warnerhall.com).

Upon Augustine's death in 1674, his son, Augustine Warner II took over the plantation at Warner Hall as well as his father's position of militia Colonel. He became the Speaker of the House of Burgesses. Warner Hall was raided and occupied during Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, however, Warner was reimbursed for his losses by the colonial government. The Warner/Lewis family continued to live at Warner Hall until 1830.

From 1842 to 1898 the Colin Clarke family held Warner Hall. Clarke's descendants lived there or rented it out until 1898 when Warner Hall was sold at auction. During the Civil War Warner Hall was ransacked but did not suffer physical degradation. It was the discontinuity of the economy that really hurt the plantation. The last half of the 19th century was a difficult period economically for the South and for the Clarkes. Warner Hall had various tenants and short term owners, but never got back on its feet.

The 20th century brought a succession of temporary owners. The current central house was finished in 1905. The William Selleck family, who were distant relatives of the original Warner family, owned Warner Hall from 1910 until 1946 after which Warner Hall was frequently sold.

When the current owners, the Stavens, purchased the property in 1999 Warner Hall was badly in need of a complete renovation. They bought it and made it into a lovely country inn. Today the Inn at Warner Hall is a testimony to the Stavens' vision and dedication to Virginia history. With an eye for detail and exquisite taste, the Stavens beautifully restored Warner Hall to its former elegance providing a connection to American history currently enjoyed by their many clients.

The original buildings were built by 1650. The oldest building was the kitchen dependency, to the left as you face the home from the entry lane. It was built somewhere in the late 17th century. Although the original kitchen burned, the current kitchen is still in the same location in the left wing. The original brick house built by John Lewis II around 1730 was located where the current 1905 home is and featured an "M" shaped roof or melding together of two roof structures which shared an interior wall. It was a four-over-four-room two story house with an attic and central hall. The home featured four chimneys. There was a dependency to the right built at about the same time which was used as servants' quarters and the school. The 1730's house burned sometime around 1850. The front part of this house may have survived the fire, but there is no existing record to prove that. The kitchen dependency was joined to the house and a second story was added onto it.

The Cheney family built the existing central mansion in 1905 then sold it 5 years later. The kitchen on the left wing burned in 1949. When the Stavens bought Warner hall they completely rebuilt the school house dependency and joined it to the main house as part of the total renovation of the complex.

The house has a long history, but not much of the building is original anymore. Oddly, it is the fireplace in the school house that is the most authentic. What has remained is a commitment to the image of a house standing proudly, dominating the landscape overlooking the river. It is still grand. The classical detailing of the fireplaces and the elaborate ceiling trim give it an impressive grace. In the central hall, a great, sweeping stairway rises in the center, then splits in two directions from a central landing. Light cascades from the landing down the stairs, gleaming on polished wood. This greeting for the visitor is simply breathtaking, worthy of the long and continuous intention of having a grand house on the Severn.

5. CASTLEWOOD PLANTATION 1754 ⁷

Just outside of Chesterfield lies the Castlewood Plantation (Fig.5). The plantation land was originally a land grant given to Henry Winfree in 1754. The house was built by Parke Poindexter in 1817, the clerk of court of Chesterfield County, after he purchased 180 acres of the land.



Figure 5. Castlewood Front. (Source: Photo by author).

After Poindexter's death in 1847, the property passed into other hands. It was left unscathed by Union forces during the Civil War, serving as a parsonage for traveling Methodist ministers during the period. Bought and sold many times, Castlewood plantation was revitalized by members of the William Gilmer family in 1976, a great-great-great-great grandson of Poindexter himself.

The old Federal style house has had an interesting past. Used as a residence in the 19th and 20th centuries, it once housed a Savings and Loan. Until just recently Castlewood was home to the Historical Society of Chesterfield. It is now used for community events.

The original home comprised a two-story center piece with a large sitting room. The wing to the right in the photograph held the “ballroom.” The site slopes down to right, so the ballroom is several steps below the level of the entry hall. This allows the ballroom an unexpected height, making it a surprisingly graceful room (Fig.6). The six windows bathe the room in light while the delicate Greek-Revival detailing of the windows and fireplace gives the room a distinctly feminine feel.



Figure 6. Castlewood Ballroom. (Source: Photo by author).

The central second story has two bedrooms. A peculiar widow’s walk leads from the upstairs hall across the roof to the children’s nursery over the ballroom. The cellar held the kitchen.

Interestingly, the left side of the house was built at another nearby site and moved to Castlewood as an addition. This *recent* addition, however, is *older* than the ballroom on the other side, setting up a curious dynamic in terms of understanding the history of the house. A hyphen attaches it to the original home featuring a mid-20th century kitchen which the most recent residents added, replacing the traditional basement kitchen. The left end features a parlor room with a lower ceiling than the ballroom on the other side, and a stair to an upstairs bedroom. This parlor is a satisfying and intimate room.

It should be noted that both hyphens have barrel vaulted ceilings with simple crown moldings. The hyphen is usually thought of as just a pragmatic connector of one space to another. At Castlewood, the vaulted ceilings emphasize the hyphens as being spaces in their own right. This gives them each a distinct presence that adds to the complexity of the ensemble.

A brief examination of the front of Castlewood leads one to conclude that the two wings are identical. Closer inspection reveals that, although similar, the window spacing and size are not the same. The slight variations, rather than seeming to be mistakes, add a kind of bright vivacity to the façade. Inside, in the older left wing, the sitting room has a distinctly domestic scale, while the ballroom on the other side has an almost public grandeur. The differing aspects of the two wings have become Castlewood's most interesting and memorable feature.

6. TAZEWELL HALL 1762 ^{8,9}

Tazewell Hall has a very interesting history with more transformations than most plantation dwellings. John Randolph originally built Tazewell Hall in 1762 on 1200 acres adjoining Williamsburg and within walking distance to the College of William and Mary. One of the major landmark buildings of Williamsburg, Tazewell Hall was situated on high ground between ravines on the south end of England Street (Fig.7).

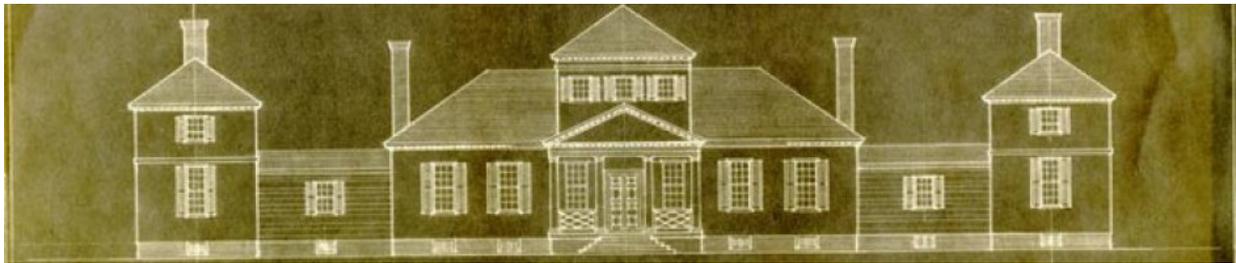


Figure 7. Tazewell Hall Original Elevation. (Source: skinnerfamilypapers.com).

The home was surrounded by formal landscaping. The plantation featured orchards, vineyards, fields of corn, wheat and oats as well as meadow lands and forests. During the American Revolution, John Randolph, a tory, relocated to England with his family never to return. The plantation was sold at auction in 1778 to John Tazewell.

Littleton Tazewell lived in Tazewell Hall for thirty years before his brother William sold the property to Dickie Galt in 1835. Galt renovated the symmetrical original home by removing one wing, raising the center piece further and repositioning the other wing to form an “L” shape (Fig. 8).

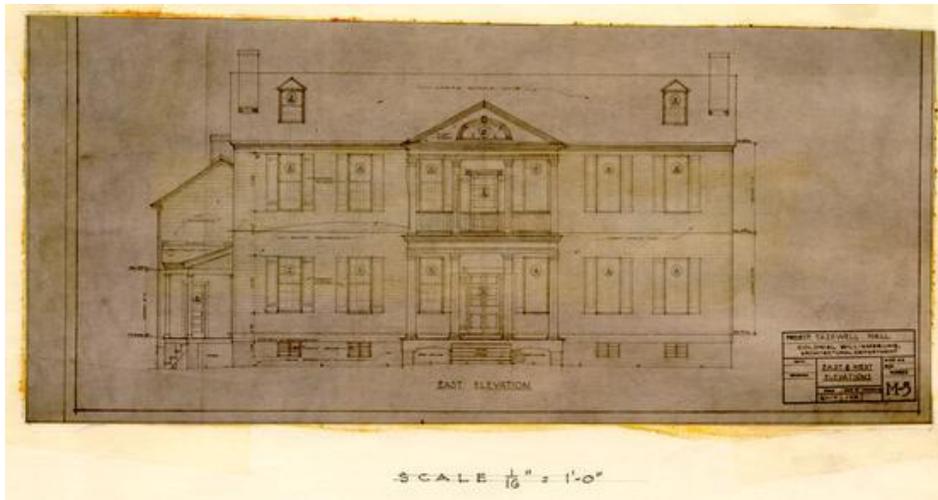


Figure 8. Galt Renovation. (Source: skinnerfamilypapers.com).

From 1837 to 1845 the Galts boarded students from the College of William and Mary at Tazewell Hall. After the College of William and Mary closed for a year, Dickie Galt sold Tazewell Hall in late 1847 to Rear Admiral Ralph Randolph Whormeley whose family and descendants occupied it for the next 50 years. Although federal troops were billeted in Williamsburg during the Civil War, Tazewell Hall wasn't damaged. By the early 20th century Tazewell Hall had fallen into disrepair.

Tazewell Hall was moved slightly from its original site in 1908 to make way for a road. In 1910 Peyton Randolph Nelson purchased the property. It was next purchased by the Rockefellers when they began restoring Colonial Williamsburg. Since Tazewell Hall had been moved from its original site, Colonial Williamsburg chose not to restore it, but granted Nelson the right to reside there until he died. In the 1950's Colonial Williamsburg sold Tazewell Hall to the McMurrans family who moved it to Newport News some 20 miles away from its origins.

Tazewell Hall now graces Riverside Drive in Newport News where the McMurrans restored it to its original design (Fig.9). The basic volumes and symmetry of this original design have been maintained, but the careful classical detailing evident in the early elevation drawing (Fig.7): elaborate column capitals, chinoiserie porch railings, have all been omitted.



Figure 9. Tazewell Hall Now. (Source: Photo by author).

7. EPPINGTON PLANTATION 1768 ¹⁰

We wind through an endless forest of Virginia pine on a narrow road. Although it is paved today, it is easy to imagine it as a dirt path through the woods 250 years ago. A 30 minute drive outside of Chesterfield on the Appomattox River, Eppington Plantation was the home of Francis Epps, Thomas Jefferson's brother-in-law. At its origin, Eppington would have had a clear view to the Appomattox River, which is now obscured by the woods which have grown back. The river side facade at that time would have been the grand entrance to the house. This river access facilitated both commercial exchanges and friendly house parties.

On his estate of 4000 acres and with the help of over 100 slaves, Mr. Epps grew tobacco as a cash crop supporting both his workers and family's needs. He also had a grist mill and milled grain for the surrounding area. An interesting point of note is that the fireplaces at Eppington were always fueled by coal. In this part of Virginia coal veins occur at the earth's surface. Not far from the lane leading to the house was a small coal mine which Epps exploited for his personal use and likely sold as a commodity already in the 18th century. Later a railway was built between the county road and the house to transport the coal to market. With all of the above business ventures, Eppington plantation has always been an economic success. The Epps family owned the estate for nearly 150 years.

Francis Epps shared an interest in horticulture with Thomas Jefferson. Both the front and back of the house would have featured terraced gardens. Probably because it was so difficult to get to, Eppington Plantation never burned nor was it damaged in either the Revolutionary or Civil wars. It was too out of the way to attract any military interest. Eppington Plantation functioned as a working farm until late in the 20th century.



Figure 10. Eppington Front Now. (Source: Photo by author).

Begun in 1768 and built with the natural materials found on the site, the home is in the Georgian style with a central three story piece flanked by symmetrical single story wings with central outside porches both front and back (Fig.10). Investigation of the walls has revealed that the internal structural members were shaped with an adze. There were no sawmills available at that time to provide readily sized lumber. The individual structural members had to be hewn and shaped out of rough logs (Fig.11). The space between the wooden members was filled with brick, then the exterior was sheathed in clapboard and the interior covered with plaster. The result was a very solid house that has stood for over 250 years. There were no side windows, only chimneys, on either end. This solidity makes these end walls into “shear walls,” resisting wind and movement.

The wings were added over a twenty year period as Epps developed his land. The three story center piece featured two rooms on the ground floor; a parlor and bedroom. The parlor has a surprisingly ornate, classically detailed assembly surrounding the fireplace (Fig12.). Tall, grooved, Tuscan pilasters rise to the ceiling, framing a “pulvinated” frieze in wood above the firebox. This is an outwardly bowed element that was developed by Roman architects as a variant form for the entablature of a temple front. This kind of detail

could have come from a “pattern book” of designs and details which were often consulted by carpenters, particularly for an elegant home.

On the second floor was a bedroom with the children’s nursery above on the third floor. As one faces the house, the left wing became a dining room. The right wing became a library and office which, however, could not be accessed from the main house, but had a separate entrance to the outside. The cellar housed a summer kitchen and laundry. As was usually the case, the main kitchen was a separate building behind the house.



Figure 11. Eppington Detail. (Source: Photo by author).



Figure 12. Eppington Fireplace. (Source: Photo by author).

The final addition to Eppington Plantation was the wing built on the river side of the home in the late 19th or early 20th century when the Hines family purchased the estate. The river side was no longer the arrival point of the estate, since the forest lane had become the front entrance. Access by the forest lane was much improved over what it had originally been in the 18th century. This final wing had a kitchen and bathroom downstairs with two bedrooms upstairs. The Hines family and their descendants, the Cherry family lived

there for nearly 100 years. They donated the home to the County of Chesterfield in 1989. Although much of the farm ground has been divided off and sold, a 400 acre tract of trees still supports the upkeep of the old house.

Currently the County of Chesterfield uses the home as a festival site for people to experience life on an 18th century plantation. They are restoring the home little by little. Standing alone against a backdrop of trees at the end of a long, open field, it still impresses with the simplicity and nobility of its volumes (Fig.10).

8. BATTERSEA PLANTATION 1786 ¹¹

On the outskirts of Petersburg is the Battersea Plantation (Fig. 13). The house at Battersea was built in 1768 by Colonel John Banister, of Revolutionary War fame. He was also a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, a delegate to the Continental Congress and signer of both the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the Articles of Confederation. He was a friend of both Washington and Jefferson. Battersea was a getaway house or a party house. Banister never really lived here. He had a tobacco plantation elsewhere.



Figure 13. Battersea Front. (Source: Photo by author).

Unlike most plantation homes, Battersea was built all at once. The home is unusual in that it is brick construction covered in stucco. Most plantation homes are either brick, brick covered in clapboard, or clapboard. In addition, the stucco was incised to look like stone. The idea seems to have been to make this

house appear more solid and grand than it really was. George Washington used a similar detail at Mount Vernon¹², where wood cladding was carved to look like stone.

The chinoiserie detail of the stair in the entry hall is unexpected (Fig.14). This particular pattern was often used on porches or balconies of buildings of this era but always outside. Thomas Jefferson used this pattern at The University of Virginia. This detail was also often deployed on outbuildings in English gardens.



Figure 14. Battersea Stair and Railing Detail. (Source: Photo by author).

In addition, studies of paint samples have revealed that the doors and woodwork were originally colored to look like marble (Fig. 15). Marble doors do not exist in any examples of ancient buildings, probably because the material is too heavy and too delicate. The faux marble doors at Battersea are an invention. The base trim of the right hand hyphen and bedroom are marbled as well, continuing the fantasy.

The fields of Battersea were used as pastures for the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. It was occupied by the British three times in 1781 during the invasion of Petersburg.



Figure 15. Battersea Marbled Door. (Source: Photo by author).

Battersea's second owner was Judge John Fitzhugh May, member of the Virginia Assembly and the Virginia Court of Appeals. May purchased the property in 1823 or 1824. He redid the windows and added the four porticos, one on each side. May sold Battersea to John and Catherine Waring in 1841. They lived there until 1847 when John Waring died. Battersea was then sold at public auction in 1847 to Peter and Marianne Boisseau. It fell into disrepair during the Civil War, and was sold to Franklin Wright in 1870 who restored it, adding gas lights, coal fireplaces and an upstairs bathroom. Curiously, there is an upstairs mystery room over the right wing of the house which is currently inaccessible. Its staircase was removed with the Wright renovation (Fig. 16).

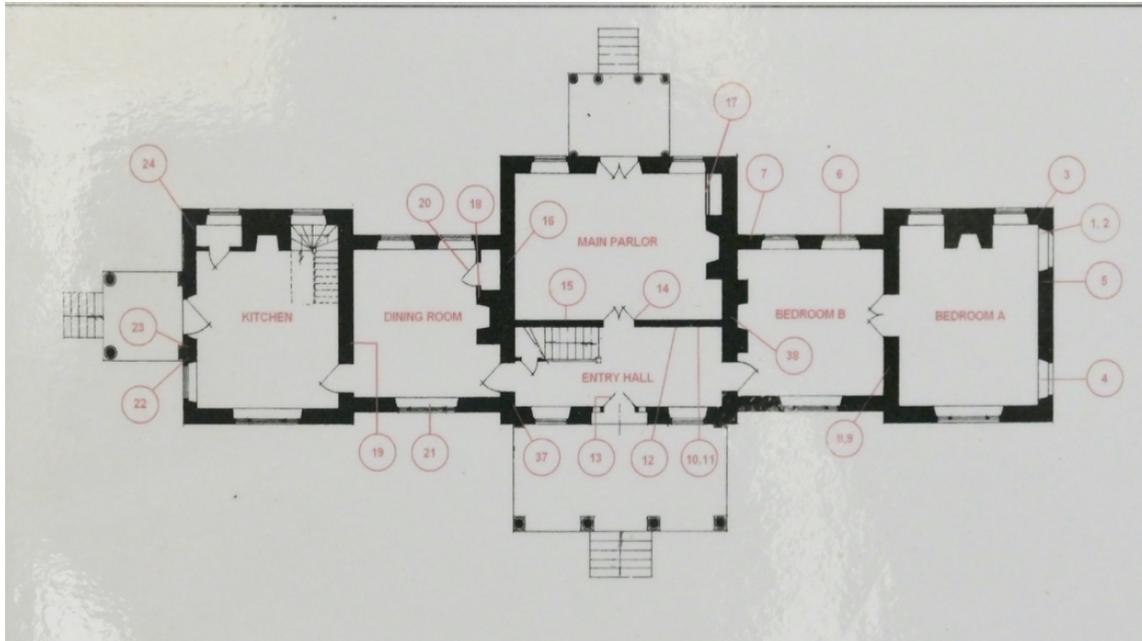


Figure 16. Battersea Plan - note stair in left wing but not in right. (Source: Photo by author of historic drawing on site).

In 1905 Battersea was acquired by the Trading Partnership of Perkinson and Finn. Dennie Perkinson lived there for over 40 years, becoming the sole owner in 1925. He added electricity and central heating. Upon his death in 1947 his son Russell inherited the house. When he died in 1975 his wife, Virginia, inherited the house. In 1980 she willed the house to John D Mclaughlin Jr. who then gave Battersea to the City of Petersburg in 1985. Empty for 40 plus years, the house currently is undergoing a major restoration. Even in its partially restored state, Battersea has a sober presence due to its simple symmetry. Colonel John Banister's desire for a great and impressive house amidst the wilds of early Virginia echoes down through two centuries to us today.

9. EAGLE POINT PLANTATION 1680 ¹³

Just east of Warner Hall also on the banks of the Severn River near Gloucester lies Eagle Point Plantation (Fig.17). The history of the buildings on the site is largely lost, although the land patent goes back to 1680. According to local records parts of the current house date to 1797. The framing of the house is reputed to be oak. This seems to be the case. Despite its surface level dilapidation, mostly due to high humidity, the house feels solid. It does not move at all as one walks through it. An access to Eagle Point through Warner Hall land was granted in 1892.



Figure 17. Eagle Point Front. (Source: Photo by author).

The known story begins in 1830 with the arrival of Randolph Bryan and his wife Elizabeth. They had ten children before her death in 1856. The youngest, Corbin Braxton Bryan wrote about his early life at the plantation.

Having been born on a sea island and having served in the navy, it was natural that Randolph Bryan sought a home on the salt water. In this respect, Eagle Point supplied all that could be desired. The plantation was so cut up by the water, so largely taken up with points and coves and creeks, that the waterline could not have been less than four miles. The bathing, fishing and sailing were of the best. Eagle Point under his and Mother's hands was made a home which had no superior in this state of homes, with appointments of the old, substantial sort and gardens with a wealth of flowers and fruits – apricots, pears, grapes, figs, and even pomegranate.

The Civil war was exciting...

The first year of the war brought a large number of our kin and friends from South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia. Our home was headquarters for Bryans, Severins, Proctors, etc. Eagle Point being only about six miles in an air line from Yorktown was an easy rendezvous for our friends engaged in the peninsular campaign.

The country lies so flat and open, and the water brings the sounds so distinctly, that all seemed close at hand. The bombardment whether from the federal gun boats and shipping or from the confederate forts jarred the house. When the big fight between the Monitor and the Merrimac (Saturday, March 8, 1862) in which the Cumberland was sunk, took place, the windows at Eagle Point rattled with the big guns. We had not yet learned what war was. To me it was fascinating to sit on the steps of the back porch looking across our sweet garden and the bright river towards the south, and watch the interval between the firing of the guns down the river and the bursting of the shells over the York.

- Corbin Braxton Bryan¹⁴

The Randolph Bryan family left shortly thereafter to spend the remainder of the war further away from the fight on another family held estate. During the Peninsula Campaign the confederate army surprised General McClellan by escaping via the Severn River at Eagle Point Plantation while the Union forces were readying for battle.

The Bryan family continued on at Eagle Point through the 19th century. Most of the current house dates from the early 20th century with extensive interior renovations in the 1960's. It is not clear when the great Ionic columns and porch were installed, but the use of Ionic columns continues on the interior of the house, rendering it gracious and elegant (Fig.18).



Figure 18. Eagle Point Entry Hall. (Source: Photo by author).



Figure 19. Eagle Point Enfilade. (Source: Photo by author).

Despite its great size, 12,000 square feet with 14 bedrooms and 9 bathrooms, the rooms are intimate and carefully proportioned. It is only when one walks down the long enfilade (Fig.19) that one realizes how large the house really is. After years of being empty, Eagle Point Plantation was last sold in 2016 with the intent to establish an equestrian center on the property.

Of all the tidewater homes we have visited over the years, this one has a location that can only be described as magical. The combination of birds, forest, water and sky are absolutely remarkable. The great, horizontal extension of this house on a peninsula of low-lying land clearly renders it an outpost of civilization amidst a wilderness of grass and water. Perhaps all of these houses are best read as outposts of civilization on the Virginia Frontier.

10. THE TEST OF TIME

Some general conclusions can be drawn about these homes at this point. They were built to convey a sense of frontier grandeur reminiscent of British style at a time when most Americans lived in log cabins. Like cabins, they were built with what one could find in a frontier setting and on a much smaller scale than the manor homes in England. Showing off one's success and having the ability to entertain guests was important to these early fortune seekers.

This success, however, was largely generated by unreal expectations of lots of freely given land and cheap African and white slave labor to work it. When these conditions no longer were met, the landowners fell upon hard times. They had to learn to partner with the lower social classes in ways that might not have been comfortable to either side. Their success after the Civil War depended on this collaboration and the lowering of expectations of the landed class.

Those who were able to become collaborative farmers or to find ways to farm with less help made it through the tough times. Sometimes Northerners with money bought these estates—perhaps to recapture the trappings of by gone status? They, however, did not last long and by the early 20th century had mostly disappeared. By and large, ways were eventually found to keep the farms going until the 1980's when particularly hard times hit once again. Inns, equestrian farms, wineries or “gifting” the estates to the nearest village has become the norm with only a few plantations still viable as large scale farming entities.

Many other examples remain intact in the Chesapeake area: Brandon Plantation, bordering the James River, Carrsbrook in Albemarle County, Wales in Dinwiddie County, Goshen Plantation near Gloucester, Sabine Hall near Richmond and many others in partial or ruinous condition. The very ubiquity of this house type speaks to its significance.

The “Frontier Palladian” style has remained the most sought after image in current Virginia residential and commercial real estate design (Fig.20). Even modular home builders have adopted this pattern (Fig.21). This simple, easy to read, elegant form has been copied all over America. After 400 years, this Frontier Palladian house style still says home in Virginia.



Figure 20. Contemporary Residential Palladian Frontier Home in Newport News, VA. (Source: Photo by author).



Figure 21. Contemporary Modular House. (Source: Photo by author).

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
Working Paper Series

**IN THE EYES OF YOUTH: THE
PALESTINIAN LANDSCAPE UNDER ISRAELI
COLONIALISM**

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IN THE EYES OF YOUTH: THE PALESTINIAN LANDSCAPE UNDER ISRAELI COLONIALISM



Youth are mostly the architects who shape their societies as they are driven by local-global factors. In Palestine, youth perception is shaped by the dynamics of asymmetrical power, within continued challenging geopolitical conditions under Israeli colonialism. Despite individual discrepancies, the Palestinian youth struggle for a quality life while encountering everyday uncertainties. This research questions the perception of everyday life among the youth (aged 18-25 years) of East Jerusalem, those mainly born after the Oslo Agreement in 1993 moment of rupture, while encountering the Israeli colonial infrastructure. Based on a mixed methodology, this research combines theories of space and everyday life of de Certeau (1984 & 1998) for developing the theoretical framework, and a survey to investigate the correlation between youth experience while crossing Israeli checkpoints. The research explicates the repercussions of the ways the youth negotiate their everyday life practices between their own modes of resilience and production of opportunities, through which they reshape their perception of the Palestinian landscape under Israeli colonialism.

1. INTRODUCTION

The city develops through planning and human behavior and practices on its spaces, even in spaces that are subject to conflict or colonial rule such as the city of Jerusalem. Focusing on the youth experience in Jerusalem while crossing the Israeli checkpoints, this research questions their perception of everyday life among this category under the Israeli occupation, mainly those born after Oslo agreement in 1993. This agreement produces moments of rupture between two generations that impacts youth spatial and temporal perception. The common social and political attitudes of youth in contrast with the older generation create a common ground of a new landscape according to their perceptions and practices in the city. Youth have been active in transforming new realities in everyday life practices, therefore, deciphering their world requires an interdisciplinary approach to divulge its complexity. Within this complexity and based on youth survey, the researchers focus on everyday spatial, temporal, and behavioral experiences. The articulation of emergent interpretation of how youth reshape the landscape is derived from Michel de Certeau's spatial practices and everyday life.¹ Their seeking change of various forms of perceived injustices in the city have built new dynamics that impact the sociopolitical, environmental and the temporal experiences. The research phenomenon is demonstrated in taking the everyday journey, from East Jerusalem to other parts of the West Bank, especially to Ramallah, mainly through the Israeli Qalandia checkpoint. The mentioned daily journey is examined by the conducted survey to collect the youth narrative on their individual experiences.

2. GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

The city of Jerusalem has, since the beginning of the 20th century, transformed geopolitically under various rules. The Ottoman rule lasted until the end of the WWI and Jerusalem was taken over by the British who

were able to assume a mandate over Palestine until 1948. During that time, the city underwent some significant administrative and structural changes. After the 1948 war, the city was divided. West Jerusalem became under Zionist rule in the newly established state of Israel, and East Jerusalem came under Jordanian rule. This situation lasted until the 1967 war in which the remaining part of the city was captured and became under Israeli colonial rule which remains until today. During this time, a sustained significant transformation of the city has continued with the purpose of Judaizing it and gradually pushing out its Palestinian inhabitants. This process has accelerated with the Oslo political process which was supposed to bring a resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Oslo agreement marks a significant moment of rupture a dichotomy of narratives before and after 1993. Jerusalem, in particular, has been subjected to additional colonial domination with several Israeli segregation measures. Started in 1993, several permanent checkpoints were established around the city, and intensified by the construction of the segregation wall in 2002, and increased building of Israeli settlements and its connecting infrastructure, all of which has isolated it from the rest of the West Bank. These geopolitical encroachments have impacted the Palestinian youth in East Jerusalem who have residency status in the city. Thus, their resistance and resilience to Israeli policies have generated in them a particular lived experience.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

While literature talked extensively on everyday life of the Palestinians and their daily struggle in mobility due to the existence of colonial infrastructure and the various Israeli measures of surveillance and control, in addition to the legal and military practices,² little was written on Palestinian Youth in particular. The generation of youth, born or raised up after Oslo peace agreement in 1993, has not seen what the country looked like before the construction of the Segregation Wall and the installment of checkpoints all around Jerusalem and in the West Bank. Youth resilience and resistance have been tackled in various studies, each focusing on a different lens. Giacaman (2020) discusses the Palestinian resilience components that enabled them to resist the long-term context of injustice.³ Her argument focuses on how resilience is interpreted in the lived experience, and on stressing the need of advocacy to justice. Desai (2015) talks about how Palestinian Youth impact their place, space, law knowledge and violence through cultural resistance presented by various forms such as video making and film production.⁴ Johansson and Vinthagen (2015) use theoretical frameworks to analyze various aspects of the Palestinian steadfastness as part of everyday resistance within refugee camps.⁵ These frameworks rest on spatial, temporal as well as repertoires and agents of everyday resistance, and derived from the rich literature on the Palestinian Israeli conflict.

Our paper builds on, expands, and develops the discussed literature. By focusing on the context of the colonized city of East Jerusalem, and particularly the youth of Beit Hanina neighborhood, it discusses

mobility in terms of spatial, temporal, and everyday youth experience. The study is based on a mixed methodology. The qualitative part is presented by a theoretical framing based on available literature and utilizing the theories of de Certeau of spatial practices and spatial narratives, and socio-cultural everyday life,⁶ after the 1993 moment of rupture. The quantitative part is based on fieldwork conducted in the neighborhood of Beit Hanina in East Jerusalem within the Segregation Wall that included data collection through questionnaires. The number of collected questionnaires was 284 from people living in Beit Hanina, who commute daily through checkpoints for work, education, or other purposes, and were willing to participate in this survey. The survey was conducted on different weekdays during the months of August 2018 to January 2019, and people were asked about their daily experience in mobility through checkpoints and on their perception and management of time, thus analyzing the repercussions of the 1993 moment of rupture.

The youth category considered in this study is between the ages of 18-25 years. The sample consisted of 190 people of which 44.2% were males and 55.8% were females. They have different levels of family income, and most of them (over 93.7%) were holders of Jerusalem Identity Cards (IDs). From the collected sample, 77.9% were students (of schools, colleges, or universities), 12.1% have jobs, whether as employees, workers in Israel or other types of jobs, 9.5% are students and work as well, and 0.5% are unemployed. The participants have diverse educational levels; 1.6% had less than high school level, 44.7% have high school degrees, and 51.05% with a BA degree, 1.6% MA degree, and 1.05% holding other diplomas. As the collected data show on the youth daily movement, 36.8% use private cars, 48.9 use public transportation, 6.8% use a motorcycle, and 7.5% use other means such as work van, taxi, walking or combinations of different means, as summarized in table (1).

AGE		SEX	EDUCATION		PROFESSION		MEANS OF TRANSPORT	
Year	%	%	Description	%	Description	%	Description	%
18-25	100%	M	Less than high school	1.6%	Student	77.9%	Private cars	36.8%
			High school	44.7%	Employee	12.1%	Public transportation	48.9%
		F	BA	51.05%	Student and work as well	9.5%	Motorcycle	6.8%
			MA	1.6%	Unemployed	0.5%	Other	7.5%
			Other	1.05%				

Table 1: Summary Description of Participants Sample

The applied mixed method allows for the navigation and the exploration of some of the youth experience in-depth continuous tension between time and space. It also provides a thorough insight into individual, and collective, systems of meaning and informalities of everyday life. Thus, interrogating everyday life is a useful tool for discerning the unresolved contradictions, the repercussions of adoption and adaptation tactics that affect Palestinian youth spatial, temporal and behavioral repertoire.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While youth face their challenges, living in Palestine may yet add a layer of experience that is worth shedding light on. The theoretical framework to articulate the emergent interpretation of youth experiences is based on Michel de Certeau's spatial practices and spatial narratives, and socio-cultural everyday life.⁷ The addressed research is extracted from the youth practices of everydayness in their mobility while crossing the Israeli checkpoints. In their everyday struggle, they produce commonalities of youth experience that has made new modes of resilience in dealing with the urban dynamics. The dichotomy of everyday life between individuality and commonality makes conceptualizing this research to start with the everyday life theories.⁸ The everydayness becomes critical, first, to illustrate its vitality as a medium that captures the temporal, spatial, and behavioral human experience that youth encounter under the Israeli occupation. And second, to provide information on each individual's lifeworld, and how they can be combined to reflect a collective shared experience of this segment of the community.

The production of the everyday anecdotes in relation to space represents the dichotomous meanings of simplicity and complexity. "Everyday life is what we are given every day (or what is willed to us), what presses us, even oppresses us, because there does exist an oppression of the present".⁹ While this study documents youth's interactions with the surrounding colonial infrastructure and reshaping of their everydayness to cope with anxiety and the harshness of oppression, it also brings it up as a collective activity of nurturing the repercussions of resistance and resilience. De Certeau (1998) is interested in what devices, activities, and procedures people use every day on the micro level in order to challenge, momentarily, the disciplining powers.¹⁰ He finds the answer to this in "the tactic," an action which he defines as insinuating itself within the space of the other, working its way into the territory of that which it seeks to subvert, like a tiny ant crawling its way through the cracks of any place. In a negotiation process between space and time, users find opportunities to claim a temporary conquest on the terrain of others, using the rules and products that already exist in culture in a way that is partially influenced by those rules and products. While de Certeau links "strategies" with the structures of power who are the "producers," individuals are "consumers" acting in their environments that are defined by the apparatuses' strategies by using their "tactics." In this sense, the ways in which people are using space, be they cities, streets, homes, or conducting activities such as cooking,

shopping, and chatting, never fall under the rules of those who produce them. By contrast, each individual moves in ways that are tactical and never entirely determined by any produced plan or any institutional body. On this notion, we suggest that the utilization of cultural values, technology and social media become part of the tools to embrace and echo youth ambitious thriving for a different encountered circumstance, or tomorrow.

In the context of this research, these concrete concepts of de Certeau on the dynamics of everyday life are appropriate tools to deploy for examining the means by which youth negotiate and re-appropriate space, time and behavior within an environment that is continually oppressed and confined with limited or no freedom of movement or action. Living under uncertainties constraints people in time and space, thus forcing them to be spontaneous yet creative to encounter, overcome or manipulate such constraints. Though each individual reacts differently, sharing a similar environment creates a common platform of collective everydayness of activities. Tactics, mostly invisible, are the art of the weak. While power is bound by its very visibility, in contrast deception is possible for the weak. There are countless ways of “making-do” through the negotiation of tactics and strategies based on innovative utilization of time and produced opportunities.

5. DISCUSSION

Considering the fluidity and chaotic dynamics of everyday life, assembling the pieces of it based on the collected survey offers in-depth perspective on the shared values that sustain youth resilience. The collected data explicitly reflect the harshness of movement between Jerusalem and other cities in the West Bank due to Israeli mobility restrictions and military checkpoints created after 1993. The collective values of participants’ behaviors and spatial experience are the fuel that generate an inclusive perception on the coping tactics and “making-do” concept in encountering the mobility colonial apparatus.

The analysis of perception of everyday life of the youth generation under the Israeli occupation, mainly those who are born after significant moment of rupture of Oslo agreement in 1993, as observed in the collected survey. The survey included questions on daily practices while crossing the Israeli checkpoints in terms of time, cost, transport, purpose, landscape encounter, individual experience, temporal dynamics, activities while crossing the checkpoint, psychological/feeling impact, awareness of Israeli checkpoints impact on mobility, colonial planning strategies, number of time crossings the checkpoints, sense of actual/spent/lost time, daily individual temporal practices (leisure, relative, mobile use), compensation of lost time, and their overall lived experience.

5.1. Youth Practices of Everyday Life

Despite different factors that affect the selected youth category experience, their awareness to perceive the apparatus of the Israeli colonial planning strategy is reflecting the existing ruptured reality. Political context and geopolitical status quo of the area impact on mobility restrictions for the youth lived experience vs the previous generation shows gaps due to different lived experiences. The survey outcomes show that the geopolitics of bottle neck due to checkpoints and the wall distorts the youth sense of time and space. The subjective sense of time can be a source of feeling interpretations in terms of the time “heaviness/lightness” difference while crossing the Israeli checkpoint. The actual time vs. the perceived time is less than the actual lost time.

The sample includes the youth who only experience commuting with the presence of the imposed colonial elements of segregation like the Segregation Wall and checkpoints, which create for them a distorted perception of less lost time than the actual due to the absence of any normal benchmark, as they did not experience prior reality before the 1993 moment of rupture. The unfolding fact here, about subjective distorted time perception, is due to the lack of awareness of landscape without the segregation elements. The survey reveals that the average household of the youth sample of (age group 18-25) is five individuals. The transportation cost for the youth (age group 18-25) is 640 NIS/month (32 /day/5time/wk*4wk/months), which is equivalent to US\$ 210. The average minutes lost are 52 mins/day/individual. It's worth mentioning that the actual average time needed to commute with the checkpoint both ways from home to the destination of work or education, and vice versa, is 156 minutes. Keeping in mind that mobility through this segment of the road as mentioned earlier without the checkpoint constitutes of three mins from the whole journey.

When the youth were asked about the impact of Israeli settlements on speed of travel and time of journey, the majority was not able to judge on the loss of time during mobility and did not include any answer which means that the youth have no prior benchmark in terms of the actual journey duration. Likewise, it also reveals that they have no image of the original Palestinian landscape prior to any colonial transformation. Prior to having the Israeli Qalandia checkpoint, one is driving smoothly, from Jerusalem to Ramallah, for almost 50 minutes both ways. The segment of the road where the checkpoint currently exists forms around 3 minutes of the road length. This checkpoint was established in the buffer zone of the Qalandia airport, which was closed by the Israeli occupation. Therefore, it was where passengers barely have the time to realize any landscape regardless. The harshness of those 3 minutes road segment started to be part of everyday life only after the construction of the Israeli checkpoint and the Segregation Wall where such time was inflated up to take sometimes hours, as reported by users. What used to be one trip has been segmented into three parts due to the checkpoint and the Segregation Wall, and other colonial landscape. Therefore, the 3 minutes part

of the road tripled the cost financially, temporally, and spatially, although there might be no clear cut between the three. Needless to say, it comes with all sorts of traumatic memories, stress, anxiety and anger.

For the temporal aspect, the presumption of the long time one needs to spend while crossing the checkpoint, puts the person in the mindset of “acceptance” of the delay, therefore, the sense of time is already distorted in comparison to the actual time needed for the journey. Although this fact contradicts, and sometimes let them ignore, the negative feelings people experience while crossing the checkpoint. The youth age category (18-25) was born under the existing landscape status quo, therefore, the natural landscape prior to any Israeli physical elements is unknown to them. Their direct and/or indirect contact with symbols of colonial planning is mostly felt whenever one is encountering them, for example, crossing the checkpoint. For the spatial aspect, some of the collected survey of the youth participants reveal that they don’t realize the surrounding Israeli landscape, such as the Israeli settlements. Due to the absence of prior benchmark of the continuously and rapidly changing landscape, the youth participants perception of it, whether as an accepted landscape or not, disclose that the invisibility of the abnormal is sort of normalized to create chaotic dilemmas of perception among the youth.

Despite higher frequency of crossing the checkpoint, almost 50% of the sample is not aware of the surrounding Israeli settlements. Needless to say, the checkpoint itself is an extension of the same military presence. The tension between the visible and invisible colonial planning strategies may not be directly perceived by (those) who daily cross the checkpoints, although these checkpoints are not disconnected from the Israeli settlements as they are both considered colonial planning policies. Dismantling the common cause and everyday life concerns into pieces of individual interpretations to justify the daily trips regardless of their harshness flattens the communal perception. Therefore, the colonial planning strategy is designed to create this fluidity to dissolve the impact of the 1993 moment of rupture, and its hegemony in the mindset of the Palestinians (divide and conquer). The everyday experience is the driving force to surface these observations rather than the awareness of the bigger picture that was explained.

6. CONCLUSION

The realities of the lived inequality under the Israeli colonialism makes the incremental achievement of everyday life an essential way of living. Thus, the dynamics of encountering the occupation hegemony are continuously evolving. Despite constraints for the youth participants who are crossing the checkpoint, determination is beyond the inflicted constraints which by itself represent extracting opportunities/alternatives to keep moving on in the everyday life despite the colonial status quo. This correlates not only with patterns of ongoing repercussions of resistance, but also confirms the consistency

and continuity of the Palestinian discourse yet with alternative approaches. The youth manipulation or twisted perception is observed in the significant ways in which they articulate and/or justify their involvement in actions based on common narratives. While the “older generation” seems to be firm towards certain fundamental issues, the 1993 moment of rupture shows that the “younger generation” seems to negotiate alternative approaches.

Inseparable from the global, the youth are influenced, and influence, the global youth movements. Drawing on how local and international lessons are intertwined and interpreted/implemented by youth action on the ground, the emerging youth perception is manifesting itself as part of the individual and collective right to the city and right to social justice. Therefore, such youth bottom-up dynamics generate opportunities on the global level. Youth continues to challenge constraints embedded with hope to make a change equipped with ambition and thriving for a different tomorrow. They embrace their everydayness to overcome emerging ruptures that are grounded in their local context, yet inseparable from the global ones. The continuous encountering of the uncertainties developed the youth perception in Jerusalem that surprises the viewer of the new created modes of resilience. This is in line with what everyday life is exactly about in terms of living the unexpected repercussions.

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
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**REVIVAL OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY
ARCHITECTURE-A CASE STUDY IN IRAN**

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REVIVAL OF TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE – A CASE STUDY IN IRAN



Due to rapid technological and industrial progress, vernacular architecture can no longer meet the demands of new generations. As a result, it is increasingly being replaced by inaccurate modern-contemporary methods, especially in developing countries such as Iran, without considering the region's unique traditions and social and environmental patterns. This study explores the reasons for this phenomenon using an anthropological approach in a case study area of Iran's Khorasan Razavi province to address this problem. It recommends a new idea, the architectural sub-pattern, to revive confidence in vernacular architecture and connect the past with the present and future of architecture.

1. INTRODUCTION

Through the idea that industrialization will lead to a better future, the pursuit of modernization driven by Western ideas has had an enormous impact on people's lifestyles since the 20th century, especially in developing countries like Iran. The two leading causes of this problem are the wrong industrial stereotype for a better future and modern communication networks.¹ The rapidity of this phenomenon has made it impossible for Iranian vernacular architecture to be adapted and evolved to meet new needs. That adapted and improved over the centuries, considering the social, cultural, behavioural and spiritual values of traditional Iranian society.² As a result, modern architectural approaches began to emerge in Iran around 1900 due to the country's significant political, social and cultural changes.³

These approaches spread first to Tehran city, then to the traditional cities and new cities.⁴ At first, attempts were made to integrate Iranian identity and traditions alongside Western methods, which could be seen in public and government buildings at the time.⁵ However, these efforts were ignored in most residential buildings. This caused vernacular residential buildings are being replaced by weak imitations of prefabricated architectural forms inspired by Western designs in new cities and rural areas in Iran. Their floor plan typology resembles the low-cost housing developed in Europe after World War II.⁶

These contemporary residential buildings in the new cities and rural areas of Iran have led to various social and environmental problems in the last 20 years. The most pressing social problem that has caused led people to disconnect from their daily activities, culture, and traditions is the loss of Iranian identity through these forms of building. Iranian urban and architectural areas are criticized for being anonymous.⁷ As far as the environment is concerned, it has been found that excessive energy consumption leads to pollution as fossil fuels provide comfort to people in contemporary-style buildings. According to the Iranian Ministry of Energy, more than

one-third of Iran's total fuel consumption is accounted for by the energy consumption of modern-contemporary buildings, especially residential buildings.⁸

On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the new quality of living in the modern world in the new buildings. This research sought to offer a strategy to repair the broken link between tradition and contemporary architecture through anthropological architectural methods to address these issues. In order to do this, two main objectives were pursued in a case study region: the vernacular architectural patterns and the new trend of contemporary architectural styles in order to comprehend the reasons for replacing vernacular architecture with contemporary styles and the new social needs.

The city of Salami, which is the subject of the case study, is in the Iranian province of Khorasan Razavi. Inaccurate contemporary styles have accelerated the deterioration of its valuable vernacular architecture in the last decade, which has caused many social and environmental problems for locals. This is a consequence of industrial progress nearby, which also changed the status of the area from rural to a city in 2004. Contemporary buildings in this area are disconnected from the traditions, cultural, social and environmental patterns of the region. After the investigation in this case study area, the result recommends that because of the speed of technological progress today, academic architects must design 'architectural sub-patterns' that support and update the main and traditional patterns, which were accepted by the local people of the area. The consideration of architectural sub-patterns in architecture could initiate a new discussion on the study of vernacular architecture in order to understand its future while honouring its past. It could serve as a basis for the creation of accurate contemporary architecture, especially in areas under pressure from industrialisation.

2. METHODS

In this research, the most crucial step was identifying the vernacular architectural patterns of the case study area, in which different aspects of traditional, social, cultural, and environmental patterns were studied because of their significant internal and external relationships. According to Rapoport (2000), it is impractical to connect "culture" and housing directly because "culture" is not a thing but a concept (or definition), so different aspects and associations need to be evaluated simultaneously.⁹ In order to investigate the objectives of this research, architectural anthropological field research methods were used from December 14-28, 2020 and September 5-20, 2022, in two different time periods to collect data through participant observation and interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the people, their values, beliefs, experiences, and lifestyles. According to Peter Blundell Jones (2016): "The raw material is direct observation of practices and oral accounts about what people do and why they do it, but for this reason, it is primarily in the present tense."¹⁰

These methods were applied to both vernacular and contemporary architecture in the case study area to analyse their differences and socio-cultural reasons and allowed us to understand the new social demands. To this purpose, ten people were interviewed depending on their experiences of living in vernacular and contemporary houses. Architecture and anthropology have significant commonalities in issues such as the form of human habitation, the spatial organisation of the built environment and its relationship to social life. In other words, "what architectural forms do rather than represent".¹¹

“... anthropology can serve as important insight in the realities hiding behind the architectural drawings and facades. ... Studying architecture is not only a question of what it ‘is’ to us but also what it ‘does’ to us. Anthropological methods become crucial to answer such questions.”

Stender et al.¹²

3. WHY VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS ARE IMPORTANT?

Patterns are empirical truths that humans learn from encounters in the environment at various levels, and that reflect their routine behaviour.¹³ They are based on lessons learned from numerous encounters under different conditions and on the causes and effects of such encounters as they relate to human experience and daily life.¹⁴ Scientific theories build on a phenomenological foundation to explain how things work.¹⁵ In other words, symbolic elements that enrich the human environment are linked to an individual's socio-cultural and personal cultural values and affect some parts of their behaviour.¹⁶

In 1977, Christopher Alexander explained a theory in architecture, *A pattern language*, illustrating the correct architecture and how humans are associated with architecture.¹⁷ The architectural patterns of each area are unique to its condition, and neglecting them in new designs causes the loss of identity and decreases the design coherence.¹⁸ Many researchers also have regularly highlighted the secret of the success of vernacular architecture in creating a favourable atmosphere is considering patterns.¹⁹ By preserving them is possible to conserve the vernacular culture.²⁰

Scholars will be able to recognize the crucial patterns of each civilization that serve as the foundation for its identity by examining the vernacular architecture of each place. This is particularly evident in Iran, where religious hierarchies govern everyday life, and traditional and vernacular architecture is built on metaphysical principles that cause architectural designs to be essential to any community's traditional culture. It is, therefore, essential for the proper development of the design to consider architectural patterns in contemporary architecture. This is not meant as a ban on current building technologies but rather as a restriction.²¹

As Iran's traditional and vernacular architecture has shown for decades, social patterns change over time, and architectural patterns must adapt to these changes. Every time we look into the past, the evolution of the distant past becomes visible in Iranian architecture, asserts Beheshti (2016).²² The Safavid period (1501) was related to the Timurid period (1370) and the Patriarchal period (1256) in Iran, while the Qajar period (1789-1925) built on the architecture of the Safavid period (1501). In other words, before modernisation strategies undermined this hierarchy in contemporary Iranian architecture, the patterns of traditional and vernacular Iranian architecture were updated to meet their time's changing social and cultural needs. Their adaptation techniques could be recognised as an adaptation approach for new projects, as they have not yet been thoroughly studied and lack research on Iranian vernacular architecture.

The enthusiasm for vernacular architecture was initiated in the climatic perspective (around 1970) and later for the architectural typology of the regions, initially produced by schools of architecture and urban planning (around 1980). Two publications dealing with urban planning and architectural contexts in Iran's hot, dry environment and hot, semi-humid climate were the first works on the subject.²³ In 1981, two state organisations began to study Iranian architectural typology: 1- Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution (*Bonyad-e-Maskan-e-Enghelab-e-Eslami*) 2- Building and Housing Research Organisation of Iran (BHRC). Both organisations stated that their main objective in conducting typological studies is to identify appropriate design patterns for potential future structures. In Iran, typological studies are based on the purpose of the building, the form of the floor plan and the way the components of the building interact.²⁴

Since 1970, numerous studies have been published that address various aspects of vernacular architecture, such as sites, climate, materials, and patterns.²⁵ Most studies recognize that traditional and vernacular Iranian architecture is very flexible, as it can take different approaches depending on geographic, geological, and cultural factors, as well as the lifestyle of people in different climates. Recently, as energy efficiency and environmental concerns have become more important, especially in architecture, the focus on vernacular building in Iran has shifted primarily to its sustainability potential. Numerous studies have looked at integrating vernacular and traditional sustainability measures into the contemporary design to address environmental issues, especially in Iran's hot and dry climate.²⁶

In the last fifty years, since the research of vernacular architecture in Iran began, no activity has been put into practice on a large scale but instead served as a report or paper. The reason could be that each time only one or two parts of this architecture are considered instead of considering it as a system where all factors must be considered simultaneously. In order to put rhetoric into action and utilize vernacular and traditional knowledge, all patterns and the relationships between metaphysical and physical knowledge must be considered as a model system. Rapoport also considers vernacular architecture as a model system. Then, it might be possible to

propose an accurate method for approaching contemporary architecture based on local traditions that would be acceptable to the locals on a large scale.

4. CASE STUDY

The vernacular architecture of many regions of Iran, especially in Khorasan Razavi province (Fig.1), has not been thoroughly studied. Most representative historical buildings in this province (schools, mosques, etc.), primarily focused on their respective historical periods, have been included in the study (e.g., Timurid period architecture in this area).²⁷ The initial research on the vernacular architecture of this province was divided into two parts, seventeen years apart. In order to show how the different rooms and floor plan elements were assigned to human activities according to the prevailing patterns, the vernacular dwellings of Greater Khorasan in Iran were divided into three areas (north, centre, and south) according to the different climatic zones.²⁸ In the second study, the vernacular architecture of the region was divided into eleven groups with the aim of identifying the best design patterns for appropriate construction methods.²⁹



Fig.1: Map of Iran and South-Central Asia: Blue line shows the historical Greater Khorasan boundaries, the Green line show Khorasan Razavi province boundaries, Red line shows the north and south Khorasan provinces in Iran. (Source: Geographical Institute of London 1920.³⁰ , edited by author).

This province's pace of baseless modernization is accelerating backwards three decades after the first publication. In the city of Salami, for example, indigenous dwellings are being replaced at an accelerating pace

by inappropriate contemporary styles, without regard for local traditions or the social, cultural, or environmental patterns of the area (Fig. 2). Less than 30% of the vernacular buildings in the region older than 30 years at the last survey in 2013 were still standing.³¹ This number has dropped dramatically since the area was last monitored. Based on four important criteria, the city of Salami was selected as the survey site for this study:

- The position of this area was moved from the countryside to the city in 2004, which significantly impacted the contemporary buildings.
- The vernacular architectural patterns of the area have not been closely studied.
- The rate at which the vernacular houses are being destroyed has increased significantly.
- The contemporary buildings in the area have caused many social, economic and environmental problems.



Fig. 2: Contemporary architecture's style near vernacular architecture in Salami city without considering vernacular and traditional patterns of the area. (Source: author).

The site is located at 34°74'N latitude and 59°97'E longitude, 1060 meters above sea level. Most of the material in the region is clay, and the climate of the region is classified as arid, with hot, dry summers and cold, semi-arid winters. North-easterly winds, also known as the "straight summer wind" or "120-day wind" by locals,

influence the region. The majority of the population is Muslim, and the region has a unified structure when it comes to issues of culture and religion.



Fig. 3: Map of Salami city (Source: Google Earth)

The local vernacular architecture has various social and cultural characteristics, influenced mainly by the environment and the region's religious beliefs (Fig. 4). One manifestation of the regional beliefs and traditions that influence life and vernacular architecture in many ways is a consideration for privacy as a religious obligation. Buildings are constructed without external openings and high walls to block the view inward through the external design points (Fig. 5).

The internal and external areas that manage private and public activities are the primary subdivisions of the interior spaces. The access pattern significantly influences the privacy inside the house. It is regulated by canopies that divide the rooms and entrances so that family members can enter and leave without being disturbed. Due to the significance of family bonds in their culture, the kinship system impacts the architectural and urban forms. It was customary in their culture for parents to make place for the younger generations in their home, which resulted in the addition of rooms around the courtyard or an adjustment to living in other nearby houses with a link for years.



Fig. 4: Inside of vernacular architecture in Salami City

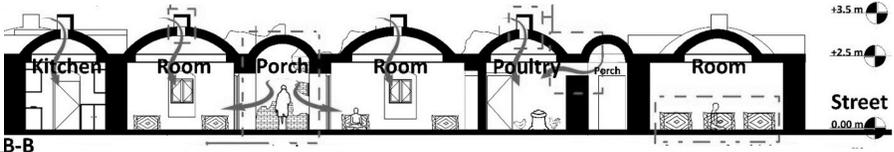


Fig. 5: High exterior walls without opening (privacy) (Author).

Different social systems and traditions shape the structure of the settlement, making the places inseparable from other urban elements such as alleys and corridors. Children usually play in the street, and apart from family gatherings, the street is where most social gatherings occur, and it is equipped with various trees to create a comfortable environment for them (Fig.5). The importance of streets and passageways in the local community and architecture makes them an essential aspect to be considered in their contemporary architecture. Thus, by examining the case studies from different perspectives, some essential characteristics of the vernacular houses of the area are recognised, which could also be found in other vernacular dwellings of the area (Table.1).



Fig. 5: Using shadows of trees in pedestrian ways for their social meetings (Author).

Features	
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thickness adobe wall (80cm) is utilized as an insulation factor • Windcatcher (face to the north, the dominant wind) is utilized to use natural wind • Dome roof: Create a larger surface that causes more contact with the open air/ Create more shadow from sunlight on the roof surface. • Courtyard: Circulate wind within it/ Placed various trees to prevent the direct sunlight • Dense spaces: protect the proper heat exchange • Porch: Between entrances to create shadow and circulate wind • Orientation: Build on the north part of the land to receive more south light • Tall exterior walls to create shadows inside • Carpets are utilized to cover doors to prevent direct sun and allow wind to circulate • Section to support: 
Privacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No opening to the outside to prevent inside view • Tall exterior walls to avoid inside view • Porches are designed between other entrances of rooms to let move around rooms without interruption • The guest room is divided by the living room • The outside chair (near the entrance door) is designed to visit people (except family members)
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dome roof: structural reasons due to lack of wood in the area. • Thickness adobe wall (80cm) to tolerate the roof weight.
Impact of religious meanings in architecture	<p>Their vernacular lifestyle is impacted by some definitions and descriptions of their religious book (<i>Quran</i>):</p> <p>Paradise is defined as a place full of rivers and trees, and the dwelling's design is influenced by it, like various trees in the courtyard and decoration inside the house with many flowers.</p> <p>It has emphasized the importance of soil material: "humans are created by soil". And when Muslim people die, they will return to earth again, highlighting the importance of materially and spiritually soil material.</p> <p>It prohibited wasting and showing off, making the houses as simple as possible.</p>
Interior design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In contrast to the exterior, Interior design has decoration elements: Many niches have been designed on interior walls to place decorative and storage items. Depending on the type of equipment, its depth can be changed, and its height to the ground level is such that the person is comfortable when leaning against the wall. • Rooms are decorated with flowers. • All ground of interior spaces is covered with carpets • It is a tradition that people sit on the floor rather than on sofas around rooms equipped with backrest cushions (<i>Poshti</i>). Its design is like their carpets and is part of Iranian culture.

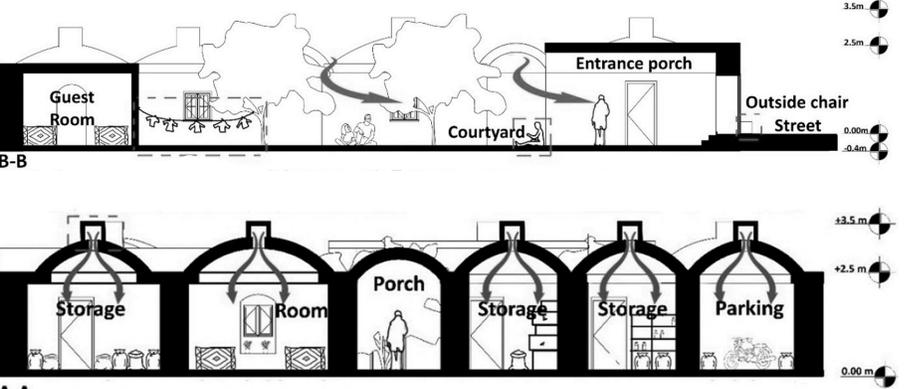
Space's size	<p>The dimensions of the space are considered so that the furniture fits in it, the floor is covered with carpet, and most of the sizes also depend on the use of space. It should be noted that each room may have different services from different times of the year that it must respond to them. The people always flatten the floor of the house. The dimensions of the house are very much affected by the dimensions of the carpets. And, of course, materials and technology impact as well.</p> <p>The livestock spaces are affected by the type of livestock and their number.</p>
Plan spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This region's plans are mainly in the form of U and L with one floor. • The spaces are divided into three general sections (service, livestock, and human). Human space is the priority to achieve south light. • Livestock and service spaces act as protectors against undesirable natural factors such as humidity or wind. • The rooms are connected and exposed to the air
Porch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A different side of porches has a particular function: • South porches avoid the direct sunlight • North porches are suitable for cold seasons and receiving sunlight • The direction of the wind plays a role in positioning the direction of the porch in this area. The porch is elongated and receives light from the smaller side.
Open Spaces	<p>Due to the nature-friendly of the locals, open space plays an essential role in their living activities, such as housework (washing dishes, drying their clothes, resting, cultivating etc.).</p> <p>Sections to support:</p> 

Table 1. Features of vernacular houses in the city of Salami in Khorasan Razavi province of in Iran (Author)

5. FINDINGS

Logically, the vernacular architecture of the case study area provides a suitable environment for the older generations to live in. Most of the elderly in the area still live in their vernacular homes rather than moving to contemporary structures. The key here is that their homes have evolved over time to adapt to different local conditions. In other words, due to environmental and societal changes, traditional architectural patterns have

occasionally evolved (not changed) to adapt to new needs and maintain their original identity. It should be remembered that this process, as with previous generations in the region, required time and actual testing to achieve the best match between them.

On the other hand, the new generation of the region rejects the development of adaptation mainly for two reasons - economic benefits and changing lifestyles. First, due to the recent increase in the cost of land, they are expanding their houses vertically (two-three floors) rather than horizontally (with additional rooms arranged around the courtyard as in the past) for economic reasons. Second, the kinship system has changed, making them less willing to stay with their families after marriage. Their daily life and occupations have also changed so that some folk places and elements have become unusable. Thus, most people prefer to work in industry rather than agriculture or animal husbandry, making several rooms in local people's houses, including rooms for animal husbandry and storage, redundant. The contradiction between regional traditional and contemporary architecture is mostly caused by the interaction of stereotypes, economic factors, and lifestyle changes, which leads the younger generation to follow the wrong trends rather than the right progress.

The main cause of the baseless copying of the contemporary buildings of the case study area from the urban areas is the contradiction between vernacular and contemporary architecture, which breaks the connection of architectural patterns with other patterns. The importance of interconnecting patterns and dividing them into different scales and levels that form an interwoven network in which the less significant patterns are a part of the primary patterns has been repeatedly emphasized by many scholars, including Salingeros and Alexander, who firmly believe in the theory of pattern language in architecture (Fig. 7).³² This context of hierarchy is destroyed in the case study area because vernacular architecture is unable to respond to the new needs in the limited time.

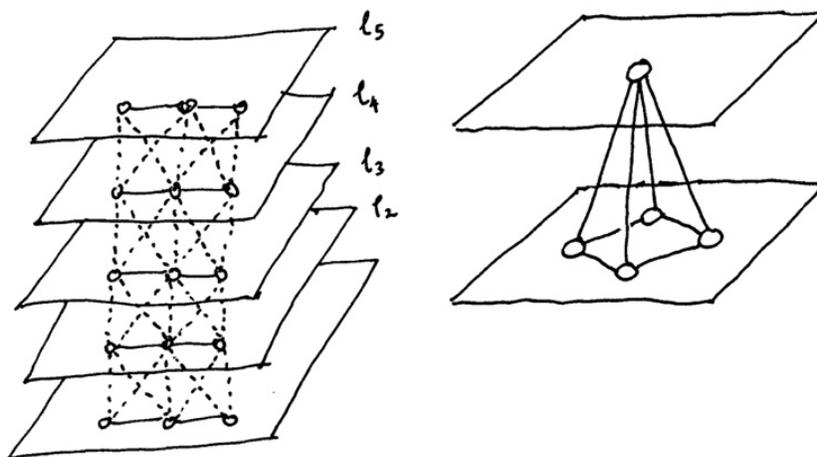


Fig. 7: Connections of various patterns in different levels to each other (Source: Salingeros 2000, p.156). (@Copyright permission from the author).

It should be kept in mind that people's requirements may change depending on the situation (change in technology, environment, culture, etc.). So, if the patterns are stable,³³ how can they be adapted to respond to the different circumstances? For example, if we look more closely at the case study area's new environmental and social conditions, it becomes clear that they create new desires that update (rather than change) the main social patterns. In other words, some factors added to the structure of social patterns, which were called 'social sub-patterns' in this research. On the other hand, if architectural patterns are connected to the social patterns by updating the social patterns, the architectural patterns should be updated to maintain the former connection. Thus, the hypothesis that architectural sub-patterns in architecture play an interdependent role in the structure of the main architectural patterns to match the new circumstances created by the new social sub-patterns should be considered. This can maintain the primary link between social and architectural patterns and lead them to outstanding development progress.

The connection between sub-patterns and main patterns is different from the connection between the two main patterns. They absorb their internal structure and reinforce the network connection when the adaptation process spends its appropriate time creating the proper architectural sub-patterns to support (respond to) the new social sub-pattern (Fig. 8). The adaptive progress of architectural patterns over the decades is a phenomenon that has not yet been brought into focus. It could be the next consideration in the study of vernacular architecture. Explore how architectural sub-patterns have worked together with unknown social sub-patterns over the past decades to harmonise the main patterns. This would enable us to identify rehabilitation progress and anticipate the evolution of vernacular architecture for today and the future.

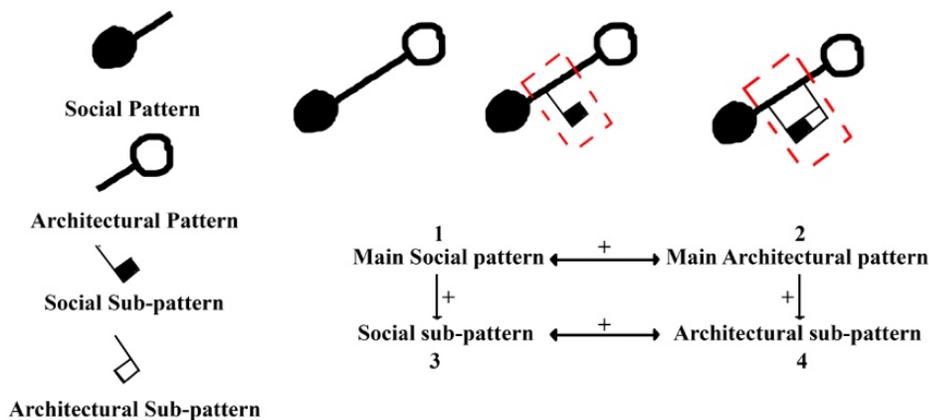


Fig. 8: new requirements create social sub-patterns, and then architectural sub- patterns should be designed to maintain the connection between the two main patterns: social sub-patterns + main social patterns = architectural sub-patterns + main architectural patterns (author).

6. CONCLUSION

In this research, the architectural sub-pattern hypothesis is considered a method of reviving vernacular architectural patterns in contemporary architecture, allowing us to anticipate its future by evaluating its past. The main cause of the problem in the case study area was the new generations' lack of understanding of the new social requirements (sub-patterns). Social sub-patterns were seen as the main pattern instead of playing a complementary role, unlike the older generation of the area, who could understand and respond to the social sub-patterns by creating corresponding architectural sub-patterns.

In the revival of vernacular architecture, it is necessary to consider not only the period and methods of its construction but also the progress of its development over the years and the requirements of the new generation. At this stage, it is crucial to look back and consider the essential keys to the success of vernacular architecture in its time, which is a unique distinguishing feature from this point onwards, namely local participation in construction. In this study, it was found that the new building principles and norms forced people to simply leave the architecture to the architectural firms of the region without getting involved in the design and construction. To tackle this problem, the government should give local people the opportunity to participate in both planning and construction and disempower the power of academic architects. In other words, architects and locals should work together and learn from each other because that is the key to correct contemporary architecture.

The lifestyle and imagination of the new people changed their beliefs and activities that would be part of their new life after some time. It is essential to take them into account in the region's architecture unless the region's traditional and most critical architectural patterns would come under pressure of neglect, as is currently the case in the city of Salami. The vernacular architecture of a region cannot be rehabilitated only by documenting or using some of its features, such as sustainability or its representative components in contemporary approaches, which most researchers considered. However, it must focus on reviving its self-confidence to continue its adaptive progress, as before, to the new and forthcoming changes, which sometimes have to consider the latest technologies in innovative methods. The hypothesis of sub-patterns needs to be further explored to understand how it is possible to use new social or environmental sub-patterns as an opportunity to further develop vernacular architecture at this time (high rate of change), which has already been done successfully in vernacular architecture for decades. In this phase of the revival of vernacular architecture in the modern world, the collaboration between architects and locals is key. Contemporary vernacular architecture could be called "architecture with and without architects".

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Traditional Dwellings and Settlements
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**RURAL LANDSCAPES CHANGES UNDER
COLLECTIVE ACTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF
LONGXIAN VILLAGE, CHINA**

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RURAL LANDSCAPES CHANGES UNDER COLLECTIVE ACTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF LONGXIAN VILLAGE, CHINA



This study aims to analyze a rural settlement in the southern mountainous area of Zhejiang Province, China, focusing on the transformation of the rural landscape in a specific context. Through literature research and field research, the historical process of landscape change will be investigated. By on-site interviews and questionnaires, the physical elements that constitute the characteristics in the minds of villagers will be extracted. The changes in the characteristics of private and public spaces in this village indicates that this rural landscape is based on the villagers' common values and collective actions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Parts of southern Zhejiang Province in China are known as the hometowns of overseas Chinese people. Longxian Village is in the basin of the southern mountainous area of Qingtian County (Fig. 1). The village covers 461.2 hectare, including 5.20 hectare of cultivated land¹. Due to overpopulation, emigrants have made a living abroad by moving mainly to European countries as long ago as 1905², and Qingtian County has been an integral contributor to the surge of global emigration from China since the early 1980s. At present, more than 800 overseas Chinese people come from Longxian Village, and fewer than 100 residents, most of them elders, have remained behind for garrison duty. The proportion of the population who have travelled overseas has reached 88%³.

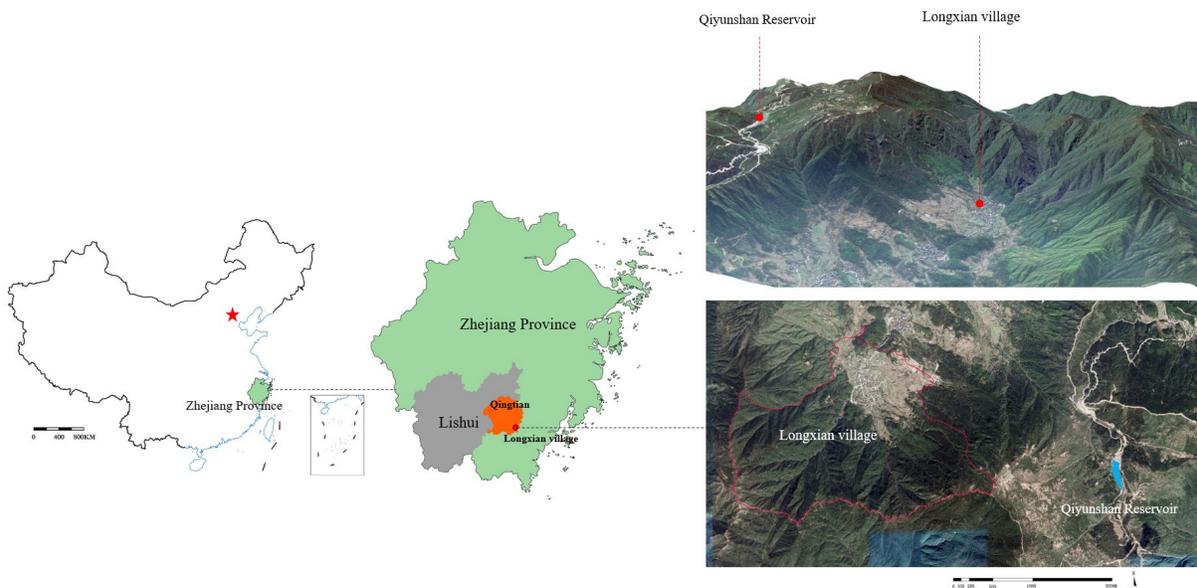


Fig. 1: Location of Longxian Village. (Source: The author).

How did the local people here survive before going overseas? Rice fish in paddy fields is a long-standing tradition⁴ that is a pioneering land utilization method developed by farmers according to local conditions of production. A terraced field is cherished, as it provides dual benefits in terms of ecology and economy⁵. Highly fragmented land is not conducive to mechanized operation, which is a favorable prerequisite for rice fish to the present day. The era was marked by the advent of the first pilot project in 2005. The rice fish symbiosis system in Longxian Village was designated a Globally Important Agricultural Cultural Heritage System (GIAHS) by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Fish play an important role in a traditional culture that represents aspirations of harvest in Chinese⁶. The case study of Longxian Village has reference significance for place-based innovation and provides insight into the GIAHS conservation strategy, an international frontier issue.

From the perspective of heritage discourses, this study expects to examine how the landscape of China's global agricultural heritage sites has changed under the influence of collective action. Fieldwork and Methods of Sociology were used as the main method. Fieldwork includes on-the-spot observation, collection of genealogy and other historical materials and local government documents. Sociological methods mainly use a questionnaire sent overseas in early 2020.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Collective Actions

Collective action is a fuzzy term. It usually refers to activities of groups that are less institutionalized and less formalized. While this definition emphasizes the instrumental aspect of collective action, it is worth noting that collective action may also have a more expressive character that, in turn, can serve to reach certain goals or fulfil latent functions⁷. The problem of collective action (or, better phrased, the problem of collective inaction) occurs when individuals who could obtain a common good or avoid a common bad face incentives leading them not to cooperate with one another. The common good is then not provided, or the common bad continues to plague them. Without coercion or selective benefits individuals continue to miss opportunities to improve their joint welfare⁸.

2.2. Rural Landscape

Rural landscape is a changing heritage. Protecting a changing village is frequently a challenge in the long run. Overseas Chinese settlements have always been an attractive topic in social academic circles, which regard overseas Chinese emigrants as a group of people with a specific organizational structure and a strong sense of group membership⁹. In general, these settlements no longer involve farming, and some researchers are accustomed to studying historical buildings that belong to emigrants; for instance, the architectural features of

UNESCO's World Heritage Sites Kaiping Diaolou and Villages have a good reputation¹⁰. Rice fish in Longxian Village are still facing a severe shortage of labor, leading to a more complicated situation than that of overseas Chinese settlements without agricultural work. This investigation perhaps has the limitation of lacking observation of strong partnerships within the context of the agriculture system, settlements, and overseas Chinese groups.

2.3. Research on Giahs

GIAHS is a project launched in 2002 by the FAO. It is a coevolution of the countryside and its environment. These evolving sites are resilient systems characterized by remarkable agrobiodiversity, traditional knowledge, invaluable cultures, and landscapes forming a unique land-use system that meets the needs of ecosystems and humans¹¹. There are undoubtedly more series than are listed here on GIAHS, including research hotspots such as the process of public participation and interventions in heritage tourism. A team led by Prof. Qingwen Min of the Chinese Academy of Sciences has assisted Fangshan Township in formulating the two-round 'The GIAHS – Rice Fish Culture China Project Framework' since 2007, and conservation priorities were pointed out based on the agricultural planting system. This framework does not include a positive attitude towards new residences without a traditional style built by overseas Chinese emigrants. Are the contemporary values of settlements also an integral part of GIAHS? Globally, The Satoyama Satoumi Assessment, SSA 2010, published jointly by the Japan Environment Agency and the United Nations University in 2010, has led to repercussions in Asian countries. A satoyama is a sort of rural settlement, while The Satoyama Satoumi Assessment emphasizes that settlement and biodiversity must be mutually reinforced. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of the factors affecting settlements, theoretical research should be soundly strengthened to deal more comprehensively with the traditional connotations, rather than entering into an in-depth portrayal of some of case studies.

3 RURAL LANDSCAPES CHANGES

3.1. Natural Environment

China is one of the countries that produce rich, high-quality rice species. More than 93% of the rice species accumulate in an area that has an annual precipitation of approximately 800 mm and an annual moderate 15 degrees Celsius temperature. Rice fish, originally a technical agricultural way to cope with the situation of more people and less land, is an achievement of accumulating experience in practice, realizing the cycle and mutual assistance of diverse species. Planting activities were carried out after a village site was selected. Genealogy can be used to provide a perspective on living together. According to The Genealogy of the Wu Family, the location of Longxian Village considered Fengshui, which varies due to different climates, geographical features, and materials in various parts of China. The villagers thus far have followed the

proverb ‘There are nine mountains in Fangshan Township, and they are so distant that they lead to the zenith’. The settlement is surrounded by mountains on all sides, with a river running through the village, and there is only one access road to the outside world. The flat, cultivated land is very limited even though there are enough mountain forest resources. Thus, survival is balanced with the natural world, and the primary motivation for site selection derived from the demand for convenient defense and survival in an environment where it was necessary to achieve harmony. The idea of Fengshui plays a part in what happens in the settlement, which is surrounded by lush mountains and plentiful water.

The main natural environment of Longxian Village consists of roads and water systems; the paved road undoubtedly belongs to modern life, while the water system of cultivated land is credited to the traditional society to the present day, and the water system constitutes the core infrastructure of the village. The rice farming skill in Longxian Village is called irrigation string, which uses the falling of stream water in the terraced fields to irrigate and sets up small gates in fields or ponds to control the amount of water (Fig. 2). The temperature of the stream is suitable for fish growth after the stream has passed the mountain roads for a while. Rice fish stocking is not only limited to paddy fields but can also be introduced around dwellings in various ponds. There are more than 140 fishponds in front of and behind the houses, based on the idea that ‘there is a pond, there is water, there is water, there are fish, and swimming fish in the ponds are fed as running poultry in the yards (Fig. 3). Once epidemics occur, there will be a chain of triggers. The villagers have formed a long-term and meticulous maintenance consensus on water resources for the common benefit. Consciously, time goes back to 2015, egrets were stocked by the County Forestry Bureau to emphasize ecological diversity, but egrets grow very quickly, and they can take away small fries in the ponds easily which poses a threat. The villagers covered the ponds with many branches to protect the fish, thus, the texture of the pond changed regrettably.

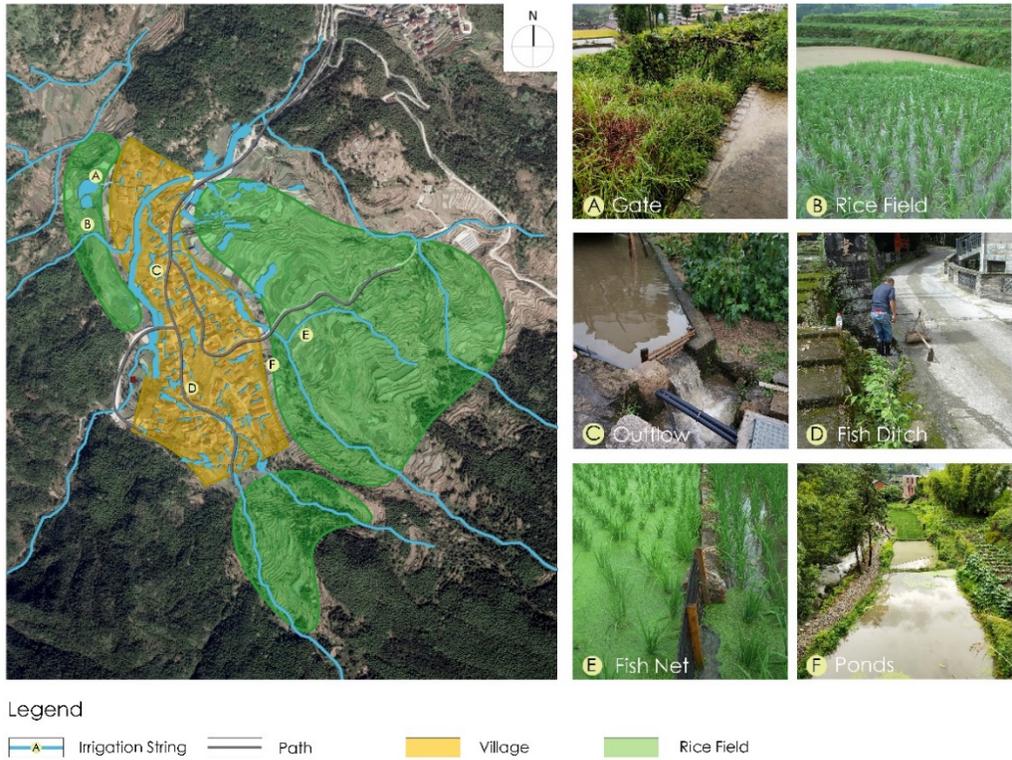


Fig. 2: The irrigation system diagram. (Source: The author).

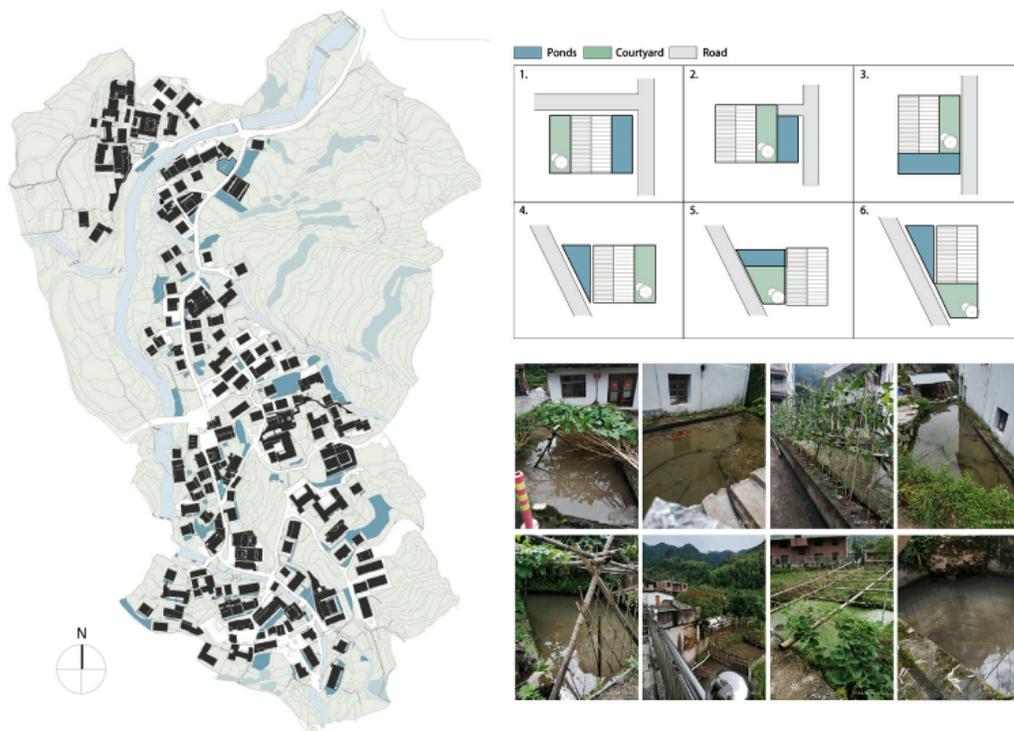


Fig. 3: The irrigation system diagram. (Source: The author).

3.2. Agriculture and Forestry

The general village land utilization can be divided mainly into forest, cultivated land, dwelling area, and public open space. It contains interpenetrating sections of both natural and built forms. The mountainous terrain limits agricultural cultivation in Qingtian County and promotes diversity. Longxian Village has generated a natural pattern of settlement-terraced fields-alpine forest-alpine meadow from low to high (Fig. 4). The people's commune system in China was carried out for a period between 1958 and 1983, it has witnessed the launching of a remarkable experiment in rural reconstruction, and 'the national landscaping and gardening movement' proposed by Zedong Mao has spread widely. In the process, Longxian Village greatly developed farmland reservoirs to continuously offer supplementary water sources. There were as many as 700 planting communities nearby at the time¹², and every piece of land was carefully utilized before overseas Chinese people moved away from home to make a living. Unfortunately, as soon as the villagers left in large numbers, agricultural production became weak. Bayberry forests are almost extinct, and bamboos currently nearly cover the mountain forests at the expense of biodiversity. Paradoxically, it can be inferred that the vegetation growth cycle is bonded up with the agricultural policy and local labors.

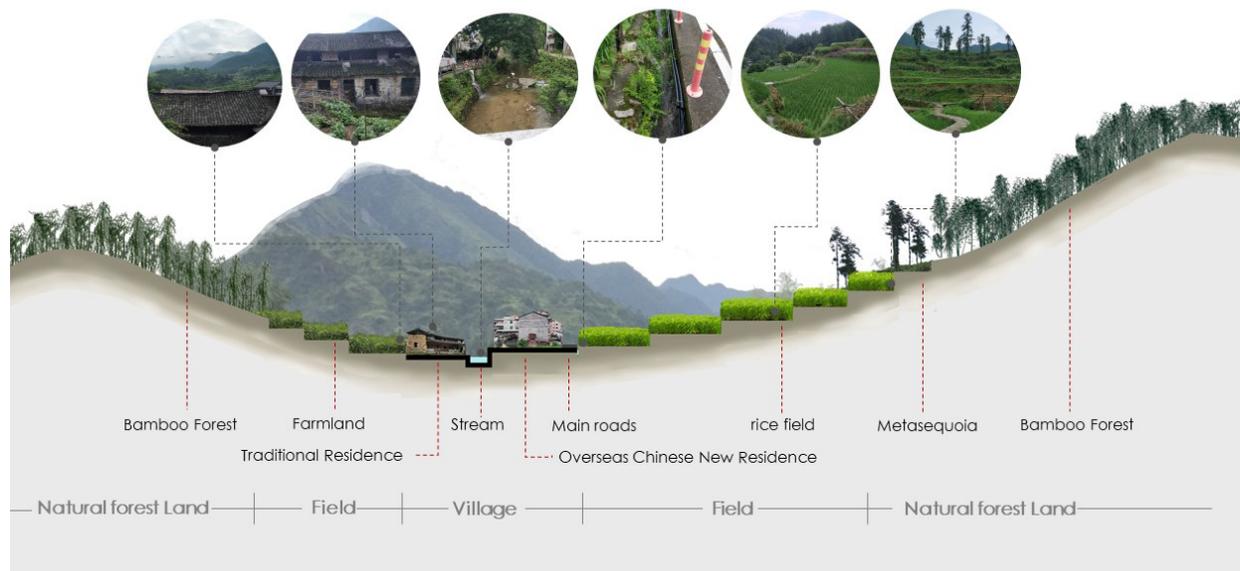


Fig. 4: The relationship between the forest belt and the settlement. (Source: The author).

Cultivated land has a definite spatial plot. The conservation plan promulgated by Fangshan Township designated Longxian Village as the GIAHS nominated property and the entire Fangshan Township area other than Longxian Village as the buffer zone in 2016. The arable area to be implemented is less than the designated one. There was an agreement to segment the cultivated land into first class to third class according to land fertility as well as a convenient distance for laboring. The first-class fields closest to the village have

fertile soil and farmers can easily travel to them, while the second-class and third-class fields require an approximately 30-minute one-way walk in addition to having poor soil and a dry environment (Fig. 5). Abandonment is the result of villagers' voices even if everyone has a good outcome in terms of the uniformity of land distribution after negotiation. It is necessary to follow the natural process to implement socioeconomic duties to protect rice fish effectively. The abandoned lands can be managed to plough through beans, melons, and other fruits, and the land can be transformed into high-value-added rice fields via reclamation. However, the villagers in Longxian Village received only 2.5 mu (1 hectare=15 mu) of subsidy for rice fish farming by recultivation in 2019. To summarize, the middle-aged people who remain in the village have little interest in farming anymore.

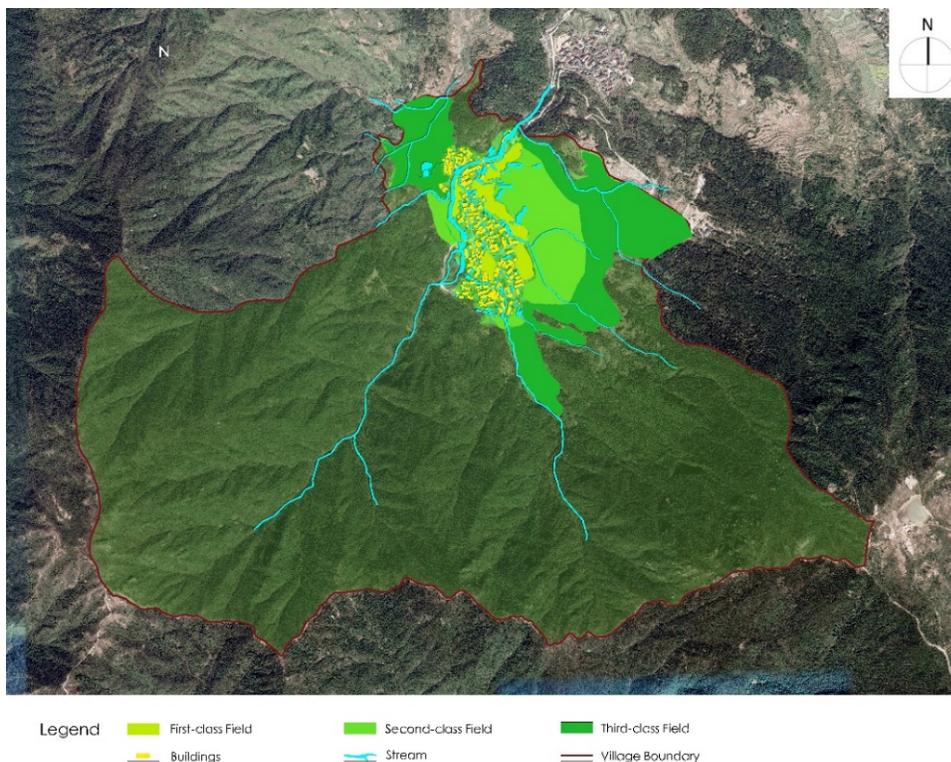


Fig. 5: Distribution of first- to third-class cultivated land in Longxian Village. (Source: The author).

3.3. Dwelling Landscape

Prominent on one character in China, it has a household registration management system. One household registration corresponds to a piece of a homestead. If a man in Longxian Village marries, he can apply for a homestead with a base area of no more than 90 m². Children are allowed to accept their parents' homestead as a legacy, and they also inherit the family consciousness. Longxian Village has always retained the custom of sons and parents living together for safety; if a homestead is exchanged to locate a common living way, the houses on the old homestead will be demolished, and the land then returns to the village collective¹³ for

redistribution. Although the management of household registration and homesteads is relatively strict, the architectural features of different periods form a pattern on the homestead plot that can be observed from the historic map overlay.

According to the local regulation at the time, the sum of the total area of the homestead and different grades of cultivated land is equal for each household¹⁴. Before the 1970s, cultivated land could be used for buildings, and homesteads could be used for reclamation. Due to poor land, the villagers have a fine tradition of building houses without occupying fertile land. The dwelling landscape is kept relatively stable with fewer new ones at the time. Currently, basic farmland can sometimes be applied for exchange for homesteads, but if the land is permanent farmland¹⁵, it is impossible to approve.

The traditional dwelling in Longxian Village used to be a large courtyard house with a stone base and timber structure. The dwelling has undergone two mutations since 1976. A wave of new Chinese emigrants started in the 1980s, and the first construction peak occurred in approximately 1985 because of the reform and opening-up policy beginning in the late 1970s. The finished dwelling was a two-story prefabricated reinforced concrete detached house with a flat roof or part sloped roof. The overseas Chinese in Longxian Village improved their economic level after more than ten years of endeavors abroad. The year between 2005 and 2010 witnessed the second peak in housing construction. Subsequently, the construction boom was accompanied by demolition action as well. Some traditional courtyard houses have been destroyed on the condition that villagers need to build on the original homestead. According to a survey in 2016, more than 1/3 of the 170 households in Longxian Village belong to new buildings, 66 households are of reinforced concrete structures, 31 are stone-timber structures, and 44 are brick-concrete structures¹⁶. Thus, more than 70% of the dwelling landscape is determined by the two peaks of housing construction. The overall skyline of the village grew after the overseas Chinese built their new houses. The approval and management of homesteads became strict after the GIAHS conservation plan was made in 2006; however, the land use near the geographical center of the village remained high, and both the water system and the construction process were active (Fig. 6). Even so, the size of the house is controlled by the homestead, and their relative positions are stable to rebuild the broken link of continuity. From traditional courtyard houses to ordinary flat-roofed buildings and then to modern dwellings, the old and the new penetrate each other. Four- to seven-story reinforced concrete dwellings have a brightly coloured European-style facade and make use of sloped roofs with better thermal insulation performance than flat ones. The roof texture continues the characteristics of the traditional rural landscape panoramically; the skyline with important historical value and aesthetic significance is symbolic, brings identity, and persists in local society, a tendency to a Westernized appearance (Fig. 7).

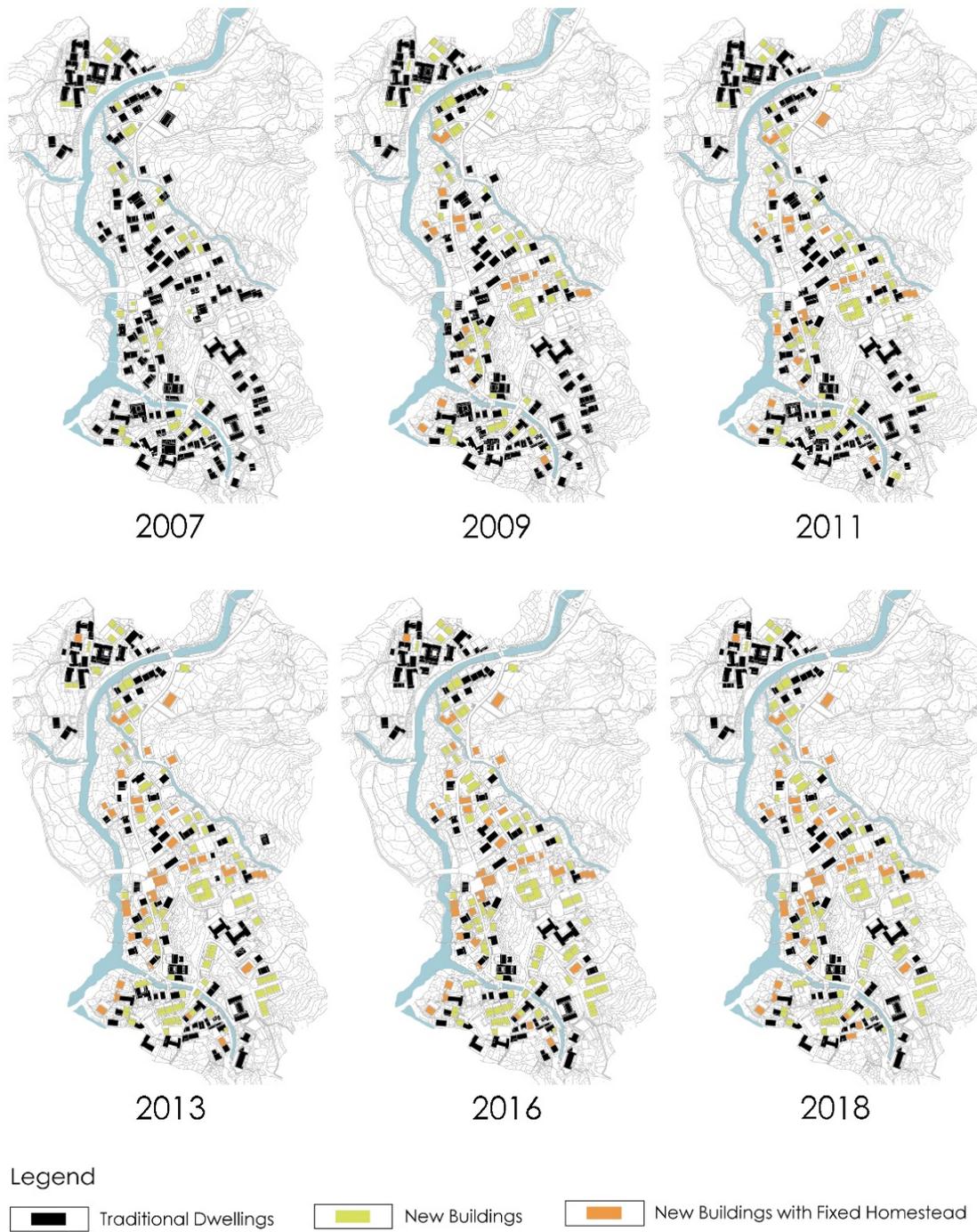


Fig. 6: Relatively fixed homestead location. (Source: The author).



Fig. 7: Distribution map of the three types of residential buildings and the southeast aerial view (right). (Source: The author).

3.4. Public Open Space Landscape

Worshipping God or commemorating ancestors leads to traditional Chinese villages; subsequently, public open space is promoted by social activities at acceptable levels. Those spaces combining the entire settlement into a whole are often the hierarchy where various activities are carried out positively. Nothing is more important than the water inlet with Fengshui significance. A stream named Fang Shanyuan flows to the entrance of the village, where there is a Fengshui temple called Shuikou hall, and there is an ancient bridge spanning the stream with a pavilion standing nearby. According to the interpretation of the Book of Changes, China's water inlet always faces the southeast, which indicates that the settlement will remain auspicious for a long time. Each village in Fangshan Township used to set up a fish lantern group in the period between the 1970s and the late 1980s. The fish lantern activity showed the joy of the villagers in the Chinese Lunar Year. Every fish lantern group agreed to pass through the Fengshui temple to worship every year; hence, the Fengshui temple and its surroundings are complete, accompanied by the farming tradition of rice fish. As time went by, the publicity of the Fengshui temple weakened since the decline of the fish lantern folklore. Temples and churches are built by people for their beliefs, and they are the embodiment of all social ideas and relationships that are compatible with religion. In contrast, the Christian church near the village committee has played a role in the community to a certain extent today. It highlights the variability of open space landscape within the village committee seat, an ancient temple, and a church. Matthew Carmona pointed out that the key to public space is accessible and adaptable, and a single space deserves a series of adjustments for activities¹⁷. The villagers' idea has changed swiftly with the surging tide of going abroad, and the hidden factors behind the changing open spaces are persuadable beliefs and customs (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8: The changing public space from the Fengshui temple to the church. (Source: The author).

4. PLACE ATTACHMENT IN OVERSEAS CHINESE FEELINGS

Place attachment is the emotional bond between person and place, and the definition is reviewed in a person-process-place framework. Broader participation by a wider range of stakeholders will inform a better feeling of belonging and collective identity; place attachment is sometimes used interchangeably with ‘sense of place’, meaning personal identification with a settlement on an emotional level as a member of a community.

In March 2020, a questionnaire was distributed to overseas Chinese via the internet, and 102 questionnaires were returned. Of the respondents, 41%, aged from 41 to 55 years old, had an annual income of more than 200,000 yuan (\$30,000). Most had been working or conducting business overseas for more than 10 years. In answer to the item ‘The most prominent symbol of Longxian Village in your mind’, ‘Rice fish culture’ scored the highest (out of 4.5, it scored 3.96), while ‘Overseas Chinese culture’ scored 2.53. It seems that overseas Chinese culture was relatively abstract in the questionnaire. In real life, emotion is central to the formation of place attachment, and overseas Chinese donate to their hometowns through business guilds or family. Most of the selected donors are supporting elders, improving public open spaces, or completing infrastructure. Remittance donations from overseas Chinese people from Fangshan Township have reached more than 20 million yuan (\$3000,000) since 2016¹⁸, and some of the funds have been used in part to renovate ancestral halls, build a pavilion and an activity center for elderly individuals, etc. The public open space extends from the church¹⁹ and primary school in the center of the village to the pavilion for the elderly activity center, forming a continuous pedestrian route. The texture of the public open space protrudes upwards along the terrain, shaping a new skyline with the pavilion for the elderly as a landmark, leading to associations with place attachment (Fig. 9).

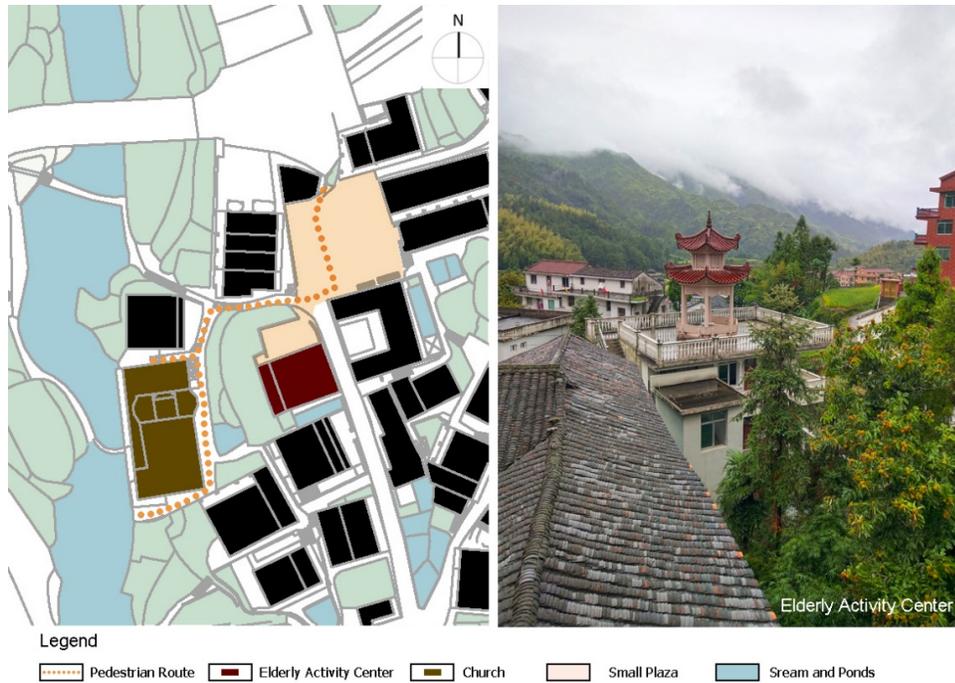


Fig. 9: The skyline formed by the elderly pavilion donated by overseas Chinese. (Source: The author).

In the past five years, the approval of new dwellings has become more stringent than before. A building must first obtain consent from every neighbor within 6 m, and it is not allowed to exceed 3 floors. Finally, the outlook requires Huizhou style. The new dwellings in Longxian Village have always maintained the mode of living together, including the married brothers and their parents. It cost millions of yuan (\$150,000) to build a house, and the brothers shared the construction expense, which relieved the economic pressure for a long time. The Huizhou style mentioned in the conservation plan is widespread in ancient villages in southern Zhejiang Province, China²⁰, for which the government's stewardship insists on the legitimacy of the Chinese style. However, overseas Chinese dwellings contain the influence of livelihoods, which are not only passed down but also changing over time. Because of excessive restrictions on the architectural style of the hometown, the essential character has faded in the process of locality that is a typical form of place attachment in the new era.

Identity-based customs and beliefs regard the past of different groups as the common past to construct the deeper meaning of individual existence from a larger panorama. Fish undoubtedly symbolize the spiritual and material well-being of Chinese civilization. There is no way to separate the water system from the dwelling. The fish ponds are retained in the courtyard, and ponds are a part of the irrigation system integrated into the overall physical infrastructure of the village. Many villagers are no longer engaged in farming, and with the separation of rice and fish, the fish pond has become an emblem of a sense of place.

5. DISCUSSIONS

Longxian Village has both universality and particularity. It faces the general situation of Chinese contemporary rural villages from closed to open. On the other hand, the centuries-old rice fish practice and the overseas Chinese dispersing throughout the world have created a unique settlement pattern. This study tries to explore the effect of collective actions on the landscape change of GIAHS site of Longxian Village. Only when the overseas Chinese group (relevant stakeholders) in Longxian Village recognizes that rice fish is the best symbol of well-being and the most reliable cultural carrier can they participate directly in relevant investment. For instance, the fish lantern festival affects both the heritage values and the social values, and the Fengshui temple often acquires particular significance at certain times of the year. However, there is currently insufficient attention to this historic building because of the framework of the ‘rice fish project’, even if it defines a ‘sacred center’ to which other public spaces are being seen as a new compound. To summarize, the fish lantern is usually performed at the stage in the field built by the government, which has nothing to do with the term Fengshui (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10: A villager carrying some fish lanterns for stage performances, 2020. (Source: The author).

A critical point has been reached by Longxian Village in its developmental stage today. Much traditional farming that was weakened for a long time has been restored with the ‘rice fish project’ as the starting point. The exodus of overseas Chinese is itself an irresistible cultural change, facing the past and the future, the global and the local. While many vernacular villages are anxious about the loss of traditional architectural

styles, Longxian Village has created a new overseas Chinese style that is different from the typological process of learning useful experiences from the original architectural tissue. Full recognition of heritage values and contemporary values must be achieved, from initial anxiety about GIAHS conservation to supporting more essential evolution functions, the landscape based on the agricultural and forestry livelihoods of the settlement, which are organized into a consistent territory. In this sense, Longxian Village acts as a voice in the discourse of place attachment.

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⁴ A Chinese clay plate dating to the Han Dynasty 2000 years ago shows a fish swimming from its pond into a rice field. Although the history of the earliest cultivation of wild fish in Qingtian has not been recorded, according to the legends of local farmers of Yongjia County, which is adjacent to Qingtian County, their ancestors began to raise field fish in rice fields during the Three Kingdoms period. By the Qing Dynasty, the local literature of Qingtian had recorded that “there were red, black and mottled colours, and the natives raised them in rice fields and ponds.

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¹² Hengxian youcha shiyanchang. *Oil-teacamelia from Zhejiang*. Zhejiang People's Publishing House: Hangzhou, China, 1960.

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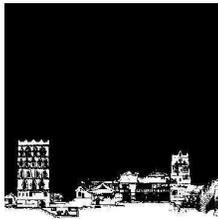
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