ASIAN CITIES



Edited by Gregory Bracken

Ancient and Modern Practices of Citizenship in Asia and the West

Care of the Self



Amsterdam University Press



Ancient and Modern Practices of Citizenship in Asia and the West



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Table of Contents

Ac	knowledgements	9
In	troduction Gregory Bracken	11
1.	Citizenship and the Good Life Gregory Bracken	21
2.	Spaces of the Prudent Self <i>Li Shiqiao</i>	47
3.	The Biopolitics of Sexuality and the Hypothesis of an Erotic Art Foucault and Psychoanalysis <i>Luiz Paulo Leitão Martins</i>	63
4.	Elective Spaces Creating Space to Care <i>Karan August</i>	79
5.	Interpreting Dao (道) between 'Way-making' and 'Be-wëgen' Massimiliano Lacertosa	103
6.	Constructing Each Other Contemporary Travel of Urban-Design Ideas between China and the West <i>Katharina M. Borgmann and Deirdre Sneep</i>	121
7.	A Tale of Two Courts The Interactions of the Dutch and Chinese Political Elites with their Cities Ian R. Lewis	141
8.	Urban Acupuncture Care and Ideology in the Writing of the City in Eleventh-Century China <i>Christian de Pee</i>	171

9.	The Value and Meaning of Temporality and its Relationship to Identity in Kunming City, China <i>Yun Gao and Nicholas Temple</i>	193
10.	<i>Junzi</i> (君子), the Confucian Concept of the 'Gentleman', and its Influence on South Korean Land-Use Planning <i>Klaas Kresse</i>	219
11.	Home Within Movement: The Japanese Concept of <i>Ma</i> (問): Sensing Space-time Intensity in Aesthetics of Movement <i>Renske Maria van Dam</i>	241
12.	The Concept of 'Home' The Javanese Creative Interpretation of <i>Omah Bhetari Sri</i> : A Dialogue between Tradition and Modernity <i>Sri Teddy Rusdy, Brandon Cahyadhuha, and Hastangka</i>	259
Af	terword Gregory Bracken	273
In	dex	277

List of Figures and Tables

Lia	1 1 14	00
ru	ur	es

Figure 7.1	Location of the <i>Binnenhof</i> in The Hague	145
Figure 7.2	Plan of the <i>Binnenhof</i>	147
Figure 7.3	Location of Zhongnanhai in Beijing	155
Figure 7.4	Plan of Zhongnanhai	159
Figure 9.1	Map of Kunming (after Jean-Baptiste du Halde, 1736)	201
Figure 9.2	The Military Academy	205
Figure 9.3	Huize Hall, Yunnan University	206
Figure 9.4	Traditional houses, Wenming Street	209
Figure 9.5	Shops, Wenming Street	212
Figure 9.6	Restored courtyard houses, Wenming Street	213
Figure 10.1	Comparing land-use diversity on on city and neigh-	
	bourhood scale	222
Figure 10.2	Social strata during Joseon Dynasty	225

Figure 10.3	Confucian order in 'Painting of the City of Supreme	
	Peace'	233
Figure 10.4	Comparing a typical small-scale neighbourhood to an	
	apartment complex	236
Figure 12.1	Omah bethari sri (traditional Javanese house)	264
Figure 12.2	Structure of the omah bethari sri	264
Figure 12.3	Front yard and front door	266
Figure 12.4	Pendapa	267
Figure 12.5	Lampu gantung	268
Figure 12.6	Dalem ageng	269
Figure 12.7	Library	269
Figure 12.8	Baleretna and gadri areas	270

Tables

Table 10.1	Ideological Shifts in Korea since the Joseon Dynasty	
	and their Impact on Property Rights and Spatial	
	Organisation	229

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Introduction

Gregory Bracken

Cities are not merely buildings and the spaces between them; cities are people and their networks of interaction. Cities, in other words, *are* society, and indeed many of society's finest attributes can be found in the city. It could, in fact, be argued that society is at its best *in* the city. It is the place that acts not only as the arena for society's achievements, but also enables them to come into being in the first place, by being a catalyst for them.

Cities have to rank as one of humanity's greatest achievements,¹ but to discover how living in an urban environment can influence human activity and society we need to understand what the urban environment actually is, and to what extent it can encourage (or diminish) the scope for human flourishing.

Cities operate by making use of feedback from citizens, which creates a self-sustaining system. This is also known as autopoiesis, the capacity of a system to regenerate or repair itself, which was developed by Fritjof Capra in the 1970s as part of systems theory (Shane 2005: 55). Information flow is crucial to autopoiesis, and to the maintenance of a system's structural identity. Information flow is fed back into the system through looping mechanisms, which allows balance to be maintained. This more recent understanding of how a city operates resonates with Lewis Mumford's argument that '[w]e have to stop thinking of cities as entities like trees or humans beings, which inevitably decay and die, and more like a species, which can undergo renewal and evolution' (Mumford 1989: 3).

But what is the city? How did it come into existence? Lewis Mumford tells us that the origins of the city are obscure, but when it emerged it was

Note: many of the sources used throughout this book are old and as a result some of their terminology is somewhat old-fashioned, or no longer considered appropriate in these enlightened and more gender-neutral times. Please understand, therefore, that when reading quotations featuring words like 'man', 'mankind', etc., that they are understood to mean 'humanity', which obviously includes women as well as men.

Bracken, G., Ancient and Modern Practices of Citizenship in Asia and the West. Care of the Self, Volume I. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019 DOI: 10.5117/9789462986947/INTRO already in the mature form we recognize today (1989: 4). From the beginning, the city had

an ambivalent character it has never wholly lost: it combined the maximum amount of protection with the greatest incentives to aggression: it offered the widest possible freedom and diversity, yet imposed a drastic system of compulsion and regimentation which, along with its military aggression and destruction, has become 'second nature' to civilized man and is often erroneously identified with his original biological proclivities (Mumford 1989: 46).

How did this come about? Before the city there was the village; before the village, the camp; before the camp, the cave. Yet, before any of these was the human need for social contact. In going back to the origins of the city we must not overlook the practical needs that drew families and tribes together. Before the emergence of the village, Neolithic cultures had favoured certain sites because of the protection or abundance they afforded. In the shadowy Neolithic past, well before the city became a fixed place of residence, it had its genesis as a place where people could meet seasonally.

Early human life oscillated between movement and settlement; as settlement began to take hold, villages turned into cities. Mumford says that

the magnet comes before the container, and this ability to attract nonresidents to it for intercourse and spiritual stimulus no less than trade remains one of the essential criteria of the city, a witness to its inherent dynamism, as opposed to the more fixed and indrawn form of the village, hostile to the outsider (Mumford 1989: 9-10).

Mumford also highlights, however, just how much the city owes the village: 'the granary, the bank, the arsenal, the library, the store' (Mumford 1989: 16); without the long period of agricultural and domestic development that predated both village and city, urban life would not have been possible. And even more importantly, Mumford identifies the fact that 'without the forethought and conscious moral discipline that Neolithic culture introduced in every department, it is doubtful if the more complex social co-operation brought in with the city could have emerged' (Mumford 1989: 12).

The components of village life were carried forward and incorporated into the new urban unit, becoming recomposed in a way that was more complex and unstable than in the village—and yet, as Mumford correctly points out, it was this very complexity and instability that promoted further transformation and development (Mumford 1989: 29). Specialization emerged: kings, aristocrats and priests, merchants and soldiers. Together they created a higher-order urban unity that was an inevitable result of the new social complexity. This also resulted in an explosion of human capability: the city could mobilize manpower, could command long-distance transportation; it became a hotbed of invention, which in turn promoted agricultural improvement, leading to larger populations and larger cities.

The city's rise was built on older, pre-existing cultural elements, but what gave it its new power to effect change was the way they were brought together. This increase in efficiency and scope led to an 'urban revolution' (a term coined by archaeologist V. Gordon Childe (1950). It was this revolution, where small but important portions of humanity first became urban, that led to what we now think of as civilization.

Civilization emerged in the city and created much of what we now most treasure in society; Mumford lists 'the written record, the library, the archive, the school, and the university' (Mumford 1989: 30-31). To this we can add culture and democracy. Mumford sees the city

as a structure specially equipped to store and transmit the goods of civilization, sufficiently condensed to afford the maximum amount of facilities in a minimum space, but also capable of structural enlargement to enable it to find a place for the changing needs and the more complex forms of a growing society and its cumulative social heritage (Mumford 1989: 30).

Mumford sees civilization as having emerged from 'the critical change that brought both kingship and the city into existence, the first as the incarnation, the second as the embodiment of "civilization" (Mumford 1989: 48), and that '[a]t some point, power and control brightened into justice' (Mumford 1989: 49).

All cities have the capacity for civilized life, but only some have attained the dazzling heights of Periclean Athens, Florence under the Medicis, or *Belle Époque* Paris and also twelfth-century Angkor and Suzhou under the Southern Song Dynasty. Part of what constitutes civilized life is civility. Richard Sennett tells us that 'city' and 'civility' have a common etymological root. He says that

[c]ivility is treating others as though they were strangers and forging a social bond upon that social distance. The city is that human settlement in which strangers are most likely to meet. The public geography of a city is civility institutionalised (Sennett 1992: 18).

GREGORY BRACKEN

What separates a city that has achieved a high level of civilization from one that has not? I think it is the capacity for what I would call the 'good life': the ability a city has to allow its citizens to flourish—*all* its citizens (something that is explored in Chapter 1, 'Citizenship and the Good Life'). As cities grow in size and complexity, and as their citizens increasingly define the 'good life' in material terms, Peter Hall shows the importance of citizens' ability to 'acquire the political power to insist on their right to that good life, so does the maintenance of the urban order require a steadily greater sphere of collective action' (1998: 6).

The twenty-first century, with its new urban turn (because now, for the first time in history, more people are living in cities than outside of them) humanity has undergone a second 'urban revolution'. Now that the majority of humanity has become city dwellers what will this mean for the city, and for the people who inhabit cities?

This book seeks to explore what constitutes city and society through examining the concept of the 'care of the self'. Michel Foucault, referring to the Epicureans, states that 'philosophy should be considered as a permanent exercise of the care of oneself' (Foucault 1988: 46). He quotes Epictetus' *Discourses* to point out that man is 'the being who was destined to care for himself. This is where the basic difference between him and other creatures resides' (Foucault 1988: 47). 'Man [...] must attend to himself' because he should 'be able to make free use of himself; and it was for this purpose that he endowed him with reason. The latter is not to be understood as a substitute for natural faculties that might be lacking; on the contrary it is the faculty that enables one to use, at the right time and in the right way, the other faculties' (Foucault 1988: 47).

Foucault seems bemused by the eager way in which the ancients sought to look after their souls: 'the zeal with which, like schoolboys grown old, they sought out philosophers so that they might be shown the way to happiness' (Foucault 1988: 49). Lesley Brown argues that Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were all in agreement on major ethical questions (although he points out that Aristotle never admitted this in so many words):

All three agreed that the highest good for human beings is happiness, and that a rational choice of life will be one directed to one's own happiness. Only a life in which one cultivates the traditional virtues (justice, temperance, courage, and practical wisdom) will be a happy life (Brown 2009: ix).

Cicero's abiding concern was, according to Raphael Woolf, 'the question of how philosophy can act as a force for good in the wider world' (Woolf 2015: 3).

Cicero is the point of departure for the exploration of what constitutes 'the good life' in Chapter 1, but before we go into that we must also note that Woolf tells us that '[t]he notion that there are, or ever were, a fixed set of rules or positions that could save us from disaster, if only we applied them consistently, is the great myth that [Cicero's] *On Duties* attempts to debunk' (Woolf 2015: 200). This is exactly what Immanuel Kant is getting at when he says 'sapare aude!' ('dare to know!'; also loosely translated as 'dare to think for yourself!')—something that is also explored by Karan August in Chapter 4, 'Elective Spaces: Creating Space to Care'.

This thinking for oneself, with the aim of caring for oneself, was an important departure for humanity. It separated ethics from the domain of received religion. And, interestingly, it happened at roughly the same time in ancient Greece and China, i.e., roughly the fifth century BCE. Charles Murray identifies one of the key achievements of this departure as 'a radical expansion of the way humans could think about what was true and not true' (Murray 2004: 226). He also emphasizes another issue: that a new 'cognitive tool was the idea that right behavior *could* be thought about, and must be thought about. By trying to understand the meaning of virtue independently of gods and kings' (Murray 2004: 227, italics in original). This has had, as he correctly points out, 'consequences [that] would cascade down the centuries' (Murray: 227). It is this cascade that we are attempting to explore in this book.

Murray tells us that Aristotle evoked a concept (common also to Plato and other Greek thinkers) that 'every object and creature has an end and an excellence' (Murray 2004: 416). He gives the example of the end of an eye being sight, while its excellence is clear vision (Murray 2004: 416).

What is interesting about Murray's investigations into human achievement is its global scope. He looks at China to see that although the 'dominating topics of Confucianism' was that man was 'a social being and the nature of a rightly ordered society', he sees 'links between Aristotle's ethics and subsequent political theory' as being valuable (Murray 2004: 228). Murray thinks that '[i]f a culture has a coherent, well-articulated sense of what constitutes excellence in human-ness—[that is] constitutes the ideal of human flourishing' (Murray 2004: 417), which is an idea we will return to in the Afterword.

This book, like Murray's, also looks at East and West in its exploration of city and society and the role of the care of the self. It is intended to be Volume I of a two-volume set based on two conferences held at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden in the Netherlands in the springs of 2016 and 2017.

These twelve papers examine practices of the care of the self that are both ancient and modern. Some of them are of a purely theoretical nature,

GREGORY BRACKEN

while others are more practical (although almost all are informed by some degree of theory). Some look at philosophy, others at history, but all have the aim of helping us reflect on real-world issues, to understand challenges, and to help us find ways of dealing with them.

Cities, once built, shape the generations growing up within them. These generations of people, in turn, alter the built environment to meet their new needs—altering it for the next generation, and so on. A healthy city should enjoy a symbiotic and evolutionary relationship with those who inhabit it; a healthy city should embrace change. How best to achieve that change and to make it beneficial can best be determined by a proper examination of the elements that go into the make-up of a city and the society that inhabits it, as well as making use of the potentially helpful concept of the care of the self.

The papers

This book begins with my chapter called 'Citizenship and the Good Life'. Intended as a scene-setting for the rest of the book, it investigates the concept of the good life and its relevance for citizenship. Beginning with the writings of Cicero, which stressed political engagement, these are then compared with the non-engagement of Epicureanism, in which living an obscure life (lathe biosas λάθε βιώσας) was seen as the surest way of achieving tranquillity (ataraxia ἀταραξία). To properly explore these ideas I found I was obliged, in the best Foucauldian tradition, to trace their genealogy back to the origins that Charles Murray has identified: i.e., ancient Greece in the fifth century BCE, where Plato was concerned with how to conduct the good life and asked 'What is good?' He tried to answer this by positing ideals that were, frankly, unattainable. Aristotle, on the other hand, thought that humans could indeed lead a good life, and sought ways to find out how this could be achieved, thereby formulating his famous 'doctrine of the mean'. The chapter ends with a brief look at Confucius, particularly his concept of the 'gentleman' (junzi 君子). Chinese thinking on these issues seems to have been much clearer than those in the West from the very beginning. This was not only because of the power of Confucius' thinking but also reflected the different type of society in China at the time. The exploration of these differences between East and West was one of this research endeavour's main objectives, something that is explored in impressive detail in Chapter 2, 'Space of the Prudent Self', by Li Shiqiao. However, Chapter 1 was never intended as a rigorous comparison of East and West. The reason Confucius is introduced so briefly at the end of the chapter is because his concept of

INTRODUCTION

the *junzi* resonates so strongly with that of Cicero's active citizen and with Aristotle's concept of *eudaimonia* (εὐδαιμονία—often translated into English as 'happiness' but perhaps better thought of as 'flourishing'). The concept of 'flourishing' is something I return to in the Afterword, but the discussion in Chapter 1 posits that perhaps the most useful lesson we can draw from the ancients, whether from the East or West, is their pragmatism. These thinkers were all studying the good life from a practical standpoint because they understand that human beings are basically 'political animals' (zoon politikon, ζῷον πολιτικόν), and therefore the good life is a politically engaged one, an active one, full of social contact. Good citizens have to cultivate this political and social engagement if they want to enjoy a fulfilled existence.

Chapter 2, 'Spaces of the Prudent Self', by Li Shiqiao, seeks to understand some of the spatial features of the city that stem from the care of the self, a notion that is constructed differently in China than in the Greco-Romanderived conception of the West. He argues that academic studies of Chinese (and Asian) cities have been reconstituted through Western discourses of urban theory that inherently stem from Western experiences of the city. While these studies do construct a knowledge of the Chinese city, they also manage to dislocate it from its own intellectual settings, leading to value judgements of urban spaces in which Chinese cities are seen as falling short of an ideal, or are framed as romanticized alternatives to it.

Li's chapter is followed by 'The Biopolitics of Sexuality and the Hypothesis of an Erotic Art: Foucault and Psychoanalysis' by Luiz Paulo Leitão Martins which discusses the philosopher's interpretation of the biopolitics of power with regard to the device of sexuality in Western society and considers the existence of an erotic art (*ars erotica*) as both detached from the scientific model of knowledge and truth and related to the use of pleasure and the practice of the care of the self.

Chapter 4, 'Elective Spaces: Creating Space to Care' by Karan August, suggests that some spaces afford better opportunities for the practices of care than others. She calls these 'elective space' and poses the question: What qualities of material space can facilitate one to elect to care for the self? Her chapter also focuses specifically on the role of architecture in motivating the desire to create such spaces of care, a nice example of how theoretical considerations can be bent to practical ends, thereby also increasing their 'excellence'.

We return to Chinese philosophy with Chapter 5 in Massimiliano Lacertosa's 'Interpreting *Dao* (道) between "Way-making" and "*Be-wëgen*", which is part of his wider research into Daoism in general, and the *Daodejing* (道德經) in particular, with the ambition of establishing a philosophy of comparison. He argues that philosophy should always try to proceed through comparisons, both with theoretical hypotheses and methodological *praxis* ($\pi\rho\alpha\xi_{i\varsigma}$), and that these two aspects should be conceived as a singular and yet multifarious movement of thought. This chapter considers the concept of *dao* by analysing some of its common—and misleading—translations into English. It also compares the concepts of 'way-making' and *be-wegen* in Ames and Hall and in Heidegger to propose a different approach.

Chapter 6, 'Constructing Each Other: Contemporary Travel of Urban-Design Ideas between China and the West' by Katharina M. Borgmann and Deirdre Sneep, examines the construction of images of the self and the Other between the West (i.e., Western Europe) and China through the exchange of ideas about urban design and urban living that contributes to a better understanding of how these reflect and shape the relations between both urban design and living, and how these are articulated in Asia and the West This is followed by Chapter 7, 'A Tale of Two Courts: The Interactions of the Dutch and Chinese Political Elites with their Cities' by Ian R. Lewis, which also takes a comparative approach to examine two very different government enclaves in the Netherlands and China to show how the political elites of two very different countries construct and use city space.

Chapter 8, 'Urban Acupuncture: Care and Ideology in the Writing of the City in Eleventh-Century China' by Christian de Pee, looks at the literati's descriptions of urban space in eleventh-century China to show both how they sought to discern a universal, moral pattern in apparent chaos and, surprisingly (given the traditional Confucian disdain for trade), how important commerce was considered in China at the time. Seen as conforming to a natural pattern, commerce helped make sense of a city's functioning, much like a living organism. This unusual view was short-lived, however, and by the end of the century had ended in the exile and retirement of the literati, who began once again to seek to establish moral order through the family and local community rather than throughout the empire. This turned them back towards the countryside and away from the city.

Chapter 9, 'The Value and Meaning of Temporality and its Relationship to Identity in Kunming City, China' by Yun Gao and Nicholas Temple, highlights the changing relationship between this city and its modes of representation via an examination of historical transformations in which a distinctive type of mercantile space has emerged within Kunming's city centre.

Chapter 10, *Junzi* (君子), the Confucian Concept of the "Gentleman" and its Influence on South Korean Land-Use Planning' by Klaas Kresse, explores the relationship between philosophical ideals and urban expression in the series of developmental steps undertaken in Seoul starting with the Park

regime in the 1960s. Kresse cleverly shows that, ironically, Westernization in Korea has led to a re-emergence of ancient Confucian practices, especially with regard to the provision of education.

Moving to Japan, Chapter 11, 'Home Within Movement: The Japanese concept of Ma (問): Sensing Space-time Intensity in Aesthetics of Movement' by Renske Maria van Dam, examines how social interactions based on family relations, work, or lifestyle are key to the experience of feeling at home. In Japan, this is conceptualized as Ma (translated as 'gap' or 'interval'), which describes the 'pregnant nothingness' within which the contemporary experience of home resonates. This is an example of how an ancient concept can have the power, potentially, to effect change in the modern-day Eurocentric 'philosophy of difference', and inspires us to look at modern urban environments from a fresh perspective, possibly even seeing them as a potential 'fifth dimension' for architecture.

Finally, Chapter 12, 'The Concept of "Home": The Javanese Creative Interpretation of *Omah Bhetari Sri*: A Dialogue between Tradition and Modernity' by Sri Teddy Rusdy, Brandon Cahyadhuha, and Hastangka, describes the Javanese concept of home as a symbolic unity: both a symbol of status and a practical thing. They engage in a detailed examination of one particular Javanese house type in order to illustrate the concept of *omah bhetari sri* (the spirit of the home), and posit that it is an example of an unbroken tradition that understands not only the spaces of the house but also its place in the wider cosmic system.

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Gregory Bracken is an Assistant Professor of Spatial Planning and Strategy at TU Delft and one of the co-founders of Footprint, the e-journal dedicated to architecture theory. From 2009-2015 he was a research fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) Leiden, where he set up (with Dr. Manon Ossewijer) the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) with a \in 1.2 million grant from Marie Curie Actions. While there he also established the annual IIAS-TU Delft conference series, of which 'City and Society: The Care of the Self I and II'—the conferences at which the papers in this and the subsequent volume were first presented—were the eighth and ninth events. Some of his other publications include *Asian Cities: Colonial to Global* (Amsterdam University Press, 2015), *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A Vanishing Urban Vernacular* (Routledge 2013, translated into Chinese in 2015), and *Aspects of Urbanization in China: Shanghai, Hong Kong, Guangzhou* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012).