

The rising of urban identity strategies in European cities in the modern-contemporary age transition: The case study of Bari

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Introduction

In the era of globalization, cities throughout the world compete for survival or development using strategies that are not completely new. In fact, besides the rising of new explicit – often dramatic – concerns for the decay of the ‘natural’ environment under the pressure of land consumption and soil contamination and the rising, too, of a new age of spatial distributed ‘intelligence’ and communication networks, the urban competition strategies which everywhere appear are also based on ‘primitive’ individual and social behaviours of power implementation. In fact, strategy, the key word of this effort and wave, is an ancient word, which depicts a whole set of rational and emotional actions and arts for getting power at the expense of more or less distant neighbouring communities. Unfortunately collaboration was and is forgotten in this atmosphere of urban and territorial war for development: anyway this being a political notation which goes definitely beyond the aims and limits of our reflections in this paper. The rising of new political and economic orders, at the various levels of the institutional arrangement, is one of

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the main forces which drive territorial and urban strategies. For being set up and implemented, these strategies usually use a blend of contents and arguments which go from factual resources and data to potential assets. Local identities and myths are also powerful driving forces of these efforts. The cognitive features of urban strategies seem to be still not well analyzed. Our paper, in particular, focuses on the role of myths and identities and of cultural and knowledge-based argumentation in urban strategies, using the case study of the city of Bari, in the region Apulia, in the south of Italy, to investigate the problem of nature, success, and failure of urban strategies in a *longue durée* perspective. The first section of the paper deals with theoretical aspects of the concepts of strategy, the second section deals with knowledge-in-actions details of urban strategy conceptualization and implementation which are found in a set of case studies, the third and final section deals with the role of knowledge, identity, and myth as a key triad in urban strategies, using the case study of Bari as main field of investigation.

Urban strategy and urban identity

Ab origine, strategy means critical military action, ‘for life or death’: we all still think to the *strategos* from Athens, to the commander-in-chief of any Greek city, with his elective annual mandate, as the protagonist of the strategy. But a community strategy is, in general, a system of knowledge-in-action based on the willing and farsighted individual who just because of this attitude is able to bring a population with him/her to participate in that system of operational cognition-in-action, in such a way that in any strategy both the individual without community and the vice versa

cannot exist. Identity, mission, and individual and social destiny are at the core of any strategy, in the rational as well as in the mythological elaboration. Apparently, vision and risk, the merging of short time with long time, concentration and commitment to the limits of obsession and madness, creativity and fantasy, and reason and passion are its fundamental components. Twenty five centuries ago, Pericles was the protagonist of a complex strategy of expansion of the power of Athens in the Mediterranean (Thucydides, 1910) – a strategy which implied the defeat of Sparta, its main rival city – which even now could inspire the strategies that are elaborated by ambitious cities for becoming primates of the urban world (Lindblom, 1959, 1990).

In the second half of the XX century, outcomes from the sciences of organization, decision, and forecasting inaugurate a new season of reflection on strategy, in particular on strategic planning, which has individual and social knowledge and action at its core (Khakee, 1985, 1986, 1991; Khakee, Dahlgren, 1986; Olson, 1965; Raiffa, 1968, 1982; Rosenhead, 1998; Simon, 1957).

In the last decades of the XX century cities in strong growth or crisis elaborate strategies and strategic plans oriented to competitive conquer of stakes in the chessboard of economy, social or ecological equilibrium and well-being, creativity (Florida, 2002), and culture and art: the new regional and urban strategies address the development of new qualities in a short to long temporal dimension, in both a cognition-in-action dimension, which includes reflection and learning and develops individual and

community intelligence, in an ecological dimension (Spaziante, Pugliese, 2003).

Stories of successes or failures of strategic planning at urban region levels are evaluated and measured: Portland in the 1970s and 1980s or Dortmund and the Ruhr in the 1980s and 1990s, or Turin in the 1990s and 2000s, appear as strategic planning successes, to be studied by communities of experts and non experts who want to draw sapience from the sources of a techno-mythological rationality.

On the ground the heroes, since the Homer's narration and mythology, are armed, in their coming to the competition, with a strategy elaborated by both repeated and evidence-based (directly through memory or indirectly through narration) experiences and by 'augmented', virtual and artificial, reality dominated by the myth: a myth able to influence the community of the agents involved on the two fronts (a couple which obviously is metaphor of multiplicity) (Shakun, 1999), to build a scenery of the reality which is competitive advantage for being successful in the battle; a myth that in Homer is fed by an aesthetic which gives it shape, strengthening it further, for instance in the realization and conformation of the clothes of the fighting hero, from the helmet to the footwear, from the chest armor to the legging, to the shield, where episodes are narrated and represented from the hero's life that derive from both reality and myth, sometime worked by divine artistic and artisanal minds and hands, as it is for Hephaestus, the smith-god able to serve the sophisticated Achilles' or Hector's demand (Homer, 1488).

The strategy at hand is suspended between phenomenology and mythology and does not withdraw in the face of the demand and the need of supporting it by arguments: Pericles on the point – evoked and lamented by a wide part of his fellow citizens – of the loss of the farms and pastures of Attica, just while the Spartans hold Athens in state of siege, argues, staying in the face of sea, in the symbolic marine border of that extraordinary city, defending himself and counterattacking, rhetorically and visionary exalting the difference of greatness between the conquer of the Mediterranean, which is his personal goal and the goal of his community in that fate situation, and the maintenance of the possession of a pastoral and parochial Attica.

The cities that gave origin to these heroes and strategists stay behind them, portrayed on the background of stories made by reality and myth: Troy in the same way of Argos or Ithaca, surrounded by walls and full of treasuries that are denied to the surrounding waste land (Eliot, 1926) sadly crossed by adventurers and survivors, material treasuries of food or metals the same than immaterial treasuries of community spirit, affection, art, and intelligence (Xenophon, 1839).

We are dealing with cities and territories crossed in their construction and evolution by myths and foundational rituals, that evoke individual and collective agents (Ferber, 1997) performing heroic roles of protagonists or gatekeepers of tradition (Hall, 1992). This happens having introspection and/or manipulation of future as an exoteric backstage, in a scenery definitely human of intentionality

of abstraction biased towards geometry and orthogonal design, in an Icarian attempt to shorten the distance between the human space and a divine space in which any creation is possible. Think to the orthogonal tracing of walls and streets in the foundation of Rome in the VIII century bC, in a frame of both military and brutal territorial construction and appropriation and intentionality of cosmological abstraction biased towards the irregularities of nature (the continuous alternation of creation and disruption of flocks of birds in their flight or the almost liquid tangle of the entrails cruelly extracted from the body of a sacrificed living being), in the prediction and omen cast in face of sky and sea in the foundation of Manfredonia in 1250 (Sthamer, 1997, orig. 1880) by the definitely human triad constituted by Manfred Hohenstaufen – as his father Frederick II still tributary of the great Arab-Greek culture – and by his two Arab assistants experts in predictions.

Urban communities, in general, rarely territorial communities, try hard to get force by reality and myth of the heroes who would have founded or re-founded them, bursting into the scene of the fight with the features and the ‘arms’ (even with the ‘signs’) of these heroes: any small feudal lord from Provence, in the XIII century aC, will try to pass on his fleeting and dull life into the worrying and diabolic orthogonal project of the foundation of a *bastide*; in the medieval King Arthur’s legend in the British islands, this happens with the foundation of a courageous and coherent territorial community able to produce cities based on pacts, the same than in the bay of Boston not many

centuries later at the Mayflower's landing; the urban region of Barletta, in southern Italy, one of the strongest in XVI cent. aC Apulia, in 1513 intends to legitimize its primacy in a chivalrous challenge involving a sort of transnational Italian-French community of people who are strong and audacious in the use of the word and the arm.

The rising monotheistic religions, in the wake of the polytheistic older ones, build cities-of-destiny around prophets or – when these are not available – saints, remembered in body or in spirit in cathedrals: in Bari the cathedral devoted to saint Sabin, powerful bishop-prince of the V cent. aC Canosa, few kilometers from Barletta, protagonist in the Middle East in numerous councils as Pope's delegate, was built in the XII cent. aC over the remains of the IX cent aC mosque built by the Tunisian emir Kalfoun, while remembering the big and mysterious cathedral built by the same bishop Sabin on the Barletta sandy shoreline – many years before the appearance of a settlement in that place – and recently appeared with its recycled columns in Egyptian granite under the saint Mary cathedral; again in Bari, in the XI cent aC, Elia, powerful Benedictine abbot in Bari, giving further development to his promotion of a small expedition of adventurers-sailors from Bari to the coasts of Lycia, Turkey, to steal the miraculous remains of the saint bishop Nicholas, a Turk from III cent. aC Anatolia, in less than two years, under the remains of the *kasbah* of the Byzantine governor of the small capital city (Bari) of the eastern province of the empire, erects a cathedral destined to stably sustain the Slavic-Balkan-Middle Eastern myth of the city to come.

In the above cited cases we see strategies that are rich in intention and project ability, able to develop futures supported partly by human knowledge-in-action and partly – often explicitly – by destiny, chance, in cosmological perspective (Herzfeld, 2009).

In the more successful and durable cases involving important cities or territories we see a blend of short and long period strategy, of contingency and prediction, of identities that – challenging the oxymoron – tend to become multiple, multi-identities, of intentions and visions that do not fear incoherence and hybridization : in the case of Bari the re-foundational myth of the medieval city after the defeat of the imperial Byzantine power and the coming of the power of people from the north, Germans and Normans, relies upon the sacred figure of a Turk who in the few years to come will become the most important saint of the Slavic world that from the Russian plain through the Balkans goes to the Middle Eastern territories at the boundary of the liquid plain of the Mediterranean (Braudel, 1949).

Economy, politics, and myth in Bari strategies in the modern-contemporary age

In the case of Bari the re-foundational myth of the XIX cent. aC city, after the decline of the great urban season of the Middle Age (multiethnic, seafaring, and mercantile), relies upon the ‘courageous captain’ figure of a general of the Napoleon’s army, whose name – Murat – looks half French and half Turkish, who in 1812 would trace the track of the new orthogonal city by throwing his precious ring into it for wish (this according to the poetic and epic

inscription written by the local historian and poet Armando Perotti for the centennial, put at the cross of the two main orthogonal axes of the grid in its oriental limit). All this happens, apparently, in Bari, without any fear of incoherence in front of the historical reality that witnesses the French Decade (1806-1815), in Bari and the kingdom of Naples, while it competes with the more than three hundred years of the Spanish vice-kingdom and the Spanish kingdom and the chess board like grid commissioned and implemented in the transition between XVIII and XIX century in the politico-economic light, on one hand, and technical and planning light, on the other, of the Charles III Bourbon's reform, and of a model of development that instead of looking east beyond the Adriatic sea – on the coast of which the city of Bari is located – towards Russia and the Balkan seems to look west, towards the Atlantic ocean, the conquer of the 'new world' and the handbooks of the orthogonal design inexorably applied by the Spanish imperial civil servants and engineers, in a frame of *fado* and destiny not by chance well perceived by the XX century Hispano-American novel literature (Allende, 2006; Garcia Marquez, 1967; Vargas Llosa, 1977).

Always in Bari, between XIX and XX century, an articulated (Roman and Greek) classical tradition will be claimed, in the myth of both the great season of architecture and figurative art of the Romanesque style and the ever re-emerging projection of the local community towards the dialogue and the colonization of the Mediterranean Orient, at times mercantile, at times military:

the urban waterfront, open to the Slavic world and to the Orient, crowded with monumental building complexes, no matter they were pavilions of the Levant Fair founded in 1930 or barracks entrusted to the name of the prominent architects of the Fascist regime.

Always in Bari, in the second half of the XX century, the development of the 'city-region' devised by the Aldo Moro's political laboratory argues in favor of the idea of a sustainable and deep scientific and cultural influence, rich in knowledge more than in force, on the territories that hem the Mediterranean sea basin – the Middle East and the Mediterranean Africa more than the Slavic world – based on the university system with its agronomic and technological laboratories (Iam: Mediterranean Agronomic Institute; Csata-Tecnopolis: Center for Applied Studies on Advanced Technologies-Tecnopolis). This in an intriguing recurrence of themes and references that will strongly re-emerge in the local policy and politics in the 1990s and 2000s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the reinforcing of cultural and commercial exchange with the eastern side – Slavic and Albanian – of the Adriatic sea and last but not least the revamping of the saint Nicholas myth as a religion-based powerful instrument for fostering the dialogue between the Russian world and the city of Bari (see the Bari Metropolitan Area Strategic Plan 2015-2035 and in general the political program of the mayor Emiliano since 2004).

But what is involved here is also a set of strategies that, where invention and myth entirely replace local knowledge and action when these are substantially unable of being

farsighted and relevant, assume folk and grotesque features, which makes that any farsighted intelligence based on reason and passion is lost.

These strategies can give origin to political campaigns for consensus building that prove to ephemeral in the end, because in the end they can definitely lack of that base of long term individual and social intelligence which is essential to any durable and effective development of cities and territories (Borri, Scandale, 2006).

On the contrary, where the 'campaign of the history' (Rodwin, 1981) has undeniable features of greatness, where operational figures are linked to mythical figures of reality, where long term is integrated with contingency, where a dramatic (in the classical Greek sense) construction is integrated with the novelistic one, the strategy of competitive development appears in its genuine profile of elaboration and evolution of reflexive knowledge-in-action (Schon, 1983).

Notions of identity in the late XIX century Bari

Between the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX century the city of Bari presented some interesting aspects in its development: as an historian from the local university says, "The Italian state had not succeeded in giving it an identity and the city had to contribute for its part and its history [...] to define at last a new one" (Corvaglia, 1997, p.5).

It is worthwhile to analyse this emerging identity that we would like to analyse, moving from the concept of identity delineated by Remotti (1996). According to the Italian

anthropologist, identity is a process which can appear at least in three main forms: (i) identity as construct; (ii) identity as invention; (iii) identity as nourished by writing.

Identity as construct. Identity is a construct in the sense that, since it does not have a stable form in time, at certain moments it acquires new, spontaneous forms as a consequence of the given events and actions of people. Such developments were already apparent in the city of Bari in 1884, when Raffaele De Cesare introduced the first issue of *Rassegna Pugliese* by writing that “The new Apulia that is appearing [...] is the Apulia to which Tommaso Columbo belongs”.

Columbo was a local merchant and entrepreneur: looking at his memories, we can think that he was an extraordinary kind of Italian (he had been one of the Garibaldi's volunteers in 1866), and an outstanding citizen of Bari, that he loved dealing with other cultures, what inspired him to accomplish great innovations for his city. Just to cite some of the Columbo's realizations: inspired by the Venice Scuola Superiore di Commercio (Higher School of Commerce) he inaugurated a School of Economics and Commerce in Bari – the second in Italy, it became a university School in the 1920s) – bringing together teachers who were among the greatest minds of their time in Bari (such as Francesco Carabellese and Sabino Fiorese); having bought some machinery in Turin, he opened a spinning factory in Bari in which he employed three hundred female workers; in 1869, with others businessmen from Bari, he established the Società Anonima di Navigazione Puglia (Apulia Navigation Company) and in 1875 a second

company of this type aimed at encouraging the maritime commerce, which had hitherto been quite weak in Bari; furthermore, as the town councillor responsible for excise duties, he reformed the excise regime, with the revenues paving the streets of the central district of Bari – until then paved with Macadam – with expensive and durable volcanic stones.

However, many other events contributed to the strengthening of the Bari emerging identity. In 1875 the restoration work of the ancient and famous 'Basilica di San Nicola' (Basilica of St. Nicholas) was begun, with special attention, also, to the diffusion of images from this work through the most popular photographic almanacs in Italy of that time. This attitude became widespread in other Apulian cities. De Liguori, for example, printed a photo album of the military arsenal of Taranto, as well as one of the revolving iron bridge built in Taranto in the second half of the XIX century on the sea channel between 'Small Sea' and 'Grand Sea'. In 1898 Bucci, an entrepreneur from Minervino Murge, advertised his new wine firm with a corporate picture story. It might be said that this wish for self-representation strengthened an emerging sense of identity. In 1884 *Rassegna Pugliese*, a journal of sciences, literature and arts, was published for the first time. The *Rassegna* contributed to public opinion making, encouraging 'the meeting of the most representative intellectual forces of the region' (Cioffi, 1989, p. 653). Moreover, the *Rassegna* contributed to sketching the outlines of a stereotype that saw the Apulian as epitomising the new era, able to take risks in economic activity and careful in combining

economic and political participation. In its role of an intermediary between different kinds of knowledge and experience, the journal paid great attention to the activity of the authorities/bodies and institutions that had been set up in the region to promote its development and consolidate its identity (Masella, 1989, p. 654). Lastly, the Laterza brothers moved their business from Putignano to Bari in 1896, so that in 1901 they were able to found their well-known publishing house, which still remains at top in Italy.

Identity as invention. This type of identity, which was by then in the making, was supported by the creation of a myth that was nothing but the interpretation of the city from the point of view of the local medieval architecture. In the 1880s and 1890s several exhibitions of medieval art were organised, intended as part of a strategy aimed at emphasising the features of an Apulian identity as distinct to a Neapolitan one (Zingarelli, 1989, p. 439). In this context, a certain number of intellectuals, industrialists, and experts began to support Apulia and/or Bari and the province of Bari presence outside the region and also to create cultural institutions such as the Commissione di Storia Patria (Commission for National History) and the Archivio Storico Pugliese (Apulian Historical Archive).

This new identity replaced the old image of Apulia as a land of sheep farming and brigands with a new one, that of a monumental Romanesque Apulia, whose indigenous character was highlighted. This new identity was finally determined in 1898, when the Turin Exhibition was organised and a special committee was set up to decide

which particular aspect of Apulia ought to be shown. The Apulia of archaeology and modern Apulia were abandoned and it was thus decided to extol Apulian *Romanesque*, a theme identified by F. Carabellese, and to produce plaster casts, pen-and-ink drawings, watercolours and photographs of the most important monuments of the region (Zingarelli, 1997, pp. 82-83). Organised by the local committee, this 'operation' consecrated the association of Apulia with the Romanesque style, becoming an identity symbol for the whole region. According to Zingarelli (1997, p. 84), this met the need the new local elites had in terms of their visibility. These forms of promotion were the basis of an intense movement of French and German travellers who came to Apulia in order to discover its art. Amongst these were the Frenchman Bertaux and the German Wackernagel, who, after a series of studies, research and analyses, revealed in 1908 the existence of sculptors – such as *Acceptus* – who were working already around the year 1040 at the top of the European levels (Belli D'Elia, 1987). At the 1911 Rome Exhibition this Romanesque image of Apulia triumphed once again and proved so successful that in 1914 the Alinari brothers devoted a whole volume to Apulian monuments, while Laterza published a tome to celebrate the centenary of the *New Town (Bari, 1813 – 1913)*.

Identity as nourished by writing. Indeed myths create theories, interpretations, and elaborations. In 1900 Paris inaugurated the Universal Exhibition, and the Scuola Superiore di Commercio (Higher School of Commerce) of Bari carried out a complex interdisciplinary survey of the city and its

province, whose three volumes, made up of writings by all its teachers, represented Bari at the Exhibition.

In 1900, Francesco Carabellese published an important contribution to the origin of the Romanesque style in Apulia. He stated that “In the XII century Apulia, for the first time, grandiose buildings start to be constructed ... It seems to take a new course, liberated from the fetters of timidity (...) and from the ties to Byzantine mannerism (...) which was about to crystallize. Having kept the best of Byzantine discipline, art in Apulia moved on freely and audaciously, in search of new models.” (Carabellese, 1900, p. 79). According to Carabellese, such were the consequences of the political importance achieved by the Apulian municipalities of the XII century. Moreover, it has to be noted that, according to Carabellese, Bari appears as the centre of a revolution “against the rapacious Byzantine officials”. Not only all social classes joined in this struggle, but also the bishops elected as heads of the towns and the abbots and Benedictine priories (Carabellese, 1900, p. 79): “the Benedictines (...) allied closely with the Norman troops. On this fertile soil (...) there emerged an Apulian art in the municipalities of the XII century, one of the first forms of Romanesque art.” In the first half of the XIII century, the Apulian municipalities enjoyed great economic vitality, as demonstrated, for instance, by the 1122 agreements between Bari and Venice. The Norman princes recognised the importance of the city of Bari, so that they not interfere with the local civil and commercial liberties. According to Carabellese, these civil liberties and the force of princely patrons produced grandiose works of

architecture; the outcome of a combination of Byzantine, Siculo-Arabic and Lombard elements. In conclusion, Carabellese widens the Romanesque myth by valuing it as unique and native, at the same time giving it a romantic interpretation, that is to say a civil liberty that creates art. In order to better emphasise the Romanesque period, he contrasts it with the period of Byzantine domination, seen as both rapacious and negative. I would like to propose a brief re-reading of these theories by Francesco Carabellese, comparing them with those of his contemporaries.

Musca (1987) considers the period between the end of the XI century and the beginning of the XII as a period of stability and consequently of greater security, especially in the last sixty years of Byzantine rule (1010-1070) (Musca, 1987, p. 294). Musca thus provides an interpretation of the Byzantine era which is different to that of Carabellese, even if he agrees with the latter on the economic renaissance of the XII century, which “does not remain completely alien to cultural production” (p. 302).

Belli D'Elia (1975, 2003) shares the Musca's view on a thriving Apulia under Byzantine rule, especially under the Byzantine governors or *catapans* Bojohannes (Boianus, Bogianus) and Basil Mesardonitis. According to her, it was indeed the Apulia's wealth that attracted the Norman avarice. Concerning the Romanesque style, Belli D'Elia refers to its '*sources*', rediscovered by Wackernagel, which consist in a series of wonderful sculptures dating back to circa 1040, that is to say made well before the arrival of the Normans in contradiction with the anti-Byzantine theory offered by Carabellese.

The difficult and complex identity of Bari and Apulia has thus been constructed by affirming and reneging *myths*: Apulia, and not “Apulias” (Puglie), is different to Naples, it acquires a new visibility thanks to the likes of Columbo, it imposes itself outside for its indigenous art, the Romanesque, on which much was written and theories about which are still being elaborated.

What of geography?

Albeit belatedly, geography also took part in Bari’s cultural re-awakening with the Maranelli’s texts, in particular with his book *Bari 1813-1913*, published as an elegant tome by Laterza in 1913. Maranelli depicted the city one century after the edict which founded the Murat’s town: ‘Between 1911 and 1913 there abruptly took place a real blossoming of articles, essays, pamphlets in which the necessity to weigh up the situation of a history mingled with the aspiration to trace strategic perspectives’ (Corvaglia, 1997, p.13): however this was the only geographical publication in the series of strategic cultural publications to which we are referring; it is necessary to highlight this because the Maranelli’s text is one of the first urban monographs elaborated by a geographer in Italy. Finally, Bari had also become a lively place from a cultural point of view. Before discussing the text, I felt it important to present Maranelli as a geographer, in order to understand his ideas more thoroughly. Maranelli declares himself to be a geographer and an economist, for, in his view, “economic phenomena are those which are more directly related to geographical conditions and also economic phenomena are those that, I

dare say, give material substance to all other social phenomena” (1913, p. 4). Maranelli, however, is also the geographer who introduced human geography from France to Italy, presenting and commenting in 1912 the Jean Brunhes’ text *La Géographie Humaine* (1910): he is therefore to be considered a human geographer as well. This equivocation, however, is explained with his acceptance of the definition of human geography as concerning “the works of man rather than the geography of masses and races” (Brunhes, 1912, p.402): hence the two definitions are no longer so distant from one another. In this text on Bari the two views, both economic and human, clearly mingle. Maranelli describes it as a perspective, a rather optimistic view; moreover, by proposing scenarios and identifying the crux of the matter, Maranelli also proposes solutions to a problem of urban development (Maranelli, 1946).

In 1911 the population of Bari numbered 103,000, while the city was already drawing a number of people from the smaller towns in the region. That is why the Murat district had already reached 2,000,000 sqm in the built up grid-based area. This construction began to increase in the light of the completion of the Acquedotto Pugliese (Apulian Aqueduct), which added a new asset to the city. Maranelli recognises the Bari regional function, with industrial and commercial establishments that he identified mainly with port activities. According to Maranelli, Bari at that time was “the most important harbour of the Southern Adriatic” (p. 47), with its port basin of 23 hectares which had “seen in recent times a remarkable increase which is equal, and in some cases even superior, to that of the other Italian ports

as concerns the shipping of goods and navigation” (p. 52). Therefore, it is most of all in the port that the author sees the future growth of the city. Hence Maranelli is keen to highlight the structural problems which still characterise the port, seeing as it lacked: a connection to the city railways and docks (big warehouses, canopies protecting the goods to be loaded, and the construction of a new pier in San Cataldo; these shortcomings also directly limited industry, owing to the slowness of transportation of raw materials to and from the local workshops; indeed, Maranelli complains that such works had already been planned in the 1906 *Ports Planning Scheme* and the lack of implementation thereof endangered the potential advantages Bari had due to its location.

As already stated, Maranelli (Maranelli, 1913, p. 64) constructs *scenarios*: visions that have been achieved over time: the municipality of Carbonara ought to become a suburb of Bari, the walls of the old city ought to be used for pedestrians, the castle, no longer a prison, ought to become a museum, the cathedral ought to dispense with its Baroque superstructures, there ought to be more cafés and hotels, given the high number of people passing through the station, etc. Furthermore, Maranelli demands more industrial areas, wanting them to be located not too far from the harbour, a harbour that is, according to him, the focal point of the city economy; he also suggests, for example, setting aside an area near the Bari-Barletta railway for manufacturing, seeing also a further increase of the harbour traffic (see p. 60) in the construction of new railways (e.g. the Bari-Locorotondo line). Apart from his

visions and suggestions, Maranelli identifies a series of problems to solve, for example the fact that a sewer had not yet been built, the lack of infrastructures for public education (p. 68), and the lack of a university, a lack that for him is “a huge distributive wrong” and “an unfair prejudice” (p. 68).

The most interesting parts of the Maranelli's text are the conclusions, which are of a political nature: Maranelli complains that revenue is not “only inadequate, but even less in proportion to that of other comparable urban centres” (p. 68); notwithstanding this, the citizens of Bari, clearly appreciating their goals, would make further sacrifices in order to support “the bright future awaiting this two-thousand-year-old city” (p. 68). Moreover, according to Maranelli, it was urgent to solve the financial problems of the city, which could not go on ambling along with “an exhausted, unbalanced, insufficient budget, which is enough only to feed sterile confrontations between parties that blame each other for the lack of care for public interests” (p. 71). Maranelli, a socialist, laments that, although these problems are self-evident, citizens do not participate in the great issues on which the future of Bari depends. Maranelli sees the lack of political education, that delays the formation of a collective conscience, as being a motive of this estrangement, a problem which derives from the citizens' distance from central government, so that he argued in favour of new institutional forms that might be closer to citizens.

Conclusions

In the end, what seems to come from the above insights is that for city growth and development political-economic

power, supported and promoted by cultural cognitive efforts by the local community, in alliance of both elitist and grassroots movements, is crucial and that a blend of rationality and passion and of reality and myth is a strategic ingredient of a successful framework. The whole set of the typical components of a city structure, *in primis* society-and-architecture, concurs to the mobilisation of efforts for creating a basic identity of the city and giving it a sound basis for being active and effective in the game for survival. In different ages and historical periods aims and problems of the city-in-development change but what remains fixed and in a sense 'native' is the city-community effort to reflect on the inside and outside situation and to develop a strategy for competing with it in a satisfying way: a reflection in which the role of culture and the accumulation of historical experiences, in intriguing coexistence of evidence and myth, are strongly important. The case-study of Bari is useful to investigate on the potentials and limits of some components of the development strategy which relate to multicultural blend, religion, art, urban and territorial infrastructure, role of cultural elites and of folk identities, and even the use of the 'media': the case of the city of Bari seems to show that vitality in the long run, from the XI to the XXI century, of this blend of efforts and micro-strategies is a key factor for nurturing a well sustained trend of events and outcomes in the developmental path.

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