Robin Chang (Aix-la-Chapelle)

Co-Temporalities of Temporary Use Stabilisation in Urban Regeneration: Insights and Interventions from Rotterdam

To understand how time and temporality influence urban transitions, shifts in both conceptual and methodological inquiries are fundamentally lacking. Even though it is acknowledged that re/conceptualising temporal dynamics in relation to broader processes of change is needed, a lack of means to "put concept into action" is marked (Krishnan, Aydin, and Comes 2024). This is no wonder as the methodological means for studying change processes in the built and lived environments often take conventions as given, rather than seeking time-sensitive forms of inquiry (Gerrits, Chang, and Pagliarin 2022). This contribution takes steps towards such shifts through a co-temporal approach to investigating temporary uses by civic actors in the context of urban regeneration. Temporary use is understood here as an activity or function with intentionally short or undefined durations (Bishop and Williams 2012, 5). Not only are these activities site- and time-specific, they provide punctual responses for cities and their communities as they attempt to mitigate broader challenges in urban development (Landgrave-Serrano, Stoker, and Crisman 2021). By juxtaposing short-term interventions with long-term urban regeneration through co-temporality, this contribution highlights spatially how, at the mercy and/or with the blessing of many other tensions in urban development, multiplicity characterises our expressions, manifestations, and transcriptions of time (French 2023).

Flanking the recognition of multiplicity, rhythm is also a pivotal dimension advanced in this contribution. Rhythm in relation to temporary uses manifests through functional patterns of adaptive reuse and reactivation in vacant space that can enable us to trace trajectories of socio-spatial regeneration. The combination of multiplicity and rhythm contrasts with conventional frameworks within urban planning and relevant disciplines; these tend to focus on frameworks of time that are static or anchored by rigidly durational meanings of how permanent or periods of activities and functions should be spatially situated. This contribution takes a critical and deviating tack by exploring co-temporal, intertwining, and rhythmic (a)synchronicities that might eventually become entrained or aligned and eurhythmic as a result of both endogenic and exogenic forces (Parkes and Thrift 1979). Drawing on case studies from Rotterdam (NL), this contribution frames trajectories of temporary use stabilisation as contributing to the co-temporalities of broader urban regeneration. Processes of temporary use layer and weave together and give life to time-as-process (Blagoev et al. 2023) embodied in urban interventions and practice. This time-as-process emphasizes a "relational" view of time embroiled in how we make-do or sense in the context of "disruption" (Blagoev et al. 2023, 20). At the same time rhythmanalytical

inspirations (Lefebvre and Régulier 1985) help show in tangible forms the multiplicity of rhythmic unfolding through temporary and adaptive reuse of physical and spatial artifacts as they synchronise in space while also catching to the regularities of permitting and contractual conditions. Tracing the multiplicity and the rhythmic makes visible the differently patterned trajectories of temporary uses that range from both tethered to travelling over space and longer periods of time.
Data collected between 2016 until 2022 inform set-theoretical analyses through fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analyses that illustrate differences between tethered and travelling trajectories of stabilisation (Chang 2022; Chang and Gerrits 2022). This is supplemented by follow-up work on emerging policies, which help show discernable qualities of both temporal and spatial entrainment. The aims of the work here are to inspire reflection and discussion on: How might spatial rhythms influence transition processes? Which conceptions and assumptions about time are highlighted through the emerging or juxtaposed rhythms? And what kind of changes in methodological thinking are required to do these new rhythmic meanings justice?

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Vera Henkelmann

Rhythms of Light – Multiple Temporalities in Medieval Cities and Their Religious Implications

According to divine will (Gen. 1:14), it was above all sunlight and moonlight in their alternation that were to structure human life. In fact, through the use of artificial light man increasingly intervened in this natural rhythm of day and night. In addition, it was necessary to structure the day beyond sunrise and sunset and to measure the time in between. Until the predominance of the mechanical clock, sunlight and shadow and the burning time of candles, were not the only means of measuring time, but they were a tried and tested one. However, neither the alternation of day and night nor the measured daytime or the periods of time they determined, had the same relevance and meaning for all groups in the city. While for the laity the working and business day was structured or a daily schedule was made possible and the closing time bell ended the working day, for the clergy, especially monks and nuns, the canonical hours applied. For much of the laity the night was essentially a time to sleep, whereas for the clergy it was illuminated by artificial light to provide space for nocturnal prayer.

Astronomical events such as the positions of the sun and moon throughout of the year structured periods of time beyond the individual day, which in the Middle Ages were often accompanied by special religious festivals. We see this sacred, often also liturgical measurement of time, for example, on Sunday as the first day of the week and especially at Easter. In particular, Easter Sunday, timed by the spring full moon, was the pivot for calculating other movable feasts such as Ascension, Pentecost and Corpus Christi. These feasts were usually characterised by a special use of light, culminating in Easter.
However, the times and periods determined by generally observable astronomical events did not apply equally to all religions: Let us think of the Jewish Sabbath, which differed from the Christian Sunday as a day of rest, but which was itself distinguished by a specific light ritual.

The festive light shining through the windows of the sacred rooms into the urban space expressed, on the one hand, this annual rhythm of feast days, and, on the other hand, it could and was obviously intended to visualize different times and time periods. For example, candles were sometimes required to be placed in street windows. Thus, the light shining out into the urban space was not only an indicator of the feast or celebration, but in some way claimed the surrounding urban space. The claiming of space by light is particularly evident in the candle lights carried through the city in Christian processions, especially at Candlemas and Corpus Christi.

Not only could light and time periods be distinct, they could also overlap and compete with each other. Think of late medieval churches, with their often numerous chapels and altars, where countless masses, sometimes sponsored by private individuals and corporations, were held in parallel, and where the use of light was a liturgical requirement. Gravesites in churches and cemeteries, which were illuminated on the anniversaries of the deceased, are a similar phenomenon. Not to be forgotten are the overlaps that can occur between the Jewish and Christian calendars of festivals, with feasts not only timed by light phenomena but also accompanied with a special use of light, e.g. Easter and Passover or Christmas and Hanukkah. Finally, contradictions could arise between secular and religious rhythms of time and light, for

example when night-time curfews had to be lifted during solemnities such as Christmas and Easter.

The paper aims to trace the coexistence of religious rhythms of light in medieval cities through written and pictorial sources and artefacts, exploring how light, light devices and the use of light contributed to the establishment, modelling, visualisation and regulation of temporal practices and rituals performed by different actors in the medieval city.

Ken Chitwood

Encountering Berlin's Religio-city and Co-Rituality in Urbanized Space(s)

One summer day, while walking the shorelines of the Schlachtensee, a lake in southwestern Berlin, I came across a group of worshippers in white robes wading into the water on its eastern edges. Drawing closer, I heard the preacher proclaiming, "the power of baptism," "the washing of water and Spirit," and "a promised regeneration of life" in Spanish as he laid his hands on a young man waist-deep in the lake. It was a baptismal service for three new members of a Steglitz-based charismatic congregation, Iglesia Evangélica Ministerio Europa Para Cristo. Founded in 2012 and led by Pastor Tony Martinez Martinez, the church regularly holds baptism services — both for new Christians and for those seeking to be baptized "in the Holy Spirit" — in the Schlachtensee.

That morning, as I watched Pastor Martinez Martinez dunk his congregants under the water, I also noted the passersby who gawked and stared, commented under their breath, or stopped to watch alongside me. Just a few meters down the shore, there was also a group of bathers wading naked into the water and swimming by as La Iglesia's new believers made a public profession of faith through the ritual of baptism. Speaking to a swimmer as they toweled themselves down, I was told they were there to bathe in nature, enjoy a sense of calm, and "restore the soul." The seeming contrast between evangelical Christians garbed in white robes with devotees of *Freikörperkultur* (FKK) disrobing nearby prompted several queries that day:

- In what ways might both of these rituals — baptism and FKK swimming — be considered acts of urban religiosity?
- How might they express different ritualities within Berlin's urban environs?
- As such, how do they coexist or come into conflict?
- What kind of co-temporalities and accounts of time and space do such generative frictions produce?

In the months that followed, I decided to become a student of the city and its religiosity and how that sits, comfortably or sometimes awkwardly, within, around, and alongside the making of Berlin as a late-modern city. My aim with this presentation is not to provide a *Reiseführer* on religion in Berlin. Nor is it to provide a comprehensive picture of the city's religious history or diversity. Instead, it is an inquiry-driven introduction to an urban scene simultaneously described as a "cosmopolitan cauldron of ideas," "remarkably secular," and even "pagan" by some commentators. Instead, I explore Berlin's "religio-city" (Luz 2023) through a focus on the performance of different rituals within its shared, urbanized space(s).

Using a mixture of *flânerie* and ethnography conducted from 2020-2022, I remark on Berlin's religious hyperdiversity and how multiple religious groups and individuals lay claim to the same space(s) through ritual, rhetoric, and imagination, elaborating on what this might reveal about the religiosity of urban environments more generally. In addition to the vignette above, my reflections draw on interviews and participant observation at the site of the House of One (a church, mosque, and synagogue housed in a single building, constructed on the site of one of Berlin's first churches), an examination of the contradictory conditions of contemporary Jewish life in the city, and exploring religiosity and secularization along with people behind the "Every Church in Berlin" project. This paper provides textured, narrative snapshots of diverse religious practices in Berlin to get a sense of how, where, and in what forms co-ritualities coexist in the city and how different accounts of time, space, and performance overlap and occupy the same space(s).

Jörg Rüpke

Co-temporality and urbanity in the ancient city of Rome

Calendars referred to agents beyond urban authorities and were put to work in festivals but also in narratives. They reflected and produced different temporalities, from a pre-urban past through multiple urban pasts to the different velocities of multiple presents and even possible futures. Whether in re-oralization and the audiences' remembrance or in the written organization of chronological (chronicles) or systematic knowledge ("Kalendergeschichten", cycles of reading), the impact of such temporal orders would include religious as much as non-religious knowledge and could well mediate that very borderline. This contribution will look into such phenomena and the underlying processes of temporalization in a comparative manner. Its basic claim is that the epigraphic and textual genre of "calendars" can be fruitfully interpreted as an instance of a reflection on urbanity. This urbanity can be explained as a result of religious co-temporality as well as a factor in religious change, as will be shown for the ancient city of Rome.

Beate Löffler

Asynchronicity in urban religions. Social change and spatial permanence

In the eye of an architectural historian, the city is a never-ending conundrum of asynchronicity, in which social change rubs against the material resistance of infrastructure or legal frameworks, cultural traditions or just institutional inertia.
This is evident when looking at the sacral topography of cities in Germany, whose spatial and symbolic disposition is completely oriented towards a dominance of Christian practice of faith. In 1970, Roland Barthes described the centre of a western city as a place of abundant social interaction: "(...) it is here that the values of civilization are gathered and condensed: spirituality (churches), power (offices), money (banks), merchandise (department stores), language (agoras: cafe': and promenades)". This summary depicts well the urban diversity of the bourgeois city of European modernity, but does not provide space for temples, synagogues or mosques.

In consequence, there are serious differences in urban temporalities between the congregations of the two dominant Christian churches in Germany, on the one hand, and the ideological and religious minorities, on the other hand. The former follow the daily, weekly and annual schedule of faith and congregation in fixed spatial frames of reference of the parish and its church, which have often existed for centuries. Yet, the decline in church attendance is a challenge today, affecting the Christian institution's role in social discourse and the maintenance of historic built environment in their care. The majority of the latter, the minority communities, however, follow their rites in a context of urban mobility of worship space and parishioners. Their religious landscape is characterised by changing interim spaces and institutional formation on the one hand, and commuting to celebrate together on the other.
In result, the processes of place seeking, place making and place keeping and, occasionally, place losing in urban religion today are manifold and idiosyncratic, depending on the specific history and identity of the respective religion and its legal status. The paper shows the tenacious work of religious minorities in defining spaces of their own by looking at both Muslim and Orthodox communities since their establishment in post-war Germany. In addition, it looks at the rewriting of urban space and parish history following parish mergers and the abandonment of historic church buildings by the two predominant Christian churches. This underlines the differences in perception of urban time and space among the congregations despite the shared the focus on transcendent eternity and points to the influence of the real estate market and/or social norms for urban religion.

Anna-Katharina Rieger (Graz)

Co-temporal and heterochron – the archaeology of various temporalities in shared sacred spaces of Roman Pompeii

In a long-lived urban fabric like Pompeii's not only spatial entities are densly agglomerated, but also the material expressions of people's practices and their temporal structures. Since the city's spaces are dynamic and produced by social practices (Lefebvre 1984) and the result of (accumulated) events (Casey 1993), time is immanent to them. However, archaeology faces the methodological problem that time can only be analysed if it materialises.
Drawing on the examples of four shared sacred spaces in Roman Pompeii dedicated to Venus, Athena, and Apollon (6th c. BCE to 79 CE) as well as to Isis (3rd c. BCE to 79 CE) and their different phases of frequentation and renovations, the contribution asks about the various temporal regimes and time layers manifest in them. Yet, time does not equate time: Whose time – social, individual, absolute time – materialises in the Pompeian examples and in what way? What time layer (past, present, future) is recognisable in what kind of image, object, building?
Different "pasts" co-existed in the shared spaces of Roman Pompeii and provoked certain behaviour f.e. of negligence, care, adaptation, creating competing histories: Century-old statues in the Apollon Temple stood next to the modernised temple in the style of the 1st c. BCE; imagery stylistically referring back to past times like the archaising statues in the Isis Temple stood next to portraiture of the 1st c. BCE; Athena Temple in the Foro Triangolare was maintained but in a ruined status and became a re-creational area of a memorisable past.

Different “presents” were at work as well, because people used the spaces in their various phases in different rhythms of activity. Individual and social time coincides f.e. in the Foro Triangolare in the 1st c. CE with the ruined Athena Temple in midst of a recreational area. In the temples of Venus and Isis the collective, repetitive ritual represented in images of processions or daily rituals for the deities, and the individual time visible in the dedications as one-time activities run parallel.
Different “flows of time” materialise not only in the images of ephemeral happenings, such as processions (Venus, Isis, Hercules), but also in objects such as reused statue bases (Apollo), re-painted imagery (Isis), or additions to the architectural layout (Venus), which became part of layered activities in the sacred places. In addition, Pompeian officials after the re-foundation of the city in 80 BCE introduced the measuring of exact time, i.e. its control, to the sacred precincts of Athena and Apollo by means of sundials.
Different “futures” are the most difficult to grasp. However, the dedicational objects from the Isis Temple, coins from the Venus Temple, the remains of sacrifices on the altar to Apollo represent the communicational act to be heard and received by the addressed deity, hoping for a response in the future. Any religious communication – either individual or social – via dedication, prayer, ritual act of sacrifice has this perspective to the time beyond the present. However, these various temporal regimes coinciding in the shared sacred spaces are not only co-temporal but embrace always a heterochronic aspect (Foucault 1967), a disruptive moment when various temporalities collide in the flows of social and individual temporal structures of the city.

Federica Mirra

Overlapping temporalities: square dancing in China’s south-western regions

This paper examines the popular practice of square dancing as a significant lens to understand the temporal disjunctions and overlaps in China’s southwestern cities. In the People’s Republic of China (PRC), since the 1990s, crowds of mostly retired women have spontaneously gathered in the squares, parks, and streets of their rapidly changing cities to collectively perform square dancing. Square dancing consists in a group of people gathering and performing together in the public space accompanied by loud music. Today, it is a very popular activity for retired people as well as younger dance crews and it has been regulated through rules and national competitions by the Chinese central government. In this paper, I retrace the origin of square dancing and identify overlaps with its previous expressions to suggest that this practice allows for different temporalities. Overall, I maintain that this congregational activity – square dancing – can offer an insight into China’s socio-cultural changes and perhaps suggest the desire for a temporal and spatial shift, where urban rhythms are less frenetic and urban space allows for spontaneous social exchanges.

Though the popularity of square dancing is recent, its origin goes back a few centuries. As early as the Song dynasty (10th – 13th century), a collective dance (yangge) was performed by peasants to celebrate the end of the harvest. The dance would mimic the agricultural labour and be accompanied by songs and music (Graezer & Martin, 1999, p. 31). A major change occurred since the 1920s – 1930s, as officials repurposed this physical exercise for ideological purposes. In the Maoist era (1949 – 1976) and during the years of the Cultural Revolution (1966 – 76), yangge was deployed to engage with the masses and encourage the

formation of a collective identity. Today, many children born and raised at that time have grown into adults and form a generation who vividly remembers yangge and other communal morning exercises. They remember a life organised by the Party around collective activities in the countryside, yet they live in big metropolises where the frenetic rhythms and private housing dictate new forms of social exchange. Many of them perform different kinds of square dances, including yangge; while they do not practice with a conscious political intent, their dancing reveals a sense of nostalgia for the collective social life and the public spaces they were used to. On the other hand, though, they do not miss the constraints imposed on their private life and enjoy being able to express themselves by joining this leisure activity.

Finally, I argue that in the highly regulated space of Chinese cities, square dancing can be viewed as an indirect cry for more open spaces and collective lifestyles where urban dwellers can socialise and express themselves. Since the Opening Door and Reform Policy in 1978, the PRC has undergone extensive urban and socio-economic transformations, which have allowed China to enter the global market and start competing internationally via the construction of spectacular cities. In the span of a few decades, urban villages transformed into sprawling metropolises encroaching the countryside and replacing old neighbourhoods. The transformations have been so extensive that urban scholars, including Wu Fulong (2007) and Thomas J. Campanella (2008), have hypothesised an 'urban revolution' to recognise the cultural, social, emotional, and environmental trauma associated with the extensive scope and scale of Chinese metamorphosis. In this context, square dancing provides an alternative tool to grasp how space is negotiated and can evoke different temporalities. As square dancing happens in public spaces and highly relies on social relationships among and beyond its members, it is a significant lived experience which provides insights into China's everchanging society and space.

My research builds upon the recent scholarship on square dancing (Wilcox 2019, 2020, 2022; Huang 2016; Sun 2023; Tian and Wise; Chen 2018) and, more widely, everyday aesthetics in China (Liu 2014, 2018, 2022; Lin 1937; Liu and Carter 2014). Moreover, I draw upon western literature on the everyday in the city, specifically the works by Henri Lefebvre (1987, 1991, 2013) and Ben Highmore (2002), to articulate the complex co-temporalities in Chinese cities today. Primary and secondary data have been collected during my fieldwork through participant observation and interviews. By exploring the history of the popular bottom-up practice of square dancing against China's dramatic social and urban transformations, this research concludes that past, present, and future are intertangled and constantly re-negotiated in China's urban space. This research is part of a three-year project The City as Art: living aesthetics in twenty-first century China (Jan 2023 – Dec 2025) funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

Fraya Frehse (São Paulo) & Nina Baur (Berlin)

The historicity of interaction patterns and the (re)production of urban public space: Street food as empirical pretext

This paper aims to address the following Conference question: 'Can the urban setting be considered a space of diverse temporal practices that overlap?'. Particularly, we are interested

in conceptualizing the impact that symbolically loaded rules, or patterns, of social interaction have on the social processes involved in the production and/or reproduction of urban space in western metropolises. To put it briefly: How does social interaction interfere with the historicity of urban settings?
At first sight, the temporally fleeting nature of the reciprocal symbolic effects that human beings in physical co-presence have upon each other and/or upon material/symbolic goods in places speaks against any possibility of either bringing about or keeping on space as a socially relational product. Apparently, things do not seem to change much when we focus especially on urban public space. This conceptual abstraction comprises the set of empirically given city spaces characterized by their widest possible accessibility - whether in physical-material, legal, social or informational terms: streets and squares. How does the ephemeral nature of the bodily and materially mediated, verbal and non-verbal intercourse that characterizes social activities such as, for example street-food vending, interfere with the historical ruptures and continuities implicit in the social (re)production of streets and squares as paradigmatic urban public spaces in western metropolises?
The paper argues that this interference takes place by means of what one of us has termed 'temporal density' of social interaction. The variable durée of interaction patterns impacts differently on the physical-material and social appearance of public-space settings.
In order to demonstrate this statement in the framework of this paper, we will address the issue comparatively by assuming specific documentary data (street photographs) regarding street-food vending in Singapore and São Paulo in their respective post-colonial times as starting points. In methodological terms, we will combine Nina Baur's process pattern analysis with Fraya Frehse's 'regressive-progressive rhythmanalysis'. What hence will come to the conceptual forefront is the fact that institutionally more or less formalized patterns of social interaction have diversified impacts on the historicity of urban public spaces.

PD Dr. Heiner Stahl

Eating Ice Cream between 1780 to 1830. Urban Co-Temporalities, courtly and civic cultures of luxurious food and contested gastronomical spaces

For your *Urban Co-Temporalities: 2024 Joint Conference* I submit an abstract that focus on food cultures, competing tastes and the performativity of preparing and presenting alimentary goods at courtly and civic tables as well as in restaurants and urban streets. The table is a social space that chains social bonds and hierarchies, at which fine dining and gustatory experiences establish rhythms and produce temporalities. Eating together obtain almost the relevance of a civic religious practice. A kitchen, understood as a highly specialized working environment with a significant division of labour, is a laboratory of the sensing and tasting, in which knowledge about convenient cooking is performed, in which the assessment of time and temperature is connected to the sensory textures of the dishes. By the way, Henri Lefebvre (1967; 1968) did also include sensorial contingencies in his writings about the urban spaces, daily, pastoral, economical and seasonal rhythms (Lefebvre/Régulier 1986) and the flows of everyday live within it.
My contribution is built upon archival material several aristocratic origins like MecklenburgSchwerin/Strelitz, Kingdom of Saxony at Dresden (Iwanzeck 2016), Duke of Thurn and Taxis at Regensburg, Saxony-Altenburg, Saxony-Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt and Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach that explicitly mark the provisioning of courtly kitchens, lists of

menus, table orders and inventories of tools to prepare and serve meals. In addition, it relates to collections of recipes that are kept in the arcane like the one compiled at the Duke of Thurn and Taxis' household administration or that are published in cookbooks or reflected upon in so called gastro-philosophy (Brillat-Savarin 1825) and gustatory reminiscence (Kielmannsegge 1814). All those practices of notating fine tastes asymmetrically corelate with regulations of public health, concerning the selling of Ice cream in 1830s Leipzig (Leipzig City Archive, Section II, K1339, Bl. 1-13), or in terms of aggregating interests of local pastry confectioners against competitors, many a time seasonal migrant workers performing gastronomic art with frozen goods (Stahl 2022, 2023), temporarily offering their services in other cities (Plauen City Archive, III, IV, I, 77 and 86).
From this archival material I will deduce procedures of spacing/placing that enfold in environments of mediated cooking knowledge (books), of gastronomical work (kitchens), of gustatory indulgence (tables) and of eating ice cream in public (streets). Sensorial detection is a mode of exploring space and of reformulating, rearranging, and redirecting its contents and the social and cultural hierarchies that were related with pathways of communication.

Joseph Kretzschmar

Between 'fish-time' and Northern Renaissance: co-temporalities in the Bremen 'local time zone', 1400-1600

In order to be experienced by human beings, temporalities must manifest or be manifested – as meaning represented by objects or as perceptible dimensions of events and processes associated with different temporal structures and rhythms. For this reason, complex but concrete textures of co-temporalities can emerge in a single place. In the pre- and early modern city of Bremen, one such place was the market square.
The first focus of this study is on the layers of time that were embedded in the physical objects of the site: the new Roland statue (1404) and the figures that decorated the exterior of the town hall, which was also newly built (1405-10). On the one hand, different temporalities became tangible through these sculptures and were intentionally blended by the artists; on the other hand, although the sculptures did not change physically, their "temporal rhetoric" did over time, in particular through Renaissance ideas.
The second focus is on the co-temporalities of the daily market that took place on the square. As a complex fabric of temporal structures and rhythms of different events and processes, 'market time' was rather 'market times'. How these temporalities influenced each other and were regulated by Bremen's urban actors can only be grasped by disentangling them.
The first part analyzes the temporalities sedimented in the sculptures around the market square. Since the 15th century, the Roland statue and the town hall figures—the prince-electors and the emperor on the front facing the market, the Old Testament prophets on the east and west sides and St. Peter facing the cathedral—have carried meanings that refer to different layers of time: Events in the recent past of the city of Bremen, which were the subject of local historiography and were in part still remembered by contemporary witnesses; the distant past related to Roland and the Holy Roman Empire as well as the 'historical deep time' of Christian salvation history and its specific temporal-typological structures, which were reflected in the biblical figures. Reading these sculptures in relation to each other reveals complex interconnections. In the course of time, however, some of the embedded meanings have changed drastically: although all the sculptures survived iconoclastic destruction, probably in the late 16th or early 17th century the four prophets Ezekiel,

Jeremiah, Isaiah and David on the west side of the town hall were reinterpreted as the ancient philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and Cicero. Humanist and Reformation ideas were now combined at the political power center of Bremen, but the typological connection between the Old Testament foretellers of Christ on the west side and the three other prophets and St. Peter, as a symbol of the New Testament and the fulfillment, on the east side was thus destroyed – in fact, 'profane' time layers displaced the biblical ones.
The second part focusses on time as a "dimensions of events and processes". The rhythm of the daily market that took place on the square was fundamentally structured by the Christian liturgical calendar. As Sundays and high feasts were considered sacred times, the daily market was forced to take regular breaks. However, another Christian time structure was important for the temporality of the event itself: the rhythms of fasting were deeply interwoven with 'market time', as they strongly influenced customer demand. "Fish-time" was particularly important here, as fish was a highly desired food during fasting. Fish, however, had its own temporalities that required special attention: the different breeding rhythms were crucial for fishers, but the temporal imperative of fish decay was a omnipresent temporal phenomenon, leading to several city council ordinances and giving rise to different practices of handling. After all, the daily market was already structured by the rhythm of clock time. The church clocks, visible and audible to everyone from the marketplace, structured the schedule for merchants and guild members, perhaps even leading to a feeling of 'time pressure' due to conflicts with other temporalities; customers, on the other hand, probably had no reason to buy their groceries as quickly as possible – the temporality of their market visit was shaped by the rhythms of conversation, listening and strolling, since encounters, displaying status or sharing rumors and news were essential aspects of the market experience for most.
Both of these focal points came together in the historical everyday experience of the market square. They were related to different forms of perception, but as I will show, there were also various 'meeting points' between these co-temporalities.

Aimée Plukker (Ithaca)

'Rhythms of the other': Urban Temporalities and Tourism in the Work of Henri Lefebvre

In 1961 a fashion article in *Italy*, a tourism promotional magazine, described the modern and historical features of the city's build environment, stating that each district in Rome, "even the most modern ones, have their roots in history and can boast a fabulous past."[1] The temporal dichotomy reflected in this example is illustrative for how in the growing post-WWII tourism industry urban representations became increasingly intertwined with both notions of the past and present. While historical features of tourist destinations were emphasized in tourism promotion and linked to ideas of authenticity, modern features of the city were also promoted to present a developed tourism infrastructure to attract potential tourists. In their rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean cities, Henri Lefebvre and Catherine Régulier describe tourism as an essential modern phenomenon and point at exactly these paradoxical features:

1 *Italy* (November, 1961), pp. 53-17, Biblioteca ENIT, Rome. Italy was a multilingual (English, Italian, Spanish, German, French) tourism promotional magazine that was published by the ENIT (The Italian National Tourism Organization) and the Italian State Railways.

tourism longs for rhythms "of the other," while it also distorts space.[2] This paper explores the use of different temporalities in the tourism industry, with a focus on U.S. tourism to Rome, Berlin, and Amsterdam during the early Cold War (1945-1970).

After the Second World War, U.S. tourism to Western Europe was stimulated as part of the Marshall Plan in order to fill the dollar-gap: the imbalance of imports and exports between the United States and Europe. During this process, tourism was used a political tool to create a transatlantic alliance and shared identity: that of "the West." Opposed to the Communist East, "the West" not only referred to contemporaneous conceptions of democracy, liberalism, and capitalism, but it also entailed a specific view on the past of "Western civilization" and ideals for the future. In order to attract U.S. tourists, the European tourism industry had to adapt its facilities and infrastructure, such as offering hotel rooms with separate baths, ice-cubes and English-speaking menus and tour guides. Simultaneously U.S. tourists expected an authentic experience when visiting the Old World of "Western Civilization." Using a theoretical framework based on Lefebvre's temporal observations, such as described in *Critique of Everyday Life*, *the Production of Space* and "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," this paper explores the temporal contradictions and competing histories in the postwar tourism industry. In what ways did the tourism industry create distorted rhythms in the newly obtained "leisure time"? The paper argues that tourism offers a useful lens to uncover co-temporalities and different views of past, present, and future within the context of urbanized space and the postwar creation of "the West" as transatlantic identity. Through a focus on tourism publications and infrastructure it examines how temporalities were strategically produced and commodified in promoting these cities as emblematic touristic destinations of "the West."

Maryam Rahmani (Erfurt)

Religious sorrow and the national joy: the conflicting rhythms of commemoration in post-revolutionary Iran

With more than 250 commemorations, Iran's national calendar has the highest number of rituals compared to all the other national calendars worldwide. These commemorations increase annually according to the State's macro-cultural policies.
While the inflation in the number of rituals and their resonance are significant subjects for sociological research, the multiplicity of the origin of these calendric rituals has only added to the complexity and dimensions of the issue.
The commemoration days in Iran's calendar are derived from two different time systems, namely solar and lunar Hijri. While the first covers ancient Persian rituals like Nowruz, the second consists of religious rituals like Muharram and Ramadan, shared among Muslims. As the lunar year falls short of the solar year by around 11 days, every once in a while, a commemoration from the lunar calendar falls on a solar-based commemoration. Such a coincidence is unchallenged in many cases. Nevertheless, it reveals a noticeable divergence between society and the State in prioritizing national or religious commemoration. Even more

2 Henri Lefebvre and Catherine Régulier, "Attempt at the Rythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," in: Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), 103-104.

so when one of the coincided commemorations (often the national) is joyful in essence, and the other(religious) is sorrowful.
In the last forty years, Iran's State has defined *religion* as the focal point and the pillar of the collective identity. By promoting the idea that we are Shiites first and Iranians second, the executive cultural institutions have prioritized the performance of religious rituals over national ones. How does the State regulate these kinds of joyful-sorrowful coincidences? How does society respond to this temporal politics and handle these essentially conflicting rhythms?
During the fieldwork and the narrative interviews I conducted in 2019 in Tehran, I realized that such joy-grief coincidence can be a source of stress and guilt. The respondents expressed that the multiplicity of occasions, especially the overlapping of happy and sad commemorations, creates conflictual feelings. The origin of these feelings can be traced to the gap between One's family's value system and the values promoted by the State.
In one of the most interesting examples that seemed to be remembered by most respondents, when the solar new year (Nowruz) collided with the most significant Shiite mourning month of Muharram in 2003, the society experienced significant confusion. While the State, through schools and its affiliated media, started a campaign that discouraged people from celebrating and cherishing Nowruz, people took a different model. They tried to find a middle way, for example, performing New Year's rituals, such as visiting families and friends' houses, but not congratulating them on the occasion of the new year. The more religious spectrum attended some of the rituals; however, they wore black to signify the mourning for Hussain, the third Imam of the Shiites, at the same time. In some other cases, individuals felt even distant from their families. Between the two sacred times, they tended to the joyful occasion, which was not accepted by the family or the official system. In their memory, society made them feel guilty about being happy on the day that Imam was martyred. Here, the calendar as the State's temporal platform is perceived to devalue joyful occasions and emotionally dictate how the individuals must feel.
The policy of prioritizing religious rituals implemented in the calendar is associated with the "religiousization" of the meaning and content of national occasions. Joyful national rituals such as Yalda (the longest night of the year), derived from the Zoroastrian calendar, are rebranded in the calendar with new ideological titles. Nowruz is addressed with Shiite suffixes and adjectives such as Alawi, Fatimid, or Husseini and filled with sacred elements of the Qur'an, prayers, and shrines.
Implementing such policies has widened the gap between the institutional religion and that of the folks, as on the part of the society, it is interpreted as the State's tendency to grieve. It is also described as the State's attempt to censor the non-religious past and remove the non-Shia elements of the Iranian identity.

Paladia Ziss (Birmingham)

Asynchronicity, precarity and exclusion – urban sociabilities and co-temporalities in refugeehosting communities in Istanbul, Turkey

More than 500,000 Syrian refugees have settled in Istanbul since 2011, the beginning of the Syrian revolution and civil war. Most have temporary protection status. This is a limited legal status that provides some access to education and healthcare, but restricts free movement

within Turkey and abroad, does not give automatic access to formal employment and does not provide pathways to secure permanent residency or citizenship. As migration scholars Şahin Mencütek and colleagues (2023) argue, Syrians are kept in "strategic temporality", that is, under legal and political-economic governance that maintains Syrians' temporariness on Turkish territory and structures their experiences of the present and future.
This paper puts debates on the governance of marginalised migrants through time in conversation with questions of migrants' urban sociabilities, rhythms and temporalities. Syrians in Turkey are obliged to find their own housing, and mostly settle in working-class neighbourhoods with other poor residents with own histories of migration and displacement, including Kurds and migrants from central Anatolia. Intimate and recurrent relations with neighbours contain high normative value and expectations in both Syrian and Turkish societies. Neighbourhood solidarity and mutual aid is a core element of everyday social life, and usually should include in-person visits, sharing food, sharing care obligations while maintaining social control and respectability. Against this backdrop, this paper seeks to understand neighbourhood relations between refugee newcomers and more longer-term urban neighbours, adopting a temporal analytical lens. It asks how space and time shape how Syrian newcomers interact with other residents in the neighbourhoods, including other Syrians, Turkish citizens from a range of backgrounds and other migrants, and how these urban co-temporalities are in turn implicated in larger temporal structures of migration governance that structure of time, space and social life.
The empirical material of the paper draws on the Istanbul section of ethnographic fieldwork for a larger PhD project on the politics of time in urban displacement in Turkey and Germany. The author conducted narrative interviews with Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens in working class neighbourhoods in the West of Istanbul, as well as participant observation of neighbourhood initiatives, and everyday life of Syrian and Turkish families.
Drawing on the notion of the chronotope by literary theorist Mikhail Bakthin (1981) and building on the conferences' theme of co-temporalities, the paper argues that, against normative notions of neighbourliness, neighbourhood relations were characterised by leading separate lives not only in time but also in space. Specifically, the spatio-temporalities of the political economy of the Turkish refugee reception system meant that Syrians were obliged to constantly labour to survive. As a result, relations with neighbours were often characterised by temporal rhythms of asynchronicity, shaping dialogical chronotopes of separation. Long work schedules meant that interlocutors just had no time to engage in mutual neighbourly solidarity and connections. At the same time, these everyday rhythms of neighbourliness were implicated in longer histories and political economies of racism and socio-political exclusion. Where rhythms overlapped and social chronotopes *were* synchronised, interactions were often characterised by distrust, tension and conflict. Thus, for Syrians, asynchronicity emerged as a strategy to foster invisibility and negotiate everyday experiences of exclusion and racist differentiation. Simultaneously, for some, over time and conditioned by shared experiences, synchronisation of everyday rhythmical encounters could contribute to overcoming differences. Thus, in "chronotopes of encounter", sharing sustained everyday rhythms could lead to the "collapse of social distances" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 243).

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Anna-Katharina Rieger, Graz

Co-temporal and heterochron – the archaeology of various temporalities in shared sacred spaces of Roman Pompeii

In a long-lived urban fabric like Pompeii's not only spatial entities are densly agglomerated, but also the material expressions of people's practices and their temporal structures. Since the city's spaces are dynamic and produced by social practices (Lefebvre 1984) and the result of (accumulated) events (Casey 1993), time is immanent to them. However, archaeology faces the methodological problem that time can only be analysed if it materialises.

Drawing on the examples of four shared sacred spaces in Roman Pompeii dedicated to Venus, Athena, and Apollon (6th c. BCE to 79 CE) as well as to Isis (3rd c. BCE to 79 CE) and their different phases of frequentation and renovations, the contribution asks about the various temporal regimes and time layers manifest in them. Yet, time does not equate time: Whose time – social, individual, absolute time – materialises in the Pompeian examples and in what way? What time layer (past, present, future) is recognisable in what kind of image, object, building?

Different "pasts" co-existed in the shared spaces of Roman Pompeii and provoked certain behaviour f.e. of negligence, care, adaptation, creating competing histories: Century-old statues in the Apollon Temple stood next to the modernised temple in the style of the 1st c. BCE; imagery stylistically referring back to past times like the archaising statues in the Isis Temple stood next to portraiture of the 1st c. BCE; Athena Temple in the Foro Triangolare was maintained but in a ruined status and became a re-creational area of a memorisable past.

Different "presents" were at work as well, because people used the spaces in their various phases in different rhythms of activity. Individual and social time coincides f.e. in the Foro Triangolare in the 1st c. CE with the ruined Athena Temple in midst of a recreational area. In the temples of Venus and Isis the collective, repetitive ritual represented in images of processions or daily rituals for the deities, and the individual time visible in the dedications as one-time activities run parallel.

Different "flows of time" materialise not only in the images of ephemeral happenings, such as processions (Venus, Isis, Hercules), but also in objects such as reused statue bases (Apollo), re-painted imagery (Isis), or additions to the architectural layout (Venus), which became part of layered activities in the sacred places. In addition, Pompeian officials after the re-foundation of the city in 80 BCE introduced the measuring of exact time, i.e. its control, to the sacred precincts of Athena and Apollo by means of sundials.

Different "futures" are the most difficult to grasp. However, the dedicational objects from the Isis Temple, coins from the Venus Temple, the remains of sacrifices on the altar to Apollo represent the communicational act to be heard and received by the addressed deity, hoping for a response in the future. Any religious communication – either individual or social – via dedication, prayer, ritual act of sacrifice has this perspective to the time beyond the present. However, these various temporal regimes coinciding in the shared sacred spaces are not only co-temporal but embrace always a heterochronic aspect (Foucault 1967), a disruptive

moment when various temporalities collide in the flows of social and individual temporal structures of the city.

Marlis Arnhold (Bonn)

Past, present and the city as imagined in the third century CE marble plan of Rome

The *Forma Urbis severiana* is a huge marble plan of the city of Rome which was created in between 203 and 211 CE. Measuring 13 x 18.10 metres it was displayed in the Forum Pacis at Rome, in a room next to the cult room dedicated to the goddess Pax, Peace, where it hang on the right lateral wall. Ever since the discovery of the first group of fragments during the 16th c. CE, the plan fascinated scholars and public alike. Although the entire built space of the city is shown, it does not give an exhaustive overview of all buildings and monuments. For instance, various minor cults sites such as shrines and mithraea are missing, even though insights into the layouts of the buildings are regularly given. Furthermore, the ground plans used to visualize the built structures preserve many details of the architectures, but also contain inaccuracies, such as the number of columns of a building. In other cases, states of buildings have been depicted which no longer existed by the time the plan had been completed. All this points to a mutual dependency of the way the plan was created and of the manner of representation of the individual map elements including all their discrepancies.
While archaeological and historical scholarship has long been preoccupied with the reconstruction of the surviving parts of the originally 150 marble slabs, as well as with questions of building identification and urban topography, only few researchers have focussed on the representation of the city itself, its iconography and its semantic content. The contribution presented here builds on key observations from these latter studies and explores individual points raised therein in greater depth. The respective interplay of the temporal and spatial imagination of the city of Rome as evident from its representation on the *Forma Urbis severiana* and the latter's visibility and perceptibility by ancient viewers are the subject of this paper.
It thus combines theoretical and methodological approaches of spatiotemporality and imagination. It is shown that a very specific image of the city of Rome is presented, which can best be associated with the places and rhythms of the city's socially, politically, intellectually and culturally leading social circles. Other spheres of urban life – that is spaces such as the sites of associations and of the lower and even the middle social strata, the 'haunts' of the 'dubious figures of the night' (as for instance well attested in ancient literature for the Esquiline area), and, as far as we can tell, even those of the dead, were left out. As a representation of the city as a whole, the *Forma Urbis severiana* remains incomplete not only because of its fragmentation, but also in a figurative sense, by omitting structural details while emphasising others. The plan thus created a highly construed urban image, which not only contributed significantly to its meaning and original function, but also determined the way it was perceived: The learned viewer of the highest social circles could undoubtedly make out central reference points of his daily life and rhythms in the plan and perhaps even recognise the one or other of these among the more accentuated map features. Those of other social groups of the city were, however, less obvious or even lacked completely. The plan thus alluded to very specific urban realities, which not only contributed significantly to its

meaning, but also addressed a specific audience that, from personal experience, easily connected with the city, its parts, buildings and monuments as imagined.

In order to provide insight into the dialogue thus formed and into the multiple competing realities that necessarily resulted from it- both imagined and real, individual and connected to different groups of people in the city-, the argumentation of this paper follows various steps. Starting with a glimpse at the representation of the city and the history of the plan's transmission and investigation necessary for methodological reasons, the representation of place, space and time on the marble plan are closely looked at. In doing so, it is underlined that the known dependency of the depiction on cadastral plans goes hand in hand with both a horizontal and a vertical representation of urban space. This leads to the question of what effects the inclusion of the vertical built urban space has in the discussions on a conceptual level, particularly with regard to approaches such as co-spatiality and co-temporality. It is argued that the vertical dimension both separates activities in one and the same place by literally elevating them to different levels, but also enables them to take place at the same time. The result is an increase in the complexity of urban space and the urbanity generated as a consequence.

Attention is then directed to the temporal depth of the grown city in relation to the representation of different levels of time, that is past and present, on the plan. In this regard, the temporally very conflated representation of the city on the plan is striking. Buildings and monuments deriving from different periods are shown without visual indication of their time of origin. Past and present merge with the mentioned temporal discrepancies of the representation. While the latter probably did not escape the viewer of the early 3rd c. CE, knowledge of them certainly faded in the course of time and became lost to the viewers, to whom the image of the city presented itself in altered and even more conflated ways. With the passing of time the plan itself became a historical artefact conveying an idea of an earlier state of the city, the discrepancies and errors of which increasingly blurred into the city's (hi)storical memory.

Christina Williamson (University of Groningen)

Deep-time narratives and co-temporalities at urban sanctuaries in the Graeco-Roman world - The Asklepieion of Pergamon

Short abstract

Temporality, especially a sense of deep time, is arguably a critical factor towards the conceptualization of 'urbanity' in ancient cities. Prestigious cities were those that could boast a deep past, steeped in myth and showing an enduring relation with the gods. Religion was thus at the center of these temporal narratives, with sanctuaries as prime timekeepers of their cities, regulating urban rhythms with their festivals, and retaining civic memory in their spaces. But how was this sense of deep time constituted? How did individuals or families, from various backgrounds, insert their own temporalities at shrines regulated by the elite? To examine this in higher relief, this paper develops the concept of 'co-temporality', extending Lévy's use of 'co-spatialité' (2018) in seeking overlap of intention and meaning across different stakeholders. With the sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamon as point of reference, the various media of temporalities -e.g. myth, ritual, dedicatory practices- are identified along with their

agents and audiences. This approach lets us both differentiate the various types and agencies of temporal narratives and understand their interdependency as an assemblage of deep time - the one constituting the other.

Introduction

One of the greatest waves of urbanization in the ancient world took place in the Hellenistic period, with new cities being founded in the East by Alexander the Great and his successors. The resulting urban impact has been broadly studied from the perspective of globalization, with a focus on migration, cultural interactions, and processes of empire (e.g. Pitt and Versluys 2014). At closer range, the developing concept of city layout and especially an evolving urban grammar of public space has long been examined by archaeologists and architectural historians (Kolb 1981; Martin 1983). Yet two factors are rarely taken into account among the social and spatial dynamics of these larger urbanizing processes. One is the role of **the sacred** as a deeply embedded symbolic and social framework with the capacity of channeling and communicating the highest values of a community. Of course, religion has long been examined in relation to political power, social structuration and even territory within the city (Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; de Polignac 1995). Yet its role as mediator and even trigger in interurban and cross-cultural connections remains understudied.[3] Intertwined with the sacred is the second factor: the role of **time** and especially its perception either in legitimating new cities or bolstering the relevance of older ones, fostering in short a sense of belonging. This is part of what a recent study in modern psychology has called **'temporal rootedness'.** Baldwin and Keefer (2019) noted how studies of human belonging focus on place, but rarely consider time as a factor. They observe that humans occupy time, just as they do space, and relate to their temporal positions in different ways and at different scales. I develop this further in a separate paper, but today I will connect this to another concept, that of '**co-temporality**'. The term is adapted from Jacques Lévy's concept of 'co-spatiality', which he uses to describe the complex overlap between the space of law and other kinds of social spaces (Lévy 2018, 6).

Time should be seen in the same vein. Like space, it is produced by a multiplicity of actors, operating in multiple realms and at multiple scales simultaneously, resulting in different temporalities, different levels of experiencing time, which can connect, interact, be at odds, or just bypass each other.

Using the concepts of temporal rootedness and co-temporality, I examine the profound connection between the divine and urban temporal narratives by focusing on **sanctuaries as the *locus* where these various temporalities intersected**. Sanctuaries were arguably the principle timekeepers of their cities in antiquity. But rather than metrical time, my question here concerns **how a sense of '*deep time*', i.e. time that stretches back before memory (whether individual or collective), was construed?** Several layers of temporal narratives, composed by a wide variety of story tellers, each with its own direction, yet with overlapping audiences. Using the sanctuary of [Asklepios near Pergamon](https://deepmappingsanctuaries.org/asklepieion-of-pergamon/) as case study,[4] I will attempt to disentangle the media through which these stories were told (an overview is provided in the *list below). The focus is then on how they together created a composite sense of time. In the end I argue that it is the thick sediment of many temporal associations together that fostered an authoritative sense of deep time through divine interactions in which the city rooted its legitimacy.

[3] See also Britton et al. forthcoming. Exceptions concern kinship studies, e.g. Jones 1999 or Ma 2003.
[4] See also https://deepmappingsanctuaries.org/asklepieion-of-pergamon/

***List of media examined**

In a separate article (Williamson forthcoming) I examine ten different kinds of media especially convey temporal narratives at sanctuaries, with their potential to foster a sense of temporal rootedness, covering literary and textual forms, performative rituals, and physical objects and spatial features. This list not exhaustive, and there is a good deal of overlap between the categories. In fact every narrative, object and artefact is a time traveller and has the capacity to convey a sense of time in the right context. Chris Witmore and Graham Harman moreover argue that time only exists through objects.

Mythologies	Urban foundations typically implicate the divine through stories that place the immortals at the heart of the city. Mythologies connected local communities to the panhellenic world at large, especially through the epic stories of Homer, widely known throughout antiquity.
Local histories and mythographies	Mythography was very closely tied with local histories, or 'intentional history' as Gehrke calls it, on the rise in the Hellenistic world. Prestigious cities were those that could boast a deep past, steeped in myth, which they used not only to promote their position, but to connect with other cities
Language and names	In a few cases, an archaizing style of language was deployed to 'fake' a sense of antiquity. More common is the use of epithets, or extra names given to the gods, especially *Soter*, or Savior, which lend a temporal quality. Soter, the predominant epithet of Asklepios (see MAPS), which is bi-directional, indicating both the capacity to save in the future based on the past. *Epiphany* is also frequent, focusing more on the present, a direct manifestation of the god in human time.
Collective rituals- festivals, games and panegyreis	Almost too broad to even mention here, this category includes rituals that reiterate the bond between the god and his/her community through recurring sacrifices, festivals, processions, hymns etc. But here we should consider Jan Assmann's concept of 'Festival Time' (1991)- for the very different experience of time, far removed from the rhythm of everyday life, the Alltag. Festivals also work on different temporal horizons at the same time, intertwining personal and collective memory, across generations.
Inscribing lists at sanctuaries	Sanctuaries often served as archives, with lists inscribed, such as inventories of dedications, successions of priesthoods, freed slaves (Delphi) or the victors of athletic contests, e.g. the Olympic victors as panhellenic chronometer.
Bones and hero cults	Hero cult was a crucial spatial and temporal bond, that tied superhuman powers to specific places, even if the tombs were fabricated e.g. the 'Tumulus of Achilles' near Troy, in fact a natural hillock. The bones of heroes (e.g. Orestes, Arkas) were especially powerful and often translocated (i.e. 'bodysnatching'). Local benefactors were increasingly immortalized through hero cult, as well as the 'sacred victors' of athletic contests.

Funerary culture around sanctuaries	In Asia Minor, but also the Aegean and mainland Greece, funerary landscapes often cluster around sanctuaries outside the city walls, lining the sacred roads and surely reminding the visitor of the generations that preceded them.
Monuments and halls of fame	Monuments are key *lieux de mémoire*, their mere presence an anchor of time by definition. Their sheer size and exceptional spaces could evoke a very different scale of time from the human. But also the 'smaller' monuments, e.g. honorific statues and their inscriptions, kept past performances alive in the present. These generally represent the city and its benefactors.
Dedicatory practices	Includes dedications or votives of all kinds to the gods, either out of gratitude for favors received or in hope and expectation of favors to come. Dedicatory practices on the whole surely produced the largest assemblage of objects at sanctuaries, coming from the widest cross-section of the community at the sanctuary.
Natural features in the landscape	This would include natural features that were long venerated, such as sacred trees, mountains, or springs. Rarely worshiped directly, they were perceived as ancient translators of the power of the divinity.

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