ISLAND CITIES - A RESTRICTION OR AN OPPORTUNITY?

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Abstract

In literature islands are seen as mythical symbols of distance and solitude. Since cities are certainly physical things, the cities on islands can provide fine examples to consider the real versus the unreal.

The paper is an attempt to discuss the cities localized and built on islands. It tries to pinpoint their specificity and provides introductory classification in order to help distinguish the island cities in terms of their position within surrounding waters (sea, river, lake); size (area and population), urban form (organic, gridded, mixed). The statistical data and estimate figures are used. The historic and geographic scope is not limited. The examples from different continents and various historic periods have been taken into account to provide a wide range of possible tracks of development. Apart from Venice, which is an obvious choice, the selected and discussed cases are Mont Saint-Michel, Nesebar, Flores, Kazimierz (in Krakow), Manhattan (in New York), Singapore. The discussion begins with the genesis of a particular example and follows with its further transformations and present situation.

The localization of the city on the island seems to influence the urban form in a specific way as compared to the non-island localization. The main features of that phenomenon are: increased defensiveness, higher stability, and the focus on careful use of limited land resources.

The city's localization on the island can be perceived nowadays as a means of restriction against its further development. However, it often offers a chance for their future existence, providing the settlement with stability and self-assurance. It is specially noticeable in the historic island cities, due to their unique urban form and image which have resulted in the recognition of their values and appropriate heritage protection.

Definition and importance of islands

According to the most widespread definition, islands are parts of land that are surrounded with water and thus separated from mainland. Islands differ considerably one from another but they
also form certain groups. There are a number of possible typologies of islands, which result from the assuming of different criteria:

- typology according to the size: from the biggest one (Greenland) to uncountable smallest islets and skerries;
- typology according to the location: in the oceans and seas, in the rivers, in the lakes;
- typology according to the number of inhabitants: from non-populated (desert) to heavily populated.

The most recent period (late 20th century – early 21st century) has added yet another possible typology. A category of artificial, man-made islands emerged as opposed to a category of natural islands which had seemed to be the only obvious type. Certainly, that new type could be tracked in the past, too, exemplified e.g. by fortification islets such as ravelins built within the moat. However, one has to note that never before the end of the 20th century had man possessed so extended tools and chances of creating artificial islands in terms of their sizes and other technical parameters.

Comparing to their geographical and economic importance, which may be similar to the mainland counterparts, islands are relatively seldom discussed with regards to their urbanization. In most of the historic periods the islands offered, to the potential islanders’ communities and intended settlements, the conditions that differed from the mainland ones. The main differences were:

- increased level of safety due to natural defensibility;
- specific conditions of traffic and communication, which proved to be of importance to early communities that had mastered the means of maritime transportation and navigation;
- more clearly determined opportunities of development in terms of available land.

Apart from their measurable characteristics, islands have played important role in literature and art, which can be observed practically since the beginning of Mediterranean and Western civilization and culture. The early examples may be found in the religious or mythical notions of the Fortunate Islands and the Atlantis land, the latter usually imagined as an island as well. Some of the most meaningful books’ plot was set up on islands of very limited size and population often consisting only of the book’s characters: “Robinson Cruzeo” by Daniel Defoe (1719), “The Mysterious Island” by Jules Verne (1874), “Island” by Aldous Huxley (1954), “Lord of the Flies” by William Golding (1962). The painters dealt with the subject, too: Sandro Botticelli, Claude Lorrain, William Turner, Salvador Dalí. Islands, not necessarily the desert ones, have often been regarded as mythical symbols of distance and solitude. On the other hand the settlements built upon them, including cities, are certainly physical things. Therefore the cities localized on the islands can provide fine examples to consider the real versus the unreal.

**Typology of island cities**

The cities that exist on the islands can be divided into two main groups. The first group consists of cities whose size and/or population is relatively small as compared to the size and/or population of the entire island, although the cities themselves might be really large ones. Those are the cases of outstanding cities quoted in the Table 1: London (Great Britain), Reykjavik
(Iceland), Copenhagen (Zealand), Palermo (Sicily), Jakarta (Java), Tokyo (Honshu), Taipei
(Taiwan), Auckland (North Island of New Zealand), Hobart (Tasmania), Havana (Cuba),
Antananarivo (Madagascar), as well as many other cities and towns. With some exceptions,
most of such cities occupy less than 1% of “their” islands‘ area and are inhabited by less than
20% of “their” islands’ population. Moreover, they share a lot of factors responsible for the
genesis and urban development that are typical (or at least similar to) of the mainland cities.
The island’s features in those cases refer rather to the larger scale of the entire country or state.
Such cities are omitted from further deliberations in the paper.
The number of the cities that can be actually and properly called the island cities is much
smaller. The basic feature of an island city is the fact that it occupies most (or all) of the island’s
area and, respectively, it is inhabited by the overwhelming majority (or all) of the island’s
population.
The classical island cities can also be subdivided into two smaller groups:
- a city built entirely on the island
- a city of which only a part was built on the island (usually the oldest district or the city’s
centre), while the other parts or districts occupy the nearby mainland and/or other islands.
In some cases the city evolved from the first group to the second one as it originated on the
island and later its development continued on the mainland or on another island.

Table 1. Examples of the cities built on the islands, which are not the classical island
cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City and Island</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Data year</th>
<th>State capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. city of London</td>
<td>1,572</td>
<td>8,538,700</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island of Great Britain</td>
<td>209,331</td>
<td>60,800,000</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London / Great Britain</td>
<td>0,75%</td>
<td>14,04%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. city of Reykjavik</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>121,800</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>101,826</td>
<td>329,100</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reykjavik / Iceland</td>
<td>0,27%</td>
<td>37,01%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. city of Copenhagen</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>591,500</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island of Zealand</td>
<td>7,031</td>
<td>2,208,300</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copenhagen / Zealand</td>
<td>1,22%</td>
<td>26,79%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. city of Palermo</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>676,100</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island of Sicily</td>
<td>25,662</td>
<td>5,043,300</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palermo / Sicily</td>
<td>0,62%</td>
<td>13,41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. city of Jakarta</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>9,607,800</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island of Java</td>
<td>138,794</td>
<td>145,000,000</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta / Java</td>
<td>0,48%</td>
<td>6,63%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. city of Tokyo</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>13,506,600</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island of Honshu</td>
<td>225,800</td>
<td>103,000,000</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo / Honshu</td>
<td>0,97%</td>
<td>13,11%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Urban form of island cities, the study cases

The notion of urban form might be variously defined but it is usually perceived in a similar way. The urban form contains the plan of the city, the network of its roads, streets and plazas, the spatial system and relation between the building of all types, fortifications and other pieces of defense system, landmarks, greenery complexes, etc. Those characteristics should be discussed with the background of the site's conditions – topography and hydrography, local climate and accessible building materials. The urban form is inseparably connected with the functions performed by the city: military and defensive, commercial and trading, harbouring, religious, capital and other administrative ones, and most of all – residential. It is sometimes the compositional factor that is responsible for the formation of particular urban form. The urban form is a term whose importance can hardly be exaggerated. The beauty or ugliness of the city, the subjectivity of such a judgment taken into account, may directly or indirectly result from its urban form as well as the more objective category of city's usefulness or the opposite. However, seldom is urban form a leading aim of those responsible for city development. It results rather from numerous factors of geographic, communication and traffic, demographic and social, legal and economic character as well as of compositional and artistic nature. Many attempts have been made by urban historians to determine, list, and describe the factors of genesis and development that are responsible for their shapes. Among the main factors is the one of natural conditions: the localization on an island is one of the many possible localizations. Though, it is extremely characteristic and certainly affecting the urban form, image, and other features of the city.

In the Table 2 a number of classical island cities are quoted. Like the cities in the Table 1, they represent different continents but also different sizes and different periods of history in which they originated and flourished.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island City and Island</th>
<th>Surrounding waters</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Population estimates</th>
<th>Data year</th>
<th>Urban form</th>
<th>UNESCO list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venice (since the 4th century), Italy</td>
<td>Venetian Lagoon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>168,600</td>
<td>1563</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td>since 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice, the historic city</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>415</td>
<td>264,600</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont Saint-Michel (since the 8th century), Normandie, France</td>
<td>Atlantic Ocean</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td>since 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont Saint-Michel</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont Saint-Michel</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesebar (since the 6th century BC), Bulgaria</td>
<td>Black Sea</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>gridiron ?</td>
<td>since 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesebar (Mesembria)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesebar, the island part</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,300</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flores (since the 15th century), Petén, Guatemala</td>
<td>Lake Petén Itzá</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1695</td>
<td>gridiron ?</td>
<td>not listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nojpetén (Tayasal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flores</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazimierz the former city (since the 14th century), now a district of Krakow, Poland</td>
<td>two arms of the Wisla River</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>gridiron</td>
<td>since 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazimierz, part of Krakow</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>gridiron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krakow</td>
<td></td>
<td>327</td>
<td>762,500</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan Island of New York City (since the 17th century), New York, USA</td>
<td>Hudson River and East River</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>organic</td>
<td>not listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Amsterdam</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1,636,300</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>gridiron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan Island, NYC</td>
<td></td>
<td>786</td>
<td>8,491,100</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore (since the 19th century), Republic of Singapore</td>
<td>Singapore Strait and Johor Strait</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>1,874,000</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>not listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore (all islands)</td>
<td></td>
<td>710</td>
<td>5,469,700</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore (Ujong Island)</td>
<td></td>
<td>719</td>
<td>5,535,000</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: - some of the data are based on estimations  
- Case 7: the Singapore's Botanic Garden itself is separately listed at the UNESCO List of World Heritage

**Case of Venice**

Venice was built from the 5th century on the archipelago of over a hundred islands to become the capital of the Republic of Venice in the 9th century and, in the following centuries, the Mediterranean economic and maritime power. All available land on the islands was developed
and built-up, while the canals of different sizes served for traffic purposes (Fig. 1). The urban form was entirely organic and with time the organic pattern of streets and canals was completed with some sophisticated projects of compositional features such as the San Marco Plaza surrounded with impressive edifices. Apart from the city of Venice there were more island cities in the Republic of Venice: Murano, Burano, Chioggia. After the Republic fell in 1797 and its area became part of united Italy in 1866, the economic importance of Venice decreased strongly. On the other hand, due to its unique and well-preserved heritage, the city became one of the world’s most popular tourist sites. That caused a decline of permanent population but also the improvement of historic preservation and general infrastructure. The causeway (first railway one, then road one) linked the historic city with the mainland in the 19th and 20th centuries. The fame of both tangible and intangible heritage of Venice is beyond the reach of any other island cities. It also brought about the metaphorical describing of the cities in which the water canals were built, or had been adapted, with Venice’s name (e.g. Suzhou in China or Saint Petersburg in Russia) or even naming them exactly this way (the 1905 Venice of America, which is now the Venice district in Los Angeles, Fig. 9).

Figure 1. Venice. Canal Grande

Source: Photograph by the Author, 1993
Case of Mont Saint-Michel

Although Venice is by far the biggest and the most famous city built on islands, one can recall a number of smaller and more modest examples, some of which are one-island towns. The Mont Saint-Michel island, which lies next to the Normandy coast, features extremely unique characteristics due to its tiny size (950-metre perimeter), high elevation (up to 80 metre) and the tidal causeway, which would permit the access from the mainland at regular intervals. The beginning of the large Benedictine abbey on Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy dates back to the 8th century and resulted in the accompanying settlement, which was built on the mainland-facing, less steep side of the island (Fig. 2). The purely organic urban form of the small town, with narrow and steep streets, resulted from the total dependence on the factor of natural conditions coupled with the defensive importance of the place.

Like Venice, the Mont Saint-Michel town, which had been protected as a historic site since the 19th century, was strongly depopulated in the 20th century and became a major tourist attraction. It was also linked with the permanent road causeway, which was however removed in the 21st century and replaced with a light bridge structure. A number of other actions were taken as part of the complex project intending to restore the island character of Mont Saint-Michel.

Figure 2. Mont Saint-Michel. The skyline during the low tide

Source: Photograph by the Author, 2003
Case of Nesebar

Like Mont Saint-Michel, Nesebar in Bulgaria is another example of the town built on the sea island that is very close to the mainland. Originally a Thracian settlement, it became a Greek colony of Messembria in the late 6th century BC. It could have been planned in the next century as a regular, gridiron layout of Hippodamian type, which in the Middle Ages evolved into a more organic scheme of irregular curved streets lined with houses and small churches. Like Mont Saint-Michel until recently, the island part of Nesebar is linked to the mainland with a causeway, which has helped the tourist functions (Fig. 3). What is also different from the case of Mont Saint-Michel is that the old town of Nesebar is still to a certain extent inhabited. Moreover, in the 20th century a much larger part of Nesebar was built on the mainland.

Figure 3. Nesebar. The causeway to the historic town

Case of Flores

The situation and development of Flores in Guatemala could be found almost identical with that of Nesebar. It provides a very good example of urban form being shaped in a similar way independently in distant localizations and cultures that had practically no communication over the centuries. The town of Flores was built as Nojpetén (called Tayasal by some sources) – an Itza Maya settlement (Fig. 4). It was built on a lake island in a relatively regular way, which was a case of some of the pre-Columbian settlements in Central and South Americas. The naturally
protective localization helped Nojpetén, alongside with remote localization and some other factors, survive as the last independent native urban community in the Spanish America as long as until 1697 – over 200 years after the conquest had started. Like Venice, Mont Saint-Michel, and Nesebar, Flores was linked to the mainland with a causeway. Unlike them – it has not been listed as the World Heritage Site.

Figure 4. Flores. The town and Lake Petén

Source: Photograph by the Author, 2013

Case of Kazimierz near Krakow

Kazimierz (Casimiria in Latin) near Krakow was founded in 1335 on the river island. The then no-name island had been formed by two arms of the Wisla (Vistula) river (Fig. 5). Following nearby 1257-bestowed pattern of Krakow, Kazimierz was a planned city, with a gridded network of streets. It was equipped with the main market square, the auxiliary market square and the entire functional programme characteristic of late-Medieval cities. The city of Kazimierz was subdivided into two independent communities – a Christian one and a Jewish one. Despite the closeness of much more powerful city of Krakow, which was the capital of Poland at the time and the site of the country’s first university, Kazimierz remained an independent city till the late
18th century. Since Kazimierz became the district of Krakow in 1802, it gradually merged with the rest of the city while the northern arm of the Wisla was dried up to become a traffic artery and a green belt. It also marked the historic borderline along which water used to flow.

Figure 5. Kazimierz, the district of Krakow, and the Wisla river

Source: Photograph by the Author, 2009

Case of Manhattan in New York

New York City is often associated with the island of Manhattan, which houses both the historic core and the contemporary centre of the city. Its beginning goes back to 1626 when a Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (Nieuw Amsterdam) was founded. Originally it occupied only the southernmost tip of the Manhattan island and featured the organic layout comprising of both streets and water canals. The walled town was incorporated in 1652 and, after being taken over by the British authorities, was renamed New York in 1664. In the 18th century it was extended northwards in a regular gridded way. Finally, the entire area of the island was laid out in accordance with the 1811 Commissioners’ Plan.

The only more significant change to the plan of identical rectilinear grid was introduced with the Central Park being placed actually in the centre of the Commissioners’ Plan in 1853. Since the late 19th century the third dimension of New York City has been changing and being enriched hundreds of times – numerous high-rise buildings were constructed in great numbers. Despite
the extension of the city onto the other islands, it is the Manhattan island and its landmark-like tall structures that became responsible for the city's characteristic skyline (Fig. 6).

**Figure 6. New York. The World Trade Centre by Minoru Yamasaki**

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**Case of Singapore**

Singapore is the only contemporary example of the island city-state. The Ujong Island (Pulau Ujong) had been occasionally inhabited before the permanent settlement was founded in 1819. Due to its strategic location, it gave rise to a trading outpost in the 19th century and the military base in the first half of the 20th century, which were accompanied by a number of residential projects of different types, most of them regular e.g. shophouses. After gaining independence in 1965 Singapore quickly turned into an important economic centre, especially in the fields of finances and industrial processing, which in turn resulted in the increase of population and further intensification and densification of housing (Fig. 7).

The idea of the ring planning was adopted which left some of the island's central areas and north-south axis as protected sites. However, the Singapore's Botanic Garden, established in 1859, seems to have been related to the New York's Central Park idea. Despite having relatively young heritage, as compared to the previously discussed cases, the values of
Singaporean urban and built heritage was recognized as important for the local identity and protected in many ways by local authorities.

Figure 7. Singapore. Reflections at Keppel Bay complex by Daniel Libeskind

Contemporary artificial islands

Last but not the least one shall mention the contemporary artificial islands, which form quite a separate and specialized group. They are much larger and more sophisticated than their predecessors – the fortresses islands built especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. Most of the recent artificial islands have been built for particular purposes and functions. The islands near Osaka and near Hong Kong were built in the late 1980s and in the 1990s, respectively, for the Kansai airport and the Chek Lap Kok airport (Fig. 8). Earlier, in the 1970s, the Rokkō Island and the Port Island in Japan had been built for a variety of functions, mostly of public utility character. On the other hand, the Palma Juneraih, a large project in the United Arab Emirates, is dedicated to residential functions of special character, including a set of islands for individual residences, which as a whole create a plan imitating the map of the world.

In the light of the previous deliberations it seems to be hardly possible to call the projects localized on the artificial islands the full cities. However, the same could have probably been expressed in the past about some of the examples that are discussed in the paper. That is why
one notes that the newly built projects marked a significant step towards the construction of cities on the entirely artificial islands and that it has also announced the increasing number and growing sizes of full cities built in such places in the not-that-distant future.

Figure 8. Hong Kong, the Chek Lap Kok airport.

Conclusions

When initiating the research the author of the paper put forward two main questions to be answered. The first question was: does the city’s localization on the island significantly influence the urban form as compared to the non-island locations? And, if the answer is positive, what are the main features of the phenomenon? The answer, though not obvious at first sight, is “yes, it does”, while the main distinction features of island cities can be listed as following:

- island cities were localized on the islands that were relatively close to the mainland, not exceeding the distance of 1 kilometre (except for Venice which is about 4 kilometre distant); in the 19th or 20th the cities were eventually connected with mainland via causeways, bridges, or tunnels;
the importance of the military factor was very strong at the origin and early stages of island cities: apart from their natural defensiveness they were additionally protected with either city walls or fortifications;

- island cities tend to maintain the urban form more efficiently than non-island cities, which is due to their more remote location and can be compared e.g. to the cities built in the mountainous regions;

- most of the historic island cities have been declared the monuments or monument zones, and thus became protected sites.

The second question was: can the city’s localization on an island be perceived nowadays as a chance for their future existence, granting the settlement with stability and self-assurance, or rather as a means of restriction, depriving it of further development?

The answer to Question 2 is less straightforward. In terms of unlimited development the island localization is actually a drawback. On the other hand the limitations, which are thoroughly researched and understood and then carefully and consciously applied might be of some help with solving the problems of contemporary city.

Comparing to the number of cities all over the world, the cities on islands are extremely rare. Though, their values, some of them the unique ones, draw increasing attention. That is expressed by meticulous heritage protection, by tourists making them their destinations, and by general public attention. However, the most convincing tribute to the island cities’ values and popularity is, in the opinion of the paper’s author, the contemporary attempts to build the new island cities. In the distant past of the Antiquity and Middle Ages some cities tended to be localized on the island for various reasons. In the quite recent period the island localization was revived as an idea of the construction of artificial island. The number of built projects is still limited due to the extremely high costs of any undertaking of that type. The programmes of those projects are also functionally limited. However, one can definitely expect the more numerous and sophisticated projects on the condition of the stabilization and growth of the world’s economy.

Finally, it can be noted that an island city is usually a product of long-time spatial and architectural evolution within unchanged (or hardly changed) limits. One can also compare a historic island city to the rich and stabilized architectural context which is for instance faced by architects undertaking a project there. Such a site inevitably requires showing an attitude of approval or disapproval but it also provides architects with some hints on their possible approach and is a challenge due to spatial and/or legal limitations. That helps achieve carefully considered solutions in order to add “another brick to the wall” and to create some emotions to those who will experience the built project in the future.
Figure 9. Venice, the district of Los Angeles. Water canal and pedestrian path

Source: Photograph by the Author, 1998

References


