Relations Between Intangible Heritage and Place: Insights from the Celebration of Zakariyya, in Iraq

Asmaa Sadeq Abdulkareem Al-Ani & Ghada Al Slik
Department of Architectural Engineering, College of Engineering,
University of Baghdad, Iraq
asmaa.sadeq@coeng.uobaghdad.edu.iq
ghada.alslik@coeng.uobaghdad.edu.iq

Abstract

Iraq, historically known as Mesopotamia, is a country of rich tangible and intangible heritage. Due to the challenging circumstances it faced in the past decades, many tangible heritage sites have experienced deterioration and negligence, whereas intangible heritage is alive and vital through people's beliefs, thoughts, rituals, and practices. This research is based on the premise that the Iraqi intangible heritage can play an effective role in activating tangible heritage in certain places in Iraq, due to the living relations between values of intangible heritage carried by people and places that express these values. Therefore, this paper discusses the relationship between heritage and place as a crucial factor that identifies intangible heritage and determines its features.

The paper seeks to explore the deep meanings of intangible heritage and its importance in heritage, life, and place, so that it reaches three main indicators that can explain the relation between intangible heritage and place. These are: values, people-place relations, and identity.

To verify the hypothesis, the research chooses a case study of intangible heritage in Baghdad. The research explores the local Iraqi event called the Celebration of Zakariyya, which includes inherited social rituals and practices. The cultural expressions of this event flourishes in a natural and cultural heritage location named the Khidr Elias district on the bank of the Tigris River.

The research employs qualitative methods to gather data. It uses field observations, a document survey, and storytelling by individuals. Analysis of data follows an inductive approach and engages a descriptive analysis methodology.

The study concludes that the celebration of Zakariyya has created a continuous intangible heritage related to the place, which confirms the culture and identity of the community. It increases the potentials of the survival and evolution of the Khidr Elias district. The paper argues that it can be considered as an example for the use of intangible heritage in reviving other heritage places in Iraq. Furthermore, it clarifies the effect of place on flourishing people's role in preserving inherited beliefs and practices.

Keywords: Intangible, Heritage, Place, Celebration of Zakariyya, Khidr Elias.

Introduction

'Intangible' has a complex meaning related to various aspects of life including architecture. It has philosophical roots that can be discussed to explore the essence of the concept, and it is related to various aspects of life. Its relation with heritage is widely affirmed, presenting a cultural approach through a humanistic perspective. The concept of intangible Heritage has gone through several stages, especially in recognizing its essential role in the declarations made by UNESCO, which established the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage ICH.

At the beginning, international attention was first directed towards the safeguarding of tangible heritage, such as the monuments and sites. However, gradually, the focus has shifted towards intangible heritage, which is related to culture.

Intangible heritage is a continuous, dynamic, and vital part of heritage. It is related essentially to Man through his community and has countless representations due to the unlimited practices and performances of people all across the world.

Iraq is a fertile source of tangible and intangible heritage. We can witness countless tangible historical and heritage buildings and sites in urban locations, as well as an abundance of intangible myths, stories, epics, skills, rituals, and other aspects that relate to culture. Furthermore, Iraq contains premium places that are located on the banks of its rivers, which can be considered part of its natural heritage.

Iraqi people are attached strongly to their beliefs, thoughts and practices. Thus, their intangible heritage is continuous, alive and vital. Meanwhile, tangible heritage is experiencing a challenge to survive through the prevailing negligence and deterioration. Nevertheless, intangible heritage in Iraq requires safeguarding, due to the challenges of globalization which affects communities slowly but surely.

This research explores this issue, and is based on the premise that intangible heritage cannot be alive separately from the context that created it. Thus, place is an essential factor in the survival of intangible heritage. Furthermore, the relations between intangible heritage and place can play a crucial role in the revival of tangible heritage in that place.

The research is divided into two main parts. It first lays the theoretical foundation by exploring the philosophical concepts of the intangible and its relation with people and life, as well as the theoretical meaning of place by the engagement of the notion of *Genius Loci*.

The second part is a case study that demonstrates the existence of notable intangible heritage in a distinguished place in Iraq. The case study, known as the Celebration of Zakariyya, occurs annually in a vernacular neighborhood called the Khidr Elias District which is located in the Baghdad city on the bank of the river Tigris. The place has *genius loci* values related to heritage, community, and Nature.

The aim of this research is to explain the relationship between intangible heritage in Iraq and the places located on the banks of its rivers, and their impact on tangible heritage.

The Theoretical Basis
The Concept of the Intangible

According to English dictionaries, the word intangible is an adjective that means "impossible to touch, to describe exactly, or to give an exact value" (*Cambridge English Dictionary online*, 2023). It is a noun of "an asset that is not corporeal" and "an abstract quality or attribute" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary online*, 2023). It says that "intangible things have value but do not exist physically" so "an intangible quality or feeling is difficult to describe exactly" *(Longman Dictionary* online, 2023)[1]. Thus, we can see that intangible contains values that lay behind what is perceived by the senses.

Thus, intangible cannot be perceived by senses, but it has values that could appear in an abstract sense.

---

[1]The meaning expanded gradually through time. It was first mentioned in 1630 as "incapable of being touched", in 1880 intangible was used to mean "that cannot be grasped by the mind", and by 1909 it became a noun of "anything intangible"*(Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2023)

Philosophically, we can see that the meaning of intangible comes implicit in the writings of Aristotle. Hennig (2009) and many others discuss the Four Causes of Aristotle. The Material Cause relates to the matter compromising things, and the Formal Cause relates to the form. Thus they are both intrinsic causes. On the other hand, the Efficient Cause relates to who and to which the act changes, and the End Cause explains why the act is done. They are both extrinsic causes that affect things and have metaphysical characters (Hennig, 2009).

Thus, tangible and intangible can be related to the potentiality and actuality included in these causes. We consider Intrinsic causes as tangibles because they represent actuality, while we consider extrinsic causes intangibles because they are potentials that go through the process of being actualized by efficient causes to achieve the end cause, and the latter is embodied in a more perceived and tangible form and material. Therefore, we can say that philosophically, the actual existence is tangible and can be perceived as a result of a union between matter and form, whereas the potential existence is not physical and does not exist in form or matter, and thus it is intangible.

On another thought, Thomas Aquinas has examined the dualism of tangible and intangible. According to Choma (2020), Aquinas sees that the soul and body are related to each other through the hylomorphic concept of Aristotle which discusses how the form is changed by the use of matter. Thus for Aquinas, soul is the form and the first grade of actuality, while the body has the potentiality of life, thus the soul, not the body has the primary of life (Choma, 2020). Furthermore, medieval thinkers believe that the senses of the body lead to the sensory faculty, which they consider the lower faculty, while the intellect that leads to cognition is the higher faculty (Perler, 2008).

On the other hand, rational and empirical knowledge can give further enrichment. Renaissance rational philosophers such as Desecrates and Leibniz call for innate ideas, thinking, and reason. Innate ideas are not conscious ideas but are attributes and tendencies discovered by the prompt of the senses. In contrast, empirical philosophers like Lock and Hume see that gaining knowledge depends on observation and experiences through the use of the senses. However, Kant calls for an equilibrium between the two empirical and rational approaches. He sees that perception gives meaning to ideas that exist already in the mind (Sangeetha, 2022). Thus, we can see that for the rationalists, the intangible knowledge is in mind and reason, recognized by Man through cognition, while tangible knowledge is gained by the senses. On the other hand, empiricists rely on the tangible to gain knowledge.

Furthermore, in semiotics, we can see that the intangible is perceived through the signs. According to de Saussure, signifiers could be described as material, while the signified is an abstract concept (Saussure, 1959). Thus, from this point of view, we can see that the intangible uses the tangible as a tool of expression .

Generally, we can conclude that the intangible contains values, yet it is perceived through the senses.

The Importance of the Intangible in Human Life

Many studies concentrate on the importance of the intangible in modern human activities, including management, economics, planning, and industrial production, as well as cultural and architectural heritage. Diefenbach (2004) focuses on the intangible meanings related to people's performance, such as commitment, trust, creativity, teamwork, internal collaboration, informal knowledge sharing, innovation, customer orientation and leadership. For him, these values are immeasurable and cannot be controlled through a quantitative framework. While Muñoz and Coronel (2004) believe that the formation of industrial products is affected by the intangibles, these intangible ideas are not visible in the final products. They see that intangible ideas are essential in sustaining the identity of industrial projects. Therefore, this paper seeks to represent these ideas in forms that can be perceived perceptually.

Studies of digital media and virtual simulations are used to simulate the intangibles. According to Muñoz and Coronel (2004), digital media creates images of what is imagined and produces representations that are similar to what is real, but in an intangible medium, it also

manipulates shapes digitally in order to extract and study the new forms. Therefore, we can see that digital media is a tool that leads to the sensual perception of the intangibles.

Thinkers such as Carboni and Luca (2016) focus on the importance of the intangible to define the identity of an object through its context. They see that the relation between the tangible and intangible elements is essential to create meanings and clarify the vital relation between objects and their performance, which is important to give the comprehensive relation of person-object-event. Meanwhile, as Diefenbach (2004) states, intangible assets could be humane, social, cultural, legal, informational, legislative, or may be included in the immaterial structures or processes, or included in the material objects such as antiques. Furthermore, Pandey (2010) argues that intangible knowledge enables Man to understand facts about life that tangible knowledge can't explain. For him, it is related to historical texts and it gives joy to life.

Review of Literature
The Intangible in Human Culture

Although intangible values and meanings have existed in intellectual life and thought, they have started to gain more focus in the second half of the twentieth century and continues till today (the twenties of the twenty-first century) in a wider way to all sides of life and human activities. They link it with the basic understanding of Man, events, and history, which are the main components of human culture.

Culture, in its widest sense, is defined as: "the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions, and beliefs" (UNESCO, 1982:1).

Thus, culture is strongly related to heritage[2]. Literature has discussed the concept of the intangible coherently with heritage. The UNESCO has described the term cultural heritage as a process and a product that takes benefits from inherited resources and invests them in the future through a present process. It includes tangible, natural, and intangible heritage. Its importance appears in the revaluation of cultures and identities, being a manner of transmitting knowledge, skills, and experience through generations, as well as inspiring innovation and creativity. The result of all of that will be revealed in products. It provides other humanistic advantages, such as enjoying cultural diversity, shaping the sense of belonging, and enhancing tourism (UNESCO, 2014:132). Thus, we can say that culture as a process has its intangible importance, yet culture as a product reveals in the tangible aspects. In this regard, Ruggles and Silverman (2007, 2009), Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), Ahmad (2006), Vecco (2010), Lenzerini (2011), Rodwell (2012), and others give detailed reviews of the official steps towards the international interest in tangible and intangible heritage.

In 1972, the "*Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*" was held by UNESCO. It focused on the protection of heritage, with a special concentration on tangible heritage (Logan, 2007). The convention determines the protection of heritage through monuments, groups of buildings and sites. According to UNESCO, monuments carry universal values related to the work of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Connected or separated groups of buildings can also have universal value due to their architecture or to their relation with their sites. Meanwhile, sites are described as "works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO, 2005:10).

We can notice here that heritage sites are considered a form of tangible heritage possessing universal intangible values. This statement coincides with the extraction presented by Vecco (2010) to official announcements which clarify that sites, landscapes and urban contexts are considered tangible heritage that carry objective criteria.

---

[2] Heritage has a large number of definitions. According to Cambridge English Dictionary, heritage means: "features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings, that were created in the past and still have historical importance" (Cambridge English Dictionary online, 2023)

The Intangible Cultural Heritage

From the last decades of the twentieth century, international attention has focused on the protection of intangible heritage. That came officially in the declaration of the "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" in 2003, and the term Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) became global. According to UNESCO, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is defined as: "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills–as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith–that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage".

ICH goes into the following categories:
> "(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
> (b) performing arts
> (c) social practices, rituals and festive events
> (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
> (e) traditional craftsmanship " (UNESCO, 2022).

Ruggles and Silverman (2009) see that ICH became a substitute for previous terms such as traditional culture, oral traditions, and folklore, while Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) states that ICH is embodied in material and the social world. Thus, the specialists see that the relationship between the tangible and the intangible are in an associated relationship which aims to sustain an integrative system.

Furthermore, UNESCO clarifies: "For intangible to be kept alive, it must remain relevant to a culture and be regularly practiced and learned within communities and between generations" (UNESCO, no date:6)

Further Meanings of Intangible Heritage

Although the concept of intangible heritage has gone through several stages to be defined as clearly as possible in a global understanding, especially by the essential role of declarations of UNESCO, the term is still being discussed from different perspectives. Ruggles and Silverman (2009) and Logan (2007) discuss the official understanding of intangible heritage and criticize it from an ethical perspective. They reassess the term within the appropriateness of practicing specific human rituals and practices and through the consideration of human rights. Chapagain (2020) has focused on the role of intangible heritage in health prevention in the urban context, while Karol (2016) and Côté (2013) relate intangible heritage to the idea of well-being which is part of architectural and spatial design. In contract, Alivizatou (2021) and Silcock *et al.* (2018) have studied intangible heritage remotely, by technical aids and digital methods.

The main issue widely related to intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is identity. Vaivade (2018) considers intangible heritage as a source of identity related to local interest and affecting national legislation. According to Vecco (2010), the official perspective sees that intangible heritage carries subjective criteria, and that includes "all human works in which and with it identifies itself".

Lenzerini (2011) delves more into the relationship between intangible heritage and identity. He argues that the constitutive factors of ICH appear in the self-identification of the people who carry it. He states that the essence of identity is in the living culture of human communities which gives it vitality, and that the intangible elements fulfill the intrinsic identity which gives uniqueness and distinction to communities. Lenzerini clarifies that local communities have preserved their identities through generations, yet globalization and increasing intercultural contact could impose certain cultural models. Thus, it is not enough to safeguard ICH, due to its flexible dynamic character that could result in resolving it in other cultural patterns. Lenzerini focuses on another threat to the identity of communities, which is the isolation of ICH in remote determined communities.

For him, this subjects ICH to extinction, as well as the loss of the creative process that erected it from the beginning which means losing its authenticity. Thus for Lenzerini, the continuous reformation of heritage responding to historical and social situations achieves the living culture.

In this context, this paper argues that aspects of intangible heritage are continuously transmitted from one generation to the other in cultural acts, among communities, revealing their identity and expressing cultural ties and understandings. Tangible heritage conveys that as well, but not in a direct way. It is contained in its form, space, and material. However, the tangible heritage, considering mainly architecture is subjected to the effects of deterioration through different natural and man-made influences, and it decays through time. Yet architecture, according to its substance, is located in place, and place here possesses and acquires the values of both tangible and intangible heritage. Even when tangible architecture decays, deteriorates, or gets totally destroyed, the place still holds its values and meanings through its memories and also through the continuous living intangible heritage carried by the culture of the people inhabiting the place. Therefore, here we will go through the concept of the spirit of place to assess this argument.

Intangible Values of Place and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci)

Although various studies explain the meaning of place in converging with intangible heritage, there is a lack of understanding about the relations between heritage and place.

Cresswell (2004) discusses the meaning of place from different abstract, geographical, and everyday life visions, arguing that Man cannot construct any meaning without existing in a place. According to Cresswell, the word place is often used in daily life. It could indicate a city or a status, but when dealing with the place as a plot of area or a geographic coordination, it loses its relation with Man. He states that place is related to people through an act or an event, thus giving a precise name to a specific location creates a place carrying meaning. Furthermore, relating a location with specific groups of people creates place too. Thus, he names these expressions of events as place-making activities. Cresswell sees that place presents meanings beyond what space presents. For him, space is an abstract concept with geometrical properties such as volume and area, while place is included in space. Space also offers freedom and openness, whereas place is for security and stability. Thus, space encourages movement, while place encourages stopping.

Many writers discuss the effect of natural locations on intangible meanings. As Vecco (2020) states, intangible values are presented by heritage sites that contain natural heritage. To be more specific, Cresswell (2004) compares landscape and place, and for him, landscape depends on being part of the scope of visual perception, whereas place depends on what is inside it. Khorasgani, Villalobos & Eskandar (2023) discuss the relationship between landscape and place in a wider scope. For them, landscape has a holistic nature that includes a sense of place, place identity, and narration of place, and these are links between Man and place. They see that landscape has a trans-temporal subjective character that appears in social contributions, activities, and emotions. They state that landscape "produces, reproduces, and protects another level of human existence, full of dreams, ideals, beliefs, myths, etc." and that landscape sustains and regenerates historical cities. Here we can see the importance of natural heritage locations and landscapes in creating a place with intangible values and meanings related to man.

Other researchers who are interested in intangible heritage concentrate on the relationship between heritage and its surrounding context, which leads them to explore the values of place and their relation to Man. Xaioyu and Beisi (2015) explain how sustainability is supported by the intangible through passion and the spirit of locality. While Pilat-Borcuch (2015) sees that place matters with social life introducing properties that lead to good urban design. Furthermore, Petzet (2003) affirms that tangible heritage has its intangible dimensions and that returns to the importance of its place where the events occurred. He sees that time is a historic dimension that leaves its trace on place and reveals it in the tangible through the zeitgeist. This opinion agrees with Abd Al-Jabar & Al-silk (2022) who discuss the interest of ordinary people in place through a semantic approach. They say that people link memory of the place with its

events to emotional aspects, and these emotions can be deduced to perceptual, sensory, and mental aspects.

Kawther & Al-slik (2021) approach the tangible and intangible in the scope of spaces and cities. They refer to Rapoport in his opinion of sacred spaces, and consider sacred space as the basis of most of the traditional cities, and after being organized by culture, this sacred space creates a sacred order. Al-Assadi & Najah & Al-Saffar (2022) also relate the intangible aspects to the phenomenon of alienation especially in Iraqi architecture. They demonstrate the philosophical implicit meaning of alienation which relates to the sense of belonging and stability in place. The writers see that shared standards, costumes, traditions, and cultural heritage, which could be intangible, as well as tangible, are involved in the phenomenon of alienation.

Silva (2013) gives another dimension to the relationship between space, place, and Man. She argues that human performance is what transforms space into place. Silva agrees with the opinion which states that performing events shape cultural life and celebrate natural places. Thus, she claims that the transformation from a natural space into a cultural place is achieved by performance. Silva explains performance as any "writing, imagination, making stories, myths, songs, dances, walking and making visual things (arts, artifact, and architecture)" (Silva, 2013:30-31).

These opinions are encouraged by the official international position. Munjeri (2004) mentions the statement of UNESCO which considers returning to the context as part of the authenticity of the setting. Rodell (2012) says that since 2008, the interest in ICH has prompted the concept of spirit of place to be part of the ICOMOS[3] official interest[4].

Philosophically, values related to heritage locations and sites are attached to the concept of Genius Loci[5] (The Latin term for the spirit of place). In phenomenology, Norberg-Schulz (1979) discusses the spiritual values of Genius Loci related to architecture through presenting physical meanings such as space and character, which result in further meanings of orientation and identification. Khorasgani, Villalobos & Eskandar (2023) refer to Schulz who explains that sense of place is responsible for the feelings of a person, such as joy, sadness, and discomfort. For Schulz, people acquire sense of place by orientation and recognition, and this sense becomes spiritual in religious or historical places. Thus, it's known as the spirit of place.

Salih and Al-slik (2023) also refer to Norberg-Schulz's ideas about place, which are related to the concept of dwelling. Here dwelling is a harmonious relationship between Man and his meaningful environment. Thus, when Man dwells in a place he will gain a sense of identity and meaning.

Vecco (2020) has a clear and detailed vision of the relationship between Genius Loci and intangible values. She also refers to Schulz and shares his thoughts that place unifies a group of people in relationships creating a unified body, and sometimes it gives them a shared identity, and that place is a qualitative total phenomenon that creates the general atmosphere of the place which cannot be reduced to its individual properties. Nevertheless, Vecco clearly related Genius Loci to the tangible and intangible through a holistic perspective, claiming that Genius Loci results in human sustainable development and is related to the memories of communities. She states that Genius Loci is an intangible value that is related to a physical place. Thus, it is perceived physically and spiritually, and is revealed in tangible visible features and is revealed in intangible invisible features which can be perceived in intangible ways. On the other hand, she argues that tangible properties are affected by the changeable season and time and climate. That's why she sees that intangible dimensions are mainly what indicates place. Fakhurlddin, Al-Alwan & Fadhil (2022) agree with Vecco's (2020), which sees that places with the natural landscape and topographies such as rivers, hills, valleys, etc. are examples of unique cultural

---

[3]The abbreviation of the "International Council on Monuments and Sites"

[4] It is noteworthy that since 1964 the UNESCO considers historic districts as part of the "immovable cultural property" that represent architectural heritage

[5] The term Genuis Loci is a Latin word that means the (dwelling god), so it's a legendary symbolic magical place, which has gone beyond the dwelling to include iconic buildings, monuments, public buildings such as temples and churches. (Vecco, 2020).

places carrying the spirit of place and presenting specific meanings, and these places have gone through a long process of adaptation to meet Man's needs and confirm the identity of place through its landscapes.

Vecco (2020) says that Genius Loci is a signifier of a process that is happening in a current and unconscious way, although it's necessary to preserve the spirit of place and continue its existence. She sees that Genius Loci remains in place even if the physical features are destructed or selected, and that happens through the memory of individuals or the collective memory. Thus, places have memories, and the collective reinterpretation of these memories will rebuild communities, Vecco therefore claims that Genius Loci can be a motivation towards creativity through the use of interpretation, due to the flexibility it obtains. On the other hand, Lappin (2014) disagrees with Vecco in the consciousness of Genius Loci. For him, Genius Loci is often a form of consciousness, due to the fact that it has stories to be told by people. He says that built and natural places reveal in literature and storytelling of people. However, both writers affirm the role of memory.

Returning to Vecco, she states that Genius Loci has a" double character of tangibility and intangibility". For her, tangible values are relations and connections between elements in space, which she calls hard values, while intangible values are soft values that give formation to environment and context, in addition to the inherited values also known as glue values. She proposes three levels to explain Genius Loci as a phenomenon. These are:
- Tangible visible material level.
- The invisible experience of place which is created by man's mind.
- Processes related to human and natural activities with interactions between them.

Here we can see that Vecco's thoughts enhance our argument of the values existing in place, which are related to people's culture. Swensen (2013) and Pocock (2015) also confirm our argument by stressing the spiritual immaterial humanistic meanings of place. According to Swensen (2013), intangible aspects of heritage are considered equal to local heritage values. For him, memorable places and common places and landscapes are field frames to study the intangible. Meanwhile, Pocock (2015) argues that heritage distinction starts from the site. On the other hand, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) confirms the role of communities in the vitality of heritage in the same location, which is achieved by the continuous periodic rebuilding of heritage buildings.

This discussion shows that the relationship between heritage and place has a wide range and alternates between tangible and intangible aspects. A place can be perceived by its tangible geographical and natural status, where geometry, spatial qualities, movement, perception, and seasonal changes are factors that are effective in defining a place as a present constant situation. On the other hand, the intangible meanings of place are related to Man in connection with heritage. These include spiritual and sacred values that are inherited from the past and transferred through memories creating a collective identity and affecting social life. Here, people contribute to place-making and presents interpretations and creative meanings to place. Thus, the relation between intangible heritage and place exists in the identity, feelings, and performance of people.

Research Methodology

Considering the previous theoretical basis and literature review, the research claims that the intangible heritage in place can be measured qualitatively. The research proposes the following indicators:
- Intangible values and inherited performances.
- Human-place relationship
- Identity of Man and Place.

To demonstrate the presence of these indicators, the research presents a case study containing a distinctive intangible heritage that exists in a recognizable place. Data is mainly qualitative, and is collected through the following:
- Making exploration trips to the chosen location and observing activities generally and specifically.

o   Participating in the chosen social performance activity and being immersed in its atmosphere.
o   Collecting social data from people, containing their perspectives and experience, either by direct contact and chatting or by published opinions of individuals in official and social media. The recorded storytelling is an effective tool to extract the recent opinions of people interested in the event.

It is noted that the case study deals with a continuous vital social activity, which is an example of intangible heritage. It is a realistic livable phenomenon related mainly to people's thoughts and acts. Thus, the research sees that official and social media are reliable sources of information.

Case Study: Intangible Heritage in Khidr Elias District, and the Annual Celebration of Zakariyya

For the application of the indicators, we selected a place of cultural and natural heritage on the Tigris River in the city of Baghdad[6] called Khidr Elias. The place is linked to the traditional thought of vows to be fulfilled and is in relation to religious figures as well as certain myths. One of the main traditions in this place and outside is performing the celebration of Zakariyya, which happens on a specific day every year. Certain performances, practices, and rituals are widely known and practiced by Iraqis on the celebration day. The celebration is an example of the intangible heritage of Iraq.

Description of Location

The district exists on the Karkh side of the city. It is located on the bank of the Tigris River, adjacent to Bab Al-Mudham Bridge. The most significant tangible remaining is Maqam Al-Khidr which is a shrine for the Muslim worshippers, which is actually not historical and has no apparent architectural value. The location falls within the traditional vernacular fabric of Baghdad City that has mainly been lost through time.

The area is totally pedestrian, and due to its closeness to the river, it is located at a lower level (approximately 6 meters) than its surroundings. This provides a semi-enclosed space, and gives privacy, stability and identification to the place. The main open space faces the entrance of the shrine.

The shrine accommodates a small number of worshippers (approximately 50 people) who do their prayers indoors. The construction of the shrine is poor and it seems that it has been through accumulated phases[7]. Thus, the main social activities occur outside the shrine, while the site is an open area that is not served properly. Yet people go there in large numbers.

---

[6] Baghdad, as a capital of the Abbasid caliphate was established 762-766 A.D. in an inhabited agricultural area on the banks of the Tigris River, and situated in the middle part of Mesopotamian Valley, middle Iraq in modern times. See (Al-Ameed, 1967)

[7] The history of the building is not documented, and the best-known story of it is stated by Aldoroobi (1958), who says that the distinction of the location returns to 1823 as it was a place where Ahmed Ameen Al-Swaedy established a school in his own house, and in 1918 it was transferred to a mosque (Aldoroobi, 1958, p312-313). Another historic story tale returns to the Ottoman era, it says that this place is where a great treasure of golden coins and bars was founded in 1899 (Al-Allaf, 1960, p187).
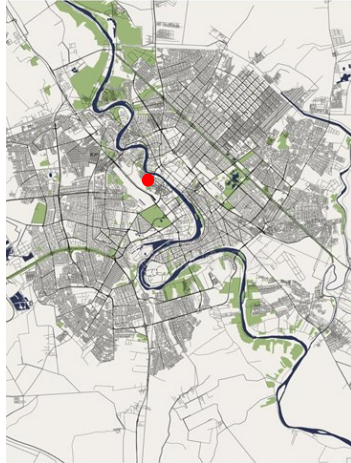
Fig. 1: Plan of Baghdad City today, indicating the location of the Khidr Elias District
Source: https://thumbs.dreamstime.com/z/map-city-baghdad-iraq-vector-map-city-baghdad-iraq-159504157.jpg

Fig. 2: Plan of Baghdad returns to the beginning of the 20th century: the historic traditional fabric and the existence of the Khidr Elias area and shrine.
Source: Susa, 1952:17

Fig. 3: Location of Khidr Elias District on Tigris River.
Source: https://www.google.com/maps/

Fig. 4: Shrine directly adjacent to the river, while the open area is in front of the entrance
Source: https://www.google.com/maps/

Fig. 5: Shrine and open area in a regular day
Source: https://shiawaves.com/arabic/news/

Fig. 6: Topography of site
Source: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/khidr-elias-feast-and-its-vows-01159
Photographed by: Juma'a Hussien Zboon, 2012

Fig. 7: The poor constructional situation of the shrine as it appears in the side
elevations, as well as the poor and temporal additions to the entrance.
Source: Authors, 2022

Fig. 8: River elevation of the shrine.
Source: Authors, 2022

Intangible Cultural Heritage in Khidr Elias: Spirit of the River and Figures

This research assumes that the intangible cultural heritage of this area is influenced by
the values and spirit of the adjacent Tigris River. As Paine (2018) mentions, rivers are essential
to the formation and identity of early settled civilizations and are related to spiritual and divine
values. They may overleap their powers to the banks resulting in inspiration to culture and
ideology. Paine argues that since ancient times in Mesopotamia, Sumerians "believed that the
god Enki flooded the rivers with his life-giving semen". Thus, the river is related to the thought
of fertility[8].

Furthermore, the spiritual importance of Al-Khidr figure gives another intangible value.
Al- Khidr (without Elias) is a religious historical figure for Muslims. In the Hadith (speeches)
of Prophet Mohammed, Al- Khidr is mentioned as having a significant role in a story that
happened with the Prophet Moses. See *(hadith.Ina.io)*[9]. Thus, all Muslims respect the Khidr
figure, and some of them have created and adopted many stories and myths to express that
respect.

---

[8] Iraqi people till today carry various beliefs related to their rivers. Purification practice is a common example for the
majority Muslims, as well as miniorities. It is very clear in the baptism rituals of the Iraqi minority named Sabian-
Mandaeans. See (Sabahi, 1996, p117-118).
[9] Alkhidr is mentioned in the following Hadiths: no.4448 by Al-Bukhari and no.2380 by Al-Nisaboori

Unreligious thoughts relate Al-Khidr to the ancient history of Mesopotamia. For example, Al-Taii (2018) relates the common beliefs of some Muslims that Al-Khidr is alive and will be resurrected on the Day of Doom with the ancient belief that Tammuz descended to the lower world and has been resurrected. Al-Taii suggests also that the rituals of Khidr Elias are related to his name. He mentions that in the Arabic language, the name Khidr means (green, or flora), while according to the old Babylonian language and mythology, the god Tammuz (the grandson of Enkey god of water) is the god of plants, so Khidr became related to shrines near the river[10]. On the other hand, Al-Taii marks that (Elias) is an evergreen local plant with a scent, and this plant is considered divine and used in spiritual rituals related to gods and kings. Thus, it is related to variable stories in Mesopotamian mythology. Aasi (2021) also emphasizes the importance of the Elias plant for all Iraqi people till today and clarifies its relation to their inherited culture. Iraqis use this plant in celebrations, festivals, weddings, as well as funerals, so they plant it in their house gardens. Elias is used especially by the people of Khidr Elias district and its visitors as part of the traditional rituals of the place.

Fig. 9: The bank of Tigris River as it appears from Khidr Elias location
Source: Authors,2022

Social Practices in Khidr Elias Place and International Interest

Khidr Elias is a place for daily, weekly, and seasonal social-religious practices, as well as annual distinctive events. Believers do their prayers daily in the shrine, making their vows and wishes. The number of visitors increases at the weekends (Thursday and Friday evenings), and they present different practices, such as prayer, lighting candles, and drifting lighted candles in the rivers hoping that their wishes may come true.

As a response to a request submitted by dozens of people of the bearers of the rituals and inhabitance of Khidr Elias District, in 2016 "Khidr Elias Feast and its Vows" has been inscribed in the "Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity". The official website of ICH presents the following description.

> "Every year in February communities in Iraq honour Alkhidr, a holy figure who, according to ancient beliefs, grants worshippers their wishes particularly those in need.... In the centre of Iraq, community members join on the bank of Tigris, which they believe is the sanctuary of Alkhidr. They deliver sugar, salt, henna, sweets and myrtle leaves and at night send lit candles on wood along the river, making vows for their wishes to be granted. If the candles go out before reaching the other side, the wishes are said to come true. .....Younger generations learn about the practice from older family members and at school. Shared identification with the tradition has helped to build social cohesion within communities."
>
> UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Website
> https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/khidr-elias-feast-and-its-vows-01159

---

[10] According to Al-Taii, the shrines of Al-Khidr are all along the banks of Tigris and Euphrates, and for 4000 years these locations have been places for spiritual rituals practiced in shrines dedicated to the ancient god of water (Eyia or Enkey) which ancient people believed that it saved human from the great flood. Many remains of clay are found underground, as well as bones of fish, which is a symbol of Enkey. In these locations, people presented vows and offerings

The (Celebration of Zakariyya): Tradition in Khidr Elias Place

Rituals and social practices are performed in the Khidr Elias district through the annual celebration of Zakariyya. This example shows the potentialities of this place in hosting intangible cultural heritage events in a collective social sense.

Historic Storytelling

Zakariyya is the Arabic pronunciation of the name *Zechariah* which (according to the Bible Old Testament) is a Hebrew prophet of the late 6th century BC[11]. Prophet Zakariyya is mentioned in the Holy Quran many times and has great importance for Muslims, Christians, and the Sabian-Mandaeans of Iraq. Some storytellers refer to the celebration to hundred years ago at the times when Christianity entered Iraq; others relate it to Sabian-Mandaeans who believe in the prophet Yahya (John the Baptist) the son of Zakariya (Zach). Thus, the celebration is important to all Iraqi religions and communities and is a signal of the bonds between them.

The celebration occurs annually on the first Sunday in the month Shaaban (the eighth Arabic month), which, according to the storytelling of some Muslims, refers to the date of the miracle of the birth of the prophet Yahya; son of the elderly prophet Zakariyya. Thus women who wish to have babies, or request a male child make their vows on this day, and probably practice some religious prayers and fasting to wish that here vows come true. [12]

Practices and Rituals of the Event

On the day of Zakariyya, people prepare food, accessories, and a special tray that contains traditional symbols of hope and fertility. Families gather in the afternoon and wait for the sunset to start the celebration. Some people fast on that day, so they break their fast and start eating at sunset[13]. The celebrating tray contains inherited pottery symbols for boys and girls as well as candles and branches of Elias leaves, while the food served at the event is usually homemade traditional dishes (especially Dolma) and popular sweets (especially Zarda). Other details can be noticed such as children wearing glamorous folk clothes. The celebration is done in a joyful way, with the majority presence of women and children.

Such a celebration could be done privately at home with relatives and friends, but the spirit of the place of the Khidr Elias area encourages people to practice the celebration publicly and in social, common, and collective ways. Thus, families take place in the open space in front of the entrance of the shrine, sit directly on the ground, and enjoy eating and chatting. Some people make their vows and light the candles and float them in the river, or stick them on the cliff of the river; some do their prayer in the shrine, while others wander in the place enjoying the river scene and other available facilities .

We can see that the celebration is vital, spontaneous, massive, quiet, respectable with no violence or vulgar acts, and is passed through generations. Furthermore, weeks before the event happens, local markets are filled with supplies and accessories for the occasion.

---

[11] See: *Collins English Dictionary online*. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/zechariah

[12] As it has been shown, the concept of fertility and offspring is related to the spirit of Tigris River. Furthermore, ancient myths that give a further explanation of the happening of the celebration of Zakariyya, precisely in Khidr Elias district. According to Al-Taii (2018), the ritual of Zakariyya in the ancient mythology of Mesopotamia returns to a legend of the god of fresh water Eyia or (Enkey). The hypothesis that the word Zakariyya could be relate to the origin (Thakar-Eyia) which means (Remembrance of the god Eyia). Zakariyya, in ancient legends, ascended to heaven to bring the plant of offspring so he can have a child. So Iraqi people, in the celebration of Zakariyya, prepare a tray that contains the plant of Elias (Yass), which could be a symbol of the offspring plant. Also they prepare a vessel for water.

[13] Muslim fasting requires complete abstinence from eating and drinking from sunrise until sunset.

Fig. 10: People gathering, celebrating and eating in the open area in front of the shrine (before, during, and after sunset). We can notice the temporary structures and kiosks that are added to support the event by selling the goods related to the celebration.
Source: Authors (On the day of Zakkariyya /6 March 2022)

Fig. 11: The child (Zahraa) was happy to show her traditional costume, and her presentable tray
Source: Authors (On the day of Zakkariyya /6 March 2022)

Fig. 12: Traditional tray and food in the
celebration
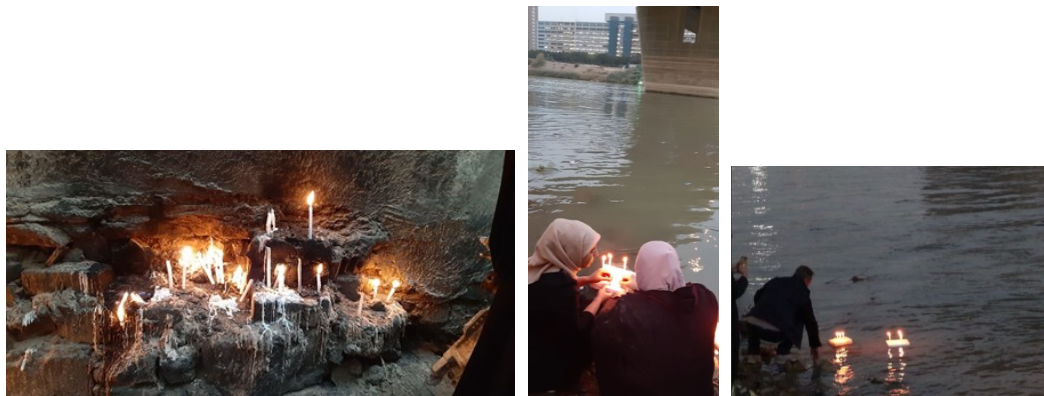Source: Authors (On the day of Zakkariyya
/6 March 2022)

Fig. 13: Believers lighting their candles, floating them in the
river, or sticking them on the river's bank.
Source: Authors (On the day of Zakkariyya /6 March 2022)

Findings: Application of the Indicators

According to the suggested indicators of this research, and the data and analysis of the case study, the research presents the following findings.

Intangible Values and Inherited Performances

- o The main intangible value noticed in the Celebration of Zakariyya is the value of spiritual belief. Celebration practitioners believe in the holiness of religious historical figures and the extraordinary events and capabilities that are related to them. The belief value is related to both place and event, and is mixed and directed by social influences, and affected by mythical roots. They publicly and collectively respond to faith raises and expands these beliefs.
- o The feelings related to the event are another sort of intangible value. Hope for offspring is the main motivation for participating, while joy is a result of the traditional practices related to the celebration.
- o Making vows, lighting candles, and preparing a tray are essential rituals, and have constant forms of expression. Making vows has verbal intangible traits, while lighting candles is a performance, whereas the tray is a tangible physical object which expresses the intangible values.
- o Other performances such as clothing, ornaments, accessories, and a variety of food, are practices that can be considered as further and flexible tools to express beliefs and intangible aspects more perceptually and tangibly.
- o Rituals and practices performed in a decent and proper manner create the value of calmness and respect in the atmosphere of the celebration. Thus, ethical principles are achieved in this precise performance of intangible heritage.

Human-Place Relationship

- Khidr Elias district is considered a place with an inherited connection with people. As shown, the place is part of the traditional and vernacular populated area in Baghdad. Thus people and neighborhood communities are affected by the tangible and intangible aspects of the place, as well as creating new intangible meanings continually.

- Tigris River is the essential source of the potentialities of the place of Khidr Elias and its vital relation with Man.

- The intangible heritage of Khidr Elias is enhanced by the continuous visits of groups of people in successive periods all throughout the year. Thus, the place has the potential to be a center for different social celebrations and activities. The Celebration of Zakkariyya is the main annual event empowered by the existing intangible heritage as well as the spirit of the place.

- The celebration of Zakkariyya has its rituals that may be performed individually, yet the celebration in Khidr Elias is performed collectively by a community in a gathering atmosphere in this precise place. Hamdi (2004) calls such a group of people a community of culture because they are homogenous and share common beliefs.

- The place has physical, tangible properties that enable it to receive a lot of community members and encourages collective activity. The open area in front of the shrine has spatial properties that affect the movement and provide a location for stability and settling, thus enhancing the relation between Man and place.

- Relations between heritage and place appear in Khidr Elias district at various levels. Intangible heritage carried by people is tied to this place, and that is expressed by the continuous performances of people in the celebration of Zakkariyya and other occasions in it. Furthermore, tangible heritage represented by the natural heritage of the place of Khidr Elias and its location on the river is another bond between heritage, place, and people.

- We consider Khidr Elias, as a place for intangible heritage, a generating phenomenon in Baghdad city. The banks of the Tigris River contain many open spaces that can be developed with the aid of the existence of Khidr Elias's lively place. Opposite Khidr Elias there are several traditional historical spaces, such as the space of AlQushala, the space of Abbassi Palace, and the space of Bayt AlHikma. These are neglected spaces, with a very limited role in the life of people, although they are located in lively crowded traditional environments, surrounded by well-designed architectural historical features. These places lack the vitality of the intangible heritage that Khidr Elias possesses (as a result of its human-place relationship). As the research sees, the Khidr Elias area is a starting point for the revival of a series of heritage open spaces along the Tigris River. Such an idea needs the support of advanced river transportation, yet it is worthy because it will enhance tangible and intangible heritage all along the river.

Fig. 14: The space of Al- Qishla is a big open space across the river, defined by its surrounding mass, and its' monumental historical clock. The connection between the two places of Khidr Elias and Al-Qishla is highly recommended to revive the space of Al-Qishla and to start a series of revived historical spaces.
Source: https://www.google.com/maps/ with authors' indication

Identity of Place and People

o The place of Khidr Elias achieves its identity in many ways. Firstly its intrinsic identity returns to its location which was part of a traditional vernacular fabric. Although this fabric has been deteriorated and removed for decades, it is still present in the memories of the elders and their stories, so people feel a sense of belonging to this place through remembrance.

o The specific name that Khidr Elias carries its specific identity. Although the historical figure Khidr Elias is not buried in the shrine, nor there is any evidence of his relationship with it, yet the inherited name of the shrine gave the place its identity as a religious location. In the same way, the name of Zakkariyya as the main figure in the story of the celebration affirms the identity of the place as a historical religious place and empowers its spirit.

o Identity of the place returns also to its natural heritage; the Tigris River, which gives its bank special tangible characteristic, as well as its spiritual genius loci meanings.

o The identity of Man here exists in a collective conscious way. The celebration of Zakkariyaa is a chosen performance done by people who are conscious of its values and practices. When the people here chose to share their values and practices collectively and be part of a specific (community of culture), they have achieved their identity implicitly, through belonging to this community.

o Although the event that created the community is temporary, the community is not. The community is generating and vital, due to its constant relation to this specific place. Here we can see that the identity of the community and the identity of the place integrate into each other.

o We can notice the identity of members of this community of culture through their pride in continuing the performance of the celebration and passing it to new generations, as well as keeping long-term memories in their conscious stories.

o The identity of the celebrators creates an Iraqi local interest which confirms the national identity of the Iraqi people. That's because variable Iraqi religions, cults, and races are all interested in this celebration.[14]

Conclusions

This paper thus concludes as follows.

▪ The intangible aspects are values that are part of the human thoughts and are expressed by the performance of people. Intangibles are also available in things and places (tangibles), yet they are perceived and recognized by human senses. Intangible aspects represent the potentials of rational and spiritual causes, and they express the intrinsic identity of Man, place, and thing although they don't exist actually in form or matter. Thus, the intangible uses the tangible to express itself, so rituals, symbols, and practices are tangible expressions of intangible values.

▪ Heritage and its embedded culture have become the main field of studying intangible aspects because these aspects are established and matured through time, place, and human effects creating cultural heritage.

▪ Intangible heritage in Iraq has its powerful existence in places as well as in people's thoughts and lives. In the case study, it was observed that people encourage the intangible heritage and justify its continuity, in spite of any frailty in its cultural source or absence of proper supporting services.

▪ Intangible heritage flourishes in particular places. Places with genius loci traits and places with significant natural heritage are more prepared to host, present and enhance intangible heritage.

▪ Man is related to intangible heritage in a collective way. Groups of people and communities of culture generate and carry intangible heritage, and are conscious of

---

[14] Announced opinions show the interest of officials and state members who consider the celebration of Zakariyya in Khidr Elias a support to the national unity of the Iraqi people. See Al-Ameen (2019) and Abu Zeed (2017)

their shared identity. Collective memories, social events, traditional stories, and myths, as well as shared values, rituals, and practices are appearances of this collective human relation with intangible heritage.

- The fact that intangible heritage exists powerfully in places that are not designed for this purpose (such as the case study) puts the designers in a critical and sensitive case. Rapaport mentions this fact also as he states, "cultural landscape is rarely (if ever) designed professionally" (Rapaport, 2010:17). Thus, places that have implicit intangible heritage do not require determined designs, but require designs that preserve the spontaneous livingly spirit of intangible heritage.
- While tangible heritage could deteriorate, be distorted or neglected, intangible heritage is generated, accumulated and inherited. On the other hand, the place is the most surviving and constant factor in this integration.
- Heritage is essentially related to place. Significant places provide tangible properties for heritage, and these places also increase the probability of the survival, continuity, and flourishing of intangible heritage. Tangible and intangible heritage, supported by potentialities of place, can go through a continuous feedback process to enrich and flourish each other.

It is therefore concluded that the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage in place is thus verified.

References

Aasi, R. (2021) '(Elias)… A Heritage Related to Rituals of Religions is Threatened with Extinction', *Iraqi News Agency*, 3 December. Available at: https://www.ina.iq/142857--.html Accessed at: (23 April, 2023)

Abd Al-Jabar, G. and Al-Slik, G. (2022) 'The Impact of Time/Emotion Factors on the Interpretation of Meanings of Iraqi Architecture, and its Transformations', in *Muthanna Journal of Engineering and Technology,* Iraq, Muthanna: University of Muthanna. Vol. 10 (1). pp. 17-26, doi: https://doi.org/10.52113/3/eng/mjet/2022-10-01/17-26

Abu Zeed, A. (2017) 'Khidr Elias Unifies Iraqis and inscribes them in the World Heritage List', *Al-Monitor Independent trusted coverage of the Middle East,* 23 January. Available at: https://www.al-monitor.com/ar/contents/articles/originals/2017/01/khidr-elias-unesco--world-heritage-list-iraq.html (Accessed: 20April 2023).

Ahmad, Y. (2006) 'The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12 (3), pp. 292-300, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600604639

Alivizatou, M. (2021) 'Digital Intangible Heritage: Inventories, Virtual Learning and Participation', *Heritage and Society*, 12 (2-3), pp. 116-135, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2021.1883950

Al-Allaf, A. (1960) ' The Old Baghdad ', Baghdad: Al-Maarif Press

Al-Ameed, T. (1967) 'Baghdad: The Round City of Mansour', Baghdad: Al-Ahlieah Library Press

Al-Ameen, M. (2019) 'Celebration the day of Zakariyya Unifies Iraqis Inspite their different Religions and Sects', *Iraqi News Agency*, 7 April. Available at: https://www.ina.iq/84678--.html Accessed at: (23 April, 2023)

Al-Assadi, F. Najah, F. and Al-Saffar, I. (2022), 'Alienation in Contemporary Iraqi Architecture: The Questions of Space-Time Communication and Style', *ISVS e-journal 9 (5),* pp. 387-407

Al-Doroobi, I. (1958) 'Baghdadis: Their Stories and Assemblies', Baghdad: Al-Rabita Press.

Al-Taii, E. (2018) 'Ritual of Zakariyya in the Iraqi Ancient and Contemporary Mythology', Available at: https://mufakerhur.org/%D8%B7%D9%82%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B2%D9%83%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%81%D9%8A-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AB%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%84%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7 (Accessed: 25April 2023).

Cambridge Dictionary Online (2023). Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/intangible (Accessed: 1March 2023).

Carboni, N. and Luca, L. (2016) ' Towards a Conceptual Foundation for Documenting Tangible and Intangible Elements of a Cultural Object', *Digital Applications in Archeology and Cultural Heritage 3(4)*, pp. 108-116, doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.daach.2016.11.001

Chapagain, N. (2020) 'Intangible Cultural Heritage in architecture and Urban Design', *Pravovedenie (Правоведение)* 64 (1), pp. 35-46, doi: https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu25.2020.103

Choma, C. (2020) 'St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Mind, Body, and Life After Death', *Williams Honors College, Honors Research Projects.* 1048. Ohio: University of Akron. Available at: https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/honors_research_projects/1048

Côté, Odette (2013) *'The Intangible Aspects of Architectural Spaces that Influence Human Well-being'*, PhD thesis. University of Montreal. Available at: https://papyrus.bib.umontreal.ca/xmlui/handle/1866/11897

Cresswell, T. (2004) *'Place. A Short Introduction'*, USA,: Blackwell Publishers.

Diefenbach, T. (2004) 'Different Meanings of Intangible Assets and Knowledge- and Their Implications for Management and Innovation', *International Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Change Management*, 4 (1). pp.553- 567. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.18848/1447-9524/CGP/v04/59054

Etymonline-Online Etymology Dictionary (2023) Available at: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=intangible (Accessed: 23 April 2023).

Fakhrulddin , H. and Al-Alwan, H. and Fadhil, A. (2023) ' Towards cultural sustainability: The potency of 'The Thousand and One Nights' in reviving the imageability of Baghdad city', *Ain Shams Engineering Journal* 14(1), pp. 1-22, doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asej.2022.101807

Hamdi, N. (2004) *'Small Change. About the Art of Practice and the Limits of Planning in Cities'*. London: Routledge.

Hennig, B. (2009) 'The Four Causes', *The Journal of Philosophy*, CVI(3). Available at: https://www.borishennig.de/texte/publications/fourcauses_jphil.pdf

Karol, E. (2016) 'Tangible and Intangible Elements of Design for Well-being in the Home', *Gerontechnology*, 15 (4), pp. 227-232. doi: https://doi.org/10.4017/gt.2016.15.4.007.00

Kawther, K. and Al-slik, G. (2021) 'Analysis of Urban Social Orders of Heritage Fabric in the Old Karkh', *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 779, IOP Proceeding. doi: http://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/779/1/012132

Khorasgani, A, Villalobos, M. and Eskandar, G. (2023) ' Sustaining Historic Cities: An Approach Using the Ideas of Landscape and Place', *ISVS e-journal, 10(1),* pp. 320-332

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004) 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production1', *Museum International*, 56(1-2), pp. 52-56. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00458.x

Lappin, L. (2014) 'Mapping the Soul of Place', *TEXT*, 18 (1), pp. 1-15. Available at: https://www.textjournal.com.au/april14/content.htm

Logan, W. (2007) 'Closing Pandora's Box: Human Rights Conundrums in Cultural Heritage Protection' in Silverman, H. and Ruggles, D.F. (eds.) *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*. New York: Springer. pp. 33-52

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online (2023) Available at: https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/intangible (Accessed: 23 April 2023).

Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary (2023) Available at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/intangible (Accessed: 1April 2023).

Muñoz, P. and Coronel J. (2004) 'Visualizing Intangible Realities in Design', *International Journal of Architectural Computing*, 2 (3), pp. 315-331. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1260/1478077043505450

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979) '*Genius Loci. Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture'*, New York: Rizzoli.

Paine, L. (2019) 'River Cultures in World History—Rescuing a Neglected Resource', *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*. 12. pp.457–472. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-018-0220-4

Pandey, A. (2014) *'Tangible and NON-Tangible Knowledge'*, Available at: https://medium.com/all-things-philosophical/tangible-and-non-tangible-knowledge-7332806042a9 (Accessed: 5April 2023).

Petzet, M. (2003) '*Place-Memory-Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites'* In: 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium, 27 – 31 Oct 2003, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. Available at: http://openarchive.icomos.org/470/1/4_-_Allocution_Petzet.pdf

Pilat-Borcuch, M. (2015) 'Intangible Qualities of Good Urban Design', *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies II (I)*, pp.123-133

Perler, D. (2020), 'Rational Seeing: Thomas Aquinas on Human Perception' , *in Medieval Perceptual Puzzles, Theories of Sense Perception in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Bălțuță E. (ed.), pp. 213–237 dio: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004413030_009

Rapaport, A. (2010) 'Designing for People—Some Implications', in Mathéy, K. and Matuk, S. (eds.), *TRIALOG 106 A Journal for Planning and Building in the Third World,* 3. pp. 4-45.

Rodwell, D. (2012) "The UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972-2012: Reflections and Directions", *The Historic Environment*, 3(1), pp. 64-85. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/1756750512Z.0000000004

Ruggles D.F. and Silverman H. (2009) "From Tangible to Intangible Heritage" in Silverman H. and Ruggles D. (eds.) *Cultural Heritage Embodied*. New York: Springer Science +Business Media, LLC, pp. 1-14

Salih, A. and Al-slik, G. (2023) 'The Concept of Home as Manifested in the Baghdad Houses in Iraq', *ISVS e-journal,* 10 (2)*,* pp. 33-56

Sangeetha, K. (2022), 'Sources of Knowledge: Rationalism, Empiricism, and the Kantian Synthesis', in Barnett, B (ed.) *Introduction to Philosophy: Epistemology.* Montreal: Rebus Press, pp. 35-50. Available at: https://press.rebus.community/intro-to-phil-epistemology/

Saussure, F. (1959) *'Course in General Linguistics'*, by Bally C. and Sechehaye A. and Riedlinger A. (eds.), Translated from the French by W. Baskin. New York: The Philosophical Library

Silva, W. (2013) 'Performing in Landscape and Emerging Vernacular: Kandy, Sri Lanka' *ISVS e-journal,* 2 (3) pp. 28-49

Silcock, D. *et al*. (2018) 'Tangible and Intangible Digital Heritage Creating Virtual Environments to Engage Public Interpretation', *Information Technologies in Cultural Heritage,* 2(1), pp. 225-232 doi: https://doi.org/10.52842/conf.ecaade.2018.2.225

Susa, A. (1952) *'Atlas of Baghdad*', Baghdad: Public Survey Directorate Press.

Vaivade, A. (2018) 'ICH as a Source of Identity: International Law and Deontology', in Waelde, C. and Cummings, C. and Pavis, M and Enright, H. (eds), *Research Handbook on Contemporary Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Edward Elagar Publishing, pp. 165-194. doi: https://doi.org/10.4337/9781786434012

Vecco, M. (2010) 'A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, Vol. 11. pp. 321–324

Vecco, M. (2020) 'Genius Loci as a Meta-Concept', *Journal of Cultural Heritage* (41) 1, pp. 225-231. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2019.07.001

Xaioyu, L. and Beisi, J. (2015), 'The Intangible Sustainability on Tangible Flexibility: A Case Study of Vernacular Architecture in Shangjiayang Village, Taishun, China (1814-1949)', *Procedia- Social and Behavioral Sciences,* Vol, 179*,* pp.141-153. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.02.417

UNESCO (1982) *'Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies'*, Available at: https://culturalrights.net/en/documentos.php?c=18&p=190#:~:text=The%20Mexico%20City%20Declaration%20on,and%20closer%20communication%20among%20people.

UNESCO (2005) *'Basic Texts of the 1972 World Heritage Convention'* Paris: UNESCO

UNESCO (2014) *'UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators Methodology Manual'*, France: UNESCO. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/creativity/cdis

UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage (2022) 'Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' Available at: https://ich.unesco.org/en/basic-texts-00503

UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage (2023) 'Khidr Elias feast and its vows', Available at: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/khidr-elias-feast-and-its-vows-01159

UNESCO (no date)'What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?' Available at: https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf