

психологии. Утешение, которое может дать философия, заключается в построение эффективного методологического инструментария для решения проблем, а не для устранения страдания от них.

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Philosophy of the Islamic city: Criticism of Western research approaches and modern methods (Istanbul case study)

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The influence of globalization trends on urban processes is already a well-known phenomenon, but if the European cities have been involved in this context quite naturally and for a long time – the cities that are not in the Christian paradigm of cultural and world-view development (hereinafter referred to as Islamic cities), are now experiencing revolutionary changes, as well as consciousness of their inhabitants. First of all, these changes are related to adopting or even taking on the traditional social institutions of the European world: forms of education according to a certain standard, forms of civic activity, strategies and practices of behavior in everyday life. All these activities, blending with the traditional religiosity and the outlook of the community, create a whole phenomenon that can be termed “modern Islamic urbanism”.

Nezar AlSayyad, Mansour Elbabour, and Meygan Massoumi have been fruitfully working in this direction for quite a long time now. The outlined topic has been touched by the researchers who write on the themes of social processes in Islam (for example, the theme of “Arab Spring”), various kinds of cultural and religious transformations, fundamentalism, because changes in the social structure of

society are reflected in the physical space of the city and the practices of its organization. The work of a philosopher of the 10th century Al-Farabi "Treatise on the views of the residents of the virtuous city", which is compared in its significance with Plato's dialogue "The State", can actually be considered a philosophical look at the Islamic city.

At the present stage, the critique of the original studies of Muslim cities conducted by Western Orientalists is already evident. In particular, Nezar AlSayyad singles out two periods of such research. Early, mostly Christians writers (starting from 1920s till 1960s), such as Brothers Marcais George and William, Roger LeTourneau, Jean Sauvaget, Xavier De Planhol, Gustave von Grunebaum (when the image of the Muslim city was only part of the larger image of "Mohammedism". They needed to fit the cities into a convenient mold [AlSayyad 1996, p. 92]), and later writers such as R.B. Serjeant S.M. Stern (the problem of "protective nationalism". They have clung to the idea of the Islamic city as something that is particularly their own) [AlSayyad 1996, p. 96].

However, which methods can be applied now to research the Islamic city, without contrasting it to the western Christian city and not focusing only on social processes within the city itself? Modern researchers suggest shifting the research focus from urban social processes to the city itself using the concept of "The intrinsic logic of cities" proposed by Helmuth Berking and Martina Lov of Darmstadt Technological University. The city is viewed not only as a homogeneous mirror of social processes, but each city is marked by its own individuality and develops in its own unique way. Helmuth Berking states that "not seeing own logic and local contexts of 'this' city in contrast to 'that one', – means not seeing the "city itself as an object of knowledge" [*Собственная логика городов* 2017]. This can be done by resorting to self-evident (doxic) cultural techniques, where doxa means "constructing habitual dispositions through which the world makes itself self-evident, absorbs time and structures spaces" [*Собственная логика городов* 2017].

Proceeding from this background, I tried to answer the question: what is the form of "city's elusive spirit" (Walter Benjamin), how can we research it? Cities do not exist aimlessly, each city has its own idea. The idea of the city is embodied in the myth of the city (this includes everyday knowledge of the city, its historical subjects, the collective vision of the city's future by townspeople). The myth can be explicated through the study of history/everyday life + interviews with local residents.

An example of working with the myth of the city could be Istanbul. A study visit showed that for today's inhabitants of Istanbul, the following narratives of their city are typical: a story about a city standing on seven hills; frequent appeals to the old name – Constantinople; the use of traditional Ottoman buildings (the canon of which has taken shape thanks to the architect Sinan and its urban complexes – *kulliyes*) and its eclectic combination with modern city buildings of offices, banks, supermarkets and hotels. Furthermore, the streets of the city's central districts are filled with trade infrastructure. Trade, as a former function of part of sacred buildings, is now taking place on the streets. Istanbul is also unique because of its geographical location: Bosphorus (The Strait of Istanbul) divides city to the European and Asian parts, and its contemporary inhabitants deliberately pay attention to living in Asia or going to Asia.

In general, the concept of the city's own logic can enrich and deepen further research of the Islamic cities. Clarifications as to what can be considered a traditional Islamic city, the distinction of its attributes and religious archetypes as well as fixing of modern attempts to implement global projects in the context of specific Islamic cities (with an emphasis on the emergence of public and secular spaces in Islamic cities) can have a promising potential.

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