

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**RE-ESTABLISHING THE ARCHITECTURAL
CODES OF ALEPPO CITY AFTER WAR**

Master Thesis

ZEIDO ZEIDO

İSTANBUL, 2015

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED
SCIENCE
ARCHITECTURE**

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Zeido Zeido

ABSTRACT

RE-ESTABLISHING THE ARCHITECTURAL CODES OF ALEPPO CITY AFTER WAR

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Disasters, natural or human made have always changed and reshaped the architectural heritage and image of cities, demolishing some structures, altering others, and creating new ones. This thesis studies the case of the current war in Aleppo, by researching and comparing to the experiences of other cities and cases, in order to learn how to preserve and save the architectural codes and character of Aleppo.

The thesis researches cases of destructive wars in other cities such as Warsaw, a city that has suffered a complete and vast similar destruction to Aleppo. This includes the rebuilding of Warsaw and the evolution of heritage preservation among other issues. Beirut, a city that shares many cultural and historical events with Aleppo is another case that is included in this study, for this city's old town, which possesses mixed nostalgic images for its inhabitants, was replaced mostly with high-rise towers.

In addition, the thesis examines other cases and examples to study the effects of politics, religion and nationalism on architectural identity, place image, heritage sabotage, and clarify what are the architectural codes of a city. Moreover, it discusses in abbreviation the current architectural styles and zones of Aleppo, and how the city was already heavily deformed and divided even before the current war. In the end the thesis presents a prospective scenario to re-establish the architectural codes of Aleppo city after war.

Keywords: Aleppo, War, Architecture, Identity, Heritage

ÖZET

SAVAŞ SONRASI HALEP ŞEHRİNİN MİMARİ KODLARININ YENİDEN TESİS EDİLMESİ

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Mimarlık Yüksek Lisans

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Suna Çağaptay

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Doğal veya insan kaynaklı felaketler, yapıların yıkılmasıyla, binaların dönüştürülmesiyle ve eklenmesiyle, her zaman mimari mirası ve şehirlerin görüntüsünü değiştirdi ve yeniden şekillendirdi. Bu tez Halep'te süren savaşı, Halep'in mimari kodlarının ve karakterinin nasıl korunacağına ulaşmak için farklı şehirleri araştırarak ve onların deneyimleriyle karşılaştırarak inceler.

Tez, Halep gibi muazzam bir yıkım yaşayan ve savaş nedeniyle yıkıma uğrayan Varşova benzeri örnekleri inceler. Bu inceleme Varşova'nın yeniden kuruluşunu ve mirasın korunması sürecini içerir. Halep'le ortak bir kültür ve tarih paylaşan Beyrut bu çalışmada eski şehir merkezinin sunduğu karışık, nostaljik imajlarıyla ve sonradan eklenen yüksek katlı yapılarıyla bir başka örnek olarak incelenir

Yukarıda bahsedilenlere ek olarak bu tez, başka durumlara ve örneklere yer vererek, politikanın, dinin ve milliyetçiliğin mimari kimlik, yer, görüntü ve kültürel miras üzerindeki etkilerini açıklar. Ayrıca tez, kısaca Halep'teki güncel mimari stilleri ve savaş öncesi bile var olan ağır deformasyonu ve bölgesel ayrışmayı tartışır. Sonuçta tez Halep'in mimari kodlarının yeniden kurulmasındaki muhtemel senaryoları sunar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Halep, Savaş, Mimarlık, Kimlik, Miras

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1. INTRODUCTION

War is one of many disasters that can hit a city, and transform it drastically. Many cities lost a big part of their heritage, and identity after war, while others were able to preserve their identity, and their architectural character.

This thesis address the question: how can the architectural character of Aleppo be restored and re-established after war?

The research focuses on the cases of two cities Warsaw and Beirut: Warsaw, a city that was completely destroyed, and was able to restore its architectural character and identity. The amount of destruction in Aleppo can only be compared to the destruction of those cities that suffered severe and total destruction in WW2 such as Warsaw. The other focus case is Beirut, a city that lost a big part of its architectural heritage in its war. Beirut shares many cultural aspects with Aleppo as another city from the Levant, its mixed nostalgic pre-war image and the city's division because of war makes it an important case to study, understand, and compare to Aleppo.

The effects, outcome, and experiences of both cities during and after war are studied, and compared to Aleppo. This examination is to uncover some of the solutions and problems that led to redefine the characters and images of both cities.

The study discusses the issues of duplicated nostalgia and the different approaches of restoration, creating replicas, and the development of the architectural heritage conservation. It also reviews the cases of other cities and issues related to identity, political relations, the various views and perception of different people for the same city. Religious and national propagandas are also looked at in the matter of how they change the architectural image of a city.

These examinations help to understand the identity and image of a city like Aleppo, and thus reach a definition of what an architectural code of a city is, and how does that apply to Aleppo's case. Moreover, the thesis presents brief yet rich explanations on the lost heritage, different architectural styles, areas and neighborhoods of Aleppo. This display is to help demonstrate, and explain the losses of Aleppo in the war, and its losses a long time before the war even started. In the end, the research discusses prospective solutions to re-establish the architectural codes of the city after the end of the conflict.

1.1 DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Since the beginning of the war, Aleppo has lost many of its historical monuments, and its precious unique buildings. Many of its most valuable structures were partially or severely destroyed, such as the Umayyad mosque, the ancient souk, Carlton Citadel Hotel, Hammam Yalbougha An-Nasry, Khusriwiye Mosque, among many other structures (AAAS, 2014), while what remains is listed as endangered. Moreover, many of its open courtyard and other unique-style houses were destroyed or severely damaged. This is mainly because the old city of Aleppo, which holds the oldest and most precious architectural masterpieces of the city, was the battlefield of repeated and continuous clashes. The historical heart of Aleppo was one of the most damaged areas in the city.

The issue of the direction and the methods that will be used in the post-war reconstruction and restoration process for Aleppo after war is already a worrying matter for UNESCO, the national and international community. Several other matters appeared, such as redefining the architectural heritage of Aleppo and the previous deformations of the city that did not happen because of the war. These issues, which were left unsolved before the conflict, are most likely to reappear in a more complicated form in the post-war period. This ranges from the pre-war deliberate destruction of the Aleppine architectural heritage to the neglect and exclusion of certain parts of it.

The war led to the division of Aleppo city to east and west. It also lead to several other urban issues that will stop the city from healing if not carefully dealt with.

Aleppo is now threatened with the loss of what is left of its identity, and a severe deterioration of its condition in the post-war chaos and the unknown political, financial, social players, among other conditions that will come after the war ends. This includes the decision makers, the corporates and agencies that might try to take advantage of the post-war situation on the expense of the Aleppine heritage.

Therefore, to summarize, Aleppo needs to find a way to protect what is left of its architectural heritage, and a way to regain its character. Moreover, to deal with its pre-

war and post-war related problems. This includes reuniting the two parts of the city, and redefining the architectural heritage of Aleppo

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research aims to examine the experiences of other cities that were affected by war, and inspect the outcome of the methods that were used to rebuild these cities. At the same time, it looks at the social, economic, and political players that lead to take the decisions for their post-war reconstruction. The success or problems of the post-war realities of these cities will be able to offer some lessons that Aleppo might benefit from in its own reconstruction process. The comparisons to Aleppo that this research will offer intend to provide a better understanding for the present and future issues.

The examination of place identity, image, and architectural heritage issues around the world, for several cities and cases in this study aims to clarify how a propaganda hidden under national or religious claims can be a reason of the destruction of a city's heritage.

After researching the case of other cities, identity, and image, among other issues, the intended definition of the term "architectural code of a city" is explained.

With the information that were acquired about other cities and cases, the final goal of this study is to shed the light on Aleppo's different architectural styles with explanatory maps and figures. These and the offered facts about the deterioration of the city and the loss of a big part of its heritage a long time before the war, aim to provide a clear idea about the situation of Aleppo before presenting a possible post-war scenario, and few recommendations.

1.3 IMPORTANCE

The examination of different post-war experiences helps to identify the problems that Aleppo is already facing, and the ones that it might go through. The comparisons to other cases while taking in consideration the differences between Aleppo and the other cities, and the unique status of Aleppo will help to reach some conclusions and recommendations. These recommendations from this study among others will hopefully aid the urban and social recovery of Aleppo.

The research about identity issues will be a revelation to reconsider the definition of heritage in Aleppo, and to prevent the further deterioration of the city's heritage if the future circumstances allowed that.

The explanations about the war issues, pre-war urban problems, and degradation of Aleppo aim to be a part of the needed information to proceed with the recovery process. Moreover, the information and the displayed figures and maps in this study aims to provide a general understanding for the architectural styles of every zone, and period in Aleppo, especially for non-Aleppines who take an interest in studying this city.

Most importantly, this research, hopefully among other studies can be a source of information that presents other experiences to learn from, and an input in the prospect that Aleppo can be able to restore its unique identity, and architectural character.

1.4 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This research aims to come up with conclusions, and recommendations to restore the architectural codes of Aleppo in the post-war period. However, to do so, and to reach these conclusions, it discusses the experiences of other war-ravaged cities, and look at their positive and negative post-war outcomes.

The first part of this research focuses on two cities: Warsaw, a city that was almost completely destroyed and recreated with replicas. At the same time while looking at this case, the study examines the advancement and changes in the restoration methods, and the different schools and approaches in conservation. This is to learn what led to creating them and to uncover the situations they served.

Moreover, the first part focuses on another city, Beirut, the city that was divided to east and west, and lost a big part of its architectural heritage. The study compares the urban changes during war and the division of Aleppo to east and west, to Beirut, in the way that they changed the face of the city.

The thesis examines the circumstances of these two cities, and how do they relate to Aleppo. It also examines their pre-war and post-war situations to understand the political, social and economic players, and avoid overly simplified explanations. After researching each city, the study offers some conclusions related to Aleppo.

In the second part, the thesis discusses the architectural characters, how to identify them, and their complexities. In addition, it discusses the identity of a place, nostalgia in architecture, creating and changing an image of a city, and the way people perceive their cities differently, among other topics. This is in order to reach an explanation of what are the architectural codes of a city.

In the last part, this study displays a brief yet clear explanation of the pre-war situation of the city that includes a general idea about its different zones, architectural styles, the deterioration of the city in its pre-war condition, and its architectural crisis. This is before laying recommendations and a prospective scenario for post-war Aleppo, and a way to re-establish its architectural codes if the chance is provided.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The research uses scholarly publications, agencies reports, and other online resources to analyze the problems and avoid simple interpretations, or one-sided perspectives on the issues. The study uses the following steps to reach its goals

a. Analysis of other war-ravaged cities

Through the examination of two cases, Warsaw and Beirut, the study intends to attain enough information to present a set of conclusions on the possible methods for the post-war reconstruction of Aleppo if the chance is provided. Moreover, the comparisons of the circumstances and conditions of these two cities to Aleppo aims to provide a better understanding of the present and future possible problems.

b. Analysis of architectural identity and character

Since figuring out the identity and character of a place is essential to figure out what to re-establish, the research uses other case studies to highlight the different aspects of architectural identity and its complexity. This is while comparing some of these cases to Aleppo to reach a better understanding of the city

c. Analysis of Aleppo's pre-war condition

This include as mentioned earlier a brief yet rich examination of the pre-war problems and architectural styles of the city

After conducting these analyses of other cities, cases and Aleppo itself, the research presents several conclusions and a prospective scenario to re-establish the architectural codes of Aleppo

1.6 LIMITATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES

This study examines the situation of Warsaw and Beirut in a relatively short period before and after war, and although it addresses these two cities as a whole, it focuses only on their historical downtowns.

The study also examines the architectural styles of Aleppo and some of its pre-war problems, however, the examination is brief and general, and does not go into details due to the size and time limits of the thesis.

The very little research materials available about Aleppo, and the hard access to them is a big obstacle that faces any study about Aleppo. The hard access to the city in general at this time under the present war conditions forms a serious challenge to write this research. The seemingly unknown future of the city and the vague picture of its post-war political, social, and economic players also create several difficulties. Nonetheless, this research work to overcome these obstacles, not only by gathering as much information as possible on the city, but by gathering data about other cities that went through similar experiences and making comparisons to these cases.

2. DISASTERS AND THEIR ARCHITECTURAL EFFECTS ON CITIES

This chapter will display two cases of post-war reconstruction. The first case is Warsaw, a city that was able to restore its urban heritage after it was severely destroyed, and the second case is Beirut, a city that lost its architectural heritage in its post-war reconstruction.

The first section will explain why Aleppo and Warsaw despite all of their differences are being compared to each other. The research will use numbers, maps, charts of the destruction of both Aleppo and Warsaw for the comparison, and introduce theories about under what political influences the old town of Warsaw was rebuilt, and whether the will power of the people or the political and economic powers is what rebuilt this city. The study will review Nazi plans before war, and Soviet plans for Warsaw after war, in the context of how all of these factors reshaped the city. The study will also examine the new methods of conservation, and their development after WW2, especially in Europe, and the role of the mass destructions of cities after WW2 on urban theories and conservation. It will also discuss the aspects of improvement and changes in post war areas in general and buildings in specific, especially in the case of recreating a replica of historic neighborhoods and buildings. In the end of the first case details about how Warsaw was rebuilt and some conclusions of its experience that might help to rebuild Aleppo will be displayed and deduced.

In the second case, Beirut, an examination of why the Beirut architecture has several differences from the Aleppine one, what are these differences and what circumstances might have created them to be distinguished from Aleppo's architecture will be discussed. In addition, in this part of the research, the change of the image of Ottoman Beirut from the 1920s to pre-war modern Beirut in 1970s is argued to have caused double nostalgia and identity perplexity for the Beirutis after the reconstruction of the city. The effects of war in both Beirut and Aleppo on transportation, economy, construction and the division of both cities are compared. The study will examine the images and causes of pre-war and post-war architectural issues, discuss cases of war and other events memorials, and present a summary of points and conclusions from Beirut's experience.

2.1 WARSAW AFTER WAR

2.1.1 Comparing the destruction between Warsaw and Aleppo

Choosing Warsaw city in Poland to compare to Aleppo city in Syria and finding a direct relation between the two of them might seem far-fetched. Aleppo through history had several connections with different European cities, but there seems to be no immediate connection or common historical, commercial or cultural binds between these two historical towns. However, the amount of destruction that Aleppo city has witnessed and still witnessing can only be compared to those cities that witnessed a total massive destruction during the Second World War.

When the two cases are being studied and compared, it is important to consider that cities today have grown much bigger, and that they occupy a larger area than they did since WW2. Therefore, it is important in the time of putting an assessment to the destruction of a city to measure the destruction of specific parts of it, especially for metropolitan and relatively big cities. Moreover, the old towns of cities might be a small, but nonetheless the most valuable part of them.

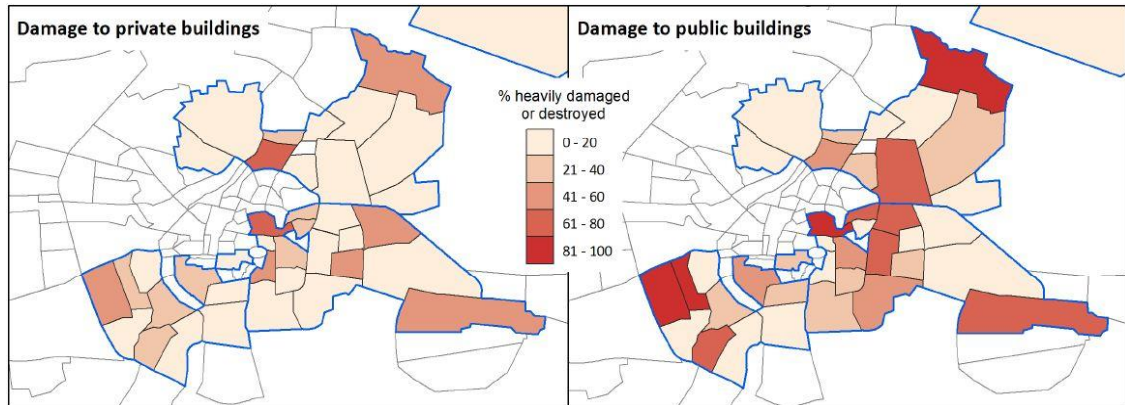
The Post-war studies reported that 85 percent of Warsaw was destroyed by the end of WW2. Whereas a study by IRIN; a humanitarian news and analysis organization, which is a service of the UN Office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs, showed what was done to Aleppo in March 2013 and presented the following results:

“In the assessed 52 neighborhoods, more than half of all private buildings (including apartment buildings) are damaged or destroyed. About 25 percent of all private buildings are heavily damaged or totally destroyed (unrepairable damages). About two-thirds of public infrastructure in the assessed 52 neighborhoods is reportedly damaged or destroyed, including schools, health facilities, and other public buildings.” (IRIN, 2013).

With the study, there is a graph (Figure 2.1) that reveals the damaged percentage of every area including the old city part of Aleppo. The estimated damages to this part range from 60 percent to 100 percent, and it is considered a world heritage site by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2015). This region of Aleppo can be argued to be the most important and

precious part of it, since it holds almost all of its oldest antique architectural treasures that date to the pre 1880s (Haritani, 2005, p53).

Figure 2.1: Map of the damages in Aleppo according to IRIN report in March 2013



Source: IRIN. 2013. Aleppo city Assessment report March 2013, p 20, [Online]

http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/aleppo_assessment_report.pdf [Accessed 1 May 2015]

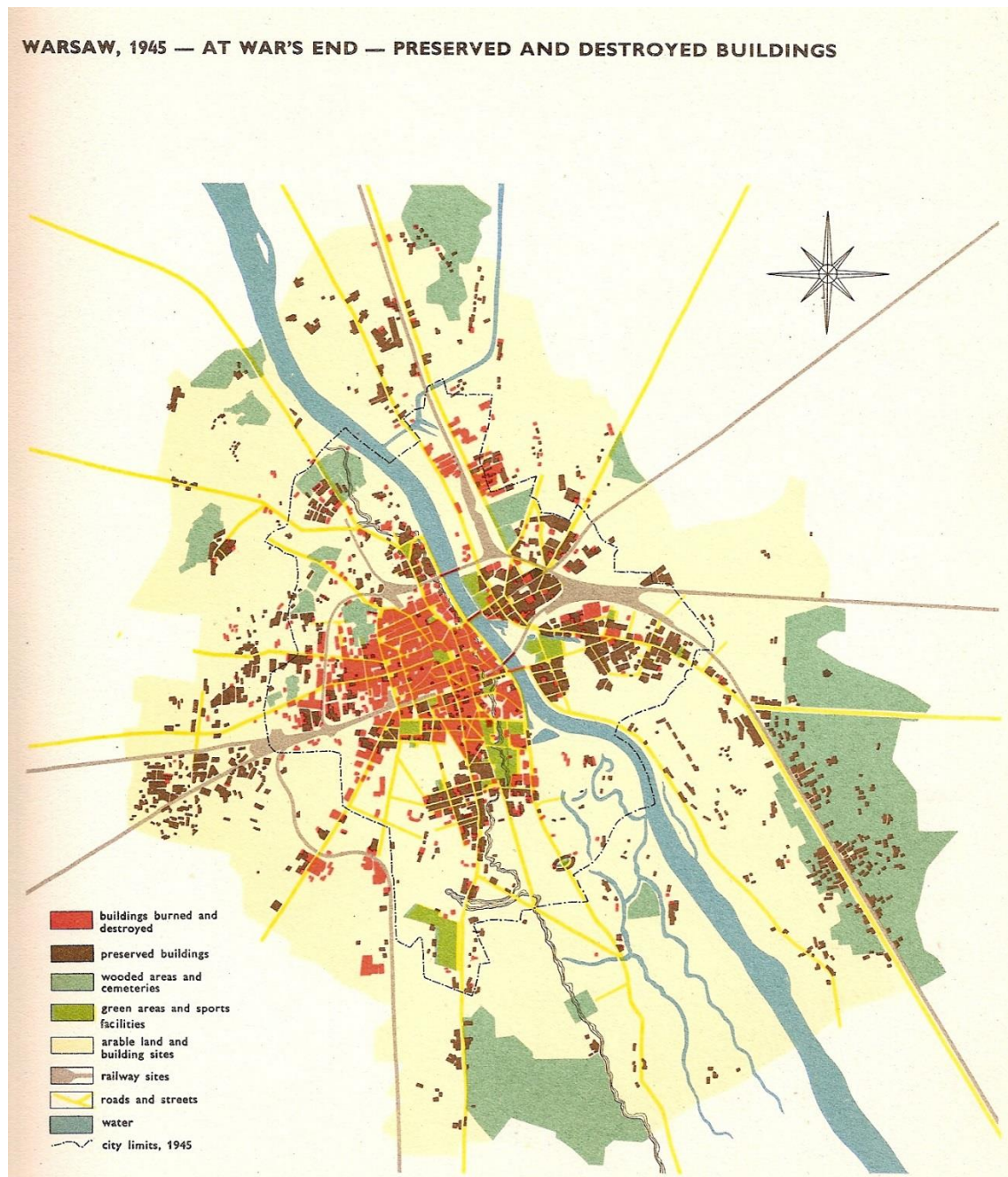
Therefore, Aleppo just like Warsaw, a city that has to rise up from ashes, and rebuild itself. Reading deep into history and the rebuild attempt of Warsaw, which is considered by most critics to be a highly successful experience, while keeping in mind the singularity of a city like Aleppo, can be very important to learn and reach productive conclusions of how Aleppo can be rebuilt in the best way possible.

The following map (figure 2.2) shows the city of Warsaw and the buildings that were destroyed. Unfortunately, a map like this will not be available for Aleppo, probably until the end of the war, because the most destroyed areas and the old city are still the most dangerous zones. Nonetheless, the study that was done by IRIN helps to provide a general idea.

These numbers according to different resources indicates that around 85 percent of the old city of Warsaw was destroyed. It is important to realize that just like Aleppo, The city was progressively destroyed as the war dragged on. 25 percent of the city was destroyed during the war in September 1939 and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, after that 25 percent in the events of the Warsaw Uprising, and later 35 percent as an outcome of the calculated German destruction of the city after the Uprising (Project InPosterum, 2004-2013).

10,455 buildings were destroyed, 923 historical buildings, which makes up to 94 percent of the significant historical buildings back then, also 25 churches, 14 libraries, one of them is the National Library, 81 elementary schools, 64 high schools, Warsaw University and Polytechnic buildings, and most of the monuments (Project InPosterum, 2004-2013). In 1945 when the reconstruction process of Warsaw started. The rubble left in the city was about 720 million cubic feet, 98,000 mines and shells were removed from the ruins of the city, and about a thousand buildings had to be cleared before starting to reconstruct the city (Flammia, 2014). The numbers on human losses are horrific with 200,000 polish civilians dead and a much bigger number between soldiers, missing, and exiled people (Project InPosterum, 2004-2013). The estimated numbers might slightly differs from one source to another, but they are very close in general. The presented map (figure 2.2) may provide a better understanding as it represent the destroyed areas colored in red.

Figure 2.2: Warsaw 1945 at the end of WW2



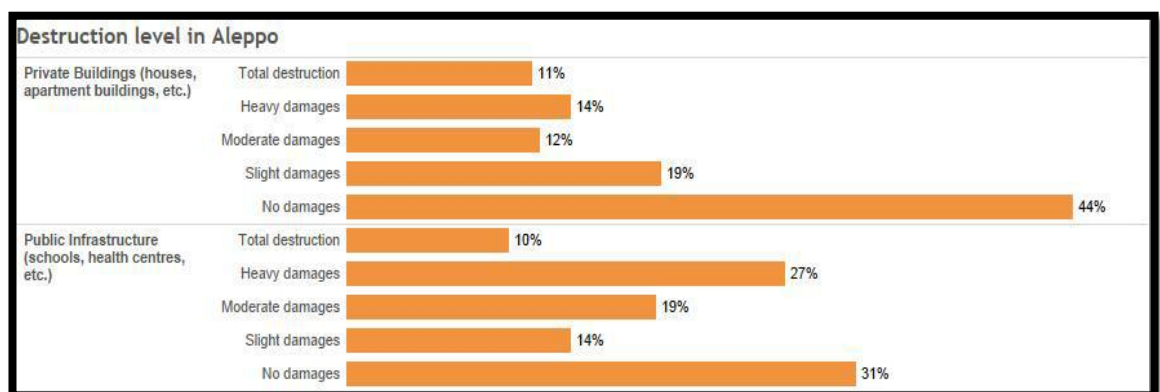
Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1335661>

The war damages of structures in Aleppo increased dramatically since the study was done by IRIN in March 2013. However, since there seems to be no new official numbers or reports from recent times, this data will be presented in this research, after noting that the

destruction at the time of writing this thesis is much more severe, and the numbers of destroyed and damaged buildings are significantly much larger.

“About two-thirds of public infrastructure in the assessed 52 neighborhoods is reportedly damaged or destroyed, including schools, health facilities, and other public buildings. About 10 percent is reported as totally destroyed. The level of destruction in the 52 assessed neighborhoods is the highest in the South East, where 60 percent of the private buildings and about 75 percent of public infrastructure is damaged or destroyed to various degrees (figure 2.3). At the time of the assessment, the lowest average level of destruction was reported in the North East, where about half of the private buildings and public infrastructure are undamaged.” (IRIN, 2013)

Figure 2.3: Destruction of Private and public structures in Aleppo in March 2013



Source: IRIN. 2013. Aleppo city Assessment report March 2013, p 20. [Online] http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/aleppo_assessment_report.pdf [Accessed 16 October 2013]

2.1.2 Conservation of a city’s urban codes

It's important to mention that after World War Two, the process of restoring and rebuilding the old cities in Europe came from the need of the people to connect to their past and not allow the emerging new urban plans theories to build a new urban fabric that is completely unrelated to their culture. Moreover, a new urban fabric will remove the trace of the architectural different layers that hides within it the history of cities that was created over centuries. It was an identity crisis or maybe a reaction of refusing the foreign forces that wanted to erase the history of Warsaw.

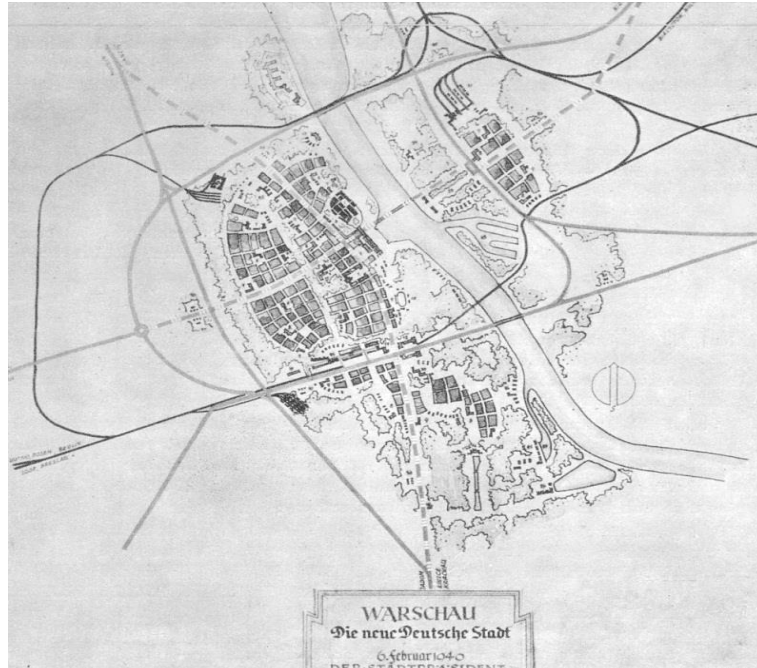
It is argued that in the case of Warsaw just like in the case of many war ravaged cities, Warsaw did not choose this destruction, and therefore the reconstruction of the old city is

just a matter of setting things right. However, even after the city resurrected itself it does not try to hide its history. The reconstructed new-old buildings in the old town bear the dates of their new construction as a “never forget” policy (Stephens, 2007). By this logic it can also be argued that not only war, but other compelling circumstances, whether they are economic, political or other factors that deformed the city are something that the city did not choose, and therefore fixing the architectural outcome of these circumstances are a matter of setting things right too.

Some researchers like Barakat think that destroying the urban heritage is a strategy of modern wars, and not merely a part of their outcome. This destruction is aimed to create physical and emotional damages and effects that may last for a long time even after the war ends (Barakat, 2005, pp 26-39). To some opinions, that decision and influences by other countries that are involved indirectly in the Syrian civil war were aimed to destroy the infrastructure including the urban heritage of the country. People who advocate this theory argue that decisions like stripping the chemical weapons out of Syria under many threats (Lederer & Lee, 2013), was meant to lengthen and make this war more destructive for the infrastructure along with human losses, and such decision was not made for humanitarian reasons, but to make the recovery process later much harder. Although a decision like this might be also directly related with other political reasons like changing the balance of regional powers, many observers think that destroying the infrastructure is one of the main aims of why other kind of weapons and military restrictions or actions were not laid on the table.

In the case of post-war Warsaw, many believe that the people of the city were too attached to it, and rebuilding the old city as it was might have been a reaction to the acts of the Nazi government that tried to change the form of their city even before it decided to completely destroy it after the uprising. The 1940 Pabst plan for Warsaw before the uprising aimed to build a model city with a Nazi German urban plan. It was called "Neue deutsche StadtWarschau", meaning the new German city of Warsaw (Janowski, Janaszek-Seydlitz, & Mańkowska, 2010)

Figure 2.4: The 1940 Pabst plan of Warsaw



Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/22/The_Pabst_Plan_Warsaw_1.jpg

Since Poland fell under the political influence of the eastern camp and the Soviet union after WW2, it's important to understand and keep in mind that the architecture in the former Soviet Union and socialist countries didn't abandon the expensive Stalinist architecture and adopted the "no decoration" rigid modernist forms until 1955 (Resolution of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on 4 November 1955 N 1871). This legislation by the USSR was possibly a needed measure for the housing crisis at that time. The first stage of rebuilding Warsaw began in 1945 and was finished in 1953 (Murawski, 2009, pp 13-20). The Soviet Union actually gave Warsaw one of its most important buildings that changed its skyline: the palace of culture and science that was designed especially for Warsaw with some polish characters in it (PKIN, 2014). On the one hand, this former information can be a starter for a discussion about how much did the government care or participated in reinforcing the characters of the city after war.

On the other hand, one of the versions regarding the story of rebuilding Warsaw is that the Polish leader at the time Boleslaw Bierut, which is described as a leader sponsored by the Soviets preferred the "architecture in fashion by the Soviets". Nonetheless, he adopted the rebuilding project of old Warsaw to maintain what little tolerance the Poles had for

his regime. This and the argument that the rebuilding of the old city was not made priority until 1950, and that although most of the resources describe the palace of culture and science as a gift from the Soviet Union, according to several opinions it was merely a structure of conformation of their dominance over Poland. The palace of culture and science was unnecessary, inefficient, and the polish architects didn't have a say in it, instead not only the architects, but the workers were from the Soviet Union and the polish government had to pay them. Moreover, many people at that point were still living in wooden barracks (Applebaum, 2013).

Figure 2.5: The palace of culture and science in Warsaw



Source: <http://www.quora.com/Why-was-the-Soviet-Union-keen-to-rebuild-Warsaw-in-1945>

Or perhaps it's somehow like few researchers would argue, that the legislations and warnings about the architectural and cultural values that emerged and the recommendations and impositions by organizations like the UNESCO and the European

Council are the ones that helped saving the architectural heritage in European cities after war. These recommendations developed later to laws. France laid down the first official law later in 1962 (Stoica, 2009, p 9). The law included political and financial support to urban heritage preservation over previous modern urbanism favored approaches. It also combined urbanism with preservation.

The 1964 Venice International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites is considered a big leap and the foundation of modern conservation theories. Unlike the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments in 1931 that does not mention anything about urban conservation, the Venice International Charter developed the concept of conservation from the restoration of monuments and sites to include historical city centers and protected areas (Stoica, 2009, pp 8-12). The Venice charter was later adopted by ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites in 1965 (ICOMOS, 2015).

Several other laws in different countries has emerged and developed since the 1960s, however the UN Habitat second conference in Istanbul in 1996 known as UN Habitat agenda is considered as another leap. Its importance comes from the fact that it was adopted by 171 countries as a political document; also, it had 600 recommendations in comparison to previously more vague and general suggestions (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Although the issue of saving the urban heritage was laid a while before the destruction of cities, WW2 triggered the sense of national identity in architecture, perhaps because the loss of these cities was sudden and under awful circumstances. Out of these losses of towns and cities, legislations appeared in post-war Europe during the reconstruction phase (Stoica, 2009, pp 8-12). All the previous notes might form a theory of the strong effect that WW2 had on heritage awareness, which might be one of the reasons that led the government and the people to rebuild the old city of Warsaw.

From the emerging new conditions in post-war Europe, the process and concepts of restoration and conservation evolved and changed with time. The buildings and other structures do not have to be built as their condition was before, but now they can be “improved”. Another important development is that specialists stopped aiming their focus on one building and started thinking about the area as a whole. Therefore, conservation

and restoration extended to include town squares and the urban fabric of the neighborhoods. The process also included enhancing these areas to fit touristic and daily life activities better, and integrate those old towns and neighborhoods with the modern parts of the city. As a result, the conservation process expanded to reach undestroyed buildings, and in some cases rebuilding differently, removing some structures, and changing many aspects and streets of those areas to make them “better” were considered a necessity (Stoica, 2009, pp 8-12).

Most war and urban researchers agree that reconstructing destroyed buildings will restore the city’s identity, but this discussion raise some other inquiries as whether if a replica of the original building will be enough to do so. What buildings should be removed, renovated, left as a war memorial. Moreover, based on what factors should these diagnoses be made and who gets to make them?

The dilemma of whether to restore the destroyed areas as much as it’s possible, or just clear it to rebuild and install new improvements to it, surfaced since the end of the second War World Two . There’s always a conflict when it comes to taking such a decision on whether to replace or conserve, but in most cases both measurements should be incorporated depending on the specific area, technical possibility, and the particular historical value of the building in debate.

Therefore, the cultural aspect of the building is the most important thing to consider. It is important also to keep in mind and realize that a building or a structure with a cultural value is not always a historical one and the opposite can be true sometimes. Reconstructing those buildings will not only restore the city’s identity, but it is also an economic investment for the future of the city. Old buildings that hold no cultural value or esthetic appeal may not be reconstructed.

Another approach that can be taken is to sweep clean the heavily destroyed area except of few landmarks, and create a completely new different architecture, this measurement is not usually applied to the historical or traditional areas, but to the other districts of the city that holds so much little cultural and architectural value. It is in fact in some cases, an opportunity for the city to develop, improve itself, and get rid of its undesirable structural forms (Barakat, 2005, pp 26-39).

Setting the protection rules of the historical and traditional neighborhoods to save and preserve their characters was highly important for the remaining buildings that survived in this area or for those ones that are going to be constructed in the future in the same place. Because after WW2, a large number of buildings with what was considered a common style began to disappear, and the style that was so familiar to the city became a rare seen. The problem is not only related to war and other disasters that affect the cities but it also has to do with the new economic and social problems among other difficulties that faces and affect the city. The old style might not be sustainable or economical anymore in the modern city and therefore becomes extinct-like, or on its way to be. An example of this is the case of the Arabian houses with the open courtyard in the middle in Aleppo city. Those houses discontinued to serve the modern function or compete with the lesser expenses of the modern house. Another example is the traditional wooden houses in Istanbul. Maintenance of the used material and their expenses is too high, and they are non-environmental, especially with the population explosion (Efe & Cürebal, 2011, pp 718-719). However, in Aleppo, Istanbul and other cities laws were established to protect these old houses, and to renovate and preserve them.

Even laws were passed in lots of cases to restrict and minimize the changes in the old part of the cities and for the new buildings to be built in the same style as the old ones in the historical areas. In most cases, the laws are somewhat vague when it comes to define the set of rules to be followed for the new buildings that are being built in the historical area. There is an absence in specified details on how to make them take the same style or type. This is why it is important to figure out what are the characters and codes of this region of the city and build according to them, while considering the present day needs and functions. It is also worthy to mention that governments usually turn some of these houses and other establishment into museums, cultural or social centers to introduce the style and history to the public and tourists (Barakat, 2005, pp 26-39).

In the new conservation methods, many new ideas are still widely debatable. One of these disputed approaches is removing some items to expose others; this is a part of the conservation process when the place in consideration is thought about as one unit.

The situation in post-war destruction in Europe created, changed and influenced several approaches; one of them was to “clear” the areas from their mediaeval and later buildings

in order to expose antique ruins or monumental structures. Conservation approaches later extended from war damaged places to areas that were hit by natural disasters like the great floods in Florence and Venice in 1966 (Stoica, 2009, p 10).

The previous part regarding destroying something that is considered quite aesthetically appealing to expose a monument or another bigger structure is probably the most controversial part in the rebuilding and remodeling of the city process. A similar deed was also done during the renovations that were applied to Istanbul where buildings were removed to expose the Sultan Ahmet mosque, and make it visible from the same square where Hagia Sophia is. The following pictures shows the square before and after (Kırıcıoğlu, 2012).

Figure 2.6: Sultan Ahmet Mosque before and after removing the buildings surrounding it



Source: <http://kiricioglu.blogspot.com.tr/2012/02/henri-prostun-istanbulu-1937-1951.html>

Different methods has appeared and developed after WW2. What buildings should remain, be renovated, or be destroyed is different for every case and every city. Warsaw might have learned from other city's experiences but did not copy them, and so should be the case with Aleppo city.

It should also be noted for example that ICCROM: The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property which was established in Rome in 1959, after the recommendation of UNESCO in 1956 is a chain reaction and an awakening for the world heritage importance at that time (ICCROM, 2015). This institution created ties with Asian countries and other parts of the world and even led some projects there like the restoration of the Al Aqsa Mosque, in Jerusalem including

its mural paintings (figure 2.7), which was damaged in the arson of 1969. The project was finished in 1983 (Jokilehto, 2011, pp 52-53) (Aga Khan Development Network, 1986).

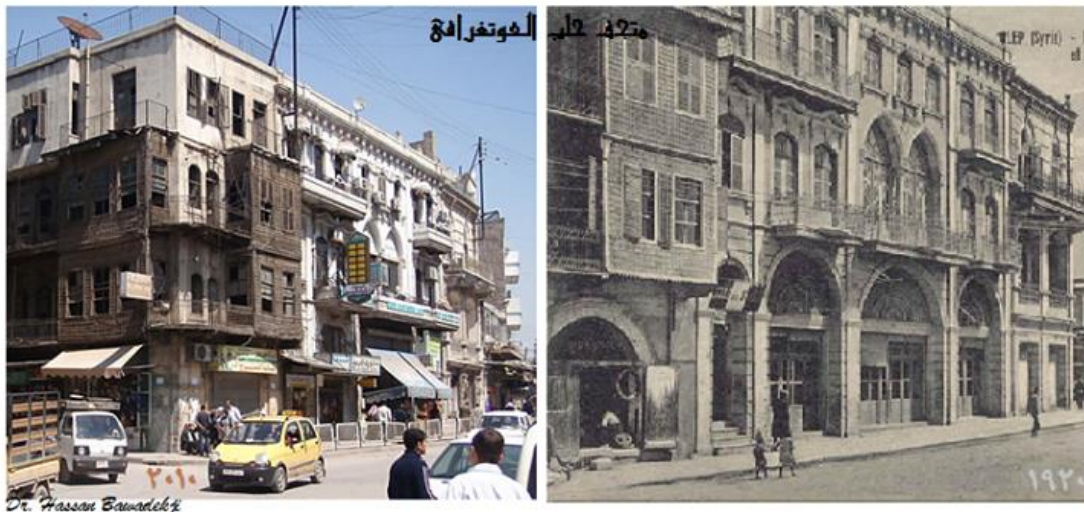
Figure 2.7: Conservation of paintings in the Al Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem



Source: Jokilehto, J., 2011. "International Centre for Conservation (1971-1977)" in *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage - A history of the Organization's first 50 years, 1959-2009*. p 53. [Online] <http://www.iccrom.org/ifrc> [Accessed 29 April]

Therefore, the European heritage awakening that was heavily shaped by the WW2 events had a great impact on the international community regarding heritage awareness, creation of specialized organizations, and conservation theories all over the world. It is noticeable, especially through the world web that the Syrian civil war had an important effect on the heritage awareness. This do not only concern the news agencies reporting heritage issues in Syria and Aleppo, but is extends to the social media, which is easy to deal with, and proved popular between Aleppines. One example of this is the following picture (figure 2.8) posted in *Aleppo photographic museum* on the social media among several other photos and sites that show the heritage neglect and destruction during and before war. These sites also incorporate statements and allow Aleppines to express their opinions and nostalgia.

Figure 2.8: Historical building in Aleppo between 1920 and 2010 posted by a page concerned with Aleppine heritage



Source: https://www.facebook.com/HlbQdymaanBdAltwthyq/photos/pb.461364413922749.-2207520000.1430409217./620346588024530/?type=3&src=https%3A%2F%2Fcontent-mxp.xx.fbcdn.net%2Fphotos-xap1%2Fv%2Ft1.0-9%2F1525620_620346588024530_1998770050_n.png%3Foh%3De1d8e

2.1.3 Rebuilding Warsaw city

During the rebuilding process in Europe, for the almost completely destroyed cities, every city had its own different methods and its own process that it used. The experience of other cities were not copied and they cannot be, because every city has its unique circumstances, history and architecture. The idea of restoring and rebuilding the historical area is important to keep the connection between the past and the present. It could be argued that the need of rebuilding the historical area came from the strong national sense of people of Warsaw and the need to be attached to their identity. The claims to rebuild Aleppo by its own people can be traced physically all over the social media today as was discussed previously.

It is important to examine some facts that help to understand some points in the history and changes to Warsaw city. Just like Aleppo city, it is hard to summarize the history of the architecture of Warsaw in several pages or even one book, for every street, tower, wall and building has its own story and architectural value to the city. This is why it is important in the process of restoring any building or street in the old or traditional part of

the city to have the full background, historical information and knowledge of this particular part of the city.

However, some events and information will be highlighted in this research to demonstrate few of the methods and actions that might become handy to learn from for the restoration of Aleppo.

- a. The old city of Warsaw was established around a commercial square that contains buildings which go back to the Gothic era
- b. The old city's area is around 18 Hectares.
- c. A double wall surrounded the city except for the riverside where the slope to the river provided an extra protection. Several gates and towers were established on these walls
- d. The building of these walls started in 1339 and ended by the end of the century around 1400. The thickness of these walls is between 5.1 to 9 meters and the height is between 5.6 to 5.8
- e. A large part of the wall was destroyed during the attacks of Sweden in 1655-1658 and these attacks led to the almost destruction of the city. In addition, the latter attacks until 1705 took it toll on the city. After these attacks and during the rebuild of the walls, houses started emerging on both the internal and external sides of the walls. The first serious research to eliminate those houses was in 1937 before WW2
- f. The Barbican (Barbakan) was built around 1548. Together with the Gate Tower and the Gunpowder Gate it formed the so-called Zakroczymska Gate. In the 18th century, the Barbican was partially demolished, and in the 19th century houses were built on its ruins, but it was rebuilt after the Warsaw post-war reconstruction (figure 2.11)
- g. The royal palace also known as the royal castle took its current shape around 1800 and it was completely destroyed during WW2

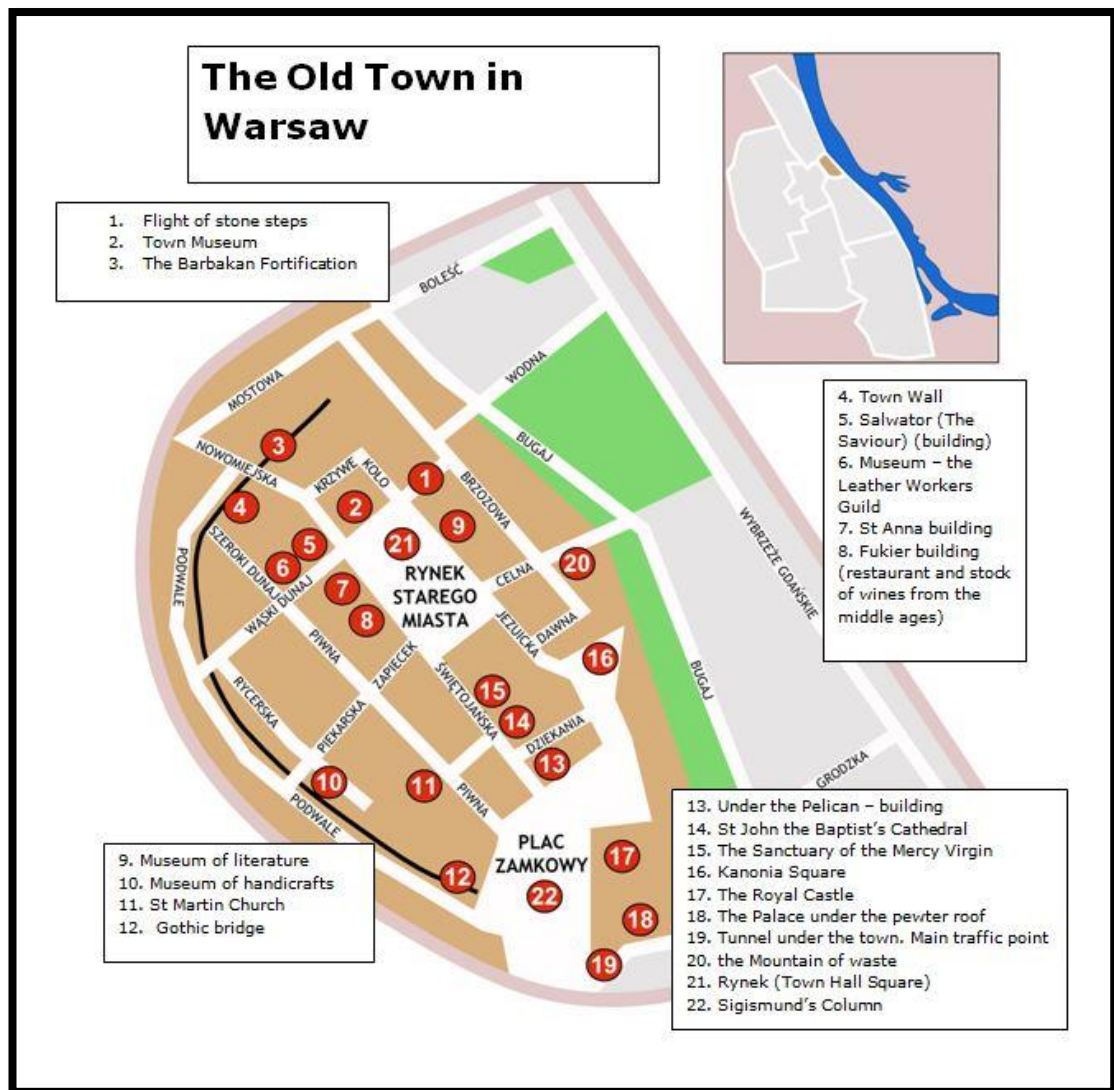
- h. After WW2, 85 percent of the city was destroyed. Out of 987 historical buildings and monuments, 782 were completely destroyed by the Nazi forces.
- i. 800000 people were killed during the war, which is 2/3 of inhabitants of the Warsaw back then (Haritani, 2009).

Figure 2.9: Warsaw's old town square: 1913, 1945 and present time



Source: Stoica, R., 2009. *Urban conservation and the international conservation charters: a theoretical overview. Mirror of Modernity of The Post-war Revolution in Urban Conservation. P 8 . [Online] http://www.docomomo.com/com/e-proceedings2_dec09/Docomomo%20E-proceedings2.pdf. [Accessed 23 October 2013]*

Figure 2.10: The Old Town in Warsaw



Source: <http://www.warszawaguide.info/Gamle%20byEng/index.htm>

Figure 2.11: The Barbican (Barbakan) in Old Warsaw



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Barbakan_w_Warszawie_-_03.jpg

Figure 2.12: The Royal Castle in Old Warsaw



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Zamek_Kr%C3%B3lewski_%E2%80%93_mpolkowski.jpg

The BOS (Office for the Reconstruction of the Capital) was founded in 1945 and a 6 years plan for the rebuild of the old city was placed

- a. The old square was rebuilt according to simulate its old form before the war, but that included the facades only. The inside of these building was modernized and it did not keep the original divisions.
- b. The opportunity of recovering the city walls presented itself after uncovering their foundations. New openings and gates were constructed in the city walls especially from the riverside to provide an easy access for pedestrians.
- c. The inside of the old city was remade only for the pedestrians starting from its walls and all of the car roads were cancelled
- d. The plan of the city before the war was refined, and every sector was treated as a hole with its surroundings and within itself, and attempts were made to enlarge and create more open spaces and yards with the minimum cancellation for the pre-war real estates
- e. An initial recommendation was made to reduce the number of real estates on the riverside and create more gardens and green areas, but was cancelled later for dwelling, services and investment needs.
- f. The function of the main square and the old city in general was changed to adapt to the modern day. New touristic and cultural activities were featured into the old city
- g. The old gate where the royal parades used to be launched was not rebuilt because it was thought that it doesn't fit with the new age
- h. A gothic bridge that goes back to the 15th century was accidentally discovered in 1977 and rebuilt
- i. The Zygmunt's Column (Sigismund's Column) was originally erected in 1596 to commemorate King Sigismund III. The statue of the king was repaired after it was heavily damaged after 1949 in Warsaw's uprising. Then it was relocated on a new Granit column, few meters away from its original location, to provide a better

visual from the farthest point possible from Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street (Haritani, 2009).

- j. The cathedral of St. John was modified to look like its image from the 14th to the 15th century, and ignored its 1837 to 1843 Neo-Gothic modifications and decorations.
- k. *Zygmunt Sepinski*, a tall surviving building in *Nowy Swiat* Street was reduced to three floors height –or demolished altogether- to fit the new vision and ambience of this leisure street that leads to the old town. (Murawski, 2009, p 15).

Reconstructing the city to its pre-war condition could be justified with the argument that the rebuilding process will restore the sense of identity to the city and its culture, and with this, the people of the city can begin to heal. However, it is important to recognize which parts of the city and which buildings are culturally most valuable and make a decision regarding their rebuilding. To explain further it means that the specialist should be very careful to decide which buildings are significant enough, then they should decide if they should restore them if possible or if it's more sensible to replicate them, or as a third option to keep them in their damaged state as ruins of the new townscape. The decision is controlled by the costly finance of the rebuilding and the effort and time to render the city to its previous shape (Barakat, 2005, pp 26-39). Usually the rarest and most ancient structures and some times monumental buildings are the ones that get the biggest attention for their cultural and historical value, whereas houses and other structures that are thought of as repetitive are less cared for. It is a shame to see some unique houses uncared for, because of a post-war chaos or rush; therefore, specialist should examine every house as a singular case, especially in the case of Aleppo. It can be argued that in the case of Aleppo many houses poses unique features, decorations and inscriptions due to the diverse ethnic and religious groups in Aleppo, cultures, and the different time periods of the construction of each house.

After the announcement that Warsaw was free, a great number of the population returned to the city. Some resources describe and talk about the sense of nationalism and high lifted spirit that the Polish people had and the joint effort of the polish people that was a great factor to rebuild their city. However, a more accurate study and research is required

to understand the political, social and economic situation at that time, and to comprehend the aspects and parties that were involved in the decision making process. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that new rising urban and architectural ideologies at that time - whether they were related to politics or not-, had a great influence on reshaping Warsaw. For example, The Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw is a famous product of Socialist Classicism, also referred to as Stalinist architecture as previously discussed. Another movement associated with this school is Socialist Realism, which is argued to have effected even the new-old building forms in Warsaw. (Murawski, 2009, p15-16). It should also be noted again that these schools almost ended or seceded with the Soviet's union decision on elimination of excesses in designing and building (Resolution of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on 4 November 1955 N 1871). This research cannot cover these schools and urban ideologies in details. However, their influences and effects on the Soviet Union, Poland and Warsaw at that time should be considered along with politics and nostalgia among other factors.

Although the circumstances between the current ongoing war in Aleppo and the war in Warsaw are very different, a sense of nostalgia and the need to regain what was lost during the war is only natural and can easily be detected everywhere especially on the social media networks.

The paintings of Bernardo Bellotto, the 18th century Italian Vedute¹ painter, and the plans of the pre WW2 architecture students were the essential source to reconstruct Warsaw. These paintings and drawings were not sufficient to replicate the city but to re-imagine it and recreate its style. Not to mention that Bellotto himself used to embellish the buildings in the paintings to what he thought was more appealing (Drozdowska, McGuire& Murawski, 2013) (Stoica, 2009, pp 14-15).

¹ A highly detailed art form

Figure 2.13: From the left: John’s House on Castle Square in the 1920s, John’s House in Bellotto’s painting in 1768 and John’s House After the 1948 reconstruction



Source: <http://99percentinvisible.org/episode/episode-72-new-old-town/>

Fortunately, a much bigger resource of architectural drawings and photographic pictures is available right now for Aleppo city. Several websites started gathering them. Some of them feature older pictures many in black and white for the same destroyed street or building, which can be strongly argued by many to be a better version of the pre-war condition of this building or area. A new-old issue perhaps existed but was not that blunt for the post-war Warsaw.

Many researchers discuss the phenomenon of rebuilding historical buildings, and whether if the replicas would have less, if not any historical or cultural value. Some describes the rebuilt old city of Warsaw as an attempt to “manufacture a new version of history”. This issue made everyone question the meaning of history and heritage in architecture, especially that the UNESCO added the new built Warsaw to the world heritage sites list in 1980 (Stephens, 2007).

“What history took hundreds of years to cobble together, the communist infrastructure machine accomplished in a few decades? It makes for an unsettling, to say confusing, series of “before,” “after,” and yet again “after” photos. The re-creation was so thorough that in 1980 the United Nations Education, Cultural, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) bestowed upon Old Town its vaunted designation of “World Heritage Site.” But this honor, and the glee with which tourists romp in Old Town, questions the very heart of what it means to be “historic”.” (Stephens, 2007)

In the case of Warsaw as in other Polish cities like Dubrovnik and Gdansk a replica of the older facades of the historical buildings were recreated and reimagined from records and paintings. However, the original interior divisions were not rebuilt as they were, instead these new historical buildings have different new more modern interior partition, this was argued to be as a “better” version of the original, and a modification that did not change or mess with the identity of the city (Barakat, 2005)

The reasons for the destruction in every case and every place are different, and many might see the opportunity in the post-war reconstruction as a chance to re-create the history in a better way. The post-war period is a very sensitive one, for it redefines the city and creates a new version of history. Some would argue that Poland took control to prevent the after-war chaos that comes from the urgent need to find a quick housing solution by giving this issue a priority. The fact that Poland was heavily influenced by socialism and the Soviet Union back then might support the argument that the government at that time didn't leave the city for the capital corporate influence to change it for a bigger quick profit. The justifications to rebuild the old city are many including saving the city's heritage and identity, keeping the people from feeling like strangers in their own city, and creating an income from tourism. In fact tourism most of the cases is the main important economic justification to rebuild a city, and to drive a future economic income to it (Barakat, 2005). A good example for the tourism-heritage partnership is the UNESCO World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Program. The program is currently working on “Developing a Sustainable Tourism Strategy for the Silk Roads Heritage Corridors”, which includes countries like China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. According to statistics, cultural tourism accounts for about 40 percent of global tourism, therefore it is a big figure considering that the number of arrivals surpassed 1 billion in 2012 (UNESCO & UNWTO, 2015).

2.1.4 Conclusions from the post-war Warsaw experience

From the previous discussion about Warsaw some pointers that will help in the Aleppo case can be concluded:

- a. Strict laws must be laid to protect the old and traditional districts of Aleppo from capital corporates and the post-war housing crisis. That includes setting all the quick housing projects outside of these two districts
- b. The authenticity and re-making of the old and traditional city should not be compromised because of a limited timetable or a tight budget, and practical solutions that are appropriate for the city heritage must be found.
- c. Documentary records including architectural drawings and photographic pictures for the area must be gathered and prepared, and the older different records for the same area -if available- must be considered.
- d. Every sector should be dealt with as a whole within itself and in regards to its surroundings
- e. Efforts should be made to keep the cars out of the old city, and limit the traffic in the old town and a part of the traditional area with public transportation
- f. It is acceptable to introduce improvements to the buildings, streets and neighborhoods and look at the actual post-war situation as a chance to fix the problems and mistakes that existed before the war.
- g. More green areas, modern services and public transportation should be integrated in the new plans.
- h. Adjusting the facades of the buildings to make it more esthetically appealing or fit with its surroundings is acceptable and should be considered with the appropriate limitations.
- i. Changing the inner divisions of the buildings is acceptable if it does not tamper with the character and the style of this building.
- j. Rebuilding uncovered long gone monuments and buildings with available records should be highly considered.
- k. Rebuilding historical buildings with new materials, if they would still look authentic should be highly considered for the residential destroyed buildings.

- l. Cultural and social activities should be integrated into the old and traditional town
- m. Historical buildings and structures might be rebuilt in a different spot from their exact original locations in case of need.
- n. The old and traditional part of the city must be integrated with the other parts and the necessary arrangements for that must be taken.
- o. It should abstained from rebuilding what is considered unfit and culturally not valuable.
- p. Most of the new buildings in the historical areas should have the same style of the old buildings there.

It should be mentioned again that the reconstruction methods and operations for post-Warsaw were unique to the city and to that period, and although recreating a city with replicas might have many critics; this method should be considered for at least some parts of the city. Moreover, polls and surveys of how the inhabitants of the city feel about it should be considered, as any conclusions are merely suggestions based on information, and the inhabitants of the city are the ones who should decide and have a say on the future of their own hometown.

2.2 BEIRUT AFTER WAR

2.2.1 Beirut architectural identity and “modern” heritage

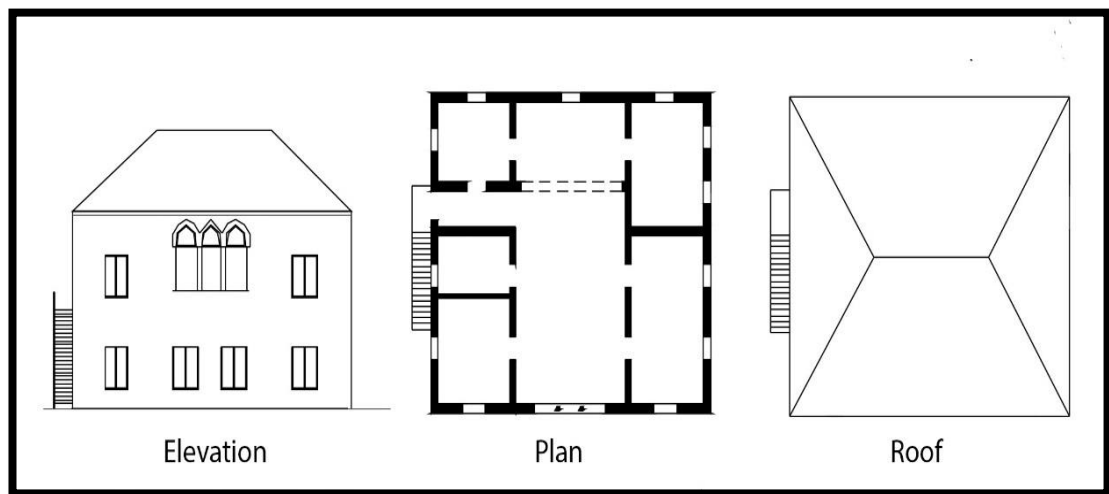
Before starting a comparison between the architecture of Beirut and Aleppo, it must be realized that there are several similarities and yet many differences between the two cities, despite that they share similar geographical horizon. Beirut as a city from the Levant shared almost most of the major civilizational and cultural effects that Aleppo faced, yet architecture especially the old traditional houses of Beirut are very different from the ones that of Aleppo.

When comparing the architecture of the two cities, it is better to focus on housing to get a more comprehensive understanding of the differences. This is for example because comparing other structures like mosques requires comparing the mosques of the same

period from Aleppo and Beirut, which can be limiting due to the confined number of mosques that could be compared to get a generalized idea.

The red roof, the front porch, and building materials in the Beiruti houses can all be identified as different from the ones in Aleppo almost immediately after the first observation. One of the arguments is that the weather and geography caused the houses in Beirut to develop differently from its peers in similar cities in the area like Aleppo and Damascus. For example, it is thought that the Lebanese house -which is also a name given for the houses on the Syrian shore- stayed away from the distinctive open courtyard of the houses in Aleppo because of the more moderate weather of the coast. Several events and elements from different cultures led to the forms of what we call the Lebanese house. What is considered a typical plan of the Lebanese house (figure 2.14) in a way share some similarities to the open court yard houses in the area, with the covered foyer taking the role of the open courtyard (Euromed Heritage, 2003) (Euromed Heritage, 2004) (Euromed Heritage, 2003).

Figure 2.14: Plan and elevation of the traditional Lebanese house



Source: Euromed Heritage. 2004. *The traditional mediterranean architecture – The Lebanese house*, p 2. [Online] meda-corpus.net.:http://www.meda-corpus.net/arb/fixes/F1/arb/sy_t04.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2015]

It is important to note that there are other historical housing types in Lebanon and the Syrian shore, however this type which is referred to as the Lebanese house by several different resources seems to be the most important and dominant one.

The influence of the western civilization, new cultural and privacy needs is thought to be the reason why the foyer, where the extended family used to get together turned into a corridor and disappeared (Hadad & Makki, 2008). There are plenty of historical pictures and records for old Beirut (figure 2.15), that shows Beirut in older times before the war and the dramatic changes that altered the city, these photos and other evidences provide a glimpse of what Beirut used to look like.

This house according to researchers went over lots of changes throughout history and many influences contributed to that especially after the 16th century. The developments that happened to this house were due to the results of the European architecture influences especially the Italian Tuscan one, also the impact of the late Ottoman and Baroque architecture among other influences that helped enrich the features of the Lebanese house. All these factors created the characters and the style that are still known up until this moment as the traditional Lebanese house (Euromed Heritage, 2004) or the house with three arches² to differentiate it from other traditional styles in Lebanon (Hadad & Makki, 2008) (Euromed Heritage, 2003).

² Sometimes just the house with arches

Figure 2.15: Beirut between 1900 and 1920



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.01180/>

b) <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.01185/>

Beirut unlike Aleppo – arguably because of its semi-autonomous status under the Ottoman rule and its expansion after the 1860s (Abunassar, 2013, p16) (Öztürk, 2006, pp 65-67)- was not a center or a major city until it became the capital of modern day Lebanon under the French ruling, and after it got its independence from France³ (Kisirwani,1980, pp 685–700). Perhaps for this reason among others, the city did not grow as big as Aleppo, and therefore it does not have two distinctive areas: a “historical area” and a “traditional area” represented with very distinguished different architectural types. Other possibility is that the change was not dramatic enough, if it was considered that the foyer in the traditional house was turned into a corridor in the modern one. Therefore, the transfer cannot be looked at as an enormous transfer or a big jump like in the case of Aleppo with

³ The French mandate rule in Syria and Lebanon lasted from 1923 till 1946

its open one or two story courtyard houses versus its late Ottoman period multi story houses. Instead, it seems that historical and traditional blended into one in Beirut.

It can be argued that the style of the old houses in Beirut allowed them to evolve instead of completely change like its peers in Aleppo. However just like Aleppo, the old city of Beirut holds lots of architectural characters that are stalked over each other from the different civilizations and cultural influences, which has passed and came in contact with the city. These styles and effects whether they were Arabian, Ottoman or European among others just kept on building up, subtracting and changing in the architecture of this city. All of this resulted in a unique Beirut architectural style.

Another aspect that Beirut shares with Aleppo is that both cities would be described by many as “cosmopolitan”. This description does not refer to an international status or a globalized situation of these two cities, but rather to the diverse composition of the religious and ethnicity of their population. Some records from a century ago mention that Aleppo has 13 different religious groups, and that Christians from different believes make up around 22 percent of its population (Othman & Ayntabi, 1993, p3). Modern resources mention 20 percent in our present day (Dubai Media Inc, 2015). Although there seems to be no new survey specific to Aleppo’s ethnic and religious groups, it is arguable that they are more than 15 groups today. However, Aleppo comes second to Beirut in the Middle East area with its Christian population from different churches that forms 40 percent of its residents, with 18 different recognized groups of Islam, Christianity and other believes (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2012). The number of ethnic and religious groups for both cities is debatable and might be different according to other recourses depending on the survey conditions and methods, different estimations, the time and period mentioned. Nonetheless, this fact gave Aleppo and Beirut a very distinctive social character and arguably a distinctive architectural character as well.

Before the civil war of 1975 and during the 1950s and 1960s Beirut flourished economically and started changing rapidly. The city played as a mediator for other less liberal countries in the area, and the construction movement bloomed and changed the image of the city completely (The Embassy of Lebanon, Washington DC, 2015). Beirut saw itself as a modern city and worked to look as one. The classical image of the Ottoman

and French mandate Beirut was replaced by a modern city and Modernism influenced architecture.

Syria at that time in the late 1950s was experiencing the union with Socialist Egypt from 1958 until 1961 and then few years later in 1970 it became under the Baath regime, which considered itself a socialist party (BBC, 2014). Syria fell into a huge economic and cultural decline. Since then the line between the modernism-influenced architecture, the socialist government made buildings and the uncontrolled quick profit commercial architecture became a blur to some extent.

Most writers and Beirutis describe the 1960s and the 1970s as a golden age of Lebanon where it got its name 'Switzerland of the East' and Beirut got its title 'Paris of the East' (Tracy, 1998). These two different circumstances under which a similar architecture has emerged could explain why the majority of Beirutis might have a connection to this type of architecture and why do they consider it a part of their heritage, whereas Aleppines might not have the same attachment and feel the same if not the opposite towards it. This is notable as many Aleppine historians and heritage specialists refer to this era and the sprawl of these new blocks, especially the ones that entered the old and traditional area as the beginning of a big deterioration for Aleppo City (Haritani, 2005, p 7, 78) (Al Asadi, 1984, 51-54).

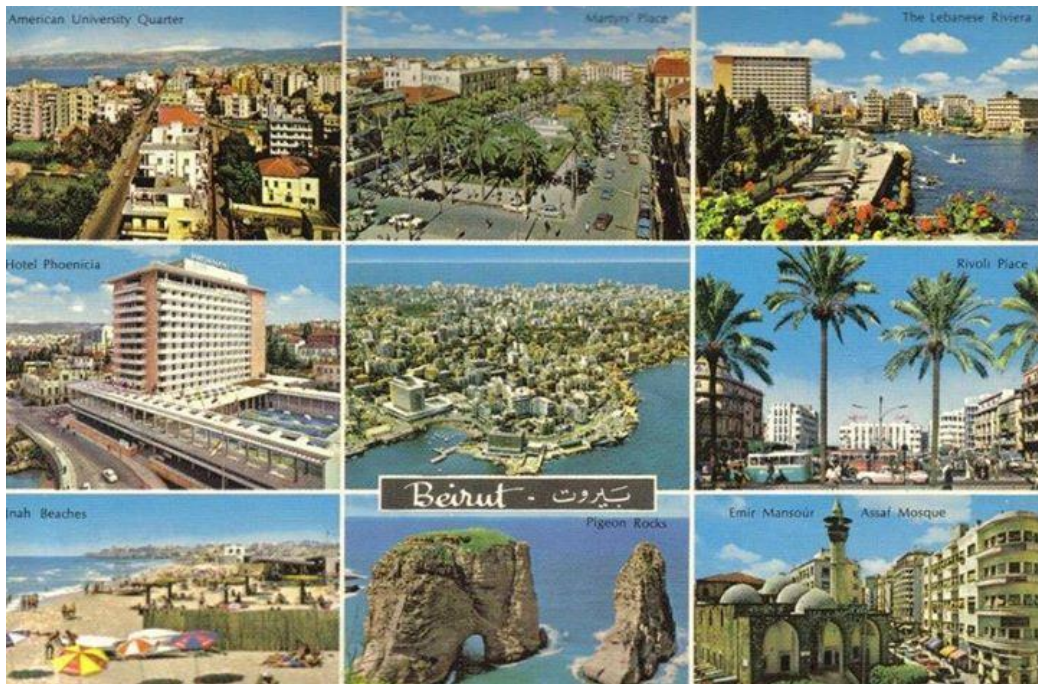
In fact, "modern architecture" already created the modern Beirut by the 1970s. The collection of photographic records before the war make it recognizable that the traditional Beirut house and other older style constructions did not completely disappear but rather became a much less common or dominating seen in Beirut . The 1960s and the 1970s "modern architecture" grew to define the city image (figure 2.17). Although this architecture is not an "old" or a "historical" one, it seems as if the Beirutis got attached to it, for it represents what remains of the "good days" of Beirut. Many of the citizens wish to protect this architecture. Few Beirutis protest or use the media to pressure the government to do so, unfortunately, these methods were able to save few buildings but they were not enough to launch a legislation to protect all of them, especially under a government described as corrupt and uncaring by many.

Figure 2.16: Beirut 1920s



Source: <http://www.kaloustian.eu/Lebanon-Beirut/index%20Lebanon.htm>

Figure 2.17: Beirut 1970s



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/410794928992640/photos/a.410798308992302.96336.410794928992>

Therefore, although it is widely arguable, it is fair to say that the architectural identity of Beirut was compromised even before the civil war, and thus it was hard to define the “old” city. The previous two pictures (figure 2.16) (figure 2.17) explain the complete change of the city image. One is the 1920s Beirut and the one is the 1970s before the civil war. The images clarify that major shift that happened to Beirut, and how a released stamp of Beirut before the civil war shows its blooming architectural “achievement” proudly as an image of an up- to- date sophisticated city that lives up to its reputation.

One of the biggest post-war reconstruction issues of Beirut, that still stands until today is whether its post 1950s architecture and its post Ottoman buildings in general can be considered historical or heritage. Many Beirutis seems to think that they are. The absence of any laws to protect this architecture did not only affect the post-war reconstruction outcome, but it kept on destroying the modern heritage of Beirut, even until our present day. One given example of the arbitrary destruction of modern Beirut is the case of the house of the famous Lebanese author Amin Maalouf, which was destroyed to make a space for a high-rise luxury building. The Ministry of Culture in Lebanon defended its decision to allow the demolishing by saying that the 80 years old house was from the French mandate period and thus it is not traditional (Wood, 2013).

“With a simple signature, somebody can erase the history of an entire district, can remove a landmark”

“It was politics that destroyed this city, not tanks during the war or shelling during the war – it was bulldozers and politicians,” (Wood, 2013).

Many activists keep on trying to protect what is left of Beirut’s heritage and stop what they consider a destruction of the city, and a superficial definition of the identity and heritage of Beirut

“How do we define historic preservation? Is it everything that’s over 80 years old regardless of their spatial and or historical qualities? “

“We need to recognize that historic preservation policies and campaigns that remain focused on a superficial search for identity will destroy the charm of Beirut; which is its

multilayered histories of conflict and power relations that manifest themselves in the production of the city.” (Richani, 2012).

This issue does not affect only Beirut, but it is the main reason that other cities like Aleppo are losing their heritage, especially that officially, according to the Syrian authorities the historic structures are the one that are at least 200 years old (Haritani, 2005, p87). Therefore, his rule exclude the late 19th century architecture of Aleppo among other styles. This superficial definition of heritage is one of the main reasons why many Aleppine neighborhoods were left unprotected, and lost a big part of their character and charm.

2.2.2 The division of Beirut and Aleppo during and after war

The civil war in Beirut is always thought of, and sometimes written about as the war between the Muslim half and the Christian half of the city. This is usually perhaps just a mere simplification of a much complicated situation where the axes of war parties and militias took a “religious appearance”. Parties and militias that were involved in the war changed their alliances according to the presented situation, and many of these parties still exist until our present day, and are very active and affective in today’s Lebanon. It is important to mention that in the Lebanese “civil” war several countries were involved directly like Syria and Israel (Davie, 1993) and some of them indirectly like Egypt, Iran and the U.S.A among other countries. Many would describe that Lebanon during the civil war just as Syria is today became a battlefield for all kind of conflicted powers that had an interest in the region (Jamous, 2015).

Another analysis of the two poles of the Lebanese war that explains the nature of the foreign interference and the fighting sides from a more political rather than a religious way is the Western camp versus the Soviet camp theory. Before the fall of the Soviet Union, the right wing government, which was dominated by Maronite Christians, was associated with the western camp political powers. This western association is emphasized by the theory that the government left behind by France after the Lebanese independence was still linked to France. Whereas, the left wing that was dominated by parties of an Islamic nature were mostly Pan-Arabists and associated with other socialist Arab countries, which most of them were pro-Soviet Union (Hirst, 2011, p 62).

This also opens a discussion to the argument that the architecture of Lebanon was more influenced with western architecture before the 1975, whereas Syria was influenced by the architecture of the East-camp and the modern architecture of both countries could be different in several ways because of these different influences.

One of the repercussions that the Lebanese civil war had on Beirut, is that the city was separated into two parts, each of them controlled by the opposite fighting militias. The city of Beirut was divided into west “Muslim” Beirut and East “Christian” Beirut. These parts and their names did not exist before the war. The media adopted these two terms "East Beirut" and "West Beirut", the two opposing halves of the city were separated by a zone called the “Green Line”. Descriptions were assigned by politicians and the media to each half of these city sectors. “West Beirut" is "Muslim”, fundamentalist, overrun by terrorists, under the control of foreign renegade countries, disorganized, dangerous” among other descriptions, whereas "East Beirut" is "Christian, thriving, organized, pro-Western, tolerant, safe” along with other positive labels (Davie, 1993).

During this war, the minority Muslim citizens in the east Christian majority side had to leave to the west and the same went for the minority Christians in the west of Beirut. The two parts functioned separately during the war. A noticeable example for that are the traffic movement and the different transportation systems, where the routes of these transportation vehicles did not pass to the other side, even after the war for a long time. The east and west were separated physically by the fighting militias, which closed the roads that connects the two sides of the city, except for some crossing point that controlled what goes from one side to another. This division had a dramatic effect on the commercial and transport networks (Davie, 1993).

Figure 2.18: The Beirut Green Line, 1975 - 1990



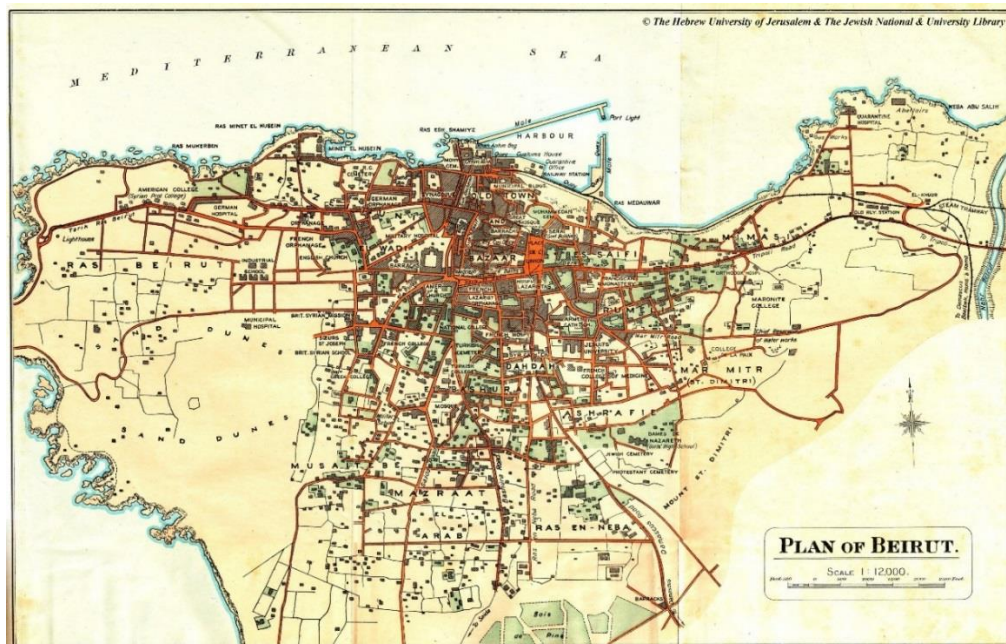
Source: <http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/900/910/919/beirut/greenline/>

The zone between the west “Muslim” and the east “Christian” sides of the city held the most destruction and it included what is the heart and the historical downtown of Beirut. This area was called “the Green Line”. In the destroyed and abandoned zone in the middle of the two parts of the city, greenery started to grow in this deserted zone for years, and the name “the Green Line” comes as a reference to the greenery in the abandoned zone. In Arabic this zone is referred to as: *Khutut at tammās* which means the confrontation lines (Møystad, 1999).

For more clarification “the Green Line” (figure 2.18) is a virtual line, that might refer sometimes to the confrontation area or the space separating the two sides of Beirut in general, it also might be drawn in a different but a close form in other maps.

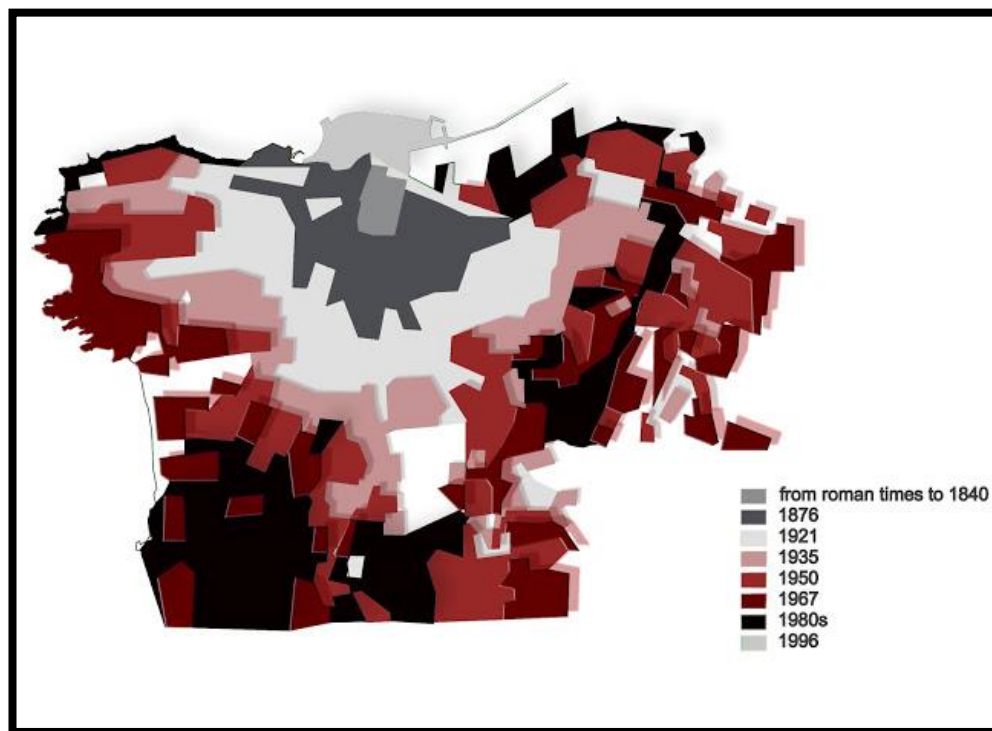
It is important to point that the media is the one that gave this line its name “the Green Line”. The role of media in presenting and fixing some perceptions and predisposition about the city is controversial but real. The media in case of Beirut played a role to promote which side is the “evil” “bad” side and which one is the “good” side, perhaps strengthening with that the idea of the “East” and “West” of the city. Even after the war the media keeps on playing a similar role, for example, it promoted for Solidere’s after war project of the new downtown.

Figure 2.19: Map of 1923 Beirut



Source: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/lebanon/beirut/maps/palmer_1923_beirut.html

Figure 2.20: Expansion of Beirut city



Source: <http://spatiallyjustenvironmentsbeirut.blogspot.com.tr/>

A look at a map of Beirut from 1923 (figure 2.19) and comparing it with the previous map of the Green Line (figure 2.18) will show how the war destroyed most of what was the historical part of Beirut. This part already had scars of historical buildings left in it from the pre-war construction movement.

Other notes about Beirut during war, is how citizens considered the war as a temporary situation at first before they realized that it is a long lasting one. This realization changed the existing city and how the city grew, for example, the way how some residences became offices and a lot of businesses relocated themselves outside the city to relatively more safe areas. Some of these “safe” residential areas that became business and commercial areas are; *Mar Elias*, *Mazra`a*, the *Raouché souks*, *Achrafiyyé*, *Jdaidé-Antelias* and *Kaslik-Jouniyé*, whereas banks opened branches on both sides of the city, malls were built on distant agricultural land and offices were built in small villages in the outskirts of the city (Davie, 1993).

This resulted to decentralizing the city eventually and perhaps changing it radically forever. It is important to realize that any city is dramatically changed during a long lasting war and not just during the reconstruction process and these changes become a part of the city.

In present time Aleppo, similar events can be detected. The fact that the regime forces controlled west of Aleppo and the rebel militias controlled the east lead the city to be divided into two. These two parts were closed and separated from each other except for two or one crossing point that is known as “Al-mabar”. “Al-mabar” meaning the passage or sometimes called “Mabar al mauwt” the passage of death, despite the fact that it is highly dangerous to pass, it was and still the only way to cross from one side of the city to the other. The passage would open and close by the two sides depending on the situation. It was reported that the control of this passage predominate the hours of when people can cross and the products that can enter. There are many accusations to both parties for using the passage for their own personal and financial benefit, regardless even of the needs of the people from “their own side”. Another result of the division is that the public Transportation routes as the private ones of every side in Aleppo -just like Beirut during war- is limited to it (Al Jazeera, 2013) (Dayyoub, 2014). Another reported situation by the locals is the transformation of many residential quite areas into business

ones, like *Al-Furqan* area in west Aleppo. It should also be noted that the one passage in Aleppo has been closed for a very long time in the moment of writing these lines.

With the separation of “west” and “east” Aleppo, and with the closing of the passage, brothers, neighbors and sons must cross distances between 200 kilometers to 450 kilometer to move between two adjacent neighborhoods. For there are many people in each side of Aleppo who have a business, a land, or a relative, at least a distant one in the neighborhoods of the other part. The number of the human waves who crossed between two sides and under the escalation of the Military actions is estimated with tens of thousands.

It’s important to note and also describe the feelings that the people from each side of the city, and what were they going through, and explain that the people of one side of the city some time would resent the people from the other side for problems related to the siege or the economy or some other social issues (Dayyoub, 2014). For example the Aleppines in the east would resent the ones in the west for being “luxuriant” comparing to them even in the time of war, and the people of the west would resent the ones in the east for coming to the safer west side and bringing “their problems” and their “unpleasant traditions, culture and manner” with them. This is perhaps not accurate in all the cases and most certainly do not apply to everyone, but it would be naïve to ignore this phenomenon. Although the civil war in Syria may have a religious aspect, it is not what distinguishes the separation between the two sides of the city, and saying that one side of the city is sided with the regime and the other is siding the rebels where every party takes control is also a mistake.

The real separation between east and west of Aleppo emerges from the difference in the social status and economic situation between the two parts of the city. The west of Aleppo controlled by the regime forces is mostly the middle class and upper middle class of Aleppo, whereas the east rebel controlled part is poor neighborhoods (Valerian, 2014) (Schwartz, 2013). The fact is that, perhaps the separation existed before the war, just without the border issues, which magnified the truth of this separation. This is quite visible with the extreme difference in the architecture between the two sides. This separation is growing stronger each day. Witnesses from the city say that west and east Aleppo is a reality now, and it might take generations to erase this idea from the

consciousness of Aleppines and to erase the hatred between the two sides. It is also worthy of mentioning that accusations were assigned to both parties, the regime and the rebels for trying to deepen the division between the two sides, whether by religious charging or for financial gain (Jamous, 2015) (Dayyoub, 2014).

Very few might argue against that the west of Aleppo has a much more “better” architecture and conditions of living. This is perhaps the normal outcome of the financial difference between the two sides, and with the financial difference situations being extreme in both sides, it is only natural for the architecture to be so too. With all the slum and poor construction conditions it is fair to conclude –arguably- why the east of Aleppo holds almost no valuable architecture to the city⁴. It should also be noted once more that the east side does not include the historical or traditional neighborhood, and therefore the historical value is out of the equation. This is again debatable because every inhabitant of the city has his own perspective of the city and his own interpretation on the quality of its neighborhoods.

Separating the rich and poor into two unattached sides made the idea of “us” and “them” float to the surface and deepened it. A map of a city will show that the city had an actual physical barrier before which is the *Queiq* river (figure 2.21), but as it is clear that it holds almost no significance to the new “east” and “west” concept of division for the city.

The Old City of Aleppo was the most damaged area, and where many of the armed clashes between the two fighting sides has occurred. Its neighborhoods were controlled back and forth by the two sides; many of its buildings were bombed while every side accused the other, or in some cases adopted the bombing. There is no need to emphasize how this world heritage site is the most valuable to the city and how it is important to restore and save what is left of it. It is also quite important to mention that the west of Aleppo is considered relatively much safer than the east. One argument is the much heavier weaponry that the regime possesses and attacks the east with, another speculated reason is that many bombings are focused on the historical buildings there to get more attention from the media.

⁴ The last chapter of this research presents a map of the different areas of Aleppo with examples of the architectural types in them.

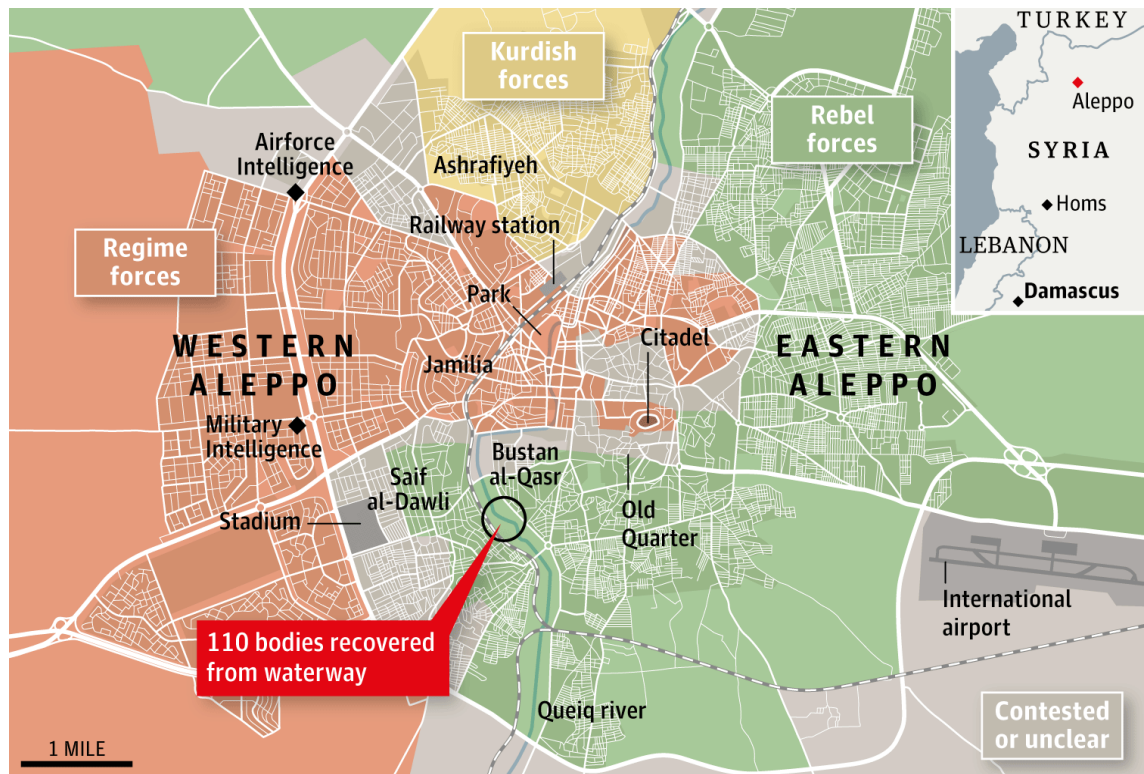
Another theory is that most of the residents of the “poor east” are immigrants from the near villages and therefore had a kinship to of Aleppo’s rebels in the countryside and other villages where the conflict started before it reached the city itself. It is essential to understand the social division of the city, so the social healing can be a part of the urban healing. Most of the people of the eastern areas are the human waves that settled there after moving from the country to the city in the 1970s and 1980s after several economic reasons and difficulties in Syria that started that time (Muhanna, 2015). The root of this social issue might be that many of these immigrants in the “east” were looked down at as the “poor peasants” that came to the civilized city to work in blue collar jobs and crafts. This idea about them was settled as most of them couldn’t enhance their living situations until our present day, this caused resentment of each side to the other. The “easterns” resented “westerns” for looking down on them, and for earning almost close to nothing, whereas the “westerns” resented the “easterns” for the complications of their poverty and their unpleasant “social manners” that they brought with them to the much more civilized city. The city and village issue was deepened after war, especially that people from the villages are accused of dragging the fights to the city.

Downtown Beirut before war according to many opinions held what was one of the most valuable architectural parts of Beirut and was a neutral place where all people from east Christian and west Muslim Beirut came together to. On this previous notion it should be mentioned that The ‘Old City’ of Aleppo held the housing for the not very financially privileged for several historical and social reasons, but however most of the shops there were owned by the wealthy who lived mostly in west Aleppo. Therefore, it was and still not considered a place for the rich or the poor but an area that holds both in one pot.

A third party and division has also emerged which is the Kurdish part of Aleppo where the Kurdish forces controlled the Kurdish majority neighborhoods. It is considered a separate part from the other two, because of the different language and ethnicity that many people there feel that they possess. This and the different foreign powers that are supporting them. The Kurdish houses and neighborhoods are extremely poor and most of them are slums like, because most of the Kurdish population in Aleppo are part of the laborers that came to work in the city after the economic crisis in the 1970s.

The following map of Aleppo (figure 2.21) from the 13th of March 2013 might better clarify some of the previous notions. The different two parts of the city, each one under the control of a different party kept on pushing borders and changing until the moment of writing these lines, but the idea of the west being the rich part and the east being the poor did not.

Figure 2.21: The division of Aleppo city 13-Mars-2013



Source: http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/mar/11/syria-bodies-river-aleppo-massacre?CMP=tw_t_gu

2.2.3 The rebuilding of downtown Beirut

After fifteen years in 1990 the war ended except for the military actions that were still going on in the South of Lebanon. The almost completely destroyed downtown of Beirut needed to be rebuilt. The land in some cases was taken from its owners in exchange for some stocks and was given to Solidere; a construction company that was described by many as Rafik Al-Hariri the Lebanese former prime minister's personal project. Many legal issues and questions were raised about this matter and several writers wrote about the manipulations that were used to pressure people into giving in, sell, and keep the Solidere project going (Randall, 2014).

It seems like most writers, critics and activists refer to the rebuilding of downtown Beirut with a negative input. Almost all views refer to the corruption of the government and how Solidere managed to wipe out a very important part of Beirut. The project of rebuilding the destroyed downtown was referred to as a project that only serves self-interest. The old downtown Beirut that gathered everyone from different parts of the city would not be rebuilt with its old characteristic but it would become a high class business center with very expensive coffee shops and restaurants that only the privileged few can afford. Beirut's center before the war was a location for local and regional businesses, after the rebuild process, it was transformed to an international financial center that is supposed to be a rival to other international cities like London, Frankfurt, Tokyo and New York (Davie, 1993).

However his project ignores the rest of Beirut and do not account for the other parts of the city. It also ignores the old characters, functions and excludes most of the Beirutis from it. The new downtown area depends completely on private cars, whereas public transportation or creating a connection with the rest of the city was not even considered or thought about. To most opinions, this area is excluding, fake and soulless.

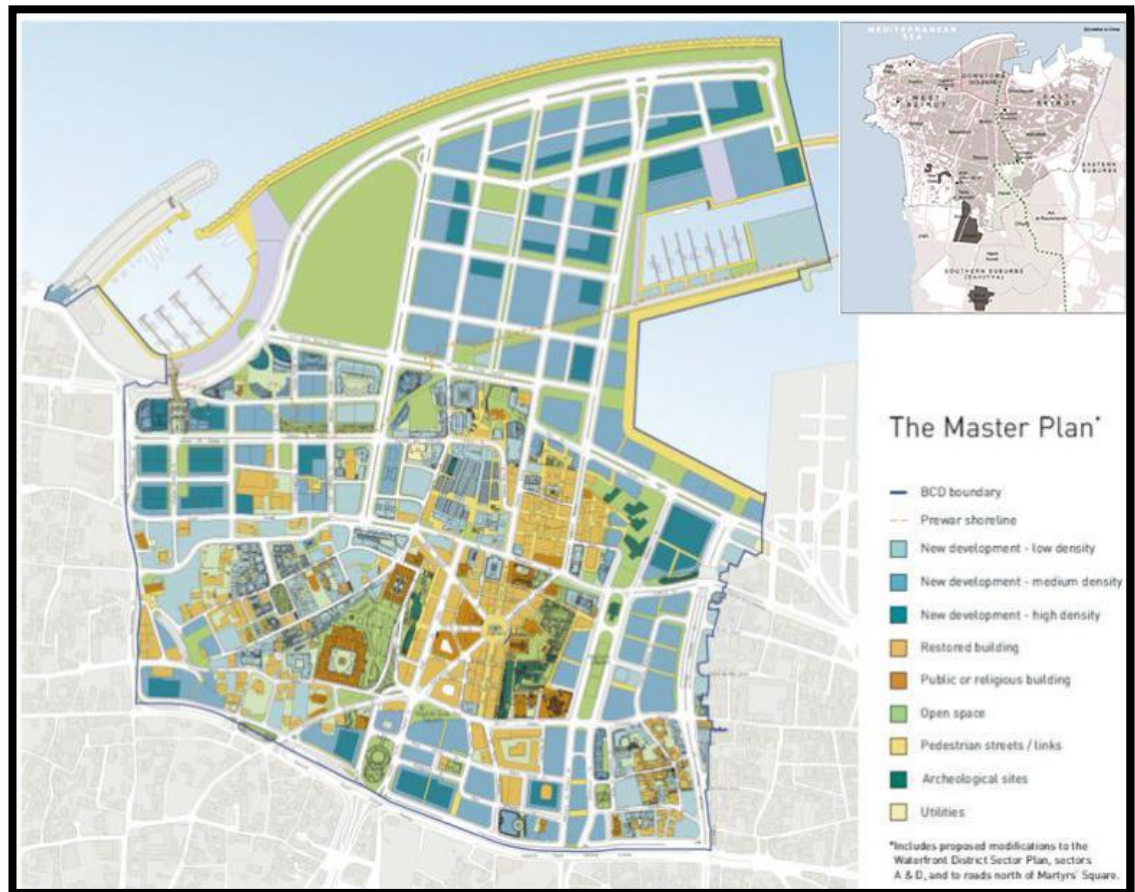
The defenders of Solidere add a positive spin on the irrational rise of land property, the luxurious high-rise glass towers, the restored part of Beirut and public spaces by portraying them as a conquest for Beirut's economy, and a "development" of Beirut.

The fact that one company controlled the whole downtown of Beirut allowed it to control the prices and turn the heart of Beirut into a place only investors from the rich western nations, and Arab gulf countries can afford, excluding by this the Beiruties themselves from the heart of their own city.

The following two map (figure 2.22) clarify the area that Solidere occupied, and the amount of buildings that were restored in comparison to the ones that are new developments. The percentage of the restored buildings compared to the new developments is one of the most important critique topics. The question that was being asked is that if -for argument sake- some of these buildings that were destroyed didn't have enough architectural value to be reconstructed, then why new buildings and developments do not carry some of the characters of Beirut? Instead, they are an alien

corporate production, and high-rise glass towers that do not fit in the historical district of Beirut. (Randall, 2014) (Davie, 1993).

Figure 2.22: Restored Areas and new developments plan in Beirut's central district



Source: Randall, E., 2014. *Reconstruction and Fragmentation in Beirut*. Working Paper No. 29. pp 7 & 9. [Online] <http://www.urbanconflicts.arct.cam.ac.uk/working-paper-29-edward-randall> [Accessed 8 January 2015]

Even the buildings that were restored or rebuilt were no longer the same, for example, the souks of Beirut were arguably rebuilt according to the Beirut characters and incorporates existing older structures, to supposedly revive the downtown and the central districts. However, the souks only includes pricey brands and expensive restaurants and cafes, that target the very wealthy elite and rich tourists, and it is unaffordable to most of the Beirutis (Randall, 2014).

“To critics, Solidere had altered Beirut’s identity forever by installing an artificial, soulless playground aimed more at tourists from the oil-rich Gulf than the average Lebanese.” (Woods, 2013)

So the issue is not merely an architectural style issue, and whether the new glass towers fit the historical district, or the disregard of Beirut’s urban characters and heritage, it extends to the alienation of Beirutis of a very important big part of their own city.

Buildings date prior to the 18th century were saved, most of the buildings that date after this period were destroyed except for few buildings that date to the French colonial period, and all the buildings after that from the 1950s and the 1960s disappeared (Ryan, 2014).

One analysis is that this architecture made by the corporate powers with the help of the exclusive very rich Lebanese is an extension to the western control of Beirut since the French has occupied Lebanon. What makes this architecture “soulless” is that it doesn’t consider the needs of the Beirutis even a little, but rather focuses on creating an investment and a market where only rich people -whom most of them are not Lebanese- can afford. Beirut Central district also known as Solidere, where Beirutis from different religions and social classes used to mix was not built for them. It was taken from them and given to rich foreigners most of them are rich Arabs from the Gulf countries where Rafik Al-Hariri the former prime minister had political and commercial connections. It is now described as “isolated” from Beirut and “an Island for the rich” (Ryan, 2014).

2.2.4 Duplicated identity and multiple realities of cities like Beirut and Aleppo

Most of the buildings that were kept only date to the Ottoman period –which ended in Lebanon by 1918- and all the latter other layers and characters of the city were obliterated, including the buildings from the French mandate Lebanon, and the modernist Lebanese architecture that were created in the 1950s to the 1970s by Lebanese and foreigner architects. Beirut from 1918 to 1975 before the war was changed dramatically and was not this little Ottoman town, even these 15 years of war layer reminders were removed.

“In the minds of the nostalgic, Beirut is a city of red-roofed Ottoman villas gracefully cascading down its hills towards the sea. This Beirut existed once, but it does not anymore” (wood, 2013)

A discussion presents itself here. If Beirut's heritage according to Solidere and the other official parties -that permitted this action of demolishing all the other architectural layers- is only the Ottoman and pre-Ottoman numbered surviving buildings, then why wasn't the rest of this historical district built according the pre 1918 Beirut's image. Even though enough surviving photographic documents, descriptions and studies were available to do so.

This point is important because although the Beiruti modernist architecture is an important part of Beirut, it created a pre-war identity crisis for the city that made it lose a big part of its oriental and local identity. The war only made the identity crisis a complex one. Although most Beirutis would agree that Solidere's project is not what they wanted for Beirut, most of them have mixed and different feelings about how Beirut was between the oriental Ottoman image and the 1970s pre-war western modernist newer image. There seems to be a genuine nostalgia for both images as contradictive as they might be, this is revealed by social media sites such as "Old Beirut" that allow Beirutis to comment on old photographs of their city that portray different images, whether from Ottoman or Modernist Beirut.

Perhaps instead of quick profit blocks and towers buildings that benefited only some of the elite, restoring valuable Beirut's French mandate and modernist architecture and recreating part of historical Beirut would have pleased the Beirutis most, and appealed to a different culture based tourism that is probably more stable and profitable in the long term for the city.

An important part of the Ottoman Beirut image beside its red roofed houses, hans and mosques is its castle along with its walls and towers. Several researchers studied about old maps and paintings of Beirut, and laid theories about Beirut's castle, walls and its towers. The findings did not only include the locations and architecture of Beirut's old castle and towers but its relation to the names of the Beiruti neighborhoods, family surnames, and its connection to Beirut's history. Some of these towers are positioned over what are today the locations of other important structures. Therefore, perhaps recreating an image of a city does not require creating the same structures in the same exact location. The castle was destroyed in 1840 when the collaborated English, Russian and Austrian

forces tried to take Beirut back from the Egyptian army in the Egyptian–Ottoman war (Hallak, 2012) (Davie, 1987).

This is just an example of an important old figure and an architectural historic part of Beirut. Restoring a structure like this might play an important role in restoring a lost image or a missing layer. Rebuilding these structures creates or restore an alter reality of Beirut city.

Figure 2.23: Beirut's old walls and castle



Source: http://www.alrassedonline.com/2012/04/blog-post_21.html

If a city like Beirut is -or should be- defined by Beirutis, then a balanced image must be created, one that includes the historical Ottoman, French mandate, the pre 1970s modernism, and the present “post-modern” image, that the pro-Solidere critics claim that it creates. In this scenario most of the new high rise glassed developments of Solidere must be removed out of the central historical district, effort must be made to restore the city’s Ottoman image and only the valuable early modernism buildings would be restored so it won’t dominate the city and cover up the other layers like it did in the 1970s. Of course, any vision or plan is debatable, and this is a very controversial matter and unachievable in the near future considering the financial and identity issues of Beirut (Makdisi & El-Khalil, 2013, p 32).

With all the circumstances that Aleppo has witnessed since the 1970s -and perhaps before- until the beginning of the war in 2011, many would agree that it was a declining

period for the city. It can be thought that unlike Beirut that was flourishing in its pre-war period, a lot of Aleppines will not have nostalgic feelings to the pre-war Aleppo, or at least not the ones from “east Aleppo” who were living under bad conditions, but several resources and a scan of the social media indicate that many of them do.

Although this requires polls and questionnaires that are extremely difficult to do in the current situation, it can be noticed through social media networks among other methods for the observer, that there is no unified vision of what Aleppo should be like. This spreads from the views about the political and social everyday life to the architecture, and it is no different when it comes to the east or west part of the city. The multilayered image of the city is a natural outcome of its social component. For example, in the “poor east” side of Aleppo some people manage to do fine where others struggle. The same goes for the “rich west” where the wealthy, the “new rich” and the people who are not rich but manage their finances fine just because they owe their prosperity can be found. Therefore, a unified common opinion of what is supposed to be the same social layer in a society that has a complex social mix may not exist. Individualism is a big part of this equation especially in our very recent time where everyone has an access to a very different and wide range of media, and not mentally confined to his social group or location.

The images of Aleppo: the Arabian, Ottoman or modern city are all legitimate ones. Therefore, a Solidere-like project might not be rejected in a city that is eager to be developed and catch up, and where towers who are the image of development are very scars and numbered. However, these new “post-modern” image must not come on the expense of other layers. It must add to the layers of the city but not remove or rival the old, traditional or the present ones. Perhaps a Solidere-like project is not a bad idea if it can be established in one of the heavily destroyed and previously destitute neighborhoods of the city that its pre-war architecture holds no value for Aleppo.

2.2.5 Memorials of ideologies and wars

Beirut and Aleppo like many cities create monuments for certain historical events to honor its figures, martyrs or to keep a certain memory alive. An example of that are the martyrs’ memorial in Beirut, and the martyrs’ memorial in Aleppo .The martyrs’

memorial in Beirut war was finished in 1960, but it was heavily damaged during the Lebanese civil war. Solidere restored the statue as a part of the reconstruction project.

The martyrs that the statue refers to are the Arab nationalists that the Ottoman authorities executed in Damascus and Beirut in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. It is important to mention that the martyrs' statue of Aleppo commemorates the same event.

This is perhaps an important example of how architecture plays a role similar to education and media. The fact that the most famous statues in both cities would refer to the martyrs of the Arab nationalists and not the martyrs of the French occupation or another event accompany the fact that both Syria and Lebanon celebrate May the 6th: the day of the execution of the Arab nationalists in 1916 as Martyrs day (Hanna, 2010). One aspect that these statues represent is a political ideology, which is also carried by the education and media in Syria and Lebanon that try to portrait the Ottomans, currently represented by the Turks as "others" or "invaders" instead of part of the Syrian and the Lebanese history. Another aspect is the complicated relation between Lebanon and Syria on one side and Turkey on the other. One more theory about the representation of these statues is that both of Syria and Lebanon support ideologies like pan-Arabism and do not support rival ideologies such as pan-Islamism.

Although martyrs' day in Syria and Lebanon is very specific about the occasion, there is no inscription or an official statement about the Martyrs' statues, both the one in Beirut or Aleppo being about the 6th of May event.

An interesting information is that a previous statue that commemorated the Martyrs of Beirut was commanded by the French authorities during the French mandate. It was of two women one of them is a Muslim and the other is a Christian crying over a tomb. This statue was removed later after the independence, because it was found offensive and degrading and was replaced by the one that exists today (Aitani, 2004). This point could be an eye opener of how ideologies and controlling powers design cities, especially if we considered that there is no memorial for the Lebanese civil war in Beirut.

It can be said that the new large Ottoman style mosque in Beirut, that was finished in 2003 behind the statue (figure 2.24) in Martyrs' square is a symbol of how the relations and politics change, and with it changes the face of the city. The mosque now has the ex-prime minister of Lebanon Rafik Al-Hariri's coffin next to its entrance, the man behind building this mosque, Solidere and changing the face of Beirut. Many would say that this picture of the statue of the Lebanese martyrs which were executed by the Ottoman authorities and the Ottoman mosque together is not without irony (Kazemi, 2005).

Figure 2.24: Martyrs' Statue in Aleppo on the left and in Beirut on the right



Source: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/41191864?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>
 b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/31003637>

Although there are no statues of the Lebanese civil war until today, it is worthy of mentioning that the Sculpture of "Hope for Peace" by Arman in Yarzeh was supposed to be relocated to the central district of Beirut after the reconstruction, but it was not. An argument presents itself in situations like this, whether having memorials or sculptures of a recently ended war is a negative matter that holds back the healing process of the city, or it is good because it is a reminder of what the war did and can do. Defenders of Solidere and Hariri the man behind it, argue that Beirut don't have a civil war memorial, because it didn't wanted to wallow in the sorrow of the past and only wanted to looked

with optimism to the future (Young, 2010). However, others are afraid that beside of old pictures taken for the city in its destructed state, there is no physical elements left to remind the Beirutis of how awful the outcome of war can be.

Figure 2.25: Sculpture of ‘Hope for peace’ by Arman in Yarzeh, Lebanon



Source: https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/commentaryanalysis/a_lebanese_directory_of_the_dead

Although there are no made-memorials for the civil war in Beirut, the remaining severely damaged buildings play that role. Those buildings however are being removed slowly, taking a part of Beirut and what became a layer of it with them. It is very interesting to hear that even the new generation that did not live through the war identified those buildings as part of their city. Therefore, these buildings are important to keep the memory of this war and its consequence alive.

On one hand, some might argue that by preserving their memories, cities and their inhabitants preserve their identity, and erasing the war memory is erasing part of the city. City’s memory helps to remind the citizens of the city of what social, ideological, national, religious and ethnical aspects compose the city, and what is “foreign” and “other” to this city. Memorials are just one way to preserve a memory of a city, and remind this multi-religious city like Beirut of what fighting did to it once. On the other hand, it can also be argued that the memory of the civil war can keep the pain, the

hatred, and hostel feelings in the post-war recovering city, and the issue of civil war reminders should be very sensitive to all the citizens of the city in what it represents.

In the case of post-war Lebanon, the reshaping of the city whether the Solidere project, memorials, or even present time destruction of heritage was done according to the interests of the wartime lords, who later after the civil war became the wartime elite that control the politics, economy and still rule Lebanon (Makarem, 2012). Private interests of these politicians from the different rival parties, and the interests of their allies from foreigner political and economic powers come before the public interests, therefore it can be argued that Beirut still has not started recovering yet, especially with all the sectarian charging that these parties create to stay in power.

Barakat building (figure 2.26) is a very good example of a severely damaged Beirut house that became a war memorial. The building goes back to the 1920s, and it was built according to the Ottoman revivalist style. This building is not just distinguished with its very unique style, but with its location in the green line separating east and west Beirut. Several activist are pushing for this building to be preserved in its damaged state to become a Lebanese museum, and a memorial in itself (Richani, 2011).

Figure 2.26: Barakat Building



Source: <http://spatiallyjustenvironmentsbeirut.blogspot.com.tr/2011/06/barakat-building-public-green-space.html>

Experiences like this can be found in Europe especially in Germany. The old Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church also translated to, and called; Emperor Wilhelm's Memorial

Church is a church that goes back to the 1890s. Part of this church has survived the 1943 bombings on Berlin. The church however was not restored to its original shape although there seems to be enough photographic records and information about it to do so; instead, it was kept as an “anti-war memorial” or a “peace memorial”. It was basically decided to keep the shape that was left over from the war as it is and add new modern parts to the old church (figure 2.27). Although the project is esthetically very controversial because it is not to everyone’s taste, the new building is not only a church but also it has a memorial hall among other spaces for the different functions of the building (KWG Information, 2015).

Figure 2.27: The Kaiser Wilhelm original church around 1900s on the left and the Memorial church in the present day on the right



(a)

(b)

Sources:

a) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emperor_Wilhelm%27s_Memorial_Church_\(Berlin,_Germany\).jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emperor_Wilhelm%27s_Memorial_Church_(Berlin,_Germany).jpg)

b) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Berlin_\(RAF_campaign\)#/media/File:Ged%C3%A4chtniskirche_1.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Berlin_(RAF_campaign)#/media/File:Ged%C3%A4chtniskirche_1.JPG)

2.2.6 Conclusions from Beirut's post-civil war experience

- a. It's important to realize the layers, characters and styles that compose every part of the city, especially for the historical part and make sure that they are restored, and not replaced because every element, layer, character is the result of a memory for this city.
- b. It must be taken in consideration the very unique location of Aleppo between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, also between Anatolia and the Levant, its unique stone and the river that used to pass through it. In addition, its own partial semi-independence or autonomy⁵ through many historical phases, and its importance during the Ottoman period among many other factors gives Aleppo distinct qualities and characters from its peer cities in the Levant. These differences must be addressed during the restoring and recreation process of Aleppo.
- c. The early Aleppine modernist architecture should be preserved in the city especially in the areas that grew right after the traditional areas in Aleppo such as *Al-Sabeel*. The age of the building or the structure does not have to be its only scale of value. However, in the "old area" and the "traditional area" a more elected process must be applied to leave only the very important valuable modernist architecture buildings, perhaps streets in some cases, so it won't affect the other images of these areas or take over their other layers.
- d. All measures must be taken to remove the differences between the east and west of Aleppo after war and reconnect them together. This includes returning the transportation routes between the two sides especially the public ones as fast as possible. In addition, improving the living and social conditions of the "east side" by creating a real working municipalities, having strict codes for building there, bringing investments , relocating and building public city functions in those areas.
- e. The rebuilding process of the old and traditional city of Aleppo is the most sensitive part of the rebuilding process of the city. The historical valuable

⁵ For example, The state of Aleppo during the French rule, and the state of Aleppo during the Ottoman rule among others in its long history

buildings must all be restored. All the buildings of the historical area must be built according to its characters even if they were relatively new constructions. This should be even a chance to rebuild old historical buildings that were demolished even before the war. It is perhaps controversial whether it is wise to leave all of the old downtown for one or several few companies to restore it, but a very strict building and restoration laws must be enforced by its municipality and under the supervision of national, international organizations and the UNESCO. For this is one of the oldest world heritage sites in the world.

- f. Rebuilding the old and the historical town should take in consideration the rest of the city and integrate them together. This especially includes the public transportation and entering the modern services to the old town.
- g. A Solidere-like project is not necessarily a bad project for the city if it had not replace the historical areas, but instead it replaced one of the areas that already held very little architectural value to the city, especially in the heavily destroyed neighborhoods in the east side. Although an “island for the rich” does not sound like a wanted quality for a city, it is a “necessary evil” sometimes to bring money and boost the economy. Of course, some qualities are still required from a project like this, as integrating it with the rest of the city and holding this project to Aleppo’s architectural characters⁶.
- h. Memorials should be created to commemorate the civil war in Aleppo, this does not include only statues, but some of the war-damaged buildings should be preserved in their war damaged condition to remind generations of Aleppines of the outcomes of the war. These damaged buildings can be turned into exhibitions or green areas for the city.

⁶ This Idea is elaborated on further in the last chapter as this research presents a summary of the different areas and architectural types in Aleppo, with a post-war scenario

3. THE “ARCHITECTURAL CODES” OF A CITY

This chapter attempts to research several definitions of the character, identity and image to form a theory of what an architectural code of a city might be. The research starts by investigating the smallest elements of the buildings and how they come together to create a character of a structure, a place or a city. Some cases with more complexity like the overlap and continuum in architecture are examined to prove that although there are usually broad guidelines, they are not always applicable in all cases. The case of classical and Baroque-like architecture in both Istanbul and Aleppo and some buildings among them like Hagia Sophia and the Umayyad mosque are discussed to reach some theories about the relation of the culture and religion to architecture.

The political and religious agendas are also examined in the way they alter architecture. The examples of Syrian, Turkish and Saudi policies are examined in the way that they claim and sometimes alienate or destroy part of their architectural heritage. Case studies focusing on cities like Ankara and Mecca are examined closely to reach some answers, and also to see how national and international relations can change the face of architecture in a city.

There are very few resources regarding Syria, especially about the last few decades, perhaps due to the lack of research funding, restrictions of freedom, and the hard access to many documents. Therefore this chapter borrows some comparable issues of neighboring cities and countries to define not only the architectural identity of Aleppo, but the architectural identity in general as a perceived idea by many in the region.

This chapter also tries to define the mental image of a city and the elements of the mental map of a city from the perspective of a singular inhabitant. Examples like what is the mental map of the Lebanese village, and how Aleppo updated its image and was Ottomanized in the early 16th century are presented. The “infaordinary” art show that was held in Istanbul Modern is discussed in terms of understanding the image and the mental map of a city. Another discussion presented is the traditional architecture between modern and nostalgia. The last part of this chapter attempts to find a definition of the term “city code”, analyze it, and explain the importance of the architectural codes to the city.

3.1 THEORIES ABOUT ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY OF A CITY

3.1.1 Visual characters affiliation to a place Identity

For many historians and architects the physical elements of the architectural structure are considered very important to define its pattern, and classify the historical era of the buildings and its primary function. Usually preservationists use guidelines that help them to identify what is called the “visual characters” of a building, and the elements that create it. By preserving these elements of the building, its general visual character can be preserved to the maximum possibility.

One of the certified methods used to identify a structure is using a three-step process (Nelson, 2004, pp. 171-182); the first step is recognizing the overall visual aspects, which includes the shape of the buildings, its openings, roof, trims, projections and sittings. The second one is to comprehend the visual characters at close range such as the material used, and the crafting details. The third part of the process is to spot the interior visual characters, which include the individually important spaces, related spaces, interior features, exposed structures, surface materials and finishes. Every one of these aspects can be very sensitive in determining the building character, for example, in some cases only the color of the mortar between the bricks of the walls or the size, shape or color of the bricks can change the whole visual of the building.

“Character refers to all those visual aspects and physical features that comprise the appearance of every historic building. Character-defining elements include the overall shape of the building, its materials, craftsmanship, decorative details, interior spaces and features, as well as the various aspects of its site and environment” (Nelson, 2004, pp. 171-182)

The buildings which share some of these elements can be placed in one group as a similar type or style, even buildings that hold the same function can be grouped in one category. This notion is important because an element or several elements together - such as an arch- are used to define the style, culture or the period of a historical building, which are later categorized as Ottoman, Gothic, Umayyad or some other period and style according to specialists.

These characters are the primer physical evidence of the existence of a culture or a civilization. This means that visual characters such as the shape of the domes, the decoration patterns, the shape of the arches, columns and the relation with the inner and outer space of the building are usually the outcome of the religion, culture and ideology of a certain era. However, the idea of identity itself is more complicated than this, and it cannot be measured only by the visual characters or a guideline with numbered steps.

It is very common when there is a takeover of one civilization over the other for the new civilization to adopt the local methods of craftsmanship, for example, the mosaic in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus is often attributed to Byzantine workmen, because of the continuation and consistency with Byzantine art form. Although the technique is the same, the work goes along with the new Islamic Umayyad culture. The mosaic does not portrait animals or humans, only trees, houses and rivers, this is due to the dominating understanding back then that such portraits are prohibited by Islam. Instead some scholars see these rivers, houses, palms and other trees to be inspired by what is described in Quranic calligraphy on the walls of the mosque (Labatt, 2012). Since these portraits are inspired by a Quranic text, it can be argued that these mosaic art works are “Islamic icons” in a way.

In this case the date and function of the building are well known because abundant documents are available, but standard guidelines do not apply clearly to the function or the period of this building, especially knowing that the iconoclasm⁷ first campaign started around a short period of 10 or 15 years later after the mosque was completed (Nassif,1997) (Flood, 2001, p. 2), Perhaps a lack of documentation could have driven some specialist to confuse it as a Byzantine church work and interpret the absence of the human and animal factor as a precautionary measure from such campaigns. It’s also important to note that some of the Umayyad palaces contained Byzantine-like mosaic paintings that portrait animals like the "tree of life" in *Qaṣr Hishām* near Jericho.

⁷ destruction of religious icons and other images or monuments for religious -or political- motives

Figure 3.1: The Umayyad Mosque in Damascus



Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2012/byzantium-and-islam/blog/where-in-the-world/posts/damascus#_ftn4

Another example to be looked at is the ethnic identity of the early Ottoman architecture. A similar argument to the Umayyad mosque can be made; the Ottomans reused the Byzantine methods and craftsmanship but in a different context. Many cultures with their own visual characters ended up together to birth a new identity, and it's arguable that in a way the early Ottoman architecture is a continuation for the Byzantine and the Seljuk architecture, or somehow a mix between the two of them

"Elsewhere I have examined numerous formal similarities that exist between late Byzantine and early Ottoman architecture. I emphasize that the Ottoman monuments, the methods of wall construction and the decorative detailing - the hall marks of a workshop - follow local Byzantine practices. On the other hand the plans and the vaulting forms are more closely aligned with the architecture of the Seljuks" (Ousterhout, 1995, pp. 48-62)

A theory on why this type of architecture lingers in limbo between two styles is that it's the result of few factors, such as the historical background of the immigrations of the Turkic tribes to new lands, the gradual Ottoman conquests over Byzantine lands and the slow transition of state institutions from the old Byzantine form to Ottoman. The transition from Byzantine to Ottoman was gradual and slow and so was the transition of buildings, therefore it is too difficult to distinguish if the building is Ottoman or

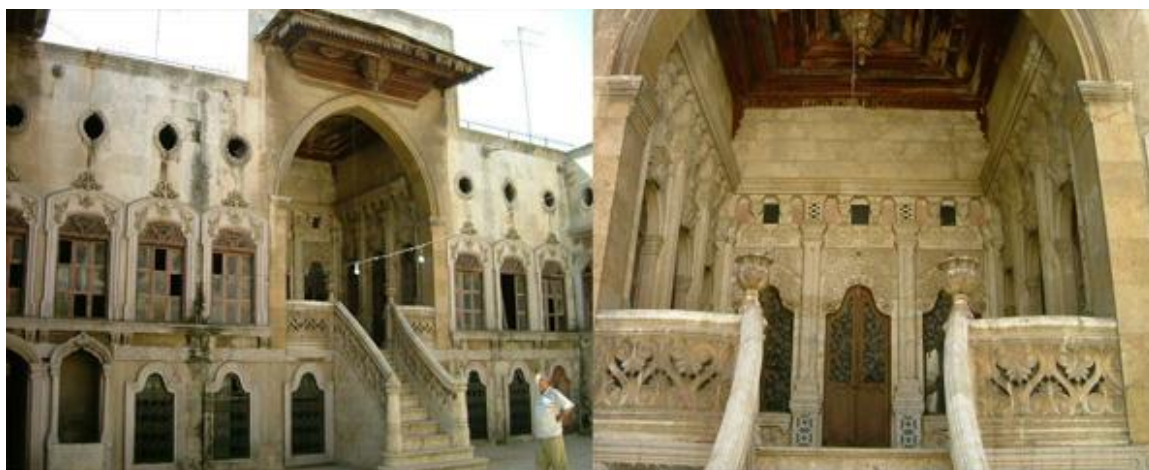
Byzantine depending only on its visual characters and layers in some cases. One example to look at is the Orhan Gazi Mosque in Bursa, where the plan seems to be Seljuk but the columns and the bricks are consistent with other Byzantine structures. This kind of mix or transition is called by some experts an “overlap”, and usually it is the result of the integration of cultures. In other cases it was even very hard for archeologist to identify the era of some buildings and whether they were converted churches or if they were built up as a mosque originally, much like the case of Haci Özbek mosque in Iznik (Ousterhout, 1995, pp. 48-62).

In general, the visual aspects of a building help to identify and estimate the period of which it was built and to reach conclusions on what cultural, religious and political influence it was built under. These visual characters help researchers to assign the buildings and the places to their position in the chronological order, and they help to read the history and development of the city. A good example of that are the changes in big cities in The Ottoman Empire like Istanbul and Aleppo. It seems that gradually all the new areas that were being built in Istanbul during the 19th century were very similar to the classical and baroque western architecture. This transition of the architectural style in that period is a direct reflection of the changes of society at that time. The traditional timber Turkish house was out of date and somehow abandoned by the comfortable and rich Istanbulites. There are few theories about the causes behind this shift in taste, one of them is that the architects of the royal palaces in the Empire around this era were Armenians and Christians and therefore more influenced by the western Christian architecture. Another reason is that the western architecture at that time being the new classical and baroque, that was adopted by western civilization and the Ottoman elite represented pomp and grandeur, and therefore it became the new desired norm (Aygen, 2008, pp. 305-320).

This theory can simply apply to the other great cities in the Ottoman Empire like Cairo and Aleppo. For example, it seems that Aleppo was faced with the same kind of changes in architecture in the late 19th century. Many would argue that unlike the wooden houses situation in Istanbul, it wasn't just a matter of a style or taste, but that the traditional open courtyard house in Aleppo could not meet the new social needs anymore, thus gave way to the transition in the Aleppine architectural style.

The late Ottoman/baroque Style that appeared in the late 19th century Aleppo was possibly influenced by the one in Istanbul since the most famous early Baroque-like buildings were palaces and schools built by the Ottoman patrons. However, it is most likely that a big part of this influence came straight from Europe since Aleppo by the time of the appearance of that style of architecture held a big European community that used to live in accordance to the European life style and consulates for almost all the major European states back then (Al Sayed, 2014) (Othman & Ayntabi, 1993, pp. 180-182). The unique Aleppine stone, local taste and techniques are also hard to miss when one of those buildings is scanned. Another perspective to look at this issue is to study the open court yard houses in Aleppo with the clearly baroque like decorations, much like the case of Al-Haj Yusuf Utch Oghli Mummu house, and research whether these baroque like decorations came with the new multi-story house type or started and existed before in the open court yard houses.

Figure 3.2: The courtyard of Al-Haj Utch Oghli Mummu House in old Aleppo



Source:<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.504191839685277.1073742143.403586466412482&type=3>

Classical and Baroque decorations and furniture can be spotted inside many houses that were not renovated and can be dated to the early modernism in Aleppo. After modernism, the decorative columns, window frames and other elements are heavily and easily spotted in the upper class architecture till our present day constructions in Aleppo. These elements increase the market value and the prestige of the house. This is not only known to today's people of Aleppo but to its building contractors too, that make sure that those elements are there even if it's in a distasteful way according to

many opinions. One conclusion is that the reappearance of these components in latter architectural style is an extension of the sense of luxury that those elements and their abundance interpreted since the late 19th century, however this is debatable because the old adoration to the decorative elements in Aleppo can be traced back to the ancient times and much before the 19th century.

Another important issue that should be pointed to is the continuum history of buildings; people often associate the building to its original style of when it was first created, but lots of elements and spaces in a building can be manipulated or altered to change the meaning of the building. An example to be given in Aleppo is the Great Mosque and how people tend to think of it as an Umayyad style, and link it to its original first creation, whereas the interventions and the repairs that were done to it by the Ottoman patrons in the early 16th century transformed this building and reconfigured it as an Ottoman structure. This is not a unique situation in Aleppo city, the Ottomans altered and manipulated the major buildings in almost all of the grand cities of the regions that they occupied (Watenpaugh, 2014). This is also not a unique case just for the Ottoman culture. Many other cultures added to previous buildings of the city. These visual elements that every culture added pile up in historical layers to give true architectural treasures for the city.

The Great Mosque of Aleppo is just an example of a smooth transition in a building. This transition was perhaps a mild political one. A more drastic change usually happens when there is a bigger transform to be set. A good example of that are the churches that were changed into mosques. In most cases like in the case of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, minarets and some other several elements were added to transform the religious identity of the building (Ousterhout,1995, pp. 48-62).

“Muslim and Ottoman symbols were introduced into Hagia Sophia, including the minarets, minbar, and other mosque furnishings, as well as sacred relics and battle trophies. Yet a tension remained, and the Christian memory was never entirely erased” (Ousterhout,1995, pp. 48-62).

The Dome of the Rock is a good example of an architectural monument that has witnessed too many religious and political changes, some researchers think that the

scripted Quranic text that denies the divinity of Jesus must have been one form to the establishment of the Islamic rule by the Umayyad in such a holy site. Other findings suggest that some of the Quranic inscriptions by the Ayyubids replaced Latin ones left by the crusaders. Again the massive political renovation that was done by sultan Süleyman in the 16th century left the building exterior clad with polychromatic tiles, colored stained glass, and new inscriptions next to the older ones, to root the Ottomans ruling in the area (Necipoğlu, 2008, pp. 45-70).

Changing the visual characters to buildings does not erase their old characters; it only makes it more complex and layered. Hagia Sophia which is now a museum is a very controversial structure that is seen by some groups as a national monument, by others as a mosque and still considered a church for many people even after hundreds of years of its transformation. The evidence of that is the press release that was issued by the Greek government.

“The repeated statements from Turkish officials regarding the conversion of Byzantine Christian churches into mosques are an insult to the religious sensibilities of millions of Christians.”(Logothetis, 2013).

Therefore the visual characters could not merely be a decoration but an expression of a religious, national or cultural meaning. The continuum history concept is not limited to the smallest unit that is the buildings, but it expands to bigger units that are the street and then the neighborhood. All of the characters that are added over the years to express cultural, political or religious meaning from the smallest detail in a stone to the spaces between the buildings pile up on each other over the years to give this very unique character to a place.

3.1.2 The National architectural identity

The issue with the visual characters does not only stand in the historical identity of buildings and their definition and association to a certain culture or religion. It extends to our modern day architecture of defining which elements belong to what culture, and thus what nation or country.

This became problematic since the manifestation of countries in their modern day definition and border lines, especially for the countries that try to establish a national idea that rival other national ideologies within the same country. The national ideologies often present themselves with a specific cultural identity. This cultural identity may include specifying who is the founder or conqueror of the country. It usually also includes which civilizations were the valid owners of the land and which civilizations were the illegitimate occupiers of it, furthermore it appoints the “true ancestors” of the country’s current population.

Therefore some forms of the cultural heritage of the country are glorified and promoted for as the country’s own, and some forms are presented as aliens, whereas many parts of the cultural heritage may stay in a hazy unexplained area. Since most architectural styles are somehow bond to a certain civilization or period and it reflects the presence and the culture of previous regional powers, this connection makes some styles a national symbol, whereas some other styles might be defined as “foreign” to the country, perhaps sometimes disrespected, promoted for in a negative way, and in some cases even destroyed. All these ways are known to publicize the propagandas and agendas of the political powers in control.

Turkey since the establishment of the Republic was faced with few of the architectural experiences and dilemmas regarding its identity. One of them is disassociating Turkey from other civilizations and cultures that were once a part of it, couple of them being the Arabic and the Greek ones, which themselves were struggling with their own identities. Another aspect is that after the republic period, Turkey tried to distance itself in some ways from the Ottoman culture as it represents the Empire, therefore Turkey tried to recapture the pre-Ottoman culture which was the Seljuk. This ideology in Turkey is perhaps connected to a similar experiment was facing Egypt as it tried to seek the Mamluk architecture as its pre-Ottoman culture (Aygen, 2008, pp. 305-320).

However for Turkey it might be somehow more complicated than Egypt, because of the history of the both countries. This chapter will not go into the specific historic details of the events of both countries before and after the Ottomans ruling. But it should be mentioned that for the early 20th century Turkey the state found itself in a paradox where it is the successor of the Ottoman culture, but in the same time it is the anti-

Empire new republic, this is one of the reasons that drove the country to reinvent its identity and with it its architectural identity. In the case of Egypt -like other Arab countries- it was easier to portrait the Ottomans as “others” especially with the pan-Arabism ideology that was spreading in the Arab countries since the early 20th century.

The facades of the Arab-Turkish bank that was being developed in the 1980s were severely criticized because the arches were Arab arches and not Ottoman ones, later the architect explained that the arches were not Ottoman, but they weren't Arab arches either, and that he used Seljuk arches. This example shows how powerful is the ideology that the politics set in its effect on Architecture. The architect explained that these arches are appreciated by both parties; Arab and Turks because the Seljuk era was a common chapter between the two of them and he points that Young Turks used the Seljuk design language for their early 20th century architecture (Aygen, 2008, pp. 305-320).

The follower of the educational system and political propagandas in Syria since the independence from the Ottomans in 1918 can notice that the Ottomans were portrayed as invaders and “others”. This can be detected with the television shows, school books and plays that portrait the Ottomans as cruel invaders and focus on the last period of the Ottoman ruling in Syria under Jamal Pasha who is known in the Arab world as Jamal Pasha the butcher for hanging the Arab nationalists that Syria and Lebanon commemorate them in their national martyr day.

There is also a similar approach when it comes to the Byzantine and Roman civilization in Syria. This is mostly obvious in the different media productions that glorify Zenobia, the queen with the Aramaic tendencies that rebelled against Rome and tried to free Syria from the Roman dominance. Other cultures like the Greek, Persian and Armenian that formed a big part of the Syrian history are ignored and neglected.

The educational system and the media in Syria portrait Syrians as the descendants of Arabs, pre-Greek Aramaic and Assyrian cultures. Although it is sometimes controversial to acclaim which culture and period was an Arab culture and which were not due to the lack of a clear definition, it seems that the Umayyad and Abbasside are considered “Arab” according to the Syrian claims. Other pre-Ottoman cultures like the

Mamluk and Seljuk are somehow in a grey area and much less focused on. One example is the Syrian national curriculum for history classes in primary, middle and high school, which focus and ignore the civilizations that passed Syria as previously discussed. Another example is the plays and songs such as the work of Fairuz, the famous artist in the Arab world that glorify Zenobia in her songs and a play while portraying a negative image of Ottoman oppression in the Levant in the latest periods of the empire in her musical film *Safar Barlik*, as does the Syrian television show *Ekhwat Al-Turab*, which is memorable for portraying the torture methods that the Ottomans used against Arabs. “Historical shows” on television usually focus on the glory of the Umayyad and Abbasside periods, such as the show *Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz*, the most famous Umayyad caliphate that ruled from Damascus. *Rabee Kurtuba* translated to the spring of Cordoba, is another show that glorifies the Umayyad glory in the Iberian Peninsula. *Haroon Al-Rasheed*, the famous Abbasside caliphate is also the name of the show that praise the Arab Abbasside civilization. Moreover, two well-known schools in Aleppo hold the name of his sons *Al-Amin* and *Al-Ma'mun*. This is among other structures like hospitals, mosques and streets that hold the names for “Arabic” historic figures. It is very rare to see a building or a street named after an Ottoman character in Aleppo, although it was one of the most important cities of this empire.

There are few predicaments in these allegations, because these cultures are so tangled and are difficult to separate. These dilemmas extend to effect the definition of cultural and architectural identity in Syria. For example Palmyra the city that rebelled on the Romans by its queen Zenobia is described by many as a Roman city and its architecture can be described as Graeco-Roman. Another example is that so many of the buildings in the old city of Aleppo with the open court yard that are referred to as the Arabian houses dates to the Ottoman period which extended from 1516 to 1918. In general, those political or “religious” parties that strive to eliminate pieces of a country's history as part of their political agenda come up against a wall of inconsistencies and contradictions.

A very comparable situation can be detected in modern day Turkey. The media and the education system play a similar role of portraying the modern day citizen of Turkey as the descendants of the Ottomans and in a secondary form the Seljuks. Byzantine, Greek,

Armenian and Assyrian civilizations are shown as “others”. However sometimes they are not according to the convenience of the situation. It seems that when Turkish authorities were trying to find roots in the Ottoman period, they had to undermine the Byzantine era as they were “not Turkish” and “others”. This policy was adopted since the early republican period. Art, media and history were utilized to serve the republican project and national views, to find roots of the present republic with the Ottomans and glorify this period. This meant to establish that the Ottoman period and its cultural symbols including its architecture were the most flourished ones and superior to their other peers in other periods especially the pre-Ottoman Byzantine.

“The priority of architectural historians was first to establish the essence of the Republican nationalist view of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish art and architecture. In the general architectural histories of Ottoman- Turkish art and architecture, Byzantine architecture was usually compared with the Turkish architecture to show the architectural superiority of Turkish architecture.”(Yıldız, 2011, pp 63-80).

This was strongest after the establishment of the republic and became milder with time as a certain concept of nationalism was already established (Yıldız, 2011, pp. 63-80).

The idea of national identity reflects immediately and directly on the country’s architecture. The issue does not regard merely historic buildings, disrespecting a certain architectural layer or altering the existing image of a city, but it extends to set the choice of the new style that shapes the architecture of the new government buildings, establishments and sometimes neighborhoods. Perhaps cities like Tel Aviv’s Bauhaus buildings are a good example of a city that wanted a completely new image and a change from the previous existing Arabian or Ottoman architecture image. Ankara the capital of Turkey is also a good case to study. The political circumstances and influences that were running in Turkey shaped the architecture of this new city. The relationship between Germany and Turkey played an important role in the progress of Ankara the new capital. This relation had a direct result of the city being influenced by German modernism architectural ideas, especially the Bauhaus instructions. At that time the internationalist won the argument based on the fact that they felt obligated not to spend more money on decorations and Turkey was ready to transform its architecture into the drab looking form of modernist architecture. This rapidly proceeded under the

increasing flow of German architects to Turkey in the beginning of the 1930s. Ankara the small town of 20000 that was designated as the new capital of Turkey instead of Istanbul was unable to hold all these new comers. It was hard to find decent restaurants or the places with other functions that could easily be found in Istanbul, and the housing situation was impossible. The project of building modern Ankara was given to a German company “hastily” according to the viewpoint of some researchers. In 1932 the plan was begun to be applied. The first part of the plan was to cut some major roads and squares in the old city and the old existing urban texture, and the second was to provide a housing of 150 hectares at a reasonable distance to the south of the old town. The main boulevard that connects the old town to the station would have important governmental buildings on both sides as a showcase, and would be followed by another boulevard that connects the old town to the new housing area to the south, with these changes new lavished buildings began to emerge in Ankara to reflect the national pride of the new republic (Yavuz, 1986, pp.267-283).

Whether these alterations and cuttings in Ankara respected the fabric of the old town or were just unnecessary showcase that deformed its texture is a matter for debate. The case of Ankara is unique and it represents a complete change effected by political powers, relations and financial limitations that created a completely new face to architecture under nationalistic agendas.

3.1.3 Religious architectural identity

A case that must be examined is the destruction of Mecca, where the Saudi government completely destroyed the historical old city of Mecca, disregarding the historical value of this holy place, to build malls and a new clock tower that was described as “obnoxious”. This action was severely criticized all over the world. The new clock tower dominates the skyline of Mecca and disturbs the peaceful image of the city with the minarets of the Grand Mosque of Mecca, not to mention displacing families that have been living there for many generations and desecrating the holiness of the city.

Figure 3.3: Mecca on the left between 1909-1919 and on the right 2013



(a)

(b)

Sources:a) <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/npcc.19445/>

b) <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/01/opinion/the-destruction-of-mecca.html>

This was just another episode of the destruction of Mecca, which began in the mid-1970s. Many historical ancient buildings, several of them goes back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad, including the Bilal mosque, old Ottoman houses with their stylish *mashrabiyyas* and beautifully carved doors were bulldozed and replaced with hideous new structures in a relatively very short period, Mecca was turned into a different city with soulless highways tangled in crosses, hotels and malls that replaced the old city. Mecca's royal clock tower that was finished in 2012 replaced the remaining estimated 400 historical, cultural and religiously important buildings and sites (Sardar, 2014).

To the point of view of many opinions, the government does that to promote its extreme Islamic propagandas. These pretenses continue after destroying Bilal's mosque to demand for the destruction of the house of the prophet Muhammad that also didn't survive, because of "the fear of people worshiping Prophet Muhammad instead of God". It might sounds very arbitrary, but people who are informed about the Saudi government propagandas realize it is another chapter in an ongoing religious farce. Religious allegations in this case take the part that nationalism takes in other countries. By examining other countries and places it can be concluded that although researchers focus on national ideologies, religious ideologies like in the case of Mecca, sectarian ideologies like in the case of Beirut, financial and racial ones also all play a role in defining and shaping the identity of a place.

Although it is not possible to elaborate about more examples in this paper, interested researches can look at the case of Beirut to see how allegedly diverse competing ideologies work when several parties that have almost the same power rule together. Another case to be looked at is the case of Haifa and Tel Aviv-Yafo among other Israeli cities to examine how religious and national claims sometimes work together or compete with each other to reshape the face of architecture of a city or a country.

This also means that with the change or shift of the political power there might be a shift in the ideology, because the new party in control might have different agendas to promote for. The case of how Neo-Ottomanism is being adopted by the new governmental orientations in Turkey is argued to have caused a noticeable change in the architectural texture of Istanbul and other Turkish cities. The argument is that the Ottoman architectural image is being presented as part of the so called “pious practices” to promote a certain agenda. This agenda embrace the classical Ottoman aesthetics, the aesthetics of the golden era of Istanbul where it had the upper hand and ruled over vast areas.

Some interpret this as a nostalgic movement to the past. Another interesting comparison is that secularism promoters are also moved by nostalgia, it’s just the subject of the affection that is different (Walton, 2010, pp. 88-103). To some opinions perhaps the development in the Turkish spaces towards republic modernist architecture or Neo-Ottomanism aesthetics in buildings are a manifestation of the struggle between these two orientations in Turkey, and the continuous building of the Ottoman style mosque everywhere, even in poor neighborhoods in desperate need of more important structures is another argument used to claim that the city is being “re-Ottomanized” or “Islamized”.

An idea that should be discussed is that under the adaptation of the National identity by almost every country, many of them claim to be the rightful owner of civilizations of other land. This is very common due to the facts that most modern borders are not natural in a sense. For example, the Greek government heavily criticized the recent agendas of the Turkish government for wanting to turn Hagia Sophia a “Byzantine church” into a mosque again as previously discussed. In most of schools in Arab countries, it is taught that the Umayyad buildings in Spanish cities are an Arab national

heritage. These allegations can be direct or indirect and they depend on and reflect the relationship between two countries.

Many news agencies reported about the problem between the Turkish and Saudi government regarding the demolition of “Ottoman” heritage in Mecca including *Al-Ajyad* fortress that goes back to 1780.

“The Turkish parliamentary speaker Murat Sokmenoglu appealed to religious and nationalist sensibilities, calling the Saudi’s actions “un-Islamic”. On the BBC Middle East website Sokmenoglu explained “A Muslim country’s destruction of another country’s historic heritage on holy soil is a sinful behaviour in breach of the moral values of Islam, religious brotherhood and common sense” (Wheelan, 2002).

The reply of Saudi Arabia reflected the tension between the two countries. This perhaps proves that even international relations of modern countries have their effect on architecture. A political movement like pan-Arabism can dictate that two countries have a common history, identity and architecture, if both of them adopted the same ideology. However, a country with a different ideology can be considered with a different architecture and an unrelated history if it adopts what is considered a rivalry ideology and agendas, even if these two countries have just as important historical and cultural bonds. Comments that can be considered offensive to Turkey and its religious and national history coming from Saudi officials can be read in similar news reports on the topic.

Al-Ajyad fortress model can still be seen in display in Miniaturk; a museum in Istanbul to introduce architectural Ottoman heritage inside and outside of Turkey. Many interpret the Clock tower project in Mecca that replaced the fortress as “royal jealousy” of the other royals of the Arab gulf countries like Dubai in the U.A.E that managed to create an image through iconic towers like *Burj Khalifa* and *Burj Al-Arab* in a relatively very short period of time.

Figure 3.4: Al-Ajyad Fortress Model in Miniaturk



Source: miniatürk.com.tr

A very important topic to dig into is the ethnic and religious sectarianism that ruins every aspect of the country. Although the issue of post-war Sarajevo, which got the title the Jerusalem of the Balkans for gathering many religions in one place, cannot be summoned in few lines, it seems that some people look at it as a success story with 80 percent of the 3226 damaged or ruined buildings restored (Frammery, 2011). The new still standing issue is that Bosnia and Herzegovina just like Lebanon has a “consensual sectarian” system to run the country, which has proved its failure in both countries. People in these two countries seem to be stuck in a pattern where they feel obligated to choose the Politian that claim to be of their own ethnic or religious group, even if they realize he’s corrupt because they fear for themselves (Kakissis, 2010). Where every one of these sectarian parties is supported by different rival countries, it becomes very hard for the country to break free, and usually a 10 percent of politicians and the rich elite control the countries with the scarecrow of the war in a post-war zone.

The latest protests in Tuzla and Sarajevo in February 2014 was described as a protest against corruption and the dysfunction state that the country has been living since the end of war, and against the rich ethno-elite crimes to "their own people" (Nikolaidis, 2014). Between many descriptions of the war in Syria, “class war” finds its way to one of the top of definitions. Urban spaces are always an index for the countries situation, and with half of Aleppo city being a slums-like area, one of the high priority of the post-war stage is to find a way to create new housing and gradually replace the old slums-like area with decent affordable architecture, especially that affordable dwelling was one of the biggest problems since before the war started in Syria. Improving the quality

of urban spaces in the city will help greatly to bridge the class hatch between the two sides of Aleppo and start the healing process.

3.1.4 Mental map of the city

When the word “identity” is mentioned, the style of the buildings and their characters jump to mind. Although this is a very important part to define identity, it is not enough. The identity of a place usually extend from the buildings themselves to the relationship between them, to include squares, green areas, aqua spaces, roads and point marks.

Several experts who are concerned with the architectural heritage talk about missing pieces that are going to be extinct from the modern urban texture. The loss of identity that many cities are experiencing is because the locals’ traditions, culture and heritage do not reflect on their surrounding urban environment anymore. One example of these spaces that may have extinct is the Lebanese traditional village. Fingers in this case point to, and blame the corruption of the Lebanese government, that allows the destruction of these pieces of cities and towns, that defines its history and heritage. The press is also criticized for not writing more about these issues.

When the image of the Lebanese village is remembered, the inhabitants of these villages talk about the experience of how people used to get together in the square of the village for the joyful and sad occasions, and how now these villages are extinct places and the squares are being used as parking for cars. The Lebanese traditional village is usually described with a sentimental image of the small traditional houses with the narrow streets between them, a main square where people get together, and the relationship between the people that takes place in this spatial context. The village is not only the physical aspect of the buildings, but it is how people relate to it. (Makki, 2011)

“Architecture was never a decoration; it was never drawing an arch. Architecture is actually the language of the present, past and the future. Architecture is our habits and traditions that used to be translated in the city, in a sense that you could feel how much we were interactive with each other.”(Makki, 2011)

Assaha which means the square, is just a restaurant project that is being created in several cities, which is made from disassembled Beirut houses that holds in their layers

all of these historical backgrounds. Although a project like this has its negative and positive critics, Jamal Makke, the Architect behind this project claims that it is a proof that touristic projects with no certain natural surroundings can be created if it has a cultural and historical aspects. A project like this might not be able to recreate a whole village in one building but it tries to recapture at least some of it. And it is perhaps better to disassemble these historic houses that are about to be destroyed and recreate something with their stones, than to watch them turn into rubble that is going to go to waste!

It can be fairly said that many people have a mental image and description of what a Lebanese village should look like and what the components of the village are. That usually includes the historical styles, materials, spaces between the houses like the narrow roads, the main square and the relationships applied in these spaces

Many urban researchers tried to grasp the concept of what is being called here “The mental image of the city”, and translate it. One of these theories is that the city can be divided according to five physical and mental elements.

The first element is the “Paths” that people take to get from a point A to a point B; the path could be a highway, a street, a walk way or a transit line, and it’s how people view their movement through these streets whether it’s the shape and direction of the path or what to expect to encounter during their voyage through this path

The second is “Edges” that causes the discontinuation of the paths such as walls, buildings, shore lines or any other thing that could be a boundary

The third is “Districts”, which are not necessarily the districts set by the municipalities or physical lines, but rather the places that share a distinctive characteristics and the same identity

The fourth element is the “Nods” which are the connection between the paths. A nod can be a square, an intersection or a roundabout.

The fifth and final in this theory would be the “Landmarks” that are defined as very distinctive buildings, urban landscape or other physical object that is easily identifiable by the inhabitants of the city. Landmarks in this context are not the internationally

iconic buildings of the city, but the establishments that form a unique sense of individuality for the locals. They can be mosques, churches, government buildings, historical buildings or even a very distinguished house (Lynch, 1960).

The best way to understand this theory is to apply it to a specific city or place, preferably a familiar destination. For example to walk in Aleppo city From *Al-Rahman* Mosque to the castle of Aleppo certain images jump to mind. One of them is that the person who is taking this journey will pass several districts like *Al-Sabeel*, *Al-Jameeliye*, "*AL-Balad*" and then the old city. The first two districts areas are perhaps mentally recognizable by their unique different architecture, the third name means downtown and it is a space that stretch between the main square to the famous clock tower, and the forth which is the old city include the area with the old houses and markets that starts vaguely after the clock tower . These "districts" are hard to capture accurately on a map with specific lines, but they are completely understandable for the people of the city when they are mentioned. *Al-Razi* roundabout and the clock tower roundabout are an example for "nods". *Saadallah al-Jabiri*; the main square could be a "nod", an "edge" or even a "landmark". *Al-Franciscan Church* and *Bab Al-Faraj* clock tower are good examples of "landmarks", and *Al-Qouwatly* Street is a "path" that a person crosses in this journey.

Figuring a clear mental map is a necessity for designing the city. The argument here, that the stable mental image of the city is connected with the emotional stability of its inhabitants, might provide a good reason for why re-establishing a certain image and the identity of destroyed districts is important to restore the stability of a place.

Another angle to look at this issue is to observe a display called "Infraordinary" that was presented at the Design Biennial of 2012 which was held up in Istanbul Modern museum. The display aimed to clarify the idea of how the complexity of a city works. It consisted of pieces of plastic shaped into different forms related to Istanbul city; an Ottoman mosque, Istanbul bridge, *Galata* tower, several hills, towers and even few ships and fairies. The attender will realize that all these pieces alone do not mean much or necessarily represent Istanbul put together they form the city. Pieces that no one takes in consideration like a ship or a hill with generic houses are a part of the mental image that a person holds for one city or another. A different aspect of the show was the multi-

dimensional view that tried to explain that, although everyone had the same image of the same city, every person had his own perspective that he or she viewed the city from, depending on where the person comes from. The artists claimed in a commentary posted at the display room and on their web page that the city is too complex to reduce to one photo and every person has a different imagery, because everyone has lived a different experience in the city. One other very important thing that this show tries to attract attention to is that privatizing common urban spaces will prevent many people from experiencing these parts and kill the real life in them, because life there will turn into a passive form, and turning these spaces into a technological or a historic attraction point that will make them too expensive eventually is not a justified development. In that sense, development projects should not alter the community, and it should be very sensitive to what is fragile in different districts of the city (Balkır, Kendir, Altürk & Yurtsever, 2012).

Figure 3.5: “Infraordinary” at the Design Biennial of 2012 in Istanbul Modern



Source: The Author

3.2 THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN CREATING A CITY IMAGE

3.2.1 Creating and altering a city image

Many architects research and try to define city's identity or image, and try to explain, and highlight the differentiations between the two terms. One of the understandings for this issue is that the image is the revised version of identity, at least when the architectural identity and image are being discussed. The image would include the tourist attractions, the unique features and landmarks, whereas identity usually includes

the good and the bad parts, and perhaps only fully perceivable by the place inhabitants. On the other hand the image is sometimes the perfect picture and what a city advertises about itself. It is what the city inhabitants would like their city to be perceived as, or in some cases the way that authorities whether they are local or otherwise would like to present the city accordingly. To better understand the image issue, it must be examined first in a historical context, before jumping to the modern city status. It is argued that in the case of the Ottomans, architecture was used to emphasize the Ottoman control image over their ruled lands.

Researchers agree that the Ottomans had a certain pattern when it came to the changes they made in different places of their empire. For instance, in the case of Crete, one of the biggest islands in the Mediterranean, which is a part of Greece now, and in other areas, that were primarily Christian ruled before the Ottomans conquered them. The main church is the building that is altered; there is an emphasis on the most topographically salient sites, a takeover of landmarks, and manipulation of a several urban elements. These architectural changes were the main tool to Ottomanize a place. Although the Ottomanization process is most obvious in the case of converted churches and previously Christian ruled areas, it is not only restricted to them. In the case of Aleppo, a city that had been a major Islamic site for several centuries, Ottomanization took a slightly different approach than other regions of the empire, this situation was not about Islamizing a previously Christian ruled city, it was a matter of Ottomanizing a previously Mamluk associated city, and so the interventions and changes had to be different than other cities. To some experts Ottoman intervention in various parts of their empire was highly localized, highly flexible, but at the same time highly recognizable (Watenpaugh, 2014).

So the means that were used are the creation and transformation of iconic buildings. This continues till our present day, because changing the whole identity and replacing everything is not logically possible, but simply a selective make up process is enough to insure the promotion of the intended image. The case of Aleppo's image during the early Ottoman period was a political affair more than a religious one, and it was predominantly guided towards the westerners that were coming to Aleppo from the Mediterranean side.

It is essential to clarify that Aleppo in the early Ottoman period rose to be a very important trade center, while other cities in the Levant such as Damascus were assigned to a more Sunni Islamic religious role. Due to the geographical site of Aleppo and how it was located somehow in three regions with the Levant to its south, Anatolia to its north and Mesopotamia to its east, it is suggested that every gate of Aleppo had particular quality, importance and held different events. Aleppo sustained its business throughout the caravans that crisscrossed the land routes between the Ottoman Empire and other cities in different places in Asia. Technically Aleppo is an inland city, however since it is relatively very close to the Mediterranean, Iskenderun was created by the Ottomans to be a port for Aleppo to facilitate its maritime routes.

The Ottomans invested so many resources in Aleppo, after all it was their third biggest, most important city after Istanbul and Cairo (Agoston& Masters, 2009, p 30). European merchants that were coming to Aleppo after crossing the Mediterranean and unloading their goods in Iskenderun would have had to approach it from *Bab Antakya* which is translated to “the door of Antioch” from the west, the door that leads onto the commercial area. As the western merchants came from the Mediterranean and entered *Bab Antakya*, they would have seen a series of very recognizable Ottoman style minarets, pencil shaped, and majorly different from the previous Mamluk towers. These Ottoman buildings that are very different in style from the earlier medieval towers of Aleppo were commissioned by Ottoman patrons over a period of about 50 years to change the image of Aleppo (Watenpaugh, 2014). This Ottoman image although still very visible, does not overwhelm Aleppo in our present time. Several theories exist about this matter, one of them is that the Ottoman image of Aleppo is blurred on purpose by the authorities, whether it is the present authorities or the ones since the independence from the Ottomans. A different theory is that Aleppo still have its Ottoman image, however its image is much localized and cannot be compared with standard given images of the Ottoman culture like the one in Istanbul. A much more interesting theory is that the Ottomans managed to introduce a new style to Aleppo’s architecture, yet this style introduced another layer and was not perceived as a dominant image by its inhabitants.

The architectural image can be used to reshuffle elements of the city, so it fits with the political or religious agendas that the authorities promote for, however another important aim of the modern day city image is usually to attract tourists and business in the first place. The job that an image must provide is to present a unique mix or a specific criterion that no other city is offering.

It is argued that a city image is a necessity to keep a particular individuality. This individuality protects the city from being lost in the globalization that is erasing the singular personality of places. The argument is that the image of the city is its trade mark. In other words it is the branding of a city and how it is being marketed (Riza, Doratli & Fasli, 2012, pp. 293–300).

It is suggested that creating spaces for cultural events, supporting heritage and especially erecting iconic buildings is the way to create and promote an image for a city. An observation of the social media and other resources will reveal that new landmarks become just as important as historical ones for the city. *Al-Rahman* mosque in Aleppo, which was damaged in the war, is perhaps a very good example of this. Although it was finished in 1994 (Yusuf, 2013), and its design has a descent number of critics, it is for many Aleppines just as an important piece of the city as the Umayyad or the *Khusruwiyah* mosque.

To some opinions there is a rising competition among cities, which might be an effect of globalization. This is clear in numerous situations and several forms, where cities try to offer diverse activities and serve different and various fields, because the modern city has to be updated continuously. Following that logic it is not enough for the city to present ancient urban heritage, for example even if a city was a historic one, it must offer all kind of today's modern entertainment and technology to succeed in business and tourism. Because of that every city should adopt a strategy to develop, advertise itself, and be "known with something" globally. There are few obvious architectural and cultural methods to promote the cities such as hosting mega events, promoting historic buildings, heritage and constructing new iconic buildings. Since many cities do not have historic attractions and cannot hold international events for many reasons, building towers as iconic buildings seems to be the method that many countries tried to approach

to get attention and attraction and to create a name and an image for themselves (Riza, Doratli & Fasli, 2012, pp. 293–300).

Figure 3.6: Al-Rahman Mousque in Aleppo



Source:

<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/76481978?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>

3.2.2 Image between nostalgic and new

It is widely discussed how to make “new traditional architecture” sustainable. According to many architects, for the traditional architecture to be authentic it must follow the values of the past, learn from the previous defects, improve them, and try to adapt to today’s needs. Old architectural models should not be copied, neither their elements. The neo-traditional trend therefore is divided into two schools. One that copies the old traditional model without any remarkable change or new invention, and a second one that relies on researching, studying the architectural heritage and learning from the previous experiments

Of course the topic that is being discussed here does not involve the “rebuilding” of destroyed historical buildings for the old or the traditional neighborhoods of the city. The process of the reconstruction should resemble the authentic old buildings and approach the photographs, painting and documents as much as possible in order to recreate these neighborhoods. However, like in the previously discussed case of Warsaw, reimagining parts of the city due to lack of records is acceptable as long as it comes as close as possible to recreating the same image. Another reminder is that in the

same case the inside of the buildings were not rebuilt as they were before war, because that did not affect the image of the city.

The neo-traditional trend or the trend of building “traditional architecture” in our present day is somehow a manifestation of nostalgia; therefore many people call it nostalgic architecture. This trend works in two ways, either copying the elements exactly as they are, or reinvent them in a way that fit the new technology, traditions and values of our present time. A contemporary interpretation of the old elements into today’s need is what’s required. The disregard of these needs or copying another model unthinking of the time or culture always leads to unresolved problems that would have been easier to be accounted for in the first place (Abdelsalam & Rihan, 2013, pp 159-172).

An example of that are the present day houses of Aleppo city. The verandas unpleasant curtains and the inharmonic glassed balconies phenomenon in Aleppo are immediately noticed. This phenomenon managed to turn a lot of the nice places of the city into what resembles low standard areas. One of the theories that several academicians who are familiar with the situation in Aleppo seems to have formed is that the old houses with the open courtyard provided an access to open fresh air with complete privacy, while at the same time the *mashrabiya* provided privacy and a view of the neighborhood streets. When Aleppines moved to the multistory house that is considered the most common type in our present day, the new houses did not meet their needs for privacy.

With a single look into one of the streets of Aleppo, the observer will notice that the balconies run along on most of the main elevation of the buildings, and in general it is on all sides of the buildings. The balcony might have provided an access to open fresh air but it did not provide privacy, hence the unpleasant curtains and glass everywhere.

Although the authorities might be blamed for not enforcing any rules to limit this phenomenon, this does not mean that these irregularities did not come from legitimate reasons and cultural needs.

Figure 3.7: Balcony curtains and glassed balconies in Aleppo



Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/12631075?source=wapi&referrer=kh.google.com>

One given example of what could be an answer for this issue is *Masdar city* in the United Arab Emirates, with what seems to be a mix of a balcony and a *mashrabiya* as a good counterpart of a sustainable housing that reinterprets the modern traditions and needs into a new architecture. Whether a building like this copes with the needs of the U.A.E is open to debate, but the order of reinterpreting traditional elements into modern ones is worth investigating.

Figure 3.8: Masdar Institute's buildings



Source: <http://masdar.ae/en/masdar-city/detail/masdar-institutes-buildings>

It is claimed that the works of Hassan Fathy are a manifestation of this approach. The works of Hassan Fathy might be labeled sometimes as “critical regionalism”, because it surpasses the interpretation of architectural identity from only the ornaments and

decorations to attend to spaces and composition inspired by the culture of the region (Abdelsalam & Rihan, 2013, pp 159-172).

Figure 3.9: New Gournia Village, Egypt, by Hassan Fathy



Source: <http://www.spatialagency.net/database/why/ecological/hassan.fathy>

Some might argue that critical regionalism is a form of modernism that adopts the culture and traditions to triumph over the stereotypical and global forms of modernism; in this context religion is a big part of the culture and should be taken in consideration. Turgut Cansever's work in Demir Holiday Village is considered an example of creating architecture inspired by the materials and the traditions of the area. The stone he used is common and familiar to the Mediterranean, and it is interpreted in this case that western Modernism represented materialism, whereas traditional architecture represented the spirituality that Turkey was in need for in the 1980s. However, it is also argued that "good architecture" is a separate issue, an individual case for every building and place, and it cannot be explained by cultural values, traditions or materials alone (Bozdoğan, 1997, pp 133-156).

Figure 3.10: Demir Holiday Village, Turkey, by Turgut Cansever



Source: <http://www.akdn.org/architecture/project.asp?id=1136>

To argue about this idea from a historical point of view, it should be mentioned that Islamic architecture holds a big variety and has different sub forms in every time period of every region. This architecture extends from modern day Spain to Bangladesh and it adapts to many aspects of the forms and arts of every region that it reached, while excludes some others. Although the Islamic art was influenced by the arts of the cultures that Muslims conquered, especially the Sassanian and Byzantine ones, it managed to rule out the legendary aspects, the formalism and private simulation arts. In general Islamic art addressed the abstract arts in accordance with the teachings of the Islamic religion, its spirit, philosophy and the nature of the Arab area, therefore, the Islamic art distinguished its trades from the arts that it was influenced by and from the rest of the religious arts (Murad, 2012). This may apply to many cases, but not all, and the example of "tree of life" in *Qaşr Hishām* near Jericho given earlier is a one evidence of many exceptions to the assumed standards of Islamic arts.

To create a true reflective image of the city identity, architecture should not be unreceptive to different cultures but in the same time it should not copy them or a same version of its old self that doesn't fit its today's traditions, instead it should interpret the needs and taste of people allowing the mix of the nostalgic and the new.

3.3 THE DEFINITION OF “ARCHITECTURAL CODES” OF A CITY

3.3.1 Concept and understanding of the term “Architectural code of a city”

Ancient cities tend to be unique with many characteristics of their own. Almost every civilization leaves its own different fingerprint on the places that it passes by. The architecture of those cities tends to reflect the historical, geographical, social, economic, and cultural aspects of how those cities were before and are now. The term “Architectural code of a city” doesn’t mean the building codes set by the municipality of a city, but it refers to the characters and elements that if they are gathered into one place will result into the unique architecture of one city or another. Those elements and characters can be visible and touchable sometimes like the different styles and decorations that can be seen in a certain places in the architectural fabric, or they can be invisible like the philosophy and spiritual aspects of this or that architecture.

In order to find the city codes, it must be decoded at first. The idea of a city code in general and a city architectural code in specific is not determinable but rather conceptual. The global, regional and local influences lead to create a sub identity for every city that distinguishes it from other cities, and thus they lead to create codes unique only to them. However certain codes or styles might or might not qualify as unique for a city. The following example may clarify this idea; If the Ottoman architecture and culture in Istanbul, Konya and Aleppo were argued as similar then it can be determined that they share some similar codes but if it was argued that every city had its own unique Ottoman architecture, then their codes can be argued to be different and specific to each one of them.

When looking into a portrait or a photo of a city sometimes it can be determined immediately where this photo is taken or what city is it from, whereas other times only the country or only the region of the city in the photo can be determined. This differs from one person to another. The belonging, attachment and relation of every architectural code to the city, and the codes to each other are debatable matters. At the same time this helps the restorers or restoration architects to fill out the missing pieces by comparing to the closest examples they have.

The combination of characters, elements, colors, structures, styles, and decorations that helped identifying where this picture is taken can be identified as the architectural codes of the city. The sufficiency of this one architectural code or several codes put together to identify a city can give an understanding of how much are they attached to the city and to one another. Rearranging all of these codes in the right place will help to recreate the identity and the wanted image of this city.

How sufficient these codes are to identify a city is different from one person to another and for the locals, to the region inhabitants, to the foreigners. This last notion demonstrates the attachment of the architectural codes of a city to its own inhabitants and how some codes can only be defined by them. The codes that if were put together can result with the unique architecture of one city or another.

3.3.2 The DNA of a city

Every city has its unique set of characters that create a certain style of life in it. The arrangement of architectural elements, from the biggest like the sizes of the buildings, to the singular smallest details, like whether the windows have shutters or not in this city, the spaces between buildings and streets, and many other details form together an atmosphere. These details are like the genetic codes of the city. These DNA codes are the architectural and special body of the city, a body that is most recognized by the city inhabitants, and form its sense of identity

This imagery of a city being like a body and the analogy of the body genetic codes versus the city architectural codes approach very closely to the definition that is intended in this research. It is important for the DNA of the city to be decoded to figure out the components of the city. These codes give the city its unique features just like the DNA of every human being is responsible of giving him or her the unique characteristics like the height, hair color, eyes color ...etc. It is simply the instructions that need to be followed to recreate the city with its unique features.

“For an organism, the DNA contains instructions on such characteristics as color of eyes, or hair: for a city on such characteristics as building materials, building colors, roof shapes, and size of windows. These transmitted characteristics vary in small ways, within a limited range, from individual to individual, and from generation to

generation, without harm to the individual or to the society. Indeed, these variations are essential to our sense of identity as individuals.” (Lennard&Lennard, 1995,pp 7-23)

Every code tells a little something about the city. A certain style from a specific era or a civilization, the type of decorations and architectural patterns, the dimensions, the method of construction, the used materials and colors, the style of buildings with specific functions, the public spaces and urban plan of the city,etc. All of these architectural codes come together to create the organism that is this unique city.

In the same way that the human genetic codes work, it can be notable that some codes intervene only with a certain part of the body of the city. And therefore different areas of the same city can have their own special codes that they do not share it with the other parts of this city.

When there is a need for new urban spaces to be created and for the city to expand, the new codes of these new spaces are introduced to the city. In case the construction is in the old city, then the fabric of the old city is changed and its codes are modified. When a new district of the city is being constructed and built, it is done according to the economic, cultural, political, and technological players of the time of the construction, because of these factors and players the new district might have a very different architecture than the previous ones in the older part of the same city, and therefore different and new codes of its own. For example, in most of the former Soviet Union cities, economic and political players forced the socialist architecture that became a part of these cities. In Istanbul it didn't make sense to build wooden houses anymore for economic and technological players. In Aleppo in the end of the 19th century cultural players drove people to abandon the traditional courtyard houses and move to what is considered now a typical house that is several rooms and a corridor. Since big cities keep on expanding constantly over time, every district ends up with its very unique set of codes.

This is almost always present in big cities with long history of different civilizations that has made those cities a home for them. While the city expands through history, the area of the city expands. New urban spaces are created and thus new codes are gained. These new codes place themselves with the old ones creating the new identity of the

city. This is usually referred to as the historical layers of the city or the collective memory of the city.

So the architectural and urban identity comes from an architectural heritage that grows, proceeds, and accumulates over the years. This heritage is formed from a set of variable contents: cultural, social, environmental, economic and also the technique of the constructing field. The properties of the architectural and urban identity become rooted in the elements of the place. It connects to it, giving it a special feeling that distinguishes it from the rest of the places (Bahmam, 2011)

3.3.3 The importance of the architectural codes of a city

One of the interesting cases to be looked at is the decoding of Chinese classical architecture to help with the contemporary Chinese design. This was achieved by doing a comparison with Japan, where the emperor westernized the country in 1872 with a revolution to be able to catch up with the western powers. However, it is described that the revolution was a failure, because the Japanese could not change their values and traditions. Only when Japan began to respect its culture and costumes again it was able to rise. In other words it used another culture to develop its own

The examiner of this issue would reach a point, that a modern building can still be called Chinese if it respects the Chinese philosophy and the concepts from the traditional Chinese house. And the Chinese architecture has to find its own modern architecture that is based on the Chinese traditions and philosophy and not an imported one from the west. If this was accomplished then the Chinese architecture will keep its identity, be pleasing to people and will not be swallowed in the vortex of globalization (Sung, 2006, pp 70-110).

This might clarify what type of structure a citizen of a certain city would identify as a part of his city or not, and why a building or a structure that is not that old becomes a part of this or that city's heritage. It's because it expresses these people's ideas and the image they have or they want for their city to be. This is why a certain type of architecture can be considered an important part of the city's heritage and other types can be argued to be aliens to the city. The people of the city are the ones who can argue what does and what does not belong to their city.

When constructing a building it should respect the needs of both the owner and the city whether they were functional or aesthetic needs. Usually the architecture that is forced on a city for a bad economic, political or some other unpleasing conditions is considered and argued most of the time to be an alien architecture that is not welcomed in this city, and not a part of it. In other words an architecture that does not oblige to the city codes is not a part of it.

The architect is expected to know what kind of building will fit in the city, and will be appropriate for a certain neighborhood and not another. Therefore, architects from different cities must be very aware of the heritage, culture, and even political events in where they are designing for. This means, to design successfully for a city, the unwritten codes of this city must be well known to the designer. Thus decoding the city and creating a guide for its characters is very important especially if international forces are needed to aid with its rebuilding process.

So from the previous discussion it is important to realize that regaining the city codes is regaining its heritage and identity. It is also regaining that special feeling people get, that only this city can give it to them. It is preserving the memories for the present and the generations to come in the future. It is also a process for the nation to express its hopes dreams and visions, and all the work that comes after the destruction of a city whether it is restoration, preservation, demolishing, building or rebuilding should be according to the architectural codes of this city.

“The architecture of the city embodies the city’s memory. When a building is destroyed, then the memories that each individual had in connection with that building can no longer be passed on to others. And when too much of the original texture of the city is replaced by inappropriate structures, our own memories fade. If too much of the architectural heritage is destroyed, the city’s communal memory of its unique identity is violated, making it susceptible to social problems.” (Lennard & Lennard, 1995,pp 7-23)

4. THE ARCHITECTURAL CODES OF ALEPPO CITY

This chapter aims to present a general idea of all the different architectural styles in Aleppo, and introduce a mental map that shows the different districts of the city, based on the architectural types and time line of Aleppo's expansion. This is because most of the researchers tend to focus on the old city with the border drawn by the UNESCO and disregard the city as a unit, and its late 19th, and early 20th century heritage.

This chapter presents visuals to provide a picture of the existing historical, traditional, Modernist, socialist and contemporary architecture of Aleppo. In addition, some older photographic documents for the same areas and buildings will be presented to provide a mean of comparison, and discuss the changes of the city. However this research only present a general idea with few examples, with the hope that more details, dates, cultural and historical background regarding these areas will be presented in the future in a more elaborated study. Possible scenarios of a post-war Aleppo are presented to determine some of the ways that the architectural codes of this city can be returned to it.

4.1 MENTAL MAP OF ALEPPO CITY, AND ITS PRE-WAR DETERIORATION

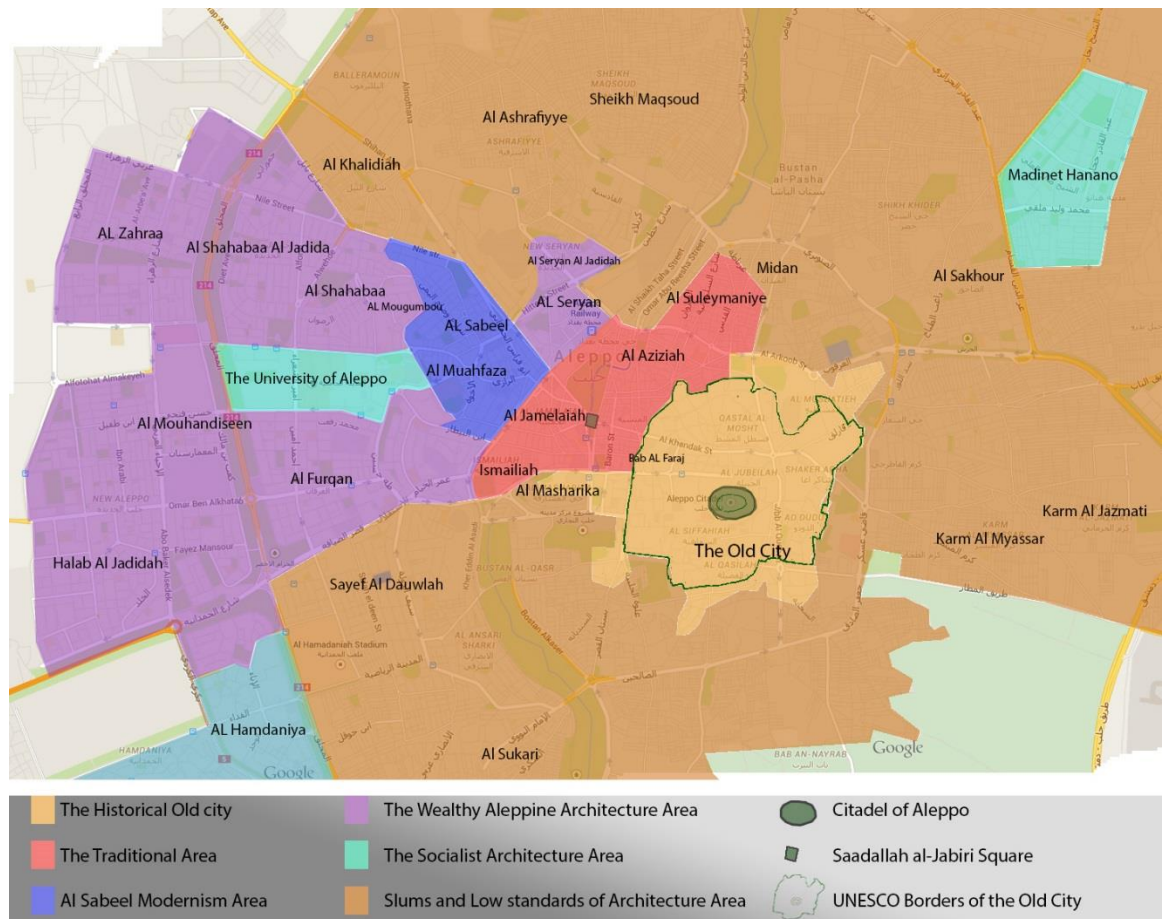
The following map (figure 4.1) shows different zones of Aleppo city, not as divided by the municipality, but rather to the different architectural styles that many Aleppines identify them with each zone. However, it is important to note that as it is explained before about the mental image of a city, these zones are highlighted based on the personal experience and view of an individual in the city, and not an accurate survey or scan of the districts. It also portrays these zones as they were, what they should be, and how people relate to them, therefore these classifications might not be agreeable to everyone.

It's also important to note that not all of the neighborhoods in one zone share the same exact standards of livings, for example, although Sayef Al Dauwlah and Al Sukari are gathered in one zone, Sayef Al Dauwlah has much better standards of living and housing than Al Sukari, however both areas to many do not stir any nostalgic feelings, and can be argued to have no architectural value to the city.

The opposite is also true, Al Shahabaa holds much better conditions of living than Halab Al Jadidah, this is reflected and can be noticed from the difference of real estate prices, and arguably the quality of architecture.

To summarize, this map is somehow generalizing, yet it's important to provide an idea of the distribution of different architectural styles for non-Aleppines, especially that the teams that will be working on Aleppo's reconstruction process, are most likely to contain many international specialists. Although the focus is most likely going to be on the old city, this district shouldn't be dealt with as an island, and Aleppo should be processed as a whole

Figure 4.1: Mental Map of the different architectural zones of Aleppo

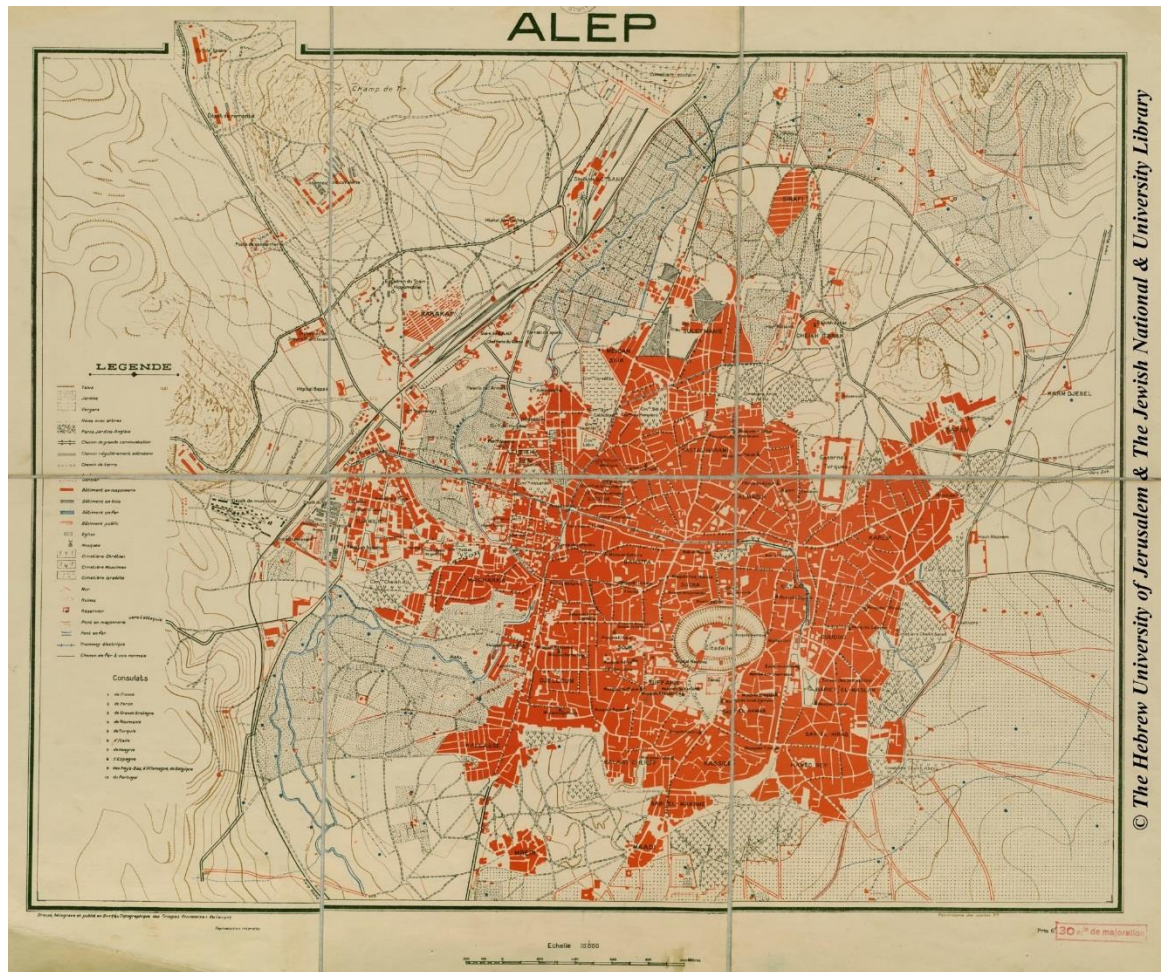


Source: The Author / Google Maps 2015

The following map (figure 4.2) dates to 1929, and it reveals just how the area of the city expanded dramatically from that date till our present time. Unfortunately most of these areas have a very low standards of living, and many of them are slum like, which came

to form around two thirds of the pre-war condition of the city. The quick deterioration of the city can be traced to the political and economic circumstances of the country from the early 1970s, and it is linked directly to its social changes that accrued due to the big numbers of the human waves that emigrated from the villages to the city in the 1980s (Muhanna, 2015).

Figure 4.2: Map of Aleppo from 1929



Source: <http://mapsontheweb.zoom-maps.com/post/80669672523/1929-map-of-aleppo-bureau-topographique-des>

Since the historical part is the most precious part of the city, researchers talk about the continuous abandonment of the old city by its old financially comfortable social class, and how they were replaced by another financially struggling class, as one of the main reasons of the decadence of the historical old city of Aleppo. This phenomenon of the

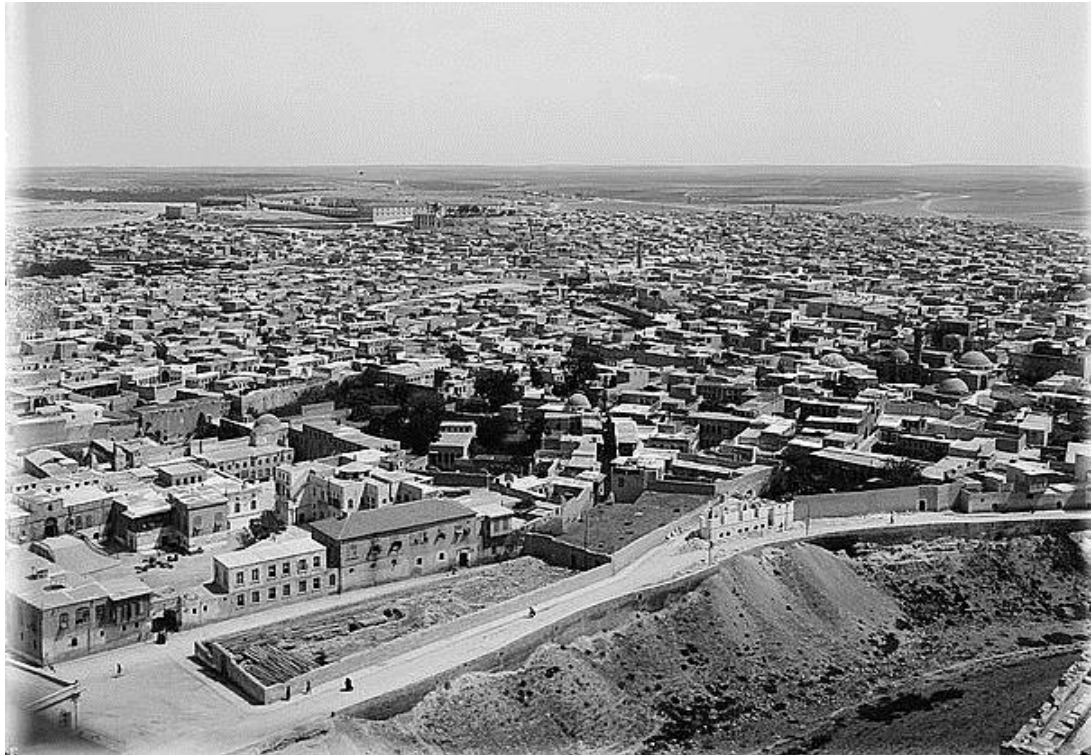
comfortable social class immigrating to the western neighborhoods of Aleppo increased notably since the Syrian independence in 1946 (Haritani, 2005, p 7). Other reasons related to political issues, neglect and corruption, led to the outcome of the pre-war condition of the city.

The ancient city of Aleppo was not added to the list of world heritage until 1986 (UNESCO, 2015). Before that from 1926 and until around 1974 several contradicting legislations came out; some of them to change and “develop” the old city by destroying parts of its urban fabric and others to protect the city. In 1940 the area of the old city was around 418 Hectares, however it’s estimated that since then 78 Hectares of it were destroyed, which is around 25% of the Old city. Some specialists believe that the worst problem facing the old city of Aleppo is the multistory buildings that most of them were built on both sides of the new wide new roads that penetrated the city as a part of several projects to “enhance” the traffic pressure in the old city (Haritani, 2005, pp 98-101).

A general view of the old city of Aleppo before 1946 and in its pre-war condition (figure 4.3) (figure 4.4) can indicate the severe deformation that the city was suffering.

This multi-story buildings that kept on spreading in the old city do not only deform and tamper with the character of the urban fabric, it also has several other consequences such as eliminating the privacy that the open courtyard houses used to provide for their residents, blocking the sun, and the movement of the air (figure 4.5). Many of these multi-story buildings shared a wall with older buildings, thus forcing these walls to be destroyed with them if there were removed. The multi-story buildings also increased the density of population in the old city, and with their low quality of living, they introduced more financially challenged residents to the old city (Haritani, 2005, pp 30-32).

Figure 4.3: Aleppo from the castle [between 1898 and 1946]



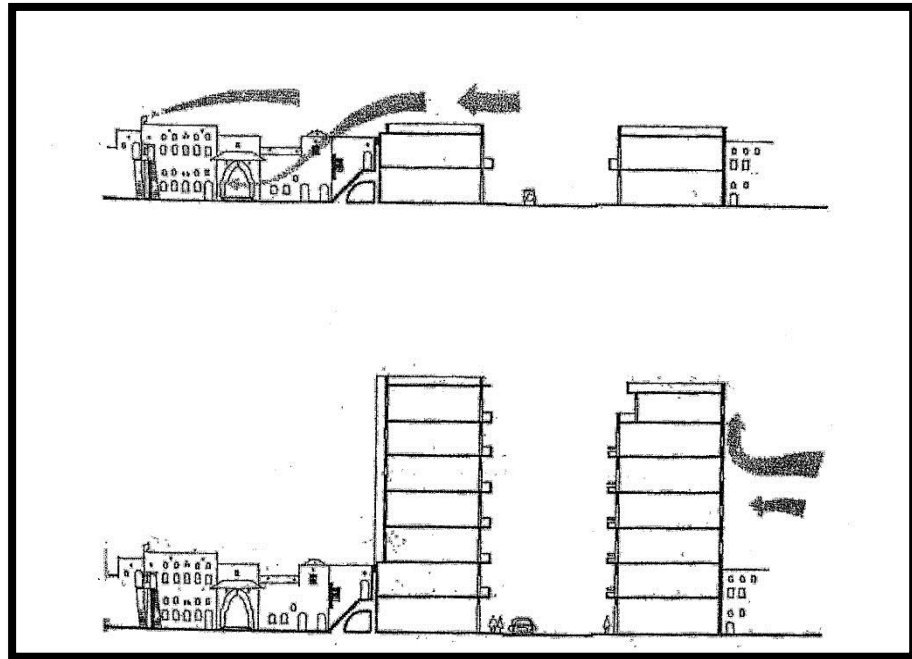
Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004007517/PP/>

Figure 4.4: Aleppo from the Castle in its pre-war condition



Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/malekracho/5508665516/>

Figure 4.5: The effects of multi-story buildings in old Aleppo



Source: Haritani, M., 2005. The old city in Aleppo – The deterioration and the revival attempts. Ray Publishing & Science

Perhaps one of the most compromised parts of the historic area is Bab Al-Faraj, where the whole area were completely leveled to the ground to make a place for what is described by most Aleppines and critics as hideous big structures that block the view of Aleppo's castle. This historic part of the city was demolished in 1979 (Baghdadi, 2008), which is before the old city of Aleppo was listed as a world heritage site in 1986. The Sheraton hotel building that takes a very big space of this area is considered opposed to all of the recommendations of building in the old city, and one of the most criticized structures in Aleppo (figure 4.6) (Bianca, Davies & Fülcher, 1983).

In the previous map (figure 4.1) Aleppo is divided to several zones that demonstrate in a simplified way the expansion of the city with time, and the major changes of its architectural types as the city grew. The image of the architecture of the old city zone is associated with the open courtyard houses, hammams, hans, and architecture that date to the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman period until the 1880s, when most of the city at that time was contained within its old walls (figure 4.8).

Figure 4.6: Bab Al-Faraj Before its demolition



Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/46870706>

Figure 4.7: Bab Al-Faraj Before in the pre-war period



Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/12749177>

The old city has several styles from different periods, and even structures that were added later after the 1880s, however to simplify it might be said that many people view it as a harmonic, and a homogeneous one zone. After the 1880s (Haritani, 2005, p53), the traditional zone in Aleppo started to appear with a Baroque-like architecture (figure 4.9) (figure 4.10). followed by a Modernist one (figure 4.11) (figure 4.12).

Around the 1940s the new areas that started appearing like Al Sabeel and Al Muhafazaa seemed to have a different distinguished type of Modernist architecture from the traditional area, with its more distinctive designs and usage of stone (figure 4.13) (figure 4.14).

The architecture in the areas that followed Al Sabeel Modernist zone, which can be described as Aleppo's contemporary architecture for the wealthy and financially comfortable has adopted a decorative style that is very distinguished and unique to the city (figure 4.17) (figure 4.18). The amount of ornament and their abundance usually increase the price of the building. This style perhaps naturally developed in Aleppo because of the very expensive real estate prices, which drive the investors and contractors to build every square meter possible, leaving by this very little options for design styles.

In a 2010 study, Damascus was found one of the 10 most expensive cities in the world, heading by this international cities' real estate prices like New York. One report gave an example of the downtown flat prices in Damascus that range around five million American dollars at that time, whereas the average governmental salary was 300 American dollars (Kamel, 2010). Aleppo which is a city as big and important as Damascus in Syria, and a rival of it suffered the same issue with its real estate prices, and the scares of housing in comparison to the need and demand. In this issue, blame and fingers are pointed to a very small group of people in power as the creators of this crisis which is a direct result of a systematic plan to control and manipulate, the lands, and real estate prices, especially that the new general plan for Aleppo, which was laid in the 2011 around the time of the beginning of the conflict is the only general city plan since over more than 40 years (Kasarjian, 2011).

This crisis which many people think that is the outcome of neglect and corruption is the lead cause of the phenomenon of illegal extra floors, irregular additions to buildings, and widely spread slums in the city.

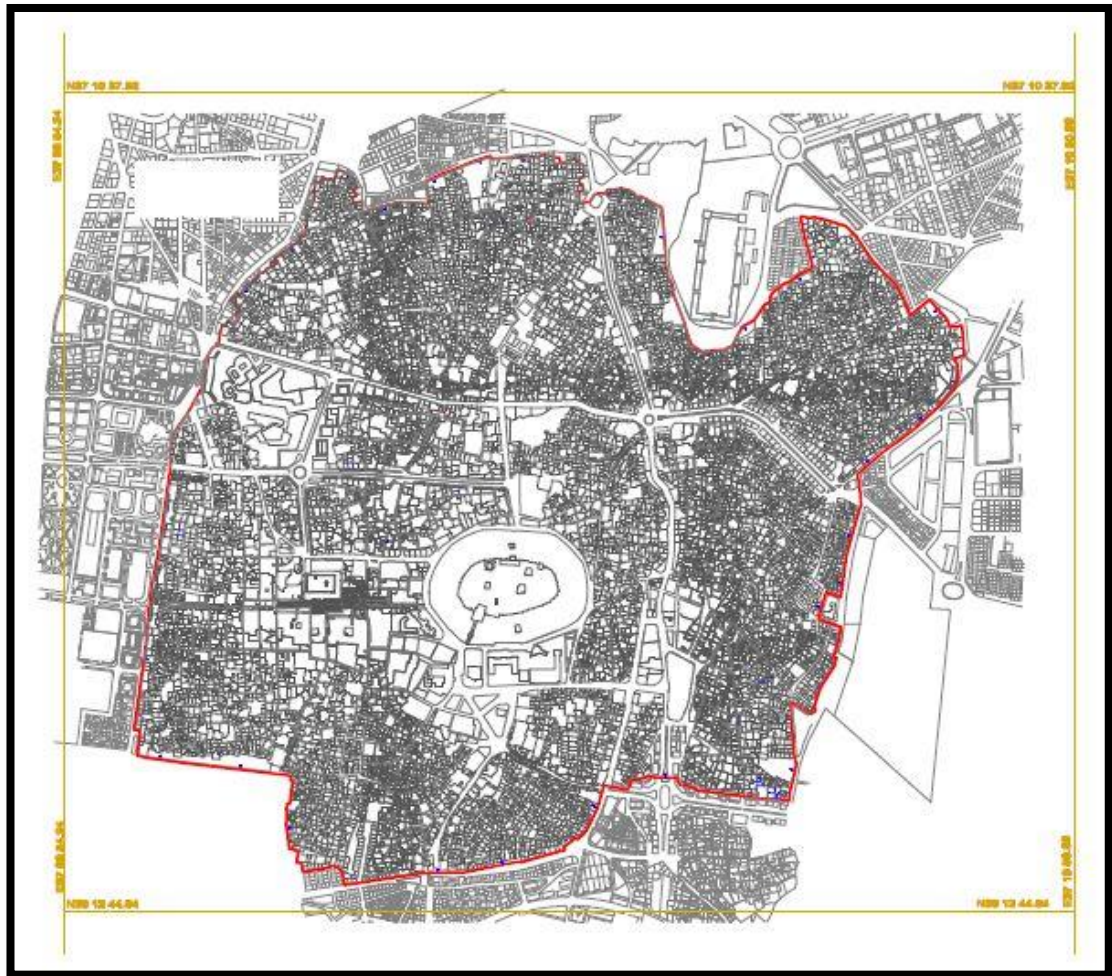
It seems that the architecture of the old city area, the traditional area, Al Sabeel Modernist area, and the wealthy Aleppine new areas are the subject of nostalgia to most of the residents of the city.

Other distinctive areas in the city are the ones that were built as governmental projects with socialist architecture. The urban spaces between the structures in these areas can be described as well planned, however the architecture and the buildings are referred to by many as unpleasant (figure 4.19) (figure 4.20).. This type of architecture does not seem to move nostalgic feelings for the Aleppines in general.

Unfortunately the biggest part of the city according to many opinions holds no architectural value, and a very big part of it can be considered as housing with very poor conditions of living, and slums. This is directly related to the economic situation, and crisis which the country has been facing for a very long period. Different people and different sources would suggest that it started in the 1960s or the 1970s. A big part of Aleppo's architectural and financial crisis can also be directly associated with the immigrations of many financially challenged people from the villages to the city as explained earlier in this research.

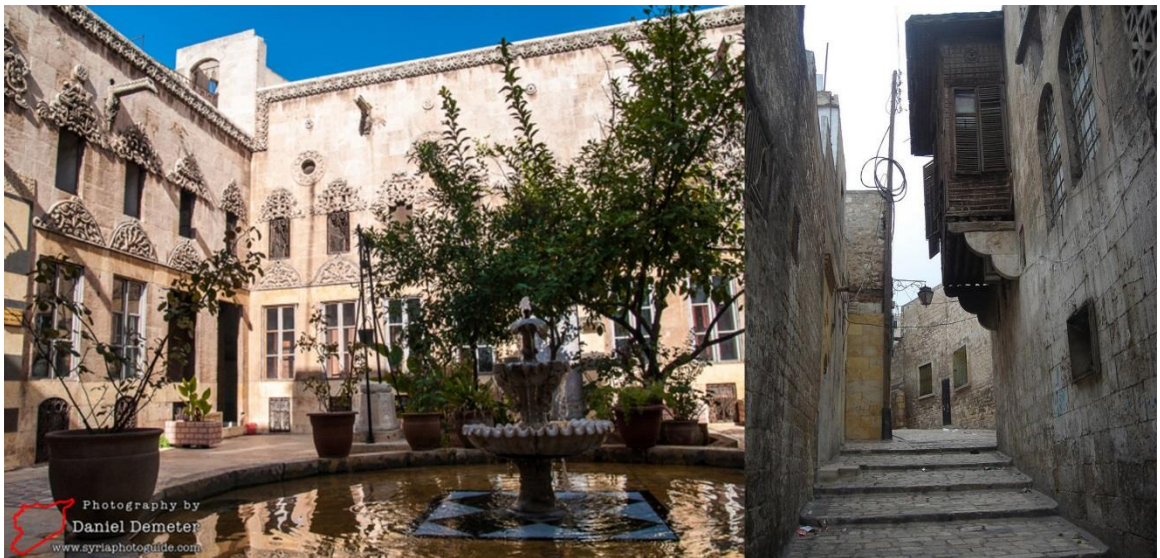
It should be noted again that these classifications of Aleppo's architectural styles and their zones are very generalizing, and are based on a personal perspective of the city, and the opinions of a small group, not on a survey or a scan of the city, because of the current situation of the city and the limited resources of this study. Nonetheless, this map with the information in this research will hopefully provide a general understanding of the city as a whole, especially for non-Aleppines who are interested in learning about the city.

Figure 4.8: Borders of the old city of Aleppo - map by the UNESCO



Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21/multiple=1&unique_number=24

Figure 4.9: The architecture in the old city of Aleppo -1



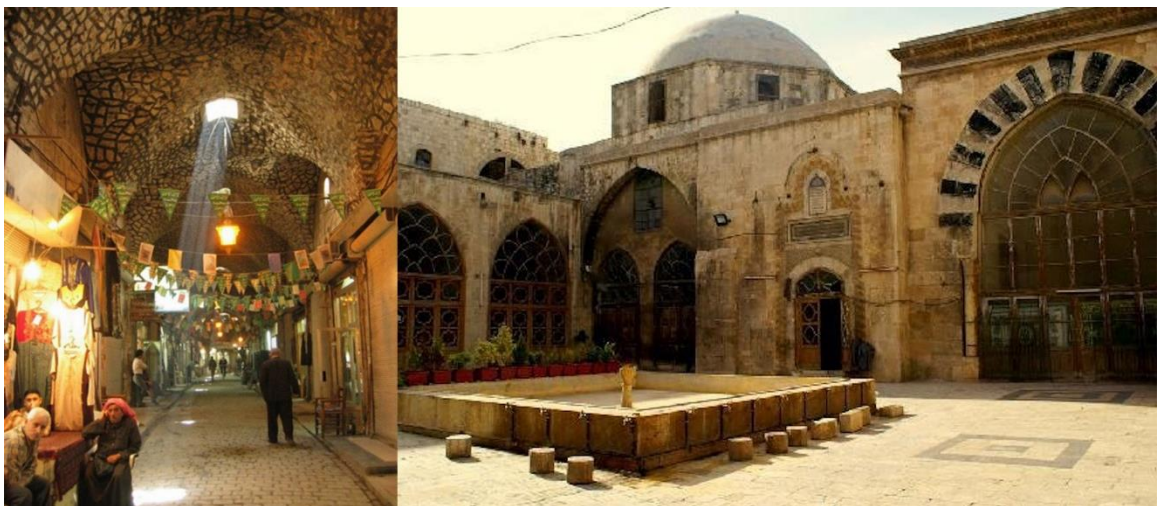
(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.syriaphotoguide.com/home/aleppo-beit-ajqabash-%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A8-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%AA-%D8%A3%D8%AC%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B4/>

b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/20112595>

Figure 4.10: The architecture in the old city of Aleppo -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://jauntlist.tumblr.com/post/8988975047/aleppo-syria>

b) <http://www.deborahfeller.com/news-and-views/?p=2259>

Figure 4.11: The traditional area's late 19th century architecture -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <https://www.facebook.com/journees.alepines/photos>

b) <https://www.facebook.com/aleppoguide/photos>

Figure 4.12: The traditional area's late 19th century architecture -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/1731209>

b) <https://www.facebook.com/aleppoguide/photos>

Figure 4.13: The traditional area's Modernist architecture -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <https://www.facebook.com/journees.alepines/photos>

b) <https://www.facebook.com/journees.alepines/photos>

Figure 4.14: The traditional area's Modernist architecture -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <https://www.facebook.com/aleppoguide/photos>

b) <http://wikimapia.org/11624529/Ramsis-Hotel#/photo/1591830>

Figure 4.15: Al Sabeel Modernist Architecture -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/1770866>

b) <https://www.facebook.com/journees.alepines/photos>

Figure 4.16: Al Sabeel Modernist Architecture -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <https://www.facebook.com/journees.alepines/photos>

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jebejian_hospital.jpg

Figure 4.17: Contemporary wealthy Aleppine architecture -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/44718483>

b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/1628515>

Figure 4.18: Contemporary wealthy Aleppine architecture -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/76482185>

b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/23630577>

Figure 4.19: Socialist architecture in Aleppo -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.shahbapress.com/imagesgallery?page=37>

b) http://sy.worldmapz.com/photo/1858_fr.htm

Figure 4.20: Socialist architecture in Aleppo -2



Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/1628612>

Figure 4.21: Slums and low standards architecture in Aleppo -1



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/73049105>

b) <http://mapcarta.com/27828924/Photos>

Figure 4.22: Slums and low standards architecture in Aleppo -2



(a)

(b)

Sources: a) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/46285959>

b) <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/58532703>

4.2 A SCENARIO TO RE-ESTABLISH THE ARCHITECTURAL CODES OF ALEPPO AFTER WAR

It is very important to note that, in the time of writing this scenario there were no evidence or signs of the end of the war in Syria, or the political powers that will take place to direct the post-war reconstruction, and their attitude toward this issue.

One of the most probable focus centers of the post-war constructions might be the restoration and preservation of what is left of the old city of Aleppo with the borders that are identified by the UNESCO. The other important urgent issue would be the quick housing need, instead of what is destroyed, and for the people that are going to go back to the city.

Regarding the old city, one of the important aspect is to treat this part as a zone of a much bigger city, and not as an isolated island, especially that most national and international teams mission is going to be confined within the borders set by the UNESCO. One of the most important recommendations that was made before the war regarding the old city, is to limit the movement of cars inside of the Old city as much as possible, and keep it restricted to pedestrians (Haritani, 2009).

The fact is many car owners in pre-war Aleppo who worked inside the old city used to park their vehicles outside the very crowded old city that does not have any parking spaces, and take a taxi to get to their work places, especially that taxies in Syria were regarded very cheap comparing to any other country, and easily affordable by the financially comfortable. Limiting the old city to pedestrian roads might be problematic due to the vast area of the old city, and limiting only some roads to vehicles might create a lot of traffic and pressure on them. It seems that based on the pre-war, and present situation that the best method to deal with this issue is to limit the old city to an efficient network of public transportation of buses, and perhaps mini buses for smaller roads.

Another procedure that can be done to take off some of the pressure of the old city is to gradually relocate the many bureaucratic government offices and institutions that receive so many people every day, and create so much pressure on the area. This will not only ease some of the congestion on the old city, but it will also end the negative associations of the bureaucratic governmental facilities that formed with these buildings and their

areas. Moving these institutions to new buildings, especially in “eastern Aleppo” might improve these areas, and bring investments, and development to them.

The governmental buildings relocation should be a part of a bigger decentralizing master plan of the city, especially that a big part of the urban fabric of the old city was destroyed to serve the idea of keeping all of its previous functions within it.

It is also important to realize that as discussed earlier, the city of Aleppo was severely deformed, and the image that should be restored is not its pre-war image, but rather the image of what it was, and it should be

For example regarding the old city zone, applicable legislations and real actions must be made to slowly remove the residential new buildings with more than two floor stories, especially that they are for many people the main reason that deform the old city. The other important issue for authorities and experts to realize and admit is that many of the open courtyard houses there do not function very well as homes, and that their owners, which most of them are financially challenged cannot sell them, because they will not be licensed as anything other than undesired houses. Moreover, they cannot improve or restore anything in them, even if they were willing to, because of their limited financial resources (Haritani, 2005, pp 78-80). The idea that the abandonment of the owners of these houses, or permitting them to have other functions will change the social aspect, and order of the old city is proven by the poor condition of the pre-war old city to be a very narrowed and dysfunctional way to look at the issue, because as it was discussed earlier the class and social fabric of the old city has already dramatically changed.

In the post-war condition, what is left of these very unique houses should be restored, and a realistic financial plan should be studied to do so, this probably means turning these houses to schools, institutions, offices, hotels and other functions. Although selling these houses to non-Syrian parties might be disapproved and a worrying issue to many, a serious considerations and attraction plans should be made for foreigners who are interested in them, including allowing long term investments and luring financial and legal facilitations that will be able to attract financiers, with the consideration to the social life and keeping Aleppo for the Aleppines.

Following the successful experiences of many other countries, it is important to create an institution that will have a real power, funding and saying in preserving heritage, Although this is one of the most important keys to reclaim the heritage of Aleppo, the possibility of that in the chaos of the post-war situation, the corruption, the interests and sincere willingness of the political post-war players are what will determine the capability of creating such an institution.

The creation of such an institution will not only protect the heritage, but redefine the heritage as Aleppines themselves see it, and not limit the city's heritage to the specific borders set by UNESCO. Perhaps an institution like that could have protected and saved some historic areas such as Al Masharika. Al Masharika which is one of the first neighborhoods to exist outside of the city walls and date according to some sources to the 16th century (Tabra, 2006), was not introduced to the protected old city borders of the UNESCO (figure 4.8), and most of it was destroyed in the early 2000s (figure 4.23).

The challenge to preserve the architectural codes of Aleppo extends from breaking the areal limitation to the date, and propagandist shackles of defining heritage. The negligent and continuous destruction of the late Ottoman Baroque-like architecture in Aleppo managed to almost wipe out the characters of the post-1882 neighborhoods (Haritani, 2005, p53) and turn their original architecture into a scarce seen in them (figure 4.24). This type of architecture should be protected, and the claims of their architecture being not a part of the Aleppine heritage, based on the suggestions that they are not old enough, although they are about 125 years old, or the insinuations that their architecture is Ottoman, or European, and therefore they are not a part of Arabic or Syrian heritage should be disputed. Similar procedures should be done to save the unique Aleppine Modernist architecture and protect it.

The post-war social media reflects a big nostalgic phenomenon that many Aleppines experience not only to the pre-war city, but to an older period, mainly to the pre-1950s when Aleppo was supposedly a much better city.

These nostalgic feelings are not limited to the old city, they extend to include the traditional area, and the Modernist one, and even the new wealthy areas.

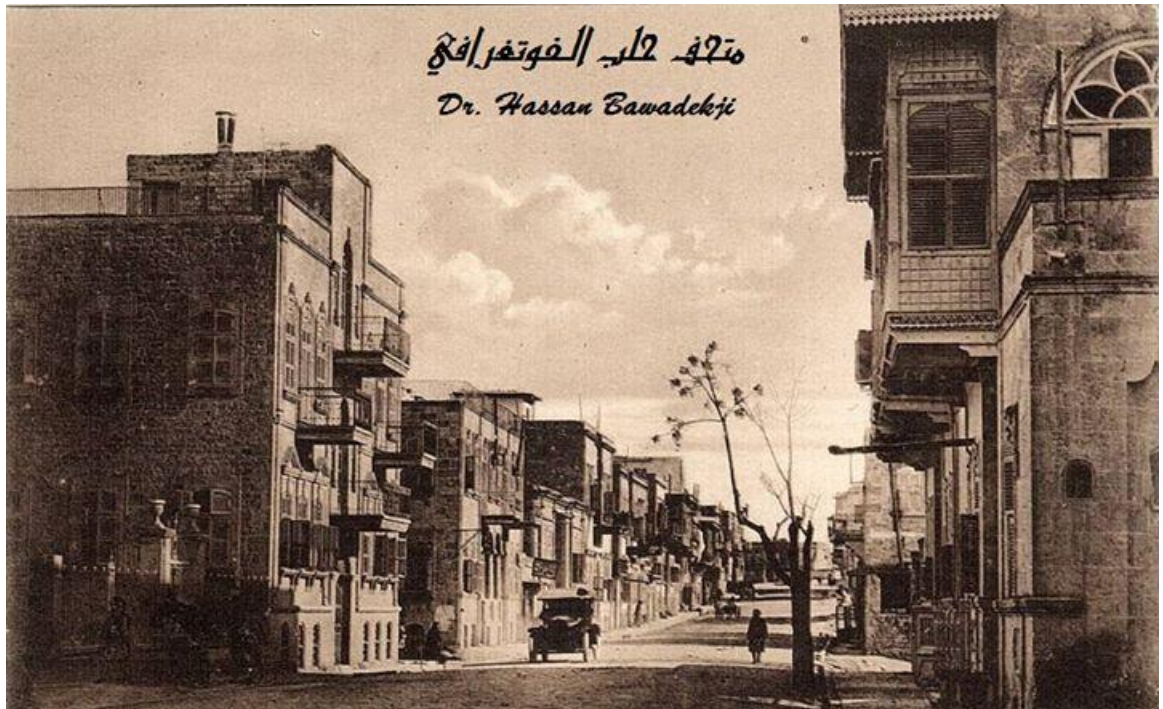
An operation that will lead to a real recapture of the heritage of the city to many analysts is an operation where Aleppines regain their heritage, and are the deciders of what happens to their city. A question that is laid by many is; to whom this heritage belongs to, the UNESCO or other international agencies or the residents of the city?

Figure 4.23: Satellite images from the early 2000s shows the distraction of Al-Masharika



Source: Google Maps

Figure 4.24: An old picture of Al-Jameliah shows its older architectural image



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/HlbQdymaanBdAltwthyq/photos/a.476024419123415.108337.461364413922749/477858015606722/>

Therefore it's important for all the agencies, national and international to be aware of not only the needs and wishes of the city inhabitants, but also to be aware of the political, social and financial reality of this post-war city, and make practical recommendations based on them. For example, the following recommendation in the pre-war situation when the old city of Aleppo was going under a development process reflects a lack of basic awareness of a very clear fact, which is the lack of trust between the government agencies and citizens on one hand, and on the other hand, the fact that with the many bureaucratic processes, getting the payment difference will take a long time and require too much effort and paper work that most likely nobody is willing to do voluntarily. Thus it is important to realize that some recommendations that might look great on paper, or work for other cities with different situation might not work for Aleppo.

“The rationale was that if the state is forcing preservation on people, then the state has a responsibility to pay for that burden. So if they want a historical hand-carved window instead of an aluminum one, the state pays the difference.” (Ouroussoff, 2010)

The solution for Aleppo should be based on other cities experiences, not copied from them. Another point that experts warn about and criticize is that the lack of the knowledge of Aleppo's architectural, and social history. This was the cause for some areas of Aleppo to be recreated to what the executives of the project viewed and thought an image of an oriental city looks like (Haritani, 2005, p 78).

Based on the previous notions of the definitions of heritage and the nostalgic phenomenon, the remaining buildings of the disappearing Baroque and Modernist styles from the traditional area, and Al Sabeel Modernist area should be preserved, and these areas should be protected by legislations to prevent further deformations. Laws and building codes must be set for the new built structures to match the architectural codes of their zones. This way in the long term, hopefully the buildings with no value to the city will be replaced gradually with other ones that will progressively return the unique characters to every zone. The aim of using this process will be to return the older image of every zone to what Aleppines are eager to see their city look like, and to reintroduce culture, and encourage tourism in the future.

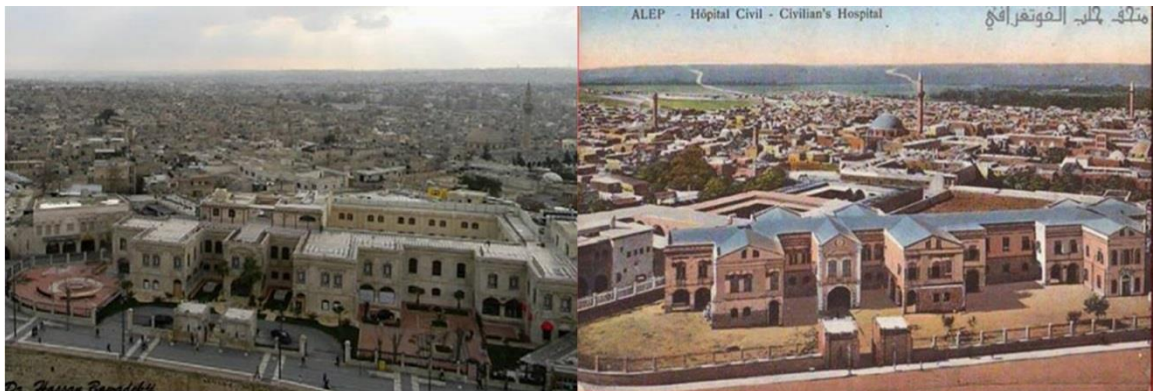
Although restoring what can be restored is a matter that everybody seems to agree on, the size of the financial obstacles are hard to predict in the current situation. Nonetheless, based on the post-war damage assessments and funding, the solutions should aim to restore as many buildings as possible, without compromising their authenticity. These solutions will also be a hostage to the post-war political, and financial policies, like the real desire to restore the city as best as possible, allowing long term foreign investments, and permitting other facilitations.

A controversial topic that present itself is the creation of replicas of what was destroyed. In this war Aleppo has lost many of its very unique, and distinguished sites and monumental buildings, out of the list; the old markets (UNESCOPRESS, 2012), the Umayyad Mosque, Hammam Yalbougha, the Khusruwiyah Mosque, the Grand Serail, and the Carlton Citadel Hotel (AAAS, 2014). Recreating these buildings with the many records and photos that are available for them might be very possible, and should highly be considered, especially with the attachment, and grieve that many Aleppines showed for losing them. If the financial means to build replicas could not be met in the post-war conditions, other type of structures should not be built in the historical monument places,

instead the sites could be cleared, and left unbuilt until a financial plan or an investor can be found, because rebuilding in the place of where the old monuments were, is not an urgent necessity, and will not serve any purpose except the private interest of the new owners of their locations.

In general, during the post-war restoration process or in the process of rebuilding replicas, the issue of a duplicated image of an area or a building is most likely to present itself, and the question of if the building's pre-war situation is the best model to restore or rebuild according to will be laid. Although it seems as if most of people lean to the recreate an older version of their city, surveys should be made, and every area, and important building should be treated as a singular case, even a mix of both situations and some additions to present the area or the building as esthetically and authentically possible should be discussed.

Figure 4.25: Pre-war and an older image of the destroyed Carlton Citadel Hotel



Source: https://www.facebook.com/HlbQdymaanBdAltwthyq/photos/a.572275649498291.1073741841.461364413922749/643287585730430/?type=3&src=https%3A%2F%2Fscontent-fra.xx.fbcdn.net%2Fphotos-xfa1%2Fv%2Ft1.0-9%2F1623598_643287585730430_20589231_n.jpg%3Foh%3D6a410

The post-war quick housing projects should be kept out of the old, traditional, and Modernist areas, and perhaps pointed toward the areas with no architectural value, especially the areas that were destroyed. Nonetheless, these new projects should have a minimal certain standards of quality.

The areas with no architectural values can be the vessel to many housing, investment, or business projects for the post-war period, especially high-rise buildings that are limited to few towers in the city, which many people perceive them as a sign of development.

Glassed buildings, colored structures, towers and other trends might be welcomed by many residents of the city, especially that they are a rare and exotic seen in Aleppo, with its short buildings clad with its pale traditional stone. It is important for specialist to keep these new trends outside of the four zones that Aleppines showed attachment to, and spread the awareness to help preserve their characters.

Although unfortunately until the moment of writing these lines there is no sign to the end of this war, many institutions, groups, and initiative on the social media already started to document the heritage of Aleppo, propose recommendations, and think about solutions and ideas to hopefully return Aleppo to the glorious city that it is.

5. CONCLUSION

The previous analyses and discussions in the thesis highlight several points

- a. The previously detailed set of conclusions from the experiences of Warsaw and Beirut, and the prospective scenario for post-war Aleppo may be a prototype for several other Syrian cities, and other cities in the area that were affected by war. This is of course while taking in consideration the unique nature of every city and its various conditions.
- b. It could be argued from the previous discussions that WW2 triggered the architectural heritage awareness, and the development of preservation methods and theories in Europe, and later on the awareness and corporation for heritage preservations on a global scale. Moreover, the war of Aleppo triggered an awareness for the Aleppine architectural heritage, and created complicated nostalgic feelings for different architectural styles, and older images of the city.
- c. The definition of “architectural heritage” must be reconsidered for Aleppo. It should not be limited to a specific number of years or disregarded because of nationalistic or religious propagandas. This is also applicable for other cities in Syria, and other cities in the region like Beirut.
- d. The destruction of cities is a part of war to make the recovery process of countries much harder, and it is not merely an outcome of war.
- e. Politics and post-war decisions for the reconstruction process of a city could have just as a deep effect on the city as the destruction from the war itself.
- f. Although it is important to have a guide with general rules that depends on the physical tangible aspects of the structures to define the character or identity, it is not enough. The character of a place is connected to its history and the cultures that are associated with it.
- g. The identity of a place especially for Syria and its surrounding region is heavily affected by political agendas, whether they are hiding behind nationalistic, religious or other propagandas.

- h. The architectural heritage of Aleppo was severely neglected and sabotaged on purpose a long time before the Syrian war started.
- i. A more extensive and comprehensive study about the Aleppine architectural heritage should be conducted. This study should focus on Aleppo as a whole and translate the architectural codes of every architectural style in Aleppo into tangible forms, while explaining the intangible sides of these different architectural styles.

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