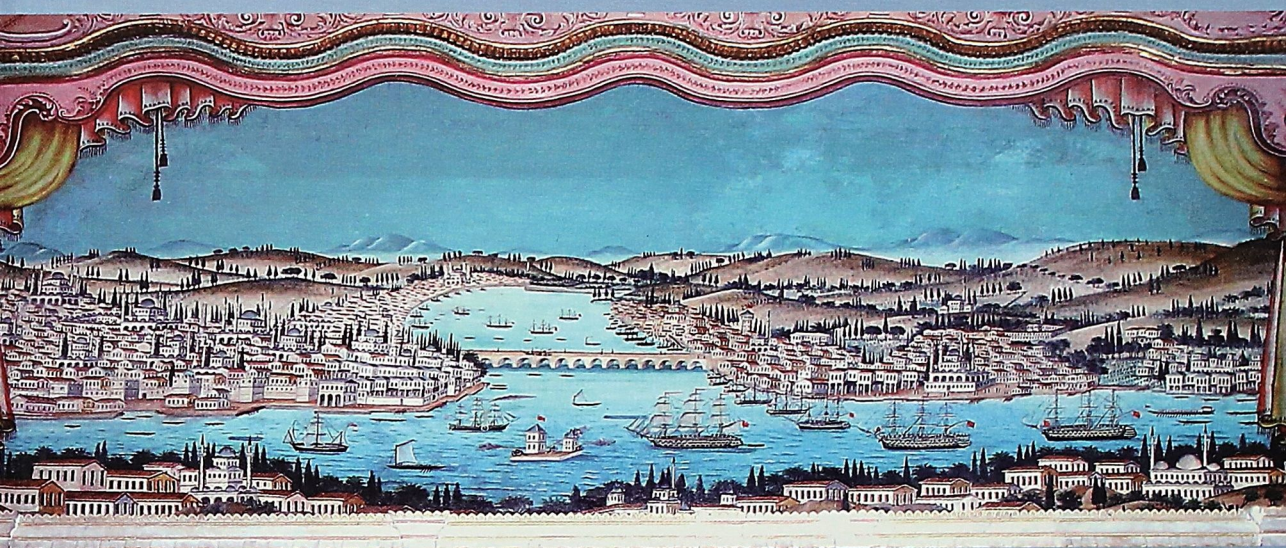# Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean

edited by   Maurice Cerasi
Attilio Petruccioli
Adriana Sarro
Stefan Weber

Orient-Institut Beirut

Beiruter Texte und Studien 102

Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean

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Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean

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Contents

Introduction

This volume is a compendium of the main arguments discussed during the international seminar "Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean" held in Trani, Italy on July 7-8, 2003.[1] Not all the contributions to the seminar or the ensuing discussions are here contained. We present solely the papers submitted before the opening of the session that set the key tone of the debate. Analyzing the outcome of multiculturalism from various angles in a wide range of cities and situations such as those of Aleppo, Galata, Timbuktu, Tunisia, Mostar, Chios, East Vermion, Damascus, Morocco, and the commercial quarters of various regions, the contributions included in this volume reflect the change of attitude during the last decades in the exploration of town structure and architecture in South and Eastern Mediterranean towns.

In the last thirty years, increasing attention has been paid to the coexistence of heterogeneous and even conflicting urban and architectural models, urban and typological concepts, within the same towns and within the same urban fabric. Consequently, town parts transformed during the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, and previously ignored by historians, received unprecedented attention. A new light was thrown on the strong cultural interdependence with Europe, an unavoidable reality of the eastern sector of the Mediterranean. But also, on the other hand, the deeply rooted interaction among the sub-regions of the Levant and its very lively and often wholly native processes of modernization and change assumed major importance as a subject of research.

The observation of these processes has opened new horizons to urban design because of the complexity of factors and the dynamism they revealed. As a matter of fact, the urban areas which express the simultaneous presence of a plurality of typological characteristics and overlapping architectural vernacular are, very often, more and more studied, and held worthy of preservation and rehabilitation. It is now being discovered that those were no mere frontier cases but a very wide urban reality with different peaks in different situations. They were neither purely 'traditional' (Islamic, Oriental, etc.), nor a mere degeneration of traditional models. There is certainly no introversion to a purely 'autochthonous' state of things on which 'Orientalist' studies have dwelt for over a century of scholarship. Autochthonism is alien to the definition of culture, especially for the Mediterranean in the early modern and modern period. The processes of cultural developments, traditions of a given space and time, were always enriched,

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[1] The seminar was organised by the Politecnico of Bari and the Universities of Genoa and Palermo at a conclusive phase of their common research programme on the analysis and rehabilitation of urban fabric with intercultural characteristics in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

changed or threatened due to the contact with other cultures, resulting in patterns of inspiration, adoption, acculturation or reaction. In other words, traditions were dynamic, architectural inventive inbred in the long process of transition, in almost all cases where seemingly hybrid fabric had a strong urban and architectural character. Even in the process of modernizing urban landscapes and architecture during the 19th and early 20th centuries, when first local elites and later larger parts of societies oriented themselves to models of European urban design, new forms were adapted to their own needs and became a part of the local architectural and social praxis. These expressions of local experiences of modernity developed due to very specific conditions of various areas into new dialects of the modern architectural language of that period. However, certain traditions were lost during this process, and the many ruins of historical caravanserais and houses in the South and Eastern Mediterranean are evidence of the self-destructive trends built up from the middle of the 19th century to the end of the First World War. It is important to seize this critical point and understand the reasons for the capacity, or incapacity, shown in the various situations and periods, to reach synthesis between new and old trends. That understanding would strongly reflect—the contributions to this volume implicitly and explicitly underline—on the state-of-the-art of rehabilitation of Eastern Mediterranean towns and potentially on preservation policies.

The study of Eastern Mediterranean urban culture cannot be an isolated branch of urban studies. The interest shown by Western urban geography and town-planning for suburbs and banlieues has certainly stimulated the extension of the case studies well beyond pre-18th century and pre-industrial structures and forms, so as to cover the entire range of the modern city's evolution. That is an intellectual evolution which has influenced Levantine studies. The general attitude, once wholeheartedly 'Orientalist' and concentrated on structures in supposedly exclusive, homogeneous and 'pure' national or ethnic contexts, has deeply changed: it has moved on to the inclusive analysis of intercultural coexistence. There is awareness that complexity, no longer a privilege of the European city, is widely perceivable in the cities of the Levant.

Multicultural processes had strongly marked the eastern sector of the Mediterranean through many centuries, but they acquired dynamism in the 18th and 19th centuries (depending on the place and social group) and then became particularly complex. Many towns in the area contain urban fabric in which housing and commercial building types of different epochs, functions and cultural origins or periods coexist. Almost all were built or were transformed from the 18th up to the beginning of the 20th century. During the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century there had been an acceleration of dynamic processes, both physical and cultural. Physical change came from dramatic growth in building and rebuilding rates. Large parts of what later became the modern town centers lost most of the character of the traditional elements

developed up to that point and took on an almost—but not quite—Western aspect. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, much of this was the work of European or Greek and Armenian architects—but also of Turks and Arabs—who turned to Western Europe for their models.

Despite the architectural interest of the new types and their, in a way, comfortable coexistence with the traditional ones, this was a destructive period for the ancient town morphology. The new types suggested or required larger and straighter Western-style street layouts, better shop frontage and sidewalks (novel for the Levant) to match. All of this de-structured many historical elements—types, street web—and changed their links to the general context; it also annulled the prestige of many old building types, and thus rendered them expendable (for example historical schools, hospitals, public kitchens, bathhouses, caravanserais, etc.).

The ideal type urban model of 19th century modernity, much before 20th century Modernism, implied the refusal of the ancient town image and structure (even though hybrid models were applied in praxis). It expressed the need for cultural change and diversity as well as technological advancement. A novel mix of types, new and old, ensued. New building forms were adapted to ancient streets. Traditional typology was renovated when applied to regular street grids following modern town-planning rationality. And yet, all this renovation added up to a purely local cultural phenomenon, perfectly Levantine. It has left us with a hybrid urban product which deserves conservation not only for its charm, but also because it is situated in precious strategic central areas.

Of course the abandonment of models of the urban culture of the Ottoman epoch (almost all the Eastern Mediterranean was dominated by the Ottomans in part of the transition period or in all of it) was not merely an ideological issue or a question of fashion. It had good functional ground to stand on. The fundamental question was that of modernization. Change in urban traffic, in house organization, in domestic appliances had to come, and typology had to evolve. To assess this development one could follow two lines of observation. The first stresses the conflict and threat to traditional types of South and Eastern Mediterranean urban culture faced by the prevalent forms of a Western dominated Modernity; while the second follows the synthesis between locally known and foreign, internationally regnant types and patterns during a period when urban societies were on the search for new solutions to challenges of their own experience of modern times. In fact both trends happened simultaneously.

For the first, one could polemically argue that the Levant had little to offer in the quest for a more dynamic city. Or—and this would be much more appropriate to say—the ruling classes and their technicians, standing within tradition, did not have the force to be inventive and to develop creatively new models out of their own heritage. Instead models from abroad served as a source of inspiration or as proper models to transform their own built environment. Where type and

structure had to be totally renovated, this state of things was not so problematic. In literary fiction, in totally new residential quarters or public space, good writers and good architects were successful. However, in other cases this had more drastic implications. It is in the confrontation of modern versus traditional, when modern elements were present in large quantities, that the so-called traditional city took a beating. It is not so much Western architecture as the concept of modernity, which here inevitably took on Western connotations that, especially in the 20th century, acted corrosively on the overall structure of traditional urban centers.

Next to the confrontation and conflict of 'modernity and tradition', resulting in a disappearance or disfiguration of the latter, one often ignores the many syntheses of both. Moreover, the scientific discussion on Modernization had failed for a long time to recognize that—especially in major cities like Istanbul or provincial capitals like Thessaloniki, Bursa, Izmir, Beirut or Damascus—many successful adaptations of traditional types occurred. New principles of design, like the desire for order and regularity, were applied to long-established structures or—conversely—imported building types and techniques were used to match the local needs of a changing urban texture. Just to name two examples from Istanbul: behind 'western' street façades in Beyoğlu, families arranged their daily lives around the very 'traditional' central hall plan, and in the traditional commercial heart of the city north of the Kapalı Çarşı much modern architecture continued to fulfill old functions. Whereas some forms of urban organization became outdated and/or replaced by imported ones, hybrid types developed in very many fields of urban architecture. Thus, what occurred was much more than the copying of foreign models leading to the destruction of the old; rather, in numerous cases it was a development of local answers to global change. Many of the types of the 19th century were part of a wide set of quite recently available and changing models, new to many societies.

For the question whether modern patterns are 'original' or 'alien' to cities and societies in the region under discussion, one might go even a step further. Modernity is a shared experience—obviously with quite different attributes from place to place (depending on geography, nation and/or social strata). It might be important to bring to mindrecall that this 'urban revolution' was also experienced by central and peripheral cities in Europe or other parts of the world. Cityscapes in the South and Eastern Mediterranean are regional expressions of a more global cultural change. As 'Local' or 'Alternative Modernities' this phenomenon became for historians and architectural historians the most important topic of scientific discussion on Modernization Theories or on the Modernist Movement in the 20th century.

However, the relation between modern structures—self developed, locally modified or imported—and traditional urban structures became much more dramatic during the later decades of the first half of the 20th century, when many

old cities lost their original inhabitants to the search for a new kind of living. Creative developments were done most of the time, no longer happening in those centers, (except where they were totally replaced, like in Beirut and Izmir) but in the recently developed parts of cities or even new cities, for which Ankara might be the best example. To grasp fully the relationship between historical structure and modern buildings and interventions means that we have to measure the capacity of the latter to de-structure the ancient or so-called 'Oriental' structures in times when societies are not able to creatively develop syntheses in negotiating both (for whatever reasons). Freezing and isolating the old might be one reaction, leading to gentrified urban 'Museums' or thematic tourist parks. In most of the cases the result is a conflicting patchwork. East Mediterranean historical towns share a common condition with modern urban situations in the periphery of western cities. In the historical peripheries of the West too, we often find overlapping and aggressive other-destructive forms. In Italy, in France, in Britain, many old suburbs and marginal areas are an assemblage of contrasting and interrupted projects: high rise houses among cottages (a sign of the failure of garden city ambitions); railroad and highway junctions or gigantic commercial concentrations disrupting residential and pedestrian street webs. More than a collage, it is the aggression of one new project, one new cultural program, against a standing but weak project, that is, against a cultural trend held to be obsolete.

The time has come to see in a new and less pessimistic light 'tradition' (it was not static; it was ever-changing) and 'Westernization' (it was not so characterless, not so un-rooted from local energies as it would seem). Between the 18th and the early 20th centuries modernity did not yet mean disruption, although all the elements of future disruption were already in place. Ideas, concepts, cultures of diverse origin in a certain period and in certain contexts could meet and weld. In other periods, in other contexts, and, above all, in a different attitude of hegemony and exclusivity, the dominating one would be destructive for the others. There is a lesson in all that.

Maurice Cerasi
Stefan Weber

La fabrique urbaine et architecturale de Galata, quartier occidental d'Istanbul

Nur Akın

Istanbul est une ville mondiale d'où sont passés, se sont installés et vécus de générations en générations des groupes de différentes langues, religions exposant une grande diversité éthnique. Elle a su garder jusqu'à nos jours cette particularité malgré les changements subis à travers les siècles. Après la conquête d'Istanbul, les Turcs ont pris part dans cette mosaïque, l'arrivée des minorités de différentes parties de l'Anatolie et de Roumélie et des Juifs immigrés de l'Europe ont créé un milieu cosmopolite dans la ville. A ces groupes se sont ajoutés les Levantins d'origine européenne qui ont joué un rôle assez important au développement des régions de Galata et de Péra.

Dans ce milieu pluraliste qui donne un caractère très particulier à la ville d'Istanbul, les communautés Grecques, Arméniennes et Juives, de même que Levantines ont créé au 19e siècle où l'Empire ottoman était en grandes relations avec l'Europe, des modes de vie et environnements multiculturels à certaines parties de la ville où ils se sont installés comme Fener, Kumkapı, Balat, Galata et Péra. Parmi ces régions, Galata et son extension Péra sont deux lieux qui transmettent à nos jours ce passé multiculturel d'Istanbul. Comparé à la péninsule historique, l'environnement physique qu'ils exposent a un caractère occidental qui reflète leur passé cosmopolite.

Histoire de Galata

Galata est un quartier situé au nord de la Corne d'Or juste en face de la péninsule historique où s'est développée la capitale de trois empires Romain, Byzantin et Ottoman. Depuis le début, Galata est connu par un port et une agglomération développée juste à côté. Au 5e siècle, l'Empereur Byzantin Theodosius V a inclu la région aux frontières de la ville de Constantinople comme la 13e région de la capitale. A l'époque byzantine, Galata fut toujours la région où se sont développées et dirigées toutes les relations commerciales de la ville avec l'Occident.

Les Génois, les plus anciens et importants habitants de la région s'installèrent à Galata à la fin du 12e siècle. A cet époque, à côté des Génois qui composaient la majorité de la population de Galata, vivaient les Vénétiens, les Pisans, les Ragusains et les Grecs. Surtout au 13e siècle, après la reprise de Constantinople par les Latins, les Génois ont obtenu des privilèges assez importants de l'Empire Byzantin. Et à part cela, tout en profitant de la décadence de l'Empire ils ont entouré la région par une muraille. La colonie Génoise dirigée par un gouverneur

désigné par la République Génoise et nommé "podesta"[1] a gardé son importance jusqu'à la conquête Ottomane.

Au 14e siècle, cette agglomération Génoise entourée de murailles maritimes et terrestres exposait toutes les caractéristiques typiques des villes méditerranéennes de l'époque par son organisation urbaine et ses bâtiments. Tout en profitant de l'affaiblissement de l'Empire Byzantin, les Génois ont continué à fortifier la région en construisant des maisons assez hautes qui étaient liées les unes aux autres par des murs. La première phase de construction de ces murailles date de 1303-04 et de 1316. Le développement du quartier et la construction de la dernière phase des murailles vont jusqu'aux 1397's.

Durant la conquête Ottomane (1453), les Génois sont restés neutres à l'égard des deux empires et ont signé un agrément avec les Ottomans après la prise de Constantinople. Ils leur ont fait accepter tous les droits qu'ils avaient obtenus de Byzance et ainsi, Galata continua à garder son statut spécial sous le règne de l'Empire ottoman. A cette époque-là du point de vue de soin et réparation des bâteaux, Galata est aussi connu que d'autres ports importants de la Méditerranée comme Marseille, Venise et Gênes.[2]

La région continuait à garder toujours ses caractéristiques après la conquête et devenait un centre commercial très important pour la ville. A cette époque, un nombre assez remarquable de commerçants sont venus de l'Est pour s'installer à Galata et l'effet des Génois s'effaça peu à peu. A part ces groupes, des Grecs venus de Smyrne et des familles du nord de l'Anatolie comme Sinop et Samsun s'installèrent au quartier voisin de Galata nommé Tophane.[3]

A la première moitié du 16e siècle, en face de la silhouette sud de la Corne d'Or orné de monuments assez importants qui reflètent le processus historique de la capitale, Galata n'était qu'un terrain triangulaire défini par des murailles qui commençaient de la côte et qui montaient des deux côtés jusqu'au sommet de la colline trônée par la haute Tour de Galata. A l'intérieur de ce terrain, des murailles internes qui s'allongeaient suivant la direction nord-sud divisaient la région en trois parties. Aux alentours des murailles se trouvaient des vignes et jardins (fig. 1). Contrairement à la densité observée à la côte, la fabrique urbaine enrichie par certains monuments ne gardait pas ce caractère jusqu'au bout de la colline.

Au 17e siècle, grâce aux capitulations accordées aux Français par Sultan Suleyman, Galata est devenu un des plus importants ports de la Méditerranée. A cet époque, plusieurs commerçants Français se sentaient beaucoup plus en sécurité au port de Galata qu'à Marseille et transféraient une grande partie de leurs

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[1] Il était comme l'ambassadeur de la République Génoise auprès de l'Empire Byzantin. Semavi Eyice, *Galata ve Kulesi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu 1969, 13.

[2] Haydar Kazgan, *Galata Bankerleri*, İstanbul: Türk Ekonomi Bankası A.Ş. 1991, 139.

[3] Doğan Kuban, "İstanbul'un Tarihi Yapısı", *Mimarlık* 5 (1970), 30.

travaux à cette région.[4] Mais au 18e siècle le port de Galata est moins brillant à cause de l'effet de la Révolution Française.[5]

Après le 18e siècle, Galata devient de nouveau une région d'importance commerciale et maintient l'économie par l'intermédiaire des bâtiments de commerce, des bureaux, dépôts, magasins, de même que de la bourse de commerce et des banquiers. A cet époque la région de Péra située juste à côté, au de-là de la Tour de Galata qui était vide et munie de jardins et de vignes jusqu'à ce temps, commence à être peuplée. Là se développe un quartier d'habitation et de vie de luxe à la manière occidentale, de même qu'un lieu de réjouissances. Durant ce siècle, la région de Péra devient un lieu préféré par les ambassadeurs qui s'y installent et attirent à leur entourage des groupes européens de même que des Ottomans non-musulmans et des Levantins. Elle se développe alors en peu de temps.

On sait qu'au 19e siècle, la plupart des Levantins, Grecs, Arméniens, Juifs et des gens de nationalité étrangère qui s'occupent de la commerce travaillaient à Galata et vivaient à Péra. Parmi ce groupe de commerçants indigènes, les Grecs devenaient de plus en plus importants. A part cela, les Juifs dont l'existence à Galata date du 15e siècle, augmentaient leur nombre à la seconde moitié du 19e siècle par l'intermédiaire de ceux qui viennent s'y installer des autres quartiers d'Istanbul.[6] Cette richesse et ce développement ont emporté à Galata de même qu'à son extension Péra, presque toutes les caractéristiques urbaines et architecturales de l'Europe Occidental de l'époque. A la seconde moitié du 19e siècle, la région est à son apogée du point de vue de l'environnement physique occidental et de la richesse de la vie sociale.

Caractéristiques Urbaines de Galata

Comme on a mentionné ci-dessus, les murailles qui entouraient Galata constituaient une sorte de frontière assez importante pour la région (fig. 2). On sait que les Génois les ont consolidées en 1446 peu de temps avant la conquête et ont augmenté le nombre de portes qui s'y trouvaient. Mais Sultan Mehmed le Conquérant a fait démolir la partie supérieure de ces murailles après la conquête et a reconnu les conditions spéciales accordées aux Génois depuis l'époque Byzantin par l'intermédiaire d'un accord. Selon cet accord, c'était l'état Ottoman qui était le vrai propriétaire de la région. Et ainsi, Galata est devenu une partie de la ville située à l'autre rive de la Corne d'Or.

La région était dirigée par un gouverneur nommé "voivoda" qui changeait chaque année au mois de Mars. Pour les affaires juridiques on se servait du "ka-

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[4]   Kazgan, *Galata Bankerleri*, 140.
[5]   Ibid, 141.
[6]   Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul, sous le Sultan Mehmed le Conquérant*, vol. 1, Istanbul: Hüsnutabiat 1941, 57.

di" (juge Musulman qui remplissait à la fois des fonctions civiles et religieuses). Quant au gouvernement des églises, c'était la "Magnifica Communita di Pera" qui s'en était chargée.[7]

Les murailles de Galata ont été toujours très bien maintenues durant les premiers temps de l'Empire ottoman et même restaurées à l'époque de Sultan Beyazid II. Mais à partir de la première moitié du 16e siècle, elles commencent à être démolies et au début du 18e siècle on permet de construire de nouvelles maisons au-dessus d'elles ou à leurs places contre un prix de vente payé à l'état.[8]

A la seconde moitié du 16e siècle P. Gyllius qui décrit Galata, parle de la difficulté d'atteindre le sommet de la colline qui va de la côte jusqu'à la Tour de Galata. Selon lui, la longueur de la région est trois fois plus grande que sa largeur. Il note que suivant une décision prise au temps des empereurs Byzantins Zénon et Justinien, on interdissait au peuple de construire de nouvelles maisons à la côte et de tenir en compte de ne pas couper la vue des autres.[9] Ces précautions prises à l'époque étaient assez importants du point de vue de l'organisation urbaine du quartier.

Au même siècle, N.de Nicolay écrit aussi sur Galata aux murailles internes séparant la région en trois parties, dont une est habitée par des Génois tandis que les deux autres par les Grecs et les Turcs, de même que par un certain nombre de Juifs. Selon lui, les maisons n'étaient ni belles, ni confortables, mais les fontaines méritaient vraiment d'être notées.[10] On sait qu'à cet époque, les 35% de la population de la région se composaient des Turcs, alors que les 39% étaient des Grecs, les 22% des Européens et les 4% des Arméniens.[11]

Au 17e siècle, Galata continue à se développer toujours à l'intérieur des murailles, alors qu'à l'extérieur est observée une région presque vide munie de jardins et vignes. On sait qu'à ce siècle, certaines parties de la région sont habitées par des Turcs qui ne sont pas en grand nombre. Au même siècle, Evliya Çelebi écrit qu'à Galata 18 quartiers sont Musulmans à côté de 70 quartiers Grecs, 3 quartiers Francs, 2 quartiers Arméniens et 1 quartier Juif. Il parle de certains axes assez importants de la région comme la Rue de Voivoda qui porte le nom du gouverneur de Galata, du manque de la verdure et de la montée assez difficile de la côte jusqu'aux alentours de la Tour de Galata qui dure à peu près une heure, tout en passant parmi les bâtiments Génois en maçonnerie qui se succèdent les uns aux autres.[12]

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[7] Cette communauté existe jusqu'à 1682. Semavi Eyice, "Istanbul/Galata", in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5/2, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1950, 1214/146.

[8] . Ibid.

[9] Petrus Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, [London, 1729] New York: Italica Press 1988, 271-274.

[10] Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les Navigations, Pérégrinations et Voyages Faicts en la Turquie*, Anvers: Silvius 1577, 118.

[11] Halil Inalcık, "Istanbul", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed. Vol. 4, Leiden: Brill 1978, 239.

[12] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol.1, İstanbul : Semih Lütfi Kitabevi 1955, 78.

A la même époque, contrairement à Galata qui expose un tel environnement physique, la péninsule historique garde toutes les caractéristiques d'une ville Ottomane Musulmane. Les groupes éthniques ne vivent qu'à certaines régions de la ville comme les Grecs à Fener (côte sud de la Corne d'Or), les Arméniens à Samatya et Kumkapı (côte de la Mer de Marmara) et les Juifs à Balat (côte sud de la Corne d'Or) et Hasköy (côte nord de la Corne d'Or). Les monuments Ottomans assez imposants construits surtout entre le 16e et 18e siècles créent une dimension assez grandiose par rapport aux maisons toujours très modestes situées à leurs alentours. C'est une vue tout à fait différente de Galata située juste en face.

İncicyan qui décrit Galata au 18e siècle parle de l'augmentation du nombre des maisons construites à l'extérieur des murailles et de la construction de nouveaux bâtiments à certains endroits où la mer est emplie.[13] On commence également à construire à l'extérieur des murailles du côté de la Tour de Galata. Cette région connue jusqu'à ce temps-là comme "Vignobles de Péra" est nommée cette fois-ci "quartier se trouvant au-delà de la porte de la ville".[14]

Au 19e siècle, on constate de plus en plus la tendance de s'étendre vers ces parties vides. Et ainsi, les vignes de Péra cèdent rapidement leurs places à de nouveaux bâtiments. A cette époque, Galata devient un lieu où se sont emmagasinés et vendus toute sorte de produits importés des pays étrangers comme la France, l'Angleterre et l'Italie.

Galata et Péra se composent d'un grand axe et de petites rues et ruelles qui s'y ouvrent. A la seconde moitié du 19e siècle, à la place des maisons dont la plupart étaient en bois, toujours menacées par des incendies successives, des maisons en maçonnerie à trois ou quatre étages commencent à être construites.

La plupart des gens vivant à Péra qui est une extension de Galata sont des Européens. Les ambassadeurs et leurs suites qui jouèrent un rôle assez important pour le développement du quartier donnent une vue de ville occidentale à la région.[15] D'après les récits, Péra est comme une ville Française jusqu'à la seconde moitié du 19e siècle. Le sultan donne toujours l'autorisation aux étrangers d'y vivre selon leurs coutumes tout en parlant leurs langues et pratiquant leurs religions.

Au 19e siècle, il y a quand-même une différence assez visible du point de vue de caractéristiques urbaines entre Galata et Péra. L'environnement physique et social de Péra créé par une vie pleine de luxe se réduit à Galata à une région où les activités dues au port importent plus et où se trouvent de petites ruelles munies de bistrots et cabarets où se promènent de différents groupes de presque tous les peuples. Tout est vendu ici. Selon de Amicis, toute la commerce d'Istanbul est faite à Galata. Il dit que "La Borse, la douane, les bureaux de Llyod de l'Autriche, ceux de la Mésagerie Française, les églises, les monastères, les hôpi-

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13 P. Ğ. İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, 2e éd., İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti 1976, 100.

14 Jos Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, 507-508.

15 Par contre à la péninsule historique, il n'y a que l'Ambassade de l'Iran qui est toujours à sa place initiale.

taux, les magasins se trouvent ici... Il n'est pas possible de voir des turbans ou des fezs dans les rues, vous ne pouvez pas croire que vous êtes en Orient. On parle partout le Français, l'Italien et la langue des Génois".[16]

Et ainsi, on se rend compte qu'au 19e siècle Galata expose une atmosphère assez différente de Péra qui transporte à Istanbul le luxe de l'Europe.[17] Péra est une région aristocrate. Cette différence est également mentionnée dans les journaux quotidiens de l'époque. Par exemple, "La Turquie" parle longuement de l'abondance des lieux de réjouissances, des habitations luxueuses, des ambassades et d'écoles à Péra, contrairement à Galata où l'on trouve toute sorte d'activités se rapportant à la commerce et au travail.[18]

Monuments Importants de la Région

Monuments Génois

Le premier bâtiment de services publics de la région de Galata est le "Palazzo Communale" qui date de 1315 (fig. 3) dont certaines traces peuvent être reconnues aujourd'hui-même sur le bâtiment qui se trouve à sa place. La Tour de Galata est le seul reste important de l'époque des Génois (fig. 4). Datant de 1348, elle est la plus haute des tours des murailles dont l'épaisseur était de 2m. et la longueur de 2.8km.

Monuments Religieux

La pluralité des monuments religieux de Galata et de son extension Péra font preuve d'un lieu où vivaient des gens de différentes religions. Les églises du temps des Génois sont, ou détruites à l'époque ottoman et remplacées par d'autres bâtiments (par ex. San Michele a cédé sa place au 16e siècle au caravansérail de Rüstempaşa alors que San Antonio est remplacé par la Mosquée de Kemankes Mustafa Pacha au 17e siècle) ou ont subi d'importants changements.

Jusqu'à la fin du 18e siècle, 9 églises Latines sont construites à la région. Parmi elles, l'église Italienne de San Pietro e Paolo qui a pris sa forme actuelle en 1841 continue à être utilisée à sa place initiale. En 1854, une église est construite à la mémoire des Anglais martyrisés à la guerre de Crimée. L'Eglise de Crimée existe toujours.

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[16]   Edmondo de Amicis, *Istanbul (1874),* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1981, 64.
[17]   Pour une description assez intéressante se rapportant à ce sujet voir: Louis Enault, *Constantinople et la Turquie*, Paris: Hachette 1855, 383-384.
[18]   *La Turquie*, 26 Octobre 1868. Pour les articles et les nouvelles écrits dans ces journaux sur la vie, les caractéristiques urbaines et architecturales de la région voir: Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür 1998 et 2002.

Les églises de Aya Yani/Hristos et Surp Grigor Lusavoric sont deux monuments assez importants construits pour les Grecs et les Arméniens qui vivaient à Galata.

L'importance commerciale de la région fut attirante pour les Juifs dont la plupart vivaient à Balat (côte sud de la Corne d'Or) et à Hasköy (en face de Balat sur la côte nord de la Corne d'Or). C'est surtout au 19e siècle qu'ils commencèrent à s'installer de plus en plus à Galata. Les synagogues construites ici sont assez nombreuses. Parmi elles, la Synagogue de Zulfaris qui date de la seconde moitié du 17e siècle est une des plus anciennes de la région. A la place de la Synagogue de Neve Salom (1953) qui est la plus utilisée aujourd'hui, se trouvait la Synagogue d'Aragon construite au 15e siècle par des Sépharades.[19]

Mosquées et Couvent des Derviches Tourneurs (le "Mevlevihane")

La plus ancienne mosquée de la région est la Mosquée Arabe qui était une ancienne église.[20] A part cela, contrairement aux mosquées grandioses de la péninsule historique, certaines petites mosquées assez modestes sont construites dans la région. Deux d'entre elles qui continuent à être utilisées sont la Mosquée de Şehsuvar construite au 15e siècle à l'époque où Sultan Mehmed le Conquérant essayait d'installer certaines agglomérations Musulmanes à la région et la Mosquée de Şahkulu qui date du début du 17e siècle.

Le monument Islamique le plus important de la région est le Couvent des Derviches Tourneurs nommé le "Mevlevihane" (fig. 5) qui était un centre culturel assez spécial pour le quartier. Il fut construit en 1491 par Iskender Pacha, important personnage de l'époque du Sultan Mehmed le Conquérant, au haut de la colline juste derrière les murailles. A côté des Musulmans, il fut de même toujours un point intéressant pour les étrangers.

Bâtiments de Commerce

A Galata, à cause de l'existence du port se trouvaient la borse, les banques et centres d'agence commerciale, les bureaux de traduction, les maisons de commerce, les dépôts etc. Au 15e siècle juste après la conquête, Sultan Mehmed qui accorda une grande importance à la région a construit à Galata le grand marché (Bedesten) nommé le Marché de Galata ou l'Ancien Marché. On peut dire qu'il est le symbole du commencement des activités commerciales Ottomanes à Galata. A côté de ce marché, au 16e et au 17e siècle sont construits des bâtiments de commerce (han's) comme le Han de Kurşunlu et le Han de Yelkenciler. A cause

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[19]   Pour plus de détails sue ces bâtiments voir Naim Güleryüz, *İstanbul Sinagogları*, İstanbul: Ajans Class 1992, 69 et 71-75.

[20]   Semavi Eyice, "Tarihte Halic", in: *Halic Sempozyumu*, İstanbul: İTU Inşaat Fakültesi 1975, 267.

de l'abondance d'activités commerciales de la région, au 18e siècle le nombre de han's qui exposent les caractéristiques traditionnelles de l'architecture Ottomane ont augmenté à Galata.

Vers la fin du 18e siècle et durant le 19e siècle, plusieurs bâtiments de commerce nommés également "han" aux mêmes plans et caractéristiques de ceux de l'Europe sont construits à Galata comme Boton Han, Kamondo Han, Bereketzade Han etc. Un d'entre eux nommé le Han St. Pierre, construit à la seconde moitié du 18e siècle a servi durant de longues années aux commerçants Français. Ce bâtiment est spécialement connu sous le nom de la "Maison où est né André Chénier", le célèbre poête Français.[21]

Ecoles

L'existence de groupes éthniques a permis la construction d'écoles Grècque, Arménienne et Juive ici, à côté d'autres écoles étrangères comme le lycée Allemand, le lycée Autrichien St.Georg ou l'école secondaire Anglaise de filles.

Hôpitaux

Des hôpitaux de type occidental, soit du point de vue de fonction et soit des caractéristiques architecturales sont également construits à Galata. Parmi eux, on peut citer l'Hôpital Autrichien St.Georg et l'Hôpital Anglais des Marins (British Seamen's Hospital).

Habitations

C'est à partir de la seconde moitié du 18e siècle que due aux ravages d'incendies successives qu'on commença à construire à Galata des habitations en maçonnerie à la place de celles qui étaient en bois. La plupart de ces habitations sont des exemples assez grandioses qui imitent celles qui sont construites à l'époque aux capitales européénnes comme Paris, Londres et Vienne. A la fin du 19e siècle, parmi ces exemples qui se développent dans une organisation urbaine et architecturale assez différente de celles de la péninsule historique, on rencontre également deux grands blocs nommés les Appartements Dogan et ceux de Barnathan qui incluent plusieurs unités d'habitation.

Fontaines

A chaque époque, la manque d'eau causa de grands problèmes à Galata. C'est pourquoi entre le 16e et 18e siècles, plusieurs fontaines sont construites dans la

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[21] Semavi Eyice, "André Chénier'nin Doğduğu Ev Hakkında", *Tarih ve Toplum* 72 (1989), 52-55.

région. Et surtout au 18e siècle sous l'effet des influences occidentales, les faça-
des de ces fontaines exposèrent les nouvelles tendances et préférences de
l'époque. Parmi elles, une des plus importantes est la Fontaine de Bereketzade
placée assez près de la Tour de Galata, qui date de 1732 (fig. 6).

A côté de ces fontaines qui embellissent la région, les escaliers de Camondo
qui relient la Grande Rue de Voivoda à une rue qui monte vers la Tour de Galata
sont construits à la seconde moitié du 19e siècle par le célèbre banquier Juif de
Galata Abraham de Camondo. C'est un élément assez occidental, de nouveau
typique pour ce quartier.

Galata était très renommé par ses banquiers au 19e siècle. La première et im-
portante banque de la région est la Banque Ottomane fondée en 1863 et installée
jusqu'à 1892 à St. Pierre Han dont on a parlé ci-dessus. Le grandiose bâtiment de
la Banque Ottomane est construit sur la Grande Rue de Voivoda à la fin du 19e
siècle par Alexandre Vallaury, un architecte très connu de l'époque (fig. 7).

Système de Transport et le "Tunnel"

Jusqu'à la construction des ponts qui relient les deux côtes de la Corne d'Or au
19e siècle, le transport entre la péninsule historique et Galata était réalisé par
l'intermédiaire des barques. Galata, étant développé dans une région où la mon-
tée de la côte jusqu'au Tour de Galata et de là à Péra est assez dure (fig. 8), le pro-
jet de relier Galata à Péra par un moyen assez moderne est réalisé vers la fin du
19e siècle. Le Tunnel est construit en 1874 par "The Metropolitain Railway of
Constantinople" pour transporter les gens de Galata à Péra en 2-3 minutes.

Organisation Urbaine et le "VIe Administration Municipal" de Péra et de Galata

A la seconde moitié du 19e siècle, la décision de créer une organisation munici-
pale pour réaliser des projets d'aménagement urbain à Galata et Péra, et être ainsi
exemplaire à d'autres quartiers de la capitale est une entreprise importante
concernant la région. Pour ce but, le "VIe Administration Municipale" qui don-
nait référence au VIe Arrondissement de Paris est fondé en 1857. Il fut assez effi-
cace jusqu'à la fin du 19e siècle pour élargir, paver, illuminer et nommer les rues,
numéruter les maisons et résoudre les problèmes de transport, du manque d'eau,
de sécurité des deux régions.

Tous ces exemples montrent que la fondation et le développement de ces deux
quartiers sont tout à fait différents d'autres parties de la ville. Cette fabrique ur-
baine multiculturelle du nord de la Corne d'Or située face à face à la péninsule
historique met en vue un autre aspect de la richesse physique et sociale de la
grande capitale cosmopolite d'Istanbul.

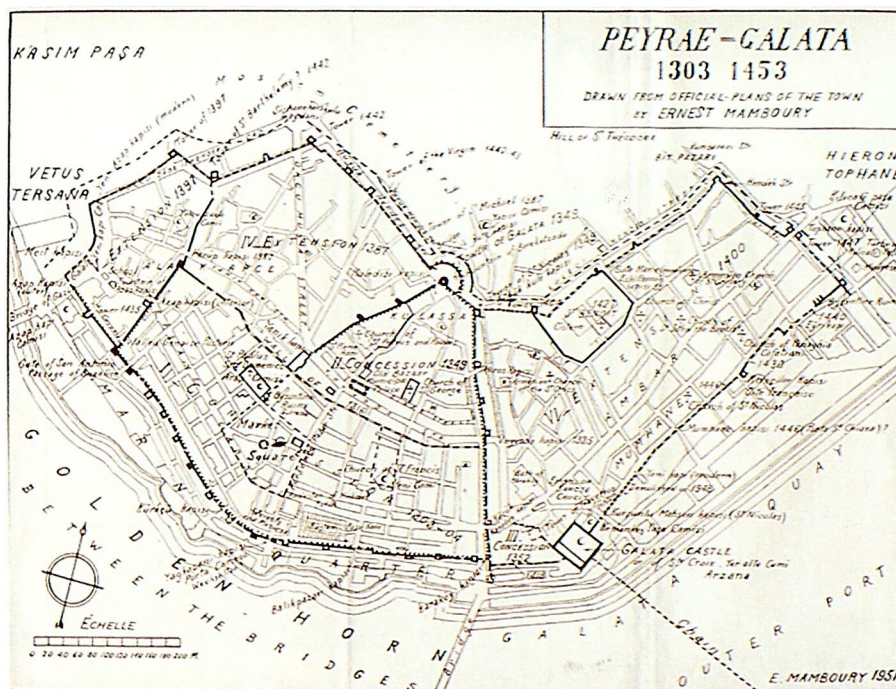Fig. 1: Vue de Galata dans la première moitié du 16e siècle

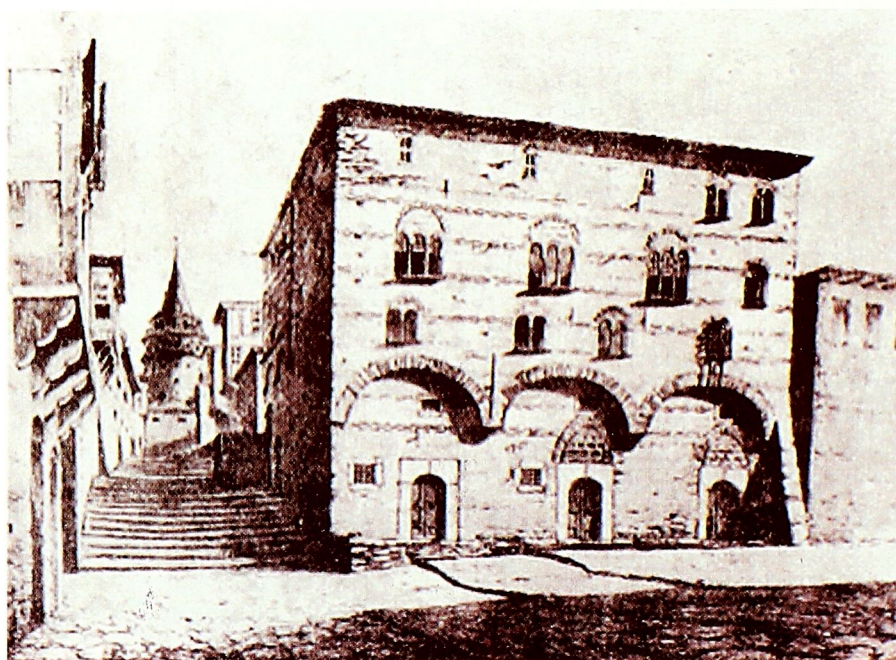Fig. 2: Plan de Galata au 14e et 15e siècle

Fig. 3: Palazzo Communale

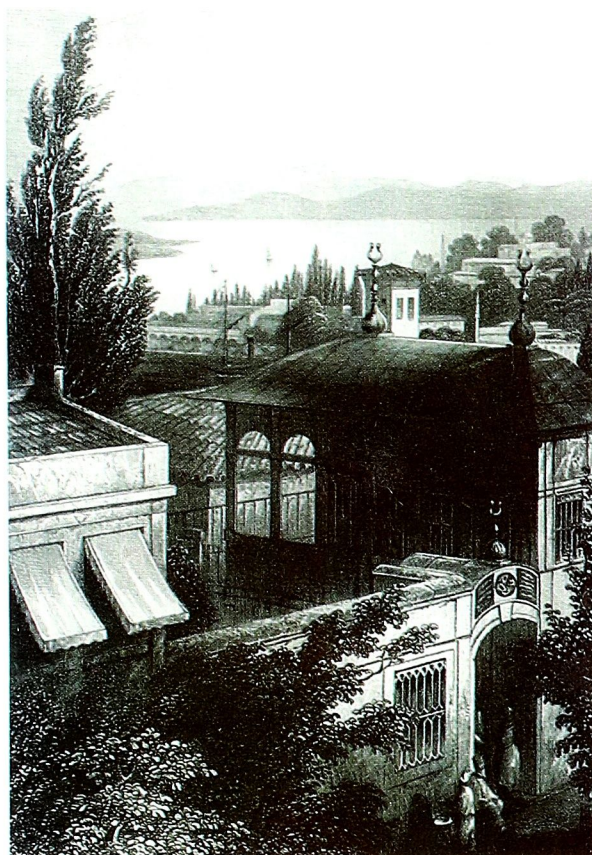Fig. 4: Tour de Galata dans la seconde moitié du 19e siècle
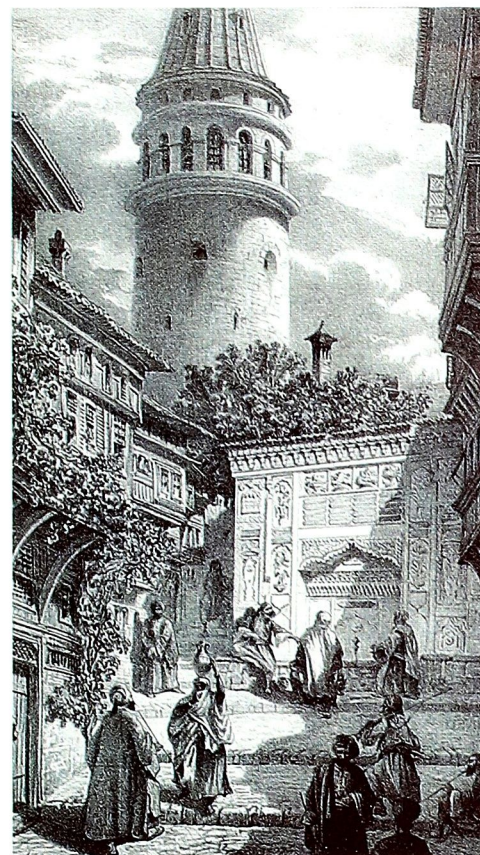
Fig. 5: Le "Mevlevihane"

Fig. 6: La fontaine de Bereketzade

Fig. 7: La Banque Ottomane

Fig. 8: Rue en escalier à Galata

Foreign influences on residential architecture of Turkey in the late Empire and early Republican periods

İnci Aslanoğlu

The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were periods of historicism in architecture throughout the world. Revivals of old styles came as waves of fashion and followed each other or coexisted on the Continent, in the New World and through colonists spread far and wide.

During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was no exception in welcoming foreign styles, an inevitable result in an atmosphere dominated by radical westernizing reforms. Westernization movements of the eighteenth century continued at an accelerated pace in the following century. The idea of catching up with contemporary developments (first in the military and technical fields) had repercussions on Ottoman art and architecture that led to an alienation from Ottoman classical forms, proportions, structural and decorative features, thus changing the face of architecture. Ottoman domestic architecture had its share in this process of transformation.

Foreign styles were brought to the empire and practiced by non-Muslim Ottoman (Greek, Armenian), Levantine (European in origin but born and living in the Ottoman domains), or European architects.[1]

Imperial palaces, mostly designed by members of the Armenian Balyan family, were the first to have a Europeanized look on façades clad with High and Late Renaissance and Baroque revival forms as well as Oriental features by the middle of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the century, houses of high-ranking bureaucrats, both pashas and civilians, of the well-to-do Levantine, and influential Turkish families and those of other ethnicities followed the western architectural trends of the time, while common folk still continued to build modest yet rational and functional houses in the traditional manner.

In the capital of the empire, including the Princes' Islands, active towns on the coastlines such as Izmir, Mersin or Trabzon, which were in constant contact, commercial or cultural, with the outside world, residential buildings (*konak, köşk, yalı*) shaped by foreign influences increased in number.

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[1] See the section: "Western Architects in Istanbul" in: Diana Barillari, Ezio Godoli, *İstanbul 1900, Art Nouveau Mimarisi ve İç Mekânları*, Yem yayın 1997, 14-20. Also read: Cengiz Can, "Levantine Architects in Post-Tanzimat Istanbul Architecture", *Atti del Convegno, Architectura e Architetti Italiani ad Istanbul tra il XIX ^{e} il XX ^{e} secolo*, Istanbul 27-28 Novembre 1995, ss-60.

The sources of the major influences on Ottoman architecture were varied. With Baroque and Rococo of the previous century still persisting, new styles were added to the Ottoman architectural scene during the nineteenth century, shaping not only official and public buildings, but also residences. On Büyükada, the biggest of the Princes' Islands near Istanbul, residential architecture, made mostly of wood, displays a parade of foreign styles. Neoclassicism, called *Ampir Stili* in Turkey, turned some residences, as in the Sabuncakis House (Fig. 1), into almost Palladian villas. Orientalist features as reflections of Moorish-Andalusian aesthetics inspired by the Alhambra Palace, emerged during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz (1861-76). The Amalia House on Büyükada, with its oriental features such as the horse-shoe arch and ornamentation, sets an elegant example with a lighter mass and changed façade proportions (Fig. 2). Gothic revival forms in arches and tracery could sometimes be found alone or mixed with forms of another style. Gables were also frequently used, giving some houses the appearance of the Swiss *Chalet*. Art Nouveau found its best expression in wooden residential architecture between c. 1890 and 1910. The Psakis House, again on Büyükada, provided a fine example for this style, but alas, it is extinct today (Fig. 3).

Hence, the Picturesque[2] movement, which emerged to shape middle-class suburban houses as one of the reactionary attitudes directed towards the industrialization and crowded cities in England, became the style of upper class Ottoman residences from the early nineteenth century on.

The characteristics of the Picturesque mode of d- ign such as asymmetrical massing, use of towers, external oriels and verandas are often seen in detached houses of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican periods[3]. The tower was almost indispensable in the world of nineteenth century architecture regardless of the function and the style of the building. The "towered houses" are not only found on the Princes' Islands and especially on Büyükada, where one can see rich variations on the Picturesque theme realized in wooden mansions situated in large gardens with ponds in front, but also in other cities of Turkey such as Trabzon, Izmir, Ankara, etc.

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[2]   The Picturesque movement, through *Das Englische Haus*, the book written by Herman Muthesius, spread to Germany and other countries. In the USA it was taken as the revival of the Tuscan villa and so came to be called *Italianate*. For examples of the towered houses in the Italianate style see the chapter "The Anglo-Italian Mode" in: Wilbur D. Peat, *Indiana Houses of the 19th Century*, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis 1962.

[3]   According to H.R. Hitchcock, towers came from both the Castellated mansion and the Italian Villa, bay-windows from Tudor Parsonage and the veranda was the contribution of the Indian mode. The veranda had reached the southern states of the USA early in the eighteenth century, arriving from the East via the West Indies, and became an integral part of domestic architecture. Henry-Russel Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Penguin Books, Kingsport Press Inc. Kingsport, Tennessee, 1981, 354.

Among nineteenth century examples of towered houses, the Stefanidis House on Büyükada has an octagonal corner tower with a wooden balcony functioning as a belvedere (Fig. 4). The Kostaki residence in Trabzon, a stately mansion, is another example of a house with an octagonal tower at one corner. It belonged to a rich merchant of Greek origin who was in commercial contact with Russia. With its monumental size and foreign architectural features, the building stands alien to its environment. The heightened pointed dome above the tower looks quite Russian; the arched profiles carried on small attached columns above arched windows of the tower are features that bring to mind those in Byzantine architecture (Fig. 5).

The Mizzi Residence tower with its square cross-section, also on Büyükada, was designed by Raimondo D'Aronco as an observatory tower in 1895. It is an interesting example clad with red brick which also forms rows of decorative corbelling reminiscent of those in the Yıldız Royal Tile Factory in Istanbul, designed by the same architect (Fig. 6).

The Forbes Residence (1908, 1910) furnishes a spectacular example where the corner bay at the right-hand-side of the pedimented entrance is raised, thus becoming a tower with a rectangular plan. This luxurious mansion which displays an eclectic design understanding with an emphasis on a kind of pseudoclassicism, still stands as evidence of a rich Levantine residence in a wooded area outside Buca-Izmir (Fig. 7).[4]

It is interesting to note that towered houses extend up to the 1920s, shaping some of the early Turkish Republican domestic buildings of Ankara, while the Modern Movement in the West was at its climax point. A renowned author writes in his observations on the newly-built sections of Ankara during the 1930s that it was not possible to come across villas without towers and wide eaves and that they looked like the châteaux of western feudal lords.[5]

The Cemil Uybadin House, built on a high platform in the heart of the new section of Ankara, looked imposing with its monumental size and octagonal corner tower (Fig. 8). Another Ankara residence with a tower was the house of a deputy designed by a well-known architect of the time. The cylindrical tower—pulled down later—with a high spire, arched windows and circular oriel are remnants from a belated historicism of the 1920s (Fig. 9).

In the Turkish town of Iskenderun, situated on the Mediterranean Sea, two-storey high western-style villas in gardens belonging to well-to-do Christian, Armenian and Arab families lined the main boulevard facing the sea around 1930, during the French occupation period. One such villa—no longer standing—owned by the Christian Arab Sharavi family, was designed by Alfred Be-

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4   For more information on the Forbes Residence and Levantine houses see: Feyyaz Erpi, *Buca'da Konut Mimarisi (1838-1934)*, O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, Ankara 1987, 149-156.

5   Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul 1991, 137.

nuni, an Italian architect of Jewish origin. Although the house lost the height of its tower, it still exhibited features of the Picturesque mode of the previous century such as asymmetry in planning, entrance from a portico veranda and polygonal extensions.

Perhaps a compromise was reached in some detached houses of Ankara from the 1920s, other than the towered ones, by combining foreign features (asymmetry in plan and mass, entrance from a porch, balconies, modern kitchen and bath amenities) with elements from Turkish architectural history (pointed Ottoman arches, wide decorated eaves, façade decorations in Ottoman plant and geometric motifs) as this was the period of nationalism in architecture (Fig. 10).

In summary it can be stated that the tower, veranda, balcony, terrace, external oriels, larger sized windows and asymmetrical planning accompanied by elements from foreign styles used to ornament the façades were among the changes that led to a break from the traditional Turkish house shaped according to the introverted family structure, and based on simplicity, modesty and privacy.
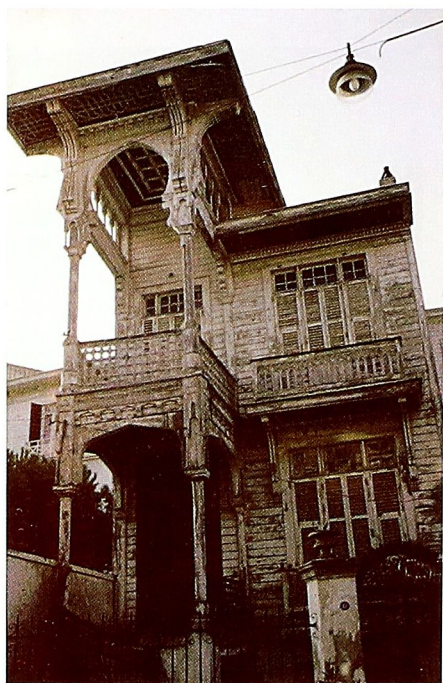
Fig. 1: Sabuncakis House, Büyükada
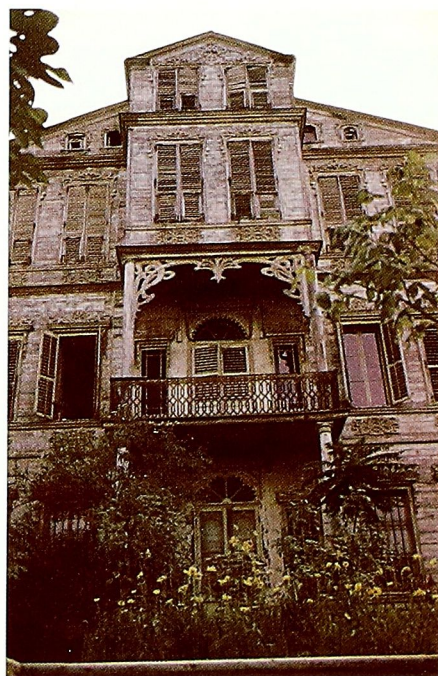

Fig. 2: Amalia House, Büyükada

Fig. 3: Psakis House, Büyükada

Fig. 4: Stefanidis House, Büyükada

Fig.: 5: Kostaki residence, Trabzon

Fig. 6: Yıldız Royal Tile Factory, Istanbul

Fig.: 7: Forbes Residence, Buca-Izmir
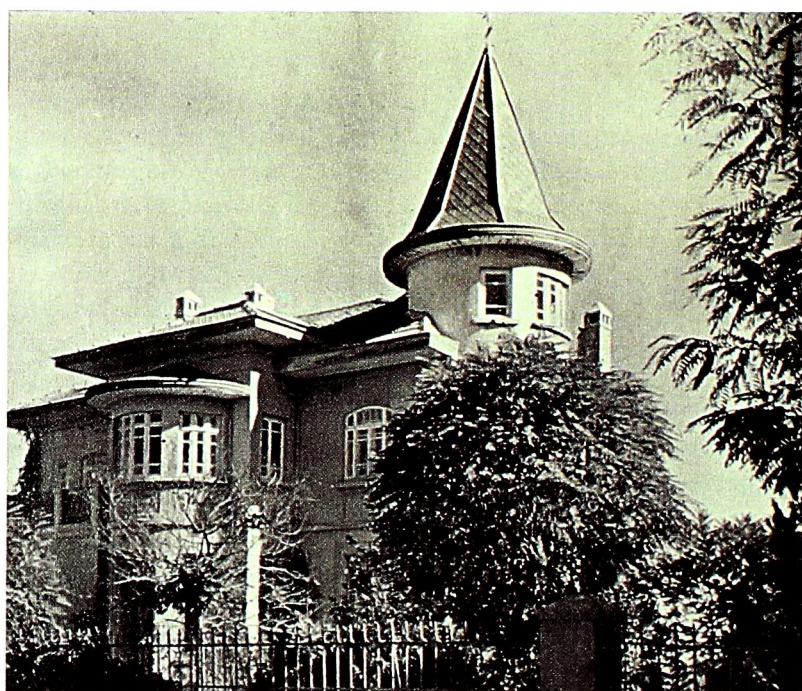
Fig. 8: Cemil Uybadin House
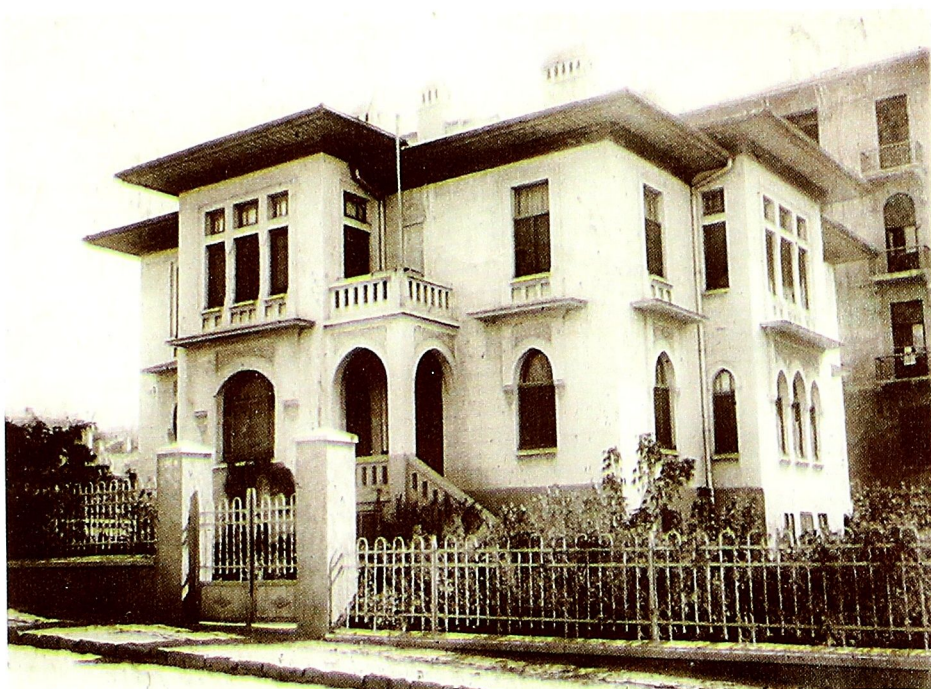

Fig. 9: Cemil Uybadin House

Fig. 10: House in Ankara

Timbuktu the city of multiculturalism:
A dream for explorers without fixed homes
and fixed homes for explorers

Mauro Bertagnin and Daniela Deperini

> D'autre part la maison n'est pas un édifice
> permanent. Ce peut être une tente.
> André Martinet
> The city of gold beyond the sands of the 'great empty space'

Timbuktu has enjoyed the prestigious role of being one of the most important caravan cities of the Sahara and the connecting point that links the heart of black Africa to the Mediterranean. Timbuktu connoted in the past and continues to connote even today a place of excellence in multiculturalism. Terminus of the gold road and the salt road, Timbuktu has hosted over the years populations and communities of different ethnic origins: Moroccan craftsmen, Jewish merchants, populations from the centre of the African continent and nomads of the Sahara. Over time it has thus become an essential cornerstone in the trade between Africa and Europe.

The great River Niger on the one side and the Mediterranean basin on the other are the two 'liquid motorways', which are connected with the dense network of the caravan routes[1], and have encouraged a continuous flow of trade and culture guaranteeing Timbuktu a strategic role in north / south relations. Lying at the northernmost point of the Niger or the "gher-n-igheren" ("river of rivers") as the Berbers call it, this melting-pot of peoples and cultures has captured the fantasies of many travellers from Europe, for it represents a wonderful kaleidoscope of peoples as well as a strategic cultural centre.

The legendary city of gold that rises like a mirage out of the sands of the "great empty space"[2] is a place of multiculturalism and trade par excellence, and was—and in some ways still is—an important reference point for European culture. Positioned at the epicenter between the heart of black Africa and the Mediterranean,[3] the city captured the fascination of nineteenth-century explorers and

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[1] For a systematic picture of the network of trans-Sahara caravan routes see "La Struttura Territoriale del Sahara", in Pietro Laureano, *Sahara Giardino Sconosciuto*, Florence: Giunti 1988, 164-172.

[2] See Mauro Bertagnin, "Dal Recinto alla Moschea. Lo Spazio Sacro nel Grande Vuoto", in *La Moschea di Occidente*, ed. Pasquale Culotta, Palermo: Medina 1992, 137-143.

[3] Even today an important caravan route starts in Timbuktu, i.e. the salt route that connects the city with Toudenny, where salt mines are still in operation. Once the salt has been re-

travellers because of its multi-racial charm, as well as its complex stratification, which has been summarized by the word *toucouleur* [4] referring to the multicultural essence of Timbuktu in both ethnological and architectural terms. These "visitors" who stayed in Timbuktu for various lengths of time have left traces of their presence in their travel accounts and in the houses in which they lived. In this way, a myth was created on the "source of Buktu", which gradually spread toward the West and permeated the whole of western culture, making it a nodal reference comparable with the charm of Venice and Rome on the European 'grand tour' of the nineteenth century.

Partly due to its architectural and cultural value, the settlement bears a significant heritage whose value and preservation will be of crucial importance,[5] like the present settlement, centered on a heritage consisting of the houses that hosted a number of travellers—an essential source for documenting their presence within the city. Another important way to understand the relationship between the temporary 'visitors' and Timbuktu derives from reading their travelogues that tell—as in the case of Caillié—of heroic experiences fraught with the dangers of reaching a coveted destination. In the case of the French explorer, his journey turned into a veritable mission, which reveals to us parts of his identity as well as his destiny to reach Timbuktu.

René Caillié and the image of the city as represented by the explorers.

With the help of René Caillié's well-documented travel diary we can rediscover the salient points of a human and cultural experience that united different European explorers and travelers who reached the desert city in the nineteenth century. Caillié arrived in Timbuktu on the 20th of April 1828 after a long journey. The words with which he describes his feelings at his arrival convey an emotion that other explorers were to experience when they reached the legendary city of gold.

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duced to slabs, it is transported along the caravan route by camels to the markets of Timbuktu. For an up-to-date description of this route see Giosue Bolis and Myriam Butti (eds.), *Azalai, il Tempo delle Carovane*, Lecco: Les cultures, 19.

[4]   The term derives from the English "two colours" and highlights the blend of black and white cultures and civilisations. In the Mali city of Djenné this cross-cultural blend shows its specific identity in the architectural type of house known as *toucouleur house* (fig. 1), which was developed as an indigenous type, as opposed to the other type, named *Moroccan house* (fig. 2).

[5]   The reflections presented in this work were inspired by a major survey completed as part of a mission conducted on behalf of UNESCO in Mali, to assess the level of preservation of the country's architectural heritage in unbaked earth. See more particularly G. P. Apollonj, Mauro Bertagnin, A. G. Fontana, *Architectures de Terre et Paysages Culturels. Question de Sauvegarde et de Révitalisation, Rapport de Mission*. WHC-CPM UNESCO, 2002.

"Fortunately we finally arrived in Timbuktu at the time the sun was disappearing on the horizon. So I could see this capital of Sudan which had for such a long time been the object of all my desires. When I went into this mysterious city, the focal point of so many studies carried out by the civilised countries of Europe, I felt unspeakable satisfaction; I had never experienced such infinite feelings of happiness."[6]

Almost two centuries after his journey, the summaries Caillié provided on the urban morphology, the type of building and the technology of the architecture give us a clear picture of Timbuktu, which until today clearly captures some essential aspects of the city.

"The city of Timbuktu, which extends in the form of a triangle, has an almost three mile perimeter. Its houses are large but not very high as they are limited to the ground floor only; some have a small room above the main door. They are built of round bricks which were hand formed and dried in the sun. The roads are clean and quite wide since three horsemen can ride through them side by side, and the walls are almost as high as those of Djenné. But both inside the city and in the surrounding area there are straw houses of a practically circular form, similar to those of the Fulani shepherds: they are used as dwellings for the poor people who sell goods on behalf of their masters. Timbuktu has a total of seven mosques, two of which are very large, and from each of them rises a brick tower with an inner staircase leading to the top.

This mysterious city which has been the focus of interest of many academics for centuries, with its people about whom we have always fantasised, its culture, and its trading extending through the whole of Sudan, rises up from an immense plain of white mobile sand, in which only fragile stunted small trees grow, such as the *Mimosa ferruginea* which reaches a height of only three or four feet. The city is not enclosed and you can access it from anywhere; all around you can see *Balanite aegyptiaca* and there is a palm tree at the centre.

The inhabitants, who at the most total ten or twelve thousand including the Moors, are all traders; often following the caravans, many Arabs arrive here to stay and so increase the population for a short period of time."[7]

The description of the origin of the wide range of wares allows us to reconstruct the vast network of commercial contacts and its complex multicultural interactions which form the basis of the very essence of the city. "In Timbuktu (...) are to be found (...) goods which arrive by boat and those which come from Europe, such as glass pearls, amber, coral, sulphur, paper and a number of other items. I saw three shops made up of small rooms and very well supplied with fabrics made in Europe: however at the doors the traders show off pieces of salt which they do not display in the market. Everyone who has a shop on the square shelters from the strong rays of the sun in small huts made of a few posts covered in mats. (...) The many Moors who reside in Timbuktu, as I have already mentioned, live in the nicest houses of the city. They immediately become rich through trade: they receive goods from Adrar and Tafilet in deposit, as well as from Taouat, Ardamas, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers; much tobacco and many dif-

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6   René Caillie, *Viaggio a Timbuctù*, Verona: Cierre editore, 1993.
7   René Caillie, *Viaggio.*

ferent wares arrive from Europe for them and they ship them by boat to Djenné and to other countries. Timbuktu may be considered the main emporium in this part of Africa. It is the collecting point for all the salt from the Toudeyni mines which arrives by camel with the caravans. (...) The Moors from Morocco and those from the other countries, who travel in Sudan, stop in Timbuktu for six to eight months to do business and to await a new consignment for their camels."[8]

Caillié provides us with a vibrant image of his house, describing it from both the typological point of view as well as from his personal experience when he was living close to the house of the unfortunate English explorer Laing who preceded him in the Sahara adventure:

> "I found accommodation in another house close to the market and opposite the house where Major Laing lived: you only had to cross the road to get from one house to the other. Often, when sitting in front of the door to my house, I used to think sadly of the fate of the unfortunate traveller who was despicably assassinated, after having faced up to so many dangers and especially to so many hardships. I used to reflect on all that, and I could not help being overcome by a sense of fear at the thought that had I been exposed, I would have undergone a fate a thousand times more horrible than losing my life: slavery! So, I then promised myself again with resolution to act with so much prudence as not to arouse the slightest suspicion.
> I much preferred the new accommodation; my host had me put a mat in a room for which he gave me the key. The slaves living in this house had been ordered to serve me, so twice a day they brought me couscous and rice very well spiced up with beef or mutton from Sidi-Abdallahi's house.
> The city of Timbuktu is home to the blacks of Kissour, who make up the largest population. The many Moors who have settled in this city in order to trade here may be compared with those Europeans who go to the colonies hoping to make their fortune there, sure they can then return to their country and live an easier life there. They have a considerable influence on the natives, even though the king or governor is still always a black man."[9]

Regarding the technology used in the architecture of the three largest mosques in Timbuktu, Caillié's detailed observations are of great help when it comes to preservation work of the mosques.

The following passage, although no specific name is mentioned by the author, can probably be traced back to the current Dingarey Ber mosque.

> "This building was constructed using bricks dried in the sun, with the same form as ours: the walls are covered with coarse sand very like that used to make the bricks, mixed with rice husks. In some areas of the desert you can see very hard ash-coloured earth which is placed on top of the sand, and precisely with which these bricks have been made. The other parts of the building appear to have been built later than the ruined western part; however, considering that they are the work of a people with no knowledge of the rules of architecture, they have been quite well-built even though they are less attractive than the older part (...). The walls of the mosque are fifteen feet high

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[8]   Ibid.
[9]   Ibid.

and twenty-six inches thick. The wall of the west facade ends with battlements on the high parts of which are positioned terracotta vases similar to those placed on the pyramid of the tower. Another massive tower, conical in form, is situated on this facade. It is approximately thirty-six feet high, and from the top project very pleasant small shafts of wood which it appears are used to secure the masonry. The terrace roof of the mosque, like the high part of the tower, is railed off with an eighteen inch high parapet.

This roof is supported by a number of shafts of *ronniers* split into four parts in such a way as to form beams approximately one foot apart. In the spaces between one beam and the next, pieces of *Salvadora* wood imported from Cabra, where this plant grows in abundance, are placed in a double row, crossed and at a slant; they have been covered with layers of *ronniers* leaves, interlaced and protected with earth."

The other two mosques are briefly described, completing the picture of the city's cultural buildings.

"The eastern mosque is much smaller than the western one; however, it is also dominated by a square tower of the same form and exactly the same size as that of the large mosque. The walls, which have totally lost their lime plastering, have spurs placed on them to support the structure: there are three rows of arches which form arcades six feet wide and thirty feet long. (...) A third mosque of a certain interest is situated in the central area and it also has a tower next to it, but not as high as the others. It has square porticoes only and its naves are twenty-five feet high and seven feet wide; the wall of its facade is decorated with a large number of ostrich eggs which also embellish the top of the tower. On the east side is a very large courtyard and in the middle of its paths is a *Balanites aegyptiaca*.

Behind the mosque to the west are some *Salvadora* plants.

There are five more mosques in Timbuktu, but they are small and built like ordinary private houses, with the only difference that they are all dominated by a minaret. Inside these mosques the faithful meet in the courtyard every evening for the religious services."[10]

Preservation of the multicultural bearers in Timbuktu: explorers without fixed homes—fixed homes for explorers

It is without doubt Timbuktu's famous evocative sense of multiculturalism that has made it legendary. But which myth is it that has stirred an emotion of yearning so strong to let figures such as Caillié embark on such a long and dangerous adventure without guarantee of ever reaching this solitary place in the Sahara desert? Timbuktu's appeal to its "visitors'" of different cultural ethnicities and origins has not changed with the passing of time and is still alive today. Timbuktu, a crossroads for merchants of different ethnic groups, lends itself even today to be read and understood in different ways as a variable and dynamic "symbol" of the "collective myths" which are common to all periods—the border between dreams and reality. At present it hosts the Ahmed Baba documentation and research centre, one of the largest in Africa, with a considerable collection of more

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[10] Ibid.

than 20,000 Islamic manuscripts. In the past a total of 180 Qur'anic schools were situated in Timbuktu. As a result of these peculiarities, as explained by Leo Africanus in 1510, Timbuktu has attracted men of letters, intellectuals as well as travelers from ancient times to the present day.

European exploration of the inner part of Africa mainly took place throughout the nineteenth century on the wave of the first individual expeditions, for only the coastal part of the continent was known until the beginning of the modern age. Among the first travellers was the Scottish doctor Mungo Park (1771-1806), who in 1775 was assigned by the African Association to explore the Senegal valley and to go down the Niger as far as Timbuktu, taking part in various expeditions. Like the Englishman Laing, he was murdered by natives during one of his travels. His memoirs are preserved in the famous volume entitled "Journey to the Heart of Africa".

Major Alexander Gordon Laing (1793-1826) made a journey to Timbuktu on behalf of the Royal African Society (fig. 6). He reached the city on the 18th of August 1826 after having followed the River Niger route. However, the unfortunate explorer was unable to explain the excitement of his discoveries in person as he was assassinated by his guard on his return journey.

The Frenchman René Caillié (1799-1838), who reached Timbuktu in 1838, left us descriptions with an emblematic image of the city which the first explorers must have perceived. The spirit that animated the young French explorer to undertake his difficult task is well expressed in his motto "succeed or perish".

The German Heinrich Barth (1821-1865), who served the British government, expressed strong interest in the Islamic culture of Eastern Africa, which impelled him to set off for Timbuktu, where he stayed for eight months before returning to England in 1855.

The Austrian Oscar Lenz (1848-1925) arrived in Timbuktu in July 1888 and left an account of his journey in the volume entitled "Voyage au Maroc, au Sahara, au Soudan".

But what traces remain of these brave and fascinating figures that devoted their lives—in some cases losing them—to reaching legendary Timbuktu?

Today the mosques which Caillié wrote about are the focus of a preservation project which aims to evaluate the city's main architectural structures.

In addition, the ordinary houses in which the different explorers lived still bear evidence of the relationship between the "visitors" and Timbuktu (fig. 3). Moreover, they lend themselves to represent a significant sample of the building types that make up the urban fabric (fig. 4). These houses are simple buildings made of adobe. The parts exposed to erosion from the Sahara winds are protected with *al-hor*, the local stone mixed—including chromatically—with unbaked earth bricks, enhancing the settlement's unique character. Some of these houses—such as Caillié's (fig. 5)—have been reduced to ruins, while others no longer exist at all, the only evidence of them being a plaque that immortalises them.

The house in which Laing lived is a good example of the simplest building type (figs. 7 & 8). With its main frontage on the road, it was built with a ground floor and first floor connected by an internal staircase accessible from the entrance, with a wide portal, which is the characteristic feature of the building. Behind the entrance hall is an internal courtyard surrounded on the ground floor by a number of rooms.

Barth's house is more complex in its structure, with a wide facade on the road, characterised by a main portal in a typical indigenous design (fig. 9 & 10). The first floor is accessible by an internal staircase on one of the house's two side walls. On the first floor a spacious porticoed area shields the different rooms with windows overlooking the road. At present, Barth's house is partially dedicated to museum use.

Fig. 1: *Toucouleur* house type in Djenné (Bertagnin)

Fig. 2: *Moroccan* house type in Djenné (Bertagnin)

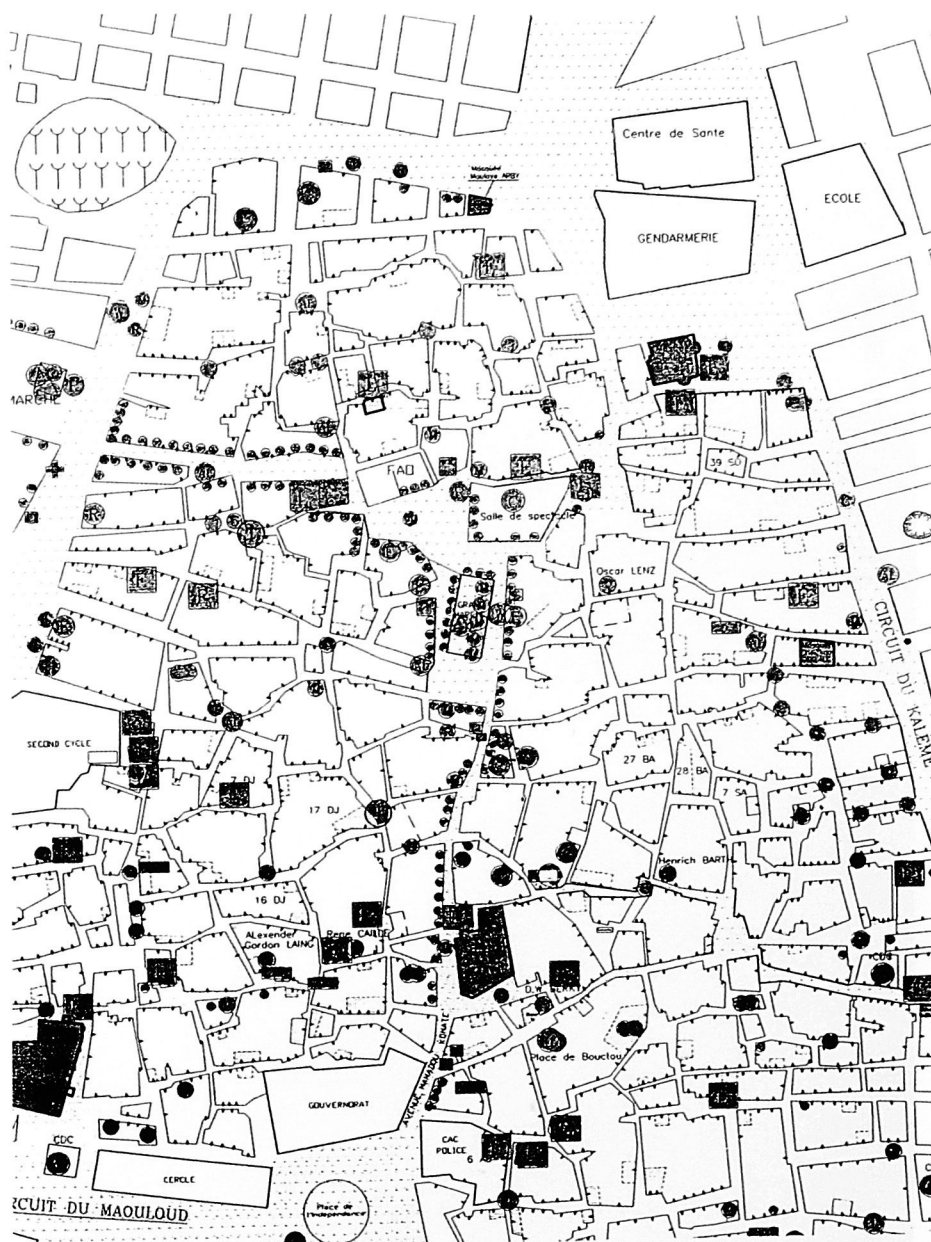Fig. 3: Map of the historical centre of Timbuktu with locations of the houses where the explorers lived

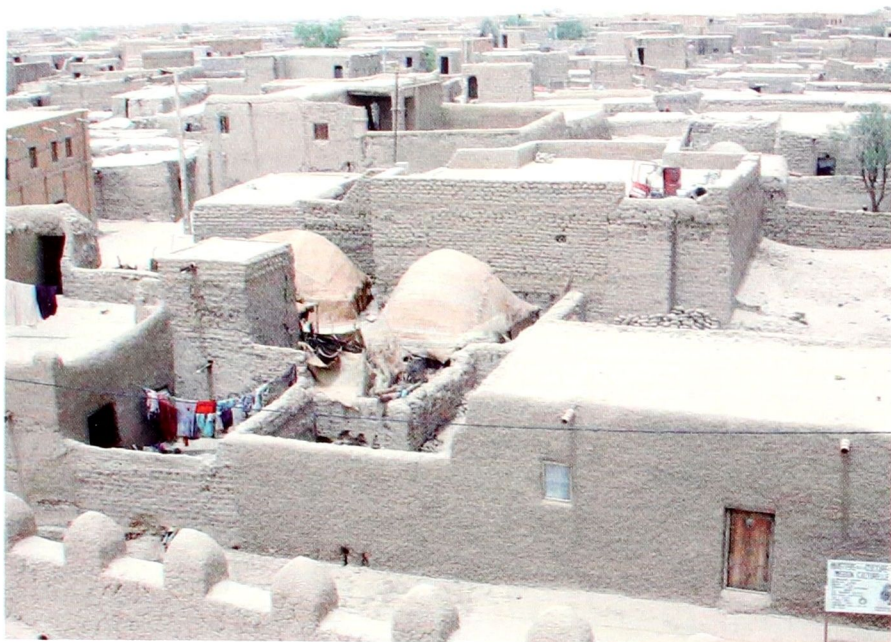Fig. 4: Timbuktu: urban fabric and nomad camp (Bertagnin)

Fig. 5: René Caillié's house in Timbuktu: road view (Bertagnin)

Fig. 6: The explorer Alexander Gordon Laing

Fig. 7: Alexander Gordon Laing's house in Timbuktu (Bertagnin)
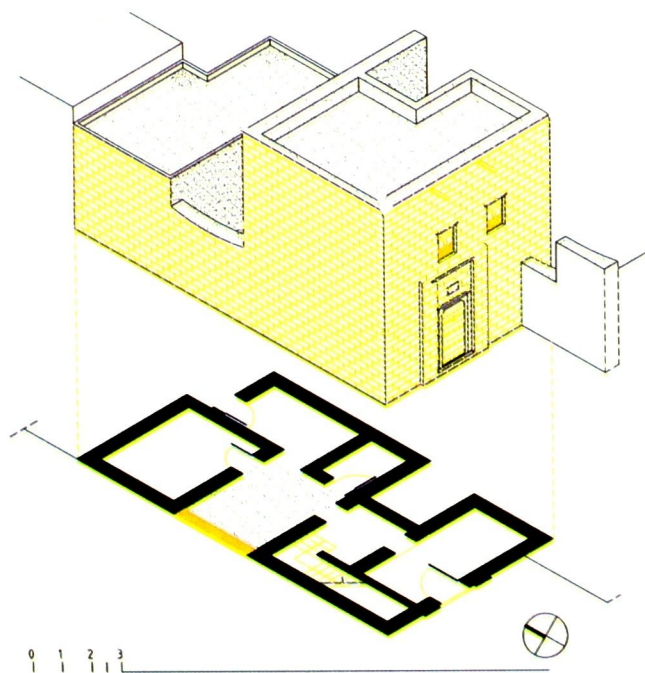
Fig. 8: Alexander Gordon Laing's house: axonometry (Deperini)

Fig. 9: Heinrich Barth's house in Timbuktu (Bertagnin)
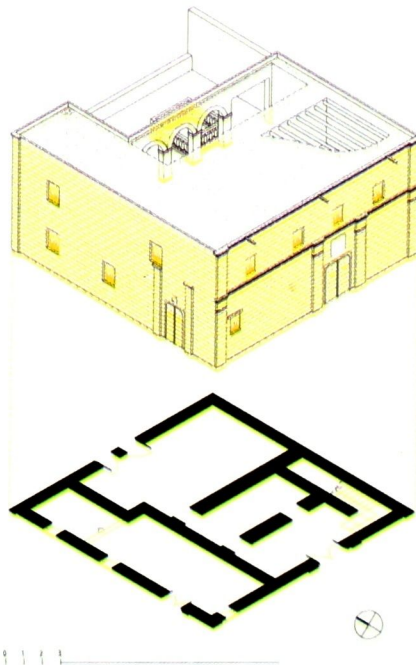
Fig. 10: Heinrich Barth's house: axonometry (Deperini)

DER ÖSTERREICHER OSKAR LENZ
KAM IM JULI 1880 NACH TIMBUKTU.
ALS ERSTER EUROPÄER ERREICHTE ER
TINDUF UND ÜBER TIMBUKTU
DIE SENEGALMÜNDUNG.

DIE ÖSTERREICHISCHE GEOGRAPHISCHE
GESELLSCHAFT

Fig. 11: Plaque commemorating Oscar Lenz's house in Timbuktu, no longer in existence (Bertagnin)

The Kampos of Chios:
A comparative study of multicultural blend in architectural type and urban fabric

Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D'Agostino

The architectonic and historical heritage of Kampos, a suburban quarter in the city of Chios, has a cultural choral quality derived from the presence and dominance of different ethnic and cultural groups.

The Greek island of Chios in the northeastern Mediterranean became important in the 14th century due to its vital role as a trade centre for commerce between the West and the East. It also grew as an important maritime stopover for voyages to Constantinople and to the Levant. The main warehouses were in the city of Chios, capital of the island, inextricably linked to the nearby plain of the Kampos quarter (fig. 1). Due to its fertility and agricultural inclination, this plain grew to be very important for the economy of the island. A luxuriant natural environment made this site especially suitable for building houses, originally constructed as towers.

It was in this period that the Republic of Genoa tried to take control of some stopover zones to support its maritime traffic, occupying the coastlines and eastern islands of the Aegean Sea.

In 1346, Genoese families took control of the island of Chios (after an initial attempt at the beginning of the century that lasted a little more than two decades); until that time Chios had been under Byzantine domination. The merchant families obtained possession of the island and administrative autonomy for more than two centuries.[1] The Genoese people settled in the city of Chios, already urbanised by the Byzantines and Greeks, and built their summer residences in the Kampos quarter. In the 15th century they introduced new architectonic ideas into the quarter, chiefly transforming the existing tower buildings into better-articulated houses that took on the character of villas. Even though the families of Genoese origin maintained contacts with the city of Genoa for many centuries, they integrated with the Greek families already there and settled into the society of the island.

James Dallaway, chaplain at the English embassy in Constantinople in 1794,[2] writes: *"As we left the town, the whole valley to the sea is so thickly peopled and cultivated as to be a continuation of its streets. A space of six or seven miles is completely occupied by*

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[1] See Geo Pistarino, *Chio dei Genovesi nel Tempo di Cristoforo Colombo*, Roma 1995; see also Paolo Stringa, *Genova e la Liguria nel Mediterraneo*, Genoa: Sagep 1982, 9-24; 276-282.

[2] Quoted by Fanny Aneroussi and Leonidas Mylonadis, *The Kampos of Chios in its Heyday. Houses and Surroundings*, Smyrni: Akritas 1992, 21; 130.

country-houses, gardens and orangeries of many acres... The houses are all of stone, large and lofty, with the best rooms at top, opening to terraces. Some of them, evidently contemporary with the Genoese, look like castellated towers of a capricious form."

In 1566, the Ottomans annexed the island to their empire. Architectonic elements that were clearly of an Ottoman matrix are present in the city of Chios but not inside the Kampos quarter.

Whereas in the city of Chios the different cultures produced a kind of architectural list with clearly distinguishable language and building techniques, in the Kampos quarter, multiculturalism achieved a synthesis. It is this most interesting aspect that makes this settlement a unique example.[3]

The influence of the Genoese settlement model and the villa in the local synthesis

A superficial interpretation of the layout of the Kampos quarter of Chios gives an immediate impression of being a typically Genoese suburban settlement model. We refer to the model that rose, between the 15th and 17th centuries, outside the city walls of Genoa, to the east in the suburb of Albaro and to the west in Sampierdarena. The structural features of those two cases of an urban fabric formed of villas are similar to those of the Kampos fabric. However, the original model came into contact with cultures different than the Genoese, and subsequently underwent a change. It generated a unique example in the Kampos, whose architectonic and urban complexity we cannot find in other parts of the island or in other geographic regions of this part of the Mediterranean, such as the Balkan area, the Greek islands of the Aegean sea, the Anatolian coastline of the Aegean sea, Cappadocia, Syria, Lebanon and the southeast regions of Anatolia. Though we do not find examples in these regions that could lead to a common matrix with the Kampos model, we do find, however, within their architectural heritage, some common components combined in a new and original synthesis.

The aspect we would like to underline is that this uniqueness and unity could derive from a series of influences, from the exchange of design and construction practices and techniques, from loans and common sources.[4] They cannot all be identified, but they do suggest a code for interpreting some aspects of the Kampos quarter shared with other contexts.

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3   See the following texts for more in-depth studies of the Kampos quarter of Chios: Aneroussi and Mylonadis, *The Kampos*; Charalambos Bouras, *Chios, Greek Traditional Architecture*, Athens: 1992; Arnold C. Smith, *The Architecture of Chios, Subsidiary Buildings, Implements, and Crafts*, London: Tiranti 1962.

4   See Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: a Comparative Study in the Interaction with Neighboring Cultures" *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 116-156; see also Maurice Cerasi, "Tipi, Prestiti e Convergenze nell'Architettura del Mediterraneo Orientale" in: *Architettura e città del Mediterraneo tra Oriente e Occidente*, Genoa: 2002, 115-149.

The sea trade that reduced geographic distances and allowed close contacts without doubt facilitated the flow of architectural ideas. Maritime traffic brought Genoese ships along the Anatolian coastlines of the Black Sea to Trebizond. That city had been the departure point of one of the Silk Routes into Persia and China. Later, with the Ottoman takeover of Anatolia and the fall of Constantinople, Chios became a mandatory stopover for ships sailing from Venice to Istanbul and into the East. Furthermore, due to the position of the island and to the important Greek communities settled in the entire region, it was not unusual to have close relations with the nearby Anatolian coastlines, the islands of Rhodes, Lesbos, Crete and with the most distant Cyprus.

The simultaneous presence of different cultural factors characterised the evolution of the Kampos villa within its historical process.

The houses of the Kampos quarter were originally constructed in the 14th century as temporary residences and warehouses, built as isolated towers. We do not know the paternity of these buildings, nor do we know whether they were originally built as towers by the Greeks following a widespread tradition in the Aegean, and subsequently turned into villas by the families of Genoese origin, or if they were built directly by the Genoese who imported the tower model originally present in the suburbs of Genoa to Kampos. Plausibly, they were probably turned into villas not later than the 16th century through the addition of new architectonic elements and volumes to the towers. We can see that the process of transformation of towers into villas was already underway when the anonymous 16th century view of Chios, now in the Genova-Pegli Naval Museum, was painted. In that painting can be identified some tower-like buildings and others more articulated and similar to the surviving ancient villas, and in which new elements have been added to the original nucleus (fig. 2). In their text Aneroussi and Mylonadis propose a different explanation of this evolution, thus assuming a later development.[5]

The Genoese imported a pre-renaissance style villa to Kampos that had been developed in Genoa up to the 16th century, along a typological line which can be defined conventionally as the "pre-Alessi" type.[6] This type was assimilated into and modified by the local culture, producing a new idea of villa and of architec-

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[5]   See Aneroussi and Mylonadis, *The Kampos*, 130-131: *"The structure of the Kampos area (with its citrus groves, estates, houses and road network) was established as early as the 14th century. Up to the late 17th century, travelers report the existence of stone houses built in a square tower form that look like small fortresses and are called "pyrgos" (tower). Most of them afford a drawbridge for defense purposes in the incidence of invasions. Progressing towards the 18th century, the character of the house changes: it develops into a villa (firmly attached to the name of "pyrgos"), with broad openings, majestic external stairways, split up volumes over the floors. The house opens up to its immediate surroundings, the grove of dense trees and fragrances. It is spotted with belvederes at various levels carrying elaborate ornaments on marble and porous stone."*

[6]   See Emmina DeNegri, Cesare Fera, Luciano Grossi Bianchi, Ennio Poleggi, *Catalogo delle Ville Genovesi*, Genova: 1967; Paolo Marchi, *Le Ville del Genovesato*, Genova: 1983; Pistarino, *Chio dei Genovesi*; Stringa, *Genova*, 9-24, 276-282.

tonic character that kept evolving until the 17th century and became typical of the Kampos quarter.

Although in contemporary Genoa a new model imported by the architect Giangaleazzo Alessi prevailed at that time, in Kampos the current Genoese models were no longer used, and the locally developed models were no longer updated on modern developments, despite the fact that many families had kept up their ties with their city of origin.

Throughout its historical evolution, the Kampos villa kept a pre-Alessi layout, assimilated and modified by local culture, which included many features and elements common to the stone architecture of the Anatolian-Syrian and Cappadocian area, and some partial aspects similar to those of Ottoman domestic and monumental architecture.

To understand the idea of Genoese suburbia in Chios, we can compare the Genoese residential fabrics of Albaro and Sampierdarena with the residential fabric of Kampos. This comparison reveals certain fundamental analogies (figs. 3, 4).

The morphology of all three quarters is made up of a road system formed by a main web of streets and more or less orthogonal paths branching from these. The main web runs parallel to the coastline and is directly connected to the city. The layout of the road system created an irregular grid made up of narrow laneways enclosed between high stone walls hiding the house plots. These walled-in streets are commonly called *creusa* in Liguria. The term originally referred to spontaneous paths along the ridges rising from the sea up the hills of the city of Genoa. Later the term was extended to other short paths and streets paved with bricks or *"risseu"* (ornamental paving of gravel or cobblestone), enclosed between dry-stone walls that run along orchards in rural areas or that link the villas to the main streets.

In the *creusa*, the wall became an element that separated the public street from the domestic space of the land plot, but without closing off reciprocally these areas altogether. The fact that the villas edge up to the *creusa* guarantees that the two spaces—street and plot—maintain a continuous relationship. The laneways of the Kampos quarter and the Genoese *creusa* are distinguished from the streets of the Arab city and the Greek *polis*, where the roads become walled streets and the houses take on an introverted character, not revealing themselves formally on the public street by any architectonic elements.

In the three urban fabrics examined, the villas are positioned along the *creusa* and face each other in a casual sequence, with no precise zoning. They are arranged in alternate sequence, and the overall perception is one of a harmonious rhythm of void and volume.

The villa is almost always on the street margin of the land plot, thus dominating the open space.

In Kampos this placement of the villa allows it to overlook the public street and opens it up to the landscape. This is determined by the need to make as

much use as possible of the land plot for agricultural purposes, particularly for the cultivation of citrus fruits. This explains why the land plot develops more in depth from the street than in width, thus creating a very marked and characteristic *creusa* -wall-villa-open space sequence.

The peculiar relationship of land morphology and road network in Kampos results in the main roads being more or less flat while the secondary roads follow the slight slope of the land and are connected to the waterways and to the sea. In certain circumstances these paths fill up with water and can turn into small streams, but the presence of raised curbs on the sides allows their use in any weather condition.

In the residential fabric of Albaro the *creusa* are positioned on the ridges of the hills that lead down to the sea; the very big land plots run down into the valleys between the hills, giving the villas a very dominating position.

In Sampierdarena the building volumes are larger due to the presence of Alessi-style villas, which are also often placed inside the land plot, isolated from the garden wall.

But to fully understand the settlement pattern of the Kampos fabric we need to do more than identify the Genoese matrix. We must seek other references. In the Ottoman residential fabric we find an example that includes common features with this idea of suburbia: the garden city parallel to Safranbolu[7], a city in northern Anatolia not far from the maritime sections of the Black Sea, also known to the Genoese. In this case the road network is determined by the slope of the land and is made up of some streets that are set out on the flat area, following the flow of the contour lines, united crossways with other streets that follow the slope of the land. The same street network seen in Genoa and Chios is present, but here it is somehow different. The streets of this suburb do not have the hierarchy of the preceding examples as they lack linear continuity with the routes leading from the city.

Kampos reflects a particular idea of nature. In part it connects to the agricultural exploitation of the estates and in part to the coexistence and continuous relationship between nature and architectonic elements. There is an emphasis in the contemplation of open space—natural and manmade—determined by terraces and loggias overlooking street and landscape, not unlike the Genoese suburbs. Describing the life and use of the villas, Aneroussi and Mylonadis draw our attention to the social and natural continuum in which they are set: "*We lack sufficient information regarding social life in the Kampos. However, it is easy to figure out the kind of living in the shady and fragrant air all through the Kampos' heyday, when each one of the 220 estates throbbed with vibrant life. The large drawing rooms and the spacious courtyards invited crowded gatherings and celebrations. Some travellers report that recep-*

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7   See Maurice Cerasi, *La Città del Levante: Civiltà Urbana e Architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei Secoli XVIII-XIX* , Milan 1988, 102-106.

tions in honour of foreign officials were often accompanied by musical performances and by folk dancing. Travellers also refer to the assemblies of women sitting at stone parapets outside gateways, or to the buzzing curious crowd of servants during their visiting."[8] In this context, greenery and open space have more weight than the residences. This, of course, comes from the agricultural use of the land plot, which on a broader level leads to a low building density (it has to be recalled that low building density is a real characteristic of Ottoman cities that in this aspect are clearly differentiated from the walled cities of the European and Arab Mediterranean). Moreover, in the Kampos quarter, there is also an acceptance of nature as a whole and in its independence from the manmade.

The mediation between architecture and nature occurs through the architectonic elements and not through formal gardens. A seat, a pergola, a cistern are formally precise elements in themselves <u>that</u> are distributed in space with no geometric layout and without a precise order except that of being placed for the pleasure of contemplating nature. The taste some of them hold for these architectonic elements and for the privileged position can also be found in Ottoman architectonic culture[9] and has a common matrix with the northern regions of the Aegean and Macedonia that goes back to the Hellenistic antiquity and partly to Byzantine architecture.

The analysis of the layout and volume of the Kampos villas reveals the iterated recourse to elements that determine a precise typological idea (figs. 5, 6, 7, 8).

The stone wall of the *creusa* is a continuation of the masonry mass of the villa. Entry is through a gateway separate from the main building volume. This gateway is clearly distinct from the ring-wall as a result of its architectonic idiom and because it is higher than the wall. It is a few steps above the street or at the upper end of a ramp, and gives access to a paved garden, usually of a domestic nature, which intercedes between the *creusa*, the entry to the villa proper and the cultivated parts of the plot. Various architectonic elements help articulate this relationship between open space-volume-street, including seats, pergolas, pools, wells. The *risseu*–paved garden, enriched by these elements, establishes a privileged relationship with the orchard behind it, in some cases extending into it with a pergola and paved pathway. *Risseu* decorated paving consisting of cobbles can also be found in Genoa, rough and unpretentious in the *creusa*, multicoloured and artistic in the villa entrances.[10]

The main element of this part of the villa is the stairway, outside the building volume, which unites the ground floor, set up as a storage area, to the inhabited first floor, and participates in the overall volumetric expression. As well as being

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8   See Aneroussi and Mylonadis, *The Kampos*, 26.
9   See Maurice Cerasi, "Il giardino ottomano attraverso l'immagine del Bosforo", in: *Il Giardino Islamico. Architettura, Natura, Paesaggio*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Milan: Electa 1994, 217-236.
10   See Maria Xydas, *Vot salotes avles tis Chiou*, Athens: 1979.

functional, the stairway has a formative function, as it is placed on the façade or inside the plot and generates points—terraces or loggias—which have a privileged look over both the public street and the open space. The role of the terraces is fundamental for the articulation of the villa. Acting as important *belvedere*, they also become elements that link the various buildings of the house, render the distribution of the upper floors functionally possible, and determine the composition of the façade through setbacks, overhangs and ledges. Stone benches adorn these places providing an overlook, and highlight the sense of permanence.

A series of cantilever brackets with arcatures interposed *sportum de archetis*, hold up the overhangs and suspensions on the street side and are common to Genoese architecture (fig. 9). From the 13th century on, in Genoese domestic architecture this ornamental motif separated the ground floor façade for use as a shop from the *caminata* and the upper inhabited floors.[11]

Vaulted areas were created under the outdoor stairways or at the ground floor, becoming covered or colonnaded passageways.

The Kampos villa was generally a two-storey building, not a single geometric volume, but an articulated aggregation obtained by the addition of simple solids. The ground floor, which is more introverted and mainly relates to the garden, appears more compact in relation to the *creusa*.

In the upper parts, the volume of the main residential floor is lightened by the towers that intensify its sense of verticality and by being stepped back to form terraces.

The masonry of the main building and of the ring-wall were treated with the same technique consisting of average-size ashlars set along horizontal courses. In the main building of the villa, the stone is more finely processed, giving a very strong and solid aspect to the wall mass.

The typological idea of the Kampos villa is not the result of a single notion but derives from the superposition of various languages, and from Western, Ottoman, Syrian, Anatolian architectural influences, some recognisable and others whose action we can only presume. The Kampos area has a cultural wealth that comes from an accumulation of different elements and factors, and this is what makes it so multifaceted.

The Kampos villa: exchange of typological concepts and building techniques

The pre-Alessi villa may be considered, due to the aspects that we will examine, the seed from which the idea of the Kampos villa developed between the 15th and 18th centuries.

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[11] See Ennio Poleggi and Paolo Cevini, *Genova, Le Città nella Storia d'Italia*, Bari: 1981, 56-61.

The pre-Alessi villa type developed in Genoa until the 16th century was characterised by the aggregation of independent volumetric elements at different heights. The result was an articulated layout, which extended its elongated composition on a longitudinal axis (fig. 10). This system enabled the pre-Alessi villa, like the Kampos villa, to adapt itself to the morphology of the land without dominating it as an element in itself. The rise and fall of the land was exploited to create a relationship between the landscape and the architectonic system. The special relationship with the landscape was obtained through loggias, placed at the corners of the building volumes. In Kampos, terraces and observation points commonly took up this role.

The loggia of the pre-Alessi villa acts as an intermediary between interior and exterior. In the more developed buildings, the stairway is placed inside the building (although it is not part of the inhabited rooms), and it visually extends into the outer spaces through the loggia, while in the more antique examples the stairway is outside the building, but in that case too, it culminates in an arcade or terrace. Notwithstanding its different position, both in the pre-Alessi villa and in the Kampos villa, the stairway participates much in the same way in the typical succession of spaces: entrance / garden-staircase-loggia / terrace-inhabited floor. As in the Genoese case before the 17th century, in Kampos there are no dwellings with an inner courtyard. In Genoa, this was introduced during the Alessi urban evolution, with the construction of the Strada Nuova.[12] This type of courtyard house is often present in Mediterranean settlements, particularly in those submitted to Arab influence. It is also absent from the Ottoman house proper, namely in the timber house that developed in the heart of the Ottoman Empire between the 17th and 19th centuries, while it exists in a semi-open form in south-east Anatolia. One example of this could be the Mardin house, where the semi-open courtyard is fundamental for the current house type as it appeared in the 19th century. The home garden of the Kampos villa—that part of the plot which is treated as a family garden rather than as an orchard—might suggest a functional use similar to that of the courtyard, but the courtyard's sense of enclosure is subverted, being very open to the natural context.

Curiously, the Alessi type villa, which established itself after the 16th century in Genoa, is not present in Kampos, even though contacts with the city continued and families of Genoese background were present there until the 18th century. This cube-shaped villa with a clear but flexible typology[13] asserts strongly its relationship of dominance and isolation with the landscape. It is important to note that in the Kampos area there are no traces of the Italian renaissance architecture villa.

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[12] See Pietro P. Rubens, *I Palazzi di Genova*, Anversa: 1622; see also Mario Labò, *I Palazzi di Genova di P. Rubens*, Genova: Tolozzi 1970.

[13] See Gianni V. Galliani, *Tecnologie del Costruire Storico Genovese*, Genova: Sagep 1984, Chapter 4.

The Ottoman house,[14] in the relationship that it sets up with the ground floor and in the overhanging elements of the upper floors, has various points that connect it with the Kampos villa.

It retains the general structure in the positioning of the service areas on the ground floor and the living rooms on the upper floors. It also uses the same entrance system to the house, which in certain examples does not occur directly from the main building but from the side, through the enclosure wall of the garden, not through monumental gateways, but through masonry doors.

The volumetric relationship created with the use of strong masonry in the lower part, from which emerge the overhanging spaces with openings, is a connection between street and house that is very similar to that of Kampos (fig. 11). The upper floors create a relationship with the street through bay-windows, apertures and overhangs, while the ground floor is continuous with the edge of the street and has an inner-facing character; the parts nearest to the street are closed and the part facing the inside of the land plot is more open.

However, apart from these partial aspects, the form and image of the Ottoman house are completely different from the Kampos villa.

The common tendency to have a view out onto the public street, in the Ottoman case is linked to the shape of the single room as the basic constitutive unit of its formal essence.

The rooms can be interpreted individually in the Ottoman house, while in the Kampos villas they form through their addition an articulated but solid volume. This leads to a loss of the sense of unity in the cases where asymmetrical composition visually dominates.

The *sofa* type Ottoman houses develop a symmetrical central space around which the rooms aggregate. This central hall, perhaps of Palladian or Venetian origins, is also present in the Alessi house. Ottoman houses and Alessi villas, although in different ways, attribute great importance to these central areas of the house: the *sofa* with the largely fenestrated rooms opening into it, in the first case, and the main hall *(salone nobile)* entered through the loggia, in the second case. This results in a symmetrical layout, extremely rare in the Kampos villas.

A more ancient model of the Ottoman house, the *hayat*[15] type, is also absent. This type features a loggia-like distribution gallery, open on the sunny side of the building, with access via an outside staircase. Even though it is a completely different type, in the sequence created by the staircase, and the distribution gallery opening onto the landscape and the rooms, we find an example that is apparently similar to the qualities already observed in the interpretation of the pre-Alessi house and of the Kampos villa, but in reality very different from the point of view of domestic life, since the *hayat* is a covered space that can also be used

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[14] See Cerasi, *La Città del Levante*, Chapter 8.
[15] See Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House*, Istanbul: Eren 1995.

in winter, whereas the villas of the Kampos quarter were mainly inhabited in summer and access to the rooms was in most cases from open spaces.

The Kampos house has a free distribution, caused by the growth of the building volume through the addition of wings to the original tower. Furthermore, restorations and reconstructions following earthquakes helped give the layout and volume an articulated appearance.

If in the urban or volume tectonic of the Kampos zone we can clearly see a precise distribution plan and a repetition of typical elements (gateway, paved garden, staircase, one or more building volumes, pergolas and cisterns) that we have defined as a typological idea, we do not find in the layout of the villa a definite geometric distribution layout of interior spaces sufficiently repeated in a considerable number of examples to be considered characteristic.

This means that it is not possible to classify the Kampos villa as a standard and repeated typology in itself, or to catalogue it within known architectonic typologies. Since there is no defined geometric order, the layout becomes a summation of rooms that produces an elevated number of dividing walls, with the alignments often not coinciding. This stone masonry takes on its own articulation through the addition of niches, fixed furniture, which is found inside the thickness of the wall itself (on average 50-60 cm thick). The functional use of the wall enriches the inside space, making it possible to eliminate part of the furniture and allows larger openings in the outer walls. Such treatment of the masonry and limited use of furniture is common with other regions of this part of the eastern Mediterranean: in the Ottoman house (however, with a completely different technique because of the use of timber) and in Cappadocia and the Kayseri region and southeast Anatolia, where the stone framework of the houses is very thick.

Ottoman architecture experiences a singular dualism between the short-lived domestic timber buildings and the solid monumental stone ones. In the monumental complexes, the buildings are situated inside a wall and are perceived from the street due to their emerging mass and through openings in the enclosing wall. The openings and the building technique of the enclosing walls, made from stone placed in horizontal courses, is similar to that of the buildings behind it; it is possible to identify common conditions and proportions in the composition. So, in Ottoman monumental architecture the wall and the building do not continue along the street front, with some late exceptions, they rarely blend together as occurs in the Kampos villa, but architectonically they are treated similarly, while retaining a clear distinction. The wall becomes an intermediary element between the street and the inside, but it is not a simple separation of two areas of the city, it is a fundamental part of the architecture. Its formal sophistication is visible in the presence of holes, gateways, fountains and *sebil* that are placed within the composition of the wall itself; it is also visible in the mouldings of the cornices, in the crowning, in the distinguished reference to what lies behind (tombs and mausoleums) through differently shaped and sized fenestration.

The gateway is the entrance to a space that is not geometrically formalised where many elements are found (cemetery, *türbe*, *medrese*, mosque). The Ottoman gateway, though in close relationship with the enclosing wall, often stands out from it by being set out or set further in, or because the continuity of the cornice of the wall is interrupted.

It is important to dwell on the significance of the relationship between gateway and wall.

The monumental nature of the gateways in Kampos and Albaro is determined by the compositional care and attention to details, by the consistency of the emerging elements with respect to the calibre of the street, and by their typical way of interrupting the horizontality and continuity of the *creusa* walls (figs. 12, 13). But this ornate form differs from the Ottoman monumental gateway in as much as it is more closely connected to the house: it has a domestic use. The gateway marks the entrance to the garden and in some cases to the land plot. Emerging from the wall of the *creusa*, it is an important element for the recognition of the house along the street. From this nodal moment of its composition, the wall of the villa changes, it begins to be articulated; it becomes the railing of the staircase, even a building volume, and finally returns to its origin as an enclosing wall.

We perceive the compositional attention given to the Kampos gateways in the particular care taken in the stone courses, often chromatically alternating its colours ranging from red to yellow.

The door proper is made up of moulded abutments by way of pilasters with an arch resting on them, also using bicoloured ashlars. In the 18th century, the gateway of mannerist Renaissance origin underwent changes in form caused by the introduction of Baroque and Neoclassical elements.

In Kampos, like in Albaro, the coping of the gateway juts out from part of the wall with a double profile. The care for the skyline traced by the crowning profile of the gate is similar in form to that of the Ottoman walls of the classical era.

The art of ashlar masonry plays an important part in understanding the Kampos villa. Lombardy workers who remained in the city until the 17th century introduced the architectural technique of freestone in horizontal courses in Genoa in the 12th century. Probably, these workers who came from regions where this construction technique was not used learnt this building art in Northern Syria,[16] a region that had a very long tradition of building with squared and sculpted stone.[17]

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[16] See Tiziano Mannoni, "Circolazione di Maestranze e Idee, nel Mediterraneo. L'Esperienza Genovese", in: *Architettura e Città del Mediterraneo tra Oriente e Occidente*, Genova: 2002, 205-221.

[17] See Georges Tchalenko, *Villages Antiques de la Syrie du Nord : le Massif du Belus à l'Epoque Romaine*, Paris: Geuthner 1953, vol. 2.

It is also possible that the Genoese introduced this skill in Kampos and that it was maintained as a current practice by workers from the Syria-Anatolia area even after Genoese dominion ended, when Chios was annexed by the Ottoman Empire.

The refinement of the stone-work is evident in the alternating composition of the courses of the masonry, in the attention paid to the placement of ashlars in the window and gateway arches, in the vaulted structures, in the care for the overhanging elements, in the detail of the abutments of the doors and windows chromatically distinct from the walls, and in the use of a single block of stone in the space between the window arches and architraves below.

The use of local stone, squared off into blocks, reinforces the sense of solid masonry in the architecture of Kampos and of its construction in layers. The minimum overhang of the line of the eaves and the absence of stringcourses determines simple, prismatic volumes that remind the contemporary observer of 20th century purist architecture. This stylishly simple taste and this working of the stone are more or less absent in the rest of European Greece while these distinctive traits appear in the domestic freestone architecture of the regions of southeastern Anatolia and Cappadocia. Purity of volume design, a feeling for solid masonry are strongly present in the houses of Mardin and of Diyarbakır in southeastern Anatolia and in those of Kayseri and Nevşehir in Cappadocia. In their architecture we also recognise some elements of the shared heritage of this part of the Mediterranean: terraces and viewpoints over the public street, stone wall brackets that allow the upper floors to protrude, access through the gateway or through a door in the masonry that stands out because it is more elaborate.

In the Mardin houses, the sloping sites make it possible to position the building volume between two streets of different levels. This determines the formation of an internal courtyard open on the street side at a lower level and employed for domestic use. The semi-open courtyard communicates with the valley below, retaining a disparity in level from the public street through terraces and viewpoints. The city of Mardin has a very antique masonry tradition and it is used both in religious and domestic architecture (fig. 14). Special care for the cut of the stones occurs around decorations such as cornices, consoles for the overhangs of the upper floors, and observation points.[18]

Regular stone masonry is also present in the Crusader architecture of Rhodes, where the characteristics of formal purity and expertise in the use of stone are emphasised by an almost elementary volumetric simplicity, and by a precise and austere composition.[19]

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[18]   About the city of Mardin see Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris : Boccard 1940.
[19]   See Albert Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes*, Paris: Boccard 1921.

Between the 18th and 19th centuries, complex events in the Ottoman Empire led to the emergence of a new taste and new fashions in architecture. Economic development and the subsequent increase in the mobility of people, of every race and region, facilitated the phenomenon. In Chios, as in Istanbul, and in other parts of the empire, we see a general change in taste and a linguistic contamination that is transmitted mostly through the embellishments. Elements from "western" architecture combined with rediscovered Byzantine architecture. At the same time references to Rococo make their appearance like new words in an ancient discourse, within the most varied architectures such as Ottoman timber houses and Ottoman monumental architecture, as well as in the Kampos villas, in the Greek houses of Istanbul Fener, in the houses of Cappadocia and the buildings in Mardin. This process did not take place in isolated compartments, but transversally involved different types of architecture, ethnic groups and social classes, leading to the birth of a historicism connected to the rediscovery of decorative elements from the past (Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, Mamluk).

Architectonic complexity came thanks to reciprocal influences from the exchange of construction techniques, loans of decorative elements. A significant example is that of the Greek houses of Fener, of the *han* and of the 18th century Ottoman libraries in Istanbul (fig. 15). In the Fener houses, Byzantine origin masonry technique reappears with stone courses alternated with brick; the openings have an arch above the architrave in a composition form that is similar to those seen in Kampos, though different materials are used. The common characterisation of this house type with contemporary Ottoman *hans*—unusual in that culture, which up to then strongly differentiated residential and monumental architecture—gives us an intuition of the processes. Both types, while they do not allude to Byzantine walling, also use the same composition of solid and empty parts on the façade and pay special attention to the brusque cantilever rise of the upper floors, by inserting very elaborate thick stone consoles into the framework.

In the Ottoman monumental architecture of Istanbul we note the appearance of some examples that differ greatly from each other, such as the Neoclassical gateway inserted into the enclosure walls of the new Mint building and the wall of the Küçük Efendi complex that becomes a curving baroque wall with a refined composition of a central fountain and double entry (fig. 16).

In some Cappadocian houses the slight abutments of building volumes are decoratively highlighted by elaborate continuous cornices or by consoles and *arcatures* that seem to lose their structural function to become sculptural or decorative elements (fig. 17).

In Kampos a new decorative taste influenced by Baroque and Neoclassical architecture was adopted when the need to reconstruct or restore many villas ensued as a result of very strong earthquakes. Thus, both the appearance of a new idea of villa and the implementation of new ornamentation led to the introduction of an unusual façade composition that became even more symmetrical, to

the addition of Neoclassical elements such as gables above the windows, but also to the introduction of Baroque arches and overhangs similar to those present in Baroque Ottoman architecture (fig. 18). The new villas, which partly retained the character of the older ones, continued to use the previous walling technique, but the volume articulation was simplified, leading to an impoverishment of the overall profile. The buildings still sat on the edge of the street and were continuous with the ring-wall, but in some cases the entrance to the garden was directly through a portico within the building, eliminating the external gateway.

Along the main road connecting Chios to Kampos, we can find gateways in the Ottoman taste and—this is a novelty that also derives from the Ottoman influence—the addition of marble fountains incorporated in the wall. New geometric forms were used in the gateways of Kampos. A new refinement and articulation, if compared to the linearity of the previous gateways, set in with the introduction of winding and arched profiles (fig. 19). Compared to the classical model, the gateway breaks the horizontality of the coping with a curved design of its profile or with the insertion of a gable. Jambs and arches were replaced with Baroque shaped marble cornices and ornamental motifs of floral taste. Similarly, the entrance doors and windows also reflected the new decorative taste.

After the dramatic events of the 19th century, the tough Ottoman repression and the 1881 earthquake, the population was decimated and Kampos went through a period of abandonment. Even today there are still many uninhabited and degraded villas.

Although the buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have still retained some characteristics of the previous architecture, in the present state a housing culture sensible to the artistic and environmental wealth and complexity of historical Kampos is wholly lacking. The biggest problem seems to lie in retaining with sustainable functions, the character of the place, which does conserve some of its historical architecture, but has also been contaminated by the addition of new buildings.

Multiculturalism has acted in two ways in Chios. In Chios town, where we find very ancient buildings from the Genoese past, buildings with mock-classical decorations and houses with the addition of a timber bay-window that echoes Ottoman houses (fig. 20), multiculturalism is expressed by the coexistence of formally different and autonomous architectural lexicons in the same urban fabric. In that case the action of distinct ethnic groups and architectonic ideas did not converge on a unitary 'project', but evolved separately. In the Kampos district, on the contrary, different architectural ideas, building techniques and design practices of diverse origin contributed to create a settlement pattern and an architecture which had their own specific and original rules. Though many single elements maintained their original distinct aspect, they did not sum up to a cold and inexpressive serial effect. They gradually blended and in their multicultural complexity and richness produced a fundamental sense of unity.
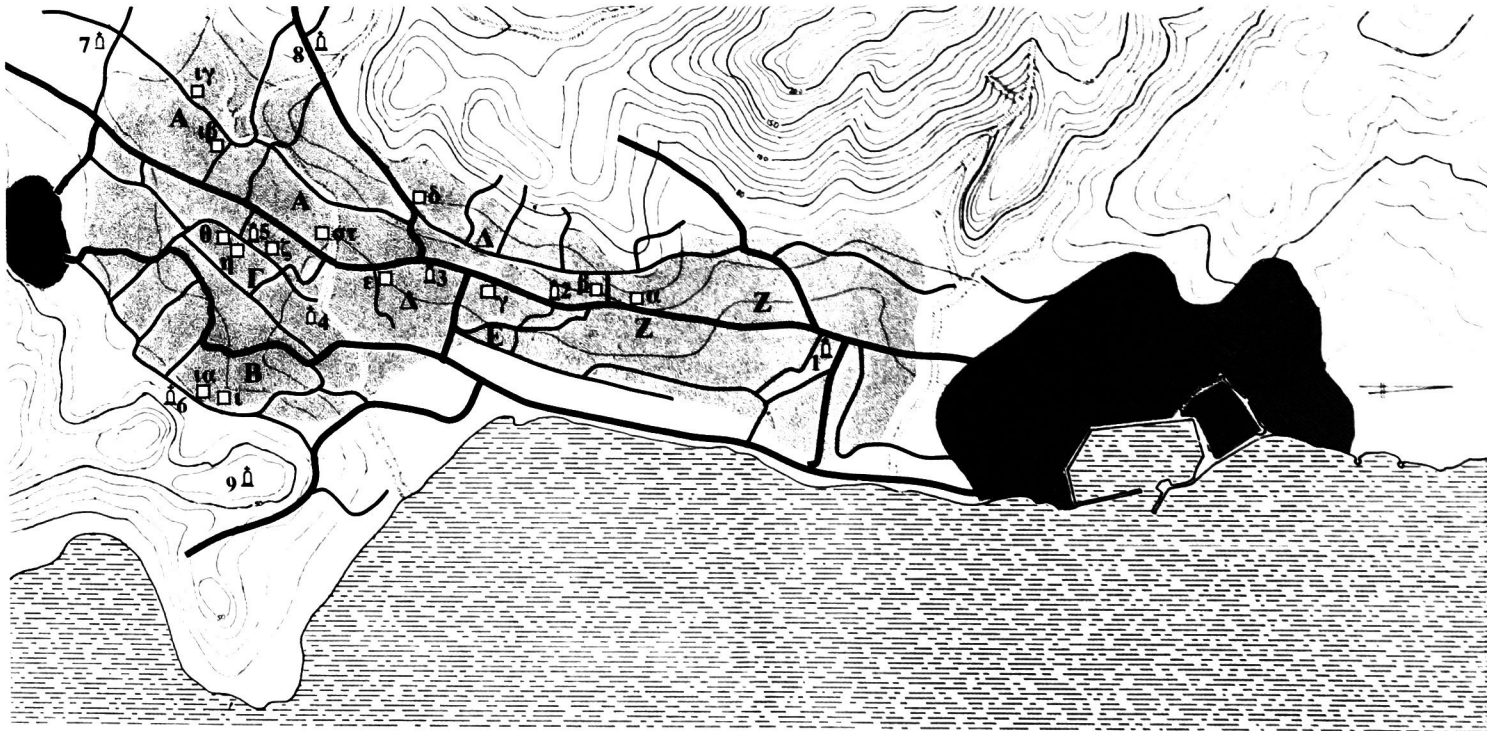
Fig. 1: Map with the city of Chios to the right and to the left the Kampos area, from F. Aneroussi 1992
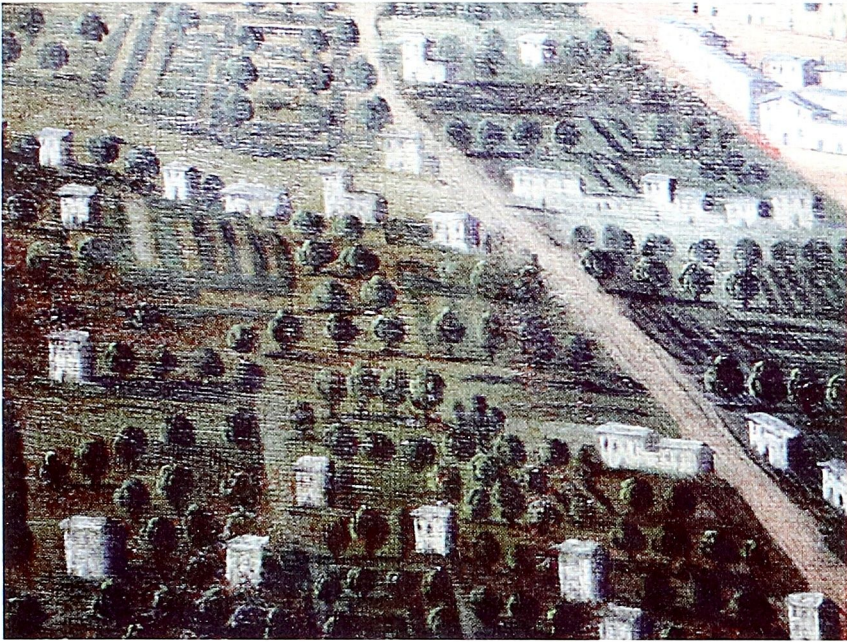
Fig. 2: Chios, detail of late 16th century painting (Anonymous, Genoa Pegli, Municipal Naval Museum), presence of traditional tower buildings and of volumetrically better articulated villa types
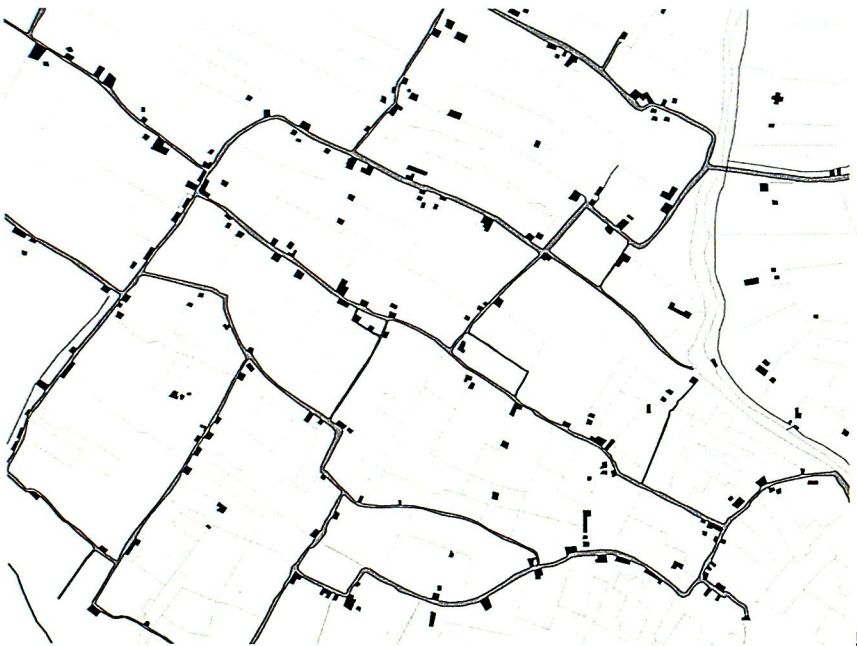

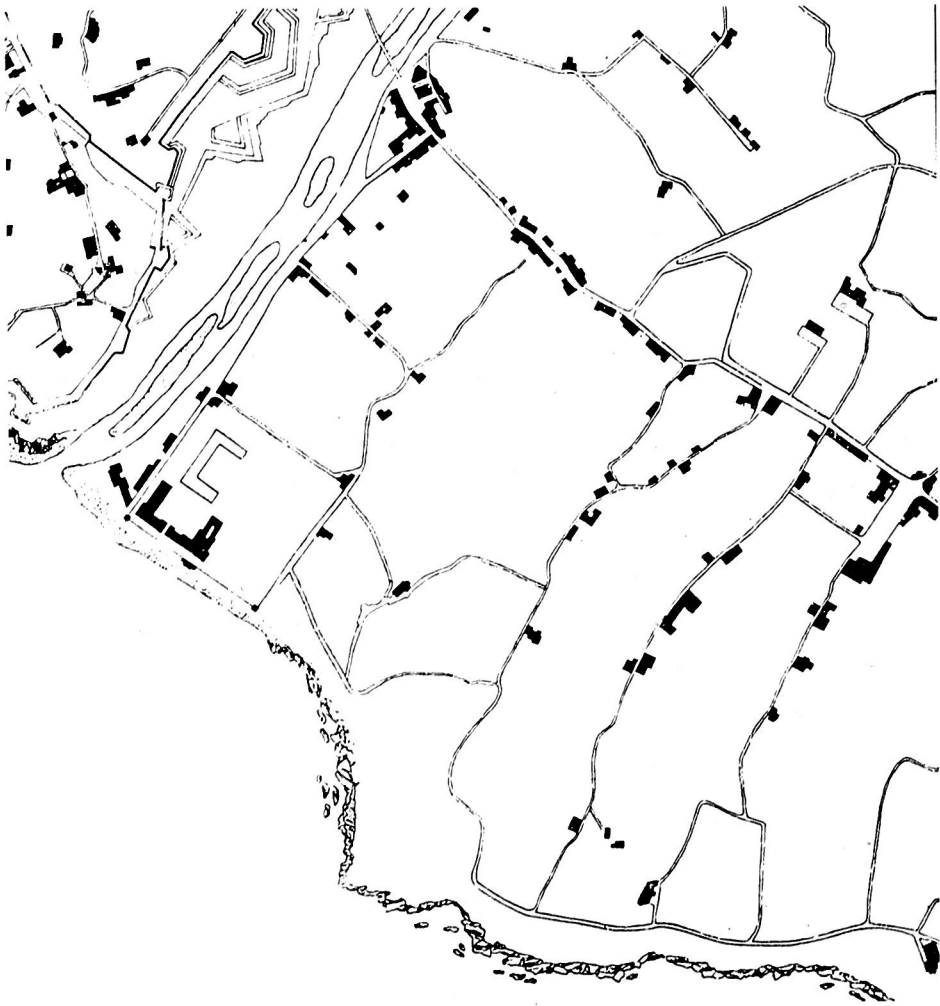Fig. 3: Residential fabric of the Kampos in Chios, revised from A. Smith 1962

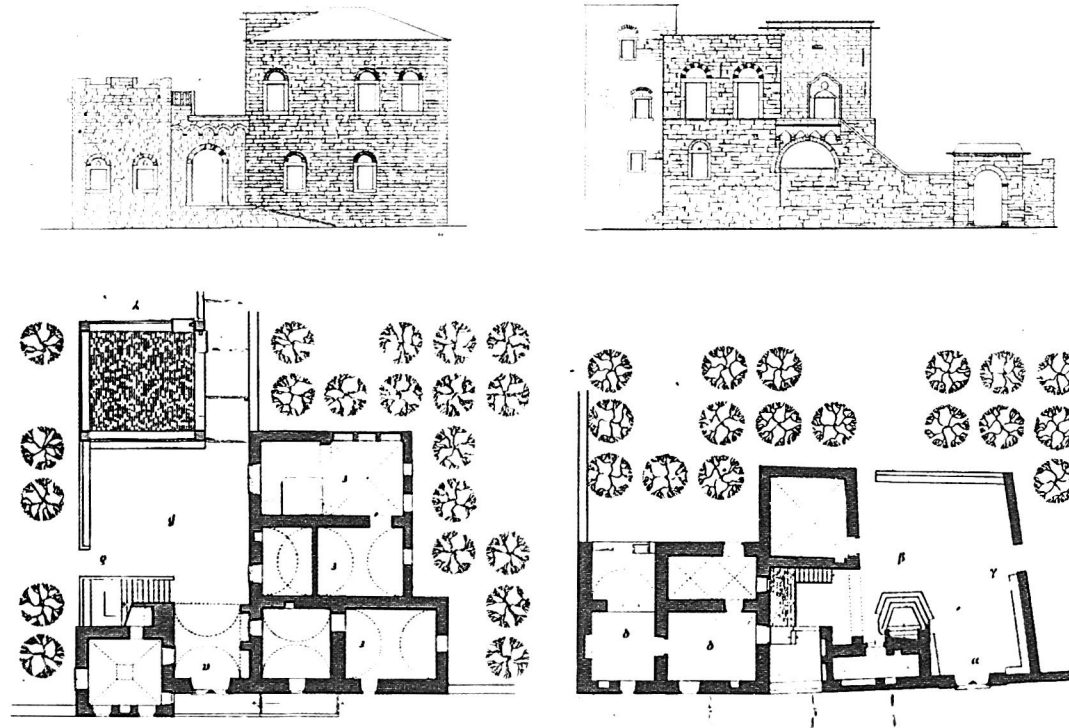Fig. 4: Residential fabric of the suburb of Albaro in Genoa, mid-17th century

Fig. 6: Plan and view of villas Paspati and Iamos in Chios in the Kampos quarter, from F. Aneroussi 1992

Fig. 7: Villa Iamos in the Kampos quarter, Chios
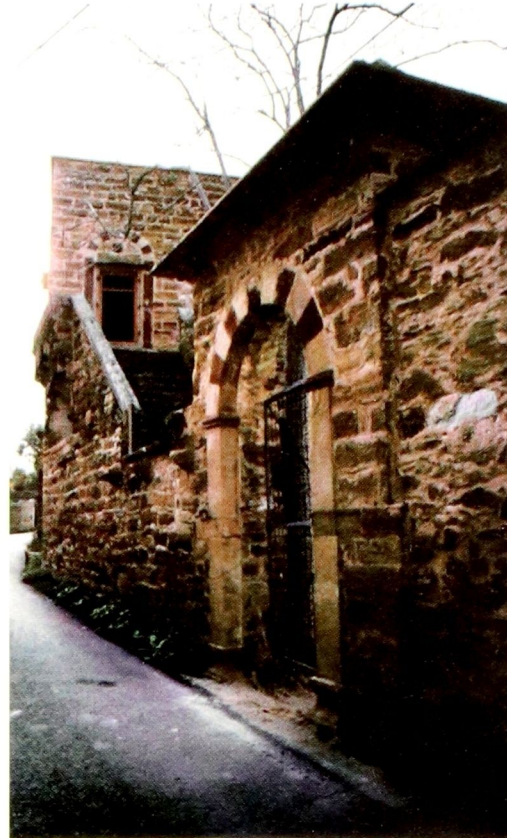
Fig. 8: Villa Mavrogordato in the Kampos quarter, Chios

Fig. 9: Details of cantilever brackets with arcatures placed in correspondence with the parapets of the terraces, in the Kampos quarter, from F. Aneroussi 1992
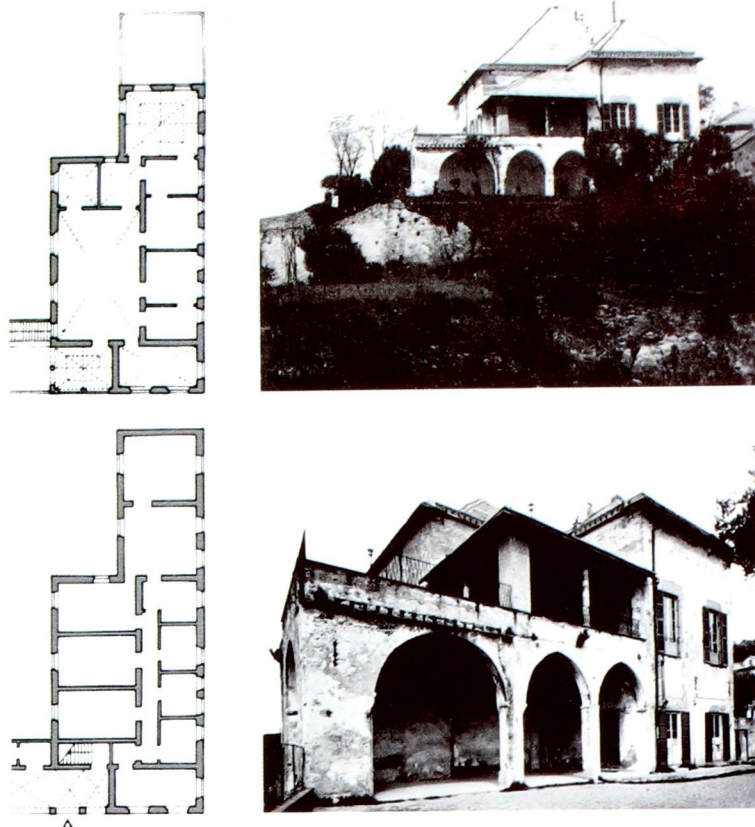
Fig. 10: Villa Tomati in Genoa, pre-Alessi type, late 15th century
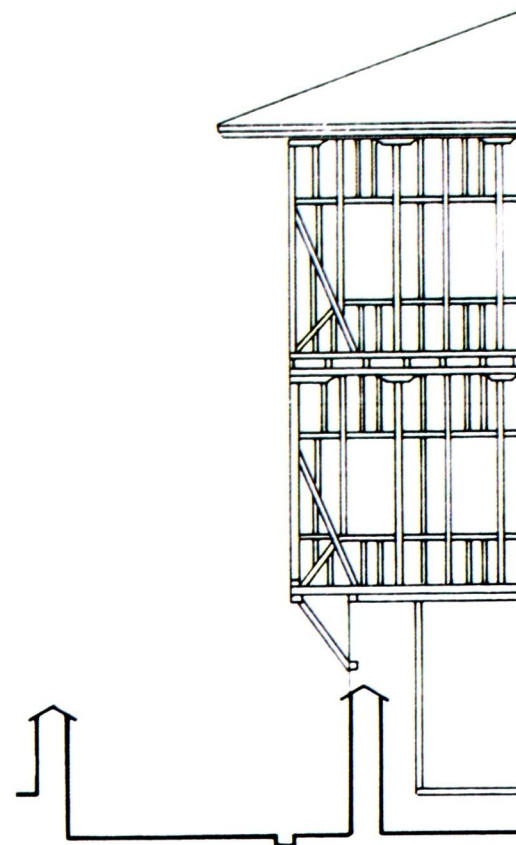
Fig. 11: Ottoman house in Safranbolu

Fig. 12: Entrance gateway in a *creusa* in Albaro, Genoa

Fig. 13: Entrance gateway in the Kampos quarter

Fig. 14: Stone masonry houses in Mardin

Fig. 15: "Greek" house in the Fener quarter of Istanbul

Fig. 16: Gateway and enclosing wall of the Mint building in Istanbul, early 19th century

Fig. 17: Detail of the façade of a house in Cappadocia
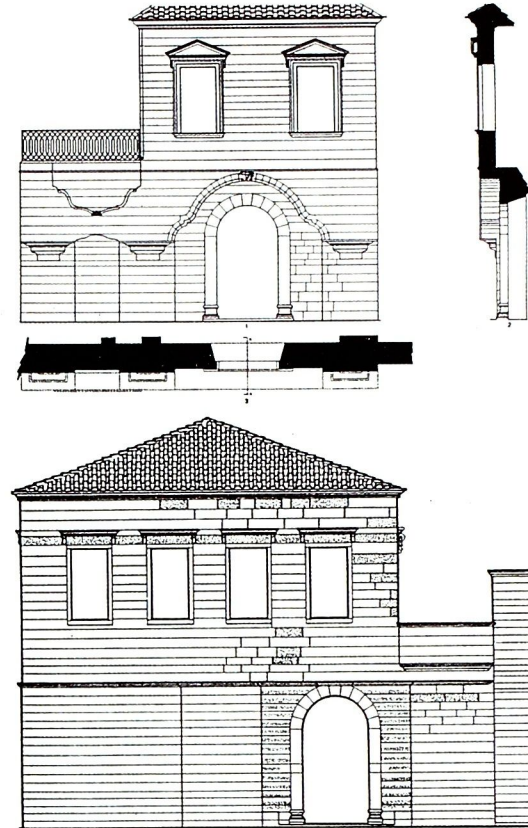
Fig. 18: Views of 19th century villas in the
Kampos quarter, from A. Smith 1962
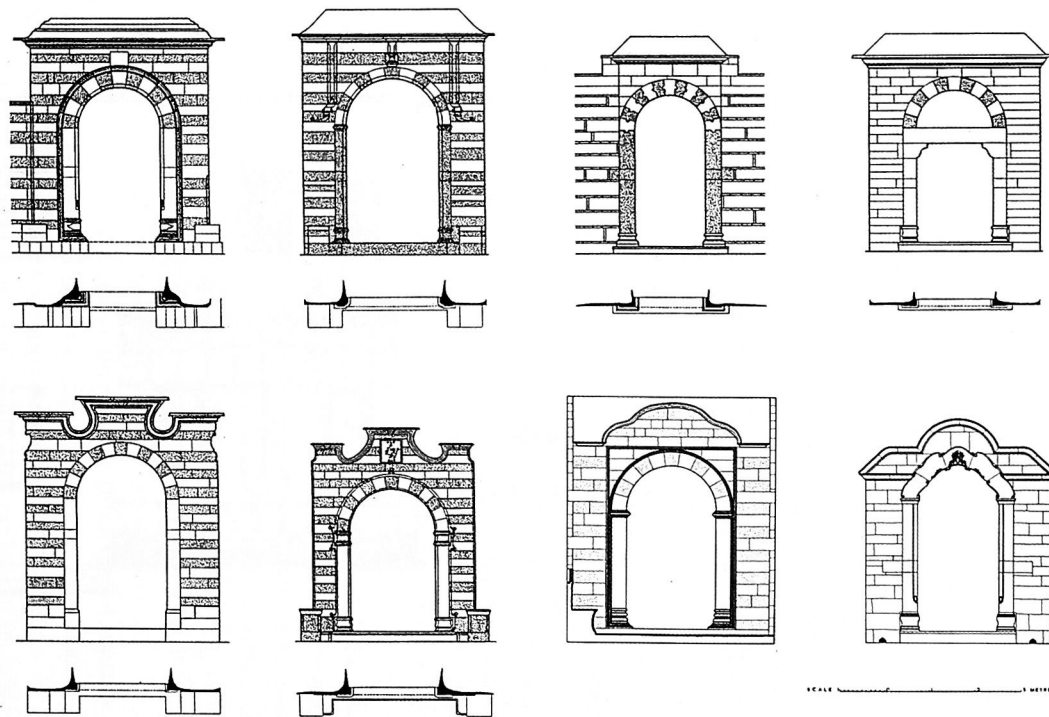
Fig. 19: Entrance gateways to villas in the Kampos quarter. Comparison of classic examples from the 15th-17th centuries (above) and from the 18th-19th centuries (below), from A. Smith 1962

Fig. 20: Buildings variously dated and of various cultural origin in the city of Chios

The multicultural town form
in the North-Eastern Mediterranean:
conflict and harmony

Maurice Cerasi

Ottoman domination, in all just another form of colonialism, was nevertheless an incentive to ethnic, social and cultural coexistence and overlapping: it allowed a sort of patchwork of regional and ethnic cultural autonomy, and yet in some vital periods (around the mid-eighteenth and late nineteenth century) acted as a referential model for 'modernization', giving unity to all ethnic and religious groups within a given region. So far as architecture and town life were concerned, Ottoman conservatism and reformism, contradictorily active for almost two centuries, had caused Western ideas to filter slowly through Istanbul, reaching the provinces in a pre-digested form far less disruptive to traditional typology and crafts. The cultural gap between the dominant classes and lower local urban population was not as huge as it was in Western colonies in Islamic lands.

Far from being a period of stagnation and involution, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the stage of typological and urban evolution, of development in the building professions; and all this without the loss of ancient traditions. On the contrary, they were re-elaborated and combined with new models of Western origin or from other regions of the Levant. In some regions the mid-eighteenth century, in others a later period, bore great creativity. Western influences were combined with local historical inspiration.

Internal regional connections were important and reflected the internal coherence of the area despite its ethnic potpourri. The connection between Cairo, Istanbul and Damascus is evident in their parallel processes of technological and typological Westernization, of rediscovery of historical traditions, despite their deep differences and the diverse turmoil of historical revivals in taste (for example the rediscovery of Seljuk and Armenian themes in the North-East, the return to Mamluk models in the South-East, etc.).

This explains the extraordinary vitality of the processes of transformation and hybridising shown by the architecture and the towns of the region between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century and the implicit lesson of architectural design they contain: how to transform a type with no loss of its basic characteristics. Two series of splendid examples of such creativity are the eighteenth century Cairo *sabīl*s and fountains and the Damascene central *sūq*s after the Midhat Pasha reforms. The first recombine Stambouli (or so-called Ottoman) Baroque themes (Western inspired but fundamentally Ottoman-Turkish in concept) and

local Mamluk ornamental motifs and sense of volume.[1] Were these historical references due to the survival of ancient craftsmanship, or were they derived from a deliberate and knowledgeable historicism? The second examples take up the ancient theme of the covered bazaar, widening the covered street to Western standards, covering the space with Western roofing techniques in steel, cast-iron and glass, and giving a new version of *han* typology, which had formed the hinterland of the *sūq*-street, this time with Parisian passage-like glass covered small courts called *wakāla* (fig. 1).[2]

In the process of change, conflicting forms and types, as well as different visions of town life and different functional perspectives accumulated, much as geological detritus would in a volcanic area. Traditional Islamic *ṣibyān* primary schools were built next to Western-oriented technical schools, but they had absorbed Western architectural leitmotifs (fig. 2). Groups of minuscule bazaar shops next to large general stores dealing in modern products could stand within the same urban context and even within the same street. The same patrons would commission Ottoman or Mamluk style fountains or Neo-baroque or Liberty fountains.[3] The many archetypes which coexisted in one and the same society and in one and the same period in the Eastern Mediterranean all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not merely alternative historic developments.[4] They were also individual options simultaneously accessible to patrons and builders.[5] Since the eighteenth century in the Levant there had been a pronounced richness of exchange and a mental attitude that favoured a plurality of 'modes'. During those two centuries, all Levantine architecture that had not lost all reference to local typology and semantics, acquired a richness of sources and variety of detail verging on stylistic confusion. And yet, within the vast geographical extension of the region the same fashions reigned, though not all fashions were present in all regions. For that period one could speak of a fundamen-

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[1]   See Maurice Cerasi, "Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture – 1720-1820" in: *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. "A Supra-National Heritage"*, eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, Istanbul: Yem 2000, 34-42.

[2]   I owe my knowledge of the Damascene *sūq*s to visits guided by Stefan Weber and his "The Transformation of an Arab-Ottoman Institution: The Sūq (Bazaar) of Damascus from the 16th to the Twentieth Century" in: *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. "A Supra-National Heritage"*, eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur and Selçuk Batur, Istanbul: Yem 2000, 244-253. See also his contribution to this volume "Changing Cultural References: Architecture of Damascus in the Ottoman Period (1516-1918)".

[3]   See Maurice Cerasi, "Un Barocco di Città – Trasformazioni Linguistiche e Tipologiche nel Settecento ad Istanbul", *Quaderni di Storia dell'Architettura* 3 (2000), 81-102, and Cerasi, "Historicism".

[4]   Maurice Cerasi, "Some Considerations on Mediterranean Archetypes Active in the Constitution of the Three-Arched Lebanese House Type: Fashion and the Grooves of Memory", in: *La Maison Beyrouthine aux Trois Arcs: une Architecture Bourgeoise du Levant*, ed. Michael F. Davie, Beyrouth and Tours: ALBA – CNRS "Urbama" 2003, 319-342.

[5]   Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press 1986, 148, calls it pluralism.

tal Ottoman cosmopolitanism: the capacity to speak a wide range of languages though not any perfectly, and with a gradual loss of internal coherence.

In some areas and cities of the empire—such as the Balkans, Chios, Istanbul and Lebanon—we observe a surprisingly high combination of elements of style, typology and urban structure derived from diverse sources. Though apparently contradictory, their action at different levels of the construction of the architectural and urban model is harmonious.

Not all of that diversification was due to 'modernization'. Other historical processes of social, ethnic and even generational stratification were at work, and produced fragments of complex and variegated urban fabric with many internal contradictions.

Local cultural and professional traditions and a new pride in historical roots certainly influenced style and ornament and sometimes even type in the towns of South-western Anatolia and Northern Syria in which deeply rooted minority groups—Armenians, Syriac Christians, Yazidi, and many others—all recur to the same stone masonry court house type, and yet differences in taste and architectural elements prevail.

At this point we can put forward the question how these heterogeneous urban fabrics were formed. Their origin has often been attributed to ethnic differentiation. But was this really the case?

The Islamic towns of the Mediterranean have always had, as in all of Islam, a multi-ethnic character. Not only non-Muslim communities were allowed, and even encouraged, to settle in their own autonomous, though politically subordinate, quarters, but also Muslim tribal or ethnic groups tended to regroup and maintain their specific traditions.

Did this reflect on architecture? It rarely did: in most sub-regions all ethnic groups dwelt in the same house-types except for some details of layout or ornamentation; sub-regional differentiation was much stronger than common ethnic or religious grouping. Ethnic differentiation in the fabric, if any, acted mostly because of the different rates of access or of the diverse propensity of different ethnic or regional communities to assimilate new modes and models. Thus, a 'modern' house or school of Syriac Christian patrons might revert to models inspired by the early Byzantine architecture of Northern Syria (fig. 3), [6] whereas a house near Bāb Sharqī in Damascus, perhaps of an Armenian patron or masterbuilder looking to the West and to the imperial capital, would take up a mélange of Stambouli and Western Baroque and Eclectic themes (fig. 4).

In the context I am discussing, multicultural character should be appraised not so much as the coexistence of different ethnic groups, as the coexistence of significant and different urban and typological mentalities belonging to different

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[6]   See Albert Gabriel, *Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris : Boccard 1940, 42-43.

epochs or springing from different cultural origins. Let us examine some typical options.

In Egyptian Alexandria and in the Galata quarter of Istanbul,[7] first Western patrons, and later local Greek and so-called Levantine patrons, introduced, often with the help of locally born or locally centred French, Italian and Greek architects and master-builders, what at first sight could be taken for European models in type, language and use, but which, at a sharper look, are definitely Levantine Modern.

Mixed urban fabric could be formed where two or more of these types co-existed, probably because different groups chose different types: for example, in Southern and Central Greece the mass of Mediterranean Greek housing could be dotted with single houses of the Ottoman core area timber type preferred by Turkish officials and Christian merchants. The prestige of the typical timber house was such, despite its frailty and lack of comfort offered by Middle-Eastern stone housing, that it became a homogeneously accepted element by all classes and ethnic groups. Ethnic differentiation was unthinkable in that area because the traditional mode had evolved rapidly in the syncretic building sites of the main cities to whose experimental creativity all ethnic groups had contributed. It even overstepped its natural geographic and social boundaries. In the eighteenth century the French and Venetian ambassadors had commissioned Ottoman style buildings in Pera (fig. 5). In the late nineteenth century, many important Arab cities had deeply transformed the image and habitus of some of their central streets, encroaching on the previously almost blank street walls of their traditional court housing through widely fenestrated Ottoman-inspired bow-windows. In some central quarters of nineteenth century Damascus, the street-side wing of the classical introverted court house, too, would be rebuilt in the same fashion, totally subverting the physical and psychological outlook of house to public space[8] (fig. 6). In a different way, in Central Anatolia mud-brick houses were gradually transformed in their appearance if not in their typology (fig. 7); or else in the Ottoman core area fashion a timber upper floor with ample fenestration could be added to the massive ground-floor court house, bringing great changes in the way of life.

In other words, change in the 18th-19th century Levant came through contrasting and overlapping cultures. Those were lively, dynamic urban societies in which different groups and communities looked to different modes of life and different ideals, to modernity or tradition. Of course, ethnic and religious groups would not have all the same acceptation of novelty or the same grade of attachment to tradition. But differences also existed within the communities. In town

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7   For the evolution of the multicultural fabric of Galata, see Nur Akın "La Fabrique Urbaine et Architecturale de Galata, Quartier Occidental d'Istanbul" in this volume.

8   Stefan Weber has an interesting reference to the link of public space to housing in "The Transformation of an Arab-Ottoman Institution".

and house-making, the idea of town-life and of house-life the patron or builder wanted to promote mattered much more than ethnic membership.

As long as different architectural types and tastes referred to the same urban morphology—to the same way of linking to street, to the same way of treating volumes and open space, to the same notion of façade and backyard—the coexistence of contrasting models is only a question of language and sign. After all, we can hardly speak of multicultural fabric when in a medieval German town a Renaissance façade or a modern steel and glass house is inserted, maintaining the current alignments, the dominant volume articulation. On the contrary, if in the same town and streets were inserted a slice of a garden city, or a block of blank-walled Ancient Greek houses we would certainly perceive a hiatus in the expression and daily life of that medieval town. We would recognize a cultural conflict.

When dynamic sectors (mostly local, but also some foreign) of Levantine urban society envisaged change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they brought—consciously, or quite unaware—a new idea of the town, new ways of living domestic life. In most cases this disrupted existing physical patterns, and sometimes created problems to the significance of the overall image and structure. The combination of commercial and residential functions in the same building, a novelty for most if not all Levantine towns, had a revolutionary effect on parts of the towns and also influenced plot size and disposition.

Two very different case-studies might exemplify the two facets of the question: that of the main ceremonial axis of Istanbul, the so-called Divanyolu, in which the superimposition of different urban techniques and outlooks (and not ethnic or religious distinction) created havoc, and that of the suburban Kampos quarter of Chios Town, in which the cultural influence of Italian-Genoese architectural and typological concepts endured through change in political and ethnic structure. [9]

Two case-studies

The suburban Kampos quarter of Chios—a splendid example of harmonious multiculturalism described in another essay in this volume[10]—has an urban morphology and an architectural villa type which is a blend of Genoese and local features, of South-East Anatolian, and in part Ottoman, influences (figs. 8, 9). In

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[9]   They are the two main case studies for my research project "Typology and public space in the Divanyolu (Istanbul) and Kampos (Chios): historical analysis and criteria for protection and urban rehabilitation projects", University of Genoa – Italian Ministry of University and Research.

[10]   See Bugatti and D'Agostino "The Kampos" in this volume. Also: Arnold C. Smith, *The Architecture of Chios, Subsidiary Buildings, Implements, and Crafts*, London: Tiranti 1962; Ayda Arel, "Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: the Post-classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *Muqarnas* 10 (1993).

masonry and proportions, in some window combinations, and, in a certain way, in the volume composition, sometimes terraced upwards, in its tradition of finely cut stone masonry we might trace a common language with some architectural types of the Syrian-Cappadocian area. That was a vast area which comprises Chios, South Anatolia, Cappadocia, Northern Syria and Lebanon and some regions of coastal South Western Turkey, linked, well into the nineteenth century, by a considerable web of the main maritime routes and at least one main inland route running from Aleppo to Kayseri and inland. Did an exchange of artisans, masons and master builders occur on these routes or were they commonly influenced by the same agents?

The villas had many additions and were refurbished up to the end of the nineteenth century when the whole Ottoman area was open to Western taste. Ornamental details and composition techniques show the same trends as the rest of the North-Eastern Mediterranean, and there is the same tendency to stitch deftly Western Rococo or Neoclassical ornamentation (similar to that of some Fener houses) onto the traditional masonry, whose strong and generous syntax easily bears the burden. Paradoxically, the central-hall (*sofa* in the Ottoman area) which had prevailed both in Genoa and Istanbul, is never envisaged though the ancient Genoese urban and typological base; and the links of the landed class with Genoa, persisting up to the end of the nineteenth century, should have brought direct late Italian influences (for example of the Alessi type villa). Instead affinities to South Eastern Anatolia and to Byzantine-Syrian domestic architecture are more evident. There was certainly a drive to renovation, much rebuilding and restoration, and yet, as often happens in some marginal language areas, current language remains fixed in old schemes which the mother language has dropped.

The Kampos may be assumed as a paradigm of overlapping languages and structures through the preservation and elaboration of Western influence (in this case, Italian and Genoese, and later, Eclectic), and, at the same time, of distant regional cultures (from Southern and Eastern Anatolia and Northern Syria) acting as a stimulus for renovation. Were masons and master-builders from those continental regions active in Chios? Or, was there a pre-Genoese and pre-Ottoman local building culture in syntony with those areas? I tend to agree with the first hypothesis. After all, the south-eastern regions of Anatolia and the northern sectors of Syria had furnished both pre-seventh century Byzantine (think of the Dead Cities of Northern Syria and of Armenian architecture) and Classical Ottoman architecture (think of Sinān and all the masons and master-builders recruited from those regions) a construction lexicon and a basic grammar. Only late Byzantine architecture and timber-frame Ottoman domestic architecture kept themselves relatively free from that lexicon.

In Crusader Rhodes, we also find a similar blend of Western and Eastern models, but the contrast is stronger because French and Catalan typology and ornamentation, though somehow amended by local and regional craftsman-

ship,[11] did not undergo further evolution after the 16th century, and later, change came in the form of clear-cut insertion of Ottoman period bow-windows on ancient buildings or of new buildings in the existing street web. Here cultural stratification is neat and unproblematic.

Strolling along the streets of the Kampos we have a very strong impression of unity. But the perception of each single part surprisingly refers to a heterogeneous mix of cultural factors. This is no mere impression. A stringent analysis shows that those factors are the product of many cultures and at least two ethnic groups (Italian and Greek) and, plausibly, of many professional groups of diverse origin, interacting to create a very harmonious environment. We perceive: suburban plot repartition, street grid, land use, house-to-street relation and volume positioning fundamentally Genoese but also similar to Ottoman residential fabric; volume form not far from Mediterranean and Southern Anatolian architectural models; outer-wall gates with portals similar in outline (not always in detailing) to those of Classical Ottoman ensembles, but also recalling late Renaissance and Mannerist examples; refined ashlar masonry treatment; house plans unlike those of the Ottoman and Arab areas and somehow similar to early pre-Renaissance Genoese villas; continuity of house volume and garden with no sign at all of the Modern and Renaissance garden-centred freestanding villa type; variety of ancient Genoese, modern Greek, seventeenth to eighteenth century Ottoman, Rococo, pre-Modern Eclectic, even Crusader-Syrian ornamentation and detailing.

Such different references would suggest a fragmented and schizophrenic architectural effect of the over-all environmental picture. But such is definitely not the case. Why? Basically because a new idea of town[12] (here of suburb) has arisen from an eclectic and fundamentally multicultural fabric. There are too many encrustations to say that it is a purely Genoese suburb. Plots and villas are not as large and wide-spread. There are many Orientalist niceties in garden to house complexity (pergolas, water tanks, porches, garden paving, etc.) too over-designed to be casual. They are there to recall the nineteenth century Levantine love of the soft and the sweet and the rich. That is more than a mere image of environment: it is an easily and rationally defined model which has been kept alive by a long process of adaptation through deep functional and stylistic change. An original idea of the Kampos villa was evolved in the course of time from the 14th century tower-house, its prevailing volume and type characteristics having merged with the novel aspects brought by successive waves of fashion and influence. Thus, we find many late nineteenth century villas with no retreating upper volumes, having simple prismatic volumes and therefore forfeiting the

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[11]   See Albert Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes – MCCCX-MDXXII : Architecture Civile et Religieuse*, Paris Boccard 1921, 147-156.

[12]   Concepts such as 'idea of a town' or 'idea of a villa', though at first sight vague (or worse: mystifying), can nevertheless be framed within a few logical parameters.

typical Kampos villa profile. And yet, their ashlar masonry and their house to garden and house to street relations fit the prevailing models and consequently absorb the disruptive effect of the blunt profile. The Kampos stands as a living proof that harmonious environmental conservation through change (no paradox at all!) comes with a gradual adaptation of rationally describable variables.

The second case study is that of the Divanyolu in Istanbul, an example of destructive multiculturalism. This very long thoroughfare, roughly on the Roman Mese, became an Ottoman ceremonial axis and the city's main route from Palace to western gates. Never fully disciplined in a formal way, it embodied the concept of urban space of the Ottomans.[13] Prayer halls, *medrese*s, layout of the street, housing were not oriented in the same way. Minor elements—fountains, cemetery precincts, enclosure walls—had a large part in the urban scene and were finely designed. Single trees exposed as individual elements, single gardens, cemetery voids stood as autonomous elements in the overall composition. Alignments were not based on perspective, symmetry, and iteration. Instead, the whole armamentaria of detailing and niceties of height differences were exploited to underline and dramatize corner situations and elaborate sequences. Its non-serial character contrasted with the Western concept of public decorum imposed by symmetry, centralized hierarchy and serial type reiteration. The 19th century Westernization brought regularity of street level and a deliberately monumental and rhetoric separation of monuments, street cuts, and miserly line of trees muffling the perception of the once splendidly emergent single trees. The outcome was a desperate caricature of the European avenue concept. But the Ottoman monuments were too many to be 'tamed'. Their 'discourse' of urban culture is too loud to be overwhelmed by the new elements; it merely loses its clarity and power of expression. This case can be assumed as a paradigm of the standing conflict between different urban conceptions. Technical and institutional reforms, certainly a vital necessity in nineteenth century Istanbul, were attempted without the cultural instrumentation (technology, mentality, aesthetic sense) necessary to cope with the finesse and the individualistic situations that upheld the traditional town fabric, however chaotic. One grammar or one ideology was abandoned but was not substituted by a coherent new grammar and mentality.

Modernity as 'Otherness'

Why did the two series of conceptions at work in the Divanyolu and the Kampos—Ottoman architecture and urban space or pre-Modern traditional concepts on the one hand, West European urban spatial and typological concepts on the

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13   See Maurice Cerasi, "The Perception of the Divan Yolu through Ottoman History" in *Afife Batur'a Armağan : Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları,* eds. Aygül Ağır, Deniz Mazlum, Gül Cephanecigil, İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2005.

other—result in mutual enrichment in some periods and, on the contrary, in total failure in others when the attempt to apply 'modern' conceptions prevailed with complete loss of the capability to continue local non-Western techniques and concepts?

'Modernity' as opposed to 'tradition', old city against new city, assumes in the Levant all the complexity of the East-West relationship and complicates the issues of conservation and rehabilitation. The passage to modern functions and typological conditions has implied a greater break with the past than in the West. Generations of architects and master-builders have found themselves coping with new problems without referential models. Or better: they would have coped with them in their usual gradual way, adapting old type to new taste and new context, or old taste to new type, and so on, in all the combinations of the three categories. But this was too slow for some of their patrons who reverted impatiently to European or European-trained professionals. The higher the class of the patron, the faster the adaptation or reversion came.

Consider how Ottoman core area housing was gradually changed from the mid-eighteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth. The characteristic timber architecture, and even the room layout and fenestration, were applied to multifamily low-middle or middle-class housing in aridly regular street grids, which had replaced the vivid fabric of the Ottoman town. Dismal in the urban image of the unimaginative street layout applied by European technocrats, at architectural scale the outcome was acceptable thanks to the inventiveness of local master-builders. This was the work of two interacting cultures: that of the technicians and politicians totally converted to an unimaginative version of Western town-planning, and that of the middle and lower-middle urban classes and their master-builders who interpreted new land-uses within Ottoman based linguistic schemes. Modernity for the latter was in that transitory fusion, which did not last long. The upper class patrons had by then abandoned all interest and trust in those schemes and in the feeling thereto attached. Modernity meant for them total Westernization, as far as town and house were concerned (significantly, this was not so in music, poetry and cuisine!). The opposition of the two terms has imposed critical, breaking-point design methods and contents: adoption of so-called 'modern Western architecture' (often in its most static and conventional versions) versus sheer preservation of 'traditional Oriental' types and styles (actually often inventive and evolving). Some Italian, French and Turkish architects sought and mastered a certain fusion: D'Aronco, Vallaury, Vedat did so. But they were a minority elite more effective in dealing with single buildings. Others had more decisional impact on urban space and wreaked havoc with Ottoman space. In the Divanyolu, Barborini's urban rehabilitation scheme for the Çemberlitaş (Column of Constantine) area and his façades applied to the Köprülü *medrese* and Valide *hamam* after they had been cut for street widening are typical examples (compare figs. 10, 11).

The biggest contradiction inherent in multicultural fabric is that variety brings enrichment but also mutual destruction: a given type may imply a morphological context destructive for other types. There have been certain areas of the Galata-Pera district where the open Turkish-Ottoman house and garden fabric coexisted with multi-storey houses with continuous façades and small light-wells in compact and deep Gothic-type terrace plots (fig. 12). One type encroached on the other, not so much for their architectural contrast as for the change they implied in the fabric, if one or the other, would gain quantitative supremacy.

Problems of rehabilitation and redesign

Not all new projects de-structure existing situations. In many of the historical multicultural urban areas where cultural diversity was the rule, different types and languages enriched the overall structure. That was because diversity was not total, did not involve both typological and urban morphology levels upsetting slowly accumulated typological, morphological and linguistic ties. At each step in the transformation, some common links and meanings and significant segments of the pre-existent structure were accepted and even enhanced. This is what happened in the Damascene *sūq* web, in the old quarters of Galata, and in the Kampos. It was not merely a question of sympathetic design or of aesthetic feeling. Objectively some factors of the existing urban form were kept, not for mimesis but because they were significant for the new project, the new language, the new urban morphology. I have already mentioned the factors which created continuity in the Kampos villa system. I believe, and some experiments seem to uphold this belief, that the villa tradition of the Modern Movement could well be applied to that context with no de-structuring effects, if certain conditions were respected, such as the use of stone, the volumes diminishing in height, or the continuity of the walls of the building with the garden wall on the street side. The reason is that the Modern Movement villa conception had in its nature potential elements which would allow this, even better than some of the nineteenth century designs existing in the Kampos. But, of course, designers would have to show comprehension for the existing structure and privilege those decisions and models given within their own cultural system that would tend to enhance that structure. In the Weissenhof Siedlung, the first Mies van der Rohe general design had great unity because he proposed a terracing system (using, by the way, terrace wall-to-house volume continuity) common to all building units. But during the implementation, another aspect of Modern Movement ideology, the individualism of the architects, overran that unity despite common materials and colours, despite the common rejection of roof slopes.

The lesson is that the cultural, morphological system of the last design step has to have something in common with the structure of the existing or 'other-oriented' elements. That is a *sine qua non* condition not sufficient in itself but

without which disaster is easily reached. The unity and continuity that could come naturally and intuitively in the course of slow and gradual change, as happened in many of the nineteenth century situations I have mentioned, has to be sought today rationally and systematically.[14]

The contradictions and conflicts within the processes of formation of the multicultural urban parts are all reflected in the overlapping of languages and structures. As long as single buildings are involved, restoration is a question of form and typology, as in any other historical architecture. But when it comes to the form and values of urban fabric, the difficulty consists in which segment, layer or characteristic factor among the many present has to be recovered in the project. Rarely can all be recovered.

Almost all the urban fabrics discussed in this volume have submitted to continuous transformation from the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. I repeat: the multicultural urban areas had been very dynamic areas. Intense interchange and centrality had attracted variety, superimposing layers of different ways of life, economic action and modes of architecture, which variously referred to the various cultures of the Mediterranean: ancient Arab models, Ottoman, Greek and Neo-Hellenistic and 'Westernizing' models with or without direct presence of Western elements. Their very nature derives from their position in dubious battle between "modernization" (a deeply rooted process starting in the eighteenth century) and "tradition" (however dynamic and renewed). Once lively and commercial outgrowths of prospering historical towns, and therefore open to innovation and experimentation, they are now decaying segments incorporated in the central positions of the modern city. Consequently they are subjected to strong tensions from the point of view of development and town-planning. They are attractive, not only to the historian but also to the developer, and consequently have a high real estate potential. This has turned against them in the past, their fabric being ruthlessly substituted, but might be an asset where cultural awareness calls for quality rehabilitation.

The dissociation of the values and historic characteristics implicit in those structures and those of their actual inhabitants and users who come from very different environments, are by now very marked. The change in the patterns of behaviour and ways of life, the multiplicity of the building techniques used, and the dynamics of change in typology, property, building conditions, and ways of life have reached the point of no return. The sustainability from the point of view of the preservation of existing historical character is a hard challenge to projects aiming at the adaptation to new functional and social needs.

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[14] For rehabilitation that is not merely philological, but based on parameters derived from typological research see Maurice Cerasi, "The Deeper Structures of the Ottoman Urban Housing Tissues: Conservation of Space and Form through Basic Parameters", in *The Ottoman House – Papers from the Amasya Symposium, September 24-27, 1996* , ed. S. Ireland and W. Bechhoefer, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1998, 9-15.

We have to re-invent the sympathetic use and fruition of ancient forms, not only for touristic use, which might be inevitable and useful in the first place but will eventually prove to be dangerous for the stress it creates in the use and functions and for the artificiality it imposes on typological change, and which, in the long run, will rarely give the economic impulse the communities need. Other, more vital and deeply felt uses have to be found, and even invented.

Another crucial question is how to develop differentiated design and building techniques of rehabilitation and re-use compatible with the overlapping, heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting urban concepts and typological forms in the fabric.

There can be no general rules. Each case has its characteristic mix of structures and its architectural and town-planning potentialities. In the two case studies I mentioned above, much as in Galata or in the *sūq*s of Damascus and in all other segments of multicultural Levantine towns which express superimpositions, dynamic coexistence and formal and functional conflict, mere conservation, i.e. the mere preservation of existing elements, is almost impossible, and would anyway be negative for the preservation of their traditional character, which is not static. It would leave the standing contradictions unresolved.

In the Divanyolu case the contradictions and conflicts due to superimposed distinct town design concepts (Ottoman eighteenth century and Western late nineteenth century) determine notable difficulties. The question is how to reverse the practice of cutting through of fabric and of regularisation of public space as enacted from 1865 on, reorganise the little housing that survives, demonstrate the feasibility of a new design and balance of the street, and yet respond with finer sensibility to Ottoman spatial logic. It would be wise to retrieve the street's characteristic dialogue of transparent precinct walls, cemeteries and of individual monuments, apparently chaotic and bound by no rules, now constricted into meaningless orderliness by a design which aims at façade continuity (when, on the contrary, Ottoman urban order had no notion of façade order at an urban scale). In other words, it would be of vital interest for the comprehension of this space to re-establish on a new footing the dialectics of Ottoman functional and aesthetic concepts of public space and Western technical concepts. In some sections of the street in which post 1865 and Western style public buildings prevail, the avenue image and its backdrop of aligned trees would be appropriate, but it has to be kept to very short segments. Where the seemingly haphazard volume disposition of monuments and tombs constitutes the formal layout (actually it is the combination of the direction toward Mecca strictly applied to mosques and tombs and the street's direction which gives that impression) and individually placed trees and fountains set the basic note, all disturbing elements at a grander scale and of general alignment must be removed, and the connective elements restored.

In the Kampos, a modern interpretation of the villa fabric would be the key to the question. The issue in this case is the definition of sustainable interventions in built-up areas and in the landscape, experimenting with hypotheses for the completion of existing half-demolished villas and filling in significant voids. Above all, design analysis should focus on typical forms of volume relationship and linkage of villa to street, and envisage sustainable functions. Sustainability should not only concern the typological forms for this fabric but also its open character interwoven with natural elements. It is a perfect model of patrician territory, much as the seaside mansions of the Bosporus: its fabric and landscape, whatever the new uses proposed, should be kept so.

In both cases, a new idea of urban form and urban life will have to be construed. Its elements will have to rely quantitatively on the existing historical elements, but the synthesis, the meaning and use which will hold them together has to be new and inventive. As in the eighteenth century when the Levant changed softly and gradually, its architectural typologies and towns underwent transformation without destroying the older layers of its culture and of its towns.

But in both cases a revision of modern urban standards would be necessary. Traffic accessibility, for one, cannot be maintained at levels currently required in modern quarters. So, as much as ancient forms would have to prove their adaptability to new social needs, our modern functions would have to be revised in order to admit new sustainable vitality. A new town vision would be the outcome.

Conclusion

Can there be cultural creation without multiculturalism? I doubt it. Even in the most homogeneous cultures the passage from one stage to another implies a struggle and confrontation, a coming to grips with ideas different from those in mind. It means ultimately an assemblage of concepts. Except for very placid artisan minds, this is true even of the single creative mind when it strives to surpass its precedent conceptions. No progressive culture would survive without this commerce with (and exploitation of) neighbours in time and space.

In the Mediterranean, this process of confrontation—contamination—renovation has been much stronger and more violent than elsewhere: the basic idea of what a town should be, has been enriched, shaken or destroyed at every stage of history, by the introduction of alien schemes, by the imitation of foreign fashions.

That is the riches of the Mediterranean.

Each sea-facing culture has sucked energy from very deep non-Mediterranean roots in a huge hinterland and reversed into that sea contrasting humours, wisdom and tricks. The idea of a sunny crystal-clear Mediterranean architecture, so

much loved by tour operators and film directors (and by some fashionable fast-architecture), is a huge hoax: a mystification for those who want to understand the essence of the civilisations that built those cities. Far from being sunny and rational those cities all have dark sides, unwelcome contradictions.

How to use that uncomfortable richness, especially where the deepest contrasts are at play, is our problem.

Fig. 1: Wakalat al-ʿAshsha in Damascus (courtesy of Stefan Weber)
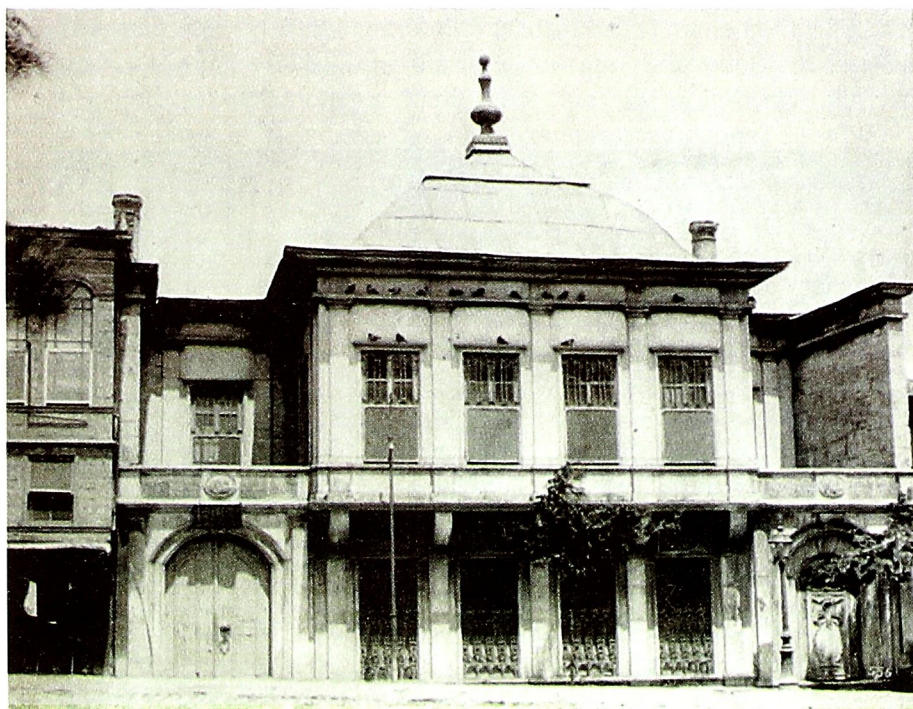
Fig. 2:　The Cevri Kalfa school on the Divanyolu: the transition from traditional Is-
lamic *sibyan* primary schools to West-oriented school in early 19th century
(Abdul-Hamit photo collection)
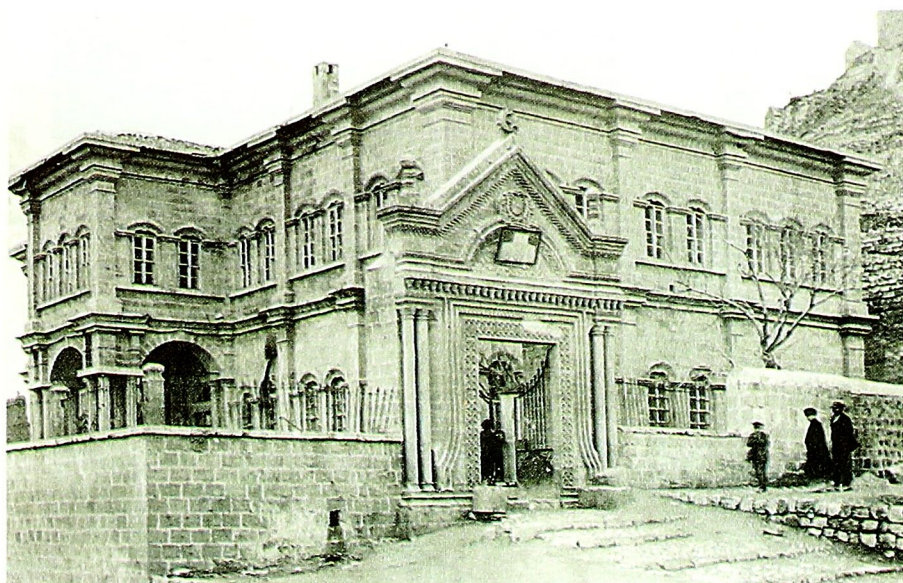
Fig. 3:　Late 19th century Christian school building in Mardin (From Gabriel 1940)

Fig. 4: Damascus, Bab Sharqi street, early 20th century house
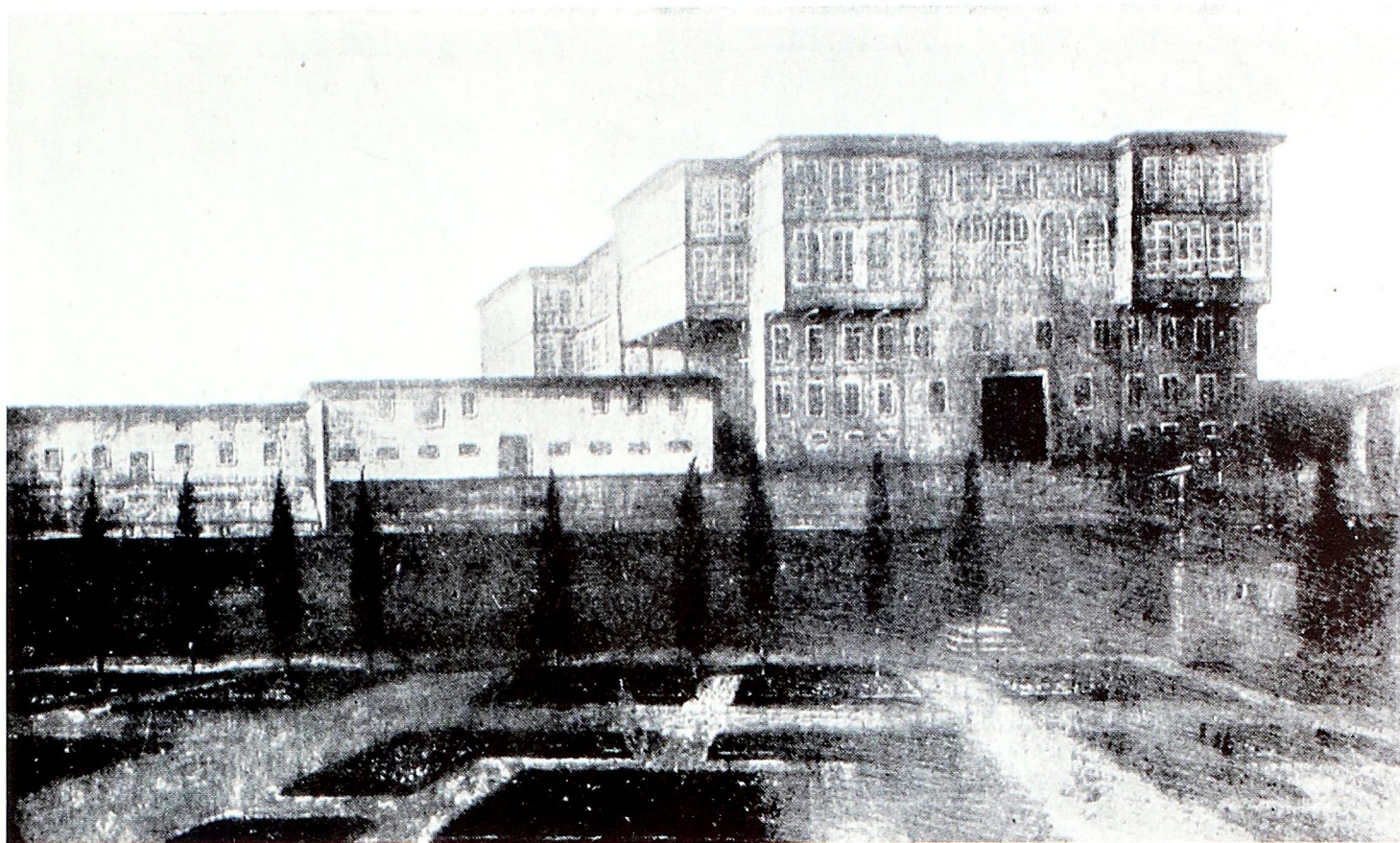
Fig. 5: The French Embassy in Pera (Istanbul) in the 18th century (from Bertelé "Il Palazzo degli Amabasciatori di venezia a Costantinopoli", Bologna 1931)

Fig. 6:   Court type house in Damascus with Ottoman style bow-window added on the street front
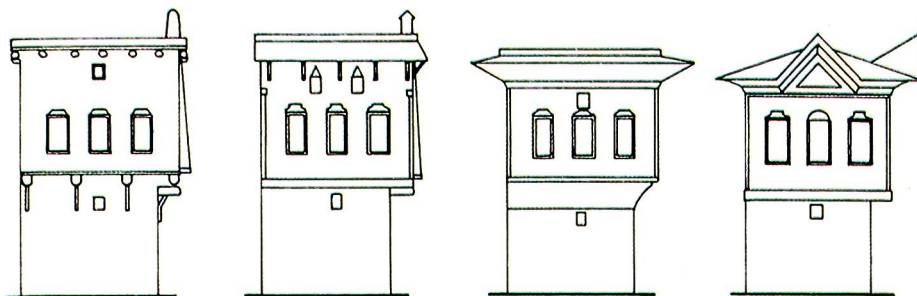
Fig. 7: The gradual metamorphosis of a house in Divrik in north-central Anatolia by the addition of typical Ottoman house building elements
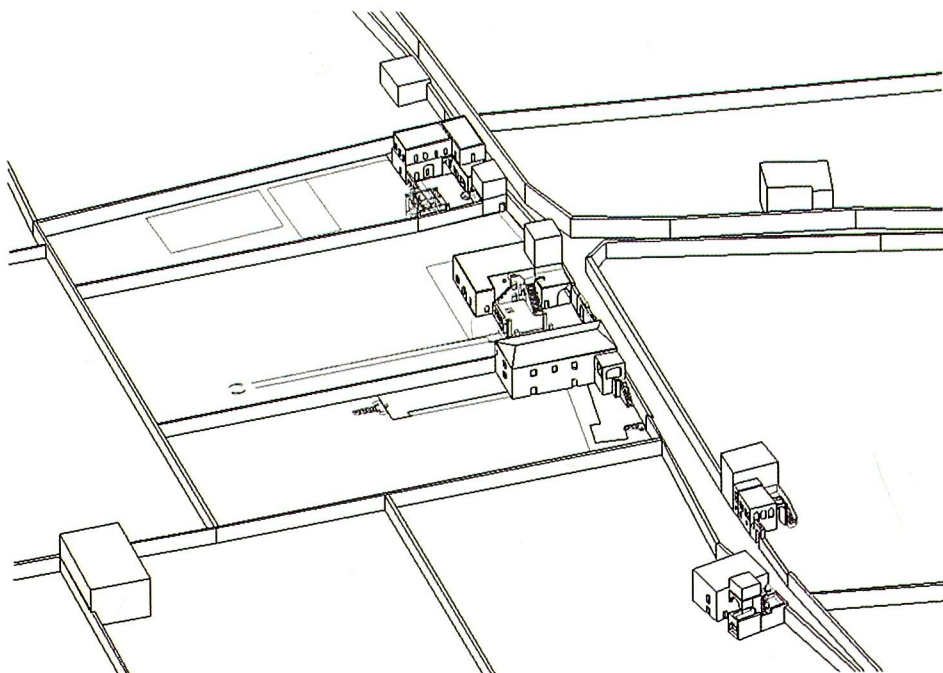
Fig. 8: Typical urban fabric in the Kampos of Chios

Fig. 9: Typical villa and walled in street in Kampos of Chios (from Bouras 1992)
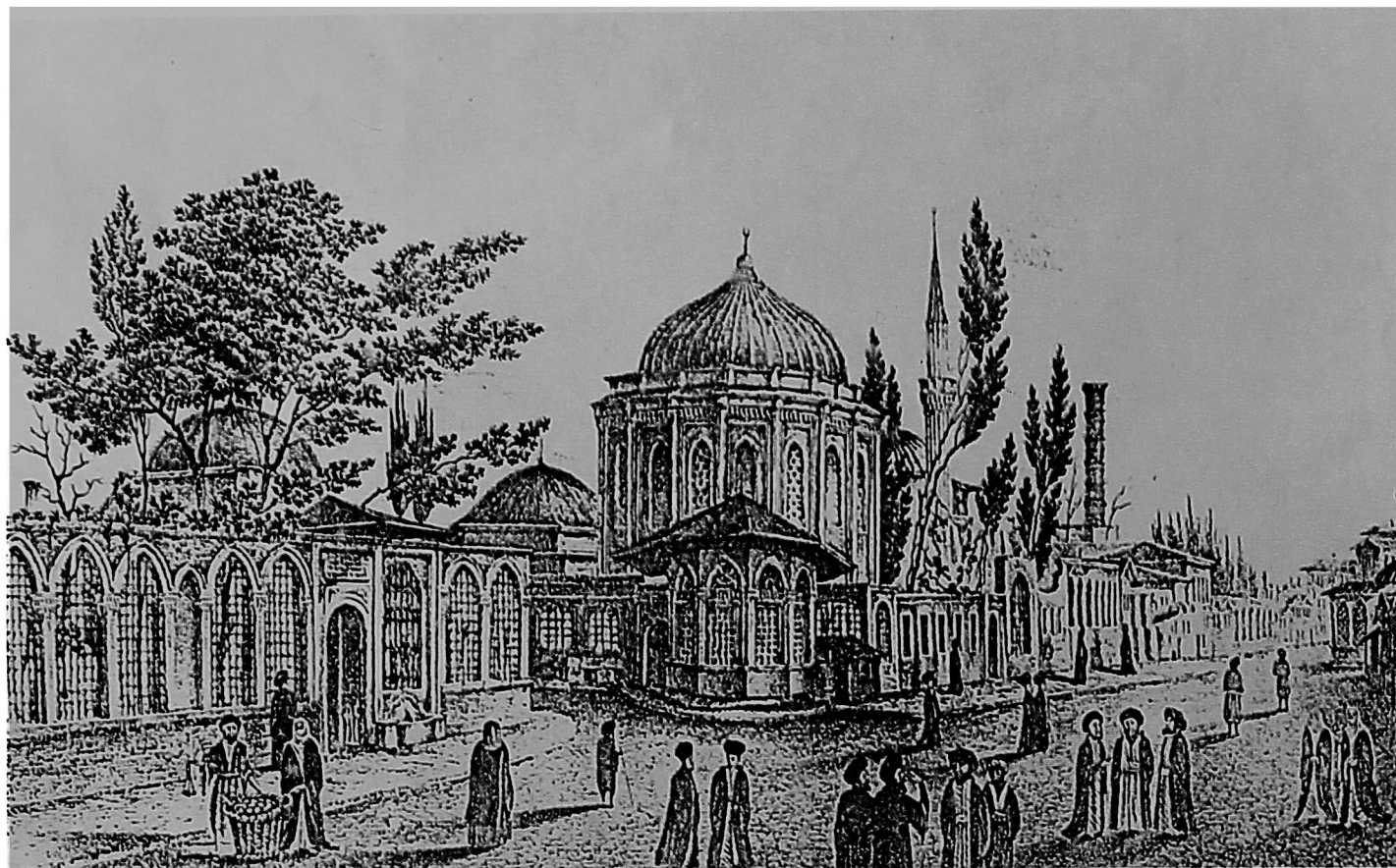
Fig. 10: Early 19th entury view of the Divanyolu
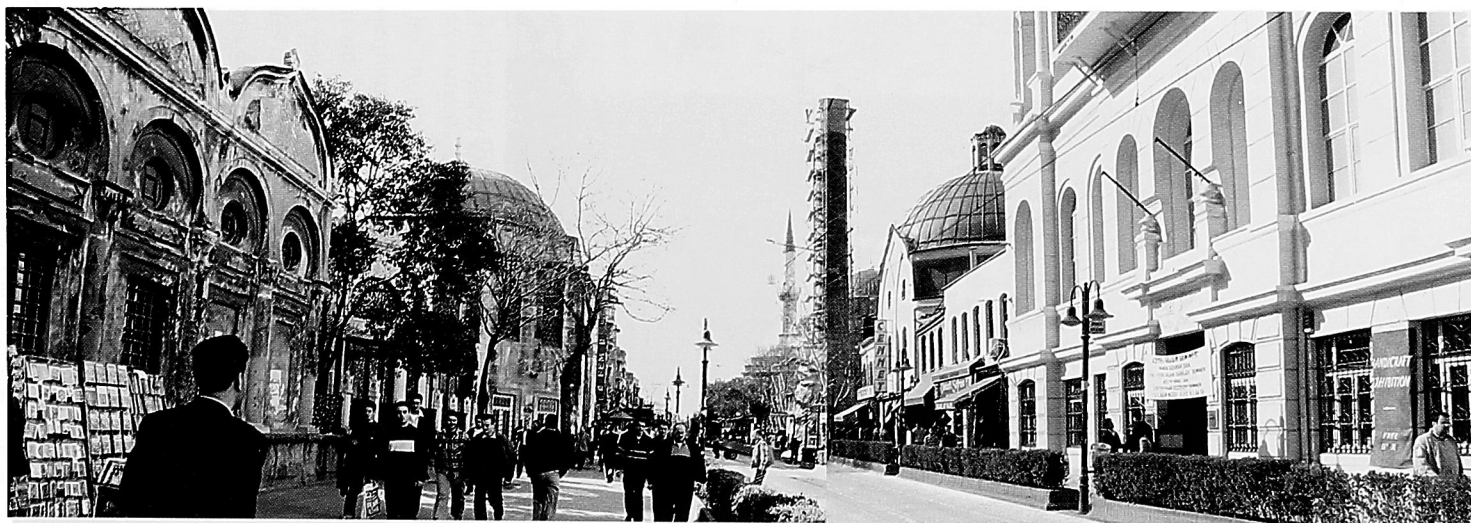
Fig. 11: View of the Divanyolu and Çemberlitaş area after 19th century rehabilitation. Note the Neo-Gothic Orientalist façade design applied by Barborini to the cut frontage of the Valide *hamam* (right) and of the Köprülü *medrese* (left)

Fig. 12: Genoese and Ottoman architecture near the Galata tower in Constantinople
(from Bertelé 1931)

Mode de vie des residents occidentaux a Alep et modifications de leurs espaces domestiques dans les khans

Jean-Claude David

L'architecture des khans (caravansérails, wakala, funduq, fondaco...), très simple, presque rudimentaire et pourtant fonctionnelle, a sa logique et sa propre histoire, avec des origines que l'on situe généralement dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine et orientale, des étapes essentielles de transition et de transformation pendant la période byzantine et au début de l'islam. Les khans d'Alep sont représentatifs de cette forme que l'on retrouve, avec des différences locales de style, de matériaux (et parfois des particularités plus marquées, à Damas par exemple), du Maroc à l'Asie centrale : une cour carrée ou rectangulaire entourée sur deux niveaux de pièces identiques, généralement petites, desservies par des galeries de circulation largement ouvertes sur la cour. L'entrée, souvent monumentale, est généralement au milieu de l'un des côtés. L'étage de l'aile de l'entrée, souvent dépourvu de galeries sur la cour est alors desservi par un large couloir intérieur, qui distribue l'accès à deux séries de pièces, de part et d'autre. Chaque pièce ouvre sur la galerie, intérieure ou extérieure, par une porte et une ou deux fenêtres et éventuellement sur l'extérieur du bâtiment, parfois un souk, par une ou deux fenêtres.

La plupart des khans d'Alep ont été construits comme éléments de fondations en *waqf*, c'est-à-dire comme immeubles de rapport dont les revenus étaient affectés au fonctionnement et à l'entretien d'œuvres religieuses ou de bienfaisance, notamment entre le XVe et le XVIIIe siècle. Les khans plus anciens, connus par des textes, ont tous disparu, notamment ceux du *al-Ḥāḍir*, quartier du commerce caravanier et des étrangers, où se trouvait le fondaco des Vénitiens, détruit avec le quartiers par les mongols au XIIIe siècle. Les khans les plus récents, souvent moins monumentaux, sont encore très nombreux à Alep, y compris des constructions du début du XXe siècle. Plusieurs khans ont même été construits au cours des dix années passées, par des négociants, hommes d'affaire, investisseurs, dans des sites proches de la Mdiné, la Cité, reprenant à peu près le modèle ancien.

Les khans ont été construits à ces différentes époques comme lieux du négoce, pour entreposer les marchandises et héberger les marchands, en des lieux protégés, fermés, qui font partie de l'ensemble des espaces les plus publics du centre de la ville, avec les souks, et par là même se différencient fondamentalement des quartiers d'habitation, protégés et fermés aussi, mais qui sont des espaces privés, familiaux. Dans cette organisation de l'espace urbain, on peut donc opposer l'"intérieur" (les quartiers, lieux de la famille et du "repos") à l'"extérieur" (les

khans et les souks, lieux du "mouvement")[1] plutôt que le privé et le public. Contrairement aux marchands du souk qui sont des citadins, des habitants des quartiers de la ville, les négociants des khans sont en général des gens de l'extérieur, qui passent dans la ville, la traversent, ne s'y implantent pas pour y fonder une famille : leurs liens, leurs attaches, leur identité, sont enracinées au loin. Plus anciennement, ces lieux des gens de l'extérieur étaient situés dans les faubourgs évoqués plus haut, comme *al-Ḥāḍir*, où se côtoyaient aussi les gens de tribus, les caravaniers arabes, des musulmans non arabes, étrangers à la ville comme les Turkmènes ou Turcomans et des Kurdes et quelques étrangers d'origine plus lointaine, occidentaux, méditerranéens, avec leurs comptoirs, des locaux où protéger leurs biens et leurs personnes. Après la destruction de ces quartiers au XIIIe siècle, les khans du négoce se sont rapprochés de la ville inté-rieure, d'abord en se groupant près des portes, à l'extérieur ou à l'intérieur des murailles, sur des sites où ils existaient déjà pendant la période précédente, mais moins nombreux. Au XVe siècle, à la fin de la période mamelouke, leur nombre augmente ainsi que leurs dimensions. Ils sont aussi de plus en plus nombreux près des souks, au cœur de la ville, non loin de la Grande Mosquée.

Les étrangers originaires des États chrétiens d'Occident dans les khans d'Alep, de l'hébergement temporaire à l'installation durable

Dans l'Empire ottoman, Alep joue un rôle particulier dans le système commer-cial et d'ouverture sur le reste du monde. Avec la signature des Capitulations, en-tre le roi de France, François 1er, et le sultan Soliman le Magnifique en 1535, re-nouvelées en 1569 puis en 1581, puis signées avec d'autres États européens (Grande-Bretagne en 1580 et Pays-Bas en 1612), les échanges commerciaux entre l'Europe et l'Empire ottoman s'accroissent considérablement et les relations s'institutionnalisent : les ambassades installées dans la capitale, Istanbul, sont re-layées par des consulats dans les villes importantes et vouées au commerce, répu-tées villes ouvertes : c'est Alep qui reçoit les premiers consulats, d'abord celui de France puis ceux d'autres nations occidentales, Grande-Bretagne et Pays-Bas. Tout naturellement les consulats sont installés dans ces lieux de l'ouverture pro-tégée, lieux "extérieurs", situés au centre de la cité, d'abord dans le khan de la Douane, construit en 1574, encore bien conservé de nos jours, et qui porte les traces des vies multiples qui s'y sont successivement déroulées. Progressivement, l'implantation des étrangers va se consolider et s'inscrire dans l'espace architectu-ral des khans, de plus en plus profondément modifié : c'est la progression de

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[1]   Les termes "repos" et "mouvement" sont utilisés dans ce sens, dans les ouvrages suivants: Ildefonso Cerda, *La Théorie Générale de l'Urbanisation* [1867], présentée et adaptée par An-tonio Lopez de Aberasturi. Paris: Le Seuil, 1979, 149. Gustavo Giovannoni, *L'Urbanisme Face aux Villes Anciennes*, Paris: Le Seuil 1998. Cités par Françoise Choay, *L'Allégorie du Pa-trimoine*. Paris: Le Seuil 1999.

cette inscription spatiale que nous allons suivre chronologiquement, dans ces architectures qui n'y étaient pas préparées.

Consulats et logements de célibataires aux XVIe et XVIIe : transformations minimales, utilisation des qa'a-s cruciformes.

Au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle, les règles de l'expatriation pour les négociants et les consuls étaient appliquées assez strictement, en particulier la limitation de la durée du séjour à l'étranger, l'obligation de retour au pays après dix années, et l'interdiction de mener une vie conjugale et familiale, soit en emmenant avec soi son épouse, soit en prenant femme sur place, par mariage avec une chrétienne locale. L'expatrié ne peut emmener avec lui ses enfants filles. Il ne peut s'installer au Levant sans autorisation officielle. Il doit verser une caution avant son départ. Les Français ne doivent pas se présenter officiellement autrement qu'en corps de nation, en communauté, et doivent vivre séparément des habitants du pays, donc loger dans les khans. Ainsi, ils doivent s'assurer de la disponibilité d'un logement dans le khan de leur nation avant leur départ. Dans ce contexte d'implantation temporaire et non familiale des occidentaux, les locaux consulaires modifiaient assez peu l'architecture des khans. L'essentiel était de disposer de suffisamment d'espace pour entreposer les marchandises, loger le personnel consulaire et souvent les marchands de la nation, les religieux, parfois assez nombreux pour constituer une communauté conventuelle, liée à un consulat ou autonome comme les Franciscains locataires du *khān al-Shaybānī* depuis le XVIe siècle (ils ont une mission permanente à Alep à partir de 1560). Chaque consulat devait disposer d'une grande salle pour les réceptions officielles et la réunion de tous les membres de la nation. Les descriptions de la salle consulaire de France au XVIIe siècle évoquent parfaitement cet espace solennel, reflet de la puissance du pays et de son roi, autour duquel sont disposés les appartements du consul et la chapelle. On reconnaît parfaitement dans ces descriptions, la grande salle du *khān al-Gumruk* (fig. 1), le caravansérail de la Douane, encore bien conservée et qui semble peu modifiée dans sa description d'époque (dans un rapport consulaire daté d'avril 1693)[2] par rapport à son architecture d'origine, et par rapport à ce qu'elle est encore actuellement. Parmi les modifications importantes subies par l'architecture du khan depuis sa fondation, on note la construction de deux autres qa'a-s cruciformes qui reproduisent très approximativement le modèle de la grande salle occupée au XVIIe siècle par le consulat français, mais s'inspirent aussi des grandes salles des maisons aristocratiques en ville. On peut penser, sans preuve absolue, qu'elles ont été construites au XVIIe siècle pour servir de grand salon aux consulats de Grande-Bretagne et des Pays-Bas, à l'imitation du consulat de France.

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2   Cette lettre est citée par Paul Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au XVIIe Siècle,* Paris: Hachette 1896, 464-465 et par Georges Goyau, *Un Précurseur : François Picquet Consul de Louis XIV à Alep et Évêque de Babylone,* Paris: Geuthner 1942, 57.

A partir du milieu du XVIIIe siècle :
les implantations familiales et l'élaboration des appartements

Au cours du XVIIIe siècle l'habitude est prise progressivement dans les différen-
tes nations, de s'installer en famille dans les locaux consulaires des Echelles et
notamment à Alep : un mode de vie s'élabore dans ces lieux pour cette société
particulière, expatriée, mais qui développe de plus en plus le sens du confort,
comme en Europe à l'époque. Le médecin britannique A. Russell, qui a long-
temps séjourné à Alep, note comme un fait positif et agréable l'arrivée depuis
1752 de plusieurs femmes européennes accompagnant leurs époux marchands ou
fonctionnaires.[3] Les locaux loués aux nations étrangères, quasiment appropriés
grâce à des artifices juridiques, deviennent alors l'objet d'interventions plus im-
portantes, qui en transforment plus profondément la perception spatiale et es-
thétique. Les descriptions précises, mais peu développées, de Russell donnent
une idée de ces transformations. Le consulat de France a déménagé et se trouve
dès lors dans le *khān al-Ḥibāl* (khan aux Cordes), tandis que les autres consulats
quittent aussi le khan de la Douane.

L'étude architecturale des appartements actuellement observables dans les
khans est partielle. Pourtant quelques constatations peuvent être faites. La des-
cription de Russell, au milieu du XVIIIe siècle, peut sans doute être interprétée à
la lumière des témoins architecturaux : les maisons de européens "are spacious
and commodious ; one housing occupying the half, sometimes the whole of one
side of the square. The piazza (open gallery) being walled up, large windows in
the European fashion are made towards the court: the floors are neatly paved
with stone, or marble; and the appartments enlarged, and handsomely fitted up.
The warehouses are on the ground floor". Outre la description de Russell, quel-
ques dates (de l'ère chrétienne) inscrites généralement au-dessus des entrées des
appartements, rappellent des interventions de transformations dans différents
khans : dans le *khān al-ʿUlabiyya* (fig. 2) deux dates du XVIIIe siècle (1740 et
1770), et 1846, date des aménagements effectués par le négociant génois de Chio,
Vincenzo Marcopoli, plusieurs dates du XIXe siècle au *khān Bunduqiyya*, au *khān
al-Ḥibāl*, et 1824 dans le *khān al-Gumruk*, au dessus de l'entrée de l'escalier
d'accès au corridor d'une des maisons Marcopoli dans l'aile sud. Ces dates sont
difficiles à utiliser car elles ne concernent pas nécessairement l'état actuellement
observable, qui peut être le produit d'autres modifications ultérieures.

   Théoriquement, il serait possible de proposer des datations partielles des trans-
formations en observant les matériaux, certains éléments de style et surtout en si-
tuant ces transformations avant ou après le tremblement de terre de 1822. Les
transformations fondées sur une reconstruction plus ou moins complète après
démolition des arcades des galeries et des voûtes d'arête de couverture doivent

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[3]   Alexander Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, London: Robinson 1794.

être postérieures au tremblement de terre. En effet il est peu vraisemblable que des ensembles architecturaux importants aient pu être démolis intentionnellement pour transformation, dans le contexte des *waqf*-s. Russell parle seulement d'interventions pour murer les galeries, mais pas de démolition et de reconstruction. Il est vraisemblable aussi que dès la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle deux types d'intervention sont pratiqués, d'abord l'utilisation de galeries intérieures ou d'espaces cruciformes ou axiaux comme les qa'a-s monumentales (dès le XVIIe siècle), permettant un aménagement des pièces de part et d'autre de cet axe, ensuite, l'aménagement dissymétrique d'une galerie latérale extérieure murée, agrémentée d'une illusion de symétrie par le jeu des percements suivant le même rythme des deux côtés de la galerie, les ouvertures des pièces et les fenêtres sur la cour, face à face. La galerie donne accès dans l'axe à un salon qui peut être dissymétrique mais dont la façade à trois baies, qui ferme la galerie et donne accès au salon, est un dispositif dont les ouvertures et le décor sont strictement symétriques et axés. Les fenêtres à la mode européenne évoquées par Russell, sont sans doute caractérisées par la forme arcaturée de leur linteau, forme très rarement mise en œuvre dans l'architecture des maisons et des khans mamelouks et ottomans avant le XVIIIe siècle et généralisée dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle. Les fenêtres à châssis vitrés sont une autre nouveauté introduite sans doute à cette époque dans les logements des Européens. Elles impliquent la taille de feuillures adaptées à ces aménagements dans l'encadrement des fenêtres, pour fixer les chambranles et le cas échéant les supports de volets intérieurs ou extérieurs (persiennes et contrevents), remplaçant les volets en bois plein qui tenaient lieu, dans les maisons traditionnelles, de volet et de vitrage. Russell souligne l'intervention au sol: "le dallage brut et sommaire, continu et indifférencié est remplacé par un dallage soigné en pierre polie ou en marbre",[4] plus facile à entretenir et surtout plus luxueux et convenable pour un espace domestique. Les motifs de marbre, carreaux, bandes, assemblages géométriques permettent d'affirmer la centralité, la fermeture d'un espace, son organisation autonome, l'annexion privée d'une portion de galerie de circulation publique, isolée définitivement du reste du système répétitif et continu du khan. Russell évoque ces maisons comme "handsomely fitted up", sans doute meublées à l'occidentale et non plus conçues, comme les maisons traditionnelles, avec des différences de niveau du sol aménageant des espaces pour le séjour assis sur des coussins et des tapis. Longtemps les habitations des Européens vont comprendre au moins une pièce, petit salon ou kiosque en porte-à-faux sur la façade, aménagée à l'orientale, destinée à la réception des gens du pays. Du fait de l'appropriation des galeries de circulation et aussi du fait de l'autonomie affirmée de chaque unité par rap-

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[4] ‼ Jean Claude David et Thierry Grandin, "L'Habitat Permanent des Grands Commerçants dans les Khans d'Alep à l'Époque Ottomane", in: *Les Villes dans l'Empire Ottoman, Activités et Sociétés*, tome II, ed. Daniel Panzac, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1994, 85-124. !

port à l'ensemble, des accès propres sont mis en place, généralement des escaliers extérieurs montant de la cour.

Ces quelques caractéristiques communes sont repérables à la fois dans le texte de Russell et dans les témoins architecturaux, mais les datations restent très imprécises du fait que la plupart des aménagements, comme le simple murage des galeries, n'ont pas fait l'objet de relevés et d'analyses architecturales et archéologiques.

Au XIXe siècle, après la destruction par le tremblement de terre de 1822, de la plupart des constructions à l'étage des khans, avec quelques exceptions comme certaines parties du *khān al-Gumruk*, il faut attendre les dernières décennies du siècle pour que, avec les réformes ottomanes et l'essor économique dans la région, les bâtiments en ruine soient reconstruits en fonction des besoins et des possibilités nouvelles. Certains khans périphériques de la Mdiné ou dans d'autres quartiers commerciaux sont reconstruits comme des khans ordinaires, avec des pièces simples et des galeries de circulation à arcades. Dans les khans les plus centraux, occupés déjà depuis plus d'un siècle par les étrangers, les reconstructions sont, pour la plupart des appartements consulaires et de grands négociants, sur le modèle déjà fixé au XVIIIe siècle. Le tremblement de terre de 1822 semble avoir été très destructeur, particulièrement dans les khans dont les galeries de circulation se sont généralement effondrées, tandis que les pièces, mieux contrebutées par les murs transversaux nombreux et épais, étaient généralement conservées. La modification des galeries a pu être, alors, plus complète, avec un agencement plus homogène des ouvertures et l'installation de couvertures plafonnées en bois, comme dans les habitations traditionnelles. Ces plafonds pouvaient être, plus facilement que les voûtes, peints et plus tard stuqués ou garnis de toile peinte. Les aménagements plus récents ou liés à des réfections, après 1905, mettent en œuvre les poutrelles métalliques importées par le chemin de fer. Le caractère essentiel et permanent de ces aménagements est la recherche d'un espace axial de grandes dimensions, beaucoup plus long que large, desservant les pièces sur un ou deux côtés et donnant accès dans l'axe, à travers un mur écran à trois baies ou percé simplement par une porte axiale, à un salon précisément axé ou partiellement désaxé, suivant les possibilités offertes par l'architecture originelle du khan. Ces principes peuvent être rapprochés d'un modèle complexe, ottoman et méditerranéen, celui des ambassades occidentales à Istanbul, installées dans des palais ottomans de l'époque.[5]

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[5] Pierre Pinon, 1994 "Résidences de France dans l'Empire Ottoman : Notes sur l'Architecture Domestique", in: *Les Villes dans l'Empire Ottoman, Activités et Sociétés*, tome II, ed. Daniel Panzac, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1994, 47-84.

XIXe et XXe siècles : la fixation du modèle par les dynasties étrangères enracinées à Alep, et son adoption par les alépins

Pendant le XIXe siècle, un changement se produit dans la composition de cette société des khans, que l'on a qualifiée d'"aristocratie des khans". Une première période est celle de l'enracinement de familles, d'origines diverses, qui tendent à devenir des dynasties. Les génois de Chio, notamment les Marcopoli et Giustiniani, la famille Poche venue d'Europe Centrale, qui prennent racine pour un siècle et demi, sont suivies par des dynasties consulaires qui restent moins longtemps comme les De Lesseps (le père de Ferdinand de Lesseps est consul à Alep en 1822 au moment du tremblement de terre et son neveu est consul en 1850 au moment des émeutes), Guys, Rousseau, des provençaux comme les Villecroze, les Barker père et fils, chez les britanniques. Un peu plus tard, les familles qui deviennent les plus nombreuses dans les khans et qui reprennent plus ou moins exactement le modèle des appartements consulaires, sont des familles de banquiers et de négociants juifs occidentaux (non ottomans), originaires de Livourne ou d'autres villes méditerranéennes, les Picciotto, Silvera, Kabbayé, Manachi-Stone, Pinto, etc. (des membres de la famille Picciotto, sont consuls de Suède, Danemark, Norvège, Autriche, Russie, Hollande, Toscane, Etats-Unis d'Amérique). A la fin du XIXe siècle une douzaine de khans sont occupés partiellement ou totalement par plusieurs dizaines d'unités de logement qui les transforment profondément.

Au XIXe siècle, les communs prennent de l'importance, les cuisines sont systématiquement présentes, tandis que les W.C. et les bains restent modestes et beaucoup moins développés que dans les maisons traditionnelles alépines. Les pièces tendent à se différencier et à acquérir des fonctions stables, typiques de l'habitat bourgeois ou aristocratique occidental. L'intervention sur la structure du khan est plus forte, avec parfois la destruction de murs pour réunir deux modules et réaliser une grande pièce, salon, salle à manger, grande chambre à coucher de maître, tandis que des pièces plus petites, d'un seul module, sont des chambres à coucher ordinaires, bureaux, petit salon, boudoir ou fumoir, salle de billard, etc. Une grande maison dans le *khān al-Ḥarīr* (fig. 3) semble être une reconstruction quasiment complète de l'étage du khan, réalisée sans doute peu après la première guerre mondiale, par une très riche famille juive, reprenant cependant la trame tripartite de l'aile d'entrée avec sa galerie de circulation intérieure. La structure des plafonds est en poutrelles métalliques. Un troisième niveau est ajouté ainsi qu'un belvédère sur la terrasse. Le grand salon, de cinquante mètres carrés, est agrémenté d'une belle cheminée en marbre blanc sans doute importée d'Italie ; ses plafonds sont stuqués et peints, reproduisant un cadre de vie à la fois luxueux et de bon goût. C'est sans doute l'un des derniers aménagements de ce type réalisé dans un khan d'Alep, à une époque où le modèle est déjà repris et adapté par les alépins dans les nouveaux quartiers.

Les grandes familles arabes chrétiennes, l'aristocratie chrétienne alépine, les Homsi, Ghazalé, Tager, Dallal, qui sont de plus en plus présentes dans le grand négoce avec l'Occident, associées aux européens ou se substituant à eux vers la fin du XIXe siècle, entretiennent encore leurs merveilleux palais traditionnels du quartier de Judayda, et introduisent très parcimonieusement un mobilier à l'occidentale dans des pièces qui n'y sont pas adaptées, jusqu'au moment où, vers 1870-1880, ils construisent quelques dizaines de grandes maisons, leurs nouveaux palais, résolument "modernes", d'abord situés dans le quartier d'ʿAzīziyya, qui reproduisent très précisément le modèle de l'habitat élaboré et fixé dans les khans. Très rapidement, le même type d'habitat familial est adopté par les musulmans et par les juifs, et construit dans d'autres quartiers nouveaux développés avant 1900 à l'ouest de la ville ancienne et du nouveau centre-ville. Dès lors, l'évolution de ce modèle se poursuit vers l'instauration de formes d'habitat collectif, d'abord familial puis locatif, des immeubles à étages qui perpétuent ce plan, aménagé et modernisé au fur et à mesure de l'évolution des besoins, quasiment jusqu'à nos jours.

Ces processus et au départ l'adoption d'un type d'habitat exogène par les étrangers qui logeaient dans les khans, par obligation, sont la réponse à un système d'organisation de la ville arabo-ottomane et à des pratiques d'inclusion et d'exclusion sélectives qui correspondent à l'existence et à la cohabitation de quatre catégories principales d'habitants dans ces villes :

– les citadins musulmans ;
– les citadins chrétiens et juifs protégés (locaux ou "indigènes") ;
– les non citadins musulmans, villageois et bédouins ;
– les étrangers originaires des États chrétiens d'Occident.

Ces catégories, dont les définitions sont complexes et ont évolué dans le temps, peuvent être résumées en deux catégories principales : les gens de la cité, qui vivent dans des quartiers d'habitation, intra-muros ou dans des faubourgs, se rencontrent et échangent dans des souks et autres espaces publics ; les étrangers non musulmans occidentaux, exclus par excellence, qui logent parmi les marchandises, dans les lieux du commerce de gros au centre de la ville, qui sont très peu nombreux mais dont le statut est significatif, à la fois central dans l'espace et extérieur par rapport à la société. Ces différences de statut se retrouvent, bien sûr, dans d'autres grandes villes ottomanes comme Istanbul, Le Caire, Tunis, Alger, Thessalonique, Smyrne, parmi d'autres, mais le problème du logement des étrangers y a été résolu de diverses façons, en réponse à des impératifs comparables. C'est à Alep seulement, semble-t-il que le logement dans les khans à entraîné l'adaptation d'un modèle exogène d'habitat et son incrustation dans une architecture totalement différente, celle des khans, du fait de l'importance relative et du dynamisme de cette société et de la durée de sa présence permanente.
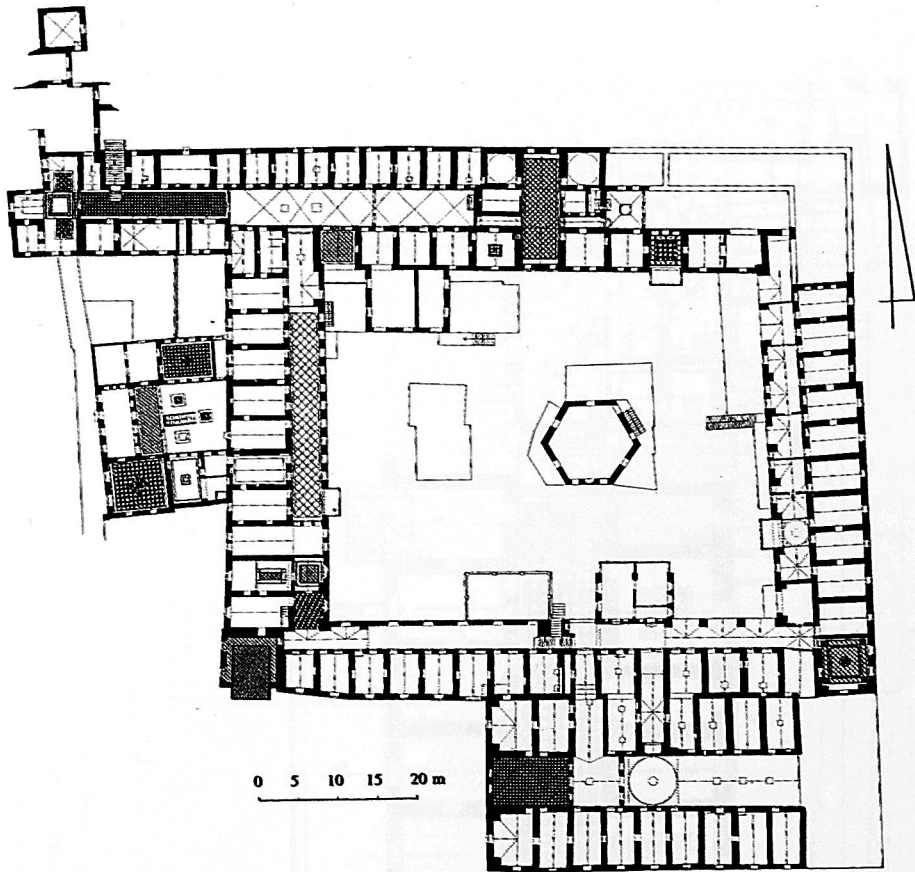
Fig. 1 : Plan du khān al-Gumruk dans les années 1950. Les carrelages correspondent gé-
néralement aux espaces aménagés comme appartements de consuls ou de grands
négociants
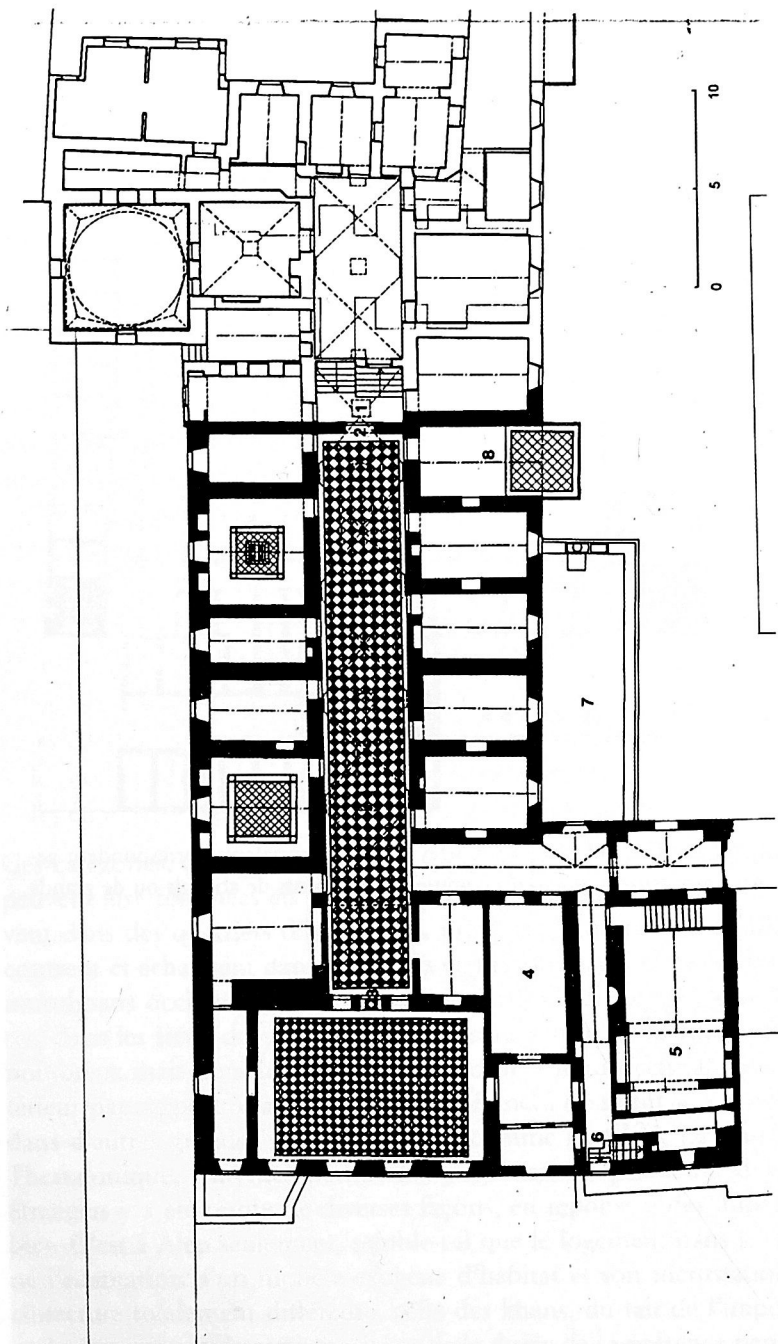
Fig. 2: Khân al-ʿUlabiyya, l'étage. La maison de Vincenzo Macropoli : 1 – palier commun à deux maisons Macropoli, 2 – porte de la maison de Vincenzo Macropoli, accès au corridor 3 – porte du grand salon, 4 – salle à manger, 5 – cuisine, 6 – accès au jardin extérieur et au terrasses supérieures, 7 – terrasse de agrément, 8 – pièce avec kiosque
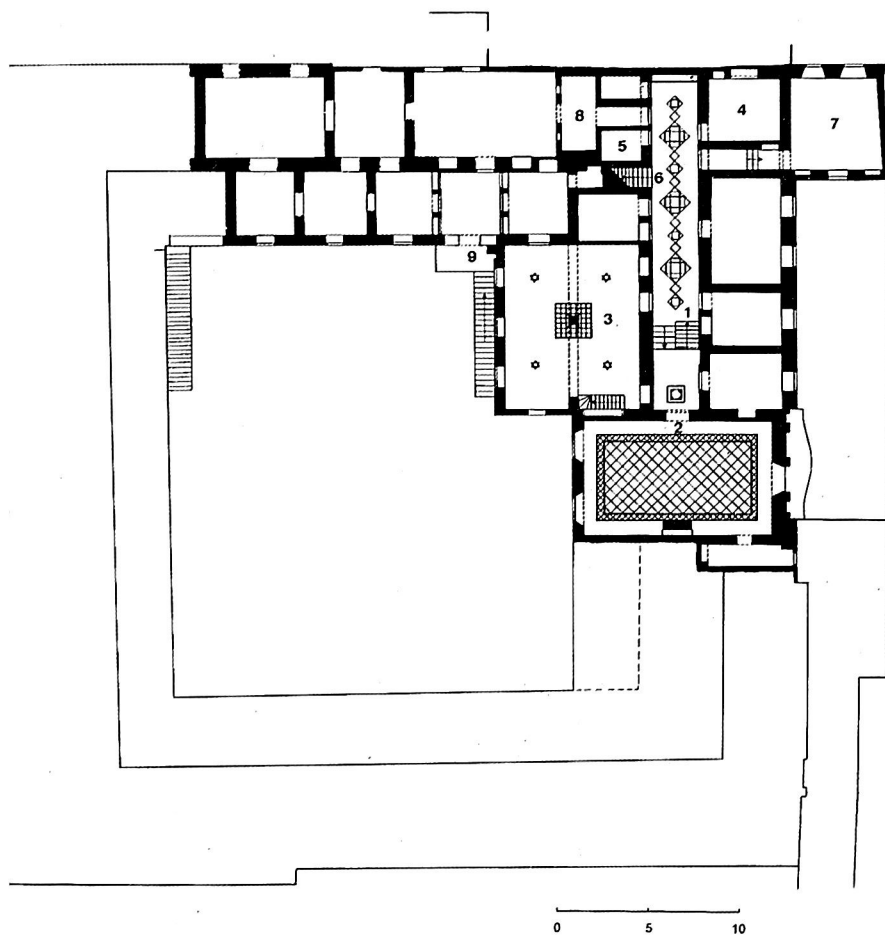
Fig. 3: Khān al-Harīr, l'étage. Maison, sans doute à une famille juive, réaménagée à plusieurs reprises : **1** – escalier d'accès au corridor depuis l'entrée du khan, **2** – grand salon avec cheminée, **3** – grand salle à pilier central (décor d'étoiles à six branches dans la dallage), **4** – cuisine, **5** – w.-c., **6** – escalier d'accès à un second étage d'habitation, **7** – pièce construite sur un sibat (voûte qui enjambe la rue), **8** - vestibule vers d'autres pièces, incomplètement relevées, à usage professionnel ? commercial

Sheltering diversity:
Levantine architecture in late Ottoman Istanbul*

Paolo Girardelli

As the capital of multiethnic empires, Istanbul-Constantinople housed since the early Byzantine period a variety of architectural forms and types belonging to distant cultural geographies. According to an ancient source, all seventy-two languages known to man were spoken in this metropolis in the age of Justinian.[1] It is natural to suppose that this cultural diversity should also have influenced the physical environment, and historians of Byzantine architecture have analyzed in various ways the interaction of supposedly local, "Western" or "Eastern" elements concurring to develop the shape, structure and meanings of the major religious and secular monuments of the capital of the Eastern Roman empire. Before becoming an Islamic metropolis in the second part of the fifteenth century, Constantinople had allowed more than one mosque within the circle of the Theodosian walls, several places of worship dedicated to the Latin cult on both sides of the Golden Horn, and synagogues in the Jewish districts.[2] It is more difficult, though, to imagine how the heterogeneous mosaic of the urban population—including merchants and employees from all parts of the empire, military units of "barbarian" and provincial provenance, Syrian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian monks, Jews and foreigners of different backgrounds—might have influenced the residential fabric of the city. In the final centuries of its life as the capital of the eastern Roman empire, after the major blow of the 4th crusade and the imposition of foreign Latin rule (1204-1261), one-fifth of the population of Constantinople was comprised of influential foreigners, most of whom were of Italian background.

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[1] Cyril Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1980, 16.

[2] On minorities in the Byzantine Empire, see Peter Charanis, *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, London: Variorum Reprints 1972. On the Armenian and Muslim cases see Nina G. Garsoian, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire", and Stephen W. Reinert, "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th-15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations", in: *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, eds. Hélene Ahrweiler and Angeliki Laiou, Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection 1998, 53-150. On Jewish presence: David Jacoby, "Les Quartiers Juifs de Constantinople à l'Epoque Byzantine", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 167-227.

The concentration of diverse ethnic-religious groups into districts centered on a religious core, a mosque, a church or a synagogue, was to be a loose characteristic of the social topography of Istanbul in the Ottoman period. With a radical increase and change of balance in the composition of its population, the city acquired an even more complex multicultural character, due to the exodus of the western foreigners (dropping from the more than 10,000 of the 13th-14th centuries, to a few hundreds in the central period of Ottoman rule), to the transfer of Muslim population from Anatolia and other parts of the empire, to the persistence or renewal of the Greek element, to the expanding Armenian presence and to the growing number of Sephardic Jews and Muslims coming from the Iberian peninsula. The population policies pursued by the first sultans who ruled from Istanbul were surely to have an effect on the physical layout of the Ottoman capital. It would be enough to remember, here, the group of Armenians from Karaman, a region with a tradition of stone-cutting, who had a role in the production of the monumental cores of the new capital;[3] or the contribution of people coming from areas with a timber construction tradition to the formation and diffusion of the residential type we normally call "Ottoman" (or Turkish) house. This latter process was apparently accomplished in the mid-18th century, when it produced a relatively uniform residential fabric, without engendering any clear-cut correspondence between ethnic identity and architectural types.[4]

In the 1830s, on the eve of the dramatic changes that altered forever the fragile residential fabric of Ottoman Istanbul, the Genoese diplomat Antonio Baratta described in detail the structure and spatial features of the traditional timber houses of the city, admiring them for their open articulation—exposed to air and light, much more healthy than the gloomy, damp and severe European masonry houses—and observing that, besides the exterior color, no substantial differences existed between houses inhabited by the Muslim and non-Muslim *millet*s of the city.[5] In this period also the often emphasized gap between the two shores of the Golden Horn—traditional, "Oriental" Stamboul as opposed to modern, Europeanized Galata and Pera (present-day Beyoğlu)—was far from displaying a precise architectural connotation. Apart from a higher density and a different street pattern in the "Latin" districts, wooden houses belonging to the local type represented the great majority of the residential fabric within the walls of Galata. From a social point of view, we know that Galata was also inhabited by a large number of Ottoman Muslims,[6] as well as by non-Muslims who would

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3   Stephanos Yerasimos, "La Fondation d'Istanbul Ottoman", *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. "A Supra-National Heritage"*, Proceedings of the International Congress, Istanbul Technical University, 25-27 November 1999, Istanbul: YEM 2001, 205-24.

4   Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: a Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures", *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 116-56.

5   Antonio Baratta, *Costantinopoli effigiata e descritta*, Genova: Fontana Editore, 1840.

6   Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital", in: *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and

not generally produce architectural images of cultural difference from those of the dominant community until the second half of the 19th century.[7] In the heights of Pera (Galata's expansion outside the walls), only the 1831 fire marked a tendency to reconstruct the embassies of the European powers, and the residences of some prominent families, in masonry rather than timber. The palace of the Venetian *bailo*, functioning as the Austrian embassy in the 19th century and spared from the 1831 catastrophe, will remain a largely wooden structure until its reconstruction in 1914.[8] An image of the Embassies district drawn by the Levantine painter, illustrator and architect Jean Brindesi,[9] shows a contrast between the monumentalized "palaces" of Russia and France and the surrounding fabric, not yet westernized (fig. 1). We may compare this contrast to the gap of scale that gives prominence to the Ottoman monumental cores in the historical peninsula. The embassies, notwithstanding a completely different function and structure, were also addressed and perceived as symbolic representations of power.

The map of Istanbul published by Stolpe in 1868 (fig. 2), a few years after the demolition of the walls of Galata, represents with three different colors the topographical distribution of the three major religious communities: Muslims, Christians and Jews. Although its reliability may be questioned especially as far as the historical peninsula is concerned, it provides an image of coexistence without clear-cut boundaries, without ghettoes, which is on the whole confirmed by other sources. We obviously notice a major concentration of non-Muslims north of the Golden Horn, especially along the spine of the Grande Rue de Pera (present-day İstiklal Caddesi) and, paradoxically, a sort of Islamic enclave surrounded by areas with a more mixed character in the district of Kasım Paşa.

Architecture and demography

In the last half-century of life of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul was an Islamic capital whose share of non-Muslim population often exceeded 50%. This apparent anomaly—all the more significant if we consider that, on the whole, the Islamic share in the population of the empire was increasing due to the migration of Muslims from newly independent regions of the Balkans—may encourage a reflection on the demographic factors that played a part in the erosion of its Ot-

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Bruce Masters, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999, 135-214. Also by the Edhem Eldem: "The Ethnic Structure of Galata", Istanbul (selections) 1, 1 (1993), 28-33.

[7] For the Greek-Orthodox case, see Vasilis Colonas, "Production of Public and Private Space by the Non-Muslim Communities in the Urban Centres of the Ottoman Empire. A Case Study: Greek Architects and Commissioning Agents in Istanbul at the Turn of the 19th Century", in: *7 Centuries*, 404-411.

[8] Tommaso Bertelé, *Il Palazzo degli Ambasciatori di Venezia e le sue antiche memorie*, Bologna: 1932.

[9] Jean Brindesi, *Souvenir de Constantinople*, 1860.

toman identity and image. The traditional balance of an urban society divided into a ruling Muslim majority and a ruled Christian and Jewish element (the so-called *millet*s, or "nations") was based approximately on a ratio of 60% to 40%. During the 19th century, the increase by a little more than 10% in the share of the non-Muslims was largely due to foreign immigration,[10] fuelled by demographic growth and political instability on the European side, and by the demand for expertise and labor to support the process of modernization on the Ottoman side. The effects of this movement of people were also resonant with, and amplified by, other major changes in social and political structure.

A new Ottoman Christian *millet* of Catholic Armenians, who in Istanbul had begun since the end of the 17th century to opt for re-union with Rome, thus acquiring a sort of trans-national identity, was officially recognized in 1830 by Mahmut II.[11] In 1850 a similar decision was taken for the Armenian Protestants. These communities, much larger than the groups of western immigrants, could easily develop intense contacts and affiliations with the latter and with the world that they represented. The other, traditional non-Muslim *millet*s (the Armenian Gregorian, Greek Orthodox and Jewish ones) were also being re-organized according to constitutional charters that replaced their old religious structure.[12] The secession and emergence of national states having ethnic-religious bonds with the Christian *millet*s in various parts of the desegregating empire, could also act as a powerful stimulus to re-define and de-Ottomanize cultural and political identities.

Such contextual factors, along with the traditional privileges granted by the Capitulations to foreign residents, with the reforming trends inaugurated by the Tanzimat charter of 1839, the institutional change in civic administration, and the introduction of the modern legal concept of private ownership of land (to which foreigners would also have access), had the power to intensify the influence of communities with a European background on urban society and on the physical environment. It seems therefore not a coincidence that the most intense period of change in the urban and architectural asset of Istanbul coincided roughly with the growth of the foreign element and the concomitant changes of balance and order in social structure. Far from assuming that this demographic evolvement had an immediate, deterministic effect on urban form and architec-

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[10] Population figures for the year 1885 are: 384,910 Muslims; 359,412 non-Muslim Ottomans and 129,243 foreigners (most of them non-Muslim). See Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 1985, 208.

[11] Kemal Beydilli, *II. Mahmud Devri'nde Katolik Ermeni Cemâati ve Kilisesi'nin Tanınması (1830)*, Harvard: Harvard University Press 1995; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983.

[12] Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, New York and London: Holmes & Meier 1982.

tural culture, one cannot neglect the influence of migration on an environment that had not experienced the direct challenge of industrialization.[13] In a monumental context, we can mention the impression of the Alsatian painter Hornig, engaged in the decoration of the new imperial palace of Dolmabahçe (fig. 3) during the 1850s. Hornig compared the crowd of workers and craftsmen surrounding him and speaking so many different languages to a sort of Tower of Babel.[14] The building, designed by Armenian architects for an Islamic ruler and constructed by a multiethnic team, is a westernized envelope containing or hiding an Ottoman ceremonial westernized only in part. The attempt to combine European representational devices (horizontal development, axial composition, architectural orders, pedimented colonnades, classical and rococo ornamentation), with the local tradition of the centralized interior distribution, has been regarded by many as a disturbing symbol of the Ottoman "loss" of identity and taste. But besides the intentions and inclinations of the architects and the patron Abdulmecid, Dolmabahçe would have probably looked much more "local", had it been produced by the traditional workshops of the Ottoman building sector. The ambiguities and the supposed contradictions of its programs are not a sudden isolated phenomenon due to the individual efforts of a western-oriented sultan. They are inscribed in a broad horizon of multicultural interactions, of geopolitical and social transformations that exerted an influence on the built environment at large.

Moving on from a monumental landmark like Dolmabahçe to the residential fabric, we should recall that the history of the urban transformations of Istanbul during the 19th century is mostly known from the institutional point of view. Since the process of Westernization was largely bound to autocratic decisions of

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[13] The 1885 Ottoman census shows for the population of Istanbul a share of 14.79% foreigners (including the Muslim foreigners), see Cem Behar, ed., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927* (with English summary), Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, Prime Ministry, Republic of Turkey 1996, 77. According to Ubicini, quoted in Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 98, in 1849 the total population of Pera, where the foreigners were concentrated, was 28 to 30,000, which constitutes a share of less than 7.7% (and still less if we exclude the Ottoman subjects) when compared with the estimated total population of Istanbul for the year 1844 (Behar, *Türkiye'nin Nüfusu*, 71, fn. 1). Since the Ottoman censuses of 1844 and 1856 did not feature foreign residents, a reconstruction of the precise pace and composition of growth can be achieved only through research in the European archives and in the local institutions of the foreign communities. The records of the Catholic parish churches of Istanbul reporting baptisms, marriages and deaths are a major source in this respect.

[14] Quoted in Miyuki Aoki, *Léon Parvillée: Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Eşliğinde Bır Fransız Sanatçı*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, November 2002. The image of the Tower of Babel is a recurrent metaphor in European accounts of the ethnic and religious complexity of Middle Eastern societies, from Lady M. W. Montague to B. Bareilles. See Lucette Valensi, "La Tour de Babel: Groupes et Relations Ethniques au Moyen-Orient et en Afrique du Nord", *Annales* 4 (1986), 817-838.

the ruling elite, historians have concentrated on the study of urban regulations and planning, and on the establishment of the first civic institutions based on European models like the Şehremaneti and the Altıncı Daire-i Belediye.[15] It is undoubtedly necessary to stress the importance of a shift from the Ottoman type of civic administration, based mostly on the responsibilities of the *kadi* and the *muhtesip*, to the new administrative concepts, often enforced through foreign pressure and participation. But regulations, projects and institutions should also be seen in their connection with human resources, which can alone provide a concrete means of implementation for a reform of the urban space. The most striking aspect of change in the fabric of 19th century Istanbul is not the development of large, volumetrically homogeneous arteries, squares and districts of imposing apartment blocks, with a high residential scale and a clear-cut separation of the private from the public realm (the change we usually associate with political and economic intervention from above). Nothing similar to what happened in Paris, Vienna, Rome—nor the formation of a fracture between "indigenous", traditional environment and "western" or modern settlement, typical of colonial and semi-colonial centers like Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, Alexandria—materialized in Istanbul.[16]

The most impressive, characteristic and enduring change was rather the emergence of a fragmentary, discontinuous residential fabric in the districts inhabited by a majority of foreign population and of non-Muslim Ottomans, who experienced cultural and ideological re-orientation toward the West. This new development was not confined to the area of Galata and Pera—it eventually affected large portions of the historical peninsula, of the Bosphorus shores and of the Asian neighborhoods—nor was it based on the sudden replacement of the local architectural types with imported ones. It rather resulted from the regularization and "translation" into more durable materials of the Ottoman house, from its expansion in height and detachment from the original bond with nature and earth. An example of the scale to which this process was effective can be provided by the comparison of two streets in the Galata district in two different periods, before 1840 and after the demolition of the walls (figs. 4 & 5). Notwithstanding regularization and a more utilitarian layout, we are still far from the

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[15] Zeynep Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman Capital in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Stephen Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1980), 227–245; Zafer Toprak, arts. "Altıncı Daire-i Belediye" and "Şehremaneti", in: *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1994.

[16] On the contrary, the demolition of the walls of Galata in 1864 and the improvements in communication between the two shores of the Golden Horn in the era of Abdulaziz may be seen as important steps toward integration rather than seclusion. In 1874, the French journalist Alfred de Caston, claimed that in the time of Mahmut II the project of transferring all the Western embassies from Pera to the historical peninsula had been conceived by the Porte, without being implemented.

homogeneity of European and colonial perspective schemes. Cantilevered, frag-
mented volumes and the prevalence of glazed surfaces continue to be a domi-
nant feature of the urban landscape.

The study of these architectural and urban transformations should also be ap-
proached "from below" or from within, in an attempt to fill the legal, political
and administrative frameworks with a content of social practice. The social basis,
the human resource on which these changes relied were largely represented by
the new immigrants who, together with the concomitant factors we mentioned,
altered forever the traditional balance on which the "*millet* system"[17] was based,
and transplanted fragments of an alternative settlement culture.

Italian paths

Among the various foreign communities that increased their number and influ-
ence on the environment in 19th century Istanbul, the study of the Italian case is
likely to produce significant knowledge of the general phenomenon. In this re-
gard, the extensive and heterogeneous materials still waiting to be analyzed and
evaluated range from church records to the Archives of the Congregation of
Propaganda Fide in Rome, from the diplomatic sources of the pre-Unitarian
states of the Italian peninsula to those presently preserved but not entirely cata-
logued in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, from the
documents preserved in the Istanbul seat of the Società Operaia Italiana[18] to
family archives, and to the 19th and 20th century literature on migration. In com-
parison with the other European communities of Pera and Galata, this group
seems to be more numerous and socially articulated to include a large share of
people engaged in the building sector, and to be linked in many ways, at differ-
ent social levels, with the local environment and culture.

A cursory look at the baptismal, marriage and death records of the Catholic
churches of Istanbul, shows a dramatic growth of the Catholic population, the
majority of which were of Italian origin, beginning from the mid decades of the
19th century. We know from the records of the Catholic missions preserved in
the Propaganda Fide archives in Rome that the Latin population of Ottoman Is-
tanbul did not usually exceed 600 people until the end of the 18[rb] century (only
counting the slaves, who were not integrated in the social life of the city, this
number could reach several thousands). The Catholic census by the apostolic

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[17] I am using the expression in quotes because of its relative validity in reference to the clas-
sical centuries of the Ottoman Empire (see Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the
Millet System", in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews*, 69-88). It remains though a useful
lable to signify the unquestionably plural and multi-religious character of Ottoman society
in any epoch.

[18] Adriano Marinovich, *La Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso in Costantinopoli*, Istan-
bul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura 1995.

Vicar G. B. Fonto in 1808 records 1800 Catholics of European background (excluding the Armenians and the Syrian Catholics). By contrast, between 1872 and 1892 this number was probably never less than 20,000,[19] of which approximately half were of Italian origin. In the 1890s, another religious source, a report by the Franciscan prior of the church St. Antonio, Padre Caneve, mentions 15,000 Italians in Istanbul, including 10,000 Catholics and 5,000 Jews.[20] Further archival research will provide reliable and detailed figures for this increase of the Catholic and Italian population, enabling us to describe from a closer standpoint the links and interactions between social changes and the transformation of the built environment. Of course the Italian element is not the only to provide material, technical and social support to this change. A large part of the apartment buildings of Beyoğlu dating from the 1880s and onward were designed by Greek and Armenian architects, and inhabited by multiethnic residents of the middle and upper classes, with disparate cultural and professional backgrounds. We may assume, though, that the Italian community had a leading role in the early phase of spatial redefinition of the environment, because its composition was articulated enough to comprise most of the economic and social framework necessary to produce a relatively new urban space. The earliest "Italian"-Levantine contribution to the transformations of the physical environment of Istanbul on the eve of modernity might go back to the late 18[rb] century migration of Catholics from the Ionian Islands (especially Tinos, Syra, Chios) and from Dalmatia to the Ottoman capital in search of working opportunities. The most intense and disruptive phase occurred in the second half of the 19th century and involved professionals, craftsmen, and workers, within a large social group of people migrating for political and economic reasons.

Patterns of interaction

In an essay on the role of the non-Muslim *millet*s in the social and economic transformations of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, R. Davison envisaged a socio-cultural spectrum or continuum, "graded roughly according to decreasing connection with the West: Europeans resident or visiting in the empire, Levantines with European citizenship, Levantines without such citizenship but enjoying European protection, ordinary Levantines, *millet* members with foreign passport or protection, *millet* members without foreign protection, Turks of the coastal cities, Turks of interior cities, village and tribal Turks".[21]

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[19]   François A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, 2nd ed., Paris: Picard 1894.
[20]   Archives of the church of St. Antonio in Beyoğlu.
[21]   Roderic H. Davison, "The *Millet*s as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire" in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews*, 319-338.

To some extent and in a relative sense, also the buildings and the urban environment produced and inhabited by such a complex society can be described according to similar concepts of integration and foreignness, of belonging and difference. The gamut of social and cultural affiliations is flexible and permeable, and communal boundaries are subject to change: religious conversion, intercommunal marriage, the acquisition of foreign protection or citizenship, cultural estrangement due to intense Westernization, and the experience of "going local" are the most typical cases of this shift. Similarly (but the adverb does not imply any "essential", necessary or organic bound between architecture and identity) the characteristic features of the space we are considering will be engaged in a complex negotiation between local and foreign. An instance of how a newly acquired religious identity can influence spatial and representational choices is provided by the Armenian Catholic community, whose elite is increasingly oriented toward Italian Renaissance revival architectural taste.[22] Topographically, this group was already concentrated in Pera and Galata as early as 1830, unlike the Armenian Gregorians who traditionally lived on both sides of the Golden Horn. Concerning intermarriage, the Italian ambassador to the Porte Tommaso Catalani, who had married a member of the local Greek Orthodox elite, Cassandra Musurus, seemed to support in 1895 the project of the new national Italian church of St. Antonio in Pera also because of his personal involvement in an "Oriental" (i.e. "Ottoman") conception of the link between religion and nationality.[23]

In the following brief and schematic paragraphs, we attempt a cursory description of the elements interacting in the formation of the Levantine environment, an expression used here to describe the urban space resulting from the disruption of pre-modern balances in connection with the emergence of cosmopolitan bourgeois communities, in Istanbul as well as in other eastern Mediterranean centers where colonial pressure or the economy of the post-liberal city[24] did not monopolize intervention on and production of space. Rather than providing a static classification of types, we aimed at visualizing a formative dynamics. Each of the main architectural components is listed according to a spectrum of decreasing "local" affiliation in the following diagram:

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[22] The case of the Koçeoglu family will be discussed briefly below.

[23] I discuss this aspect in more detail in my article "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: on the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul", *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 233-264.

[24] I use this expression in reference to Leonardo Benevolo, who employs it to signify the set of corrective practices adopted to contain uncontrolled urban growth engendered by liberal economy in the mid-19th century: Leonardo Benevolo, *La città nella storia d'Europa*, Roma-Bari: Laterza 1993.

TYPE	INTERIOR LAYOUT	CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM	VOLUME	ELEVATION	ROOFING	PATRON	ARCHITECT
ottoman house, *konak, yalı*	centralized	timber-*bağdadi*	irregular, asymmetrical, overhanging projections	wooden cladding	concavo-convex	Muslim Ottoman	Ottoman *kalfa*
"tanzimat box"	"2 rooms+1 hall"	masonry+*bağdadi*	regularized, synmmetrical proj.	close spacing of fenestration		non-Muslim Ottoman	non-Muslim Ottoman arch.
row houses	centralized with corridor	masonry+steel+ *bağdadi*	*cumba* on columns	Ottoman-Islamic revival	pitched roof, pavillion r.	Levantine	Levantine or Ottoman trained in Europe
street front apt building	enfilade	masonry+steel		western classical fenestration		foreign resident	foreigner with local experience
immeuble villa palazzo	corridor	reinforced concrete	regular solid	classical orders, pilasters, rustication	mansard, attic, balauster	western government	foreigner without local exp.

Building type and position in the urban fabric

The extremes of the spectrum are represented on the local side by the Ottoman timber house, on the westernized end by apartment buildings occupying entire blocks, villas and the urban palazzo, like the embassies of the western powers and the residences of the elite (figs. 6 & 7). In between, we find a type of two or three storey row-house set in a sort of *bourgade* plot of narrow and long stripes perpendicular to the main road, a type recently defined as "Tanzimat box".[25] Closer to the western end, the multi-storey apartment building with a narrow and tall façade (figs. 13 & 18), especially present in areas of higher land value. In the district around Tünel (upper terminal of the underground connection between the heights of Pera and the commercial core of Galata near the sea, opened in 1876), the insurance maps prepared by the Goad company in 1904-05 show that, besides the "apartments *du Tunel*", the only building belonging to the western type of the *immeuble* is the result of private enterprise: it is the apartment block of the Sephardic Jewish family Camondo[26] (fig. 9 & 10).

Interior distribution

From the centralized scheme of the Ottoman house with a living and distributing space in its core, we move to the "Tanzimat box", where the same scheme is condensed and reduced to two rooms connected by a hall along a longitudinal axis perpendicular to the street (fig. 8 & 11). Closer to the western end we will find combinations of centralized and linear distributions along a corridor or in enfilade, up to the elimination of the centralized scheme. A sketch by the Swiss-Italian architect Gaspare Fossati, most famous for the restoration of Aya Sofia and the design of the Russian and Dutch embassies in Pera, shows an early compromise between the local layout of the *konak* and the linear distribution of rooms along a corridor.[27]

Volume

The local type is characterized by projections in the form of bay windows (*cumba*) and of cantilevered parts of the upper storeys, which might be arranged in an asymmetrical order. Proceeding towards the "modernized" pole, projec-

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[25] Zeynep Enlil, "Residential Building Traditions and the Urban Culture of Istanbul in the 19th Century", *7 Centuries*: 306-315.

[26] For the Camondo's influence on the modernizing districts of Istanbul, see Nora Seni, "The Camondos and their Imprint on 19th-Century Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 (1994), 663-675.

[27] Paolo Girardelli, "Gaspare Fossati in Turchia (1837-1859): continuità, contaminazioni, trasformazioni", *QUASAR* 18 (1997), 9-18.

tions will be regularized, set more symmetrically, supported by columns, eliminated or replaced by balconies, in a variety of combinations (figs. 13, 18, 19). The most westernized type of volume will be closer to a regular solid.

Elevation

Wooden cladding and predominance of fenestration over wall are basic features of the local house. The same close spacing of the windows can be transferred to the body of the Levantine apartment buildings (fig. 13). When the rhythm of the windows becomes looser, we may be in the presence of a deliberate intention to distinguish the image of the house from the local context, to express closer affiliation with western taste (fig. 7). Of course the adoption of western moldings, rustication, pilasters, classical orders, revivalist decoration and even the Orientalist brings us far from the indigenous types.

Construction system

The intermediate categories between the Ottoman timber structure of the *baǧdadi* (lathe and plaster applied to a wooden framework) and the masonry buildings with floors of so-called "French vaults" (iron beams and bricks) are combinations of *baǧdadi*, iron and masonry. The symbols used in the legend of the Goad maps (fig. 12) offer an overview of the different construction systems in use by the turn of the century.

Roofing

In the Ottoman *konak*, as well as in more modest local houses of the 19th century, the shape of the roof is often integrated in the complex, fragmented volumes it covers, with a concavo-convex layout. In the Levantine environment, this scheme can be applied even to large apartment buildings (figs. 14 & 15). A pitched or a pavilion roof may belong both to the local and to the imported culture. Definitely foreign is the mansard roof, sometimes also associated to timber constructions.

Architect-builder

Master builders without an academic training designed many of the residential structures we are concerned with. The formation of some Levantine architects may have been similar to that of the local *kalfa*, with a surplus of technical knowledge on the new architectural typologies, acquired through practice and association with foreign professionals. Moving closer to the western end of the

spectrum, we find Istanbul-born Levantines or non-Muslim Ottomans who gained a more formal, more or less complete education in Europe (Artin Pascal Bilezikçi, Constantine Pappa,[28] Alexandre Vallauri in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Andon Tulbentçiyan in the engineering school of the Archiginnasio in Rome,[29] Giorgio Cociffi in the Roman Academy of San Luca,[30] Hovsep Aznavur[31] in the Roman school of Fine Arts).

The most foreign category of architect is obviously formed by the professionals coming from Europe without local experience.

Patron-dweller

This section is based loosely on the social spectrum described by Davison and already mentioned.[32] The labeling could also be adjusted with a closer reference to class, which would probably show that cultural exchange and negotiation occur mostly among elite and bourgeois environments.

Conclusion

The first remark to be made is that almost none of the elements considered in the scheme are mutually implied: a local construction system can be preferred by a western client, a western proportioning of the elevation may be associated to characteristically local volumes or materials. Figures 18 and 19 show the same basic type of the street front apartment building constructed with "western" masonry techniques and with local timber, at least in the façade. The Levantine environment is actually formed by transversal combinations of all the possibilities. A straight alignment of "all local" or "all western" forms and identities is rather the exception than the rule. Embassies, because of their representative character, should gravitate closer to the westernized elements, but we do have examples of profound identification with local culture in the summer residence of the Italian Embassy in Tarabya, designed by Raimondo D'Aronco in 1905 (figs. 16 & 17), and of the use of timber in the construction of the residence of ambassador Blanc in 1889.[33] Symbolic appropriation of foreign architectural categories is exemplified by the Armenian Catholic family of bankers, the Koçeoğlu, who in the 1860s sponsored the construction of the church of St. John Chrysostome near

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[28] Aoki, *Léon Parvillée.*
[29] Records of the Archiginnasio, Archivo di Stato di Roma, palazzo della Sapienza.
[30] The Archives of the Academy only record that Cociffi was attending drawing classes in 1847, without other indications of his curriculum.
[31] See art. "Aznavour, Hovsep" in: *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı 1994.
[32] See fn. 22.
[33] Archivio storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Rome), fondo Ambasciata d'Italia in Turchia.

Taksim, based in its interior layout on the Roman Renaissance plan of Santa
Maria di Loreto, and designed by the Rome-trained architect Andon Tulbentçi-
yan.[34] Eventually, after the fire of 1870 which destroyed a large section of Pera,
Koçeoğlu commissioned a mansion on the Grande Rue, containing many refer-
ences to another landmark of the Roman Renaissance, namely Palazzo Farnese
(fig. 7).

In a lower social context, the same contractor and informally trained architect,
Angelo Gallerini, built in the same period (ca. 1095) the apartments attached to
the Dominican church of St. Peter and Paul and the timber structures of the
Lazarist convent in Bebek, on the European shores of the Bosphorous. He used
a western technique, masonry and iron, but a local arrangement of volumes and
surfaces in the former case. Conversely, the convent in Bebek is more local only
as far as material is concerned, without adopting the indigenous compositional
features. This case and that of Delfo Seminati, an Istanbul-born builder who was
a contractor for the realization of D'Aronco's already mentioned summer resi-
dence for the Italian Embassy in Tarabya (figs. 16 & 17), challenge the accepted
view that builders with a European background were engaged by Ottoman and
Levantine clients because of their expertise in masonry constructions. Finally,
many residential structures of the westernized types may adopt the local, central-
ized distribution,[35] as we see in the apartment building in Elmadağ commis-
sioned by the Ottoman Muslim family Saruca and designed by C. Pappa, a local
Greek architect who had studied in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

We may label the extremes of the spectrum that guided our overview as "lo-
cal" and "imported", but also as Ottoman and European, eastern and western,
traditional and modern, vernacular and academic, without ever reaching a satis-
factory definition. The ultimate scope of our description is precisely to question
the validity of such fabricated polarities, and to stress that hybridity, complexity,
experimentation and distance from the academic standards are dominant fea-
tures of the Levantine architectural practice. Whether such aspects were also the
object of a conscious, theoretical conceptualization should be investigated and
decided through further research. It seems though that this "interstitial" envi-
ronment was not connected directly to any of the official or current discursive
frameworks we usually attach to 19th century architectural culture. It is not the
product of a historicist project supported by institutions or a cohesive elite. It is
not bound to colonial ideologies and practices, nor does it fit into European,
Orientalist perceptions and representations of the East. In fact, this kind of envi-
ronment was disregarded and criticized both by foreign observers for its lack of
exoticism, and by the new generation of Turkish architects and intellectuals of
the Young Turk and early Republican period, for its cosmopolitan and eradicated

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[34] Hovhannes J. Tcholakian, *L'Eglise Arménienne Catholique en Turquie,* Istanbul 1998.
[35] Alp Sunalp, "The Development of the Central Sofa-Hall Typology in the 19th Century Ga-
      lata and Pera Apartment Buildings", in *7 Centuries*: 324-28.

character. Nevertheless, it is sure that the spatial dynamics engendered in the second half of the 19th century along the lines we have sketched was to influence the following urban and architectural developments until at least the 1950s. While the official discourses of the "first" and "second" national style produced mostly isolated icons rather than environments, the imprint of the Levantine image is still evident in large sections of districts like Cihangir, Teşvikiye, Şişli, characterized by local versions of the Art Deco idiom, as well as in parts of the historical peninsula and of the Asian districts developed between 1930 and 1960.

In recent years, this kind of environment has begun to be addressed—socially, culturally and also legally—as an important layer of heritage. Recent architectural practice began to be inspired by this historical precedent. The new attitude is not simply nostalgic, nor is it only connected to the increasingly European orientation of Turkish society and politics. It is shared by other Eastern Mediterranean urban communities (Salonika, Izmir, Beirut, Alexandria and Cairo, to mention just the most obvious cases), and it stems from the collective realization that the Levantine heritage represents one of the few links with the past on the scale of the residential and urban fabric, in cities which preserved mostly outstanding monuments of older epochs, surrounded by environments without cultural identity.
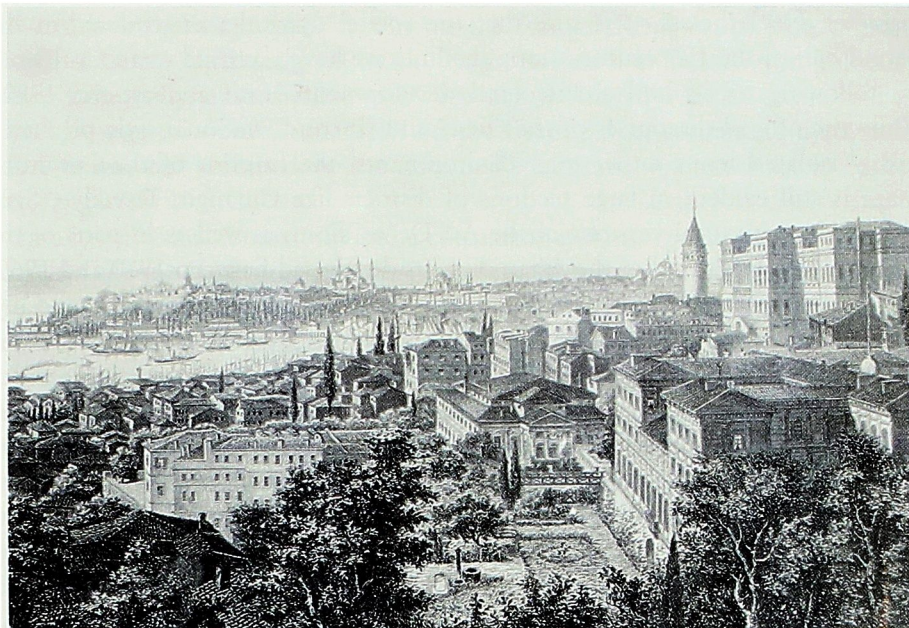
Fig 1. Jean Brindesi, View of Pera and Sarayburnu, engraving (detail), courtesy of Selçuk
    Esenbel

Fig. 2: A map of Istanbul published by Stolpe in 1868

THE SULTAN'S NEW PALACE OF DOLMABAGHDSCHE, ON THE BOSPHORUS.
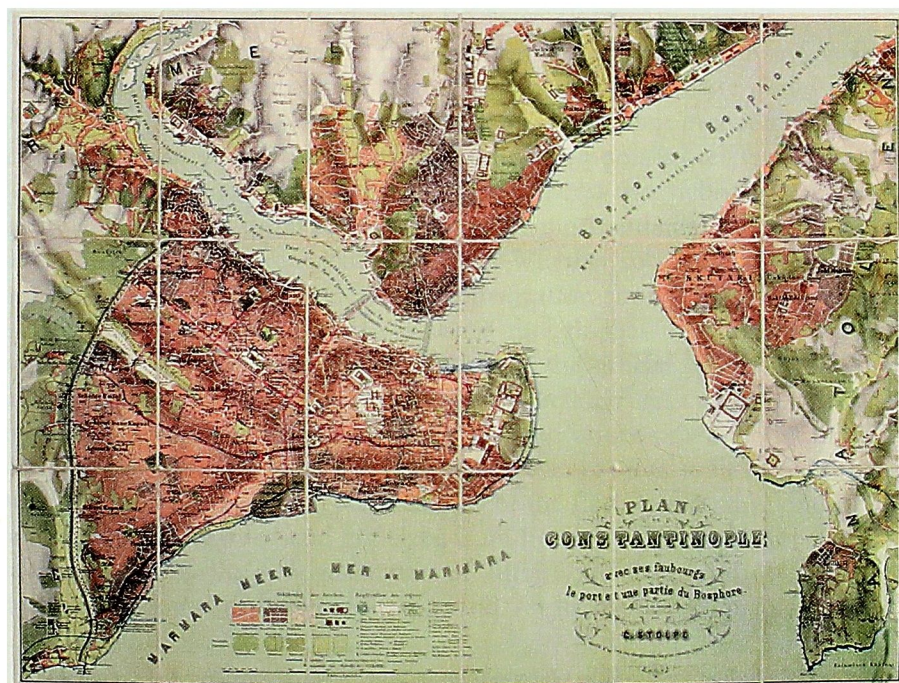
Fig. 3: Dolmabahçe palace (*Illustrated London News*, Oct 22, 1853)
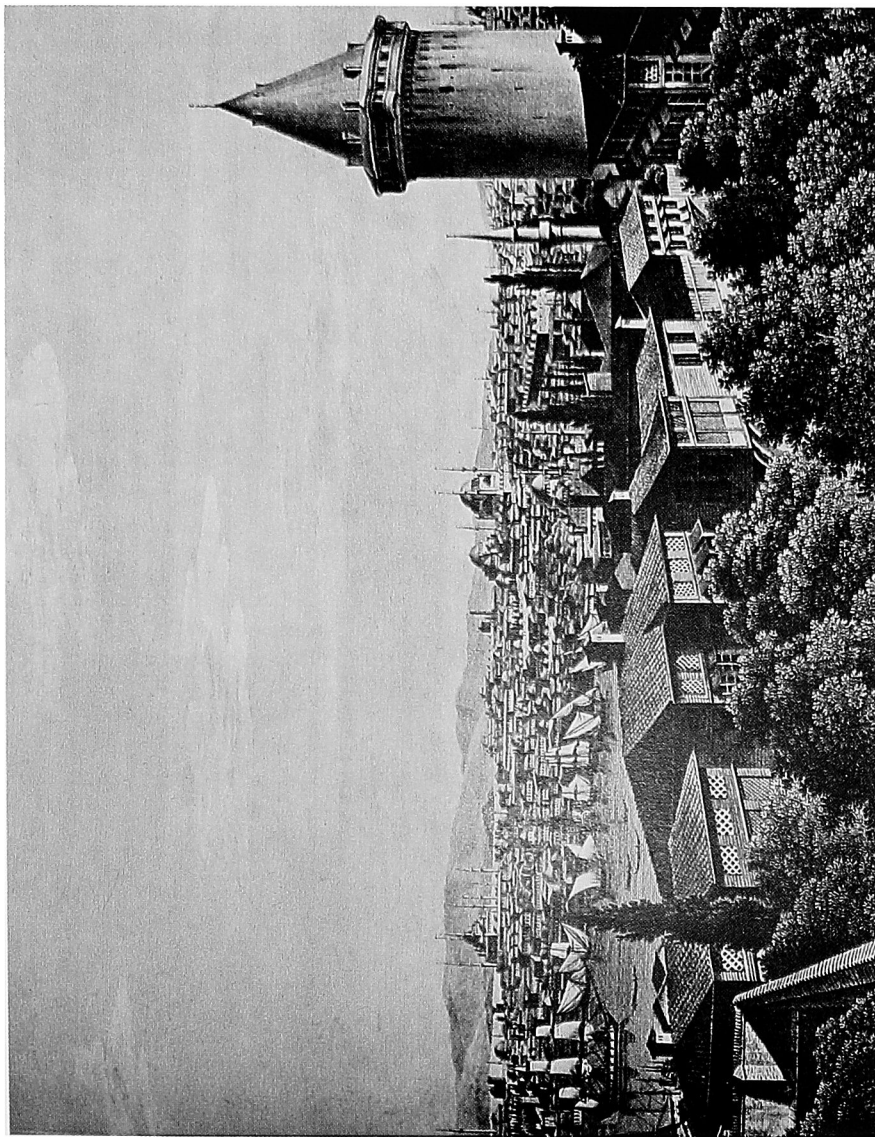
Fig. 4:   The walls of Galata and part of its residential fabric in an engraving by A.I. Melling (1819)

Fig. 5: Büyük Hendek street, built on the moat of the demolished walls of Galata, in a late 19th century postcard
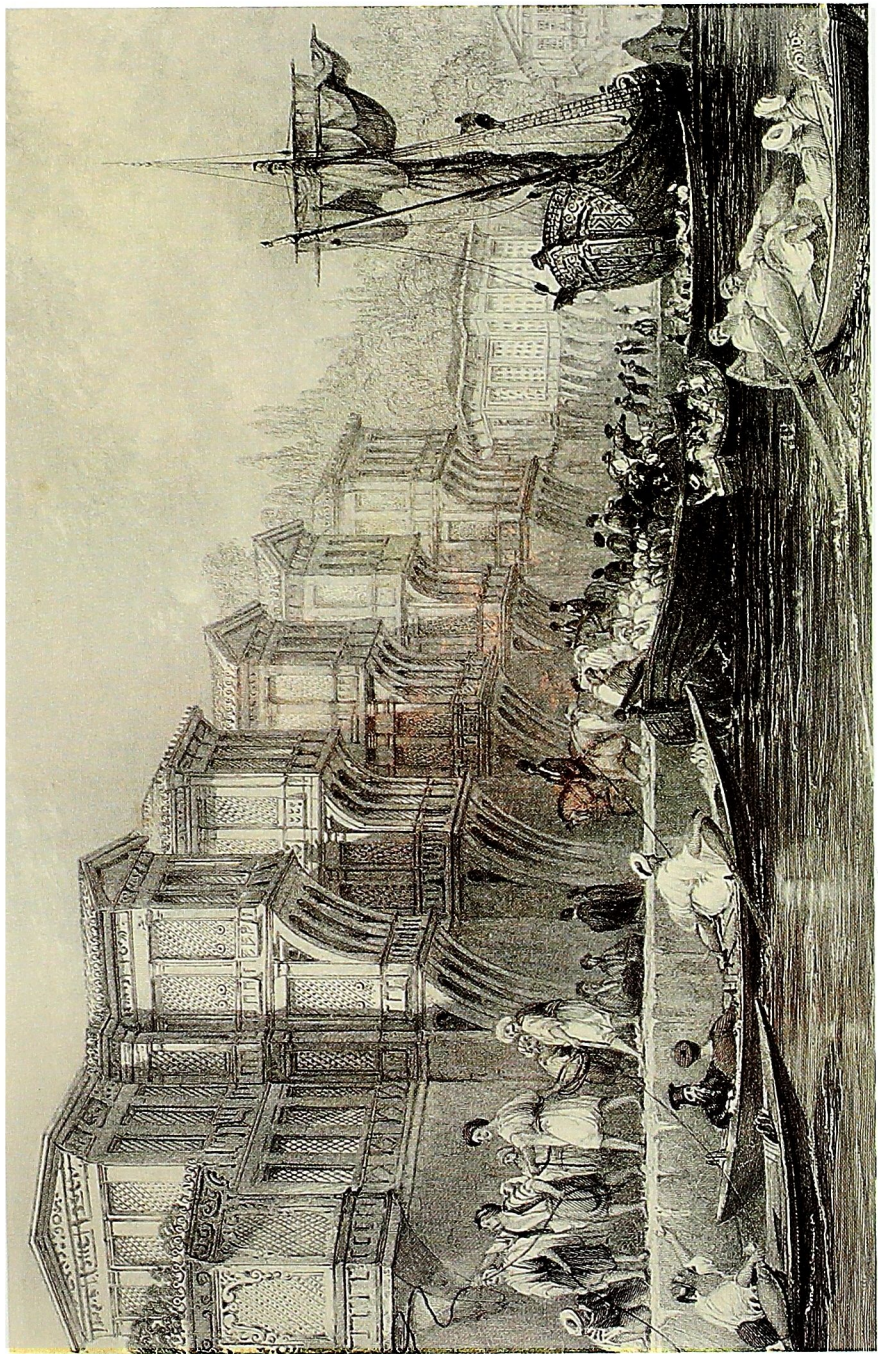
Fig. 6: The *yalı* of Sait Halim Paşa in an engraving by Thomas Allom (ca. 1838)

Fig. 7: The Koçoğlu residence on Istiklal Caddesi (completed in 1872)
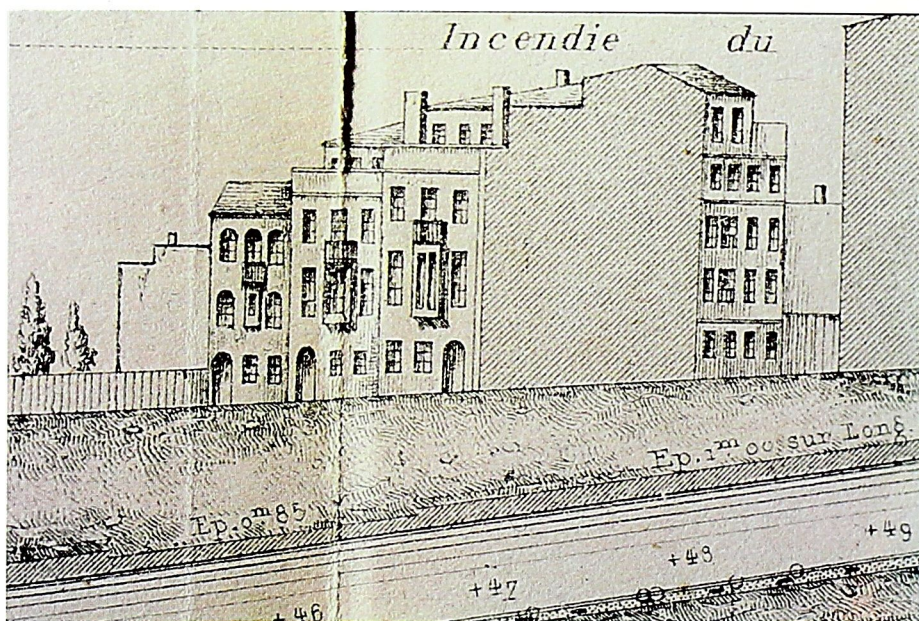
Fig. 8: Survey of the area of Tunel, showing a row of "Tanzimat boxes, from E.H. Gavand, *Chemin de fer métropolitain de Constantinople,* Paris, Typ. Lahure (1876)

Fig. 9: The district around Tünel in the Goad insurance maps

Fig. 10: A recent view of the district of Tünel, with the Camondo apartment block on the right
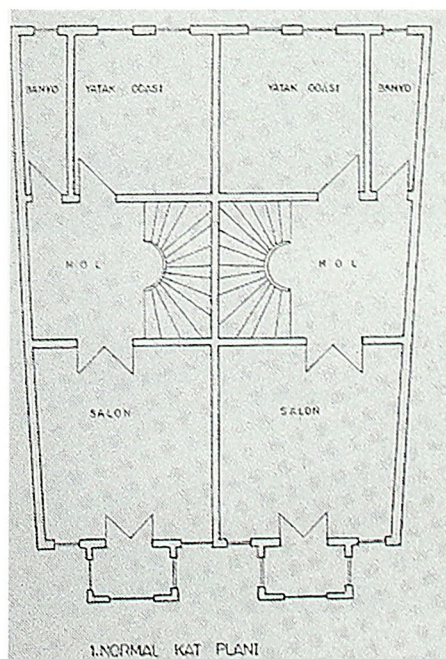
Fig. 11: Plan of "tanzimat boxes" in Pera, after Enlil, "Residential Building Traditions"

Fig. 12: The legend of the Goad insurance maps (1904-05)

Fig. 13: G. Semprini, apartments Rossolimo in Tepebaşı (late 1890s)
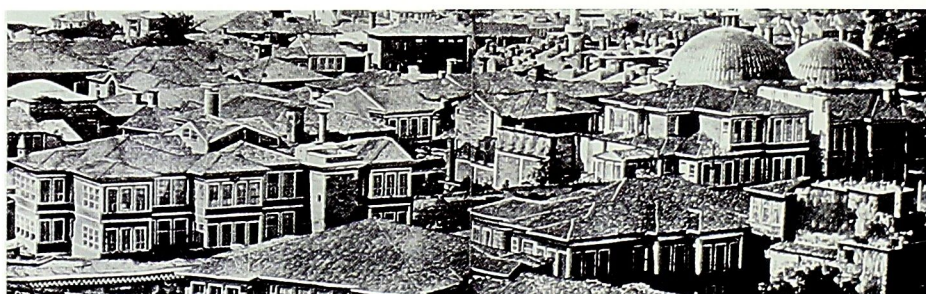
Fig. 14: Roofs in the cityscape of the historical peninsula

Fig. 15: Roofing of an apartment building seen from the tower of Galata
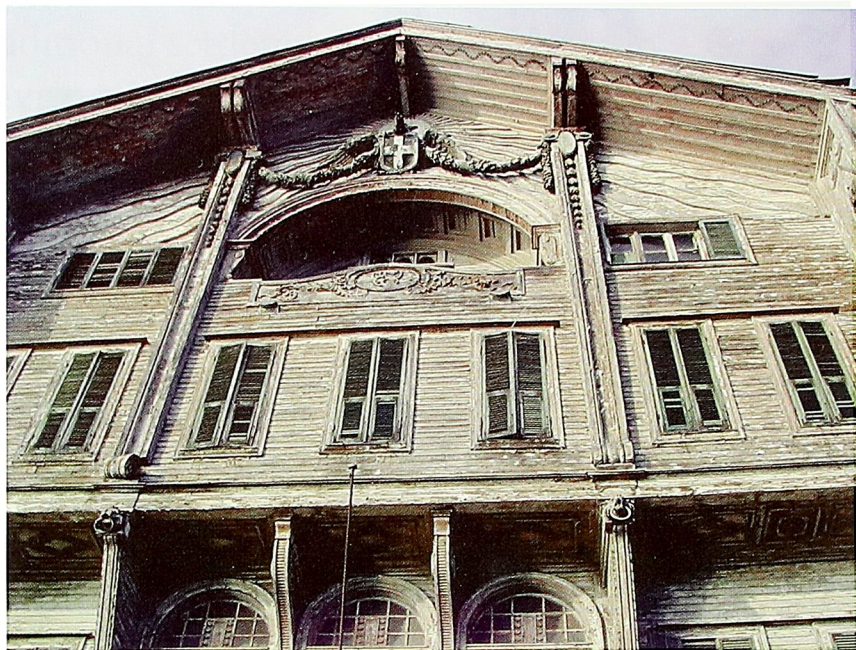
Fig. 16: R. D'Aronco, summer residence of the Italian ambassador in Tarabya (1905-06)

Fig. 17: R. D'Aronco, summer residence of the Italian ambassador in Tarabya (1905-06), detail

Fig. 18: A.N. Perpignani and M. Langas, Hazzopulo
Han in Çukurcuma (Beyoğlu), ca. 1900

Fig. 19: Apartment building with a wooden facade in Feriköy

Traditional settlements in East Vermion – Greece: Environment and urban form

Nikos Kalogirou

Introductory remarks

The purpose of this article is to contribute to the understanding of the structure of historic communities and to explore the relations between the natural environment, urban space and traditional architecture. Our proposed method for 'reading' the historic communities is supplied by a study of three specific towns in northern Greece, towns which present certain common geographical features.

One of the most striking characteristics of the traditional settlement is the way in which it is so completely integrated into its environment. The landscape maintains an intimate relationship with the traditional architecture, whether through the incorporation of the buildings into the natural contours of the terrain, their adaptation to climatic factors, or the use of the naturally available materials without excessive processing and without bringing the materials from too far afield. If we wish to isolate the critical factors in the birth and development of the traditional town, we shall see that the natural environment and culture make the largest contribution. These two factors are directly related to the geography of the location, both the natural geography and that modified by human intervention. We can thus claim that in a certain sense the traditional settlement 'emerges' from the environment in which it stands.

Reaching an understanding of the structure of the historic community is a complex process going far beyond the straightforward description of the individual buildings and their features. A reading of the urban space, above and beyond its analytic usefulness, is of particular value when we wish to assess the environmental impact in the course of preparing studies for the re-shaping and re-habilitation of an area.

In a historic settlement, the individual buildings acquire all their significance from their relation to the overall context into which they are incorporated. There are communities which impress us more through their sense of organic unity than through any particular value their individual components may possess, even in cases where monumental architecture is quite absent.

In order for us to understand the overall image of the site, and to explore its relations with the environment, we must observe, record and evaluate the features and systems which make up the urban fabric of the historic town—a fabric which in the case of the historic settlement is made up of a host of features, bound together by extremely complex relationships. The task before us is to analyze this

complexity and break it down into simpler and more easily intelligible relation-ships, and to do this in such a way that the result will not consist of reductive and schematic simplifications which ignore the special features of each case.

In the course of this article we shall expound a methodology to be used in studying the relationships among the individual, kindred elements which are re-garded as making up a system. We shall then proceed to examine the articulation of the different systems in the fabric of a specific historic site. The methodology will be approached through the presentation of field research conducted in the eastern part of Mt. Vermio in northern Greece, an area where three important and fascinating towns have evolved—Veria, Edessa and Naousa (fig. 1), each of them boasting noteworthy examples of traditional architecture.[1]

1. Historical analysis

The limits set for this article do not allow the presentation of detailed data con-cerning the towns of eastern Vermio. We shall refer very briefly to certain facts in order to aid understanding of the historical context which shaped the three communities under examination.

Veria

The earliest confirmed reference to Veria occurs in the first book of Thucydides.[2] Of great importance for the town was the period which saw the rule of the Anti-gonid dynasty (294-168 BC), lasting until the time of the Roman occupation. In Roman times the relative stability and security provided by the Pax Romana al-lowed the town to develop into an urban centre of more than merely local im-portance, with significant commercial, administrative and religious functions.

Veria remained an important and populous town throughout the Byzantine period (5th-14th centuries). As the capital town of one of the Byzantine 'themes', it functioned as an administrative and military centre, but its prosperity was due mainly to the early growth of commerce and craftsmanship.

Following the Ottoman conquest (15th century—1912) and the establishment of relatively undisturbed peace in the region, Veria gradually acquired the tradi-tional form which it would retain, with certain changes, up until the middle of the 20th century (fig. 10).[3]

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[1]   For a comprehensive presentation of the methodology, see Nikos Kalogirou, Michalis Nomikos, George Palaskas and Nikos Papamichos, *The Design of Rehabilitation*, Thessalo-niki: Technical Chamber of Greece, 1990 (in Greek).

[2]   George Hionides, *History of Veria*, Vol. 1 Veria 1960, Vol. 2 Thessaloniki 1970 (in Greek).

[3]   Nikos Kalogirou, *Veroia*, (Greek Traditional Architecture), Athens: Melissa 1989.

Edessa

Ancient Edessa stood to the east of the modern town, in the plain where the celebrated waterfalls can be seen. Systematic archaeological investigation on the plain of Edessa, have brought to light the remains of a Hellenistic community. Scholars date the original fortification of the town to the 3rd century BC, linking it to the descendants of Alexander the Great.

During the Ottoman period (15th century – 1912) the town expanded beyond the walls of the old Hellenistic acropolis and the later Byzantine fortified town. New districts grew up outside the walls, although the Christian population tended to remain within and around the old nucleus of the town, divided into three large neighborhoods.

From the mid-19th century onwards the town owed much of its development to the growth of industry, particularly the manufacture of textiles. The first factories were established by businessmen from neighboring Naousa.[4]

Naousa

The founding of the town of Naousa in its current position dates back to the early years of the Ottoman conquest. According to tradition, supported by indirect testimony from historical sources, just before the fall of Constantinople and a few years after the occupation of Veria and the surrounding region by the Turks (1385-1386), the Christian population of Vermio abandoned their former homes and gathered in a new settlement on the site of what is today the town of Naousa.

It was in the 18th century that the town enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity, and travelers' accounts of the region describe the growth of its active commercial and manufacturing life. According to Stouyiannakis (1924)[5] no fewer than forty manufacturing concerns were active before the town's destruction in 1822 during the War of Independence.

Following the rebuilding and resettlement of the town, the second half of the 19th century witnessed a revival of industry (fig. 2), dominated here also by the manufacture of textiles, and profiting from the propitious geographic and social conditions (fig. 5).[6]

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[4]   Eustathios Stouyiannakis, *The Macedonian Town of Edessa through History*, Thessaloniki 1932.
[5]   Eustathios Stouyiannakis, *History of the Town of Naousa*, Edessa, 1924 (in Greek).
[6]   Nikos Kalogirou and Michalis Nomikos, "Macedonian Naousa. From the Autonomous Community of the Turkish Occupation to the Modern Greek Industrial City", *Modern Greek City, Ottoman Heritage and Greek State, Proceedings of the International History Symposium*, Athens, 1985, 257-271 (in Greek); Nikos Kalogirou and Michalis Nomikos, "Naoussa: dalla Communita Ottomana alla Citta Neoellenica », *Storia della Città*, 46/1989, pp. 47-54; Nikos Kalogirou and Michalis Nomikos, "The Urban Space in Naousa: from communal

2. Relations with the broader geographical region

The towns of eastern Vermio grew up at the feet of the densely wooded moun-
tain range. It is no coincidence that the three major towns—Veria, Naousa and
Edessa—occupy strategic positions at the three axes which cross the mountains
and connect central with western Macedonia.

The historical evolution of the communities at these locations demonstrates a
remarkable continuity of urban organization. The modern towns stand on or
very close to the sites where their forerunners flourished in ancient Byzantine
and more recent times. Among the reasons for this continuity are the existence
of a landscape which provides naturally fortified positions, the orientation of the
site towards the East and the protection it offers from the northern winds, and
finally the rich hinterland.

The flourishing industry which the towns enjoyed in the latter half of the 19th
century can be attributed to the favorable geographical and social conditions, in-
cluding the availability of raw materials and of a workforce with long traditions
of craftsmanship, the existence and utilization of local, renewable sources of en-
ergy (rivers and streams, rainfall), as well as the slow but steady penetration of
industrial activities originating in Europe into the 19th century Ottoman Empire.

The similarity of both natural and anthropological circumstances led to the
evolution of an urban environment sharing many common features. Veria,
Edessa and Naousa each occupy their own plateau at the feet of the mountain
mass; every plateau forms a natural balcony looking out over the plain. A river
runs through each town, as well as smaller streams, providing abundant water
and energy.

3. The traditional town plan

3.1. The individual quarters of the town

According to Todorov (1986)[7] the mediaeval Ottoman town was distinguished
by the absence of an organic, structural unity. Instead of that unified municipal
authority so characteristic of the European town or city, the Ottoman town con-
sisted of various self-governing units. The theocratic principle underlying the
Muslim state lent great force to the idea of the self-administration of individual
communities, demanding as it did the organization of the population according
to the religion of its various constituent groups. Inhabitants of the same faith
lived together in self-sufficient quarters of the town or city, quarters which con-

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autonomy to the beginnings of industrialization" *Symposium: The Historical Course of Com-
munity Life in Macedonia*, KITH, 1991, 477-503 (in Greek).

[7]   Nikolaj Todorov, *The Balkan Town from the 15th to the 19th Century*, Athens: Themelio, 1986
(in Greek).

tained their own places of worship. The town had a central market area of commercial premises in which the various shops and factories were located, divided according to the guild to which they belonged, as well as the town's inns, warehouses and other commercial premises.

The various quarters were not mere constituent elements of the town, but self-administered units with their own religious and cultural features, their own comprehensive social organization. The typical quarter comprised just 40 or 50 inhabitants, along with their own religious centre, fountain, bakery, grocer's and coffee house. The relatively small scale of the neighborhood encouraged the growth of a special social environment, one of remarkable ecological unity and fully adjusted to the broader natural setting. The geographical features of the setting played a key role in the spatial disposition of each neighborhood. The natural contours of the terrain were invariably respected, permitting the creation of a disposition of streets and buildings unique to each area of the town, development occurring at sites which offered good natural defenses, open views and the desired orientation. As we shall see later, water played a significant role, the running waters being carefully incorporated into the urban context for the most efficient utilization.

In the Christian quarters of Veria—of which Kiriotissa is the best surviving example—the houses were organized around central communal points with enclosed open spaces and with the churches at the heart of the community. Often the disposition of structures followed the model of the closed block of residences with a central 'island' in which the church is sited as a communal point of reference. There is a clear relationship to the monastic model, and, moreover, it is well known that some of the churches of Veria began their lives as the *catholica* of monasteries. It is also well known that similar plans were to be found in the Mediterranean region at earlier times, allowing us to suppose, without overlooking the particular features of each historical period, that the model of this kind of planning organization has proved remarkably enduring. Similar arrangements are to be found today at Aghios Kirikos, Panayia Valtesini[8] (fig. 6) and Panayia Dexia.

The Jewish quarter of Barbouta in Veria (fig. 3, 4 & 8), which has survived almost unchanged, follows similar principles of town planning. The houses were built in rows to form a closed triangle, defended against the countryside beyond the quarter and with access through a robust two-leafed gate. There is a second opening providing access to the bridge over the river. The houses open on to the interior area of common use, with a portico under the constructions on the Merarchia St. side, which has now been partly closed off.[9] The courtyards com-

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[8]   Nikos Kalogirou and Michalis Nomikos, "La Maison Sarafoglou à Veria en Macédoine: Cadre Urbain, Evolution Typologique et Projet de Réhabilitation" *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain*, XIX/1986, 198-217.

[9]   Christina Zarkada and Kornilia Trakosopoulou, 1979, "Conservation and Regeneration of the Jewish Quarter in Veria", *Architectural Issues*, 13/1979, 81-83 (in Greek).

municated with or were incorporated into the internal pedestrian area. The centre of the community, the synagogue, is incorporated into the row of houses looking out across the bank of the river Tripotamos. Only the carefully constructed masonry and the geometric emphasis of the entrance, an austere propylon with pediment, mark the special character of the location. The Jewish buildings display more urban features, a closed ground plan, fewer covered verandahs and foreign stylistic influences.

The neighborhood of Alonia in Naousa (fig. 7) has its own special character. The general lay-out is that of an irregular triangle, divided from base to apex by an open stream. The quarter was and remains a neighborhood of ordinary, working people, densely built up around the perimeter and with narrow-fronted houses which have arisen from the successive divisions of the original fields which were oriented at right angles to the stream. The inner part of the quarter is free of buildings or only sparsely built up with courtyards, gardens and outhouses. Some of the houses which look out on to the inner courtyard communicate with the perimeter streets by means of passages below the buildings which extend in a row along the main external lines of the quarter.

A second remarkable architectural complex in Naousa, which has survived in part, is the area around the banks of the Arapitsa river beginning at the inner square of the Metamorphosis Church and stretching to the two banks of the river. This area is dominated by the large curving lines of the roads, while the houses are generally larger and of a more urban character than those of the Alonia quarter. The social differentiation can also be seen in the typological characteristics of the urban space. The inner courtyards are self-contained and there are a fair number of *archontika*—fine bourgeois town houses. Of particular interest is the general lay-out of the houses on the banks of the river, which acquires something of the character of a private property with its banks kept inaccessible and at a distance from the public thoroughfares. This enclosure of the water is a typical feature of the way the individual groups of buildings are laid out in Naousa.

The Varosi district in Edessa was the town's first Christian quarter, established on the south-eastern side of the town close to the rock on which the Byzantine acropolis had been built.[10] The small area of the Varosi district which has survived gives us an idea of the original planning lay-out and architectural organization of the quarter.[11] Specifically, it was a location in which we see the community of the town expanding to occupy an area outside the original acropolis enclosure. The first group of houses grew up on the site where the demolished walls had stood. As construction grew denser the type of narrow-fronted house began to prevail, the houses being built compact and close together and the

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[10] Christina Zarkada, "The Varosi Quarter in Edessa", *Archaeology*, 26/1988 (in Greek).
[11] George Velenis, Christina Zarkada and Akis Pistiolis, "Architectural Documentation and Re-creation of the Varosi Quarter in Edessa", *Academic conference: new towns built on old*, Rhodes 1993, 537-552 (in Greek).

original courtyards being sacrificed to make more building space. Thus here too there evolved the characteristic defensive planning organization, consisting of closed blocks of buildings with the fronts of the individual houses built to form a row, presenting an uninterrupted 'wall' to the outside world, with a limited number of openings at ground level. The line of buildings was differentiated by stylistic features and the height of the individual houses, while on the interior each house had its own small courtyard with which the semi-open spaces would communicate.

3.2. Thoroughfares

The urban fabric of the towns of eastern Vermio retained its organic character intact until the middle of the 20th century. The streets, passages and open spaces are elements which unite the urban space. The main feature of this unity—expressed in the relations between volume, function, public and private space—is the specific geometrical organization of space, an organization which emerges from the successive re-shapings which occur throughout the long course of the town's evolution, always corresponding faithfully to the characteristics of the immediate natural environment.

The result of a long process of evolution, the road systems of Veria, Naousa and Edessa eloquently demonstrate the relations and significance of the network of links connecting the various communities with the broader region, as well as the internal relations between the various parts of the towns. An important role in this process is played by the environment, by which we mean the orientation, the view, the morphology of the terrain, but also the setting of the original central nuclei of the community, its basic functions, and the existence of key features of the constructed space, such as religious buildings and foundations, defensive dispositions, etc. In their original form the roads were paved with local stone.

The overall form of the urban fabric in the traditional quarters is organic, with a loose complex of curving main streets lined by the façades of the residential buildings. The secondary thoroughfares often took the characteristic form of a blind alley, some of which have survived to the present day. The presence of water within the town played an important role in the morphology of the urban fabric. Apart from the Tripotamos, the Arapitsa and the Edessaios, there are numerous streams running through the three towns and imposing their own spatial divisions on the interior of the quarters through which they passed. The water of the rivers and streams acted as a unifying element in the urban space, with the private plots of land disposed at right angles to the line of the water; the water was also used as power to operate the numerous watermills, workshops and cottage industries.

3.3. Blocks of buildings and building plots

The building blocks were curved in outline and their scale, while not uniform, was generally large. The open interior space within the island contained gardens, small orchards and outhouses. The general pattern was for the buildings to form an enclosing wall around the perimeter of the block. This disposition offered protection, as did the limited number of doors and windows on the ground floors. The first floors were equipped with more apertures and a less weighty construction. On the interior side of the blocks the houses were more open, with sheltered courtyards and semi-open spaces. Around the churches, as mentioned earlier, there were more spacious internal atria, always with the same encircling arrangement of surrounding buildings.

The beginnings of the present distribution of land can be traced back to earlier phases in the development of the communities. Thus the present system still contains traces of the older forms of division of the land, and we can detect dispositions of plots of land which correspond to the traditional phase of the community, their form perceptibly different from the contemporary 'rectangular' models.

From the examples of plot systems depicted on maps it can be ascertained that the main directions of the basic plot divisions are dependent on the geomorphological features of the terrain and on certain determining elements of the urban fabric. Examples of such elements would be the defensive dispositions of the acropolis and the walls (Veria-Edessa) and the basic road axes.

The development of the plot system is closely related to the gradual urbanization of each district. Successive sub-divisions lead to narrow-fronted properties. This is why the properties with a broad front usually belong to the earliest phase of development. When the process of sub-division reaches a critical point (Alonia, Naousa) more recent constructions appear on the plots which have sufficient depth to accommodate them; they are built in the inner open area and communicate with the street by means of passages through the ground floors of the original houses. Within the inner courtyard outhouses are often erected for purposes associated with agriculture or the exercise of crafts.

3.4. Relations between buildings and open spaces

Looking at the way the buildings are arranged to form the fabric of the town, it is possible to discern two different types of organization which apply to the building mass: ubiquitous free construction or occasional construction, and construction along the length of some axis or linear construction. In a few instances we encounter in the towns of eastern Vermio extended construction in many directions, i.e. continuous construction. An unrelieved picture of discontinuous construction is also rare, since the free-standing buildings are fewer in number and are to be found in the more remote quarters of the towns. Nonetheless, the

basic type of broad-fronted building with the façade facing the view is in principle associated with occasional construction. Even in the case of buildings arranged in rows we can see a relative autonomy of volume. This is accentuated by the contours of the terrain. The most usual case in the towns we are examining is a 'linear' or 'wing' construction, where we observe continuity in one direction, usually parallel to the various inclines of the terrain. Thus the land itself continues to determine the general disposition of the houses, which retain their original relation of dependence on the terrain. In this case the buildings are not recognized as individual forms, but are perceived in clusters. On more careful examination, the façade and volume of each individual unit take on isolated forms and we can discern the complexity of the organization.

The high degree of articulation of the built space is accompanied by a corresponding articulation of the open space. We can thus make out differentiated free spaces, which emerge from the network of thoroughfares and public spaces, as well as from the private or semi-public areas in the interior of each block of buildings and of the enclosed arrangements of buildings. Beyond this general distinction between 'private' and 'public' free spaces, there are also differentiations within each category. Thus the private spaces differ from one another according to the position of the courtyard, the greater or lesser degree of emphasis given to the delineation of the property (fences, surrounding walls), the type of vegetation which has been planted, and the landscaping (stone paving, earth) of the ground.

3.5. Monuments and unique features

Among the unique features of the urban space are those buildings which serve functions and purposes different from those of ordinary habitation, trade or manufacturing. These are buildings which do not present recurring features, and, unlike what we observed with the formal elements composing the urban fabric, these buildings do not make up a cohesive system. Nevertheless, their presence is of particular importance in the overall image of the community, for they are urban constituents of enduring value, despite the succession of modifications which their role and importance may undergo.

In the towns we are examining, the monuments mostly obey the logic of an organic connection with the urban fabric. This is especially true of the churches of Veria and Edessa, which were often literally invisible at their sites within the building blocks, thus permitting the faithful to approach the church unseen, an important consideration in the unfriendly environment of the Ottoman Empire. However, the other public buildings too (baths, inns, administrative buildings, mosques), and even the great bourgeois town houses, rarely appear detached from their environment, but instead preserve their connection with the overall fabric of the town lay-out. In the final analysis, these special buildings retain their organic relationship with the setting through using the same traditional

techniques of construction, the local materials and the forms familiar to the place and its people.

4. The individual residence

4.1. Typological analysis

The towns of eastern Vermio were inhabited by various ethnic and religious communities, their members belonging to many different social categories: prosperous merchants, officers of the administration, artisans and craftsmen, farmers, laborers and those occupied in minor urban professions. All of them constructed their homes in line with their own particular needs, their own cultural models and their social position.

Despite their variety and apparent heterogeneity, all the variations in the design of the private house are derived from the same original type, consisting of a basic nucleus and the semi-open space adjoining it. Every single house, however humble, is oriented towards some open space, whether privately owned or in common use. From the semi-open space, the *hayiati* or covered verandah, access is gained to the closed rooms indoors. The importance of these semi-open spaces is particularly great in a region characterized by its relatively mild but damp climate. Many of the chores of the farmer and the housewife are carried out in open but sheltered spaces such as the covered verandahs, the sun rooms and the covered yards. In a micro-climate like that of eastern Vermio, the semi-open spaces enjoy equal importance with the rooms indoors. In fact, as Pericles Yiannopoulos has emphasized, this is the case across the Greek world since Greek life is conducted in the open air. However, in the particular climate zone in question life in the open air requires some elementary protection against rain or sun, depending on the season.

It was Aristotelis Zachos[12] who first voiced the opinion that the fine bourgeois houses and other buildings of our vernacular architecture, which constitute the advanced type of house in post-Byzantine times, have their roots, in terms of their general lay-out, in the architecture of the houses of the countryside. The rural buildings of the neighboring Roumlouki plain were actually, according to Angeliki Hatzimichali,[13] the classic type of simple Macedonian house, the only difference being that they usually consisted of a ground floor only, in rare exceptions having an upper floor.

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[12] Aristotelis Zachos, "Ioannina", *Epirot Chronicles*, Vol. 3, 1928, 295-306.
[13] Anghéliki Hadjimihali, "La Maison Grecque", *L'Hellenisme contemporain* 1949, 169-190 and 250-256.

According to Nikos Moutsopoulos,[14] the evolution of the Veria house from the ancient Macedonian nucleus can be traced back to classical and Hellenistic times, the specific model being the houses at Olinthos. The common typological model is evident in the few surviving fortified houses (*konakia*) of the rural hinterland. Nikos Chrysopoulos,[15] who studied the vernacular houses of Veria in 1955-56, when almost all of them were still standing, classified them into three categories: the '*ftochokatoikies*'—the housing of the poor; the '*noikokyrospita*'—decent, middle class houses; and the beautifully built '*archontika*'—the fine bourgeois town houses. Of course, the boundaries between the three categories are fluid, and all three categories have developed through the enrichment of one common type.

The differences in morphological features do not detract from the architectural unity of the town. Even in those cases where the distinction is visible, as with the disposition and features of the houses of the various communities (Greeks, Jews, Turks), we can still accept—as one of the leading experts[16] on the Balkan town has asserted on various occasions—that the distinctions are more a matter of differences of nuance, arising from differing social perceptions and cultural peculiarities. The exhaustive study of the houses of the Ottoman period by S. H. Eldem[17] is of fundamental importance, showing as it does that the types of house described in the broader surrounding region can be identified also in the architecture of the towns of eastern Vermio. From as early as the 18th century, with the gradual penetration of commercial capitalism, the articulation of society according to class becomes a more important factor in the differentiation of residential architecture. The fine houses of the Greek and Jewish merchants vie with those of the Turkish ruling class, often surpassing them in luxury.

From the material available to us on the three towns we are examining we can formulate a number of more general observations and conclusions concerning the typology of the private dwelling. At first sight, the picture is one of great complexity. There are innumerable variations in the spatial disposition of the houses, in the internal arrangement of the rooms and in the morphology of the exteriors. This heterogeneity is the product of the organic development of the town and the gradual change in the building types. The relatively great density and lengthy evolution of the dwellings within the urban space also contribute to the large number of variations. Another determining factor is the reciprocal influence exerted by the various systems of the urban space. It is therefore difficult to understand the typology of the dwelling unless we relate it to the other basic

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[14]   Nikos Moutsopoulos, *Vernacular Architecture in Veria*, Athens: TEE 1967, Municipal Council of Veria, Veria, 2000, 78-79.

[15]   Nikos Chrysopoulos, "The Vernacular Houses of Veria", *The Greek Vernacular House*, EMP, 2nd ed. Athens, 1977, 286-299 (in Greek).

[16]   Nikolaï Todorov, *La Ville Balkanique sous les Ottomans* (XV–XIXe s), London : Variorum Reprints 1977.

[17]   Sedad H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* , İstanbul: I.T.Ü. Mimarlik Fakültesi 1968.

systems, such as those of thoroughfares, of building blocks and of plots of land, all of which have a direct influence on the typology of the individual dwelling.

After careful examination of the material in the form of drawings of the buildings we can appreciate that, despite the apparent heterogeneity, there are in fact just three basic types, but with a whole host of variations and transitional forms.

Type A develops from variations on the traditional Macedonian dwelling, as adapted to suit the urban setting. An elementary form of this type is the house divided into two areas: an indoor area and semi-open area for daytime use and for access to different parts of the house and to the street. The type is not of course encountered frequently in this form in the urban setting, but is common in auxiliary buildings and small dwellings in the countryside. More usual within the town is the broad-fronted type, usually with two rooms beside one another and a closed transitional space (*hayiati* or closed verandah-hall or *sala*). The *sala* is usually a single space containing the stairs and providing access to the indoor rooms. Among the more spacious dwellings of the traditional type we find broad-fronted houses with three or more rooms arranged in a row and with a wide hallway. Often we find another room attached to the end of the *sala*, usually in the form of a jetty projecting out from the main line of the building, giving the dwelling an L-shaped plan. When such an extension occurs at each end of the dwelling, the result is a Π-shaped plan. Although we encounter more numerous variations in these larger dwellings, they do not upset the basic geometry: the stairway in the *sala*, access to all the rooms from the *sala*, etc.

There are numerous variations in the way the dwellings of type A are incorporated into the actual fabric of the town. They may be free-standing or arranged in a row, attached to other houses on one or both of their narrow sides and forming a line along the road or facing the view. The broad side of the house generally follows the contours of the terrain, although it may be sited differently, depending on the special features of the ground and the streets.

Type B is essentially the product of the evolution of the system of land plots and the successive divisions of the urban land. The buildings in this category are two-storey, narrow-fronted, with a limited width in the areas of common use. This is, then, principally an urban type with transitional characteristics which allow us to view it, in the broadest sense, as a variation of the traditional type. Thus here too we have the combined living and access space (*sala*), but without the dominant role it played in type A. The more confined space requires in certain cases that rooms be placed on both sides of the *sala*, depriving it from direct illumination.

As the urban type par excellence, the narrow-fronted dwelling was arranged in rows, with the broader sides adjoining one another and the characteristic frontage facing the street or looking out over the view.

Type C is probably of more recent date and possesses more markedly urban features. The buildings have two storeys, are box-shaped or broad-fronted with

more, and sometimes very skillfully crafted, and stylistic features. The character-
istic feature found in all the variations of this type is the interior central *sala* and
the symmetrical disposition of the rooms to each side of it. The rooms, usually
two on each side, open on to the *sala*, which occupies the full depth of the
house. Usually, at the back of the *sala* the staircase ascends to the upper floor. In
larger houses there may be three rooms on each side of the *sala*, in which case
the middle room will be a smaller chamber or ancillary area. In this case the
staircase will often occupy one of these areas. The influence of European models
is more evident in this last type. Type C can also be encountered free-standing,
arranged in rows, in an angular disposition, and closed off from the rear.

The particular character and adjustment of the types to each residential com-
plex is a product of the response to the environment. Protection from the wind,
sun and rain, the need for through ventilation, orientation towards the view and
also the street, the division of areas for summer and winter use, the need to live
and work in the semi-open areas, protection of privacy—these are all factors
which influence the typology of the dwelling and modify it in order to better
suit the specific conditions.

4.2. Construction

Typological and morphological unity is reinforced by the common methods of
construction. The degree of adjustment to the environment is total, since all the
materials for the construction of the dwellings are of local origin or brought
from the immediate hinterland. They are used in their natural form or subjected
to only the barest necessary preparation and processing. Thus, the final product
retains the rough natural texture of the dominant materials: the local porous
stone, the timber from the forests of Vermio, the tiles made from the baked clay
of the Macedonian earth, and the plasters made of sand and lime strengthened
with straw or goat hair, used to cover the lightweight constructions of the upper
floors. These materials are employed almost unprocessed, in their natural form, a
practice which means that the bare minimum of energy is consumed in both
preparing the materials and in transporting them to the site; there was no need
to transport materials any great distance, since they were to be found in abun-
dance in the local vicinity.

The typical urban house in Veria, Edessa or Naousa is just one constituent in
the larger block of buildings. The property is divided from the street by a sturdy
wall 70-90 cm in thickness, made of porous stone with horizontal wooden ties;
the wall is usually left unplastered. The heavy wooden gates are the only opening
on to the street. In the interior of the ground floor a large part of the space is left
free, with pillars supporting the upper floor. Thus a covered courtyard is created,
its surface often laid with pebbles. This uniform space is used both for house-
hold chores and for working purposes, made easier and more pleasant by the

shade and shelter from the elements which the covered courtyard provides. The stairway usually stands to one side of the courtyard, leading up to the covered verandah on the upper floor. In the larger houses there is also a lightweight timber intermediate floor accessible from the landing. More lightweight construction is employed on the upper floors, with timber-frame walls which permit a relative freedom in the disposition of the various rooms, making it unnecessary to follow too rigidly the ground plan of the lower floor. The rooms are disposed around the central semi-open verandah or the *sala*, which invariably looks out over the inner courtyard.

Distinct spaces are often set aside for winter or summer use, the winter rooms being more enclosed and protected, and equipped with fireplaces. The main room is larger than the others; it often juts out over the street, the protruding area oriented to provide the optimum view or to secure the desired amount of sunshine or shade. These enclosed balconies, known as *sahnisia*, admit the light and fresh air through rows of apertures and windows, allow the inhabitants of the house to enjoy the view, and endow the interior of the house with a greater sense of space. To the passer-by they also form a very characteristic morphological feature of the urban landscape.

5. *The transition from the traditional to the contemporary town: problems and prospects*

From our examination of the towns of eastern Vermio certain conclusions can be drawn to aid our understanding of the architectural and urban organization of the traditional communities of the region and their relationship to the natural environment. A typological reading of the features of the space assures us of a systematically sound methodological approach and permits a corresponding application of the method to other communities. It also raises questions about the future utilization of environmental parameters in planning urban development. It is clear that the thorough exploitation of renewable sources of energy and natural resources has now been forgotten, replaced by the aggression of modern attitudes to nature.

The problems which arise during transition from the traditional to the contemporary town are vividly illustrated by comparing three successive maps representing the urban fabric of Veria. The map of the town at the beginning of the 20th century clearly shows the organic network of thoroughfares, fully incorporated into the environment and demonstrating the centuries-old continuity of the urban organization. The 1925 plan for the town, with its lucid geometry echoing the Neoclassicism which still cast its long shadow over the town planning of the period, presented a stark contrast to the real, organic fabric of the town for which it was intended. Had it been implemented, it would have meant the entire destruction of the traditional settlement, not just the individual houses

but the whole fabric of the town. The impossibility of implementing the plan led to the drawing up of its successor, the 1936 plan, the result of a forced compromise between the 'modernizing' intentions of the 1925 plan and an acceptance of the existing urban fabric as it had evolved through the centuries. Implementing the plan in the post-war period proved extremely problematic: apart from the mass demolition of traditional buildings and their replacement by anonymous apartment buildings whose design reflected little more than the contractors' hunger for profit, there were also problems associated with the alignment of roads, with establishing the boundaries of lots, and with the density of the new construction—problems which actually made the plan impossible to implement in certain areas. The survival of some fragmented remains of the old urban fabric and its traditional buildings was made good use of in the revision of the planning study for Veria carried out in the 1980s,[18] a study which restored, wherever possible, the original lines of the organic fabric of the town and sought the integrated protection of the traditional quarters and the restoration of their original relationship with their environment.

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[18] Nikos Kalogirou, *Architectural and Urban Interventions in the Historic Centre of Veria*, Veria 1990 (Greek and English version).
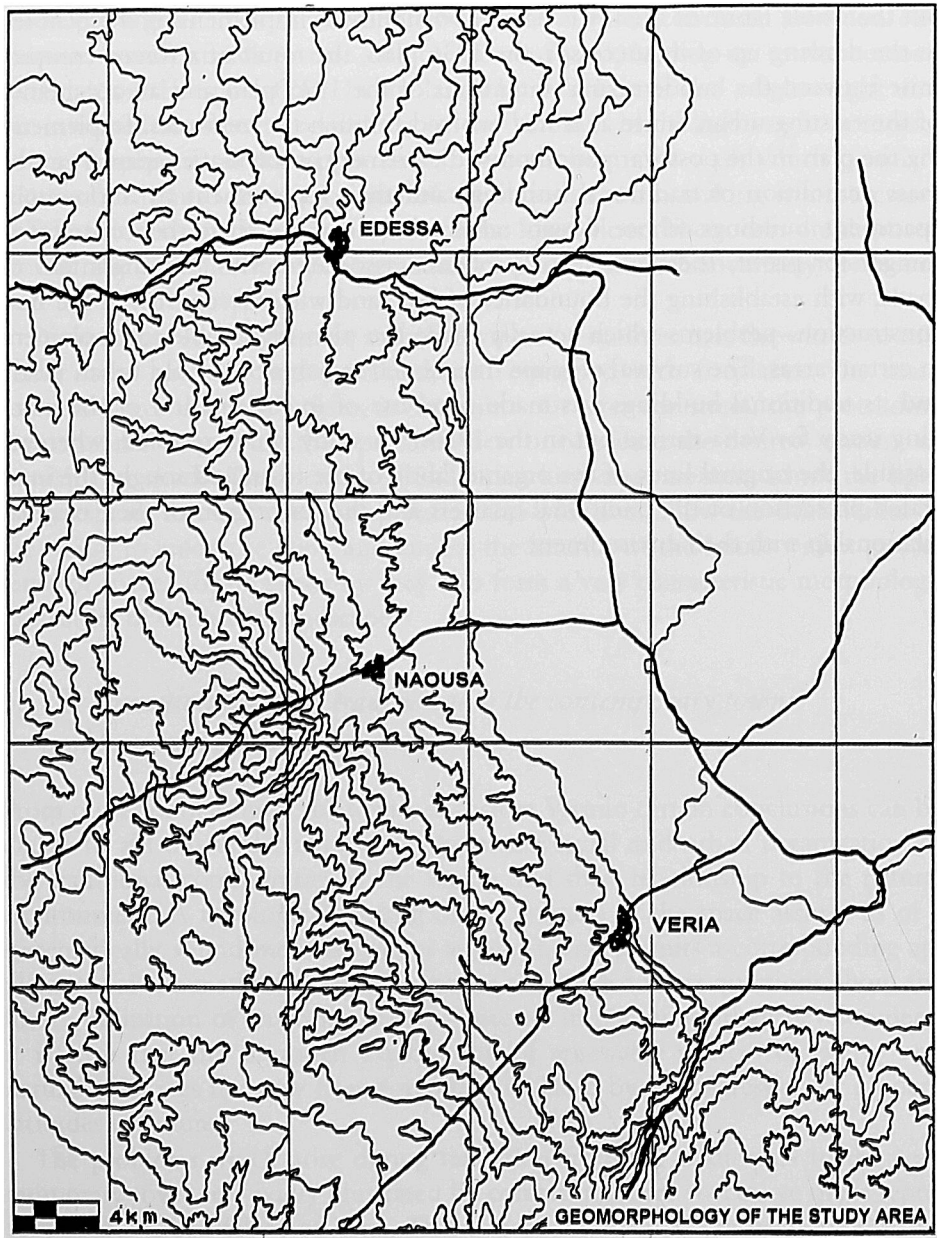
Fig. 1:   Relations between the towns of eastern Vermio and the broader geographical
context: strategic setting of the three towns on the boundary between the moun-
tain area and the plain
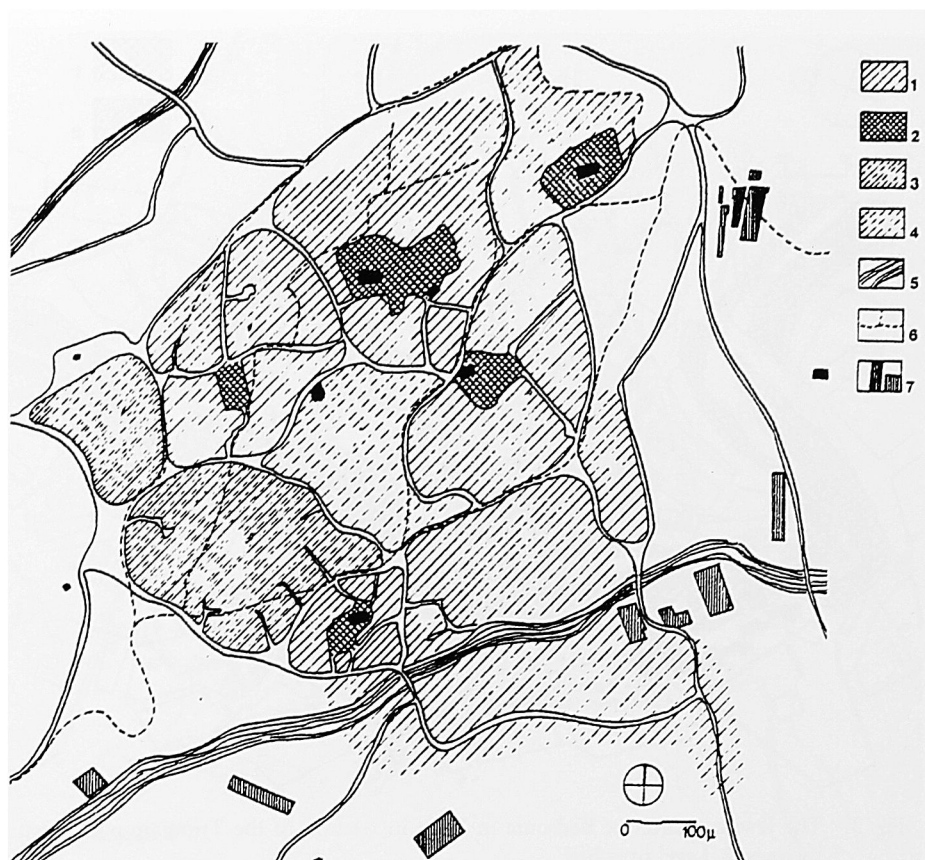
Fig. 2: The various quarters of late 19th century Naousa were relatively autonomous ecological entities. 1. Christian quarters, 2. Open spaces around churches, 3. Muslim quarters, 4. Central market area, 5. Rivers, 6. Streams, 7. Early industrial buildings
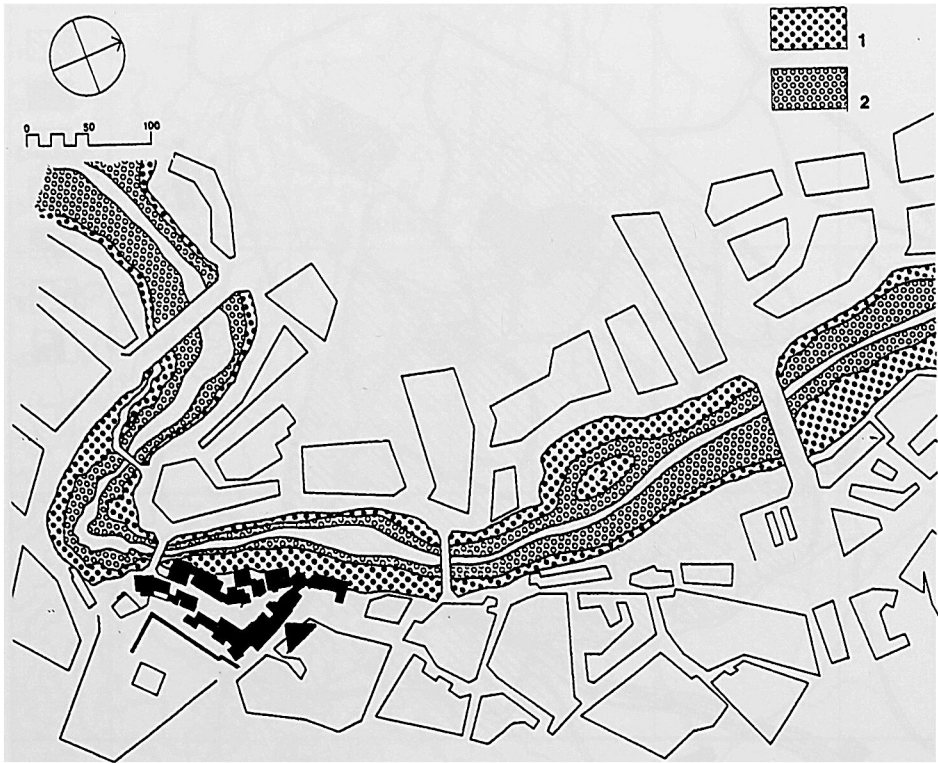
Fig. 3:   The Jewish quarter of Barbouta in Veria in relation to the Tripotamos 1. Steep
          inclines, 2. Level river bed

Fig. 4:   Plan of ground floors at level of entrance to Barbouta, dominated by the narrow-
          fronted types of dwelling arranged in lines parallel to the incline of the ground
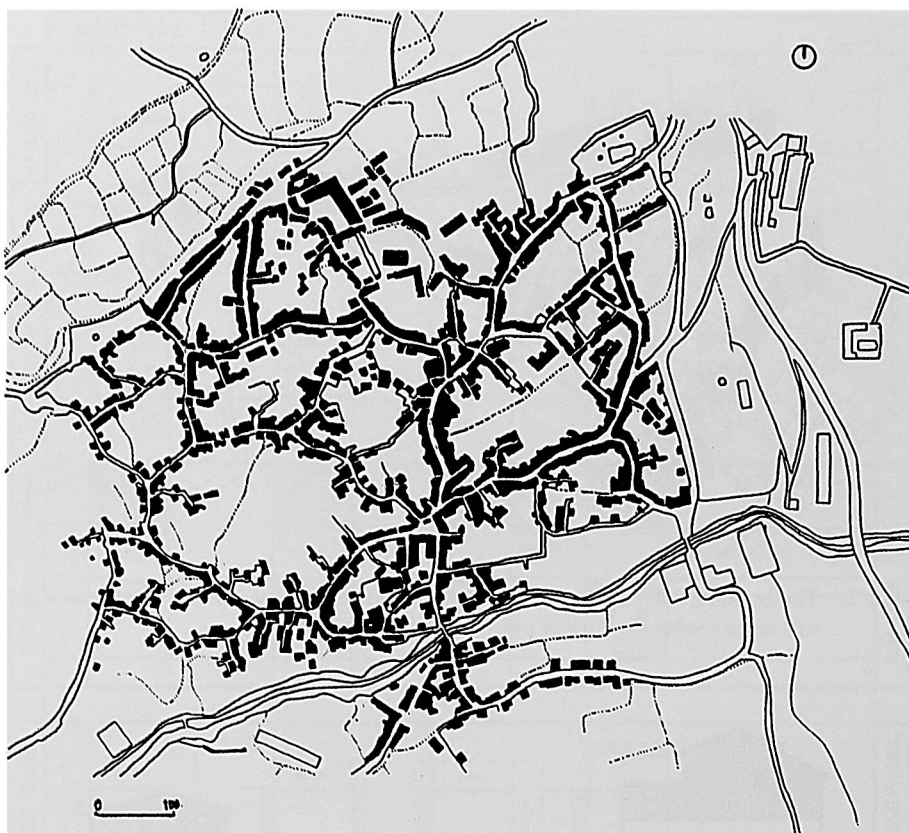
Fig. 5:   The urban fabric of Naousa in the early 20th century, thoroughfares in relation to the natural features of the environment (plateaus, dips, streams, etc.) and the ribbon development of the houses
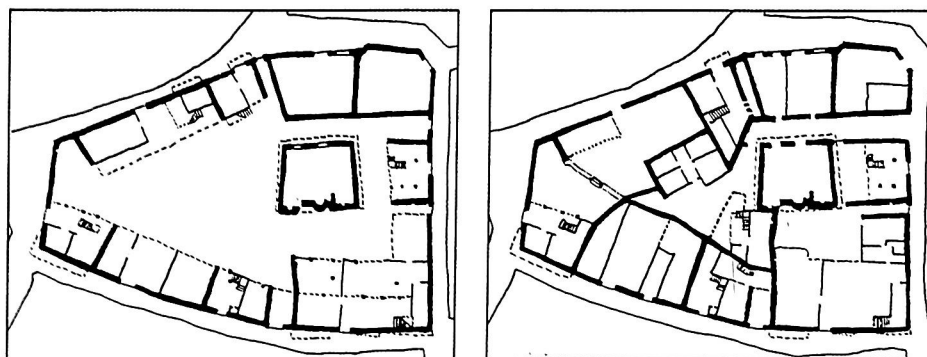
Fig. 6:   The building island of Panayia Valtesini in Veria around the post-Byzantine church at two different stages of development
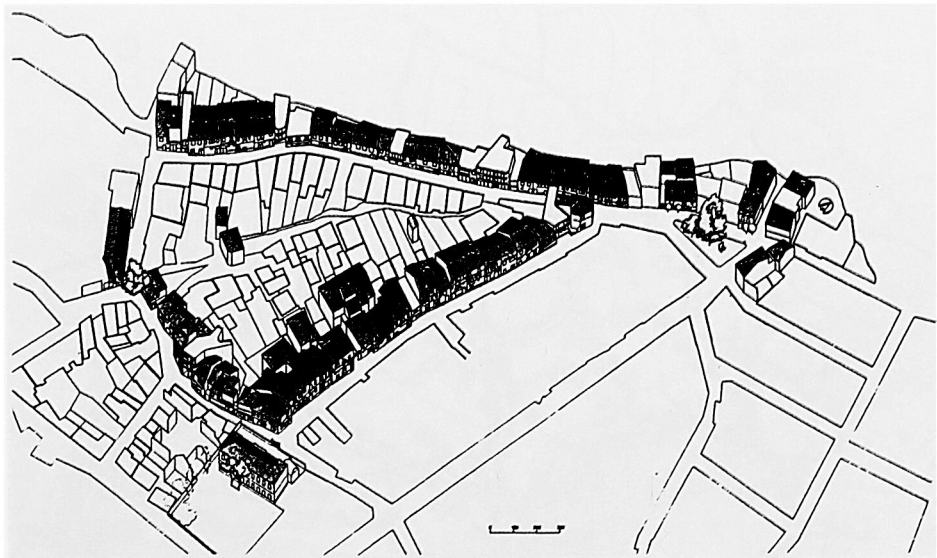
Fig. 7: The building island of Alonia in Naousa and the narrow-fronted houses as a result of successive division of plots of land
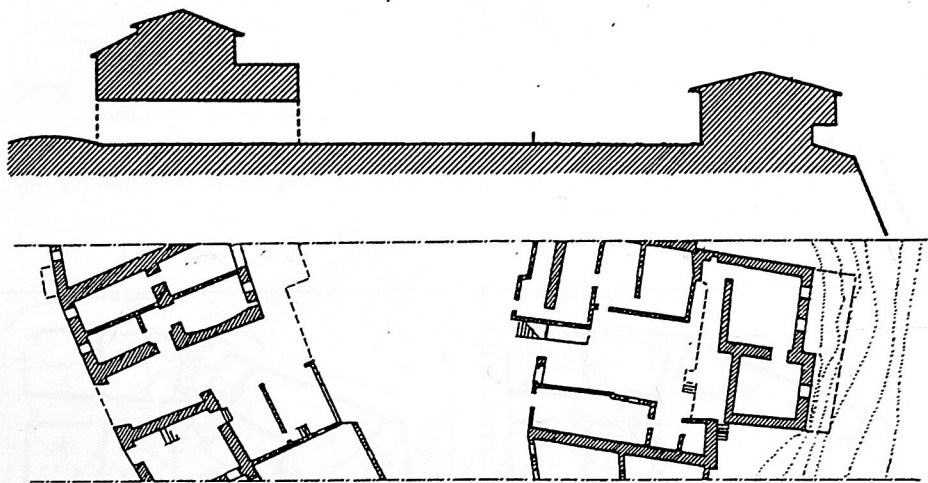
Fig. 8: Schematic section of Barbouta quarter and adaptation of the rows of houses to the terrain
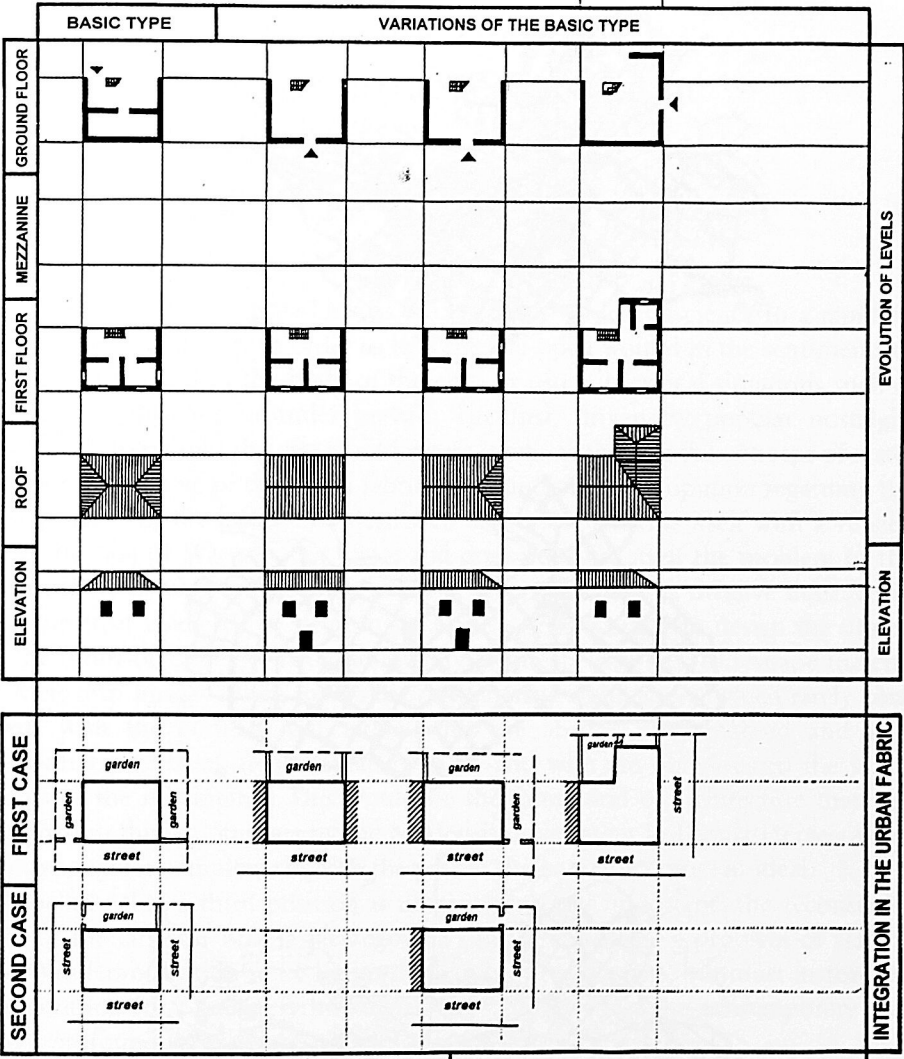
Fig. 9:   Table presenting the variations of a basic broad-fronted type of traditional house
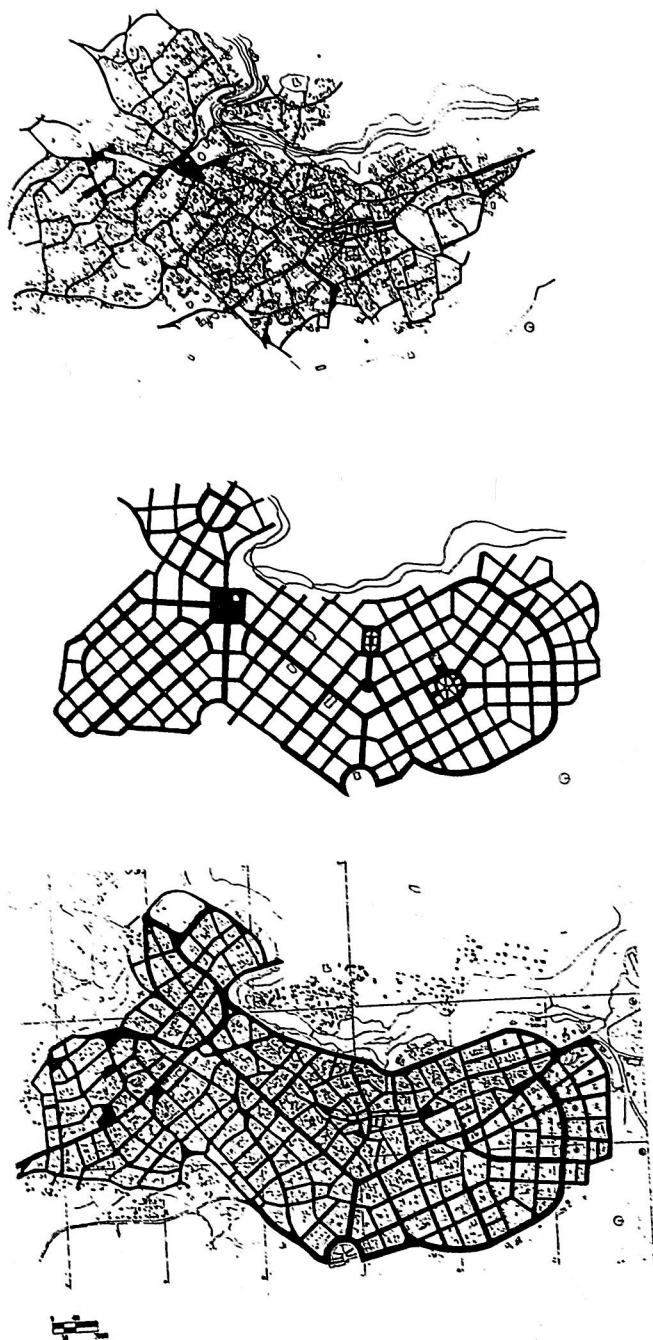
Fig. 10: The development of the urban fabric of Veria, total
adjustment of the organic plan to the terrain in early
20th ct., 'pure' geometric lines of 1925 plan (not im-
plemented) and 1936 plan

Designing a multi-cultural landscape:
The case of the reconstruction of Mostar
in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Attilio Petruccioli

The tragic events of Bosnia-Herzegovina prompt world conscience to a rapid reconstruction of the city in order to heal the still open wound in the sentiments of its inhabitants and in the body of the city. As usual in critical situations such as these, two opposing attitudes prevail. The first, driven by popular nostalgia, would like to rebuild the city as and where it was, extending the concept of restoration to the whole of the urban fabric. This kind of public opinion regarding the conservation of the image of a destroyed city often contents itself with a veneer, as in the case of Warsaw after 1945, and does not pose itself the problem of the authenticity of what is reconstructed. The second sees in the massive destruction and the great voids left by demolition a unique opportunity to design the utopia of the futuristic city. The latter are mainly architects who seek to reshape the city in their own image—filling the voids with fantastic architecture, which rarely concords with the context, but rather with the abstract, personalised and self-referential poetics of architectural journals—and who are oblivious to the sentiments of the inhabitants. This would be the same kind of architecture that was designed in the last 50 years by the Modernist Movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which sought a complete rift with the past in the name of a utopian ideal.

I believe that a third position is more urgent and important: the reconstruction of the cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot merely be a problem of (sacrosanct) indemnification to be left in the hands of technicians, but must instead be the occasion for a radical rethinking of the significance of the contemporary city and a profound revaluation of the modernist city.

Mostar (fig. 2), which has lost 80 percent of its buildings in the city centre, can become an experimental workshop for a change of direction, and so send a message which is loud and clear well beyond the Bosnian frontiers.

Every city is the product of the slow sedimentation of its building fabric, which comes about through successive phases, and in which "what follows" has absorbed and retained as much as possible of "what came before" as a reference model. In pre-modern urban architectural history, building types and fabric types, together with construction techniques, evolved and were perfected through a slow process, which allowed the metabolisation of earlier experiences according to a principle of maximum return, as always happens in building when the available technologies are limited.

Ottoman culture designed the Bosnian landscape respecting its local traditions and multi-cultural realities, with neighborhoods (*mahalla*) in which there was a sensitive dialectic between monuments and residential fabric. While recalling the traditional types of mosques and *külliye* codified in the Sublime Porte, the monuments never attempted the magnificent and rhetorical grandeur of those in the capital, and the residential fabric, of the common courtyard type with a *sofa*, formed a continuous building fabric of high quality.

Though the Austrian administration, which was set up in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Berlin Congress, imported Eastern European construction techniques and building types, it nevertheless expanded the new city with a homogeneous and continuous fabric based on the closed block and—perhaps even more importantly—accepted a dialogue with the existing Turkish city in the continuing use of types and even styles. The most obvious cases are the completion of the buildings along the main street and Musalla Square. From a political point of view, the aim was, on the one hand, to resolve urban problems through rational engineering solutions and, on the other, to underline, through specific architectural choices, the dialogue between different cultures under the benevolent and protective reign of Emperor Franz Joseph.

In contrast, the Modern Movement deliberately sought to detach itself, by constructing a city with isolated and clashing building episodes, and scarce adhesion to the spirit of place, thereby interrupting and deviating the continuity of the typological process and creating places of cultural segregation, which later became an inevitable premise for the civil war.

The reconstruction of Mostar must become the occasion for a change of direction, given the fact that most of the recent buildings have been demolished, with only a few still standing, like flotsam washed ashore. Now we can steer a different course, by re-evaluating the continuous city and the significance of its typological processes that predate the rift created by the Modern Movement.

This is not a matter of reconstructing the city as and where it was, but rather of reconstructing it "as if": as if the Austrian city of closed blocks had not been dismantled and diluted by the modernist city; as if the Turkish city had not disappeared under the blows of Soviet socialism; as if the surviving modernist buildings could be incorporated as ruins in the new continuous city.

In this short article we shall examine Musalla Square and the area around the Boulevard in Mostar, a long narrow strip of urban fabric which was the boundary between Croatian and Muslim culture, and which during the civil war was initially disputed, then became a no man's land and finally a cemetery of ruins. Indeed it may be taken as emblematic of the whole of Bosnia.

The Faculty of Architecture at Bari Polytechnic, in collaboration with the 2004 Mostar Workshop under the direction of Amir Pasic, has dedicated many undergraduate dissertations to the Musalla and the Boulevard, each of which has attempted to put forward unified proposals.

The Musalla was built on the outskirts of the Turkish city as an open space with indistinct contours, halfway between a dirt plot and a square, country and city, for the celebrations of the Islamic ʿīd festivities, when the participation of the whole Muslim community exceeded the holding capacity of the individual mosques. An anti-node *par excellence*, it became a nodal point only twice a year. It was defined by a wall, or *qibla*, and a *miḥrāb* for the direction of Mecca. After the Austrian occupation it became a node—we mustn't forget that it was situated at the gate of the road to Sarajevo—and the linchpin between the historic city and the urban expansion beyond the Neretva starting from the Boulevard. This was a new role, emphasised by the construction of the bridge and the government buildings that surrounded the square without formally enclosing it, since the eastern side still retained its rural character with small one-family cottages. In the Soviet era the central character of the space was accentuated by the presence of the President's grand private villa and the location nearby of the long-distance bus station and military barracks. Our project has sought particularly to reinforce the Musalla enclosure as a place of inter-confessional meeting and prayer, while it has also adjusted the whole of the 19th century river embankment so that it can be used as a footpath, and has set up a small museum of the three Mostar communities.

The so-called Boulevard (fig. 4) was created during the Austrian occupation in the area of the former railway, with the aim of transforming an anti-polar dividing line into a reverse axis for the expansion of the new city, with the function of an urban suture. Actually the Boulevard has always been viewed, by the Muslim and Croatian community alike, as a boundary: a no man's land in which architecture served as propaganda.

Any attempt to reunite the two cities must first rethink the traffic situation, diverting all the extra-urban traffic along a wide ring-road to the north so that the avenue can return to its former role as a linear urban garden. In keeping with this initial choice, all the demolished parts, except the Austrian high school and the stadium, which remained miraculously intact, have been conceived mainly as residential areas with services. However, it would be unrealistic to propose the demolition of buildings which are in a good state of preservation.

In some cases the colossal volumes of the surviving Socialist buildings have been treated as "obstacles" in the new typological process of urban growth (fig. 5). In other words, we have imagined that the building fabric, in the process of growth, must consider them as if they were "natural" obstacles, not unlike a hill or a ford, or even a great ruin. In the case of the stadium to the north, for example, our project has "wrapped" it on all sides with circa ten-metre-deep buildings, comprised of houses and offices, which form a closed rectangular block. The stadium thus becomes a kind of internal courtyard (fig. 9). This has resolved the dual problem of: 1) the non-urban character of these huge atopic structures for sports and ceremonies; 2) the rehabilitation of an existing structure which can be useful for the city.

Likewise, in the case of the residential complex of row houses in the form of a solitary *redent* in the centre of the block between the Boulevard, the streets and the river (all that remains of a Socialist housing estate), our project has proposed filling in the whole block with two-storey courtyard houses, typologically similar to Ottoman urban dwellings with a Bosnian *hayat* (figs. 7 & 8). These are laid out all around the Socialist buildings, leaving only a small space for air and light from the external windows, while the top end of this new continuous fabric along the avenue has been planned as an apartment block aligned with the porticoes, because of the greater typological complexity required by its position along a matrix route.

Parks and gardens have been planned as a kind of formalised "connective tissue": a sequence of enclosed thematic gardens sloping down towards the stadium. The avenue, on one hand, has been planned as a tree-lined ribbon, while on the other hand, the triangular area, starting from the junction in front of the high school, retains its original character as an English garden.

However, the most interesting methodological aspect concerns the dwellings, with projects that respect the structure of the Ottoman city and reinforce its morphology, both by favouring the closed block and the street, and by emphasising the nodal points with squares where the pedestrian can find space for social interaction.

Taking the case of Mostar as an opportunity to rethink the housing units inevitably involves all the building scales in line with four preferential agendas:

1. Rethinking the aggregative type of dwelling in order to eradicate the oversimplification of the modernist type of row house, high-rise apartment block and mat building.

2. Rethinking building / apartment typologies in favour of more complex units with a fresh interpretation of the hierarchy and centrality of room distribution, both vertical and horizontal, in the Ottoman dwelling, with its *kardak* and *hayat*. This rethinking has evolved in two directions: a revaluation of the *hayat* as the centre of spatial distribution within the apartment, but also as a two-storey room which gives access to two or three apartments in a more complex system. In the latter case the *hayat* becomes an experimental element on an upper level. The typological differentiation between a heavy masonry base and a lighter raised element in wood recalls the local building tradition and has involved some interesting linguistic experimentation.

3. Rethinking the serial or banally repetitive aggregative systems of modernist dwellings. After the initial experiments in the 1930s, and in an attempt to render the spatial articulation of building types more complex, the Modernist Movement had recourse to an abstract complexity (*redents*, clusters, etc.), using an arbitrary mixture of distribution systems taken a-critically from the past (galleries, balconies, etc.).

4. The ultimate consequence of this extreme reduction of the urban complexity of the traditional city by the Modernist Movement was the separation between the street and the building block. The whole post-WWII socialist city of Mostar mirrors this ideology. The projects of our faculty, on the contrary, have treated the block as an extension of the city in the residence, with a sequence of courts, pedestrian routes and open public spaces, directly inspired by Eastern European traditions.

In conclusion, the problem of the reconstruction of cities destroyed by war or natural disasters must become the occasion for a critical reappraisal of the modernist city and its deviations, in order to save the city from an impoverishment of its public spaces and its inhabitants from the banalisation of dwellings and services. This is possible through a reconstruction of typological processes on different scales, by mending the points of rupture and re-establishing not only an ideal, but also a physical relation with the most successful parts in the growth of a city.
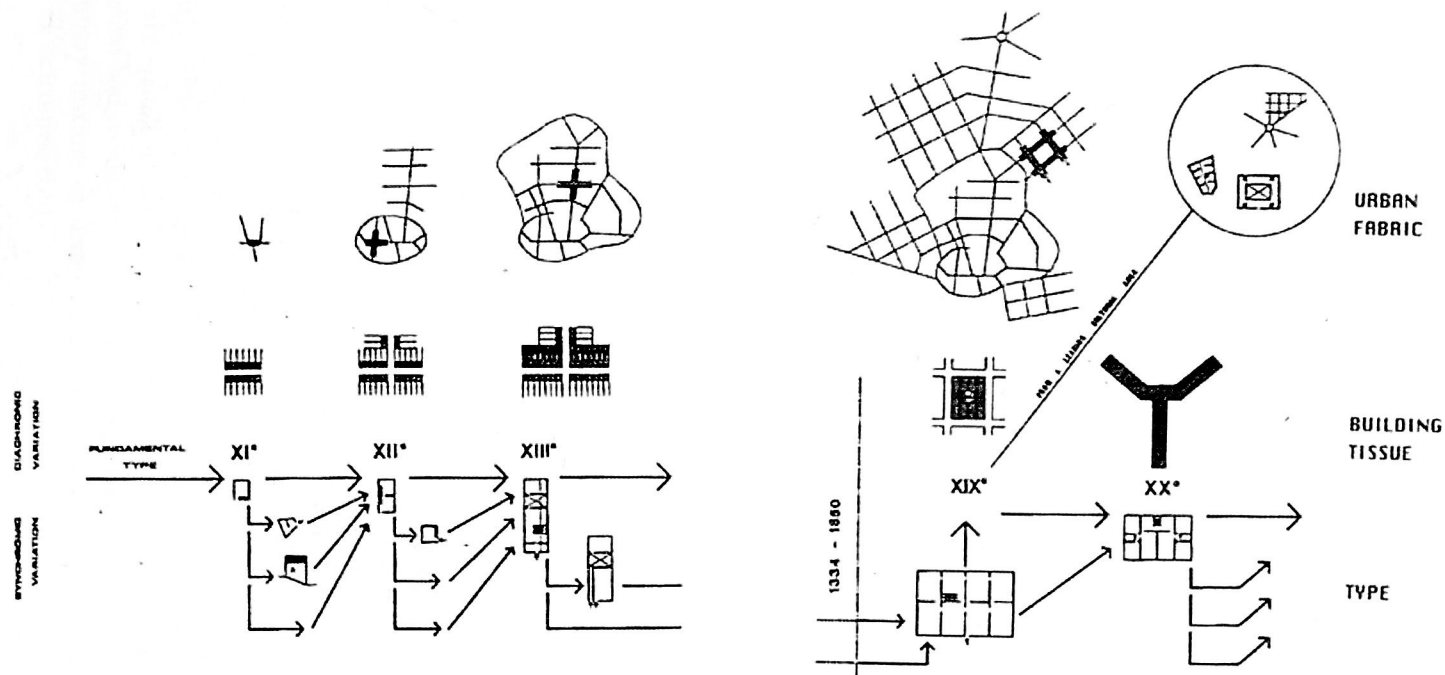
Fig. 1: The typological process

Fig. 2: View of Mostar before the civil war

Fig. 3: Mostar, the urban fabric behind the boulevard
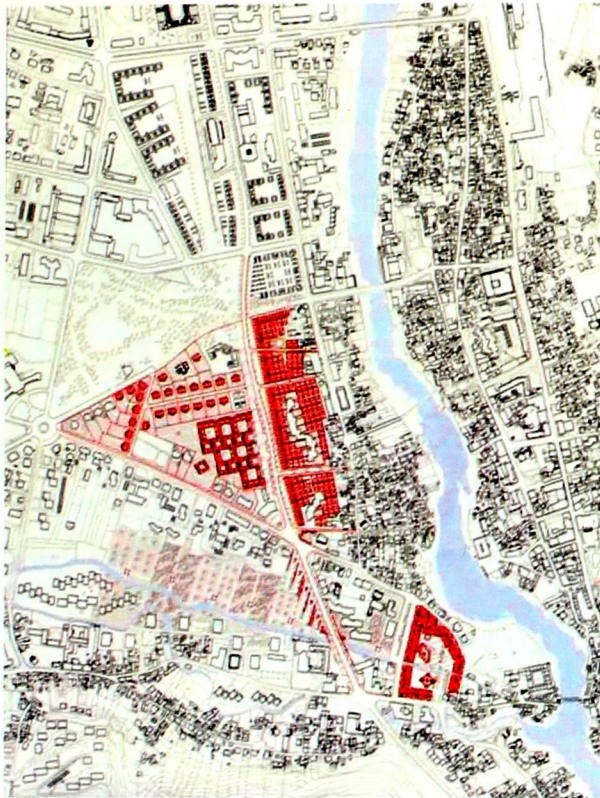
Fig. 4: The boulevard of Mostar, to the left the Croatian
city, to the right the old Ottoman city, the boule-
vard has been re-design as a linear garden
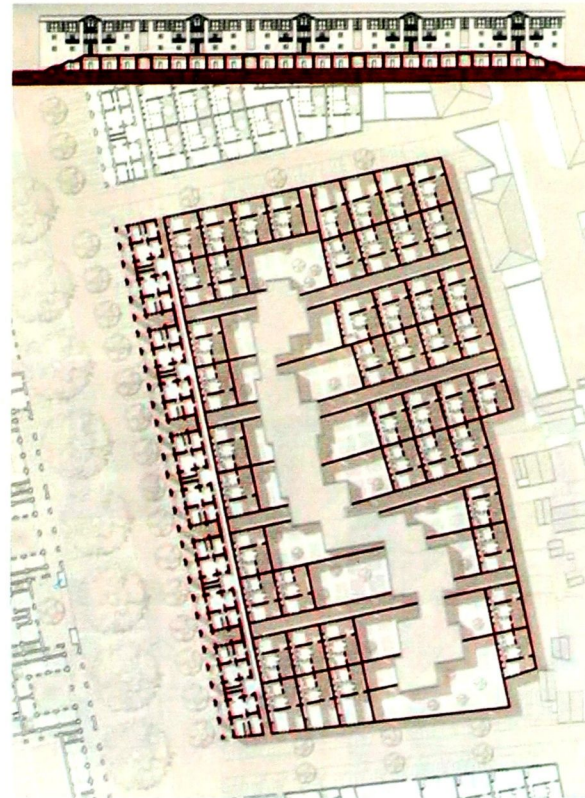
Fig. 5: A compound along the boulevard, the existing
building of the seventies inside has been
treated as a natural obstacle
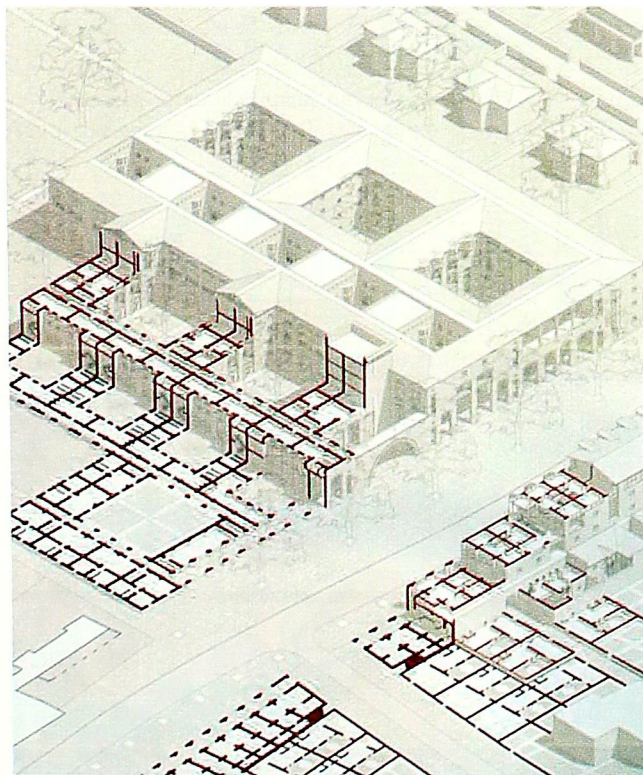
Fig. 6: A block along the boulevard inspired by the "hoefe" of Central Europe
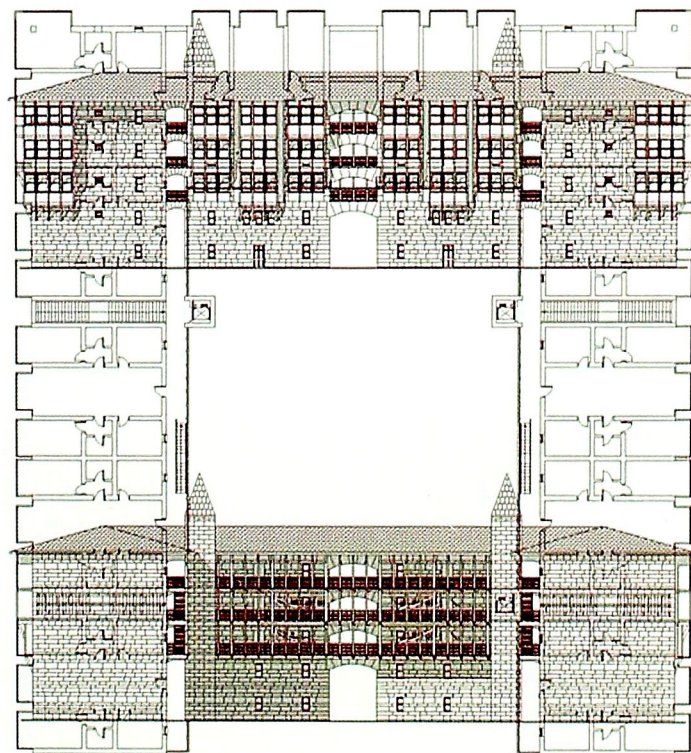
Fig. 7: A residential block interpreting the traditional Ottoman *hayat* type, solid basement in stone and the upper floors in timber construction
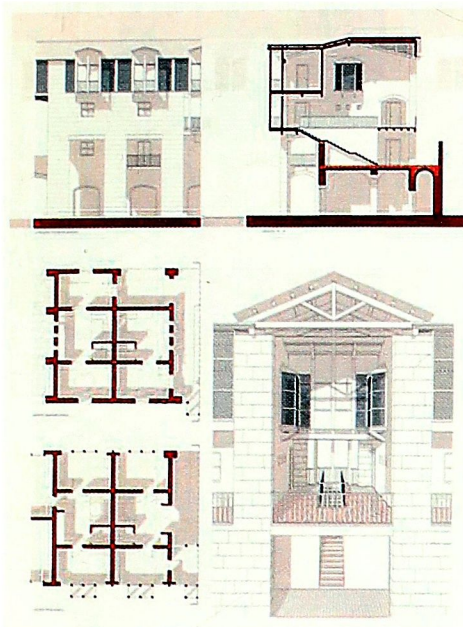
Fig. 8: The *hayat* type re-interpreted and inserted in an apartment block "in linea"
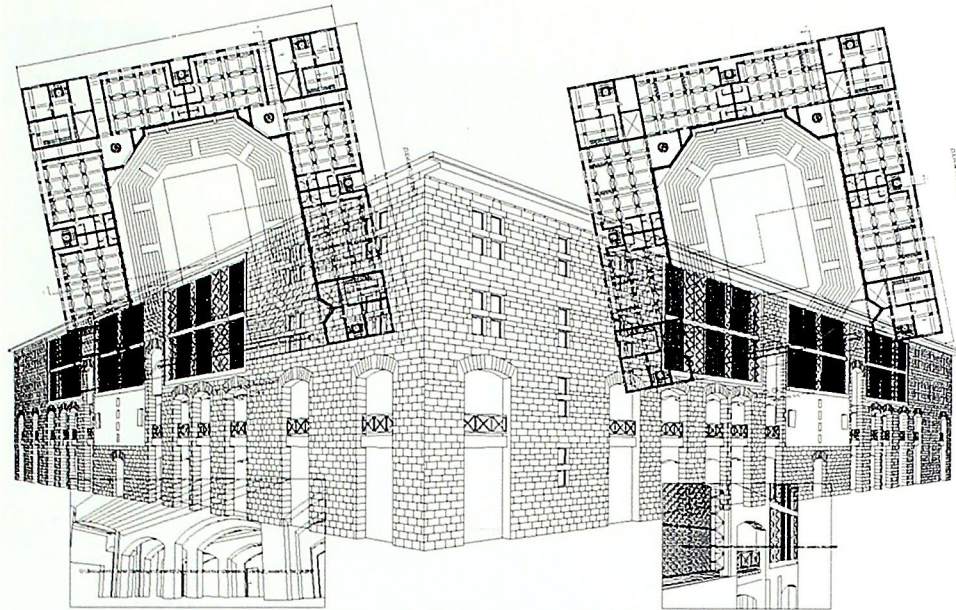
Fig. 9: The existing incomplete stadium enveloped by a curtain of houses in order to create an urban block

Historic Tunis and modern Sicily—
two examples of urban multicultural exchange

Adriana Sarro

Introduction

The observation of Mediterranean cities gives the opportunity to grasp the linguistic implications of the interplay of different cultures and of the peculiar circumstances of cultural development in the region. Past and present migrations and cultural relations have favored, in the course of Mediterranean exchange, the creation of architectural particularities and a great wealth and variety of urban art and life. As a crossroads for millennia and a passage-way between East and West, which has witnessed an outstanding richness of historical cultural exchange, especially in regions such as Tunisia, Morocco, Syria and, above all, in Sicily, the main characteristic of the Mediterranean is "multiplicity". The traces of such an exchange re-emerge forcefully despite the advance of globalization. No wonder then, that, while Europe moves toward unification and at the same time is threatened by cultural homologation, we question ourselves on how identity and differentiation have influenced the spatial asset of our cities.

New events with the mutations they bring throw a new light on Braudel's question "qu'est-ce que la Méditerranée?" and his tentative quest for a definition: "(...) Mille choses à la fois. Non pas un paysage, mais d'innombrables paysages. Non pas une mer, mais une succession de mers. Non pas une civilisation, mais plusieurs civilisations superposées... La Méditerranée est un carrefour antique. Depuis des millénaires, tout conflue vers cette mer, bouleversant et enrichissant son histoire (...)."[1] We have to rethink the Mediterranean as the locus of multiplicity, but also as the place of conflicts, which have their origin in the opposition of elements, in the heterogeneity of their societies and the resulting contrasts.

Within the Roman concept of "Mare Magnum" the Mediterranean might seem unified as a single system, while, quite on the contrary, as Matvejevic held in his speech to the Collège de France, "...l'ensemble méditerranéen est composé de plusieurs sous-ensembles qui défient ou réfutent certaines idées unificatrices. Des conceptions historiques ou politiques se substituent aux conceptions sociales ou culturelles sans parvenir à coïncider ou à s'harmoniser. Les catégories de civilisation ou les matrices d'évolution, au nord et au sud, ne se laissent pas

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[1] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée,* Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques 1986, 7; also in *La Méditerranée. L'Espace et l'Histoire*, ed. Fernand Braudel, Paris: Flammarion / Champs, 1985, 9-11.

réduire à des dénominateurs communs. Les approches tentées depuis la côte et celles venant de l'arrière-pays souvent s'excluent ou s'opposent les unes aux autres..."[2] This favors cohabitation in multi-ethnic and multi-national territories, where different cultures and different religions intermingle. Hence, a single Mediterranean culture does not exist: there is a multiplicity of civilizations, each one having its own peculiarities, its own habits and origin, the only common element being the sea around which they have settled, with all the factors of analogy and diversification that this implies.

The idea of a Mediterranean as a single entity, with its cities linked hand in hand, is—to quote Fernand Braudel—totally unrealistic. But, after all, Giancarlo De Carlo affirms in his essay "Tortuosità", the complex history of the Mediterranean, the idea of the city it has produced, its continuous migrations and its interlacement of different cultures can surely have a positive influence on Europe and the European city.[3] In fact, we have to remember that Mediterranean history has always been characterized by mobility and migrations with consequent clashes and encounters which have given rise to new cultures. On the other hand, as continuous changes and growing cultural contamination affect our regions, these processes get much more complex. And yet, the processes of cultural contamination we observe might induce us to confide in the acceptation of the "other", the alien, and consequently in the emergence of future new identities resulting from cultural and architectural heritages different from ours, being grafted onto our cities. While the spatial asset of our cities loses its identity—and becomes a chain of "non lieux" as Marc Augé defines them—historical space acquires in our perception a denser symbolism and is, furthermore, inhabited in a denser way.

This article provides two examples of quite different Mediterranean crossroads, demonstrating regardless of their geographical and historical interlocking or certain similarities in urban form and architecture, the uniqueness of each. This will become evident investigating the historical experience of Tunisia and Sicily, and analyzing the phenomena of mobility which have involved these regions. In the past, Italians and Sicilians were widespread in Tunisia, while—as we shall see—Sicily, thanks to its insular position in the mid-Mediterranean, has always been the scene of massive and recurrent movements of populations. As a gate to—and extreme point of—Europe, Sicily can be assumed as a case study of the link between Europe and the Mediterranean, considering also, that since the 1960s it is an important landing place for workers moving from Maghreb into Europe.

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2   Predrag Matvejević, *La Méditerranée et l'Europe : Leçons au Collège de France*, Paris: Stock, 1998 (Italian translation: *Il Mediterraneo e l'Europa: Lezioni al Collège de France*, Cernusco, Milano: Garzanti, 1988, 23-25) .

3   Giancarlo De Carlo, "Tortuosità" in *Domus*, n. 866, [2004].

Tunis—remains of Italian immigration in early modern times

Tunisia, of all Maghrebian countries, has always had a consistent presence of Italian and Sicilian workers who set up commercial trades and other activities. The Italian presence in Tunisia goes back to the end of the 16th century (with a later wave in the 19th century) and has left its mark in some buildings and quarters of clear western style. The Italians were mainly Jewish dealers from Leghorn (Livorno) who had settled in the northern part of the Medina of Tunis, inside the *Sūq al-Grana* (Sūq al-Gourna, also named "Suq of the Livornesi"). In 1860, the Bey of Tunis commanded the foreigners to live inside the Medina, near *Bāb al-Baḥr* (the Sea Gate), allotting a *funduq* to each European community. "For more than four centuries, from the fall of Tunis under the power of the Ottoman Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa in 1534, to the unification of Italy in 1861, specific historical circumstances enabled the arrival of large numbers of Italians in Tunisia."[4] The Sicilian immigrants lived near the Sidi al-Murjani district (today Kherba), where later western-style flats were built. Here numerous patio and traditional houses were erected, and flats where commercial activities were set up. "The geometric and territorial morphology of that part of the city didn't suffer alterations but an absolute novelty in the structural morphology of the Medina of Tunis was introduced: for the first time dwellings and handicraft were compounded within the same urban fabric [...]. On the whole, we can appreciate the fact that the Sicilian immigrants and their culture, well-integrated as they were in the fabric of the medina, achieved what we can rightly call an urban crossbreed. As a matter of fact, they had revitalized the ancient and degraded quarter of *Sidi al-Murjani* without rejecting the urban principles of the medina system." Other Sicilian immigrants settled in the so-called Petite Sicile or in other districts of the city. As Pasotti writes "...a vast proleta.··· and sub-proletariat, which lived in the small houses of the Petite Sicile, Susa, Grombalia quarters.... was born. They lived in helter-skelter rooms, blackened by smoke, where hardly dressed children begged, ran after one another, shouting in a frank-sicilian-tunisian dialect."[5]

Petite Sicile in the commune of Goulette of Tunis, the port zone, is a meaningful example of this cultural *mélange*. Here, many different cultures left their traces in the construction of various buildings and scattered architectural elements. The district, which was built on the ruins of the fortitude of Charles V, is a physical expression of superimposed and coexisting western and eastern cultures symbolized by the presence of Arabic structures such as the mosque, and

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4   Hassen Slama, "Genesi di un microfenomeno: l'immigrazione Tunisina in Sicilia, (1981-1986)", in *Tunisia Sicilia, Incontro di due culture*, ed. Gabriella D'Agostino, Palermo: Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Servizio Museografico 1995, 183.
5   Walter Barbero, "I Siciliani a Tunisi", in D'Agostino, *Tunisia Sicilia*, 164.

western structures such as the building of a church (devoted to the Madonna of Trapani). From the 16th century onwards, the district of Petite Sicile has been the theater for the main events which have determined Tunisian history and which engraved themselves on the typical spatial configuration of the district.

As far as the port of Goulette is concerned, for a long time it has been in a strategic position in the Mediterranean. In fact in the 16th century different Mediterranean countries tried to impose their supremacy, and the African coasts were turned into a line of military defense through the construction of fortifications. Tunisia was under special threat, since it represented the briefest access-way between Europe and Africa. Therefore, the Goulette port played a fundamental role, underlined by Lieutenant Colonel Hennazo and by Paul Sebag in their monographs on the issue. In 1534, Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, who knew that the Spaniards and the Christians would try to occupy the shores of Tunis, conquered the city, strengthening the *Goulette*, consolidating the the 16th century square tower, and had four square bastions added to it (fig. 1). In 1535, Charles V took possession of the Goulette and of Tunis, building another fortification by using as construction material the stones of the aqueduct of Adriano located near Carthage. The Spaniards restored the main tower with the four square bastions left by Khayr al-Dīn, enclosing it in a new construction that followed principles of military constructions compiled by Ferramolino from Bergamo (Figs. 2, 3). In 1565, Phillip II, successor of Charles V, strengthened the citadel through a surrounding wall with six ramparts. In 1574, the Ottomans once again changed the Goulette: the artificial channel was filled, the fortification was demolished and the surrounding wall built under Phillip II destroyed. Only the citadel, built by Charles V, withstood. In 1640, Aḥmad Khaja built a new tower in the southern part of the citadel. The old fortification was restored and, from the two bastions San Barbara and San Giorgio, another square tower was built. The channel which once had connected the *al-Baḥira* lake to the sea was reopened. At the end of the 18th century, under Ḥammūda ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1201/1787) and Ḥammūda ibn ʿAlī (1196/1782-1229/1814), the citadel was strengthened and many constructions like the setup of the dock of the Goulette, the Beys maritime arsenal and the ramparts, were completed. Petite Sicile was surrounded by a wall, linked to the citadel through a southern door, called *Gate of Rades* and a northern one, called *Gate of Tunis*. Thanks to the continuous rise of different people, Petite Sicile developed into a large agglomeration where many constructions were initiated by people from Sicily. After the 19th century the Goulette started to change due to the modernization of the port and the construction of the railroad, through which the connection between the port and the center of Tunis was allowed. After the war, Europeans started to build numerous constructions near the port. The economic importance of the Goulette is underlined in the Tunisian yearbook, in which companies of navigation, shops, hotels, European restaurants, grocery stores, typographies, bookstores and seaside resorts are listed. After

the freedom of religious worship was enacted, a mosque, on the bastion of San Giorgio, and a church devoted to the Madonna of Trapani, were built. Following Sicilian settlements, Petite Sicile came into being by the construction of many houses around the fortifications and the church (see figs. 4-6). Petite Sicilie was a multi-ethnic city where Jews, Muslims and Christians lived together.

Today, few traces of this city remain as a result of the expansion of the harbor. Some neglected houses have been demolished and have been replaced by quite different constructions, symbolizing the cohabitation among different architectural cultures (Figs. 7 & 8). The most meaningful traces are represented by remnants of the fortification that surrounded Petite Sicile. It would still be possible to reconstruct large parts of the fortification, which once represented massively the relation between the port and the Mediterranean and the today vanished history of Italian culture in Tunis resulting from labor immigration and commercial interaction.

Sicily—a gate to Europe for contemporary immigration

In our days the flux has been inverted. After the 1968 earthquake, the Channel of Sicily became the gateway to Italy and Europe for immigrant workers in search of new employment. The first workers to land in Sicily (they sailed from Tunis to Trapani), were North African, especially Tunisian. The port of Trapani, a few hundred miles away from that of the Goulette, has continuously been an entry passage for a great number of North African workers. Many of them, especially the Tunisians, seeking better lives, settled in Mazzara, where they found employment in fishery and agriculture, while others settled in Castelvetrano, Campobello of Mazzara, Salemi, Marsala and Trapani, and subsequently in Palermo and other cities. These modern immigrants came from Tunisia and other parts of the Maghreb, above all, from the cities of Sfax, Gabes, Mahdia, Sousse, Monastir and Neftan. The islands of Lampedusa and Pantelleria are the first landing places for clandestine immigrants into Sicily. Recently, their arrival in great numbers—especially in summer—has shown that their desperate trip has often been organized by unscrupulous contractors. Among the immigrants of various nationalities finding their way into Sicily, some do succeed in finding employment in agriculture, fishing, commerce or craftsmanship in the provinces of Palermo, Agrigento, Catania, Messina, Trapani, Ragusa and Siracuse, while others have only found precarious work offering them little economic and social stability.

The city of Mazzara plays a special role in this relation due to its position at the extremity of Sicily. Leaning out into a strip of the Mediterranean, which separates Europe from the African coasts, it is particularly open to reciprocal relationships. Hence today, this frontier city is considered an important reception center for immigrants coming from Tunisia and the Maghreb. The above-mentioned strip of sea has always been a communication and exchange way. Today it is a

place on whose shores large numbers of immigrants continuously land. Arab in origin, and facing Tunis, this city shows a historical center in whose port zone the presence of immigrants has been more and more widespread. By its nature this city serves as a borderline between the two coasts and the two continents, as it takes the role of outpost, of observatory of other frontiers; a border space between land and water, between the city and the Mediterranean. "This channel, which is called on its northern side the *Channel of Sicily* and on its southern side the *Channel of Tunis* is situated in the intersection point of this migratory movement which has affected the communities leaning out on its shores for thousands of years. That short strip of sea has always been a way of communication, exchange, tensions, persecutions, but also of ancient and more recent wars. Once the Sicilian farmers and the tuna and coral fishermen used to come from Trapani, seeking fortune in the waters of Capo Bon and in the earth of the others; and instead, today, Maghrebinian people cross the Mediterranean coasts."[6]

The city of Mazzara looks back on a long history of immigration. It was in 827 that the first Berbers headed by Asad ibn al-Furāt left from the ancient *Ifrīqiya* in order to conquer Sicily. These "pioneers of immigration" arrived in Mazzara, which was the landing place, the outpost, from which the whole island was conquered. As Cusumano affirms: "The current Tunisian migration could be seen as a return or a sort of re-appropriation of the spaces of their past."[7] The Berbers of North Africa left deep traces of their presence in large parts of the topography of the city that still exist and are witness of their civilization. Thanks to their cultural contribution, Mazzara looks back on a long period of transformation. Made an administrative center for the area of *Val di Mazzara*, it became a landing place for a great number of immigrants, concentrated inside the historic center, the port zone, where the first families settled. Many of them came from Tunis, but as of the 1990s, many immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia, from Kosovo, from the cities of Ghjilane, Pristina or Skopjie arrived in the city, next to the new community of Moroccans. The latter come from inland cities (Settat, Marrakech, Fes) and from rural villages (Ouled Mrab, Ras el-Ain). The majority of them settled in the degraded districts of the historical center, abandoned by the original populations. Here they organized a community life that followed the patterns of their home countries. This neighborhood, which prominently features courtyards and alleys, surmounted by arches and which is situated behind the old harbor channel, is called "Kasbah" by the inhabitants of Mazzara. Though a sort of "ghetto", the Kasbah has strengthened in the immigrants' conscience the awareness of a common identity. What is certain is that this space, where the

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6   Antonino Cusumano, *Cittadini senza Cittadinanza – Rapporto Duemila sulla Presenza degli Stranieri a Mazara del Vallo*, Gibellina: CRESM (Centro di Ricerche Economiche e Sociali del Meridione) 2000, 22.
7   Antonino Cusumano, *Il Ritorno Infelice: i Tunisini in Sicilia*, Palermo: Sellerio 1976, 33.

immigrants live, is not only conceptually but also physically separated from the rest of the city.[8] The majority of the immigrants live in the houses of the Arab district, often crossed by an interlacement of impasse. As Cusumano writes: "Even the names of the courtyards, of the streets, of the neighborhoods, show traces of an ancient history: the Castigliazzo neighborhood, Street of the Pilozza, Goths' Street, Aragonese Courtyard, Turkish Street, Maddalena Courtyard."

But the phenomenon of immigration also affects other cities such as Agrigento, Catania, Ragusa, Messina, Syracuse, Enna and Caltanisetta. Agrigento with 4,500 immigrants, coming from Morocco and Tunisia; Catania with 15,000 immigrants from Congo and Morocco; Ragusa with 10,000 immigrants from Morocco and Tunisia; Messina with 12,000 immigrants from Morocco, the Philippines and Congo; Syracuse with 4,000 immigrants from Morocco, Congo, Albania and Slavic countries. Thus, as pinpointed above, Sicily is a landing place where very many immigrants continuously arrive. Many of them succeed in reaching Sicily through the island of Lampedusa, which is the main door for entering Europe, together with the island of Pantelleria and the cities Pozzallo and Porto Empedocle. These tens of thousands of new inhabitants establish in their cities of residence new patterns of living, which transform large parts of traditional quarters or characterize new parts of the cities. Most of the physical changes result from spontaneous construction and patterns of settlement. Municipalities and urban planners were often late in realizing and accepting that the new realities and concepts of urban management were poor or totally missing. Even through these changes stemming from recent massive immigration are still in progress and much too young to give a final "historical" assessment, they provide a chance for planners to add a new element to the mosaic of different Mediterranean patterns of living, resulting from the continuous contact of different cultures. One example will be given here from the city of Palermo.

Projects for new inhabitants of old quarters

Because of its position in the Mediterranean, between East and West, between Europe and Africa, Palermo has harbored conquerors, people and groups as different as Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Spaniards, Austrians and French. Today, the most widespread foreign presence in Palermo is that of North African, Middle Eastern and Asian immigrants. Panormus, the ancient Balarm, "heavenly" city of 300 mosques, is today a place where different cultures coexist and one that provides a good haven for the stranger. Over 20,000 immigrants

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8   Antonino Cusumano, "Quando il Sud Diventa Nord", in *Archivio Antropologico Mediterraneo: Semestrale di Studi e Ricerche*, 1 (1998), 26.

live in Palermo, since the 1980s especially within the city's historical core. The degraded conditions and the partial abandonment of the historic center, as well as some advantageous economic factors and the peculiar morphology of the city, have all favored their settlement in this area. The urban distribution of the city, axed as it is on the two main streets of the city, Corso Vittorio Emanuele and Via Maqueda, has been affected by that ethnic mutation. Many streets are populated by immigrants, not all Muslims, who have set up new activities. They come from Sri Lanka, Ghana, Nigeria, the Philippines, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Bangladesh, Iran, the Maghreb, Pakistan, Jordan and, lately, from the Far East. They are concentrated in the quarters of Vucciria, Ballarò, Albergheria and San Chiara, where a center of the Salesians of Don Bosco has offered assistance and reception services since the 1970s. Many Chinese immigrants have set up their commercial activities near Lincoln Street, now nicknamed, for that reason, "the China Town" of Palermo.

The Maghrebinian presence has not only called up new housing but also space for prayers. In 1985 the first mosque was established in the former church of San Paolino of the Gardeners in Gran Cancelliere square. Many other spaces such as stores and houses were often turned into precarious places of prayer. During the 1980s, public opinion became aware of the phenomenon of immigration into Sicily. Several conferences and debates on this subject were organized at the universities, and there was a growing active solidarity with the immigrants, as can be witnessed by the foundation of the community "Hope and Charity" of Biagio Conte or of the nuns of Mother Teresa of Calcutta in the Magione building. The Faculty of Architecture of Palermo has played an important role in this area, through its experimental work (focused on projects of Islamic centers, mosques and housing in Palermo and Mazzara) carried out by teachers such as Pasquale Culotta, Marcello Panzarella, Mario Giorgianni and myself. In the 1980s, Culotta began to address the complex problems raised by the distribution of Islamic communities in the metropolitan fabric of the Palermo area. "Our purpose", he wrote, "was to define a functional program that would meet the real needs of the community and to let our university initiative for the construction of a mosque in Palermo be known and supported."[9] In the mosque, converted from the former church of San Paolino at Gran Cancelliere square, mentioned above, an exhibition of didactic material was organized in 1985.

The places under discussion in our project are located outside the historic center: the zone of the Zisa and of the *Fossa di Danisinn*, to the south of Palazzo Reale; some are located inside the historic center such as the area of San Nicolò in the zone Albergheria, San Giovanni degli Eremiti, the area of the square Bar-

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9   Pasquale Culotta, "La Moschea in Sicilia", in *La Moschea d'Occidente*, eds. Marcello Panza-
     rella and Gianfranco Tuzzolino, (I Quaderni Neri 8), Palermo: Medina 1988.

one Manfredi and finally the one close to the church of the "Magione", in the wide empty urban space created by the bombardments of World War II. Other areas are located in the Medina of Mazzara , in the block of houses in front of Reggina square, in that of the ex-customs, in the port area. In order to carry out the project for a mosque, we had to take into consideration the various architectural and spatial forms of Islamic practice and heritage, which contemporary architecture often does not. Through the Islamic project, our main purpose was to connect the planned area to the urban spaces of the historic center and to create a relationship that flows between tradition and modernity.

Another theme, which Marcello Panzarella has been interested in, was that of the houses for Maghrebinian families inside the Medina of Mazzara. Subsequently, in the 1990s, the investigation has been turned to the areas of Ballarò square, Kalsa square, the square of Monte di pietà and Papireto (in the historic center). At these places possible projects of houses for immigrants, coming from very distant contexts, could be carried out. For this reason Pasquale Culotta studied the real conditions of the immigrants, analyzing their needs inside their residential space. As he writes: "...in the writing of architecture, the planner has to show the personal ability to translate the texts that were written human experience."[10] "Our project aims to express the needs and desires of the immigrants through numerous architectural figurations, which try to *translate* into architecture the housing patterns of people and cultures different from ours. The research on the houses of foreigners and on the intercultural center resulted [...] in a new concept of an inter-ethnic European city (not only Palermo), which is based upon principles of continuity, innovation and different conceptions of the housing spaces."[11]

With these words Culotta sums up the attitude of a planner towards a process which has shaped Mediterranean cities throughout their history and for which examples were given above from Tunisia and Sicily on a different historical background. Even though characterized by a continuous exchange of populations and ideas which has led to the existence of certain forms of daily life and praxis as well as of patterns of commerce, warship and dwelling in cities all over the Mediterranean, they are far from being a homogeneous culture. Each city, due to its own geographical, ethnic and cultural setting developed throughout its history quite different forms of spacial organisation and social praxis. Thus in discussing the concept of the Mediterranean, it is important to recognize that the many layers of intersecting relations never resulted in a homogeneous total, but in a kaleidoscopic cultural landscape, that developed in each place throughout

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[10]   Pasquale Culotta, "Migrazioni e Traduzioni Domestiche per la Nuova Architettura", in: *L'Architettura per la Citta Interetnica: Abitazioni per Stranieri nel Centro Storico di Palermo*, eds. Pasquale Culotta and Andrea Sciascia, Palermo: Societa Editrice l'Epos 2005, 35.

[11]   Pasquale Culotta, "Migrazioni e traduzioni...", 41.

various periods into different expressions. For planners and also for the recent discussion of identity and culture, we should understand the common and the specific in each place at each time with its always very particular mixture of local expressions. Thus, instead of applying ideological concepts of global identities, we need to accept the diverse social and architectural realities of the Mediterranean as the locus of multiplicity.

Fig. 1: Tunis in 1535, sketch of the city with the tower of Goulette on its entrance. Map drawn by an anonymous Venetian during the expeditions of Charles V of Spain.
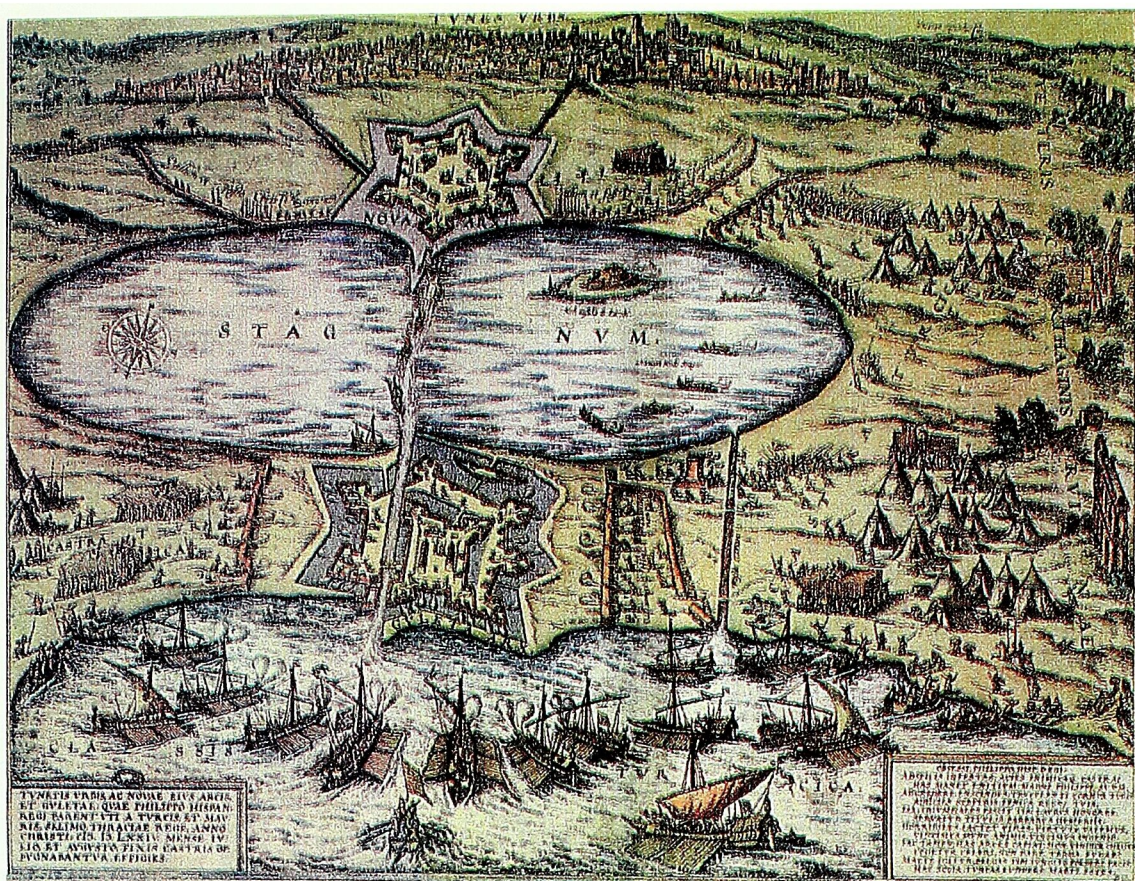
Fig. 2: Tunis in 1574, sketch of the city and of la Goulette

Fig. 3: Tunis and Bizerte in 1574, sketch of the city
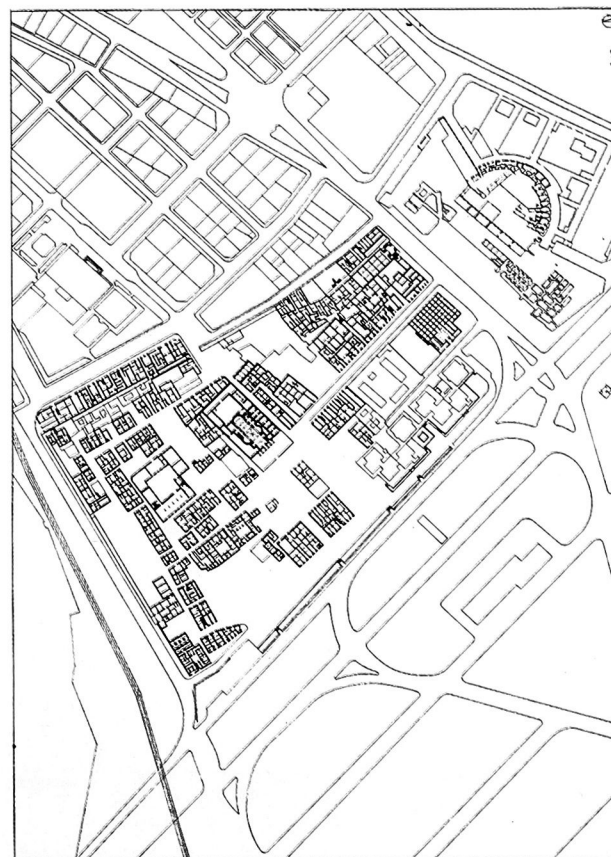
Fig. 4: Tunis, Petite Sicile district in the Goulette, ground floor plans
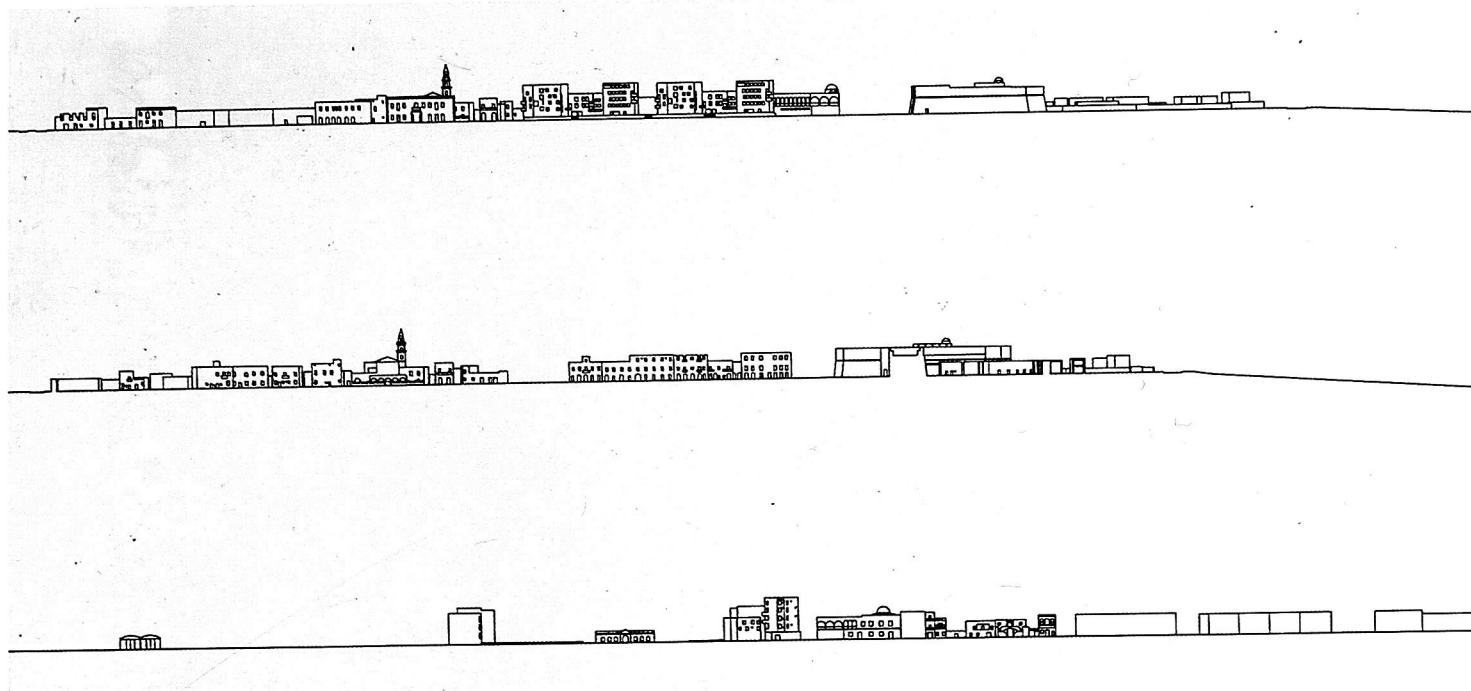
Fig. 5: Tunis, Petite Sicile district in the Goulette, street fronts
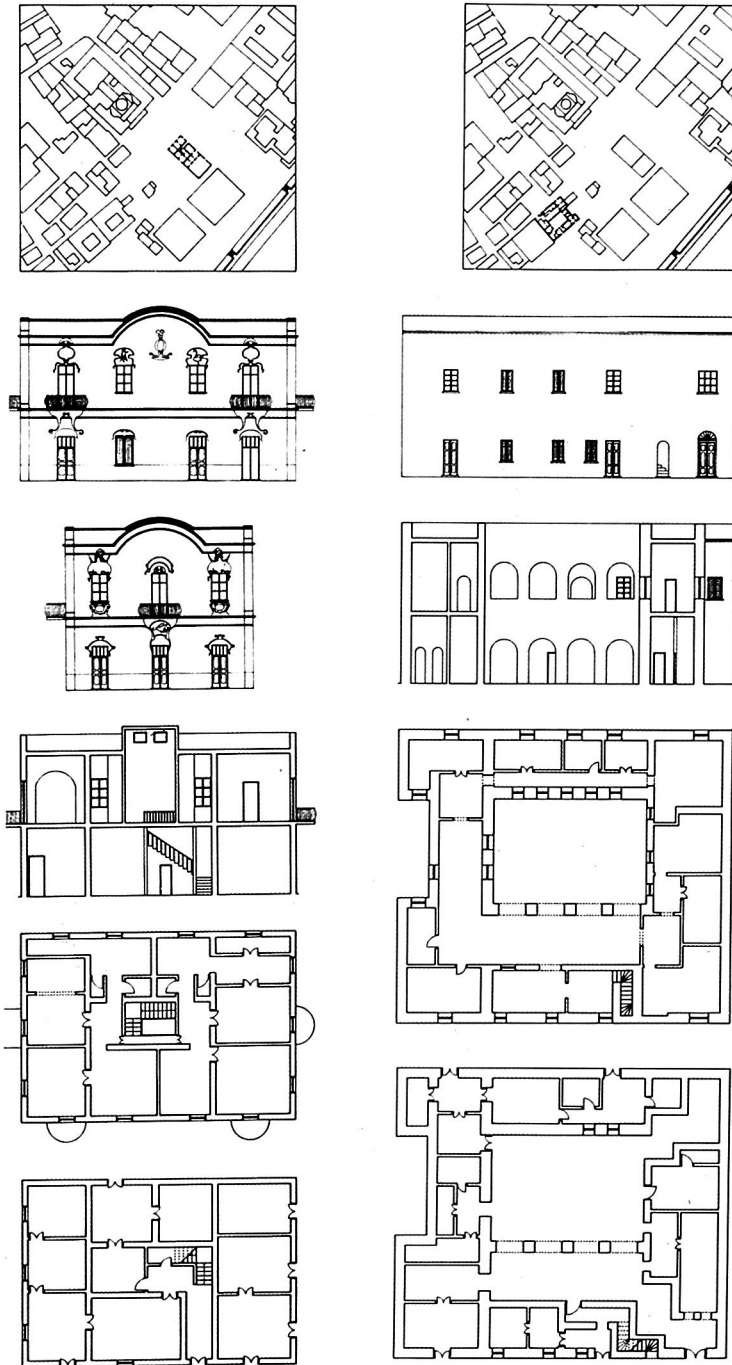
Fig. 6: Tunis, Petite Sicile district in the Goulette, surveys, ground
        floor plans of the court houses and of the buildings showing
        Western influence

Fig. 7: Tunis, Petite Sicile district in the Goulette (A. Sarro 2003)

Fig. 8: Tunis, Petite Sicile district in the Goulette (A. Sarro 2003)

Changing cultural references: Architecture of Damascus in the Ottoman period (1516-1918)

Stefan Weber

Four hundred years of Ottoman government and culture (1516-1918) left a distinctive imprint on the urban centres of Bilād al-Shām,[1] as well as in some rural areas like the Lebanese Mountains. Walking through the markets (*sūq*) or the residential quarters of cities like Aleppo, Damascus, Sidon, Tripoli or Jerusalem, we see to a very large extent the remains from the Ottoman period. Other dynasties and periods, for Syria especially, Hellenistic, Roman and Umayyad town planning (661-750) and the many constructions and urban interventions first of all during the Ayyubid (1176-1260) and Mamluk (1260-1516) era, had a strong impact on the shaping of cities. But with a very few exceptions, nearly all houses and commercial buildings were constructed during the Ottoman period. Many urban centres were significantly modified by the construction of important public buildings during the first one hundred years of incorporation into the empire and took on a different pattern over the following centuries, especially in the 18th, late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This article tries to identify the main architectural and urban characteristics of the different phases of Ottoman rule and to understand the architecture and cultural production of an Arab society in the Bilād al-Shām within the framework of local traditions and adoption of foreign models. Applying the question of multiculturalism to civil urban architecture in the main cities of Ottoman Bilād al-Shām, the concepts of race and religion are of minor importance. The markets, houses (*bayt*), bathhouses (*ḥammām*), schools (*madrasa*), and caravanserais (*khān*) of Muslims, Christians, Jews, Kurds, Arabs, and Turks, etc., do not differ from each other or only minimally.[2] Houses of all sects and ethnic groups visited during our surveys in different cities of the region are—despite some symbols of religious identity (like crosses or paintings of Christian or Muslim motifs or Hebrew inscriptions)—identical in décor and layout but differ in size, layout, deco-

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[1] Today Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. After the Ottoman conquest in 1516, Bilād al-Shām was subdivided in 1529 into the three provinces (*iyāla/ iyālāt* or *paşalık*) Aleppo (*Ḥalab*), Damascus (*al-Shām*) and Tripoli (*Ṭarāblus*) to which Sidon (*Ṣaydā*) was added as a fourth *paşalık* in 1660. This article is based on a research project on Ottoman architecture in Damascus, Sidon, Tripoli and Mont Liban, located in the German Institute of Archaeology in Damascus and the Orient Institute in Beirut (see: www.oidmg.org/weber/index.htm). I would like to thank Hans Theunissen for his critical reading.

[2] Except 19th and early 20th century Jerusalem and to a certain extent Beirut.

ration and material by vectors like the regional setting, the social class of the
owner and the period of construction. Although David could identify a different
living pattern of a European consular and merchant family in Aleppo, the
French or local consul in Sidon and Tripoli both lived in very Ottoman style
houses.[3] For many parts of Bilād al-Shām the question of defining multicultural
urban patterns on ethnic or religious lines remains secondary, and it makes much
more sense to distinguish different sources of inspiration for urban society in
terms of time and social class, as we will see. Thus the definition of multicultur-
alism in this article will not be based on the existence of the many different eth-
nic or religious groups that formed a very complex society throughout the Ot-
toman period. Multiculturalism in architecture will be discussed here in the light
of cultural trends that building masters, craftsmen and clients referred to. One
point of analysis would be the social class of the building owner, but the archi-
tectural remains from the 16th and 17th centuries belong nearly completely to the
upper strata of the city. However from the 18th and 19th centuries, many houses
survive that allow us a view into domestic architecture in a demographically
more representative manner. Hence, I will focus here on different cultural refer-
ences, craftsmen and owners, who took their models and patterns of adoption
from the Ottoman centuries. The geographical framework of this discussion will
be the city of Damascus.

As its historical framework changed, quite different ideas concerning the style
of construction and decoration, and of urban organisation and patronage, were
applied in the course of the four Ottoman centuries. The *sūq*s, houses, *ḥammām*s,
*madrasa*s, *khān*s, administrative buildings and mosques of Damascus are appro-
priate examples through which we can examine the characteristics of urban insti-
tutions at that time. From the 16th until the 18th centuries, the urban skyline be-
came marked by wide-spanned domes and variations on the typical Ottoman
"pencil-shaped minarets". Later it was largely modernized by reformed urban in-
stitutions at the *fin de siècle*. Judging from the architectural remains, three differ-
ent stages can be roughly identified:

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3   For Aleppo: Jean-Claude David, "Le consulat de France à Alep sous Louis XIV. Témoins
     architecturaux, descriptions par les consuls et les voyageurs." *Res Orientales*, VIII (1996), 13-
     24.; for Sidon: Stefan Weber, "An Egyptian *qaʿa* in 16th ct. Damascus. Representative Halls
     in Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman Residential Architecture in Syria and Lebanon." In:
     From Handaxe to Khan, Essays Presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday,
     eds. Kjeld von Folsach, Henrik Thrane, Ingolf Thuesen, Aarhus (2004) 273 ff. The French
     consul in Sidon lived in a house with a reception hall (*qāʿa*), built by Fakhr al-Dīn al-
     Maʿnī in the early 17th century and described by the French traveller D'Arvieux, who lived
     in Sidon between 1658 and 1665. The cross-like plan of the *qāʿa*, marked by a dome in its
     centre and four raised living units (here: *īwān*) in the arms, is a typical form of upper class
     Ottoman reception halls (just the furniture was different). Like the *qāʿa* of the French con-
     sul in Sidon, the reception room of the Kastaflīs family, who served as consuls for differ-
     ent nations, was of the same layout and probably erected by a local dignitary around 1600.

1. The 16th and early 17th Centuries: The Creation of Ottoman City Centres
2. The 18th Century: The Age of the *A'yān*
3. The 19th and early 20th Centuries: The modernization of Urban Institutions

One can distinguish certain architectural trends in the different periods of Ottoman rule, but also the ways of resistance, integration, imitation, adoption, inspiration and creation of new cultural patterns are quite diverse from case to case. Thus not only cultural references to which craftsmen and patrons referred, will be discussed here, but various patterns of cultural adoption will also be of interest. The first century of Ottoman rule serves as a folio to elucidate these processes in the moment of contact among different architectural cultures.

1. The 16th and early 17th Centuries: The Creation of Ottoman City Centres

Immediately after the Ottoman conquest in 1516, the Ottoman State—or, rather, the elite ruling in its name—left its mark by engaging in extensive building activities.[4] During the first century after the conquest, new "Ottoman" centres grew in

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[4] For the city's architectural development in the time see: Antoine Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'Histoire Urbaine de la Syrie Ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Beirut : Librairie orientale 1982; Doris Behrens-Abouseif: *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, (16th-17th century)*, Leiden: Brill 1994; André Raymond, "The Ottoman Conquest and the Development of the Great Arab Towns", *IJTS*, 1, (1979/80), 84-101 and André Raymond, *Grandes Villes Arabes à l'Époque Ottomane*, Paris: Sindbad 1985. For Damascus see: Jean -Paul Pascual, *Damas à la Fin du XVIe Siècle d'après Trois Actes de Waqf Ottomans*, Damas: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas 1983; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "In the Image of Rūm: Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus", *Muqarnas* 16 (1999), 70-96; Michael Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Damaskus", in: *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 1975*, ed. Geza Fehér, Budapest: Akad. Kiadó 1978, 575-595; Stefan Weber, "The Creation of Ottoman Damascus. Architecture and Urban Development of Damascus in the 16th and 17th centuries", *ARAM* 9 & 10 (1997-1998), 431-470. Recently an extensive documentation of the 16th century by Marianne Boqvist, *Architecture et Développement Urbain à Damas de la Conquête Ottomane (922h/1516-17) à la Fondation du Waqf de Murad Pacha (1017h/1607-08)*, PhD thesis, Paris 2005. Dorothée Sack gives an overview of the city's development in Ottoman times in: *Damaskus, Entwicklung und Strukturen einer orientalisch-islamischen Stadt*, Mainz: von Zabern 1989, 31 ff. Compare for Aleppo: Jean-Claude David, "Domaines et limites de l'architecture d'empire dans une capitale provinciale." *REMMM* 62 (1991), 169-194; Jean-Claude David, "Le Patrimoine, Architecture et Espaces, Pratiques et Comportements. Les souks et les khans d'Alep." *REMMM* 73-74 (1994) 189-205; Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo, Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation and zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 1984; André Raymond, *La Ville Arabe, Alep, à l'Epoque Ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Damas: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas 1998; and recently: Heghnar Z. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden:Brill 2004. For Jerusalem see Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem, the Living City: 1517-1917*, London: Altajir World of Islam Trust 2000. For Sidon see: Stefan Weber, "An Āghā, a

the cities of Sidon (at Sāḥat Bāb al-Sarāyā), Damascus (along Darwīshiyya-street) and Aleppo (west and northwest of the citadel), or even in smaller towns, around the *sāḥa* of Dayr al-Qamar.[5] A number of mosques of Ottoman governors, schools, *sūq*s, *ḥammām*s, and *saray*s sprang up at very distinctive public spots.

In Damascus this development occurred in the western extramural part of the town, along Darwīshiyya Street. In this important public space—the main arterial road from the North to the South through which once a year the important pilgrim (*ḥajj*) caravan passed—an Ottoman presence was immediately evident as the visitor entered the city (fig. 1). A second aspect of these "First Ottoman Cities" consisted of a new mercantile centre—especially in Aleppo on the southern side of the main axis between Antakiya Gate and the citadel, in Damascus *intra muros* next to the Umayyad Mosque, and in Sidon in the northern part of the city close to the harbour. The process of integration into the Ottoman Empire stimulated economic development, which became visible in the changing urban texture of the cities. Sidon as a harbour city for southern Bilād al-Shām and Tripoli for the northern regions, Aleppo as an international trade centre and Damascus with its special role for the *ḥajj*-caravan all witnessed an enormous boom. Thus Damascus and other cities in the Syrian lands became, especially in the second half of the 16th century, (land)marked by Ottoman foundations, experienced by local societies by their names of Ottoman dignitaries and the integration of new elements of layout and decoration. This Ottomanization of the main commercial and public centres was most probably the result of a deliberate process promoted by the city authorities.[6]

Continuity

When patterns of Ottoman imperial architecture arrived in the Arab regions during the course of the 16th century, they met a very strong and elaborated architectural tradition made famous by the many beautiful buildings dating back to

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House and the City: The Debbané Museum Project and the Ottoman City of Saida, first report." *Beiruter Blätter* 10-11 (2002-03) 132-140; Stefan Weber and Ralph Bodenstein, "A House and the City, The Debbané Palace and the Ottoman City of Saida." *Archaeology & History in the Lebanon* 20 (2004) 66-74.

5   The situation in Tripoli is more complex, with the re-development of the old harbour al-Mīnā, the remaking of the citadel, mosques throughout the city and important commercial buildings in the northern half of Tripoli – but without a clear Ottoman public centre. The square near the old Saray (Sāḥat al-Sarāyā) in the West of the city never had this function.

6   For the phenomenon of an Ottoman skyline of the harbour towns of Crete see: Irene A. Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete", in: *The Ottoman City and its Parts, Urban Structure and Social Order*, eds. Irene Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-el-Haj, Donald Preziosi, New York: A.D. Caratzas 1991, 53-75. For Ottoman Syria see: Kafescioğlu, *In the Image of Rūm*, 79 ff.; Weber, "Creation of Ottoman Damascus", 439 ff.

Ayyubid and Mamluk times. Concepts of residential architecture as well as traditional construction, decoration techniques and motifs remained very strong throughout the four Ottoman centuries.[7] Often specific elements (techniques and patterns) of the Ottoman layout of buildings, decoration and urban planning were brought to the centres of the provinces and then evolved during the next decades autonomously without much "updating" from the centre of the empire. Local societies adopted certain models and combined or developed them into new models and types that were very Ottoman in understanding but originated in the local architectural context and only existed within these local environments. In the first four decades of Ottoman rule in Damascus the architecture of the city followed the still pre-established models that had developed mainly during the Ayyubid (1176-1260) and Mamluk (1260-1516) periods.

A good example is the mosque and *takiyya* of Sultan Selim I (1512-20), erected next to the grave of the famous Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī. On the same day that the Sultan commissioned this building, the supreme judge of the province (*qāḍī al-quḍā*) Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr and the chief architect Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār went to the site.[8] Both men were reconfirmed in the offices that they had held under Mamluk rule, and their designs for the mosque of Ibn ʿArabī corresponded to Mamluk models, as an heir of late Mamluk hypostyle mosque plans like those of al-Sībāʾiya / al-Kharrāṭīn (915/1509) or Muʿallaq (915/1509). This is also true for many later edifices commissioned by the governors on Darwīshiyya Street, such as the mausoleum and mosque of Luṭfī Pasha (940/1533-34), the mausoleum of Aḥmad Pasha (942/1535-36) and the mosque of ʿĪsā Pasha (~950/1543), all commissioned by Ottoman governors. Constructed using local techniques, these buildings continued to feature Damascene architectural patterns of the Mamluk period.[9] Ottoman concepts of architecture were still little known

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[7] Especially residential architecture developed in the framework of local tradition of layout and construction until the middle of the 19th century. Influences from Istanbul are visible just in some elements of layout (*qāʿa*) and interior decoration (tiles, motifs in local techniques of colour paste, and especially painted wood panelling). Compare: Weber, "An Egyptian *qaʿa*"; Stefan Weber and Peder Mortensen, "A Period of Transition: Bayt al-ʾAqqad between the 15th and the 18th Century." In: *Bayt al-ʾAqqad: The History and Restoration of a House in Old Damascus*, ed. Peder Mortensen, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press 2005, 227-278.

[8] See: Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur", 577 und 582. The story of the beginning of the mosque is nicely reported by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn in his works: *Mufākahat al-Khullān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān, Tārīkh Miṣr wa-l-Shām*, 2. vols., ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, al-Qāhira: al-Dār al-Maṣriyya li-l-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama 1964, 68 f. idem, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawhariyya fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, 2 vols., Dimashq: Maṭbūʿāt Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya bi-Dimashq 1949, 1956, 144 ff.; idem, *Iʿlām al-warā biman walā Nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr 1984, 239 ff.

[9] Information and literature on the buildings is already published elsewhere and will not be repeated here. See: Pascual, *XVIe Siècle*, tab.1; Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur", and Weber, "Creation of Ottoman Damascus". Many buildings of this period are docu-

in Damascus, and no workshop from the centre of the empire had yet been established in the city. Nevertheless, Ottoman architectural concepts did arrive in the first decades of Ottoman rule, although not via the governors, nor the foundations of the sultan or craftsmen from the imperial centre. It is interesting to note that the first Ottoman architectural concepts were in fact introduced by local dignitaries. Two individuals are of special interest here: the scholar Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Ṣumādī (d. 948/1541-42) and the aforementioned supreme judge Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr (895/1490 – 937/1530).[10]

Individual adoption of a different architectural culture:
the Zāwiyya al-Ṣumādiyya and the Sūq al-Qāḍī Ibn al-Farfūr

The *zāwiyya* of al-Ṣumādī, erected in 934/1527, makes use for the first time in Damascus of a central dome covering the square room of a prayer-hall in a mosque (fig. 2, 3). This follows the Ottoman concept of a central domed chamber. Most probably the patron of the building, Muḥammad al-Ṣumādī, instructed local craftsmen to build a central dome. He had been in Istanbul for an audience with Sultan Selim I, who made him a fief, and it seems that he was deeply impressed with the Ottoman use of space in mosques, or perhaps he simply wanted to have a building similar to those of the new rulers.

However, al-Ṣumādī's craftsmen turned to a construction method they knew. Since the construction technique of an Ottoman central dome with its low pendentives was not used in Damascus at that time, the inner space of the mosque appears to be a huge Mamluk mausoleum (*turba*). A square chamber topped by a dome was a very common layout for Ayyubid and Mamluk funeral buildings but had until then never been applied to mosque architecture. Ten

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mented with illustrations in: Stefan Weber, *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels; Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des spätosmanischen Damaskus im Umbruch (1808-1918).* Berlin: 2006 (http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/anpt/ejos/EJOS-IX.0.htm), 463 ff., here among others 464 f., 509 f., 651, 658 f., 664, 665.

10 See for Muḥammad al-Ṣumādī, who had great influence in Damascus: Muhammad A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban 1982, 183 f.; Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-Samar wa-Qatf al-Thamar. Min Tarājim Aʿyān al-Ṭabaqa al-Ālā min al-Qarn al-Hādī ʿAshr*, 2 vols., Dimashq: Maṭbūʿāt Wazārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī 1981, vol. I, 130, fn. 5; vol. II, 600, fn. 2; Ibn Jumʿa, "al-Bāshawāt wa l-Quḍāt fī Dimashq", in: *Wulāt Dimashq fī l-ʿAhd al-ʿUthmānī*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Dimashq 1949, 39, fn. 1; ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, edited by I. Shams al-Dīn, 2 vols., *Bayrūt*: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿAlamiyya 1990, vol. II, 171; Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas, Appendix in Y. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid*, edited by M. A. Ṭalas, *Bayrūt*: Maktabat Lubnān 1975, No. 181; No. 190. Ibn al-Farfūr was several times *qāḍī* of the town: from 924/1518 until 926/1520, 927/1520 and from 930/1524 until 936/1530. See for Ibn al-Farfūr: Ibn Jumʿa, *al-Bāshawāt wa l-Quḍāt*, 1 ff.; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq, al-Thaghr al-Bassām fī Dhikr man wulliya Qaḍāʾ al-Shām*, edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Dimashq: Maṭbūʿāt al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq 1956, 182 ff., 309 f., 312 ff.

years after the Ottoman conquest we find in the Zāwiyya al-Ṣumādiyya a typical Ottoman feature of architecture—the central dome for a larger mosque—following the local construction tradition and commissioned by a Damascene notable. Thus, the *zāwiyya* of al-Ṣumādī provides a pattern that differs from local architectural traditions being continued by other building owners of his time.

Domed prayer halls, one of the characteristic elements of Ottoman architecture, later became widespread in Syria during the second half of the 16th century. Commercial buildings were covered by domes too. A domed market hall or *bedesten* (bazaar-like "shopping malls" for valuable textiles) was introduced to Damascus by Murād Pasha around 1017/1608-09, and in the middle of the 16th century, even *khān*s were for the first time covered by domes. Again a Damascene predated this development. The contemporary historian Ibn Ṭūlūn reports on Ibn al-Farfūr:

> "In the year 32 [932/1525-26] he started to build a *sūq* close to the Bāb Jayrūn in Damascus. Instead of a wooden gabled roof he constructed domes that were made of bricks. [...] There was no building before [constructed] like this among the *sūqs* of Damascus."[11]

This *sūq*, known today as Sūq al-Qāḍī, of which only some shops at the western end of Qaymariyya Street survive, was not often copied and domes on market streets remained extremely rare. Later *sūqs* were also normally covered by wooden gabled roofs. However, the story of Ibn al-Farfūr is very significant because he changed his *madhhab* from "Mamluk" *shāfiʿī* to "Ottoman" *ḥanafī* in order to remain *qāḍī* of the city, thus taking a deliberate step to adjust to Ottoman rule. In 937/1530 he also ordered the construction of a typical Ottoman top on the "Mamluk shaped" minaret of Sultan Selim's Mosque of Ibn ʿArabī. All this seems to have happened with a specific goal in mind, since Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr, as well as Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Ṣumādī, benefited under the new rulers. Most probably they wanted to demonstrate their affiliation to them by introducing Ottoman elements of architecture to Damascus. This individual adoption of imperial patterns is an active orientation to a new cultural framework, translating these patterns into the local context by the local available means and knowledge. However, to my knowledge, these two references to another culture of building remained an exception for nearly another three decades.

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[11] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 312. For the development of the Ottoman *sūq* see: Stefan Weber, "The Transformation of an Arab-Ottoman Institution: The Sūq (Bazaar) of Damascus from the 16th to the 20th Century", in: *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. "A Supra-National Heritage"*, eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, S. Batur, Istanbul: Yem 2000, 246 ff.; and Weber, *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels*, 194 ff.

The introduction of a different architectural culture:
the takiyya of Sultan Süleyman

A more deliberate state policy of reinforcing Ottoman rule in the provinces is seen in Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's (1520-1566) huge construction program on the pilgrim road to Mecca. This included the restoration of the city walls, the infrastructure and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem[12] and the construction of the well-known *takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya* (962/1554 until 967/1560, fig. 4) in Damascus, designed by plans of the famous court architect Sinan (~1490-1588). This building had a special role in the process of introducing Ottoman architectural designs and techniques. The *takiyya* of Süleyman the Magnificent is the "most Ottoman building" in Damascus, despite the integration of local decorative elements, and it had an enormous impact on the architecture of its time—by the importance of the building proper and the training of local craftsmen working on site with a foreign workshop. The architectural features of this building and its purely Ottoman design elements—just to name a few: the buttressed central dome of its mosque, its pencil shaped minarets, Ottoman like pointed arches, faience tiles—were emulated in several buildings and inspired the local builders to incorporate new principles and forms, and new approaches to urban setting, layout and decoration. The decoration and arrangement of buildings evolved, based on the local Mamluk tradition, into local interpretations of Ottoman architecture. The development is complex, but—to simplify—it appears that many of the decoration and construction techniques remained local (except for example the reintroduction of tiles), while in public buildings (mosques, schools, *khān*s, *sūq*s) Ottoman concepts of space were applied and new types of architecture were introduced (*külliye, imaret, bedesten,* etc.).[13] For architectural decoration, Mamluk motifs remained predominant but developed, by integrating the Ottoman floral motifs (flower bowls, tulips etc.), during the 17th century into a style unique to Damascus. Yet, in the last decades of the 16th century it is far from being a homogeneous local style. These interpretations bore elements of the "Istanbūlī" "imperial" architecture and especially made mosque buildings

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[12] Michael Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/ Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī", *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine*, III (1988), 257-281.

[13] However, the *külliye* itself, with a mosque, school, kitchen (*imaret*) and other buildings arranged to an architectural unit like that of the Takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya, remained unique. Other clusters of buildings of a same *waqf* and/or building owner, for example the Sināniyya (see below) with its *sūq, ḥammām*, school (*maktab*) and fountain, do follow the previous pattern of an unordered arranged setting (see the mosque, *ḥammām*, and fountain of Tawrīzī, 826/1423, 832/1428-29 and 845/1441-42). In Damascus the term *takiyya* (Turkish *tekke*) is used for important imperial foundations that provided food, which might be the reason why the two terms, *imaret/ takiyya*, were often used synonymously. See for this problematic: Astrid Meier, "For the Sake of God Alone? Food Distribution Policies, Takiyyas and İmarets in Early Ottoman Damascus", in: *Imarets in the Ottoman Empire,* eds. Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann, and Amy Singer, Istanbul forthcoming.

obviously Ottoman and at the same time distinctive, differing from those of Istanbul and other cities of the empire.

Two examples may help to elucidate this argument. The mosques al-Sināniyya (994/1586 to 999/1591, fig. 5, 7) and al-Siyāghūshiyya (1005/1596-97, fig. 6, 8) were both commissioned by important statesmen and feature prominently Ottoman elements. As Meinecke has shown, the prayer hall of Sināniyya Mosque (like that of the Darwīshiyya Mosque, 979/1571 to 982/1574-75) recalls the layout of the imperial mosque of Mihrimah in Istanbul (probably between 1565-70), which was also used as a model for the mosque of the Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Complex in Lüleburgaz (977/1569-70).[14] It seems that around 1570 this plan was a very attractive model for provincial mosques and this layout of Imperial architecture remained admired in Damascus. However, the Siyāghūshiyya Mosque recalls no direct archetype like the Sināniyya. Nevertheless it has among other features, a domed chamber as prayer hall with a high marble podium (*dhikr*), a domed vestibule, an Ottoman shaped minaret, and tiles and arches in the style of the Ottomans. While it is a distinctive Ottoman mosque, it is far from being a direct copy; rather, it is a complete local interpretation of imperial architecture. This mosque is does not imitate imperial architecture, but is an adoption that integrates single elements, being inspired by the different concepts and combining them with local patterns.

The combinations of local elements—like most prominently, but not exclusively, the *ablaq* striping of the façade—and features from Ottoman architecture are too many to mention here. But they give evidence that the second half of the 16th century was a period that was highly creative, without formulating a set sample of patterns to be applied. The two briefly introduced local Ottoman mosques in our study look quite different from one another, and none of the 13 mosques or mosque-like buildings of that period resembles the other. On location, masters builders and craftsmen experimented each time anew. This is best demonstrated by the tiled minaret of the Sināniyya-Mosque. It remained unique. It fits the picture that Ḥasan Pasha Shūrbaza (d. 1027/1618), commissioned by the grand vizir Siyāghūsh Pasha to build a mosque for him, was responsible for many other buildings in the city as well, of which none resembled the architectural features of the mosque.[15]

Only the combination of elements deriving from different cultural settings cannot be called a proper local style. However the encounter of these architec-

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[14]   Compare: Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, Oxford: Thames & Hudson 1971, 297 and Meinecke, "Die osmanische Architektur", 584 f.

[15]   Further buildings of Ḥasan Pasha were a *khān* in Sūq al-Jaqmaq (Khān al-Zayt?), the *sūq* of grand vizir Murād Pasha, the Khān and Sūq al-Dhirāʿ (the above mentioned *bedesten* and Khān al-Murādiyya), and Ḥammām al-Buzūriyya. See: Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athār fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*, 4 Vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir 1970, II 25 ff., IV 356 f. Compare as well: Pascual, *Damas à la fin*, 105 ff.

tural cultures created a stimulating atmosphere which resulted later, in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, in an interesting architectural style of its own. Having been enriched in the middle of the 16th century by Ottoman patterns, this "search for a style" started to evolve from the 1550s/60s.

The melting into an idiosyncratic ex novo:
the commercial buildings of Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha

Many of those experiments remained unique, some of them laying the ground for more sustainable idiosyncratic patterns, best to be demonstrated in commercial buildings. In Damascus not only mosques, mausoleums, baths, and *bedesten* were domed, but also many *khāns*. These commercial buildings epitomise the development of characteristic Ottoman Damascene forms. The oldest dated *khān* surviving in its original appearance in Damascus, the Khān al-Jūkhiyya (963/1555-56), marks the beginning of the specifically Damascene development of domed *khāns* (fig. 9, 10). The courtyard of this *khān* was not—like normally throughout the Middle East—open, but was covered with two large domes. The *khān* was erected as a donation of the Ottoman governor Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha, while just a workshop was in town to build the *takiyya* of Sultan Süleyman and to rebuild the *takiyya* (not mosque) of Sultan Selim with two large domes very similar to the Khān al-Jūkhiyya. It is most likely that this workshop or Damascene craftsmen trained by them were employed by Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha to build his *khān*.[16] Another commercial building of the same patron proves that this was not a linear or exclusive development from the above-discussed Sūq al-Qāḍī Ibn al-Farfūr to the Khān al-Jūkhiyya, but that domes for commercial buildings became one acceptable and applicable model among others from which craftsmen and client could choose to match their means, technical capabilities, functional needs and taste. Next to his own *takiyya,* of which the gate is still visible in Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya, Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha commissioned the Sūq al-Arwām, built between 962/1554 and 963/1556 (fig. 11, 12, 13). Today this partially destroyed *sūq* with its two small integrated mosques differs from the normal pattern of a *sūq* in its second storey and can be closed like a *bedesten* on its two entrances. As a hybrid between *sūq* and *bedesten,* it was covered by cross vaults—a constructional need for this rare two storey building type and to my knowledge a unique case in Damascus. *Sūqs* were normally covered by wooden gabled roofs (replaced in the last decades of Ottoman rule by metal barrel vaulted or gabled roofs) or by the very rare domed market-street, like the Sūq al-Qāḍī. Next to the adoption of foreign patterns to be integrated in the local framework of architectural knowledge, Ottoman design models, like the domes,

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16 An observation first made by Marianne Boqvist, see Boqvist, *Architecture et Développement*, 199.

enriched and inspired Damascene craftsmen and patrons. The new models were accepted and integrated in the middle of the 16th century. They became—as demonstrated with sacral architecture above—not a fully formulated new style but elements in a broader catalogue of applicable ways to construct.

However, the Khān al-Jūkhiyya is a bit more than that and was among those different patterns that devolved one that survived. Governors and notables from Damascus gave their commercial centre an Ottoman appearance with domed *khān*s, which were a unique phenomenon throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. The linkage of *khān* and dome became a model developed on the spot *ex novo* in the very moment when probably masters builders, craftsmen and patron connected different traditions to find a solution that derived from both architectural cultures, but did not belong to either of them. It was not the adoption or inspiration of an element, being incorporated once and then forming one of many combinational patterns. The Khān al-Jūkhiyya was the creation of a new model that stood out at the time by virtue of its dome arrangement and that was applied as such during the next centuries. Several other *khān*s—of those that have survived to our days and that were built in the first two hundred years after the Ottoman conquest—are domed, such as the Khān al-Murādiyya (1017/1608-09, completely changed after a fire in 1911), the Qaysāriyyat al-Ḥaramayn (Khān Shaykh Qaṭanā, 1017/1608-09) and the undated *khān*s al-Ṣadrānī and al-Tutun (most probably middle and late 16th ct.), al-Ṣnawbar / al-Fawqānī and al-Safarjalānī (probably early and late 17th ct.). Only in Damascus does one find *khān*s covered by one, two, three, and later during the 18th century, four or even nine domes. It could be argued that the above-mentioned domed *sūq* and a *khān* commissioned by Ibn al-Farfūr might have been the starting point of the emergence of domed commercial buildings in Damascus.[17] Whichever building was the first domed *khān*,—it was the very beginning of something new, created by the contact of different cultures.

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[17]   The Khān al-ʿAmūd, which contains structures from the 16th century, was built according to al-ʿUlabī by Ibn al-Farfūr as well. A court record from the 19th century supports this assumption. The *khān* was in 1239/1824 still a *waqf* of the Farfūr family (of al-Shihābī Aḥmad al-Farfūr). However, the inner of the two courtyards of the *khān* is covered by four domes that date to the 18th century and thus probably belong to the reconstruction of the *khān* by Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓm (d. 1144/1731). Maybe the building of Ibn Farfūr was already domed and thereby represents the beginning of this development. The historians of that period do not specifically mention this building, and based on the above mentioned observation on the structure of the domes of Khān al-Jūkhiyya, I would argue that this commercial building of Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha was most probably the first domed *khān*. See for the Khān al-ʿAmūd: Weber, *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels*, 556 f. and for the mentioned sources: Markaz al-Wathāʾiq al-Tārīkhiyya (al-Maḥākim al-Sharʿīya) *sijill* 301/ *wathīqa* 1483 (1239/1824); Akram al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq, Dirāsa Tārīkhiyya Shāmila*, Dimashq: Dār al-Ṭibāʿ 1989, 485.

2. The 18th Century: The Age of the Aʿyān

The 18th century is often called the age of the *aʿyān* (notables). Even if local nota-
bles have always been active in urban life, both before and after the 18th century,
this label is not mistaken. Examining the architectural remains we find evidence
for large-scale building activities by local families in the 18th century. This period,
for which the term "18th century" is used as short-hand, is to be understood as the
period between 1695 and the early 19th century. The year 1695 has symbolic
value, being the year when the lifelong right of tax-farming (*muqāṭaʿa*) was legal-
ized in the empire. From this date on, an extraordinary number of buildings were
constructed, indicating the economic strength and independence of local nota-
bles in cities and in the countryside. For it was most often local families, such as
governors, *āghās* or *muqāṭaʿjīs*, whether in Ottoman service or not, who built the
greater part of the public buildings of that period. This changed after the first
hundred years of Ottoman rule, when high officials came to the Arab provinces,
set up large foundations, erected public buildings, and then left again. Many of
the important families of the 18th century, the Çapanoğulları and the Kara-
osmanoğulları in Anatolia, the Shihabis (Shihābī family) in Lebanon, the ʿAẓms
(ʿAẓm family) in Syria, and the Çıldıroğulları between Tiflis and Doğubeyazıt,
were very powerful local families inside the Ottoman system. They would nor-
mally be officially appointed and dismissed. But families had become powerful
not only on the level of governors. Many, like ʿAlī Āghā al-Ḥammūd and his fam-
ily in Sidon, had procured the lifelong right of tax-farming and were therefore
managing the taxation of huge amounts of land or goods at customs offices, a
role they could easily exploit to the full. In this way, enormous wealth came to be
concentrated in the hands of local families. They left an extremely rich and previ-
ously quite unknown architectural heritage. Local or "localized" families, espe-
cially in Sidon, Aleppo and Damascus, commissioned huge clusters of combined
real estate, like houses, *khān*s, *sūq*s, *madrasa*s and *ḥammām*s to form important and
multifunctional urban units.

The climax of local patronship: the ʿAẓm buildings

The example of the ʿAẓm family in Damascus is especially revealing. Between
1724 and 1808, members of this family served nine times as *wālī* (governor) of
Damascus. Although for this survey of Ottoman Damascus no special research
on the ʿAẓm family has been done, I came across some 30 buildings commis-
sioned by this family, and many more would be discovered should research be
focused on the building activities of this family (fig. 14).[18] Most of the buildings

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[18] See for the ʿAẓm-Family: Karl Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus 1708-1758*, Princeton:
      Princeton University Press 1980; Abdel-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783*,

were erected in the *sūq*s of Damascus, where members of the different branches of the ʿAẓm family not only earned a lot of money, but invested it in buying very big plots of land and erecting next to *madrasa*s and their residences many economically attractive buildings, like *khān*s, *sūq*s and *ḥammām*s. Some clusters were established as *waqf* by a single donor and arranged as interconnected urban units. Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (d. 1783), for example, donated in 1195/1780-81 houses, a *ḥammām* and a *sūq* at the southern moat of the citadel. Ismāʿīl Pasha al-ʿAẓm (d. 1723-24), who was a very active patron, had among other houses a *ḥammām* and a *khān* built on the eastern end of the core district of the bazaar. ʿAbdallāh (d. 1808-09), Asʿad Pasha (d. 1757), Sulaymān Pasha and again Ismāʿīl Pasha donated numerous important buildings in the middle of the bazaar district in the region of the Sūq al-Buzūriyya and Sūq al-Khayyāṭīn.

This pattern of real estate clusters established by rich bourgeois families of the 18th century can be observed in many different cities. However, it is not a new pattern, and we know from other centuries that families were active in forming the city's structure through their *waqf*s. But judging from the remaining structures, we find—on comparing to the centuries before and after—many commercial, educational and residential buildings of high quality erected by these families. For instance, one family, the Ḥammūds, constructed the most outstanding remaining architectural cluster of different buildings in Sidon. Thanks to the inscriptions on the buildings, it was possible to find elements of what once must have been the core of the Ḥamūd real estates. Next to several *ḥammām*s, and a *madrasa*, the most outstanding structures from the 18th century in Sidon are the two houses of the family and a *khān*.[19] Thus it becomes clear that local families gave the most important impetus for the urban development in the 18th century.

During this period of huge building activity by local families, the style of decoration and the layout of building· ..lso developed within a local framework. After the imperial influence during the 16th century, architecture in the Bilād al-Shām developed quite independently. From time to time new elements were incorporated, but in general the style of the 18th century is an evolution of the elements that were given in the second half of the 16th century. The best exam-

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Beirut: Khayats 1966; Shimon Shamir, "Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm and Ottoman Rule in Damascus (1743 – 1758)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXVI (1963) 1-28; Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics, Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Stuttgart: Steiner 1985, 29 ff. There is no publication on the architecture of Damascus or the Bilād al-Shām in the 18th century. So far, see for the *waqf* of one governor: Brigit Marino, "Les Investissements de Sulaymān Pacha al-ʿAẓm à Damas." *Annales Islamologiques* 34 (2000) 209-226.

[19] These buildings are the Bayt Debbané (1134/1721-22), Bayt Ḥammūd, known today as Madrasat al-ʿĀʾisha (1143/1730-31), and the Khān al-Qishla (1134/1721-22). Bayt Debbané is to be converted into a museum on houses and urban life in Ottoman Saida by the Debbané Foundation in cooperation with the Orient Institute Beirut (see: www.museumsaida.org). See for the buildings: Weber, "An Āghā"; and Weber/ Bodenstein, "A House and the City".

ples are the domed *khān*s that emerged in the 16th century, which together with
the *khān*s of the ʿAẓms achieve their most splendid form. Even if the most fa-
mous of the buildings, the Khān Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1166/1751 to 1167/1753,
fig. 15, 16) features for the first time stone carvings in the manner of the Otto-
man baroque, which had just become popular in the capital, the proper layout of
the building is the climax of the local genesis of domed *khān*s. A similar layout
with nine domes is documented with the Galata Bedesten of Sultan Mehmed II
the Conqueror (1444, 1451-1481, fig. 17, 18), but it would be far-fetched to
search for a link between both. The Bedesten is three centuries older and never
since inspired craftsmen in the capital. Most probably the Khān Asʿad Pasha al-
ʿAẓm is a genuine piece of local architecture and the climax of a development
that started during the contact of different traditions two centuries ago.

Patterns of a self-referring system: the colour paste decorations

This independent development based on the Ottoman impact on local architec-
ture in the 16th century is also apparent in the form and techniques of decora-
tion. First of all, this concerns the colour paste technique, where coloured pastes
were filled in prepared carved stones (fig. 19, 20). This technique, developed in
Damascus and Cairo in the 14th and 15th century, evolved during the second half
of the 16th century into a decoration practice more or less unique to Damascus.[20]
During this period the colour paste technique integrated Ottoman floral motifs
like tulip and carnation, and built up a canon of motifs that did not undergo any
profound change between 1600 and 1770. The designs evolved slightly during
that period of time, but the shape of single elements—like the tulip or the carna-
tion—remained nearly the same when the technique arrived in Damascus in the
16th century; therefore this type of decoration was quite different from what was
en vogue in Istanbul during the 18th century. In general, the local style of Da-
mascus, consisting of elements from the architecture of the city before the Ot-
tomans on the one hand, and from the single but strong impact of Ottoman ar-
chitecture during the 16th century on the other hand, developed quite independ-
ently into a local "bourgeois" style, applied to the houses of wealthy owners and
public buildings. This local Ottoman "bourgeois style" was very homogeneous
throughout the city and highly standardized during the 18th century. For this pe-
riod, no direct European influences in Damascus can be traced and only very
limited ones from Istanbul during the 17th and 18th centuries. Only painted
wooden interiors or ceilings (*ʿajamī*) feature motifs—like depictions of fruit
bowls—known from interior decoration and fountains of late 17th and early 18th

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[20] To my knowledge, first applied on the coloured emblem of the Turba al-Rashīdiyya
(768/1366-67). It came to be part of decoration panels in the 1370s and started to replace
the labour-intensive mosaics in portals, for example at the Zāwiyya al-Yūnisiyya (784/1382-
83) and the Turba al-Taynabiyya (797/1394-95).

century Istanbul. Furthermore, the "Ottoman" style of Damascus also became influential in the cities close to Damascus. Between 1600 and 1820, one can see on individual buildings in Ḥasbayyā, Hama, Dayr al-Qamar, Sidon or Bayt al-Dīn colour paste decorations that were made by Damascene workshops.

Interior decorations of the palaces of the Shihābīs in Ḥasbayyā from 1009/1600-01 or of Yūsuf al-Shihābī in Dayr al-Qamar from 1180/1766-67 show Damascene craftsmanship just like Bayt al-Ḥammūd (Debbané) from 1134/1721-22 and other buildings in 18ᵗʰ century Sidon. The patterns that one can find in Sidon or Dayr al-Qamar were, in part, exact copies or at least paralleled those frequently used in Damascus (fig. 20). On earlier buildings in Sidon or Dayr al-Qamar, neither this style nor these techniques were applied. In the 16ᵗʰ and early 17ᵗʰ centuries craftsmen and master builders referred to Istanbul and developed parallel to Damascus new forms of a local Ottoman architecture, without any references to Damascus. This orientation and thus cultural point of reference shifted in the 18ᵗʰ century. Upper class families in southern Syria and Lebanon were orientated to the regional centre of Damascus and not so much to the imperial capital Istanbul during the 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ centuries. This is in sharp contrast to the developments in the 16ᵗʰ and, as we will see, the 19ᵗʰ century. Thus it is remarkable that tendencies of the age of the *aʿyān*, when single Syrian families were in charge of running political and economic affairs are paralleled by architectural trends. As the main characteristic of architectural development we no longer see the merger of different cultural traditions and the orientation to another practice of building, but rather an inclination toward a self-referring, regional framework.

3. The 19ᵗʰ and Early 20ᵗʰ Centuries:
The Modernization of Urban Institutions

With the return of Ottoman central power, following the efforts of Maḥmūd II (1808-1839) and the ministers and grand viziers of the *tanẓīmāt* period (1839-1876), the urban texture of the cities in Bilād al-Shām changed quite rapidly over the last five decades of Ottoman rule.[21] The urban transformation concerned nearly all sectors of architecture like public spaces, commercial districts and residential architecture. In the course of modernising state policy, the administration aimed to centralise and reform its institutions, especially in the domains of the army, police, justice, health, education and municipal management. In this process, new office buildings, schools, barracks, hospitals, etc. were erected in larger cities throughout the Empire. Many other projects can be traced back to local initiative or Syrians being part of the newly introduced administrative councils.

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[21] For the history and architecture of late Ottoman cities: Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber, *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Beirut: Orient-Institut 2002. All relevant literature there.

The municipal institutions introduced into the region after the provincial reforms in 1864 played an important role in the process of modernising urban landscapes in the Ottoman Empire. On the basis of a new corpus of engineering and building codes, the new municipality—a council of elected city residents—had control over many private construction activities and launched an extensive program of public buildings, including infrastructure modernization (often by European contractors) and developments in the commercial, health and education sectors. Not everything that was planned was realised. However, at the turn of the century, public places like parks, coffee-houses and theatres were located by private and municipal initiative at new public centres. These centres were founded outside the old cities, for example in Damascus (Marja Square), Aleppo (Bāb al-Faraj), Beirut (Burj Square) and Tripoli (Tell Square). Numerous buildings of the Ottoman reform administration (like municipality buildings, high courts, sarays, etc.) were built along with hotels and modern transport facilities (tramway and railways). This occurred to the same extent in some cities—not all—and can be observed, for example, in Damascus much better than in Aleppo.

Adopting and accommodating the new to one's own experience: the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya

The new time was not chosen by the Damascenes but introduced by the state reforms and by the European dominated global economy that swashed new thoughts, techniques and goods to the Syrian coast from the 1830s onwards. Thus, the points of reference for developments in the 19th and early 20th centuries became Istanbul and Europe, whereby Istanbul itself had in the process of reform adopted European models according to its own needs and framework. It was mostly these receptions that came to the provinces, and European ideas and techniques reached Damascus in general via the capital (different from cities like Beirut and Izmir, where, next to the imperial centre, European influence was tangible in a much more direct way). Being active in these institutions and trained by the new education system, many Damascenes became themselves agents of reform. Moreover, new means of transportation and communication—especially illustrated newspapers—distributed new ideas in the city and led to a change in larger parts of Damascene society, best visible in the new system of clothing that prevailed in the streets at the turn of the 20th century. Thus, many aspects of urban and architectural culture first changed by an introduction by the state, and more and more thereafter by the adoption by local society of forms predominant in the capital and Europe. It is interesting that this acculturation with its orientation to new points of cultural references (quite different from the above discussed 18th century) did not lead to a pure copying of new forms but rather to accommodating and transforming these elements in order to match the local experience and needs.

The Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya, the core of the modernised bazaar of Damascus, is an interesting example of this adjustment to the local framework. Many of the Ottoman *sūq*s were remodelled in the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as seen in Beirut (Sūq al-Ṭawīl), Damascus (*sūq* al-Ḥamīdiyya, Midḥat Pasha) and Tripoli (Sūq al-Bazarkān).[22] New or modernized wide market streets were built or enlarged through the commercial heart of those cities. Many aspects of the traditional *sūq*s changed. The intensification and further integration into a world economy not only brought new goods and merchants into the city, but changed attitudes towards selling and buying as well. Hotels, on the one hand, and shopping malls, on the other, took over the functions of the traditional *khān*s. In Damascus, these new shopping malls were built in a *khān*-like architecture (but without the traditional functions of storage and overnight stays) or as free-standing buildings in a Europeanized architecture. The bazaar streets themselves were enlarged and often remodelled as arcades.[23]

The Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya, which was built in two steps (1st phase: between 1301/ 1883-84 and 1304/1886; 2nd phase between 1894 and 1312-13/1895-96, fig. 21) by the municipality of Damascus, clearly illustrates this development. Its layout with the metal barrel vaults (replacing the wooden ones in 1911) and the new designs of façades using the newest building materials like steel beams was inspired by European arcades that had also been built in Istanbul. However, it was not called *arcade* al-Ḥamīdiyya, and visitors, at that time or today, perceive it as one among the other *sūq*s of the city. The Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya is a very impressive adaptation of a traditional institution to modern demands, and, being more than 400 m long, the most outstanding example of the very many modernized *sūq*s from the late Ottoman Empire. The modernization of urban space happened next to the integration of new patterns (like the municipality, hotels, tram and railway, etc.) to a large extent as well inside the framework of long-established areas of the built environment—like the traditional building type of the *sūq* here. Next to the process of adaptation, the Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya also stands for the cultural change of a provincial capital during the four centuries of Ottoman rule. The pictures of the Sūq al-Arwām (fig. 12, 13) and Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya (fig. 21), both Ottoman constructions—one erected in the middle of the 16th century by a governor, and the other more then 300 years later by the elected municipal council—clearly show the shift of patronship, urban planning and concepts of design.

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[22] Most probably due to the solid stone structures, this process of rebuilding the *sūq*s was not so prevalent in Aleppo or Sidon.

[23] For further information on the *sūq*s in Damascus in Ottoman times and their changes see: Weber, "The Transformation" and Stefan Weber, "The Reshaping of Damascus, Architecture and Identity in an Arab-Ottoman City." In: *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon*, eds. Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann, Beirut: Orient-Institut 2004; Weber, *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels*, 203 ff.

Modernizing Private Space: The Central Hall House

To illustrate patterns of influence and the many changes in function and layout of buildings, techniques and forms of construction and decoration, one last example of architecture will be briefly discussed here. The modernization of urban space and architecture, as well as of social organization, penetrated the private sphere too. The Arab courtyard house (fig. 22, 23, no.2) underwent profound changes in its layout, decoration and general appearance to a degree not witnessed in the centuries before. Nearly all decoration techniques that we know from Mamluk Damascus and the first centuries of Ottoman rule, like colour paste and wood-lacquer work (*'ajamī*), were replaced by the imported techniques of the Ottoman baroque style (as a reinterpretation of European forms in the capital): wall paintings, and wood and marble carving. Furthermore, the functions and organization of rooms in Damascene private houses changed to a large extent with the totally new imported feature of a central hall arrangement (next to modifications in the layout of rooms in the still common traditional courtyard houses).

The version that became important for Damascus and other regions of the empire is marked by a central room in the house that gives access to the other rooms (fig. 23, no.1). As such, it has functions very similar to the courtyard of the classical Arab house. The central hall (in Damascus called *sofa*) gives the city a new kind of residential space, which was often found in free-standing houses of two or three floors with a clear structured façade, but without a courtyard. This type—often upper-class house—with a central hall had been well-known in Istanbul and the larger Anatolian cities since the 18th century. For ease of terminology, I call this type of house *konak*.[24] The Turkish name *konak* refers to upper-class houses and important administrative buildings of this type. It was this way of laying out a building that became prominent from the second half of the 19th century onwards.

The first examples of this house type were introduced by high-ranking Ottoman officials or members of the local elite. Examples of a central hall can be found in Damascus from the 1840s (maybe even earlier) in prestigious buildings, for instance, like the *saray* and the military hospital (both destroyed). The Damascene National Archives contains an imperial order (*fermān*) describing how the

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[24] For a definition of the term "*konak* -style", see Stefan Weber: "Der Marǧa-Platz in Damaskus – Die Entstehung eines modernen Stadtzentrums unter den Osmanen als Ausdruck strukturellen Wandels (1808-1918)." *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 10 (1998), 291-344, Taf. 77-88, here 317 f. To distinguish the new house—which, like the original model in Istanbul and Anatolia, often had a central hall—from the Arab courtyard house, I use the word *konak* for houses in Damascus with the new layout (central hall, free standing, tiled roofs, and structured street facades with large windows). See as well: Weber, *Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels*, 355 ff.

entrance hall of the military hospital was to be built.[25] The architectural description clearly specifies a central hall, which is also visible on historical photographs from the early 20th century.

It was this design that became the pattern on which rooms were to be built in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As an architectural feature, the *konak* had a "revolutionary" impact on the layout of buildings. In the 1860s this *konak*-type spread all over the empire and became the most common design for houses of the lower, middle and upper classes and for administrative buildings and schools, etc. In Damascus—like in other cities of the empire—most of the buildings of the new administration were centred around a middle hall (fig. 23, no. 5). The origin of influence was the capital of the empire. The imperial centre was standardizing architecture in all provinces through the new building codes and the body of municipal engineers. But even if the architectural models in the empire became far more standardized than they had ever been before, every region developed its own models in response to the impetus from the centre. David (Aleppo) and Davie (Beirut) show how the central hall merged with the existing local vernacular architecture to form the typical "Aleppine" or "Beiruti" house that has specific characteristics not common in other cities of the empire.[26] In Damascus the *konak* and the *dār* or *bayt* (Arabic terms for house) fused into a new form of house: the Arab courtyard house was now combined with a *"konak"* as a front house with an elaborated street façade. In the old town of Damascus, many houses that were remodelled in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries show this pattern (fig. 23, no. 3). Interestingly this was not only seen in adaptations of old houses; entirely new houses built outside the old city were also designed as courtyard houses with a *"konak"* (fig. 23, no. 4). The two types became one, thus forming a new type of house widely adopted at the turn of the century. Similar to the central dome arrangement introduced centuries before,

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[25] See the Syrian National Archive: al-Awāmir al-Sulṭāniyya, *sijill* 3/*wathīqa* 119, 122, 123 (1259/1843).

[26] Jean-Claude David: "L'Habitat Permanent des Grands Commerçants dans les Khans d'Alep: Processus de Formation Locale et Adaptation d'un Modèle Extérieur." In: *Les Villes dans l'Empire Ottoman: Activités et Société,* ed. Daniel Panzac, Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM-CNRS 1994, 85-124. May Davie and Lévon Nordiguian, "L'Habitat Urbain de Bayrūt al-Qadīmat au 19ᵉ Siècle." *Berytus* 35 (1987) 165-197. Unfortunately both articles do not integrate the local development into the Ottoman framework and underestimate the interregional commonalities. For a more comparative approach: Anne Mollenhauer, "The Central Hall House, Regional Commonalities and Local Specificities: A Comparison between Beirut and al-Salṭ." In: *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire,* eds. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber, Beirut: Orient-Institut 2002, 275-296; Anne Mollenhauer, Städtische Mittelhallenhäuser in Bilad al-Sham im 19. Jahrhundert – lokale und überregionale Einflüsse auf eine Bauform, unpublished PhD thesis Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main: 2005; Michael F. Davie ed., *La Maison Beyrouthine aux Trois Arcs, une Architecture Bourgeoise du Levant,* Beirut : Académie Libanaise des Beaux-arts and Tours: Centre de Recherches et d'Études sur l'Urbanisation du Monde Arabe 2003.

the courtyard houses with a "*konak*" as a front house evolved into a new arche-
type when different architectural cultures, which became very successful in the
local context, came into contact.

Conclusion

It is interesting to observe how patterns of modern architecture developed in
Damascus. This is not only a question of style and form, but also involves a flow
of ideas in the context of reciprocal cultural progress. Certainly pathways of ar-
chitectural influence are as manifold, reflecting the complex patterns of human
action. This becomes even more relevant in the time when transportation and
communication were facilitated by steamboats, railways, newspapers and telegra-
phy. From the developments generated by very different people during the four
centuries of Ottoman rule in Bilād al-Shām, one can tease out some of the key
characteristics of urban organization and architecture, and identify the main
elements of persistence and change. What emerged here in the case of Damascus
is typical of the general situation in most of the urban centres in the Bilād al-
Sham and, to a large extent, also in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The characteristics of urban development and architecture in Damascus be-
tween 1516 and 1918 can be summarized as follows: In the first few decades after
the Ottoman conquest, local architectural traditions continued to thrive, and
Ottoman architectural models were not emulated for a while, not even in the
foundations of successive governors and of Sultan Selim himself. On the other
hand, carefully planned building activities started by the Sultan in 924/1518 and
the first foundations of the governors in the western *extra muros* do show an ur-
banistic approach that is followed up in the next decades. Ottoman architectural
concepts were first brought to the city by local dignitaries, most probably to
show their affiliation with the new rulers. From the middle of the 16th century,
the impact of imperial architecture on the city was very strong and must be un-
derstood in the context of the extensive "imperial" building program of Sultan
Süleyman (the Magnificent) in the Arab provinces. This led to a highly experi-
mental period, fusing together local traditions and Ottoman elements in the sec-
ond half of the 16th century, laying the ground for development of a distinctive
Damascene-Ottoman style. This local Ottoman style became formalised during
the 17th century, and the manner of decorating a building was soon copied in
other cities, like Sidon and Dayr al-Qamar, where local builders turned for guid-
ance to the centre of the region and not to the centre of the empire. With an up-
surge in building activity by local families, big structures—mainly in the *sūq* of
Damascus *intra muros*—were built in a local formalised style developed in Otto-
man times and typical of Damascus, with its elements of local (Mamluk) archi-
tecture enriched by Ottoman ones.

The tendency towards uniformity of architectural patterns throughout the empire, such as one can observe later in the 19th century, was still not visible at that time. The level of Ottomanisation of urban structures and urban society—that had started back in the 16th century—took place on a totally different scale after the *tanẓīmāt*. Now the state reasserted its influence through an extensive building program that remodelled many parts of the city on the basis of patterns developed in Istanbul and applied locally by new bodies of urban planning and management. Nearly all the decoration techniques and many construction techniques changed as new models and principles of spacial organization were applied during the period of modernization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But even though models from Istanbul and Europe had an overwhelming influence on the architecture and urban structures of the city of Damascus, and even though there were building codes and an engineering office to oversee construction and decoration, the architects, craftsmen and property owners developed their own solutions locally, for which the combination of the *konak* and the courtyard house serves as one example.

During the four centuries of Ottoman rule in Bilād al-Shām, we were able to observe several shifts in the cultural framework to which master builders, craftsmen and their clients turned. As the points of references were different, quite different ways of who was referring how to another architectural tradition did (or didn't) appear. The variety of patterns included the continuation of known ways of construction and decoration, the import of new elements by non-Damascenes (mainly from the Ottoman administration), and the incorporation of single elements after techniques or forms became locally available, while other actors turned actively to new cultural horizons in the search for forms matching their own experience. The new models were very seldom exactly copied, but most of the time, during a process of adoption, changed and combined with locally available forms to match existing needs, taste and means. Often new forms evolved *ex novo*, by not only combining, but converting creatively several elements from different contexts into something hitherto unknown. The architectural heritage of Damascus, and thus of many other cities in the region, preserved this built environment deriving from multiple cultures.

Damascus in 1650 - Hypothetical reconstruction

Weber 2006
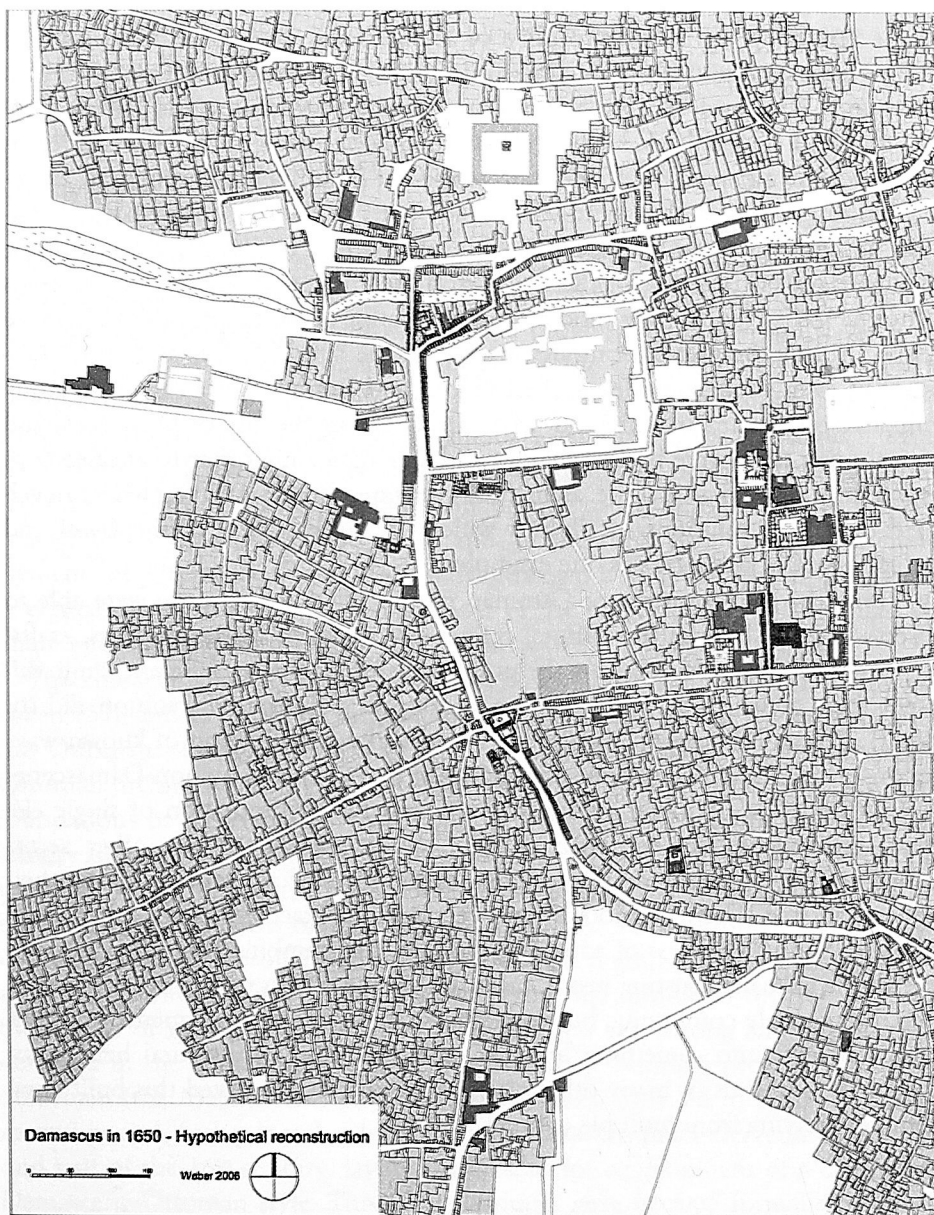
Fig. 1: Damascus in 1650 (hypothetical reconstruction on basis of the cadastral map of
the 1930s), main constructions of public buildings during the 16th and early 17th
centuries (Weber)

mausoleum

mosque

0   5   10   Weber 1999
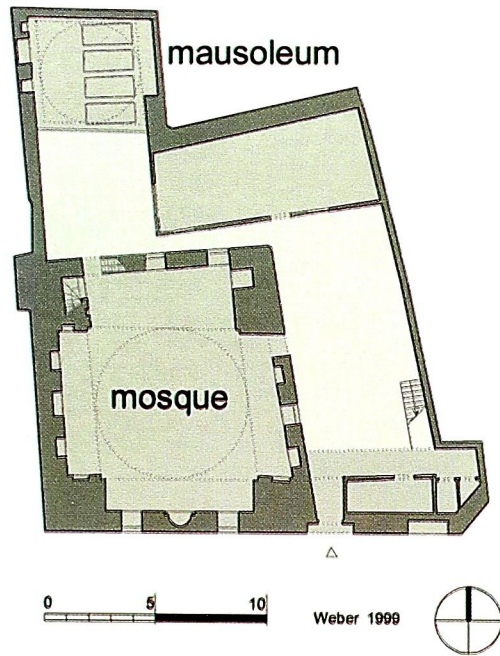
Fig. 2: Zāwiyya al-Ṣumādiyya (934/1527), ground plan (Weber)
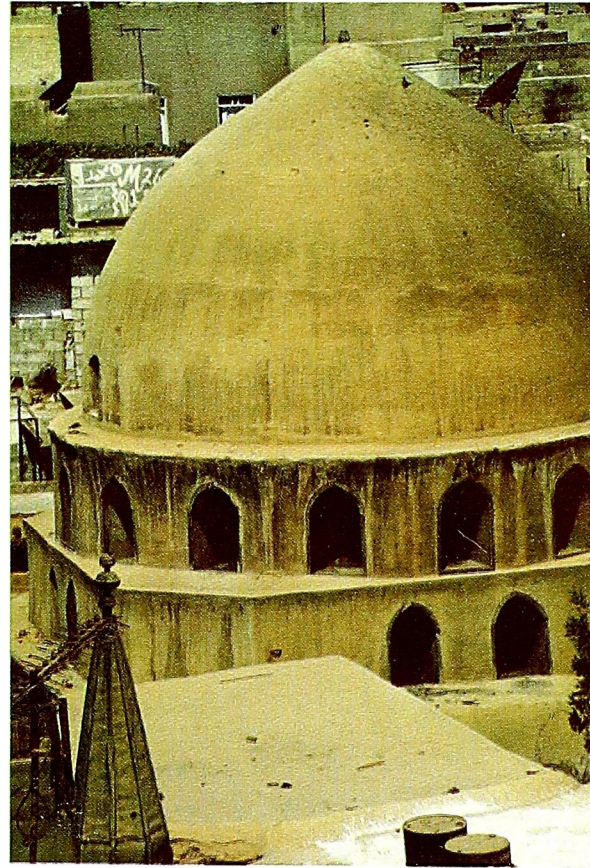
Fig. 3: Zāwiyya al-Ṣumādiyya (934/1527), dome (Weber)
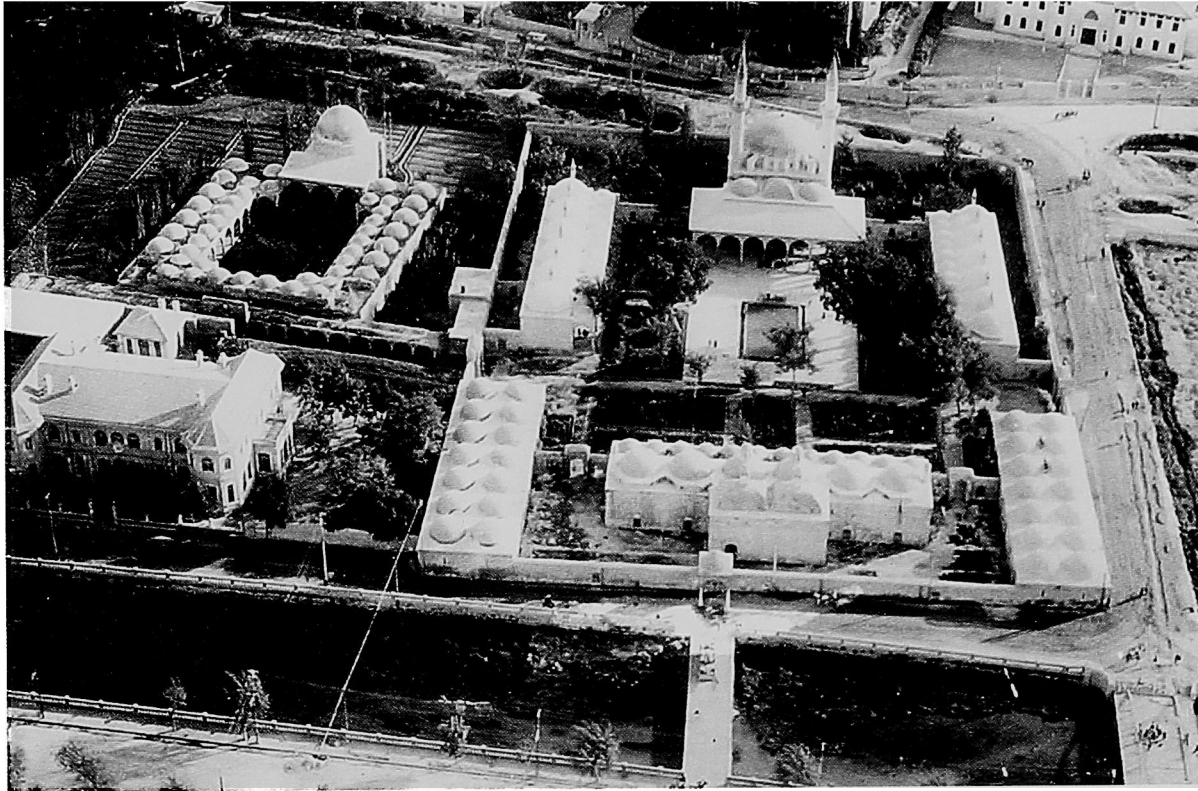
Fig. 4: al-Takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya (right) and the so called al-Madrasa al-Salīmiyya (974/1566-67, left above) and training institute for teachers (Dār al-Muʿallimīn 1328/1910-11, left down) ca. 1930 (IFPO)

Fig. 5: Mosque al-Sināniyya (994/1586 to 999/1591), western street façade (Weber)

Fig. 6: Mosque al-Siyāghūshiyya (1005/1596-97), court yard façade (Weber)
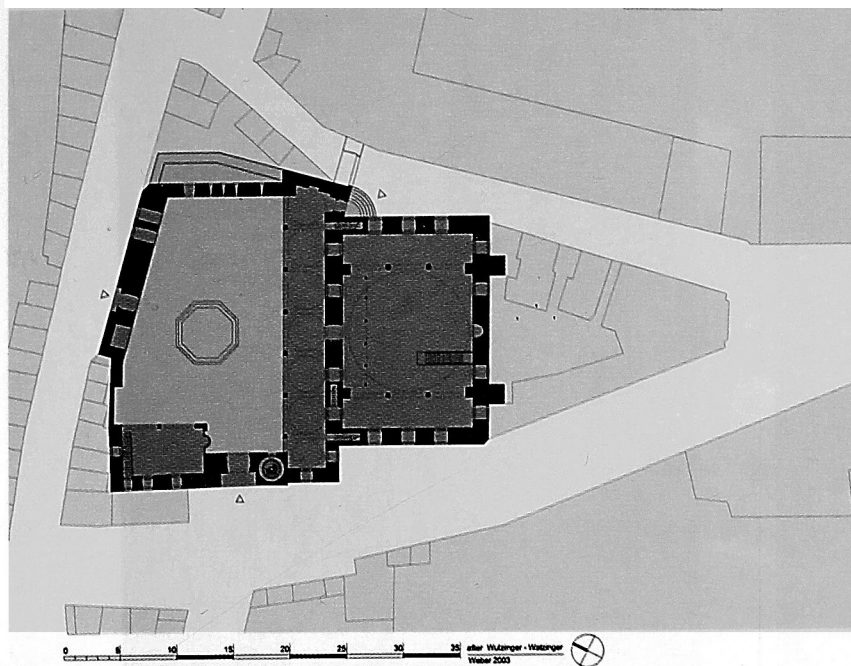
Fig. 7: Mosque al-Sināniyya (994/1586 to 999/1591), plan (after Wulzinger / Watzinger)

Fig. 8: Mosque al-Siyāghūshiyya (1005/1596-97), plan (Weber)
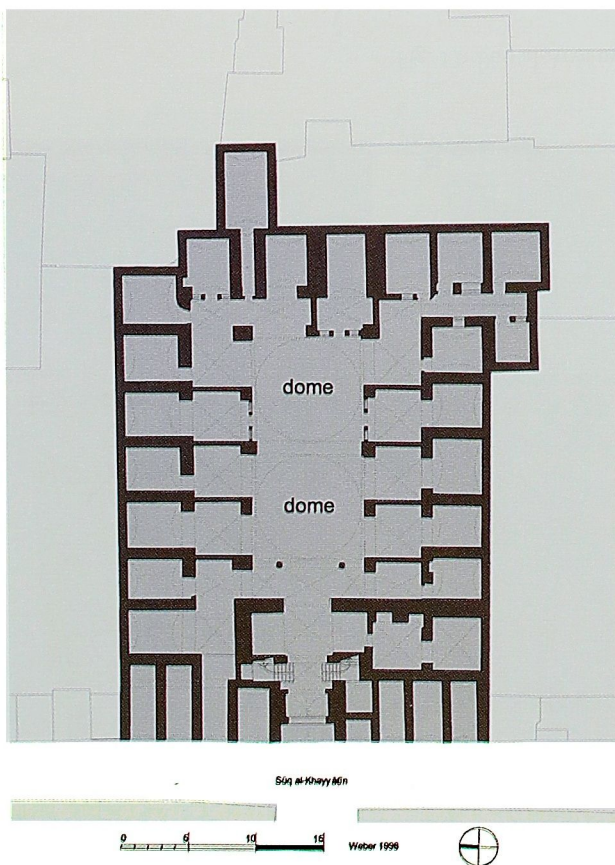
Fig. 9: Khān al-Jūkhiyya (963/1555-56), plan (Weber)

Fig. 10: Khān al-Jūkhiyya (963/1555-56), courtyard (Weber)
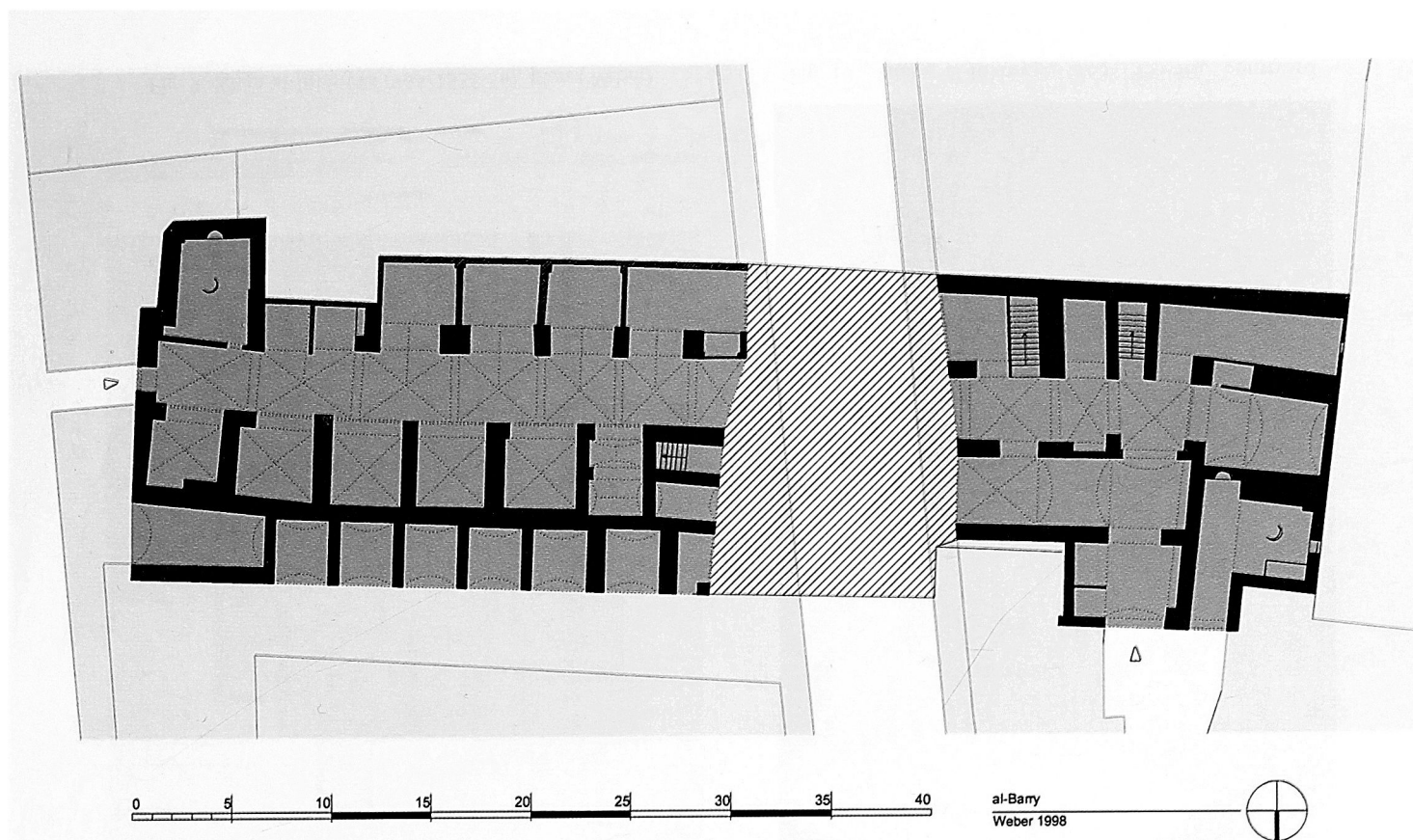
Fig. 11: Sūq al-Arwām (963/1556), plan (Weber)
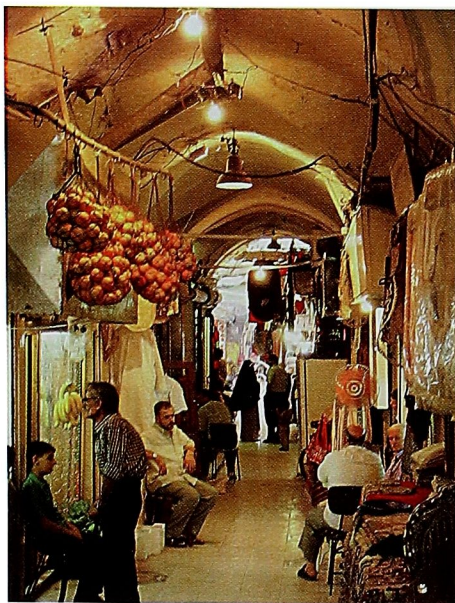
Fig. 12: Sūq al-Arwām (963/1556), inside (Weber)

Fig. 13: Sūq al-Arwām (963/1556), modern cut through the building (Weber)
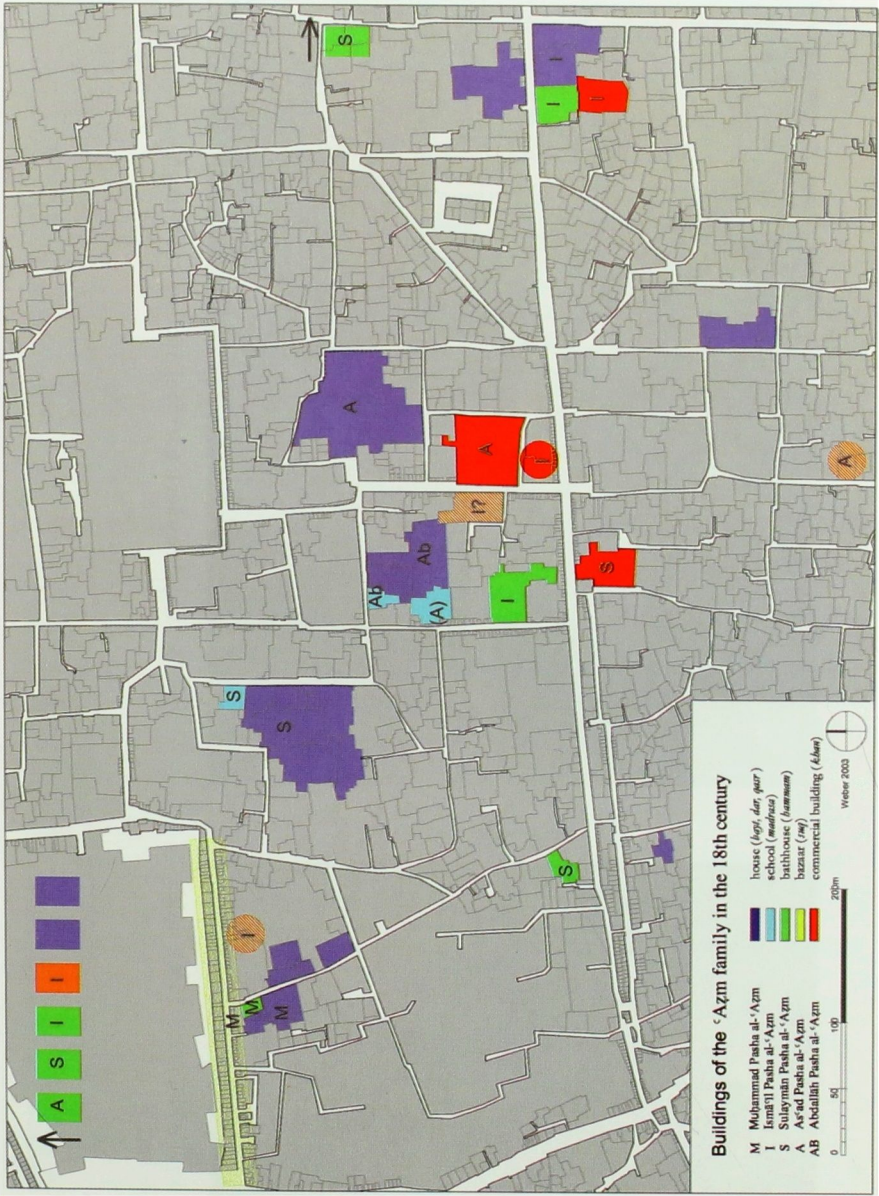
Fig. 14: Buildings of the ʿAẓm family in the 18th century (Weber)
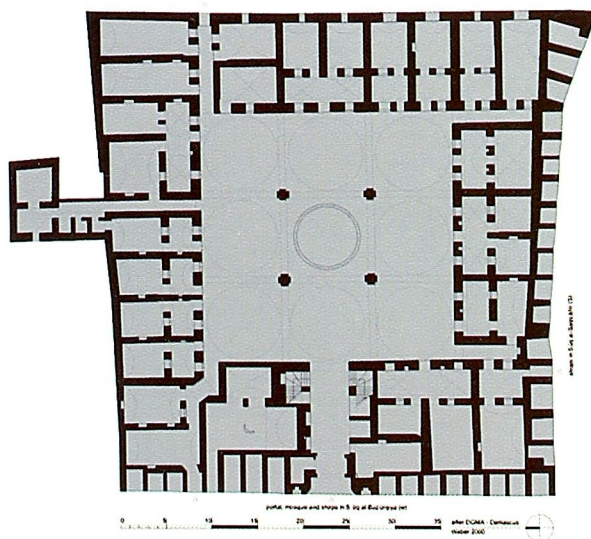
Fig. 15: Khān Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1167/1753), plan (after DGAMS)
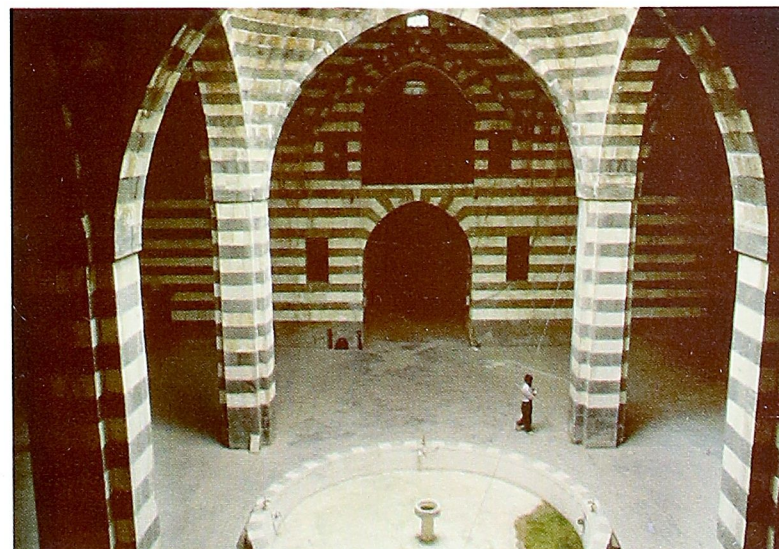
Fig. 16: Khān Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1167/1753), hall (Weber)
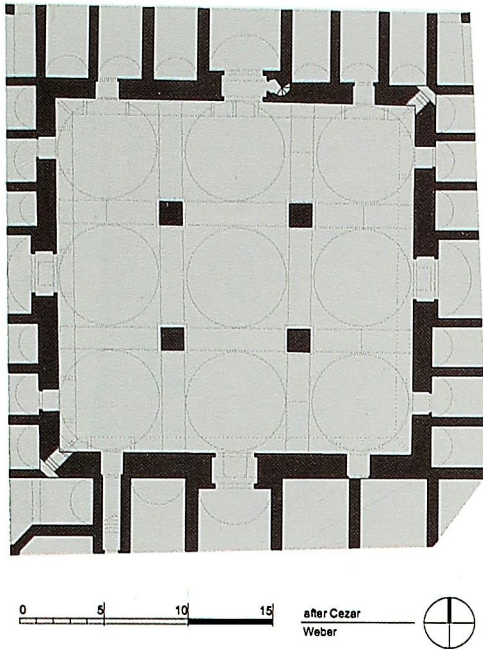
Fig. 17: Galata Bedesten, Istanbul, plan (after Cezar)

Fig. 18: Galata Bedesten, Istanbul, street façade (Weber)

Fig. 19: Bayt al-ʿAqqād (1167/1754), *qāʿa* (Weber)

Fig. 20: Bayt al-Ḥammūd / Debbané, Sidon (1134/1721-22), *qāʿa* (Weber)

Fig. 21: Sūq al-Ḥamīdiyya (1883-1894), eastern part (Weber)

Fig. 22: Bayt Niyādū, courtyard (TU Dresden)

1) Bayt al-Dālātī

–1880, cadastral-no: XXIV/
4-819, first floor.
Konak – central hall building
on two floors without court-
yard.
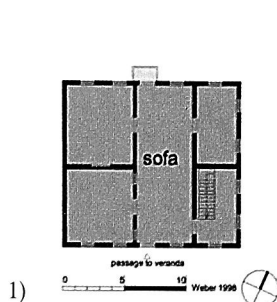
2) Bayt ʿAjamī-Shaṭṭā

18th century, modernized in
1878, cadastral-no: X/2-494,
first floor.
Traditional courtyard house on
two floors with *īwān* .
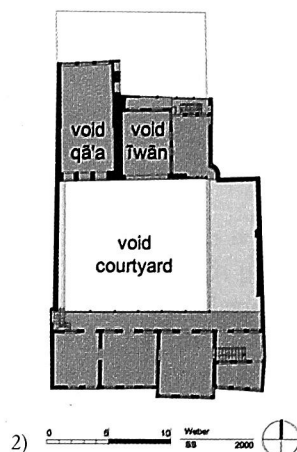
3) Bayt Zanānirī

Rebuilt in 1871, cadastral-no:
X/2-506, first floor.
Traditional courtyard house on
two floors with *īwān* and a *ko-
nak* like front-house with *sofa*.
(*īwān* only in the ground floor.)
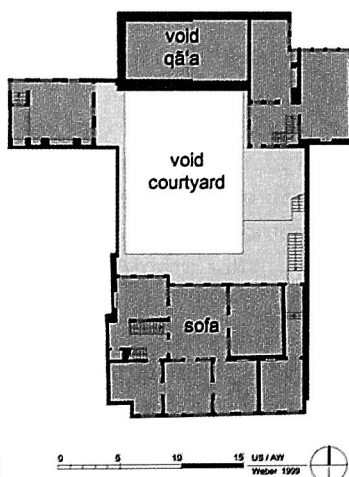
4) Bayt Bizm

Built around 1900, cadastral-
no: II-229, first floor.
Courtyard house on three
floors with *īwān* and *konak* like
front-house with *sofa* and
franka. (*īwān* only in the
ground floor.)
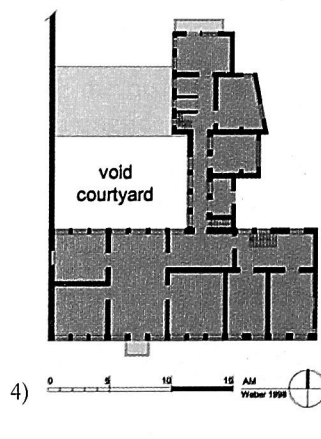
5) Municipality (right) – medi-
cal centre (left)

Built between 1310/1892-93
and 1311/1893-94, first floor of
the medical centre in 1918, ca-
dastral-no: VIII/3-1030, first
floor. Administration buildings
from the municipality in man-
ner of a *konak* with a central
hall (*sofa*).
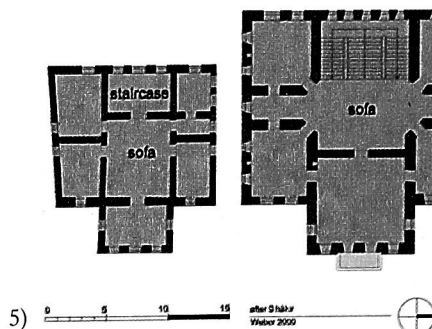
Fig. 23: Examples central hall buildings in Damascus (Weber)

Moroccan Urbanism:
A case study in colonial and post-colonial *métissage*

Diana Wylie

Segregation did not pressingly afflict Morocco's cities historically, nor does it to-day. To argue that spatial separation of 'races' during the era of the French pro-tectorate (1912-1956) and of social classes since independence (1956) has plagued Morocco's cities can even divert attention from urban problems, like the hous-ing shortage, that are truly significant. It also distorts the French legacy, making the protectorate wrongly identical to the quite different settler regimes in neighboring Algeria, or anywhere colonists used the law to exclude local people from the material benefits of modernity like paved roads, street lights, and a liv-ing wage. For reasons of historical accuracy, then, as well as of redirecting atten-tion to more pressing issues, this essay will mainly address the history of segrega-tion in Rabat, the capital city of modern Morocco.

Each era of Rabat's history has left behind a distinct quarter. They run in a continuous line south along the Atlantic Ocean, revealing the fits and starts in which the city grew. The fact that the different eras built alongside one another rather than atop, tells us the city was spared devastating wars of conquest. If we walk through its quarters in chronological order, we learn the following history. In the twelfth century a North African sultan founded Rabat as a *ribat* (monas-tery-citadel) "aimed against" a non-Muslim Berber tribe.[1] Perched on a rocky promontory where the Bouregreg River flows into the Atlantic, this military camp, today called the Oudayah, presented the Almohad dynasty with an ideal pad for launching the Muslim re-conquest of Spain,[2] (see fig. 1[3]).

When the scheme failed, early Rabat disappeared. Only a few monuments—an enormous unfinished mosque, some ornamental gates, an extensive wall— remained to mark the grand intentions of its sultan. Four hundred years later the city revived with the influx of a new wave of Muslim and Jewish refugees mainly from south-western Spain. Because their numbers overwhelmed the walled *ribat*, they settled on nearby land, establishing a medina whose orderly layout reflects their Spanish ideas about urban space. The grid-like pattern of streets in the *me-*

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[1] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, quoted by Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat, Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1980, 53.

[2] A Berber dynasty ruled the Almohad state which extended from North Africa to southern Spain from 1147-1269. Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987, 87-103.

[3] Taken from Alain Lavaud, ed., *Rabat-Salé, Années 20, Recits de Voyage*, Casablanca: Croisée des chemins, 1998, 95.

dina may also reflect the necessity of settling large numbers of people all at once, as well as the ease of doing so on a flat piece of land (see fig. 2).

When the French arrived to govern in 1912, they devoted themselves to preserving the two earlier quarters and to adding an aesthetically pleasing modern city of avenues and villas. (They began building Centre Ville and nearby Hassan in the teens and twenties, and the southerly suburbs of Océan, Les Orangers, and Diour Jamaa in the twenties and thirties.) Since independence in 1956, the suburbs farthest south and east have developed, housing a perhaps surprising amalgam of the new rich and middle classes and the poor, sometimes as neighbors.

These eight centuries of Rabat's history reveal many other forms of segregation than one based on race or class. There is, for example, the sharp distinction drawn between city dwellers and 'tribes' or folk from the countryside who, until this century, would build mud and thatched houses or erect tents mainly on the outskirts of town as they sought temporary refuge from drought. (City and countryside lived in uneasy relation to one another, as can be seen from the walls by which the sultan hoped to regulate entry and residence in the two old towns; each side feared pillaging by the other, though the sultan dignified his quest for rural income by calling it taxation.) There was also religious segregation. From the early nineteenth century, part of the medina was reserved exclusively for Jews. Similarly, prior to the protectorate, the sultan allowed Europeans to live and work on only one short street, Rue des Consuls, at the edge of the medina. In addition, there was the segregation of men from women, apparent in the careful division of public from private space. Forms of segregation did indeed exist in pre-colonial Morocco as people tried to ensure the security of their property and lives, and to control their social relations.

And yet, in terms of wealth, the integrated neighborhood was a hallmark of this pre-capitalist society. Clients lived in clusters around wealthy and powerful men. Neighborhoods were physically defined by semi-private, narrow streets dominated by one large house. Bunched around it, often on dead-end streets called impasses or derbs, were the homes of families which depended on the largesse coming from that one favored house.[4]

Segregation during the French Protectorate

The urban poor first lived separately from the better-off when the port of Casablanca was developed just prior to 1912. Large numbers of unskilled laborers were drawn from the countryside to transform a sleepy Atlantic fishing village into the commercial powerhouse of the region. These laborers lived in shanties beside their work sites, a pattern that would characterize worker housing throughout the decades of urban development the French would soon initiate.

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[4] Said Mouline and Serge Santelli, "Rabat," *Mimar* 22 (Oct.-Dec. 1986), 82-96.

The numbers of men needed to build the new cities were simply greater than the housing units in the old medinas. This *de facto* spatial segregation, an epiphenomenon of rapid development, was not emblematic of French urban policy. Rather, French urbanism was explicitly animated by two prideful energetic drives—to modernize and to preserve.[5]

Morocco presented French administrators with a wonderfully free laboratory for implementing the precepts of modern city planning: healthy and orderly social spaces achieved by regulating the height, color, style, and construction of buildings; the integration of housing, work, and recreation within grids linked by traffic arteries.[6] They were less constrained than they were in France by local constituencies and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures.[7] In Morocco they could express their cultural chauvinism in a futuristic rather than a backward-looking way.[8] The French, like other recently airborne powers in the 1920s, were fond of photographing their territories from the air. It was a grand and self-consciously modern thing to do. Léandre Vaillat, writing in 1931 about the "French face of Morocco," noted that the view from a cockpit articulated the landscape, making it legible.[9] The pictures these airborne aesthetes took of Rabat reveal much to be proud of: Lyautey's Moorish residence set in gardens like those at Versailles (compare fig. 3); broad palm-lined avenues strategically linking key monuments of the old and new orders; an orderly new central market at the corner of the medina; a hotel—once the most beautiful in Africa—built to frame the twelfth century Hassan minaret; a quarter nearby, named in honor of Hassan, devoted entirely to modern villas; harmonious blocks containing most of the offices that allow a modern government to function; and a white confection of a cathedral set on a rise above the equally cake-like railway station (fig. 4). These buildings, and their relation to one another, set Rabat apart from other French cities of the time, even within France, because Rabat's administrators were able to exercise tight control over their style and location. Morocco's early planners made planning decisions on the spot without having to vet them with officials in France, and this liberty allowed them to experiment with modern styles and mix them with what they found most appealing in local architecture.

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[5] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1991, chapter 3.

[6] The latter definition was part of the manifesto of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) after 1933; this year also marks Le Corbusier's shift toward planning classless cities, after having relegated the working classes to the peripheries of his earlier urban plans. James Holston, *The Modernist City, an Anthropological Critique of Brasilia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1989, chapters 2-3.

[7] Casablanca's planning, however, was famously influenced during the late colonial period by speculators. See Michel Ecochard, *Casablanca, le Roman d'une Ville*, Paris: Editions de Paris 1955.

[8] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern*, Cambridge: MIT Press 1989, chapter 9.

[9] Léandre Vaillat, *Le Visage Francais du Maroc*, Paris: Horizons de France 1931, 28.

The early administrators—most notably the first Resident General Hubert Ly-
autey and his first head of urbanism, Henri Prost—were clearly enchanted with
the styles Andalusian refugees had imported in the early 1600s: the plaster
scrollwork and calligraphy, the tiled columns and walls (*zellij*), wooden screens
(*musharabiya*), and keyhole portals. They were delighted, too, by the other im-
perial cities of the Protectorate. In Marrakech where the hot breath of the Sahara
is palpable, Prost duplicated the pink walls of the medina in the new city. Even
in politicized and restive Fez, French love for the grandeur of Morocco's past is
evident in photographs and paintings documenting and often idealizing the ma-
terial culture in this greatest capital of the old regime. Trying to preserve its ves-
tiges became a matter of policy, one sometimes justified by the need to develop
a lucrative tourist industry (see fig. 5).[10]

Colonial administrators were not shy about using the words 'beauty' or 'aes-
thetic' in their bureaucratic communications. One way of achieving this aes-
thetic pleasure was to plan the city so that one discovered its beauties gradually,
rather than being forced to confront them by militaristic street design.[11] Stylistic
mixture (*métissage*) was another form of homage to the past. It existed for as long
as the French were in Morocco, before and after World War Two, when the archi-
tectural profession began to include Moroccans. In the late 1940s Moroccan ar-
chitectural clerks were given the right to enter the profession based on their ex-
perience, even though they hadn't received formal degrees.[12]

Some scholars have downplayed the French fascination with stylistic *métissage*,
instead emphasizing the themes of exploitation and segregation. Subtitling her
1980 history of Rabat "Urban Apartheid in Morocco," Janet Abu-Lughod argued
that Lyautey "created a system of cultural and religious apartheid" by laying down
a *cordon sanitaire*, for military reasons, between Moroccan and European quar-
ters.[13] She accused the French of having "expropriated [land] from the Moroccan
sacred and secular domains for the subsidized use of newcomers" while Moroc-
cans were confined in the neglected oldest cities. The modern city would grow to
encircle the medina, preventing its expansion. The French, she wrote, pre-empted
the best farming land so that refugees from these acts of enclosure were forced to
move to town where no housing was provided for them and where they were
"eventually forced to the outskirts of the *ville nouvelle*, into *bidonvilles*." Rabat, she

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10 Stacy Holden, "Modernizing a Moroccan Medina: Commercial and Technological Innova-
    tions at the Workplace of Millers and Butchers in Fez, 1878-1937," Ph.D. dissertation, Bos-
    ton University, 2005.
11 Lyautey explicitly wanted to avoid the city planning mistakes committed in Algeria which
    he associated with, in the words of Paul Rabinow, "the values of the European colony, its
    racism, insularity, and rapaciousness." Paul Rabinow, *French Modern*, 289.
12 Prosper Ricard (Directeur honoraire des Arts indigènes du Maroc Moderne), "Le Premier
    Architecte Musulman du Maroc Moderne," 1947, Fonds Ricard, #216, Beaux Arts Archi-
    ves, Musée des Oudayah, Rabat.
13 Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*, 142, 157.

concluded, was a "spatial projection of a caste system that had solidified out of the political and economic conditions of colonial development."[14]

While Abu-Lughod is correct that the French expropriated Muslim land and subsidized developments in the new town with Muslim taxes, while failing to provide the medina with modern services like electricity, she otherwise character- ized French urban policy far too harshly.[15] It was neither the intent nor the achievement of protectorate administrators to set up a militarized system of legal apartheid. There was no *cordon sanitaire*. In Rabat, as early as 1914, a 250-meter wide band between the *medina* and the new city, reserved as a zone of protection after serious trouble had occurred in Fez, was considered "inutile" because "*Les indigènes* [de Rabat] *dont on pouvait redouter les attaques, conscients de leur impuissance devant notre force et séduits par les bienfaits de notre administration, ont cessé d'être à cra- indre.*"[16] The administration agreed, noting that the commercial development of the buffer zone would draw traders out of the medina without obliging them to lose their clientèle in either the old or the new cities. Even in the Protectorate's earliest years there was no sign of official opposition to, in this case, commercial *métissage*.

While the growth of the new town did inhibit the expansion of the medina, laws did not exist to keep Muslims out of the areas where Europeans lived. French urbanists insisted there was to be no segregation for its own sake; they considered a "contemptuous attitude toward the native city" to be an English trait, designed for police intelligence.[17] Lyautey protested that he had not in- tended to segregate the city. When he tried, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to discourage Europeans from living in the casbah of the Oudayah, he had been concerned that they would not respect the quarter's harmonies and its traditions. He swore that his goal was to build a new town, not a European town, one that would be open to indigenous peoples and to Muslim traders. The *métissage* of cultures began mainly for economic reasons. The high cost of city center land and the high interest rate on loans ensured that the medina became over- crowded. In the 1940s, when they could afford to move, middle-class Muslims did indeed begin buying land and houses in the two spacious, new quarters (Océan, Les Orangers) closest to the medina.

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[14]   Ibid., 151, 214.

[15]   Based on reading the Procès Verbaux of the Municipal Commission up to 1925, William Hoisington notes that water and electricity, due to their expense and the high cost of bor- rowing money, were the two issues that most bedeviled city government. The municipal commission was made up of selected civil servants from the French administration and Muslim notables nominated by the Resident and appointed by the Sultan's chief minister to one year terms; the commission's task was to advise the Director of Municipal Services. William Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*, London: St Martin's Press 1995, chapter 6.

[16]   N.D. letter circa 15 June, 1914, "Petitions de Propriétaires Zoniers de Rabat," Bibliothèque Générale et Archives [BGA], Rabat.

[17]   Urbanist Guillaume de Tarde, quoted by Rabinow, *French Modern*, 294.

When the *medina* became crammed full of multiple migrants sharing single rooms, new arrivals had to camp on unoccupied ground. The speed of their rural exodus far surpassed the same phenomenon in France; the rate of urbanization between 1920 and 1950 in Morocco equaled what had occurred in France over the course of a century and a half. Abu-Lughod accuses the French of refusing to deal with shantytowns before 1947. It is true that several French observers—most importantly, Prost—thought the best way to deal with shanties was to plant a screen of ficus trees so that they wouldn't have to be seen; others thought the 'Pacha' should be asked to remove them.[18] Many other French voices, official and unofficial, did accept French responsibility for the problem. In the late 1920s, for example, a former tannery located near the ocean was developed to re-house squatters. French official concern grew. In 1935, the Resident General (effectively the governor) put "*au premier plan des lacunes de notre pénétration au Maroc les logements indigènes, c'est-à-dire le remplacement des 'bidonvilles' par de saines agglomérations.*" The first step was to make available large tracts of land furnished with roads, water, and drains, where migrants' tents could be replaced in stages by more permanent housing.[19] Rabat's chief engineer severely criticized blueprints for a low-cost housing project in 1937, saying the design provided no protection against humidity, was uneconomical. [20] Clearly animated by a concern for decency and perhaps even a belief in equality, the official also complained that the plans reflected lower artistic standards than would be acceptable to Europeans.

French policy was indeed to move shantytowns from the center of town to peripheral locations, justifying the move for hygienic and aesthetic reasons, but they did not thereafter turn a blind eye to them, as Abu-Lughod suggested.[21] Construction of new housing had stopped during the Second World War, but after the war it resumed with unprecedented energy. The increasingly articulate and demanding movement for independence spurred the efforts to "build, build quickly, build for the greatest number." Under the leadership of the new director for city planning, Michel Ecochard, who devised this slogan, new housing schemes were built in Rabat on the site of the former tannery (Douar Debbagh, grandly renamed Yaʿqūb al -Manṣūr after the medieval sultan) and Casablanca (Ain Chock).

Because these estates were meant to house large numbers of poorer people, they were necessarily separate from the better-off, but segregation was manifestly not the reason for their construction. What is striking about these developments, especially when they are compared with similar plans devised in South Africa

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[18] "Les Nouveaux 'Plans Prost' pour l'Aménagement de Rabat," *La Vigie Marocaine*, 13 June, 1932.

[19] According to A. Laforgue (president of the Association of Moroccan Architects), "Association des Architects du Maroc," *Realisations*, Oct., 1935.

[20] L'Ingénieur en Chef de la Circonscription du Nord to the Director of Public Works, 16 Sept., 1937, A 1641, BGA.

[21] Abu-Lughod, *Rabat*, 212.

also in the 1950s, is the low level of segregationist sentiment and the high level of articulated concern for the residents' well-being. Shortage of money obliged the construction of eight-meter square housing frames (see fig. 6), but planners took care to provide "*unité de voisinage*" via schools, mosques, nurseries, sports grounds, auditoriums and shops, that is, to create urban spaces where families, as opposed to male migrants, would live. The dignity of the workers was to be safeguarded by including them in discussions of the housing problem and by ensuring that their lodging was not linked to the workplace. For convenience they would live near industrial sites, but with direct access to the city center.

It is obvious that these plans for the 1950s derived in part from the colonizers' need to justify their enterprise just prior to leaving it. And yet the rhetoric glorifying a long history of *métissage* did not exist in isolation from deeds. At the same time as it published self-justifying articles praising the union of the French mind and Moroccan art, the protectorate government joined with important banks to set up a company—Compagnie Immobilière Franco-Marocaine—to build middle class and laborers' houses, and announced the construction of even more housing units just a short bus ride from the grand avenues at the heart of Lyautey and Prost's "city in a garden."

Independent Morocco

An airborne survey of developments in Rabat since 1956 would reveal the city sprawling ever closer to Casablanca, and housing styles evolving away from the courtyard-centered plan of pre-colonial times. Stylistic *métissage* characterizes the royal palace in Rabat and even the royal mausoleum (fig. 7), the latter designed by a Vietnamese architect.

Most international style villas have been built on the outskirts of the city. Their many windows, including on exterior walls, let the sun shine into rooms that are now functionally specialized. Less prosperous but upwardly mobile people have built several additional floors onto the eight-meter square frames of the 1950s; they often rent out the new floors and rooms to people who are less well off than they, indicating yet another way in which the integration of social classes still takes place, even within the walls of one home. Newcomers to town increasingly decorate their facades with colors and tiles, asserting their urbanity in the face of the old urban elite who steadfastly maintain subdued and inscrutable facades (see fig. 8).[22]

Concrete walls, locally called 'walls of shame', have been built around the bidonvilles and the dwellings have been numbered in an effort to control their spread. For the most part, though, the city has developed along lines laid down

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[22] Clifford Geertz, "Toutes Directions: Reading the Signs in an Urban Sprawl," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 21 (1989), 291-306.

during the protectorate period. Segregation by class exists to a limited extent but is no more pronounced than during the colonial period. The most expensive neighborhood, Souissi, lies within walking distance of areas like Maadid or Takkadoum where former *bidonvillois*, among others, have built '*habitats clandestins*'. It is possible to find villas even within Maadid, undoubtedly because land is cheaper there (see fig. 9).

The people who build '*habitats clandestins*' (unregulated housing) are taking highly enterprising initiatives, and the state is obliged to respond. They buy land, usually from an old wealthy family, like 'Hajja's', selling off its orchards, hire an unlicensed builder to erect a concrete structure, and then organize to build a mosque and a nursery school (see fig. 10).

If these institutions are in evidence, the state is less likely to try to tear down the settlement and more likely to start providing essential aspects of modern infrastructure like water, sewage, and electricity, or so they calculate. Urban riots in other cities have similarly provoked state action. In Tetouan in 1984, for example, after the Dersa *bidonville* erupted in violence, the Ministry of Housing began to "sell" blueprints, documents that may eventually constitute ownership of the land.[23]

The very poor have become itinerant. According to a study by Taoufik Agoumy, when people have no savings, they cannot afford to buy land or the blueprints offered to them by the state.[24] When asked to pay cash for them, they have to dismantle their shanties and move on, to be replaced by a new socioprofessional category, that is, middle and lower-middle class people who have earned money in the civil service, the military, or by working overseas. Some cities have drawn more of these poor than others, partly as a result of whether or not the local municipal government tightly controls unregulated housing. Salé, for example, across the river from Rabat, has drawn far more refugees from *bidonvilles* elsewhere in Morocco than has Rabat.[25] This fact suggests that any study of the extent of segregation in contemporary Moroccan cities has to take into account government policies in particular cities.

While segregation is not the principle ordering urban development in contemporary Morocco, there is no question that the country's political and economic systems are oligarchic. Urban development has not been driven by egalitarian principles. Two towering figures of twentieth century architecture are notable for their failure to influence Moroccan city planning. First, no one appears

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23 People being resettled from shanties pay the local authorities to obtain both a draftman's sketch of their new housing and the right to build on an assigned plot, though the sketch is not in itself a legal title to property. Taoufik Agoumy, personal communication, 10 July, 2001.

24 Taoufik Ahmed Agoumy, "Housing the Urban Poor of Taza, Morocco, and the Impact of the Relocation Process," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1994.

25 In 1982 Rabat had 49,000 'clandestine' people out of a total of 550,000, while Salé had 140,000 or 44.6% of its 314,000 population living in informal housing. Ibid., 196.

to have modeled housing developments on Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy's plans for the poor, based on adaptations of traditional Middle Eastern architecture, because, it is said, there was no money to be made in creating them and the spirit of nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s made specifically Moroccan architecture—green tile roofs, *zellij* decorations, *salons marocains*—seem more attractive then generic Middle Eastern design.[26] Secondly, Le Corbusier's efforts to end architecture as 'object' and to use it to create a classless society did not resonate at all with Moroccan society. In the mid-1970s, as increased government spending was helping to create for the first time a middle class, there was no market for such ideas.

There are two forms of segregation in contemporary Morocco that appear more significant than class-based residential segregation. The first concerns the impact of the automobile. Some mosques seem to draw exclusively well-heeled worshippers because they are located in areas that can be reached conveniently only by private cars. The elaborate new mosque of Lalla Soukaina in Rabat, for example, was built where very few people could walk to it; the mosques built in the clandestine settlements at Maadid in all probability rarely see a wealthy person because these self-built areas are so densely built that they cannot be penetrated by an automobile. Will the binding force of communal worship be weakened by effective class segregation? The second form of segregation concerns taxation. Non-payment of taxes by the rich means that common services, including the care of public space, are paid for disproportionately by the poor, through sales taxes. Will these new 'segregationist' developments—one vehicular, the other economic—give rise to an increasing sense of hopelessness among the poor, fraying the social bonds that have prevented formal or informal spatial segregation from being a significant force in Rabati life?

Conclusion

It is important to acknowledge the diversity of the colonial experience in Africa so that segregation is not seen to be the model for, or scourge of, all colonial urban development. Where segregation did indeed exist, it may not have been caused by the same reasons causing it elsewhere; the Moroccan case suggests that concerns about hygiene may, as elsewhere, have influenced city planning, but there is little evidence of labor control being a major motive force. The French for a long time resisted imagining that the Moroccan people, whose culture was to be so carefully preserved along with the finest of their artifacts, were interested in adopting some of the comforts and signs of modernity, like lawns or even

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[26] Said Mouline, personal communication, 8 June, 2000. Fathy's developments in Egypt have often been modernized in ways that transgress their designer's purpose. Susan Sachs, "Honoring a Visionary If Not his Vision," *New York Times*, 4 April, 2000, E1-2.

high rise buildings, and therefore they were presumed to be unwilling to live outside the medina. This assumption, characteristic of early planners like Lyautey or Prost, reveals the power of the idea of cultural essence, rather than the desire to be separate for racist or instrumental reasons. And so, early Protectorate officials bent over backwards not to cause affront by transgressing the local divisions between public and private, unprepared for the readiness with which Moroccans would embrace the chance to have, for example, windows.

The Moroccan case also suggests the importance of local culture in mitigating some of the fears that give rise to segregation based on class. The relatively low level of crime against property in independent Morocco has made it possible for rich and poor to live near one another, without the former fearing the depredations of the latter. The binding force of Islam and the relative intactness of family life probably lie behind this low crime rate, helping to ensure that segregation would be paid slight attention in Moroccan city planning. It is an open question how long the tradition of social *métissage* will last before the 'haves' start wanting to live at a greater and more secure distance from the have-nots.

Today urban Morocco is quite literally a construction site, as a formal and informal housing boom continues, partly in response to a drought that pushes people to town. They come at such a rate that there is hardly a map depicting accurately where people actually live. Providing services to these areas is the most pressing challenge facing contemporary Morocco, for the time being greater than the possibly looming crisis of segregation.

Acknowledgements

Fig. 1: The Oudayah seen from Sale, circa 1920s (Lavaud, p. 95)

Fig. 2: Street and mosque of the Chorfas (Lavaud, p. 56)

Fig. 3: Résidence-Générale (foreground), Rabat, 1920s (Vaillat, p. 30)

Fig. 4: Rabat Railway Station, 1920s (Vaillat, p. 30)
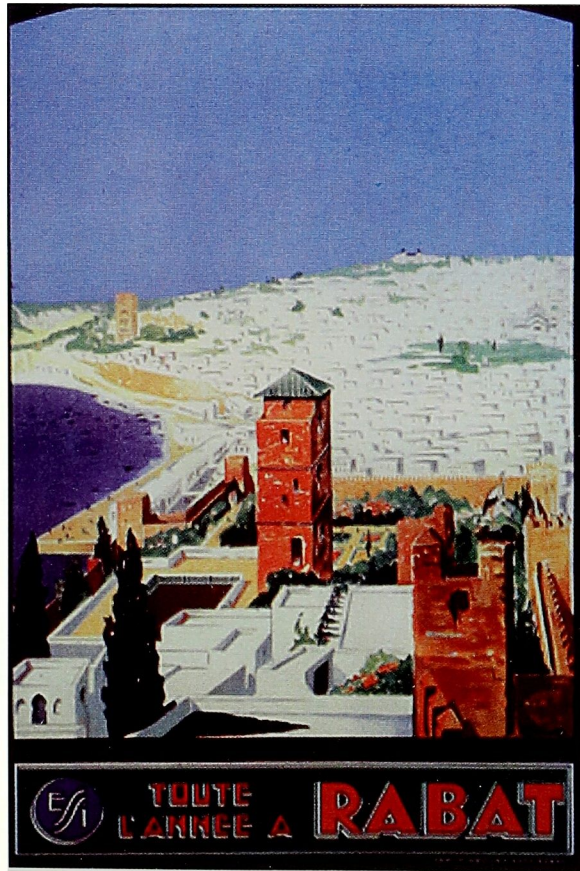
Fig. 5: Tourist Poster, 1931 (created by J. Malinard)

Fig. 6: *Trame Sanitaire*, Ain Chock, Casablanca

Fig. 7: Mausoleum of Muhammad V, Rabat, to the right

Fig. 8: Ain Chock, Casablanca

Fig. 9: Hajja, Rabat, 2000

Fig. 10: Douar Doum, Rabat, 2000

Typologie et mutations des quartiers de commerce traditionnel dans les villes de la Méditerranée Orientale[*]

Alexandra Yerolympos

Agora (ΑΓΟΡΑ) En grec moderne: lieu de marché. En grec ancien (du verbe ageirein -ΑΓΕΙΡΕΙΝ- se rassembler): Lieu public situé dans le centre de la ville où les citoyens se rendaient pour échanger leurs opinions concernant les affaires publiques et privées.

Le type ordinaire est un espace dégagé, de forme plus ou moins régulière, bordé d'un double rang de colonnes, au fond desquelles sont disposés des locaux de petites dimensions destinés à diverses affectations.

Selon R. Martin[1] *"L'agora ... matérialise dans le cadre urbain les fonctions et la conscience politique de la communauté [..] Sa fonction commerciale, plus tardive, devient envahissante à partir de l'époque classique; elle éclipse même les fonctions politiques et religieuses".*

Introduction

Agora, forum et *bazar, basilique* et *bezesten, kaisariya* et *tcharchi, khan* et *stoa* sont des mots employés depuis l'Antiquité et jusqu'à notre époque, pour indiquer les édifices et les espaces urbains qui ont reçu et abrité dans la longue durée historique le fonctionnement du commerce. Les formes architecturales et urbaines, les usages, les mots, relèvent de plusieurs civilisations -hellénistique et romaine, byzantine, arabe, ottomane...- qui ont coexisté ou se sont succédées dans les pays du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée.

Le présent exposé se situe au sein d'un travail plus opérationnel, lequel, à partir d'une étude de cas de quelques villes grecques, voudrait essayer de suivre l'évolution des lieux de marché et tracer leurs caractères d'origine et leurs transformations successives. Le but serait de reconnaître dans le fonctionnement et la présence 'physique' actuelle de ces lieux, les valeurs historiques, urbaines et ar-

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[*] Une première version de ce travail a été publiée dans le livre *Petites et Grandes Villes du Bassin Méditerranéen. Etudes Autour de l'Œuvre d'Etienne Dalmasso,* [Rome]: Ecole Française de Rome 1998.

[1] V. les travaux de Roland Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora Grecque : Études d'Histoire et d'Architecture Urbaines,* Paris: De Boccard 1952 et *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce Antique*, Paris: Picard 1956, 32 et 268-275.

chitecturales incorporées dans un patrimoine existant, afin de l'inscrire dans les politiques de sauvegarde et de restauration comme un héritage pluriculturel précieux.

L'étude étymologique des mots -grecs, latins, arabes, turcs, slaves- et des diverses appellations des lieux et locaux du commerce pourrait démontrer d'intéressants déplacements de significations à travers les différentes réalités culturelles qui se sont succédées dans cette région géographique. En même temps les images qui nous parviennent (dessins d'archéologues, récits de voyageurs, analyses d'architectes, formes et types urbains existants) indiquent plutôt l'échange et la continuité interculturelle que les coupures. Elles vérifient surtout le fait que le marché est le lieu où les divers cloisonnements sociaux, ethniques, confessionnels, etc. régressent et des sociabilités peuvent se déployer. Il s'agit d'un sujet vaste et fascinant qui mérite une étude approfondie, bien au-delà des brefs commentaires du présent exposé.

Les cas étudiés : Thessalonique et villes moyennes en Grèce du Nord

Cavala: Ville côtière, fortifiée, marché petit, situé extra-muros. L'enceinte a été reconstruite afin d'inclure le marché dans la ville au cours du XVIe siècle. Extension spectaculaire du marché et de la ville après l'époque des Réformes ottomanes.

Drama: Ville continentale, non-fortifiée, marché traditionnel à côté de la rivière. Capitale du sandjak en déclin après 1880. En 1930, un nouveau marché reproduit l'ancienne typologie, construit à côté du vieux, à la place du bazar en plein air. Les deux marchés coexistent toujours.

Comotini: Ville continentale, non-fortifiée. Le marché traditionnel à côté de la rivière a du être reconstruit en 1867 après incendie. Très vivant aujourd'hui.

Serrès: Ville continentale, non-fortifiée, centre commercial d'un grand hinterland. Quartiers de marché en partie couverts, reconstruits après incendie en 1849 (fig. 1). La ville y compris les marchés a été de nouveau détruite en 1913, incendiée par l'armée bulgare pendant les guerres balkaniques. Marché reconstruit entre 1920 et 1930 sur plan qui modernise l'ancienne typologie, très vivant aujourd'hui (fig. 2).

Jannina: Grand centre artisanal à l'intérieur de la Grèce Occidentale (Epire). Marché médiéval incendié en 1820, reconstruit, et incendié de nouveau en 1869 par un gouverneur soucieux d'innover! Reconstruction et extension planifiée (fig. 3). Toujours très vivant.

Xanthi: Centre du commerce de tabac. Marché traditionnel à côté d'une impressionnante structure d'accueil de visiteurs (au début du XXe s. la ville, avec environ 20.000 habitants, possédait plus de 50 khans.... Le quartier du marché a subi des mutations importantes et a presque disparu avec la plupart des khans.

Kozani, Veria et Florina ne gardent plus que quelques îlots de leur *tcharchi*.

Edessa et Djumayia: Le vieux marché est remplacé par un *tcharchi* 'moderne', construit après les années 1920, qui modernise l'ancienne typologie (fig. 4).

Thessaloniki (principale métropole balkanique à la fin de l'époque ottomane): La grande étendue de ses marchés (près de 15% de la surface de la ville intra-muros) a été partiellement modernisée entre les années 1850 et 1900, grâce aux innombrables incendies. En même temps des opérations d'urbanisme entreprises par les autorités ottomanes à partir de 1870, ont permis la constitution d'un centre d'affaires 'moderne' contigu au marché (fig. 5). Les deux centres coexistaient et se complétaient jusqu'en 1917, quand le tout a disparu lors d'un incendie. L'opération très sophistiquée de reconstruction confiée par les autorités grecques à l'urbaniste français Ernest Hébrard a réintroduit une nouvelle version de *tcharchi* à côté d'un centre civique moderne (fig. 6). Le vieux marché du port à l'extérieur de la muraille, datant du XIXe siècle et plusieurs fois ravagé par l'incendie, subsiste encore.

Esquisse d'évolution des lieux de marché

Dans les écrits, documents et comptes rendus officiels du début du XXe s., le qualificatif 'Tourkopolis' est souvent utilisé afin de décrire les villes des territoires récemment intégrés en Grèce. Ces villes présentaient en effet une double structure urbaine: les quartiers résidentiels réservés à chaque communauté ethno-confessionnelle se formaient par un tissu urbain carrément accidentel et sinueux, un paysage urbain où le bâti était de faible densité et l'espace non privatif peu fréquenté. Par contre la partie de la ville où se trouvait son centre économique et commercial était assez différente: elle présentait un grand découpage parcellaire, les constructions occupaient toute la parcelle, les îlots étaient petits et plutôt réguliers, et on était sûr de tomber sur une foule bruyante d'origine polyethnique.

Ainsi, au début du XXe siècle, le quartier commercial se diversifiait nettement, du point de vue fonctionnel et morphologique, du reste de la ville. En plus il était un lieu de contact entre communautés ethniques et confessionnelles, entre habitants de la ville et des campagnes, entre autochtones et étrangers. Au-delà de son rôle économique, il était un lieu de communication, de loisirs et de sociabilité.

Ce type de séparation spatiale entre les quartiers résidentiels et les marchés est commun dans les villes de l'Orient méditerranéen, aussi bien qu'en Afrique arabe.[2] Sa particularité par rapport aux structures urbaines occidentales était immédiatement perçue par les visiteurs, voyageurs de différentes époques, et également par des historiens contemporains. Pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple de chacun, l'officier de la marine française Gravier d' Ortières, visitant les villes de l'Empire ottoman à la fin du XVIIe siècle, notait au sujet des marchés:

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[2]   André Raymond, *Grandes Villes Arabes à l'Epoque Ottomane.* Paris: Sindbad 1985.

"Bazards, Bezestins, Marchés et Caravansérails[3]: En Turquie et en tout l'Orient ce n'est point l'usage que les marchands ayent des boutiques dans leurs maisons, où ils vendent leurs marchandises. Ils ont leurs boutiques dans les lieux publics qu'on appelle Bazards ou Bezestins. Ce sont de grands bastiments quarrés bastis de pierre de taille avec des portiques en dedans, comme sont les bourses dans plusieurs des grandes villes d'Europe... Il n' y a qu' une seule entrée dans le milieu d'une des faces... soigneusement gardée par le portier. [...] derière les portiques, de petites chambres voutées d'égale grandeur. La plupart sont á deux étages (voûtes: formes des dômes couvertes de plomb).
Dans les rues on ne voit point de boutiques ouvertes comme dans les villes d'Europe. [...] La place du Marché des Mestiers, appelée vulgairement le Bazard, est fort belle et chaque mestier y a sa rue [...] : les tailleurs, les faiseurs de turbans, les corroyeurs (cuir), cordonniers, brodeurs, selliers, faiseurs de brides ."[4]

Et l'historien bulgare N. Todorov, qui a longuement étudié la ville balkanique, conclut: "Lors de la détermination de l'architecture de la ville balkanique, on ne peut toujours pas jusqu'à présent considérer comme résolue la question de savoir quelle est l'origine de la séparation nette de la partie commerciale de la ville de celle des habitations, particularité qui est mise à profit le plus souvent pour définir les villes balkaniques comme appartenant au type oriental".[5]

Dans son livre sur la *Ville Préindustrielle*, G. Sjoberg avançait l'hypothèse que toutes les villes du monde, à l'Occident ou à l'Orient, autant qu'elles n'avaient pas accédé à l'industrialisation, appartenaient à un type commun qui relevait des ressemblances dues au même niveau de développement technologique. Même si Sjoberg a eu le mérite de souligner un paramètre important, il a passé sous silence d'autres facteurs également significatifs. En effet la ville orientale, qui embrasse un grand nombre de villes situées en Afrique du Nord, Moyen-Orient, Balkans, etc.) et qui s'étend sur une grande durée historique, depuis l'époque hellénistique romaine et jusqu'au XIXe siècle, présente des traits assez spécifiques qui la distinguent nettement des villes qui lui sont contemporaines en Europe occidentale ou centrale, du côté tant institutionnel et politique que de sa constitution ethnique et sociale, de sa structure 'physique', de son organisation formelle.

Sjoberg néglige le fait que les groupes ethnoconfessionnels ne constituaient que rarement l'élément de base de l'organisation de la ville occidentale médiévale. Il ne considère pas non plus comme essentielle la séparation résidence-travail qui apparaît là où existait la ségrégation des sexes comme dans la Grèce

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[3]   La signification et l'étymologie des mots sont discutées par la suite.

[4]   Gravier d'Ortières (1685-87), *Estat des places que les princes mahométans possèdent sur les costes de la mer Méditerranée et dont les plans ont esté levez par ordre du Roy, à la faveur de la visite des Echelles du Levant, que Sa Majesté a fait faire les années 1685, 1686 et 1687 avec les projets pour y faire descente et s'en rendre maistres.* (Levés d'ordre du sieur Gravier d'Ortières, commandant le vaisseau de Sa Majesté le Jason). *Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,* no 7176.

[5]   Nikolaï Todorov, "Quelques Aspects de la Structure Ethnique de la Ville Médiévale Balkanique", in *Actes du Colloque International de Civilisations Balkaniques,* Sinaja: UNESCO 1962.

antique et les pays islamiques. Les grandes structures commerciales des villes orientales médiévales n'attirent pas son attention, ni leur rôle particulier de lieu de contact intercommunautaire.[6]

Il est vrai que dans la bibliographie relative prévalait, il y a quelques années, la certitude que l'on pourrait construire une explication pertinente à partir des spécificités religieuses et, en l'occurrence, de la domination de l'Islam. Il paraît quand même que des approches plus nuancées se sont formées, lesquelles, sans négliger l'importance du facteur religion, soulignent surtout le fait indéniable que l'organisation de la vie matérielle introduit ses propres impératifs qui obligent les sociétés organisées à réadapter constamment leur références religieuses. Ceci est particulièrement valable quand il s'agit d'une fonction vitale pour la vie de toute ville, comme l'approvisionnement en produits alimentaires, l'échange et le commerce. Dans la longue durée de l'histoire, l'exemple le plus éloquent et le mieux étudié est fourni par l'étude magistrale de J. Sauvaget sur l'évolution de la ville d'Alep[7]. Dans ce travail fascinant, Sauvaget décrit les transformations successives de l'Agora hellénistique, en passant par la ville romaine et chrétienne-byzantine, en un ensemble monumental de marchés et de souk (fig. 7).

Ainsi la ville islamique s'inspire du lieu urbain sur lequel elle s'installe et forme ou transforme son espace suivant un dialogue entre formes matérielles existantes et conceptions idéologiques de l'espace qui lui sont propres. Plus tard, la ville ottomane émerge comme l'héritière des cultures et des civilisations qui ont prospéré dans les pays conquis, et également de la culture islamique médiévale.[8] Dans les Balkans et l'Asie Mineure, où la présence des Ottomans est ressentie depuis le XIVe siècle, il faudra attendre un siècle supplémentaire afin que les anciennes villes byzantines s'*"ottomanisen'*. L'Etat ottoman se stabilise géographiquement seulement à la fin du XVe siècle; c'est à partir de ce moment que les villes s'intègrent dans un territoire économique bien étendu, et qu'elles cessent de dépendre surtout de leur hinterland immédiat. Ainsi, elles acquièrent de nouvelles caractéristiques qu'elles vont développer jusqu'à la moitié du XIXe siècle.

Il est pourtant significatif de se rappeler que, si la ville de l'Antiquité grecque et romaine est surtout représentée par les lieux où se déroulaient ses fonctions politiques, ces dernières s'affaiblissent constamment; avec le temps les activités commerciales acquièrent une importance grandissante dans les grandes cités de

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[6]   Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present,* New York: Free Press 1966. V. les remarques critiques de Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City, Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987), 131-154.

[7]   Jean Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le Développement d'une Grande Ville Syrienne des Origines au Milieu du XIXe Siècle,* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 36), Paris: Geuthner 1941.

[8]   Kemal Karpat, "The Background of Ottoman Concept of City and Urbanity" in *Structure Sociale et Développement Culturel des Villes Sud-est Européennes et Adriatiques aux XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles,* Colloque AIESEE, Bucarest 1975.

l'Empire romain oriental et elles envahissent souvent les vieux centres civiques. Il paraît donc qu'il faudrait évoquer brièvement l'antécédent antique et byzantin afin de bien suivre l'évolution des marchés sous les Ottomans.

De l'Antiquité à l'époque byzantine

Il semble que l'existence de lieux réservés à chaque profession ou métier était la règle pendant l'époque byzantine. Le *Livre du Préfet*, écrit vers la fin du Xe siècle, donne des renseignements précieux sur la vie industrielle et commerciale et sur l'organisation des corporations en Constantinople et fixe les endroits où devaient travailler certaines d'entre elles[9]. La vie économique de la ville s'organisait autour de la Mésé, l'avenue principale de la capitale, laquelle, bordée de portiques, traversait la ville sur une longueur de quelques kilomètres.[10]

Selon Janin, les portiques qui se trouvaient le long de la Regia (partie de la Mésé à côté du forum de Constantin), semblent avoir attiré le commerce. C'est probablement là où se situait un grand bâtiment solidement construit, la Maison des Lampes (O ton lamptiron oikos). Selon l'auteur byzantin Cédrinos, on y vendait des étoffes de soie et celles qui étaient tissées en or, c'est-à-dire des marchandises précieuses. Le batiment était appelé ainsi parce qu'il restait éclairé toute la nuit, afin d'être mieux gardé.[11]

Dans une partie de la Mésé les portiques étaient doubles et couverts. Une loi *(Corpus juris civilis, VIII, 10, 13)* interdisait d'établir des cloisons en bois entre les colonnes pour ne pas diminuer la beauté de l'ensemble. C'était là où se concentrait le 'Bazar' de Constantinople.[12] Janin donne une vingtaine de portiques par le nom des métiers qu'ils abritaient.

Visitant les marchés de Constantinople byzantine au XIVe siècle, le grand voyageur arabe Ibn Batoutah notait: *"Ses marchés et ses rues sont larges et pavées de dalles de pierre. Les gens de chaque profession y occupent une place distincte, et qu'ils ne partagent pas avec ceux d'aucun autre métier. Chaque marché est pourvu de portes que l'on ferme pendant la nuit. La plupart des vendeurs et des artisans sont des femmes".*[13]

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[9] *Le Livre du Préfet ou l'Edit de l'Empereur Léon le Sage sur les Corporations à Constantinople* (traduction française du texte grec de Genève), édité et traduit par Jules Nicole, Genève et Bâle 1893, 1894.

[10] Mésé (en grec : Médiane) était aussi appelée Platea et Agora. Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, Paris : Institut Français d'Études Byzantines 1964, 88.

[11] Janin, *Constantinople*, 94; Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization,* trad. grecque, Athènes 1969, 209.

[12] Robert Guilland, "La Mésé ou Régia"in : *Actes du Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Bruxelles 1948, 171-182.

[13] Charles F. Defrémery et Beniamino R. Sanguinetti, eds., *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, tome II, 2. tirage, Paris : Société Asiatique 1877, 431.

Les règlements urbains de la même époque prévoient de façon minutieuse la part des dépenses d'entretien des portiques qui reviennent à chaque usager locataire.[14] Il est précisé que le coût des réparations des éléments porteurs des portiques revient à l'autorité publique. Le coût des murs extérieurs, de la façade et du plafond doit être partagé en parts égales entre les ateliers du rez-de-chaussée et les habitants du premier étage au-dessus de l'arcade. Les occupants des autres étages en sont dispensés, parce que, comme le règlement l'explique, avoir son logement au-dessus d'une arcade publique est plutôt une source de nuisances qu'un avantage. On reconnaît aisément dans ces dispositions la présence de la propriété horizontale, inconnue du droit romain, mais habituelle chez les Grecs et en Orient en général.[15]

A Thessalonique, l'agora antique (forum romain) semble avoir été transformée en lieu d'ateliers d'artisans dès l'époque de Théodose[16], tandis que la fonction politique a été transférée dans le palais byzantin. Le marché se faisait à plusieurs endroits, depuis l'ancien hippodrome et jusqu'au centre commercial actuel à côté du grand axe (cardo). Le byzantinologue O. Tafrali, qui a visité la ville au début du XXe siècle, note: *"Dans une partie du marché actuel, appelée 'tcharchi', nous avons examiné quelques vieilles boutiques, dont la construction nous a paru byzantine. Les murs extérieurs sont décorés d'une série d'arcades, tandis qu'à l'intérieur les pièces sont quadrangulaires, étroites et couvertes de calottes sphériques. Ce sont peut-être des derniers restes du marché contemporain de la conquête turque".*[17]

Les autres villes grecques avaient une étendue restreinte à la fin de l'époque byzantine pour pouvoir vraiment parler de lieux de commerce. Il semble pourtant que le transfert des activités commerciales de l'agora à quelques rues commerciales avait eu lieu assez tôt. A Corinthe, après l'invasion des Normands au XIIe siècle, comme à Athènes un peu plus tôt, l'ancienne agora a été occupée par des habitations (fig. 8).[18] Pour des raisons qui se rattachent vraisemblablement au relâchement du contrôle public et également à la diminution des activités économiques, les boutiques se sont installées à côté des résidences. On connaît toujours mal quelle était l'affectation des larges bâtisses découvertes à Athènes et à Thèbes,

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[14] Pour le traité du grand juriste de Thessalonique cf. Konstandinos G. Pitsakis, ed., *Konstantinou Harmenopoulou, L'Hexabible*, [1345, 2e Livre, titre 4, paragraphe 43], Athènes: Dodoni 1971, 125.

[15] On connaît également que pendant les premiers siècles de notre ère, la ville restait propriétaire des boutiques, ce qui lui assurait des revenus considérables. Aussi louait-elle le lieu sous les arcades pour les bancs des vendeurs ambulants. Cf. Arnold H.M. Jones, *The Greek City, from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford: Clarendon 1940, 215.

[16] George Velenis, *L'agora antique de Thessalonique*. Thessalonique 1993 (en grec). Il faut noter que la transformation de hauts lieux de la culture politique de l'Antiquité et la 'christianisation' des villes s'opèrent de façon souvent brutale pendant le règne de Théodose.

[17] Oreste Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris: Geuthner 1913, p. 147-148.

[18] Charalambos Bouras, "Maisons et Etablissements Urbains en Grèce Byzantine", in : *Etablissements Urbains en Grèce*. ed. O. Doumanis, Athènes : Architecture en Grèce, 1974 (en grec).

avec un grand nombre de chambres autour d'une cour carrée.[19] S'il semble que des marchés couverts n'existaient pas dans les villes provinciales, on peut supposer quand même que des logements pour les commerçants étrangers étaient prévus dans les lieux de marché, dont le seul exemple connu est celui de Corinthe.[20]

Ainsi à l'époque byzantine, l'on voit coexister deux modèles: l'activité artisanale et commerciale peut se faire dans un quartier à part, éventuellement sur le lieu de l'ancienne agora-forum, qui est même fermé pendant la nuit; ou elle peut s'installer dans de petites boutiques sur des rues bordées d'arcades, ayant des habitations aux étages supérieurs. Il apparaît donc qu'un type d'organisation spatiale, considéré en général comme 'islamique' n'est pas étranger, même s'il n'est pas exclusif, dans un territoire qui a longuement fonctionné au sein de l'Empire Byzantin.

Les avatars du modèle pendant l'époque ottomane

L'étude de plusieurs villes orientales permet aux chercheurs d'affirmer que, si les villes en question ne possèdent pas un centre unique et représentatif, par contre le quartier commercial est le véritable foyer de la vie urbaine.[21] A. Raymond souligne le rôle déterminant des fonctions économiques et commerciales dans les villes arabes à l'époque ottomane. Le centre économique constitue l'élément dominant en ce qui concerne l'organisation spatiale de la ville, tandis que la grande mosquée ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire, le siège du pouvoir politique est en général poussé vers l'extérieur de la ville et l'institution municipale n'existe pas.[22] Ainsi l'unité de la ville ottomane n'est pas civique mais fonctionnelle.[23] Le rôle unitaire est assumé par le quartier du marché lequel rassemble toutes les fonctions urbaines, de la plus noble à la plus profane. M. Cerasi précise que, dans la société urbaine polyethnique, les activités religieuses et culturelles ont un caractère assez particulier, qui est privé par rapport à l'ensemble de la ville, mais public pour la communauté ethnique et religieuse qui les exerce. Le marché est le seul endroit où les groupes ethnoconfessionnels coexistent et où se réalise la vie publique du corps social entier.

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[19] Charalambos Bouras, "City and Village. Urban Design and Architecture" in : *XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1981, 648-649; Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture.* New York: Abrams 1976, 57.

[20] Robert L. Scranton, "Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth" *Corinth*, 16 (1957), 57-61.

[21] Maurice Cerasi, *La Città del Levante. Civiltà Urbana e Architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei Secoli XVIII-XIX.* Milano : Jaca Book 1986.

[22] Raymond, *Villes Arabes*, 168-172.

[23] Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perspectives.* London: Variorum Reprints 1976, 146.

Le caractère du marché dans chaque ville se conforme aux particularités historiques et géomorphologiques, ainsi qu'aux tracés et bâtiments déjà sur place. Sa localisation et sa superficie dans l'espace urbain sont intimement associées à l'évolution spatiale de chaque ville ainsi qu'à son rôle économique particulier. Différents types d'évolution sont à considérer:

Un premier type est présent dans les grandes villes préexistantes à l'Empire ottoman, dont les structures commerciales étaient déjà formées et affirmées distinctement, comme à Constantinople, Thessalonique, Alep, etc. Des transformations sont apportées par les Ottomans, afin de répondre aux nouveaux besoins.

Un autre type d'évolution est observé dans les petites et moyennes villes préexistantes, qui sont appelées à jouer un rôle spécifique au sein de la nouvelle organisation du territoire ottoman. En s'étendant au-delà des murailles, elles englobent les lieux ouverts où se tenait le marché en plein air et on y construit des édifices pour abriter le commerce et l'artisanat. Bursa comme Andrinople, premières capitales ottomanes sur le territoire asiatique et européen, fournissent peut-être les plus célèbres exemples (fig. 9). Les deux villes possèdent une structure commerciale impressionnante, et elles sont dotées de plusieurs types de bâtiments commerciaux. D'autres villes comme Serrès, Jannina, Veria, Cavala, etc. illustrent bien ce processus d'édification de complexes de bâtiments à côté des portes de la ville. Ainsi le centre-ville se forme à l'extérieur de l'ancienne ville byzantine transformée en quartier résidentiel.

Un troisième type apparaît dans les villes créées *ex nihilo* ou refondées sur des ruines par les Ottomans dans des buts stratégiques, administratifs ou commerciaux, comme Sarajevo, et aussi Yenidje ou Larissa (Yenichehir). Dans ces cas, le quartier commercial devient le noyau de la nouvelle ville. Sarajevo, par exemple, se forme plutôt autour du grand complexe de khans (caravansérails), ateliers et boutiques qui sont construits sur la rive droite de la rivière depuis le milieu du XVe siècle,[24] et non pas sur la rive gauche où se trouvent le Saray (siège et résidence du gouverneur), la grande Mosquée et les bains (fig. 10).

Enfin, dans les villages et les bourgades, le marché se tient à côté des portes de l'enceinte, ou, en l'absence de cette dernière, à l'entrée principale de la ville. Les activités d'échange se font périodiquement (marchés hebdomadaires, petites foires, etc.) en plein air, sous les tentes ou dans des installations provisoires.

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[24] Un siècle plus tard, Gazi Husrev Bey marque la période d'or de la ville en y ajoutant un complexe impressionnant de marchés : Mosquée, un 'immense' Bezesten, des khans et caravanserays, des bains et des boutiques. L'exemple du Bey étant suivi par plusieurs hauts fonctionnaires et gens de fortune, la ville abrite au XVIIe s. 10 000 maisons et 1000 boutiques. Dusan Grabrijan et Juraj Neidhardt, *Arhitektura Bosne,* Sarajevo 1953.

Les typologies urbaines

L'observation d'Evliya Çelebi qui visite Sarajevo au XVIIe s. est éloquente: *"Le tcharchi (marché) est spacieux et il présente un plan régulier, très similaire aux marchés de Bursa, Istanbul et Alep!"*Ainsi, il s'avère qu'indépendamment de l'histoire particulière de chaque ville, une nouvelle uniformité émerge pendant l'époque ottomane. Dans la majorité des grandes villes, la régularité du tissu urbain dans les quartiers de marché témoigne de la persistance éventuelle de structures préexistantes à l'empire, comme également de l'effort de planification lié à l'intense activité des wakf en matière de construction de grands ensembles d'édifices pendant les premiers siècles de la domination ottomane. A partir du XVIIIe siècle, la construction devient plutôt anarchique et produit de petits groupes de cellules et non pas de grands bâtiments de type *bezesten*, marchés couverts, etc. La recherche de la régularité réapparaîtra après 1850 par l'intermédiaire des règlements d'urbanisme 'moderne'.

En général, les fonctions suivantes se trouvent dans le marché: ateliers d'artisans, commerce de divers produits, emmagasinage, accueil de visiteurs et chambres de jeunes apprentis célibataires. Elles demandent de très petits espaces construits, et la possibilité de s'étendre dans l'espace public. S'il y a spécialisation géographique des métiers (des rues par métier), il n'y a pas une véritable spécialisation dans les types du bâti. La petite cellule unitaire se compose et se multiplie le long des rues ouvertes ou couvertes de dômes, arcades, planches de bois, tentes ou treilles (ceps de vigne); ou bien autour d'une cour bordée d'arcades. Les divers services (argent, petits métiers, etc.) se font très souvent en plein air.

La présence du *bezesten* dans le marché est indice de l'importance commerciale de la ville[25]. Quand il existe, le *bezesten* constitue le centre du marché. A côté s'installent les khans (caravansérails) pour loger les commerçants, tandis que les membres des diverses spécialités artisanales installent leur commerce dans des boutiques construites autour du *bezesten*. Chaque métier occupe une rue entière ou un ensemble de rues, qui s'appelle aussi souk ou *tcharchi*; ceci devient possible puisque les boutiques sont construites en groupe en tant que waqf.

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[25]   Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600.* Worcester and London: The Trinity Press 1973, 143.

Villes dans les Balkan du Sud avec *bezesten*, selon Evliya Çelebi, 1660-1667		
Ville	*Nombre de foyers*	*Nombre de boutiques*
Andrinople		6700
Thessalonique	33060	4900
Scopje	10060	2000
Serrès	4000	2000
Jannina	4000	900
Larissa	4000	880
Veria	4000	600
Monastir	3000	900
Yenidje	1500	740
Sarajevo	10000	1000

Le mot *bezesten* (ou bedestan, beziztan, bezzazistan, etc.) provient du mot persan *bez:* étoffe ou *bezzaz*: marchand d' étoffes. Il indique un bâtiment solidement construit, avec quatre portes, où l'on gardait les marchandises précieuses. Chez les Persans, il indiquait une partie du marché et aussi un bâtiment spécial pour la vente de tissues. Selon M. Cézar,[26] il est passé aux Turcs par l'intermédiaire des Seldjuks. Pourtant, il existait, paraît-il, déjà au VIe siècle à Constantinople, sous la forme architecturale de la basilique.[27]

La basilique pourrait bien être considérée comme un type générateur d'édifice de caractère commercial, si l'on reste dans l'espace méditerranéen. *"La basilique romaine, ... depuis le IIe s. apr. J.-C.....rencontrée dans chaque ville romaine, n'était que la prolongation abritée de l'agora avoisinante. Lieu où le tribunal siégeait, où on parlait finances, on vendait des vêtements, on apprenait les dernières nouvelles, on étalait des marchandises....."*[28]

Khan et *Caravansérail*. Conçu initialement pour loger les voyageurs et leurs animaux, ainsi que pour garder les marchandises, ce type d'établissements a beaucoup évolué par la suite. Il se compose d'une cour carrée ou rectangulaire, avec des portiques et une arcade à l'étage sur laquelle donnent des cellules uni-

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[26]   Mustafa Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System,* Istanbul : Türkiye İş Bankası: 1983.

[27]   V. plus haut, la Maison des Lampes.

[28]   Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth : Penguin 1965; voir p. 53 de la traduction grecque. V. également les observations d'Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Paris: Vincent, Fréal & Cie 1954.

formes; le rez-de-chaussée est réservé aux animaux ou aux marchandises. Dans les villes plus grandes on en rencontre aussi bien à l'extérieur qu'à proximité des portes principales.

Le khan du marché remplit plusieurs fonctions: il est le lieu d'hébergement des voyageurs et d'entreposage des marchandises, de commerce de détail et de l'artisanat. En même temps son espace central libre accueille une multitude d'activités (transactions économiques, services et loisirs) et devient un lieu de convivialité par excellence.[29]

Dükkân et *mahzen* indiquent les cellules de boutiques et les lieux d'entreposage.[30] D'autres mots comme *Arasta* (ou *uzun tcharchi*) indiquent un long édifice unique, qui porte au milieu une galerie couverte avec des boutiques de part et d'autre.[31]

Les typologies urbaines se reflètent aussi sur les mots employés pour indiquer les lieux de marché. Dans les provinces centrales de l'Empire ottoman (Balkans et Asie Mineure), on rencontre surtout les mots *tcharchi* et *pazar*. Très peu fréquent est le mot *Kaisariya* et encore moins le *souk*, qui dominent dans les pays arabes et en Afrique du Nord.

Le *tcharchi (çarşı* en turc, *čaršija* en serbe et bulgare): dans la langue turque il paraît que le mot *çarşı* est utilisé pour indiquer les lieux commerciaux depuis le XIVe siècle, en même temps que *pazar* (ou bazar, en persan). Au début *pazar* prévalait, mais après la fin du XVIe siècle, çarşı l'a emporté et en même temps des nuances ont été apportées à leurs significations, *pazar* se limitant plus ou moins à indiquer les marchés se tenant en plein air.[32] On présume que *çarşı* provient du mot persan *Cihar Suk* (quatre rues), qui devient çarşı, pour indiquer au début (XIVe siècle) soit une rue bordée de deux rangées de boutiques, ouverte ou ayant une toiture, soit une place rectangulaire (ayant quatre côtés) avec des boutiques. Selon Ergin, le mot décrit le développement de l'activité commerciale sur les quatres rues autour du *"vieux bezesten qui existait depuis les Byzantins"*.[33]

Cette définition est reprise par Özdes,[34] par contre, elle est réfutée par Cezar qui attribue le mot aux Turcs, en rappelant que les Persans emploient en tout cas le mot Bazar. En ce qui concerne l'antécédent byzantin, Cezar ne dit rien.[35]

L'emploi du mot *čaršija* dans les langues slaves est intéressant. Le Serbe Vuk Karadzic, dans son Dictionnaire de 1818, donne en allemand la définition

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[29] Victor Bérard, *La Macédoine.* Paris: Calmann Levi 1896, 134-137.
[30] Cerasi, *La Città del Levante,* indique les liens entre les mots vénitiens leur correspondant et qui sont probablement de provenance arabe.
[31] Du mot persan *arastak*, qui signifie couvert.
[32] Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings,* 4-6.
[33] Osman N. Ergin, "Çarşı" in *İslam Ansiklopedisi.* İstanbul : Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1949, 360.
[34] Gündüz Özdeş, *Türk Çarşıları,* İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi : İstanbul 1954.
[35] Ce débat linguistique est assez révélateur des tendances récentes de l'historiographie turque.

"*marktplatz, forum*".[36] L'emploi de significations qui renvoient en même temps à deux réalités très éloignées historiquement -antiquité romaine et ville allemande médiévale- est indicatif de la difficulté de préciser le caractère de ce lieu et d'en offrir une définition pertinente.

Plus récemment, Dz. Celic propose un élargissement de la définition originale: "Le mot čaršija vient du mot car-su, qui peut être traduit comme quatre rues, ou quatre côtés d'un espace ouvert, ou lieu où se rassemblent des gens venus des quatre points du monde".[37] Ici le caractère convivial et polyethnique de l'activité commerciale est immédiatement mis en lumière.

V. Macura[38] étudie l'évolution du lieu commercial pendant le XIXe siècle et les débuts du XXe. Selon lui, plusieurs sources du XIXe s. indiquent par ce terme le centre-ville, sans exclure la présence de fonctions administratives, culturelles ou autres. Toutefois, au début du XIXe s., les bâtiments publics étaient pratiquement inexistants dans les villes serbes. Leur construction en dehors du *čaršija* à la fin du siècle marque plus ou moins la perte de l'importance du *čaršija* et l'émergence du centre civique moderne. Le même phénomène est remarqué en Bulgarie. Avec le déclin de l'artisanat, dont la crise s'est généralisée en 1885, le *čaršija* perdit une partie de ses fonctions, tandis qu'un nouveau centre s'est constitué aux environs des bâtiments administratifs.[39]

Chez les Serbes le *čaršija* est lié à la Pijaca, même s'il ne la contient pas. La Pijaca, espace libre sans forme précise, se trouvait durant le XIXe s. à côté du quartier artisanal et commercial et quelquefois même le divisait en deux parties (haute *čaršija* et basse *čaršija*). Ce mot d'origine italienne (piazza) est expliqué dans un document de 1824[40] "... *pazariste* c'est-à-dire *terziste (pijaca)*" Pazar, comme on l'a vu, indiquait après le XVIe s. les marchés ouverts.

T. Popovic,[41] qui étudie des contrats de vente ragusains, note que le mot *čaršija* indiquait également le quartier de Belgrade où les Ragusains vivaient et tenaient boutique. L'expression utilisée est *"ciarcia hoc est platea burghi Belgradi"* (à noter l'emploi du mot platea[42]). Popovic remarque que ces mêmes Ragusains n'employaient jamais ce terme pour désigner le centre commerçant d'une ville européenne ou chrétienne en général. Les Turcs non plus. Par exemple, au sujet de la ville de Ragusa (Dubrovnik) -très latinisée par rapport aux autres villes bal-

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[36]   Vuk Karadzic, *Srbski Rjecnik* [1818], Beograd 1966, p. 895

[37]   Dz. Celic, "Čaršija-Cetiri Toka Sretanja Prirode i Coveka", *Arhitektura Urbanizam*, 64-65 (1971) .

[38]   Vladimir Macura, *Čaršija i Gradski Centar.* Gradina i Svestlost, Nis i Kragujevac 1984.

[39]   Bernard Lory, *Le Sort de l'Héritage Ottoman en Bulgarie : l'Exemple des Villes Bulgares 1878-1900,* Istanbul: Isis 1985, 116.

[40]   Macura, *Čaršija*, 20.

[41]   T. Popovic, "La 'Carsi' Balkanique aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles", in *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XVe-XIXe siècles),* Belgrade, Paris : Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts 1991.

[42]   D'origine grecque, le mot latin *platea* signifie : rue dans la ville. *Platea* signifie place en grec moderne, et rue élargie en grec ancien.

kaniques- le voyageur turc du XVIIe s. Evliya Çelebi remarquait: *"il n'y a pas de bezesten et la place et le bazar sont petits par rapport à l'importance de la ville. Les artisans travaillent par milliers chez eux. Il y a même des femmes et des filles qui vendent sur le bazar. Dans ces pays cela n'a rien de honteux".*[43] En évitant soigneusement le mot *tcharchi,* il résume ainsi en quelques mots les différences qui existent entre villes occidentales et villes orientales concernant les lieux de commerce traditionnels.

Chez les Serbes, aussi bien qu'en Bulgarie le terme *čaršija* a emprunté également une connotation sociologique. Il est bien connu que chaque corporation professionnelle (esnaf) avait sa propre organisation et son propre chef. Les esnaf établis dans le *čaršija* formaient un groupe social distinct, avec un chef général. Souvent le *čaršija* réagissait en bloc (v. par exemple la révolte du *čaršija* de Kragujevac en 1819). En Bulgarie, durant les années d'essor de l'artisanat, le *čaršija* fut tout naturellement le creuset du renouveau national du peuple bulgare.[44] Aujourd'hui le mot *čaršija* est employé seulement comme métaphore qui renvoie à l'atmosphère particulière des milieux citadins serbes avant les temps modernes[45]. En grec, le mot *tcharchi* a disparu du parler quotidien, et reste seulement incorporé dans quelques rares appellations de lieux (qui sont toujours lieux d'activité commerciale).

Kaisariya: le mot *Kaisariya* a été employé en un premier temps seulement dans les anciennes provinces byzantines (Syrie, Palestine, quelques régions d' Afrique du Nord) et, plus tard, il a été répandu à l'Est et aussi jusqu'au Maroc et l'Espagne (Alkaysariya).Il paraît pourtant intéressant de considérer son étymologie, ainsi que les hypothèses quant à l'origine des édifices qu'il comprend. *Kaisariya* indique un large complexe de bâtiments publics, avec boutiques, ateliers, entrepôts, et fréquemment avec des chambres pour loger les voyageurs. Selon M. Streck,[46] Kaisariya se distinguait initialement du *sūq* seulement par son étendue dans plusieurs galeries couvertes autour d'une cour ouverte, le souk consistant d'une seule galerie. Le mot *"assez mystérieux de Qaïçâriya"*[47] était d'origine grec-

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[43] Les femmes fréquentaient les marchés, mais elles n'y travaillaient pas. Ainsi la présence des lieux appelés Karipazar, Genlilik, etc. (marché des femmes, marché de la jeune mariée, etc.). Un témoignage direct nous est apporté par la Britannique Lady Montagu, visitant le marché d'Andrinople en 1715: *"J'ai eu la curiosité d'aller voir les lieux d'échange, portant une robe de femme turque, ce qui semble être un déguisement efficace"* V. *The Complete letters of Lady Montagu,* 1717, 354-355. V. aussi Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings,* 6, qui cite les vers du poète Nesimi (1373-1417): *"The appearance of the beautiful women / Has intoxicated all the traders in the market and the bazar"* (çarsû et bazar).

[44] Lory, *Héritage Ottoman.*

[45] Z. Manevic, "Transformations des villes en Serbie au cours du 19e s." in : *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XVe-XIXe siècles).* Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Belgrade-Paris 1991, 216.

[46] M. Streck, "Kaisariya", in : *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* İstanbul : Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1955, 482-483.

[47] Selon George Marçais, "L'urbanisme musulman", in : *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Occident Musulman.* Alger: Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1957, 230.

que, une abréviation de Kaisaria Agora, indiquant le marché impérial (de Caesar) à l'époque romaine. H. Thiersch a démontré que l'antique cour carrée de l'agora, avec ou sans cellules tout autour, a inspiré la Kaisariya, qui servait à l'origine comme entrepôt de marchandises et a évolué plus tard en marché. Son nom impérial indique sans doute qu'elle était un établissement issu de l'initiative publique, tandis que, plus tard, dans le monde musulman elle provient de l'initiative privée. Thiersch pense que le mot a été emprunté au marché d'Alexandrie.[48] Dans son analyse du centre d'Alep, Sauvaget mentionne la Kaisariya qui se maintenait dans les lieux de l'ancienne agora hellénistique, en gardant sa fonction de marché, jusqu'au XIIe siècle. Il considère qu'elle *"correspond exactement à ce que l'Antiquité appelait une basilique, et comme la dénomination qui lui a été appliquée dérive à coup sûr de celle qu'avait reçue un marché par Caesar à Antioche, on peut considérer comme certain que l'Islam a, ici encore, adopté telle quelle une institution en vigueur sous la domination romaine"*.[49] Sauvaget ajoute que les orfèvres et les changeurs étaient aussi installés dans une Kaisariya à côté, en raison du caractère précieux des matières qu'ils trafiquaient. Dans l'Antiquité, ces activités associées à certains organismes d' Etat étaient abritées au Demosion, placé sur l'agora. Ainsi trouve-t-on dans ce voisinage des changeurs avec le commerce des étoffes une survivance de l'organisation antique.

Tout comme les types architecturaux et urbains, les mots employés pour les lieux du commerce gardent bien le souvenir du passage des siècles et du dialogue entre les différentes cultures.

Les transformations du marché à l'époque moderne.
La réglementation urbaine

Le XIXe s. inaugure une nouvelle période, pendant laquelle les villes ottomanes, et notamment celles des provinces balkaniques, connaîtront d'importantes transformations suite à deux destins historiques parallèles: soit leur intégration dans des jeunes états nouvellement constitués (Grèce, Serbie, Bulgarie, etc.); soit, pour celles qui sont restées dans l'Empire ottoman, leur modernisation en accord avec les réformes adoptées à l'époque (1839 et 1856). Evidemment l'introduction de réformes économiques et politiques (Tanzimat) a affecté en première instance les lieux où se tenaient les activités et la vie économique de la cité.

En général, au cours du XIXe siècle, le marché atteint une polyvalence jamais rencontrée et en même temps très provisoire. Avec la libéralisation politique qui va de pair avec les réformes, il retrouve quelques-unes de ses anciennes fonctions civiques: il est le seul espace dans la ville qui s'ouvre à l'échange d'idées et au contact entre diverses communautés et groupes sociaux, en même temps qu'il

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[48]   Cité par Streck, "Kaisariya".
[49]   Sauvaget, *Alep*, 79-80.

témoigne de l'émergence de diverses contradictions et de situations conflictuel-
les. En Bulgarie, où l'artisanat est très fort, il devient le lieu de la prise de cons-
cience nationale. Ailleurs, il est dénoncé comme lieu d'assimilation ethnique. V.
Karadzic, figure majeure de la renaissance nationale serbe, pensait que *"les villes
ne sont que des tcharchis polyethniques où la conscience nationale a été falsifiée".*

Avant Tanzimat (1839), nombreux ordres impériaux préservaient le caractère
spécialisé du marché et intervenaient afin de réglementer la construction en hau-
teur des édifices commerciaux suivant le type d'activité. Les textes interdisaient
tout débordement sur la voie publique, tels bancs et présentoirs, auvents et pou-
tres, etc. et aussi l'édification de pièces au-dessus des boutiques (constructions en
soupente, escalier extérieur, etc.), pouvant servir à un habitat indépendant.

Après la proclamation des Réformes, la première loi ottomane d'urbanisme
moderne publiée en 1848 ignore les spécificités du *tcharchi*[50]. Les quartiers com-
merciaux doivent se conformer aux dispositions générales (alignements et emploi
de matériaux non-inflammables) et spécifiques en matière de hauteur (7 zira -
5,32 m- pour les boutiques en bois, et 10 zira -7,6 m- pour les boutiques avec une
pièce à l'étage). L'extension du *tcharchi* est autorisée uniquement vers les rues li-
mitrophes en face d'autres boutiques. Une seule boutique au rez-de-chaussée des
habitations est permise par quartier. (Il faut néanmoins noter que, dans le fau-
bourg européen de Péra à Istanbul, où une réglementation à caractère expérimen-
tal est en vigueur, on autorise la libre installation de boulangeries et de pâtisseries
dans le quartier, à condition qu'elles se conforment aux dispositions de sécurité).

La loi d'urbanisme suivante de 1864 n'intervient que très peu à l'égard des
boutiques. Elle permet des hauteurs de 5 ziras et de 8 dans le cas ou il y a une
mezzanine, en précisant qu'il s'agit seulement des bâtisses en maçonnerie. Il
semble qu'on essaye d'interdire la construction de bâtiments en bois, sans en
parler plus explicitement.

La loi de 1882 introduit une innovation importante: pour la première fois la
hauteur des constructions est associée à la largeur des rues sans distinction entre
quartiers résidentiels et commerciaux. Les propriétaires des parcelles sont libres
de construire des étages pourvu que la largeur de la rue le permette; du coup la
particularité du *tcharchi* est en principe dynamitée.

Mais le vrai coup de grâce sera donné quelques années plus tard, en 1891. En
effet, la dernière loi de l'Empire ottoman stipule que "*La construction de boutiques
dépourvues d'étages supérieurs est interdite dans les rues dont l'alignement et la largeur sont
fixés*" (article 34). Ainsi il est exclu que le *tcharchi* se reproduise, et même son ca-
ractère traditionnel sera soumis à une sorte d'épuration, par l'imposition de rè-
gles 'modernes' d'hygiène, etc. (voir le règlement sur les devoirs des mairies -

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[50] Alexandra Yerolympos, "L'Urbanisme Ottoman à l'Epoque des Réformes. Lois, Institu-
       tions et Opérations d'Urbanisme", *Annales de l'Ecole Polytechnique -Ecole d'Architecture-*, vol.
       XII, Thessalonique: Université Aristote de Thessalonique 1990, 63-114.

article 62:....*Choses que la Municipalité doit interdire:.... qu'on ne pose sur la voie publique des plateaux, barriques, 'zenbils', paniers, balles 'kouffes', boîtes ou caisses, soit vides soit pleines; qu'on ne laisse devant les magasins des 'mangals' ou des volets de devanture... qu'on ne vende dans les rues des marchandises et des denrées en y dressant des étalages, des grands plateaux ou des tentes; qu'on ne prépare sur le devant des magasins, sur des fourneaux ou des 'mangals', du 'kebab' ou d'autres mets;.. qu'on ne tende ni sacs ni peaux devant les magasins d'épiciers, de marchands de fruits ou d'autres marchands; que les blanchisseurs, teinturiers et dégraisseurs ne sèchent les habits et du linge en tendant les cordes devant les boutiques, ou d'un côté de la rue à l'autre;.. qu'on ne promène pas dans les rues des vaches, bœufs, moutons, chèvres, ou d'autres animaux, ni qu'on les attache devant les magasins....etc.).*[51]

Cet inventaire détaillé d'interdictions vise à la reprise en main de l'espace public et à la perte du caractère informel de la rue commerciale traditionnelle. Le but ne sera que partiellement atteint, car l'image n'est pas très différente aujourd'hui. Il reste qu'officiellement, à la fin du siècle, le *tcharchi* ne se reproduit plus; il est simplement conservé par nécessité et par inertie.

Pourtant une nouvelle vie l'attend, comme le démontrent les études de cas précis dans la Grèce moderne. Il sera désormais le lieu du petit commerce, de services personnels et de l'artisanat local. Il s'adresse aux couches populaires et offre des locaux à loyer bon marché qui permettent aux petits métiers, toujours indispensables pour la vie quotidienne de la ville balkanique moderne, de continuer à exister.

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[51]   George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman* (6 vol.), Oxford: Clarendon 1906.
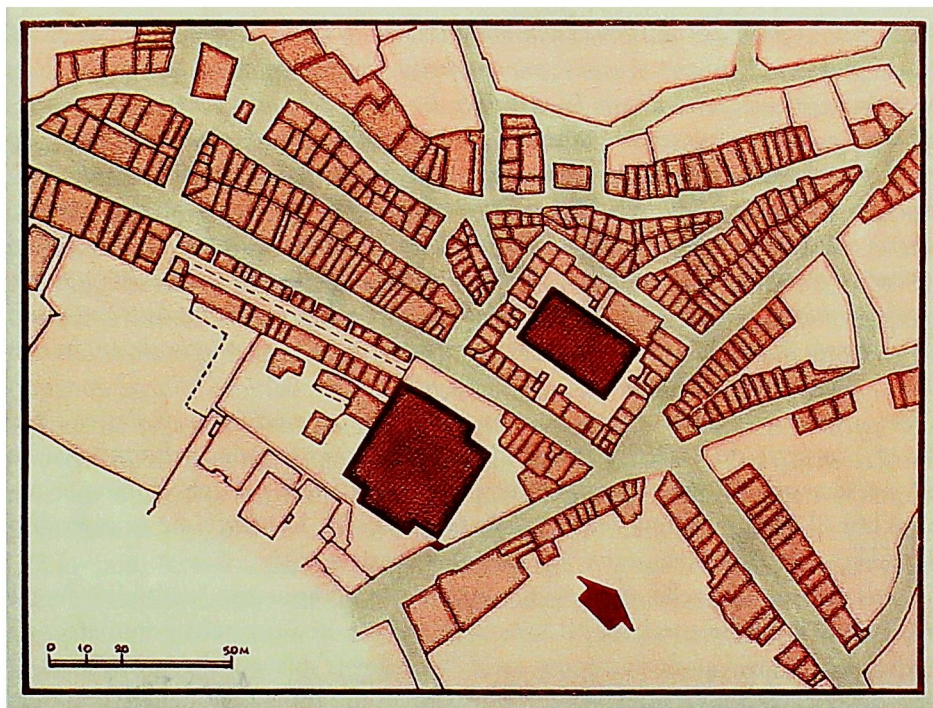
Fig. 1 : Le marché de Serrès entre 1849 et 1913, avec Bezesten (entouré d'échoppes), l'Eski Cami et l'Uzun tcharchi

Fig. 2 : Le nouveau marché de Serrès, d'après le plan de 1920
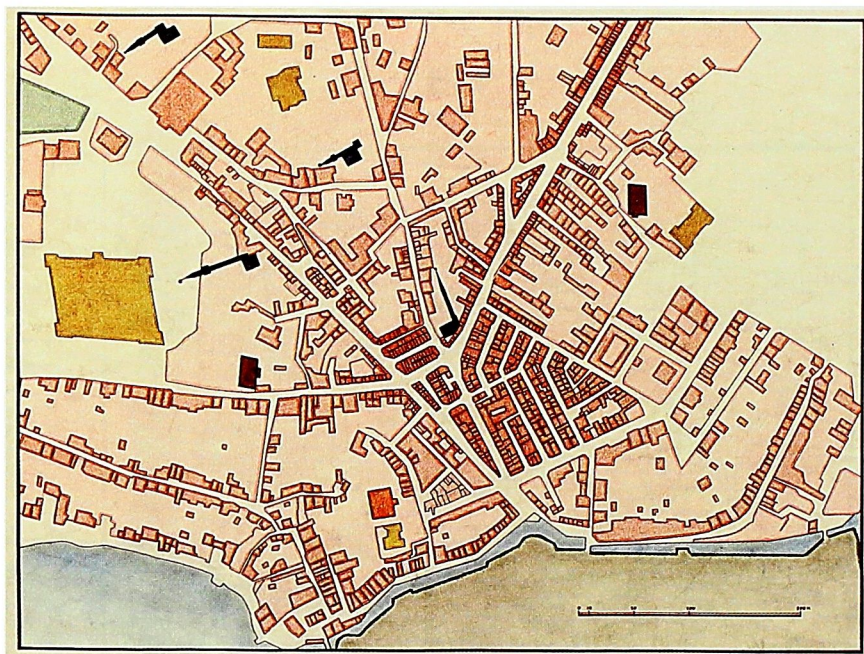
Fig. 3 : Le marché de Jannina après l'incendie de 1869. Synthèse de plans datant de 1885-1915
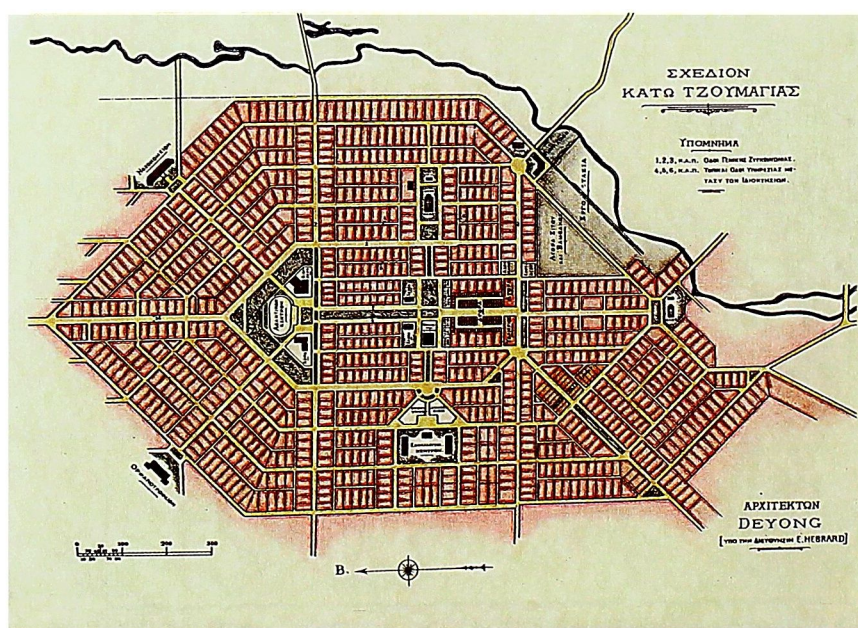
Fig. 4 : Marché de Djumayia, reconstruit sur plan de 1920 (indiqué en rouge foncé au centre du plan)
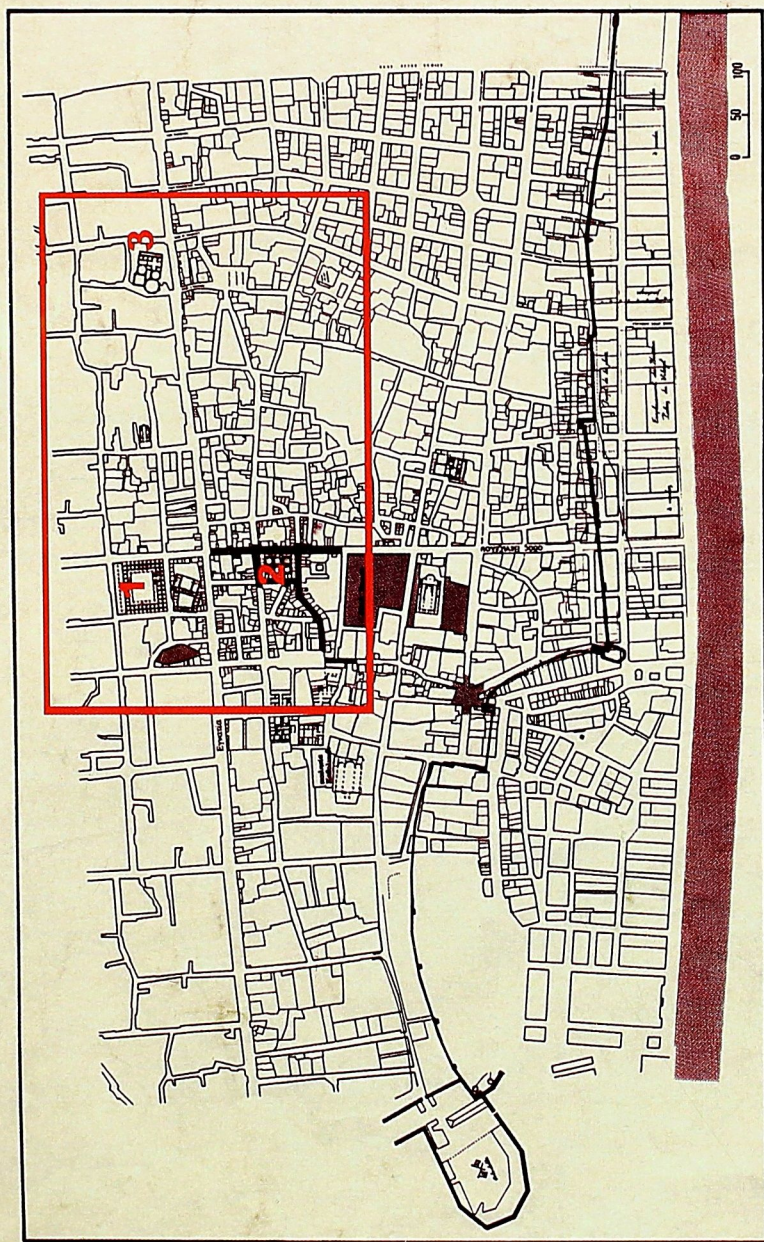
Fig. 5 : Les Marchés de Thessalonique jusqu'à 1917 : (1) Caravansaray, (2) Bezesten et marché couvert, (3) Bey Hamam
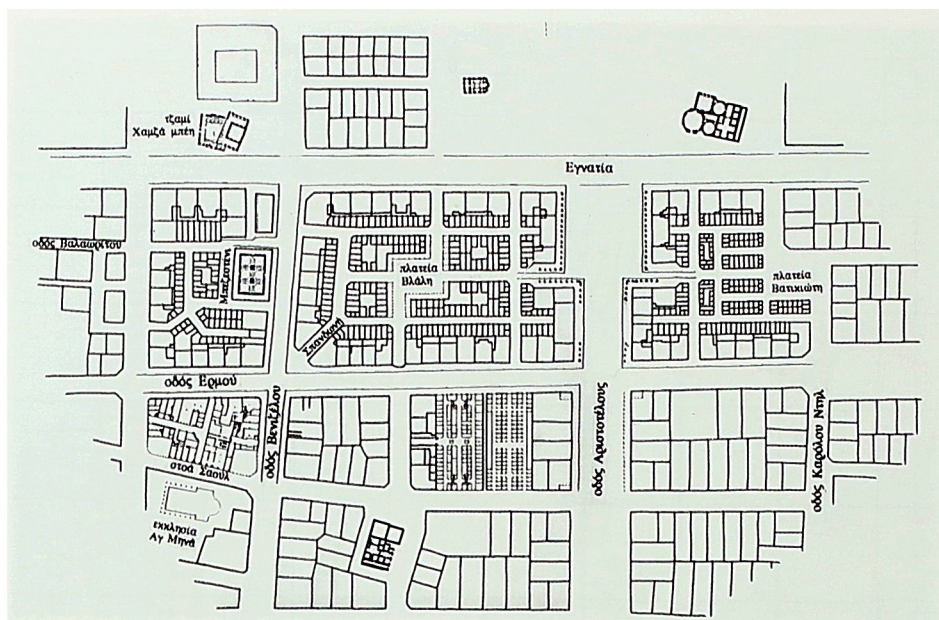
Fig. 6 : Nouveau plan des 'Bazars' de Thessalonique, dressé par l'urbaniste français
       E. Hébrard, après l'incendie de 1917. Le même lieu avant l'incendie est in-
       diqué par le rectangle de la fig. 5.

Fig. 25. — TRANSFORMATION EN SOUK D'UNE AVENUE ANTIQUE :
schéma montrant le processus de dégradation de l'ordonnance antique
et la localisation topographique des souks médiévaux correspondants.
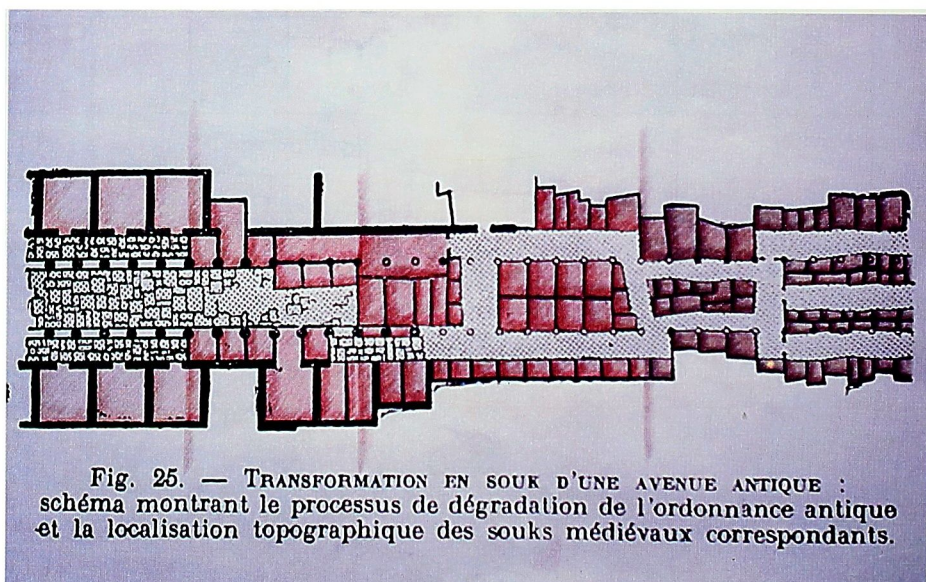
Fig. 7 : Avenue antique transformée progressivement en souk, selon Sauvaget 1941
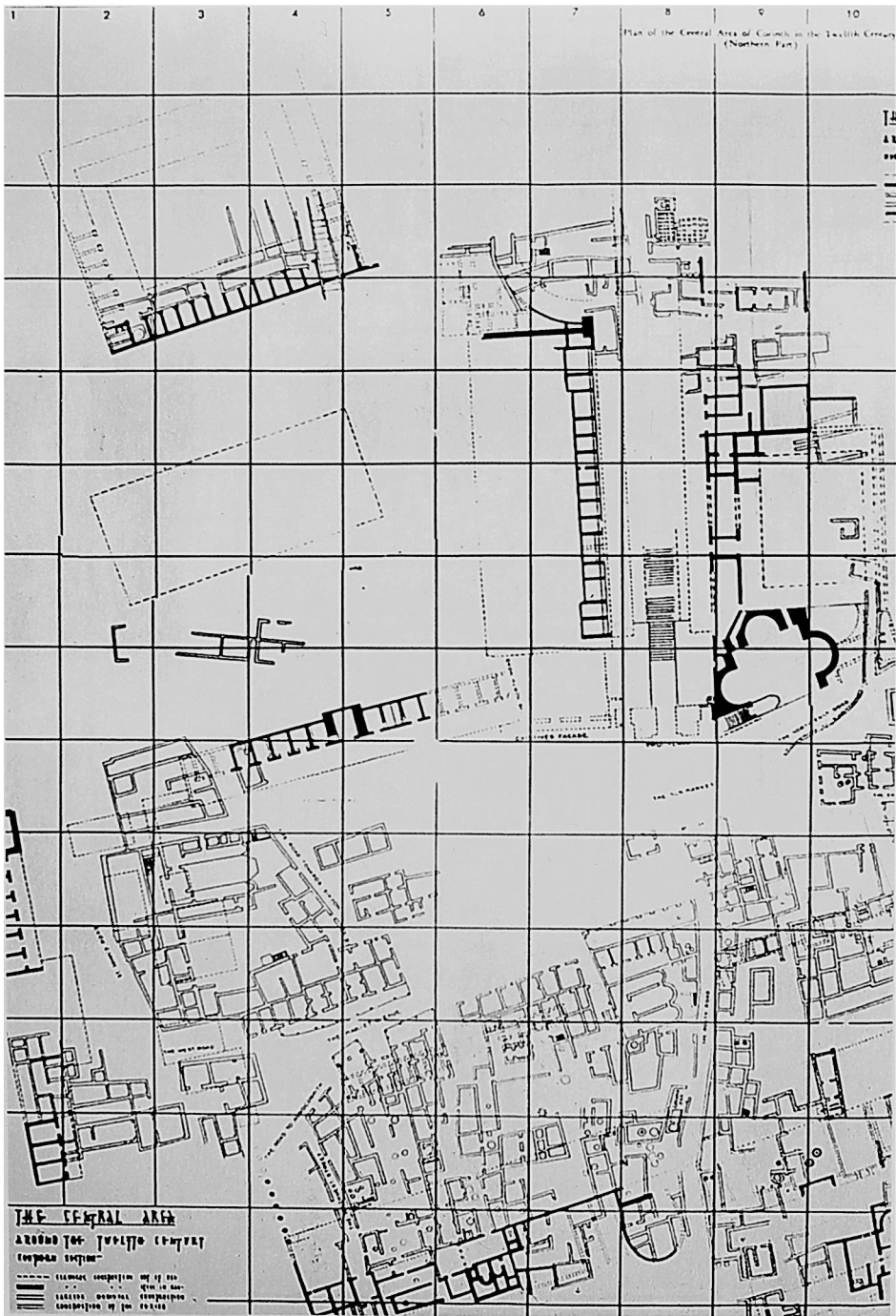
Fig. 8: Marché de Corinth au cours du XIIe siècle, selon Scranton 1957
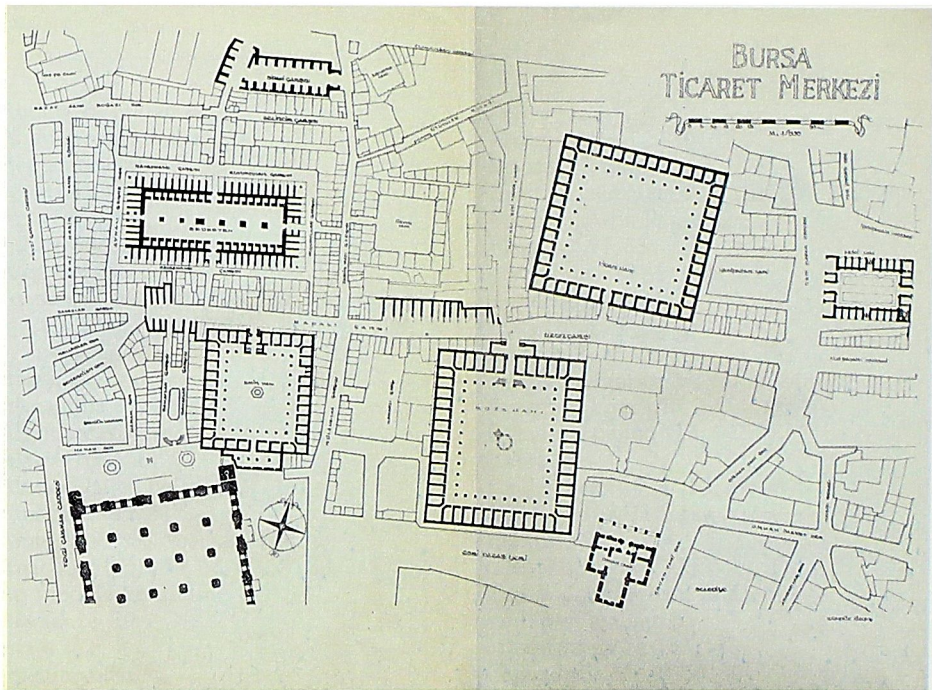
Fig. 9: Les marchés de Bursa, Özdeş 1954
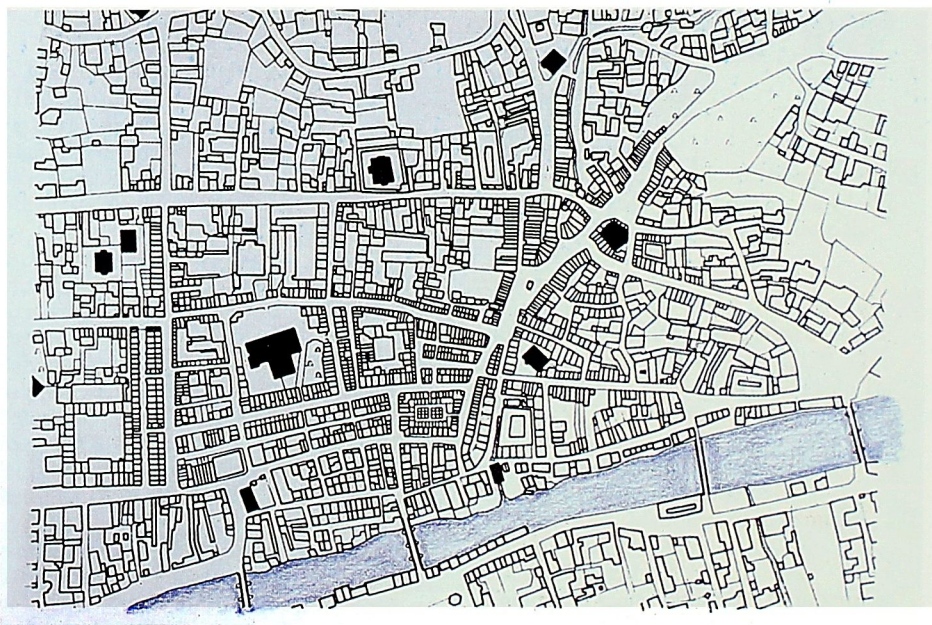
Fig. 10: Les marchés de Sarajevo, selon Cerasi 1986

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This volume is a compendium of the main topics discussed during the international seminar "Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean" held in Trani, Italy. Analyzing the outcome of multicultural settings, trends and influences from various angles in cities such as Aleppo, Galata, Timbuktu, Mostar, Chios, East Vermion, Damascus and those of Morocco and Tunisia, and commercial quarters of cities in various regions, the contributions reflect the change of attitude during the last decades in the exploration of urban structure and architecture in Southern and Eastern Mediterranean towns. Increasing attention has been paid to the coexistence of heterogeneous and even conflicting urban and architectural models, and urban and typological concepts, within the same towns and within the same urban fabric. New light has been thrown on the strong cultural interdependence with Europe, an unavoidable reality of the eastern sector of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the deeply rooted interaction among the sub-regions of the Levant and its very lively and often wholly native processes of modernization and change have assumed major importance as a subject of research. This volume continues and deepens the analyses of the complex multicultural urban fabric in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean.

Maurice Cerasi has been professor of Architecture at the Politecnico of Milan (1967-1986) and at the University of Genoa (1986-2005). He was visiting scholar of the Aga Khan Programme for Islamic Architecture in 1996 and 2001. He is author of "La Città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII-XIX" (Milano 1988), and principal author of "The Istanbul Divanyolu – A case study in Ottoman urbanity and architecture", (Istanbul 2004), and "La città dalle molte culture – l'architettura nel Mediterraneo orientale" (Milano 2005).

Attilio Petruccioli is professor of Landscape Architecture and Dean of the School of Architecture at the Polytechnic University of Bari. From 1994 to 1998 he was Aga Khan Professor of Design for Islamic Societies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has written and edited more than twenty books and is co-author of "Bukhara: the eastern dome of Islam; urban development, urban space, architecture and population" (Stuttgart 2004) and author of "Dar al-Islam : architecture du territoire dans les pays islamiques" (Liège 1990).

Adriana Sarro is associate professor of Design in the Faculty of Architecture at Palermo. She has published: "La città d'Oriente" (Pescara 1997), "Il mare e la città, paesaggio marittimo e archeologia urbana" (Palermo 2002) and "La multiculturalità nelle città del Mediterraneo. Progetti per le città di Tunisi, Kairouan, Tozeur, Nefta" (Palermo 2005).

Stefan Weber is assistant professor of Material History at the Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, Aga Khan University, London. He was a research fellow at the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Damascus and postdoctoral research fellow at the Orient-Institute Beirut (OIB). He is author of "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels; Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des spätosmanischen Damaskus im Umbruch, 1808-1918" (Berlin, 2001) and co-editor of "The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire" (Beirut 2002).

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