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TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE OLD CITY, ALEPPO: THE MULTIPLE COMPOSITION AND THE VERTICAL ARTICULATION OF THE URBAN COMMUNITY IN ALEPPO†

Makoto TERAO

First version received March 1995; final version accepted May 1995

Abstract: The uniqueness of the urban development of Aleppo, the commercial metropolis in northern Syria, is to find in her historical complexity and her strong integration by the Islamic Principle.

Such a feature of the city can be seen especially in the centre of the city. There is a big market, called Sūq, which includes not only the daily market, but also the trade centre of the foreign merchants, named Khān, where foreign merchants and diplomats even had stayed.

Compared with the occidental urban development, the result of which has been the functional division of labour or activity, the urban development of Aleppo has brought the normative integration of the secular and the sacred activity.

Aleppo, the present economic centre of the northern Syria, has developed in different cultural contexts, which can be classified into two large historical types.

The former is the complex of cultures of the pre-Islamic age, which can be traced back to the second millenium B.C. The latter is a single culture of the Islamic age, which began in 636 A.D. and has continued till now. Although the pre-Islamic age was much longer than the latter, the latter has the determining influence upon the city formation of Aleppo.

The present city, especially the old city inside of the city wall, has features of a Islamic city. Cultures of the former type have provided, however, the historical soil, by which the acceptance of the Islamic Principle could be much more comprehensive than in other Islamic cities.

This article aims to clarify the multiple composition of both elements in the urban development of Aleppo, especially in the limited area of the old city inside

† This paper was written in the Spring of 1994 for the Symposium held at Univ. of Aleppo. on 5th and 6th Spt. 1994. In fact only the sixth chapter was read in Arabic. The description of the japanese historical changes was added in Aleppo. The arabic presentation has been printed now.

of the former city wall.[1]

1. ALEPPO IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC AGE

In the pre-Hellenistic period Aleppo was called *Ḥalab* (*Ḥalaba*, *Ḥrb*, etc.). J. Sauvaget supposed the existence of '*Tell*' (hill-ruins) in the western hill inside of the city wall without any proof. H. Gaube and E. Wirth estimated the wider area between the river Quwaiq outside of the western city wall and the Citadel (castle) inside of eastern city wall as the location of the *Tell* (Fig. 1).

They found the Hellenistic street system along the chiefline between *Bab Anṭākiyah* and the Citadel. The quadrangle form of the whole city and the grid-pattern system of the streets were the model of a Greek architect, Hippodamus.

They measured the size of each island which is almost regular. The result is 124 meter long and 47.2 meter wide (Fig. 2). The size of each island is almost equal to that of *Anṭākiyah* (Antiochia) streets. When this street system was set in Aleppo is uncertain. J. Sauvaget supposed it in the reign of Selacus Nikator, 301–281 B.C., when Aleppo was named *Beroia*. There should have been an *Agora* (a Greek market), a temple and other urban facilities. This estimation is not supported by H. Gaube and E. Wirth.[2]

The new name *Beroia* should have remained under the Roman reign, but in the Byzantine period the old name, *Ḥalab*, was used again. Under the reign of Justinian I (527–565 A.D.) Aleppo was conquered by Persian army bitterly, but soon rebuilt with the new stone city wall.

Her long history in the pre-Islamic age shows us the comprehensiveness of her inhabitant, by which they had accepted various cultures, especially those of classical cultures in the Mediterranean.

[1] The following literature are referred.

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Sauvaget, J., *Alep. Essai sur le développment dune grande ville syrieenne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, 2 Vols, 1941.

Scharabi, M., *Der Bazaar–das tradiditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelse-inrichtungen*, 1985.

[2] Gaube, H. and Wirth, E., *Aleppo*, pp. 17–18, 76–77, 119–121. Fig. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 123, Fig. 21), Fig. 2 (*ibid.*, p. 120; Fig. 20).

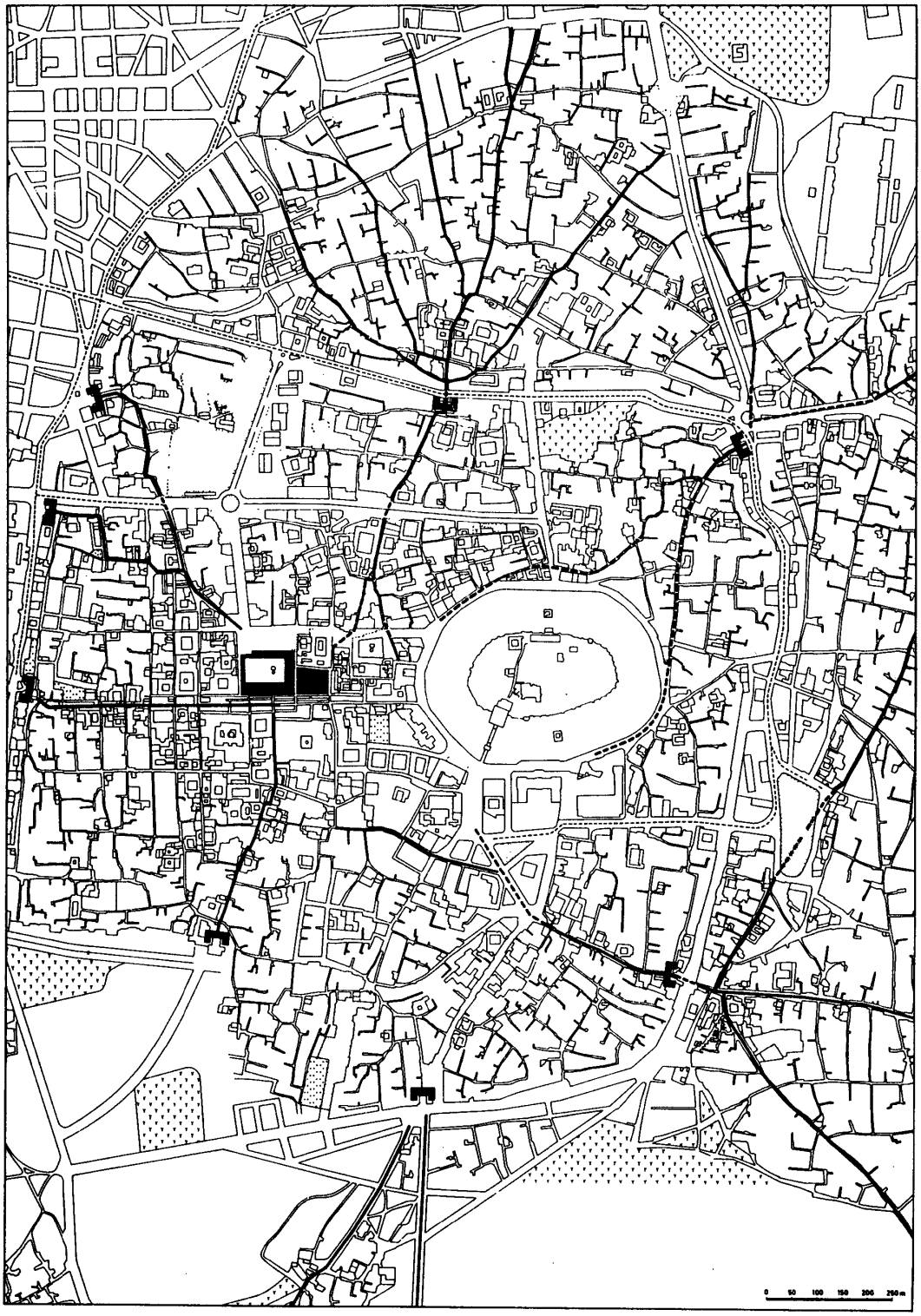


Fig. 1. The main streets and gates (Entw.: E. Wirth)

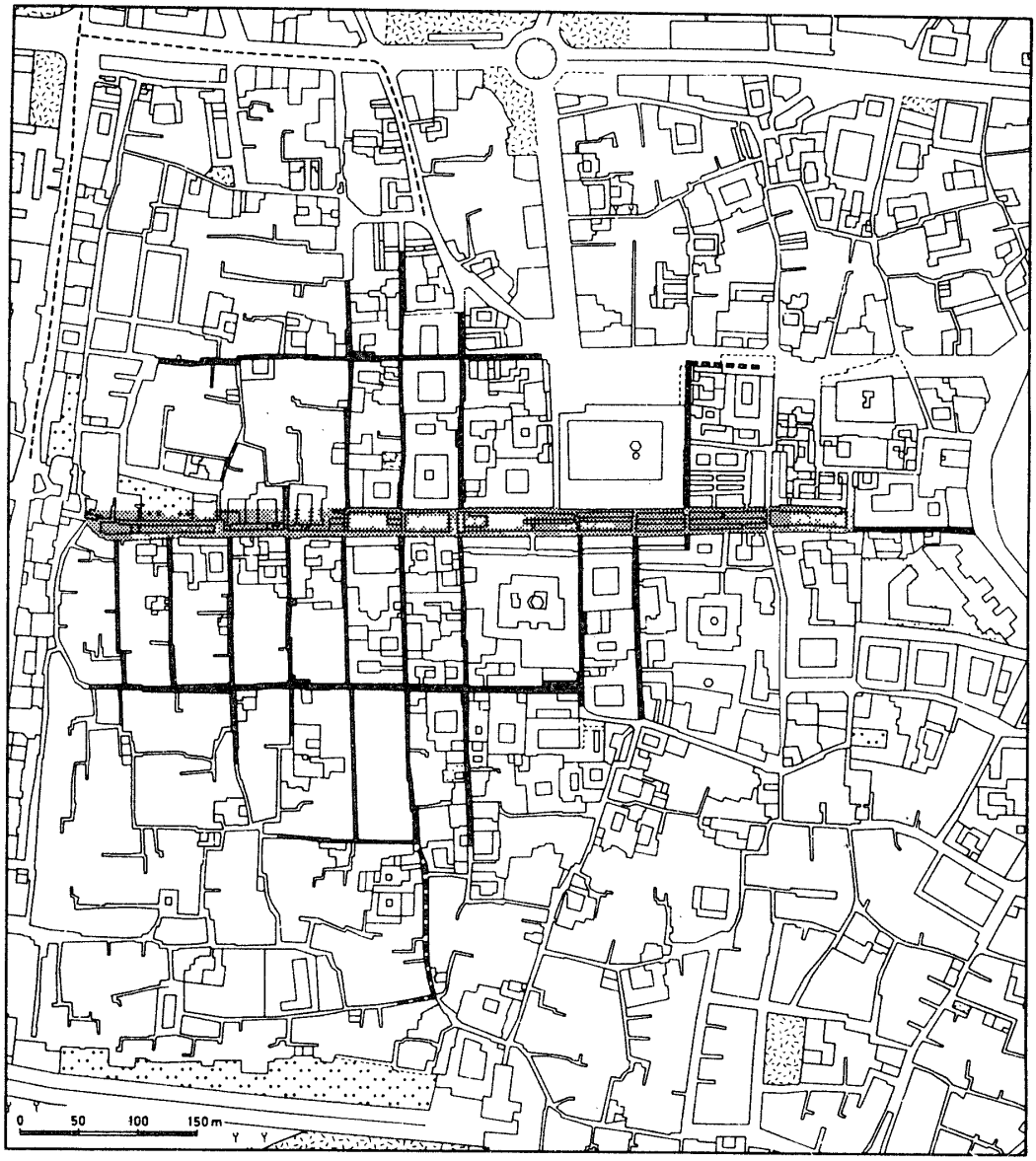


Fig. 2. Street-network, Plan I (Entw.: E. Wirth)

2. ALEPPO IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC AGE

In 636 A.D. the new age of Aleppine urban development has began with the Islamic conversion of her inhabitant. According to E. Wirth Islamic cities have had another model of city formation from the Hellenistic one (Fig. 3). The city centre should be the public space (building) such as mosque, palace and so on. From that centre to the several city gates chief passage streets should run. This radial type of chief passage streets could be used not only for religious and political reasons, but also for economic and cultural activities. In the outskirts and direct areas inside of the city wall different kind of markets (*Sūq* or *Bazār*) could flourish.

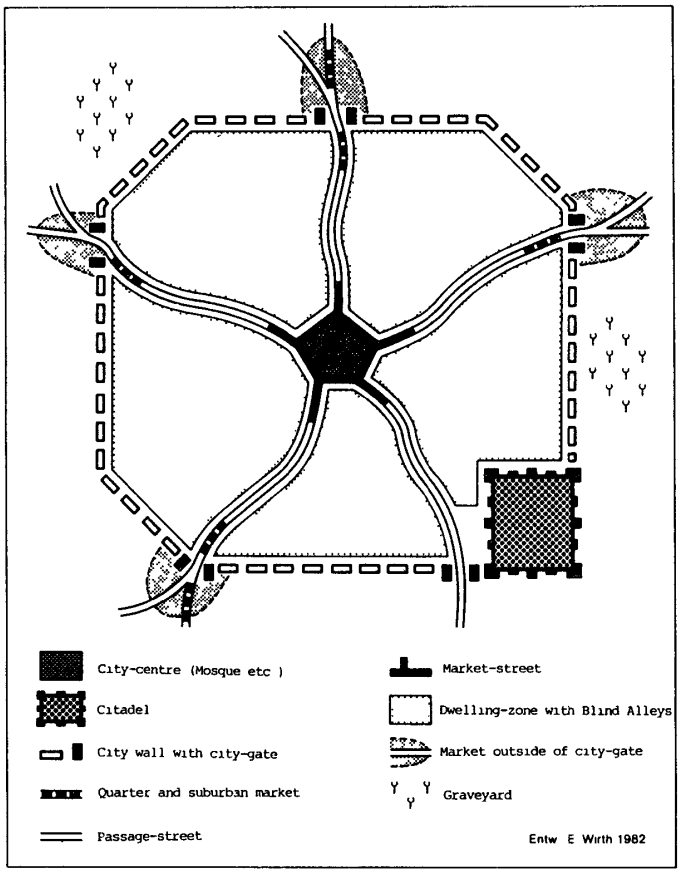


Fig. 3. City-model of the oriental city

Between the raidal chief passage streets, on the other side, innumerable blind alleys should lead to the private spaces for the inhabitant, to the dwelling zone (Fig. 4). The labyrinth of these blind alleys could protect the privacy of the inhabitant, which should complete their fully closed residences. Inside of the house is a closed space against outside, having a poen courtyard in the centre.[3]

The specific composition of the public (open) space and the private (closed) space should be the main feature of the Islamic urban topography.

H. Gaube and E. Wirth have found such a radial street system and a contiguous relation between public spaces and private spaces in Aleppo (Fig. 1). Her city centre is the Big Mosque and the neighboring *Sūq*. Several chief passage streets run to the city gates, from west to east, *Bāb Anṭākiyah, Bāb al-Jinān, Bāb al-Faraj, Bāb an-Naṣr, Bāb al-Ḥadīd, Bāb al-Nairab, Bāb al-Maqām and Bāb Qinnasrīn*. The contiguous relation between public and private spaces has been observed through the Islamic age till now.

It is very hard to estimate when the city formation of Aleppo on the Islamic principles was accomplished. On the one side we have several contemporary

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–72. Fig. 2 (*ibid.*, p. 61, Fig. 13), Fig. 4 (*ibid.*, p. 62, Fig. 14).

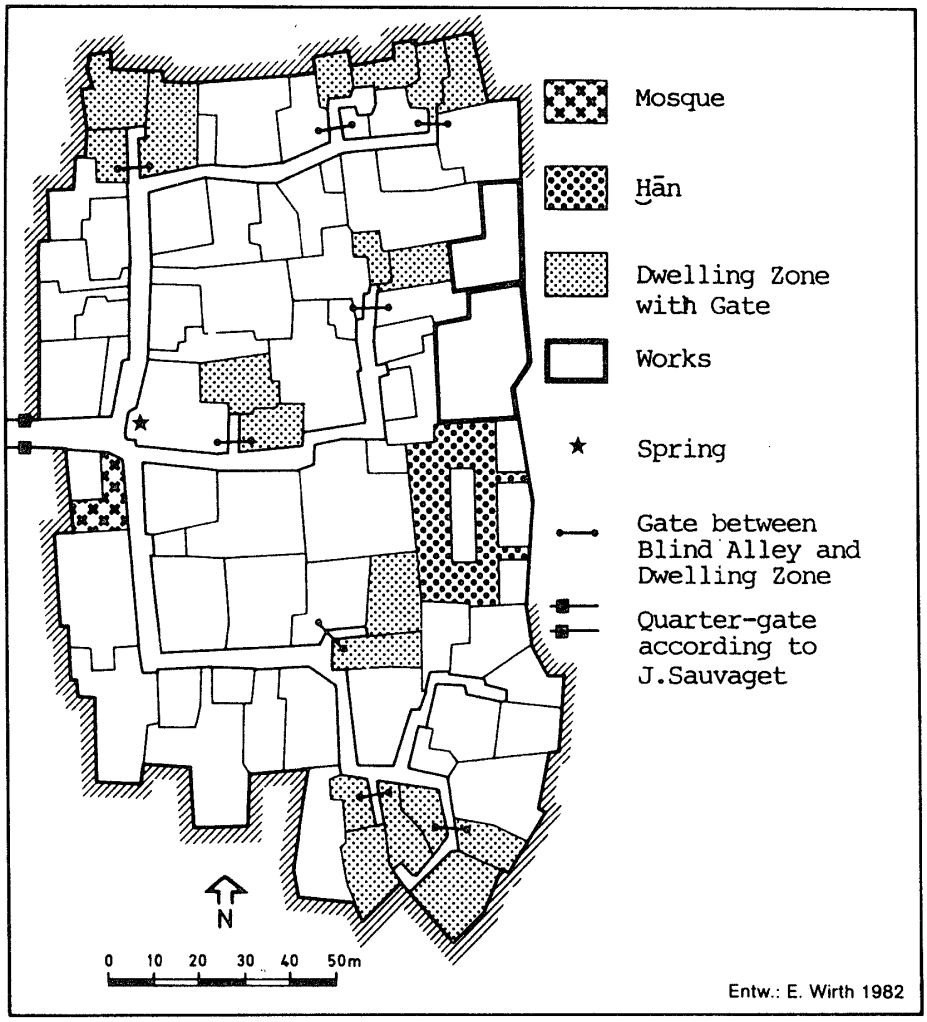


Fig. 4. Example of a dwelling quarter with one entrance (east-side of Citadel)

informations.[4] Ibn Hauqal reported the disastrous condition in Aleppo after the attack of the Byzantine (962 A.D.) in 978 A.D. There had been *Sūqs*, bathhouses, *Khān*s and many city quarters, but the Citadel was not so strong.

Few years later Al-Muqaddasī wrote that Aleppo was beautiful, well fortified and that her inhabitant were cultural and rich. The Great Mosque stood in the city. Her Citadel was big and strong. She had seven gates. Her drink water came from the river Quwaiq.

In 1047 A.D. a Persian, Naṣer Khosrou visited Aleppo, reporting that beautiful Aleppo had high walls, four gates and Citadel on the rock hill. Houses and other buildings stood close to each other. There was a custom office and many traders from many countries visited the city.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 40, 73f, 78.

Soon after N. Khosrou, Ibn Buṭlān reported, that there was one wall with six gates and the Citadel on the edge of that wall. In the city friday mosques, six churches and one small hospital stood. In the city there was a palace and a *Qaisariyah*, where 20 traders had their shops. The drinking water was taken from the reservoir.

The third visitor, Ibn Jubair came to Aleppo in 1184 A.D. reporting of the famous Citadel with ditch and *Sūq*s under wood roofs. They surrounded the Great Mosque. Among them *Qaisariyah* was very beautiful. There were six *Madrasah* (Islamic schools). In suburbs *Khān*s stood.

In the beginning of the 13th century Yaqūt praised of the good climate, the richness of Aleppo and of the beautiful Citadel.

3. ALEPPO IN THE MIDDLE ISLAMIC AGE

In 1355 the famous traveling geographer, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, visited Aleppo. She was very impressive especially the Citadel where *Mashhad Ibrahīm* (Abraham's relic) stood. The *Qaisariyah*s all around the Great Mosque were distinguished. Every lane of *Sūq* leads to the gate of the Great Mosque, which should be the most beautiful one in the world. Many *Madrasahs* and one hospital stood.

Before 1412 *Qalqashandī* reported of the wonderful houses, with stone built, a big *Sūq*, beautiful *Qaisariyah*, bathhouses, a Great Mosque, *Madrasah*s, *Khānqāh*s (cloisters), *Zāwiyah*s (meeting places of religious brotherhood), another religious buildings and one hospital. The city wall with seven gates was reconstructed under Sultān Barquq.

The Citadel, water supply, city wall (4, 6, or 7 gates), *Sūq* (especially the textile material trade), *Qaisariyah*, the Great Mosque, churches, *Madrasah*s (Islamic schools), bathhouses and *Khāns* (in the suburbs). Those informations give us a rough image of the city formations of Aleppo, which could have developed properly at latest in the 12th century.

After the bitter attack by the Byzantine in 962 A.D. Aleppo had suffered many attacks and occupations till 1086 A.D. The turning point was the middle of the 12th century. Nuruddīn, the son of Zanjī, the founder of Turkish lineage, had begun to reconstruct Aleppo systematically. Every part of the city had become the object of his reconstruction activities.

Religious relics, Citadel, *Madrasah*s, water-supply, springs, city-wells, city-gates, *Ribāt*s (cloisters), hospitals, the Great Mosque, *Zāwiyah*s (meeting places of religious brotherhood), one *Dār al-Hadīth* (school of Islamic traditions) and many *Sūq*-buildings were reconstructed.[5]

In 1183 Aleppo was fallen into the hands of Salahuddin, the founder of the Ayyubide Dynasty, and administrated by his son Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Ghāzī. He succeeded the urban policy of Nuruddīn further. Fig. 5a shows lively activities

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 40, 73f, 78, 159f.

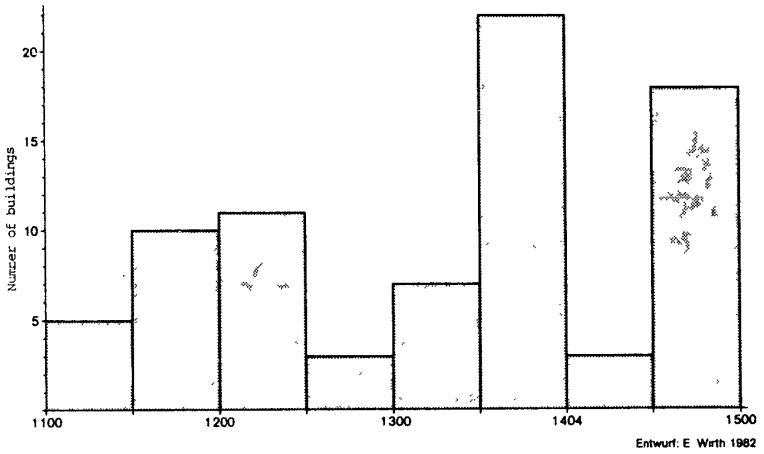


Fig. 5a. Number of bigger buildings, which could be built for each fifty years

Fig. 5b. Number of bigger buildings, which have been built for each five years

of the urban buildings not only in the second half of the 12th century, but also in the first of the 13th century. It was very hard time for Aleppo, because the western crusaders had built the Christian states in the coastal districts along the Mediterranean. Aleppo was the frontier point for the Muslim. Her rulers and inhabitant could corporate each other to make Aleppo the strong Islamic centre in all senses.

In 1260 Aleppo was suffered again by the attack of the Moguls. But soon recovered under the reign of the Mamlūks, reaching to the new era of her prosperity in the 14th century (Fig. 5a).[6]

Now we have historical native informations of three Aleppines, Ibn as-Shaddād (died in 1285), Ibn as-Shiḥnah (died in 1485), and Ibn al-'Ajamī (died in 1479).[7]

According to H. Gaube and E. Wirth the information of the former two are not so reliable as the latter, because their estimations are not correct, (Ibn as-Shiḥnah supplemented the informations of Ibn as-Shaddād). They found the information of the streets, which was given by Ibn al-'Ajamī, very correct, having checked individual information by their own field research.

In his description, *The golden treasure of Aleppian History*, he have the informations of the streets in detail. The result of their examination can be seen in Fig. 6 (Streets of Aleppo in the 15th century). Remarkably most informations

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 19, 79, 165f, 227, Fig. 5a, 5b (*ibid.*, p. 227, Fig. 58, 59).
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–79, 79–87, 94–98.

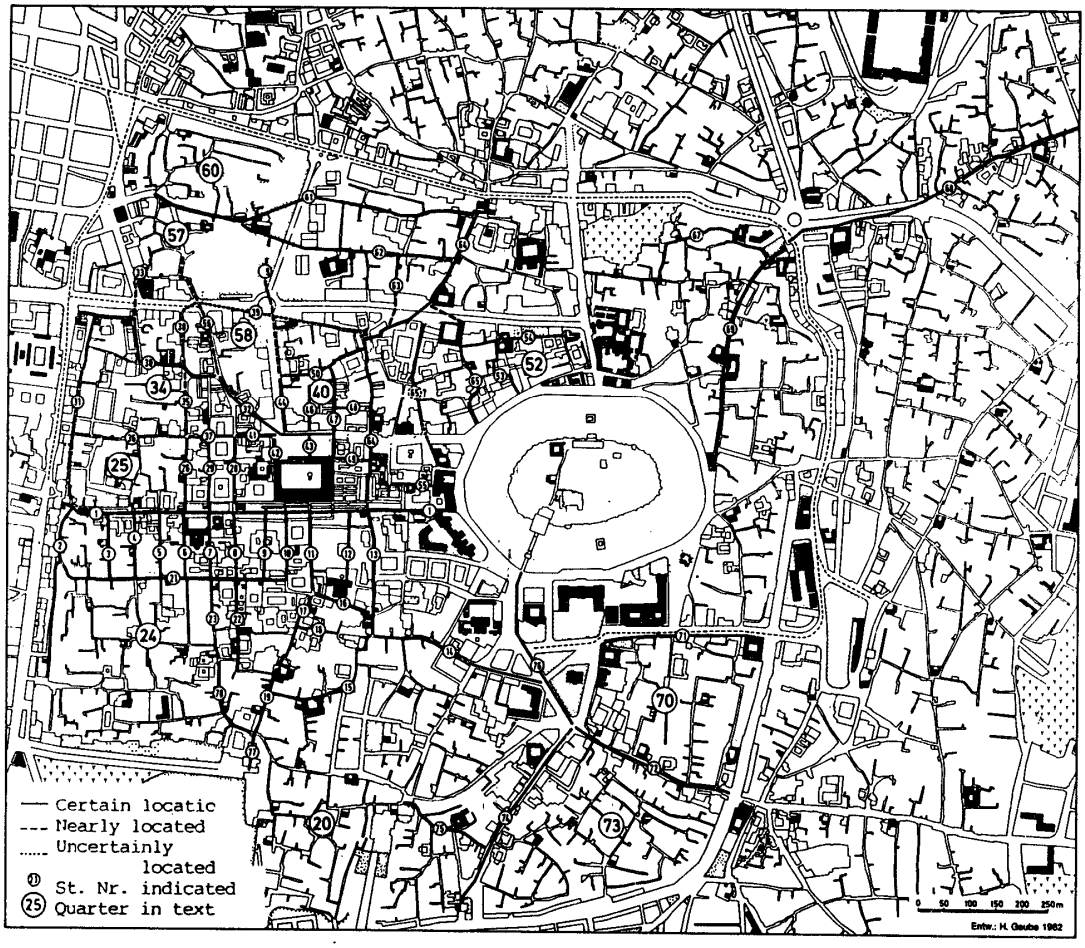


Fig. 6. Streets of Aleppo in the 15th century

could be ascertained either by the inscriptions or by the existence of the surrounding buildings. Only three streets of the total 65 streets could not be located, three uncertainly located and ten nearly located. Therefore his description is very correct.

His information of the friday mosques (for the prayers of the Muslim, in *Madrasahs*, Islamic schools, in some cases) are correct also (Fig. 7). There are indications of the administrative quarters in the map which Ibn as-Shiḥnah had described.[8]

The examination of H. Gaube and E. Wirth has shown that the Islamic principles of the city formation had accomplished at the latest by the 15yh century in Aleppo. It might be the long process form the 7th century to the 15th century, especially from the second half of the 13th century to the 15th century.

As for the city wall the Muslim might have succeeded the stone wall from the pre-Islamic age, which sould have experienced repetitively destruction and reconstruction.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–93. Fig. 6 (*ibid.*, p. 80, Fig. 17), Fig. 7 (*ibid.*, p. 88, Fig. 18).

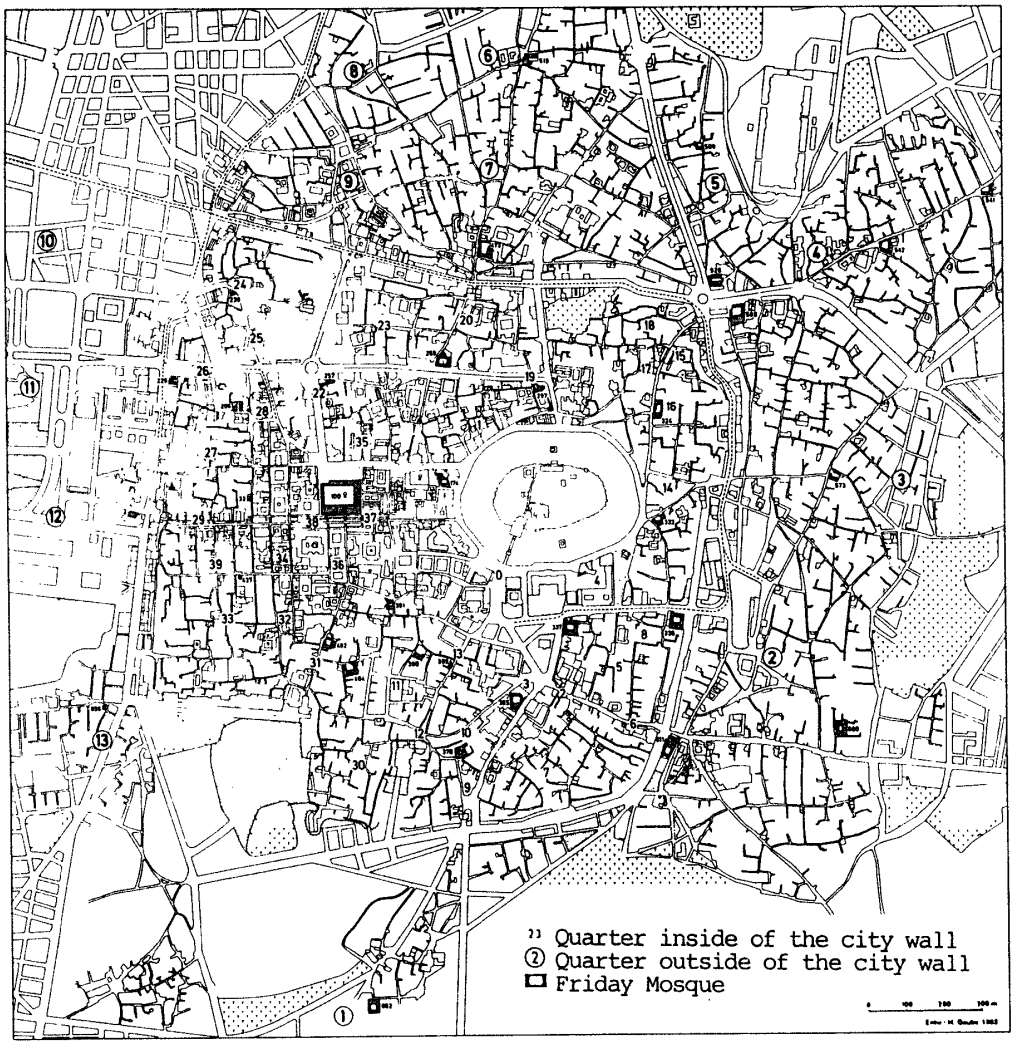


Fig. 7. Aleppo in the 15th century, Quarter and Mosque

As for the city gates they have different history (Fig. 1).[9]

Bāb Anṭākiya	1016–1018 A.D. (B), 1309, 1402, 1422
Bāb al-Jiinān	1512 (B)
Bāb al-Faraj	893 and 1488
Bāb al-Naṣr	1212 (B)
Bāb al-Hadīd	1509 (B)
Bāb al-Aḥmar	1506
Bāb al-Nairab	1422–1438 (B?), 1745
Bāb al-Maqām	1422–1438 (B?), 1493
Bāb al-Qinnasrīn	1412–1421 (B?), 1501

(B) = Incription of building age

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–168.

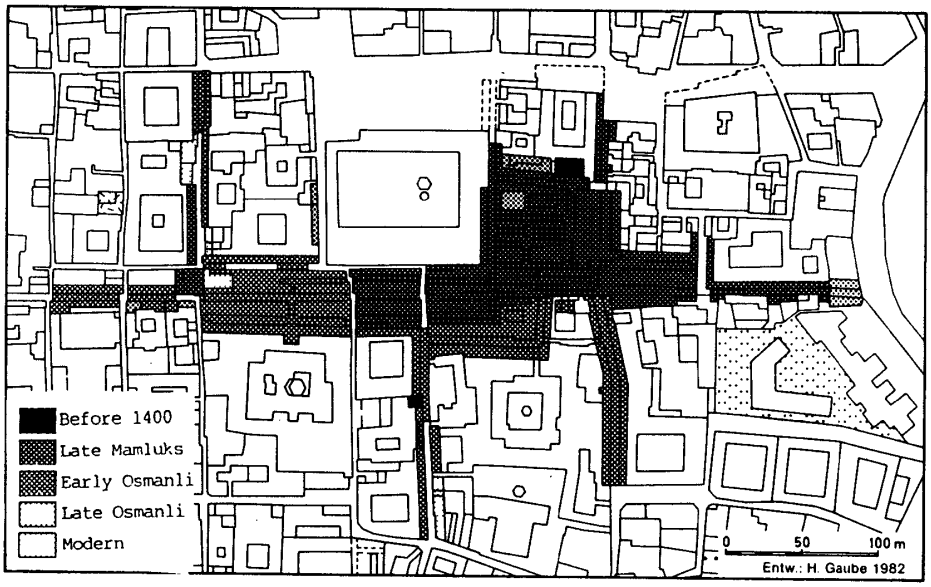


Fig. 8. Development of the central Suq in Aleppo

As for the central *Sūq*: The map (Fig. 8) shows the development of the central *Sūq*, which has formed the very complicated structure of the present *Sūq*. Along the chief line located south of the Great Mosque first three, then five, nine, two, at last one lane run to the Citadel. Around the Great Mosque, especially in its east side, many south-north lanes are crossing the chief lanes, forming a big complex with the Great Mosque as its centre. These lanes with shops on their both sides are covered by the round roofs with skylights. The materials are hewn stones.[10]

In 1184 Ibn Jubair reported of the central *Sūq*, which was covered by wood roofs. H. Gaube and E. Wirth supposed that this type wood roof should have continued till 1260, the year of destruction by the Moguls. The Great Mosque itself was plundered and thrown in arson. The adjoining *Madrasah* and part of the *Sūq* were also made of victims of the war. This should be the motivation to let the inhabitant build the strong and compact *Sūq*. Not only the Great Mosque and the *Sūq*, but also *Khān*s (commercial base for foreign traders), warehouses, mosques, *Madrasah*s (schools) had made one complex, what we can express it as the Islamic (vertically oriented) cluster of plural centres in the narrow area.

The period from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th century was the golden age of Aleppo and inspite of the bitter damage by the Moguls in 1260 the favorable political and economic conditions under the Mamlūk dynasty helped Aleppo to preserve her determining position in the Near East till the beginning of the 16th century, namely of the Ottoman age. Fig. 5a shows the change of her activity for the urban constructions. The booms of construction

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 173–178. Fig. 8 (*ibid.*, p. 175, Fig. 41); Scharabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 221–229.

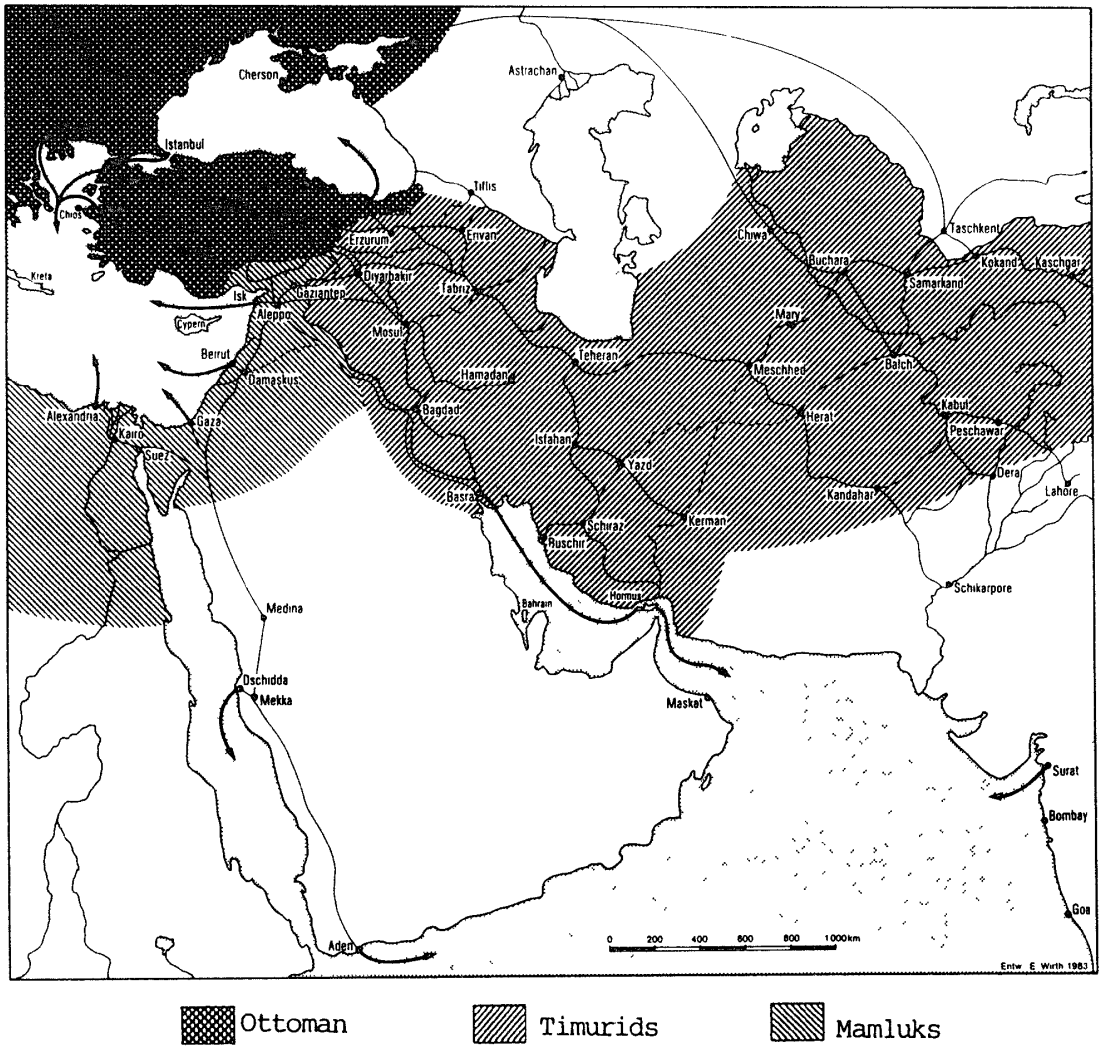


Fig. 9. Blockade of the northern routes by the Ottoman (Osmanli) Empire about 1470

are seen three times, first in the period from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th century, secondly in the period in the later half of the 14th century and thirdly in the second half of the 15th century.

The most moving factor for this urban development was her economic acitivity in international context.

Her unfavorable location in the crusader period, 12–13th century did not disturb her export activity, especially of cotton, which was the product of the northern Syria. Not only Islamic countries like Spain, Morocco, Egypt, but also Christian Italy were her customers.

Under the following Mamlūks reign trade relations between Europe and Asia had developed, making Aleppo now the international trade centre in the Near East (Fig. 9). Her export goods were Syrian cotton, Iranian silk, Asian spices,

brocades and weavings. Her imported goods were slaves (from Caucuses), jewelry, copper, wool-cloth and textile materials.[11]

4. ALEPPO IN THE OTTOMAN AGE

In the Ottoman age (16th–18th century) Aleppo had got the best reputation as the inter-continental centre of the Levant trade. European commercial settlements in Aleppo were the symbolic phenomena of this new era. H. Gaube and E. Wirth had introduced the reports of three Europeans, which were rather the descriptions of their impression as foreigner from the west.[12]

The first was one anonymous Venetian, who was 1556 in Aleppo. He was much impressed with the strong fortifications of the city wall and the Citadel and with her suburbs. There were many *Funduq*s (settlements for the foreign traders in the Mediterranean coast) which were named *Khān* in the native language. The foreigners lodged there for their business. The buildings have arcades and courtyards. The market is covered with roof and closed at night. Streets are also roofed. Trade is important activity of the city for which the location benefits much. The people come here from the Near East, the West, the North and the South. They stay temporarily here and leave again. In Aleppo and her surroundings much soaps in the amount of 200,000 ducat in a year were produced and sold for Armenia and Iran.

The second reporter was the French Consul, Chevalier d'Arvieux, who wrote of Aleppo in 1756. Aleppo should be the third best city, the first Constantinopole (Istanbul) and the second Cairo. Above all she is one of the biggest trade city. Her inhabitant has commercial relation with Asia, Europe and Africa. The city has city wall with ten gates and twelve suburbs. Her splendor is shown not only in the buildings of mosques, but also in *Khān*s and *Bazār*s.

In *Khān*s, the beautiful buildings, where foreign traders stay, there are shops of native traders with every kind of goods from all over the world.

The city has 72 city quarters (22 in the city and 50 in her suburbs) with 280–290,000 inhabitant, 30–35,000 Christian and 2,000 Jew are incuded. All inhabitant carry business, organizing 72 guilds. They use different currency (Spanish, Hollandish, Venetian, Hungarian, etc...).

The third description was written by an British medical doctor, Alexander Russel, who had lived 1740–1750 in Aleppo as an employee of the British Factory. The book of two volumes, named *The natural history of Aleppo*, was published in 1794 after his death, edited by his brother, Patrick. He described the locations of the nine city gates in detail and observed the conditions of the suburban towns outside of the city gates. In the suburbs outside of the south-eastern gates (*Bāb al-Maqām* and *Bāb al-Nairab*) another races such as Turkman, Kurd, Arabian live, carrying agriculture mainly. In the north-eastern suburb (outside of the gate

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 228–237. Fig. 9 (*ibid.*, p. 236, Fig. 64).
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–113; Russel, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 2–22.

Bāb al-Ḥadīd), called *Banqūsā*, there are beautiful houses, mosques, *Bazār*s (*Sūq*s), *Khān*s, coffee houses and cereal markets. In the west-northern suburb called *Al-Judaidah*, most of her inhabitant are Christian and in the western suburbs Turks and people of lower class live.

The beautiful outlook from outside of the city wall and the narrow crowded inside of the city will embarrass visitors once, but the streets are good paved and clean. The remarkable buildings are those of *Khān*s, called *Caravansarai*, about 20 *Khāns* are worth to be seen. Two storied stone building with arcade and courtyard has only one gate, which should close in the evening. At this gate a administrator and watch are regulating the coming and going both of people and goods.

Europeans, who lived in *Khān*s, has reformed the building, setting windows of European style for for lightening.

While the shops in markets are so narrow, traders have to put down their goods outside of market. Besides the main *Bazār* there are special *Bazār*s of specific crafts or divisions, otherwise markets for food, fruits and vegetables. Gates to *Bazār*s should be closed at night and most of the streets have gates and watchmen.

Public bathhouses and coffee houses are worthwhile to be seen.

Dwellings are divided into three kinds. The first is the palace for the governor, the second are the residences for rich traders, and the third, the houses for ordinary people. A. Russell estimated the population of Aleppo about 300,000.

What those foreigners in common remarked were the active role of *Khān*s as the commercial centre for international or interregional trade and the urban development over city wall, namely toward suburban districts.

Khān is one or two storied building with a courtyard. Around it many single shoproom or wareroom encircle in one building. Ibn as-Shaddād (died in 1285) described of 8 *Khān*s which should have been, but outside of the city wall. *Khān*s in the central *Sūq* could be built, perhaps in the later period of the Mamlūk dynasty and developed in the Ottoman period strongly. While in Iran we can find *Khān* in the city already in the midst of the 11th century, it is possible that the facility *Khān* might be introduced from Iran. Above all Aleppo had the similar facility, called *Qaisariyah* in the midst of the 11th century. Ibn Buṭlān described of it, where 20 cloth traders had their shops together. As the international or interregional trade had developed in Aleppo, *Khān*s came to play its role as the centre of the foreign trade. It might have contributed to the flourishment of the central *Sūq*. Fig. 8 and Fig. 10 shows that the extension of the *Sūq* area in the southern side of the Great Mosque owed to the setting of 5 *Khān* in the second half of the 16th century.

There had been three kinds of *Khān*s in Aleppo. First the *Khān*s in the central *Sūq*, secondly those in the suburban districts and thirdly those in the south-eastern suburb. The most importanrt should have been the first because those had added the meaning of market centrality to the old *Sūq*. The Islamic *Sūq* itself has a centrifugal structure, when it is compared with the old market in western Europe

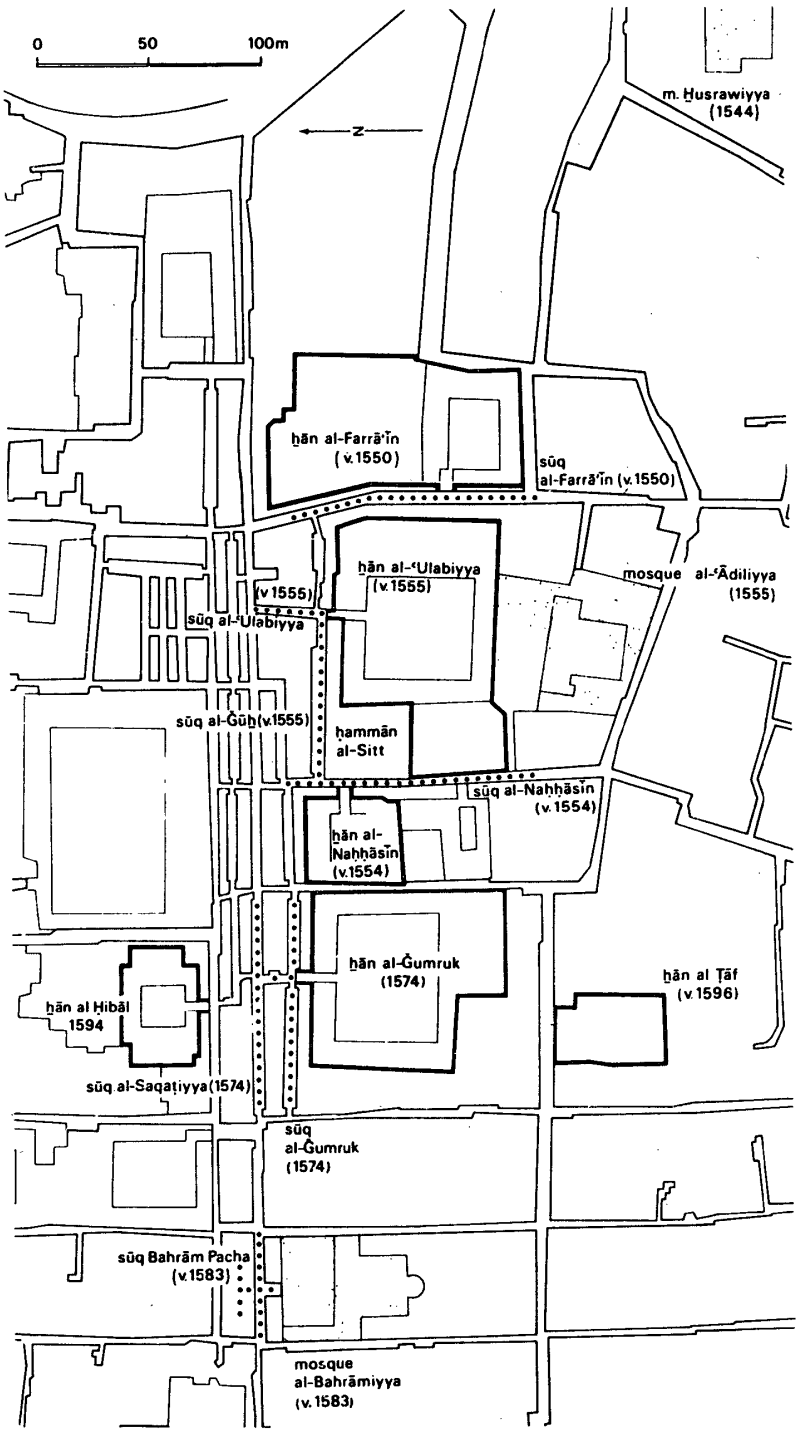


Fig. 10. Extension of Aleppo's Madīna (16th century) (Raymond)

of the middle age. The latter was centripetal by concentrating the market to one or several places. It was the expression of the European idea about the division of labor, the division of foreign market and inner market. The foreign traders in Europe had stayed ordinarily at the partner's house not at the market place like

Khān. The Islamic market does not know such a division, while both market functions should be integrated essentially into one Islamic market, the *Sūq*. The *Sūq* itself could comprehend the foreign market. *Khān* has been the symbol of such comprehensiveness of the *Sūq*.[13]

It is very remarkable that European consulates, public institutions, were set in the *Khān al-J̌umruk* (Fig. 10), where offices of custom, money exchange and commercial court were opened. Consulates of Venice in 1548, of France in 1562, of England in 1583, of Netherlands in 1613. In another *Khān*, *Khān al-'Ulabiyah*, consulates of Napoli, Sicily, Portugal and Spain were set.

In connection with the economic activity of the inhabitant in *Sūq* and *Khān*, the *Waqf* has been the unique Islamic institution for the immovable property.[14]

The *Waqf* itself is the religious foundation for the welfare of people. Once properties were donated to *Waqf*, any chance to use those for private profit should be taken away. The sole purpose shall be to use the fund for the social welfare such as the maintenance of a mosque, the payments for living cost of the persons concerned, the charity and the scholarship for the poor people. This has been praised as the Islamic virtue, but can be used to protect private property from any public control, especially from the taxation.

Among donators who had given their property to *Waqf* in the Ottoman period, we find only one genuine private citizen, Hajj Mūsā al-Amīrī (died in 1763) and others were all governors, officials and dignitaries.[15]

This *Waqf* of the mosque Hajj Mūsā was founded in 1763, when the donation was done as the result of the death or the donator. The father of *Hajj Mūsā al-Amīrī* came from Basra to Aleppo in 1688 A.D. He had achieved the great fortune by the trade with Iraq and India. The father and the son should have been so able traders that they could bave bought the land of the second best area, *Suwaiqah'Alī*.

The donated properties were 3 *Khān*s, 2 warehouses, 2 cereal mills, 8 *Qaisariyah*, 3 dye works, 3 bakers, 1 & 1/2 bathhouses, part of weaver's work, 91 shops, 16 dwelling houses and 16 gardens. They were only a part of their properties.

As for the suburbs outside of the city wall (Fig. 1), the extension over the city wall, the formation of the suburban districts was not uniformly.[16] While the districts in south or south-west had lost the meaning, those in north-east, north, north-west had developed marvelously (Fig. 1, Fig. 7). This tendency responds the change of the urban structure inside of the city wall.'

The economic centre of Aleppo had been in the triangular space between *Bāb Anṭākiyah*, the *Sūq*s around the Great Mosque and *Bāb al-Jinān*. Especially the chief and the parallel passage streets were the real market centre of Aleppo.

[13] Gaube, H. and Wirth, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 350–355; Raymond, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–40, Fig. 10 (*ibid.*, p. 29, Fig. 7).

[14] Gaube, H. and Wirth, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 126–139.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 94, 135f, 226, 373.

[16] *ibid.*, pp. 43–49, 276–288.

Around the gate of *Bāb Anṭākiyah* there were many *Khān*s. In 1574 tanneries moved from the inside of the gate to the outside of it on the riverside, having built the big common works. To this works belonged 4 *Khān*s, 2 bathhouses and 2 mosques. Around the gate *Bāb al-Jinān* there was a quarter-*Sūq* of food, especially fruits or vegetables, which originated from the 10th century. There came not only fruits and vegetables from Jordan, Lebanon, Damascus and Northern Syria, but also olive oil, soaps and cereals.

In the sough-western outside of the gate there should have been *Khān*s, warehouses, and works in the east side of the river, Quwaiq, and a suburb, called *Al-Mashāriqah*, which might be big dwelling district in the west side of the river.

Around the gate *Bāb al-Faraj* there should have been a Christian quarter, which might have moved to the new Christian quarter, *Al-Judaidah* in the north-western district outside of the gate, *Bāb an-Naṣr*.

Around the gate *Bāb an-Naṣr* there was the second centre of economic activities inside of the city gate. Along the passage street from the central *Sūq* to the gate two complexes can be observed. The former was the complex of *Khān*s, totally *Suwaiqah 'Alī* called, where various consumer's goods were produced and sold. The old *Sūq* with one *Khān* developed to that complex of *Khāns* through the efforts of Hajj Mūsā al-Amīrī the 18th century. The latter consisted of *Sūq* and *Khān* of shoes, works of soap. It connceted with the old quarter *Sūq* and *Khān*s directly outside of the gate.

From this suburban centre there were three directions to develop. The first to the eastern gate, *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* outside along the city wall. The second to the northern direction and the third to the north-western direction, where around the *Sūq* of Christian very specific mixed area of economic activities and dwelling of Christian, call *al-Judaidah*, was developing. There were Christian churches already in the 15th and the 16th century.

Around the gate *Bāb al Ḥadīd* the suburb, called *Banqūsā*, had begun to develop in the earlier Ottoman period. Many *Khān*s, *Sūq*s and cereal markets were built, what the British doctor A. Russel remarked above all. It was the most beautiful suburb in Aleppo, to where the cereals were brought from rural districts. Inside of the gate the passage street from the central *Sūq* was obstructed by the existence of the huge Citadel. Only by the detour through the southern side of the citadel people could reach the gate. Around the *Bāb an-Nairab* there were the transfer place for the agrarian materials, especially wool, the slaughter place for the urban inhabitant and *Sūq*s both for the nomad and peasant and the native. The relation between inside and outside of the gate was continous. It was an entertainment centre, too.

Around the *Bāb al-Maqām* there was nothing to be noticed, except the graveyard.

Around the gate *Bāb Qinnasrīn* there was old passage street with the buildings of middle age, and the old quarter *Sūq*. The northern part of it was oriented into the central *Sūq*. The part was the rear side to the northerly oriented central *Sūq*. The suburb should have been the transit place of the immigrant people from the

rural districts.

5. ALEPPO IN 19TH CENTURY

In the 19th century, Aleppo had preserved her position as the economic centre of not only of the Northern Syria, but also of the Ottoman Near East. The first half of the century was the time of suffering. The political unstable situation of Europe under Napoleon had shaken the demand for luxurious goods from Aleppo. The threat of the *Bedouin*s, who had attacked and plundered the people both of the rural districts and the caravans either from or to Aleppo, had been very serious since the later half of the 18th century. At the same time Aleppo was much troubled by her inner fightings.

But Aleppo succeeded to recover her economic central position till 1860's. On the one hand the native traders took over the commercial initiative from the European traders, which those traders had before. On the other hand the character of the trade had changed. The former trade had been rather colonial, namely the intermediating commerce mainly between West and East. Now her export was concentrated on her native products or products which the Aleppine processed from the imported materials. The main goods were textile fabrics such as silk or silk-cotton, cotton and wool.

This changes of Aleppine commercial activities had made her hinterland determiningly important for Aleppo (Fig. 11). The lively trade relation between Aleppo and the surrounding rural districts developed so intensively that the activitis of construction had again reached its peak (Fig. 5b).[17]

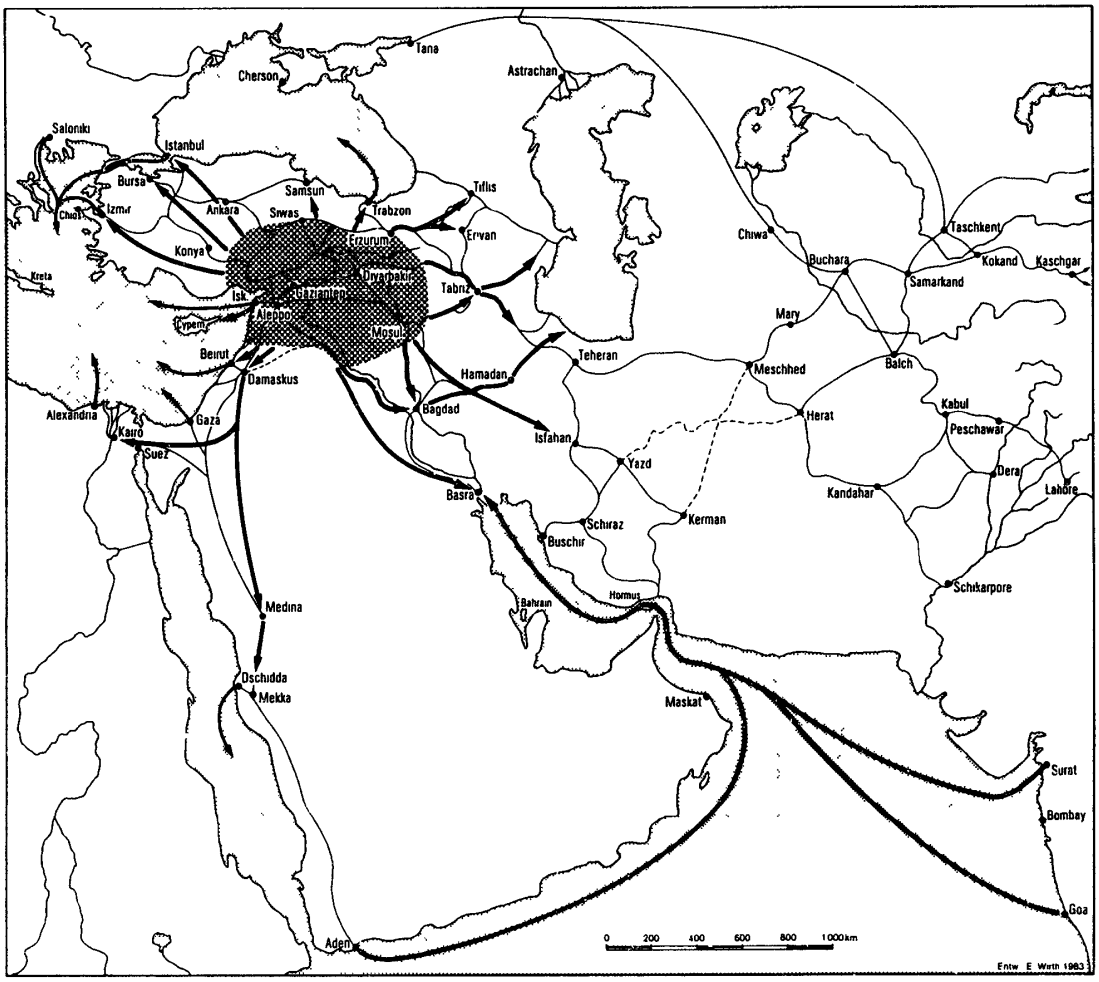
As the most important historical source H. Gaube and E. Wirth has chosen Kāmil b. Muhammad al-Ghazzī, *Nahr ad-dhahab fi tārīkh Ḥalab* (3 vols. 1924–1926). Ghazzī describes the numeral indexes of each city quarter in detail, its population, religious and sexual classification, numbers of religious buildings, houses, springs, mills, *Khān*s and *Qaisarīyah*s, soap or other factory and works, hospitals, schools, churches, and synagogues. Further he names the important families in each quarter and copies the *Waqf* documents and the inscriptions of the buildings.

H. Gaube and E. Wirth has used especially these materials in order to clarify the whole structure of the city Aleppo by population density (Fig. 12), religious classification (Fig. 13), distribution of the buildings for economic use (Fig. 14) and so on. They say that their work has owed very much to the achievement of Ghazzī.[18]

There are another historical documents to be used. The European consuls had sent their reports to their governments in Europe. H. Gaube and E. Wirth acknowledged the value of these documents with reservations. First these consuls

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 223–272, Fig. 11 (*ibid.*, p. 259, Fig. 66).

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–221, Fig. 12 (*ibid.*, p. 204, Fig. 48), Fig. 13 (*ibid.*, p. 195, Fig. 45), Fig. 14 (*ibid.*, p. 207, Fig. 50).



Trade routes of Aleppo in the first half of the 19th c.

Hiterland of Aleppo since 1869

Fig. 11. Trade routes of Aleppo in the 19th century

were Europeans, who were brought up in the European intellectual atmosphere. They had tried to clarify the chronological and causal structure. Secondly in their reports there were many numeral indications from the earlier period and also reports about the economic and political situations. Thirdly the consuls had got the information from their resource persons of each land, who did not give the consuls enough information of native economy and persons, especially traders and entrepreneurs.

According to the Ghazzī's *Nahr*, the population of Aleppo, was 109,118 about 1900 A.D. out of which 98,534 lived in the old city, 10,584 in the suburban districts. The meaning of the city wall as the safeguard against the invaders had lost about the middle of the 19th century. The expansion of the urban space was developing towards the end of the century. The urban crafts were moving to the suburban

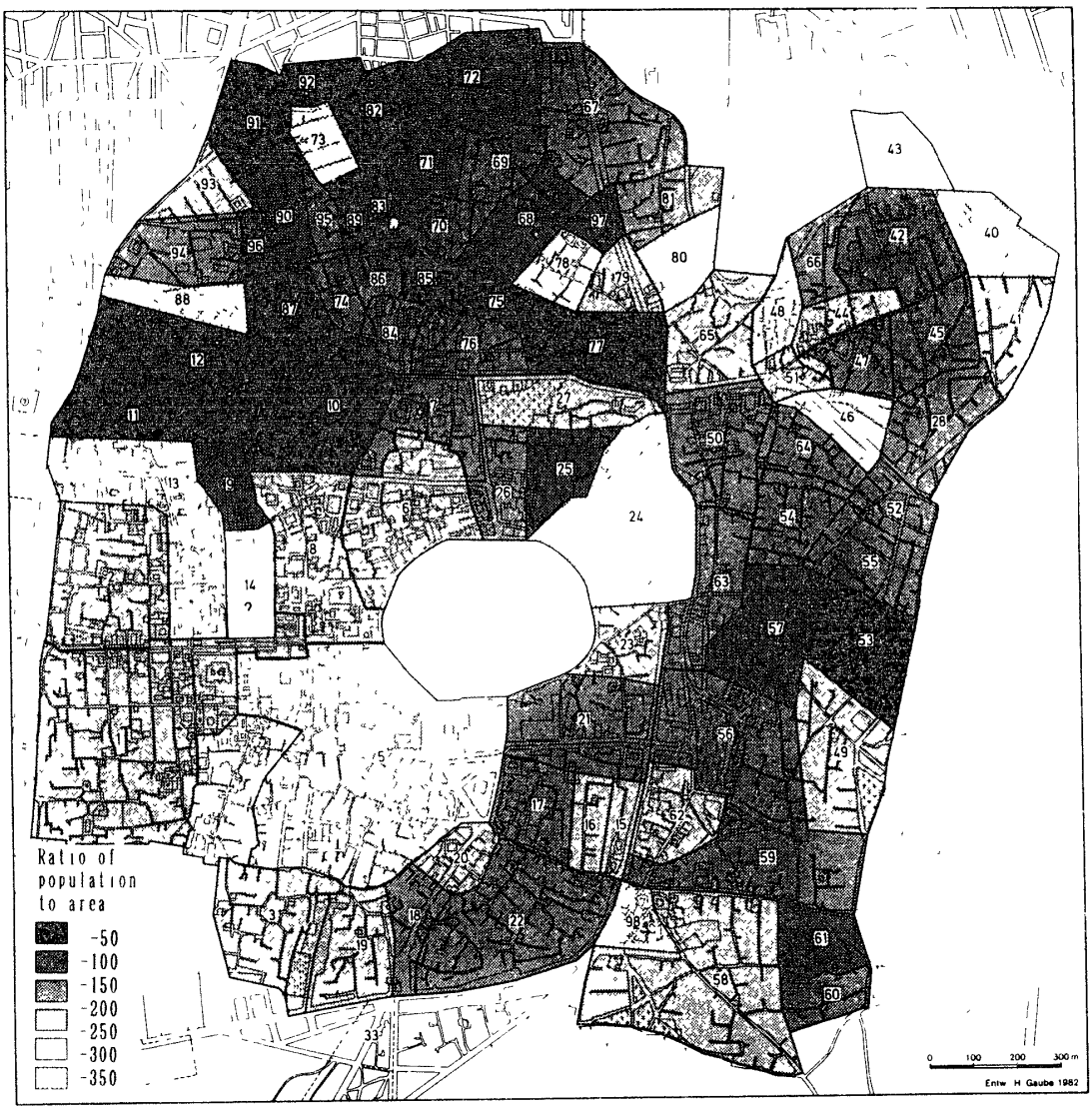


Fig. 12. The density of the population for each quarter toward the end of the 19th century

districts, above all to the north and north-eastern suburbs. In the north-western district outside of the gate *Bāb al-Faraj* the business quarters of the European style were developing. Banks, hotels and offices were built. The clock tower, built in 1899 was the symbol of such urbanization of the wider area outside of the gate *Bāb al-Faraj*.

As for the dwelling zone the upper class, especially Europeans, who had lived in second story of the *Khāns*, began to move their dwellings to the north-western district outside of the city wall. Christians had lived in quarter *Azīziyah* and further to the north in the quarter *as-Sulaimāniyah*. To the south-west of *Azīziyah* in the quarter *Jamāliyah* many European or Jews began to live. The streets in those quarters were constructed on the principle of the grid-pattern system.

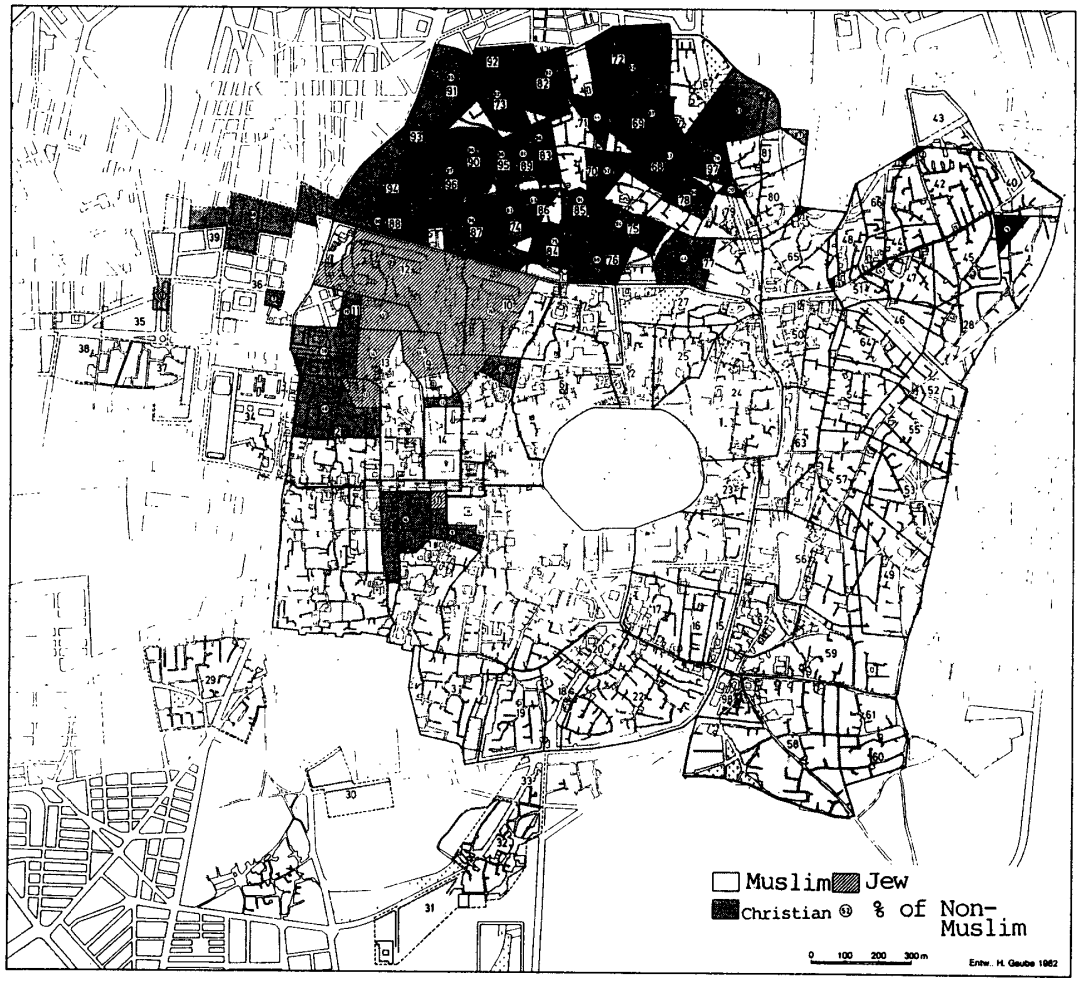


Fig. 13. Religious classification of Aleppine inhabitant toward the end of the 19th century

The introduction of European carriage toward the end of the 19th century and the connection of the railway in 1906 or 1912 had promoted western style of both business and dwelling so much that the usefulness and importance of the new quarters was acknowledged by the people of Aleppo.

How was the situation inside of the city wall toward the end of the preceding century?

Nine-tenth of the population lived still in the old city about 1900 A.D. How had they responded to the impact of the European industrialization? While effects to build the modernized quarters in the suburban districts were in progress, tries to transform the traditional market of *Sūq*s and *Khān*s were also successful.

*Khān*s, which had been the plural centres of the commercial activities of the foreign wholesalers, were transformed to be scattered works or factories of native businessmen, traders and entrepreneurs. The initiative of the former was taken over by the latter and those foreigners who were staying in Aleppo moved now

Fig. 14. Distribution of the buildings for economic use

to the new suburbs in the west. Second stories of *Khān*s, where foreign traders had lived before, began to be used for the small industrial factories or handicraft works. The European industrial machines or tools have helped these efforts to transform the *Khān*s. Those, who have produced textiles, confectionery and etc., in the second stories of *Khān*s, can be small business. Aleppine people could modernize the traditional industry in such a way. In this process the big wholesalers, who had enough financial powder, have organized those small business to the network of their market. The latter have produced according to the order of the former. H. Gaube and E. Wirth have given only one example. In the *Khān 'Ulabiyah* direct on the southern side of the chief passage around the Great Mosque, the rooms of the first story are used for the offices and the delivery counter of wholesalers. They sell their textiles and yarns. In the second story spinner,

ribbon-maker, cotton-weaver, finisher and so on are working.[19]

The dwelling zone around the central *Sūq*, especially on the southern side has adjoined the *Sūq* so that the asymmetrical contrast between the south and the north of the central *Sūq* has become clearer as the modernization of the *Sūq*s and *Khān*s has been extending to the northern direction more smoothly.

6. THE MULTIPLE COMPOSITION AND THE VERTICAL ARTICULATION OF THE URBAN COMMUNITY IN ALEPPO

As we have observed the urban development of Aleppo in summary, the multiple composition between non-Islamic cultures and Islamic culture has developed in the different phases of the long history of Aleppo. In the pre-Islamic age itself the integration between the native, Syrian culture and the Hellenistic or Roman culture could have been the difficult task of Aleppine people. The early Christian church had got a footing in the Roman Aleppo, while the coastal cities like Laṭākiah (Laodichea) and Anṭākiyah (Antiochia) were the centres of the Christian mission. The Roman and Christian culture had amalgamated to the Byzantine culture, which had become rather the dangerous neighbor for Aleppo in the early Islamic age later.

In those days of the pre-Islamic age Aleppine had accepted various ancient cultures, without having lost their native culture. The historical soil, upon which the new Islamic culture was planted in the 7th century, should have been very comprehensive and composite.

Japan has also the similar historical characteristic. The Attitude of japanese people toward foreign cultures has been very comprehensive too. She has accepted various foreign cultures not only in her ancient age, but also her middle or modern age. But she has not adopted any strong value system of religion except Buddhism. The composition between her native culture and foreign cultures has been expressed as Wakon Yosai (Foreign–Western or Chinese–Culture with Japanese Mind). Mind is not the religious belief, but the specific japanese sentiment.

The new Islamic culture itself had different phases in the later middle age and the modern age, which had succeeded from the Ayyubide (1174 A.D. –1260) to the Mamlūks (1260–1518) then to the Ottoman dynasty. They have been all the foreign rulers. The former two were rather Egyptian and the latter was Turkish. Although the Islamic rules of those dynasties were rather tolerant for Aleppo, compared with the modern western colonialism, the subjectivity of the Aleppine people could have only accomplished her magnificent results not only in the urbanization, but also in the economic achievement.

It should have been the real reason why the specific international melting-pot was established in Aleppo, symbolically at *Khān*s in the central *Sūq* of Aleppo. The initiative was again in the hands of Aleppine. It was very rare case in the

[19] *ibid.*, p. 81, 131, 146—148, 295, 358.

colonial age of the European powers. They had set their consulates at the heart of old Aleppo, for example, at *Khān al-J̌umruk*.

So the attitude toward the western impact of the modernization was the same. Indeed it has induced Aleppo to extend over the old city wall and to establish her new business centre, but the old city centre did not lose its central position, habing changed the character of the *Khān*s and *Sūq*s to the modern industrial scattered centres there. The old Aleppo and the new Aleppo have corporated each other to raise up her international position. Another corporation which should be referred here has been the economic and social corporation between Muslim and Christian or Jew. Above all Armenian Christian who were obliged to move from their homeland to Aleppo in the 16th century, has contributed to the economic development of Aleppo, being intermediate trader of Persian silk for British and also export trader of Aleppine products to the northern and north-eastern area of the Ottoman Empire. Those, which were the believers of other religions, were dwelling in their quarters, but could live with Muslims either in the old city or in the suburbs. The racial or religious segregation has not been in Aleppo so strict as in other Islamic cities (Fig. 13).

At the dawn of the modern age Japan had the quite different attitude toward the western culture. She rejected the Christianity of Western Europe, the Roman Catholicism, which she had accepted before once. She made the closed system against the old christian culture of Western Europe except Netherlands, which had recognized the prohibition of the christian mission in Japan. Under this closed system, called Sakoku, the feudal rulers had succeeded to build their local central cities as their local political metropolis. They absorbed the naturally developed rural markets into the one single planned local metropolis with the castle (Castle city). This concentration of rural markets means the victory of the feudal rulers.

Standing upon the top of this centrifugal system, Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo, Tokyo today, could have ruled the whole Japan for almost three centuries. The national market system had developed under Tokugawa Shogunate. It had contributed to form the necessary economic condition for the development of Modern Japan later.

It should be acknowledged that the historical comprehensiveness of Aleppine people, what we have observed now, is the key-point to understand the steady urban development of Aleppo. Their historical flexibility toward various foreign cultures has been the barometer of the core character of native Aleppine. On the other side the Islamic Principles which have been the strong influence upon the urban development of Aleppo should be considered now.

The Islamic Principles do not know any dualism between the secular world and the sacred world. The *Sharī'ah*, the sacred law given from God, has four legal sources, the *Qur'ān* (the sacred book revealed to the prophet, Muhammad), the *Sunnah* (the divinely inspired behavior of Muhammad), the 'Ijmā' (the consensus of the entire Muslim scholars) and *Qiyās* (the analogical inference in the elaboration of law). Those four sources have included teachings for every

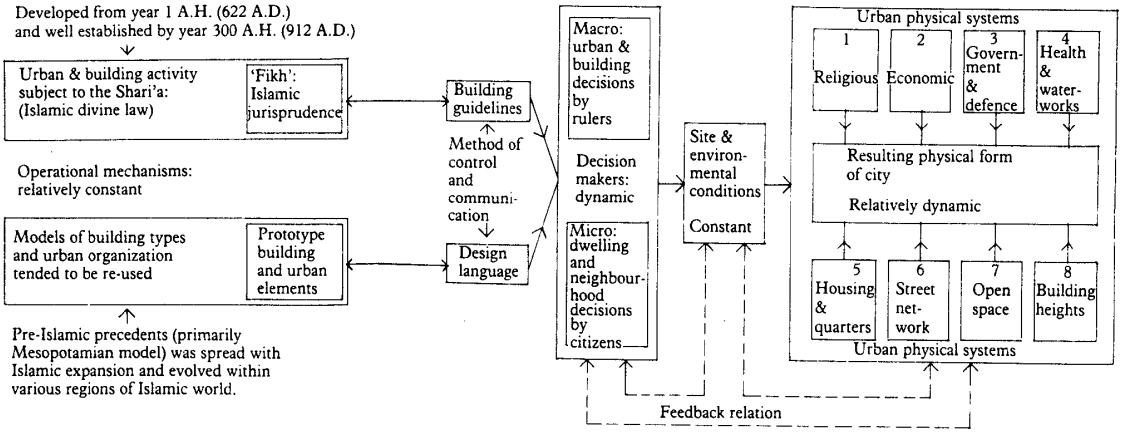


Fig. 15. Conceptual model of selected factors that shaped the traditional Arabic-Islamic city (Hakim)

kind of human deeds, which are not only religious, but also social or economic. The principles, upon which the Islamic urbanization has been accomplished, are taken from such teachings of Islam.

Besim Selim Hakim, who has achieved the excellent research work of the Islamic urbanization of Tunis in the northern Africa, presents the above chart (Fig. 15), which shows the vertical integration of the Islamic urbanization of the old pre-Islamic cities.[20] In every aspect from the beginning to the end the Islamic Principles should have been determinatively influential, although pre-Islamic precedents are to be considered. At the same time the dynamic decision-making process operating in the urbanization has taken the hinge position of the chart. The decision makers should be rulers and citizens. The former decisions were rather obvious manifestations macro in nature, such a policy for city planning, street extension, the building of the religious facilities and so on. "Citizens' decisions were of a micro nature, with less discernible effects than the decisions of the rulers, but their aggregate impact on the city was ultimately more significant and affected the lives of most people directly." The interesting chart of Hakim can be applicable for Aleppo, too, but the one point should be added for the Islamic image of Cosmos (universe and society), which should be the fundamental deeper stratum of the Islamic Principle.

Every religion has given us the value-system, by which its believer can articulate the amorphous inner unconscious world. Sense, desire, emotion, etc., what we call the psychological responses, have only the streams of momentary ups and downs, without any certain direction. Technology and science, namely the rational instrument and knowledge, are believed today to control them in the direction of human progress. But without any religious articulation, which is possible by the faith in the value-system of that religion, the amorphous inner world can not be

[20] Hakim, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–54, Fig. 15 (*ibid.*, pp. 18–19, Fig. 1); Lapidus, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–190; Scharabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–82.

ordered in a certain direction. Furthermore the order of outer world can be constructed only with the help of the religious articulation. What kind of articulation this or that religion let the believer adopt, decides the direction both of the inner world and of the outer world.

Islamic religion has the strong value-system to articulate vertically every element of human life without any distinction between the sacred world and the secular world. This is very antithetic to Christian religion, which has had also the strong value-system. The latter has aimed however to articulate horizonatally every element of human life with the strict distinction between the sacred and the secular world. In Islamic religion the vertical relationship from God to human being should integrate different aspects of human life. This vertically integrated articulation does not allow any religious professionalism. Muslims have not organized the professional body of ecclesiastic like Christian churches. They have not experienced the tension between the sacred world, church and the secular world, state. Every Muslim should have the mission to play the Divine Role both in the sacred and the secular world.

My concept of 'Articulation' is the new one, for which the concept 'control' over human desire has been used till now. The latter concept had seemed to be useful for the explanation of the modern western development both on the side of the value-system or on the side of technology and science. But it can cover only the to Western Europe oriented rational development. It is not adequate in order to analyze the whole structure of another culture as Islamic one.

My concept 'Articulation' should cover every element of human life to articulate under the deeper image of the whole structure of human culture. For example the urban formation and market building can be observed as the result of an 'Articulation', based on a belief in a value-system.

In Christian religion, on the contrary, God needs his son as the intermediator to reconcile with human being who is too egocentric to be faithful to God. His son, called Jesus, is believed as the Christ, the Savior, who has sacrificed his own life to save the alienation of huamn being from God. It means that God who should be completely vertical to human being in essence, has given up his vertical position and acknowledged the horizontal articulation of the inner and outer world of its believers. This horizontal articulation should justify the human ego by the doctrine of selfsacrifice of Jesus and recognize the dualism between the sacred and secular world. Ecclesiastical power of the professional priesthood has promoted bureaucratic instition of the secular state. Tensions between both powers has resulted the triumph of the latter, namely the secularization of the whole world. The Christian horizontal articulation has given West-European people the strong motivation to the formation of the competitive market economy, which is based on the principle of division of labor and the justified ethic of human egoism. It has fitted perfectly to the process of the West-European modernization. One-sided secularization has no brake on the abuse of the modern technology and the profit-oriented behavior.

The difference of both religious articulations has reflected upon the Islamic Principles of the city formation, as S. Hakim has shown us, which should penetrate the whole area of the urban life. Every aspect there should be integrated by the vertical Islamic articulation. The sacred activities (in the religious facilities like Mosque, *Madrasah*, *Waqf* etc.) and the secular activities (in the political institutions, economic facilities like *Sūq*, *Khān*, *Qaisariyah* etc.) have been integrated so deeply that to observe them separately is quite meaningless. The western functional analysis has the determining limit on this point. Islamic cities have the specific centrifugal structure spatially because of this comprehensive integration by the vertical articulation. The sacred and the secular space, or the public and the private space have been intermingled so that Islamic cities have the scattered plural centres like mosques, *Sūq*s, *Khān*s inside of the city walls. The big Mosque is only the symbol of the vertical ariculation from one God which has horizontalized every part of the city.

Islamic cities have had of course the danger to be secularized or lose their vertical integration. If the faith in the strong value-system were weakened or lost among people, especially their leaders in a certain society, the danger of the political or economic secularization could appear, threatening the peace and welfare of that society. The western impact has promoted this danger by its own secularized colonialism.

Christian cities have developed much in the variety, because the Christian value system of the horizontal articulation which has reflected in the dualism between the sacred and the secular world has let the secular world independently develop. The city of God, civitas dei, should be the city in heaven, the another world, Christian religion has adapted the various types of culture such as the classical culture, the European culture in the middle age and the modern age, the native cultures in colonial lands. The sacred activities (in the religious facilities like Church, Cloister etc.) and the secular activities (in political institutions, economic facilities like Market, Stock-Exchange, Chamber of Commerce and Industry etc.) have been separated in principle. The structure of Christian cities has not been such centrifugal as Islamic cities because of this separation. On the one hand the ecclesiastical power of the Catholic church in Western Europe in middle age, which had been strongly vertical from the pope, the priesthood to the layman has been dissolved by the Reformation partly. The Protestant churches have relatively horizontalized the vertical relationship between the priesthood and the layman, preserving the priesthood itself. On the other hand the hierarchical democracy of the citizens of the western cities in middle age has been taken over by the general democracy of the nation, which does not mean the true horizontalization of the society.

As for the market system: The typical west-european city in the middle age had the market system of separation for the privileged citizen. Fairs (annually held markets on special days), Weekly Markets (weekly held markets on the special Weekdays) and Daily Markets (daily shopmarket for necessifies of the citizen)

had been separated. The former two markets could be held only at the place and on the days, indicated in the charter of the feudal rulers. There were many institutional regulations in favour of the priviledged citizen. Against such a system peasants and craftmen in the rural districts round the priviledged city had fought in order to get the freedom of market and vocation. The realization of such a freedom has been their victory.

Furthermore the so-called rational development in the secular world has triumphed over the faith in the value-system of horizontal articulation in sacred wolrd. The result has been the secularism in all senses, which has invaded the sacred world, having made the leader of the society 'specialist without spirit'. The intellectual functionalism has been the product of this secularism which should be separated from the belief in any value-system. The social system by the division of labor has been losing the ability of self-control.

By the historical composition japanese people could have accepted the competitive market economy with the modern technology from Western Europe. They have absorved only the result of the european horizontal articultion, namely the methods of marketing, based on the principle of the division of labour, but without the christian belief. The danger of loosing the ability of self-control should be much higher in Japan than in Western Europe.

In the long history of Aleppo we can recognize that the Islamic vertical articulation has been the determining factor in her urban development. But, although the rulers in various ages have been almost foreigners, the native initiatives have played also important roles, which have reflected the remaining central position of the old city, especially of the *Sūq*s inside of the city wall. Their roles have changed of course in different stages of her history. The history in different stages of Aleppo has been so rich and fertile that the historical comprehensiveness of Aleppine people and the multiple composition of the old city, the *Sūq*s of Aleppo and the new city are worthwhile to be researched.

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