

# BEYOND THE WALL

NOTES ON MULTICULTURAL MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE

Edited by  
Attilio Petruccioli  
Adriana Sarro

ICAR

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a cura di  
Attilio Petruccioli  
Adriana Sarro

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ICAR

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## CONTENTS

- 9 Introduction
- 13 Essaouira - Mogador. A Multicultural City in Morocco  
*Attilio Petruccioli*
- 25 Residences and Public Space in the Urban Tissues of Syria in Presence of  
Intercultural Inherits in Relationships with some Cities of the Mediterranean Sea  
*Adriana Sarro*
- 39 The Multicultural Fabric of the Crusader Citadel of Tartous in Syria  
*Giulia Annalinda Neglia*
- 51 The Ottoman Houses of Haifa:  
Typologies of Domestic Architecture in a Late Ottoman Palestinian Town  
*Ron Fuchs*
- 75 Le quartier de la Petite Sicile à Tunis, histoire ancienne et enjeux actuels  
*Leïla Ammar*
- 85 Evolution du Vocabulaire Architecturale: cas de la Médina de Tunis  
*Najet Hedhly Boubaker*
- 87 Learning from the Orient:  
Eugène Beaudouin and the Restitution of 17th Century Isfahan  
*Giuseppina Lonero*
- 99 Le Mausolée Royal Maurétanien de Tipasa en Algérie.  
Un repère d'architecture multiculturelle à promouvoir  
*Joucef Chennaoui*
- 109 Palermo. Architecture and Culture of Dialogue  
*Antonino Margagliotta*
- 117 The Arab Influence in the Architecture of Apulia and Basilicata  
*Antonella Calderazzi*
- 121 Permanencies and Cultural Stratifications in the Development of the  
Identifying Characteristics of Apulian Architecture and Territory  
*Calogero Montalbano*
- 137 The "Salt Landscapes" of the Adriatic Coast.  
The Case Study of Margherita di Savoia  
*Giuseppe Francesco Rociola*
- 149 Territorial Policies, Social Exclusion and Immigration in the South  
*Sergio Bisciglia*

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*in memory of*  
*Pasquale Culotta*





## INTRODUCTION

History can be told in closed chapters, contained in rigidly separated compartments, or like a huge river running slowly and majestically, unstoppable, into which streams and small rivers flow.

The first case includes the simplifications of many historians to make clear and clean phenomena in order to extrapolate a protagonist, an event or a style and relate a theory more easily. The attempts made to rewrite History on the part of emerging countries wishing to delete a colonial past are not dissimilar. The trend is in privileging the history of autochthonous cultures and in ignoring the exogenous contributions: in Libya and in Algeria, ancient Romans and Byzantines become less important or completely ignored, similarly to the Italian fascists or the French of the first Republic. The result is a homogeneous image of the country, or even monolithic, pacified, but substantially anti-historic.

The second case includes the idea of History as a continuous process, in which each phase contains as a premise the traces of the previous one. It is not a single heroic protagonist who appears in the foreground or the style of a school, but all of this often in a conflictual state, since the great river of History also brings together the waste of hybridizations and contaminations.

We are personally convinced that the ferment of innovation grows and multiplies in this waste.

Mediterranean and multiculturalism are two inseparable ideas, almost a tautology, but, if subject to a strict analysis, they escape, becoming poly-significant. What has determined the integrated perception of Pedrag Matvejevic, which has great success and diffusion? How do we go beyond the rhetoric of Mediterranean diet and of sunburnt white walls and distinct shadows?

We all agree on the fact that the Great Lake, the Roman Mare Nostrum, has been the most extraordinary theatre for the meeting of civilizations. Fernand Braudel's book "La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II," defined by someone as the "Gone with the Wind" of Mediterranean studies, is an excellent fresco which, aiming at the whole of the closed lake, represents an organic unit in an idyllic world of quiet relationships. If so, this world disappeared a long time ago, victim of the cruelty of that principle of quarrel and survival of civilizations, which is at the basis of the interpretation of the great English historian of comparative civilizations, Arnold Toynbee.

The most realistic framework should be coexistence in a condition of latent conflict, which explodes yet in the XXI century - as the conflict in the Balkans, which has led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia - herald of loss but also of rapid progress.

Maybe a counter-history of the Mediterranean should be written by these meetings/crashes of cultures that have become hybrid.

We recall a small episode: the buildings of the Maltese towns have a strange familiarity with the Ottoman world because of the musharabiyyas decorating the façades. We know that no Turk has ever arrived on the island thanks to the strong resistance of its inhabitants in the XVI century. Hence, all this building

equipment allowing women to peer at the road without being seen have in Malta a standard measure of 162 cm that corresponds to those in Izmir on the western coast of Anatolia. We should consider the Selgiuqids in Turkey who transferred into their madrase, mosques and caravanseraï the spolia of the classical world, until the casual approach became a well-established linguistic fact. The opening essay by Attilio Petruccioli looks into some specific aspects of Mediterranean multiculturalism. The analysis of the town of Mogador in Morocco with the Mellah district and the comparison with the other symbolic case of Essaouira, bring to light the complexity of an anthropic palimpsest structured towards the unavoidable conditioning imposed by the morphology of the territory.

The article by Adriana Sarro examines the urban structure of Aleppo and its in-progress event as a paradigm of the mix among cultures, if compared to Tunis, Cairo, Fez and Palermo. This study also constitutes an opportunity to think about the concept of "identity" and "difference", "equality" and "diversity".

The study by Giulia Annalinda Neglia considers the urban palimpsest of Tartous in Syria, looking at, in the complex superimposed plots that history has impressed on it, the concrete heritage of Mediterranean multiculturalism. The article by Ron Fuchs interprets the typological transformations of residential building during the process of modernization that involves the Ottoman Empire in the XIX century. The analysis of the urban fabric of Haifa in Palestine permits the investigation of the development of the house, analysing the different types and models.

The article by Leïla Ammar analyses "little Sicily" in Tunis, a district born towards the end of the XIX century in the heart of the city, near the Harbour, examining the critical elements and the value useful for a hypothesis of urban requalification of the whole district.

The article by Najet Hedhly Boubaker considers the transformations of the ancient fabric of the médina of Tunis, in relation to the typological update of residences and to the subsequent changes in the architectural language. The aim is to define the guidelines for interventions of urban recovery.

The study by Giuseppina Lonero concerns the figure of Eugène Beaudouin, linked in this case to projects presented for Envois de Rome. In particular, it is important to analyse the project of reconstruction of Isfahan in the XVII century presented during the third Envoi de Rome held in 1933.

The research by Joucef Chennaoui focuses on the consideration concerning the value of the cultural heritage towards the recent indications by UNESCO. The archaeological site of Tipasa, with the royal mausoleum, represents a symbolic and historical element of significant value because of its integration into the Algerian rural landscape.

The article by Antonino Margagliotta tackles the question of multiculturalism through the study of the city of Palermo, as an example of dialogue among the different cultures that have marked their presence in that place. These principles are at the basis of research in progress at the Faculty of Architecture of Palermo; some projects formulated with the students of the Architectural Composition I course are being analysed.

The research by Antonella Calderazzi investigates the cultural links and the architectural influences of the Saracen presence in Apulia, through the investigation of interesting assimilations on the part of the autochthonous and Norman-Swabian culture.

Calogero Montalbano looks into the process of the anthropic development of Apulia as result of the progressive adaptation of man to the geomorphological features of the territory. This adaptation is expressed through the development of the living types, as trulli, lamioni or farms-jazzi, coherent with the nature of the place and with the fact of belonging to the great Mediterranean koiné. The study by Giuseppe Rociola is included within the research on the Mediterranean landscape and focuses on the salt coastal landscapes, particular territorial structures characterized by the presence of lagoon salt pans. The field of investigation, close to the Adriatic coasts, finds its conclusion in the case study of the salt pan of Margherita di Savoia, which transformation process linked to the water control and to the development of a living structure close to the basins has made the original natural lagoon an extremely complex anthropic palimpsest.

The article by Sergio Bisciglia looks into the phenomena of the migratory flows and of the social inclusion in Apulia, giving a complete framework of the dynamics in progress and of the sociological issues linked.

At press time, it is my duty to thank all those who have contributed with recommendations, encouragement and positive critiques.

Collaborators and colleagues of the Department of Science of Civil Engineering and Architecture of the Politecnico of Bari and its director Mauro Mezzina. Rino Montalbano, Annalinda Neglia, Claudio Rubini, Domenico Catania. Our thoughts and affection go to Maurice Munir Cerasi, friend and research mate, with whom we organized the international meeting "Multicultural Space and Fabric of the Islamic World" in the Swabian Castle of Trani in 2003, and also J.C. David, researcher of the Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen of Lyons; Najet Hedhly, director of the Ecole National d'Architecture et Urbanisme of Tunis; Renata Holod, professor of History of Islamic Art at the University of Pennsylvania; Brik Tarak, professor at the Ecole de Beaux Arts of Tunis; Giovanni Cucchiara, student of this topic at the Faculty of Architecture of Palermo; Amor Khoja, teacher at the Ecole Nationale d'Architecture et Urbanisme of Tunis.

Thanks to Giuseppe Rociola for the scrupulous work of the page make-up of the book.

Attilio Petruccioli  
Adriana Sarro



## Essaouira - Mogador

### A Multicultural City in Morocco

Attilio Petruccioli

In my studies on Islamic architecture I have always come across Jewish settlements that existed in symbiosis with the quarters of the followers of the Prophet: at times spread in a long and slender pattern over the territory, as in the Moroccan Tafilalt or Sous, or concentrated in closed communities in the great commercial centers, in some cases rather rare, as at Mogador or Thessalonica, ending up constituting the majority of inhabitants. These are communities that are outside Islam, but in essence accepted, because devoted peacefully to their stores and never politically aligned to subvert the established power. The same localization in the southern Mediterranean immediately reveals their two main vocations: farmers specialized in irrigation agriculture in the former case, and merchants and financiers in the latter. I have always been fascinated by the migratory routes of peoples and by the influence that the morphology of the territory has had in the history of the socio-political organization of groups and their settlement methods. In the case of the most ancient Jewish settlements, perhaps before the persecution of the first century BCE in the pre-Saharan belt, behind the Atlas Mountains, I have always wondered which route they came from. I do not agree with the most accredited thesis of M. Eisenbeth, in fact, that they all arrived following the Phoenicians of Carthage; I am inclined to believe that they arrived through the land route, following long caravans on the sui generis crest of the plateau. Lacking irrefutable sources able to define the directions of this roaming, I imagine branching out and weaving over the territory, dotted with settlements in oases, whose survival is tied to the daily activity of the farmer.

In modern times it is surprising to discover extended *mellahs* in Morocco with regular plans right up against the sultan's palace, surrounded by Muslim *derbs*. We should not be fooled by the more apparent than real difference: the irregular streets of the Muslim quarters, with the progressive hierarchy of streets up to the culs de sac in each neighborhood unit, have had the possibility, increasing over time, to implement an organic adaptation to the topography and above all to the new needs of the inhabitants. But the formative processes are the same, as are the planning principles; the same layout of spaces and routes, dictated by the will to separate the group. Many residential parts of the Muslim cities of North Africa I think of the various extensions of Monastir, Rabat, etc., that arose not from a design, but with the harmony of the group and without topographic unevenness are extraordinarily regular.

Nor are the houses substantially different from one another in their internal

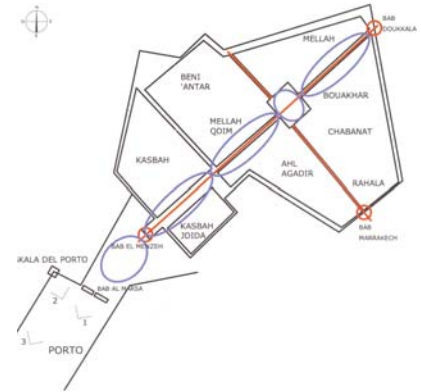


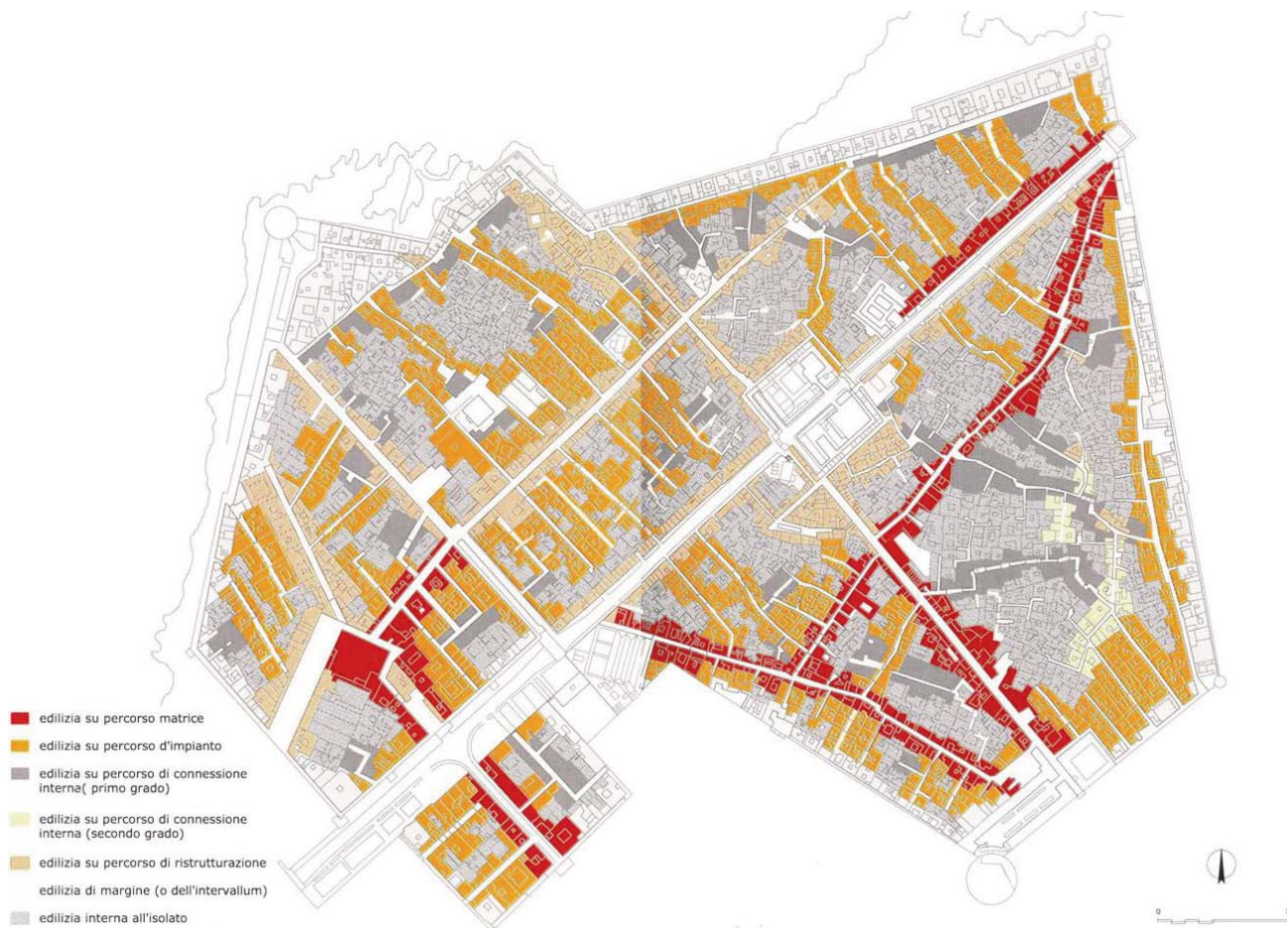
Fig. 1. Mogador. The sequence of the public spaces conceived as watertight compartments of a submarine.

distribution: Golvin in 1924 found that at Salé "The arrangement of the houses is uncomplicated. It is copied from that of the Arab houses and comprises a more or less large number of rooms (*bit*) that open onto a central courtyard open to the sky (*oust ed dar*) as is the custom in that town."

Perhaps this reason explains the facility with which in the desert town of Tafilalt, as in the imperial cities after 1948, Arabs and Berbers took the place of Jews.

It would seem that in the Islamic pre-industrial city majorities and minorities conformed to a typological *koinè*, adhering to the spirit and culture of the place, almost as if the adoption of a building type equal to the Arab language were a form of partial integration and communication with the majority. Is it possible that the only distinctions are represented by the ritual bath (*hammam bird*) or by the symbols of David on the shutters of the houses? The key question as to whether there exist architectural and urbanistic forms specific to the Jewish world can be extended to the Sephardic peoples who moved to North Africa, who, more than others, tried to keep alive their language and culture. A great many found refuge in Algiers and Costantina, where the Sephardic communities were reorganized by Itzhak ben Shashet, Simon Duran and

Fig. 2. Mogador. The various building tissues and the related routes: matrix routes are in black, the planned routes or secondary are in a grid pattern, the connecting routes are in dotted, and in a finer dotted the restructuring routes and tissues. The cul de sac are represented with a dark hatching.

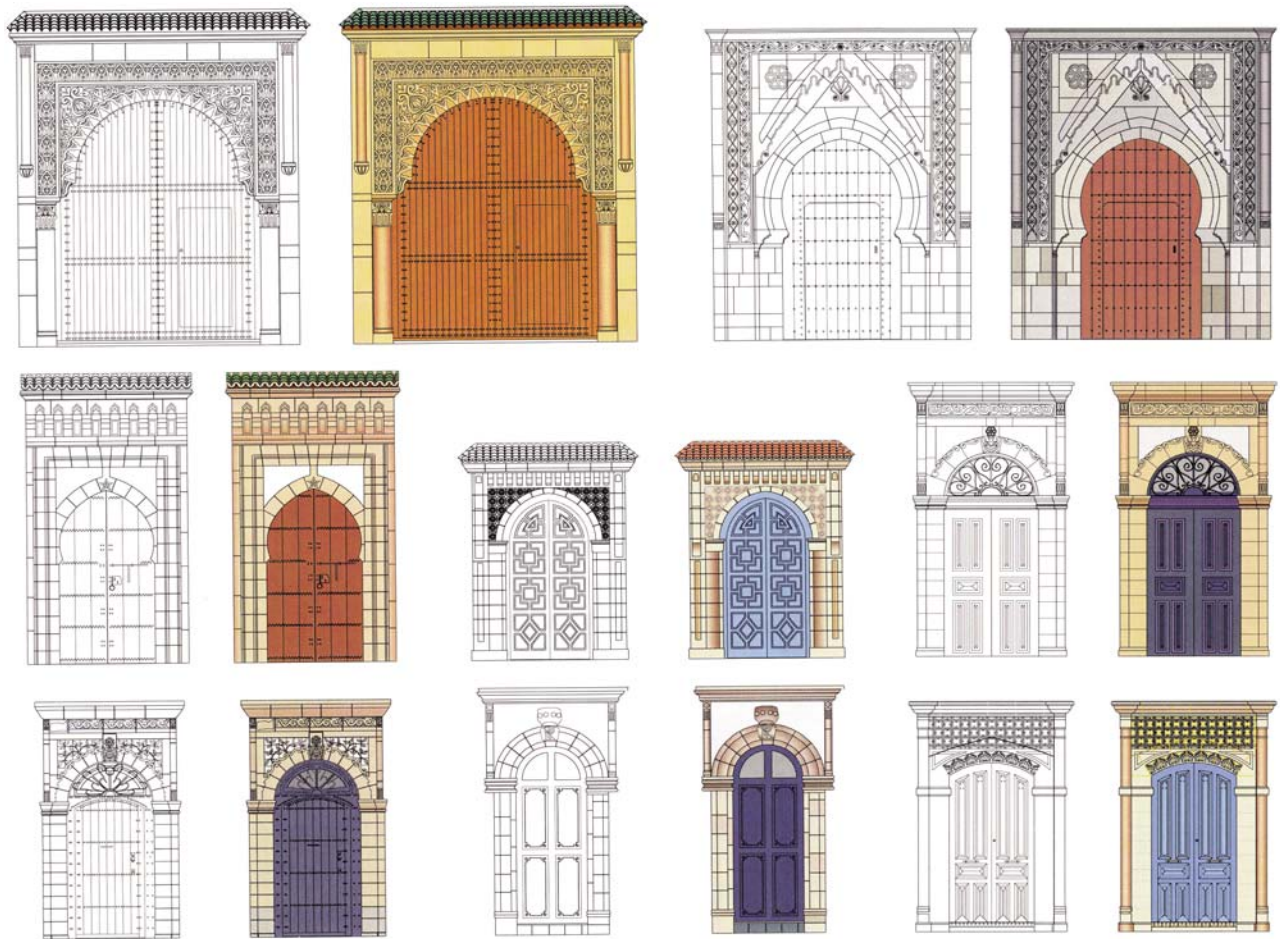


Joseph ben Menir. From this time, Orano, Tiemcen, Tangiers and Fez became centers of reconversion of the Maronites and their successive diffusion toward Bona, Tunis, Kairouan, Ouargla and the M'zab. In the Ottoman Empire the Sephardic peoples had a notable mobility toward Jerusalem, Cyprus, Crete and the Syrian cities.

Two examples not strictly pertinent to the Sephardic world can be the object of reflection: the ghetto of Sana'a and the quarters of Jerba.

In the ghetto of al-Qa west of Bir al'Azab, separated by the Muslims from the wadi Saila, Yemenite Jews settled after 1679; it was enclosed by a wall and had its own suq. The houses have been studied several times: the installation and spatial concept are different in photographs from the contemporaneous Muslim houses. First of all the height, in the tower type, so characteristic of the skyline of Sana'a, is ignored in favor of a courtyard type, in which spaces are distributed around an open-air patio (*hijrah*) and a vestibule beneath. The rooms are arranged with regard to height in a very liberal way, but one tied to a precise hierarchy that calls for small connecting steps in front of each door. Thus, from top to bottom we have the main living room, the diwan, the bedrooms, and then the kitchens and the laundry. Differently from the

*Fig. 3. The abacus of the private entrances and decorative symbols in the medina of Mogador.*





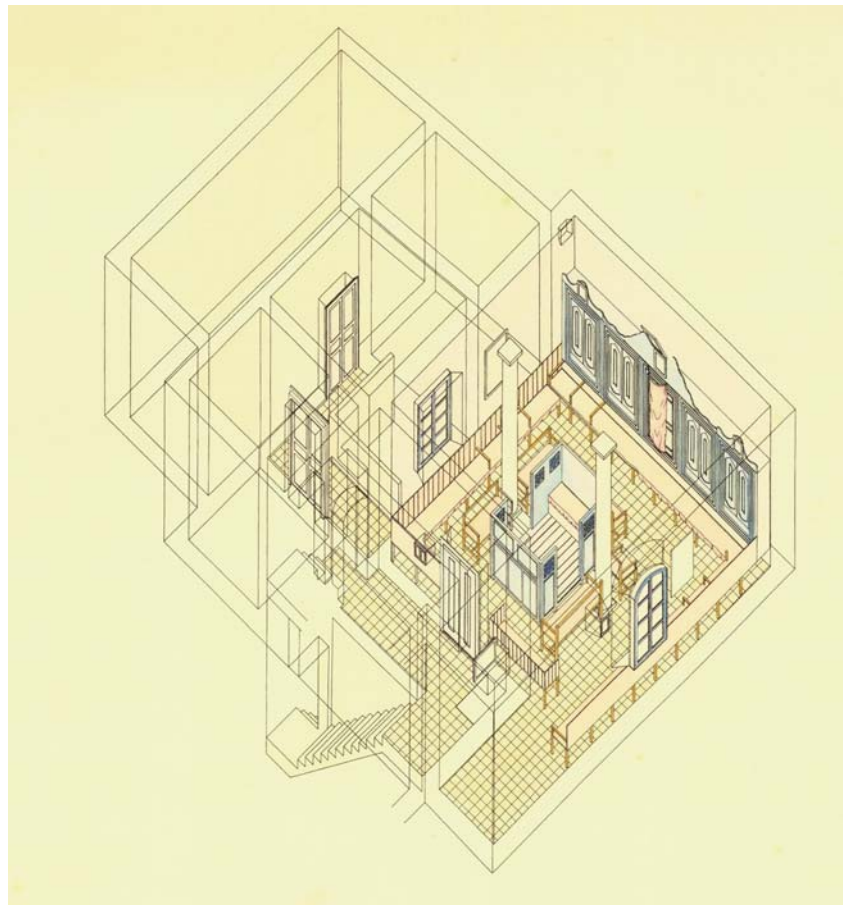
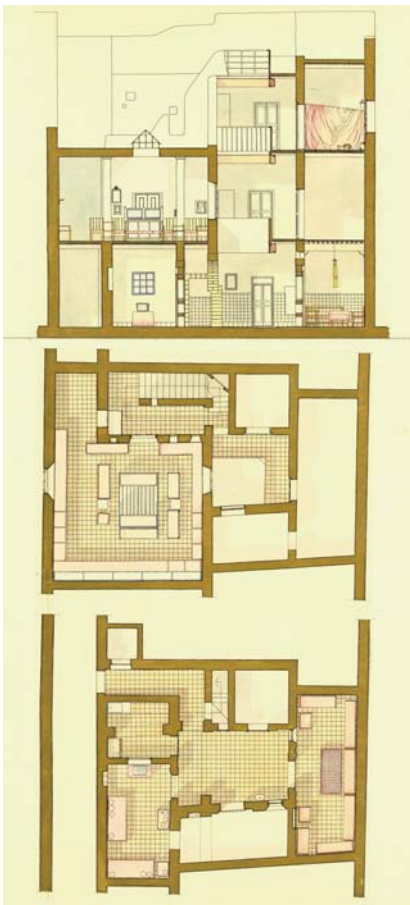
Mediterranean world, the courtyard is not the center of the house, since all the rooms face outward.

In Jerba there are two settlements: Hara Kebira and Hara Sghira. The functional program of the houses is not different from the Muslim one except for the presence in the courtyard of the basin for the ritual bath (*mikvé*) and an elevated room covered by leafy branches that is used for the eight days of the celebration of Succoth. According to Lucette Valenci, a thin iron wire runs along the entire *bara* from one terrace to another, carrying out literally a religious prescription, *Verziv*, according to which a continuous city within its walls can be assimilated to a private environment, in which the Jews are dispensed from the prohibition to carry objects during the Sabbath. The entire region is a *haram*, structured by rites and for rites: one synagogue is frequented for the morning prayer, another for the afternoon or evening prayer, and yet another for the great collective observances.

From this initial encounter with Jewish architecture we can make a preliminary conclusion: To delegate the construction to others, live in quarters and houses that are not different from those of one's neighbors, participate in the visual unity and in the urban continuum does not answer a will to maintain a low profile, but rather is a great example of civilization that sets the acceptance of

Fig. 4. The Bet Ha-Kneset Chaim Pinto synagogue. Plans and sections through the house and the prayer hall.

Fig. 5. The Bet Ha-Kneset Chaim Pinto synagogue. Axonometrical views from below.



the genius loci above the individualism of the designer. It also represents the primacy of the place over culture in the sense that even liturgy rarely imposes itself on the architecture. Perhaps it would be advisable to re-think this primacy in Islamic studies as well, invented by the Orientalists starting with Marçais to confirm a dubious unity. To find the origin of the Arab mosque, a combination of hypostyle-sahn hall, in the house of the Prophet at Medina is an attempt to deny an active role to the place. And yet the structural differences between the Persian, Turkish and Arab mosque are evident, and not variations on a theme, but divergent concepts of space.

We know, moreover, that the building type, understood in its clearest meaning of house, travels with difficulty, as it is rooted in the society and in the place. Only the model, as Quatrèmere believes, can be copied and adopted for its iconic message: this message was prohibited to the Sephardic world until the nineteenth century.

During the time of the French Protectorate, the city that is the object of this study, located on the Atlantic Ocean, was known by the name Mogador, and with this name it entered into colonial myth and the memory of Jewish culture. Essaouira is the modern name that recovers the original as-Sawira, diminutive of *sura*, which means image.

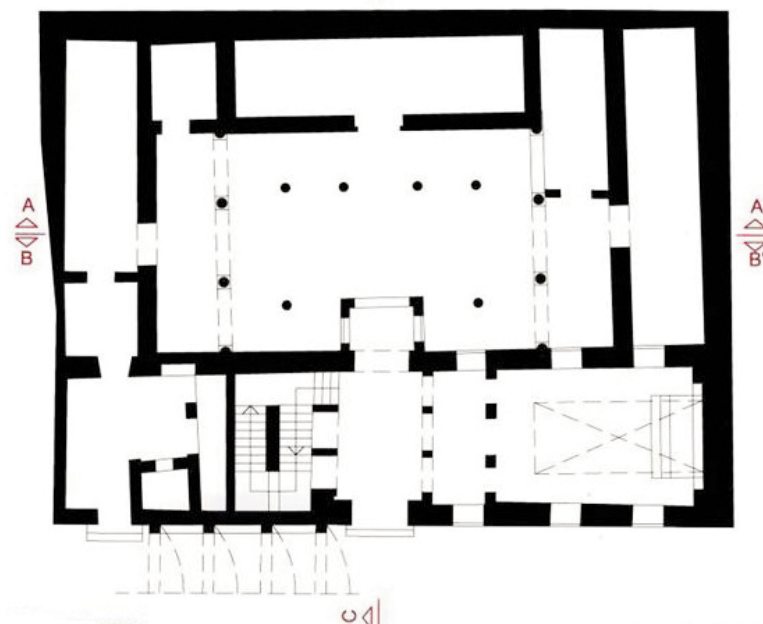
Essaouira/Mogador was for almost two hundred years the most consistent example in the Mediterranean of a city of peoples and products based on a strategy of the peaceful coexistence of a Jewish community next to a Muslim community. Between 1770 and 1870 it was the main seaport of Morocco and its fame rivaled that of Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis.

Until 1948, forty percent of the population of this commercial port was Jewish. Today three families remain and the streets of the two *mellahs* are inha-

Fig. 6. The Bet Ha-Kneset Simon Attias synagogue. Plan of the ground floor.

Fig. 7. The Bet Ha-Kneset Chaim Pinto synagogue. The bema of the prayer hall enlightened from above.

Fig. 8. A street in the New Mellah



bited by a very poor Muslim population who emigrated from the interior of Morocco.

In the past, too, the two *mellahs* were inhabited by poor Jews, while the rich Jewish merchants preferred to live in the state *makhzan* houses of the Casbah or in the first urban expansion to the west of the first so-called New Casbah, in contact with European merchants.

In the 18th century Essaouira was in a strategic position situated on the trade routes, protected by a Portuguese fortification. A port did not exist and the ships had to cast their anchors in the spacious cove.

In 1757 the sultan Muhammad Ben Abdallah reestablished the city starting with a village still called Casbah, which in plan recalls the fortified *ksar* (pl. *ksour*) villages of the valleys of the Dra'a and the Ziz.

In 1767 the plan of the city was drawn up by a French engineer Théodore Cornut, with a cardo-decumanus plan inspired from the design of Saint Malo that furnished the framework for the pre-existing parts of the city. It is a combination of an imperial Moroccan city, the model being Fez and the coeval Mekkès, with a great building with gardens, enclosed by walls and a regular courtyard called a *meshwar*, a kind of vestibule or clasp between the building and the medina, the latter being formed by quarters of the local tribes arising spontaneously. This structure is "ordered" by Cornut's strong plan of two axes placed at ninety degrees that intersect in the central plaza of the Suq al jadid market.

The sultan's palace is built as a clasp between the port and the city on an edge of the decumanus; from the beginning the expansion of the built area is planned to the northeast of the Casbah, according to a drawing in a regular checkerboard pattern, while the Muslim quarters find room on the swampy lands southwest of the center of the new city.

Favored by a policy of openness, very soon numerous families of Jewish merchants worked with the authorization of the Sultan, the so-called Tujjar as-Sultan, who, like the Chinese compradors, achieved notable wealth in a short time. Depending for everything on the Palace, their loyalty was automatically assured. The royal merchants favored by osmosis the arrival of a multitude of Jews devoted to small trade, peddlers and hucksters. In a few years a local service handicraft developed, in which jewelry stood out, and of which the Jews were the undisputed masters until 1948.

Just as important were the settlements of the military corps of the Sultan that gave rise to the quarters named after their places of origin: Chabanat, Margina, Ait Tamait, Adawar, Agadir, Manabha, Bani Antar and Rahala.

While the religious lives of Jews and Muslims remained separate, the commercial life of one was influenced by the other and the recurring reciprocal religious practices intersected both during the day and in regulating the festivities of the bazaar.

At night Muslims and Jews reestablished ethnic barriers behind the well-wat-

Fig. 9-10. Two streets in Mellah al Qadima and the quarter of Beni Antar.



ched doors of their respective quarters. Only in the Casbah, Jews, Muslims and Christians spent the night in the same quarter, with social status breaking down ethnic divisions.

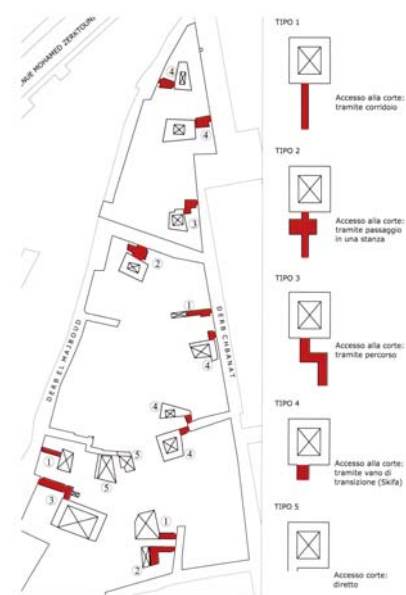
When Essaouira, the only Atlantic port of Morocco, became the ideal base for European merchants, the consulates of Italy, the United States, Portugal, Spain, France, Denmark and England soon established themselves. After the treaty of 1856, with the advent of colonialism, there emerged a new Europeanized generation of Jewish merchants who at the same time threw the old elite into economic crisis.

Following the immigration of Moroccan Jews of the Sous the Jewish community established its own ghetto beginning only in 1807 in the area northwest



Fig. 11. The section of the New Mellah next to Bab Doukkala. Plan of the neighbourhood and elevations of the street fronts.

Fig. 12. The systems of separation private-public as applied in the same quarter. From above: 1. Access to the courtyard through a corridor; 2. The access is mediated by a room; 3. The access is mediated by a lane; 4. The access is mediated by a room or skifa; 5. Access to the courtyard through a direct passage.



of the medina.

To facilitate the understanding of the demographic movement of the populations, we quote the following figures:

- 1785 6,000 Jewish inhabitants, as noted by the banker Colcos
- 1830 3,000 Jewish inhabitants out of 15,000
- 1880 10,000 Jewish inhabitants out of 25,000
- 1847 4,000 Jewish inhabitants out of 12,000
- 1900 10,000 Jewish inhabitants out of 25,000

Fig. 13. A view of Mogador from north-east. In foreground the wall of the New Mellah.

Fig. 14. The main square of the New Mellah

Fig. 15. The New Mellah. The main public spaces: A. Old Talmudic School Meyer Ateya, B. Slat L'Qaba Synagogue, C. Synagogue and D. Rabi Pinto Synagogue.

Fig. 16. The New Mellah. Architectural measured survey of the ground floor. Note the semi-regular layout of the urban fabric, planned perpendicularly to rue Mellah.



From these statistics we deduce how the ratio with Muslims never went below twenty-five percent of the population.

In the nineteenth century the city grew, finally crowding the areas on the edges of the walls and the sea.

The Protectorate established in 1912 entrusted to Henri Prost the expansion plan of the extra-muros city, which singles out an industrial zone to the north behind the cemeteries and a residential zone to the south. The completed urban organism is composed of morphologically distinct parts, enclosed by the pentagon of the walls: 1. The Casbah with its regular plan, invigorated by a grid of covered streets, with a single residential type with courtyard and rectangular lot up to four stories, but which begins at the first floor, while the ground floor in addition to the entrance and staircase is a storage space. 2. The expansion to the northwest, also known as Mellah al Qadima, which fits in with a regular network of larger courtyard houses in a quadrant of Cornut's plan. 3. The two expansion quarters of Al Agadir and Chabanat inhabited prevalently by Arab and Berber tribes, characterized by very dense tissues and



magnificent routes like *Derb Brahim Addoun* or *Derb Ait Hogga* in a relatively flat area. Here the plan privileges the hierarchic tree arrangement with progressively narrow streets and very frequent impasses. 4. The New Mellah is divided into two quarters: the first occupies the entire northern quadrant of the city, between *rue de la Mellah*, limited at the south by *avenue Mohamed Zerkouni* and at the west by *zanqat Bouitouil*; the second consists of a long triangle with its vertex in *Bab Doukkala*.

The image of the city in spite of the numerous urban fabrics arises from the road network, which, with a sequence of gates that connect roads and plazas, constitutes a sequence of urban rooms of constant action of about 240 meters. From *Bab al Marsa*, which from *Porto* leads into the medina and then from *Bab L'Magna*, one enters the *meshwar*, the monumental plaza that in all the imperial Moroccan capitals acts as a vestibule to the palace. The section of the *meshwar* defines the width of the entire main street that arrives at *Bab Doukkala*, a continuous *suq* interrupted at the center of the quadrilateral of the market.

The New Mellah, center of the Jewish community, is a dense and labyrinthine area that contained the centers of Jewish life: kosher butchers, ovens, *mikvot*, *yeshivot*, rabbinical courts and synagogues, while two cemeteries were situated outside *Bab Doukkala*. Today, only the Pinto synagogue in *Derb Tafilat* has survived.

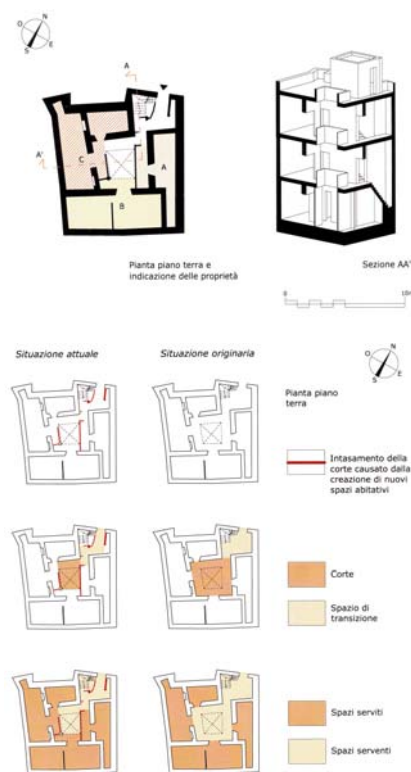
Most of the quarter was built on a rocky curve reclaimed from the sea, and today the sea, owing to the collapse of the northern bastion, tends to reoccupy its own spaces, destroying the foundations of the buildings and crumbling the masonry. The process is irreversible, and more than forty-five percent of the houses are ruins. The situation facing the sea is disastrous, where the great



Fig. 17. The systems of separation private-public as applied in the same quarter. Light grey the public space or *derb*; grey semi-public or *impasse*; dark grey private lane with access to the houses; black private vestibules *skifa* or *driba*.

Fig. 18. House in the New Mellah.

Fig. 19. The progressive modifications introduced into the same house. Subdivision and privatisation of the common spaces



blocks and specialized architecture were concentrated, all or almost all with access to *Derb Mellah* and that is, the distillery, the Meyer Ateya school (rebuilt in reinforced concrete in the 1930s), the Slat l'Qaha synagogue at the corner of *Derb Qaous*, the ancient Rabi Abnir school and the Rabi Ishaq Sammara synagogue.

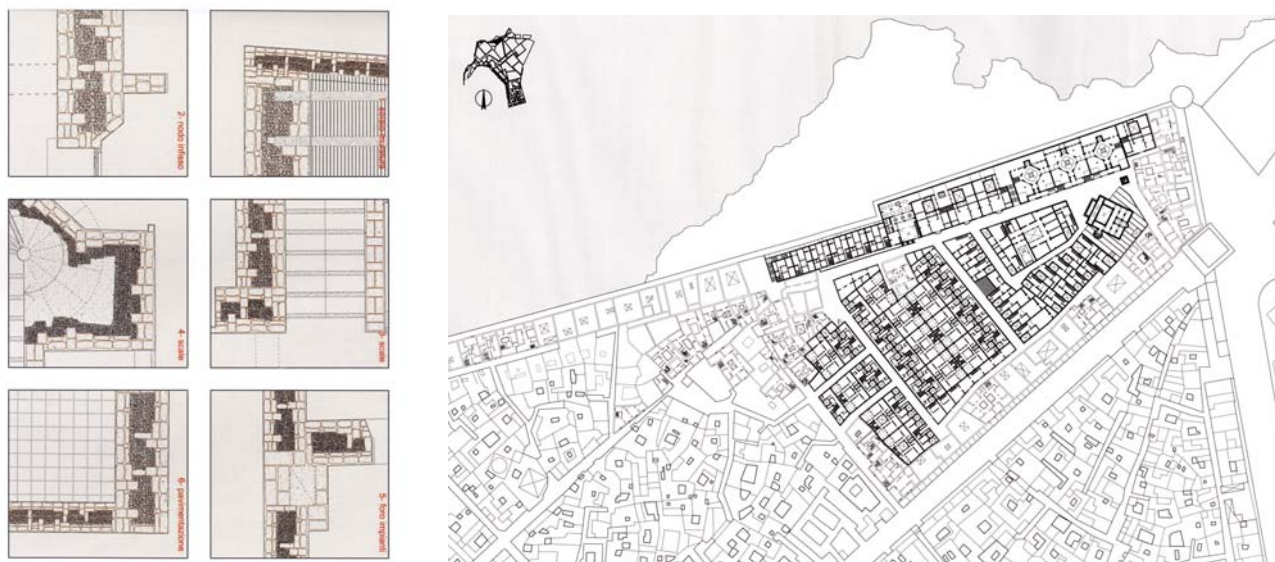


Fig. 20. The so-called Portuguese Church. The wall masonry is made of rubble stones with facing and plaster.

Fig. 21. A project of rehabilitation of the New Mellah based on the traditional layout and building types. In order to accommodate the Muslim population a mosque has been introduced in rue Mellah.

In spite of its labyrinthine impression, the cadastral plan reveals the planning intent of the urban plan, based on a comb system that uses *Derb Mellah* as the matrix, from which come off a series of very wide street-plans, which constitute the various blocks parallel to one another and precisely the *Derb Slaq*, *Derb Qaous*, rue Tafilat and rue Hai Taybi. *Derb Yarmouk* and *Derb Tafilat* were longer originally (but they did not in any case flow into avenue Zerkhouni, preserving the inaccessibility of the Jewish quarter), but following the collapses they were partially occupied and privatized. The connective or tertiary routes are rare, with the exception of the long *Derb Yarmouk* that runs parallel to and behind the line of houses that overlook the large avenue Mohamad Zerkhouni. The culs de sac are few and short, with the exception of those that open onto the connecting route, creating a very large neighborhood unit.

The almost regular fabric that from west to east stays perpendicular to the great road turns suddenly with *Derb Mellah* ninety degrees to reach the gate of the city. Here are located the larger houses of the new Jewry.

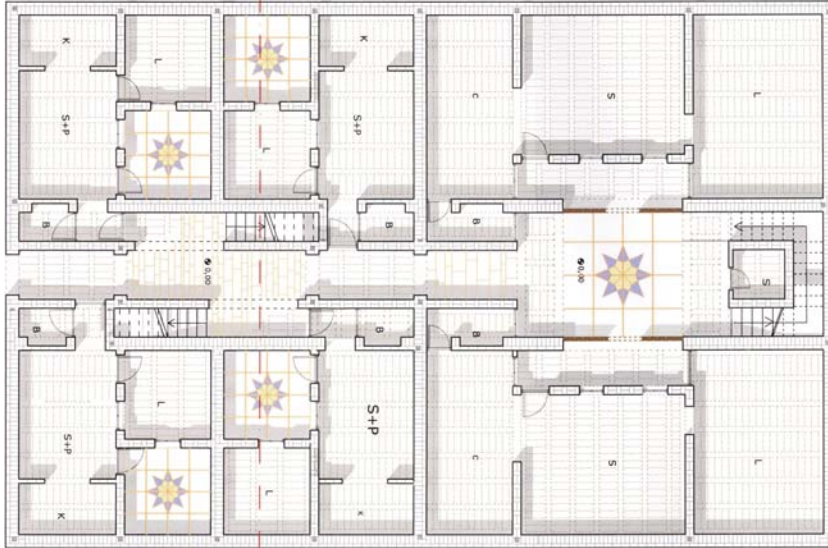
Lots about 10 by 14 meters are located along the *Derbs* in an open series and tend to lengthen parallel to *Derb Mellah* and the large street.

The lots have an average width of 14 meters, a dimension that allows for a layout of building lots in a closed series, where a street serves two opposite lots. This arrangement in plan makes the houses with an initial common orientation appear alternatively with an open wall and with a door on axis and the block built with the door to the side.

The lots are fairly regular, comprising between 70 and 180 square meters with

structural spans between 2.5 and 3 meters common to the Berber quarters as well. And 40 - 80cm rubble walls are built.

It is possible to distinguish two basic types, the first with a very narrow front and the rooms arranged in an L-shape around a very small courtyard. The second has a wider front, with the arrangement of the rooms in a C-shape or



even on four sides, originally a single-family house then crowded and subdivided with plaster walls. The first corresponds to the house that holds the Pinto synagogue that we describe below.

The minimum dimension of the houses and the simplicity of the materials and construction systems reflect the census of the old inhabitants of the mellah.

The Pinto Bet Ha-Kneset Synagogue goes back to 1870 and is a room about 7 X 6 meters located on the first floor of an ordinary house, residence of Rabbi Pinto. It is a room with an extension in the back and at the center the *tevah*, enclosed between two columns with the entrance on the axis. The *hechal*



Fig. 22. A residential complex designed for the new Muslim community largely inspired by the traditional building types.

Fig. 23. The mosque of the new Muslim community



*References*

All drawings and photos by the author.

The figures 1,3, 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 from the Final Thesis: "Progetto di riqualificazione del tessuto storico di Essaouira".

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occupies the entire thickness of the wall opposite the entrance. The *tevah*, raised on a step, is enclosed in wooden panels and consists of a bench facing the Torah.

The wooden *bechal* is located in front of the wall and is composed of five cabinets, the central one containing the Torah decorated with a red velvet drape.

If the Pinto Synagogue is well preserved, the rest of the *mellah* is in a desperate state: the lack of maintenance during the last fifty years has condemned the *mellah* beyond the point of no return, and day after day the buildings are sagging, eroded at their base by humidity, like the aged who bend their legs.

## Residences and Public Space in the Urban Tissues of Syria in Presence of intercultural Inherits in Relationships with some Cities of the Mediterranean Sea

Adriana Sarro

The research has explored the study of urban tissues of Aleppo, testimony of multicultural spaces. The past and present commercial and cultural relationships among the cultures of Mediterranean Sea have left meaningful traces in numerous architectures of the city and in housing spaces, object of the present study. The different specificities of languages of multicultural and multiethnic cities have been the centre of typological and urban studies, effected on the various Mediterranean cultures. The Mediterranean Sea, a bridge among East and West, is the place of historical testimonies, of past traces, located in Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, Egypt, and - for the aspects that directly concern us - in Sicily.

The urban spaces of Aleppo, compared with those of Tunis, Cairo, Fez and Palermo, they show as some characters typical of multicultural are strongly present.

The city of Aleppo, object of this study, rises on a river set to the limits of Syria steppes, positioned between the Euphrates river and the Mediterranean Sea, and it represents one of the most ancient cities in Syria.

Between the 301 and the 281 a.C., Aleppo was refunded by Seleuco Nicatore with the name of Beroia (Beroea). The boundary walls, the ippodamea plant, the citadel, the temple of Zeus Hadad (replaced by a Byzantine cathedral) and a great Mosque remain today as testimonies of the ancient Hellenistic-Roman city.

The urban structure of the city, founded upon an Hellenistic-Roman plant in correspondence of the ancient site of Beroia, it testifies the persistence of classical structure and its urban tissues, together with those Islamic; the traces of native city structure are still legible in its quadrilateral, despite the transformations suffered to its inside.

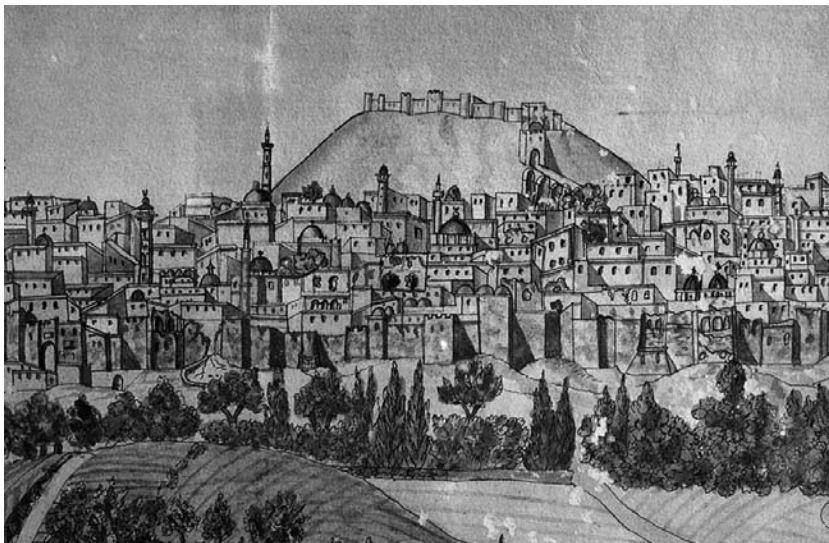


Fig. 1 Aleppo, an original plan.

Fig. 2 Aleppo, the city in the XI century

Fig. 3 Aleppo, watercolour drawing (1843).

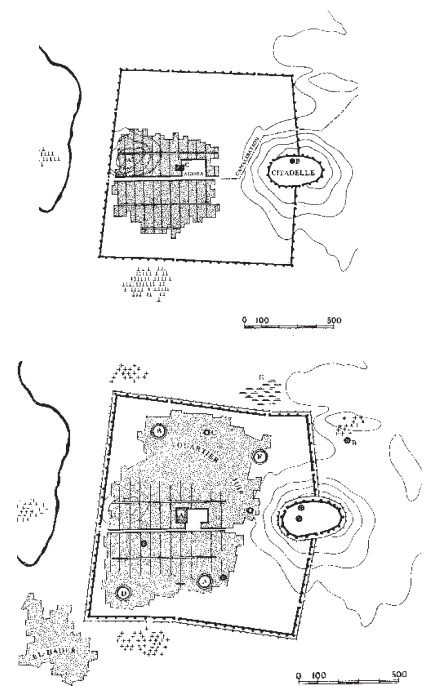




Fig. 4. Aleppo, the great Mosque.  
(ph. A. Sarro)

Fig. 5. Damascus, the great Mosque.  
(ph. A. Sarro)

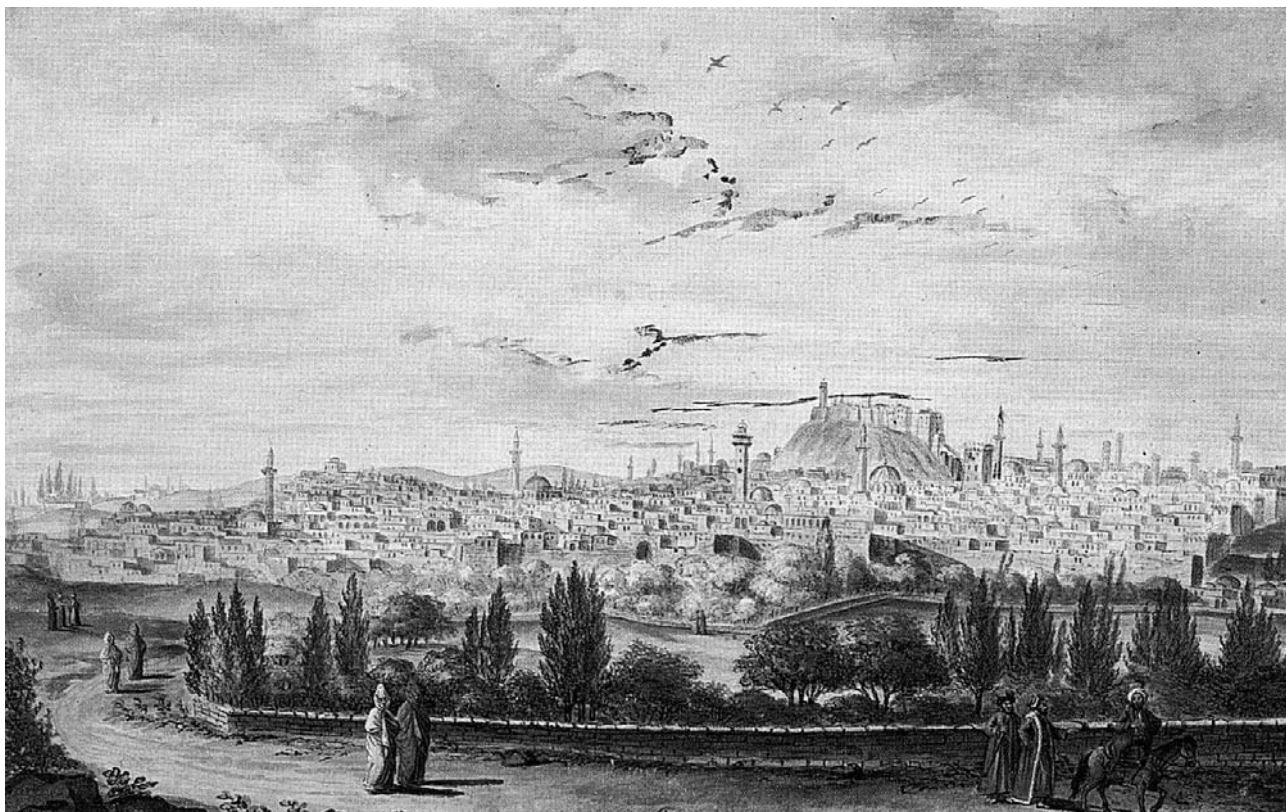
Fig. 6. Aleppo, view by François Rosset, 1790.

The city structure is modified with the construction of the great Mosque of Aleppo, built on the site of the Hellenistic Agorà, and with the activities of Suks, that will place on a road with colonnade of the Agorà.

These Suks are the most vast of the Middle East: the most beautiful is the Khan As-Sabun (XVI century), while the greatest is the Khan of the Visir (XVI century). A notable importance has the monumental group of citadel (having an altitude of 50 meters on sea level), with its elliptic form, that dominates the city. In the XVI and in the XVII centuries, the city becomes one of the principal centres of the Middle East and is described with positive opinions by the Ottoman and European travellers. But it's especially in the borderline areas that we notice the changes of urban tissue, through the realization of houses with a court, that represent the fundamental residential type of this city and of a lot of other ones in Mediterranean basin.

The research has been developed through a first visitation of the city, effecting a photographic and graphic relief of urban tissues object of study and a bibliographical research at specialized institutes, like those of Damask, of Aleppo and of the Maison de the Orient Mediterranee in Lyon. The articulation of the program, develops through the assembled documentation, individualizes a "knowledge" material essential for the carrying out of research. We choice the study area of faubourgs built out the boundaries of historical city, marked by the presence of Christian community.

The writing of Sauvaget about Aleppo (1941) describes the city and the position of new districts. Its graphics underline the city inside the boundaries, the Byzantine city, the city of the end of XI century; but it's with the plant of the XVI century that Sauvaget describes the intra muros citadel and the construc-





2 J.C. David et G. Degeorge, *Alep*, édition Flammarion, Paris, 2002 pag 202.

The action of Catholic missions installed under the protection of consuls, particularly French, in different khans, has had some considerable repercussions in the XIX and X centuries: Catholic communities, not recognized for a lot of time by Ottoman administration and rejected by old communities, orthodox, they are often clients, employees, collaborators and privileged partners of the Westerners, above all French ones. Aleppo is an essential place of diffusion of Catholicism at East area, for the presence of consuls and important missionary congregations. François Piquet, for example, coming from a family of Lyon bankers and French consul in Aleppo under the king Luigi XIV, during the time he practiced his charge, the consul has done so much for the conversions to Catholicism of oriental Christians and for the development of French commerce, before pursuing his apostolate as bishop of Babylon, at first to Ispahan and then to Hamadan, cities of Persia.

It's beginning from 1560 that the Franciscan have a permanent mission at Aleppo, (in the khan Chibane, where they were independent by consulates). The Jesuits are definitely installed in 1627. Other orders have still entertained some missions at Aleppo: Capuchin, Carmelites, etc., without having the same role in conversion of the Christians to Catholicism." <sup>2</sup>

The analysis of Aleppo and its districts constitutes the occasion to individualize the urban transformations of city, that have registered a notable presence of Christians coming from Syria and from Lebanon.

"At the end of XVIII century, when the extension of the old city of Aleppo was great, the "Christian" suburbs are stretched along the north side of boundaries and they cover a surface of about sixty hectares. The concentration of Christians is varying, according to the districts of this suburb and to the epochs; it can overcome the 95 at west side, next to churches, and go down under to the 20% in the district near to the east side, next to Bab al-Hadid.

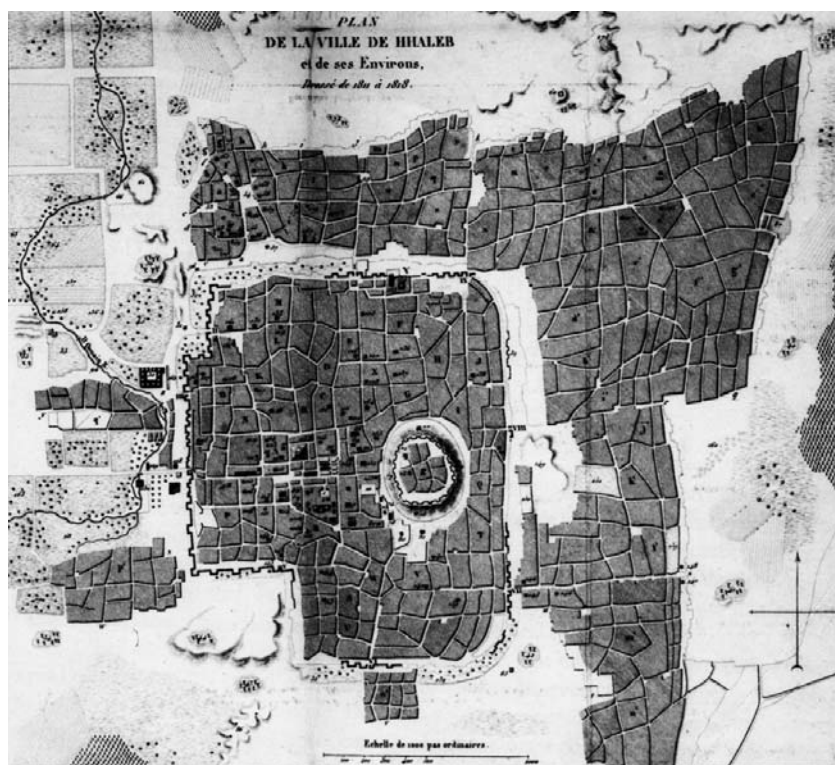


Fig. 9. Aleppo, plan designed by Russell, 1811

On a population of around 120.000 inhabitants at the end of XVIII century, Christians' number in Aleppo is esteemed to the 10%. The Jews have to be around the 7%.

Inside the Christian population, the melkites (Greek orthodox), the Gregorian ones (Armenian orthodox), the Syriac or Syrian or minority, descending of the schismatic monophysites (V century) and the maronites (Catholics, heirs of the monoteliti, heresy declared at the VII century, constitute the four communities ta'ifas, of base, before the conversion to Catholicism of some members of every community, because of European missionaries) above all during the XVII and the XVIII century. In Aleppo, the four native churches are very near the one to the other one, at the west side of the suburbs rise Christian districts, located at the north of city. Three of them are served from a common access with a court.

The Christians are gathered partly next to churches, in the districts where houses of principal notables are assembled, excluding almost totally the Moslems and, generally, the not favourite social categories among Christians. The districts of Salibe and Jdeide and their enclosures constitute, around the churches, a closed whole served by quite a lot little streets and alleys, and their access can be checked by doors as the other districts of old city. The Churches are located in the heart of the districts of urban area, as often the great houses of notables, according to a principle of discretion. A modest atrium, comparable to that of any house, give an entry to a corridor and to a court. The façades on the court of churches stay discreet, a little decorated, and all the wealth of monument is reserved to the inside, particularly to the iconostases and the altars. The church of the Gregorian Armenians and that of the orthodox Greeks is still in function in the old district and it's possible, crossing these lanes similar to those of other old districts, to feel some religious songs and to



Fig. 10. Aleppo, plan designed at the end of the XIX century.

3 J.C. David et G. Degeorge, op. Cit., pag 244.

4 Look at Sarro A., *La casa mediterranea, l'esperienza del Maghreb e della Siria*, contained in Sarro A., *La Multiculturalità nella città del Mediterraneo*, ricerche e progetti per le città di Tunisi, Kairouan, Tozeur e Nefta, Grafill Editore, Palermo, 2005 pag.47.

breathe perfumes of incense that seem to go out from walls. In effects, sounds and perfumes seems emanated by invisible churches, unexpected from public space, hidden in the middle of houses." <sup>3</sup>

The district Jadaideh constitutes the first one out the boundaries of the old city. Il Ibn Shaddad, in his description of "Late Ayyubid Aleppo", quotes two districts out of boundaries: the Al Hazzaza one, at the northwest side, and the Northeast Banqusa. The historian Ibnlshihna already mentions the name of Jadaideh before the XVI century. The urban plant is disseminated of numerous churches: the Maronite cathedral (1873), the Catholic cathedral (1843), the Orthodox church (1852), the Armenian church, or church of the Forty Martyrs (1639), the Syrian church Mar Assia Al Hachim (1625). Other monuments are: the Bahram Pasha Hammam, the Sahat Al Hatab, the Khan Al Arassa, the Sharaf mosque.

The residential system insinuates itself in the urban tissue, and inside it there are the most important houses: the Beit Dallal, Belit Balit, Belit Basil, Beit Wakil, Beit Ghazalek, Beit Atchichash, Beit Antaki and the Beit Zamaria.<sup>4</sup> The Beit Dallal, built among the end of the XVII century. and the beginning of the XVIII century, has a great courtyard, with decorated marbles and elegant stone decorations, while the iwan has preserved its Tiwan and its wooden decorated ceiling.

The Balit House, built at the beginning of the XVIII century, today it's an Armenian orphanage. The stone decoration are very particular in the iwan and we quoted the multi colours wooden ceiling.

The Beit Basil was realized among the XVII and the XVIII centuries with an elegant court, having a stone façade. The iwan maintains the original wooden ceiling and the stucco sculptures on the southern wall.

The Beit Wakil is constituted from two houses transformed into an hotel. The oriental courtyard is a typical Aleppo type with the iwan, the swimming pool, the mastaba having geometric motives on floors of carved stone elements. The two rooms on the sides of iwan maintain their wood panels. The superior floor of second courtyard contains an old loggia. The walls of the qa'a present wood panels with paintings, datable before the XVIII century.

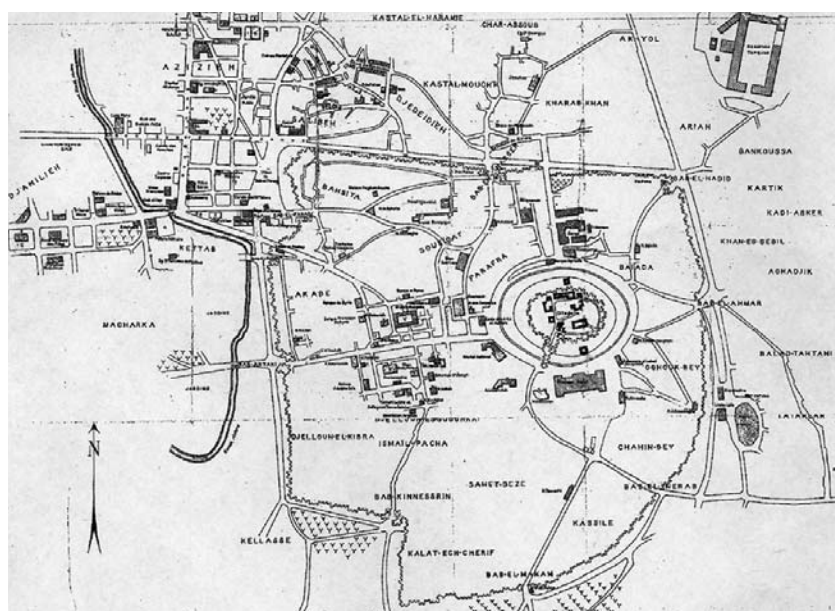
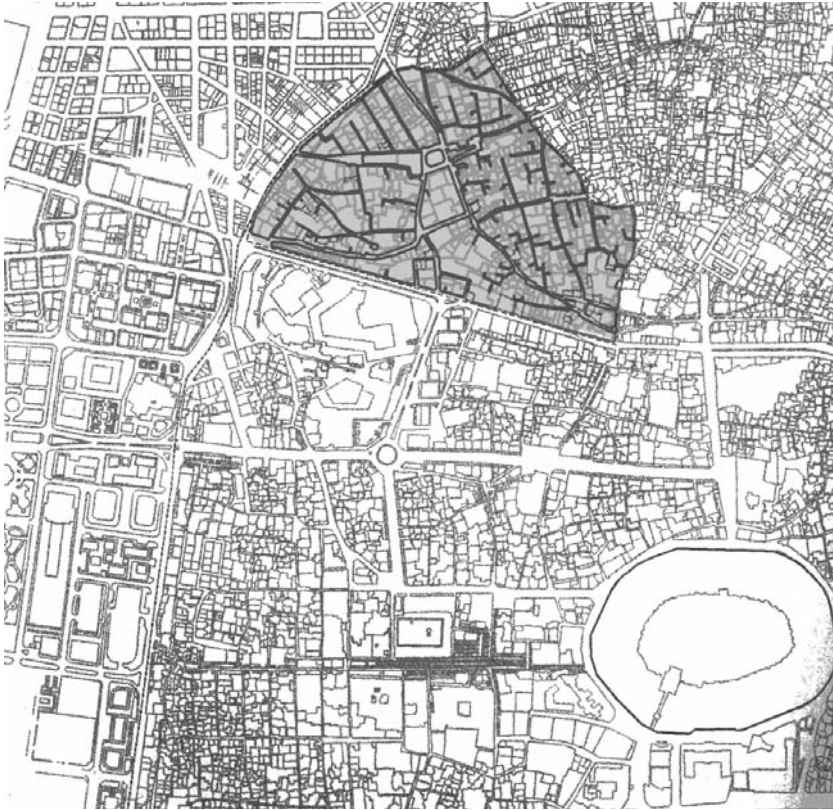


Fig. 11. Aleppo, a touristic plan of the 1930



The Beit Ghazalek is the greatest complex of this district. Built at the end of the XVII century, has suffered various transformations in different times. The house presents, above the windows and the doors, some stone carved panels. The qa'a walls of the West corridors are covered by pychrome wood panels of the XVIII century. The house is located at the Al Kayyah street, adjacent to the Atchicbash house and, as this last one, is famous for the wealth of its decorations.



Fig. 12. Aleppo, cadastral map with the individuation of christian district.

Fig. 13. Aleppo, Franciscan church. (ph. A. Sarro)

Fig. 14. Aleppo, a street of Christian district. (ph. Gérard Degeorge).

Fig. 15. Aleppo, the Christian district with its most important monument.

1 The Zamaria House, 2 the Sharaf Mosque, 3 the Dallas House, 4 the Wakil House, 5 the Basil House, 6 the Balit House, 7 the Ghazale House, 8 the Maronite Chatedral, 9 the Catholic Chatedral, 10 the Ortodox Church, 11 the Armenian Church, 12 the Catholic Church, 13 the House of the Ortodox Church, 14 The Atchicbash House, 15 the Waqf Ibshir Pasha (Coffe-house), 16 the Babrah Pasha Hammam.



5 A. Raymond, *Une communauté en expansion: Les Chrétiens d'Alep à l'époque ottomane (XVI-XVII siècles)* in A. Raymond, *Le ville arabe, Alep, à l'époque ottomane (XVI-XVII siècles)*, 1998 Damas, pag. 353

Fig. 16. Aleppo, plan of the Dallal House.

Fig. 17. Aleppo, a photography of The Dallal House. (ph. A. Sarro).

Fig. 18. Aleppo, plan of the Basil House.

Fig. 19. Aleppo, plan of the Balit House.

Fig. 20-21. Aleppo, photos of the Basil House. (ph. A. Sarro).

Fig. 22-23. Aleppo, photos of the Balit House. (ph. A. Sarro).



The beit Atchicbash, realized in 1757, it's today a museum of traditions and folklore. Inside there is a symmetrical courtyard along the north-south axle, with a simple octagonal swimming pool and a garden having the same dimension and form. The southern façade is dominated by the iwan, with its "Tiwan" ceiling of decorated wood, and it's note for the beauty of its decorations that remember the European Rococo style. The house is located at al-Saliba and al-kubra oriental limit of the district, extra-muros district inhabited always by Christians and it covers a surface of 495mq on an irregular area. To the house, sets behind the Catholic church, it' possible to enter by al-Kayyah rue, crossing a rectangular court at the centre of the house composition, and the building have decorated walls.

The beit Zamaria, hotel-restaurant, is constituted today by two old houses with two courtyards of the XVII and XVIII century.

The actual district, despite it results notably transformed, maintains the multicultural character, attested by the different typological presences. "Today the heart of Christian district of Aleppo can be visited; a small island of calm, assembled inside the great modern roads anxious of activity, it is not very different from the Harat Al-Nasara of the end of Mameluke epoch, just before the conquest of Syria from the Ottomans (1516): different doors of this district are been attributed by Jean Sauvaget to this final period. Inside this whole of narrow streets, mainly paved with regular façades, that constitute the districts of Saliba, Sbarra, Gudayda, at the beginning of the XVI century a small community lived inside a space delimited by boundaries and door".<sup>5</sup>

The houses of this district are often annexed to smaller ones of minor merit in comparison to the preceding, but that are meaningful for their typological and urban value.

Interesting in this sense is the comparison with the typological searches developed by J.C. Claude David A. Marcus about Aleppo, with those of N. Hanna for the Cairo or of G. Cladel and J. Revaut for Tunis and Fez<sup>6</sup>

In different cases, it's possible to find different dimensions but unified in the concept of house (Dar), constituted by a space around the court.

Aleppo is studied by J. C. David especially in the Ottoman period, in the





6 A. Raymond, *Les zones de residence dans les grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane: mixité ou ségrégation socio-économique? Le cas de Tunis, le Caire et Alep*, in A. Raymond, op. cit. pag. 89

district in which Christian community was located and where the residences of great merit rose, while in the east and south faubourgs there were rural houses, lived by populations coming from the country (Kurdish, Tartars, ex Bedouin) that lived in houses composed by two or three rooms. The searches conducted by J. C. David on the tissue allowed to reconstruct the structure of traditional environment; David, particularly defines four types of inhabited area, that

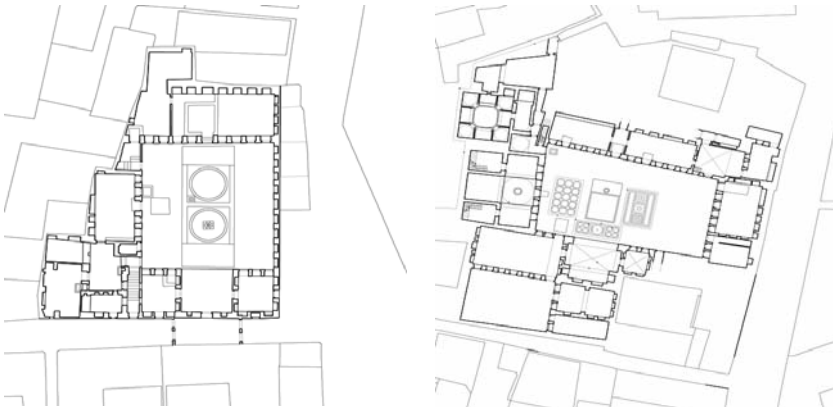


Fig. 24. Aleppo, *The Atchicbash house*, photo (ph. A. Sarro).

Fig. 25. Aleppo, *plan of the Atchicbash House*

Fig. 26. Aleppo, *plan of the Ghazalek House*

Fig. 27. Aleppo, *The Atchicbash house*, photos (ph. Gérard Degeorge).

Fig. 28. Aleppo, *The Wakil House*, photo (ph. A. Sarro).

Fig. 29. Aleppo, *The Atchicbash house*, photos (ph. A. Sarro).



7 For the residences in Tunisia look at: A. Sarro, *Case e spazi pubblici nella città della Tunisia*, in *Dialoghi del Mediterraneo* (by Ferdinando Trapani), Dedalo, Rome, .....

A. Sarro, *The oasis cities: Tozeur and Nefta*, *Landscape, Architecture and Water*, in Fratino U., A. Petrillo, A. Petruccioli, M. Stella, *Landscapes of water, history innovation and sustainable design*, Corcelli Uniongrafica, Bari 2002.



allow - through the search on the urban area - to constitute a cartography. He individualizes the zones of the third and fourth type in the central zone, while the houses of first and second type in the peripheral zones.

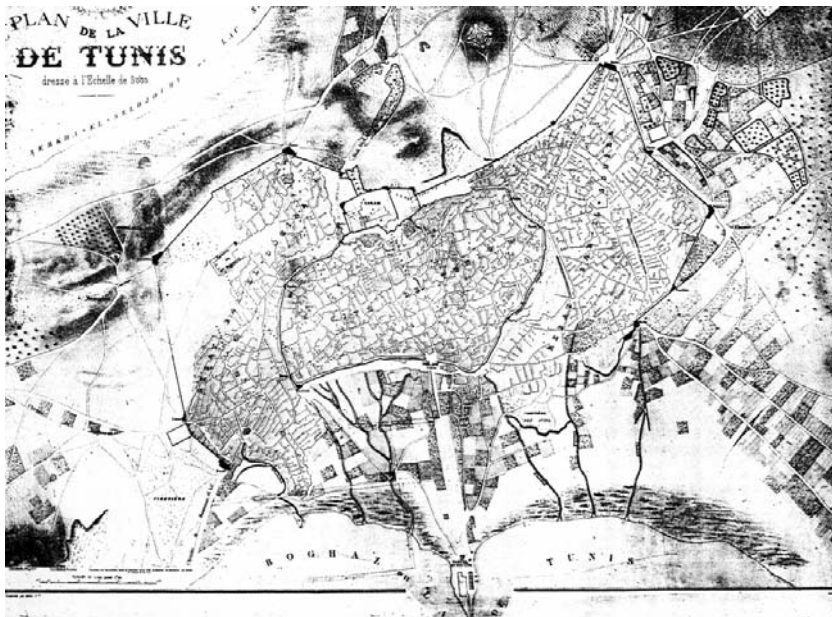
N. Hanna has studied instead the residence of Cairo of the XVII and XVIII centuries. The centre of city was constituted by dealers that lived in caravanse-rais. Subsequently, they inhaled to live next to the Mosque-universities in expensive houses. Poor people lived, in opposition, in collective buildings, that allowed them to live in central areas. At south and west zones of the city, where poor population (hara) lived, we could find the hawsh, rural typologies described in the *Description de Egypte* like "great courts or areas full of hovels having an height of four feet in which the men live side by side with own beasts and still great closed courts".

J. Revault, in the search conducted on the medina of Tunis, regarding 116 houses of the XVII and the XVIII century, shows as the richest houses are distributed around the central area of medina, rich of economic and religious activity, while at north, south and east of the medina more modest residences are found, in proximity of bab benat, bab jerid: "as we estrange from the heart of city", Revault says, "the little streets are more narrow and the constructions less elevated; often formed by an only plan, the residences set to the borders of medina follow as a clear architectural line the affiliation to suburbs." (J. Revault)

The residences located out of central medina, in the south faubourgs (Bab el-Jazira) and north ones (Bab Suwaiqa), are often of rural origin and of modest dimensions and they rotate around the markets halfouine, while the residences positioned in the centre of medina of Tunis, like El Mrabet, dar Othman, dar Lasram, and dar el Haddad, have remarkable dimensions. All these considerations show as, in the centre of city, the rich installations were found in proximity of commercial zone and mosques, while those more poor were located toward the outside. Notable, are also the examples of Tozeur and Nefta, cities in the south of Tunisia.<sup>7</sup>

The urban reading of Christian district constitutes an important multi cultural

*Fig. 30. Aleppo, the Ghazalek House, in an engraving of the XVII century.*



experience and shows as is possible "to live" living with "the others"; a dimension today very difficult to find.

Our cities are more and more expression of the multicultural, even if we assist in worrisome measure to forms of ghettoization and not of integration. "Cultural identity is not centred on the exclusion but on a principle of mutual inclusion. The example of the Mediterranean area results perfectly suitable: Mediterranean area doesn't want to say only Europe, but also Africa and Asia; this area includes Christianity (also orthodox), Judaism and Islam. It wants to say, not a borderline among the north and the south of the world, but rather a dense network of communications."<sup>8</sup>

The comparison with other districts of Tunis appears interesting, in this sense, where in past the presence of Italians installed along the edge of Medina and the Petite Sicile was recorded.

The presence of Italians in Tunis is affirmed since the end of the XVI century and, subsequently, in the XIX century; there are, above all, the Jewish dealers of Livorno that place in the north area of medina, inside the suq El Grana. In 1860, the Bey of Tunis imposes to foreigners to live inside the medina, near Bab El Bhar (Sea urban door), assigning a foundouk for every European community: "For more than four centuries, and that is since Tunis fell under the Ottoman Khayr ad-dine Barbarossa in 1534, to the unity of Italy happened in 1861, particular historical circumstances allowed the entry in Tunisia of numerous Italians".<sup>9</sup>

In the district of Kherba numerous houses were built with a patio and traditional houses; apartments where commercial activities will be installed "without any alteration of geometric and land morphology of city tissue, but with the introduction of an absolute novelty in structural morphology of the medina of Tunis: the appearance of a residential-handicraft mixed tissue [...]. The whole of interventions now summarily described, allow to recognize today that the integrated Sicilian immigrants, with their culture, in the Medina urban tissue realize an urban hybridization. In fact, the revitalization of the ancient and degraded district of Sid El Morgiani was acted without never putting in discus-

8- Look at Settis S., *L'Europa e le tante identità*, The classical world teaches the principle of inclusion and exchanges of civilization. A thesis formulated by Levi - Strauss, in "Repubblica", 23/08/2005.

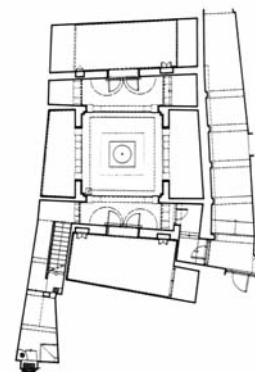
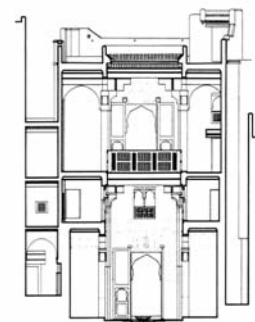
9- Look at Slama H., *Genesi di un micro fenomeno: l'immigrazione tunisina in Sicilia (1981-1986)*, in D'Agostino S., *Tunisia-Sicilia, incontro di due culture*, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Museographical Service, Palermo, 1995 pag 183.

10- Look at Barbero W., *I siciliani a Tunisi*, in D'Agostino G., *Tunisia-Sicilia. Incontro di due culture*, pag.164, as we previously quoted.

Fig. 31. Tunis, city-plan of the 1860.

Fig. 32. Tunis, Dar Lasram, plan.

Fig. 33. Fes, Dar El-Iraqi, section and plan.



sion the principles of urban structure of Medina".<sup>10</sup>

Other Sicilians will install in the Petite Sicile, in proximity of the medina of Tunis, and others still at the Goulette. It will possible to assist, in such way, as writes Pasotti, "to the formation of a wide proletariat and also of sub-proletariat in the hovels of small Sicily, Susa, Grombalia; in the smoked rooms, in which lived helter-skelter [...], babies hardly begged suit, run, shout in a sicilian-frank-tunisian dialect".

The Petite Sicile is located at the Goulette of Tunis, port zone distant a pair of kilometers from the medina. Built and lived by the Sicilians at the end of the XIX century, the Petite Sicile is the nucleus around which the commune of Goulette is developed. The district, built on the ruins of the fortitude of Charles V, represents an example of culture contamination, Oriental and Occidental ones, testified by the Arabic architectural typology represented by the house with a court and the mosque, and by the western typology as the building and the church (devoted to the Madonna of Trapani): "the district of small Sicily, from the XVI century and go on has been, [...] a theatre of principal episodes that has determined the history of Tunisia and has modeled the spatial configuration of the district".

About the port of the Goulette, it has been for a long time in a strategic position towards the Mediterranean Sea. In fact, in the XVI century the countries of Mediterranean area try to impose their supremacy and the African coasts assume a role of military defence through fortitudes.

The Tunisia, in this sense, assumes a role as extreme point in front of Sicily, and constitutes, together with Gibilterra, the way for a briefer access between Europe and Africa.

The Goulette, therefore, have in her formation and reconstruction a fundamental role, remarked by the studies developed in three monographs of the lieutenant colonel Hennazo and by Paul Sebag.

The Petite Sicile becomes so a big agglomeration, because of the presence of populations more and more numerous, that start to live here, favouring the start of many building yards directed, as we will see, by Sicilians planners. The aspect of the Goulette starts to change after the XIX century, following the modernization of port area and the construction of railroad, that allowed a connection with the centre of Tunis.

When the liberty of cult was enacted, a mosque was built, on the bastion of S. George, and also a church devoted to the Madonna of Trapani.

The Petite Sicile was built when the Sicilians were installed and numerous houses were realized around the fortifications and the church.

It welcomed to the meantime Hebrews, Moslems and Christians, favouring a sort of urban hybridization, becoming so a multiethnic city.

Today, few traces remain of these city; because of expansion of the Goulette, in fact, some houses are demolished with the apparent justification of degradation, making place to constructions nothing have to do with urban tissue that represented a "meaningful" way of cohabitation among different cultures.

The most meaningful traces are represented by rests of the fortitude that was an original part of fortification plant that encircled "Petite Sicile".

Another example of multiculturalism is recovered in Palermo after the years '80, when a notable presence of immigrants is noticed, coming from the Maghreb, Sri Lanka, Ivory Coast, Iran and Jordan and subsequently from the extreme East, that will install in the historical centre likewise to the settlements near the Medina places of the other cities.

These presence has been a study theme of numerous courses of Panormitan Faculty of Architecture, taken care of by Professors Pasquale Culotta, Mario Giorgianni, Marcello Panzarella and from the same writer, that analyze the project theme for the Islamic centre of the Mosques and residences. Starting from the eighties years, in fact, professor P. Culotta begins his interest to these theme, giving an answer to the delicate problem of the presence of Islamic immigrants distributed in the metropolitan tissue of Palermo: "our intent was to pick up useful elements to specify a functional and dimensional program useful to the real demands of community and also to make known our didactic initiative, that also have the purpose to support the construction of a mosque in Palermo".<sup>11</sup> This intent, as we will see, will contribute to the assignment of a mosque in the historical centre of Palermo, located in the Gran Cancelliere area, where will be developed a show of didactic material. The places have been individualized outside the historical centre: the area of the Zisa and that of "Danisinni trench", located at south of the Royal Building; some areas, instead, are inside the historical centre as that of S. Nicolò to the Albergheria quarter, of S. Giovanni of the Hermits, the area of Baron Manfredi square and the other one close to the Magione church, near the borders of the Kalsa district, in the great urban void created by bombardments of last war conflict. Other points have been individualized in the medina of Mazzara, in the area of the block of buildings in front of Reggina square, in the port canal, in the block of buildings of the ex custom-house, etc. The project of the mosque requests a typological, architectural and spatial knowledge, starting from the variegated forms realized in past epochs and by contemporary architecture, that few is interested for the Islamic experience, if we

11- Culotta P., *La Moschea in Sicilia*, in *La Moschea d'Occidente* (by Panzarella M., G. F. Tuzzolino,) contained in the *Quaderni Neri* series n.8, Medina Editor, Palermo 1988.



Fig. 34. Tunis, *petite Sicile* district in the *Goulette*, ground floor plans.

Fig. 35. Tunis, *La petite Sicile*, view on the canal in a drawing of the XX century.

Fig. 36. Fes, photo of *La petite Sicile*, (ph. A. Sarro).



12- Culotta P., *Migrazioni e traduzioni domestiche per la nuova architettura*, in Culotta P., A. Sciascia, *L'Architettura per la Città interetnica. Abitazioni per stranieri nel centro storico di Palermo*, Epos editore, Palermo 2006 pag. 35.

13- Culotta P., *Migrazioni e traduzioni domestiche per la nuova architettura*, in Culotta P., Sciascia A., pag. 33, as we previously quoted.

14- Look at Settis S., *L'Europa e le tante identità*, as we previously quoted.

except that extraordinary experience of Hassan Fathy.

Naturally, this is only one of the aspects; the other, certainly important, has been the re-stitching, through the Islamic project, of urban tissue of the historical centre, in a suspended relationship between tradition and modernity. Another investigated theme has been that of residences for Maghrebine families inside the medina of Mazzara, developed by Marcello Panzarella. Subsequently, in the nineties years, the areas of Ballarò, Kalsa, Monte di pietà squares and Papireto have been investigated-in the historical centre, with projects of houses for immigrants coming from contexts distant of our territory.

Especially in this case, by professor Culotta, the real conditions of immigrants have been studied, through the analysis of their housing demands inside domestic space: as the professor writes, "in the writing of architecture, the activity of planner has to give attention at personal ability of texts translation telling the human experience".<sup>12</sup>

The didactic material has been, in fact, finalized to make the student able to do an architectural project and understand the "translations" of needs and desires of immigrant through numerous figurations, express in architectural solutions that estrange from the usual Western functionalism, with expedient that translate in architecture some life places in which live "the other": "the research about the house for foreigners and the inter cultural centre, in a practical way through the projects, conducts really to an idea of European city interethnic (not only Palermo), founded upon principles of continuity, innovation and inclusions of ways and cultures of life, without precedents in the dimension of social phenomena of extraeuropean migration".<sup>13</sup>

The attempt has been that to individualize the needs of inhabitants and to interpret them in the construction of a project based on the coexistence of different cultures. It would be interesting, about this subject, to compare the cases treated with other similar, with the purpose to appraise its different solutions. The knowledge of the experience tied up to the phenomenon of Mediterranean multicultural constitutes an occasion to reflect on the concept of "identity" and "difference", "equality" "and "diversity", "a-typical" and "affiliation"; terms, these last, on which we have to reflect for understanding as architectural project can assume a new meaning in the contemporary city

It's necessary that academic culture valorizes the single cultures beginning from differences to affirm its value based on the exchanges among cultures: "European cultural identity is multiple for its nature, and it's in the arts as in literature, in the religions as in institutions and in the right. It owes have a centre on the difference and the differences, as well as on relationships among people, both in Europe and out of this cultural area. It's here that intellectuals are called to an high and meaningful assignment, if they will help to understand and to show the history of these differences and these exchanges, not keeping only for themselves their search and reflection. Academic culture has to communicate with the popular culture about the great themes of civil society, especially with the urgency of choices and political determinations that involve all citizens, taking advantage of best information and awareness. The definition of cultural identity asks an assembled and multi disciplinary effort."<sup>14</sup>

Fig. 37. Palermo, the Ballarò district in a sketch of Pasquale Culotta.



## The Multicultural Fabric of the Crusader Citadel of Tartous in Syria

Giulia Annalinda Neglia

The description of the process of multicultural formation of an urban or architectural organism is often linked to the identification of the specific contribution of a 'foreign' culture or style within a consolidated urban or architectural context. And so this contribution is often interpreted as the presence of buildings or urban fabric, belonging to a separate culture, within another context. It is possible, however, to read this process in the horizontal stratifications that shape the various constitutive levels of a consolidated historical urban fabric, especially in the cities of the south-east Mediterranean, which have always been crossroads between different cultures and have conserved, in their building patterns, the traces of the diverse influences and contaminations that have shaped them. Here, the almost sinusoidal alteration of different cultures has determined the formation of multicultural urban structures, according to urban and architectural principles belonging to the effective building norms of the diverse populations that have founded these settlements in different periods.

The multicultural co-presence of different urban, building and architectural structures is therefore legible horizontally in the structure of cities in vast areas around the Mediterranean, especially in Syria, where Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Christians and Muslims held sway alternately and where the influences of neighbouring cultures were always very strong. Here, in the patterns of the building fabric – thanks to the very ancient urban history and consequent palimpsest structure of many cities, thanks to stone architecture of an exceptional formal and constructional quality, and to building techniques associated for centuries with traditional practices – it is still possible to discern in filigree the co-presence of different formative features, the origins of which can be identified and interpreted by a structural reading of the building fabric. Such a reading can be effected by sectioning the building fabric horizontally in order to reveal and classify all the different building phases of the urban organism over time, which often belong to extremely diverse architectural cultures and practices.

Within this general frame of reference (both geographical and methodological), an excellent case study of a multicultural urban fabric is the historic cen-

*Fig. 1. The informal settlement of Tartous on the remains of the Crusader castle.*





tre of Tartous in Syria. Here the complex form of the building fabric derives from an accentuated and articulated vertical stratification of an informal settlement on the remains of a Crusader castle, which in turn was built on the traces of a Roman-Byzantine settlement.

Tartous (ancient Antaradus) is a city on the Syrian coast in front of the island of Arados (modern Arwad) that has undergone a continuous development from the time of the Phoenicians (who founded it as a colony of Arados) through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

There are no historical documents on the urban structure of Tartous in the Roman-Byzantine period, though the city certainly grew in importance from 346 AD, when it was rebuilt by Constantine after years of neglect, an event which marked the beginning of centuries of economic development for the city. Indeed, it became one of the main seaports along the Syrian coast.

In the fabric of the Crusader citadel and Episcopal city – the two nuclei that together comprise the historic centre of Tartous and lie over the older nucleus of Constantina (the name of Tartous in Roman-Byzantine times) – there is no evidence of architectural remains or physical traces of the initial building phases of the urban fabric (except the archaeological excavations around the cathedral), yet both in the geometry of the defensive system and in the urban fabric, traces of this phase of human organization are evident (in the presence of wall alignments oriented in a certain way, the existence of recurring rhythms in the building fabric, or the presence of routes that indicate older structures).

A reading of the urban structure of the citadel and Episcopal city, using the 1930s French cadastral map, reveals this permanence and that the complexity of the urban fabric is also legible horizontally in the presence of traces of the different planning phases, ascribable to ancient conformations of the urban organism and partially superimposed on these.

These various plans, oriented in different ways, have dictated the laws governing the formation of monumental Crusader structures, as well as the Mamluk and Ottoman residential building fabric, and shaped their development.



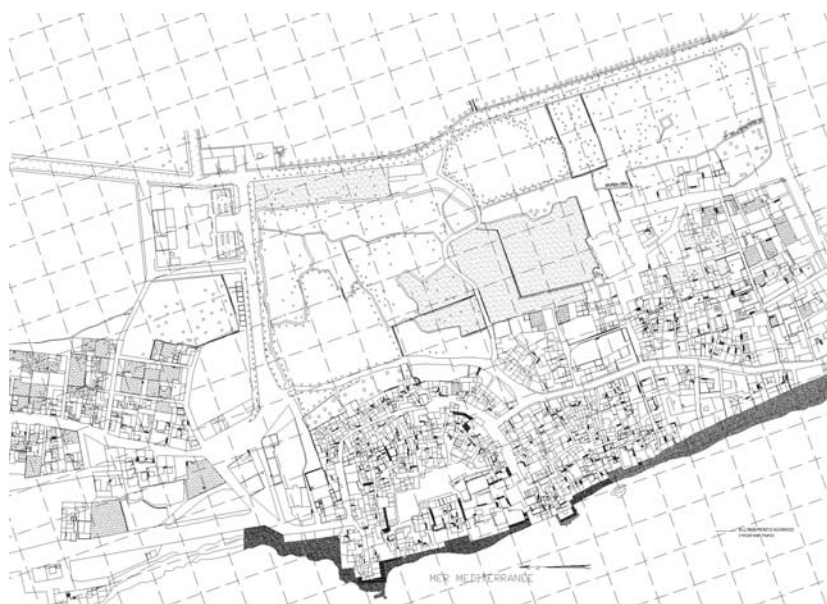
Fig. 2. Traces of the first planning phase.

The traces of the first planning phase correspond to the orthogonal alignments of the urban fabric oriented according to the direction of the cathedral and they can be associated with the presence of a small settlement, probably the first inhabited nucleus, in front of the island of Arwad. These traces are concentrated mainly near the south side of the second circuit of Crusader walls (determining their layout in the tract going from the present entrance to the bastion facing the sea) and regulate the structure of the building fabric both inside and outside this tract. We can read the orientation orthogonal to this (and so belonging to the same planning phase) in the tract of wall that forms the east side of this second circuit, as well as in the alignment of the cathedral and agrarian fabric to the south of it, both inside and outside the bounds of the circuit of walls around the Episcopal city. Superimposing on the French cadastral map a grid of acta oriented according to the direction of this plan, it becomes clear that the eastern boundary of the Crusader citadel fortifications is aligned with the cathedral façade along the directives of this grid, as well as with some agrarian alignments outside the circuit of walls of the Episcopal city. This plan has an extension, from north to south, equivalent to the side of a century (710m) and, from east to west, equivalent to approximately 1/4 of a century.

The traces of a second planning phase, with a second orientation, can be associated with a subdivision of the territory around the above-mentioned settlement. The orientation of this second plan, also ascribable to the Roman period, would seem to depend on the direction of the Via Maris in this tract. Indeed, in redesigning some of the existing routes (the Via Maris is the main valley route along the Mediterranean coast that, from remotest times, linked the coastal centres of regions extending from northern Syria to Palestine), the Romans may also have redesigned the agrarian fabric adjacent to them. The traces of this second planning phase are legible in the orientations and rhythms of the residential units at the heart of the Episcopal city and in the orientation of the west wall of the Crusader citadel, near the Keep. The extension of this plan covers approximately the same area as the above-mentioned plan.



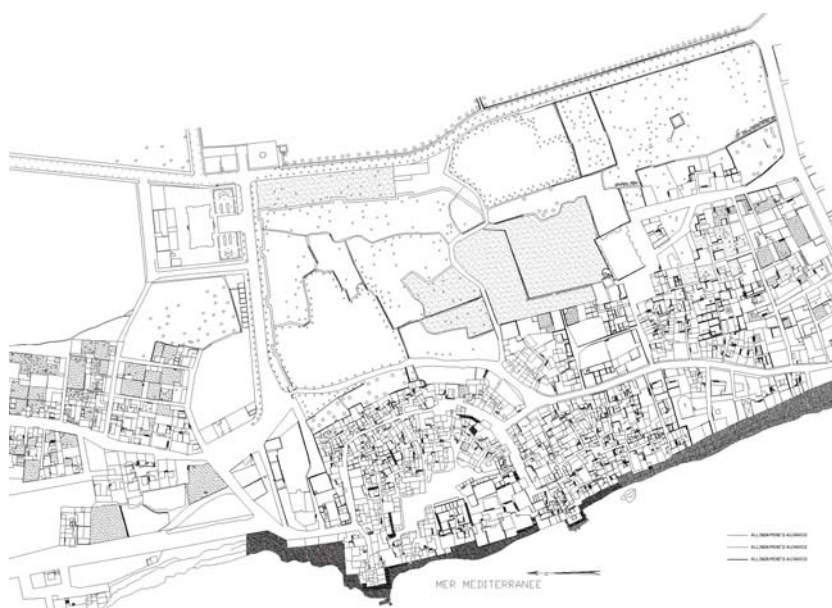
Fig. 3. Traces of the second planning phase.



*Fig. 4. Traces of the third planning phase.*

The traces of a third planning phase, with a third orientation (though not dissimilar from that of the Via Maris plan) can be associated with a further agrarian subdivision around the settlement. The orientation of these traces corresponds to the direction of the north side of the Crusader citadel walls and they are legible throughout the structure of the building fabric inside both the Episcopal city and Crusader citadel.

The three different urban and agrarian organizations that emerge from this reading seem to have profoundly influenced the form of the Byzantine fortifications that, having to respect the existing land and agrarian boundaries, were built on their traces. The orientations of the walls, and of what seems to have been the moat around them, coincide with the different orientations of the three Roman planning phases.

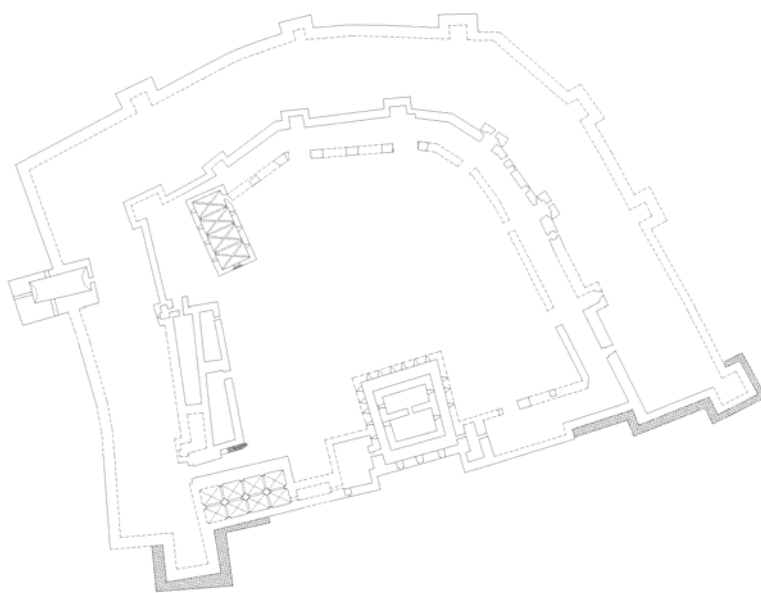


*Fig. 5. Traces of the three different urban and agrarian organizations.*

These forms, orientations and structures of the city and surrounding agrarian land, dating to the Roman-Byzantine planning phase, were conserved until the Crusader conquests, due to a typical phenomenon that can be found in many Middle Eastern cities, where the Arabs, especially in the Umayyad period, settled in the existing urban fabric of the cities they had conquered without modifying it. Such a continuity between urban and architectural forms belonging to different cultures determined the permanence of Roman-Byzantine urban features and the uninterrupted use of Byzantine defensive structures even after the Arab-Umayyad conquest (a phase about which we know little) and the successive building of the Crusader fortifications on the traces of the Byzantine ones.

After the First Crusade (1095-1099), the city was conquered by the Crusaders in 1102, who renamed it Tortosa and began building fortifications on the traces of the Byzantine settlement. Throughout the Crusades, Tortosa was an important Christian outpost along the defensive line against the Muslims and one of the main seaports for travel to and from the West. In 1183 the city passed into the hands of the Templars and was held by them, through countless vicissitudes, until the final Muslim conquest in 1291. The Templars transformed Tortosa into a castle formed by two concentric encircling walls (the inner ones reinforced by a system of galleries) that were linked to the Keep and Donjon, with the specialized buildings of the Chapel and Knights' Hall inside the fortifications. At the centre there was a large empty space for military exercises. The external defensive system of the castle (the first circuit of walls) was linked to another defensive circuit that protected the Episcopal city, which was the inhabited area around the specialized building of the cathedral.

In 1188 the city was conquered by Saladin, but it was soon retaken by the Templars, who continued to use it as a base for another 100 years, until 1291, when the city fell definitively to the Muslims. From this time the Crusader castle became part of the Mamluk empire and began to be transformed into an inhabited citadel, the features of which were consolidated in the Ottoman period. From the Ayyubid period (the Muslim conquest), and especially from



*Fig. 6. Plan of the Crusader castle.*

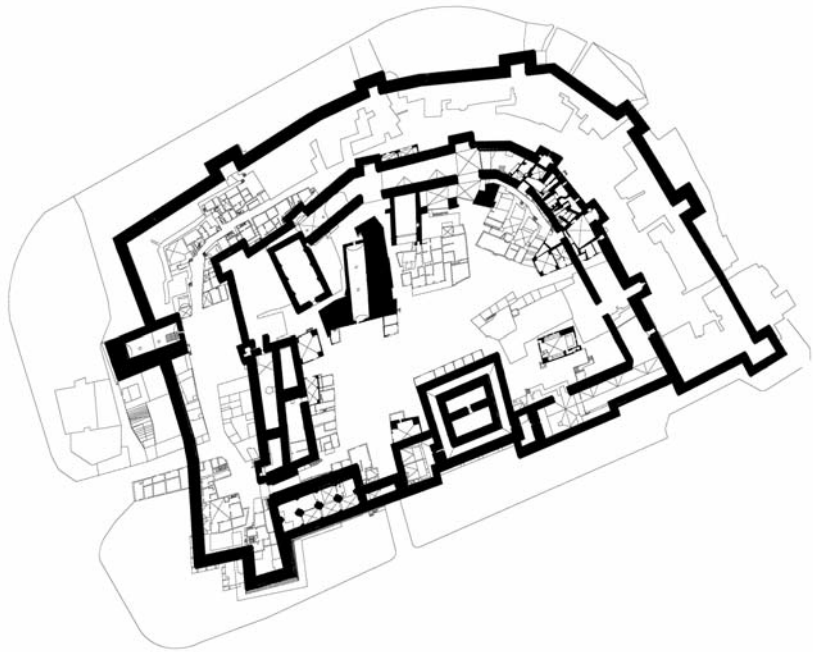
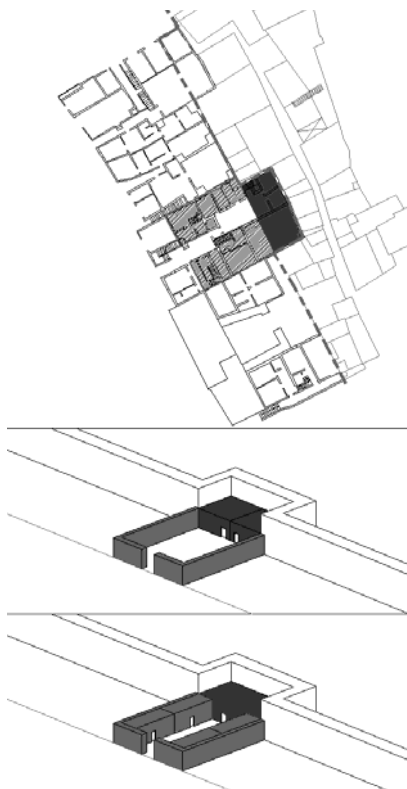


Fig. 7. The Ottoman city.

Fig. 8. The residential buildings abutting the fortifications of the inner circuit of walls.



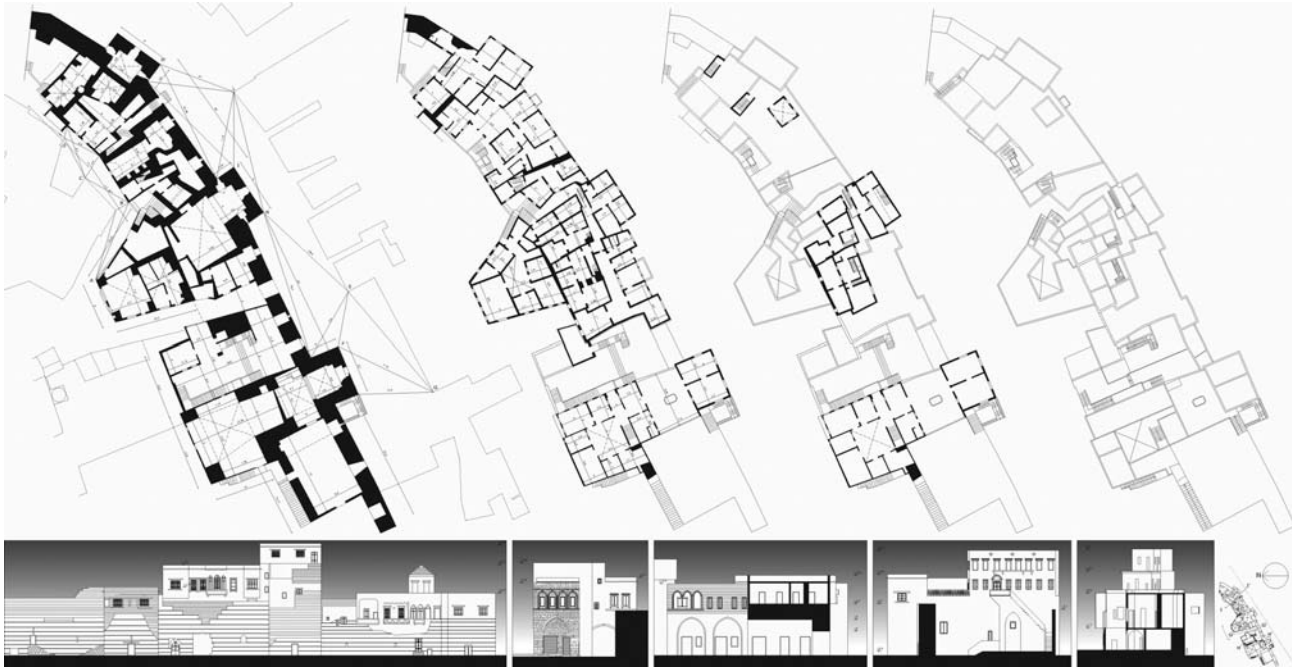
the Mamluk period, the urban fabric of the citadel underwent major changes and its urban structure was reinterpreted through the introduction of new building types, most of which were residential.

The formation of these types only partially derived from phenomena of congestion and transformation in the urban fabric. In most cases, it derived from the introduction of new urban concepts. The mosque, which was built at the centre of the settlement, and the nearby *hamman* completely changed the consolidated sense of the Crusader castle. The great empty space used for military manoeuvres at the centre of the castle, and hence without any other function or any relation to the inhabited area, was transformed into the centre of the nascent urban agglomeration, a crucial node in the civic and associative life of the medieval Muslim city. Inside this void, already in this phase, other specialized structures, besides the mosque and *hamman*, were built, which were assimilable to the Crusader galleries.

Only in the Ottoman period did a veritable process of encroachment inside the citadel begin, not only with the further enlargement of the galleries (begun under the Mamluks) and the construction of other specialized buildings, but also with residential buildings abutting both the inside and outside of the monumental Crusader architecture, which exploited these structures.

Residential buildings were constructed: between the first and second circuit of walls; at the two corners of the north side of the walls; abutting the south side of the inner circuit of walls, above the galleries; inside the chapel; and against the external façades of the Keep, Chapel, Knights' Hall and Mamluk galleries. The residential buildings from the Ottoman period, abutting the fortifications of the inner circuit of walls, formed, over time, agglomerations of multi-storey residential fabric, comprised of both single and multiple units which, in some cases, reproduced the basic regional type of courtyard dwelling.

An exemplary case of buildings abutting these fortifications (of the inner cir-



*Fig. 9. Block N-O-G.*

cuit of walls) is block N-O-G (as codified by the Tartous City Council). This block represents an emblematic case of a change of vocation, from specialized to residential, of architectural structures from different cultural and historical contexts, since it is comprised of residential buildings from the Ottoman period and later, built over the ruins of the Crusader castle fortifications (defensive walls and galleries).

The residential buildings abutting the fortifications of the inner circuit of walls (the second circuit of the citadel), along the south side, were initially formed by constructing lots of courtyard houses which were all similar in size (albeit



*Fig. 10. Plan of the informal citadel.*

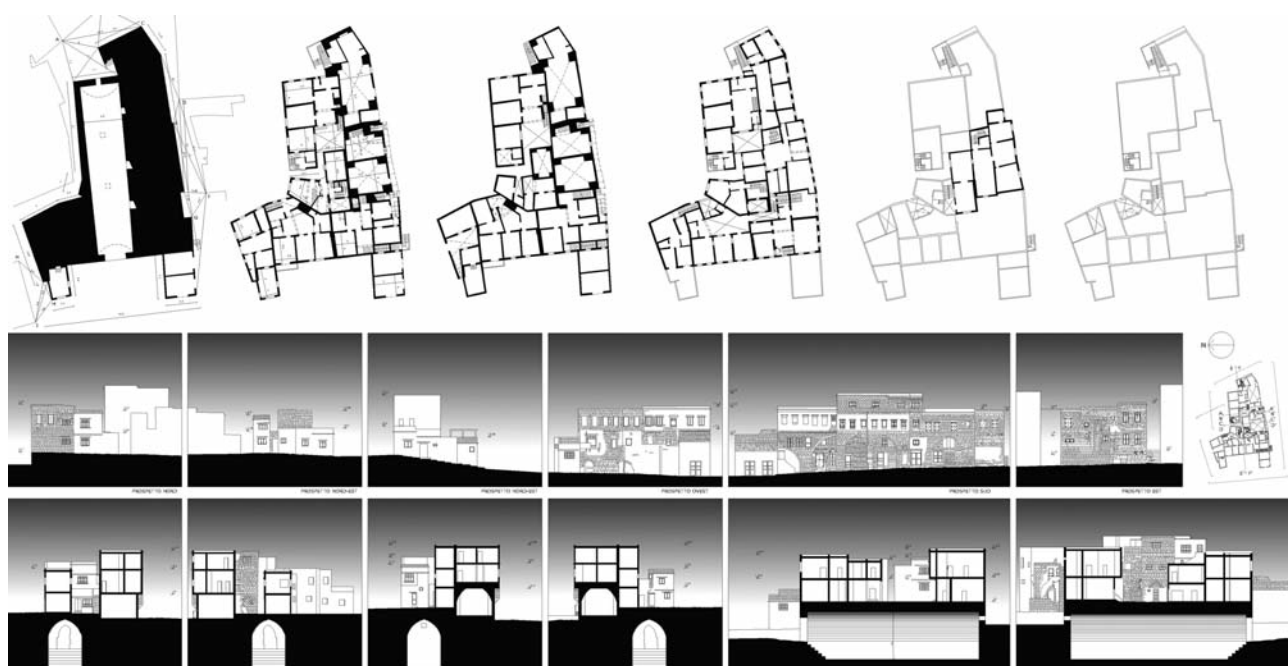


Fig. 11. Block J.

mostly single-unit dwellings), whose structure repeats the dimensions of the Roman-Byzantine agrarian divisions (in the presence of wall alignments oriented in a certain way, the existence of recurring rhythms in the building fabric, or the presence of routes that reveal older structures). Inside these partitions the building fabric evolved, giving rise, from the Ottoman period, to variants of the basic Syrian courtyard type.

The residential buildings abutting the eastern fortifications of the inner circuit of walls (the galleries and near the Donjon) are comprised mainly of one- or two-storey Ottoman structures and have the same characteristics as the blocks on the south side of the inner ring of fortifications.

The residential buildings abutting the open space at the centre of the Crusader citadel are from widely differing periods. The original structure of the mosque and *hamman* dates to the first phases of the Muslim conquest, the Mamluk period in particular, even though this architecture, especially the mosque, was heavily remodelled in later formative phases of the citadel building fabric. Moreover, many of the residential buildings in this area belong to the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, even though the majority are recent and are comprised of informal buildings.

The block classified as J is a good example of this category, since the vertical stratification of the different construction phases is particularly evident here. There are also different building types and techniques here: the Mamluk galleries were used as a kind of artificial ground over which the Ottoman single-unit buildings were raised, over which, in turn, the contemporary dwellings were built. The latter represent the last phase in the formation of the urban fabric and were built, not in stone, but using materials employed in modern production techniques (concrete or iron). The most recent types, derived from the parcelling of larger lots and the construction of very small dwellings, pres-

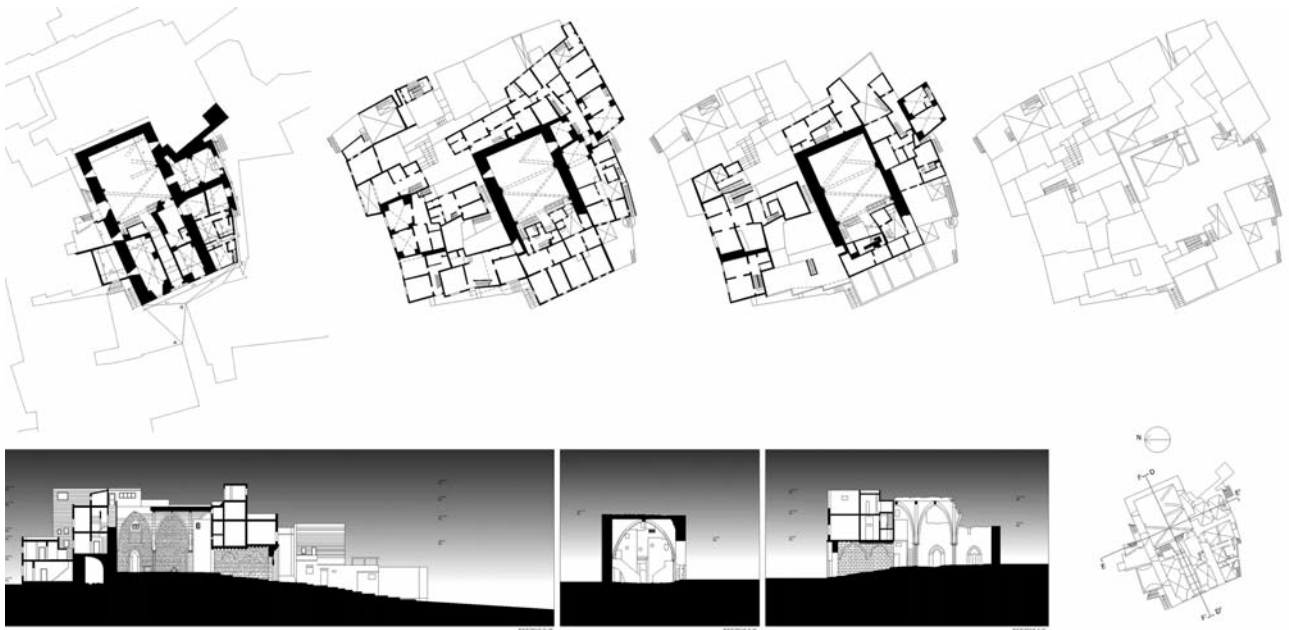


Fig. 12. The Chapel.

ent a system of semi-public courtyards that tend to reproduce, albeit in altered form, the basic courtyard type common in Syria until the modern age (when these dwellings were built).

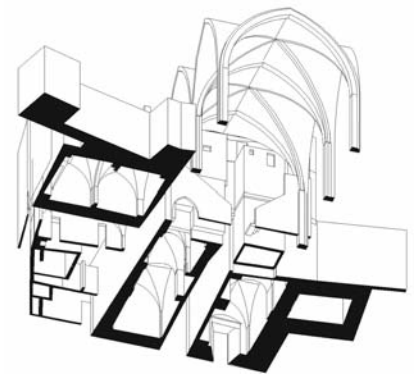
The housing abutting the specialized buildings, especially the Chapel, also represent different phases of horizontal and vertical stratification in the urban fabric. The buildings around and inside the Chapel date to the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, while most of those built over the Chapel vault belong to more recent phases. Their presence, built on the extrados of a religious edifice, together with substantial modifications to the Chapel itself over time, has profoundly changed the perception of space inside, as well as the role of the edifice within the urban context.

The collapse of a cross-vault, in particular, has completely changed the consolidated sense of space in the nave, which has become, both on its lower level (due to the encroachment of single-unit dwellings within the intact vault) and upper level (due to the construction of dwellings around the collapsed vault) the courtyard of the buildings around it. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the same process of transformation (from specialized to residential) investing the Keep and other monumental Crusader architecture in the Ottoman period, has also invested the Chapel, albeit in different forms and ways.

Fig. 13. The Chapel. Axonometric view.

The Knights' Hall reveals similar phenomena of encroachment and transformation from specialized to residential.

The collapse of the upper levels of the north wall and the columns supporting the cross-vaulting, which happened when the Muslims conquered the citadel, facilitated the construction inside the Hall, already in the Ottoman period, of single- and multiple-unit dwellings along a street running down the middle of the Hall, whose position was determined by the existing architectural structures and allows us to hypothesize the geometry governing the original struc-





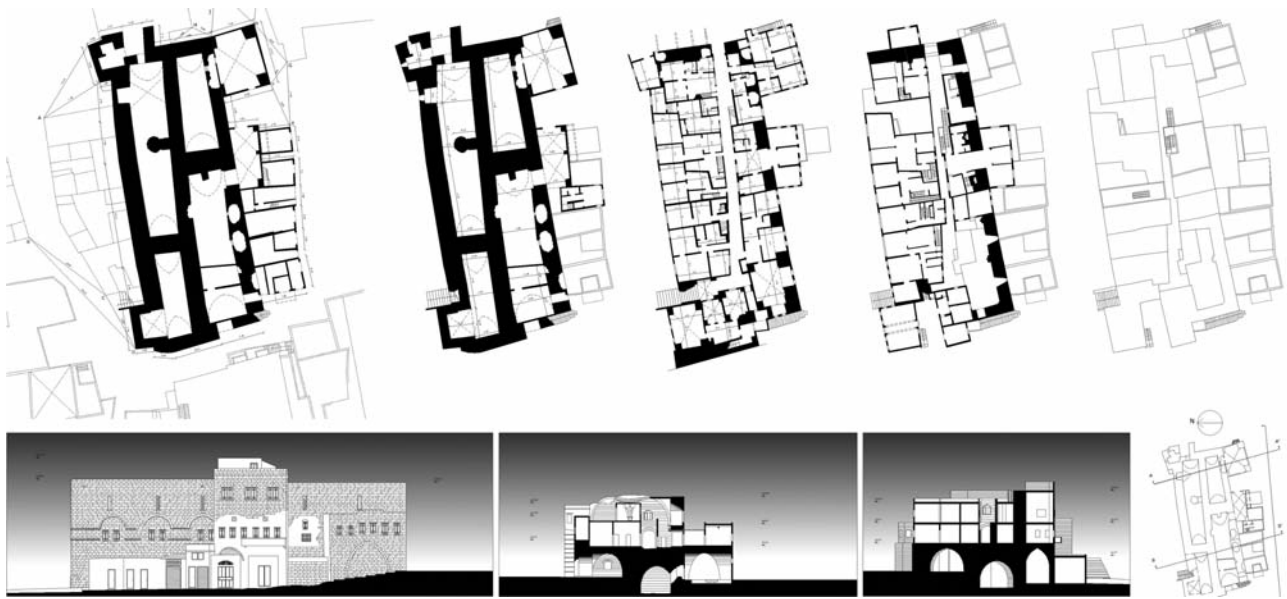


Fig. 14. *The Knights' Hall.*

tures. By superimposing the geometric grid of the original structure of cross-vaulted bays on the contemporary plan, we can discern the permanence of traces of the Crusader structures in the layout of the street and the organization of the fabric of residential buildings that reproduce the courtyard type, even though in a much more simplified form. The permanence, on ground level, of the original structures has meant that the dwellings inside the Hall were built mainly on the upper levels, in very small lots; only in some cases do these reproduce the courtyard type, though they tend toward it, according to the typical process that has invested the citadel structures.

A different example of transformation is represented, instead, by the buildings around the outside of the Knights' Hall, on the side facing the central square of the Crusader citadel. These buildings consist mainly in single-unit dwellings that have almost completely lost the memory of the courtyard type; their architecture is datable to much later phases in the typological process and is devoid of notions of traditional stone and masonry building techniques.

In similar fashion, dwellings were built inside the Keep. Here the size of the fortification and its almost square structure led to the formation, from the Mamluk period, of single-unit structures that, due to progressive encroachment, aided by the permanence of the four perimeter walls, have completely congested the lower levels. In such cases, the street is the only distributive element in a dense and continuous built area that occupies the lower levels of the Keep. On the upper levels, where the buildings are more recent, the desire to reconstruct the basic Syrian courtyard type has led to the creation of hybrid structures, based on multi-level courtyards, many of which are semi-public and are used as distributive elements in the residential buildings.

Though built in widely differing phases of organization (from the Mamluk period to today), and often as single units (as in other cases of encroachment on specialized Crusader buildings in Tartous citadel), the dwellings inside the Keep tend to conserve the memory of the courtyard type, and hence constitute hybrid variants, in which semi-public distribution spaces on different levels have been formed (comparable to courtyards) that allow light, ventilation and

Fig. 15. *The Knights' Hall. Axonometric view.*

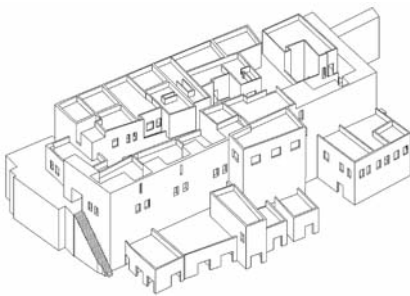




Fig. 16. *The Keep.*

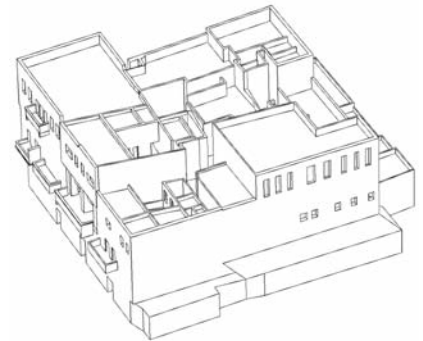
movement inside the basic single-unit types. On the other hand, the formation of buildings around the outside of the Keep, on the side facing the central space in the citadel (and whose structure is similar to those around the outside of the Knights' Hall), are datable to much later phases in the typological process and are devoid of notions of traditional building techniques linked to a knowledge of masonry construction, which represents the basic feature of pre-modern architecture both in Tartous and throughout the region.

What emerges from this analysis of the different formative phases in the urban fabric of the Crusader citadel is that the formation of residential fabric inside the citadel – exemplified by block N-O-G, block J, the Chapel, Keep and Knights' Hall – has definitively changed the consolidated sense of space and the structures themselves of the Crusader castle, since this took place by building over ancient structures and transforming the ruins of the specialized defensive buildings of Crusader gothic architecture into the residential fabric of the medieval Islamic city, which we have attempted to reconstruct here in terms of type and of aggregative and urban structures.

The most interesting aspect in this process of residential densification in the fortifications and the construction of an informal urban fabric on the ruins of an existing military settlement is the fact that the multicultural formation of the Tartous urban fabric did not come about through the addition of different neighbourhoods or architectural practices that gradually extended the urban area, recreating separate microcosms in which different communities continued to pursue their traditional architectural and cultural habits in isolation with respect to influences from the dominant culture.

On the contrary, this multicultural constitution came about vertically and affected the urban area as a whole. It took place in different phases, each belonging to different urban cultures that, in their turn, profoundly changed the consolidated sense of the earlier city, from the original Roman-Byzantine settlement through the first Crusader structures, to the Mamluk and Ottoman city, and then finally to the modern and contemporary city. Even though this intersection of cultures generated an absolutely unique urban form, they are still clearly legible in a structural analysis of the architectural and urban fabric of the citadel.

Fig. 17. *The Keep. Axonometric view.*



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*Aknowdlegments*

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## The Ottoman Houses of Haifa.

### Typologies of Domestic Architecture in a Late Ottoman Palestinian Town

Ron Fuchs

Changes in house form and domestic customs were one aspect of the gradual modernisation of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and its impact on daily life. Palestine was one Ottoman territory where new developments in domestic architecture followed modernisation<sup>1</sup>. Accelerated population growth and an expanding economy led in the second half of the century to a wave of new construction in many Palestinian towns. A turning point seems to have come in 1860, and in the last quarter of the century the new building activity was fully felt. New houses were built over the older structures of the ancient quarters, or formed new neighbourhoods outside the walls. Spacious mansions were a major aspect of the new building activity. These were erected by the members of a rising class of urban bourgeoisie, made prosperous by the growing trade with the West and speculation in land. The indirect benefits accruing to the new elite from positions offered to its members in the recently formed local administration helped them to consolidate their wealth. The new rich soon made use of new, imported building products that were becoming available after mid-century: imposing hip-roofs were built of tiles imported from Marseilles and cut timber from Anatolia; glass panes (apparently from

<sup>1</sup> On changes in domestic architecture in 19th-century Palestine and their historical context see R. Kark and Sh. Landman, 'The Establishment of Muslim Neighbourhoods in Jerusalem Outside the Old City During the Late Ottoman Period', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London 112/113 (1980/81), pp. 113-135; A. R. Fuchs and M. Meyer-Brodnitz, 'The Emergence of the Central Hall House Type in 19th Century Palestine', in J.-P. Bourdier and N. AlSayyad (eds.), *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition*, Lanham, MD 1989, pp. 403-424.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Kark, 'The Introduction of Modern Technology into the Holy Land 1800-1914CE', in Th. E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, London, 1995, p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> On earlier domestic architecture in Palestine see R. Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House and the Islamic Primitive Hur', *Muqarnas* 15(1998), pp. 157-177.

*Photo 1. Houses at the entrance to the old harbour, before 1930. Private collection, courtesy of Reifer Family.*

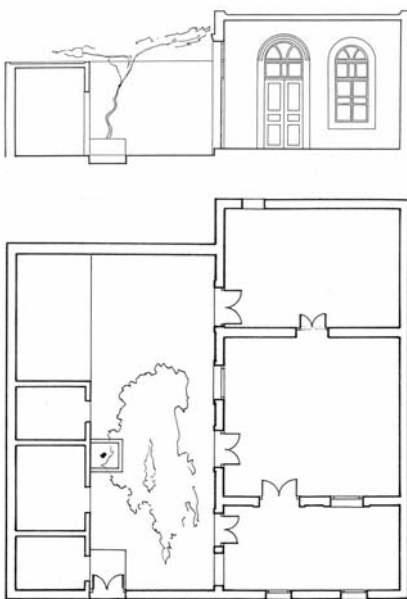


<sup>4</sup> On these house types in Lebanese architecture see H. Kalayan and J. Liger-Bellair, *L'habitation au Liban*, 2 vols. Beirut, 1966; F. Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, Beirut 1974; C. Aboussouan (ed.), *L'architecture libanaise du XVe au XIXe siècle*, Beirut, 1985; H. Kassaly, *De pierres et de couleurs, vie et mort des maisons du vieux Beyrouth*, Beirut 1998; K. Semaan, *Maisons du Liban*, Beyrouth, 1999; J. Liger-Bellair, *The dwelling in Lebanon*, Paris, 2000. For an extensive discussion of 19th-century domestic architecture in the eastern Mediterranean see M. F. Davie (ed.), *La maison aux trois arcs aux carrefours urbains du Levant*, Beirut and Tours, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> The two standard authorities on Palestinian architecture, Canaan and Dalman, are practically silent on the 19th-century house types. See T. Canaan, 'The Palestinian Arab House, Its Architecture and Folklore', *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 12 (1932) pp. 223-247, 13 (1933) pp. 1-83; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Band vii: 'Das Haus', Gütersloh, 1942, reprinted 1964. For references to 19th-century house types in Palestine see D. Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture - Arab Buildings Outside the Old City Walls*, Jerusalem 1985 [Hebrew]; Fuchs and Meyer-Brodnitz, 'The Emergence of the Central Hall House', 1989; Rivka Gonen and David Kroyanker, *To Live in Jerusalem*, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1993; O. Hamdan, *Palestinian Folk Architecture*, Palestinian Folk Center, Society of In'ash el-Usha, 1996 [in Arabic]; Ph. Revault, S. Santelli, and C. Weill-Rochant, *Les Maisons de Bethléem*, Paris 1997; R. Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House - the Ottoman Connection', in K. Bechhoefer and S. Ireland (eds.), *The Ottoman House*, London 1998; idem, 'The Palestinian Arab House Reconsidered, Part B: the 19th Century Changes', *Cathedra* 90 (December 1998), pp. 53-86 [in Hebrew]; D. Khasawneh, *Memoirs Engraved in Stone: Palestinian Urban Mansions*, Ramallah, 2001.

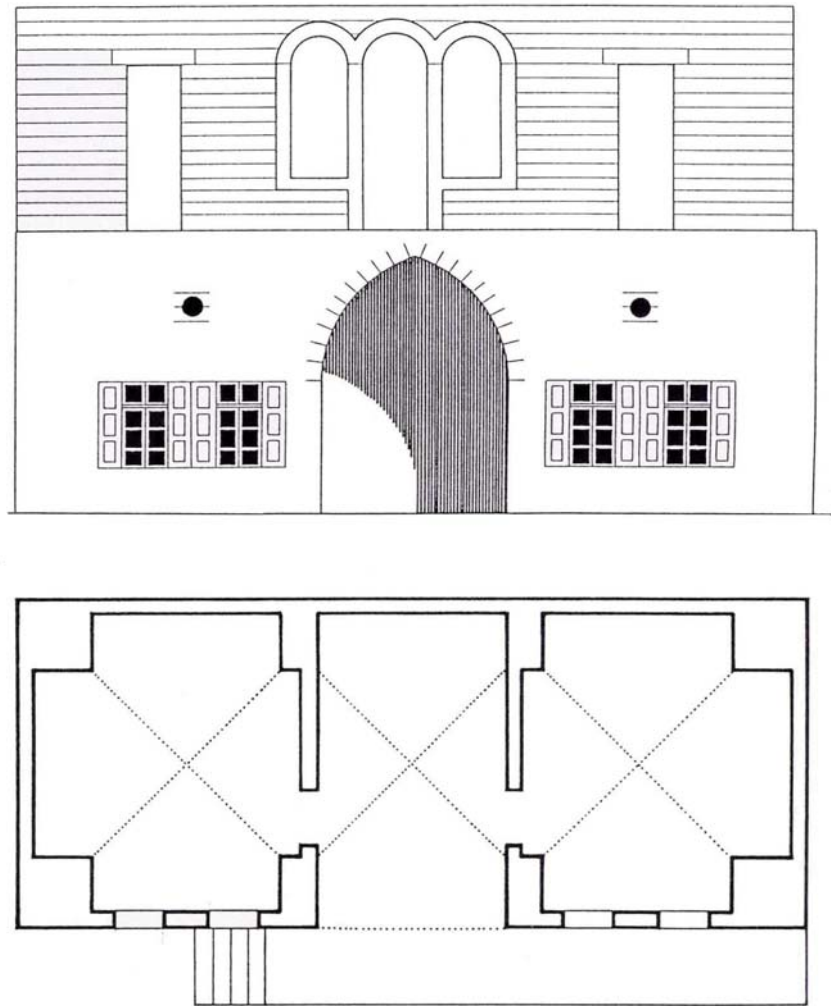
Fig. 1. A court house, the bottom of Wadi Salib, plan and section. Demolished in the 1980s

Fig. 2. Rahibat Str. Plan of ground floor and front elevation. Reconstruction of original arrangement.



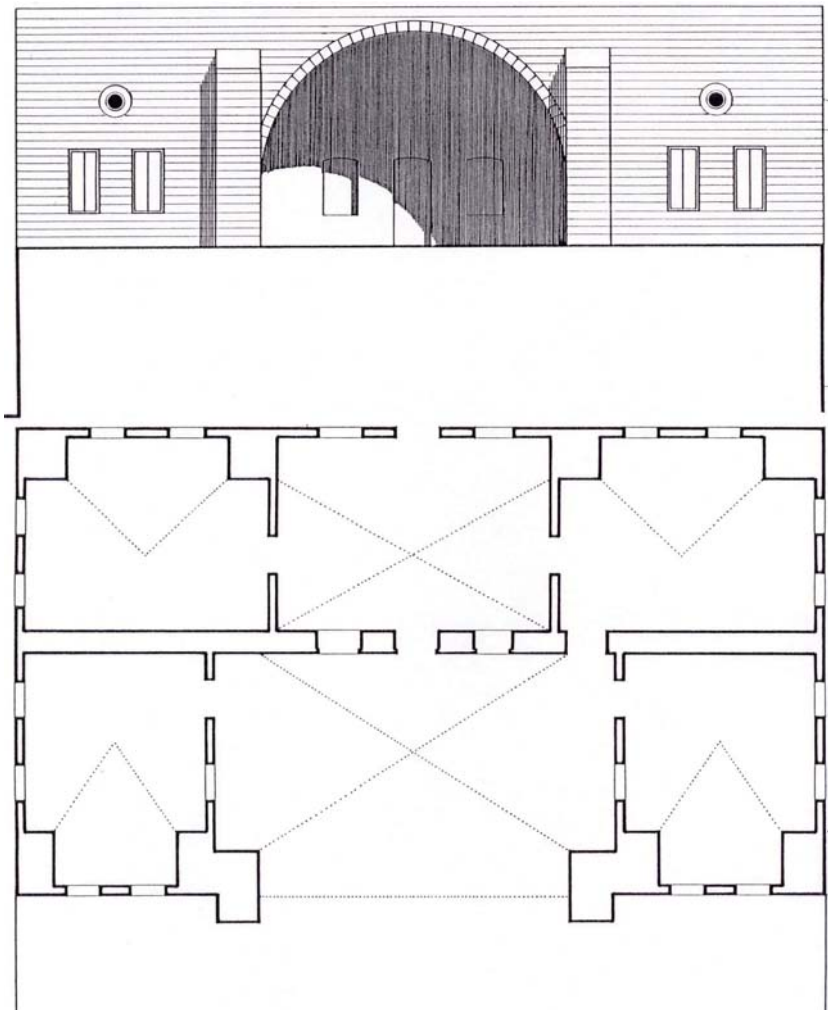
England and Germany)<sup>2</sup> permitted the construction of well lit as well as climatically protected spaces hitherto unachievable. The new elite constituted the section of the population most exposed to the influence of Western culture. Accordingly its houses boasted items of European furniture: tables, chairs, beds, and even pianos. The imported furniture - initially treated as exotic showpieces rather than equipment for practical use - eventually changed the multi-purpose way in which domestic spaces were traditionally used.

The most fundamental change in domestic life - a development that in a sense embodied all other change - was the introduction of new house types.<sup>3</sup> How these house types evolved is an intriguing question that is not considered here. Yet note that the process of change exposed local traditions throughout the Empire not only to the West, but also to influences originating in the capital, Constantinople, in Eastern-Mediterranean centres such as Alexandria and Beirut, and in neighbouring provinces. As for Palestinian architecture, Beirut and Mount Lebanon were no doubt a major source of direct influence, at least



in the Galilee and the coastal plain. The characteristic house types of 19th-century Lebanon - the iwan house, the gallery (or riwaq) house, and the central hall house<sup>4</sup> - appeared in Palestine as well, spreading as far south as Beersheba. Houses of the central hall type, the tile roofs and triple arcades of which are almost an icon of Lebanese architecture, became very common in Palestinian towns. They were abundantly present in Acre, Haifa, Nazareth, and Jaffa. More independent regional variations appeared in inner Palestine, especially in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Until recently little scholarly attention was paid to 19th-century house types in Palestine.<sup>5</sup> Accurate architectural documentation, the basis for any reliable discussion, is limited, and few measured drawings, showing plans, elevations, and details of Palestinian Arab town houses, have been published.<sup>6</sup> The aim of this paper is to contribute to a more complete history of the Palestinian built environment by providing a survey of the main typologies of domestic architecture in a late Ottoman Palestinian town. Architectural documentation of a

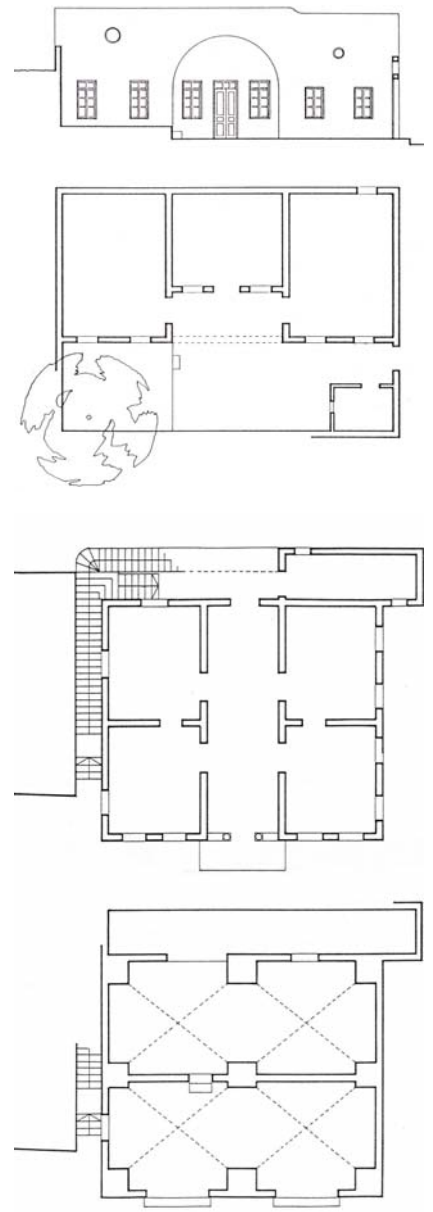


<sup>6</sup> Revault et al., *Les Maisons de Bethléem* includes systematic documentation. See also Khasawneh, *Memoirs*. Other publications include occasional measured drawings.

*Fig. 3. 8 Madregot Teman.*

*Fig. 4. 17 Ma'ale ha-Shihzur (formerly Bourj) Str. Plan and north-east elevation. Reconstruction of first building stage. A service wing on the south-east that collapsed in 1997, and a later first floor are omitted. The house is being restored, 2008.*

*Fig. 5. 12 Shivat Zion. Plan of ground and first floors. Ground floor used as workshop, the rest of the house - sealed.*



<sup>7</sup> Some of the drawings were prepared for my M. Sc. Thesis (Ron Fuchs, *The Central-Hall House Type in Ottoman Palestine* Faculty of Architecture & Town Planning, Technion, 1987) and the rest were prepared in 1998 especially for this paper. Some are based on measurements taken by myself (figs. figs. 1, 5, 7-10, 12, 13, 15-17), and some are based to a larger or smaller extent on plans submitted to Haifa Municipality by renovators no earlier than 1930 and kept in the building files at the municipal archives (figs. 2, 4, 6, 13, 14, 16, 18, 27). All drawings were made after examination of the buildings themselves. Figs. 11 and 22 are based on a survey prepared for Haifa University by the Israeli Antiquities Authority in 1995. Obvious later additions were omitted, and some details are reconstructions. In the latter case a note is made in the text or the caption. Stone courses are represented by horizontal stripes without marking each stone.

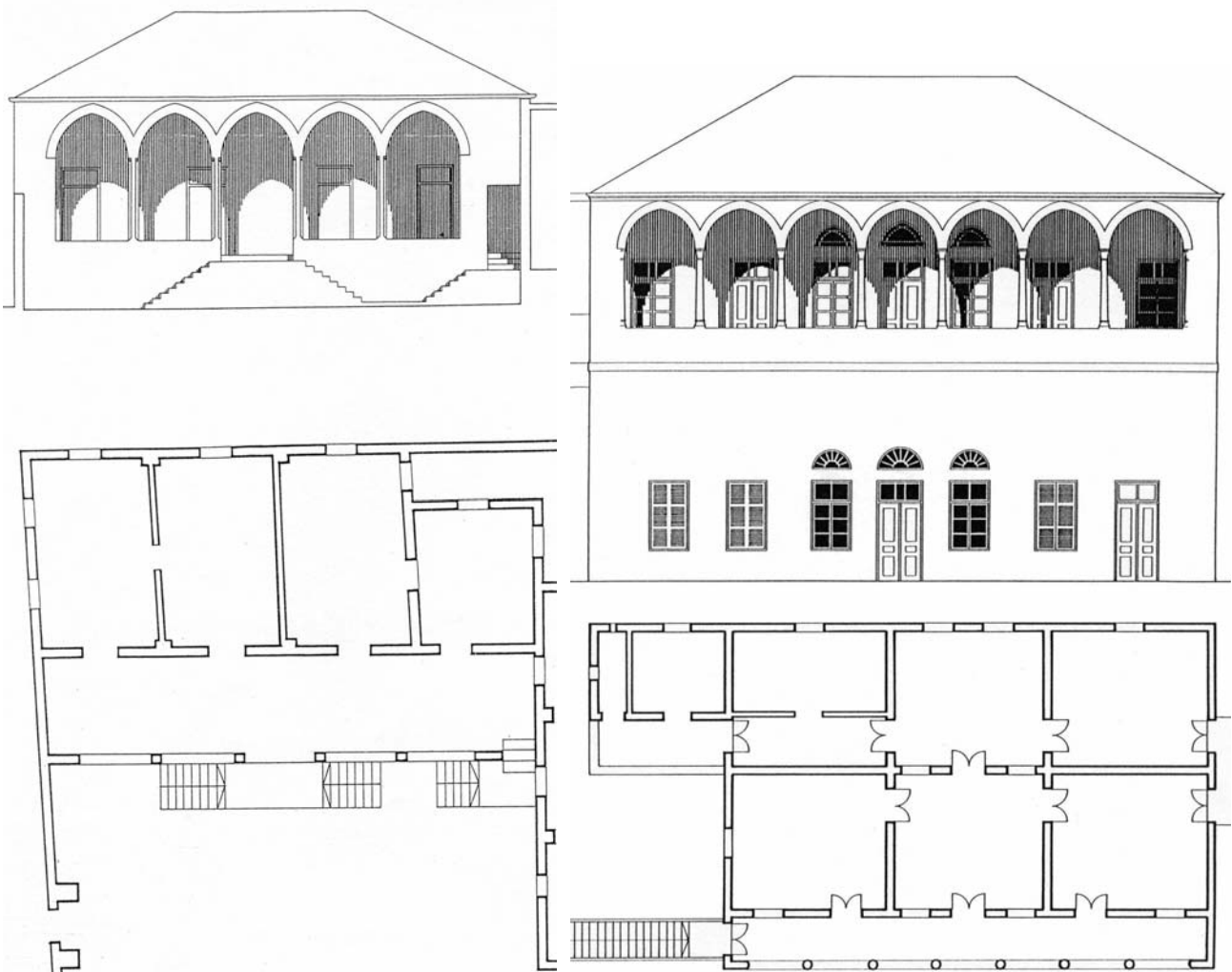
*Fig. 6. Shivat Zion Str. and Wadi Salib Str. intersection. Plan and elevation of a unit in a larger complex. Demolished shortly after 1995.*

*Fig. 7. 18 Sahyun Str. Plan of first floor and elevation. Reconstruction of original arrangement. Occupied, residential.*

sample of some 25 houses from the town of Haifa is the basis for this study.<sup>7</sup>

Haifa offers examples of local domestic architecture of the late Ottoman period characteristic of northern Palestine and the coastal zone. At the beginning of the 19th century Haifa was a very young town: its history on its modern site began only in 1761, when it was re-founded by the Galilean strongman Zahir al-'Umar.<sup>8</sup> In 1800 it was no more than a village of 1,000 inhabitants. During the following century, however, it became the fastest growing town in the country: by 1880 it had grown six-fold;<sup>9</sup> by 1902 it had 11,000-12,000 inhabitants, and twice as many in 1914.<sup>10</sup> Old photographs from the last two decades of the 19th century show gigantic tile-roofed mansions along the sea front, in the vicinity of the Ottoman governor's headquarters and the entrance to the old harbour (photo 1). Construction of houses outside the walls began around 1858, when a similar process started in other Palestinian towns.<sup>11</sup>

As all houses within the narrow confines of Zahir's walls were reduced to ruins



after 1948, the extra-mural sections of the Ottoman town are those that survive today. Their state of preservation varies, but is seldom excellent. What there is, however, still provides a good sample of late-Ottoman building types, and a number of architecturally fine examples.<sup>12</sup>

19th-century traditions continued to evolve in the two 20th century decades of Ottoman rule and during the British Mandate. As Haifa enjoyed considerable prosperity under British rule as well,<sup>13</sup> the town possessed a number of fine examples demonstrating the adaptation of 19th-century traditions to the needs of a newer age. In this respect Haifa is richer than the better preserved Acre or Nazareth, or Jaffa. Thus, Haifa's particular merit as a case-study is its offering an outline of a continuous story of the evolution of a vernacular tradition from its heyday to its 'decadence'. The latest examples discussed in this paper relate to a period ending around 1930, when local builders began to adopt modernistic or 'Bauhaus' motifs, and the feeling of stylistic continuity was broken.

The paper limits itself to an examination of the documented buildings, and

<sup>8</sup> On the history of Ottoman Haifa see A. Carmel, *Geschichte Haifas in der türkischen Zeit 1516-1918*, Wiesbaden, 1975; M. Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period 1864-1915 - a Muslim Town in Transition*, Leiden 1998. See also A. Soffer and B. Kipnis (eds.), *Atlas of Haifa and Mount Carmel*, Haifa 1980.

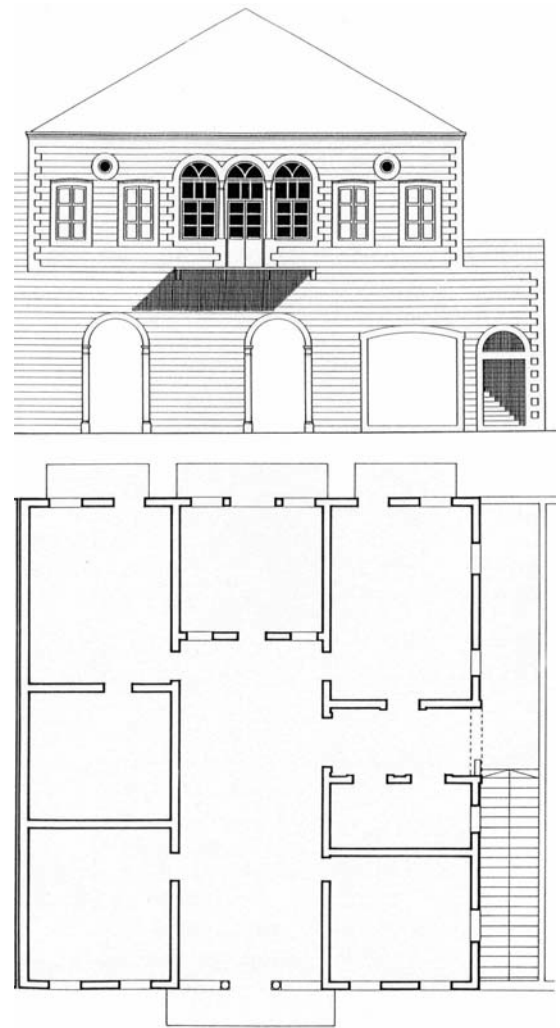
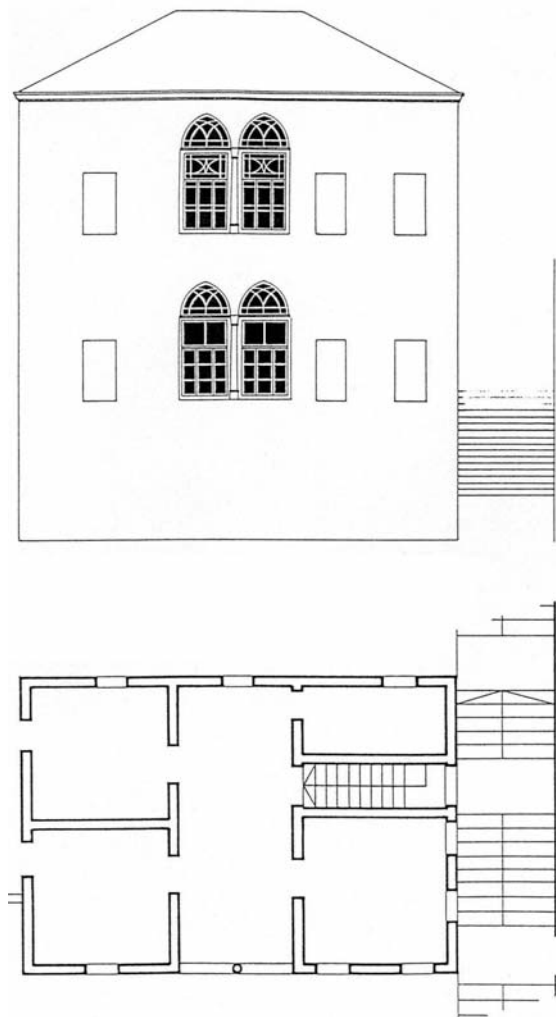
<sup>9</sup> Y. Ben-Arieh, 'The Population of the Towns in Palestine during the First Eighty Years of the Nineteenth Century According to Western Sources', in M. Ma'oz (ed.), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 49-69.

<sup>10</sup> Carmel, Haifa, p. 128.

<sup>11</sup> On the building outside the walls see Mary E. Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, London, 1862, pp. 80-107, 386-388; Charles W. Wilson (ed.), *Picturesque Palestine*, 4 vols. 1880-1884, vol. 3 p. 95.

*Fig. 8. Shivat Zion and Ma'ale ha-Shihrirur Str. intersection. Plan of first floor and elevation.*

*Fig. 9. 2 Hativat Golani Str. Plan of first floor and elevation. Unoccupied and sealed.*





<sup>12</sup> Deterioration of 19th-century houses began after the war that followed the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, when most of the Arab population of Haifa left their homes. On the fate of the Arab cities in Israel see S. Tamari (ed.), *Jerusalem 1948, the Arab Neighbourhoods and Their Fate in the War*, Jerusalem, 1999; Y. Paz, 'Conservation of the Architectural Heritage of Abandoned Urban Neighbourhoods following the War', *Cathedra* 88 (1998), pp. 95-134 [in Hebrew].

<sup>13</sup> On Arab society in Haifa during the Mandate see May Seikaly, *Haifa - Transformation of a Palestinian Arab Society 1918-1939*,

<sup>14</sup> More reliable dating will be possible when detailed study of the historical geography of Ottoman Haifa is carried out. All extra-mural houses must be later than approximately 1858, when building outside the walls began. The earliest map of Haifa dates from 1911: see reproduction in Soffer and Kipnis, *Atlas*, p. 51. See also comments on dating in Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, pp. 129, 200-201; N. Liphshitz and G. Biger, 'Old versus New - Timber Analysis of Acre and Haifa in Nineteenth-Century Palestine', *Historical Geography* 26 (1998), pp. 177-186.

<sup>15</sup> See references above, notes 1, 4, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Compare this house with a modern courtyard house dating from the 1970s documented in Gh. Azer et al., 'Busra: Housing in Transition' *Berytus* 33(1985), pp. 103-142, fig. 34. Elaborate 19th-century courtyard complexes of a different type were documented in Bethlehem: Revault et al., *Les Maisons de Bethléem*, pp. 110-121.

discusses only questions of typology and architectural design. Other undeniably important questions, but which require different methods of investigation, are left for future study. These include the identity of the original owners, artists, and designers, 19th-century domestic customs, and urban geography. Most of these issues are extremely difficult to investigate because of the scarcity of documents. Even the dating of houses cannot go much beyond an evaluation based on stylistic comparisons.<sup>14</sup> General aspects of 19th-century house types, their origins, and the historical context for their emergence have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

### *A Courtyard House*

The house in fig. 1 belonged to a dense, qasbah-like quarter of modest houses that clustered on the slopes of Wadi Salib, just outside the south-eastern wall. It consists of a row of three living rooms arranged along a rectangular court. The extreme room on the street side was a later addition, and the exterior wall of the earlier room, with its moulded apertures and rough (tubze) masonry finish, faced the interior of the new room. Opposite, along the other edge of the court, a number of service rooms (kitchen, washing, and toilets) were later constructed of concrete blocks. The rest of the court was enclosed by a high wall, and a grape vine, hanging on a net of metal wires, provided shade. Judging by the reinforced concrete of the ceilings and the style of the mouldings, this modest house was constructed in stages during the 1920s. It is, therefore, a late example of a courtyard house, which does not share the tendency of the new 19th-century house types for a freestanding disposition. Apparently, courtyard-centred clusters still formed in the more modest and crowded parts of the city well after richer builders adopted new house types.<sup>16</sup>



Photo 2. *Riwaq houses* (plans on figs. 6, 11)

### *The Iwan House*

The iwan is a type of architectural space that has been applied in Islamic architecture in a wide variety of configurations almost since its earliest beginnings. One such configuration was an 'iwan unit' consisting of an iwan flanked by a room on either side. Iwan units commonly featured in Syrian domestic architecture as suites of rooms that made up an urban courtyard house, but apparently in the 19th century an independent house, consisting of a free-standing iwan unit, became increasingly common in Syria and especially in Lebanon. In Palestine, especially in the old inner towns, the iwan was used in the richer courtyard houses of the pre-1860 traditions, not necessarily as a part of an iwan unit.<sup>17</sup> The free-standing iwan house seems to have been chiefly a 19th-century manifestation.<sup>18</sup> A number of such houses existed in Haifa.

Characteristic iwan arches seem present in old views of the town,<sup>19</sup> but more importantly, a few iwan houses still survive. The iwan scheme in its simplest form is represented in the house in fig. 2. Originally this seems to have been a vaulted, single-storey building, consisting of an iwan with two lateral rooms. The iwan has been blocked and another floor, now roofless and inaccessible, was added over the older structure at an early stage.<sup>20</sup> Today the house is divided among three households, and the interior is radically changed.

A few, more complex, derivatives of the iwan scheme have also survived in Haifa. The house in fig. 3 is a single-storey building consisting of a row of three rooms. The central one is made shorter, so as to leave space for a deep entrance porch that gives access to the three rooms. The porch opens on the front through an arch spanning the whole width of the space, like an iwan.<sup>21</sup> The roof is made of timber joists and boards covered with packed earth. A high wall encloses a narrow courtyard in front of the house. At its end there is an elevated surface (mastaba) shaded by a large fig tree, for outside sitting. Another derivative of the iwan scheme is shown in fig. 4.<sup>22</sup> This is a large and

<sup>17</sup> The palaces of Nablus are a notable example: see J. Awad, *Erhaltung und Erneuerung von traditionellen Altstadt Häusern in Nablus, Palästina*, Doctoral dissertation, Stuttgart University, 1996; idem, 'Die Altstadt von Nablus, Westjordanland', *Triolog* 40 (1994), pp. 28-31.

<sup>18</sup> For drawings and discussion of the iwan house in Palestine see Revault et al., *Les Maisons de Bethléem*, pp. 89-94; Fuchs, 'The Ottoman Connection', pp. 61, 71, pls. 8.9-8.12.

<sup>19</sup> See F. and E. Thévoz, *La Palestine illustrée*, vol. III-IV, Lausanne 1890, no. 36 (also reproduced in Carmel, Haifa), photo by Louis de Celrcq, ca 1860 in Howe, Kathleen Stewart, *Revealing the Holy Land: the photographic exploration of Palestine*, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, CA, 1997

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, E34, E35, E52.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. a similar house recorded in M. Davie and L. Nordiguan, 'L'habitat de Bayrut al-Qadimat', *Berytus* 25 (1987), pp. 165-197, figs. 11, 12. The use of the iwan as porch for a central room excludes this variant from the basic definition of the iwan house and approximates it more to the central hall house.

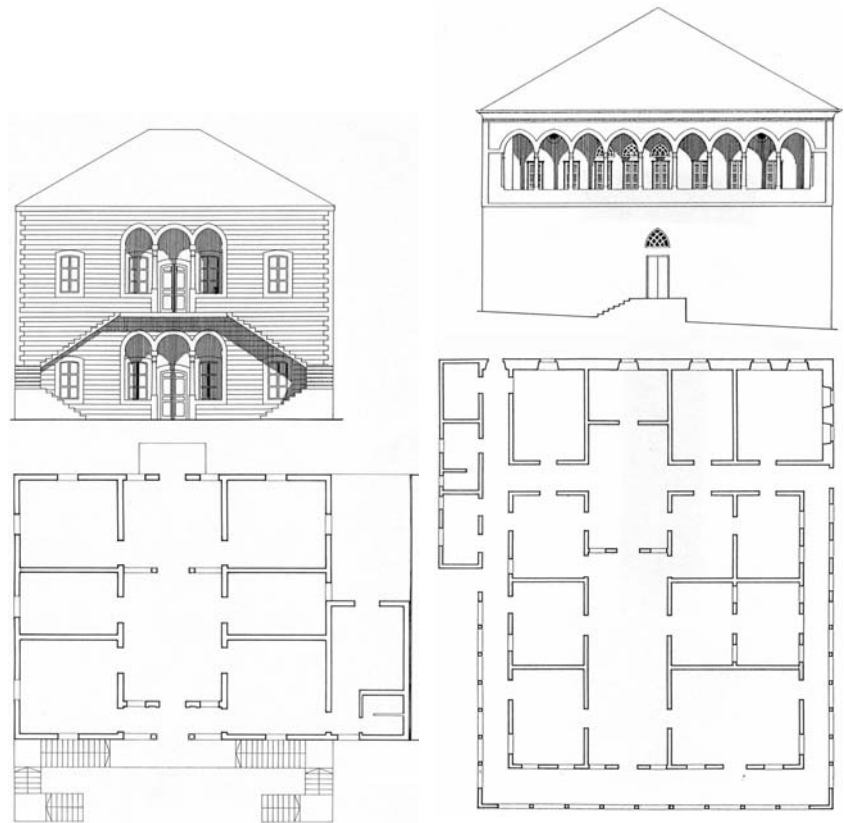


*Photo 3. House Abdallah Pasha, Stella Maris. Source: R. P. Marie-Bernard, Le Mont-Carmel, Paris 1911, p. 63.*

<sup>22</sup> Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, does not cite any Lebanese equivalent to this variant, unless one replaces an arcade for the iwan, cf. Ragette, E21, E26.

archaic looking house. Its imposing effect is now obscured by later encrustations and by its derelict state. It stood on a steeply sloping ground, just below the site of Zahir's burj (fort). The plan is a rectangle divided into two rows of rooms. The row facing the hill consisted of three spacious rooms. The main entrance to the house was apparently through the central of these, but is now buried. The other row consisted of an enormous iwan - ten meters in width - flanked by a room on each side. The iwan opened on a wide terrace through a wide arch. Because of the slope, the construction of the terrace required the erection of high retaining walls and a substantial amount of infill, but the effort was apparently deemed worthwhile; the terrace commanded an imposing view of the Ottoman town and Haifa Bay. On the eastern side, a service wing, containing washrooms and a kitchen, was added. It could be accessed from the stepped street running along its side. This wing probably did not belong to the first building stage since it required the blocking of windows of the main structure and the extension of the terrace.

The building material was a pinkish sandstone, except for the mouldings of the round windows (one now damaged), which were white limestone. The main building was vaulted. The large spans demanded thick walls and additional buttressing. The flying buttress on the side was probably added to overcome signs of overstress. Doors and shutters were decorated in carved patterns.



*Fig. 10. 4 Tzionut Ave. Plan of first floor and elevation. Used as a youth club.*

*Fig. 11. Alkalay Str. Plan of domestic floor and north-east elevation. Unoccupied and sealed.*

*The Riwaq House*

A riwaq house consists of a loggia or gallery (riwaq) that gives access to a row of rooms arranged along it.<sup>23</sup> The gallery may run the whole length of the facade, but sometimes rooms take up its ends, and an arcaded porch results. The riwaq house is a basic house type common in vernacular architecture in Anatolia, the Levant, and at least as far east as Iraq. Arcades were not very common in old Palestinian traditional architecture.<sup>24</sup> Like the iwan house, the riwaq house seems to have been a 19th-century introduction. Examples are not common but some are found in Haifa, and judging by old photographs more existed.

A simple realisation of the riwaq scheme is shown in fig. 6 and photo 2. It is one of several structures within a complex that was used as a school for many years. It consists of a five-bayed arcade giving access to a row of four rooms. A tiled hip-roof covered the structure.

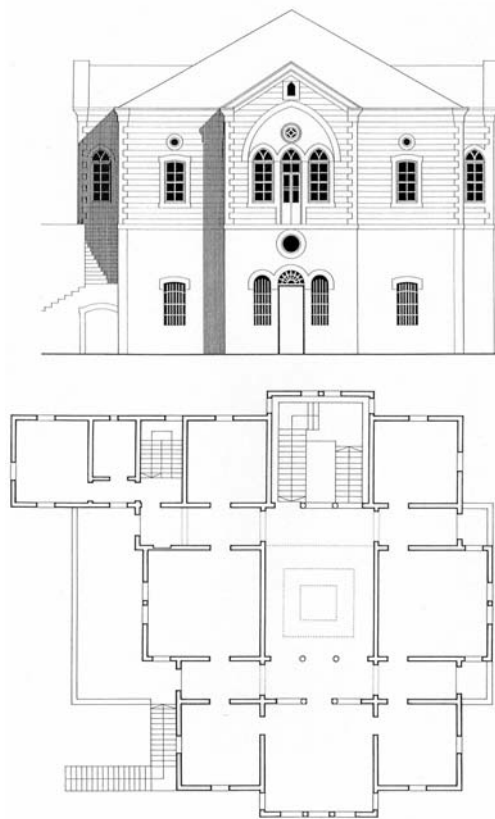
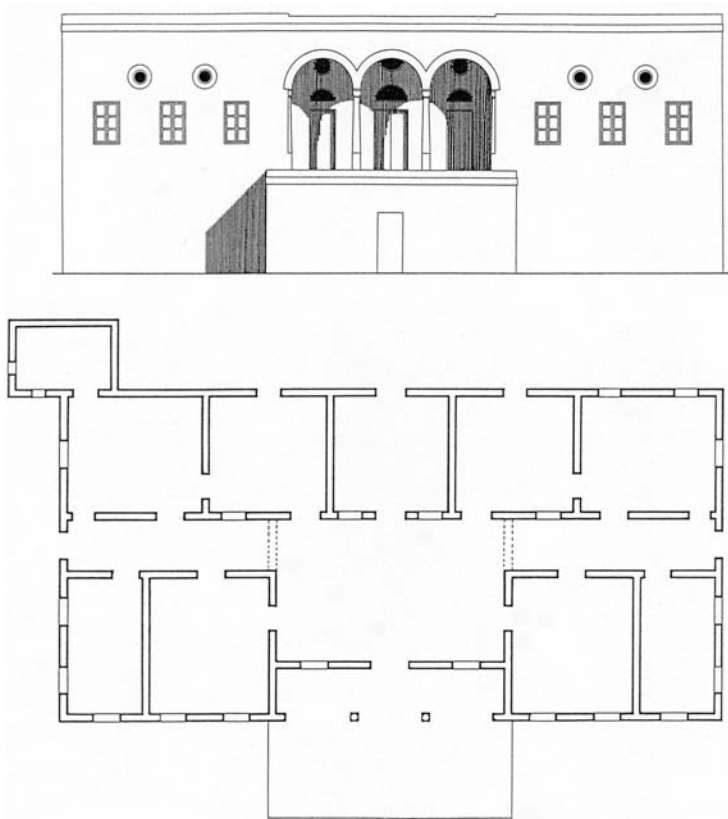
A fine gallery, boasting an arcade of seven pointed arches, and offering a good view of the town and the Mediterranean, ran along the front of the upper floor of the house in fig. 7. A steep flight of 30 steps led to one end of the gallery, whence one could enter the three rooms arranged along it. Another row of three rooms of similar dimensions, plus a small service room, ran behind the

<sup>23</sup> For documented Levantine examples of the riwaq house see Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, pp. 36-65; Aboussouan, *L'architecture Libanaise*; R. Thoumin, *La maison Syrienne dans la plain Hauranaise, le bassin du Barada et sur les plateaux du Qalamun*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>24</sup> See the monumental use of an arcade in Zahir al-'Umar's palace at Deir Hanna in the Galilee: C. Edwards et al., 'Dayr Hanna: an Eighteenth Century Fortified Village in the Galilee', *Levant* 25 (1993), pp. 69-80, figs. 4-17. Massive arcades resting on piers were documented in Bethlehem, especially in 19th-century courtyard complexes: Revault et al., *Les Maisons de Bethléem*, pp. 110-121. A riwaq house from Bayt Jubrin, southern Palestine, generally in the Lebanese manner, is documented in Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House Reconsidered', p. 58.

*Fig. 12. 23 Allenby Rd. Plan of domestic floor and elevation. Reconstruction of original arrangement. Today a number of rooms are occupied and the rest of the house is sealed.*

*Fig. 13. 2 Ha-Geffen Str. Plan of first floor and garden elevation. A large balcony on the garden front has been demolished and is not shown.*



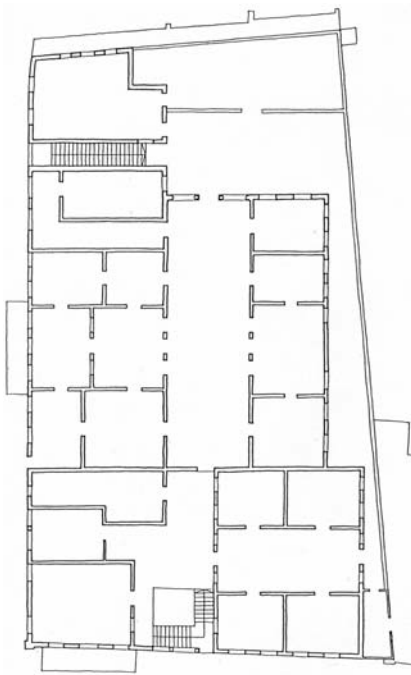
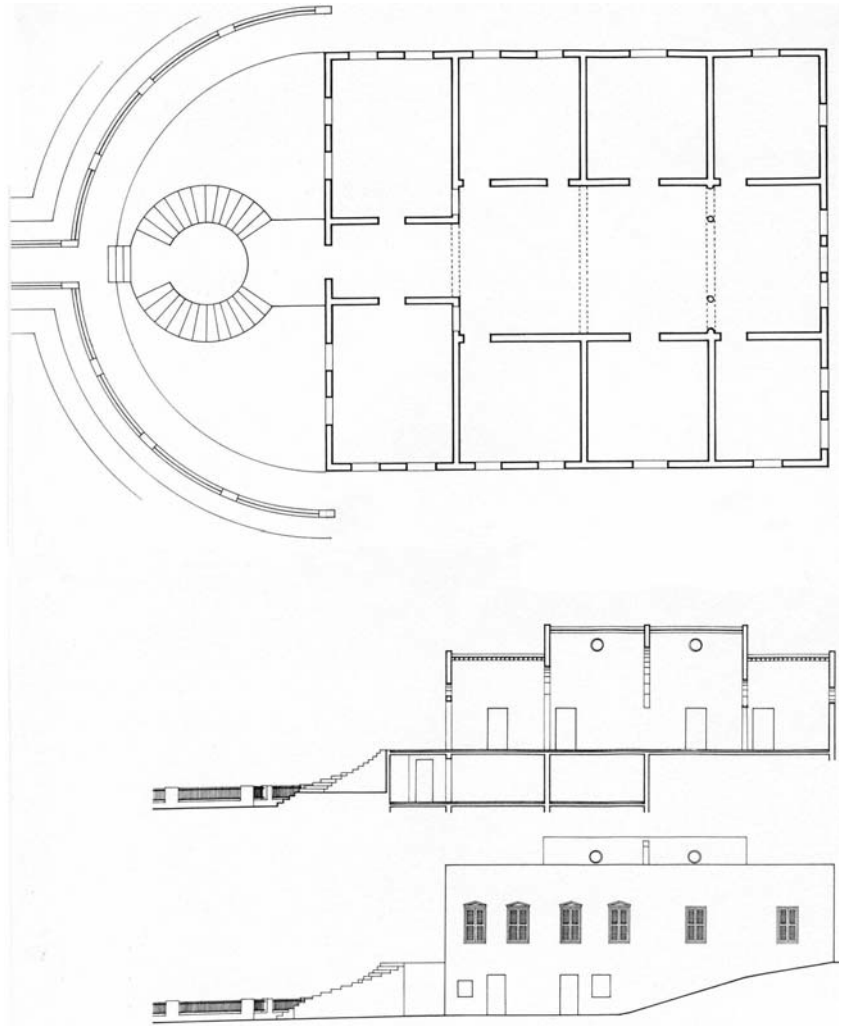
front row. According to the occupants' evidence, a door flanked by two windows connected the two central rooms of the two rows. The upper floor, now divided into two flats, was probably the piano nobile of one dwelling, which included the vaulted ground floor as well. A tall, tiled hip-roof crowns the structure.

*The Central Hall House*

A plan based on a central hall flanked by a row of rooms on each side was the basic characteristic of the central hall house, the most common house type of the new 19th-century architecture in Lebanon as well as in Palestine. Photo 4 shows a typical central hall house in its mature, late 19th-century phase. It is a

Fig. 14. Hammam al-Pasha Str. Plan of first floor. Ground floor is used as a theatre and first floor is unoccupied and derelict.

Fig. 15. 4 Shivat Zion Str. Plan, side elevation and section. Demolished.



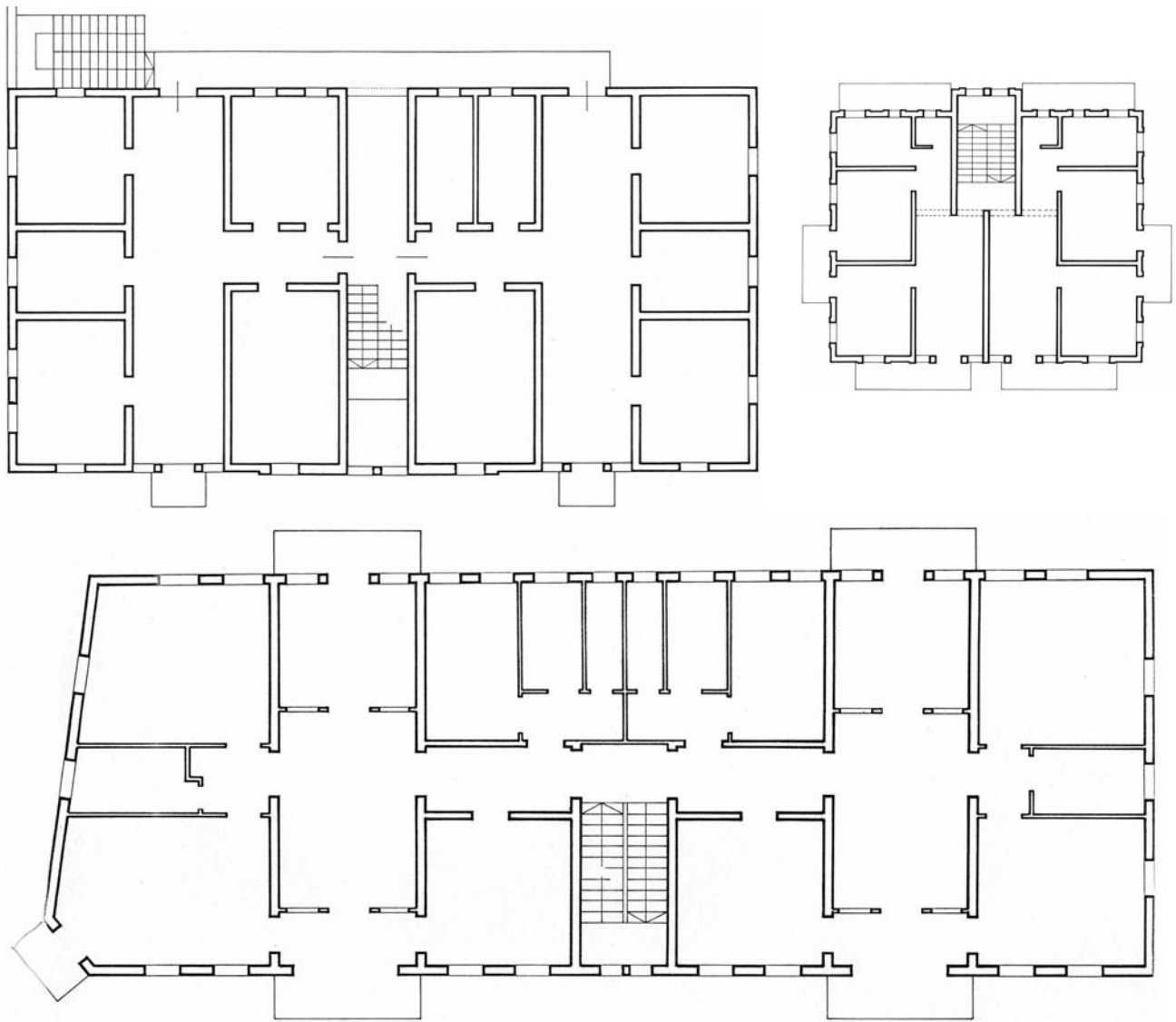
rectangular block, crowned by a tall, tiled hip-roof. The living quarters are on a piano nobile built over a service ground floor. In the centre of the first-floor facade there is a three-bayed arcade. This element hints at the arrangement of the interior: the triple arcade marks the end of a central hall that cuts through the house from facade to facade, giving access on each side to a row of rooms.

The apparent novelty of the central hall house in the setting of pre-19th-century traditions makes the origins of this common house type particularly intriguing. Dateable examples of early central hall arrangements are important clues to the origins of the central hall house and its diffusion through the region. One such early house has endured in Haifa, the earliest dwelling to have survived in the city. This is the summer residence built in the end of the 1820s by Abdallah Pasha, the governor of Sidon district (photo 3). Abdallah's

Fig. 16. 42 Qibbutz Galuyot (formerly Iraq) Str. Plan of second floor. Ground floor is used for workshops and domestic floors are unoccupied and sealed. Restored ca 2000

Fig. 17. 134 Ha-Atzma'ut Rd.

Fig. 18. 86 Jaffa Rd. Plan of a domestic floor. The ground floor is occupied by shops, and the three domestic floors are still residential.

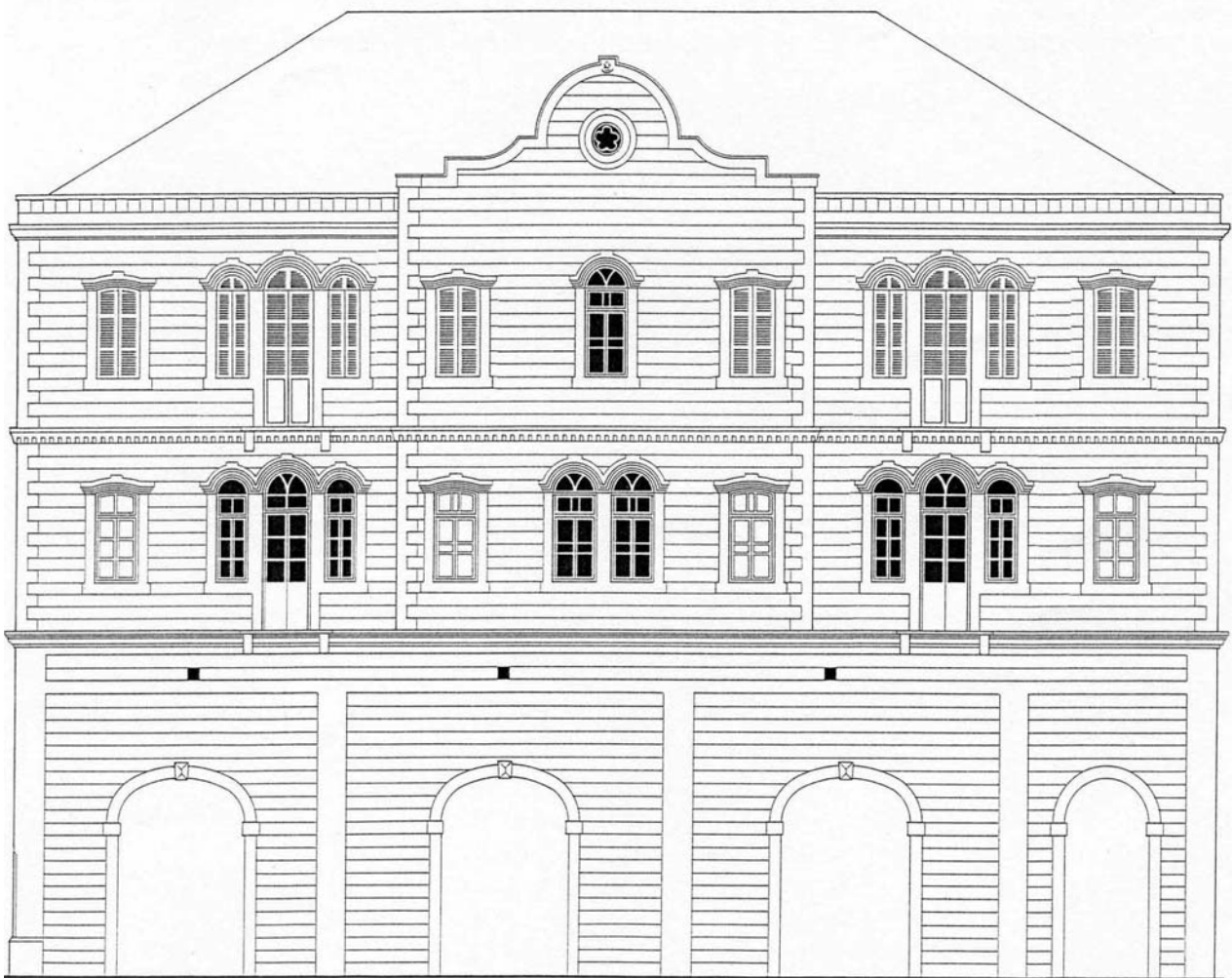


<sup>25</sup> If the identification is correct. See B. Dichter, *Akko: Sites from the Turkish Period*, Haifa, 2000, pp. 238-9, and drawing of plan. Abdallah's residence in Acre seems to have been a courtyard house: *ibid.*, p. 214-5.

<sup>26</sup> The house eventually became the property of the monastery. Ibrahim Pasha established his headquarters on the site when he invaded Palestine in 1831, and in 1834 presented the residence to the Carmelite Order, who used it as a guest house for pilgrims. See A. Carmel, *Haifa*, pp. 56, 60. Over the entrance the monks installed a medallion bearing the Carmelite coat of arms, an inscription ('REGINA DECOR CARMELI INTERCEDE PRO DOMO TUA'), and the date, 1846. A cartouche with an Arabic inscription mentioning Elijah was placed below.

predecessor, Suleyman Pasha, had already built himself a palace on a central hall plan in Acre in 1817, probably one of the earliest instances of this plan type in Palestine.<sup>25</sup> The architect of the summer residence may have been a European, Giambatista Cassini, who was building the Carmelite monastery opposite Abdallah's house, on the other side of the highway at the same time.<sup>26</sup> The site was the edge of the promontory at the point where the Carmel range drops down to the sea. This was an ideal site for a summer residence because of its good air and the sweeping panorama it commanded. The house faced east, the direction of the town that lay on the coast below; farther north, away beyond the Haifa Bay, Acre, where the Pasha normally resided, could be seen; a view of the sea opened on three sides. To reach the residence one had to cross a wide forecourt that stretched along the road coming up from the town. The house had one floor, a massive, vaulted, thick-walled structure. The building, now used by the Israeli navy, cannot, unfortunately, be surveyed in detail, but the general arrangement is clear. The main block consisted of a hall spanned by cross vaults, and flanked by rooms, two on each side,

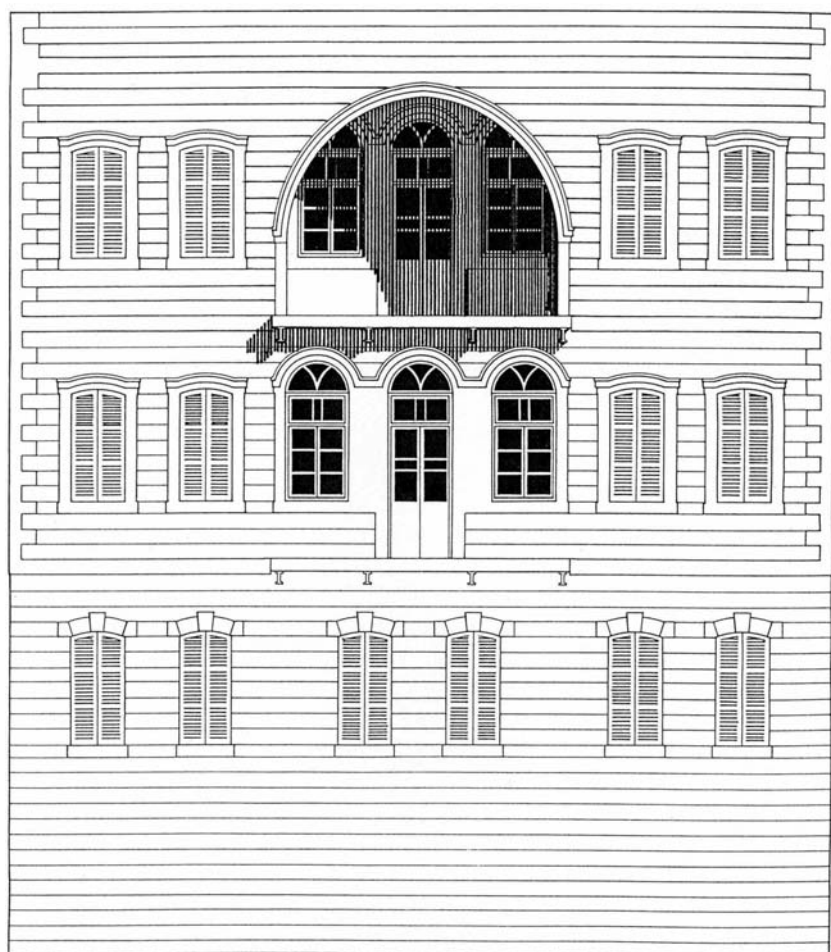
*Fig. 19. 42 Qibbutz Galuyot Str. Main elevation (plan on fig. 16).*



judging by the exterior. Access to the hall was through an entrance wing, slightly wider than the main block. Consisting of a vaulted iwan-like porch flanked by two lateral rooms, this wing very much resembled a simple iwan house. A continuous stone seat ran around the porch, and a door at the rear led into the central hall of the main block. A flight of stairs from the outside to the roof originally ran behind the left of the entrance block; its covered exit, rising from the surface of the flat roof, can be seen in old photographs. The western end of the main block was appended by another wing, similar in width to the iwan block at the front, but slightly narrower. A large terrace facing the sea and supported by retaining walls existed on this side of the building by 1880.<sup>27</sup> By then the tower of a lighthouse stood on the edge of the western wing, and later a second storey was added over the whole area of the roof.

<sup>27</sup> Charles W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, 4 vols., London 1880-1884, vol. 3, etching on p. 88.

Early as it is, Abdallah Pasha's residence is admittedly more baffling than illuminating as a clue to the origins of the central hall house. It must be matched with further evidence before its significance is realised. As for the mature, typi-



*Fig. 20. 10 Umar al-Khayam Str. Elevation.*



<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon, typology of access*, p. 93.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, variation B1, p. 93, E70, p.104.

<sup>30</sup> As observed in Lebanon: *ibid.*, p. 106.

cal central hall house, the houses of Haifa preserve a range of variants and sub-variants of the basic formula. Examples range from the modest to the extravagant. The length of the central hall varies from the size of a single room (fig. 2) to 25 metres; the area of the domestic floor can be as small as 60 and 85 square metres (figs. 2, 5), or reach 300, 380 and 570 square metres (figs. 11, 13, 15, respectively). The largest house surveyed, 870 square metres in area (fig. 14), is in fact an amalgamation of two central hall houses plus a large number of service rooms. The large houses along the sea front, now known only from photographs, probably reached similar dimensions.

Entrance to the house is usually at the rear of the hall, or through a corridor leading from the side of the house into the hall.<sup>28</sup> In an uncommon variant there is an entrance corridor on each side, and a row of rooms runs along the corridors at the back of the house (fig. 12).<sup>29</sup> Access through the triple arcade is uncommon (fig. 10).<sup>30</sup>

Sometimes partial realisations of the central hall scheme were built, in which the hall had a row of rooms only on one side, or in which space sufficed only for one room with a triple arcade. Such solutions occurred when dense development along a commercial street resulted in too narrow plots. The south front of Paris Square (originally Hamra Square) is a fine example (photo 5). The sequence of complete and partial central hall arrangements produces on the street front an asymmetrical rhythm of triple arcades, windows, and stairway apertures almost reminiscent of the frontage of a Venetian canal.

Plans are divided in a somewhat naïve geometrical simplicity into hall and living rooms. Spaces for washing and cooking were introduced when pipes for running water and drainage became available around the beginning of the 20th century. They were usually relegated to separate wings attached to the



*Photo 4. Shivat Zion Str. 42.  
The author, ca 1985*

symmetrical plan of the living quarters. Such service wings are found in several of the houses recorded here (figs. 10, 11, 13). In some cases the wing amounts to a single room (figs. 5, 12), in others one of the rooms of the plan was reserved as a service space (figs. 8, 9). Only later were service rooms, now including toilets, incorporated in the plan of the living quarters.<sup>31</sup>

Access to the rooms is normally from the hall, but doors connecting adjacent rooms are also common. Occasionally, rooms have windows, complete with glass panes and shutters, opening on the interior of the hall, as if on an unroofed open space. The triple arcade is usually glazed, but sometimes it fronts an open loggia separated from the hall by a wall with a door flanked by windows (figs. 10, 12). In other variants a room may take up the rear of the hall (fig. 9).<sup>32</sup> Sometimes the hall is subdivided by triple arcades, identical in design to those facing the exterior. Often their purpose is to define at the end of the hall a sitting area, a diwan. In large halls more than one such division may occur. The vista of receding triple arcades offered along the axis of the hall is an impressive architectural effect. In the house in fig. 13, where there are altogether four triple arcades, the designer progressively reduced the width of the bays in each arcade, as one proceeds from the rear of the hall, no doubt in order to enhance the perspective effect.

The division into a piano nobile over a service ground floor does not always occur. In figs. 8, 10 there is a domestic floor at ground level as well; in the latter example access to the upper storey is achieved through a pair of somewhat awkward exterior flights of stairs.

Large households may have had a domestic floor on the ground as well as the first floor, the two being connected by an interior stairwell. This solution is apparently characteristic of later houses.<sup>33</sup>



<sup>31</sup> The introduction of service spaces into house plans in Haifa no doubt followed similar stages as those described in Beirut: see *ibid.*, pp. 188-191.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, F145.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., 43 HaMeginim Street, not shown here. Cf. *ibid.*, p.189, F147

*Photo 5. Houses on Paris Square.  
The author, ca 1985.*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, E32, E80.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, E32, E33.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, E32, E41, E42, F186.

<sup>37</sup> Ely Schiller (ed.), *The First Photographs of Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1980, p. 206.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, E69.

Aside from these variations, there existed a number of independent variants of the basic central hall scheme, usually encountered in the larger houses. One of these is an arrangement that combines a central hall and a gallery.<sup>34</sup> The gallery, or *riwaq*, may run along one or more sides of the house. The effect is often quite monumental. The house in fig. 11, in which a continuous arcade runs along three sides of a core with a central hall plan, is an impressive example.<sup>35</sup>

Another independent variant is an arrangement in which the hall becomes an interior space, lit through clerestory windows rather than through a triple arcade at its end.<sup>36</sup> To accommodate the clerestory, the hall must be higher than the surrounding rooms, and the resulting extra height gives the space a monumental dimension. One house of this type was recorded in Haifa (fig. 15). A Bonfils photograph, dating after 1870, shows this house standing proudly among hovels, not far from the north-western city wall.<sup>37</sup> It had a plain facade that did not disclose the spaciousness of the interior. Two rounded flights of stairs in a naïve Italianate style led to a simple entrance door on the domestic floor. Once through the door, the visitor would see, through a vestibule, the space of the lofty hall. The vista comprised a series of round arches: one at the end of the vestibule, another supporting the roof half way down the hall, then the central bay of a triple arcade at the back of the high space, and finally a rounded window at the rear wall.

A house with a cruciform hall is another variant of the basic central hall scheme. It is based on a central hall to which secondary spaces were added perpendicular to its centre so as to create a hall with a cruciform plan.<sup>38</sup> Since the lateral arms of the cross often terminate, like the central hall, in triple arcades, this element may appear on more than one elevation. Often the arms are separated from the hall by triple arcades. The main wing of the house in fig. 14 is derived from the cruciform plan variant. The cruciform plan was no doubt a starting-point for the design of the house in fig. 13, although eventually the central hall received a conventional rectangular form. This house is worth considering in detail. A cruciform configuration probably came to mind in this case because of the two chief orientations of the house: one toward the main road (now Geffen Street) and the access to the plot, and the other, perpendicular to the entrance axis, toward the garden and the view of Haifa Bay in the distance. The house has two floors: a *piano nobile* over a vaulted service ground floor. The plan of the domestic floor developed from a square bay, joined on four sides by further square spaces, so as to form a cross. Between the arms of the cross four rooms were placed. The arms of the cross are longer than the rooms, and present on each elevation a gable on which a pointed arch is inscribed. The arches enclose a biforic aperture, except for the one facing the garden, which contains a triple arcade. Its central bay is a door leading out to a large terrace, now demolished. The cruciform symmetry that produced this

Villa Rotunda-like exterior is not fully realised in the interior. The central bay and two of its arms are joined into one hall that runs from the back to the garden terrace, a length of twenty-three metres. Only screens of triple arcades separate the bays. The two remaining arms of the cross were completely separated from the central bay by means of solid walls. They are reached from two wide corridors running the whole width of the house perpendicular to the hall and tangent to the side arms. The stairwell that now occupies the rear of the central hall is not likely to have been a part of the original design, and access to the house was originally by means of exterior stairs that led to the large terrace on the street side, whence one could enter the house through one of the two corridors. This plan, which attempts to combine longitudinal and centralising arrangements, introversion and extroversion, interprets the basic central hall scheme with almost mannerist sophistication.

A few comments on architectural detail may suffice here. The triple arcade is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the central hall house. Almost all arcades recorded here follow the same standard design, also described in Lebanon.<sup>39</sup> The glazing of triple arcades gave an opportunity for rich decorative treatment. The glazing followed a standard pattern: the space between the arch and the wooden tie-beam running above the capitals over the columns was filled by a fixed panel; another fixed panel of rectangular shape was installed below the tie-beam; and the remaining space was taken up by the fixed and moving parts of the windows or the door of the central bay. The masonry details were not designed with the carpenter's convenience in mind, and the wooden frames had to follow the curving contours of the tapering columns, their capitals and bases.

Each light was subdivided by decorative mullions, sometimes patterned with

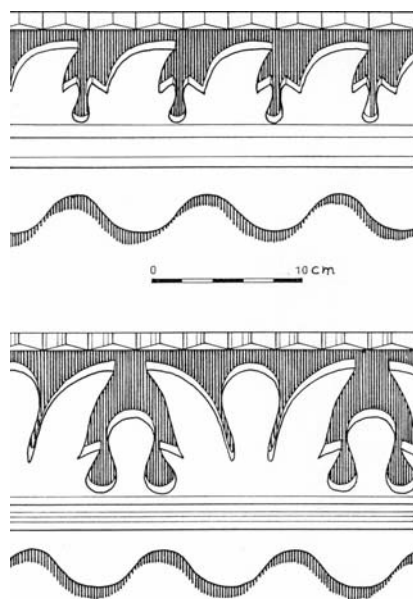


<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 154-155.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, F243-F246.

*Fig. 21. Triple arcade, 40 Ha-Meginim Ave. Demolished late 80s.*

*Fig. 22. Wooden strips for decorating the borders of ceilings. Two designs from house on fig. 11. Frontal views and section.*



<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, F247.

<sup>42</sup> On painted ceilings in Palestine see Y. Roman, 'Overhead Art', *Eretz Magazine* 49 (November-December 1996):23-35; photos in Fuchs, 'The Ottoman Connection', *idem*, 'The Palestinian Arab House', Part B, *Cathedra* 90; Sh. Sharif (curator), *Hidden Palaces: Wall and Ceiling paintings in Ottoman Palestine 1856-1917*, exhibition catalogue, Haaretz Museum, Tel-Aviv, 2002. Cf. G. Renda, 'Westernism in Ottoman Art: Wall Paintings in 19th Century Houses', in Ireland and Bechhoefer, *The Ottoman House*, pp. 103-109; C. Paget, *Murs et plafonds peints, Liban XIXe siècle*, Beirut, 1998.

<sup>43</sup> Reproduced in Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House', Part B, *Cathedra* 90, p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> See Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, F251, F253, F255.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Kroyanker, *Arab Buildings*, pp. 423-428 and illustrations *passim*. European fashions were represented in architecture throughout the eastern Mediterranean: see J. Carswell, 'Onward and Eastward: Western Influenced Architecture of the 19th and 20th Century', in *Art and Architecture Research Papers*, London, no. 11, June 1977; D. Barillari and E. Godoli, *Istanbul 1900: Art Nouveau Architecture and Interiors*, New York, 1996.

coloured glass (figs. 21, 24).<sup>40</sup> In another technique, a grill of intricate floral patterns, cut out of a wooden board, was placed over the glass pane (figs. 23, 25).<sup>41</sup> Some patterns tend to repeat themselves in Palestine as well as in Lebanon, which may indicate the use of pattern books, or the existence of a number of workshops, perhaps in Beirut, that supplied wooden fittings to Lebanon and Palestine.

The ceiling surfaces in 19th-century houses could be lavishly decorated. In the better houses ceilings were often painted with floral patterns in a style familiar throughout the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>42</sup> Only one richly painted ceiling seems to have survived in Haifa (house in photo 4: 42 Shivat Zion Street). Of unusual design is a ceiling where Art Nouveau motifs were used (14 Ha-Tish'im ve-Shalosh Street).<sup>43</sup> The borders of ceilings were often decorated by ornamental wooden strips (fig. 22). A number of standard patterns recur in Haifa and other towns, which again seems to indicate mechanised manufacture in one factory or workshop.

Some masonry, ironwork, and woodwork elements that still survive in Haifa attest to a high quality of workmanship and design. The more intricate designs seem to belong to the period after 1900. The stairwell entrances sometimes had richly carved mouldings, and doors of intricate metal grills (photo 6). The grills of gates or railings are of a Victorian style, similar to that recorded in Lebanon,<sup>44</sup> but Art Nouveau and Art Deco were also represented.<sup>45</sup>

### *20th-Century Transformations*

The central hall plan retained its popularity in Palestinian Arab architecture well into the 20th century. It could still be found in houses of the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>46</sup> However, after about 1900, innovations in building technology (con-

Photo 6. *Metal Grills*

Photo 7. *Hasan Shukri*  
The author, ca 1985.



crete, and later reinforced concrete) and the introduction of new facilities (running water, sanitary installations) gradually undermined the validity of the simple formal conventions of the 19th century.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the geometric simplicity of the central hall plan was compromised when the introduction of water pipes and drains permitted the integration of service rooms (kitchens, stairways, and later toilets) in the plan. The triple arcade, the characteristic feature of the central hall house, was gradually abstracted: the round columns with their bases and capitals were eliminated and the three bays were now separated by portions of wall. This solution simplified the window frames and made it possible to install wooden shutters in the bays of the triple arcade. As if to compensate for the loss of the columns, it became common in Haifa to surround the arches in a stepped moulding, somewhat resembling a Roman archivolt (e.g., fig. 20). Prefabricated concrete elements for window and arcade mouldings were now available. When concrete walls became common, however, all niceties were dropped, and the triple arcade was transformed into a door flanked by windows. All three bays would now be square, sometimes with a semblance of a flat arch in the stone facing above. Along with its abstraction, the triple arcade was no longer reserved for the central hall, but used in the rooms as well, and the simple correlation between plan and facade was lost.

It would be wrong, however, to present the 1910s and 1920s as the sad time of disintegration of a tradition. Architects' attempts in this period to find a valid role for the conventions of the previous generation do not lack inventiveness and even wit. Note that by the 1920s at least some designers were probably architects in the modern sense of the term.<sup>48</sup> Some of the houses in Haifa have an air of self-consciousness uncharacteristic of purely 'vernacular' buildings.

One example of a late manipulation of the traditional vocabulary is what



<sup>46</sup> Kroyanker, *Arab Buildings*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. accounts on the later development of the central hall scheme in Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon, 188-191*; J.-C. David and F. Baker, 'l'aboration de la nouveauté en architecture en Syrie', *Environmental Design 1994/95*, p. 66-69; M. al-Asad, *The Old Houses of Jordan - Amman 1920-1950*, Amman 1997; R. Saliba, *Beirut 1920-1940, Domestic Architecture between Tradition and Modernity*, Beirut 1998.

<sup>48</sup> Kroyanker, *Arab Buildings*, pp. 416-420, names some ten architects, some with formal education in Greece, France, and Germany, who were active in Jerusalem in the 1920s. The leading ones were the Greek Orthodox Spyro Huris (studied in Athens), George Anastas (1894-1945), Antonio Baramki (1894-1972), [?] Petasis.

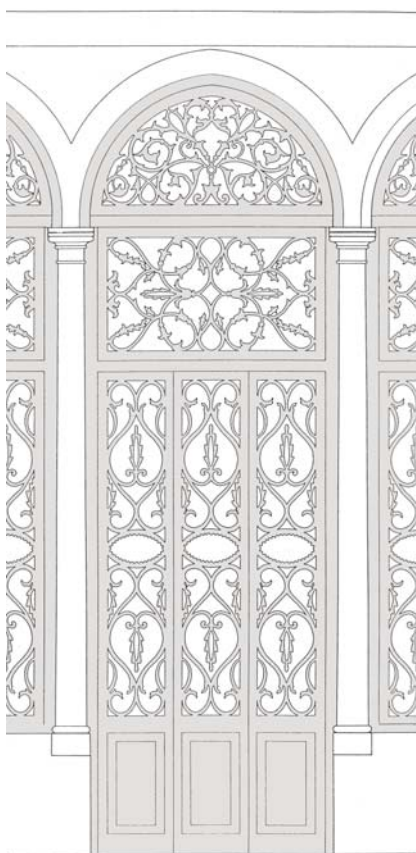
*Photo 8. Jaffa Rd. 31  
The author, ca 1985.*

<sup>49</sup> Cf. 'phase I, 1900-1918', in Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, pp. 188-190.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. 'phase II, 1918-1944', *ibid.*, p.190; Plan of an Aleppine house, in David and Baker, 'Élaboration de la nouveauté', p. 66.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. documented plans in Kroyanker, *Arab Buildings*, pp. 77-78; David and Baker, 'Élaboration de la nouveauté', p. 68 (house in Aleppo); Saliba, *Beirut 1920-1940*, pp. 94-126. The combination of two flats per floor may have had other origins, beside the demands of a modern apartment house. Dalman observed 'Doppelhäuser' in Palestinian village architecture, see Dalman, *Das Haus*, figs. 18, 36B, 66. Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, associates a rural double central hall house (E74, pp. 106-107) with the needs of extended families. In large Anatolian konaks two central hall units may indicate a provision of separate men's and women's quarters.

Fig. 23. Triple arcade with wooden grill from house on photo 4



seems to be a revival of the iwan. After 1900, the iwan house must have become an archaic type, yet the iwan re-emerged in the following decades in modernised re-interpretations. Its most common modern use was in design of verandahs. The three-storey high apartment house in fig. 20 is a fine example. In the centre of the upper apartment the facade recedes to create a verandah, and the space formed is framed by a large pointed arch which gives the appearance of an iwan. At the back, a door flanked by windows leads into a hall. The designer did not apply the same treatment to all floors: the second floor has a triple arcade and no verandah, and the first has only a row windows with less refined mouldings. The iwan in the upper floor, whence a superb view of the city and Haifa Bay could be had, was no doubt conceived as the climax of a calculated composition.

An imaginative and monumental use of the iwan was made in the house in photo 7. It is a large house, with a service ground floor and a piano nobile. It is a central hall plan, but the hall ends short of the facade, leaving a large space that opens on the exterior through a wide arch. Despite the classicist motifs of impostes and a keystone, and the untraditional concrete ceiling, the large space was no doubt inspired by the traditional iwan. The iwan achieves an especially monumental effect since it runs the height of both ground and first floors. The flight of stairs needed to reach the piano nobile was placed as a free-standing element in the centre of the space à la Bibliotheca Laurenziana. The ascent into the house acquires a ceremonial monumentality, achieved through a simple but effective re-interpretation of the traditional iwan.

The design of 'apartment houses,' namely houses serving more than one household, was a case in which the adaptability of the most basic theme of the 19th-century tradition was put to test: the central hall plan. The central hall plan was the most common solution in such houses. Thus, a plan that had evolved to accommodate the household of a rich effendi was now being applied to the more modest social circumstances of a flat. The spaciousness of the central hall arrangement did not fully agree with the economy required in apartment houses, and its persistent use in flats demonstrates the superiority of cultural convention over purely practical considerations. The simplest 'apartment house' consisted of two or three domestic floors, each following the central hall plan. The ground floor would usually be reserved for commercial use. Such houses line streets in the commercial areas of Jaffa Road and the Ottoman railway station (photo 8). It seems that these houses formed through the construction of new floors over an existing central hall mansion.<sup>49</sup> Improvised solutions were probably followed by the planning of a whole multi-storey structure (fig. 27).<sup>50</sup> This development was apparently connected with the development of the real estate market. Efficiency soon led to the construction of houses with a common stairwell serving two flats on each floor.<sup>51</sup>

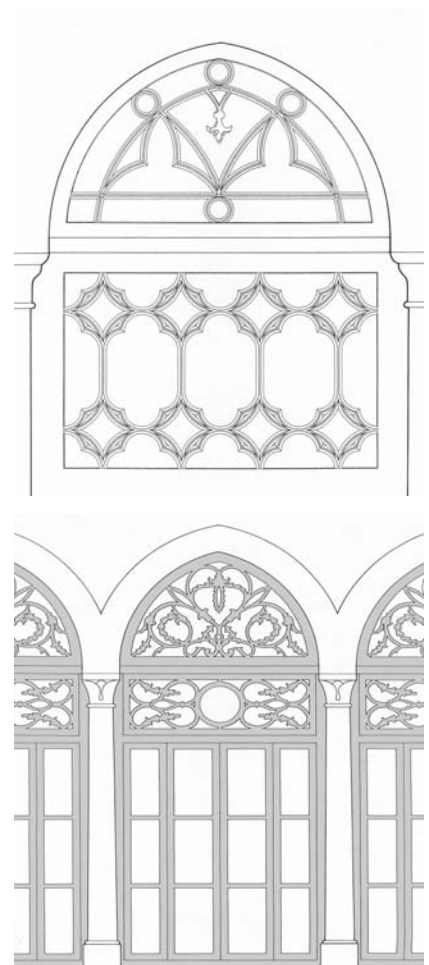
The central hall in each flat could run perpendicular to the long facade or, less commonly, parallel to it. The house in fig. 16 comprises a vaulted ground floor accommodating four shops or workshops, and two domestic floors; each floor contains two flats, and each flat a central hall running perpendicular to the street facade. The plan is rather awkward: to reach the flats on the first floor one had to climb an exterior staircase and walk along a catwalk, cantilevered some six meters above ground, leading to doors at the rear of the two central halls; the interior stairwell was necessary only to reach the second floor, but it occupied a long strip of the floor area of both levels, most of which was unused space. The plan of the flats themselves demonstrates the disadvantages of the central hall plan in apartment houses: the juxtaposition of two flats limits the lighting and ventilation of the inner rooms. To avoid windowless rooms the designer prescribed an extremely deep room, 5.5 metres long, on the inner side of each flat. Windows could be made only in the front wall, and the designer was content with one standard-sized window. Judging by the crescent-and-star symbol at the top of the gable, the house probably dates before the end of Ottoman rule in 1918. In the three domestic floors of the later house in fig. 18 the same scheme was better solved. The hall has better proportions, the stairwell is more efficiently designed, and areas with inferior ventilation and lighting are used for circulation and service rooms. The house in fig. 17 offers a radical solution to the problem of the interior rooms: the inner rows of rooms were omitted altogether, and the two central halls lay side by side, separated by a wall. This arrangement resulted on the facade in the juxtaposition of two triple arcades, perceived as an 'incorrect' row of six arches.

The facades of apartment houses posed some interesting aesthetic problems. For example, the facade of a house of the type having two central hall flats on each floor tended to appear unbalanced: the centre of the facade, where the eye expects an accent, was in fact an anticlimax: the seam between the two flats. At the same time, accents, namely the triple arcades, fall in seemingly arbitrary positions along the facade; even the apertures of the stairwell in the centre cannot redeem the unbalanced rhythm. These, it seems, may have been the considerations of the designer of the house in fig. 19 (plan in fig. 16). To compensate for the anticlimax in the centre, he pushed forward (no more than 15 centimetres) the central zone of the facade between the two triple arcades, and crowned the projection with a rounded gable. In this way the need for an accent in the centre was met, and an appearance of a coherent whole achieved. This solution, however, blissfully ignored the divisions of the plan inside, or the visual relationship on the facade between the domestic floors and the ground floor.

Another aesthetic problem raised by apartment houses was the role of the stairway in the composition of the facade. The entrance to the stairway and its

*Fig. 24. Window frame with mullions in a triple arcade, 51 Ha-Meginim Ave.*

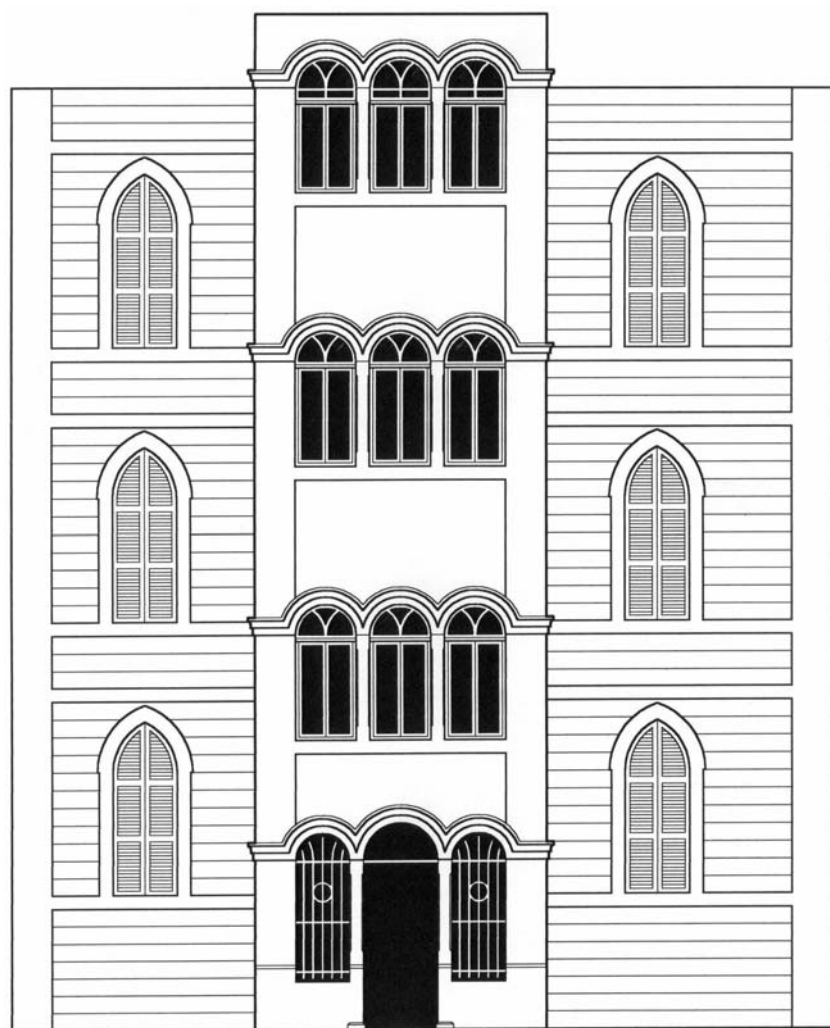
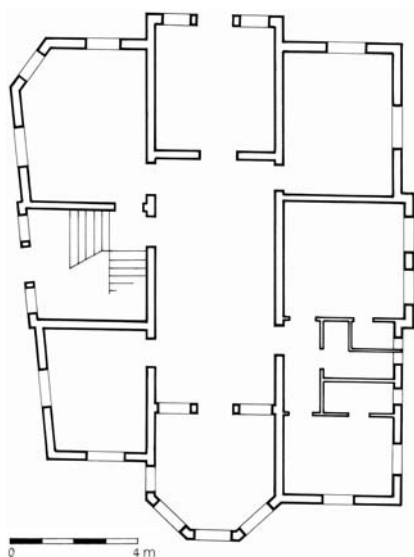
*Fig. 25. Arcade with wooden grills, from house on fig. 11*





windows were often seen on a main facade since it was more practical to place the stairs on the side facing the street. The stairwell was foreign to the vocabulary of the 19th-century central hall house, and its effect on the exterior demanded an appropriate solution. In the house in fig. 27 the designer reconciled the stairway with the vocabulary of the central hall house by giving its windows the form of a triple arcade. In this way the facade with the stairway 'masqueraded' as a standard central hall facade, and only the difference in level between the triple arcade and the windows of the rooms (caused by the difference between the landings and the floors of the flats) betrayed the 'deceit'. The house in fig. 28 displays another solution for stairway apertures: following an Art Deco-ish model, the designer lights the stairwell through three continuous vertical windows; the vertical windows end in pointed arches, giving the impression of a single triple arcade grotesquely stretched over the whole height of three floors. One cannot help suspecting that the architect was enjoying a private joke.

Fig. 26. 13 Hassan Shukri Str. Elevation (plan on fig. 27)



### Conclusion

Our survey of Ottoman houses in Haifa documents examples of the main house types that dominated local domestic architecture in the last century of Ottoman rule. The ubiquitous central hall house is represented in a series of variants; a number of variants of the less common *iwan* and *riwaq* houses are also recorded. Most examples could be matched with parallels documented in Lebanon, and quite clearly the houses of Haifa do not represent a significantly different tradition. The form of these houses should not be unfamiliar to anyone acquainted with Lebanese architecture, but their existence in Haifa and other Palestinian towns needs to be acknowledged,<sup>52</sup> and the process through which these house types were introduced into Palestine needs to be explained. The role of Ottoman administrative divisions, Lebanese immigration, marriage contacts, travelling artisans, local manufacture of building products, the economic and cultural dominance of Beirut are all factors that need to be considered in this respect. Our survey of the houses of Haifa therefore elicits the question of the impact of neighbouring provinces on the culture, society, and economy

<sup>52</sup> Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon*, p. 92, wrongly states that these house types 'are rarely found' in Palestine.



Fig. 28. *Mā'lot ha-Nevi'im 21, façade*

<sup>53</sup> Affinities between 19th-century domestic traditions in the eastern Mediterranean are discussed in Fuchs, 'The Ottoman Connection'.

of Ottoman Palestine. Thus architecture formulates a problem that the mainstream of historical research has so far seldom been provoked to consider. This problem leads farther, to the still broader issue of cultural connections around the eastern Mediterranean in the late 19th century. Affinities of Lebanese architecture of this period with other traditions beyond the immediate vicinity of Lebanon<sup>53</sup> suggest that full understanding of the developments in Palestine as well as Lebanon requires consideration of the larger geographical context. The cultural contacts and mutual influences within the Ottoman Empire, the interactions between regional centres and provincial traditions, deserve as much attention as the better studied subject of the impact of the West.

Vernacular architecture tends to develop well defined typologies, and the central hall house is a perfect example of a highly conventionalised tradition. At the same time it is interesting to observe, how the basic conventions could be articulated and varied to form a variety of solutions ranging from the elementary (fig. 8) to the grand and complex (figs. 11, 13, 14). Although the 19th-century vocabulary lost some of its functional logic after 1900, as new materials and techniques were introduced, and new design problems (e.g., apartment houses) emerged, the early 20th-century transformations of the 19th-century tradition should not be described in negative terms. The solutions we have examined to such problems of design and aesthetics, such as the apartment house facade, the stairwell, or the re-interpretation of the iwan, were inventive attempts to find a valid role for traditional forms in changing circumstances. These updated exercises in the traditional vocabulary are as intellectually interesting as the integrity of the 'classical' 1880s and 1890s are aesthetically satisfying. Rather than symptoms of the disintegration of a vernacular tradition, they are a proof of its persistence and vitality.

## **Le quartier de la Petite Sicile à Tunis, histoire ancienne et enjeux actuels**

Leïla Ammar

### *La Petite Sicile un quartier historique au cœur de la ville*

Le quartier de la Petite Sicile de Tunis naît à la fin du siècle dernier en 1897 à proximité du port sur des terrains gagnés sur les marécages. Lié aux activités portuaires et industrielles de la ville, il accueille une population pauvre d'immigrants du Sud de l'Italie, Sardes et Siciliens dockers, ouvriers, artisans.

Le tracé des voies et le parcellaire associent îlots réguliers et réseau viaire orthogonal. Les grandes fonctions sont liées aux transports urbains avec la gare de marchandise, aux entrepôts, au port et aux métiers de petite industrie.

Aujourd'hui l'ensemble se présente comme un quartier populaire, charnière du développement de la ville pris entre le Pont de Carthage et le port, au point d'articulation de la croissance urbaine de la capitale vers le sud et vers le nord.

Il comprend des fonctions mixtes, immeubles d'habitation de hauteur moyenne, hangars plus ou moins insalubres sur une grande partie des îlots, de nombreux petits métiers et services urbains sous forme d'ateliers et de petits commerces, des immeubles neufs tertiaires produits d'opérations de rénovation au coup par coup. Une relative homogénéité caractérise ce quartier que l'on pénètre par les grandes voies de circulation de l'avenue de Turquie, de l'avenue Farhat Hached ou de la rue d'Italie.

La Petite Sicile n'est pas loin s'en faut un quartier anodin. Ses grandes limites atteignent la prestigieuse avenue Habib Bourguiba, l'avenue de Carthage et le cimetière du Jellaz. La Petite Sicile est au cœur de la ville centrale.

Les enjeux de son réaménagement, initié par un récent concours d'idées en architecture et en urbanisme (2001) porté par la Ville de Tunis ne sont rien moins que le devenir du centre.

Le projet de réaménagement engagé par la Municipalité porte sur la circulation, le transport et le stationnement dans l'hypercentre de Tunis, l'ouverture du paysage urbain sur le port, la volonté de rehausser le standing du quartier, d'en faire une "porte de la ville" et d'attirer les investisseurs.

Cependant ce quartier tel qu'il est et malgré ses difficultés, ses fatigues et ses attentes de jours meilleurs mérite qu'on y regarde de plus près et que l'on soit attentif au terrain, aux rues aux îlots, aux immeubles, aux gens qui y vivent et sans doute même à ces reliques de maisons d'artisans ou de dockers Européens ou Tunisiens du début du siècle que bulldozers et bennes d'une rénovation intempestive emporteront sans aucun état d'âme avec les anciens entrepôts.

Loin de nous l'idée fétichiste de plaider pour une conservation stricte des traits passés du quartier et de son caractère " fatigué " actuel, mais nous devons ici souligner plutôt l'enjeu urbain et social que représente pour la ville le réel maintien de la structure urbaine des rues, des îlots et des immeubles remarquables dans cette partie de Tunis.

Enfin la valeur exemplaire de ce réaménagement à l'échelle de la ville appelle une véritable réflexion prospective sur l'urbain, sur son devenir à Tunis et sur le caractère durable du nouveau quartier envisagé en termes d'équité, d'accessibilité, d'urbanité et de progrès social.

<sup>1</sup> Marcel GANDOLPHE, *Histoire de la ville de Tunis* in Cinquantenaire du Protectorat français de Tunisie, 1881-1931, p.49

Car il s'agit bien ici d'une confrontation qui a pris corps entre des réalités urbaines complexes – celles de la ville visible, du tissu, du foncier et du bâti et celle invisible des acteurs, de la population et des aménageurs.

*Une histoire ancienne liée au sol et au port de Tunis*

La Petite Sicile aujourd'hui prise entre l'avenue de Carthage, l'avenue de la République, l'avenue Farhat Hachad et la rue d'Italie naît officiellement en 1897 par l'immatriculation de la propriété de Madame Fasciotti, propriété qu'elle reçut du Bey de Tunis en concession en 1865 et dont elle constituera le sol gagné sur les marécages en comblant peu à peu le terrain par des charrettes de gravats. Au sud de l'avenue de Carthage et en limite du port dont l'édification commence en 1893, se constitue en 40 ans un domaine de près de 13 hectares qui deviendra la Petite Sicile, haut lieu du développement du prolétariat urbain et des activités industrielles.

Pour l'heure et en attendant d'éventuels acquéreurs, il faut constituer le sol et gagner sur le lac et les marécages à l'instar de l'ensemble de la ville neuve le sol à bâtir et celui des rues.

La Petite Sicile jusqu'en 1893 était sillonnée d'égouts à ciel ouverts (Khandaq) qui se jetaient dans le lac, Marcel Gandolphe nous donne un témoignage de la constitution du terrain :

" ... Les terrains situés au-delà des avenues de Carthage et de Paris étaient constitués par des ordures et des déblais du service de balayage concédé à Saccoman, Bensasson, Massa, Cardoso, Moreno et Guttières; une dame Fasciotti achetait des charrettes pleines à la concession et remblayait pour son propre compte la partie sud, qui formera par la suite le quartier nommé la Petite Sicile. Ce sera seulement en 1883 que l'Etat Tunisien se réservera la propriété des rivages du lac, et en 1902 que les héritiers Fasciotti commencèrent à vendre ... " <sup>1</sup>

Il faudra donc près de 40 ans pour que le terrain cédé par le Bey à Madame Fasciotti soit rendu propre à l'édification. Des équipes d'ouvriers et des corporations de pileurs de pierre réalisent des fouilles de dix à douze mètres de pro-



Fig. 1.a .Tunis centre 2006.

fondeur, et y battent un mélange dur de terre et de chaux grasse qui constitue la base au dessus de laquelle s'élève le sol de fondation des premières maisons . L'occupation du sol commence dès 1890 par de petites maisons basses de fortune , d'ouvriers , d'artisans et de dockers destinées à être démolies en fin de bail. Le tracé des rues et des îlots est progressivement réalisé en deux temps, de 1893 à 1900 puis de 1900 à 1914 . La viabilisation des rues se fera lentement de 1881 à 1890 au gré des décisions administratives et des négociations entre l'Administration de la ville et les héritiers de Madame Fasciotti. En 1900, l'eau et le gaz sont installés. Le tracé des rues fait appel au dessin des ingénieurs de la voirie français, tandis que les bâtisseurs seront en grande majorité italiens. L'ensemble morphologique de la Petite Sicile apparaît dans le plan de la ville comme un quartier homogène qui se juxtapose aux ensembles nés à l'ouest aux limites des remparts de la ville ancienne <sup>2</sup>.

A partir de 1914, le mouvement de construction de la Petite Sicile ira en s'amplifiant .Immeubles, hangars à charpente, maisons, ateliers sont régis par le Règlement de voirie de novembre 1889 qui met en relation largeur des voies et hauteurs des constructions à l'alignement et définit de façon minutieuse les saillies, les prospects et la modénature des édifices. Les constructeurs, entrepreneurs, architectes sont en grande majorité italiens et la facture des immeubles construits de 1900 à 1950 témoigne de cette architecture courante de l'immeuble semblable à celles du sud de l'Italie. Les qualités urbaines de l'ensemble du point de vue morphologique sont celles d'un tissu de voies orthogonales de 8 à 15 mètres de gabarit définissant des îlots rectangulaires de 40 mètres à 60 mètres de large par 80 à 100 mètres de long. La trame orthogonale souple, est et a été propice aux adaptations, aux substitutions du bâti et à l'implantation d'activités diversifiées mixtes associant logement en immeubles à terrasses et ateliers et commerces aux rez-de-chaussée des édifices.

### *Une population d'immigrants pauvres, un quartier populeux et populaire*

Le quartier de la Petite Sicile est donc un terrain fortement marqué historiquement, aux caractéristiques sociales et morphologiques actuellement signifi-

<sup>2</sup> Christophe GIUDICE, *La construction de Tunis ville européenne et ses acteurs de 1860 à 1945*, in Bulletin de l'IRMC , n° 70 , Tunis, mars-avril, mai-juin 2002.

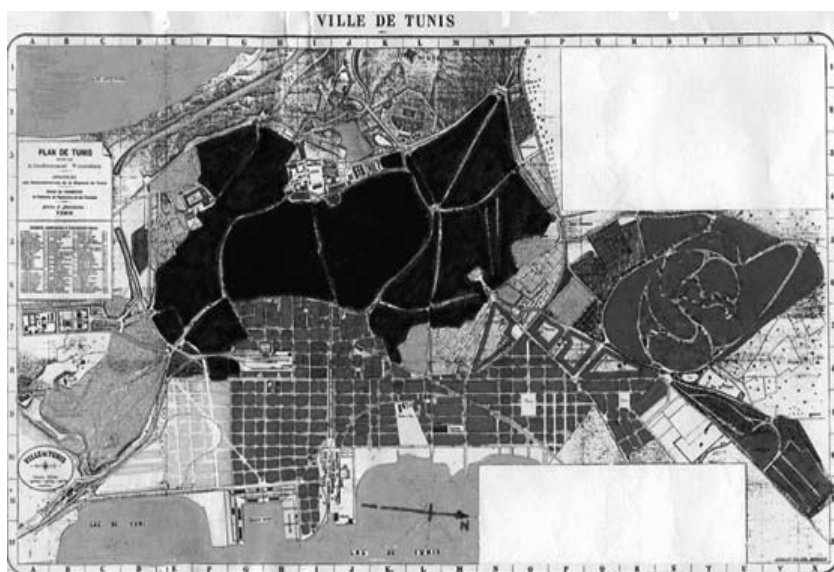


Fig. 1.b. Le site de la Petite Sicile en 1899.

3 Al Bouhayra : lac de Tunis communiquant avec la passe de La Goulette et la mer.

catives d'une histoire de plus d'un siècle qui commence vers 1865 et voit l'urbanisation de cette partie de la ville étroitement liée au port se poursuivre jusque dans les années 1950.

La Petite Sicile, dont l'appellation répond aussi à cet autre fameux quartier de la Goulette, a-t-elle été un morceau des bas quartiers de Palerme, d'Agrigente ou de Syracuse transplanté sur les rives d'Al Bouhayra<sup>3</sup> à Tunis ?

Tout ici et même à plus d'un siècle de distance témoigne d'une histoire d'osmose et de liens mêlés et tissés d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée. La facture des immeubles et leurs types architecturaux, le caractère des rues, la vie quotidienne populaire de cet ancien quartier d'ouvriers et de dockers, où fourmillent aujourd'hui citadins, mécanos et artisans, le relatif isolement et enclavement de certaines parties de cet ensemble, que les concepteurs d'aujourd'hui ont pris à bras le corps en vue d'une ouverture chirurgicale de ce territoire à la modernité et au devenir de l'hypercentre de Tunis.

Siciliens, sardes mais aussi maltais et tunisiens ont investi la Petite Sicile dès le début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle et constitué un prolétariat urbain dans un quartier où les langues parlées mêlaient le sicilien et l'italien à l'arabe et au français.

L'atmosphère de la Petite Sicile est véritablement particulière, aujourd'hui encore le quartier réputé mal famé et dangereux à cause de la proximité du port et de la réputation de ses habitants siciliens garde les stigmates d'une marginalité ancienne. A la Petite Sicile, à Tunis comme à la Goulette on vit dans la rue. Et il n'est pas rare les soirs d'été de voir les habitants de condition modeste s'attabler ou s'asseoir devant leur porte passées les chaleurs de l'après midi. Ils sont là pour parler, prendre le frais, s'informer, l'artisan, le mécanicien, la repasseuse blanchisseuse, le plombier, le portefaix, le maçon et les nuées d'enfants dans les rues.

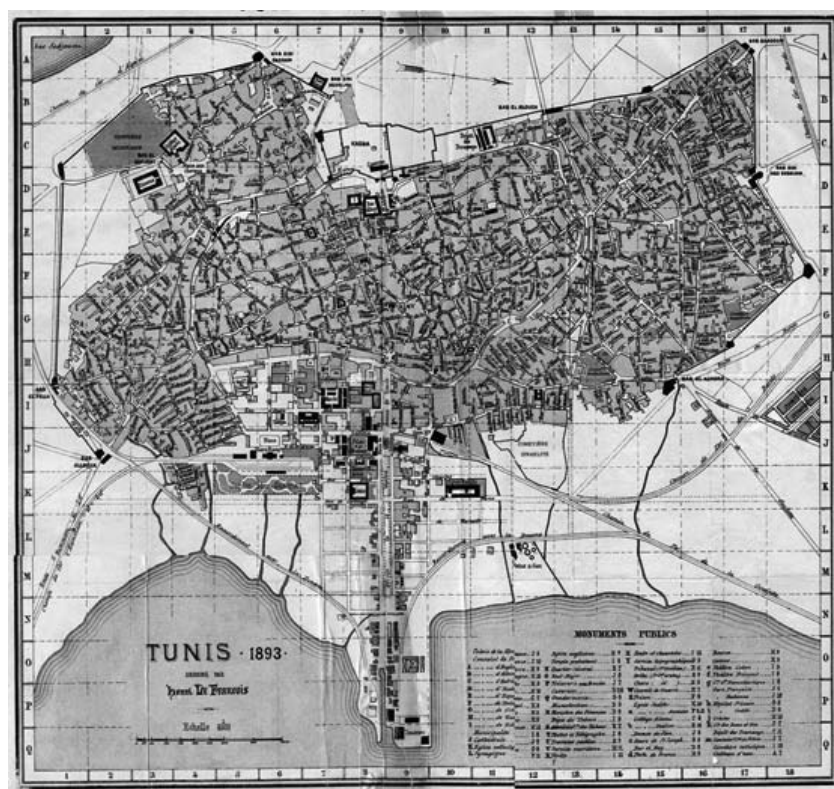


Fig. 2. Tunis 1893, le sol de la Petite Sicile est en cours de constitution

Ainsi les populations siciliennes venues en Tunisie dès la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et immigrées massivement à partir de 1900 reconstitueront-elles à Tunis une " Petite Sicile " où elles parlent presque exclusivement le sicilien qui sera peu à peu métissé de mots arabes tandis que la langue arabe elle emprunte aux travers des contacts et des liens entre communautés des mots italiens et siciliens. A partir des années 1945, le sort de la communauté italienne en Tunisie sera soumis à une francisation forcée<sup>4</sup>, la fermeture des écoles italiennes, des institutions et des associations culturelles, le rééquilibrage démographique en faveur des français signent le déclin de la culture et de la langue italienne en Tunisie. Seuls se maintiendront la mémoire des murs et des habitants dont plusieurs partiront en 1956 à l'Indépendance.

Pour ceux qui resteront et pour leurs héritiers aujourd'hui qu'ils soient d'origine italienne ou tunisiens, le quartier de la Petite Sicile reste une entité morphologique et sociale où les habitants se reconnaissent et expriment un sentiment d'appartenance.

L'identité de la Petite Sicile existe aujourd'hui bel et bien et correspond à une demande forte de la part des habitants et des artisans qui y travaillent enracinés dans leur quotidien et attachés à la mixité des fonctions qui se maintient. Nous avons eu l'occasion de mener avec des étudiants de l'Ecole Nationale d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme de Tunis deux ateliers de " Projet architectural et urbain " (2001-2003) au cours desquels les travaux menés ont abouti à une analyse architecturale et urbaine du quartier, à un diagnostic et à une expertise des interventions souhaitables dans le cadre de la préservation de l'héritage architectural et urbain et de la mixité des fonctions urbaines. Cette étude a porté sur l'observation et la lecture de plans, l'observation et la pratique du terrain et l'analyse des " entités morphologiques " capables de constituer pour les habitants des quartiers. Le repérage des quartiers à l'intérieur de la Petite Sicile a été conduit en trois étapes : analyse des tissus, étude du paysage, analyse des activités, approche des contenus. Cette étude a mis en évidence le rôle des rues qui irriguent le tissu et l'apparition de trois entités dans la grille orthogonale qui suggèrent des opérations de lotissement différentes. Ces trois entités correspondent aujourd'hui à des morceaux de tissus nettement différenciés au plan des activités urbaines. Ainsi la vie urbaine au sein du quartier de la Petite Sicile nous est apparue selon deux catégories celle du quartier-faubourg et celle du quartier-enclos.

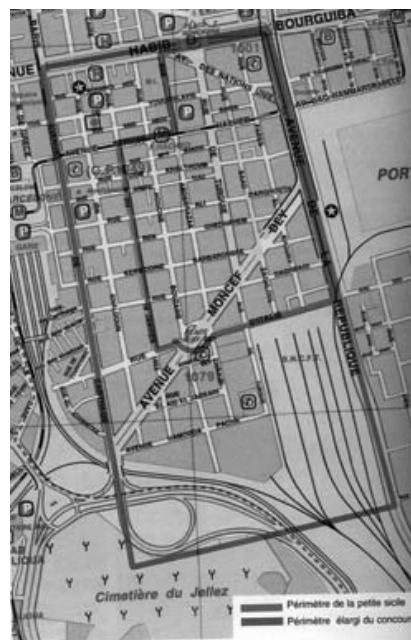
Les quartiers -faubourgs s'organisent autour d'une centralité active de rues investies par le commerce, l'artisanat et les petits métiers liés le plus souvent à l'automobile. Les quartiers-enclos sont plus franchement résidentiels et se présentent comme des domaines discrets, réservés au seul usage des habitants. Ils communiquent peu et sont relativement enclavés.

Dans l'ensemble l'étude a montré la richesse et la diversité d'interprétations suscitées par le quartier de la Petite Sicile. Au sein d'une grille à première vue orthogonale et homogène nous avons pu relever et distinguer des subtilités et des différences, des architectures mêlées et des ambiances particulières dues au voisinage de l'habitat et des activités. La Petite Sicile n'a pas connu jusqu'à présent de démolitions massives ni de substitutions violentes, cependant elle connaît des phénomènes d'accentuation de la dégradation de l'espace public et du bâti qui présente déjà des signes de fatigue. En 2001, la Ville de Tunis décide le réaménagement du quartier et signe le début d'une nouvelle étape dans l'histoire de la Petite Sicile.

4 Marinette PENDOLA, *La lingua degli italiani di Tunisia*, in *Memorie Italiane Di Tunisia*, Finzi editore Tunisi, novembre 2000.

Fig. 3. Photo aérienne

Fig. 4. Plan du périmètre du concours 2001





5 Leïla AMMAR *Le renouveau du quartier de la Petite Sicile à Tunis, un concours audacieux et ambitieux, des enjeux multiples pour la ville*, in Archibat n° 5, Tunis, juin, 2001.

### *Concours d'aménagement et enjeux actuels*

Un concours d'idées pour l'aménagement du quartier de la Petite Sicile et la révision de son plan d'aménagement a été lancé par la Ville et a associé en février 2001 la Municipalité de Tunis et des équipes de concepteurs parmi lesquelles a été retenu un lauréat M. Ahmed Ouardani architecte urbaniste<sup>5</sup>. Avec le concours d'idées pour le réaménagement de la Petite Sicile, voilà le quartier propulsé sur le devant de la scène urbaine, sorti de son enclavement discret, il occupe maintenant la scène médiatique. Il représente " un ensemble de près de 80 hectares qu'il s'agit de remodeler, en créant selon les vœux municipaux un pôle commercial tertiaire et résidentiel de haut standing autour du port de Tunis et sur la presqu'île de Madagascar. "

L'objectif municipal n'est rien moins que doter Tunis d'un visage radicalement nouveau à proximité de l'avenue Habib Bourguiba et d'étendre les activités tertiaires du centre-ville fortement demandeuses de terrain. Une nouvelle gare



Fig. 5. Le site, vue générale.

multimodale pour tous les transports est prévue au sud du quartier, elle correspond au point d'ancrage et de démarrage de l'opération souhaitée par les Services Municipaux. Elle verra la réfection totale de l'emprise SNCFT actuelle et son réaménagement en un espace public majeur du futur quartier. La relation au port et à la future Marina<sup>6</sup> projetée au sud est également à l'ordre du jour à travers le délicat problème du franchissement de l'avenue de la République et du viaduc de la voie rapide Z4 (Boulevard du Maghreb Arabe) en direction du port.

Enfin, il s'agit de repenser fonctions, morphologie et paysage urbain dans une nouvelle synthèse qui réussisse à désenclaver le quartier aujourd'hui passablement isolé et autonome.

Il est clair que les nouvelles données envisagées s'apprêtent à bouleverser le tissu et le fonctionnement socio-spatial du quartier.

Il est clair aussi que les objectifs du maintien et du relogement de la population actuelle habitante et en activité ne sont pas mis en avant à première vue.

6 Le Port actuel de Tunis a fait l'objet récemment d'une proposition de réaménagement en port de plaisance et marina. Cette opération accompagne l'aménagement des Berges du lac sud de la ville et l'opération envisagée sur le quartier de la petite Sicile.



*Fig. 6. Immeuble italien.*

*Fig. 7. Au café.*

Les enjeux urbains majeurs que la Petite Sicile est appelée à résoudre de par sa situation dans l'hypercentre de Tunis selon les concepteurs et aménageurs sont :

La reconquête de l'hypercentre par la fonction résidentielle, la régulation du système des transports en vue de résoudre durablement les problèmes d'accessibilité, d'intégration des transports en commun et du stationnement, l'ouverture de l'hypercentre sur le lac et le port en vue de lui conférer une dimension ludique propre à renforcer son attractivité.

De ce fait (...) L'aménagement de la Petite Sicile devra être compris comme une opportunité de réconcilier la ville avec son hypercentre, source d'identité et de mémoire, lieu de la régulation du système économique urbain et national



*Fig. 8. Immeubles remarquables.*

*Fig. 9. Garages dans la rue.*

et espace de la décision(...)

Pour résoudre les problèmes d'enclavement du quartier dans sa partie intérieure et le blocage des possibilités de liaison et d'extension par les grandes emprises ferroviaires le quartier de la Petite Sicile est ici considéré comme : la clé de voûte de l'ouverture de la ville vers le lac et le port.

Ainsi le quartier de la Petite Sicile est-il aujourd'hui promis à un avenir lourd d'enjeux et de significations nouvelles. Sa situation à proximité immédiate du centre-ville de Tunis et du port, son importance stratégique au plan de la circulation automobile et son rôle d'entrée sud de la ville soulignent l'enjeu qu'il représente aujourd'hui aux yeux des décideurs, des investisseurs mais aussi aux yeux de ses habitants actuels qui voient avec inquiétude les premières démolitions commencer.

### *Conclusion*

Comment assurer un renouvellement urbain équitable et durable du quartier de la Petite Sicile quand le Projet de réaménagement qui se dessine se propose de bouleverser une partie importante de la ville par la dimension et la situation?

Quels partenariats peuvent être stimulés et créés entre les différents protagonistes, propriétaires et ayant-droits, gestionnaires des équipements, des infrastructures et des espaces publics, exploitants, financeurs et décideurs municipaux ? Autant de questions qui viennent à l'esprit quand on connaît la situation réelle et complexe du quartier notamment au plan du foncier et l'inexpérience des porteurs du projet urbain.

Les conclusions provisoires que nous pouvons tirer de nos observations et de notre analyse de la situation actuelle sont :

-qu'il s'agit d'une part dans le cas de la Petite Sicile d'un site exemplaire où se déroule une confrontation qui a pris corps entre la ville visible et la ville invis-



*Fig. 10. Immeuble éclectique*

N.B : toutes les illustrations sont de l'auteur excepté les figures 3 et 4.

ble , entre celle des acteurs et de la population , et celle des professionnels de l'espace et décideurs

-d'autre part qu'un objectif d'aménagement équitable et durable doit non seulement prendre en compte la préservation des qualités environnementales mais aussi réussir la préservation de la mixité sociale et de celle des fonctions urbaines en évitant la tertiairisation de l'ensemble et en maintenant et développant la fonction résidentielle pour les différents groupes sociaux, enfin, qu'il est indispensable dans une vision durable et soucieuse de l'équilibre de cette partie de la ville d'en maintenir d'abord et avant tout la structure urbaine du réseau des voies et des espaces publics garants de la durée et de la stabilité de la ville. (Figure 5 un réseau viaire existant continu et lisible)

Si la Petite Sicile d'aujourd'hui offre à ses habitants outre un sentiment d'appartenance fort un cadre de vie qualitativement diversifiée selon les groupes sociaux et les métiers, celle de demain devra réussir à maintenir l'hospitalité urbaine, l'accessibilité et l'appropriation des lieux par les citoyens. Ce sont là les objectifs d'un développement durable du quartier qui associe étroitement critères environnementaux, critères sociaux et critères citoyens.

Une opération de rénovation réussie du quartier de la Petite Sicile devra passer vraisemblablement par une triple attention :

- au maintien de la petite échelle des découpages parcellaires,
- au soin avec lequel est traitée l'architecture domestique,
- à l'heureuse conciliation des contraires, du caractère calme mais animé, stable et renouvelé et à la préservation de son identité, de ses tissus, de ses architectures mêlées et de ses ambiances multiples.

## Evolution du Vocabulaire Architecturale: cas de la Médina de Tunis

Najet Hedhly Boubaker

Cet article essaye à travers l'étude des tissus anciens et leur mutation socio spatiale ainsi que dans l'évolution urbaine de Tunis de trouver quelques éléments de réponse pour les changements des éléments du vocabulaire architectural. Essayer de comprendre les logiques de transformation, les nouvelles techniques de construction et leur adaptations ou non à l'ancien, ainsi que les modèles esthétiques véhiculés par les différents acteurs (propriétaires architectes, etc...) revient à étudier l'architecture patrimoniale dans son évolution. En effet l'étude des tissus anciens et l'analyse de ce qui se fait actuellement peut nous amener à réfléchir sur le devenir des médina et sur les méthodes à développer pour les sauvegarder sans les momifier. Pour comprendre l'évolution du vocabulaire architectural en Tunisie et dans la ville de Tunis particulièrement, il nécessaire de revenir sur l'évolution urbaine de l'agglomération actuelle et l'évolution architecturale en partant de la médina et ses deux faubourgs à l'aube du 20<sup>é</sup> siècle. Essayer de comprendre les mutations spatiales de l'habitat dans les tissus anciens. Le passage de la société pré-industrielle à la société industrielle s'est fait dans les pays européens avec tous les mécanismes qui l'ont provoqué (révolution industrielle préparée dès la fin du 19<sup>é</sup> siècle) les contre coups se sont fait sentir sur les rives de la méditerranée et notamment dans les pays colonisés. Ces changements structurels ont eu pour conséquence le démantèlement progressif des systèmes de production liés à l'autarcie aux différents modes de production artisanale. On assiste à l'introduction de la mécanisation. Les corporations par métiers s'affaiblissent l'exode ruraux bat son plein, le travail est organisé par l'offre et la demande ces changement structurelles ont produit des changement aux niveau des mentalités et durant des décennies on voit la médina se vider de ces occupants, nouveau et fervents adeptes de la modernisation ; Les citadins s'installent dans la périphérie urbaine proche de centre de la ville coloniale laissant la médina aux émigrants ruraux fraîchement venus de la campagne. Ces taches péri-urbaines vont s'agrandir pour constituer de vraies villes. Ce qui était un tissu très lâche s'est rempli et s'est densifié. Le passage de Tunis de la petite ville avec sa médina à l'agglomération actuelle s'est fait par juxtaposition des fragments de formations urbaines différentes et on assiste à une fragmentation de l'espace à l'échelle de la capitale, une des articulation du territoire à l'échelle nationale. L'organisation de l'espace obéit dans sa complexité à des enjeux économiques e sociaux et on n'a jamais vu le rêve des aménageurs de l'espace, urbanistes, architectes et géographes se réaliser, ce rêve qui est l'évolution harmonieuse d'une ville et la maîtrise de son développement. Les villes du tiers monde ont en plus les problèmes de l'explosion urbaine, les problèmes de désarticulation entre ses différentes partie qui constituent elles-mêmes des noyaux de ville ou des villes entières. Sur le plan architectural on assiste à une évolution du vocabulaire et une translation du rôle et de signification des éléments architectoniques employés hors de leur cadre originel. En effet il ya un mouvement de migration de la médina vers les banlieues proches du centre de Tunis (Menzeh 1, El Omrane) transfert de même langage architectural avec changement de son rôle suivant le change-

ment de la typologie de la maison, Maison de la médina avec cour toutes les décorations sont intérieures donnant sur le patio. La façade est en général sobre avec juste la décoration sur la porte principale ; donnant sur des ruelles étroites lieu de passage ne permettant pas d'avoir assez de recul pour contempler les façades. Les rapports entre plein et vide se sont renversés il n'y a plus de cour intérieure le plein est au milieu entouré séparatives entre les parcelles.

Le langage qui se développait sur la cour est transposé sur la façade, ayant une vue sur la rue. L'organisation autour du Patio : Le patio est un lieu de passage obligé pour accéder aux espaces nobles (chambres) et moins nobles (espace de services). C'est un lieu d'organisation des espaces de leur hiérarchie : chambre principale (patriarcale) chambres secondaires. Dans les nouvelles maisons : ou reproduit l'espace central " Ouestia " pour distribuer les chambres et les services. Cet espace est couvert par une coupole élément emprunté aux espaces sacrés (Zaoia, Hammam, mosquée, medersa) On évite le patio découvert qui avait l'inconvenant d'obliger les occupants à affronter les intempéries. On garde l'idée de circulation périphérique protégée. La forme de la parcelle aidant ou assiste à un changement de ce patio couvert, ou semi couvert : au milieu du plan de la maison, l'angle ou à l'arrière plan pour clôturer la parcelle et du coup il perd son rôle organisateur.

Les ouvertures : On assiste à un changement de la fonction de l'ouverture porte ou fenêtre d'une façon remarquable.

Les fenêtres de la maison traditionnelle arrivaient presque au sol pour plusieurs raisons: Les chambres disposées d'un seul côté ouvert (la mitoyenneté des maisons oblige) et l'organisation des chambres autour du patio Les fenêtres était protégées par la galerie (bortal). A l'étage les fenêtres avaient une forme ventrue car elle faisaient office de balcon et permettaient à la femme de voir le visiteur sans être vue ces même fenêtres en fer forgés sont transposés dans la plupart des villas sur façade principale et au rez de chaussé.

Les arcs :

L'arc est utilisé traditionnellement à l'intérieur de la maison autour du patio. La galerie appelée bortal est un espace couvert ouvert ponctué par des colonnes que supportent les arcs. Il se déclinent à partir de l'arc en plein cintre à l'arc en surhaussé ou surbaissé. Leur utilisation a changé au début du siècle dans, l'architecture coloniale et a continué dans l'architecture actuelle. L'arc est devenu un élément de composition de la façade.

On assiste actuellement à un retour à la médina, il ya regain d'attention pour les demeures anciennes. On les réhabilite pour en faire des restaurants ou des hôtels de charme ou des maisons d'habitations pour diplomates ou personnes attachée à l'authenticité et ayant les moyens de réaliser leur rêve. Ces demeures sont reprises restaurées, réhabilités et redorée par des architectes et décorateurs non spécialisés dans la restauration.

Elles sont faite pour plaire, elles le sont mais pour le connaisseur c'est difficile d'accepter le mélange de style d'époque différente et la coexistence de plusieurs type de décoration qui ne font qu'un collage de matière et de couleur sans référence historique aucune.

L'A.S.M : association de sauvegarde de la médina consciente de ce problème a établi un cahier de charge qui est de plus en plus respectés par les intervenants (promoteur, propriétaires, architectes et décorateurs).

Le résultat se fait sentir dans certaines interventions réussies.

Exemple : Hôtel de chambre Rue Ben Arous : appelé hôtel de la médina et restaurant Dr El Jeld Ect...

## Learning from the Orient: Eugène Beaudouin and the Restitution of 17th Century Isfahan

Giuseppina Lonero

### *Introduction*

Eugène Beaudouin was a French architect and urbanist; he is known to contemporary historiography above all for his partnership with Marcel Lods in the inter-war period and for his conception of some grands ensembles in the post-WWII Reconstruction. Nevertheless, the work he carried out and the numerous sources mentioning his activity make this undisputed protagonist of 20th century French architecture a figure of renewed interest, starting with the specificity of his theoretical and practical contributions: his research was focussed on the application of the composition - the method of elaborating architectural design taught at the École des Beaux Arts - to the various scales of the project.<sup>1</sup> For Beaudouin, the composition embodies the art of arranging elements with specific functions and conditions according to an order and a hierarchy: a skill proper to both architect and urbanist, whose disciplines differ more in terms of the size and scale of the project than in the nature of their interventions. The problems posed by architecture, urbanism and urban planning are considered by Beaudouin of the same nature, belonging to all ages, and they allow us to observe and intervene in the *modus vivendi* of man in society. Hence, Beaudouin underlines the importance of looking to the past as an indispensable method for intervening in the present as well as the future: "Chacune à l'image de son génie, toutes les civilisations ont su trouver un équilibre dont nous connaissons des ouvrages ou tout au moins des vestiges évocateurs. Bagnés d'histoire et des souvenirs plus proche que nous, certaines "temoignages" qui nous sont chers sont encore occupés dans les paysages urbains [...]. L'Acropole, autant qu'Angkor et Chartres nous sont précieux autant que place de la Concorde, Orly et la Côte d'Azur, aussi bien que le boulevard périphérique, nous sont nécessaire. Quelles que soient leur dimension, leur échelle, leur emprise, tous ces ouvrages relèvent de la notion de "composition" à laquelle nous sommes tellement attachés, qu'il s'agisse d'un simple groupement résidentiel, hameau de weekend par exemple, aussi bien que l'aménagement de bassins fluviaux inter-océaniques, [...] d'un centre d'organisations internationales à Genève, ou d'équipements de loisirs en bord de mer. Sa valeur et ses vertus étant universelles, la "composition" mérite qu'on porte attention, quoiqu'elle soit difficile à appréhender, lorsque la complexité ou la dimension des composantes exige un effort cérébral d'analyse. [...]. Actuellement, [...] il s'agit d'un changement d'échelle, non pas de nature; l'impératif reste toujours pour le compositeur, la satisfaction d'un besoin fonctionnel exprimé en terme mesurables, c'est-à-dire à l'expression affective, qui nous conduit à la notion d'"esthétique"..."<sup>2</sup> An apt synthesis of Beaudouin's spirit of research, the above reflections draw on the initiatives of a group of architects born in the second half of the 19th century, who are considered the 'pioneers' of urbanism by the literature on the French origins of this discipline. They were among the first to define themselves 'urbanists' in France, and they sought to transpose to the study of territory, the analytical method and appro-

<sup>1</sup> Despite being one of the most active and important figures in the French architectural panorama of XX century, there is still no real monographic treatment of Eugène Beaudouin (1898-1983). His training and early career in particular are scantily documented and moreover almost entirely by photographs of original drawings, today conserved at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts and in the Archives du XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, (I.F.A., D.A.E.). The lack of primary source material explains the meagre amount of critical literature on Beaudouin between the two wars, and especially on his partnership with Marcel Lods (1891-1978), which is comprised of university dissertations and secondary sources dealing with the 'modernism' of their architectural production more than with the design process. (cf. I. Signoret, Marcel Lods et Eugène Beaudouin entre les deux guerres, *Mémoire de maîtrise*, Paris IV, Paris, 1987). Beaudouin's activity after WWII is better documented thanks to his Archival sources, conserved at the Académie d'Architecture in Paris: in particular his activity as an architect -urbanist, began with the reorganization of Marseilles under the Vichy regime (cf. Sheila Crane, *Reconstructing Place: Transformations of the Vieux-Port of Marseilles, 1939-1959*, Doctoral thesis, Department of Art History, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 2004). After WWII, Beaudouin was professor at the École d'Architecture in Geneva and patron d'atelier at the Beaux Arts in Marseilles and later in Paris. In particular, during the 1950s, he was one of the first, together with Roger Miller, to support the introduction of the more operative aspects of urbanism in the teaching of architecture. Considering himself an architect, urbanist and patron d'atelier, Beaudouin based his professional agenda on the continuity of the French design tradition.

<sup>2</sup> "Each in its own image, every civilization has been able to find a balance, of which we know the works [of architecture] or at least their evocative vestiges. Imbued with history and memories, these 'testimonies', so dear to us, still hold an eminent place in our cityscapes [...] The Acropolis, like Angkor and Chartres, is as precious to us as the Place de la Concorde, Orly or the Côte d'Azur and as necessary as the suburban boulevards. Whatever their size, scale or significance, all these works derive from the notion of the 'composition' (to which we are deeply attached), whether it be a simple residential group or a weekend retreat, for example, an inter-oceanic fluvial basin, the headquarters of an international organization in Geneva, or bathing cabins at the seaside. Since its value and virtues are universal, the 'composition' merits particular attention, even when it is difficult to apprehend, in which case the complexity and size of the elements require a mental effort of analysis [...] Actually [...] this is a matter of a change of scale, not of nature: for the creator, the imperative is to satisfy a functional need, expressing himself in measurable terms; that is, adding an affective expression that leads us to the notion of 'aesthetics'..." Cf. Eugène Beaudouin, *De la composition architecturale dans l'urbanisme et son environnement*, "Scéance Publique annuelle des Cinq Académies, jeudi 25 octobre 1973", Paris, Institut de France, 1973, p. 7.



<sup>2</sup> "Each in its own image, every civilization has been able to find a balance, of which we know the works [of architecture] or at least their evocative vestiges. Imbued with history and memories, these 'testimonies', so dear to us, still hold an eminent place in our cityscapes [...] The Acropolis, like Angkor and Chartres, is as precious to us as the Place de la Concorde, Orly or the Côte d'Azur and as necessary as the suburban boulevards. Whatever their size, scale or significance, all these works derive from the notion of the 'composition' (to which we are deeply attached), whether it be a simple residential group or a weekend retreat, for example, an inter-oceanic fluvial basin, the headquarters of an international organization in Geneva, or bathing cabins at the seaside. Since its value and virtues are universal, the 'composition' merits particular attention, even when it is difficult to apprehend, in which case the complexity and size of the elements require a mental effort of analysis [...] Actually [...] this is a matter of a change of scale, not of nature: for the creator, the imperative is to satisfy a functional need, expressing himself in measurable terms; that is, adding an affective expression that leads us to the notion of 'aesthetics'..." Cf. Eugène Beaudouin, *De la composition architecturale dans l'urbanisme et son environnement*, "Scéance Publique annuelle des Cinq Académies, jeudi 25 octobre 1973", Paris, Institut de France, 1973, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> On the origins of urbanism in France, see: Jean Pierre Gaudin, *L'avenir en plan. Technique et politique dans la prévision urbaine. 1900-1930*, Seysell, Champ-Vallon, 1985. This is an exhaustive text elucidating the debate around the definition of this new discipline in relation to the first land-control instrument (le plan d'aménagement, d'embellissement et d'extension). Gaudin's work also describes the protagonists in the debate - amongst which, the Musée Social and its Section d'Hygiène urbaine et rurale and the generation of Beaux Arts architects at the beginning of the 20th century - and the importance of the role of the 'urbanist' in designing the plan, a matter which in France, as in the rest of Europe, calls for the skills of an architect and his approach to the city, according to the formula - that of art urbaine - which attributes a civic value to the visual organization of space.

<sup>4</sup> For pedagogy at the École des Beaux-Arts, see: A. Drexler (ed.), *The architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1977; D.D. Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts tradition in French architecture*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980; D. Van Zanten, *Le système des Beaux-Arts*, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n. 182 (Nov-Dec), 1975, pp. 97-106; J.-P. Epron (ed.), *Les architectes et le projet*, in *Architecture: une anthologie*, Liège, Mardaga, vol. II, 1992.

ach to the architectural project taught at the École des Beaux Arts.<sup>3</sup> Sharing the same training as the early French architects-urbanists, Beaudouin also shared the same goals; his envois de Rome, in particular, dedicated to the reconstruction of 17th century Isfahan, represent an important means of assessing his research agenda and contributions to knowledge. The drawings presented here are quite well-known, even though they have never been fully evaluated. They allow us to verify the evolution of an analytical method in the redaction of the urban project and to underline its innovative force in the inter-war period. Reinforcing the transposition of a method to the practical aspects of the project, Beaudouin's reconstruction of 17th century Isfahan highlights the growing curiosity of a consolidated tradition for non-Christian countries which, apart from the allure of the exotic, was fostered by the need to tap into the wealth of an inestimable architectural and urban heritage that could provide significant models for the contemporary project.

*From the measured drawing to the model: the system of the envois de Rome*

It is well-known that since the 19th century the École des Beaux Arts based its teaching of architecture on the transmission of a method by which the student learned to recognize the different formal and functional elements of the project and to recompose them on the basis of a few fundamental rules. Moreover, the conception of architecture took shape through the use of a 'model': an aesthetic example from the architectural heritage of the past, taken as the most important reference point of the project. The approach to the history of architecture was thus aimed at the analysis of the evolution or permanence of forms, styles and types, and defined its own temporal and territorial bounda-



Fig. 1. Isfahan, Iran, circa 1930. Plan of the City. ("Urbanisme", n. 10, 1933, p. 4).

ries on the basis of the notion of 'classical'.<sup>4</sup> Among the various tests evaluating the student's full acquisition of this method - the concours d'emulation - the most prestigious was the Grand Prix de Rome, which verified the efficiency of the Beaux Arts pedagogic system. Dedicated to the theme of public architecture, this concours reflected the school's approach to the dimension of the architectural project on its various scales.<sup>5</sup> Apart from guaranteeing a professional qualification, the Grand Prix de Rome gave the winner a three-year scholarship in Italy at the Académie de France in the Villa Medici in Rome. Here the Académie des Beaux Arts imposed a method of analysis and measured drawing - the envois de Rome - through which the scholarship-holder (pensionnaire) measured himself against the vestiges of an ancient civilization and proposed a 'graphic rendering' (restitution) of its architecture.<sup>6</sup> During the three-year scholarship the student had to produce three cycles of drawings (the first, second and third year envois). The exercises consisted in progressive measured drawings of a monument in order to stimulate the student to reconstruct its original appearance. In the most important cycle (during the third year) the aim was to come to grips with an unknown and complex organism. Though defined 'archaeological', the restitution of the case study was often more an 'interpretation' than a faithful reconstruction. Through a first-hand study, the purpose of the exercise was to analyze the composition of a building, beginning with its component parts, thereby completing the approach to the history of architecture taught at the Beaux Arts.<sup>7</sup> The student's final work was presented at a public exhibition held annually at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, illustrating and divulging the aims and progress of this analytical method in the study of a monument. In this sense, we can understand why the envois de Rome were so important and coveted. For the student they offered the occasion to contribute to the making of a collection, a repertory of 'models' to draw on in drafting a project, while for the École the exercise reinforced the role of a pedagogic method outside the academic world. At the beginning of the 20th century the presence of exact archaeological studies of both Greece and Rome, accompanied by the architect's need to measure himself against the new problems of urbanism, led some pensionnaires - for instance, Léon Jaussely, Henri Prost and Ernest Hébrard, all future architects and urbanists, but also Emmanuel Pontremoli, Paul Bigot and Tony Garnier - to dedicate themselves to the study of vast architectural complexes or public spaces, rather

<sup>5</sup>The complicated selection procedure of the eight finalists gives an idea of the nature of this drawing competition held by the Académie des Beaux Arts. The Grand Prix de Rome chose eight finalists through two preliminary tests - l'esquisse en loge en 12 heures and l'esquisse en loge en 24 heures - involving the design of an architectural element and the development of a large-scale project respectively. They then had to design a grand composition in several plates, the rendu. With respect to the first two, this test implicitly involved the organization of space around their architectural object: either a public space or a 'picturesque' context. The Grand Prix de Rome was an extremely prestigious award: winning it facilitated the possibility of a teaching career and meant, almost automatically, professional posts with the Service des Bâtiments Civils et des Palais Nationaux de France.

<sup>6</sup>On the history of the envois systems, see: the Proceedings Pompei e gli architetti francesi dell'ottocento, Paris, E.N.S.B.-A., 1981; the Proceedings, Paris, Rome, Athènes, le voyage en Grèce des architectes français au XIXème et XXème siècle, Paris, E.N.S.B.-A., 1982; A. Jacques, R. Miyaké, Les dessins d'architecture de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Arthaud, 1988; X. Amprimoz, P. Pinon, Architecture et archéologie: les envois de Rome de 1778 à 1968, Rome, 1988.

<sup>7</sup>This is demonstrated by the fact that the pensionnaires hardly ever had recourse to historical sources on their subject matter. Indeed, they weren't required to specify references to historical or archaeological sources of their previous work. However, the drawings were sometimes accompanied by texts (commentaries) based on literary sources, to which they often referred in order to shed light on the role and function of a specific building.

<sup>8</sup>The work carried out by this small group of pensionnaires at the beginning of the century has been amply commented on in different fields of study, all of which tend to consider the experience at Villa Medici as an important step in understanding the approach to urban planning in France. For a preliminary bibliography to questions raised in the present article, see: D. Matteoni, L'idea di città e la memoria dell'antico, in G. Gresleri, D. Matteoni, La città mondiale, Venice, Marsilio, 1982, pp. 43-63; P. Pinon, La leçon de Rome, "Monuments Historiques", n. 123, 1982, pp. 18-24; P. Pinon, Gli Envois de Rome: tradizione e crisi, "Rassegna", n. 17, 1984, pp. 17-21; J. L. Cohen, Les architectes français et l'art urbain. 1900-1914, "In Extensio", n. 11, 1987, pp. 71-88; L'archeologia degli architetti, "Rassegna", n. 55, 1993; L. Hodebert, Les architectes des Beaux-Arts et les infrastructures. 1890-1915. Naissance d'une culture spécifique à travers trois grandes figures: Tony Garnier, Léon Jaussely et Henri Prost, Mémoire du D.E.A., École des Paris-Belleville, Paris, 1995.

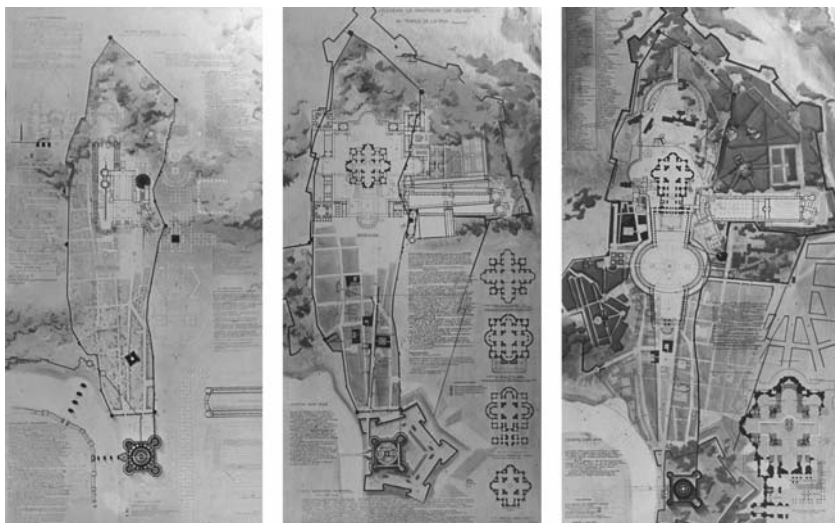


Fig. 2. Eugène Beaudouin, Vatican City: Triumphal Way, Nero's Circus, Hadrian's Mausoleum (Envois de Rome 1<sup>o</sup> year, 1929, Paris, Archives d'Architecture du XXème siècle, I.F.A., D.A.F., Fond Eugène Beaudouin, cote 08/06, photo 1).

Fig. 3. Eugène Beaudouin, Vatican City: Castel Sant'Angelo and 16th projects for St Peter's (Envois de Rome 1<sup>o</sup> year, 1929, Paris, Archives d'Architecture du XXème siècle, I.F.A., D.A.F., Fond Eugène Beaudouin, cote 08/06, photo 2).

Fig. 4. Eugène Beaudouin, Vatican City: Castel Sant'Angelo and 17th projects for St Peter's square. (Envois de Rome 1<sup>o</sup> year, 1929, Paris, Archives d'Architecture du XXème siècle, I.F.A., D.A.F., Fond Eugène Beaudouin, cote 08/06, photo 3).

<sup>9</sup> Emmanuel Pontremoli (1865-1956) was an important figure, not only in Beaudouin's education, but in that of many other architects of his generation. He was a pensionnaire at Villa Medici from 1891 to 1895: there, Pontremoli was the first student to examine the relation between this magnificent example of Antiquity and its geographical context with his reconstruction of the Acropolis at Pergamon, published in 1900 as *Pergamo. Restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole*. He did not practice much as an architect, but was engaged above all in teaching: he was Louis Bernier's patron de l'ancien atelier, and in 1932 was the first architect to be nominated Director of the École des Beaux-Arts, a post which allowed him to support an updating in the teaching of architecture, pursued by the school since the end of WWII. Though sources suggest the importance of this figure in the cultural climate of the École in the inter-war period, the bibliography on him is scarce; see: C. Dorian, *Hommage ad Emmanuel Pontremoli*, "Académie d'Architecture, Bulletin", n. 22-23, 1959, pp. 6-12; and D. Jarrassé, *Emanuel Pontremoli*, in J.-P. Midant (ed.), *Dictionnaire de l'architecture du XXème siècle*, Paris, 1996.

<sup>10</sup> Beaudouin is one of the Beaux Arts students that Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier recruited to redact the last phase of the plan for Havana in Cuba: cf. H. Duverger, *El maestro frances del urbanismo criollo para l'Habana*, in B. Leclerc (ed.), *Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930. Du jardin au paysage urbain. Actes du colloque international sur Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier*, Paris, Picard, 1990, pp. 221-235.

<sup>11</sup> An account of the lessons given by Poëte at the Institut d'Urbanisme in Paris from 1919, the text proposes to supply the interpretative categories for those who sought to intervene actively in the city. Divided in two parts, *Evolution des villes* and *La leçon de l'antiquité*, the book gives a reading based on an observation of 'urban facts' as an indication of the state of an urban agglomeration. In order to understand its formation and development, Poëte suggests examining the ancient nucleus in order to identify the main factors determining the foundation and evolution of a city. Great importance is given to an analysis of the geographical area, site and route system: in particular, Poëte considers the relation between street and city, underlining the importance of architectural elements, such as public buildings or monuments, which are able to characterize the urban physiognomy. In this regard, Poëte adduces the lesson of Antiquity, to which the second part of his book is dedicated: the Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek and Hellenistic city were all analyzed with the same logic: geographical location, site, route system, public spaces and buildings; cf. M. Poëte, (in the new edition ed. by Hubert Tonka), *Introduction à l'urbanisme. Evolution des villes. La leçon de l'antiquité*, Paris, Anthropos, 1967. The particular structure of the text, its methodological approach, excited enormous interest in various milieus, not least amongst the Beaux Arts architects, who recognized many affinities with their traditional approach to large-scale urban design. Beaudouin seems to have been of this opinion too: he undoubtedly grasped the lesson, albeit indirectly, by experimenting with Poëte's method of enquiry during his stay at Villa Medici, in order to translate the comparison with Antiquity in operative terms.

than to the analysis of a particular building, in an attempt to determine the relation to the site and its surrounding context, the city and its main route axes. Leaving historical relations virtually unchanged and referring to the project scale in the final test of the Grand Prix de Rome, these students seem to seek in an ancient context the different elements that make up the composition of the city in order to deduce authoritative examples that would legitimate their later urban projects.<sup>8</sup>

*Eugène Beaudouin and the envois de Rome system: the study of antiquity as the analysis of an urban model*

A student of Emmanuel Pontremoli,<sup>9</sup> Eugène Beaudouin trained at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris in the 1920s, during the Reconstruction, at the start of a period of experimentation with the potentials offered by the first instrument for controlling urban growth and expansion (the plan d'aménagement, d'embellissement et d'extension, ratified by the so-called Cornudet Law in 1919). Under the guidance of his patron d'atelier, Beaudouin showed himself to be a brilliant student, winning the Prix de Rome in 1928 with a project for a Hotel d'Ambassade dans un pays de l'Extreme Orient, a vast architectural complex conceived as a single organism, in which he experimented with the canons of Beaux Arts public architecture within a colonial context [Fig. 1]. Already a professional architect and curious about the aménagement urbaine practices,<sup>10</sup> Beaudouin was a pensionnaire at the Villa Medici from 1929 to 1932, at a time when he was engaged in a series of important projects of urban renewal. Impressed by Mussolini's Rome, and fascinated by the Italian capital's dense



Fig. 5. Eugène Beaudouin, *Dochiarion Monastery, Monte Athos, Greece: monastery, site and general layout (Envois de Rome 2<sup>e</sup> year, 1931, "L'Architecture", vol. XLI, 9, 1933, p. 303).*

stratifications of architecture from different periods, Beaudouin dedicated his first-year envois to the reconstruction of the Vatican City, recognized as an independent territory by the Patti Lateranensi in 1929. Articulated in three plates, his first-year envois attempt to reconstruct the urban evolution of the area, starting with its foundation nucleus. In the first plate, Hadrian's Mausoleum, the Triumphal Way, Nero's Circus and the ancient Constantinian basilica of St Peter's, though from different periods, identify and reconstruct graphically the ancient urban nucleus, which Beaudouin places in a broader, almost geographical, context, in the bend of the Tiber [Fig.2]. With regard to the foundation plan, the second plate clarifies the elements identifying the heart of the future city: on the same plan as the first plate the medieval walls are outlined; Hadrian's Mausoleum, which became Castel Sant'Angelo in the 15th century, is still recognizable, while for St Peter's, the most important building in the square, and the heart of the city, the 16th century projects by Bramante, Peruzzi, Sangallo and Michelangelo are shown on the sides [Fig.3]. The third plate illustrates the monumental layout of the Vatican urban nucleus: Bernini's project seems to be interpreted as an intervention in which Castel Sant'Angelo, Piazza San Pietro and its entrance, and the basilica correspond to the logic of a unified composition in which the church façade seeks to participate [Fig.4]. Though very different from the traditional envois graphic renderings, and probably inspired by Alfarano's plates, Beaudouin's drawings don't seem to betray the intent and modality required by the Académie des Beaux Arts. Aimed at the verification, on the contemporary plan, of the permanence of the different elements that together formed the composition as a whole, Beaudouin's first-year envois give preference to the reconstruction of the relation between architecture and public space, and between the latter and the city, as in the most consolidated Beaux Arts tradition. Favouring the renewed relation to history initiated by Léon Jaussely, the purpose of the reconstruction was to suggest the constants and variations in the articulation of the different elements that composed the city. Beaudouin's recourse to a comparative method shows that he was quite close to a specific approach to the city, which had begun to spread in that period thanks to the work of Pierre Lavedan, and more especially his mentor, Marcel Poëte, whose best-known text, *Introduction à l'urbanisme*, was published in 1929.<sup>11</sup> The second-year envois are dedicated to the restoration of the Byzantine monastery of Dochiarion on Mount Athos in Greece; as a contribution to the collection of works on Byzantine monasteries initiated by Albert Ferran at the beginning of the century, they use a register which is closer to the traditional envois repertory. Though published without any commentary, Beaudouin's drawings emphasize a method of observation that depicts the monastic complex in its component parts and highlights these individual parts and features with regard to the surrounding site and territory [Fig.5].<sup>12</sup>

*The restitution of 17th century Isfahan: a study in 'archaeological urbanism'*

In an attempt to make a significant and original contribution to the Beaux Arts repertory, Beaudouin dedicated his third-year envois to the reconstruction of Isfahan in its period of greatest splendour, the 17th century, in order to illustrate and reconstruct the work carried out during Shah Abbas' reign (1587-1629).<sup>13</sup> Attracted by the majestic monumental plan of the ancient Safavid

<sup>12</sup> Very little can be said about these drawings, which were published as the last four plates in "L'Architecture" (n. 9, vol. XLI, pp. 303-305) in September 1933. There is no commentary on them in the article itself, and they do not correspond to any preparatory sketches. It could be that they take up an unfinished idea begun by Ferran in 1921; cf. *Tableaux récapitulatifs des envois de Rome* in X. Amprimoz, P. Pinon, *Architecture et ... cit.* [cf. nota 6], annexes.

<sup>13</sup> Abbas I (Abbas the Great) was the third ruler of the Safavid dynasty: come to power in 1578, he decided to transfer the centre of his reign from Qazvin to Isfahan in order to make the latter the great capital of his empire. Around 1597, Sheik Bahai, urbanist and engineer, conceived a grandiose monumental plan for the city. At this time, Isfahan was still surrounded by walls, divided into four neighbourhoods by commercial streets - assimilable to the Roman *cardus* and *decumanus* - and its main square was *Maydhan-i-Qadim*, founded by the Seleucid, was the center of all of the religious, economic and political symbols of the ancient sovereigns. In opposition to the old urban centre, a new square was designed, *Maydhan-i-Shah*, symbol of the new empire, around which were built the new royal palace (*Ali Qapou*), the imperial mosque (*Mesjid-i-Shah*), the *Lofallah* mosque and the new bazaar, linked to the old by a tree-lined avenue. Great attention was paid to religious architecture (an important vehicle in the Shiite conversion begun by the Safavids), as well as to gardens in the articulation of royal complexes. One of the essential elements in the plan commissioned by Abbas I was the Armenian neighbourhood of *Djulfa*, built near the other non-Muslim communities, outside the perimeter wall, in an area of expansion planned to the west of the river. Accompanying this work was the great impulse given to public architecture - *caravanseraï*, *bazaars* and *bridges* - that updated the fundamental principles of *Iwan* architecture; cf. N. Ardalan and L. Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1973, and Isfahan. *Making of the city*, "Architectural Review", n. 951, 1976, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Jean Chardin, *The travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and East Indies*, London, 1686; Xavier Pascal Coste, *Monuments Modernes de la Perse*, 1867; and P. Coste & E. Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, 1851.

<sup>15</sup> Ancien élève de l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, André Godard (1881-1965) soon became interested in Islamic architecture. During the 1920s he was nominated architect of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (set up in 1922), before being called to direct the new Archaeological Services of Iran, a post which he held from 1928 to 1953 and then again from 1956 to 1960. During this time, Godard set up the lines of archaeological research and conservation of monuments in Iran. At the same time he was promoter - and often the author - of a number of important projects, such as the first modern museum of archaeology in the region - today the Iran National Museum - entirely dedicated to local architectural language and building techniques, and the national monument to the poet Hafez in Shiraz, inspired by the Safavid architecture of Isfahan. Godard also took part in the project for the university campus in Teheran and he had a central role in setting up of the first School of Architecture in Iran, a building which he himself designed and had built, in collaboration with Maxime Siroux, Mohasen Foroughi and Roland Dubrul. Architect, archaeologist and historian, Godard brought his in-depth knowledge of Persian architecture to bear on important restoration works, which he directed between 1936 and 1949 (amongst which the Friday mosque and the *Lofallah* mosque in Isfahan). The results of these experiences were regularly published in *Athar-i-Iran*, the annals of the Iranian Archaeological Services, and they were probably the starting point *L'Art de l'Iran*, a work that collects his ideas on the formation and evolution of Iranian art and architecture; cf. André Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, Paris, Arthaud, 1962.

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Paris, Archives de l'E.N.S. B-A, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, Photo 184-195. The 14 reproductions include: a measured drawing of the city in plan and section [184]; a measured drawing of the royal square, in its final version and a preliminary study [187 & 186]; a comparative plate of Isfahan in the 17th century and other urban agglomerations (including Paris, Versailles and Washington), and the royal square and other European and Asian public spaces [193]; the travel itinerary with the typologies encountered in Persian territory [189]; the summer residence of Farah Abbas with sketches and preliminary studies [185, 182 & 190]; a plate of fragments of plans of Oriental buildings [195]; a series of sketches of architectural complexes on an urban and village scale (Mayar, Ancrof, Takh-i Poulad) [188, 191 & 192]; a measured drawing of the Friday mosque [194].

<sup>17</sup> Amongst the authors consulted, Beaudouin mentions Coste and Flandin, Sarre, Grousset, Ansari and especially Chardin, who is the most-often quoted in the description of places and the city of Isfahan; cf. Documentation, *Ispahan sous les grands shah*, "Urbanisme", 10, 1933, p. 5.

capital - known since the 1930s especially thanks to the work of Xavier Pascal Coste and Jean Chardin<sup>14</sup> - Beaudouin attempted a graphic rendering, basing his analysis on a study of 17th century traces in the modern city in order to highlight the importance of urban renewal in ancient Persia on the eve of political transformations in national identity imposed by Reza Shah, the first sovereign of the Pahlavi dynasty. During the 1920s, the future monarch, General Reza Khan, had tried to reinstate the role of the ancient Safavid capital, as opposed to Tehran: the urban plan which he commissioned in 1919 is the first example, together with the conspicuous task of classifying the most important historic monuments in Isfahan, entrusted to the French architect and archaeologist, André Godard. Godard was an ancien élève of the Beaux Arts and was called to direct the Department of Antiquities in 1928, a role which made him a central figure in promoting the artistic heritage of Isfahan outside Persia and in encouraging those he knew to become involved in the potentials offered by the new sovereign's reconstruction process.<sup>15</sup> Eugène Beaudouin was one of these people. If his interest in an eastern country corresponded to the growing attention in the Beaux Arts milieu for geographical areas outside Christendom, in order to draw on new and original examples of 'classicism', his restitution of Isfahan proposed to emphasize the distinctiveness of Shah Abbas' interventions on an urban scale, by using a specific method that would suggest their relevance to contemporary urbanism, both local and European. Using an essential, almost schematic, composition, the reconstruction of the 17th century Persian capital is articulated in 14 plates that illustrate progressively the 17th century urban imprint on the existing urban morphology.<sup>16</sup> While fully respecting the envois tradition, Beaudouin's exercise is a unique achievement: the absence of other measured drawings of 17th century Isfahan, together with brief comments by the author, suggest that the restitution involved a series of on-site measured drawings, beginning with the perimeter outline identified on a map

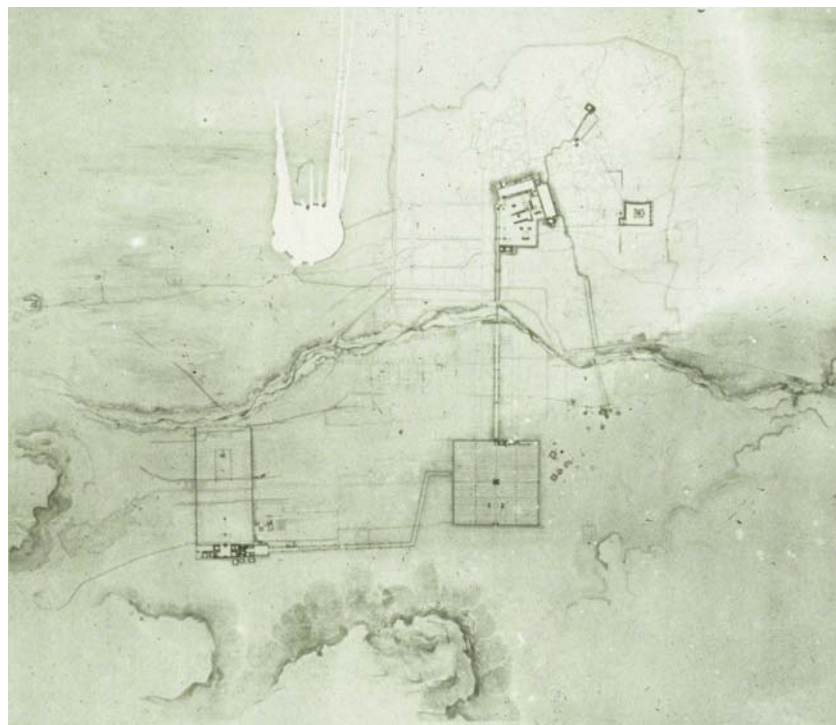


Fig. 6. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: drawing in plan and section of the urban layout at the end of the 17th century* (*Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 184*).

of the contemporary city. On the basis of this, Beaudouin carried out an analysis of the de facto situation, by using an 'archaeological' approach: the measured drawings of the remains of reconstructed complexes, supported by literary, rather than cartographic, sources,<sup>17</sup> are consistently directed toward interpreting the articulation of the whole object of study with regard to its site, and recognizing the composition of its public spaces, monumental architecture and main route axes. The first plate illustrates the territorial interventions as a whole commissioned by Shah Abbas, presumably on the plan of the contemporary city, on which Beaudouin identifies the boundaries of his personal reconstruction. Over the lightly sketched urban agglomeration of Isfahan, the perimeter of the new urban centre, commissioned by the emperor to the south of the old capital, is marked in a darker colour. Maydhan-i-Shah Square, symbol of the empire, stands out, seemingly in opposition to Maydhan-i-Qadim, the old city centre, which is legible above to the right. In the same way, the main road works created during the period of urban renewal by Sheik Bahai, the Shah's chief engineer and urbanist, are highlighted: Tchar Bagh ('Avenue of the Four Gardens'), a ceremonial avenue linking Ali Qapou and the royal gardens of Hezar-Djerib (at the centre of the drawing), its 18th century extension beyond the Zayandeh River to the royal residence of Farah Abad (below to the left) and Khaju Tchar Bagh, the central spine of future urban expansion (below to the right) [Fig.6]. The second plate is dedicated to the detailed restitution of the layout of the royal square, Maydhan-i-Shah: a vast esplanade (measuring 510m x 165m) is the new centre of Safavid civilization, where the four buildings, symbolizing the new regime's power, are located. Above, the royal complex, Ali Qapou, linked to the square by the Sacred Gate. At the far end of the square, in the middle of the gardens, is legible Tchehel-Sotoun ('Pavilion of the Four Columns'). To the right of the royal square is the Kayserie (the new imperial bazaar), linked by a covered way to the old

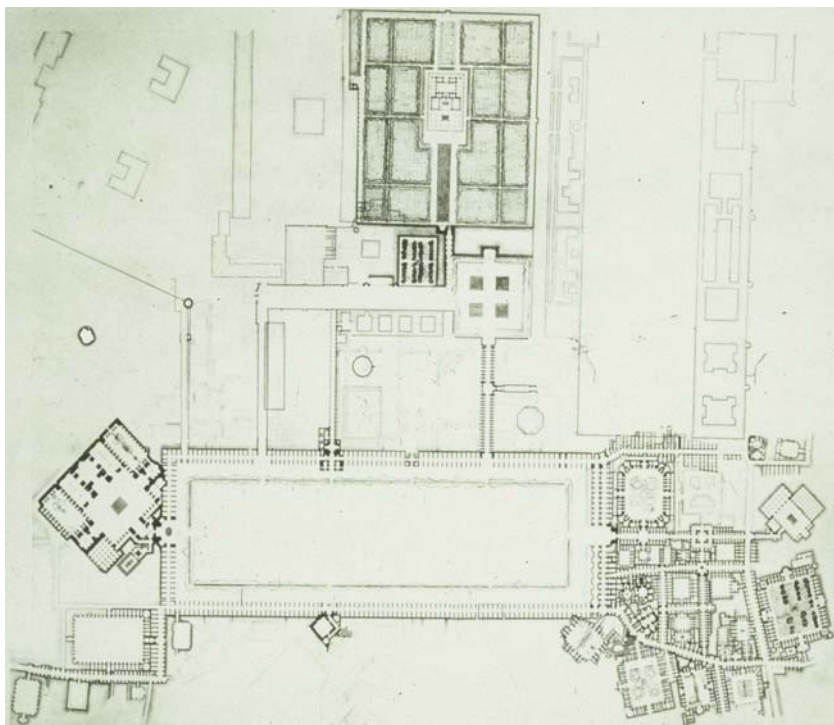
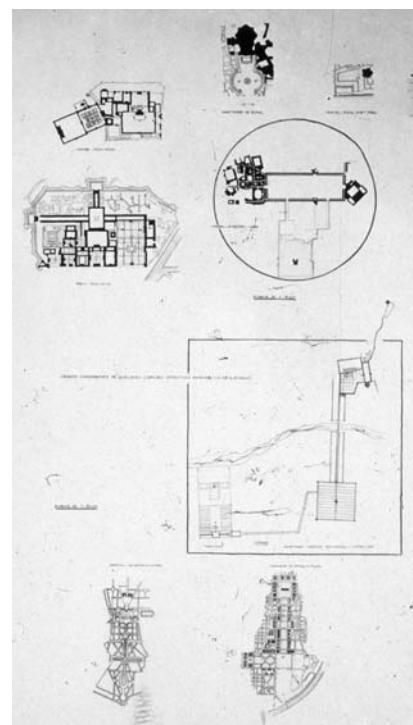


Fig. 7. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: drawing of the royal square of Maydhan-i-Shah* (Envois de Rome 3<sup>e</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 186).

Fig. 8. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: comparative plate* (Envois de Rome 3<sup>e</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 193).



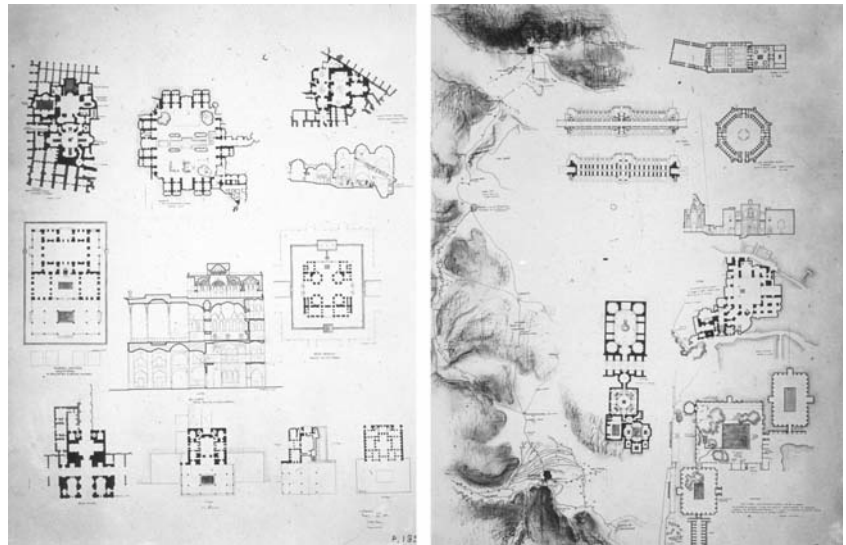
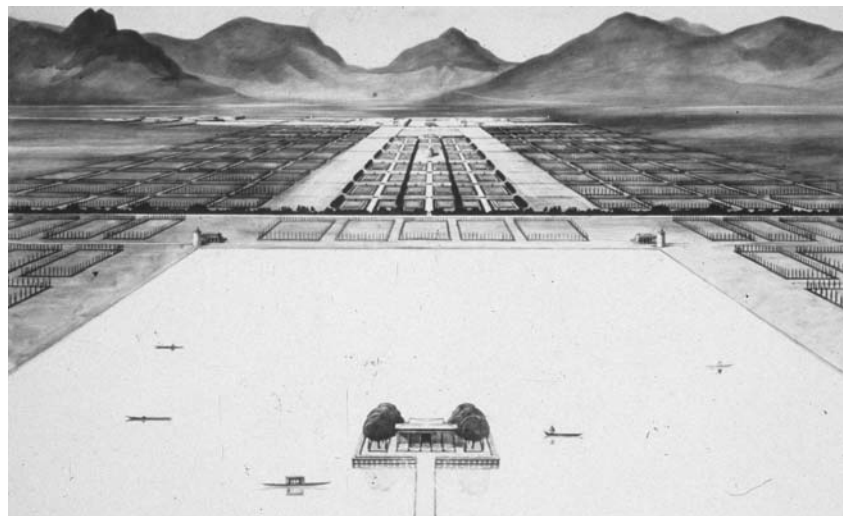
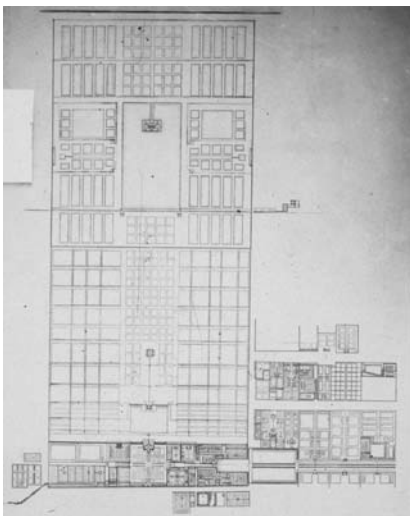


Fig. 9. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: fragments of plans* (Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 195).

Fig. 10. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: geographical map of the journey in Persia and drawing of the main urban settlements visited* (Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 189).

Fig. 11-12. Eugène Beaudouin, *Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: drawing of the plan and bird's eye-view of the summer residence of Farah Abad*. (Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 185).

Maydhan-i-Qadim, and then on to Tochti Gate, the northern boundary of the city. Below are the Loftallah Mosque and, to the left, the Mesdjid-i-Shah, or imperial mosque. A longitudinal section shows the different elements that articulate the Maydhan-i-Shah: the monumental colonnaded portico, interpreted by the Beaux Arts syntax as a homogeneous element, unfolds continuously to circumscribe the square, where the entrances to the imperial bazaar, and public and religious buildings are interpreted as theatrical wings in the overall composition of this majestic showcase of dynastic power [Fig.7]. The urban plan and that of the vast esplanade are depicted in the third plate, which attempts to set up the type of comparison suggested by Werner Hegemann. Beaudouin compares the Maydhan-i-Shah with European squares (St Mark's in Venice, St Peter's in Rome, the Place de la Concorde in Paris and the Places Royales in Paris and Nancy) and Asiatic squares (in Lahore and New Delhi). These examples are used to suggest both divergences and similarities between the entity and size of the main public space in Isfahan and in other better-known civilizations. In the same drawing, using the same scheme, the reconstruction of 17th century Isfahan is compared to Versailles, Washington and Paris, with the pur-



pose of comparing the function and treatment of the monumental route axes in relation to the square, city and, in the case of Isfahan, territory [Fig. 8]. The collection of envois redacted by Beaudouin also includes a plate of 'fragments' of plans' of more complex organisms. These drawings attempt to summarize the input given to public architecture by Abbas I. At the sides, the five storeys of Ali Qapou are represented in plan and section, as part of the vast royal urban complex, together with the Pavilion of the Forty Columns and the Pavilion of the Eight Paradises. In the centre, from top to bottom, a madrasa and a hamman are recognisable, as places typical of the urban morphology of the Persian city. They are probably cited in order to illustrate the features and modus vivendi of the local society, with which Beaudouin was familiar thanks to Chardin's text [Fig. 9]. In the same spirit there are references to different types of public building commissioned on Persian territory during the Safavid domination. They are all represented on the same plate, where a sketch (comparable to a map of Iran) reconstructs the itinerary of the trip to Isfahan, on the traces of Abbas, undertaken by Beaudouin and his friend and collaborator, Paul Hervé [Fig. 10]. Part of the collection is dedicated to the restitution in plan of the royal residence of Farah Abad. Presumably drawn on site, using an outline identified on the contemporary urban plan, the reconstruction is an attempt to read the remains of the complex in an archaeological spirit of Beaux Arts inspiration, analyzing the planimetric organization of the whole architectural organism and illustrating the strongly geometrical articulation of the gardens [Fig. 11-12]. This approach is confirmed by the sketches of other palace complexes appended to the collection: plates illustrating the remains of a royal haras near the village of Mayar, and those of the palace and gardens of Ashraf and Shaharistan. They demonstrate Beaudouin's interest in the composition of the royal residences as a whole - and their relation to the route axes, city and territory [Fig. 13-14] - rather than in individual architectural monuments. The reconstruction of the splendours of Isfahan in the Safavid period also includes religious architecture, and the envois cycle ends with the restitution of the Takh-i-Pollat cemetery and Djouma religious complex. The latter is compared to the imperial mosque and was probably chosen in order to complete a catalogue of Persian building forms and types. Although devoid of commentary, and with some lacunae in the numerical order, this collection of drawings clearly

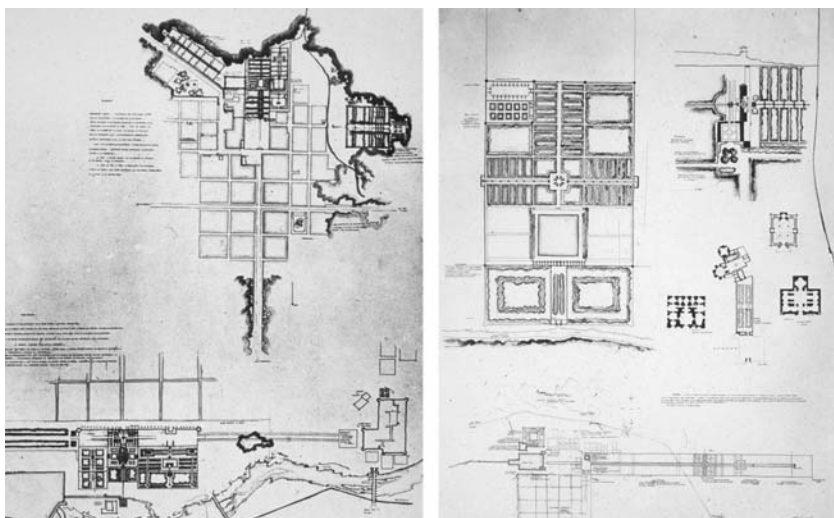


Fig. 13. Eugène Beaudouin, Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: studies and reconstruction in plan of the palace and gardens of Achraf and Chaharistan (Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 188).

Fig. 14. Eugène Beaudouin, Isfahan at the end of the 17th century: study of the remains of the royal Haras near the village of Mayar. (Envois de Rome 3<sup>o</sup> year, 1932, Paris, Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Travaux d'École de l'élève Eugène Beaudouin, cote Env 110, photo 191).

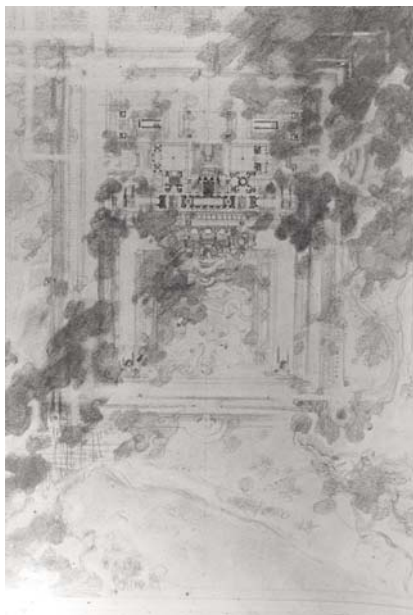
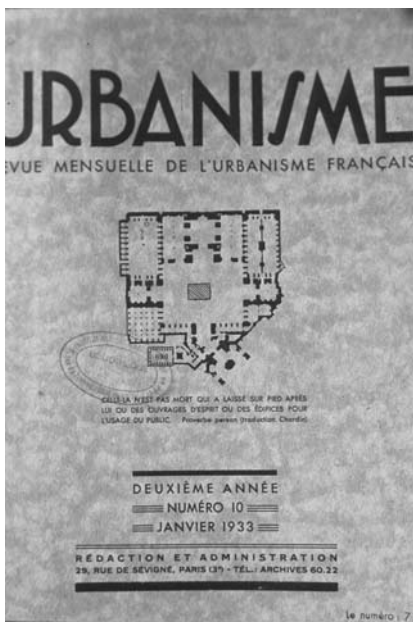


<sup>18</sup> Cf. Les envois de Rome de Eugène Beaudouin, "L'Architecture", cit. [cf. nota 12] and H.S. Isfahan sous les grandes chahs. XVII siècle, in "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n. 5, 1933, pp. 84-85.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Isfahan sous les grands shah, "Urbanisme", cit., [cf. nota 17].

Fig. 15. Front-cover of the journal "Urbanisme", no. 10, 1933.

Fig. 16. Eugène Beaudouin, *Un hotel d'ambassade à construire dans un pays d'Extrême-Orient: plan.* (Concours du Grand Prix de Rome, 1928, Paris, Archives d'Architecture du XXème siècle, I.F.A., D.A.F., Fond Eugène Beaudouin, travaux d'École d'Eugène Beaudouin, cote 08/05, photo 1).



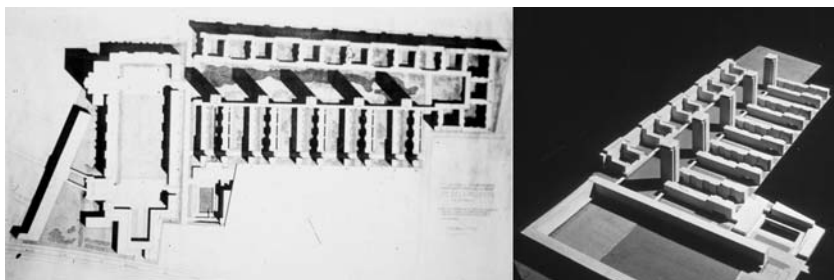
reveals the purpose of Beaudouin's third-year envois. The analytical method accompanying the drawings, already tested in the reconstruction of the Vatican City, aims at recognizing the different elements used to give a new identity to the urban fabric of an existing city, while highlighting the salient features of its architecture and public spaces, their relation to the site and to the main route axes. In 'recomposing' the capital using Beaux Arts academic canons, Beaudouin was interested in the role of Isfahan in relation to its territory, and drew a parallel between the urban works of the new centre and the royal residences, considered as 'classical' examples of architecture on a grand scale. The same approach characterizes the restitution of Maydhan-i-Shah: 'imprinted' on the existing urban fabric, it is interpreted as a showcase and public meeting place. Here more than elsewhere, the relation of Beaudouin's work to the history of the city is clear: if his work on Isfahan can be called 'archaeological', since it attempts a reconstruction of the city within a fragmented reality, the on-site measured drawing becomes the occasion for extrapolating a model, while at the same time, making images of the city available and handing down a method and its evolution.

#### *Learning from the Orient: the lesson of Isfahan*

Thanks to the particular method of circulation of the envois de Rome, the restitution of 17th century Isfahan was received with interest even outside academic circles. Beaudouin's work was brought to the attention of the Société Centrale des Architectes, where it received the Médaille Archeologique in 1933, as a praise-worthy pioneering work of reconstruction of a city in a given historical period, inaugurating a fresh approach to fairly well-known examples of civilizations outside Europe.<sup>18</sup> The same year, Beaudouin's reconstruction of the Persian capital was published in its entirety by "Urbanisme": chaired by Henri Prost and directed by Jean Royer, the journal proposed to spread the main notions of the nascent discipline of urbanism and its experimentations in France and the colonies, under the patronage of the Institut d'Histoire, de Géographie et d'Economie Urbaines de la Ville de Paris and the Musée Sociale.<sup>19</sup> [Fig. 15]

The plates for the Académie des Beaux Arts were published with a long commentary by the author himself, which reveals the affinity of his work with the methodological approach to the city inaugurated by Marcel Poëte and adopted by the editorial board of the journal. Divided into four chapters - Iran, Isfahan, Royal Residences and Religious Buildings - the work on Isfahan is preceded by a brief description of Iran in an attempt to identify, through an analysis of its geography and climate, the factors influencing the urbanization of its territory and the foundation of the different settlements visited by the author. The text is supplemented by aerial photographs of villages in the territory of Isfahan in order to show their morphological features and criteria of aggregation in relation to the scale of the capital.<sup>20</sup> Its 17th century reconstruction is introduced by a plan of the contemporary city, before the series of plates [Fig. 16]; Beaudouin uses this plan to mention the remains and traces of the various civilizations that preceded it and that were superimposed on the fortified citadel of Tabarak, the ancient foundation nucleus of the city. Ignoring Sheik Bahai, the Shah's engineer and urbanist, the reconstruction of the various urban and extra-urban interventions commissioned by Shah Abbas in

his territories are preceded by a description of Isfahan at the time of its 17th century renewal: the result of aggregations of various urban agglomerations which Beaudouin does not mention in his graphic reconstruction, since they are defined as 'difficult to read'. In the development of the new urban centre, the royal square is specifically described, as the new centre of civic organization, together with the renewal of communication systems between the capital and its territory: indeed, ample space is dedicated to Tchar-Bagh and Khaju Tchar-Bagh, which are described as directives in the new urban expansion, the city being parcelled on an orthogonal, chequerboard plan.<sup>21</sup> The chapter on the royal residences focuses on the description of the summer residences of Farah Abad and Shahrstan Palace. These complexes are compared to Versailles, both for their location outside the capital and for their articulation of space. Nevertheless, the text is often based on Chardin's descriptions, who is amply quoted, and hence does not do justice to Beaudouin's drawings. Representing the scheme of the composition of the residential complexes as a whole, these drawings would deserve a more exhaustive explanation of the nature of the internal distribution, in contrast to that of earlier settlements or in other geographical contexts.<sup>22</sup> Equally succinct is the description of the religious buildings, which becomes the occasion for a brief illustration of the local build techniques and decorative motifs of the mosques and for a few explanations concerning the burial complex of Takh-i-Pollat, the final plate in the envois cycle.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, Beaudouin is clearly interested in illustrating the importance of his discoveries in relation to specific criteria, and his approach to urban history is explicitly that adopted by the journal. Chosen for the originality of its subject matter, which had all the requisites for being defined 'classical', and hence a source of inspiration for contemporary urbanism,<sup>24</sup> Beaudouin's work on Isfahan is presented by Emmanuel Pontremoli, a member of the editorial board, as an exemplary achievement: attentive to questions raised by new urban phenomena, Beaudouin had reconstructed the entire layout of Isfahan in its period of greatest splendour, using a method and an approach to the city that intelligently suggested a new way of evaluating Oriental architectural and urban patrimony.<sup>25</sup> His restitution of Isfahan inaugurated a new season in the repertory of the envois: throughout the 1930s other pensionnaires devoted themselves to the archaeological reconstruction of entire cities: such as Achille Carleir, who reconstructed the ancient city of Thebes in 1935, Camille Montagné, who dedicated his entire scholarship at Villa Medici to a comparative study of Delphi and Eleusis, and André Remondet, who studied pre-Columbian civilizations and presented his 'restoration' of two Mexican cities, Chichen-Itza and Uxmal, to the Académie in 1939. Beaudouin's experience in Iran, however, did not end with his reconstruction of the 17th century Safavid capital. In 1935 he carried out an architectural survey of the palace and gardens of Kasr-el-Melek at Chebrane Tadorich, near



<sup>20</sup> Cf. L'Iran, ivi, pp. 9-17.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ispahan, ivi, pp. 19-30.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Residences Royales, ivi, pp. 31-42.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Edifices Religieux, ivi, pp. 43-47.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. René Grousset, La leçon de l'architecture sefévide, ivi, pp. 6-7.

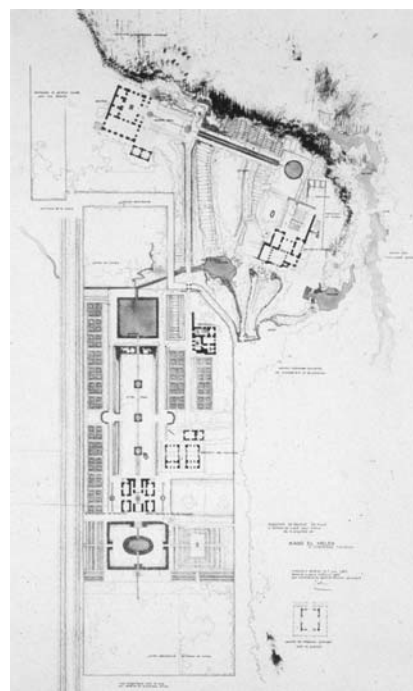
<sup>25</sup> Cf. Emmanuel Pontremoli, Avant-Propos, ivi, pp. 2-3.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. City plans (eds. E.E. Beaudouin & A.U. Pope) in Arthur Upham Pope, A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present, 1939, vol. II, chpts XLII and XLIV.

Fig. 18. Eugène Beaudouin, Marcel Lods, residential neighbourhood in Drancy (la Cité de la Muette): solution for the residential complex in the final project, 1932. (Paris, Académie d'Architecture, fond Beaudouin-Lods, cote ML Photo 48/23).

Fig. 19. Eugène Beaudouin, Marcel Lods, residential neighbourhood in Drancy (la Cité de la Muette): model for the final project, 1932. (Paris, Académie d'Architecture, fond Beaudouin-Lods, cote ML Photo 48/27).

Fig. 17. Eugène Beaudouin, royal residence of Kasr-el-Melek at Chebrane Tadorich: sketch for the measured drawing of the plan. (Paris, Archives d'Architecture du XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, I.F.A., D.A.F., fond Eugène Beaudouin, travaux d'École d'Eugène Beaudouin, cote 08/07, photo 1).



<sup>27</sup> Fernand Pouillon (1912-1986) is a controversial figure, recently reevaluated, thanks in part to the second Biennale di Architettura di Venezia ('Architettura nei paesi islamici', 1986). Educated mainly in Marseilles, initially with the idea of becoming a painter, Pouillon was a prolific architect in France, Algeria and, to a lesser extent, in Iran. His work is characterized by an attention to the project site and, more especially, by the search for proportion and a balance of mass, as well as by the use of 'noble' materials, such as stone; cf. Fernand Pouillon, *Ordonnances. Hôtels et résidences des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Ordonnances des cours et des places. Ensembles harmonieux d'Aix-en-Provence relevés et dessinés par l'atelier de Fernand Pouillon, Aix-en-Provence, Cercle d'étude architecturale, 1953*. Pouillon received his architect's diploma in 1943 under the German Occupation and collaborated with Auguste Perret on the reconstruction of the Vieux Port in Marseilles, where he was also head of the Direction du Contrôle Sanitaire aux Frontières (1947), a reception centre for Algerian immigrants. A few years later he was invited by Jacques Chevallier, mayor of Algiers, to work on a large-scale projects such *Climat de France* neighbourhood a project who seems to quoted Maydai I Chah: that's what Jaques Lacun suggested in his recent studies on Fernand Pouillon that has highlighted the importance of his connections with Beaudouin, which began under the Vichy Regime. Cf. Jacques Lucan, *Fernand Pouillon, architecte. Pantin, Montrouge, Boulogne-Billancourt, Meudon-la-Forêt, Paris, Picard / Editions du Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 2003* (exhibition catalogue, Paris, Pavillon de l'Arsenal 2 April-15 September 2003).

Tehran, for the Department of Antiquities. This work was a continuation of the repertory of architectural surveys of royal residences in Persian territory [Fig. 17]. Yet it was above all his curiosity for local urban forms that occupied him in this period; an interest that led him to compile, together with Arthur Upham Pope, the inventory of City Plans in the latter's monumental reconstruction of the history of Persian art.<sup>26</sup> Beyond being an archaeologist of classical urbanism, Beaudouin was the first to apply his experiences in the East on a practical level. Once back from Iran, he applied the lesson of Isfahan to one of his most emblematic projects, the Cité de la Muette, a low-cost residential zone on the outskirts of Paris, which he planned together with Marcel Lods. In its long gestation (the project was begun in 1928), the royal square of Maydhan-i-Shah was used as a model in planning the communal service area: the buildings intended for community life were arranged around a wide rectangular esplanade perpendicular to the residential zone. This new space, which was even designed to hold a weekly market, was planned at the end of 1932 as a kind of agora, a daily meeting-place for the citizens [Fig. 18-19]. Isfahan was, moreover, a constant point of reference throughout Beaudouin's teaching career: chef d'atelier at the École des Beaux Arts in Marseilles, Geneva and Paris, he never failed to recount the lesson of his Persian experience to his students. The most gifted of these, Fernand Pouillon, not only showed an interest in contemporary Iran, but he also 'quoted' the famous Safavid square in one of his best-known projects, the *Climat de France*, a residential zone built in Algiers in the late 1950s. Arranged around a vast rectangular colonnade, it expresses its debt to Maydhan-i-Shah in terms of both size and language, thereby confirming the efficacy of a method and the circulation of a model outside the latter's own culture.<sup>27</sup>

## **Le Mausolée Royal Maurétanien de Tipasa en Algérie.** Un repère d'architecture multiculturelle à promouvoir

Joucef Chennaoui

### *Introduction*

Le concept actuel du patrimoine culturel est un résultat du processus lié au développement de la société contemporaine, de ses valeurs et de ses conditions. La tendance doit aujourd'hui comprendre le patrimoine culturel physique dans son plus large sens en tant que contenant de tous les signes qui documentent les activités et les accomplissements du temps et de la société.

Ainsi, cette notion de " patrimoine culturel ", s'est échelonnée et maturée depuis près de 80 ans, depuis la charte d'Athènes, en 1931. Une notion qui a depuis connue diverses extensions tant typologique, du moment qu'on est passé du monument objet au paysage culturel ; tant géographique, en passant du patrimoine classé national à celui universel ; tant sociétale, en démarrant de la valeur testimoniale et culturelle à la valeur économique et environnementale.

Aujourd'hui, selon l'UNESCO : " La notion de patrimoine culturel englobait traditionnellement les monuments et sites et tenait surtout compte de leurs valeurs esthétiques et historiques. Aujourd'hui, les monuments sont également considérés par leurs valeurs symboliques, sociales, culturelles et économiques. Les éléments intangibles ne sont plus ignorés et de nouvelles catégories sont apparues ".<sup>1</sup>

Le site archéologique de Tipasa avec son mausolée royal a été classé sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'humanité le 17 décembre 1982. Il y figure parmi les six autres sites : Tassili (1982), Djemila (1982), Timgad (1982), Qualâa des Beni Hamad (1980), Vallée du M'Zab (1982) et la Casbah d'Alger (1992). Le site archéologique de Tipasa revêt une singularité géologique, écologique, historique et de culture agraire qui sont intégrés dans un milieu naturel de façon à former une entité représentative. Telles furent les critères selon lesquels le site a été porté sur la liste du patrimoine universel.

Notre recherche visait à comprendre les différents moyens par lesquels les populations (ou groupes d'intérêt) concernées expriment elles-mêmes les "valeurs" de l'environnement. Elle visait également à présenter les résultats de manière à maximiser leur pertinence pour les communautés et les décideurs politiques impliqués.

Le souci de rigueur scientifique et de clarté dans la communication n'étant pas suffisants, une attention a aussi été accordée à la définition des valeurs de ce paysage culturel du mausolée royal de Tipasa.

L'objectif étant l'élaboration d'une méthode d'analyse et d'évaluation du paysage culturel du mausolée royal de Tipasa, pouvait constituer une contribution positive envers la sauvegarde et la mise en valeur de ce patrimoine mondial. Ceci donnerait aussi à la définition d'un processus normatif d'évaluation du paysage culturel une grande portée pratique, à la fois immédiate et poten-

<sup>1</sup> C.f UNESCO (2003) : " Nouvelles notions du patrimoine: Itinéraires culturels ". In: [http://mirror\\_us.unesco.org](http://mirror_us.unesco.org).

*Fig. 1. Territoire de Tipasa.*  
Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.

tielle pour les autres cas d'espèces en Algérie.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, la méthodologie de travail adoptée est la suivante :

- Une première enquête est partie du recensement des caractères du territoire de notre cas d'étude à travers l'examen des ressources naturelles et culturelles. Ainsi, le premier outil d'analyse a été l'inventaire systématique des archives, des documents historiques, cartographiques, iconographiques et photographiques comparés sur place pour permettre la lecture des aspects essentiels du territoire du mausolée, que ce soit de l'architecture du monument, des lotissements agricoles, ou encore d'affleurements géologiques et environnementaux.
- Une deuxième démarche a consisté à mener une enquête par voie de sondage d'opinion. Cette tentative visait à identifier les valeurs du territoire telles que perçues par le grand public. Une telle enquête nous a permis de dresser une sorte d'inventaire raisonné des représentations sociales que les individus se font du paysage du mausolée royal de Tipasa.

Par ailleurs, nous soutenons l'idée que la reconnaissance des caractères d'une architecture multiculturelle se réalise d'une part par une reconnaissance des codes architecturaux de l'objet inhérents à une époque esthétique, émanant d'une société donnée à une période historique donnée.

Ainsi, la description du bien est un moyen d'appréciation des caractéristiques formelles, matérielles et ornementales, caractéristiques d'un âge ou d'une période de développement historique.

On peut dire qu'un monument qui illustre les caractères typiques d'une architecture multiculturelle, est un excellent exemple ou au contraire un médiocre exemple, lorsqu'on parvient à apprécier ses caractères selon les aspects formelles ou esthétiques, en jugeant son degré de mérite et de représentativité par rapport aux modèles semblables reconnus à un niveau régional à plus grande échelle. C'est la reconnaissance des spécificités et/ou des affinités qui imprègnent le bien architectural par rapport aux autres cas d'espèces (régions culturelles limitrophes ou écoles stylistiques majeures).

Il s'agit ici d'un jugement de valeur du mausolée royal de Tipasa sur le degré

*Fig. 2. Le bassin géographique du territoire de Tipasa.  
Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.*

de rareté relatif à une typologie architecturale à laquelle notre monument historique appartient et selon laquelle il fut portée sur la liste du patrimoine mondial.

Le soulèvement d'un certain nombre de questions sur l'architecture du bâtiment, son implantation au site, ses principes de composition géométriques et d'organisations spatiales, devrait nous :

1. Inciter à approcher l'œuvre architecturale par une observation minutieuse et un examen direct à travers ses relevés.
2. Confronter l'œuvre ou certaines de ses parties avec d'autres cas d'espèces locaux ou régionaux.

*Fig. 3. Organigramme protocole de la recherche.  
Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.*

<sup>2</sup> C.F Blas De Roblès J.M et Sintès. C (2003) : " Sites et monuments antiques de l'Algérie ". Edit Edisud archéologie, Aix en Provence.  
 Lancel, Serge (2003) : " L'Algérie antique. De Massinissa à Saint augustin ". Paris, Mangés.  
 Lezine. A (1962): " Architecture punique. Recueil de documents ". Paris, Tunis.  
 Rakob. F (1979): " Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara ". Exposition sous la direction de H.G Horn et C.B Rüger, Bonn.



Fig. 4. Tombeau sur la crête du mont du sabel.  
 Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.

Fig. 5. Tombeau sur la crête du mont du sabel. ( 268 mètres ).Carte Postale. © Bakhti 1970. Rééditée en 2003.

3. Décerner dans ses caractéristiques de conception architecturale, de modénature de ses façades et de ses proportions, les principes opératoires utilisés qui nous permettront d'inscrire son architecture dans des structures géométriques et stylistiques déterminées.

4. Décerner dans la filiation des éléments culturels la transmission des éléments du langage architectural d'une civilisation donnée et ses influences diverses véhiculées à travers le Maghreb, puis le bassin méditerranéen.

Le recours au sondage d'opinions fut pour nous un second niveau d'apprécia-



tion du degré d'influence ethnique du bâtiment selon ses différents rayons d'influence locale ou régionale. Notons qu'il peut y avoir une association historique civique avec une personne, un groupe social ou un événement à travers le réseau des mythes, des us et traditions socioculturelles, etc. Comme son emplacement à un endroit pourrait consolider son grade de repère symbolique ou d'orientation liés à des modalités de mobilité ou d'itinéraires. En somme, cette évaluation nous situera les caractères spécifiques de repères et d'orientation par rapport au voisinage. Elle définira aussi toutes les charges symboliques pour une communauté avec leurs réseaux de significations culturelles pour le voisinage à travers les publications littéraires et tout autre support de vulgarisation.

#### *Portrait architectural du Mausolée Royal Maurétanien de Tipasa.*

Dans les trois royaumes d'avant l'invasion romaine, Massyle, Massaessyle et Mauritanide, se dressent trois tombeaux, témoins de la vie des cités antiques. L'un et l'autre sont essentiellement formés d'un énorme tas de pierres recouvert d'une enveloppe architecturale. Le tas de pierre, plus ou moins haut, plus ou moins orné, a toujours été une sépulture africaine. Nous entendons par là les djeddars qui sont des sépultures royales du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle Ap. J.C qui eux ont plutôt une base carrée chemisée par une enveloppe à gradins en pyramide. Ils illustrent une pérennité d'une tradition funéraire royale propre au Maghreb antique.<sup>2</sup>

Le tombeau royal est un vaste mausolée circulaire en forme de cône, décoré de 60 colonnes semi engagées. On sait aujourd'hui qu'il servit de sépultures à des

rois maures, et sa construction remonterait à une époque située entre le III<sup>ème</sup> et le I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.C. Cet énigmatique édifice de plus de 60 m de diamètre a donné naissance à mille légendes. A l'une d'elles, on doit le nom encore communément employé de "Tombeau de la Chrétienne".

" Ce bâtiment circulaire à destination funéraire qui, de loin fait penser à une ruche ou meule de foin, est situé sur la route qui mène d'Alger à Cherchell, non loin de Tipasa.

Ses dimensions sont impressionnantes :



- 185,50 m de circonférence.
- 60,90 m de diamètre.
- 32-40 m de hauteur.
- le volume dépasse 80.000 m<sup>3</sup>.

Ce massif édifice semble être posé sur un socle carré d'environ 64 m de côté ; celui-ci reposant lui-même sur une série de gradins en pierres de taille. La section du mausolée ayant la forme d'un cône est constituée de 33 gradins de 0,58 m de hauteur chacun et se termine par une plate forme. Devant le monument subsistent les restes d'un avant-corps d'une construction de 16 m de longueur et de 6 m de largeur, qui doivent être à la base d'un temple ou d'un autel monumental".<sup>3</sup>

L'hypogée évoque de façon frappante les tumuli égyptiens jusque dans de petits détails. Les caveaux auxquels elle aboutit sont fermés eux aussi par des portes dalles qui s'ouvriraient autrefois à volonté, toujours comme dans les chapelles des tumuli égyptiens, mais qui semblent bien étroites pour avoir pu autrefois laisser passer des sarcophages.

La décoration extérieure est l'élément qui permet de situer sa construction à une période antérieure à la présence romaine ; en effet, ce mausolée n'est pas le seul puisqu'il en existe un autre dans l'est du pays, à Batna, similaire dans son architecture, mais en plus réduit : le Médracen, tombeau dit de Massinissa et puisqu'un autre, encore, a été découvert à l'embouchure de la Tafna, près de Siga (ouest du pays), ancienne capitale du roi Masaessyle Syphax, contemporain et rival de Massinissa.

De part le système constructif adopté pour l'édification du Mausolée royal de

<sup>3</sup> Wilaya de Tipasa, sous la direction de F. Djelti et S. Ferdi (1996): " Site et Antiquités de Tipasa ". Edition ANEP, Alger.

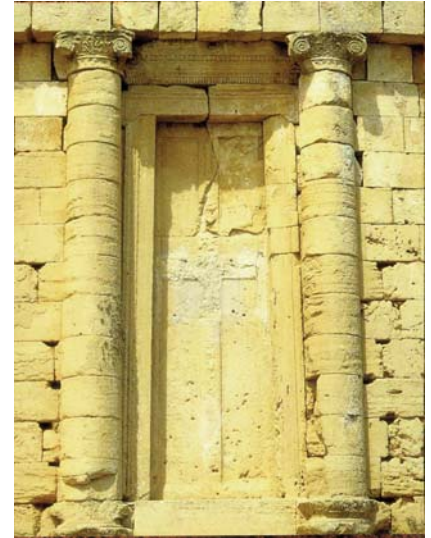


Fig. 6. Architecture du tombeau royal. Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.

Fig. 7. Détail sur une des fausses portes. Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.



<sup>4</sup> OPlcit p 56. Berbrugger Louis Adrien (1867) : " le tombeau de la chrétienne, mausolée des rois maurétaniens de la dernière dynastie ", Alger, bastide.

Tipasa, nous confirmons d'autres traits d'influence étrangère et l'apport certain de cultures architecturales majeures du bassin méditerranéen ayant eu des influences techniques sur l'architecture du mausolée. De ces dernières, nous reconnaissons :

1. Le caractère constructif des encadrements des quatre fausses portes (pieds droits, jambages et linteau supérieur) qui s'apparente aux portiques de l'architecture égyptienne pharaonienne.
2. Le cône de couverture est une chemise à gradins plein effectuée selon la tradition égyptienne.
3. Le cramponnage des blocs de pierres au moyen de crampon métallique ou en bois s'est réalisé selon la tradition grecque hellénistique.
4. Le système de levage des blocs de pierres a été accompli sans avoir recours au système de loupes comme le voulait la tradition antique romaine. Le levage du bloc s'est fait grâce au treuil. Le système voulait qu'on attache les cordages au centre de gravité du bloc de pierre, afin d'éviter son basculement. Ceci dénote de l'influence d'une tradition de mise en œuvre préromaine.

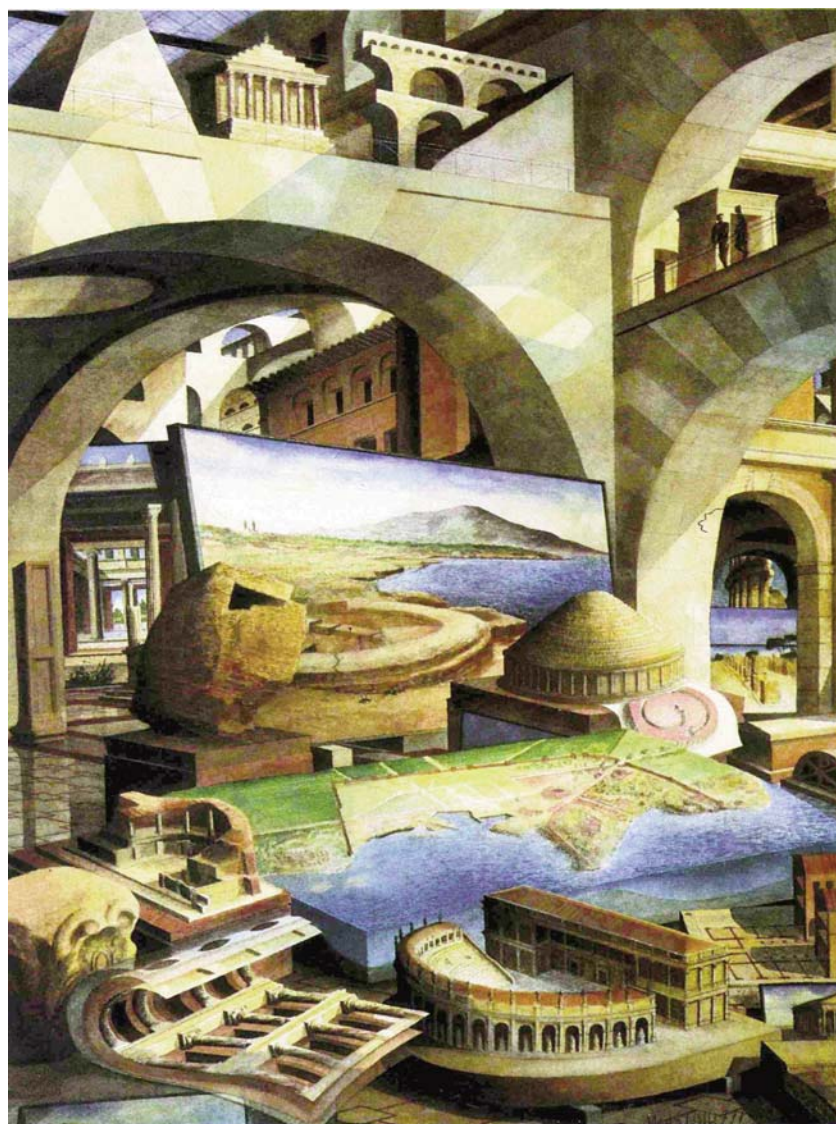


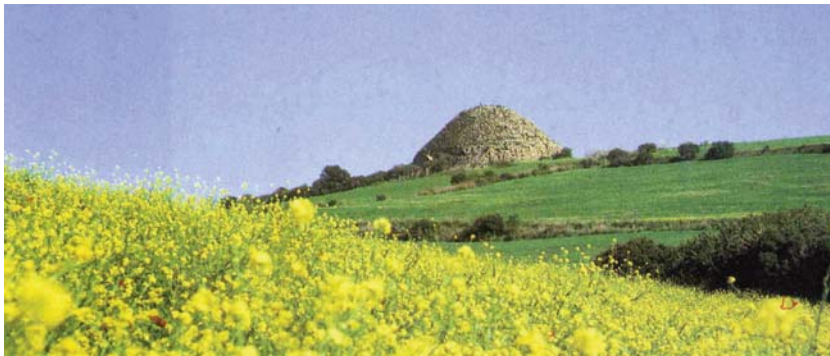
Fig. 8. Peinture expressionniste de Francis Martinuzzi, In : *Archeologia viva*. N° : 14, Novembre, décembre 1990, Giunti, Italie.

5. La mise en œuvre de la corniche moulurée en gorge à l'égyptienne, dénote de l'influence pharaonienne sur notre mausolée de Tipasa.

" Ce mausolée, de construction nord-africaine, rappelle "les Tombes africaines composées de pierres, préservant une tombe, avec au centre un caveau de la dimension, tout au plus d'un cercueil que l'on appelle les Basinas. (...). Il est donc possible d'affirmer que ce type de Mausolée appartient à une tradition nord-africaine avec toutefois, en ce qui concerne "le mausolée royal de Maurétanie", une influence étrangère (ex : les colonnes semi engagées de type ionique) ".<sup>4</sup>

*Pour une définition de modèles de représentation sociale du paysage.*

A la lumière des résultats de notre sondage d'opinions, nous avons ainsi développé trois modèles de représentation sociale du paysage qui les caractérisent en mettant en lumière différentes perceptions. Chacune, chacun traite les infor-



mations issues du paysage d'une manière qui lui est propre, mais qui peut aussi varier en fonction du moment; nous pouvons ainsi naviguer entre pensée rationnelle et pensée magique, laisser davantage de place à notre intuition, saisir le paysage dans une pensée métaphorique, être submergé par les symboles qu'il dégage, songer à ce qu'il convient pratiquement de faire, filer vers une pensée philosophique ou poétique,...

Ainsi de ces catégories de perceptions du paysage du mausolée royal de Tipasa, nous avons reconnu :

*Une tendance " conservatrice " : " Le lien culturel ".*

Les maîtres mots furent ici : Héritage - Juba 2 - Amazigh - Berbère - passé - avenir - paternité - identité / histoire nationale - appartenance - transmission - mémoire - valeurs ; témoignant à la fois d'un attachement à un héritage, à un lieu.

Ces mots clés font partie du discours à propos de la question du patrimoine, qui se situe dans un continuum temporel : "Se demander ce que nous allons laisser à nos enfants, c'est s'interroger sur ces fragments du monde dont nous avons hérité nous-mêmes des générations précédentes et auxquels nous sommes attachés".

Cette tendance irait dans la perspective d'une préservation des valeurs patrimoniales selon leur valeur historique héritée. Le modèle de référence est celui



*Fig. 9. Axonométrie éclatée du tombeau. Sources : Rakob, F (1979): " Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara ". Exposition sous la direction de H.G Horn et C.B Rüger, Bonn.*

*Fig. 10. Tombeau sur la crête du mont du sahel ( 268 mètres ). Y. Chennaoui. © 2005.*

d'un paysage d'apparence naturelle bien que créé par des ancrages historiques patrimoniaux.

Les adhérents farouches à cette tendance sont, de par leur engagement professionnel, liés de très près et depuis assez longtemps à la préservation du patrimoine culturel. La gestion du paysage est donc envisagée ici sous l'angle de la sauvegarde.

Les paysages culturels faisant partie du débat international et leur statut en tant qu'objet patrimonial reflète bien l'évolution des idées plus générales en la matière, mais ne semble pas qu'il soit perçu dans notre environnement d'étude de la même ardeur. Or, ce qui a été remarqué ici, c'est que " le tombeau de la chrétienne ", pour reprendre son appellation péjorative générale, représente un "hauts lieux" de l'histoire, au vu de son classement sur la liste du "patrimoine mondial de l'humanité". Ceci demeure une chose fort approuvée et revendiquée par la population du moins celle lettrée.

*Une tendance " pragmatique " : " le lien mental ".*

Les maîtres mots furent ici : Repère - échelle - proportions - matériaux - résistance- rappel et analogie - filiation à une culture - appartenance à une civilisation révolue.

Elles sont nécessairement acquises par le parcours dans l'espace et dans le temps, jalonnés de repères historiques, ou par un parcours réalisé mentalement grâce à l'imagination, sur la base d'un acquis éducationnel et d'instruction par des récits ou de documents imagés ( guide, photos, cartes) ou même d'expériences personnelles.

À cet égard, le paysage n'est apparemment pas considéré ici comme un repère en tant que tel, peut-être parce qu'il ne peut être facilement circonscrit dans des limites physiques cernées par la vue uniquement. C'est plutôt le vestige qui est repère.

Les adhérents à cette tendance se basent sur la vue en tant que moyen de saisie psychosensorielle, qui demeure corrélé à travers des filtres cognitifs divers. Nous avons reconnu dans notre étude, qu'il s'agissait de filtre sensoriels, tributaires de plusieurs facteurs : connaissance des lieux, expériences, espace " vécu ", modèles culturels de l'époque, symbolismes, stéréotypes dominants, ...

Les paysages culturels ont une identité, composite et sans cesse recomposée, mais qui fait que nous pouvons les reconnaître et les intégrer dans la vaste carte mentale de notre être au monde, comme autant de points de repères indispensables et fondateurs de notre identité spatiale.

Les vestiges sont comme des balises souvent isolées mentalement les unes des autres, il nous appartient de les relier entre elles par toutes les voies de sens possibles, pour constituer un réseau de paysages articulés, une mosaïque animée et complexe.

*Une tendance " romantique " : " Le lien émotionnel ".*

Les maîtres mots furent ici : Mythe- mystère - Cléopâtre Sélééné (?) - Chrétienne (?) majestueux - impressionnant - imposant - important - beau -

magnifique, définissant le paysage comme un produit culturel chargé d'émotion.

L'expérience personnelle véhicule une symbolique propre, configurée par une série de sensations plus ou moins marquées qui varient à chaque fois, selon la saison ou l'état d'esprit de l'observateur. Le modèle de référence reconnu ici est celui d'un paysage à forte composante identitaire, qui reflète, dans ses différentes grammaires, les modes de vie changeants des populations.

Notre paysage d'étude, contient peut-être des éléments qui entrent en écho avec un souvenir (souvenir d'un lieu, d'un événement, d'une personne...), le plus souvent inconsciemment, provoquant parfois cette sensation de "déjà vu", et contribuer à nous procurer une émotion agréable ou désagréable, nous apaiser ou nous mettre mal à l'aise, sans que nous sachions pourquoi.

La dimension émotionnelle par exemple, particulièrement marquée dans la tendance romantique, est présente à différents degrés chez l'ensemble de nos sujets sondés, même si certains avaient une certaine retenue à évoquer la dimension esthétique du paysage, dont le caractère subjectif leur semblait peut-être contraire à une pratique raisonnée du territoire.

L'expression directe des émotions fut difficile pour certains. Pour comprendre une prise de position ("c'est beau, c'est laid"), il peut s'avérer efficace de demander quels sont les éléments qui touchent particulièrement, et ce qu'ils symbolisent chacun, ou leur agencement. "Il sera plus commode de dérouler l'expression symbolique, de faire dire pourquoi ce petit détail évoque la plénitude, des souvenirs heureux, une chaleur, un contact ou bien aussi une désorganisation, le froid, la dureté, l'angoisse, la désorientation, etc., en fait toutes les gammes positives et négatives de notre sensation de présence au monde". Les émotions positives ou négatives devant le paysage relèvent chez l'individu d'une sphère touchant la vie privée, les pulsions profondes. (...) Elles sont exprimées de façon symbolique par rapport à un paysage autant "rêvé" que perçu".

Au niveau de la perception, les conditions atmosphériques, l'heure du jour, l'époque de l'année sont des paramètres qui influencent notre manière d'être dans le paysage et donc notre perception, et réciproquement : un paysage terne sous le soleil peut devenir dantesque par temps d'orage et nous inciter à presser le pas, plutôt que de flâner tranquillement. Le temps que nous passons en contact avec le paysage est aussi un facteur important.

En conclusion à ceci, disons que les aspects liés à l'héritage naturel et culturel, à la mixité de l'occupation du sol, à l'adaptation des pratiques au territoire ou encore à la diversité écologique et visuelle peuvent trouver leur prolongement dans des indicateurs existants ou qui sont encore à créer.

### *En guise de conclusion*

Le débat international manifeste aujourd'hui une nouvelle sensibilité à l'égard des paysages culturels, en tant que sources de scènes et de récits historiques et de témoignages que la société civile devrait se réapproprier par le biais d'une représentation et d'une planification plus responsables.

Pour l'heure, il nous est apparu nécessaire de définir les caractères et les valeurs

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de ce paysage culturel qui caractérisent un territoire. La qualité de la vie ne se résume pas seulement au degré de salubrité du milieu, elle doit considérer aussi les besoins de la communauté en termes culturels et identitaires. Ces besoins incluent les valeurs d'héritage qui devraient être préservés et compris.

Aujourd'hui, nous pouvons affirmer que les ressources culturelles et environnementales d'un territoire jouent un rôle irremplaçable pour construire un modèle de développement à la fois durable et rentable.

Les paysages culturels largement répandus dans l'ensemble des pays méditerranéens, en l'occurrence en Algérie, constitue pour autant une ressource qui donne une identité tant du point de vue de la cohésion sociale, que du point de vue testimonial et d'héritage.

Cette récente mobilisation de l'opinion publique au sujet de la protection de l'environnement naturel et culturel au sein de l'optique du développement durable exprime les inquiétudes très concrètes quant aux crises multiples qui peuvent survenir face au processus de mondialisation que nous assistons aujourd'hui.

Le réinvestissement des valeurs des paysages culturels se justifie aujourd'hui sur plusieurs niveaux :

1. Identitaire : Aujourd'hui, le recours au patrimoine culturel est le résultat d'une prise de conscience collective et universelle. Nous avons saisi que chaque société devra s'identifier par rapport à son histoire, ses ancrages culturels, son identité spécifique.
2. Géopolitique : Toute la réglementation actuelle sur le patrimoine culturel (chartes et conventions internationales) stipule que le recours au patrimoine culturel devra être saisi en tant que facteur de rapprochement entre les peuples et les cultures. Dès lors, les regroupements régionaux ne devraient pas être définis seulement à travers des aspects seulement économiques ou d'échanges, mais que la culture et le patrimoine, devraient constitués des catalyseurs de développement mutuel pour des régions géographiques. Par là même, l'évolution de la notion de la valeur du patrimoine de celle nationale à celle universelle, plaide pour une perception nouvelle du patrimoine culturel de l'humanité, en abolissant toutes frontières géographiques ou discrimination culturelle, religieuse ou raciale.
3. Environnementale : Face à cet anonymat du caractère régional urbanistique et architectural de nos villes, le recours au patrimoine culturel constitue un facteur d'intégration culturelle pour les populations, au vu de ce laminage engendré par ce processus de mondialisation qui insuffle un changement de mode de vie, de coutume et de manière d'habiter.
4. Economique : Aujourd'hui, le développement du tourisme culturel, supplantant largement le tourisme balnéaire, développé pendant les années 1970, est venu rajouter une plus valeur économique au patrimoines culturels. Il constitue effectivement un facteur de développement économique, en tant que pourvoyeur d'emplois et de richesses. Ainsi, le paysage culturel est considéré en tant qu'objet de gestion qui rentre dans des stratégies de valorisation utilisant tout les attributs et ressources présentes dans le territoire.

## Palermo. Architecture and Culture of Dialogue

Antonino Margagliotta

### Introduction

The world is unquiet. Probably it has always been so, but now the restlessness doesn't appear anymore localized, it seems to invest entirely the earth. This is an effect also of globalization, because of many factors like the facility and the rapidity of information, the economic systems that stimulate processes of homologation, the independence of phenomena from the idea of localization, the un-influence of effects provoked by distance. The shattering of a reality marked by differences is contrasted, however, to the global present having a tendency to conform and to flatten differences. The presence (or opposition) of the two terms (global-local, uniform-different), in fact, it doesn't produce a lowering or zero resetting of effects, but a more complex articulation of reality. So that, our epoch is characterized by great changes, marked by the themes of difference and diversity that conform a multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious society.

Some time ago *interferences* and *contaminations* followed one to another one to tragic or dramatic situations, at times bloody, as transigrations and invasions for the conquest of territory. In our time there aren't anymore events of people, but these condition derived by more personal and, not for this, painless choices, as the migrations effected to search a job or social conditions more adherent to the demands of life. Every move is a leaving (that we try to annul with ways and forms of the original places) and an approach to new situations. Historically, these phenomena have produced always relationships and exchanges, generating innovative demonstrations and behavioural and cultural expressions, consequent to the ways with which *different* people have interacted, with-lived and conversed. Today, as in past, the cohabitations are planned not so much on equal conditions but on hegemony of a part above another (or others); but sometimes the history, showing us the results of its experiments on possible ways of existence, offers to us examples of convergences that capsize the relationships of strength, and the culture imposes itself on the hegemony of power. In every case (apart from the type of interference), the *contacts* have contributed to delineate original social-economic models and offered new developments to the construction of cities, to the expressions of arts, included

Drawings and models are referred to the course of *Architettura e Composizione Architettonica 1* (Corso di laurea in Ingegneria Edile/ Architettura di Palermo)

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a.a. 2004-05: Project of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orleans Park in Palermo

a.a. 2006-07: Project of a inter-cultural centre in Palermo

Fig. 1. E. Naccari - G. Mercadante, *Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer.*

Fig. 2. R. Lupo - S. Tilotta, *Model of a inter-cultural centre.*

Fig. 3. *View of Palermo*



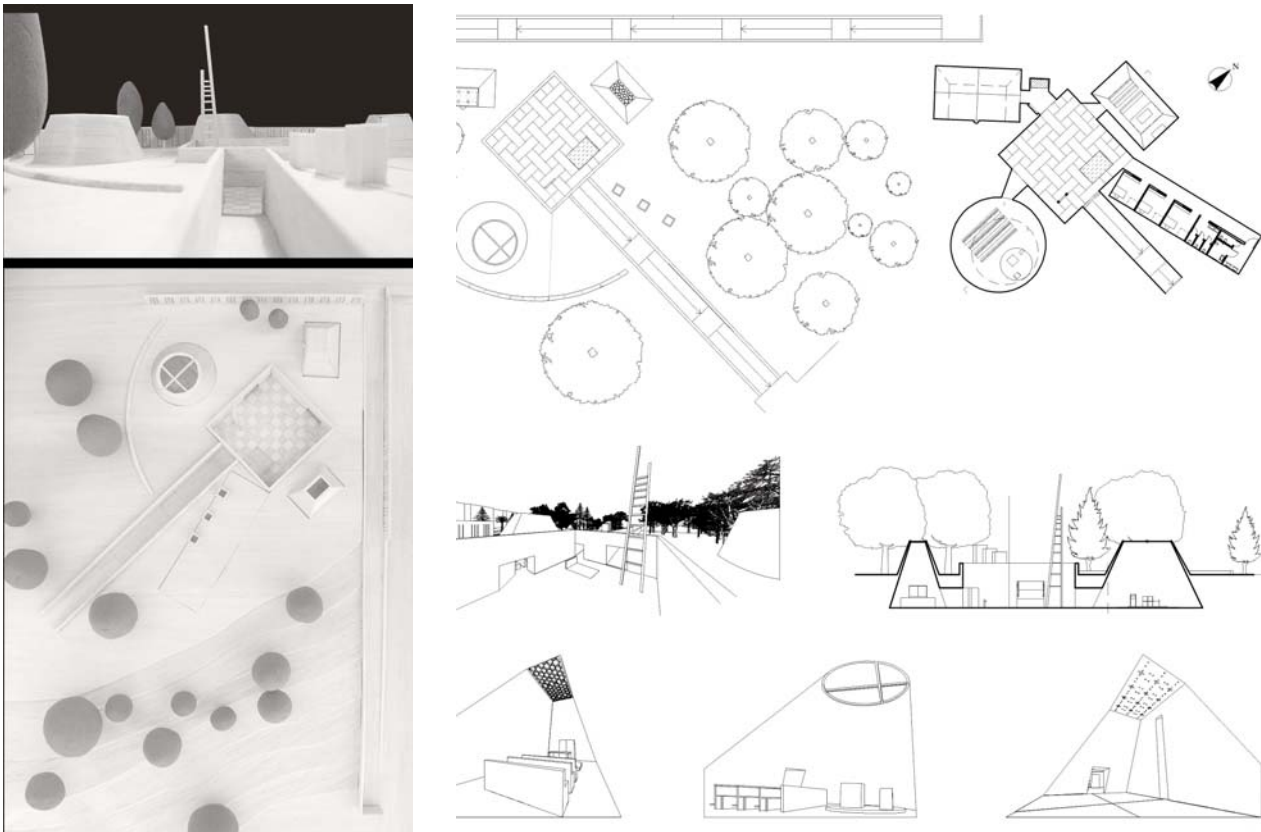
<sup>1</sup> Cfr. ANTONINO MARGAGLIOTTA, *Le forme dialogo*, Palermo 2006.

the language of architecture. In these conditions, rather, architecture represent the catalyst of dialogue, over that to constitute a concrete sign, and also an ideal, of the pacific comparison among men, their cultures and religions. The history puts under our eyes events of struggle and wrong actions. But the historical research can also help us to find situations and positive events. Architecture is able to narrate the positive actions, to express the postpones and the interlacements that, in some case, have determined situations useful to form the architectural space. This condition has especially happened in particular moments tied up to the definition of initial stadiums of architecture, in the search of the elaboration of new architectural types. It's possible, in fact, to define a parallel between the Christian basilica and the synagogue (with correspondences concerning spatial organization, architectural elements and cultural use), and also to tell about intriguing interlacements among the history of first mosques and the contributions of architectural and decorative Byzantine culture.<sup>1</sup>

### *The town of dialogue*

Still today, there are zones where the dialogue is a practice of life: lines of ground or city that in time lived experiences of different dominations stratifying religions and cultures besides an availability to diversity. It's the case (as it happened in every epoch) of border areas or landing-places, that represent careful places, sensible more than other to give a welcome and capable to permeate themselves. In these places the cohabitation is an *habitus* to face the

Fig. 4-5. Testagrossa-Timirello, Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orléans Park in Palermo



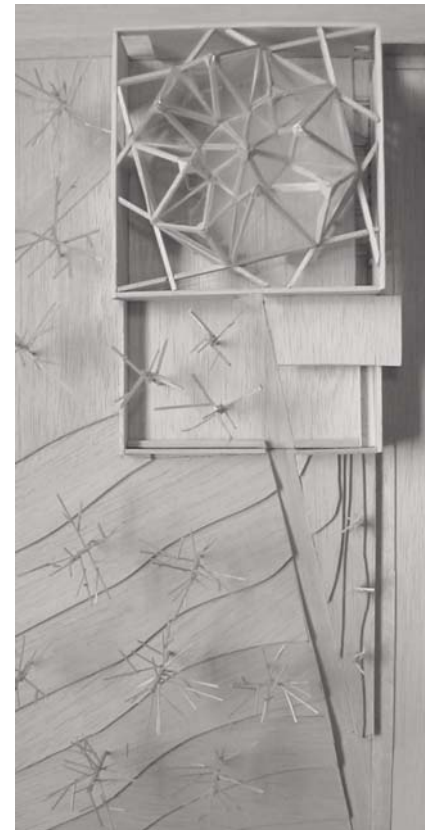
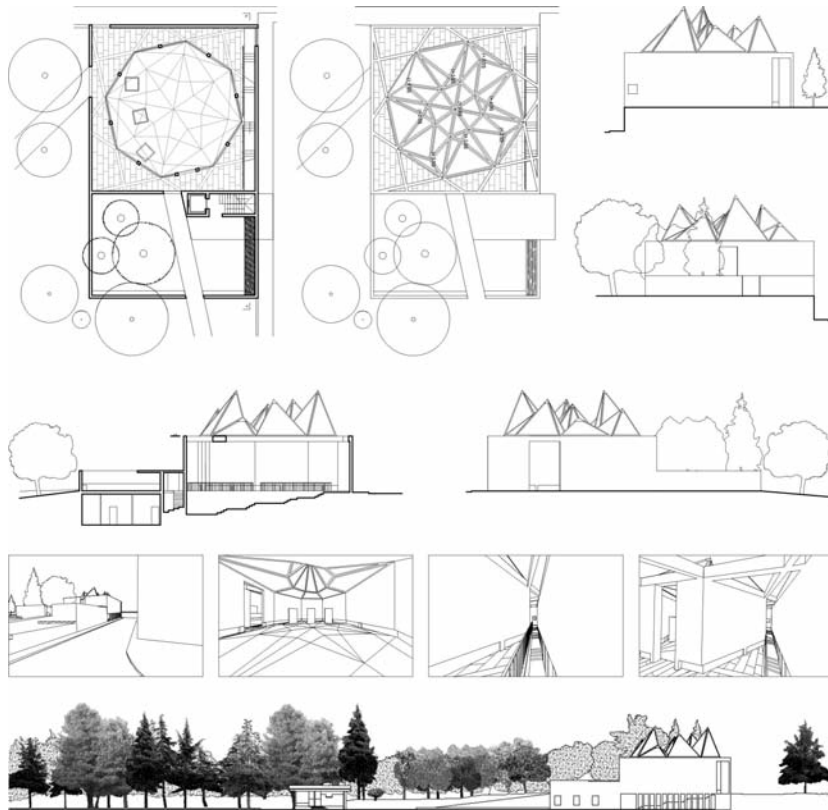
world and to do a comparison with the others; nevertheless these places represent *apart islands* where the clamours come distant, that at the *centre of empire*, intensify the differences, sink the furrows, draw the discrepancies.<sup>2</sup>

There are places, more than other, that seem today deputed to express the sense of dialogue. And there are city that, for their history and tradition, can purpose themselves as *common house* for more people. Among these the town of Palermo can be included, for a long time crossroad of civilization in which, following invasions and dominations, different cultures have woven and with-lived, determining an everyday life that architecture remember and preserve as testimony. Moreover Palermo has been a city-port of Mediterranean, a sea that served not only as frontier but that represent also today a medium for the exchange and the knowledge. Inhabited by Phoenician, Greek and Romans, Christians, Jews and Moslems, Norman, Spanish, Austrians and French (the English influences are commercial and relatively recent), Palermo is a city where for centuries Christians, Moslems and Hebrews cohabited, creating a civilization multi-religious over that multiethnic.

In a condition by now mythical, of which we lose the connotation between historical truth and ideal reconstruction, Palermo has seen to delineate its identity on the interlacement of different contributions, often in contrast (if not even conflicting), whose form (in a physical and cultural sense) it constitutes the synthesis of a dialogue action. Over the time, the present is consolidated on the ashes of Arabic, Christians and Hebrews, so much that perhaps in the air the echoes of prayers still resound and are interlaced, raised in different languages. "Siqilliya sana-hallahu" (*Allah protects Sicily*), the Moslems invoked when the island appertain to Dar al-Islam; "Al-madina hama-hallahu" (*Allah*

<sup>2</sup> One of these frontiers is today represented by Antiochia place in the synagogue we could read the Torah in Greek, in the Greek church the prayers were in Arab, in the Catholic the language is the Turkish one. And it's possible that an Orthodox have his Holy Communion in the Catholic church and viceversa, while the same Moslem use incense in their celebrations during the Orthodox Easter. Ever since few years also the Easter day was unified. Cfr. P. RUMIZ, *A messa con la kefiyah*, at "La Repubblica" 19 august 2005, p. 27.

Fig. 6-7. M.A. Natoli - C. Suter, *Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orléans Park in Palermo.*





<sup>3</sup> Cfr. the *Lamentatio* inserted in the *Liber honorem Augusti* written by Pietro da Eboli for the death of king.

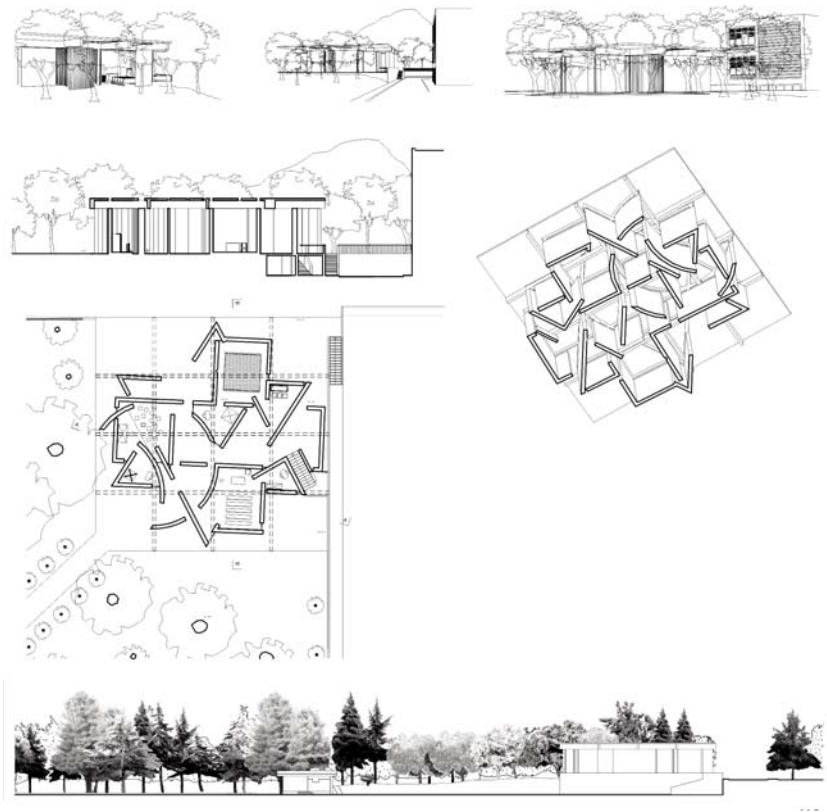
<sup>4</sup> ENRICO CALANDRA, *Arabi, greci e latini di Sicilia. Fonti documentarie di età normanna e sveva*, look at AA. VV., "L'arte siculo-normanna", Vienna 2004, p. 134.

*protects this city*) the sailors that entered in the Panormitan port said with psalms.

Palermo has been a city with a multiethnic and multi-linguistic presence, that constitutes an expression of different souls of the same city. "Urbs felix populo dotata trilingui" is defined at the death of the King William II (1189),<sup>3</sup> while inscriptions of the same period (in three and even four languages, Latin, Greek, Arab and Jew) reveal the cultural syncretism. Among the other testimonies we quoted the parchment of Tabulario of Cefalù (1187-88) written in Jew-Arab and the diploma with which George of Antiochia equips the church of St Maria dell'Ammiraglio: the document begins with the praise to Allah, continues in Greek and, sometimes, with an interlinear translation is closed with the *Hasbala* ("Our sufficiency is Allah, and sweet is our patronizer").<sup>4</sup> To confirm, finally, the opening of whole Sicily to the world, the hieratic Pantocrator of the Norman cathedral of Cefalù holds the opened book on two pages, with the proclamation, in Greek and in Latin, "I am the light of the world...".

After the recent migrations, Palermo continues to offer itself as a place of reception. In these years we notice a Moslem presence, coming from the north Africa, that from 1985 uses as mosque the desecrated church of St. Paolino dei Giardinieri. After the expulsion of Hebrews in 1492, the city hasn't lost the Jewish community, despite an almost hidden presence was remained. Also the Greek community remains, traditionally organized in the Christian church with Byzantine rite that has the centre in the complex of the Martorana. Besides these historical presences it's currently a place of mobility of the Mediterranean (and not only, considering that many fluxes were originated

Fig. 8-9. A. Aiello - E. Nicolini, Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orléans Park in Palermo.



from the extreme regions of Asia) that impose new models for the knowledge of urban reality and the design of new dwelling places, through the exploitation of knowledge and the acquisition of an ethical and cultural awareness that, in Palermo and in Sicily, should find a particular attention, because the difference has always been appreciated and cultivated. For this, the proposal of a space inter-religious in Palermo is not a project without a place and without a country.

*Architectures for the dialogue*

The occasion to design a space of inter-religious prayer in Palermo (insert in the design activities provided by the *Architecture and Architectural Composition I* course of the Degree in Edile/Architettura Engineering of Panormitan University) has been marked by a double connotation, with disciplinary and formative intents. If the course has, first of all, allowed to deepen the ways in which architecture can contribute (almost finding again its idea) to build the values of respect and the pacific cohabitation, asking to express (through its constitutive statutes) the values of dialogue, in a second time has allowed to face the themes of the diversity and of intercultural dialogue, respecting the differences in the recovery of identities, and also to reflect about the role of religions that instead of represent confinements can help to develop, in the civil society over that in the religious community, the dialogue and the mutual respect.

The experience, develops with the collaboration of the Theological Faculty of

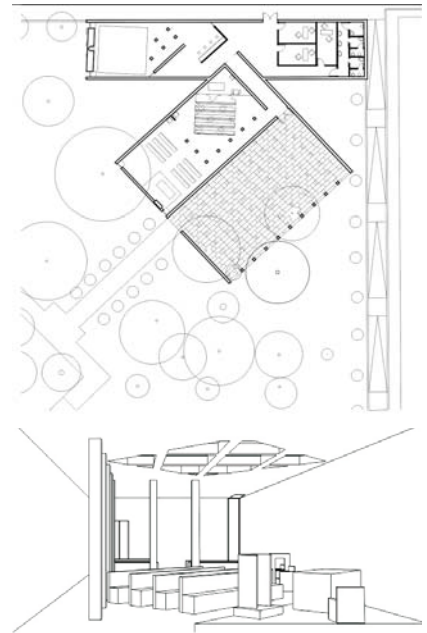
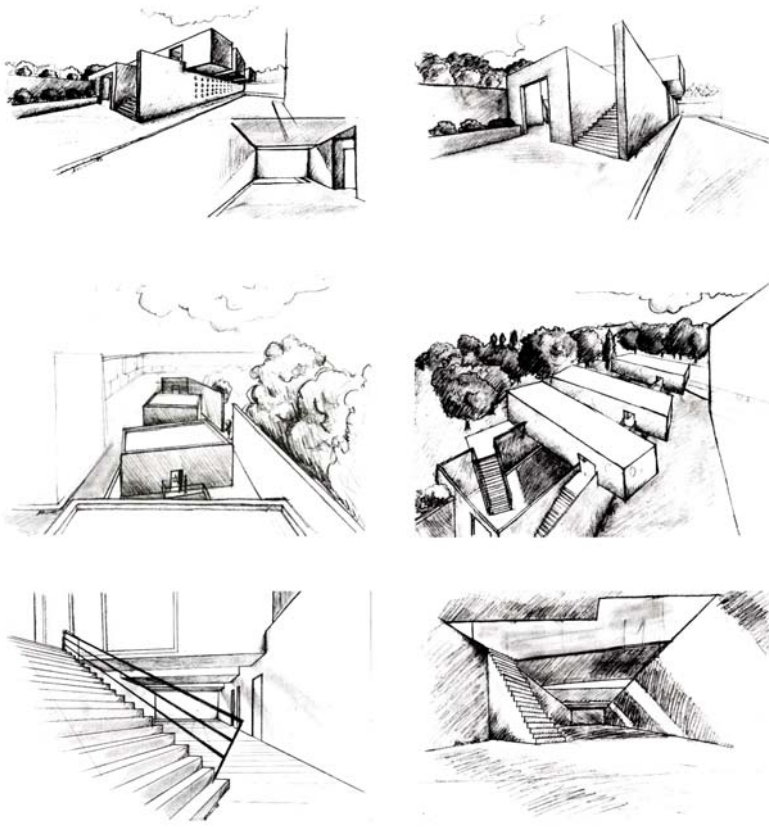


Fig. 10. E. Fazio - S. Virga, Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orléans Park in Palermo.

Fig. 11-12. C. Messina - B. Riggio, Design of an inter-religious space for the prayer inside the Orléans Park in Palermo.



Sicily, had for theme the design (located inside the University Campus) of a prayer space for the three monotheist religions in which the dialogue among faiths, cultures and traditions (architectural and not only) and the research of an internal thread that unites the monotheist faiths have been investigated through architectural language.

The project is organized in relationship to specific formal and functional choices, for express the identity of every religion and, at the same time, for make present every identity and religion to the other according to a precise narrative program, experimented through distinct and possible solutions: an unique space, understood as place of reunion, contemplation and prayer but not fina-

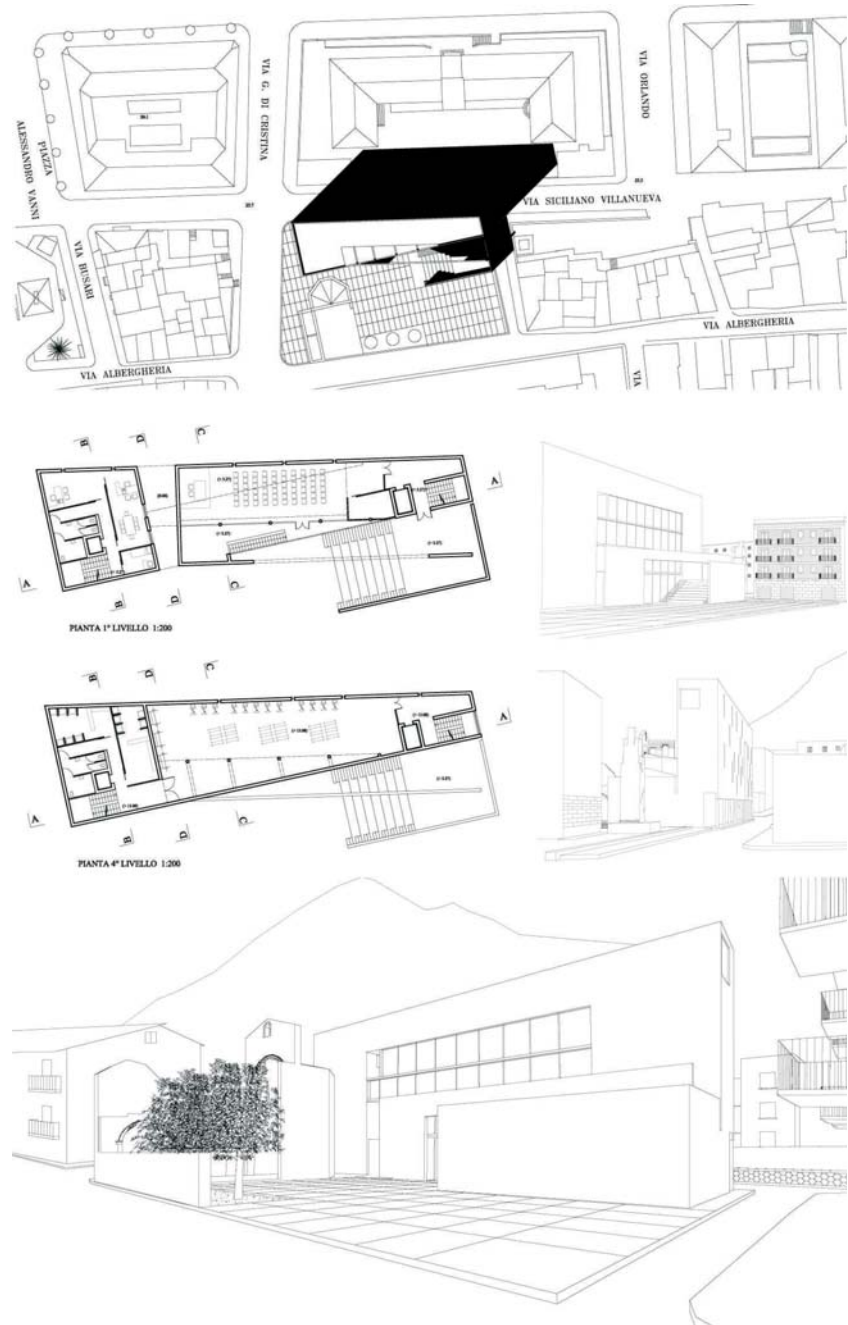


Fig. 13. E. Balsamo - G. Bucalo, Design of an intercultural centre in the Albergheria district in Palermo.

lized to liturgical celebrations; two spaces destined also for liturgical activities, one for the Islamic community, the other common (even though articulated) for the Christian and Jewish communities; three separate spaces for the celebrations of every community.

In all cases, the design has foreseen, besides autonomous places for every community, a closed and open common space for exterior meetings, configured as a threshold, atrium or inside court, understood as moment of spatial integration over that of re-proposal of a recurrent element in the whole religious architecture (*portico* having four sides or church square, *ziyada* or *sahn* of the mosque) and also as commemoration of archetype, the sacred enclosure or

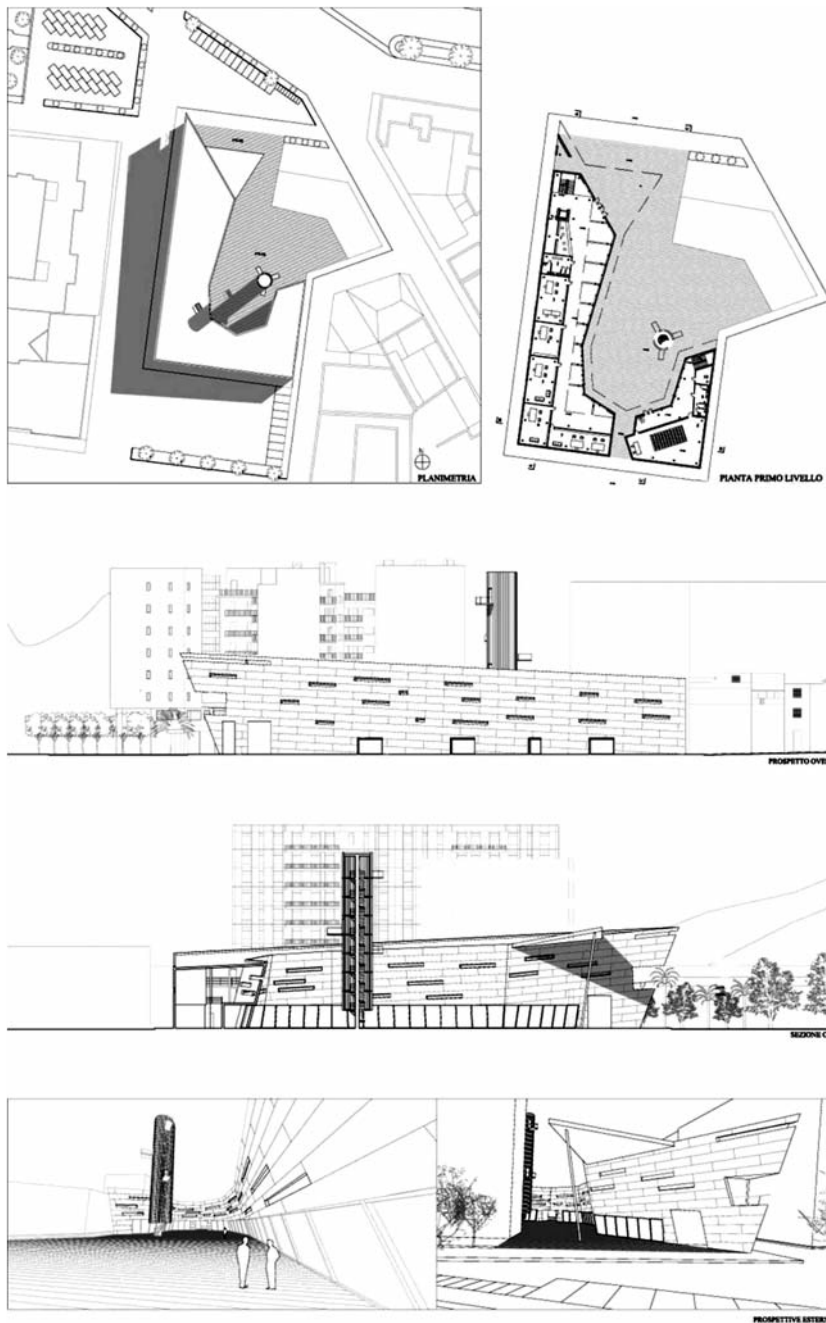


Fig. 14. R. Lupo - S. Tilotta, Design of a inter-cultural centre in the Borgo Vecchio district in Palermo.

témenos. In every case, a common space was guaranteed, so that everyone, also inside a proper and exclusive space, feels that an house belonging to everybody exists, the *ecumene*, that in Greek means the all inhabited earth.

Architecture has been the instrument and objective of the *dialogue* that, in this occasion, has still exalted her function of synthesis among different instances, assuming the role of ideal expression that renders explicit the construction of a society, especially that of young people, founded on the idea that difference is a demonstration of beauty and represent an opportunity of cultural and spiritual growth and enrichment. Through the study and the design search it is experimented even more the sense of architecture understood as a bridge (a further signification of the heiddegerian meaning) that it not only expresses the affiliation among places but also among different cultures, in order to manifest the ways with which we can be approached us to the *other*. Overcome the value, but also the limit, that countersigns a design exercise, for whose have been involved in the experience remain the awareness that the architectural design can constitute motive and sign for a reflection and a knowledge of others, to approach to the differences, to practice in the culture of peace. Architecture, in fact, through its dialogue ability (with the man and his time) it contributes to elaborate new styles of life and it expresses the tension toward the problems and the values of modernity.

## The Arab Influence in the Architecture of Apulia and Basilicata

Antonella Calderazzi

The presence of Muslims in Puglia is evidenced by historical episodes and documentation dating back to between the 10th and 13th Century. We know that the Saracens came to Puglia from Sicily and reached Lucera, and that they worked at the court of Frederick II, who had granted them freedom of worship, faithfully serving the Emperor. Architecture and art in general were obviously affected by that influence, because Frederick II ordered numerous construction and expansion works of castles, residences and churches. Three civilisations are commingled in Frederician work: Latin-Germanic, Arab and Norman, which contribute to blend together the almost religious sense of the Empire, bureaucratic centralisation, as well as a love for culture.



From 1220 to 1226, 34 castle residences were built, 18 castles were extended and 16 were restructured. Frederick loved staying above all in Apricena and in Lucera in his *domus solaciorum* (places of solace and relax). Vitrified bowls and shiny glazed plates of various colours, from manganese brown to copper green and from ferrous oxide yellow to red have also been found in Lucera, where he had erected the *Palatium* in its quadrangular tower shape, with a sloping basement surrounded by a richly decorated 14 metre high fortified wall. This rich decoration has been confirmed by the glass and ceramic findings with gold and vitreous enamel. In Castel del Monte, the symbolic octagonal shape, which can be traced back to the *Qubbat al Sakra* in Jerusalem or the *Caravan-Serai* located in *Khan-i-Khurra* in Persia, the decorations of the ogival vaults, the central fountain, where there was the water tank, are elements common to Arab-Islamic art.

In castles like those of Bari, Gioia del Colle, Trani, Gravina and obviously Lucera, the local workforce was partly of Saracen extraction. The Norman-Swabian geometry, with the angular towers with central court becomes a recurrent exaltation of quadrangular shapes, ideal buildings of regal dwellings. Even in the majestic castles of Basilicata, like those of Lagopesole and Melfi, desired by Frederick II who ordered a certain Fuccio to build walls and areas for trapping of birds, there is Arab inspiration and tradition, recognisable in the access



Fig. 1. Castel del Monte  
Fig. 2-3. The castle of Bari and the access door  
Fig. 4. The castle of Gioia del Colle

<sup>1</sup> V. Salierno, *I musulmani in Puglia e in Basilicata*, Ed. Lacaita, Mandria, 2000

*Fig. 5. The church of Ognissanti in Valenzano*

*Fig. 6. The church of S.Nicola in Bari*

*Fig. 7. Pseudo kufic inscription in the church of S.Nicola*



doors and in the sculptures, for instance the capital in the atrium of Bari castle, portraying the heads of Saracen slaves, and the anthology of Islamic designed animals present in the capitals, in the jambs and in the archivolts. But even before the Swabian domination, the relationship with Arab art stood out in the Byzantine domination.

For around two centuries, Puglia remained more or less stably under Byzantine rule, despite the passing of Saracens and Slavs, periodical local revolts and ineffective incursions of the Saxon Emperors Otto I and Otto II. The "theme" of Langobardia minor, which included not only Puglia but most of Lucania, has its capital in Bari, the home of a Catapan and thus ethnic elements of varied origins and the coexistence of several heterogeneous motives have left their sign in the art in general and particularly in the architecture. As regards this, the layout of the many Byzantine churches with their single apse nave and a central dome, like that of San Bartolomeo's church in Padula, Ognissanti's church in Valenzano and Santa Maria's church in Calena should be pointed out. Findings of epigraphs with pseudo-kufic motifs are reported on the boss of the door of the Mausoleum of Boemondo in Canosa, in Santa Maria le Cerrate's cathedral in Squinzano, in the Cathedral of Taranto, in the Cathedral of Bisceglie, in a lead lumiere in Barletta Cathedral, in the portal of San Benedetto's church in Brindisi, where an Arab hunter is fighting against a lion, and in a floor mosaic in the presbytery area, in San Nicola's Cathedral and in the Basilica in Bari. The most striking case is that of the Lions Portal in San Nicola's Basilica with an iconograph of Islamic ascendance which is repeated in the various Romanesque cathedrals; once again in San Nicola's Basilica there are various Islamic signs: we can find them in the arch and in the cornice of the portals, portraying Mesopotamian sphinxes with the characteristic three point crown and the tail which ends with an animalesque head (Islamic astrological iconograph); in the apse window adorned with columns on elephants and in the floor mosaic of the apse area where you can read or "probably could read" the name of Allah; and in Bishop Elia's See, held up by three caryatids portraying Muslim prisoners. Another Bishop's See with similar characteristics



*Fig. 8. The church of Santa Maria d'Anglona*

is present in Archangel St. Michael's Sanctuary in Monte Sant'Angelo. Cosmogonic motives are evidenced in the extraordinary tree of life on the floor of the Cathedral of Otranto and in various tiles, of which there are several examples in the portals of San Leonardo's church in Siponto and the Cathedral of Trani.

There is a beautiful Gryphon of Islamic ascendance, which was discovered in the Cathedral of Bitonto during the last restoration work. During this restoration work fragments of the three portals portraying vegetation, gryphons, winged lions, deer and pseudo-kufic inscriptions were also found. An outstanding case, present in Basilicata and widely elaborated on text "I Musulmani in Puglia e in Basilicata"<sup>1</sup> is represented by Santa Maria di Anglona's church near



*Fig. 9. A Particular of the access of Santa Maria d'Anglona*

*Fig. 10. Santa maria d'Anglona. Clay tiles*





Tursi, belonging to the ancient Pandosia and destroyed in 81 BC. The church, dated 1080, with three naves with a cross ribbed vaulted narthex, is decorated by bas reliefs with human heads, reptiles and birds and with geometrical motifs with ornaments of a clearly Arab influence. The original terracotta clay tiles in the right hand side wall bear witness to this influence: these square and rectangular tiles bear the profile of fantastic lions in the centre, with bluebottles in the corners and Arab letters in the cornice, in the square ones, a peacock or a deer in the two round ones or a fish with triangular decorative motifs, in the rectangular ones and all bearing the coupling alif-lam referring to Allah and probably coming from the previous constructions and added during the expansion of the Cathedral from the primitive 8th century church. Inside the church, on the architraves, there are pseudo-kufic inscriptions and on the 11th and 12th century frescos there is some hard to read graffiti. Town planning was also pervaded by an inevitably Arab influence as is shown by the layout of many old town centres: including those of the old town of Bari, Bitonto and Altamura.

## Permanencies and Cultural Stratifications in the Development of the Identifying Characteristics of Apulian Architecture and Territory

Calogero Montalbano

Observing Apulia from a satellite photograph, it is surprising to notice how this narrow strip of land is extraordinarily located at the center of the Mediterranean. It thus should not be surprising that it has always constituted a point of obligatory passage between the eastern and western Mediterranean. This characteristic has transformed southern Italy into an important meeting and conflict point between very different cultures. Today, this cultural stratification is manifest in the geopolitical structure and physical organization of the territory, and above all in the multiple architectural identities that have emerged beginning with the development of the first human societies.

The hunter-gatherers of the Paleolithic age arrived in these territories thanks to the lowering of the sea level following glacierization, greatly affecting the agro-pastoral culture that would characterize the Apennine civilization and the organizational structure of the Apulian territory. The Neolithic peoples strengthened the agro-pastoral structure of the territory, founded on the presence of very small villages with a kinship structure semi-nomadic in type. Here, arriving from different locations in the Mediterranean, the great societies of the Metal Ages came together, and introduced into the territories an early socio-economic differentiation, contributing to the breaking down of kinship bonds within the communities and to the establishment of the first proto-urban settlements. More recently, the dominations and influences would multiply within brief historical periods, superimposing, over time, the signs of the Roman presence over those of the Greek domination, but also those of Lombard and Byzantine, Saracen and Berber, Norman, Svevian, Aragonese, Anjouin, Bourbon and Napoleonic dominations.

*Fig. 1. Analyzing the morphological and typological systems of almost all the Apulian settlements, as well as some of their architectonic typologies, it is possible to notice extraordinary similarities with the specific architectural experiences found just about everywhere along the entire Mediterranean.*

*This extraordinary orderliness clearly shows how the Mediterranean has been, more than a watershed between various cultures, a real preferential corridor for the exchange and transmission of knowledge and technological know-how.*



All these cultural stratifications have locally modified the form of the physical space of our cities, but have not caused a crisis in the deep structure of the territory, which was delineated in its general configurations beginning with the affirmation of the Apennine civilization and which consolidated itself over the course of centuries thanks to the contribution of the different cultures that have interpreted the territory, strengthening some specific aspects, like the relationship of built form to the ground, the subsoil, water, and climate.

*The origin of the territorial matrix: the Apennine civilization*

On the calcareous base of the Murge the soils are arid, consisting of a not very solid layer. If they are not protected and renewed by a mantle of vegetation, they are rapidly broken up and eroded. The presence of man, with his need for wood for fires, posts for building ships, and pastures, constitutes a continual attack on the possibility for woods to exist and renew themselves. In the metal ages the climatic and environmental situation is by this time similar to the present one, with a standard of temperate heat, torrid summers, cold winters and concentrated and violent thunderstorms. Water becomes a rare and precious resource on the great shelves of the Murge, which lack springs and surface streams. The stripped vegetal mantle of the economy in the new division into lots, with the excessive burden imposed by the formation of stable settlements, by animal breeding and agriculture, is unable to regenerate itself. Breeding and sheep farming effect a selective pressure on plant species. Thus, progressively, the woods are substituted by the *macchia* constituted of short evergreen shrubs interspersed with wide stripped spaces where the calcareous rock crops out. The absence of high-stemmed vegetation has a negative effect on the rain cycle. On nude lands water instead has a destructive action.

At this point, the local populations, in order to adapt to the environmental changes, adopt new strategies for the use of the territory. We could even say that in this phase there arises the very idea of territory: a geopolitical block that comprises and takes advantage of several specialized ecosystems. The populations, which must assure themselves of a constant and cyclical use of pastures, periodically transfer the herds from the coast to the mountains. These seasonal displacements, depending on the resources offered by different geographical areas, are at the origins of nomadism. Owners and breeders of domestic animals move, depending on the necessity for transhumance, to well defined territories supported by precise laws and physical and administrative structures. The herdsman uses the scarce resources of the environment in an efficacious way, reuniting in a territory structured by the routes of transhumance the complementarities of several geographical spaces.

Such a society, strongly conditioned by the nature of the physical environment, takes the name, in the Italian peninsula, of Apennine civilization. Its social structure is based on autarchic family groups scattered over the territory, and governed by military heads.

The settlements are widespread, connected among one another, but with strongly specialized functions regarding the needs of agro-pastoral practice, differentiated according to the seasons and geomorphologic conditions. The model is similar to a grate with wide spaces that has as aggregating poles sanctuaries, meeting houses and places where water resources are concentrated.



The stable aggregates, fixed places of production and commerce, define a territorial organization whose rhythms depend on the times of the path covered and on the need for a periodic allocation of a seasonal type, to which the great orographic regional lines furnish the spatial layout.

*Fig. 2. The lines of the cattle-tracks. The routes of the transhumance in earth of Puglia and the organization of the "Apennine" civilization (author: C. Montalbano)*

*The organization of the Apulian territory: the correspondence between territorial bands and economic processes*

In Apulia we can observe a spatial organization of the territory based on the identification of three distinct territorial bands. These dovetail extraordinarily with the Murgian steps (the three great geologic leaps that characterize the Apulian territory, each marked by a specific conformation of the subsoil), each characterized by a precise organizing logic of economic and anthropic space, and by specific relationships with the raw materials and in particular with water resources.

*On the coast*, the "marina" of the transhumances comprises a system of destinations that, afterwards, under different dominations, are transformed into important port centers. Thus, ports like Sibari, Metaponto, Eraclea and Taranto, along the Ionian arc, will become important cities during the Magna Grecia era, while Siponto, Egnazia and Brindisi, outlet to the Adriatic Sea of the thirsty Tavoliere della Puglia, will be important ports under the Romans.

*On the inner band* are the centers located within 10 and 20 km from the coast (Arpi, Canosa, Ruvo, Bitonto, Oria, Lupiae), based on the existence of sporadic water channels and on the development of water technologies based on the directing of the waters through imposing canals and their conservation in cisterns. These centers as well will have an important moment of development under Roman domination.

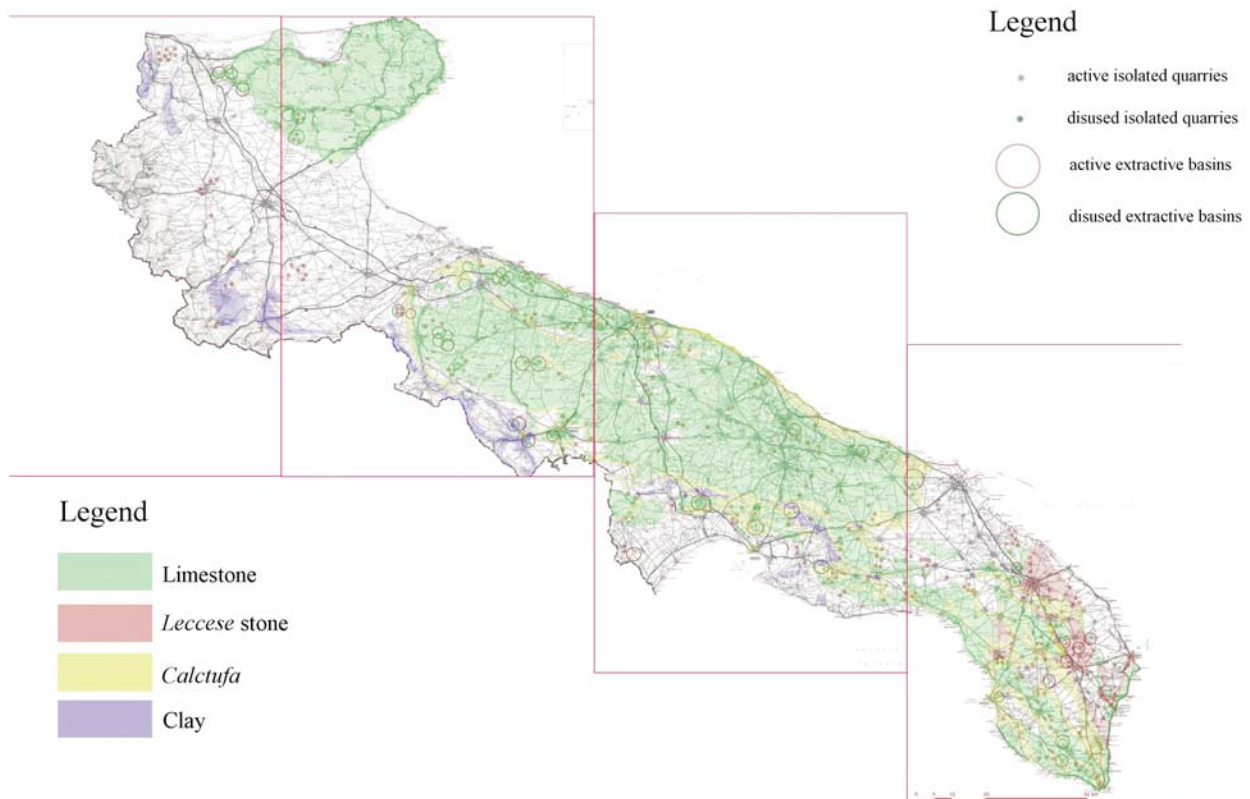
*The third band*, going toward the zones of summer grazing, is the sub-Apennine band (Lucera, San Severo, Bovino, Ascoli Satriano, Venosa, Gravina, Matera, Laterza, Ginosa, Massafra), where the shelter offered by the orography permits the consolidation of those economic, public and religious institutions that find their next consolidation after the fall of the Roman Empire, with the arrival of the Byzantines.

In all these cases, the different dominations that have succeeded one another in Apulia have retraced the same places, just as they are traced by the economy of transhumance, each time reinterpreting and perfecting its formal and social structure.

### *Microlithic culture*

In the arid lands of the sub-Apennine region, where the rains sometimes arrive in violent downpours and are totally absent at other times for long periods, knowledge of the gathering and distribution of water is a determining factor for survival. Some works today are hardly recognizable, such as micro cisterns, simple cavities carved into the calcareous plain, and the drinking water troughs that save rain water and make it available to the passing herds. Other examples

Fig. 3. Differentiation of the three great geo-lithological sectors of the Apulian territory correlated to the locations of the extractive activities and to the typifying of the building works  
(author: C. Montalbano)



are difficult to distinguish, like the snow troughs, grottoes and ditches for the collection of winter snows, frequent at 500 m above sea level, which were a strategic device for food conservation. Other types can only be hypothesized. Still enigmatic monuments are the elaborate systems used to condense humidi-



Fig. 4-5. Micro-cisterns: water structures diffused on the Apulian limestones plateau and their similarity with those present in almost all the Mediterranean area (in photo 6: Petra) (source : P. Laureano, *I Giardini di Pietra. I Sassi di Matera e la civiltà Mediterranea*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino 1998)

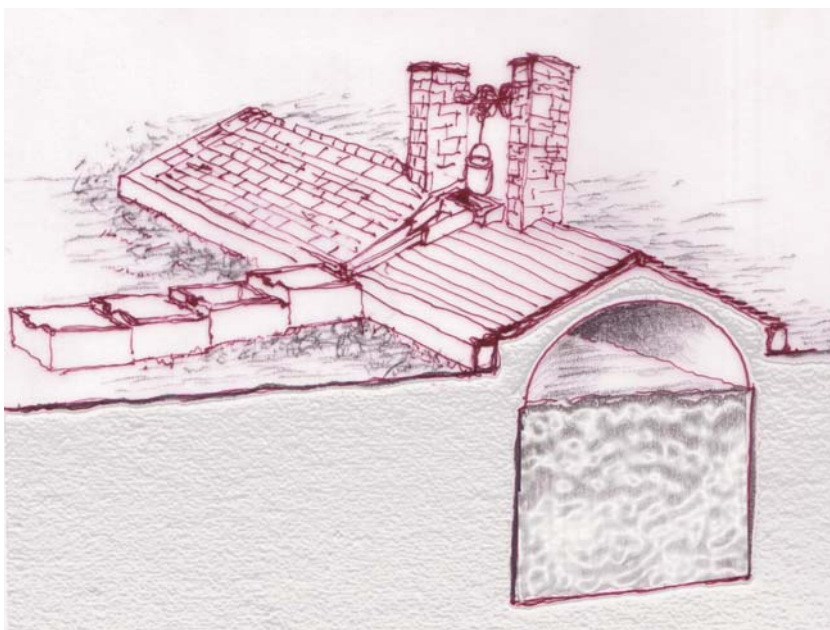


Fig. 6-8. Model and images of rural semi - hypogeal cisterns with trough typical of the "murgian" country. (author: C. Montalbano)



Fig. 9-10. Model and images of rural "neviere" (architectures for the ice) typical of the "murgian" country .

ty and collect night frost.

In this context we find full application of the principles and teachings of that agro-pastoralism that, using the teachings of Mediterranean-derived microlithism, characterizes these portions of territory with terracing, mortarless walls, haystacks and *trulli*.

Stone mounds are typical of prehistoric pastoral cultures. It is possible to hypothesize that, lacking a grotto or spring, it was the stone mound that produced water (through dew condensation) and that over time this technology was

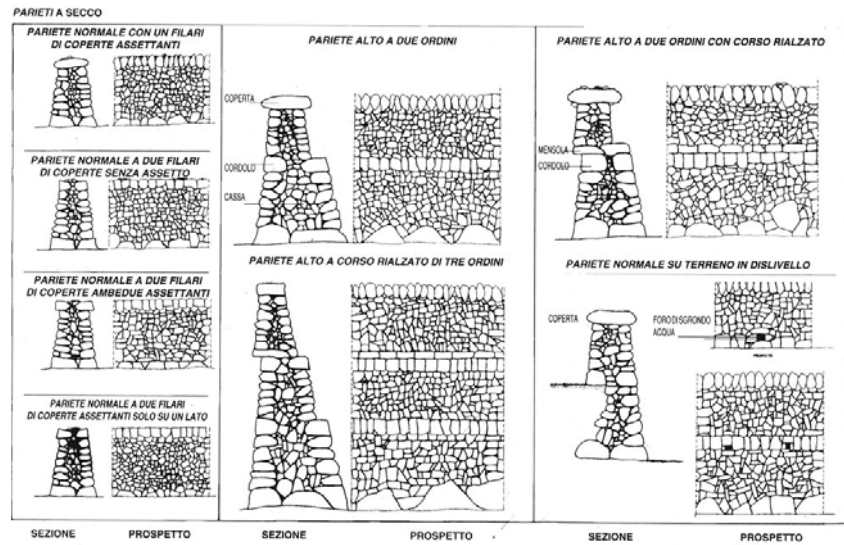
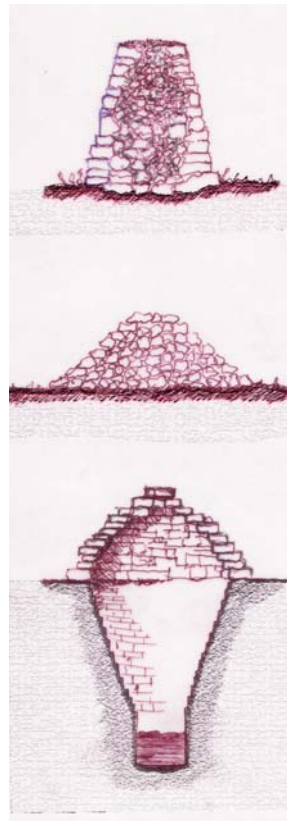
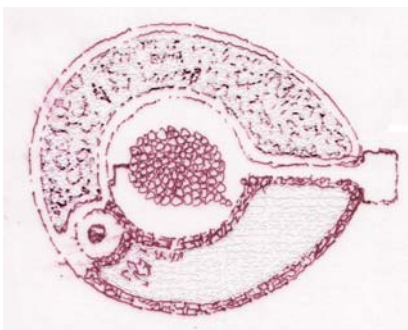


Fig. 11. The origin of the structures "at dry masonry": the wall and his articulation (source: A.Ambrosi, E.Degano, C.A.Zaccaria, *Architettura in pietra a secco*, Atti del I seminario internazionale "Architettura in pietra a secco", Schena, Fasano 1990)

Fig. 12-13. Models of the structure "at dry masonry" of a "paretone" and "specchia" (author: C. Montalbano)

Fig. 14-15. Image of a "paretone" and "specchia"



transferred into the realization of the structure of Apulian *trulli*.

The *trullo*, in particular, realized entirely with the mortarless stone technique, has a cistern also made of stone, placed immediately underneath the foundation floor, or, more commonly, in the space in front of the entrance-farmyard. This cistern, necessary for procuring water and for the humidifying of the interior rooms, was completed with a barrel or dome vault made of stone and mortar that also acted as a support for the building on top of it. The *trullo* was also furnished with a recess and a protrusion, placed at the mee-

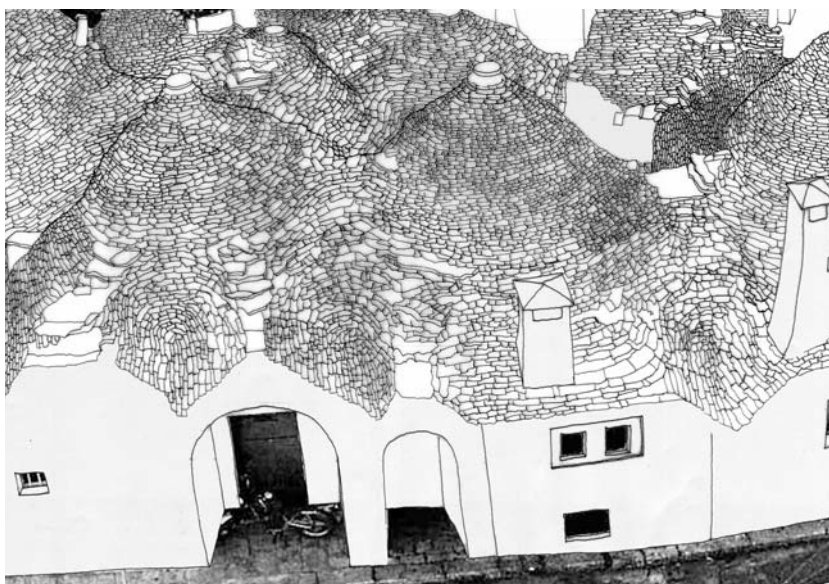
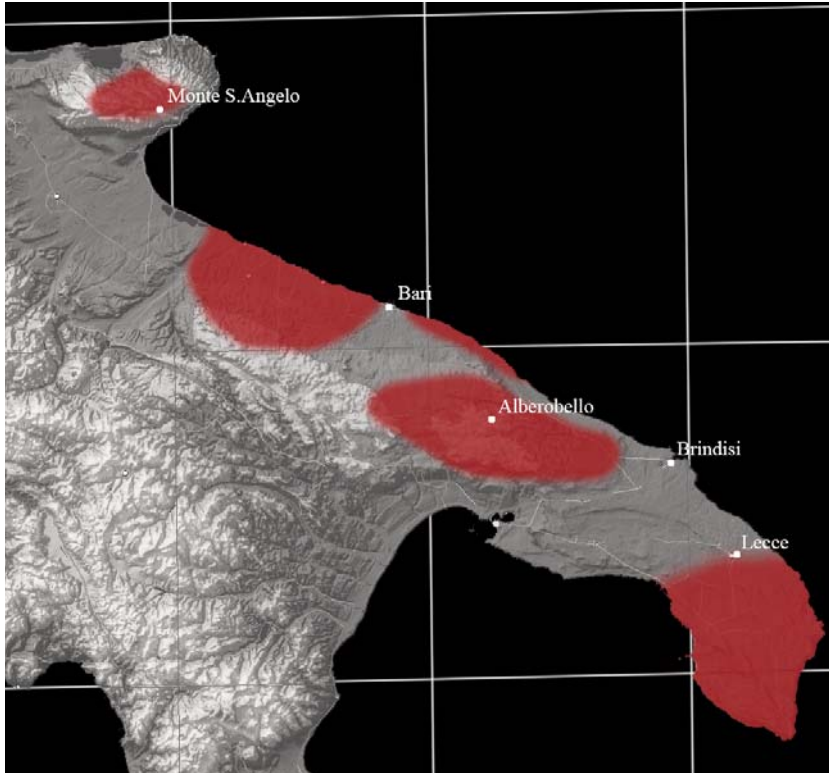


Fig. 16. Ambit of diffusion of the constructions to "trullo" (author: G. Mazzone)

Fig. 17. Representation of the constructions "to trullo" and their aggregative systems, Alberobello. (author: G. Mazzone)



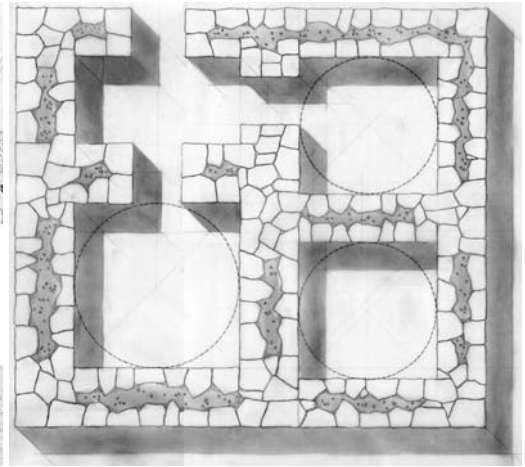


Fig. 18-20. Trulli at "water out", the drainage lines of the roof and the ground carry the water to a well or to an outdoor cistern to the house. This water serves the neighborhood (author: G. Mazzone)



Fig. 21. Representation of the constructions "to trullo" and their aggregative systems (author: G. Mazzone)

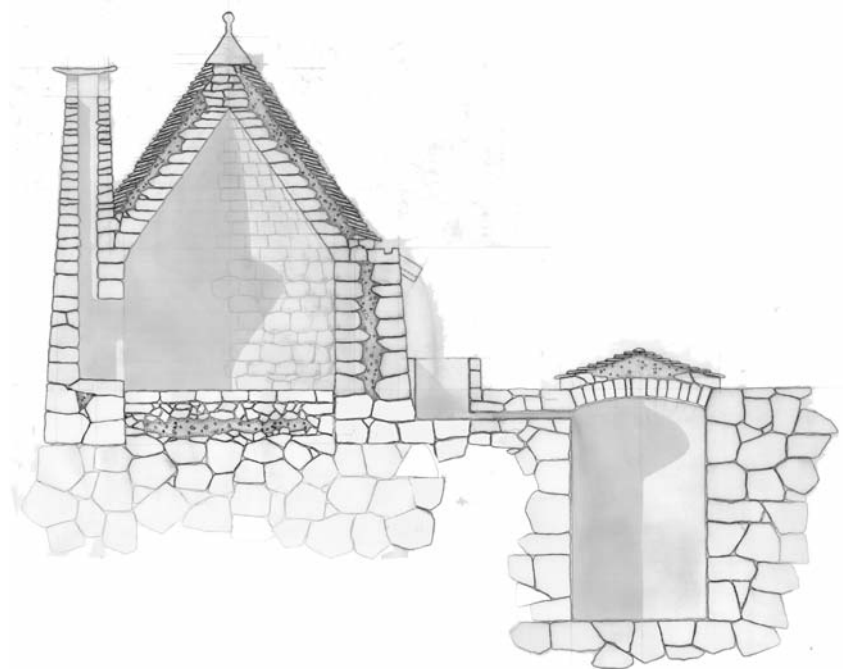
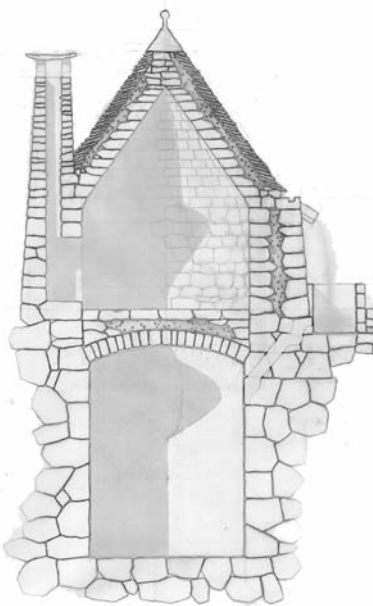


Fig. 22-23. Model of the constructions "to trullo" and their different water behaviours (author: G. Mazzone)



Fig. 24-25. Morphological analogies in the Mediterranean ambit among structure to pseudocupola: the habitation of Harran (Turkey) and the "Trulli" of Alberobello (source: P. Laureano, "Giardini di Pietra")

ting point of the top part of the wall and the vault which, like a kind of inclined drip, follows the perimeter of the construction and collects rainwater in the lowest part of the gutter where the protruding channel is located that collects the water, distancing it from the building, and directing it into the cistern located under the pavement of the *trullo* or outside. In turn, the *trullo* dominates a cultivated farm surrounded by walls in stone that are also built without mortar, where the ancient farmers cultivated those plants and trees most vulnerable to the destructive action of the wind.

#### 4. Adaptations and historical transformations of an architectonic-territorial matrix of the Apulian landscape: the "masseria" ("manor farm")

The environmental characteristics offered by the Apennine chain correspond to two fundamental needs of pastoral nomadism: the feeding of the herds, sought seasonally with transhumance, and the procuring of water during relocations. In Apulia and Basilicata, the practice of seasonal displacement takes advantage in the most appropriate way of the variety of ecosystems from the Apennine hinterlands to the coast: the vast lands of the Apulian Tavoliere become the

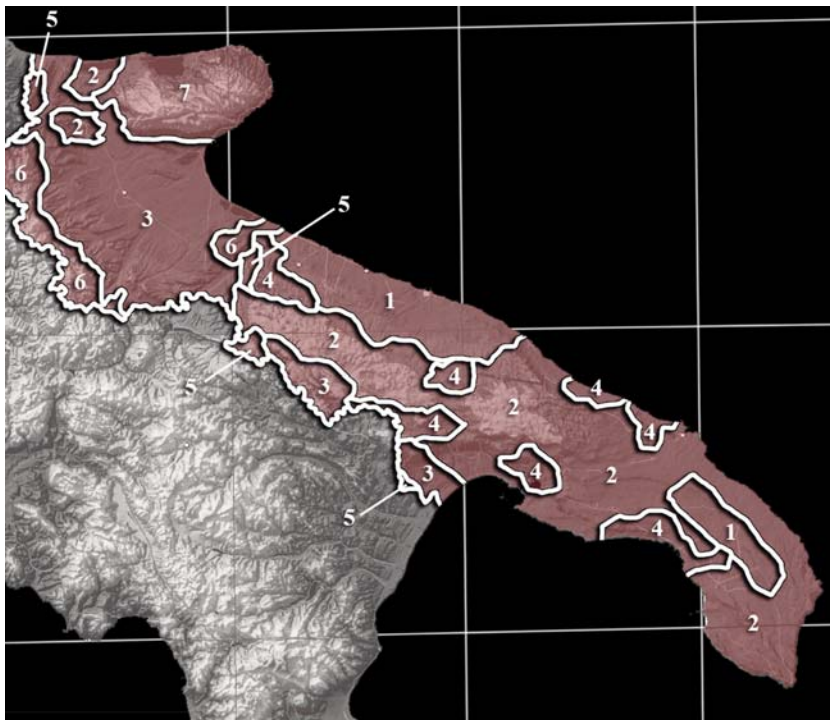


Fig. 26. Distribution Area of the farm constructions and them diversification (author: G. Mazzone)

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, on the transit routes used in these far-off times, the Romans, Svevians and especially the Aragonians would organize a plot of routes and a system of laws and ordinances that would transform Apulia into the largest gatherer of south-central pastoral farming.

central site of the pasture lands that prehistoric deforestation rendered unusable for agriculture.

The extreme aridity and great summer heat discourage any kind of stable settlement, limited to a system of landing places along the coast. During the cold season, when the sporadic rains are collected in ponds and catch basins, these great abandoned extensions become pastureland and ideal shelters for sheep farming.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the practice of transhumant farming finds in the sub-Apennine orography of the high Murgia the most favorable conditions for the development of housing structures linked to small productive activities. In these calcareous high plains the small amount of agriculture includes the economy of farming with which it shares organizational systems.

The housing model is characterized by sparse settlements with fortified enclosures and rocky farms, rural sanctuaries organized around the water reserves, on the routes that lead to small urban settlements of the hinterland, the heart of commercial activity. And this, a long process that leads to the constitution

Fig. 27-30. Farms for sheep of "tarantina" and "murgiana" area

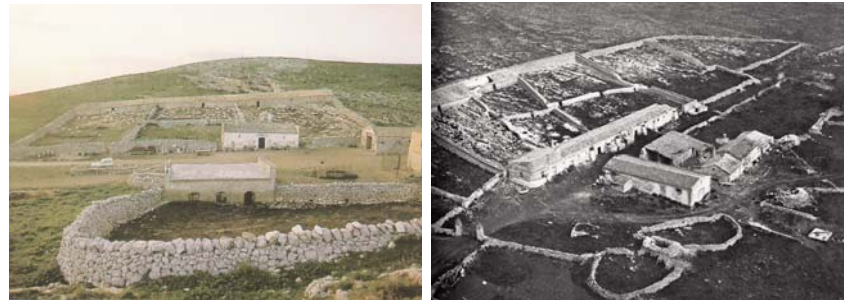


Fig. 31-33. Field farms:  
31-32) Farms at the south of Bari  
33) "Pantano" Farm, Gravina in Puglia



of the early rock manors composed of field manor farms and manor farms for sheep.

These structures, called *jazzi*, arranged along the ancient transhumance routes, will constitute important territorial bulwarks for the economy of medieval Apulia, and, later, with their architectural and typological connotations, for the birth and development of the first, elementary urban centers.

The Apulian manor farm house is not only a habitation, but it also coordinates residence, work and associated life into a more complex unity. In fact, stables, barns and storage spaces are linked to the living spaces. Around the body of the manor farm there is a great space of spontaneous pasture land, the *mezzana*, reserved for work animals; the area immediately around the manor house, surrounded by small mortarless walls made of calcareous stone (from 1.5 to 2m high) is intended for the free grazing of foals and calves. In front of the *masseria* is the farmyard, rectangular in form and paved. The collection and conservation of rain water is important, channeled into different

<sup>2</sup> The towered manor farm house, in particular, became a very widespread typology on the plains, especially in the Salento area, where, since it does not have heights on which to place the building, the control of the territory was carried out by raising the body of the manor farm building with a real tower that was elevated over the rest of the buildings.

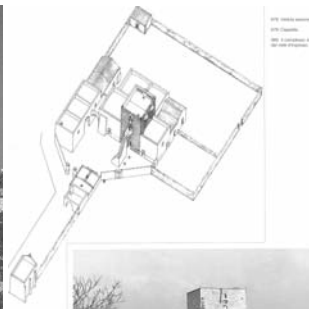
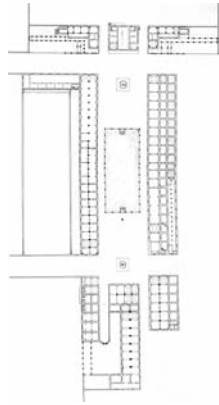
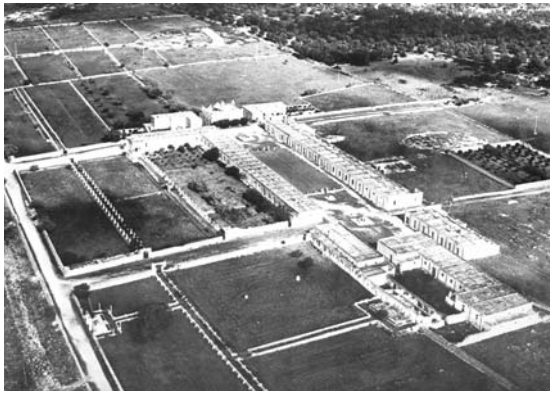


Fig. 34-35. Nonelementary farms system (agricultural suburb):  
Cardigliano farm, Specchia

Fig. 36-37. Farm in tower: Cippano Farm, Otranto

Fig. 38-39. Farm in tower: S. Eustachio Farm,  
Giovinazzo

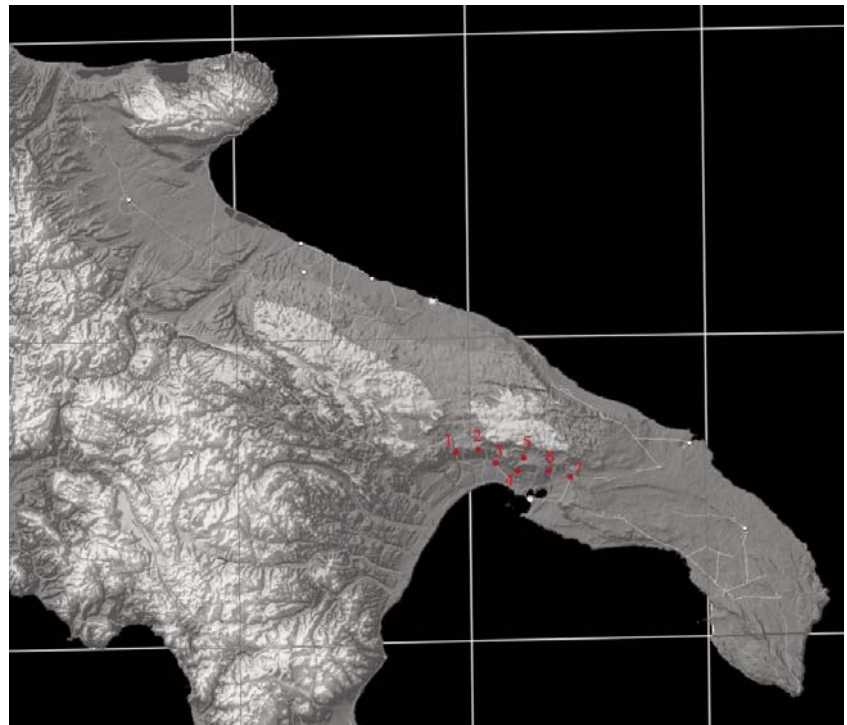
cisterns excavated into the soil. Some of these, of modest dimensions, are located along the perimeter walls of the house, while one of them, quite large, is usually located along the mortarless wall that borders the countryside. The first cisterns, whose contents are intended for human sustenance, collect, through pipes, the rain water that falls on the terrace of the house; the second receives the superficial run-off water, conveniently organizing the soil through canalizations, and it is often located in light depressions in the land.

During the phase of the Saracen invasions, rural building contributed to a real defensive route in Apulian territory: along the coast a first line of coastal towers was built followed by a second band of tower-manor farms connected, in turn, by a third band of manor farms laid out radially toward the hinterland. In this way the rural manor building ended up being an important element of economic and also political control of the Apulian landscape.<sup>2</sup> Under Norman and Bourbon domination this same territorial architectural system would become an effective mechanism for the control and organization of the feudal economic system.

##### *5. Rock culture and the hydro-agricultural Byzantine matrix of terraced architecture*

During all of the early Middle Ages, the Lombard invasions had made the sites exposed along the roads of Roman viability insecure, and the populations preferred shelter in hidden settlements in the *gravine*: in the external margins of the carstic Murgian plateau, in those places that look out over the Bradanic Trough and the plains of Taranto and Brindisi.

The favorable lithologic arrangement of this area had conditioned the forma-



*Fig. 40. Distribution Area of the excavating constructions of the "Rock Architecture" (author: G. Mazzone)*

tion of the so-called "Rock Culture District" (that includes the rocky centers of Gravina, Matera, Laterza, Castellaneta, Ginosa, Palagianello, Massafra, Grottaglie, Crispiano and Statte). Here flourished the technological knowledge derived directly from the arrival in these areas, beginning in the ninth century, of basilian, hermit, and anchorite monks from the Middle East.<sup>3</sup>

In the agro-pastoral culture of rock civilization the hydro-agricultural matrix of cultivated terraces gave form to the architecture and urban fabric. Here, the landscape is entirely built and excavation constitutes the first fundamental moment for the building of agricultural and urban space. The excavation ope-

<sup>3</sup> In the Early Middle Ages, Apulia and Lucania were sought after by the Byzantine and Lombard rulers and an important phenomenon in Christian society of the time was asserting itself: monasticism. Arising after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, this phenomenon, already expanding during the fifth century in the East, also extended to the south of Italy. Its followers arrived in Apulia following the Byzantine armies and to flee from the persecutions of Iconoclasm.

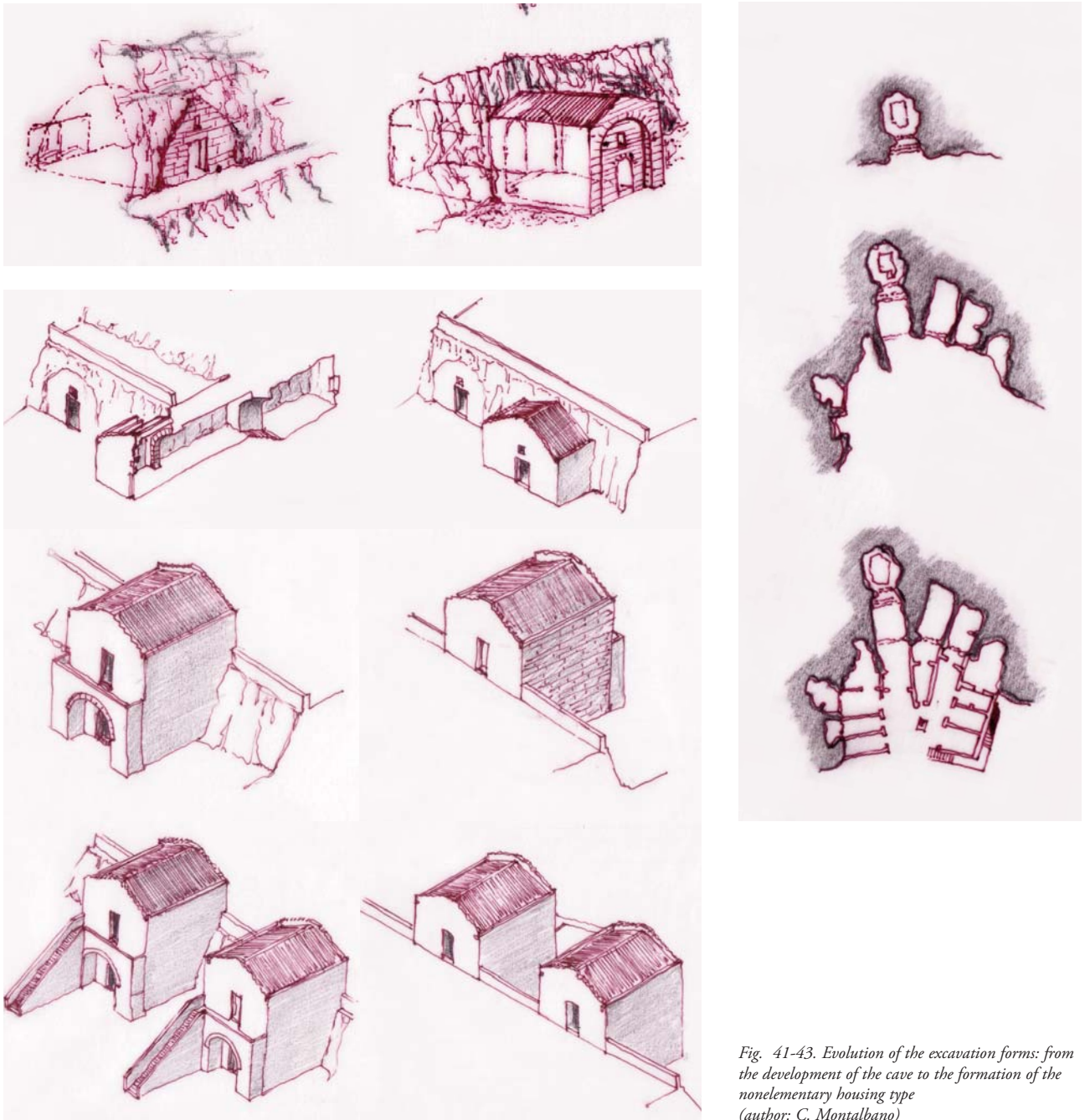


Fig. 41-43. Evolution of the excavation forms: from the development of the cave to the formation of the nonelementary housing type (author: C. Montalbano)

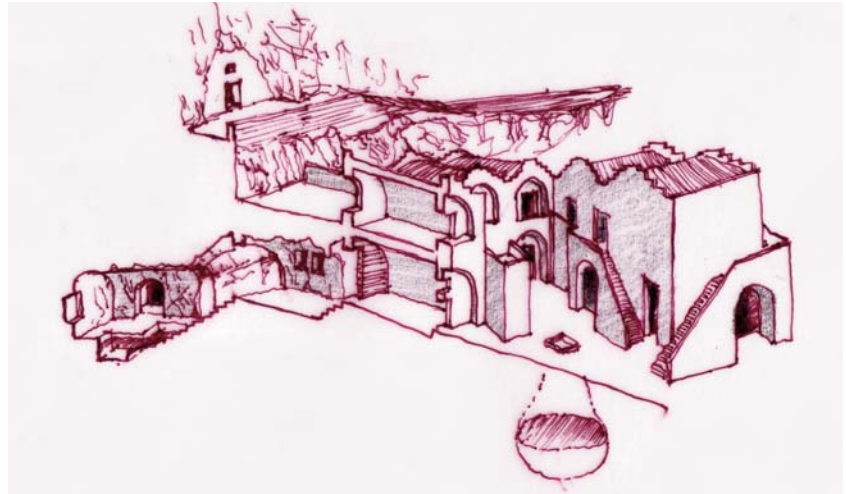
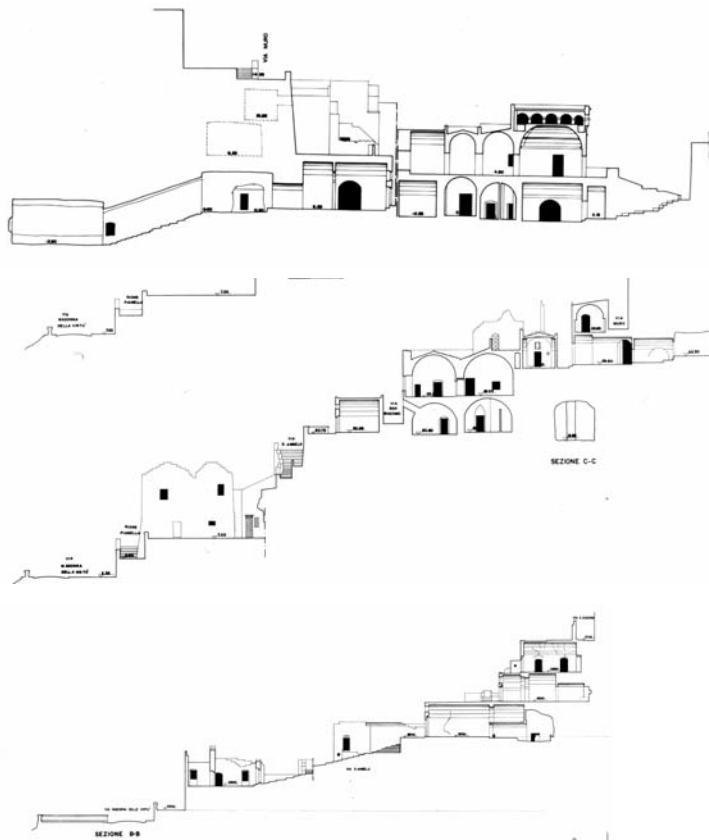


Fig. 45-47. Matera:  
45) Image of a "vicinia"  
46) Plan of an excavation level of the urban space  
47) Sections of the urban space  
(source: P. Rocchi, *I Sassi di Matera, tra restauro conservativo e consolidamento*, Marsilio, Venezia 1988)



ration allows for the obtaining of spaces that can be used for agricultural and urban life, and for procuring calcareous material for further construction. The *lamione*, an excavated, vault-covered room closed up against the outer wall, becomes the typical architectural expression of this building process.

The plot of the built space is always formally tied to the superficial plot of the drainage lines of water and the underground one of basins and cisterns which, placed at the bottom of the excavated cell or in the space opposite it, become centers of successive architectural aggregations.

The *vicinia* constitutes the first form of aggregation of the housing nuclei around a semi-private space according to a layout in the form of an arch that places the cistern on one side of the farmyard-garden. The cistern is fed by waters coming from the plateau above, where, in turn, the roof of the houses holds the hanging gardens that filter, purify and carry the water through slopes cut into the rock walls and into the masonry toward the main cistern that consequently becomes the nerve center of the social organization of the neighborhood (*vicinia*).

The essential forms of this settlement typology will be perfectly integrated with the modalities of construction of the new villages, so that they find again, with extreme clarity, in some centers, those bonds of solidarity that had characterized the *vicinie* and courtyards of the rock settlements, as well as the obvious relationship between ground and subsoil that is transferred, in the Murgia area, into the building culture of the edifice (baronial and then urban) and that evinces a vertical stratification that places the basement-cistern as the founding act of the building and as a quarry for building material.



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## Conclusion

Analyzing the morphological and typological systems of almost all the Apulian settlements, as well as some of their architectonic typologies, it is possible to notice extraordinary similarities with the specific architectural experiences found just about everywhere along the entire Mediterranean. This extraordinary orderliness clearly shows how the Mediterranean has been, more than a watershed between various cultures, a real preferential corridor for the exchange and transmission of knowledge and technological know-how.

From an architectural point of view, it happens that the microlithism of the first Neolithic phase (with great Balkan and Anatolian influence) with the development of agricultural societies and then with the metal culture (with Central European and Middle Eastern influence) with the development of the culture of excavation and wall construction, have left deep traces in the agrarian and land organization of this territory; that the empire of Magna Grecia transformed the system of Apulian coastal settlements, through the development of maritime commerce; that Roman domination had a great effect on the delineating of roads; that Arab hegemony influenced agricultural technologies and farming and the architectural structure of the urban centers of the hinterland; that the Normans carried out numerous political reforms, organizing an effective feudal state and a shrewd fortification of the territory through the construction of a formidable network of towers for warning and defense, and fortified manor farms.

It is possible, in this way, to recognize in the Apulian territory deep similarities with the rest of the Mediterranean basin (and in particular with the eastern side) but also specific declinations that have made the territory only outwardly homogeneous, rich in great diversifications on the cultural and architectural level, the result of very different mitigations and cultural stratifications.

## The "Salt Landscapes" of the Adriatic coast

### The Case Study of Margherita di Savoia

Giuseppe Francesco Rociola

#### *Introduction*

The importance of the studies about the preservation of coastal landscapes within the entire scientific community and in particular the several research projects co-financed by the European Union,<sup>1</sup> highlights the intense cultural interest about a specific matter characterized by a richness of issues, by the multidisciplinary system of methodology approaches and by its often unexpressed potential.

Within the numerous researches about the landscape, the study of the coastal "wetlands" involves all those territorial palimpsests where water structures and identifies not only the sea waterfront, but also an elaborate ever-changing water system, where the lagoons interact with the "acting" man and his changes. Water is the element that defines the structure and the "shape" of coastal territory, governing its vital cycles and influencing the planning approach in the changing processes. As regards to the dialectic relationship between the "acting" human being and the land on which he acts, particular wetlands exist where man has been interacting for years, modifying the lagoon physical structure in order to adapt them to production purposes: these are the so called "salt landscapes", characterized by the presence of coastal saltworks that, divided into basins and canals by a "regulated" system of banks, define and identify a specific landscape where salt harvest and its related production processes often live together in a delicate balance with the need of preserving these elaborated eco-systems that, until the middle XX century, had been considered harmful territories for the coastal population, often decimated by malaria.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The International Agreement for the Preservation of Damp Zones, signed in Ramsar (Iran) in 1971, establishes a list-always updating- of wetlands to be preserved, and it lies at the bottom of specific european initiatives, as the Wetlands programme, or the GIZC programme (Integrated management of coastal areas).

*Fig. 1. Relationship between saltworks and territorial context. The movement of the water and the technology applied to its control in the basins influence the characters of the landscape.*



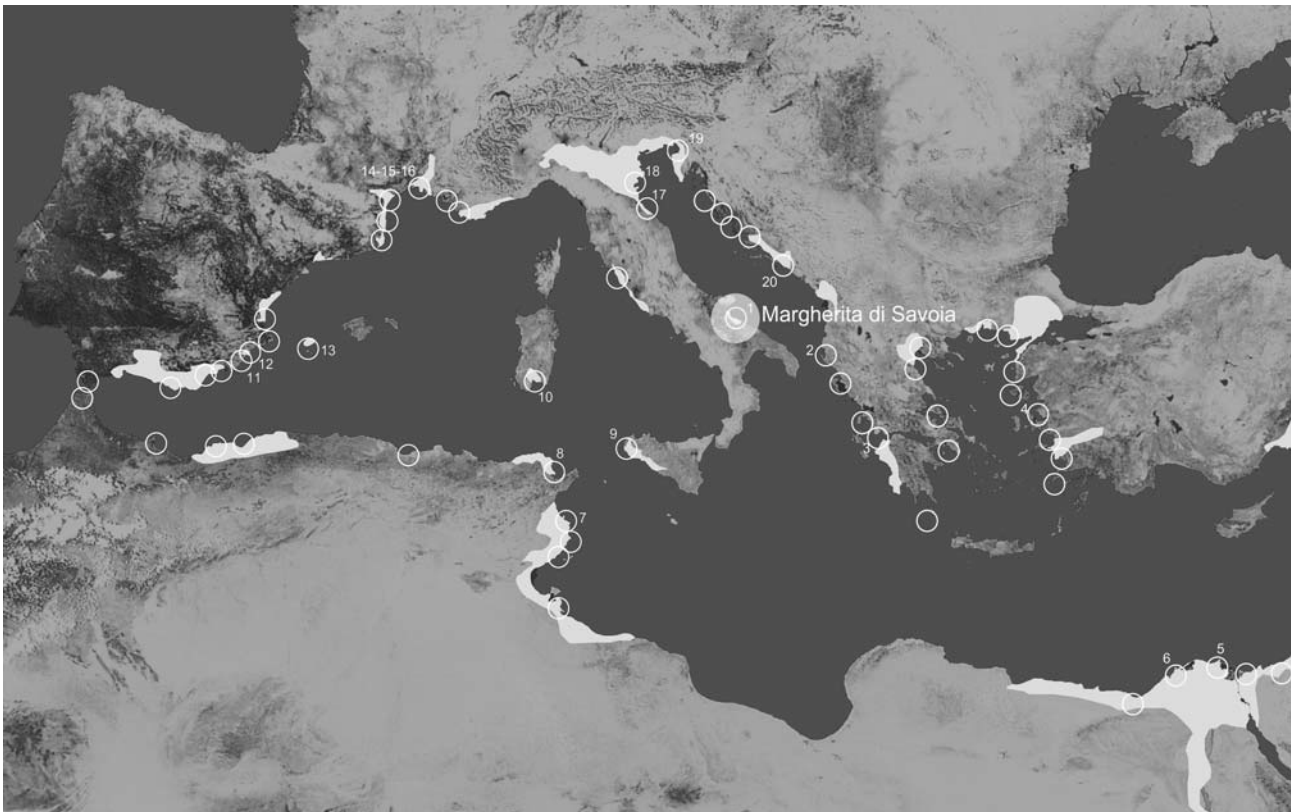
<sup>2</sup> The description of productive cycle is fundamental to understand its links with the structure of "salt landscape". The beginning of productive cycle of a mediterranean lagoon salt pan coincides with sea water entering into basins called first evaporation basins, in spring, when the intensity of solar radiation increases and raininess decreases; they are usually obtained embanking all or part of a natural coastal lagoon and are connected to the sea through canals. The evaporation area should cover a surface equal to 30% of the salt pan total surface. Seawater at the entrance of the evaporation area has an average range of salt concentration equal to 30 Kg/mc, equal to approx 3 Beaumè (unit of measurement of salt concentration). When this concentration reaches 5Bè, water is drained into the second evaporation basins (with an ideal surface equal to 55% of total surface) through halfway canals and locks, that allows water to reach a concentration of 25Bè. After reachin this value salt solution is slowly drained to salting compartments, that fill up the 15% of the total surface; here salt concentration gradually increases up to 30Bè, maximum degree of saturation, that allows the so caled salt deposit on the bottom of the basins, collected after draining water. This chemical-phiscal princplelies at the botom of the salting techniques evolutive process, still unchanged for about two thousand years in their fundamental elements. See: JEAN CLAUDE HOCQUET, *Il sale e il potere: dall'anno mille alla Rivoluzione Francese*, 1990.

*Fig. 2. The main maritime saltworks along the Mediterranean coast. The white areas are the overlapping of the common geo-morphological and climatic characteristic.*

"Salt landscapes" represent a fundamental research field mainly thanks to human development of settlement, tourist and industrial structures that, if not properly oriented, endanger the specific identity of those landscapes. They are strategic also for the general reorganization of coastal marginal areas: the correct management of anthropic transformations would not only maintain the hydrogeological balance of the territory and the development of fringe activities connected to bearable tourism but would also limit the desertification. The "salt landscapes", actually, represent a unique adaptation reality of wetland to the production and settlement needs, representing an important reference for the reorganization of coastal areas, and their requalification, without limiting the transformation processes but, on the contrary, finding the proper strategies to conciliate enviroment preservation with the productive use of the territory, because landscape preservation is not separable from the continuous relationship with the "operating" man.

It is possible to identify different lagoon areas in the Mediterranean, where the particular coastal geo-morphological conformation and the climate have favoured the birth of saltworks and coastal settlements, on the borders of saltworks themselves, where "saltworks workers" lived during the maintenance activities and the salt harvest. The Adriatic sea, in particular, is characterized by the presence of salt lagoons, whose history determined for centuries the commercial and political structure of the whole area.

The role of the Republic of Venice, in regulating and controlling the salt trade, starting from Middle-Age until the first years of XVI century, represents only



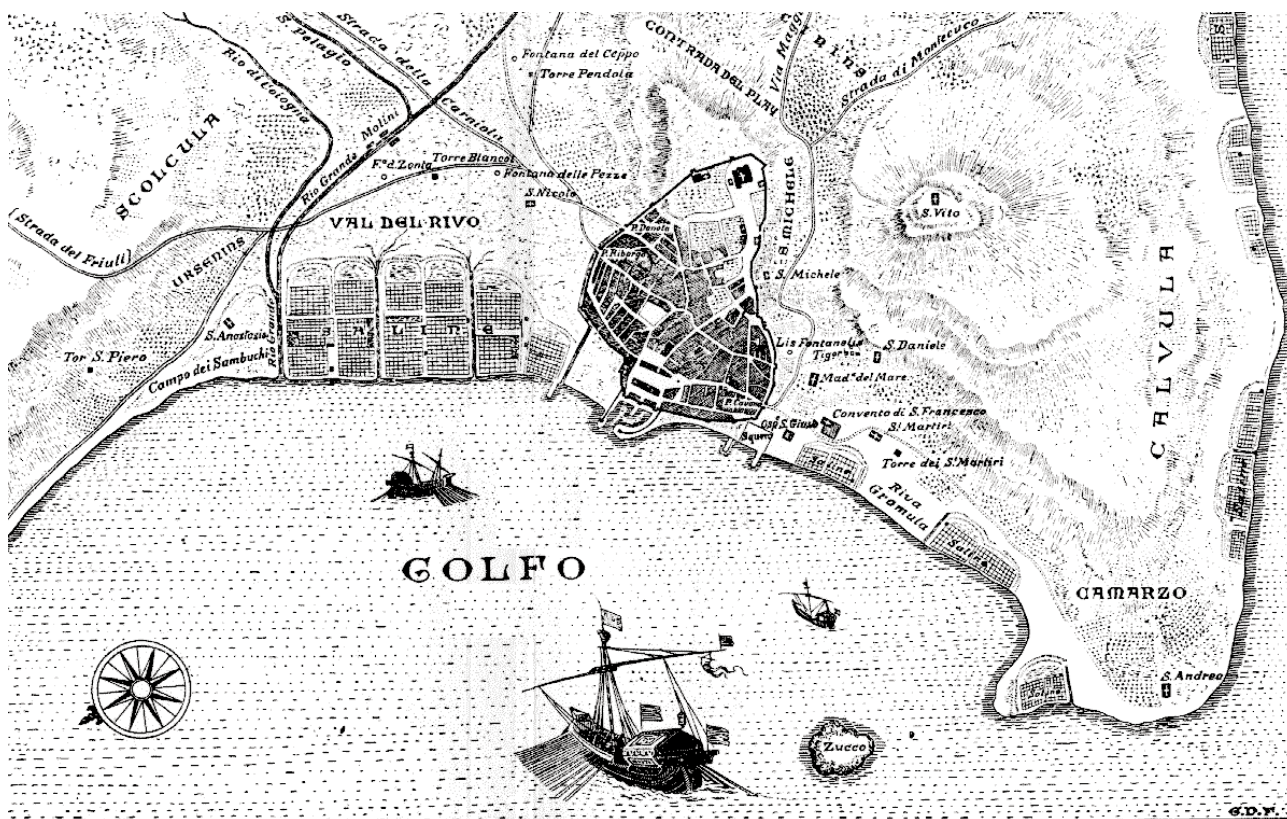
the beginning of an evolutive historical-political process that links indissolubly several centres producing salt along the adriatic coasts: the saltwork in Margherita di Savoia, formerly called "lake Salpi" and then "Royal Saltworks in Barletta" established a strong relationship with Venice and the saltworks in Cesenatico, Cervia and Comacchio, on the western coast, and with saltworks plants on the eastern coast, in particular Sicciole, Ston, Dubrovnik, Pag and recently Valona, representing a production and marketing system of salt, connected to the conflicts for the control of the mediterranean routes.<sup>3</sup> About this, the collapse of the Serenissima was favoured by the lost of supremacy on salt trade, by Turks, and because of the strong competition of the Republic of Ragusa, that fought over the market for the whole XVI century.

<sup>3</sup> See: JEAN CLAUDE HOCQUET, op. cit., pp. 247 - 275.

When the period of the customs duty and restrictive monopoly ended, salt trade was exclusively linked to the amin commercial routes and to the possibilities of the single saltworks to follow technical progress conected to production, determining a kind of natural selection of saltworks, ruling either the closure, or the reconversion to an preserved naturalistic area, or the productive specialization on industrial scale.

The saltworks in Sicciole and Ston, for instance, represent typical examples where the small planimetric size of evaporating surface and the presence of mountain relief, responsible for its size, determined their closure as intensive production plants, becoming preserved natural reserves, where the traditional production of salt represents a particular attraction for tourists and experts. The saltworks in Comacchio, where the production cycles were stopped more

Fig. 3. The saltworks in Trieste in XIV century, with the clear subdivision of the coastal territory in urban structures and salt basins, according to typical situation in different case-studies.



<sup>4</sup> In particular the saltworks in Margherita di Savoia, Cervia, Trapani, Comacchio and Cagliari in Italy; Aigues-Mortes, Berre and Giraud in France; Alessandria and Port Said in Egypt; Kitros and Messolonghi In Greece; Ston In Dalmatia; Sicciole in Sloveny; Santa Pola and Ibiza in Spain; Camalti in Turkey.

<sup>5</sup> In some cases saltworks are realized creating a barrier in a rocky inlet to the sea, as for the saltworks in Ston, Dalmatia.

than twenty years ago, represent, on the other hand, a problematic case of how landscape identity, determined by centuries of adaptation of natural structure to human works, has been modified, going back to a pseudo-naturalistic status.

The saltwork in Margherita di Savoia, thanks to its wide size and to its climate and geo-morphologic characteristics, is the only among the adriatic ones to maintain an important role in the salt world production, and represents a fundamental study-case to elaborate analysis strategies and changes development. Here, the conditions of a tricky balance between annual industrial production that make it extremely competitive and the presence of the wetland natural park (sanctioned by the international convention of Ramsar) are strongly present.

The settlement on the coastal patch between the saltworks and the sea represents the ability of man to transform a place that was former inhospitable and marshy into a liveable one, thanks to technologies used on the natural landscape. The two structures, productive and urban, are morphologically and methodologically related, linking actually each urban and infrastructural development to the productive developments of the saltwork.

*The Adriatic saltworks as homogeneous area among the coastal "salt landscapes" of the Mediterranean sea*

Water is the major element shaping the saltwork landscapes, because it affects its structure, its natural system and the settlement-anthropic one. Water system, ultimately, is the main changing input of the place, whose territorial palimpsest is conditioned by the technical evolution used on water control. Investigating the most important study cases<sup>4</sup> the attempt was to include the adriatic saltworks in the wider area of the mediterranean saltworks, having the two a lot of characteristics in common. Infact, this is the case of natural structures that have been changing and whose natural process is the same, because it has transformed coastal lagoons in an "infrastructured productive landscape"; in particular, all the saltworks studied so far are situated on clayey flood plain, included in calcareous mountain context.<sup>5</sup>

By an analysis carried out on a territorial scale about coastal morphological structures and the following developments of saltworks lagoons, it is possible to distinguish three different types:

*Type 1: flat lagoon structure (flood plain)*

In these territories the lagoon presents the ideal conditions to be transformed into a saltwork. The wideness of flood coastal area, determined by river systems next to the lagoons themselves allows the development of some intensive productive techniques on an industrial scale. The saltwork landscapes in Cervia, Comacchio and Margherita di Savoia have these characteristics in common. The shaping phases of the lagoon and its transformation into a saltwork have also conditioned the settlements development, that has occurred in the area between the sea and the basins.

Another important aspect is the connection between the urban structure and

the saltworks, thanks to connecting canals crosswise to the coast, that influence any urban process.

*Type 2: flat lagoon structure (along a coastal mountain system)*

In this case lagoon is shaped by alluvium present in coastal mountain systems and the dune border is naturally born, thanks to a sedimentation process produced by water and sea. The saltworks are easily to be configured through the direct infrastructuring of the lagoon, as in Valona, whose coastal settlement was born, differently from type 1, starting from one of the outer points of the saltwork.

This distinguishing element has a lesser interaction between saltwork and urban structure, the latest being not bound by impassable limits as the two water courses, but on the contrary free to develop along the coast or to the inlands.

*Type 3: lagoon structure inside a bay*

The lagoon is narrowed by the mountains facing the sea in gulf-like shape, without the presence of a plain halfway: the saltworks are formed by closing the gulf with separating dams, that fix an artificial boundary saltwork/sea, as in the case of Ston and Sicciolo. Settlements in this case have developed along the available area between the saltworks, the sea and the mountains limit, thus influencing any possible growth.

These three structures typical of the Adriatic salt landscape have caused different approaches in the land management that starting from a common technical knowledge due the need to solve technical problems themselves, that has favoured the development of a common "spontaneous conscience". The natural characteristics of the land and the productive needs are fundamental for the structure of a saltwork, that is the result of a changing technical-producing process starting from the original structure of the lagoon: this contains its "genetic code" useful for all the following anthropical interventions, that are the result of an ever-lasting relationship between man and water; the overall shape of the structure (saltwork) and its elements (basins, banks and canals) is also a cultural and producing expression of the place.

*The saltwork settlement in Margherita di Savoia.*

*Relationships between the urban structure development and the limits of the two waterfronts.*

After defining the general characters of saltwork landscapes and identifying "the territorial types" to which the adriatic coastal saltwork landscapes refer, we are going to analyse the saltwork territory in Margherita di Savoia, and in particular its urban development in relation to the changes undergone by the lake Salpi into a high-producing infrastructured saltwork.

The settlement in Margherita di Savoia represents the evolutionary synthesis of the anthropic development along the coast, crossed by the "coastal road" and used to store salt and load up ships. The first settlement we know about is made up by the so called "straw stacks", a kind of simple house very popular in this territory and made of the same materials saltworks people used to build

<sup>6</sup> See RIONDINO, Water Landscapes/Salt Landscapes, speech held during the conference : Landscape of Water. History and Sustainable Design, Monopoli, 26/29 September 2002.

<sup>7</sup> The Saltworks Tower built in 1534, is one of the many coastal watchtowers along the adriatic coast, from the mountains of Gargano to the peninsula of Salento.

the banks: the pinewood posts, used to build the load-bearing structure, were used together with tamerisks and samphires collected by the basins to realise tamponade works. The "straw stack" type is unicellular, rectangle shaped, pseudo-pyramidal vertical section, approximately 30sqm wide, with only one hall southward and sometimes a window south-eastward. Apart from the one used as home there were some others smaller, used as agricultural store or cowshed.

The type definition is affected by the need of ventilation and adaption to the place, both not to block north winds and to favour fresh air in, indispensable in such a place always affected by malaria. The aggregation itself is the result of these needs, empirically expressed in a rudimentary orthogonal linear pattern without any urban hierarchy, where the "houses" are laid out serially east of the present built up -area; this is coherent to the problems of settlements in this area, caused by the little space available between saltworks and coastal




TYPE 1.	FLAT LAGOON STRUCTURE (flood plain)	Salt Landscapes
<p><b>1.A</b></p> <p>The settlement (generally with a linear structure) are built on the dune between saltwork and sea</p>		<p>AIGUES MORTES - GRAU DU ROI (14)</p> <p>ALESSANDRIA D'EGITTO (6)</p> <p>CERVIA (17)</p> <p>COMACCHIO (18)</p> <p>MARGHERITA DI SAVOIA (1)</p> <p>PORT SAID (5)</p> <p>SANTA POLA (12)</p> <p>TORREVIEJA (11)</p>
<p><b>1.B</b></p> <p>The settlements are developed along the coast, inside the productive structure of the saltworks</p>		<p>MARSA (8)</p>
<p><b>1.C</b></p> <p>The settlement are situated on the coast. Its structure is built on the saltwork boundary</p>		<p>BERRE (15)</p> <p>CAMALTI (4)</p> <p>GIRAUD (16)</p> <p>MONASTIR (7)</p> <p>TRAPANI (9)</p>

Fig. 4. Different relationship between saltworks and the develop of the urban settlement: flat lagoon structure (type 1).

dunes and the need of letting the north wind, sirocco and gregale in.<sup>6</sup> The main way of the village is the Via Litoranea or "route to saltworks", following the roman coastal route and shifted along the coast. The only important buildings, present since the XVI century as permanent built structures, are the parish church, the building of the saltworks direction, the watchtower,<sup>7</sup> and the officers homes, and are clearly distinguishable among the wooden buildings, thus representing important examples in the proto-urban structure.

The original cartesian scheme of the "straw stacks" can be found in the following development of the new settlement in masonry, that support the linear settlement logic through a system that goes from north to south, set up on the eastern-western axis.

The passage from wood to masonry technique is due to a fire broken out at the end of eighteenth century, when all the "straw stacks" got burnt, and it was



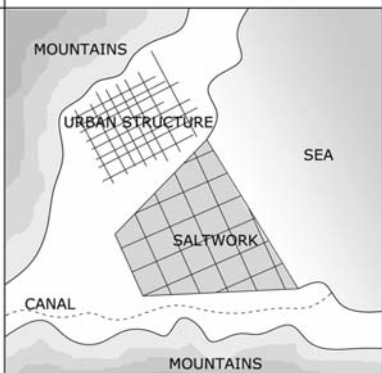
TYPE 2.	<b>FLAT LAGOON STRUCTURE (along a coastal mountain system)</b>	<b>Salt Landscapes</b>
<p><b>2.B</b></p> <p>The settlements are developed along the coast, inside the productive structure of the saltworks</p>		<p>CAGLIARI (10) MESSOLONGI (3)</p>
<p><b>2.C</b></p> <p>The settlement are situated on the coast. structure is built on the saltwork boundary</p>		<p>IBIZA (13) VALONA (2)</p>
TYPE 3.	<b>LAGOON STRUCTURE INSIDE A BAY</b>	<b>Salt Landscapes</b>
<p><b>3.C</b></p> <p>The settlement are situated on the coast. Its structure is built on the saltwork boundary</p>		<p>SICCIOLÉ (19) STONE (20)</p>

Fig. 5. Different relationship between saltworks and the develop of the urban settlement: flat lagoon structure along a coastal mountain system (Type 2).

Fig. 6. Different relationship between saltworks and the develop of the urban settlement: lagoon structure inside a bay (Type 3).



indispensable to refound the urban unit: those reinforced aggregation rules were confirmed in the serial disposition of the new building works, set up according to a pseudo-row scheme between two setting-up lines: in this occasion new laws that rule the distances between the buildings and their maximum height that cannot be, respectively, more than 3 and 7 metres, are established, and the passage of north winds from the coast to the saltworks is guaranteed. The dense disposition of the houses introduces new space and morphological characters, shaping some pedestrian passages between the buildings that become also a sort of private space of the block.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the urban structure is set along the main way on the northern side; the small settlement is hierarchically organised by some important buildings such as the saltworks direction building, (situated in an anti-crux position towards the basins), the church and the Saltworks Tower, built in the XVI century. Parallel to the road there are the salt piles: ordered in series near the basins, they interact in the perception of the main way and cuts the settlement structure separating the buildings from the saltworks.

The fundamental characteristic that is possible to find since the first masonry urban structure, is the presence of two waterfronts, the first towards the sea,

*Fig. 7. Margherita di Savoia" and the saltworks infrastructures. The salt basins and the embankments define a specific landscape of water, in which the anthropic system interact with the lagoon.*



the second towards the saltworks basins. This double waterfront represents specific physical influences, dictated by the saltwork to the city. In this case, the two waterfronts can be defined as anti-cruce, compared to the main parallel way that cuts the settlement linear structure in the middle.

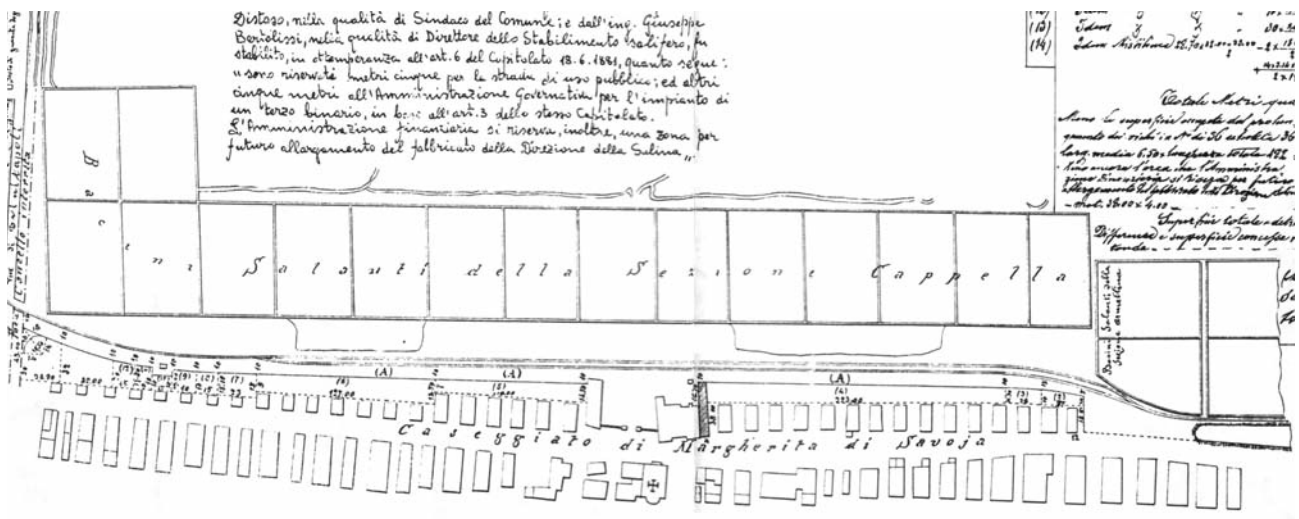
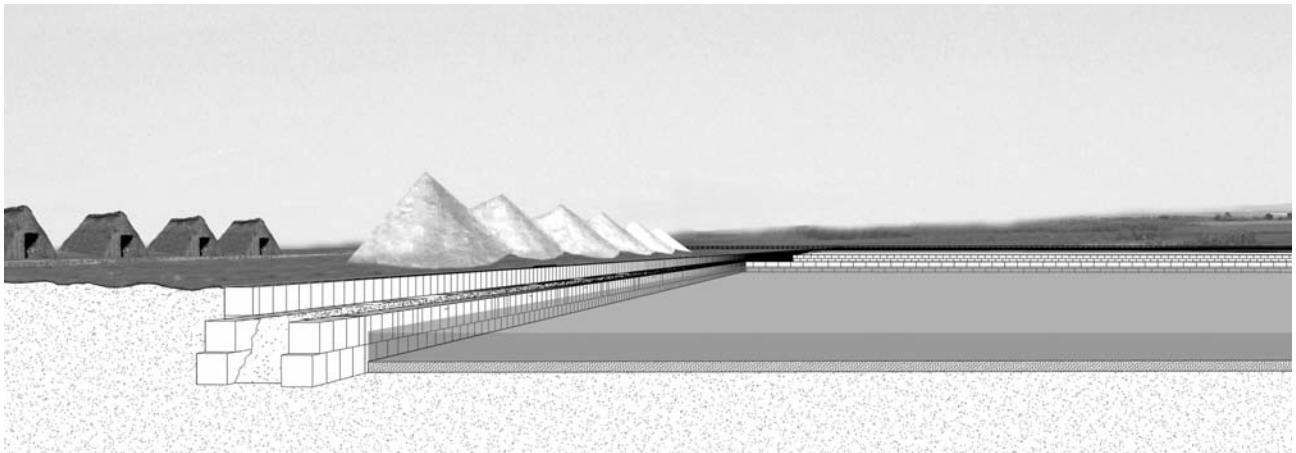
<sup>8</sup> Since 1879 it has become self-governing town under the name of Margherita di Savoia.

Around the mid nineteenth century the urban structure becomes more complex, doubling the pseudo-row urban structure on the southern side, towards the saltworks. The new direction building is built opposite the church as an example of the new expansion, representing the mainstay of public life. The southward doubled aggregation is completed at the end of the nineteenth century, with the overturning of the houses until the urban boundary represented by the southern canal called "fosso Caputo", defining a linear structure hierarchized by special and public buildings.

With the beginning of the XX century the settlement<sup>8</sup> undergoes the urban changes linked to industrialisation of saltworks, with a following realisation of some manufacturing plants, and an increased production. In these years the town has its original linear pattern trebled, with a second east-western axis parallel to the main way, along which coastal buildings, the beaches and the baths are set up. The town has reached its wide configuration, but still keeps

Fig. 8. The system of the "straw stacks", disposed along the border of the basins, as a pre-urban settlement.

Fig. 9. The develop of the settlement in masonry in the second half of the XIX century.



its own original anthropic-morphological characteristics.

In the 60s' the town begins its growth at the expense of saltworks, taking up some disused and previously underground basins; its southward growth means abandoning the cartesian linear pattern, replacing it with the isolated in-line type, a new pattern to shape the blocks, that will be usually used in the following decade, identifying new areas external to saltworks.

The town finds a new way to refute the aggregative type born spontaneously two centuries before, using a non-uniform pattern according to the decision of the designer, instead of a rigid grid, that had been the metaphor of the division of the productive tissue in basins.

*Configuraion strategies of the salt basins in relation with landscape and settlement characters.*

The comparative analysis of the territory in some "salt landscapes" of the Adriatic coast has highlighted the specific potentials of these places in relation with the proper characters of wetlands and the interacting human structures, urban settlements for first.

*Fig. 10. In the beginning of XX century, the ancient saltwork border continue to define the limit between the urban development and the basins area.*

The interpretation of the settlement process in Margherita di Savoia has allowed to understand, from the urban point of view, the implications and the morphologic influences imposed by the basins structure to the coast structure.

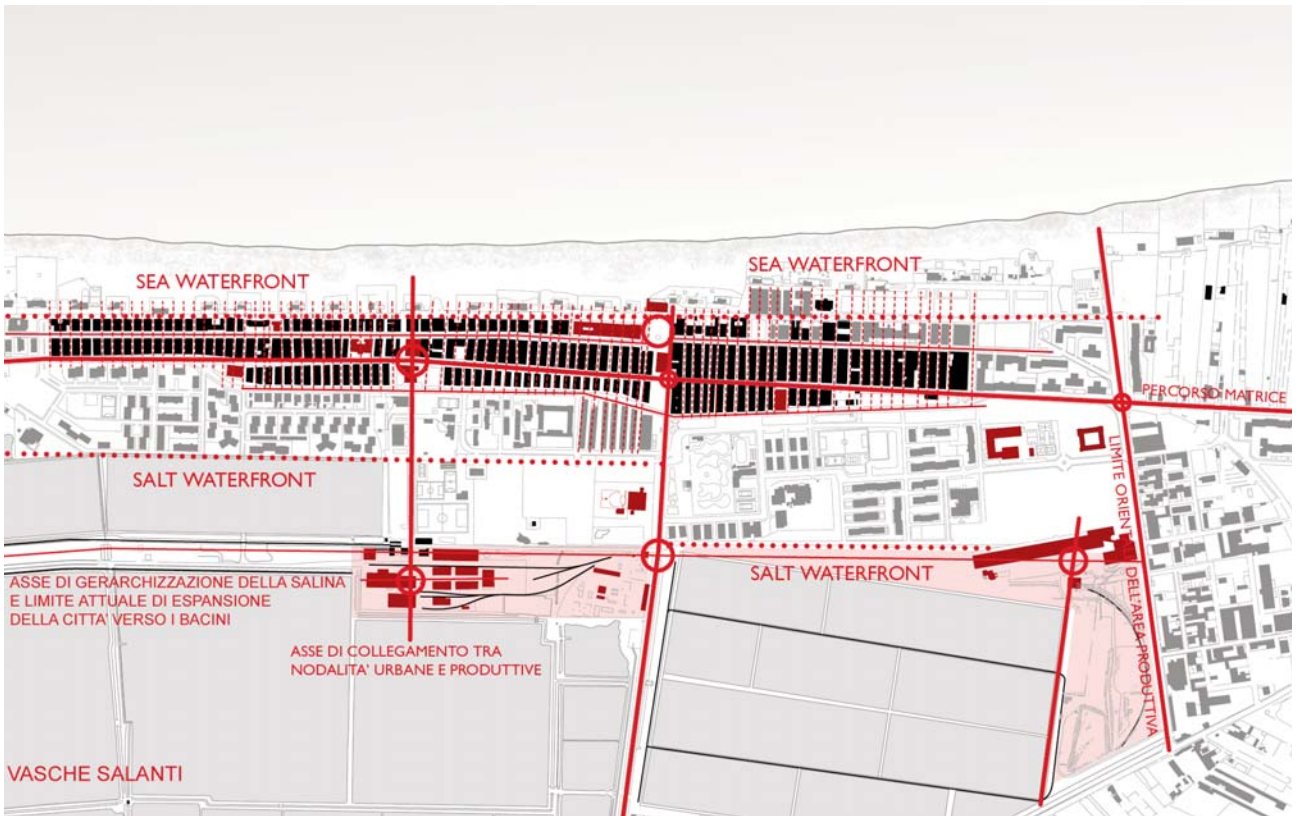
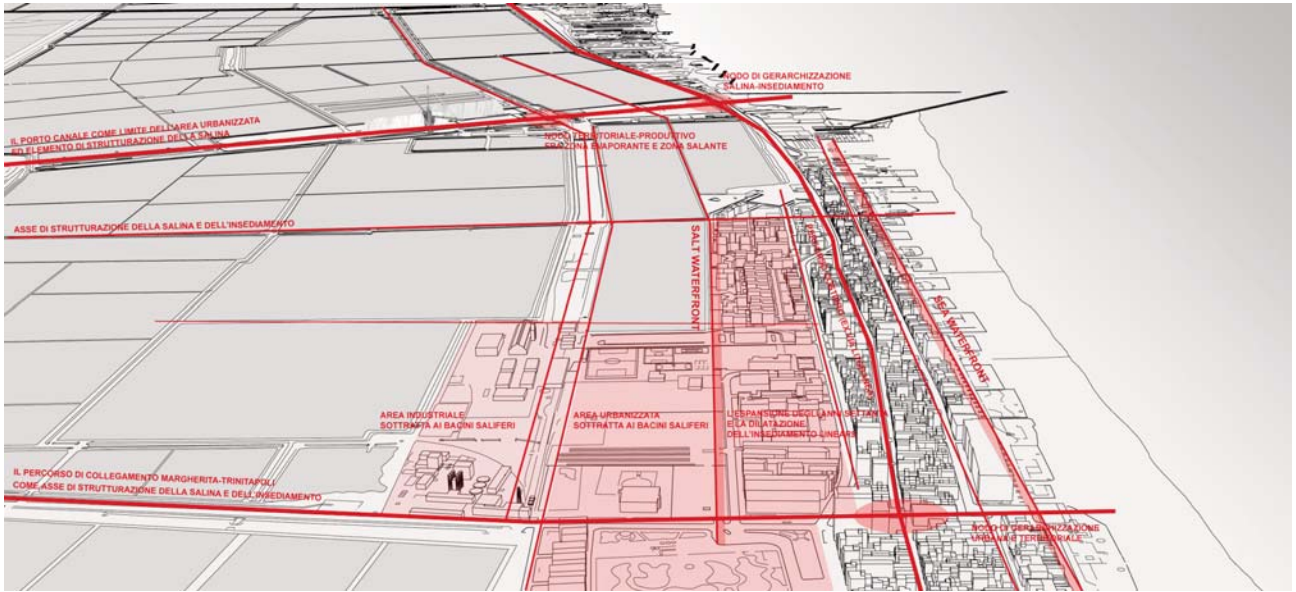


It is evident how any intervention strategy can not prescind from the relationship town - saltwork, that is between settlement and water morphology, both entities having specific and different characters, that have always joined together to make a necessary synthesis, because they are strongly linked to each other.

It is sure that the birth of the salt settlement and its development is coherent and synchronous to the progressive saltwork infrastructuring; both represent

Fig. 11. The progressive urban sprawl toward the salt basins.

Fig. 12. The analysis of the present urban structure with main nodality and axis of reference.



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two entities complementary to the same anthropic system.

Talking about new configuration strategies means to recognise this unit, structured in the following relationships:

- Relationship between functional systems and water forms;
- Relationship between basins shape and productive and settlement functioning territory;
- Relationship between materials, building characters and basins technical shape and their influence on the architecture of the town.

The first aspect to be considered is the processing continuity between materials that can be found in site and the technical development in water management: the use of tamarisks, samphires, pine, eucalyptus and fir trees, to obtain building materials, or for the "resistance" of the clayey ground of the banks, shows one of the fundamental problems, that is the coherence between building techniques and materials naturally found. The use of marbles, in its turn, is the expression of a technical knowledge and of building characters in those territories. It is then possible to assume a project strategy. It has to aim to the protection of the link territory-materials-building techniques, unavoidable condition for the historical process of the place.

Another fundamental aspect is the changes management along the "borders" saltwork/town, great example of the complexity of saltworks palimpsests. These border areas, often degraded and put aside from requalification actions, actually have high potentials in relation with the presence of "salt waterfront", specific character of saltworks settlements.

Elaborating specific strategies of requalification for the "salt waterfronts" means to highlight the diachronic link between water shape and "forma urbis", that in the salt landscapes on the Adriatic coast has determined the development of important salt productive and business centres, before becoming protected areas where production aspects merge together with the need of environment protection, and its changes needs, all aspects apparently in contrast but that determine the specific characters of these places.

## Territorial Policies, Social Exclusion and Immigration in the South

Sergio Bisciglia

*The complex phenomenon of immigration in Italy has a prevalently urban character and visibility*

This is not, however, a factor of the homogeneity of the dynamics of insertion of the immigrants, which vary according to the local context, that is, the "system of opportunities" produced by the economic structure, by that of the housing market and politics of integration which, on an urban or regional level, are more or less formulated and applied. In addition, other, so-called "exogenous factors"-such as, for example, the typologies of the migratory project, the social organization of the different ethnic groups etc.- interact with the local context, increasing the variability of the "models" of territorial insertion. Immigrants, in fact, express, like any social players, a capacity for rational and strategic action, and are capable of making choices and adapting to the surrounding context in order to seize opportunities and confront difficulties.

In such a picture, one of the most widely held interpretations of the migratory reality in Italy is based on the structural difference between the North and South. This attributes to a greater weakness of the productive system - and hence of the system of opportunities-of the regions and cities of the South less capacity for making the immigrant presence stable, and also explains the smaller numerical consistency in this area, considered "in transit" for the migratory routes. Secondly, adding to that gap would also be the lesser recourse by local and regional administrations of the South to "positive" public integration policies of immigrants. Although this is a tendency that can be extended to the entire national territory, where policies that could be defined "containment or control" prevail, rather than insertion and integration, in the urban realities of the South what is even more evident is the disinterest to search for more or less innovative solutions to the impact non-EU populations - that would overcome that emergency phase that has already been in force for more than a decade.

Above all, almost entirely missing from the political agenda of the governments of southern cities and regions are actions that aim to confront the problems relating to housing - which represents the most critical of urban conditions of the fitting into society of immigrants - not limited to the setting up of welcome centers, or in any case to the offer of forms of temporary housing.

Even this situation, as some people believe, could in some way be the consequence of the lesser pressure of the migratory phenomenon on local contexts or, more precisely, of a demand for housing and cities that would not reach the critical mass necessary to direct the interest of politics and traditional practices of planning oriented toward the regulation of economic interests that cause urban transformations. Beyond the sustainability of such a thesis, the presupposition of a "critical mass" leads in fact - whether implicitly or, in many cases

explicitly - to justify the absence of truly territorial policies and to send back to policies of the field - to employment, to the social and health care, etc.- the resolution of problems inherent in the urban concentration of immigrants. But this position does not seem to take into account some important

Transformations - pointed out well by Tosi:

- The first regards a given, that is, that immigration has gone beyond its first phase, everywhere in Italy, even in the South if in a more contained manner, and is therefore establishing itself in the territory.

- The second is that for some time now the welfare crisis has given way to a tendentious territorializing of social policies, to an integration of the objectives of environmental requalification with those of social regeneration and economic development - as shown in the common philosophy of the "Community Initiative Programs" (CIP): both those more conspicuously oriented toward the order of the territory -like Urban, and, in some respects, Interreg - and the social ones, to which one is asked to pursue a full effectiveness through actions on a local level, in urban and rural zones, like Equal.

One can reasonably state that these new instruments put into place in the 1990s - Urban in particular - have in some way introduced important parameters for the evaluation of the choices and political actions aimed at reducing the social exclusion of immigrants in the urban environment.

They are important, first of all, because they have in their very genetic patrimony the objective of the integration of an increasingly complex and unequal European society, even if declining according to several forms: like social integration and equal employment opportunities within local contexts (Urban and Equal), or like social and functional integration between cities and regions of different nations (Interreg). Secondly, they should be taken into consideration because they are the carriers of a concept of citizenship very broad in principle and which, even for immigrants, goes beyond the minimum right of subsistence and includes the right both to live in a dignified way and to work without discrimination, as well as to participate in the democratic mechanisms of society. This is because they are programs of integrated development that presuppose a multiform and cumulative character of the processes that lead to marginalization and impoverishment, and are structured on "an organic whole of measurements of economic development, of social integration and environmental protection". Thirdly because, regarding the public political traditions that regulate or distribute resources, these programs are finalized to induce new behaviors among the participants.

Above all, the southern cities in the framework of the Urban program found themselves comparing themselves and measuring themselves against tools and policies of intervention that were quite innovative with respect to the past, thanks also to the orientation of European policies to privilege interventions in cities that lie in the regions of Objective 1- that is, in late development.

They are important indicators for measuring this change of behavior especially in the southern areas of Italy for the latency of territorial politics of another kind.

Following the fundamental lines of action and the choices operated by these complex plans has led to the position that not legitimizing or giving an adequate response to the demand for housing and cities on the part of immigrants is not only a question of economic opportunity or efficiency, or critical mass; but is due also to factors that are ideological in nature and to congenial

"flaws" of these plans that produce effects that are further discriminating, and one does not know how "perverse".

The considerations that follow arise from observing above all the two versions of the Urban Program (that of the period programmed for 1994-99 and 2000-2006), but other programs as well that involve in various ways the immigration presence in the cities and regions of the South: such as the aforementioned Cades program, which is one of 7 programs in transnational cooperation for the order of the territory in the sphere of Interreg IIc.

Constant elements have emerged and some are only indicative regarding the way in which the immigrant presence in cities is treated by these complex programs:

- the immigrant presence in cities is not always prominent, even when it is numerous and constitutes a critical factor;
- in cases where it is considered a factor in the transformation of the territory one does not look at the complexity of the phenomenon beyond certain not very meaningful numerical indicators which are generally indicative of a given fact and never a dynamic situation;
- in no case are forecasts formulated or scenarios made of the phenomenon, despite the fact that these are required because of its rapid growth and the fact that the strategic character is a fundamental condition of all complex plans;
- it is in any case treated like a transitory problem, even when there are many indicators of stabilization;
- in these programs, the definition, more or less intentional, of a scale of priorities of the objectives of territorial expansion has a basic function which in the end clearly separates that of the "construction or consolidation of territorial identity" from that of the "integration of social and cultural diversity";
- this creates in some cases gentrification phenomena in focus areas of the plans, toward a more keenly felt marginalization of the immigrants, up to their expulsion.

*Discrimination as "perverse effect" of the Urban Program: the cases of three cities in southern Italy*

Among the Community Initiative Programs that have diverse assumptions in common - like the utilization of human resources, oriented above all toward the labor formation and integration of disadvantaged subjects, to the offer of equal opportunity to men and women, to immigrants and local populations, to young people and adults - Urban presents a greater character of territorialization. More than others, it posits the aim of contrasting and inverting the processes of localized marginalization, privileging social aspects and actions and intervening in the housing structures and infrastructures.

The presupposed "theoretical" of this program is in fact the tendentious concentration of situations of social hardship in certain urban areas, which present themselves in turn as an ulterior factor of stigmatization, discrimination and marginalization of populations and the activities therein.

In large part these areas of hardship correspond to peripheral zones in industrial decline located in central/north Italy, and, in most cases, in run-down



areas of urban centers of the Mediterranean south.

In detail, the CIP Urban 1994-99 Program involves quarters of 16 Italian cities, three of which lying within Objective 2 area (Trieste, Genoa and Venice), one outside any Objective area (Rome), while the last 12 (Naples, Salerno, Bari, Foggia, Lecce, Catanzaro, Cosenza, Reggio Calabria, Palermo, Catania, Syracuse and Cagliari) in Objective 1 area, all located in the South.

Most of the areas of the Urban program do not present, in effect - as Tosi and others believe - characteristics of pronounced territorialized exclusion. This is true also of the historic centers of the South, characterized by a discrete social and economic heterogeneity.

This explains only in part the scarce and partial interest of cities that have by this time completely realized the Urban plans proposed toward the needs and hardships of the segment of the immigrated population, in some cases numerically relevant and consolidated. Of the 16 Italian projects realized - of which, we repeat, twelve are located in middle-sized cities and in metropolitan areas of southern Italy - only 4 (Lecce, Catania, Palermo and Trieste - the only one in the North) have singled out and drawn their focus areas as well for the presence of a consistent immigrant component, and they have dedicated some actions to the improvement of its quality of life. More importance was given to other critical factors and other weak social subjects, in effect, as we see in Chart 1: to youth unemployment, to that of long duration, to the youngest segment to the oldest of society, to the resident families.

Diverse motives can be put forward for this discretionary power, which in certain ways is discriminatory. The very mechanism of selection of the focus areas of the interventions is fundamental, and, in particular, the specific weight given to the critical factors that establish its economic and social fragility. This mechanism would be dictated by the supposition (translated, on the other hand, into precise indications by the regulation formulated by the Commission of the European Communities) that the concentration of the interventions in a given sensitive area involves an added value and a higher probability of positive relapses of the same interventions. In practice this has allowed the cities to build - or better, justify - a scale of priorities of problems on the basis of measurable and comparable criticalities by means of clearly quantitative indices, absolutely not capable of defining their complexity in the local context, to consider them in the system of relationships among social protagonists in both the focus areas and in the whole city.

In this way, it has been verified how, considering the criticality of the immigrant presence through the indicator of the percentage incidence of foreign citizen residents of the total number of residents - especially low in Italy and above all in the South - actions having to do with other forms and other subjects of exclusion have been privileged and justified that hold greater weight in terms of percentage. The use of such indicators does not evaluate the overall incidence of immigrants in the local community - it evaluates them neither as social capital and economic resource of the territory, nor in terms of the eventual social cost per city, and, above all, it "photographs" it as a state of being in a given moment and never as a process of the urban dynamic.

One would understand in this way how in the Urban subprogram of Naples the presence of immigrant communities, especially Sri Lankan, in the focus area of the Spanish Quarters neighborhood and the Sanita` neighborhood was

<b>Urban 1994-1999 - Subprogram Italy</b>					
<i>Cities and areas focus (quarters)</i>	<i>Localization of the focus areas</i>	<i>Presence of immigrants in the area</i>	<i>Target of interventions of a social nature</i>	<i>Places assigned for the immigrants</i>	<i>Objectives and actions of projects referred to the immigrant population</i>
<b>Palermo</b> - Kalsa quarter  a) 'mandamento' Castellammare b) 'mandamento' Tribunali	- historic center	yes	minors young drug addicts		- 'Falistin' Project Many Peoples One City: Palermo - realizing agency Italo-Palestinian Cultural Association - Focus: integration through cultural and recreational activities (Mis.3)
<b>Reggio Calabria</b> - Catona quarter - S.Giuseppe q. - Salice q. - Arghillà q. - Gallico q. - Sambatello q. - Archi q.	- working class and unauthorized residential quarter - spontaneous settlement - agricultural-residential areas		childhood drug addicts minors		
<b>Catania</b> - Civita quarter - Angeli Custodi q. - San Cristoforo q. - Antico Corso q.	- historic center	yes	youth not well-off minors immigrants residents	- Multi-ethnic services center "House of the People" (former Church of Purity) -Multi-functional Linguistic Center	- Focus: promotion of racial integration - courses for cultural-linguistic moderators, language courses for extrac. Multi-ethnic library (Mis. 2)
<b>Salerno</b> - Historic Center	- historic Center		youth families in need		
<b>Cosenza</b> - Historic Center - Via Popilia area - city	- historic center - public housing neighborhood		residents of the city childhood elderly		
<b>Foggia</b> - city	- historic center - public housing neighborhood				
<b>Lecce</b> - Historic Center	- historic center	yes	immigrants women	- LecceAccoglie Office (rehabilitation Turrisi-Palumbo Palace)	- Help and information service for immigrants living in the target area, activity of cultural animation (Mis.3) - Literacy and socialization course for non-EU immigrants (Mis. 2)
<b>Siracusa</b> - Isola Ortigia	- historic center		children elderly youth residents school population		
<b>Cagliari</b> - urban nucleus of Pirri - Baracca Manna	- suburb		elderly youth, adolescents, residents		
<b>Venezia</b> - Marghera quarter - S.Giuliano	- neighborhoods in industrial decline		women		
<b>Catanzaro</b> - Fondachello quarter - Coculi q. - Pianicello q. - Gracia q.	- historic center		families minors elderly youth		
<b>Genova</b> - Cornigliano quarter - Sestri Ponente q.	- neighborhoods in industrial decline		Elderly families		
<b>Napoli</b> - Spagnoli Quarters neighbourhood - Rione Sanità		yes	youth deviants drug addicts		
<b>Roma</b> - Tor Bella Monaca q. - Torre Angela q.	- suburb		adolescents, school population handicapped elderly		
<b>Trieste</b> - Cittavecchia	- historic center	yes	elderly women drug addicts immigrants	- Intercultural multi-ethnic center (not realized and moved out of the area)	
<b>Bari</b> - S.Nicola quarter	- historic center		volunteer associations residents youth		

<sup>1</sup> To be eligible, urban areas had to fulfil at least three of nine criteria, thus ensuring that the URBAN area selected were those in most need, facing multiple deprivation rather than having a bad score on one indicator only. The nine criteria were:

1) high long-term unemployment; 2) low rate of economic activity; 3) high level of poverty and exclusion; 4) the need for structural adjustment due to economic and social difficulties; 5) high proportion of immigrants, ethnic minorities or refugees; 6) low level of education, major gaps in terms of qualifications and a high rate of pupil failure; 7) high level of criminality and delinquency; 8) unstable demographic development; 9) particularly poor environmental conditions.

<sup>2</sup> The other Urban II sites are: a) within Objective 1 area: Crotone, Misterbianco, Mola di Bari, Taranto b) outside Objective 1 area: Milano, Genova, Pescara, Carrara c) the first and the second of the general classification: Caserta and Torino.

<sup>3</sup> It must be borne in mind that often immigrants develop a distrustful attitude if not reject of this logic. In the case of Lecce for example, immigrants have not attended courses in Italian, as provided in the program

not taken into consideration at all, as opposed to diverse categories of deviants, the young and elderly population and resident families, which were considered numerically higher. It could be said that they were excluded from the same social micro system.

What is more, one would also understand how, with the stiffening of the selection system in the second version of Urban, the 2000-2006 version - that provides for the admissibility of the area if it presents at least 3 criteria of a series of 9<sup>1</sup> and the concentration of

interventions on a single problem - only in the subprogram of Caserta<sup>2</sup> was the choice of the area dictated also by the presence of immigrants, ethnic groups and minorities in precarious working and living conditions.

In addition to the rigid and unbalanced selection mechanism of the areas we could attribute somewhat discriminatory effects of the Urban Program regarding immigrant residents to the low level of innovation of the actions oriented toward the removal of the causes of exclusion, moreover foreseen by the very philosophy of the Urban Program. This is verified above all in the standardization of the proposed and realized solutions.

Against every declaration of intents and every expectation the actions are intended mainly to keep immigrants in the condition of users of assistance services and never to create effective and long-lasting conditions of integration and inclusion. In the three cases of Catania, Lecce and Palermo, centers are created exclusively that have a mainly informational and guidance function, which also carry out cultural life and entertainment activities.

The action of the Lecce Welcomes Center (a service and information center for immigrants residing in the historic center of Lecce) for example, had to modify its original goals, and, from economic initiatives - like training for the creation = of a business - it had to instead direct itself toward a logic of services (information and guidance) and facilities (setting up of infrastructures, collective facilities, etc.).

What is more, the formative offer of the centers is limited to linguistic literacy, this connected ultimately to the acculturation of the immigrants who use the service<sup>3</sup>, and not to their inclusion in the work force.

Furthermore, the immigrants are never receivers of actions having to do with employment and the incentive of economic activities, but only those that aim to supply social aid.

This is a gap that accentuates rather than reduces the causes of marginalization. The immigrant and the autochthonous resident maintain two very distinct social positions. The immigrant in this sense can be only a receiver of aid and not a legitimate social protagonist.

Immigrants do not use support and incentives to fully enter the local social and labor fabric. Only for a small number of them, established as "intercultural mediators" are real possibilities for integration open - entering into the very management and activities of the centers.

This ideological orientation goes against the consolidated position - merely theoretical in Italy - that looks at immigrant communities as a resource for cities in terms of social capital.<sup>4</sup>

The Urban program presumes the existence of a social capital to refer to in order to give sense and perspective to the possibilities of revitalization of the life of the neighborhoods. But this type of already available social capital is not consonant with another fundamental objective of Urban, the strengthe-

ning of the symbolic identity of places, for which the role of immigrants is marginal if not actually dissonant because of their cultural "otherness." An example of this is the concentration, in Naples, of ethnic commercial activities in the area of Piazza Garibaldi and the Vasto neighborhood, which has become a critical problem and reason for conflict together with the interventions of requalification and beautification of the piazza, in the mid-1990s, and in this sense is significant.

The Urban programs, in their interventions in historic centers, tend in effect to have as their strong objective the reintegration into the urban system of this part of the city, giving to the patrimony and historic and cultural values the double meaning of strategic resource for giving back quality, identity, and dignity to the area, as well as a support element for the development of new activities and employment.

These activities, introducing elements of innovation, revolve around themes of the recuperation of traditions of local artisanship, of the restaurant industry, culture, cultural tourism (Bari, Catania, Cosenza, Catanzaro, Lecce, Syracuse, Trieste and in a more mediated way, Naples and Palermo). The intent is that of attracting new activities and inhabitants through a policy of the image of the area.

The results obtained are contradictory, and in some cases success with regard to the promotion of new activities and the reevaluation of the historic center is evident; along with this success, however, there are also processes of gentrification that make it difficult for the weakest social groups because of the rise in the value of real estate that often results.

This is what is happening in the historic center of Lecce where the immigrant population,<sup>5</sup> concentrated in the Giravolte district - heart of the interventions for renewal activated by Urban - is undergoing an expulsive thrust due also to the incidence of housing rents.

#### *New ways to think about immigration in the South*

The discriminatory effects outlined above are probably not due only to the "defects" of territorial policies like Urban. Some of the responsibility must be held also by the weak support offered by social research in terms of the knowledge of the reality of immigration in the South.

Observing the migratory phenomenon in Italy - still considered with a certain anachronism "new" - it is objectively rather difficult to be able today to reconstruct the incidence and forms taken on by the immigrant presence in the cities of the South. Rather than a whole picture, one has the impression of being in front of a still extremely incomplete puzzle whose pieces are descriptions of urban cases according to truly quantitative parameters.

The way in which the disciplines oriented toward theoretical or applied study and city planning behave is still hemmed in between numbers and percentages, almost never in agreement, of the quantification of regular flows, estimates of the irregular ones, of the distributions over the territory according to socio-demographic and socio-cultural standards (such as age, social status, ethnic and religious group, reasons for emigrating, etc.).

Still sporadic are analyses that are instead oriented toward confronting the processes of insertion and forms of settlement using a territorial and integrated

<sup>4</sup> We refer to A. Portes, which examines closely the urban function of the ethnic business

<sup>5</sup> This population, a large part of them coming from Senegal, is the 20% of the whole residents and present a strong disposition to concentration - an unusual pattern of territorial occupancy in our cities and above all in the southern ones

<sup>6</sup> Alain Tarrus, Spazi "circolatori" e spazi urbani. Differenze fra i gruppi migranti, in "Studi Emigrazione/Etudes Migrations", XXX, n.118, 1995

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approach. Anchored to a presumed necessity to continue to make up the deficit in the knowledge of the quantitative aspects of the phenomenon, in effect these studies do not seem for the moment to insert the immigrant presence among the important factors of the transformation of the city, nor to support the tools of the programming of local socio-economic development. At most, they are used as support for sectorial policies (for example, the formation, instruction, social aid or those oriented toward the control of the phenomenon).

Even if many indicators continue to converge on the whole in support of this interpretation (e.g., the lower incidence in the South, compared to the central or northern areas, of visitors on the overall resident population, the greater mobility of workers, the negative migratory balance in the South), it must be pointed out that this is often treated as an overly simplified image of the socio-demographic reality of immigration in southern Italy. Lowering the position of the point of view and observing local realities we have a much more articulated picture with more nuanced colors. For this reason, the idea that links the South with the instability of the immigrant presence is less convincing.

In fact, other indicators prove how on the one hand the tendency, compared to that of several years ago, of the stabilization of immigrants even in southern regions has become more accentuated (like the percentage of residence permits for familial unions as opposed to the overall requests for residence permits, the increase in the number of minors and those who go to school - which suggests the hypothesis of a growing number of the re-composition of family nuclei-, the importance of remittances, the length of the stay, etc.).

Not yet deeply investigated or sufficiently verified perspectives on the field have been put forward with the intent of restoring in a more adequate way the complexity of the relationships that immigrants have with the city and the transformations that they are undergoing under their pressure. Such perspectives would go beyond the distinction between stability and transitoriness of the stay, they would abandon the idea that immigration is a passage from one situation to another, and they would instead reason in terms of trans-national immigration and diaspora - of a continual going and returning as project and strategy of adaptation to globalization, that leads to living between two places, two cultures, between different economic activities. It is a practice not yet evident but in constant growth, variable according to ethnic group and distance from the country of origin. The incidence of this perspective is not insignificant in representation as well as in the government and in the planning of a city that would no longer be articulated exclusively in areas of definable insertion, but in "circulatory territories," as Tarrus <sup>6</sup> defines them. The city would be composed of at least three different cities: that of those who remain, that of those who pass through, and that of those who continually return.