

Heritage Conservation To Rebuild Cities After Crisis

Case study: The Old City of Aleppo

By

Dalia Mokayed

A Thesis Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE USC SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
MASTER OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION

May 2021

Acknowledgments

It's Finally the day that I was waiting for a long time. The day when I finish a research paper about my beloved city Aleppo. Since the beginning of the war in Syria, I was helplessly watching the destruction of our cultural heritage. I felt always guilty because I couldn't do much to help. I finally feel less guilty and more satisfied to provide something that may add value to the work that is being done in Aleppo.

Although this topic was new and challenging because it wasn't easy to collect the data and interview people, I found all the support and encouragement from my committee. I would like to thank my committee chair Kenneth Breisch, and my committee members Faiza Moatasim and Vinayak Bharne for their assistance, guidance, and patience through this journey. I would also like to thank Trudi Sandmeier, the director of our program for the continuous support.

I would especially like to thank my husband Basel, for the great support and help throughout the years, and for believing in me and wishing me the best in my career path. Many thanks to my family and friends who have always cheered me up to go on. Special thanks to all my old friends and colleagues in Aleppo who helped me collect the information, answered my questions professionally and provided all what they can to support completing my thesis.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	ii
List of Figures.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Destruction of Cultural Heritage During Conflicts	
Why destroying cultural heritage.....	4
Review of the international laws for protecting cultural heritage.....	12
Chapter 2: The Old City Of Aleppo	
The historic background, a World Heritage Site, and the social structure of the city.....	21
Aleppo during the conflict and damage assessment.....	25
National and international efforts and the role of the local community.....	35
Chapter 3: Examples of cities that suffered from war destruction and their recovery experience and process	
Case study1: Rebuilding Beirut City District (Downtown Beirut).....	37
Case study 2: Warsaw post-conflict	40
Case study 3: Cultural heritage in the Bosnian wars.....	42
Chapter 4: Aleppo, the post-war phase.....	47
Learning from history.....	47
Old Aleppo from 2016 to 2020.....	50
The challenges of the post-war recovery in Aleppo.....	57
The cultural identity.....	60
Chapter 5: What's Next?.....	63
Conclusion.....	71
Appendix A.....	72
Appendix A.....	73
Bibliography.....	76

List of Figures

Figure 0.1: A picture is of the devastation in Old Aleppo traditional market.....	1
Figure 1.1: Figure 1.1: Master plan scheme of Aleppo by Andre Gutton (1954).....	10
Figure 1.2: Master Plan of Aleppo 1974.....	11
Figure 2.1: Great Mosque of Aleppo before and after the destruction.....	28
Figure 2.2: Destruction in the Ancient City of Aleppo.....	28
Figure 2.3: The picture shows where the Al-Khusrawiyya complex formerly stood.....	29
Figure 2.4: The three pictures show the destruction in the area around the citadel.....	30
Figure 2.5: The picture shows the destruction in the AlJdaydeh neighborhood.....	33
Figure 2.6: A heat map of damage to the Ancient City of Aleppo.....	35
Figure 4.1: The historic timeline of destruction and reconstruction in Aleppo during the last 1000 years.....	48
Figure 4.2: The Old City of Aleppo, The three pilot conservation areas.....	52
Figure 4.3: Souq Al-Saqatyeh, after the destruction and before restoration.....	53
Figure 4.4: Souq Al-Saqatyeh in Old Aleppo after restoration.....	53

Abstract

Earthquakes have rattled cities to rubble, fires have burned them to ashes, and wars have destroyed and flattened cities. Each tragedy has its silver lining, however faint that may be. When a city is destroyed beyond recognition, the need to rebuild provides a new opportunity for the community to accept the change and redraw the physical landscape, to make it stronger than it was before. War is considered the most violent shape of destruction, which in addition to human loss, they commit devastating violence against the urban fabric of cities. Parties of conflict are intentionally destroying each other's culture, violating international laws of heritage protection, and ignoring the importance of heritage as a witness of history and is a valuable asset of important resources for future generations. Managing the post-war heritage sites is considered countries' first step for rebuilding cities. Also maintaining post-disaster heritage sites will extend their life for sustainable use by the community and will help to rebuild identities.

The research aims to find the tools to rebuild cities after conflicts, which affect cities' assets, resources, and identities, considering the discussion of challenges and limitations for implementation. A specific case study of the Old City of Aleppo, as an ancient heritage location and a UNESCO World Heritage site from 1996 which recently suffered the destruction of its old town during the conflict in Syria will be part of the major discussion. will be supported by a comparison between different heritage sites which experienced a similar situation in the recent past and their ways to heal and recover. The research will include a historic background about the city to understand the nature of its heritage and the importance of it as a world heritage site, and the damage assessment of its fabric and historic monuments, efforts of the national and the international societies to save and mitigate the damage. The lack of policies and clear directed rebuilding strategy, a review of the ICOMOS Guidance on Post Trauma Recovery and Reconstruction to base our guidelines for the rebuilding of the old city of Aleppo and protecting the identity of the people.

Introduction

"The Only Way Out is Through"



Figure 0.1: A picture is of the devastation in one of the Souqs in Old Aleppo traditional market during the conflict. Source: World Monument Fund Website.

Robert Frost in his poem *Servant of Servants* wrote "The only way out is through."¹ Every journey has its twists and turns. You may not be able to see where you are heading around the next turn, but you know that the truth could be there. The path is the journey, you won't be out until you pass through. I always recall this saying when I think about Aleppo when I see the damage in the city as a result of the war in Syria since it started in 2011. Aleppo experienced nine years of conflict that affected the people and devastated the infrastructure and sites of cultural heritage in the city, a kind of damage that makes us feel that it will never come back to life again. But, everything changes when you visit the city. I have visited Aleppo twice since 2016 when the Old City of

¹ Robert Frost, *A Servant to Servants*, North of Boston 1915

Aleppo was free of conflict and was surprised to see how the ancient heritage of a city can come back to life as the city heals itself. I spent the days of my visit to Aleppo wandering its ancient streets, jumping over the rubble, taking pictures, talking to people, and thinking! Why would the sites of cultural heritage be targeted during the war and armed conflict? Why despite all the international laws, can't the world still protect an important heritage site?

"The term "Cultural Heritage" is a modern concept with an ancient past."²"Through history, cultural heritage has been defined to include all the old traditions, treasures, symbols, artifacts, values and habits inherited from our ancestors. It included paintings, drawings, prints, books and sculptures, historical monuments, buildings and archeological sites."³ These things and more all come under the criteria of tangible heritage. While the intangible heritage was defined as all the immaterial cultural heritage like music, dance, cuisine, craftsmanship, traditional costumes, oral heritage and more. In 1965, the White House Conference was held in Washington DC, where architectural historians, archaeologists, technologists and nature conservationists all gathered to the World Heritage Trust to be responsible for the conservation of the cultural diversity of the earth.⁴

Throughout history, urban areas were sometimes avoided in conflicts, because they were a complex battlefield. Wherein other cases, cities were invaded and destroyed to be conquered. During the last and the current centuries, since the early twentieth century with the adaption of aerial bombing, cities and the artifacts and the heritage sites in urban areas were explicitly targeted, painfully damaged and destroyed.⁵ Examples of cities which was destroyed in wars during the past century and recently are many, Mostar, Sarajevo, Warsaw, Berlin, Beirut, and recently Mosul, Palmyra and finally Aleppo. But, does the destruction of heritage often hurt more than the loss of human lives? The Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulic suggested that we feel more pain when we

²James Fisher, Heidi, *"Violence Against Architecture: The Lost Cultural Heritage of Syria and Iraq"* (2017). CUNY Academic Works. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1898

³ Allais, Lucia. *Designs of Destruction: the Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

⁴ Allais, Lucia. *Designs of Destruction: the Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

⁵Sandes, Caroline A. *"Urban Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict: The Case of Beirut Central District."* Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2013.

look at the image of a destroyed monument, more than when we see another image of a genocide.⁶I don't think that we feel less pain witnessing the murder of people and the genocides during conflicts, we feel extremely sad watching people experiencing the loss of loved ones, lacking the essential daily needs, and fleeing their homes due to conflict. But we also see ourselves and our personalities and roots in historic buildings. "We recognize our place in the world by an interaction with the built environment and remembering these experiences and by being informed of the experiences of others, the creation of social identity in time and place."⁷

⁶ Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

⁷ Ibid

Chapter1: The Destruction of Cultural Heritage During Conflicts.

Why destroying Cultural Heritage

Over history, cultural heritage destruction was a tool of invaders to dominate cities, and erase the trace of humanity and the value of human lives.⁸ Ancient and rich sites were targeted to weaken the physical and social infrastructure of the country. In many other cases, the destruction of cultural heritage is becoming a part of the political agendas to affect identities and memories and change the history by building a new heritage instead of the heritage of the land's native owners, like the case of the Native Americans who were targeted as a nation to erase their heritage and memory.⁹In some other cases,destruction is not intentional,it happens collaterally whenthe conflict goes out of control, cities become the battlefield, buildings areused as shelters for fighters, and are attacked or destroyed because they are in the path of the military troops.During the civil war in Lebanon (1975-1990), the center of Beirut was the place where government buildings used to be, it was where everyone used to come for shopping and to spend time in cafes or cinemas. The location of downtown Beirut was devastated, attacked and damaged during this war. Beirut became a battlefield, it was divided into two parts, and the historic buildings suffered from shelling, bombarding and street fighting. Street fights led to the destruction of many buildings in Beirut. "Using the technique of moving through walls, fighters made holes in building walls to move forward without going out in the streets, reflecting the relationship between armed conflicts and the built environment."¹⁰In conflicts, there are always confusing motives. Destruction of cultural sites can serve many purposes, terror, propaganda, conquest, genocide."¹¹

Culture and people during the conflict are facing the same danger and the same destination, they are together in the tragedy. The cultural heritage under attack is the heritage of the people, their identities and memories. Robert Bevan in his book *The Destruction of Memory, Architecture At War* explains the difference between two

⁸Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

⁹Ibid

¹⁰Weizman, Eyal. "Walking through Walls Soldiers as Architects in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict." PUBLIC SPACE, 2006. <https://www.publicspace.org/multimedia/-/post/walking-through-walls-soldiers-as-architects-in-the-israeli-palestinian-conflict>.

¹¹Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

kinds of heritage attacks;"vandalism, where the attacker or the invader destroys a cultural pattern of one group, including their traditions, language, memories of oral and written heritage by destroying libraries and archives; and cultural genocide, when the cultural heritage of one land or one nation is being cleared with its people."¹²

Christopher Columbus arrived in 1492 in the Americas, the date which was always known as the date of discovering the Americas. After his arrival, one of the darkest and most brutal genocides was inflicted upon native Americans, the owners of the land. They were either murdered, killed by the disease brought by the invaders, or enslaved to serve the newcomers and build their cities. The new occupiers destroyed the culture, changed the language and the religion of the people, to create the new world. They even brought their habits and their architecture. Survivors of the genocide were forced to build houses and religious buildings based on the vision and the style brought by the invaders. And the newcomers became the new owners of the land. "There was to be no backsliding and no memories of the past."¹³ Sometime after that, people will forget who they are and whom they used to be. As Milan Kundera notes: "The first step in liquidating a people," said Hubl, 'is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster.'¹⁴ During the past ten years, Da'esh destroyed many of the ancient sites. They destroyed Palmyra's archaeological remains in Syria, also the shrine of Jonah, and the ancient sites of Nineveh and Nimrud in Iraq. They have the short-sighted view that they wanted to destroy all imageries and idols that contradict their religious beliefs, to create the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, a new nation on land with no heritage or memory.¹⁵ If that were true, then early Muslim nations would have destroyed it a long time ago in times of greatness and prosperity. But, the destruction was actually to support their efforts to achieve power in the region and to purge the region of

¹²Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

¹³Ibid

¹⁴Kundera, Milan, and Aaron Asher. *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. London: Faber & Faber, 2019.

¹⁵James Fisher, Heidi, "Violence Against Architecture: The Lost Cultural Heritage of Syria and Iraq" (2017). CUNY Academic Works. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1898

its rich and diverse history by carrying out a cultural genocide against past cultures and religions.

Caroline A. Sandes, also argued in her study for the case of Beirut Central District that "there is a lack of understanding of the wider connection of destruction of cultural heritage and its essential link to urbicide or genocide, which suggests that this link is fully understood by that intent on carrying out such destruction."¹⁶The term "Urbicide" which was suggested in the study represents the cases of intentional extreme destruction of the urban environment, including the destruction of heritage. It is as painful as the human genocide.¹⁷ The most recent example, during the 20th century, is the Balkan wars of the 1990s, when Bosnia was targeted by the Serbs who intentionally killed people and destroyed their city, houses and monuments with the intent of destroying the civic value embodied with it.¹⁸"By destroying the cultural heritage of one country, it's hoped to demoralize the enemy or local population under attack and to deprive them of the evidence of existence both physically and historically, and simply erase the past identity of a community."¹⁹ Jerusalem has been an Arab multi-ethnic city for more than a millennium. Since the beginning of the Palestinian -Israeli conflict, the Israeli government is demolishing the existing Arab assets, houses and monuments gradually to create new Israeli settlements. This Planned destruction for years has transformed the city into a Jewish majority city. Both the Muslim and the Christian communities have less presence in the demographic structure of the city, many of them fled the city over the years, thinking that may return to their homes, but they never came back.²⁰The Palestinian activist Amr Zaher, argued on social media the idea of how the state of Israel was built overland with a rich heritage and a long history. How they are trying to change the facts to manipulate the history and make it feel that it's their heritage. Lots of Israeli families are literary still living in the houses of Palestinians who fled the country after 1948. They are using Arabic music in their songs without referring it to the Arab Palestinians. They are using some of the Palestinian traditional recipes and assigning

¹⁶Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

¹⁷Ibid

¹⁸Ibid

¹⁹Ibid

²⁰Ibid

them to their culture. It is the case of a newly emerged state which is trying to build culture over the deeply rooted foundation of an ancient nation.²¹

Another type of heritage loss comes from the destruction caused by the neglect, the looting and trafficking of objects and artifacts. In Iraq in 2003, the Iraqi National Museum was looted and thousands of objects and artifacts from the Iraqi heritage were looted. Also, the Iraqi national library was burned, which included hundreds of priceless manuscripts dating back to the 16th century. All of that had happened due to the neglect of the occupying U.S. forces after the invasion of Baghdad and the fall of Saddam the former president of the country.²²"Deliberate or neglectful destruction of heritage has long been a key strategy of war, and perpetrators are rarely prosecuted for it."²³In all cases, the destruction of heritage during conflicts causes a huge humanitarian loss besides the loss of cultural heritage.

Aleppo, which was another city that suffered destruction during the conflict, could be one of the most crucial cases of cultural heritage destruction in the twenty-first century. It combines cultural and human destruction in one of the most ancient places on earth. "The name of Aleppo raises emotions, the image of a glorious past, and attractive historic city with the architecture of world renown on a legendary trading route."²⁴"The ancient city of Aleppo is located at the crossroad of several trade routes from the 2nd millennium BCE, Aleppo was ruled successively by the Hittites, Assyrians, Akkadians, Greeks, Romans, Umayyads, Ayyubids, Mamelukes and Ottomans. The remaining monuments in the city are witnesses to the prosperity of the city. These include the 13th-century citadel, 12th-century Great Mosque and various 17th-century madrasas, palaces, caravanserais and hammams that all form a part of the city's cohesive, unique urban fabric."²⁵The city of Aleppo is built over layers of ancient civilizations, which proves that these sites and monuments have witnessed many destructive events over history.

²¹Zahr, A. (2020, July 02). Palestine... Fully Furnished. Retrieved December 18, 2020, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UX8oChavStk>

²² Dr. Stephennie Mulder and Dr. Debora Trein, Dr. Stephennie Mulder, and Dr. Debora Trein. "*Cultural Heritage 'in Crisis'.*" Smarthistory. Accessed September 2, 2020. <https://smarthistory.org/cultural-heritage-in-crisis/>.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ DP

²⁵ Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed September 4, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

Aleppo is considered one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. It was for a long time the cultural and commercial center in north Syria. The commercial role of Aleppo started as early as the 2nd millennium BCE. It was an important trade center and a destination of trade caravans on the famous silk road which connected the east and the west. It reached its peak between the 16th and the 18th centuries CE. The most significant monument in the city of Aleppo is the citadel. It is located in the center of the old city and rises 50 meters above the surrounding area.²⁶ "The citadel stands on the remains of Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and still includes remains of Seljuk, and Ayyubid and Ottoman period buildings."²⁷ Syrian-German archaeology excavations between 1996 and 2004 in the citadel of Aleppo discovered one of the great religious centers of ancient times, the sanctuary of the storm god Adda. Research proved that it was first constructed by Early Bronze Age peoples, then rebuilt by a succession of cultures, including the Hittites and the Indo-European empire-builders whose domain spread from Anatolia to northern Syria in the 14th century BCE.²⁸ The traditional fabric extends horizontally around the citadel to cover an area of 465 Hectares. It includes suqs, mosques and madrasas of the old city.²⁹ The Chess street layout especially in the area where the Omayyad mosque recently stands provides evidence of the early Graeco-Roman street layout. The area also still contains remains of the medieval gates and structures of different historical periods like the "6th-century Christian structures, Roman period street plans, Ayyubid and Mamluk mosques and schools, and many Ottoman period homes and palaces."³⁰ One of the most well-known cultural sites in Aleppo is the Great Mosque, which was founded in the Umayyad period, the Seljuk minaret dated to CE 1090. Next to the Umayyad Mosque is a Byzantine cathedral that later became the al-

²⁶Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed September 4, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

²⁷Ibid

²⁸Lawler, Andrew. "Temple of the Storm God. A 5,000-Year-Old Sanctuary Emerges from beneath Aleppo's Medieval Citadel." Archeology Archive. A publication of the Archaeological Institute of America. Archaeology Magazine, 2009. https://archive.archaeology.org/0911/features/syria_aleppo_temple_storm_god_citadel.html.

²⁹Ibid

³⁰American Association for the Advancement of Science "Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery." Advancing Science Serving Society, September 2014.

Halawyah Madrassa, recently a Quranic school.³¹ Following the success of Salah El-Din against the Crusaders, the Ayyubid constructed more defensive and military structures. "The encircling ditch of the citadel and the defensive wall rises above a massive, sloping, stone-faced glacis, and the great gateway with its machicolations comprises a major ensemble of military architecture from the height of Arab dominance."³² Aleppo became an example of the Ayyubid 12th century city. During the 13th-14th centuries, the great towers were added to the citadel and the stone entry bridge reinforced the architectural quality of this ensemble.³³ During the 20th century, as a result of the urban modernization plans in the city, fundamental changes affected parts of the traditional fabric of the old city. Similar to conflicts, heritage can also be destroyed in peace times. Government top-down approaches and decisions that are based on hidden political or economical agendas under the name of modernization plans and beautification, intentionally and systematically destroyed ancient cities. In Aleppo, these plans were proposed to connect the old city to the modern city and provide automobile access to different neighborhoods in the old city. (Figure 1.1) The plans were implemented during the French mandate period from 1920 to 1946.³⁴ "Two Master Plans were prepared for the city, which shared many features in common. The plan of R. Danger (1932-34) and the plan of M.Ecohard (1938), both of which led the development of the city outside the ancient walls based on the modern French urban style. (Figure 1.2) This affected the old city indirectly and separated it from the modern expansion. In 1954, Andre Gutton submitted a proposal for a master plan to regulate the growth of the city up to 1975. The plan also proposed connecting the old city to the surrounding areas to break down the isolation that the traditional fabric creates. This proposal is based on creating rings of circulation around the old quarter and connecting these rings with major axes. Similar to Haussmann's modernization of Paris between 1853 and 1870, which was based on the destruction of 60% of the existing medieval city, the partial implementation of Gutton's Master plan led to the destruction of approximately one-tenth of the old fabric, and many neighborhoods

³¹Ibid

³²Ibid

³³Ibid

³⁴Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed September 4, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

were demolished."³⁵ Later in 1974, Andre Gutton's plan was followed by another plan which aimed to protect the neighborhoods in the old city from any further interventions. This plan also wasn't fully implemented. Despite the changes in the historic fabric, the city still maintains its traditional urban character as an Islamic urban area with a rich heritage and long history.³⁶The Ancient City of Aleppo was inscribed on the World Heritage list of UNESCO in 1986.

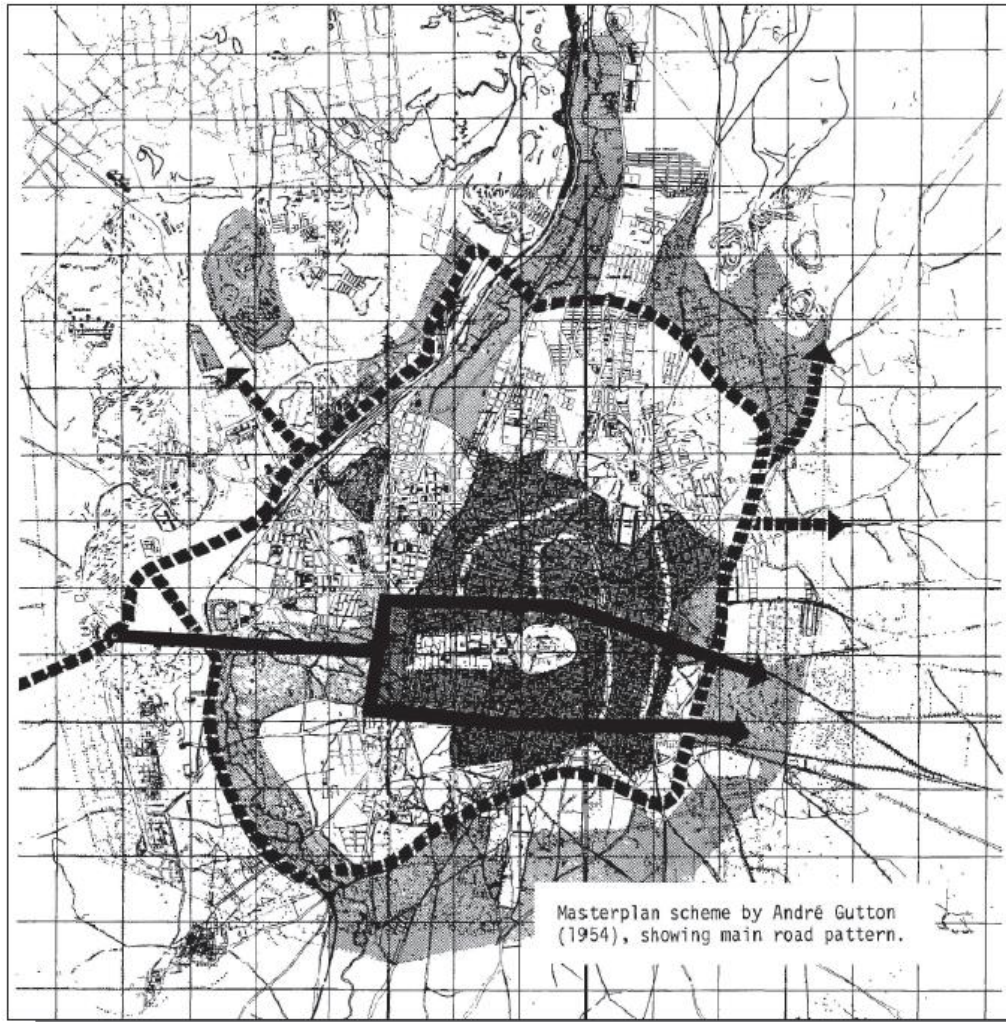


Figure 1.1: Master plan scheme of Aleppo by Andre Gutton (1954), showing the main road pattern. Source: Rehabilitation Project of the Old City of Aleppo/ Brochure 2004

³⁵Ibid

³⁶Ibid

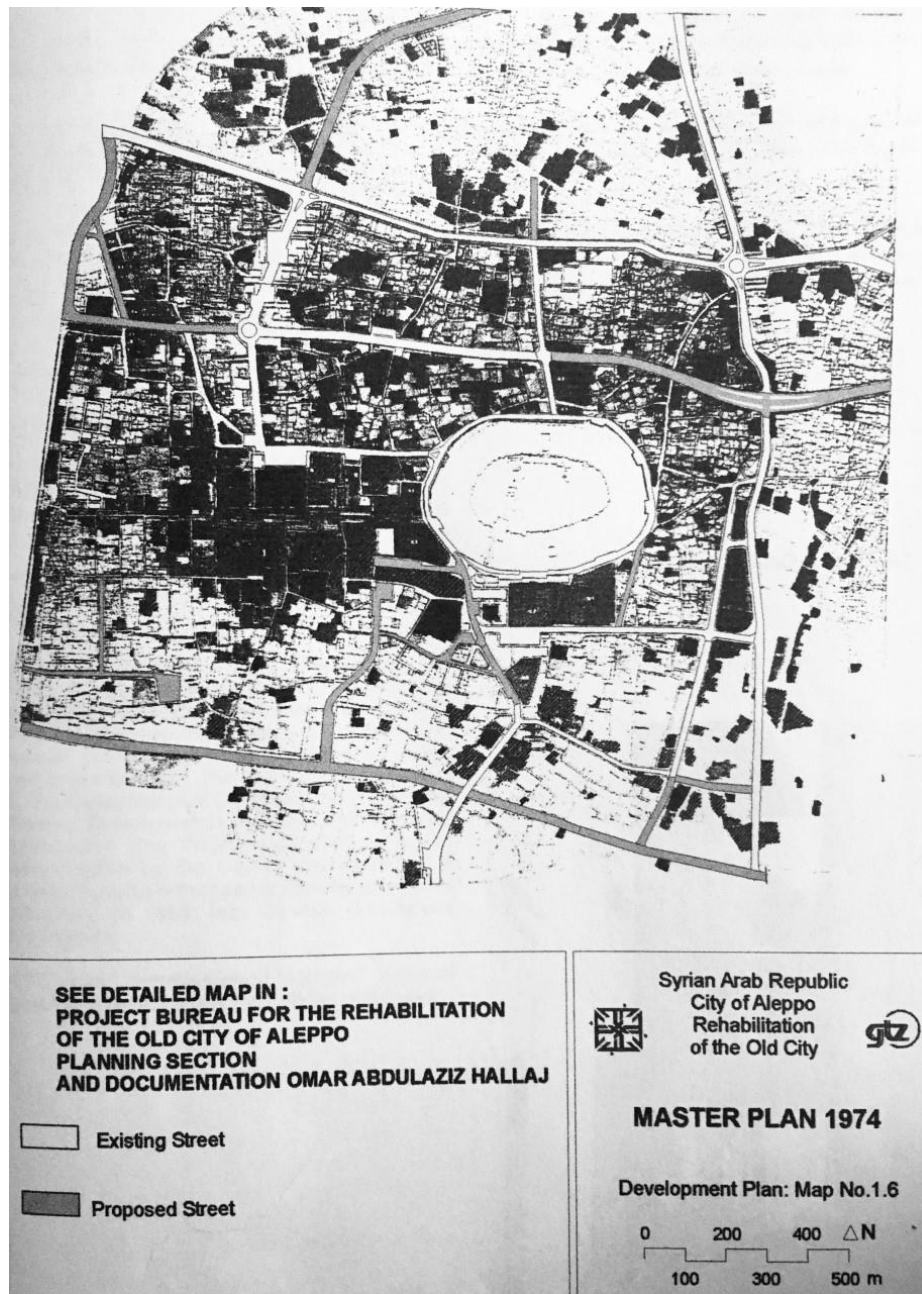


Figure 1.2: Master Plan of Aleppo 1974. Source: Rehabilitation Project of the Old City of Aleppo/ Development Plan

Review of the international laws for protecting cultural heritage

Threats to cultural heritage in wars come in two main shapes, the first in the form of physical destruction of the historic built environment, while the second is the looting and trafficking of the treasured artifacts and the archaeological discoveries. Efforts of heritage protection are as old as the destruction of cultural heritage sites and artifacts. "In the second century BCE., the ancient Roman author Polybius criticized the Roman plunder of Greek sanctuaries on Sicily. A century later, the Roman orator, Cicero, prosecuted the Roman governor of Sicily, Gaius Verres, for excessive looting of Sicilian cities. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius and the international legal theorist Emmerich de Vattel established principles stating that, as works of art were not useful to the military effort, they should be protected."³⁷The first decision in history to protect cultural properties during conflicts was taken at the end of the nineteenth century by the Brussels Declaration held in 1874. In times of war, "All seizure or destruction of, or willful damage to historic monuments, works of art and science should be made the subject of legal proceedings by the competent authorities."³⁸Fifteen European countries agreed on the action.

During the Civil War in the United States, cultural heritage also was affected by the conflict. As a response, the Lieber Code was drafted to protect the heritage of the United States. This code was an inspiration for the First Hague Peace Conference in 1899 that adopted heritage protection laws regulating the conduct of war and encouraging lasting peace. According to this convention: "In sieges and bombardments, all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes. It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs, which shall be notified to the enemy beforehand."³⁹

³⁷Gerstenblith, Patty. "Frameworks for Cultural Heritage Protection: from Ancient ..." Khan Academy. Accessed September 4, 2020. <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural-heritage-education-series/xa0148fd6a60f2ff6:documenting-and-protecting-cultural-heritage/a/frameworks-for-cultural-heritage-protection-from-ancient-writing-to-modern-law>.

³⁸Fiankan-Bokonga, Catherine. "A Historic Resolution to Protect Cultural Heritage." UNESCO. WWW.UNESCO.ORG, January 9, 2020. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017nian-di-3qi/historic-resolution-protect-cultural-heritage>.

³⁹Ibid

"Another initiative started in 1919, was known as the League of Nations, which was created to regularize, and bureaucratize international relations and, among other things, was devoted to the protection of monuments. A small committee in Geneva used the phrase "Cultural" to describe the historic monuments like buildings, bridges, or any kind of international physical structures, and later it was called "World Heritage" by the Athens Charter. This was written at the first international conference in Athens in 1931 and evolved in the 1930s as a transitional blueprint to protect monuments. In 1938 a manual was created to protect cultural monuments. It was meant to meet the destructive effects of war with defensive measures equally as effective."⁴⁰ This manual worked as a guide for countries to avoid the destruction of heritage by taking extra precautions, also by practicing methods and techniques of the physical protection for historic buildings including sandbags, scaffolds and barriers of brick and other materials.²⁶ After the release of the manual for protecting cultural monuments, many countries started using the suggested tools. European museums and cultural institutions started making lists of important objects and planned for the evacuation of these objects as part of long-range planning for war times.⁴¹ The speech of General Dwight D. Eisenhower at the beginning of World War II explains a lot about the priorities in protecting the built heritage during the war:

"Today we are fighting in a country which has contributed a great deal to our cultural inheritance, a country rich in monuments which by their creation helped and now in their old age illustrate the growth of the civilization which is ours. We are bound to respect those monuments so far as war allows. If we have to choose between destroying a famous building and sacrificing our men, then our men's lives count infinitely more and the building must go. But the choice is not always so clear-cut as that. In many cases, the monuments can be spared without any detriment to operational needs. Nothing can stand against the argument of military necessity. That is an accepted principle. But the phrase "military necessity is sometimes used where it would be more truthful to speak of military convenience or even of personal convenience. I do not want it to cloak slackness or indifference. It is the responsibility of higher commanders to determine through A.M.G. Officers the locations of historical monuments whether they be immediately ahead of our front lines or in areas occupied by us. This information

⁴⁰Allais, Lucia. *Designs of Destruction: the Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

⁴¹Wegener, Corine, and Marjan Otter. "Cultural Property at War: Protecting Heritage during Armed Conflict." Newsletter 23.1 Spring 2008. The Getty Conservation institute, 2008.
https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_1/feature.html.

passed to lower echelons through normal channels places the responsibility of all Commanders of complying with the spirit of this letter."⁴²

This command and efforts of all the governments in Europe during the war to plan for the protection of their cultural heritage weren't enough to avoid destruction in all countries involved in the Second World War. As a response to the events of destruction during this war, the Hague Convention of 1954 in the Netherlands was initiated for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict. This new initiative focused on the protection of heritage and the prevention of the destruction of cultural heritage and looting of artifacts during conflicts, It also considered the destruction of cultural heritage to be a reason to convict and punish those who violated the laws causing intentional destruction of cultural heritage during conflict.⁴³

The Hague Convention of 1954 after WWII defined cultural property as movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives. . . ; buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property , , such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property. . . The two core principles of the Convention are safeguarding of and respect for cultural property.⁴⁴

According to the Hague convention of 1954, countries who signs the agreement to be part of the convention should be prepared to protect their cultural heritage and historical properties in times of peace, even before the war starts. This could be done by taking extra precautions to ensure the protection of the historic properties, and to make sure that artifacts are in a safe place. Suggestions were made to avoid placing military objects near historic places and respect the historic properties by prohibiting the use of these properties for any military purposes. Parties in the Hague convention we prohibited

⁴²Gerstenblith, Patty. "Frameworks for Cultural Heritage Protection: from Ancient Writing to Modern Law (Article)." Khan Academy. Khan Academy. Accessed September 11, 2020. <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural-heritage-education-series/xa0148fd6a60f2ff6:documenting-and-protecting-cultural-heritage/a/frameworks-for-cultural-heritage-protection-from-ancient-writing-to-modern-law>.

⁴³Ibid

⁴⁴Ibid

from targeting cultural heritage and historical properties, "unless there was a military necessity that required breaking this rule to achieve an imperative military goal. The international law also prohibits the destruction of cultural property as a means of intimidating people under occupation or as a reprisal."⁴⁵ While the convention was very strict in imposing the implementation of this rule, they didn't define the meaning of military necessity, which allows for many violations of this law under this wavier. Conflicts were not the only reason to motivate the world to develop safeguards for the protection of cultural heritage. In 1954 the Egyptian government decided to build Aswan Dam to create a huge artificial lake that would cover the Upper Nile Valley area extending from Aswan in Egypt to Dal Cataract in Sudan. The Upper Nile Valley area which was known as Nubia is a very rich area with cultural heritage and artifacts. In 1959, the Egyptian and the Sudanese Governments requested UNESCO to assist their countries in the protection and rescue of the 3000-year-old monuments in Nubia from the flooding. As a reaction to the call for the protection of Nubia, UNESCO established a campaign in 1960 to do excavations and record hundreds of sites, which was the first step to establish The World Heritage List later. The campaign also worked on the relocation of several important temples to higher ground, including the famous temple complexes of Abu Simbel and Philae.⁴⁶ In 1972 in Paris, the General Conference of UNESCO in its seventeenth session adopted the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, as a result of what was known as the Nubia Campaign."⁴⁷ Despite all the efforts of the international community to protect the world's cultural heritage during conflicts, the destruction continued and violations happened again. In 1991, the old town of Dubrovnic in Croatia was destroyed under the command of the former Yugoslav naval officer, Miodrag Jokic. For two months mortars were fired on the city between October and the end of December of the same year.⁴⁸ As a result of these violations, the Hague

⁴⁵"Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict." ICRC, October 29, 2010. <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/war-and-law/conduct-hostilities/cultural-property/overview-cultural-property.htm>.

⁴⁶Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Monuments of Nubia-International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia." World Heritage Centre. Accessed September 11, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/172/>.

⁴⁷Ibid

⁴⁸"A Historic Resolution to Protect Cultural Heritage." UNESCO, January 9, 2020. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017nian-di-3qi/historic-resolution-protect-cultural-heritage>.

Convention Second Protocol was adopted in 1999. This protocol introduced new rules to increase the cultural protection measurements and required the punishment of those who break the protocol and commit violations that lead to the destruction of cultural heritage and historical properties.⁴⁹"It gave enhanced protection for the cultural property of the greatest importance for humanity adding to the earlier categories of general protection and special protection."⁵⁰"In consequence, Jokic was the first individual ever convicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal."⁵¹

Cultural heritage destruction followed during the Twenty-First century, violating international laws and protocols. In 2012, ten religious and historical monuments were destroyed in Timbuktu in Mali, which were inscribed as World Heritage sites in 1988. The operation was directed by Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi while the city was under the control of Ansar Dine, a group suspected of having ties to al Qaeda. In consequence, cultural heritage destruction was considered a war crime for the first time, and Al Faqi Al Mahdi was convicted by the International Criminal Court for directing the attack.⁵² "The international community wanted to make sure that crimes like this against culture would not go without punishment."⁵³

During the last ten years, more of these violations have happened to World Heritage sites in Syria and Iraq, including historical monuments destruction and looting of historical artifacts. In 2015, Nimrud, a precious 3200-year-old site in Iraq, was bulldozed by ISIS, who viewed anything predating the Islamic era and includes statues of gods in the shape of humans or animals as idolatrous, and must be destroyed. The famous Ancient City of Palmyra suffered a similar fate. "Palmyra is mentioned in the archives of the kingdom of Mari in the 2nd Millennium BCE. and is located on the caravan route connecting the Roman Empire with Asia. The city enjoyed prosperity during the rule of

⁴⁹Ibid

⁵⁰"Hague Convention and Its Two Protocols." HERITAGE FOR PEACE: We believe that cultural heritage is a common ground for dialogue and a tool to build peace. Thus, we support heritage workers in the protection of cultural heritage for future generations. Accessed September 11, 2020. <https://www.heritageforpeace.org/heritage-for-peace/legal-framework/hague-convention-and-its-two-protocols/>.

⁵¹"A Historic Resolution to Protect Cultural Heritage." UNESCO, January 9, 2020.

<https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017-nian-di-3qi/historic-resolution-protect-cultural-heritage>.

⁵²Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi: "I plead guilty" [Interview by 1138205816 857398829 A. Barrak]. (2017, October/November). *The UNESCO Courier*. Retrieved December 18, 2020, from <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017-october-december/ahmad-al-faqi-al-mahdi-i-plead-guilty>.

⁵³Ibid

its famous queen Zanobia early in the 2nd-century CE.. before it was conquered and destroyed by the Roman army, which rebuilt it. Due to the importance of the city, it became in the 20th century an important tourist attraction in Syria and was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1986."⁵⁴ In 2015, the city was captured by the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. ISIS wanted to draw the attention of the international world, and they had the best opportunity in Palmyra, they used the heritage of Palmyra to serve their propaganda purposes. In August of the same year, they destroyed the temple of Baalshamin, a 1900-year-old Roman building which was followed by the destruction of the temple of Bel, another ancient building in Palmyra. A series of other destructions of ancient monuments in Palmyra including the tower tombs followed later that year. All these sites were World Heritage sites, yet they were not protected by UNESCO or any other international organizations, and no one could stop the destruction of these treasures.⁵⁵ Only Khaled Al-Asaad, a Syrian Archeologist and the director of the antiquities of the Ancient Site did not leave the city. He spent his life studying and preserving the antiquities and artifacts of Palmyra until the last minute of his life and he made sure that all the artifacts of the museum of Palmyra were transported out of the city and put in a safe place. Khaled Al-Asaad was horrifically executed by ISIS.

The Cultural Heritage in Syria was involved in the conflict since its beginning in 2011 and was directly targeted and destroyed for multiple reasons. Every group of those who were involved in the conflict have their agenda. Some of them concern the prevention of the location's political use, accidental collateral damage in armed clashes, targeting structures to clear a path, and targeting these buildings because of the association with specific cultural or religious groups.⁵⁶ These agendas resulting in destruction are directly affecting the social infrastructure of the city and targeting the people's identity and memory. That was the case in Syria, as a result of the continuation of cultural heritage destruction in Syria's six World Heritage sites during the conflict,

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Cunliffe, Emma, Nibal Muhsen, and Marina Lostal. "The Destruction of Cultural Property in the Syrian Conflict: Legal Implications and Obligations." Cambridge Core. Cambridge University Press, March 3, 2016. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-cultural-property/article/destruction-of-cultural-property-in-the-syrian-conflict-legal-implications-and-obligations/5B81E9C84C7F9B24FA0C4F1E9FA50CAF/core-reader>.

UNESCO wanted to draw attention to the risks they are facing, and placed these cities on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The purpose of this action was to gather all the support for the safeguarding of these World Heritage sites.⁵⁷"Syria contains some of the most globally varied and important civil, religious tangible and intangible heritage cultural heritage in the Mediterranean. Also, it has a rich national and local heritage, reflecting the diversity of its population, this local heritage is mostly what contributes to its sense of identity."⁵⁸The interest and concern for the protection of cultural heritage should include both of these meanings.

International initiatives, laws and conventions including the Hague convention protocols were all adapted and passed to protect human and world heritage during conflicts. Also, to make sure that any violations should be considered a war crime. In Syria, the situation was different. The legal framework of protecting cultural properties in conflicts wasn't completely applied. The main reason was due to the confusing difference between Treaty laws and Customary laws. "Treaty laws are the international conventions which are adopted by states, but they rarely cover non-international (internal armed conflicts) except for the destruction caused by ISIS."⁵⁹ "These Treaty laws will not be applied in the territories of a country if they haven't been signed and ratified by the state, while Customary Laws are binding on all states, which is of crucial importance in today's armed conflicts because it fills gaps left by treaty law in both international and non-international conflicts."⁶⁰Syria has already ratified and signed many of the international conventions, including the first protocol of the Hague convention in 1954, which obliged parties to respect the cultural property which prohibits using the cultural property for military purposes and never targeting cultural properties, unless there was a military necessity that required breaking this rule to achieve an imperative military goal. The rules in this protocol cover only the cases of international conflicts, which doesn't apply to most Syrian sites including the city of Aleppo. Syria had also signed but didn't ratify the second protocol of the Hague Convention in 1999, which gave enhanced protection for cultural properties and historical properties, and covered the cases of internal conflicts. In

⁵⁷"Syria's Six World Heritage Sites Placed on List of World Heritage in Danger." UNESCO, June 21, 2013. <https://en.unesco.org/news/syria's-six-world-heritage-sites-placed-list-world-heritage-danger>.

⁵⁸Ibid

⁵⁹Ibid

⁶⁰Ibid

the case of Syria, the international covenant on Economic, Social and cultural rights was also ratified by Syria. This covenant obligates the protection of mankind's Cultural Heritage and should be a reason to protect the inscribed World Heritage sites by UNESCO in Syria.⁶¹ Also, the 1995 convention on stolen or illegally exported cultural objects, which would provide a more detailed protection framework, wasn't signed by Syria. All the previous tools and protocols which are intended to help safeguard cultural property by preventing its destruction or use for military purposes guided to help countries be ready for the consequences of the conflict, by taking extra precautions, preparing the ancient sites and moving the historic artifacts to a safer place. They also focused on convicting parties who violate the rules more than preventing the violation in the first place.⁶²

The ancient city of Aleppo was inscribed on the World Heritage list of UNESCO in 1986. This was followed by an increased awareness for the need to preserve the unique cultural heritage of the Old City which encouraged further local and international initiatives and cooperation to preserve the authenticity of culture, tradition and social life as well as a comprehensive and original urban fabric which is still almost intact. At that time it was proposed that a complete cycle of restoration and rehabilitation of buildings, monuments and infrastructure of the estimated area of 465 Hectares of the built environment in Ancient Aleppo will take at least 30-40 years, provided that sufficient funds-public and private, local and international can be mobilized. The most important initiative and the longest in the modern history of the preservation of the city of Aleppo was the cooperation between the Syrian authorities, represented by the Municipality of Aleppo with Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)- previously known as the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). The approach for preservation and development included the renewal of infrastructure, traffic, management, financial incentives for the rehabilitation of houses, environmental protection, social and cultural facilities, community development, promotion of tourism, restoration of monuments and economic development. The project also worked on the development of strategic planning tools as well as institutional structures and financial settings to achieve the

⁶¹Ibid

⁶²Ibid

improvement of the living conditions of the residents, reinvigorating the economy of the old city and the continuity of the living aspects in the city, besides the main goal of preserving and protecting the city's historic fabric. The German contribution included technical advice and financial support from 1993-2008.

A Development Plan (DP) was issued in 1999. This outlines the integrated approach adopted for the comprehensive rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo and became the guideline for planning and developing the old city. The project also provided a land-use plan which reserved specific zones in the Old City of Aleppo for specific uses. It also allows for residential uses, business areas, and commercial uses, mixed uses of residential and commercial activities, open and green spaces and tourist districts. Additionally, a special building code was provided to regulate maintenance and rebuilding activities in the old city with specific criteria related to proportion, height and materials. The participation of the local community in the Old City of Aleppo is essential to complete the harmony of the cultural fabric. The project of the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo targeted the different categories of the local community to cover their needs to maintain their presence in this place and their interaction in it. Also, cultural activities such as concerts, lectures, and art exhibitions are organized or sponsored in the Old City. As part of the social and cultural development, some historic buildings and monuments in the old city were preserved, developed and reused to be cultural and social centers providing spaces for art exhibitions, cultural and neighborhood events and other activities. Tourism was also an important aspect of the development process. The Old City of Aleppo has immense potential for cultural tourism. Five thousand years of history and unique urban fabric was almost intact, in addition to vivid social, cultural and economic traditions. As a result, UNESCO declared it as a "World Cultural Heritage Site" and this is what tourists look for.⁶³In all aspects of development, the preservation and restoration of the historic monuments were essential to the process. There were at least 240 classified historical monuments located in Old Aleppo which required maintenance, restoration and rehabilitation. People were specially trained in restoration techniques through specific programs during the lifetime of the rehabilitation project.

⁶³ The Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo, Brochure 2004

Chapter 2: The Old City Of Aleppo

The historic background, a World Heritage Site, and the social structure of the city

Abu Al-Tayyib Al-Mutanabbi, the famous Abbasid Arab poet, was known also as the poet of Sayf Al-Dawla (Sword of the Dynasty) the founder of the Emirate of Aleppo in 944. Al Mutanabbi loved Aleppo, he lived there for more than nine years and composed his greatest pieces while in Aleppo.⁶⁴ Al- Mutanabbi said describing Aleppo:

"Every time gardens welcome us, we said to them, Aleppo is our aim and you are merely the route."⁶⁵

Aleppo, at times in history was considered one of the oldest, the largest and the most picturesque cities in its region. Lying between the desert and the sea, the mountains of Anatolia and the banks of the Euphrates, it was Arab and Turkish; Kurdish and Armenian; Christian, Muslim and Jewish. An Arabic-speaking city with a Muslim majority, under the Ottoman Empire. Aleppo also became a center of French culture and Catholic missions. Like many other cities in the region, it mixed East and West, Islam, Christianity and Judaism.⁶⁶ Over history, the city of Aleppo had an important location. It was built upon four hills. The castle was built in the center over the highest hill, it was a holy location and was used for worship. Later in history, the location of the castle served defensive purposes. The location of the city made it a target for invaders. Aleppo has been occupied and ruled by different empires including Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian Seleucid, Roman, Muslim Arab, Turkish, and the French. In 1946, Aleppo became part of the Syrian Arab Republic after independence. "The remains of most of these civilizations are still witnesses to the history of Aleppo. Also a ring of classical ruins in the surrounding countryside, known as dead cities, demonstrates its prosperity under the Roman empire: among them Sigilla, Chalcis, Saint Simon, and many others, which date from the fifth and sixth centuries."⁶⁷

⁶⁴Ghazal, R. (2014, April 27). 10th-century poet is a special guest. Retrieved December 21, 2020, from <https://www.thenationalnews.com/arts-culture/10th-century-poet-is-a-special-guest-1.686092>

⁶⁵Abu Al-Tayyib Al-Mutanabbi A poetry describing Aleppo, circa 944

⁶⁶Mansel, P. (2018). *Aleppo: The rise and fall of Syria's great merchant city*. Londres: I.B. Tauri

⁶⁷Ibid

The ancient city was given different names. One of the famous names which is the current name Aleppo, Halab in Arabic, means the act of milking. The legend says that Abraham 'the prophet' milked his flocks there and dispensed the milk to people as alms. Some other names include Hierapolis and Beroea during the Roman Christian period. Aleppo became an Arabic city after the Muslim Arabs conquered the city in 637 AD. The city after that was a Muslim majority with religious diversity. People of all religions were able to live in the city and share it peacefully. It was ruled by Damascus during the Ommayyad rule, then by Baghdad during the Abbasid rule, until it became the capital under the Hamadanids during the 11th century E.C. That was when Aleppo became a trading city. It gained its importance due to the important location of the city on the famous Silk Road. The silk road was a trading road that connected countries of the East with the West, from China to Europe. Aleppo was in a central location and very close to Iskenderun which was an international seaport of the Ottoman Empire on the Mediterranean sea. A large number of European merchants used to come to Aleppo and stay in its khans (caravansarai) which were prepared to host people with their caravans. Aleppo gained more importance during the Ottoman rule, and soon it became the third-largest city in the Empire, and British, Dutch and French consulates and trading offices were established in the city.⁶⁸ For centuries, Chinese silk and porcelain, Central Asian cotton, spices from India, Italian crystal and glassworks, metal products from Persia and Iraq, fragrances from Zanzibar and the Far East as well as local products such as soap or fabrics were imported into Aleppo's Bazaar, and then transferred bazaars in other regions by caravans."⁶⁹ Aleppo Bazaar was one of the world's longest souks, which extended for 13 km and may have been the second-longest covered bazaar after the great bazaar in Istanbul. The famous vaulted souk in Aleppo hosted a wide variety of merchandise, industries and crafts. "It was said that a blind man could make his way by following the smell of the merchandise."⁷⁰ Because of the city's location on the trade road, Aleppo flourished differently compared to Damascus which was located on the Pilgrim Road to Mecca. Trade became the official business of the people of Aleppo, who became more

⁶⁸ "Aleppo." Accessed August 31, 2020. <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/aleppo>.

⁶⁹ "Aleppo, the Disappearing Memory of the Silk Roads." Accessed August 31, 2020. <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/aleppo-disappearing-memory-silk-roads>.

⁷⁰ Mansel, P. (2018). *Aleppo: The rise and fall of Syria's great merchant city*. Londres: I.B. Tauris.

open to travelers and visitors of all nationalities and religious backgrounds. Besides the traditional market (souks), khans or caravanserais served as inns to welcome traveling merchants and caravans to rest before they completed their journeys on the famous Silk Road. The old city was historically classified into two main parts, the city inside the walls and the city outside the walls. For a long time, the old city of Aleppo like most ancient cities was surrounded by defensive walls that are supported by towers and accessed by gates. Aleppo had sixteen gates, most of which were destroyed by urban development. The walls which are still standing go back to different Islamic periods, some of these remains rest over the ruins of earlier walls from the Roman and Greek periods. The walls have changed a lot over history and were renovated a couple of times. The stones that the walls are made of are organized in layers that vary in shapes and sizes. Although some existing walls in Old Aleppo fully belong to a single period in history, many consist of three main parts, but are still in good structural shape. The lower part goes back to the pre-13th century CE, and was built with enormous stones. The middle section consists of smaller stones and the third part dates to the Mamluk period between the 14th and the 15th centuries and some restoration work during the Ottoman era between the 16th and the late 19th century. Ten of the sixteen historic gates of Aleppo have vanished, while those standing include: Bab Qenesreen, which is the oldest and goes back to the year 1256 CE. This gate historically led to Qenesreen Village, which had the Greek name 'Kalsees' during the Roman times and was a location for the army and defense. Bab Antakia, located at the west wall of the city was destroyed by the Romans around the ninth century CE and was rebuilt by Salah Aldeen in the 12th Century, it leads to the city of Antakia, recently inside the Turkish borders. Bab Al Naser or the Victory gate was built in the 13th century over the ruins of an older gate and used to be known as the gate of the Jews, because it led outside the walls of the city to the Jewish cemeteries, and was also in the neighborhood of the Jewish community in the city. Bab Al Maqam was built in the 13th century. It is located in the south wall and leads outside the city to the shrine of Ibrahim. It was renovated in 1493 and was characterized by its defensive details. Bad Al Jenan, was built in the early 16th Century and used to lead to the gardens outside Aleppo. The north tower was demolished but it still maintains its south tower. Bab Al Hadeed was also built in the 16th Century.

The first expansion of the city of Aleppo outside the walls took place in the 15th century CE when the wealthy Christians started building their homes in the northwest corner outside the historic walls of Aleppo calling it Al Jdeedah, which means the new. It continued to expand and improve during the late Mamluk and the Ottoman periods. This new neighborhood had its gates with a comprehensive defensive system and a majority of Christian and Armenian inhabitants, where they had their services, markets, and religious buildings.

The traditional buildings of Aleppo introduced a unique architectural school based on and affected by its social structure and diversity. The rich base of thousands of years of ancient civilizations adds to it the unique look created by the use of local raw stone that gave architects and builders the ability to create beautiful architectural features. Despite the organic look of the old city of Aleppo, its fabric was developed sensitively to provide privacy, environmentally friendly spaces and all services within a walking distance from residents through secure and pedestrian-friendly accesses.

During the time of prosperity as a trade city and one of the important trade destinations and a certain stop on the silk road, Aleppo became a city of consuls where the business is done. Venice, France, England and the Netherlands had their consuls in Aleppo. The people of Aleppo spoke Arabic, although it was under Ottoman rule. "It was a Levantine city characterized by its location near the Mediterranean, the prominence of international trade and foreign consuls, the use of international languages, such as lingua franca or broken Italian, and later French; relative tolerance, and balance between different communities. No single group was exclusively dominant."⁷¹ Muslims, Jews and Christians, all lived in their communities, near a mosque, church, or synagogue. Until 2012 Aleppo was distinguished by its peaceful character, and over history, the people of Aleppo had lived together in harmony and peace. The diversity in Aleppo, and the openness to other cultures, made the people more flexible and enriched their culture. Aleppo is famous for its good food and rich cuisine which was influenced over time by other cuisines in the world and was also able to influence other cuisines. The people of Aleppo were able to improve their unique recipes to compete with the best cuisines in the

⁷¹Mansel, P. (2018). *Aleppo: The rise and fall of Syria's great merchant city*. Londres: I.B. Tauris.

world. They are famous for creating recipes with unusual combinations and unique savors, like cherry with meat (Kabab Karaz) and the sweet and sauer cooked quince with meat and wheat (Safarjalyeh). "Aleppo people think that they have the best food in the world, and recipes are a heritage that is inherited from one generation to another."⁷²In 2004 Haim Sabato wrote in his book published in 1997 *Aleppo Tales*, that "The people of Aleppo, extol the food of their city and its delicacies. They don't eat to excess but they expend inordinate effort and employ meticulous precision in the preparation of dishes. The saying goes: " If you want to judge the quality of someone from Aleppo, uncover his pot and inspect his food."⁷³

Aleppo during the Conflict and Damage Assessment

Aleppo has always been a target of invaders due to its important location, it was destroyed many times over history. The first documented destruction of Aleppo was in the mid-sixteenth century BCE by Hittites. Then in 333 BCE it was conquered and destroyed by Alexander the Great during his military campaign to invade southwestern Asia. Aleppo has rebuilt again by the Hellenic empire according to a regular Hippodamian plan which can still be observed in the western section of the city near Bab Antakya and the area of the Great Umayyad Mosque, this area used to be known as "Agora" in the Hellenic city and served as a location for gathering.⁷⁴ After years of prosperity under Byzantine rule, it was again invaded and burned by the Persians in 540 CE.⁷⁵ Aleppo was peacefully integrated into the Muslim Arab rule in 636 CE and flourished again for three centuries before it was destroyed again for the first time in the Islamic period by the Byzantine invasion in 962 CE. It was rebuilt in 1146 by Nur Al-Din Zengi and the city witnessed prosperity during the Ayoubid period. The city was invaded and destroyed again twice by Mongolians during the Mamluk period before it was finally conquered by the Ottoman. Aleppo flourished as a major regional

⁷²Mansel, P. (2018). *Aleppo: The rise and fall of Syria's great merchant city*. Londres: I.B. Tauris.

⁷³ Aleppo Tales, by Haim Sabato. A book about The Jewish community of Aleppo, Syria

⁷⁴"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁷⁵Encyclopaedia Britannica's editors. *Aleppo*. (1998, July 20). Aleppo. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Aleppo>

commercial center during the Ottoman period. In 1822, Aleppo was struck by a strong earthquake that had a massive impact on the built environment of the city. Sixty percent of the urban fabric was destroyed and the citadel was severely damaged.⁷⁶ Since it became a World Heritage site in 1996 Aleppo was receiving national and international attention and many initiatives and financial support under the umbrella of the Rehabilitation Project of the Old City of Aleppo produced impressive results. The selection of the Old City of Aleppo to become a World Heritage Site in 1996 was based on different criteria including the fact that the Old Aleppo reflects the rich and diverse cultures of its successive occupants, and because it represents an outstanding example of an Ayyubid 12th century city with an emphasis of military architecture under the Arab domination. The defensive walls, the great gateways, the enormous citadel of Aleppo with its great towers, and the stone entry bridge are all characteristic of the architectural quality of this ensemble. The urban character of the souqs and residential streets and lanes, all contribute to the city's outstanding universal value.⁷⁷ Also the layout of the Old City with the dominant Citadel has remained unchanged.⁷⁸ By early 2011, Aleppo was again prospering and was in the process of modernizing. The authorities linked their interests with those of city businesses, and tourism investment was rapidly growing.⁷⁹ Also, Aleppo signed agreements for cooperation with two twin cities; Lyon in France and Ghazi Entip in Turkey. In July 2012, a date that marked the second year of conflict in Syria, Aleppo became part of the war, with the result that it very quickly became the most disastrously affected city. Aleppo had the largest share of damage to its built environment, the loss of human lives, and mass migration and relocation. The Old City of Aleppo was one battlefield out of many in the city, which caused the major destruction of the urban fabric as a result of bombardments, underground bombs, shelling, fires, and street combats. Since the beginning of the conflict in 2011, damage to Syria's cultural heritage has been widely reported in the news and social media. The city of Aleppo was heavily damaged along with the other five World Heritage sites in

⁷⁶ Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

⁷⁷ Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Ancient City of Aleppo." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ "FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

Syria.⁸⁰ Following the end of the conflict in the city of Aleppo in December 2016, the city became accessible, although it was laying largely in ruins. The emergency assessment mission of UNESCO was able to enter the old city in January of 2017, and in early March 2017, UNESCO hosted the first international coordination meeting for the recovery of Aleppo's cultural heritage. During this meeting, it was agreed that UNESCO will be coordinating all the efforts to rebuild the old city of Aleppo.⁸¹ According to the General Company for Engineering Studies in Syria (GCES) Assessment report published in 2017, the damaged in the Old City of Aleppo was listed on three different categories;

1. 20.5% of the city's fabric is severely damaged and needs rebuilding, 9.8% of it is destroyed.
2. 58.8% of the city's fabric is slightly damaged, and can be rehabilitated.
3. 20.7% of the city's fabric is not damaged.

"In spring 2013, it was reported that the minaret of the Great Mosque of Aleppo (Omayyad Mosque) had been destroyed during the fighting (Figure 2.1). The magnificent minaret which was built in 1090 during the rule of the local Seljuq dynasty (1080–1117) testified to the artistic quality and high skill of the local stonemasons was destroyed on 24 April 2013. During this same year, more damage and destruction took place inside the Great Mosque and the area around it"⁸²(Figure 2.2). The surrounding area including the nearby Suq Al Madina was heavily damaged. The National Hamidi Hospital (later the Carlton Hotel) a very unique building from the Ottoman period and the first modern hospital in the city, was also targeted on July 14 of 2014 and was destroyed by tunnel bombs. The monument was part of the citadel perimeter area, which was before the conflict a tourist destination in the city. This area suffered the heaviest damage in the old city. "This area contained government buildings, such as the Ministry of Justice headquarters, a police headquarters, and the Grand Serail of Aleppo, which was the main government building in the city under the French Mandate."⁸³

⁸⁰ American Association for the Advancement of Science. "Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery." American Association for the Advancement of Science. <https://www.aaas.org/resources/ancient-history-modern-destruction-assessing-current-status-syria-s-world-heritage-sites>.

⁸¹ "FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid



Figure 2.1: Great Mosque of Aleppo (Omayyad Mosque) before and after destruction. Source:© PHOTO AFP GEORGE OURFALIAN REUTERS KHALIL ASHAWI



Figure 2.2: Destruction in the Ancient City of Aleppo and Matbakh al-Ajami, the area next to Omayyad Mosque. Source: © UNESCO, Picture date: 2014

The whole area was targeted and heavily damaged mostly by underground tunnel bombs, including Hammam Yalbougha an-Nasry (public bath), and Almadrassah Al Sultanya (mosque and Islamic school) which represents the Ayyubid religious architecture. While the Ministry of Justice building and police headquarters had been almost destroyed, The Al Khusrawiyya Mosque (mid-16th century) left a crater of forty meters in diameter where the building formerly stood.⁸⁴ The Al-Khusrawiyya Complex was another structure in the series of buildings around the citadel that was targeted by tunnel bombs in 2014 and demolished by explosives. It included a mosque, a school, a mausoleum, a public kitchen, and guest rooms. The complex was also supported by a khan (Caravanserai), and asouq with a large number of shops.⁸⁵(Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: The picture shows where the Al-Khusrawiyya complex formerly stood. The picture was taken by the creator, Picture date: 2017

The Al-Khusrawiyya complex was built by the Ottomans in 1565 by the famous architect Mimar Sinan, who became later the architect of the Ottoman Empire. Al-Khusrawiyya complex had exceptional historic importance as the first Ottoman-style

⁸⁴Ibid

⁸⁵Ibid

religious complex in Aleppo.⁸⁶"The architectural and decorative elements of the mosque, the magnificent portal, the ceramic tiles above the windows, the mihrab and the minbar in the prayer hall were all valuable examples of this combination of styles. Taking these points into consideration, the overall historical loss is categorized as critical."⁸⁷

During the conflict, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) showed a high concern about the damaged heritage of Syria, the built environment, and the historic artifacts. In 2014 they started an assessment of Syria's World Heritage sites using high-resolution satellite imagery to determine the current status of each site and the locations of historic artifacts looting especially in locations that have access limitations like locations under the control of ISIS.⁸⁸ In Aleppo, Satellite images released by AAAS showed the destruction in the previously mentioned areas, besides the destruction in the roofs of the traditional Market (Al Madina Souq) starting from (Souq Alzarb) which can be accessed from the main street around the citadel and extending west towards Bab Antakia at the western wall of Old Aleppo. The traditional market (Al Madina Souq) also suffered great damage including fires, roof and shop destruction. Also, between 2014 and 2016, a similar documentation technique was used by UNITAR-UNOSAT who published Satellite-Based Damage Assessment to Cultural Heritage Sites in Syria. Similar to the AAAS, this assessment of high-resolution satellite images of the World Heritage property. "They used specialized remote-sensing techniques that resulted in an in-depth analysis of the destruction and damage to numerous architecturally and historically significant buildings."⁸⁹ These multiple assessments played an important role in documenting the damage on a significant and critical level of the structure. Unfortunately, none of them was able to show more detailed

⁸⁶"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁸⁷Ibid

⁸⁸American Association for the Advancement of Science. "Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery." American Association for the Advancement of Science. <https://www.aaas.org/resources/ancient-history-modern-destruction-assessing-current-status-syria-s-world-heritage-sites>.

⁸⁹"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

destruction levels to facades and architectural features, especially in the dense residential areas⁹⁰(Figure 2.4).

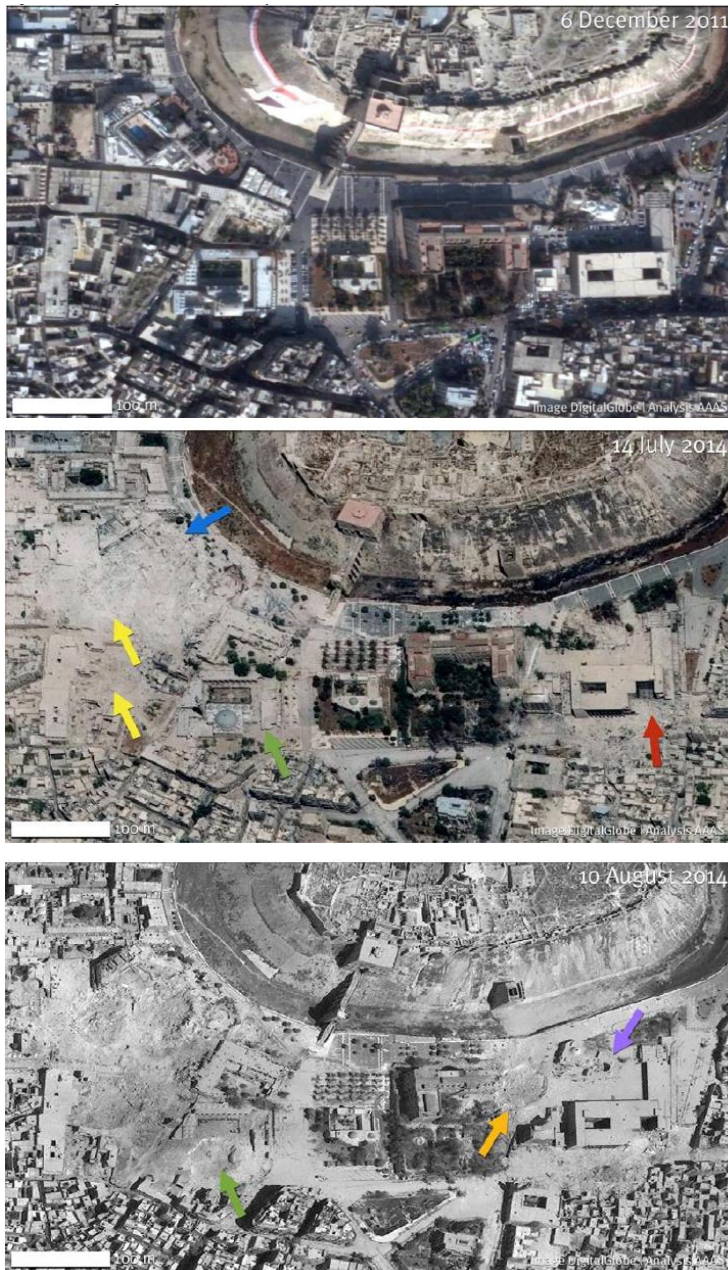


Figure 2.4: The three pictures show the destruction in the area around the citadel 'Between 6 December 2011 (top), 14 July 2014 (middle), and 10 August 2014 (bottom). Images ©2014, DigitalGlobe, NextView License | Analysis AAAS. Coordinates 36.19N, 37.16E.' Source: AAAS, "Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery."

⁹⁰"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

The categories in the damage assessment done by UNITAR-UNOSAT satellite imagery differs from the categories in the assessment done by the GCES. In their report, UNESCO used five different levels to assess the physical situation of the historic properties inside the Old City of Aleppo and documented a detailed list of damage at 518 cadastral-plotted building, including the citadel of Aleppo, and each souq as a single entity. Among these buildings, damage levels were identified as follows: 56 destroyed, 82 severely damaged, 270 moderately damaged, 20 possibly damaged, and 8 with no visible damage.⁹¹ The damage in the citadel was classified based on the UNITAR-UNOSAT assessment as moderate damage, although one of the structures in the citadel was destroyed and three are severely damaged, the rest of the structures were moderately damaged. The walls and the towers were safe except for two locations where the towers were severely damaged.⁹² Different religious buildings in the Old City were also damaged, including Muslim and Christian worship buildings, a total of 175 buildings were assessed in the UNITAR-UNOSAT report, seventeen of them were destroyed and twenty-one religious buildings were severely damaged, and the rest were moderately damaged.⁹³ The Al-Adiliyya mosques was another Ottoman building and an important example of the architectural style that was brought by them, designed by the architect Mimar Sinan and completed in 1553. The mosque was damaged during the conflict, the western side including the roof, the columns and arcades were damaged in 2012, while the minaret was damaged later in 2013.⁹⁴

The Al Jdaydeh quarter which is located in the north part of the city and was originally part of the expansion outside the ancient old city walls during the early Ottoman period, "noted for its winding narrow alleys and richly decorated houses from the Ottoman period. These houses belonged to the Aleppine bourgeoisie, who creatively decorated them."⁹⁵ The Forty Martyrs Armenian Orthodox Church was built in 1491 to replace a small chapel in the old Christian cemetery, the bell tower of the church is

⁹¹"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁹²Ibid

⁹³Ibid

⁹⁴Ibid

⁹⁵Busquets, Joan. "Review of Busquets, Joan, Ed., Aleppo: Rehabilitation of the Old City." www.h-net.org. H-Levant, 2007. <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13582>.

considered a unique example of baroque architecture in Aleppo.⁹⁶ Before 2011, the area experienced great tourism growth and prosperity when a lot of its great houses were reused as restaurants and hotels. The Al Jdaydeh had a great share of the destruction during the conflict, part of this neighborhood was flattened to earth (Figure 2.5). The Maronite Church and the Forty Martyrs Armenian Orthodox Church were also between the religious building that was targeted and damaged during the conflict. The Museum of Popular Art and Traditions (Bayt Ajiqbash), which was built in 1757. It is famous for its rich stone decorations and is one of the examples of the impact of the European baroque ornamental forms. The house was damaged first as a result of the implementation of the new master plans in the mid-twentieth century. The rooms on the eastern side were demolished to widen the street that connects Awjat al-Kayali and al-Hatab square. In 1967, the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) expropriated the house and restored it to house the Museum of Popular Art and traditions in 1982. The museum and the architectural elements have been severely damaged or destroyed during the conflict.⁹⁷



Figure 2.5: The picture shows the destruction in the AlJdaydeh neighborhood. The picture was taken by the creator, Picture date: 2017

⁹⁶“FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo.” PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁹⁷Ibid

The role of Aleppo as a trade center had an impact on the architecture of the city. It included a large number of buildings associated with trade. The traditional covered linear market (Al-Madina) extended from the citadel in the east to Bab Antakya in the west. It consists of shops on two sides of the parallel, narrow paved streets. This complex contains around 35 souqs, 20 khans and several qaysariyas.⁹⁸ The damage assessment reported 31 destroyed points inside the souq complex, 43 severely damaged points, and 82 moderately damaged points. The most damage is in the parts of the souq which is closer to the citadel and the great mosque where most of the battles occurred.⁹⁹

In general, the grand gates of the Old City were less damaged than other monuments in the city, except for Bab Almaqam which looks severely damaged. The gate of Bab Almaqam is located at the southern boundaries of the Old City and was built in the twelfth century CE. Other gates look in a better shape, like Bab Qinnasrin which is located in the southwest corner of the Old City. The defensive gate of Bab Qinnasrin was built in an L-shape which leads to one of the largest and most dense residential neighborhoods in the Old City of Aleppo. This neighborhood includes many monuments and beautiful large houses, traditional Aleppo soap factories, public bathrooms and important historic mosques like Al Eskafi (1147 CE) and Al Tarsousi (1154CE). It also includes Bimaristan Arghun al-Kamili which was moderately damaged. "The Bimaristan was built in 1354 by Arghun al-Kamili who represented the Mamluk sultanate in Aleppo. It is considered one of the most important traditional hospitals built in the Islamic world. The hospital was used as Aleppo's main health care institution with the Mamluk sultanate providing it with complete funding for medicine, instruments and research."¹⁰⁰ The area of Bab Qinnasrin and the residential neighborhood with all the services in the neighborhood was the location of the pilot project for the rehabilitation of Old Aleppo and the first area to be preserved and rehabilitated as part of the Development Plan, and the first case study that was followed by many rehabilitation projects that covered the Old City of Aleppo before the war. The residential neighborhood behind the gate of Bab

⁹⁸"FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

⁹⁹Ibid

¹⁰⁰"Bimaristan Arghun Al-Kamili." Archnet. <https://archnet.org/sites/1801>.

Qinnasrin is severely damaged in some locations and moderately damaged in others (Figure 2.6).



Figure 2.6: A heat map of damage to the Ancient City of Aleppo. Source: UNOSAT

National and International Efforts and the Role of the Local Community

It was almost impossible to access many areas in the old city of Aleppo during the conflict. While the conflict continued, and the destruction targeted the heritage of the city, only militant forces from both sides were able to record the damage and publish it in the media. In December 2014, the DGAM (Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums) started digitizing the records and plans of Castles, museums, archaeological sites and mosques in the province of Aleppo in general including the citadel of Aleppo and the monuments of the ancient city as part of the campaign to save the archive of the old city.¹⁰¹ More than a thousand files of the built cultural heritage were digitized.¹⁰² Also,

¹⁰¹Perini, Silvia. "Towards a Protection of the Syrian Cultural Heritage: A Summary of the International Responses Volume II." www.heritageforpeace.org, October 2014. http://www.heritageforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Towards-a-protection-of-the-Syrian-cultural-heritage_Oct-2014.pdf.

¹⁰²Ibid

historic buildings of neighborhoods that are located outside the boundaries of the old city, in areas like Jamelyeh and Azizyeh which had buildings dating back to the French mandate in Aleppo, were surveyed and documented. The DGAM worked in Aleppo in cooperation with local communities and stakeholders including the Municipality of Aleppo, the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo, the University, the GCES and international organizations like UNESCO, ICOM, ICOMOS, ICCROM, the Arab Regional Center for World Heritage (ARC-WH) in Bahrain and the World Monument Fund (WMF) in exchanging visions and data, raising awareness and building capacity in the city. The local professionals of Aleppo showed an incredible dedication in the documentation work, undertaking mitigation actions during the conflict, as well as emergency measures for the recovery phase by participating in the working meetings with the Aleppo City Council, the DGAM and NGOs to identify adequate proposals and coordinate action.¹⁰³ During these consultations, it was proposed to declare the Ancient City of Aleppo an emergency zone.¹⁰⁴ International efforts were spent to improve laws and legislations to protect world heritage. Most of the laws and resolutions were created to limit crimes of looting and illegal removing of historic items and tackled illicit artifacts trafficking.¹⁰⁵ Also staff and individual training and rapid recording of at-risk cultural heritage was led collaboratively by ICOMOS, CyArk and the UNESCO Beirut office. Emergency safeguarding to the Syrian Cultural Heritage Project, was targeted by the DGAM staff and focused on rapid recording.¹⁰⁶ In 2017 UNESCO organized a meeting (Corporate workshop) to unify the different efforts and visions of stakeholders and international organizations involved in the interest and the process of rebuilding the Old City of Aleppo, its urban environment, economy and social infrastructure. They worked on planning for the damage assessment, intervention priorities and creating the best work environment to achieve these goals and provide the needed financial and technical support. The meeting was the milestone for collaboration on the national and the international level, and more detailed actions and projects were suggested during this meeting.

¹⁰³Ibid

¹⁰⁴Ibid

¹⁰⁵Ibid

¹⁰⁶Ibid

Chapter 3: Examples of Cities that Suffered from War Destruction and Their Recovery Experience and Process.

Case study1: Rebuilding Beirut City District (Downtown Beirut)

"Aleppo and Beirut are some of the oldest continuously occupied urban areas in the world. Situated on the ancient trade routes from the east, Aleppo in particular was at a crossroads. The legacy of these long and distinguished histories is a wealth of cultural heritage and multi-cultural and -denominational inhabitants."¹⁰⁷The two cities also shared the same fate, when they both fell victims to long and devastating conflicts, that affected their economy, social and technical infrastructure, built environment and cultural heritage. "Lebanon is a small country located on the Eastern Shore of the Mediterranean Sea creating an extension of the Syrian sea borders. Lebanon and Syria once were one country and together with Palestine and Jordan were part of Greater Syria. Beirut, which is the capital of Lebanon, is situated on a narrow coastal strip surrounded by mountain ranges. Beirut's urban fabric evolved throughout its rich history and nowadays presents a layering of various cultures. Due to its strategic location for the maritime trade, the city of Beirut has functioned as a major port since the Phoenician era in 550 BCE. The development of the city plan and architecture was enriched during the Hellenistic Roman and Byzantine periods. Later in the 7th century, under the Omayyad Islamic dynasty, the city of Beirut became the military port of Damascus. During the crusades, the city changed its rulers at various times. Then the Mamluk ruled from 1291 to 1516 CE, before the Ottomans made it just a minor city in their vast empire. The importance of the city was revealed again in the 19th century when the railroad connected it to Damascus. During the 20th century, the city improved economically and demographically, followed by urban renovation during the French mandate. Lebanon gained independence in 1943 to become an important example of the modern financial center in the middle east before

¹⁰⁷Sandes, Caroline. "Remembering Beirut: Lessons for Archaeology and (Post-)Conflict Urban Redevelopment in Aleppo." *Ex Novo Journal of Archaeology*, December 2017.
https://www.academia.edu/35532930/Remembering_Beirut_lessons_for_archaeology_and_post-conflict_urban_redevelopment_in_Aleppo.

it fell into the civil war in 1975."¹⁰⁸ Beirut's downtown center was heavily damaged during the civil war that lasted from 1975 to 1990. The war divided the country in general and the city of Beirut in particular between the two conflict parties, the Christians occupied the east and the Muslims were in the west of Beirut.¹⁰⁹ The downtown of Beirut became a battlefield and the historic buildings in the downtown were engaged in the fight. Aleppo and Beirut shared a similar history of physical and social division during the conflict, Aleppo was also divided into neighborhoods under the control of the Syrian regime in the west, and other neighborhoods under the control of the government opponents in the east.¹¹⁰

"Plans for new projects in Beirut and modern interventions started when the Lebanese born, but Saudi based billionaire Rafiq Hariri, returned to visit Beirut in the late 1970s even before the war was ended. In 1983, Hariri's engineering company proposed a master plan for the development of central Beirut."⁶ The destruction of Beirut continued even after the conflict has ended, the plans for the redevelopment required more destruction to reconstruct the new project of Beirut Central District. The project which was carried out by Solidere real estate company beginning in 1991 created an area aimed to attract tourists and wealthy overseas business people, while residents tended to move elsewhere.¹¹¹ The Solidere was able to expropriate all the land in the city center and control the rebuilding process, it was responsible for the implementation of the urban plan and the promotion, marketing, and sale of properties to an individual or corporate developers. The area which was called for rehabilitation after the conflict was mostly damaged beyond repair. As a result, some of the most significant parts of the urban fabric, such as the traditional souks, were erased.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Nardella, Bianca Maria, and Yasmin Abbas. "Conservation and Reconstruction in the Beirut Central District." MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Accessed October 3, 2020.
<http://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKPsite/4.239/beruit/beirut.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰Sandes, Caroline. "Remembering Beirut: Lessons for Archaeology and (Post-)Conflict Urban Redevelopment in Aleppo." *Ex Novo Journal of Archaeology*, December 2017.
https://www.academia.edu/35532930/Remembering_Beirut_lessons_for_archaeology_and_post-conflict_urban_redevelopment_in_Aleppo.

¹¹¹Ilyes, Ilona Ilma. "Rebuilding Downtown Beirut." *The Aleppo Project*, February 11, 2016.
<https://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/reconstructing-downtown-beirut/>.

¹¹²Ibid

The rebuilding of central Beirut was a highly complicated affair politically, financially, socially, practically. Its aim was to be restore it as the commercial center it had been before the war. For a variety of reasons, this has not happened, one of the reasons was the political decision to erase what was considered a painful memory for the people of Beirut.¹¹³ "Except for the twenty-six religious and government buildings that were to be retained from the beginning, the majority of buildings conserved are Ottoman and French Mandate buildings. The buildings demolished included much of the architecture of Lebanese architects built between the 1940s and 1970s; in other words that which had helped to construct an identity for a young post-colonial republic."¹¹⁴ The proposed plans for the development of Downtown Beirut didn't consider the importance of cultural heritage. Some changes were later done to the plans as a result of people and professionals' protests, which end up by adding historic preservation and some archeological excavations, But this was not enough to return the city to the way it used to be before the war. Although the preservation plans of some of the historic buildings had faced the same politicization problem, it helped somehow to encourage people to move back to the city center and join the rebuilding process.¹¹⁵

The area of downtown Beirut is now a polished mix of restored buildings, ancient ruins and glass towers with empty luxury stores and unoccupied apartments, a destination for international money and tourists, it was considered an attempt to erase Beirut's history. The area is no longer the heart of Beirut where the Lebanese used to gather in souqs (traditional market), cafes, cinemas, and hotels. "The project also isolated the area, outside the Beirut City District, the city of Beirut suffered from the deep failure of governance. Public transportation almost doesn't exist, there is no social housing, and a half comfortable life relies on generators for electricity and private tankers to bring in water. The city often ranks low in international livability surveys."¹¹⁶ Planning for the

¹¹³Sandes, Caroline. "Remembering Beirut: Lessons for Archaeology and (Post-)Conflict Urban Redevelopment in Aleppo." *Ex Novo Journal of Archaeology*, December 2017. https://www.academia.edu/35532930/Remembering_Beirut_lessons_for_archaeology_and_post-conflict_urban_redevelopment_in_Aleppo.

¹¹⁴Ibid

¹¹⁵Ibid

¹¹⁶Ilyes, Ilona Ilma. "Rebuilding Downtown Beirut." *The Aleppo Project*, February 11, 2016. <https://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/reconstructing-downtown-beirut/>.

rebuilding of downtown top-down was a fundamental reason why it was considered a failure. Lebanese people's desires were not considered in the decision-making process. The decisions concerning the rebuilding and how it was going to be undertaken was a completely political one.

Case study 2: Warsaw Post-conflict

"Warsaw was gradually destroyed throughout World War II. By September 1939, tenpercent of its buildings had already been destroyed. In 1941, the city suffered Soviet bombings and in 1943, the destruction was brought to an unprecedented level with the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. In the aftermath of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the entire district of northern Warsaw was literally wiped from the surface of the earth, Including large parts of the Old Town, the city center and the Powiśle and Wola districts."¹¹⁷ The total destruction in the urban architecture of Warsaw was around 84% of the built environment, with 72% destruction of residential buildings. People fled the city and left their houses, and only a few thousand were living in the city by the end of 1945.¹¹⁸ The systematic destruction of Warsaw was significantly obvious, especially after the end of the war, it was for some reason the wish of Hitler to destroy Warsaw as an act of revenge, his forces made sure to flatten the city before they left.¹¹⁹

"Warsaw had one of the earliest human settlements in the region. This goes back some 12,000 to 10,000 years BCE. It was only in the early 14th century CE that Warsaw acquired its typical medieval plan with a grid street pattern extending around the central market square where the cathedral and duke's castle were located. This was called Jazdów was the seat of the dukes of Mazovia for over 250 years."¹²⁰ Over the years, The city of Warsaw gained political importance in Poland, due to its important location. It attracted many architects and artists. One of them was the Venetian painter Bernardo Bellotto (1722-1780), who drew the famous portrait of the city, This was the main source of

¹¹⁷Gliński, Mikołaj. "How Warsaw Came Close to Never Being Rebuilt." Culture.pl, February 3, 2015. <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-warsaw-came-close-to-never-being-rebuilt>.

¹¹⁸Ibid

¹¹⁹Kuznicki, Kacper. "The Authenticity of the Reconstructed Old Town of Warsaw." e-conservation, November 2013. <http://e-conservation.org/issue-1/16-the-authenticity-of-the-reconstructed-old-town-of-warsaw>.

¹²⁰Ibid

information for how Warsaw looked before the war, and it was used to rebuild postwar Warsaw.¹²¹ At the beginning of 1945, Warsaw was very close to never being rebuilt again and to become a memorial of war location and the capital was moved to Lodz. Luckily, these plans were changed and Warsaw continued because of its people, former residents who were displaced during the war started to return to the city to rebuild their homes again, also it was the political desire of Stalin to keep the capital in Warsaw.¹²² The discovery of many surviving original architectural elements in the ruins guided the decision to recreate the historic city's late 18th century appearance by using the available reliable archival documents and the detailed documentary historical records from that period.¹²³ The work of Bernardo Bellotto was the main source of information to imagine the city in the 18th century. The portrait provided by Bellotto included 22 street scenes, that depicted the beautiful streets and buildings of Warsaw at that time.¹²⁴ Bellotto's paintings, along with the expertise of Polish architects, art historians and conservators, enabled the reconstruction of the Old Town to take place in an impressively short time. Most of the work was finished before 1955, The rebuilding of the Old Town continued until the mid-1960s. The work was mostly done by the hands of the residents themselves, who were dedicated to rebuilding the city, and they used the rubble of the destroyed buildings. The entire process was completed with the reconstruction of the Royal Castle, although additional construction continued into the 1980s.¹²⁵ During the process of debris removal and the preparation for reconstruction, some medieval buildings were discovered to have surviving elements. Besides the original chessboard street pattern, the medieval plan was the perfect solution to merge the old town with the rest of the city.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the newly constructed town which wasn't a replica of the 18th-century

¹²¹Ibid

¹²²Gliński, Mikołaj. "How Warsaw Came Close to Never Being Rebuilt." Culture.pl, February 3, 2015. <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-warsaw-came-close-to-never-being-rebuilt>.

¹²³Centre, UNESCO World Heritage. "Historic Centre of Warsaw." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed October 3, 2020. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30bis>.

¹²⁴Mersom, Daryl. "The Story of Cities | Cities." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, April 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/series/the-story-of-cities>.

¹²⁵Ibid

¹²⁶Kuznicki, Kacper. "The Authenticity of the Reconstructed Old Town of Warsaw." e-conservation, November 2013. <http://e-conservation.org/issue-1/16-the-authenticity-of-the-reconstructed-old-town-of-warsaw>.

city required the demolition of many of the 19th and 20th-century buildings that survived the war.

The reconstruction of the old town of Warsaw aimed mainly to bring back the residential area to continue performing the same purposes as before the war. A strong tourist potential was put in the master plan of Warsaw for the same area, which required special work in the infrastructure to attract more people to come to the old town without affecting the main historical residential purpose.¹²⁷ The experience of rebuilding Warsaw indicates that cities can rise from ruins, and cultural heritage is one important factor in the reconstruction process, although it could be manipulated and used to serve political agendas. It also reflects the importance of people in rebuilding cities. The Polish writer Leopold Tyrmand said: "One must love one's city to rebuild it at the cost of one's own breathing. It is perhaps for this reason that, from the battlefield of rubble and ruins, Warsaw became once more the old Warsaw, eternal Warsaw ... Varsovians brought it to life, filling its brick body with their own, hot breath."¹²⁸

Case study 3: Cultural Heritage in the Bosnian Wars

"The Federation of Yugoslavia was created after the First World War in 1918 and consisted of six republics; Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. In 1943 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established under the rule of Josip Broz Tito, who ruled until his death in 1980. This left the country with conflicting powers that led Yugoslavia into a series of devastating wars. These 'Yugoslavian Wars' started in the 1990's as a long series of conflicts fought in the Balkans, and lasted until 1999."¹²⁹ The richness of the Balkan cultural heritage is founded in its complex history of being a meeting point between different cultures of great empires. Much of the Balkan's cultural history consists of places of religion: churches, cathedrals, mosques, monasteries, and graveyards. The diversity of culture and religion played an important role in sparking ethnic disputes in the Yugoslav Wars.¹³⁰ The conflict

¹²⁷Ibid

¹²⁸Mersom, Daryl. "The Story of Cities | Cities." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, April 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/series/the-story-of-cities>.

¹²⁹Boom, Krijn H.J. "Rebuilding Identities: The Difficulties and Opportunities of Rehabilitation through the Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage in Post-War Yugoslavia," June 2013.

¹³⁰Ibid

in Balkan was a historical one, going back to the 15th century with the Ottoman conquest the region and defeat of the Serbs, who did not forget this humiliation even after more than five centuries. It emerged again after the death of Tito who was secretary-general of the Communist Party in the country and was able for 41 years to keep a balance of peace.¹³¹

"The level of destruction during the Bosnian war far exceeded the country's architectural heritage losses in the Second World War. It included ethnic cleansing, and the wiping out of the historical presence and the memory of Sarajevo's targeted community. The city's rich heritage of Ottoman buildings was flattened."¹³²

The city of Sarajevo was a multi-cultural city. During the Balkan war, thousands of Muslim monuments in Sarajevo from the Ottoman period were destroyed or severely damaged including libraries, museums, tombs, and Islamic schools. It also included the Roman Catholic cathedral and the central Gazi Husrev Beg mosque which were also damaged. Sarajevo's main mosque and the Mostar bridge were completely destroyed. The devastation by the Serbian forces against the built environment of the Ottoman (Muslim) part of Sarajevo was aimed at destroying the unique multicultural character of the city and the bonds of peaceful existence between the different ethnicities, and also targeted Muslims in the other part of the city as revenge for the historical defeat by the Ottomans.¹³³ Pre-war Mosterians were proud that the city had the highest rate of mixed (Croat, Serb or Muslim) marriages in the country. The Stari Most bridge was built by Mimar Hajruddin, who is a pupil of the great Ottoman architect Sinan, was a symbol of the city and a living space where people came together. It took the Croat gunners some 60 shells, to bring down the sixteenth-century bridge and collapse it into the water. "The name Mostar means bridge-keeper, and the structure itself connected the Ottoman old town on the east side of the city with the more heterodox west. The attack on the bridge was an attack on the very concept of multi-ethnicity and the co-joined communities it had come to embody."¹³⁴

¹³¹Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion books, 2016.

¹³²Ibid

¹³³Ibid

¹³⁴Ibid

The Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed to reverse the effects of ethnic cleansing and restore the country to its prewar diversity. Cultural heritage was considered essential to the peace process, the Dayton Peace Agreement provided for the formation of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments, the task of this commission was to receive and decide on petitions for the designation of property having cultural, historic, religious, or ethnic importance as National Monuments.¹³⁵ The preservation structure also consists of a national entity that receives the list of designated national monuments by the commission and is given permission to do the preservation. The national entity is responsible for taking the required measures to protect the designated historical properties. Although the Dayton Peace agreement included the recommendation for the return of the Sarajevo's displaced residents and emphasizing the important role of people in the recovery process, the commission maintained a top-down approach, which affected the choices of rebuilding the historic monuments. The commission had a counseling role between the national authorities and the international organizations which were interested in rebuilding Sarajevo.¹³⁶ The Mostar Bridge in Mostar and the Aladza Mosque in Foča were two of the monuments that were heavily destroyed during the war and they both were prioritized in the reconstruction process. The reconstruction of these two monuments reflected two different approaches in this process.¹³⁷

Stari Most Bridge, Mostar:

"Reconstruction of the town of Mostar commenced almost immediately after the war. Because of the Bosnian War for Independence, the city of Mostar and Bosnia in general, had little money. Furthermore, communication between Mostar's rival politicians remained difficult. Help was found in international bodies, such as the European Union, UNESCO, the World Heritage Fund, the World Bank, War Child, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and others. The construction of the Bridge was planned to create a copy of the same previous historical bridge. The same materials from a Turkish

¹³⁵Walasek, Helen. "Another War's Cultural Cleansing and Rebuilding: Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage." ARCAblog, March 14, 2016. <https://art-crime.blogspot.com/2016/03/another-wars-cultural-cleansing-and.html>.

¹³⁶Boom, Krijn H.J. "Rebuilding Identities: The Difficulties and Opportunities of Rehabilitation through the Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage in Post-War Yugoslavia," June 2013.

¹³⁷Ibid

material company were used in the rebuilding and the same Ottoman building techniques resulted in a replica of the old bridge."¹³⁸ The decision to choose this particular monument to be the first in the rebuilding process was due to the importance of this bridge in reconnecting the two parts of the city. The international commission saw the Mostar Bridge as a symbol that can bring the various ethnic groups together after years of conflict. On the other hand, it was for the people of Mostar a place of memory and they have an emotional relationship to this structure which has no religious aspect. This approach in rebuilding the Mostar bridge was criticized, first because of the assumption that the two ethnic groups in the city may not be ready to reconnect and return to their normal life of harmony and coexistence. The argument also was about the international money that was dedicated to the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge. The money would be more useful if it was to be used for rebuilding the residential neighborhoods to accommodate the returning residents to the city.¹³⁹ "This complexity of identities and meanings in cultural heritage was overlooked by the international community, who through the reconstruction of the bridge, sought to overcome inter-ethnic disputes. The failure of the international community to identify the underlying memories and meanings to this bridge and ignorantly stick to their reconstruction strategy was the reason this reconstruction project is so heavily debated."¹⁴⁰

Aladza Mosque, Foča:

Foča was a Muslim majority city and had an important history. Things have changed after the beginning of the Second World War when the Muslim population was targeted and murdered by the Chetnik forces, many people were killed in the city and others were displaced. In 1992, the Muslim population in Foča suffered again when the city was controlled by the Serbian forces. Houses and religious monuments were destroyed including 13 important mosques, the Aladza mosque was one of them. "Aladza Mosque was seen as one of the most important buildings in Bosnia, it was built in the 1550s and is an outstanding example of a single-space domed Mosque built in the classical Ottoman style."¹⁴¹ The mosque was completely destroyed, and its fragments

¹³⁸Ibid

¹³⁹Ibid

¹⁴⁰Ibid

¹⁴¹Ibid

were buried with human bodies. The symbolic power of Aladza mosque to the Muslim community in the city, besides the artistic and historical value of the monument, led to the reconstruction decision. The reconstruction was done with the help of local craftsmen using the original materials, people of Foča had an important role in the reconstruction of the building besides the cooperation between the local government and the international organizations.¹⁴²"The re-use of these materials for the reconstruction of the mosque added to the authenticity of the project. Authenticity plays an important role in the high level of standards needed for archaeological reconstruction."¹⁴³The case of rebuilding post-war Bosnia represented both the national and international involvement in the reconstruction. Although the international involvement in decision making was obvious, similar to the case of rebuilding downtown Beirut, it was also considered a role model in the participation of the population in the process.

¹⁴²Ibid

¹⁴³Ibid

Chapter 4: Aleppo, the Post-war Phase

"Each tragedy has its silver lining. when cities are destroyed in conflicts beyond recognition, the need for rebuilding presents an opportunity for the community to redraw the physical landscape, to make it stronger and grander than it was before."¹⁴⁴ The phase of rebuilding differs from one city to another and it's mostly affected by the political system in the country. In the previous chapter, we learned about cities that found that rebuilding is a priority, yet each one of them had its path, tools and outcome which at the end had an important role in drawing the future of the city. We may be wondering if the city of Aleppo once the heart of both commercial success and historic preservation in the country, would ever return to its glory days, but the fact is that in the end ruined cities don't stay wastelands forever, and Aleppo will find its own path.

Learning From History

The city of Aleppo has suffered damage over history for many reasons. It was invaded many times and destroyed by enemies as well as by earthquakes, and was built again. "Knowing these events, and the repeated destruction that the city faced will help to understand the nature of the historic authenticity of Aleppo."¹⁴⁵ This will also help us understand the phases, and events that shaped the city.

The reconstruction of the city was always happening based on different conditions, and choices for reconstruction vary based on the development requirements of each era. One type of rebuilding was by urban modernization, which happened after the destruction caused by the implementation of several master plans during the 20th century. These master plans aimed to connect the old city of Aleppo with the modern city and allow for traffic circulation, which was very damaging to the built heritage in the city and destroyed the urban fabric, leading to the construction of some of the foreign multi-floor buildings in the old city of Aleppo. The traditional fabric of the old city was based on the idea of providing privacy to residents in their own houses when the multi-floor

¹⁴⁴Poon, Linda. "The Cities That Have Risen From Ruins." Bloomberg.com. Bloomberg, February 18, 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-02-18/six-cities-that-have-rebuilt-after-devastation>.

¹⁴⁵Lafi, Nora. "Building and Destroying Authenticity in Aleppo: Heritage between Conservation, Transformation, Destruction, and Re-Invention." halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr, July 11, 2017. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01560321/file/Lafi_Aleppo-Heritage-Authenticity_2017.pdf.

buildings resulted in forcing people to flee the old city due to the lack of privacy in the neighborhoods where the new built were built.¹⁴⁶ During other times, the city was transformed differently, and the process of reconstruction involved an interpretation of the past and a depiction of monuments before the destruction. Following one of the deadliest earthquakes in the history of the city in 1138, the Zengid followed by the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties adapted rebuilding using the ruins. This program reserved the original materials of the ancient buildings and added to the authenticity of the buildings. The construction at that time included many of the famous medieval Islamic buildings in the city like Bimarstan Arghuni Alkamali, Khan Al Qadi, Hammam Aljuhari and Al Tarsus mosque.¹⁴⁷ Aleppo, the city that we know today, or we knew before the Syrian conflict is the result of traumatic destruction and layers of reuse."¹⁴⁸ (Figure 4.1)

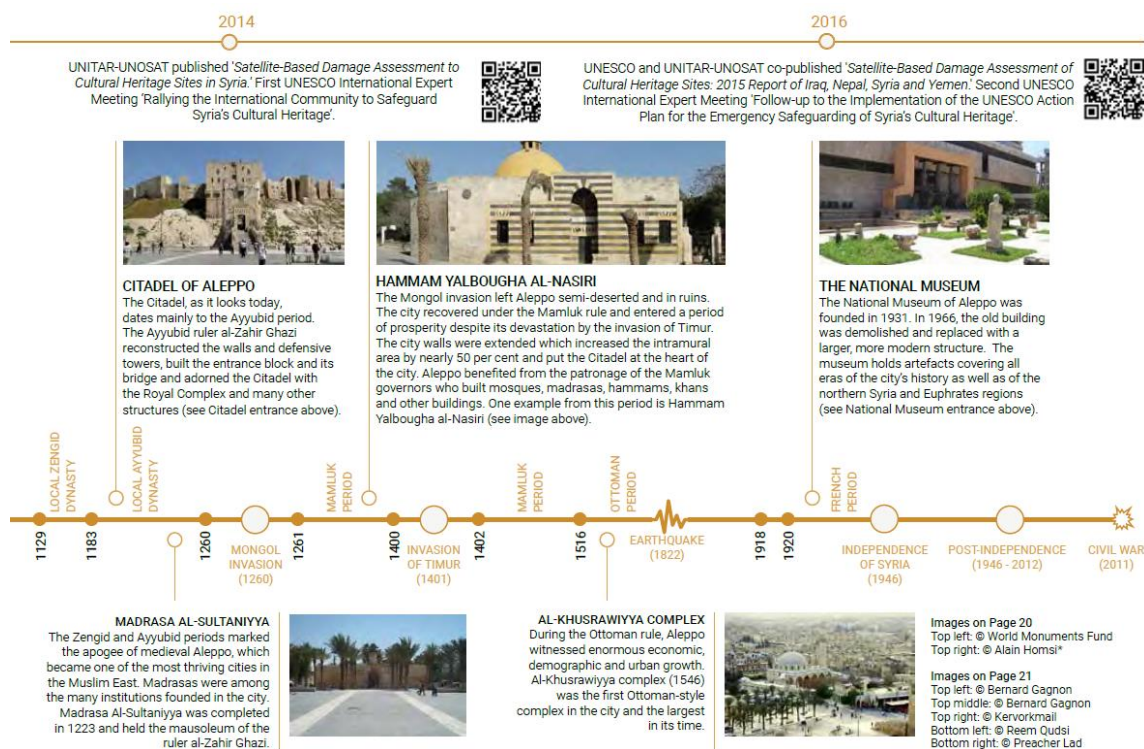


Figure 4.1: The historic timeline of destruction and reconstruction in Aleppo during the last 1000 years.
Source: "FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo." PDF.js viewer, 2018.

¹⁴⁶Ibid

¹⁴⁷Ibid

¹⁴⁸Ibid

Enacting ordinances for protecting historical buildings started as early as 1884 with the Ottoman Code. Most of this legislation was mainly limited to the protection of monuments and archaeological materials, such as artifacts and buildings of historical nature. The next law was issued in 1938, which was considered the first Syrian antiquities law, together with this law a catalog of classified individual monuments was released.¹⁴⁹ According to the law, historic materials must be more than 200 years old to be accepted as heritage and therefore to be placed under protection. Exemptions from the age statute are possible on a decision of Antiquities authorities for materials of particular historical and artistic significance."¹⁵⁰

The next shift in the historic preservation ideology in Aleppo came with the Rehabilitation Project of the Old City. After the registration of the old cities of Damascus and Aleppo in the World Heritage List in 1986, and the response to the debt payment agreement between the Syrian government and the German government, the municipality of Aleppo in cooperation with the German institution GTZ (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) started the directorate of the old city of Aleppo officially in 1993. The project introduced the district conservation concept together with historical building preservation.¹⁵¹ Local community participation was strongly introduced as part of the rehabilitation process, which included interactive workshops and meetings with the residents before and during the work in every Action Area. "During this phase, heritage protection and preservation was the main purpose, with the integration of tourism development in specific places. Special attention was given to artisanal workshops in these locations to attract tourists. Everything was formulated in the DP (Development Plan), which was a book that organized the phases of the rehabilitation work in the old city. That includes master plan and land use also the suggestion of initial three action areas in the old city.

¹⁴⁹Ibid

¹⁵⁰"Traditional Syrian Architecture Corpus Levant ." Avignon, France : Ecole d'Avignon for the CORPUS Levant, 2004.

¹⁵¹Ibid

Old Aleppo from 2016 to 2020

In February of 2016, the city of Aleppo was free of conflict and was accessed by people, the work started to clear the rubble and assess the damage. The government, the people of Aleppo and the international organizations were all ready to offer knowledge, experience, time, and efforts to rebuild old Aleppo. During my visit to Aleppo in the summer of 2019 I had the chance to meet and interview different people who were part of the ongoing post-war process of reconstruction and heritage preservation. I met with People from the Municipality of Aleppo, the directorate of the old city, the University of Aleppo, the directorate of tourism, the directorate of archeology and museums, and representatives of different international organizations.

In this chapter, I will provide a summary of the work that has been done towards the recovery of old Aleppo during the past four years. The information that will be introduced is based on my observation, data collected from social media and the oral interviews that I did with people involved in the process during my 2019 visit to Aleppo.

The reconstruction in old Aleppo began in 2016 on different levels with the participation of many stakeholders,

1. The government and local authorities, which are represented by the Municipality of Aleppo, the directorate of the old city of Aleppo, the directorate of antiquities and museums and the General Company for Engineering Studies in Syria (GCES). The local authorities carried out surveys in the neighborhoods of the old city to provide the damage assessment and provide a report about the size of destruction. They were responsible for clearing the rubble to provide access to damaged areas, and also to sort the original stones and the architectural features. This work was supported by the UNESCO representation office in Aleppo. The directorate of the old city of Aleppo with the directorate of antiquities and museums is responsible for the observation and monitoring of the reconstruction projects that are implemented by all the involved stakeholders. All proposed rebuilding, restoration and preservation projects require the approval of the General Safety Committee of the old city which consists of government representatives and professional experts in historic preservation.

2. The local community, including property owners who participated in the rebuilding process in the absence of adequate governmental, and international financial

support, also because of the immediate need for intervention in some cases to preserve and protect the damaged buildings from deterioration and collapse. Many of the residents and the shop owners in the damaged neighborhoods and traditional souqs wanted to return to the old city after years of displacement in other areas. The local community members are financing the reconstruction work, and hiring contractors to do the restoration in many cases.

3. The international organizations including the Aga Khan Cultural services and the UNESCO representation office in Aleppo joined the national authorities and the local communities in the reconstruction process. UNESCO in this phase is providing consultation, staff training, and monitoring of the reconstruction work to make sure that the reconstruction and restoration are happening based on the approved restoration guidelines. Failing to restore the historic buildings inside the world heritage site of the old city of Aleppo may result in the city losing its classification as a World Heritage Site. The Aga Khan Cultural service is considered the only international body that is intervening in the reconstruction work of the old city of Aleppo. They are working with other stakeholders including the government represented by the municipality of Aleppo, also the Aleppo governorate is involved in decision making. The Aga Khan Cultural Services implemented their survey and damage assessment and created an intervention plan for the old city that is based on strategic working phases of the restoration and rebuilding of the damaged historic resources. The intervention plan covered three main areas in the old city (Figure 4.2).

1. The traditional souqs, the Omayyad mosque and Al Shibani school.
2. Aleppo citadel and the surrounding area.
3. Bab Al Ahmar and Al Bayadah neighborhood.

The three intervention locations were chosen because they include buildings with a variety of uses, including commercial, residential, tourist attractions, public and religious services. The three areas were documented by aerial photographs and field surveys. Buildings in these three areas were classified based on use, the data collected was analyzed and damage was assessed. The intervention map defines priorities based on the historic importance and the damage extent.



Figure 4.2: The Old City of Aleppo, The three pilot conservation areas, Source: Aga Khan Cultural Services (Syria), "Plan of Reconstruction and Recovery Of The Ancient City Of Aleppo"

The intervention plan helped in choosing pilot projects to be implemented which were based on the historic importance, the size of the damage, and potential economic impact. The first pilot project was Souq Al-Saqatyeh, which was awarded the ICCROM-Sharjah Award given by the ICCROM-ATHAR, a regional conservation center founded by ICCROM and the Government of UAE in the Emirate of Sharjah. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) received the award in November 2020.¹⁵² The souq is part of the traditional market in the old city of Aleppo and includes around 106 shops. This part of the souq is located in the central area of the traditional market (Al Madina), at the southern boundary of Omayyad mosque. It used to be the meat market. A senior expert in the Aga Khan Cultural Services mentioned that the reason for choosing this particular souq was because it is moderately damaged and not heavily destroyed like other locations,

¹⁵² "Aga Khan Trust for Culture Receives ICCROM-Sharjah Award for Best Practice in Conservation of Islamic Heritage: Aga Khan Development Network." AKDN, December 2, 2020. <https://www.akdn.org/press-release/aga-khan-trust-culture-receives-iccrom-sharjah-award-best-practice-conservation>.

which means lower budget and faster implementation. People can recognize immediate improvement and quick achievements. Souq Al-Saqatyeh is supposed to serve a daily need and can be easily accessed, despite its central location in the traditional souqs. The restoration of Souq Al Saqatyeh was completed in July of 2019 (Figure 4.3, Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.3: Souq Al-Saqatyeh in Old Aleppo after the destruction and before restoration. Source: Agha Khan Cultural Services Syria (Facebook page). Picture date: Cerca 2016



Figure 4.4: Souq Al-Saqatyeh in Old Aleppo after restoration. Source: Agha Khan Cultural Services Syria (Facebook page). Picture date: 2019

Other pilot projects followed the preservation of souq Al Saqatyeh like the preservation of souq Khan Al Harir which included 60 shops and three khans (Inn for travelers, Caravanserai), they are khan AlHarir, Khan Janki, and Khan Al Bandkah. The

souq was also in a central location, in the area that surrounds the Omayyad mosque. It has also straightforward access which will make it easy for people to enter the souq. Working on this project was more challenging because it included rebuilding destroyed parts as well as the restoration of the damaged parts, the restoration of the stone elevations and the replacement of the heavily damaged or the missing stones with similar stones of the same material, also the replacement of shop doors with wooden doors that simulate the old traditional doors. The project was finished in the summer of 2020 and was ready for the merchants and the people to return.

Other projects were implemented in the old city of Aleppo in the last few years since the post-war recovery phase has started, these projects were undertaken by the local community under the supervision and monitoring of the government. In July 2019, I visited the Maronite Eparchy (St.Elijah) of Aleppo. The monument is located in Al-Jdaydeh which is the Christian neighborhood in old Aleppo. During the conflict between 2012 and 2016, the Cathedral suffered at least three extensive mortar attacks. The worst damage happened in 2013, when the ceiling was severely damaged, also the dome and the walls. In 2016, twelve days after Aleppo was free of conflict, the community decided to celebrate Christmas in the Cathedral despite its bad condition at that time. The community wanted to send a message of hope.¹⁵³ Similar to all other post-war recovery examples, damaged religious buildings in Aleppo, attracted the most interest of the national and the international community due to the spiritual importance to the community, including mosques and churches in Aleppo. Two hundred and forty mosques in the old city of Aleppo were damaged during the conflict, some of them are devastated and the rest are moderately or slightly damaged. During the last two years, fifty of these damaged mosques were renovated. The contractor who is responsible for the reconstruction of these buildings assured that religious buildings had the priority in the process, also rebuilding some of these buildings were highly supported financially by the public and private sector, local community, and the international organizations. According to the contractor, work on rebuilding the damaged buildings was emotionally

¹⁵³Lozano, Maria. "Gravely Damaged in War, Cathedral of St. Elijah in Aleppo Rises from the Ashes." Aid to the Church in Need - ACN United States. Aid to the Church in Need , July 21, 2020. <https://www.churchinneed.org/gravely-damaged-in-war-cathedral-of-st-elijah-in-aleppo-rises-from-the-ashes/>.

driven, and later it became more organized. The religious buildings were a priority in the recovery process because of the desire of the community to re-practice their religious rituals, especially those who are donating money for this purpose. Also, the priority was for the buildings that are moderately or lightly damaged because it requires lower budget, besides the great support of the religious sects' in Aleppo.

"The restoration and reopening of the Maronite Eparchy (St.Elijah), has both a symbolic and a practical meaning" stated Maronite Archbishop of Aleppo. "It's a message for the Christian and the world that Christians are still in Aleppo and they are partners in this city and country", he continued.¹⁵⁴ Christians of Syria suffered during the war, together with all of the population. In Aleppo, 180,000 Christians used to live in the city before the conflict, while after the war only 30,000 Christians have remained in the city. The ACN (Aid to the Church in Need) is the international body that funded the restoration of the cathedral, they also supported a large number of other projects in Syria between 2011 and 2019.¹⁵⁵

A similar project was the restoration of the Great Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo and the rebuilding of its destroyed minaret. The mosque was originally built by the first imperial Islamic dynasty, it has been the center of many battlefields throughout history. "The Crusaders, Fatimids, Ayyubids, Mongols, and Mamluks all took part in destroying the mosque, and rebuilding it afterward."¹⁵⁶ The mosque was also a battlefield during the recent conflict in Aleppo and was severely damaged, its most significant element, the 11th-century Seljuk minaret was targeted and totally destroyed in a very emotional moment for all the people of Aleppo. The citizens of the city grieved the minaret of Al-Omawi more than any other monument, It was a historical, ethnic and artistic icon for the city. The minaret stood on the northern side of the structure, "it was covered with moldings and calligraphic bandeaus of Kufic and Naskhi scripts."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴Ibid

¹⁵⁵Ibid

¹⁵⁶Stouhi, Dima. "The Great Umayyad Mosque of Aleppo: from Historic Islamic Monument to War Battlefield." ArchDaily. ArchDaily, July 24, 2019. <https://www.archdaily.com/921640/the-great-umayyad-mosque-of-aleppo-from-historic-islamic-monument-to-war-battlefield>.

¹⁵⁷Ibid

"During the conflict, the fighters against the government's regime continuously laid siege to the site."¹⁵⁸ More architectural elements were either destroyed or stolen from the mosque, including the unique tiles of the courtyard which were taken off and arranged in a defensive wall to close the eastern entrance of the mosque. After the end of the conflict inside the old city of Aleppo, the Umayyad mosque received a lot of attention nationally and internationally. The intervention plans aimed rebuilding the destroyed and damaged parts to bring the mosque back to the condition it was before the conflict. "The restoration project was assigned to Syrian engineer Dr. Sakher Olabi, who has already commenced work on this project in 2017 and expects the mosque to be completed within two to three years, with plans for new decorative stonework and a framework made from local and imported wood. Funding for the mosque's restoration has reached more than six million dollars, donated by philanthropists in the Chechen Republic."¹⁵⁹ After the destruction of the minaret, experts called for the protection of its remaining stones, so they can be reused in the reconstruction, all stones were numbered later and laid all over the mosque, and the courtyard tiles are now being preserved and examined by engineers to be reused again.¹⁶⁰ The destruction of the minaret of the Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo was one of the most painful events for the majority of the people of Aleppo during the war. After the conflict, the decision for reconstruction was taken at the highest level. Similar to the Mostar Bridge and Aladza Mosque, priority was given to the reconstruction of religious buildings and the iconic and most significant historic monuments. These monuments are receiving a lot of funding to help to bring them back to their glory.

Many residential neighborhoods were devastated, some of them were flattened to the ground like Al Aqaba, Al Farafra, and the entrance of Al Jdaydeh in the area that connects Al khandak street with Al Hatab square. Even though these areas of the old city are in urgent need of reconstruction, most of the interest in the reconstruction and the largest efforts are going to the reconstruction of the religious buildings and the traditional markets. Rebuilding the residential neighborhoods is necessary for the return of the residents of the old city. It is as important as rebuilding the identity of the people by

¹⁵⁸Ibid

¹⁵⁹Ibid

¹⁶⁰Ibid

bringing back their dearest places and most meaningful symbols. The residents of the old city can help in deciding where to start and what to rebuild, this may bring a bottom-up decision-making strategy to the table, instead of the top-down strategy that is already being considered since the beginning of the post-war rebuilding process.

The Challenges of the Post-War Recovery in Aleppo

Some of the experts who are recently involved in the reconstruction process emphasized the idea that the post-war reconstruction in Aleppo lacks a clear strategy, which should be part of a more comprehensive strategy for the rebuilding and the development of the greater city of Aleppo. Challenges to the recovery process may also include:

1. The centralization of the decision making in the country, and the absence of the role of the local community in making decisions, identifying the needs and determining priorities.
2. The absence of complete documentation for all the buildings in the old city, including details of the architectural features.
3. The lack of resources that identify the typology of all types of buildings, and the detailed architectural features that belong to different historical eras.
4. The absence of a post-war vision for the Old City as part of the larger city of Aleppo.
5. The absence of a comprehensive strategy for the reconstruction process.
6. The building code of the old city of Aleppo that is being used for the reconstruction is not designed to serve cases of complete destruction. It was designed to serve cases of the preservation of the existing city before the war. For the same reason, the building code doesn't solve the problem of rebuilding the multi-story buildings that were destroyed during the conflict. The building code prohibits a new building of more than two stories and imposes a specific percentage for the built-up area, which will make it hard to rebuild the multiple story buildings the way it used to be before the conflict and to accommodate all the residents and the businesses inside.

7. The properties' ownership challenge which had emerged as a result of the devastation in some neighborhoods of old Aleppo, especially in cases where property owners are not anymore living in Aleppo.

8. In many cases, as a quick response to the critical situation of devastated buildings in the old city, People rushed to save the buildings from total damage due to neglect. The results weren't always satisfying and rebuilding in many cases was done by unprofessional people.

9. The absence of coordination between different stakeholders.

10. The limited funding, due to many reasons including the political and the economic situation in the country and the international sanctions.

11. The limited role of the international organizations like UNESCO and ICOMOS.

12. The absence of the handcrafters, stonemasons, carpenters, and painters who left the country during the conflict. Traditionally, building materials in Aleppo, particularly stone, sand, earth and wood were sought in nature near the construction site. Limestone especially was used in construction: it is a hard material that resists well to strain and compression.¹⁶¹ Working with limestone and lime plaster traditionally needs a specific manual and a special experience.

One of the main concerns is to use a similar approach to the one that was considered in the reconstruction of Palmyra's Arch of Triumph. In 2016, a replica of Palmyra's Arch of Triumph was reconstructed in Trafalgar Square in London under the supervision of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria (DGAM), the highest national authority of archaeological sites in Syria, in collaboration with the Institute for Digital Archaeology (IDA). This was one of the reconstruction plans that continued applying a 'top-down' approach to archaeology in Syria. The replica project has been widely criticized for numerous reasons, one of which was this top-down approach which neglected the viewpoints of local stakeholders.¹⁶² Using this approach

¹⁶¹ "Traditional Syrian Architecture Corpus Levant ." Avignon, France : Ecole d'Avignon for the CORPUS Levant, 2004.

¹⁶² Munawar, Nour A. "Rebuilding Aleppo: Public Engagement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction." Academia.edu. ICOMOS University Forum, 2018.
https://www.academia.edu/36248866/Rebuilding_Aleppo_Public_Engagement_in_Post-Conflict_Reconstruction.

besides the continuous ignorance of the viewpoints of other stakeholders and partners in the city will fail to bring back the same city that survived all these years. The old neighborhoods were always the heart of the city of Aleppo, which was nominated and later classified as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO because of its unique traditional fabric that maintained the elements of the traditional city, including a majority of residential neighborhoods. People of Aleppo are looking forward to Old Aleppo being brought back to the way it used to be and getting back to their houses and shops and enjoying the spontaneous lifestyle they used to have. What they don't want is another post-war Beirut. If there is anything to learn from the experience of rebuilding Beirut, it would be the failure of the top-down approach. But, where are the people of old Aleppo?

"The Syrian war has displaced more than half of the country's population. In the case of Aleppo, people fled the city, and the city also witnessed newcomers from other cities, and the suburbs, people who may not appreciate what they have in Aleppo."¹⁶³ When heritage sites are neglected, ownerships are mixed and informal buildings are built, the social structure will also change. In Old Aleppo, many people left their houses looking for a safer shelter, some of them don't know the destiny of their homes since they left, and no one knows if they will be back after the war. "While the focus of media and donors is on the measurable outputs that have immediate and visible results and quick impacts on the short term, the rebuilding plan should become a long term commitment in which awareness can be raised, the capacity of the displaced population and institutions can grow, and the society will recover on the political, economic, institutional, and social levels."¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, professionals in Aleppo are calling for a quick response to the emergency cases that suffered from neglect during the last few years. One of the professionals shared his opinion on social media, emphasizing that the destruction left exposed sensitive parts of the buildings to weather and climate changes, which led to the deterioration of the building mass in many cases, besides the lack of statistical balance in some damaged buildings. This will cause more damage and further destruction in historic

¹⁶³Qudsi, Jwanah. "(PDF) Rebuilding Old Aleppo | Postwar Sustainable Recovery ..." [www.academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu/26963608/Rebuilding_Old_Aleppo_Postwar_Sustainable_Recovery_and_Urban_Refugee_Resettlement). Accessed December 8, 2020.

https://www.academia.edu/26963608/Rebuilding_Old_Aleppo_Postwar_Sustainable_Recovery_and_Urban_Refugee_Resettlement.

¹⁶⁴Ibid

buildings. Emergency intervention in these cases must be a priority to preserve and protect the remaining damaged buildings.

The Cultural Identity:

"A culture brings meaning to the lives of its members and gives them a sense of belonging, a sense of identity through having a common history, language and other cultural attributes. Culture is thus a unifying force for its members. When faced with new and incompatible demands, members of a culture may need to alter some of their cultural attributes to accommodate the new challenges, thereby also changing their cultural identity."¹⁶⁵ Over history, the people of Syria maintained a lot of their cultural attributes, although some of these attributes were lost, some others were changed to comport with modern times. One of these attributes is the cultural costume, You can hardly find a nonspecialist in Syria who knows what were the traditional costumes in every Syrian city or geographic area, the people in urban areas and cities abandoned these traditions a long time ago. On the other hand, the people of Syria especially in Aleppo, have a lot of traditions and cultural attributes that they proudly maintain such as Aleppo cuisine, music and traditional Aleppo songs, and oral heritage (the traditional proverbs). Many aspects of Aleppo's intangible heritage were affected in a way by the conflict, the displacement and migration of the residents who were replaced by a new population from the other cities or the countryside. They changed the demography in the city. "The disappearance of many knowledgeable holders is resulting in the disappearance of some oral traditions and skills as well as a break in transmission of this knowledge, thus depriving present and future generations an essential part of their culture. Artisans have seen a considerable number of their workshops, tools and materials destroyed and burnt. Activities related to the transmission of these skills have been suspended."¹⁶⁶

After the beginning of the war in Aleppo, the people of Aleppo especially those who fled the city, started sharing on social media and expressing how much they miss the city, and how they feel sorry for what's happening there. They were watching their

¹⁶⁵ Price, Nicholas Stanely. "Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery - ICCROM." www.iccrom.org, 2005. https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/ICCROM_ICSO6_CulturalHeritagePostwar_en_0.pdf.

¹⁶⁶ "Oral Traditions and Expressions Including Language as a Vehicle of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." UNESCO. UNESCO. Accessed December 8, 2020. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/oral-traditions-and-expressions-00053>.

dearest monuments and architectural iconic buildings being destroyed one after the other and wanted to revive the heritage of the city. At that time they only could protect their intangible heritage. Many actual and virtual events and initiatives were established to maintain and refresh the memories of the people about their culture, traditions, and heritage inside and outside Syria. Musical events were organized, cuisine books were written and published. A national team also started the initiative of collecting the oral heritage of the city. All these efforts reflect high awareness about the importance of heritage in preserving cultural identity. People have taken it upon themselves to salvage their heritage, one of the groups that were created on Facebook with more than 52,000 Aleppians of different faiths and ethnicities sharing memories of their traditions and way of life before the war. "I am afraid that we will lose a lot of our traditions and vocabulary because of the immigration," says the group's head administrator referring to the thousands of people who have left Aleppo since the Syrian war broke out in 2011. For example, many craftspeople have now left the country, she explains. These kinds of initiatives made people more connected to the city and people who left the city are dreaming of getting back to Aleppo, they are attached to that place, and feel that their souls are still there, another member explains.¹⁶⁷ More of these activities and initiatives are taking place recently to support the preservation of the identity of the people. It's the belief that the correlation between people and heritage will heal the city after these years of displacement and destruction. Targeting people as part of the rebuilding process, educating them and raising their awareness of the value of their heritage is important. Also, making them involved in the process is a key factor. They can heal the heritage and heritage can heal them.

"The reconstruction of cultural heritage in the aftermath of war could play a major role in rebuilding a healthy post-conflict society."¹⁶⁸ The work of different stakeholders in rebuilding old Aleppo during the last few years is very impressive. The partnership and the involvement of international agencies and the local authorities in different projects like Souq Al Saqatyeh, Omayyad Grand Mosque and the Maronite Eparchy (St. Elijah),

¹⁶⁷ Mackenzie, Laura. "Rebuilding Aleppo: 'We Cannot Preserve the Place but We Can Save Our Memories'." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, July 15, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jul/15/how-war-shattered-aleppo-is-preserving-its-culture>.

¹⁶⁸ Price, Nicholas Stanely. "Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery - ICCROM." www.iccrom.org, 2005. https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/ICCROM_IC506_CulturalHeritagePostwar_en_0.pdf.

all have brought back hope that the city of Aleppo will rise from ruins. It's the future that is going to be more challenging, with the lack of public involvement and the absence of a comprehensive plan for the reconstruction. The love of the city and the dedication to rebuilding it will serve the right path with specific guidance and a comprehensive long term plan.

Chapter 5: What is next?

The previous chapters discussed how many cities were reborn from ashes, each city did it differently. Many cities used the top-down approach and the decision for rebuilding was politically made, like the case of downtown Beirut and the rebuilding of the Mostar bridge in Bosnia. In the reconstruction of the old town of Warsaw, the process aimed mainly to bring back the residential area to continue performing the same purposes as it used to be before the war. The outcome in these cases proved the importance of the involvement of the local community in cities' post-war recovery and made it clear that the political factor had a forcing effect in this process. These examples should serve as lessons for the recovery process in the city of Aleppo.

In this chapter we will discuss the following questions:

1. What is the potential of engaging people in the process of rebuilding?
2. Who are the actors that help to shape this kind of populist practice? Aleppo was brought to ruins in a country where ethics and politics are different than what is in the West. This fact may suggest that regulations and protection laws could be applied differently;
3. How effective is the social-political kind of practice in the case of Old Aleppo?
4. What steps might be taken to initiate and enhance the effectiveness of a practice like this?

The Social Change that Resulted from the Destruction of the Traditional Built Environment, and the Potential of Public Engagement in the Post-War Rebuilding Process in Aleppo.

Reconstruction of cities post-war is not a new concept, It has always been more than rebuilding the destroyed monuments and bringing back cities to how they looked before the conflict. The years of conflict in Aleppo have changed the people in many ways, and the city witnessed a huge demographic transformation. Aleppo people suffered from displacement and lack of resources, they lost their houses, jobs, and in many cases family members. As a result, their requirements and priorities have changed.

Understanding people's needs for the post-war recovery phase is very important, it becomes a priority in this process to help decision-makers planning for the city and help

them know what is needed to be restored or rebuilt in old Aleppo. The conflict in Aleppo destroyed and damaged many historic monuments that used to serve the community daily, people were emotionally connected to many of them. Also, the conflict caused huge destruction in residential neighborhoods, and people were forced to leave the old town, they were displaced either outside or inside the city of Aleppo and lived where they don't belong. Every day in real life and social media, we see nostalgic people, who are expressing their sorrow for what happened to the old city and enforcing memories of the city as a way to keeping it alive. They miss the old city, but do they want to go back to live in it after rebuilding?

Many of the residents of the western neighborhoods in Aleppo which were less targeted and less affected by the destruction fled the city and left their houses, they didn't want to leave their houses empty while they live abroad, they made sure that someone will be occupying the house, so they put the house for rent or gave it to someone they know. This resulted in a demographic shift, when residents of the old city and the eastern neighborhoods moved west in the city, seeking safety and shelter. The fact that neighborhoods in western Aleppo have a higher quality of life and services, means many of the residents of the old town who moved to the modern city, are now living in neighborhoods with larger houses, wider streets, and better services. Four years after the end of the conflict in the old city, most of these families are still occupying the houses in west Aleppo, even when they know that their neighborhoods are now safe to go back to. The displacement of people has also affected the western neighborhood, the residential areas are now overwhelmed, and the commercial streets are overcrowded. A comprehensive strategy that includes returning people of the old city to their houses becomes a need in order to provide a demographic balance in the city, this can't be achieved by planning to rebuild the historic part without considering the housing needs of the people.

As a World Heritage site, old Aleppo received a lot of interest, the international community started early in the conflict to provide guidelines to protect the historic buildings, after the conflict they provided more support to start the recovery process. The rehabilitation project of the old city of Aleppo before the conflict supported the participatory approach for fifteen years by reaching out to people and getting them

involved in planning for their city and by financing the citizens' small projects and housing preservation. While the international intervention is now strongly present in the post-war decision of rebuilding the old city, the approach has become a top-down one so far, "this approach must be opposed and concurrently replaced by the bottom-up approach wherein decisions and action can be generated from the wider society."¹⁶⁹ It can be reversed by reaching out to people again, those who are still in the old city and others who were displaced and settled in the western neighborhoods, to participate in the decision making. The national authorities and the international community are focusing on the huge loss of the World Heritage site, they have a legitimate reason which is the fear that historic monuments may fall into neglect. The early actions, efforts, and financial resources were all invested in the projects of rebuilding the historic landmarks. "The attempts were primarily directed to reconstruct and preserve the physical construction of the built heritage to maintain the identity of those sites, which is embodied in religious and historical monuments."¹⁷⁰

Conflicts are one of the reasons for the change in the urban and social structure in the city, it should be a reason to generate a new way of thinking and new strategies. The consequences of conflict and change are part of the life cycle of the city and the history of any heritage site. When a transformation occurs and the change happens in the urban built environment and the social structure of the city, the city can't simply return to what it exactly used to look like before the conflict. The reconstruction process could be the key to solve the problems in the old city which were a result of earlier interventions, like the multi-story buildings in many neighborhoods. The rebuilding should bring opportunities to improve the quality of social life, and serve in the reconstruction of the wounded communities. "Post-war reconstruction should be used as a tool for reconciliation to help ensure that the wounded community is considered and all identities should be presented in the post-war city."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹Munawar, Nour A. "Rebuilding Aleppo: Public Engagement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction." Academia.edu. ICOMOS University Forum, 2018.

¹⁷⁰Ibid

¹⁷¹Ibid

How Effective is the Social-Political Kind of Practice in the Case Of Old Aleppo?

Most of the challenges that will be facing the rebuilding process are related in many ways to political decisions in the country , international intervention and deciding who is going to be allowed to participate in this phase. Yet, there is a chance to find a balance in rebuilding Aleppo, where actors from the local community can participate in this practice. Those actors could be a group of representatives from the local community who care about the old city and many of them have the experience. This group includes historians, preservationists, architecture historians, craftsmen, merchants and shop owners who can enrich the decision-making process. Many of the commercial and touristic property owners took charge of restoring their properties to bring back life to the old city including antique, crafts shops, restaurants and hotel owners. Commercial and tourist property owners served a very important role in the past. Restaurants and hotels in renovated and reused traditional houses in the old city of Aleppo helped to flourish some neighborhoods. The improvement in the infrastructure and the rehabilitation projects in the old city that followed the designation as a World Heritage site attracted investment from the wealthy Aleppians. The last few years of the twentieth century and early years of the twenty-first century marked the growth of modern sensibilities through the embrace of new leisure practices in Syrian cities like Aleppo and Damascus, and the desire to enjoy the nostalgic feeling provided by the old traditional houses in these old cities that were once an integral part of communal life. These activities attracted the elite mostly, those who don't live inside the old city. It also attracted tourists who enjoyed the experience of dining and spending the night in the old town just like merchants did in old times on the Silk Road.¹⁷² Investors purchased some of the big houses in the neighborhoods close to the citadel and many courtyard houses in Al-Jdaydeh, the historically Christian neighborhood in Old Aleppo. Houses were renovated, decorated, maintained their authentic feeling, and served the best traditional recipes of Aleppo cuisine. Those investors have the same desire now after the war to help raise Old Aleppo

¹⁷² Salamandra, C. (n.d.). *THE NEW OLD CITY Nostalgia, representation and gentrification in historic Damascus* [PDF].

from ruins, this is why any decision regarding the future rebuilding process would mainly affect them, and they should be involved in the decision making for the recovery of the old city.

Since the end of the conflict, many residents, and wealthy people financed the restoration of the moderately damaged religious buildings in the old town's neighborhoods. Over fifty religious buildings were completely restored in the old city of Aleppo during the last three years. Religious buildings have a role in bringing life back to the old city as people will feel more connected when they know that they will be able to visit their mosque or church when they come back home. Many representatives of local organizations, activists, and university professors are also volunteering since the end of the conflict in Aleppo in the historic documentation, damage assessments, and providing archives if available like plans and pictures to help in restoring and maintaining the authenticity of the historic buildings. The collaboration between all the actors and stakeholders in the city including the local authorities, the international organizations, citizens and property owners, experts, and developers is necessary to shape the future populist practice.

The Steps that Might be taken to Initiate and Hence the Effectiveness of the Social-Political Practice.

The project coordinator at UNESCO in post-war Cambodia said "We must focus not just on stone, but on men, women, and children."¹⁷³ Besides involving people in the planning for the future of their city, people especially the youth should be educated about the importance of the culture in maintaining their identity, and also raise their cultural awareness. Although this process is a long term process, it's important to make sure that people won't leave their heritage behind. They can't just let the destruction which is followed by neglect erase the heritage. This can be achieved by the involvement of cultural and educational facilities like museums and the university in the educational process and raising awareness. Building trust bridges between political decision-makers

¹⁷³Riding, A. (2004, February 03). After the Nightmare, Saving Cambodia's Treasures. The New York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/03/arts/after-the-nightmare-saving-cambodia-s-treasures.html>

and people in this phase is an important approach, people should believe that they are part of the process and the reconstruction is happening to serve them and their city. A city like Aleppo may not be rebuilt to serve tourist attraction goals only, tourism has always been an important component in Old Aleppo, but it wasn't the main component. The city survived over history because of its residents, It has always been attractive because of the spontaneity of life in it. The approach that was implemented for years in Aleppo since the initiation of the Rehabilitation Project of the Old City was participatory, it reached out to people in the old neighborhoods through social surveys, small businesses surveys, and regular meetings during the planning phase and throughout the implementation process in every action area in the old city. After analyzing the results of the surveys, a proposal of the reconstruction and renovation plan of the built environment in phases should be announced to the public, many people from the public including residents of the old city will feel involved in the plans. Small meetings in the shape of participatory workshops could be handled in each neighborhood, which will make it easier to collect feedback. Organizing the work by a coordinating entity is important. So far, UNESCO is playing this role, which may require splitting roles between stakeholders and the public to avoid duplication and waste of resources. Providing financial motivations and legal facilitation will encourage people to do their part in the renovation of their properties.

What is Next? Shaping the Current Efforts and Guidelines to Successfully Serve the Recovery of the Historic Part of Aleppo.

The old city of Aleppo has witnessed some progress in the recovery process compared to the huge efforts and interest in rebuilding the city by the national and international community but the lack of financial resources is one essential reason for not going faster in this process. Many publications were provided by international organizations like ICOMOS, Agha Khan, also by national and local representatives incorporation with UNESCO and many scholars who provided studies and suggested guidelines for post-war recovery. Some of these guidelines are very important, detailed and some of them are already in the implementation phase. Unfortunately, all these studies are not being reviewed and considered for a comprehensive plan for the recovery of Aleppo. It is important not to rush the post-war process. Cities like Warsaw were

completely rebuilt forty years after the destruction, but it's important to ensure that the city won't fall under neglect, which may result in more problems like poverty and legal problems and the city may lose its authenticity.

In modern history, cities that were raised from ruins after the war had different approaches, some cities like Dresden in Germany retained most of the original look, others like cities in Britain were reconstructed entirely in a different way, while some other German cities mixed the modern and the old as a result of debates between the people and the authorities. Finding the balance between the planning for historic and modern areas will help provide more orientation and a sense of identity. All the documents and studies that were provided in the shape of plans and recommendations agreed on the idea that old Aleppo should be rebuilt to be returned to the way it looked before the war, especially regarding the famous buildings and landmarks. This will help maintain the city's authenticity and to save its status as a World Heritage site in UNESCO. On the other hand, Aleppo shouldn't forget what happened, destruction is part of the history of the city, and we have to allow history to send a message to avoid future wars. This idea can be adopted in the general rebuilding strategy of the city and could be considered in the detailed rebuilding projects, by providing examples that show the building or part of it destroyed or not completely built.

The strategic planning for the recovery of the old city should ensure:

1. The coordination between all the involved stakeholders and collect all the professional and financial efforts to develop a shared vision for the old city as part of a comprehensive vision of the whole city.
2. The collection of all the damage assessment data which was done by certified and trustworthy organizations all in one reference.
3. The prioritization of the repopulation of the old city to preserve the social living atmosphere.
4. The need to enforce of new regulations and legal framework to solve the problems and the property chaos that resulted from the destruction in some areas, and facilitate renovation procedures and reconstruction permits.
5. The allowing for more involvement of developers and the private sector in the rebuilding process by providing motivations under direct supervision.

6. The re-evaluation of the destroyed buildings in the old city and designing clear criteria of what's historic and needs to be rebuilt.
7. The provision for treatment standards and a detailed manual for the restoration of the historic architectural features in buildings, and ensure that the restoration should be based on these standards.
8. The provision of the required training for the national staff who will be responsible for permit approval and implementation supervision.
9. The raising of the people's awareness of the importance of cultural heritage in preserving the identity of generations in the future.

Conclusion

The old city of Aleppo is an Ancient city that survived invasions and destruction many times over history and has risen from ruins every time, as the people and the historic places faced the same destiny. This thesis discusses the fact that cultural heritage was always targeted in conflicts to affect the technical and the social infrastructure of the city and make it easy to control. It also discusses that the relationship between the people and their heritage as a sword with two sides, where the loss of heritage can affect people's presence and identity. Heritage itself can heal communities and they can heal it. The city of Aleppo is one of many cities that was devastated during conflicts, especially in modern history. This thesis explores examples about cities that suffered from destruction in previous events and explores the approaches and the results of the post-war reconstruction, like that in Beirut after the civil war, Bosnia after the Balkans war, Warsaw, and Germany. These examples should be considered as lessons to plan for the recovery process. The city of Aleppo should also learn from its own history about how to rise again. This paper looks historically at the destruction that happened in Aleppo followed by reconstruction, in order to learn from the experience as to how these events have shaped the recent city. It also accepts that the change that comes with the destruction and rebuilding will be a historic record for the future.

During the last few years in Aleppo, a lot of work has been done to rebuild the old city, many reconstruction projects were implemented and many guidelines were provided by experts and scholars aiming to help the recovery of the old city. This thesis does not provide more guidelines, it is an attempt to encourage the collection of all the efforts and guidelines to help serve the recovery of the historic part of Aleppo and make sure that Aleppo can become a good example for the recovery of cities from disasters in the future. A major lesson, where a World Heritage Site like the old city of Aleppo has been devastated as a result of the conflict in a world that widely understands the importance of cultural heritage for humanity, is that there must be more efforts to protect cultural heritage from destruction during conflicts. The international world should come together to protect its heritage.

Appendix A

UNESCO Criteria for Site Selection

UNESCO provided ten criteria for site selection; six of which are cultural properties and four for natural areas. They are selected

- i. To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture and technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- v. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- vi. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance;
- vii. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- viii. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geographical processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- ix. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- x. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

Appendix B

National and International Groups that were Working during the Conflict.¹⁷⁴

- Arab British Centre (ABC), International Team. From 11th to 16th of June 2014, ABC organized a cultural event called “Syria Speaks. Art and Culture from the Frontline”, which gathered the work of over fifty artists and writers who are challenging the culture of violence in Syria.

- The American School of Oriental Research (ASOR), On the 4th of August 2014, ASOR entered into a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Department of State (DoS) to monitor cultural heritage in Syria. The project, called the “Syrian Heritage Initiative” (SHI), aims to document the current condition of historical and archaeological sites in Syria and assess their preservation, protection and future restoration. ASOR is producing weekly reports to assess the damages in the Syrian heritage sites.

- Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology (APSA), this group was established as a response to the crisis. : APSA continues to document and update about the damage to Syria’s heritage on their website, Facebook page and YouTube account. In collaboration with the Institut du Monde Arabe and the Louvre Museum.

- Brandenburgische Technische Universität (BTU), Friends of the Old City of Aleppo (FOCA)*, Group of Friends of the Syrian People (Working Group on Economy Recovery and Development) (FOSP), and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Four different bodies organized a workshop called “Aleppo Archive in Exile” organized at the BTU in January 2014 to discuss conservation, refurbishment and digitally updating the existing Old City of Aleppo historic documents (i.e. cadastral maps), as well as the creation of a new cadastre of damage, and measures for the renewal of the ancient monuments in the Old City.

- Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Aleppo. the students of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Aleppo have created a group on Facebook which aims to discuss the current status of the city, and the team is Syrian.

¹⁷⁴Perini, Silvia. “Towards a Protection of the Syrian Cultural Heritage: A Summary of the International Responses Volume II.” www.heritageforpeace.org, October 2014. http://www.heritageforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Towards-a-protection-of-the-Syrian-cultural-heritage_Oct-2014.pdf.

- Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM), The DGAM is continuing its efforts to preserve and protect the country's cultural heritage and preparing lists for damage assessment in the Syrian locations.

- Heritage for Peace (HfP), organized a symposium, "Lessons learned to safeguard cultural heritage in conflict situations", on 23rd and 24th April 2014, in Santander. HfP are sending biweekly updates to interested parties about the damage to Syria's heritage through the HfP Damage Mailing List, designing a Task Force on Antiquities and Museums with funding from The Dutch Government, training damage assessment for Task Force staff; and training and conservation program for the Aleppo Museum with a grant from the Honor Frost Foundation.

- Ila Souria (IS), established as a response to the crisis. IS is an association whose aim is to organize events for the rebuilding of Syria, such as seminars, workshops, exhibitions, publications and the creation of a Syrian Popular University, and the team is French and Syrian.

- Monuments of Syria (MoS), Monuments of Syria is the title of a book published by Ross Burns in 1992. It is now on its 3rd edition and in 2011 a website was created by the author to promote Syria's heritage. In particular, he created a page to track damage occurring to heritage during the conflict. Damages updates are available also as a pdf document.

- Smithsonian Institution (SI) and Penn Cultural Heritage Center (Penn CHC), from 2014 they have been working together towards the protection of the Syrian Cultural Heritage. In particular, SI and Penn CHC worked together in July 2014 to create an emergency workshop, training, and support for Syrian museum collections.

- Syrian Association for the Preservation of Archaeology and Heritage (SAPAH). The Syrian team of the SAPAH is an independent, non-governmental organization that supports the protection of the Syrian heritage.

- Syrian Heritage Pages (SHP), is a Facebook group that aims to raise awareness on the status of the Syrian heritage, networking information from the many other Facebook groups. The team is international.

- US Department of State (DoS), The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) of the US Department of State is committed to helping Syrians preserve their heritage through a program called Syria Cultural Heritage Initiative.

- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UNESCO is continuing to work towards the protection of the Syrian cultural heritage.

Bibliography

AAAS. *Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery*. Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science Scientific Responsibility, Human Rights, and Law Program, 2014.

AKDN. *Aga Khan Trust for Culture Receives ICCROM-Sharjah Award for Best Practice in Conservation of Islamic Heritage: Aga Khan Development Network*. December 2, 2020. AKDN Press. <https://www.akdn.org/press-release/aga-khan-trust-culture-receives-iccrom-sharjah-award-best-practice-conservation>.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. *Ancient History, Modern Destruction: Assessing the Current Status of Syria's World Heritage Sites Using High-Resolution Satellite Imagery*. Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science Scientific Responsibility, Human Rights, and Law Program, 2014. <https://www.aaas.org/resources/ancient-history-modern-destruction-assessing-current-status-syria-s-world-heritage-sites>.

Allais, Lucia. *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Archnet. *Bimaristan Arghun Al-Kamili*. Archnet. <https://archnet.org/sites/1801>.

Bevan, Robert. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.

Boom, Krijn H.J. *Rebuilding Identities: The Difficulties and Opportunities of Rehabilitation through the Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage in Post-War Yugoslavia*. Netherlands, Leiden: Leiden University, June 2013.

Busquets, Joan. *Aleppo: Rehabilitation of the Old City: Updating Aleppo*. Humanity and Social Sciences Online Press, 2007. <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13582>.

Cunliffe, Emma and Nibal Muhesen, and Marina Lostal. *The Destruction of Cultural Property in the Syrian Conflict: Legal Implications and Obligations*. Cambridge University Press, March 3, 2016. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-cultural-property/article/destruction-of-cultural-property-in-the-syrian-conflict-legal-implications-and-obligations/5B81E9C84C7F9B24FA0C4F1E9FA50CAF/core-reader>.

Fiankan-Bokonga, Catherine. *A Historic Resolution to Protect Cultural Heritage*. UNESCO Press, 2020. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017njan-di-3qi/historic-resolution-protect-cultural-heritage>.

Gerstenblith, Patty. *Frameworks for Cultural Heritage Protection: from Ancient Writing To Modern Law*. Khan Academy Press.

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural-heritage-education-series/xa0148fd6a60f2ff6:documenting-and-protecting-cultural-heritage/a/frameworks-for-cultural-heritage-protection-from-ancient-writing-to-modern-law>.

Gliński, Mikołaj. *How Warsaw Came Close to Never Being Rebuilt*. Culture.pl Press, February 3, 2015. <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-warsaw-came-close-to-never-being-rebuilt>.

Heritage For Peaces. *Hague Convention and Its Two Protocols*.

<https://www.heritageforpeace.org/heritage-for-peace/legal-framework/hague-convention-and-its-two-protocols/>.

ICRC. *Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. Switzerland: Geneva: International Committee of The Red Cross Press, 2010.

<https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/war-and-law/conduct-hostilities/cultural-property/overview-cultural-property.htm>.

Ilyes, Ilona Ilma. *Rebuilding Downtown Beirut*. Hungary: The Aleppo Project, 2015.

<https://www.thealeppoproject.com/papers/reconstructing-downtown-beirut/>.

James Fisher, Heidi. *Violence Against Architecture: The Lost Cultural Heritage of Syria and Iraq*. CUNY Academic Works, 2017. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1898

Kundera, Milan, and Aaron Asher. *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. London: Faber & Faber, 2019.

Kuznicki, Kacper. *The Authenticity of the Reconstructed Old Town of Warsaw*. Portugal: Universidade de Évora, e-conservation Journal, 2013. <http://e-conservation.org/issue-1/16-the-authenticity-of-the-reconstructed-old-town-of-warsaw>.

Lafi, Nora. *Building and Destroying Authenticity in Aleppo: Heritage between Conservation, Transformation, Destruction, and Re-Invention*. France: Archive ouverte enSciences de l'Homme et de la Société, 2017. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01560321/file/Lafi_Aleppo-Heritage-Authenticity_2017.pdf.

Lawler, Andrew. *Temple of the Storm God. A 5,000-Year-Old Sanctuary Emerges from beneath Aleppo's Medieval Citadel*. FL: Archaeology Magazine, a Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2009.

https://archive.archaeology.org/0911/features/syria_aleppo_temple_storm_god_citadel.html.

Lozano, Maria. *Gravely Damaged in War, Cathedral of St. Elijah in Aleppo Rises from the Ashes*. USA: Aid to the Church in Need Press, 2020.
<https://www.churchinneed.org/gravely-damaged-in-war-cathedral-of-st-elijah-in-aleppo-rises-from-the-ashes/>.

Mackenzie, Laura. *Rebuilding Aleppo: 'We Cannot Preserve the Place but We Can Save Our Memories'*. Guardian News and Media, 2019.
<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jul/15/how-war-shattered-aleppo-is-preserving-its-culture>.

Mansel, Philip. *Aleppo: The rise and fall of Syria's great merchant city*. London. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2018

Mersom, Daryl. *The Story of Cities*. Guardian News and Media, 2016.
<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/series/the-story-of-cities>.

Mulder, Stephennie, and Trein, Debora. *Cultural Heritage 'in Crisis*. Smart History: The Center For Public Art History. <https://smarthistory.org/cultural-heritage-in-crisis/>.

Munawar, Nour A. *Rebuilding Aleppo: Public Engagement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction*. Paris: ICOMOS University Forum, 2018.
https://www.academia.edu/36248866/Rebuilding_Aleppo_Public_Engagement_in_Post-Conflict_Reconstruction.

Nardella, Bianca Maria, and Yasmin Abbas. *Conservation and Reconstruction in the Beirut Central District*. Massachusetts: MIT - Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Accessed 2020. <http://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKPSite/4.239/beirut/beirut.html>.

Perini, Silvia. *Towards a Protection of the Syrian Cultural Heritage: A Summary of the International Responses Volume II*. Girona, Spain :Heritage For Peace, 2014.
http://www.heritageforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Towards-a-protection-of-the-Syrian-cultural-heritage_Oct-2014.pdf.

Poon, Linda. *The Cities That Have Risen From Ruins*. Bloomberg City Lab Press, 2017.
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-02-18/six-cities-that-have-rebuilt-after-devastation>.

Price, Nicholas Stanely. *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery - ICCROM*. Rome: ICCROM, 2005.
https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/ICCROM_ICS06_CulturalHeritagePostwar_en_0.pdf.

Qudsi, Jwanah. *Rebuilding Old Aleppo: Postwar Sustainable Recovery and Urban Refugee Resettlement*. Master of urban planning paper.
https://www.academia.edu/26963608/Rebuilding_Old_Aleppo_Postwar_Sustainable_Recovery_and_Urban_Refugee_Resettlement.

RehabiMed. *Traditional Syrian Architecture Corpus Levant* . Avignon, France : Ecole d'Avignon for the CORPUS Levant, 2004.

Riding, A. *After the Nightmare, Saving Cambodia's Treasures*. The New York Times, 2004. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/03/arts/after-the-nightmare-saving-cambodia-s-treasures.html>

Salamandra, C. (n.d.). *The New Old City Nostalgia: Representation and Gentrification in historic Damascus*. Unknown

Sandes, Caroline A. *Urban Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict: The Case of Beirut Central District*. Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2013.

Sandes, Caroline. *Remembering Beirut: Lessons for Archaeology and Post-Conflict Urban Redevelopment in Aleppo*. Ex Novo Journal of Archaeology, 2017. https://www.academia.edu/35532930/Remembering_Beirut_lessons_for_archaeology_and_post_conflict_urban_redevelopment_in_Aleppo.

Stouhi, Dima. *The Great Umayyad Mosque of Aleppo: from Historic Islamic Monument to War Battlefield*. Arch Daily, 2019. <https://www.archdaily.com/921640/the-great-umayyad-mosque-of-aleppo-from-historic-islamic-monument-to-war-battlefield>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *Ancient City of Aleppo*. UNESCO World Heritage Centre Media. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *A Historic Resolution to Protect Cultural Heritage*. UNESCO Media. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2017nian-di-3qi/historic-resolution-protect-cultural-heritage>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *Syria's Six World Heritage Sites Placed on List of World Heritage in Danger*. UNESCO Media, 2013. <https://en.unesco.org/news/Syria's-six-world-heritage-sites-placed-list-world-heritage-danger>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *Aleppo*. UNESCO Media . <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/aleppo>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *Aleppo, The Disappearing Memory of the Silk Roads*. UNESCO Media. <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/aleppo-disappearing-memory-silk-roads>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *FIVE YEARS OF CONFLICT. The State of Cultural Heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo*. js viewer, 2018. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/in/documentViewer.xhtml?v=2.1.196>.

UNESCO World Heritage, *Oral Traditions and Expressions Including Language as a Vehicle of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. UNESCO Media.
<https://ich.unesco.org/en/oral-traditions-and-expressions-00053>.

UNESCO World Heritage. *Historic Centre of Warsaw*. UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30bis>.

Walasek, Helen. *Another War's Cultural Cleansing and Rebuilding: Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*. ARCA blog, 2016. <https://art-crime.blogspot.com/2016/03/another-wars-cultural-cleansing-and.html>.

Weizman, Eyal. *Walking through Walls Soldiers as Architects in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict*. PUBLIC SPACE, 2006. <https://www.publicspace.org/multimedia/-/post/walking-through-walls-soldiers-as-architects-in-the-israeli-palestinian-conflict>.

Wegener, Corine, and Marjan Otter. *Cultural Property at War: Protecting Heritage during Armed Conflict*. The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter 23.1, 2008.
https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_1/feature.html