THE HIDDEN FACE OF ERBIL
CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE IN THE URBAN CORE

FARAH W. S. AL-HASHIMI
BSc, MSc, PGDip

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DECLARATION

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Signature:…………………………

Date:……..……………………..…………

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with **LOVE**

To
the soul of my beloved father
Dr. Wissam S. Al-Hashimi,
and
my precious mother
Mutabar A. Pasha-Amedi,

To

Arbela

CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE……….

They say nothing persists but change,
I come to you to tell you a secret …
It is all within you … persistence and change,

Listen to me ……….
Within each mask of lies …a change,
Within the lies of history …a change,
Within each shallow thought …a change,
Within the wielders of death …a change,
Within the deep wound …a change,
Within each sunrise …a change,

Within the flourishing tree … is *me,*
Within *me* is *you.* …You are another me,

You and I chose the way we are and forgot our eternity,
Nothing remains but you and the loving guide within you,
Within you dance tunes, igniting the fire for you to be bright,
Within you the fluid world, lit by hung moons to guide you to see the other side.

You are the hunger …
You are the fire …
You are the legend …
You are the code …
You are the truth …
You are the highest light …
You are the change …
You are a thirsty life rung round with change that comes to you ever soon,
You are the now! …

So what prevents you to bloom?
Shine your light……………….. to illuminate the path for others.

I am going now …
To dream of the persistent city,
To pray for the coming of the death of birth to give us our eternity,
To reach peace,
I am in a state of flux, changing to persist,
I am *love* and *peace* …
I am glorious …
I am *you*

Farah, Nottingham
24/06/2016

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“We can share the journey but the adventure is yours”

Kathy Charmaz

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Farah Al-Hashimi-Amedi,
Nottingham, 2016

ABSTRACT

This research study on the origin and evolution of the built environment of Erbil city, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan concentrates particularly on the duality of change and persistence in the urban core throughout the centuries. Erbil is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, its ancient citadel was added to the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2014. Its historic urban core - civic, religious and commercial heart of Erbil - standing at the bottom of the citadel's hill from its south part - has experienced many changes over the centuries, and is currently part of a protective buffer zone for the conservation of the citadel.

The long history of the urban core is not immediately apparent due to successive periods of construction and demolition, which have left few traces of the past, hence many ambiguities surround both the urban core and parts of the lower city leading to difficulties in understanding its origin and character. The few previous architectural studies that have focused on parts of the urban core have concentrated mainly on specific areas or on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, leaving the earlier periods under-investigated. This research, therefore, set out to reveal the hidden face of Erbil, specifically its urban core, via a qualitative interdisciplinary study, with multi method that involves history, archaeology, architecture and socio-culture. A triangulation approach was applied that incorporated four chronological periods –the Assyrian, the Attabeg, the Early Modern, and the Modern periods. The impact of the various agents on the tangible urban elements, such as the nodes, paths and edges, as well as on the intangible elements, such as rituals, events, and activities that characterised these elements has also been included..

The results of the study show that the urban core was traced back to the Attabeg period and a public square (maidan), and the citadel gate possibly date to the Assyrian period (1000 to 612 BCE). The main agents of change have been beliefs, decisions of the rulers and economic forces. The persistent urban elements – the maidan, the historic paths of the bazar area and the citadel gate – were integral to events, rituals and other activities, some of which disappeared altogether, some were assimilated for other purposes while others persisted. For instance, during the Attabeg period the establishment of the maidan reflected the power of the rulers, religious beliefs and commercial activities, while, under the Ottomans (16th century CE) when there was a shift from single rulers to groups of civic-minded citizens, to meet new civic, commercial and religious needs, construction projects were undertaken and a network of pathways was developed. Likewise, late in the modern period, after the city had benefited from further economic and political changes, the need for a public square was revived.

By exploring Erbil's urban core, this thesis has identified its origins and has revealed the persistent elements, the evolutionary dynamics that have affected its tangible and intangible aspects, and the main agents that have contributed to these phenomena.

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GLOSSARY OF ARABIC TERMS

Amir………………	Prince
Bazar/Suq…………	Markets
Caliphate…………	A person considered a religious successor to the prophet Muhammad and a leader of the entire Muslim community
Hammam……….....	Public Bath
Kahariz…………	Canal - Irrigation System
Khaialaldhil…….	Puppetry and Shadow Puppets
Khanaqa…………..	Monastery/Sufi lodge
Laqala…………..	Stork
Liwa………………	District
Madrasa…………...	Religious School
Maidan…………….	Public Square
Mawalid/Mawlid...	Prophets Mohammad’s Birthday
Qadha or Kaza…..	Sub-districts
Qahawa/Maqaha…	Coffee-Shop
Qaisaria…………...	A construction of closed markets, shops with liner organization, from one to three storeys
Ribat………………	Monastery/Sufi lodge
Simat-Kabir…….	Huge Feast
Sultan……………..	A noble title to a powerful governor of a province within the caliphate (without claiming the overall caliphate)
Takia……………....	Monastery/Sufi lodge
Tell……………….	Archaeological Hill Site
Zawia……………...	Sufi lodge

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCE…………….	Before the Common Era
CE………………	Common Era or Current Era
EPAS…………...	The Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey
GHS…………….	Geographical Handbook Series
GIS …………….	Geographic Information System
IYPE……………	International Year of Planet Earth
Km……………..	Kilometre
M………………..	Meter
N………………..	Node
P………………..	Path
PRP…………….	Primary Regular Path
RP………………	Regular Path
SIC……………...	The Latin adverb for So or Thus, it means a grammatical error
SWANAAP……..	South West Asia, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula
UNESCO……….	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT…	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

TRANSLATION ARABIC ALPHABET INTO ENGLISH

All words and phrases from Arabic are transliterated according to the system set as follows:

a/ā	أ	dh	ض
b	ب	t	ط
t	ت	ẓ	ظ
th	ث	‘	ع
j	ج	gh	غ
h	ح	f	ف
kh	خ	q	ق
d	د	k	ك
the	ذ	l	ل
r	ر	m	م
z	ز	n	ن
s	س	h	ه
sh	ش	w	و
s	ص	u	ي

PREFACE:

An interest in Erbil: A Story to Tell

> *"A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots"*
> *Marcus Garvey*

A long evolution preceded the writing of this thesis. My ideas arose from two separate sources; an early interest in theology, history and archaeology and a passion for architecture, urban design, and the way cities evolve and change. Together they led me to focus on Erbil. My mixed ethnicity: half Arab and half Kurdish; my childhood and early adult life in Baghdad followed by work in Kurdistan affected me profoundly, as did the mysterious history of Erbil. It challenged my approach when I came to study the city, forcing me to abandon the conventional notion of what such an examination should be, insisting instead that I delve deep into its past in order to identify its roots and its essence.

As with other Iraqi[1] cities, each city in Iraqi Kurdistan[2] has a story to tell about its specific history, nature and characteristic buildings. At the same time, however, they are also unified by a common Kurdish culture that reflects both unity and the variety. I consider myself lucky because my dual ethnicity opened up opportunities for me to visit different cities and know different cultures in this region.

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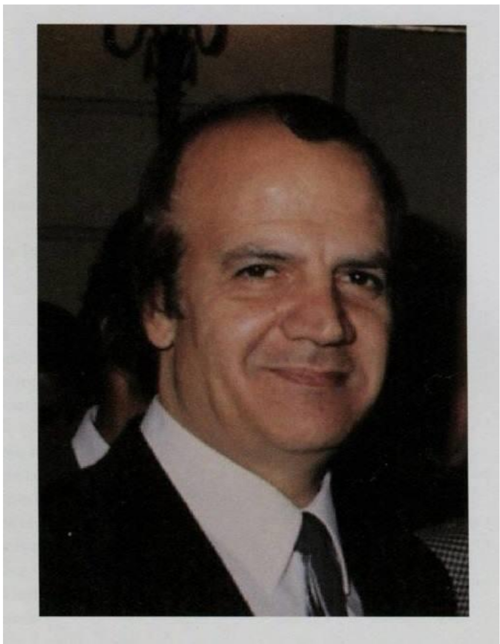
[1] *"Modern Iraq is the creation of British policy following the defeat of Turkey in the Great War of 1914-1918, and was formed out of three vilayets of the Ottoman Empire-Basra, Baghdad and Mosul. The first two comprised the delta lands which were Arab by race, speech, and culture; but Mosul vilayet in the north in its geography, history, and people differed notably from the others" (Naval intelligence Division 1944, p. B).*
Iraq, this new country is located in Southwest Asia, its modern borders represented by Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, Kuwait to the southeast, Jordan to the southwest, Saudi Arabia to the south, and Syria to the west. It has nineteenth governorates and its capital is the city of Baghdad. It has two great rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, historically the land between the two rivers, is known as Mesopotamia (an ancient Greek word). "It is these rivers which have drawn people from south, west, and north to settle in and cultivate the land, and it is these people who built up one of the great civilization of the ancient world" (Naval intelligence Division 1944, p. B); such as, Sumer, Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian empires.

[2] Kurdistan, the land of the Kurds, is the region where the majority population are Kurds and where the Kurdish people have historically been based.

My interest in Erbil, which developed from my first three visits was, to some degree, fostered by my father 'Dr Wissam Al-Hashimi[3]', a geologist and petroleum expert with an interest in different areas of Iraq including Erbil with its ancient citadel hill.



Dr Wissam Al-Hashimi, was a Vice-President of IUGS (International Union of Geological Science), President of the Geological Society of Iraq, and Secretary General of the Union of Arab Geologists (De Mulder et al. 2012).

This nurtured my curiosity, which grew when I first visited Erbil in the summer of 2003, following the war in Iraq. My mother and I travelled from Baghdad to Erbil to see my sister who, when married, lived there. My first impression was of a *'Sleeping City'*. The streets appeared unusually quiet, uninteresting and monotonous. There were a few new buildings and some pre and post-1980 government buildings set near a dull-brown

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[3] Dr. Wissam S. Al-Hashimi, born in Baghdad (1942-2005), was one of Iraq's leading geoscientists. He received his B.Sc. from Baghdad University in 1965 and his PhD from the University of Newcastle, U.K. (1968-1972). Over the years he held a variety of important scientific and managerial positions in organisations such as the Iraq Geological survey, the Iraqi National Oil Company, and the Iraq Ministry of Oil. In the course of these endeavours he was active at national, regional and international levels. He was a Petroleum Expert in the Ministry of Oil of Iraq, President of the Geological Society of Iraq, and Secretary General of the Union of Arab Geologists. At international level, Dr. Al-Hashimi was elected to the Council of the International Association of Sedimentologists, where he served for two consecutive terms (1982–1990) and was also Vice-President of International Union of Geological Sciences, IUGS, (1996-2002). Following which he was elected as a member of the IUGS committee. Al-Hashimi was a key supporter of the proposal to establish the International Year of Planet Earth, IYPE. This eventually won UN approval in 2008. In late August of 2005 he was kidnapped and killed by terrorists in Baghdad (Riddle 2013, p.24; Aaron 2005).
See also: https://www.geolsoc.org.uk/Geoscientist/Archive/April-2013/Al-Hashimi-remembered

citadel located on a hill in the city centre; they reflected the standardised Iraqi identity. At that time, I saw no noticeable signs of anything that would attract visitors to the city other than the citadel, an iconic landmark in the centre of Erbil. In that period, the situation in both Arab Iraqi cities and in the Kurdistan Region was worsening and progress in construction was very slow. In 2005, the political situation deteriorated, culminating with my father's kidnap and murder by terrorists in Baghdad.

From 2004 to 2007, I lived in Bahrain, but on a second visit to Erbil in 2006 I noticed some changes in building styles and way of life. Deciding to return to work in Iraq I chose to stay in the Kurdistan Region, my mother's birthplace, which was when I made my third visit. I worked in Duhok[4] and visited my sister in Erbil from time to time. While there, I could visually monitor the changes and admire the remarkable efforts made by the government of the Kurdistan Region to improve it. On each trip, I saw new buildings, new additions and changes in lifestyle that indirectly affected the image of the old city. On one occasion, I passed its bazar and I found it interesting. It was different from other bazars/suqs in Kurdistan; reminding me of the Baghdad suqs and other cities in the region. Its covered paths and intervening alleyways left me even more curious about Erbil and its old urban patterns. This area and the citadel reflect the city's long history and gives it a significant importance, despite the neglect. I lived in Iraqi Kurdistan for almost three years and noted both its powerful history and the suppression endured by its people. Unfortunately, the Kurds[5] in general, have suffered oppression

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[4] Duhok, a city in Kurdistan was originally an Assyrian town. It has beautiful natural surroundings and is mountainous along the Tigris River.

[5] By the end of World War I, the Kurds were divided between five states: Russia, Turkey, Persia, Iraq and Syria.They were politically subordinate and lost their freedom. They lived in multi-lingual societies and multi-cultural communities suffered persecution. This led some to emigrate to the west or work abroad. Others were exiled and the remainder stayed with the suffering majority (Zeki 1961, pp.20-32; Amadi 2013, p. 230; Ziedan 2015; BLAU 2015). For example, in 1923 the new agreement signed in Lausanne gave Turkey control over a large part of the Kurdish region, where the Kurds represent 52% of the total Kurdish population in the world. At that time Kurds suffered from significant repression and were referred to as 'mountain Turks' by the Turks. Their language was forbidden to be taught or spoken in public and they were forced to speak the Turkish language. In addition, all their traditions, Kurdish costumes songs, and dances were prohibited. In Iran the situation was similar; Kurds, who constituted more than 25% of the entire Kurdish population, suffered from the harsh policies imposed on them. The Kurdish language was banned, as were all Kurdish publications. Later, the Islamic government in Iran also refused to give national rights to the Kurdish minority. In the 1980s Kurdish revolutionaries in Iran forced the state authorities to agree to the publication of Kurdish works and to recognise the language. In Syria Kurdish literature was strictly forbidden. In Iraq the situation was different; there, the Kurds, who constituted 18% of Kurds in the world, were oppressed and killed by the republican government. Nevertheless, they were able to preserve their culture, traditions and customs, acquired

and injustice from different powers throughout their history. The British political officer, Sir William Rupert Hay, who served in Kurdistan-Iraq in 1919 and 1920, highlights in his book *'Two Years in Kurdistan'* the oppression that Kurds faced and the ignorance of the wider world about them. Hay (1921, p. 35) states that:

> Despite the fact that the Kurds are one of the most virile races in existence, that they occupy a very large portion of the Middle East, and that they are of the same Aryan stock as ourselves, the public at home know practically nothing about them, and there must be many who before the war had never even heard their name.

This suppression impacted greatly on the development of Kurdish cities, the life style and their urban environment. For example, when the famous Iraqi architect Mohamed Makiya[6] who was studying at the University of Liverpool in the 1940s, asked the Iraqi Ministry of Knowledge to provide him with necessary urban maps of the Kurdistan region his request was rejected. He later chose to study the urban environment of the city of Liverpool (Abdulla 2014, p. 6). In 1956 the famous architect Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis was commissioned by the government of Iraq to develop and create a master plan proposal for some Iraqi cities; one of which was Erbil. Doxiadis highlighted the fact that Erbil was ignored, and described it as '*A Dead City'* (Doxiadis 1958, pp. 16-17). This clearly indicates that, before and during the 1950s, ancient Iraqi cities were neglected. All these matters encouraged me to aim, from the beginning of my PhD, to identify ways of preserving the particularity of the historical places of any community, my priority being Kurdistan.

Aside from any contribution to knowledge; it could add to an appreciation of the cultureof my ancestors who suffered and sacrificed themselves to preserve their community and identity. To take the urban elements of Erbil city as a primary context and keep the scope of the research focused, required the selection of a specific urban area as an object of study. The decision was made to adopt Erbil's urban core, the public sector, located in the south part of the citadel.

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cultural rights, as a minimum, and began to represent the centre of Kurdish cultural life for the whole nation (BLAU ND, pp.2-3; Zeki 1961, pp19-20).

[6] Mohamed Makiya was born in Baghdad (1914), studied architecture at Liverpool and received his PhD in 1946 from Kings College, Cambridge. He is considered to be one of the contributors to contemporary Iraqi architecture.

INTRODUCTION

Contextual Brief

> “Cities that cannot accommodate to diversity, to migratory movements, to new lifestyles and to new economic, political, religious and value heterogeneity, will die either through ossification or stagnation or because they fall apart in violent conflict” (Harvey, 1996, pp. 437-438).

Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan Region in northern Iraq, epitomizes thousands of years of history. This city is one of the Mesopotamian cities that were initiated between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates (figure 1) and it is now part of the modern country of Iraq.

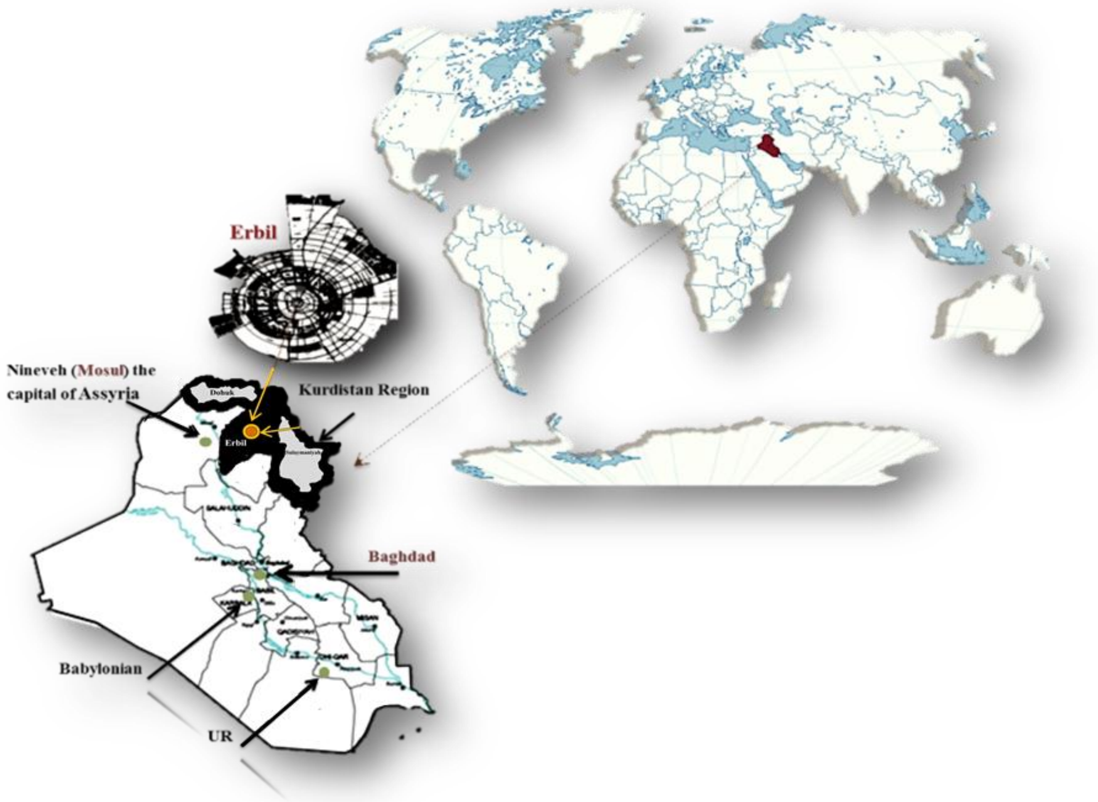

Figure 1: The Location of Erbil and the Iraq on the World Map

Its old urban fabric has experienced multiple changes and layers of intervention due to the growth, events, and changes in the way of life, specifically after the Iraq war of 2003 (figure 2).

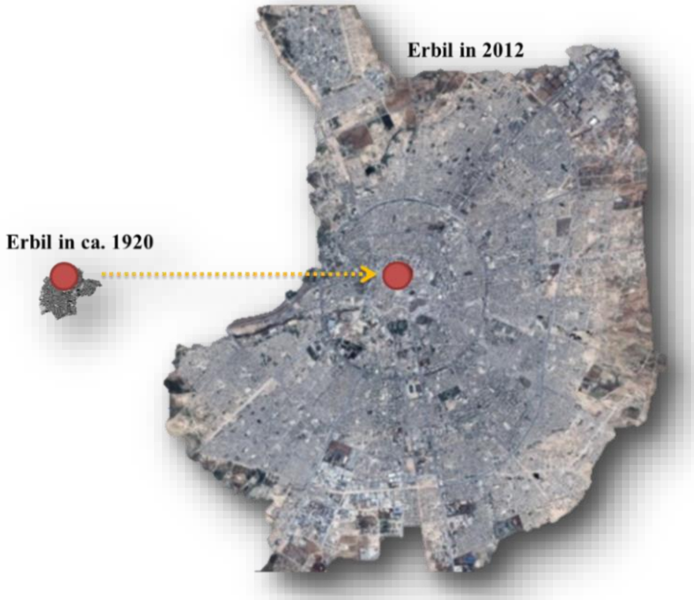

Figure 2: The Rapid Urban Growth of Erbil

Recent research and literature on Erbil have been published by architects and urban planners, such as Al- Shwani (2011), Mzoori (2011), Baper and Hassan (2010) Ameen (2010), Bornberg, Tayfor and Jaimes (2006) who emphasise the challenges that the city is facing and the importance of preserving the uniqueness of its traditional urban space (figure 3).

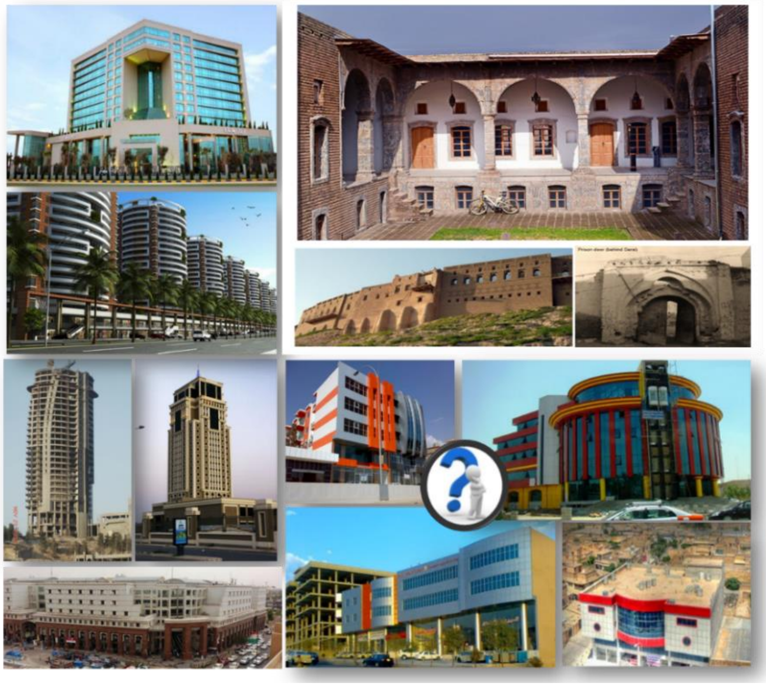

Figure 3: Change in the Physiognomy of Erbil
Source: Private collections, Dept. of Erbil Antiquities, Jim Gordon: flickr, investing group.

Erbil's traditional urban fabric is represented by the histrionic citadel, one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, and the traditional urban fabric surrounding the citadel and including the urban core[7] - standing at the bottom of the citadel hill from its south part where the civic, religious, and commercial heart of the city – and residential areas (figure 4).

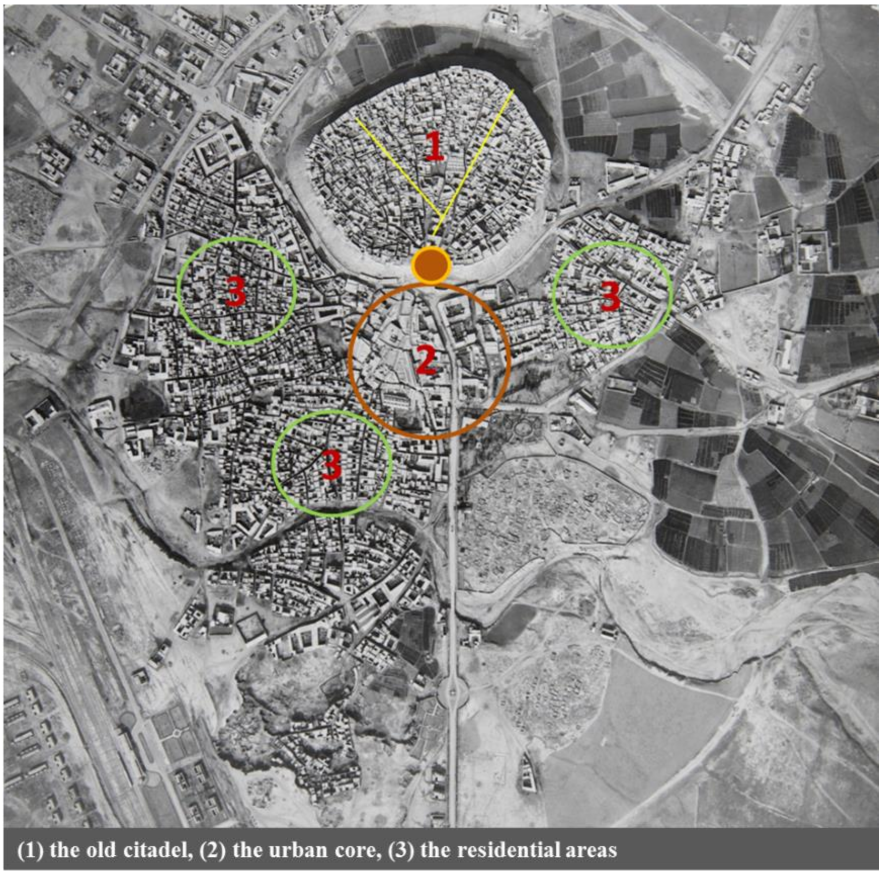
1
2
3
3
3
(1) the old citadel, (2) the urban core, (3) the residential areas

Figure 4: The Traditional Urban Fabric of Erbil
Source: Modified from (Pitt-Rivers Museum, John Bradford Photographic Collection 1998.296.68)

In 2014 the historic citadel, was added to the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites, after being placed on it as an Iraqi tentative list of World Heritage Sites in 2007 and since that time it has been undergoing a process of conservation (ARS Progetti SPA 2011). As a part of this process and in order to protect the citadel, two buffer zones A and B were established in the traditional urban fabric, which includes the urban core

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[7] One of the definitions of the urban core is being the most important or central part of something. It is fact that the historic citadel is the core of the whole city where settlements in the lower part of the city throughout the time evolved around it. However, the urban core of this study is the public sector the heart of the city where the socio-commercial and religious activities took and are still taking place in it. This part of the city worked as a joint connecting the citadel with the lower area and it was the catalyst that helped the other settlements to grow.

and residential areas surrounding the citadel, all of which are subjected to the conservation process (figure 5).

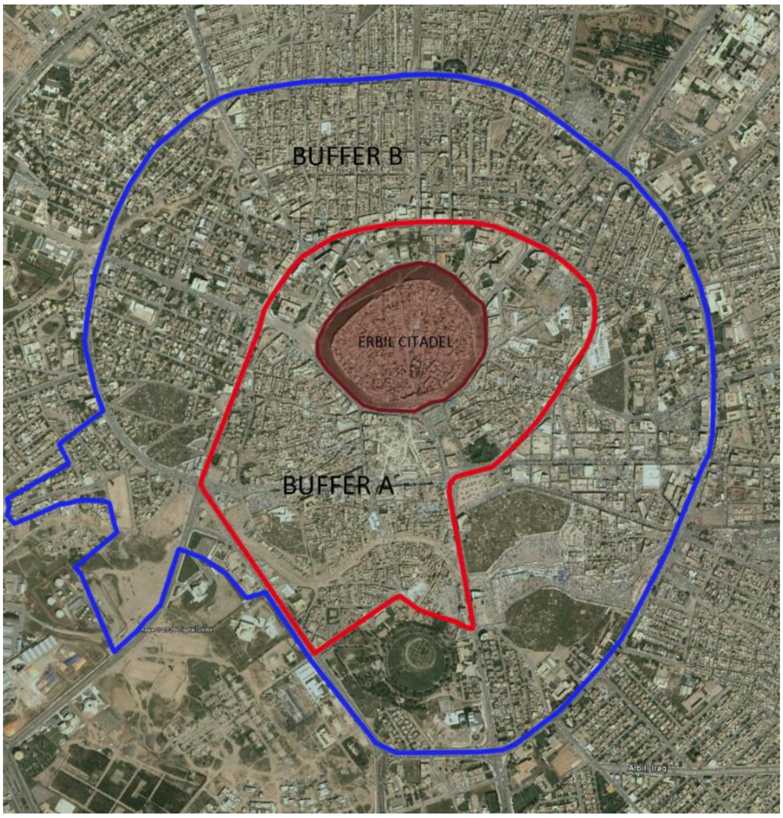

Figure 5: The Buffer Zones (A) and (B) that surround the citadel
Source: (ARS Progetti SPA 2011, p. 6)

Aside from the significance of the citadel and its south gate, the urban core (which has over time experienced many changes) is considered to be the base and the catalyst for growth of other settlements that surround the citadel. Its long history is not immediately apparent due to successive periods of construction and demolition, leaving few traces of the past. Few studies have focused on parts of this area, therefore a kind of ambiguity, or multiplicity of coexisting conditions, have been part of its evolution which has impacted on both the tangible – i.e. the urban elements, and the intangible elements – i.e. the rituals, events and activities. Those aspects that have been absorbed or have adapted to changes throughout the centuries that have occupied either the urban space, or persisted in the collective memory, and whose existence brings the history of the city to life.

However, some of those aspects have now started to vanish. Thus, in order to protect its particularity for future generations, preserve the old urban fabric, understand the city’s current situation and envisage its future, it is essential to delve deep into the layers of the past to reveal the persistent elements of this historic city and to understand the processes of change. Hence, this research will focus on the subject of change and persistence in the urban core by encompassing three major themes: firstly, the origin of the city’s urban core; secondly, the character and the current state of the urban core and the consequences of change and growth; and thirdly, how the main agents of change have affected the structure of the old urban fabric and its tangible and intangible aspects. This, then, is intended to be a pioneering study in the context of the architecture of Erbil, therefore it will take an interdisciplinary approach that involves history, archaeology, architecture, and socio-culture in order to reveal the hidden face of the urban core. Consequently, a detailed review of the most important historical periods – the Assyrian (from 1000 to 612 BCE), the Attabeg (from 1128 to 1233 CE), the Early Modern (from 1233 to 1918 CE), and the Modern (from 1918 to 2014 CE) – will be introduced.

1. The Scope of the Study

“Every region and every nation knows or recognizes its heritage. Every community seeks to keep its history alive to maintain or discover their roots: the guarantor of a community’s future”

(Huot 2008, p. 19)

This research was stimulated mainly by an interest in the economic, geographic and potential touristic possibilities of Erbil city, which is now attempting to reposition itself as a modern city with a strong history. Erbil has witnessed many changes and events that have affected its socio-cultural, economic and political structure and which have impacted on its urban pattern and natural evolution. Whilst the city witnessed great prosperity during the Assyrian[8] and the Attabeg[9] periods, it also faced degradation, neglect, destruction and attacks throughout the other periods, all of which impacted on the visible aspects of the city.

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[8] Inscriptions highlight a city called Arbail/Arbela that played a significant role in the Assyrian era as it became the seat of the goddess Ishtar - the goddess of war (Doxiadis Associates, 1958, p. 5). In Arbail and Nineveh, Ishtar was the same goddess but worshipped differently (in Arbail she was the goddess of war but in Nineveh she was the goddess of love and fertility.

[9] The Attabeg period emerged in 12th century CE.

What exists now is regarded as being distinctive to Erbil and is considered to be the historic remains of the principal characteristics of the city's built environment, which need to be accentuated and revive. The Iraqi architect Rif'at Chadirji[10], indicates that Iraq - or the country and people that became modern Iraq - and its cities (including Erbil) were under the control of the Ottoman Empire for more than four centuries of misery during which time they were not subject to significant change (Chadirji 2010). Ottoman rule in Iraq[11] ended in 1918 due to World War I and was followed by the establishment of the Iraqi Kingdom[12] in 1921, albeit under British administration, until it became independent in 1932. Then, during the Republican period from 1958 onwards Iraqi architects attempted to crystallize and consolidate the country's architectural styles and identity (Hadid, 2012; Mzoori, 2011). Consequently, after the Gulf War in 1991, the rise of a new political authority in Iraq's Autonomous Kurdish Region saw the beginning of a revitalisation of the intellectual and cultural structure of the Kurdish community (Ameen, 2010). Following the end of the Iraq war in 2003, economic and political changes have encouraged a significant wave of investments in Erbil, resulting in fast growth of the city. It is necessary, therefore, to focus on and analyse the existing situation, by both extracting knowledge from its present state and learning from its past through monitoring the changes that have taken place throughout the city's history.

A review of previous studies on the traditional urban fabric of the city shows that the main focus was on its old citadel, which has been much explored for architectural and conservation purposes, such as by the Consultancy for Conservation and Development et al. (2011) and Al-Haydari (1985). Other studies, such as by Mzoori (2011) and Al-

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[10] Rifat Chadirji, who was born in Baghdad in 1926, is an Iraqi architect. He studied architecture in the UK and established his professional practice in Baghdad. His work reflected deep understanding of the roots of traditional architecture in Iraq.

[11] Iraq for centuries was occupied by the Achaemenid, Seleucid, Parthian, Roman rule, Sassanians, Arabs (who brought the Islamic religion to this region) then the conquered of Ottoman Empire who persisted more than five hundred years and ended by World War I in 1918, then the British occupation to Iraq (Chadirji, 2010, p.5). The subsequent period of British administration and the establishment of the Iraqi kingdom in 1921, followed by full independence for the Kingdom of Iraq in 1932 witnessed a new emergence of modern Iraq.

[12] All the original documents and microfilms of famous projects in Baghdad which were designed by British, European and Iraqi architects in 1920s onwards were looted and burned after the war of Iraq in 2003 by unknown people (Khaled Al-Sultani 2013).

Shwani (2011), and Baber, Hassan and Ismail (2010), have mainly dealt with the citadel and the new modern city areas in the context of change. However, a few exceptional works have dealt with it from various perspectives and focused on different parts of the urban core. Mohammadi (2014), for example, looked at the consequences of moving a block of traditional markets from the urban core to a new and very large shopping centre built in the same area, while Bornberg, Tayfor and Jaimes, (2006) both discussed the contrast in architectural concepts and usages between the new shopping centre and the old bazar – Dabbagh’s study (1988) also focused on the bazar in an attempt to develop it further, and in 1987, and Hashim Al-Genabi, had described the functions and kinds of shops that the bazar contained in the 1980s. Karel Nováček, Narmin Amin, and Miroslav Melčák in 2013 produced an archaeological work that investigated the city’s outline as it would have been in the 12th century. In their study they came across the outline of the urban core of that period and found traces of the Assyrian wall.

Although architectural and urban studies that have focused on the urban core are interesting, and valid from their own particular perspectives, they primarily started from the modern period, which began when the Kingdom of Iraq was founded in 1921. Hence, none have analysed it in sufficient depth to provide a comprehensive picture, and neither did they consider both the tangible and the intangible elements – the majority focused on the physical aspects. This research study, therefore, is intended to bridge the gaps in knowledge by introducing a wide range of chronological divisions in order to identify the origin and character of the existing urban core and to address its changes. This will be achieved by interconnecting history, archaeology, architecture and urban design, which has not yet been attempted. Consequently, the origin of the current urban core and its changes will be explored and the agents of changes behind them will be identified. Furthermore, the persistent aspects that are retained or were existed in the urban core will be recorded. This process, it is hoped, will help in the long term the conservation process of the urban core of the city and, also, other cities in the future.

2. The Aims of the Study

The aims of this study are:

a) To investigate the possible origin of the urban core.

b) To explore the evolving character of the urban core through an interdisciplinary study involving architecture, history, archaeology and culture.

c) To trace the persistent elements, the characteristics of change and the agents that influence them.

3. Research Objectives

To achieve the aims of the research, three important considerations are required:

d) To identify the outline of the city and the urban core through exploring four chronological periods when Erbil witnessed significant changes: the Assyrian, the Attabeg, the prosperous (Hathebani and Attabeg), the Early Modern and the Modern periods.

e) To study the reasons for change and persistence in the urban core and to investigate their impact on the urban elements, such as paths, nodes and edges, and the intangible aspects, such as events and activities.

f) To understand how the intangible aspects, the urban elements and their interrelationship changed under the influence of the various agents. This will be achieved by exploring three chronological periods during which the urban core

4. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research methodology involving multiple methods with the triangulation approach applied to deliver conceptual understanding of the urban core. This approach needs different resources to be deployed at the same time for obtaining specific information, which include multiple strategies to overcome the problems faced by previous researchers – namely reliance on, (i) a single theory, (ii) a single approach, and (iii) specific data. The case of Erbil city and its urban core is complex due to the lack of written sources, maps, archaeological evidence and because information is scattered over different countries. This has prevented architecture and urban studies from delving deeply into the past, hence their focus has tended to start from the beginning of the twentieth century. This is why the current study will use a triangulation approach to deal with the changes and the persistencies within the urban core, since it will directly assist in understanding the current state of the urban area in order to benefit future studies.

Data Collection

The aim of combining multiple sources of primary and secondary data is to aid the study's in-depth investigation of the urban core, which no individual source can currently provide. The primary data will rely on multi method data collection techniques include site visits, traveling to different countries in order to collect maps, photographs, drawings and other information; formal and informal group discussions, interviews (structured and semi-structured) with historian, archaeologists and others. Interviewee will be chosen according to their knowledge about the subjects that need to be studied, such as people who work in the bazar or are owners of different parts of the bazar.

Secondary data, such as via the literature review, will support the study in order to illustrate and define the changes and persistencies as well as to identify the methods and techniques for analysing the space structure. These data will include historical, archaeological, architectural and urban design sources.

Preparing Existing Material for Analysis

The documentary evidence, such as maps, pictures, photographs and sketches, will represent the physical and tangible realities of the subject area and they will also help to understand the changes. These will be collected from different institutions, museums, people, and others sources. For the purpose of analysis, maps will be re-drawn through the AutoCAD program and will be supported by the ArcGIS program, since some of them were in picture form or were hand or AutoCAD drawings and some have inaccurate dimensions.

Methods of Analysis and Interpretation of Material

Three main variables were identified, (i) the urban elements, such as paths, nodes, and edges, with their characteristics together with the intangible aspects, such as rituals, events, activities, and customs, (ii) the interrelationship of the urban elements, which relies on the aspects of coherence and the integration vs segregation, and (iii) the agents of change – i.e. socio-cultural, economic and political decisions taken by rulers, together with events that impact on the urban environment (see Chapter 2).

The analysis will be divided into two stages, the first stage will be sub-divided into four periods, the Assyrian period, the prosperous (the Hathebani and Attabeg, periods) – the Early Modern and the Modern periods. This first stage includes tracing the historic urban elements of Erbil city, such as the paths, nodes and edges, excluding the citadel, even though it is one of the main nodes. The outline of the urban core will also be identified and the origins of its urban public space traced.

The second stage will be divided into three periods – the Attabeg, the Early Modern and the Modern. The main focus of this stage will be on the character of the urban core, the changes in its tangible and intangible aspects, the agents of those changes and the interrelationship between its urban elements. The persistent elements will also be traced.

Methods and tools for analysis will be developed in order to verify the change in the urban elements - i.e. the paths, nodes, edges - and in their interrelationships. The persistent elements, such as the hidden rules, the physical signs, the propelling elements and other intangible aspects, will be identified. Historical analysis, visual analysis, content analysis, comparison, mapping and the figure and ground technique will also be used to analyse the nature of the configuration of the urban core.

The mechanisms for extracting the persistent elements - artefacts, buildings, monuments, and types of functions that exist in the urban core - can be through morphological studies and a diachronic approach; they are revealed clearly by analysing and monitoring any change that has happened to the old urban fabric. For the urban core, it will include tracing the urban elements and the intangible aspects through the four chronological stages, and removing the non-common elements and maintaining the intrinsic properties.

5. Contributions to Knowledge

The significance of this study will lie in the cross-disciplinary approach adopted in terms of archaeology, history and socio-culture of the area being considered collectively. It will also explore the changes and unite the tangible and intangible aspects of the urban core. As such, it may be considered to be a pioneering approach as far as the study of urbanism of both Erbil and Iraqi Kurdistan is concerned. In summary it will:

1. Investigate the origin of the current urban core back to the Attabeg period (12th century), with the possible existence of its square originating in the Assyrian period.

2. Identify the outline of the urban core, through tracking the historic urban elements of the city's paths, nodes and edges.

3. Introduce an outline of the urban core during the Attabeg period by tracing the changes through the subsequent periods, thus building on the limited literature available about the architectural history of the urban core.

4. Examine the evolving character of the urban core and the interconnection of its tangible and the intangible aspects and their influence by the agents of change.

5. Investigate the intangible aspects, such as the origin of the Prophet Mohammad's birthday in Erbil, which impacted profoundly the urban core in the Attabeg period.

6. Make a methodological contribution by adopting a triangulation approach that includes multi-methods, to understand and analyse the urban core. The methodology will integrate knowledge from archaeology, history and architecture, which may be considered to be a pioneering approach as far as studies of Erbil are concerned.

7. Introduce a hypothesis for the Assyrian period that postulates Arbail/Arbela to be modern Erbil, through identifying the existence of two temples of the goddess

Ishtar, one in the citadel and the other in Milkia, which, in this thesis, is considered to be in the Azza area, where the second shrine was located on Tell AbdulAziz. However, this hypothesis would need further archaeological proof.

8. Introduce a scenario, or assumption, of Erbil's outline during the Assyrian and Attabeg periods.

9. Identify ways of extracting both tangible and intangible persistent elements of the urban core by chronologically monitoring and analysing its changes.

10. Re-draw maps of the urban core area from 1920-2014, because no available chronological maps display the evolution of this area throughout this period of time. The originals belong to different periods and were either maps or images drawn by hand and had erroneous dimensions and/or inaccurate information. The AutoCAD version that shows the existing situation of the city in 2014 (the master plan of the city) also has inaccurate dimensions.

11. Identify the methods – through the concept of the tangible and intangible aspects of its persistent elements – which may inform and support any future conservation programs, particularly the one occurring in the historic urban core of the Tell cities.

6. Structure of the Thesis

Historic living cities are shaped by, and constitute, syntheses of events and circumstances (agents) in different periods; this is continued in the process of being. These agents are variable in their effect but interact together and bring change. This change moves the image of historic cities from their actual traditional shape towards a different level. Within this process the concept of persistence – or permanence – is revealed as part of the change. All historic cities inherit old aspects from their past and generate new additions under different circumstances and conditions. This dual nature of change and persistence, or durability, embraces a city's shape and by studying the history of any city, it is clear that a new period produces its own changes and additions.

However, the degree of change and the way it impacts on the new varies considerably. In some periods, the old urban fabric remains much the same with few changes, for example during the Ottoman period, where the forces that acted were gradual and limited. In other periods, especially in the recent past, the changes become radical and the impact of the new on the old leads to significant alterations. Therefore, in order to trace these changes, it is important to divide these stages into different periods.

Due to the diversity of the subject matter, a literature review has been developed within each chapter. Also, the subjects in some chapters will overlap so as to reduce an unnecessary concentration of materials in individual chapters.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, each of which focuses on a major field of content. The research is presented in two main phases; the first, which appears in chapters one and two. Chapter one defines change and persistence and the meaning of tangible and intangible aspects. It describes the urban cores of South West Asia, North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula (SWANAAP).

Chapter One: describes change and persistence of the urban core. The first part of this chapter is concerned with the urban elements of the city in general and the urban core in particular. These elements of paths, nodes and edges are intertwined with the intangible aspects. The main aspects of the urban cores of cities in South West Asia, North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula (the SWANAAP) were introduced. This is followed by covering the concept of change, the type of change and the agents of change in the city. This urban core, with its public spaces, was the first part of the city to absorb the changes. Karimi (1998) indicates that this part of the city reflects a society’s particularity as it conveys the past or the history of that society. In the case of Erbil, current research focuses on the change in Erbil’s public sector, as it is one of the cities that has faced different changes that have impacted on its urban structure with, in some stages, forces destroying its intrinsic properties. Following that the knowledge gap is identified and the key terms are extracted to support the analytical chapters.

In Chapter One the definitions of ‘change’ and ‘persistence’ are given. ‘Change’ is the movement of a structure from a specific situation considered to be the origin or the base, to a new situation. The impacts of agents of change can either be minor, which means the effect happens gradually, and leads to adaptation, or major, where the impact happens radically or suddenly, which can sometimes lead to displacement and disconnection. The result is represented by specific alterations, subtractions and/or additions that work on different levels, either internally or externally, ultimately creating a new relationship between the elements. The process of change can happen suddenly or it can take long or short periods of time.

‘Persistent elements’ carry a long history and have an impact on a city’s formation’. These present in different aspects – they can be intangible events or traits and customs. That is to say, rituals or myths are manifested by physical signs. They can also be tangible aspects represented by primary urban elements such as a path, a node, and an edge. The physical aspects of these persistent elements can propel a city’s growth or can be a hindrance since they become pathological elements, resulting in their isolation. The persistent elements can be identified through morphological studies and a diachronic approach and are revealed clearly by analysing and monitoring any change that has happened to the old urban fabric.

Chapter Two: this chapter focuses on the methodology chosen to achieve the aims and objectives of this research. It discusses the reason for choosing this kind of methodology and the relationship between the research methods and research objectives

Chapters Three: Erbil, the Ancient City; Erbil, the Prosperous City; and Erbil, the Early Modern and Modern City. Any given city, along with its architecture and urban environment, is embodied in its inhabitants. Therefore, in order to achieve the aims of this study, it is important to understand the historical background of Erbil, its cultural aspects and its location. Chapter three identifies Erbil’s roots and its historical context by introducing a hypothesis that connect ancient Arbail with present day Erbil and by describing Erbil during the Assyrian period, which throws further light on its urban core. The chapter also provides a foundation for chapters Six, Seven and Eight, which address change and persistence in the urban core throughout history.

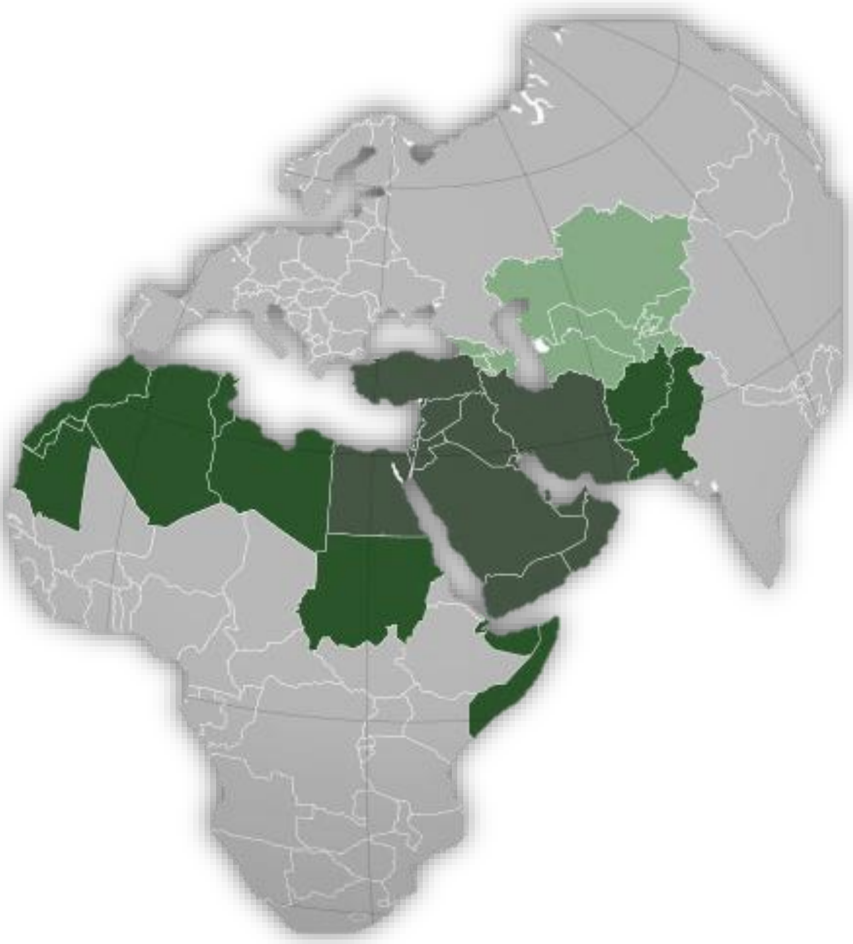
Chapter Four: the Prosperous City, this chapter introduces the Hathebani and the Attabeg periods, which identifies the outline of the city, consequently that will help to identify the outline of the urban core and also the intangible aspects that helped to shape it.

Chapter Five: the Early Modern and Modern City, they tracks the changes in the city's outline with emphasis on identifying the tangible and intangible aspects of its historic urban elements, some of which form part of its urban core.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight: cover respectively the Urban Core, the Attabeg Period, the Early Modern Period and the Modern Period.

In these chapters the configuration of the urban core is analysed, the urban elements, their interrelationships, and the intangible aspects of the urban core are the main concern. This aids in revealing the fundamental characteristics of traditional urban fabric and the persistent elements. This study does not only complete the understanding of modernisation and change in Erbil's historic urban core, it also contributes to the understanding of another important urban theme: 'urban conservation'. Thus, the analytical sections of the spatial configuration of the urban core analyse the interrelationship of the urban elements (this reflects the integration or segregation of the urban elements and interactions of the tangible with the intangible aspects).

These layers of analysis, however, focus mainly on the historic urban core and investigate how the traditional part of Erbil, the historic part, has been changed and what the spatial consequences of these physical interventions mean.



Source: Adapted from Heraldry in Commons.Wikimedia

CHAPTER ONE:

THE CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE IN THE SWANAAP CITIES

Chapter 1: CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE IN THE SWANAAP CITIES

Introduction

Over time, every city faces multiple changes in its architecture and urban environment. The type and impact of such changes differ from place to place depending on the forces generating them. This chapter is mainly concerned in introducing an overview of a city and its major elements or aspects (tangible and intangible), with specific intention to the cities of the South West Asia, North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula (SWANAAP). It then provides definitions of the concept of change and persistence in a city. It also focuses on identifying gaps in the knowledge in relation to Erbil city (specifically in the city's urban core) through tackling the subject of change and persistence in the urban structure and the urban core of Erbil.

1.1 Cities of South West Asia, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula (SWANAAP)

> *"The culture of the past is not only the memory of mankind, but our own buried life, and study of it leads to a recognition scene, a discovery in which we see, not our past lives, but the cultural form of our present life"*
> *Northrop Frye (1957)*

It is a fact that the traditional cities in these regions have their own particularity after the emergence of Islam (Bianca 2000, p. 23; Ettinghausen and Grabar 1994, p. 17). However, there is no doubt that the emergence of Islam in Arab and non-Arab lands led to a sequence of developments rooted in previous civilisations, especially those of Mesopotamia, the Nile, and the Roman Empire (Bianca 2000, pp. 22-23; Gosling and Maitland 1984, p. 26). In this study, titles like 'Islamic Cities'[13], 'Middle Eastern

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[13] The controversy surrounding use of the term 'Islamic city' will not be discussed in detailed, as the concern of this study is change and persistence in the city urban core of Erbil. Different scholars have different opinions and concerns regarding the use of the term Islamic cities. Before starting with their arguments it is worth mentioning that in terms of this terminology, Bandyopadhyay (1998, p.123) sheds light on a vital discussion on the so-called 'Islamic cities'. He states, *"Although studying Arab and Middle Eastern settlements in the light of Islam is no doubt necessary and useful, the over-idealised paradigm of "Islamic" cities has done more damage than anything else in the understanding of the phenomenon of human settlements within the geo-graphical region dominated by Islam. This problem has become immensely exacerbated, in recent years, by the publication of a plethora of literature, on*

cities', and 'Arab cities' will not be used, because these cities were inhabited by people of different religions and ethnicities and by terming them Arab or Islamic cities the identities of other inhabitants could be undermined. Hence, the acronym 'SWANAAP' that comes from South West Asia, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula is coined

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the physical and architectural nature of such "Islamic" cities. On the one hand, certain genuinely penetrating and revealing studies of settlements could make the new researcher, working within the same geographical region and sub-culture, susceptible to drawing quick conclusions, and thereby pose a hindrance towards understanding the peculiarity of the settlement under consideration".

Some argue such cities are no different from other medieval cities in terms of structure and needs, and Muslims did not bring any genuinely new types to the cities that they conquered; what they did is use and adapt some urban elements of the cities that they conquered. For example, the sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod, in her study *'The Islamic City-Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance'*,1987, criticised Marçais who introduced some physical characteristics of the traditional Islamic cities in the SWANNAP region, such as the civic complex that includes the Grand mosque, bazar and the public bath. Abu-Lughod's point was that "*…medieval European cities were also defined by the presence of the cathedral and the marketplace in front of it".* The key problem with her explanation is that this statement is very general due to the fact that the difference is in the spirit of these cities; also these markets and religious buildings were adjacent to each other. The characteristics and the types of their architectural components were different from the European cities. For example, the bazar of the SWANNAP cities is well known by the types of its markets, qaisaria construction, roofed paths, and spatial organization. As Wirth (see Yildiz 2011, p. 200) believed that the permanent markets, suq/bazar and its qaisaria were one of the main characteristic of the SWANNAP cities. In addition, some markets and public baths in the SWANAAP cities used to work as *waqif*/endowments to maintain the mosque. Another limitation with Abu-Lughod's argument is the focus on the cities of North Africa, while neglecting those of south west Asia. However, when she came to describe the social aspects that impact spatial form she took examples from Asia, such as India, and this shows imbalance in her arguments. Also, she compared old cities that have merged with modern aspects and lost part of their traditional spirit, i.e. cities in 20th century with cities that emerged between the 6th to 18th centuries. In her conclusion she reduced the traditional aspects that described the characteristics of the so-called 'Islamic cities' to some aspects that have nothing to do with contemporary character, as she claimed that she went beyond the physical aspects of Islamic cities and focused on its spirit. It can be said that her claim was over ambitious and the result of her study was disappointing as she separates intangible from tangible aspects and this separation was probably due to her background as a sociologist rather than as an architect. Other scholars, such as Ettinghausen and Grabar (1994, p. 17) believe that "[t]he word 'Islamic' as applied to art, refers to those people who have grown and lived under rulers who professes the faith of Islam or in cultures and societies which have been strongly influenced by the modes of life and thought characteristic of Islam". They state that:

"… 'Islamic', unlike 'Christian', refers not only to a faith but also to a whole culture, since- at least in theory – the separation of the realm of Caesar from that of God is not applicable to Islam. Also unlike Christianity, Islam did not develop first as the faith of a few, increasing the numbers of its adherents under the shadow of a huge state alien to it, slowly developing the intellectual and artistic features which were going to characterize it, and, after several centuries, blossoming into an empire and giving birth to an art as well as philosophy and a social doctrine" (Ettinghausen and Grabar 1994, p. 17).

Therefore, there is some differences; in addition, Bianca (2000, pp. 22-23) argues that Muslims adapted the aspects that matched their principles of requirements for privacy, e.g. the inward-looking courtyard, tortuous paths, roads and their width, while features like the city hall and an open theatre were shunned. Furthermore, the religion of Islam and its distinctive character dominated the lifestyle and social structure which were shared and accepted by the whole community. This appeared clearly in the themes of art, architecture and the layout of urban space, which gave the inner structure of the architecture of the built environments its particularity. Bianca also highlights that the mosque embraced religious, social, and political activities and that led to dispensing with the need for other buildings or urban elements, such as a municipality, a city hall and a public theatre (Bianca 2000, pp. 9-30).

by the author of this study to reflect the geographical location, rather than using terms that reflect a specific religion, ethnicity or culture.

In terms of the designation of the name/term ‘Traditional Middle East Cities’ this study stands on the side of the thinker and prominent writer Dr Nawal El Saadawi (Al-Saadawi) who, in her lectures and interviews relating to this subject, raises the question “Middle East to whom?”. She is against the terminologies of ‘Middle East’, ‘Far-East’ or ‘third world’[14], that were introduced by colonial powers, conquerors of these regions whose naming referenced the location of their states. Furthermore, Al-Saadawi believes that we all live in one world; there are no first, second and third worlds (El Saadwai 2015, El Saadwai 2014 El Saadwai 2012). Hence, the title ‘Traditional Cities of South West Asia and North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula’ (i.e. Traditional Cities of the SWANAAP region) is used. Before identifying the knowledge gap of the city of Erbil, it is important to understand the concept of the city and its urban elements (tangible and intangible aspects). Following this, studies that have tackled the subject of change and persistence will be introduced. This will help to elaborate a detailed conceptual framework that supports an understanding of the changes in Erbil’s urban core, which is the main concern of this study.

“Cities are all the same, cities are all different”
Graham Vickers (2009)

The literature differs in the approaches used in defining the city [15] and its characteristics, with each definition having its own speciality. They agree, however, that the city[16] is a combination of neutral urban elements, the difference being in the

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[14] “*The original Worlds' partition was not based on economic criteria, but on a political one. The First World was composed by the NATO’s countries, the democratic and capitalistic ones; the Second World identified countries that have joined the Warsaw Pact, the communist and socialist block led by Soviet Union. The Third World included all the other countries that remained un–aligned with the two poles. It consisted of the majority of the Southern Hemisphere, including the developing countries usually with a colonial past. Besides the obvious problems of a strict categorization of the World's nations, the principles of this system were no longer effective after the Soviet Union's falls. Then the approach was modified from an economic point of view and a Fourth World was added in order to describe countries which had not yet started their development”* (Burrasca 2016).

[15] Thomlinson (1969, p. 43) states that the first planned cities were initiated by the diffusion of inventions in Mesopotamia (Modern Iraq) about 2000 BCE. Other cities, such as those that emerged in the Nile Valley in Egypt, the Indus valley in West Pakistan, Huang in China, and Mexico, appeared later.

[16] Initial definitions of cities are “human settlement[s] in which strangers are likely to meet” (Sennett, Richard, 1974, p. 39) and “...amalgams of buildings and people” (Kostaf 2009, p. 16).

hidden patterns which are represented by the social structures, plus other, prominent, factors that play a significant role in shaping cities and creating their variations. Ibrahim (1982, p. 16), for instance, states that although all cities have the same original cells (form and space), their urban environments are different, as they depend on two main parts: cultural environment, which changes over time, and natural environment, which is permanent and remains almost exactly the same other than in times of natural catastrophes or events, such as war. Therefore, the urban fabric of cities grows and evolves between these two major aspects, the one forcing change, and the other almost stable. Hillier (1996, p. 42) defines the city as a large collection of structures connected by spaces. These structures form centres of social life where economic and cultural activities take place. Generally, the city consists of several urban environmental systems reflecting the way of life of a specific group of people that own their mental schemes and symbolic codes (Marshall 2009, p. 6; Bianca 2000, p. 12; Cohen 1999, p. 157; Al-Belouri 1997, p. 22; Rapaport 1984, p. 55). Any city[17], therefore, establishes individuality through intangible attributes and the factors that helped to initiate them: economic, socio-cultural, religious, environmental and political factors among others (Marshall 2009, p. 6; Cohen 1999, p. 157).

It can be said that a city is an urban phenomena associated with particularities of cultures, beliefs and events. It has certain unique tangible and intangible aspects which configure the form and space of the city and reflect its particularity. Consequently, various urban settings were produced and recognized as spatial arrangements reflecting the particular way of life in the city with its attached social, economic, religious, and technological aspects.

Mark Jefferson defines the city according to the density of population. He points out that 10.000 people per square mile indicates a city (Thomlinson 1969, p. 37). Weber (1974, p. 81) introduced characteristics and attributes that have become major criteria nowadays i.e. availability of peace, stability and dominance of political authority along with the presence of a law court and a stronghold. Weber adds two more key factors: the presence of one or more markets and a union or body of syndicated cooperation. Lang (2008, p. xix) defines the city as a mixture of form and space which evolves over time; its main characteristics are a combination of its beautiful and useful buildings, the nature of the landscape, and the pattern of its land usage.

[17] The city is more than a mere physical structure. It is a living creature and contains human activities, meanings and values at both individual and collective levels (Al-Belouri 1997, p. 22).

1.1.1 Kinds of Cities in the SWANAAP Region

There are two types of cities in this region; ancient cities, and cities that were initiated after the coming of Islam[18]. The ancient cities, including some whose precise date of origin is unknown, faced many changes in their buildings[19] and urban structures to suit the Islamic urban philosophy. There are two kinds of these ancient cities: the first kind is the *Tell* cities, such as Erbil, and Kirkuk which are divided into two parts: an upper city with a mound that has a citadel and a lower city with a lowland. The second kind is ancient cities with the flatland, such as Damascus. These Tell/tell cities have a long history and have similar characteristics; Erbil, Kirkuk and Aleppo, are considered to be among the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world and their foundation dates are probably close to each other. In particular, the citadel of Kirkuk and Erbil continued to embrace social, commercial, religious, and residential activities until the end of the 20th century[20]. Erbil's citadel was only vacated when a conservation process began, consequent to the city being listed under the Iraqi tentative application as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. While, the citadels of Aleppo[21], Homs/Hims and Hama functioned as rulers' residences and military garrisons. Despite the difference in the citadels' function, Aleppo does have similar characteristics to the lower city, or *rabidh*, of Erbil; what gives Erbil citadel and its city specificity is that it is considered the oldest place in the world to have been both continuously inhabited and to have carried a similar name[22] throughout history. Other kinds of cities are the ones that were initiated by the rulers' order, working first as administrative bases or camps for their

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[18] Bianca (2000, pp. 9-10) highlights that the development of the sophisticated civilisation started with the Prophet Muhammad's message and was obvious in the following two centuries. After that stage this culture continued to retain its shape from generation to generation, without any remarkable changes in lifestyle, until the 19th century; this perhaps caused the stagnation of the urban fabric. Later on, the industrial revolution, the colonial period and World War I, triggered major changes and developments in these cities, as they brought the modern life (Bianca 2000, pp. 9-10). In the modern period some of the traditional features of these ancient cities started to disappear and were replaced by a model that interacted with the evolution and inspired by the technology and lifestyle of a western environment.

[19] These changes include the adding of mosques and other facilities or modifying churches into mosques.

[20] In 1990 or 1991 the President of Iraq at that time, Saddam Hussain, ordered the demolition of the Kirkuk citadel as a way of punishing restive Kurds. However, some of the buildings survived when Abdul Raqib Yousef, a noted Kurdish historian and archaeologist, sent a direct message to Saddam Hussain explaining the historic importance of the Kirkuk citadel; a copy of this letter can be found in the appendix.

[21] In the case of Aleppo, and following the arrival of Islam, the citadel also housed a mosque, baths, shrines and palaces, although its citizens lived on the flat lands below it.

[22] Aleppo has also carried a similar name throughout its history but Erbil is probably older than Aleppo.

armies. These cities were constructed according to existing design concepts[23]; Gosling and Maitland (1984, p. 26) called them cities with '*self-conscious design'*, an example of this being Baghdad city in Iraq, which was founded by the Al-Mansur Caliphate from a sketch map that he drew. In general, decisions that related to the major aspects of the city, such as location, the Grand Mosque, and *Dar Al-Imara* (ruler's palace), were in the hands of the ruler; Caliph, Emir, or Leader. The decisions determined the main paths of the city, which originated from the city centre towards its main gates. These designed cities later became commercial and agricultural areas, growing naturally and extending beyond the city walls that previously confined them (figure 1.1). There are, however, other cities, such as Basra and Kufa in Iraq, that have an overlapping, regular and organic urban fabric and derived from the needs and desires of their inhabitants.

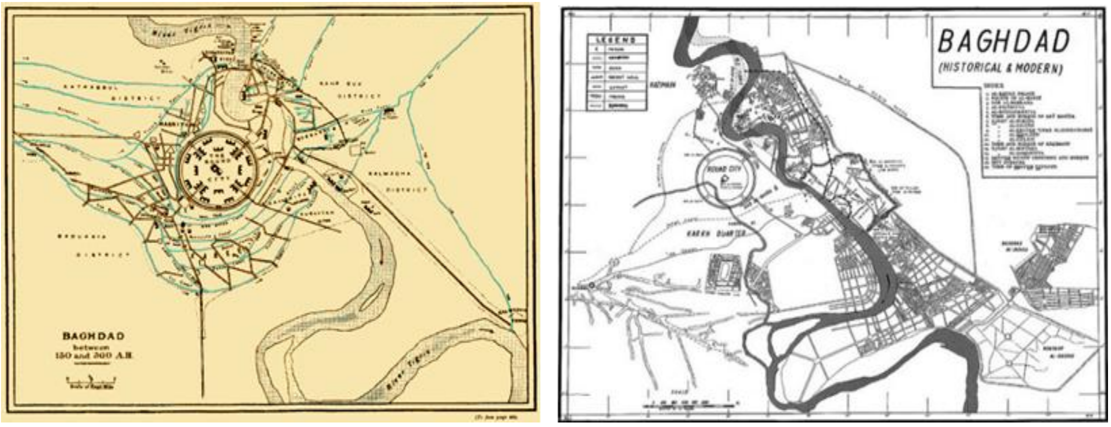

Figure 1.1: The Round City of Baghdad, Madinat Al-Salam (City of Peace)
The left: is the city between 767 CE and 912 CE as the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, the round city with the canal system that surrounded the city and the Tigers River. The right: is the historical and modern Baghdad (till the end of Abbasid Empire where the settlements expansioned to outside the city wall, 1258 CE)
Source: Left: (wikiwand.com) credit to William Muir dates to 1883; right: map taken from Encyclopedia of Islam article 'Baghdad' by A.A. Duri (see: personal.umich.edu)

As the main concern of this study is Erbil city, which is an ancient tell city, the other historic tell cities[24] in the SWANAAP region that continue to be inhabited, such as Kirkuk, Mosul in Iraq and Homs/Hims, Hama, and Aleppo in Syria will be used in the upcoming chapters as evidence to shed the light on some aspects that support the

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[23] Nowadays most cities have two types, the old, which had natural growth, and the new (Gosling and Maitland 1984, p.26).

[24] Mosul is one of the Tell cities as well its tells are almost demolished.

argument of the outline of Erbil in general and the city urban core in particular. A brief history of each of these tell cities is available in the Appendix -1.

1.1.2 The Essence of the City

> *"In every city there are individual personalities; every city possesses a personal soul formed of old traditions and living feelings as well as unresolved aspirations"*
>
> *Aldo Rossi (1982)*

From a generic perspective, Kubler (1970, p. vii) argues that no meaning can be carried without a form as every meaning needs a support, holder or vehicle. For example, speech is manifested in different metaphors, such as writing, while music is represented by notes and intervals. For architecture and sculpture the holders are solids and voids; specifically, in architecture, form and space are the channels that reflect the pattern of events that occur in the place where its particularity is shaped. Therefore, the essence of any place represents the relationship between two issues: tangible/physical aspects and intangible/hidden aspects (Rifaiogl and Güçhan 2008, p. 1). These aspects give the city its own essence and make it different from other cities. ICOMOS[25] defines the essence or the spirit of the place as the tangible aspects, i.e. buildings, sites, landscape, routes and objects, and intangible aspects which include memories, narratives, written documents, values, festivals, and rituals.

Both the tangible and intangible aspects depend on each other, as some of the intangible aspects must rely on the tangible features to be visualised (Alkymakchy et al. 2012, p. 356). The relationship[26] among these aspects provides a settlement with its spatial individuality. The built environment is a mirror of its culture. Therefore, in two cultures, people can see and interpret the urban environment differently and may have a very different pattern in mind. For example, people in the cities of North America

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[25] ICOMOS is the International Council on Monuments and Sites

[26] At the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s the Bartlett/ UCL groups consisting of Bill Hillier, Julienne Hanson and other colleagues, produced tools for the analysis of space, which aided understanding of the social impact on space (Hillier, 1984). The method is based upon Space Syntax theory and includes the impact of function and social activity on the configuration of form and space, as any activity leaves some traces in that space. They concluded that space is a common ground for both physical cities and social activities; "The physical city is a complex pattern of space, [and] all social activities happen in space" (Alkymakchy et al 2012, p. 355).

and India can perceive the function of the pavement differently; in New York it is a place for walking and moving fast whereas in Mumbai it is a place to sit, walk, or play music, and can be used as a car park or even as a place to sleep. Hence, it is not correct to interpret ‘pavement’ identically in all cities (Alexander 1979, p. 72). The following will attempt to clarify the tangible and intangible aspects of a city.

Tangible Aspects

The physical fabric of any city contains a polarity of form and space, solid and void. These two aspects with their patterns of events are the original cells of the city that generate and reflect its particularity. Marshall (2009, p .7) states “Each individual city is unique, in its whole and its parts. But there is a general pattern between cities which includes the presence of town centres, neighbourhoods and suburbs, and the shape of their street patterns, which are manifested in different ways in each city”. Hence, despite all these individualities, one can, therefore, still identify some common tangible physical elements present in the urban structure of any city, while those that are intangible vary among cultures. These tangible/physical urban elements have been examined by different scholars whose studies demonstrate the different perceptions of understanding and analysing cities. Some literature deals with this from a morphological perspective and some from a conceptual viewpoint. Researchers, such as Marshall (2009); Krier (2006); Lang (2008); Krier (1991) and Unwin (1909) introduced physical or ‘concrete elements’ that form the urban space. For example, Marshall (2009, p. 68) divides the urban structure into parts. These parts contain individual buildings, plots of land, routes or paths and the relationships between these parts. Lang (2008, p. 6) perceives the urban structure as consisting of public and private parts in addition to patterns of movement. He divides the main elements into paths, nodes, and monuments. Rob Krier argues that a city’s blocks define the path networks, and the space in his opinion “… is geometrically bounded by the variety of elevations” (Krier 2006, p. 15). He also presents a classification to the urban space focusing specifically on squares and streets (Krier 1991, p. 17). Unwin (1909) emerges with a model of general urban elements[27], such as gateway building, town edges, and bridge building.

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[27] This model comes from Unwin’s practical observations on house outlines, street shapes and town edges (Gosling and Maitland 1984, p. 153).

Some other scholars and theorists, such as, Kostof (2009), Rossi (1982), and Sitte (1889) look at the city and its urban structure as an artefact or a work of art. On the one hand Kostof (2009) considers the city as an artefact; however, he discusses its historical urban pattern and meaning and defines the city as combinations of buildings and people. He determines the urban elements as being walls, moats, districts, streets, gates, squares, palaces, public buildings, markets and plots with internal divisions. Rossi (1982, pp. 21-22) on the other hand, aside from indicating the intangible aspects, observes the form of the city and looks at the city in its totality, where all components participate to constitute urban artefacts. He believes that these artefacts are like 'collective manifestations' or a concretion of a particular culture or society which was built by its people and reflects their ideas (Lehtovuori 2010, p. 17). Furthermore, Rossi (1982, pp. 21-22) states that a city's architecture is deeply rooted in the accumulation of constructions happening over time and can be separated into dwelling areas and individual buildings. Rossi's definition of the city as architecture was established on two levels; one, as an urban artefact, where the city has its own particular form and history; the second as the work of architects and engineers through time, which he refers to in his hypothesis as '*a gigantic man-made object'*. He also divides the city into three elements: dwellings, fixed activities and circulation. By *urban artefacts* he means buildings, streets, districts, dwellings and monuments, whose aspects rely on their quality and uniqueness. For him some events take place and stay alive because of the physical traces at the site. The aim of Sitte's[28] study was to explore artistically the urban elements that bring harmony to the urban fabric of an organic city[29]. Although his focus was on one element in particular, the public square/node, where he asserted that it acts as a focal point in a city, he introduced two other main elements, streets - that connect the node with each other - and monuments/buildings (Sitte: see Collins, G. and Collins, C. 2006, pp. 206-220).

Another approach introduces conceptual urban elements and interprets the city through semiotic and phenomenological aspects and was identified by different researchers,

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[28] Sitte had a great impact on the studies that dealt with the planning of modern cities by illustrating the benefits of understanding and appreciating the organic towns (Gosling and Maitland 1984, p. 26).

[29] Sitte's work came from an examination of different Italian and German towns and analysis of the relationships between buildings, monuments and spaces (Gosling and Maitland 1984, p. 26).

such as Kevin Lynch and Christian Norberg-Schulz. They started to change the absolute image of the physical urban elements of the city to something relative, which depends on engaging the experiences and feelings of the perceivers, inhabitants and visitors. For instance, Lynch (1960, p. 46) identifies specific conceptual urban elements: paths, edges, nodes, districts, landmarks. His emphasis was on the identity and structure of each element in his work through engaging the observers' impression, mixed with their feelings and memories (LeGates and Stout 1996, p. 245). Schulz,[30] with his recognition of Lynch's work, identifies the urban elements as node and place, path and axis, domain and district (Schulz: see Gosling and Maitland 1984, p.48; Schulz 1971, p. 2). From the above mentioned, Schulz and Lynch in addition to Rossi perceive the city as an urban artefact and they engage feelings, memory, and identity (the intangible aspects) with these tangible elements. It can be said that their approach has paved the way for looking at urban structure as a combination of tangible and intangible aspects that characterise and constitute the city.

Others like Basim Hakim (2008), and Al-Kubaisy[31] (2008), Nahoum Cohen (1999) define the traditional urban fabric of cities through their historical urban elements. For example, Hakim (2008, pp. 56-62) deals with the physical urban elements and the factors that shape them, e.g. their usage and relationships, social and religious factors, and decision-makers. For him, paths are *Shar'a* or *tareik nafid* (street or thoroughfare) with their gradations. Nodes[32] are the *bat'ha* or maidan (public squares), which were usually formed at the junction of three primary streets. The physical elements are the *burj* (tower), *bab* (gate), and *khazzan* (water storage tank) that work sometimes as both landmarks and nodes. Edges are represented by the city wall, moat, natural elements

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[30] Schulz introduces the hierarchy of the five notions of space "… the pragmatic space of physical action, the perceptual space of immediate orientation, the existential space, which forms man's stable image of his environment, the cognitive space of the physical world and the abstract space of pure logical relations." See Schulz in (Lehtovuori 2010, p.17). Schulz also states that "It is necessary to consider space as a relatively stable and culturally constructed relationship between man and his environment…" (ibid., p. 17).

[31] Al-Kubaisy in his book *'Najaf: The Architectural and Urban Heritage of Iraq's Holiest City'* highlights some main elements of the traditional urban settlements of what he called 'Arab Islamic cities'. These elements include the node, the monument, and the mosque as the main architectural features, where the residential sites and the markets are aggregated around these features. He also lists the gates, the road systems that linked these gates, and the cemeteries which were located outside the city wall.

[32] These nodes are usually characterised by having either regular or irregular shapes and being located in front of significant buildings.

(like valley, mountain), and *mahalla*, which is a residential area/neighbourhood inhabited by people who share the same ethnicity and religion or have similar socio-cultural/tribal backgrounds (Hakim 2008, pp. 56-62). Whereas, Cohen (1999, pp. 130-238), in his urban conservation study divides the urban structure into main and secondary urban elements. The main, or primary, elements are the *urban web*[33] which includes districts, blocks, parcels or plots, streets, squares, markets and covered ways. The secondary elements, some of which are not present in every city, include religious and educational sites, and cultural monuments, such as citadels, castles and statues. From the overview of the literature given above, with its different approaches and perspectives for understanding the urban structure of the city, it can be seen that the studies agree on the importance of the physical or ‘concrete elements’ that form the urban structure of the city. These main elements are path, node and edge (table 1.1); the study isolated other elements, and these are the preferred urban elements as other studies refer to them repeatedly. In addition, these elements and the interrelationships between them can be measured and analysed in different ways as will be shown later. A path includes bridges and streets with their differing types and gradations. A node includes public open spaces, squares, conjunctions between paths, or gates in addition to specific markets, religious or other prominent buildings, and monuments which other settlements can cluster around. The following will focus on the intangible aspects[34], as both (tangible and intangible) are inextricably connected and interdependent on each other.

Table 1.1: The tangible urban elements

Physical Urban Elements	Their Manifestations
Path	Streets of different types and gradations, bridges
Edges	Wall, moat, natural elements
Node	Public open space, squares, conjunctions between the paths, or gates, other specific prominent buildings, or sculptures. Markets or religious buildings

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[33] An urban web is formed from districts or sectors that have similar attributes and characteristics

[34] As it has been indicated earlier the traditional cities of the SWANAAP are similar to other cities, the differences being in the hidden patterns or intangible aspects that give the life and particularity to any city.

Intangible Aspects

> *"In every genuine cultural tradition, architecture and urban form can be seen as a natural expression of prevailing spiritual values and beliefs which are intimately related to the acknowledged cosmic order of the world"*
>
> *Stefano Bianca (2000)*

ICOMOS (2008, p. 1) and UNESCO (2003, p. 2) state that the intangible aspects can be manifested in different spheres, such as oral traditions and expressions like language, memory, narratives, performing, arts, social practices, values, beliefs, traditional craftsmanship, traditional knowledge, attachment to place, rituals and festive events. Both Rossi (1982) and Alexander (1979) agree that the intangible aspects boost the life to the city. Rossi (1982, p. 7) argues that the place/*locus* is a site which accommodates a series of events and at the same time the place itself constitutes these events. Consequently, the individuality of the place is manifested by the signs/physical aspects remaining after events, and the intangible aspects will be remembered through these forms. For Rossi the city is *'a theatre of human events'*: "It absorbs events and feelings, and every new event contains within it a memory of the past and a potential memory [for] the future" (ibid., p. 7). Alexander (1979, pp. 55-65) states that the life of the city or town is given to it by the quality of events, not by the plan or the design of the buildings; people experience the pattern of events that are happening in the spaces of these building. Therefore, the difference between one space and another is the pattern of events that governs these spaces and the relationship between the space and its events. These aspects are recreated by communities and affected by different forces, such as interaction with nature, history, and the built environments. Some of these aspects are persistent and reflect the identity and the sense of the place, as well as providing respect for cultural diversity. However, some of them are also changeable and can be diminished by many forces. Therefore, spatial arrangement and the spirit of human settlements represent the most important aspect in analysing the urban environment. Researchers, such as Bianca (2000, p. 22), Hillier[35] (1996, pp. 42-41), and Alexander (1979, pp. 60-65), agree that these

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[35] Hillier (1996, pp.42-41) stresses that understanding any city is related to understanding its physical form and spatial structure. He defines a spatial structure as a group of closed elements, such as houses, shops and public buildings organised in a specific way, and which, within that organization, form what is known as open space.

arrangements reflect the values and beliefs of the culture that were shared and accepted by the whole community. They also reflect other factors that impact the arrangement, such as political and economic aspects which lead to the collection of decisions that are related to the authority/power that influences the city.

To sum up, the tangible elements in this thesis are paths, nodes and edges, while the intangible aspects are the hidden patterns and values that bestow life to the place, differentiating it from other places. It is obvious that these intangible aspects are key features of any architectural form as they boost life into a space and reflect the particularity of that space through their interaction with history, myth, and nature. They shape the way of life by providing a matrix of behaviours that influence on the physical patterns of the city. They are represented by the pattern of events as manifested in a shape. These aspects relate to individual communities and are transmitted from one generation to another. What persists is what serves the people at any and all specific times, and this persistence reflects the particularity and diversity between cultures. The following sections will focus on the urban core (as it is the main purpose of this thesis), that hosted and absorbed different civic functions. Where some of its components, need clear definition as they will be used in the upcoming chapters; such as, the maidan, the bazar, the *khanaqa*, *ribat* (the dervish lodge).

1.2 The Urban Core of the SWANAAP Cities

The city urban core absorbed many socio-commercial and religious functions manifested in constructions that were gathered in a line or surrounded the node, represented by a mosque or *maidan* (public square). Although they can be treated as a one entity, the following, will focus on creating and justifying definitions of these components prior to their use in upcoming chapters.

1.2.1 The Maidan

The maidan or *maydan* is similar to the piazza/plaza/publicsquare; it hosts different functions, such as sport activities-e.g. horses' race, or military parades, and socio-economic functions - e.g. market gatherings, and festivals. The location of the maidan was either in the heart of the city or in the suburban area. Throughout history a maidan had irregular and regular shape; it constituted by the Y-junction of the three primary streets of the city and near the facilities area, such as the mosque or the markets (Hakim 2008, p. 61). In general any public space is a cultural product[36], reflecting aesthetic attributes, spirit of the place, functional and social aspects. Ching (2007, p. 94) describes the public space as a mix of meaning and symbolism and states that:

> Space constantly encompasses our being. Through the volume of space, we move, see forms, hear sounds, feel breezes, smell the fragrances of a flower garden in bloom. It is a material substance like wood or stone, yet it is an inherently formless vapour. Its visual form, its dimensions and scale, the quality of its light- all these qualities depend on our perception of spatial boundaries defined by elements of form. As space beings to be captured, enclosed, moulded, and organised by the elements of mass, architecture comes into being.

Others describe the public space from artistic perspectives; for example, Kostof (2009, p. 124) indicates that a public space is similar to a painting on which the social and political aspects are drawn. It is structured to absorb different activities, such as communal activities, celebrations, ceremonies, military training, riots, and public executions. Sircus (2007, p. 31) also describes the successful public space as "…a novel or movie, engage[ing] [sic] us actively in an emotional experience orchestrated and organised to communicate purpose and story". These activities are a key to differentiating this space from other spaces in a city, and its events reflect the richness and the complexity of the urban social space. In the SWANAAP cities, historically, the maidan evolved throughout time and was attached to religious and non-religious aspects. It is not a new urban element that came into being after Islam; it has Mesopotamian and Nile civilisation roots. These large open spaces used to occupy the front space/yard of the temples or the palaces; the first appearance was in Oval Temple at Khafajeh in Iraq constructed in 2600 BCE whose courtyard was the largest open space in the city (figure1.2).

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[36] It is a stage that filled with the drama of the life where the people are the actors and the actions are the events that happened in that urban space (Lehtovuori 2010, p. 38). That means the urban events play a vital role in creating the urban public space or giving a new use or reading to the space until it reaches a point that changes the perception of the city itself. Hence, urban public spaces are both an invention and the impetus to invent (ibid., p. 211)

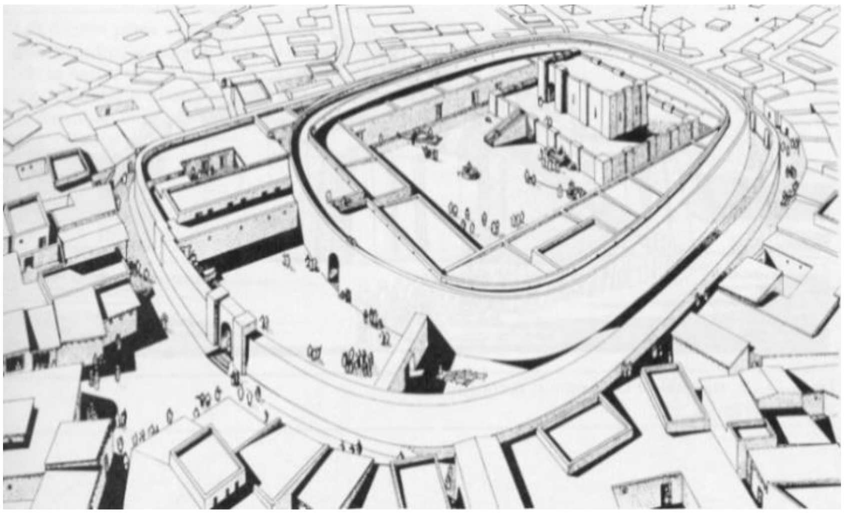

Figure 1.2: The reconstructed drawing of the Temple Oval at Khafajah area, Iraq
Source: (Mallowan 1965, p. 85)

Another type of public space appeared, which absorbed different activities and festivals was the processional street/avenue. These avenues usually ended at a public square, such as the main procession street of Babylon finishing with an open space that was part of the ziggurat (Al-Kas Gorges 2009, p. 95); and Khorsabad city of Assyria (figure 1.3) that founded by Sargon II, 721-705 BC.

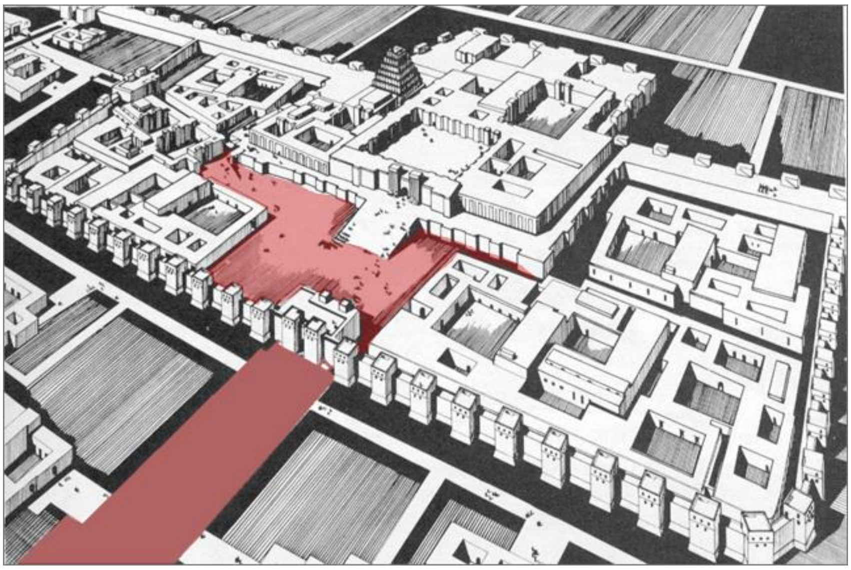

Figure 1.3: The public square and the procession street of Khorsabad city
Source: Adapted from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; drawing by Charles Altman. Also available at http://media.web.britannica.com/eb-media/41/2441-004-56D70C45.jpg.

These urban public open spaces persisted in cities through adapting to changes in functions. By the beginning of Islam in the SWANNAP region, the main public square of the city was almost to disappear as people started to assemble in the public space of the grand mosque. In the *sahn* (open space of the mosques, i.e. its courtyard), which started to be a civic area where the communal treasury was kept, teachers held classes, and judges saw cases (Al-Kas Gorges 2009, p. 107; Kostof 2007, p. 130). Nevertheless, it can be said that the maidan or the square persisted from the pre-Islamic to Islamic era but its character transformed and was later incorporated to be inside. When the aggregation mosque established with the caliphate palaces around 8th century, the public space evolved, forming a regular shape. The public square was confined in the area between neighbours, palaces, mosque complex, and bazar or other buildings. It acted as nodes serving movement in and out of the major buildings and the paths that surrounded the buildings (Kostof 2007, p. 127). For instance, the maidan of Cairo, which evolved during the Fatimid Caliphate in 9th century, held army demonstrations, the prophet’s birthday celebrations, and on some occasions national celebrations (Hakim 1986, p. 61; Ibrahim 1982, p. 36). Figure 1.4 illustrates the public space between the two palaces which was known as ‘*Bayn al-qasrayn’* (Al-Kas Gorges 2009, p. 107; Hakim 2008, p. 61).

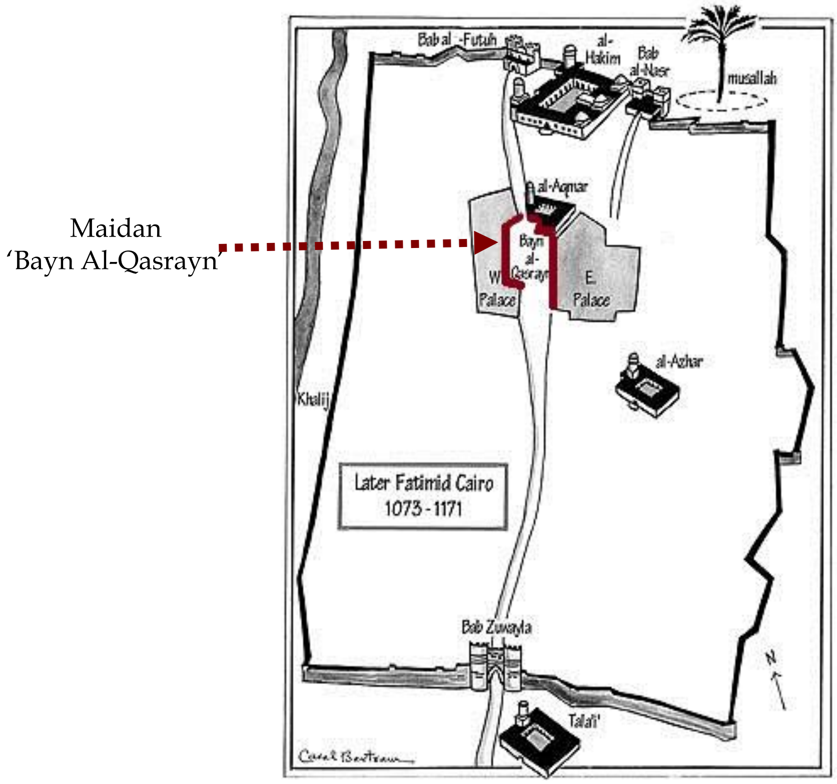

Figure 1.4: The maidan between the two palaces in Cairo (from 1073 to 1171)
Source: (Bierman, 1998) and drawn by Carel Bertram.

Tanta city in Egypt was established in the medieval centuries; the map below (figure 1.5) shows the two main roads meeting in a point that constituted the maidan that absorbed the mosque and other activities.

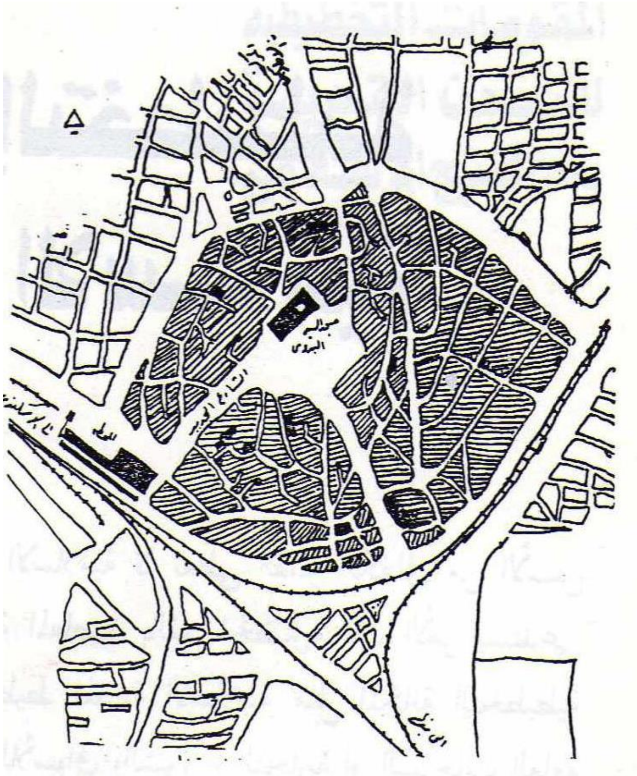

Figure 1.5: The maidan in Tanta city
Source: *(*Abdulbaqi 1992*,* p. 34)

Other types of maidan used to be shaped in the suburban area, in front of the city gates, and in the conjunction of two or more roads or alleyways of the residential area. The maidans that were situated near city gates, such as Aleppo, were allocated for the army procession and commercial activities. These suburban public spaces were also used weekly as open markets, such as Baha al-Ghanam for sheep (Hakim 2008, p. 61). Around 9th century maidan changed and started to absorb different functions, for instance the maidan of Isfahan (figure1.6) was located on the edge of the city and functioned as an open market and a place to sell horses and to play the polo game. After the city's expansion, the maidan became confined between the two settlements and took administrative and religious position (the mosque built adjacent to it) in the city (Kostof 2007, pp. 130-131). Throughout time the public usage started to take precise shape and this was reflected in the maidan of Naqsh-e Jahan or Imam in Isfahan, where it absorbed administrative, commercial and religious socio-cultural aspects. Hence, it can be concluded that the maidan took regular and irregular shapes and absorbed different activities, with commercial, administrative, social, and religious aspects.

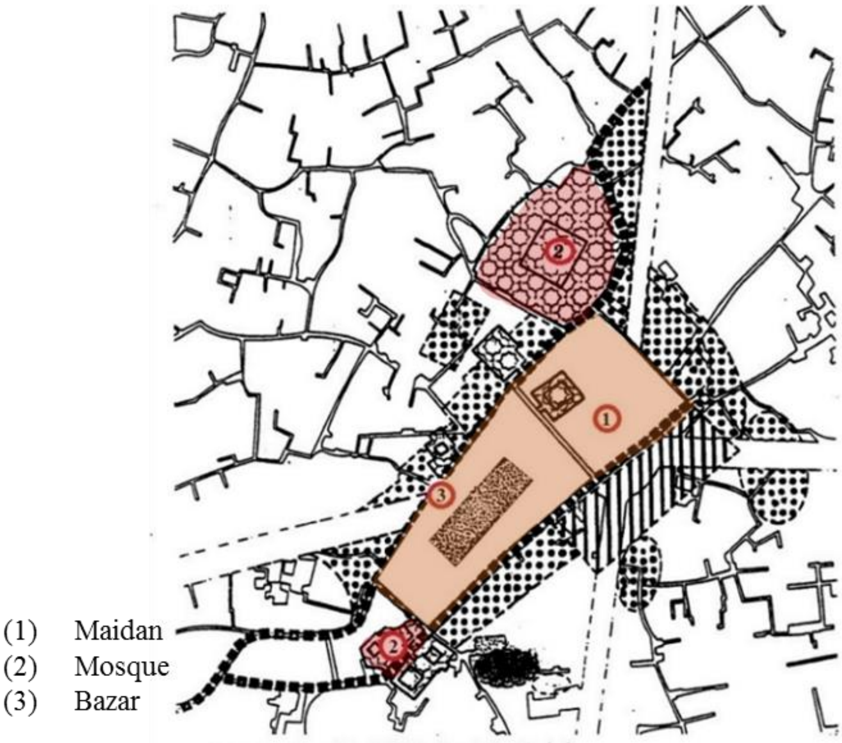

Figure 1.6: The old maidan of Isfahan
Source: Adapted from (Hooshangi 2000, p. 32)

It is thought that the Agora, the significant urban core of the Hellenistic cities, with its open public space surrounded by buildings, had probably impacted the architype of the maidan that was reshaped after 10th century in the SWANNAP region. The Agora space was confined by buildings that had many socio-cultural functions, in addition to its arcade element (which was similar to the *iwan*[37] that existed in the maidan) surrounding the space and where sellers used to display their goods. The Roman forum (the socio-cultural and political space) probably had the potential to impact on the maidan. The main open space[38] in walled European cities, such as Greek agora and Roman Forum, had commercial activities, (figures 1.7 and 1.8).

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[37] An *iwan* is an empty vaulted space enclosed on three sides and open to a courtyard, or central space. Peker (1991, p. 7), Downey (1988, pp.141-178) and Reuther (1967, P.430) state iwan may have emerged in Mesopotamia. Then it was used the Lakhmids/Banu Lakhm/Muntherids kingdom who were Arab Christian tribes that emerged in Yemen and settled in southern Iraq; their capital was Ḥira. Then it was used during the Sassanid and Abbasid period and became one of the main elements of the so called 'Islamic architecture'. Reuther (1967, p. 430) argues that it emerged in Babylonia or Assyria and developed because of environmental reasons.

[38] This open space had regular or irregular shape which was surrounded by buildings and arcades. In the beginning it absorbed political, social, and commercial activities. Decisions were made to separate the commercial from the political and civic activities, for example, in the 4th century BCE, Aristotle, insisted on separation between markets and civic forum. While, in Rome the separation started by constructing a public space for gathering and meeting named Forum Romanum and a series of specialised markets, like Forum Pescatorum (Kostaf 2009, p.96).

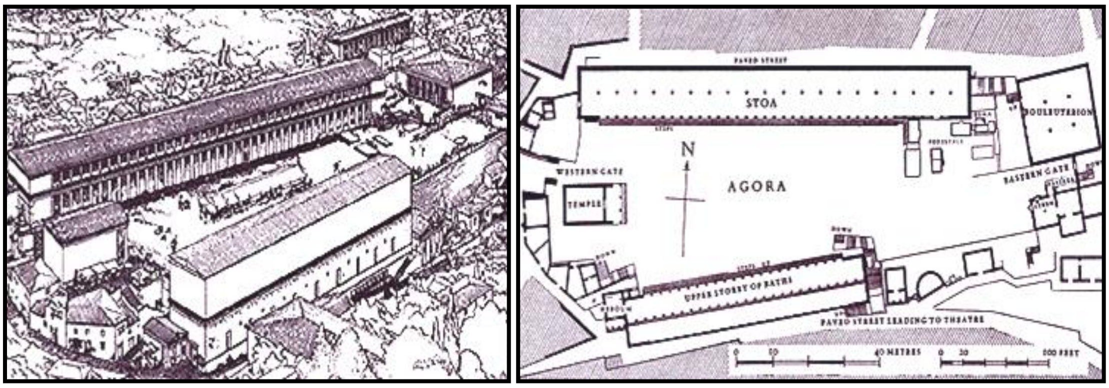

Figure 1.7: Agora in Greece
Source: (Morris 1972, p. 25)

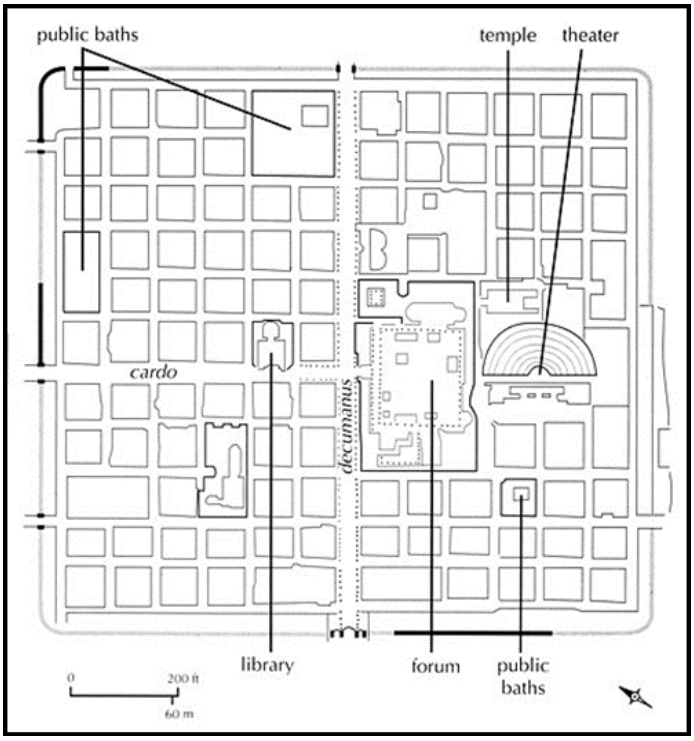

Figure 1.8: Timgad Plan in Algeria
Roman forum, which influenced the city's urban core and its outline
Source: (Al-Kas Gorges 2009, p. 92)

1.2.2 The Bazar Area

The markets in Iraqi Kurdistan (specifically Erbil), Iran, and Turkey are called a bazar[39], whereas people in other cities in Iraq and the SWANAAP region refer to it as

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[39] The probable origin of the name was explained in the book *'A Brief Glance at the Bazar in Esfahan'* by Shafaghi who states that:
"The word "Bazar", the Persian transcription of which is "bazaar", was brought into European literature in the Middle Ages by the Portuguese, who had extensive trade contact with the Persians. It assumed such forms as "basar", "bazar", and "bazaar", with the basic meaning of "square" or site of commercial transactions. This latter definition agrees with its Persian etymology as a compound of

suq, which is an Arabic word. The bazar[40]/suq[41] is a complex of multifunctional buildings and was a place for the exchange of goods and other socio-cultural activities; it was used by the inhabitants of a city and by strangers. Some historians would argue that the bazar, with its associated facilities, singularly distinguish the SAWNAAP cities from any other cities (Al-Kinani 2006, p. 40; North 2004, p. 11; Abdulac 1984, p. 5). It is worth indicating that the bazar components could well have been adopted from other civilisations or evolved more naturally with some changes and manipulations, however, their aspects reflect the spirit of this region; (Al-Hashimi 2013, p. 11). After Islam, markets[42] started to take physical shapes, specifically during the rule of Umayyad Caliphate (661–750), and came to have certain components[43] including qaisarias, the linear or cluster organisation of shops, covered or roofed paths. These components were attached to other social institutions, such as the mosque, the hammam (public bath), khan or caravanserai (inn), in addition to fountains (Abu-Lughod 1987, p. 157). Some of them took place in the open air, for example, the Sunday suq in Damascus, the Monday suq in Meknas, the Tuesday suq in Baghdad, the Wednesday suq in Mosul and the Thursday suq in Marrakesh and Fez. Suq/bazar "… [was][sic] organised strictly by categories of business, and almost all [were][sic] encompassed except the selling of fresh food stuffs and livestock, which is done out

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"ba" from the Old Iranian "wahaka", meaning "buying and selling", and "zar" from the Old Iranian "carana", meaning "place". The Middle Persian forms were "wacar" and "wazar" (Shafaghi 2005, p. 8).

[40] Sometimes the bazar works as a main node. This feature is now vanishing in today's modern cities due to the roads that were cut through the urban fabric, and the buildings that were imposed on the city at the expense of the traditional buildings, due to the need for new functions and spaces (Al-Sadoun1990, pp. 30-31).

[41] During the Renaissance, the market place of the medieval town was located in its main square and changes occurred in some walled cities when the expansion happened gradually to these markets. For instance, in 14th century the markets in the walled cities like Florence were established first in the open space inside the walled city then moved gradually and changed into weekly markets outside the walls and these were called *mercatale* (Kostaf 2010, p. 96). In England markets were inside a multipurpose hall called a *market hall* or *town hall*, this market hall absorbed other functions like prison or court; this concept existed in the most of north European countries.

[42] Historically, before Islam there were two kinds of bazar/suq: permanent and seasonal markets. In terms of Babylonian and Assyrian civilisation, there were no evidence or traces illustrating the shape of the markets; what it is known among historians, is that the markets probably occupied part of the open air (Al-Ali 2013). After this period of time different writings indicate the importance of the suq and named some of them, such as Suq Okadh and Althulathaa, which were also used as forums of poets and as places for meeting, discussing and resolving issues, beside its primary function which is exchanging of goods (Qicha, 2010, no pagination; Tohala, 2008, p. 30; Al-Kinani 2006, p. 42).

[43] Eickelman and Piscatori (see Daher 2007, pp. 73-4) argue that after Islam one of the main factors that helped to develop the notion of the bazar was the Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, as pilgrims pass through many cities during their journey and this helped to develop a significant spatial configuration that gave physical characteristics to the bazar area.

of doors” (Kostaf 2009, p. 98). In a bazar goods were distributed under the hierarchy system. This distribution contains different layers of shops: the first layer started from the mosque where the textile and clothing markets existed. The next layer consisted of candles, incense and perfumes seller were settled. In the other layers were bookbinders, booksellers, stationary, furniture and ironmongery, and iron smith beside (figure 1.9).

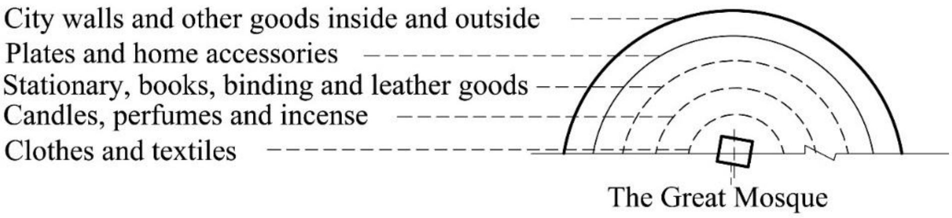
City walls and other goods inside and outside
Plates and home accessories
Stationary, books, binding and leather goods
Candles, perfumes and incense
Clothes and textiles
The Great Mosque

Figure 1.9: Distribution of Goods in the bazar

In general, markets were intrinsic elements and an important core that helped develop the nucleus of the city’s urban life. The urban structure of the bazar was located in the urban core of a fortified city and some of its markets were attached to the mosque (Abu-Lughod 1987, p. 156). The secondary commercial activity clustered in the urban periphery and outside the city walls and gates, which is similar to the medieval towns of Europe (Kostaf 2009, pp. 95-98). The following will shed the light on its main components.

1.2.3 Shops, Qaisaria, and the Roofed Paths

The shops in the bazar were usually arranged linearly or in clusters. The paths between the shops were roofed or sheltered with different kind of materials, like brick, glass, or mats. Qaisaria was (and still exist) a construction of two stories (sometimes one story and basement) with gates that were locked at night and opened during the day. The lower story contained shops in a linear organisation and the upper story contained spaces that usually functioned as storerooms, offices and sometimes shops (it could have a basement and ground floor). Precious goods like gold, fur and silk were sold inside this secure construction building[44] (Kostaf 2009, p. 98; Marçais: see Abu-Lughod 1987, p. 157). Figure 1.10, is the qaisaria of the Kirkuk citadel that was found

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[44] Qaisaria is not an Arabic name; its first part [Qaisar] means Caesar in Arabic. It is called qaisaria Kurdish language too, and bedesten in Turkish language.

during the citadel’s excavation at the underground level. It is one of the oldest qaisarias in the SWANNAP region and dates back to the Seljuk period; its area is around 560m^2; the *qaisaria* consists of two rows of shops and has two stories. Each row has 17 shops giving a total of 34 shops; this *qaisaria* was restored, but is unused today (Saatçi 2007, p. 41).

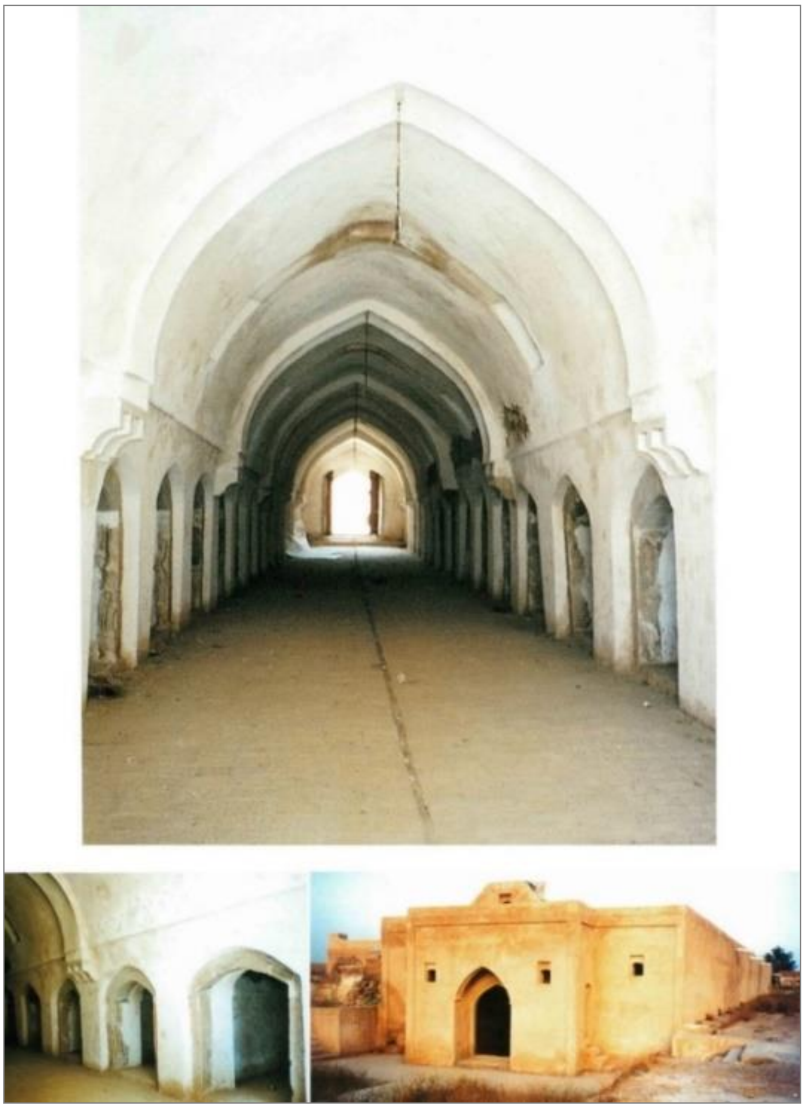

Figure 1.10: The interior and the exterior design of the Kirkuk’s qaisaria.
Source: Modified from (Saatçi 2007, pp. 41-42)

Another example is the “…Kapali Carsi [covered markets] in Istanbul…had 60 streets, over 3,300 shops, 20 khans, a fountain for ritual ablutions, several small mosques, two bedestens [qaisaria in Turkish], and even an open public place or maidan” (Kostaf 2009, p. 98). Figure 1.11 is the Spice Bazaar in Istanbul called Misir Carsisi (Egyptian Bazaar).

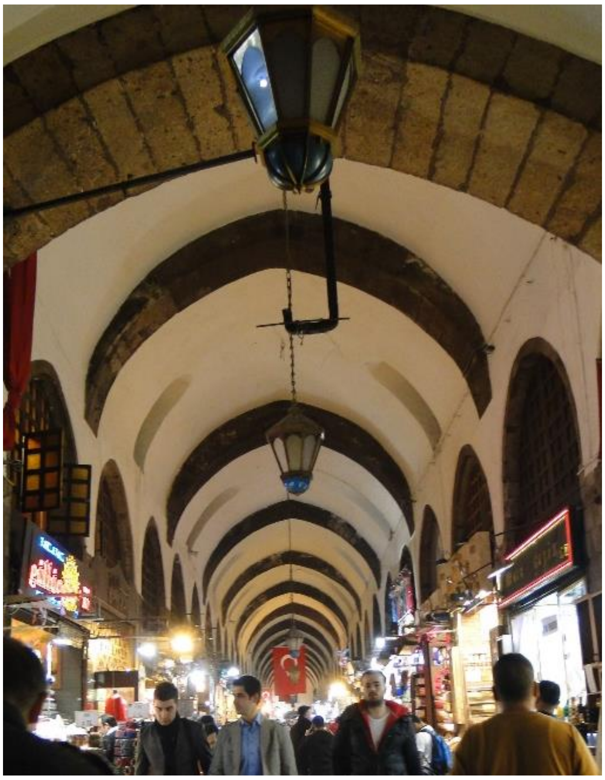

Figure 1.11: Misir Carsisi (Egyptian Bazar) in Istanbul, built in 1644
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi

1.2.4 Hammam/ Public Bath and Khan/Inn

The public bath, or hammam[45], was one of the crucial elements in these cities; it was used by men, women, and children, and functioned as a social centre, (figures1.12 and 13).

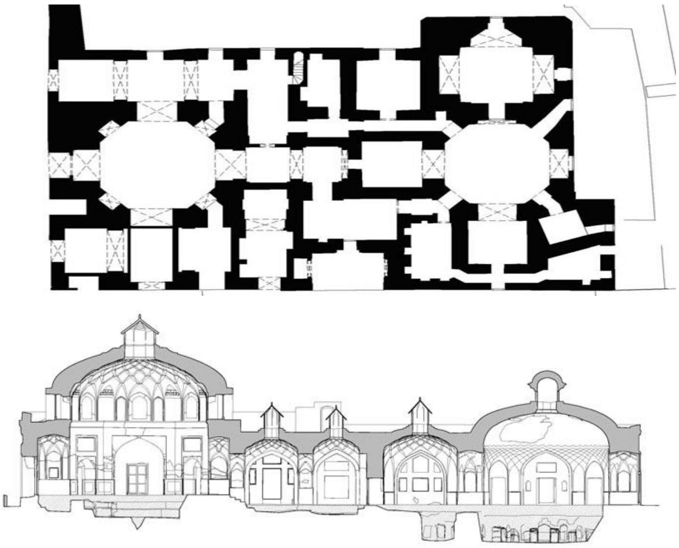

Figure 1.12: Wazir Khan Hammam in Lahore, Pakistan
Source: (Wazir Khan Hammam Conservation: Archnet)

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[45] Hammam continues to be used in some cities, like Turkey and Syria

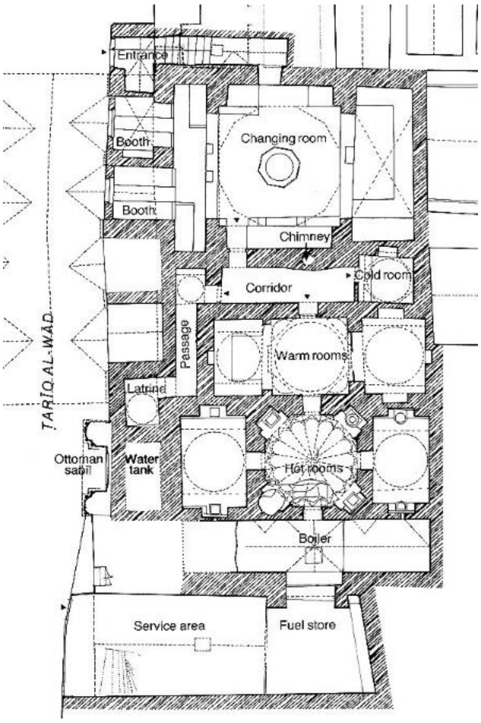

Figure 1.13: Hammam Al-Ain in Jerusalem, 14th century
Source: (Michel Hamilton Burgoyne, Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study, 1987)

Another element is the inn/khan or caravanserai, the design of which has remained unchanged throughout history. It had a central courtyard with two or three stories. The second floor contains apartments or single rooms for travellers, merchants and pilgrims (Ham: see Daher, 2007, p. 74; Al- Dabbagh, 1988, p. 67). For safety reasons, they were located, near the markets in the heart of walled cities, or near the entrance gates outside cities; figure 1.14 shows the interior design, and the map; figure1.15 is the section plan of Khan Al-Mirjan in Baghdad.

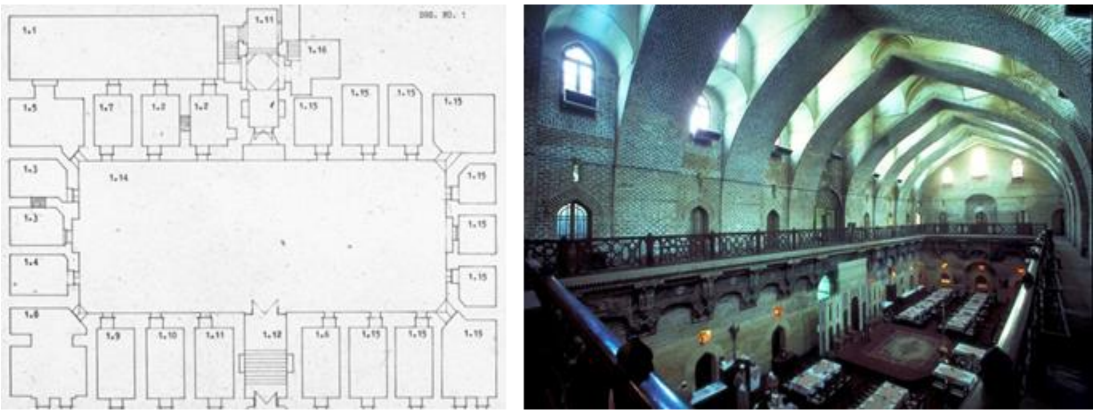

Figure 1.14: Khan Al-Mirjan in Baghdad
Source: (Khan Al-Mirjan Restoration: Archnet). The photograph is taken by Reha Günay

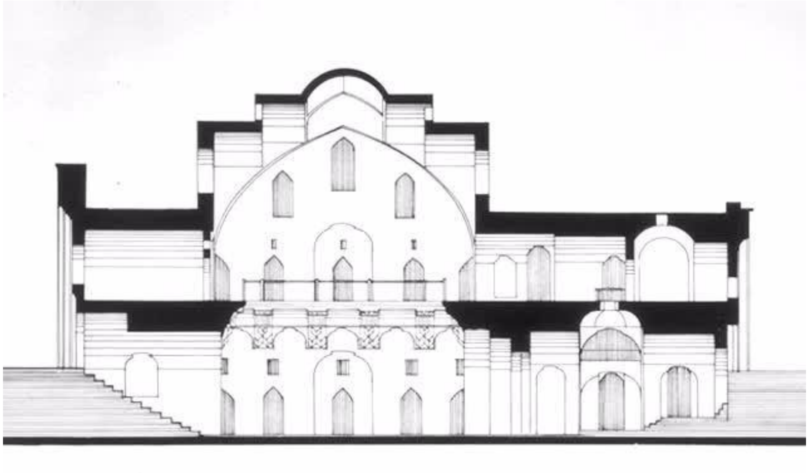

Figure 1.15: The section of the Khan Al-Mirjan, Baghdad
Source: (Khan Al-Mirjan Restoration: Archnet)

1.2.5 The Religious Structures

In cities built after Islam, the mosque[46] was placed at the intersection of the main roads and was distinguished by its form, dome and minaret dominating the city skyline. It was usually located in the centre of the city and was surrounded by markets[47]. However, Samarra's mosque was positioned at the side of the city. In terms of the in ancient cities that conquered by the Muslims, churches, cathedrals, temples, and other significant spaces were transformed into mosques[48], such as the square temple in Damascus, the agora in Aleppo, the Cathedral of Aya Sofia in Istanbul, and the church or the synagogue in Kirkuk's citadel (figure 1.16). The grand mosque was a multi-functional, polyvalent building (Bianca 2000, p. 30); its courtyard[49] had the largest public open space, and was capable of housing all public activities and events, i.e. socio-cultural and political activities. It can be said that at the beginning of the rise of Islam the grand mosque had diminished the need of the open public space (Al-Ash'ab 1982, p. 5). However, by the time of the emergence of the ruler's palace and Dar Al -

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[46] A mosque is where Friday prayers occurred, while the Masjid is just used to host the prayers any day during the week. It is worth indicating that sometimes the orientation of the grand Mosque facing qibla (Mecca) affected the orientation of the main roads that connected with mosque and, accordingly, this impacted on the city's spatial formation (Bianca, 2000, pp. 27-30).

[47] Some shops used to work as a waqif where some of their revenue maintains the mosque.

[48] This was characteristic of any conqueror that invaded any place and imposed their religion on it. An example of this is the Acropolis of Athens that suffered from the invasions it functioned first as a temple then it changes to function as a church where a huge cross was installed in front of its elevation; then it was taken by the Ottomans who changed it to a mosque and built a dome above its roof (Acropolis Museum 2014).

Imara, the function of the mosque courtyard had declined, while that of the public plaza attached to the ruler's palace had risen (see the above section: The Maidan).

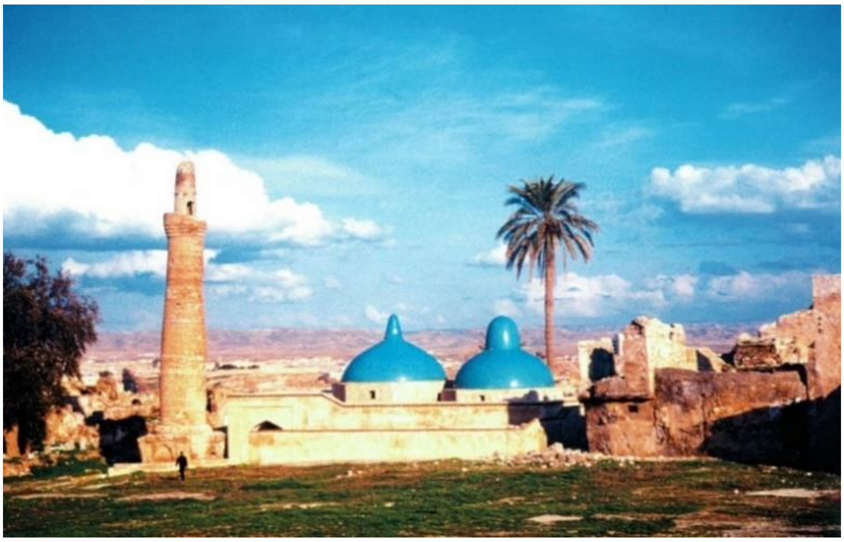

Figure 1.16: The mosque of the Prophet Daniel in Kirkuk citadel
Source: (Saatçi 2007, p. 42), taken by Anon.

Besides the mosque, some other religious institutions appeared in this region after Islam such as *madrasa* (religious school), ribat, and khanaqa. The following will give an overview of them as they will be used several times in the upcoming chapters.

1.2.6 Ribat, Khanaqa, Takia, Zawia

These civic institutions functioned as *masjid*, *madrasa* (religious schools), and as a Sufi or dervish lodge (monastery); some also used to have a grave for the person who built the institution. All these institutions[50] were places to worship God and hosted students, teachers, preachers, Sufis and poor people and providing them with food and money. These buildings were not limited to males; there were also khanaqa and ribat for widows and orphans, many of which were built by the rulers' wives, such as the ribats of the wife of Salah Al-Din in Aleppo. They were also places for poor people. The first appearance of these kinds of buildings was in Basra in 7th century during the rule of the caliph, Uthman Ibn Affaqn; and then it spread to other regions of Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Morocco. It reached Iran and then India with the emigration of Sufi people. The names of these institutions[51] depended on the dynasty that ruled the region (Wadi 2012, p. 2). For example, the ribat appeared during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods

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[50] They have other functions, such as bedrooms, kitchen, bath, pharmacy.
[51] Their number increased during the Salah Al-Din era, Attabeg and Mamluk periods.

then its name changed to Khanaqa[52] and during the Ottoman period the name of the khanaqa was changed to takia. Another name appeared, the zawia (it means corner in Arabic); it was a place where people used to isolate themselves to worship God (Said 2012, p. 1456). Figure 1.17 shows the similarity of these buildings where it had a courtyard; figure1.18 is Al-Mustansiria school, in Baghdad.

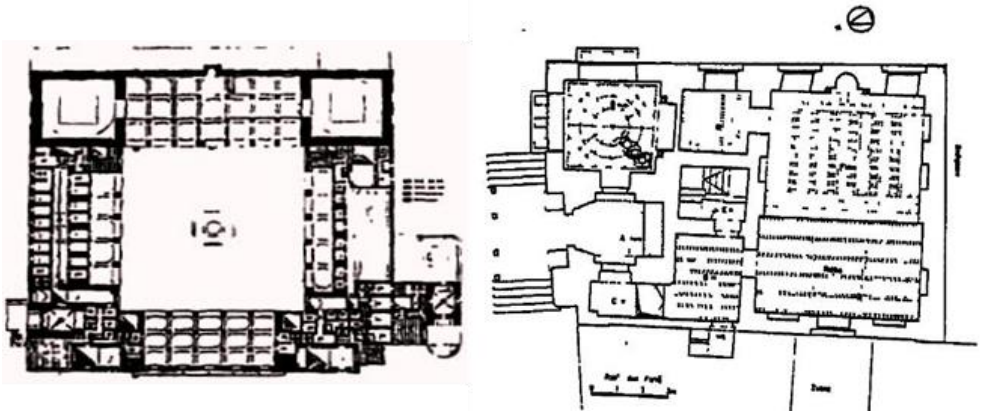

Figure 1.17: Ribats with their courtyards
Source: (Wadi 2012)

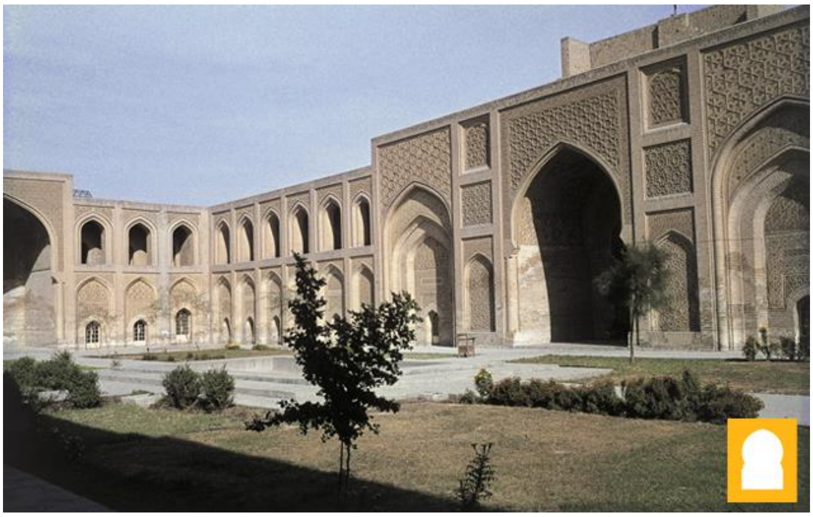

Figure 1.18: Al-Madrasa AL-Mustansiria in Baghdad, founded 1233
Source: (Iraq Heritage Sites), taken by Anon

1.2.7 Thoroughfares/paths

The main roads (figure 1.19) were wide and constituted the backbone that connected the city gates with its urban core that has the mosque and the bazar area (Hakim 2008, p. 64).

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[52] Khanaqa came from the Arabic name kaniq or kanqa this can mean the Sufi people who were living ascetic life with no luxury (Al-Chawaliqi 1987 [12th century], p.126). Others believe it came from the khan /inn (Wadi 2013, p. 1). Khan in Kurdish language means house.

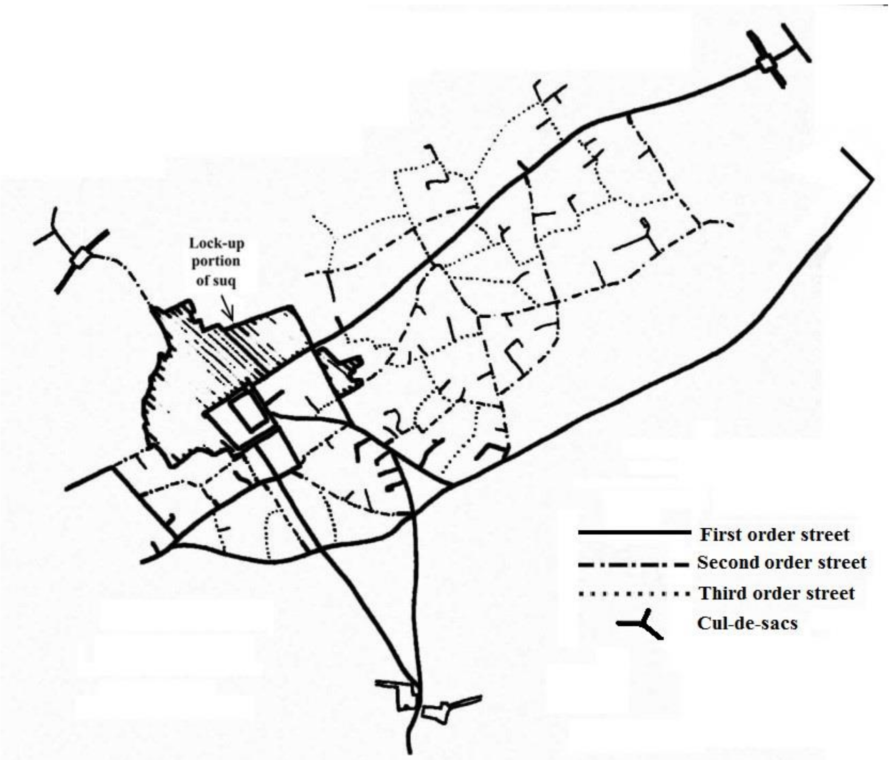

Figure 1.19: The routes gradation in the traditional city
Source: Modified from (Hakim 2008, p. 66)

1.2.8 Other aspects

The fountain element was named as *sabeel*; it provided the local people and the travellers with water and was used for ritual ablutions before prayer (Kostaf 2010, p. 982). Another important feature that appeared after Islam is the *waqif* or *waqif khairi* (endowment)[53]; traditionally, it is a property that had a variety of functions, for example a shop, public bath, or other functions. Waqif has many positive factors, for example its revenues support the donor's family or the maintenance of the mosque and other buildings. Socially, it helps feed poor people and travellers. The property itself is built by rich people or the ruler and according to law it must be preserved for more than 70 years and is not allowed to be sold; this law helped the land keep its shape and its traditional aspects (Daher, 2007, p. 75; UN-HABITAT 2005, p. 8). The general image of any traditional city in the SWANAAP region[54] is similar to a mass, containing buildings adhering to an approximate unified height, except for mosques,

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[53] Waqif "It is a legal mechanism that has been recognised and developed under Islamic law (Shari'a) for more than a millennium" (UN-HABITAT, 2005, p. 8).

[54] Reconsidering the traditional characteristics of a city's urban fabric in this region is important for preserving the relative balance between imitation and modernisation, traditional and contemporary.

the minarets of which reach skyward. These cities[55,] like any other cities in the world, face change and growth and they are examples of the impact of different forces: environmental, economic, socio-cultural, political, plus decisions of their rulers, family, clan or tribe, which played an essential role in embracing and impacting on human activities, events, the city's growth and location. Hence, the following will focus on the concept definitions of change and persistence, that impact on the city and its urban elements.

1.3 Change and Persistence

"Life is change, and whatever doesn't change is dead."

Ralph Thomlinson (1969)

The aim of this section is to elaborate on the definitions of change and persistence, which are not opposites but dependent on each other; they constitute a phenomenon that diffuses and penetrates each aspect of our lives. In this part, the notion of change will be examined by illustrating the meaning of change, then by discussing three main pillars of thoughts relating to change. These main pillars are: the process of change (which includes agents of change); consequences of change (the level of impact of change on the structure); and persistence theory. To start with, an understanding of the meaning of the duality of change and persistence in linguistics, philosophy needs to be introduced. The term 'change' connects different aspects of existence[56] and different modes of thought, and these flow into architecture and urban design. In language, the word 'change' has many meanings; it is the change of state as a result of alteration or modification, the replacement or removal of things, and the transition from one phase

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[55] This concept appears in early Islam to depict the Qur'anic image on the paradise gardens; however, part of this concept can be traced back to Achaemenid or, more likely, Babylon and its hanging garden. The idea of the walled garden started in the Abbasid palaces in Samarra of Iraq in 9th century CE then migrated to Egypt, Andalusia and Maghreb to return again to the East but to Iran, not Iraq. The concept of the walled garden was revitalised in Isfahan during the Safavid period in 17th century when the central spine of Chahar Bagh was constructed. Then the concept was taken by the Timurids to Samakand, and by the Moghul in 17th century where the emperor Babur supervised its construction; it also appeared in Lahore of Pakistan in 17th century, the Shalimar gardens (Bianca 2000, pp.61-62). This historical background and the migration of the architype to different places could be that there is no original type; probably the main roots for all these ideas started from the cities of Mesopotamian.

[56] Throughout history many scholars and philosophers believed that everything is changing and evolving, nothing is persistent, but the Substantial Reality/Deity/Energy/Matter/Source.

to another. Change[57] also means an alteration that makes a difference in some particular area or makes radical alterations leading to transformation (Cambridge Dictionaries online 2015; OED 2013; Harper, n.d). Dealing with the idea of change requires dealing with the term that connects to it, namely, persistence. Persistence is a vital notion as without it, change will result in a discontinuity with the past. In language the word ‘persistence’ reflects “the action or fact of persisting in a particular state” (OED 2015). It also means the continuity of something to exist or occur (Harper, n.d.). This profound theme (persistence and change) has been explored directly and indirectly in many fields from different perspectives and manifested in various terminologies by theorists under the same concept of ‘continuity’, ‘persistence’, or ‘permanence’ within the change. In philosophy, one of the main themes of Heraclitus' ideas is the notion of ‘unity’ which depends on change and persistence, in other words the binary opposition that is nourishing the concept of the unity (Kirk 1951, p. 35). For him the meaning of persistence appears through the idea of a ‘flux’. Heraclitus states that ‘Everything is in flux’ means everything is always flowing and constantly changing. In his context the flux provides a constructive not a destructive aspect to the idea of persistence; it is also a conditional element for persistence (Graham 2015, no pagination).

Heraclitus (6th century BCE) says[58]:

> *“On those stepping into rivers staying the same other and other waters flow”*
> *or*
> *“Upon those who step into the same rivers, different and different waters flow”*

The sentence says that different waters flow in rivers staying the same. In other words, though the waters are always changing, the rivers stay the same. Indeed, it must be precisely because the waters are always changing that there are rivers at all, rather than lakes or ponds. The message is that rivers can stay the same over time even though, or indeed because, the waters change. The point, then, is not that everything is changing, but the fact that some phenomena change makes possible the continued existence of

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[57] Thinkmap Visual Thesaurus (2013) recognises that some words relate to change, such as modify, alter, exchange, convert, and replace.

[58] Not only can you not step into the same river twice, it is not the same you that does the stepping.

other phenomena. Perhaps more generally, the change in elements or constituents supports the constancy of higher-level structures (Graham 2015, no pagination)

The notion of change in Aristotle's perception takes many patterns, the main one being related to persistence, which is called 'matter'. According to Aristotle[59], all change happens in an object or a structure that has the potential to change (Aristotle, Physics, pp. 56-60). The change occurs because of the movers/agents/factors, which can affect the object's quality, that is to say the substance, and its quantity, size (growth or diminution) and place (Magee 2015, no pagination; Aristotle, Physics, p. 60). In any process of change there must be something that remains when the old passes and something new must come, that is to say there must be persistence through change. Aristotle introduces the three principles, which are form, privation, and matter. 'Form' for him is something new, whereas 'privation' is something old that was removed or subtracted from the original sources, and 'matter' is something that remains the same throughout this process (Magee 2015, no pagination). An example would be the piece of stone that can be changed into a statue. Despite the change in its shape and function, its matter, which is the stone, persists. Hence, in the philosophy of Heraclitus, change and persistence are one, they complete each other. For him, phenomena must be changed to help other phenomena to persist, like in the example of the river, as the water is changing but the river is still the same and maintains the same function. For Aristotle, persistence is the aspect that remains within the process of change, meaning the substantial aspect. The above-mentioned shows that change can happen when an object is located in a specific time and place, then faces different forces, and reaches a point where it is unable to accommodate itself in the current situation.

The change can include acts of removal, elimination, movement, transaction or interaction from a precise situation to another due to different causes. The persistence here is the consistency of something within the change and at the same time the change works as a main condition for the persistence. The process of change can be either unconscious or conscious/purposeful change. The first is slow/steady/spontaneous

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[59] The impact of change can be seen in the end point, not in its starting point (Aristotle, Physics, p. 116). This highlights the importance of time as it is one of the main aspects in the process of change.

change that can happen by the collective will, such as the growth or evolution of the urban, organic fabric of traditional cities. In contrast conscious, purposeful, or confrontational change occurs following specific external forces, such as the ruling authority, or new needs that lead to the act of change. Khayat (2001, p. 62); Hillier and Hanson (1988, p. 43); Baker (1996, pp. 16-20); Lang (1987, p. 25); Gosling and Maitland (1984, p. 26) define directly and indirectly the unconscious change in the urban environment as being like the process of growth in a steady settlement, represented by traditional, primitive or vernacular architectures, which have grown naturally, as it is difficult to pin down or identify its starting point. Conscious change, however, is the result of a planned action, a design decision or an existing concept, ready to be implemented. It also can be said that conscious change almost certainly comes from the will of the ruling authority, which can be influenced by different factors such as religious, socio-cultural, political and environmental aspects. For example, Baker (1996, pp. 16-20) points out how ideas or thoughts have powerful impacts on urban environments and people. In his argument, he positions high art and monumental architecture under purposeful or conscious changes. In his opinion, monumental architecture was the main means used to convey ideas and transfer the meanings of religions or temporal power to the masses. This is because they were erected to impress and affect the feelings of people rather than to be inhabited by them. These kinds of building designs were constructed with good building materials and by skilled people, designers and architects. The following will attempt to understand these kinds of change, the agents of change and it will look at the purpose of change as well as the level of impact of change on the structure.

1.3.1 Agents of Change

Both conscious and unconscious changes that occur to the city's structure and its urban environment can come from different agents. These agents have varying effects, such as political, socio-economic, religious effects, as well as effects on population migration, tourism, natural forces, and other factors driven by necessity (Lehtovuori 2010, p. 150). Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin (2006, p. 23) argue that any system changes and evolves when new actions, agents, or causes invade the system and cause it to reach a significant enough level needed to produce change. These agents transfer the object from one specific situation to another. One of the main agents of change is the socio-cultural facto, which plays a major role in changing and re-shaping the urban environment. Jivén and Larkham (2010, p. 79) and Kubler (1970, p. 59) argue that the values of any society or individual change over time; what is valued today might not be tomorrow and vice versa. As a result, a city's structure will undergo change. Kubler (1970, p. 59) also goes further and states that "[t]he traditional behaviour of a person or of a group is challenged and defeated. New behaviour is learned from the victors, but during the learning period, the new behaviour is itself changing". Therefore, nothing is stable, as any social system that has a structure and coherent behaviours can be exposed to abrupt change which influences its stability (McGlade 2006, p. 82).

Regarding cities, change happens with the development of new lifestyles that led to the adoption of new customs and concepts. These new ideas resulted from an openness to the world, mixing and connecting with other cultures. They also come from immigrants who cause an increase in population growth, which, consequently, influences the need for new architectural designs and spaces (Rossi: Texts and Projects 2012; Cohen 1999, p. 12; Hock and Joseph 1996, pp. 8-10; Rossi 1982, p. 55). An example are the changes that happen to house pattern designs and the move from the inward to the outward-looking stage (Cohen 1999, pp. 11-15). Rapoport (1984, p. 6) also highlights that the consequence of new ideas is the change in urban form and space, such as the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants with the traditional ways resulting from the introduction of new specialisations and new ideas that impact the urban fabric. Furthermore, modern technologies with specialist requirements make the change desirable and require adaptations to be built-in to new housing, or alterations to have to be made to older dwellings or business premises. Economic developments have the power to affect the urban business environment. This is clear in the case of commercial investments in fields, such as sports events, cultural festivals, and concert venues that impact on the availability of space (Lehtovuori 2010, pp. 150-151). In this case it is governmental bodies, vested with significant authority to regulate these businesses that affect the image of the city. Natural factors impact and change the shape of urban environments, such as earthquakes, changing temperature, rain and wind, which cause erosion of the urban environment and the degradation of a building's local construction material (Lang 1987, p. 83). The impact of the weather is very obvious in traditional cities; it has been manifested through aspects introduced by the builders and the inhabitants, like a building's energy efficiency and the methods invented for controlling the amount of light that penetrates the urban fabric and its components, for example the narrow streets and the thick house walls. Religious agents also affect the shape of a city; Rapoport (1969, p. 41) argues that change might affect the spatial organisation, type of buildings and their orientation inside a city. For example, the religion of Islam impacts the persistence of some traditional urban elements as they were in line with its dogma, such as the courtyard, while others like the open theatre disappeared (Bianca 2000, pp. 12-13). The agent of power (represented by a ruler, government, local authority or any other institution) impacts on the shape of a city (figure1.20). History illustrates the role of rulers in changing and impacting the urban planning of a city. The Round City of Baghdad, for example, was designed based on a sketch that was drawn by the Abbasid Caliphate, Abu Ja'far Al-Mansour. In the 12th century CE the ruler of Erbil, Muẓaffar Al-Din in Erbil caused a big change and impact on the city's urban structure.

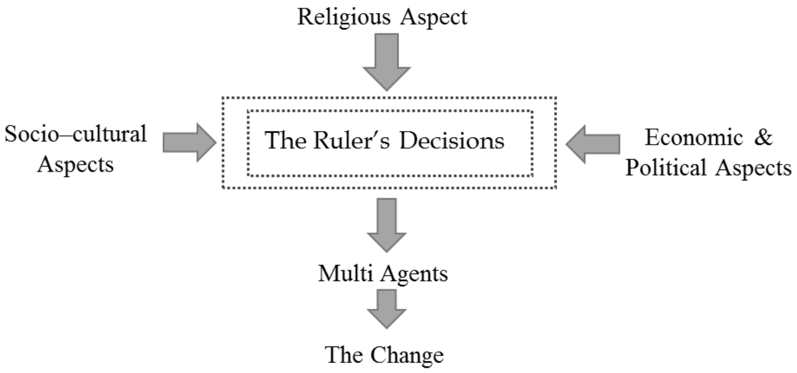

Figure 1.20: The impact of the multi agents on the change

It is believed that all these agents, causes or factors have the strength and power to change and they may work together in various levels (as some are more influential than others) to shape or reshape the urban structure. Examples from the history of Mesopotamia show the impact of multi-agents - religions, the rulers' power, and culture- on the form of an urban environment. One of these was the procession street of Babylon, which passed through the Ishtar Gate and was decorated with reliefs of lions. On this avenue, every spring a dazzling procession in honour of the God Mardukh, the king of Babylon and other gods' and goddesses' statues, took place in celebration of the Babylonian's New Year's Festival (Jarus 2014, no pagination), this

New Year's Festival, taking place in the first month, Nissan/Nishan in the Babylonian calendar, which is equivalent to the 21st of March[60] in the Gregorian calendar (figure 1.21).

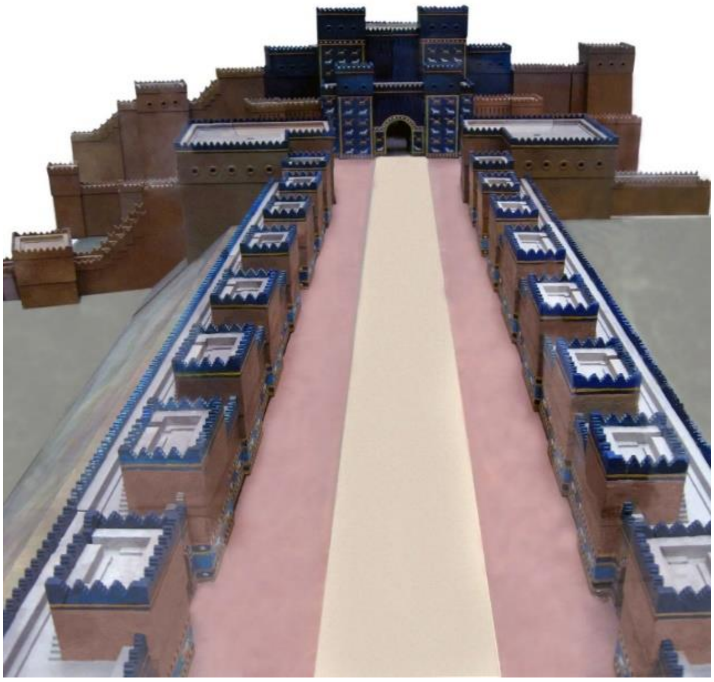

Figure 1.21: The city model of the main procession street of Babylon
Marduk, god of ancient Mesopotamia, the king of Babylon, patron deity of the city of Babylon, and members of the royal court use to passes through it during the celebration of the New Year's festival
Source: (Wikimedia Commons, 2007, by Gryffindoe; the model available in Pergamon Museum Berlin)

Another example is the Isfahan Chahar Bagh avenue which was built between 1596 CE and 1597 CE by the order of Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia[61], who organised the new city around a public square that connected the north city with the south and has a length of about 6 km (Conan 2007, p. 142). It can be said that the ideas around Chahar Bagh Avenue were probably adapted from Mesopotamia, as these elements persist throughout history (figure 1.22).

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[60] "The dazzling procession of the gods and goddesses, dressed in their finest seasonal attire, atop their bejewelled chariots began at the Kasikilla, the main gate of the Esagila (a temple dedicated to Marduk), and proceeded north along Marduk's processional street through the Ishtar Gate," (Bidmead 2004)

[61] It is possible that the origins of this archetype were influenced by Mesopotamia's cities. Herodotus states that "There is no nation which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians. Thus, they have taken the dress of the Medes [the ancestor of Kurds], considering it superior to their own; and in war they wear the Egyptian breastplate. As soon as they hear of any luxury, they instantly make it their own" (Blakeney 1936, p.71)

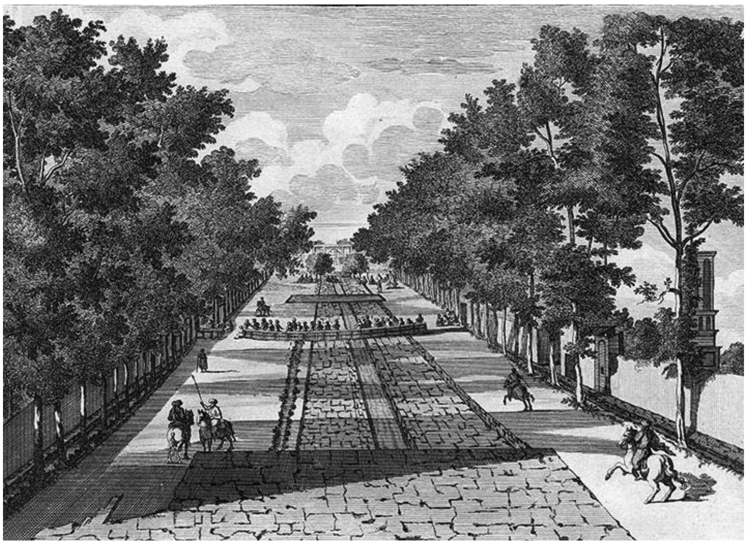

Figure 1.22: The Chahar Bagh Avenue in Isfahan
Source: Wikimedia Commons, drawn by Cornelis de Bruyn (circa 1726/1727)

Sometimes the level of effectiveness of local authorities has negative consequences on a city's urban structure due to the lack of comprehensive city plans, and that might have a negative impact and damage the existing structures (Cohen 1999, pp. 11-15; Gosling and Maitland 1984, pp. 8-26; Rossi 1984, pp. 161-162). Furthermore, setbacks can come from bad decisions regarding public transportation strategies, a lack of a rational distribution of different activities, unclear understanding of the historical area, a misuse of historical elements, and a lack of integration of their function with the surrounding area. Therefore, the past will often be seen as a burden, the historic buildings or urban fabric will be seen as impediments. This can lead to their demolition and the continued emptying of the old urban core (Cohen 1999, pp. 11-15); or they will become what Rossi described as pathological elements working as museums (Rossi 1982, p. 59). It is thought that one of the main aspects in the process of change is the culmination[62] of that change which leads in some situations to a moment of the so-called *crisis*. Nietzsche introduced the term 'crisis' to denote to an ultimate stage which leads to a significant change in any situation (De Sola-Morales 1999, p. 57).

In the architectural world the term 'crisis' has appeared markedly in writings by Foucault and was a turning point from the classical age to the modern stage[63] (ibid., pp. 57-59). Other studies such as those by Lehtovuori (2010, p. 150), Al-Hashimi

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[62] The culmination of change that connects the before with the after.

[63] This event of change or movement in architecture was affected by Nietzsche who announced 'The death of God'. This statement indicates the disappearance of any kind of reference/base in design, and emphasises the end with no return and deletes the past (De Sola-Morales 1999, pp. 57-59).

(2005, p. 6), De Sola-Morales (1999, p. 57), Hock and Joseph (1996, pp. 8-10) and Kuhan (1970, p. 224) all emphasise that each moment or culmination marks and creates a change. It starts when a continuous tradition, meaning stability of community, economy, politics and science, reaches a crisis point and a stage of being unable to find solutions or function in its previously successful manner. At this point it requires action or a firm decision to deal with the problem by creating a moment of change. To sum up this section, it is clear that agents or forces have a major role to play in changing the urban environment. They vary in their dominance, but have the power to change and reshape objects (figure 1.23).

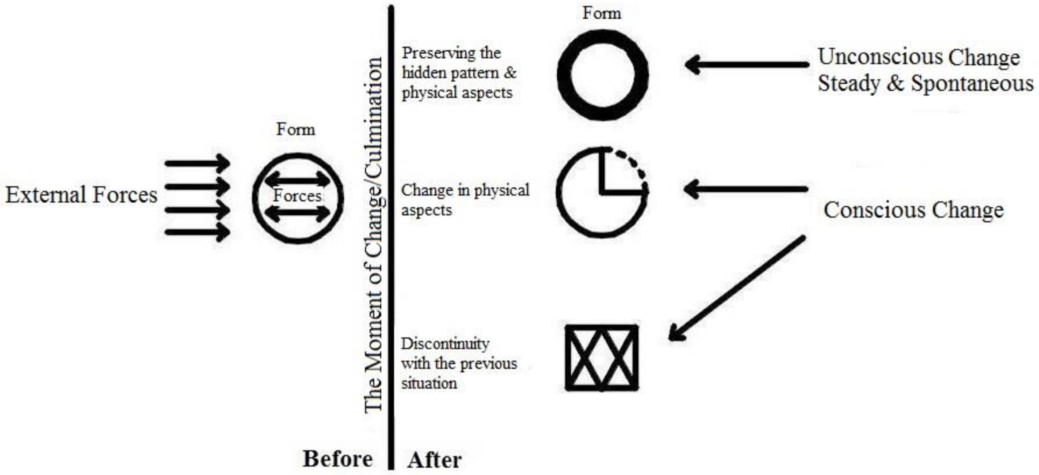
Form
Preserving the hidden pattern & physical aspects
Unconscious Change
Steady & Spontaneous
Form
External Forces
Forces
The Moment of Change/Culmination
Change in physical aspects
Conscious Change
Discontinuity with the previous situation
Before
After

Figure 1.23: The impact of conscious and unconscious changes on the structure

The speed of the process of change, the rapidity of change, varies between short and long-term changes. It may happen suddenly, rapidly and unexpectedly, like in an aggressive action such as war, or naturally, like earthquakes or any other natural forces. Sometimes, the process of change spans long periods of time as it happens gradually (individual events within it might happen on a regular basis) and incorporates a series of transformations (Chomsky 2014; Abel 2000, p. 134; Al-Hanafi 1987, p. 31; Rossi 1982, p. 144; Kubler 1970, pp. 58-59). Rossi (1982, p. 61) highlights that sometimes a city changes its face several times during a man’s life.

1.3.2 The Consequences of Change

Scholars from different fields and perspectives argue that change can affect the external structure or intrinsic properties of an object[64], or both but at varying levels

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[64] Any biological system has mechanisms of duplication or reproduction and these lead to the decline or flourishing of some of its characteristics. There are mutations that occur in living beings, i.e. humans,

(Chomsky 2014; Hock and Josep 2009, pp. 13 -14; Abbas 2008, p. 175; Ching 2007, pp. 50-193; Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin 2006, p. 23; Hock and Joseph 1996, pp.8-10; Antoniadis 1990, pp. 66-67; Al-Hanafi 1987, p. 31; Slayba 1982, p. 31; Aristotle, Physics, p. 57). Series of changes also happen on an architectural level, in construction, or at the level of urban design, e.g. to a block inside a city. Hillier and Hanson (1988, p. 43) argue that change in any system can be either evolutionary or revolutionary with the latter being a conscious change that might be radical and could result in wiping out the past. Therefore, within any change, some old aspects will have the ability to persist and adapt to cope with the new ones, and others will disappear.

The first stage of change is the minor changes where the 'adaptation processes' are prevailing and the changes take place in the object and lead to it accepting these changes and adapting itself in relation to them (Hock and Josep 2009, pp. 13 -14; Antoniadis 1990, pp. 66-67; Lang 1987, p. 78). In that case, the object keeps its identity or attributes because the minor changes do not affect the ability of the system to preserve itself. Therefore, its previous situation will not be diminished or nullified, but deals with its alteration by means of an analytical descriptive method, allowing creativity by releasing energies in different directions[65] (De Sola-Morales 1999, pp. 57-59). Piaget, Ching, and Rossi introduce 'a minor change' implicitly; Piaget through his idea of the 'Mental Schemata' argues that individual humans can have different mentalities according to an individual's early environment specific to a region and which can be developed through interaction with other environments (Schulz 1971, p. 10). From the diagram or schema's options, it is very clear that people will have to adapt to different situations. Therefore, he presents the idea of adaptation for the organism rather than a submission to the new environment. In architecture, Ching (2007, pp. 50-193) indicates that change happens to a form through the process of

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animals and plants, that give rise to adaptations and become dependent on or interdependent with changes in the natural world; what is seen today is the outcome of this process. The biological system, for example, faces changes when new aspects invade the system, resulting in the old aspects having to compete with the new until one side will be stronger and flourish at the expense of the other (Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin 2006, p. 22).

[65] For instance, the changes in the organic form can come from different forces and impact the relationships inside the organic structure; this sometimes causes a change in shape. Nevertheless, these organisms have the ability to adapt themselves within different forces, after which they start again to absorb another force where the structure can absorb and adapt itself to this new situation (Lang 1987, p. 78).

subtraction, addition or changing dimension while still keeping its identity or belonging to a family of geometry. However, sometimes the subtraction could lead to transforming it to another state of being, disconnecting it from the previous state; this impacts on the essence and appearance of the object; that can lead to a major change. Rossi (1982, p. 18) argues that change may influence just the physical appearance of the urban fabric but not its essence or intrinsic properties. In this situation, architects can still experience its origin or essence through the concept of the built types, persistent elements and urban artefacts, as he considers these elements to be fixed points in the urban structure. Therefore, in his opinion, the level of change can occur in the function of the building and the relationship between the elements.

The second stage of change is the major change; these kinds may sometimes lead to a break in connection or a displacement or a confrontation with the main reference. Sometimes however, these forces[66] bring new additions and attributes which impact the original system that starts to decrease and eventually disappears due to the dominance of the new additions (Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin 2006, p. 25). The terms minor and major changes[67] are used by Kubler (1970, p. 57); for him minor change is characterised by simple modifications, while major change is a radical departure from a previous state to a very different situation through what he called the 'invention[68]' that could bring about disruptive confrontation between the old and the new (Abel

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[66] Chomsky (2014) highlights the fact that change in language can be small when it happens between generations, and yet these small changes can accumulate to the point where they lead to radical change that impacts on the whole structure.

[67] In language, both Chomsky (2014), and Hock and Josep (2009, pp. 13 -14) agree that change works on two levels and might cause minor and major changes. Chomsky (2014) indicates that change can occur as a result of in the moving of boundaries between countries, for political reasons, and of mixing with other cultures. It happens to a limited degree between generations. Sometimes events culminate in a dramatic fashion and bring about change in a structure (Chomsky, 2014). Hock and Josep (2009, pp. 13 -14) highlight that change works on different levels, that is to say the meaning and the structure of a sentence. The change or alteration results from the contact with other languages, which leads to the adoption of different words and concepts that may impact its syntactic and semantic levels. Syntactic level here means the way that the morphemes are ordered to make sentences and how these sentences work together to produce a text, while the change that happens at a semantic level means a change in meaning, intrinsic properties/essences or deep structure, which could sometimes lead to an unexpected result.

[68] Kubler's theory found a number of supporters and some resistance. Joyce Brodsky who supports the theory has some concern regarding the word 'invention that' was used by Kubler. She points out that *the inventor is the one who reveals the pattern and produces something new and it is very rare that he tends to create something original/ a new pattern* (Abel 2000, p. 135; Brodsky 1980, p. 33). Hence, she preferred the terms 'continuity' and 'discontinuity'. Although Kubler meant the same thing, he introduced the new terminology in the process of change, the 'invention'.

2000, p. 134; Kubler 1970, p. 58). Alexander holds the view that change has an impact on the external shape and the patterns of events which are the internal aspects or the intrinsic properties located behind the shape. He states that a town's structure "is made up of certain concrete elements, in which every element is associated with a certain pattern of events" (Alexander 1979, pp. 82- 100). These patterns are in relation to the structure of the space and give character to a place as they vary from place to place, from culture to culture, and from age to age. Therefore, any change that happens to them impacts on the structure of the space and vice versa. The consequence of this is the creation of a new relationship between the elements. Hence, change can occur and start in the external form and impact the internal aspects, in Alexander's view nothing is stable; even the internal aspect, or the hidden pattern, can face some changes. Allen, Strathern and Baldwin (2006) and Lang (1987) believe that change starts from the internal portion and then possibly extends to the external form. Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin (2006, p. 22) elaborate that in the evolutionary system change starts by impacting the internal elements and then the interaction between the individual elements or entities, and that will lead to a change in the system's performance within its environment; that, in turn, will create a qualitative change in the whole system. This change[69] can create diversity and impact on the performance of the system in its environment. People develop, change and expand mentally when they absorb new behaviours and these behaviours grow until they reach a significant stage in that system (Ibid., p. 23).

With reference to the above-mentioned, when discussing the notion of change and its consequences it is important to address the point that not every change means development. Development occurs when an object moves from one stage to another and continues to function in similar fashion. However, Al-Khudhairi (1980, p. 98) argues that if an object passes through different stages of change but then returns to an earlier stage or point, i.e. cyclical change, this means that the process of change is unbalanced. This also means that no development has occurred as the object is unstable

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[69] According to theorists like Peter Allen, Mark Strathern and James Baldwin who state that people develop, change and expand mentally when they absorb new behaviours that invade them and that these behaviours grow until they reach a significant stage in that system (Allen, Strathern, and Baldwin 2006, p. 23).

with irregular, vibratory movements. The key problem with this explanation is that there is no general agreement on it as well as cyclical change not always implying irregularity or instability. It is believed that nothing changes and returns to the same state, and even if this is meant to happen it returns with a different perspective and outlook. Perhaps sometimes objects disappear or deactivate for different reasons and come back again. In conclusion, it can be said that minor changes happen to any structure and in this situation the object that faces the change has the ability to adapt itself, while major or radical change might cause a disconnect from the preceding situation and lead to a complete change. Figures 1.24 and 1.25 are illustrations of the processes of minor and major changes.

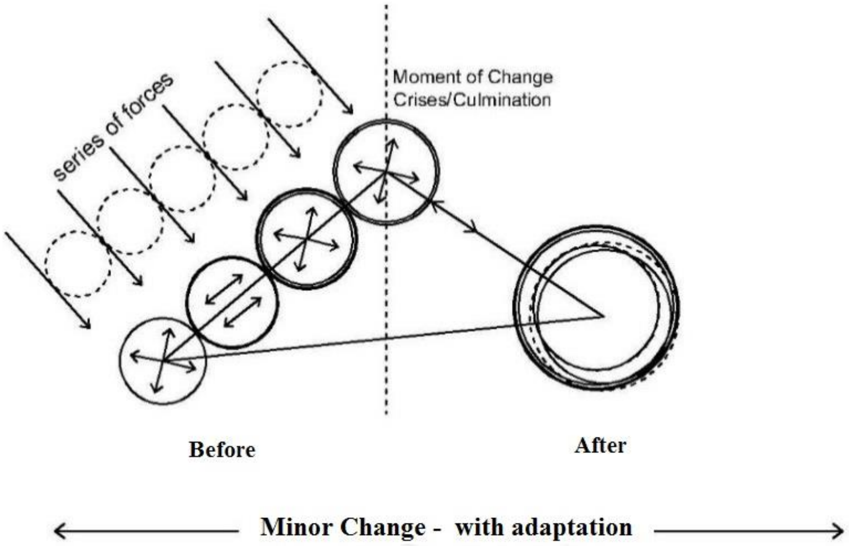

Figure 1.24: Minor changes process with adaptation

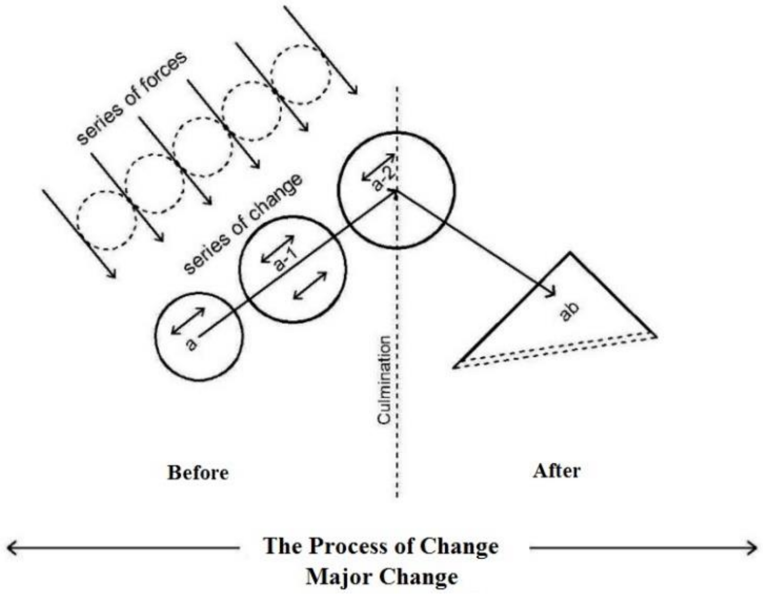

Figure 1.25: Major changes

To summarise, the definition of change (table 1.2) in this study is the movement of a structure from a specific state, considered the origin or the base, into a new one because of different agents or causes. The process of change can be a minor change which happens gradually and leads to adaptation or a major change that happens radically or suddenly and might lead to displacement and disconnection. The result is marked by specific alterations, subtractions and/or additions that work on different levels which include internal or external aspects, ultimately creating a new relationship within the elements. The process of change can happen suddenly or it can take a long or short period of time.

Table1.2: The aspects and attributes of the change

The Process of change in the urban pattern		
The Consequences of Change	Minor change with adaptation (impact on the External shape) Major change (impacts on intrinsic properties)	
The Agents of Change	Generally	-The incapability of the old object to provide solutions and solve new problems. - The failure of the previous object to cope with and adapt itself to the continuous changes that happen to its surroundings. - Reaching the crisis – the ultimate limit- which leads to the vital change
	Specifically	- Socio-cultural (openness, new ideas, lifestyle) - Religion and beliefs (impacts on the levels of architecture and urban design and causes spatial changes) - Economic aspects (land use, function, taxes and investment) - Industrial and technology forces (distribution of different activities, public transportation, function) - The main power (political and governmental rules) changes the image of the city, impacts the rules of construction, intensive planning
The Rapidity of Change	Sequences of changes within a short term or within a long period of time. - sudden changes like war or natural factors, or gradual changes	

1.3.3 Persistence Theory in Architecture

This section discusses the notion of persistence to extract a definition the study can depend on. Regarding a city's growth Cohen (1999, p. 157), Levy (1999, pp. 79-81), and Rossi (1982, p. 57) argue for the important role of the vibrant and dynamic aspects in a city's formation and space production, as they reflect a relative unity in the urban context and work as a catalyst for growth and change of the urban fabric. In other words, they are the past that is still being experienced in the present (Rossi 1982, pp. 51-59). Other scholars have gone further and pointed out the important role of the persistent aspects in defining the individuality of a community or the particularity of a city and their roles in creating a strong connection with the past. Al-Ani (2012, p. 1044) and Al-Bahanasy (1982, p. 100) place an emphasis on the important role of both change and persistence and the importance of recognising the constant and changeable aspects of any structure, as the persistence reflects a structure's particularity, whereas the changeable aspects denote development and adaptation within the current situation. Therefore, changes without the existence of continuity may cause a cultural decline and disconnection with the past, while a lack of change can cause the stagnation of a city. To reach a definition of the concept of persistence, this section attempts to clarify its nature and find answers to the following questions:

- *Are they tangible and intangible aspects?*
- *Are they the relationship between the tangible and intangible aspects?*
- *By which methods can persistent aspects be identified?*

The persistent elements can work and manifest themselves on different levels; they can be tangible or intangible elements. Intangible aspects have been highlighted by many theorists, such as Poète's in his theory of permanence; for him it is far from the naive concept of function as it relates more to the soul of a city and the quality of urban artefacts (Rossi 1982, p. 57; Poète 1929, pp. 22-35). Kubler claims that any piece of art comes as a result of a radical change and variation from a precedent or a replication of previous artefacts, but in both situations they still have a hidden pattern that was owned by the earlier artefact (Kubler 1962, pp. 34). Brodsky, who depended on and criticised Kubler's theory on change, introduces her theory of continuity and discontinuity. She considers that innovation is a part of the integrative process and argues that the innovator's role is not to produce a new order, but what he/she actually does, is to reveal the original pattern that already exists in the structure[70] (Abel 2000, p. 137). Kubler (see Abel 2000, p. 133) argues that "…concrete artefacts may function

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[70] Kubler's ideas were similar but the difference was in using the terminology of innovation

as examples and so carry in themselves both the seeds of tradition and of innovation". Alexander (1979, p. 73) gives, indirectly, more clarification to this concept; he states that what gives particularity to any building or town is the pattern of events that are associated with the space. He indicates that "…the patterns of events which govern life in buildings and in towns cannot be separated from the space where they occur" (ibid., p. 73). For him "…the patterns vary from place to place, from culture to culture, from age to age; they are all man-made, they all depend on culture. But still in every age and every place the structure of our world is given to it, essentially, by some collection of patterns which keep on repeating over and over and over again" (ibid., p. 100). He gives a further perspective on the attributes of persistent elements when he indicates that common patterns of language need to be shared by an entire society as they will not be alive unless they are being shared by them (ibid., p. x). That means they might be deactivated for a while if they are not used. However, they can be reactivated by factors that trigger and stimulate them to be re-energised and their return might include slight changes and different perspectives.

Rossi's ideas[71] on permanence take into account both physical and non-physical aspects: for him monuments, as an example, can persist both symbolically and physically (Rossi 1982, p. 60). Rossi highlights that the hidden pattern can be manifested through its form (the physical sign where the meaning can be attached to it) and that sometimes this form has the potential to survive within the context of the urban structure and becomes an urban element, which may persist to become an urban artefact. For example, in terms of the intangible aspects, he states that:

> Myths come and go, passing slowly from one place to another; every generation recounts them differently and adds new elements to the patrimony received from the past; but behind this changing reality, there is a permanent reality that in some way manages to elude the action of time (Rossi 1982, p. 24).

The persistent reality as stated by Rossi comes from religious traditions, their ritual practices and socio-cultural aspects. This collective nature is the aspect that preserves

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[71] "These persistences are revealed through monuments the physical signs of the past, as well as through the persistence of a city's basic layout and plans" (Rossi 1982, p. 59). The latter point means that cities through their development and evolution preserve or maintain the position of their original layout as they grow according to the meaning and the direction of their old urban artefacts (Rossi 1982, p. 58).

the myths and constitutes the basis of understanding the meaning of monuments of any urban artefact. Therefore, he highlights monuments, the physical manifestations of history, as being persistent elements, in the belief that, for as long as the ritual is a persistent element that conserves and manifests the myth by being practised in the monument, the monument that embraces this activity or ritual will also be a persistent element. Therefore, there is always a relationship between the ritual, the myth and monuments (ibid., p. 24). The persistent elements, which have physical aspects, appear as either propelling and vital or pathological elements. These elements either assist in understanding the city or appear as isolated elements where their connection with the urban structure is very weak and hardly identifiable. The propelling or propulsive element for Rossi is any still-existing historic building that continues to absorb different functions and plays a role in constituting a city's character. These buildings are perceived by the receivers as works of art, e.g. the 'Palazzo della Regione' in Padua (figure 1.26) which is still in use with retail markets functioning at ground level; people consider it to be a piece of art and that is reflected in its vitality. According to Rossi, this building has persisted, not because of its function or its location in the contextual space, but because the form has the ability to accommodate and absorb different functions (Rossi 1982, p. 6 and p. 60).

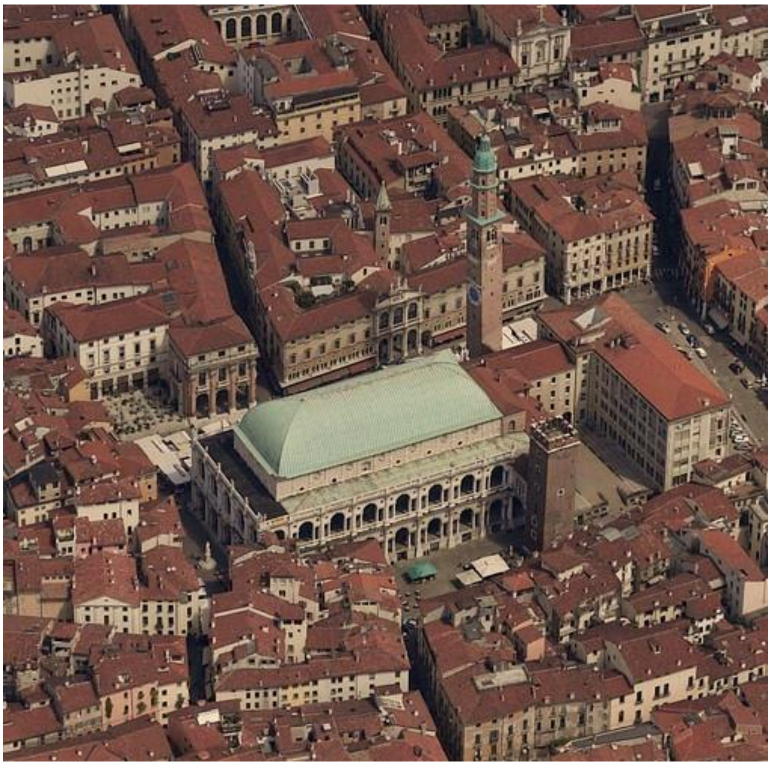

Figure 1.26: Basilica Palladiana - Bird View Cityscape, Italy
Source: A Cidade Branca, taken by Anon, n.d.

The Alhambra in Granada is Rossi's example of a pathological element (figure 1.27); the citadel has become a museum piece in the city, it has lost its liveliness and no longer functions as a residential area. In the past, it served major requirements of the city, today it stands isolated, an obstructive or superfluous element in the urban fabric, rarely connecting to it. Instead, it is reborn as a major tourist attraction, starting with *'Tales of the Alhambra'* (1832) by Washington Irving.

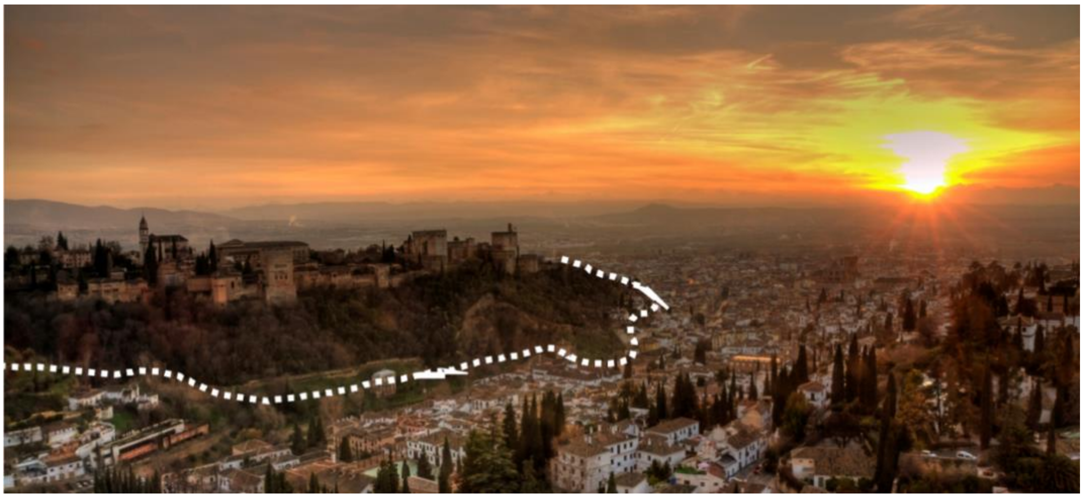

Figure 1.27: Panoramic view of Alhambra
Source: Adapted from **(**Alhambra ntradas), taken by Anon with n.d.
Available at https://goo.gl/images/zI4gBG

As the form of the Palazzo della Regione has assumed different functions and is still attached to the city and absorbing different activities, it is easy to imagine its future changes. A propelling element, it helps one to understand the whole city because its properties accept modifications that continue to absorb different functions. It is a valuable constituent of the urban network, working as a focal point helping to organise and constitute the urban fabric, which connects it strongly to the city. The Alhambra meanwhile, stands virtually isolated and cannot be modified. In both cases, however, they constitute part of the city so cannot be suppressed (Rossi 1982, pp. 59-62). Rossi, also states that the context itself can persist if it performs the same function[72] over time and inter-mixes with the context of the city. Otherwise, it could become isolated from the social and technological evolution of the city. For him the residential area or

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[72] Rossi (1982, p.7) stresses that the primary elements and the artefact are different from the residential area. *"...when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into the realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins. The singular form of Split now not only signifies its own individuality, but at the same time, it is also a sign, a record of events that are part of a collective – that is, urban-memory."*

housing is an aspect of permanence in a city, while the individual houses themselves are not, as the residential district might persist for many centuries but the form of the houses change over that time. He defines the persistent element as an urban artefact that is similar to monuments and it became persistent due to its ability to constitute the city. He also argues that not all things can survive and if they persist they might become diverse in their modalities (Ibid., p. 6 and p. 60). Therefore, persistence is not just about function, it is about the hidden aspects and the potential that the form has to offer for itself and for the city. Both Rossi and Alexander agree that these elements accept change and modification but their opinions diverge in defining its aspects. For Rossi they are physical or non-physical elements, while for Alexander they are patterns of events that are embodied and alive within a space.

The methods used to identify the persistent elements in the urban context are important. Kuhn and Kubler state that cultural cognition is responsible for transferring and revealing knowledge, of the persistent elements that are embodied in these concrete artefacts (Abel 2000 p. 137). For Kubler (1970, p. 62) “The occurrence of things is governed by our changing attitudes towards the process of invention, repetition, and discards”. Levy and Rossi agree that they can be revealed through experience and digging into history. Levy (1999, p. 81), for instance, argues that historically persistent or continuous elements are revealed strongly through morphological studies and a diachronic approach. Rossi states that historical methods are the only way to identify the permanent or persistent elements. This will be accomplished by looking beyond present actions that have modified the current situation or elements, identifying the forces leading to the present situation, and then tracing the differences between their past and present. This process will help to understand them and build an image of the city itself (Rossi 1982, p. 58). In such a case, a comparative analysis will be used to map the changes that have happened to the urban fabric and trace the elements, both physical and non-physical, that have survived within the change and evolution of the urban city’s core. To sum up, this section attempted to formulate the definition of persistence by taking into account various considerations from different fields that deal with the idea and theory of persistence and using different approaches.

The definition of the 'Persistent Elements' is the elements that carry a long history and have an impact on the city's formation. They materialise in different aspects. They can be intangible traits, that is to say rituals or myths that are manifested by physical signs in a way that reflects their individuality and beauty. They can also be tangible aspects represented by primary urban elements, such as path, node, urban artefact or the urban sector residential areas. These physical aspects can propel the city growth or can be a hindrance to the city as they work as pathological elements, resulting in their isolation in a city. They have a potential for change that they can provide to the city. The persistent elements are revealed clearly through analysing and monitoring the change that has happened to the old urban fabric. They can be identified through morphological studies and a diachronic approach (figure 1.28).

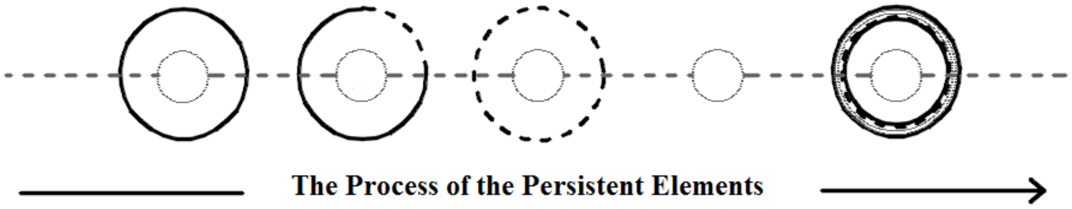

Figure 1.28: The process of change in the persistent elements

1.4 Paving the Way to Identify the Gaps in Knowledge

This section will attempt to identify the gaps in knowledge through looking at the earlier studies that dealt with the change and persistence in the urban core of Erbil[73].

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[73] Other studies have dealt with the citadel and the new modern areas of Erbil. For example, Mzoori (2011) considers the spatial configuration and tries to determine the change in the functional efficiency of the house layouts in Erbil from 1900 to 2010. The study attempts to measure this impact using the Space Syntax theory. The results show that the process of spatial configuration over time is affecting the functional efficiency of the house layouts. Al-Shwani (2011) tries to measure the influence of modernity on the architectural identity of the facades of houses built between 1930 and 2010. The degree of change has been evaluated and a model for visual analysis developed. The findings assert that modernity factors have a direct influence on the continuity of architectural identity. Thus, the 'Mass and Articulation' and 'Architectural Details' are the most significant aspects to having interrupted this continuity. Baper et al. (2010) address the evolution of the types of house gardens through morphological analysis. The study is based on a comparison between the traditional houses in the citadel and the modern ones. The analysis focuses on how the types of gardens change over time. However, except for Mzoori who tried to address the single issue of the social factor, these studies have analysed the old and the new without any indication of the kinds of reasons behind these changes. Other studies, like, Al-Haydari (1985) focused on the old citadel and its architecture and the processes of conservation. Some studies focused on the lower city evolution and urban growth developments of the built environment of recent time; or dealing with the individual buildings, residential area - e.g. Raswol (2010), visual aspects of the current architecture, and factors behind emerging new residential areas. Other subjects which attract the interest of Iraqi urbanists and architects, such as the relationship

Only five studies (in addition to an archaeological study) that dealt with the city urban core from other novel perspectives, were found. The study by Al-Hashimi (2015), *The South Gate, the persistent element of the old city of Erbil'*, highlights the importance of this gate as a tangible and intangible aspect, and indicates the changes that happened to the gate in relation to its function, physical aspects and its relation with the urban fabric. The discussion has also showed practically how these persistent elements can be deactivated for a while and then reactivated again; nevertheless, the study gave less attention to the agents behind these changes, and focused only on the citadel gate in highlighting its changes, as it was the aim of the paper.

The other study, '*Moving a Market: Impacts of Heritage Nomination on a Local Community'. A Case Study of Delal Khaneh in Iraqi Kurdistan',* by Mohammadi in 2014 criticised the current urban plan that was imposed on the city's urban core during redevelopment of the area and caused substantial changes to land use. He highlights some main agents, such as the decision power (those with the power to make a decision) and the lack of a comprehensive urban planning strategy, that impacted on the area through demolishing part of the old bazar and relocating its merchants to a new shopping centre built in the same area. The result of this action caused a change in the tangible urban fabric and intangible social and economic characteristics. Although the study has implicitly highlighted important agents that impact change of the built environment, it makes no attempt to illustrate the roots of the Delal Khaneh (the block that was demolished) and compare the urban fabric situation before and after demolishing it. It may be that his focus was on the current situation of the new shopping centre in the area and its relationship with sellers and tradesmen who used to trade in the previous place.

Bornberg, Tayfor and Jaimes, (2006), in their study, '*Traditional versus a global, international style: Aarbil, Iraq'* discuss the contrast in architectural concept and the use between the new shopping centre, which has recently been built in front of the citadel, and the old bazar. This study focused on the architectural characteristics of the

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between the old and the new part - e.g. Shwani (2011), Mzoori (2011), and Baper et al. (2010), conservation on the citadel, and recent debates in the city identity like Shwani (2011).

design of historical markets by providing brief descriptions which lack detail and are unrelated to the current situation of Erbil's bazar and its history. The key problem with this explanation is that it attempted to impose the old idea of traditional market design without considering other factors of change, such as technology, and openness to new ideas and new requirements. It dealt with the existing situation with no clear indication of the architecture and urban form of the bazar area.

Another study is the work of Al-Dabbagh (1988) titled as '*The Historic Commercial Centre of Arbil: An architectural and Planning Study of Shopping Space Requirements in the Commercial Central Areas of Iraq Cities'*. It addressed some of the architectural criteria of what the bazar area was like in the 1980s and attempted to clarify its situation at that time. Its aim was to provide suggestions for architectural designs, which could help enhance the status of this historic environment. Within the limitation of available material at that time, the study traced some changes happening in that area from the 1940s to the 1980s; nevertheless, they were addressed in a superficial way. Although the study is somewhat outdated and did not deal with other public sectors of the city urban core, and the analysis was focusing on the 20th century, its importance lies in the survey undertaken by the researcher to address parts of the site of the bazar within the city. Unfortunately, some of his photographs are unclear, the maps were hand drawn, and some historical information about the bazar area was brief and inaccurate. Al-Genabi's (1987) study relied too heavily on the goods distribution and organisation in the bazar in the 1980s and highlighted the function of new shops that were added with new designs.

The archaeological study of Erbil[74] conducted by Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) tackled the subject of change and continuity in an attempt to investigate the history of the city and identify some physical urban elements of 12th century Erbil. The data and the hypothesis that were introduced are very important as it has identified the city's

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[74] Baper et al. (2010) address the change in the types of house gardens through morphological analysis. They dealt indirectly with the persistent elements of the garden. The study is based on a comparison between traditional and modern houses in the citadel and the analysis focuses on how the patterns / types of garden change over time. With the exception of the study by Mzoori, who tried to address one issue, the social factor; all these studies analysed both old and new areas and the reasons behind the areas.

outline and the city urban core. However, the study is in the field of archaeology and used the subject of the continuity through focusing abstractly on the physical aspects of the city and on specific periods of time. Although these studies are interesting in their perspective and some provided useful methods relating to the analysis and data collection, none provided any comprehensive view of analysing the historic urban core which surrounds the citadel and includes the bazar area (table 1.3).

Table 1.3: The studies that dealt with the urban core of Erbil

Author	Year	Case study	Period
Farah Al-Hashimi	2015	The South Gate	18th century to 2014 Ottoman & Modern period
Mohammadi Rojan	2014	Old Markets	2006-2013 Modern period
Nováček, Amin and Melčák	2013	The outline of the old city of Erbil (Archeology - History)	12th century
Bornberg, Renate, Midya Arif Tayfor, and Maria Jaimes	2006	New Shopping center	2006 Modern period
Hassan Al-Dabbagh	1988	The bazar area	18th century to 1980s Ottoman & Modern period
Hashim Al-Ganabi	1987	The function of the bazar area	1980s, Modern period

From the above mentioned it can be said that the notion of change and persistence in the urban core of Erbil has never been addressed. In addition, the intangible aspects were almost neglected and rarely used. These earlier shortcomings allow the researcher of this study to enjoy the opportunity to redress the balance and to deal with both aspects by following the principles of Christopher Alexander, Rossi and Bill Hillier and others who state that the city is a combination of both space and form where hidden patterns of events take place. In this sense the focus will be on analysing the urban elements and their relationship with notion of the change and the persistence. This will shift the problem of describing the physical urban environments and the changes, to a level that deals with it in more detail and in a manner that helps to identify the reasons behind both the changes and the persistent aspects that the urban core still retains. The study will choose to cover a long period of the history and will span the periods to identify the roots of the existing urban fabric, (which have never been addressed in this district of Erbil).

1.5 The Change and Persistence in the Public Sector: Main Variables

This section will examine earlier studies that dealt with change and persistence in the public sector of the old urban fabric of the SWANAAP region in addition to other urban studies to extract variables of the tangible and the intangible aspects. The first study is: *'The Effect of Morphological Changes in Urban Fabric on its Syntactical Properties: A Case Study in Mosul Old Suq'* was conducted by Mumtaz Aldauji, Hussein Abdulla and Iyad Jalal in 2010. The authors highlight the fact that for reasons of war or natural disaster, changes occurred to cities. In the modern (20th century) era the historic cities were affected by the industrial revolution e.g. by the establishment of roads at the expense of the old urban fabric. Hence, the study assumed that the syntactical properties of the urban fabric were affected. The city's urban core and its traditional commercial centre of Mosul, was chosen as a case study; space syntax theory was adopted to identify the properties of special organization. However, the results focused more on its morphological aspects with no indication to its intangible aspects or the persistent elements that continued within these changes; their main agent relied on the establishment of the regular streets through the urban fabric.

The study of Mahmoud and Haki (2008) titled as *'Formal Transformation in Urban Context'* focused on the changes in the physical aspects of the urban context in Damascus (it did not take into account the change in the intangible aspects and the main agents or factors behind these changes). It introduced some properties related to the urban form (tangible aspects); such as the nature of the urban configuration, the degree of spatial openness, permeability, unity and hierarchy. The paper of El-Zubaidy (2007) titled as '*The Change in the Urban Structure of the Arabic Islamic Cities'* would appear to be over-ambitious in its claim. In general, the title of the study was misleading as it focused on the changes in the urban structure of the Arab Islamic cities but then it chose Baghdad city as a case study. It addressed some factors behind the changes, but it failed to clarify its impact on the intangible aspects. However, it introduced some main features of the urban form and space of these traditional cities such as human scale, hierarchy, the gradation in the pattern of movement, routs' direction.

The study of '*The Changing Morphology of the Gulf Cities in the Age of Globalisation: the case of Bahrain'* - was written by Mustapha Ben Hamouche in 2004 - highlights that the urban form grows and changes by both visible and non-visible aspects through using two terminologies: the endogenous and exogenous forces. In his opinion the endogenous forces include the way of life, religious beliefs, social structure and the physical material, i.e. buildings, while the exogenous aspects are those external forces that impact on and shape of a building without the will of society. The case studies were Muharraq and Manama, the oldest cities in Bahrain and were shaped by social structure, religious beliefs, and were built by local material. They have also faced changes at physical levels. These cities were "an example of the successive shifts; first from the endogenous to [the] exogenous system, and then from the colonial to state, to globalisation-generated exogenous systems" (Ben Hamouche 2004, p. 522). The study worked on a large scale and attempted to find another urban policy, based on facing-up to the exogenous forces and the re-shaping of the endogenous system. Although the method used to analyse the morphological changes in both cities was descriptive, it was, nevertheless, an attempt that sheds light on how to deal with these aspects and indicated a significant fact; that any change that happens to the city is not limited to just its physical environment as some architects and urban designers believe, but involves the intervention of hidden forces that form the context of the urban fabric.

Another study is by Sana Abbas *'The Change of Genotype in Old Traditional Areas in Baghdad City: Analytical Study Using Geographic Information System'* in 2008. This study investigated the changes to the genotype of the traditional areas of, Al-Kadhemiyah and old Karkh, in Baghdad city, following road construction at the expense of the old urban fabric. The Al- Kadhemiyah area grew around a shrine and expanded radially, while, old Karkh is a neighbourhood that grew along the banks of the Tigris River. The study suggested that the genotypes of these old areas changed following the building of the new roads. To test this theory, the method of space syntax analysis was adopted and the study divided each area into four chronological stages. The research results found changes in the integrated space and in the intelligibility of

Kadhemiyah spatial system; as it moves from an ambiguous system to more intelligible system. While, the spatial system Al-Karkh area has moved from intelligibility to ambiguity. This work highlights some key terms that were used in the analysis.

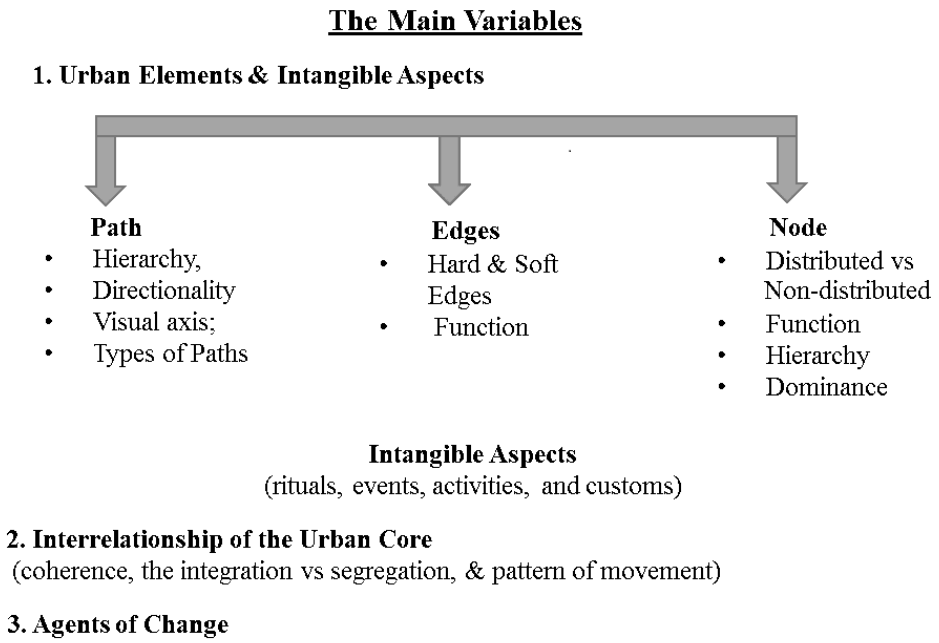
Neglia's study (2001), '*Persistences and Changes in the Urban Fabric of the Old City of Aleppo'*, tackled the concept of the persistence and considered the idea as a tangible aspect. It attempted to trace the changes that happened to the historic urban fabric through analysing the site city maps.

The study *'Continuity and Change in a Middle Eastern City: The Social Ecology of Irbid City, Jordan'* of Shunnaq and Schwab (2000) focused on the continuity and change; different approaches were used to analyse the urban space, such as human ecology and ethnographic analysis from cultural anthropology. The study has concluded that space usage in the city is the first element to be affected by the changes that happened on a social level.

The study of *'Continuity and Change in Old Cities: an analytical investigation of the spatial structure in Iranian and English historic cities before and after modernisation'* by Kayvan Karimi in 1998, aimed to understand how traditional cities responded to modern changes. The study focused on the change and continuity from the conservation strategy, the modernisation perspectives and the struggle between them. The aim was achieved by a comparative analysis of the urban plans and structures of six English and six Iranian historic cities using space syntax theory to analyse these cities. This work, however, focuses more on the physical manifestations, the intangible aspects being given less attention. The study acknowledges the social, and industrial revolutions and economic changes (that impacted on the urban form and the Genotype of the space); and even illustrated the governmental rules in an indirect way through its analysis. Nevertheless, it adopted methods and an approach by which the focus was more on the physical manifestations rather than the intangible aspects, thus limiting the study by failing to probe deeply into the hidden pattern.

In addition to the above mentioned, other studies like '*Concepts of urban design'* for Gosling and Maitland (1984). '*Manah: The Architecture, Archaeology and Social*

History of a Deserted Omani Settlement' for Bandyopadhyay 1998 and others helped to identify.



The Main Variables

1. Urban Elements & Intangible Aspects

Path
- Hierarchy,
- Directionality
- Visual axis;
- Types of Paths

Edges
- Hard & Soft Edges
- Function

Node
- Distributed vs Non-distributed
- Function
- Hierarchy
- Dominance

Intangible Aspects
(rituals, events, activities, and customs)

2. Interrelationship of the Urban Core
(coherence, the integration vs segregation, & pattern of movement)

3. Agents of Change

Figure 1.29: The main variables of Analysis

Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts; the first part has focused on defining change, persistence, city, and the urban core the main concerns of this study. The theoretical underpinnings of these concepts have been discussed (with their properties) with an emphasis on connecting them to each other and their consideration as one double-sided entity.

The first section reviewed those aspects related to change, such as the kinds of change including conscious and unconscious change; the agents behind change which include different factors such as: socio-cultural, religious, economic, political, a ruler's power, and natural aspects – which sometimes work all together but on different levels and impact a ruler's decision-making. The final aspects discussed are the moment of or culmination of change, and the rapidity of change which can happen suddenly or gradually. This led to highlighting the importance of a theory of persistence and the identification of its aspects, which include tangible elements manifested in primary urban elements, and intangible cultural heritage.

A final step to understand the meaning of persistence in architecture is trying to find ways of identifying them or finding these persistent elements in urban contexts. Then it defined the city as an entity that has tangible aspects that are represented by the path node and edge, and the intangible aspects which are the aspects that give individuality to the city and can be included the tradition, customs and the result of the impact of multi agents. The kinds of cities that were introduced in the SWANNAP region included the first kind, which were the ancient cities (some have Tell - mound - like Erbil), and the second which were the cities that evolved after Islam (some were planned before their implementing, like Baghdad city).

The urban core of these cities included commercial, social and religious aspects which were represented by the urban space of the mosque, i.e. sahan (that worked as a main node used to collect all these activities), in addition to other buildings, such as hammam, khan and the religious institutions. The second part included the discussion of the previous studies and according to the concept of the change and persistence in the city urban core, this research found a lack of studies that dealing with the urban core of Erbil, in addition to the inadequate approaches in the foregoing study that dealt with the change and persistence of the city urban core. With respect to their efforts they were deficient in knowledge that led to elaborate a research problem. The following chapter will deal with the analysing Erbil’s outline which will consequently help to identify the outline of the urban core

CHAPTER TWO:

THE ‘TREE OF THINKING’ METHODOLOGY

Chapter 2: THE ‘TREE OF THINKING’ METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the methods chosen are appropriate to achieve the aims and objectives of this research that were presented to understand the change and the persistence of Erbil’s urban core. It also discusses the reason for choosing this kind of methodology and the relationship between the research methods and objectives.

The questions regarding how to examine the change and persistence in the historic urban core – with the intention of spanning longer periods of time – and the respective agents of change, is tackled by finding strategies and methods to apply to this study.

2.1 Interdisciplinary Approach

The case of Erbil city and its urban core, both before and after the coming of Islam, is complex due to the lack of maps and the fact that the information and archaeological evidence is scattered across different countries, all of which information would usually reveal the past of a city such as Erbil. This has prevented the majority of the architectural and urban studies researchers from delving too deeply into the past and has resulted in their focus being mainly from the beginning of the twentieth century.

Consequently, I adopted a complex research design involving a combination of qualitative strategies; in order to deal with the phenomena from the past that continues into the present, including a triangulation technique, which will be described in the next section. This qualitative methodology[75] was designed in order to increase the analytical power and to deliver a conceptual and comprehensive understanding of the urban core. The reason for using a multi-method technique together with triangulation is to allow the data to provide more evidence, validate the research findings and add rigor to the research. I chose this approach[76] in order to investigate and identify the origin and the change in character of Erbil’s urban core, with the main focus being its paths, nodes and edges – which were the urban elements revealed in the literature review – and their

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[75] Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 8) in their book ‘Qualitative Data Analysis’ introduce three approaches to this kind of analysis: (i) interpretation, (ii) social anthropology and (iii) collaborative social research.

[76] Here I am hoping to provide a true reading not a correct reading - as Michael Shanks said in his book, Experiencing the Past: On the character of archaeology. A true reading is based on questioning and comparing the existing situation with other situation and absorbing a wide range of knowledge.

relationship to each other together with the impact made by the agents of change on the urban structure in general and its individual elements in particular. A further reason for adopting a multi-method technique was to identify ways of extracting the persistent elements in the urban core. The interdisciplinary approach, in this which includes history, archaeology[77], architecture and socio-culture, required relevant readings that led sometimes to the emergence of evidence countering some old ideas and assumptions. Hence, to deal with history critically, for example, a researcher should not start simply from an idea, but should look at a situation more broadly by dealing with its many aspects, including the field work involved, textual archival research, and local and international examples of a similar nature; indeed, an interpretive historical approach is the only way to frame past situations and events. Tosh (2010) in his book, '*The Pursuit of History*' use the following six categories to classify a narrative history: politics, biography, ideas, economy, society, and mentality.

For historical inquiry:

> […] the researcher attempts to collect as much evidence as possible concerning a complex social phenomenon and seeks to provide an account of that phenomenon. This requires searching for evidence, collecting and organizing that evidence, evaluating it, and constructing a narrative from the evidence that is holistic and believable. Throughout the process, interpretation is the key (Groat and Wang 2002, p. 137).

In this study, ideas have been analysed and linked through situational themes in specific time and space, by interviewing people who have knowledge in particular areas and by using deduction and reasoned interpretation. Collingwood (1994, p. 236) believes that "[the historian] is always selecting, simplifying, schematizing, leaving out what he thinks unimportant and putting in what he regards as essential [and that] it is the artist, and not nature, that is responsible for what goes into the picture". Figures 2.1 shows an interpretive historical approach that starts with data collection.

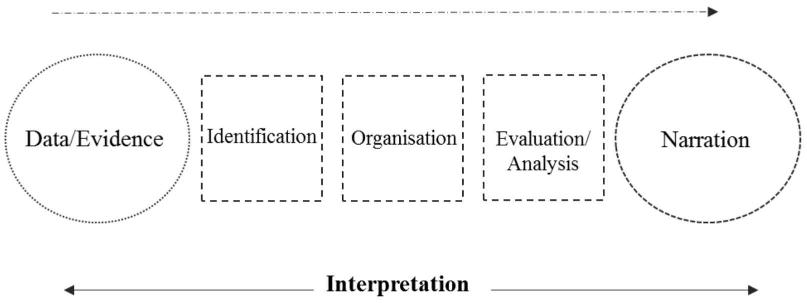

Figure 2.1: The Interpretive history approach

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[77] In the US, Archaeology is a division of Anthropology.

Figure 2.2 showing the steps of the interpretation which triangulates with the other methods of analysis.

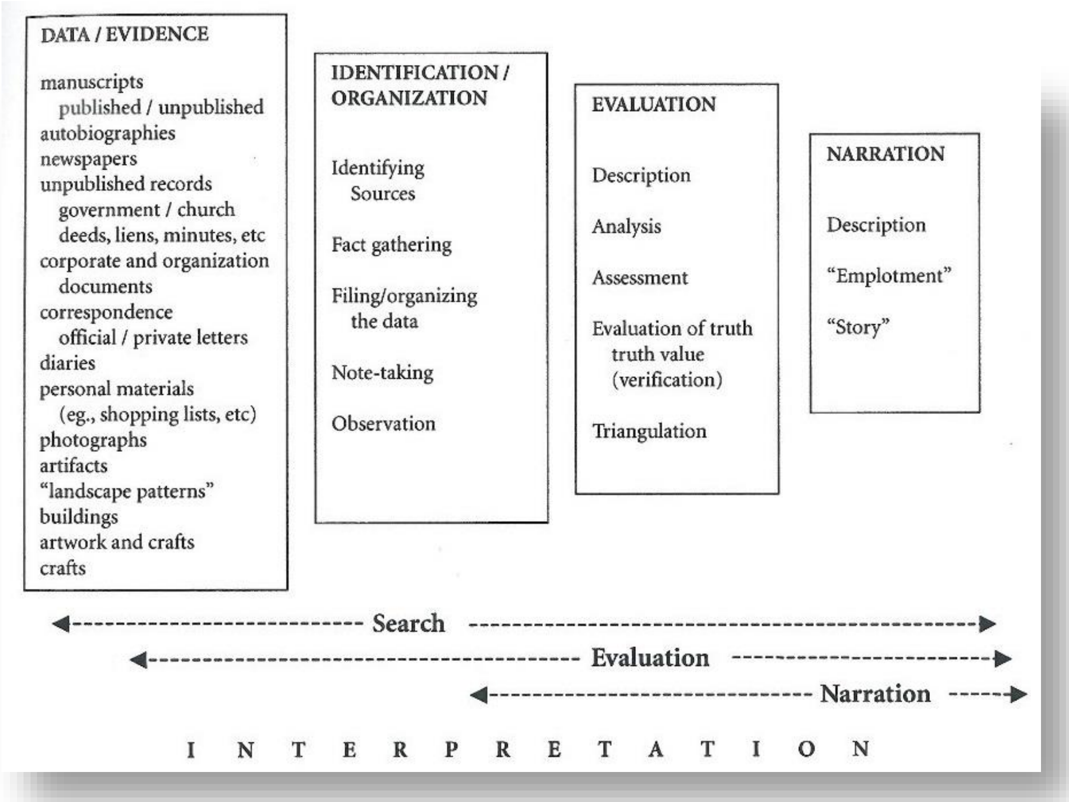

Figure 2.2: : The steps of research process
Source: (Groat and Wang 2002, p. 137)

With regarad to Archaeology[78], that has many dimensions, it has also a set of ideas and a body of knowledge that carry both a materialistic meaning and an image that encourages researchers to investigate particular discrete aspects of the past. Shanks (1992, pp. 1-15) indicates that historic sites and monuments both reflect and construct the identity of a culture, therefore an archaeologist’s main role is to survey, site visit, excavate and study recovered materials and artifacts and conserve those elements that have been ruined or are perishable; in addition of raising such questions as what it is that makes these sites attractive to so many people.

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[78] *“[archaeologist]…practise the mechanics of fieldwork and [sic] finds analysis. They engage in scientific method, acquire positive knowledge of the past, propagate ideological views in support of contemporary capitalism; they engage in cultural work to achieve a liberation of consciousness, further their academic careers, write texts within discourse archaeology”* (Shanks 1992, p. 46).

Shanks (1992, p. 22) also suggests this sort of ‘*tree-thinking’*[79] as a metaphor for archaeology (figure 2.3).

> “Trees are hierarchal. In a tree system order is fixed (the structure of trunk, branches, twigs) and materials or information flow along pre-established lines. Individual points can be plotted in a tree system according to place in the flows... tree-thinking…is unified and hierarchical, concerned with the meanings and the identities of things…conceives that there are roots or bases to what we know, aims to reproduce its objects in thought. The symbolism of trees implies that such reasoning is solid, upstanding, and stable” (Shanks 1992 pp. 22-24).

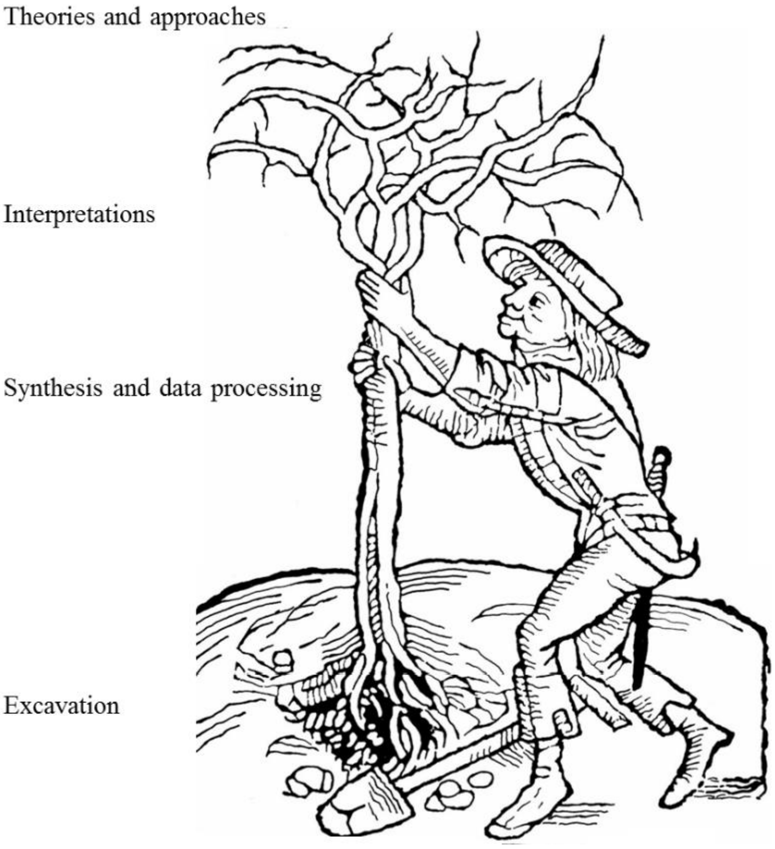

Figure 2.3: An Archaeological tree
Source: (Shanks 1992, p. 23)

2.2 Triangulation in Qualitative Research

Triangulation is used to emphasise the importance of the qualitative research. It includes multiple strategies in order to overcome the problems that have faced previous research approaches - namely reliance on a single theory, a single approach, and specific information (Henn, Weinstein, and Foard 2006, p. 20; Burgess 1984, p. 144). It can be

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[79] In this research ‘tree thinking’ means digging deep to find the origins and particularity of things within which a wide range of reading needs to done – the ‘tree roots’ – and through some pre-designed method– the tree trunk – the research will pursue knowledge until it achieves its aims and objectives and from that the findings would sprout – the branches and leaves – to pave the way for future research.

used in the data collection and the analytical stages. Very simply, as Flick (2014, pp. 183-186) states, it relies on multiple different resources simultaneously for investigating specific information and refers to a combination of different methods, study groups, local and temporal settings and different theoretical perspectives in order to deal with a phenomenon. Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2006, p. 20) argue that the results and conclusions of research that has used a triangulation approach is more credible than other studies that solely depend on a single source of evidence, as it derives from converging evidence that supports a study’s aims. Flick (2014, p. 15) states that a researcher may decide not to study a rare phenomena or a complex case because of a lack of evidence to support an argument, in which case, a triangulation approach might counteract the difficulty.

In this study the diachronic and synchronic analytical reading, have been the main research instruments after extracting the variables and codes that specify the changes. Triangulation of sources has also been used to examine the persistency and consistency of various data, in order to compare the different viewpoints of people on specific issues, and to perform the multiple analyses required to establish the review findings, which was to shed light on some murky spots.

2.3 Data Collection

The data collection[80] includes primary and secondary sources; hence, when using methodological triangulation, different methods and sources may be used to collect the primary data and establish a comparison with data already written in different sources but which may contain discrepancies. These methods include formal and informal group discussions, structured and semi-structured interviews[81], observation, documentary data[82], and my traveling to other countries[83] in order to collect maps, photographs, drawings and other information. Different methods supported the study by allowing the collection of data that was unobtainable from alternative sources or by other methods. In terms of the observation Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 56) state that it is a selective

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[80] All the data were documented by recoding then transcribing them and turning them into a text that can be analysed.

[81] Semi-structured interviews are used to allow the interviewees to talk freely about the phenomena with minimal guidance.

[82] See ‘*An introduction to Qualitative Research*’ by Uwe Flick (4014, p. 353) for document definitions.

[83] I traveled to Iraq, Greece, Turkey, and Germany to search for sources.

method in which a researcher constantly has to make choices about what should be recorded and what left out, without necessarily realizing precisely why. Both semi-structured and unstructured interviews[84] were chosen because they required minimal guidance and allowed considerable latitude for discussion in that most of the questions being open ended and very few close ended. The interviewees[85] who were historians, archaeologists, architects, bazar workers and store owners, were chosen according to their educational background or knowledge of the theme requiring exploration. The snowball technique[86] was used to get to know some of the interviewees. Some questions were the same for all respondents, while others resulted from answers or requests for clarification from the open-ended questions. All the interviews were transcribed, however not all of the interviews were audio - recorded as some of the participants were uncomfortable with them due to their positions. Hence, notes were either taken during interviews or they were recorded. Group discussions helped to bring to the surface agreements or difference of opinion, such as the existence of the Ishtar temple in Erbil's citadel. Observation as an additional means of gathering data was carried out on the historic sites, which included the urban core and the citadel - in order to focus on the current relationship of the citadel gate and the urban core in Erbil, the Tells in Azza, the Assyrian tomb[87] and canal[88].

The triangulation method of combining interviews with observation, or structured with semi-structured interviews was used with interviewees during site visits in order to clarify certain information and to reflect on specific phenomena.

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[84] I used a directive approach in the interviews and encouraged free association, since I am a good listener. I attempted to cover a wide range of topics related to the Assyrian, Adabiane, Attabeg and Ottoman periods. Many of my questions stimulated my interviewees to express their opinion and reflect on some, occasionally, contested issues.

[85] One of my most significant interview was with Mr Abdul Raqib Youssef – the consultant/expert in the history and archaeology of the cities of Kurdistan, which took place in the library of his house in Sulaimaniya city. The interview was semi-structured, started at 4 pm and ended at 10:30 pm. This interview enriched the study with sources, information and some unpublished archaeological discoveries that relate to the Attabeg period.

[86] In addition, following an interview with Mr Kannan Mufti (the former Director General of the Erbil Directorate of Antiquities) I was able to meet Mr David Michelmore (Director at the Consultancy for Conservation and Development, High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation - HCECR) who connected me with the archaeologist, Dr Narmin Amin. From Dr Narmin I was able to meet and interview Professors in History, Muhsin Hussyein and Imad Rauf, in addition to Dr Parwen Al-Badri. During our interview, Professor Hussyein mentioned Mr Abdul Raqib Youssef (mentioned above) and I was able to visit him in his city with Dr Narmin, who very kindly arranged the meeting.

[87] In 2015, I made the Assyrian tomb visit together with the archaeologist Khalil Barzinji. From inside the tomb I recorded the dimensions of the bricks – which could be compared with those traces in the Assyrian wall of Erbil and the kahariz. The tomb was situated 3 metres underground and has no electricity.

[88] My site visit to the Sennacherib canal in Bastora valley outside Erbil was made with Dr Narmin Amin.

The urban core visits included, (i) walking through the alleyways and the new square, (ii) taking photographs, (iii) observing the movement of people, (iv) mapping, (v) gathering background knowledge about conservation, (vi) focusing on the relationship between the citadel south gate with the public square of the urban core, and (vii) observing the relationship between the commercial and religious sectors. I also focused on the main elements of the urban and bazar areas, which included the nodes, paths, and edges, together with various other parts of the urban core, the criteria for which I had extracted from previous studies.

Regarding secondary data, I extracted the variables that supported the study from the literature review that revealed the work of different scholars who had formulated such illustarions as changes and persistencies, and the methods and techniques for analysing urban structures. The secondary data also included historical, archaeological, architectural and urban design sources.

2.4 Preparing Existing Material for Analysis

The documentary evidence, such as maps, sketches and original pictures, which included engravings, and land and aerial photographs, proved to be important since they represent the physical and tangible reality of the subject area and they also help to understand the numerous changes over the centuries. These were collected from different institutions, museums and people. For instance, the Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archive in Athens was very valuable for its documentation, maps and photographs of the modern period as well as for its information on Erbil and other ancient Iraqi cities. David Michelmore, Director of the Consultancy for Conservation and Development for the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation (HCECR) contributed a significant number of sources, photographs and information that played a major part in this research.

For the purpose of analysis, maps have been redrawn by the AutoCAD program, supported by the ArcGIS program because some maps were simply pictures or hand-drawings and some also contained incorrect information or dimensions, while other modern AutoCAD maps also showed inaccurate dimensions. The earliest detailed map was published in the Geographical Handbook Series (G.H.S.) of Iraq and the Persian Gulf in 1944 (figure 2.1) prior to that, though, very little visual material has survived;

this includes drawings, engravings, and travelers' accounts that described the city and some of its constructions.

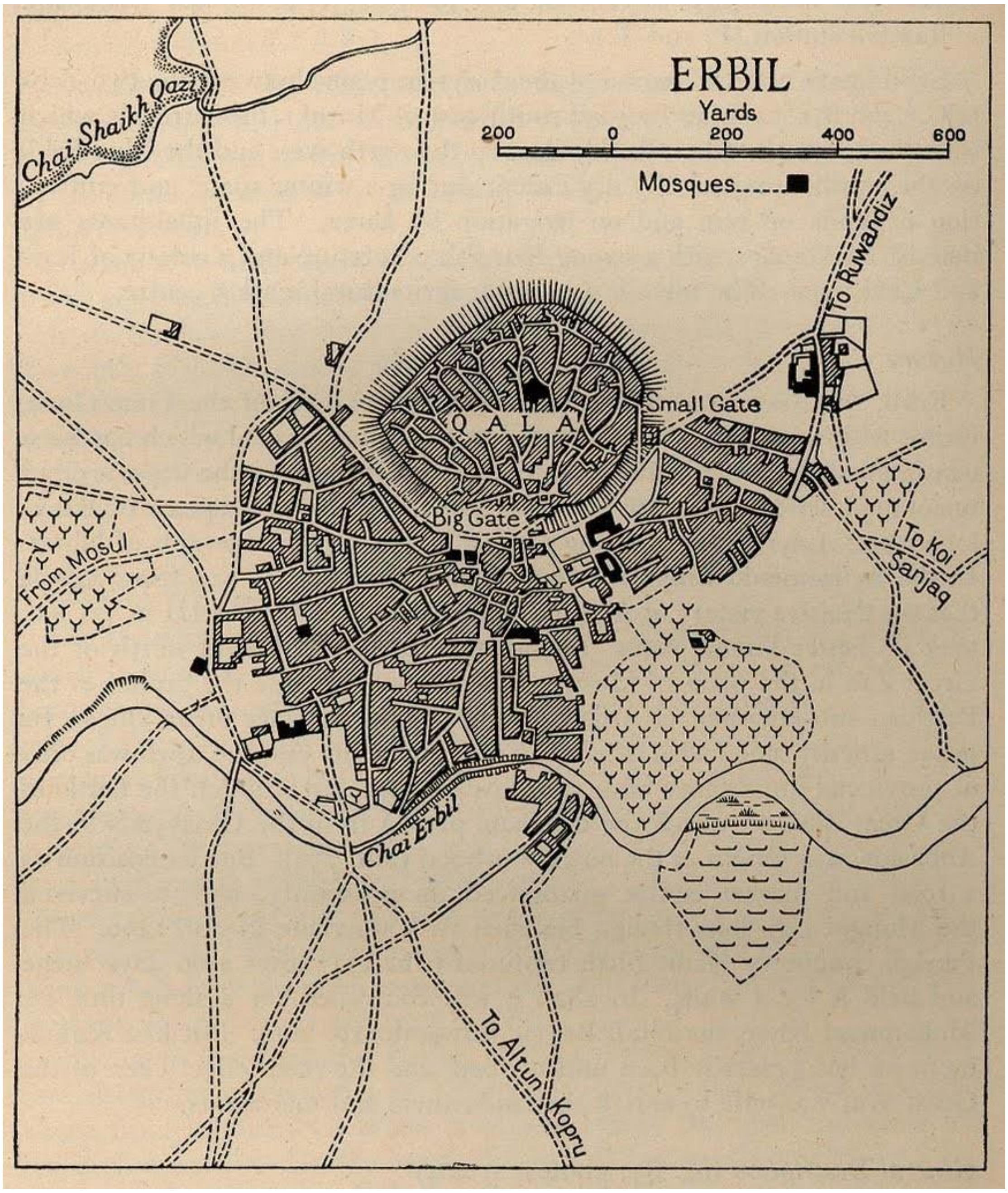

Figure 2.4: A sketch map of Erbil, circa 1918/1920
Source: (Great Britain. Naval intelligence Division 1944, p. 530)

With regard to the map, many studies have wrongly considered that map, which was published by the British Naval Intelligence Division of the admiralty in 1944 to accurately represent Erbil city as it was in 1944; however, no date was written on it. The confusion was probably due to the map being published at a later date than it was drawn. This study, for several reasons, has established a date for it as circa 1918: (i) The urban fabric of the map does not show the north (Ahmedi) gate, which was supposedly built circa 1925, (ii) in my interview with Mr Adnan Mohammed Said, the Director of the Technical Division of the General Directorate of Land Registration in the Ministry of Justice, referred to an old map drawn by an Indian attached to the British military, however he said, "while we know it exists we do not know where it is" (Said 2013). (iii) this map, was produced by the British for the purpose of naval, military and political problems -together with others showing other parts of Iraq and it should be the only map relating to Erbil. (iv) the work on these date to when a Geographical Section was established in the Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty with the intention of producing geographical handbooks of different parts of the world, one of which was Iraq.

The 1944 report by (the Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1944, p. iii) states that, "Many distinguished collaborators assisted in their production, and by the end of 1918 upwards of fifty volumes had been produced in Handbook and Manual form, as well as numerous short-terms geographical reports"; (iv) further confirmatory evidence regarding the circa 1918 date are, firstly, aerial photographs and land-based photographs: in 1918 such as RA.F photo in ca.1918, published in (Hay 1921, p. 116) and those that were taken by Marian O'Connor and are available at the Royal Geographical Society, the 1930s from the Library of Congress G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection 1932, RAF Photos taken for Aurel Stein in1938 available at British Academy, and British Library photographs of Sir Aurel Stein 1938/9), and '50s in Pitt-Rivers Museum for John Bradford Photograph Collection 1951 and from Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives in Athens, and (v), a 1932 proposal for Erbil's extension, which I found in collaboration with the architect, Mohamad Al-Hassani, in the Iraqi National Archive in Baghdad. The map of Erbil's urban core was redrawn from a variety of sources - i.e. the circa 1918 sketch map, 2007 satellite imagery - before the addition of the new square – and old hand-drawn survey maps, which were scanned and adjusted for compatibility with other data (figures 2.5, 2.6. 2.7 and 2.8). All these improvements allowed this study to create a more accurate map and more up-to-date information.

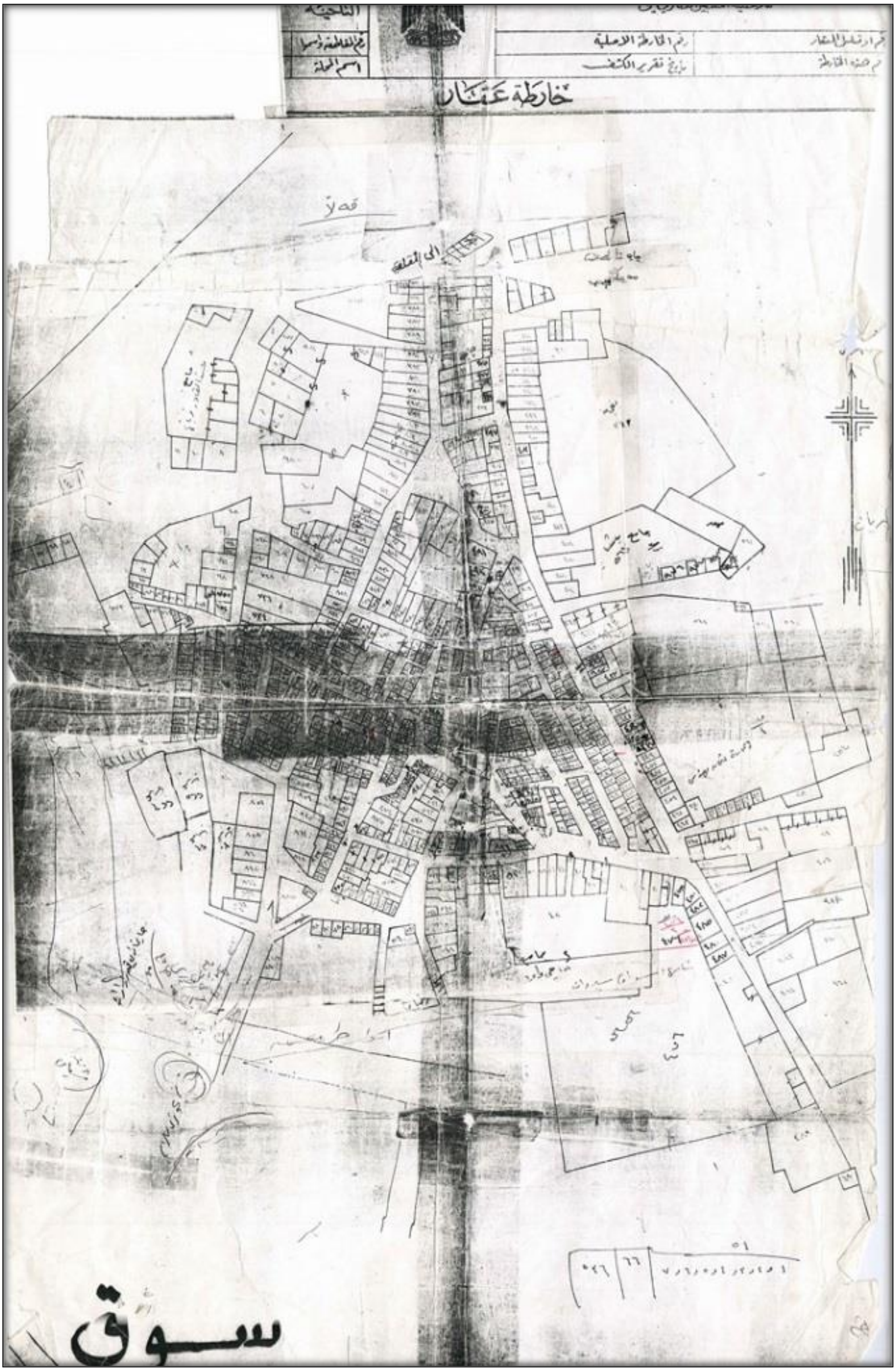

Figure 2.5: The land division of the bazar area, circa 1920s or 1930s
Source: General Directorate of Land Registration - Ministry of Justice

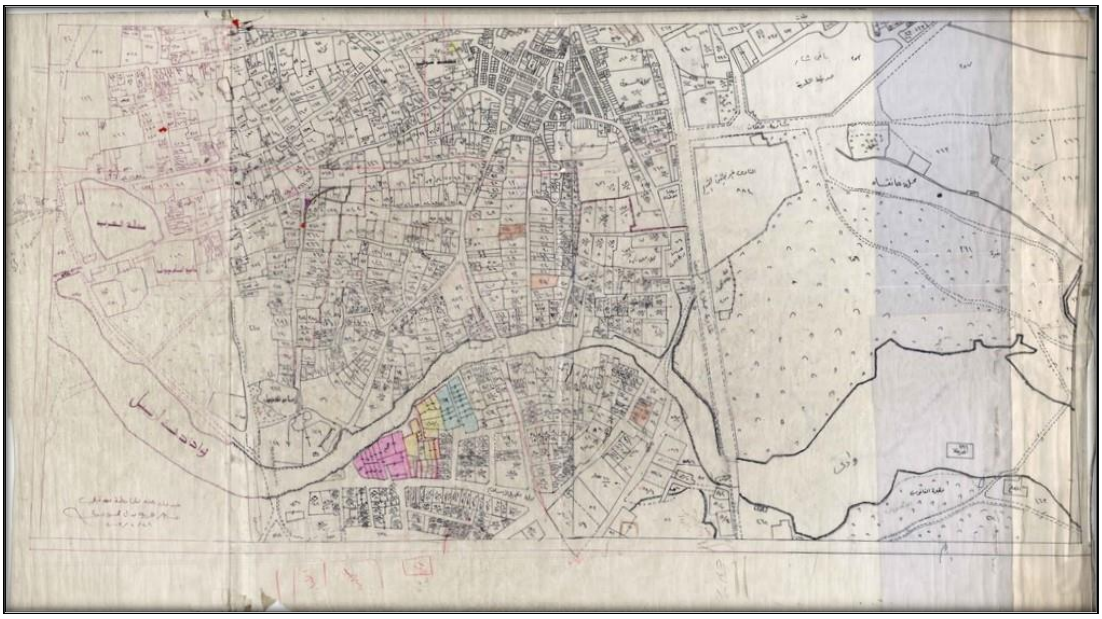

Figure 2.6: Hand-drawn map of the bazar area, circa 1930
Source: General Directorate of Land Registration – Ministry of Justice

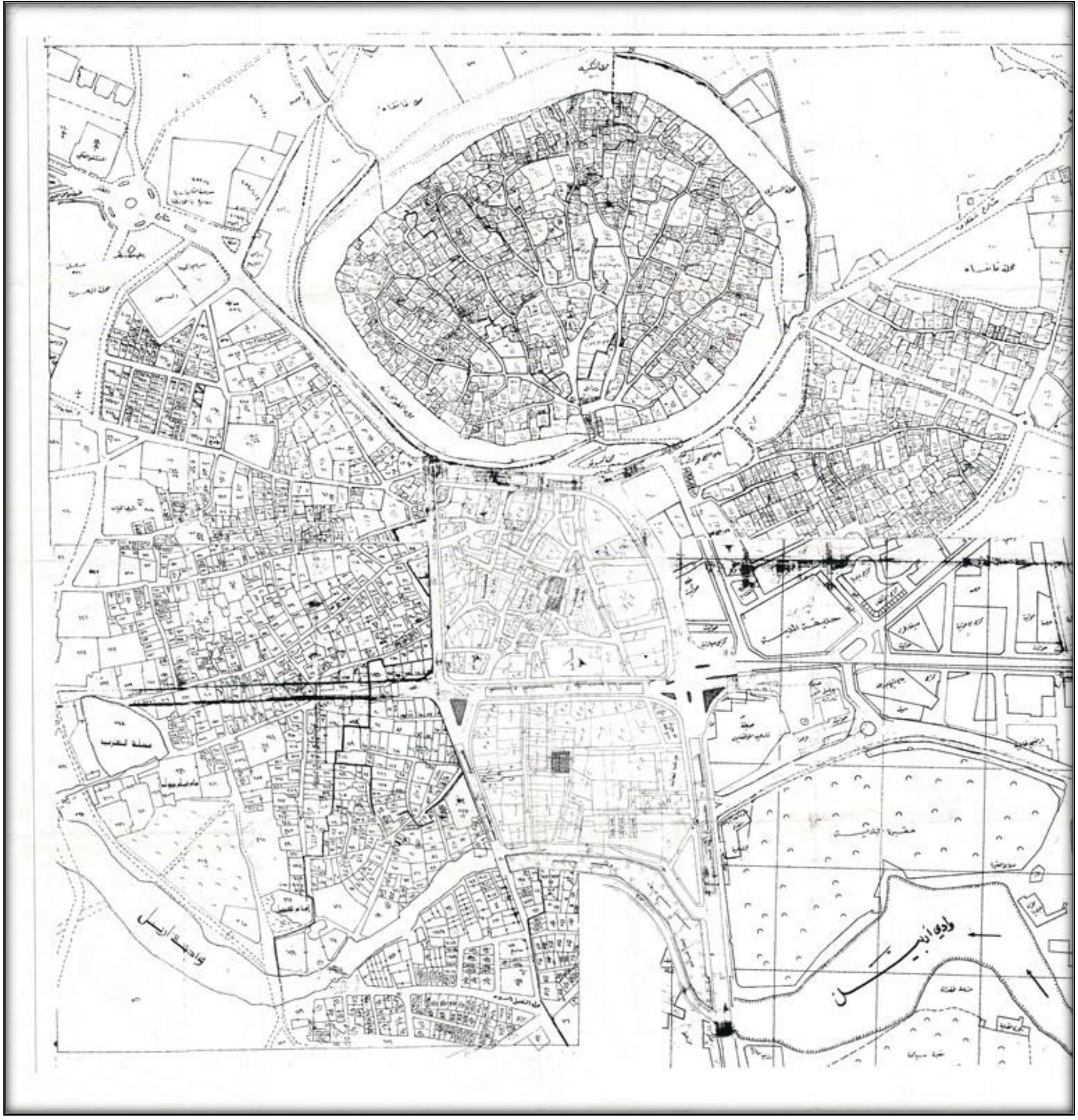

Figure 2.7: Hand-drawn map of Erbil circa 1950s, redrawn in 1990s
Source: General Directorate of Land Registration - Ministry of Justice

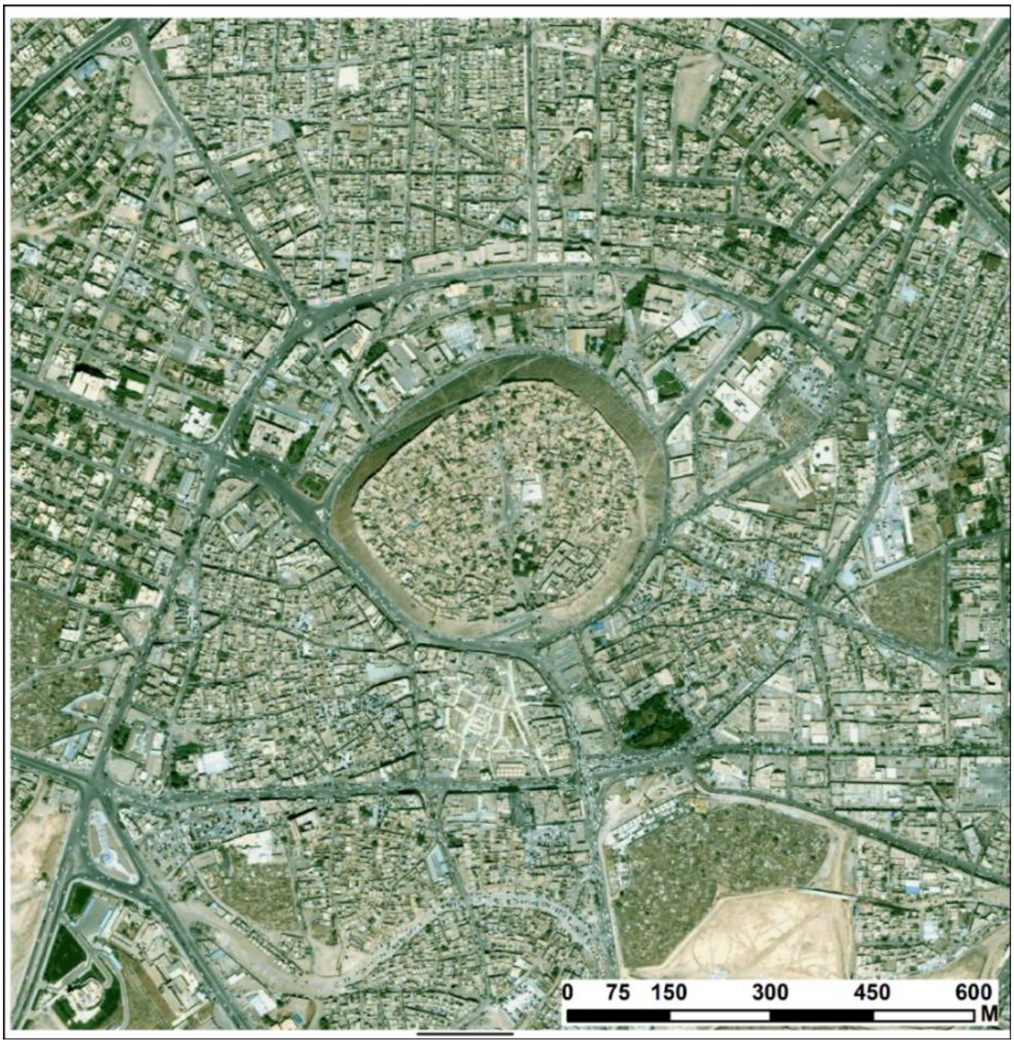

Figure 2.8: Google Earth - the old city of Erbil, 2007
Source: ArcGIS

Other materials, such as archaeological evidence, textual descriptions by European travelers and historians, an engraving, archived photographs documenting specific evolutionary phases, documentation of buildings still standing, site visits, interviews with archaeologists and historians and informal discussions with local people were all used to create the analysis. Combining multiple sources of data was to aid the in-depth investigation of the urban core, which no single source could provide.

2.5 Methods of Analysis and Interpretation of Material

As stated previously, I chose for this study a qualitative methodology[89] with a triangulation approach in order to analyse[90] the urban core of Erbil. Therefore, I have

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[89] This is an umbrella name that covers different aims and methods.
[90] Phenomenologists, social interactionists and all type of interpretivists in qualitative research argue that researchers have their own understanding, their own convictions and their own conceptual orientations. For instance, phenomenologist avoid use coding as they assume that both through continued reading of

developed those particular methods and analytical tools that are best suited for, (i) verifying the persistent elements, (ii) establishing both the changes in urban elements and in their relationships with each other, and (iii) for identifying the specific agents of these changes. Based on previous studies, three main variables were identified (see Chapter 1):

1. The independent variable is the ‘agent of change’, which includes the following *tangible* elements: (i) economic forces, such as land use, functions and investments, (ii) socio-cultural forces, such as openness to new ideas and lifestyles, and finally, (iii) privacy, such as rule by power, rule by government, and the lack of comprehensive or intensive planning. *Intangible* elements that create change are: rituals, events and activities. The consequence of these agents on other variables – i.e. the ‘dependent’ variable and the ‘semi-dependent’ variable – either cause minor changes, represented by adaptation, or major radical changes that impact directly on properties in the urban core.

2. The dependent variable concerns such *tangible* aspects as paths, nodes and edges, which are influenced by the agents of change.

3. The ‘semi-dependant’ variable is the structure of the urban core and its relationship to other urban elements as it is affected by the other variables.
The methods of analysis for this stage were: visual analysis, historical analysis, conservation analysis, comparison and hermeneutic approaches, mapping, and the figure and ground technique as introduced by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in their 1984 book, *Collage City* - were all used to analyse urban elements and their interrelationships.

For the analysis of the pattern of movement relating to both permanent and temporary activities in Erbil, the theory expounded by Hillier et al. (1993, p. 29) was employed, which required focusing on the flow of pedestrian and vehicular movements, since they believe that the configuration of urban structures has a more important effect on the

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the source material and through their observations they can capture the essence and reach a practical understanding of a specific situation (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 8).

pattern of such movements than attractors[91], such as land usage or the activities occurring in buildings. Therefore, the role played by the configuration of the urban space affects both the actors and patterns of movement (figure 2.6). They state that:

> Attractors and movement may influence each other, but the other two relations are asymmetric. Configuration may influence the location of attractors, but the location of attractors cannot influence configuration. Likewise, configuration may influence movement but movement cannot influence configuration. If strong correlations are found between movement and both configuration and attractors, the only logically possible lines of influence are from configuration to both movement and attractors, with the latter two influencing each other (Hillier et al. 1993, p.31).

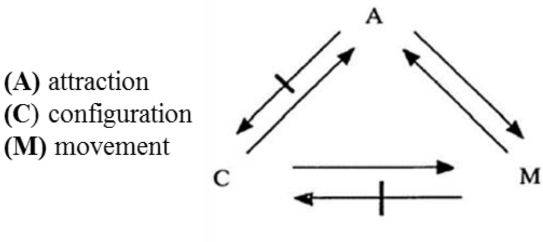

Figure 2.9: The impact of the pattern of movements on urban space configuration
Source: (Hillier et al. 1993, p. 31)

Figure 2.7: shows the impact of spatial configuration on activities and how the spatial configuration affects the pattern of movements in an urban area.

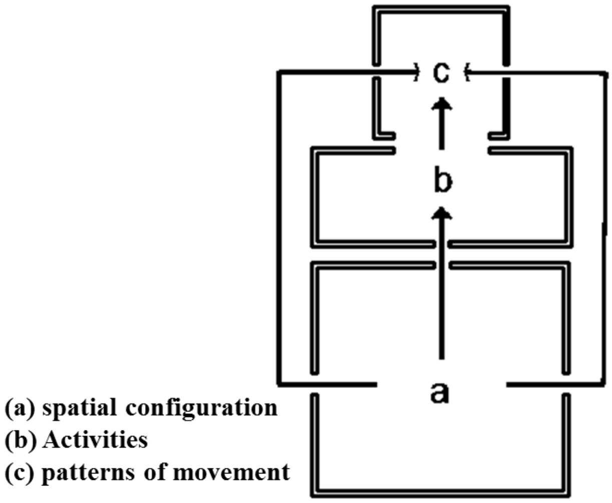

Figure 2.10: The spatial configuration and the patterns of movement

The Urban Core Analysis: The tangible components selected for the analysis of the urban core have the following specific characteristics:

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[91] The attraction theory, which states that land use or the attractor impacts on the configuration and pattern of movement (Hillier et al. 1993, p.29).

1. Edges: these are either Hard Edge, as in a natural barrier or construction, or Soft Edge, as in a street or open space.

2. Paths: these are characterised by their kinds (regular or irregular), hierarchy, directionality, visual axis, and widths. Paths are also divided into primary routes (P1), historic paths of the bazar area (P2), secondary paths (P3).

3. Nodes: these are focal points which absorb different activities and emerge either from the junction of paths, the meeting of places that constitute urban public space, or they can be a specific building or monument. Nodes act as main structures that are used for specific events. In the analysis for this study, these will be divided into, open public spaces (N1), the nodes that issued paths and thus become fundamental urban structures (N2) and the intersections of secondary paths (N3); the criteria for these nodes are, functions, dominance and distributor or non-distributor– i.e. the node is a distributor when more than one path connects it to other nodes, and a non-distributor when it is only connected by a road (Hillier,1984, P.93 -94), figure 2.11.

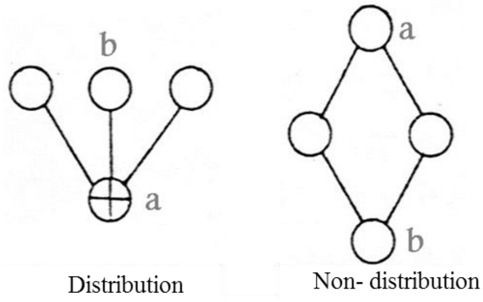


Figure 2.11: The distributor and non-distributor space
Source: (Hillier 2003, p. 94)

Identifying the persistent elements in the urban core involves the following, (i) focusing on artefacts, buildings, monuments, function or event that exist or take place there, (ii) tracing the urban elements and the intangible aspects through four stages (the Assyrian, Attabeg, the Early Modern and the Modern) and removing the non-common elements and maintaining the intrinsic properties.

Stage of the Analysis

The first, historical stage, which is divided into four periods, the Assyrian, the Prosperous (Attabeg and Hathebani), the Early Modern and the Modern (Figure 2.9) traces the development of Erbil’s historic urban elements - i.e. the paths, nodes and edges of the city by identifying the outline of the urban core, which is, together with the citadel, one of the city's two main nodes. Traces of the original urban core are also found in this stage. The data used for analysing the urban core include written sources, documentation, photographs - much of which found in different countries - archaeological and historical studies, interviews, group discussions, site visits, individual testimonies, satellite imagery, aerial photographs and archaeological remains. The methods of analyses for this stage were: (i) visual analysis, (ii) historical analysis, (iii) textual analysis, (iv) comparison, (v) conservation analysis, and (vi) hermeneutic analysis. Also, I used an interpretive approach in order to understand the historic text and to develop a hypothesis that was supported by examples from other cities in the region.

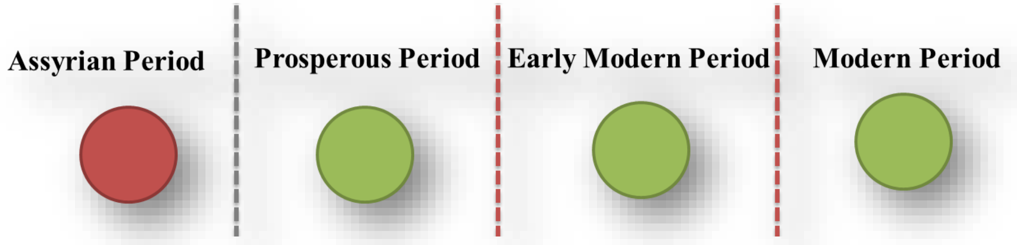


Figure 2.12: The first stage of the analysis

The second stage is divided into three periods – the Attabeg, the Early Modern and the Modern. The main focus was on (i) the urban core, (ii) the changes in its tangible and intangible aspects, (iii) the agents of change, (iv) the relationships of the urban elements; (v) in addition to tracing the persistent elements are analysed. Maps, photographs, and existing architecture were used as a physical evidence (figure 2.10). The methods of analyses include, (i) visual, (ii) historical, (iii) textual, (iv) critical (v) discourse, (vi) comparative, and (vii) hermeneutic, alongside Hillier et al's (1993) theory (see previous section).

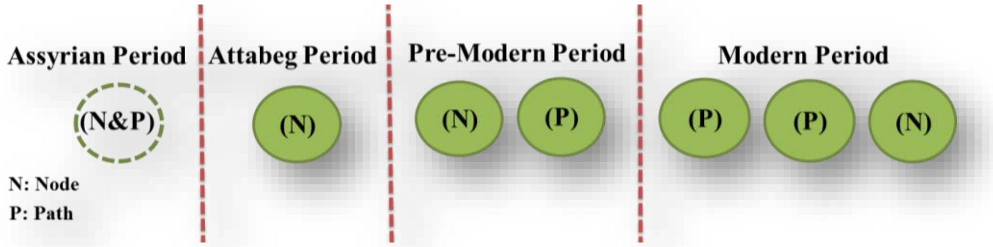
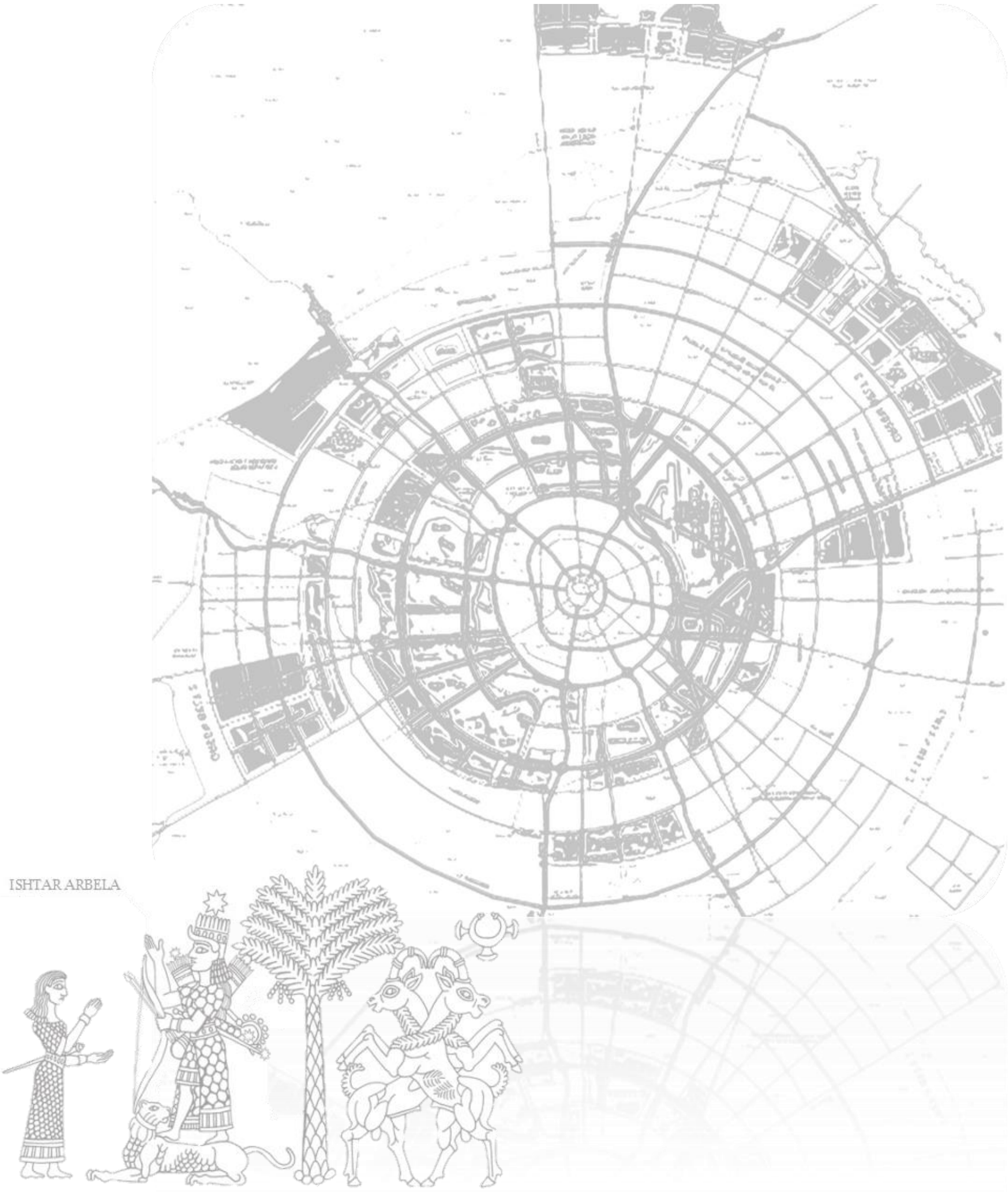


Figure 2.13: The Second stage of the analysis

In both stages multi-methods were used in the analyses; an interpretive approach was adopted and the results were then triangulated to form a complete image for each stage.



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CHAPTER THREE:

ERBIL, THE ANCIENT CITY

Chapter 3: ERBIL, THE ANCIENT CITY

Introduction

The particularity of a city is embodied in its inhabitants, along with its architecture and urban environment. In order to achieve the aim of this study, which focuses on the change and persistence of Erbil's urban core and its roots, it is important to understand the narrative history, urban elements, cultural aspects, the location of the city, and the vision of the city site plan. This chapter aims to identify the ancient roots of Erbil and its historical context with the urban environments and the way of life. This will help to perceive the city as a whole, which will consequently illuminate the understanding of the parts, specifically the city urban core and the changes that took place in it. That will pave the way to other chapters that focuses on analysing the city urban core.

3.1 A Glance at Erbil

> *"Every region and every nation knows or recognizes its heritage. Every community seeks to keep its history alive to maintain or discover their roots: the guarantor of community's future" Stone and Bajjaly (2008)*

3.1.1 Name

To understand the history of this city, it is important to consider its name and identify its meaning. Erbil is considered to be the oldest continuously inhabited city to carry a consistent name throughout history. The name Erbil (figure 3.1) appears in different literature in various written forms, such as *Ur-bi-lum, Ur-bi-el, Arba-il, Arbira, Arbil, Erbil and Hawler*. It first appears in Sumerian Cuneiform Ur III as *Ur-bi-lum* and in the Ebla text as *Irbilum,* in Babylonian sources as Urbēl/Urbiel and in the Middle[92] and Neo-Assyrian era it was recorded as *Arbail*[93] or *Arab-ilu*[94] (MacGinnis 2014, pp. 19-24; Doxiadis 1958, p. 5). From 15 to 116 CE Erbil was the capital of Adiabene or Arbeletis, an ancient independent kingdom located between the Greater and Lesser Zab Rivers. The Greeks referred to the city as *Arbila*, while Arab references alluded to as *Irbil* and *Arbil*. In Persian writings, it is introduced as *Arbaira*, and in the Turkish language during

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[92] This period also saw the rise of the Mitannian Empire.

[93] Arbail: *Arba* in Akkadian means four, *il* means God (four Gods). It is interesting that the pronunciation of four in Arabic is similar to *arba*, and God (*il* in Akkadian) is *ilah*.

[94] It was a major religious shrine to the goddess Ishtar (Doxiadis 1958, p. 5).

the Ottoman period, it was also called *Irbil* (Houtsma 1987, p. 521; Ismail 1986, p. 62, Doxiadis 1958, p. 5).

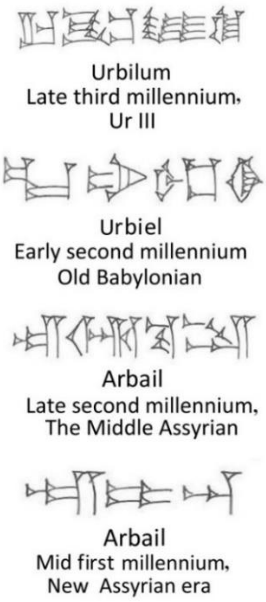
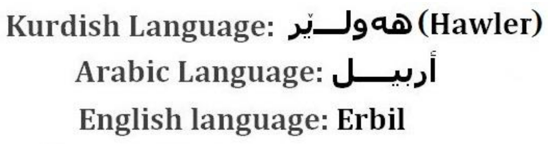


Figure 3.1: The persistence of the name 'Erbil' in the main ancient civilisations
Source: Modified from (MacGinnis 2014, p. 19)

In the Kurdish language the name of Erbil is *Hawler* as pronounced by the Kurds; Hay[95] (1920, p. 20) wrote it as *Haulair*[96]. The name Hawler may have originated from the word Erbil too, as, in the Kurdish language the name Erbil changed verbally from Arbila to Arbira, Arbil, Aurblel, Arwiel, Awalera, Hawlera and, currently, Hawler; the letters 'r', 'ī', and 'l' in Kurdish remaining unchanged as the pronunciation of the Kurdish language as spoken in Erbil used to omit some letters (Hussyein 2015; Ismail 1986, p. 37; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 6). Other scholars suggest that the name originated *Hawlera* (here is), which, in the Kurdish language is an expression used by travellers arriving in the city after a long journey, or from *Khawler*[97] meaning the Temple of the Sun, the Ishtar temple (Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 17), weak source. Currently, the official name is 'Erbil' in English and Arabic, and 'Hawler' in Kurdish (figure 3.2).



Kurdish Language: هەولـــێر (Hawler)
Arabic Language: أربيـــل
English language: **Erbil**

Figure 3.2: The name of Erbil in Kurdish, Arabic and English languages

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[95] Hay's book is 'Two Years in Kurdistan: Experiences of a Political Officer, 1918-1920'
[96] 'Hay was referring to the Erbil/Arbil plain.'
[97] Khawler: Khauler/Xewler also is a holy day in the Yezidi religion

3.1.2 Location

> *"The history of the City is always inseparable from its geography; without both we cannot understand the architecture that is the physical sign of this 'human thing'"*
>
> *Rossi (1982)*

Iraq[98], Mesopotamia[99], the eastern part of 'the Fertile Crescent'[100], is the 'cradle of civilisation'[101] and one of the birthplaces of the academic study of ancient settlements, patterns and landscapes. De Mieroop (2014, p. 23) states that Mesopotamia is the region in the old world where urban civilisation and development spontaneously arose. Hout (2008, p. 19) asserts, in her article '*The Importance of Iraq's Cultural Heritage',* that this part of the world "…is characterised by distinctive features which make the land crossed by the Tigris and the Euphrates different from adjacent regions". Numerous significant rich civilisations prospered in ancient Iraq including Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Abbasid, whose influence extended into adjacent countries. Erbil has been part of these significant civilisations; excavations show that it has a very long history (De Mieroop 2014, p. 23; Ur et al. 2013, p. 89).

Following World War I (1918) and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the international boundaries of Southwest Asia and Africa were drawn up by the British and French imperial powers. The Kurdish territories, in what is now called the Kurdistan Region, were distributed between regions of five countries, namely, north eastern Syria, the east and south-east of Turkey, northern Iraq, the north west of Iran, and part of the former Soviet Union (Karezi 2011, p. 20; O'Ballance 1973, p. 4; Hay 1921 p. 36). As a consequence of these decisions Erbil became part of Iraq (figure 3.3).

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[98] This area was known by Arabs and others as *Iraq* for more than 1400 years. In 1919 during the Paris Peace Conference, following World War I, Sir Arnold Talbot Wilson, who had played a significant role as the colonial administrator of Iraq, was among those who recommended adopting the old authentic name of Iraq as an official name for the country. At that time Iraq had a nickname, 'the despot of Mess-Pot', a reference to the different ethnicities and religions in the region. Part of the border of Iraq was drawn up by the British archaeologist and political officer Gertrude Bell.

[99] Mesopotamia, a Greek name, was used by Westerners. It is the name of an area rather than a country. "In Greek, Mesopotamia means 'land between the rivers', and the term came to be applied to the land between the two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which flow from eastern Turkey through present-day Iraq, to the Gulf; the Euphrates also flows through a large part of northern Syria" (Collon 2011).

[100] 'The Fertile Crescent' is "the great arc of grassland and arable land that encloses the Syrian desert" (Woolley 1961, p. 17)

[101] Ancient Iraq is called the 'cradle of civilisation because agriculture, animal herding and domestication developed there earlier than anywhere else, almost 8,000 years ago (Collon 2011).

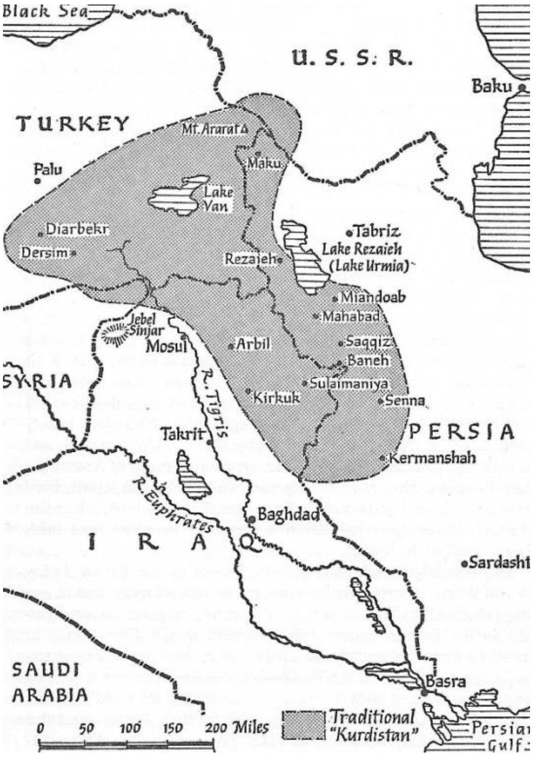

Figure 3.3: Kurdish Territory
Source: (O'Ballance 1973, p. 5)

Currently, Erbil is one of the major cities of Iraq, and the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan; its boundaries being the two Zab Rivers, the Iraq-Iran border and the river Tigris (figure 3.4).

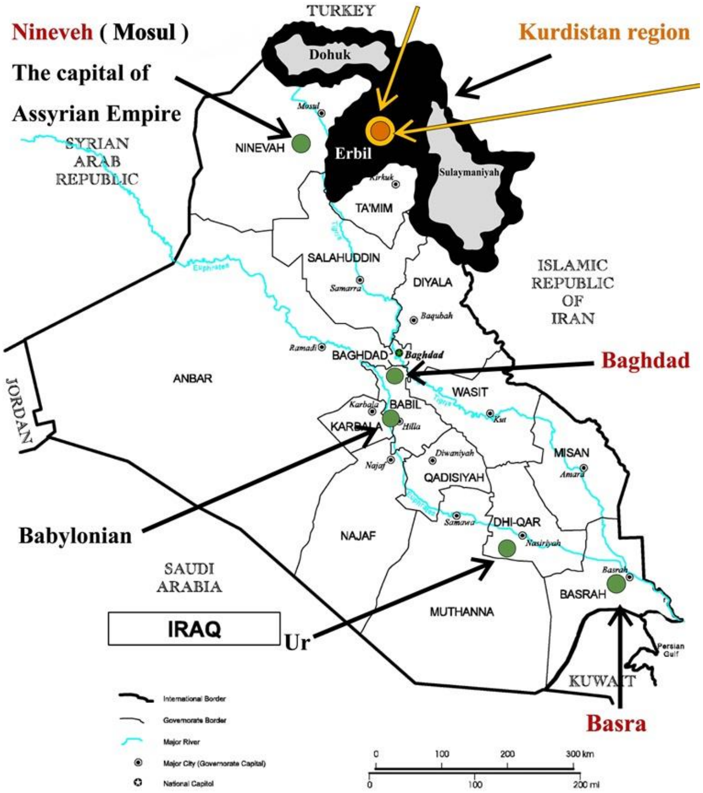

Figure 3.4: Erbil and other main cities in the map of Iraq
Source: Adapted from (Global Security.org, 2011)

Erbil is positioned halfway between Kirkuk and Mosul[102], the two biggest cities in the north of Iraq (figure 3.5). In the ancient period, Erbil[103] lay on the main route between Babylon and Nineveh (Al-Mudaris, 2003, p. 38; Houtsma 1987, p. 521; Doxiadis 1958, p. 2). The position of Erbil impacted on the city's urban growth and economic development, and helped the city to survive and retain its name throughout history (Houtsma 1987, p. 521).

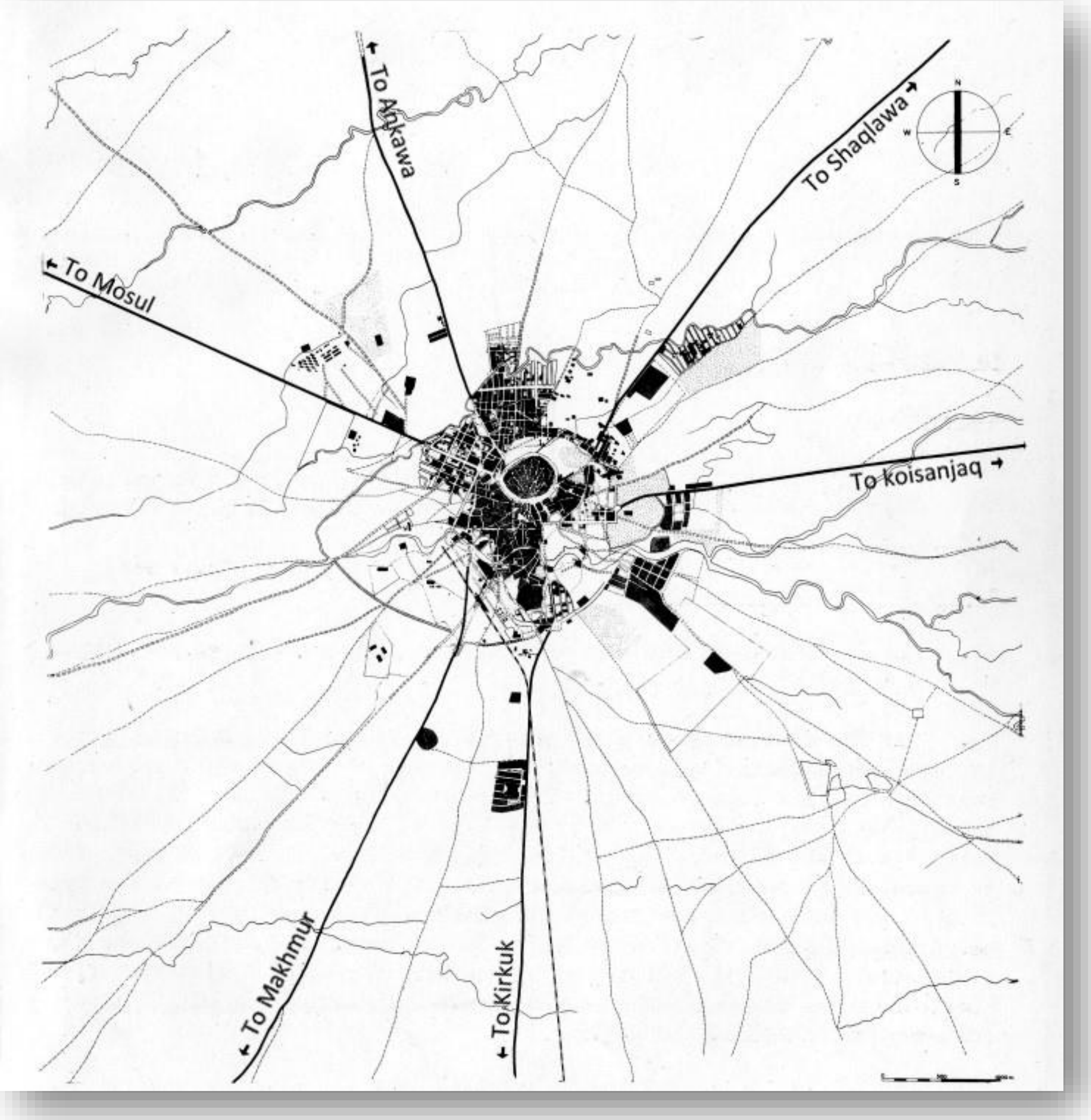

Figure 3.5: The main communication routes of Erbil
Source: (Doxiades 1959, p. 9)

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[102] Mosul city is the capital of the Nineveh governorate; before the current situation in Kurdistan and Iraq the Erbil route was the safest way to travel between Kirkuk, Mosul and Baghdad; this contributed to Erbil's importance and allowed the city to play a vital role in Iraq's trade (Doxiadis 1958, p. 2).

[103] Erbil at that time worked served as a meeting place and junction point for caravan routes (Al-Mudaris, 2003).

3.1.3 Topography

Erbil lies on a plain and has had two valleys: one to the north and the other one, called Besté, to the south[104] (Doxiadis 1959, p. 10). Unfortunately, both valleys have been infilled with clay, so that houses and other projects could be built. This happened in the modern period due to the urban growth and the lack of comprehensive planning[105]. Erbil's plain is sited between two rivers[106], the Greater and the Lesser Zab. To its west are fertile alluvial plains, while the area to its north is mountainous and extends to the borders of Iraq (Bornberg, Tayfor, and Jaimes, 2006, p. 1). Along its north-eastern side the plain of Erbil is bounded by the mountains of Bastura[107] and the Dardawan Dagh (Hay 1921, p. 21). Figure 3.6 shows the city's location between the two Zab Rivers.

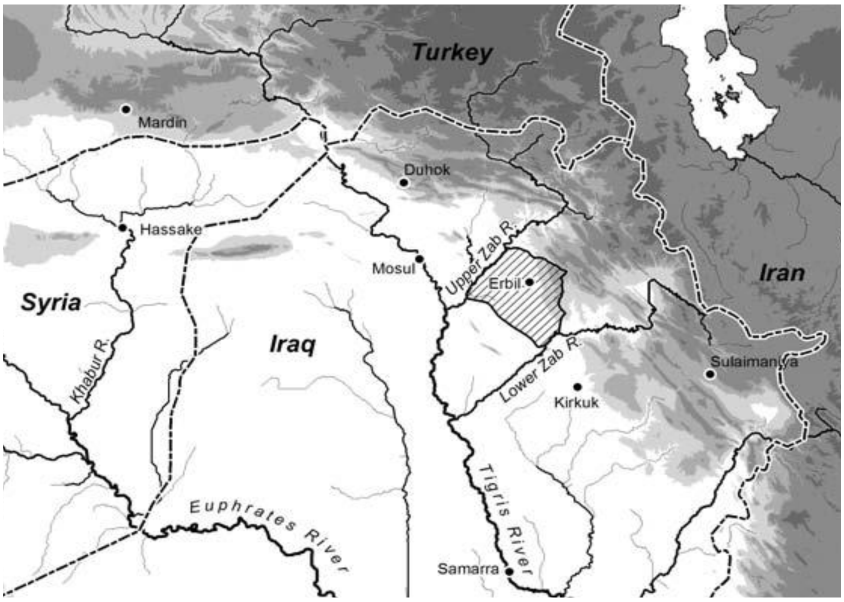

Figure 3.6: Geographical location of Erbil
Source: (Ur et al. 2013, p. 90)

This city lies approximately 430m above sea level. The prevailing winds of Erbil are North-Easterly and North-Westerly. Its location, at 36° 11′ 28″ N, 44° 0′ 33″ E, has had a further influence on its evolution. In summer the weather is hot and dry, but in winter cold (Ur et al. 2013, p. 93; Doxiadis 1959, p. 10). Its location within the warm temperate

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[104] In an interview, the well-known historian Abdulraqib Yousef, stressed the importance of the valley, this natural element Besté. He petitioned to the Erbil governorate several times and wrote articles in an effort to have it preserved. Unfortunately, this issue was neglected and now with the new investment projects Besté is almost disappearing.

[105] The Besté valley is now a part of a huge commercial project that was halted probably by the government when Erbil was listed under the Iraqi tentative list as a World Heritage Site. Unfortunately, the project is now continuing despite the World Heritage status.

[106] "In ancient times, this was called either Arbelities, after the capital, or, from the Zãbs, Adiabene (the Ḥedayab of Syrians)" (Houtsma 1987, p. 521).

[107] Bastura River and its mountain (Bastura Chia) are the main water source used by Sennacherib, the king of Assyria to provide Erbil with water via his underground canal.

zone means it is distinguished by its moderate temperature and frequent rainfall. That has had a significant impact on the economy of the city, particularly with regard to its agriculture. The city of Erbil, with its extended history of habitation, has a citadel located on a hill (figure 3.7). This citadel which is the dominant feature in the city, is probably the first inhabited place in the city (Doxiadis 1959, p. 10). Its circular shape impacted on the modern urban planning of the lower city and led it being organised with radial roads.

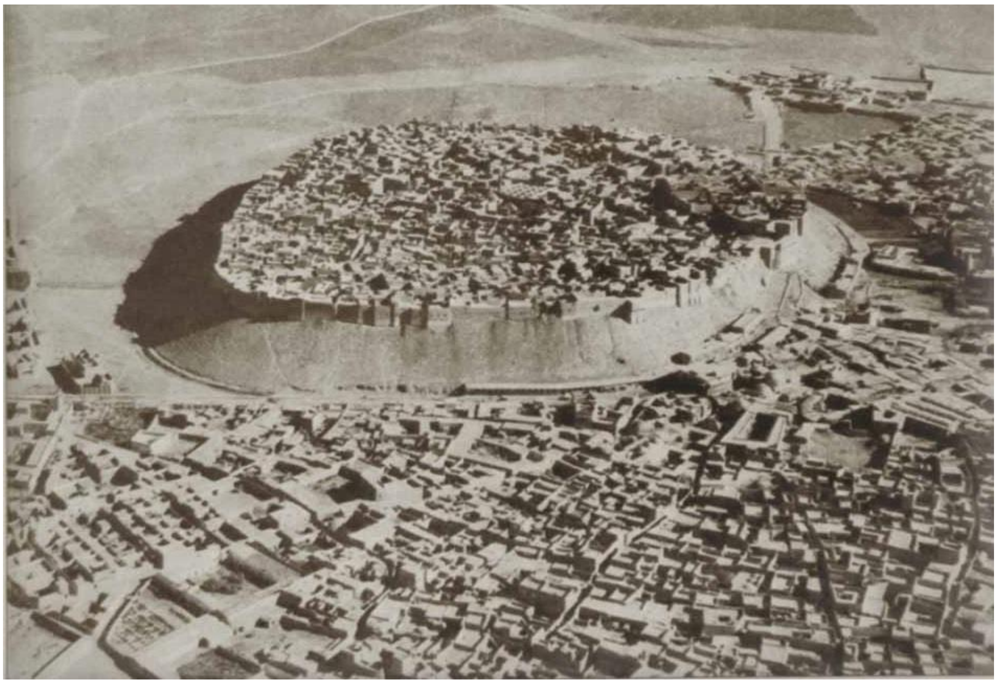

Figure 3.7: An aerial view of Erbil Citadel and its plain from the SW (ca. 1930s)
Source: (Hamilton 1937), from *'Road Through Kurdistan - The Narrative of an Engineer in Iraq'*.

3.1.4 The Administrative Role

Throughout history, Erbil has held a significant governmental role in the region. Between 2004 and 595 BCE it was an administrative centre to the kingdom of Qabra (McGinnis 2014, p. 28); from 226 to 148 BCE it was the capital of the kingdom of Adiabene. During the Islamic era, and specifically the Hathebani and Attabeg periods, the city had a prominent administrative role. In 1514, under Ottoman rule, Erbil belonged to the Emirate of Soran[108], and was then ruled by Kurdish families until it was taken by the Kurdish Baban Emirate. In 1914 the administrative divisions of the region changed and Erbil became the capital of *Qadha* within the *vilayet*/province of Mosul (Ismail 1986, pp. 149 -197; Doxiadis 1958, p. 6). In the Iraqi Kingdom, Erbil became a

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[108] Besides the Emirate of Soran there were the Emirates of Baban and Bahdinan in Amadi, which were constructed in between 1329 and1843 and were two of the most powerful Kurdish Emirates. These Emirates were independent but within the Ottoman Empire.

Liwa/district, with six *qadha*/*kaza/* sub-districts and sixteen *nahiyas*/parish (further sub districts of *qadha*) (Doxiadis 1959, p. 8). During the time of the Republic of Iraq[109], Erbil was one of the Iraqi governorates and in 1971 it became the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan. Currently, Erbil under the authority of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and it is the capital of the Kurdistan Region in the North of Iraq, with semi-autonomous. Iraqi Kurdistan encompasses the following governorates: Erbil, Duhok, and Suleimaniyah (Al-Mudaris, 2003, p. 43). Some districts in the Kirkuk, Nineveh and Diyala governorates are outside the control of the KRG. Erbil itself has jurisdiction over different districts in and around the old city of Erbil which consists of: the Central of Erbil (the old city of Erbil), and the plain of Erbil (Dashti Hawler), Choman, Rawanduz, Soran, Koya, Khabat, Shaqlawa, Makhmwr, Mergasor (Karezi 2011, p. 88).

3.2 The Narrative History of Ancient Erbil - Critical Perspective

Arbela, Arbela!
Heaven without rival, Arbela!
City of joyful music, Arbela!
City of festivals, Arbela!
City of happy households, Arbela!
Translated by Foster[110]
(Benjamin 2005, p. 840)

A city's historical background[111] is a cornerstone for this kind of study. Erbil's long and fluctuating history has affected its urban morphology. Traces of its past can be seen from the existing old citadel surrounded by the old urban fabric, from which a viewer can take in the visual and physical aspects of the city. This section will help to establish a core understanding of the roots of the city's urban environment, the social life, which is located in front of the citadel in the south. The city outline in this chapter will be illustrated and analysed starting with ancient Erbil and ending with the arrival of Islam. By reading the Epic of Gilgamesh (written in the Sumerian era[112] 4000 BC) the myth of Ishtar and Demuzi/Tammuz, the Obelisk of Hammurabi (which records the oldest known set of laws on earth), the birth legend of Sargon of Akkad as well as to records

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[109] Republic of Iraq starts 1958

[110] Translation from Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*.

[111] "To 'see' and 'experience' the past requires knowledge and will. In a contemplative mode, one needs to dive through the layers of memory" (Lehtovuori 2010, p. 152)

[112] The Sumerian civilisation is considered to be modern in comparison to other civilisations in Iraq, which existed hundreds of years earlier.

of other civilisations that emerged in Mesopotamia, one will be aware that the land now known as Iraq is considered to be at the origin of world civilisations. The land of Iraq has witnessed a series of transformations resulting in superb kingdoms such as the Akkadian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Abbasid empires. These empires originated between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers and saw the founding of many significant ancient cities; one of which was Erbil. In the book of '*The Epic of Gilgamesh*' the prominent Iraqi archaeologist Taha Baqir argues, that Sumerians, far from considering themselves new to the city and civilisation, saw themselves as the heirs of an ancient and glorious past. Their opinions were based on evidence, indicating that earlier civilisations had preceded them (Baqir 1955, p. 5). Between 1957 and 1961 Ralph Solecki and his team from Colombia University investigated Shanidar cave which is located on the Bradost Mountain near Erbil. They concluded that this region had been inhabited by humans for at least 7000 years (Ur et al. 2013, p. 90; Ismail 1986, p. 49; Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 17). Figure 3.8 provides an approximate chronology of Mesopotamian civilisations.

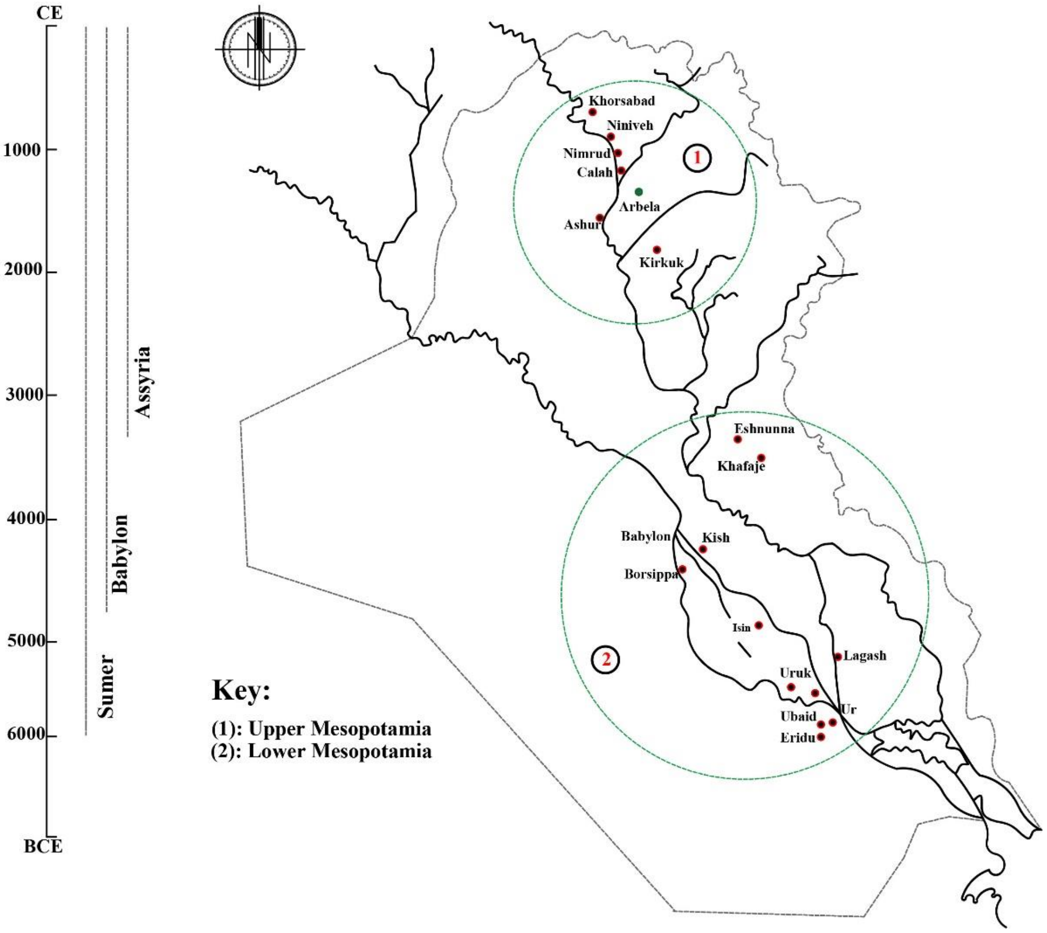

Figure 3.8: The chronological period of Mesopotamian Civilisation
Source: Drawn based on the information that was available in (Woolley 1961, pp. 236-243). The divisions of Upper and Lower Mesopotamia was taken from the (Great Britain. Naval intelligence Division 1944, p. 5).

Despite its significant background, the history of Erbil is known only through a series of vague and disconnected accounts and the questions of when, and in which era the city of Erbil was established and who built it, cannot yet be answered. The accuracy of research and written accounts of the history of Erbil throughout the ages is complicated due to three main obstacles[113]. Firstly, there is a lack of detailed, inscriptions text, historical writings, or travellers' tales before and after the arrival of Islam. Secondly, the governments from 1958 to 2003 put constraints upon excavation by local and foreign archaeologists. Thirdly, some historic areas underwent construction without prior investigation of the land below (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 5). In 2006, these difficulties started to diminish when collaboration between local and foreign archaeologists began. What is now known for certain among historians and archaeologists is that the Erbil citadel is one of the oldest, continuously inhabited cities in the world.

Erbil underwent a number of wars and events; it became a religious and political centre and was part of several empires. Nováček et al. (2008, p. 260) believe that the settlement on the hill of Erbil may reach as far back as the Neolithic period, but certainly to the Chalcolithic cultures (ca. 5000 - 3200 BCE). The first evidence of the existence of Erbil as an urban site appears in cuneiform sources of the Ebla[114] documents around 2300 BCE. Then it was exposed by the Gutian[115] King, Erridu-Pizir, as a military site (MacGinnis 2014, pp. 19-20; Doxiadis 1958, p. 5). Later, the city appeared in different administrative Sumerian texts from the Ur III dynasty. These records state that the town of Urbilum was destroyed and taken by King Shulgi and his son Ammar-sin. During Ammar-sin's rule Erbil was part of the Ur Empire (Rahim et al. 2014, p. 40; MacGinnis 2014, p. 20; Unger: see Nováček et al. 2008, p. 260). Around 2004 - 1595 BCE references to Erbil appeared in Royal inscriptions and at that time it was an administrative palace or temple belonging to the Kingdom of Qabra/ Qabara[116]. Around

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[113] Currently finance is also one of the main obstacles.

[114] Ebla was one of the earliest kingdoms in Syria.

[115] Guti people, who settled in the Zagros Mountains around 239 BCE, chose Arbail (Erbil) to be one of their main centres and chose Kirkuk/Arabkha to be the capital of Gutium/Gutian state (Hennerbichler 2014, p. 168; Ismail 1987, p. 39; Zeki, 1961, pp. 55-60); this was before the Assyrian invasion.

[116] It has been presumed that Erbil was the religious centre of that state and Ishtar existed as the name of the last king - executed by the Assyrian King Shamshi-Aded - was Bunu-Ishtar. This would mean that the king of Qabra was carrying the name *Ishtar* too as Ishtar was the goddess of Erbil.

the 15th century BCE Erbil came under the rule of the Mittanni Empire[117], nevertheless, there are no surviving texts from this period (MacGinnis 2014, p. 28).

Sources on Erbil begin to increase by the middle of the Assyrian era. The following sections will deal with the Assyrian and Adiabene periods, as Erbil was prosperous during these times and some sources are available.

3.2.1 The Assyrian Period

The Assyrian alabaster reliefs, inscriptions and cuneiform[118] tablets found in Nineveh and other places highlight the existence of a significant city named Arbail[119]. This city had a temple of Ishtar with a ziggurat[120], and both a royal and a governors' palace (MacGinnis 2014, p. 29; Ismail 1986, p. 49; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 3; Barton 1893, p. 159). Arbail reached the climax of its importance during the Neo-Assyrian period from 1000 BCE to 612 BCE (MacGinnis 2014, p. 20; Porter 2004, p. 43; Doxiadis 1958, p. 5). As the temple was a major religious shrine and centre of prediction, at which the king received oracular guidance and blessings from Ishtar Arbela, who was the goddess of battle[121] (Ismail 1986, p. 49; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 3; Barton 1893, p. 159).

The city was also a major military centre and the king's point of departure when he went to war. During the Ashurbanipal era Arbail was the second capital in the kingdom. It had a royal palace to which weapons were delivered (MacGinnis 2014, pp. 28-29). Figure 3.9 shows Ishtar with arrows and a sword, travelling on the back of a lion.

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[117] It is known among archaeologists that the dynasty of the Mittanni Empire is the ancestor of Kurds.

[118] "Cuneiform is a system of writing first developed by the ancient Sumerians of Mesopotamia c. 3500-3000 BCE. It is considered the most significant among the many cultural contributions of the Sumerians and the greatest among those of the Sumerian city of Uruk which advanced the writing of cuneiform c. 3200 BCE. The name comes from the Latin word *cuneus* for 'wedge' owing to the wedge-shaped style of writing" (Mark 2011, no pagination).

[119] Different historical and architectural sources indicate that 'Arba-il' is the city of Four Gods. However, in an interview the archaeologist John MacGinnis (2013) states that the "city of four gods" analysis is a misconception as there are no four gods. It is just a phonetic way of writing the name, based on the fact that in Assyrian documents the name can be written "4-DINGIR" (DINGIR is the sign for god), but this is a play on words and the signs are really being used for their phonetic sounds 4 = erb(u) [compare Arabic arba'a] DINGIR = il [compare Arabic illah is god], so 4-DINGIR = erb-il = Erbil (MacGinnis 2013).

[120] ziggurat is a form of temple built by the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians of ancient Mesopotamia.

[121] In the Assyrian period the goddess Ishtar was worshipped in Nineveh as the goddess of fertility and love and in Erbil as the goddess of battle. Her husband was Ashur (Barton 1893, p. 159).

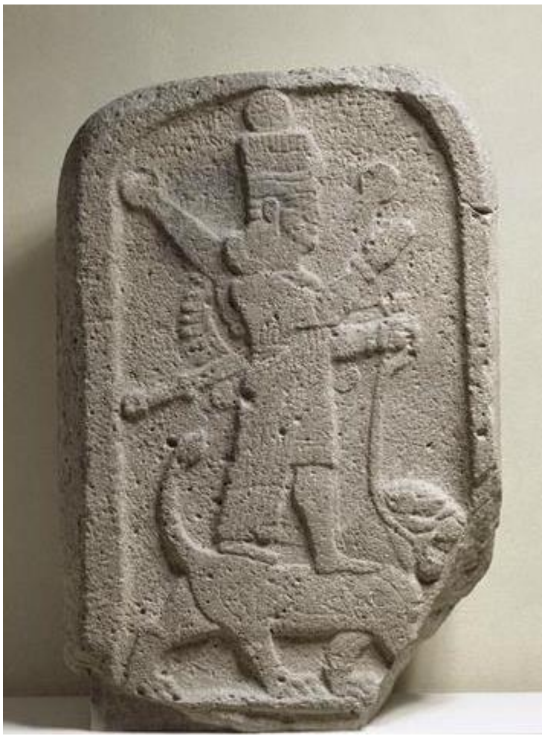

Figure 3.9: The goddess Ishtar Arbela standing on the back of a lion
Source: Louvre Museum, Department of Near Eastern Antiquities, Mesopotamia
Photograph credited © R.M.N / F. Raux - S. Huber, Louvre Museum

Many studies, such as MacGinnis (2014, p. 57); Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013); Al-Genabi (1987); Al-Chawishli (1985); and Baqir and Safar (1966, p. 3) agree that the Assyrian period is one of the significant stages in the physiognomy of the old city of Erbil. They also believe that Arbail/Arbela, the name that appeared in the historic texts and cuneiforms - is Erbil city (see section 3.1) and that the temple of Ishtar might be inside its citadel. By contrast, some archaeologists and historians claim that the site of the ancient city was situated elsewhere and that Ishtar Arbela and its temple were, in fact, not in Erbil citadel but in a place called Milkia (Al-Badri, 2015; Hanon 2009, p. 263; Sidney Smith: see Doxiadis 1959, p. 160). These studies and conclusions would have been more persuasive if the researchers had adopted and addressed a wider range of information on Erbil and had combined and compared the findings of archaeology, history and architecture. No attempt was made to melt or break the boundaries between these fields and strengthen their connection. The following will introduce justifications for the hypothesis that Arbail/Arbela and Erbil are one.

a) The Hypothesis of Arbail/Arbela is Erbil

In this study, the analysis of this hypothesis depends on inscription texts, interviews with historians and archaeologists, observations and comparisons made with existing information from different sources, like archaeological results, alabaster relief panels, tablet inscriptions, and site visits. This finding could be important for Erbil in general due to the confusion that occurs between historians and archaeologists with regard to the location of Ishtar temple and whether Erbil was the ancient Arbail or not. Likewise, the outcome of this analysis are important for this study, as it will constitute a foundation from which to analyse change and persistence in the city urban core. There is a lack of Assyrian antiquities/remains found inside and outside Erbil citadel due to a paucity of excavation[122]; what has been found in the city of Erbil is an Assyrian tomb and traces of Assyrian city walls in the lowland city[123]. There is a strong possibility that more will be revealed in the near future. Most of the antiquities that confirm that the temple of Ishtar was inside Arbail were found outside Erbil, for example inscriptions describing Arbail were found on the wall of the Ninavah palace, and the statue of Ishtar Arbela (figure 3.10), which had a weight of 2kg and a height of 30cm, had been inside her temple where it was stolen from after the fall of Assyria and found later (probably in 19th century) near the lake of Urmia.

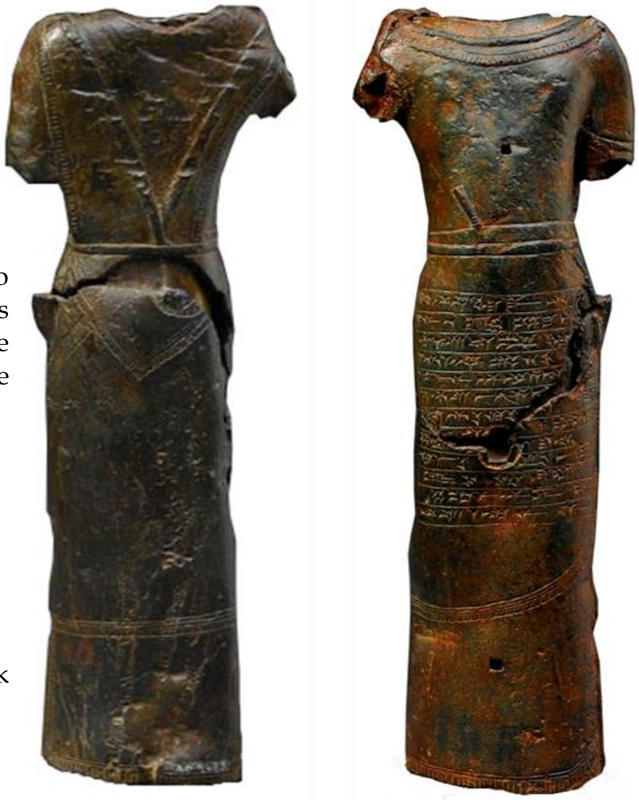

Figure 3.10: Ishtar Statuette
It is the only artefact currently known to have come from the temple of Ishtar. It is found near Lake Urmia, where it may have been taken by the Medes as booty after the fall of Assyria in 612 BC
Source: The Louvre, Paris, Oriental Antiquities.
Front side : AO2489
05-528139, Photo (C) RMN-Grand palace - © Franck Raux.
Back side - AO2489- 05-528138
Paris, musée du Louvre
Photo (C) RMN-Grand palace - © Franck Raux

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[122] There is a strong possibility that this will be revealed in the near future.

Signals of Evidence

This section covers evidence supporting the hypotheses that Arbail/Arbela is Erbil and that it contained the temple of Ishtar. Nevertheless, this statement cannot be taken as a fact without other actual evidence, and excavations inside the citadel and other tell cities to find the remains of the temple of Ishtar. The evidence is as follows:

Topographical Importance:

There are many signs indicating that Erbil was a significant city among the archaeological tells between the Greater and Lessar Zab rivers. These signs are the size of its citadel mound and the fact that the citadel and the lower city were continuously inhabited for all those centuries, while other tells have been neglected. Figure 3.11 illustrates the distribution of the archaeological tells in the Erbil area confined by the two rivers and it shows how Erbil is the biggest tell in that area.

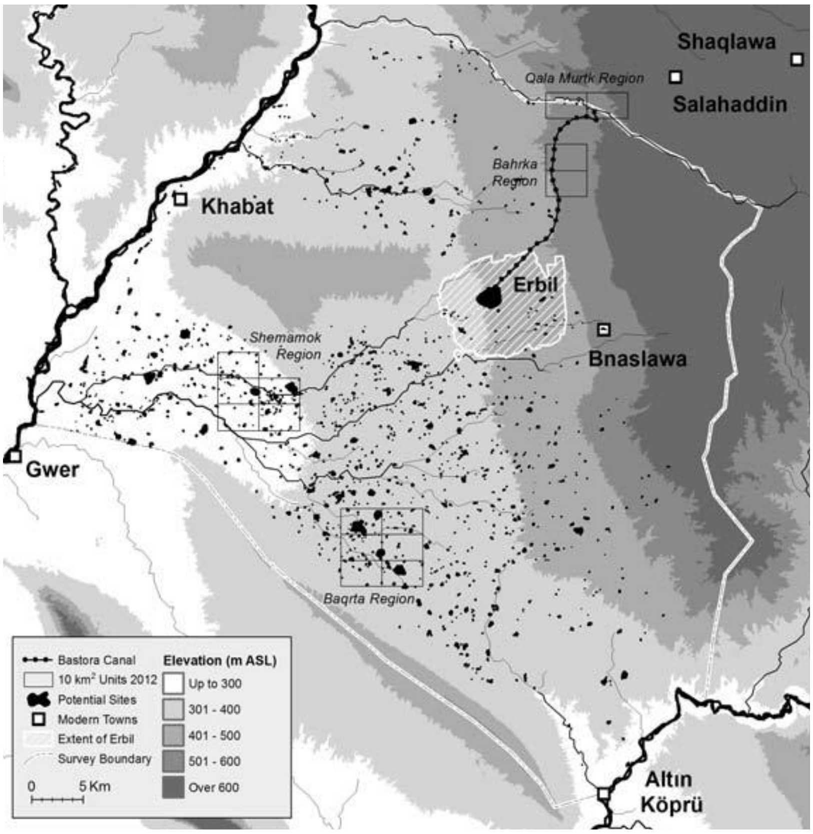

Figure 3.11: The distribution of probable archaeological sites
The Sennacherib canal that starts from Bastora valley to the centre of Erbil, 2012
Source: (Ur et al. 2013, p. 93)

The Appearance of a Similar Name of the City on Different Occasions:

It can be said that Erbil retained its name throughout history (see section 3.1.1 'The Name'), as many inscriptions gave it a similar name. Erbil's name was attached to that of the most exalted goddess in Assyria, giving us 'Ishtar Arbail'. Ishtar was referred to in this form several times on different occasions. The name appears first in the inscriptions that belonged to the King Shalmaneser I (1273-1244), which described the temple of Ishtar, Egashankalamma (the house of the lady of the land) and its ziggurat in Arbail (MacGinnies 2014, p. 29); her name was also referred to by Shalmaneser II[124]. In addition, on a cylinder found in Nimrud, which dates back to the King Esarhaddon, and the following was written:

> He clothed Egašankalamma, the temple of [Ishtar] of Arbail, his lady, with [Zabalû 125] and made it shine like the day. He had fashioned lions, lion-headed eagles, bulls and naked heroes and griffins of silver and gold and set them up in the entrance of its gates (MacGinnies 2014, p. 32).

The name of Arbail also appears in the royal letters as it was attached to the goddess Ishtar[126]; for example, the opening letter from Esarhaddon to the Urtaku King of Elam begins with a statement that indicates the important position of Ishtar Arbail as one of the highest deities of Assyria:

> Aššur, Sin, Ŝamaš, Bel, Nabo, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbail and Manziniri have now fulfilled and confirmed what they have promised and have developed our friendship to its peak (MacGinnies 2014, p. 101).

Furthermore, the name of Arbela/Arbail and Ishtar appeared in a tablet found near the mouth of the Sennacherib canal[127] in Bastura. This canal (figures 3.12) was constructed in the early 7th century when King Sennacherib ordered his engineers to bring water from Bastura river in Hani mountain to the temple of Ishtar Arbela (Safar 1947, p. 84).

Below is the English transilation of what was written on the tablet.

> I Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, dug three rivers from the Hani mountains [Khani-Shade], the mountains which are the above the city of Erbil and added to them the waters of the springs which are on the right and left sides of the rivers. Then I dug a canal into the middle of the city of Erbil, the abode [the dwelling place] of the goddess Ishtar, the exalted [the great (?)] lady, and I caused their courses to be straight. (MacGinnies 2014, p. 81; Safar 1947, p. 23; Safar 1946, pp. 50-52).

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[124] Arbail had more than one temple as Nanāya and Sin were also worshipped there

[125] An alloy of gold and silver'

[126] Ishtar Arbail was together with other deities like Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Marduk, Nabu, Ishtar Nineveh, and others part of the greetings in the royal letter

[127] The inscription was found near the main entrance to the Bastura channel by the Iraqi archaeologist Fouad Safar, who copied and translated the writing. The origin concept of the canal or kaharis comes from Mesopotamia and it was attached wrongly to Persia. After Mesopotamia the Medes, the ancestor of the Kurds, started to use this technique then it spread in different regions, North Africa, Arab Peninsula and Spain

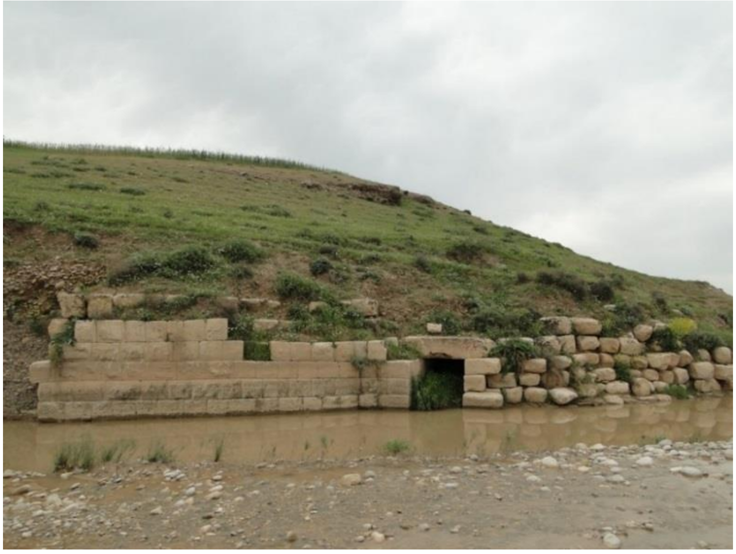
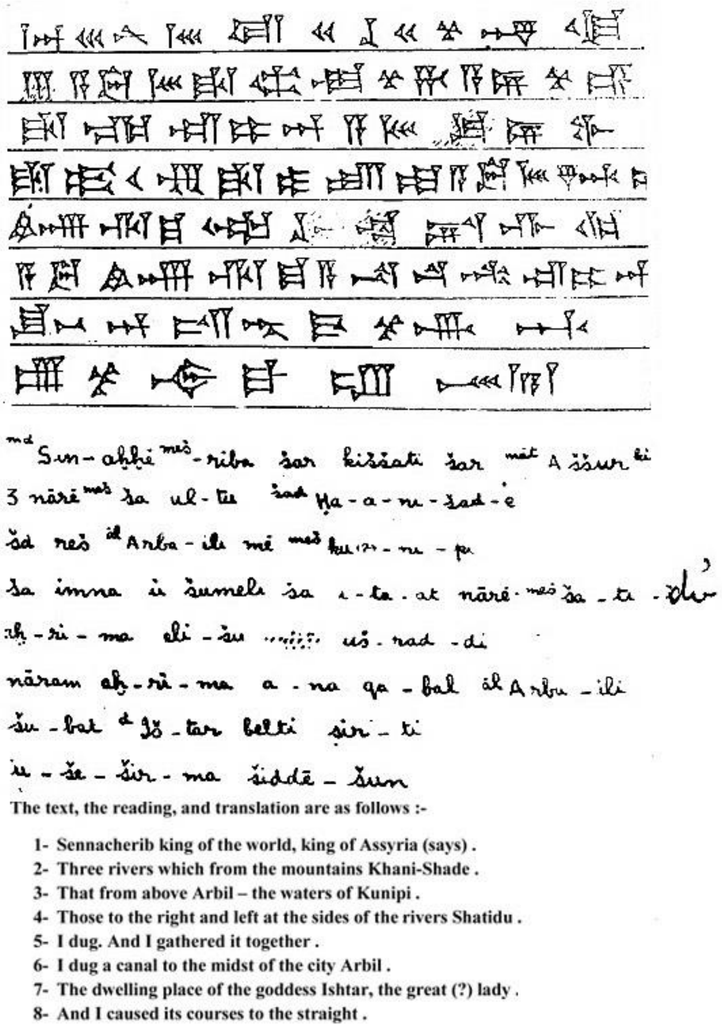


Figure 3.12: The mouth of Sennacherib canal in Bastora valley
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

Below displays what was written on the tablet; the Sumerian text and its English translation (figure 3.13).



^{md}Sin-aḫḫē^{meš}-riba šar kiššati šar ^{māt}Aššur^{ki}
3 nārē^{meš} ša ul-tu ^{šad}Ḫa-a-ni-šad-e
ša reš ^{al}Arba-ili mē^{meš} ku(?)-ni-pa
ša imna u šumeli ša i-ta-at nārē^{meš} ša-ti-du'
aḫ-ri-ma eli-šu ... uš-rad-di
nāram aḫ-ri-ma a-na qa-bal ^{al}Arbu-ili
šu-bat ^{d}Iš-tar belti ṣir-ti
u-še-šir-ma šiddē-šun

The text, the reading, and translation are as follows :-

1- Sennacherib king of the world, king of Assyria (says) .
2- Three rivers which from the mountains Khani-Shade .
3- That from above Arbil – the waters of Kunipi .
4- Those to the right and left at the sides of the rivers Shatidu .
5- I dug. And I gathered it together .
6- I dug a canal to the midst of the city Arbil .
7- The dwelling place of the goddess Ishtar, the great (?) lady .
8- And I caused its courses to the straight .

Figure 3.13: The original cuneiform inscriptions and its English translation
Source: Modified from (Sumer 1947, p. 51)

Another investigation was made of the canal which confirmed that it was directed towards Erbil. This was done by Ur et al. in their EPAS[128] project; this project was aimed to trace the Sennacherib canal, and was based on the 1947 research by Iraqi archaeologist Fouad Safar. In an interview, the archaeologist Khalil Barznji, one of the team members, states that although they were not able to find the whole path and the end of the canal due to the urban growth of the city, the team did establish that the canal[129] was directed towards the Erbil citadel (Barznji 2015). From the inscription text and the archaeological evidence on the canal, one can infer that it was directed towards the city of Erbil; this might support the claim that Erbil is Arbail.

The Actual Evidence Inside Erbil:

These evidence include Assyrian tomb and traces of Assyrian city walls. The Assyrian tomb was found in the north-west side of the citadel in an area called Arab Ta'ajil (Barznji 2015). Figure 3.14 illustrates the location of this tomb and shows the tomb located approximately 3.5m beneath the ground.

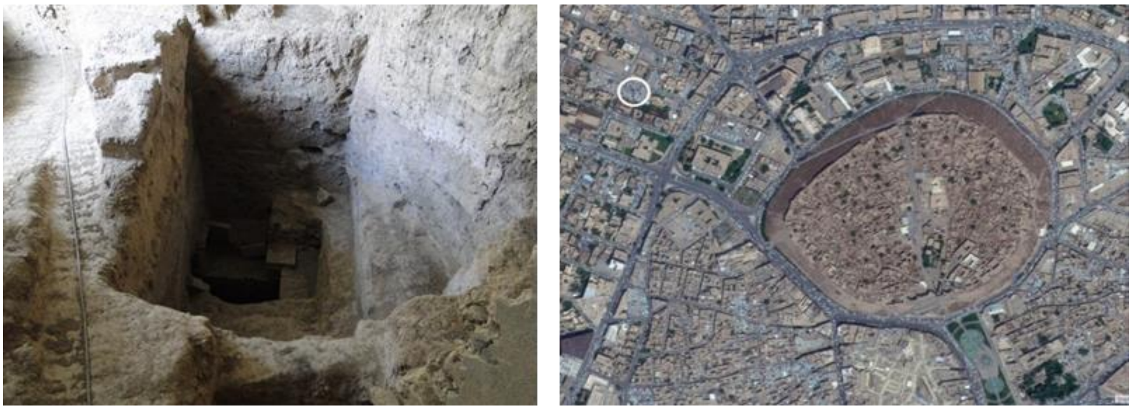


Figure 3.14: The Assyrian tomb in Arab Ta'ajil, Erbil
The white circle is the location of the Assyrian tombin the city; the Assyrian tomb with depth around 3.5 m. It was found by chance in a car park near the citadel.
Source: the left is taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015 and the right from ArcGIS, 2016

The traces of the city's fortification are another piece of evidence. The fortification includes a double wall with moat that was discovered by the archaeologists Nováček, Amin and Melčák and published in their study in 2013[130]. They argue that the design

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[128] The Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey.

[129] See figure-2.11, which displays the canal and its direction towards Erbil citadel, the homeland and the dwelling place of Ishtar Arbela/Arbail.

[130] These investigations, using aerial and satellite imagery, established the spatial continuity and urban evolution of Erbil and connects the 12th century Attabeg city wall, which was single, with traces of what is probably an Assyrian fortification system.

and size of the rampart was similar to those of wall systems in other Assyrian cities, such as Nineveh and Ashur (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, pp. 33-34). They found[131] these double walls had a total thickness of approx. 22m with a ditch and steep slope between them (figure 3.15).

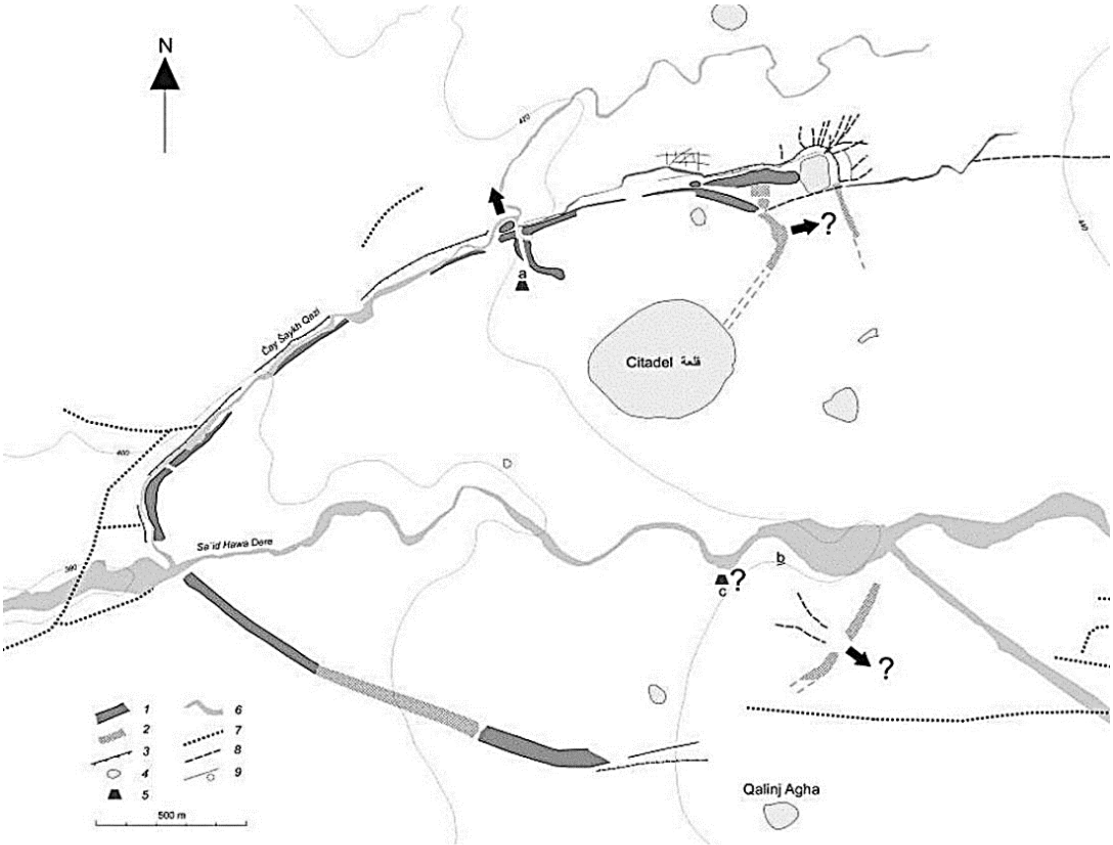

Figure 3.15: The outline of Arbail city
A plan based on satellite/ survey and aerial imagery. *"1- rampart of the Fortification System I preserved in the relief, 2- Fortification System I visible in soil/crop marks, 3- ditch edges, 4- settlement mounds, 5- pre-Islamic cemeteries, 6-wadis, 7- subterranean aquaducts, 8- important hollow ways, 9- other linear and circular features; the Neo-Assyrian tomb" (Ess et al. 2012) (a), Bazari Ništiman's building pit, south section (b), west section with a brick structure- a tomb (c). Conjectural gates highlighted by arrows"*.
Source: (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 27)

This kind of fortification system, i.e. double walls and a moat, is found in Mesopotamian cities and persists after Islam. Baghdad city during the Abbasid perioed followed this design too (figure 3.16).

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[131] Remote sensing was used as a method of analysis to satellite imagery and orthogonal photographs and a collection of oblique aerial photographs in addition to the images from Corona KH-4B satellites. The photographs were taken between 1936 and 1968 (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 23).

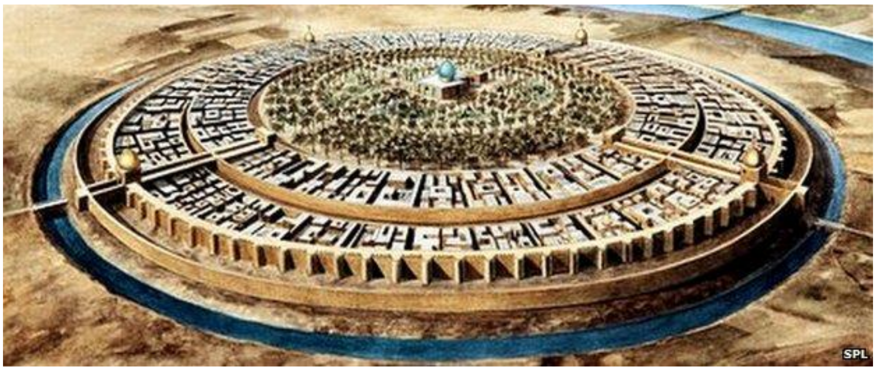

Figure 3.16: A depiction of Baghdad city
Source: (The Guardian, 2016), Illustration: Jean Soutif/Science - Photo Library

Further evidence that supports the existence of the Assyrian city wall and proves the city wall findings of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) is the record that described the refurbishment of walls and ramparts of a long-neglected city. It highlights several times the renovation and full decoration made to the temple of Ishtar and its wooden gate and tells us that the city was established as the principal royal residence for King Ashurbanipal in addition to its religious role (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 5; Barton 1893, p. 163). The information about the renovation of Ishtar Arbail temples described by Ashurbanipal, the King of Babylonia and Assyria (669–627) who considered Arbail[132] to be a second capital of Assyria. This information was depicted in a relief, found on one of the walls of Nineveh palace, highlighting the city's urban elements, and offering evidence on the city walls and the Ishtar temple. It states:

> I Ashurbanipal, King of the universe, King of Assyria, rebuilt the Egašankalamma [the temple of Ishtar of Arbail] and clothed its walls in gold. (Broger: see MacGinnies 2014, p. 81)

These pieces of information - that come from late Assyrian sources - describing Erbil might be considered the earliest indications regarding the city's urban elements (MacGinnis 2014 p. 16; Radner 2012, no pagination). Figure 3.17 is the alabaster relief that was found in Nineveh palace and figure 3.18 is a re-drawn image of the alabaster relief. These show that the lower city of Arbail was surrounded by double walls and a moat, and show the citadel's wall and its arched gate on the top where the temple of Ishtar and its gate was located above the citadel gate and, what is most likely, the King

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[132] During the rule of Ashurbanipal, King of Babylonia and Assyria (669–627 BC), Arbail became very powerful being one of the main Assyrian cities together with Assur/Ashur, Nineveh, Khorsabad Nimrud, Kilizu and Arbela/Arabail (MacGinnies 2014, p. 29; Doxiadis 1958, p. 5).

Ashubanipal standing near Ishtar gate. Below are parts of the inscription by Ashurbanipal:

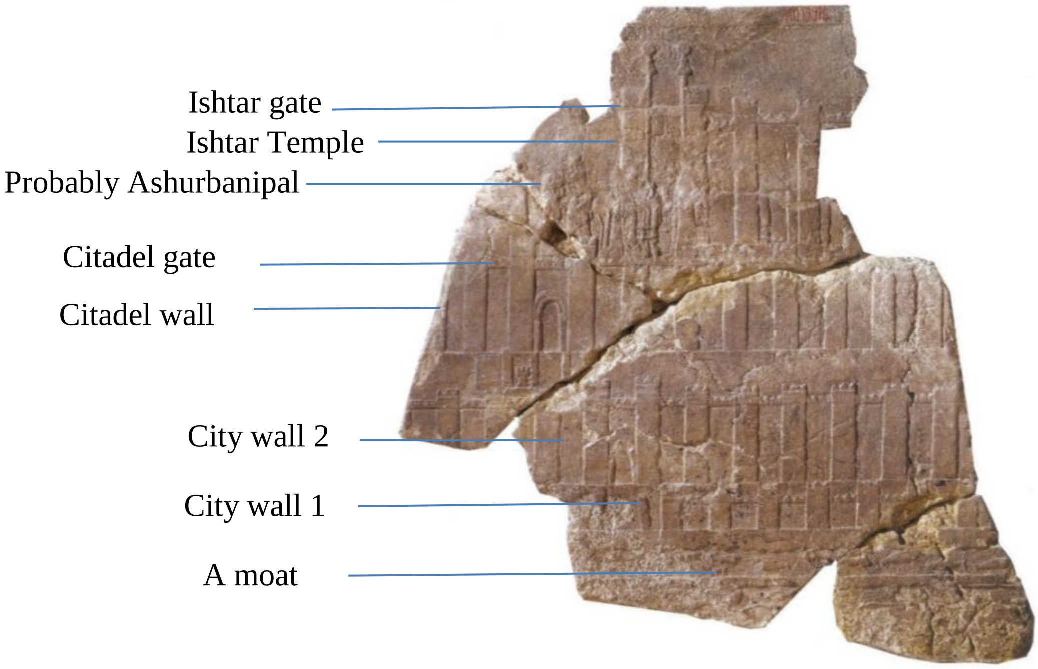

Figure 3.17: The depiction of the renovation of Ishtar temple in Arabela
The remaining part of a relief depicts Ashurbanipal's order, found originally from the North Palace at Nineveh, room I, slab 9.
Source: Adapted from (alabaster panel in the Oriental Antiquities, Louvre, Paris -AO 19914), 12-517574. Photo (C) RMN-Grand Palace- © Franck Raux

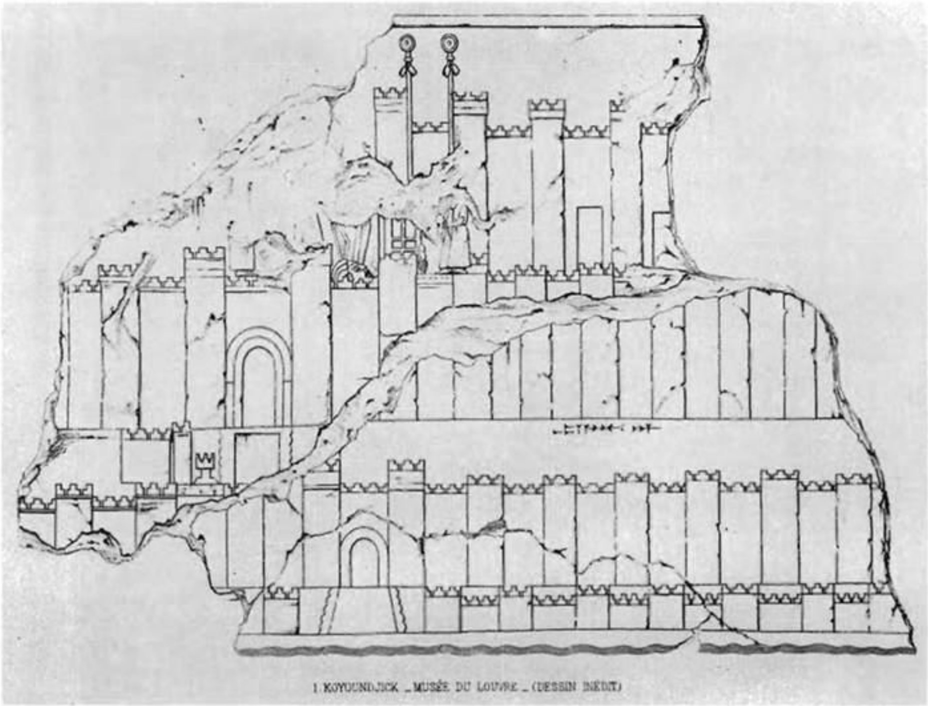

Figure 3.18: The redraw of Arbela view
Source: (A view of Arbela from the North Palace of Assurbanipal (668-c. 630 BC) at Nineveh, room I, slab 9, upper register. Louvre, AO 19914; drawing from V. Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, vol. III, Paris 1870, pl. XLI); published in the project of Mechanisms of communication in the Assyrian empire. History Department, University College London, 2009-2013.

Hence, it can be said that the depiction of the city's renovation in this part of the relief matched the findings of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013).

The Possible Existence of the Temple of Ishtar in Erbil:

This section will attempt to provide evidence that Erbil is Arbail/Arbela and that it was the location of the temple of Ishtar, as well as the notion that Azza area might be Milkia - the name that appeared in the historic texts - and that Milkia was the location of the second shrine of Ishtar Arbail. In an interview, the historian Dr Parwin Al-Badri states her belief that Ishtar temple was located in an area called Milkia, not in Erbil citadel, and that currently this area is called Azza or Hazza. Her conclusion derives from the study of the monastery of Mar Michael in Milkia; she indicates that the name of the Milkia area appeared several times in different periods; first in Assyrian inscriptions, then in Chaldean texts, and finally, in one of the Erbil's land contracts in the 17th century during the Ottoman period, where the sultan distributed the land of Milkia to the farmers. Al-Badri states that the Christian/Chaldean documents pointed out a historic tell in Azza on several occasions.

The first attestation came from Mar Qaradagh[133] in 4th century during his description of the location of his palace which was situated in front of a mound that worked as a temple of fire. Then the Chaldean texts that belonged to the monastery of Mar Michael, who came after Mar Qaradagh, revealed more details regarding the location by highlighting some landmarks, such as mills, tells and a riverbed. The mills and tells still exist in the Azza area[134] but the riverbed has dried up. By the 11th century Azza[135] appeared once more in the Chaldean texts, which again highlights the existence of a monastery in that area. Al-Badri (2015) believes that Ishtar Arbela temple might be located at the largest tell, Tell Abdulaziz, which faced the Mar Qaradagh Palace. According to her, this temple was changed to a Zoroastrian temple during the Sassanid invasion. In the

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[133] Around 4th century Mar Qaradagh was killed by the Sassanid because he changed his religion from Zoroastrian to Christianity.

[134] The mills and Tells were observed during the site visit.

[135] In the 9th century Azza was an important commercial area, which people from Erbil visited for its markets. With regard to 'Azza or Hazza there is dissent between the historians and archaeologists, as some assume that the name of the Adiabene region was abbreviated to Hazza after the arrival of Islam (Baqir and Safar 1966, p.4; Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 4; Attu 2011, p. 6). While others believe Azza to be the village, that is located towards the southwest of Erbil's citadel (Attu 2011, p. 6). In his texts, Ibn Al-Mustawfi (1980 [12th century], p. 373) also highlights, in his texts, the name of Kafer A'zza as a village located near Erbil.

interview with the archaeologist Khalil Barznji (2015), who worked in the EPAS project that aimed to trace the canal of Sennacherib and found that the canal might be terminated in Erbil, states his conclusion that the temple of Ishtar might be located inside the citadel. Barznji acknowledges, however, that Al-Badri's findings cast doubt upon this conclusion and states that only the excavation of Tell Abdulaziz and Erbil citadel will resolve this issue (Barznji 2015). Al-Badri's hypothesis was rejected by the historian Abdul Raqib Yousif and the archaeologist Karel Nováček, who stress their belief that Ishtar Arbail was inside Erbil (Yousif 2015; Nováček 2014). Dr Karel Nováček highlights the fact that, subject to proper investigation, remnants of the Assyrian city can be found within the layers of the citadel hill, and that these remnants might include the remains of the temple of Ishtar, royal palaces and other temples (Czech archaeologists uncovered Stone Age tools in Arbil 2010). While, at the same time, he and other archaeologists, like Narmin Amin (2015), and Khalil Barznji (2015) assert that this cannot be assumed without tangible evidence from the Erbil citadel.

Based on translations from Mesopotamian cuneiforms were done by John MacGinnis in his book *'A City from the Dawn of History, Erbil in the Cuneiform Sources'*, Ishtar had two temples, one in Arabil called 'Egasankalamma' and the other, a shrine in Milkia named 'Egaledinna' in the Akitu house. This text originates from inscriptions found in the Nineveh palace which recorded victories, celebrations and rituals that took place in the temple of Ishtar Arbail/Arbela 'the Egasankalamma/E-Kashan-Kalamma'[136] and in her countryside shrine, Egaledinna at Milkia. Ishtar used to make annual journeys to Milkia; in each journey the priestess and the statues (representing Ishtar Arbail) travelled to stay at Akitu house (Egaledinna) where her name changed to Shatru (Menzel 1981, p. 276). Ishtar used to stay there for a while and when the king would return from the battle she would return with him to Arbail. The reasons for her trips to Milkia were either to attend the festival of Temuz and Ishtar or for the king's military campaign, when the king, after doing his prayers in Arbail temple and receiving Ishtar's blessings, would leave to war and Ishtar Arbela would leave Erbil and stay in the Akitu house (Egaladinna), waiting for him. When the king returned victorious from battle, he would go to Akitu house where ceremonies would begin. Following this the king would leave

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[136] 'E-Kashan-Kalamma' means 'the house of the lady of the region': that place also had a temple to the God Ashur (Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 3).

Milkia with the Ishtar Arbela[137] and probably with the priestess, and they would enter Arbail together and take part in a big festival and military ceremonies, including the execution of captured enemies, with their soldiers, (MacGinnies 2014, pp. 31-35). Hence, after each war victory, festivals occurred upon each departure and arrival of Ishtar to Arbail (figure 3.19).

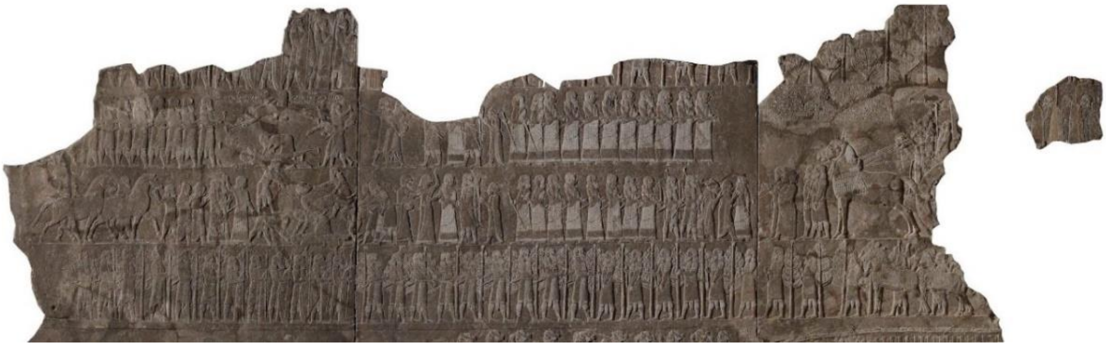

Figure 3.19: The celebration of Ashurbanipal's victory in Erbil
Incomplete limestone walls panel relief from the SW room in Nineveh palace
Source: (The British Museum, London- the image AN1038361001), adapted by the author

This indicates that Ishtar had two temples at that time; the main one in the citadel and the other in the Milkia area, and this piece of information[138] might solve the confusion that emerged among archaeologists and historians who have argued repeatedly that Ishtar Arbela was in an area called Milkia and not inside the citadel the citadel of Erbil.

Azza is Milkia and Erbil is Arbail/Arbela

The Milkia area might be what is now known as Azza/Hazza and the second shrine of Ishtar might be specifically on Tell Abdulaziz in Azza. This conclusion was partially taken from the Al-Badri's assumption who belived that the temple of Ishtar is not in Erbil citadel - see the above section- and this hypothesis was reinforced during a site visit, where the author observed that Azza is located in the suburban area of Erbil and has a fertile plain/steppe; this physiognomy shows clear similarities to the characteristics of the land of Milkia, described in the transcription that was found in Nineveh palace. Also, the area has a tower which local people call 'a mill', and three tells; one of which, Tell Abdulaziz[139], is larger than the others; (figures 3.20, 3.21, 3.22 and 3.23) display

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[137] It is thought that in Mesopotamia gods and goddess were represented by statues.

[138] It can, however, be said that Al-Badri's hypothesis maybe partially correct.

[139] Abdulaziz a religious person and preacher, buried on the Tell that carried his name.

the tower and the Tell Abdulaziz and the characteristics of the flatland. Other evidence that may support the assertion that Tell Abdulaziz contained the second shrine of Ishtar are the traces from the Assyrian period (612-911 BCE) that were found inside this Tell in 1946[140] (Directorate of Antiquities 1970, pp. 12-15).

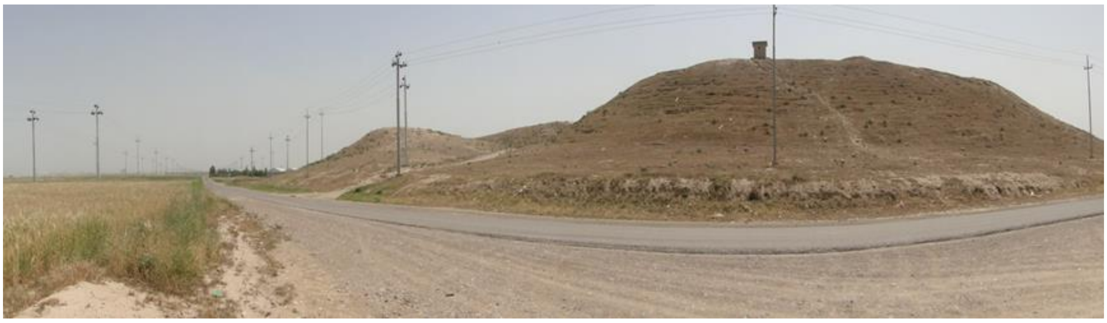

Figure 3.20: A panoramic view showing the Tell Abdulaziz in Azza
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

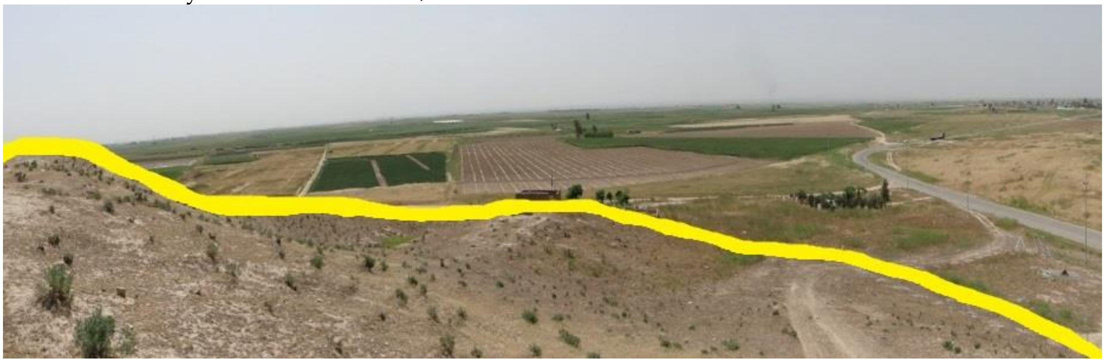

Figure 3.21: Southwest view from Tell Abdulaziz to Azza
The green steppe land, the yellow line is the edge of the Tell
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

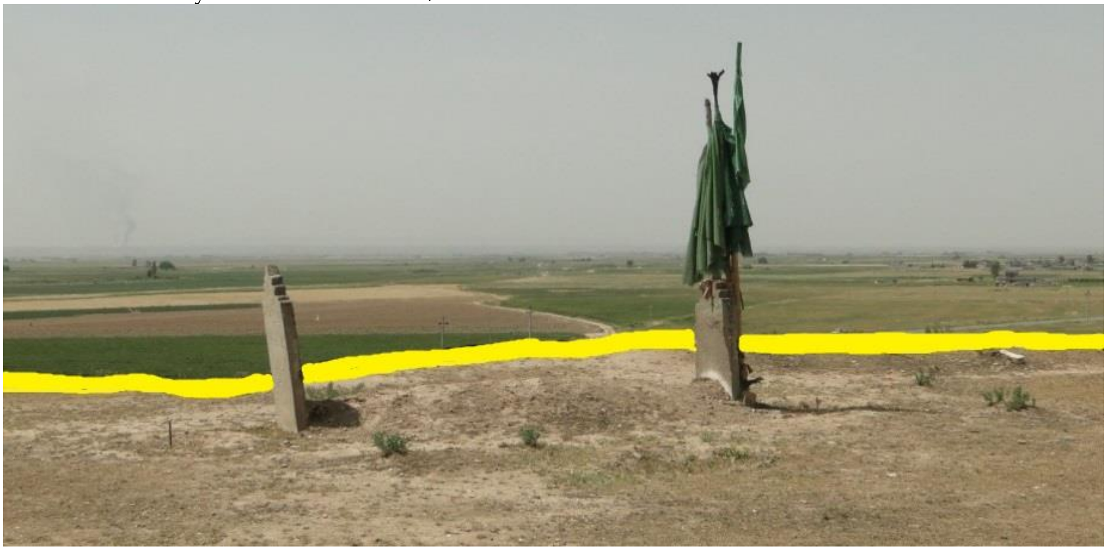

Figure 3.22: South side view of the Tell and the tomb of Abdulaziz
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

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[140] In addition to its belonging to the Chalcolithic period, which includes the Samara, Hellaf, and Eridu periods, (ca. 4500-5000 BCE) and the Uruk period, (ca. 3200-3800 BCE) (Directorate of Antiquities 1970, pp. 12-15).

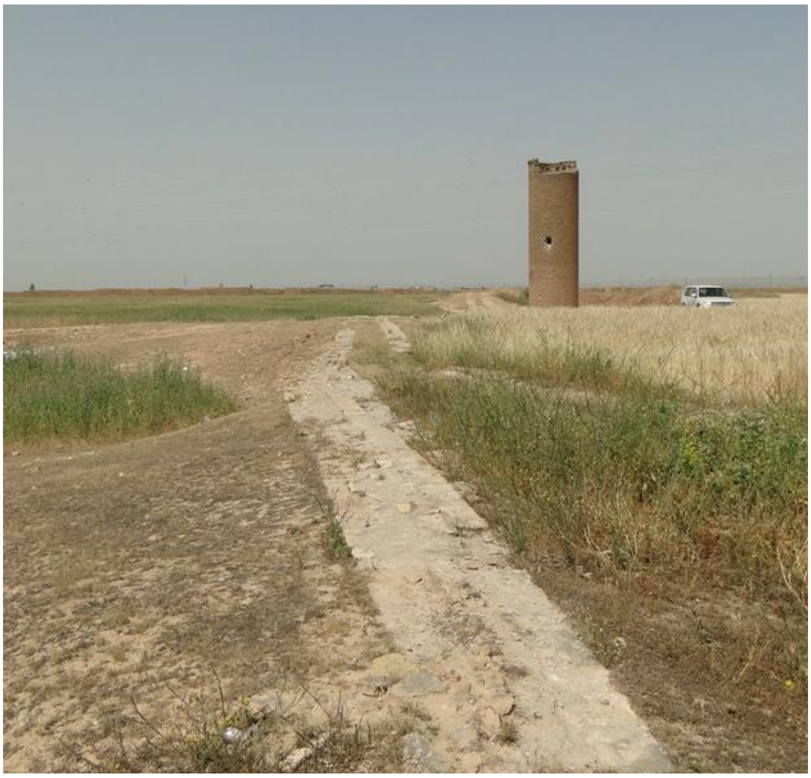

Figure 3.23: The tower which local people call 'a mill'.
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

b) The Possible Emergence of the City Urban Core

Different signs indicate the possibility of the existence of an urban public space, i.e. a square or a vast avenue, in the south part[141] below the citadel south gate.

Signals of Evidence

The Importance of the South Part:

The findings that were collected during the site visit to Erbil and the visual analysis of the archaeological site map. On this visit the author observed that the number of historic Tells were more numerous towards the south and south-west and few were towards the north west. This could be due to soil fertility a characteristic of the area, or possibly due to the strong connection of Erbil with the historic cities and areas such as Azza (Milkia), Kirkuk (Arabkha) city, Nineveh and Ashur cities. In addition, the visual analysis of Erbil's site map of 1920 and the aerial photograph of 1951 show the direction of the organic urban fabric of Erbil was concentrated towards the southwest and south parts and directed towards Azza[142] and Kirkuk cities (figure 3.24).

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[141] This also might indicate the possible persistent of the city urban core throughout the history.

[142] This might highlight the persistent relationship between Azza and Erbil.

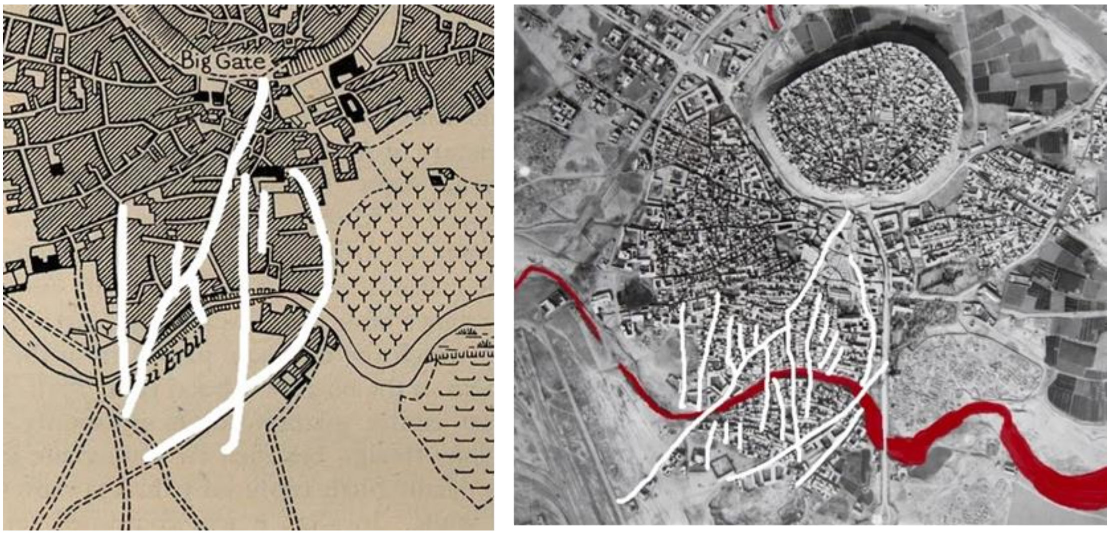

Figure 3.24: The direction of the organic paths

It also shows that the urban fabric continued to spread without considering the Besté valley as being a barrier to that urban growth and that might support the important and the persistent relation between Erbil and Azza throughout the history. The second piece of evidence that might support the importance of the south part, is the historical information indicated in the report of Doxiadis (1958, p. 16) handled with caution. Ibn Al-Mustawfi, in his text of the 12th century, highlights that the distance from the old city of Erbil (which is probably Azza) and the citadel takes approximately three hours to walk. Consequently, by examining the walking distance from Erbil citadel to Azza's Tells it takes around three hours walking and this matches the information that Doxiadis reports. Figure 3.25 shows that the walking journey from Erbil to Tell Abdulaziz in Azza takes around three hours.

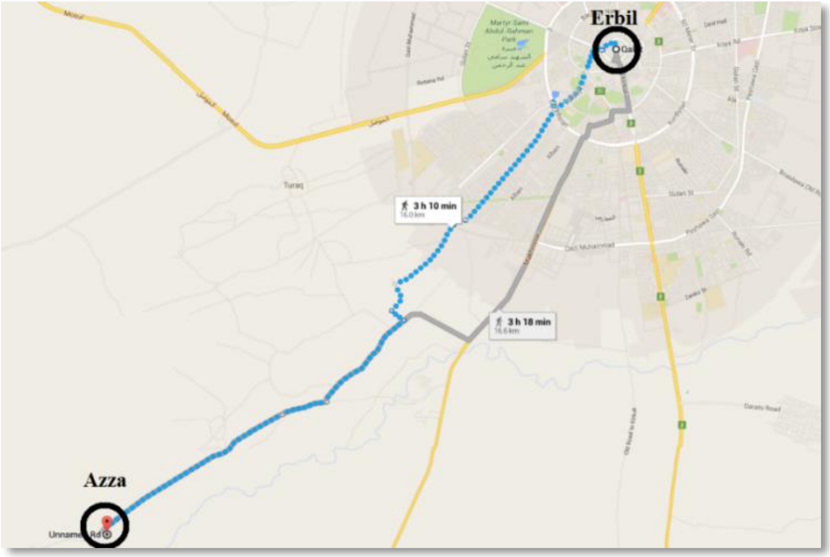

Figure 3.25: The distance between Erbil and Azza
which is hypothetically the second shrine of Ishtar Temple located in Milkia.
Source: Adapted from (Google maps 2014)

The existence of a citadel south gate in that area might support the importance of the south part as it suggests that it might have constituted, at that time, an essential node. In general, most cities in Mesopotamia situated their main gate, or entrance, in the south of the city, such as at Tell Qalench agha in Erbil (Barzaji 2013). This was due to the environmental reasons, as the south part is the favourable direction in construction in Iraq. The evidence that highlights the existence of this south gate is a massive of wall or probably a foundation, belong to the Assyrian period, that was found in 1960 beneath the citadel south gate, which was demolished by the Iraqi government of 1960 sat that time due to lack of conservation (Damerji 2015; Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 17) and this might indicate traces of an old gate and awaken the possibility of an existence of a public space in the south part is very high (figures 3.26 and 3.27).

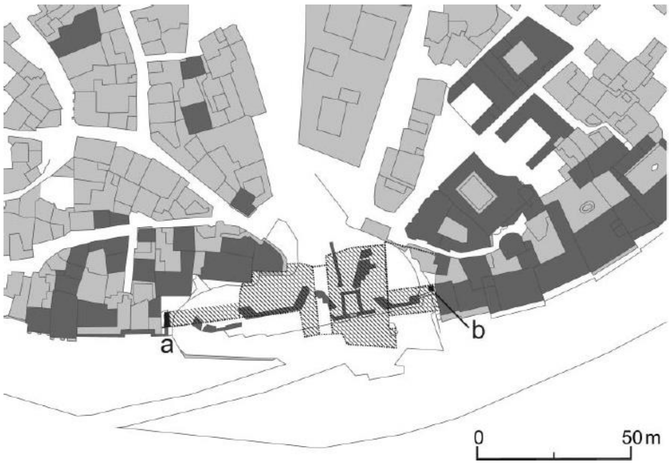

Figure 3.26: The remains of the perimeter wall (a, b), and other traces
Sources: Adapted from (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 17)

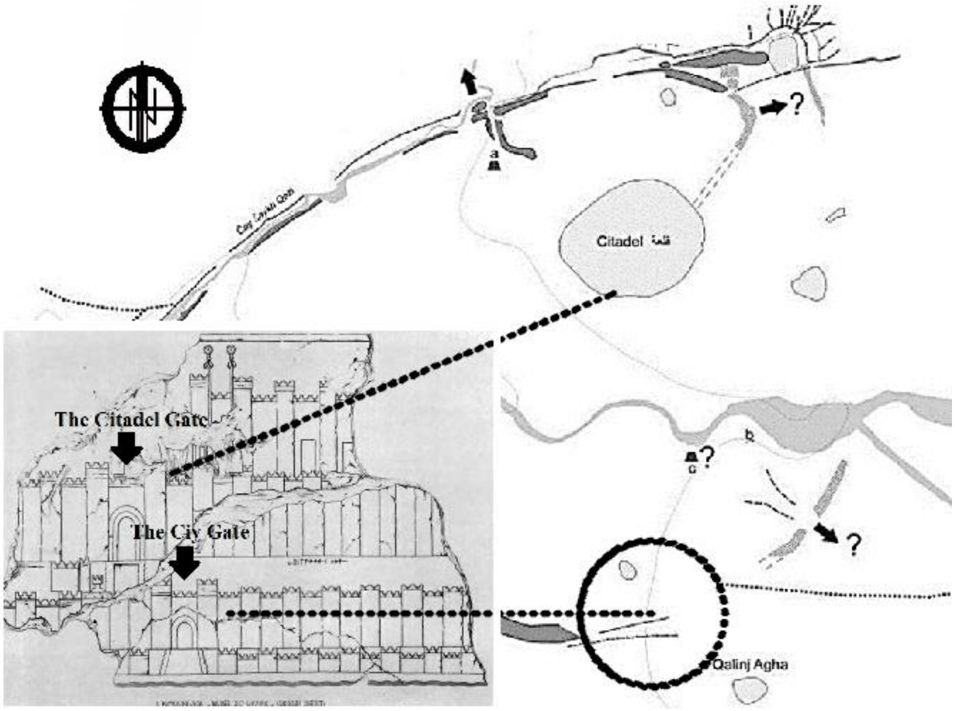

Figure 3.27: The possible location of the citadel and city's gates

The City Public Square

Historic cities in Mesopotamia generally used to have a public square where civic activities were held, see chapter-1. Ceremonies and different festivals were held in Erbil after each successful campaign. Ishtar travelled to Milkia/Azza on different occasions and within each trip there were festivals, see the section *'The Possible Existence of the Temple of Ishtar in Erbil/Arbail/Arbela'.* From these examples it can be inferred that Erbil possessed a public square or a wide avenue, probably located in the south or the south west of the citadel. With the strong connection of Erbil and Milkia/Azza the possibility of the existence of the public space in this part can be increased. Examples of public urban spaces or avenues can be seen in Mesopotamian cities, where usually public spaces existed in front of temples (ziggurats); such as, the famous avenue or procession street of Babylon were the ceremonies, festivals and army procession used to be held (figures 3.28 and 3.29). As the main concern of this study is the city urban core, the public space is going to be discussed in detail in the upcoming chapter.

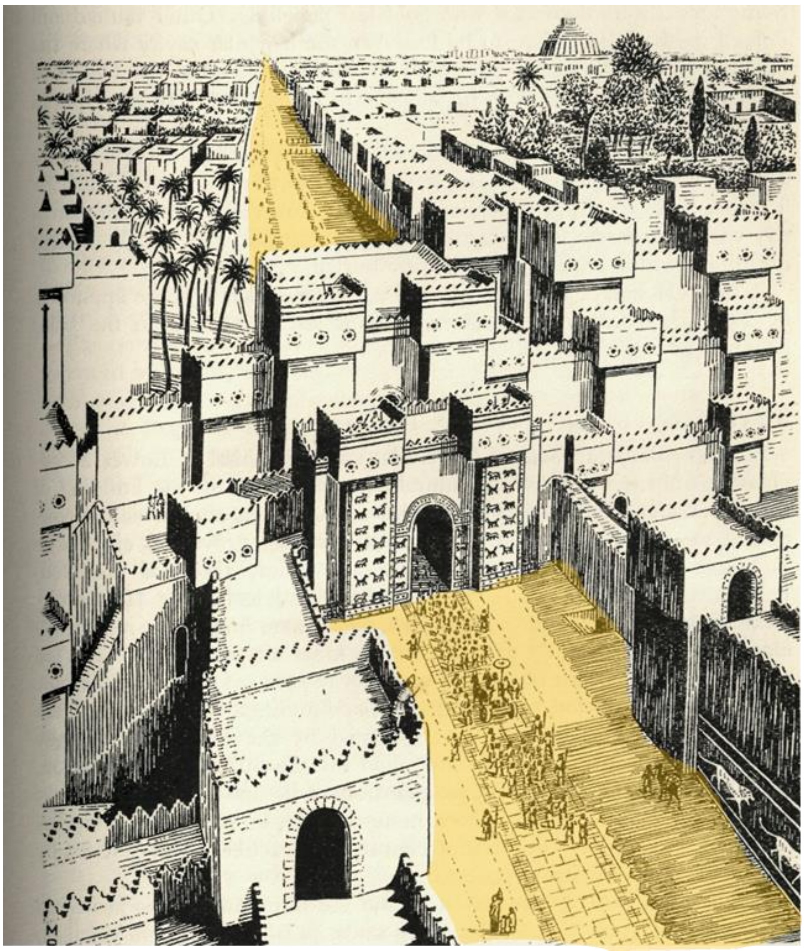

Figure 3.28: Ishtar gate and the Procession Street of Babylon.
Marduk, God of ancient Mesopotamia and patron deity of the city of Babylon, used to pass through every year with the king of Babylon, priests, and members of the royal court to celebrate the New Year's festival.
Sources: Adapted from (Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division 1944, p. 629)

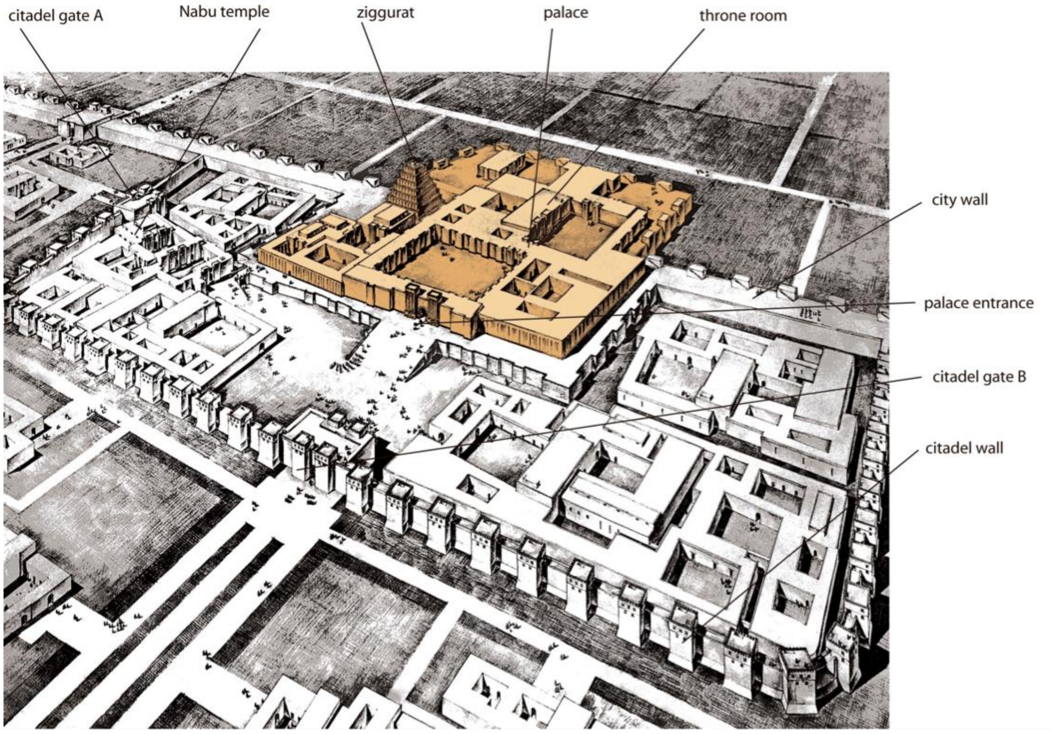

Figure 3.29: The square and the procession Street of Khorsabad, a city of Assyria
Sources: Drawing by Charles Altman; adopted from (Roaf 1992 p. 434)

c) The City Urban Elements

The urban elements of the lowland city of Erbil in this period were: four to five city gates, double city walls, a ditch, canal systems and main buildings like a royal and a governorate palace in unknown locations. In terms of the city gates, the eastern and western gates were stated in the inscription explaining Ashurbanipal that when he returned from his successful battle carrying the head of Teuman, the Elam king, and chained his prisoners Dunanu and Samgunuto at the Western and Eastern gates of the city; his reaction came from an insolent message that Ashurbanipal received from the Elam king (Yousef 2015; MacGinnies 2014, pp. 30-32; Yousef 2007, p. 7). In Nováček, Amin and Melčák's (2013, p. 27) study, traces of the possible existence of two gates, the south east gate and northern west gate were found. In addition to these findings the current research has assumed the probability of the existence of a fifth gate situated in the south or southwest direction that connected Erbil with Azza and the city of Kirkuk. Another urban element possibly associated with the city, is the square of a wide avenue situated beneath the citadel's south part. The citadel, the upper city, has Ishtar ziggurat (temple) and its gate, a citadel wall with a main gate, and additional temples for other gods in unknown locations. Figure 3.30 is an assumption of Erbil's site plan during the

Assyrian period, when the urban public space or the avenue probably existed, in addition to the city gates.

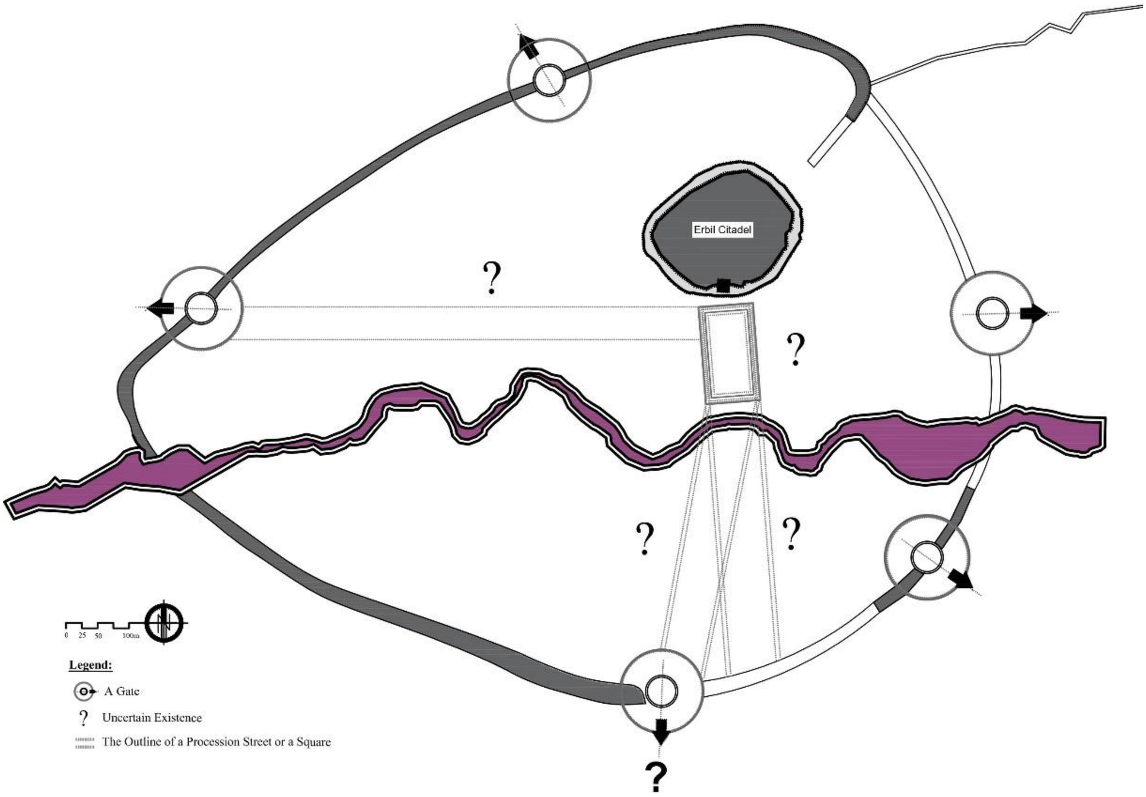

Figure 3.30: The outline of the city of Erbil during the Assyrian period.

d) The Beliefs and the Way of Life

I am Ishtar of Arbela!
I shall lie in wait for your enemies
I shall give them to you
I Ishtar of Arbela will go before you and behind you
……………………..
O king of Assyria, fear not!
The enemy of the king of Assyria I will deliver to slaughter[143]
(Pritchard 2011, p. 398)

In the Neo-Assyrian era some small amount of information regarding ritual and religious activities and the way of life in Erbil is available. “Arbail was the seat of ecstatic prophetesses, who uttered oracular pronouncements” (MacGinnies 2014, p. 34). It was also the seat of the governor who had administrative and military responsibility for the entire province. It has been indicated earlier that Erbil was both a departure and return

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[143] Oracular texts were recited to Esarhaddon; King of Assyria, by priestesses speaking on behalf of the goddess Ishtar, which confirms Ishtar’s role in warfare.

point for military campaigns and also a place of celebration following the return from battle, the main ceremony being the triumphal entry and victory celebration of the king on reaching the city following a successful campaign (ibid. p. 40). Before each battle the king prayed to Ishtar Arbail, asking for her blessings and power to fight against his enemies. After receiving blessings and support from Ishtar Arbail, preparations for war began. Very little information has been identified with regard to the cultic procedure relating to Ishtar Arbail; however, a letter written by Esarhaddon after his entry to Erbil reports that this ritual was carried out. Arbail was a place where court cases were heard, taxes paid, slaves and houses traded and marriages occurred, business ventures and ritual practices performed. The temple of Ishtar Arbail was involved in every aspect of life; it had a scribal school, which can be considered a major school in Assyria, and which, at the same time, functioned as a bank, lending grain, silver and copper to merchants (MacGinnies 2014, pp. 31-35; Amin 2013). In short, the city of Erbil offered the activities that constituted ordinary life for the people who lived and worshipped in it.

3.2.2 Erbil After the Assyrian Period

Following this important stage of the Assyrian era where Erbil had an essential position, the Medes, who collaborated with Babylonian leaders, defeated the Assyrians[144] and Erbil came under their rule in the year 612. There is no evidence at this stage to indicate that Arbail/Erbil became part of Neo-Babylonian Empire; information on this period is sparse. What is known is that Erbil came under the control of the Medes, who destroyed all the Assyrian cities and temples but kept and renovated Erbil and the Ishtar temple, probably due to its religious importance. Between the periods (547 -331) Erbil fell under the rule of the Achaemenids[145] and was one of the largest cities in the region, remaining

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[144] “*What happened to the Assyrians after the fall of Assyria? This is a question that is not easy to answer for two reasons. Firstly, the issue has hardly been touched by Assyriologists. Most of them seem to tacitly agree with the idea of a more or less total wipe-out, as suggested by Sidney Smith in 1925: "The disappearance of the Assyrian people will always remain a unique and striking phenomenon in ancient history. Other, similar kingdoms and empires have indeed passed away but the people have lived on... No other land seems to have been sacked and pillaged so completely as was Assyria. Secondly, in contrast to the abundance of information from the imperial period, information on post-empire Assyria and Assyrians is scanty and scattered. The near-total lack of information from Assyria itself would seem to support the idea of a genocide, which also seems to be supported by ancient eye-witness testimonies. When the Greek historian Xenophon 200 years after Nineveh's fall passed through the Assyrian heartland and visited the sites of two great Assyrian cities, he found nothing but ruin and could not retrieve much about them from the nearby villagers. The territory where these deserted cities lay was now Median, and the Greeks assumed that their former inhabitants had likewise been Medes” (Parpola 1999).* From Assyrians after Assyria by Dr. Simo Parpola, University of Helsinki.

[145] In this period the traces of writings that survived on Erbil focused on describing the city’s administrative role and noticeable position during the rule of the Achaemenids”.

so until the decisive battle near the village of Gaugamelathe in 331, when Alexander the Great defeated Darius III [146] of Persia. This battle was called the 'Battle of Arbela' due to its proximity to Erbil citadel, a prominent city at that period. It has been said that Alexander stayed in Erbil for a couple of days (Ismail 1986, p. 56; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 4). The history of Erbil/Arbail, given above, shows that the city passed through different events and held different positions under various dynasties and these changes definitely impacted its urban environment and way of life.

3.2.3 Adiabene Period

During the time of Parthian Empire (226-148 BC) Erbil became the capital of the Kingdom of Hidyab/Adiabene[147], which had independent politics[148]. Some historians have referred to the region of Adiabene as 'old Ashur' according to Latin and Hebrew writings; some of the Parthian kings were even buried in the citadel. In the year 83 the King of Armenia invaded Hadyab or Adiabene and Erbil. However, the Parthian kings allied themselves with the Romans to fight the Armenians (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2008, p. 260). The Emperor Caracalla invaded Erbil following his return from the Ctesiphon campaign in 216 CE the Emperor Caracalla invaded Erbil and disinterred the tombs of the kings of Parthia. Ten years later in 226 AD Ardashir initiated the Sassanian period and later the Romans fled from Erbil. The Adiabene region was bounded by the two Zab Rivers and at some periods reached as far as Azerbaijan (figure 3.31). By the end of the Byzantine and Sassanian conflict and in the year 637, Muslims advanced towards Erbil and the city then entered a new stage where it first lost its importance, but later flourished in 11th and 12th centuries (Amin 2014; Nováček et al., 2008, pp. 260-261; Ismail 1986, p. 56). Despite the wealth of historical information, there are no descriptions of Erbil's urban settlements (Attu 2011, p. 6; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 4). However, it can be inferred that there were temples[149], cemeteries and settlements, as the citadel embraced the Parthian king's tombs.

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[146] It has been said that King Darius III later escaped to the Erbil citadel; where he hid his treasures before fleeing to Ecbatana (MacGinnis 2014, p. 21; Doxiadis, 1958, p. 5).

[147] Adiabene could mean the region of the two Zabs (Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 4). At one period its region increased in size to extending to the western part of the Euphrates River and the Kingdom's borders took in the major part of the Assyrian empire. Some historians refer to all this area as Hazza.

[148] Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son, converted to Judaism. Later the kingdom took an active part in the Jewish war against Rome (66 CE–73CE).

[149] In addition, masjid or small mosque named alkaff, located in the northern east citadel. According to the assumption of the historian Abudlraqib Yousef who states this masjid, which has a palm imprint, was a Metrain temple; formerly referred to by the people as call as Penja Ali, the palm print of Imam Ali, the

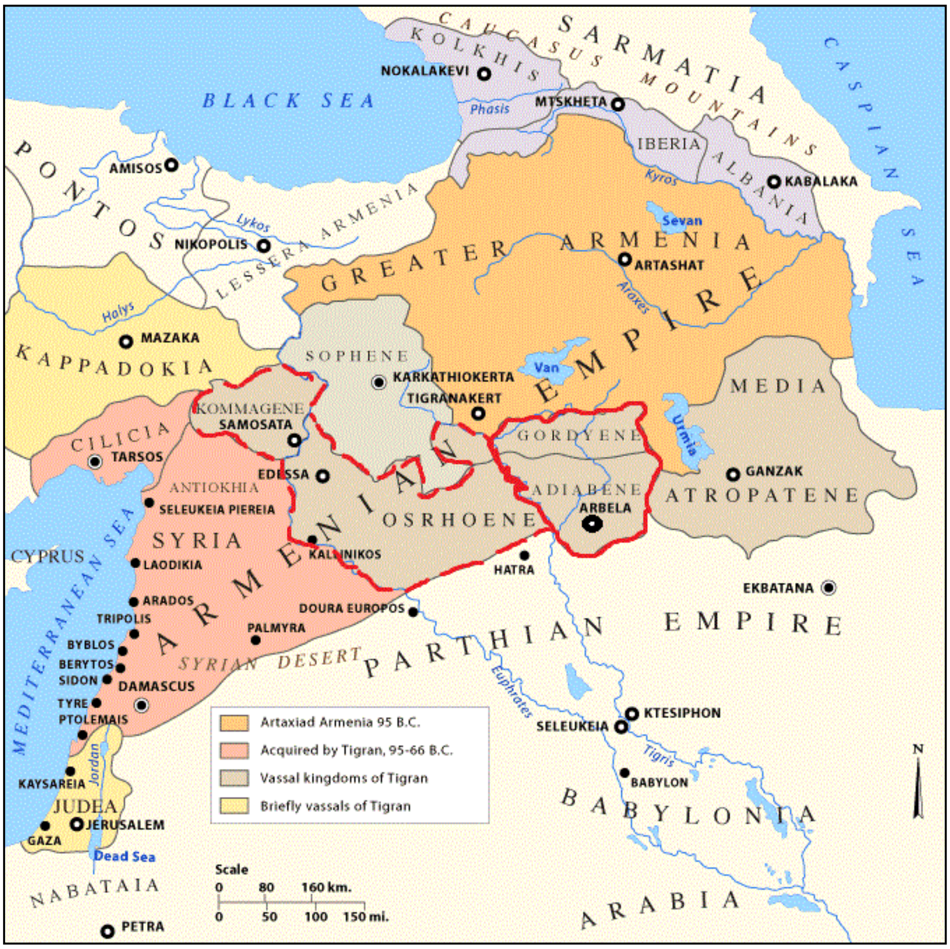

Figure 3.31: The kingdom of Adiabene and its capital, Erbil, around 95-66 BC
Source: Adapted from (Armenica.org)

Beliefs and Way of Life

Erbil became the centre of the Adiabene kingdom[150]; it embraced different religions, such as Zoroastrian, Judaism, Christianity and minor beliefs like Ishtar, tree and stone worship (Roux 1992, pp. 214-217; Ismail 1986, p. 70). During Sasanian rule, around 500 CE, Christianity began to spread and Erbil became one of its centres (Ismail 1986, pp. 60-63; Baqir and Safar 1966, p. 4). Some Sassanian kings were influenced by their religious clerics, who were followers of the established religion, Zoroaster, resisted this new belief however, and ultimately, Erbil maintained its Zoroastrian and Christian religious centres, although its administrative and military centre moved to the site named Azza/Hazza.

Prophet Muhammad’s cousin. This is far from the facts as Imam Ali never reached this area (Yousef 2015; Husseyn 2014).

[150] It has been said that the queen of Adiabene kingdom converted with her son from Zoroastrianism to Judaism. Her tomb still exists in Jerusalem.

In terms of the annual ritual, there is no information on the festivals in Erbil during that period, but it can be assumed that one major festival was Newroz (which could have Mesopotamian roots) as it is associated with the Mithraism and Zoroastrian religions[151] that were the main religions of the Sassanid period. This festival continues to be celebrated today. Newroz was recognised by the Prophet Zoroaster who chose to celebrate it in spring[152] time and it coincide with other ancient celebrations[153]. It is one of seven festivals occurring during the year and is particularly important as it represents a new day of eternal life (Boyce 1979, pp. 32-34). It is also the day where Rapithwa, the spirit of noon and personification of summer, associated with Asha Vahishta, who represents truth and justice in the material world and is associated with fire (Eastburn 2015, p. 254), returns to earth and celebrates spring, following the retreat underground by the Rapithwa, the spirit of winter. Rapithwa goes underground to protect the roots of plants (Shoshan 1993, pp. 40; Yarshater 1983, pp. 797-798; UNESCO Silk Road n.d.). This day is also considered by Kurdish and Iranian communities to be the first day of the New Year. No information can be offered to illustrate what actually happened at the Adiabene kingdom's time, but fire was definitely one important element in this day as it represented one of the archangels and remains a key element in the festivities nowadays.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the part of the origin of the urban core and paved the way to investigate the roots of Erbil city more, emphasising the urban core, which will become the base or the foundation for upcoming chapters that address the change and persistence of the city urban core throughout history. In this chapter, an overview on Erbil city was given, in addition to a critical perspective and analysis of the roots of the city and its urban core. There was a missing link in the chain in the history of Erbil and that is what made some historians and archaeologists doubt the temple of Ishtar was inside Erbil's

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[151] "Ahura Mazda is depicted in the Zoroastrian scriptures as a kind of trinity: "Praise to thee, Ahura Mazda, threefold before other creations." From Ahura Mazda came a duality: the twin spirits of Spenta Mainyu (the Holy or Bountiful Spirit) and Angra Mainyu (the Destructive or Opposing Spirit)" (Dinshaw and Hutoxy 2003).

[152] Newroz is very similar to the Mesopotamia celebration of spring and its myths of Ishtar and Tammuz where Tammuz goes underground during the winter and then resurrects on 21st of March, the spring equinox which is equal to the 1st of Nissan or Nishan in Babylonian calendar.

[153] This day is happening on the spring equinox, which is similar to Tumuz and Ishtar celebration in Mesopotamia

citadel - the assumption of the current study needs tangible evidence through excavation inside the citadel and the Tells of Azza. Based on the interviews, observations, comparisons and the analyses that were done on different sources, this chapter suggests that the temple of Ishtar Arbela, temple of Egashkalamma, was inside the citadel and Erbil is the city where the military tortured enemy captives and held execution ceremonies following the return of the king from each campaign. A second shrine for Ishtar is located in Milkia area, outside Erbil in the Akitu house[154] and called ‘Egaledinna’. This study, assumed (based of Al-Badri findings that however took another approach) that steppe in Milkia is Azza. However, it suggested that Azza area had the second shrine of the goddess Ishtar (not the main one as Al-Badri believed). In this actual place Ishtar, when she travelled from Arbail to Milkia, worshipped under the name ‘Shatru’ and her statue placed in Milkia area until the king returned from war, to make a small celebration then returned with Ishtar to Arbail city to held a big festival. The urban elements of Erbil city probably included an avenue that perhaps ended with a public space situated in the city urban core (i.e. beneath the south part of the citadel, where ceremonies and processions used to be held) and probably connected Arbail with Azza (Milkia) and Kirkuk (Arabkha) city. This also might highlight the availability and the persistency of this public space which will be illustrated in chapter 4. Other urban elements were the city double walls[155], moat, and gates. This chapter paved the way to investigate the roots of Erbil city with emphasis on the city urban core. The next chapter will focus on Erbil after the arrival of Islam

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[154] In this place the annual festival of Demuz and Ishtar used to be held.

[155] Regarding the city wall, the findings of the Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) matched with the alabaster relief and the historic texts. They were impressed with this massive wall but they did not state that it was a double wall

CHAPTER FOUR:

ERBIL, THE PROSPEROUS CITY

Chapter 4: ERBIL, THE PROSPEROUS CITY

Introduction

From the previous chapter that dealt with ancient Erbil, it is clear that the city has occupied many significant administrative and religious positions in the region. In order to accomplish the aim of this research, which is to trace and understand both the change and the persistence of Erbil's urban core, it is vital to provide the reader with abroad understanding of its urban origin by digging even further into the past to better uncover those changes. This chapter will focus on sources relevant to the Islamic era, specifically, the prominent Hathebani (906-1128 CE) and Attabeg (1128-1232 CE) periods. The result of the analysis, which aims to shed light on the city's features, will help the search to better understand the situation and the outline of Erbil's urban core and its relationship with the rest of the city.

4.1 Erbil During the Emergence of Islam

Sources that illuminate the beginning of Islamic period in Erbil are scarce (Al-Genabi 1987, p. 17). The majority of recorded historical incidents are short and scattered, and those recorded in some books relate specifically to the era in which the historians or authors lived. Following the coming of Islam, the name Erbil[156] did not appear in the writings of historians, although names of other areas and states, such as Shahrazour, Mosul and Hilwan were cited. For example, Al-Balatheri (1901 [9th century], pp. 332-334) states that the Shahrazour area and nearby cities were conquered by Utba Ibn Farqad in 641CE and those Muslims who fought the Kurds in that area encountered strong resistance. However, various other historians and Arab geographers, such as, Al-Tabari (9th century), Al-Yacoubi (9th century), Al-Maqdisi (10th century), Al-Masoudi (10th century), and Al-Bakri (11th century) did not refer to Erbil or its surrounding area. For that Islamic era different historians in the 20th and 21st centuries introduced various hypotheses in attempting to justify the disappearance of Erbil's name from the literature. Some indicated that the city had changed and become a small, neglected town, unattractive to travellers; others suggested that perhaps the city was no more than a small

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[156] Some, rather weak sources indicated that when the Islamic army, led by Iyadh Abi Ghanam, arrived in Erbil the population of Erbil accepted Islam willingly. At that time the majority of citizens were Christians and Jews; some converted to Islam while others retained their traditional religious affiliations (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015, Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 78).

town belonging to the Shahrazour or Al-Jazira region. A further attempt at an explanation is the suggestion that Islam's progress was so fast that information for all regions, cities and villages were never fully documented (Hussyein 2015, p. 33; Amin 2013). The name Hazza, not Erbil, does appear several times in Islamic sources, and some historians and archaeologists contend that Hazza probably refers to the whole of the Erbil region, as the abbreviation of Adabiane was Hazza. Others state that Hazza is Azza, an area located outside Erbil and prosperous at that time. The name Erbil did appear again in the 10th century during the late Abbasid period, when it became an independent emirate.

4.2 The Hathebani Period

During Hathebani rule (906 - 1128) specifically the rule of the Kurdish Amir Abu Al-Hijaa Al-Hathebani, Erbil's importance began to rise; reaching its peak during the period of the Attabeg dynasty - initially are invaders who then settled in Erbil. As a consequence of being a centre of an independent emirate ruled by the Al-Hathebani Kurdish families or clans,[157] Erbil and its neighbouring territories became economically and politically strong. It developed well known as a centre for scientists and students from other cities, who met and taught there (Hussyein et al. 2012, p. 44).

Almost no written texts exist to help research envisage Erbil's outline and its urban environment in this period (Hussyein 2014, p. 37; Al-Mudaris 2003, p. 40). Around the 10th century, however, Ibn Hawqal (probably d. 988) indirectly refers to the residential neighbourhood of Erbil in his description of the material and height of the houses in Al-Bawazij, a town located in the same area as Erbil, close to Little/Lower Zab[158]. He indicates that the condition of its buildings was better than that in Erbil (Ibn Hawqal 1964 [10th century], p. 239); perhaps because some Erbil's houses were built of earthen brick, which is not weather resistant. Despite this knowledge of the city's importance during Hathebani rule, there are no descriptions of Erbil's urban environment, except brief historical writings indicating that some public institutions and schools were built by the Kurdish amir/prince Abu Al-Hijaa Al-Hathebani. Records for this period note the existence of many markets and shops, the sale of transcripts books i.e. original

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[157] Dr. Taha Baqir states in his book *"An Introduction to the History of Ancient Civilisations"* that the rulers of Erbil, known as the Hathebani, were Kurds (Baqir, 1952, p.105). Ismail (1986, p.70) states that the Kurdish Hathebani and Hakamia families used to fight each other for the right to dominate the city.

[158] Littlie Zab is a small river originates in Iran and joins the Tigris in the Iraqi Kurdistan.

documents, and cultural and scientific institutions, such as the Dar Al-Hadeth religious school and the Ribat Al-Zahid, a building with a function akin to a monastery or a religious lodge. These institutions were noted in the text of Ibn Al-Mustawfi in 12th century, who stated that they were located in the south part of the citadel (this is a first indication relating to the function of the urban public space).

A few archaeological traces remain in the western part of the lower land and they include: the remains of an ancient mosque[159] (at that time it was referred to as '*aljami'a ala'tiq*') existed till the beginning of 20th century with the old minaret, added during the Attabeg period, still persisting; this indicates that during this period the city stretched westward. In addition, the city had an eastern gate called Al-Fahammyia (Yousef 2015), possibly referred to as the Farah gate in the following period; or, if it had to be replaced, the new gate may have been named the Farah gate. The studies by (Hussyein et al. 2012, p. 49; Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2008, p. 261; Al-Mudaris 2003, p. 41; Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 21) highlight their belief that the Attabeg period was the most significant stage in the positioning of Erbil as a prominent city among other cities in the SWANAAP region, and this impacted on Erbil's urban pattern. However, by looking at traces left in Erbil and the direction of the city's urban expansion it can be said that Erbil's growth and development may have continued to follow the pattern of the urban fabric bequeathed to it by the preceding Hathebani Emirate (906-1128), or possibly by an even earlier society i.e. Assyrian era and others (see Chapter 3), who paved the way for its rise in significance during the Attabeg period. Figure 4.1 is a sketch map showing the possible layout of the city at that period. It contains the proposed city wall (that is drawn in a dashed-grey line, as there was possibly no city wall at that time, or just traces of a wall), the walled citadel, the old mosque, Basté valley and the existing Eastern city gate (Al-Fahammyia Gate), with the Ribat Al-Zahid marked as '1' in the drawing. The question marks are positioned to denote the ambiguous location and existence of settlements and institutions, and the other city (unknown) gates. In 1128, the Hathebani were defeated: Erbil became one of the Begtegin Emirates and was governed by Imad Al-Din Zengi.

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[159] The old mosque: it is not clear whether this ancient mosque and its madrasa (school) belonged to Hathebani period or before. Based on the dimensions of the bricks it has been suggested that it might belong to the Umayyad Caliphate or early Abbasid period. A few Abbasid coins have been found in that area.

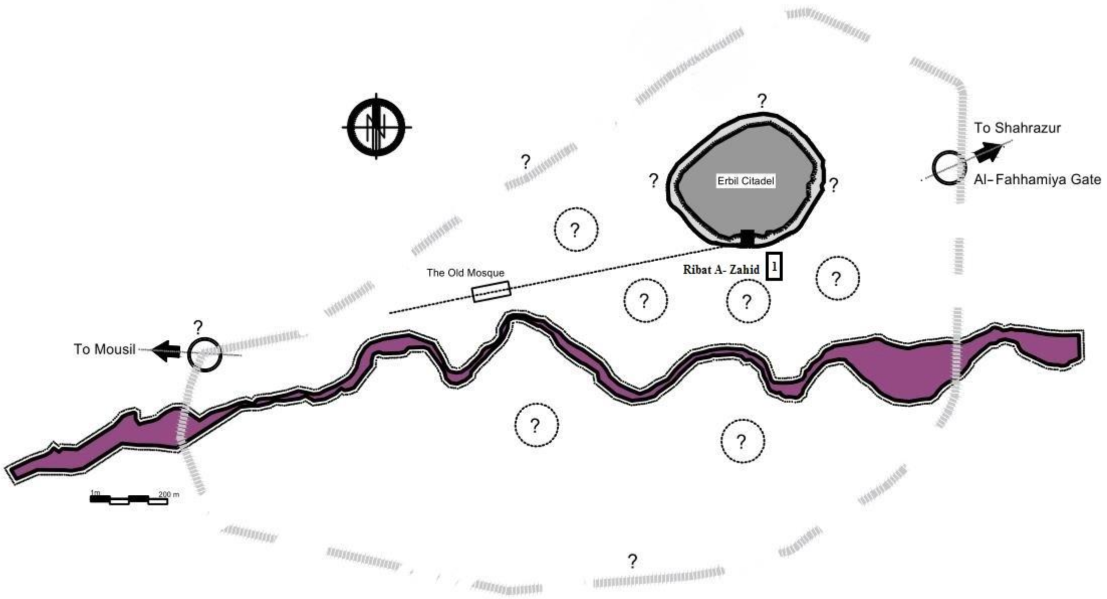

Figure 4.1: Erbil during the Hathebani period

4.2.1 The Way of Life

The written records detailing daily life at that time are sparse. What is known is that Islam was the main religion, with Judaism and Christianity[160] minorities. The majority of Erbil's inhabitants were Kurds as well as other ethnicities. The rulers were also Kurds[161] who had migrated from Azerbaijan around the 5th or 6th centuries. There is no information on the celebration of any festivals although some writings indicate that people in the surrounding area used to pay a tax to celebrate Newroz[162] (Amin 2014).

4.3 The Attabeg Period

As in other periods, any attempt to examine this significant period is beset by a variety of obstacles due to the lack of comprehensive information. Nevertheless, the scattered

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[160] Other Christians moved to an area called Ainkawa, located to the north of Erbil.

[161] Hay (1921, p. 36) states that "The Kurds are an Aryan race, and are thought to be identical with a branch of the ancient Medes. He describes their language, as a pure language that belongs to the Indo-European languages". Mirawdeli (1993, p. 26) argues that "The Kurdish language is the most essential feature and socio-historical and spiritual medium of Kurdish identity and culture". Throughout history, this language has suffered from oppressive attempts by different powers to marginalise or obliterate it. Edmunds (1957, p. 7) indicates that the suppression caused some western travellers who visited the Kurdistan region in the 19th century, to describe the language as a corrupt form of Persian, or a mix of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. The Kurdish language is, in fact, considered older than the Persian language but was influenced by the main factors that affected the Kurds: religion and political powers. Some have claimed that the Kurdish alphabet was originally written from left to right. Following the arrival of Islam, however, the Arabic language became dominant and Kurdish was written from right to left in Arabic scripts.

[162] A poem was written to Mosul's ruler indicating that people in the city were celebrating Newroz day.

information has helped to envisage the situation. Currently the Attabeg architectural elements, other than an old minaret and three tombs, have disappeared as a result of the city's rapid growth in recent decades. Various methods were, therefore, required to collect information and construct a picture of Attabeg Erbil. These include written source, aerial photographs of different periods, archaeological and historical studies, and the snowball technique in interviews, and site visits.

Following the rule of the Al-Hathebani Kurds, Imad Al-Din Zengi, founder of the Attabeg of Mosul, attacked and seized Erbil in an attempt to increase his power by dominating the Kurdish emirates that surrounded Mosul city. After his invasion, he handed the administration of Erbil and other provinces of Adiabene to Zain Al-Din Ali Kukburi, founder of the Begtegin dynasty in Erbil. However, the ruler who made significant changes was his son, Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi (1190-1232) who had the administration of Erbil and other areas, such as Kirkuk and Shahrazour. During the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din (who had an enormous impact on the city's urban morphology) Erbil reached its peak and became one of the strongest cities of that era (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2008, p. 261; Al-Mudaris 2003, p. 41). The Orientalist Stretch[163] describes this era as being a *'Golden Age'* (Houtsmal 1987, p. 521). The ruler, Muzaffar Al-Din had a strong connection with the city: he first ruled it for a short period at the age of fourteen following his father's death. He left Erbil after a disagreement with his guardian but returned later (after the death of his brother, Zain Al-Din Yusuf, in 1190) during the rule of Salah Al-Din, his brother in law, who gave Erbil and the surrounding territory to Muẓaffar.

4.3.1 The City's Site Plan

Muẓaffar Al-Din[164] identified himself as equal to the leaders of other cities in the region. He was religious, with an inclination towards Sufism, as was clear from the many religious institutions he ordered to be built, and the annual celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. Under his rule, the city came to have a very distinctive urban area, to which people immigrated and then settled. In 1230 the Tartar Mongols, under their leader Hulagu, made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Erbil. When Muẓaffar Al-

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[163] The writings of the orientalist Stretch are in the *'Encyclopaedia of Islam'*.

[164] It is being said this ruler took money by force from the rich people of the city, sometimes imprisoning them, and helped the poor (Al-Hamawi [12th century] 1980).

Din Kukburi went to fight them he found they had fled. The Attabeg period ended after 44 years of rule, with the death of Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi in 1233. It was followed by numerous attacks against Erbil by different groups: Mongols, the Hulagu and neighbouring Arab and Kurdish tribes (this will be discussed in the following chapter). As the main concern of this study is Erbil's urban core, this section will introduce various possible scenarios as aids in identifying the city's functions and outline; consequently, this will help to identify the outline of the of the urban core. Four scenarios will be introduced, which aim to describe the site plan of the city in the 12th century, in addition to the scenario of the author of this study. The first scenario, which depends on written sources and archaeological evidence, was introduced by Doxiadis associates[165] in 1959 while they were working on the design of the master plan for Erbil and other cities in Iraq. Doxiadis' sketch map is significant as evidence of an older Erbil that was later destroyed by the boom in growth faced by the city. A second scenario is that of the historian Abdul-Raqib Yousef (2007) who attempted to trace the outlines of the old city based on historical writings, investigation, interviews, and by merging the Doxiadis sketch map with the google map. The third scenario comes from the investigations conducted between 2008 and 2011 by the archaeologists Karel Nováček, Narmin Ali Muhammad Amin and Miroslav Melčák the results from which were published in 2013. Their analyses used a variety of sources: travellers' descriptions, individual testimonies, satellite imagery, aerial photographs and archaeological remains. The use of remote sensing in the analysis allowed them to probe more comprehensively than ever before and thus provide a significant city pattern in greater detail than that produced by Doxiadis. Nevertheless, their proposal remains hypothetical and the locations given for some components are in contradiction to those offered by other historians and some historical sources. Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) also tried to trace the fortification system of Erbil in line with their hypothesis on the Assyrian walls. A fourth scenario has been based on the analysis and interpretation; it included a critical analysis of the above-mentioned scenarios, historical analysis, visual analysis to the satellite imagery, aerial photographs, comparison with other historic tell cities in the SWANAAP region.

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[165] I found the Doxiadis sketch map inside a report in the Doxiadis Archive in Athens; it was part of Doxiadis' research into Erbil's historical background.

The Doxiadis Scenario (1959)

The sketch map (figure 4.2), produced by Doxiadis in 1959, describing Erbil in 1233 is very abstract, lacks detail and was perceived as no more than a piece of informative historical background; probably because the principal aim was to produce a master plan for the modern city of the 1950s. Nevertheless, Doxiadis' drawing (aside from Hertzfeld Sketch map, 1916) is considered to be the first attempt to address the outline and archaeological features of the city in that era. The sketch emphasises some essential urban elements, such as the wall that surrounded the citadel (Qal'aa) and the oblique path between the main south gate and the old minaret called the 'Al-Muẓaffaria minaret'. Adjacent to this path and approximately on its middle southern side, the sites of the bazar and the Khanaqa area were located. The valley Basté into which the water drained was shown, and behind this the site of two unnamed schools was indicated. The map also highlighted a path drawn by a dashed line and marked as 'trace of a road'; this was located in the area to the south, below the citadel. The path is currently referred to as the Kirkuk road. With regard to the citadel, the map revealed that it was surrounded by a wall and a moat and three gates.

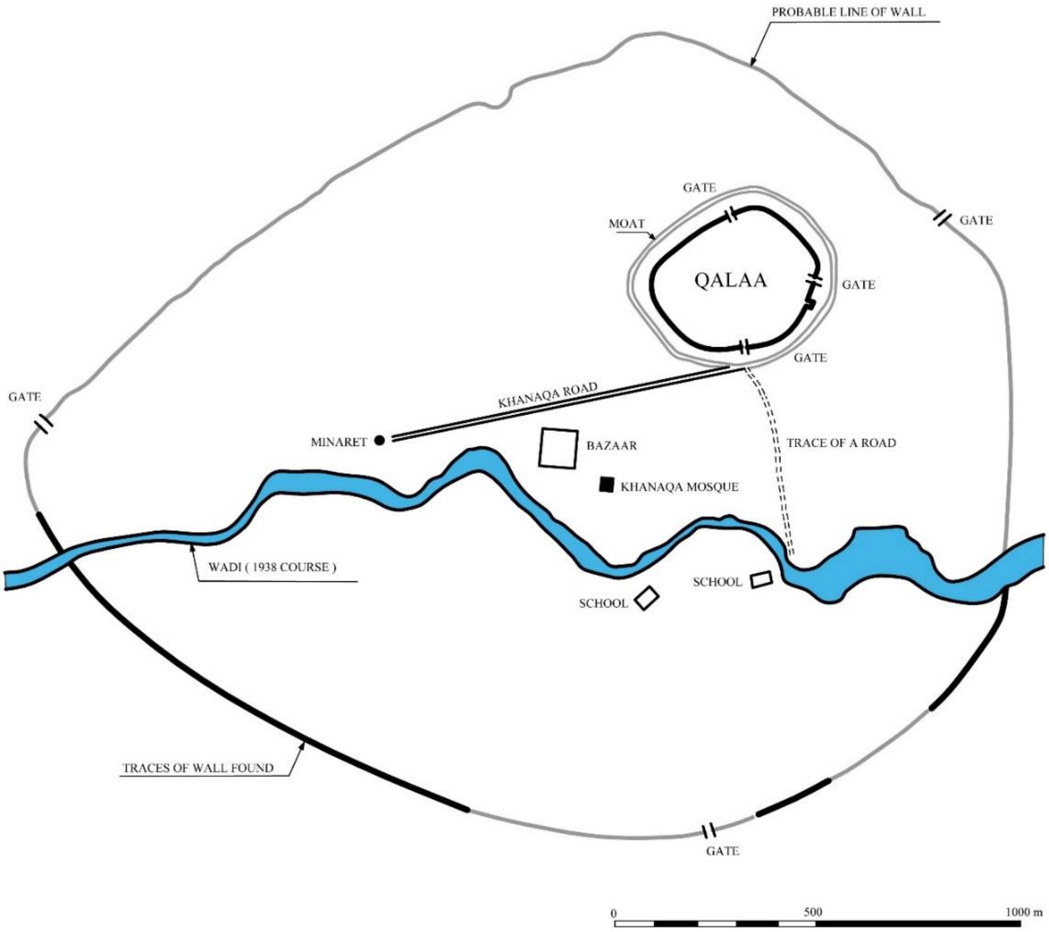

Figure 4.2: The city of Erbil in 1233 CE
Source: Redrawn from (Doxiadis report 1959, p. 13)

Although, as mentioned earlier, the information introduced by Doxiadis is abstract with some uncertain facts, it is considered to be the first attempt to bring together some written sources and the archaeological evidence on a map. It introduced a hypothesis, which offers an expression of the city's urban elements as known in 13th century. It is clear from the bibliography and the drawings in the report that Doxiadis' survey of material found in the historical sources was brief, as these historical sources offer information later ignored in Doxiadis' proposal. For example, the contradiction in the two differing options for the relationship between the city wall and the citadel was neglected as the team opted to follow the Abu Al-Fida descriptions, while the Al-Hamawi source was used in Doxiadis' report but his description regarding the wall was not shaded. Neither was there any indication of the *maidan*, i.e. the public square, which was located in the south part of the citadel. There is ambiguity surrounding the drawing of the dashed line, which possibly represents the current position of the Kirkuk Road and the location of the Khanaqa and the bazar area; there is no evidence to show the reason behind the choice of this area for the location of the bazar. It can, however, be suggested that Doxiadis might have found some similarity between Aleppo and Erbil: both were prosperous at that time, each had a citadel and a gate located in the south part of the city. Hence, Doxiadis may well have positioned Erbil's bazar to follow the site of Aleppo's, which was certainly located in the western part of Aleppo's citadel.

Abdul Raqib Yousef Scenario (2007)

Between 1982 and 2006 the noted Kurdish historian and researcher Abdul Raqib Yousef conducted research with a view to uncovering traces of Erbil's city wall and its gates. The findings were written in a report that was handed to UNESCO, and published in the Al-Ta'akhi newspaper in 2007. In 1982, he conducted another research regarding the gates and was submitted as a report to the Director General of Antiquities and Museums of the Northern Region of Iraq and to the Erbil Governorate. In his research Abdul Raqib Yousef used various methods to collect information based firstly on historical sources and on unstructured interviews[166] with a large number of elderly people, some of whom were in their eighties. He also walked through Erbil's streets, old alleyways and its vacant land. Following this, and by making use of the Doxiadis sketch map and merging it with a google map, he was able to trace the city wall, the citadel and the city's gates

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[166] All the interviews were video recorded

(Yousef 2015; Yousef 2010, pp. 2-4; Yousef 2007, pp. 1-12). Figure 4.3 illustrates the process of merging the google map with the Doxiadis sketch map.

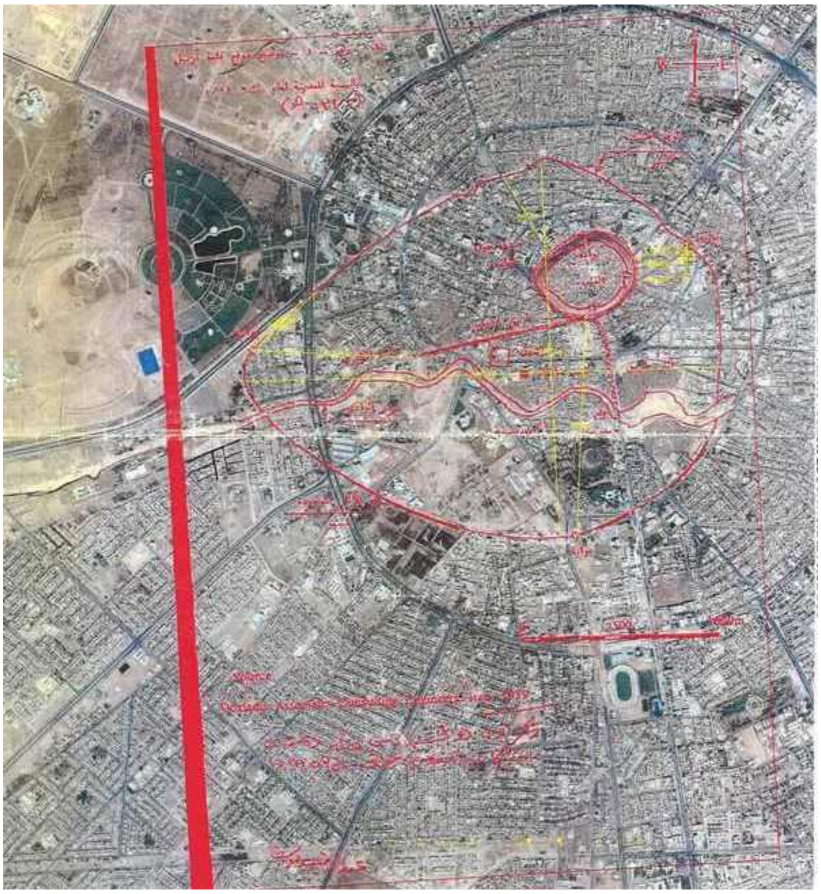

Figure 4.3: Merging the google map with the Doxiadis sketch map
Sources: Abdul Raqib Yousef

Yousef stated that the citadel had four gates; the north, south, east, and west gates. Knowledge of the east and west citadel gates was based on a comparison of field work with historical sources provided by Ibn Al-Mustawfi (d.1239), who made an indirect allusion to the existence of a tomb near the east and west gates. In Yousef's opinion the west gate might have been demolished and houses built on its site. He also states that a north gate existed in the Attabeg period but it was probably closed and later reopened in 1926 or 1927 by the *Mutasarif (*governor of Erbil), Ahmad Afandi. With regard to the lower city, he concluded that Erbil had four gates: the east gate (Bab Al-Farah[167]), the west gate (Bab Al-Mosul), the south gate (unnamed) and the north, and largest, gate (Bab Amka). In addition, there was the old eastern gate called the Bab Al-Fahammyia. The significant findings were the approximate location of the Khanaqa Al-Junaina (Sufi lodge) and of the madrasa/school called the Faqira or the Tin (mud), located near the

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[167] The Farah (means joy) gate was located near the current Shaqlawa roundabout (now the roundabout named Shaikh Mustafa Naqshbandi). Bab means gate; Bab Al-Farah which is The Farah Gate

Bab Al-Farah on the citadel's east side[168]. In the1950s traces of the northwest part of the foundations of the city walls were found by local people and workers near the Al-Allaf mosque and the governorate building. The city in this period had a maidan (public square), located in the south part of the citadel beneath its south gate: this reached out towards the valley where the old cemetery was located. The Khanaqa were located to the east side of the maidan, and the bazar and the old qaisaria were probably to its west (Yousef 2015). The old cemetery was named by Ibn Al-Mustawfi as the cemetery of the Maidan. This cemetery persisted until the early 2000s when a huge commercial project, Bazari Nashtimn[169], was built in its place. By excavating of the project on the site of the cemetery, three layers were discovered: two belonged to the Islamic era i.e. 12th and 18th centuries and the third layer was pre-Islamic and contained large ceramic jars in which dead bodies were buried. Figure 4.4 shows the locations at which the old Maidan and the old cemetery existed; 'A' marks traces of the city wall, 'B' is the location of the masjid (similar to mosque) Al-Shaikh Mustafa, and 'C' is the approximate location of the Farah gate. A question mark represents the approximate location of the Bab Al-Fahammyia Gate. Figure 4.5 is elaboration was based on Yousef's report, interview and email communication 2015.

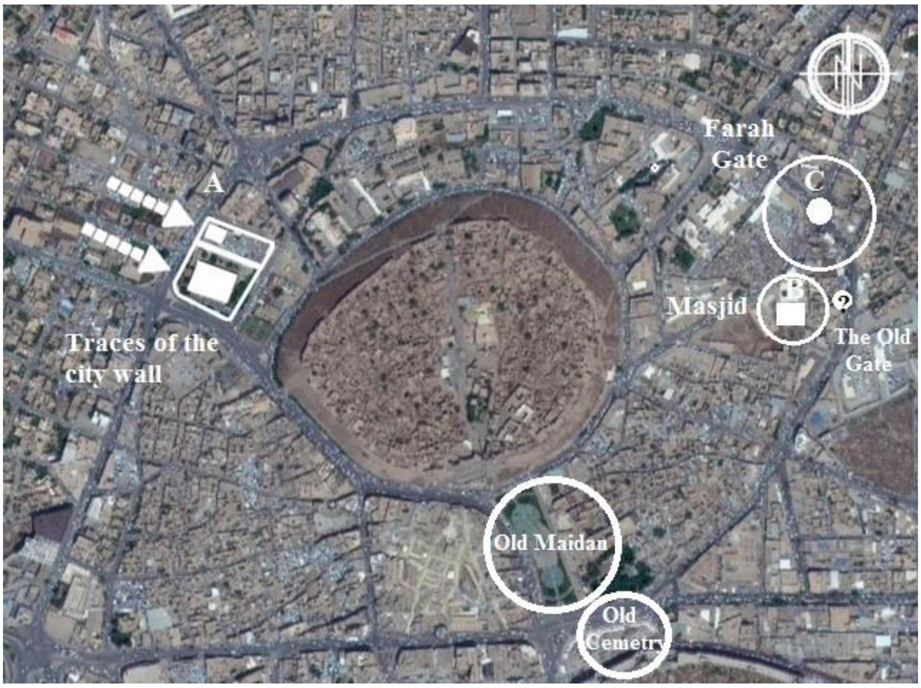

Figure 4.4: Traces of the old city: the findings of Yousef (2007)
(A) the location at which traces of the city wall were found in the 1960s: the mosque (the white block) and Erbil Governorate (the big block), **(B)** Masjid Al-Shaikh Mustafa, **(C)** the approximate location of the Farah Gate, **(?)** the approximate location of the Bab Al-Fahammyia Gate

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[168] This will be discussed in detail in the researcher's scenario as a comparison will be made between the Yousef (2007) and Nováček et al. (2013) hypotheses and findings.

[169] Another huge commercial project is currently under construction

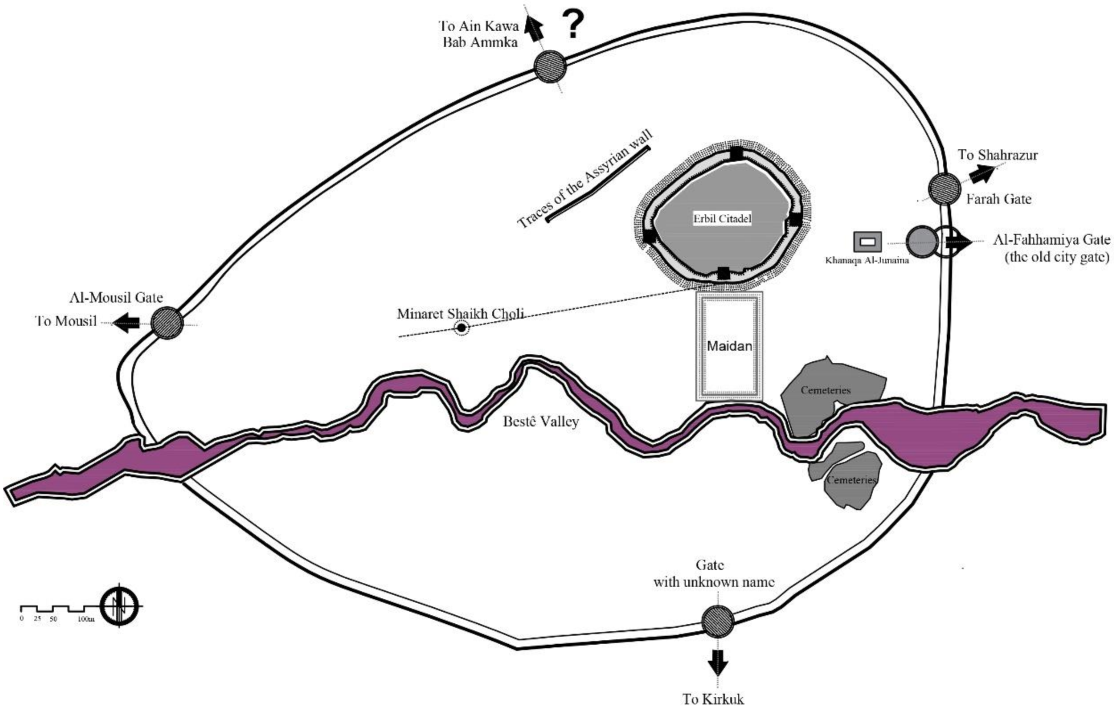

Figure 4.5: Abdul Raqib Yousef's Scenario for the city of Erbil in 12th century

The Nováček, Amin, and Melčák Scenario (2013)

The archaeologists Karel Nováček, Narmin Ali Muhammad Amin and Miroslav Melčák, produced a map on which the architectural components and urban elements are placed to fit their hypothesis. They divided the city into a citadel area and three other sectors, which represent the lower city, rabidh. According to the literature, the 12th century city of Erbil was a large complex that included a citadel on a hill surrounded by a deep ditch, while the expansion in the lower part of the city tended to be wide and long. Based on their understanding of the historical texts, a hypothetical relationship between the architectural components excerpted from different sources was suggested and some buildings were placed in specific sectors; for others, however, it proved impossible to establish their location. Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013, p. 9) divide the city into a citadel and lower land with three sectors. They introduce around seventy buildings and other architectural structures, just a few of which were positioned very approximately in the city and the original locations of the rest were uncertain. Inside the citadel was a ruler's palace called *Dar Al-Imara*, a congregational mosque - the fundamental gathering point of religious life, and the *Madrasa Al-Qalʿa,* the citadel school. It was impossible for them to site these components precisely[170].

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[170] In the 12th century after the Attabeg period, the Christians of Baghdad immigrated to Erbil following the Mongol attacks. They settled in the citadel and built architectural elements, such as the Nestorian

The lower city was divided into three sectors; the first started from the citadel gate onwards and its area sprawled to the south. Descriptions of the celebrations of the Prophet’s Birthday helped the researchers to visualise the layout of this area in detail. In this sector there was a vast open space maidan below the citadel; it was drawn on the map as an avenue with the name ‘Tell Zutti’. At the end of the avenue, a gate called the ‘Bab Al-Maydan’ or Al-Maidan was situated in the south or southeast of the city with a small cemetery located close Bab Al-Farah in the south part of the city (with regard to the position of Farah Gate, it has been suggested that it stood as an access point into the city and was close to the Khanaqa Al-Junaina). Approximate positions for some buildings were established; e.g. the Ribat Al-Zahid, the ascetic’s lodge, which was situated below the citadel on the eastern side of the maidan near to the Sufi lodge /Khanaqa - the building in which celebrations took place, and the nearby religious school for Shafi'i scholars called the Al-Madrasa Al-Faqira. They also identified the sites of cemeteries; the first being in the south valley, called Basté, south-east of what is now the Nishtiman building, while the second was placed near the Maidan in the south part of the citadel, and identified by some scholars as the cemetery of the Al-Maidan gate.

The second sector contains the east gate, the Bab Al-Fahammyia. The still-existing Masjid Al-Kaff was positioned near this last gate and, finally, the cemetery (Nováček, Amin, and Melčák 2013, pp. 10-11). Based on the opinions of Al-Naqshbandi (1989, p. 42) and local people, masjid Al-Kaff was attached to Imam Ali and theorised that this was probably the first sign of Shi'ite influence in Erbil[171]; this is far from reality. For the third sector, the lower land, speculation was based on the surviving monument from the Attabeg period, the Muẓaffaria minaret or, as some call it, the Choli[172] minaret (ibid., p. 11). From the results of the archaeological survey they suggest that the area of the Muẓaffaria minaret was a self-contained quarter where the buildings, in particular the Begtegin buildings, clustered around the old mosque. They assumed that the religious schools; Al-Madrasa Al-Muẓaffaria or Dar Al-Hadith were located in this area, where the congregational mosque, *Almasjid AlJamma’a*, was positioned. The Mosul gate[173]

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church and the Mar Behnam church which was probably either this church or the original church that existed in the citadel before the coming of Islam and later adapted as a mosque (or the original church that existed in the citadel before the coming of Islam was adapted to a mosque). Neither of these components was positioned on the map.

[171] This view will be discussed later in the fourth scenario

[172] Choli in the Kurdish and Arabic languages means the empty land or area.

[173] Near the location of the Mosul gate there was a grave

was identified. They also found other public buildings[174] but were unable to identify their original location. The entire city was surrounded by its wall, but the relationship between the citadel and the wall is debatable. Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013) did introduce two suggestions, one based on Ibn Al-Hamawi, the other on Abu Al-Fida account. Further investigation produced results in agreement with the Abu Al-Fida description. Based on the tracing the walls and by comparing the Assyrian with the medieval era, they also introduced a hypothesis that agrees to the fortification system. By finding some similarities in the outline, they concluded that the ruler Sultan Muẓaffar Al-Din who was responsible for rebuilding the city, followed traces of the Assyrian walls in some places (figure 4.6).

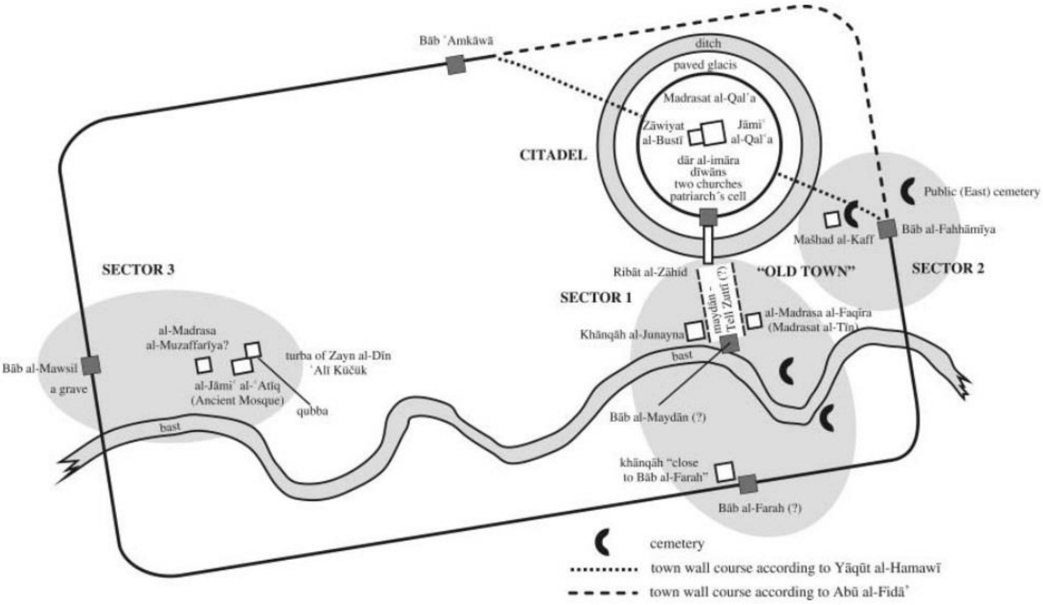

Figure 4.6: The hypothesis of the city's layout in 1233 AD
Sources: (Nováček, Amin, and Melčák 2013, p. 6)

Nováček, Amin, and Melčák also introduced a map carrying a further hypothesis that merges the mediaeval/12th century map with the Assyrian map; they also indicate the position of the Kahariz (canals), based on remote sensing. Figure 4.7 marks both the Assyrian and the Attabeg city wall and shows where the city of the Assyrian era was larger than that of the Attabeg period. The letter (A) marks the location of the two canals[175]. Nováček, Amin, and Melčák believed the ruler's residence to be in the citadel

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[174] The public buildings such as the *suq* Al-Bayatiriya and *Maristan* hospital (ibid., pp. 11-12)

[175] These canals were indicated in the Abu Al-Fida text. This result is significant as it helped Al-Hashimi to establish the possible location of the mosque and the Dar Al-Imara. However, Nováček, Amin, and Melčák merely noted these locations; there was no attempt to connect the Abu Al-Fida description with the canals in the lower city/the lowland. This was probably due to the debatable interpretation of Abu al-Fida's text (1840 [13th century], p. 413).

and assumed that he might have had a secondary residence in the lower city. With this hypothetical map, the suspected areas - to be addressed later by the researcher - are the citadel and the lower city, as included in the three sectors.

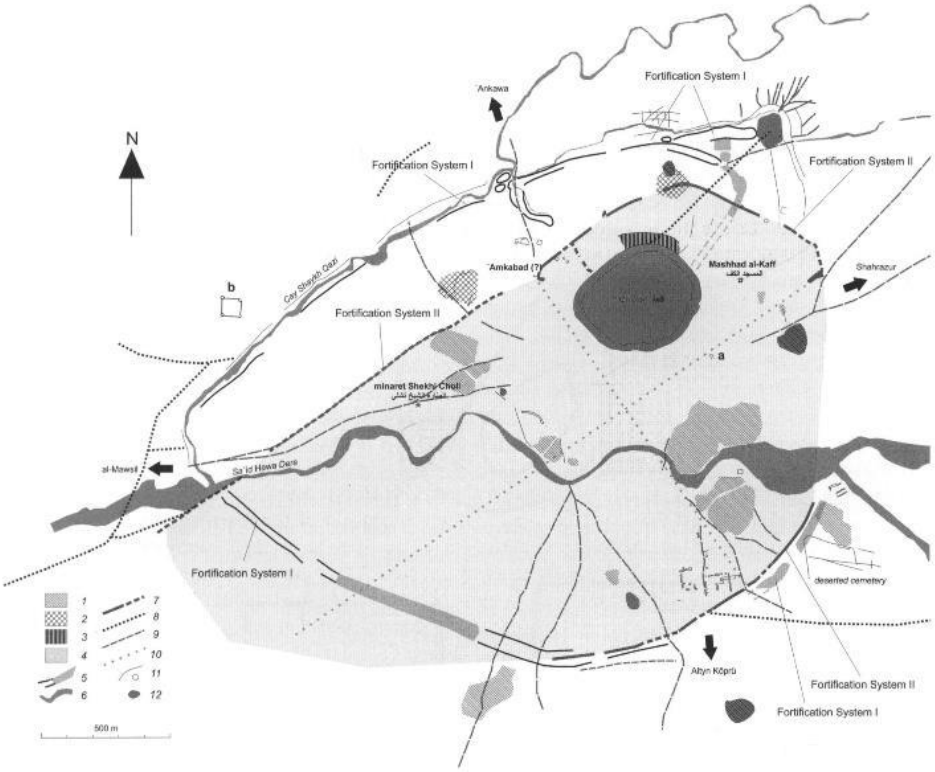


Figure 4.7: The fortification system of the Assyrian and the medieval periods
Based on satellite/aerial imagery and surveys. *"1- Islamic cemeteries, 2- area of low mounds and shallow depressions, 3- outer ditch of the citadel, 4- hypothetical extent of the medieval city, 5- remains of the (Assyrian) Fortification System I, 6- wadis, 7- medieval town wall both confirmed and conjectural, 8- subterranean aqueducts, 9- hollow ways, 10- conjectural city's main axes, 11- other linear and concentric features, 12- settlement mounds; archaeological section in the al-Khānaqā quarter (a), a square enclosure (b)".*
Sources: (Nováček, Amin, and Melčák 2013, p. 35)

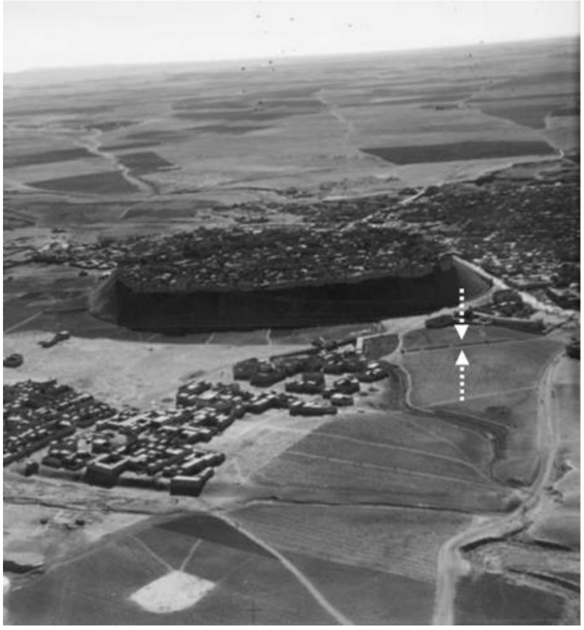
Farah Al-Hashimi Scenario

To envisage the city's site plan in the 12th century, it is important to take up a position with regard to the debatable issues relating to the relationship of the city with the city wall, the city and citadel gates and the sectors of the urban core, e.g. the location of Khanaqa, and the outline of the maidan.

The City Wall

The first issue that needs to be addressed is Erbil's city wall and its relationship to the citadel. In terms of this wall, this study agrees with the Nováček, Amin, and Melčák's (2013) findings that in the Attabeg period Erbil had a single wall and, at that time, the

Assyrian wall still formed part of the city's fortifications where the Assyrian wall stood and was still in use. Therefore, the wall traces that were found near the valley and the southern part are what led Doxiadis and later Yousef, to consider the outline of the Assyrian wall as being from the Attabeg period. Figure 4.8 illustrates the traces of the city wall in 1938 and (figure 4.9) shows the current situation of the area and the location where in 1951, traces of a wide wall were uncovered during the digging of the Al-A'llaf mosque foundations[176].



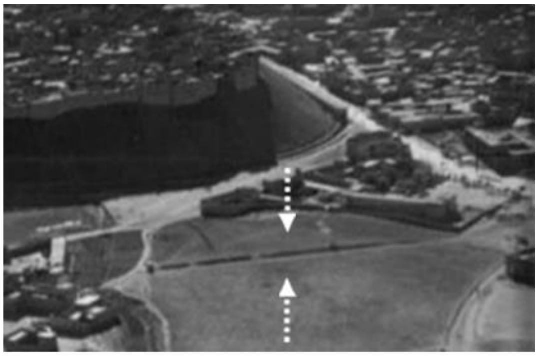


Figure 4.8: Traces of the city wall

A photograph taken from the northwest in 1938. Sections of this photo were used by the study of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013). **Source:** Modified from the original RAF photograph which was taken for Aurel Stein and kept in the archives of the British Academy, negative no.13857.

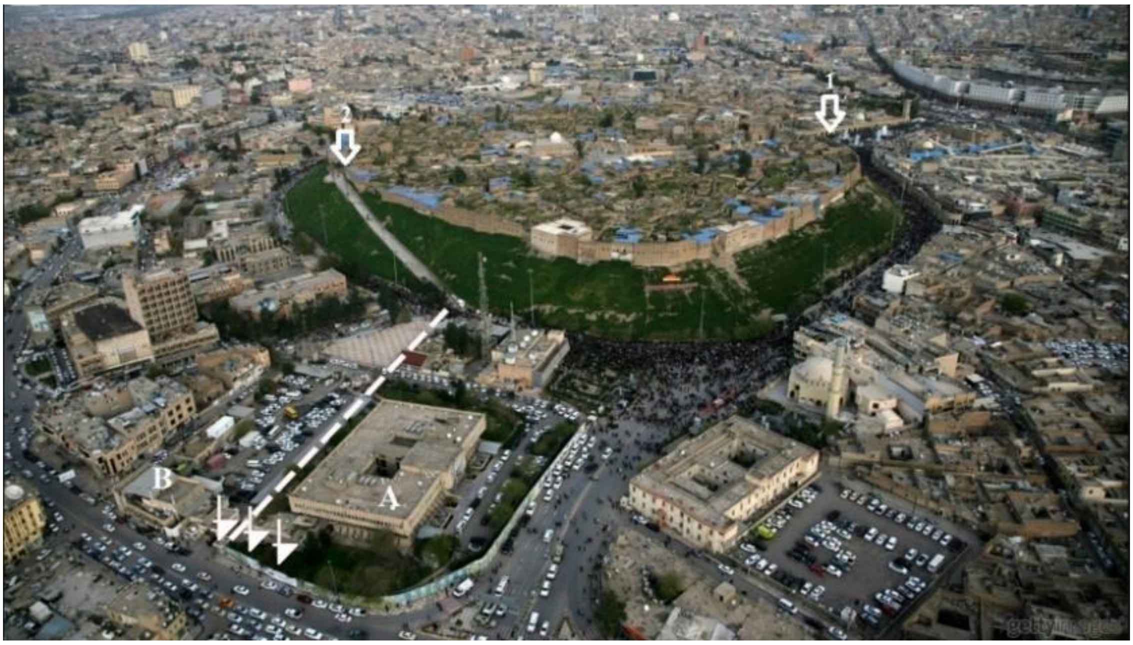


Figure 4.9: The location of the city wall foundation.
The northwest view (taken by Anon.) showing the location of the governorate building (A), the mosque (B) and where the wall's foundations were discovered; (1) is the location of the citadel's south gate and (2) is the north gate.

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[176] Yousef assumes that these traces could be the Assyrian wall (Yousef 2010, p. 1)

Sources: (KRG) adapted by the author, taken by Anon, in 2000s.

In terms of the relationship of the city wall with the citadel, there was a contradiction between the descriptions of Al-Hamawi and Abu Al-Fida. During his visit to Erbil in the 13th century, Al-Hamawi (1977 [13th century], p. 138), described how the city was restored by Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi, who rebuilt parts and constructed other parts of the city, namely qaisaria, khanaqas and other buildings. For the city wall, Al-Hamawi describes Erbil as:

> [...] a big city with a wide plain and a fortified citadel sited on a hill. Its citadel is surrounded by a deep moat and positioned into part of the side of the city. The citadel physically prevents the sur [the city wall] from continuing unbroken (Al-Hamawi 1977 [13th century], p. 138).

A few decades later, following the Mongol attack, Abu Al-Fida in his book cited Erbil's inhabitants, by describing that:

> […] the citadel is located on a hill and surrounded by a city wall that is positioned to the side of the city (Abu Al-Fida 1840 [13th century], p. 413).

His account regarding Erbil's wall was slightly different to Al-Hamawi's description. In fact, Al-Hamawi's description came from his visit to the city around 1220; while, Abu Al-Fida was dependent on descriptions provided by the citizens of Erbil, following the Mongol attack (1258). Both Hussyein (2015) and Al-Genabi (1987) agree that the city wall crossed the citadel at its middle part, protecting its southern part only where the main gate is located: the north part of the citadel being outside the gated wall. Yousef (2015), and Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) on the other hand, agree with Abu-Al-Fida's opinion, as it fits with their results. Yousef (2015) assumes that during Al-Hamawi's visit to Erbil the wall was under construction. However, it has been said that Al-Hamawi visited the city twice (Hussyein 2014, p. 228), making it unlikely that it was still under the construction; also if Al-Hamawi visited the city and the wall was under construction he could certainly have stated or commented this fact.

This study introduces two scenarios. The first one is that, early on, the city wall was similar to Al-Hamawi's description i.e. it was interrupted by the citadel on the northeast side. The position of the wall did change later, probably due to the city's expansion, as at that time Erbil became prosperous. A further reason for the change might have been a perceived need for greater security; the citadel was a fortified area and Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi was a military leader who had engaged in several wars with Salah Al-Din:

he would have to protect the city as during his reign Erbil faced several attacks from Mongols and other people. Fortifying the whole of the citadel would double the protection: not doing so would leave its northern part open to attack[177].

The position relating to the siting of the city wall is supported by several examples inside the city of Erbil and elsewhere. The internal evidence[178] as described by Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013), for the Attabeg wall and the Assyrian walls, is more dependable as they match the hypothesis and findings of Chapter 3. In their analysis, they found two sites: namely, a wall that surrounds the citadel and another that was interrupted by the citadel. Figure 4.10 shows traces from the Attabeg period marked by the number (1), in addition to the Assyrian double wall marked by the number (2).

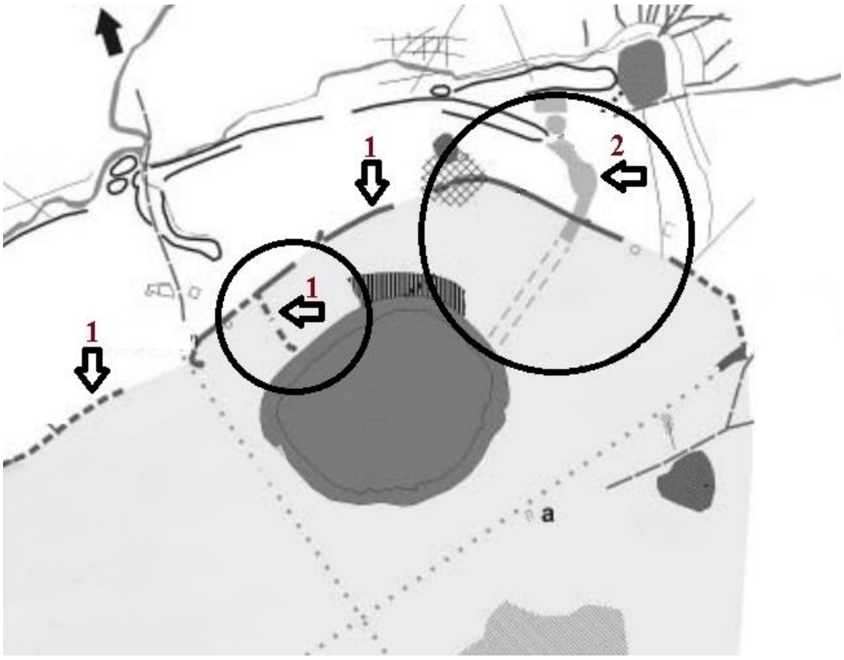

Figure 4.10: Traces of the city wall.
(1) is the Attabeg period; (2) the Assyrian Period
Source: (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 6), adapted by the author

Further evidence found beyond Erbil, and supporting this assumption, are the cities of Aleppo and Homs in the 12th and 13th centuries. The citadels of both are positioned partly into the side of the city, thus preventing the city wall from continuing unbroken.

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[177] This kind of change can be seen in Aleppo.
[178] See the Scenario of Nováček, Amin and Melčák Scenario in (2013) for the Attabeg period.

This indicates that this type of tell city site plan was not uncommon at that time; (figures 4.11 and 4.12) display Homs' and Aleppo's site plans.

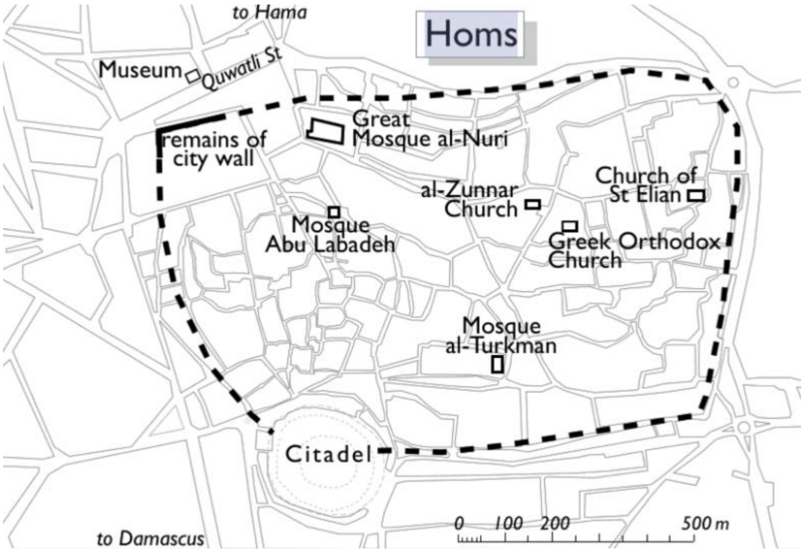

Figure 4.11: Homs in the 12th century
Source: (Burns 2009, p. 170)

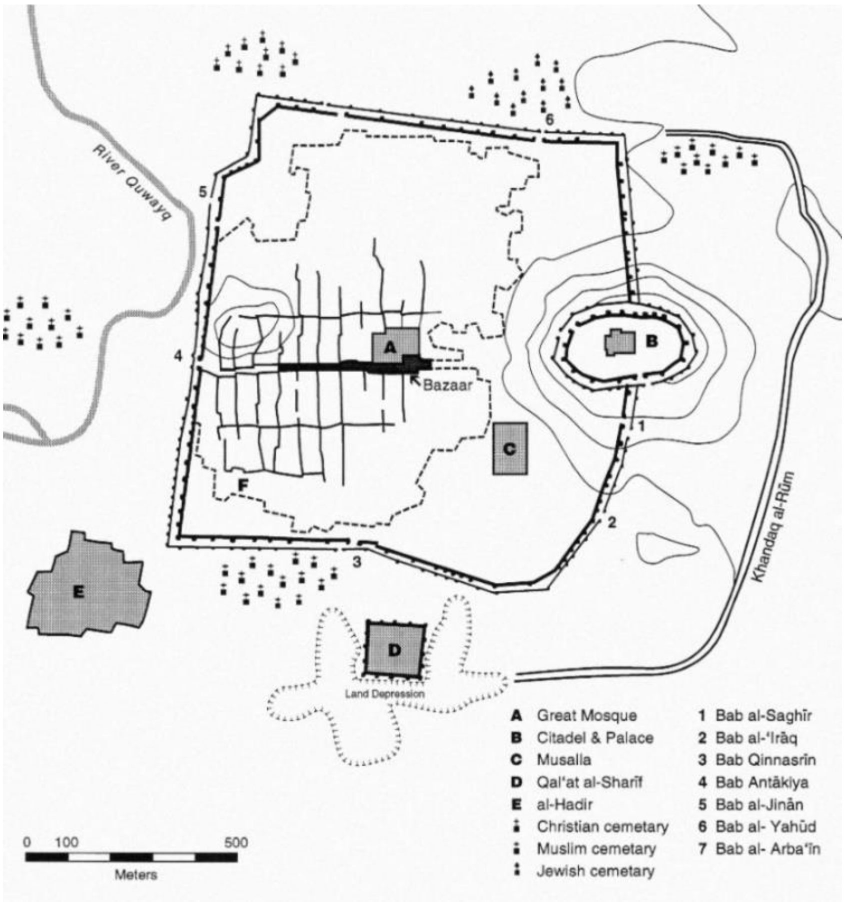

Figure 4.12: Aleppo in the 11th century
Source: (Tabbaa 1997, no pagination). Available in the illustration section as (figure 3).

During its period of prosperity, Aleppo witnessed several changes parallel to those experienced by Erbil in the Attabeg period. One of these was the relationship of the city wall with the citadel. The ruler of Aleppo, Al-Zahir Ghazi[179], rebuilt part of the city in two stages, the first being represented by the rebuilding of the north and north-west city walls and their towers[180]. He later rebuilt the whole of the eastern wall between the north and south of the citadel. Due to the positioning of the, Dar Al-Adil - the court building - the southern part of the new wall was built a short distance eastward of the original wall, thus helping to create a defensible site for the court, as together, the two walls enclosed the building (Tabbaa 1997, p. 20; Ibn Shaddad 1953 [13th century], pp. 17-21). Figure 4.13 shows the stages that Aleppo passed through: where the changes took place and how they affected the city wall.

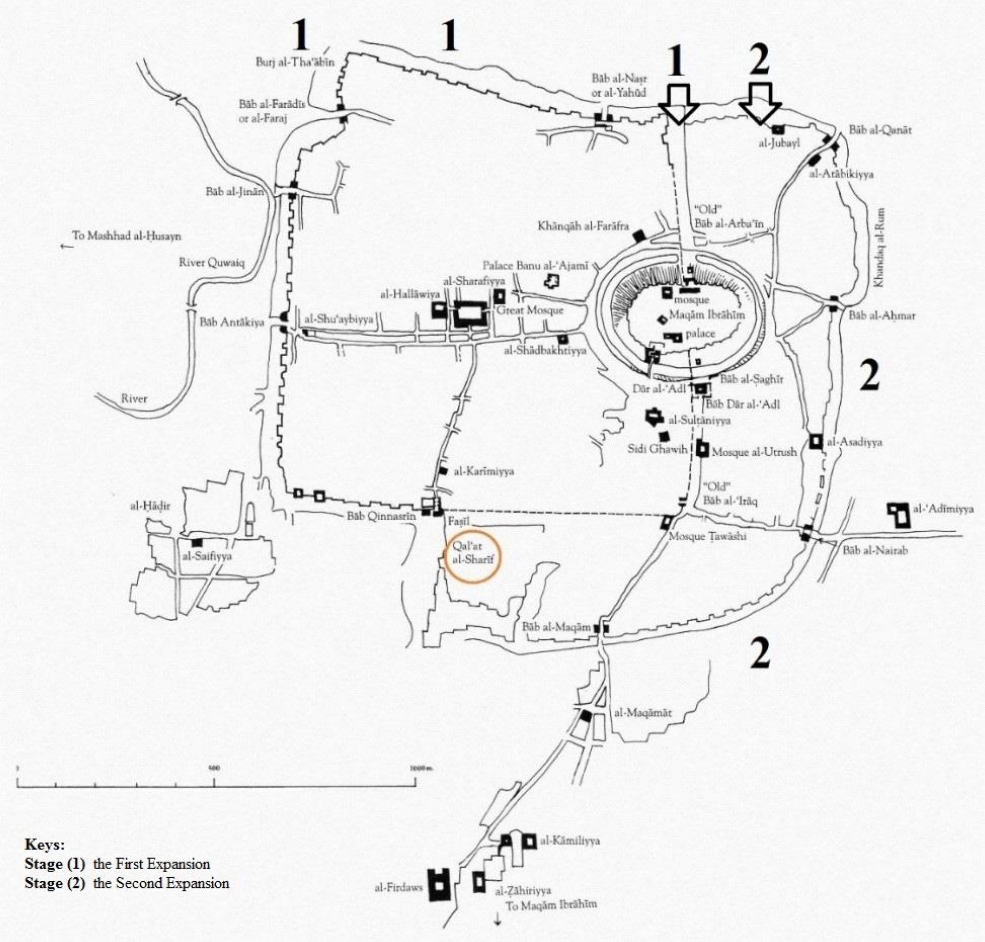

Figure 4.13: The expansion stages of Aleppo in the 13th century CE.
Source: (Tabbaa 1997, no pagination). Available in the illustration section as figure 4

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[179] Al-Zahir Ghazi was the son of Salah Aldin,

[180] Each tower was given to one of the princes or to a military officer and carried the name of a prince.

To sum up, the new wall in Aleppo followed the original still-existing one with slight differences at the point where the citadel occupied its eastern side. The second change is represented by the decision of Al-Zahir Ghazi to extend the city eastward to the Byzantine moat called the Khanadaq Al-Rum, and south to include the citadel *Qala't* of Al-Sharif (Tabbaa 1997, p. 20). The moat was nearly filled in due to the construction of an earthen wall. The result was the creation of a citadel located approximately in the city's centre. From the above-mentioned information, it can be suggested that Erbil city probably faced similar changes which impacted on the relationship of the citadel with the city wall.

The second scenario is that the city wall was interrupted by the citadel on the northeast side - i.e. similar to Al-Hamawi's description who visited the city (if we assume that Abu Al-Fida's account was not very accurate as he depended on the descriptions of Erbil's citizen, who fled from the city after the Mongol attack). This assumption can be supported by the text of 13th/14th century *'The Monks of Kublal Khan Emperor of China'* which was translated from the Syriac to English by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge and this text described Erbil as "[a] strong castle or fortress stood on the top of the hill on which the town was built, and the deep ditch which ran round it was partly enclosed by the town wall" (Budge 1928, p. 26).

The City and the Citadel Gates

Erbil citadel had three gates located on its south, east and west sides. The city[181] wall had at least four and probably five gates. The northern gate, the Bab Amka or Amkabad faced the Ainkawa area. Some historians have suggested that the northern gate was in fact in the citadel, not in the lower part of the city (Hussyein 2015; Al-Naqshbandi 1989, p. 136). While Nováček (2015); Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013, p. 7) locate this gate in the lower city. They base their opinion on the writings of Ibn Al-Fuwati who, after the death of Sultan Muẓaffar Al-Din, described the action of the leader of the Abbasid

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[181] Erbil city had public buildings in the lowland, Al-Mustawfi Al-Irbili (1980) highlights some such as the Khan Alsafarin (inn), the Qaisaria, Maristan (hospital), cemeteries, mosques, Khanaqa (the Sufi lodge), and city gates, Al-Madrasa Al-Muzaffariya (school), and Dar al-Hadith Al-Muzaffariya, the guest house (Ibn Al-Mustawfi 1980 [12th century] pp.169-328). Other institutions ascribed to the ruler Muẓaffar Al-Dīn Kukburī, included social shelters for widows, orphans, foundlings, the blind and chronically ill people (Ibn Khalakan 2012 [13th century], p .536).

army, as besieging the city and pitching his tent opposite to the Bab Amka[182], the northern gate. The army then burned it, reached the moat and took the citadel (Nováček 2015; Ibn Al-Fuwati 2003 [13th century], p. 52). The reason is that it would have been easy for the defenders - advantaged by coming from a higher point - to attack the tent of the Abbasid army leader. This study, however, favours to the assumption of Nováček, Amin and Melčák, i.e. that the north gate belonged to the city wall, not the one that has been located on the citadel hill.

The western gate connecting Erbil to the Mosul road was called the Mosul Gate. With regard to the eastern city gate: Yousef (2007, pp. 7-8) states that the Fahammyia was the original gate of the city wall and the Farah Gate was built in the Attabeg period. Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013), however, consider the Fahammyia to be the city's eastern gate and indicate that while the site of the Farah gate is unspecified it should be tentatively placed in the south of the city as they consider the Khanaqa Al-Sufia[183], to have been located in the southern area. Similar examples can be found in Aleppo during the Ayyubid period where the city's outline and its maidan experienced many changes too. New gates were added, while others, like the Bab Al-Iraq and the Bab Al-Nairab, were replaced, or the name was changed e.g. the Yahud gate became the Nasir gate. In fact, during Al-Zahir Ghazi's rule in Aleppo, the city's eastern wall [184]was extended, its new gate, located in a position opposite to that of the old gate, retained its original name, the Bab Al-Saghir. The old gate was left standing as a symbolic monument (Tabbaa 1997, p. 21). Yousef (2007, pp. 7-8) managed to find traces of the old Fahammyia gate, by walking through the alleyways in the eastern part of Erbil's lower city; by interviewing elderly people and by observation inside the Masjid Al-Shaikh Mustafa. He found the broken crown of a column with a diameter of around 78cm and height 37cm made from black marble. The elderly local people told him that it had been discovered in the end of 19th century by workers digging a well inside the mosque. Similar stones had previously been found in the surrounding area, but this time it was larger at 1m in diameter. In 2002 another crown, which broke as it was being excavated, was found near the same locality by workers digging the foundations for the modern

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[182] Whether located on the lowland or on the citadel, it was described by Ibn al-Fuwati as the largest gate among other gates.

[183] Both Khanaqa Al-Sufia and Farah Gate were named at the same time in the historic text.

[184] In this area there was a subterranean passage used for the emergencies which connected Dar Al-Adil with an old gate built before the Ayyubid and located in the northern part.

multi-storey Khanaqa building (a new building carrying an ancient name). Yousef deduced that the presence of such stonework in this area confirmed what Ibn Al-Mustawfi had highlighted in his texts, and stated that the Fahammyia gate was the old city gate located in the eastern part of the city (Yousef 2007, p. 8). This old gate did not, however, belong to the Assyrian period as the design of the base of the column differs from the Assyrian style. This study believes that the eastern gate[185] was, in fact, the one named Farah (Joy) and that the Fahammyia (Charcoal Burners) was either its former name or simply the old city gate that was probably neglected when the city wall was re-build in the Attabeg period.

The south gate leding to Kirkuk and Azza, was controversial as it had no name. In the south part there was the Maidan Gate; two possibilities can be introduced about this gate. It could have been the Bab Al-Maidan, the city gate located in the south part of the valley, the Basté, and so called because it directed to the maidan area. This siting has similarities with one of Erbil's gates called Bab Amka, positioned facing the village of Ainkawa; or the Bab Al-Mosul which faced Mosul city. Other examples can be found beyond Erbil, such as Aleppo city and its Iraq gate that directed the traveller towards Iraq, and the Al-Yahud gate near the Jewish sector or settlement (Tabbaa 1997, p. 21). These names were given based on the gates' geographic siting. To assume, however, that the name of Erbil city's south gate is the Bab Al-Maidan because it faced the maidan could be far from reality since, as in this case, the maidan was located near to the citadel while the city gate was behind the valley. Therefore, there is a possibility that this gate belonged to the maidan not to the city wall (it will be explained in the upcoming sections). The historical texts state that there was a gate called Bab Al-A'shair in an unknown location, close to where an Erbil administrator was buried. Ibn Al-Sha'ar[186] in his 13th century transcript states that Ibn Al-Mustawfi told him, when describing the behaviour of the Minister of Justice Muhammad Al-Harani, that the minister died in Erbil and was buried in the suburban area, near the city gate known as the Bab Al-A'shair (Ibn Al-Sha'ar 2012 [13th century], p. 32). This allows for the possibility that the south gate was named the A'shair, and since the west[187], east and north gates have

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[185] Fruit used to come to the city from this direction.

[186] The name of this transcript was 'Qlaaid Aljuman fi Fraid Shu'aara Alzaman'

[187] Based on the Ibn Al-Mustawfi account there was a Habis Al-Halabi/ Al-Halabi Jail (it is a thought that probably the name of the jail was Chalabi not Halabi if we assume that the dot was missing from the Arabic letter) located near the western gate of the citadel. This offers an indication of the closeness of the citadel's western gate.

names, it can be suggested that this was the south gate located in a suburban area. Or, it could be the city's fifth gate.

In terms of the citadel's gates, Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) stated in their research that the citadel had only one main gate. This conclusion was based on the comments of Ibn Al-Fuwati and Bar Hebraeus, both writing in the 13th century. Yousef (2015) indicates that the citadel had four gates, while Hussyein (2015) states that the citadel had more than two gates. This study has assumed that Erbil citadel probably had three gates[188]. The reason being is that we know from Ibn Al-Mustawfi's (d.1239) statements, specifically through his mentioning to the eastern and the western gates indirectly when he was talking about people who were buried near the western and eastern citadel gates. This text was interpreted incorrectly by Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) who considered them to be a reference to the eastern and the western city gates (Al-Bab Al-Gharbi and Al-Bab Al-Sharqi) and they assumed that the two gates were in existence prior to the Attabeg period. Yousef indicated in an interview (2015) that in 1982 it was he who discovered he discovered traces of both the eastern and western gates with their tombs (one of which was inside the basement of a house) as referred to by Ibn Al-Mustawfi. This find was recorded in a report given to the Director-General of Antiquities and Museums of the Northern Region of Iraq and the Erbil Governorate.

The existence of the south gate was indicated by Bar Hebraeus (13th century) and again, though indirectly, by Ibn Khallikan in his description of the Prophet's birthday. A possible reason for Bar Herbraeus, who was writing after the death of Sultan Muẓaffar, not referencing the western and the eastern gates, is that in the post-Attabeg period Erbil faced several Mongol attacks resulting in the city becoming unstable. Furthermore, the immigration of Christians from Baghdad to Erbil following the Mongol invasion of Baghdad had increased the citadel's population. That probably led to the closure of the other gates to use the space and to add more houses. Or possibly the gates were closed to protect the citadel from further attacks.

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[188] In general, the number of citadel gates in the tell cities of the SWANAAP region varied: some, like Aleppo (an administrative place that had a castle and mosque, later on a public bath), had one citadel gate, others, such as Kirkuk (a residential place which is similar to Erbil), had possibly three or more gates, as two were added by King Seleuqus (Kramers and Bois 2015, p. 145; Yousef 2015)

The City's Urban Core

It is believed that the urban core had a maidan (the vast open space) located in the south part of the citadel; the Khanaqa area is located on its eastern part, the citadel's south gate on its north side, the valley that is called Basté and the cemetery on the south and the bazar area probably on its western side. Information on the maidan comes to us principally though the writings of Ibn Khallikan (2012 [13th century], p. 537), who witnessed the Prophet Muhammed's Birthday celebration ceremony there, Mawlid Al-Nabi which was held annually under the auspices of the ruler Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi. Yousef (2015) and Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013, pp. 10) are all of the opinion that the maidan was a huge space reaching to the Basté valley. Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) considered that the maidan had a hypothetical gate. They therefore, positioned the Farah gate in the south, as one of the city gates. In an interview with Karel Nováček he states that:

> We consider the long, avenue-like shape of the maidan from the repeating data about 'cemetery[189] near the maidan' and 'cemetery near the maidan´s gate-Maqbarat Bab al-Maidan'. If we suppose that the funeral areas were traditionally situated on both banks of the city´s valleys (Basté), we therefore conclude that the open public space stretched out up to this point…for the cemetery it was situated, according to sources, alternately close to the maidan known as 'Tell Zuttī' and 'near the Bab al-Maidan': it suggests a tight spatial relation of these three features, if we take for granted that Tell Zuttí and maidan was an identical feature [needs not to be, in fact] (Nováček 2015).

For this research a maidan gate can be assumed to have existed if we consider that the maidan was probably confined by walls or buildings performing different functions: religious, commercial and probably residential, each sector having a gate e.g. the Khanaqa Gate for khanaqa area, and the maidan gate known as the Bab Al-Maidan that led to the cemetery and probably to the residential area too. The pattern of this maidan was found first in Egypt and later in the old city of Isfahan, and appeared again in Isfahan in the 18th century. Figure 4.14 is a map[190] shows an example of the maidan in Isfahan that existed prior to the Attabeg period and which might display similarities in appearance to Erbil's maidan. It was an open space situated below the south gate of the

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[189] It can be suggested that the cemetery of the Attabeg is the same cemetery that found in the 18th century near the Basté and persisted up to period 20th century (see Yousef 's scenario).

[190] "The background map is modified from K. Herdeg, Formal Structure in Islamic Architecture of Iran and Turkistan (New York, 1990), and the over map is based on the studies of H. Gaube, Iranian Cities (New York, 1979), 80, and L. Golombek, 'Urban patterns in pre-Safavid Isfahan', Iranian Studies, 7 (1974), 18–44" (Shirazi and Falahat 2014, p. 7).

citadel embracing the Friday mosque and the commercial sector. The maidan worked also as a place to hold military exercises, polo games and parades.

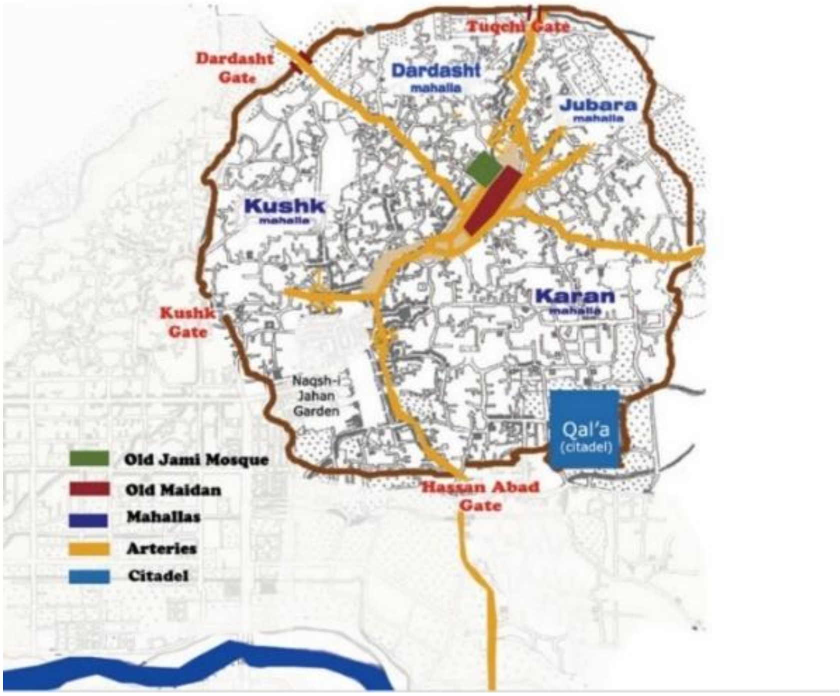

Figure 4.14: The old maidan of Isfahan in the 12th century
Source: (Shirazi and Falahat 2014, p. 7). The paper titled as: *'Spatial fragmentation and bottom-up appropriations: the case of Safavid Isfahan'* and published in 'Urban History'.

In Aleppo, for instance, in front of every significant city gate there was a maidan which provided an open area where soldiers, living permanently in the towers, could exercise and spend some of their free time in its public space. It also worked as open markets on a specific day in the week (Tabbaa 1997, pp. 23-24). The Khanaqa sector was located on the eastern edge of the urban core. Since the historical texts indicate the approximate location and the identification of the Khanaqa (Sufi Lodge), and the Madrasa Al-Faqira as well as their relationship with the Farah Gate and for the purpose of identifying the location of the Khanaqa Al-Junaina, they will all be discussed together. The Khanaqa Al-Junaina and the Madrasa Al-Faqira, were perhaps part of the city's urban core and so impact on its analysis (the main concern of the study). The name of the khanaqa 'Al-Junaina', means 'the small orchard/garden'. Madrasa(t) Al-Tin means 'the school made from earthen bricks'. Two differing assumptions for their location were introduced by the researchers; the first by Yousef (2007) who presumed that these components were located to the east of the citadel; the second, by Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) who positioned them to the south of the citadel.

In terms of the Madrasa Al-Faqira[191], the religious school, information is based on the words of Ibn Al-Mustawfi who states that:

> […] Al-Madrasa Al-Faqira Madrasat Al-Tin [mud] overlooks the east part of Ribat Al-Junanina from the east (Ibn Al-Mustawfi 1980 [12th century], p. 159)[192]

Ibn Al-Mustawfi states that it was located on a small hill overlooking the Khanaqa Al-Junaina from its eastside. Yousef (2007, p. 9) in his research, concluded that the Madrasa Al-Faqira / Al-Tin is now called the Masjid Al-Shaikh Mustafa. This opinion came from his research regarding the eastern gate when using the Masjid Al-Kaff [193] as a reference point. It also came from the field work that included observing, walking through the alleyways located in the eastern part of the lower city. During his fieldwork he found the information that Masjid Fatima Khatoon, built in 1814 and was funded by Fatima Khatoon and her husband Muhamad Agha, and was probably sited above the Faqira school. Yousef concluded that the Masjid Al-Shaikh Mustafa was built prior to the Masjid Fatima Khatoon but had been altered structurally in the early 1900's to show clusters of domes (*binaa Muqabab*) constructed from mud bricks. Later, it was demolished in 1961 by his son Mustafa and another masjid built to carry the son's name. Some of the historical information was taken by Yousef from an inscription visible on one of the new masjid's walls; he also interviewed citizens who confirmed that the previous masjid had been built of mud-brick. He, also, observed that this masjid and another building (that was as a storehouse, hasara) are the only two buildings in this area located on a small hill or tell. Furthermore, near the masjid was an old well which he assumed was probably used to supply water to the Khanaqa Al-Junaina and the Masjid Al-Kaff, both of which still exist. These two buildings were referred to by Ibn A-Mustawfi and Al-Qazwini, who recorded that there were a small orchard and a small cemetery near the Masjid Al-Kaff[194]; figure 4.15 illustrates the approximate relationship of the eastern gate with the Khanaqa Al-Junaina, Al-Tin or Al-Faqira school and the Masjid Al-Kaff.

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[191] Al-Madrasa Al-Faqira was named by Muẓaffar Al-Din as Al-Faqira which means poor in Arabic; he chose the name for himself and named this school with it.

[192] The building of Ribat in Ibn Al-Mustawfi (1980 [12th century], p. 159) was written in Yousef's report (2007, p. 9) as khanaqa. Although they sometimes have similar functions there can be a difference in the type of building.

[193] The Masjid Al-Kaff, referred to in the historical sources of Ibn Al-Mustawfi and Al-Qazwini, can be shown to be still in existence. It is a small mosque, and is also known as Mashad al Kaff or Penja Ali, as a human palm print stamped on a stone and it was believed by the population to be the hand of Imam Ali, the Prophet Muhammad 's cousin who had never reached to Erbil.

[194] This information was used by Yousef as a landmark helping him to locate the city gate.

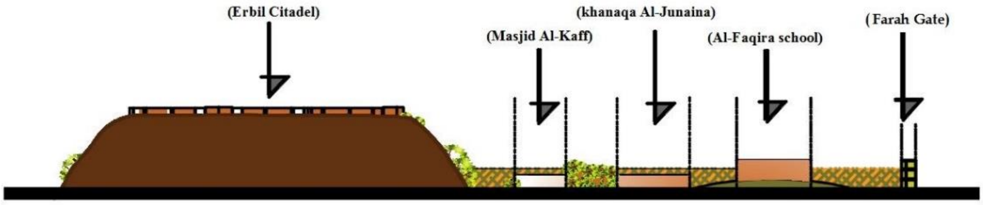

Figure 4.15: The relationship of the eastern gate with the Farah Gate
An abstract elevation drawn based on Yousef's findings in 2007

Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) assumed that the Khanaqa would have been in the south part of the citadel and took the position that what Ibn Khallikan had referred to was the Khanaqa or Ribat Al-Junaina. They also rejected the Al-Naqshbandi (1980, p. 143) assumption, finding it improbable that the Sufi Khanaqa near the Farah gate could be the site on which the prophet Muhammad's celebration took place. Their opinion was based on Ibn Al-Mustawfi's stated description that the Sufi khanaqa near the Farah Gate was abandoned, after which the Sufi dervish moved to the Khanaqa Al–Junaina (Ibn Al-Mustawfi 1980 [12th century] p. 214). Hence, it can be said that Nováček, Amin and Melčák's position of declining the Al-Naqshbandi's assumption is reasonable. From that position they set out the location of the Al-Madrasa Al-Faqira, also known as the Madrasat Al-Tin and built for Shafi'i scholars. They also made the assumption that this Khanaqa was probably the Ribat Al-Zahid located in the south below the citadel. Ultimately they abandoned the theory about the Ribat, as Al-Mustawfi indicated that its name was in use prior to the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din[195]; figure 4.16 is taken from their original drawing and is based on the assumption of Nováček, Amin and Melčák; For more detail see the previous (figure 4.16).

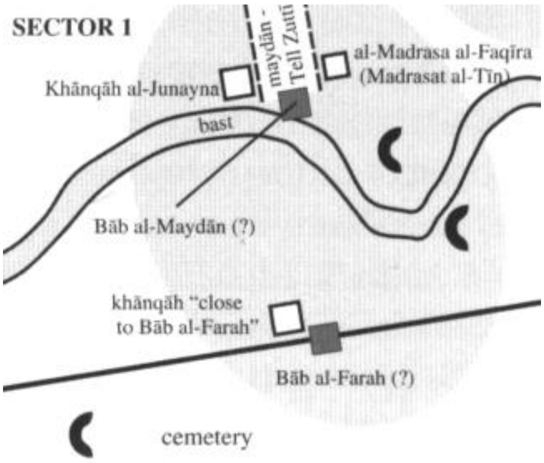

Figure 4.16: The Khanaqa location
Source: Adapted from (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 6)

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[195] On several occasions in the study by Nováček et al. (2013, pp10-11) and during the interview with Nováček (2015), he stressed that the hypotheses introduced for the location of the khanaqa and the outline of the Maidan are conjectural.

However, by analysing the text of Ibn Al-Mustawfi which, is related to this subject it is noticeable that he used two tenses of the verb; the past tense when he described the location of the building, stating that: it was located below the citadel in the south part, and then the use of the present tense when he identified its name saying it ‘is called’ Ribat Al-Zahid ‘*yusamma ribat Al-Zahid’*. He did not use the past tense and write ‘named’ or ‘was called’, *sumia or cana yusama*, (Ibn Al-Mustawfi 1980 [12th century], p. 239). In addition, Muẓaffar Al-Din during his time built many Khanaqas and Ribats. This might support the hypothesis of this study that the building probably continued to exist, or was replaced by another building in the same area i.e. the south part. The interpretation of the references of Ibn Khallikan[196] and Ibn Al-Mustawfi shows that the maidan was fairly close to the khanaqa. Ibn Khallikan referred to the Bab Al-Khanaqa / Khanaqa Gate when he described the festivals of the Prophet’s birthday celebrations. Bab Al-Khanaqa could be an area where the Khanaqa buildings clustered together and this area had a gate called the Bab Al-Khanaqa which led to the Khanaqa buildings. In such a case, if the Maidan worked as a nodal distribution point, perhaps this node leads to other facilities, one of them being the Khanaqa area. This pattern can be found in the SWANAAP region where the maidan took the role of embracing these facilities, such as that found in inside the Kirkuk citadel, or those in Cairo, Isfahan, and Aleppo. Ibn Al-Mustawfi (1980 [12th century], pp. 213-214) states that:

> Abu Al-Hasan Al-Baghdadi, who was buried in the cemetery of Mashad Al-Kaff [which is the masjid Al-Kaff/ Penja Ali] was the first person to take on the role of teaching in the Khanaqa Al-Sufia [Alsufi lodge], where Muẓaffar Al-Din placed the Sufi people, and this Khanaqa was near the Farah gate. When the building was abandoned they moved to Al-Junaina.

From the Ibn Al-Mustawfi texts[197] one can see that the religious institutions were clustered on the eastern site. Furthermore, up to the present day this area carries the same name, Khanaqa[198], and embraces some religious functions. These add evidence that could support Yousef’s hypothesis. Hence, for the location of the Khanaqa this research adopts Yousef’s results (the Khanaqa area located in the eastside) as Nováček,

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[196] The Khanaqa was never precisely identified here and located by Ibn Khallikan in his description of the Prophet’s birthday.

[197] With regard to the gates, it is not clear whether the Al-Fahammyia gate, the old gate of the city, is in fact the same as the Bab Al-Farah or if there were there two constructions where Al-Farah was used and Al-Fahammyia was neglected. This will be discussed in the upcoming section.

[198] In addition, to the probability of the gates’ existence inside the maidan, such as the Maidan gate, and the Khanaqa gate that connected that maidan with other sectors in the city and in that case the maidan could be confined by walls or buildings where they connected it with other sectors in the city.

Amin and Melčák, basing their interpretation on written sources, placed the Farah Gate and the Khanaqa in the south area, while Yosef based his assumption on a site visit, interviews, and traces of the gate -more hands-on approach.

The Ruler′s Residence

With regard to the ruler's residence, it can be suggested that the Sultan had two palaces: one inside the citadel[199] and referred to in historic texts as Dar Al-Imara, and a second, the Dar Al- Saltana, in the lower city - the Rabidh. Al-Naqshabandi (1989, p. 137) states that the ruler had a residence in the citadel but moved to live in the lowland/rabidh area. He does not, however, specify either the location or the name of the ruler's lower-city residence. Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013, p. 9) indicate that the ruler had a permanent residence inside the Erbil citadel and after his death he was buried there (although there was, in fact, a second residence in the lower city for him), for them Dar Al-Imara and Dar Al-Saltana are one. Their assumption was based on Ibn Al-Fuwati (2003 [13th Century], p. 54), who states that the ruler who came after Muẓaffar Al-Din resided inside the citadel in the Dar Al-Imara. However, their conclusion might be inaccurate as some sources state that Sultan Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi died in his house in the rabidh, the lower city, and was buried in the citadel[200]. While the ruler's citadel residence had a *diwan* and other facilities, it is not clear if the jail[201] was part of that complex, although Ibn Al-Fuwati indicates that the Dar Al-Imara had several diwans and a prison. It can, though, be suggested that either the Dar Al-Imara was the place from which he Sultan Muzaffar Al-Din Kukburi ruled, while his residence was in the lower city, or that he had two residences; one inside the citadel, the other in the lower city.

In terms of the location of the Dar Al-Imara this study believes that it was located in the south part of the citadel. Although Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) did not specify

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[199] In contrast with Erbil tell cities, such as Aleppo, Hama, Homs and even Cairo during Ayyubid rule, would have their ruler living in the citadel.

[200] Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi died in his house in the lower city and was buried, temporarily, in the citadel. According to his will he wished to be buried in Mecca, and had prepared his tomb there. His supporters were unable to carry out the instructions because during their trip to Mecca there was a war with Mongol's there's a noun missing here; add 'and' before 'also' also the lack of water prevented them to continue the journey and they decided to bury him in Najaf city, Iraq. Some travellers said that they had found a broken tombstone stone in Mecca with Muzaffar Al-Din Kukburi's name written on it, but this cannot be proven (Hussyein 2015).

[201] Ibn Al-Mustawfi reported that the Habis Al-Halabi (Al-Halabi Jail) was located near the western gate of the citadel.

its location, they referred to the hypothesis of Husam Al-Din Naqshbandi, who assumed that it was probably located in the citadel's south area as this retained the name *Mahallat Serai,* the palace quarter[202]. In an interview with the historian Imad Rauf (2014) it was established that he too assumed that the ruler's palace was in the south part of the citadel, which included the citadel south gate. A similar situation which support this assumption is found in Aleppo's citadel; where the south gate played the part of occupying part of ruler's palace and this might support Imad's assumption. A further reason to validate the theory that the ruler's palace lay in the south part of the citadel, is that this location represented a short access route to the lower city's urban core with its maidan, so allowing the city to be monitored more easily with its maidan.

Furthermore, the assumption made for the location of the ruler's residence/ the Dar Al-Saltana in the lower city, is based on the two canals noted by Abu Al-Fida (1840 [12th century], p. 413) who states in his description of Erbil that:

> […] the number of Erbil′s inhabitants implies that the city had many Qina [Kahariz or canals: Qina is the plural of qanat] and two of these canals entered the city and flowed into the mosque [where the Al- Muẓaffaria minaret is located nowadays] while another fed into the Dar Al-Saltana [the ruler′s residence].

That would put the ruler's residence in the rabidh/ lowland. In addition, Ibn Khalakan, (2012 [13th century], p. 539) indicates that Sultan Muẓaffar died in his house - probably the Dar al-Saltana, in the rabidh; the place that belonged originally to one of the Sultan's mamelukes/one of his supporters, whom the sultan had arrested before commandeering the house in which he then occasionally lived, eventually dying there. Evidence that might support this assumption can be found in the study by Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) who found two canals; one directed towards the Al-Muẓaffaria minaret where the old mosque existed, while the other might indicate the location of the ruler's place[203] (figure 4.17).

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[202] The south part of the citadel, which housed the rich and well-known families, existed up to the modern period.

[203] Nováček, Amin and Melčák did not connect these canals with the Abu Al-Fida text as they assumed that the canals mentioned in that text might have been located in the citadel. This resulted in their assumption that the Dar Al-Imara and the Dar Al-Saltana were the same building.

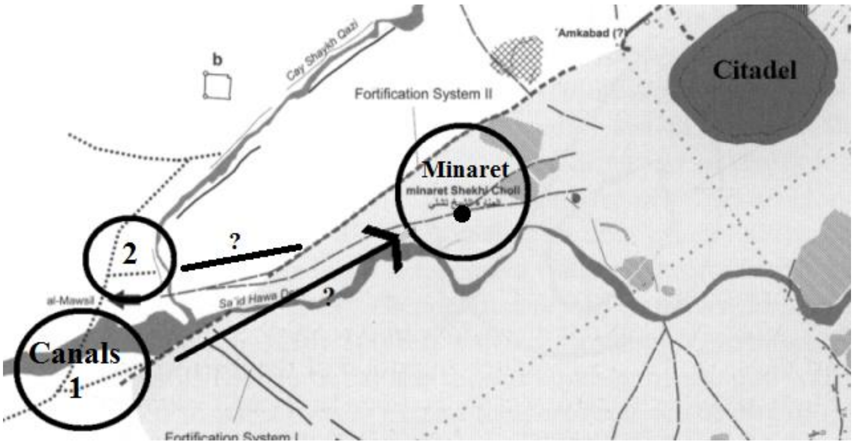

Figure 4.17: The two canals that fed the mosque and the Dar Al-Saltana
Source: Adapted from (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 35)

Figure 4.18 shows the scenario of this study where the citadel had three gates and the city had four gates in addition to the old city gate. The maidan[204], located in the south part of the citadel, constituted the node that absorbed different activities and functions.

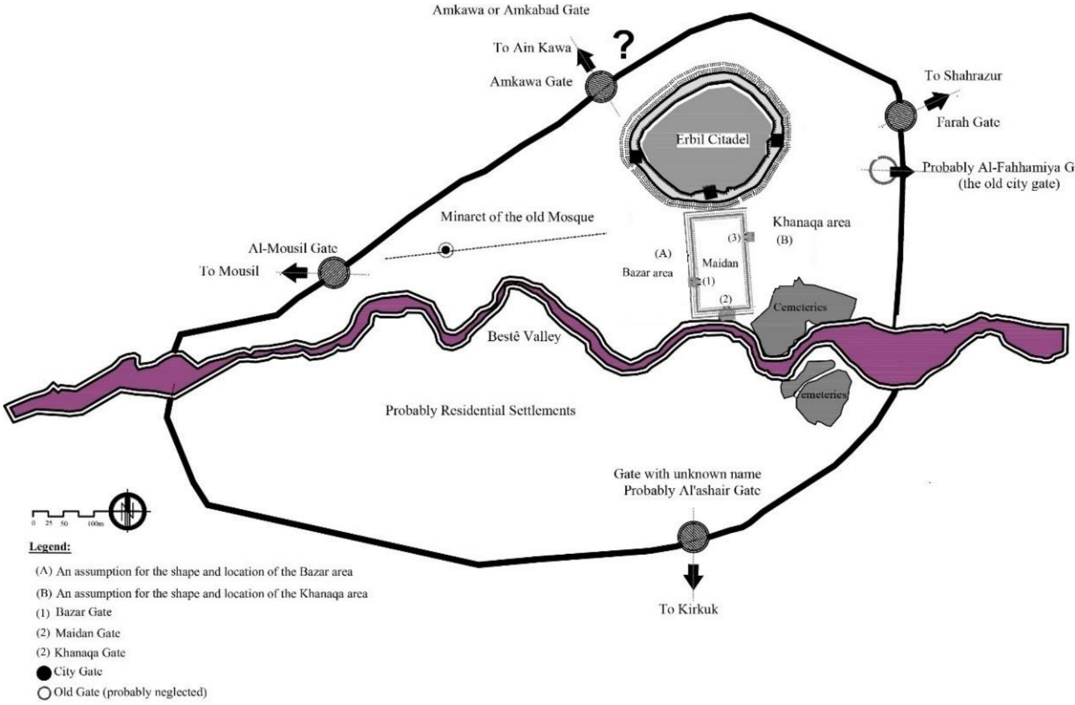

Figure 4.18: Al-Hashimi Scenario A; the city of Erbil in 13th century

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[204] The placement of the maidan was probably confined with different sectors (religious, commercial and residential) that interacted with the maidan through the gates, such as the Khanaqa and the maidan gates.

Figure 4.19 is the scenario where the citadel had four gates and the city had three gates in addition to the old city gate.

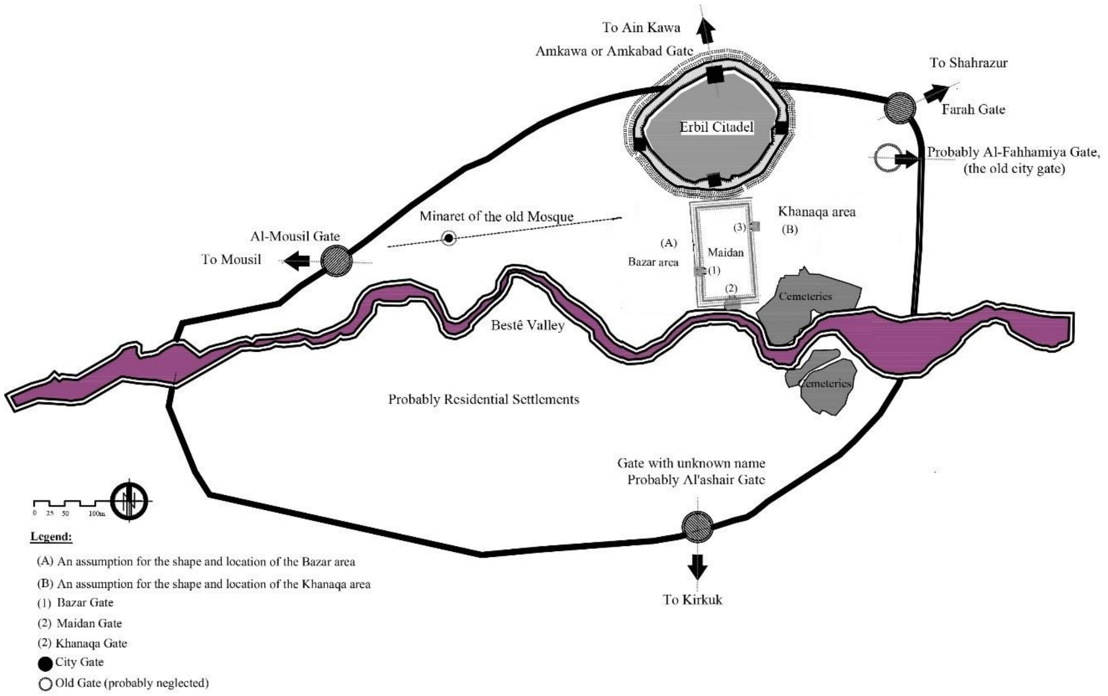
To Ain Kawa
Amkawa or Amkabad Gate
To Shahrazur
Farah Gate
Erbil Citadel
Probably Al-Fahhamiya Gate, (the old city gate)
Khanaqa area (B)
Minaret of the old Mosque
(3)
(A) Bazar area
Maidan
(1)
(2)
Al-Mousil Gate
To Mousil
Cemeteries
Bestê Valley
Cemeteries
Probably Residential Settlements
Gate with unknown name Probably Al'ashair Gate
To Kirkuk
0 25 50 100m
N
Legend:
(A) An assumption for the shape and location of the Bazar area
(B) An assumption for the shape and location of the Khanaqa area
(1) Bazar Gate
(2) Maidan Gate
(2) Khanaqa Gate
● City Gate
○ Old Gate (probably neglected)

Figure 4.19: Al-Hashimi Scenario B; the city of Erbil in 13th century

4.3.2 The Way of Life

Erbil flourished during the Attabeg period becoming an important trading centre. Al-Hamawi (1977 [12th century], p. 116) states that Erbil's bazar was famous for its markets and qaisaria. Ibn Khallikan (2012 [13th century], pp. 536-537) points out that the Muẓaffar Al-Din ordered the construction of many buildings, such as the Khanaqa and the Ribat to host groups of religious people and to help homeless people, orphans and widows. Erbil, in name a city under the Abbasid caliphate, was in fact an independent emirate; people came to visit, work and settle there. Al-Hamawi, who visited the city, indicates that its inhabitants were Kurds[205]; in fact, they became *Arabised* as they started to speak Arabic (*Akrad lakin ista'rabu*). He went to the markets and cafes and heard people were speaking Kurdish and he picked up some words and recorded them in his book (Al-Hamawi 1977 [12th century], p. 116). The main festive event[206] in that era was the celebration of the Prophet Mohammad's birthday, *Mawlud Al-Nabi.* Ibn Alsha'ar

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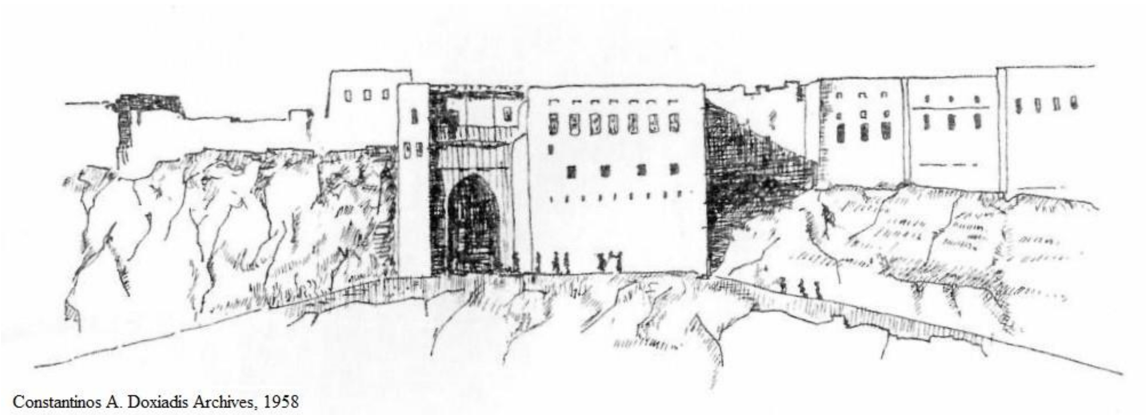
[205] In that period the ruler was a Turkmen but his wife, the sister of Salah Al-Din, was a Kurd.

[206] No information about the details of Newroz celebrations, other than for the city of Mosul were used to celebrate this day. This evidence came from a poem that was composed to praise the ruler celebrating that day.

(d.1227) in his transcriptions states that Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi was the person who introduced this kind of festival to Iraq and the surrounding area (Hussyein 2014, p. 207). Under the patronage of Sultan Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi, it was held annually in the vast public space in front of the citadel gate - the south gate and preparations would begin two months prior to the Prophet's Day (Nováček, Amin and Melčák. 2013, p. 10; Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], pp. 118-119). Religious activities occurred in the Khanaqa; the political and social events, in the maidan; this will be exemplified in the analysis of the city's urban core.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the city of Erbil during the Hathebani and the Attabeg periods. The scope of this chapter was to identify the pattern and the outline of the city urban core, which will help the study analyse the urban core in the upcoming chapters. It is clear from this, and the previous chapter, that despite Erbil and its region experiencing periods of rising importance interspersed by periods of deterioration: at different times, it was a centre for religious, administrative and trade purposes. The period of rule by Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri (1190 – 1233) can be regarded as the most significant in the city's history: different social, economic, cultural and military aspects recorded that Erbil was flourishing and expanding. However, Erbil's growth may have continued to follow the pattern of the urban fabric of preceding Hathebani Emirate and previous periods. The analysis of this chapter has helped to envisage an abstract image of the city at that time. It included identifying the location of the khanaqa sectors, the city and the citadel gates. The maiden of the urban core hosted different functions: religious, commercial and civic, and if the citadel gate was a part of the ruler's residence, it can be said that the maidan fulfilled a further function, which included administrative activity. With regard to the contradiction in describing the city wall and its relationship with the citadel, an assumption was introduced and supported by the evidence and analysed the reason of this contradiction. This period ended and Erbil began to shrink when the city was invaded. The following chapter will focus on Erbil during the Early Modern and the Modern periods. It also concerns with the changes that occurred to its urban environment.



Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, 1958

CHAPTER FIVE:

ERBIL, THE EARLY MODERN AND THE MODERN CITY

Chapter 5: ERBIL, THE EARLY MODERN AND THE MODERN CITY

Introduction

This chapter addresses Erbil's urban evolution and way of life from the 13th to the 21th. The major historical events and changes to various aspects of the city; its architecture, governance and the lives of its citizens are addressed, and the impact of these changes on the city's urban core explored. The chapter is divided into two main sections, the Early Modern and Modern Periods. A summary is made of the main findings and conclusions drawn.

5.1 The Early Modern City

Following the death of Sultan Muẓaffar, Erbil was taken and ruled by the Abbasid Caliphate. Erbil flourished once more when the new regime made some changes; the city wall was re-built as well as some public buildings. In 1258 CE the Mongols led by Hulagu attacked Erbil again and, in collaboration with Badr Al-Din Lu'lu, ruler of Mosul, they besieged the city. The inhabitants and their leader Nasseredin trapped inside the citadel for six months resisting the attackers (figure 5.1 - a and b), at which time many buildings including the qaisaria were destroyed (Fiey: see Nováček, Amin and Melčák. 2008, p. 4; Patton 1991, pp. 54-60; Doxiadis 1958, p. 7).

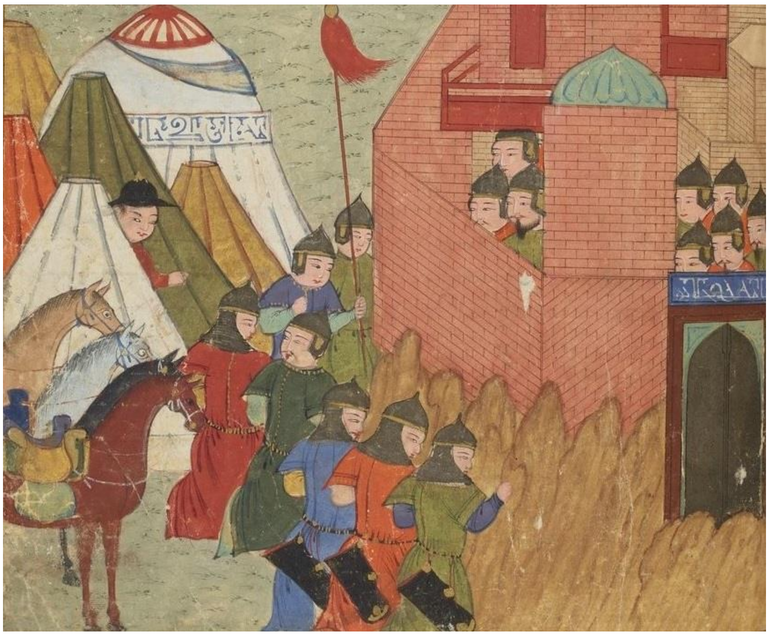
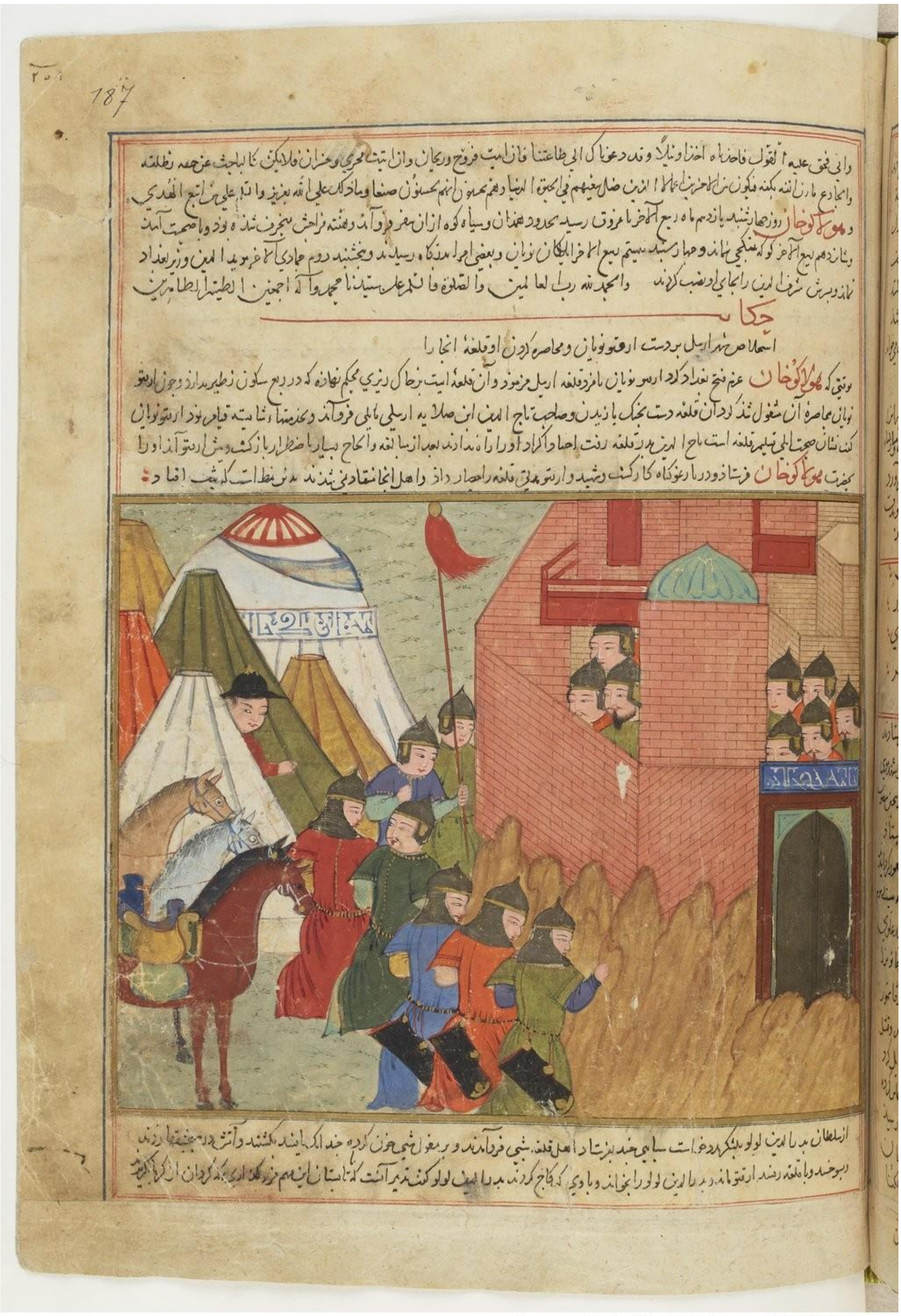


Figure 5.1: The miniature of the Mongol siege to Erbil's citadel (1258/1259)
Source: Adapted from (National Library of France, Eastern Division. Persian Supplement) from the Ğāmi` al-tavārīḫ by Rašīd al-Dīn Fazl-ullāh Hamadānī [c.1430-1434], illustrated by Sayf al-Dîn Naqqâsh Esfahânî Vâhedî, p. 187).

The original page of the miniature of the Mongol siege to Erbil’s citadel.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Source: (National Library of France, Eastern Division. Persian Supplement) from the Ǧāmi` al-tavārīḫ by Rašīd al-Dīn Fazl-ullāh Hamadānī [c.1430-1434], illustrated by Sayf al-Dîn Naqqâsh Esfahânî Vâhedî, p. 187).

The Mongols were unable to take the citadel but did control the lower city and their long siege led Nassiredin to make peace. The citadel was opened to the invaders and on Hulago's orders Nassiredin was executed by having him thrown from the Maragha Mountain (Husseyn 2012, p. 128). By the end of the 13th century, a description came from the Syriac History - that was translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt.- states that Erbil citadel is "[a] strong castle or fortress stood on the top of the hill on which the town was built, and the deep ditch which ran round it was partly enclosed by the town wall" (Budge 1928 [13th century], no pagination). At that time the main religion was Christianity and the city had a Metropolitan, and many priests. In 1334, subsequent to the Jalayirid dynasty, came the Kara Koyunlu / Turkoman Black Sheep era who conquered the area ruled Erbil; they were followed by the Persians and in 1393 the city was attacked again by Timur/Tamerlane.

5.2 The Ottoman Period

The Ottoman Empire conquered and then ruled Mesopotamia from 1509 to 1918. Early on there was either no dynamic development or no significant records now exist to track the growth of Erbil. In 1534 the Ottomans declared and approved such local Kurdish emirates as Bahdinan, Baban, and Soran. Erbil, located in the Soran emirate, expanded and flourished when Soran became one of the strongest emirates in the region. From then until recent times, the Kurds, largely retained management of Erbil (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2008, p. 5; Doxiadis 1958, p. 7). In 1743 the city faced one final attack by Nadir Shah the Persian ruler, after which it returned to being Ottoman territory remaining under the administrative authority of the Soran emirate until its collapse in 1847 when Erbil was placed under the direct governance of Turkish administrators (Mardin 1989, p. 40). In 1870, following an announcement from Istanbul of a revision in the organization of the *wilayat*/province, Erbil became part of the Kirkuk administration[207] (Doxiadis 1958, p. 7) and later was under the administrative rule of Baghdad until the end of World War 1 when it was placed under British Mandate. Following this brief history an attempt will be made to address the question of the city's urban environment. This will be divided into two sections, the citadel and the lowland area.

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[207] It became a *sinjuk* of the Shahrazur region

5.2.1 Erbil citadel

The most prominent feature in Erbil was the citadel, the *qala'a*. It fascinated travellers and visitors who remarked on its architecture and urban form and space. Despite the damage and devastation that had occurred in previous eras the city preserved its uniqueness. Various scholars visited Erbil and, described or referred to it in later writings. Most were foreign travellers[208] from Europe who differed in their curiosity and in the ways they looked at the city. The focus varied between an interest in its external appearance, the architectural details of its buildings and the archaeological evidence.

The citadel impressed the travellers by its size, physical appearance, and the continuity of the urban pattern of the upper part with the lower parts of the city below the south gate; there is however, a marked lack of detailed description by foreign travellers. Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013, pp. 13-14) attribute this to the obstacles of language, the absence of a local guide, a fear of the labyrinth of narrow pathways, the strong presence of Turkish troops and the limited time available to visitors. Most writers offered a description of the citadel's main south gate (with its narrow brick-built passageway) accessed by a bridge (Nováček Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 15).

This gate, destroyed during the siege of Nader Shah in 1743, was rebuilt during the rule of Sultan Mahmoud I and paid for by the Ottoman treasury in 1745. The evidence for this comes from a script (figure 5.2), found in the Ottoman archives referring to a survey ordered by the Sultan himself to determine the cost of rebuilding the defensive elements of the Erbil and Kirkuk citadels. Most writers offered a description of the citadel's main south gate (with its narrow brick-built passageway) accessed by a bridge (ibid., p. 15).

Figure 5.3 shows the proposed design for the rebuilding or repair of Kirkuk's citadel gate following the Persian attack. It is similar to the existing Kirkuk gate, which might indicate that the Sultan's order was implemented.

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[208] Travellers, such as Rich, Place, Fletcher, Olivier, Clement, Lycklama, Sachan, Cernik, and Herzfeld wrote their first impressions when passing the city on the journey from Baghdad to Mosul or vice versa.

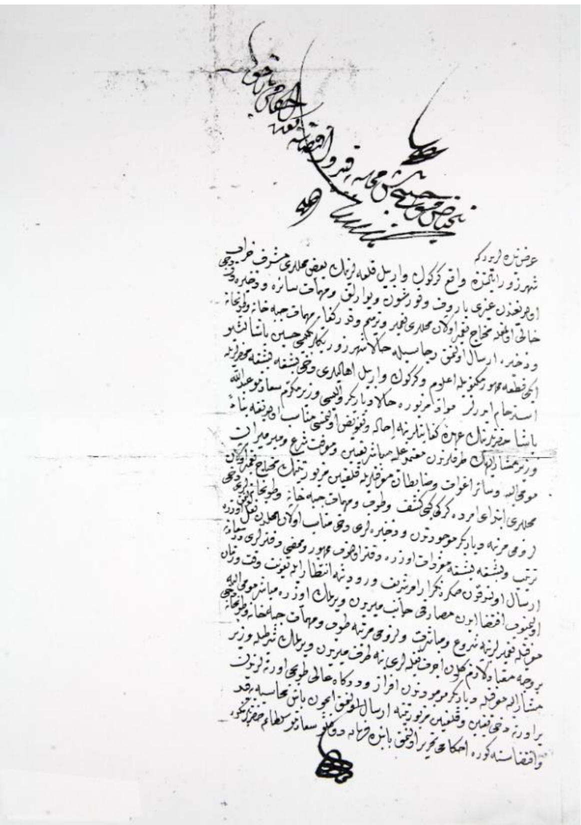

Figure 5.2: The survey order made by Sultan
Source: (Ottoman Archives, Istanbul, Turkey, Cevdet Collection – Military - 51065)

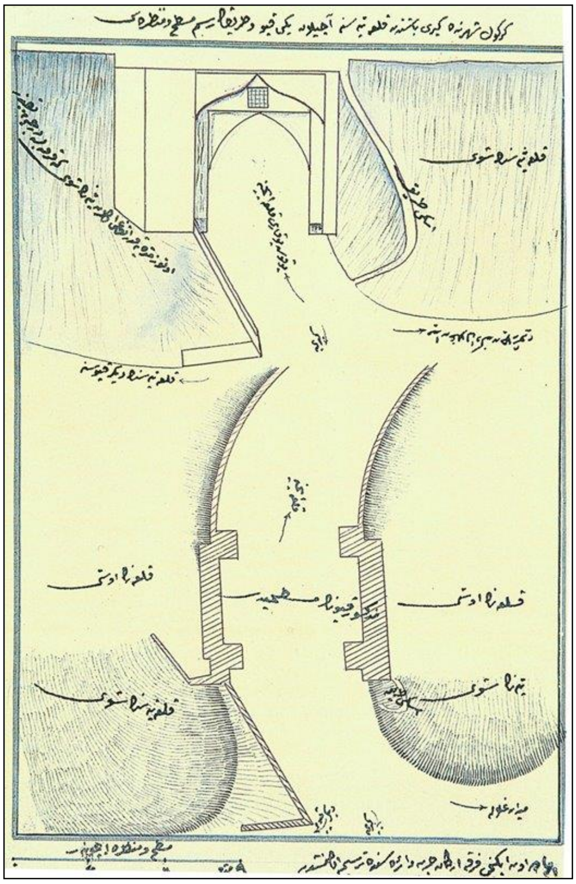

Figure 5.3: A proposal, in 1882, for the design of the Topqapu gate
Source: (Prime Ministry Archives, Ottoman Section, Turkey). Published in (Saatçi 2007, p. 41).

Indirect evidence comes from Sachan who states that in addition to the main gate there was a second, small, east gate (Nováček Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 15). Sachan "… describes the town in 1898 and observes that most of the public buildings including the Residency of the Kaimakams, [the civil administrators for a region] were within the walled Qala'a [citadel] which was accessible by means of principal gates, one opening from the south and another from the southeast" (Sachan: see Doxiadis 1959, p. 16).

With regard to the citadel wall, there is nothing to indicate that it was ever reconstructed after the Persian attack in 1743. Instead, a terrace of houses[209] was built on the traces of its foundations (Yousef 2015; Michelmore 2013). The earliest description of the site and condition of the wall comes from an account by Carsten Niebuhr who visited Erbil in 1766 during his travels in Iraq. The citadel was being placed on a hill surrounded by a vast area of lowland, and having a brick fortification wall[210] formed by the unbroken line of house façades (Niebuhr 2007, p. 286; Houtsma 1987, p. 522).

Erbil's paths and alleyways took their organic shape because the *Usta*/architect responsible for on-site city planning took into consideration the requirements of owners, i.e. a request for a larger or smaller plot of land. When choosing the terrain, he usually followed the outline configuration of the land while making alterations and improvements when possible. At that time there were no legal constraints or surveys on buildings. Anyone could choose a piece of land on which to build, and wealthy people could choose its size (Al-Sultani 2013). This is probably one of the factors leading to the development of the organic fabric that, in turn, impacted on the citadel pathways which took organic shape and were "...massive vaulted subterranean passages and chambers" (Houtsma 1987, pp. 522-523).

By the second half of the 19th century changes had occurred to the administrative divisions of the Ottoman Empire. Erbil became the capital of the sinjuk of Shahrazour, comprised of 330 villages, and the city flourished once more when it became the region's commercial centre. Many residential and public buildings; mosques, a

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[209] A terrace of houses was built instead of the wall, probably due to factors relating to stability and safety.
[210]From the late 19th century onwards this unbroken row of terraced houses existed on the earlier wall. A description of a picturesque hill-top citadel encircled at its edge by a fortified wall composed of private houses sited on an earlier ruined wall, appeared in '*E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*'.

synagogue, a prison, houses, religious schools, and a *serai*, the residence of the Turkish governor, were established within the citadel (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi, 2013a; Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 15; Houtsma 1987, pp. 522-523). In general, the population was spread over three *mehall*as / districts; Serai, Topkhana, and Takia. All those rich enough or from well-known families/*aghawat*, lived inside the citadel, and each sector had its alleyways (Husseyn 2012, p. 128). In 1922 C.J. Edmonds stated that the most important families lived inside the citadel and that it had a hospital, a law court and a school (Doxiadis 1959, p. 16).

The above information indicates clearly that the built environment of the upper town, the citadel, included a fortified wall formed by the row of adjacent houses, two gates, paths, a residential area, religious and other public buildings. While the moat surrounding the citadel was still in existence b neglected when Rich visited the city in 1820. Eventually, when it contained enough rubbish to block the drainage it was deliberately partially filled-in and became a perimeter path (Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013, p. 15; Houtsma 1987, p. 522).

5.3 The Lower City

Perhaps the earliest evidence on the state of the city and the city wall comes from the traveller Leonhard Rauwolff who visited Erbil in 1574. In his account, he described the city as partially destroyed, with its wall in an advanced stage of decay (Rauwolff: see Nováček Amin and Melčák 2013, p.16). By the beginning of the 18th century, the lower city had begun to expand again. Concentrated around the area of the south gate it contained the main paths, the residential district, the bazar area and public buildings such as *inns* / khans, one or more *hammams* / public baths, and several mosques. The first description, coming from Niebuhr in 1766, describes the southern part of the lower city, specifically, the traces of the mosque and the old minaret (Niebuhr 2007 [18th century], p. 296).

In 1820 Claudius James Rich visited Erbil and described the minaret and the nearby remains of an ancient mosque, its foundations and walls demolished, its bricks taken away. He also refers to traces of the city wall, a moat, *kahariz,* or canals and a *wadi*/valley, referred to as '*chi kunam'* located in the north of the city[211] (Rich 1836, p. 322). An engraving depicts the city and its fortification system as it existed in 1820. It shows the caravan routes, some settlements in front of the south gate and the minaret (figure 5.4). Al-Munshi Al-Baghdadi[212] (2008 [1821], p. 121) wrote - when he passed by Erbil - in his book '*Rihlat Al-Munshi Al-Baghdadi ila Iraq'* in 1821 that Erbil's citadel had 1000 houses whereas the lower land had 4000 houses (he also indicated that Erbil's people speak Turkish and Kurdish languages).

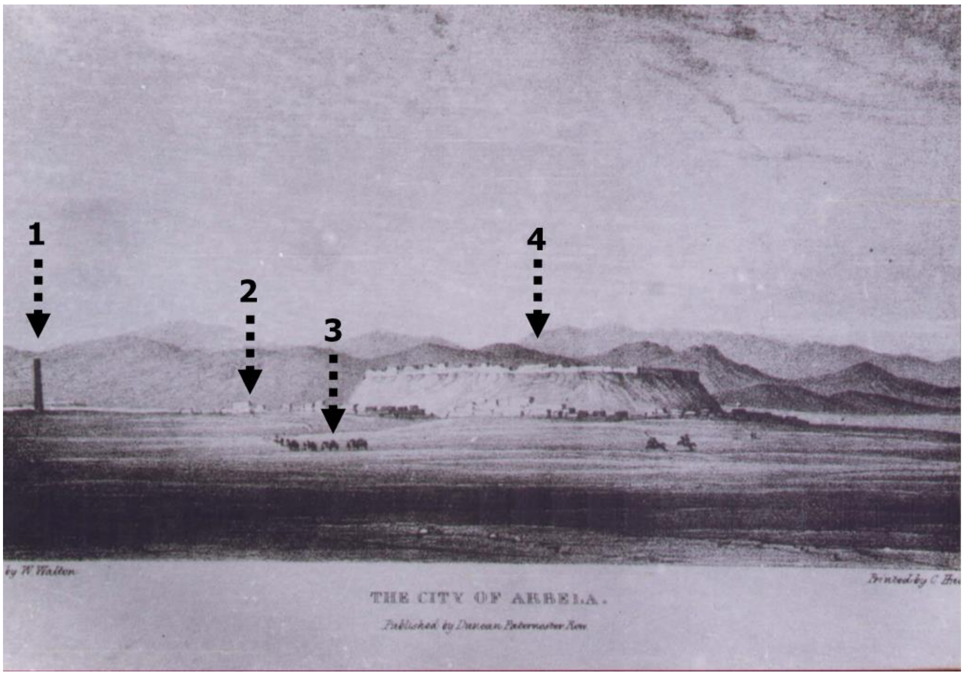

Figure 5.4: : An engraving depicting the citadel of Erbil from the South
(1) the minaret, (2) the bazar area (3) the trade path (Kirkuk road) (4) the citadel
Source: (Rich 1836, following p. 14); based on an engraving of 1820; adapted by the author
The Citadel viewed from the S.

In September 1857, the *Illustrated Times* published an engraved view of Erbil[213] made by Eugène Flandin between 1840 and 1841. This image shows the impressive size of the citadel's gate, hill, and defensive wall, together with some settlements and a minaret located on lowland to the southwest of the citadel, and surrounded by ruins. It suggests that the painter was impressed by the citadel's hill, gate and minarets, almost certainly the most prominent features at that time (figure 5.5).

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[211] It is said that Taimurlank during his siege of Erbil pitched his tent near this valley (Rich 2008, p. 322).

[212] Originally, he was a Persian called Muhammad Agha AlFarisi/Persian, he companied Rich in his trip to Diar Al-Kurd and in the beginning time of his travel he changed his name to Al-Munshi Al-Baghdadi.

[213] The engraving of Erbil Citadel was published in the *Illustrated Times* on 19th September 1857, where the image is printed flipped horizontally. It may have been published previously in Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste's, *Voyage en Perse Pendant les Années 1840 et 1841* (Paris 1843-1854), which was published in separate parts.

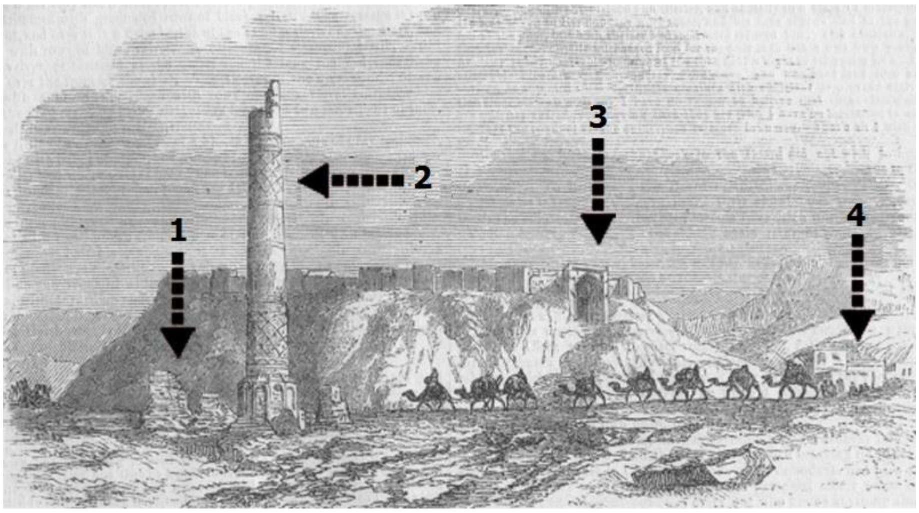

Figure 5.5: An engraving depicting the citadel of Erbil 1841-1844
(**3**) is the main gate, (4) is some settlements or buildings (**2**) is the minaret which is surrounded by (1) the remains of an old mosque
Source: Adapted from **(**Illustrated Times 19 September 1857, p. 205), it is likely that the engraving was originally published in Flandin, and Coste 1843-1854.

In 1898, Sachan indicated that Erbil's expansion onto the plain began when the market's shops were established close to the foot of the citadel's main gate. He also pointed out that the direction of growth started from the south and moved south-westward and eastward. He foresaw that growth beyond the citadel would continue, as security was no longer a problem (Sachan: see Doxiadis1959, p. 18). Natural expansion towards the south was to be expected since a route connecting Erbil with the city of Kirkuk already existed (Doxiadis 1959, p. 2). It should be noted that in 1892 Erbil had 3,260 inhabitants (Houtsma 1987, p. 522). For 1899 Belck and Lehmann estimated that the number of houses inside the citadel had reached 800 (ibid., p. 522). For 1910 Doxiadis (1958, p. 13) reckoned that the population had increased to 8,000 and by 1920 it had risen to 1,2000. These estimations indicate the availability of residential area land in the upper and lower parts of the city and that the city was growing. Michelmore (2013), Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013) and Doxiadis (1959) agree that the lower city underwent development and steady changes, and that the urban fabric started from the gate near the foot of the citadel. Nováček, Amin, and Melčák (2013, p. 16) highlight this, saying; "The nucleus of the Ottoman lower town developed without any sign of continuity with its medieval predecessor, the ruins of which surrounded the Ottoman settlement, as the travelogues repeatedly mention". In the early 1900s a big change occurred in the bazar area with the decision by the prominent Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family to build qaisarias[214] in cooperation with other local people (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi, 2013a; Ali 2013). This event impacted on the urban fabric and its components; the new qaisarias tracing the organic pattern of the old paths following the demolition of some shops and houses (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 87). Yousef (2015) assumes that these qaisarias might have been built above the ruins of the 12th century qaisaria. In contrast, Nováček (2015) and Michelmore (2013) state that there is no evidence to indicate the location of the 12th century qaisaria. Thus it can be said that the act of building today's qaisaria helped foster an awareness of Erbil's long disappeared 12th century qaisaria, referring as it does to both the continuous and the historical aspects of the city. Later, in 1916, Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld visited Erbil and noted the expansion of the lower city towards the south and east. They commented on the poor condition of the settlements and other public buildings such as the bazar and its qaisaria, khans, minarets and the remains of the old mosque near the southeast corner of the citadel where yet more buildings were decaying figure (5.6). Herzfeld also refers to other urban elements, such as cemeteries and the wide depression or small valley called the Basté, located in the south, together with the remains of the city wall near the south part of the citadel, the origin of which he attributes to the 12th and 13th centuries (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1920, pp. 313-314).

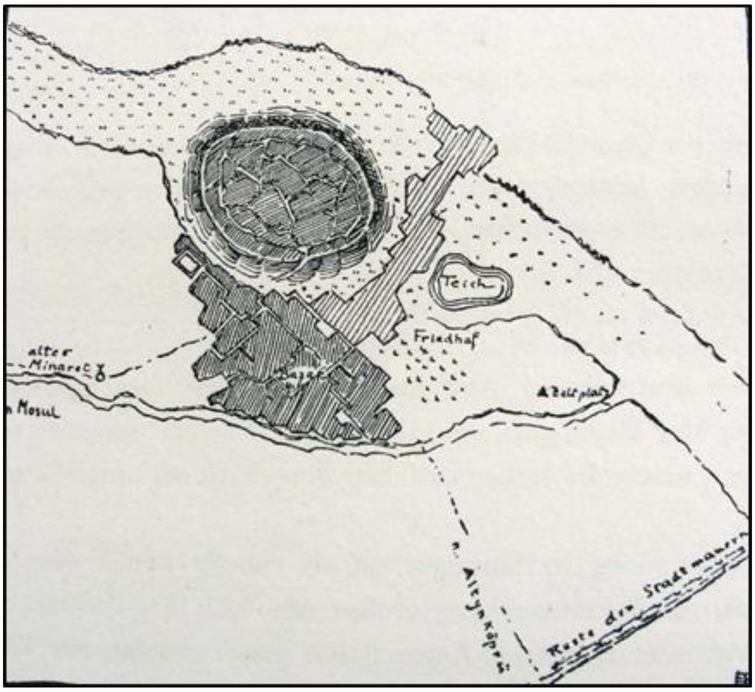

Figure 5.6: Hertzfeld Sketch map, 1916
Source: (Sarre and Herzfeld 1920, p. 314)

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[214] A qaisaria is a closed market, constructed to protect goods and containing a number of shops. Different sources believed that this qaisaria dated back to the 12th century although there are no traces of 12th century qaisaria. The origin date will be discussed in detail in the in Chapter 7.

Figure 5.7 is a sketch map dating to ca. 1918/1920 produced by British Naval Intelligence illustrates the organic nature of the city’s urban fabric i.e. spontaneous urban evolution. Although it was made following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the fabric of the city and the citadel had developed prior to the 20th century.

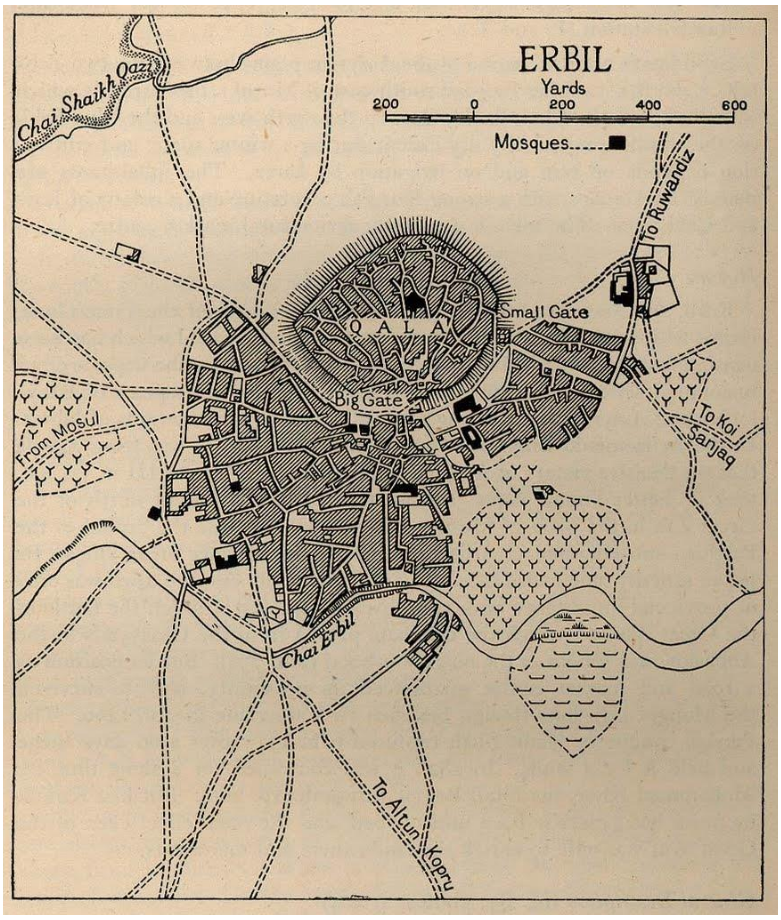

Figure 5.7: Erbil Sketch Map, ca. 1918/1920
Source: (Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division 1944, p. 530)

Based on these pieces of earlier evidence and the study of an early 20th century map it can be said that the configuration of the traditional urban fabric began from the south gate of the citadel. This is an indication of the importance of this particular area – i.e. the city’s urban core - which has, hitherto, lacked investigation of its physical and probably functional changes from being a vast public space - the maidan, in the Attabeg period - to becoming part of the physical urban fabric embracing commercial, social, and religious functions. Doxiadis (1959, p.16) and Al-Dabbagh (1988, p. 77) state that in this period Erbil city was growing spontaneously towards the south, south-east, and south-west; the settlements surrounding the citadel were divided into three sectors: Khanaqa, Arab, and T’ajil Yahud and Arab. This probably happened during the late Ottoman period or perhaps earlier as the Ottoman official papers for Erbil, *salnamat*, which were in Mosul, indicate that Erbil had seven sectors[215], three in the citadel and four in the lower city (Husseyn 2012, p. 128). Figure 5.8 shows the difference in size between the city in the 12th century Attabeg period and the 19th century Ottoman period.

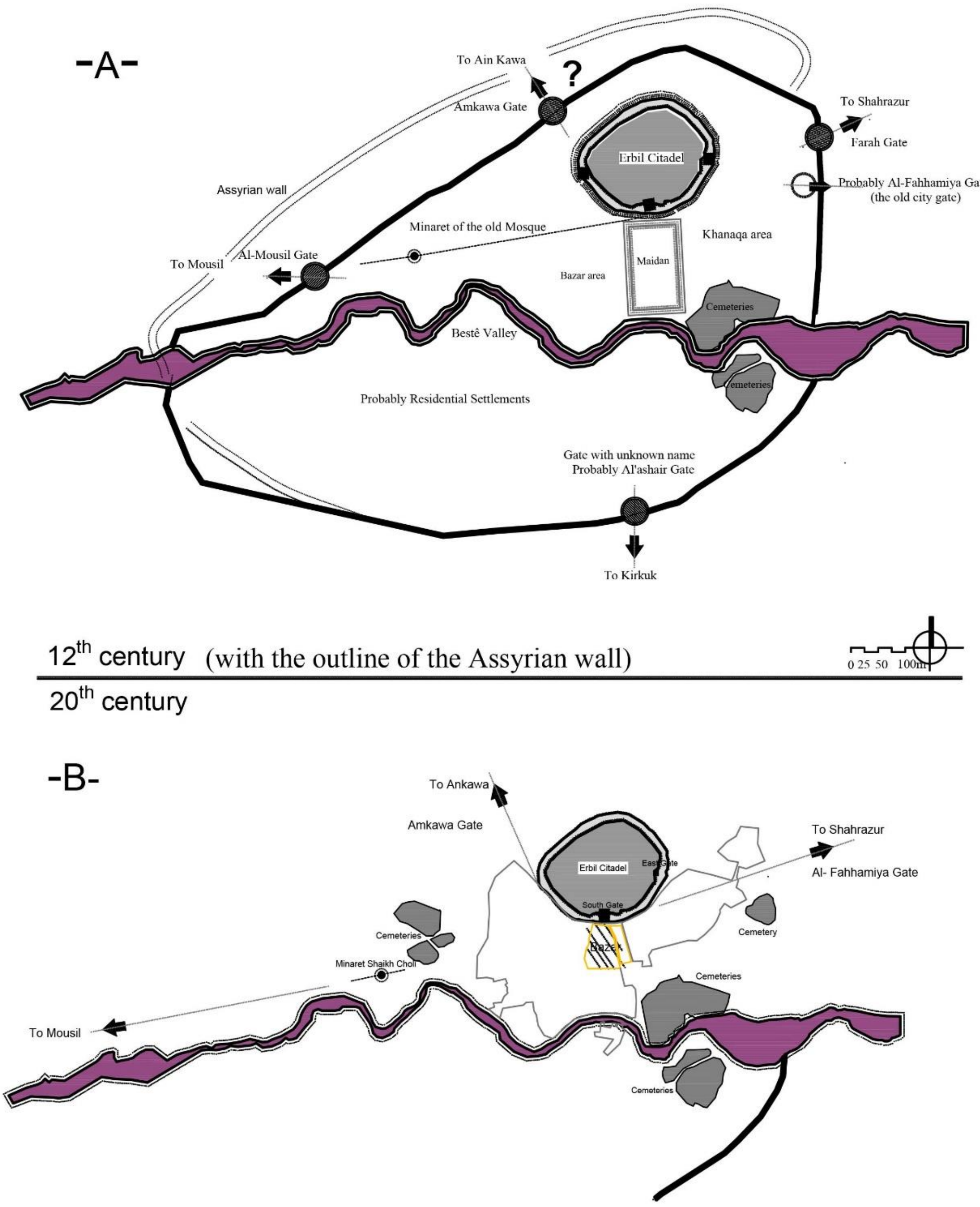

Figure 5.8: Erbil in 12th and 20th centuries

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[215] It should be noted that settlement divisions based on religion and ethnicity appeared in Aleppo in the Ayyubid period. The result was fragmentation, not only between communities but also in the expression of future urban development. Tabbaa (1997, p. 24) argues that the areas left vacant, including the maidan and the cemeteries, resulted from the tendency of the rulers to dominate the land leading them to force a separation between the city's Arab, Kurdish and Turkish inhabitants.

5.3.1 The Way of Life

Following the Attabeg period and as a result of attack and invasion by different powers for more than 900 years up to and including the Ottoman period, public social life in Erbil city remained underdeveloped. The population adapted in basic ways through experience and social requirement while maintaining some aspects of the previous civilisation (Mzoori 2011, p. 69; Chadirji, 2010, p. 5). Social, political and religious hierarchies were established and the private and public sectors of life worked on different levels. Architecture, urban planning, lifestyle and social relations among the inhabitants were affected and these aspects were, in turn, reflected in the behaviour of the population. For example, the sense of insecurity that persisted due to the persistent instability of the political situation of Iraq led some of Erbil's inhabitants to emigrate to other cities, while those that stayed found the necessary security only by residing in the Qala'a, the Erbil citadel[216] (Doxiadis 1958, p. 48).

Life during this period was hard due to the continual struggle between the Ottoman rulers and Iran. Furthermore, the Ottoman governments treated their citizens badly since the principal aim was to collect taxes from the population (Hussyein 2012, p. 129). At that time education was not perceived to be the government's responsibility; it was left to the wealthy members of the community to provide schooling for the inhabitants. The result was that over a long period of time religious schools[217] allied to the mosque were the places of education. In Erbil, the main school was in the citadel and belonged to the mosque. Only in the late Ottoman period were secular primary schools and high schools established. A further aspect of life was that for reasons of tradition and religious teachings men and women were segregated outside the home. Women, especially those from upper class families/*Aghawat* families, were required to wear a veil in public; this restriction applied to Muslims, Jews and Christians. Women were forbidden to leave home other than to go to the public bath or the bazar at specified times. A small number were permitted to go together to the cemetery to weep over their dear dead ones (Mzoori 2011, p. 69, Doxiadis 1958, p. 48). This requirement ensured that as far as possible women stayed away from the roads and markets and remained unseen by the eyes of

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[216] This also impacted on the growth of the city as Erbil shrank into itself. Only after the establishment of the Iraqi kingdom did this sense of insecurity diminish.

[217] In Erbil these schools had an importance as people travelled to Erbil to learn there.

strangers. Figure 5.9 shows the type of the clothes that women wore; these were similar to those worn by women in other Ottoman controlled areas.

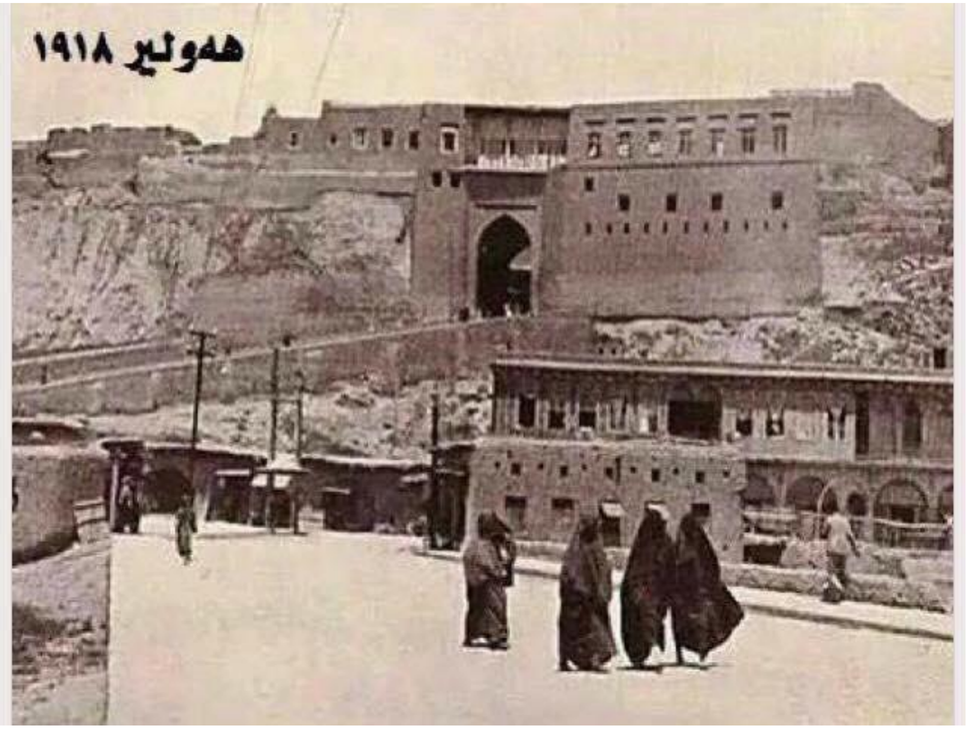

Figure 5.9: The clothes of women regardless of their race and religion
Source: (Erbil Governorate), taken by Anon. ca. 1930s – the year that was written on the photograph in Arabic is inaccurate.

5.4 The Post- Ottoman Period

In 1916, two years after the outbreak of World War I (1914 -1918), the governments of Great Britain and France, working under the Sykes-Picot agreement, decided that in the event of an Ottoman defeat, the Islamic and Arab lands, previously under the control of the Ottoman Empire, would be distributed between them. In 1918 the allies implemented this plan and Iraq, at that time composed of three states, was awarded to Great Britain. Erbil, with its Kurdish majority, was located in the northern state of Mosul and from 1918 to 1921 Captain Hay, the British-appointed administrative ruler, worked in Kurdistan. He took over the city of Erbil from the Turks under the terms of the armistice (Hay 1921, p.114); below is his first impression on entering the city:

> For two or three hours we rode on through endless bare undulating country, until finally at the top of a rise we saw some four miles away from us in the plain a great circular mound crowned with a ring of buildings. This was Arbil, the ancient sacred city of the Assyrians, existing under the same name as early as 1800 B.C., where kings prayed for victory and mighty conquerors flayed their captives alive before the altar of Ishtar. Here it was that Alexander the Great after his victory pursued the fallen Darius, and though disappointed of

> his victim overtook the royal treasure. Here, too, at one time ruled the best known Kurd in history, the great Saladin…Arbil, with its battlemented heights and its great solitary minaret, presents a unique appearance. The upper town, built on a huge circular mound, commands the surrounding plain like a vast fort, the outer walls being lofty and containing only small irregular windows like loopholes, except where some of the rich aghas have constructed balconies (Hay 1921, pp. 116-117).

5.5 The Modern Period

Following the Iraqi revolution in 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres, was implemented by the League of Nations and the great powers. Two years later the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan and Turkey were assured of their right to self-determination and to conduct elections. Under pressure from the Turkish government led by Kemal Ataturk, however, the Lausanne Agreement was signed in 1923 and the Treaty of Sèvres abandoned numbers 61, 62 and 63 of its articles; the State of Turkey was declared and this effectively rescinded Kurdish rights to an independent territory (Sluglett 1976, pp. 116-124; O'Ballance 1973, pp. 25-28).

The kingdom of Iraq was established in 1921 and Erbil became a province of Iraq[218] following its attachment to Kirkuk. Mr. Ahmed Osman was appointed as the first *Mutasarif*/ governor of the Erbil governorate. This stage signalled the beginning of a new era for Erbil; from then on changes occurred at cultural, social and urban levels. Released from the stagnation and neglect of the Ottoman period the city's population grew for both political and social reasons: main utility services were provided and its population encouraged to move out of the citadel and into the neighbouring areas (Husseyn 2012, p. 147; Al-Haydari 1985, pp. 73-75). In 1971 Erbil was named as the capital of the Kurdistan Autonomous Region of Iraq, which included Erbil, Sulaymaniyah and Duhok (Al-Mudaris 2003, p. 44). When the obligations written into the agreements failed to achieve the stated end Kurdish resistance forces were raised leading to a recurrence of instability in the region. Despite these conflicts, the city continued to expand at the expense of neighbouring agricultural land becoming an

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[218] On 20th of November 1923, it was stated that "it is necessary to attach the state of Mosul, located south of the Brussels line, with Iraq, taking into consideration the Kurds from an administrative viewpoint and appoint local staff with consideration given to the Kurdish culture (Sluglett 1976, pp. 116-124; O'Ballance 1973, pp. 25-28). The Government of Iraq acknowledged partially and minimally some of the rights of the Kurds in its statement issued on 30th of May 1932. This was an international commitment by which Article 10, prevented any modification or termination unless it was backed by the consent of the majority of the members of the League of Nations.

aggregation of old and new urban fabric. In 1975 a comprehensive social field survey took place: it showed that the original inhabitants of Erbil formed 83% of the population while the remaining 17% had migrated from the neighbouring regions for political and social reasons. This had led to new districts appearing and by 1987 the population stood at 485,968 (Al-Haydari 1985, p. 65). In August 1983 Erbil was chosen by the Iraqi parliament to be the summer capital of Iraq, but no significant changes were made to its urban environment. Following the Gulf War and the 1991 Kurdish uprising,[219] the Kurdistan Region separated administratively from Iraq and Erbil became its capital (Al-Mudaris 2003, pp. 42-43). In recent years the city's population has risen due to immigration caused by the poor situation in other cities inside and outside Iraq, particularly in Syria. This has been further encouraged by new investment in Erbil: its population has now reached one and half million. What follows will be an attempt to trace the city's recent urban growth.

5.5.1 The City's Urban Growth

During this period Erbil's trend for expansion was towards the south and southeast (Doxiadis 1958, p. 18). The grid distribution and new roads through the organic urban fabric began as the way of life changed and the population grew (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 77). Doxiadis (1959, p. 16) argues that this pattern took place between 1921 and 1945 in the west and north-west areas of Erbil. It could, however, have begun in the early 1930s as the extension proposal[220] drawn up in 1932 envisioned the addition of 300-330 house plots on the north-west side of the citadel with a grid distribution (figure 5.10). It is not clear if this plan was fully implemented, but by comparing its layout and location with the situation existing in the city in the 1950s, it can be said that it was at least partially implemented through the merging of the new grid system of house building with the old organic layout.

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[219] The election of the first Kurdish parliament on 19 May 1992 saw the establishment of the first government on 5th July 1992. The choice of a federal style relationship with any central Iraqi government was based on the United Nations Pact, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights issued by the United Nations in 1966 (Atrushi 2006, pp. 3-4).

[220] This map was found in the Iraqi National Archive in Baghdad. It was drawn-up in 1932 by Grot: Architect P.W.D.

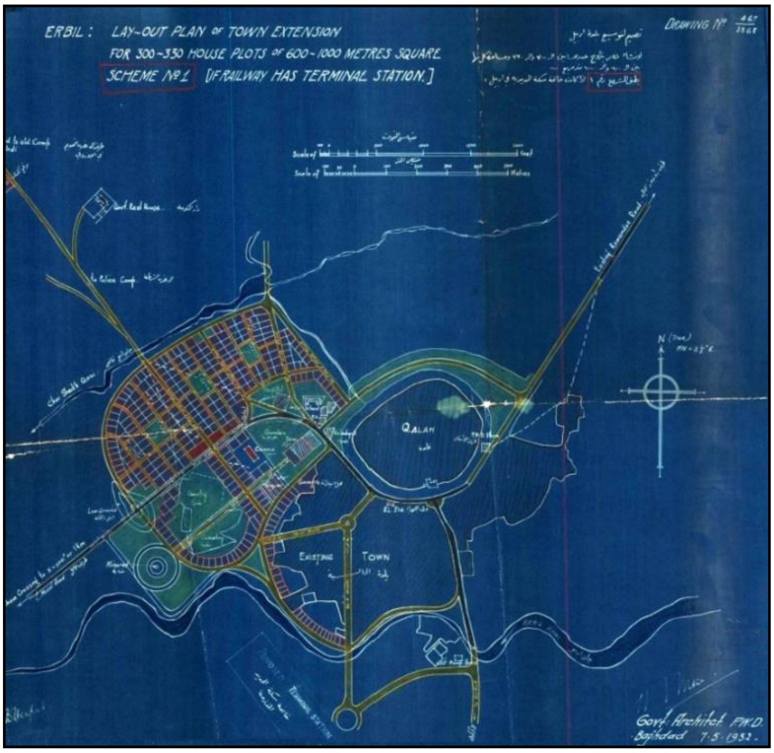
ERBIL: LAY-OUT PLAN OF TOWN EXTENSION
FOR 300-330 HOUSE PLOTS OF 600-1000 METRES SQUARE
SCHEME No 1 [IF RAILWAY HAS TERMINAL STATION]
QALAH
EXISTING TOWN
Govt. Architect PWD
Baghdad 7.5.1932.

Figure 5.10: Proposal for Erbil extension, 1932
Source: Iraqi National Archive, Baghdad, Gort Architects

For developments that took place from 1945-1953 in the north and northwest of the city (figure 5.11) part of the city began to be conceived independently from the organic fabric. Figure 5.12 shows the city's expansion from the 18th century to the fall of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958.

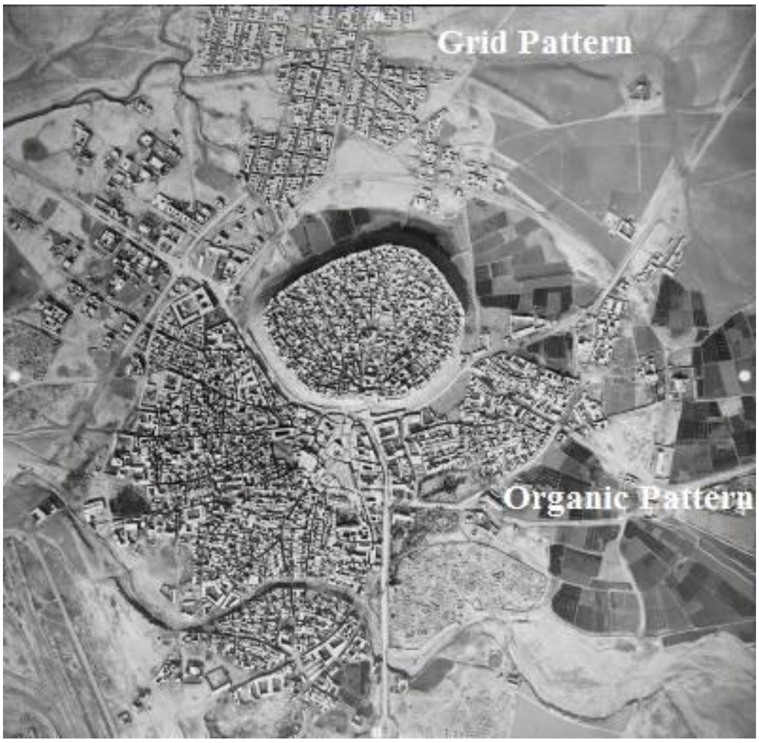

Figure 5.11: Erbil in 1951
Source: (Pitt-Rivers Museum, John Bradford Photographic Collection 1998.296.67)

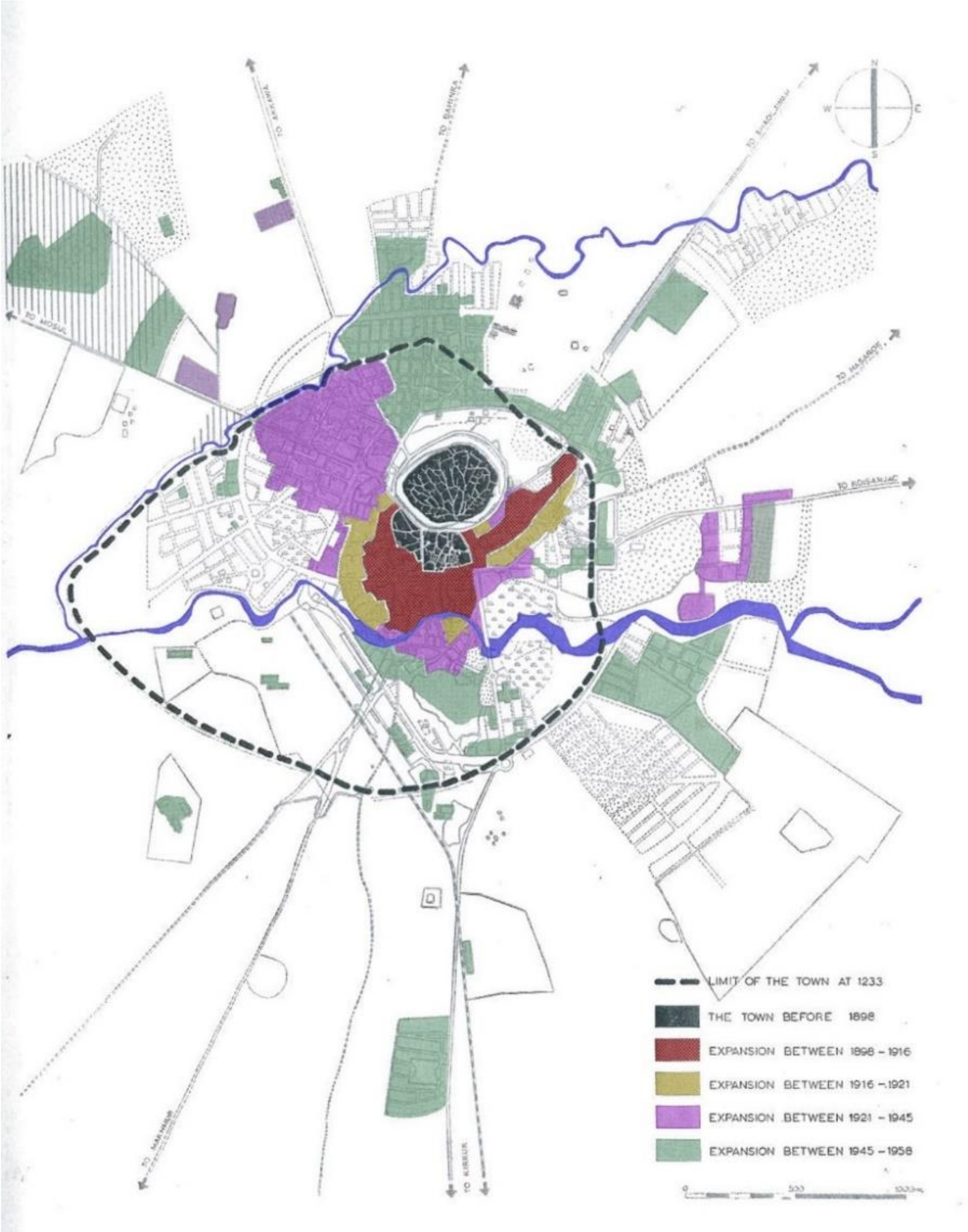
LIMIT OF THE TOWN AT 1233
THE TOWN BEFORE 1898
EXPANSION BETWEEN 1898 – 1916
EXPANSION BETWEEN 1916 – 1921
EXPANSION BETWEEN 1921 – 1945
EXPANSION BETWEEN 1945 – 1958
0
500
1000

Figure 5.12: The stages of expansion of Erbil city from the 18th century to 1958.
Source: (Doxiadis, 1959, p. 69)

In 1951 a master plan[221] for the future development of Erbil was approved by the municipality and work began immediately. The scheme was to build ring roads around the citadel and to include a number of relief roads cutting through the old organic fabric (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015; Doxiadis 1959, p. 16). As a part of the city's further development and due to the crooked shape and insufficient width of the old '3' metre-wide roads, new roads from '12.5' to '40' metres wide were built within the urban core, i.e. the bazar area and other districts, to allow traffic to circulate. Figure 5.13 is the

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[221] I found the master plan, which contains no information to indicate its architect, inside the Doxiadis report in Athens.

master plan for 1951 shows the the existing and the proposed roads that were implemented in the 1950s (Doxiadis 1958, p. 17).

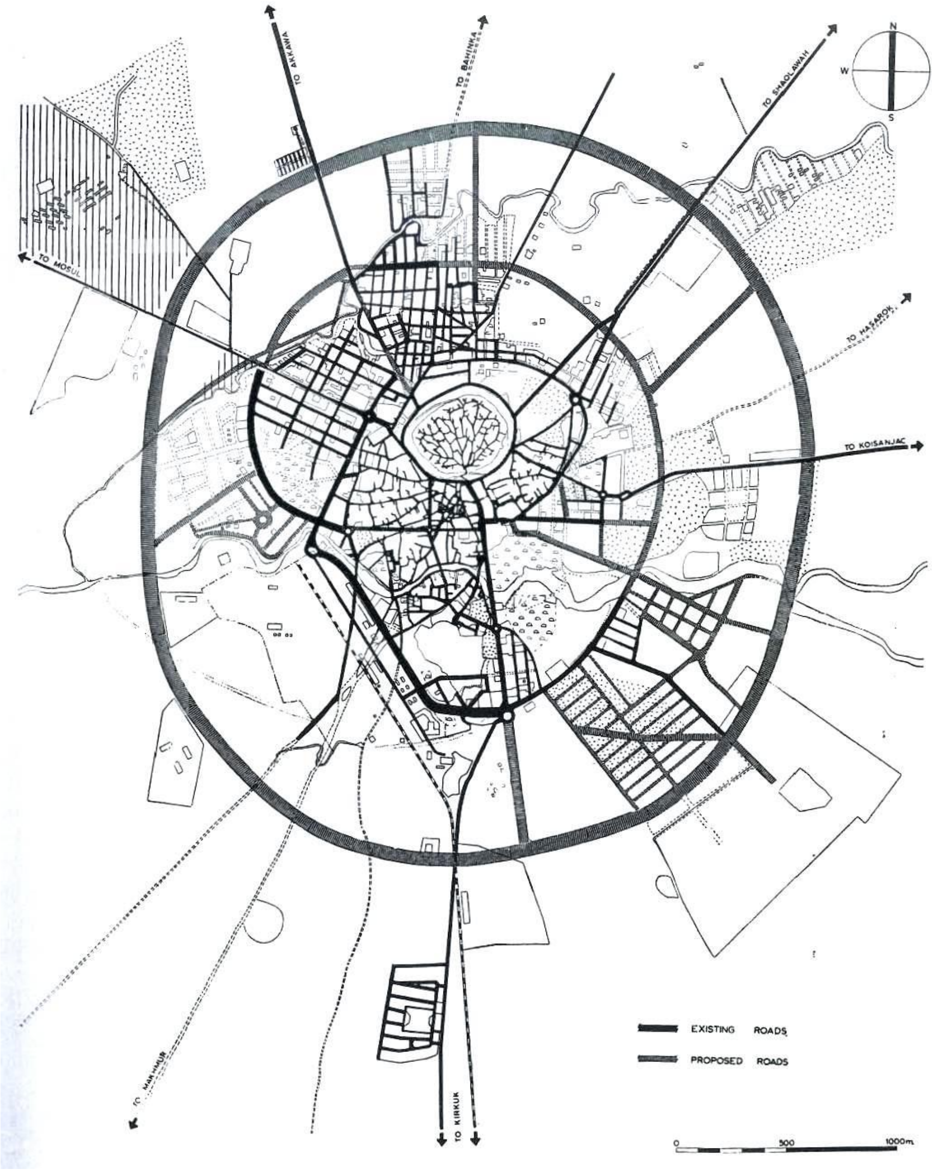

Figure 5.13: The Master plan of Erbil during the Iraqi Kingdom period.
Source: (Doxiadis 1958, DOX-QA92, p. 73)

In the middle of the 20th century, Iraq witnessed economic, social, and technical growth and Erbil’s population increased from 12,000 in 1920 to 30,415 in 1957. Following migration into Erbil from other regions and a shift in population from the citadel to the lower city, new areas fulfilling new functions were required (Doxiadis 1958, p. 15). Between 1955 and 1958, the Iraq Development Board solicited the architect and planner Constantinos Doxiadis to restructure the master plan for Baghdad and prepare a housing programme in the city for young Iraqis. This huge project necessitated Doxiadis opening a branch of his company in Baghdad (Pyla 2008, p. 3). He was later asked to produce master plans for a number of Iraqi cities, such as Babel, Basra, Kirkuk, and Erbil. In his proposal for Erbil Doxiadis attempted to introduce a long term master plan based on an analysis of foreseeable future developments.

The proposal focused on the factors influencing the direction of growth. These were the city's arteries or main highways connecting Erbil with the core centres of the cities of Kirkuk, Mosul, Koisanjac and Shaqlawa. The obstacles preventing the city's expansion towards Mosul and Kirkuk were identified as the military installations in the north-west and the railway lines leading to Kirkuk (figure 5.14).

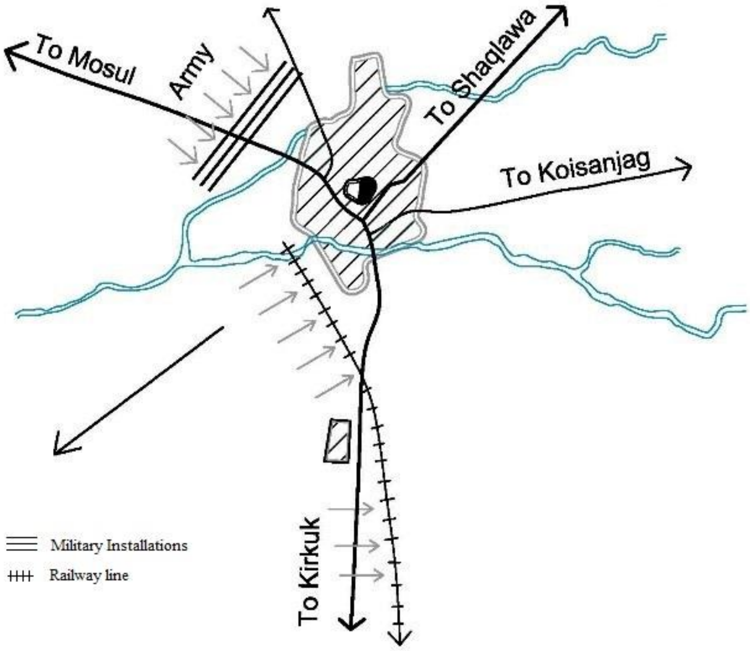

Figure 5.14: The main roads and obstructions to Erbil's expansion
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Doxiadis 1958, p. 73)

Doxiadis also pointed out that the proposed construction of ring roads inside the city would hinder the natural expansion of Erbil's urban core - the bazar area and other settlements - into other parts of the city. The consequences would be traffic congestion and problems for the city's plans for future expansion and land use. Taking this into account Doxiadis made a recommendation on the importance of interrupting the circular shape of roads (Doxiadis 1958, pp. 96-100).

Figure 5.15 is Doxiadis' suggestion for the transference of the railway line to the west of the city.

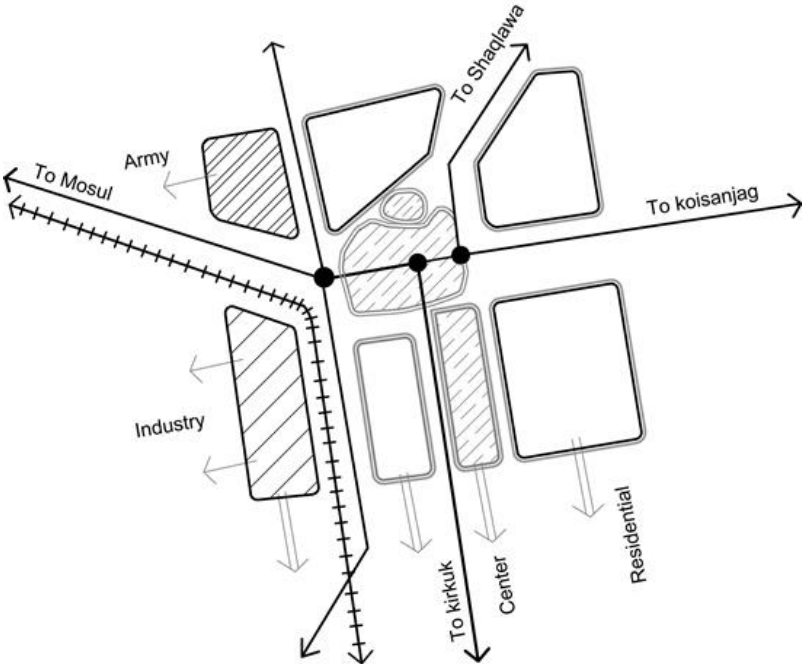

Figure 5.15: Doxiadis's sketch of the zonal function and main roads of Erbil
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Doxiadis 1959, p. 11)

Doxiadis' preliminary master plan (figure 5.16) intended the city's sectors be distributed into different zones (commercial, residential, and industrial).

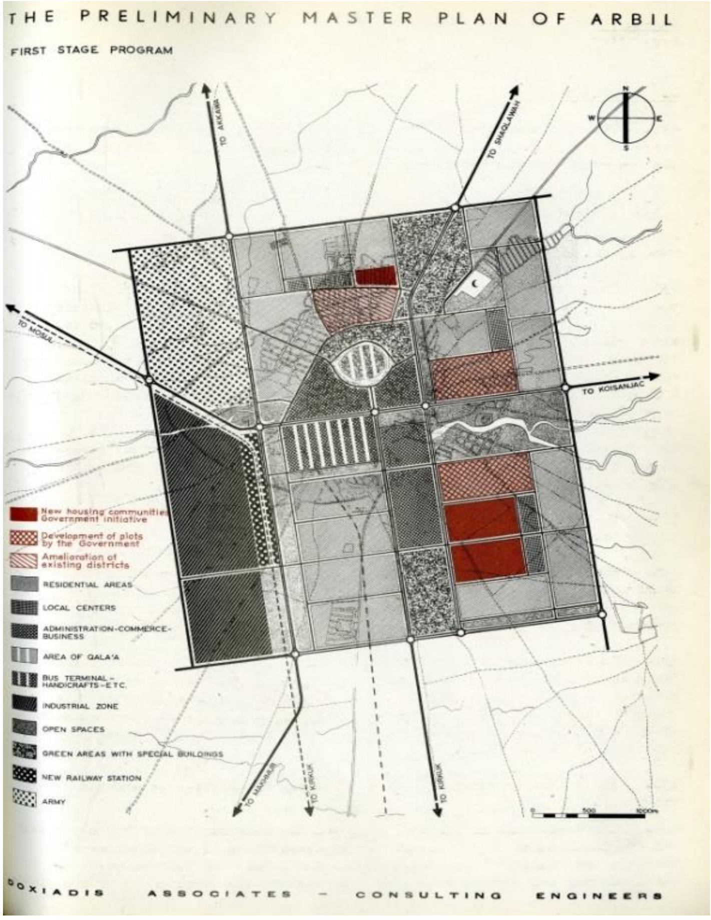
THE PRELIMINARY MASTER PLAN OF ARBIL
FIRST STAGE PROGRAM
TO AKKAWA
TO SHAQLAWAH
N
W
E
S
TO MOSUL
TO KOISANJAC
New housing communities Government initiative
Development of plots by the Government
Amelioration of existing districts
RESIDENTIAL AREAS
LOCAL CENTERS
ADMINISTRATION-COMMERCE-BUSINESS
AREA OF QALA'A
BUS TERMINAL-HANDICRAFTS-ETC.
INDUSTRIAL ZONE
OPEN SPACES
GREEN AREAS WITH SPECIAL BUILDINGS
NEW RAILWAY STATION
ARMY
TO MAKHMUR
TO KIRKUK
TO KIRKUK
0
500
1000m
DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTING ENGINEERS

Figure 5.16: Doxiadis Preliminary Master Plan of the Future of Erbil,
Source: (Doxiadis 1959, p. 11)

Doxiadis received feedback from the head of Erbil Municipality, the engineer Abdul Wahhab Haj Hassan (Doxiadis 1958, p. 73); however, the proposal was never implemented. This was probably due to the political coup that took place in Iraq in July 1958, which led to the declaration of the Iraqi Republic[222]. This revolution also raised claims to being anti-Western; this may have been why Doxiadis closed the Iraqi branch of his Athens firm and left Iraq[223] in May 1959 (Pyla 2008, pp. 16-3). Al-Damirje (2015) states that, the decision could have been taken for financial reasons: unknown causes may also have played a role[224]. By examining and analysing the Doxiadis master plan, some issues become apparent and require consideration; for example, the main focus in the proposed Erbil master plan had shifted to the main roads, away from the Erbil citadel; the citadel together with it's the Basté valley that characterises Erbil was totally neglected. However, the main point that can be extracted from the Doxiadis recommendation is the importance of interrupting the circular shape of the master plan as it would cause future problems for the city's expansion, its road junctions and the outline of its plots[225].Erbil continued to expand at the expense of neighbouring agricultural land and became an aggregation of old and new urban fabric. Following the 1991 Gulf War, the Kurdistan Region separated administratively from Iraq and Erbil became its capital (Al-Mudaris 2003, pp. 42-43). Over the past decade, changes relating to economic and political issues have encouraged a massive wave of investment in the city resulting in fast growth.

Figure 5.17 illustrates the size of today's city when compared to the citadel located at its centre. This opening-up of the Kurdistan Region to the world, resulting in the need for additions and alterations to its urban and architectural context, has led to research and literature being published by architects and urban planners such as (Al-Shwani 2011, pp. 57- 63; Baper and Hassan 2010, p. 552; Bornberg, Tayfor, and Jaimes 2006, p. 1) who highlight the challenges that Erbil's specificity is facing. Hence, it is vital to

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[222] This resulted in a brutal end to the Al-Hashimi monarchy which was replaced by a revolutionary republic for which Iraq is still paying the price (Pyla 2008, p. 4).

[223] "Doxiadis Associates had already established branches well beyond Baghdad: in Karachi, Beirut, Addis Ababa, Khartoum, and Washington DC. During the 1960s, Doxiadis was to become known as 'the world's busiest planner' and a 're-modeller of the world'; while his journal Ekistics circulated in dozens of countries" (Pyla 2008, p. 3).

[224] Other studies state that the masterplan did not fit the existing situation of Erbil at that time, such as the PhD study of L. Raswol in 2010. However, this reasoning is faulty as the proposal introduced was the first, not the final, plan.

[225] Unfortunately, the current master plan that made for the period up to 2030 followed the circular shape and is already facing problems.

fully understand the characteristics of both the city's heritage, with its tangible and intangible aspects, and the changes, as these will constitute the basis of any future designs and help protect its uniqueness.

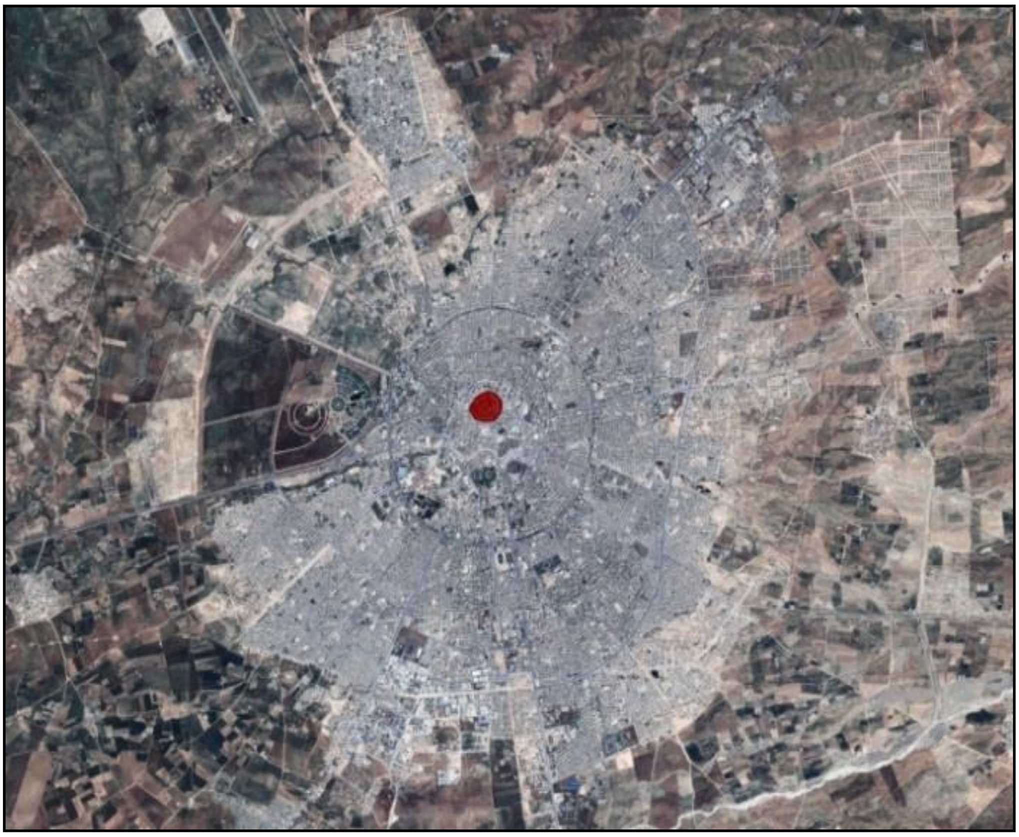

Figure 5.17: The size of the city in contrast to the citadel
Source: (Google 2007)

In 2007, the old citadel was put on the Iraqi tentative list as a UNESCO world heritage site, and formally entered the list in 2014.

> The UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention establishes in article 104 that this "buffer zone" "should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection (ARS Progetti SPA 2011, pp. 2-3).

The old area surrounding the citadel was divided into buffer zones[226] (A) and (B) in conformance with the rules of conservation (figure 5.18).

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[226] The buffer zones were identified by the Erbil City Steering Committee in 2011. Buffer zone (A) includes the area between Al-Qala'a Road and the first ring road in addition to the historic district of the Ta'jīl area. While (B), the area surrounding the Minaret Park, includes the first ring road (Mudhafarīah Road) and the 30-meter ring road.

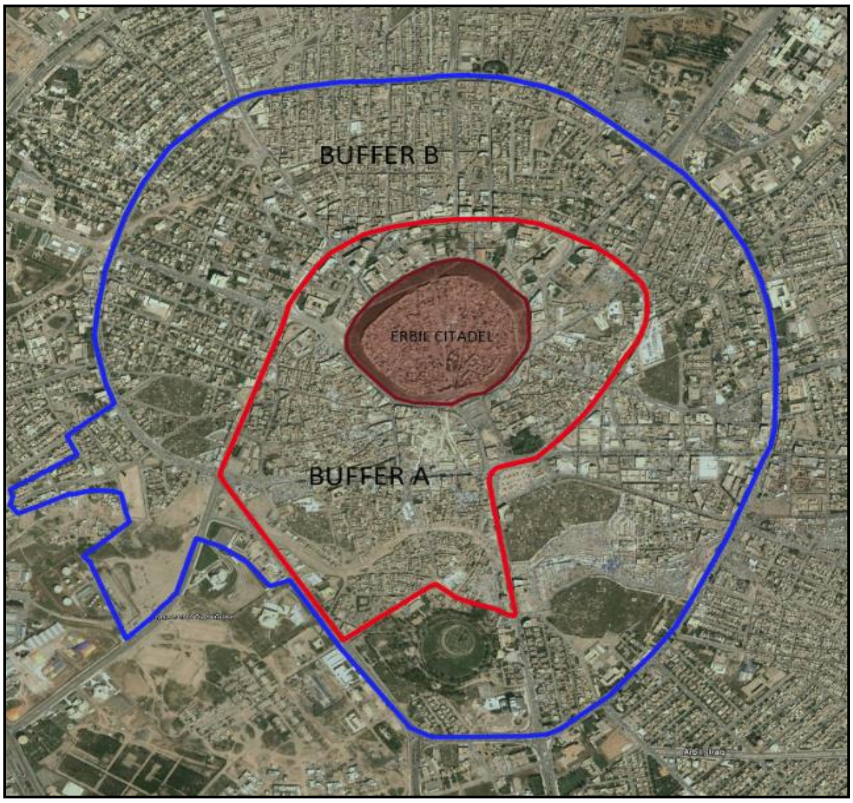

Figure 5.18: The buffer zone boundaries A&B.
Source: (ARS Progetti SPA 2011, p. 6)

5.5.2 Tracing the Remains of Historic Urban Elements

This section will review and highlight the changes that have occurred to the historic urban elements. This will include the citadel and the lower city /lowland, specifically the city's urban core, which will be examined in depth in the following chapters.

The Urban Fabric of the Erbil Citadel

In different periods, the citadel has faced different stages of change; its urban structure consists of three sectors; the Serai, Topkhana, and Takia (Husseyn 2012, p. 128). The houses have been rebuilt over the centuries in cumulative fashion and some were divided into several parts (Al-Damerji 2015). The alleyways and paths have the character of a tree's branches: they probably started from the south gate and probably preserved the character of their original pattern (Michelmore 2013). These alleyways and paths vary in their widths being wide in the public spaces and very narrow in parts of residential areas for reasons of privacy. The citadel[227] has embraced different functions: baths, mosques, a primary school, jail, and the Governor's seat of office. In the 1960s, a new

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[227] Doxiadis in their report state that the citadel needs to have archaeological research, redevelopment, and re-planning (Doxiadis 1958, p.100).

road was established to allow cars to circulate close to the citadel by cutting through its old urban fabric (figure 5.19).

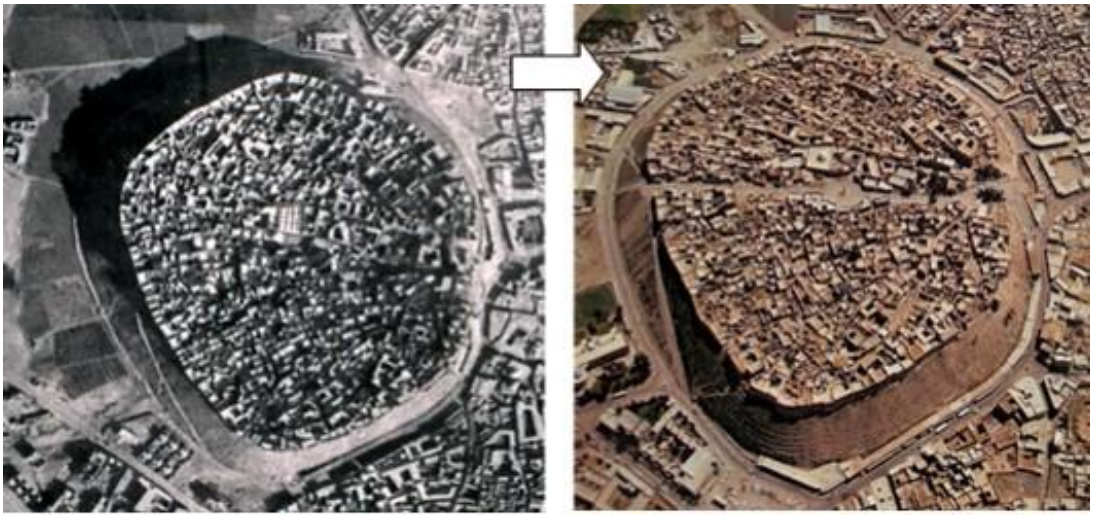

Figure 5.19: The citadel before and after the road establishment.
Source: Left in 1953: (Doxiadis Archives, 1958 - Erbil, P-QA 573 (Photographs 30729); Right in 1980s: taken by Georg Gerster perhaps in 1980s, (Trustees of the British Museum, the image AN1340800001), adapted by the author

In the decade from late 1970 to the end of 1980, a conservation process headed by the Directorate-General of Antiquities, took place in the citadel area. Different houses were chosen for conservation; some being officially owned by the Directorate. Part of the conservation process was the refilling of gaps in the citadel wall by constructing false walls that work in harmony with the existing houses that shape the wall's façade (Al-Damerji 2015).

This decision and action came at the expense of wiping out traces of the citadel's west gate, which was hidden and closed for unknown reasons following the Attabeg period (Yousef 2015). The conservation process ceased at different times for various reasons; financial issues, the death two children on the site due to falling bricks and other difficulties. Work eventually resumed but at a slow pace with the Gulf War and the Kurdish uprising finally bringing the conservation process to a halt (Yousef 2015; Al-Damerji 2015). In 2007 when the citadel was listed as a UNESCO world heritage site of the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalization (HCECR) work on its preservation began. One of the decisions taken was to rebuild the citadel gate; the result was a gate on a small scale and made with bricks of a very different colour from the original.

The Citadel Gates

At the beginning of the 20th century the south and the east gates still existed; The north (Ahmedi) gate was opened, or it could be re-opened, in 1925 through half of one of the perimeter houses on the orders of the first mayor of Erbil, Mr. Ahmed Osman (Michelmore 2013; Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a). Yousef (2015) believes that the north gate dated from the Attabeg period but was closed within a hundred years, as was the west gate. The south gate building, aside from its original function as a gate, embraced different functions: the Serai, jail and school, but for safety reasons had been demolished by the 1940s. Figure 5.20 a photograph, shows the old gate and its relationship with the city's urban core ca.1935.

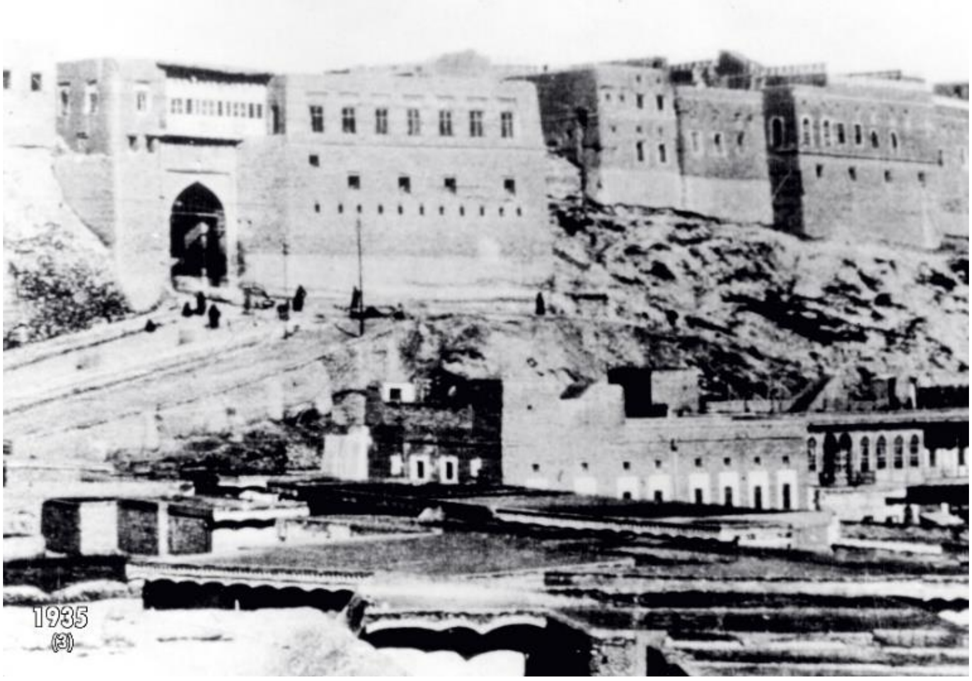

Figure 5.20: The citadel's south gate in 1935
Source: Available in the market of the photographer Samir Saleh, taken by Anon.

Another gate was rebuilt in the 1970s and designed by the civil engineer, Ihsan Sherzad, to occupy the emptiness that appeared in the area after demolishing the old gate in 1940s; the concept design being taken from the Ishtar gate. A statue of Ibn Al-Mustawfi was placed in front of it but Erbil's inhabitants were not happy with the new design which, in their opinion, had no connection with the earlier gate. In fact, it was also not practical as it had steps to prevent cars passing through it. The design also included dead spaces; originally intended for commercial purposes but never used, they just gathered dirt (Al-Damerjie 2015; Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a); figure 5.21 shows the situation of the gate in 1990s.

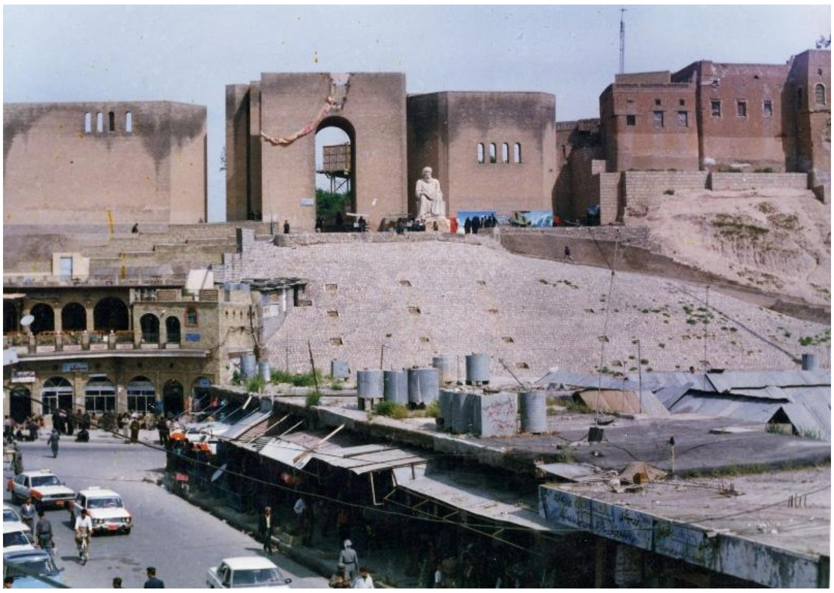

Figure 5.21: The citadel's south gate built in 1990s
Source: Department of Erbil Antiquities, taken by Anon.

The latter was in use until its demolition in 2014 following the decision to rebuild the old 19th century gate. Unfortunately, the new gate was also disappointing; it was wrongly positioned, wrong in scale relative to the citadel wall, and its colour is dark red not brown brick (figures 5.22 and 5.23).

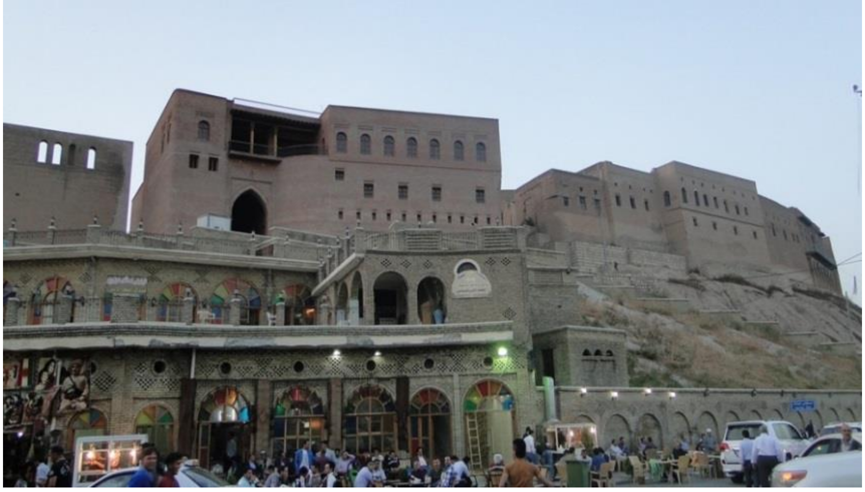

Figure 5.22: The new citadel south gate that was built to a small scale.
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

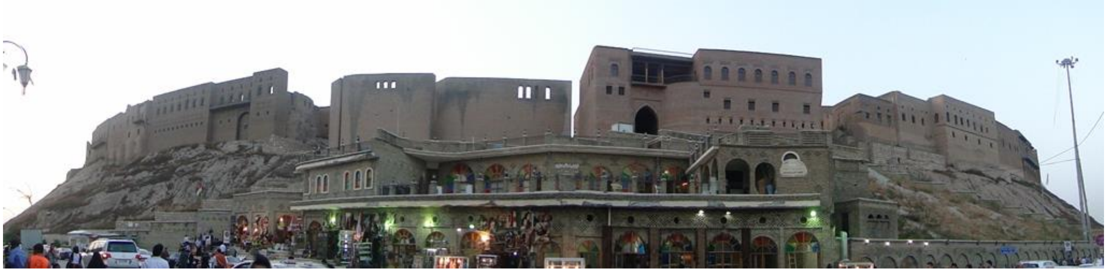

Figure 5.23: The fragmented relationship of the citadel gate and wall
The scale is smaller than the 19th century gate of and the construction material is different
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

The Citadel Moat

At the beginning of the 20th century, a new road surrounding the citadel was built on part of the site of the old citadel moat. Since then it has faced many changes to its width. These alterations began in the 1950s, continued in the 1960s and only ceased in the 2000s (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015). Figure 5.24 shows the traces of the moat below the citadel from the west side, the original photo was flipped. Figure 5.25 shows the traces from the citadel's north gate – Ahmadi gate.

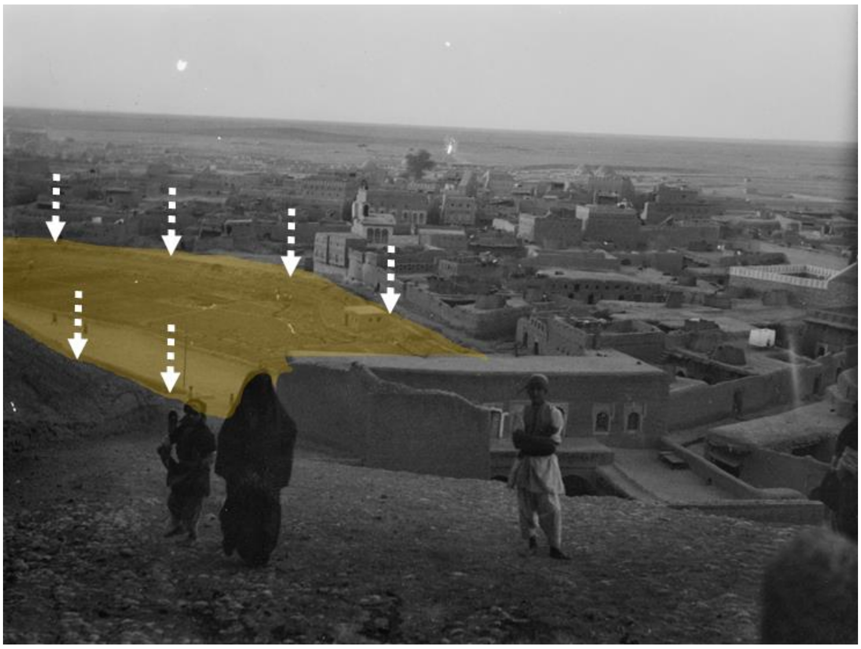

Figure 5.24: The edges of the ditch, 1932.
Source: Modified from (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division - reproduction number, LC-M33- 4839 - the G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection)

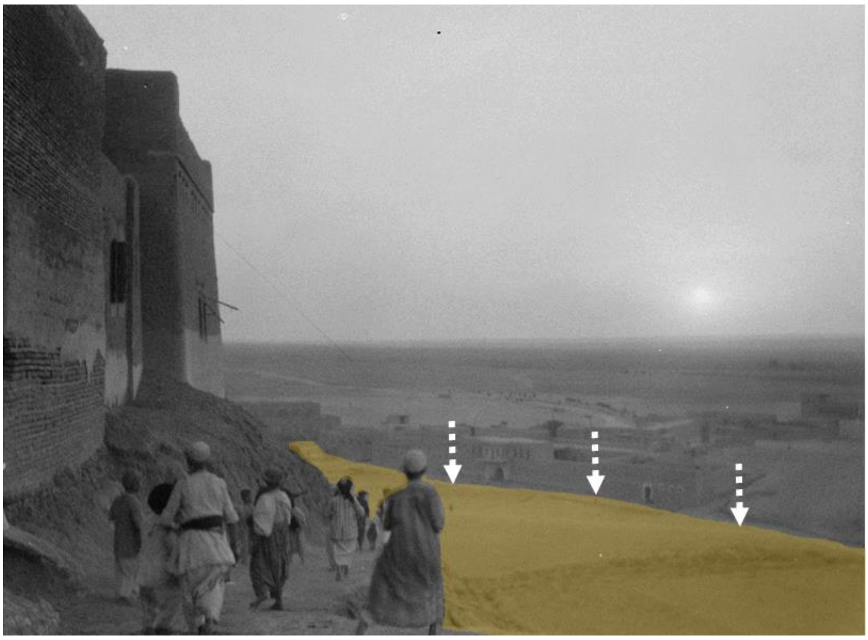

Figure 5.25: The view of the ditch,from the ramp outside the Ahmadi Gate, 1932
Source: Modified from (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number, LC-M33- 14399]; the G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection)

The City Wall

Traces of the city wall remained until the 1950s; in 1916 Herzfeld sketched the south-east wall; figure 5.26 a photograph, shows the remains of the Attabeg Period city wall from the southwest.

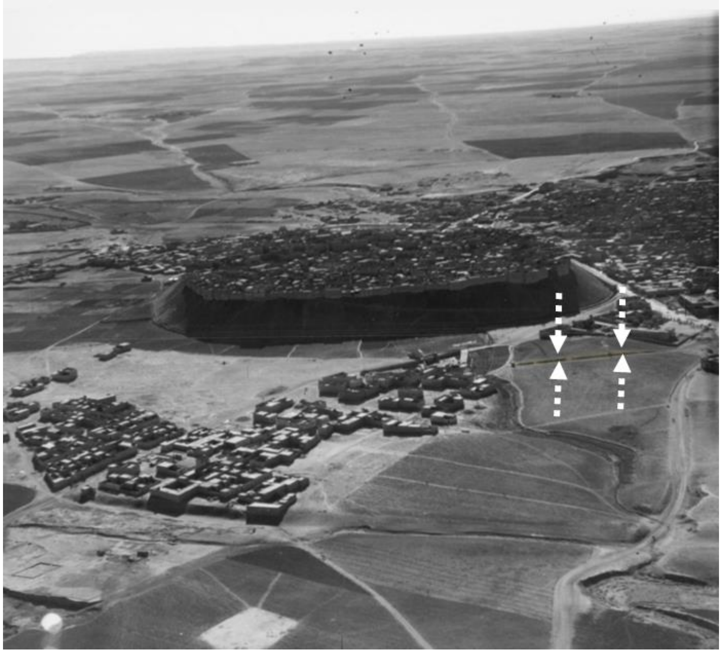

Figure 5.26: Traces of the Attabeg wall
Source: Modified from (the RAF photographs taken for Aurel Stein-1938, British Academy, image number 13857).

Figure 5.27 is the view from the southeast: It shows the remains of the Assyrian/Attabeg city wall, probably with its ditch; figure 5.28 shows what maybe the city wall, and the historic cemetery that excavations have shown is made up of three layers, two being Islamic and one pre-Islamic (Yousef 2015).

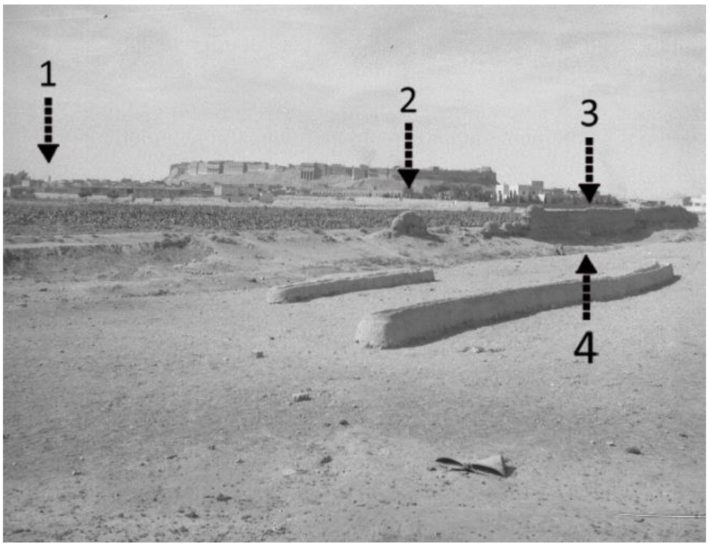

Figure 5.27: Erbil from the southeast.
(1) the minaret, (2) and (3) traces of the city wall, and (4) probably a ditch
Source: Modified from (Doxiadis Archive, Erbil, P-QA 564 - photograph No. 30719 - 1950s)

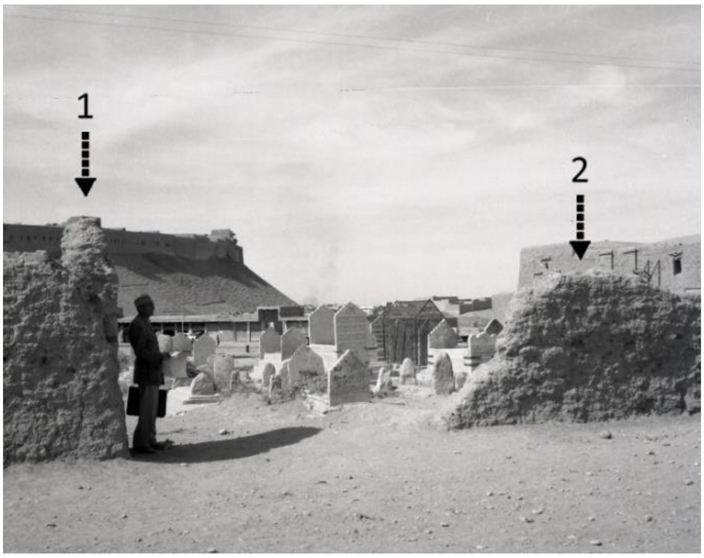

Figure 5.28: The historic cemetery with traces of the city wall
Source: Modified from (Doxiadis Archive, Erbil, P-QA 563 - photograph No 30718 - 1950s)

The Muẓaffaria Minaret

A further significant historic urban element is the Muẓaffaria or Choli (means empty land) minaret which dates from the 12th century. This minaret stood neglected and isolated from the settlements surrounding the citadel due to the shrinkage of the city after the events faced by Erbil following the Attabeg period. In addition, the remains of the old mosque, as noted by Rich in the 18th century, have disappeared. Figure 5.29 is an aerial photograph taken in 1938 shows the relationship of Erbil settlement - the citadel and the lower city - with the Muẓaffaria or Choli minaret.

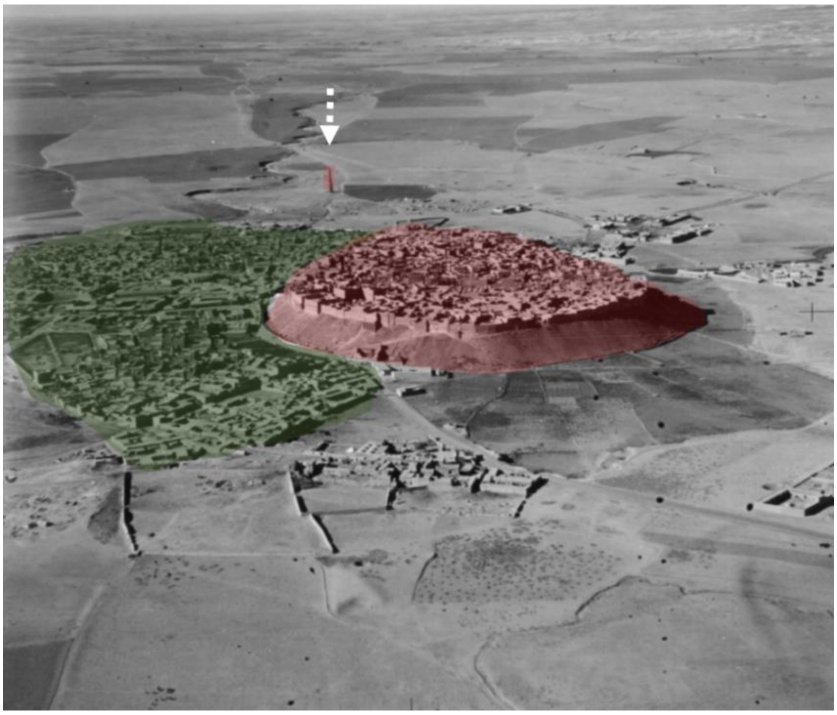

Figure 5.29: The relationship of Erbil city and the Muẓaffaria minaret, 1938
Source: Modified from (RAF photographs taken for Aurel Stein, British Academy: image 13852)

In the 1950s, Doxiadis (figure 5.30) photographed a panoramic view from the citadel's southwest side showing the relationship of the minaret with the settlement area surrounding the citadel. Figure 5.31, a photograph, also taken by Doxiadis in 1958, defines the situation of the city and the relationship of the Erbil minaret with the Erbil silo[228].

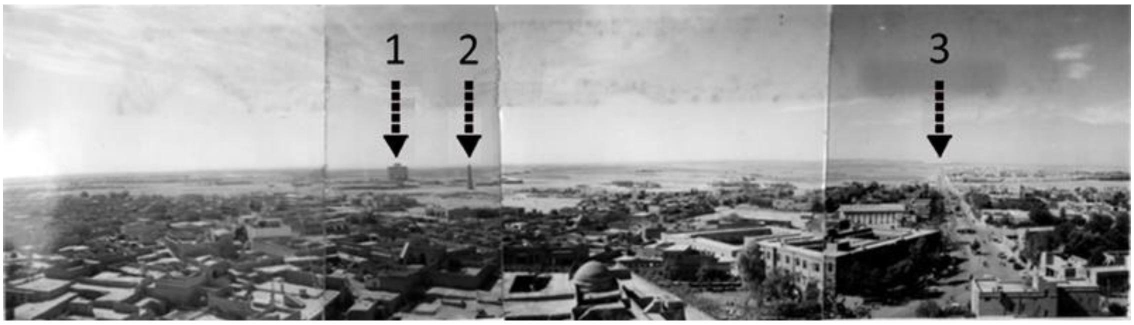

Figure 5.30: A panoramic view from the citadel's southwest side
(1) the Erbil Silo, (2) the choli minaret, and (3) the Mosul Road, 1956
Source: Modified from (Doxiadis, 1958, p. 45 - R-QBP 266)

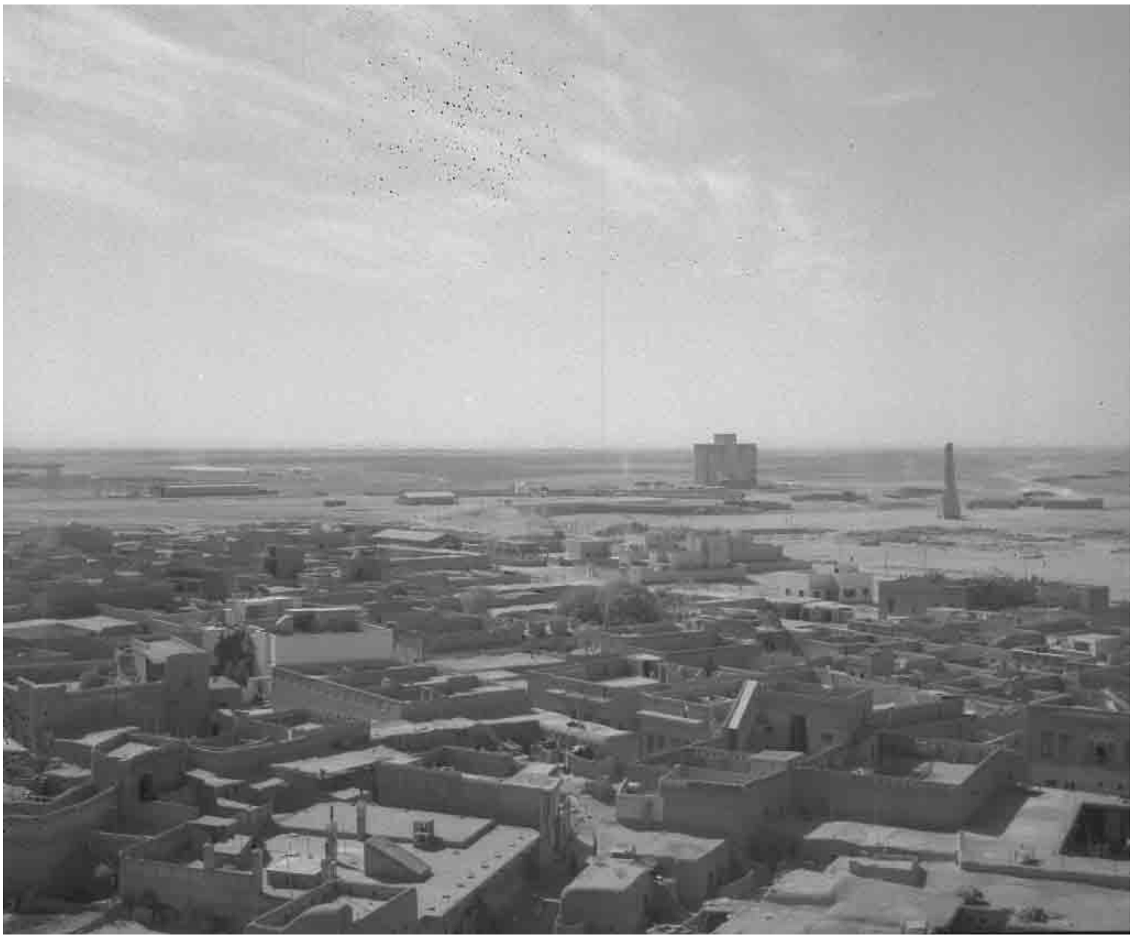

Figure 5.31: The Muẓaffaria minaret and Erbil silo
Source: (Doxiadis Archive, 1958; Erbil, P-QA 570 - photograph 30726)

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[228] Erbil silo, built by the grain board in the 1950s, was where the farmers brought their grain to be cleaned and sorted.

In the 1960s and 1970s residential buildings were constructed near the minaret. In the 2000s a conservation process began and documentation of its physical aspects and condition carried out. A park was planned but no consideration was given to its visual axes. Figures 5.32 and 5.33 show the current situation of the minaret: the distortion that occurred to its visual axis[229] and its lack of dominance within the fast growing city.

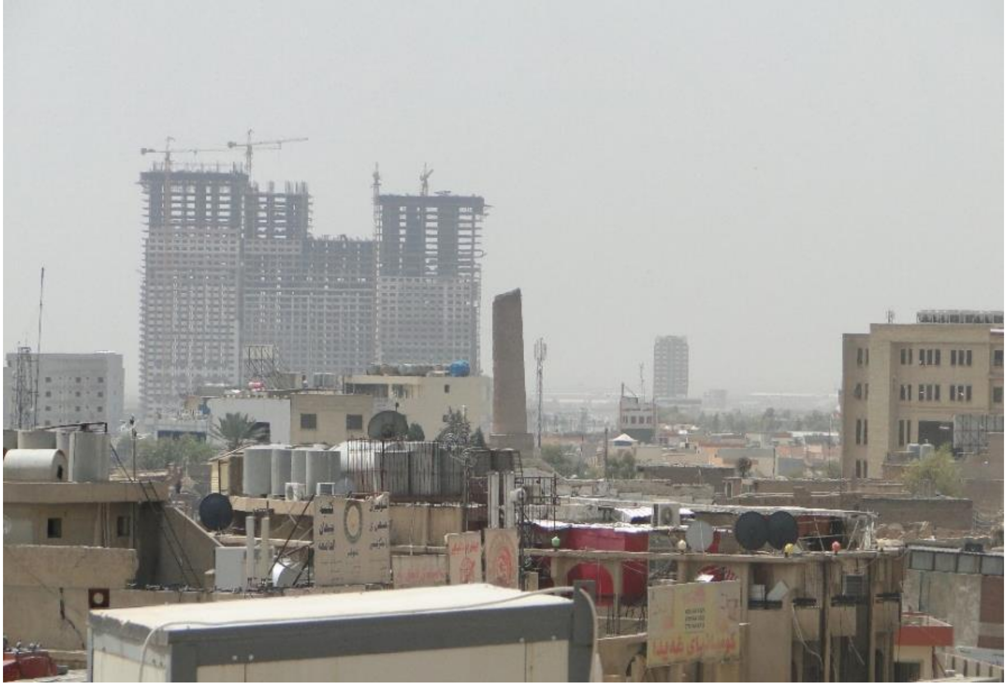

Figure 5.32: The current situation of the minaret
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

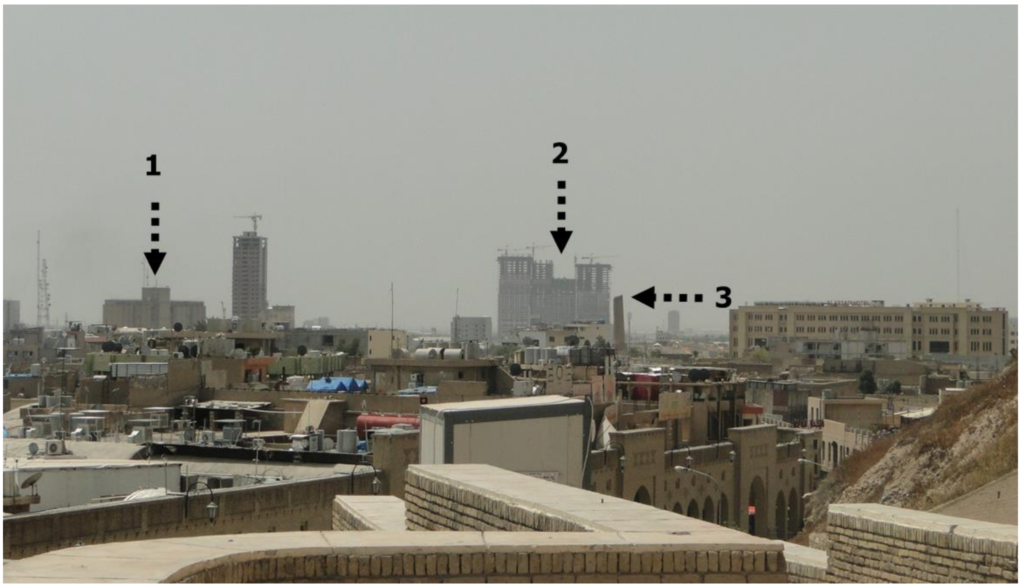

Figure 5.33: The distortion in the visual axis of the minaret
The SW view from the citadel to the lower city
(1) the Erbil Silo, (2) the new building, (3) the Muẓaffaria minaret
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

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[229] There is a huge new project currently under construction, its new buildings forming the background to this monument, have begun to impact negatively on the visual axis of the old minaret.

Cemeteries

The other historic urban elements still retained by Erbil are the cemeteries and several tombs dating back to the 12th century and before. The main city cemetery[230] was located in the south part of the citadel where the Basté valley divided it into two areas; the north was for Muslims, while the south - named the Fanoos cemetery, belonged to the Jews and can be dated to the 18th century or before; it was near to the old city wall. Figure 5.34 shows the distribution of the city cemeteries. Unfortunately, in 1954 by order of Erbil's governor Ismail Hakki Rasul, the old Jewish cemetery and the city wall were demolished and a new residential district, named Sidaoh, was built (Al-Dabbagh Chalabi 2015).

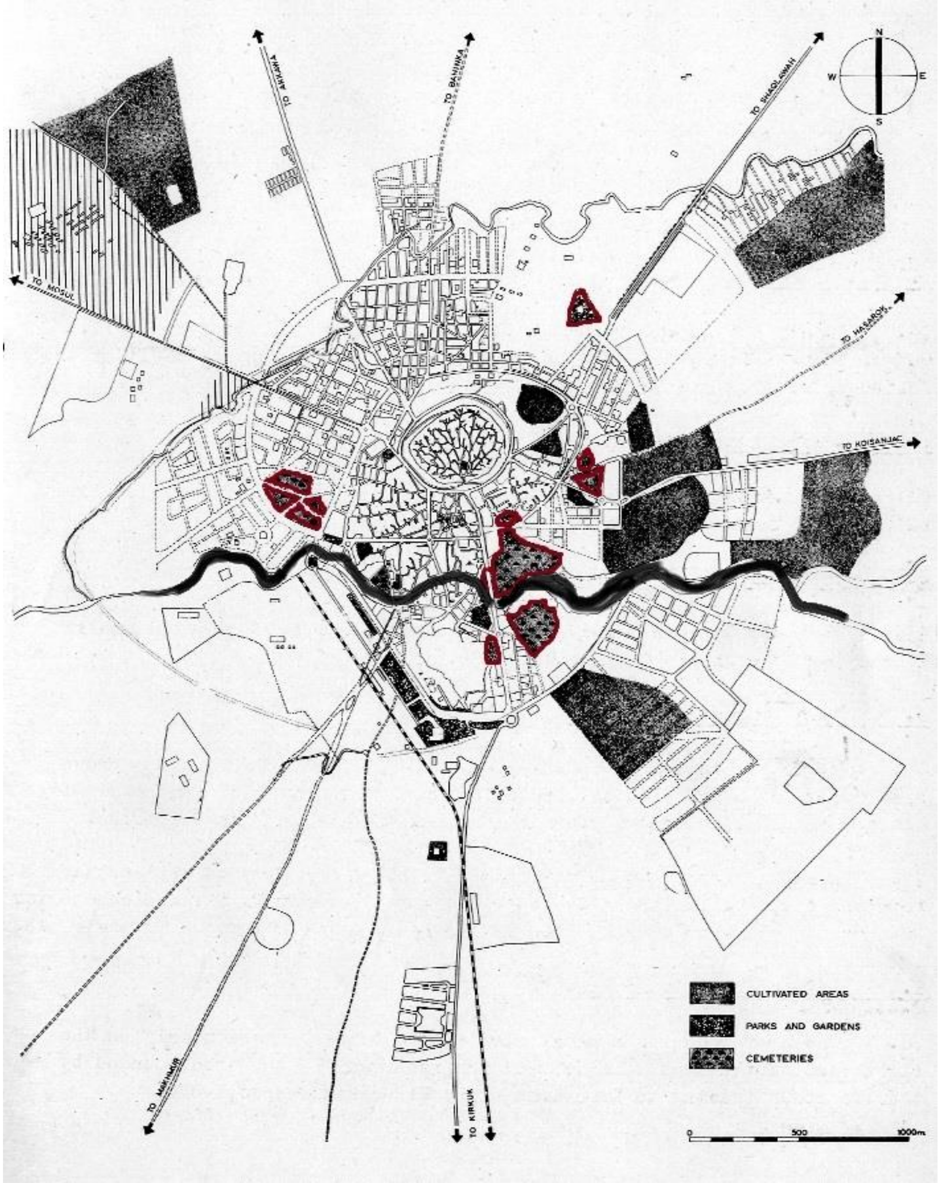

Figure 5.34: The Old Cemeteries in Erbil
Source: Modified from (Doxiadis 1959, p. 78)

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[230] Christians had their own cemetery in the Ainkawa area.

From 1963 to 1968 Mr Mouhammad Shahabaldin Al-Dabbagh Chalabi the head of the municipality ordered Erbil’s cemeteries to be surrounded by walls[231] (their edges were defined). In the 2000s the northern Muslim cemetery was demolished and its land, together with the valley, was allocated to the construction of a huge commercial project[232]. Three layers were found in the cemetery ground. Two belonged to the Islamic era while the third which was pre-Islamic, held traces indicating that dead bodies were once buried inside ceramic jars (Yousef 2015). Few tombs in Erbil city belong to the Attabeg period: for example that of Sultan Zain Al-Din[233] (12th century) father of Sultan Muẓaffar, stated in the note below (figures 5.35 and 5.36).

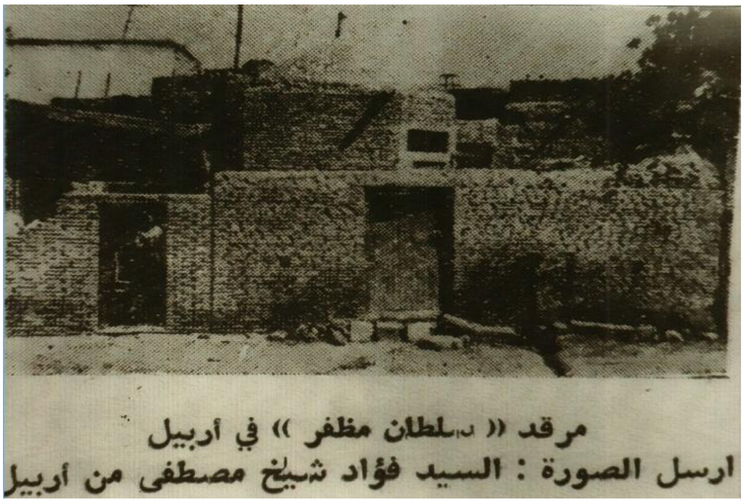
مرقد « سلطان مظفر » في أربيل
ارسل الصورة : السيد فؤاد شيخ مصطفى من أربيل

Figure 5.35: The old tomb of Sultan Zain Al-Din.
Source: (The collection of Mr Fouad Shaikh Mustafa; published in Pom-Erbil.Org, Kurdish version)

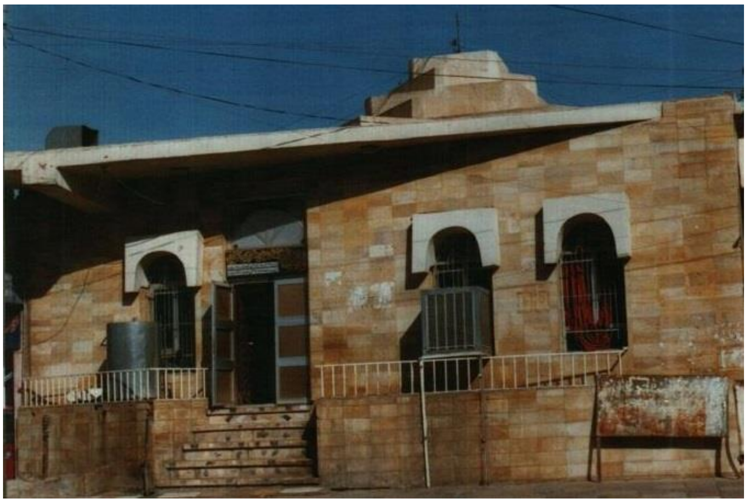

Figure 5.36: The tomb of Sultan Zain Al-Din following conservation
Source: (Taken by Anon 1990s or 2000s; published in Pom-Erbil.Org, Kurdish version)

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[231] This act of walling-in the cemetaries in Iraq took place in Erbil first. It was ordered by the head of Erbil’s municipality Mr Muhammed Shahab Aldin Al-Dabbagh Chalabi. Prior to this, cemeteries would, in general, have been left visible to passers-by.

[232] This project was stopped when, in 2007, the citadel was put on the Iraqi tentative list of a world heritage site. It was restarted when the citadel became a world heritage site.

[233] whose tomb is wrongly named as that of Sultan Muẓaffar

Another tomb belong to the Imam Mouhammad Al-Qutub, locates near the old minaret on land used as a cemetery. Figures 5.37 and 5.38 show the condition of the site and Imam Qutub's tomb in 1958 and 2015. Another tombs and probably they were temples date back to the pre12th century, such as the masjid Alkaff and the Prophet Uzair's[234] tomb.

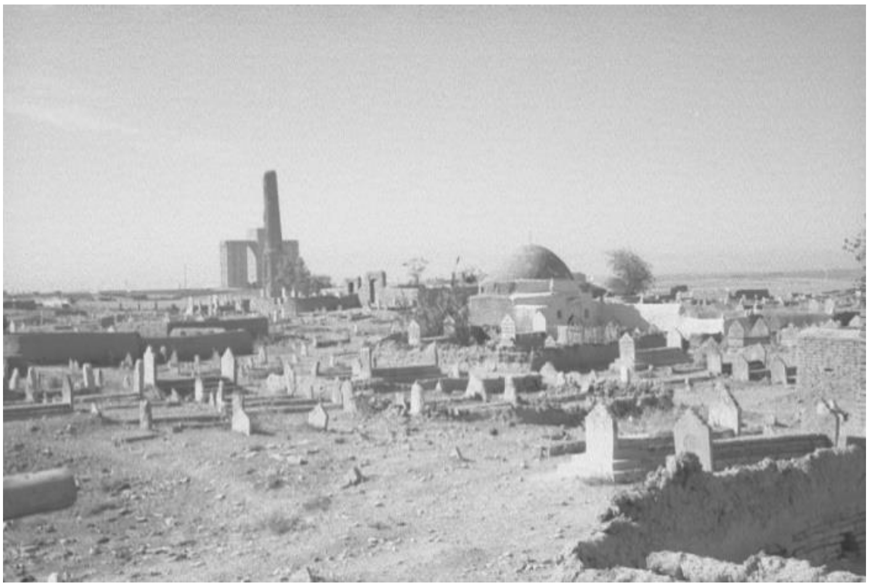

Figure 5.37: The tomb of the Imam Mouhammad Al-Qutub in 1958
The remains of an old mosque and its minaret, graves, and the grain silo are behind it
Source: (Doxiadis Archives; photograph - 32858)

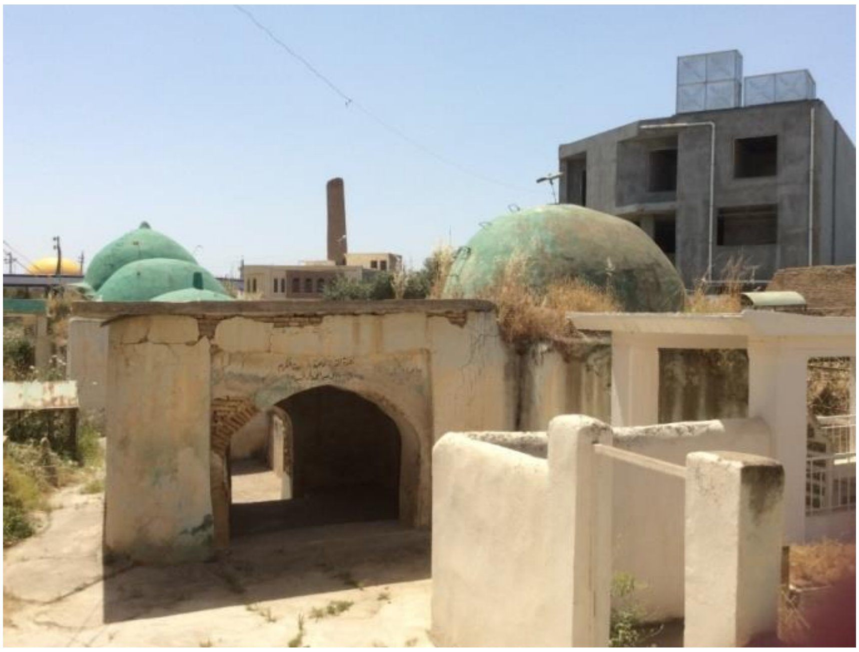

Figure 5.38: The current state of the tomb of the Imam Mouhammad Al-Qutub
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

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[234] In Iraq tombs of the prophet Uzair have been found in several placed so this one is probably not genuine.

The Valleys

The other natural elements within the urban area, the north and the south valleys, gave Erbil its significant nature and character. Figures 5.39 and 5.40 illustrate the relationship between the valleys and the houses. The north valley, called ‘Tchekunem’, still existed when Rich visited the city but was later filled-in and had houses built on it.

Rich (1836, p. 16) states[235] that:

> On the east, or a little north of the town, is a hollow, called the Valley of Tchekunem, where it is said Tamerlane’s tent was pitched when he besieged Arbil [Erbil]. A holy Sheikh of Arbil struck a panic into his army, which began to disperse; and Tamerlane is reported to have cried out in Persian, “Tchekunem?” that is, “What shall I do?” and this gave name to the valley or hollow.

The south valley ‘Basté[236]’, was deeper and wider than the north; it received rain and floodwater and domestic dirty water from houses (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015; Yousef 2015).

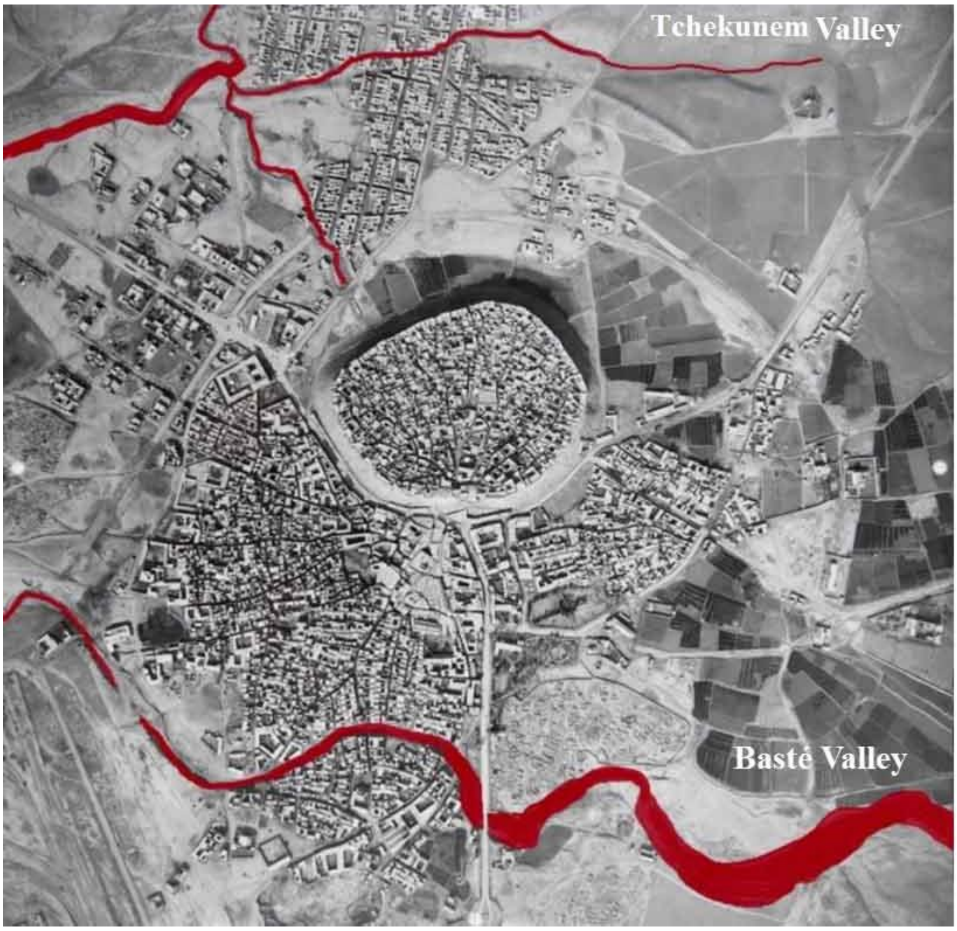

Figure 5.39 :The Basté and Tchekunem valleys
Source: Adapted from (Pitt-Rivers Museum, John Bradford Photographic Collection in 1951)

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[235] This highlights the importance of this valley as a tangible and intangible element for the city of Erbil.
[236] In the 13th century Ibn Khallikan used the same name, Basté.

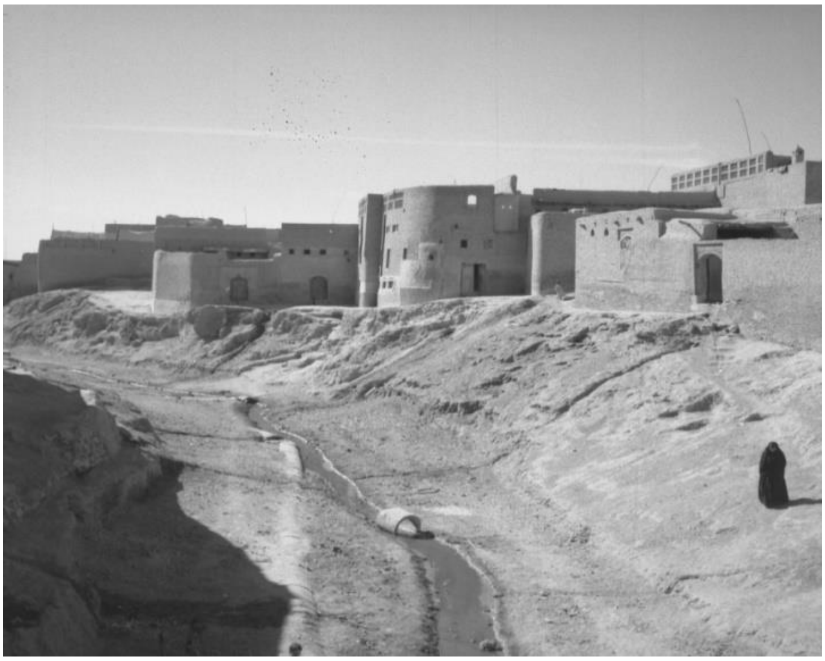

Figure 5.40: The relationship of the (kunam) valley and the houses
Source: Adapted from (Doxiadis Archives, P-QA 571 - Photographs 30727)

Figure 5.41 shows the relationship between the valley, the bridge and the minaret in 1963. As the city grew and expanded the Bastẽ gradually disappeared.

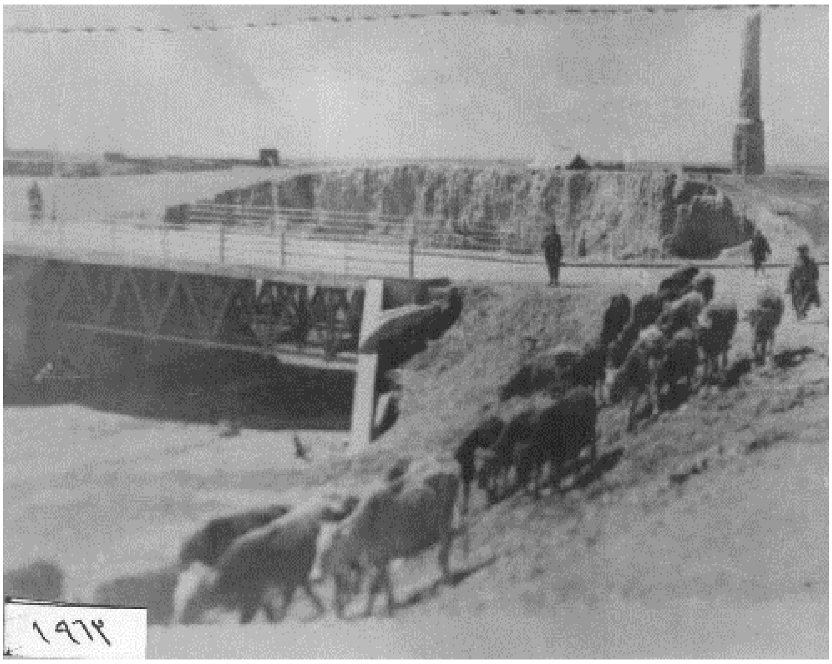

Figure 5.41: Basté valleys in 1963
Source: (Department of Erbil Antiquities, Erbil), taken by Anon.

In 1968 various suggestions for its preservation and enhancement were made by the head of Erbil's municipality Mr Muhammed Shahab Aldin Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi and again in 2000 by the consultant for Kurdistan's antiquities Mr Abdual Raqib Yousef. More recently a decision was made to allocate the remaining part of the Basté and the land of the old cemetery to a huge commercial project, currently under construction (figure 5.42). With that decision Erbil lost one of its main natural features (Yousef 2015; Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015).

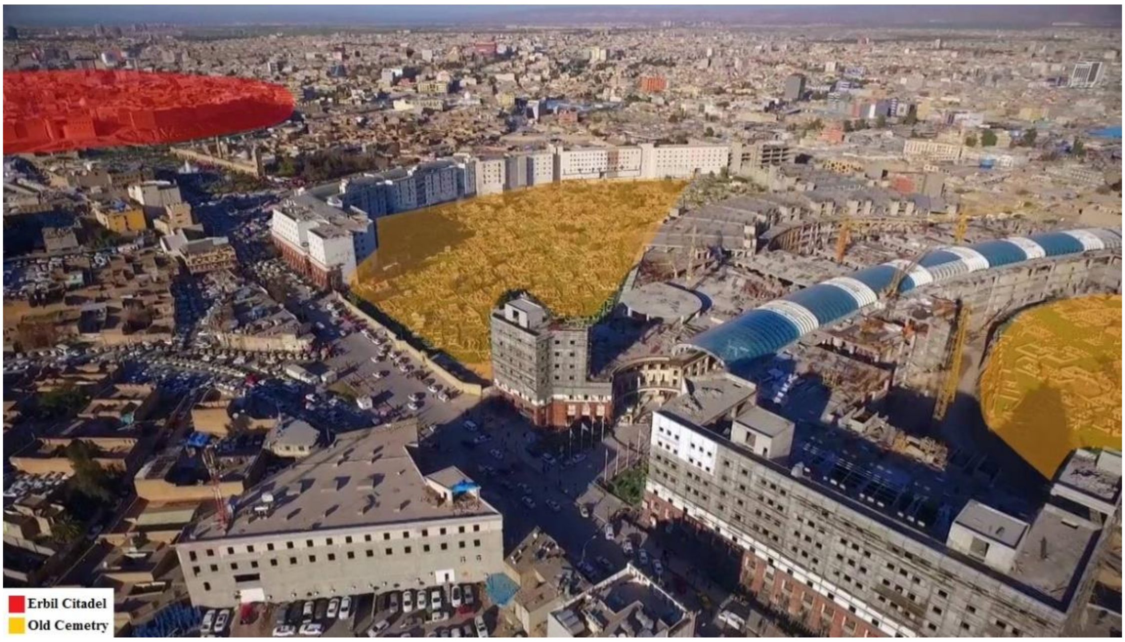

Figure 5.42: The huge commercial project (Bazar Down Town Hawler)
Source: Modified from (Ori Media Agency); taken by Anon in 2016.

The city’s urban core

The bazar area, which in the 12th century was probably part of a public space - the *maidan*, has faced various changes. New roads were constructed at the expense of maintaining the old urban fabric. The first of the modern highways, the Kirkuk road, was paved in the early 1920s. In the 1960s when the city was under the authority of the then Mayor of Erbil Mouhammad Shahab, it was extended and straightened to connect Erbil with Kirkuk (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015; Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 77). At the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, new streets were driven through the urban fabric of the bazar area at the expense of the architecturally traditional buildings, such as the public bath and inns. With time the width of these streets gradually increased, (figure 5.43).

In 2007 when the conservation process began, a decision was made to create a new public urban space in front of the south gate. This resulted in the demolition of the market located between the bazar and khanaqa districts.

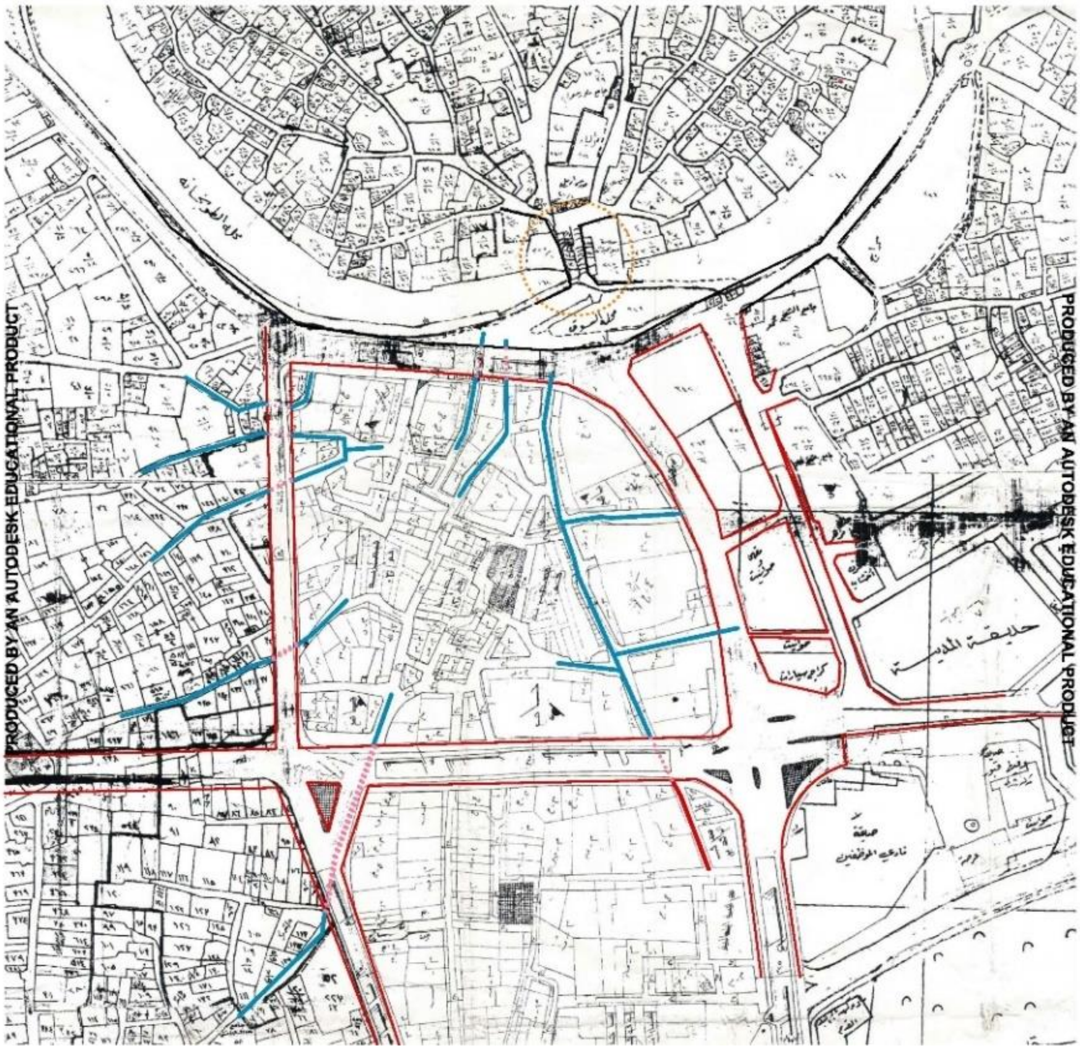
PRODUCED BY AN AUTODESK EDUCATIONAL PRODUCT
PRODUCED BY AN AUTODESK EDUCATIONAL PRODUCT

Figure 5.43: The construction of the new streets through the urban core
Source: Modified from (General Directorate of Land Registration- Ministry of Justice).

By reviewing the old urban elements of the city and the changes made to them, it can be said that the city's urban core suffered major upheavals. This will be investigated and analysed in the forthcoming chapters in order to properly understand the elements of change and persistence in the city's urban core. Following the boom in expansion (after the war of Iraq 2002) what remain of the historic elements are the old minaret, some neglected cemeteries close to it, tombs dating back to the 12th century and earlier, parts of the old settlements and the bazar area. The valley slowly disappeared and has now vanished as a result of the commercial projects currently undergoing construction.

5.5.3 The Way of Life

Following the establishment of the Iraqi kingdom, the concept of a clear separation between private and public sectors as they affected daily life gradually diminished. These changes penetrated society at different levels and covered aspects, such as house design, transportation, life style and education. In Erbil the changes in house design[237] encouraged some families to leave the citadel and settle in the lower city (Amin 2014; Doxiadis 1958, p.48). In terms of women's lives, Muslims, Christians, Jews and others, particularly those from prominent upper class families, continued to wear the veil with a special covering to hide hair, face, and body when they left the house (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013b; Doxiadis 1958, p.48). They were permitted to leave home for specific occasions: to visit relatives, the public baths, the bazar, to travel, or to go to school if the father approved of education for girls. On the day of Newroz[238], a festival, widely and enthusiastically celebrated in Iraqi Kurdistan, during the time of the Iraqi Kingdom (1921-1958) Tree day was attached to Newroz; on the March 21st trees were planted and this day later was celebrated as Mother's Day. Between the 1930s and 1940s Imams in the Kurdistan area used the mosques to discourage the population from celebrating Newroz on the grounds that it was un-Islamic and possibly has traces in paganism/pagan religion, Zoroastrian religion[239], which its practice involving fire worship as part of its ceremonies. Newroz (new day), however, is an ancient and very important festivity marking the beginning of the Kurdish New Year on March 21st. The Newroz celebration as practised down the generations has come with its own legend of origin:

> Once there was a king named Birosab who had two snakes or fleshy growths - the details vary – growing on his shoulders. On being told that the only cure involved the annual slaughter of a boy and girl he had one of each brought to him from the town at the base of his mountain-top palace. They were killed, their brains were mixed together and then applied to the growths/fed to the snakes. This continued year after year until few young people could be found in the town. Eventually Kawa (or Afratheon) the town blacksmith who had lost two sons in this way, organised an uprising. Birosab was killed and Kawa waved his leather blacksmith's apron from the mountain top and lit fires to tell the waiting townspeople they were finally rid of the tyrant. With great joy they lit fires in celebration of the event.

In the evening Newroz fires were lit for people to jump over and later whole communities walked in procession from nearby high ground; a hill or mountain carrying burning torches. The following morning the population would abandon the town to

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[237] For Baghdad the experience was somewhat different: as the capital of Iraq it proved more open to embracing these changes quickly

[238] This day has been listed by UNESCO under the heading of an intangible cultural heritage.

[239] In fact, this religion has a prophet named Zoroaster. They believed in one God and they considered that fire, water, air and soil are the sacred or divine elements. Originally, they did not worship fire: this happened later.

spend the entire day in the countryside, dancing and celebrating (Amin 2013; Doxiadis 1958, p.15). Figures (5.44 and 5.45) show the Newroz bone fires in 1974, 1998, and 2007. With reference to the Prophet's Mohammad Birthday, this festival continues to be celebrated but on a much smaller scale, than in the Attabeg period, as people celebrated at home and in religious buildings.

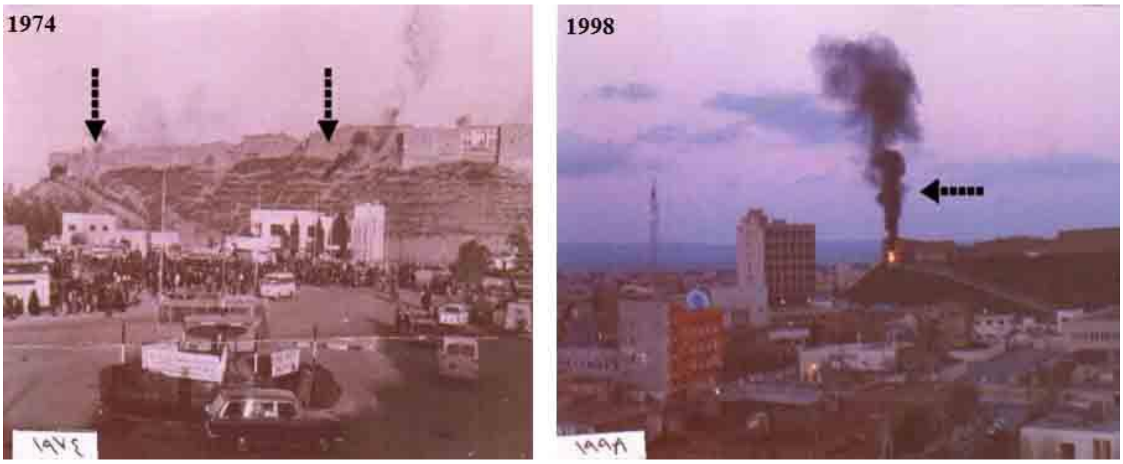

Figure 5.44: Newroz festival in Erbil
Source: Department of Erbil Antiquities, Erbil, taken by Anon

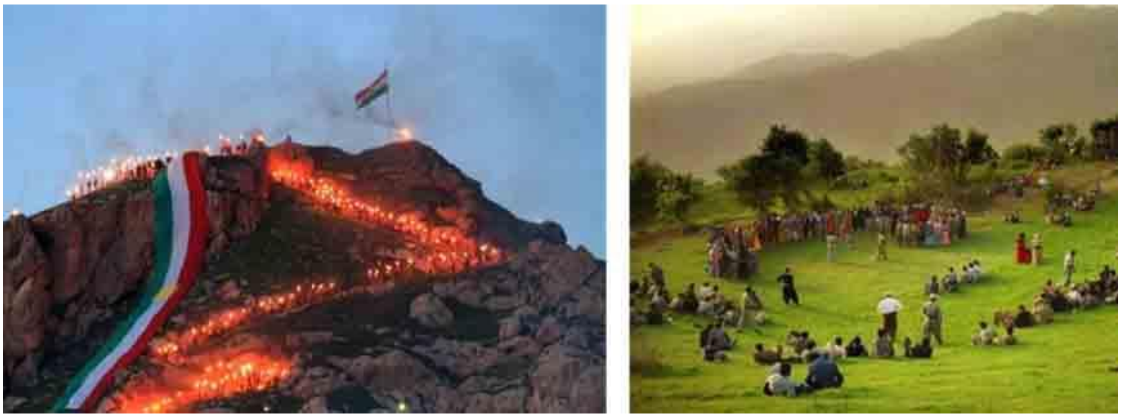

Figure 5.45: Newroz celebrations in Kurdistan region
Left: The celebrations in the evening of March 21st, Iraqi Kurdistan. Right: Newroz celebrations the following day as Kurds leave the city to celebrate and dance in the countryside.
Source: Renjaber photographer, 2012. The picture on the right, is of the Zagros-Mesopotamia-Kurds-Anatolia-Kurdistan, 2012.

Conclusion

Throughout its successive historical stages Erbil has experienced periods of rising importance followed by decline. At different times it has been a centre of religion, government and trade. It has passed through many changes to its physical urban environment and its socio-cultural aspects. Despite its ancient historical roots, it can be said that in the Early Modern Period Erbil faced stages of stagnation and shrank onto itself. Only during the Modern period have the city and its surroundings started to expand and flourish again. In the Early Modern Period, specifically during the Ottoman era, changes occurred to Erbil's urban fabric: settlement divisions based on ethnicity and profession appeared. The Maidan disappeared and the citadel's south gate (destroyed by the Persian attack in the 18th century) was rebuilt. In general, it can be said that the main actions of the Ottoman government were rebuilding the south gate whereas the new additions were being added by the local people. This might suggest a deliberate lack of attention by the Ottomans to Erbil and other cities[240]. The difference between the Attabeg and the Ottoman periods was particularly marked as in the former period the city had a ruler who actively governed the city and made significant changes. The main urban elements were: its organic paths and their gradations, the main edges were the boundaries that were represented by the city wall, the citadel moat, and the north and south valleys (natural elements), as well as the functional edges between settlements and the bazar area. Other elements include the citadel's gates (nodes), cemeteries, the Choli minaret and such buildings as existed in residential areas: khans / inns, public baths, religious buildings, mosques and a synagogue.

In the Modern Period Erbil became part of Iraq and changes occurred on many levels. The city started to grow again; grid pattern extensions were added to the organic fabric and the city's outline took on a circular shape with the citadel standing at its centre. Economic changes encouraged socio-cultural changes, which together have had a significant impact on the city's urban growth in general and its urban core in particular. In terms of the intangible aspects, Erbil has passed through many phases and absorbed different religions. Although some ancient traditions and practices have vanished, others have continued and can be viewed or experienced in their differing ways: religion, art, poetry, festivals, customs, class divisions, and life styles. Various aspects of the city have persisted: its name, the city as an inhabited place, its importance in terms of religion, trade and administrative position, the language and the culturally specific festivals of Newroz and the birthday of the Prophet Mohammad. The following chapter, a study of Erbil's urban core, will focus on the changes and the persistent aspects in architecture and the built environment in Erbil city.

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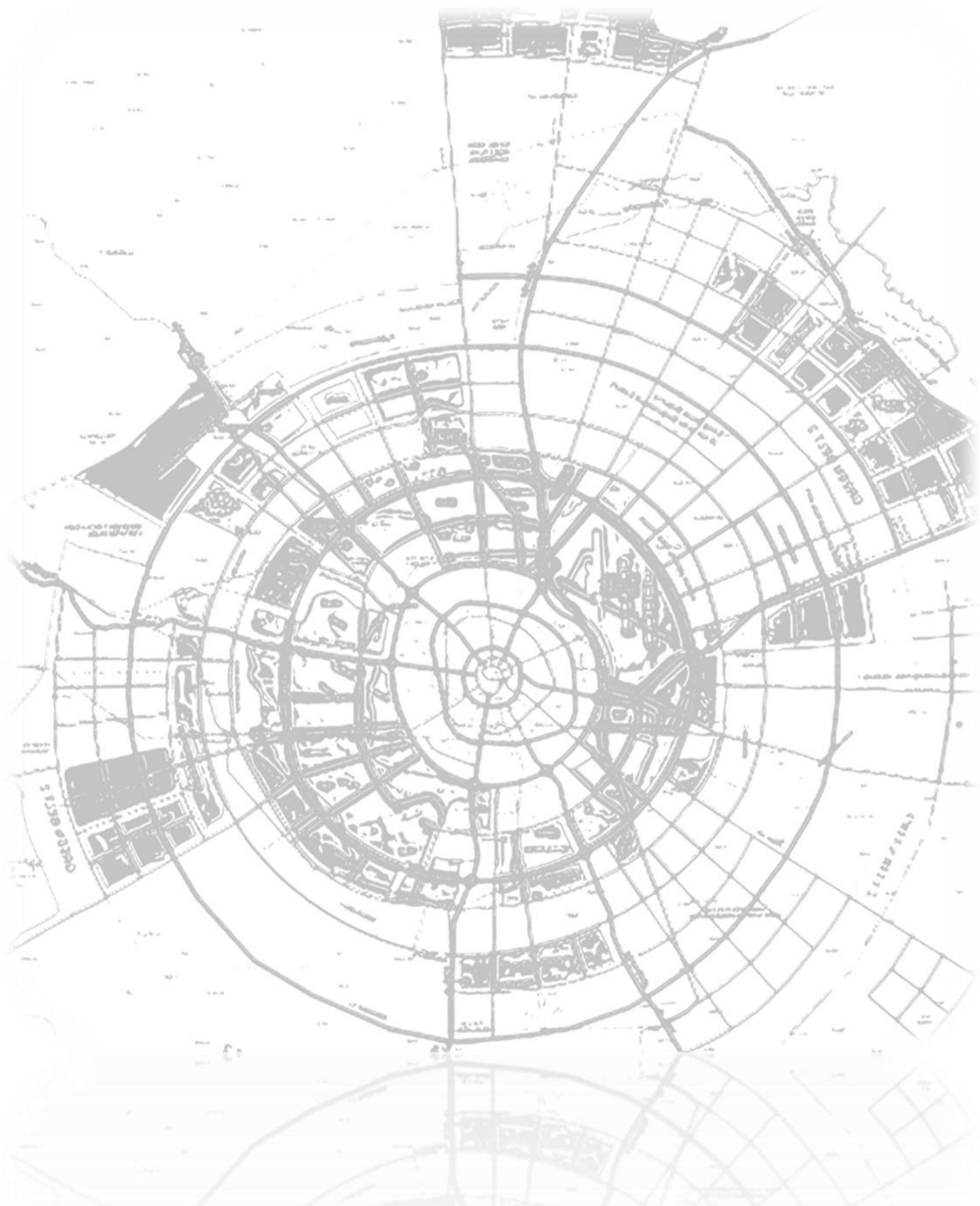
[240] For example, Hama in Syria had faced the same fate when the Ottomans, through their neglect of the city, reduced it to a village.



“Architecture is not a ‘social art’ simply because buildings are important visual symbols of society, but also because, through the ways in which buildings, individually and collectively, create and order space, we are able to recognise society: that it exists and has a certain form” (Hillier and Hanson 2003).

CHAPTER Six:

THE URBAN CORE - THE ATABEG PERIOD

Chapter 6: THE URBAN CORE - THE ATABEG PERIOD

Introduction

In order for the reader to understand the reasons for Erbil's urban core's continued existence in the same location throughout its history, this chapter deals with the origin of the urban core, and offers an analysis that sheds light on its tangible and intangible aspects. Various relevant sources materials, documentation, textual descriptions written by travellers or inhabitants in addition of using examples form the SWANAAP cities as evidence, are used to support the assumptions.

6.1 The Origin of Erbil's Urban Core

The dominant element of Erbil's urban core during the Attabeg period, specifically during the rule of Muzzafer Al-Din (1190 CE – 1232 CE), see Chapter 4, was the maidan (node or public square) situated in the lower city area below the citadel's south gate (figure 6.1).

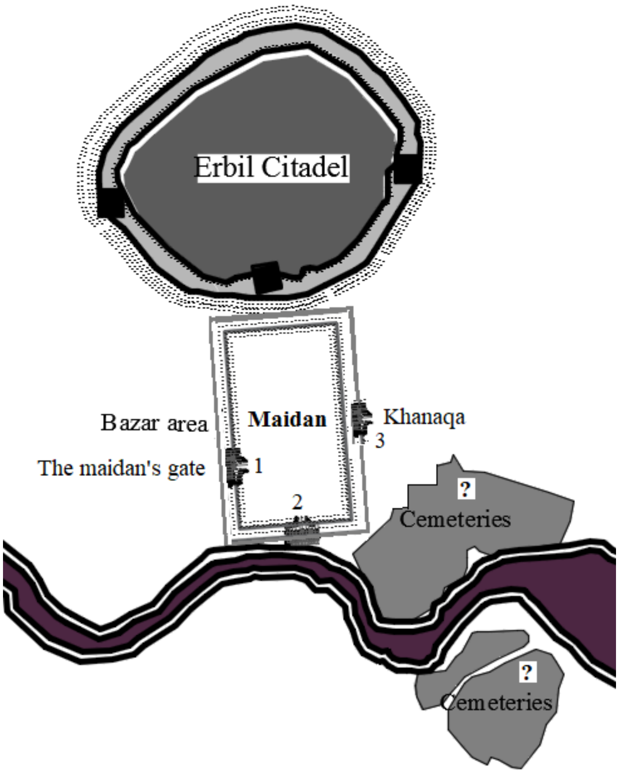


Figure 6.1: The depiction of the urban core's layout during the Attabeg period.

To its east, the maidan was bordered by the khanaqa sector and to its west by the market sector with its *qaisaria*, which was built during the rule of Muzaffer Al-Din. Although sources do not indicate its exact size, the maidan could have reached the cemetery of the maidan to the southeast and the Bestè valley (Youssef 2015; Nováček 2015; Nováček, Amin and Melčák 2013). Its various functions (i.e. religious, socio-commercial, administrative, and its use as a cemetery), together with the natural valley that existed in the 12th century, defined the maidan's outline.

In this study, it has been assumed that there were gates at the maidan's edges. These gates functioned as connection points, or thresholds, between the maidan and the surrounding sectors, i.e. the khanaqa, markets, the residential area and the cemetery. This assumption comes from historical sources that refer to the khanaqa gate[241] and the maidan gate (see Chapter 4). The examples that support this assumption are the old maidan of Isfahan and the new ones that were built in the 17th century (figure 6.2), after the Attabeg period. Both maidans of Isfahan have similar archetype, consisting of an open public space surrounded by buildings with iwans and gates that connect the maidan with the bazar and the administrative and religious sectors.

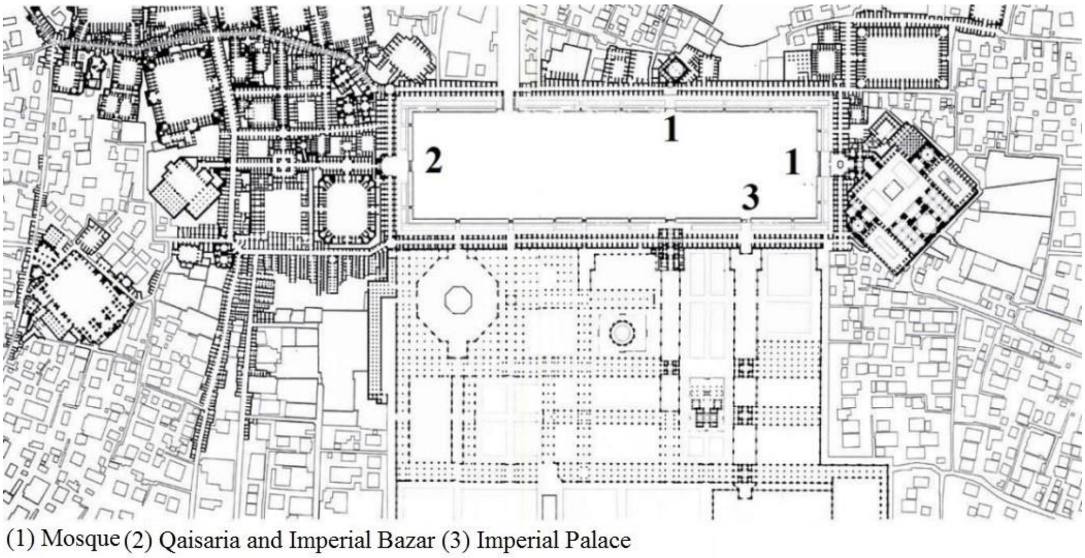

1
2
1
3
(1) Mosque (2) Qaisaria and Imperial Bazar (3) Imperial Palace

Figure 6.2: The new maidan of Isfahan (Maidan-i-Shah)
Source: (Herdeg 1990, p. 19) in *'Formal Structure in Islamic Architecture of Iran and Turkistan'*.

Four major causes or agents may well have influenced the shape of the city's urban core. The first agent is the impact of pre-Islamic Erbil, represented by the possible existence of a public square[242] or avenue (persistence element) in the south of the city that

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[241] Some historians and archaeologists assumed that the khanaqa gate was the gate of a building. This study presumes that the khanaqa gate led to the khanaqa sector where there were many khanaqas existed (see Chapter4)

[242] The existence of a public space before the Attabeg period is just the assumption that is introduced in this study. As the historical texts do not clarify the origin of the Attabeg maidan, whether it was imposed or re-used by the ruler Muẓaffar Al-Din.

survived from the Assyrian period (see Chapter 3). The second agent is the ruler Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri (known as Sultan Muẓaffar and a well-known among other rulers in the SWANAAP region), who put great effort into enriching Erbil's urban life. During his time, Erbil witnessed a remarkable transformation in prosperity: people travelled from other cities to live, trade, and study in Erbil (Husseyen 2014, p. 207; Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], p. 536). For that reason, it can be argued that the sub-agents that motivated him to impose or reuse the concept of the maidan were his religious belief and the desire to express his power among other rulers. Muẓaffar Al-Din [243] was a religious person and this was reflected in his activities, such as the building of khanaqa for Sufi, and madrasa for the Shafi'i and Hanafi doctrines, which belong to Sunni schools of Islamic law (Al-Azawi 2001, p. 67). He also founded several mosques and charitable projects in Erbil, Damascus, and Mecca and had flags put up on the road to guide pilgrims, and had wells dug along the pilgrimage route to supply water to them. Therefore, by introducing (a new intangible aspect) an annual event: the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday and its rituals and processions (that gave Erbil a significantly different position among other cities) is another sign of his faithfulness towards his religion. This event required manifestation through tangible aspects, so the maidan and the khanaqa were the physical elements that did this.

Reflecting the ruler's and the city power is evident in two ways. The first is advertising his power through introducing a large festival where people outside and inside Erbil could attend, participate and receive gifts and that led him to hold an annual event disguised as the prophet's birthday. The second evidence relates to Erbil city[244], which was an independent emirate and had its own army under the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din (a fighter and army leader who participated in many wars and accompanied and fought alongside Salah Al-Din Al-Ayoubi, his the brother-in-law, in many of his battles). Erbil's army needed an open public space for practice in times of peace, and for parades during festivals and celebrations.

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[243] Sultan Muẓaffar had his own grave prepared in Mecca and in his will ordered that he be buried there. In fact, the Mongol war led to him being interred in Kufa where the cousin of the Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, was buried (Husseyen 2014).

[244] Erbil in the 12th century was under the control of Beqtigan and had its own army, as it was a semi-independent emirate, first within the lwia/state of Mosul, then, during the rule of Sultan Muzzafer, under the Ayyubid dynasty. In 1229 CE the ruler leaned to the Abbasid dynasty after the death of Sultan Salah Al-Din, specifically, when he anticipated a conspiracy from the Ayyubid king and Badr Al-Din Lu'lu', the ruler of Mosul, who tried to bring Erbil down and added the city to his territory (Al-Azawi 2001, p. 24 and p. 53).

The argument of mixing the religion with the power aspects can be supported by the actions of the Umayyad caliphate (660 - 750), who disseminated their power by employing economic, poetic, and other cultural resources including collective rituals like feasts and processions and thus came to dominate the SWANNAP region (Marsham 2009, p. 13). "Under the Abbasid, even more than under the Umayyads…the leadership of war and religious rites, rituals of procession, reception and audience in the cities and aulic and sacerdotal rituals in palaces and mosques were all occasions for the communication of status, loyalty and authority" (ibid., p. 10). These ritual ceremonies were, therefore, advertising the social, administrative, and power roles of their rule. Another example comes from the Fatimid dynasty in Cairo (973 CE–1171 CE). Sanders (see Cortese and Calderini 2006, p. 95) argues that Fatimid advertised their power through the events of Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebration and his family, which included processions and rituals that displayed both spiritual and authority. For that reason, it is very possible that the prophet's birthday triggered the ruler (in addition of confirming his faith in Islam, and the love that he devoted to Prophet Muhammad) to send a message publicising his power and this event appeared in the maidan, the urban element.

The third agent was the commercial aspect; Erbil witnessed prosperity in trade and the constituent activities it required probably open-air markets and the maidan was a convenient space to contain them (this will be discussed in the upcoming sections). The fourth agent is the emergence of the maidan[245] as a common architype for urban cores in the region. This pattern of amalgamation or combination of different functions in one public space probably emerged in the Fatimid era, having been adopted from the ancient Mesopotamian and Greek agora. It developed during the Seljuq dynasty and became an architype in the SWANAAP cities. The following are examples of this pattern that existed prior to the Attabeg period, and which may have influenced Erbil's urban core in general and Sultan Muẓaffa's decision in particular. In Tunis, for example, and prior to the Seljuq period, the Fatimid ruler, Mahdi Al-Mutaghalib, ordered the construction of the city known as Mahdia. For workers he built another city nearby, called Zuwayla; these two cities surrounded a single maidan (Al-Qazwini 1984 [13th century], p. 276). This concept of two settlements surrounding an urban public space appeared again in

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[245] See Chapter-1: Maidan section that defines the maidan and details its origin in the SWANAP cities.

Isfahan; this city started with a settlement called Yahudiyeh, which means the Jewish area, then another settlement, called Jey, was added. The two separate settlements persisted until the 8th century (Hooshangi 2000, pp. 10-11). Later, the Yahudiyeh settlement merged with Karan village. A maidan between these two settlements functioned as a market. In the 11th century, Isfahan became the Seljuq capital; therefore, a palace, bazar and mosques were built around the maidan (ibid., p. 3). Figure 6.3 shows the historical stages of the maidan in Isfahan.

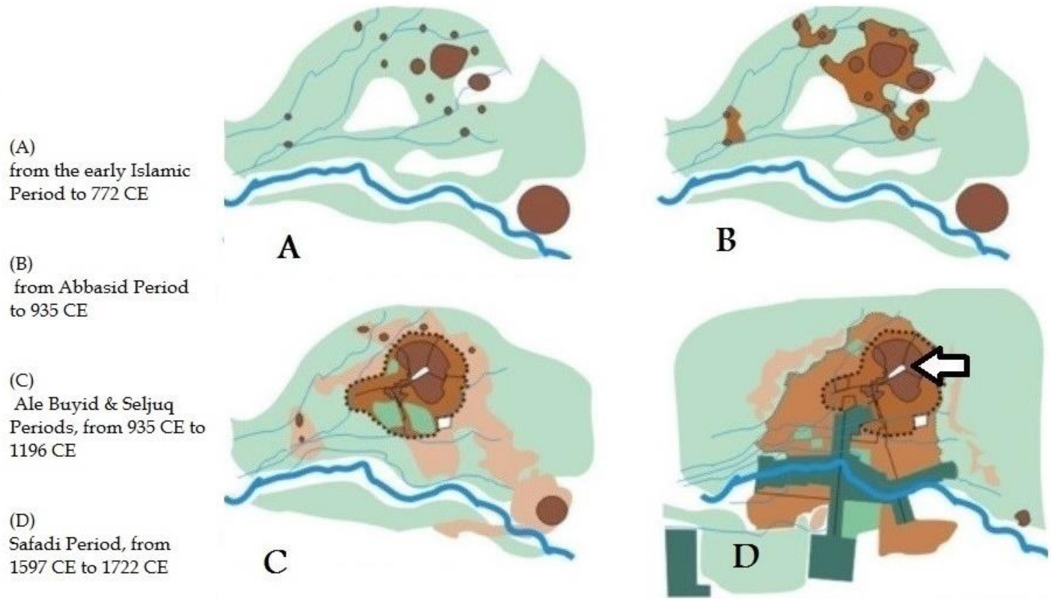
(A)
from the early Islamic Period to 772 CE
(B)
from Abbasid Period to 935 CE
(C)
Ale Buyid & Seljuq Periods, from 935 CE to 1196 CE
(D)
Safadi Period, from 1597 CE to 1722 CE
A
B
C
D

Figure 6.3: The emergence of the old maidan in Isfahan
Source: (Venhari and Arabi 2012, p. 5), adapted by the author.
From the conference of Urban Change in Iran, University College London. The paper titled ‘Urban continuity and urban change; lessons from Jolfa a historical district of Isfahan’.

In Cairo, the maidan was called ‘Bayn Al-Qasrayn’, which means, ‘the space between the two palaces’. This maidan was initiated by the Fatimid dynasty[246], who came from Tunisia around 969 CE and established rule in Egypt. The caliphs started to build Cairo near the town of Al-Fustat; the original function of this urban core was the caliph’s palace, in front of which there was a large open space where soldiers assembled (figure 6.4). On the western side of this urban space was a large garden, ‘Al-Bustan Al-Kafuri’, which faced the Nile River. Near the palace, on its northwest side, was Al-Aqmar mosque; these components were surrounded by barracks. Fifty years later another small palace was built, opposite the main palace, separating the caliph’s garden from the main palace; and the two palaces surrounded the maidan[247] (Al-Sayyad, Elliott, and Kalay

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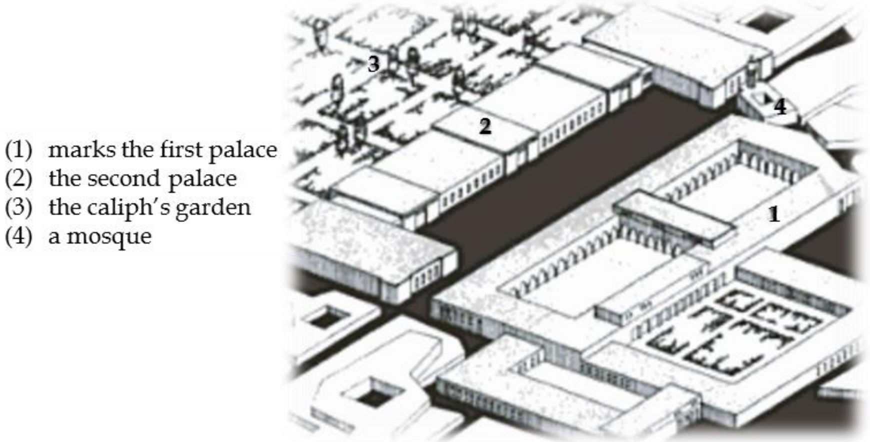
[246] All markets and land belonged to the Fatimid family. Local people were not allowed to buy or own land (AlSayyad 1996, p.75).
[247] The maidan had a huge size and could contain 10,000 soldiers (AlSayyad 1996, p.76).

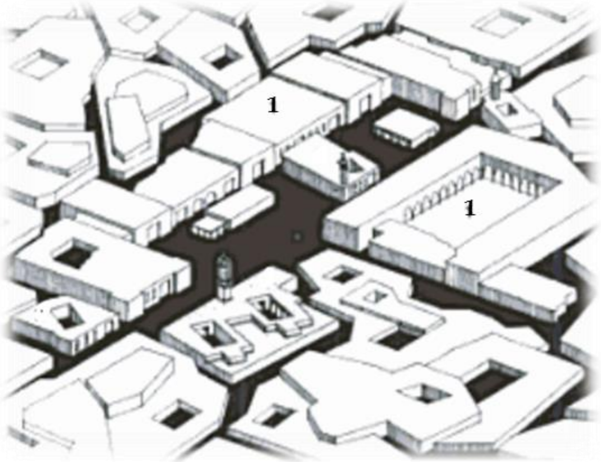
1996, pp. 247-248; Alsayyad 1994, p. 72). The traveller Khusraw, who settled in Cairo from 1047 CE to 1050 CE, described the maidan as a proper space that absorbed different festivals and army processions (Khusraw 2008 [11th century], p.48; AlSayyad 1994, p.73).



(1) marks the first palace
(2) the second palace
(3) the caliph's garden
(4) a mosque

Figure 6.4: Envisaging Cairo's urban core during the Fatimid dynasty.
Source: (AlSayyad 1994, p. 72)

Around 1169 Salah Al-Din (with Kurdish background) ruled Egypt and made changes to Cairo's urban core, which affected its function. These changes included the demolition of part of the main palace and the construction of religious schools and other institutions in the garden area (Bierman 1998, p. 3; AlSayyad 1994, p. 75). The maidan continued to function as a node in the city and contained daily markets selling meat, fruit and vegetables. It was also used "...for public performances, including biographical and historical recitation" (Albaghdadi: see AlSayyad 1994, p. 75). Following this stage, changes accrued in this public space and buildings were constructed in the maidan. (figure 6.5).



(1) remains of the palaces

Figure 6.5: The changes in the city's urban core during the rule of Salah Al-Dain.
Sources: (AlSayyad 1994, p. 72)

In Aleppo during the Ayyubid period, which overlapped with the Attabeg period, every significant city gate opened on to a maidan. These maidans were the sites of military exercises and parades; they provided an open public space where soldiers who lived permanently in the towers could spend their free time. These maidans also housed open markets, each on a specific day in the week (Tabbaa 1997, pp. 23-24). In Aleppo the main maidan (figure 6.6) was located in the southwest below the citadel gate (probably had similar attributes to Erbil's maidan); on its east and south sides were many administrative, religious and social institutions, such as the *dar Al-A'dl* (court), khanaqa, madrasa and public baths, and on its west side were the bazar and its mosque (ibid., p. 22).

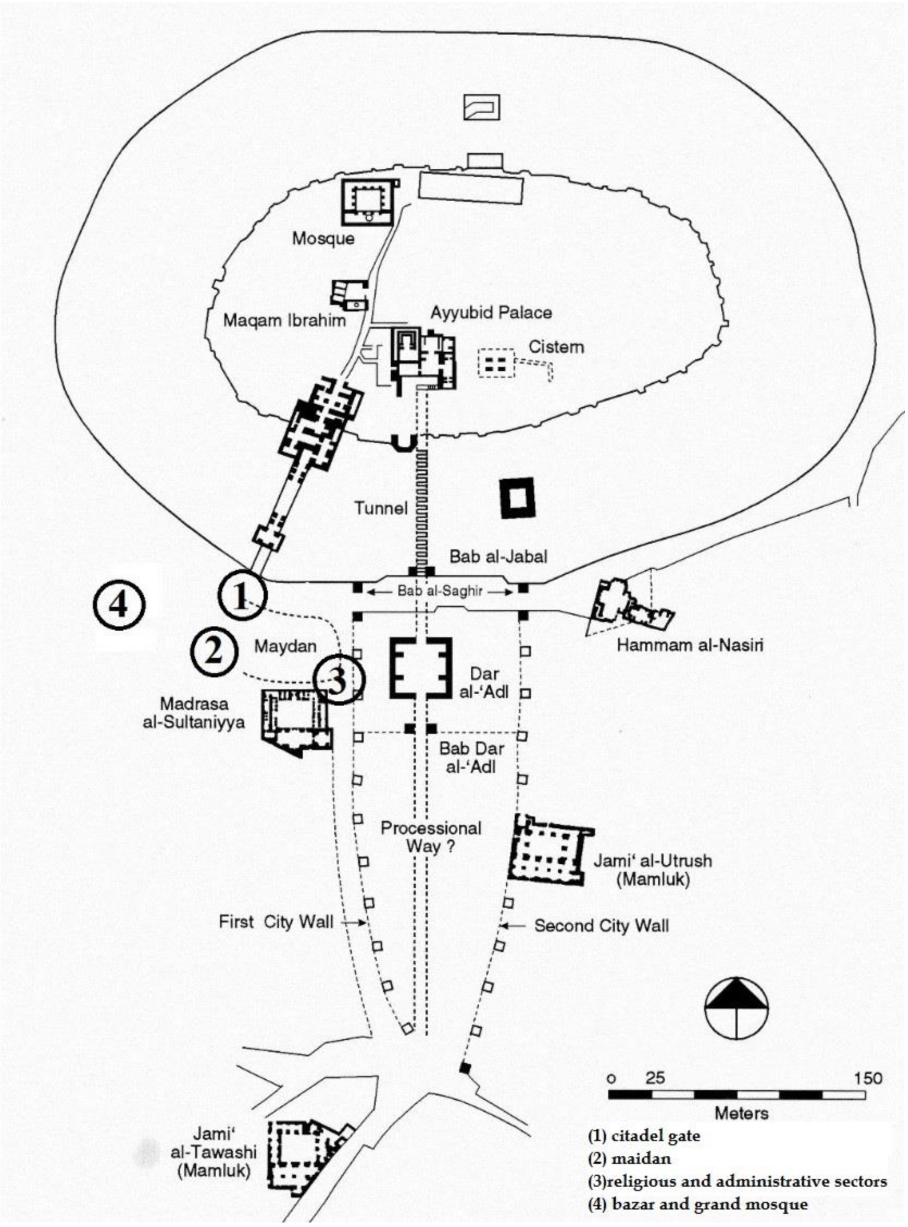


Figure 6.6: The main maidan of Aleppo
Source: Available in the illustration section, figure 6 of (Tabbaa 1997, no pagination); adapted by the author

Figure 6.7 shows the archetype of the city's urban core in the SWANNAP region.

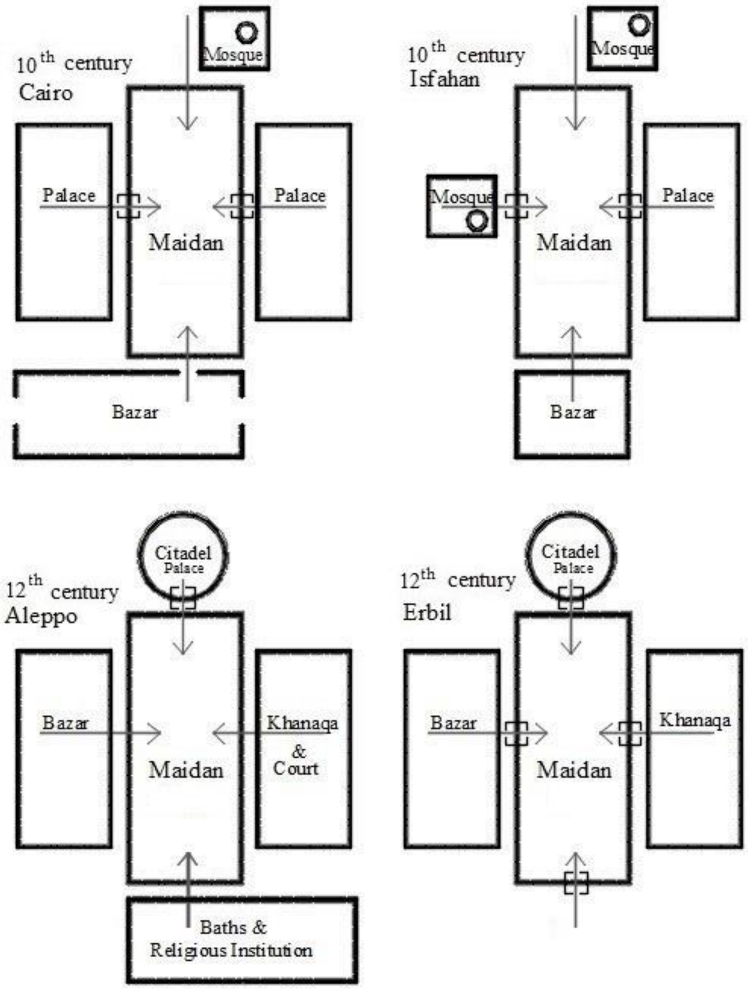


Figure 6.7: The Architype of the urban cores of cities in the SWANAAP

Figure 6.8 illustrates the agents behind the emergence of Erbil's maidan, which include the ruler's will to conform his faith in Islam and make his power known, receive blessing from God; the needs of Erbil's army for a space to practice and probably the use of the established archetype in the SWANAAP region.

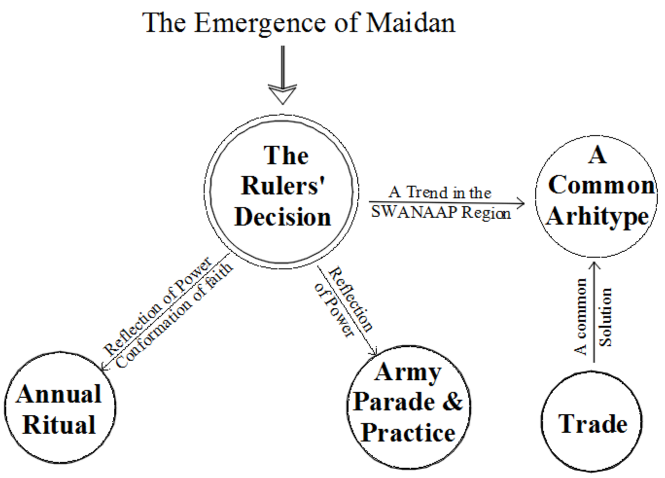


Figure 6.8: The agents behind the emergence of Erbil's maidan

6.2 The Urban Elements and the Intangible Aspects

All cities have aspects in common, like paths, nodes and edges (see Chapter 1) but the differences, aside from the topographical, lie in the nature of the activities and the characteristics of the citizens, as these reflect the meaning of the culture indirectly in the form and space. This section offers a critical analysis of Erbil's urban core and its tangible and intangible aspects. The analysis includes the impact of social and symbolic aspects together with other agents: religious, economic, political, and the powers invested by the ruler. All these are reflected in the spatial configuration of Erbil's urban core. Figure 6.9 is a depiction of the maidan in the 12th century introduced in this study (see Chapter 4 and section 6.1 of this chapter), which illustrates how the maidan is the dominant urban element at that time. This urban public space hosted and was surrounded by different activities; the maidan's edges were established by the surrounding buildings – which were defined through their function.

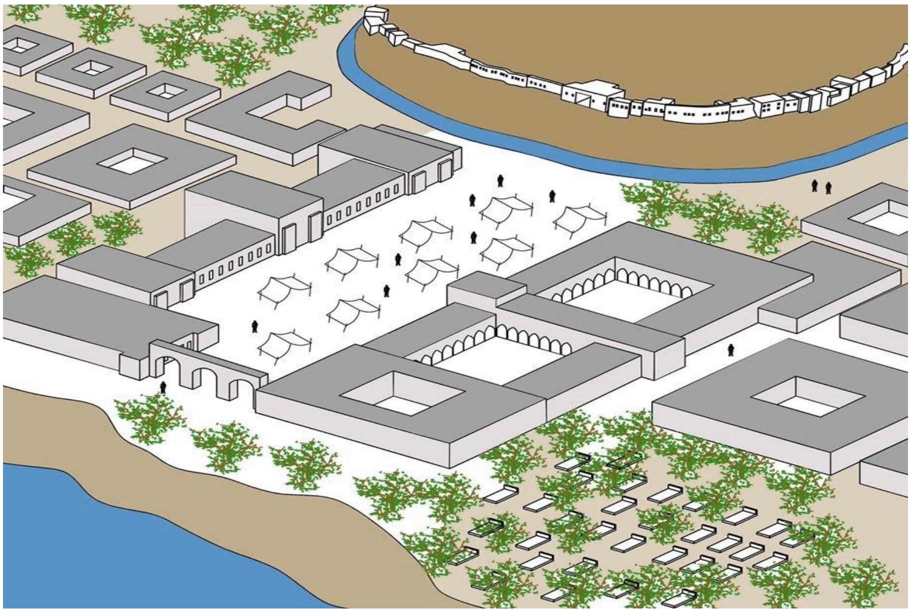


Figure 6.9: A depiction of the maidan in the 12th century

While there are no surviving descriptions of the normal daily activities experienced by the citizens of Erbil, except for those of the khanaqa area, examples from other cities, like Cairo, Baghdad, Aleppo and Isfahan, plus historical descriptions of the Prophet's Birthday celebrations in Erbil, allow the author to sketch a probable pattern of movements and activities, and sense the vibrancy of the urban public space at that time. During the Attabeg period, Erbil[248] held a prominent position in art, culture, education

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[248] These social changes were the work of the sultan that allowed Erbil to reach the apex of its standing among other cities. However, these developments had roots from the previous rulers and dynasties, such

and religion among the cities in the region. It was well-known for its many politicians, poets, musicians, thinkers and historians, such as (the Kurdish) Ibn Khallikan, (the Arab) Ibn Al-Mustawifi and the mathematician Ibn Mana'a. The ruler, Sultan Muzaffer, built many hospitals, care homes for the elderly and houses for abandoned children, and allocated nurses for them. He also built a house for male orphans and another for female orphans and would visit them every Monday and Thursday.

In that era the ministry of Finance and Justice was constructed in Erbil and their aim was to diminish poverty (Al-Azawi 2001, pp. 64-65). Part of these activities for Finance and Justice probably took place in the urban core. Based on the assumption introduced in this study, the urban core had a religious sector, where khanaqa, madrassa, and ribat might exist; the administrative sector was represented by the components of the gate and the ruler's residence; also socio-commercial function, as displayed by the bazar with its qaisaria (see Chapter 4). The following will attempt to address the state of the urban elements individually.

6.2.1 The Maidan as Node

In terms of the maidan there is a lack of source material to illustrate the nature of the activities in the maidan in everyday life. However, different activities took place in the edges of the maidan, the main ones being the bazar on its western side and the religious, social, and educational sectors on the eastern side (a discussion of these sectors follows). In addition, it can be assumed that weekly, open-air markets occupied Erbil's maidan as well as army exercises and probably horse racing. This assumption can be supported by examples from other cities, such as Aleppo and Isfahan, both of which had commercial, administrative and religious aspects. Aleppo's maidans had open markets, each running on a specific day of the week, and army training days (Tabbaa 1997, pp. 23-24). Whereas in Isfahan, open-air markets occupied the maidan in which polo and horseracing also took place (Kostof 2009, pp.130-131). Figures 6.10 and 6.11 are views of the Maidan-i-Shah in Isfahan.

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as Hathebani dynasty. After the Attabeg rule, the city faced drought, disease, fire and looting following Mongol and Persian attacks.

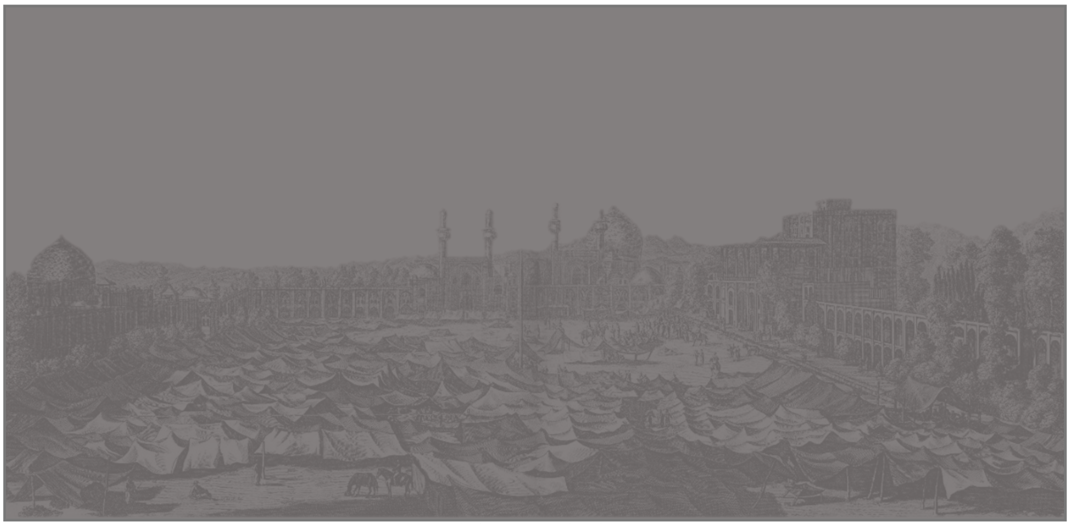

Figure 6.10: This engraving of maidan Isfahan with the open-air market
Source: Adapted from the book of *Voyages De Corneille Le Brun Par La Moscovie, En Perse, Et Aux Indes Orientales.* Published 1718; in the following the page 189.

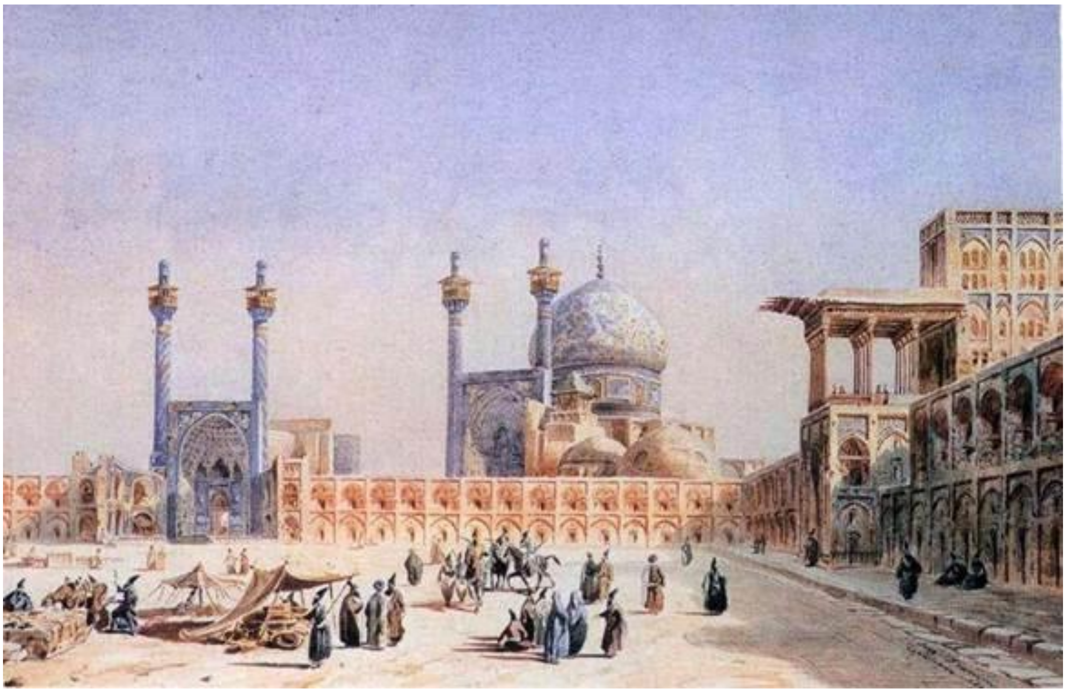

Figure 6.11: The open air markets in the Maidan-i Shah at Isfahan
Source: (islamic-arts.org), painted by Flandin, Eugène-Napoléon, 1841 CE

6.2.2 The Maidan’s Edge - the Bazar Sector

The city was famous for its trade and markets. It was a meeting point for caravans (Jawzaly 2008, p. 35) that connected Erbil with the trade routes of Mosul, Baghdad and Persia. The bazar was located probably on the western side of the maidan and it could have extended as far as the Muzzafaria minaret. Al-Hamawi[249] (1977 [12th century], p.

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[249] Yaqut Al-Hamawi (d.1229 CE), who was a Muslim scholar and well-known for his encyclopaedic books, started writing Mu'jam Al-Buldan from1224 to 1228.

138) who visited the city, described the lowland area and its markets, in his book '*Mu'jam Al-Buldan'* indicating that:

> In the lowland area [rabidh Al-Qal'a] … there is a big wide city; the one who built the city and its wall, and constructed its markets [aswaqaha] and its qaisarias [qaisariataha] is Sultan Muzaffer Al-Din Kukburi bin Zain Al-Din Kuchiq Ali…the city has a suq [bazar], and it gains prestige.

In this text Al-Hamawi stated that there were more than two qaisaria[250], in addition to stating that its markets gained prestige among other markets in the region and witnessed prosperity. The content analysis of Al-Hamawi's, text, which was written in Arabic language, shows that Erbil had more than two qaisaria. Al-Hamawi wrote *'qaisariataha'* which is a plural of the noun qaisaria. The grammar in Arabic language is different from English, as the Arabic has singular, double, and plural names and verbs; so if it were two qaisaria, for example, he would say '*qaisariataiha'* not '*qaisariataha'.* This information is different form the account of Ibn Al-Mustawfi (d.1239 CE) who lived in the city and wrote that Sultan Muzaffer built one qaisaria in Erbil and made Abu Alfadhil Al-Bazaz Al-Iraqi general manager /Nadhir of it (Jawzaly 2008, p.38; Al-Naqshbandi 1989, p. 146), he wrote many volumes and what is found is only one. In addition, Ibn Al-Sha'ar (d.1256 CE) in his account, after the Mongol attack to Erbil and the death of Muẓaffar Al-Din, pointed out that Erbil's new qaisaria was built 40 years ago during the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din, was burned by the invaders. This contradiction might shed the light that Erbil probably had more than one qaisaria and probably Muẓaffar Al-Din built only one qaisaria, if we assume that more information on the Erbil's qaisaria was written by Ibn Al-Mustawfi in one of his missing volumes on Erbil. Furthermore, it is difficult to assume that Al-Hamawi (who came as a visitor to Erbil for a short period of time) was confused about the shops or markets and the qaisaria and consider them many qaisaria, as he differentiated clearly between the markets / shops, and qaisriaa "…the one who…constructed its markets and its qaisarias is Sultan Muzaffer Al-Din Kukburi…the city has a suq [bazar], and it gains prestige" (Al-Hamawi 1977 [12th century], p. 138). Hence, this study suggests that there were more than two qaisaria in Erbil and probably only one was built during the ruler of Muẓaffar Al-Din and he might have given the order to rehabilitate and maintain the others.

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[250] See the definition of qaisaria in Chapter 1, the bazar section.

Erbil's markets were the workplaces of specialists of different professions, e.g. the Saffarin market was the place of coppersmiths (Al-Azawi 2001, p. 36), who made goods such as pots, cups, spoons, picture frames, lanterns and engraved plates. The Saffarin market had its own khan/inn and would host returning pilgrims, tradesmen and scientists. It is worth mentioning that during the Abbasid period (parallel to the Attabeg period) Baghdad was famous for its copper market that still exists near Al-Rashid Street. This market might have influenced Erbil's Saffarin market; however, now days it disappeared entirely. Furthermore, Erbil had markets for the Bez (fine linen), and *Khirata* (wood craft). Ibn Al-Sha'ar stated that Erbil led in the brickmaking industry. It also sold *Nisafi* (a cotton cloth) that was made in Hazza/Azza[251] near the city. Many religious people, who were teaching in the madrassa or khanaqa, worked in the above-mentioned professions. Erbil was also famous for its trade in pearls with Bahrain. The city's most famous poet - known as Muafaq Al-Din Al-Bahrani Al-Irbili, traded pearls between Bahrain and Erbil (Jawzaly 2008, pp. 35-38). In Erbil, there was *Dar Al-Warraqin*[252] a place where books were transcribed, bound and traded at another market, (Jawzaly 2008, p. 68). The city was also famous for its production of wheat and barley. There were many farms and orchards near Erbil and some inside the city, irrigated by the wells, such as the orchard of the khanaqa Al-Junaina, on the eastern side of the citadel. The irrigation system of Erbil depended on the Kahariz as no river runs close to the city of Erbil. Al-Hamawi (1977 [13th century], p.138) during his visit to the city stated:

> […] the majority of Erbil's citizens are Kurds[253] but they are Arabised; people in its villages and other surrounding areas, and the farmers in the orchards are Kurds [Jami' rasatiqah w falahiha wma yandhaf ilaiha kurds]. Erbil's plants are irrigated by kahariz [Al-Qinaa almustanbata min alardh]; its resident drink from wells, the water of which is sweet and very fresh and similar to the water of the Tigris. Its fruit comes from the mountain near the city.

This kind of irrigation had different names across the SWANAAP region, e.g. Canal, Qanat, Kahariz, Kariz, Aflaj, Fuqara, Shattattira, Khettara (figure 6.12) it also had different technique.

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[251] Azza is the same city that is suggested in this thesis to be Milkia area, the area that hosted the second temple of Ishtar during the Assyrian period (see chapter 2).

[252] Ibn Al-Mustawfi (1980 [12th century], pp. 184-185) mentioned that a well-known person from Baghdad visited Erbil and brought books to sell.

[253] The language that used in the bazar and the streets was Kurdish, while Arabic was the official and administrative language of this emirate (Husseyen 2014).

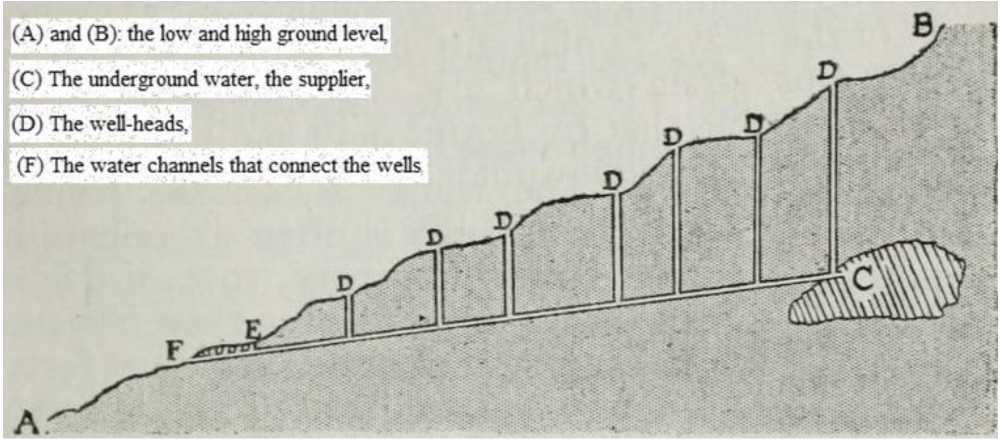
(A) and (B): the low and high ground level,
(C) The underground water, the supplier,
(D) The well-heads,
(F) The water channels that connect the wells
A
B
C
D
E
F

Figure 6.12: Kahariz system
Source: Modified from (Hay 1921, p. 25)

In Iraq[254], for example, this kind of irrigation is known as kahariz[255]. It consisted of a tunnel dug deep underground to deliver water from the highlands to the lowlands. The main sources of water in the highlands were springs, rainwater harvesting, the springtime snowmelt and water from the Tigris and Euphrates. Tunnels should slope towards the plain at a gradient of one metre, per kilometre. The tunnels[256] were linked to the surface with a series of vertical wells, spaced every 50, 100 or 200 meters. The wells fed by these tunnels are still used to provide some villages and farms with water. These wells also work as ventilation points to give access to the tunnel for maintenance purposes (Lightfoot 2009, p. 3; Al-Hashimi, 1998, p. 6). With regard to Erbil[257], the

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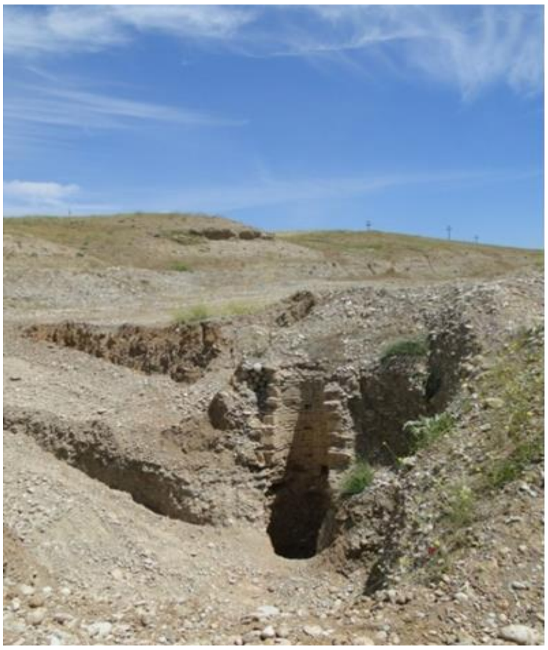
[254] Canals were used by the Abbasids to transport water from rivers to cities. They fed the Baghdad region with water from the Tigris; Samarra too was irrigated with water from the Tigris across the Kufa/ Najaf system. The city of Najaf used kahariz creatively as the city was on the edge of the desert and had no water resources: Until 30 years ago water reached its houses from wells (Al-Hashimi, 1998, p. 7). The benefit provided by the canal could, ultimately, affect the river's course. For example, the irrigation canal dug to feed Karbala with water from the Euphrates River caused a change in that river's course, an effect that persists to the present day. This resulted from an error in assessing the river's gradient resulting in an over-deepening of the canal that tapped the river (2006, p. 191).

[255] Some studies like Lightfoot (2009, p. 15) and English (1968, p. 170) incorrectly ascribe the origin of the kahariz to Medes or to Achaemenids (a research on the Kahariz system is conducted by the author of this study and will be published in a journal to illustrate the origin of the kahariz system in this region). The origin of this irrigation system was found in Mesopotamia, this conclusion was based on the interpretation of royal tablets, inscriptions and archaeologists' findings (Muscarella 2013, pp. 375-376; Kleiner 2013, p. 32; Shaial 2010, pp. 258-259; Bryce, 2009, p.199; Delaporte, 1996, p. 106).

[256] The tunnels, some of which still exist, are circular in cross section and a man can walk inside them. In the 1990s in Petra, Jordan, tunnels were found with spaces large enough to hold a car. Its walls are lined with stone to prevent leakage and tunnel collapse (Al-Hashimi 1998, p. 6). Digging the Kahariz can be dangerous due to the weakness of the channel roofs and the person who was searching and digging for these channels was considered unfortunate as he might bury alive (Hay1921, p. 24).

[257] In Erbil the first appearance of a similar system was in the inscription of the Sennacherib canal. Sennacherib the king of Neo-Assyria constructed a network of canal systems in different cities, the most famous being the Erbil canal for the temple of Ishtar Arbela. Sennacherib gave an order to his engineers to supply water to Erbil/ the temple of Ishtar from Hani Mountain and the Bastura River by a canal, its length was about 20 kilometres (MacGinnies 2014, p. 71; Amin 2012; Ismail 1986, p12; Atrushi 1973,

geological structure of its sloping land was suitable for artesian wells (Al-Hashimi 2003; Hay 1921, p. 24). During the Attabeg period, there were 365 kahariz[258] on the Erbil Plain (Al-Chawishli 1985, pp. 53-54). These Kahariz raised water to supply the citadel and the lower areas (Ismael 1986, p. 38; Doxiadis, 1958, p. 7; Hay 1921, p. 24). Two of these kahariz/ canals were described in the Abu Al-Fida (d.1331 CE) text referred to in Chapter 3. This traditional technology, which irrigated farms and supplied drinking water, persisted until the Middle of the 20th century[259]. Figure 6.13 is pre-Islamic Kahariz; figure 6.14 is probably dates back to 19th or 20th centuries (the white arrows are the series of wells).



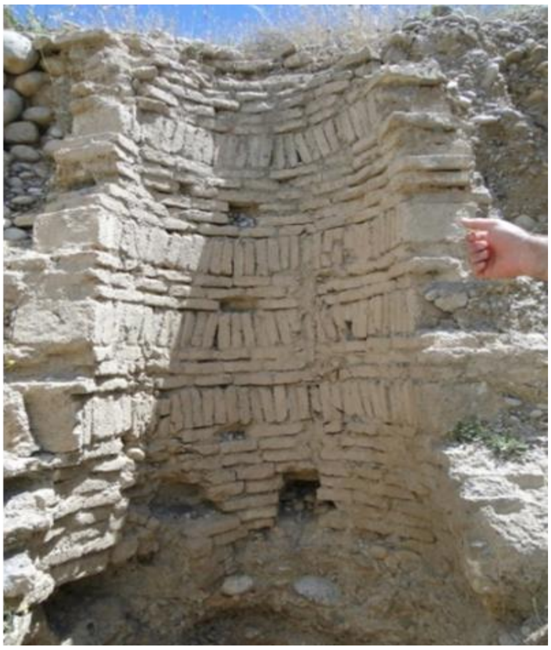


Figure 6.13: Section of a pre-Islamic well
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

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p.11; English 1968, p.175; Sousa 1948, p.230'; Safar 1947, pp. 77-78; Safar 1946, pp. 50-52; Baqer and Safar 1933, p. 7). Recently Ur et al. (2012) have discovered and confirmed the existence of series of shorter canals in the region of Erbil attributed to Sennacherib; one of the methods that was used in their investigation was CORONA maps (Ur 2013, pp.104-105). Lightfoot (2009 p.15), during his survey of the Kahariz in northern Iraq, states that the western part of the Zagros Mountains, which includes Iraq, has been little examined and needed more excavation work.

[258] Traces of their existence with no evidence of their origin dates can still be found on the road towards Makhmour. The project was called as 'Khandaq Alkhalifa' (Al-Chawishli 1985, pp. 53-54). These Kahariz were neglected due to the expense of conservation and changes in life-style. There was a man known by Erbil's inhabitant as 'Usta Fatah' who was an expert in Kahariz technology and could tell by instinct and experience where to dig or where old ones had existed. He had inherited the job from his family and his son was expected to take it over as no one else in Erbil was expert in this field (Hay 1921, p. 26). He was able to identify those places rich in groundwater and advised that kahariz should be dug (Lightfoot 2009, p.9). These Kahariz were recorded in Erbil's Land Registration Office. A famous still-existing Kahariz is Qasim Agha. Others that still exist but do not function well are: Baladiyat Erbil, Haji Ilias, Sa'dawa, Ain Kawa, Sa'aid Agha, Qatwa and others (Sardar 2013; Al-Chawishli 1985, p54).

[259] In the 1920s Hay (1921, p. 26) stated that about sixty Kahriz' were in use, and several old ones were under the process of being re-excavated. But no attempt has been made to open new ones.

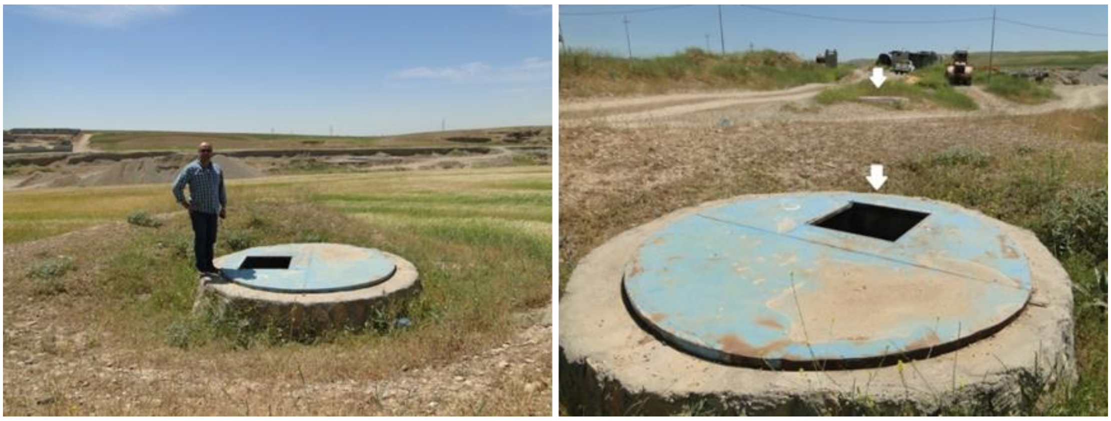

Figure 6.14: A series of wells probably dating back to 18th or 19th century
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

6.2.3 The Maidan's Edge - the Education and the Religious Sectors

Many religious, educational, and social institutions were built in Erbil, such as madrassa, khanaqa and ribat, and the majority of these buildings were situated on the maidan's eastern side (see Chapter 4). These religious and educational institutions were separated physically from the mosque; however, they connected spiritually as they shared the same vision: the worship of God. In time, these buildings received support from the rulers and governors of the region. Although some of these institutions were built during the rule of Mujahid Al-Din Qaymaz - the guardian of Muẓaffar Al-Din - many other buildings were built under the patronage of Muẓaffar Al-Din, such as madrassa Al-Faqira for the study and dissemination of the Shaffi and Hanafi doctrines of Sunni Islam. For Sufis there were khanaqa Al-Sufia[260] and khanaqa Al-Junaina, which had endowments and farmland to financially maintain the buildings and support the Sufi people who lived there (Jawzaly 2008, p. 97; Al-Naqshbandi 1989, p. 146). Another building, of unknown location, was also built by the same ruler in 1198 CE and called Dar Al-Hadeth[261]. It hosted scientists and jurists who came to visit or study in Erbil; it was also a place to preach and read the Quran (Al-Naqshbandi 1989, p. 148). There is no doubt that the scientific trips by Jurists and scientists enriched the cultural life of Erbil and encouraged the ruler to build many buildings inside the city to host travellers. The aim of these trips was to meet with other people, describe their cultures, their science and their life style (Al-Jawzaly 2008, p. 64). Like the Shafii and Hanafi

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[260] Sultan Muzaffer allocated annual alms and gave it to a Sufi master to distribute (Al-Azawi, 2001, p.66).

[261] The first Dar Al-Hadeth in the SWANAAP region was in Mosul and was opened by the order of Noor Al-Din Zangi in 1173 CE after the coming of Islam, whereas the second one was in Erbil (Al-Naqshbandi 1989, p. 148).

doctrines of Sunni Muslims that appeared in Erbil, Sufism[262] witnessed a prosperity in a way that penetrated different aspects of life. It influenced the ruler, Muẓaffar Al-Din, who lived an ascetic life. He supported Sufis through building several khanaqas in the urban core on the eastern side of the maidan. The reason for choosing this location (near the maidan opposite to the bazar area) might come from the connection of Sufi with trade and commerce. Generally, Khanaqa was a temporary and permanent residence; it contained a place for teaching, discussion, preaching, ritual and cultic practice (Kumar 2015, p. 3), but it worked, also, as a place for the exchange of goods. Some Sufis in India[263], for example, followed the tradition of the mutual benefit of both Sufis and merchant travellers; therefore, their buildings clustered in the city centre near the market area after being located in the suburban areas (ibid., p. 7), the same as Erbil.

6.3 The Annual Ritual - Prophet Muhammad's Birthday

This holiday festival and its parades and procession, which bestowed uniqueness upon the city among other cities in that region at that time, helped to shape the image of Erbil and its urban core. It was introduced to Erbil by its ruler, the Sultan Muẓaffar Al-Din

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[262] Scholars of Sufism appeared in 8th century CE, became common in 9th CE century and were concentrated in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Basra city in Iraq is considered to be the birthplace of Sufism262 (Omer 2014, pp.1-5). They started as a group of religious people who preferred asceticism and protested against the Caliphate, who turned Islam into religious and political institutions and encouraged materialism (Bhakti-Sufi Traditions 2015, p.153; Olcott 2007, pp.1-2). Sufis, who considered love to be the only means of reaching God, distanced themselves from crass materialism and politics and sought to lead a spiritual life. The Sufi order involved the use of poetic expression, chants, meditation and dance that focuses on the mystic nature of the religion. The well-known mystics were Rumi, Al-Ghazali and Omar Khayyam whose influence reached the western philosophers and writers (Religions 2008, no pagination). Sufis wore clothes made of wool, which differentiated them from other devout men who wore clothes of cotton and linen. Therefore, people called the hermits or ascetics with 'Sufi', which means the woollen garments; as in Arabic language, wool is 'suf' and garment is 'sufi' (Kumar 2015, p. 1). The name of Sufi may also mean the way of experiencing the selfless and taking the asceticism as a way of life.

In the SWANAAP region, around 10th century Sufi buildings were built in the suburban area. Their function had changed and instead of being places to receive pilgrims they housed a sheik with staff and a place for cultic practice. "In fact, those early Sufi masters were regarded as genuine members of Islamic mainstream scholarship and their teachings were integral to the thriving Islamic epistemology" (Omer 2014, p.1). At first, they settled in the mosque, and then with an increase in followers, they moved to their own houses or individual small buildings called *duwayrah* then to ribat. After this the number of functions and activities of these buildings increased and led to the appearance of khanaqa. (ibid, p.2). The Sufi had many rituals and practices and some of these persist today; these practices were apparent in the ritual of the Prophet's Birthday in Erbil (this will be explained in the Annual Ritual section). The main examples of these were music, dance and *sama*, which was a crucial part of the Sufi lifestyle. In *sama* God's name is recited and his presence evoked through story and song (Kumar 2015, p. 4; Bhakti-Sufi Traditions, 2015 p.157; Olcott 2007, p. 1).

[263] Olcott (2007, p.1) argues that Sufi and khanaqa areas worked towards cultural unity. This claim probably came from the significant role in the process of urbanization, as the existence of these institutions promoted migration and lead to more buildings (Kumar 2015, p. 5).

Kukubri. The preparations for the proceedings, many of which were repeated each year, began two months prior to their performance; each year the ruler spent around 300.000 dirham on the preparation of this celebration (Kaptein 1993, p. 50). Delegations: preachers, poets, singers, Quran readers; invitees from Baghdad and Mosul in Iraq, Jazirat Ibn Omar / Cizre in Turkey, and other cities of Persia and Andalusia attended this event (Husseyn 2014, p. 208).

Different agents may have prompted the ruler to introduce the Prophet's birthday event[264] to Erbil, hence before analysing and identifying the main aspects of this Annual ritual, the origin and the characteristics of the Prophet's Birthday celebrations in the SWANAAP region will be investigated, as it will help to identify the influences that had on Erbil's festival.

6.3.1 The Prophet's Birthday in the SWANAAP Region

The Prophet's birthday[265] celebration is an innovation that originated after the death of Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, due to lack of sources, it is difficult to specify the exact date of this regional birthday celebration (Kaptein 1993, p. 29 and p. 45). The first official and huge celebration of this day, that attracted both citizens and foreigners, originated with the Fatimids, who ruled Egypt from ca. 969 to 1171, and took place in Cairo in the 11th century (Shinar 2004, p. 373; Kaptein 1993, p. 29). This day was part of an official calendar of religious and secular public festivals and civil events celebrated in the maidan; the Fatimids[266] *mawalids*, included birthdates of the Prophet Muhammad and his family- his cousin and son-in-law Imam Ali, his daughter Fatima, grandsons Al-Hasan and Al-Hussain, and the birthday of the Imam Al-Mahadi (Kaptein 1993, p. 33). The main aspects of which were the use of candles, dancing and music, recitation of the

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[264] During. the Prophet's birthday celebrations, there was probably a gender mix as this day became a carnival and people would stop working and enjoy the atmosphere. Also, there is an assumption that women would celebrate this day privately with other women. For example, in Cairo women celebrated this day in the harem section of the palace, lighting candles and receiving sweetmeats from the maidan area. Also, the Caliph would give each of his female servants a golden coin as a gift, and this attitude of the Caliph i.e. the golden coin was taken from the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad. Hence, from this it may be assumed that there is a separation between the genders too, nevertheless it might also have mix genders.

[265] The Prophet's birthday was originally a Shiite Festival (Kaptein 1993, p. 29). The Fatimids who were Shiite, celebrate the Prophet's birthday and those of his family, while the Sunni, like the Attabeg dynasty and others, commemorate the Prophet's birthday only. In this thesis the author will not divide the event into Sunni and Shiite celebrations, like the authors Kaptein (1993) and (Katz 2007), as they are all Muslims.

[266] Other festivals were *Eid* 'Alfitr, *Eid* Al-Adha', the *A'shura*, and Al-Ghadir day- the day on which the Prophet Muhammad named Imam Ali as his successor at Ghadir Khumm.

holy Quran, the insignia parade, and the presence of the caliph or ruler - (Cortese and Calderini 2006, pp. 89-93). The aspects of the Prophet's birthday celebration in Cairo were influenced by Coptic Christians who held a big celebration for Jesus' birthday[267] (Christmas) and used, for example, to light candles as one of the festival's traditions. Maqrz (1987 [13th/14th century], p. 265) in his historic account indirectly indicated that it was the Fatimid who were influenced by the Copts customs, who used candles in their celebration. In terms of the popularity, mawlid[268] was not very popular in the beginning because Prophet Muhammad came after Jesus, so Copts at that time had set up this festival and celebrated it on regular bases, as it became a crucial tradition for them.

Before the fall of the Fatimid, the ruler Nur Al-Din Zangi (d.1174) celebrated the Prophet's Birthday in Syria. This celebration was not well documented but is known through brief writings and poems. Kaptein (1993, p. 42) argues that there was a connection between the Fatimid and the Syrian celebrations: customs of the Fatimid were certainly known in Syria due to the contacts in trade and other aspects between Egypt and Syria. The elements of Syrian celebrations were fires, gifts for guests, and night celebration (ibid., p. 42). Furthermore, it has been argued that after the fall of Fatimid, Salah Al-Din gained Egypt and abolished all Fatimid institutions and festivals including the Prophet's and his family's Birthdays, nevertheless there is also a view that he kept the Prophet's Birthday; another view says that citizens continued to celebrate the festival in their own manner (Kaptein 1993, p. 28).

Sufis were another group that appeared in this region and were known for their devotional practice and their own celebrations of this day within their ascetic circle. At the time of the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, a Sufi Muslim called Shaikh Umar Al-Mulla[269] started to celebrate the mawlid/ the Prophet's birthday in Mosul in his Zawia (monastery/ Sufi lodge), which was a popular place where noblemen and leaders visited. On this day, the ruler of Mosul would attend the forum and the poets who were invited

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[267] In general, mawlid "…was not primarily pioneered or dominated by members of ruling dynasties, but cultivated by a wide range of private persons with no political power" (Katz 2007, p. 208).

[268] Both Kaptein (1993, p. 28) and Shinar (2004, p. 265) believe that the mawlid did not hold the same importance as Coptic's Christmas.

[269] Little is known about Umar Al-Mulla, but it has been said that he was a pious man, and the ruler Nur Al-Din Zangi used to consult him in many aspects of his ruling. However, Ibn Rajab (d. 795), in his biographical dictionary *Dhay Ṭabaqat Al-Ḥanabilah*, mentioned that Umar Al-Mulla showed himself to be an ascetic person, and Ibn Rajab stated that at times he showed injustices and transgressions (Qadhi 2009).

would sing songs to praise the prophet and be rewarded (Al-Isfahani 1979 [12th century], p. 52). After 20 years, the commemoration started to be held in Mecca (open Ka'ba); in 1183 CE, the traveller Ibn Jubayr described the celebration that involved opening the Ka'ba (Katz 2007, p. 2). The main themes that the mawlid carried are: procession, Quranic recitation, sama, songs and dance, candles, feast and the theme of gifts.

6.3.2 The Origin of the Prophet's Birthday in Erbil

This birthday celebration would have an impact on the image of Erbil city in general and its urban core in particular. Different agents might trigger the decision of Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri and make him choose this day as a main festival in the city. Husseyn (2014, p. 208), for instance, argues that the birthday celebrations in Erbil could have been influenced by Christians of Erbil and their celebrations of Christmas Eve and Easter. This claim could be seen as accurate as Muẓaffar Al-Din grew up in Erbil and spent some time there and would have been aware of local customs. Further hypotheses that might trigger the ruler's decision and have a considerable influence on imposing this festival were the Islamic ideology, Sufi influences, Fatimids' festivities[270], the Attabeg ruler of Aleppo, the Sufi of Mosul, and the desire to reflect power. All these aspects probably incentivised Sultan Muẓaffar to choose the birthday of the prophet as a major event to be held annually in the maidan and the khanqa area of Erbil.

The faith, sincerity, and love of Prophet Muhammad and of Islam were probably the main reasons that led the ruler, who was known for his asceticism, to commemorate the prophet's birthday. Based on some Islamic beliefs that commemorating this day is a sign of gratitude to God for sending the Prophet Muhammad as an act of mercy to the world, and as means of saving people from hell and getting blessings (Katz 2007, p. 66; Abu Shama [13th century] 1978, pp. 23-24). Others add that the mawlid is a good innovation as it invokes prayers upon the Prophet. Consequently, these prayers return with blessings and benefits for the ones who pray, and also grants graces upon those who feed the poor and indigent during the celebration (Katz 2007, p. 76). Sufism also had a strong influence on social life of Erbil. Generally, Sufis were a minority group; however, their thoughts and ideas have impacted on Islam throughout their history, particularly

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[270] The data of the prophet's birthday during the Fatimid is very scare, the primary sources were lost and what is known are indirect writings through the work of some authors, such as Ibn Al-Ma'mun (d.1192 CE), Al-Marqizi (d.1277 CE), Ibn Al-Tuwayre (d. 1220 CE) (Kaptein 1993, pp. 7-11).

its literature (Religions 2008, no pagination). Francisco Rodriguez-Manas (see Katz 2007, p. 101) speculates that the [Sufi] celebrations might inspire those of the ruling authorities. It is believed to be a fact that this group in Erbil may have been the inspiration for Sultan Muzaffer - who had a tendency towards Sufism and lived a modest life. Abu Shama, [13th century] the biographer of Salah Al-Din states that the ruler of Erbil favoured the Sufis of his city and establish the mawlid in imitation to Omar Al-Mullla, the Sufi of Mosul, who celebrated the prophets Birthday annually in his zawia (Shinar 2004, p. 375). Muzaffer's asceticism can be seen in his charitable acts. His wife, Rabi'a Khatoom, the sister of Sultan Salah Al-Din Al-Ayyubi,

> […] said that his [garment] was made of coarse cotton, which was worth less than five dirhams. She said: 'I reproached him on this score', whereupon he replied: 'I prefer to dress in [garment] worth five dirham, so that I can give away the rest as alms, than that I clothe myself in costly robe and neglect the poor and the needy (Kaptein 1993, p. 50).

Another aspect that led the ruler to hold this huge celebration to commemorate the Prophet's birthday was probably the desire to reflect Erbil's and the ruler's power among other cities and rulers; the same as the Abbasids, Umayyad and Fatimids who held big celebration to reflect their power. Katz (2007, p. 103) argues that this celebration had the potential to enhance the legitimacy and prestige of both Sufi and the political authorities with whom they compete. Sanders (see Cortese and Calderini 2006, p. 95) for instance, argues that Fatimid advertised their power publicly and clearly through events they held in the city, such as the festival of the prophets' birthday which included a procession of the caliph's insignia, where the Prophet's sword and *umama* (turban) are carried. All these ceremonies and activities employed similar strategies as they carried aspects that were both spiritual and military, displaying the power of each dynasty that ruled this region. It is, therefore, highly likely that the approach of Muzzafer Al-Din Kukburi was similar to these approaches and probably even he witnessed some of these events, as he had led an army to North Africa, and fought battles with Salah Al-Din Al-Ayyubi, he would certainly have heard of these celebrations.

It is fact that Muzzafer Al-Din was not the first to commemorate the mawlid, however, his celebration had a solid reputation that could serve as a justification for later celebrations. His celebration gave the mawlid a secure foundation in the Muslin world, (Husseyn 2015; Shinar 2004, p. 373; Kaptein 1993, p. 74); like the mawlid celebrations in Damascus (after his death) in the middle of the 13th century and in Cairo at the end of 15th century (Husseyn 2015; Kaptein 1993, p. 74). In the present day many predominantly Muslim countries, with the notable exception of Saudi Arabia[271], celebrate the Prophet's birthday in various ways including festivals, processions and gatherings. In some areas, e.g. India, Morocco and Egypt it is a national holiday.

6.3.3 The Main Elements of the Prophet's Birthday

In those days, the activities were divided between the maidan and the khanaqa (where Sufi lived) and some of these activities would start from the citadel and end up in the khanaqa area. The maidan in those days was a place of static activities, (i.e. activities that occupied a temporary space in the maidan): groups of shadow puppeteers[272] performed the *khaial aldhil* (puppetry) in the maidan. Feasts were held there, the domed wooden pavilions sheltered the Sultan, his Amirs and delegations, singers, and musicians; tents were pitched in the maidan to accommodate the soldiers. It was also a focal point for active events: candle-lit and gift bearing (Al-khlu') processions and parades of animals and marching soldiers. Some of these activities would be accompanied by songs and music (Husseyn 2014, p. 208; Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi 1907 [12th century], p. 451). Ibn Khallikan (d.1228 CE) witnessed and recorded these events in his account which helped the study to envisage this festival and extract its main aspects.

During the period of preparation and activities occurring prior the actual festival, the sama', which includes stories of the Prophet and the singing of poems with melodies and rituals, took place daily in the khanaqa area. The Sultan would attend and participate each evening. On the day of the festival, the Khanaqa would host delegations, preachers, Amirs and other prominent people. The preacher's chair was placed inside the khanaqa and a wooden tower was set up for Sultan Muẓaffar to observe the religious activities in

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[271] Some Islamic scholars are against the celebration of the prophet's birthday. They argue that neither the prophet nor his successors or companions celebrated this day during his life, or following his death, thus, celebrating this day is sinful for Muslims. Ibn Tamiya (d.1328 CE) argues that "[t]he most perfect expression of love and reverence for the prophet…consists in following and propagating his *sunna"* (Katz 2007, p. 140). The Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Al-Asheikh, says that the celebration of the Prophet's birthday is evil and corrupt. "The true love of the Messenger of Allah (pbuh) is manifested by following in his footsteps and supporting his Sunnah... that is how the love for the Prophet (pbuh) is expressed… [it] is the duty of Muslims to love and respect him. They should also defend him against those who misinterpret his teachings…and those who abuse or mock him. These are the duties of Muslims who truly love the Prophet (pbuh)".

[272] It has been said the first known appearances of shadow puppets, khayal al dhill, were in Baghdad and Erbil during the Abbasid caliphate (Husseyen 2014, p. 8)

the khanaqa and the army processions in the maidan (Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], p. 538). These celebrations would continue until the early hours of the following day and guests listened to *alsama'a alakbar* /*almanqaba Alnabauia*, which included song and poems. With regard to the static activities, Ibn Khallikan (2012 [13th century], p. 537) states that preparations for the Prophet's birthday began two months prior to the actual day. Sultan Muẓaffar would order work to begin in the maidan, and with the workers, the Sultan would do some building work as well. Twenty or more domed, wooden pavilions were constructed and several tents were pitched. The pavilions, which began at the citadel gate reached as far as the gate of the khanaqa adjacent to the maidan. Each had four or five storeys, one being reserved for the Sultan and one for each Amir (figure 6.15).

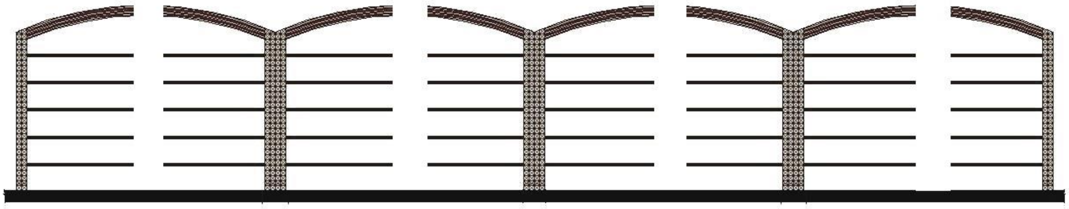

Figure 6.15: A depiction of the domed wooden pavilion

By the beginning of Sufer - the first Islamic month (equating to February), the pavilions were ready and adorned with decorations of high quality. A holiday atmosphere would take over as people wandered about enjoying the activities (Husseyn 2014, p. 208). Following the afternoon prayer Sultan Muẓaffar would descend from the citadel to make a visit. From his vantage point above each dome he could enjoy the events and hear the music and songs (probably the domes of the pavilions opened to the sky). At night he would go to the khanaqa to participate and listen to the *sama'a*/ *Almnaqaba Alnabauia*, i.e. sung poems about the prophets. Each day, following fajer/morning prayer he would go hunting, returning to the citadel following the noon prayer. This custom would continue for 45 days until the eve of the Prophet's Birthday (ibid., p. 8). One of the main features and attractions occupying a space in the maidan were the *khayal aldhill* (shadow puppets). *Khayal aldhill*, the art of puppetry that uses a paper or pieces of light metal to create the characters (figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16: Puppetry
Source: (Work of Dr Nabil Bahjat 2008. Available at Wikimedia Commons)

The puppetry probably emerged in Iraq in the 9th century at the time of the Abbasid caliphates - the Caliph Al-Mutawakkil, and then Caliph Al-Mustarshid in the 10th century. Flourishing in Cairo during the Fatimid dynasty and later, in Ayyubid and Attabeg times, in Erbil, it continued in the Mamluk era, moving to Turkey before finally reaching Europe and elsewhere in the world. Some argue that puppetry reached this region around the 14th century. The orientalist Jacob Georg Christian Adler (d. 1834) claimed that its roots lay in India. This was based on manuscripts that wrote by Ibn Daniel in the 14th century giving a history of drama in Arab Muslim countries. In the opinion of George Landow, it has Chinese roots and came to the SWANAAP region in the 14th century at the time of the Mongol invasion. However, in the 9th century the son of the kitchen chief of Caliph Al-Ma'mun palace warned the poet Du'bul Al-Khuzai that he had to create him as a character – if the poet kept annoying him (Younis, 2006, p. 66). Ibn Khallikan (2012 [13th century], p. 537) refers to it in Erbil in the 13th century. It is also been argued that this art was influenced by Greek drama that used actors with masks while the Arab Muslims - who read Greek literature, used puppets as characters instead of human actors.

A further static activity that occupied a temporary space in the maidan and the khanaqa were huge feasts, (*Simat Kabir*). Following the military procession, quantities of food and bread, a huge feast would be brought to the maidan for the 'commoners', Ibn Khallikan referred to them as *sa'alik* (tramps / commoners). Another feast was provided for the people in the khanaqa area where the Amirs, preachers, poets, and other prominent guests who came from outside Erbil, were gathering; following the meal this group would listen to the preachers and receive the Sultan's gifts (Husseyen 2014, p. 211; Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], p. 538). Historians have described the vast quantity of food (some attempted to list the varieties – 100 *faras Qashlamash* (horses), 5000 roasted sheep, 10000 chickens, 30000 sweetmeats and 100000 *sinia* (plates of food), or probably trays filled with food, were served (Husseyn 2014, p. 211; Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi 2013 [13th century], p. 451). This huge feast, aside of being a way of letting the population know the Sultan is rich, therefore powerful, and therefore worth supporting, indicates the spiritual importance of the rite as by the blessing will return to the one who feeds the poor people.

Among the activities that took place in the maidan that would start two days before the Prophet's birthday event, was the procession of domesticated animals - sheep, cows, and camels. They were driven into the maidan area accompanied by people, drumming and songs before being slaughtered; the meat was then prepared in various ways. The procession route is unknown, but is likely to have started from the area of the bazar on the western side of the maidan, or from the south. The other two important parades certainly started from the citadel and ended in the khanaqa area. The first was the candlelit parade; the second was the Alkhula parade. The former began on the eve of the birthday following the sunset / Maghreb prayer, when the Sultan walked downhill carrying several lit candles. Following this, two or more long candle-lit parades would begin; each candle being raised and tied above a mule, behind which walked a man supporting the candle and approaching the khanaqa. The use of lit candles was one of the main elements associated with the Prophet's birthday celebration and persists even now. In an interview with the Kurdish professor of history Muhsin Husseyn in 2015, he stated that the tradition of lit candles might have come from the Christians of Erbil as candles were an important element in their celebrations.

With respect to the above- mentioned opinion, it is also possible that it was adapted from the Fatimid celebrations of Prophet Muhammad's Birthday as practised in the 10th century. Maqrz (1987 [13th/14th century], p. 94) states that on the night of the middle of the Islamic calendar month of Rajab, the Fatimid festival began; it was their custom to use oil and perfume to ignite the lights. Inside the palace and in the harem/women's section[273], the ruler's wife and other women would light candles and receive sweetmeats sent from the maidan. Indirectly Maqrz also indicates that the use of candles during the Fatimid celebrations came from the Copts who held a big celebration for Jesus' birthday. The Copts' candles were of various sizes and some ornamented with flowers which were of great cost (Maqrz 1987 [13th/14th century], p. 265). Further evidence was the fire that was used in the Prophet's Birthday festivals comes from the work of the Damascene Abu Shama (d. 1268 CE). In his work, there are three poems; one of which was composed by Ahmad Ibn Munir (ca. d.1154 CE) who states in the poem that the ruler Nur Al-Din celebrated the Prophets' birthday. Usama Ibn Munqidh (d. 1188 CE) wrote another poem and referred indirectly to this event and igniting the fire; the poem was translated by Kaptein (1993, p.32):

> Each year for mankind is a night on which a fire is lit,
> but of all people only Nūr Al-Dīn has two fires: one a hospitable welcome [qiran] and another for a Holy War [jihād].
> His generosity [nadan] [sc. during the nightly celebration] and his courage [sc. In the jihād] radiate it [the fire] continuously,
> so that the whole year is the Night of the Birth.

The other parade was the *Alkhula'*, that included new clothes and presents; on the morning of the Birthday, a group of Sufis would walk in line carrying the *Alkhula'*. This parade would start from the citadel to the khanaqa area where religious and other prominent people had gathered and where the preacher's chair sat up and the wooden tower of the ruler installed (Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], p. 538). Also, the khanaqa (is where the Sufis were based) contained the performed dance and sama'/ mystical concert, which included poetry[274] and songs composed to commemorate the birth and life story of the prophet (Shinar 2004, p. 374). This parade that ended up in the khanaqa, was important as the participants would receive gifts and rewards as a reflection of the power and wealth of Sultan Muzzafer; thus this action would encourage other rulers to continue to support him. The army's parades, which began on the day of the birthday, were also an important aspect of this celebration (Ibn Khallikan 2012 [13th century], p. 538). This kind of parade was one of the main features of the of Abbasid and Fatimid

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[273] In addition, the Caliph would offer a gift of a gold coin to each of his female servants. This tradition came from the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad (Maqrz 1987 [13th/14th century], p. 265).

[274] The famous poem *Al-Borda* was composed by Shaikh Al-Busairi that turned into a song (Nyang, n.d., p.1).

Prophet’s Birthday celebration and may have influenced the Erbil birthday festivities. The Fatimids in Cairo, for instance, had insignia and army parades, that included drumming and music played on the *dufuf,* - a musical instrument of the SWANAAP region (Cortese and Calderini 2006, p. 94; Maqrz 1987 [13th/14th century], p. 265). Based on Ibn Khallikan’s description, those days would have been a holiday for the citizens, as people assembled and enjoyed the activities. The periphery of the khanaqa may also have exhibited characteristics similar to the festivals of the Indian Sufis; i.e. unofficial commercial activities organised around the perimeter of the khanaqa area: books, crafts and flowers were sold. The entire location may have taken on the appearance of a fair as some people received the blessings while enjoying monetary gain from the occasion (Kumar 2015, p. 5).

6.4 The Interrelationship of the Urban Elements

The analysis involves different variables that relate to the properties of form and space and include the nature of the configuration, coherence, the cultural patterns of movement and activities. The impact level of these variables on the urban space differs and is changeable dependant on the agents that cause these changes. Such agents include religion, economy, politics, the power invested in rulers, and changes in people’s needs. The mixes of activities that occur in the city’s urban core transform that place into a hub for the social interactions[275] that reflects the coherence and the integration within the space. The birthday celebration was the most obvious activity in identifying and positioning Erbil with regard to other cities in the region. This annual event shaped the image of the city in the eyes of both its inhabitants and foreigners, increasing the population’s sense of attachment to that space by altering both the inhabitants’ mental and physical image of their hometown. Foreigners, meanwhile, retained the memory of the splendour and gaiety of Erbil’s celebrations. It can be said that the configuration of the urban core was a structure of space as it came from the existence of the maidan, which was the dominant urban element in this urban structure; in addition to the khanaqa types, where the courtyard was the main aspects in their designs. The strategical focal points reflected a vibrant space throughout its location in the heart of the city below the citadel gate. The city’s urban core included a maidan surrounded by various activities

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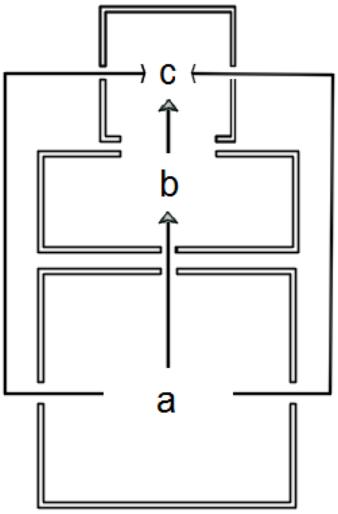
[275] Hillier (1984) believes that the intangible aspects of each community are projected directly into the space and reflect the particularity of the city. These socio-cultural aspects determined the space, which he names as the ‘correspondence community or society’.

giving it flexibility to absorb different functions and events. The maidan's physical form was outlined by the buildings that surrounded it, producing distributed spaces. This maidan was an extroverted space, giving an obvious direction to the surrounding area. This open public space had many obvious points of access represented by the gates of the citadel, the khanaqa and the maidan gate, plus a further assumption of the existence of a gate leading to the bazar area. The starting point in the annual ritual was the citadel gate where many activities (daily and annual) started from it and some ended with the khanaqa gate.

The patterns of movement relating to both permanent and temporary activities in the city's urban core were impacted by its spatial configuration (see the methodology). The maidan, therefore, played a vital role in this event. This can be interrelated with the fact that if the maidan's configuration is not well connected with the surrounding area the encountered events will be restricted to the main maidan only. It follows therefore, that the spatial configuration of Erbil's urban core being the limiting aspects, this factor affected the pattern of movements on this area. Hence, the spatial configuration of Erbil's urban core affected these activities and, consequently, affected the pattern of movement in that area (figure 6.17). For that reason, the, maidan, the dominant urban element of the city, transform the urban core into an integrated space, as it was the one with a shortest distance and had the potential to absorb activities and be surrounded by them.



(a) the impact of the spatial configuration on
(b) activities
(c) the patterns of movement

Figure 6.17: The impact of the spatial configuration on the patterns of movement.

For the annual festival, three layers of movement can be identified in this event: Animal procession, torchlight, Alkhula' and army parades. The torchlight and Alkhul' processions started from the citadel then either crossed the maidan[276], or passed by it from somewhere else and finally approached the khanaqa. It could be suggested that this procession crossed the maidan, in order that local people could watch the activities. The example of Cairo can support this assumption, as the main events there started from the palace – which was both the ruler's residence and the city's administrative centre – and culminated in the maidan. In Erbil these processions began from the administrative quarter located in the citadel, then probably crossed the maidan and, with the exception of the army parade, finished in the khanaqa. Animal procession, like sheep, cows, and camels that were accompanied by singers and musicians, took a route, which probably started from the south, or from the bazar area located in the west, and was directed towards the maidan. In addition to the army parade which its activity occupied the madian only (figure 6.18).

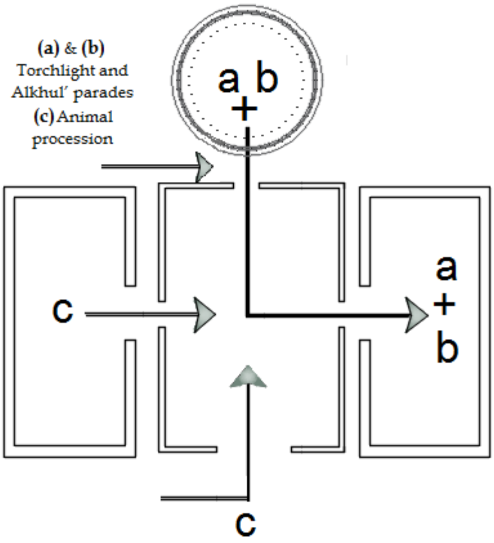


Figure 6.18: The pattern of processions during the prophet's birthday.

Conclusion

The analysis and the discussion concluded that the transformation of Erbil's urban core during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar resulted from the religious, political and economic considerations that were important to him as they denote a powerful ruler. It may be concluded that the hidden pattern and the main principles that guided his decisions, strongly affected the urban life of the city and led to its prosperity. With regard to the

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[276] No contemporary description indicates the direction taken by these two parades, but it can be assumed that they would have crossed the maidan where people could see and enjoy them.

tangible aspects, the dominant urban element in this period was the node/maidan located below the citadel, which absorbed different activities and functions.

Religiously and politically, Sultan Muzzafer identified himself as a strong ruler and boosted Erbil’s position among other cities in the SWANAAP region. His incremental changes influenced the tangible and intangible aspects of the city’s urban core. The tangible aspects were obvious in the bazar area, which was well known with its markets and qaisaria or probably many qaisarias. While in the religious sector represented by many khanaqas and madrasa he built; which was supported financially by the ruler and by endowments represented by farms and orchard; such as the Khanaqa Al-Junaina and its orchard. Erbil used the Kahariz system of irrigation inside and outside the city; it was developed enough to use for agricultural purposes that supported the economy and provided the Erbil’s inhabitant with water. Another ruler’s influence was represented by the intangible aspects that took place in the maidan as represented by the festival of the Prophet Muhammad’s Birthday; the preparations would begin two months or more prior the actual day and which, in themselves, impacted on the urban space and the image of the city. The chapter, also, has identified a close relation between the Sufi and the ruler exemplified mainly through the khanaqa distribution, the annual ritual and the active role of the khanaqa in hosting part of the prophet’s birthday celebration.

The analysis of the characteristics of the city’s urban core shows[277] that the nature of its configuration inclined towards a spatial structure. The vibrancy of the space was evidenced in the mix of activities (permanent and short-term) that occurred in the maidan, and which produced integrated and distributed spaces. An analysis of the cultural patterns of movement shows that they were influenced by the spatial configuration of the maidan, which was surrounded by the khanaqa and bazar areas, and contained different activities. The following chapter will focus on the city’s urban core during the Early Modern Period which include the Pre-Ottoman and Ottomans periods. It will attempt to trace its persistence aspects that survived frorm this period and identify the agents behind its change. In addition of analysing the tangible and the intangible aspects of the urban core.

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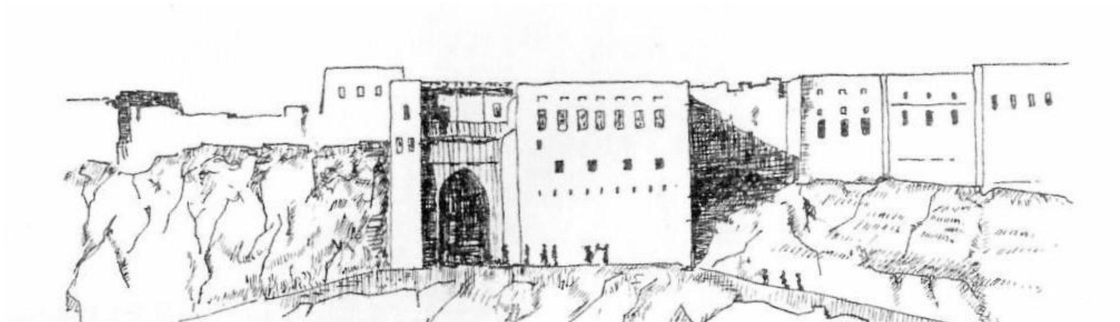
[277] The cultural pattern of activities shows the possibility of a mix of genders and social class [in the event of the prophet’s Birthday where the elite were separated from the local people. During preparation, the Sultan would mix with the populace to watch the activities in the maidan.



Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, 1958

CHAPTER SEVEN:

THE URBAN CORE, THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Chapter 7: THE URBAN CORE, THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Introduction

In the early modern period, the urban core continued to exist in its established location. However, there were changes in its urban structure after the Mongol attack and the destruction of the city. This chapter offers analyses and discussions that shed light on tangible and intangible aspects of this era, divided into two stages: the Pre-Ottoman period and the Ottoman period.

7.1 The Urban Core in the Pre-Ottoman Period

Before proceeding to examine the settlement of Erbil, it is necessary to briefly recount the history of the political situation after the death of Sultan Muzaffer in 1233 CE, when Erbil came under the rule of the Abbasid Caliphate for a period of 25 years (see Chapter 5). In the year 1236, Mongols ransacked the lower city, but the citadel resisted the attack. In 1237, the Mongols controlled the lower city again and surrounded the citadel for more than one month before leaving (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 54).

After the fall of Baghdad to Hulagu in 1258, Erbil[278] was taken by Mongol fighters who, after a long siege that surrounded the citadel, cooperated with Badr Al-Din Lu'lu[279], the ruler of Mosul, to occupy the citadel (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 52). Following this, the Ilkhanid Mongol dynasty controlled Erbil, and Hulagu appointed a Christian governor to the city. At this time, Erbil faced a critical juncture when it suffered attacks in 1285 and 1286 due to the tension between the Ilkhanid and Mamluk dynasties. In 1295, a Kurdish Amir obtained permission from Hulagu to rule Erbil, and did so for a period of time before the Amir was assassinated. In 1309, the Mongols encountered resistance from the inhabitants of Erbil, which lasted for 13 years (ibid., pp. 61-69). Later, the Jalayirids[280] ruled, and the city suffered several attacks[281] from different powers in

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[278] It can be said that the lowland area was the main part that faced destruction, as the well-fortified citadel resisted several attacks.

[279] Badr Al-Din was the ruler of Mosul from 1222 to 1259. He helped the Mongols with the intention of adding Erbil to his territory while under their rule (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 52).

[280] The Jalayirids were a Mongol Jalayir dynasty which ruled over Iraq and western Persia.

[281] This era coincided with the crusades period; different conflicts were happening between the Mongol and the Abbasid Caliphate, also between the Muslims and the Christians and that impacted on Erbil which became the centre of Christianity "…a force of irregular Christian cavalry in the Mongol service was besieged in the citadel of Erbil by an armed Moslem [Muslem] mob and eventually massacred. During this siege, in which the patriarch Yahballāhā III tried without success to negotiate between the contending

1336. After this point, Erbil willingly joined Timur's territory and, in 1404, it came under the attack of Turkomans' opponents, following which it came under the rule of Ak Koyunlu / White Sheep Turkomans, then Kara Koyunlu / Black Sheep (Husseyn et al. 2012, pp. 70-73), see Chapter 4. The records of the city's history, and specifically the urban core, at this time were ambiguous and information scattered. No detailed documents, describing Timur's rule, were written by citizens or historians (Al-Azawi 2001, p. 78).

From the time of the layout in the Attaberg period to the post Attaberg period (probably by the end of the 13th century/ca.13th century), Erbil had shrunk from a big city to a small town that had a citadel in the upper land, and a bazar and small neighbourhood for the poor people in the lower land. It can be argued that this change happened for many reasons, the first one being safety. After the continuous attacks, including killing, looting and burning, by different powers, the safest place in Erbil was the citadel. Therefore, the majority of the people left the lower land and settled inside the citadel. This unstable situation also caused some people to emigrate towards Syria, Egypt and other parts of Iraq. Ibn Al-Sha'ar (2012 [13th century], p. 28) indicated that, after the Mongol attack, Erbil's scientists, religious people, and other citizens emigrated towards Mosul and other areas, and among these people was Ibn Al-Mustawfi (d. 1239). The second reason for this change was flooding. Floods occurred in 1248 and 1256, affecting the lowland and immersing the bazar area, the orchards and the surrounding neighbourhood.

The third reason was the spread of epidemics, such as the plague during the Jalayirids era, which led to the death of many people and caused emigration (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 83). In an interview, conducted in Erbil in 2015, Dr. Imad Rauf, professor in History in the University of Salahaddin (and previously in the University of Baghdad), highlighted another reason that might have reduced the size of the city was the reuse of the bricks[282] of abandoned buildings in the construction of other buildings in the city

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parties, many innocent Christian civilians were also killed and four churches were destroyed" (Wilmshurst 2000, p.18).

[282] During a site visit to Erbil, in 2013, I noticed that the external layers of the citadel were built with different types of bricks and this might indicate that buildings inside the citadel were constructed from bricks taken from lowland structures or any other places which shows different layers of bricks used in the citadel's wall construction.

and the citadel. There are some examples of this from elsewhere in the region: the majority of the buildings in Hila city, in the governorate of Babel, were built with bricks from Babylon, and the town of Salman Pak in Iraq was built using bricks from Al-Mada'in[283]. Further evidence of bricks being reused, is the mosque of the Muzaffaria minaret[284] in Erbil, which became isolated and stood alone in the west part of the city- traces of its walls and foundation existed at the beginning of the twentieth century but, unfortunately, have now disappeared.

Regarding the urban core: there is no information available to illustrate the situation of the bazar area except Ibn Al-Sha'ar's account (2012 [13th century], p. 28) which highlighted that the qaisaria, built during the time of Sultan Muzaffer, burned down in 1259 during the Mongol attack. After this era, the Ilkhanid dynasty ruled Erbil and the city started to witness a great prosperity in commerce and trade. It was also well-known for producing cotton, honey, barley, wheat and nuts (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 77). The Ilkhanid secured the trade routes including the road from Baghdad to Diyarbakır that passed through Erbil and Mosul, and the road from Erbil to Maragheh, which was one of the safest roads at that time (ibid., p. 78). Under the Jalayirids, and later the Timurids, the trade routes were not safe and some interrupted due to war, such as the road from Erbil- Diyarbakır.

Following the war, the religious institutions like the madrassa and the khanaqa in the urban core faced neglect (Al-Azawi 2001, p. 95). In an interview in 2015, Imad Rauf, argued that what led to the khanaqa and other religious buildings being neglected was the lack of financial support. This financial crisis resulted from the destruction (the war and attacks to the city and its territories) of the orchards and other agricultural areas that had served as endowments to these buildings, and from the loss of the official papers that proved the ownership of these green lands. Another factor that might have contributed to the neglect of these institutions during the Ilkhanid dynasty, was the impact of the ruler's religion in Erbil. During that period, the number of Christian[285]

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[283] During his trip to Iraq, Carsten Niebuhr, noticed people in Baghdad digging for bricks in the archaeological sites; these people were called *Naqabeen* (Rauf 2015).

[284] Due to the empty area and its isolated location people started to call it Minaret Choli, which means the minaret of the empty land.

[285] The Muslim conquest of Erbil in the 7th century did not prevent the city from remaining an active centre of Christianity; however, the majority of Christians emigrated from Baghdad. "The Nestorians [Christians]…had one stronghold, the citadel of Arbela or Erbil. In the spring of 1310, the governor of

inhabitants increased and came to rule Erbil. After the fall of Baghdad (at the hand of the Mongols), many Christians immigrated to Erbil. In addition, the patriarch Denḥa (d.1281) encouraged the West Syrian refugees to settle in Erbil (Wilmshurst 2000, p. 167). As a result of this, many churches, instead of khanaqa or mosques, were built in the lower land area and the citadel (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 78).

Between 14th and 15th century, Erbil became the seat of an East Syrian bishop (Grousset 2002, p. 383). The change in the official religion of Erbil, from Islam to Christianity, impacted the intangible aspect of the urban core. It is being said that during the Ilkhanid era, the annual festivals were the celebration of Palm Sunday and the birthday of Jesus (Christmas), instead of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. These celebrations also included a parade, which passed through the maidan (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 81). This sheds light on the situation of the urban core and indicates that the maidan still existed and was active, continuing to host annual rituals.

At that time the city kept its commercial activities and it was a great trading centre - many of its traders and merchants in the bazar area were Nestorians[286] - especially with cotton exports (Budge 1928, p.19). This also spots the light on the economic position of the city and the activity of its bazar in the urban core. The following section offers a critical analysis of Erbil's urban core during the rule of the Ottomans. It covers the impact of social and symbolic aspects together with other agents, both religious and economic, all of which were reflected in the spatial configuration of Erbil's urban core.

7.2 The Urban Core in the Ottoman Period

The Ottoman Empire controlled Erbil for almost 400 years, from 1534 until 1918, when British forces came to occupy the region. Information on the city, as it was during the early period of Ottoman rule, is both rare and dispersed (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 101). What is known is that Erbil, at that time, was a small town with a historic citadel and some simple settlements; a situation that contrasted strongly with the city's status during

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the region attempted to seize it from them with the help of the Kurds. Despite Mar Yahballaha's efforts to avoid irreparable disaster, the Christians of Arbela resisted. The citadel was at last taken by royal troops and Kurdish hillmen on July 1, 1310, and all the defenders were massacred. Mar Yahballaha was to outlive his work; he died at Maragheh on November 13,1317, full of bitterness against these Mongols whom he had served so faithfully and who disowned him in being false to themselves" (Grousset 2002 [1970], p. 383).

[286] Churches in Erbil and Mosul were under the direction of a Nestorian Metropolitan (Budge 1928, p.19).

the rule of Sultan Muzaffer in the Attabeg period. Aside from few pieces of art, including drawings and engravings, and travellers' accounts - that described the city and some of its buildings and monuments in the 18th and 19th century - the first known map was produced by British and Indian personnel[287] around 1918.

Fortunately, after the onset of the British occupation, a reconnaissance survey was undertaken and the map was expanded; visitors' descriptions (British officers and European travellers) and aerial photographs shed light on the urban elements and some important aspects of the urban core. Hence, the following sections will use part of the documentations that were produced in the Post-Ottoman period for its analysis. Although these records (the map and the aerial photographs) belonged to the post-Ottoman period, they offer occurrence information, as the majority of them were taken directly after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which illustrate the existing situation of the urban core in that period. They also reflect traces of a structure that took many centuries to be configured - part of this urban fabric probably dates back to the pre-Ottoman period. The urban core (which is a reflection of the interrelationship between humans and the landscape) consisted of a subtly complex order and logic that displayed a coherent structure which reflected the spirit of this area[288] through a mix of different functions and the relationship between buildings (commercial, social and religious buildings) and the urban elements (paths, nodes and edges). In observing Erbil's map in the figure 7.1 it can be seen that the urban core took a radial shape and met at the citadel south gate. It also shows some open spaces that are probably traces of the old maidan. In addition, it illustrates that the urban core started to be a structure of masses, not a structure of spaces. This emphasises that the urban core underwent a significant change after the Attabeg period, and took on an organic shape where the part of the maidan probably was changed into a dense fabric of passages and buildings.

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[287] In an interview Mr. Adnan Mohammed Said (the director of the Technical Division of the General Directorate of Land Registration - Ministry of Justice), remarks on the existence of an old map drawn by Indian personnel who came with the British troops, and that, "while we know it exists we do not know where it is" (Said 2013). There is a possibility that this map is the one published in 1944 by the British Naval Intelligence Division as part of the Geographical Handbook Series, produced between 1941 and 1946 (see chapter two). This conclusion is based on the comparison between this map and the aerial photographs taken around 1910. Consequently, architects, historians and others wrongly believe that this map was drawn in 1944.

[288] The Prophet Mohammad's birthday was celebrated informally, with people celebrating in small circles or inside the mosque themselves and there was no main event being held, although the Ottomans continued to celebrate it in Istanbul and other main cities in the region.

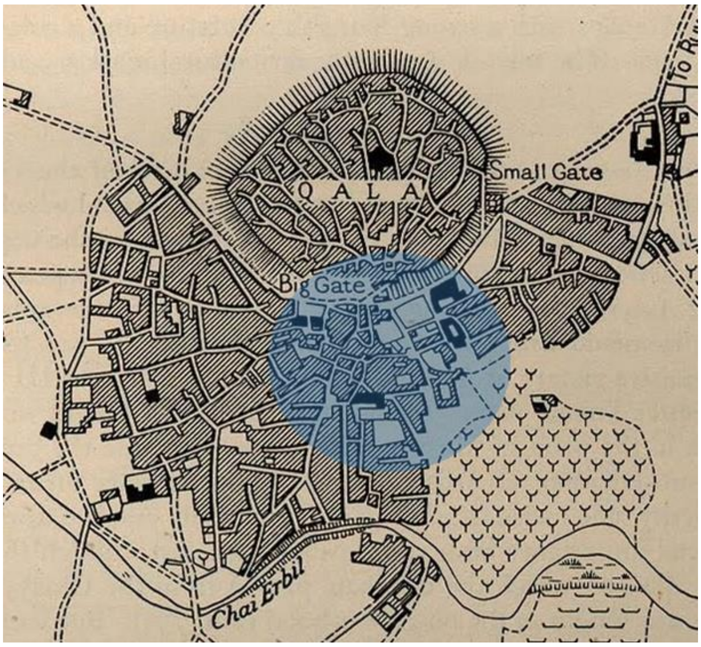

Figure 7.1: A sketch map of Erbil, circa 1918/1920
Source: Adapted (Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1944, p. 530)

Figure 7.2 shows the components that existed in that period, which included the great mosque of the bazar, the citadel gate, the qaisaria and probably the public bath and a mosque, in addition to a construction with big courtyard and with unknown function.

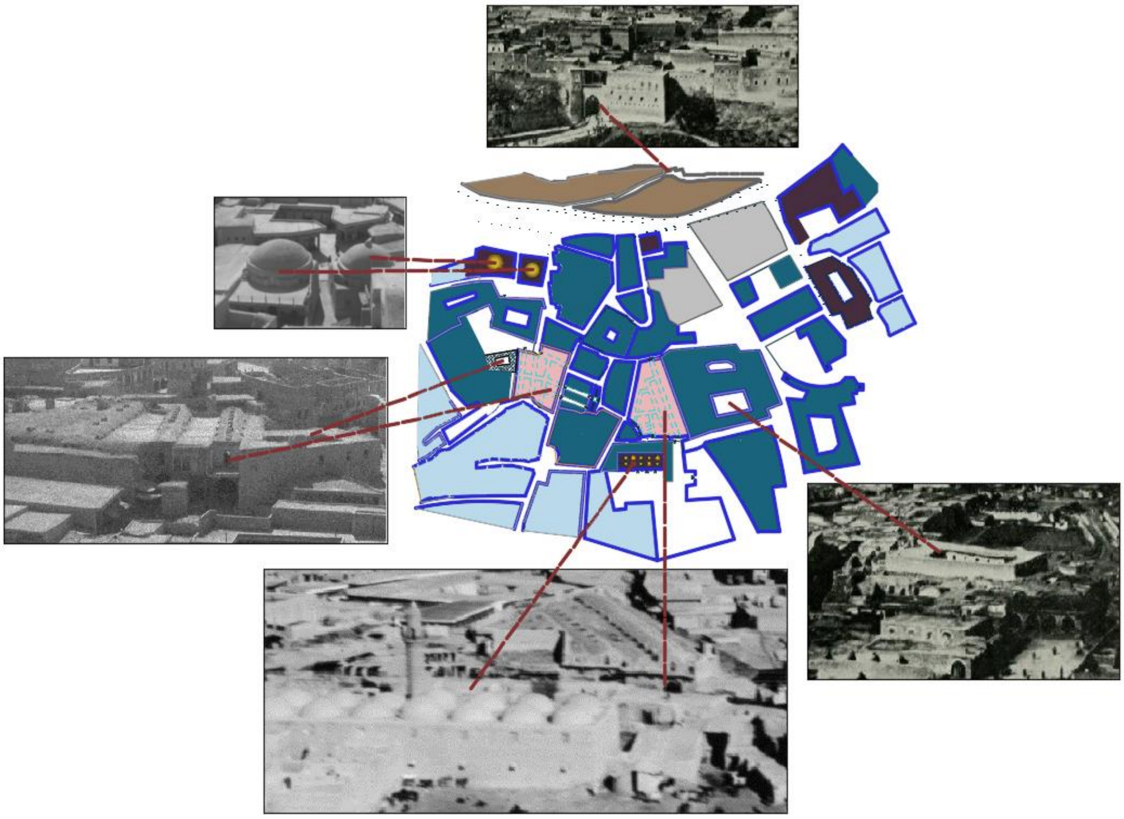

Figure 7.2: The urban core's components 1920

7.2.1 The Pattern of the Daily Activities in the City Urban Core

Erbil, in 16th century, was a small town with a historic citadel and some simple settlements, a situation that contrasted strongly with the city's status in the Attabeg period (1190-1232), especially during the rule of Sultan Muzaffer. The pattern of the urban core changed slowly and did not undergo remarkable changes except the qaisarias that were built at the end of the 19th century. The Ottoman transcripts of 1542 state that Erbil had eight sectors of settlements and had a dye factory / Boya khana and Kahariz (Husseyn et al. 2012, pp. 123-124). The city appears to have made no progress up to the 18th century. This development probably started to flourish with the immigration of new prominent families to Erbil, who had a significant impact on the trade; one of these Kurdish families are Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family who came to Erbil around 17th century and started to work with of the leather and cotton[289]. In 1816, the British traveller James Silk Buckingham (d. 1855) passed by the city and recorded that markets in the lowland area were very active from early morning. He described the roofs of these markets as being covered with wood and straw matting. The bazar area was composed of different buildings and two groups, craftsmen and tradesmen, worked in the bazar area. It was a very active trading centre and it was famous for its agricultural products that included cotton, sesame, lentils, rice, wheat and barley; the wheat was distributed to Baghdad and Mosul (Husseyn et al. 2012, pp. 134- 136).

Between 17th and 18th century and onwards the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family gained prominence in the trade of cotton and leather; buying them from other regions of Kurdistan and sending them to Basra for export to Europe (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015; Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a) - this family originally are Al-Chalabi family from Khoshnaw clan; they gained the Al-Dabbagh name when they began trading in leather (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a). An engraving of Erbil[290] citadel (drawn by Eugène Flandin in 1841-1844 focusses on the main gate and published in Illustrated Times in 1857) displays camel caravans carrying commercial goods towards the city of Mosul

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[289] The route of the trade of the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family started from Erbil - Kelak - Basra to Marseille and other European cities (Geştî Jiyan ca.2004).

[290] The full picture is available in Chapter 5; for over a thousand years the location of Erbil had played a vital role in the evolution of the city and had provided a stopping point for merchants and travellers. In the SWANAAP region "[a]ll goods were transported along the major routes by sea or land and passed the big cities such as Tunis, Cairo, Damascus, Isfahan, Samarkand or Baghdad as well as Arbil [Erbil]" Bianca (in Maarouf and El Alfy 2012, p.1305). Around 19th century, some European travellers stated that the majority of its people lived inside the citadel, with some small houses for the poor in the lowland area (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 124).

(figure 7.3). This artwork shows prominent features in the city urban core: a few buildings, one of which had two stories in the bazar area and it also shows the citadel gate has no Serai or upper store (probably the Serai was built later or it was omitted from the engraving for aesthetic purposes).

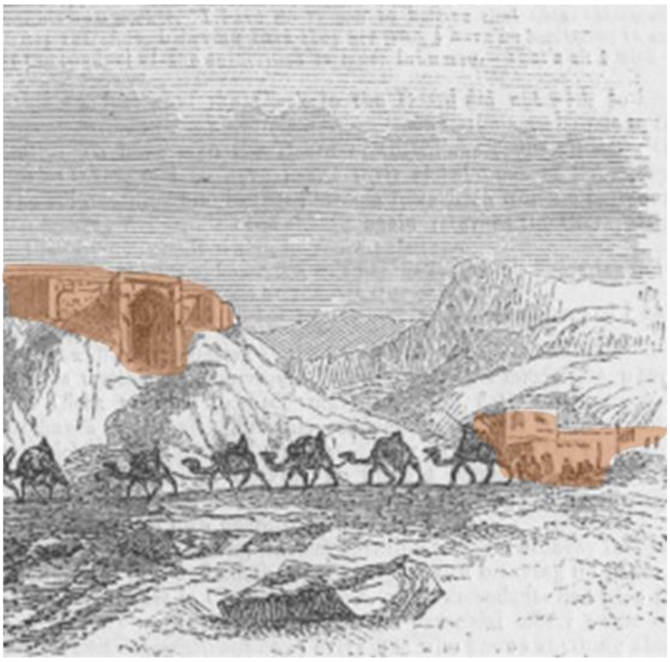

Figure 7.3: Part of the engraving depicted the citadel gate of Erbil
Source: (Illustrated Times 1857, p. 205), adapted by the author

The bazar contained shops with a linear organisation, qaisarias, open-air markets, public baths, khans and *escalas* (stores) beside the small shops that attached to the bazar mosque and worked as endowment to maintain the mosque. Around 19th century the open-air markets were located at intersections on the bazar routes; in addition there was public square inside the bazar area that reached to 400m^2 (Al-Dabbagh 1988, pp. 67-72). The shops were organised linearly and distributed at the sides of uncovered paths, which started from the citadel's south gate and moved towards the south and southwest. The Ottoman commercial registration contracts stated that these shops consisted of a closed space and a semi-open space / arcade area/*tarma* above ground. The closed space was used to store goods and to sell them in winter. The semi open space was colonnaded and was used to sell and exhibit goods in summer. The main characteristics of each shop, or *dukkan*, were simple in design and lacked architectural details or ornamentations. The area of these shops was between 6 and 12 m^2 and their height reached 5.5 m and was divided into two levels where the upper area was used to store goods. The shops that had a liner organisation (figure 7.4) were built separately because they had different owners. They were specialised in specific goods, such as dairy products, dry fruits, and spices; they changed their speciality at each junction, which were the meeting point between the minor paths (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi, 2013a; Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 67).

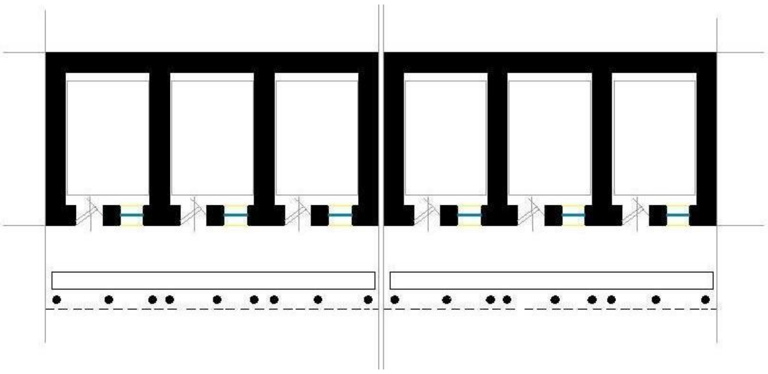

Figure 7.4: The plan of the linear shops
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 70)

In 1930s the type of these shops changed and their area increased at the expense of the colonnade path (figure 7.5).

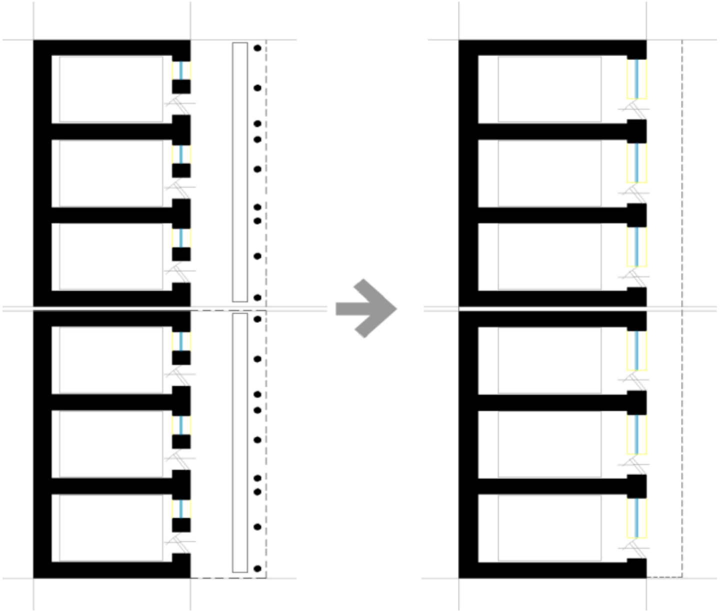

Figure 7.5: The change in the type of shops
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 70)

With regard to Erbil's qaisarias[291] and their age, there has been a misunderstanding and confusion among the local people and some historical studies that constantly repeat that these qaisarias dated back to the Attabeg period. The fact is Erbil had, in 1233, a qaisaria

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[291] This has been illustrated in Chapter 1, a qaisaria, in general, is a construction of one or two stories that contained shops organized linearly and it closed at night to protect valuables.

or probably many qaisarias[292], built by the order of Sultan Muzaffer or in existence before him (see Chapter 6); however, there is no archaeological evidence of this; what is known are the descriptions from Ibn Al-Hamawi and from Ibn Al-Mustawfi[293], who gave its/their location in the south, below the citadel. The account of Ibn Al-Sha'ar (2012 [13th century], p. 28), indicated that the qaisaria of Sultan Muzaffer burned down in 1259 during the Mongol attack.

In an interview conducted in 2013 with the one of the owners of the current qaisaria of Erbil, the retired surgeon Dr. Abdulrazaq Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi stated that although it was not clear exactly when the qaisaria was constructed, but it can be assumed that it was built by the end of the Ottoman period, i.e. the beginning of 20th century, ca. 1902 (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a); this information was confirmed through the interview with the retired inspector surveyor Mr Fadhil Husain Ali[294] in 2013. Another interview conducted in 2015 with the previous Mayor of Erbil in 1960s, Mr Muhammed Shahab Aldin Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi - who is also the brother of Dr. Abdulrazaq Al-Dabbagh and one of the owners of the qaisarias - stated that they have two qaisarias - the big one and the small one - in the bazar area; one of them was built by the end of 19th century and the other one in the beginning of 20th century ca. 1900s or 1910s (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2015). This information was confirmed by analysing the RAF photograph that was taken in ca.1918 and published in (Hay 1921, p. 116). The photograph has the two qaisarias (the big and the small one) and that means both were existed before 1918 i.e. were built by the end of the Ottoman period (figure 7.6). Both Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi (2015) Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi (2013a) indicated that the decision of constructing these qaisarias was made by his uncles Haje Salh and Haje Mahmud Al-Dabbgah-Chalabi after their pilgrimage to Mecca, which took a route from Erbil passing via Aleppo and Damascus. During this trip, the two brothers saw Suq Al-Hamidiyah in Damascus, and

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[292] Al-Hamawi (1977 [13th century], p. 138), who visited the city, in his text mentioned more than one qaisaria. Ibn Al-Mustawfi (1980 [12th century]), who lived in the city, highlighted in his account the name of the engineer who built a qaisaria (only one qaisaria, during the Sultan Muzzafer time) and the amount of the money that was allocated for that; however, only one volume was found from his work and the rest are missing. Ibn Al-Sha'ar (2012 [13thcentury], p. 28) stated that the qaisaria burned down in 1259 during the Mongol attack and that throws the light of the probable existing of one qaisaria.

[293] The book of Ibn Al-Mustawfi that was published in 1980 is the accurate version as the 2000s version that was published in Erbil has some mistakes and the author in his introduction cited Al-Hamawi's description without mentioning his name.

[294] The interview was conducted in the General directorate of land registration- Ministry of Justice in 2013.

decided to build one similar to it. After their return, the qaisarias were built by this family and with a collaboration of other prominent families in Erbil. Dr. Abdulrazaq Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi and his brother Mr Muhammed Shahab Aldin Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi both still have twenty-two shops each inside these qaisarias and the wife of Dr. Abdulrazaq Mrs. Ni'mat Al-Dabbagh (she is also his cousin) has six shops (Al-Dabbgah-Chalabi 2013a; Al-Dabbgah-Chalabi 2013b). To build these qaisarias, the shops, khans, a coffee shop (*qahwa*), warehouses and old houses that belonged to the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family, were demolished. The new constructions followed the layout of the land, which led to irregular edges in their external shape.

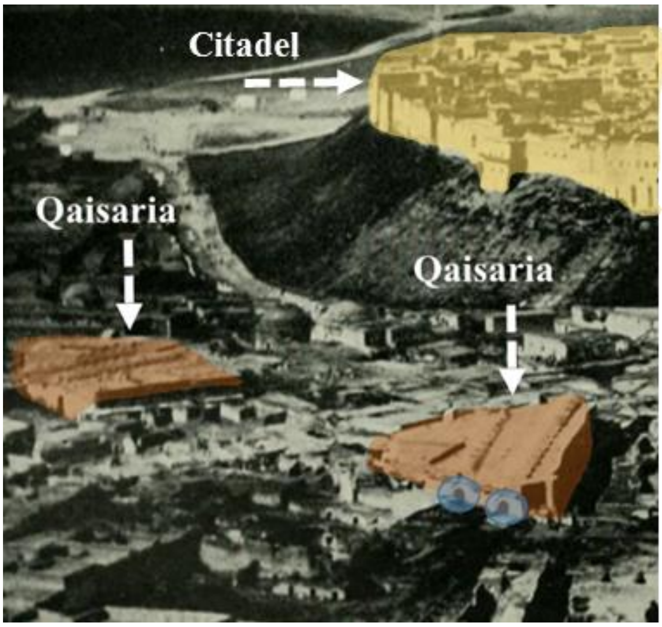

Figure 7.6: The two qaisaria in ca. 1918/1920
Source: Modified from the original R.A.F photograph taken in ca.1918, published in (Hay 1921, p. 116 - by permission of the Air Ministry)

Internally each qaisaria was clearly regular in its arrangement of space, with repetition and symmetry. The area of each shop was 2.4 m^2 and shops had linear organisation. The qaisarias[295] in Erbil were of two storeys, with internal walkways with shops to either side. The first floor was used for selling goods and the second floor contained merchants' offices and stores[296]. They were recognisable by their height, their barrel (half-round) roofs, and their big gates compared to other constructions in the bazar area.

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[295] The pattern of Erbil's qaisaria was similar to the qaisarias of other SWANAAP cities (see Chapter-1); the lighting in Erbil's qaisaria was both natural and artificial.
[296] Erbil and Kirkuk's qaisarias had two storeys, whereas Mosul's qaisarias had one storey, with basements to store goods.

Figure 7.7 shows the plan of the bazar area, the location of the qaisarias, the linear shops and the mosque.

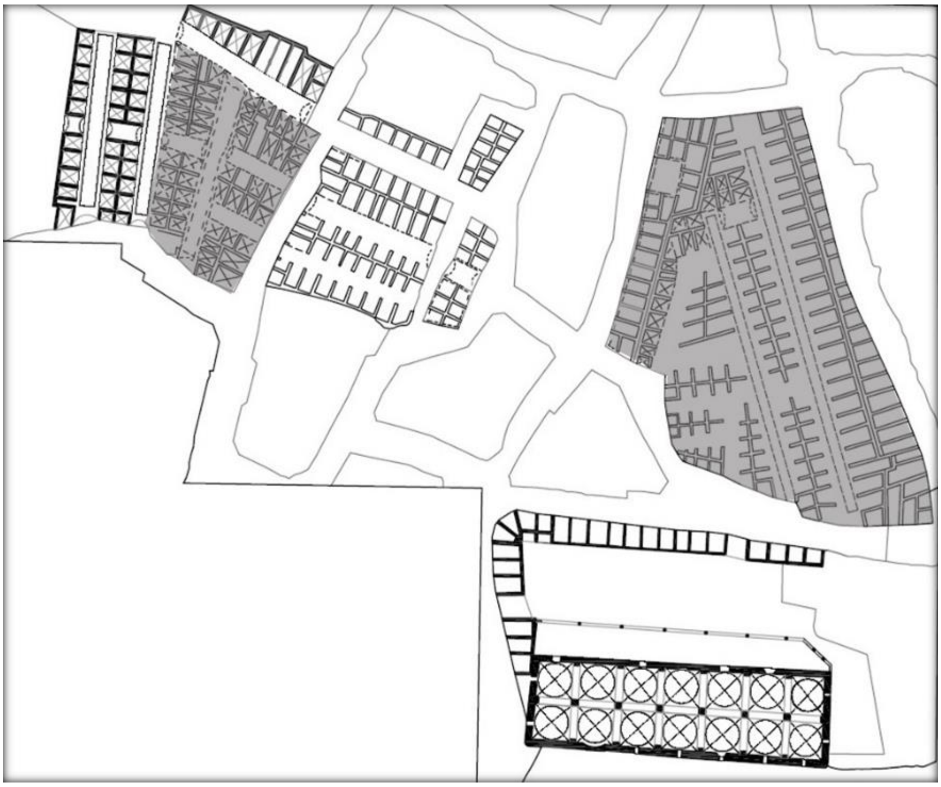

Figure 7.7: The plan of the bazar area
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 74)

Figure 7.8 shows a section of one of the qaisaris[297]. Each qaisaria had a single function, for example, the Al-khafafin qaisaria sells shoes and leather, and others sell carpets, clothes and textiles.

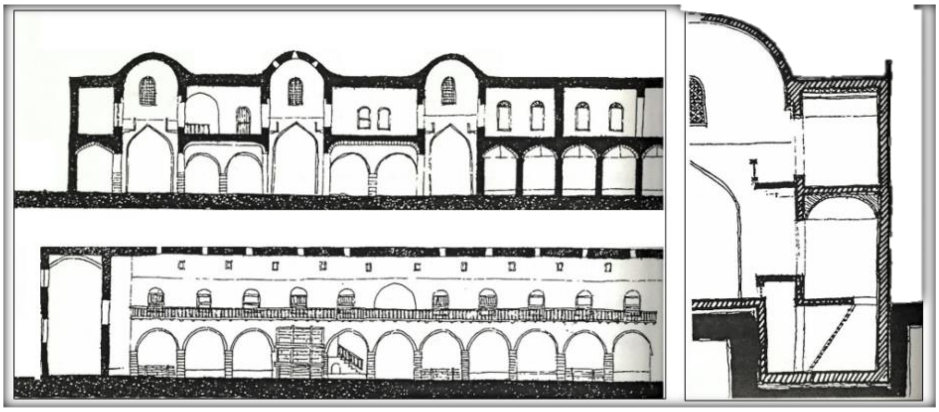

Figure 7.8: The section of one of the qaisarias
Source: Modified from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 80)

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[297] This thesis focuses on the morphological aspect of the urban core. It had no intention of discussing the types of buildings and their plans. However, these components belonged to the traditional period which disappeared and they are worth mentioning and re-drawing as they were originally documented in the study of Al-Dabbagh MSc thesis in 1988.

Figure 7.9 shows the internal shop space, in this case used by a tailor for Kurdish costume.

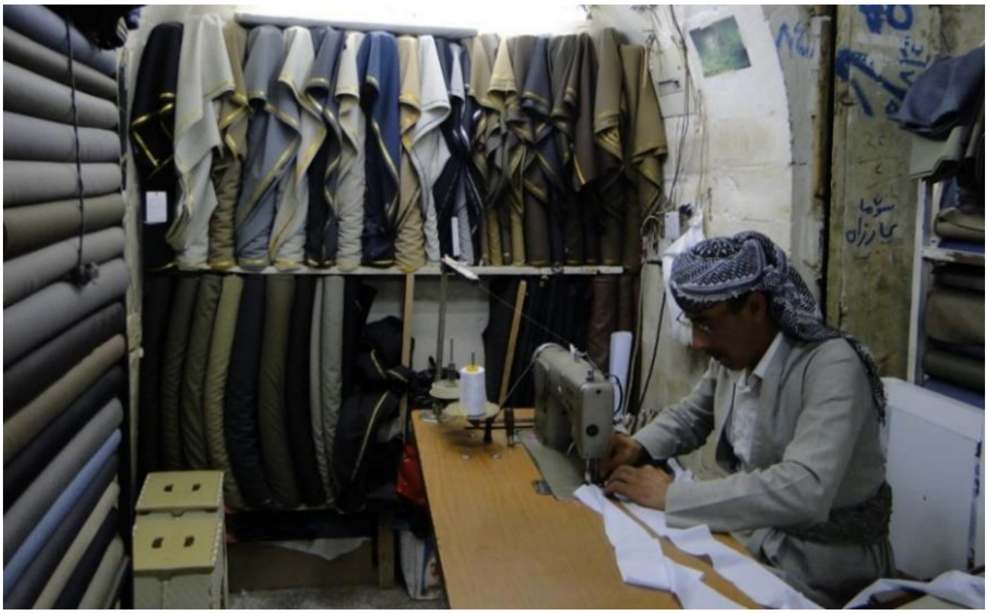

Figure 7.9: A Kurdish tailor in his shop
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

In terms of Inns, the German orientalist Eduard Sachau visited Erbil in 1898 and during his stay he noticed several inns (khans)[298]. By the beginning of the 20th century, the bazar contained many khans such as Khan Spi, Police-Khana, and Khan Al-Mosuli. These khans worked as a rest place for travellers and merchants; for example, Khan Spi (white khan), was one of the largest khans in Erbil and functioned as a store for goods and a residence for foreigner merchants; it belonged to Mr. Othman Mirani and Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family. Both Khan Al-Mosul (that was ‘Mosul’s merchants) and Police-khana[299] (figure 7.10) were smaller than Khan Spi. The design of khans in Erbil was similar to those in other SWANAAP cities (see Chapter 1); they were inward looking, with two storeys and a courtyard. The ground floor had stables and space to store merchants’ goods; the first floor was a residence area. The Police-khana belonged to Haj Salih Al-Chalabi, who used it as a storage area and a place from which to trade, however, by the end of the Ottoman period and under British rule the khan was used as a police station (Al-Dabbgah-Chalabi, 2013a; Al-Dabbgah 1988, p. 87).

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[298] In the 1950s the big three khans in the bazar were demolished to make way for new streets.
[299] Police-khana was located near the small qaisaria and its size was around 200m^2.

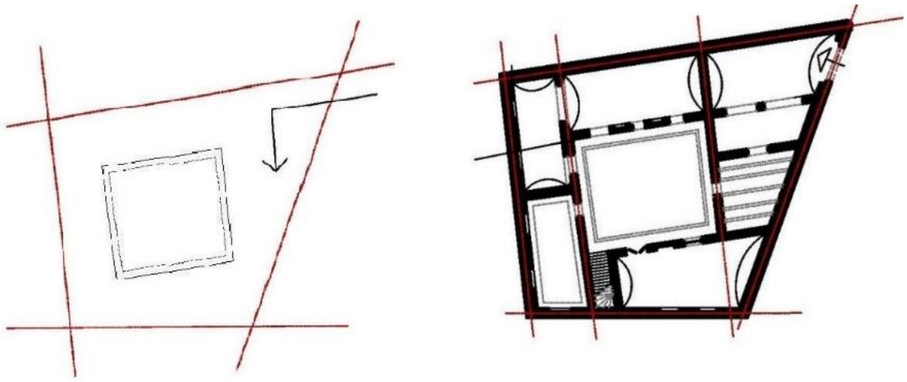

Figure 7.10: The Police-khana
It belonged to the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family and was built during the Ottoman period and documented by the architect Hassan Al-Dabbagh.
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 88)

In terms of the religious and educational areas, the Ottomans, as previously stated (in contrast with the Attabeg dynasty, who were keen to build many khanaqa and madrassa in the city) were not concerned with building new religious schools in the city or rehabilitating the old ones (it was probably a conscious policy decision); therefore the building of these religious institutions was left to local people, who were wealthy enough to support schools and the classes that were held in mosques[300]. In this period khanaqas or takias[301] spread to different areas, such as Takia Sheikh Nori in the Arab settlements in the lower city below the citadel, i.e. in the urban core, in addition to others in the eastern part below the citadel (Al- Azawi 2001, p. 105). As in any city in this region *hammams* (the public baths) of Erbil were considered an important element in the bazar area (see Chapter 1); they were located near the mosque and qaisaria. Each hammam contained three spaces: a changing room with a domed ceiling, a middle room and a steam room; there were also small spaces for bathing. In the 1950s most of the hammams were demolished with the construction of new streets through the old urban fabric (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 85); one of these hammams - built during the Ottoman period, survived till ca. 1970s or 1980s - was documented by the architect Hassan Al-Dabbagh before it was demolished (figure 7.11). Figure 7.12 shows the space pattern of the hammam.

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[300] Inside the bazar were two mosques, Al-Haj Dawod and Al-Najareen, in addition to other mosque in the khanaqa area opposite to the bazar area.
[301] During the Ottoman period, the name of the khanaqa was changed to takia.

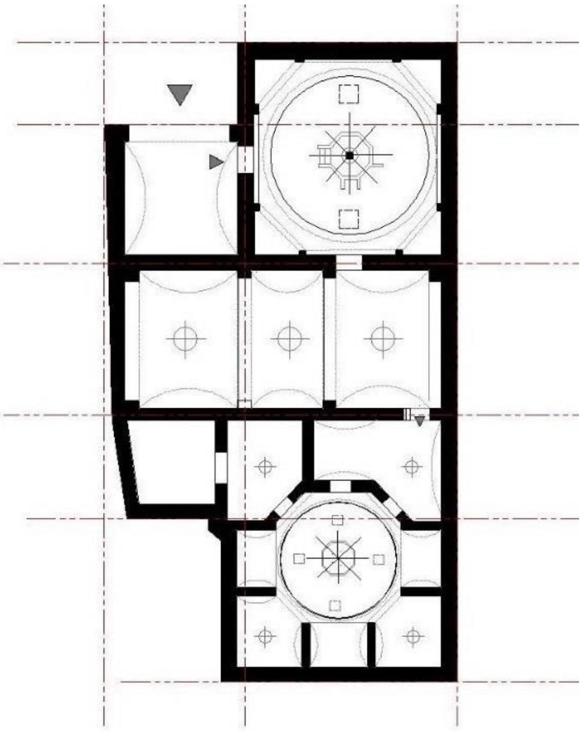

Figure 7.11: The plan and the space pattern of Al-Dabbagh's hammam
Source: Modified and redrawn from (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 86)

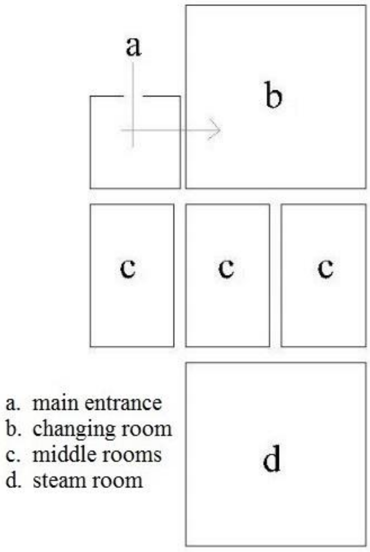

Figure 7.12: The space pattern of the hammam

In terms of the annual ritual, in the Pre-Ottomans period, when Erbil was the seat of a bishop and a centre of Christians around 14th century, the celebration of the birthday of Jesus (Christmas) used to have a procession that crossed the existing maidan. Whereas, during the Ottoman period, there are no evidence shows of helding for the Prophet Mohammad's birthday. The celebration perhaps used to be celebrated either individually or took place on a small circle, probably inside the mosque and takia/khanaqa. However, the Ottomans used hold a large celebration in Istanbul and other main cities in the SWANAAP region, but not in Erbil. This reflects a weakness in the administrative position of Erbil among other cities, which contrasted with the city's role during the Attabeg period. It also effectively sheds light that Erbil clearly shifted from a core position among other cities to periphery administrative position.

7.2.2 The Urban Elements (Edge, Nodes, and Paths)

The first task is to establish its edges /outline and to ascertain their physical relationship. The north edge of the urban core was the ditch (the north part of which was later transformed into a ring road surrounding the citadel; the south part of the ditch is the section that is adjacent to an empty area in the urban core become an open public space, containing part of the public paths, a mosque, part of a khan, markets, and urban settlements). The cemetery was in the south, and to the east and west were the residential areas. Figures 7.13 and 7.14 show traces of the citadel's ditch; figure 7.15 is the edges of the maidan.

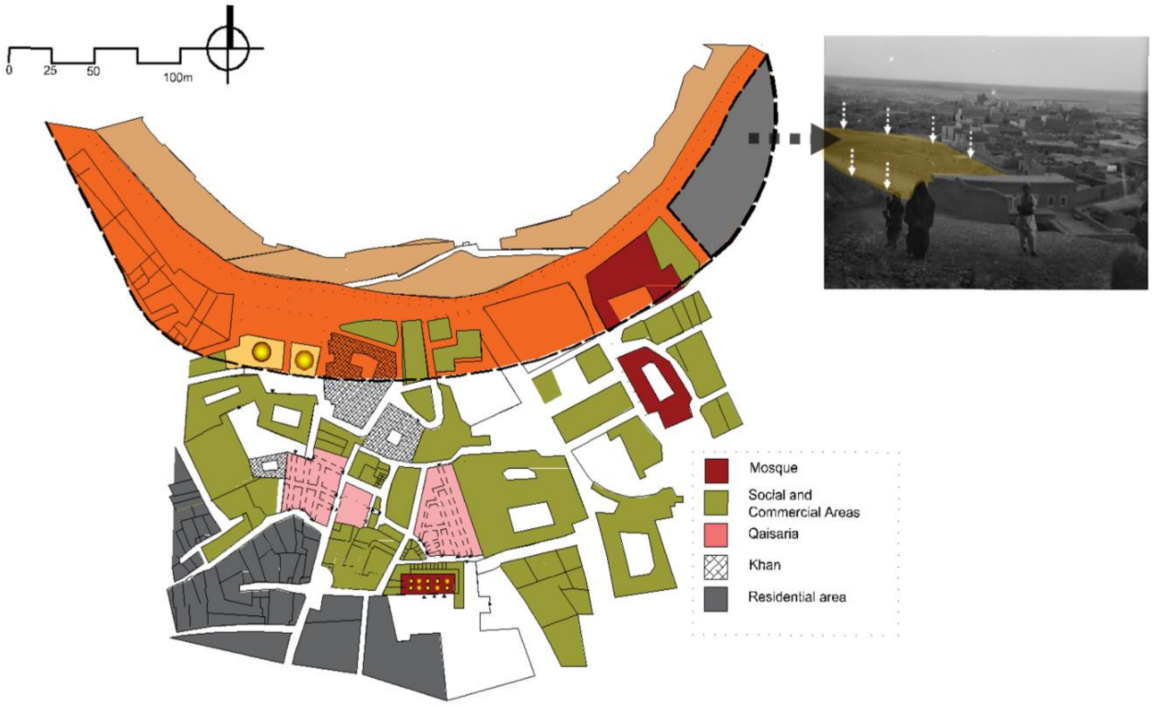

Figure 7.13: Traces of the citadel ditch

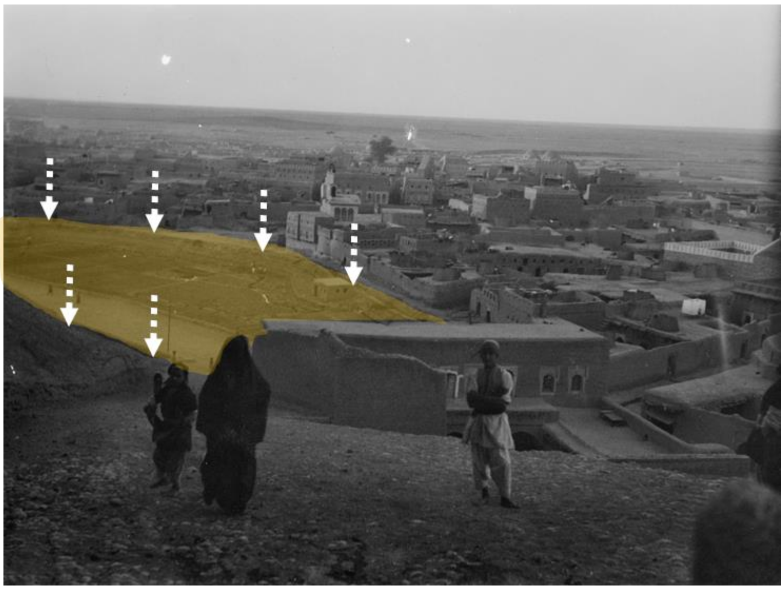

Figure 7.14: The edges of the ditch.
Note: The original photograph was flipped

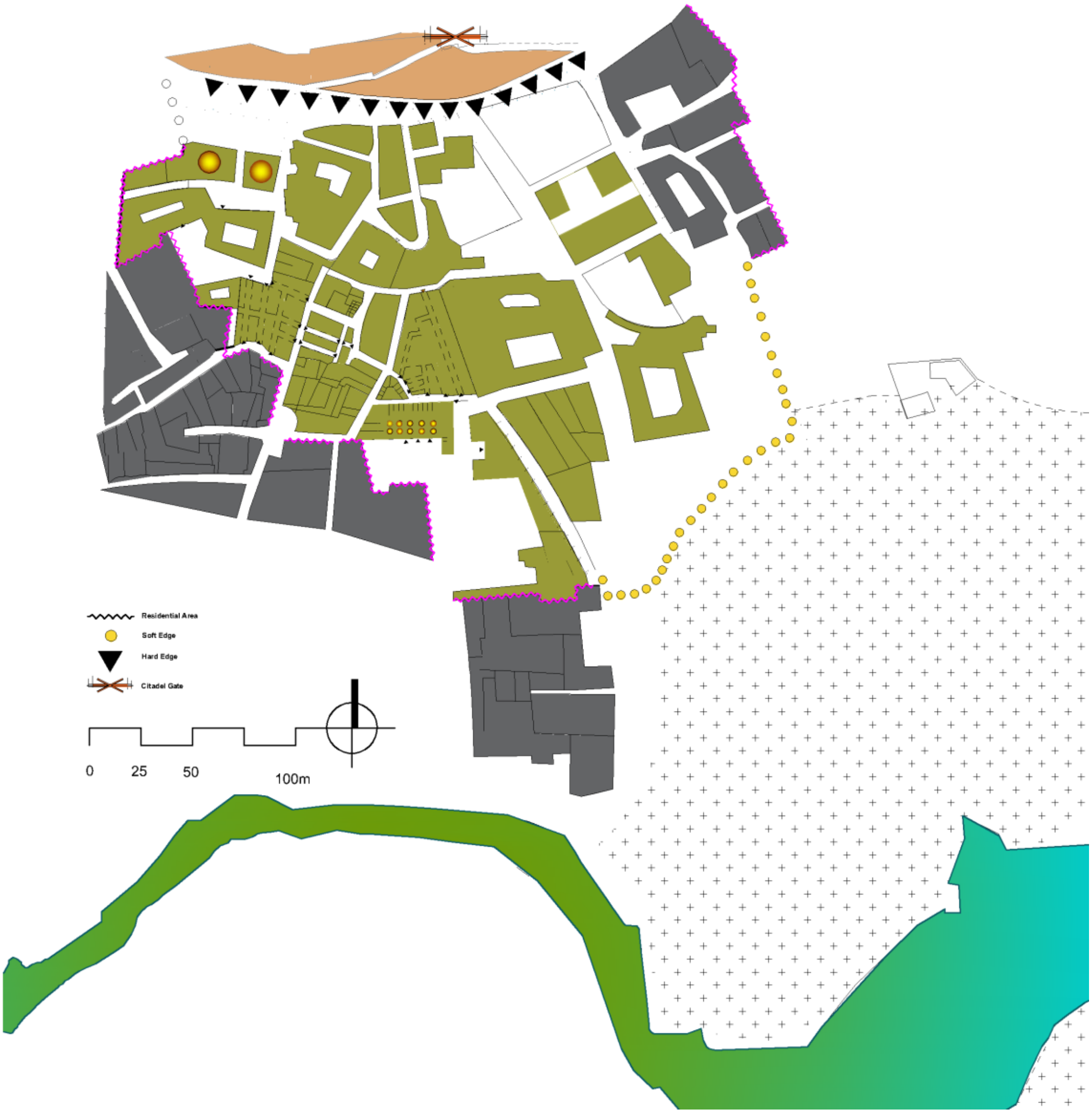

Figure 7.15: The possible edges of the urban core

The main node was the maidan, which started gradually to disappear when it reached to the Ottoman period. One could argue that one of the main agents in accelerating the disappearance of the maidan was perhaps the absence of a predominant ruler to regulate major changes, as well as the lack of institutional control. In contrast with the Attabeg period, the absence of a main ruler occurred because Erbil[302] experienced a centralised Ottoman rule from Istanbul throughout the Ottoman period. The absence of a main authority possibly encouraged people to start building in any empty spaces they could find in the lowland area and near the citadel gate. It also led to the task of adding to and maintaining buildings becoming the prerogative of prominent and rich city families, who started to take charge of building construction in the urban public spaces (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 110). For example, the qaisaria (illustrated in the upcoming sections) of Erbil was built by the prominent Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family (Al-Dabbagh 2013a; Ali 2013), the religious schools were built by other (leading) families (Al-Azawi 2001, p 104). A similar situation was particularly noticeable in the same period in Cairo with the example of the maidan (the space between the two palaces, Bayn Al-Qasrayn) that faced enormous changes, especially during the Mamluk and the Ottoman era when the area was transformed from a structure of an open public space to a structure of masses[303] (figure 7.16). This transformation began when the Fatimid palaces' area was opened to the local people by Sultan Salah Al-Din, and began to be used for *amirs* and citizens, too (AlSayyad 1994, pp. 74-75). The change in the space structure was probably

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[302] The Ottomans were steadily weakened as they were busy with wars with Europe, which enabled Suran, one of the Kurdish emirates belonging to the Ottoman Empire, to extend its rule to include Erbil. By the end of the 19th century, Ottoman territories began to witness changes in administrative rules (Husseyn et al 2012, pp. 110-122), (see Chapter 3) that affected the urban core.

[303] Nezar AlSayyad, in his paper *'Bayn Al-Qasrayn: The Street Between Two Palaces'*, highlighted the difference in the two descriptions. One of them belonged to the account of the Iraqi scientist and traveller Abd Al-Latif Al-Baghdadi, who visited the city in 1193 and described the main features in the city, which included the two palaces that were occupied by the Ayyubid family. The other description belonged to the Moroccan traveller Muhammad Ibn Sa'id who visited Cairo in 1243 and described the urban core as consisting of very narrow streets with attached buildings. AlSayyad stated that these differences started when Salah Al-Din Al Ayyubid nationalised the Fatimid properties and opened it to the local people who started to build in the open space between the two palaces, i.e. the maidan. Hence, Erbil, within 40 years, witnessed significant morphological changes and these changes were attributed to the unorganised process of growth during the years of the Ayyubid rule (AlSayyad 1996, p. 74). Regarding AlSayyad's opinion, the author of this study believed that the maidan and its surrounding area were organised during the rule of Salah Al-Din Al Ayyubid, and that the Amirs and the Ayyubid family lived in this place. This might corroborate the description of the Iraqi travellers. The narrow dark alleyways and attached buildings that were described (40 years later) by the Moroccan traveller were created when the ruler's residence was moved (after the death of Salah Al-Din) from the maidan area to the Al-Muqattam Mountain, i.e. to the castle that Salah Al-Din ordered the construction of and that was finished after his death. Therefore, the change that happened to the ruler's location led the local people to build random buildings in that area, and this corroborates the account of the Moroccan traveller.

accelerated when the administrative area was moved from the Bayn Al-Qasrayn area to the Al-Muqattam Mountain where the ruler's castle was built (Salah Al-Din ordered the construction of the castle and it was finished after his death).

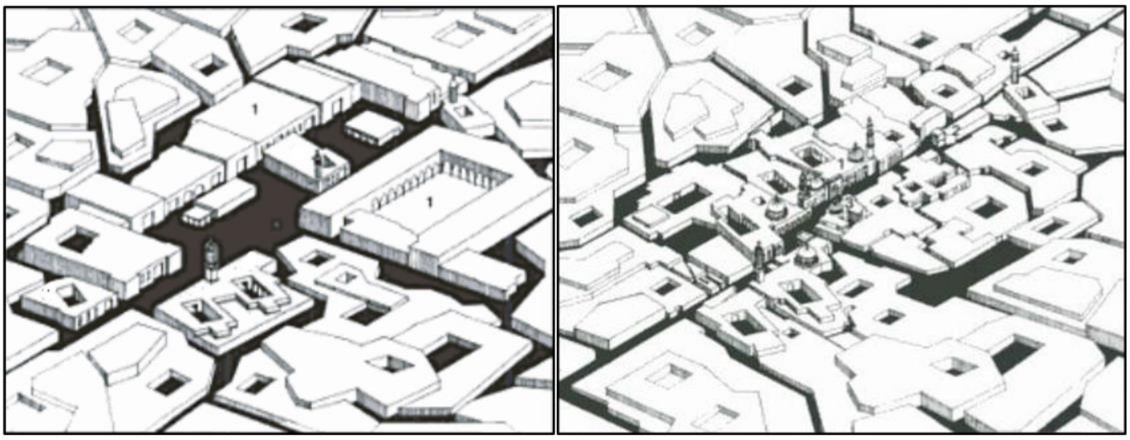

Figure 7.16: 3D Sketches depicting the open space between the two palaces.
Left: 1169 CE; right: 1517 (Ottoman period).
Source: (Alsayyad 1994, p. 75)

Another aspect that might have accelerated the disappearance of Erbil's maidan were the trade and the commercial activities. During the Ottoman period the trade was rather prosperous[304] and this might have required new buildings, such as shops, khans and public baths. Other aspects were probably the natural environment (flooding from the rain) and the most importantly is the safety considerations due to the political instability; Erbil faced several attacks from different powers on the city and its wall (which might be never rebuilt again after the Abbasid period). Between 1736 and 1747 there was a war involving the Ottomans and Safavid; Nader Shah[305] led a huge military campaign[306]

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[304] New wealth Kurdish family emigrated and settled in Erbil from 18th century, like Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family who had a big impact on the trade.

[305] Nader Shah was a member of the Turcoman Afshar tribe and the most powerful rulers in Safavid state in Iran.

[306] Based on the writings of the historian of Mosul, Yassin Bin Khair Allah Al-Khatib Al-Omary (ca. d.1820), Nader Shah and his soldiers first looted the city, raped women and killed other citizens, then enslaved the women and children and took them away (Husseyn et al. 2012, p. 107). Another account comes from the historian Rasul Hawi Al-Kirkukly (d.1827) who, when writing about the situation in Kirkuk, stated that Nader Shah and his soldiers raped and killed people then took the women as slaves, before repeating the same acts in Erbil (Husseyn et. al. 2012, p. 107; Al-Khatib Al-Omary 18th century, p. 303); after these destructive acts, Nader Shah did not stay long in Iraq. He withdrew with his army and returned to Iran to deal with problems at home. In 1762, Erbil was also affected by the fighting between Baban, the Kurdish Emirate, and the Mamluk of Baghdad, as the city supported the Kurdish emirate. The ruler of Baghdad sent his troops to surround Erbil with the intention of killing the Kurdish Emir, who fled to the protection of Erbil's citadel. It is worth mentioning that between 18th and 19th centuries Erbil faced hardships in common with cities like Baghdad and Kirkuk that suffered outbreaks of plague and cholera in (Husseyn et al 2012, p. 130).

consisting of 200,000 soldiers and targeted Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. On their way, they occupied Kirkuk and Erbil in 1743 following a short siege. The citadel wall and the gate were destroyed. This instable situation might have led the people to concentre in the lowland area near the citadel gate, as this location would help them to escape quickly to the citadel when under attack. The changes in social values might have also played an important role. It could be that during the Ottoman period, people started to be more conservative; this was evident from the traditional clothing of Erbil's women regardless of race and religion (Muslims, Jews and Christians), the women used to cover the whole body including their face. This conservative issue could be reflected indirectly in the structure of the urban core, affecting the nature of the spatial configuration, and worked in harmony with a conservative and inward-looking community. This result was in contrast to the Attabeg period during which the maidan was a very large open space, thus causing the urban fabric to be a structure of spaces that accommodated different activities. Traces of the maidan's outline (figure 7.17) can still be seen in the urban core below the citadel where commercial buildings and main streets have taken its place. During the Attabeg period, this maidan was a vibrant space that served different purposes. In the Ottoman period, the urban fabric gave an obvious direction to the citadel gate, the khanaqa and the bazaar area.

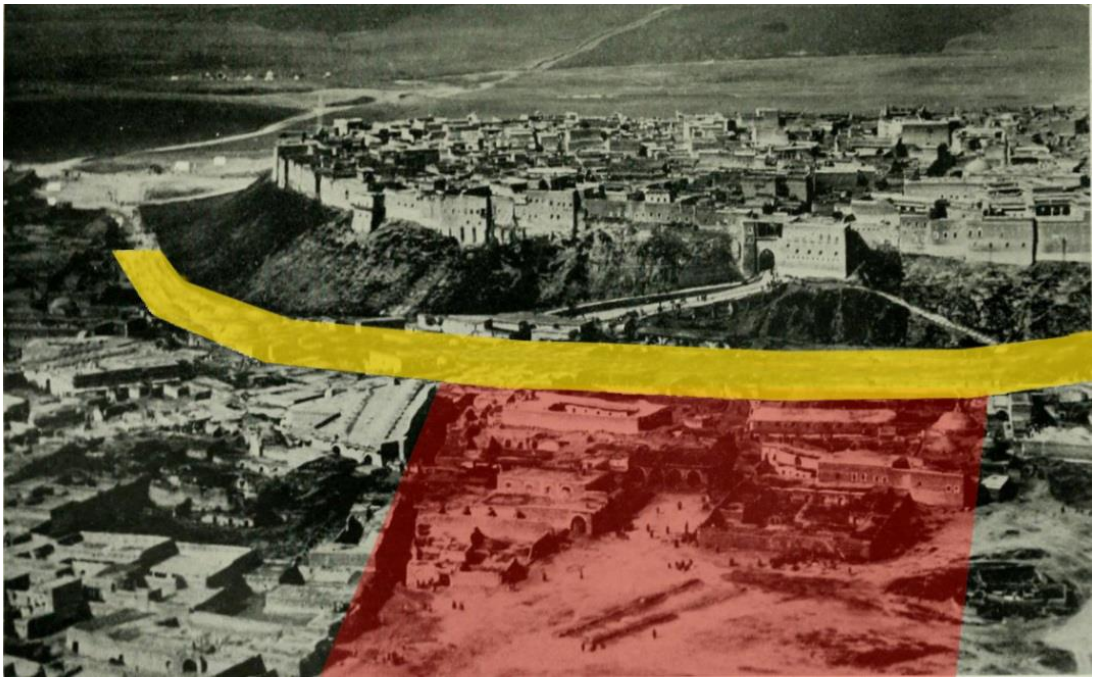

Figure 7.17: The location of the previous maidan and the citadel moat
Source: Modified from (Hay 1921, p.116)

The main paths surrounding the traces of the maidan were directed towards the citadel south gate that had a strong influence on paths' direction, the growth of the historic urban core and its layout. These paths reflected integration and demonstrated the harmony and coherence of the structure of the urban core. In this period, changes occurred to the nature of the spatial configuration of the urban core, affecting its intrinsic properties as they transformed the urban fabric from a spatial structure (the maidan being the dominant feature) to a mass structure from which the maidan had gradually disappeared, with paths replacing it as the dominant element. Such alterations were in response to an environment that changed to fit the needs of its inhabitants which in turn were impacted by safety concerns and commercial prosperity. Figure 7.18 shows the location of the citadel gate and some buildings occupied the space, that was previously a madain. It also shows a water tap and this might shed the light of the existing of kahariz in the underground of this area.

Figure 7.18: The urban core of Erbil
Source: Modified from (Photograph taken by Marian O'Connor in ca. 1925 - possibly 1910s). Available at Royal Geographical Society, RGS D058-011094.

The urban core continued to evolve in the 18th and 19th centuries and the focus on the South Gate persisted and remained the strongest and most recognisable landmark. The majority of buildings being of one to two storeys and the dominant aspects in the area were the gate, traces of the maidan, the location of the bazar and the khanaqa area which were the earliest known urban features of significance in Erbil. The paths of the urban core were organised following a hierarchy; to support their identification, the main paths have been segregated into Pl, P2, and P3 based on their importance, width, and privacy aspects. The primary routes (P1) that begin at the citadel south gate, are wider than any others and connect Erbil’s urban core with other cities. These routes consist of the ring road surrounding the citadel - that from the west side of the citadel leads to Mosul, from its east to Koisnajaq and the south path that leads to Kirkuk. The historic paths originated from, and linked to, the citadel’s South Gate are (P2). These led to the sectors containing the khanaqa area and the bazar, and included the khans, mosques qaisaria, shops, and public baths, all of which were covered. The secondary paths (P3) are the ones that join main routes directly and their width vary between 2.5 and 3m.

The nodes too, had a hierarchy within the urban core. The main nodes are the majors (N1 and N2), and the minor (N3). This classification was based on their importance, size and the varying functions occurring in and around the node. The major nodes are those that have more than three access points, have a high frequency of use resulting from the surrounding activities, and could facilitate of the ability for pedestrians to move freely. The major nodes (N1 and N2) were represented by the spaces that hosted the open markets and worked as a joint for the paths. The open public spaces are (N1); the nodes (N2) from which issued the paths that became fundamental structures of the urban core. The minor nodes (N3) are those that intersect with the Pl, P2, or P3 and have two to three access points. Figure 7.19 shows (N3) in the bazar area - the intersection of paths; figure 7.20 displays the nodes and their gradation in the urban core.

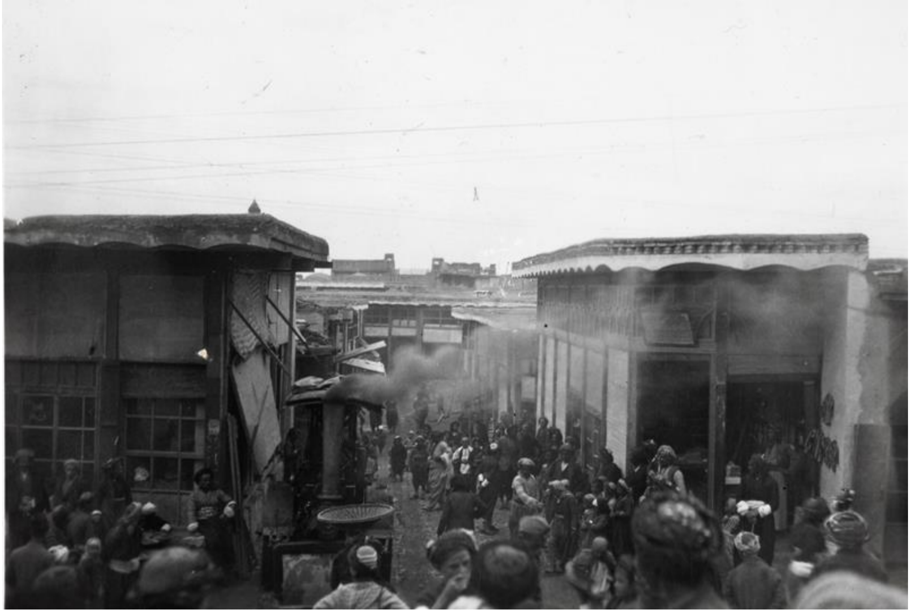

Figure 7.19: The node in the bazar area - the intersection of paths
Source: British Library Board (Photo 392.41. - 10.); taken by the Sir Aurel Stein in ca.1938/9

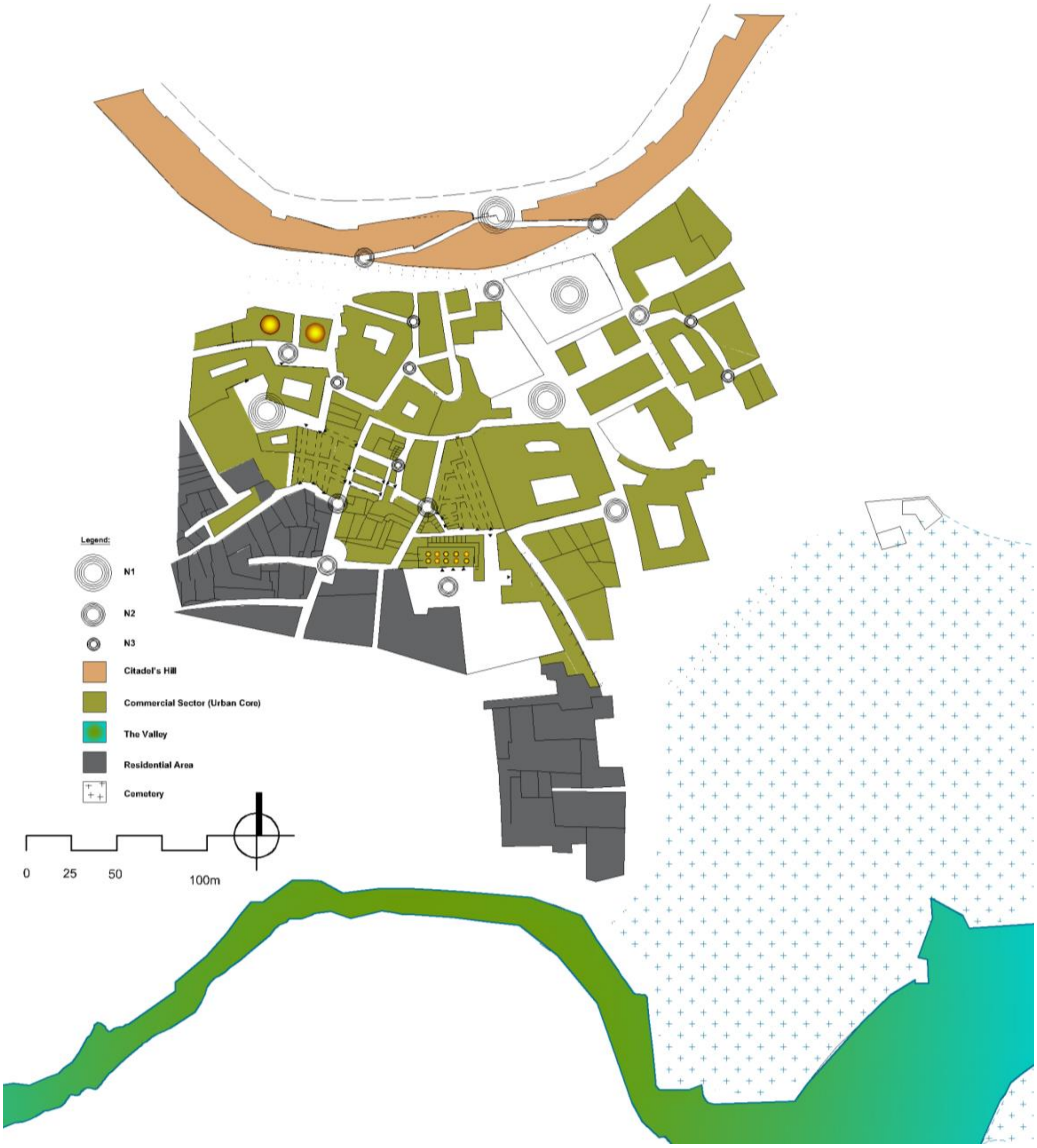

Figure 7.20: The Major and the minor node of the urban core.

Possible traces of the maidan can be identified and tracked as in this period, the old maidan was surrounded from the north by an open space containing traces of the ditch; the eastern side contained the Khanaqa mosque and khanaqa area. The western part was the bazar area and to the south was the cemetery that existed before the Attabeg period. The previous maidan changed from a structure of spaces hosting many functions to a structure of masses that contained an open space. The permanent functions that occupied the maidan were the Ottomans' school (Al-madrasa Al-Rushdia), a post office, markets, and other buildings with unknown functions. Figure 7.21 shows the possible traces of the maidan and displays the major (N1 and N2) and the minor (N3) nodes in the urban core; it also shows the edges and the paths of the area.

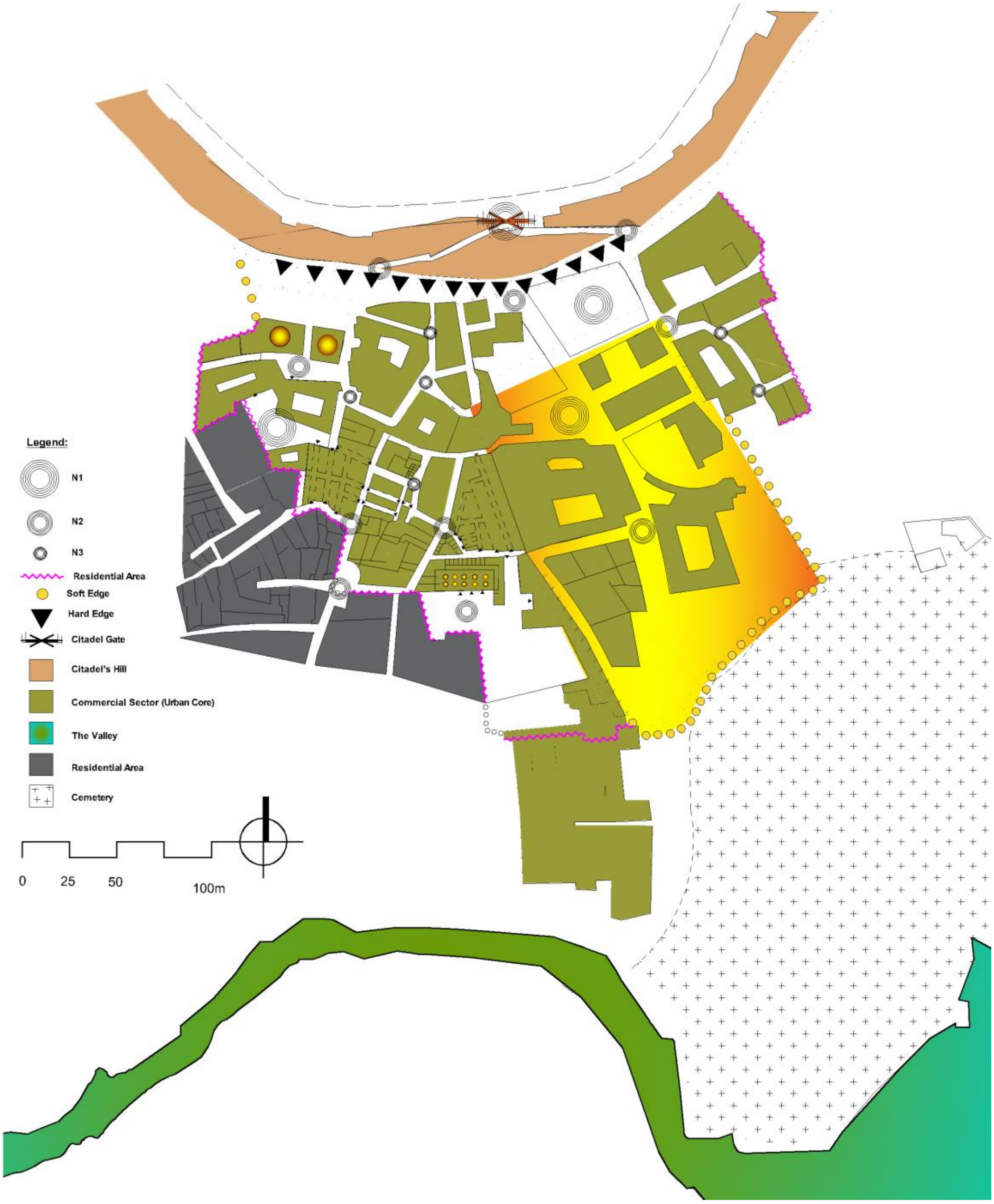

Figure 7.21: The urban elements of the urban core

7.2.3 The Relationship of the Urban Core with the Citadel's South Gate

In this period, people were living in the citadel and the lower city; the gate (aside from the small eastern gate) was the only node that offered the shortest route for the pedestrians and cart movements to the bazar area and the rest of the urban core in the lowland. The location of the citadel’s south gate acted as a catalyst for the growth patterns of both the citadel’s urban fabric and the urban core. In turn, the impact of the activities in the urban core made a significant contribution to its character. By observing and analysing the maps and photos of the urban core, it is obvious that the gate, as both threshold and node, aside from other small nodes and paths, is one of the main persistent elements that have survived until the modern era, as it was the formal focus of the urban growth of the lower city. The predominant features of the urban core are the citadel gate, the organic paths, and the natural edge of the urban core along the southern part, which is the Besté valley.

Before the 18th century, the traditional function of the gate was to act as a place of transition between the outer and inner citadel. It allowed the flow of people, animals and goods as well as providing resistance during long sieges and protecting the inhabitants from strangers or attackers. The last one was a 60-day attack by the Persian ruler, Nadir Shah, who in 1743, surrounded the city, which was under Ottoman rule at the time. This siege caused the destruction of the citadel wall and its gate. In 1745, the gate, minus the citadel wall, was re-erected and the cost was paid by the Ottoman treasury with the agreement of Sultan Mahmoud I (Governorate, 2012). The functional importance and the physical dominance (the scale) of the gate persisted from the Ottoman period up to the modern period, it was a highly prominent feature standing on the hill. The gate continued in its dominance with various levels of influence and by the end of the Ottoman period, the need for protection gradually disappeared due to the stable political situation. However, it kept its function as a threshold and other functions were added to the gate, such as the Serai (which were the offices of the local administration), a jail, and a house for the Ottoman official (Michelmore 2013; Al-Dabbagh 2013a). The location of the gate was noticeable and that made the gate work as a focal point. This attribute gave a directional sense to the citadel, which attracted travellers to the city, and the urban core in particular; figure 7.22 shows the relationship of Erbil’s urban core and the traces of the outline of the previous maidan during the Attabeg Period.

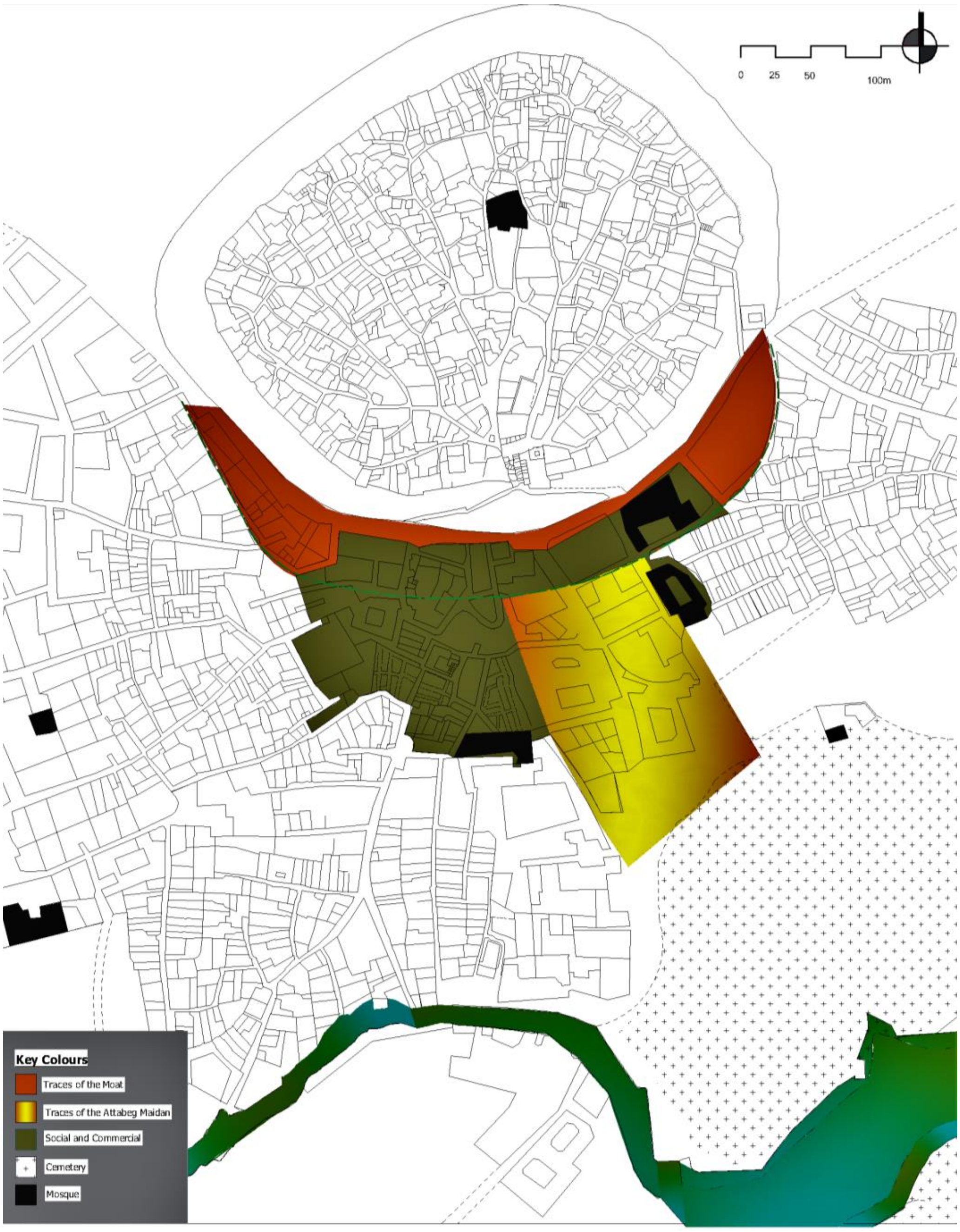

Figure 7.22: The outline of the Attabeg urban core during the Ottman Period

Conclusion

The chapter set out to explore Erbil's urban core in the Early Modern Period. This period was divided into sub-periods that included Pre-Ottomans and Ottomans periods. The focus was on the nature of the spatial configuration that included the pattern of the daily activities, the urban elements (paths, nodes, and edges). In addition to analysing the interrelationship between the Citadel-South Gate and the urban core, interviews, travellers' descriptions, other historic sources were collected and analysed. The map of the urban core was redrawn and a diverse range of analytical methods was used to analyse it, such as observation, mapping, visual analysis. At this stage, the strong physical urban element in the Erbil's urban core was the path that had an organic shape, with harmony, hierarchical attributes, and directionality (towards to the citadel gate). Such routes or paths followed no pre-determined design system nor did they have geometric attributes: they were constituted spontaneously by the addition of different civic components and preserved its pattern and size. This attribute reflected rigors urban fabric that was configured by many factors. In this period, the Ottomans left the mission of constructing public buildings (education, religious and commercial) to the prominent families. With regard to trade, Erbil became prosperous and that encouraged the building of new qaisarias, new markets and many khans and hammams in the urban core. Thus, due to the safety reasons and the absence of a predominant ruler, the structure of the urban core changed from a space structure to a mass structure. The main change that happened in the urban core was buildings qaisarias by the prominent family, Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi, who played a vital role in the trade of Erbil that consequently impacted on the structure of the urban core.

The persistent Attabeg elements identified during the Early Modern period are: the location and the function of the citadel South Gate (demolished in the 18th century after the Persian attack and rebuilt by the Ottomans); the citadel ditch that changed gradually to a ring street; and, finally, traces of the old maidan. The maidan in this stage changed from a space structure to a physical structure, and this contrasts with the result of Nováček, Amin and Melčák's research (2013, p. 16), which stated that the lower city, during the Ottoman period, has no continuity with the Attabeg period. Other aspects that persisted intangibly were the function and the name of the qaisaria, the location of the commercial and religious functions. In this period, the urban core started to have individual personality that part of it reflected a conservative rigorous community where people from different religion (Muslims, Jews and Christians) and different ethnicities, Kurds who were the majority, Turkish, Turkmans, and Arabs lived together and shared one custom and tradition. Therefore, it can be said that the location of the urban core remained the same and kept its function except the disappearance of the annual ritual. The next chapter will focus on the final stage, which is the Modern period where the urban elements (tangible and the intangible aspects and the interrelationship of the urban elements will be discussed).

CHAPTER EIGHT:

THE URBAN CORE, THE MODERN PERIOD

Chapter 8: THE URBAN CORE, THE MODERN PERIOD

Introduction

The previous chapter (Chapter 7) focused on the Early-Modern period, identifying the main aspects persisting from the previous stage (Attabeg period), noting that it was still possible to trace the outline of the maidan, from the Attabeg period.

This chapter throws light on the urban core during the modern period, the location of which has remained unchanged. It analyses and discusses the alterations to the urban structure, resulting in a deeper understanding of the changes in both urban elements of the urban core and the citadel South Gate, as well as the nature of the daily activities and annual rituals (intangible aspects). The chapter is presented in three stages that are divided into sections based on main changes and events that took place in the urban core; stage one presents the period 1918 to 1958, stage two is concerned with the years 1958 to 2007, and the final stage examines the period from 2007 to 2014. Finally, conclusions are drawn with a summary of the main findings.

8.1 The Urban Elements (Edges, Nodes, and Paths)

The reasons of using this analytic approach is to identify aspects that persisted from the previous periods, understand the urban elements and how they functioned, in addition of comprehending the main changes that happened during these periods.

8.1.1 Stage One (1918 - 1958)

Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, Iraq came under British administration. In order to explain this period, one must start with a description of the British political officer, Captain Hay, who in 1918 took over the city from the Turks under the terms of the armistice. During World War I Erbil remained untouched by the conflict, and when Hay arrived in the city it was full of Turkish officials, some of whom had fled from other areas, such as Kirkuk. Following Captain Hayes arrival, they left peacefully (Hay 1921, p.114). During his short stay Hay (1921, pp.116-117) described the urban core and the citadel South Gate as:

> Above the entrance to the upper town is the Serai or Government Office, whence a magnificent view is obtained over the lower town and the surrounding plain...The lower town clusters round the south and east sides of

> the mound. Here is the bazaar, which is very extensive, and contains two fine arcades [probably the qaisarias] in good repair, and two others in ruins, but likely soon to be rebuilt. The other shops are mostly stalls, the merchants bringing out their goods in the morning and storing them in a 'Khan' or caravanserai at night. The bazaar is well stocked and Kurds flock in from all sides, even from distant Nehri, to make their purchases.

The above description establishes the primacy of the urban core structure, specifically the bazar area, with its qaisarias, khan, and shops that were modest in their construction. It sheds light on the qaisaria as it existed then, and shows that the citadel's South Gate absorbed different functions. An aerial photograph taken by the R.A.F and published in Hay's book displays the dominance of the citadel's South Gate and the qaisarias. It also shows that the two southern gates of the qaisarias (called Qaisaria Gawra[307] by the townspeople) led to the mosque and to an open public space, which was probably used as open markets (figure 8.1).

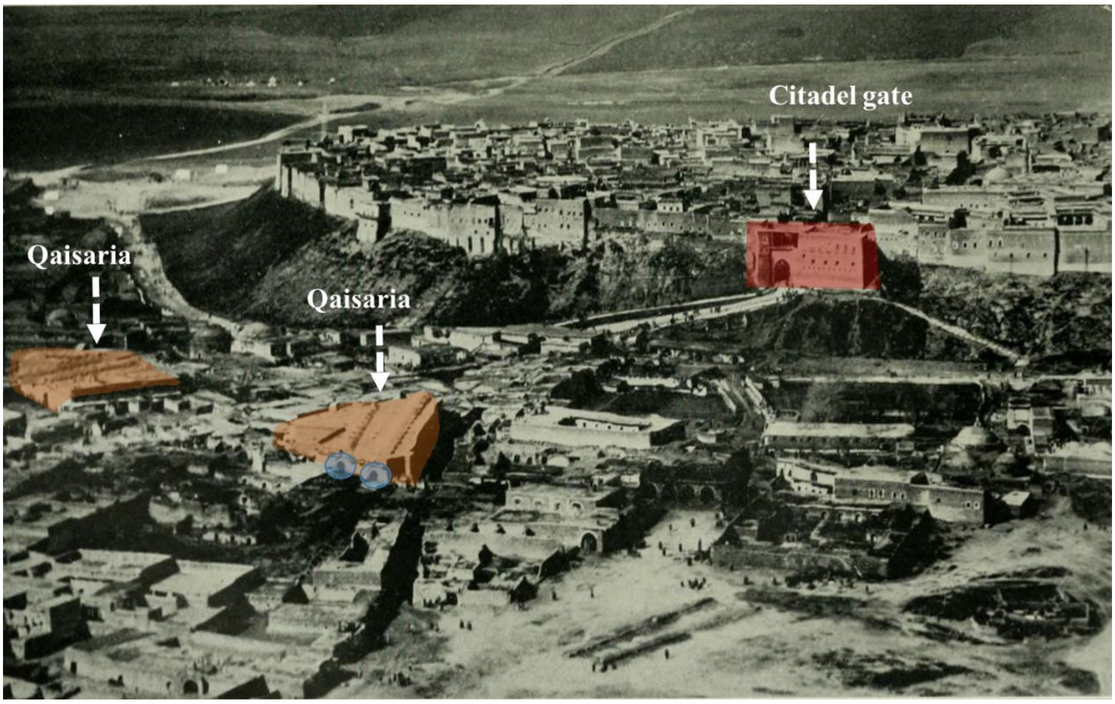

Figure 8.1: The qaisaria and the open public space
Source: Modified from the R.A.F photograph taken in ca.1918, published in (Hay 1921, p. 116 - by permission of the Air Ministry)

In 1932, the Kingdom of Iraq became a fully sovereign country under the rule of King Faisal I Al-Hashimi. It can be said that the urban core in this era witnessed some changes and development, as it started to be more coherent and its outline became more

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[307] Gawra in Kurdish language means big

identifiable. Before proceeding to examine the urban elements, it will be necessary to shed light on the components that existed in the urban core. Figure 8.2 shows the urban core with its surrounding area including two public spaces that probably worked as open markets, and the possible existence of four mosques. The mosques, located at C2 and C4, might date back to 19th century; the location or traces of C3, rebuilt in the 1960s, might go back to the 17th century or before. There are five khans, two qaisarias, shops, markets with linear organisation, a car park or public garage, qahwa (coffee shop), green spaces, two or more public baths, and a historic cemetery.

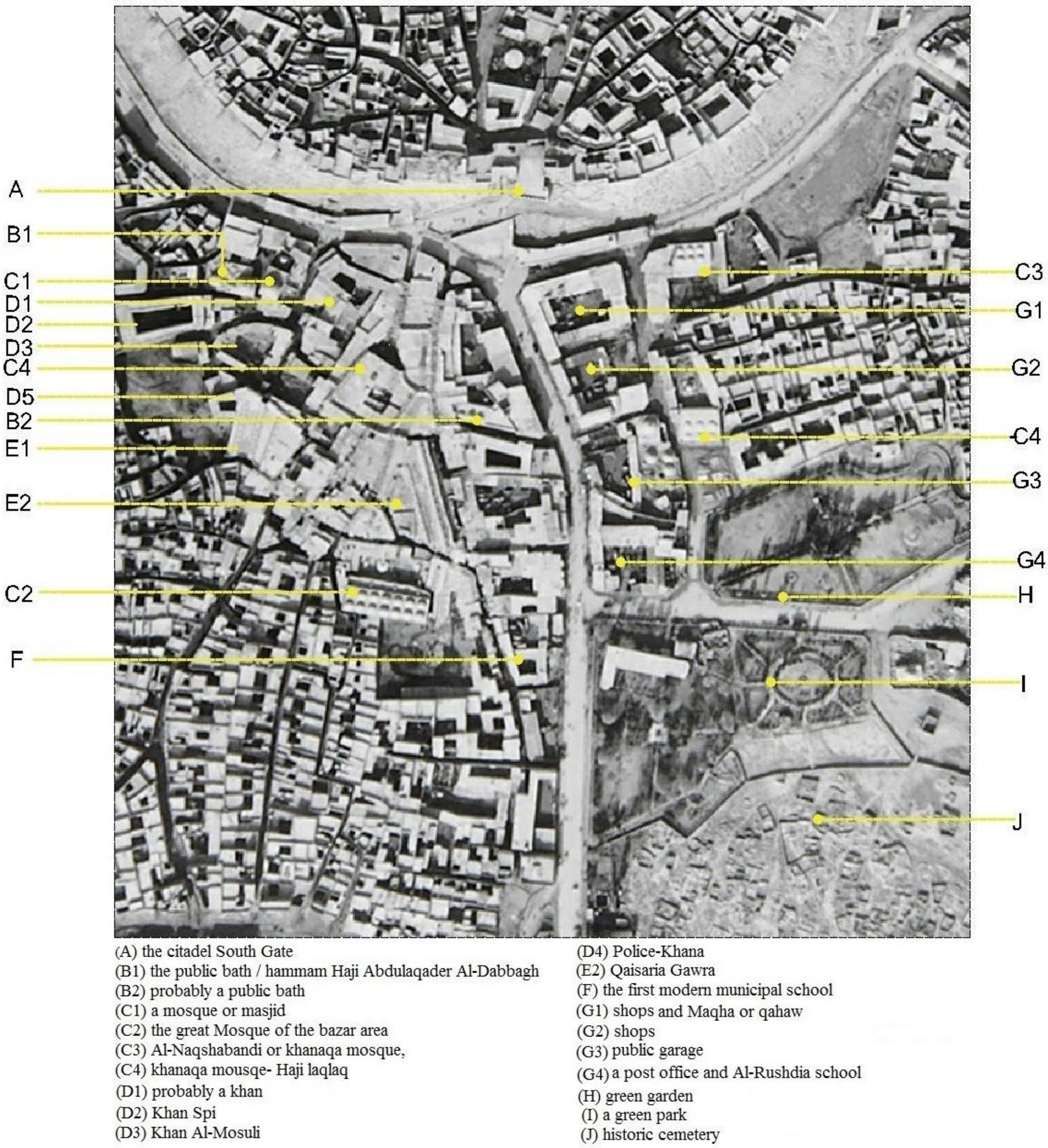
A
B1
C1
D1
D2
D3
C4
D5
B2
E1
E2
C2
F
C3
G1
G2
C4
G3
G4
H
I
J
(A) the citadel South Gate
(B1) the public bath / hammam Haji Abdulaqader Al-Dabbagh
(B2) probably a public bath
(C1) a mosque or masjid
(C2) the great Mosque of the bazar area
(C3) Al-Naqshabandi or khanaqa mosque,
(C4) khanaqa mousqe- Haji laqlaq
(D1) probably a khan
(D2) Khan Spi
(D3) Khan Al-Mosuli
(D4) Police-Khana
(E2) Qaisaria Gawra
(F) the first modern municipal school
(G1) shops and Maqha or qahaw
(G2) shops
(G3) public garage
(G4) a post office and Al-Rushdia school
(H) green garden
(I) a green park
(J) historic cemetery

Figure 8.2: The physical buildings of the urban core.
Source: Modified from (John Bradford Photographic Collection 1998.296.68 - in Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford).

Regarding the edges of the urban core, the north part was bounded by the edges of the citadel (hard edge) as well as the citadel gate, the south part bounded by the cemetery (soft edge), green park (soft edge), and a residential area, and the east and west bounded with residential areas too (figure 8.3).

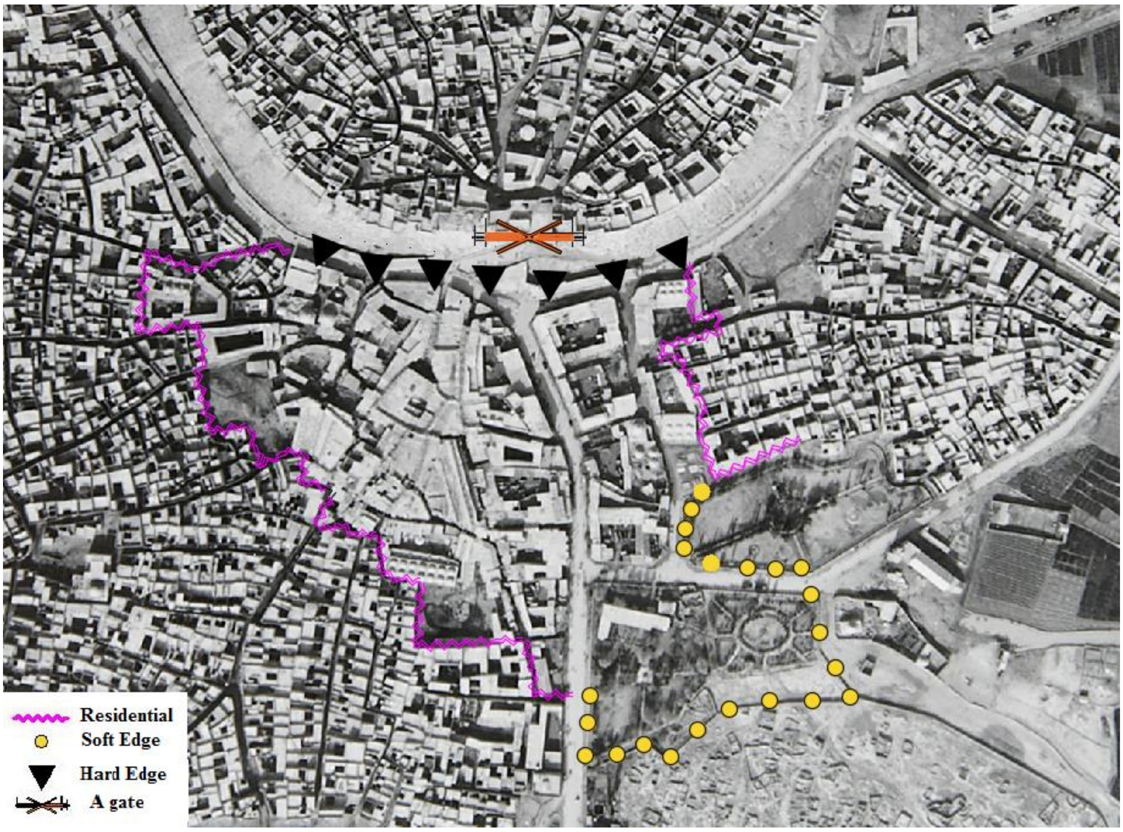

Figure 8.3: The edges of the urban core in 1951
Source: Modified from (John Bradford Photograph Collection, 1998.296.67 – in Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford), adapted by the author

In terms of paths, there is some evidence to suggest that many changes started to take place in the urban core, after 1920s; figure 8.4 includes a proposal for Erbil's extension. The proposal was produced in 1932 (Chapter 5), and photographs from 1932 display the existence of Kirkuk road (P1), and part of the ring road (P1), that surrounded the citadel which both were paved, in the beginning of 1930s, for the purposes of transportation, linking the citadel and its urban core with the suburban area and other cities.

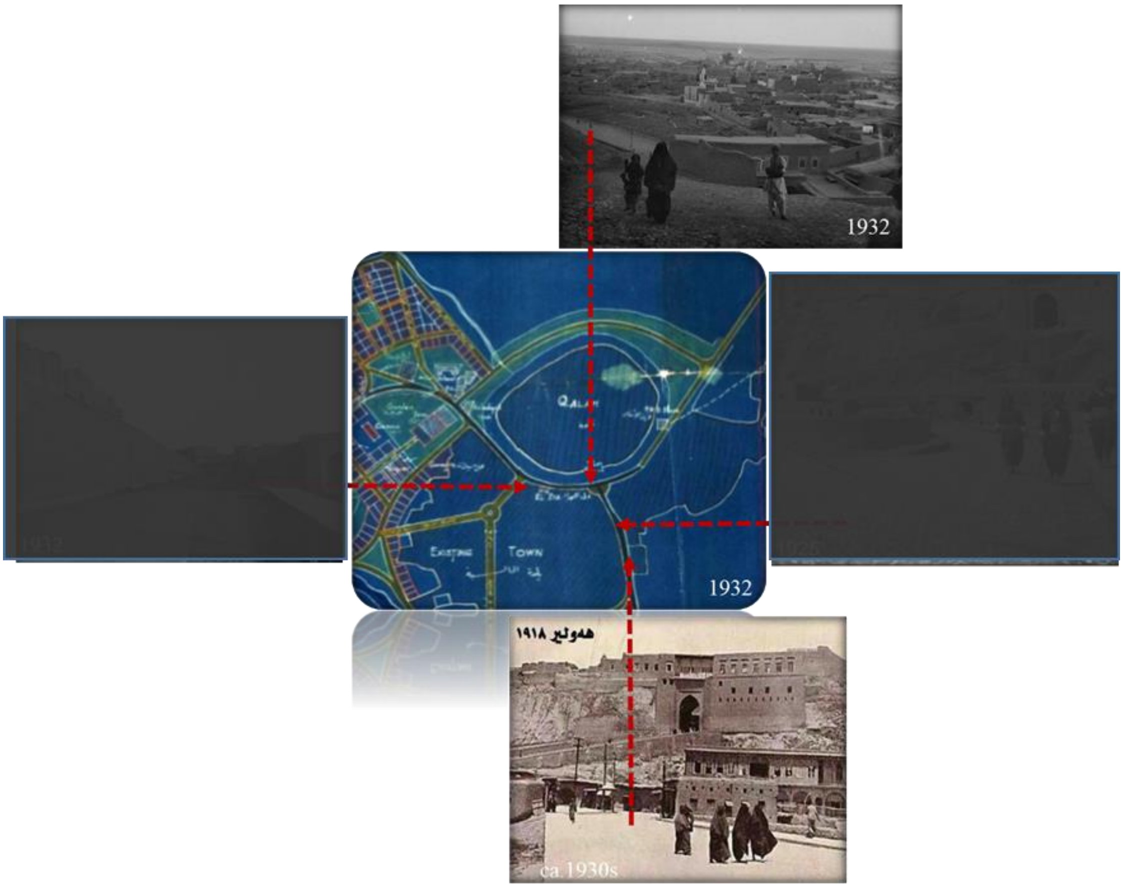

Figure 8.4: Kirkuk road (P1) and the ring road (P1) pavement in 1932
Source: Modified from (Library of Congress, Royal Geographical Society, Iraqi National Archive)

Figure (8.5) displays (P2) the covered paths, which are the historic paths of the bazar; the width of these (P2) varied, ranging between 7m to 9m. Whereas, figure 8.6 shows the bazar paths (P2) and the west elevation of the tailors' qaisaria.

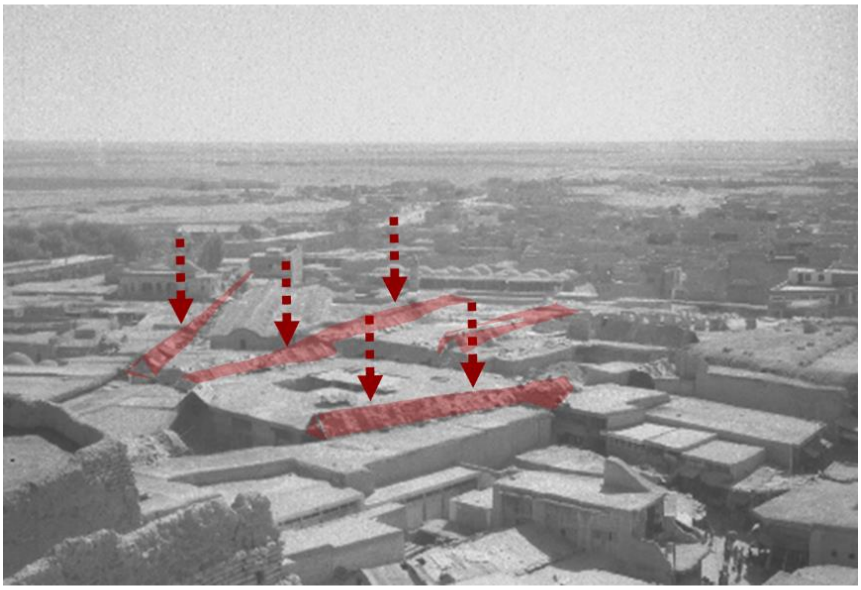

Figure 8.5: The covered paths (P2)
Source: Modified from (Doxiads Archive; Erbil, P-QA 572 - Photographs 30728 - photo 7)

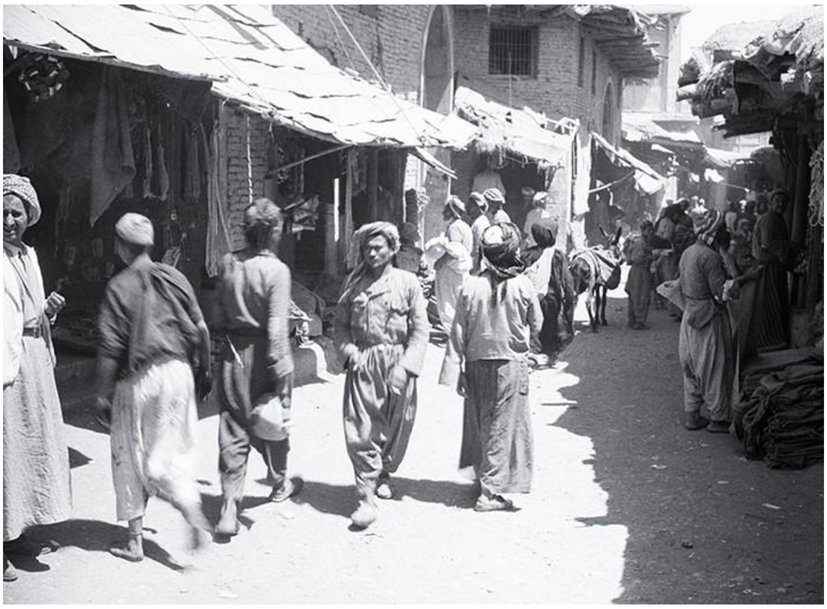

Figure 8.6: The west elevation of the tailors' Qaisaria.
Source: (Taken by Anthony Kersting[308] in 1944, available at Courtauld Institute of Art, F4-21A)

Figure 8.7 shows the size of the (P3) the secondary routes of the bazar with width between 2.5m to 3m.

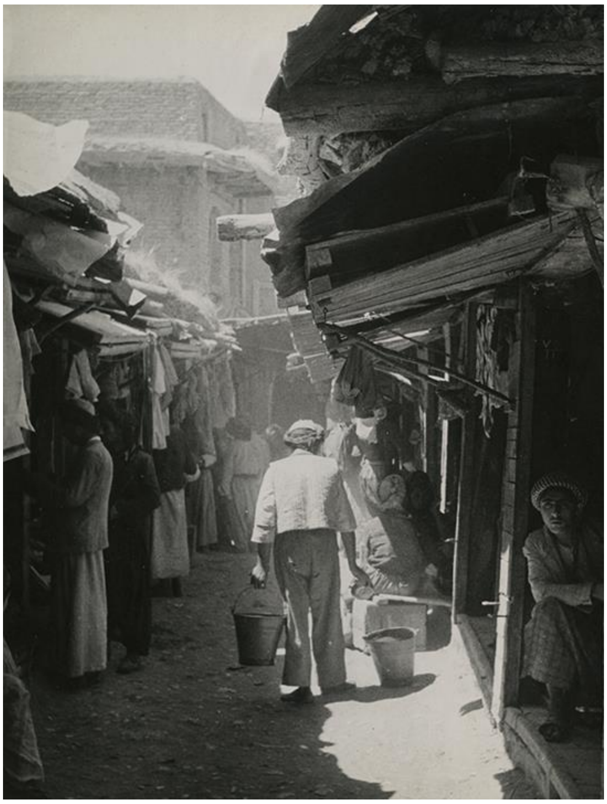

Figure 8.7: An alleyway in the bazar
Source: (Taken by Anthony Kersting, 1944. Available at: The Courtauld Institute of Art, F4-18B)

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[308] "Anthony Kersting was one of the most outstanding architectural photographers of the 20th century. He visited Erbil on his way to Kirkuk on 17th August 1944 and his impressions are recorded in a typescript journal in the custody of Wandsworth Heritage Service" Courtauld Institute of Art

In this period new types of roads (regular roads - PR1), through the organic urban fabric, were established in ca. 1950 or before; figure 8.8 shows P1, (the primary routes which are the skeleton of the urban core, it includes the Kirkuk road and the ring road) and P2 the historic paths of the bazar and PR1.

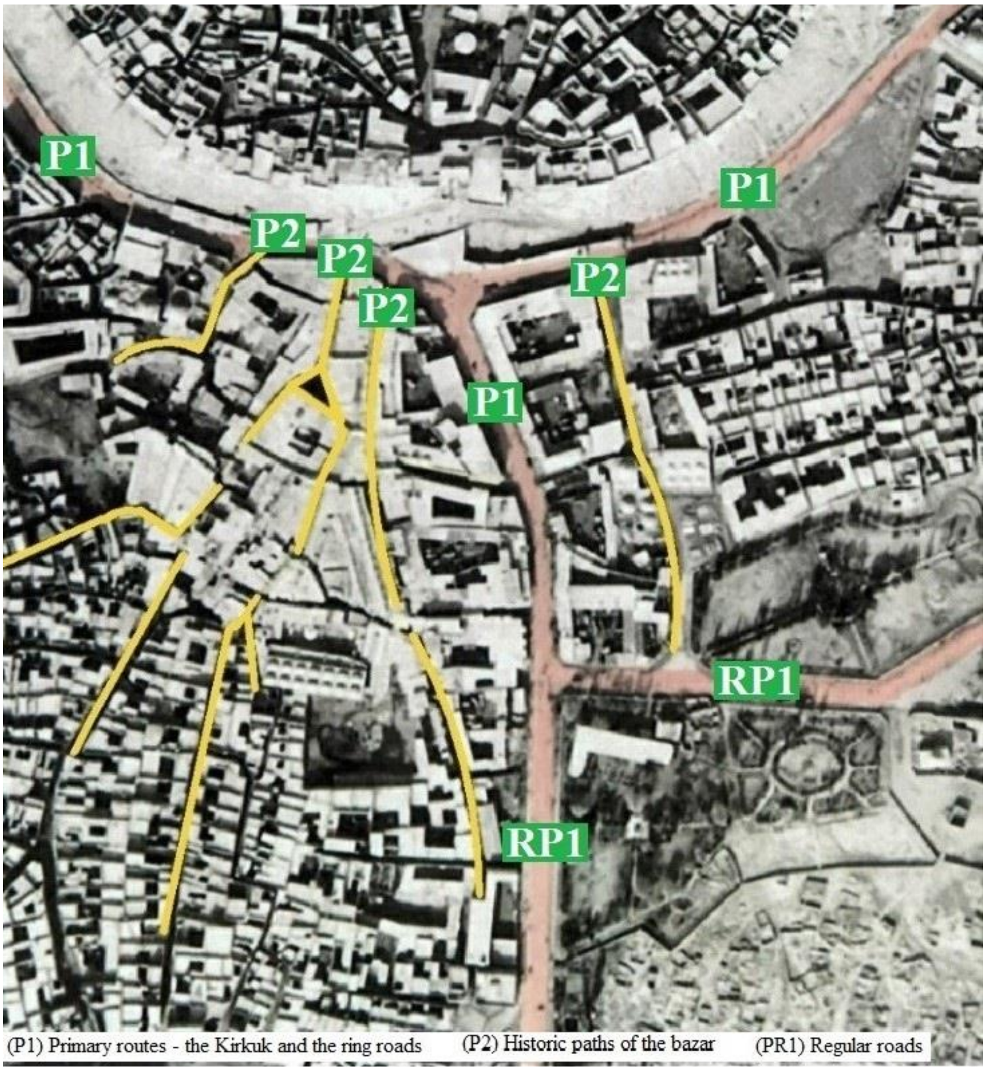
P1
P1
P2
P2
P2
P2
P1
RP1
RP1
(P1) Primary routes - the Kirkuk and the ring roads
(P2) Historic paths of the bazar
(PR1) Regular roads

Figure 8.8: Types of routes
Source: Modified from (Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford - John Bradford Photograph Collection, 1998.296.67)

With regards to the nodes, figure 8.9 shows a major node (N1) is surrounded by two khans, qaisaria, residential area, and other components. Generally, the area of the nodes was either between 100m^2-120m^2 or 300m^2- 250m^2.

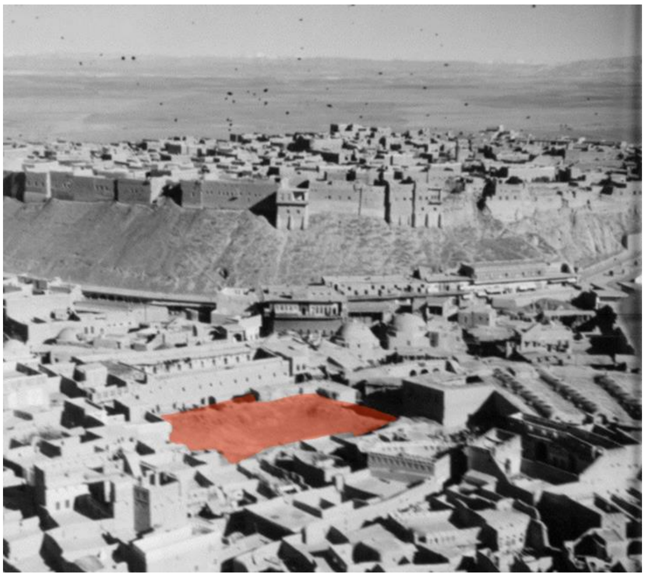

Figure 8.9: A public space, possibly worked as an open market
Source: Modified from (RAF Photos, taken for Aurel Stein-1938 available in British Academy)

Figure 8.10 reveals that, aside from the citadel South Gate, there have been three major nodes (N1) which were public spaces that possibly worked as open markets. Other nodes (N2) were an open area at the meeting of more than two paths and had a strong visual relationship with the citadel South Gate, in addition to minor nodes (N3) that some have also a strong relationship with the gate.

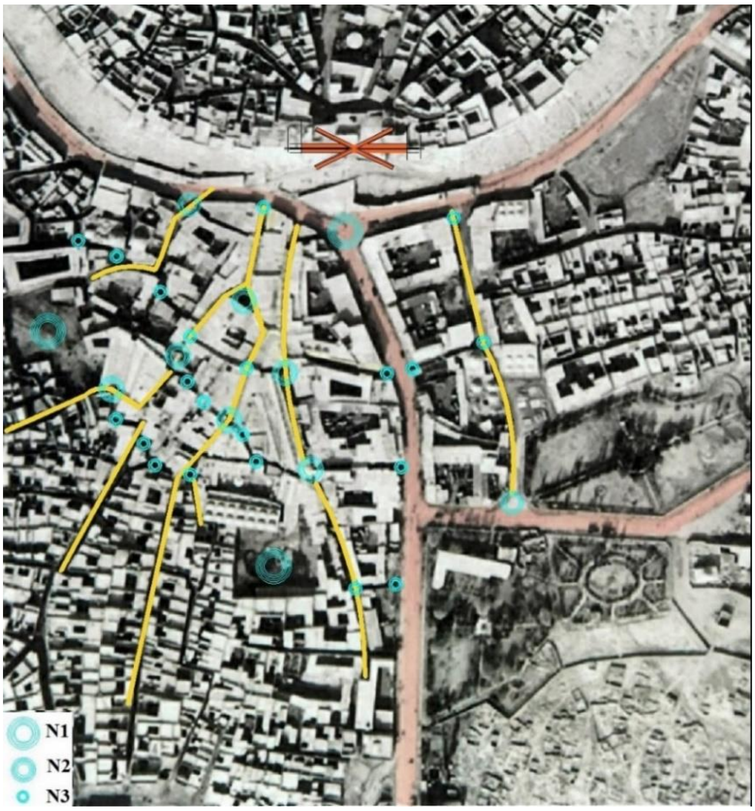

Figure 8.10: The major (N1 and N2) and the minor nodes
Source: Modified from (John Bradford Photograph Collection, 1998.296.67, in Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford)

8.1.2 Stage Two (1958 to 2007)

It is possible that different reasons led to the changes in the urban core, such as, the emergence of new requirements, changes in the lifestyle due to openness to the world, as well as the influence of the mixing with the migrants, (who came from other areas due to the political situation), or when Erbil became the capital of Kurdistan (the semi-independent region), in the beginning of 1970s. Consequently, these factors led to adding new constructions to the urban core due to the needs of new requirements. In contrast, the functions of some buildings started to be a burden to the urban structure and with the lack of insightful decision-making and a proper management; some of these buildings were demolished, like the khans and public baths. Another aspect that impacts on the decision of demolishing these tradition constructions was the establishments of new regular roads (RP1) at the expense of the traditional urban fabric. This caused the demolition of khans (one of them was divided into two parts after the establishment of a new road in the urban core), hammam, and distracted the continuity and the fluidity of the organic urban fabric. In 1960, all paths (P2) of the bazar area were covered (as in the past part of them were covered) and later the roof was changed to metal plate sheets (figure 8.11), which affected the visual axis and relationship of these paths with the citadel and its gate.

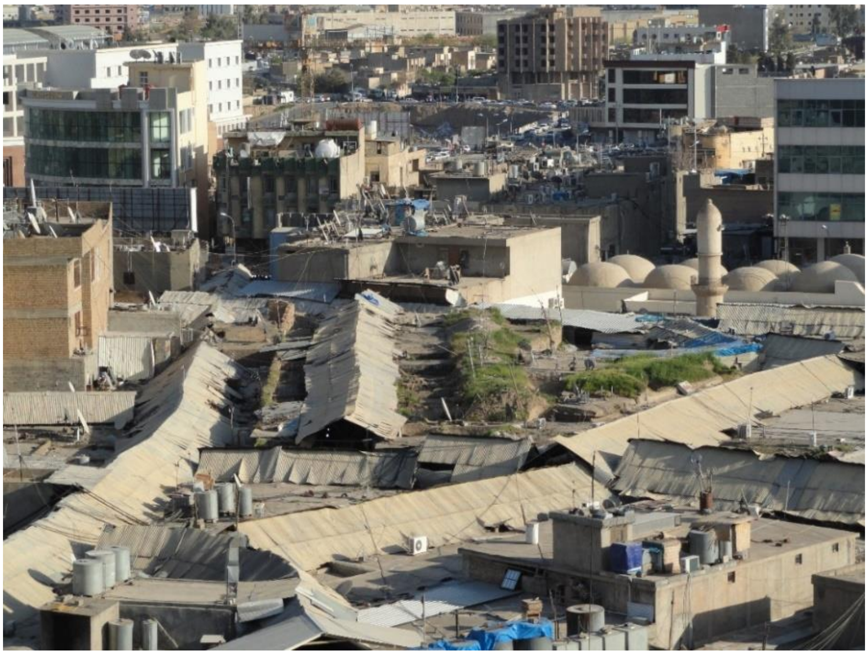

Figure 8.11: The metal plate sheets of the paths /P2, Taken by, Anon, ca. 2000s.
Source: (David Michelmore, private collections)

Another action was changing the size of P1 and RP1; in 1979, the street that surrounded the citadel was increased at the expense of the tell. In 1982, the bazar street was increased too, figure 8.12 displays the establishment of RP1; the circles denote the streets which encountered changes in their size, P1 and PR1. It also shows the division of the Khan Spi (the biggest khan) after the establishment of RP1. In contrast to the previous period, the edges of the urban core were expanded by building new public and commercial constructions and adding new functions. The old urban core gained its definition through the establishment of regular paths (RP1).

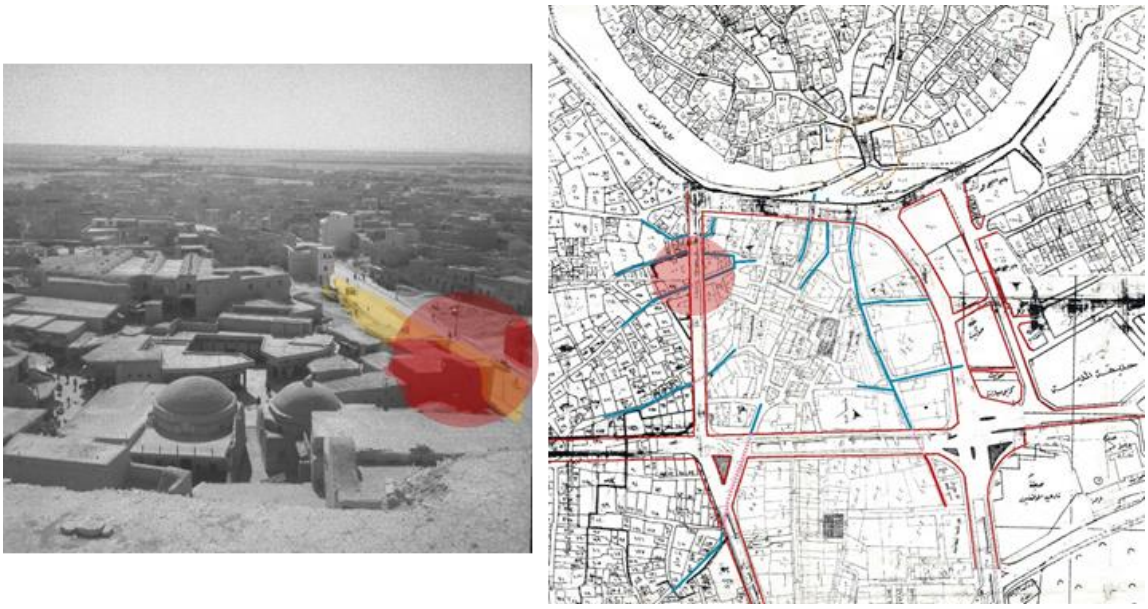

Figure 8.12: The impact of the regular road (RP1) on the urban core
The building (khan) was divided in two pieces due to the establishment of the regular road
Source: the left form Doxiads Archive and the right from General Directorate of Land Registration- Ministry of Justice. Adapted by the author

8.1.3 Stage Three (2007 to 2014)

In 2007, the urban core significantly changed as a part of the conservation process. A major node/ N1 was added to the urban core. This change started when the economic situation of Erbil has changed. In 2010, the public space was created in the centre of the urban core, with fountains, and named as ‘Shar Garden Square’ or ‘Shar Park’. This addition came at the expense of a complex called ‘Delal Khaneh’; this old complex contained shops, a coffee shop (qahawa/ maqaha) and public garages. The decision came to move these shops into a new multi-story complex[309], called the Nishtiman shopping

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[309] This shopping centre is a part of huge commercial project that was stopped in 2007. It is almost certain that this decision was taken after listing the citadel, by the UNESCO, under the Iraqi tentative list of the world heritage site, as the height of the project is incompatible with the height restrictions of the buffer zone (A) and (B). Nevertheless, when the citadel entered the world’s heritage site in 2014 the project started again.

centre, which was constructed and situated opposite the citadel and on the edge of the old urban core and the historic cemetery[310] (figure 8.13). Through establishing the Nishtiman building, a further node appeared, creating a space that resulted in traffic problems.

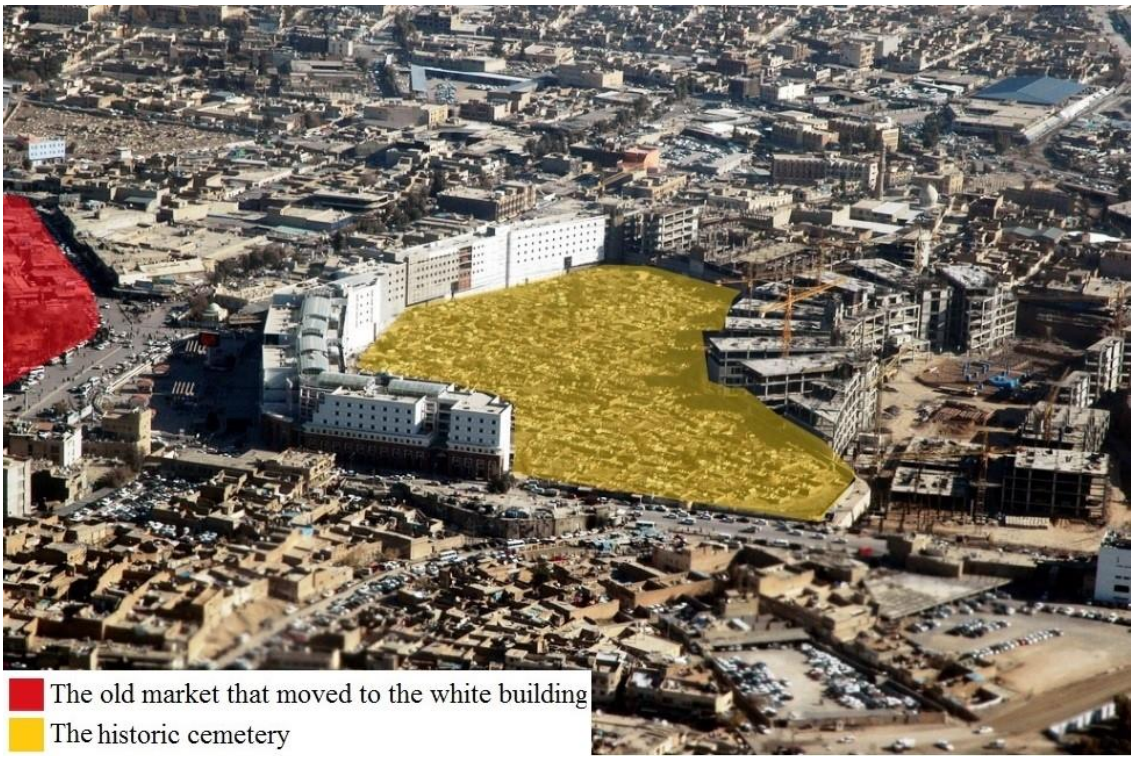

Figure 8.13: Nishtiman shopping centre and its location
Source: Modified from (MAC; taken by Anon., ca 2010)

Figure 8.14 shows the old and the new situation (the public square) of the urban core; figure 8.15 is a panoramic view from the citadel to the urban core.

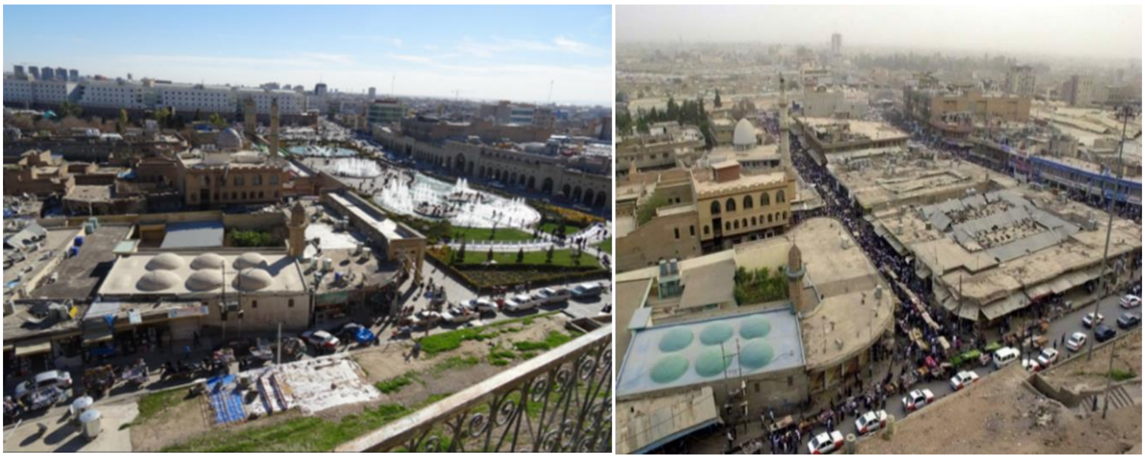

Figure 8.14: The old and the new situation of the urban core
Source: (Dept. of Antiquities, Erbil)

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[310] The historic cemetery was removed for the sake of this project.

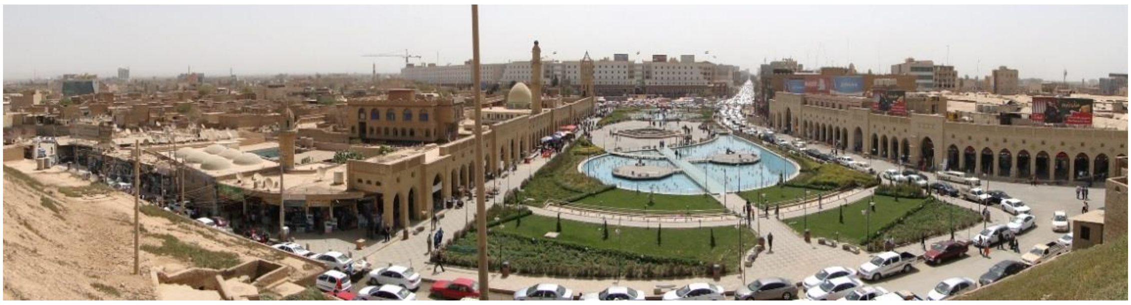

Figure 8.15: Panorama view over the urban core from the citadel.
Source: (Taken by Adam Jone, 2012)

The idea of creating a maidan/square has appeared first in the Master thesis titled '*The Historic Commercial Centre of Arbil: An architectural and Planning Study of Shopping Space Requirements in the Commercial Central Areas of Iraq Cities'* for the architect Hasan M. Al-Dabbagh in 1988 when he proposed a development plan for the bazar area; he suggested adding a maidan opposite to the citadel South Gate (figure 8.16). One of the reasons for suggesting the maidan be built here was its existence (in this spot) during the Attabeg period, and throughout history, it worked as a focal point providing people with water (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 118). The current maidan follows the same proposal, but it is almost certain that the municipality and Erbil governorate were not aware of his proposal, as it was an old thesis produced in Baghdad University.

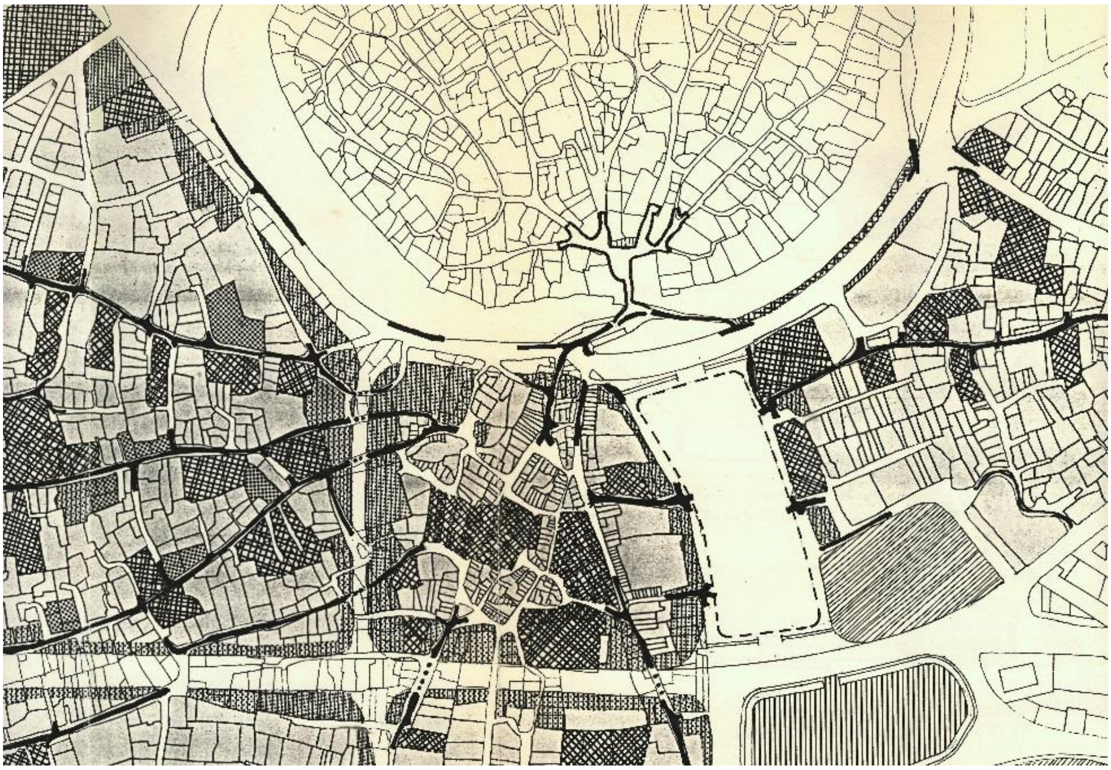

Figure 8.16: A proposal development done by Hasan Al-Dabbagh
Source: (Al-Dabbagh 1988, p. 118)

After the decision of listing the citadel in the Iraqi tentative list of the World Heritage Site in 2007, a master plan for the city's expansion to 2030 was designed by Dar Al-Handasah (a Jordanian engineering consultancy firm). A maidan was suggested in this development plan and the position of this node/maidan represents the meeting point of the (P1), (P2), and (RP1). Nevertheless, this proposal (figure 8.17) was not implemented for unknown reason.

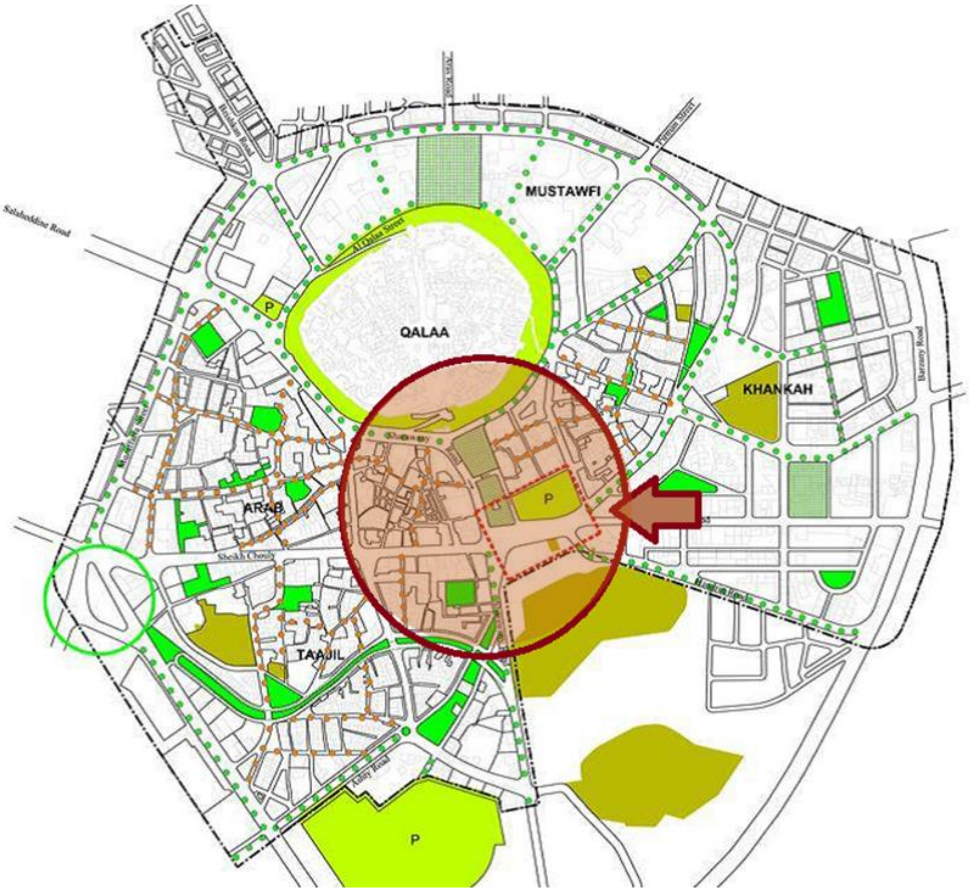

Figure 8.17: The location of the maidan suggested by the Dar Al Handasah
Source: Modified from (The Ministry of Municipality, Erbil)

The current maidan was added with intention of evoking a sense of nostalgia with the past (Attabeg period). As a part of this process, new elements were added, such as the clock tower (a monument) on the khanaqa side, a fountain, and a skin of arches positioned in front of the façade of the bazar and the khanqa area. A possible explanation of choosing these elements (as a concept in the conservation process) could be that this was the easiest solution to conceal the buildings, built in different periods and so reflecting layers of the urban core history (with architectural styles and trends signalling/reflecting their era, i.e. the architecture style in Iraq in 1970s or 1980). Figure 8.18 shows a building built around the 1980s and its lower part was hidden behind the new skin.

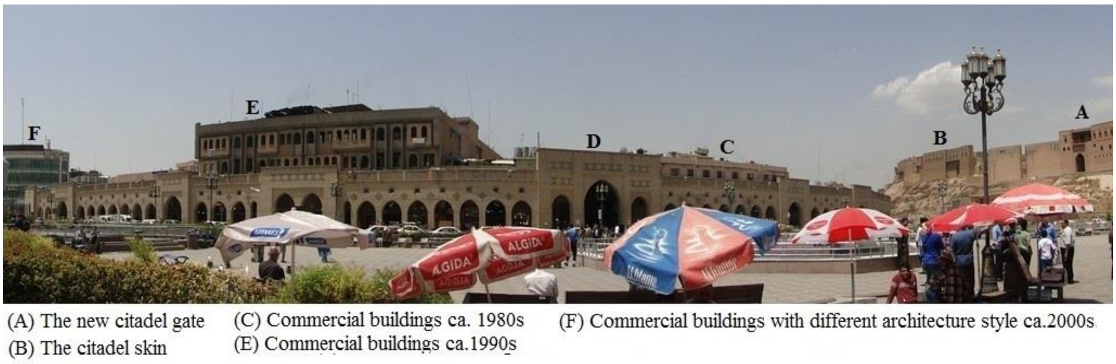
F
E
D
C
B
A
(A) The new citadel gate
(B) The citadel skin
(C) Commercial buildings ca. 1980s
(E) Commercial buildings ca.1990s
(F) Commercial buildings with different architecture style ca.2000s

Figure 8.18: Panoramic view to the bazar area from the khanaqa side
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

One major drawback of choosing this approach in conservation was that the design pattern of these elements (the clock tower, the skin, and the new pattern in the dome of the traditional mosque) were considered as alien to the skyline and make up of urban form in this area. For example, the incongruous design of the clock tower began to compete with the visual dominance of the old minaret of the Haji Laqlaq (stork) mosque[311], which had importance in its tangible and intangible aspects. In addition, the location and then size of the fountains (with its significant impact on the space's atmosphere) seem to be a key problem as the size is larger than the space utilised by people. This prevented holding the main festivals freely, like Newroz and other activities, (figures 8.19 and 8.20).

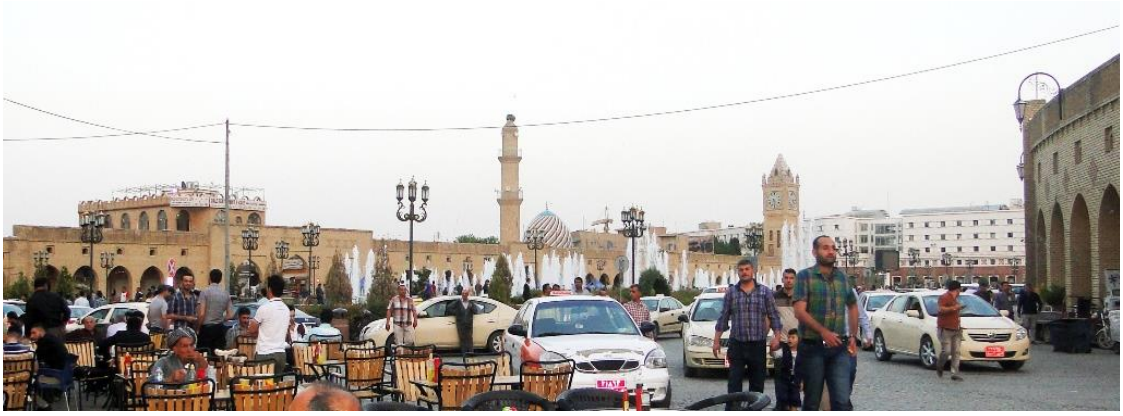

Figure 8.19: The fragmented architecture elements and material, 2015
Source: Taken by Farah A-Hashimi, 2015

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[311] The coloured dome was completed recently through the conservation process. Perhaps the most serious disadvantage of this action is that the coloured pattern destructs the dominance and creates a fragmented skyline, with buildings that are unrelated in style in one space

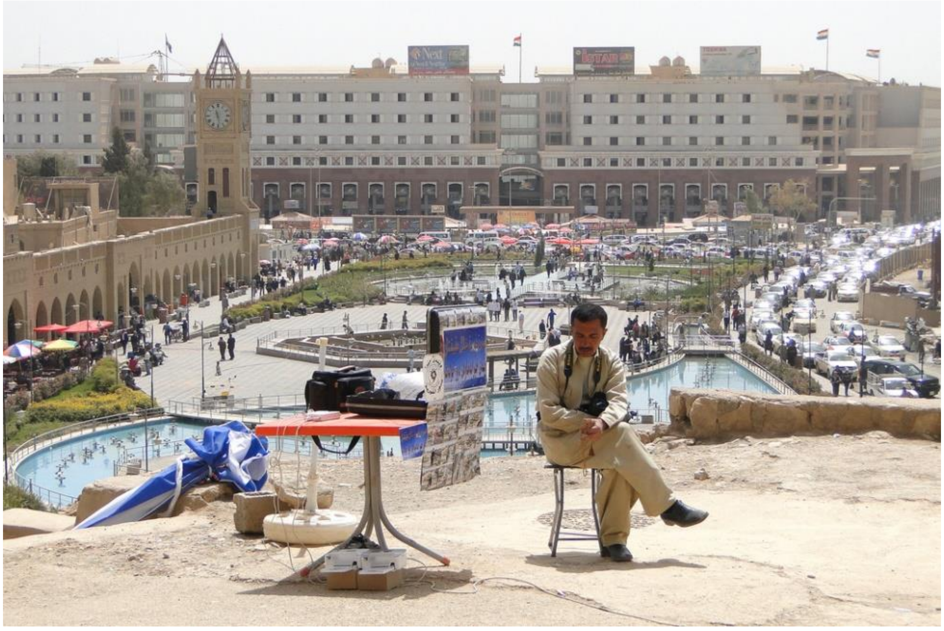

Figure 8.20: The spaces that the fountain occupied it
Source: (Adam Jones, Ph.D./Wikimedia Commons), taken by Adam Jones, 2011

There were 12 nodes (N2) in the bazar area, however there is some evidence to suggest that the dominance of these nodes was reduced after adding the new skin that surrounded the urban fabric which part of it has a deceptive arched entrance, that resemble a gate, however behind is it a multi-storey building (figure 8.21).

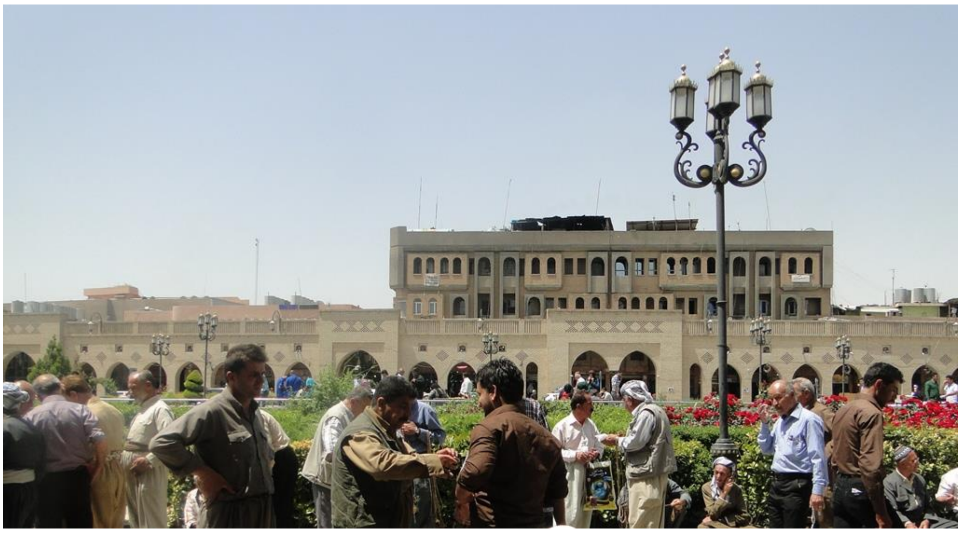

Figure 8.21: The deceptive arched entrances that affected
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

In terms of the edges, many changes took place in the urban core, with spaces dedicated for public functions that replaced residential areas. The north and the south edges are hard to alter as the former contains a natural edge which is the citadel and the latter has the Nishtiman building. The left side is the skin that was added to the façade of those buildings. The west and the east have mixed functions residential and commercial; figure 8.22 illustrates the edge, nodes and the paths

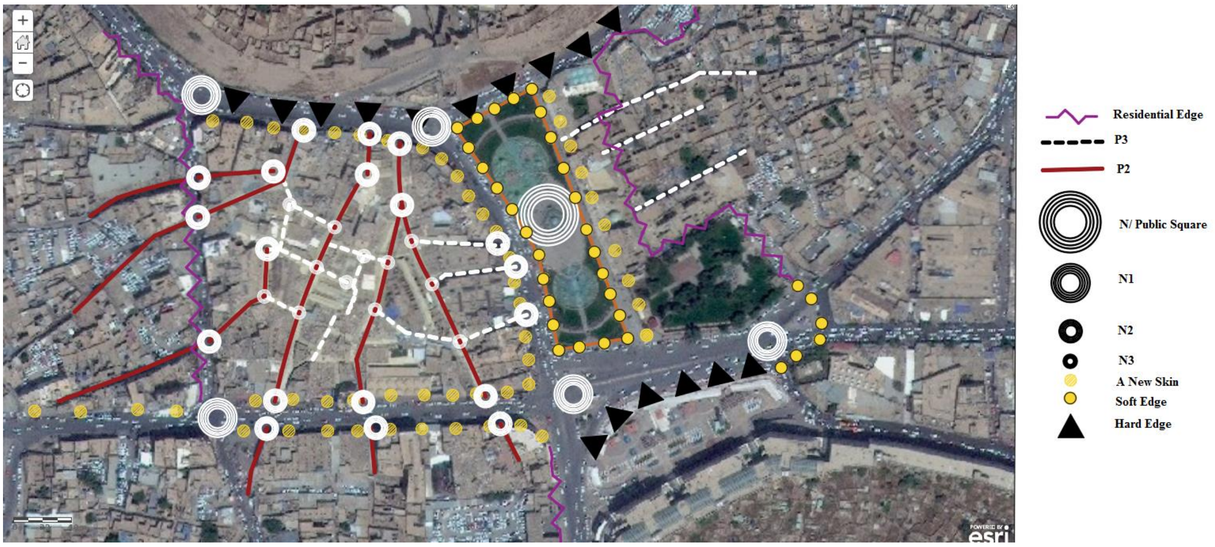

Figure 8.22: The Urban elements of the urban core
Source: Adapted from (ArchGis, 2015)

8.2 The Interrelationship of the Urban Elements

As discussed earlier, many changes[312] have occurred to the urban core. Part of the conservation process addressed the rebuilding of the citadel gate, the creation of a square with fountains, and a green area, and a new skin to the edges of the bazar and khanaqa areas, in addition of adding new element similar in appearance to the clock tower on the khanaqa side. Perhaps the most serious disadvantage in the conservation process is the segregation that resulted in the relationship of the bazar sector with the square - called Shar Park, added in 2010 - the most likely causes of this is covered path that surrounded the bazar structure (a new layer or a skin). The skin worked as a covered walkway in which traders sold their goods. It can be suggested that this new skin impacted negatively on the visual access of the historic paths (P2) and weakened their relationship with the citadel because some of them were not open directly onto the new square. There is a hierarchy of privacy, represented by different layers that need to be accessed, in order to reach the original entrance of these big arches to an entrance behind them. Routes (P1) on the north and the south edges of the square, are intended for public transport and pedestrian use, were constructed with nothing to separate them. The khanaqa area faced the same situation; the main elevation was hidden behind the skin

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[312] That area is currently undergoing a process of conservation. The huge Nishtiman shopping centre, located on the cemetery's edge, was constructed before the citadel was listed under the Iraqi tentative list of the world heritage site.

and the space between the skin and the mosque became a café, used by men and the coffee shop - worked as a waqif for the mosque). This suggests a weak relationship between the new public space and the commercial and religious sectors. The new public space fails to act as a strong node offering direct access to the commercial and religious sectors. It would have been more interesting if there had been no skin and no clock tower, as these have isolated the urban components, introduced a fragmented structure with fragile integrations, and segregated components. Figure 8.23 shows the appearance of the urban core prior to construction of the skin and the tower. Compared with the current situation, the earlier layout was a more coherent structure.

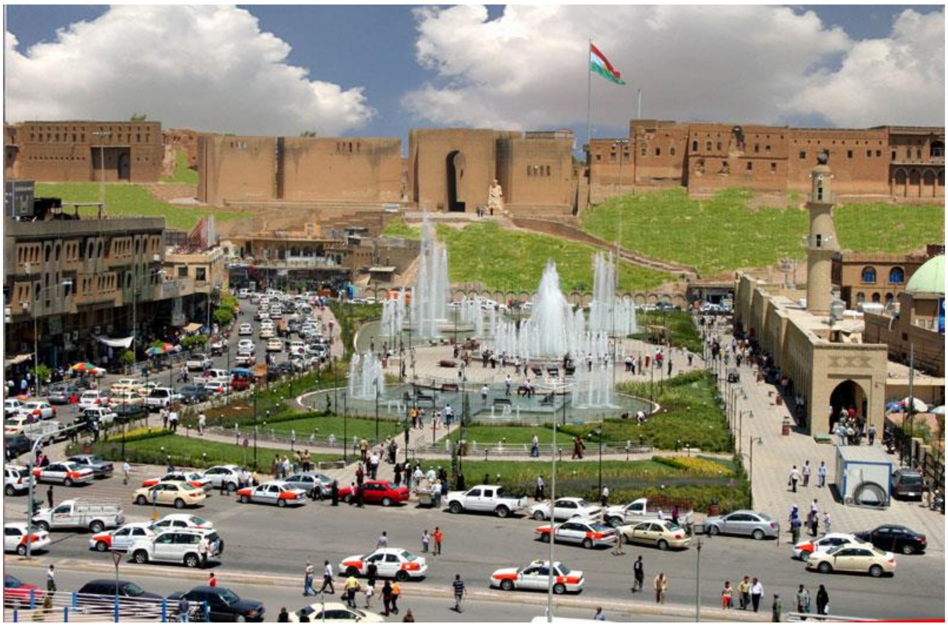

Figure 8.23: The urban core prior to construction of the bazar's covered walkway
Source: (General Board of Tourism of Kurdistan), taken by Anon.

Another disadvantage is the result of re-building the citadel gate, the previous chapter described its importance in influencing the growth and development of the city's urban core. The location and function (the transition point between the outer and inner areas) of the South Gate have remained consistent, in past decades. In this section, it will be argued that this Gate[313] (in which little interest was shown until recently from other studies) is, in fact, one of the persistent elements to survive, both tangibly and intangibly that continues impacts on the urban core in the present day as well as the past. A

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[313] It is generally accepted that the function of the gate was to act as the transition point between the outer and inner cities. It allowed for the flow of people, animals and goods, in addition to helping protect the city from strangers or attacks. Throughout its history the citadel's South Gate protected the city from attacks and resisted long sieges, the last of these (during the Ottoman period) was that of the Persian ruler, Nadir Shah in 1743, which lasted for 60 days (see chapter 7).

chronological period, from 1932 to 2014[314], has been identified and divided into three stages, according to the main events that have affected the gate and the urban core.

8.2.1 Stage One (1932-1958)

The most likely causes of dominance in the function (open passageway) and the physical shape of the citadel gate within the urban core is the fact that people were still living, and continued to live, in the citadel and in the land below it in this period. The gate (aside from the small eastern gate) was the only node connecting the citadel with the urban core in the lowland. It provided quick access for pedestrians and carts to its bazar area it also contained the Serai, local administration offices, and a jail, as well as a house for the official Ottoman administrator (Michelmore 2013; Al-Dabbagh 2013a), and that increased the importance of its function. In terms of the dominance in its physical shape within the urban core in early times, the small scale and low height of the urban core by comparison with the positioning of the gate, with its greater height[315] and very large scale, made the gate very noticeable. It gave a strong sense of direction, which helped it to work as a focal point; it also made the interrelationship within the urban core coherence and integrated. This claim is supported by a photo taken in the 1930s shows that the gate retained its dominance within the urban core (figure 8.24).

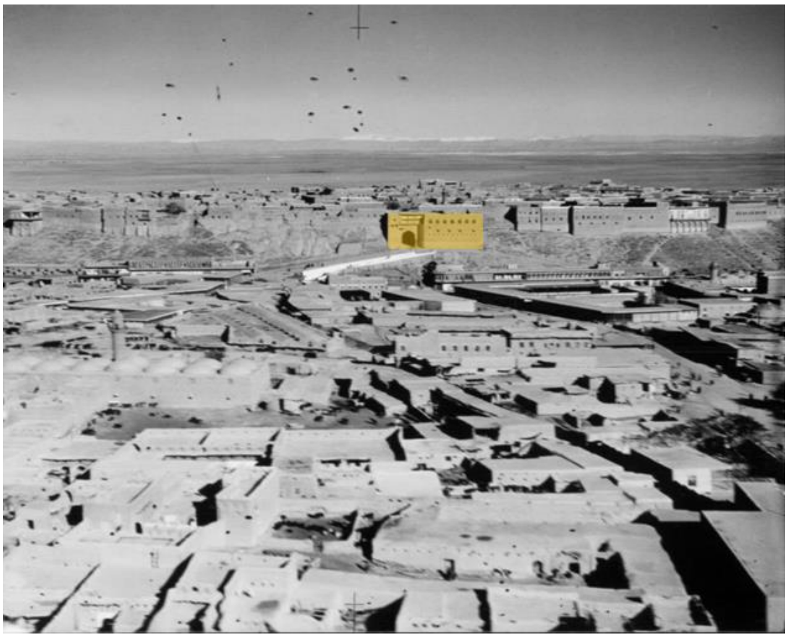

Figure 8.24: The dominance of the gate within the urban core
Source: Modified from (Prints and Photographs Division, taken by Anon. 1938, available at Library of Congress)

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[314] From the previous site visit, the situation was updated and the period was extended to 2014.
[315] This attribute gave a directional sense to the citadel and the urban core and attracted travellers and outsiders to the city. Together with the old Choli minaret, they were landmarks for the city in general.

After 1923, following the introduction of automobiles and the opening of the third gate in the north by the first mayor of Erbil, the roads were paved, and the pressure of use on the gate started to be reduced. Around 1953 the level containing the Serai was demolished and a new one built outside the citadel. In 1958, the gate was destroyed for safety reasons, resulting from neglect and lack of conservation. Figure 8.25 includes photographs taken in 1941 and 1953 showing the stages of degradation of the citadel's South Gate in relation with the urban core. Later, the growth of the urban structures in the lowland area with their different heights started to influence on the gate's dominance within the urban core.

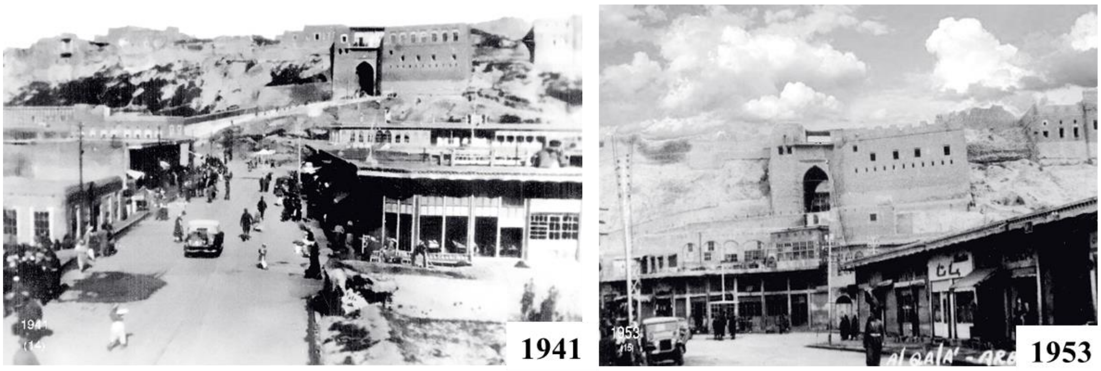

Figure 8.25: The stages of degradation of the citadel's South Gate
Source: (Photos available in the market of the photographer Samir Saleh), taken by Anon.

8.2.2 Stage two (1958-2007)

In this period, the government demolished the grand gate (the citadel's South Gate) and a void was left on its place (figure 8.25). Perhaps the most serious problem at that time was its poor state of repair, resulting from a total absence of conservation or maintenance. The lack of attention to the infrastructure of the citadel led to a reduction in the living standard of its inhabitants, who chose to reside elsewhere (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a; Al-Haidari1985, p. 63).

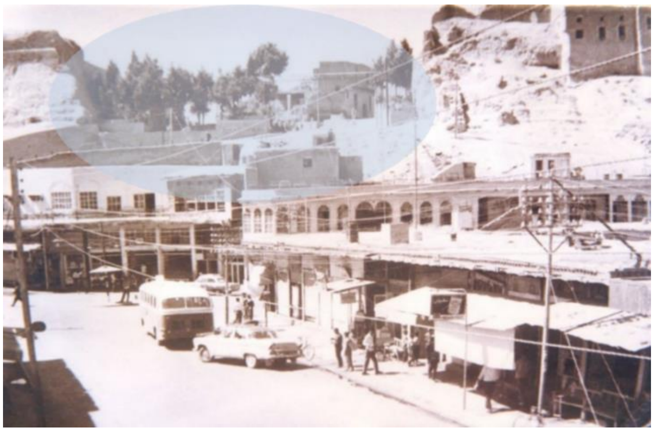

Figure 8.26: The gap that was left after demolishing the gate in ca.1960s
Source: (Dept. of Antiquities, Erbil, taken by Anon) adapted by the author

At the end of the 1970s, the Iraqi government decided to rehabilitate the gate and the citadel: a new gate was designed by the Iraqi Consultancy Bureau (Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi 2013a; Al-Haidari, 1985, p. 63). The result was disappointing as it failed to meet the expectations of local people. The inhabitants, as Lynch indicates, shared a common memory or image of their city and by interviewing some people, such as Said (2015); Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi (2015); Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi (2013a), and Mufti (2012), in their opinion the gate design carried no reference to the previous gate, and that the adjacent buildings and the urban core offered no sense of belonging or identity. To the inhabitants of Erbil the previous South Gate (belonged to Ottoman period) represented much more than its traditional functions, while the new gate[316] reduced to no more than a threshold between the outside and inside of the citadel. Analysing the photographs shows a fragmented façade (separate pieces) quite unlike the design of the citadel's original façade. The gate[317] appeared as a discontinuous skin occupying the previously existing gap; at this stage, it started to be an isolated skin hiding the entrance of the old city and failing to evoke anything of its former power (figure 8.27). The statue of the famous historian who lived in Erbil, Al-Mustawfi, which was added as part of the citadel rehabilitation began to attract attention beside the gate itself.

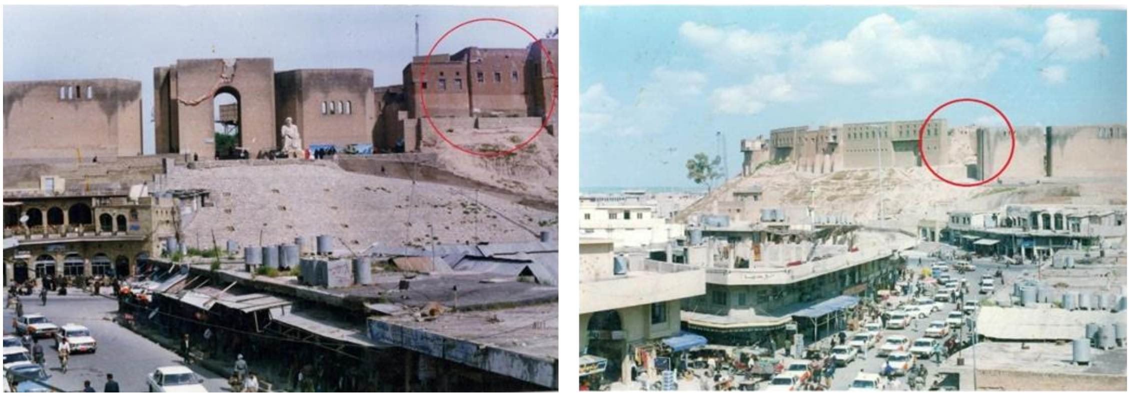

Figure 8.27: The new gate and its relationship with the urban core.
On the right side: the fragmented relation of the new gate with citadel's façade and the urban core, ca. 1980s ca.1990s
Source: Adapted from (Dept. of Antiquities, Erbil - taken by Anon)

At this stage the coherence and the integration started to lose its power. The gate, as a focal point for the urban core, changed because of its design and the new construction

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[316] Some spaces were attached to the gate with intention to be shops but they were neglected and never used. The design pattern was different from the pattern of the external skin in terms of the shape of the windows and its recesses, the rhythm and the repetition of the elevation elements.
[317] The impact of the gate was extended inside the citadel. As a part of its rehabilitation, a path was established between the North and South gates at the expense of the old urban fabric. The relationships of the parts and whole were, therefore, very clear inside the citadel and worked fluently outside.

in the bazar area with height from two to four storeys as well as the increase of the urban fabric surrounding the citadel. However, the streets remained working towards the direction of the gate and the citadel.

8.2.3 Stage Three (2007-2014)

As part of the citadel conservation a decision was reached to demolish the existing gate (figure 8.28) and rebuild a gate carrying a design similar to the one from the Ottoman Period. Permission was granted by UNESCO to start this process.

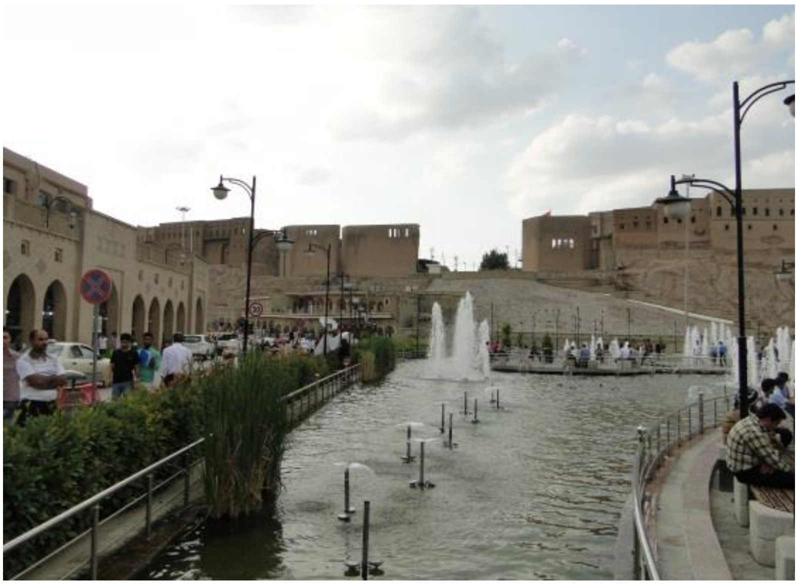

Figure 8.28: Following demolition of the gate
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

Generally, Kostaf (2007) and Gosling and Maitland (1984) hold the view that this kind of decision induces the collective memory and is one of the methods of conservation strategy, which helps retain the identity of a city. In that case it does not mean that any copy from the past is good; however, it works at the level of a specific iconic artefact or at city level (re-building a quarter or part of the city). For example, the city of Warsaw was destroyed during World War II; in the post-war period a decision was made to rebuild the old quarter of the city as exactly as possible. According to Gosling and Maitland [318] (1984, p. 108) this decision was controversial but it did retain Warsaw's uniqueness and delivered a message 'the buildings are still here, they disappeared for a while and appeared again'. Another successful example is the rebuilding the Mostar bridge after designating the city and the bridge area as a UNESCO World Heritage Site

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[318] "Without making any overt monumental gesture, it impresses simply through the knowledge that it is now as it used to be, but for a time was not there at all" (Gosling and Maitland 1994, p.108).

in 2005. The original bridge was built between 1557 and 1567 by Ottomans and served people for 427 years; it completely destroyed by Croatian forces (figure 8.29).

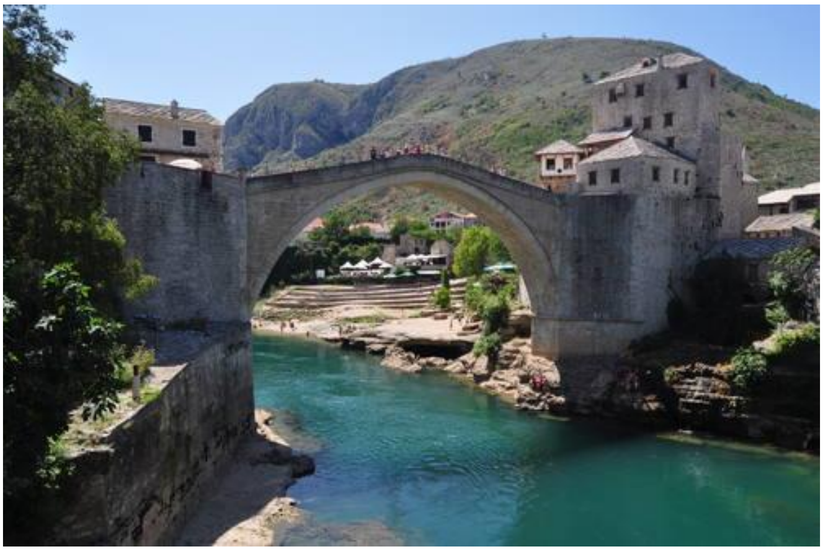

Figure 8.29: The new bridge of the old bridge area of the old city of Mostar
Source: (UNESCO documents, taken by Silvan Rehfeld, 2011)

In the last site visit in 2015, the new gate was built, but was done so on a small scale using bricks (clay material) with different colour from the other nearby buildings. The result is disappointment, as the gate has no strong connection with the citadel's façade and has poor relationship with the urban core (figures 8.30 and 8.31).

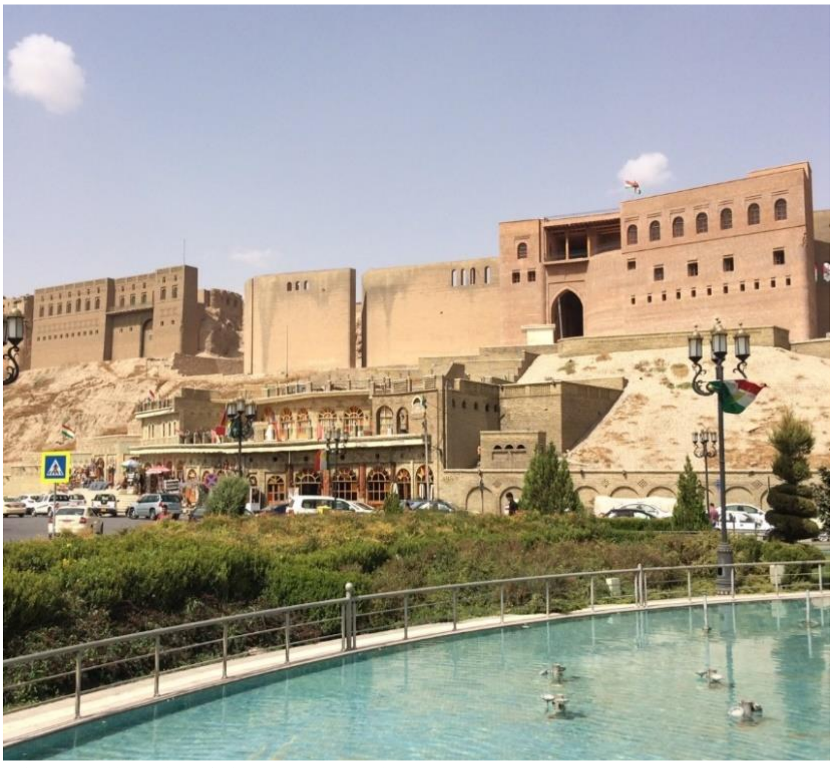

Figure 8.30: The small scale of the new Citadel Gate
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

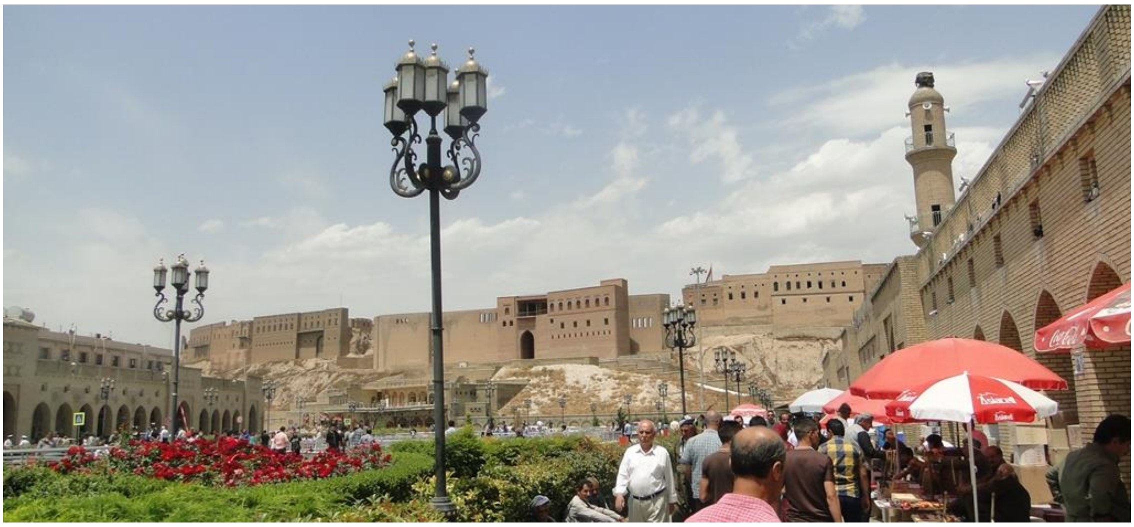

Figure 8.31: The new Citadel Gate with its small scale
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

Figures 8.32 shows the difference between the old and the new gate in terms of their scales in height and width compared to human scale.

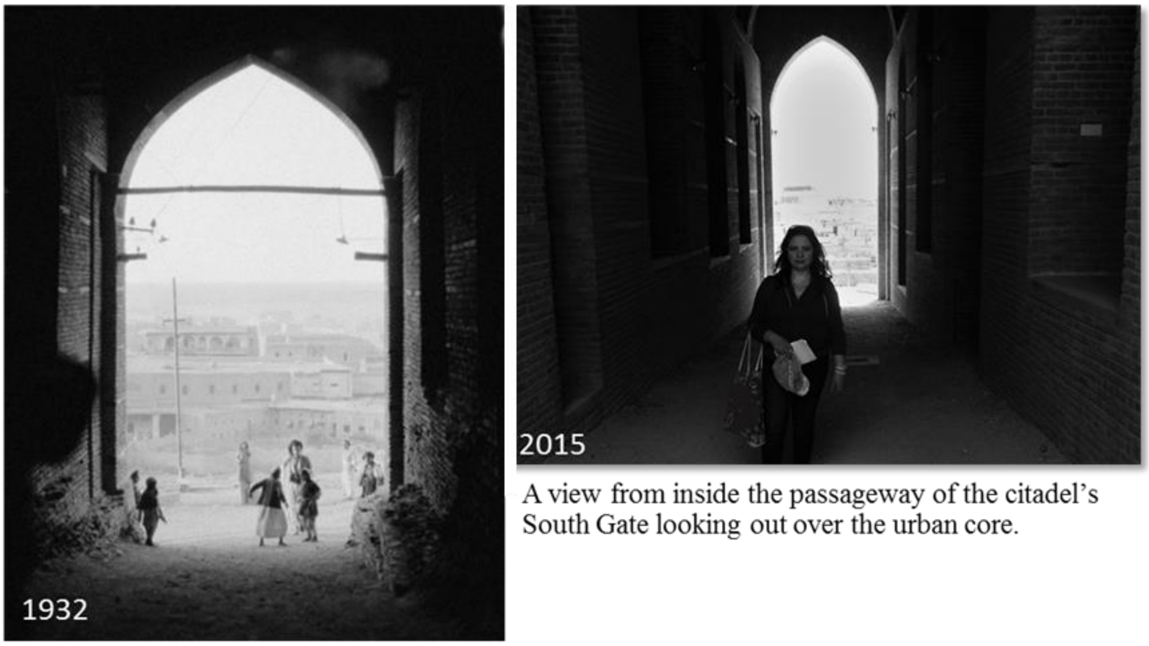
2015
A view from inside the passageway of the citadel's South Gate looking out over the urban core.
1932

Figure 8.32: The difference between the old and the new gates
The difference terms of their scales in height and width compared to human scale.
Source: (on the left: Library of Congress (Prints and Photographs Division, photograph LC-M33- 4836). Taken by Anon, 1932; on the right: modified from Farah Al-Hashimi photographs, 2015)

Functionally, the gate now does not work because of the conservation process inside the citadel, and the main entrance is currently working form the north gate where cars can drive into the citadel.

The result of the above analysis indicates a lack of dominance of any urban elements and shows relatively poor local planning and strategy with regard to conserving and strengthening the area and the correlation of the citadel, the gate and the urban core[319]. It denotes weakness in the degree of legibility and instead of reconnecting the spatial structure of the urban core; the result has tended to segregate them. In contrast, the urban core of the 1940s was coherent because the network of streets shaped the urban structure and produced a homogeneous urban fabric, where the historic paths (P2) of the bazar area dominated and opened directly to the main roads (P1), giving P2 a strong visual relationship with the citadel. Figures 8.33, 8.34, 8.35 and 8.36 show the fragmented nature of the urban core. Figure 8.37 shows the changes in the urban core during the modern period.

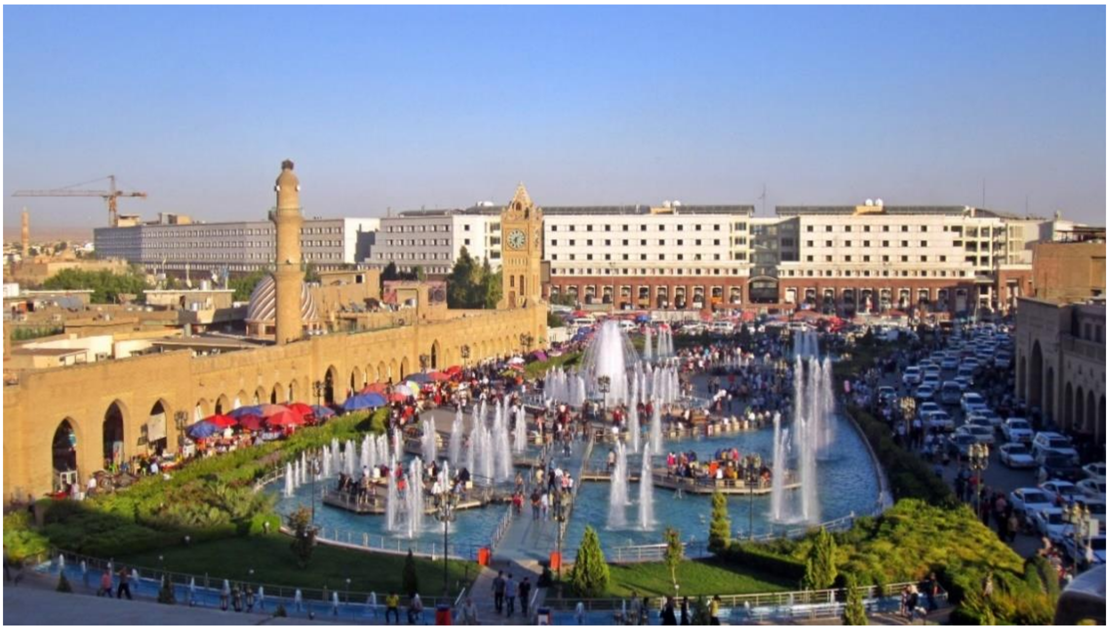

Figure 8.33: The fragmented elements in the urban core
(the shopping centre, the clock tower, minaret, the new skins and the public square)
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

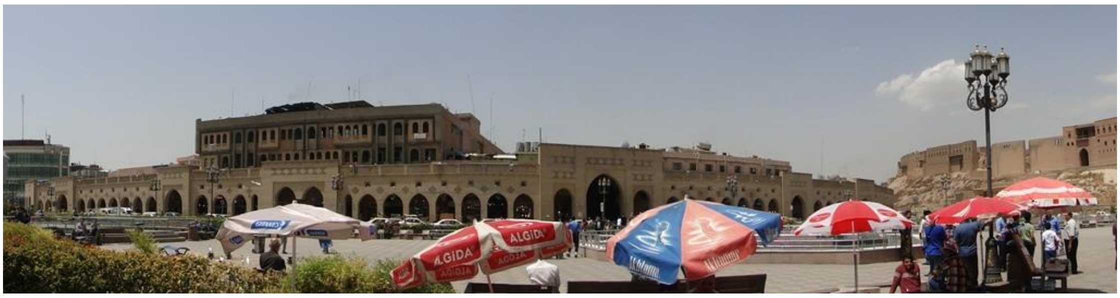

Figure 8.34: The fragmented components of the urban core
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

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[319] As mentioned in the previous sections, the new architectural elements increased this visual separation.

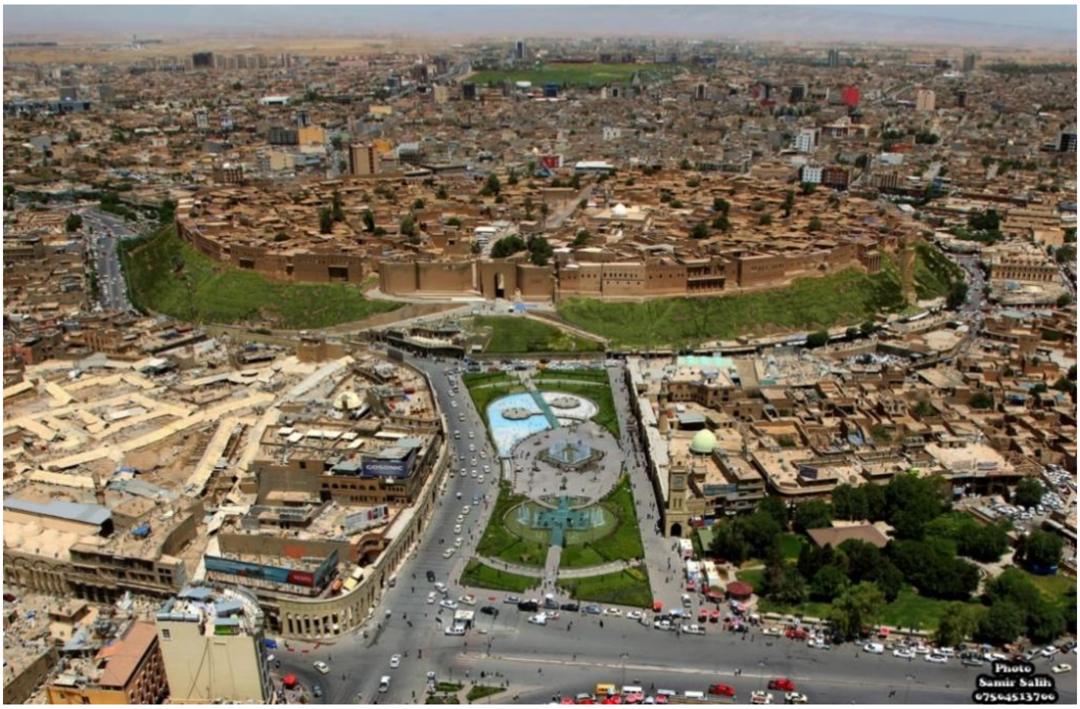

Figure 8.35: An aerial view of the urban core
Source: Taken by the photographer Samir Salih, 2012

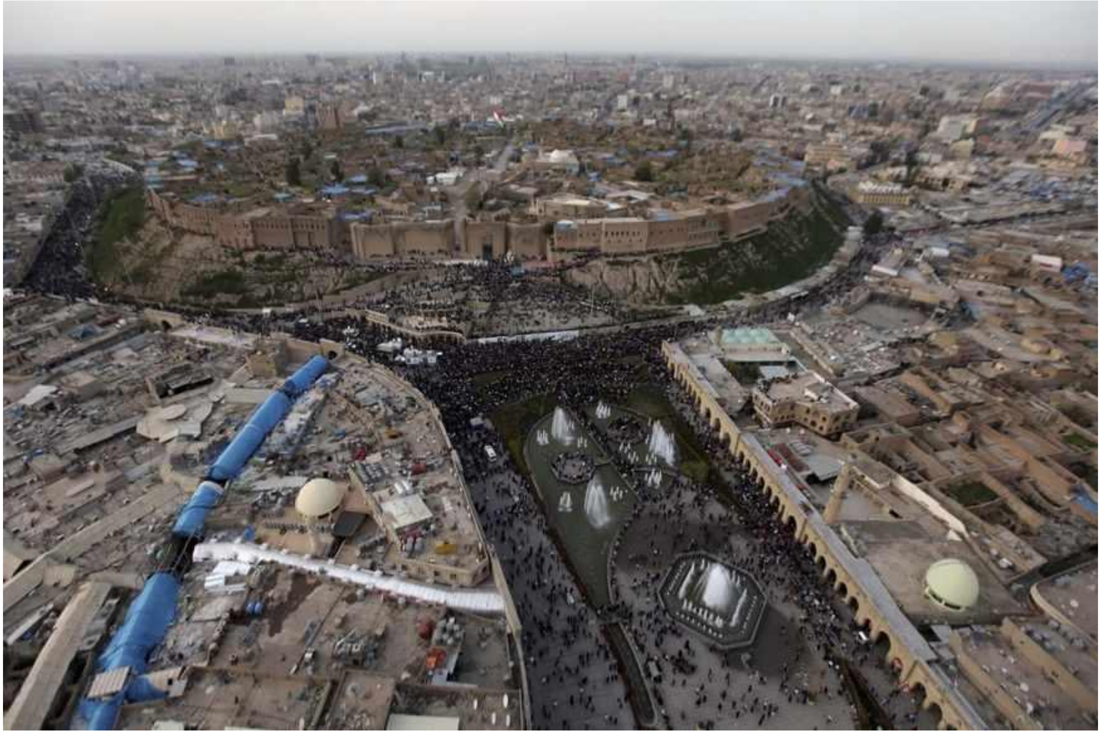

Figure 8.36: An aerial view of the urban core, 2013
Source: (Reuters/Azad Lashkari)

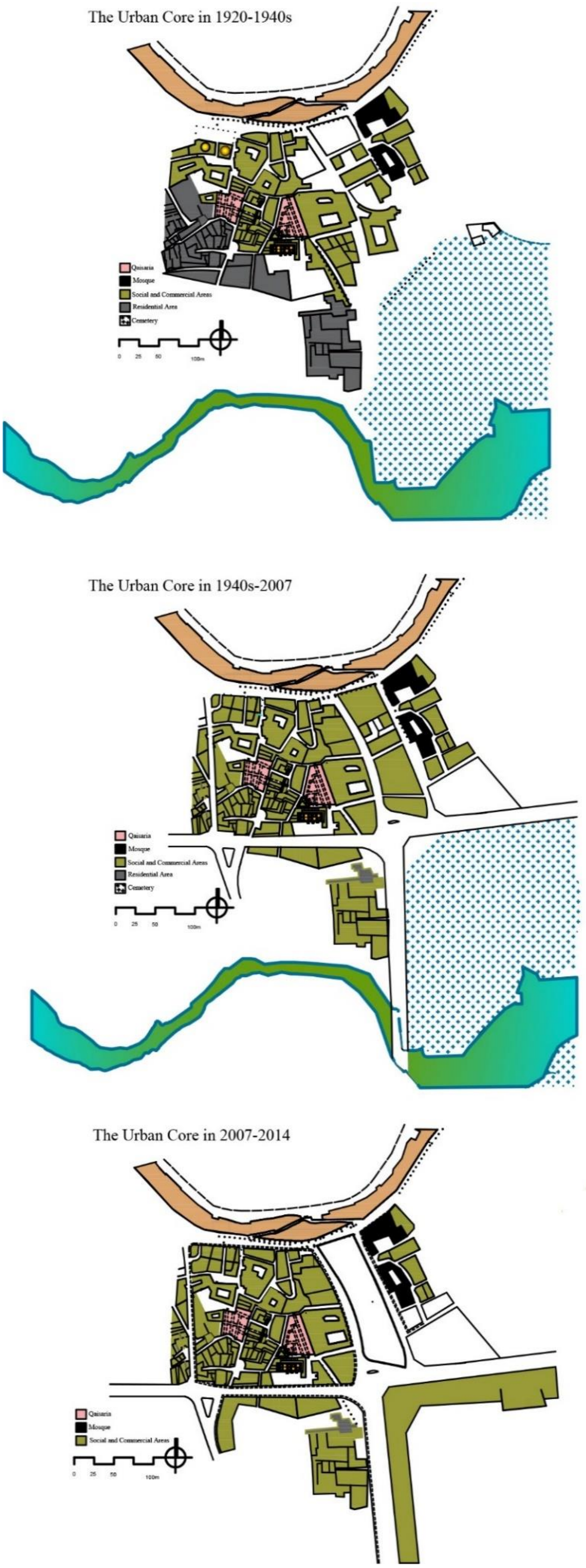
The Urban Core in 1920-1940s
Qaisaria
Mosque
Social and Commercial Areas
Residential Area
Cemetery
0 25 50 100m
The Urban Core in 1940s-2007
Qaisaria
Mosque
Social and Commercial Areas
Residential Area
Cemetery
0 25 50 100m
The Urban Core in 2007-2014
Qaisaria
Mosque
Social and Commercial Areas
0 25 50 100m

Figure 8.37: The changes in the urban core during the modern period.

8.3 Intangible Aspects

Addressing the intangible aspects of Erbil’s urban core is vital for the ongoing conservation process and for tackling the changes and degradation it is currently facing. When these intangible aspects (its hidden values and events) are understood as constituting an integral part of the urban core, they contribute to the spirit of Erbil. Alkymakchy, Ismaeel and Alsoofe (2012, p. 355) argue that the cultural heritage of a community carries more than the aesthetic reminders or nostalgia of previous times. It brings history into contemporary spaces and assists in the process of revealing both its spirit and identity of a place. Therefore, any conservation decision should be taken cautiously because an inadequate decision or intervention would threaten the memory and the spirit of the palace. A semi-structured interview was conducted with local people (academics and those who worked in the urban core, or were born and lived in Erbil). The questions referred to the important rituals, narratives, events and festivals that are taking, or took place, in the urban core. The main events were linked to Newroz day, the Prophet Mohammad’s birthday, and New Year’s Eve. In addition, other events happened in the urban core like the war of 1991 that caused a hole on the citadel gate (the one that was built in the 1970s) and the event that related with the civil war in 1994 between the two main Kurdish parties and it was connected with the *Laqlaq* (stork) story and the mosque called Haji Laqlaq. The strongest memories were of the south gate that existed in 1940s with its large scale, and its connection with the bazar area and the old cemetery. With regard to the Prophet’s Birthday, it used to be celebrated locally between the citizens of Erbil, who would decorate the bazar area and the urban core, and celebrate the occasion by singing the prophet’s songs in the mosque. For New Year’s Eve, the municipality decorates the urban core and the city with lights and decorations and some small statues. A large Christmas tree is erected in the city and in the Ain Kawa area, where the Christians are concentrated.

The annual Kurdish festival in Erbil, and the Kurdistan region is Newroz which occurs in March 21st and, as indicated in Chapter 5, its main features are the fire, torchlight processions from nearby high ground (hills or a mountain); dancing and celebrations in the countryside on the following day, where the spring warmth has made the land green with flowers and the rivers and streams are in full flow. In Erbil, the citadel was the main feature of this festival. On festival days, people concentrate near its edges. After the conservation process, the bonfires started to take place outside the historic city centre in one of the new, government built parks, is called Shanidar. As the citadel continues to undergo conservation, many parts are closed to the public. Figure (8.38) shows people gathering for Newroz in 2013.

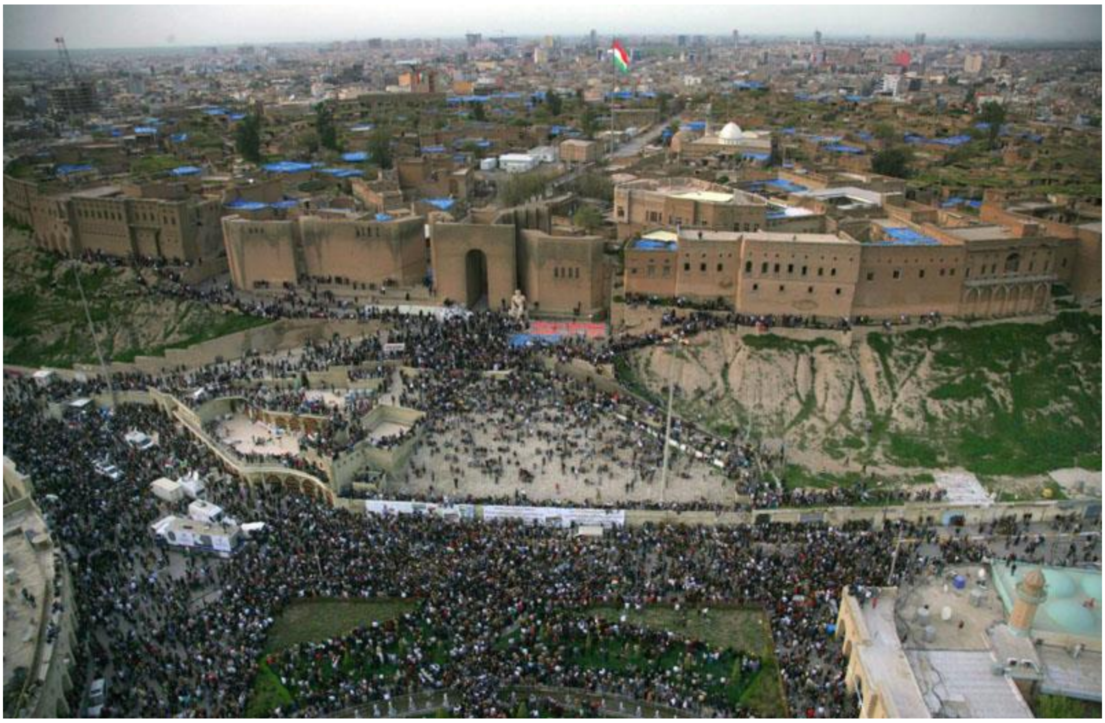

Figure 8.38: An aerial view of the Newroz celebrations 2013
Source: General Board of Tourism of Kurdistan, taken by Anon.

One of the main stories connected to the urban core (khanaqa sector) is the one about the stork[320] that built its nest on top of the minaret of a mosque. This stork would arrive every year in spring (Newroz time – spring period). It would stay for a few months and might have baby storks in its nest. Later, it would migrate, returning to the same nest the following year. For the local people the bird was very precious; their culture perceives birds that stay or live in a holy building such as mosques to be sacred, reflecting peace and as such are deemed to be citizens of Erbil. Therefore, as they were so appreciative of the stork's habit that the Masjid is now referred to as Haji Laqlaq (*Mizgaqfti Haji Laqla*). In May 1994, during the Kurdish civil war, a bullet shot by an unknown Kurdish soldier killed the white stork; and from then on, the nest remained empty.

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[320] These birds migrated to Iraq and existed in Baghdad and other cities, but disappeared in the 1990s when the war started and Iraq became unstable.

An Erbil poet wrote a poem in Kurdish about this disaster imagining the stork as speaking directly to the people of Erbil:

> I lived in the city and shared your suffering, bitterness, and sorrow. I cried for your suppression and painful history that was painted with blood… Each year I carried the presage of Newroz to you. My love for you prevented me from leaving. Yet I was killed by your hand.

Recently, following strong pressure from local people, the city's governor agreed to the building of a monument inside the urban core commemorating the existence of the Laqlaq (stork). It is to be a sign reflect the peace (Shekhani 2013). Figures 8.39 and 8.40 show the existing nest above the minaret of the urban core.

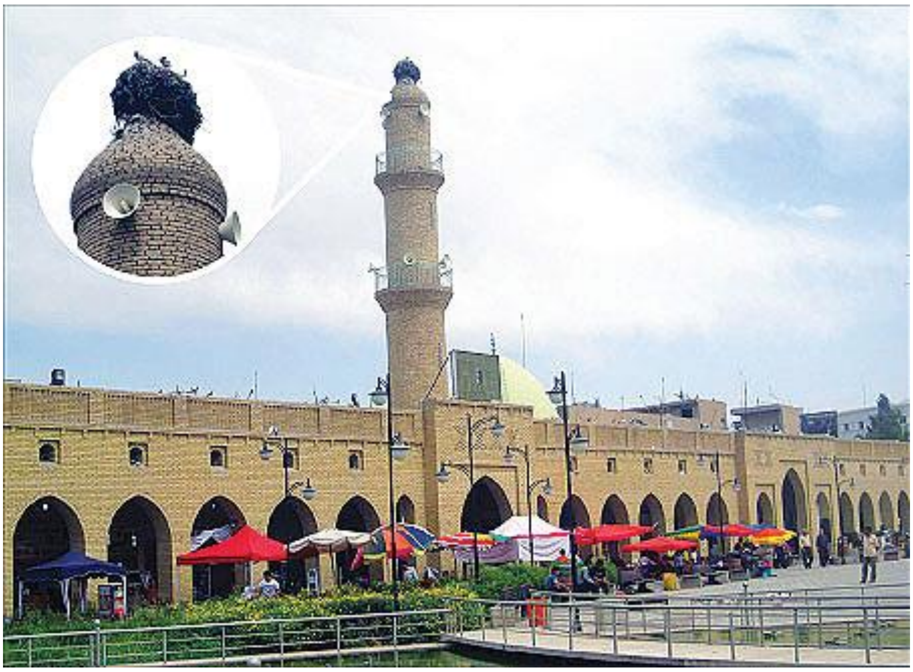


Figure 8.39: The nest set-up above the minaret of Haji Laqlaq mosque
Source: (The Middle East Journal, 2013)

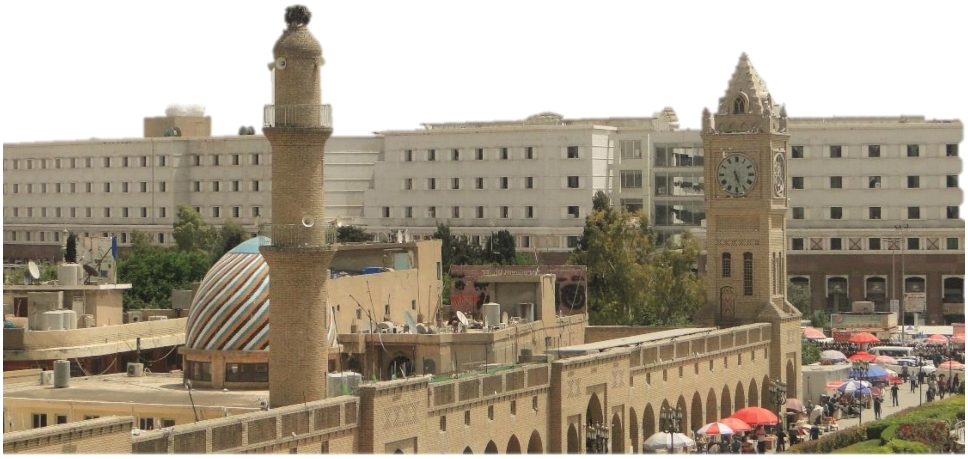


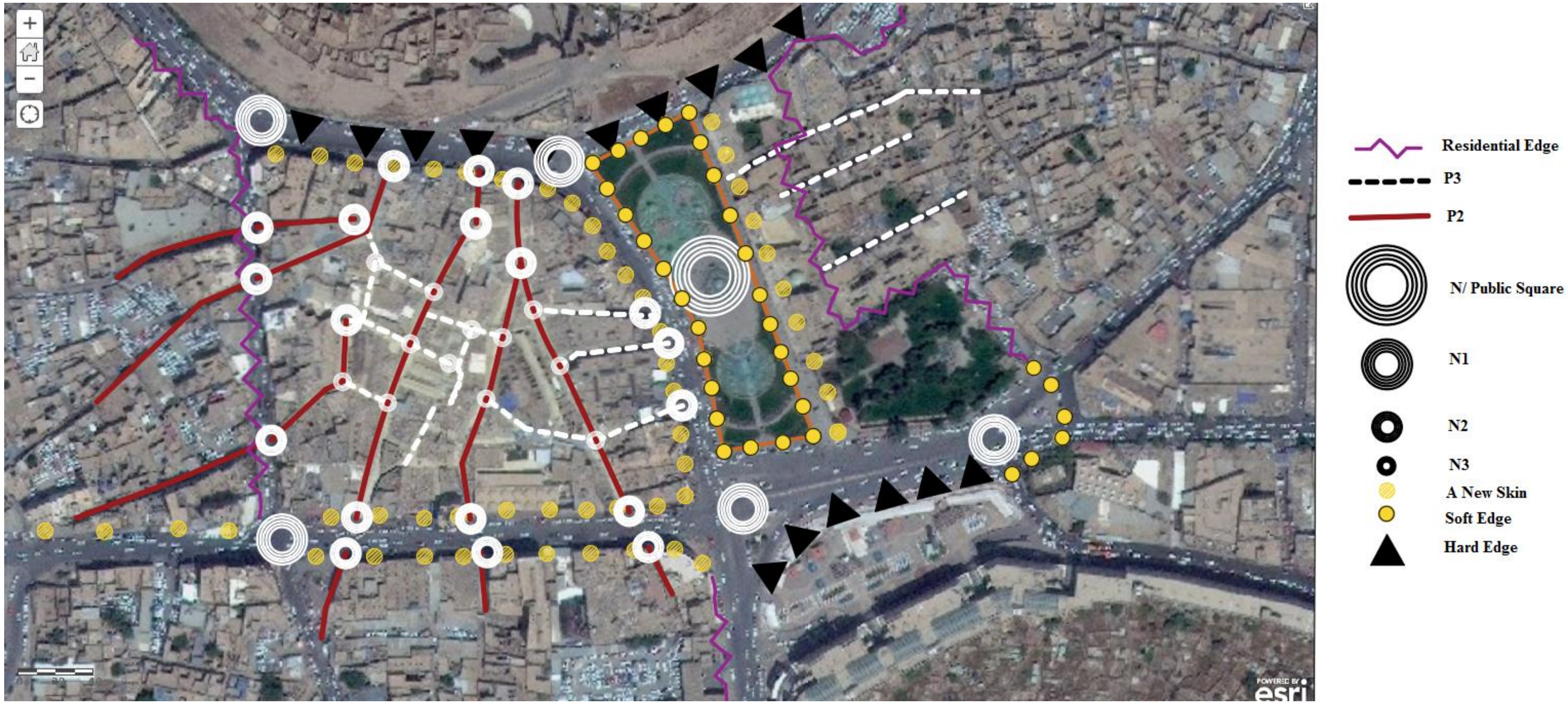
Figure 8.40: The relationship of the minaret and the clock tower
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2015

Conclusion

This chapter explains the changes made to Erbil's urban core during the modern period by use of a three-set model, composed of the urban elements (edge, path, and node), the relationship of the urban core to the citadel's South Gate, and the urban coherence. Analysis of this period is divided into three stages; 1932-1958, 1958-2007, and 2007-2014. The southern boundaries of the urban core changed to become a hard edge following the construction of the Nishtiman shopping centre at the edge of the historic cemetery. The western area, formerly an organic edge, was reshaped to become a regular edge after the building of the road (RP1). The paths (P1) and (P2) are the historic paths existing from the Ottoman period to now. Regular roads were added to the urban core at the expense of the traditional urban fabric. The visual access of (P1) is very strong but its edges changed following the addition of a new skin to the urban core. With regard to (P2); they lost their visual access and relationship with the citadel in two stages; in the 1960s, when they were roofed and again after 2007 when the new skin encircled the bazar area.

The hierarchy and dominance of the nodes altered. In stage one, the major nodes (N1) were open public spaces with commercial and religious buildings clustered around them. Later, open public spaces were covered and another large node - the square - appeared in place of the markets and the public garage (Delal Khanah). By establishing of the Nishtiman building, a further node appeared, creating a space that resulted in traffic problems. The importance of the other major node (N2) relied on their visual relationship with the citadel; this weakened after these nodes were covered and disappeared when the new skin was added. The relationship of the gate with the urban core also altered due to the changes in the gate and the urban core itself. What persisted were the physical aspects of the (N2), (P1) and (P2).

The coherence of the urban core changed from being an integrated urban structure, where each component related to the others, becoming instead, a fragmented urban arrangement with each sector i.e. the bazar area, citadel, and khanaqa area. The persistent elements in this stage were the location of the citadel South Gate and the main roads (P1) and the historic paths of the bazar area (P2) and although the location remained the same, they faced many changes, such as the change in width, the visual axis and the relationship after covering their roof. In the first stage, those paths were urban elements dominating the urban core, whereas, in the second stage (starting from 2007) and within the fragmented urban structure, the nodes took the leading role again. In the first stage, those paths were urban elements dominating the urban core, whereas, in the last stage and within the fragmented urban structure, the nodes took on the dominant role. With regard to the city's annual rituals, the open square, with the new additions (fountains and green spaces), reduced the activities that take place in it, thus possibly affecting the Newroz festival. Conversely, a new, intangible aspect appeared in the area which is the symbolic meaning of the stork's nest.



The figure below shows the urban elements of the urban core in the modern period

EPILOGUE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

1. A Glance at the Research

This study set out to explore the origins of Erbil's urban core and investigate the nature of its change and persistence over many centuries. It also endeavoured to reveal the persistent elements in a city that has faced many changes throughout its history. The findings of the in-depth analysis have helped to understand part of the historical ambiguity of the city's urban core.

Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan region in northern Iraq, is a historic city of great significance, which has faced enormous changes over centuries. Its citadel, which has played a vital role through the time, was added to the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites in 2014. Since then, two buffer zones, A and B, located in the lower city, have been created around the ancient citadel and strict rules for building and conservation have been imposed to protect it. The urban core that lies within buffer zone A to the south of the citadel is located in the lower area which consists of the civic, religious and commercial heart of Erbil, is currently under conservation. Unfortunately, however, no effort appears to have been made regarding an understanding of the origins or history of its urban core, or of analysing the many changes it has undergone. One of the main limitations of previous studies of the city has been that they either focused on conservation and changes within the citadel, or on the changes in the relationship between the new and old parts of the city. Those few studies that have dealt with the urban core during the modern period have focused on the bazar or other very a specific part of this area. The aim of this research, therefore, has been to contribute to an understanding of the architectural and urban development of Erbil, and, in particular, its urban core by:

1. Investigating the possible origins of the city's urban core.
2. Exploring the evolving character of its urban core through an interdisciplinary study involving architecture, history, archaeology and socio-culture.
3. Tracing the persistent elements and the characteristics of change in its urban core and the agents influencing those changes.

This study, which may be the first of its kind to explore the origins of Erbil's urban core, adopted a qualitative methodology with a triangulation approach that enabled an in-depth study of the past, in combination with interconnecting evidence from the fields of history, archaeology and the urban environment, in order to understand the layout of its urban core. To this end, definitions of the duality of change and persistence, plus aspects of the urban core of the SWANAAP[321] cities and their urban elements, have all been well established through previous studies.

The first step in this research, therefore, was to understand the historic urban elements of the city – i.e. its paths, nodes and edges – which helped to delineate the urban core. This was accomplished by analysing four chronological periods – the Assyrian, the Attabeg (or the prosperous city), the Early Modern, and the Modern periods. The second step consisted of analysing the influence of the agents of change on the urban core, and the persistence of both the tangible and intangible urban elements, within the same three chronological periods – Attabeg, the Early Modern, and the Modern periods.

The findings of this study may offer crucial information for planners and architects engaged in future conservation interventions, or any new addition in the city, since they may reveal the physical features of Erbil in general and its current urban core in particular. The methodology used in this study might also be used to discover similar persistent elements in other Tell cities in the SWANAAP region.

2. Challenges and Achievements

The main findings of this study, which has focused on Erbil's urban core, have been divided into two parts:

1. The Primary Findings based on the urban core – i.e. the main concern of this research – were established from the analyses included in:

    Chapter 6. The Attabeg Period
    Chapter 7. The Early Modern Period
    Chapter 8. The Modern Period

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[321] The acronym 'SWANAAP' that comes from South West Asia, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula is coined here by the author of this study to reflect the geographical location, rather than using terms that reflect a specific religion, ethnicity or culture.

2. The Secondary Findings based on the historic urban elements and the outline of Erbil city, whereby the outline of the urban core is delineated and its possible origins established. These findings emerged from the analyses included in:

Chapter 3. Erbil, The Ancient City
Chapter 4. Erbil, The Prosperous City
Chapter 5. Erbil, The Pre-Modern and the Modern City

2.1 The Primary Findings

The intention of this study was to select an area – the city's urban core – where the urban structure had undergone numerous changes and which would help to understand the evolution of that particular sector. The study, therefore, was eventually able to identify the origin of the current urban core, as it emerged from the intangible aspects, characterised by the citadel south gate, public square – or the maidan[322] – which is located at the southern base of the citadel, it first appeared in the 12th century CE during the Attabeg period and it had a possible root from the Assyrian period. It also identified a possible processional street dating to the Assyrian period.

2.1.1 The Possible Origin of the Urban Core in the Assyrian Period

The first evidence of the existence of a processional street and public square, which was apparent through tangible aspects such as a path and node, emerged during the Assyrian period where it had been developed from the society's ritual needs – i.e. intangible aspects – for political and religious purposes, as they related to the goddess Ishtar of Arbela and the Assyrian king. The square also met the city's commercial activities. Over the last ten years, archaeological studies and discussions, undertaken on behalf of the Iraqi Kurdistan government by foreign and local archaeologists, have investigated some of its ancient areas and addressed several of its historic urban elements, such as by tracing the Assyrian city wall. However, convincing evidence of the existence of the Ishtar temple is yet to emerge, partly because excavations have not been allowed inside the citadel. This study, by using different sources, such as site visits, interviews, group discussions, the examination of archaeological evidence, historic transcriptions,

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[322] The term 'Maidan' is used after Islam was introduced in the area, so using it in the Assyrian period is odd, instead of that, an urban public space or a square can be used to refer to this kind of the urban element. Furthermore, now days the usage of the term maidan is very rare; instead it is called a square, an urban public space, or a node.

Assyrian alabaster reliefs, and historical and archaeological books[323], was able to present a hypothesis that Erbil is actually the historic city of Arbela/Arbail and that its temple of Ishtar was situated inside the citadel.

This study has now established that the first temple – Egashankalamma – the house of the lady of the land – together with its ziggurat, was situated inside the citadel. It also postulates that the second shrine of Ishtar Arbela – called Egaldinna – which was located in the Milkia area, was suggested to be in an area called Haza or Azza. This suggestion, which requires further archaeological exploration in both the citadel and the Tells in Azza, arises as a result of the discovery of evidence relating to two temples of Ishtar, whereas previously some historians and archaeologists had doubted the existence of a temple in the citadel at all. The evidence for Azza was uncovered by Al-Badri (2015) who found a connection between these Azza and Milkia in the historic text; however, she believed that the temple of Ishtar was in Azza, probably in Tell Abdulaziz, and not in Erbil, as she thought that Ishtar had only one temple. Following up on Al-Badri's assumption, I made a site visit and also undertook archaeological, historical, and content analyses in order to verify her theory. The current study, which is based on the available evidence, also suggests that Tell Abdulaziz – among other Tells – in the Azza area may contain remains of the second shrine of Ishtar. All these results, which remain theoretical, now need tangible proof, which could be achieved by excavating both Tell Abdulaziz and the Erbil citadel.

The relationship between the two shrines of Arbela and Milkia and the annual rituals during the Assyrian wars was very strong. Consequently, it can be suggested that there would probably be a processional street, such as existed in other Mesopotamian cities, Babylon and Khorsabad in Assyria, which usually end in a square and ziggurat. This would be because, during the Assyrian Period, Erbil was the seat of the provincial governor, who had administrative and military responsibility for the entire province and, as such, it would have been both the departure and returning point for military campaigns and also a place of celebration following the return from battle, the main

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[323] Specifically, the book '*A City from the Dawn of History: Erbil in the Cuneiform Sources*' by John MacGinnis.

ceremony of which would have been the king's triumphal entry into the city followed by victory celebration (MacGinnies 2014, p. 40).

During each Assyrian war the goddess Ishtar (her statue) would leave the city and stay at her second temple in the Milkia area. Following victory, the king would hold minor celebrations in Milkia before returning to Arbela together with the goddess, Ishtar. In Arbela, they would process and, accompanied singing, the telling of oracles and music, using instruments such as harps and tabors, they would celebrate while their enemies were tortured. A further use for a Procession Street would have been for the annual journey of Ishtar to Milkia to commemorate her festivals of Demuzi/Tammuz and Ishtar, which took place in her second shrine in the Akitu house. Such departures and returns may also have been combined with parade and festivals. All these intangible aspects support the need for a processional road and square, and help to establish the likelihood of their existing beneath the southern part of the citadel together with a southern gate.

2.1.2 The Origin of the Urban Core

During the Attabeg period, Erbil was ruled by Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri (1190 CE – 1233 CE) who was regarded as the most significant and powerful ruler in Erbil's history. Indirectly, the historic accounts describe some aspects of the urban core, which, in addition to supporting evidence from other SWANAAP cities, aided this study by contributing to its outline and character (Chapters 4 and 6). This introduced a new assumption, which contrasted with the findings of Amin and Melčák (2013) and Yousif (2015 and 2007) and Nováček. As mentioned earlier, during the 12th century CE, in the south part of the citadel, Erbil had a vast open space, or maidan, which served religious, commercial, administrative, and civic functions, in addition to the south gate. The Khanaqa – or religious – area in the eastern part, included the Basté valley and cemetery on the south side, the bazar, probably on the west side, and possibly part of the administrative sector on its north side where the citadel gate was positioned. Each sector had a gate that led to the maidan from one of these sectors and which probably also led to the residential area.

In terms of the location of the khanaqa sector, the findings of this study contrasted with that of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) who positioned the khanaqa building with the Farah Gate on the south side of the citadel. This study, however, concluded that the khanaqa, a part of the urban core, was an area where a cluster of many khanaqa buildings existed, and a gate, referred to in the historical texts as the Khanaqa Gate, probably led to that area. This assumption has been supported by other examples from the SWANAAP region and from Yousif's (2015 and 2007) findings (Chapter 4).

2.1.3 The Tangible and the Intangible Aspects

The tangible elements in this thesis were the main urban elements that include paths (bridges or streets with different types), nodes (public open spaces, squares, markets, conjunctions between paths, or gates) and edges (wall, moat, natural elements). While the intangible aspects are the hidden patterns that shape the way of life. They carry values and customs that bestow life to the place, differentiating it from other places, what persists is what serves the people at any and all specific times, and this persistence reflects the particularity and diversity between cultures.

Nodes

The main intangible agent that triggered the appearance of the maidan in the Attabeg period was the ruler's decision to either establish a new maidan or instigate or re-use the old maidan – assuming, of course, that it had existed in the Pre-Attabeg period. This, in turn, had a strong effect on both the urban core and urban life. The first sub-agent came from organising the annual ritual of celebrating the Prophet's Mohammad birthday (the mawlid), which involved various celebrations and activities requiring a large space and, apart from the khanaqa area, the maidan would be the ideal venue for the main festivities. The main aspects in these events were candle-lit and other processions, Quranic recitations, religious songs, ritual dances, feasts and distribution of gifts, some of which took place inside the maidan and some inside the khanaqa (Monastery/Sufi lodge). Further sub-agents that required use of the maidan were such activities as political and army exercises and the holding of bazar type activities and open-air markets.

Later on and after the Mongol attack and during the 14th and 15th centuries in the Ilkhanid era of the Early Modern Period, its religious importance was revived, the Christianity flourished, and it became the seat of an East Syrian bishop for which information is sparse – during which time the maidan remained in use for hosting Palm Sundays and Christmas day processions. Then, during the Ottoman and early Modern periods, after socio-commercial constructions started to take over it and its moat, it fell into disuse; consequently, by the middle of the Modern period it had disappeared entirely. This situation persisted until its re-emergence as the square in 2007. Such an evolution sheds light on the concept of persistent urban elements, since this node has been shaped and re-shaped by different agents and to different degrees throughout the city's history.

The main causal agent for the disappearance of the maidan had been a shift in its administrative position in relation to other cities in the region from being such a powerful city, with a strong ruler, in the 12th century to losing its position as a religion centre in the 14th century. Therefore, the annual celebration[324] disappeared gradually and that might have impacted upon the existence of an open public space. During the Ottoman period in the 17th and 18th centuries, though, prosperity returned to Erbil through trade, especially following the immigration of many prominent people, such as the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family, who made a great impact through the building of the *qaisarias*[325] of the bazar. Such prosperity probably encouraged the building of many markets near to the citadel, which would explain why part of the moat and the maidan vanished during the period. However, it could be the political situation of the city as it was unsafe politically due to the tension between the Persians and the Ottomans, which, in the absence of a powerful ruler, perhaps led to a concentration of the population clustering on empty plots below the citadel to the south, which was the safest place for them (Chapter 6).

The analyses of this study have shown that the oldest nodes in the urban core existed from the Assyrian period were the square and the citadel gate. For instance, the square functioned as a node at different levels. While, the citadel gate worked as a threshold connecting it to the city's urban core; although it may have shifted its position, it was always located to the south of the citadel. The other types of node were the bazar's nodes, which probably functioned as open-air markets during the Ottoman and Modern periods, However, there is no evidence to support the existence of the bazar's nodes during the Attabeg period in the 12th century CE. The minor nodes that constituted the intersections

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[324] The celebration of Christmas and Prophet Mohammad's birthday became limited to celebration either individually or in a group, for Muslim maybe inside a mosque or takia (khanaqa).

[325] A qaisaria is a construction of closed markets, shops with liner organization, from one to three storeys

of the bazar's paths did face changes, the most important of which was the decision to roof them during the Modern Period – an action that affected their relationship with the citadel.

Paths

With regard to routes, the analysis and discussions of this study identified changes in their widths, visual axes, and directions and in particular their relationship to the citadel. The Kirkuk Road, one of the principle persistent elements in the urban core, may have persisted due to its relationship to Erbil with regard to other cities in the region, such as Kirkuk/Arabkha and Hazza/Azza, following the founding of Islam, when Hazza became famous for its monasteries and markets. Moreover, during the Assyrian period (1000 to 612 BCE), a processional street may have led from the square to Azza. However, due to the lack of information, it is not clear whether this road existed during the Attabeg period (12th century CE), although some traces of it were found in the Early Modern and Modern Periods. However, it appears to have changed its direction and shape – from curved to straight – also its width and edges – nevertheless, it survived.

The markets in the bazars also influenced the persistence of historic paths during the Early Modern and Modern Period, even though faced changes in their widths and their relationship with the citadel due to them being roofed for environmental reasons. In the Modern Period, also, because of the requirements of the people, a new road system was imposed bringing public transport to the area at the expense of the traditional urban fabric.

Edges

The edges of the urban core also faced changes due to the rapid urban growth and investments in the city. The north part, however, changed when half the moat was transformed into a ring road and the other half had properties built on it. During the Ottoman period the north area of the urban core tended to change somewhat, but it remained as a hard edge because it ended at the citadel's hill, while during the Modern period, the width of the ring road was increased at the expense of the citadel hill, whereas the other edges changed continuously. For example, the south part changed from a soft edge to a hard edge as eventually a large shopping centre was added at the expense of the historic cemetery and Bestė valley, which was a historic natural element dating to the Attabeg period and was highlighted in the written account of Ibn Khallikan at that time. Another important finding was the identification of traces of the citadel moat, which is one of the city's urban elements. This conclusion contrasted with the previous belief which was that the ring road was thought to have been the citadel's earlier moat, whereas, in fact, it was only part of the moat.

This study, which found a relationship and a persistence between the Attabeg and the Ottoman periods, contrasted with that of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) who assumed that the urban fabric of the Attabeg period bore no relationship to that of the Ottomans.

2.1.4 The Interrelationship of the Urban Elements

The dominant urban element in the urban core during the Attabeg period was the city's maidan (square) with the possible existence of a square during the Assyrian era. In the Early Modern period especially, at the beginning of the Ottoman period, the structure of the urban core started to change In that half the moat surrounding the citadel was buried and became an unpaved ring road and part of the other half changed into small nodes – probably open-air markets – and the other part was taken over by different types buildings, such as *hammams* (baths), *khans* (inns) and shops. During that period also, the edges of the citadel moat were integrated with other elements in the urban core.

The paths of the bazar area became dominant urban elements as they took on irregular shapes, branching out from the citadel gate and extending towards the south. From the Ottoman period into the middle of the Modern period, these paths became a visually dominant urban element in contrast to those of the Attabeg period, when the maidan had dominated. However, during both periods, the urban core appeared to be coherent – although, during the Attabeg period, its urban elements and its functional uses were integrated. Likewise, during the Ottoman period, visual coherence was represented by the harmony of height, design and style together with the materials used in constructing the buildings. Also, the socio-commercial and religious aspects were connected to each other through the function of buildings such as public baths, inns, mosques and markets with the qaisarias. A combination of similar buildings was the main aspect of every bazar in the SWANAAP cities.

Historically, the citadel gate had an enormous influence on the growth of the urban core – except, of course, during the latest stage of the modern period – and it had a strong functional relationship with the city's daily and annual activities by affecting both the tangible and the intangible aspects of the urban core. In the Attabeg period, the gate overlooked the maidan fulfilled both administrative and protection functions. For instance, it played a vital role in the annual rituals of the Prophet's candle-lit and the Alkhul's birthday processions, both of which started from the gate, then visited the maidan and finished in the Khanaqa area. Certainly, at that time, the upper part of Aleppo's gate, fulfilled an administrative function, so it is quite possible that in the 12th century Erbil's gate had a similar purpose.

The analysis of the cultural patterns of movement in the Attabeg period showed the influence of the maidan's spatial configuration and its various activities, surrounded as it was by the *khanaqa* and bazar areas. While, during the Ottoman period, the interrelationship of the urban elements changed, resulting in different urban structure where its paths branched out from the gate; it nevertheless remained coherent. In the Ottoman period the gate was also the principal point of entry, serving administrative roles as well as a functional purpose.

However, in the Modern period, the gate gradually lost its importance, particularly after the old one (that was re-built by the Ottomans) was demolished and, however it continued to work as a threshold and to have some influence on annual festivals, such as Newroz, the Kurdish festival, when a fire is lit on the top of a hill – the highest point in Erbil being the citadel – and a procession would move from the gate down to the lower areas of the city. In present times, though, because of the conservation process taking place in the citadel and the opening up of new areas in the city, the tradition of using the citadel for the festival has changed and it now sometimes takes place in different parts of the city.

Analysis shows that in the Modern period the spatial structure of the urban core has become less integrated as separation between its various components increased, particularly following the establishment of regular paths, which allowed cars to reach the heart of the urban core at the expense of traditional buildings. Changes in the citadel gate and new additions as part of the conservation process to the urban core, such as the public square, the new covered walkway, the clock tower and the new shopping centre have all impacted negatively on the visual coherence. Especially, the addition of the new skin (the covered path) that surrounds the blocks in the bazar and the khanaqa areas has resulted in the segregation of the citadel, making it appear isolated.

2.2 The Secondary Findings

These findings, unrelated as they are to the main aims of the current study, were identified through an analysis of the city's urban core. They include the discovery of a double wall and a moat dating to the Assyrian city of Arbela. This finding supported those of Nováček, Amin and Melčák study of 2013, who found traces of a gigantic city wall, although they didn't identify its purpose behind its thickness.

However, contradictions exist regarding the city wall in the historical accounts of Al-Hamawi, who visited the city in the 13th century, and Abu Al-Fida, who quoted Erbil's inhabitants in the 13th century. While Al-Genabi (1987), Naqshbandi (1989) and Hussyein (2015) supported the Al-Hamawi account, believing that the city wall crossed the citadel at its middle, thus protecting its southern part, where the main gate is located, with the north part of the citadel being outside the gated wall, Yousif (2015 and 2007), Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) agreed with the Abu Al-Fida account, that the citadel was entirely surrounded by a city wall.

However, the findings of this study contrast with both these beliefs the conclusion being that earlier the city wall was similar to Al-Hamawi's description – i.e. the citadel interrupted the continuity of the city wall from the northeast, but that later the position of the wall was changed and the citadel came to be sited inside it, probably as a result of expansion when Erbil became prosperous during the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri. This conclusion comes as a result of supportive evidence from other Tell cities in the SWANAAP region, which may be compared with Erbil. On the other hand, however, it could simply be that the interruption of the wall by the citadel is a left-over from the Assyrian era. The study made by Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013) also found a thick wall intersecting the citadel, but they did not attempt to justify its existence.

During the Attabeg period there is a possibility of the existence of more than two *qaisarias*, one built by the Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi, while the other ones were probably built before his rule.

The main agent for the organisation of the prophet's Mohammed's birthday in Erbil came from a decision made by the ruler, Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukubri, while there were various sub-agents that contributed to his decision – a reflection of faith, the hope of divine rewards, the projection of power to other rulers, Jesus' birthday celebrations (Christmas) by Christians in Erbil, the Fatimid and Mosul festivals of the Prophet's birthday, and Sufi influences. Other findings that revealed the original date of the *qaisarias* to be in the 1900s may have been due to confusion with dates, with some dating them towards the end of the Ottoman period while others claimed they were built in the Attabeg period.

The 'Stork Story', which is an intangible aspect of the urban core, is about a white bird that used to come during the time of the Newroz and stayed for the whole of Spring, nesting above the minaret of Khanaqa. However, it is said to have been killed during the civil war in 1994.

3. A Reflection of the Study and its Analyses

In terms of the persistence Aspects The urban elements of Erbil's municipal core that have persisted through history and faced some changes in their aspects and sometimes disappeared and appeared again are the maidan and the citadel gate – urban elements that probably date from the Assyrian period, while others are the historic paths of the bazar area that date to the Early Modern period, or before. The existing of qaisaria and the existence of its concept form the Attabeg period or before. Newroz was a main festival that persisted in the city and sometimes occurred in the urban core - especially after the creation of a new square - however the festival location now changes every year to different areas of the city. During the Ottoman period 16th century the Newroz festival was prohibited, but reinstated again in the Modern period and became important following the Iraq war in 2003. This festival might go back to the Adabinae period, i.e. the Pre-Islamic period, but no information exists from the Attabeg era to confirm its existence in Erbil, although there is some evidence for it taking place outside the city.

The prophet Mohamad's birthday celebration persisted from the Attabeg period, but it changed from being a big festival to a small circle festival celebration. The New Year festival started after the 2003 war and the main celebration of Christmas moved to the Ain Kawa area where the Christians are concentrated.

The major changes that impacted the urban core occurred in the Attabeg period in the 12th century with the reusing of the maidan, such intangible aspects involved, for example, the Prophet Mohammad's birthday, which was celebrated in the urban core. Whereas, during the Ottoman period the major changes was constructing the qaisaria in the bazar area in the 1900s. In the Modern period, the major changes were the establishment of regular paths through the old urban fabric at the expense of demolishing some traditional buildings, such as the *khan Spi,* which was divided into two separate parts. The addition of the square – which was called the maidan during the Islamic period – and the building of the shopping centre above the historic cemetery, introduced new architectural elements to the bazar area, such as the new façade with the covered paths that were added as part of the conversion process. All these changes came about after Erbil had prospered economically and had been included in the tentative Iraqi list of World Heritage Sites in 2007. During the Attabeg period the dominant urban element was the maidan, but after that the structure of the urban core was changed and the paths became the prevailing element.

Minor changes that took place in the urban core were the increasing width of the historic paths in the bazar area, and the establishment of new regular routes, which were widened to allow access to public transport. Also some traditional buildings were demolished and new architectural elements were added.

4. The Original Contribution to Knowledge

The focus of this study has been Erbil city, the capital of the Kurdistan region of Northern Iraq, with particular regard to its urban core, which has faced many changes over the millennia. This PhD thesis is considered to be a first, or at least an early endeavor, to explore the history of Erbil's built environment and relate it to the Modern period by harnessing the dual concepts of change and persistence. The study's significance lies in the cross-disciplinary approach adopted, with archaeology, history, and the city's socio-culture being considered collectively in order to explore both the tangible and intangible aspects of its urban core. Consequently, the findings may be considered to be fundamental to the knowledge of Erbil's architecture, history and urban design, and, as such, would aid any future conservation studies either in this city or in any other cities of the region. However, it is accepted that the observations and suggestions I have made in this thesis will, no doubt, benefit from further analysis and refinement.

4.1 Primary Contributions to Knowledge

This section lists the primary contributions of this thesis to the knowledge base of the origins of the urban core.

a) The possible existence of a square[326] during the Assyrian period (from 1000 to 612 BCE). The moat and the maidan, which have been identified and traced back to the 12th century, display a continuity and persistence of elements from the Attabeg period (from 1128 to 1233 CE) into the Early Modern (from 1233 to 1918 CE), and Modern (from 1918 to 2014 CE) periods. The results of this study, however, contrast with the findings of Nováček, Amin and Melčák (2013), who stated that they could find no connections between the urban structure of the Attabeg and Ottoman periods (Aim one and part of Aim Three)[327].

b) The evolving character of the urban core and the interconnection of its tangible and intangible aspects and how the impact of such agents cause change or persistence. For example, the influence of the political, religious and economic factors on either persistences or disappearances in urban public spaces (Aims Two and Three).

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[326] The term 'Maidan' is used after Islam, so using it in the Assyrian period is odd, instead of that, an urban public space or a square can be used to refer to this kind of the urban element. Furthermore, now days the usage of the term maidan is very rare, it is called instead a square, an urban public space, or a node.

[327] The aims of this study are:
- Investigation of the possible origin of the urban core;
- Exploring the evolving character of Erbil's urban core through an interdisciplinary study involving architecture, history, archaeology and culture;
- Tracing the persistent elements and the characteristics of change in Erbil's urban core as well as the influence of the agents of changes.

c) An exploration of the urban core by tracing the city’s paths, nodes and edges. As a consequence, the outline of the urban core was identified throughout the periods – starting from the Assyrian, the Attabeg and into the Early Modern and Modern periods. In this way, the study was able to build on the existing available, but limited, architectural history and literature of the city’s urban core (Aims One and Two).

d) An investigation of intangible aspects, such as the origins of Prophet Mohammad’s birthday in Erbil during the Attabeg period; this event impacted profoundly on the urban core, as well as working in harmony with it.

e) A methodological contribution has been made by adopting a triangulation multi-method cross-disciplinary approach in order to understand and analyse the urban core. The methodology integrates knowledge from the interconnected fields of archaeology, history and architecture, which offers a pioneering approach to the study of Erbil city and probably other cities on the region. This approach contrasts to the conventional approaches used to study change in the urban core of (SWANAAP) cities. Some conventional approaches have been to ignore the intangible aspects and focus entirely on architecture and urban design. Studies, such as Karimi’s (1998), Mahmoud and Haki’s (2008), Abbas’ (2008), Abdulla and Jalal’s (2010), and Mahmoud and Zangana’s (2010), adopted Hillier’s space syntax approach in order to monitor changes. Such an approach is limited, since it requires maps to detect changes and to compare the various periods. Other researchers, such as Shunnaq and William (2000), Neglia (2001), Ben Hamouche (2004) and El-Zubaidy (2007), designed their own approach that traced changes, but for the modern period, some also adopted a descriptive method.

Tangible and Intangible Aspects of the Urban Core

By analysing its changes chronologically, the study identified ways of extracting those persistent elements of the urban core that possibly date to the Assyrian period.

Tangible aspects: the first urban element is the square that persisted from the Attabeg period up to the present in one form or another. The second urban element was the oldest path connecting Erbil with Kirkuk and the Azza area, probably dating back to the Assyrian period, which may have linked with a processional road in the city. Another path, through Mosul to Nineveh, is beyond the scope of this study, but it indicates a possible processional street towards Mosul – especially since the expansion of the city was more towards the west side. This hypothesis can be applied if excavations prove that the second temple of Ishtar was not in the Azza area; in which case other Tells, such as Chamka and Arabkand may be considered as possibilities. The third element of the urban core was the citadel gate, which was the main threshold and node that connected the citadel with the urban core. Although it changed its shape and probably location over the centuries, it had been positioned in the south of the city from the Assyrian period. The fourth element consisted of the commercial sector – the bazar and khanaqa areas, both of which persisted from the Attabeg period until the present. The fifth element, also in the bazar area, is the network of paths that possibly date to the Early Modern or Attabeg periods. The sixth urban element is the moat (edge), which dates to the same period or before and which encircled the citadel. This has altered dramatically, so that half of it is now a ring road and the other half has been built over, resulting in just a few traces of its outline remaining on the site map. The final element is the *qaisaria*, in the bazar area, which persisted physically from the Ottoman period and, intangibly – as a concept – from the Attabeg period.

Intangible aspects of the urban core: those that persisted throughout were the Newroz festival and the Prophet Mohammad’s birthday. The function and the relationship of the sectors of the urban core persisted from the Attabeg period in almost the same places and which include both socio-commercial and religious aspects. The name of the *khanaqa* area (a cluster of Sufi lodges) and its partial function and location persisted from the Attabeg period, while the persistence throughout history of the commercial sector in the same area has had a significant impact on the existence of the historic bazar and its paths.

4.2 Secondary Contributions to Knowledge

This section lists the secondary contributions of this thesis to the knowledge base of the origins of the urban core and its change and persistence.

1. The suggestion of a hypothesis that the modern city of Erbil is on the site of the city of the Assyrian Arbail or Arbela, due to the identification of two temples of the goddess Ishtar, the main shrine in the citadel and the other in Milkia, which, for the purposes of this thesis, is considered to be in the Azza area, where the second shrine was located on Tell AbdulAziz. However, such a hypothesis requires further archaeological proof.

2. An introduction of a scenario, or an assumption, of Erbil's outline during the Assyrian and Attabeg periods (Chapter 3).

3. The further hypothesis regarding the relationship of the citadel to the city wall during the Attabeg period (Chapter 4).

4. Confirmation of the location of the *khanaqa* area and the Farah Gate on the eastern side of the city (Chapter 4).

5. The redrawing of the 1920-2014 maps of the urban core area, since no chronological maps are available that show the evolution of this area during this period. This is because the originals belong to different periods and were either maps, or images, drawn by hand, which some contained erroneous dimensions and/or inaccurate information. The most recent (2014) AutoCAD version showing Erbil, which is considered to be the master plan of the city, also contains inaccurate dimensions.

6. Identification methods of extracting the persistent elements – that would inform and support any future conservation process, particularly one occurring in the historic urban core of the Tell cities, or any other historic cities.

7. Confirmation of the date of the *qaisarias* in the bazar area that were built by the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi family at the end of the Ottoman period.

5. Recommendations

The suggestions below, which result from the research and findings of this study, directly or indirectly indicate strategic and tactical arguments that may be of value to other researchers and conservationists or others involved in intervention projects. The following suggestions may be applied to future decision-making, both for design or for urban conservation purposes.

5.1 The Regeneration of Dynamic Spaces

It is important to have a diverse range of annual, weekly or monthly events and activities in urban spaces. Launching a special events strategy would impact on the use of the urban core and would enrich and give meaning to the structure of such a successful space because its essence lies in the tangible and intangible aspects that constitute it, since it is an amalgamation of form, people, and events. It is also important to meet the expectations of the users of these public spaces – i.e. their inhabitants and visitors – or to attract them by adding new events, would help to enhance the vibrancy of those particular parts of the city and make them more meaningful.

More use could be made of the urban core as places where people can come together to attend annual festivals, such as Newroz, since currently the festival is celebrated in different places around the city. Consideration might also be given to a commemoration day of the White Stork – a day that reminds people of love, peace and unity. There may be many ways to commemorate this day, such as by carnivals or shows that could take place across the urban core.

5.2 The Conservation of Historic Places

Decisive action should be taken to cease the destruction of the urban core by revising the poorly conceived conservation strategies that are currently being implemented. The government and the local authorities should counteract the chaos created by allowing various unconsidered investments to be channeled into the historic urban core in the name of the conservation process. Also, Abdulraqib Yousef's recommendations, which include re-building parts of the city wall in those areas he has specified, should be implemented (unpublished report sent to UNESCO in 2007).

The visual axis of the citadel, the old minaret, and the historic paths of the bazar area within the citadel should be preserved. Furthermore, people and other stakeholders should be engaged in the decision-making process, so they become more attached to their own history and culture. Therefore, consultations need to be held before any new additions or conservation projects are initiated, such as the destruction of the Bastẽ – the historic valley – and the cemetery, in order to build a commercial centre and residential area, or the removal of the markets of Dalal Khana and other historic components from the urban core. Generally, there is a need to research and understand the history of the area and to record the historic changes to any urban core prior to starting conservation projects. Finally, collaboration should ideally take place between archaeologists, historians, architects and urban designers prior to any conservation program, construction project or any other change that might be implemented in significant places.

5.3 Impact on the Collective Consciousness

Artefacts are signs from the past whose existence brings the story of history alive. Therefore, it is important to ensure history thrives within the collective consciousness by increasing the awareness of all the people, whether old or young, regarding their history and archaeology. This may be achieved by organising seminars and events inside the historic areas, or elsewhere, in order to shed light on their importance, or by undertaking scientific field trips for schools, universities, and government institutions, to visit museums and historic and traditional places, such as, for instance, the Erbil citadel. Another way of increasing awareness could be through producing street advertisements or short documentary films to make the public aware of the importance of their archaeological and historic areas.

5.4 The Economic Outlook for the City

In addition to the commercial sectors, important source of income for the city is from tourism. Erbil needs to have an active policy regarding tourism which will enhance the diversity of its urban spaces and reinforce the image of the city in order to establish it on the tourist map that compete with other cities in the region – and, perhaps, the world – in order to attract tourists and other visitors. Different methods require to be implemented to achieve this:

Firstly, archaeological sites ought to be used generally as Kurdistan tourist attractions and landmarks. Erbil, in particular, has many significant sites that are currently neglected and which, if rehabilitated, could attract visitors, not only to the city, but to the whole region. During my data collecting site visits for this study, I discovered many precious locations that have great tourist potential – however, most need urgent attention. Sennacherib canal, which tells part of the historic story of Arbela, is one such neglected site that is gradually being transformed into a residential area, and a gravel extraction factory has already been set up near to it. Another site – the Kahariz irrigation system – which dates to the Sassanid, Abbasid, and Ottoman periods, parts of which were functioning until the 1940s, is now vanishing and needs urgent attention. These canals can become significant places to visit, as they are in other countries such as Jordan and Iran.

Secondly, this study advocates putting less focus on the investment in the urban core or construction sectors in order to concentrate more on urban space activities, especially since the Kurdish culture is very strong and can incorporate a wide variety of activities and events.

Thirdly, Kurds have nurtured treasured crafts in clothes, shoes, hats, home accessories, and carpet and mat weaving, all of which are attractive to tourists from around the world and could provide a valuable revenue resource for Erbil's citizens.

6. Scope for Future Research and Projects

During my site visits and the process of collecting and analysing the data, many new topics and ideas for research and projects emerged. Dealing with them all, however, would move the study away from its main aims; nevertheless, they could form the basis for further studies, which should include studies in architecture, conservation, urban design, and archaeology.

6.1 Tangible and Intangible Aspects of the Historic Parts of Erbil to be Focused on in Future Research

Tangible aspects, which include paths, nodes, and edges, requiring further research may include, (i) the current state of the urban core, with a focus on building design, materials and relative heights compared to the citadel, (ii) the impact of the conservation strategy and methods for improving the urban core's coherence and its building components, such as the new clock tower and the new skin which is the covered path, (iii) researching changes in the size of the current citadel gate and comparing the old Ottoman era gate with the new one with regard to the building material used, its scale, and the height and width of its access path, and (iv) undertaking a detailed study of the documentation of types of traditional religious buildings, such as the *khanaqa, madrassa, zawia, ribat,* and mosques, (v) a general anaIysis is required of the main characteristics of processional streets in Mesopotamia, Assyria and Babylon, (vi) similarly, the present day public square in Erbil's urban core might benefit from being compared with other international examples, particularly in terms of patterns of movement, activities, and the interrelationship with buildings and other structures, (vii) a comprehensive study on the Kahariz system – Erbil's famous irrigation system – would be an ideal subject for further research, (ix) during my site visits I noticed significant interior designs for traditional houses in the *khanaqa* area. These houses are in need of documentation as they are the remains of residential parts that are about to be demolished.

As part of revitalising the intellectual culture of the Kurdish heritage, it is important that a study should be undertaken that explores the roots and original concepts surrounding the Newroz Festival in Kurdistan as a whole.

6.2 The consideration of investment projects

(i) reviving the copper craft that existed in the Attabeg period as it is considered to be part of Erbil's culture (ii) investing in projects, such as hotels, restaurants and resorts, particularly in the Sennacherib canal area, which has beautiful natural surroundings, to convert it into a tourist destination. This kind of project attracts visitors who are not interested in shopping. Such sites would be unique since their stones and bricks tell a distinctive history. Furthermore, opening a cultural center that embraces Kurdish culture their intangible aspects, such as song, dance, costume, food, music, poetry, and crafts.

7. Limitations of this Study

The main limitations of this study were both the lack of comprehensive and chronological maps that could have supported the analysis, and those that do exist are either photo images or hand drawn, which some were inaccurate. Moreover, a 2014 AutoCAD version of the master plan of Erbil contained inaccurate dimensions, therefore, a new version needed to be drawn. Another obstacle was the critical situation of Kirkuk city and other archaeological areas, such as the Assyrian city of Khorsabad near Mosul, due to the war and terrorist activity, which prevented me from visiting several other archaeological sites. There were few resources and organised information held in the government institutions, and there were examples of withholding information and other poor professional actions on the part of some architects. Due to restrictions of time I was unable to produce the other hypothesis that related to the location of the second temple of Ishtar – the suggestion area was on the west/ south west of Erbil (see the above section -Scope for Future Research and Projects). Finally, I faced considerable financial issues, since visiting countries like Iraq, Greece, Turkey and Germany to obtain primary sources of evidence and site visits were entirely at my own expense.

8. A Look Through the Lens of Farah Al-Hashimi

> "Change is a continuous process. You cannot assess it with the static yardstick of a limited time frame. When a seed is sown into the ground, you cannot immediately see the plant. You have to be patient. With time, it grows into a large tree. And then the flowers bloom, and only then can the fruits be plucked"
> Mamata Banerjee

Finally, it should be recognised that the challenges of the historic urban core in other cities are not too different from the situation that confronts Erbil, since every city has to manage many changes. Nevertheless, I was able to delve deeply into the past to reveal a long chronological period that helped to identify the tangible and intangible persistent elements and to record the changes that happened to both the urban core and the historical urban elements. My study, therefore, attempted as far as it could, to reveal the hidden face of Erbil, its architecture and other urban elements, in addition to some intangible aspects. It also identified methods of extracting the persistent elements. These disclosures can now be used for a wide variety of purposes, in particular in the conservation processes that are currently taking place in the more studied sections of the city.

My study might also draw the attention of the city's stakeholders to the importance of preserving and reviving the tangible and intangible aspects of Erbil's history and also to the importance of understanding the need to preserve both Erbil's, and Iraqi Kurdistan's, cultural heritage for the benefit of future generation, who will hopefully continue to carry the torch of liberation for their ancestors and their successors.

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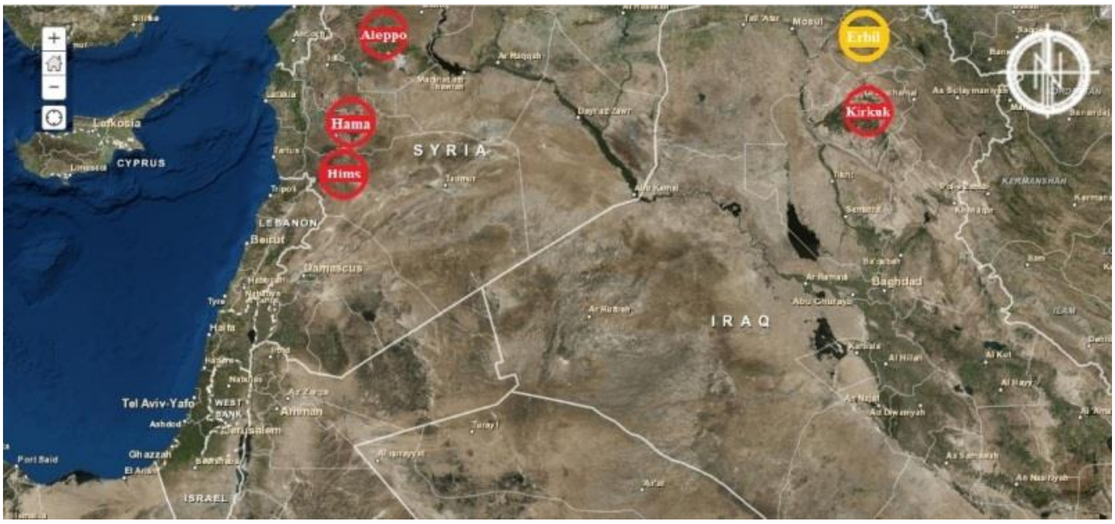
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Tell Cities in the SWANAAP Region

The following section will attempt to introduce a brief history of the main Tell Cities.



1. Kirkuk

Kirkuk[328] is one of the largest cities in Iraq. It stands on the highway connecting Baghdad, Kirkuk, Erbil and Mosul, and on the earlier historic trade route of Babylon, Kirkuk, Erbil and Nineveh; it is an important commercial centre (Kramers and Bois 2015, p. 145). The city and its territory was part of the Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms and appeared in historical sources and tablets under the name of Arabkha[329] (Kramers and Bois 2015, p. 145; Saatçi 2007, p.17).

Kirkuk fell under the rule of King Seleucus[330], and later under the rule of the Parthians, the Sassanids, and lastly the Muslims. In the first centuries of Islam the city, like Erbil, it lost its importance. By 1149 CE Kirkuk and the Shahrazur area were under the rule of Muẓaffar Al-Din Kukburi, Erbil’s ruler (Saatçi 2007, p.23; Bois and Kramers, 2015, p. 145).

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[328] Aside from its significant location and long history, it gained further importance when oil was found there in early 20th century. Despite its long history the city has failed to attract archaeologists and scholars to do more research, possibly due to restrictions imposed by the authorities. This city, like other cities in Iraq, received little attention from previous governments, with focus being on Baghdad. Lately, however, interest in investigation and excavation of the city has increased (Nováček 2015; Amin 2014; Saatçi 2007, p.13).

[329] Al-Hassani (1925, p. 152) states that Kirkuk is one of the oldest Assyrian cities and was initially called Kukrkora and later Kurkh Silukh/Sliuq, after which it was called Kirkuk or Karkhi by the Arabs.

[330] The King Seleuqus constructed a tower inside the citadel, restored the citadel wall, built a number of bastions and added two gates (Kramers and Bois 2015, p. 145; Saatçi (2007, p.23).

Al-Hamawi (1977 [1228], p. 450 vol. 4) visited the city and described it saying:

> Karkhi [Kirkuk] is a citadel situated on a natural depression in the land [fi wataa min alardh]. It is a fine and fortified citadel located between Daquq and Irbil [Erbil], I have seen it, it is located on a Tell [a high hill] and has a small settlement on the rabidh [flatland].

The lower city of Kirkuk was crossed by the Khassa River[331]. Currently this river is dry and its place is only visible by traces. Its old citadel, situated on its eastern bank, is considered to have been the core of the urban settlement for many centuries (Karim 2013; Saatçi 2007, p.17), figure 1.1. In terms of the development of Kirkuk's urban morphology; the citadel retained its attributes as a fortified city with small settlements on the flatland. After the 12th century it was viewed as a place of safety from the constant rivalry and instability between Persian and the Ottoman Empire. A painting from 1534[332] by the geographer and historian Matrakçı Nasuh[333].

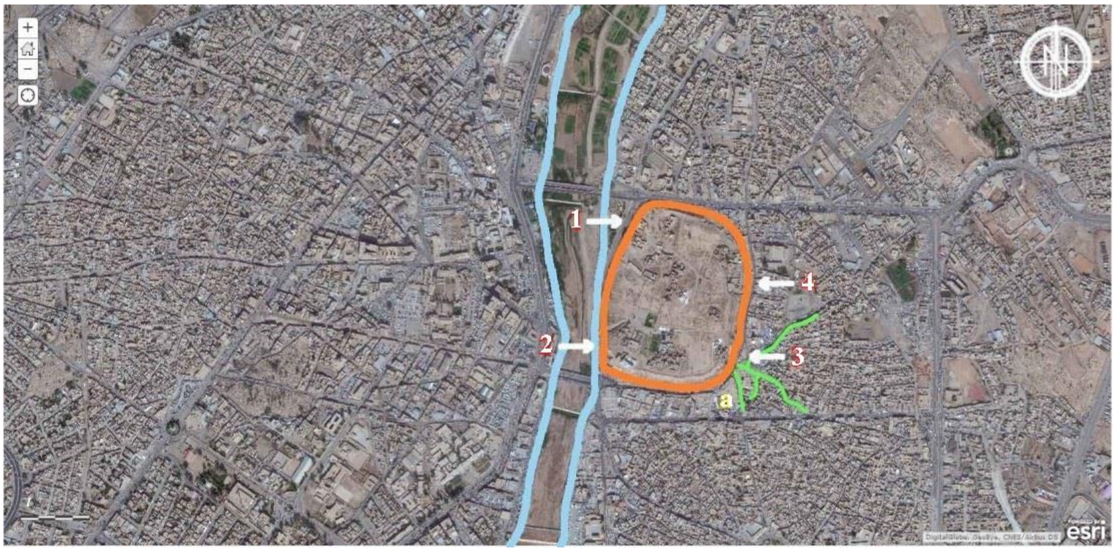

Figure 1.1: Kirkuk citadel google satellite map; the citadel gates are marked by numbers 1, 2 3, and 4; on the west side are traces of the Khassa River, on the southeast side is the commercial sector, the urban fabric of which starts from gate 3; 'a' is where the famous Qaisaria existed. **Source:** ArcGIS (2015) adapted by the author

Figure 1.2 shows the citadel fortified by a wall and having an eastern gate and probably a western gate near the river; but no bridge is shown connecting its east and west banks. The expansion of the Kirkuk settlements located below the citadel grew towards the

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[331] The Khassa River dried up, probably as a consequence of the Turkish Gap dam project, and impacted on the water level of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Iraq.The Khassa River is now no more than a valley that collects rainwater (Al-Hashimi 1998).

[332] Part of a manuscript aimed to document Basra and Kufa cities during the Sultan Sulaiman campaigns.

[333] Matrakçı Nasuh was a historian, cartographer, mathematician, and geographer. He was born in Visoko, a town in Bosnia. Recruited by Ottoman scouts and brought to Istanbul he served several Ottoman sultans.

south, southeast and northeast. Further residential areas and orchards were situated on the west bank of the Khassa River.

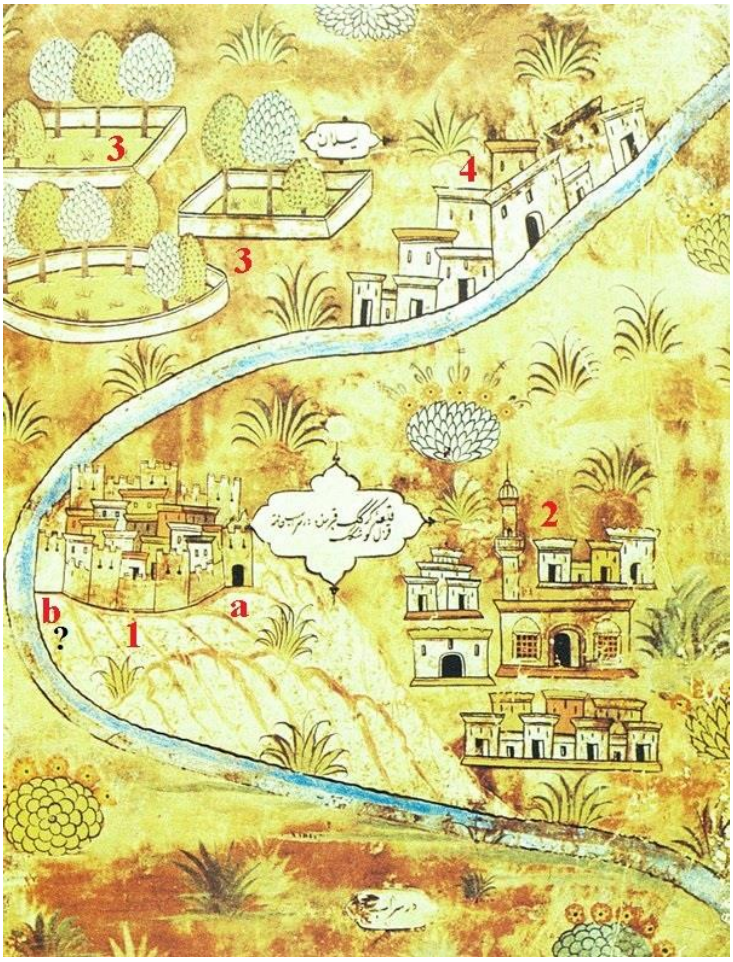

Figure 1.2: (1) is the Tell and the Kirkuk citadel with its gates, (a) is the east gate and (b?) is probably the west gate, (2) is the settlement located below the citadel on its east, southeast and northeast side, (3) are the orchards and (4) is the settlement located on the west bank of the Khassa River.
Source: Miniature painting from a manuscript drawn and written by Matrakçı Nasuh; available in the Ottoman Archives, published in Saatçi (2007, p.30), adapted by the author

Kirkuk citadel had an unknown number of gates (probably three), but by the 20th century four gates[334] existed and still do (Yousef 2015; Saatçi 2007, p.35). In the past the citadel had a high wall (Kramers and Bois 2015, p. 145); which was replaced in the 18th century after the Persian attack, by a row of houses that follow the old boundary line and form an uninterrupted elevation; figure 1.3 shows the current view of the city of Kirkuk.

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[334] The citadel gate, called Topqapu, was rebuilt after the Persian attack in the 18th century, during the Ottoman period. It still exists and is located at the nearest point leading to the bridge that 'crossed' the Khassa River (Al-Dawoodi 2007; Saatçi 2007, p.39).

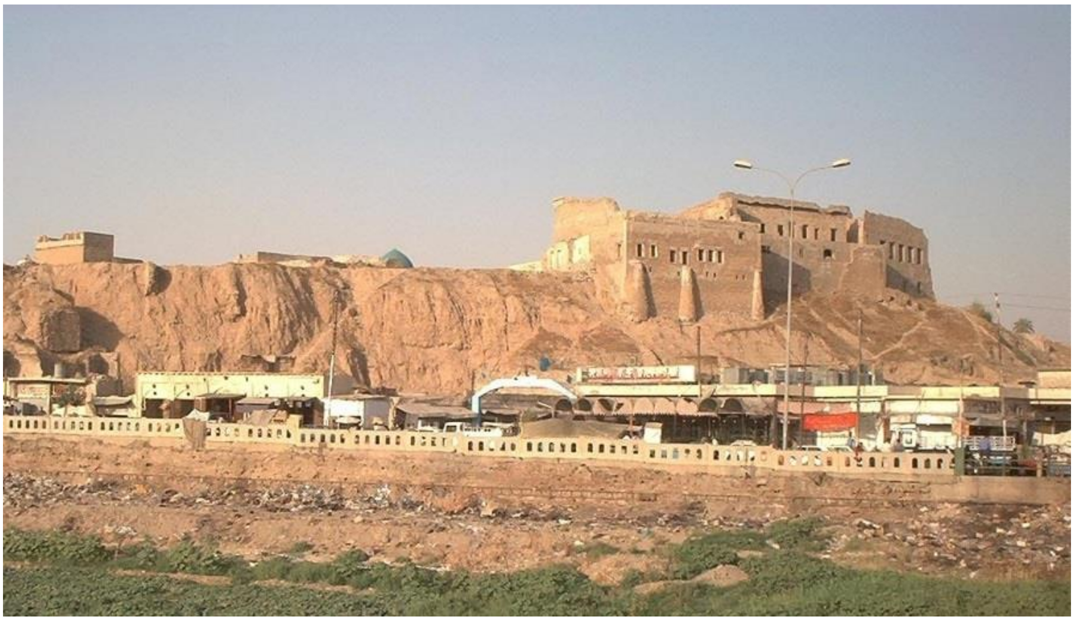

Figure 1.3: A view of today's Kirkuk
Source: Pukmedia, 2000s

2. Aleppo

Aleppo[335] or Halab/Halep is among the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. It located in northern Syria, is set in a fertile plain with the Queiq River passing through today's city. It gained its importance from its topographical location, and its trade in agriculture and its industry (Tabbaa 1997, pp. 2 &16). The Amorites were probably Aleppo's first inhabitants, but from the third millennium BCE the city surrendered to and absorbed many powers. Its name, like Erbil's, appeared in the archive of Ebla in 2250 BCE. Aleppo came under Mitanni rule but by 1600 BCE it was subject to Hittite [336] and later Neo-Hittite rule. After that came a period of Assyrian supremacy followed by Persian occupation, ended by Alexander the Great, who paved the way for the Seleucids to control the land after his death. The Greek commander, Seleucus Nikator, brought a further dimension to Aleppo when he restructured the city's street plan. Following Seleucid rule, in 64 BCE, the Romans took control of the region and remained in power for around 600 years. In 637 CE Aleppo fell under Arab control**,** at which point it became the centre of autonomous power until 1070 CE when it was conquered by Seljuk Turks (Burns 2009, pp. 34-35; Tabbaa 1997, p. 16). The Ayyubid period began in 1176 and ended in 1260 when the Mamluks ruled until 1516, after which the

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[335] Aleppo was one of the main centres of Islamic culture and this position and importance increased during the period of the Ayyubid and the Mamluk dynasties. Luckily Aleppo has preserved both examples of its early architectural elements and some of the rich literature of the medieval period.

[336] Originally they are from Central Anatolia

Ottomans occupied the region. The city in the 12th and 13th centuries was conceivably the largest and most significant city in the Syrian region (Burns 2009, p. 33). Aleppo has an old citadel situated on a natural hill. This citadel had one main gate and a bridge connecting it to the city on the lowland (Ibn Shaddad 1991 [13th century], p. 82; Qal'a Halab n.d.). This citadel[337] was recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986 (figure 1.4). Although earlier used as a military quarter, in the 12th century, during the Ayyubid period, minor changes were made to the citadel when a small mosque was built inside. Later on the ruler Ghazi, made major changes to the citadel that included strengthening its fortifications and expanding its functions by building baths, palaces and shrines (Ibn Shaddad 1991 [13th century], pp.59-60 and p.84). In addition, Ghazi built two towers and a bridge, referred to above, that extended from the citadel to the flatland (Tabbaa 1997, p. 19 and p. 72; Ibn Shaddad 1991 [13th century], p. 82).

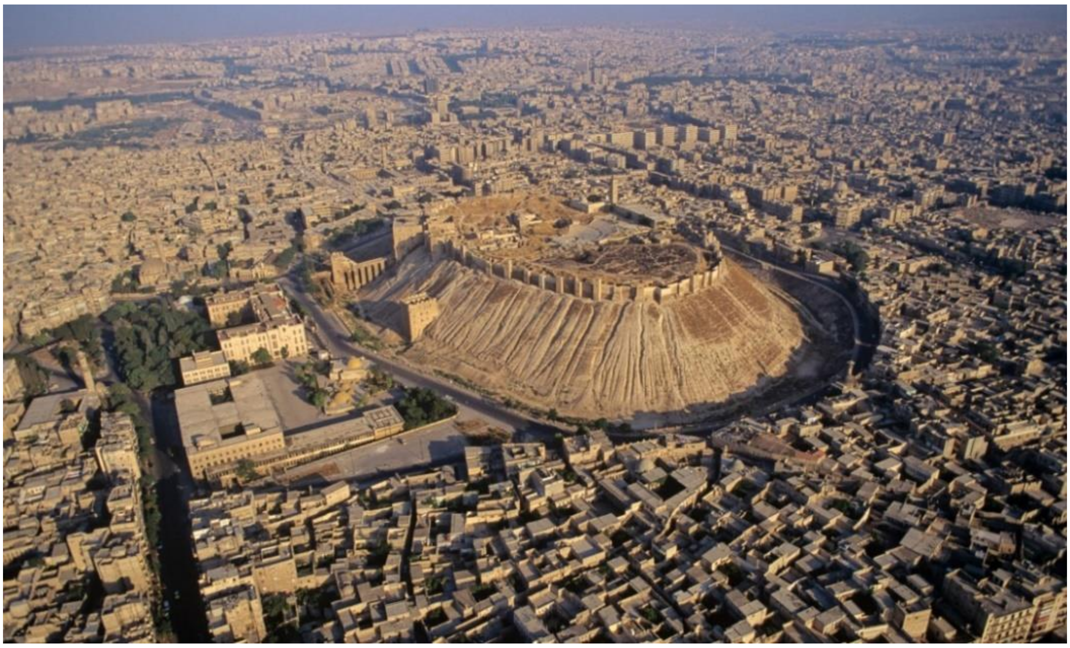

Figure 1.4: Aleppo and its enormous urban growth in 2015
Source: theguardian.com

The lower city of Aleppo was originally a fortified city; but following the Persian invasion the city wall was destroyed to be rebuilt later in the Byzantine period. “The old city beneath the [c]itadel [retains] many traces from the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, most evident in the grid layout of the street pattern, which was gradually transformed into a network of pedestrian alleys in Islamic times” (Bianca et al. 1980, p. 11). The Arabs entered the city peacefully and during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods

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[337] Archaeological excavations uncovered traces of Byzantine and Roman occupation dating back to the 9th century BC (Qal'a Halab 2014; Burns 2009, p. 33)

the city wall was left to deteriorate, as there was no interest in rebuilding it. The main mosque of the flatland city occupied the former space of the Agora together with a huge bazar in the eastern district in the area surrounding the mosque. Following Arab Umayyad and Abbasid rule, the Arab Hamdanid[338] and Mirdasid[339] dynasties made minor restorations[340] to the city, but no changes to its fortifications. The significant transformation of the citadel and the lowland occurred during the Ayyubid[341] period; the city later submitted to the Mamluks and then the Ottomans.[342] In the modern period the city has faced developments and expansion, which have impacted negatively on its traditional urban elements. The old eastern gates and the city walls have disappeared and the only information on them is in the historical texts (Tabbaa 1997, p. 21), (figure1.5).

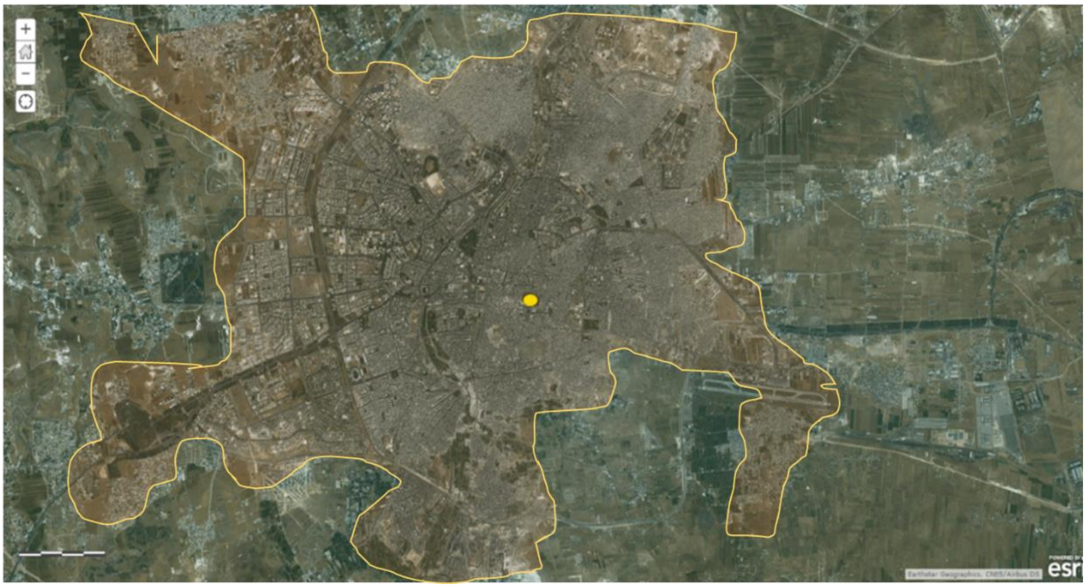

Figure 1.5: Aleppo in 2015 displaying its massive urban growth
Source: ArcGIS

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[338] The Hamdanid dynasty (Arabic: حمدانيون) was established by Hamdan Ibn Hamdun. They ruled north Iraq and Syria from (890-1004). They were a Muslim Arab dynasty descended from the ancient Banu Taghlib Christian tribe of Mesopotamia. In general, "these medieval dynasties Zangids, Ayyubids, and Artuqids-asserted their power by refurbishing and modernizing existing towns and providing them with all necessary institutions of urban life" (Tabbaa 1997, p. 1).

[339] An Arab tribe settled for several centuries in the north side of Syria

[340] The earthquakes of 1157 and 1170 resulted in the near destruction of the city. Some towers were later rebuilt together with a low earthen wall standing around 100m from the original wall.

[341] As one of the main centres of Islamic culture Aleppo's importance increased during the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties. The south part of the citadel included different functions such as religious schools, mosques and baths (Tabbaa 1997, p. 24).

[342] Aleppo, located on a central route connecting Europe with Mesopotamia, Central Asia and India. Therefore, during the period of Ottoman rule and between the 16th and 18th centuries, with the exception of a period of commercial stagnation in the 17th century, Aleppo became the third most prominent commercial centre after Istanbul and Cairo. In the 19th century the city grew again, but managed to conserve some of its traditional components to the present day (Alafandi and Abdul Rahimn 2013, p.1; Burns 2009, p. 33; Bianca et al. 1980, p. 11).

3. Homs or Hims

Homs, also known as Hims and, much earlier, as Emesa, is an historic tell city in Syria with a long history, part of which is still obscure. It was probably founded by Seleucus Nicator (Dumper and Stanley 2007, pp.71-72; Elisséeff 2014, p.2). The design of ancient Homs was based on that of Hellenistic cities; there was a 275m-diameter citadel in the southwest corner on an artificial mound that probably belonged to the Hittite or Aramean period, (Elisséeff 2014, p. 9; Burns 2009, p.172; Bosworth 2007, p. 162). Due to its geographical characteristics and its location between Damascus and Aleppo, Homs became a commercial and industrial centre where cotton, sugar, grapes, and wheat were produced and distributed (Commins 2004, p. 130; Bosworth 2007, p.161 Dumper and Stanley, p. 171). In the 3rd century BCE Homs/Emesa became prosperous with connections to Rome. The city[343] was ruled by many dynasties: Greek, Roman, Arab, Attabeg and Ayyubid. In the 16th century it lay within Ottoman territory. The French traveller Pierre Belon visited the city at that time and reported its citadel had been built by the Romans, and that the city walls and citadel were in good condition, (figure 1.6); (figure 1.7) shows the current state of the city.

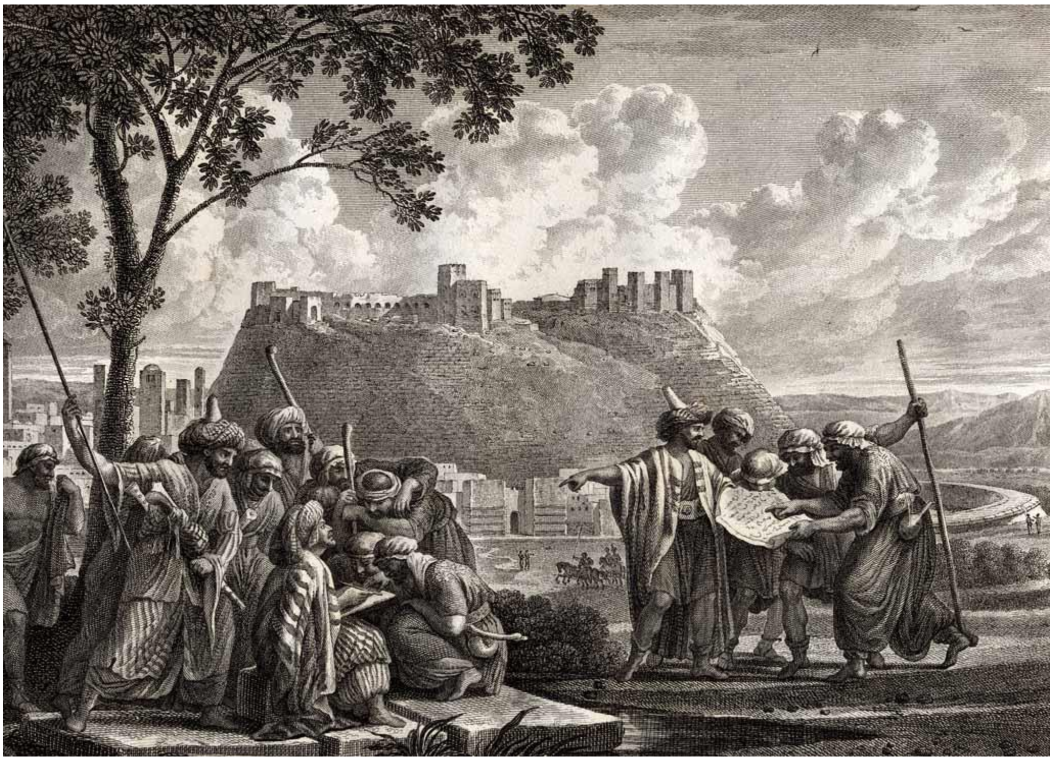

Figure 1.6: The original drawing shows Homs citadel between 1756 and 1827. It was drawn by Louis Francois Cassas during his journey.

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[343] In the 10th century Homs was destroyed on a number of occasions (Commins p. 131). Nevertheless, the 12th century geographer Al-Idrisi could record that the city possessed one of the largest mosques in Syria. He also indicated that the city had active markets, paved streets and numerous canals used to irrigate the orchards and gardens (Elisséeff 2014, p. 6; Bosworth 2007, p. 159; Dumper and Stanley 2007, p. 173).

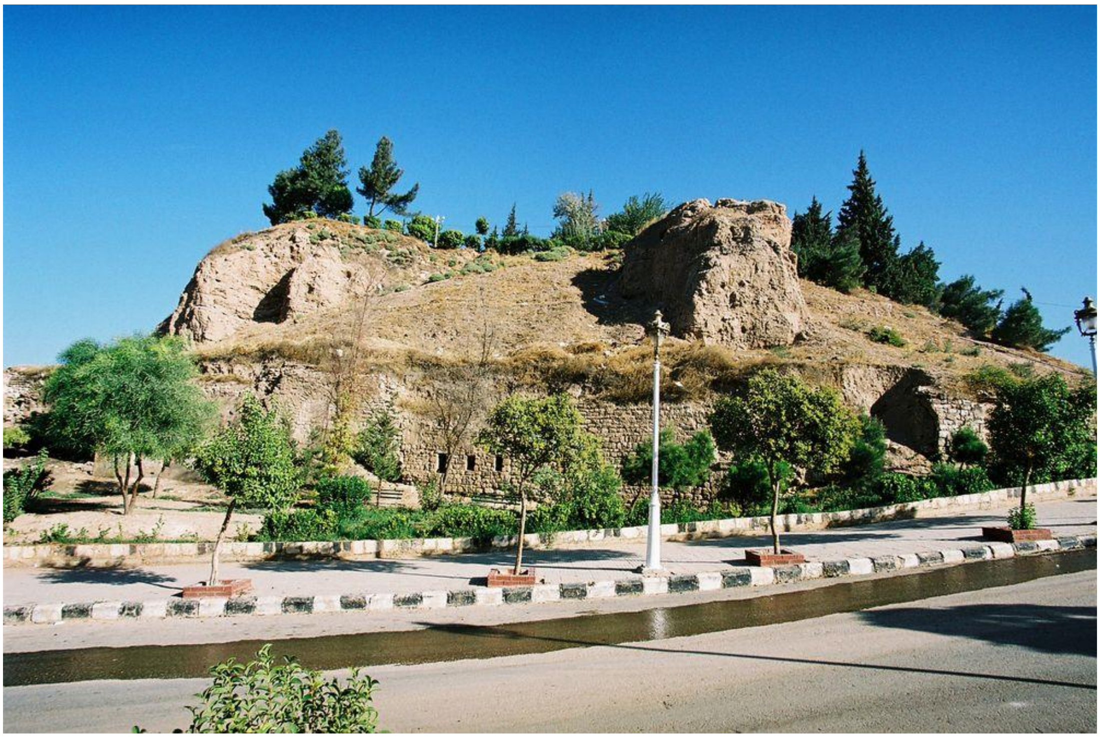

Figure 1.7: The remains of the Homs citadel viewed from the southwest
Source: Photo by Peter van der Wielen, published in
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/kings/sargonii/

The lower city was walled and had seven gates, the majority of which were demolished by the Ottomans, who reduced the city to a village (Burns 2009, p.172; Bosworth 2007, p. 160). Remnants of the city wall existed until recent times when the street network and the general expansion of the city played a role in hiding its traces (Elisséeff 2014, p. 2). Figure 1.8 shows the old outline of Homs in the 18th century.

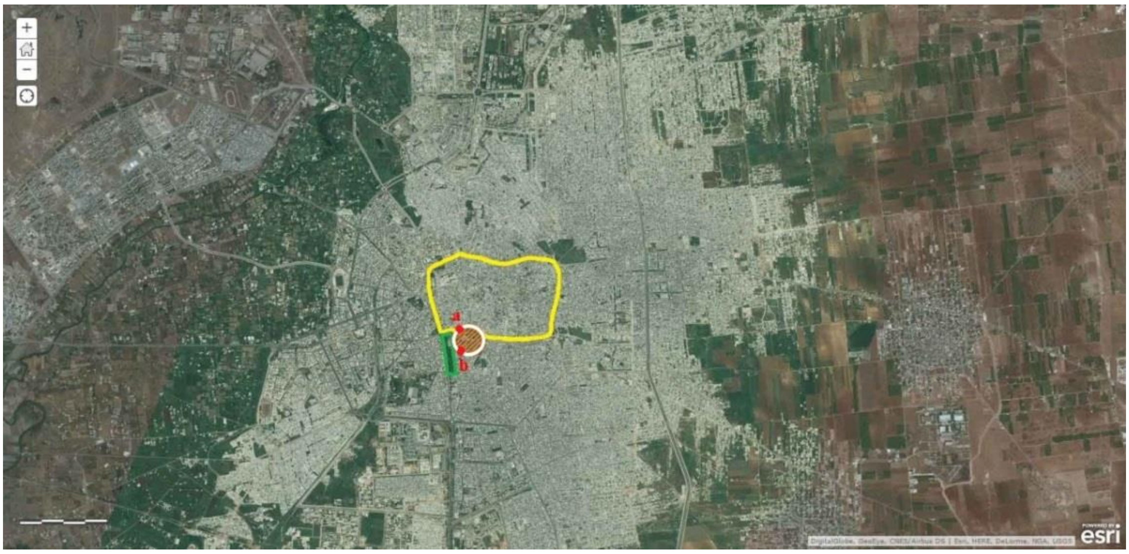

Figure 1.8: The remains of the citadel in Homs on the southwest part of the city wall
Source: ArcGIS (2015) adapted by the author

4. Hama

Hama, previously known as Hamath or Emath, is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in Syria. This city is located on the Orontes River or, as it is called in in Arabic, the Al-Assi River (Burns 2009, P.162; Bloom and Blair 2009, p.134; Commins 2004, p. 120). Hama (figure 1.9) has an historic mound and its citadel was protected by a wall (Bloom and Blair 2009, p.134).

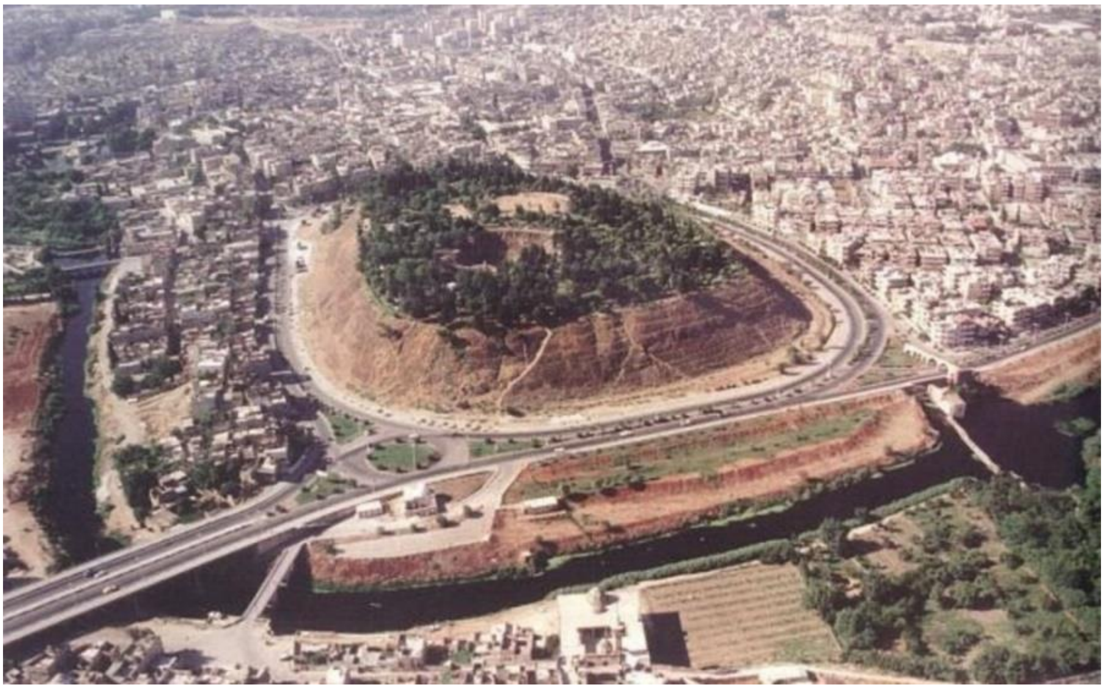

Figure 1.9: The citadel in Hama, taken by Anon
Source: Panoramio

The citadel is located to the northwest of the city's urban core; traces found in the citadel reach back to the 11th century BCE[344] "The Tell has been occupied almost continuously since Neolithic times, and was ruled by Neo-Hittites, Arameans, Assyrians and Romans, before the Arab conquest in 636 CE, when the town was only of minor importance" (Bloom and Blair 2009, p.134). Hama was destroyed by the Assyrians in 720 BCE (Radner 2012, p. NA) and came under their control; then under Persian rule. Later it was conquered by Alexander the Great, and after his death it was taken by the Seleucids. The city continued to be a Byzantine administrative centre until it fell into Arab hands. With the coming of Islam, the city's settlements were distributed between the citadel and its lower city on both banks of the River Al-Assi. Both the citadel and the lower city

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[344] "Constant changes in settlement have affected much of the remains of previous occupations. Virtually nothing survives of the Hama of the Bronze and Iron ages, or the Seleucid, Roman, Byzantine and early Islamic empires" (Burns 2009, P.162).

had a congregational mosque; in addition to a hospital, religious schools, and a bazar which were distributed in the lowland. During the Abbasid Caliphate, the city's large markets flourished: then it was taken by Salah Al-Din Al-Ayubbi in around the 12th century. The Ayyubids continued to rule the city until it passed to the Egyptian Mamluks (Abdullah et al. 2014, no pagination). In the 13th century the city survived a Mongol attack and by the end of the 13th century Hama prospered again under the rule of the Mamluks, who built large *Norias* (wooden waterwheels) and aqueducts, which can be seen in (figure 1.10).

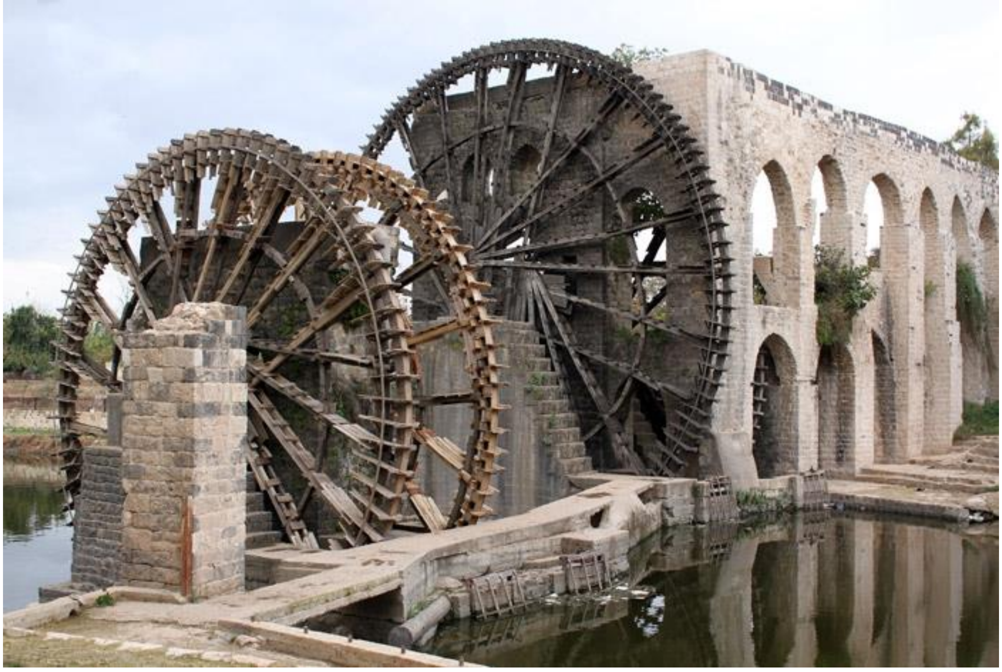


Figure 1.10: The large Norias, wooden waterwheels built by the Mamluks, taken by Anon
Source: Syrian Researchers, 2000

Later on the city faced Timur's attack which caused severe damage to the citadel, which has not been rebuilt**.** Its remaining stones were later used by Hama's citizens for other building work. In 1517 CE the city came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire (Abdullah et al. 2014, p. N/A; Burns 2009, P.162; Bloom and Blair 2009, p.134).

APPENDIX 2: Interviews and Group Discussions and Emails Communication

The interviews (which were semi-structured) and the group discussions were varied in their periods. The maximum time last for six hours and the minimum was one hour. During which several questions were asked.

THE INTERVIEW AND THE GROUP DISSECTION PROTOCOL

Introduction

Good morning (afternoon). Thank you for accepting to be interviewed within this study. The purpose of this interview is to get a clarification and understanding of:

a) The debate of the Arbail/Arbela is Erbil (Interview, email communications, group discussion, and sites visit)
b) The existence of the Ishtar temple and the Assyrian canal
c) The city outline and its urban elements during the Assyrian period the Attabeg period
d) The tangible and intangible aspects of the urban core during the Attabeg period the Ottoman Period
e) the Modern Period

1. Voice Recording

I trust it is fine with you to record this conversation. This will enable me to get all the details and equally have an attentive conversation with you

2. Interviewee Details

Q1: What is your background and years of experience?

Q2: Could you please confirm your position and briefly your responsibilities? Q3: How long have you been living in Erbil? (if it is applicable)

The Interviews included general questions, detail questions, specific questions, and closing questions.

3. Remarks

Many thanks for your time and your in-depth discussion, it is well appreciated.

INTERVIEWS

Interview with: Mr Abdulraqib Youssef (AY)

Interviewee's Job Title: Consultant/expert on the history and archaeology of the cities of Kurdistan

Date: 04 May 2015

Location: Sulaimania city, Iraqi Kurdistan, Interviewer & voice recorder: Farah W. Al-Hashimi (FW)

Note recorder: Farah Wissam Al-Hashimi

Time period: 4pm to 10pm (120 minutes continuously)

Language: Arabic and parts were in Kurdish, translated by Farah Al-Hashimi

With the Attendance of the archaeologist Dr. Narmen Muhammad Ali Amin

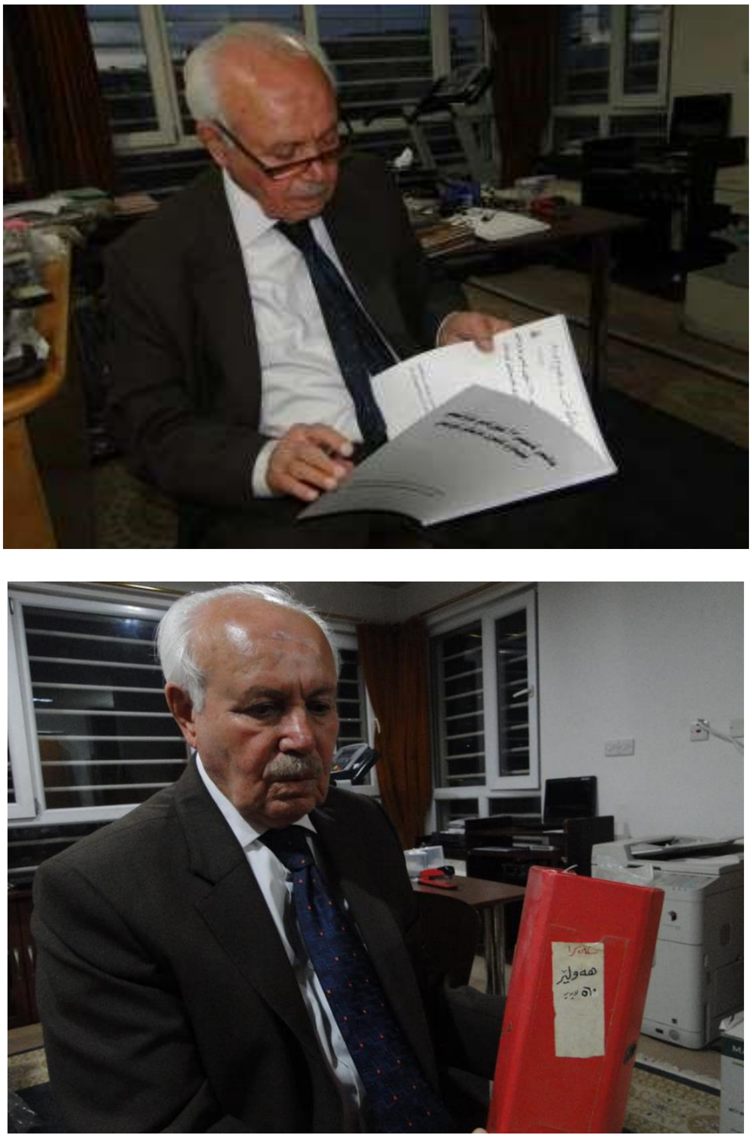


Figure 2.1: Mr Abdulraqib Youssef the Expert on the history and archaeology of the cities of Kurdistan

ERBIL CITADEL:

FW: How many gates did the citadel have?
AY: It had four gates.

FW: How do we know this?
AY: What is known is that Erbil has a south gate and a north gate. In terms of the west and east gates, in 1988 I was able to discover them by using the two sentences that were written in the book of Ibn Al-Mustawfi to highlight the tombs of the *Awlia, or wali* (religious person) near the eastern and western gates.

After interviewing many people whilst conducting a survey for the citadel and its surrounding area, I went up to the existing eastern access that leads to the citadel and is located opposite the hammam Khanzad and the hammam Ali Agha. I visited the houses that are located near the eastern gate and one of those houses was dar Pierpal Agha (the house Pierpal Agha) which is 18 metres away from the eastern gate. When I was inside the house taking some pictures, one of the tenants told me there was a tomb in the basement of this house in a room which has arches. I told him show me the place. We went through a small door located in the south part of the courtyard. I saw the room and its arches and I saw the tomb located in a deep arched recess. The tomb looked like it is inside the wall and occupied a small space. I asked about the name but they said there is no name, it is a tomb with an unknown name. After many years of my discovery of the eastern and western gates of the citadel, I went with one of the young men who showed me some specific buildings of the citadel, and during our site visit he mentioned the name of the Abbasid Gate. I asked him which gate they call the Abbasid Gate, he said the eastern gate it was called the Abbasid Gate. This also proved my theory and shows that this gate existed from that time up to now. I was surprised as I interviewed many elderly people; one of them was Nasih Al-Haidari (who was a famous Nassakh in Erbil) and they didn’t mention that.

In terms of the western gate, during the survey on that area and after asking many people, I found traces of a gate with a circular column made by stones, unfortunately part of these traces had disappeared after the rehabilitation and the conservation that was done to the city wall by the Directorate of the Iraqi's Antiquities (with the involvement of the archaeologist Rafiq Fatih-Allah from Erbil) who worked on filling the gap in the citadel wall. I started to search for the tomb to compare the existing situation with the account of Ibn Al-Mustawfi and during my survey a woman came to me and said that there was a tomb for one of the *wali* (we call him ‘Imam Abdul Qader’) and that they used to go to visit the place. I asked her to show me the location of the tomb and we went with her sister-in-law, and I saw the tomb and made the connection with the source material from Ibn Al-Mustawfi. In the other day, I took the professor of literature Dr Aziz Qerdi and, another day, the historian Zubair Bilal and showed them the evidence and the statement of Ibn Al-Mustawfi and they said that my theory was correct. Then I wrote a report and sent it to the Directorate of the Iraqi's Antiquities telling them about the discovery of the eastern and western gates.

FW: What about the citadel wall; did the citadel have a wall or did the row of houses work as a false wall and formed the citadel façade?
AY: Yes, in the past it had a wall and this is a usual thing; there is no citadel without a wall to protect its buildings. The row of houses was built later. I was able to find traces of a mud wall near the west side of the south gate. I showed these traces to Hussam Al-Naqshbandi (a famous historian) as he believed that Erbil's citadel did not have an actual city wall and that the row of houses that were built on the edge constituted a false wall. I took him to a place on the citadel near the western part of the south gate and showed him traces of an earthen wall.

FW: Do you think that the Ishtar temple was inside the citadel and that Erbil was an Assyrian city?
AY: Yes, I do believe that and I was able to trace the Assyrian wall. The size of the city of Erbil during the Assyrian period was smaller than it was during the Attabeg period.

ERBIL CITY:

FW: Do you think that the city's wall during the Attabeg period surrounded the entire citadel or just embraced the south part, i.e. the continuity of the city wall was interrupted by the citadel?
AY: The city wall contained the citadel.

FW: So you stand with the account of Abu Al- Fida; but what about Ibn AlHamawi who visited the city personally?
AY: I believe that when Al-Hamawi visited Erbil, the wall was still under the construction. I will give you the report I sent to UNESCO which shows the research I did and how I traced the city wall. I also wrote to UNESCO about the importance of reviving parts of the city wall and included this with a buffer zone to protect the citadel, or to consider it a part of the conservation process.

FW: What about the city gates; how many gates did Erbil have during the Attabeg period?
AY: It had many gates. I found the old eastern gate that was constructed before Islam near the masjid Shaikh Mustafa (in that area is a historic Tell; I denoted it as was not registered in the directorate of Erbil's Antiquities). During the digging of the land to set up the foundation of the masjid, the workers, and one of them in particular, Austa Shihab (the head of the workers), found many cuneiforms inside the *takia* land of Sheikh Mustafa. In the court yard, I found a big stone. I asked the people about it and they mentioned that they found it when they were digging a well and I concluded that this

area is an archaeological site. I started to survey the area and asked many people, and a woman told me that there was a big black stone they used to sit on. She showed me the location and I found it; it was very big, its radius was around one meter and it was a black alabaster. I went to the quarries of Erbil and asked about this kind of stone; they told me that Erbil does not have this kind of stone and there is one quarry for small stones near the zab. I concluded that this stone might have come from outside Kurdistan and that it could be from Afghanistan or Iran.

During the time of sultan Muzzafer, the eastern gate was near the current roundabout in Erbil called Shaqlawa.

FW: Do you consider the Batsé valley and the cemetery near the maidan to be important aspects of the city?
AY: Definitely! I have fought for this; I published many articles in the Kurdish language and Arabic languages highlighting the importance of the valley as natural elements and as historic element. The name Batsé was mentioned in an Ibn Khallikan text from the 12th century. The historic cemetery consisted of three layers: in the first layer, Muslims were buried; in the other layers the dead bodies were buried inside big jars (they are not Assyrian tombs). Unfortunately, these historic places were destroyed to build a commercial project. The governorate and the municipality also wanted to demolish part the historic neighbourhood and I wrote many articles highlighting its importance and prevent the demolition. I also saved the citadel of Erbil in 1991 from the demolition that was happening to it. I asked 41 intellectual people from Duhok and Zakho and other areas, and asked them to write about the importance of these places and told them that it was our duty to protect Erbil citadel and it building.

FW: What about the maidan of the Attabeg period; do you know up to where it extended?
AY: The maidan extended to the valley and the cemetery.

FW: Do you have any publications?
AY: I have more than 84 papers and studies published in books, journals and newspapers, and there are further unpublished reports.

FW: What advice can you give to any researcher in general and to anyone who is doing research on Erbil and other places in Kurdistan?
AY: I would tell them that they should be honest when they collect or interpret the information. When I do any research or make a discovery, and see that someone has done it before, I refer to them or go back to my original work and amend it.

FW: What about Azza or Hazza area, do you have any information about it?
AY: I wrote an article about the tower the was exited in the Azza area; the local people call it the *asha* (a mill). It is not a remain of a mill it is a lighthouse (*fanar*).

FW: Really, how come the lighthouse used to be located near the sea and there is no water in that area? what about the ash?
AY: Azza was a stopping point for the caravans on the route from Kirkuk to Rania, Iran district, Sama Quli and Qal'at Dizay and a tower like that with a light was important to help the caravans to reach to that point. For the mill probably there was a small mill near the area.

FW: Why there is confusion between Azza and Hazza and Erbil?
AY: Hazza was extracted from the name Adiabene (the old name of the area) that area was increased and reached to the Euphrates River. Erbil was the capital of Adiabene later on the trade centre was moved to Azza. Some historic texts were written by historians and geographers highlight the name of Azza and they didn't indicate the name of Erbil, like Ibn Hawqal in 10th century, because the importance of Arbil was reduced and probably the city shrank and changes to a small neglected town.

FW: Do you know the origins of the inhabitants who lived first in Erbil are they Kurds? and what is the origin of the Kurds?
AY: Yes, the majority of them were Kurds.
The roots of Kurds came from Gutian and Luiln and the immigrants of Medes. They came to Kurdistan on two stages. The first was the Mitanni group who were Arian group and the second one were the Medes.
When Erbil was under the under the Gutain rule, the king Shulgi and his son Amar-Sin attacked the city several times till the Gutain defeated the Akkadian. Within 99 years and 90 days Iraq was under the Gutian rule, who defeated the Akkadian state and they gave the first independent rule in the history to the Sumerians and this is well-known in the history then the Sumerian were able to defeat the Gutian.

Figure 2.2: The library of Mr Abdulraqib Youssef

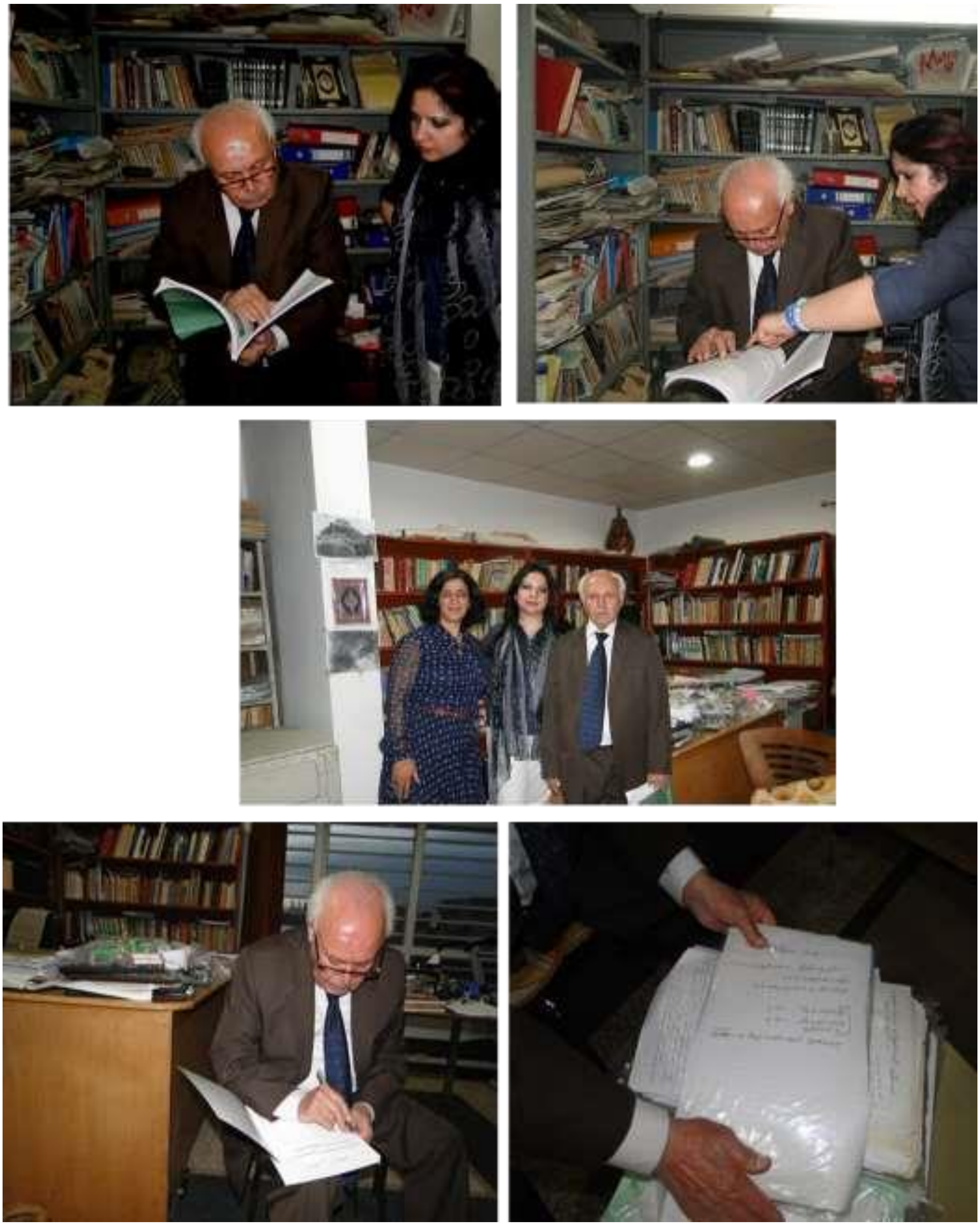


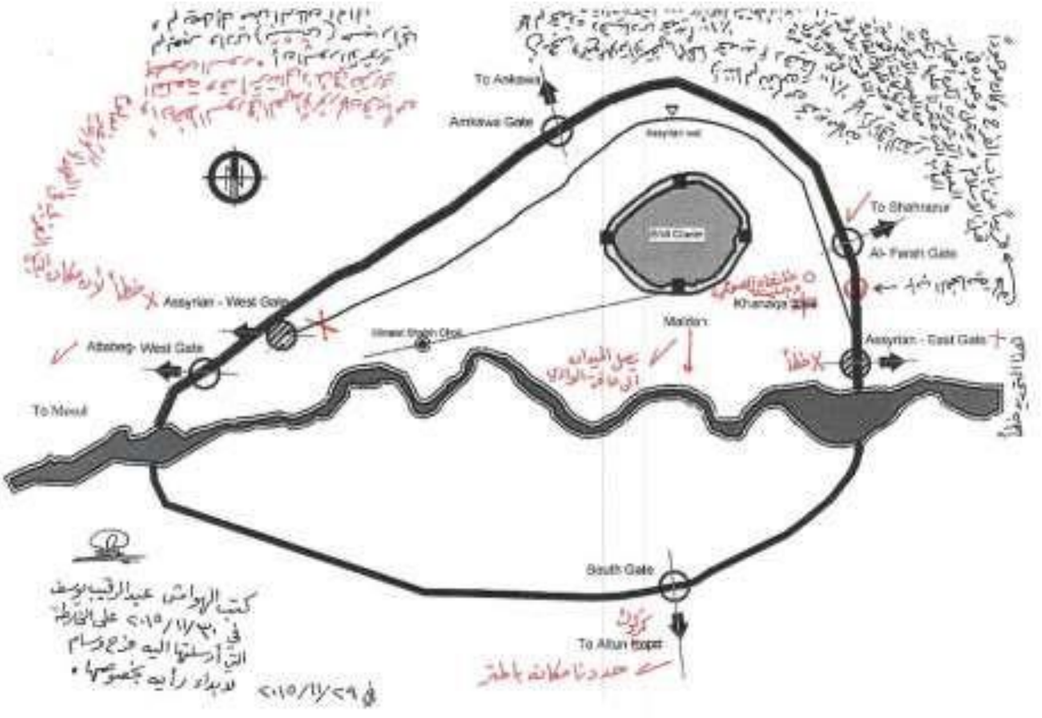
Figure 2.3: The library of Mr Abdulraqib Youssef (inside his house) in Sulaimania, Iraqi Kurdistan,
2015; mixed photos include Mr Abdulraqib Youssef, Dr Narmen Amin and Farah Wissam

THE STAGES OF DEPICTING ERBIL DURING THE ATTABEG PERIOD:

(With Traces from the Assyrian Period)

Based on the Scenario of Mr Abdulraqib Youssef

Stage one:

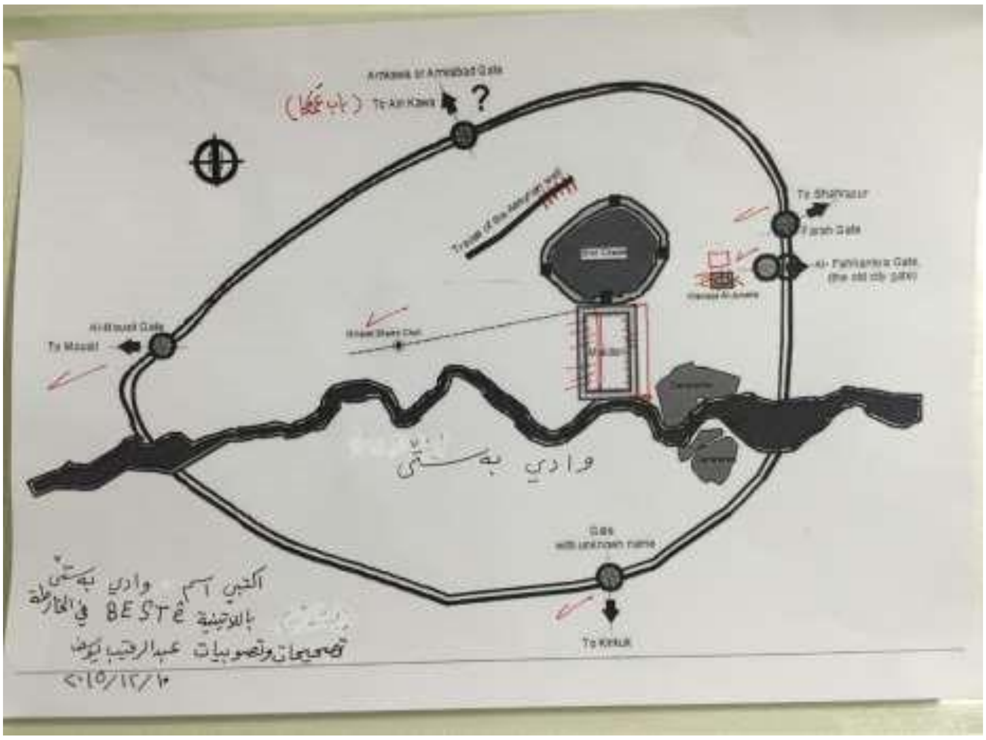


كتب الهوامش عبدالرقيب يوسف
في ٣٠/١١/٢٠١٥ على الخارطة
التي أرسلتها اليه وجرسام
لابداء رأيه بخصوصها •

في ٢٩/١١/٢٠١٥

حددنا مكانه بالخط

Stage 2:



اكتبي اسم وادي بهستى
بالاجنبية BESTE في الخارطة
تصحيحات وتصويبات عبدالرقيب يوسف
٢٠١٥/١٢/١٠

Figure 2.4: Feedback from Mr Abdulraqib Youssef on my drawing that attempted to depict his scenario.

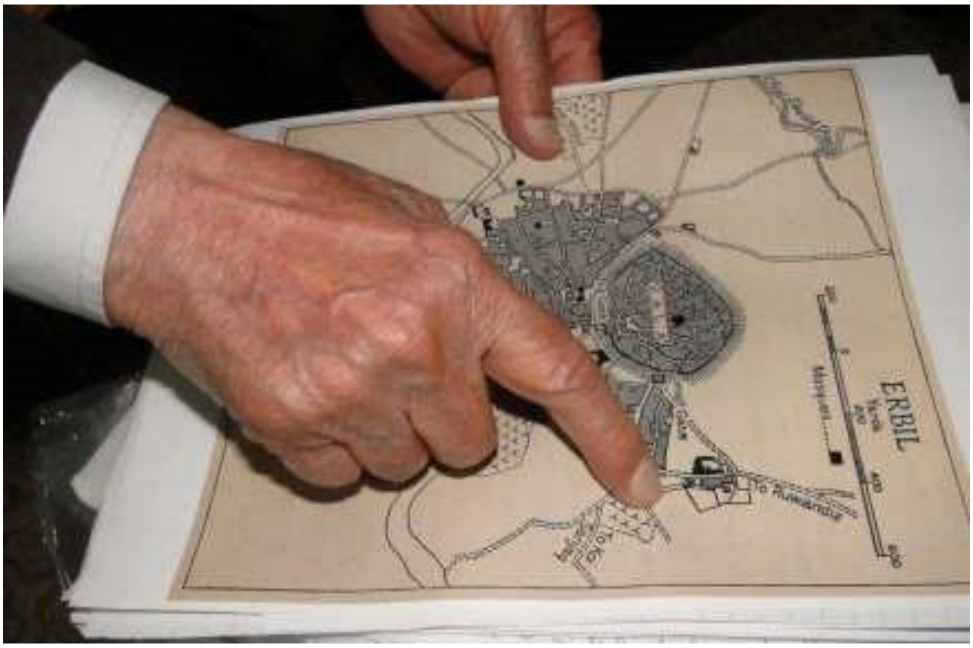
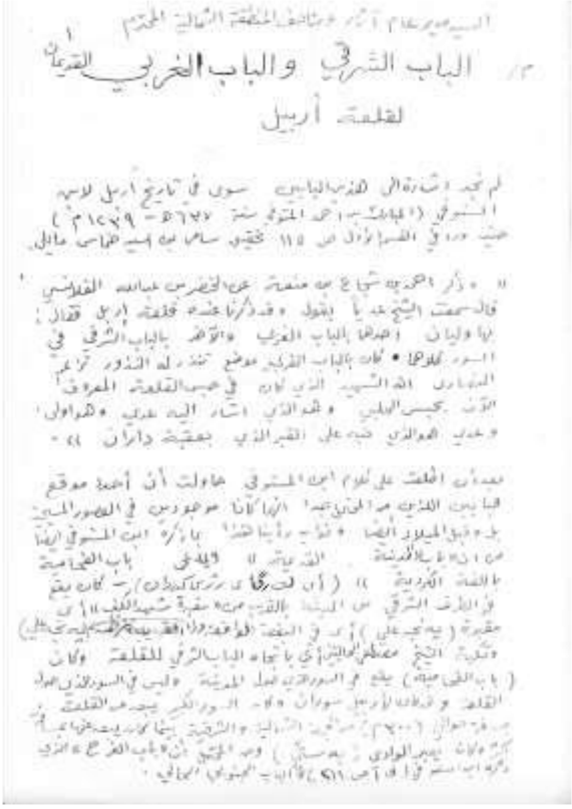
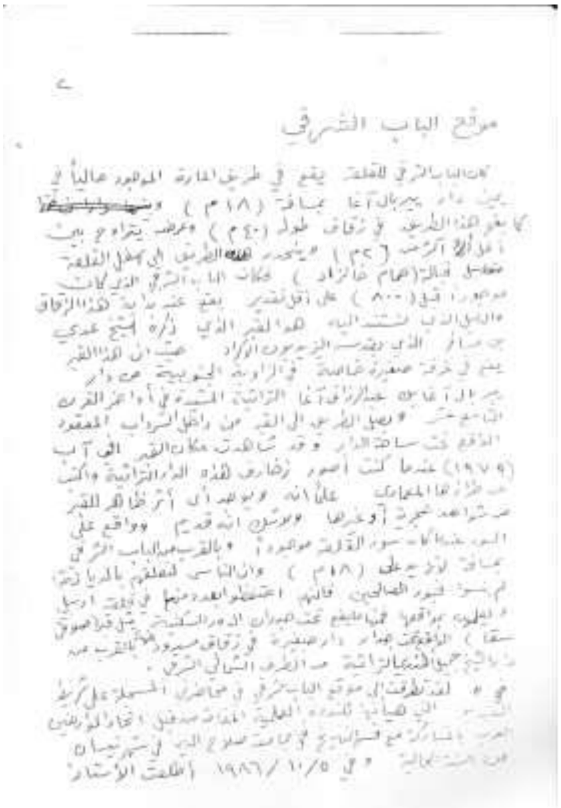


Figure 2.5: During the interview in Sulaimania

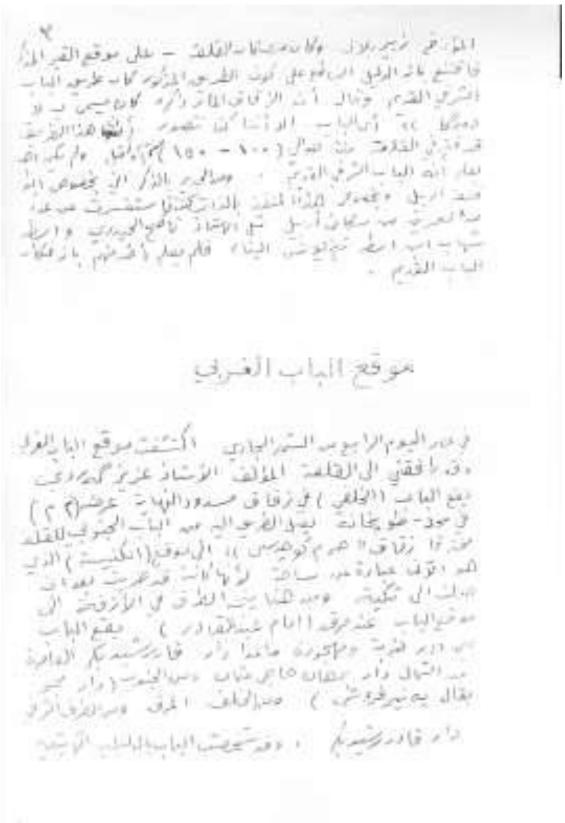
THE REPORT OF DISCOVERING THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN GATE OF ERBIL CITADEL, 1982



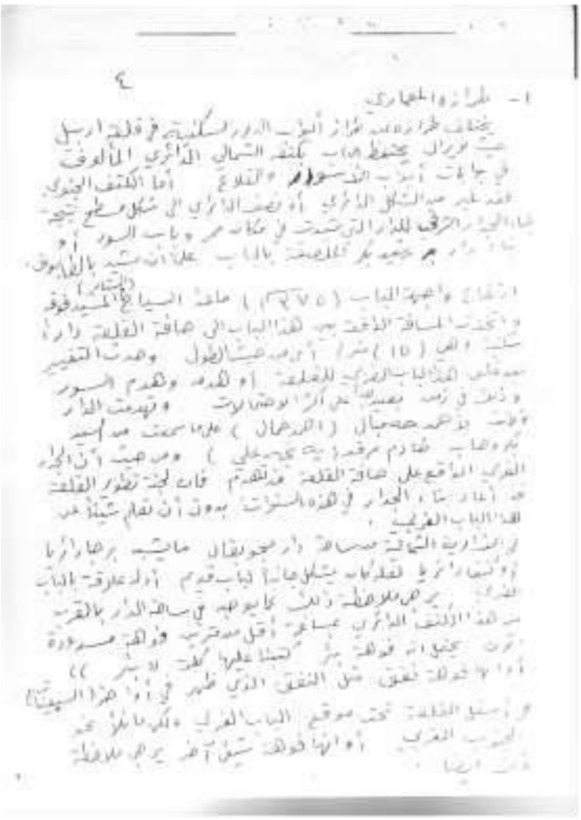
الباب الشرقي والباب الغربي القديمان لقلعة أربيل



موقع الباب الشرقي



موقع الباب الغربي



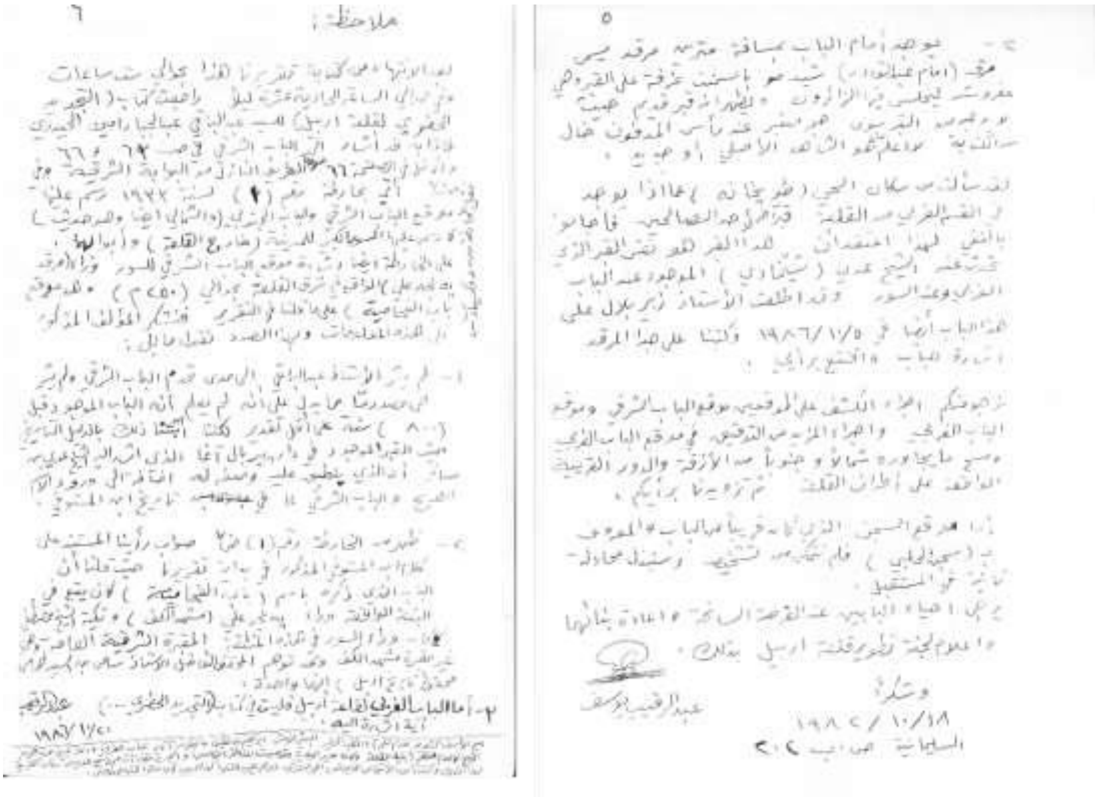
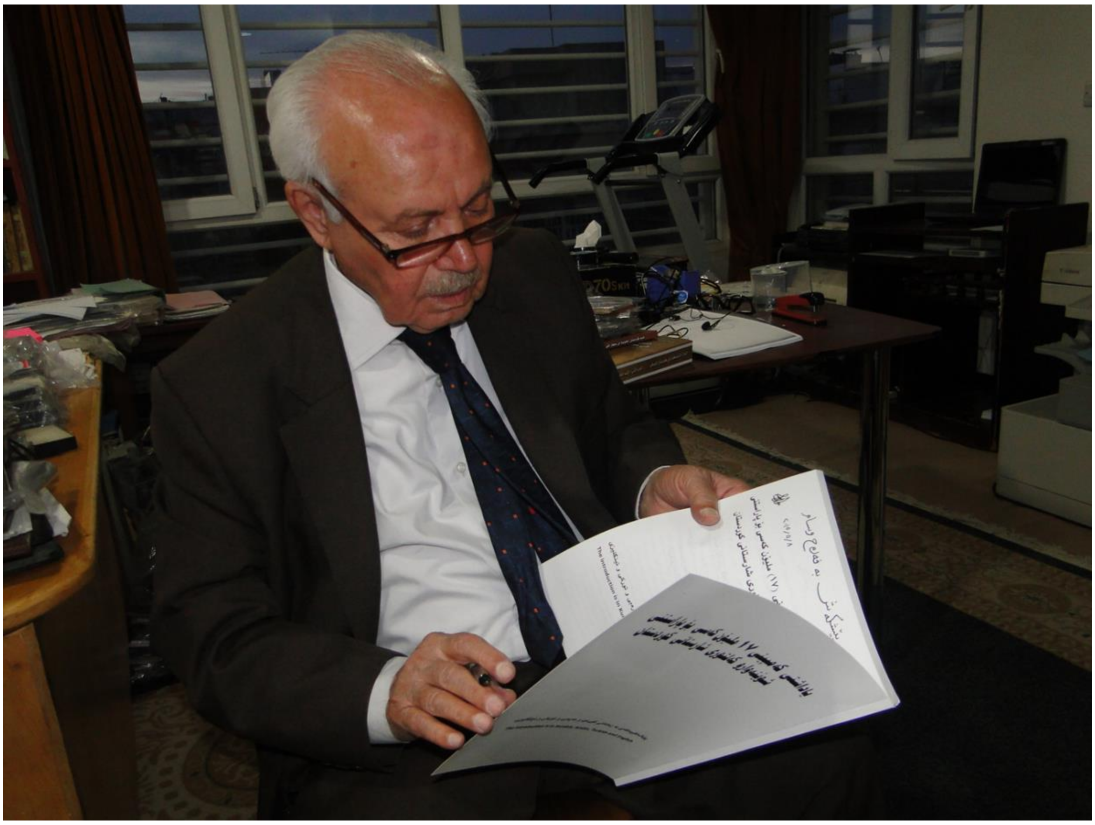
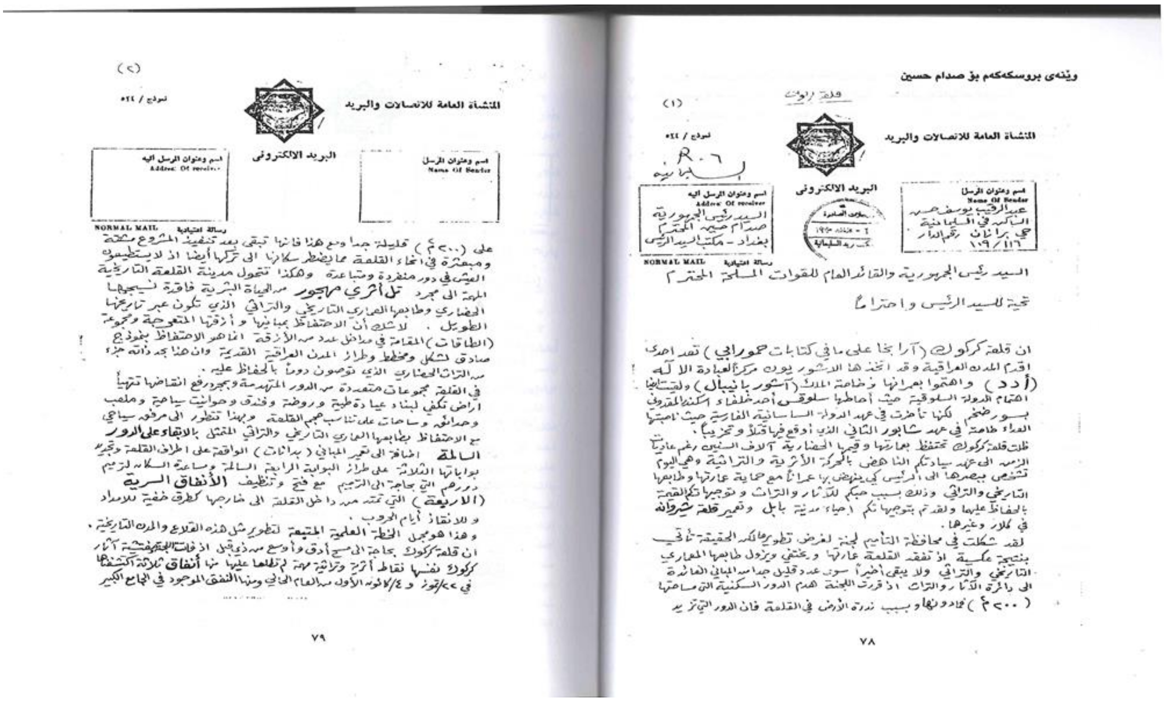


Figure 2.6: The Report of discovering the Eastern and the Western Gate of Erbil Citadel, was written in 1982



THE MESSAGE THAT SAVED KIRKUK CITADEL SENT BY MR ABDULRAQIB YOUSSEF TO THE PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSAIN, 1990



وينەی بروسکەکەم بۆ صدام حسين

[illegible]

(١)

المنشأة العامة للاتصالات والبريد

نموذج / ٥٢٤

R.٠٦

البريد الالكتروني

اسم وعنوان المرسل
Name Of Sender
عبدالرقيب يوسف حسن
الساكن في السليمانية
حي برانان رقم الدار
١٠٩/١١٦

اسم وعنوان المرسل اليه
Address Of receiver
السيد رئيس الجمهورية
صدام حسين المحترم
بغداد - مكتب السيد الرئيس

٦ - ١٩٩٠
كتب بريد السليمانية

NORMAL MAIL رسالة اعتيادية

السيد رئيس الجمهورية والقائد العام للقوات المسلحة المحترم

تحية للسيد الرئيس واحتراماً

ان قلعة كركوك (آرابخا على ما في كتابات حمورابي) تعد احدى اقدم المدن العراقية وقد اتخذها الآشوريون مركزاً العبادة الاله (أدد) واهتموا بعمرانها وخاصة الملك (آشور بانيبال) ولقيت ايضاً اهتمام الدولة السلوقية حيث أحاطها سلوقس أحد خلفاء الاسكندر المقدوني بسور ضخم لكنها تأخرت في عهد الدولة الساسانية الفارسية حيث اصابها العداء خاصة في عهد شابور الثاني الذي أوقع فيها قتلاً وتخريباً.

ظلت قلعة كركوك تحتفظ بعمارتها وقيمها الحضارية آلاف السنين رغم عاديات الزمن الى عهد سيادتكم الناهض بالحركة الأثرية والتراثية وهي اليوم تشخص ببصرها الى الرئيس كي ينهض بإعمارها مع حماية عمارتها وطابعها التاريخي والتراثي وذلك بسبب حبكم للآثار والتراث وتوجيهاتكم القيمة بالحفاظ عليها والقدم بتوجيهاتكم احياء مدينة بابل وتعمير قلعة شيروانه في كلار وغيرها.

لقد شكلت في محافظة التأميم لجنة لغرض تطويرها لكن الحقيقة تأتي بنتيجة عكسية اذ تفقد القلعة عمارتها وتختفي ويزول طابعها المعماري التاريخي والتراثي ولا يبقى أخيراً سوى عدد قليل جداً من المباني العائدة الى دائرة الآثار والتراث اذ قررت اللجنة هدم الدور السكنية التي مساحتها (٢٠٠ م٢) فما دونها وبسبب ندرة الأرض في القلعة فان الدور التي تزيد

٧٨

(٢)

المنشأة العامة للاتصالات والبريد

نموذج / ٥٢٤

البريد الالكتروني

اسم وعنوان المرسل
Name Of Sender

اسم وعنوان المرسل اليه
Address Of receiver

NORMAL MAIL رسالة اعتيادية

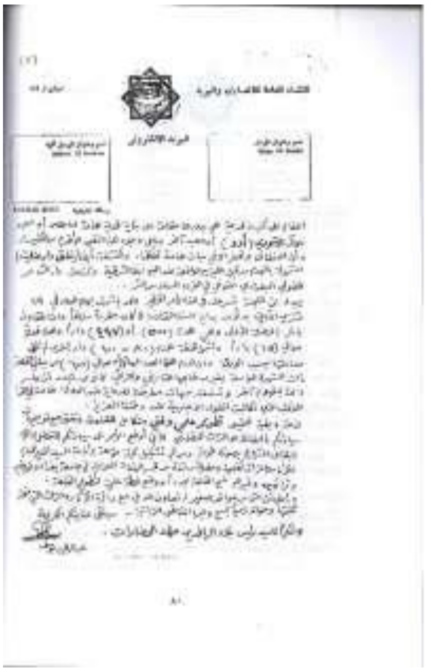
على (٢٠٠ م٢) قليلة جداً ومع هذا فانها تبقى بعد تنفيذ المشروع مشتتة ومبعثرة في انحاء القلعة مما يضطر سكانها الى تركها أيضاً اذ لا يستطيعون العيش في دور منفردة ومتباعدة وهكذا تتحول مدينة القلعة التاريخية المهمة الى مجرد **تل أثري مهجور** من الحياة البشرية فاقدة نسيجها الحضاري وطابعها المعماري التاريخي والتراثي الذي تكون عبر تاريخها الطويل. لاشك أن الاحتفاظ بمبانيها وأزقتها المتعرجة ومجموعة (الطاقات) المقامة في مداخل عدد من الأزقة انما هو الاحتفاظ بنموذج صادق لشكل ومخطط وطراز المدن العراقية القديمة وان هذا بحد ذاته جزء من التراث الحضاري الذي توصون دوماً بالحفاظ عليه.

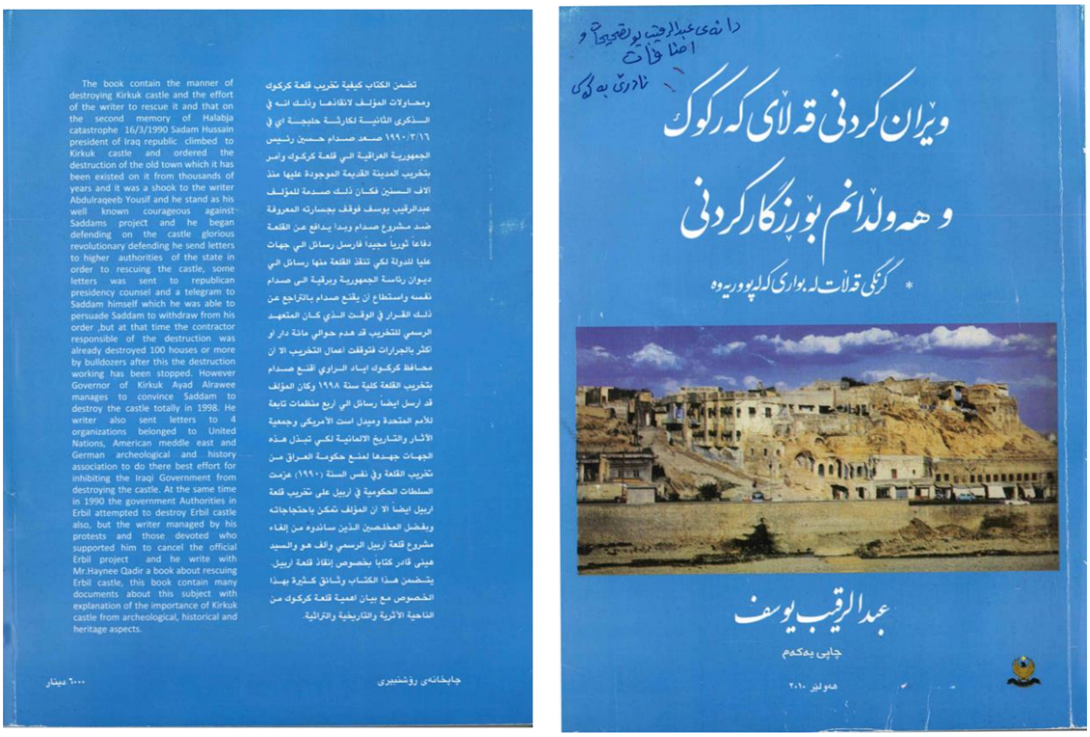
في القلعة مجموعات متعددة من الدور المتهدمة وبمجرد رفع انقاضها تتهيأ أراض تكفي لبناء عيادة طبية وروضة وفندق وحوانيت سياحية وملعب وحدائق وساحات على تناسب حجم القلعة وبهذا تتطور الى مرفق سياحي مع الاحتفاظ بطابعها المعماري التاريخي والتراثي المتمثل **بالابقاء على الدور السالمة** اضافة الى تعمير المباني (بدائات) الواقعة على اطراف القلعة وتجديد بواباتها الثلاثة على طراز البوابة الرابعة السالمة ومساعدة السكان لترميم دورهم التي بحاجة الى الترميم مع فتح وتنظيف **الأنفاق السرية (الاربعة)** التي تمتد من داخل القلعة الى خارجها كطرق خفية للامداد والانقاذ أيام الحروب.

وهذا هو مجمل **الخطط العلمية المتبعة** لتطوير مثل هذه القلاع والمدن التاريخية.

ان قلعة كركوك بحاجة الى مسح أدق وأوسع من ذي قبل اذ فاتت اللجنة المختصة آثار كركوك نفسها نقاط أثرية وتراثية مهمة لم تطلعا عليها منها **أنفاق ثلاثة** اكتشفناها في ٢٢/تموز و ٤/كانون الأول من العام الحالي ومنها النفق الموجود في الجامع الكبير

٧٩





The book contain the manner of destroying Kirkuk castle and the effort of the writer to rescue it and that on the second memory of Halabja catastrophe 16/3/1990 Sadam Hussain president of Iraq republic climbed to Kirkuk castle and ordered the destruction of the old town which it has been existed on it from thousands of years and it was a shook to the writer Abdulraqeeb Yousif and he stand as his well known courageous against Saddams project and he began defending on the castle glorious revolutionary defending he send letters to higher authorities of the state in order to rescuing the castle, some letters was sent to republican presidency counsel and a telegram to Saddam himself which he was able to persuade Saddam to withdraw from his order ,but at that time the contractor responsible of the destruction was already destroyed 100 houses or more by bulldozers after this the destruction working has been stopped. However Governor of Kirkuk Ayad Alrawee manages to convince Saddam to destroy the castle totally in 1998. He writer also sent letters to 4 organizations belonged to United Nations, American meddle east and German archeological and history association to do there best effort for inhibiting the Iraqi Government from destroying the castle. At the same time in 1990 the government Authorities in Erbil attempted to destroy Erbil castle also, but the writer managed by his protests and those devoted who supported him to cancel the official Erbil project and he write with Mr.Haynee Qadir a book about rescuing Erbil castle, this book contain many documents about this subject with explanation of the importance of Kirkuk castle from archeological, historical and heritage aspects.

تضمن الكتاب كيفية تخريب قلعة كركوك ومحاولات المؤلف لانقاذها وذلك انه في الذكرى الثانية لكارثة حلبجة اي في ١٩٩٠/٣/١٦ صعد صدام حسين رئيس الجمهورية العراقية الي قلعة كركوك وامر بتخريب المدينة القديمة الموجودة عليها منذ الاف السنين فكان ذلك صدمة للمؤلف عبدالرقيب يوسف فوقف بجسارته المعروفة ضد مشروع صدام وبدأ يدافع عن القلعة دفاعاً ثورياً مجيداً فارسل رسائل الي جهات عليا للدولة لكي تنقذ القلعة منها رسائل الي ديوان رئاسة الجمهورية وبرقية الى صدام نفسه واستطاع ان يقنع صدام بالتراجع عن ذلك القرار في الوقت الذي كان المتعهد الرسمي للتخريب قد هدم حوالي مائة دار او اكثر بالجرارات فتوقفت اعمال التخريب الا ان محافظ كركوك اياد الراوي اقنع صدام بتخريب القلعة كلية سنة ١٩٩٨ وكان المؤلف قد ارسل ايضاً رسائل الي اربع منظمات تابعة للامم المتحدة وميدل است الأمريكي وجمعية الآثار والتاريخ الالمانية لكي تبذل هذه الجهات جهدها لمنع حكومة العراق من تخريب القلعة وفي نفس السنة (١٩٩٠) عزمت السلطات الحكومية في اربيل على تخريب قلعة اربيل ايضاً الا ان المؤلف تمكن باحتجاجاته وبفضل المخلصين الذين ساندوه من إلغاء مشروع قلعة اربيل الرسمي والف هو والسيد هيني قادر كتاباً بخصوص إنقاذ قلعة اربيل. يتضمن هذا الكتاب وثائق كثيرة بهذا الخصوص مع بيان اهمية قلعة كركوك من الناحية الأثرية والتاريخية والتراثية.

٦٠٠٠ دینار

چاپخانەی رۆشنبیری

دانەی عبدالرقیب بو تصحیحات و
اضافات
نادری بەگی

ویران کردنی قەڵای کەرکوک
و هەوڵدانم بۆ ڕزگارکردنی

* گرنگی قەڵات لە بواری کەلەپووریەوە

عبدالرقیب یوسف

چاپی یەکەم

هەولێر ٢٠١٠

Figure 2.7: The book where the message that saved the citadel of Kirkuk from the destruction, that was happening by the government of Iraq in 1990, is written. It was written by Mr Abdulraqib Youssef and sent to the president of Iraq Saddam Hussain in 1990 requesting him to stop the destruction that has happened to the citadel and explaining the historical importance of the citadel of Kirkuk.

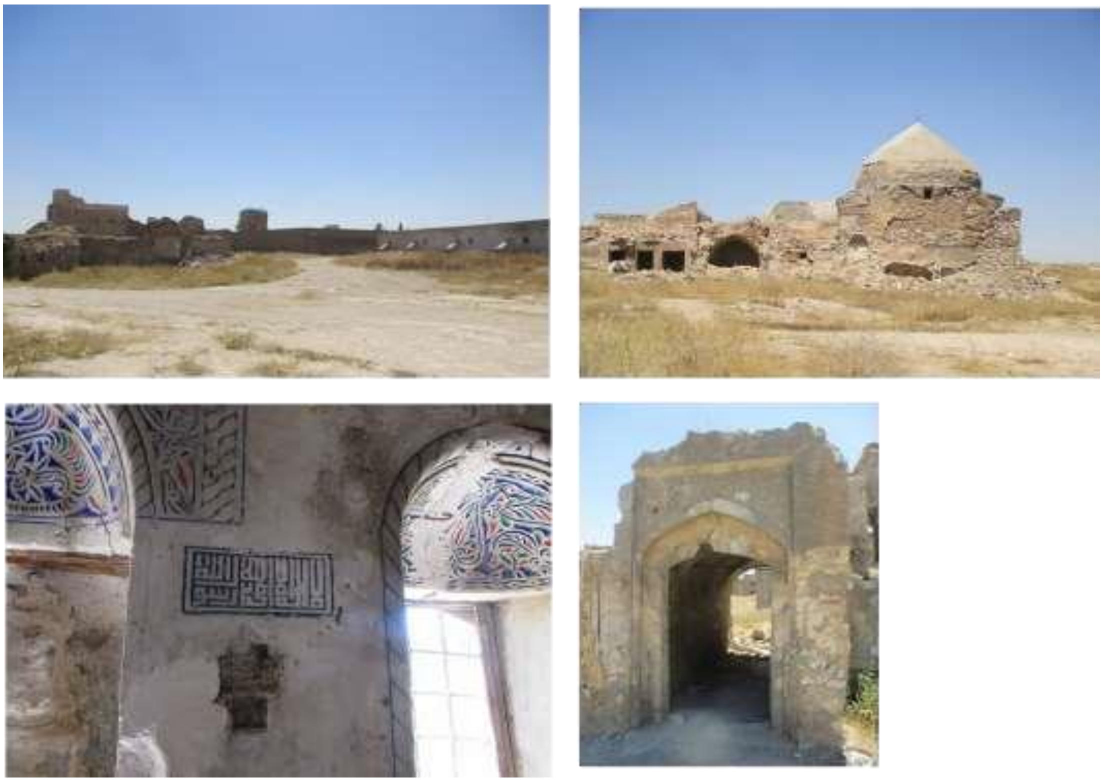


Figure 2.8: The part of the remains of Kirkuk citadel, after the destruction of 1990, Photos taken by Dr Narmen Amin

Interview with: Dr Abdularazzaq Al-Dabbagh (AA) and his wife Mrs. Ni'mat Al-Dabbagh (NA)

Interviewee's Job Title: Retired surgeon and one of the owners of the qaisaria

Date: 04 May 2015

Location: Erbil city, Iraqi Kurdistan

Interviewer & voice recorder: Farah Wissam Al-Hashimi (FW)

Note recorder: Farah Al-Hashimi

Time period: 6pm to 7:30pm

Language: Arabic, translated by Farah Al-Hashimi

Figure 2.11: Dr Abdularazzaq Al-Dabbagh

FW: When and how the qaisaria was built?
AA: The qaisaria was built around 1902 (1900s). The decision of constructing these qaisarias was made by the two brothers Haje Salh and Haje Mahmud AlDabbgah-Chalabi (my uncles) after their pilgrimage to Mecca, which took a route from Erbil passing via Aleppo and Damascus. During this trip, they saw Suq AlHamidiyah in Damascus, and decided to build one similar to it. After their return, the qaisarias were built by them and with a collaboration of other prominent families in Erbil.

FW: Do you still own these qaisaria?
AA: Yes, I have twenty-two shops inside these qaisarias and my brother Ahmad Shahab Aldin has the same too.

FW: What about you Mrs Ni'mat (the cousin and the wife of Abdularazzaq Al-Dabbagh) do you have any shops?
AA: Yes, I do have six shops
FW: What was there before constructing the qaisaria?
AA: To build these qaisarias, the shops, khans, coffee shop (qahwa), warehouses and old houses that belonged to our family, were demolished and the new constructions followed the layout of the land.

Interview with: Mr Muayad Said Al-Damerji (MD)

Interviewee's Job Title: The Former Head of Iraqi's Antiquities from, started in 1977

Date: May 2015

Location: Sulaimania city, Iraqi Kurdistan

Interviewer & voice recorder: Farah W. Al-Hashimi

Note recorder: Farah Wissam Al-Hashimi

Time period: 90 minutes (120 minutes continuously)

Language: Arabic, translated by Farah Al-Hashimi

With the Attendance of the archaeologist Dr. Narmen Muhammad Ali Amin

Figure 2.9: With Mr Muayad Said Damerji during the interview inside the archaeologist house, Sulaimania, 2015

FW: In terms of Erbil, what do you know about the gate and the wall of its citadel and the bazar area?

MD: When I took on the position of Head of Iraqi's Antiquities in 1977, the new citadel gate existed. It was designed and constructed by the civil engineer Ihsan Sherzad. The concept of the arch was taken from Ishtar gate. The design was not very successful as it failed to meet the needs of the local people for many reasons. In terms of its function, the addition of steps prevented cars from passing through the gate, so the gate was allocated for pedestrians only. The spaces that were created on the back of the gate were allocated to be used as shops, however, they did not function and were empty and neglected and started to collect rubbish and had a bad smell. In addition, at night the gate was very dark and was not helpful for people. Furthermore, digging very deep and messing around the area was another disadvantage as it impacted negatively on the archaeological site and the surrounding area.

Aesthetically, the gate was not connected with the citadel’s wall, besides, putting the statue of Ibn al-Mustawfi in front of the gate was (in my opinion) not suitable for that area. All these things converted the gate to a threshold and had a lack of influence on the area.

In terms of the citadel, in 1979 the Iraqi's Antiquities department bought and possessed many traditional houses inside the citadel, such as the diwan and the houses of Rasheed Agha and Jamil Afandi, as well as all the houses located behind the house of Jamil Afandi being bought by us. Now some of these houses belong to the Directorate of Erbil’s Antiquities and Erbil Municipality. We did conservation and maintenance on many areas inside the citadel, such as the citadel public bath (Hammam), the mosque and many houses; one of these houses is now the museum inside the citadel, and the Kurdish Textile Museum.

In 1979, the work was continuing very well; however, during the process of the conservation and while the workers were working on an empty place attempting to demolish some walls, two walls fell on two children. Therefore, the work was stopped. When the work was taken up again, the pace was slow, as well as the lack of money during the war of Iran impacting its progress.

In terms of the citadel wall, the archaeologists Bahnam Abu Alsouf and Rafiq Fatih-Allah temporarily filled the gaps between the houses that were built on the citadel’s edge (instead of constructing an actual wall) to make up a continuous façade and to increase the aesthetic appeal. The filling was done through adding a false layer with windows. These false walls were temporary as we waited for receiving a fund to rebuild the old houses. Some of them were neglected and others were demolished, causing the gaps.

FW: As a part of the conservation process, did you have any suggestions for the houses’ functions and those of other parts and buildings inside the citadel area?
MD: No, we did not reach this stage. As I said before, we had issues with funding, the war of Iraq with Iran, and the fatal accident of the two children. I was planning to convert the 500 houses into youth clubs, guest houses, student accommodation (for males and females), libraries and exhibition spaces. I also had the idea of converting the path that connects the south gate with the north gate into a traditional markets/suq without selling any modern goods. In 2005, there was a conference on Erbil’s citadel and I suggested, as a part of the recommendation, to make the implementation of the process of the conservation purely Iraqi, i.e. without getting any support from foreign institutions; however, these suggestions were not implemented.

I was also with the Czech archaeologists who came in 2006 and 2007 to collect information on Erbil’s citadel and the city, and we went to the citadel’s mosque and hammam, and visited some houses. I also explained to them what we did and told them to go to the city of Mosul as all the documents were there because the maintenance section of Erbil belonged to the Mosul directorate of Antiquities.

FW: Do you know when the street that connects the south gate with the north gate was constructed? Was it added when the citadel new citadel south gate was constructed?
MD: I think the south gate and the street that was cut through the old urban fabric were constructed at the same time, i.e. the beginning of the 1970s.

FW: Do you know why Doxiadis stopped and did not finish the proposal?
MD: They stopped for financial reason. As the Reconstruction Board during the Iraqi kingdom had as set amount of money, the master plan that were introduced to lay out the growth plan of the city for the next twenty years were not costing the government that much.

TRIANGULATION: GROUP DISCUSSION AND SITE VISIT TO AZZA

Participants: The historian Dr. Parween Al-Badri (PA), the archaeologist Mr Khalil Barziji (KB), and the architect Farah Al-Hashimi (FW)
Date: April 2015

Location: Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan

Voice recorder: Farah W. Al-Hashimi

Note recorder: Farah W. Al-Hashimi

Time period: 9:30-12:20 pm

Language: Arabic, translated by Farah Al-Hashimi

FW: What do you know about Azza and the Ishtar temple?
NA: I believe that the Ishtar temple was located in an area called Milkia, not in the Erbil citadel; I have an Assyrian text indicating that the Ishtar temple was in the Milkia area.

FW: What about the transcription about the Sennacherib canal, which was flowing towards Erbil?
PA: The text just said that the Sennacherib dug the canal as far as the land of Ishtar.
KB: No; I have the old text and I worked on tracing the canal with the EPAS group, and I can tell you that although we did not find the ending point of the canal, I can assure you that it was flowing towards the Erbil Citadel. The canal extended directly towards Erbil, but in a zigzag pattern for topographical reasons.
PA: The text I have says the canal flowed to the land of Ishtar.
KB: We have the old text that was translated by Al-Safer and written by S. Smith.

FW: What other evidence do you have to prove that the temple of Ishtar was in Azza?
PA: I did research on the monastery of Mar Michael in Milkia and I assume that Azza is Milkia. I am saying that this Christian/Chaldean documents pointed out the history.

The name of the Milkia area appeared several times in different periods, first in Assyrian inscriptions, then in Chaldean texts, and finally in one of Erbil's land contracts in the 17th century during the Ottoman period, where the sultan distributed the land of Milkia to the farmers. That last piece of information is with my husband Imad (professor in the History of Iraq in the Ottoman period). From that I concluded that the monastery of Mar Qaradagh was in Milkia and this area was still exit and it probably Azza area.

The first piece of information came from Mar Qaradagh in the 4th century, in his description of the location of his palace which was situated in front of a mound that worked as a temple of fire belonging to the Zoroastrian religion. In the 9th century there was a Al-Sa'rdi manuscript that stated that this area was a *mazar* (a place where people come to visit a religious person who was buried in this area; they pray and ask God and the soul of the person for graces) and the area had markets and people came to visit Azza, and trip from Erbil to Azza took four hours. I also have a Chaldean Manuscript from the 12th century (which is parallel to the Attabeg period) stating that Azza had a church and many monasteries. Therefore, I assume that the temple of Ishtar is on one of those *Tells*.
KB: Probably Tell Abdul Aziz as it is high and has many archaeological layers, but we would need to do an excavation to prove your theory.

During the site visit we (FW, PA, and KB) saw the tower that the people call the Ash (mill) and Al-Badri watched the land and she said that the Chaldean texts that belonged to the monastery of Mar Michael, who came after Mar Qaradagh, revealed more details regarding the location by highlighting some landmarks, such as mills, Tells and a riverbed. The mills and tells still exist (we are seeing them now) in the Azza area but the riverbed has probably dried up. Then we went and stood in Tell Abdul Aziz and we observed the suburban area and the fertile plain whose physiognomy shows clear similarities to the characteristics of the descriptions of the land of Milkia.

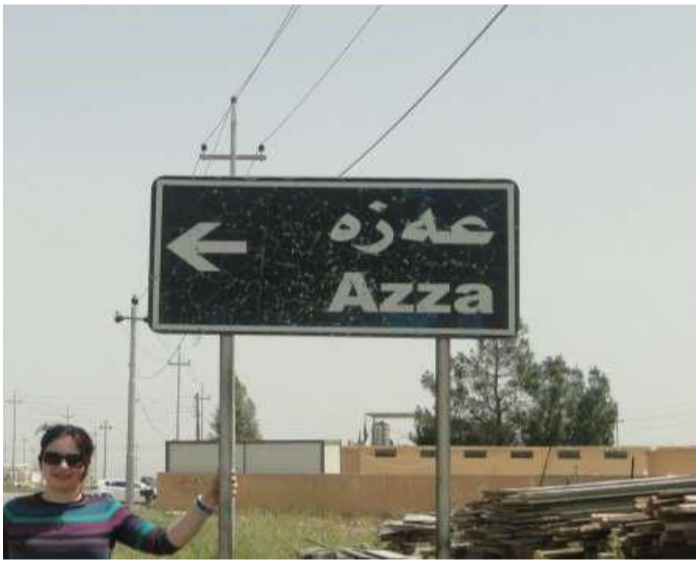


Figure 2.12: The village of Azza during the site visit, 2015

EMAIL COMMUNICATIONS

DAVID MICHELMORE

(1)

Job title: Consultancy for Conservation / Building Conservation Services
From: David Michelmore
To: Farah Al-Hashimi
Sent: Thursday, May 2, 2013 1:50 PM
Subject: RE:

I am in the Citadel now. You will need to tell them at the north gate that you are coming to see me or they won't let you in.

My office is just to the north of the Kurdish Textile Museum; there is a sign on the end of the building saying "History and Archaeology Research Centre"
David

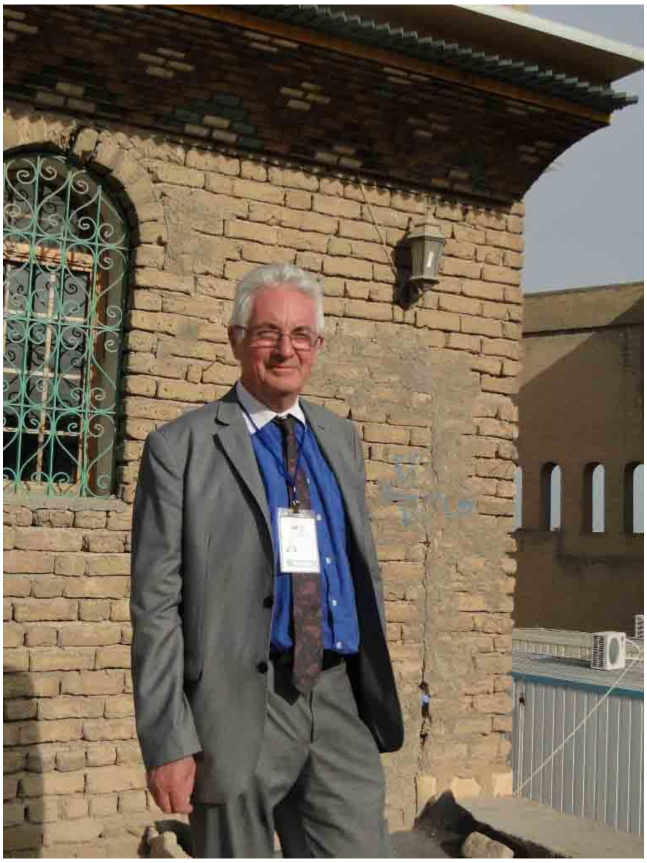


Figure 2.13: Mr David Michelmore
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

(2)

Dear Farah

That map must date to c. 1920 as it does not show the north (Ahmedi) gate, which is supposed to have been formed in 1925. In addition, there is development to the north of the Citadel, while the 1938 oblique aerial photos show quite a lot of buildings there.

JOHN MACGINNIS

(1)

From: Al-Hashimi, Farah 2010 (PGR) (PGR
To: John Macginnis Sent: Tue, 31 Mar 2014 18:40
Subject: Re: Erbil

Hi John,

The irrigation system of the Kahariz or kariz is it similar to Sennharib canal?

Thank you

Farah

Yes, the theory is that Sennacherib's canal was a karez (also called "qanat") system All the best

John

(2)

Hi Farah

The "city of four gods" analysis is a misconception. It's based on the fact that in Assyrian documents the name can be written "4-DINGIR" (DINGIR is the sign for god), but this is a play on words and the signs are really being used for their phonetic sounds

4 = erb(u) [compare Arabic arba']

DINGIR = il [compare Arabic illah]

so 4-DINGIR = erb-il = Erbil

All the best

John

FROM DAVID MICHELMORE AND JOHN MACGINNIS

Dear Farah

My replies are interspersed with your queries.

David

To: Farah A l-Hashimi; David Michelmore
From: John Macginnis
Date: Fri, 9 May 2014 07:48:45 -0400

Hi Farah,

For many of these things the best thing is to ask David Michelmore, who did the Master Plan for the Citadel, copied in above

- *Do you think that the temple of Ishtar was inside the citadel?*

DEFINITELY ON THE CITADEL, PERHAPS ONE DAY SOME EVIDENCE WILL BE FOUND BY EXCAVATION (answered by John).

- *The functions of the citadel's Grand Gate were just a Serai, a jail and a house for an Ottoman official or also ahealth centre and a school?*

ASK DAVID

During time, the function and size of the Grand Gate changed. When built c. 1745 (the most probable date) it was only an entrance gate and was a military structure. When the Saray wing was added to the east (*c.* 1860? - this must the date which gave rise to the local tradition that the whole of the gate was built at that time - we know this is wrong) it acquired administrative and prison functions. When the British built a new administrative building to the north west of the Citadel, these functions moved there. At times the Grand Gate seems to have served as girls school and finally as accommodation for indigent old men.

The Mir Ala building to the west was the house of an Ottoman official. Since this had military functions, few of the old people interviewed knew much about it or what it was like inside (written by David).

- *Do you think that throughout history the grand gate was in the same location or its position has changed?*

ASK DAVID

The top of the Citadel is in the shape of a shallow bowl and water drains out through the Grand Gate. It may well be that the gate has always been in this location - we just have no evidence, but also no evidence that it has ever been anywhere else. In any case it must have been in the present position for hundreds of years (answered by David).

- *In terms of the citadel, do you know exactly when the street. that connects the north and the south gates. was constructed?*

ASK DAVID

1958 (answered by David)

- *They said the citadel had bridges and they were destroyed, any information about that?*

I DON'T KNOW - ASK DAVID

There was probably a drawbridge to the gate at various points in history
(answered by David)

- *Do you know any information about the circular street that surrounds the citadel?*

ASK DAVID

The circular street is quite modern. The remains of a moat as a wide, shallow depression survived to the north of the citadel into the third quarter of the 20th century (answered by David).

ALL THE BEST

JOHN

REPLIES FROM KAREL NOVÁČEK

25 May 2014

Dear Karel,

Do you think the temple of Ishtar was inside the citadel? did you find any evidence or its just hypothesis?

Thank you

Farah

26 May 2015

26/05/2014 11:38

Karel Nováček

Dear Farah,

Surely it is only a hypothesis, but a well-founded one. In Assyrian cities, the temple used to be an organic part of the king´s residence; we have also a view of the citadel with a gate and temple on the Assurbanipal relief found in Nineveh. Geophysical indications of a large, collapsed structure in the depth of the tell could be also taken into account. All the best,

Karel

26 May 2014
26/05/2014 18:07

Farah Wissam

Dear Karel

There is another hypothesis I have heard it from a historian Dr Parwin she believed that the temple of Ishtar in Hazza area not in Erbil’s citadel, what do you think about that?

26/05/2014 21:42

Karel Nováček

Dear Farah,

As the Ishtar Gate concerns, there is no information about its location. You could put this question to John MacGinnis too, he is much deeper in the Assyrian sources of Arbail. I know very well the Khaldean source, there is nothing useful for Assyrian Period there. I suggest to omit her opinion. All in all, as far as I know, it remains unpublished.

26/05/2014 21:57

Farah Wissam

In terms of the citadel gates, some historians and historical references mentioned that the citadel had 3 to 4 gates and one of them was named (Amkabad) Ainkawa, others stated that the citadel had a north gate and the city had a north gate too. In your study

you have suggested that the Ainkawa gate (the north gate) was not inside the citadel but it was the north gate of the city, could you please tell me why you suggested that?
26/05/2014 22:20

Karel Nováček

The Amkawa (Amkabad) Gate was, no doubt, a part of the town fortification, not part of the citadel. It is clear from the description of Arbīl's conquest by the caliph's army in AD 1233 in Bar Hebraeus´ and Ibn al-Fuwatī's Chronicles. As far as remember they described seizing and burning the gate before the army proceed under the citadel and besieged it. Also the army commander has pitched his tent opposite this gate before the attack started which seems to be impossible if the gate belongs to the citadel fortification. The length of the maidan cannot be determined from the sources, our plan layout is a hypothesis.
All the best,
Karel

APPENDIX 3: Sites Visit for FieldWork

Some photos during the site visit and the interviews

a) **Erbil, General Directorate of Land Registration, 2013**

Figure 3.1: Mr. Adnan Mohammed Said (the director of the Technical Division of the General Directorate of Land Registration - Ministry of Justice, 2013

Figure 3.2: The staff of the Technical Division of the General Directorate of Land Registration - Ministry of Justice, 2013

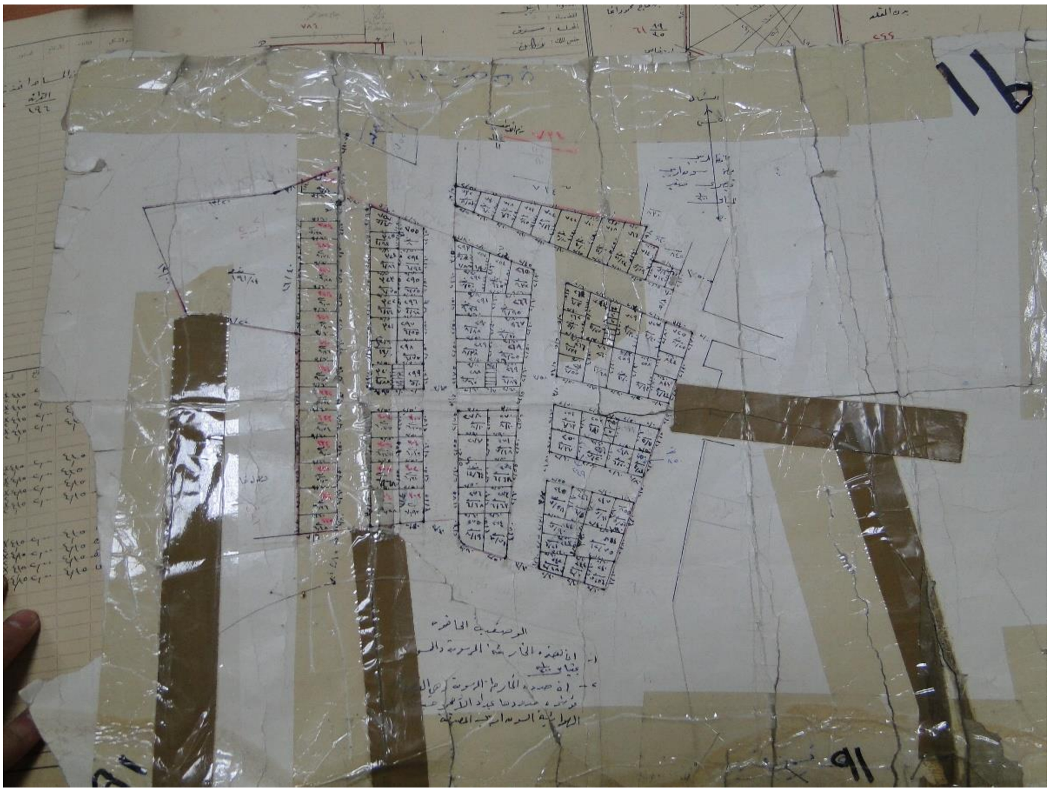


Figure 3.3: The old map of the small Qaisaria was drawn in 1931, scale 1:200
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

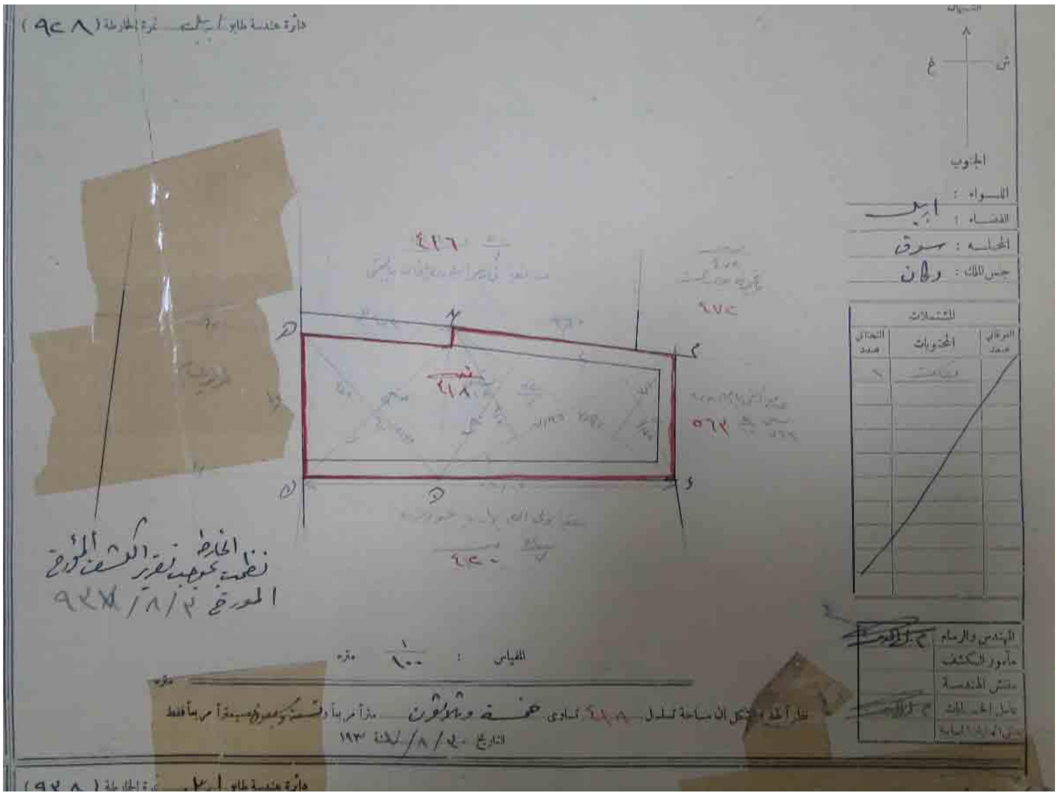


Figure 3.4 A shop in the bazar area, drawn in 1937
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

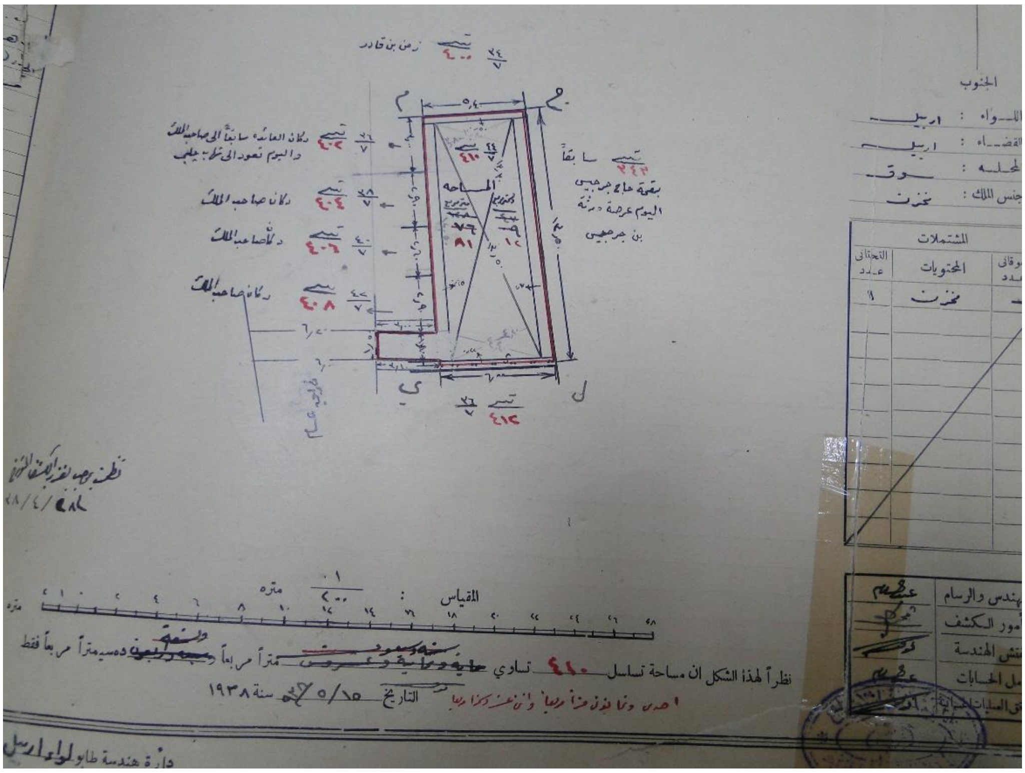


Figure 3.5: A store in the bazar area, drawn in 1938, belong to Shihab Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

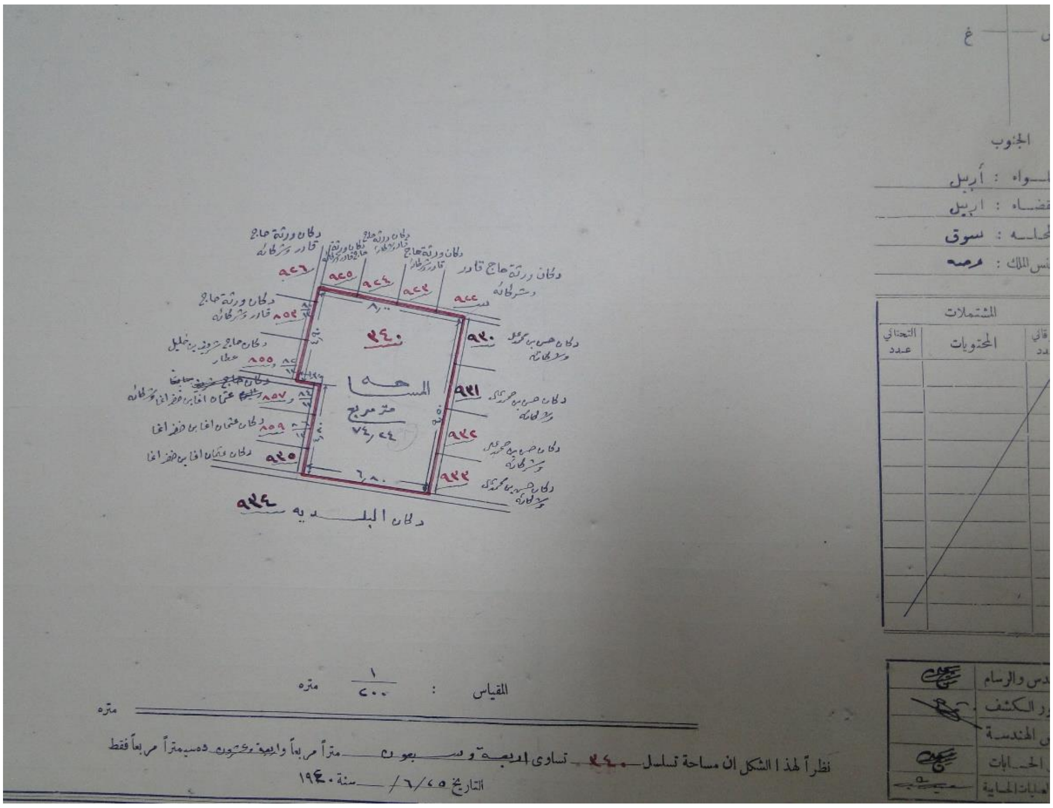


Figure 3.6: Shops cluster around open spacein the bazar area
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

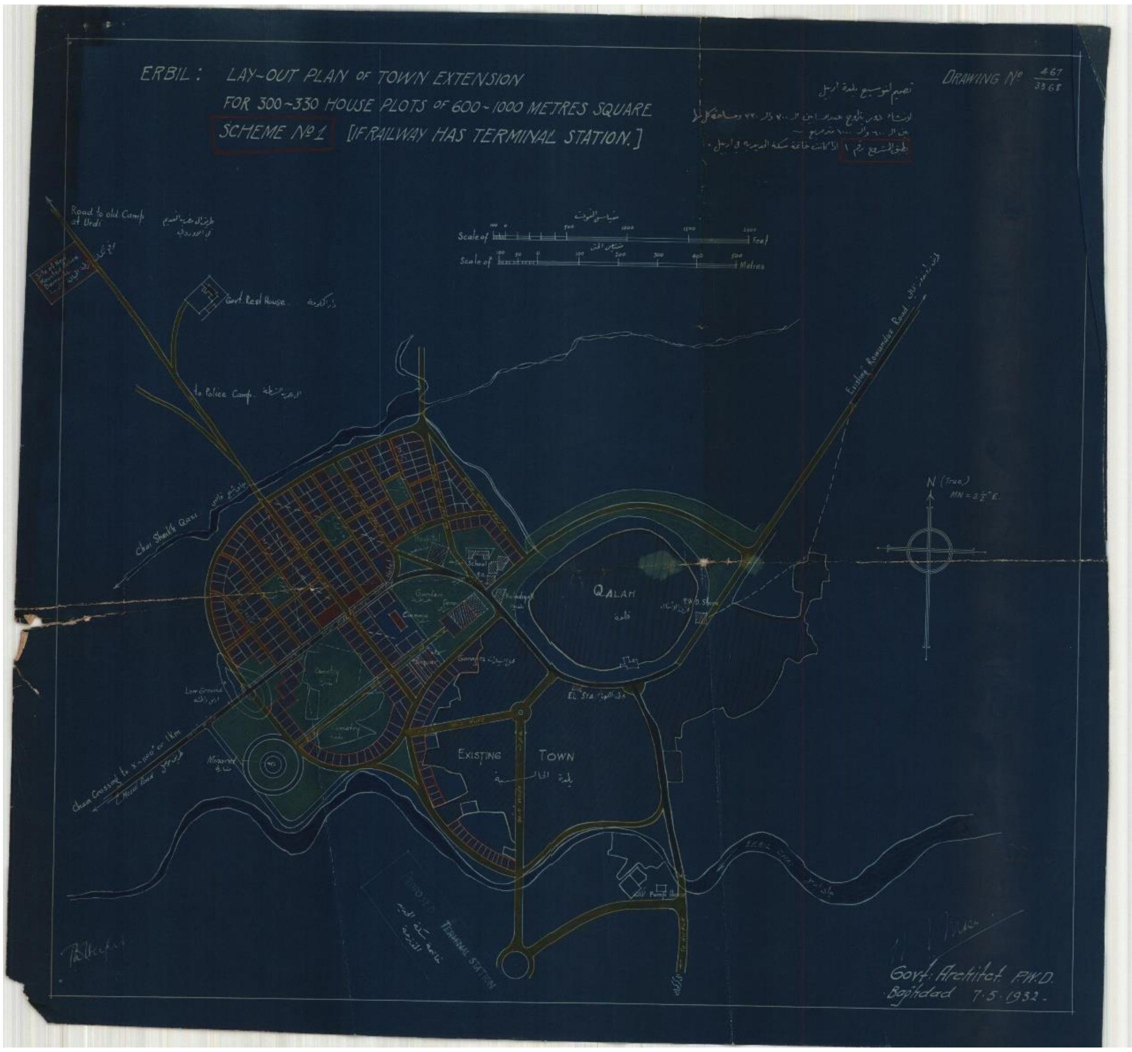
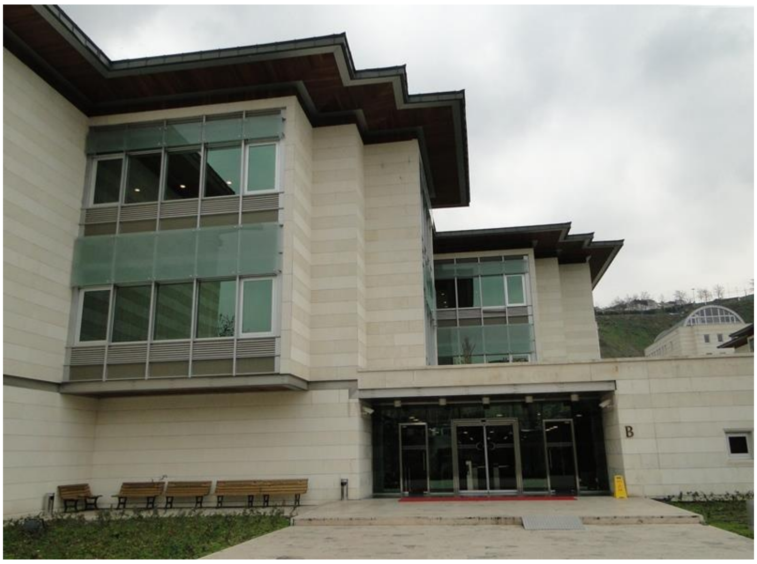


Figure 3.7: Proposal for Erbil extension, 1932
Sources: Iraqi National Archives, Baghdad

b) Doxiadis Archive in Athens, 2014

Figure 3.8: Doxiadis Archive in Greece
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2014



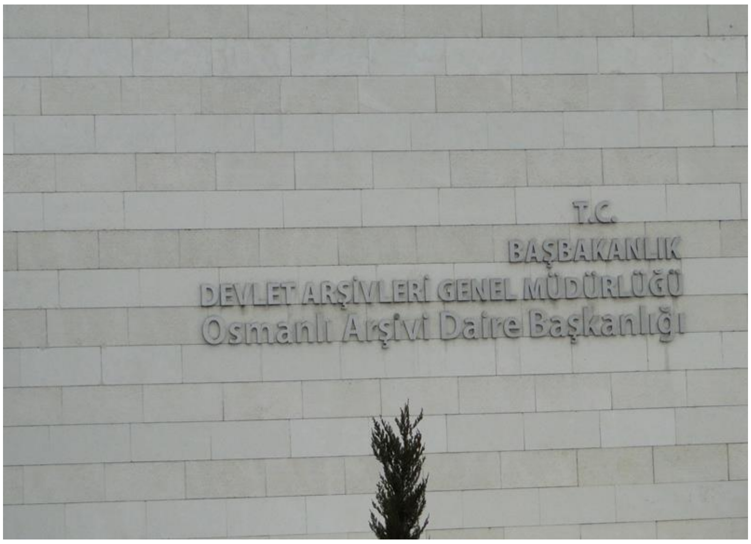

T.C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

Figure 3.9: Ottoman Archive
Source: Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2014

c) Site visit, Interviews, Group Discussion in Erbil and its Surrounding Area

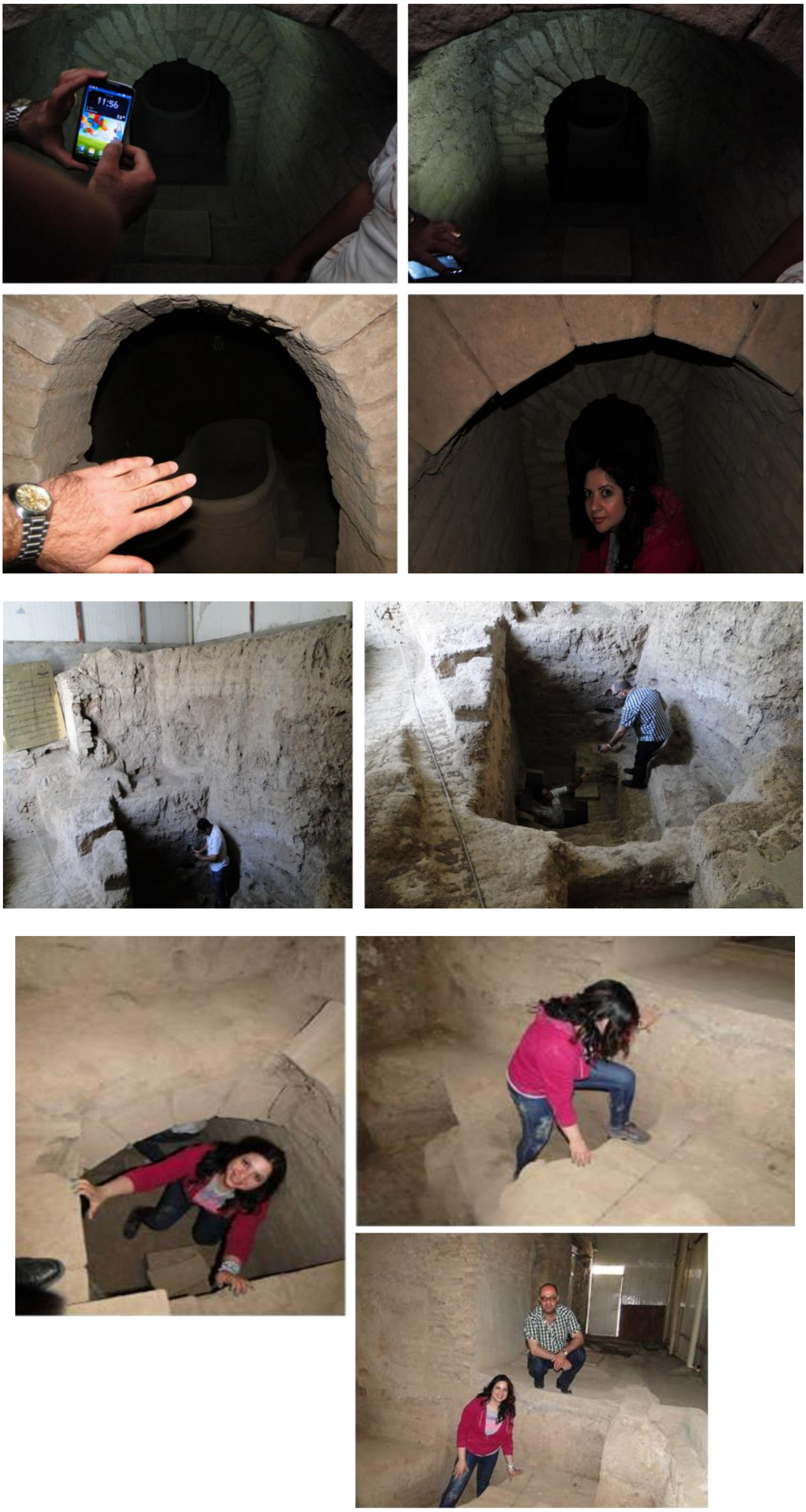


Figure 3.10: Visiting the Assyrian tomb, Erbil with the archaeologist Khalil Barzijnji

Figure 3.11: Professor in the history of the Attabeg period, Dr Muhssin Hussyein, in his office in the Kurdish Academy, Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, 2015

Figure 3.12: After the interview with the previous Mayor of Erbil in 1960s Mr Ahmad Shahab Aldin Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi. He is also owns 17th shops inside the qaisaria. The interview took place inside his house

The Staff of the Directorate of Erbil Antiquities.

With Mr Nader Babaker Director of Erbil Antiquities, and the archaeologists Mr Qadri and Mr Khalil.

Figure 3.13: Visiting the Directorate of Erbil Antiquites

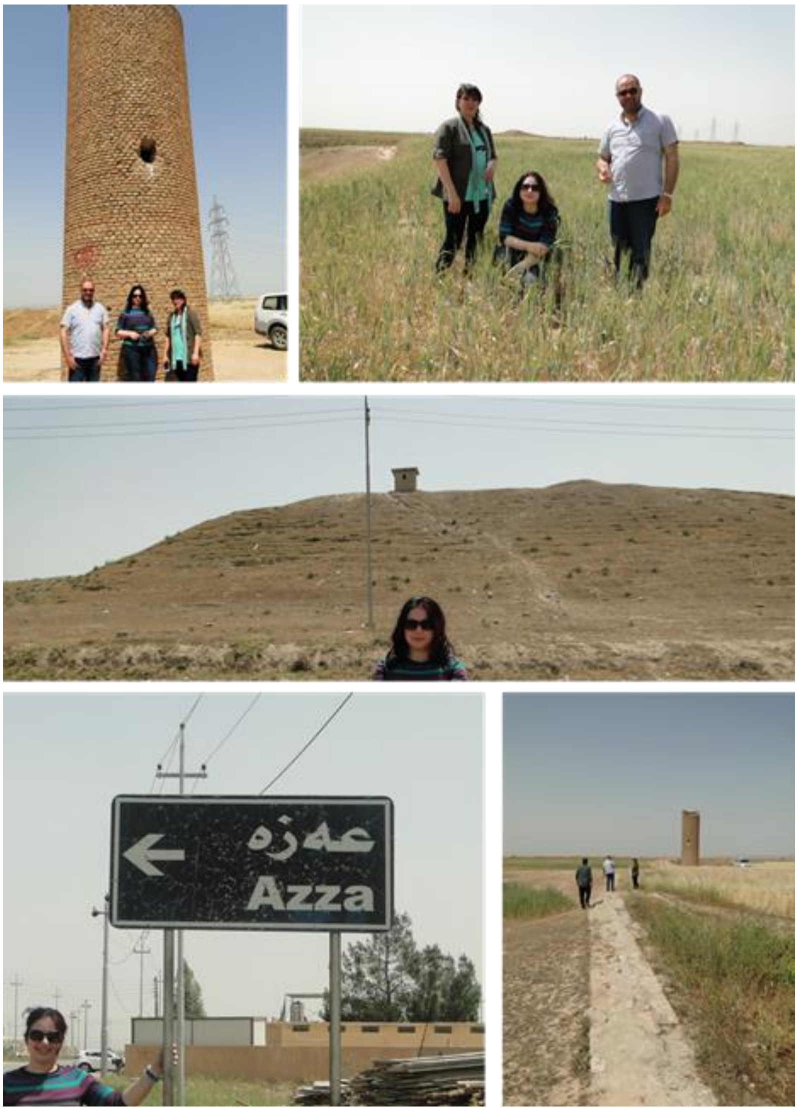


Figure 3.14: Visiting Azza area with Dr Parween Al-Badri, the archaeologist Khalil Barzijnji and Kak Saber

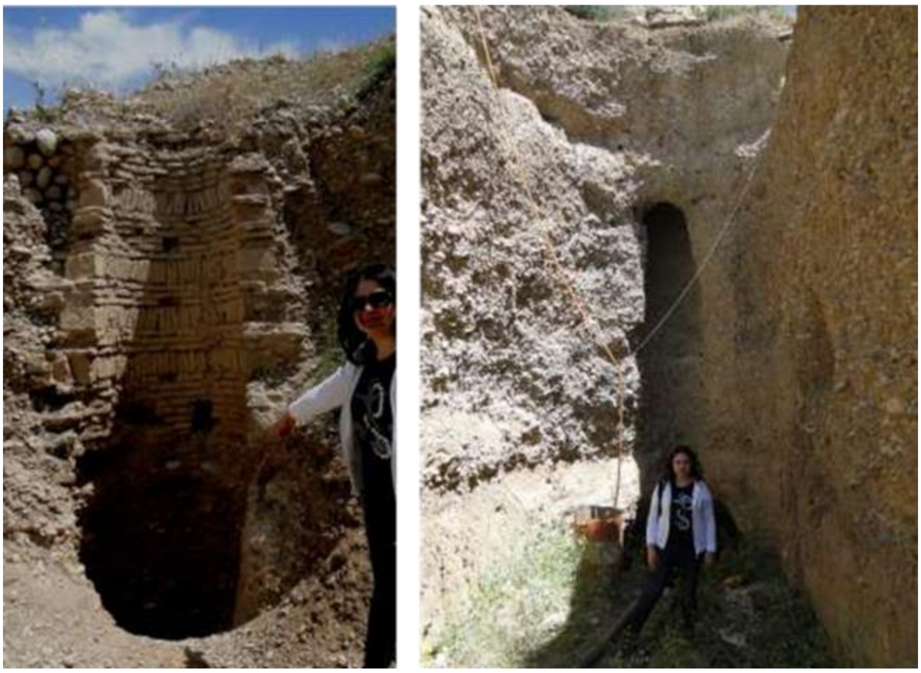


Figure 3.15: Visiting the Kahariz of Erbil with the archaeologist Khalil Barzijnji

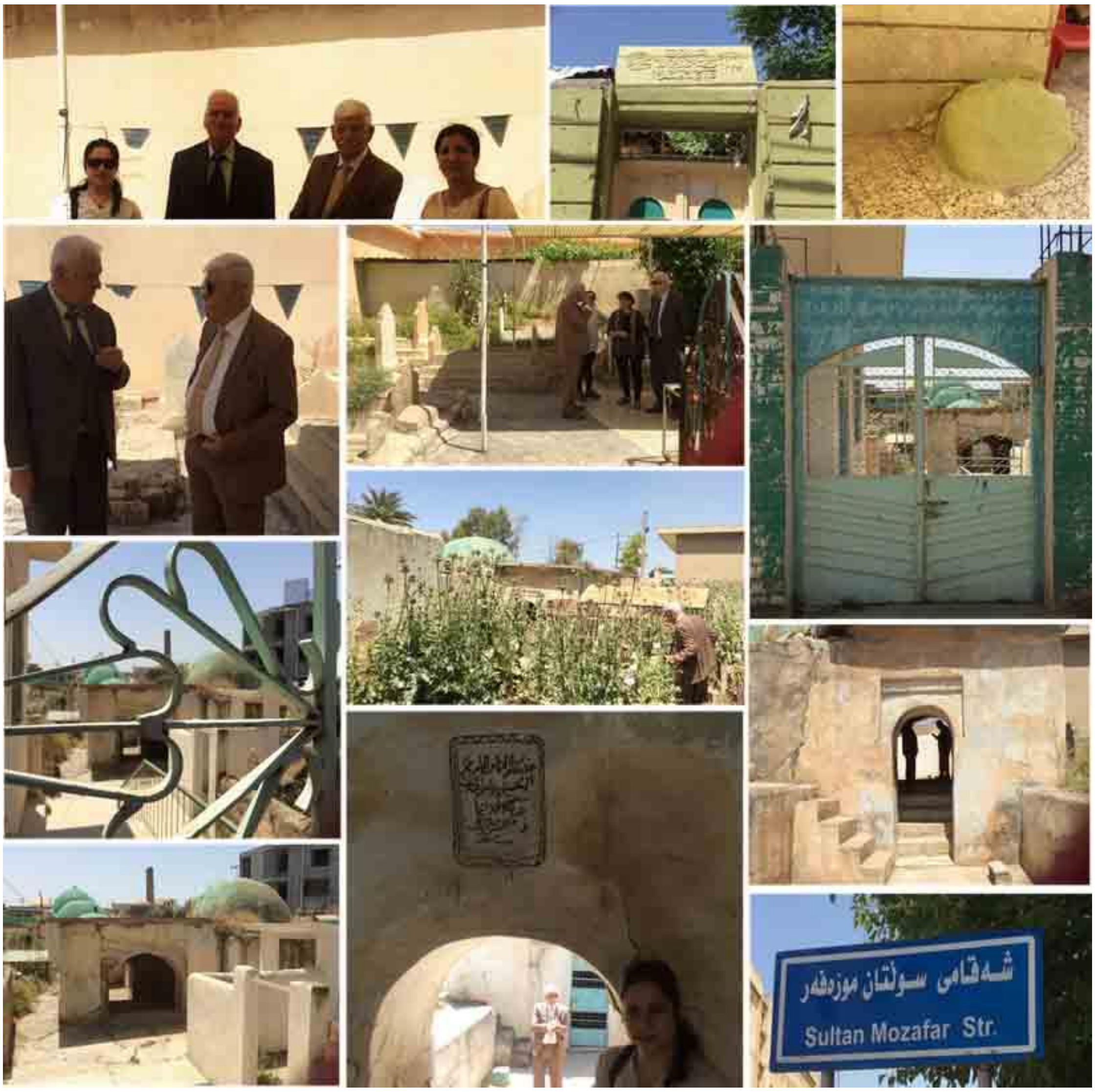


Figure 3.16: Site visit and group discussion to cemeteries belong to 12thcentury with Professor Muhssin Hussyein, Professors Imad Rauf, Dr Parwein Al-Badri and by Dr. Narmin Amin

d) Attending a Seminar Organised by Ifpo-Erbil on Erbil Citadel's Conservation Iraqi Kurdistan, 2015.

Figure 3.17: The seminar took place inside the citadel in the Al-Dabbagh-Chalabi house

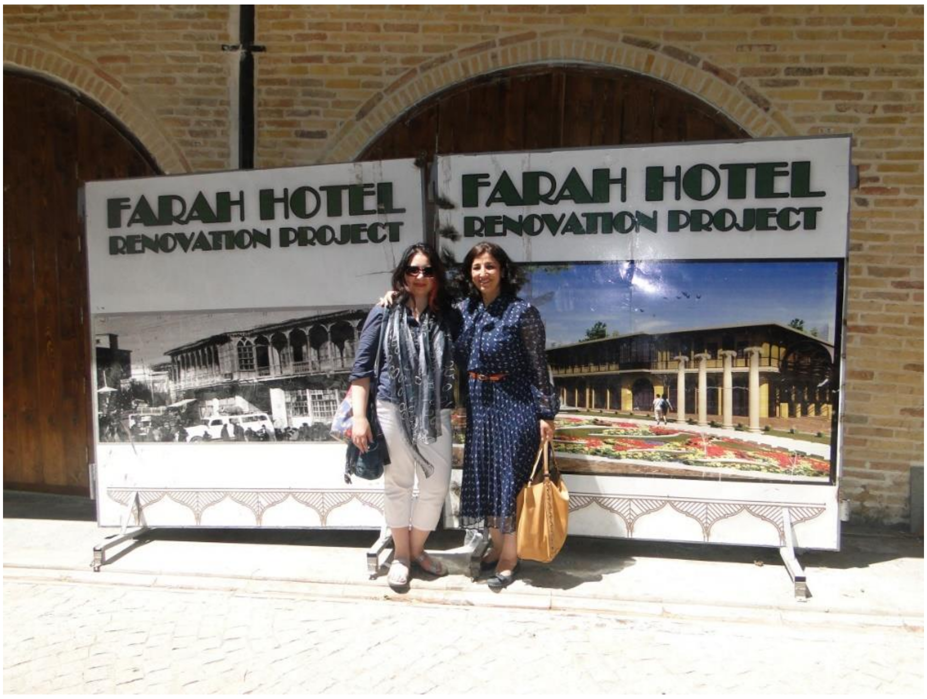


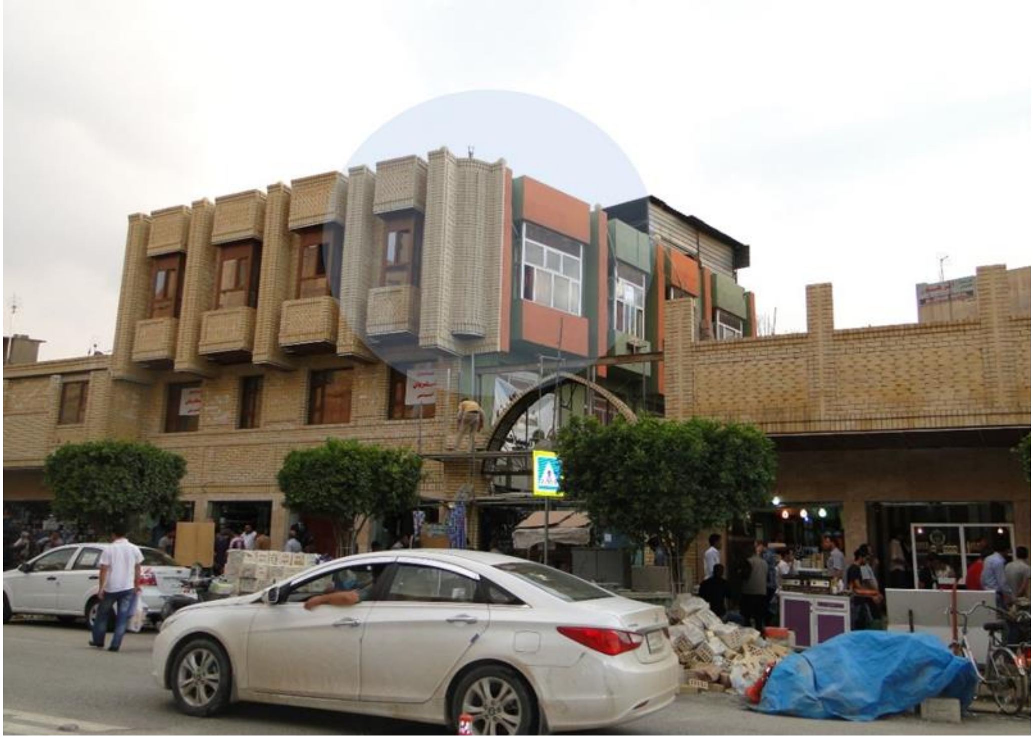
Figure 3.18: In Sulaimania city with the Attendance of the archaeologist Dr. Narmen Muhammad Ali Amin, 2015

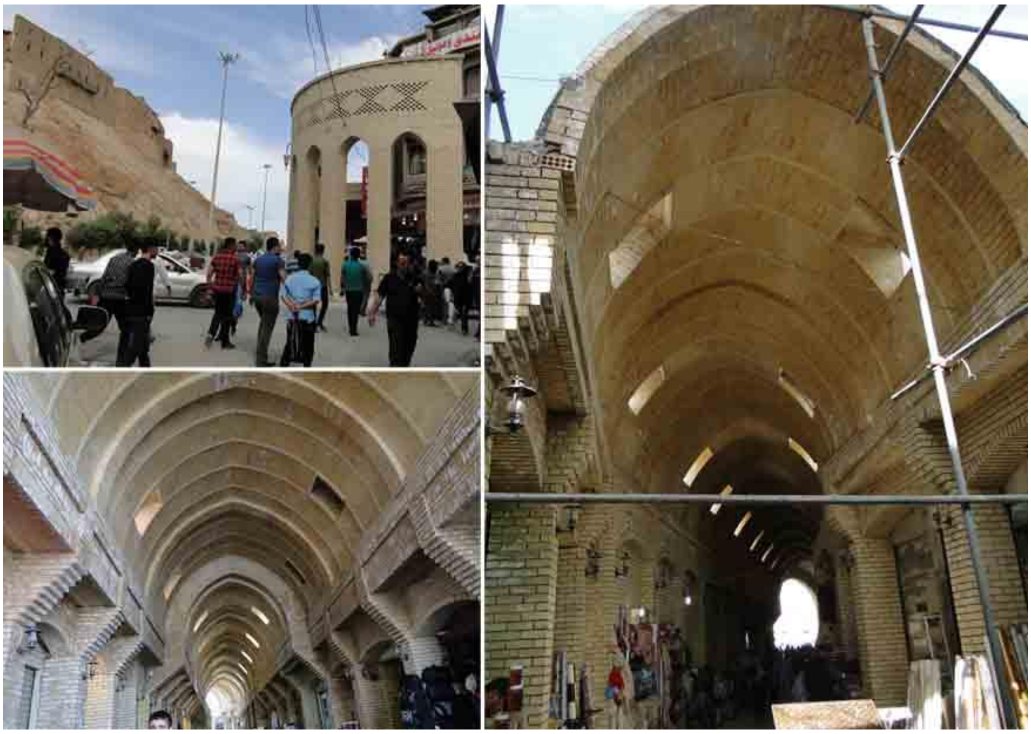
Figure 3.19: Opposite to Haji Laqllaq Mosque

APPENDIX 4: The conservation Process of the Bazar Area - Qaisarias

The Conservation of the Qaisaria: The photos below show the wrong way of conserving the bazar’s qaisaria and the cheap quality of bricks that were used in this process.

All these photos were taken by Farah Al-Hashimi between 2013 and 2015





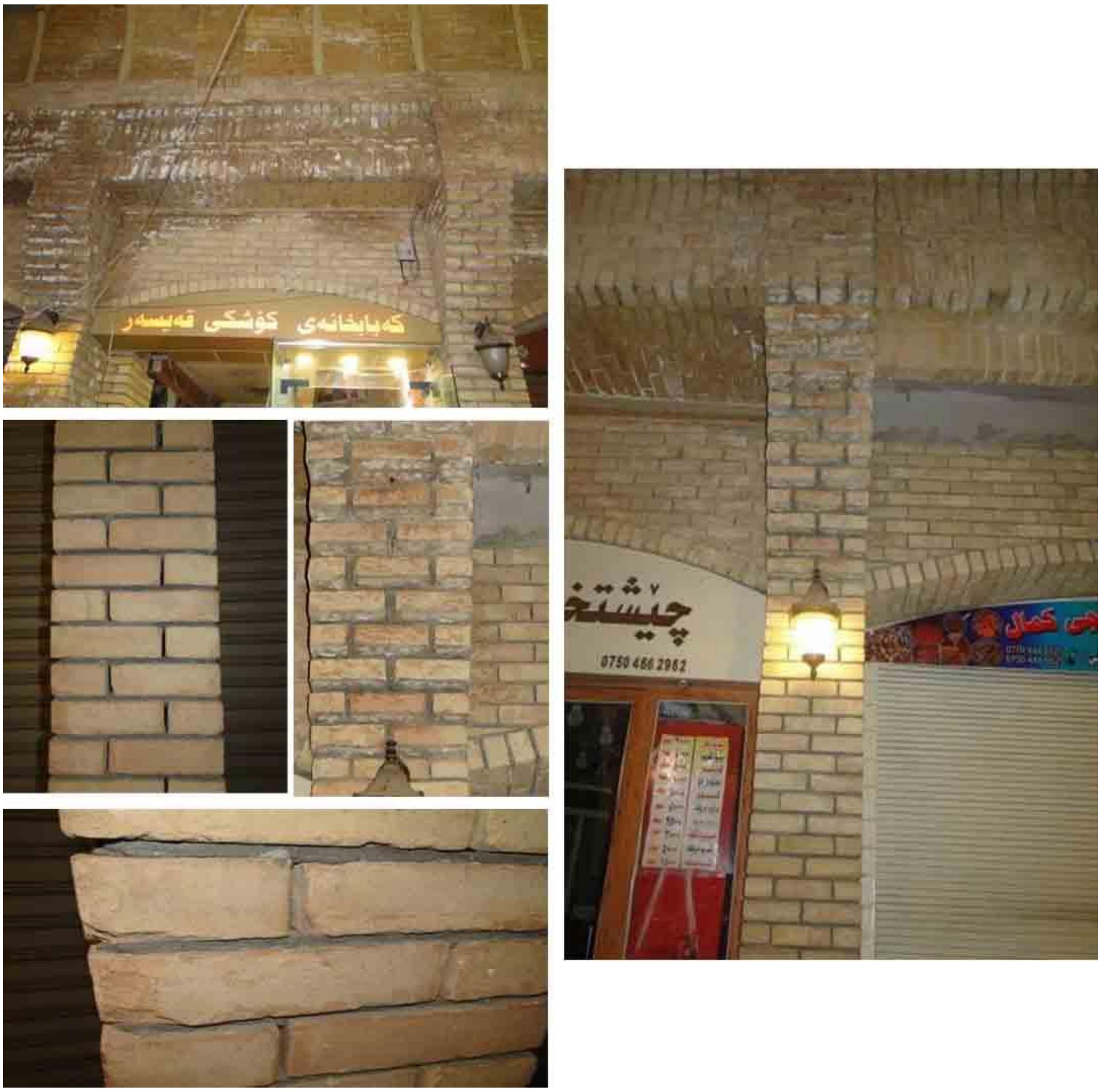
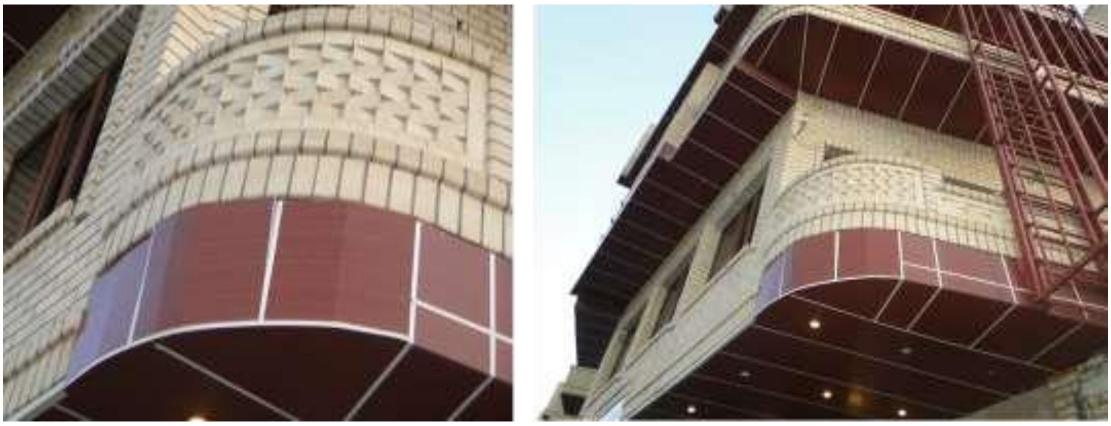


Figure 4.1: The new skin that was added to the bazar's façade to separate the bazar and the public square



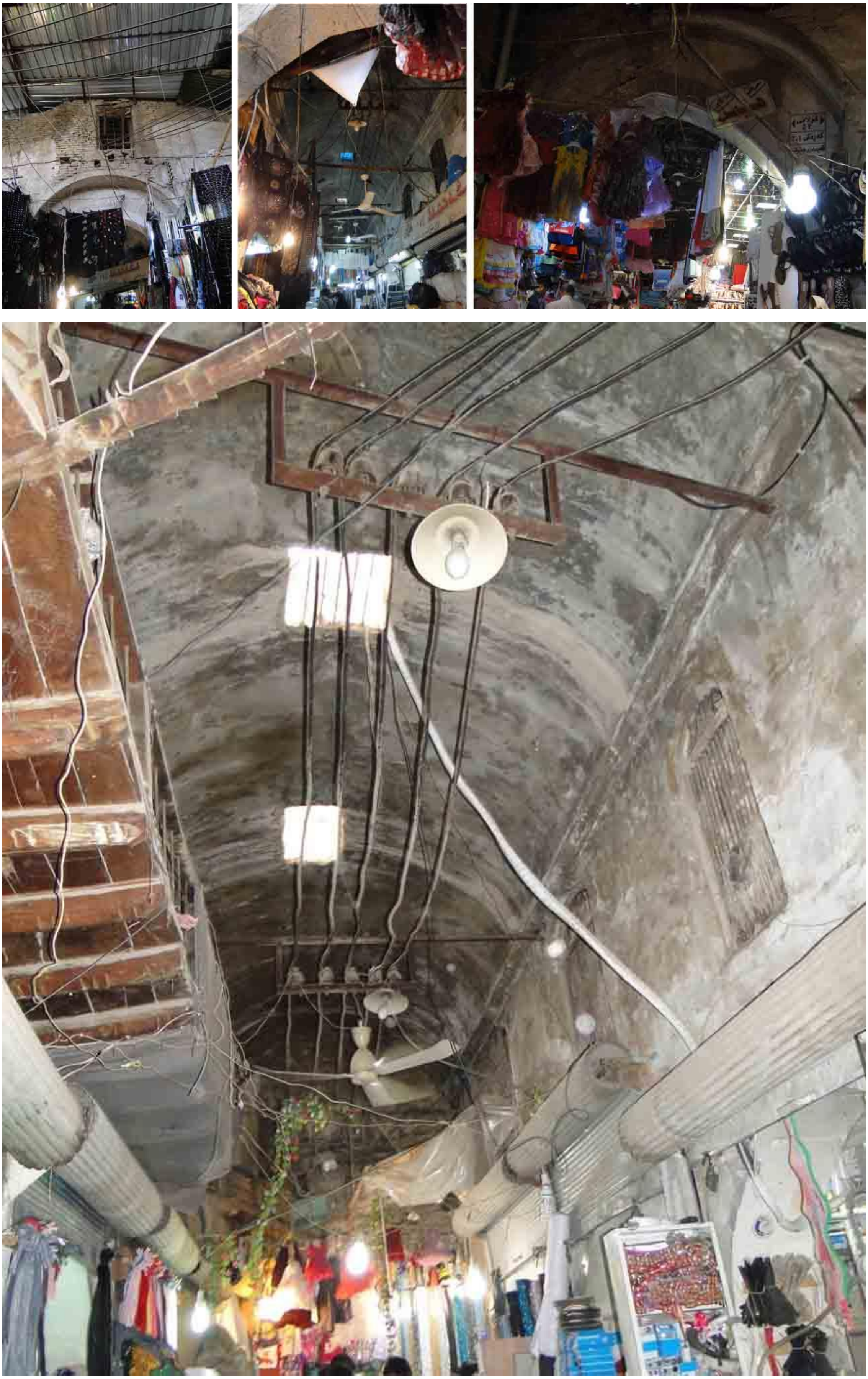


Figure 4.2: The Qaisaria before the conservation process. Taken by Farah Al-Hashimi, 2013

APPENDIX 5: Part of the Kurdish Cultural Heritage

The Culture/ Way of Life

Culture refers to the lifestyle of specific individuals or the whole society. It can be seen in ways of behaving, kind of religions, beliefs, values, languages, customs and dress code. Culture is passed on from one generation to another and it changes as each generation adds its experience. Therefore, some aspects may persist and others disappear, being either no longer useful or because of many other issues. UNESCO (2002) explains that "...cultures should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value system, traditions and beliefs". Through clarifying the inhabitants, their language, social life, religions and beliefs, Erbil's culture will be illustrated.

The Inhabitants and their Language

The origin of inhabitants and the dominant language in any city are considered to be part of the city culture. Fergusson[345] (1865, p.43) asserts that understanding the history of architecture comes with its relationship to arts and other aspects, such as the aspiration behind their creation and ethnography. Therefore, it is important to know the origin of the people who have lived in this area. The majority of Erbil's inhabitants are Kurds[346], who have lived there for thousands of years. Hay (1921, p. 36) highlights that "*The Kurds are an Aryan race, and are supposed to be identical with the ancient Medes*[347]*. They are referred to in Xenophon as the Carduchi*"[348&349].

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[345] James Fergusson (1808-1886) was an architectural historian expert, specifically in Victorian-era architecture through synthesising history and also expert on Indian architecture (Crinson 1996, p. 42)

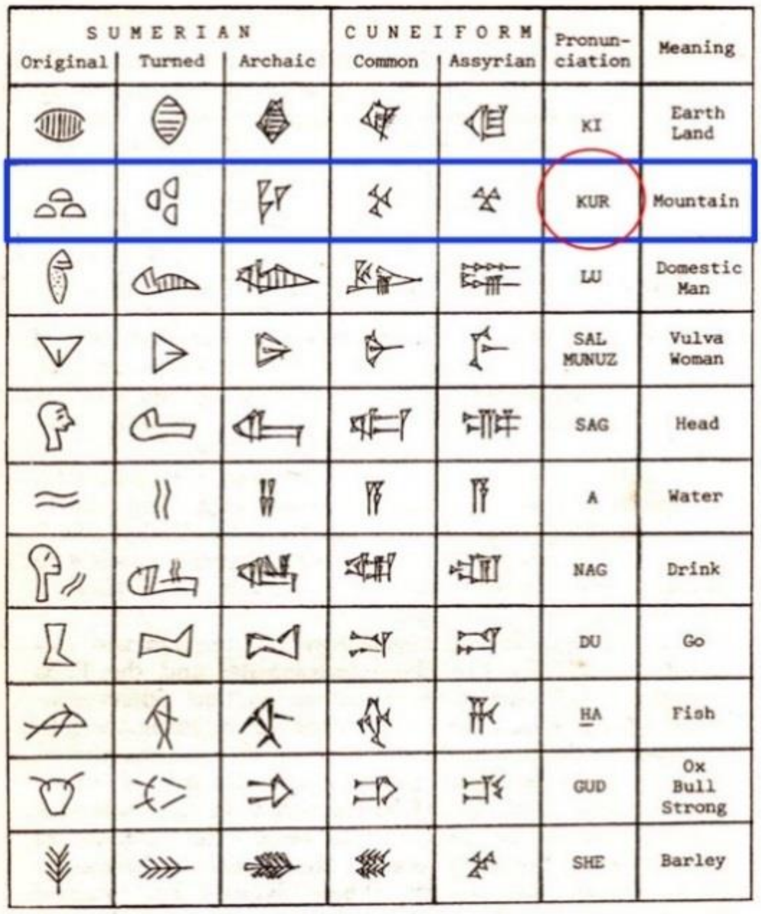
[346] Hennerbichler (2014, p.168) argues that by depending on different studies, such as Driver (1923), Langdon (1928), Speiser (1930), Barton (1929), Olmstead (1931) and others that:
"The toponymical "kar-daKI-ka" ("ma-da kar-daKI-ka") means land of "Karda", which derives most likely out of Akkadian "qarda" ("qurda") for heroic, brave, valiant, and warlike (mountain) people. It was geographically located in ancient heartlands of the Guti(ans) in central Zagros east areas in Northwest Iran of today, and was documented in several late Sumerian Ur III sources at the end of the 3rd millennium B.C.E. from Girsu in south Mesopotamia" (Hennerbichler 2014, p. 168).
This group according to Mesopotamian cuneiform were in consecutive connection with Guti (ans) as they settled in the same place of Gutium kingdom, which was one of the oldest independent kingdoms of the ancient East, existed with Sumer, Akkad, Elam and Armenia era.

[347] The race of Kurds also belongs to the Ancient Medes. The King of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar married the daughter of the King of Medes, Amyitis, to unite their nations. Amyitis was homesick for the fertile soils of her homeland and Babylon was very hot, dry. Therefore, Nebuchadnezzar ordered to construct of an array of 'hanging' gardens, on terraces within the Babylon city's walls (Admin 2009).

[348] "Probably the Kudraha of the cuneiform inscriptions." (Hay 1921, p. 36)

[349] Xenophon of Athens, was a Greek historian, soldier, and student of Socrates

Safarastian (1948, pp.16-17) believes that the name Kurd is authentic and genuine, as it derived from the land of Guti[350] people. In addition, to Safarastian's believe, the name could have existed and persisted through what is seen in the cuneiform symbols of the third Dynasty of Ur, Neo-Sumerian. Figure 5.1 has a word written and pronounced as '*Kur*'; this name in Sumerian sources means mountain and it is similar to the name of Kurds who used to live in the mountains



SUMERIAN			CUNEIFORM			
Original	Turned	Archaic	Common	Assyrian	Pronunciation	Meaning
					KI	Earth Land
					KUR	Mountain
					LU	Domestic Man
					SAL MUNUZ	Vulva Woman
					SAG	Head
					A	Water
					NAG	Drink
					DU	Go
					HA	Fish
					GUD	Ox Bull Strong
					SHE	Barley

Figure 5.1: The word 'Kur' in Sumerian sources means mountain and Kurds are the people of mountains
Source: (Sitchin 2007, p. 24)

In terms of historic Erbil, there is no sufficient information about the roots of the city's inhabitants. What has been alleged about its history is Erbil went through a number of wars, conflicts, it became a religious centre, and was part of several empires and under different/varied rulers, such as being a part of Gutian territory and under Gutian rule, it experienced the Assyrian and Babylonian civilisations, Sasanian era, a period of rule under the kingdom of Adiabene, was part of the Hathebani emirate, and had also

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[350] Guti became 'Gurti' when it adapted the letter 'r' after the vowel 'u', which is a matter of a linguistic rule and that, generally applies to most Indo-European languages such as, Armenian, Sanskrit and Greek.

Turkish and Arabic rulers. Some historians and archaeologists believe that the Guti people were Kurds, who settled in this area around 239 BC and Erbil was one of their main centres, with Kirkuk/Arabkha being their capital (Ismail 1987, p. 39; Zeki, 1961, pp. 55-60; Sumer, 1947, p. 84). During the Saladdin rule 1193 AD Kurds were in their greatest and Erbil experienced a prosperous era (Doxiadis 1958, p. 15).

It is clear that the city went through numerous situations and many wars. In addition, during the Adiabene rule, it is known that there were Kurds who were converted from Zoroastrianism to Judaism, by their queen. Also at that time the Christianity flourished. The Hathebanian Emirate were Kurds who have inhabited Erbil and its neighboring territories since the eleventh century. It is also known that the Hathebani and Hakamia Kurdish tribes used to fight to dominate the city (Ismail 1986, p. 70) and this is what Dr. Taha Baqir referred to in his book '*Introduction to The History of Civilizations*'. During the 19th and 20th centuries in Erbil most inhabitants were Kurdish who were living with Arab and Turkmans; together they made up Erbil's population[351].

In terms of the population, there is no concrete data giving/offering the correct information on the population in various periods of time, as it is scattered in different sources. However, according to Cuinet 1892 there were 3260 in Erbil (Houtsma 1987, p. 522). Around 1900, when the main settlements were limited in the citadel, the population was 5000. In 1910 Doxiadis (1958, p. 13) assumed that the population increased and reached 8000 and in 1920 reached 12000 inhabitants. According to the 1947 census Muslims totalled around 86.8%, Christians 8.3% and Jews 4.9%, with other religions constituting a tiny minority (Al-Genabi 1987, pp.27-28). In 1957 the population of the old city of Erbil was 30415. This included 60% Kurds and 40% Arabs; however, for the whole Liwa of Erbil the Kurds represented 90% of the total population (Doxiadis 1958, p.15). Doxiadis highlights that between 1920 and 1935 the population increased and between 1935 and 1950 it diminished due to the developments to Kirkuk after discovering oil *(*ibid., p. 14). Between 1947 and 1980 the population of Erbil reached 181,964 people. The greatest population growth occurred in the period between 1957 and 1965 followed by the period between 1970 and 1977.

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[351] "Except for the inhabitants of Arbil town, a few Christians in Ainkawa, Shaqlawah, and Koi, and scattered Arab villages in Shamamik and Qara Choq, the Arbil Division is entirely populated by Kurds" (Hay 1921, p.35)

In 1975 a comprehensive social field survey took place showing that the original inhabitants of Erbil formed 83% of the population, while the remaining 17% had migrated from the neighbouring regions, for political and social reasons, consequently this led to new districts appearing. By 1987 the population/number of inhabitants reached 485, 968 (Amin 1983, p. 65). Nowadays, the population has increased to one and half million; in addition to the Kurds, the largest ethnic group in the city, there are also smaller number of Arab, Syriac/Syrian-Orthodox, Turkmen, Armenian, Yazidis, Shabaks and Mandeans, who recently left the central and southern cities of Iraq and settled in the Kurdistan region for safety reasons (Karezi 2011, p.20).

With regard to the language, the Kurdish language, as Hay (1920, p.36) describes it, is pure and belongs to the Indo-European languages. Mirawdeli (1993, p. 26) argues that “the Kurdish language is the most essential feature and socio-historical and spiritual medium of Kurdish identity and culture”. Throughout history this language has suffered from marginalisation as a result of oppressive actions performed by different powers. Edmunds (1957, p.7) highlights the suppression that happened to the language made some western travellers, who visited Kurdistan region in the 19th century, describe the language as a corrupt form of Persian or a mix between Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. However, the Kurdish language is considered to be older than the Persian language. The first written appearance was revealed mid 500 BC in a holy book, named *‘Zenda-Avesta’*, which means the law and change, belonging to Zoroastrianism religion[352]. The language of this book is similar to the current Kurdish dialect Mokariat (Zeki 1961, p. 45). Later on the language of this holy book gradually started to disappear or distort to extent that every city or village has their own accent (Amadi 2013, p. 261). Zeki (1961, p. 310) illustrates the similarity between the Kurdish language and *Avesta* language, which is not closely related to the Persian language (table 5.1).

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[352] This holy book was considered sacred by many people and has formed the base for their languages and civilisations; among those were the Persians and Hindus. The Kurds eventually abandoned it and adopted other beliefs which were different from their original language and consequently they unconsciously gave up a part of their true identity (Amadi 2013, p. 261). Some historians believe that the Kurds are descendants of the Medes. Herodotus illustrates the strength of Medes’ culture through the action of Persians, who were keen on adopting and using cultural customs of the Medes and other civilisation and attribute these to their own culture. He states that *“There is no nation which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians. Thus, they have taken the dress of the Medes, considering it superior to their own; and in war they wear the Egyptian breastplate. As soon as they hear of any luxury, they instantly make it their own”* (*Herodotus* 440 BC, p. 71)

Table 5.1 The similarity bewteen the kurdish and Avista language
Source: (Zeki 1961, p.310) adapted by the author

English	الترجمة العربية Arabic	اللغة الفارسية الحالية Persian	لغة الآبستاق Avesta	Kurdish- اللغة الكردية	
				اللهجة الكرمانجية والزازائية	اللهجة السليمانية
Big/ Large	كبير، عظيم	سنگين – بزرك	ماز	مازين	گه ورهgawra
High	عالي، رفيع	بلند	بخ ره زا	برز	به رز
Fish	سمك، حوت	ماهى	ماسيا	ماسيى، ماسه	ماسيى
Chilli	حاد، حامي	تيز	تيژ	تيژ، توژ	تيژ
Camel	جمل، ابل	شتر	ئوشترا	ئوشترا	حوشتر
Bridge	الجسر	پل	په رهتا	پرت، بر	پرد
Sun	الشمس	آفتاب	هور	خور، رو	روژ
Flies	الذباب	مگس	مه خشى	ميش	ميش
Sheep	الخروف	بره	وراخا	به رخ	به رخ
Speech	الكلام	حرف، سخن	خسا	كسه – قسه	قسه
Request	الطلب	خواستن	واسى	ويسو – واشتن	ويستن
Knowledge	المعرفة	دانستن	زان	زانين	زانين
I am	أنا	من	أزم	أز – م	من

The Kurdish language was affected by the main factors that impacted the Kurds, which are religion and political powers. The origin of Kurdish language had an alphabet which used to be written from the left to right, however after Islam the Arabic language dominated[353] and the Kurdish letters were changed to Arabic letters, figure 5.2.

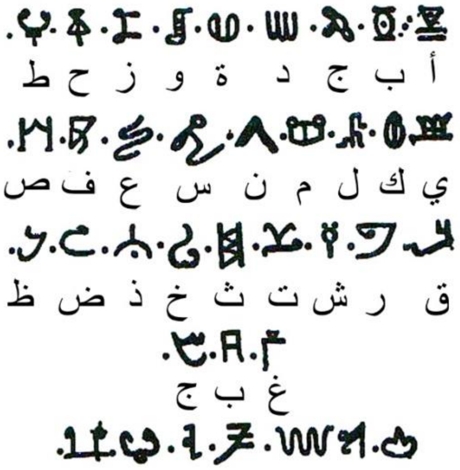

Figure 5.2: The Kurdish Alphabet before Islam - according to Ibn according to Ibn Washsiyya 856 CE.
Source: (Ahmad 2003, p. 332)

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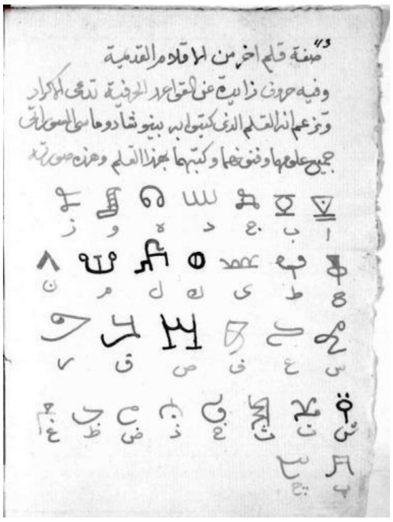
[353] Ibn Khaldun the significant philosopher/thinker asserts on the roles of religion and political powers of Arabs on non- Arab Islamic nations. He highlights in (The Muqaddima 1987, p. 294)
"The dialect of urban population follows the language of the nation or race that has control of (the cities) or has founded them. Therefore, the dialects spoken in all Muslim cities in the East and the West at this time are Arabic. The reason for this is the fact that the Muslim dynasty gained power over foreign nations. Religion and religious organisations constitute the form of existence and royal authority, which together constitute the matter for religion. From is prior to matter. Religion is derived from the religious law which is Arabic, because the prophet was an Arab. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid using any language but Arabic in all the provinces of Islam. This may be exemplified by "Umer's prohibition against using the idiom native among the non- Arab dialect, and the language of the supporters of the Muslim dynasty was Arabic, those dialects were avoided altogether in all its provinces. Because people follow the government and adopt its ways, use of the Arabic, the (foreign) nations avoided using their own dialects and language in all the cities and provinces. The non- Arab languages came to seem imported and foreign there."



صفة قلم اخر من الاقلام القديمة
وفيه حروف زائدة عن القواعد الحرفية تدعى الاكراد
وتزعم ان القلم الذي كتبوا به بينوشاد وماسي السوراني
جميع علومها وفنونها وكتبها بهذا القلم وهذه صورته

ا ب ج د ه و ز
ح ط ي ك ل م ن
س ع ف ص ق ر
ش ت ث خ ذ ض ظ غ

In 20th century and after the division of the South West Asia, North Africa and Arabian Peninsula, the rulers of the new countries forced the Kurdish inhabitants to speak alien languages and the Kurdish language was prohibited and outlawed. No publication or writings were allowed to be published. Consequently, this caused the language to persist verbally, with no written alphabet. This, again, meant that the language divided into different dialects between the northern, Middle and the Southern Kurdistan (Amadi 2013, p. 261). In the shaded areas of the map in figure 5.3 show, an approximate distribution of the presence of Kurdish-speaking communities; in Erbil the dialect is distinctly southern (Sorani). Under the Iraqi kingdom and republican rule Arabic language in Erbil was used in education, government and administrative sources; nevertheless, the Kurdish language dominates the whole area. Today the official language in the region is the Kurdish language in addition to Arabic, which is the official language of Iraq. English also is a second language for the whole country (Karezi 2011, p. 16).

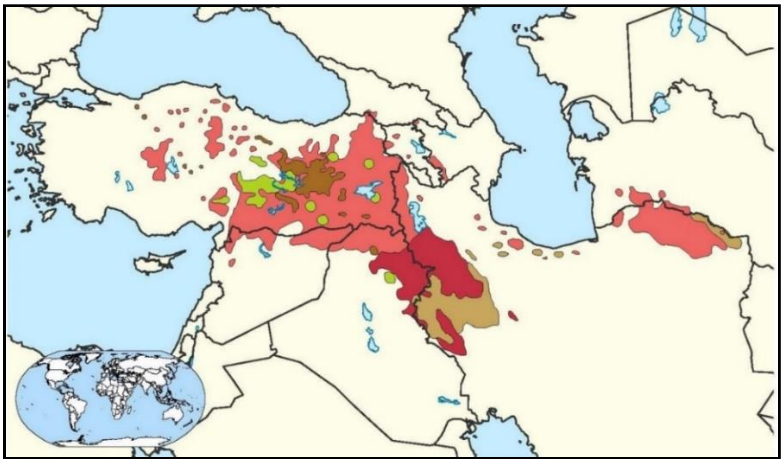


Figure: 5.3 An approximate distribution of Kurdish dialects in recent centuries;
🟥Bahdinai (North), 🟥 Sorani (South), 🟫 Zazaki, 🟫 Gorani, 🟩 mixed areas
Source: (ArnoldPlaton, 2014*)*

Social Life of Erbil

The history of any ancient nation cannot be understood without knowing the social habits, traditions and heritage of that nation. Although most of the ancient traditions and habits have been replaced or changed and some have even vanished, the spiritual of Kurdish culture persists in Erbil and other cities in Kurdistan territory. Kurds in general and in Erbil specifically were famous for their oral poetry, which was considered an art form that has had social distinction, and classic and religious songs (Amadi 2012, p. 144; Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 80). Rawanduz, Sulaimania and Erbil were the main centres of Kurdish literature (Doxiadis 1958, p. 15). The city of Erbil inherited fine arts and other heritage manifestations. Songs varied following the old religious melodies (Mowashahat) while preserving its old origins, i.e. they are now mix modern and traditional. Old tales and stories have always been told by certain people in some coffee, houses and Diwans. Musical instruments included Flute, oboe, drums and Dumpek. They also have different kind of dances, such as halparke, ce-p e, shekhania and others (Shaheen 2005, p. 10; Al-Chawishli 1985, pp. 80-81).

The principal Kurdish festival is Newroz/Nawroz means the new day. They consider it as a Kurdish new year, which signifies the first day of spring. The celebration consists of leaving the town and spending the day in the country. In Iraq and during the Ottoman rule the celebration was forbidden until the end of this Empire (Doxiadis 1958, p. 15; Amadi 2014).

As for clothes or dress code; the suppression and genocide actions performed on the Kurds, especially in the beginning of 20th century, impacted on their cultural customs through forbidding the Kurdish dress and language in Turkey and Iran. However, it flourished to a certain extent in Iraq. Therefore, Kurds have continued to use a diverse range of beautiful colourful women’s and men’s costumes and they are being known for their own distinguished costumes. Men and women have their own special outfits, which have remained very important elements in their identity (Al-Chawishli 1985, p. 74). This reflects the deep-rooted culture and character of the Kurdish people in general and Erbil in specifically (figure 5.4, 5.5, 6.13, 6.14 and 6.15).

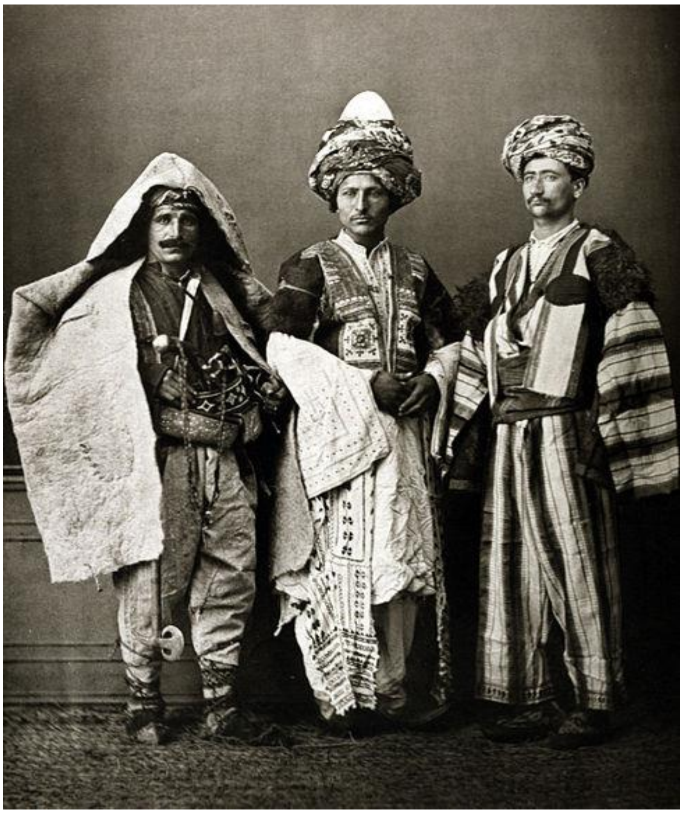


Figure 5.4: On the left, **t**he photo represents the Kurdish costumes. The album represents the costumes of the different regions, and ethnic and religious groups of the Ottoman Empire. On the rightis a Kurd from Aljazeera (Mesopotamia). Center, a Kurd of Mardin (a city on the Syrian border). On the left is a shepard Kurd from the province of Diyarbekir.
Source: Taken by the photographer Pascal Sebah on the occasion of the universal exposition in Viena in 1873. Available at the Library of Congress and published in Mideastimage.com.

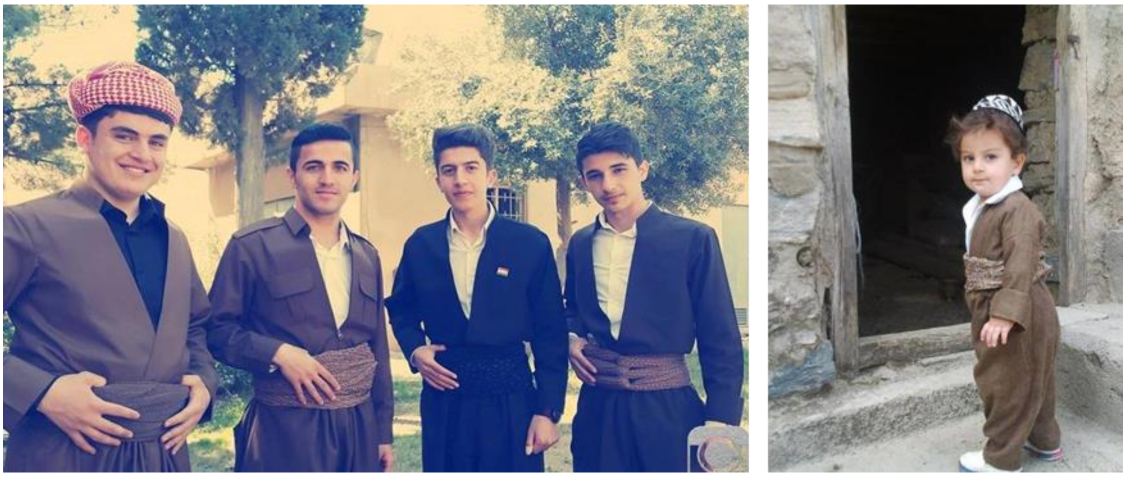


Figure 5.5: Kurdish male and children costumes, Taken by Anon in 2000s

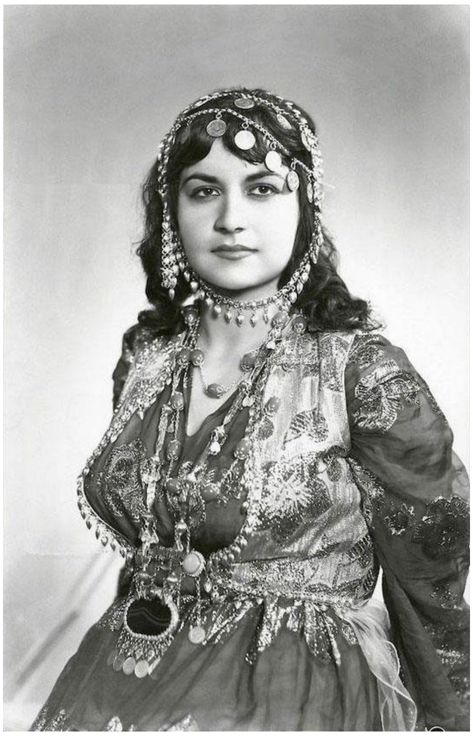
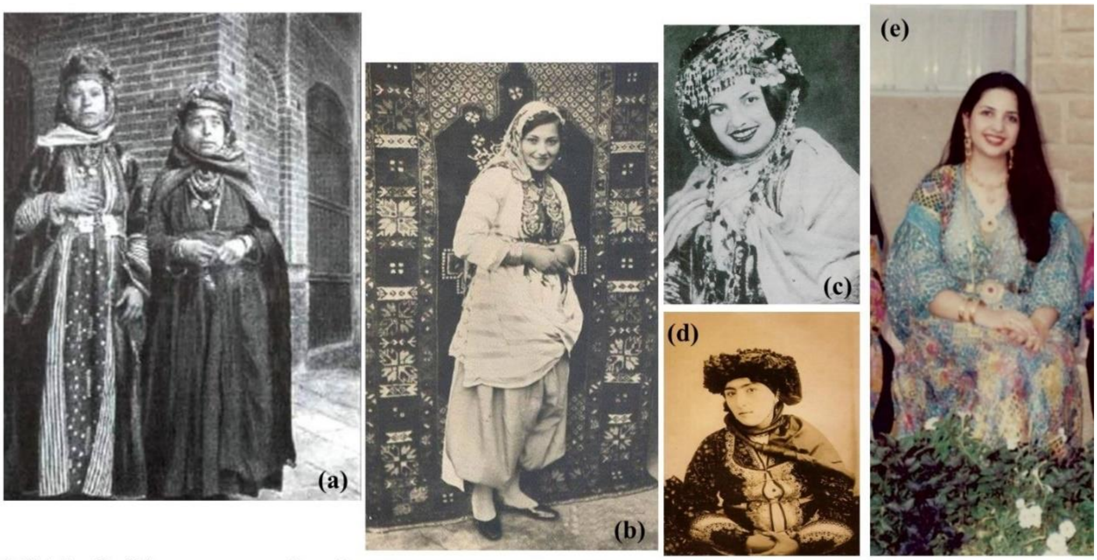


Figure 5.6: Kurdish Costumes
Source: SARA Distribution - Contemporary Kurdish Women, taken by Anon.



(a) Christian Kurdish women, source from Hassoun.
(b) Kurdish girl, 1900, published in SARA Distribution - Kurdish Woman from the Earlier Centuries.
(c) A Kurdish Muslim woman, Taken by Anon.
(d) A Kurdish Jewish Girl from Sene in Eastern Kurdistan, published in 1896. Taken by the photographer Pascal Sebah, 1873.
(e) Iraqi Kurdish girl (private collection), 1999.

- **Kurdish Hand Craft -** All the photos were taken by Farah Al-Hashimi in 2015