The Cultural Landscape of As-Salt, Jordan: Keys to World Heritage Nomination

Dania Khlaifat
University of Massachusetts Amherst

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The Cultural Landscape of As-Salt, Jordan:
Keys to World Heritage Nomination

A Master’s Thesis presented

by

Dania Jamal Abdelkarim Khlaifat

May 10th, 2019
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by
Dania Jamal Abdelkarim Khlaifat

Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture
May 2019

Approved as to style and content by:

Elizabeth Brabec, Committee Chair
Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

Ethan Carr, Committee Member
Robert Ryan, FASLA, Department Head
Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning
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To my country Jordan, to Their Royal Highnesses, King Abdullah II and Queen Rania, I aspire that my thesis will be of value to the progress of our country.

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I aim to continue asking questions, researching, learning, and expanding my horizons. Thank you UMass & LARP for being my stepping stone to a brighter future.

As-Salt, a city in Jordan, has undergone heritage enhancement projects since the 1990s and is currently undergoing a heritage regeneration project in its downtown core, in preparation for potential World Heritage designation. Consequently, the State Party representing As-Salt submitted a report in 2015 to UNESCO for World Heritage Nomination.

Unfortunately, the report was unsuccessful in proving the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of As-Salt, a value used by UNESCO to determine the cultural or natural significance of sites and monuments. Hence, As-Salt’s nomination status was deferred.

While the ongoing project of “Oqbah bin Nafe” in As-Salt’s downtown addresses touristic amenities and increasing public open space, a piecemeal approach of specific physical interventions is not the solution. In order for a resubmission of the nomination, the State Party of As-Salt must go beyond architectural merit to compare with other Muslim cities of the Levant.

Abstract

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MLA, University of Massachusetts Amherst

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The report was entitled “Arab Eclecticism - Foundation and evolution of an Architectural School in the city of As-Salt (1860-1925)”. It focused mainly on the architectural image of the city.

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Chapter 1
1.1 Introduction

A city is a representation of its cultural, social, and political fabric that displays the most complex form of civilized cohabitation (UNWTO, 2012).

The city of As-Salt in Jordan is renowned for its distinct architectural style and history. The history of its urban development dates back to the Chalcolithic times, but more recently the Ghassanid, Crusader, Ayyubid, Mongol, Mamluk, and the Ottoman periods all had an influence on how the city grew and the forms that are inscribed on the land today. The historic periods resulted in different historic remnants, such as the Roman tombs on the outskirts of As-Salt, the Citadel on its peak, the historic markets and the site of a 13th century Ayyubid fortress, which date back to the Ayyubid period (Alhammad, 2012).

Locally it acts as an important location for religious reasons, for it holds numerous shrines of prophets (Municipality, 2018). There are many ways to refer to the city, such names are: “Salt” (indefinitive article), “Al-Salt” or “As-Salt” (definitive articles). For this study, I chose to use the term “As-Salt” to refer to the city, as it is the name used by the State Party report when placing the city on the tentative list for World Heritage since 2015. As-Salt prospered in the last decade of the 19th century, due to its location along pilgrimage routes to Mecca, as well as its proximity to major urban centers like Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, and Nablus. It was also a vital hub for trade, an economic center, acting as a route of trade between the East and the West. Its natural fortifications of hilly topography resulted in unique architectural expressions in the urban form of the city. Moreover, As-Salt’s mild climate, plentiful water supplies, agricultural land, mixed land uses, and urban vocabulary have added to the vitality of the city (Khîrfan, 2014).

For more than two decades, the city has witnessed heritage enhancement projects and is currently undergoing a development project in its downtown core. Previous renovation projects highlighted selected facades instead of taking measures to address the cultural urban landscape (Khîrfan, 2013).

For instance, previous projects have ignored the urban context of the city, spatially and culturally, resulting in minor treatments, such as street furniture along certain trails but not others, isolated monuments, and redesigned public spaces not in context with the historic character of the city. Other development projects focused on signage and the adornment of public spaces, but also did not address the urban landscape of the old city of As-Salt as a whole (Daher, 2005). And in 2015, the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities of Jordan submitted a report entitled “Arab Eclecticism – Foundation and evolution of an Architectural School in the city of As-Salt (1860 – 1925)” to UNESCO for nomination as a World Heritage site for the cycle of 2020 (UNESCO, 2018).

As-Salt’s nomination status was deferred. Previous literature has addressed residents’ concerns, and discussed the superficial treatments to the physical environment As-Salt has undergone (Alhammad, 2012).

There have been several attempts to address the city’s unique characteristics. However, none of the literature has addressed As-Salt’s status, on the tentative list of World Heritage sites, and what the city’s unique characteristics are. Therefore, due to the gap in literature, and the necessity of exploring and ameliorating the nomination status and report of As-Salt, this research:

1. Performs a comparative analysis between As-Salt and cities on the national and regional scale to establish if and what makes As-Salt significant and what might make As-Salt rise to the level of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), World Heritage designation is a process that takes many years, where a property must prove having an Outstanding Universal Value, as well as meeting one of the ten World Heritage Committee selection criteria. This will be discussed further in this research.

As for the case of the nomination report of As-Salt, it mainly focused on the architectural image of the city. And unfortunately, it was unsuccessful in proving the Outstanding Universal Value of As-Salt, a value used by UNESCO to determine the cultural or natural significance of sites and monuments. Hence, As-Salt’s nomination status was deferred.

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As such, World Heritage designation entails that a property must have Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), a value used by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to determine if a property has exceptional cultural, or natural significance to humanity. However, none of the literature has addressed As-Salt’s status, on the tentative list of World Heritage sites, and what the city’s unique characteristics are. Therefore, due to the gap in literature, and the necessity of exploring and ameliorating the nomination status and report of As-Salt, this research:

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Previous literature has addressed residents’ concerns, and discussed the superficial treatments to the physical environment As-Salt has undergone (Alhammad, 2012).
2. Study and analyze the components of the cultural landscape of As-Salt, to establish a potential OUV.

4. Propose a summary of further research and actions including design interventions, measures, and guidelines for future tourism development that would support a World Heritage nomination.

In addition to these objectives, there is a need to address the city’s cultural landscape as an urban system, rather than solely addressing its architecture.

“Cities are the product of both natural and human evolution” (UNESCO, 2016). They are also “of great importance to the protection of human welfare and health, the development of social creativity and cultural diversity, as well as the conservation and sustainable use of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In this sense, it is important to acknowledge cities as a vital resource for the future. Cities are dynamic organisms: social structures and needs are always revolving, and the physical fabric adapts constantly” (UNESCO, 2016). Whereas the Historic Urban Landscape is “the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of ‘historic center’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.” (UNESCO, 2016).

Chapter 2

2.1 Historic Preservation & Nomination

Historic urban areas are a reflection of the people who have built them, to their diversities, and cultural specificities (Jokilehto, 2010). Whereas the wider context includes the topography, geomorphology, hydrology, and natural features of a landscape. It also includes the built environment, whether historic or contemporary, the infrastructure above and below ground, open spaces and gardens, land use patterns, spatial organization and connections, and natural features and settings. Additionally, perceptions and visual relationships, social and cultural practices, values, economic processes, intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity, may all be part of the wider context.

As UNESCO elaborates, “every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as their buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings. All valid elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have a significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded” (UNESCO, 1976).

An approach to deal with the Historic Urban Landscape was first developed and adopted by UNESCO through the General Conference in 2011, known as the Historic Urban Landscape approach, and was formulated in a set of recommendations, known as the Recommendations on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL).
This approach emerged due to the necessity of an updated, integrated way of dealing with the conflict between urban heritage conservation and development. Oftentimes, development and globalization cause cities to become very similar. Nonetheless, society’s values in a city and the way they are expressed are their culture. Thus, it is through the conservation of heritage and culture that cities can help maintain their unique character and even showcase it. The attention to heritage conservation and culture will in turn create international visibility and interest in the city (UNESCO, 2016). The HUL approach can be further described as a holistic, interdisciplinary approach that addresses heritage resources in dynamic changing environments such as historic cities. It is also a way of understanding our cities and approaching them. While the HUL approach does not annul existing conservation of management approaches, it rather acts as an additional tool or set of guidelines that cities may decide to follow. The HUL approach integrates policies and conservation practices of the built environment while respecting different local and cultural contexts. The recommendations also suggest the integration of cultural, environmental, and social aspects and values into the planning, design, and implementation of urban management programs as well. Some of the strategies used to regenerate cities are culture-led; they can be seen in the form of engaging locals through the reuse of heritage buildings (UNESCO, 2011). The HUL recommendations state the principle of sustainable development to be the ability to preserve existing resources, while actively protecting urban heritage and its management. The HUL approach integrates policies and conservation practices of the built environment while respecting different local and cultural contexts. The recommendations also suggest the integration of cultural, environmental, and social aspects and values into the planning, design, and implementation of urban management programs as well. Some of the strategies used to regenerate cities are culture-led; they can be seen in the form of engaging locals through the reuse of heritage buildings (UNESCO, 2011). These multilayers are natural and cultural layers, tangible and intangible heritage layers, as well as layers of local and international values. These multilayers all together, have the ability to improve the livability of urban areas, and foster economic development. These layers need to be recognized and enhanced in both conservation and city development strategies. They can be summarized in six critical steps:

1. “To undertake comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city’s natural, cultural and human resources;
2. To reach consensus using participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on what values to protect for transmission to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values;
3. To assess vulnerability of these attributes of socio-economic stresses and impacts of climate change;
4. To integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development, which shall provide indications of areas of heritage sensitivity that require careful attention to planning, design and implementation of development projects;
5. To prioritize actions for conservation and development, as well as to develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private”. (UNESCO, 2016).

The HUL approach suggests using certain innovative or traditional tools tailored to each local context of cities, within an overall approach of urban conservation and sustainable development. These tools are useful in order to identify and highlight complex elements that make cities distinctive in terms of creating a sense of place and identity in cities. The tools of the HUL are continually evolving to meet the needs of complex urban heritage environments. The HUL tools can be summarized as:

1. “Community engagement tools should empower a diverse cross-section of stakeholders to identify key values in their urban areas, set goals, develop visions, and agree on actions to safeguard their heritage and promote sustainable development. These tools should facilitate intercultural dialogue by learning from communities about their histories, traditions,
There are many benefits as to why countries aim to achieve World Heritage designation for their properties. Such benefits have an impact on local communities of the property, and are most reflected upon them. One of which is the ability of the community to celebrate the property or site designated, not only as a flagship on the national level but also on the global level. It possibly creates a deeper recognition and better protection for heritage in the community of the designated site or property.

Designation might likely in turn create stimulus of national and international interest to ensure the protection of the property. It may also provide funding and support for the conservation and management of the property as well as pushing the state party to maintain an Outstanding Universal Value for all time.

Some of the definitions that will be used along the paper, as defined by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011):

• Monuments are defined as architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features which are of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) from the view point of history, art, of science.

• Groups of buildings are a group of either separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art, or science.

• Sites are works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

• Cultural landscapes represent the combined works of man and nature. There are three main types of cultural landscapes: landscapes designed and created intentionally by people, organically evolved landscapes, and associative landscapes.

• The property refers to the land or sea area which has Outstanding Universal Value.

• The setting of a heritage structure, site or area is defined as the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive

values, needs and aspirations and by facilitating mediation and negotiation between conflicting interests and groups.

2. Knowledge and planning tools should help protect the integrity and authenticity of the attributes of urban heritage. They should permit the recognition of cultural significance and diversity, and provide for the monitoring and management of change to improve the quality of life and urban space. Consideration should be given to the mapping of cultural and natural features, while heritage, social and environmental impact assessments should be used to support sustainability and continuity in planning and design.

3. Regulatory systems could include special ordinance, acts or decrees to manage tangible and intangible components of the urban heritage, including their social and environmental values. Traditional and customary systems should be recognized and reinforced as necessary.

4. Financial tools should aim to improve urban areas while safeguarding their heritage values. They should aim to build capacity and support innovative income-generating development rooted in tradition. In addition to government and global funds from international agencies, financial tools should be deployed to promote private investment at the local level. Microcredit and other flexible financing mechanisms to support local enterprise, as well as a variety of models of public-private partnerships, are also central to making the HUL approach financially sustainable.” (UNESCO, 2016).

As for the World Heritage Convention, it was established to “recognize ‘sites of Outstanding Universal Value’ which are part of the heritage of humankind as a whole, which deserve protection and transmission to future generations, and which are important for the whole of humanity” (UNESCO, 2011).

There are many benefits as to why countries aim to achieve World Heritage designation for their properties. Such benefits have an impact on local communities of the property, and are most reflected upon them. One of which is the ability of the community to celebrate the property or site designated, not only as a flagship on the national level but also on the global level. It possibly creates a deeper recognition and better protection for heritage in the community of the designated site or property.

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character. Beyond the physical and visual aspects, the setting includes interaction with the natural environment; past or present, social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge, use or activities and other forms of intangible, cultural heritage aspects that created the space, as well as the current and dynamic cultural, social and economic context.

On another note, Otto Schluter, a German geographer, understood cultural landscapes through his background in the field of geography, he called for the detailed description of the tangible, man-made forms on the ground, and their functional explanation in relevance to human activity through history and nature (Schlüter, 1899).

He also identified the physical forms, appearances of towns, cities as distinct from the rural landscape, hence calling them urban landscape (Stadtlandschaft). Another German geographer, M.R.G Conzen suggested that there are two ways of analyzing urban landscapes, one is by sharper analysis and the second is by greater integration. The first part he suggests, is by analyzing the landscape to the resolution of individual plots and buildings. The second is showing how the town, or city layout had come into existence over time, and how the various components fit together (Conzen, 1932).

While the “Gap Report” of ICOMOS proposed three frameworks for identifying universal nature that is common to humanity as a whole, hence what potentially is of Universal Value. The references included in their report are: issues that characterize society, spiritual aspects, social-cultural aspects, their relationship with the natural environment, and the capacity of responding and changing over time (ICOMOS, 2004).

Conzen mapped three form complexes of towns, one being “plan type areas” areas which are delimited according to their ground plan, the other being “building type areas” which are focused on the three-dimensionality of the physical form of buildings, and the third, land and building utilization areas. Conzen stresses on the fact that in order to understand the patterns delineated, one must fully understand the various components of the landscape and how they developed over time (Conzen, 1932).

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Achieving the Outstanding Universal Value means that the property must have met at least one or more of the World Heritage criteria, have met the conditions of integrity and authenticity, as well as having met the requirements for protection and management. But only one criterion is needed to be satisfied for a property to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. Therefore, the criteria presented should be well supported and articulated to ensure that at least one criterion is met. On the other hand, the more criteria submitted for the OUV, the more research is needed to support the arguments made. The ten criteria of World Heritage are:

(i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius

(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.

(iii) Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared

(iv) Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage or stages in human history

(v) Be an outstanding example of traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture or cultures, or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.
Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).

Contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance

Be outstanding examples representing major stages of Earth’s history, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic.

Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation” (UNESCO, 2011).

The property as explained, which refers to areas on land or on the sea can either be a natural, a cultural or a mixed property. Mixed properties refer to properties that meet at least one cultural and one natural criterion; applying to at least one criteria (i) or (vi) and at least one of criteria (vii) to (x).

As for the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural landscapes, it arises from the interrelationship between culture and nature, but classify under the cultural criteria given they don’t possess enough natural value to be considered natural properties. Some cultural landscapes may classify as mixed sites if they fulfill at least one criteria for natural properties.

As well as that, a protection and management plan should be included to support that the property is and will be safeguarded. As for the integrity of a property, it can also be expressed as a measure of the completeness or intactness of the attributes that convey the OUV, along with the absence of threats on the property. This means that all necessary attributes are still present, not damaged nor decayed, nor threatened, nor neglected, nor deteriorated, and are available to express an OUV.

The integrity of a property can also be associated with interaction in society, spiritual responses, utilization of natural resources, and movements of people.

The process of nomination of a property on the World Heritage list is a long one. It may take many years before a property is nominated as World Heritage, and sometimes many more until it is successfully designated as a World Heritage property. The ultimate criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List can be summed in the approval of the World Heritage Committee to a property’s ability to convey an Outstanding Universal Value.

Moreover, the World Heritage Committee is then in turn responsible for the final decisions of inscription of nominated properties or sites on the World Heritage list. Their decisions are supported by a Secretariat, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, and by three Advisory Bodies – location and setting, language, and other forms of intangible heritage, and spirit and feeling. They could be physical qualities in the property, as well as processes associated with the property such as social arrangements, cultural practices, agricultural processes, etc. that may have an impact on the property.

As well as that, relevant tests must be included to support the integrity and authenticity of the property, which is a measure of how well its attributes potentially convey Outstanding Universal Value. Attributes or features are aspects of the property which are associated with or express the Outstanding Universal Value and can be either tangible or intangible. Attributes include: form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, language, and other forms of intangible heritage, and spirit and feeling. They could be physical qualities in the property, as well as processes associated with the property such as social arrangements, cultural practices, agricultural processes, etc. that may have an impact on the property.

The process of nomination of a property on the World Heritage list is a long one. It may take many years before a property is nominated as World Heritage, and sometimes many more until it is successfully designated as a World Heritage property. The ultimate criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List can be summed in the approval of the World Heritage Committee to a property’s ability to convey an Outstanding Universal Value.

Therefore, the first criteria that the World Heritage Committee applies to decide whether a property is of Outstanding Universal value is the property’s ability to meet one or more of the Ten criteria of World Heritage. The second criteria is whether the property meets the conditions of integrity and authenticity. The property must also have adequate protection and a management system that ensures its safeguarding. It is also necessary to compare the prospective nominated property with other properties in the local and international context, of similar properties, whether they are on the World Heritage List or not. The comparison should outline what distinguishes the property and makes it significant in comparison with other properties.
ICRROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), and IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature). While IUCN is responsible for evaluating properties for their natural values, ICOMOS is responsible for evaluating properties nominated for their cultural values.

Another major aspect is that only the countries which have signed the World Heritage Convention can submit properties within their territory for nominations on the World Heritage list. The State Party of a certain country, who prepare the property’s dossier for nomination, have the decision as to which properties to inventory or in other words, which properties they should formulate into their Tentative List before nomination.

The State Party will then also decide which properties on their tentative list they will nominate for World Heritage Listing. Some properties stay five to ten years on the Tentative List before the State Party submits them to the World Heritage Committee for nomination.

On minimum, a property must stay at least one year on the Tentative List before the State Party decides for its nomination submission. The nomination process is then in the hands of the World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Bodies. In the case that a property is inscribed as World Heritage, the State Party continues to be responsible for the ongoing protection and effective management of the property as per the requirements of the World Heritage Convention.

The preparation for World Heritage nomination requires careful preparation for a property to be successfully designated as a World Heritage property. The nomination report should include existing information about the property which will be of help when presenting the nomination report of a property. A carefully chosen nomination team is also key in the preparation of the nomination report. Moreover, it is also helpful to stage the nomination process, into measurable, clear stages.

In the case of existing information on a property, it could be in the form of oral history, conservation history, tourism data, planning regulations, archaeological evidence, etc. It is important to include existing research relevant to the nomination to help explain and articulate the value, history, and attributes of a property. It is also important to inventory what data and documents already exist about the property, and what else needs to be added.

Furthermore, it is vital to perform a stakeholder analysis, as to who needs to be involved from the local community and from direct property owners or managers. The involvement of local people ensures that local knowledge and insight is brought to the discussion, as well as sharing the responsibility of the property’s nomination with locals.

It is also pivotal to identify a single project leader who can take responsibility for managing the nomination process. This might also include researchers, academics, local businesses, indigenous people, government agencies, NGOs, international experts, etc. The range of contributors should hence reflect the range of values of the nominated property.

The nomination process can be in the form of two stages. The first stage includes the identification of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, a comparative analysis between the property and other similar properties whether they are World Heritage or not. The first stage should also include a protection, conservation, and management plan for the property. The second stage is the nomination dossier itself.

Other aspects of the nomination include defining the boundaries of the property, which should be drawn to reflect the extent of the property’s attributes. It should also be clear as to which parties are working on the protection, the conservation, the management and promotion of aspects that are potentially essential for the OUV.

While buffer zones should not be included or be part of the World Heritage property, but they may be used to assist in the protection, conservation and management of the property nominated.
An inconsiderable amount of investments was directed to cultural site management, urban regeneration or the enhancement of the tourism experience in Jordan (Daher, 2005). And in particular, As-Salt has had a number of urban regeneration and heritage tourism projects such as the World Bank project, since the 1990s by international donor agencies, local agencies and non-governmental organizations.

Former urban heritage regeneration projects in As-Salt resulted in aesthetic treatments, face lifts that have uplifted minor physical aspects of the urban landscape. The results of modern urban planning overlooked the historic urban fabric, while superimposing road networks with disregard to their context, as well as the demolition of traditional settings that were regarded as insignificant or obsolete (Daher, 2005).

2.2 Literature Review

In the 1990s, $70 million dollars funded by the World Bank were invested in As-Salt’s Third Tourism Development Project, with an outcome that has been dubbed by the World Bank as “unsatisfactory” (Dalgamouni, 2010). This is due to the inefficiencies of the project’s role to enhance and improve urban aspects of the city, such as infrastructure, amenities of tourists, waste management, and a failure to meet the needs of local residents.

There were several reasons why heritage development projects in As-Salt have not met expectations, including the unawareness of locals and their disengagement in stakeholder meetings (Alhammad, 2012).

Daher stresses on the fact that projects in As-Salt in the last two decades have focused on physical aspects of urban regeneration, as seen in architectural cosmetics on building facades (“shock treatments” as he calls them). In most cases, they were very modest, limited, and did not target privately owned street facades, establish heritage tools or systems, or implement practices that ensure the continuity of urban regeneration and community involvement in the long run.

In 2010, As-Salt underwent development projects directed by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA), USAID, Jordan tourism development, the World Bank, and Japan International cooperation Agency (JICA). The projects included conservation and renovation of mosques and houses of wealthy merchants (Alhammad, 2012). However, these projects rarely addressed the urban fabric, or provided amenities for tourists, such as hotels and restaurants, and were not targeted to meet the needs of residents (Alhammad, 2012). In addition, MoTA was interested in the physical aspects of the old historic city of As-Salt, such as the House of Abu Jaber, tourist trails, panoramic lookouts, and public plazas (Daher, 2005).

Projects focused on landmark buildings, such as the Abu-Jaber house; which was turned into As-Salt museum, shop signage and selective attempts to beautify the city. This resulted in a fragmented rehabilitation outcome. Hence, aesthetic values have been highlighted in selected facades instead of taking measures to address the cultural landscape of As-Salt as a whole (Khirfan, 2013).

Emphasis on fast treatments of building facades instead of enhancing the urban morphology, which comes as a much more fundamental aspect. Where as in Japan International Cooperation Agency’s (JICA) report, their investment was aimed at the beautification of public spaces and signage. Such treatments also included surface pavements, street furniture only along tourist trails (Khirfan, 2013). This resulted in isolated monuments, and a great sacrifice was made to address the infrastructure for transportation (Daher, 2005).

For instance, JICA has worked to highlight the prosperous era of As-Salt, between the late 19th to early 20th century, when the city stood as Jordan’s economic, social, and political center. The development included the market place, and the kingdom’s oldest commercial strip (Alhammad, 2012). According to interviewees by Alhammad, the lack of services, restaurants and hotels is one aspect, but the shortage of parking, the deterioration of street infrastructure is another. Residents claim that there are barriers preventing the local community from utilizing the utmost benefits of tourism, such as

...
cultural barriers, cost barrier, and the infrastructure for tourism as barrier. (Alhammad, 2012).

That being said, a new project which began in 2014, known as “Oqbah bin Nafe”, in the old downtown district of As-Salt is aiming to provide services for tourists such as public restrooms, parking spaces, an information center, open space, and other amenities (Arabiat, 2017).

It can be deduced from previous literature that the many projects As-Salt underwent proved to be inefficient on many levels. For instance, previous projects were unable to accommodate locals’ and tourists’ needs, to provide basic services, enhance the infrastructure, etc.

Previous literature on As-Salt covered the aspect of tourism, tourism development, heritage tourism and their effects on the city. The literature also expressed the lack of a holistic approach towards addressing the needs of the city. However, the literature did not expand on the status of As-Salt, being on the tentative list of World Heritage sites, or what is required to move its status to nomination.

However, previous literature did not aim to study how and what would aid the city to become designated as a World Heritage site, and what would aid beyond its designation.

2.3 History of As-Salt

History of the Urban Development of As-Salt

To understand As-Salt’s present, one must understand its history, the changes the city has witnessed, its composition, its identity, etc. “Archaeological evidence shows that humans have lived in what is now Jordan for at least 90,000 years” (Szczepanski, 2018). Jordan is considered to be part of the Fertile Crescent, where agriculture is likely to have originated in Neolithic times, between 8,500 - 4,500 BCE.

Some of the evidence that support human existence in ancient history in Jordan are Palaeolithic tools such as knives, hand-axes, and scrapers made of flint and basalt (Szczepanski, 2018).

The written history of Jordan begins in Biblical Times, with the kingdoms of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, which are mentioned in the Old Testament (Szczepanski, 2018). Some of the most ancient pre-Christian people inhabited Transjordan, such as the Moabites, Edomites, Ammonites and Nabataeans (Abu Nawar, 2006). A significant conquering body is the Roman Empire, which conquered much of Jordan, and most prominently the powerful trading kingdom of the Nabateans, the rose city, Petra, in 103 CE (Szczepanski, 2018).

Jordan has lived through many Empires, the Umayyad Empire, the first Muslim dynasty, a period between 661-750 CE, which was shaped after the decease of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Abbasid Empire was another, taking place between 750 CE – 1258, a period where Jordan fell into obscurity. The Mongols then defeated the Abbasid Caliphate, bringing down the Abbasid Empire’s existence in Jordan in 1258 (Szczepanski, 2018).

As-Salt has witnessed the changing Empires throughout history, and while some have ameliorated its state, others have caused great destruction and hampered its growth. Khlaifat described it as one of the most important cities in the east bank since eternity (Khlaifat, 1984). Subsequently, the Mongols brought damage to many parts of Jordan, including As-Salt (Britannica, 2012). They were followed by the Crusades, the Ayyubids and Mamluks (Szczepanski, 2018). The Mamluks rebuilt the destruction caused in the many towns of Jordan including As-Salt (Britannica, 2012). And in 1517, the Ottoman Empire took over Jordan, for a period that lasted for four centuries (Szczepanski, 2018).

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During the 15th and 16th century, As-Salt was not only an agricultural capital, but a religious capital. It also played a defensive role through its castle that has evolved over time, and this in itself is evidence to its defensive nature.

The fertility of the city and its surroundings, its defensive nature due to its mountainous topography, made it an exemplar to a self-contained city that can survive (Khlaifat, 1984).

As for the people of As-Salt in the past, they ran their own internal affairs, in a semi-democratic format, and were all responsible for the protection of As-Salt (Khlaifat, 1984).

On August 24th 1984, two archaeological sites were discovered in the “Salalem” area of As-Salt. The discovery included a collection of artefacts that date back to the Bronze and the Chalcolithic period (3500-4500 B.C). The discovery is evidence that civilization existed in As-Salt in that period (Khlaifat, 1984).

As Hassan bin Thabet described it as the only inhabited city in the governorate of Baqqa (Khlaifat, 1984).

In the 12th century, As-Salt was a thriving city and was of utmost interest to the Ghassanids. Archives show that As-Salt was a thriving city and of utmost interest to the Ghassanids. Heracles, a Greek geographer visited As-Salt around the 6th century, and described it as “Saltus Hieratichos” as in the Holy As-Salt (Khlaifat, 1984). There is another piece of evidence to the city’s prosperity which goes back to the Byzantine Period. It is derived from early Islamic poetry and from Arabic conquests.

In the 13th century, As-Salt was characterized as “a highly populated city, a castle, and fields of pomegranate” Abu Al Fida (Khlaifat, 1984). An Ayyubid fortress was built on the site of the citadel by the Sultan Al Mu’azzam Isa (a nephew of Salah ad-Din) (Board, 2013). The fortress was destroyed by invading Mongols in the 13th century but later rebuilt by the Mamluks. It witnessed yet another destruction later in the 19th century by Egyptian potentate, Ibrahim Pasha (Board, 2013).

And by the 14th and 15th century, the city was thriving, and was also described by Al Qalqashandi as “a populated city, inhabited, and of fields of fruits” (Khlaifat, 1984). After several years of 1516, As-Salt entered a new era, under the Ottoman rule of the Sultan Salim the first. This era extended till the end of World War I, until 1918.
During the Crusades, the Mamluks, the Islamic, and Ayyubids period, As-Salt was called As-Salt or Szalt (with more stress on the S). As for the 14th century, it became known as As-Salt. There is a nuance between the enunciations of the two. Derived from Latin origins, “Saltus”, a name dubbed to the city by the Romans, carries different meanings (Khlaifat, 1984). One literal meaning is “the forested valley”. The other is “the carved mountains”. Another possibility is Sultus as in forest or wooded trees (Board, 2013).

One may think the first meaning is more indicative to the reality of As-Salt, as the city evolved from a forested center. The “forested valley” is more referring to the nearby Valley of Shueib (Valley of Jethro). Any panoramic image of As-Salt shows that it is composed of mountains adjoining one another, as though cut or carved out (Khlaifat, 1984). Another possibility is the derivative of the name “Saltus Hieratichos”, which Heracles, a Greek geographer has used to describe As-Salt in the 16th century (Khlaifat, 1984).

The origin of the name of As-Salt

As-Salt in Early history

“The Ottomans occupied this part of Bilad Al Sham (The Levant) in 1517, with their eagerness to control the collection of taxes, they carried out the first census in 1525, only seven years after the conquest. After finding some discrepancies, they organized another census in 1595” (Abu Jaber, 2017). In 1830s, the Ottoman Empire self-rejuvenated with the Tansimat reforms in Transjordan. However, it only took place relatively late in the process of reform, in the last decades of the existence of the Ottoman state (Robins, 2004).

Another significant event in the history of the city was the movement of Nabulsi families to As-Salt, starting in 1834, those who revolted against Ibrahim Pasha, and sought refuge in Transjordan. The Nabulsi families did not only increase the population of As-Salt, but also added to its cultural diversity, bringing with them their traditional sweet making dishes, their vernacular architecture and many customs and traditions from Nablus, Palestine to As-Salt, Jordan (Abu Jaber, 2017).

Prior to 1867, the Ottoman state imposed a taxation system, as a resource distributor from the peasantry to certain Bedouin tribes, as a means of guaranteeing security in the area, but also as an initiator of economic projects. An example was the 1908 Hijaz Railway, which linked Damascus and Mecca, through Transjordan, mainly as a pilgrimage route, but also as an economic one. The Ottomans were primarily interested in Transjordan in terms of its importance to the pilgrimage route to Mecca. An important factor was mobility of course, it decided the degree to which areas of Transjordan associated or disassociated with the Ottoman state and could avoid its negative impacts. However, the Ottoman’s decision to construct the railway appeared to threaten larger tribes, for the railway provided the transportation and assistance the tribes could otherwise provide (Robins, 2004).

Beyond the Ottoman control, there were areas by which ethical code of tribal law existed, where disputes were addressed and resolved within the tribe itself. It was a dynamic period in Transjordan, in terms of climate, tribal interactions, and their role in utilizing land for agriculture. But there was a disproportional relationship between the growing Ottoman state in Transjordan and the unregulated activities of semi-nomadic tribes in agriculture and trade.
The Ottoman Empire was predominantly based on the ideology of Islam, a multi-ethnic organization yet in specific ethnic terms it was a “Turkish” state (Robins, 2004). The Empire faced many challenges. Their first challenge was the control of a relatively small population, with short life expectancy and poor health. This restricted their potential of demographic growth. Their second challenge was the harshness and unpredictability of the climate, especially in the deserts of Transjordan. This resulted in a survival economy, one that restricted the potential of human development. The third challenge was the economy reflected in the nature of the ecology of the region, that is to say that sustainable agriculture was in a relatively small area in the north, in Ajlun. The north-western areas of Transjordan were important to the development of trade and the extension of the administration southwards and eastwards. Nonetheless, there was less economic incentive to extend southwards. The Ottomans wanted to incorporate significant local elites through their rule, in hopes that this new strategy of reform will be more successful, and cost-effective (Robins, 2004). Whereas in Ajlan and As-Salt, the relationship of the locals and the Ottomans was reciprocal, one that provided security in exchange for taxes.

It was only in the late 1860s, after a number of failed starts, a stable administrative structure was established in As-Salt, one that resembled and was based on the administrative unit in Nablus, a city in Palestine just to the west of As-Salt. And in 1893, a reorganization followed, in which As-Salt was attached to Karak’s administration. Karak then, became an administrative district on its own, under the local government of Damascus (Robins, 2004). As Eugene Rogan put it “While [Ottoman] direct rule was imposed by force, it was maintained by persuasion” (Robins, 2004). Throughout 1867 and 1910, a deliberate set of policies by the Ottomans aimed at populating lands. The increase in security was a major factor in the arrival of large numbers of prosperous merchants in the north and west of Transjordan. One notable relation was that with Damascus. As-Salt was the country’s only real town of note. It experienced an increase in population as merchants and traders, especially those coming from Damascus and Nablus, took on the opportunity to move where production was at its peaks. As-Salt was a “sister-town” to Nablus, as Lars Wahlin, a Swedish scholarly expert on As-Salt noted (Robins, 2004).

This was based on his observation of the demographic movements from Nablus to As-Salt at the time. The relationship between these “sister-towns” was even stronger than the relationship of As-Salt and other towns south or north of Transjordan. Although As-Salt was the largest population center, its fortunes were incomparable to Amman’s, which was settled dominantly by Circassians by 1903 (Robins, 2004). This shift in fortunes was mainly due to the Hijaz Railway, which created commercial opportunities for those who relocated to Amman and along its route southwards.

The period of Ottoman rule lasted for four centuries from 1517-1918 CE, a period of general stagnation in Jordan (Szczepanski, 2018). The Ottoman Empire only ended at the hands of the Commander Sharif Hussein ibn Ali and his sons, the Emirs (princes) Abdullah, Ali and Faisal, in an event that began on June 5th 1916, known as the Great Arab Revolt. They proclaimed lands besieged by the Ottomans, attacked the Hijaz railway, and soon after, the British sent support to the Arab forces, including Lieutenant T.E Lawrence. It was General Sir Edmund Allenby who recognized the Arab Revolt (Heritage M. f., 2014).

By the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was defeated and replaced by British forces, attempting to create a state on lands across the whole of Transjordan, where no empire had conquered before (Robins, 2004).
As-Salt has suffered tremendously as a result of World War I; the telegraph was destroyed, as well as many residential houses, farming fell behind, and starvation became a norm. Many of As-Salt’s residents and its neighboring villages sought refuge in Jerusalem as the English troops retreated from As-Salt (Abu Shaar, 2000).

As World War I struck the world, it also reached As-Salt. The Ottomans were defeated at the hands of the British General Edmund Allenby, taking with them the framework of security that has been enforced since the 1870s (Robins, 2004). The British decided to work with the existing local elites as the Ottomans did before them. Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner of Palestine, traveled to As-Salt on August 1920, meeting with local elites, announced that Great Britain will establish self-governing administrations throughout Transjordan (Robins, 2004). Three administrations were hence established, one in each of Ajlun, As-Salt, and Karak. Transjordan’s local self-government had begun, where the make-up of the local councils consisted of leading notables and dignitaries.

Amman at the time, was not considered large or significant enough to merit its own administration. Therefore, three representatives from Amman took part in Mafji al-Shura (the consultation council) based in As-Salt. The people of As-Salt understood the benefits of both security, tax collection, and centralized government, in an attempt to continue the same framework that existed in the past. Nonetheless, the insufficiency of the tax base caused limited success to the consultation council (Robins, 2004).

The decade of the 1920s marked the emergence of both state and regime in Transjordan. A turning moment was the separation of the mandates of Palestine and Transjordan, of which was becoming a center of its own. State-building began since; establishing military forces and public agencies in the country, but also acting as an economic magnet that needed a center, for which Amman was the answer. Amman was then established as the capital, impeding any chance of other centers to take the title.

“Transjordan was created at a time when nationalism was the order of the political age, and national pride was the driving force for political action of the majority of nations. On the day of its creation as a separate entity, its inhabitants did not constitute a nation; for in the theory of politics they were regarded as a small part of the greater Arab nation” (Abu Nawar, 1989).

As-Salt was hence unsuccessful in becoming the capital of Jordan, which lead to the migration of its inhabitants to Amman or Al-Zarqa. This in turn resulted in the regression of many sectors in As-Salt, such as trade, architecture, farming, and industry. However, the overcrowding that Amman, the capital city experienced, and its high cost of living, lead to a reverse migration back to As-Salt (Khlaifat, 1984).

Though under British mandate between the years of 1920 and 1929, Transjordan was never directly occupied or administered by Great Britain, but rather indirectly ruled through local government administrations. However, the system tragically failed to transform a stateless land of ungovernable tribal societies into nationhood and an independent state (Abu Nawar, 2006). “In 1922, Britain assigned a Hashemite lord, Abdullah I, to govern Transjordan” (Szczepanski, 2018). In the case of As-Salt, by the 1930s, it was inhabited by around 20,000 people, many of whom originated from As-Salt and many others who immigrated from Nablus (Abu Jaber, 2017). After an appeal made by the locals, represented by the notables, Prince Abdullah ibn al-Hussein occupied Transjordan. And the Jordanian boundaries became known as political or administrative boundaries. Thus, Transjordan transformed from a stateless land of ungovernable tribal societies into nationhood and an independent state (Abu Nawar, 2006).
The earthquake of 1927

After World War I, As-Salt suffered from yet another incident, the tragic earthquake of 1927. The earthquake destroyed parts of the old city of As-Salt, as well as resulted in the loss of life. Not only was As-Salt affected, but also cities within the region (Khlaifat, 1984).

The location of As-Salt makes it prone to earthquakes, as it is an area that ranges from 3-4 on the Richter scale. The earthquake resulted in the destruction of many houses, the loss of 34 lives, and many wounded locals (Abu Salim, 2008). It is said that the earthquake was 6.2 degrees on the Richter scale, an unprecedented number.

The government at the time could only help by exempting taxation on building materials for the residents who had to reconstruct their houses, and dispensation of collecting taxes from all residents that year. As well as that, the municipality published many reports to guide on the choice of building materials for the future. The municipality took this opportunity, with all the repair works of the many houses that took place, to extend the width of major streets of the city to 8 meters (26 feet), and remove any obstructing elements on these streets.

Post-earthquake, locals started building smaller spaces, courtyards that opened to the sky for daylight, detached kitchens and bathrooms to the house itself, as well as balconies which became possible due to the introduction of steel as a building material in the 19th. Residents also sought the use of concrete to construct more resilient houses against earthquakes and even fires. This was even evident in the replacement of vernacular methods of building roofs to roofs that incorporated the use of steel and concrete.

It can be said that the earthquake was the cause of the most recent changes in the built environment that the city witnessed; such as in its architecture, the reconfiguration of its streets to accommodate the changes which resulted in the use of cars as a means of transport at the time, and the expansion outside the perimeters of the old city of As-Salt (Abu Salim, 2008).

Recent history of As-Salt

In the recent century, As-Salt was a city of firsts. It established the first High school in Jordan in 1925, known as the Secondary School of As-Salt, which was a pioneer in many aspects. The school started the first scout and music band in Jordan in 1923, and the first school library in 1925. And in 1926 the first animal welfare association started in As-Salt (Alrai, 2017).

As-Salt was not only recognized for its education and the number of intellectuals it produced, it also became known as an agricultural market for grapes, raisins, olives, and grains (Britannica, 2012). It was by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century that As-Salt flourished, witnessing an increase in number of merchants moving to it. This wealth was in turn seen in the architectural language of the city. And in 1966, As-Salt opened its first pharmaceutical factory (Board, 2013).

On another note, As-Salt is enviable for its ethnic and religious tolerance and coexistence, where Muslim-Christian population live in complete harmony (Board, 2013). As-Salt is also distinct for its Arab-eclectic architecture, which is the result of the different building methods of different ethnic groups who inhabited the city. Al- Salt’s mild climate, plentiful water supplies, agricultural land, along with its distinctive architecture, mixed land uses, and urban vocabulary have added to the vitality of the city (Khirfan, 2014).

Since the 1990s the city experienced a number of urban regeneration and heritage tourism...
projects such as the World Bank project, by international donor agencies, local agencies and non-governmental organizations (Daher, 2005). And in 2010, As-Salt was anticipating increased tourism flow through developments projects run by the Ministry of Tourism, USAID, Jordan tourism development, the World Bank, and Japan International cooperation Agency (JICA) (Alhammad, 2012). The projects included conservation and renovation of mosques and the houses of wealthy merchants.

Nevertheless, a resubmission was made in July 2017, to include other aspects to the report such than tangible and intangible heritage that might build a stronger case for As-Salt’s nomination (Abu Salim, 2018). As well as that, an urban regeneration project “Oqbah bin Nafe” of the old downtown district of As-Salt commenced in 2014 and is ongoing since (Arabiat, 2017).

And in 2015, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Jordan submitted a report entitled “Arab Eclecticism – Foundation and evolution of an Architectural School in the city of As-Salt (1860 – 1925)” to UNESCO, and was since on the tentative list for nomination (UNESCO, 2018).
2.4 The composition of As-Salt

In the early 19th century, As-Salt was mainly made up of three neighborhoods (mahalat): mahalat Al Akrad, mahalat Al-Awamleh, and mahalat Al-Qteishat. Christians did not reside in a specific place, but spread throughout these mahalat. The makeup of the population then was approximately 400 Muslim families and 80 Christian families (Khuraisat, 1986).

Throughout the 16th and 19th century, As-Salt witnessed an increase in population, from 56 Muslim families to 400, and from 25 Christian families to 80. By the end of 1879, the population doubled, reaching approximately 6000 inhabitants. And by the end of 1913, the population reached approximately 10,000 (Khuraisat, 1986).

Abu Jaber noted that As-Salt was divided into three neighborhoods, also adding that: “In 1812, the population consisted of 400 Muslim families and 18 Christian families, all Greek Orthodox, who were living in perfect equality together” (Abu Jaber, 2017).

There were many reasons behind the escalation in the numbers of population. Some of which are: 1. The immigration of people from nearby areas to As-Salt, in search for safety and security at the time of Ibrahim Pasha. 2. The location of As-Salt as an economic hub, and as a route to Palestine, invited many Palestinians to relocate to it, for business and for farming opportunities. 3. The ample supply of water and the fertility of lands surrounding As-Salt invited many families from Damascus to move to As-Salt (Khuraisat, 1986).

All these reasons made As-Salt a center of attraction. It then became the largest gathering center in Transjordan in the 19th and early 20th century. This increase in population resulted in the expansion of the city and the creation of new mahalat. The area that witnessed the most expansion was mahalat Al-Awamleh, which extended to the southern facing side of the castle of As-Salt, creating a new mahala (neighborhood), mahalat Al-Jada’a.

And by the early 20th century, a new mahala formed inside of mahalat Al-Awamleh, called mahalat Al-Aghrab, and at other instances called “mahalat Al Nabulsieh”. This mahala was named after those merchants who moved from Nablus to As-Salt, who were known for their excellent skills in trade. But in most cases, this neighborhood was referred to as mahalat Al-Aghrab, which literally meant the
“neighborhood of the foreigners”. It extended from the Small Mosque to Al Ain plaza (Khuraisat, 1986).

The first municipal council was formed in 1888 A.D, as mentioned in the Salnama of the Syrian Region. Since the 16th century, As-Salt was composed of three mahalat, Al-Awamleh, Al-Akrad, Al Al-Qteishat. There were 154 families, 10 of which were Christian families. But by the end of the 16th century, there were 69 Muslim families, and 25 Christian families (Abu Shaar, 2000).

Sources show that the Ottoman rule focused in the governate of Balqa on As-Salt alone, as a strategic location to control tribal movement around it. As Klein visited As-Salt, in 1869, he narrated that the Ottomans renovated As-Salt’s castle, reinforced it with army troops as a means of security for the city (Abu Shaar, 2000). And in 1880, when C.R. Conder visited As-Salt, he narrated seeing army troops in its Castle, who were controlling the movement of tribes in the governate of Balqa (Abu Shaar, 2000).

On the other hand, when Tristram H.B visited the city in 1865, he fought hardship in his travels due to the insecurity of the city. However, in Tristram’s second visit, in 1873, he noticed security was improving, business was booming, and even mentioned the market shops that sold local and international textiles in his narrative. It seems that As-Salt’s market was thriving since the early 19th century, as the Swiss traveler Burckhardt J.L, who visited As-Salt in 1812, described seeing people from Karak and Irbid wandering through As-Salt’s markets (Abu Shaar, 2000).

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The organization of As-Salt in the Ottoman rule indicated similar characteristics to Islamic Architecture. This can be seen through its core, having a Great mosque, an administration building known as Al Saraya (similar to Dar Al-Imarah), a route through its core to the pilgrimage route, and a castle that was located on the highest of its peaks (Abu Shaar, 2000).

The Great mosque of As-Salt is that of mahalat Al-Akrad, also known as the old mosque. It has been mentioned in the sources since the 16th century, and has been renovated and expanded in 1881, perhaps due to the increase in population. There is another mosque, known as the Small Mosque, which was built in 1906. As for As-Salt’s churches, there are many. They are the Roman Orthodox church, the Latin, the Protestant, and Saint George’s church. As for the market, it is mentioned in the Salnama of 1898 of the Syrian Region to have had 215 shops. Whereas, the record of land properties indicate that there were only 148 shops (Abu Shaar, 2000). As-Salt also had a telegraph house, which opened in 1894.

A clinic known as the English Hospital which provided its services since 1873. There existed about 30 mills in As-Salt by the year 1897, a number of furnaces, as well as home-baking furnaces, and 5 Islamic and 5 Christian cemeteries (Abu Shaar, 2000).

Tracking the records and studies from the 16th century Ottoman As-Salt to the end of the Ottoman regime by the 19th century, it can be deduced that As-Salt has witnessed the most development in the 19th century. It expanded to include 3 mahalat. Al-Akrad neighborhood was situated between the eastern part of the central plaza, west of the Al-Akrad valley, and north of the castle’s foothills. Al-Awamleh neighborhood is situated between the western part of the central plaza, the foothills of Al-Salalem, and the north of Iskafieh Market. Al-Qateishat neighborhood is the most recent of the three. It extended towards the castle, including many narrow streets, tribal families, along with many foreigners who sought safety and security in As-Salt. It is with the renovation of the castle of As-Salt and the renewed stability, that new mahalas started to emerge. Such examples were mahalat Al-Aghrab or mahalat Al-Nawabilseh, and mahalat Al-Juda’a (Abu Shaar, 2000).

Figure 13 - An image showing As-Salt’s composition. Figure 14 - An image showing a neighborhood in As-Salt, dating back to 1914.
Every mahala was unique in the fact that it was home to one tribe, but later extended to include relatives or in-laws to that tribe. While Christians resided in one mahala on their own at the beginning, they later mixed and overlapped with mahalat of Muslims, especially by the end of the Ottoman regime.

2.5 Characteristics of an Islamic City

It is important to trace back the traditional physical environment of Arab-Muslim cities, in order to understand their development processes (Al-Hathloul, 1981). As the form of a city depends upon its origin, it is hence necessary to study a city’s plan, which includes its organization and topographical evolution, to better recognize its physical portrait and its urban morphology (Elisséeff, 1980).

Islam, the new monotheistic religion, developed around the teachings of prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (570-632 CE), where the religion began in the semi-nomadic setting of the southern Arabian Desert. Islam was tolerant to differences, easy to grasp, and was nonhierarchical, and so it became widespread (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013).

Other aspects that played a role in its growth are political and military power, which made Islam as though an urban phenomenon. In an article by William Marcias, he points out that Islam, an “urban” religion, produced its civilization through its cities (Marcas W., 1928). Islam spread to include the southern half of the Roman Empire and all of the Persian Empire (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013).

There are different categories in which Islamic cities formed. One is the formation of a city upon a decision by an individual, to impose a plan onto an existing city or town, as was the case of the Round city of Baghdad. ‘Spontaneous towns’, were another category, which formed through the need of a community to relocate in sites that better accommodated their needs.

These needs can be summarized as: the need to congregate, the need for food, the need for defense, and the need for exchange. Trade played a vital role in the urbanization of towns, through the need to create merchandise, to produce goods, and centers for exchange. An example of a city based on economic activity is Baalbak in Lebanon, formed upon the need to exchange goods. While, Tigris in Iraq formed as a site that met the need for food. Whereas Samarra in Iraq, originated for the need for defense (Elisséeff, 1980).
These needs justify the agglomeration and transformation of a village into a town, and a town into a city, and was always marked by the establishment of a weekly market or periodical fair.

Another example of a ‘spontaneous town’ is a castle which develops into a town, as was the case of Safita (Elisséeff, 1980). While the third category is the bequeathing of a city on the Mediterranean shore. This was the case of Damascus, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, which were bequeathed by the Seleucids and reshaped by the Romans (Elisséeff, 1980).

The early Islamic city constituted of residential neighborhoods Mahalat with subsections of particular religious groups or Harat. The subsections or Harat, included a mosque, a fruit and vegetable seller or Baqal, a public bath or Hammam, a bakehouse or Furn, along with any other institution that sustained its inhabitants. The axial artery that the Harah (singular form of Harat) formed, through its culs-de-sacs, could itself be enclosed by a gate (Elisséeff, 1980).

Aside from the early factors of town development, factors such as the religious, economic, and the intellectual factor which became apparent in the late twelfth century, played an important role in forming a city. The Great Mosque or Jame’ along with smaller local mosques or masjids were the representation of the religious factor. The Great Mosque was almost always built in the center of the town, surrounded by a souq, which represented the economic factor (Elisséeff, 1980).

Along with the souq, specialized centers, such as fruit or vegetable markets, covered markets, and warehouses, were also part of the economic factor. As for the intellectual factor, a good example would be Baghdad in Iraq, a city that attracted a large number of students to its library, Dar al-Hikmah, and Dar al-Ilm (Elisséeff, 1980).

Cairo, is another example of a city which had an intellectual factor, as seen through Al-Azhar, founded in the 10th century.

It appears that development was based on needs, as seen in early land subdivisions. During the early Islamic times, irregular subdivision of land took place in Medina and continued to other Arab-Muslim cities. There was not a single model to how a town or city should look like, but there were several (Al-Hathloul, 1981). But the general model meant that the main mosque, the market souq, and the town administration Dar Al-Imarah, were the heart of the city and its main focal point (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

One factor which seemed to have played a role in the subdivision of land is the designation of the main mosque as the only congregational Mosque, where people not only pray, but hold the Friday ceremony. The area around the mosque also played a vital role, in being its market (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

As for the physical form of Islamic cities, rectangular or square plans were common in areas west of the Tigris river in Iraq, while a circular plan was one of the characteristic of cities to its east (Elisséeff, 1980).

The circular plan started as early as Neolithic times, dictated by the topography of a hill. However, the circular outline of the enclosure does not necessarily mean a concentric plan. There are three possibilities to the circular plan of a town: an irregular scheme within the circular outline, an orthogonal scheme checker-work, and concentric circles (Elisséeff, 1980).

The rectangular framework constituted of right angles and rectilinear outlines. While in Roman cities the intersecting meant the Cardo and Decumanus. It was not the common case in Islamic cities, but can be traced in the old town of Damascus. In most Islamic cities, the plan is square but the plots are non-identical, and the orthogonal scheme is based around the focal point, or the heart of the city, which is the Great mosque, and the administration building.

Throughout the centuries, Islamic cities went through a series of progressions and interruptions, through economic and political crises. Hence, urbanization of a city is never a continuous process because of these forces (Elisséeff, 1980).
For instance, the war between Byzantium and Persia caused town planning to decline in the 5th and 6th century. Whereas in the 7th century, Muslims went through a series of expansions. In the Umayyad period, Islamic cities focused on agricultural life instead of city life, in search for sources of revenue for the country. Though, the Umayyad period focused on agriculture, construction of great mosques took place as well.

In the Abbasids period however, there was a focus on urbanization (Elisséeff, 1980). Roman town planners did not create new cities in the East, but were enhancing the city plan and transforming it, through numerous avenues with colonnades as well as introducing the concept of perspective. Whereas the Hellenistic period was marked through its introduction of walled cities (Elisséeff, 1980).

But it can be summarized that the typical Islamic city, which later became the prototype, was an inward oriented city, one that encompassed a Friday mosque, and a souq or bazaar in its core. It is one with a circulation network of narrow, irregular streets, leading to segregated residential quarters, and with a citadel on its outskirts (Al Sayyad, 1991).

There are a number of factors that influenced the structure of Islamic cities, such as political, economic, and socio-cultural factors. Other influences include:

**Natural Laws**

Islamic cities adapted to the natural laws of topography and weather conditions. One of the first examples is the circular plan of Islamic cities, which started as early as Neolithic times, dictated by the topography of a hill (Elisséeff, 1980). There were also other adaptations expressed in the physical forms of houses, such as in courtyards, terraces, and narrow streets, which acted as coping mechanisms with the hot weather conditions in most of the Islamic regions (Saoud, 2001).

Religious and cultural beliefs

Religious and cultural beliefs dominated the urban lifestyle of Islamic cities. The religious beliefs were translated into the central position of the main mosque of the city, not only in its spatial organization but also in its institutional hierarchy. Whereas the cultural beliefs were emphasized in the typical town plan of Muslim cities, as seen in the narrow streets and cul-de-sacs, which addressed the issues of privacy (private and public domains). Similarly, residential (private dwellings) were separated from public areas and economic activities (Saoud, 2001).

**Design principles in accordance with the Shariah law**

The Islamic laws or what is commonly known as Shariah laws were used and reflected in the physical structure or in Islamic urbanism. Some examples of Islamic laws are the laws of inheritance, the laws of property rights, and the laws of privacy (Saoud, 2001).

The laws or Shariah were set to avoid causing harm or damage to residents or visitors of an Islamic city. The general themes of the laws, tackle issues of city territories, regulate building heights, openings of doors and windows onto streets, the projections of buildings onto streets, the subdivision of houses, etc. Another theme involves public interest, issues that concern the general public, to which the laws were not specific and dealt with on a case-by-case basis (Al-Hathloul, 1981). These laws acted as behavioral rules of conduct for the structure of Arab-Muslim societies.

The design principles of Islamic cities can be summarized as the following:

- Religious and cultural beliefs
- Natural Laws
- Design principles in accordance with the Shariah law

Figure 17 - Street plan of medieval Damascus.

One example of a social convention which later became a law, is the law of privacy. Intrusion onto the privacy of others was socially unacceptable, hence the social convention was translated into the physical regulations or laws. This meant that windows of one’s dwelling in older Islamic cities were required not to have direct visibility or intrude onto other neighbors (Al-Hathloul, 1981). The laws were also reflected into building heights, whereas walls were set to be above the height of a camel rider, to block the rider’s visibility into one’s house (Saoud, 2001).
The early Islamic city constituted of residential neighborhoods known as Mahala with subsections of particular religious groups or Harat (Elisséeff, 1980). The organizations of social groups was based on the relationship of its members, hence determined by blood, ethnic origins, privacy, and cultural perspectives. This allowed for the practice of shared beliefs, religious practices, social order, defense, and solidarity (Saoud, 2001). Such groups were the Arabs, Moors, Jews, Turks, and others. Each Harah (singular form of Harat) formed an axial artery, through its culs-de-sacs, which could in itself be enclosed by a gate (Elisséeff, 1980). There was a shift in the physical organization of Islamic cities, especially when there was a shift from early Islamic consultative political power known as Shura, to authoritative regimes such as the late Ottoman regime. This shift was translated from a central focus of political power, seen in the main public religious institution, the main mosque, to the edge of the city in the form of a fortress also known as citadel or Qasabah or Casaba.

The typical morphological components of Islamic cities:

The Mosque

“Throughout Islamic territories patrons sponsored conventional hypostyle prayer halls as the Friday mosques of their cities accompanied by tall minarets for the muezzins to call to prayer” (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013). In the Ottoman period, minarets soared up in the sky, like slender needles with pointed crowns (Elisséeff, 1980). The first congregational mosque of Islam or the place of prostration, was that of prophet Muhammad’s home (PBUH) in Medina transformed into a place of worship. A square courtyard was attached to the mosque and vernacular methods of Architectural modesty and simplicity were encouraged by Muhammad (PBUH).

“Usually built as a multicolumn prayer hall, provided the new religious focus of the cities under Islamic rule. The minaret slender tower for the muezzin to call the faithful to pray, added a new vertical axis to urban skylines” (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013). Mosques were oriented towards the theological fulcrum of Ka‘bah in Mecca (Qibla), Muslims’ place of pilgrimage. Even tombs were oriented to Mecca as the spiritual pivot of Islam. The Qibla, or the subliminal order was often contradicted by the geometry of street patterns (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013).

The earliest mosques functioned as the forum basilica functioned in the cores of Roman cities. Though, rejecting the form of pagan temples and basing them on secular structures (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013).

Thus they provided simplicity in their architectural settings, as seen in the program of mosques. “The Mosque, like the Synagogue and the Church, is a thing essentially urban. Islamism is a religion of cities” (Renan, 1855).

Early mosques included a fountain for the ritual of purifying oneself, or known as ablution, and a large covered hall for prayer. A vast central void was also usual in mosques. As public assembly was not common in the middle ages of an Islamic city. Hence, the vast courtyard of the Great mosque was used as a place of public assembly (Elisséeff, 1980). The Great Mosque of Muslim towns fulfilled the need for congregation, marked by the weekly Friday prayer and market. For instance, the Great Mosque, or the main mosque of Damascus, acted as the pivot of the religious quarter. It was built on the site of the ancient temple and at the Byzantine church (Elisséeff, 1980). Nearby the Great Mosque, as is the usual case, there were hammams for the believers to perform the ritual of ablution (Elisséeff, 1980).

The Great Mosque was almost always the focal point or the heart of a Muslim town, surrounded by a market or Souq (Elisséeff, 1980). The Great Mosque was almost always surrounded by a Madrasa (a school or college) an institution that provides religious and scientific teachings.
The Souq

Second characteristic of an Islamic city is the town center, a place of commerce, of the main Mosque of the city, and of the administration building or Dar Al-Imarah. The market or known as Souq or Bazar, was the epicenter of trade, organized by categories of business (Kostof, Tobias, & Castillo, 1992). In the general schemes of Islamic cities, commercial activity was located around the Great Mosque (Elisséeff, 1980). Markets were based around the main mosque, the congregational mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981). The prototypical Islamic city is that of a nucleus, which consisted of a mosque or masjid, the main mosque, the congregational mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981). The city is that of a nucleus, which consisted of a mosque or masjid, the main mosque, the congregational mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981). The prototypical Islamic city is that of a nucleus, which consisted of a mosque or masjid, the main mosque, the congregational mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981). The prototypical Islamic city is that of a nucleus, which consisted of a mosque or masjid, the main mosque, the congregational mosque (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

The Souq followed the concept of placing the cleaner trades to the mosque (Marcais G., 1945). It included covered buildings or khans, or Friday mosque, with the fabrics (Al-Hathloul, 1981). A civil building that held precious market items such as furs, carpets, jewels, and embroidered and patterned textiles (Elisséeff, 1980).

A hierarchical order of trades in the Souq followed the concept of placing the cleaner trades to the mosque (Marcais G., 1945). It is worth noting that furs and precious textiles were the only products in an enclosed, building, for increased security. Though as opposed to enclosed space, the selling of fresh food products and livestock was done in the open air.

Household goods, furniture, ironmongers and smiths, then followed in the souq’s hierarchy. There were special markets or Bazaar for grains and brassware (Kostof, Tobias, & Castillo, 1992).

As described by Al-Hathloul, the religious center of the city, the souq of candle merchants, perfumers, incense dealers will be nearest to the mosque, then the booksellers, the bookbinders, then the leather merchants and the shoe makers (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Textiles were the only section of the souq that was regularly roofed and locked to preserve precious materials along with the fabrics (Al-Hathloul, 1981). A civil Basilica, or Qasrwyiyah, was an enclosed building that held precious market items such as furs, carpets, jewels, and embroidered and patterned textiles (Elisséeff, 1980).

The general structure of the souq followed the same pattern in Islamic lands. Retailers of similar goods always occupied adjacent stalls. In fact, the order and layout of the market was the same wherever you go in Islamic cities (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

The process of the souq’s development was either done at once, by the state, as was the case of Baghdad’s markets, or was an incremental process that took place over time (Al-Hathloul, 1981). As for the dimensions of the shops in the market façade, they usually had a façade of 2 meters (6.56 ft), which opened onto the street by two shutters, and were 3 to 4 meters deep (9.8 to 13.1 ft). As for the back parts of shops, they were usually workshops that opened onto a street (Elisséeff, 1980). Markets were in the form of houses, of two stories, where the ground floor was used for shops, rented by local merchants, while the first floor was rented out as residential apartments (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

In fact, crafts of similar nature had their own lane. A good example are the markets of Samarra. The second concept was the concept of need or relative frequency of using a certain product. For instance, bakers and bread-makers were disturbed throughout the neighborhood lanes as well as the far points of the city, for their necessity.

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These markets then became social entities, a hub of daily activity (Kostof, Tobias, & Castillo, 1992).

Open spaces

An open space around the building or along it, was known in Islamic cities as the Fina or the Zuqaq. These semi-private courts were used by the inhabitants of that area, acting as collectively-owned spaces and belonged only to the houses abutting it (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

An early example, are the Finas of Medina, which were used for domestic life activities, selling goods along, and for commute (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Another example of an open space is a courtyard or Hawsh, "a semi-private space used by all the surrounding residents for ceremonial, social, and recreational purposes" (Al-Hathloul, 1981). It acted as the Cul-de-sac of the 14th century.

The role of water

Water played an important, or rather a very fundamental role in laying out elaborated systems throughout a city. The gift of water, is one of the most pious deeds, as it is mentioned in the Hadith (a collection of traditions containing sayings of the prophet Muhammad (PBUSH) as well as verses in the Holy Quran (Elisséeff, 1980).

The supply network included a main conduit usually fed by a water source, several kilometers away from the town, that carried water to numerous supply points, distributing water in the urban landscape. There were also public drinking fountains, known as Sabîl, occasionally monumental and built into the walls of a building. The Sabîl were placed by pious believers who wanted to do good to the passers-by (Elisséeff, 1980).

Other types of water systems were the ablution pool in mosques, public baths known as Hammam, hospitals, and public restrooms. The public baths of Hammam were usually in the central area of the town, along with other administrative, trade, and social activities (Saoud, 2001).

Streets

Streets played an important role in urbanization, and were constructed depending on the traffic they had to bear. Traffic was usually comprised of three factors: pedestrians, porters, and animals. Street width was measured using the width of two animals, fully loaded with goods, which was usually around 3 meters (9.8 ft). This was the case of streets running North to South. As for streets running East to West, the width of the street was at most 5 meters (16.4 ft) (Elisséeff, 1980).

On one occasion, prophet Mohammed described the width of roads by saying: “when the people are at dispute on the width of the road, [he said] its limit is seven cubits” which is equivalent to 3.2 meters or 10.5 ft (Al-Hathloul, 1981). Streets were usually narrow and winding. They consisted of public, private, semi-private, and cul-de-sacs (Saoud, 2001).
Each Islamic city had a Citadel or what is known as Qal’ah or Casaba or Qasaba, where the ruler or sovereign resided. It represented the palace of the governor, a fortress, forming the political section of the city. There were also administrative buildings, political representatives, located around it, along with a mosque, a Hammam, and a market place. The complex of the Qal’ah was a city in itself (Elisséeff, 1980). It was usually located in the higher parts of a town, surrounded by a wall that acted as a defensive mechanism (Saoud, 2001).

Islamic cities had a few features for protection. They usually had walls enclosing them, forming a certain shape in their outline. Such as the case in Damascus, where a wall encompassed the city forming a rectangular outline. Or as in Aleppo and Jerusalem, walls formed an oval or square outline. The enclosure had many gates, most often they were seven. Gates, were one element of the city (Elisséeff, 1980).

Another protection feature was the tower or Burj, usually a pair, were situated at the entry point of the city to strengthen the enclosing wall, providing additional protection. The base of these towers, was either a square or a semi-circular base, depending on their time period. As for the body, it was usually pierced with loopholes, and in certain cases, with machicolations (Elisséeff, 1980).

Decoration in streets of medieval cities was limited to facades and gateways of buildings. Decorative motifs as such of the plant motifs were found on flat surfaces of Islamic cities (Elisséeff, 1980).

On one occasion, prophet Mohammed described the width of roads by saying: “when the people are at dispute on the width of the road, [he said] its limit is seven cubits” which is equivalent to 3.2 meters or 10.5 ft (Al-Hathloul, 1981).

Streets were usually narrow and winding. They consisted of public, private, semi-private, and cul-de-sacs (Saoud, 2001).

Residential quarters or mahalas were formed of clusters of households of people who shared blood, common interest, personal ties, or moral unity. Each mahala had its own mosque, school, and shops. In older Muslim cities, each quarter even had its own gate, as was the case of Algeria and Tunisia. The typical Muslim city also had Muslim groups living in quarters whereas Christians or Jews lived in other quarters, believing that this would help each group practice their own beliefs freely (Saoud, 2001).

There were separate cemeteries on the outskirts of a Muslim town for different religious groups, Muslims, Jews, and later Christians, had their own cemeteries. There were also animal souqs on the outskirts of the town, to sell animals such as goats, sheep, etc. In addition to that, private gardens and fields could be found on the outskirts of a Muslim town.

Figure 25- An example of the gate system in Damascus.

Figure 26- An image showing the formation of residential quarters in As-Salt.

Outskirts of a Muslim town

There were separate cemeteries on the outskirts of a Muslim town for different religious groups, Muslims, Jews, and later Christians, had their own cemeteries. There were also animal souqs on the outskirts of the town, to sell animals such as goats, sheep, etc. In addition to that, private gardens and fields could be found on the outskirts of a Muslim town.
Chapter 3
3.1 Methodology

To answer the research questions of this study, the methodology taken consists of two parts, one is a comparative analysis study of the physical characteristics of Muslim cities in comparison to As-Salt, the other is an analysis of the cultural landscape components of As-Salt. The two parts aim to find out if and what makes As-Salt significant on the regional and local level. The efforts also aim to make informed decisions to aid in the city's future nomination status.

The methodology chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- Is As-Salt a typical Muslim city?
- What is significant about As-Salt in Jordan?
- What distinguishes As-Salt from other cities at the regional level?
- What distinguishes As-Salt from other cities at the local level?
- What are the components of the cultural landscape of As-Salt?
- What strategies should be taken for future World Heritage nomination?

To find out what makes As-Salt significant (if any), it is important to perform a comparative analysis with other cities, on the regional and local level. The cities chosen on the regional level as a basis for comparison and contrast with the city of As-Salt are Aleppo, Damascus, and Historic Cairo (which are on the World Heritage list and are marked with red circles on the following map). Whereas, Amman and Ajloun, are cities chosen for comparison on the local level (which are not on the World Heritage list and are marked with yellow circles on the following map).

Figure 27 - Image of Abu Jaber House in As-Salt.
3.2 Comparative Analysis

The elements of comparison between the cities are characteristics of a typical Islamic city, which are the following:

- Main Mosque (Grand Mosque)
- Market (Souq)
- Citadel (Fortress)
- Gated city
- Irregular, narrow streets
- The location and number of Churches in the city and their proximity to Mosques
- Public baths (Hammams)

The characteristics were limited to the aforementioned elements of comparison for time constraints and the limitations of the extent of the study. However, the characteristics are sufficient to find out if there is an overarching pattern between the cities and if As-Salt shows a similar pattern or a contradictory one.

Studying the map of Aleppo, it can be observed that elements such as the citadel of Aleppo (marked with a purple circle), churches (marked with yellow squares), mosques (marked with green squares), defensive walls (marked with cyan blue), as well as a Grand Mosque (marked with a green star) found in close proximity to the market (marked with a red line) exist. There are slightly more mosques (12) than churches (11) in this city. Aleppo also enjoys having ancient public baths or Hammams (unmarked on the map).

However, it is noticeable the congestion of Mosques in a certain location and the churches in another. It can be noted that a row of mosques is in alignment with the citadel, and that all religious structures around the citadel are solely mosques.
Moving onto Damascus, the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic, one of the oldest cities in the Middle East and a world heritage site worth studying. It was first inhabited in the 3rd millennium B.C. and witnessed different ruling periods, such as the Umayyad, the Ayyubid, the Mamluk, and the Ottoman (Britannica, 2019).

As for the case of Cairo, Egypt “Tucked away amid the modern urban area of Cairo lies one of the world’s oldest Islamic cities, with its famous mosques, madrasas (schools), hammams and fountains” (UNESCO, 2018).

It can be said that Damascus is one of the earliest examples of cities built by Muslims (Ingersoll & Kostof, 2013). It can be seen through urban developments of neighborhoods or harat, streets, and open public space. Traces of an Islamic character in Damascus can be identified through the map, which shows the main Islamic features, such as the main or Grand Mosque (shown in a green star), in close proximity to the souq or market (marked with a red line). Moreover, a citadel can be observed (marked with a purple circle), as well as an encompassing wall to the old city (in cyan blue outline) which was an Islamic feature of protection, with several gates and two towers at the entry point.

It can be deduced that Damascus has the typical features of an Islamic city, from the Main Mosque, to the citadel, to the souq. Nevertheless, as seen on the map, there is a segregation in the location of Mosques (marked with green squares) and Churches (marked with yellow squares). There are also slightly more churches (7) than mosques (3) in old Damascus.

“The city of a thousand minarets” was inhabited since the first millennium, witnessing different ruling periods. Such as the Roman, the Umayyad period, the Abbasid, the Fatamids, the Ayyubids, the Mamluks, and the Ottoman (Abouseif, 1992).

It can be seen from the map below that there are many mosques (shown with green squares) on the city level of Cairo, 22 to be specific. The churches on this map are shown in yellow squares, 15 churches to be specific. Hence, there are slightly more mosques than churches. As can be observed from the location of churches and mosques on the map, there is a segregation between mosques and churches on the city level. Perhaps the old historic city of Cairo was typically and mainly only Muslim on one side and Christian on the other. The reasons behind this segregation are unclear.
As seen on the map, the cities chosen for the study are:

- Ajloun
- Amman

In comparison with As-Salt

Figure 34 - Map of Jordan, showing the cities chosen for comparison (in yellow) with As-Salt (in orange).
Ajloun, a city in Jordan, is located approximately 80 kilometers northwest of Amman (the capital city of Jordan). Ajloun is famous for its castle or citadel (seen in a purple circle on the map below), which was built by the Ayyubids in the 12th century on top of the hill of Jabal Ajlun or Mount Ajloun. The castle was then enlarged in the 13th century by the Mamluks. It was later destroyed during the times of the Mongols and suffered even more damage during the earthquake which struck the Levant region (Middle East) in 1927 (Board, Visit Jordan, 2019). Nonetheless, it can be noted that there is no development in close proximity to the citadel. In fact, the closest low-density development is 1,000 feet away, and medium-density is at least 3,500 feet away from the citadel.

Comparison with Ajloun

Ajloun, as many cities, has a Grand mosque (marked with a green star). Yet the relationship between the citadel and the Grand mosque is not a strong one, as can be seen, relative to their distance from one another, which happens to be about 8,000 feet.

The church (marked with a yellow square) happens to be in close proximity to the Grand mosque. The souq is also very close to the Grand mosque. It is worth noting that the city is not gated by walls as was seen in Aleppo or Damascus.

One can also observe that mosques outnumber churches (one church versus five mosques in the city). There is no sign however, of historic public baths (hammams).

As can be seen from the map below, Amman has a Grand mosque (marked with a green star), a citadel (marked with a purple circle), a historic souq (marked with a red line), and many mosques (marked with green squares), as well as churches (marked with yellow squares).

Comparison with Amman

Amman, the capital city of Jordan has been inhabited since the Caltholithic period (4000 c. - 3000 c.), evident in the findings of the earliest remains. It later became the capital of the Ammonites, a Semitic group of people mentioned in the Bible. Amman later declined, and by the 3rd century BCE it was conquered by Egypt's King Ptolemy II Philadelphia who renamed the city as "Philadelphia" after himself. The city was considered part of the Decapolis, a Hellenistic league of the 1st century. The name "Philadelphia" continued through Byzantine and Roman times. It became a bishopric at the start of Christianity. Amman also experienced the rise of Islam and later Ottoman rule. It was also settled by the first Circassians who fled their country for experiencing religious discrimination. Amman remained a small village until after World War I (Britannica, 2019).

It can be noticed though, that there is a clear separation between the location of mosques and churches in Amman. Also, there are slightly more churches (13) than mosques (11) in old Amman. There is also no sign of historic public baths (hammams), nor a gated city within the boundaries of old Amman.
As for As-Salt, it can be seen from the map below, that it has a Grand mosque (marked with a green star), and four other mosques (marked with green squares). As well as five churches (marked with yellow squares). As-Salt possesses an equal number of churches to mosques, five of each. It can also be noticed that development is in very close proximity to the citadel of As-Salt, which sits on top of its highest hill (marked with a purple circle). This is unlike many cities in Jordan where the citadel lies lonely on top of a hill, with no close development, such as the case of Ajloun. The old historic souq of As-Salt is very close to the Grand mosque, which is a characteristic of Muslim cities. The old hammams of As-Salt can also be noticed (marked with an orange circle). While there is evidence in the literature on the existence of old city wall remains, yet there is no sign of it on the map.

In conclusion, it can be said that there are many similarities between Muslim cities. Some of the main characteristics are the existence of a Grand mosque, and in close proximity to an old souq, a citadel or what is sometimes referred to as a castle or a fortress, narrow, irregular streets, gated cities within the bigger city, and public baths or hammams. After having studied 5 cities in total, 3 on the regional level, and 2 cities on the local level of Jordan; the general findings are that all cities have a Grand mosque.

All the cities of this study have irregular, narrow streets, some more than others. However, not all cities have gated cities or remains of gated cities within them. Only Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus have gated cities within them. Although the literature of As-Salt narrates the evidence of a remains of a city wall, it is unclear where it is located on the city map. All cities have a historic souq.

As we’ve seen in this study, many Muslim cities experience a segregation between their mosques and churches in terms of the location of religious structures. Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, and Amman are good examples of such segregation. While other cities contain unequal numbers of mosques to churches; Ajloun is an example.

On the local level, As-Salt has most of the characteristics of a typical Muslim city. Unlike other cities on the local level, As-Salt contains an equal number of churches to mosques, which is not the case in Amman nor Ajloun. There are also no signs of segregation in the locations of religious institutions in As-Salt, where as it is evident in Amman.

It can be seen from the map that the mosques and churches of As-Salt are in close proximity to one another; almost as if they were intertwining in their locations. Another aspect is that development in As-Salt is surrounding and in close proximity to the Citadel of As-Salt, unlike the case in Ajloun. Also to note that As-Salt encompasses old hammams (public baths) while Amman and Ajloun do not.

On the regional level, As-Salt as Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo; has old historic public baths, which no other city in Jordan enjoys. On another note, As-Salt has an equal number of churches to mosques, which is not the case in Aleppo, Damascus, nor Cairo (on the regional level). From map observations, it can be seen that there is a separation in the location of mosques and churches in Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo; which is not the case in As-Salt. All regional cities in this study, and As-Salt have a citadel.

All regional cities in this study also have a historic market or souq. As-Salt is also similar to the regional cities studied, in having a Grand mosque. Moreover, As-Salt enjoys all characteristics that the regional cities in this study have.
3.3 The Components of As-Salt’s Cultural Landscape

Historical development of As-Salt

In order to better understand the urban fabric of As-Salt, it is important to analyze the components of its Cultural Landscape. This is necessary to undertake to make informed decisions in the form of suggestions or interventions to what has the possibility to help the World Heritage nomination case of As-Salt.

To begin with, it is important to trace the historical development of a city in order to understand the extent of the changes it has witnessed. The earliest evidence of the historical development of As-Salt is found in the literature and in the earliest photographs of the city.

This study highlights the latter, historical development based on photographic evidence. The first picture of As-Salt was taken in 1870. Accordingly, the map below illustrates the years 1870-1933.
The progression map is prepared based on findings in readings on the history of As-Salt as well as findings in historic images. Through the study of the history of Jordan, one can deduce that the country as a whole lived through many different Empires, including the Umayyad, the Abbasid, the Mongols, the Crusaders, the Ayyubids, the Mamluks, and the Ottoman Empire (Szczepanski, 2018).

It is described in the literature that in the Crusades period, between the 11th to the 12th century, the Crusader King Baldwin attacked As-Salt and destroyed its Castle around 1107 (Khuraisat, 1986). It is also said that As-Salt played a vital defense role as a base for Salah Ad-Din and his army, who stayed in As-Salt from around 1177 to 1189. It was the base on which they could overlook the Crusaders movements in the Jordan Valley (Khuraisat, 1986). However, it is unclear whether the castle remained in a state of destruction since the Crusades time, or whether it was rebuilt partially or completely by Salah Ad-Din’s troops. Nevertheless, one can deduce that As-Salt’s castle existed before the Crusades, before 1107, then was destroyed either partially or completely in 1187.

In addition, it is also said that the Castle of As-Salt was built in 1226, by the Sultan Al Mu’azzam Isa (a nephew of Salah ad-Din) (Board, 2013). It could be interpreted that the castle was rebuilt partially in 1226 after destructions from former periods, or that it was rebuilt completely. Although the two sources contradict the construction date of the castle, it can be inferred that the castle existed before 1107, and continued to exist after the 13th century. It is said that in the 13th century As-Salt was characterized as “a highly populated city, a castle, and fields of pomegranate” Abu Al Fida (Khalifat, 1984). And in that period, invading Mongols brought damage to many parts of Jordan, including As-Salt and its castle. This was later rebuilt by the Mamluks (Board, 2013).

Hence the map highlights in red, the area on which the Citadel of As-Salt lied, of which only ruins now exist. It is highly likely that the castle did not exist on its own, especially in the Crusades period, but instead with houses surrounding it for those who resided from Salah Ad-Din’s troops between 1177 to 1189 and played a defensive role, as shown on the map in pink. It can be presumed from the construction date of Saint George’s church in 1682, which is located in the orange area on the map, that there were enough residents before that period, for a church to be constructed.

The population spread from the castle downwards, with many of the newer churches as the Church of the Good Shepard, built in 1850, and the Roman Catholic Church built in 1866 emerged. This is shown in yellow on the map. It is also a time period when As-Salt had its first photographs. And as such, looking at the first photograph from 1870 it can be seen that much of the mountain of Al Qala’a was filled with houses of a similar vernacular architecture. The Roman Catholic Church can be seen in the 1875 picture of As-Salt.

And looking at another picture from 1898, it can be seen that much of both Al Qala’a and Al Jada’a mountains were populated, except the area shown in beige on the map. Thus, the historic pictures are a confirmation that most of these mountains were populated by the late 19th century. It can also be remarked from the historic photographs that the area shown in beige was mainly vegetated. Also looking at the earliest aerial photo of As-Salt of 1918, it can be verified that the valley between the three overlooking mountains is still empty at that time.
The area marked in green however, has only two pieces of evidence behind it; one is a photograph from 1875, which shows only a row of houses right above the valley (marked in yellow on the map), another is the aerial photo of As-Salt of 1918 showing the spread of development upwards along Al Salalem Mountain.

On another note, the Great Mosque has two contradicting dates of construction, one source claims it was built in the late Abbasid times (between 750 CE- 1258). While another claims it was mentioned in sources since the 16th century (Abu Shaar, 2000). One thing is certain about the Mosque though; it was built after Salah Ad-Din and his troops left As-Salt. It is also first seen in pictures of As-Salt in 1898.

On another note, As-Salt market was thriving since the early 19th century, as the Swiss traveler Bueckhardt J.L, who visited As-Salt in 1812, described seeing people from Karak and Irbid wandering through As-Salt’s markets (Abu Shaar, 2000). There was also a telegraph house, which opened in 1894, a clinic known as the English Hospital which provided its services since 1873, and about 30 water mills in As-Salt by the year 1897. Moreover, there existed a number of furnaces, as well as home-baking furnaces, and 5 Islamic and 5 Christian cemeteries (Abu Shaar, 2000).

Hence looking at pictures of As-Salt, as well as tracking the records and studies from the 16th century Ottoman As-Salt to the end of the Ottoman regime by the 19th century, it can be deduced that As-Salt has witnessed the most development in the 19th century (Abu Shaar, 2000). And by the 1930s, it was inhabited by around 20,000 people, many of whom originated from As-Salt and many others who immigrated from Nablus (Abu Jaber, 2017).

Church of the Savior (of the lady Sarah) is believed to be the oldest consecrated and functioning Orthodox church in Jordan. One source indicates it was built in 650 A.D, to the main route from As-Salt to Jerusalem. However, more evidence, maps, or images are not available to provide further information.
Past vegetation composition

There are many ways to find out what the vegetation in a city looked like in the past. For instance, using historic maps and aerial photos, from documentations, historian descriptions, along with other methods. To analyze the vegetation of As-Salt in the past, the only resource available is the use of historic photos. Hence, the extent of the study is from 1870-1933.

Looking back at the earliest photograph, from 1870, it is clear that the city’s main topography is composed of hills and valleys. It is also noticeable that the valley is vegetated, where the trees seem to be sporadically spread and delineated with a border (perhaps stone as stone quarries were common in As-Salt).

However, the hill seems immaculate of trees. Looking at the next piece of evidence, a photograph from 1871, affirms that the valley in the core of As-Salt was mostly vegetated. In the middle of the picture, spatial organization of trees seems to exit, while in other areas trees seem to be spread out unevenly. The common thread between the 1980 and 1981 pictures is the existence of separating stone-lines between the vegetation fields. To the left side of the picture from 1871, a few trees can be observed on the mountain of Al Jadur.

Another picture from 1875 confirms that the core of As-Salt was completely vegetated. It is also easily noticeable that there are a few trees in front of what is known as the Roman Catholic Church (in the middle of the picture). Looking back into the background of the picture, it is evident that there were terraced plateaus with no development on them, perhaps they too were fields in the landscape.

One can observe from this 1898 photograph of As-Salt; the extent to which the vegetation reached, spreading from the core of As-Salt and continuing to the next hill (Al Jad’a). It is also discernible that there are a few trees on the hill of Al Jad’a. A photograph from 1900 shows a few trees above what can be seen as the Small Mosque’s slanted roof.
It is very clear in this following photograph from 1903 that the vegetation lies mainly in the valley of As-Salt and not so much on the hills themselves.

Looking at a picture from As-Salt ongoing World War I in 1915, one can observe that the trees are ubiquitous in the background and are less in the foreground. This can be interpreted as though the landscape in itself played a role in having open fields for the troops to congregate, while also creating a barrier between them and the city.

This 1916 photograph again shows trees in the valley sporadically and unevenly spread.

This 1918 photograph shows a tree between what can be remarked as a minaret of the Great Mosque and another building. This can be interpreted as a courtyard of the mosque, a common garden between the two buildings, or a garden of the mosque. It can also be observed that there are a few trees in the hill, in the background.

And further looking at another photograph from 1918, it can be remarked that an up-close view shows the uneven spacing between the trees.

However, a 1918 photograph from afar gives the impression of a denser feel to the not so dense trees.

Figure 53 - Image showing the vegetation cover in As-Salt in 1903.
Figure 54 - World War I image of As-Salt, 1915.
Figure 55 - Sporadic and uneven distribution of the vegetation in As-Salt.
Figure 56 - A few trees among the developments of As-Salt, 1918.
Figure 57 - Uneven spread of the trees in the valley of As-Salt, 1918.
Figure 58 - A 1918 image gives the impression of an abundance of trees, 1918.
A 1930 image shows open fields in the foreground and vegetation in the background. The last historic image on the vegetation of As-Salt is that of 1933, where one can observe intermittent trees on the hills of Al Jadur and a densely planted valley underneath. The image is taken and captioned by Junius B. Wood, with the following text: “An elevation of several thousand feet above the sea is sufficient to render this part of the Holy Land cool in comparison with the insufferably hot and parched Jordan Valley. Raisin are grown and excellent wine made in this district. This is the region famous in Biblical times for its balm”.

It can be deduced from the images that much of the valleys of As-Salt were vegetated, from the core of As-Salt, where the three hills of Al Qala’a, Al Jadur, and Al Salalem face each other, up until the hill of Al Jadur. It is unclear however if vegetation continued beyond the hill of Al Jadur. In conclusion, the spatial organization of trees was lacking, nonetheless they created a green environment which all the residents of As-Salt could enjoy and engage in, or even have as a shared view from their houses. From Wood’s remark on As-Salt, it can be deduced that As-Salt was an area were raisins grew, and were Balm making was common in the region. And from the image on As-Salt in World War I, one can deduce that the landscape played an important role in the congregation of the troops. It is uncertain if the landscape also acted as a protective or obscuring barrier.

In order to find out how the vegetation cover in As-Salt changed from 1870 to 2018, it is important to study the former and current vegetation conditions and compare them with one another. The following is a map of the vegetation cover of As-Salt in 2018. It is noticeable that the vegetation is scattered and unevenly spread on the mountains of As-Salt. While the valleys of As-Salt showed more vegetation cover in the past, the mountains of As-Salt show more vegetation cover in the present. It is as though there was a shift in the vegetation cover being at the lowest elevation in the city, in the valleys, to being at the highest elevation. Some of the vegetation continued to exist from the former condition up until today. Such examples are the trees along Al Ain plaza, the vegetation behind Abu Jaber’s house (As-Salt museum), and some of the vegetation on Al Jada’a Mountain.
In this following image, a sporadic spread of vegetation is seen on the Mountain of Al Salalem and Al Jadur. Another image showing some trees spread along the Mountain of Al Jadur and mostly on its peak.

A few trees can be seen as one enters As-Salt. These trees are next to the Municipality of As-Salt. The street shown and the building (Municipality of As-Salt) in the foreground are where vegetation existed formerly (as seen in the historic photograph from 1933).

The main street to As-Salt’s center, shows street trees in the middle. The trees and tree-beds help make the street two-ways in opposite directions and provide some shade to the drivers.

Another photograph showing the sporadic spread of trees along Al Jadur Mountain. The street shown was formerly all vegetated (pre 1933).

Comparing As-Salt’s vegetation cover from 2018 to its past condition (1870-1933), a few overarching patterns can be observed. The valleys of As-Salt have become the main streets to and from the city, consequently much of the vegetation cover is lost to two-ways streets and development.

However, some of the vegetation continued to exist from the former condition (1870-1933) up until today. Such examples are the trees along Al Ain plaza, the vegetation behind Abu Jaber’s house (As-Salt museum), and some of the vegetation on Al Jad’a Mountain.

Although the vegetation is scattered and unevenly spread, it is noticeable that As-Salt’s mountains have all equally shown more vegetation cover than the mountains of As-Salt in the past.

The peeks of the mountains are far more covered with vegetation now than in the past. It is as though there was a shift in the vegetation being at the lowest elevation in the city to being at the highest elevation. Presumably, Saltis (people of As-Salt), have compensated the loss of the vegetation cover in the valleys to the gain of more vegetation cover in the mountains.
Figure 69 - Map of the past vegetation composition of As-Salt.

Figure 70 - The current vegetation composition of As-Salt, 2018.
As-Salt is composed of three mountains adjoining one another, known as Al Qala’a, Al Jada’a, Al Jadur and Al Salalem (Khlaifat, 1984). These mountains were formerly separated by flood plains known as Akrad, Maidan, Shu’aib and As-Salt valley, which have dried out.

As-Salt’s mountainous topography is separated by its valleys, which marked the spread of the population throughout the city. This separation created three main neighborhoods on the peaks of the mountains (also known as mahalat), these were mahalat Al Akrad, mahalat Al-Asumleh, and mahalat Al-Qteishat. These neighborhoods first started at the mountain peaks of Al Qala’a, Al Jada’a, Al Jadur and Al Salalem then continued to spread until reaching the valleys and the intersections of the valleys.

The old city of As-Salt developed around a spring in the Akrad valley; and the abundance of water from natural springs and creeks gave As-Salt’s soil its fertile characteristic. This explains the name given to As-Salt, as one literal meaning is “the forested valley” and the other is the “carved mountains”.

The town is built on several mountains, with the highest being 850m above sea-level. As-Salt’s high elevation gave it an advantage to overlook neighboring areas. Its mountainous topography also aided in its role as a defensive, self-contained city. In fact, As-Salt played a vital role in the 12th century as a defense base for Salah ad-Din and his army. It was through its high topography that Salad ad-Din’s army can overlook the Crusaders movements taking place in the Jordan Valley (Khlaifat, 1984).
Street Typologies

The street typologies of As-Salt could be classified into 6 main typologies, as explained in detail below, starting from the narrowest to the widest streets:

• The Alleyway
The “Alleyway” is the narrowest street typology in As-Salt. It could be described as a narrow passage-way that connects houses together, a semi-private street. The Alleyway is meant to be used by the locals of the city, or more specifically the residents along it. There are inevitable social encounters on this typology due to its narrowness and the fact that it is a shared entrance to a sub-neighborhood. It is about 5’ to 8’ wide, and buildings along it are one or two floors high ranging from about 17’-22’.

It creates an open space around the buildings along it, typical in Islamic times as Fina or Zuqaq (as described earlier in the study). They were also known as Hawsh, a common semi-private open space or courtyard used by the houses abutting it for ceremonial, social, or recreational purposes.

• Stairs street
The “Stairs street” typology is a pedestrian street made up of stairs. It is a street where no cars can access. At times it is made of tens of stairs, at others hundreds, or a thousand. It is considered a pedestrian street in the map of As-Salt. It is about 7’-20’ wide, and on average 450’ in length and a maximum of 560’.

Figure 74- A map showing the street typologies of As-Salt.
Figure 75- The Alleyway street typology.
Figure 76- An image of the Alleyway street typology.
Figure 77- The Stairs street typology.
Figure 78- An image of the Stairs street typology.
• Souq street
The “souq street” typology is one that travels through the old market of As-Salt. It goes from narrow to very wide, and winds up into a public plaza at either end. The “souq street” has ramps and a few steps along it for the change in typology. It is about 8’-13’ wide. Buildings along it are 1-2 floors high, on average about 16’-22’ high.

The “souq street” typology widens enough for side street sellers to display their goods. On average reaching a width of 10’-20’. The souq street begins and ends with Hammam and the Church plazas.

• Shared street
The “shared street” typology is a very narrow street typology, shared by both vehicles and pedestrians. It is very narrow at times that it hardly enough for vehicles to pass through. It is nonetheless still used by both vehicles and pedestrians. The “shared street” narrows and widens at times, has single side-street parking, and double side-street parking at others. It ranges from 10’-20’ in width. While buildings along it are 2-3 floors high, about 25’-40’.

In certain areas of the shared street typology, shops exist on both of its sides.
• **Minor artery**

The “minor artery” is a connecting street in the core of the city. It is a two-ways street with single to double side-street parking. It can also be considered as a “shared street” typology, since pedestrians share the street with cars. Thus it is a very congested street due to the two-ways traffic and double side-street parking. It ranges from a 20’- 30’ width, and buildings along it are 1-2 floors, a maximum of 25’ in height.

• **Major artery**

The “major artery” is a street typology that is the main entrance/exit to the city. It is a very wide street, enough for three car lanes at times. It ranges from 20’- 60’ in width. At times, this street typology has two car lanes instead of three at both sides. The side-street parking along with the two lanes of traffic make it very jammed. The street has side-street parking along it making it very narrow and congested as you enter the city.
Great Streets, a book by Allan Jacobs talks about street and city patterns, compares many cities together to bring out some overarching ideas, along with many other subtopics. This book is chosen to interpret some of the findings in the street and city patterns of As-Salt.

According to Jacobs, city streets and block patterns can give order and structure to a city, district, or neighborhood. Where the main function of streets is giving a sense of orientation to the user (Jacobs, 1993). Similarly, the main or great street in a city gives focus and provides structure, just as the Roman Cardo and Decumanus did. There are also streets known as “ordering” streets, which bring comprehension, order, or act as a boundary or border separating an area from another.

The streets also relate to the time period of when a city was built, its geography, the existence of different cultures and technologies, along many other aspects which could be marked by the street typologies.

Based on that, As-Salt has two main streets acting as the arteries of the city, the main in and out routes. These main arteries act as the “ordering” streets which Jacobs describes. The vehicular streets are denoted in black on the map, while the pedestrian streets are denoted in gray. As can be seen on the map, there are instances where a vehicular street overlaps a pedestrian street, this is when both vehicles and pedestrians share the right of way. From Jacobs book, it is said that each intersection between two or more streets, acts an opportunity for a choice to be made, as an opportunity for increased freedom.

It is also said that the higher the number of intersections, the more likely they have a shorter distance between them. The distance between the intersections is an indication of the number of opportunities pedestrians or drivers can make and when the next opportunity is. The more the intersections means the more opportunity for street life to take place (Jacobs, 1993).

It can be seen from the analytical map, that there are several intersections in As-Salt as highlighted in orange, making up a number of 429 intersections. This means that when walking in As-Salt, there are 429 opportunities for pedestrians as well as vehicle (depending on right of way) to make choices, to meet one another and for street life to take place.

In comparison with other cities, one square mile of As-Salt has about the same number of intersections with one square mile of Bologna, which has 423 intersections, and far less than Venice which has the most number of street intersections, about 1,500 intersections in one square mile.

Older cities had generally much smaller and finer scales that was reflected in their streets and block patterns than that of newer cities. Over time, cities became more simple, more regular, large scaled, and had less complicated structures than older cities (Jacobs, 1993).
Jacobs describes that a general notion of fine-scaled cities is seen among Middle Eastern cities, of which the pattern is usually nongeometric.

In the case of As-Salt, the pattern is nongeometric and irregular, the structure of the city can also be described as fine-scaled, as seen in the narrowness of pedestrian streets and in their number.

Analyzing city pattern of As-Salt, one notes that it is irregular and meandering, yet this can be associated with the hilly topography of the city. As Jacobs discusses that typography and natural features play a major role in setting-out the street patterns in a city, like early European hill cities. This is likely the case of As-Salt, where development happened in harmony with nature and not against it.

Street dead-ends/alive-ends

This map of As-Salt highlights the dead-ends in the streets, reaching a number of 270 dead-end paths. This means that more than 62% of the intersections of As-Salt (429) end up in no-through-roads. This can be interpreted in two ways; one is that most pedestrian streets don’t connect to other streets, meaning that connectivity is hampered. The other is that the dead-ends are destination points or a semi-private entrance to a set of houses (or sub-neighborhood), which is described in the street typologies of As-Salt. The later seems to be more realistic, as As-Salt has witnessed most of its development in the Ottoman period, a time when cities developed inspired by Islamic ideals. And in Islamic ideals, privacy was a major concern. This is reflected in the semi-private entrances or cul-de-sacs to sub-neighborhoods in the three main neighborhoods of the city.

This is also reflected in the irregularity of the pedestrian street patterns, as each extra edge or corner creates more opportunity to privacy. The 270 dead-ends can be seen as alive-ends after all, because they are in themselves nodes where neighbors meet and greet on a daily basis, where street-life can actually take place, and where a communal space is shared among the neighbors. This was the typical case in Islamic times.

As can be seen from the map, the city’s open spaces are the areas where there is no development, as seen in the gray areas within the boundaries of the old city of As-Salt. It can also be seen that development patterns are dense yet in line with the topography.

Solid-Void Relationship

This is reflected in the irregularity of the pedestrian street patterns, as each extra edge or corner creates more opportunity to privacy. The 270 dead-ends can be seen as alive-ends after all, because they are in themselves nodes where neighbors meet and greet on a daily basis, where street-life can actually take place, and where a communal space is shared among the neighbors. This was the typical case in Islamic times.
As-Salt’s public open spaces

Moving on to analyzing the public open spaces of As-Salt. There are five main plazas in As-Salt as elaborated in detail below:

- The New Ain Plaza
- Hammam Plaza
- Al Ain Plaza
- The Church plaza
- Rehabilitation project of As-Salt’s center

The New Ain Plaza

The New Plaza of As-Salt has undergone a rehabilitation project in 2005 by the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities of Jordan, funded by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JICA), to bring it to its current form. It is approximately 30,000 feet squared in area, where its main function is the availability of public open space. Other functions include an open theatre, a few shops, a waterfall, and a few plantation beds. While it is an undesignated function, children enjoy playing soccer in the plaza.

The few trees in the plaza are mainly used as decorative elements, not for shade, and that in itself is a possible reason why the plaza is not always in use. On the other hand, the structure of the elements of the plaza are massive and in a way they foreshadow the simplicity and proportions of the landscape of houses in the background.

There is evidence of acts of vandalism in the form of graffiti or written messages where locals express their feelings about the plaza. Perhaps due to its high maintenance cost or due to the scarcity of water in Jordan. Whereas the planter bed shows some of the vegetation in the plaza, which is inadequate of providing shade. The benches on the plaza are very rigid and immovable, as one can see it is made of stone.

The plaza should be redesigned to be of utmost use to locals and to fit the context of the cultural landscape of As-Salt. Acts of vandalism are the unspoken words of the dissatisfied Saltis towards this plaza.
As-Salt’s Ain plaza is the main plaza in town, where people gather to play traditional board games, meet before prayer, and sit in the shade. Its name is taken from the three water springs which existed in the past, flowing from As-Salt’s Citadel or Castle into the plaza. Al Ain has undergone a rehabilitation project in 2005 by the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities of Jordan, funded by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JICA).

The most active place in the plaza is under its largest tree, where people’s needs for shade are met. The plaza is approximately 13,000 feet squared in area. Al Ain consists of seating areas made up of stone benches, pergolas for shade, shops along it, and a few trees. The shops increase the activeness of the plaza and match the activity of the nearby Hammam Street.

The plaza could be further improved to meet the needs of locals. This includes the need for more points of interaction for people to meet, a less restricted seating format, increased vegetation which will in turn increase shade, etc. For instance, the seating along the plaza could incorporate movable chairs, and soft edges. The plaza could also be redesigned to become fully vegetated to replicate its former state, yet to meet the needs of 21st century locals of As-Salt.

This plaza is considered to be the most active plaza in As-Salt, possibly due to its central location, connectivity, and its provision of shops, shade, and rest.

The most active place in the plaza is under its largest tree, where people’s needs for shade are met. The plaza is approximately 13,000 feet squared in area.  Al Ain consists of seating areas made up of stone benches, pergolas for shade, shops along it, and a few trees. The shops increase the activeness of the plaza and match the activity of the nearby Hammam Street.

Figure 105- An image showing Al Ain plaza.
Figure 106- An image showing Al Ain plaza.
Figure 107- An image showing the vegetation cover along Al Ain plaza.
Figure 108- An image showing shops along Al Ain plaza.
Figure 109- An image showing shops along Al Ain plaza, leading to the old market streets of As-Salt.

The plaza could be further improved to meet the needs of locals. This includes the need for more points of interaction for people to meet, a less restricted seating format, increased vegetation which will in turn increase shade, etc.

For instance, the seating along the plaza could incorporate movable chairs, and soft edges. The plaza could also be redesigned to become fully vegetated to replicate its former state, yet to meet the needs of 21st century locals of As-Salt.
The Church Plaza

The Church Plaza is a small plaza facing the Roman Catholic Church of As-Salt and is used as a daily market. It has a very intimate feel to it. It is also a continuation of the adjacent market of Hammam street. The plaza has a few benches along it, a clock, and a descriptive market. However, trees or vegetation are nonexistent.

Although the plaza lacks shade, comfortable and sufficient seating along it, it is nonetheless bursting in activity and is used on a daily basis as a market of its own right, and as a thoroughfare to the Hammam street market.

Efforts should be made to enhance the Church Plaza. This could include redesigning the plaza, incorporating shading plants, and seating locations that bring a feeling of safety and comfort to the user.

The redesign could also bring back some of the former aspects that made As-Salt a thriving city in the 19th century, such as the abundance of water. The redesign could integrate water elements to tell the story of historic As-Salt’s water springs.

![Figure 114: Passersby along the Church Plaza](image)

![Figure 115: Shops along the plaza, stairs and a ramp](image)

![Figure 116: The Church plaza at night](image)

![Figure 117: The market of the Church plaza](image)

![Figure 118: The Church plaza's market, its clock, and descriptive marker](image)

![Figure 119: A view from the Church plaza into the street (in the background)](image)

![Figure 120: The location of The Church Plaza on the map (marked in a yellow location marker)](image)
As this plaza is a node on its own, acting as the beginning or the end of the oldest commercial street in As-Salt, Al Hammam Street; the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities of Jordan funded by Japan Bank of International Cooperation have taken on a rehabilitation project to enhance it in 2005. The plaza is also recently undergoing renovation (as seen in the picture on the left side), due to the new rehabilitation project of As-Salt’s center.

The plaza features shops on three of its sides, and a street on one side. There are also merchants who sell their produce/goods in the middle of the plaza (as shown in figure 116). It is a famous plaza in As-Salt, mainly for its market, and as a continuation to the main and old market of Hammam Street.

A panoramic view taken in 2013 (figure 119) shows the availability of benches and street lighting on the plaza, which no longer exist. The plaza is inevitably undergoing changes caused by the rehabilitation project of As-Salt’s center. It is hard to tell the effects or outcome of the rehabilitation project on the plaza.

However, in the former conditions of As-Salt, Hammam Plaza was part of the valley of As-Salt, hence was fully vegetated. A recreation of the former vegetation conditions could bring back its former character, create shade for the market shoppers, and enhance the user experience. Increased seating and stops is also necessary to increase the comfort level in the plaza.
The Rehabilitation Project of As-Salt’s city center commenced in 2014 and is still ongoing. The project will constitute of underground parking spaces, a visitor’s center, a museum, restaurants, shops, an open space, a kid’s play area, and public facilities.

The effects and benefits of the Rehabilitation Project of As-Salt’s city center are still intangible as the project is ongoing. Otherwise, the project aims at creating underground parking spaces for visitors, which could mitigate one of As-Salt’s major problems - traffic and the unavailability of parking spaces. The project also aims at bringing back the former condition of the valley (as a public vegetated open space).

Some of the landmarks of As-Salt include the old market, the public open spaces, the Great Mosque, the English Complex, landmark buildings, and the Citadel (Fortress) of As-Salt, as shown in the following pictures:
Figure 132- Al Hammam Plaza.

Figure 133- The Church plaza.

Figure 134- Remains of the Citadel of As-Salt.

Figure 138- Rehabilitation project of As-Salt’s city center, construction underway.

Figure 139- The Church of the Good Shepherd (in the foreground) and the Sunday School (in the background).

Figure 140- The Old Historic Museum of As-Salt.

Figure 141- Image showing the Great Mosque of As-Salt.

Figure 142- As-Salt’s Archeological Museum.

Figure 143- As-Salt’s Municipality.

Figure 135- An image showing the mosque of the Citadel of As-Salt.

Figure 136- The New Al Ain plaza.

Figure 137- Al Ain plaza.
The religious composition of As-Salt consists of Mosques and Churches of an equal number to one another, and in close proximity to one another (as seen in the map - figure 150). The old city boasts a high level of tolerance in the mixture and intertwining of its religious institutions, as seen in their location in the urban context. As seen on the map, mosques are indicated in green, while churches are indicated in yellow.

Unlike other cities which were explored earlier in the comparative analysis section of this study, As-Salt enjoys a harmony in its religious institutions. While the reasons behind this religious tolerance in As-Salt are unclear, they raise questions that may be investigated in further research.
Different trail networks are presented by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) through their SCTDP-S project (Sustainable Community Tourism Development Project), in coordination with the Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities. Each trail presented allows pedestrians to explore a different aspect of life in As-Salt. For instance, the Educational Trail (as seen in green on the map), passes through the most important educational institutions of As-Salt, from the Katateeb (private religious schools) founded in 1333, to the Roman Orthodox School of 1850, to the establishment of the first school in As-Salt (As-Salt Secondary School) in 1923.

Whereas the Daily Life Trail passes through the old market of As-Salt (as seen in blue on the map), highlighting the plazas of Al-Ain and Hammam, the market’s shops, and the old Small Mosque of the city. The Heritage Trail on the other hand, passes through historically and architecturally important buildings, such as Historic Old As-Salt Museum (formerly Abu Jaber House), the English Complex, old merchants’ houses, the Latin Monastery, etc. The problem with these different trails is that they are incomprehensible on the pedestrian level, intangible, complex, and hard to follow. This is also due to the fact that the trail system lacks a comprehensive interpretive signage and narrative, to keep the pedestrian engaged. Moreover, the trails do not pass by the remains of the Citadel of As-Salt, which is a very important historic landmark that is often neglected.

The State Party submitted a report on February 4th of 2015 to ICOMOS (an advisory body for UNESCO) who are responsible for evaluating properties nominated for cultural values. The report entitled “As-Salt Eclectic Architecture (1865-1925) (Jordan)” was presented as a serial nomination of 8 groups of buildings, a total of 22 individual buildings.

After multiple iterations of requests between ICOMOS and the State Party, in providing further information and clarification, the report was approved on March 10th 2017. However, it was examined by the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee at its 18th session and a decision was made to defer As-Salt’s nomination. There are many reasons behind the deferral decision, which will be discussed herein.

The deductions of ICOMOS on the report is that there was no need to establish the equivalence between As-Salt and Western artistic and architectural styles, as they both belong to different social and cultural contexts. ICOMOS also stressed on the fact that different comparisons were needed to be undertaken to demonstrate localized or indigenous traditions. Given that the report was based on the cultural criteria (ii) and (iii), ICOMOS did not find the comparative analysis sufficient to demonstrate localized or indigenous traditions, and exceptional architecture.
The criteria used to support the serial nomination were (ii) and (iii). Criterion (ii) focuses on exhibiting an important interchange of human values over a period of time, in a given cultural area. It could be represented in architecture, technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design. While criterion (iii) entails bearing unique or exceptional demonstration of cultural tradition or civilization, which continues to exist or has disappeared.

The State Party considered the Cultural property of the serial nomination to be of Outstanding Universal Value, for it testifies the origins and evolution of an eclectic architecture, which turned As-Salt’s settlement from being rural into a wealthy city. They added that each component of the property relates to the historic core of As-Salt, built around the main plaza of Al Ain. And this in itself, they regarded as a unique townscape. The State Party also added that As-Salt’s houses incorporate classical references to ancient monuments, combined with different architectural techniques and tastes, influenced the architectural image of the city. The State Party further explains how an amalgam of innovative features, local traditions, and craftsmanship were reflected in the eclectic architecture of the city. On the other hand, ICOMOS does not understand how the architecture of the city could be both eclectic and indigenous at the same time. ICOMOS sees that more evidence is needed to prove this architectural amalgam, and more compelling reasons need to justify an OUV. ICOMOS also explains that the demolitions, additions, alterations, and new constructions that occurred in As-Salt over the last forty years, altered the integrity of the city as a whole and the continuity of its landscape. ICOMOS has concerns about the readability and coherence of the serial property, the integrity of the yellow stones in the façades of the property’s components, and the way these components can be affected by modern development. ICOMOS also has concerns about the continued uses of the components (houses) of the serial property, whether or not they will respect the original purposes of the buildings, as merchants’ homes. Other concerns are the electrical wiring in the city, which affect visibility and in turn the visual integrity of the property, population growth, traffic and parking concerns, and the effects on the infrastructure.

In conclusion, ICOMOS believes that the integrity of the property has not been met, due to the fragmented quality of the selected components, the large enveloping buffer zone, and the commonality of the technical and artistic works seen in the urban landscape of the Levant. ICOMOS also believes that the comparative analysis should establish why this “eclectic” or “composite” architectural style and order is important in the broader geocultural context. ICOMOS considers that the architecture of As-Salt should not stand on its own and cannot be seen as a cultural tradition. ICOMOS also questions the appropriateness of a serial property approach and the selection of these components if they could not justify criterion (ii) and (iii), their fragmentation in the urban landscape, and in turn their inability to justify an OUV. Given that the state party did not provide enough evidence to support their proposed criteria, ICOMOS deduced that the report lacked to prove the Outstanding Universal Value of As-Salt.

In the following part of the study, a rethinking of the nomination report will be explored. Strategies to improve the cultural landscape of As-Salt will also be further explored, to enhance the readability of the city as a historic city of value beyond the local level.
What can be done to help As-Salt’s future nomination case?

After studying the cultural landscape components that make As-Salt, a holistic approach must be taken to highlight them and present them in future nomination reports to World Heritage.

Pre-nomination

*. A different approach to the nomination report:

Having studied the submitted report by the State Party and ICOMOS’ feedback and decision, one can make informed decisions as what must be presented in the submission of future nomination reports.

From my viewpoint, As-Salt has far more to present that its architectural image. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for a tourist or an unfamiliar visitor from other parts of Jordan to grasp segregated building components as parts of a whole entity, as the State Report has shown. It is also insufficient as ICOMOS described, to prove OUV for a group of components that may resemble others elsewhere in the Levant.

As-Salt boasts having an equal number of churches to mosques, which is not the case in the cities of the study. The city shows no signs of segregation in the locations of religious institutions, while it is apparent in all other cities of the study. In fact, As-Salt’s mosques and churches are in close proximity to one another; almost as if they were intertwining in their locations and in complete harmony.

For the aforementioned reasons, As-Salt should use “religious tolerance” as the main reason behind its significance and should lead with it in future nomination reports. This reason may be sufficient to prove As-Salt’s significance on the local and regional level. Therefore, to prove Outstanding Universal Value, As-Salt must present a different criterion than it formerly presented. The State Party led with Criterion iii which focuses on exceptional testimony to cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or has disappeared, believing that the architectural style of As-Salt is of an era and a tradition that no longer exists. While this might be the case, it is insufficient to prove that the architectural image is of importance globally, or that it is even exceptional in the Levant.

Instead, the State Party should continue to lead future nomination reports with criterion (ii), which is a criterion that is based on exhibiting important interchange of human values, over a period of time within a cultural area. It could be represented in architecture, technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design. However, in the case of As-Salt, instead of presenting criterion (ii) based on architecture, it should be presented as the interchange of human values reflected in the lenience of religious institutions and even neighborhoods, which show no signs of segregation. This is also translated in town-planning since the plan of As-Salt, in its harmonious composition, shows uniqueness not found elsewhere in the other cities of the study.

Another criterion which could be presented is criterion (iv), which should prove an extraordinary type of building, or an ensemble of architecture, landscape, or technology which showcase an important period in history. Hence, future reports could include criterion (iv), however presented as a cultural landscape of multiple layers, such as religious institutions, architecture, street typologies, and old market, which together form a unique ensemble to As-Salt.

3.4 Discussions & proposals

It is hence unnecessary to continue proving that the architectural image of As-Salt is all what it has to offer, when clearly that is not the case.

After conducting a comparative analysis between As-Salt and other cities such as Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, on the regional level, Amman, and Ajloun, on the local level, it is justifiable to say that As-Salt is significant beyond its architectural image.

There are many similarities between the Muslim cities of the study, such as having similar physical characteristics as a Grand mosque, a souq, a citadel, narrow, irregular streets, gated cities within the city, and public Hammams. However, the difference between all the cities in the study and As-Salt is that all cities showed a segregation in their religious institutions (mosques and churches) while As-Salt celebrated those differences.

Another criterion which could be presented is criterion (iv), which should prove an extraordinary type of building, or an ensemble of architecture, landscape, or technology which showcase an important period in history. Hence, future reports could include criterion (iv), however presented as a cultural landscape of multiple layers, such as religious institutions, architecture, street typologies, and old market, which together form a unique ensemble to As-Salt.
As well as that, criterion (v) may be attained by representing As-Salt as an example of a city of traditional human settlement, where street typologies in As-Salt are uncommon elsewhere, where several street intersections exist, and where street dead-ends are semiprivate sub-neighborhoods and dwellings. Criteria (v) can also be perceived in land-use, which is particular to the city, reflected in the amalgam of religious institutions, a Grand mosque, an old market, and open spaces.

It is in the combination of these criteria that As-Salt may be successful in proving an Outstanding Universal Value that is not found elsewhere in the world, an interest that goes beyond a localized phenomenon of “religious tolerance” into a broader global interest. As-Salt is a unique example of a Muslim/Christian shared environment and can set an example of a city that takes pride in “religious tolerance”. Therefore, the criteria presented in future nomination reports should be based on evidence found in the multilayers in the cultural landscape components of As-Salt.

B - Post-nomination:
As for post-nomination, a set of strategies must be taken to better equip the city, preserve it, and showcase it. The following are a proposed comprehensive set of strategies:

1. A comprehensive holistic trail network

The proposed trail network is for pedestrians to explore the city in one holistic trail that takes them to the most important landmarks and views of As-Salt. Such landmarks are the Great Mosque, the Small Mosque, the Roman Catholic Church, the Historic Old As-Salt Museum, As-Salt’s plazas, Al Khadr Church, Church of the Virgin Mary, the Good Shepard Church, Jagheber House, and the Corridor of As-Salt. The trail will not only emphasize the tangible but the intangible. For instance, the trail will have stops to show the harmony of churches next to mosques, another will be a walk in the old market of As-Salt, or through Al Ain plaza where locals play traditional games. The trail will also take tourists to the Citadel of As-Salt, a neglected destination in the city.
2. Urban greening to former state

To bring back the former vegetation condition of As-Salt, a phased vegetation plan must take place. The city has inevitably changed since its first photograph in 1870, and for a better change for future nomination to World Heritage, the former conditions of monuments, vegetation, and built environment must be recreated or restored. The outlined vegetation area (in green and black in figure 161) is phase 1 of the vegetation system, reforming the past conditions.

In phase 2 of the vegetation system proposal, a network of street trees will be introduced to define streets, entries, and exits. Another is the taking over of the vegetation to replicate the former conditions prior to 1870, meaning that a few buildings will have to be relocated from the core of the city to other more convenient locations. This allows to recreate the past image of the city, expansive green valleys for the public. After studying the topography, street elevations, and analyzing images of the city, the vegetated areas could be raised to street levels and incorporate the existing parking lots underneath. Hence, the proposed vegetation system could also incorporate the existing parking infrastructure.
To make the proposed trail network more legible and understandable not only in terms of the use of signage but also in terms of a coherent narrative, a system of interpretation must be implemented along it. The proposal includes interactive interpretive signage and urban greening of the existing area of a Look-out at the peak of Al Qalaa Mountain, to allow users to understand the view they are looking at while being in the shade.

As part of an interpretive system, a Tour Bus is proposed to have its own route to show tourists around As-Salt. Only one or a few Tour Buses may be needed, that run at certain times of the day in designated routes, to show tourists the main attractions of As-Salt and tell the story of the old city. The existing parking lot can be used to park the Tour Buses, but also act as the point of start and end for the tour bus.
4. Improved connections & visibility

A major issue in As-Salt is the eye pollution of advertisements upon entering the city and even throughout its minor streets. Thus, a proposal is made to remove any forms of advertisements throughout the city, to avoid eye pollution, as well as affecting the image and readability of As-Salt as a historic city. As for improved connections, the most basic of pedestrian crossings must be established throughout the major streets of As-Salt, to improve safety, and promote walkability (as it was in the old days).

5. Marketing & engaging with intangible heritage

Some of the intangible heritage that needs to be marketed and engaged with is the tradition of playing Manqala. Local men of As-Salt play this game in Al Ain plaza on a daily basis. This could possibly be an activity that tourists can engage in or take part of. For instance, tables could be set out certain times of the day in Al Ain plaza for tourists to learn the game from Saltis (people of As-Salt). This could promote dialogue between visitors and locals, continue the tradition of playing Manqala, and perhaps become a minor source of income to the seniors of As-Salt who could teach Manqala to tourists.

As-Salt can be described as a “spontaneous town” which emerged from the need for food, defense, the need to congregate, and the need for exchange. As explored in the history of As-Salt, it has played an important role as a defense base for Salah Ad-Din in the 12th century. It is believed that the first inhabitants of what is currently As-Salt are the Kurds of Hakkaria, those of the army of Salah ad-Din. As-Salt was a strategic location for Salah Ad-Din and his army, as it was the base on which they could overlook the Crusades movements in the Jordan Valley (Khuraissi, 1986). Therefore, it can said that As-Salt emerged as the need for defense emerged. It is inevitable that the mountainous topography of the town made it an exemplar to a self-contained city that has the ability to become a defense base. Nonetheless, its fertile soil, mild climate and abundance of water made it an agricultural capital in the past. In the 13th century, it was a town characterized as “highly populated, a castle, and fields of pomegranate” (Khlaifat, 1984).

However, As-Salt was not only an agricultural capital but was also a religious capital in the 15th century. In fact, Heracles, a Greek geographer dubbed it as the Holy As-Salt or “Salthus Hierarchios”, which is one interpretation to how its name was derived (Khlaifat, 1984). It was also on the pilgrimage route from Damascus to Mecca.

As-Salt also emerged as a hub for lucrative trade in the Levant, as the need for exchange was essential. It was due to the security and stability As-Salt enjoyed, that it became renowned for trade. It also became a destination for prosperous merchants and traders, especially those migrating from Damascus and Nablus, who were looking for better opportunities. Thus its population grew rapidly in the 19th century. Jordan’s only real town of note was As-Salt. It has witnessed different historic periods including the Ottoman Empire and World War I. The latter has inevitably changed the shape of As-Salt and caused much destruction to As-Salt.
The study explored, other typical physical elements or components with typical Islamic cities is that narrow, irregular streets, gated cities, and public baths. Although As-Salt comprises the main elements of Muslim cities, it is yet different in its own right. As we’ve seen in the study, As-Salt has a Great Mosque in its core, Hammams, souq, Dar Al-Imarah (mentioned in the literature), a citadel on the peak of Al Qalaa Mountain, and residential quarters or Harat, etc.

However, what is different about As-Salt’s components with typical Islamic cities is that As-Salt’s Harat are made up of Muslims and Christians living in complete harmony and coexistence. This was not the typical case of Muslim cities. In a typical Muslim city, each residential quarter held residents of similar social groups or religious beliefs, where each group was believed to have more ability to practice their beliefs freely, in seclusion from the other. Whereas in As-Salt, boundaries, the emphasis of privacy, enclosed Harat, or the segregation of residential groups did not exist, especially after the Ottoman regime.

While this was the typical case of Muslim cities, it was not entirely the case for As-Salt. Although As-Salt comprises the main elements of Muslim cities, it is yet different in its own right. As we’ve seen, As-Salt has a Great Mosque in its core, Hammams, souq, Dar Al-Imarah (mentioned in the literature), a citadel on the peak of Al Qalaa Mountain, and residential quarters or Harat, etc.

When conducting a comparative analysis between As-Salt with other cities on the regional and local level, a set of new discoveries is found. There are many similarities between the chosen Muslim cities of the study. The similarities are having the main characteristics of typical Muslim cities such as the existence of a Grand mosque, an old market or souq, a citadel (fortress), narrow, irregular streets, gated cities, and public baths or Hammams.

Yet, not all the cities have gated cities or remains of gated cities within them. Only Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus have shown evidence of gated cities on their current map of the city. On the other hand, what is different between As-Salt and other cities of the study is the relationship of different religion institutions and residents to one another. It is recognizable on the city maps of Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, and Amman, as seen in a segregation between their mosques and churches, in terms of their location and proximity to one another. It is also apparent in the residences of different religion groups to one another. Where tribal, religious, or social groups resided in one specific quarter or Harah, sometimes even enclosed by a gate, as in the case of Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, that was not the case for As-Salt.
Another difference is the unequal numbers of mosques to churches. While this applies to all cities of the study, it does not apply to As-Salt. As-Salt has all of the characteristics of a typical Muslim city. But unlike other cities of the study, As-Salt contains an equal number of churches to mosques. The city shows no signs of segregation in the locations of religious institutions. In fact, religious institutions in As-Salt are in close proximity to one another, intertwining in their locations. Another aspect in As-Salt is that development is surrounding rather than its core.

Though As-Salt encompasses all of the characteristics of a typical Muslim city, it is not in itself a typical Muslim city. It is unclear whether religious separation in institutions and residences is typical in Muslim cities, or if it is mere coincidence in Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo. If that is the typical case, then it can be said that As-Salt is not typical in that regard. As-Salt showed a harmonious balance between its different religious institutions and even residential quarters. This in itself is a noteworthy reason to make As-Salt significant on the local and regional level. Its significance is not only seen the harmony of religious institutions but also in the equality of their numbers to one another.

Hence, it can be deduced that As-Salt exemplifies tolerance, as it is seen in the analysis of its cultural landscape components. That is enough reason to make As-Salt unique. It is also evident from the analysis that the historical development of As-Salt shows that it is likely that the city developed from its citadel rather than its core.

Which is also not typical of Islamic cities, as they emerged from the typical three main components, a Great Mosque, a souq, and an administration building or Dar al-Imarah. This is perhaps because As-Salt has developed mainly due to the need for defense, to provide outlook to the Crusades movements in the 12th century. As-Salt’s mountainous topography was definitely of advantage in fulfilling its role as a defense base. It can also be seen from the analysis that As-Salt has lost a substantial amount of its vegetation cover from what can be traced back to 1870 till 2018. The cause behind this loss is increased development in the core of the city, where the vegetation formerly existed, as well as the introduction of streets to connect the city to other cities. This was not the only change that As-Salt witnessed, as previously mentioned, it was affected by World War I and the earthquake which hit in 1927. This commenced the first efforts to widen its streets and restore the destructions caused.

The changes which the city has witnessed in its urban morphology are inevitably one of the many reasons why the city has not yet been nominated as a World Heritage site. Assessing the nomination report of As-Salt which has been submitted to ICOMOS on February 4th of 2015 by the State Party representing the city, other reasons are discovered which could have added to the deferral of the report. Such reasons are that the report mainly focused on the architectural image of the city, its inability to prove indigenous traditions or exceptional architecture, hence its inability to prove an Outstanding Universal Value.

Moreover, there are concerns in the readability and coherence when presenting a serial property. There also concerns about As-Salt’s integrity, being altered from its former images, such as pre-1870, pre-earthquake, and pre-World War I. Other concerns are visual integrity, traffic, parking concerns, infrastructure, and the concern that architecture of the city is insufficient to presented on its own. The report has presented criterion (ii) and (iii) to justify an Outstanding Universal Value. And as the study has explored, criterion (ii) could continue to be used in future nomination reports. However instead of basing criterion (ii) on the important interchange of human values translated in the architecture of the city, it could be presented as the interchange of human values and town-planning, reflected in the lenience of religious institutions and neighborhoods in As-Salt.
As well as criterion (ii), criterion (iv) and (v) could also be presented, each representing a different set of requirements the State Party must meet in the future. While criterion (iv) is represented by a set of buildings, landscapes, or technology of a certain period in history, criterion (v) is represented by proving traditional human settlement in a city. The criteria can be presented by the multilayers of architecture, the harmony of religious institutions, unique street typologies, and characteristics of an old Muslim town.

In the case of As-Salt, the combination of these three criteria have the ability to prove an Outstanding Universal Value in future nomination reports. The key aspect into a successful nomination is proving that As-Salt is not only of local interest but of global interest for its phenomenon of “religious tolerance”.

Another essential strategy is bringing back the former conditions of As-Salt, in this case, what is a major change and what can be traceable is the vegetation composition. The vegetation cover could be restored in As-Salt in a long-term phased plan, in which the vegetation can retake its former shape and location in the city’s core. In the first phase, the vegetation will fill areas of the core which are undeveloped. While in the second phase, the vegetation plan proposes fully taking its former location in the core, forcing the relocation of a few buildings in the core to other locations. This allows the recreation of the past image of the city, as valleys filled with vegetation spread and mountains filled with residential house.

Other aspects which could potentially make the city more readable by visitors is the availability of a comprehensive trail network and look-outs that are legible, interactive, and narrate the story of the old city. It is also possible that a tour bus can complement the trail network in which it takes tourists who do not wish to walk, onto a tour of the city. Another aspect is eliminating eye pollution which can be seen in advertisement boards as one enters the city. It is also crucial that the city becomes walkable. This can be achieved through improved pedestrian crossings and connections, which in turn improves safety and promotes walkability.

Another note, intangible heritage should be marketed and engaged with. For instance, the traditional game of Manqala can be taught to tourists by locals who master this game. It could become a minor source of income for locals and a one of a kind experience for tourists. Local products of As-Salt could also be marketed online to reach a larger audience. This will promote the continuation of the creation of traditional products such as traditional carpets, baskets, art pieces, etc. As explored in the historic preservation framework chapter, intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity, may all be part of the wider context.

It is only through the conservation of As-Salt’s heritage, culture, and cultural landscape that it can maintain its unique nature and promote it. Its conservation will in turn create international interest and visibility that was inexistent. It is through the preservation of existing resources, the protection of the cultural landscape, and the management of the urban landscape as a whole, that As-Salt can become nominated for World Heritage in the future. It is also through the integration of the built environment, the cultural, the social, and the environmental aspects, translated into town planning, design, and urban management, that As-Salt can become designated.
As explored in the study, the management and development of As-Salt should be carried out through the identification of its multilayers and the interconnections that exist between them. These layers are the tangible, the intangible heritage, the natural, the cultural, the local values of the city, and the international values. The multilayering in the analysis of the cultural landscape components of As-Salt have the ability to improve the livability of As-Salt and foster economic development.

As discussed, there are many benefits for World Heritage designation, such as increased support and funding for the conservation and management of the property. This will in turn create a better protection for the property and a deeper recognition world-wide.

Is the segregation in religious institutions a mere coincidence? Or a character of Islamic or Arab cities?

In conclusion, this study was a contribution to the University of Massachusetts with new knowledge about As-Salt - Jordan, a new study area for the department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning. However, the study was bounded by time limitations and the extent of the research questions explored. Hence, research on As-Salt could continue to include questions which the extent of this study did not cover. Such questions include, but are not limited to: What are the reasons behind As-Salt’s religious tolerance? How did this tolerance develop over time? Why are cities on the regional and even the local level unlike As-Salt in its religious tolerance?

Chapter 4
4.2 Glossary

As-Salt: A place in present-day Jordan.
Al Saraya: an administration building in old Islamic towns, also known as to Dar Al-Imarah.
Balm: a resin obtained from a tree, or what is now known as Commiphora Gileadensis, a tree that has a fragrant medicinal function, or a healing ointment, associated in Biblical times with the Virgin Mary.
Baqal: a term used in old Islamic towns, referring to a mini-market, as well as a term that refers to the vendor.
Bazaar: a market in old Islamic towns. Also known as Souq.
Bilad Al Sham: a phrase used to describe countries of the Levant or Middle East, known as “land to the north”, north of Hijaz, a region in the west of present-day Saudi Arabia.

Cultural landscape: as defined by the World Heritage Committee, is the “cultural properties that represent the combined works of nature and of man”.
Dar Al-Imarah: Administration building in Islamic towns, also known as Al Saraya.
Dar Al-Hikmah/Dar al-ilm: known as a house of knowledge or wisdom, is where students went to study in old Islamic towns, it is equivalent to a large library in todays terms.
Emirs: A word which means princes of a Royal Family.
Furn: a bakehouse.
Khan: is a public bath used by the public in old Islamic towns. It is directly associated and influenced by the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world.

Loopholes: small openings in old towers of medieval towns.

Machiocolations: (in medieval fortifications) an opening in a projecting parapet or vault of a gate, used as a defensive mechanism.

Madrasa: A school, college, or an institution that provides religious and scientific teachings.

Mahala: Singular form of Mahalat. It is an outdated word used to refer to a neighborhood.

Manqala: a traditional board game played by Saltis in public open spaces. It is considered a part of their culture and daily life.

Masjid: An Arabic word used to refer to a Mosque. Maqddy al-Shura: religious body or advising council.

Muezzin: A name given to the person who calls Muslims to prayer from the minaret of a mosque.

Minaret: a typical part of a mosque, which is a tall slender tower, with a balcony from which a muezzin calls Muslims to prayer.

Mohammed: The prophet of Islam.

Qaysariyyah: a civil Basilica, or an enclosed building that held precious market items such as furs, carpets, jewels, and embroidery.

Qibla: is the direction that a Muslim faces when praying. It is tows the Kabbah.

Quran: The Holy Quran is the Islamic sacred, believed to be the word of God.

PBUH: Peace Be Upon Him. An abbriviation used when a name of a prophet is mentioned or written down.

Saltis: people of As-Salt.

Tansimat: a series of governmental reforms of the Ottoman rule, that sought to capture more tax revenues for the military defense of the empire.

Zuqaq: An open space around a building or along it, also known as Fina in Islamic cities. They acted as semi-private courts, used by the inhabitants as collectively-owned spaces.
4.4 List of Tables

Table 1 - Tabulated findings of the comparative analysis. Created by the author.

4.5 References


