

PART 3

PALACES OF THE SELJUQ

SUCCESSOR STATES

(ELEVENTH–FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

CIRCLES OF POWER: PALACE, CITADEL, AND CITY IN AYYUBID ALEPPO

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CITADELS WERE INTENDED TO DOMINATE CITIES, AND IN this respect the citadel of Aleppo perhaps succeeds a little too well. Built over a partly natural outcrop with numerous building levels, it soars above the city like a great cone with a chamfered top. Its massive elliptical base, measuring 450 meters on its east-west axis and 325 meters on its north-south axis, tapers steeply to a smaller but still quite large ramparted ellipse, 285 by 160 meters (fig. 1). Nearly fifty meters high with its ramparts intact, its already dominant image would have been immeasurably more powerful when its glacis was still paved with polished limestone and its moat filled with water.

Its height, impregnability, and apparent timelessness have long fascinated poets:

A citadel whose base was embraced by the Pleiades
while its peaks surpassed the orbit of Gemini
Its watchtower would be counted among the celestial
bodies were it only to move in their courses
Arrogant, it laughs in the face of Time,
who has long ridiculed such lofty buildings.¹

But this hyperbolic imagery of power seems flawed or, one might say, it is inhabited by a number of paradoxes. The citadel of Aleppo, like other urban citadels, was not just a military garrison but also the royal palace and the center of government and administration. Although constructed materially and metaphorically as a closed system, it had by necessity to interact with the city and its population. Furthermore, it was a hard shell with a soft center, an image of power and dominance that envelops and protects an atmosphere of royalty and elegance, the palace of the Ayyubid dynasty of Aleppo.²

These visually arresting contrasts between impregnability and linkage, militarism and luxury may be taken at face value as true reflections of the distant and strained relationship between ruler and ruled in the Islamic Middle Ages. Foreign, in this case Kurdish, dynasties rule an Arab population; their illegitimate status and distance from the population are manifested in the semiotics of the very architecture of power that they create. While this is generally true, this paper attempts in the first place to provide nuance for

this seemingly stark separation between the enclosed and the displayed, between citadel and city, and consequently between ruler and ruled.³ This will be done by examining the religious, pietistic, ceremonial, and administrative links the citadel had to the city. In the second place, the paper examines the Ayyubid palace in the citadel, proposing that, despite its modest proportions, it was formally and iconographically associated with a well-established iconography of power, an iconography that was first conceived in classical Islamic palaces and later perpetuated in the palaces of the Ayyubid and Artuqid dynasties.

Before proceeding with this investigation, it seems necessary to stress the fact that the institution of the palatial citadel is not contemporaneous with the beginning of Islam but represents the third stage in a series of discrete urban transformations. The first stage is represented by a centrally located palace (*dār al-imāra*) adjacent to the great mosque, as in Kufa or the Round City of Baghdad.⁴ In the second stage the palace shifted to a suburban location, a development initiated by the Abbasids in Samarra and imitated by many tenth- and eleventh-century dynasties, including the Hamdanids of Aleppo.⁵ The third and equally pivotal stage occurred when the Samarran model for royal architecture was gradually supplanted by that of the citadel palace. Aleppo was the first city to undergo this transformation, which occurred in the middle of the eleventh century under the Mirdasids.⁶

Contexts

The fortification and building of various parts of the citadel continued unabated during the successive periods of the Seljuqs, the Zangids, and the early Ayyubids. But the citadel—in fact the entire fortification of Aleppo—did not come into its own until the time of al-Zahir Ghazi (1186–1216), the most important architectural patron in the medieval history of the city. Contemporary sources and epigraphic evidence (in the form of five preserved inscriptions inside the citadel)⁷ attest to the fact that he was responsible

for the total rebuilding of the citadel, including its impressive ramp and entrance block, its mosque, and its palace, and for the restoration of the Maqam Ibrahim. Indeed, one might even suggest that nearly all subsequent work on the citadel and the fortifications of Aleppo by his successors proceeded in accordance with his plan.

At the highest point in the citadel, al-Zahir Ghazi in 1214 built a mosque whose lofty minaret even today dominates the city (fig. 2). It was one of the first mosques in an urban citadel, and although more symbolic than functional, it served as a model for most other citadels, including those in Damascus and Cairo. As the primary Islamic institution, the mosque at this site declared Islam triumphant in a city that a century earlier had almost fallen to the Crusaders, while it also affirms the role of the Ayyubids as guardians of the faith. The great height of the minaret (21 meters), on top of 40 meters for the citadel, created a towering structure visible from every corner of the city. Conversely, many parts of the city were at least potentially visible from the minaret, which, from the vantage point of the inhabitants, could have meant a tower of observation and surveillance. That function has been attributed to the minaret of the Juyushi mosque of 1085 in Cairo, and it was perhaps more common than we might imagine.⁸

Nearly midway between the mosque and the palace stood the small but highly significant Maqam Ibrahim (fig. 3). First built by Nur al-Din and his son Isma'il, this shrine underwent some restorations and additions during the reigns of Ghazi and his son Muhammad.⁹ As the patron saint of Aleppo¹⁰ and the traditionalist figure par excellence, Ibrahim was venerated by the Zangids and the Ayyubids in order to enhance their authority and legitimacy by deepening their roots in Aleppo and to reinforce their image as the safeguards of Sunni Islam. Another even more important shrine for Ibrahim stood about one kilometer south of the city, and it also was the object of some attention by the Ayyubids.¹¹

Another component of the citadel's context actually lay outside its confines in the region commonly known as Taht al-Qal'a. Under al-Zahir Ghazi, a systematic attempt was begun to convert this region into an extension of the citadel, or better into a zone of official exchange between the Ayyubids and the city. Two major institutions contributed to the official image of this region, which is located just east of the citadel's entrance block or directly opposite the

palace. These are the still extant intramural funerary madrasa of al-Zahir (al-Sultaniyya) and the *dār al-ʿadl* (court of grievances or tribunal), which has disappeared almost without a trace.

The Sultaniyya Madrasa was founded for both Hanafis and Shafi'is by al-Zahir Ghazi, who died in 1216 before completing it (fig. 4).¹² It remained in its unfinished state for five years, at which time the *atābek* Tughril completed it in 1221. He was most likely responsible for the two rows of student cells that extend between the portal and the tripartite prayer hall. Ghazi's mausoleum, which was ready to receive him at the time of his death, stands at the southeastern corner of the building. It projects slightly into the urban space and has windows with inscriptions on three sides (fig. 5). With its minaret-topped portal facing the citadel and Ghazi's mausoleum originally facing the *dār al-ʿadl*, this two-*madhhab* madrasa reaffirmed the traditionalist orientation of the Ayyubids and reinforced their links with the ulama. The location of Ghazi's mausoleum confirms the existence of a street next to it, since urban mausoleums in Syria and Egypt nearly always had street frontage.¹³ This street would have run parallel to the old wall of the city, passing through the southern gate of the Bab al-Maqam, and ending at the Maqam Ibrahim and the nearby Ayyubid madrasas.

Where the *dār al-ʿadl* in Aleppo has been the subject of some debate. Some writers place it to the west of the citadel's entrance block¹⁴ and others to the east of it.¹⁵ It suffices here to say that both archaeological evidence and a number of statements by Ibn Shaddad leave no doubt that it was located to the east of the entrance block, underneath the present municipality building, between the old and the new eastern wall of the city. The wall seems to have been shifted slightly to the west for no other reason than to create a defensible space for this important institution.¹⁶ It was also provided with a wall on its southern side; its northern side faced the moat of the citadel. These walls were pierced by four gates: the Bab al-Jabal, the secret gate connecting the *dār al-ʿadl* to the palace; the Bab Dar al-ʿAdl on the south, for the procession of al-Zahir Ghazi; and the two gates called Bab al-Saghir near the edge of the moat, one in the old wall and one in the new (fig. 6).¹⁷

The *dār al-ʿadl* communicated directly with the palace through a subterranean passage. The passage itself has largely disappeared, but its location may be determined by following in a

southerly direction the vaulted corridor that currently separates the bath from the arsenal (fig. 13). After making a 90-degree turn to the right, this corridor ascends to the level of the lower ramparts, where it would originally have connected with a vaulted passage that led directly to an arched opening that still remains in the curtain wall (fig. 7). Peering through this opening, we glimpse the modern municipality building directly ahead of us and leading in its direction, remnants of stairs, at the end of which are ruins of a vaulted tunnel. With a little reconstruction, we can postulate that the stairs leaving the palace area would have led directly to a vaulted passage which would have gone through an opening in the wall of the citadel and descended to the *dār al-‘adl*.¹⁸

The palace, the symbol of absolute authority, therefore literally presided over the *dār al-‘adl* and was directly linked with it through a secret passage. Underground passages, known to have linked various parts of Abbasid palaces in Baghdad,¹⁹ are rather commonplace in Islamic citadels. Most often they are used for escape in time of danger or to reach provisions, but the link between palace and tribunal is rather unusual and seems to have more serious implications. On the surface it simply facilitated the sultan’s movements between palace and tribunal during his routine audience on Monday and Thursday, visits that were intended to foster the essential link between authority (*mulk*) and justice (*‘adl*). In his important treatise, the *Siyāsatnāma*, Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092) expatiates upon the concept of justice, which he saw as the foundation of stately power and the primary attribute of correct government.

It is absolutely necessary that on two days in the week the king should sit for the redress of wrongs, to extract recompense from the oppressor, to give justice and to listen to the words of his subjects with his own ears, without any intermediary. It is fitting that some written petitions should be submitted if they are comparatively important, and he should give a ruling on each one. For when the report spreads throughout the kingdom that on two days in the week The Master of the World summons complainants and petitioners before him and listens to their words, all oppressors will be afraid and curb their activities, and no one will dare to practice injustice or extortion for fear of punishment.²⁰

A decade later Ibn al-Balkhi expressed a similar view: “Those possessed of learning have said: ‘When a king is adorned by religion and his rule

is stable because of justice, kingship will not disappear from his house unless, God forbid, some disorder appears in religion or he commits tyranny.’”²¹

The *dār al-‘adl* was therefore a direct outgrowth of formulations that were themselves based on earlier conceptions of Islamic rule. Despite its physical separation from the citadel and its relative importance under the Ayyubids and the early Mamluks, the *dār al-‘adl* was by no means an autonomous institution subject to its own charter and body of laws. It was an appendage of royal power, and it received its ultimate authority neither from the city elders, as was the case in the communal courts of medieval Europe,²² nor from the chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) but from the sultan, who alone embodied the state and was responsible for directing its affairs in accordance with the Shari‘a.²³

The invisibility of the link between the palace and the tribunal has further covert implications, in that the sultan could presumably observe the proceedings at the *dār al-‘adl* anytime he wished without being seen and could even interrupt them if he heard something not to his liking. The secrecy of the ruler’s movements through this passage would make it more a vehicle for monitoring and surveillance than for observing with detached interest the progress of justice. This surveillance should be understood in terms of control and coercion, directed at curtailing the authority and independence of the judges.²⁴

The street between the Madrasa al-Sultaniyya and the *dār al-‘adl* originally proceeded southwards, where it left the city through the Bab al-Maqam and ended at the shrine of Abraham. Unlike all other medieval Syrian gates, which have a single bent entrance between two towers, the Bab al-Maqam is a straight tripartite gate without towers, a form that could not have served any defensive functions (fig. 8).²⁵ Most likely it was built as a ceremonial gate that stood in the middle of the street connecting the secular and religious domains of the Ayyubids.²⁶ The Ayyubid palace in the citadel was, then, linked to the city and the southern suburb on a number of levels: physically through the tunnel and the southern road; ceremonially through the *dār al-‘adl* and the Bab al-Maqam; pietistically through the Abrahamic connection; and religiously through the double madrasas of al-Zahir Ghazi, one facing the citadel and the other near the Maqam Ibrahim.

*Precedents for the Palace
and Its Contemporaries*

The palace complex is located in the southern part of the citadel to the right of the ascending ramp that begins at the entrance block and ends at the mosque of al-Zahir above. Before reaching it, one has to pass through the colossal entrance block, one of the most impressive gates in the medieval world (fig. 9). Built in its entirety by Ghazi between 1189 and 1214,²⁷ this entrance block has three monumental gates, two of which, the Gate of the Serpents and the Gate of the Two Lions, are interesting for their figural sculpture.²⁸ The first gate has inscribed in its voussoir a relief sculpture in the form of two knotted and intertwined dragons, each with two heads (fig. 10). This is one of four roughly contemporary gates with intertwined dragons on them,²⁹ suggesting that this protective emblem was thought in some way to contribute to the power, impregnability, or even good fortune of the structure. The fantastic and ferocious aspects of the dragons would have enhanced the imagery of power, while their mysterious knotting would have suggested a magical apotropaic symbolism.³⁰

The third gate is flanked by a pair of recumbent lions which jut out like consoles from the masonry of the door jambs. They have schematic features typical of sculptural representations of lions in medieval Islamic art, such as those on the Fountain of the Lions at the Alhambra Palace. Lions, like dragons, were commonly used in medieval Islamic sculptural ornament, including several examples on military and palatial monuments in Anatolia and Aleppo (see Redford, figs. 1, 8, 11).³¹ Indeed, their use in pairs as guardian figures can be traced back to the ancient Near East, one of the earliest instances being the two terra-cotta lions flanking the entrance to the early-second-millennium palace at Tell Harmal.³² All this suggests that lions were associated with kingship and royal glory, which is quite appropriate in the case of the Aleppo citadel, given their proximity to the palace.

The palace is entered from the west through a monumental portal fronted by a fairly spacious area that may have served a ceremonial function. Though traditional in form, the portal is striking in its richness and complexity, combining as it does striped masonry, joggled voussoirs, and geometric ornament within the standard format of the muqarnas entry (fig. 11). It consists of a recessed door whose jambs and lintel are made of

joggled voussoirs, which are all overlaid by a network of geometric ornament. A superb muqarnas vault of four tiers and a scalloped half-dome rises above the lintel and is crowned by a panel of black and white stone marquetry. Two rectangular windows topped by a braided motif are symmetrically placed on either side of the portal.

Although related to the portals of contemporary religious structures, it differs from them in its higher degree of elaboration and complexity. In fact, the only other comparable portal known to me is that of the Ayyubid palace at Qal'at Sahyun in the 'Alawite mountains³³ (fig. 12). In addition to their overall formal similarities, both portals contain an element of structural mystification, especially apparent in their joggled voussoirs. Although too small a sample for any definite conclusions, the occurrence of such suspended forms in other palatial contexts suggests that they may have had royal or authoritative associations.

The palace comprises a rectangle, approximately 45 meters north-south and 40 meters east-west, which is bordered on its western and northern sides by access streets (fig. 13). Three fairly distinct functions are contained within this rectangle: a palace in the northern two-thirds; a bath in the southeastern corner; and what appears to be guard rooms and arsenals in the southern third. The palace proper consists of two cruciform units of unequal size centered around squarish courtyards, the smaller being about 4.5 meters per side and the larger 9.5 meters.

Much has been written about the problem of cruciform plans, particularly in reference to the madrasa, although the form has not been discussed within the context of palatial architecture. At the center of the controversy regarding cruciform four-iwan plans is Creswell's theory about the strict correspondence between the four Sunni sects and the number of iwans in Cairene madrasas.³⁴ Critics of this hypothesis have stressed the Persian ancestry of this plan, seeing it originally in the vernacular architecture of eastern Iran.³⁵ But this hypothesis is equally problematic in at least two other respects. The first is that it rests on the faulty assumption that vernacular architecture is changeless, so that the existence of four-iwan village houses in the late nineteenth century suffices as a proof for their existence in the tenth century. The second is that the hypothesis is based on a transmission from vernacular to monumental, the opposite of the far more likely process of vernacular architecture appropriating

the basic design idea of contemporary monumental architecture, perhaps that of an important palace.³⁶

What is missing in all these four-iwan hypotheses is any mention of palatial architecture as a possible prototype. This omission is especially striking when we consider the relatively large number of extant palaces from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods and the fairly continuous history of four iwans and other quadripartite forms in their plans. Such a quadripartite division is first seen in the Parthian palace at Assur (first to third centuries A.D.).³⁷ The type becomes especially common in early Islamic palaces, including the seventh-century *dār al-imāra* at Kufa, the Umayyad palace at the Amman citadel,³⁸ the palace of Abu Muslim at Merv from 750–55,³⁹ and the so-called Victory Monument of Harun al-Rashid (786–809) at Hiraqlah⁴⁰ (fig. 14). The last two examples represent a variant of cruciform planning, in which four iwans converge on a square chamber that is usually covered by a dome.

Both variants of cruciform design are found at Samarra (833–92), whose palaces display a bewildering array of innovations and original combinations. In all five primary palaces—Jawsaq al-Khaqani, Qasr al-Jiss, Qasr al-Haruni, Qasr Balkuwara (fig. 15), and Qasr al-ʿAshiq—a cruciform design occupies the center formed by a domed throne hall with four axial iwans.⁴¹ It should also be added that, whereas none of these palaces has the traditional four-iwan plan with an open court, the plan nevertheless does exist in the official architecture of the period, as is demonstrated by a recently excavated example, the so-called resthouse of Caliph al-Mutawakkil. That building was located adjacent to the mihrab of the Abu Dulaf mosque and consisted of two courtyards, each with four iwans.⁴²

It is clear from this brief look at early Islamic palatial architecture that cruciform plans played a dominant role in their design, occupying the most privileged part of the palace and imparting a sense of order and monumentality to the courtyard form. What functional or symbolic values lie behind this formal order? And how did these ordered forms in turn contribute to the iconography of power? The quadripartite division as a symbol of universal power is deeply rooted in the ancient Near East, where it can be traced back to the time of the Akkadian sovereign Naramsin (ca. 2250 B.C.), who called himself the “King of the Four Quarters of the World.”⁴³

Although no medieval Muslim caliph or

sovereign is known to have borne this exact title,⁴⁴ the underlying concept of universal rule is quite explicit in the form of the Round City of Baghdad,⁴⁵ and somewhat less so in the ceremonial practices of the Abbasid caliphs and their successors and emulators, the Ghaznavid kings. cursory references in Hilal al-Sabi⁴⁶ and somewhat more detailed ones in Baihaqi⁴⁷ paint a picture of a formalized court ceremonial in which the caliph is described as surrounded on the four directions by contingents of honor guards (*ghulāms*). Within the fourfold composition of the throne hall, contingents of *ghulāms*, whose distinctive clothing and headdress made specific references to different parts of the Islamic world, defended the right, left, front, and rear of the sovereign.⁴⁸ It seems fairly certain, therefore, that the cruciform divisions of the courtyards and throne halls at Lashkar-i Bazar and somewhat earlier at Samarra played an important role in organizing the form of the ceremonial and in codifying the roles of its participants. Conversely, the complex ceremony and its highly conventional character would seem to recharge the meaning of an ancient symbol, converting it from a static symbol of royalty to a dynamic attribute of authority.

Given the royal and authoritarian associations of the four-iwan plan, its predominant use in medieval Islamic palaces comes as no surprise. In fact, it is used in eight other palaces that I know of, ranging in date from ca. 1170 to 1260.⁴⁹ These are: the so-called Qasr al-Banat in Raqqa (fig. 16), possibly built by Nur al-Din;⁵⁰ the early-thirteenth-century ʿAjami palace in Aleppo (fig. 17); the Ayyubid palaces at Qalʿat Sahyun⁵¹ and Qalʿat Najm near Raqqa; the so-called *sarāy* in the Bosra citadel, the Ayyubid palace at the Kerak citadel, the late Ayyubid palace on Roda Island,⁵² and the Artuqid palace in the Diyarbakir citadel.⁵³ Of course, the essential difference between these palaces and their early Islamic predecessors is their reduced scale, a question to which I will return.

The northern façade of the Aleppo palace consists of an iwan flanked by narrow doors surmounted by arched windows, a composition repeated by the eastern and western façades (fig. 18). This tripartite composition is nearly standard in this period; it appears in all the eight medieval palaces. The same composition is also used in pious buildings, including madrasas and *bimāristāns* beginning with their earliest examples in Syria: the madrasa of Gümüshtekin in

Bosra (1136) and the Bimaristan al-Nuri in Aleppo, datable to ca. 1150.

Tripartite courtyard façades have a long history in Middle Eastern architecture; the composition is first seen in Parthian temples and palaces, such as the Parthian palace at Assur.⁵⁴ Possibly originating in Roman gates and triumphal arches, this composition is combined in Parthian and Sasanian architecture with the iwan form. Subsequently, tripartite iwan compositions are documented at a number of early Islamic palaces, including those at Kufa, Ukhaider, Samarra, and Lashkar-i Bazar, which is known to have been modeled after Samarran prototypes. In view of the pivotal importance of Samarran and east Persian palaces for the overall development of the medieval Islamic palace, one may propose that the tripartite façade of the latter owes its origin to classical Islamic prototypes.

But a closer and somewhat more concrete prototype is provided by the early Christian churches of northern Syria, which contain several examples of this composition in their façades and, even more closely, in some of their interior divisions.⁵⁵ The medieval specimens closely resemble their late-antique predecessors in the quality of their stonework and the use of lintels, but differ from them in the use of the iwan for the central space. It would therefore seem that the tripartite-façade composition as known in medieval Syria and the Jazira was ultimately based on the fusion of the eastern tripartite-iwan composition with the local architectural tradition of northern Syria.

To what extent can we attribute any specific meaning to this highly ubiquitous form? Although one might reasonably argue that the Parthian palace at Assur still retained some of the specific meanings associated with the triumphal arch, the medieval examples are too chronologically and culturally removed to allow for any such associations. At this point the most we can say is that by the middle of the twelfth century this form had become one of the necessary elements of a royal palace or aristocratic residence, perhaps even an important component of palatial iconography.

Also part of this aristocratic iconography may have been the elaboration of the voussoirs of the arch framing the main iwan, as we see in a single outstanding example in Aleppo, about 200 meters west of the citadel (fig. 19). This site is commonly called the *maqḥakh* (kitchen) of al-ʿAjami, but there is no doubt that it was originally a palace, perhaps belonging to the Banu al-ʿAjami, a noble family of Aleppo.⁵⁶ The voussoir of the arch has

here been transformed into two staggered rows of arrow-shaped pendants, creating a powerful and luxurious effect. Although there is no supporting archaeological evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that the arch of the northern iwan of the palace was elaborated in like manner.

The northern iwan is also distinguished from all the others by having in its rear wall a muqarnas vault beneath which once flowed a *shādirwān* fountain (fig. 18). Only traces of this fountain exist, but a passage in a later medieval text describes how the water flowed down a marble-inlaid *shādirwān*, into a channel beneath the iwan, and finally emerged as a water jet in the middle of a pool.⁵⁷ This type of fountain was quite common in medieval Islamic palaces from Iran to North Africa.⁵⁸ In addition to its association with images of paradise and fertility, the elaborate use of water in palatial courtyards must also have reflected the power and sophistication of the patron. In the specific case of Ghazi, this fountain also celebrates his outstanding efforts at expanding the underground water network in the city and within the citadel, where he was responsible for enlarging a vast underground cistern.⁵⁹

It becomes clear from this discussion of five components of the medieval palace—sculptural ornament, muqarnas portal, four-iwan plan, tripartite courtyard façade, and *shādirwān* fountain—that they were all part of the repertory of significant forms in medieval Islamic palaces and that, with the exception of the muqarnas portal, they all echoed well-established formal types in early Islamic palaces.⁶⁰ Indeed, the correspondences between the two kinds of palaces are at times so striking that they have almost led us to forget about the crucial difference of scale. This essential difference can best be understood by comparing in table form the courtyard dimensions of some early and medieval Islamic palaces (table 1).

The average courtyard dimensions of a medieval palace come to approximately 7.57 x 7.25 meters; those of an early Islamic palace come to a gigantic 62.17 x 42.50 meters. Dividing the corresponding average linear dimensions of the two groups, we get an average linear ratio of approximately 1 to 8 (8.21) for the longer (usually north-south) dimension and 1 to 6 (5.85) for the shorter one. What this in effect means is that the surface area of the courtyards in early Islamic palaces is on the average 48 times that of medieval ones, a striking disparity that clearly underlines

TABLE 1. Courtyard Dimensions of Some Early and Medieval Islamic Palaces

<i>Medieval Palaces</i>		<i>Early Palaces</i>	
<i>name</i>	<i>court dimension</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>court dimension</i>
Banat	9.95 x 9.15 m	Kufa	37 x 37 m
Sahyun	6.65 x 6.73	Ukhaidir	32.70 x 29
Aleppo	9.72 x 9.49	Jawsaq	110 x 62
Diyarbakir	3.50 x 3.80	Balkuwara	105 x 67
‘Ajami	9.10 x 9.90	al-‘Ashiq	40 x 23
Najm	7.05 x 7.05	Lashkari So. Palace	60.5 x 47.5
Bosra	8.05 x 6.38	Ghazna Palace	50 x 23
Roda	6.50 x 5.50	Mus‘ud III	
<i>average linear dimension</i>	7.57 x 7.25	<i>average linear dimension</i>	62.17 x 42.50
<i>average area</i>	54.88 sq. m	<i>average area</i>	2642.23 sq. m

the basic differences between the two groups of palaces and hence between the two periods in which they were built.

This difference in scale is so startling that it should lead us to reevaluate all the implied similarities and the overall relationship of the two classes of palaces to each other. Clearly, what we have is not a relationship of equals, but rather one of petty dynasties looking at a distant golden age—ninth-century Samarra or tenth-century Baghdad—which they are unable to supersede and yet unwilling to ignore.⁶¹ The palaces they built were not just miniature versions of classical Islamic palaces, but essentially constituted a new palace type, some of whose most important forms and images were derived from the past. The originality of these palaces stems not so much from their smaller size as from the fact that this down-scaling in itself seems to have led to the sharpening of the appropriated images and the enhancing of their iconography. This is easily observable in the precision of the plans, the complexity of portals, the dramatic use of water, and the employment of a variety of architectural

devices, such as muqarnas and pendant arches, whose desired effect was to induce wonder and amazement in the viewer.

I have attempted in this paper to place the Ayyubid palace in Aleppo within a complex matrix of relationships that included its urban context, its typological parentage, the symbolic associations of some of its forms, and its links with contemporary and classical Islamic palaces. What distinguished this palace from all its cognates was not so much its formal qualities as its contextual relations, both inside and outside the citadel. Its overall significance derived equally from its formal and typological associations and from its multiple links with Aleppo, its history, its patrians, and its general population.

Viewed from this multifaceted perspective, the citadel appears less impregnable and isolated and more firmly linked with the city. Through overt and subtle means, it broadcasts political and religious messages that were heard throughout the town. Conversely, the soft and luxurious image of the palace and even its smallish size are partly modified by the apotropaic and authoritative symbolism of its gates and the royal associations of its plan and forms.

To some extent, however, the contradictions between the image and intent of citadel and palace remain unresolved. And this may be seen as a reflection of the special situation of the Ayyubid dynasty of Aleppo, an alien dynasty that, perhaps more than any other, attempted to integrate its authority with that of the city.⁶² Painfully aware of their *arriviste* status and of the limitations of brute force, the Ayyubids of Aleppo seem to have left no stone unturned in their attempts to establish the foundations of their rule while effectively and justly dealing with an urban population. The measure of power and dominion that they attained was not simply handed to them through their noble lineage and their links with the Abbasid court, but was constructed through historical, social, pietistic, and symbolic means. The resiliency of this construction ensured a century of prosperity and relative stability for Aleppo, but its inherent weakness could not withstand the onslaught of the Mongols and the more centralized rule of the Mamluks.

Notes

1. Cited in ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-aʿlāq al-khaṣīrah fi dhikr umarāʾ al-shām waʾl-jazīra*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Dominique Sourdel (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1953), 170 (hereafter Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*); my translation.
2. No serious study exists on the Ayyubid dynasty of Aleppo. Meanwhile, see Claude Cahen, “Ayyūbids,” *EI2*, 1:796–807; and R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1977), esp. 98–123, passim.
3. The need to provide nuances for this too rigid formulation has already been suggested by urban historians. According to Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 78: “Regime and society did not confront each other, reacting only on the interface between them; rather they permeated each other, the stronger pressing its way through the structure of the latter.”
4. See, for example, S. A. El-Ali, “The Foundation of Baghdad,” in *The Islamic City*, ed. S. M. Stern and Albert Hourani (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), 87–102.
5. J. M. Rogers, “Samarra: A Study in Medieval Town Planning,” in *The Islamic City*, 119–56, has brilliantly discussed the consequences of the separation of caliphal palaces from the city. For a recent discussion of the three stages in Islamic urbanism, see Jere L. Bacharach, “Administrative Complexes, Palaces, Citadels: Changes in the Loci of Muslim Rule,” in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. I. A. Bierman, R. Abou-El-Haj, and D. Preziosi (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1991), 111–28.
6. This is quite explicitly stated by Ibn Shaddād (*Ḥalab*, 29) who adds that the Mirdasids (1023–79) established a practice (*sunna*) that was followed by later princes of the city.
7. For the inscriptions of this sovereign, see Gaston Wiet, “Une inscription de Malik Zāhir Ghāzī à Latakīeh,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale de Caire* 30 (1931): 273–92.
8. Farīd Shāfiʿī, “The Mashhad al-Juyūshī (Archaeological Notes and Studies),” in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1965), 251 and 246–52, passim. Shāfiʿī’s view has been partly refuted by Jonathan Bloom in *Minaret, Symbol of Islam*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 140–42, who offers a pious interpretation for the mosque itself and a symbolic interpretation for the minaret. Bloom’s refutation of Shāfiʿī rests largely on the reference to the building as “*mashhad*” and on the choice of Qurʾānic inscriptions in it, but generally ignores its highly unusual form and placement. For these reasons, I find Shāfiʿī’s interpretation more convincing.
9. Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, deuxième partie: Syrie du Nord. Inscriptions et Monuments d’Alep*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Cairo, 1955), 125–31, has suggested that the marble revetment and all the carved wood paneling except the mihrab belong to the periods of al-Zahir Ghazi and his son al-ʿAziz Muhammad.
10. For Ibrahim’s links with Aleppo, see Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:3–5. According to a widely accepted legend, the very name of the city, Halab, was related to Ibrahim’s milking of his goats (*ḥalaba Ibrāhīm*) in the vicinity of the citadel; see, for example, Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*, 15.
11. Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:180.
12. This would make it the only extant two-*madhhab* madrasa in Aleppo, a type that was in any case quite rare in Syria. Hanafis and Shafīʿis were by far the two most important Sunni sects in Aleppo, a fact that is clearly reflected in the large number of madrasas (22 for Hanafis and 21 for Shafīʿis) that were built for them during the Ayyubid period and the negligible number dedicated to the other two sects. See the statistical tables in K. A. C. Creswell, “The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 21 (1922): 1–54; updated in Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2:122–23. See also J. Lauffray, “Une madrasa ayyoubide de la Syrie du Nord. La Soultaniya d’Alep,” *Les Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes* 3 (1953): 49–66.
13. The earliest known occurrence of such a mausoleum is in the funerary madrasa of Nur al-Din in Damascus (1172), which may have set a precedent for later Ayyubid and Mamluk funerary madrasas.
14. M. Rāgheb al-Ṭabbākh, *ʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 2nd ed. (Aleppo: Dār al-Qalam, 1988), 3: 13–14. In *Alep*, pl. LVIII, Sauvaget clearly placed the “palais de justice” west of the entrance block. This is curious because in an earlier and little known publication entitled “L’enceinte primitif de la Ville d’Alep,” *Mélanges de l’Institut français de Damas* 1 (1929): 148–49, he quite accurately places the *dār al-ʿadl* east of the entrance block, within the gates built for it by al-Zahir Ghazi. Sauvaget’s error, however,

- was copied by Dominique Sourdel, "Esquisse topographique d'Alep intra-muros à l'époque ayyoubide," *Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes* 2 (1952): fig. 2.
15. Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:15–16 and fig. 5.
 16. This may sound strange, but it seems to be the only likely explanation for moving a short section of the eastern wall of the city a distance of no more than 40 meters to the east. See Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:15–16.
 17. These details are culled from Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*, 17, 21, and 25.
 18. Contrary to what one would have expected, this opening is located above instead of below the glacis of the citadel, suggesting that the vault of the connecting tunnel would have been at least partly visible above the glacis. This is indeed a problematic and unsatisfactory solution, but it seems to be dictated by the archaeology of the site.
 19. A. A. Duri, "Baghdād," *EI*2, 1:898. For the topography of medieval Baghdad, see also K. J. al-Duri, "Society and Economy of Iraq under the Seljuqs (1055–1160 A.D.) with Special Reference to Baghdad," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970, 44–94.
 20. *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings, The Siyāsat-nāma or Siyar al-Mulk of Niẓām al-Mulk*, trans. Hubert Drake (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 14.
 21. A. K. S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Empires*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 205, quoting the *Fars-Nāma*, ed. Guy Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., vol. 1 (London, 1921), 34.
 22. Georges Duby, ed., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2, *Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 300–302.
 23. Although courts of grievances (*mazālim*) are known to have existed since the Abbasid period, if not before, the Arabic sources are unanimous in attributing the institution of the *dār al-ʿadl* to Nur al-Din, who built the first one in Damascus soon after 1154. See Nikita Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Din*, 3 vols. (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1967), 3: 843–47, where the author also discusses the specific allusions to justice in the titlature of Nur al-Din, *al-malik al-ʿādil*. Nur al-Din's motives for the creation of the *dār al-ʿadl* are discussed in Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ed. M. Hilmi Ahmad (Cairo, 1956), 17–18. See also Yasser al-Tabbaa, "The Architectural Patronage of Nūr al-Dīn, 1146–1174," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1982, 219–25. The institution seems also to have existed in Mosul during the Zengid dynasty; see Rashed al-Jumayly, *Dawlat al-atābihah fi'l-Mawṣil baʿda Imād al-Dīn Zankī* (Beirut, 1970), 247–48.
 24. A related, though not identical, clandestine means of surveillance is reported for the Madrasa al-Mustansiriyya in Baghdad. There, it took the form of an elevated window (*shubbāk*) that directly overlooked the lecture hall below, allowing the caliph to eavesdrop without being seen. See Hussein Amin, *al-madrasa al-Mustansiriyya* (Baghdad, 1960), 142.
 25. Straight tripartite gates were not built during the Islamic Middle Ages, and even ones remaining from the Roman period (e.g., the Bab Sharqi in Damascus) were rebuilt with a single bent entrance (see Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:68–69).
 26. This gate seems to have enjoyed a ceremonial role until almost the very end of the Mamluk period, as we can deduce from the two round shields added to it by Barsbay between 1428 and 1437. I was not able to find any textual descriptions for this ceremonial.
 27. These dates can be surmised from the information provided by Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*, 17 and 24–25.
 28. For the chronology of this gate complex, see Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:87–91. Meanwhile, it suffices to note that the entire superstructure above the two Ayyubid towers belongs to the late Mamluk period, when it served as the palace of the Mamluk governors of Aleppo. This palace, which still awaits study, contained a very prominent and lavishly decorated *shubbāk* that may have served a ceremonial function. It seems fairly certain that the original Ayyubid entrance block did not contain such a window for appearances.
 29. These are (1) the now-destroyed Talisman Gate in Baghdad, which depicts a seated figure (presumably the caliph al-Nasir) grabbing in each hand the tongue of a rather ferocious dragon whose serpentine body fills the rest of the archivolt (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris Gebiet*, 4 vols. [Berlin: D. Reimer, 1920], 2:153–56); (2) the gate of a khan in Sinjar from the reign of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (1219–59) depicting on each half of the archivolt a nimbed and bearded man attacking a knotted dragon with a spear (Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, 1:13–15); (3) a fragmentary example that once decorated a portal in the Konya citadel, showing a knotted double-

- headed dragon with a ferociously open mouth at each end of its scaly body: discussed by Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Süsleme ve el Sanatları* (Ankara: Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1978), 46, fig. 32; (4) another fragmentary example in a reused state in the western wall of the citadel of Damascus.
30. Cf. Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:259–60, where he suggests a similar symbolism for any of the many knotted forms common in this period. Willy Hartner in “The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon’s Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies,” *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938): 113–54, has argued for an astrological interpretation of the dragon in Islamic art as the eclipse monster, but his interpretation seems to work best in a very restricted context.
 31. See, for example, Herzfeld, *Alep*, pls. VIII and IX.
 32. Pierre Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1980), fig. 446.
 33. The only study so far published on this curious palace (wrongly called a hammam locally) is Maurice Ecochard, “Notes d’archéologie musulmane, 1: Stéréotomie de deux portails du XII^e siècle,” *Bulletin des études orientales* 7–8 (1937–38): 98–112. Although undated, this palace is undoubtedly Ayyubid and possibly contemporary with that of the Aleppo citadel. Sahyun (the Crusader name is Soane) was taken in 1186 by Saladin who gave it as *iqṭāʿ* to the amir Nasir al-Din Mankuras ibn Khumartekin and his descendents, who ruled it until 1272.
 34. Creswell, “The Origin of the Cruciform Plan,” 104–33.
 35. These views are summarized in André Godard, “L’origine de la madrasah, de la mosquée et du caravansérail à quatre iwans,” *Ars Islamica* 15–16 (1951): 1–9, and, more recently, in Robert Hillenbrand, “Madrasa,” *EI2*, 5:esp. 1136–40.
 36. The only author to have questioned the validity of the vernacular connection has been Janine Sourdel-Thomine in her two excellent articles: “La mosquée et la madrasa,” *Cahiers du monde médiéval*, 1970:114–15; and “Renouvellement et tradition dans l’architecture saljūqide,” in *Islamic Civilization, 950–1150*, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1973), 256–62.
 37. Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), fig. 21.
 38. The new plan by Alastair Northedge is illustrated in J. W. Allan, “New Additions to the New Edition,” *Muqarnas* 8 (1991), fig. 4.
 39. See Creswell’s reconstruction in *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 2, fig. 1.
 40. Kassem Toueir, “*Natāʾij al-tanqīb fi Hiraqlah*,” in *Les Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes* 33, 1 (1983): 99–112.
 41. These plans are illustrated in Alastair Northedge, “Creswell, Herzfeld and Samarra,” *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 74–93.
 42. Northedge, “Creswell, Herzfeld and Samarra,” fig. 10.
 43. Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Hammondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1970), 84 f. Although no work of art from the time of Naramsin represents this conception of kingship in an emblematic fashion, Frankfort suggests that it was nevertheless “expressed” in some of his works. Indeed, the closest that we seem to come to a symbolic representation of this concept might be in the depiction of Assyrian camps as a circle or an oval divided into four quadrants. See Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East*, fig. 599.
 44. Somewhat related Muslim titles are *sultān al-arḍ thāt al-ṭūl wa-l-ʿarḍ* (“sultan of the long and wide earth”) and *malik umarāʾ al-mashriq wa-l-maghreb* (“king of the princes of the east and the west”); cited in Herzfeld, *Alep*, 1:112–13. Furthermore, the concept of the “master of the world” occurs rather frequently in the *Siyāsāt-nāma*, esp. 9–13.
 45. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 69–70. H. P. L’Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1953), 12–15. See also, Charles Wendell, “Baghdād: *Imago Mundi* and Other Foundation-Lore,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 2 (1971): 99–128.
 46. *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa*, ed. Mikhāʾil ʿAwwād (Baghdad, 1964), 91.
 47. Abuʾl-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Q. Ghanī and A. A. Fayyād (Tehran, 1945), 539–41. These passages are quoted at length by C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1973), 135–38. Bosworth also concludes, p. 104, that “the literary descriptions . . . of these levées have in recent years received striking confirmation from the researches of the French Archaeological delegation in Afghanistan in 1949–51 at the Ghaznavid palace of Lashkar-i Bāzār at Bust.”

48. Baihaqī, as translated by Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, 136, states: "All around the hall, standing against the panels, were the household ghulāms (*ghulāmān-i khāṣṣagī*) with robes of Saqlaṭūn, Baghdādī and Iṣfāhānī cloth, two-pointed caps, gold-mounted waist sashes, pendants and golden maces in their hands. On the dais itself, to both left and right of the throne, were ten ghulāms, with four-sectioned caps on their heads, heavy, bejewelled waist sashes and bejewelled sword belts. In the middle of the hall [*serai*] were two lines of ghulāms; one line was standing against the wall, wearing four-sectioned caps. In their hands they held arrows and swords, and they had quivers and bow-cases. There was another line, possibly down the centre of the hall, with two-pointed caps, heavy, silver-mounted waist sashes, pendants and silver maces in their hands. The ghulāms of both these lines all wore cloaks of Shushtarī brocade." This ceremony was immediately followed by a feast for all soldiers and gentry and terminated by a smaller majlis that lasted until the evening prayer.
49. The one discrepancy in this consistent typological sequence appears most unexpectedly in the Damascus citadel, whose palace—if it is indeed that—has been identified by Sauvaget as a series of interconnected two-storied chambers in the southwestern corner of the enclosure. See Jean Sauvaget, "La citadelle de Damas," *Syria*, 1930:217–18 and figs. 21 and 22.
50. Kassem Toueir, "Der Qaṣr al-Banāt in ar-Raqqa. Ausgrabungen, Rekonstruktion und Wiederaufbau (1977–1982)," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 297–319; and Robert Hillenbrand, "Eastern Islamic Influences in Syria: Raqqa and Qal'at Ja'bar in the Later 12th Century," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazīra, 1100–1250*, ed. Julian Raby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 21–48.
51. Ecochard, "Stéréotomie de deux portails du XII^e siècle," 98–112.
52. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, fig. 38.
53. Oktay Aslanapa, "Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakir," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 12 (1962): 115–28.
54. Roman Ghirshman, *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.–A.D. 651* (New York: Golden Press, 1962), 32. At Hatra, another important Parthian site, the tripartite form is also used as a gate and in the exterior façades of temples; Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, 35–36.
55. Some of these are illustrated in Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord*, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1953).
56. No less than thirteen members of Banu al-ʿAjami are mentioned in Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*. They were builders of mosques, madrasas, khanaqahs, baths, and palaces. They seem to have inhabited the privileged quarter between the Great Mosque and the citadel, where their two extant monuments—the Madrasa al-Sharafiyya and the *matbakh* of al-ʿAjami—are located.
57. Jean Sauvaget, "Les trésors d'ors de Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami," (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1950), 165.
58. See my "Toward an Interpretation of the Use of Water in Islamic Courtyards and Courtyard Gardens," *Journal of Garden History* 7, 3 (1987): 197–220.
59. See Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*, 144–50, for a detailed description of Ghazi's expansion of Aleppo's water network.
60. Although no trace remains of any painted decoration in the Ayyubid palace, it may once have existed. A short passage in Ibn Shaddād, *Ḥalab*, 26, describes an earlier palace on the same site that was called *dār al-shukhūṣ* (house of images) because of the many images decorating it.
61. The Ayyubids were tradition-bound in many other respects, including the adoption of classical poetic genres (see, for example, A. F. Hayb, *al-Ḥarakah al-shiʿriyyah zaman al-ayyūbiyyīn fi Ḥalab al-shahbāʾ* [Kuwait: Muʿalla, 1987], 167 ff.) and the use of proper names with historical associations (e.g., Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Yusuf and ʿIsa).
62. The acculturation of the Ayyubids to local Arab culture stands in some contrast to the exclusionary policies of other alien dynasties, including the Rum Seljuqs and especially the Mamluks. Alone among these dynasties the Ayyubids adopted Arabic names, conversed and wrote in Arabic, and a number of princes even became proficient in poetry and theology. On the contrary, there is very little likelihood that the Rum Seljuqs ever learned Kurdish or Armenian, the main languages in Anatolia until recently. While a few Mamluks were indeed given Arabic names, the majority were not. In any case, their well-known exclusionary policies stood firmly in the way of their integration into Egyptian society.



FIG. 1. Aleppo, Citadel. Distant view from southwest.

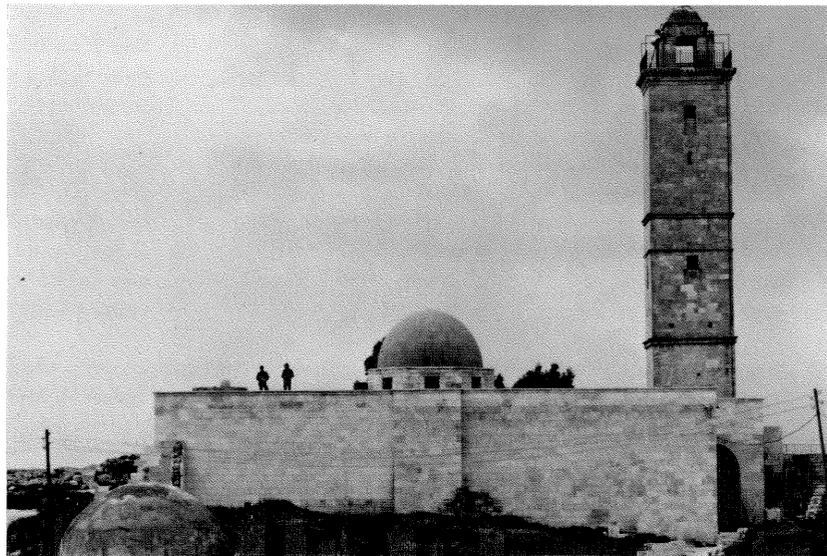


FIG. 2. Aleppo, Citadel. Mosque, 1214, from south.

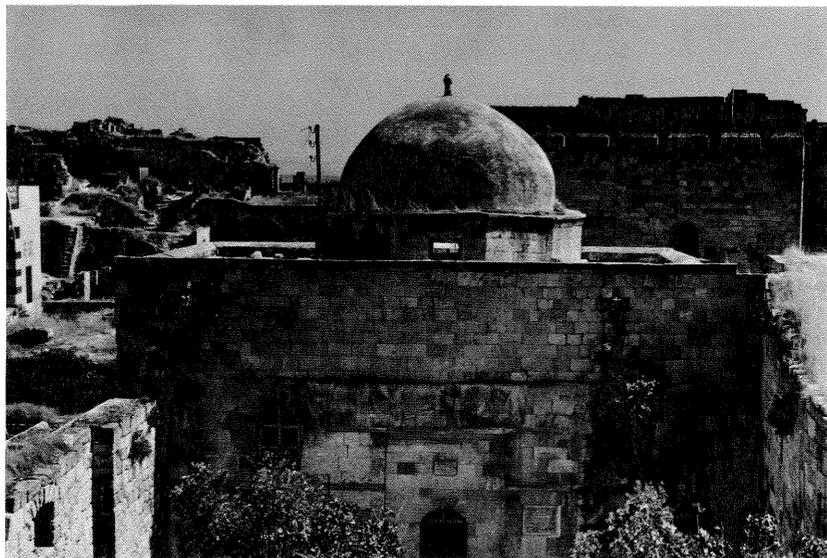


FIG. 3. Aleppo, Citadel. Maqam Ibrahim, 1168, from north.

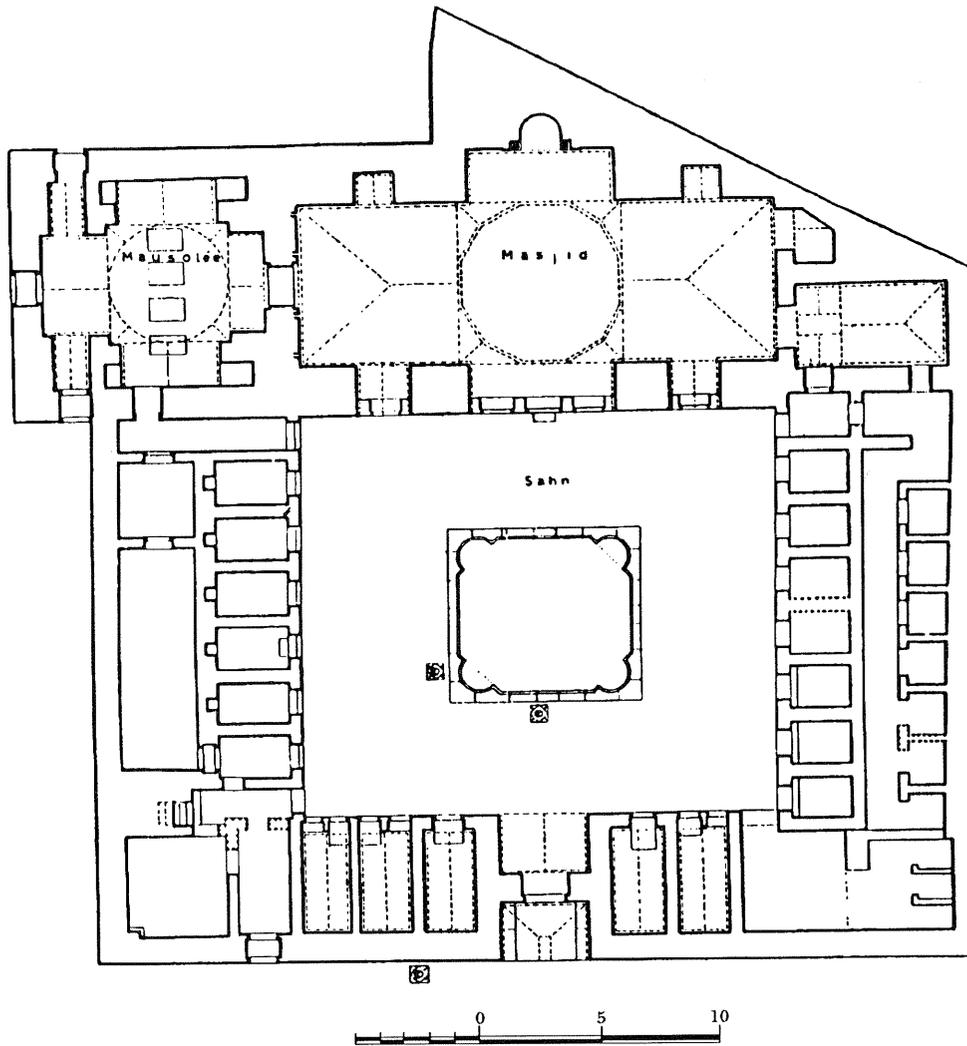


FIG. 4. Aleppo, Madrasa al-Sultaniyya, completed 1221. Plan. After Lauffray, fig. 1.

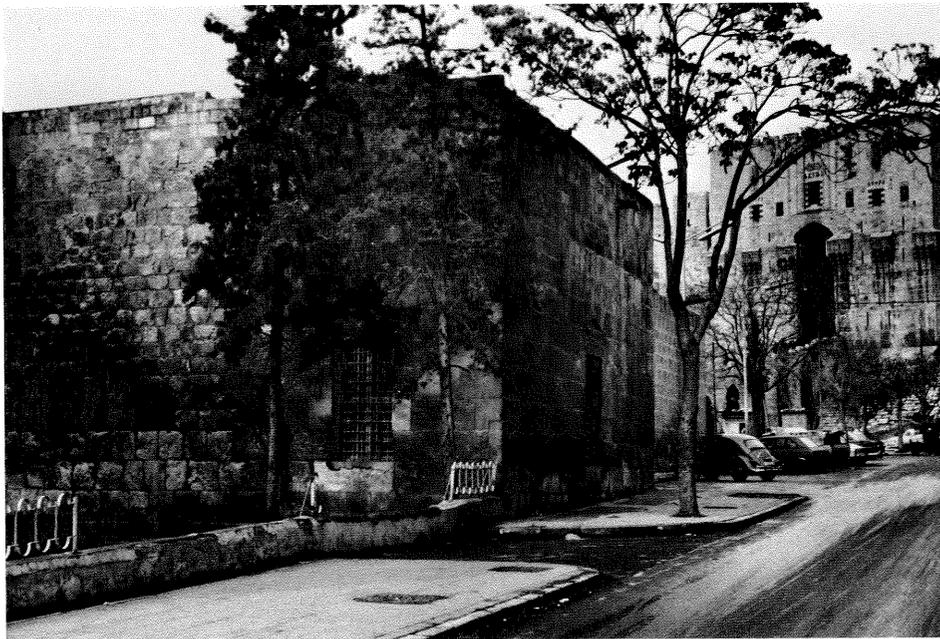


FIG. 5. Aleppo, Madrasa al-Sultaniyya. Mausoleum of al-Zahir Ghazi with entrance block in background.

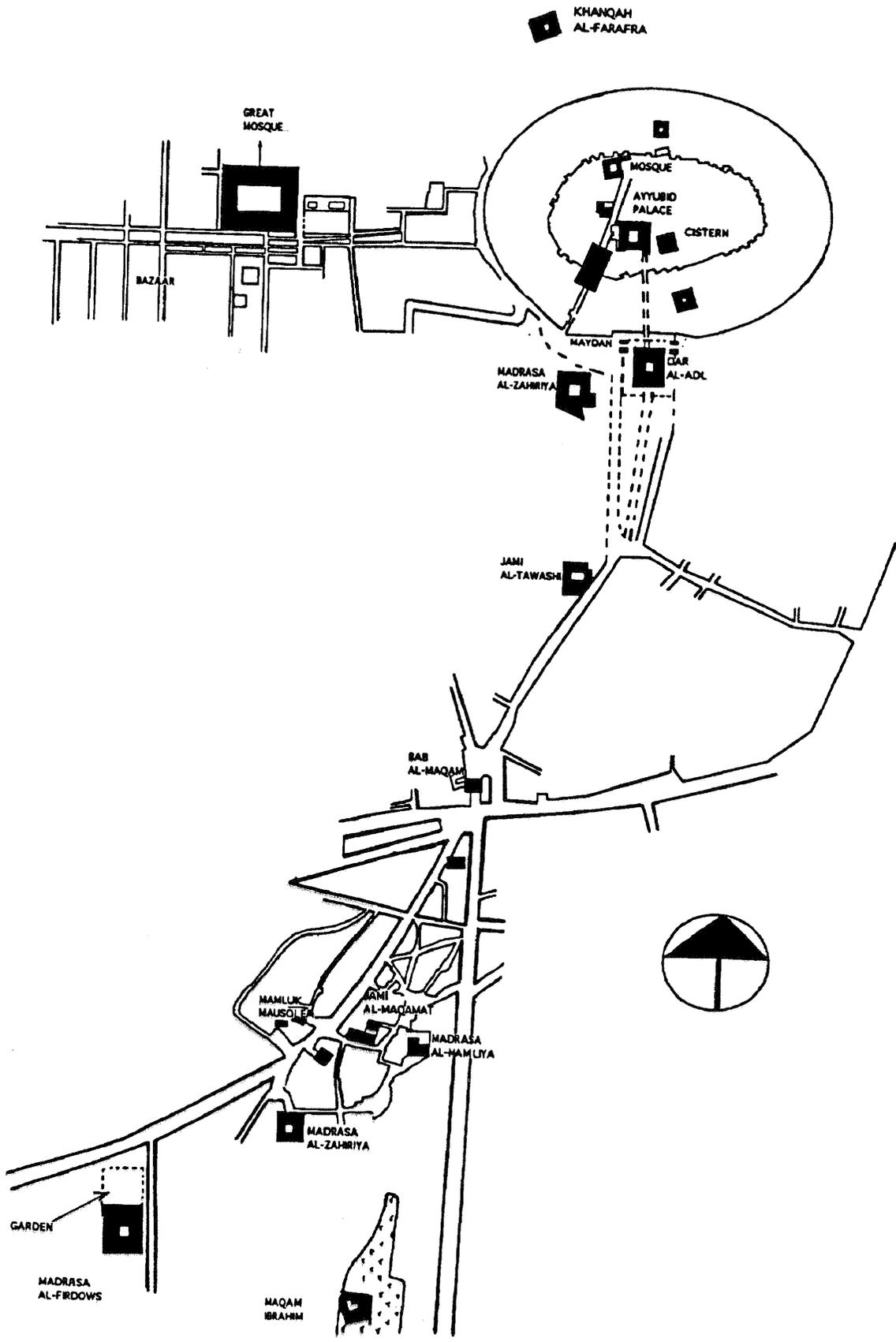


Fig. 6. Aleppo. Citadel and Southern Quarter.

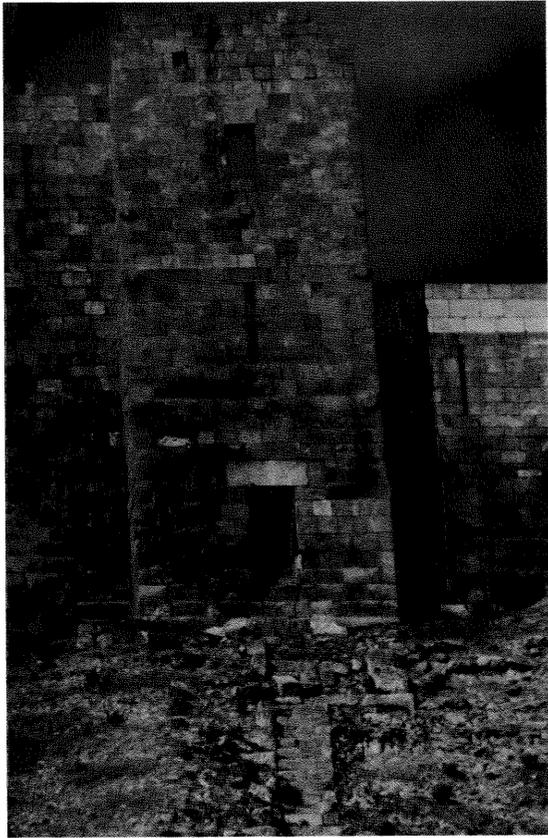


FIG. 7. Aleppo, Citadel. Opening to tunnel between palace and *dār al-ʿadl*.



FIG. 8. Aleppo, Bab al-Maqam. Ayyubid with late Mamluk repairs.

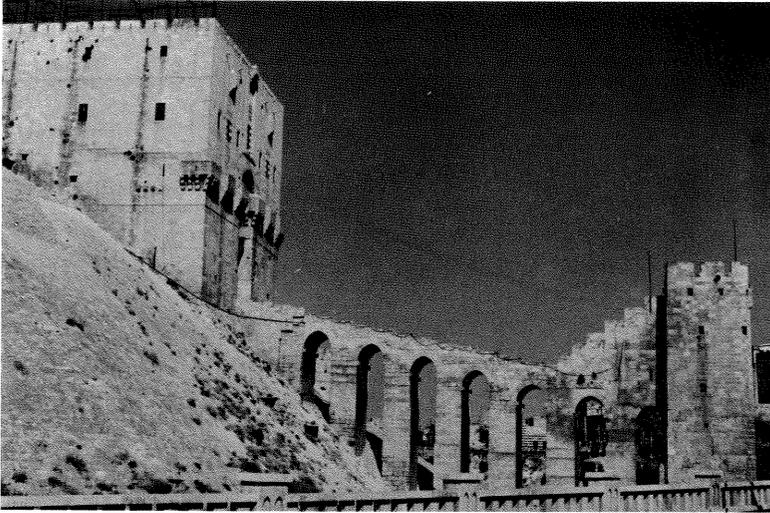


FIG. 9. Aleppo, Citadel. Entrance block, 13th–15th centuries.

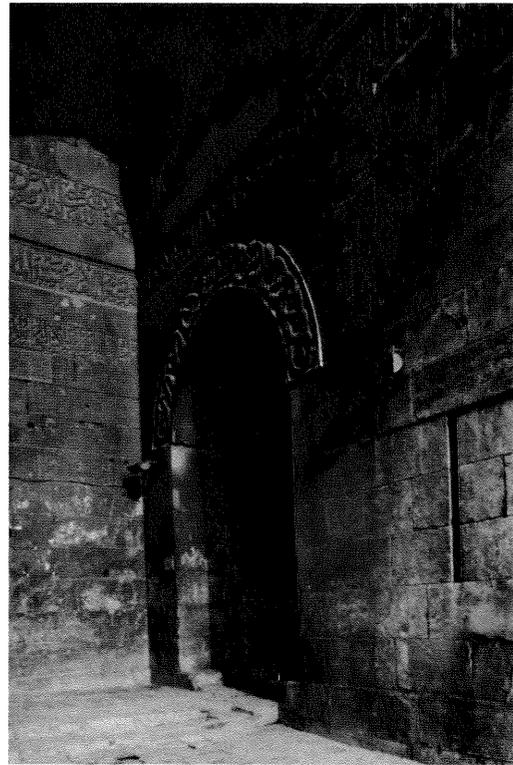


FIG. 10. Aleppo, Citadel. Gate of Serpents, ca. 1195 and later.

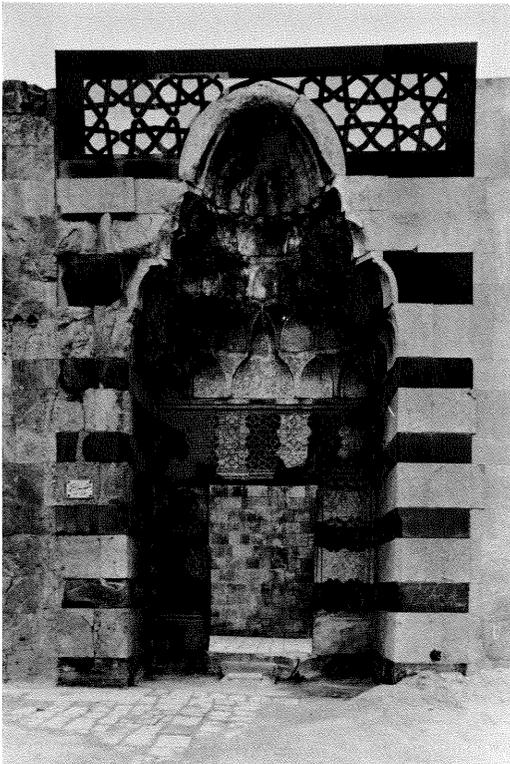


FIG. 11. Aleppo, Citadel. The Ayyubid palace, ca. 1190–1230. Portal.

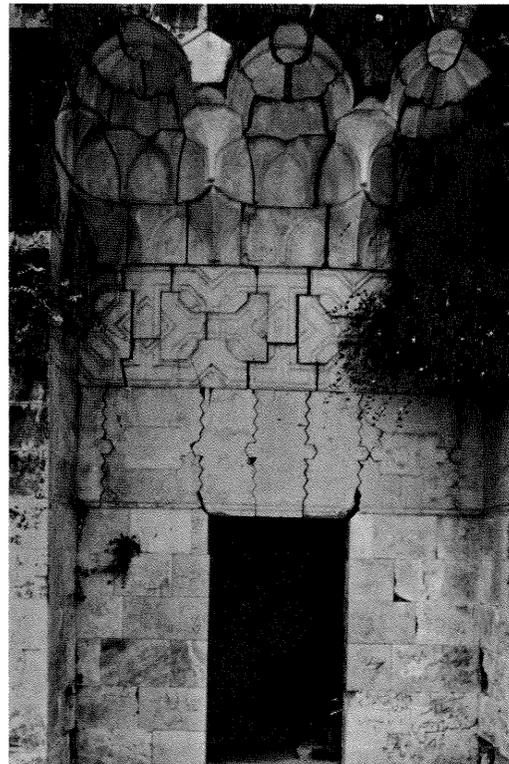


FIG. 12. Qal'at Sahyun. Ayyubid palace, ca. 1200–1230. Portal.

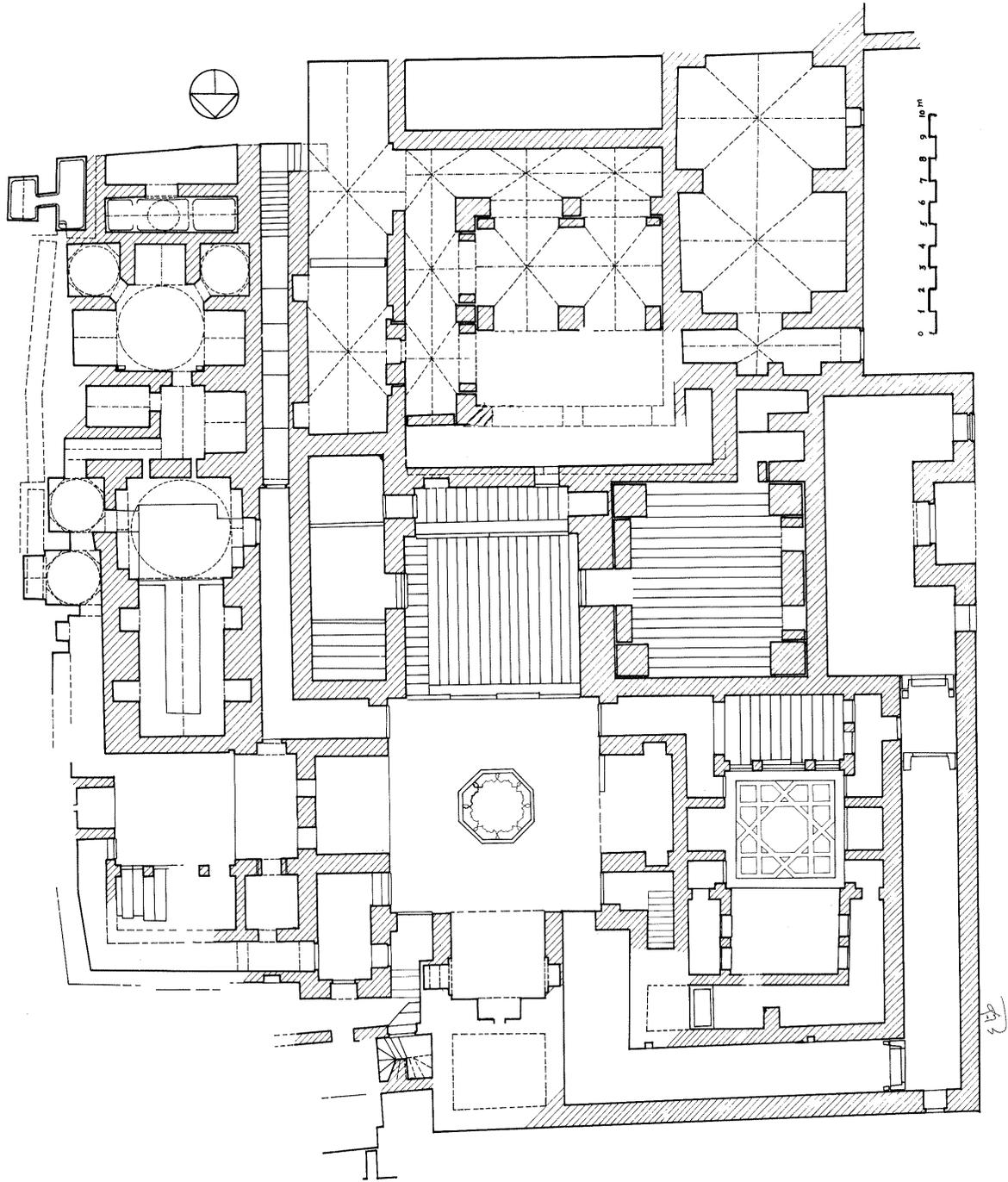


FIG. 13. Aleppo, Citadel. The Ayyubid palace, 1190-1230. Plan. Adapted from a plan of the Directorate General of Antiquities, Damascus.

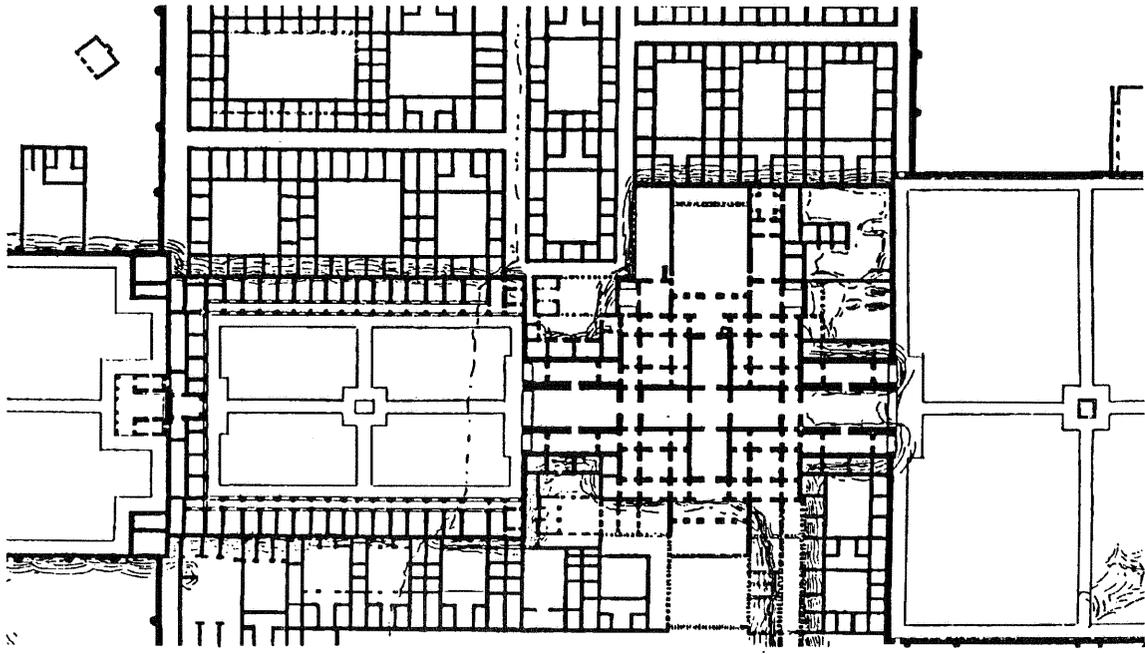


FIG. 15. Samarra, Balkuwarra Palace, 854-59. Plan of central unit. From Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 2, fig. 214.

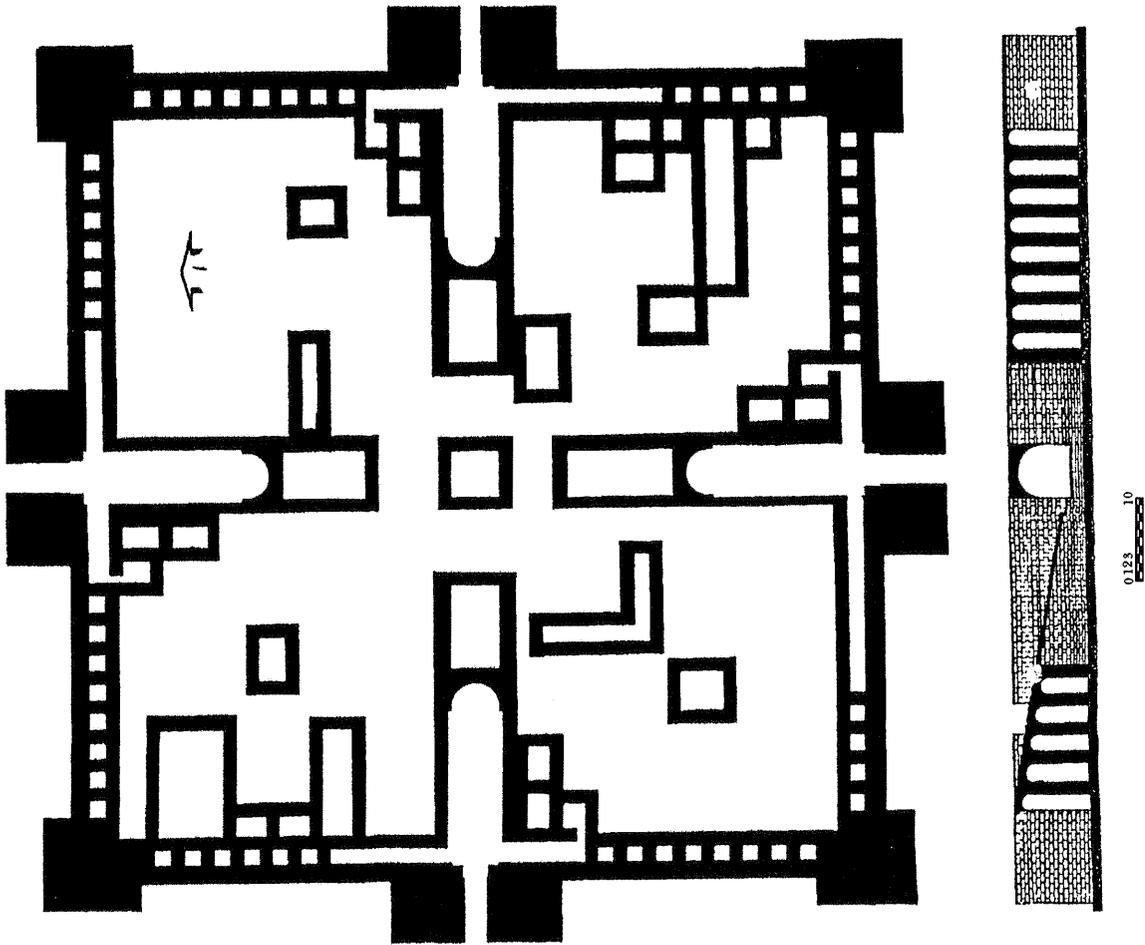


FIG. 14. Hiraqlah (Raqqa), "Victory Monument" of Harun al-Rashid (786-809). Plan. From Toueir, "Hiraqlah," fig. on p. 111.

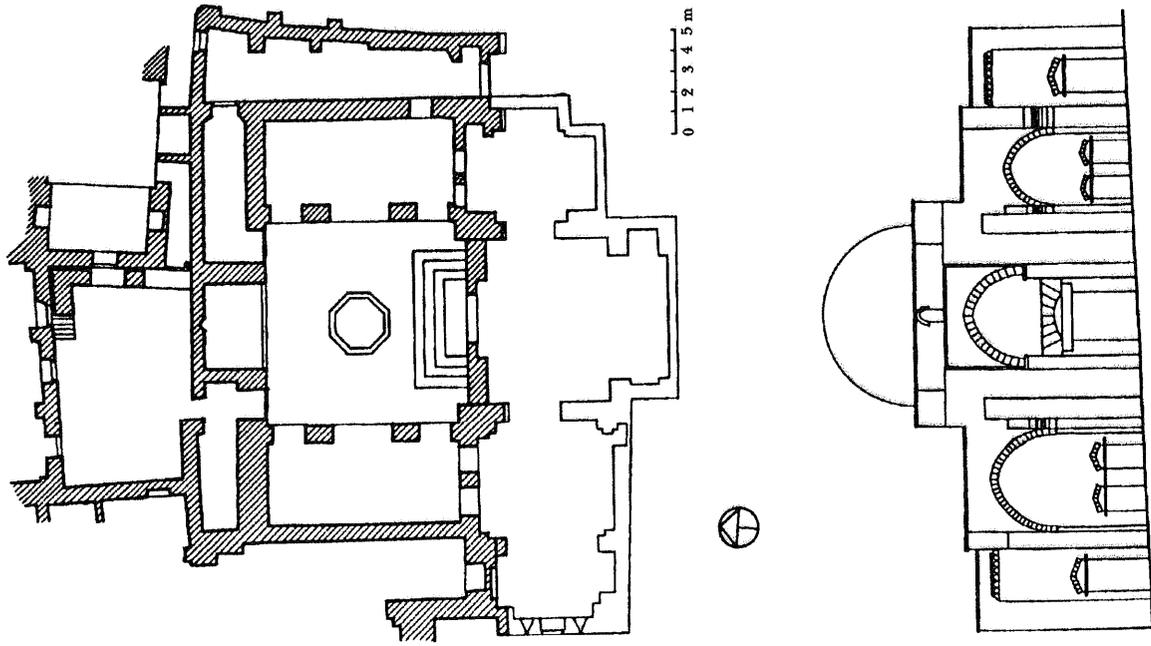


FIG. 17. Aleppo, Matbakh al-Ajami, first half of 13th century.
 Plan and section, present condition.
 Drawing: courtesy of the Directorate General of Antiquities, Aleppo.

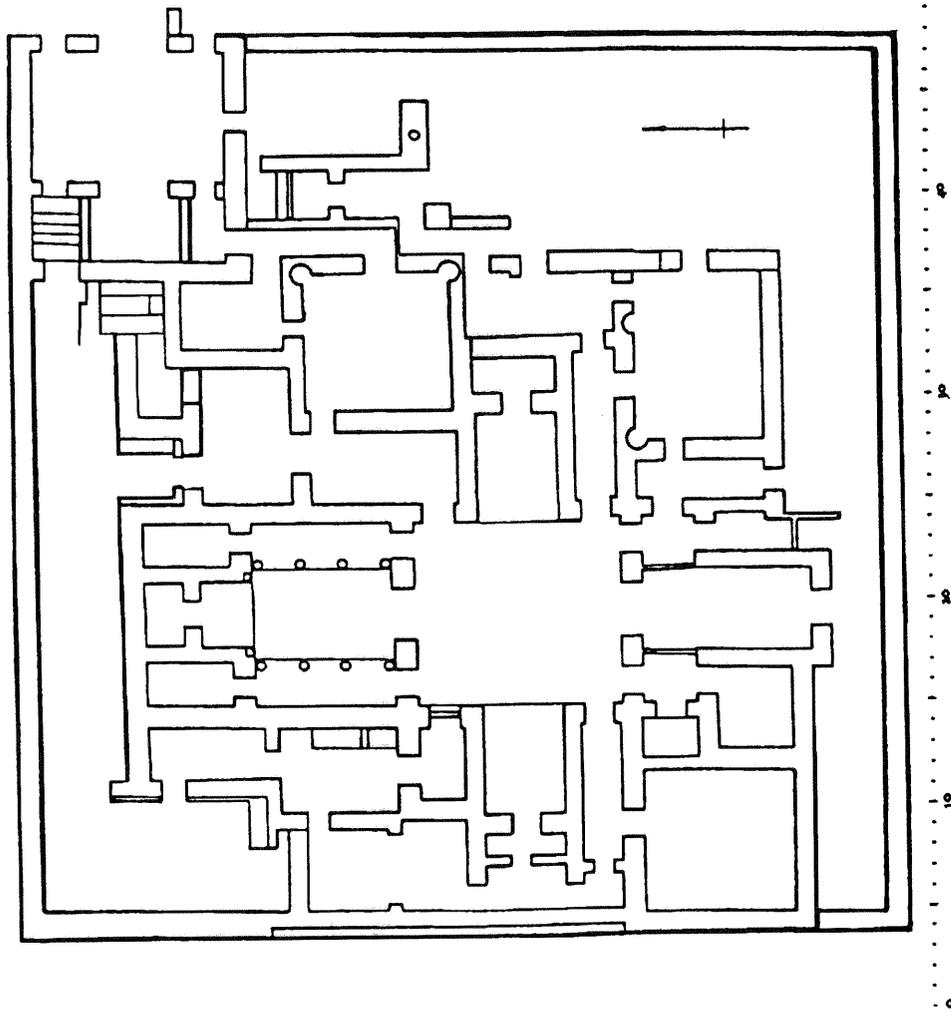


FIG. 16. Raqqa, Qasr al-Banat, ca. 1168. Plan. After Toueir, "Qasr al-Banat," fig. 2.



FIG. 18. Aleppo, Citadel. Ayyubid palace, central courtyard.

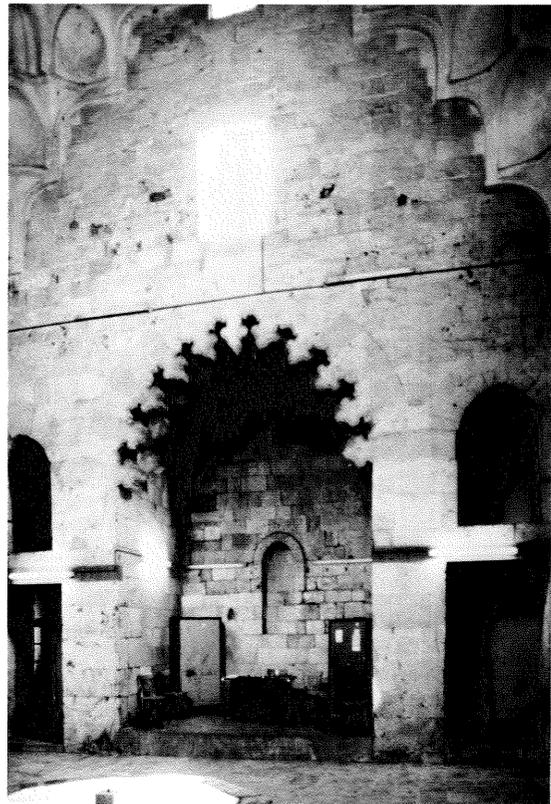


FIG. 19. Aleppo, Matbakh al-Ajami. Arch of north iwan.