

Wie das Beispiel zeigt, kann ein Beduinen-Text nicht nur in sich ambivalent, er kann auch polymotivisch und polythematisch angelegt sein. Im angeführten Text kann man ohne Schwierigkeiten die Themen religiöse Indifferenz, Fremdheit und Herrscherkritik ausmachen. Hierin sehe ich die eigentliche Funktion der Figur. Aufgrund der Mehrdeutigkeit, die ihr eigen ist, kann sie in Bereichen eingesetzt werden, die aus dem konventionellen Normensystem herausfallen, da sie anstößig oder umstritten sind. Der nomadische Hintergrund der Figur mag diese Entwicklung begünstigt haben, da der Nomade eine Außenseiterposition einnahm. Ich meine damit, dass die lebensweltlichen Bezüge der Beduinenfigur grundlegend sind für ihren Charakter und ihre Bedeutung, die sie in der Literatur angenommen hat, wenngleich ihre Funktionalität über diesen Bereich hinausweist.

Inwiefern kann man den Texten Rückschlüsse auf eine soziale Praxis entnehmen? In jedem Fall ist Textproduktion als Teil diskursiven Handelns anzuerkennen. Sieht man den Diskurs als gesellschaftsmächtig an, so ist sicher, dass die aus den schriftlichen Quellen abzulesenden Bedeutungszusammenhänge, in der die Figur des Beduinen steht, auch die soziale Praxis beeinflusst haben. D. h. die Haltungen, mit denen die Vertreter der Schriftkultur Nomaden gegenüber traten, stehen in einer Wechselwirkung mit der Behandlung der Figur in den Quellen.

Eine andere Lösung besteht darin anzunehmen, dass Bedeutungen durch einen kollektiven Sprechakt zu- und festgeschrieben werden. In unserem Fall hieße das, dass die Darstellung der Beduinenfigur soziale Praxis abbildet und bestimmt bzw. zur sozialen Wirklichkeit beiträgt. Die binäre Struktur, denen die Darstellungen folgen, ist nicht zufällig, sondern als bewusste Konstruktion bzw. aktive Gestaltung der eigenen gesellschaftlichen Realität anzuerkennen.<sup>8</sup>

Die Ergebnisse der Studie zum Beduinenbild in der arabischen Literatur legen nahe, dass das Aussagesystem,

welches sich um die Beduinenfigur rankt, wenig auf das sozioökonomische Phänomen Beduine schließen lässt, sondern in erster Linie das Weltbild der arabischen Literaten beschreibt.

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#### Anmerkungen:

- <sup>1</sup> Als jüngste Sammlung umfangreicher Ansätze zu diesem Befund vgl. *Shifts and Drifts*, hrsg. v. Stefan Leder u. Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden 2006.
- <sup>2</sup> Aktuellste Literatur: Leder, Stefan: *Nomadische Lebensformen und ihre Wahrnehmung im Spiegel der arabischen Terminologie*, in: *WO* 34 (2004), 72-104; Retsö, Jan: *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*, London u. a. 2003, 105ff; Orthmann, Eva: *Stamm und Macht. Die arabischen Stämme im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert der Hīra*, Wiesbaden 2002, 140ff.
- <sup>3</sup> 'Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaldūn: *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, 1: al-Muqaddima, Beirut<sup>3</sup> 1900, 120.
- <sup>4</sup> Vgl. Literatur in Anm. 2.
- <sup>5</sup> Zum Begriff Kollektivsymbol: Link, Jürgen: *Versuch über den Normalismus. Wie Normalität produziert wird*, Opladen<sup>2</sup> 1999, 25; Becker, Frank u. a.: „Moderne Kollektivsymbolik (Teil II). Eine diskurstheoretisch orientierte Einführung mit Auswahlbibliographie“, in: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* (IASL) 22, H. 1 (1997), 70-154; hier 71; Jäger, Siegfried: *Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung*, Duisburg<sup>4</sup> 2004, 140.
- <sup>6</sup> Abū l-Farağ al-İṣfahānī: *Kitāb al-Aḡānī*, I-XXVII, hrsg. v. 'Abd-al-Amīr 'Alī Muḥannā u. a., Beirut 1992, hier XII, 305, 11-17.
- <sup>7</sup> Speziell zum Beduinen 'Aqīl b 'Ullafa vgl. Binay, Sara: „Der Beduine 'Aqīl b. 'Ullafa. Interpretation und Übersetzung eines Kapitels aus dem Kitāb al-Aḡānī“, in *Nomaden und Sesshafte – Fragen, Methoden, Ergebnisse II*, hrsg. v. Thomas Herzog u. Wolfgang Holzwarth, Halle 2004, 21-48.
- <sup>8</sup> Vgl. Stefan Leder, „Nomadic and sedentary people – a misleading dichotomy? Bedouin and bedouinism in classical Arabic representation“, in *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*, hrsg. v. Stefan Leder u. Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden 2005, 401-419.

### *The Restoration of Sūq Ḥarāj, Tripoli*

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On the coast of northern Lebanon, Tripoli is one of the many ancient towns of the Eastern Mediterranean. Flourishing during the Phoenician times, it witnessed major changes once it shifted from the Crusader period to the Mamluk dynasty in 1289. Fearing the return of the Crusaders from the sea, the old location of the ancient town next to the sea was abandoned and by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the entire city was re-built approximately two kilometers away from the shore. Tripoli is one of the rare examples of an early modern foundation of a city in the region. Its rich architectural legacy dates back mainly to the Mamluk (1293-1516) and the Ottoman (1516-1918) eras. Tripoli is, from an architectural historic point of view, the most

important town in Lebanon and an outstanding example of the rich Mediterranean heritage.

Unfortunately, nowadays this architectural treasure is exposed to great dangers. A broad crisis of cities in the Middle East resulting from an almost total neglect of their historical value, in addition to special situations due to the Lebanese War (1975-1990) has led to generalize critical conditions in the historical urban fabric of Tripoli. Out of scientific interest to explore principles and patterns of early modern or modern town planning and daily life, and out of our very personal



Fig. 1: Tripoli in 1936, left the Abū 'Alī river; Sūq Ḥarāj middle right.



Fig. 2: Hall of Sūq Ḥarāj before the restoration.

interests to help recent efforts to document, conserve and reanimate Eastern Mediterranean heritage, the Orient Institute engages in Tripoli. I will first give an outline of the restoration project, followed by a historical and architectural description of the monument, its damages, and finally conclude with a report on the restoration.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The Project

Next to our research project on written and material sources on Mamluk and Ottoman Tripoli (see report in this volume) the Orient Institute conceptualized and coordinated the restoration project of what can be seen as the most exceptional Mamluk commercial building of the region: the Sūq Ḥarāj. The restoration is a Lebanese German cooperation, financed jointly by a generous donation of the German Foreign Office (208 000 €), the Lebanese Ministry of Culture and the Municipality of Tripoli.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 3: Hall of Sūq Ḥarāj before the restoration.

### Development of the project

Following a visit of the former German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in 2001, in the region, Martin Kobler from the ministry and I discussed possibilities to encourage a heritage protection project of a German Academic Institution in Syria or Lebanon. The German Foreign Office agreed in principal to support a project of restoration (but not on sight management). Given Sūq Ḥarāj as a place of core importance in the urban fabric of Tripoli, its unusual monumental design and the fact that it is still used as a *sūq* by its property holders (this would guarantee the proper function and “management” of the sight), I suggested this building. In a first survey I asked the owners, if they would agree for such a project and follow up the *sūqs* maintenance. They agreed. The first fundraising preparations were done in cooperation with the assistance of Rawiya Majzoub, head of the Institute for Restoration (Lebanese University) in Tripoli in 2002.

The fundraising process was carried out by the DGA [Direction Générale des Antiquités / Ministry of Culture] and involved the Municipality al-Fayha of Tripoli. In early 2003, the application was sent to Germany by the Lebanese Minister of Culture. This process involved a lot of preparatory work, done by all partners on a voluntary basis:

- The DGA worked on the application and verified with many efforts the restoration studies (Frédéric Husseini director general of DGA, Samar Karam Archaeologist).<sup>3</sup>
- Preliminary studies and first calculation of the restoration costs by Antoine Fichfich.
- The OIB provided academic support and prepared the fund raising reports and applications (Juren Meister, Stefan Weber).
- Teachers of the specialized centre of restoration (Lebanese University) assisted throughout the process (Rawiya Majzoub, Nabil Itani).
- The German Embassy assisted during the process of fundraising fundamentally.

In summer 2003, the German Foreign Office accepted the proposal. The agreement stated that:

- The DGA is in charge of the restoration study and pays the fees of the architects during preparation and execution.
- The municipality is responsible for the infrastructure works.
- The German side provides scientific assistance and pays all costs relative to the execution of the restoration works.
- The responsibility of the owners of the building itself is limited to the interiors of their properties.

The construction work was divided into two phases. Phase one from winter to spring 2003/04: safeguarding the structure by treating the most important structural problems and the roofs, as well as restoring damages caused by war, i. e. rebuilding the eastern section of the *sūq*. This phase was finished in spring 2004 and inaugurated by the mayor of Tripoli and the German Ambassador. Phase two from winter to spring 2004/05: concentrating on the interior space of the *sūq*, enhancement of the façades of Sūq Ḥarāj, doors, windows, floors, ceilings and lighting, in addition to the necessary infrastructure works.

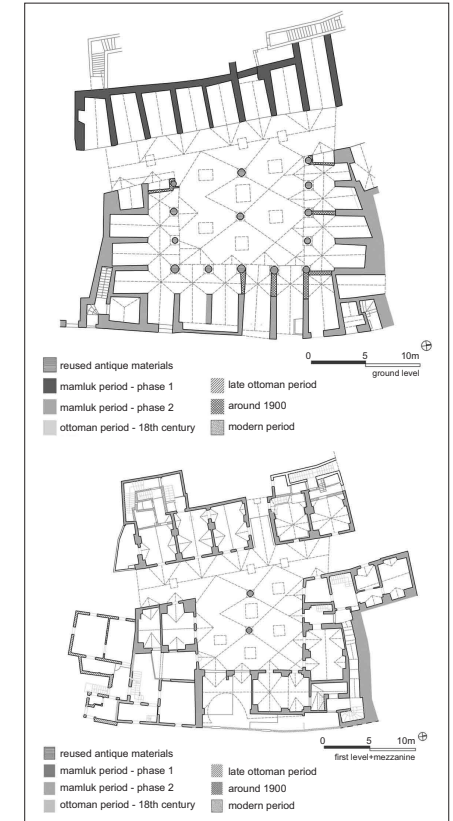


Fig. 4: Sūq Ḥarāj building phases probably from the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, plan, ground floor and upper floor.

Financed by the DGA, the two architect-restorers, Antoine Fichfich and Michel Daoud conducted an intensive survey of the building and came up with a diagnosis to determine the actions to be undertaken during the works on a scientific basis (example cf. Fig. 7). For the preparation of the project, international experts on restoration and architecture were invited to participate in two workshops financed by the German Academic Exchange



Service (DAAD), the Orient Institute and the Municipality of Tripoli: "About Documentation and Rehabilitation of urban Architecture and History" (December 2002) and "Documentation and restoration of Islamic Monuments: Sūq Ḥarāj and its urban environment" (October 2003). The workshops designed for an international academic exchange and for the training of Lebanese students, helped to develop the restoration concept. This was at one point very essential. A four-floor high modern concrete building was built on top of the south-western corner of Sūq Ḥarāj. Since there is no specialist on monumental medieval stone vaulting in Lebanon, we needed the opinion of an expert in this field, to ensure that the structure would support the apartment building even after restoration and to define measures to guarantee its stability.<sup>4</sup> These workshops with always more than 50 active participants were also meant to discuss methods of documentation and restoration in public – open for everyone who is interested – and to think with our international guests, Lebanese experts and students and institutions in charge of problems and resolutions of this project and others. Thus, before the detailed restoration plan was made by the Lebanese restoration-architects, the main concept was agreed upon in coordination with all cooperating institutions: the DGA, the OIB, the municipality, the Restoration Centre of the Lebanese University and the World Bank Project (CHUD-CDR).

Prior to, and during, the execution works the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and OIB (directed by Juren Meister) undertook a profound complete archaeological survey using state-of-the-art equipment, along with extensive photographic documentation. This led to a better understanding of the building. In 2003/04 an intensive survey of the area was carried out, measuring, digitizing and analyzing all the northern commercial districts of Tripoli by a team of German and Lebanese young architects and historians financed by the OIB (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). During the restoration the DAI, DGA and OIB team did an archaeological investigation of the building, clarifying its original layout, predating structures and alternations during the centuries. German experts were most of the time present in Tripoli (Börner, Meister, Weber) and many practicing restoring architects and

professors of restoration and heritage management from Germany (professors Speiser, Sack, Stein, Klessing, Finster, Drewello, Burkhardt) and Lebanon were continuously visiting the site. The execution was closely overviewed by the DGA.



Fig. 5: Plan of the northwestern quarter, OIB 2004 (not to scale) 1 Bayt Shāmī, 2 Sūq Ḥarāj, 3 Khān al-Ruzz/al-Aruzz, 4 Rab' Waqf Manjak, 5 house of Zayn ibn 'Alī Shaykh al-'Attārīn.

## 2. Approaching the monument: history and location of Sūq Ḥarāj

### Description of Sūq Ḥarāj

Sūq Ḥarāj is situated in the old historic city of Tripoli, in the north-western quarter of al-Ḥadīd, to the east of Sūq al-Bāzarkān/al-Jadīd (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). Sūq Ḥarāj is a market from the Mamluk period or early Ottoman period. It has mercantile structures on the ground floor and living units on the upper floor. The building consists mainly of an irregularly cross-vaulted hall supported in the centre by two reused antique granite columns rising to a height of 4 metres and by twelve shorter columns on the northern, eastern and southern sides, where an open arcade gives access to different shops. (Fig. 3 to Fig. 5). The western side is supported by the structure of barrel-vaulted row of eight shops; the hall is nearly rectangular: 11 m wide, 13.5 m long and 8 m high. The Sūq Ḥarāj area is entered via a north south oriented shopping street, to the east of which lies the hall. Next to this *sūq*-street, two passages connected the building on the eastern and western sides to the neighborhood. Hence, one could access the main hall of Sūq Ḥarāj from four sides (Fig. 5). On the ground floor, the hall is flanked to the north, east, and south by a cross vaulted gallery, supported by the twelve reused granite columns leading to the main hall. Through this gallery, which is today integrated into the shops, one could walk around the entire hall. The entrances to the arcade, blocked by a secondary wall in our days, was given form the north-south running *sūq*-street. Its openings to the hall were marked by the twelve reused smaller columns while on its rear a row of barrel vaulted shops provided additional commercial space.

One can access the living units on the first floor from the Sūsiyye Street on the east and from the small alley leading to Sūq al-Jadīd from the west. The upper floor is arranged as a series of apartments with a main room. This room is always structured in the traditional entrance area (*'ataba*) which gives access to a higher living section (*ṭazar*) – an arrangement, well known in Mamluk and Ottoman times. Mezzanines divide parts of the first floor in the northern side of the building. The arrangement and construction of the staircases and vault hall imply that the inter-ceiling has been an original part of the construction; the mezzanines

might have been used as storage areas, whereas the other full height spaces, for living. The roofing system of the building is characterized by skylight openings, giving to the main hall of double height on the ground floor, as well as, to the living units on the first floor.

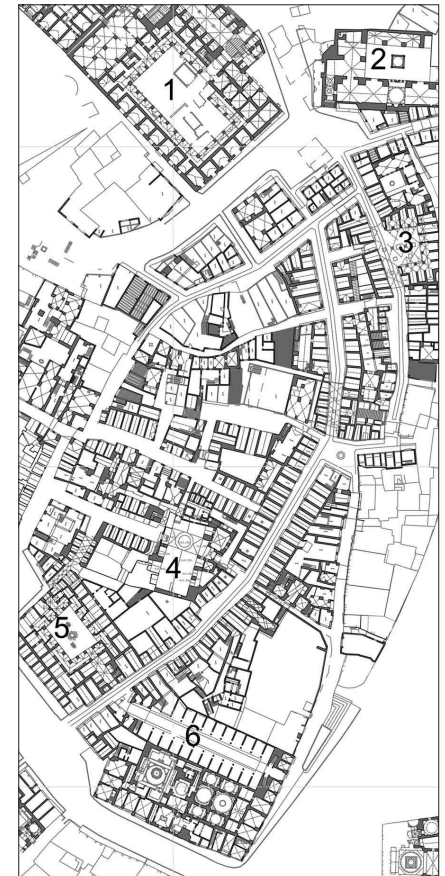


Fig. 6: Plan of the northwestern quarter, OIB 2004 (not to scale) 1 Khān al-'Askar, 2 Tawba Mosque, 3 Sūq Ḥarāj, 4 'Attār Mosque, 5 Khān al-Maṣriyīn, 6 Khān al-Khayyāfīn and Hammām 'Izz al-Dīn.

Thus Sūq Ḥarāj is characterized by a well planed and clear structured sequence of unites, but nevertheless very complex and compact (street, hall, gallery, shops, and apartments). The ground floor constitutes a main cross-road providing access in all four cardinal points, widening the *sūq*-street into a square. At times, the hall was used for storage, by street hawkers, or even production, the arcade with the shops behind separates the flow of customers and the action of trade to edges of the hall. The upper floor on the northern, eastern and southern side, can be addressed as an apartment building, with a set of individual accessible living unites, allowing temporally living and to a certain degree limited storage or permanent living. Sūq Ḥarāj is a multifunctional urban unite. Architecturally speaking, its high rising vaults, which open to the northern and southern *sūqs* as large portals and the two columns carrying the massive vaulting bestow the building a monumental character. However, there is no architectural decoration and the craftsmanship is quite simple. A similar structure is not known in the city of Tripoli, neither in other cities of the region, nor in Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem or in Cairo and Istanbul. The Sūq Ḥarāj is a genuine piece of architecture, created by a building master on the spot in an ingenious moment.

Nevertheless the combination of living and commercial space is well known. To a certain extent normal *khāns* can be seen as a parallel, but their rows of simple living unites for temporary accommodation differ quite clearly from the more complex apartments in our *sūq*. But Mamluk *khāns* in Cairo (called *wakāla*) do integrate designed housing space into (or better onto) commercial buildings. *Wakālas* had obviously an influence on the spacial conception of Sūq Ḥarāj, since in Cairo one or two stories were added on top of the commercial unites on the ground floor and first upper floor for residential use. They were called *rabʿ*, and were like the apartments of Ḥarāj, accessible from the backside of the building. However none of them are covered by high vaulting system. In Baghdad one finds barrel vaulted *khāns* and in Damascus domed *khāns*, from which the four domes of Khān al-ʿAmūd were once – as the name indicates – carried by a massive column (ʿamūd). But functionally speaking, they still remained proper *khāns*

(without *rabʿ*). Even though the combination of both functions is known, none of these buildings is a direct parallel to Sūq Ḥarāj. They do not integrate luxurious shopping areas marked by a gallery, nor apartment unites on the upper floor, nor did they serve as distributors of flow in urban space. We restored a unique commercial structure of the Eastern Mediterranean.

#### Dating

However, we had one major difficulty: we did not know who built the *sūq* and when. There is no building inscription or clear datable architectural features and none of the written sources consulted so far provides information on the patronship of Sūq Ḥarāj. Many secondary sources label the building as a Mamluk construction, yet not a single justification or prove was given to substantiate this assumption.

From the very beginning we should stress on one point: there is no example in the quarter where we find pre-Mamluk structures *in situ*. All material dating before 1289, like the lintel of the portal Ḥammām ʿIzz al-Dīn (1294-98), is reused *spolia*. Even known scholars are continuously misled by older materials or by the strong tradition of construction techniques and their wish to historicize historical buildings far among any material evidence. Some addressed Sūq Ḥarāj as a church, because of its two columns. However, a column is – despite all pious hope – not a sufficient criterion for the definition of a church. The Crusaders city was some two kilometers away and a smaller settlement serving the citadel was located further to the south. The layout of the building is completely different than that of a church. The Sūq Ḥarāj is a commercial building designed and built entirely after 1289. The building archaeology of Juren Meister and the historical research is not terminated and we hope to be able to date the building more precisely through different findings. However we might approach here the age of the building. The survey and excavation of archaeologist have proven that the hall, roofing, gallery and apartments are probably of one planning and construction phase applied on a pre-existing row of shops on the western side. According to Meister, Sūq Ḥarāj was integrated into an existing neighborhood and not erected on an empty field,

yet the excavation did not bring any predecessor to light. Thus, the city was already developing in this direction after its re-foundation during the 1290s and Sūq Ḥarāj was built after the city developed into this area.

Tripoli shows a very strong tradition in building techniques, and corbels, for example, supporting the slightly overhanging upper floors of houses are common and to a certain extent quite similar during all the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. However, not enough research is done, and we cannot date buildings between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century simply by construction techniques we gather at first sight. The complete lack of decorative elements complicates this task. Only the corners of the very simple capitals of the two large and the 12 small columns are shaped by one compartment of *muqarnas*, which is the most simple way of designing such outer edges in regional Mamluk and Ottoman architecture. But the capital of its north-western column is striking similar to the capitals used in the portal of the southern passage of the Madrasa al-Qarṭāwiyya, which was erected probably between 1316 and 1326.

Ottoman legal records, kept by the judges and scribes of the religious courts (*maḥkama sharʿiyya*), dealing with legal issues such as inheritance, neighborhood fights, property exchange, etc. do mention Sūq Ḥarāj. However, the oldest preserved records date back to 1666 – thus after the assumed foundation of the *sūq*. Often names of *khāns* change during

different centuries and no wonder if our structure had originally a different name. Today's name of "sūq of auction" (Ḥarāj) must not have always been the name for this structure. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it still had this role as a neighbor, Saʿdallāh al-Barūdī, born around 1930, still remembers how people were bidding every Friday until the auctioneer shouted: "...ona, due ala tre!"<sup>5</sup>

#### Patronship

Records (supported by today property relationships) often mention in the direct neighborhood the *waqf* of a certain Manjak Pasha and probably not only the neighborhood was part of this endowment. Several records from January 1678 (Dhū al-Qiʿda 1088) report a damage of the dam which was located below the close by Jadīd or Laḥḥāmīn (butchers) Bridge. This dam was damaged, as well as two mills, one of which was known under the name of Asnadamur, while the second mill belonged to the Manjak Waqf.<sup>6</sup> It gives a statement of cost for repairs of these two and other buildings which most probably belonged to the *waqf* as well. Next to the substantial repairs (*tarmīm*) of upper floor (*tabaqa*) of Khān al-Aruzz (or al-Ruzz), which we know was in the Manjak Waqf and the direct western neighbor of our *sūq* (see below), it mentions repairs of a certain Sūq Khān al-Shaʿārīn which – following the logic of the record – also belonged to the *waqf*. Here the ceiling was fixed and a new adobe plaster of its roof "in between columns (or



Fig. 7: Graphical survey of the eastern outer facade before restoration by Daoud and Fichfich.

pillars)” was applied.<sup>7</sup> There is only one *sūq* in the neighborhood which has free standing columns, which is Sūq Ḥarāj. Much later, another record proves that our *sūq* was at least partially part of an endowment by a certain Manjak Pasha. A record from 1273/1857 deals with a shop in the south western corner of Sūq Ḥarāj, known as the shop of ‘Isā Bāshā, which was part of the Manjak Waqf.<sup>8</sup> But it also mentions other shops in Sūq Ḥarāj, which belonged to different endowments. Thus Sūq Ḥarāj was at least in some parts connected to the *waqf* of Manjak Pasha, even we not have an explicit prove that he also was the one who had build it.

Another problem is to specify which Manjak is meant in the records. The most famous one is Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī (d. 776/1375), governor in Tripoli from 755/1354 to 759/1358 and from 769/1367 to 769/1368. Sayf al-Dīn Manjak was one of the most important Mamluk statesmen and was of crucial importance for Bilād al-Shām during the first decades of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and served as governor (*nāʾib*) in Safad, Tripoli, Aleppo and Damascus.<sup>9</sup> During his quite changeful carrier he had commissioned more than twenty religious and civil buildings. Unfortunately almost nothing is known of his first governorship in Tripoli, and if Manjak was the patron of Sūq Ḥarāj it might had been part of the reconstruction works after the devastating invasion of a fleet of 130 Frankish ships from Cyprus, and during which many inhabitants fled from the pillage of the city in 769/1367.<sup>10</sup> In the last years of his life Manjak al-Yūsufī had been devoted to the development of infrastructure in Bilād al-Shām, among them several rural caravanserais.<sup>11</sup> Thus it is inveigling to attribute Sūq Ḥarāj to Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī. However, one may ask why there is no building inscription, like on his Khān al-Sabīl in Maʿarat al-Nuʿmān (773/1371-72) or his emblem like on many other of his buildings. There is the possibility that Sūq Ḥarāj goes back to another Manjak Pasha of the family. Next to large *waqfs* Sayf al-Dīn Manjak also left a large family, which was very active in building up different endowments. The Manjak family was controlling and administering the endowments left by different of its members (*Awqāf Banī Manjak*) from Damascus, where the family was based. It seems that these *waqfs* of Banī Manjak were a cluster of endowments by different persons, managed and administrated by the family.

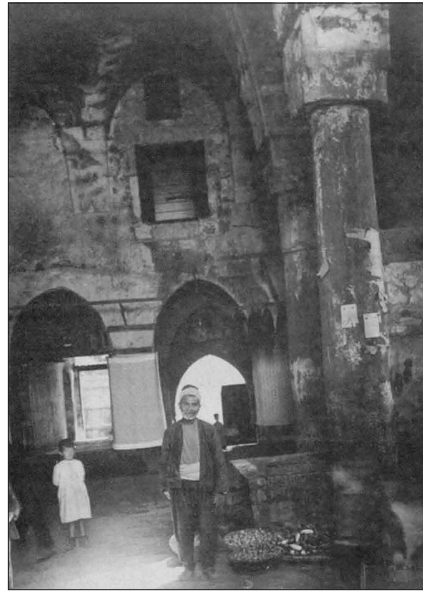


Fig. 8: Older fountain in the 1920s (source IFPO).

There were several buildings in Damascus and its district like the mosque Masjid al-Aqsāb and Manjak Mosque in Midan (both built by descendents of the governor Manjak) but also in many other cities like Aleppo, Jerusalem, Tripoli, Sayda, Ghazza, Ramla, Hims, and Hama.<sup>12</sup> One court record mentions the *waqf* cluster of Amīr Manjak Pasha, Amīr Muḥammad, Amīr Ibrāhīm, Amīr ‘Abd al-Qādir, Amīr ‘Umar, Amīr Abū Bakr and of further members.<sup>13</sup> Among the important family members was Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Manjak al-Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 918/1512) who had the administration of the Manjak *waqfs* and died in Tripoli.<sup>14</sup> Al-Amīr Muḥammad ibn Manjak ibn Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak al-Kabīr al-Yūsufī al-Dimashqī (d. 1032/1623) was one of the most influential persons in Damascus, made several steps in his career, among them *mutawallī* of the complex of the Sulaymāniyya, Amīr al-Umarā’ in Raqqa and Jericho and received a pension by

the Ottoman state (...*mutaqāʿidan ‘alā qānūn Āl ‘Uthmān ‘an Daftardārīyya Dimashq...*). Another important source of income for him was the administration of the *waqf* of Manjak al-Yūsufī, which he did not inherit from his father, who died in 982/1574-75, but from his uncle al-Amīr ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Abū Bakr (d. 991/1583). He endowed himself several buildings, of which al-Muḥibbī only mentions his house in Damascus, northeast to the Umayyad Mosque.<sup>15</sup> His son, al-Amīr Manjak ibn Muḥammad ibn Manjak ibn Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak al-Kabīr al-Yūsufī al-Dimashqī (d. 1080/1668-70) was as well one of the famous persons of his time and added several estates to the family *waqfs*.<sup>16</sup> It was probably this Manjak Pasha, who had married a lady of the ‘Ajlānī family, just forming the Manjak-‘Ajlānī family which had during the following centuries the administration of the Manjak *waqfs*. The Manjak-‘Ajlānīs are until now in Tripoli connected with the *waqf* of Manjak.<sup>17</sup>

### The Neighborhood

It is interesting to note, that probably large parts of the north-western quarter of the city belonged to *waqfs* of Manjak.<sup>18</sup> The direct surrounding changed quite a lot during the last decades and – next to their complex building structure – decay and partially demolition makes the understanding of the surrounding streets quite complicated. Between Khān al-‘Askar and Sūq Ḥarāj many houses were cleared away in favor of a square which serves as a parking lot. Towards the east, the situation is more dramatic: in the name of modernization and following the flood of 1955 the river Abū ‘Alī was straighten and pressed into a concrete channel (and just not anymore flowing behind the Tawba Mosque) while all the prestigious houses next to the river were destroyed and replaced by quite large and low quality houses and streets (cf. for the old quarter Fig. 1). Thus the back street of Sūq Ḥarāj, the Sūsiyye lost all its charm and the eastern half of it is marked by faceless concrete walls. Traces of rooms built upon the street (*sībāt*) still indicate this loss.

On the northern side the Sūq Ḥarāj is directly attached to an Ottoman house, the so-called Bayt al-Shāmī (Fig. 5-1). It is a classical courtyard house with an *iwān* in the south and a three-floor living section on the northern and on the eastern

sides.<sup>19</sup> As most houses in Tripoli, Bayt al-Shāmī is a unit of units, built and combined in different periods. While some parts like the eastern entrance clearly show marks of a 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century pre-existence building, the majority of the house was built in the middle and late 19<sup>th</sup> century. At a certain point of time the owner of the house bought the shop from the Sūq Ḥarāj, removed the wall between the two, added the shop, to his structure and turned it into a kitchen. Towards the south and west of Sūq Ḥarāj one can find traces of most of the buildings mentioned in the court records. Frequently a certain Khān al-Ruzz, also named al-Aruzz, is mentioned as part of the Manjak Waqf and directly southwest to Sūq Ḥarāj (Fig. 5-3).<sup>20</sup> However, given its description in the sources and the limited space available between Sūq Ḥarāj and al-Jadīd, it was most probably of quite small structure. Further to the south a structure called *rabʿ* for temporary residences was given as part of the *waqf* of Manjak Pasha (Fig. 5-4).<sup>21</sup> Most probably this *rabʿ* was built as a series of rooms accessible via a central courtyard and located on top of a commercial ground floor (the similar structure is given by its neighbor on the eastern side). Nothing survived of the residential part of the building, but the shops on the ground floor still form a part of the Sūq al-Bāzarkān/al-Jadīd, which was much redesigned at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries. During our survey we could establish a certain ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ajlānī as owner of the corresponding shops today. The ‘Ajlānī Family – as indicated above – was next to Damascus also responsible of *waqfs* of the Manjak family in Tripoli.<sup>22</sup>

Very interesting is a similar vaulted structure that lies to the southwest of Sūq al-Ḥarāj at Birkat al-Mallāḥa (Fig. 5-5). It has a high vaulting out of four irregular cross vaults with three skylights. The system of vaulting and the setting of skylights are different than Sūq Ḥarāj and not contemporaneous. A court record of 1096/1684 on a conflict of two neighbors, informs us about the foundation of the building: a neighbor complained that Zayn ibn ‘Alī Shaykh al-‘Aṭṭārīn built four high cross vaults over the street, rising from his new house on the western side of the street and on the other side from his old house and the Rabʿ Manjak Pasha. This new high rising building prevented light and air to the house of the suing neighbor, but the *qādī* formally allowed its construction.<sup>23</sup> Zayn ibn ‘Alī was head



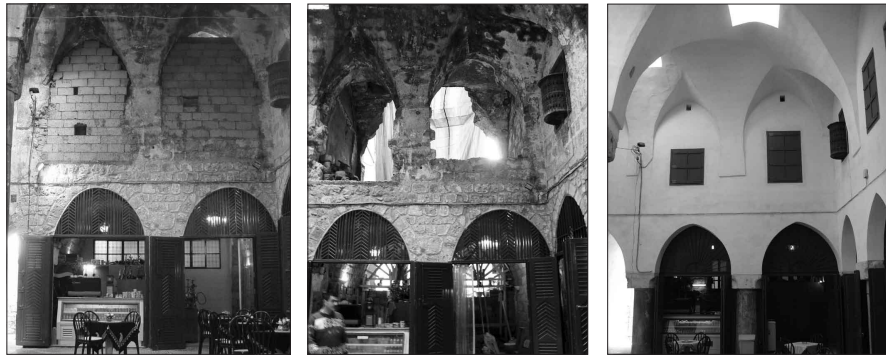


Fig. 9: Various phases of the south-eastern elevation of the hall in chronological order.

of the guild of perfumers (Shaykh al-ʿAṭṭārīn, also given as ʿAṭṭārīn Bāshī) and must have been someone of a certain standing and influence.<sup>24</sup> The prestigious setting of his house at the square of Birkat al-Mallāḥa with the monumental vaults reflects and demonstrates this public position. Today this structure is topped by a central hall house dating back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This structure from 1096/1684 is part of a whole setting of constructions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the direct neighborhood of Sūq Ḥarāj we couldn't find any building from the Mamluk period but many remains of a quite vivid building activity of that time. Next to some houses the most impressive structure is the double-Khān al-ʿAskar which is most probably an endowment of the wife of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-87, Fig. 6-1).<sup>25</sup> Moreover, coming up the street, not far from Sūq Ḥarāj, the Tawba Mosque is located on an intersection (Fig. 6-2). This intersection leads westwards to Khān al-ʿAskar and eastwards to the parts of the city on the other side of the riverbank – crossing the today destroyed Jadīd/Laḥḥāmīn Bridge. The Tawba Mosque is undated and we only know its restoration date (1104/1692-93). These building activities from the 17<sup>th</sup> century might be connected to the re-urbanisation of the old harbor town al-Mīna, which redeveloped after the incorporation into the routes of Ottoman maritime trade. From the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, Khān al-Tamāthīlī in al-Mīna is an impressive witness of the new importance of the Mediterranean for the

Syrian coast. Thus, the documented activities herein could be seen as a corresponding reaction in the north-western part of Tripoli towards the revitalized harbor. It might also be that at that time, Sūq Ḥarāj was built in its today's form during this wave of construction in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, this theory is not based on observations of the building as such but only on its environment. It is only speculation, until further findings in the sources may prove one of the many possibilities.

However, giving the simplicity of architectural forms and the little influences of Mamluk architecture, it seems to us that Sūq Ḥarāj was donated by the famous Manjak al-Yūsufī after the Frankish attacks in 769/1367. Given this many endowments of Manjak Pasha (probably the Mamluk but possibly also an Ottoman one), Sūq Ḥarāj might have been constructed when most of the quarter was under reconstruction.

### 3. Description of the building prior to the works

#### *Building phases and alternations*

Observations by Juren Meister, the building archaeologist, show that Sūq Ḥarāj was obviously built in two phases. The barrel-vaulted ground floor on the western side shows slight displacement with the cross-vaulted units of the upper floor, which implies different phases of construction (cf. Fig. 4). This probability is enforced with the corbels on

the western elevation of the hall that are supposed to carry canopies. Generally, one can say that the evident U-shape on the ground floor and on all the first floor is coherent from a construction point of view while the western row of shops on the ground floor is older.

In this short report, I will not give the construction history of the building in detail, but rather summarize its main steps. In Ottoman times, the building went through a number of changes. Several living units of the upper floor were modified; on the south-eastern corner – most probably in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – a new house was constructed around a small courtyard on the first floor. In the very late Ottoman period, the two-floored house was again changed and rebuilt. Thus, repairs and the existence of Ottoman housing units, attached to our Mamluk apartments, are mentioned in the records. According to the information given in the records, they must have been built in the north-western corner and also in the south-western corner of Sūq Ḥarāj. They disappeared under more modern constructions. But we can imagine how the Ottoman living units were arranged. The still existing house in the south-eastern corner is looking quite similar to the description in the record. It is a legal record on:

“...the entire house on the upper floor, which is built upon the shops of Sūq Ḥarāj. The *waqf* consists of four connected rooms, from which one is an east room (*sharqiyya*), with a kitchen and toilet in the direction of the room. A yard which has partially floor tiling and which can be reached by a stone stair...”<sup>26</sup>

In the aerial photograph of the *sūq* in 1936, the ottoman houses stick out slightly higher than the rest of the building (Fig. 1). If the function of the upper floor of Sūq Ḥarāj might have once been for temporary residences, it provides now space for families permanently living here. The arrangement of the shops and the gallery on the ground floor had considerably changed around 1900 and the shops were extensively enlarged: the vaulted gallery was annexed to the shops. Integrating the gallery into the shop area, the entrances of the gallery were closed by new walls and the columns hidden behind a row of doors. Some of the very spacious shops existing now were subdivided. The new doors in front of the columns considerably enlarged the old shops and metal grills (*shamsiyyāt*) were placed above

them. Thus, the doors and *shamsiyyāt* of the *sūq* today were placed during this enlargement around 1900, concealing the columns (Fig. 3). Because of this important change of functions of the ground floor, the circulation space was limited in the hall. Oral information and an old picture give evidence of a sidewalk, which ran in front of the columns just framing the hall in a U-shape. There is no date for this sidewalk but it was most probably a direct construction in response to the blocking of the vaulted gallery, since it can be seen as a substitute for it. In the middle of the hall, placed between the two large columns, a fountain was found during excavations. Documented as well by some old pictures (Fig. 8), it was reduced in size after the 1920s. Next to the fountain was a water distributor, called *ṭālīʿ*. This small tower was distributing water and keeping the pressure up to a certain height, in order to allow the flow of water up to the first floor of houses. Both, fountain and water distributor, were finally removed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig. 10: Preserved wooden beam left to indicate the traces remaining from the late phase, northeastern corner of the hall.

The very few later modern additions – incoherent with the building itself – consist mainly of concrete partitions, walls, and slabs. These additions were either the result of a functional need or out of necessity after the destruction of some parts following the flood of 1955, or because of the bombing during the war. On top of the building on its western side, an illegal four-floor height housing construction was built. New metallic doors were added to replace most of the wooden doors of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to the changing trends, new concrete plaster replaced the decayed lime plaster, which was later on partially removed to show the sandstone masonry. However, considerable surfaces of old white lime plaster are still visible, but they were not always in very good conditions. Concrete layers covered or replaced the old limestone floor tiling “*furni*”, of which rare remains can be traced scattered in the *sūqs*. The shops are covered with new ceramic, mosaic, and concrete tiling. Electrical wires and telephone cables are installed in a highly unorganized manner.



Fig. 11: Traces of the historical fountain incorporated into the flooring.

Structurally, the whole building is buttressed from all sides by houses, and vaulted *sūqs*, which ensured its structural stability through time (a characteristic of the urban tissue in Tripoli and cities of the Middle East in general). However, structural assessment of the beneath constructions should be considered. Brief assessments during the Workshop 2003 by experienced architects and

observation of cracks during the last two years did not suggest an immediate danger. On the eastern side, where the adjacent structures were destroyed due to the enlargement of the riverbanks after the 1955 floods, we can notice some visible cracks in the structures of the staircase leading to the first floor. A part of this street was covered by a “*sībālī*” (a covered part of the street) that acted as a buttress to the building, traces of these destroyed parts are still visible on the elevation, and shown in the plans of 1939 (*maqāsīm*) during the French mandate. The barrel vault of the western access is destroyed, along with the first floor it carries; it was replaced by a concrete slab, altering the original shape of the building, but regulating the horizontal load of the vaults on the ground floor. This is of special importance for the static of the building. The modern house addition, on top of the western part of Sūq Ḥarāj, is causing further load. The closing of the destructed vault would counterbalance the thrust from this side (Fig. 9). As a consequence of bombing during the war, parts of the roof structures have been severely damaged. This made the upper part of the vaults unprotected and exposed to weather conditions. Moreover, uncompleted measures of redevelopment and protection of the roof covering led to a humidity process, which severely damaged the roof vault of the *sūq*. A unit of the vaulting system covering the northern access is partially destroyed today. The external facade of the Sūq Ḥarāj in the vicinity of the Southern entrance was in a rather bad condition aesthetically and structurally.

#### 4. Report on executed works

##### *Philosophy of restoration*

Concepts and schools of restoration are numerous and experts do not agree on one method. However, some criteria and rules need to be followed in order to respect and preserve the conservation of the building in question (see ICOMOS recommendations). To achieve the project in the best results, a multi disciplinary team should be drawn together. To develop a consistent theory for Sūq Ḥarāj restoration, the building was to be studied from different points of views. International experts gave their assessment of the building, without going in the detailed restoration planning. The extensive and detailed restoration plan is done entirely by the two

architect-restorers Antoine Fichfich and Michel Daoud. This detailed study was evaluated by the DGA, by the municipality and by German experts. The outcome of the building historical research was integrated in the concept of restoration.

For the development of the concept five points were taken into consideration:

- (a) the original Mamluk building,
- (b) its history, alternations, reasons of neglect through different centuries,
- (c) the meaning of the building and its surroundings today, its future use and functional needs by today users,
- (d) the architectural safeguarding of the monument,
- (e) an architectural aesthetic treatment.

Since “the original” building is the outcome of continuous change during many centuries, the question was, which historical phase of the *sūq* to emphasize on or to restore. Some voices – not keeping the complex history of this building in mind – demanded to bring back the Mamluk structure during the restoration. This would have meant to expropriated the shop owners, re-opened the gallery and inventing doors in front of the old shops behind the gallery, of which we have no traces – an unacceptable approach to us. Going back to the Mamluk period or rebuilding the *sūq* like it was around the early 20<sup>th</sup> century would be freezing the building in one of its phases of life. This would mean erasing in a completely subjective way other phases and many centuries of its history. One should accept that the building is of Mamluk origins, but also consists of later phases, and still is today, a living structure. The built



Fig. 12: Historical picture of the city of Tripoli end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century showing the white plastered urban fabric (courtesy of W.-D. Lemke).

environment is, like the cultures that produce it, ever transforming. To consider the original Mamluk monument to be the authentic monument is a historical concept. The authentic building is the outcome of continuous change over many centuries. For restoration purposes, we decided to inform the visitor of a few stories that are embedded in the monument. Thus – as the most important intervention – the doors were placed between the columns to emphasize the columns – and taking into consideration the existence of the old gallery – without destroying the shops that are now located here. In this way everybody can understand the original Mamluk building, but due to the obvious new doors – and not invented Mamluk or Ottoman ones – one can understand that the building changed during its history and resulted into the shops as we see them today. It was decided on a modern interpretation of historical doors. People living in the area are replacing their old doors with metallic new ones because they think it is more secure; and this is the case in Sūq Ḥarāj, where only few shops' doors remain from the Mandate period (around 1930). The restoration project had to meet the needs of the users without compromising the building's image and character. Doors, made out of glass or wood – favored by some of us – would have been sooner or later replaced by the owners. Metallic doors covered with treated wood from both sides were installed. The new doors have modern frames to show that they are not historical – however they are coherent to the overall space. In the northeastern corner some of the Mandate period door lintels – the oldest ones in Sūq Ḥarāj – were left to document that here the early Mandate alteration of the building once had happened and to narrate one of the many stories of the building (Fig. 10). In this way the rights of the today owners, the history, the aesthetic and the origin of Sūq Ḥarāj are respected.

Before and during the restoration, owners and users were asked about their needs, taking into consideration the full respect of the building and incorporating the daily lives of the people and their society. Methods needed to be developed taking the daily life of people into account. Processes that had led to the alteration of the building must be understood and integrated into the concept – as demonstrated with the doors above. For example, the

maintenance of the structure especially for the traditional roof system did not function before the restoration and it will neither function after the restoration. Therefore, a modern technique without the maintenance problem was applied. The same is applicable to the light openings on the top of the hall that were closed with cement by the shop owners, to shelter themselves from the rain, and so we reopened the light openings but respected the wishes of the people to shelter them from the rain, as a result we used glass to close the openings leaving space between them allowing for the necessary circulation of air. Other decisions were made, mainly to respect the original Mamluk building. The concrete additions after the war damages were removed and the entire eastern outside façade was rebuilt after the study of the original vaulting system. A whitewashed lime plaster was added to protect the stone covered masonry of the building; missing or damaged parts of this plaster were cleaned and again plastered. Thus was developed a restoration concept truthful to the original structure, to its historical development, to phases of the sūq and to its future use; respecting at the same time the owners' freedom to use their shops and living units. In this way, the restoration project will help in improving the everyday life of the users of the building.

#### Examples of execution

The site was cleaned from all sorts of debris, of vegetations on the elevation, of all concrete additions such as plaster concrete slabs and partition walls, and of algae and organisms growing in humid environments. The masonry was washed and cleaned with water and plastic brushes, without affecting the historical structure or masonry. The eastern outside façade was totally rebuilt with traditional techniques. Concrete and modern blocks were dismantled and the entire façade and the above vaulting reconstructed. The western barrel vaulted access from Sūq al-Jadīd was reconstructed. The eastern elevation of the main hall was also reconstructed with the same traditional building material of the structure in question. Decayed stones were replaced with others having the same characteristic in order to preserve the physical and architectural coherence of the building. Hydraulic lime mortar was used in the construction of these items.



Fig. 13: Mamluk muqarnas dome in the Tawba Mosque before "restoration".

Cleaning the existing concrete layer on the roof and adding a new layer on it ensured a better draining of the rainwater. The new layer is partitioned, separated by joints and laid on polystyrene sheets to prevent effects of dilatation due to extreme thermal shocks, the concrete layer is painted with insulation material (Derma Primer), and another bitumen layer (SBS), then painted with waterproof coating (F72 ELASTOMALTA), a geo textile layer protects the whole membrane; a gravel layer of 5 cm covers the whole system. Other terraces to which some living units have access, are treated differently, thin concrete layers are painted with F72 ELASTOMALTA for insulation. Sanitary works consisted of the following: PVC water tanks for four users installed, with all the necessary piping and accessories. To avoid further water damages in the building four restrooms were rebuilt with the necessary equipment. All the draining systems have been linked to the city system, which is to be rehabilitated within the framework of the World Bank loan project. The wooden parts are treated and painted with a protective layer, with a dark green color (traces of this color were found on old windows in the *sūq*). New similar ones replaced old windows that were in bad shape. In the hall, only four new windows were installed in the walls that were reconstructed. Old photographic sources provided the shapes and sizes of the windows. On the eastern outer façade of the building, that was mainly reconstructed, eight new windows, similar to the original ones were installed; the location of these windows was determined according to the interiors and to the



Fig. 14: Mamluk muqarnas dome in the Tawba Mosque after "restoration".

reconstructed structure. Totally corroded steel bars were replaced with new ones.

Following the concept of rebuilding a modern interpretation of the 1900 situation of the space organization (dimensions of the shops up to the columns), the proposed metal grills above the doors of the shops (*shamsiyyāt*) are a simplified copy of the ones belonging to the 1900 period. Old cast iron *shamsiyyāt* in relatively good condition were kept and repaired. The canopies were made as a very simplified, light wooden structure inspired by historical models and techniques, without copying details of canopies of a certain period like late Ottoman red tiles. Four of them will be granted by the restoration-architects, the CDR will finance the four remaining ones.

Before the restoration the hall's floor was covered with a concrete layer, which was removed and replaced with limestone tiles (*furni*) as is traditional, and as those found in different locations within the spaces of the building. The tiles were installed in a geometry following the galleries on layers of gravel and concrete. During the *sondages* by the DAI/OIB/DGA team the original fountain in the hall was found between the two central columns. The layout of the new tiles was adapted to this new fact, and a design to enhance the fountain is being prepared. Walking on the floor of Sūq Ḥarāj and following carefully the system of tiling, one can imagine the ancient flooring: the sidewalk, the irregular paved section between the sidewalk and the



rectangular tiling around the fountain and the tiling of the fountain itself, incorporating traces of the historical flooring found during the excavations.

Much discussion was needed to decide whether the walls should be covered by white plaster or if the stone of the walls should be visible. Like in many Mediterranean cities – from Greece to North Africa – nearly all buildings of Tripoli were covered by whitewashed plaster, leading to the cities nickname “white Tripoli” (Ṭarāblus al-Bayḍā, cf. Fig. 12). Hence, in Sūq Ḥarāj, many remains of old plaster were found. If monuments were not plastered, the stone-cutters thoroughly worked on the stone gave it a smooth surface like the ones we can see at the many historical mosques and schools of the city. Out of a fatal misunderstanding, it became a trend during the last years to decap all the walls and to expose the stones. In the search of a purist and authentic historical monument, people knocked off the plaster to reach the historical core of the monument and to bring out its rustic character. Paradoxically, this a-historical treatment damages the historical building, since the plaster serves as a protection skin in such humid coastal climate. In some historical monuments like the Tawba or ‘Aṭṭār Mosque, stucco also serves to decorate the building. It is often applied on stones which serve as a kind of skeleton to carry the complicated *muqarnas* shaped patterns. After taking away the plaster the former piece of art looks like a cripple of which every craftsman would be ashamed (Fig. 13, Fig. 14). To protect the building, to give it back at historical appearance, and to follow the remains of the surfaces, we decided to apply whitewashed plaster. This happened for the first time in a restoration project of the past years and we hope to set a new trend in order to reverse a development which is not in the interests of the buildings.

No industrial whitewash was used during the restoration. Instead we only used natural lime where 22 tones of natural lime were provided from the storages of the municipality. Lime plaster was only applied on the surfaces of the facades of the hall, and the eastern elevation (i. e. in the public spaces), in some locations, the original plaster, which is in relatively good shape, was kept as evidence of the original situation. A small joint was added between the old and new

lime plasters to distinguish them from each other. The rest of the spaces, such as the interior of the shops, are of the responsibility of the owners. In some urgent cases help was provided. The procedure consisted of: Removing the old decayed plaster without altering the masonry; cleaning the joints and surfaces to insure a better adherence with the plaster. The first layer of adherence is around 5 cm thick dosed 400 to 450 kg of hydraulic natural lime for each one cubic meter of sand; once dry, a second smoother layer is applied to insure specifications of insulation, 300 to 350 kg of hydraulic natural lime for each one cubic meter of sand 15 to 20 mm thick. The finishing layer is dosed of 250 to 300 kg of hydraulic natural lime for each one cubic meter of sand, with a thickness of maximum 7 mm. Humidifying and drying each layer of plaster takes around three days. The illumination of the interior space due to the skylights and the reflection from the lime plaster surface gives Sūq Ḥarāj today, a fascinating light appearance.

Sūq Ḥarāj restoration project was an interesting experience for all involved parties. Different concepts, methodologies, and thoughts were negotiated and the Orient-Institute was extremely happy and lucky to find wonderful partners in doing so. This project was a success due to the good cooperation with all the concerned parties. The process involved the cooperation of historians, archaeologists, architect-restorers, students, craftsmen, people living in the area, the municipality of Tripoli, the Lebanese University (Department of Restoration), the DGA (Ministry of Culture), the DAI, the OIB, the CDR (Council for Development and Reconstruction, here the World Bank program CHUD), the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the German Embassy in Lebanon. It went not without problems, since heritage management and restoration became a battlefield of different groups and interests. As we could experience with persons not affiliated to the cooperating groups, personal material interest dressed in pseudo academic critics can damage quite a lot of the common efforts to protect an outstanding urban heritage. We wish the city of Tripoli good luck for further projects and are happy and proud to have contributed to one of the most scientific restoration projects in the public sector in Tripoli and Lebanon in the past decades.



Fig. 15: Street leading into Sūq Ḥarāj from the South after restoration.

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#### Notes:

- This report reflects the common understanding of the history and restoration of the building by Juren Meister, Antoine Fichfich and Michel Daoud, Nathalie Chahine and Youssef el-Khoury. I am deeply indebted to their support to the project.
- Cf. *Beiruter Blätter* 10-11 (2002-03) 31-34, 140-146 and <http://www.oidmg.org/Beirut/Projekte/Tripoli/index.html> with reports on the research project and workshops.
- I would like to express the involved DGA team, Khalid al-Rifa'i, Samar Karam, and especially Frédéric Hussein its general director, for their unlimited support and engagement in this project. Frédéric Hussein was throughout the project interested in every detail and anytime available to discuss upcoming difficulties.
- I would like to thank Professors Friedhelm Stein, Philipp Speiser and Jan Martin Klessing for their kind help in this context.

- Interview in Sūq Ḥarāj, 15<sup>th</sup> April 2005. In court records the building is known as both, Sūq Ḥarāj, and Sūq al-Ḥarāj. I use here the first since it is the name under which the building is known today.
- Cf. SMST S3/P98 (1088/1678), as well ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri, *Wathā’iq nādira min Sijillāt al-Mahkama al-Shar‘iyya bi-Ṭarāblus*. Beirut (2002) 150 f. For Tripoli the records will be cited: SMST (*Sijillāt Maḥākīm Shar‘iyya bi-Ṭarāblus*) register/page (*hijrī* date/Christian date).
- The *shā‘ār* were producers or merchants of a special yarn, which already became out of use in the late Ottoman period. Cf. M.S. al-Qāsimī / J. al-Qāsimī / Kh. al-‘Azam, *Qāmūs al-Ṣinā‘āt al-Shāmiyya*. Edited by Tāhir al-Qāsimī. Damascus (1988) 256. This *khān* is also mentioned (without further details) in S3/P117 (1098/1687).
- SMST S26/P43 (1273/1857).
- Cf. for his life and patronship: Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, „Der Bauherr des Hammām Mangāk in Bosra. Seine Bautätigkeit in Ägypten und Syrien“; in: M. Meinecke und F. Aalund, *Bosra, Islamische Architektur und Archäologie*, Rahden/Westf. (2005) pp. 109-125. On Manjak in the sources see inter alia: H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans* (658-1156), *traduction des Annales d'Ibn Jundā'a*. Damascus (1952) 12 f; Ahmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyya al-musammā bi l-mawā‘iz wa l-f’tībār bi-dihkr al-khiṭaṭ wa l-athār*. Cairo (1326h) vol. IV p. 124 ff. Cf. For the dates of his office in Tripoli: Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*. Beirut Vol XIV, p. 251, 252, 253, 258.
- Meinecke-Berg (2005) 115, 119.
- Meinecke-Berg (2005) 121 f.
- Cf. MSD 61/24/58 (1140/1727); 72/30/65 (1147/1734). For Damascus the record will be cited: MSD (*Maḥākīm Shar‘iyya Dimashq*) register/page/case number (*hijrī* date).
- Cf. MSD 61/24/58 (1140/1727); 4/190/360 (1145/1732). One record gives further details of a administration of 12 *waqfs* of the Banī Manjak, of which six belonged to Amīr Manjak ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Yūsufī, one of al-Amīr Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak and al-Amīr Abū Bakr respectively, and three by al-Amīr Muḥammad (among them the mosques al-Aqṣāb and Jazmātiyya) (1180/1767).
- Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā‘ira bi-A’yān al-Mī’a al-‘Ashīra*. 3 Vols. Edited by Jibrālī Sulaymān Jabbūr. Beirut (1979) I 129 f.
- Al-Ghazzī (1979) III 171; Laoust (1952) 198, 203; Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athār fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Hādī ‘Ashar*. 4 Vols. Beirut (1970) IV, 229 ff.; Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb, “Kitāb al-Rauḍ al-‘Āṭir”, in: Ahmet Halil Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-‘Āṭir des Ibn Ayyūb*. Berlin (1981) 102 ff. Cf. as well MSD 2/67/384 (1036/1627).
- Cf. al-Muḥibbī (1970) IV, 409 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics, Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Stuttgart (1985) p. 201. Arabic translation: *Dimashq fi-l-Qarnayn al-Thāmin ‘Ashar wa-l-Tāsīf ‘Ashar*. Translated by ‘Amr and Dīnā al-Mallāh, Damascus (1998). The late Ottoman court records mostly members of the ‘Ajlānī family named as administrators of the Manjak *waqfs*, but also members of the Hamze and Hajjār Families sometimes appears as administrators of *waqf jiddihim* Manjak Pasha. Among these *waqfs* administrated by the ‘Ajlānī were villages near Aleppo cf. MSD S67/15-388 (1144/1732); S24-275-913 (1130/1718); the Village al-Dayrkhabīyya cf. MSD S27-43-340 (1117/1706); a mill in the Qaḍā Ba‘labak cf. MSD S729-76-61; a garden in Šālīhiyya MSD S43-45-69 (1133/1721) and a house in the Bādīrāiyya quarter of the *waqf* al-Amīr Muḥammad ibn Manjak cf. MSD S101/286/430 (1154/1741); S86-W45-255 (1155/1742); 154/159/325 (1173/1759), with a garden in al-Baḥṣa cf. MSD S772-70-62 (1201/1787).

<sup>18</sup> SMST 2/P133 (1079/1668) gives shops of the Manjak *waqf* close to the Tawba Mosque next to Hammām al-Qāḍī, S2/P11 (1078/1667) repairs of the mill from his *waqf*. Cf. Tadmuri (2002) 91. On a Sūq Manjak and houses see S3/P97 (1097/1686).

<sup>19</sup> Izquierdo Ruiz, A. / Naumann, D.: Bayt El-Chami in Al-Hadid Tripoli/Libanon, Quartiererhebung und Bauuntersuchung im

Bereich Suq Harāj. Thesis Aufbaustudium Denkmalpflege, TU Berlin (2004).

<sup>20</sup> SMST S1/P155 (1078/1668); S26/P43 (1203/1789); S26/43 (1273/1857). Cf. as well S1/P142 (1078/1667). Further mentioning of estates of the Manjak Waqf directly attached to Sūq Harāj: SMST S26/P147 (1295/1791). Mentioning of a Waqf Manjak in other quarters of the city inter alia: S26/P136 (1206/1791), S42/P41 (1228/1813).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. inter alia S26/P43 (1203/1789); S82/P116 (1300/1882).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. inter alia MSD 81/190/224 (1149/1736) on a rent of properties in Tripoli administrated by ‘Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-‘Ajlānī.

<sup>23</sup> SMST S3/P27, 34 (1096/1684). The fountain is called in the records Birkat al-Shahm. Its today name goes back probably on a *waqf* endowed by Muḥammad al-Mallāh in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the house by Muḥammad al-Mallāh close to the *birka* cf. S82/P116 (1300/1882).

<sup>24</sup> On the nearby perfumers mosques (Fig. 6-4) see: Miriam Kühn, Die ‘Attār-Moschee in Tripoli. Unpublished Master Thesis, Seminar für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn (2004).

<sup>25</sup> SMST S3/P218 (1088/1677). The hints in the sources match quite well the observations made on the building itself.

<sup>26</sup> SMST 26/p. 147 (1295/1791).

### *Beirut – Saida – Tripoli: Die Stadtforschungsprojekte des Orient-Instituts*

Mit Projekten zur Erforschung urbaner Strukturen im Libanon erhielt das breite Spektrum wissenschaftlicher Forschungen am Orient Institut eine neue Richtung. Städte sind soziale Organisationen von heterogener Struktur. Mit ihren vielfältigen Facetten erlauben sie eine einzigartige Herangehensweise bei der Erforschung von Gesellschaften aus einer historischen Perspektive. Jeden Tag leben und agieren Tausende von Menschen in ihnen und verändern so ihr Erscheinungsbild. Städte sind Ausdruck des Handelns ihrer Bewohner und von Konflikten und Konventionen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft. In diesem Sinne sind Städte eine ergiebige Quelle, um kulturelle Traditionen und Veränderungsprozesse zu erforschen. Architektur und Geschichte sind miteinander verwoben und erklären sich gegenseitig.

Die Stadtforschungsprojekte des Orient-Instituts zu Beirut, Saida und Tripoli verbinden Untersuchungen zur Architektur mit mikrohistorischen Ansätzen und rekonstruieren gesellschaftlichen Wandel und die Umformungen des urbanen Raums von der mamlukischen (1260 bzw. 1289-1516) und osmanischen Epoche (1516-1918) bis heute. Sie zeichnen ein detailliertes Bild der urbanen Gesellschaften und ihres täglichen Lebens. Für einige Gebäude ist es möglich gewesen, die Biografie ihres Besitzers, seinen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Hintergrund, seine Ausbildung und die Motivation der Baumaßnahme zu ermitteln. Auch kann man sich für bestimmte Gebäude auf eine große Quellenvielfalt – Waqfiyāt, Gerichtsakten, zeitgenössische Dokumente und Beschreibungen, historische Fotografien, Inschriften, Dekoration, Mobiliar, Wandmalereien, Grundrisspläne, Baumaterialien – stützen, die ein umfassendes Verständnis des architektonischen Raums und seiner Veränderung ermöglichen. Neben dem wissenschaftlichen Interesse an komplexen urbanen sozialen Gefügen und ihren materiellen Ausformungen, hoffen wir, dass dieses

kulturelle Erbe eine stärkere Anerkennung findet und die gegenwärtigen Bemühungen zu seiner Bewahrung Unterstützung finden werden.

Das Forschungsprojekt „Zokak el-Blat in Beirut: Geschichte, Struktur und Wandel eines zentrumsnahen Wohnquartiers“ konnte jüngst mit einer Publikation abgeschlossen werden.<sup>1</sup> Zokak el-Blat entstand im 19. Jh. als Villenvorort außerhalb der Stadtmauern Beiruts. Im Zuge fortlaufender Neubebauung sowie Zu- und Abwanderungen hat sich das Quartier im 20. Jh. zu einem stark verdichteten, baulich und sozial sehr heterogenen Stadtviertel entwickelt. Nach dem Ende des libanesischen Bürgerkrieges (1975-1991) und im Zusammenhang mit dem Wiederaufbau der angrenzenden Innenstadt steht es nun unter neuem Entwicklungsdruck. Das in diesem Quartier gelegene Orient-Institut Beirut diente zwischen 1997 und 2004 als Plattform für ein von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) finanziertes, multidisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt, in dem eine Gruppe von Nachwuchswissenschaftlern aus den Disziplinen Kulturgeschichte, Architektur- und Stadtbau-geschichte, Stadtgeographie, Ethnologie und Politologie zusammenarbeitete, um die historische, bauliche und soziale Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Viertels in ihrer Vielfalt und Dynamik zu erforschen. Das sozial und konfessionell gemischte Quartier wurde dabei als ein Mikrokosmos Beiruts und des Libanons betrachtet.

Ein weiteres Projekt findet in Zusammenarbeit mit der Debbané-Stiftung statt. Der Debbané-Palast ist eines der wichtigsten historischen Wohnhäuser entlang der libanesischen Küste und wird momentan durch die Debbané-Stiftung restauriert. Erbaut im Jahr 1134/1721-22 als Wohnsitz eines lokalen Notablen, ist er ein Spiegel der Geschichte Libanons während der letzten drei Jahrhunderte. Ziel unserer