

The Restoration Project of Sūq Ḥarāj in Tripoli History, Archaeology and Rehabilitation

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Sūq Ḥarāj is one of the most important and certainly the most remarkable Mamluk (1260-1516) commercial building of the region. With a hall, a gallery and commercial units on the ground floor along with living units on the upper floor Sūq Ḥarāj's most remarkable feature is the an hall covered by an complex vaulting system which is supported by two central reused antique columns of 4m height. Twelve other shorter ones belong to a gallery, which runs on three sides around the hall and gives access to shops on their rear side.

Sūq Ḥarāj was restored between 2003 and 2005 by a Lebanese German co-operation, financed jointly by a generous donation of the German Foreign Office and the Lebanese Ministry of Culture. The Municipality of Tripoli supported the project. It was planned and carried out by the Directorate General of Antiquities and the German Orient Institute. The conducted restoration on a firm scientific foundation, which became a model for further projects, was accompanied by an academic study of the building and its neighbourhood. The following four articles report on the project - the history of the building, its restoration, the rescue excavations and the found pottery.

Located on the northern coast of Lebanon, Tripoli is one of the many ancient towns of the Eastern Mediterranean. Flourishing since antiquity, it witnessed the most drastic changes once it shifted from the Crusader period to the Mamluk dynasty in 1289. Fearing the return of the Crusaders from the sea, the ancient town next to the sea was abandoned and by the end of the 13th century, the entire city was re-built approximately two kilometres away from the shore, on the western foothill protected by the mountains and the citadel. Tripoli is the only Mamluk (1250/60-1516) urban foundation of the region. Different from most of the cities along the coast and

in Bilād al-Shām, Tripoli's urban structures are relatively new and provide a rare example of urban development of the early-modern period. Its rich architectural legacy dates back mainly to the Mamluk (on its new location since the early 1290s) and the Ottoman (1516-1918) eras. Tripoli is, from an architectural historic point of view, the most important city in Lebanon and an outstanding example of the rich Mediterranean heritage.

Unfortunately, today much of the city's glorious heritage has decayed and this architectural treasure is still exposed to great dangers. The rampant crisis of urban societies and structure in the Middle East

accompanied by an almost total neglect of their historical and architectural 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. Reasons are many, problematic urban planning concepts and social change are some of them. Large streets were cut through the townscape without proper finishing or conceptual analysis on how to connect the new thoroughfares to the affected neighbourhoods. Wealthy families left old Tripoli while poorer strata of society took over the empty spaces. Subdivision of houses and public buildings, like *khāns*, and many additions by the growing population led to an urban densification. But social change and socio-economical crises are not the only or most dangerous reasons for the decay of the built environment: a general attitude of indifference and a lack of responsibility are probably based on a much deeper societal problem to which a restoration of a building is still not the right answer.

But why does a scientific institution then start to care about heritage and its restoration, if it only can address history and architecture but not the reasons for its negligence? The engagement of the Orient Institute in Tripoli began out of professional considerations and was motivated by the scientific interest to explore principles and patterns of urban space and daily life in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. However, our efforts to document, re-evaluate and reanimate Eastern Mediterranean heritage is motivated by our personal sense of responsibility towards the "object" we study. But resources at the Orient Institut are limited and without a competent partner, who we found with the DGA and the professional knowledge provided by the team of architects and the Institute of Restoration of the Lebanese University in Tripoli, this project would not have been possible. The resources involved had much influence on the scale and concept of the endeavour, as will be discussed below.

To begin, I will outline the restoration project, followed by an historical and architectural description of the monument, its damages, and finally conclude with an outline of main concepts of our restoration¹.

1. The Project

Next to our research project on written and material sources on Mamluk and Ottoman Tripoli, the Orient Institute conceptualized and coordinated the restoration project of what can be regarded as the most exceptional Mamluk commercial building of the region: Sūq Ḥarāj (**Figs 1 to 3**). 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 Tripoli².

Development of the Project

Following a visit of the former German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in 2001 to the region, Martin Kobler, Fischer's office manger at the time, and I discussed possibilities to support 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). Working in the *sūqs* of Tripoli, I proposed Sūq Ḥarāj as a place of core importance in the urban fabric. As a monumental building unique in the Eastern Mediterranean, it was in urgent need of a thorough rehabilitation project. Our limited human or financial resources would not allow to manage reuse, to follow up maintenance or to implement any educational or social program. A "living" *sūq* would allow (but not yet guarantee) a sustainable one-time intervention³. An economic relative stable situation on the macro level, would enable property holders on the micro level to run their business and yield a continuous proper function and "management" of the sight. In a first survey, prior to any plan and application, I visited the shop owners, obtained their opinion and asked if they would support such a project and follow up the *sūqs* maintenance. They agreed, giving me the initiative to take any further steps. Sūq Ḥarāj is a listed monument, but nevertheless a private property. None of the involved institutions had the intention of changing this. As will be shown later, the agreement of the shop owners was of crucial importance.

The first fundraising preparations were done in cooperation with the assistance of Rawiya Majzoub,



Fig. 1- Tripoli in 1936, left the Abū 'Alī river, Sūq Harāj middle right (courtesy of IFPO).



Fig. 2- Hall of Sūq Harāj before the restoration (Weber 2002).



Fig. 3- Hall of Sūq Harāj before the restoration (Weber 2002).

head of the Institute for Restoration (Lebanese University) in Tripoli in 2002. The fundraising process was carried out by the DGA [Directorate General of Antiquities/ 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 plenty of preparatory work, done by all partners on a voluntary basis:

- The DGA worked on the application and with many efforts verified the restoration studies (Frédéric Hussein Director General of the DGA, Khaled Rifai Architect, Samar Karam Archaeologist)⁴.

- Preliminary studies and first calculation of the restoration costs by Antoine Fischfisch.

- 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, Samir Chaarani, and the German Ambassador, Günter Kniess. 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. The second phase was inaugurated by the Lebanese Minister of Culture, Tareq Mitri, the mayor of Tripoli, Rashid Jamali, and the German Ambassador, Marius Haas in September 2006.

Financed by the DGA, the two architect-restorers, Antoine Fischfisch 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 (examples cf. contribution Fischfisch / Daoud). 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)⁵. The workshops, designed for an international academic exchange and for the training of Lebanese students, helped to develop the restoration concept. The workshops were the only possibility to involve experienced experts of medieval vaulting systems and practicing restorers on historical commercial structures from abroad. This was at one point very essential, for a four-storey 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 from abroad in this field, to ensure that the structure would support the apartment building even after restoration and to define measures to guarantee its stability⁶.

The second workshop involved several days of active work with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. These workshops, with 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 have a round table discussion with our international guests, townfolk of Tripoli, Lebanese experts and students, and institutions in charge of problems and resolutions of this project and others like it. Thus, the detailed restoration plan made by the Lebanese restoration-architects was based on the main concepts that were agreed on 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 undertook a profound complete archaeological survey using state-of-the-art equipment, along with extensive photographic documentation (directed by Juren Meister). 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 young Lebanese architects and historians financed by the OIB. During the restoration the DAI, DGA and OIB team composed an archaeological investigation of the building, clarifying its original layout, predating structures and alternations made during the centuries (cf. contributions of Meister / Karam and Shehadeh).

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-‘adīd, to the east of Sūq al-Bāzarkān / al-Jadīd (**Figs 4 and 5**). Judging from its architectural features (construction techniques and lay-out) and the neighbourhood buildings, Sūq Ḥarāj is a market that could date back from the Mamluk period or the early Ottoman period. It has mercantile structures on the ground floor and living units on the upper floor (**Figs 6 and 7**). The building mainly consists of an irregularly cross-vaulted hall supported by two central granite reused antique columns 4m high. Twelve other shorter ones on the northern, eastern, and southern sides are elements of



Fig. 4- Tripoli in 1933, 1) Sūq Ḥarāj, 2) citadel, 3) Big Mosque al-Manṣūrī (courtesy of IFPO).



Fig. 5- Tripoli in 1936, northern quarters, 1) Sūq Ḥarāj, 2) Khān al-'Askar, 3) Bab al-Tabbāna (courtesy of IFPO).

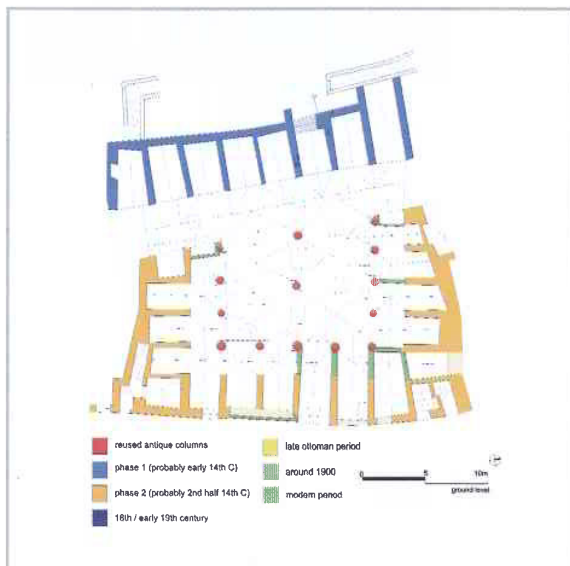


Fig. 6- Sūq Ḥarāj building phases from probably the 14th century to the early 20th century, plan, ground floor (OIB 2007).



Fig. 7- Sūq Ḥarāj building phases from probably the 14th century to the early 20th century, plan, upper floor (OIB 2007).

a cross vaulted gallery (**Figs 8 and 9**)⁷. Through this gallery, which is today integrated into the shops, one could walk around three sides of the hall along a row

of barrel vaulted shops. Its openings to the hall, marked by the smaller columns, are today blocked by secondary walls and doors (**Figs 10 and 11**).

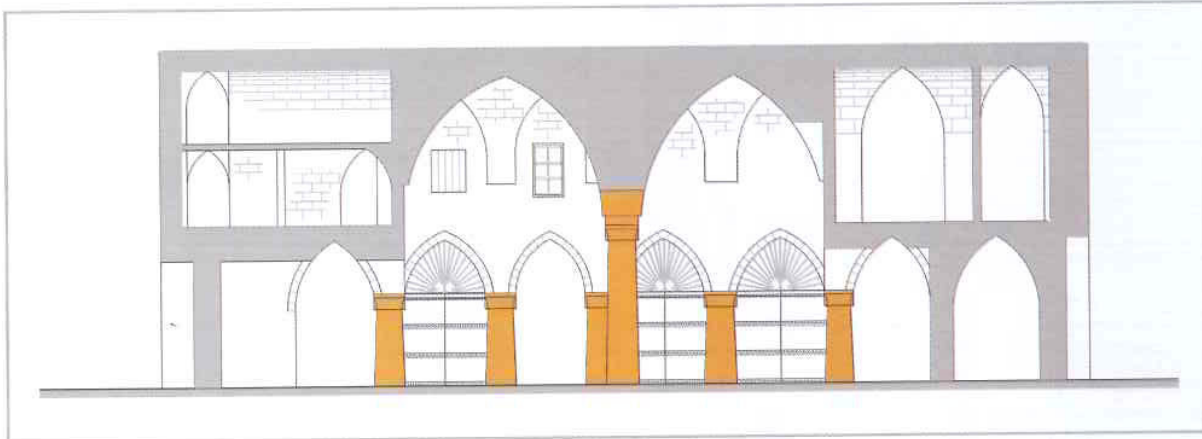


Fig. 8- Sūq Ḥarāj, schematic sketch of reused columns in the building (OIB/LU 2007).

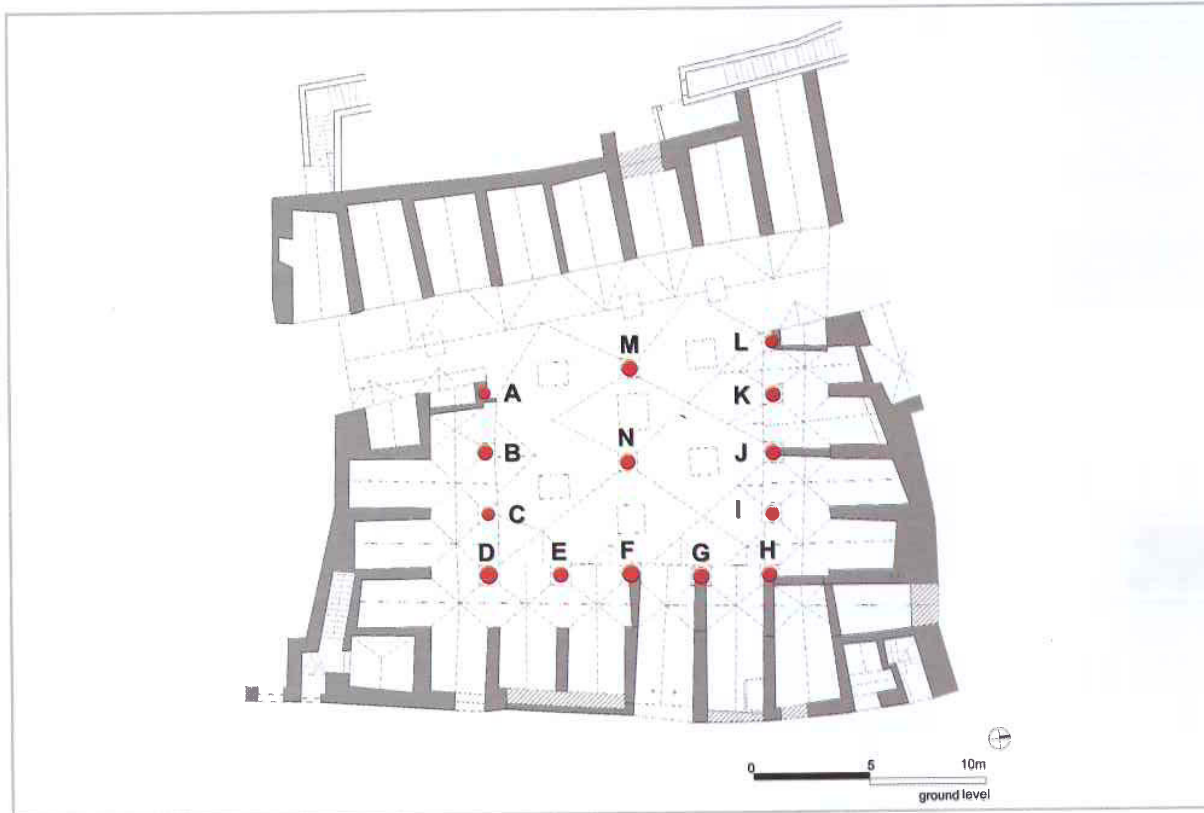


Fig. 9- Sūq Ḥarāj, columns in the building as discussed in the annex (OIB 2007).



Fig. 10- Sūq Harāj, blocked southern arcade (Weber 2004).



Fig. 11- Sūq Harāj, blocked arcade, south-eastern quoin of northern arcade (OIB / 2003 Workshop, Stone and Plaster Group).

The western side of the complex is supported by a structure a barrel-vaulted row of eight shops; the hall is nearly rectangular: 11 m wide, 13.5 m long and 8 m high. The Sūq Harāj area is entered via a north south oriented shopping street (Sūq Harāj al-Barrānī), to the east of which lies the hall (**Fig. 2**). Next to the sūq street, two passages connect the building on the eastern and western sides to the neighbourhood. Hence, one could access the main hall of Sūq Harāj from four sides.

One can access the living units on the first floor from the Sūsiyye Street on the east and from two small alleys leading to Sūq al-Jadid in 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 an elevated living section (*ṭazar*) – an arrangement, well known in Mamluk and Ottoman times. Mezzanines

divide parts of the first floor in the northern and eastern wing of the building. The arrangement and construction of the staircases and vault hall imply that the intermediate ceiling was an original part of the construction; the mezzanines might have been used as storage areas, and the other full height spaces, for living. The roofing system of the building is characterized by skylight openings, giving light and air to the main hall, as well as, to the living units on the first floor.

Thus Sūq Harāj is characterized by a well planned and clear structured sequence of units, but nevertheless very complex and compact (street, hall, gallery, shops, and apartments). The ground floor constitutes a main crossroad providing access to the neighbourhood in all four cardinal points. With the construction of the hall, the sūq street is winded into a market square. Thus the commercial space was

threefold: the square, the arcade and the shops. At times, when the hall was used for storage, by street hawkers or even production, the arcade separated the flow of customers to the 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 units, allowing temporal living and to a certain degree limited storage or permanent living. *Sūq Ḥarāj* is a multifunctional urban unit. 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 barely any architectural decoration and the craftsmanship is quite simple. A similar structure of such a commercial building is not known in the city of Tripoli; or in other cities of the region, like in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, nor in Cairo and Istanbul. The *Sūq Ḥarāj* is a genuine piece of architecture, created by a master builder 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 units 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* obviously influenced the spacial conception of *Sūq Ḥarāj*, since in Cairo one or two stories for residential use were added on top of the commercial units on the ground floor. The accommodation facilities of *Wakāla al-Ghūrī* (1505) for example, are organised as small apartments with mezzanine. Living units on *wakālas* were called *rab'*, and they were - like the apartments of *Sūq Ḥarāj* - accessible through a separate entrance on the side or the backside of the building. However, *wakālas* are only of limited help to explain the layout of *Sūq Ḥarāj*, since courtyards of Mamluk *khāns* were never covered by a vaulting system. In Baghdad the famous *Khān al-Mirjān* (1358) is barrel vaulted and in Damascus domed *khāns* are a known form of the Ottoman period, from which the four domes of *Khān al-ʿAmūd* were once - as the name indicates - carried by a massive column (*ʿamūd*). But functionally speaking, the *khāns* in Damascus still remain proper

khāns (without *rab'*). The courtyard of the Mamluk *Qaysāriyyat al-Ṣāgha* in Aleppo, known as *Makhzan Darwish*, is also covered by a complex vaulting system carried by two columns. But it is a one floor building of solely commercial nature without accommodation facilities (**Fig. 12**) and thus belongs to a group of similar structures like the vaulted market hall in Mardin (called *al-Qaysāriyya*-----) and Ottoman *bedestens*⁸. None of these buildings is a direct parallel to *Sūq Ḥarāj*. They do not integrate luxurious shopping areas marked by an arcade, nor apartment units on the upper floor, nor did they serve as distributors of flow in urban space. Our project restored a unique commercial structure of the Eastern Mediterranean.



Fig. 12- *Qaysāriyyat al-Ṣāgha* in Aleppo (Weber 2007).

Dating

Despite its unique lay-out, we do 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 patron of Sūq Ḥarāj. Secondary sources always label the building as a Mamluk construction, yet not a single justification or proof was provided to substantiate this assumption.

Prior to the discussion on the possible datation of the structure, one point needs to be stressed: the quarter holds no examples of pre-Mamluk structures *in situ*. All material dating before 1289, like the lintel of the portal Hammām 'Izz 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 among any material evidence.

Many have addressed the Sūq Ḥarāj as a church, because of its vaulted hall carried by the columns. However, a vaulted hall and column are not a sufficient criteria for the definition of a church. The Crusaders city was some two kilometres away and a smaller settlement serving the citadel is assumed further to the south. The layout of the building is completely different from that of a church. The Sūq Ḥarāj is a commercial building designed and built as such – in all probability after 1289. The research on the building archaeology by Juren Meister and the historical research have not yet been terminated and we hope to be able to date the building more precisely by the end of the investigations. However, with our present findings, we may place a rough date to the age of the building. The survey and excavation of archaeologists have proven that the hall, roofing, gallery and main living rooms 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 neighbourhood and not erected on an empty field, yet the excavation did not bring any predecessor to light (see contribution Meister / Karam) and the retrieved ceramics date to the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (see contribution Shehadeh). Thus, the city was already developing in this direction after its re-establishment 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 14th and 17th century simply by construction techniques. The complete lack of decorative elements adds to the difficulty of 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 capitals of its north-western, south-western columns and of the southern column of the eastern entrance with their slightly profiled *muqarnas* compartments are strikingly similar to the capitals used in the portal of the southern passage of the Madrasa al-Qarṭāwiyya, erected probably between 1316 and 1326. In both buildings they highlight important corners of passages.

Ottoman legal records, kept by the judges and scribes of the religious courts (*maḥkama shar'iyya*), dealing with legal issues such as inheritance, neighbourhood fights, property exchange, etc. mention Sūq Ḥarāj. However, the oldest preserved records date back to 1666 – after the assumed foundation of the *sūq*. Another problem is that names of *khāns* often change in the course of centuries. This applies to our structure which had a different name in the 17th century: Sūq of Khān al-Sha'ārīn⁹. However, this might not have been the building's original appellation. The today's name of "sūq of auction" (Ḥarāj) was probably applied during the 18th century. Both names, the "sūq of the khān of the yarn merchants" (al-Sha'ārīn) and the "sūq of auction" are not reflected in the functional sequences defined by the layout of the building. Sūq al-Ḥarāj in Aleppo is, from an architectural point of view, completely different from its namesake in Tripoli (Fig. 13). The name (and probably the function) is documented several times in the 19th century court records of Tripoli and in the first half of the 20th century when it still had this role. A neighbour, Sa'dallāh al-Barūdī, born around 1930, still remembers how people bid every Friday until the auctioneer shouted: "...ona, due ala tre!"¹⁰.



Fig. 13- *Sūq al-Harāj* in Aleppo (Weber 2007).

Patronship

Records (supported by today property relationships) often mention in the direct neighbourhood of *Sūq Harāj* the *waqf* of a certain Manjak Pasha. Several records from January 1678 (Dhū al-Qi‘da 1088) report a damage of the dam which was located below the near by Jadīd or Lahḥamīn (butchers) Bridge. Next to the dam two mills were also damaged, one of which was known under the name of Asandamur, which belonged to the *waqf* of the Manjak family¹¹. The records are a statement of cost for repairs made to these two and other buildings. Next to the substantial repairs (*tarmīm*) of the upper floor (*tabaqa*) of Khān al-Aruzz (or al-Ruzz), which we know was in the Manjak *Waqf* and the direct western neighbour of our *sūq* (see below and **Fig. 14: 3**), it mentions repairs of a certain *Sūq Khān al-Shahhārīn* which - following the logic of the record written by the scribe of the Manjak *Waqf* (*kātib waqf al-Manjakī*) - also belonged to the *waqf*. Here the ceiling was fixed and a new adobe plaster of its roof “in between columns (or pillars)” was applied. There is only one *sūq* in the neighbourhood with free standing columns, that of *Sūq Harāj*. 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 Harāj*, known as the shop of ‘Isā Bāshā, which was part of the Manjak *Waqf*¹². But it also mentions other

shops in *Sūq Harāj*, which belonged to different endowments. Thus *Sūq Harāj* was at least in some parts connected to the *waqf* of Manjak Pasha, even though we do not have explicit proof that he also was the one who had built 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 14th century and served as governor (*nā‘ib*) in Safad, Tripoli, Aleppo and Damascus¹³. During his quite changeful career he had commissioned more than twenty religious and civil buildings. Unfortunately almost nothing is known about his first governorship in Tripoli, and if Manjak was the patron of *Sūq Harāj* this building might have 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 769/1367¹⁴. In the last years of his life Manjak al-Yūsufī was devoted to the development of infrastructure in Bilād al-Shām, among them several rural caravanserais¹⁵. Thus it is inveigling to attribute *Sūq Harāj* to Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī. However, one may ask why there is no building inscription, like on his Khān al-Sabīl in Magharat al-Nu‘mān (773/1371–72) or his emblem like on many other of his buildings. There is the possibility that *Sūq Harāj* 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 different endowments, some by offspring who carried the same name. The Manjak family was controlling and administering the endowments made by different members of the family (*Awqāf Banī Manjak*) from Damascus, where they were based. It seems that these *waqfs* of Banī Manjak were a cluster of endowments by different persons, managed and administrated by members of the family.

There were several buildings in Damascus and its district like the mosque Masjid al-Aqṣāb 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,

Homs, and Hama¹⁶. 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 members¹⁷. Among the important family members was Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Manjak al-Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 918/1512) who administered the Manjak *waqfs* and died in Tripoli¹⁸. His relative al-Amīr Muḥammad ibn Manjak ibn Abu 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. He made several steps in his career, among them *mutawallī* of the complex of the Sulaymāniyya, Amīr al-Umarā in Raqqā and Jericho and received a pension by the Ottoman state (...*mutaqā’idan ‘alā qānūn Āl ‘Uthmān ‘an Daftardāriyya 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 Abu Bakr (d. 991/1583). He endowed himself several buildings, of which al-Muhibbī only mentions his house in Damascus, northeast to the Umayyad Mosque¹⁹. His son, al-Amīr Manjak ibn Muḥammad ibn Manjak ibn Abu Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak al-Kabīr al-Yūsufī al-Dimashqī (d. 1080/1668–70) was also famous in his time and added several estates to the family *waqfs*²⁰. It was probably this Manjak Pasha, who married a lady of the ‘Ajlānī family, forming the Manjak-‘Ajlānī family that, during the following centuries, administered the Manjak *waqfs*. The Manjak-‘Ajlānīs are until now in Tripoli connected with the *waqf* of Manjak²¹.

The Neighbourhood

It is interesting to note, that probably large parts of the north-western quarter of the city belonged to *waqfs* of Manjak²². The direct surrounding of Sūq Ḥarāj changed quite a lot during the last decades and – next to the 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 favour of a square which serves as a parking lot. Towards the east, the situation is more dramatic: in the name of modernization and as a consequence of the flood of 1955 the river Abū ‘Alī was straightened and pressed into a concrete channel (and no longer just 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 straight streets (cf. for the old quarter **Figs 1, 5 and 15**). Thus the back street of Sūq Ḥarāj, the Sūsiyye, lost all of its charm and the eastern side 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. 14: 1**). It is a courtyard house with an *iwān* in the south and a three-floor living section on the northern and eastern sides²³. 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 16th or 17th century pre-existence building, the majority of the house was built in the middle and late 19th century. At a certain point of time the owner of the house bought an adjacent shop of Sūq Ḥarāj, removed the wall in between, and turned the added structure 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 the above mentioned Khān al-Ruzz, also named al-Aruzz, appears as part of the Manjak *Waqf* and is situated directly southwest of Sūq Ḥarāj (**Fig. 14: 3**)²⁴. However, given its description in the sources and the limited space available between Sūq Ḥarāj and al-Jadīd, it was most probably a rather small structure. Further to the south a structure called *rab’* for temporary residence was stated as part of the *waqf* of Manjak Pasha (**Fig. 14: 4**)²⁵. Most probably this *rab’* 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 neighbour 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 considerably redesigned at the turn of the 19th / 20th centuries. During our survey we could establish a certain ‘Abd al-‘amīd al-Ajlānī as owner of the

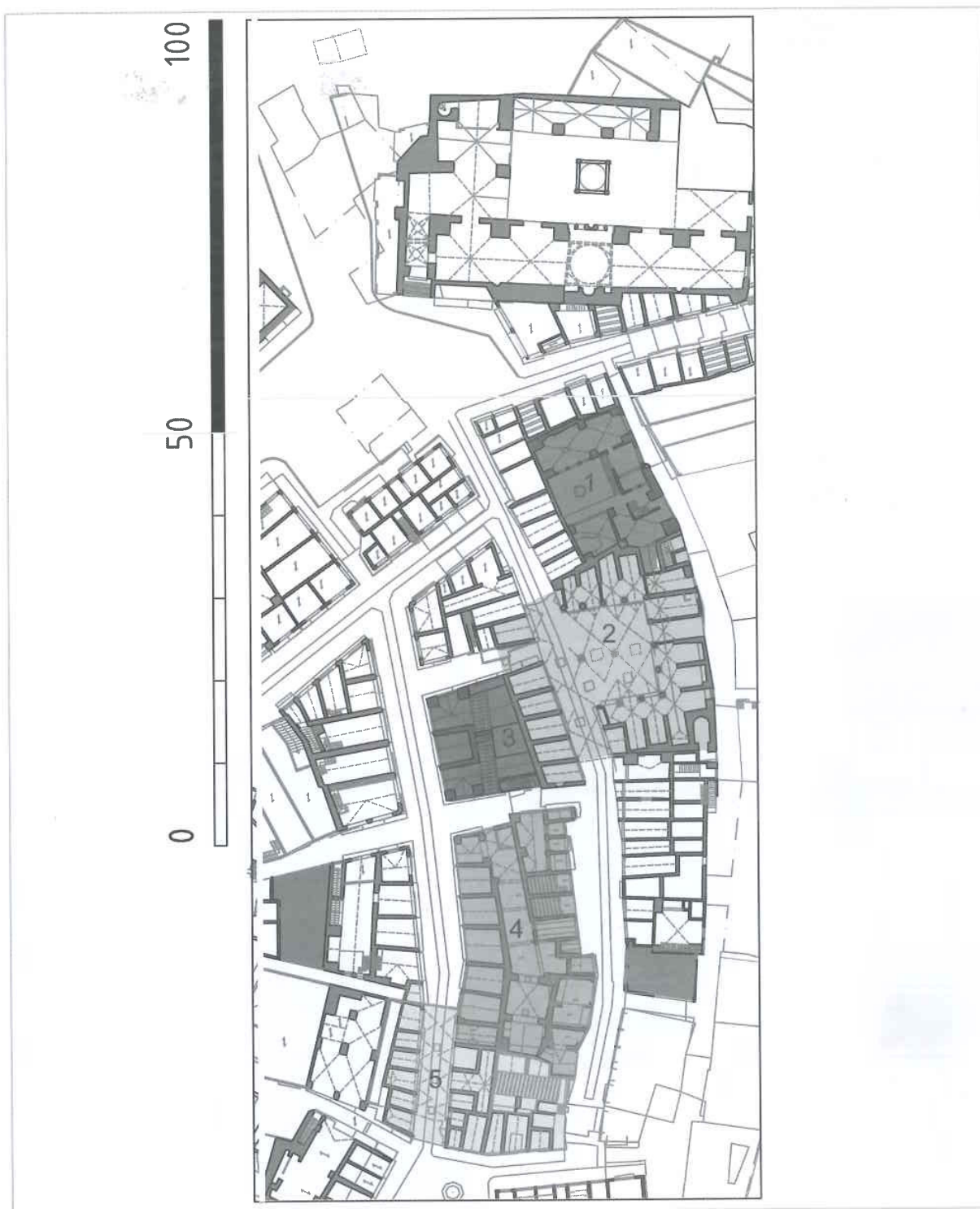


Fig. 14- Plan of the north-western quarter, 1. Bayt Shāmī, 2. Sūq Ḥarāj, 3. Khān al-Ruzz / al- Arzz, 4. Rab' Waqf Manjak, 5. house of Zayn ibn 'Alī Shaykh al-'Aṭṭārīn (team OIB / Weber 2004).

corresponding shops today. The 'Ajlānī Family – as indicated above – was next to Damascus also responsible of *waqfs* of the Manjak family in Tripoli²⁶.

Of high interest is a vaulted structure similar to Sūq al-Ḥarāj that lies to its southwest at Birkat al-Mallāḥa (Figs 14: 5, 15 and 16). 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 from the ones of Sūq Ḥarāj and not contemporaneous. A court record of 1096/1684 regarding a conflict of two neighbours, informs us about the foundation of the building: a neighbour 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 to the other side where his old house and the Rab' Manjak Pasha are situated. This new high rising building prevented light and air to the house of the suing neighbour, but the *qāḍī* formally allowed its construction²⁷. Zayn ibn 'Alī was head of the guild of

perfumers (Shaykh al-'Aṭṭārīn, also given as 'Aṭṭārīn Bashī) and must have been of a certain standing and influence²⁸. The prestigious setting of his house at the square of Birkat al-Mallāḥa with the monumental vaults reflects and demonstrates his public position. Today this structure is topped by a central hall house dating back to the early 20th century.

The structure from 1096/1684 is part of a whole setting of constructions of the 17th century. In the direct neighbourhood of Sūq Ḥarāj we could not find any dated building from the Mamluk period, but rather many remains of a vivid building activity of that time (Figs 17 and 18). Next to some houses the most impressive structure is the double-Khān al-'Askar (Figs 5: 2 and 17: 1) which is an endowment of the wife (Khāṣṣekī Sultān) of an Ottoman Sultan²⁹. Moreover, coming up the street, not far from Sūq Ḥarāj, the Tawba Mosque is located on an intersection (Fig. 17: 2). This intersection leads westwards to Khān al-'Askar and eastwards to the parts of the city



Fig. 15- Former house of Zayn ibn 'Alī Shaykh al-'Aṭṭārīn (al-Khoury 2003).



Fig. 16- Former house of Zayn ibn 'Alī Shaykh al-'Aṭṭārīn during restoration (Weber 2007).

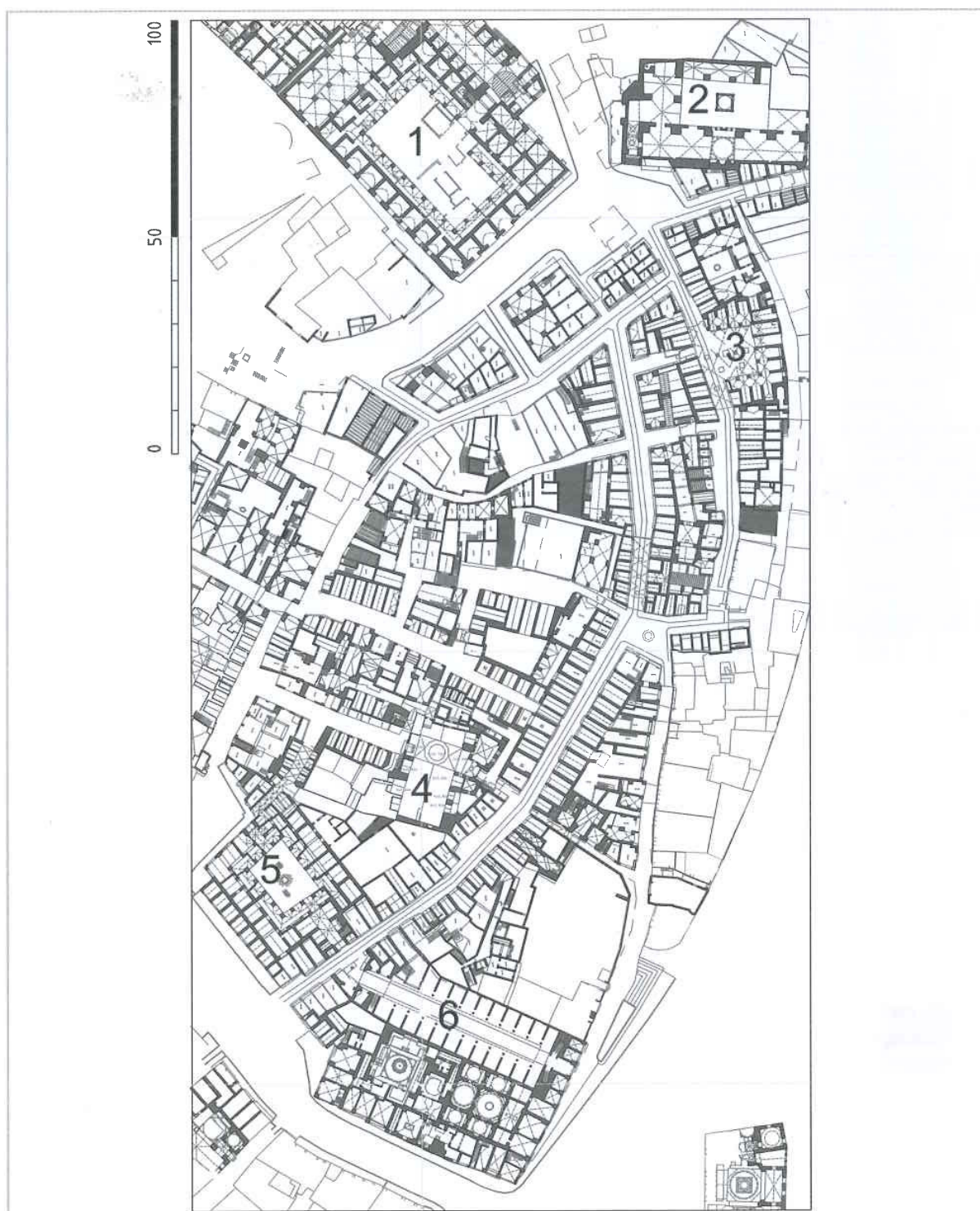


Fig. 17- Plan of the north-western quarter, OIB 2004 (not to scale) 1. Khān al-'Askar, 2. Tawba Mosque, 3. Sūq Ḥarāj, 4. 'Attār Mosque, 5. Khān al-Miṣriyīn, 6. Khān al-Khayyāṭīn and Hammām 'Izz al-Dīn (OIB 2007).



Fig. 18- Tripoli aerial photograph of the north western quarter, Sūq Ḥarāj indicated, 1934 (courtesy of IFPO).

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 17th century might be connected to the economic revival and re-urbanisation of the old harbour town al-Mīna, which redeveloped after the incorporation into the routes of Ottoman maritime trade. From the 16th or 17th 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 harbour. It could also be that at that time, Sūq Ḥarāj was built in its today's form during this wave of construction in the 17th century. However, this theory is not based on

observations of the building but only on its environment.

However, the collected pottery in the rescue excavations of Sūq Ḥarāj (see contribution Shehadeh) and giving the simplicity of architectural forms and the few noticeable influences of Mamluk architecture, it seems to us that Sūq Ḥarāj was donated by the famous Manjak al-Yūsufī, probably after the Frankish attacks in 769/1367. Given this many endowments of Manjak Pasha in this district, 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 main phases. The barrel-vaulted ground floor on the western side shows displacement with the cross-vaulted units of the upper floor, which implies different phases of construction (cf. **Figs 6 and 7** and contribution Fischfisch/Daoud **Fig. 5**). This probability is enforced by 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 the whole first floor including the western wing 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 18th 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 (**Fig. 7**). 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



Fig. 19- The old city of Tripoli and the Abū 'Alī River, taken from the Lahham / Jadīd Bridge, around 1900 (courtesy of W.-D. Lemke).

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 this room. A yard which has partially floor tiling and which can be reached by a stone stair..."²⁹

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 now provides space for families permanently living here. Following this logic of growth, the four-storey housing construction built

on top of the western side of Sūq Ḥarāj is a continuation of urban growth during the Ottoman period, that now has materials and concepts of late 20th century dwellings (i.e. apartment block from concrete, cf.: Fig. 20).

The arrangement of the shops and the gallery on the ground floor 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. The new created space on the northern side was subdivided, but the southern was not. 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 function of the ground floor, the circulation space

was limited to 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 reaction 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 our excavations (see contribution Meister/Karam).

Documented as well by some old pictures (cf.: Meister **Figs 3 and 6**), it was reduced in size after the 1920s. Next to the fountain was a water distributor (Arab. *ṭāli'*, locally called *qā'im mā'* / coll. 'oyim moy). 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 20th century.

The few and modern additions made later in time-recognised by its poor craftsmanship and finishing which are 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. Furthermore new metallic doors were added to replace most of the wooden doors of the early 20th century. According to the changing trends, new concrete plaster replaced the decayed lime plaster, which was later on partially removed to show the sandy limestone 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 pavement "*furnī*", 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.

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). Brief structural assessments during the Workshop 2003 by experienced architects and monitoring of cracks during the last two years did not suggest an immediate danger of the statics. On the



Fig. 20- A modern construction on top of Sūq Ḥarāj (Weber 2004).

eastern side, where the adjacent structures were destroyed due to the enlargement of the riverbanks after the 1955 floods, some visible cracks could be noticed in the structure of the staircase leading to the first floor. A part of this street was covered by a "*sībāt*" (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 (*maqāsim*) made during the French mandate. The barrel vault of the western access is destroyed, along with the first floor it carried; 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. 21**). As a consequence of bombing during the war, parts of the eastern roof structures have been severely damaged. This made the upper



Fig. 21- Various phases of the western inner elevation of the hall in chronological order (Weber / Fischfisch 2003-2005).

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* (Fig. 22 for a view from the inside). A unit of the vaulting system covering the northern access is partially destroyed today. The external facade of the *Sūq Harāj* in the vicinity of the southern entrance was in a rather bad condition aesthetically and structurally.

4. Examples and Concept of the Restoration 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



Fig. 22- Various phases of the south-eastern elevation of the hall in chronological order (Weber 2003-2005).

building in question (see ICOMOS recommendations)³⁰. To achieve best results for the project, 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 into the details of the restoration planning. The extensive and detailed restoration plan is done entirely by the two architect-restorers Antoine Fischfish and Michel Daoud (see their contribution in this volume). 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 the users today,
- 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 was to be emphasized or restored. 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 20th 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 origin, but also consists of later phases, and still is today, a living structure.

Parts of this structure are the new house on top of the sūq (**Fig. 20**) and our invention as well. The built 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 emphasis the columns - and taking into consideration the existence of the old gallery - without changing the spatial layout of the shops that developed around 1900 (**Figs 23 and 24**). 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.

The doors may also serve to elucidate the general concept of execution. While some of our team were in favour of modern interpretations and materials to state the intervention of our time, others would tend to use only traditional materials and try to get as close to historical examples as possible, to do justice to the historical monument. We agreed on a compromise that would allow the local community to identify with the structure and to understand the concept without overburdening them. 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 - favoured by some of us - would have been sooner or later replaced by the owners. The shop owners clearly stated that they would not accept glass. 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 and respond to the users needs. In the north-eastern corner, some of the Mandate period door lintels - the oldest ones in Sūq



Fig. 23- South east corner of the hall with the doors after the restoration works (Weber 2005).



Fig. 24- Preserved wooden beam left to indicate the traces remaining from the late phase, north-eastern corner of the hall (Weber 2005).

Harāj – were left to document that here the early Mandate alteration of the building happened once, and to narrate one of the many stories of the building (Fig. 24). In this way the rights of the today owners, the history, the aesthetic and the origin of Sūq Harāj 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 the people's everyday life, where methods needed to be developed that incorporated these requirements. Processes that had led to the alternation of the building must be understood and integrated into the concept - as demonstrated with the question of the doors above. For example, the maintenance of the structure especially for the traditional roof system was not practiced 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. We reopened the skylights but respected the wishes of the people. As a result we used slightly lifted glass to close the openings, leaving space between them and the roof allowing for the necessary circulation of air. Other decisions were made, mainly to respect the original Mamluk building (for a detail technical report see contribution Fischfisch / Daoud). The concrete additions after the war damages were removed and the entire eastern external façade was rebuilt after the study of the original vaulting system. A whitewashed lime plaster was added to protect the stone masonry of the building; missing or damaged parts of this plaster were cleaned and restored. Thus a restoration concept truthful to the original structure, to its historical development, to phases of the sūq and to its future use was developed, 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.

To consider the questions and practices of the owners and users was an elemental part of our work – not always harmoniously. Continuous discussion, communication and explanation were needed to reach an agreement – sometimes negotiating interests over weeks. We worked in a bazaar. This had very positive effects: on the one hand owners felt respected and were willing to make sacrifices. They all agreed to reduce the size of their shops considerably and to place the doors between the columns and not in front of them – merchants do not generally do this voluntarily. We needed the consent of the owners, and some assistance during the renovation of the interior of the shops (which was in their responsibility) was sometimes the price of the bargain. As a positive result of our long discussions owners understood the concept of the restoration and some of its narrative elements (like the remaining lintel, **Fig. 24**). Several times we could observe how owners informed their wondering clients about the obvious and hidden stories of the Sūq Ḥarāj that came out from our field research or were implemented during the restoration.

Some of these stories are quite easy to read (lintels of doors, columns of the arcade), others are not as obvious. Before the restoration the hall's floor was covered with a concrete layer, which was removed and replaced with limestone tiles (*furni*) corresponding to those found below the concrete 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 soundings by the DAI/OIB/DGA team the original fountain in the hall was found between the two central columns (see contribution Meister / Karam). The layout of the new tiles was adapted to this new fact, and a design to enhance the fountain prepared. Walking on the floor of Sūq Ḥarāj and carefully following the tiling system, 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 (**Figs 25 and 26**).

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–

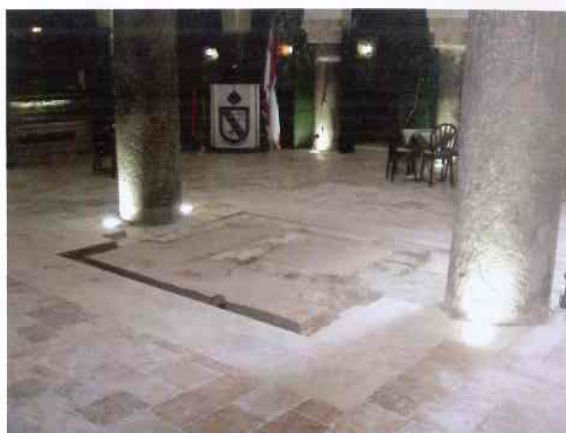


Fig. 25- Traces of the historical fountain incorporated into the flooring (Weber 2005).



Fig. 26- Fountain and historical flooring during excavation (Weber 2005).

most buildings of Tripoli were covered by whitewashed plaster, leading to the cities nickname "white Tripoli" (Tarāblus al-Bayḍā, cf. **Fig. 27**). Hence, in Sūq Ḥarāj, many remains of old plaster were found. If monuments were not plastered, the stonemasons thoroughly worked on the stone gave it a smooth surface like the ones we can see at the numerous 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 layer in such humid coastal climate. In some historical monuments like the Tawba or 'Attār 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 (**Figs 28 and 29**). To protect the building, to give back its historical appearance, and to follow the remains of the surfaces, we decided to apply whitewashed plaster. This is first time in a restoration project that a decision of the sort is made and applied. We hope to set a new trend in order to reverse a development which is not in the interests of the buildings.



Fig. 27- Historic picture of the city of Tripoli end of the 19th century showing the white plastered urban fabric (courtesy of W.-D. Lemke).



Fig. 28- Mamluk *muqarnas* dome in the Tawba Mosque before restoration (Weber 1993).

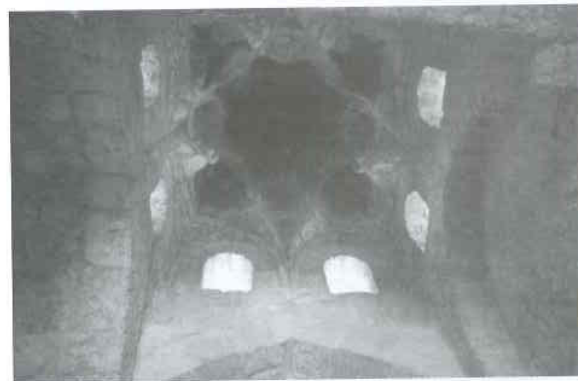


Fig. 29- Mamluk *muqarnas* dome in the Tawba Mosque after "restoration" (Weber 2004).

No industrial whitewash was used during the restoration. Instead we only applied natural lime of which 22 tones were provided from the storages of the municipality. Lime plaster was only laid 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, in relatively good condition, 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 (cf.: Fischfisch / Daoud 6.6). 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 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 (**Figs 30 and 31**).

The Sūq Ḥarāj restoration project was an enriching 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 spirit of 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, the Ministry of Culture, the DAI, the OIB, the CDR (Council for Development and Reconstruction, here the World Bank programme CHUD), the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the German Embassy in Lebanon. It went not without problems. To involve

all these institutions and publics was an extremely challenging experience. Just to balance between budgetary deadlines and the agenda of a meeting of the Council of Ministers, who had to agree on the project, is a long story in itself. But it worked out due to the good will of all involved parties to go beyond normal restrictions and practices. We wish the city of Tripoli good luck for further projects and hope that they find similar constructive and cooperative partners as we had. We 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. If the owners and users of Sūq Ḥarāj feel proud of their pearl as well, our project was successful.



Fig. 30- Street leading into Sūq Ḥarāj from the South after restoration (Weber 2005).



Fig. 31- Sūq Ḥarāj from the South after restoration (Weber 2005).

AnnexThe columns of Sūq Ḥarāj³²

Column a:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> only half is visible made of travertine with decorative motifs the bush hummers marks are visible shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite put upside down
Column b:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> made of lime with a percentage of sand Granite put upside down
Column c:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sandstone with a high percentage of sand shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite in two pieces maybe broken mortar the original mortar has a high percentage of clay tassels
Column d:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> white sandstone shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in two parts granite upside down in the lower part limestone on the upper part
Column e:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> pulvino, with the lower part in retreat covered with mortar shaft: granite
Column f:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> limestone decoration with the muqarnas arcades bus hammering traces shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite
Column g:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> limestone shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite
Column h:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> covered with plaster, probably made with limestone shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in two parts granite upside down in the lower part limestone on the upper part
Column i:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> limestone shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite upside down
Column j:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sandstone with high percentage of lime traces of shells shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite upside down
Column k:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> covered with plaster, probably made of sandstone with high percentage of lime shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite
Column l:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sandstone shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite
Column m:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sandstones with high percentage of clay shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> granite
Column n:	capital: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> sandstone with high percentage of clay shaft: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in two parts: granite in the lower part Limestone in the upper part joint is made of plumb

Columns

There are 12 smaller columns around the courtyard holding the gallery of the *sūq* and two large ones, supporting the vaulting system of the courtyard (Fig. 9).

Throughout the building the lay of the stay can be described as parallel rows of 23 to 35cm high, a practical size for transportation and constructions and popular since the Mamluk period. Exceptionally we find rows around 10cm high: these rows are found on the base of the vault's arch.

The different typologies of laying techniques used in the *sūq* are:

- The rectangular irregular laying techniques that use unshaped stones in rectangular rows
- The horizontal and parallel rows techniques using shaped and well cut stones
- The sub-horizontal and parallel rows techniques with doubled layers of stones.

Notes

- 1- This report reflects the common understanding of the history and restoration of the building by Juren Meister, Antoine Fischfisch and Michel Daoud, Nathalie Chahine and Youssef el-Khoury. I am deeply indebted to their support to the project.
- 2- 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.
- 3- Many restoration projects have limited effects since they do not address or solve the question of reuse (and thus of maintenance), nor do all of them involve the neighbourhood and users of the buildings in question.
- 4- I would like to express my gratitude to the involved DGA team, Khaled Rifai, Samar Karam, and especially Frédéric Hussein Director General, 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.
- 5- A full documentation of the workshop is available on the homepage of the Orient Institut, cf. Fn. 2. The second workshop was co-organised by the Lebanese University, Faculty of Fine Arts.
- 6- I would like to thank Professors Friedhelm Stein, Philipp Speiser and Jan Martin Klessing for their kind help in this context.
- 7- See for the columns the annex of this article.
- 8- For the plan of the building in Aleppo see: Heinz Gaube/Eugen Wirth: Aleppo, Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole. Wiesbaden (1984) No. 131
- 9- For references see below. The *shaʿār* 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-ʿAzm, *Qāmūs al-Ṣināʿāt al-Shāmiyya*. Edited by Ṭāhir al-Qāsimī. Damascus (1988) 256.
- 10- Interview in Sūq Ḥarāj, 15th 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. Inheritance records from the Ottoman court mention sometimes auctions of assets by an auctioneer (*dallāl*). As the location, which is seldom verified, the vague "in the main sūq of the city" (*sūq al-sultānī*) is given, which is probably not our Sūq Ḥarāj. Cf. for example: SMST S12/P193 (1165/1752); S16/P40; SMST S16/P98 (1175/1762). For Tripoli the records will be sited: SMST (*Sijillāt Maḥakim Sharʿiyya bi-Ṭarāblus*) register/page (*hijrī* date/Gregorian date), I refer to the copies and numbering available in the municipal documentation office (Qasr al-Nawfal).

11- Cf. SMST S2/P272 (1088/1678). For the repair ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī, *Wathāʿiq nādira min Sijillāt al-Maḥkama al-Sharʿiyya b-Ṭarāblus*. Beirut (2002) 150 f. Khān al-Shaʿārīn is also mentioned (without further details) in S3/P117 (1098/1687). Asandamur al-Kurjī was governor of Tripoli between 701/1301–02 and 709/1309–10. See for a summary of his constructions in Tripoli: Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, Glückstadt, 1992) p. 105, no. 12/6.

12- Cf.: S36/4 (1273/1857), S36/316 (1274/1858).

13- Cf. for his life and patronship: Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Der Bauherr des Hammām Maṅḡak 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 Juma'a. Damascus (1952) 12 f; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyya al-musammā bi-l-mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dihkr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-athār*. Cairo (1326h) vol. IV p. 124 ff. Cf. For the dates of his office in Tripoli: Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*. Beirut Vol XIV, p. 251, 252, 253, 258.

14- Meinecke-Berg (2005) 115, 119.

15- Meinecke-Berg (2005) 121 f.

16- Cf. MSD 61/24/58 (1140/1727); 72/30/65 (1147/1734). For Damascus the record will be sited: MSD (*Maḥakim Sharʿiyya Dimashq*) register/page/case number (*hijrī* date).

- 17-** 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).
- 18-** Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira bi-A'yān al-Mi'a al-'Ashira*. 3 Vols. Edited by Jibrā'il Sulaymān Jabbūr. Beirut (1979) I 129 f.
- 19-** 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-'Atir*", in: Ahmet Halil Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-'atir des Ibn Ayyūb*. Berlin (1981) 102 ff. Cf. as well: MSD 2/67/384 (1036/1627).
- 20-** Cf. al-Muḥibbī (1970) IV, 409 ff.
- 21-** Cf. Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics, Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Stuttgart (1985) p. 201. Arabic translation: *Dimashq fī-l-Qarnayn al-Thāmin 'Ashar wa-l-Tāsi' 'Ashar*. Translated by 'Amr and Dīnā al-Mallāḥ, Damascus (1998). In the late Ottoman court records mostly members of the 'Ajlānī family are named as administrators of the Manjak *waqfs*, but also members of the Hamza and Ḥajjār Families appears sometimes as administrators of *waqf jiddihim* Manjak Pasha. Among these *waqf* 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 Ṣāliḥiyya 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).
- 22-** SMST 2/P133 (1079/1668) gives shops of the Manjak *waqf* close to the Tawba Mosque next to Ḥammām al-Qaḍī, S2/P11(1078/1667) repairs of the mill from his *waqf*. Cf. Tadmūrī (2002) 91. On a Sūq Manjak and houses see S3/P97 (1097/1686).
- 23-** Izquierdo Ruiz, A. / Naumann, D.: Bayt El-Chami in Al-Hadid Tripoli/Libanon, Quartiererhebung und Bauuntersuchung im Bereich Sūq Ḥarāj. Thesis Aufbaustudium Denkmalpflege, TU Berlin (2004).
- 24-** SMST S1/P155 (1078/1668); S26/PII,43 (1203/1789); S36/4 (1273/1857), S36/316 (1274/1858). Cf. as well S1/P142 (1078/1667). Further mentioning of estates of the Manjak *Waqf* directly attached to Sūq Ḥarāj: SMST S26/PII,147 (1295/1791). Mentioning of a *Waqf* Manjak in other quarters of the city inter alia: SMST S26/PII,136 (1206/1791), S42/P40 (1228/1813). Another records legalised the sale of a shop Sūq Ḥarāj al-Barrānī, which is the southern sūq street leading to the building, cf.: SMST S11/P105 (1164/1750).
- 25-** Cf. inter alia SMST S26/II,P43 (1203/1789); S82/P116 (1300/1882).
- 26-** Cf. inter alia MSD 81/190/224 (1149/1736) on a rent of properties in Tripoli administrated by 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-'Ajlānī.
- 27-** SMST S3/P27, 34 (1096/1684). The fountain is called in the records Birkat al-Shaḥm. Its today name goes back probably on a *waqf* endowed by Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ in the late 19th century. On the house by Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ close to the *birka* cf. S82/P116 (1300/1882).
- 28-** On the nearby perfumers mosques (Fig. 18-4) see: Miriam Kühn, *Die 'Attār-Moschee in Tripoli*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Seminar für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn (2004). The outcomes will be published in the Mamluk Studies Review ("The Attar-Mosque in Tripoli").
- 29-** The village of Amiyūn, Khān al-Miṣriyīn and Khān al-'Askar belonged to a *waqf* of a Khāṣṣekī Sultān, the favourite wife of a Sultan. A record of 1143/1730 mentions her as *al-marḥūm* - i.e. "the deceased", but the one of 1088/1677 not, which might be an indication for Gülnüş Emetü'llāh Sultān, one of the *kadins* of Mehmed IV (1648-87). A record from 1169/1756 mentions only Amiyūn and Khān al-Maṣriyīn. SMST S2/P218 [old 44] (1088/1677), S6/P2 (1143/1730); S14/P379 (1169/1756). See for the first two records: Tadmūrī, *Wathā'iq nādira*, 135, 273. The hints in the sources match quite well the observations made on the building itself.

30- SMST S26/P147 (1295/1791).

31- Cf. the different ICOMOS charters:

http://www.international.icomos.org/centre_documentation/chartes_eng.htm.

32- Workshop 2003, Group Stone and Plaster: Hassan Badawi, Philip Speiser, Jinane Diab, Jihad Farah, Rania Matta. For the full report:

<http://www.oidmg.org/Beirut/Projekte/Tripoli/index.html>.