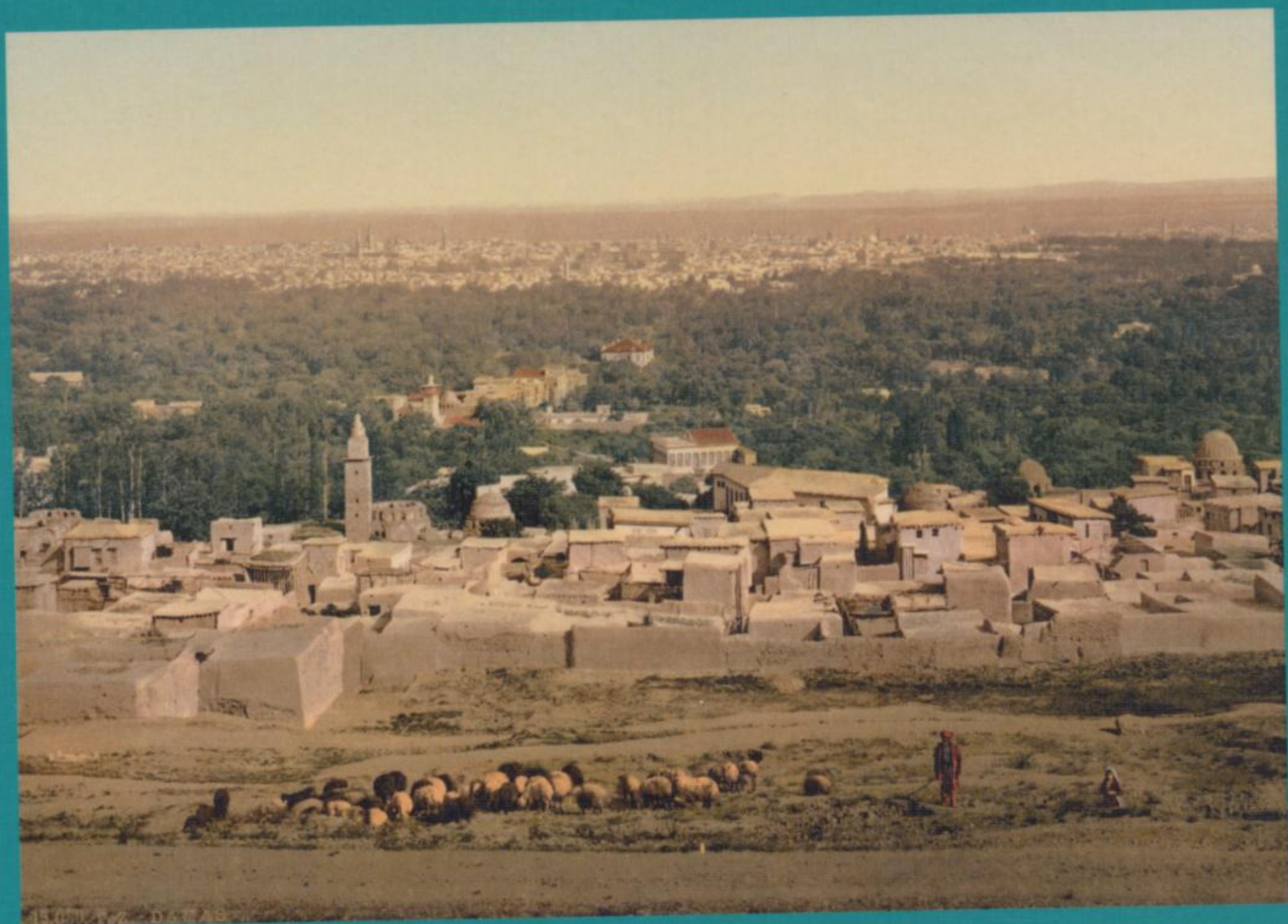


Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ABDUL-KARIM RAFEQ



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

EDITED BY

PETER SLUGLETT WITH STEFAN WEBER

BRILL

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Essays in honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq

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PART ONE

ENCOMIA: RAFEQ THE HISTORIAN

Abdul-Karim Rafeq, Friend and Colleague

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LEIDEN • BOSTON

2010

THE MAKING OF AN OTTOMAN HARBOUR TOWN: SIDON/SAIDA FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

STEFAN WEBER

The city of Sidon (Arabic: Sayda) underwent a remarkable boom during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which was closely related to the regional and supra-regional history of *Bilad al-Sham* in the same period. But the fourteenth, fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose architecture is so visible in cities such as Tripoli or Damascus, did not put a similar stamp on Sidon. The Eastern Mediterranean shares a common history, but its cities do not always share similar patterns of urban development. Why was the fate of Sidon so different from that of Acre or Beirut? Was it based on geopolitical and regional factors, the different waves of external change breaking over the Eastern Mediterranean, or should it be seen in the context of the kinds of power struggle in the regional capitals like Aleppo and Damascus or Cairo and Istanbul? This article elaborates the main principles and steps in the urban development of an Ottoman provincial harbour town and attempts to identify the town's key agents by combining a study of the written records with that of its material culture.¹

¹ The material for this article is based on a study of the city of Sidon (history, urbanism and architecture) for the History Museum of the Debbané Foundation (www.museumSayda.org) in co-operation with the German Orient Institute in Beirut. During 2002–04 a building archaeological survey of the eighteenth century Dar Debbané, which will house the museum, was carried out, accompanied by a study of the city of Sidon (Team: Stefan Weber, Ralph Bodenstein and Beshr al-Barry: Marianne Boqvist joined us during our first seasons). During the 2004–05 seasons Nathalie Chahine, Youssef el-Khoury, Roland Haddad, Fouad Ghousayn and Lana Shehadeh were working with us. I am especially grateful to Stoyanka Kenderova, Akram al-'Ulabi, Marianne Boqvist and Astrid Meier for their generous help in providing source material and Stefan Knost for opening an important window to Aleppo. A publication detailing the major buildings of Sidon is in preparation and will be published as the second volume of: Stefan Weber and Ralph Bodenstein, *Ottoman Sidon, The Changing Fate of a Mediterranean Port City*, Beirut Texts und Studien 122, Beirut. I am indebted to Astrid Meier, Ralph Bodenstein and Gege Zimmermann for their critical reading of this article.

The area that forms the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel/Palestine once formed an integrated region with multiple urban centres, each with its own distinctive configuration. The major cities of inner Syria, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus, and Jerusalem show many similarities in their heritage, especially in their antique, late-antique and medieval patterns of urban development. On the other hand, the city of Hama, with its more scattered quarters and many open areas, has an urban structure quite different from that of Aleppo or Damascus. With its extreme density of commercial and public buildings, the main *suq* in Aleppo is unparalleled in the region, whereas the commercial district of Damascus was especially highly interspersed with residential buildings until the late nineteenth century. If we move from the cities of the Syrian interior to the coast, the picture becomes more kaleidoscopic. Cities like Acre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, Tartus and Latakia developed quite differently, especially after the Crusades. During the Mamluk period and the four centuries of Ottoman rule, centres of economic and political strength moved repeatedly and left their marks on urban development. The singularity of Tripoli in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or the shift from Sidon to Acre and then to Beirut as the regional centre and harbour town of southern *Bilad al-Sham* during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, illustrate this well.² There are several different reasons for these shifts on the coast. This case study focuses on social agents, their shaping of, and reaction to, specific temporal and environmental developments, and assesses the impact of these developments on Sidon's urban form.

² The period under discussion, the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, is still a desideratum for the Mediterranean coast of *Bilad al-Sham*. Research on harbour cities of the region has concentrated so far on the late Ottoman period; on Acre: Thomas Philipp, *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730–1831*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001; on Beirut: Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1983; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut, The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005 and Eyüp Özveren, *The Making and Unmaking of an Ottoman Port-City: Beirut in the Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, Binghamton University, 1990; on Haifa: May Seikaly, *Haifa, Transformation of an Arab Society, 1918–1939*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1995; Mahmud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864–1914: a Muslim Town in Transition*, Leiden, Brill, 1998.

Evidence of the architectural heritage of Sidon before the Ottomans

Although the city of Sidon is an ancient foundation with a history dating back to the early Bronze Age, no physical vestiges of the more famous periods of its history from Antiquity to the Middle Ages are visible today,³ largely because they are buried under many layers of more modern urban fabric. The oldest standing structures are the Land Castle (Qal'at al-Mu'izz) and the Sea Castle (St. Louis), both of which date back to the Crusader and Mamluk periods. We fare only slightly better with the surviving buildings from the Mamluk period; after al-Mansur Qala'un captured Latakia in 686/1287⁴ and Tripoli in 688/1289, Acre, the last Crusader bastion, was conquered by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in 690/1291. After Acre, many other coastal cities fell into Mamluk hands, including Beirut, Tartus, Tyre and Sidon. For almost two centuries of wars and sieges, the cities in *Bilad al-Sham*, especially those on the coast, suffered extensive damage and needed considerable repairs. In the case of Tripoli, the Mamluks actually re-founded the city in a new location on the foothills some two kilometres from the sea, and established an entire new city around the Great Mosque (Jami' al-Mansur/al-Kabir) that was opened in 693/1293. Tripoli became the seat of the governor (*na'ib*) and was soon the most important coastal city in *Bilad al-Sham*. This followed a pattern characteristic of Mamluk defence strategy. The Mediterranean was the edge of the empire and thus constituted the border where enemy attacks were expected. Therefore, cities on the coast were neglected, or, in the case of Tripoli, relocated, whereas cities in the hinterland, like Safad, became administrative centres. And while Tripoli is filled with small jewels of Mamluk architecture, evidence of Mamluk and other pre-Ottoman building activity is very scanty in Sidon (Fig. 1).⁵

³ Ongoing excavations by the British Museum and the DGA are focusing on the old moat *extra muros* of the Ottoman city. Cf. the reports on the campaigns, among others: Claude Doumet-Serhal, 'Excavating Sidon, 1998–2003', *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 18, 2003, 2–19 (cf.: http://www.sidonexcavation.org/ht/ht_excavation.html).

⁴ Dates will be given in the Hijra calendar, followed by the Gregorian calendar. If the first is not known to me, it will not be indicated.

⁵ Michael and Victoria Meinecke's comprehensive survey of Mamluk architecture in Syria and Egypt in sources and of standing architecture does not mention any building that was erected under the Mamluks in Sidon. See: Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250) bis 923/1517*, Glückstadt, J.J. Augustin, 1992. For the Mamluk policy of neglecting the coast as the potential

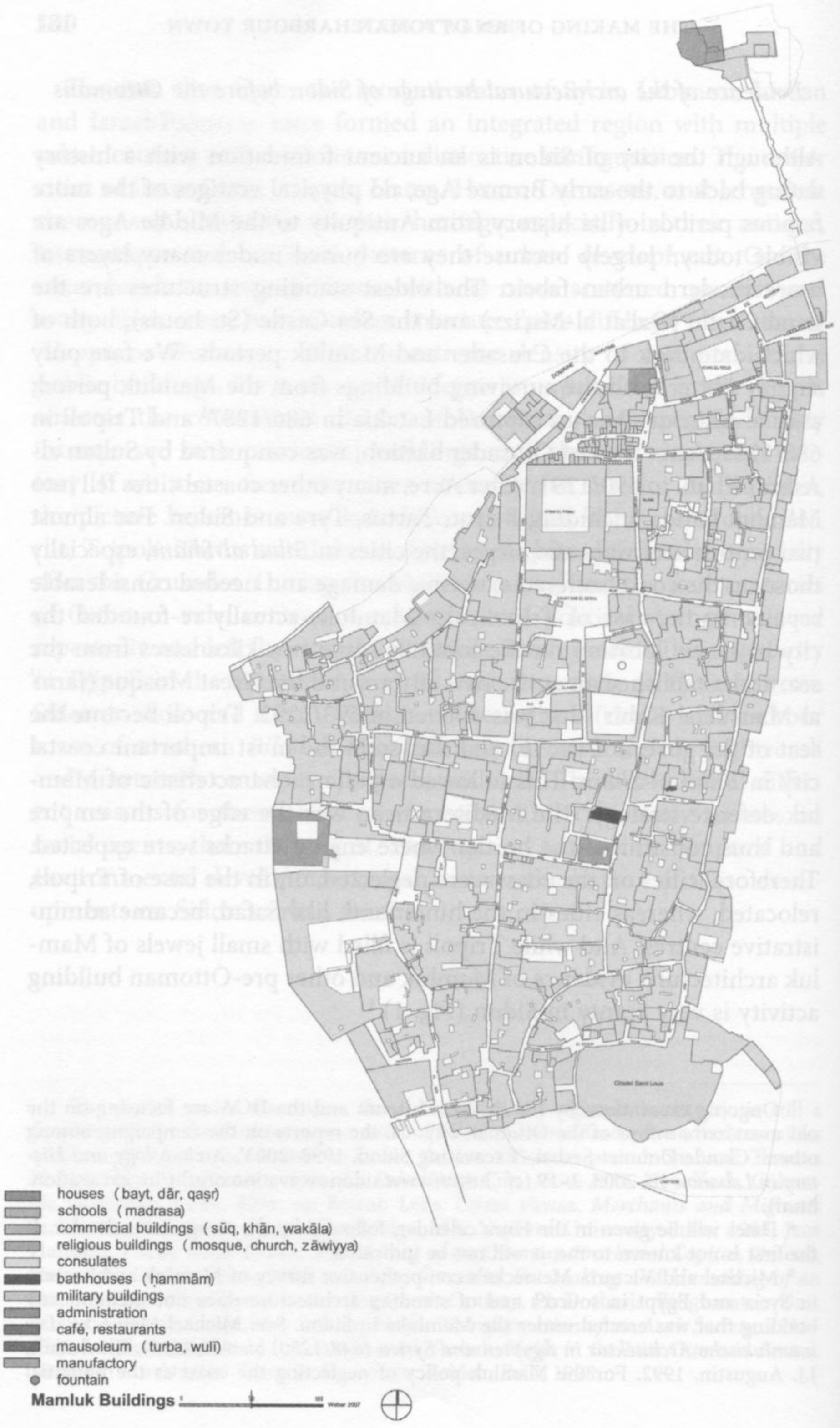


Fig. 1: Identifiable Mamluk period buildings in Sidon (Weber 2007)

An early Ottoman source, the *tapu defterleri*, can provide us with some insight into what could be Mamluk or early Ottoman architecture, since the latest entry was made in the late sixteenth century. The *defter* of 1002/1593–94 mentions 18 waqfs in Sidon and two towers (*burj*) in the city's vicinity, of which only four are dated. There is also a *tahrir defter* from 990/1583 that gives us an idea of waqf-owned buildings in existence in the late sixteenth century.⁶ Many of these buildings are no longer known and cannot be clearly identified as Mamluk foundations. However, some of the buildings mentioned in these documents still exist, and their architectural characteristics show that they can be dated to the Mamluk period. Examples include the undated Great Mosque (al-'Umari) and the Bahri Mosque (Fig. 5/No. 6), which are also mentioned in the *tapu*,⁷ both most probably dating back to the Mamluk period. The main mosque of the city, al-'Umari, has a rather complicated building history. The courtyard contains remains of Crusader buildings (most probably a church), while the minaret and portico aisle were added during Ottoman rule (sixteenth/seventeenth century?). The Bahri Mosque has an inscription dating it to 775/1373–74, but this inscription panel is not *in situ* and therefore we cannot be sure of the structure's actual date. However, the building does not fall in line with Ottoman concepts of space, so that it is most likely a structure from the Mamluk period, as the inscription suggests. Another mosque, the Masjid al-Battakh in the quarter al-Dakkakin, is mentioned in the *tapu defterleri* and does not have an Ottoman layout.⁸ As appears in the sources and judging from the material evidence, Sidon was only of minor importance during the Mamluk period. The

frontline see Albrecht Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer—Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517)*, Leiden, Brill, 2001.

⁶ Başbakanlık Arşivi: *Tahrir Defterleri* no. 602, Evkaf Maliye 990 h/1583 (496 p.), in Şam, Sayda, Kudüs, Halil ül-Rahman, Gazza, Ramla, Safed, Nablus evkaf ve emlakın mufassaldefteri. See also the *tapu defterleri* 5810111, 5810212, 6020476–86, 6020641, 6020652, 6020677, 6020830, 6020845, 6020846, 6020848, 6020849–52, 6020900. I thank Astrid Meier and Marianne Boqvist for hints and information.

⁷ Cf. Jami' Kabir in Mahallat al-Qal'a, Sayda, Tapu No. 6020484 and Masjid al-Bahr, Sayda, Tapu 6020485.

⁸ Sayda, Tapu No. 6020482. If we only consider construction techniques, one bath (Saba' Banat) and the Maqam al-Shaykh 'Umar al-Jaylali could belong to an earlier period as well. But since local construction techniques from the Mamluk period continued into the Ottoman period and some types of buildings, like *hammams*, mausoleums or houses incorporated new concepts of spatial layout much more slowly, such buildings may also have been constructed in the sixteenth or even seventeenth centuries.

appearance of the old city today, and the remaining mosques, *hammams*, *khans*, *suqs* and houses, suggests that it was more or less rebuilt during Ottoman rule (Fig. 2, Fig. 3).

Sidon after the Ottoman conquest

Much of the spatial configuration of the city of Sidon between the two castles originates from the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, beginning in 1516. The street patterns, with four clearly defined axes from north to south and the smaller west-east axis, show a surprising regularity and could be of antique or late-antique provenance. However, no antique material was found during the survey that would suggest the existence of an ancient grid as a substructure (like in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem etc.).⁹ Most of the public buildings (mosques, *zawiyas*, *suqs*, *khans* and *hammams*), which were erected during the first hundred and fifty years of Ottoman rule, follow the layout of the streets (Fig. 2). Many of them are located on the edges or corners of the street blocks or *insulae*, and the street layout may follow Ottoman city planning.¹⁰ The commercial district developed in the very north of the city, while a new public and administrative centre appeared around the *saray*-square. The city obviously flourished during the Ottoman period: in the late sixteenth century it had a population of 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants. This number doubled from 6,000 to 7,000 in the middle of the seventeenth century, while around 9,000 to 11,000 people lived in Sidon a hundred years later.¹¹

⁹ *Insulae* in Seleucid cities, like Latakia, Apamea, Antakya, and in cities like Damascus, Aleppo and Homs measure 96 × 144m and follow the ratio of quoin to long side 2:3 with a module of 48m. If one reconstructs such a grid of streets and *insulae* in Sidon the units are much smaller (about an average of 78 × 93m). For this grid pattern, see Stefan Freyberger, 'Das kaiserzeitliche Damaskus: Schauplatz lokaler Tradition und fremder Einflüsse', *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11, 1999, 125f.

¹⁰ In some Syrian cities the axiality of the street patterns corresponds to the settlement patterns of later periods. The inner axis of courtyard houses before the late nineteenth century is orientated north-south for climatic reasons as evidenced by the symmetry of the antique *insulae*. For Ottoman street planning in Aleppo and Damascus following regular patterns see André Raymond, *Les Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane*, Paris, Sindbad, 1985, 217ff. and my *Damascus, Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808–1918)*, Proceedings of the Danish Institute in Damascus, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, 2 vols. 2009.

¹¹ Antoine Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine de la Syrie Ottomane (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, Beirut, 1982, 352.

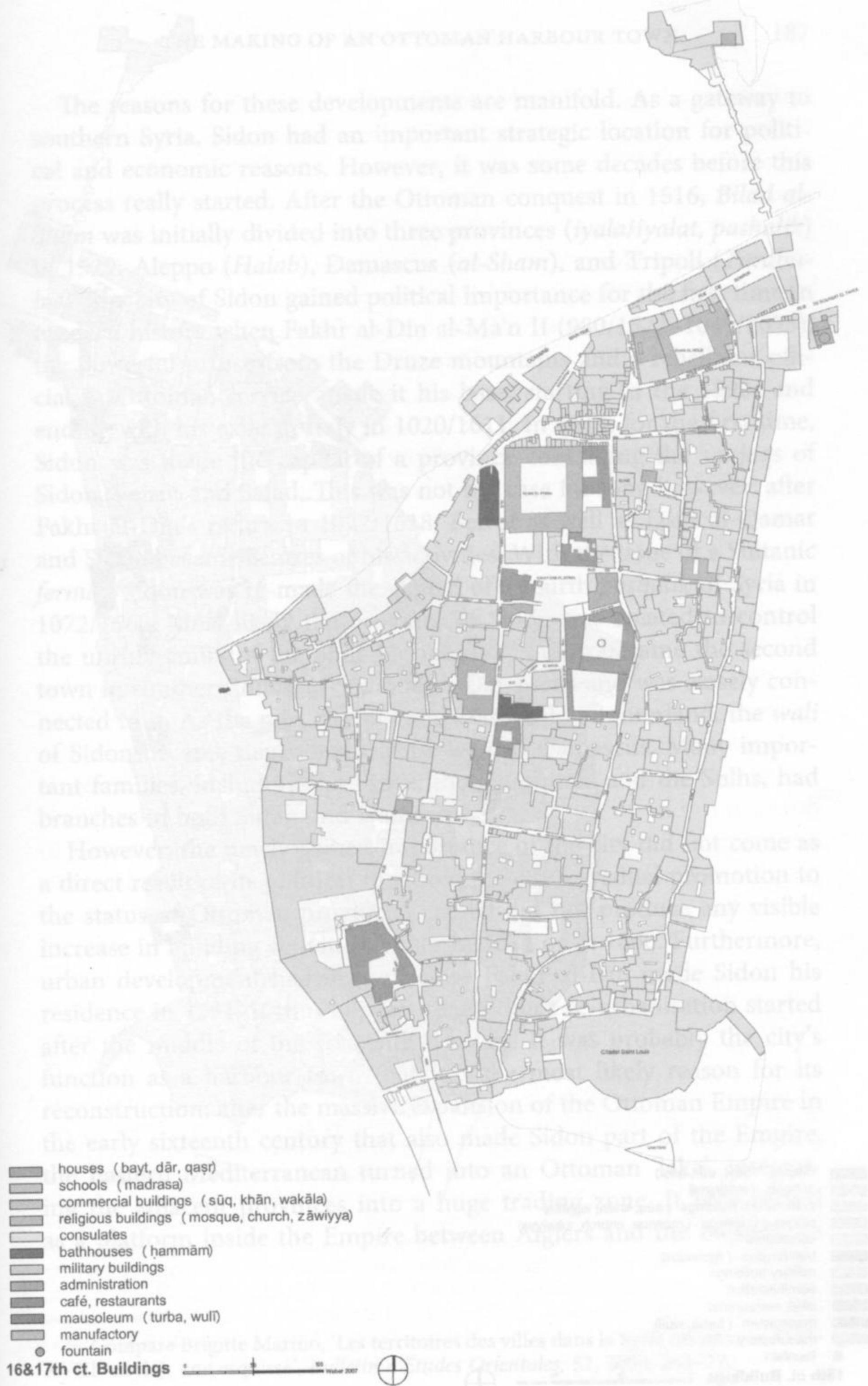


Fig. 2: Sidon, buildings between 1516 and 1650 (Weber 2007)

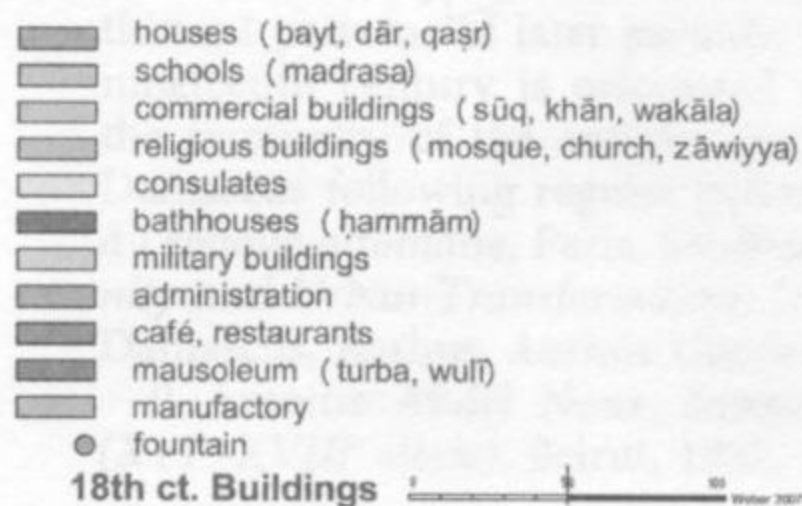
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Fig. 3: Sidon, buildings between 1700 and 1750 (Weber 2007)

The reasons for these developments are manifold. As a gateway to southern Syria, Sidon had an important strategic location for political and economic reasons. However, it was some decades before this process really started. After the Ottoman conquest in 1516, *Bilad al-Sham* was initially divided into three provinces (*iyala/iyalat, pashalik*) in 1529: Aleppo (*Halab*), Damascus (*al-Sham*), and Tripoli (*Tarabulus*). The city of Sidon gained political importance for the first time in modern history when Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'n II (980/1572–1045/1635), the powerful prince from the Druze mountains and a rebellious official in Ottoman service, made it his base, starting in the 1590s and ending with his exile in Italy in 1020/1611. In 1614, for the first time, Sidon was made the capital of a province containing the *sanjaqs* of Sidon, Beirut and Safad. This was not the case for long however: after Fakhr al-Din's return in 1027/1618, Beirut as well as Dayr al-Qamar and Sidon became centres of his activities. With the issue of a Sultanic *ferman* Sidon was re-made the capital of a fourth *pashalik* of Syria in 1072/1660. Most likely the province of Sidon was created to control the unruly emirs of the Shuf Mountains.¹² Sidon became the second town in southern *Bilad al-Sham* after Damascus and was closely connected to it. As the port city of Damascus and its hinterland, the *wali* of Sidon became dependent on the *wali* of Damascus. Many important families, including the Bizris, the Hammuds and the Sulhs, had branches in both Sidon and Damascus.

However, the newly gained importance of the city did not come as a direct result of its political function: the city's gradual promotion to the status of Ottoman provincial capital did not produce any visible increase in building activities, either in 1614 or in 1660. Furthermore, urban development had begun before Fakhr al-Din made Sidon his residence in 1591. It thus appears that Sidon's re-urbanisation started after the middle of the sixteenth century. It was probably the city's function as a harbour town that was the most likely reason for its reconstruction; after the massive expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century that also made Sidon part of the Empire, the Eastern Mediterranean turned into an Ottoman 'lake', integrating the adjacent provinces into a huge trading zone. It now served as a platform inside the Empire between Algiers and the Balkans on

¹² Compare Brigitte Marino, 'Les territoires des villes dans la Syrie ottomane (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle): une esquisse', *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, 52, 2000, 263–77.

the one hand and for trade with Europe on the other. Sidon was no longer on the border, but was now in the centre of what would become a nodal point in the newly developing network of trade routes. Sidon's new role as the harbour city of Damascus resulted in major construction works for commercial buildings. The *suq* of Damascus, the capital city of the province of al-Sham, also underwent enormous changes in the course of the second half of the sixteenth century. The investments in the commercial infrastructure of both cities, and in fact—if one takes the impressive new Ottoman *suqs* and *khans* of Aleppo into consideration—of the whole region, were interrelated.¹³

All the *khans*, and, as far as one can judge, all the *suqs*, in Sidon date back to the Ottoman period. They are located close to the harbour (Fig. 4) and underline the importance of the harbour for the commercial life of the city. To mention the most important (Fig. 5): the famous Khan al-Franj (c. 1560, donated in 1574), the Khan al-Ruzz (c. 1600), the Qaysariya (c. 1600), the Khan Dabbagha (c. 1640s/50s, no longer in existence) and the Khan al-Hummus / al-Qishle (1134/1721–22). Integration into the Ottoman Empire and its implications for the Mediterranean as a main conduit for inner Ottoman trade provided the crucial momentum for the city's development.

As with the shifting of political borders, however, while this economic momentum may provide the basis of Sidon's re-urbanisation, it does not explain it completely. Not all harbours along the coast developed according to the same dynamic. Sidon's fate was connected to people who invested in the city for various reasons. Three individuals or families and their donations are of special importance and provide

¹³ On Aleppo in this period see Jean-Claude David, 'Domaines et limites de l'architecture d'empire dans une capitale provinciale, Alep', *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 62, 1991, 169–94, and 'Le patrimoine, architectures et espaces, pratiques et comportements. Les souks et les khans d'Alep', *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 73–74, 1994, 183–205; Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo, Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1984; Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden, Brill, 2004. For an account of the architecture of Damascus in the sixteenth century see Stefan Weber, 'The Creation of Ottoman Damascus. Architecture and Urban Development of Damascus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *ARAM* 9 & 10, 1997–98, 431–70 and Stefan Weber, 'Changing cultural references, Architecture of Damascus in the Ottoman period (1516–1918)', in Atillio Petruccioli, Maurice Cerasi, Adriana Sarro, Stefan Weber, eds., *The Multicultural Urban Fabric*, BTS 102, Beirut, 2007, 189–223. Further references are given in the articles.

the best examples of social-agents at trans-regional, regional and local levels and their particular impact on Sidon's urban development.

1. The trans-regional level: A waqf of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was a key investment by an important social agent whose activities resonated across the Empire. It was a major impetus for the development of Sidon in the late sixteenth century.

2. The regional level: The work of Kucuk Ahmed Pasha relating from the seventeenth century is critically important in the development of Lebanon. As a result of his work, Sidon became a major port and a centre of commerce.

3. The local level: The work of the local social agents, including the local pashas, was crucial in the development of Sidon. The local pashas were responsible for the development of the town and its infrastructure.

4. The economic level: The economic development of Sidon was a result of the work of the local social agents. The local pashas were responsible for the development of the town and its infrastructure.

5. The social level: The social development of Sidon was a result of the work of the local social agents. The local pashas were responsible for the development of the town and its infrastructure.

6. The cultural level: The cultural development of Sidon was a result of the work of the local social agents. The local pashas were responsible for the development of the town and its infrastructure.

7. The political level: The political development of Sidon was a result of the work of the local social agents. The local pashas were responsible for the development of the town and its infrastructure.

- carpenter, furniture, wood
- clothes, boutiques
- electricity, computer
- restaurants, pastry, sandwiches
- jewellery, goldsmith
- grocery, greengrocer
- hairdresser, barber
- butchers
- shoe shops, shoemaker
- unidentified

Function of shops

0 50 100 m



Fig. 4: Map of bazaar shops in Sidon 2003 (Weber / al-Barry 2003)

the best examples of social agents at trans-regional, regional and local levels and their particular impact on Sidon's urban form.

- I. The trans-regional level: A waqf of the Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was a key investment by an important politician whose activities resonated across the Empire. It was a major impulse for the development of Sidon in the late sixteenth century.
- II. The regional level: The *waqfiyya* of Küçük Ahmed Pasha dating from the seventeenth century is critically important for understanding the history of Lebanon. After capturing the rebellious Fakhr al-Din Ma'ni in Jazzin 1042/1633, this Damascene governor expropriated several estates and incorporated them into his waqf.
- III. The local level: The third focus is on the history of the Hammud family, who were the most important family in the city during the first half of the eighteenth century, and donated several estates, of which only the *waqfiya* of Mustafa Agha al-Hammud is known.

I. *The khan of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha: a trans-regional investment*

The 'recreation' of Sidon as the harbour for southern Syria was not just a side effect of its new strategic position on the Lebanese coast, but seems to have been an outcome of conscious planning on a grander scale. The city's most impressive new building from that period, the Khan al-Franj, was founded by the prominent Ottoman statesman Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (c. 1505–1579), Grand Vizier from 1565 to 1579.¹⁴ Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was one of the most powerful Mediterranean politicians of the late sixteenth century and one of the best-connected Ottoman dignitaries of his time. Married to Ismihan Sultan (d. 993/1585) the daughter of Sultan Selim II, he played a crucial role in the enthronement of his father-in-law. His *khan* in Sidon is generally wrongly attributed to Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni (ruled 1000/1591–1042/1633). Its present name Khan al-Franj—'the caravanserai of the Franks'—derives from its long-time occupants: French merchants had settled here and the French consul lived in the *khan*, probably around 1616, before renting a neighbouring house (the Dar al-Musilmani

¹⁴ On Sokollu Mehmed Pasha: Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan, Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, Reaktion, 2005, 40ff.; 331ff.; Gilles Veinstein, 'Sokollu Mehmed Pasha', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², IX, 706–711.

(Fig. 5/No. 7, Fig. 15–Fig. 17, discussed below), one of the properties of the Ma'n family, and turning it into the French consulate, probably in the late 1630s. The house next door was connected to the *khan*.¹⁵ However, in the court records the large caravanserai is known by the name Khan Ibrahim Khan. There is no building inscription, and the limited decorative elements do not allow a dating of the building by style. Abdel Nour suggests the year 1560 for the *khan* without further references.¹⁶ Recently, Rawwaz suggested the patronage of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha for the *khan*, neglecting however to identify Ibrahim Khan and the connection to a famous waqf in Aleppo—which includes the vast and impressive complex of Khan al-Jumruk in that city—with the Khan al-Franj in Sidon.¹⁷ The founder of this waqf, known as the waqf of Muhammad Pasha ibn Jamal al-Din Sinan, has recently been identified as none other than Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (i.e. Muhammad Pasha), son of Jamal al-Din Sinan, the name his father took on after his conversion to Islam.¹⁸ The family connection is also the key to the former 'official' name of Khan al-Franj, Khan Ibrahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan (d. after 1031/1621–2) was the only surviving son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's marriage to Ismihan Sultan, and he served as the *mutawalli* of his parents' waqfs. As for the date of construction of the *khan* in question, the *waqfiya* from Aleppo—dated 982/1574 and partly translated and published by al-Ghazzi—explicitly mentions 'a new khan on the shore in the quarter of the sea in Sayda' as part

¹⁵ In the early seventeenth century the Khan al-Jumruk in Aleppo (see below) also became the French consulate, established in Aleppo in 1562. Cf.: Jean-Claude David, 'Le consulat de France à Alep sous Louis XIV. Témoins architecturaux, descriptions par les consuls et les voyageurs', *Res Orientales*, VIII, 1996, 13–24. For an account of the French consuls in *khans* in Tunis see Jacques Revault, *Le fondouk des Français et les consuls de France à Tunis 1660–1860*, Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1984/5 and for Sidon, Randi Deguilhem, 'Le Khan des Français à Sidon: un waqf ottoman loué par la France', in Daniel Panzac, ed., *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326–1960)*, Leuven, Peeters, 1995, 133–44. For the house of the French consul in Sidon see Stefan Weber, 'An Egyptian *qa'a* in sixteenth ct. Damascus. Representative halls in late Mamluk and early Ottoman residential architecture in Syria and Lebanon', in Kjeld von Folsach, Henrik Thrane, Ingolf Thuesen, eds., *From Handaxe to Khan, Essays presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Aarhus, 2004, 272ff.

¹⁶ Cf.: Abdel Nour, *Introduction*, 351; Deguilhem, *Le Khan des Français*, 138.

¹⁷ Muhammad Hasan Hilmi al-Rawwaz, *Ta'rikh Sayda al-'Uthmani*, Sidon, 2003, 163f.

¹⁸ See: Stefan Weber, 'An Âghā, a House and the City: the Debbané Museum Project and the Ottoman City of Sayda, first report', *Beiruter Blätter* 10–11, 2002–03, 133f., extensively and more effectively discussed shortly after by Watenpaugh, *Image of an Ottoman City*, 94f., but first suggested by David, 'Le consulat de France', 13.

of the waqf.¹⁹ Thus Khan al-Franj was a new edifice, and not an older purchased building, when it became part of the waqf in 982/1574. The somewhat earlier date of 1560, which Abdel Nour mentions for its construction, needs to be verified. However, it may be possible, given that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha wintered in Aleppo in 1560/61 and knew of the importance of coastal infrastructure as a former *kapudan* (head of the navy).

In addition to his macro-economic policy Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's belief in the importance of infrastructure and trade was expressed by his extensive real estate investments. Veinstein summarizes his building activities as follows:

The most well known, as well as most durable, of his activities were those as builder. The Don-Volga canal and the dream of a Suez Canal...are in one sense the most visionary expressions of this activity.... But he established numerous pious benefactions all across the empire, especially in those regions particularly connected with his life and career: at Sokolovic; in the Banat; at Belgrade, where his *wakf* of 1566 comprised a vast caravanserai, covered market, etc., necessitating the destruction of three churches and some synagogues of the city...; at Edirne and Lüle Burgaz; and as far away as Aleppo and Medina. He was especially concerned with such utilitarian structures as caravanserais and bridges which would facilitate traffic and communications in Rumeli, such as the bridge at Višegrad on the Drina and other lesser known ones, e.g. at Trebinje in Herzegovina.²⁰

The most famous of his buildings was his own and his wife's main mosque in Istanbul (dated 979/1571–72), a masterpiece created by the architect Sinan. However, many of his investments were made to stimulate commerce. Parallel to Sidon was a large investment in Payas (982/1574–75) to build a harbour for the northern part of *Bilad al-Sham* in the vicinity of İskenderun (which at that time was insignificant).²¹ Payas was located on the site of an older settlement that had regained importance as a naval post on the eve of the Cyprus Campaign (1570–71) due to the development of its *iskele* (landing place), an imperial arsenal for the construction of ships, and two castles.²²

¹⁹ Kamil al-Ghazzi, *Nahr al-dhahab*, II, 415ff.

²⁰ Veinstein, *Sokollu*, 709.

²¹ For the complex and the city of Payas, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 355ff. and M. Fatih Müderrisoğlu, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğu Akdeniz'deki İskelesi Payas ve Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi', in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi*, Ankara, 1995, II, 513–24.

²² Like Sidon, Payas has one land castle and one castle at the harbour, which is more recent: the latter was built in 1577, whereas the land castle was rebuilt in 1568.

Here, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha founded a large complex comprising a mosque with a convent, a bathhouse, an elementary school, guestrooms with private courts, a caravanserai, a hospice, and public fountains (Fig. 7–Fig. 9). Most merchants landed at Tripoli, which was some distance away, to travel to the commercial centre of Aleppo, the most important centre for international trade in the region. The new facilities in Payas allowed travellers to follow the shortest and most direct pass (the Belen pass near İskenderun) through the Amanus Mountains (Davar Dağları) to Aleppo. Payas became quite a busy harbour town, but despite imperial patronage, this settlement of 800 tax-exempt households never developed into a proper city, for several reasons. It was never of supra-regional importance: it was not the administrative centre of a regional unit, and it did not enjoy the support of local or regional players as Sidon would do later. Another reason for the settlement's failure to acquire the status of a regional centre was the competition from Tripoli and from İskenderun, founded in the 1590s. Several large commercial structures were built in Tripoli during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the old location on the coast was redeveloped as the port (called accordingly al-Mina) of Tripoli. Merchants coming to do business in Tripoli could easily visit Aleppo, Homs and Hama.²³

The complex in Payas is much larger and multifunctional, based on architectural concepts and design from the Ottoman core region by Mimar Sinan, which is not the case for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's *khan* in Sidon. The Khan al-Franj, the largest and most impressive commercial building in the old city of Sidon, had no buildings adjacent to it, and was not part of a complex. Even if the *khan* is impressive in size, with regard to its layout and décor it is a basic, typical *khan*. Chevalier Laurent D'Arvieux, who lived in Sidon between 1658 and 1665, describes it as follows:

Tout ce khan est bâti de pierres de taille et couvert en terrasse. Le bas en rez-de-chaussée est partagé en magasins grands et commodes, dont les portes donnent sur un vestibule voûté, qui soutient une galerie couverte qui communique à toutes les chambres. Ce vestibule n'était point partagé autrefois, ou s'en servait pour aller à couvert d'un magasin à l'autre. Les Marchands y ont fait des cloisons pour leurs commodités et l'ont ainsi partagé en plusieurs pièces, qui ont augmenté la grandeur de leurs magasins.

²³ For merchants travelling to Tripoli to reach Aleppo, see Hans Ulrich Krafft (1550–1621), ed. K.D. Haszler, *Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts*, Stuttgart, 1861; Johann Christoph Tayfel mentions in 1598 that Payas is the port of Aleppo after Tripoli, where most European merchants resided. Cf.: Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 362.

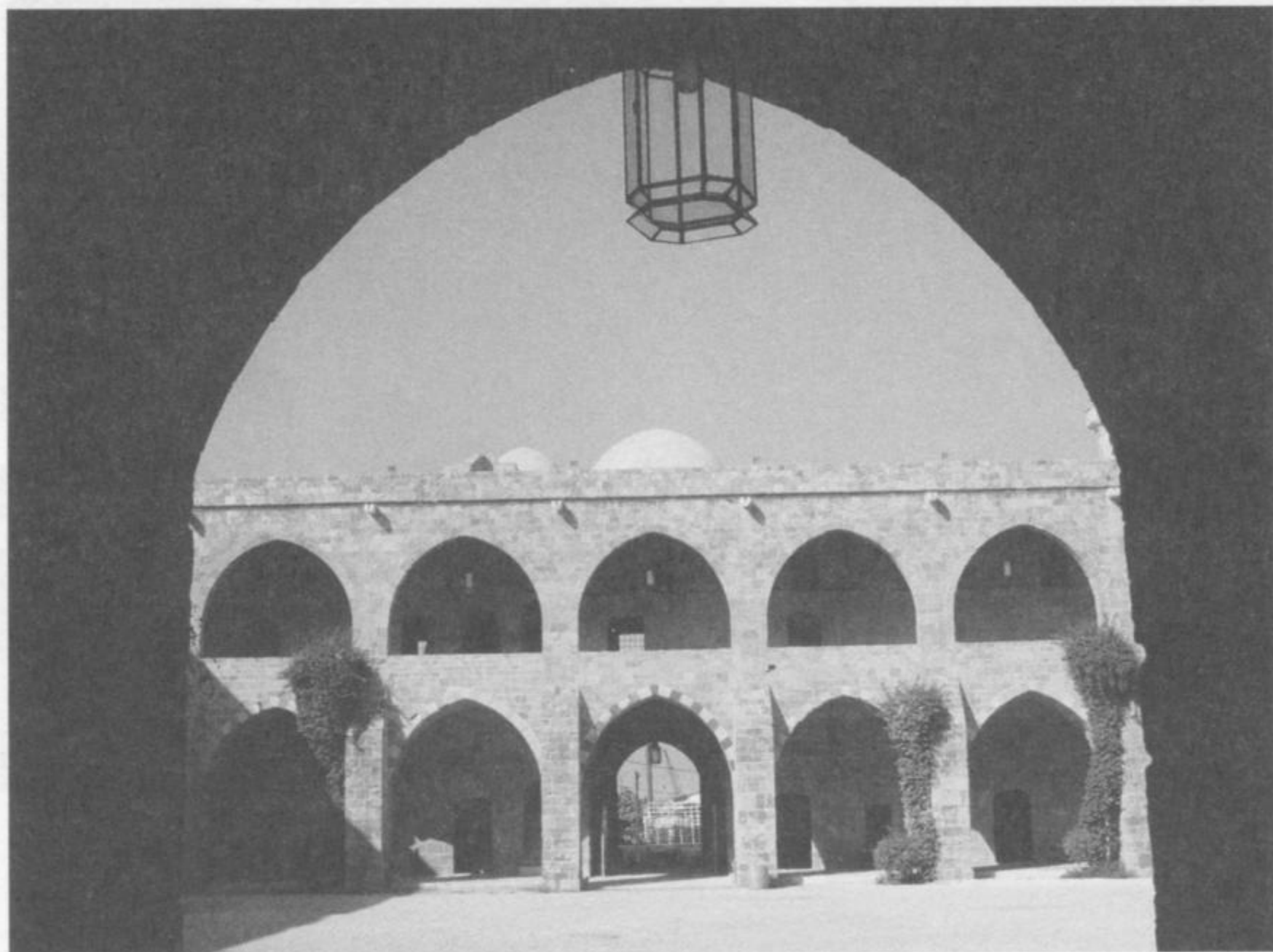


Fig. 6: Khan al-Franj, commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha
(Weber 2002)

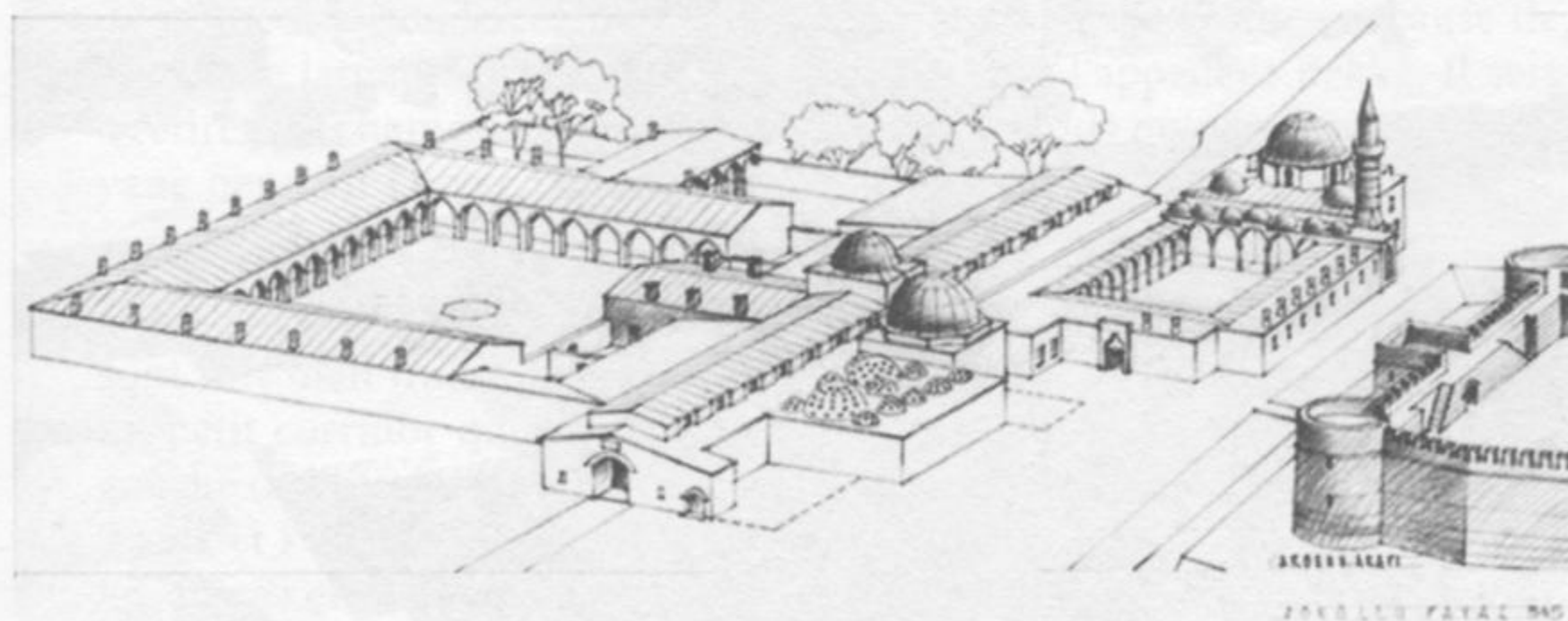


Fig. 7: Payas, complex of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, 982/1574–75
(Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 357)

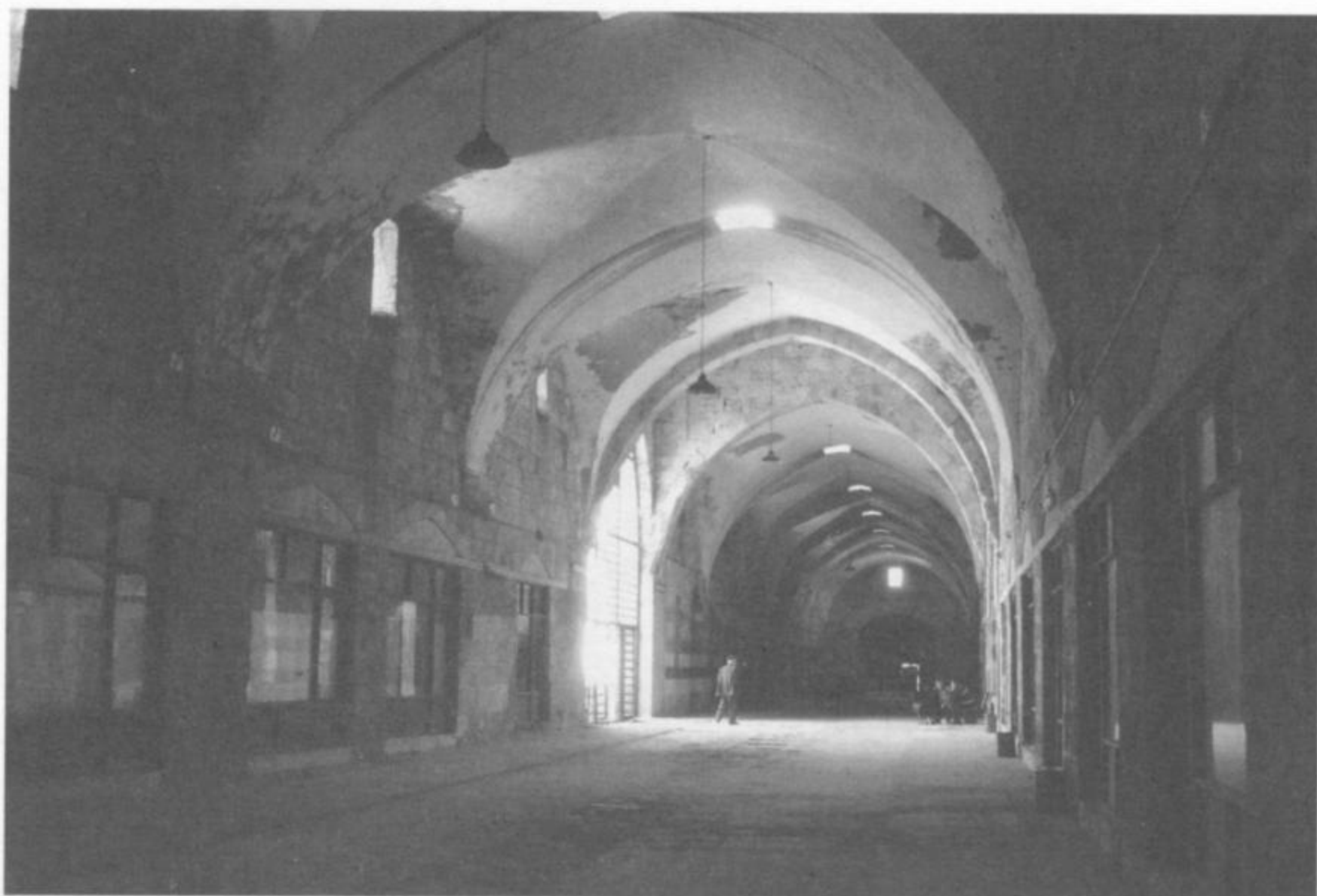


Fig. 8: Payas, *suq* / *çarşı*, 982/1574-75 (Weber 2007)



Fig. 9: Payas, *suq* / *çarşı* and caravanserai, 982/1574-75 (Weber 2007)

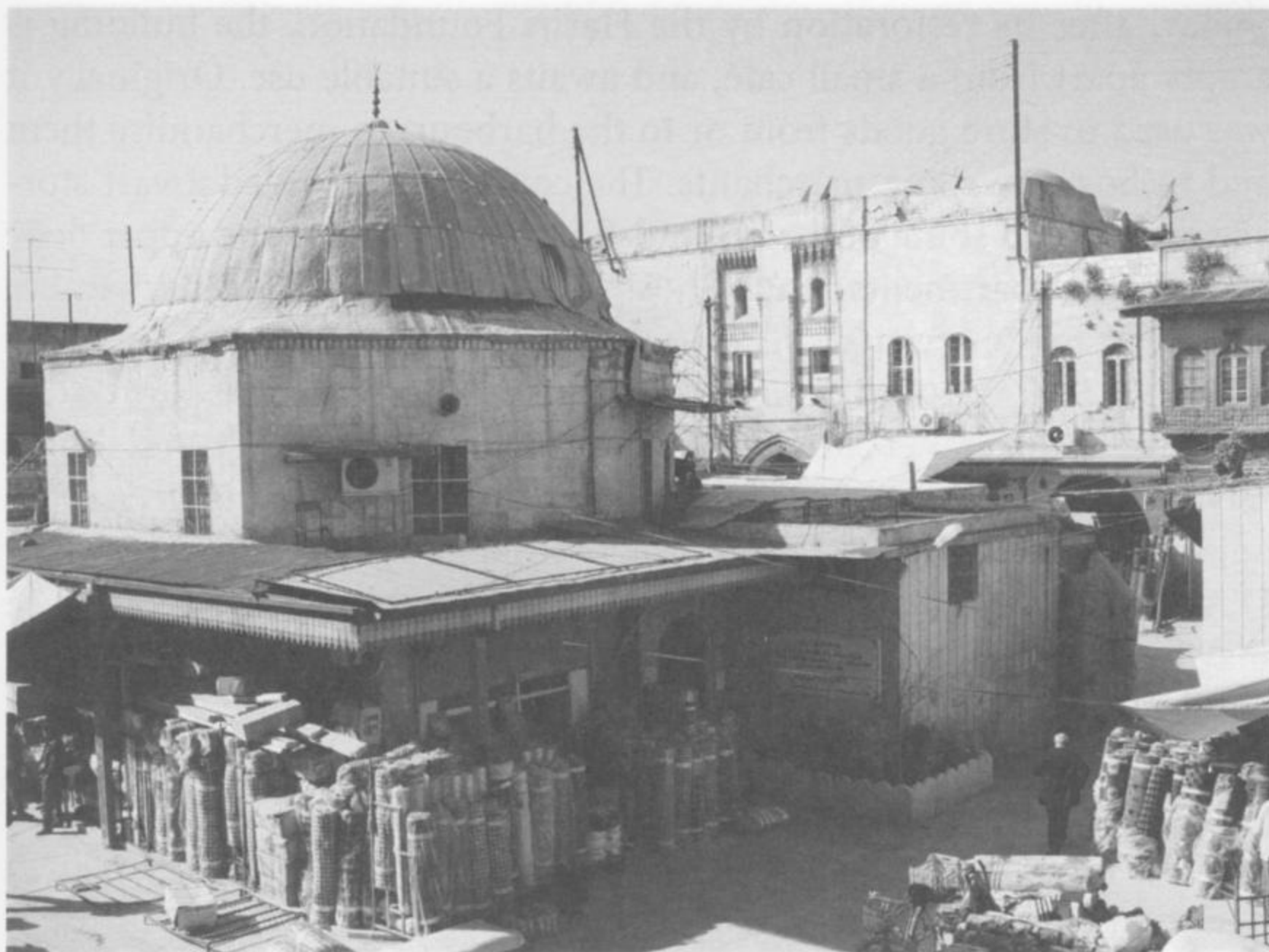


Fig. 10: Aleppo, Khan al-Jumruk, 982/1574 (Weber 2007)

Ce khan a une grande porte qui regarde le Nord. Il y en avait une au Sud. Elle est à présent bouchée par un bâtiment que les gouverneurs ont fait devant pour leur servir d'écuries. La face Orientale est percée d'une grande porte qui donne entrée dans une cour presque aussi grande que la première. Elle est accompagnée d'un grand vestibule voûté, plus bas de beaucoup que le rez-de-chaussée, porté sur des colonnes, à cause de la grande largeur de la voûte. Les gens du pays l'appellent Bekké. Il sert à retirer les chameaux et les mulets des Marchands qui viennent en caravane pendant l'hiver.

L'aile du Midi est occupée par un bâtiment qui sert d'Auberge. Il y a une longue table. La plupart des marchands y vont pendre leurs repas et y sont fort bien traités et à un prix raisonnable. Il y reste pourtant encore un petit corridor qui conduit à la chapelle. [...] La première chambre à gauche de l'escalier est couverte en dôme, aussi bien que le cabinet qui est à côté et l'escalier qui conduit à la terrasse. Elle est bien plus grande que les autres et bien plus commode, aussi avait-elle été faite pour le logement du Consul et qui y a demeuré jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fait l'acquisition d'une maison joignant le khan, où il demeure à présent.²⁴

²⁴ Laurent D'Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux*, 6 vols., Paris, 1735, vol. I, 313, 314, 318.

Today, after its restoration by the Hariri Foundation, the building is empty apart from a small café, and awaits a suitable use. Originally it was used to store goods from or to the harbour, to merchandise them and to host travelling merchants. The courtyard provided a vast storage area, as did some of the ground-floor rooms, while the upper floor rooms and apartments would host the guests. The domed chamber described by D'Arvieux still exists today and was probably originally the room for the guard (*khanji*) of the *khan*. However, the part of this urban caravanserai eventually became a French commercial establishment with permanent dwelling units and a chapel. The large stables, adjacent to the south-eastern corner of the *khan* and called *bekké* by D'Arvieux, are unusual for an urban caravanserai and their existence may be explained by the limited extent of the ongoing re-urbanisation process in the 1560s.²⁵

In architectural terms, the *khan* gives no evidence of its imperial patronage. It is constructed according to local techniques and with local materials; unlike the contemporary Bab al-Saray Mosque (see below) it does not exhibit any specifically Ottoman architectural features. Supra-regional patronage does not normally manifest itself in architectural style except when the office of the imperial master architect (*ser mi'maran-i hass*), like Sinan and his assistants, were behind the planning of several buildings. But the *khan* in Sidon belongs to a completely different category from its younger siblings in Payas or the complex in Lüleburgaz (near Edirne: 977/1569–70, Fig. 11), endowed as it was by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and designed by Sinan as an analogous 'urbanisation unit'.²⁶ The differences are clearly visible in size, composition, layout, techniques and execution. But even in this case, construction techniques show evidence of local workshops being in charge, despite the fact that the plans for Payas and Lüleburgaz were drawn up in the capital. Elements of the mosque in Payas, like the steep rising tambour and the portals to the courtyard and prayer hall as well as many other details, follow north Syrian patterns.²⁷ However, the spatial lay-

²⁵ In urban settings caravans unload their goods generally on squares *extra muros* which are then carried by rented mules to the inner-city caravanserais. Beasts of burden are not supposed to be accommodated inside the city. This urban infrastructure was probably not yet in place when Khan al-Franj was built. None of the later *khans* of Sidon have stables.

²⁶ Cf. for this complex between Edirne and Istanbul: Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 348ff.

²⁷ Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 360. She cites documents for the neighbouring castle, where Aleppine architects and master masons were employed. But along with



Fig. 11: Lüleburgaz, *çarşı*, 977/1569-70 (Weber 2006)

out of the mosque (central hemispheric dome, domed portico) and the adjacent courtyard follow Ottoman principles of space. Also, the spatial arrangement of the shopping street (*arasta*), despite its unusual cross vaulting, and the overall layout of the *khan* and the adjacent buildings, shows a typical Ottoman appearance; the well-planned, multifunctional, city-like complex is the grand work of Sinan's master mind. Reflecting on these complexes with bathhouse, bazaar, caravanserais, schools, outbuildings etc., and the policy of settling families who had been granted tax exemption, the compact plans of Lüleburgaz and Payas symbolise the vision of a supra-regional network of trading cities conceived by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Khan al-Jumruk (Fig. 10) in Aleppo, which was endowed as part of the same *waqf* as the *khan*

the craftsmanship there was also a degree of local involvement at the level of architectural planning: the unusual layout of the prayer hall with four cross-vaulted *iwans*, giving in the North access to two side rooms, makes it unlikely that this mosque was planned by Sinan. These side rooms are on two floors and recall exactly the layout of side rooms and *iwan* in Aleppine *qa'as*. The overall plan of the mosque just variegates cross-shaped *qa'as*, frequently found in Ottoman upper-strata residential architecture in sixteenth century *Bilad al-Sham*. See below for this room type.

in Sidon, is part of this materialised vision, even though it was not planned by Sinan.²⁸ The Grand Vizier's complex was set in the heart of an already flourishing city.²⁹

The same vision was probably behind the construction of the Khan al-Franj, which had played an important role in the re-urbanisation of Sidon. But Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was not the only patron in the 1560s and the late sixteenth century. A religious dignitary, Shaykh Abu al-Yaman ibn Shaykh al-Islam Abu Ishaq Ibrahim,³⁰ donated a mosque in 968/1561, today called the Bab al-Saray Mosque. It closely followed Ottoman concepts of provincial mosques and for the first time in Sidon, it featured a vast, single chamber, covered by a hemispheric, central dome with low pendentives, a portico (with two reused antique columns) and a minaret with a round shaft (Fig. 18 / No. 5). While the concept was imported, the building techniques and the limited decoration are of local origin. Three decades later we find a very similar mosque, built by Shaykh 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Qutaysh in 1001/1592–93. Building techniques show local hands at work, but Shaykh 'Ali invested large sums to import a very finely decorated *minbar*, *dhikka* and *mihrab* of white marble, as well as several panels of good quality tiles from abroad. These buildings, as well as the small *zawiya* of Abu Nahla (the mausoleum is dated 1008/1599–1600, Fig. 18/ No. 7)³¹ offer evidence of a growing urban population for whom the already existing mosques (Great / 'Umari Mosque, Bahri Mosque and maybe the Battakh Mosque) were not sufficient anymore. Sidon had become a city once more—and the starting point, as far as written records and material evidence show, was provided by the investment of a 'global' agent and thinker: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.

However, although he stands out as an important patron of buildings and is well remembered for his investments in many places, like

²⁸ The *khan* shows an interesting blend of local decoration (mainly on the portal) and Ottoman layout (cross-shaped *qa'a* first floor and the mosque with its Ottoman central dome covered with lead). See for this *khan* and its architecture with further references: Watenpaugh, *Image of an Ottoman City*, 102ff.

²⁹ The combination with a *suq* (here two *suqs*) and an elaborated dome over the entrance to the *khan* recalls the *arasta* setting as seen in Payas or Lüleburgaz.

³⁰ Name and date are given in the building inscription. The title of his father, Shaykh al-Islam, probably reflects his religious scholarship and not the prestigious position in Istanbul, since no Abu Ishaq Ibrahim held the position in that part of the sixteenth century.

³¹ According to an inscription the *zawiya* was restored in 1153/1740–41 and 1159/1745–46. The vanished fountain was built in 1083/1672–73 by Mustafa Agha Ishaq Mihrdar Pasha and restored in 1161/1747–48 by Muhammad bin 'Ali Uz.

Lüleburgaz and Payas, one has to keep in mind that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's buildings were part of a larger wave of construction that passed through the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arab provinces. This is evident if we consider Sultan Süleyman's and Hasseki Hürrem's activities in Jerusalem and along the Hajj route with the *takiya* in Damascus, the many mosques and commercial structures in other cities in the region initiated by Ottoman officials, as well as the large and impressive *waqfs* in Aleppo and the spacious *khans* of Tripoli. Investments in smaller places like Qunaytra by Lala Mustafa Pasha or Ma'arat Nu'man by Murad Pasha offer further evidence of wider interest in the development of the area in the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Through the patronage of many high officials in the capital, a renewed network of public buildings, trade routes and commercial hubs developed; the revival of Sidon, started by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, can be included among such developments.

II. Sidon in the early seventeenth century: the *waqfiya* of Küçük Ahmed Pasha and the Ma'n properties

The patronage of the imperial capital, by governors and high officials, has been studied to a certain extent.³² However, we have little information about any of the high-ranking local dignitaries who were to play important roles later in the eighteenth century. How were they investing in urban structures? With the buildings of Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'n II, Sidon has preserved the material heritage of an interesting if exceptional regional agent. During his reign Sidon developed into a centre of regional importance, and many buildings were erected. Like his father and grandfather before him, Fakhr al-Din became chief of the Druze Mountains in 1000/1591.³³ The young Druze emir managed to establish good relations with Murad Pasha, governor of Damascus (1001/1593) and later Grand Vizier (1015/1606–1020/1611), who gave him the port of Sidon in 1001/1593. Ruling from Sidon, Fakhr al-Din gradually extended his territory at the expense of the chiefs of

³² In addition to the works of David and Watenpaugh, see Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 2002, and Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin du XVI^e siècle d'après trois actes de Waqf Ottomans*, Damascus, Institut français d'études arabes, 1983.

³³ On Fakhr al-Din and his time, see Abd al-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria 1575–1660*, Beirut, 1985, and *Lubnan wa'l-Imara al-Durziya fi'l-'Ahd al-'Uthmani*, Beirut, 2005.

other regions along the Lebanese mountains and coast into the Biqa'. Clashes with the governor of Damascus and the expectation of a punitive campaign from Istanbul forced Fakhr al-Din to seek refuge in Tuscany in 1020/1611, where he established contacts with the Medici, signing a treaty with them for military help in 1017/1608. The 'capital' of the Druze *imara* moved with his brother Yunus to Dayr al-Qamar.³⁴ After his return in 1027/1618, Fakhr al-Din continued his policy of regional expansion, reaching the *sanjaqs* of Nablus and 'Ajlun in the south in the late 1620s, eventually gaining control of large parts of the province of Tripoli in the north to Palmyra in the east. Finally the Ottoman state took firm action and ordered the governor of Damascus, Küçük Ahmed Pasha (d. 1046/1636–37), to march against him. In 1042/1633 Fakhr al-Din's army, led by his son 'Ali, was defeated and his son killed. Fakhr al-Din fled into the caves of Jezzin, where he was captured by the armies of Küçük Ahmed Pasha and brought to Istanbul, to be executed in 1045/1635.

The *waqfiya* of Küçük Ahmed Pasha represents an outstanding document for the history of Sidon, concerning 'all the properties of the offspring of the Ma'n family (*awlad Ma'n*) in Sayda, Sur (Tyre), Baniyas and elsewhere'...in two *waqfs* dated 1044/1634–35 and 1047/1637–38 and '...became property of the *wazir* and his *waqf* by imperial order in late Dhu'l-Hijja 1046 (May 1637).'³⁵ The document is posthumous (Küçük Ahmed Pasha is referred to as *al-marhum*—i.e. the deceased), probably as a confirmation of an older document.³⁶ Küçük Ahmed Pasha had made this endowment for the benefit of Mecca and Medina (*waqf al-haramayn*); it was administered from Damascus, which is why the records of repairs and restorations of the properties of this endowment can be found in the Damascus court records.³⁷ The document opens a unique window into Sidon's history and gives an extensive

³⁴ Giovanni Martini, *Ta'rikh Fakhr al-Din, Amir al-Durzi al-Kabir*, Beirut, 1985, 107.

³⁵ Asad Library, Zahiriyya No. 8518, 14 folios, with notes of a survey of the properties from 1268/1852.

³⁶ Küçük Ahmed Pasha was twice governor of Damascus 1039/1629–30 and 1042/1632–33. Cf.: Muhammad Amin al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Hadi 'Ashar*, 4 vols., Beirut, 1970, I, 385ff.

³⁷ For example for the repairs for 16,000 *ghirsh* in 1258/1842 see *Mahakim Dimashq* S374/W228, 92 (1258/1842). The Hammam al-Amir and the mill (*tahuna*) al-Amir, which was outside of the city at the Awwali River, are mentioned: both buildings were part of the *waqf*. In 1309/1892 the buildings from the *waqf* of Küçük Ahmed Pasha were restored by al-Shaykh Mulhim ibn Sa'id Afandi ibn Sa'id al-Din Afandi Hamdan from the Shuf mountains (Bashir village) for 39,000 *ghirsh*. *Mahakim Dimashq* S961/W220, 177 (1309/1892).

view of Fakhr al-Din's patronage, always a matter of much speculation, especially in the course of the mystifications of nation-building.

The properties of the family were many: 69 entries for properties of very different sizes are mentioned, ranging from half a mill to 40 shops (Fig. 12). The real estate includes:

- 34 houses, 4 upper floors (*tabaqa*), 2 vaulted spaces (*qabu*), 1 collective low cost housing (*hawsh*)
- 2 caravanserais (*khan*), 56 shops (*dukkān*), 2 storehouses (*makhzan kabir*), 9 storerooms (*makhzan*), 1 warehouse (*bayka*), 3 selling platforms (*mastaba*)
- 1 *hammam*
- 3 mills (*tahuna*) and parts of five mills, 1 oil mill (*ma'sarat zayt*), 1 roaster (*mahmas*), soap works (*masbana*), 1 bakery (*firn*),
- 1 coffee house

The properties mentioned above were all located in Sidon, but they were only a part of the family's property, and the estates in Dayr al-Qamar (known as the houses of Yunus and Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni) or Beirut had different destinies. No lands, gardens, waterworks, or ships are mentioned.³⁸ The legal status and patron of each estate before they became waqf is not clear. The houses are named after the family who lived in them, not by the former investor and in many cases one cannot distinguish which member of the family was responsible for their construction. Three persons are of great importance in the *waqfiya*, and many houses and shops appear with their name: Ibn Ma'n (=Fakhr al-Din), his son al-Amir 'Ali and his brother al-Amir Yunus. The description and the location of each building provide details of parts of the city's topography. Through this source, we learn that there was a moat (*khandaq*) protecting the east of the city (see below), and the southern flank of the vanished Bab al-Zaytuna. A defence tower

³⁸ According to two records from Damascus, Küçük Ahmed Pasha gave the order in 1043/1634 to the *daftardar* of the city to sell all properties of Fakhr al-Din and Yunus al-Ma'ni in the 'village' (*qariya*) of Tyre/Sur (a large orchard planted by Fakhr al-Din with mulberries and figs, a large house, three mills and a mulberry nursery) and the house of Mulhim al-Ma'ni in the village of al-Jazira in the Biqa'; *Mahakim Dimashq* S4/W250, 251, pp. 122, 123 (1043/1634). al-Muhibbi reports that Küçük Ahmed Pasha endowed two villages, formerly the property of Fakhr al-Din, in the vicinity of Sidon and Baalbek for his own *takiya* in Qadam, south of Damascus. Other properties became part of the waqf of the Umayyad Mosque. Cf. al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar*, 388.

Part of the *waqf*, but not located:

- 18 houses
- 2 vaulted spaces (*qabū*)
- 3 upper floors (*ṭabaqa*)
- 8 mills (*ṭāḥūna*)
- 1 oil mill (*maṣarat zayt*)
- 1 roaster (*maḥmaṣ*)
- 1 soap works (*maṣbana*)
- 3 selling platforms (*maṣṭaba*)

Mentioned sites (not part of the *waqf*):

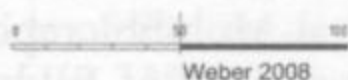
- a) tower (*burj*)
- b) customs (*kumruk*)
- c) Sūq al-'Arṣ
- d) Sūq al-Ḥarīr
- e) Khān al-Franj
- f) Sūq al-Ḥaddādīn ?
- g) Sāḥat Kīwān
- h) court (*maḥkama*)
- i) Qurṭaysh Mosque
- j) Hammām al-Ward
- k) Big Mosque
- l) Bāb al-Zaytūna

Important sites of the *waqf*
(by number of entry):

- 10 'Imārat Ibn Ma'n
- 11 Dār al-Amīr 'Alī Taḥṭā
- 12 Uwwad al-Amīr 'Alī
- 13 Dār al-Amīr 'Alī
- 14 Dār al-Amīr Yūnus
- 15 Khān al-Ruzz
- 16 Khān al-Qaysariyya
- 18 Hammām al-Baḥr
- 29 Maṣbanat al-Baḥr
- 32 Qahwat al-Baḥr
- 38 Dār al-Musilmānī
- 58 Dār al-Amīr 'Alī
- 64 Dār Wālidat al-Amīr 'Alī
- 75 Dār Surūr Āghā Mamlūk ibn Ma'n
- 76 Ḥawsh Ibn Dalāl

- houses (*bayt, dār*)
- vaulted space (*qabū*)
- bathroom (*ḥammām*)
- caravanserai (*khān*)
- shop (*dukkān*)
- warehouse (*bayka*)
- storeroom (*makhzan*)
- soap factory (*maṣbana*)
- bakery (*firm*)
- café

Buildings Waqfiyyat
Küçük Aḥmad Pasha



Weber 2008

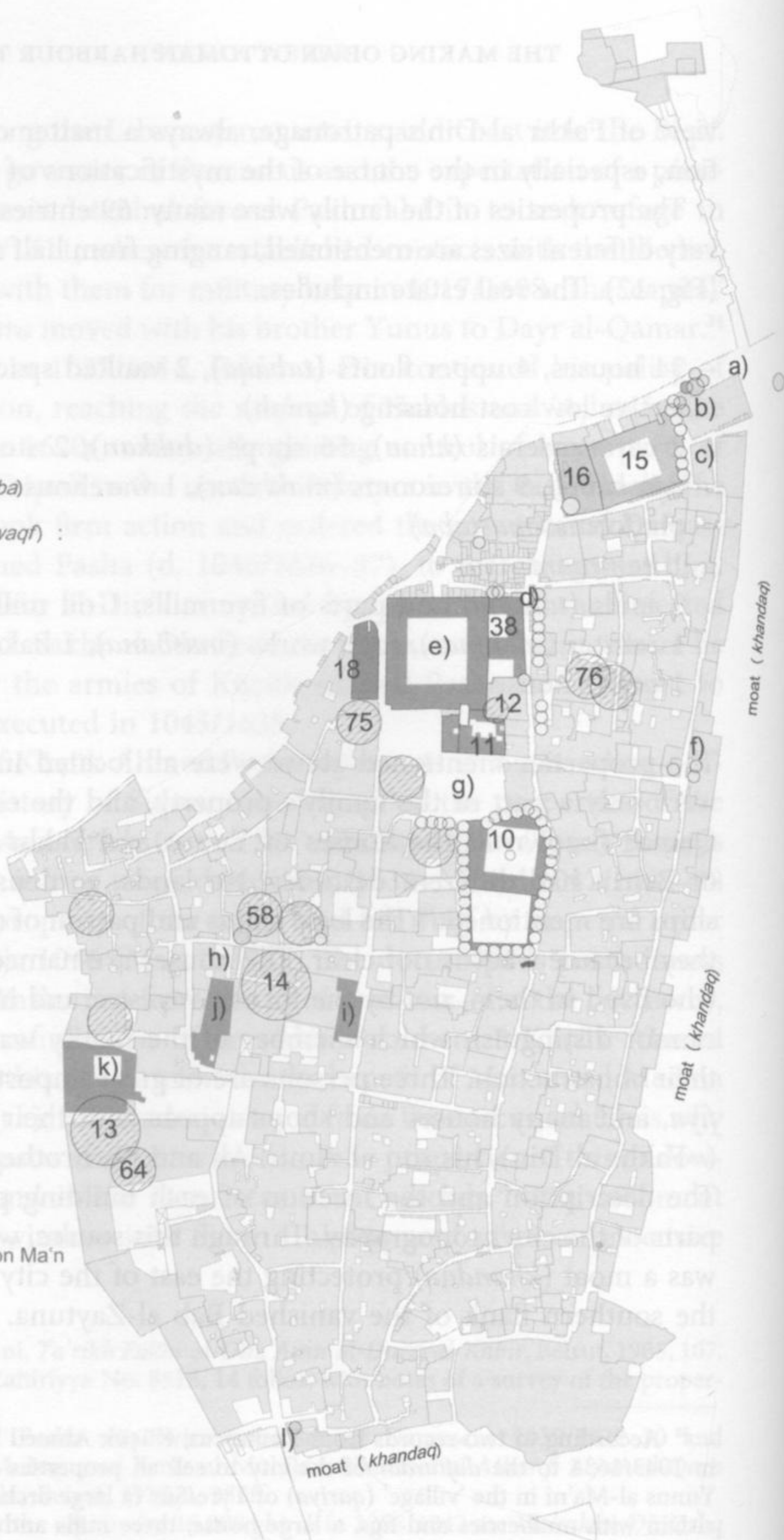


Fig. 12: Sidon, buildings of the Ma'n family according to the *waqfiya* of Küçük Ahmed Pasha 1046 / May 1637 (Weber 2007)



Fig. 13: Khan al-Ruzz, commissioned by the Ma'n family (Weber 2001)

(*burj*) is mentioned as being situated in the north eastern corner of the city. A proper city wall is not indicated. The customs (*kumruk*) of the early seventeenth century were closely situated next to the modern custom house and we learn of the location of the court (*mahkama*) and of Suq al-'Ars and Suq al-Harir, neither of which exist today.³⁹

Many houses and commercial buildings figure prominently among the endowed edifices. The largest commercial structures consist of two caravanserais adjacent to each other which are still standing today. The larger one, the Khan al-Ruzz or 'Rice Khan' (Fig. 13, Fig. 5 / No. 4), follows the typical pattern of commercial structures and the *waqfiya* enumerates 21 storerooms on the ground floor and 28 rooms on the first floor. The style of the building is very plain and neither its gate nor its interior shows any decoration or building inscription. In contrast to the Khan al-Franj, the rooms on the ground floor are closed and are not accessible through an open gallery. D'Arvieux describes the *khan* around 1660:

³⁹ The tower, which has disappeared completely and the customs are both mentioned by D'Arvieux as being at this location: 'La Douane est sur le bord de la mer à cinquante pas de cette Tour. C'est là que l'on décharge toutes les marchandises, soit qu'elles viennent du pays ou de dehors. Les droits que l'on paye sont réglés par un tarif, qui est assez modéré et c'est en partie ce qui y attire les marchands et le commerce'. *Mémoires*, vol. I, 300.

Le premier [*khan*] est sur le bord de la Mer et voisin de la Douane. Les Égyptiens et les Marchands des pays s'y retirent et même les Français quand ils ne peuvent trouver de place dans le grand khan.

Il y a de grands magasins au rez-de-chaussée, où l'on met le riz et les autres marchandises, et une galerie couverte au-dessus, où sont les portes des chambres. La Cour est assez grande. Il y a une petite mosquée au milieu, où les Mahométans vont faire leurs prières, quand ils ne peuvent pas aller aux autres.⁴⁰

The mosque that D'Arvieux had indicated has been replaced by a modern construction and its *khan* is in a generally bad state. Typical of the modern re-use of *khans* is the presence of a number of small workshops on the ground floor, while the upper floor has been transformed into permanent housing, sheltering 12 families from Sidon and Palestine, the latter being refugees since the middle of the twentieth century.

In addition to its unusual name, Khan al-Qaysariya (Fig. 5 / No. 5) has a remarkable layout. The term *qaysariya* was used in the Mamluk period for urban caravanserais instead of *khan*, but changed its meaning in the Ottoman period, especially in the later centuries, to refer to a commercial building for offices and lodging, often without a courtyard as the main storage space.⁴¹ The Khan al-Qaysariya can be seen as an early step towards the distinction between the two. The *waqfiya* mentions 5 storerooms on the ground floor and 12 rooms on the 1st floor. Much has changed today and several units have been divided up and altered, but two of the very large storerooms are still intact and function as shops. The sizeable spaces on the upper floor allow for quite comfortable living units; here, too, families have been living for several decades and have adapted the space to their needs. The courtyard has been built up and the occupants have changed the building to such an extent that it is not easy to recognise its original structure, which has been conveyed to us by D'Arvieux who lived there for several years:

Le second [*khan*] est le plus petit. Il est joignant les magasins du riz. La porte est sur la grande rue, vis-à-vis une mosquée [al-Bahri]. La cour qui est petite et carrée a quatre magasins et douze chambres au-des-

⁴⁰ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 309.

⁴¹ For the slightly different Aleppine context, see Watenpaugh, *Image of an Ottoman City*, 103, note 179. In Damascus the term *qaysariya* was still applied to *khans* in the eighteenth century, for example by Ibn Kannan (d. 1153/1740).

sus, avec une galerie couverte, qui y donne entrée. Les marchands du pays s'y logent, quand il n'est pas occupé par les Francs. C'est le plus joli et le plus commode des trois. J'y avais établi ma demeure, j'avais toute la face qui regarde la mer, et j'avais fait de la défense pour m'y accommoder. J'avais une grande chambre et un cabinet pour moi, une chambre pour mes amis, une autre pour mes domestiques, un balcon sur la Cour, une salle à manger. Une cuisine, et les autres lieux nécessaires à un ménage.

J'étais là fort en repos et très commodément, éloigné du bruit continuel que l'on entend dans les autres khans, où les muletiers logent leurs bêtes dans les cours et crient jour et nuit en chargeant ou déchargeant les marchandises; car la coutume de ces peuples est de ne pas charger une paille sur leurs épaules sans crier à pleine tête. J'étais le maître de mon petit khan, le portier était à ma disposition. Je pouvais régaler mes amis, étudier et travailler sans être interrompu. Deux grands magasins me servaient de serre, de cave et d'écurie; en un mot, j'étais logé aussi bien que je pouvais le souhaiter.⁴²

Lying parallel to its older brother next door, the Khan al-Qaysariya has no building decoration and is constructed of brownish sandstone; the building inscription has been removed. Like Khan al-Franj, the two *khans* of the Ma'n family were located directly on the shore: these three *khans* were the only large caravanserais in the city around 1600. The *suq* of Sidon developed around them, and one can assume much private entrepreneurship in building shops on the part of merchants who settled in the city. The Ma'ns added much to the commercial centre and the many shops which form part of the *waqfiya* are concentrated in three locations. Several have been documented immediately next to the Khan al-Ruzz in the Suq al-'Ars, and east of the Khan al-Franj in the Suq al-Harir. However, most of the shops (40) were endowed at the same time as the newly constructed *saray* of Fakhr al-Din, and some are still standing today, as integral parts of the western enclosure of the *saray* building (Fig. 14). Yet this extension of the mercantile district south of the Saray Square was not followed up in the succeeding decades (despite the local *suq* of the quarter around Kikhiya and Qutayshiya Mosque). The harbour district continued to develop as the commercial hub of the city during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is still a very popular shopping district (Fig. 4).

⁴² D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 310f.



Fig. 14: shop at saray, commissioned by Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni
(Weber 2002)



Fig. 15: Dar al-Ma'ni / French Consulate and Khan al-Franj in 1937 (IFPO)

The 34 endowed houses were of quite a different kind and it has not been possible to locate all of them. The houses of Fakhr al-Din, his brother Yunus and his son 'Ali stand out prominently among them (see Fig. 12). The *waqfiya* informs us of the location of the house of a wife of Fakhr al-Din (Walidat al-Amir 'Ali) and of his Mamluk, Surur Agha, as well as of a collective low cost housing complex, the Hawsh Ibn Dalal, featuring 16 rooms and the adjacent houses belonging to Jewish families. Some houses can be identified, among them a house that the *waqfiya* calls Dar al-Musilmani, located to the east of the Khan al-Franj and currently used as premises for a school (Fig. 15, Fig. 18 / No. 3). Chevalier D'Arvieux attributed this building directly to Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'n, arguing that it served for his wives and as his (old) *saray*; perhaps the rooms entered and described by D'Arvieux had been the Dar al-Harim at one time.⁴³ After becoming part of the waqf of Küçük Ahmed Pasha in 1046/1637, the house was rented out to the French consul—the reason for D'Arvieux's visit around 1660. In the early eighteenth century, the French consular records show that this house was administered by the provincial treasury in Damascus and was rented out to the French consuls by Mustafa and 'Ali

⁴³ 'l'Emir Fakherdin l'avait fait bâtir pour y loger les femmes, c'était son sérail. Il y allait prendre l'air car il est bien plus élevé que le grand khan: il a des vues sur la mer, sur une grande partie de la ville et sur la campagne'. D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 319.

Agha al-Hammud on behalf of the treasury. It was Mustafa who gave permission to do so in 1712 and on later occasions to repair and change the building.⁴⁴

The courtyard of the house is directly attached to the Khan al-Franj with a door leading to the *khan*. On the other three sides of the courtyard the rooms are divided between two floors with an open arcade on the northern side and a grand reception hall (*qa'a*) on the southern side of the upper floor.⁴⁵ The *qa'a* surmounts the entire building; it is not a single room but a whole set of rooms. The hall proper forms a cross with a central dome and a small room in each of the four corners of the cross (Fig. 17). This layout is reminiscent of important Ottoman pavilions, like the Çinili Köşk (877/1473) in Istanbul, which were based on Persian models and became very prominent in the Arab provinces as well. They are known for example in Aleppo, and two other examples in Tripoli from the turn of the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries have recently been identified: on top of the Khan al-'Askar and on the Bayt Kastaflis-'Adra.⁴⁶ Another domed *qa'a* with two arms (*iwan*)—not four—is featured in the house of Amir 'Ali south of Khan al-Franj (Fig. 18 / No. 4). Here, many decorative elements are still visible, but the compound has undergone great changes; the dome has collapsed and the very high *qa'a* has been subdivided into two floors to provide space for the families occupying the building.

The Saray

The *saray* of Fakhr al-Din stands out among the many houses in the *waqfiya* by its very name 'the edifice Ibn Ma'n' (*'imara*, not house, *dar*). It is briefly described as consisting of an *iwan* on the ground floor, a court yard, a fountain, a garden and several rooms and *qa'as*...⁴⁷ Fakhr al-Din had built his *saray* directly south of a large square in the middle of the city, known today as Saray Square (Sahat al-Saray). The city plan drawn up by Gaillardot in 1864 shows a large structure with

⁴⁴ AE/B1/1019, 1712–15, 169. For Mustafa and 'Ali Agha al-Hammud, see below.

⁴⁵ The *waqfiya* mentions an *iwan* and three rooms on the ground floor, one on the shops, the *qa'a* and five rooms on the upper floor. Cf. *Waqfiya Küçük Ahmed Pasha*, folio 8, right side.

⁴⁶ Cf. on the architectural feature of the *qa'a*: Weber, *Egyptian qa'a*, 268ff.

⁴⁷ "Imarat dar al-jadida al-ma'rufa bi-'imarat ibn Ma'n", *Waqfiya Küçük Ahmed Pasha*, 10th entry, folio 4, left side.

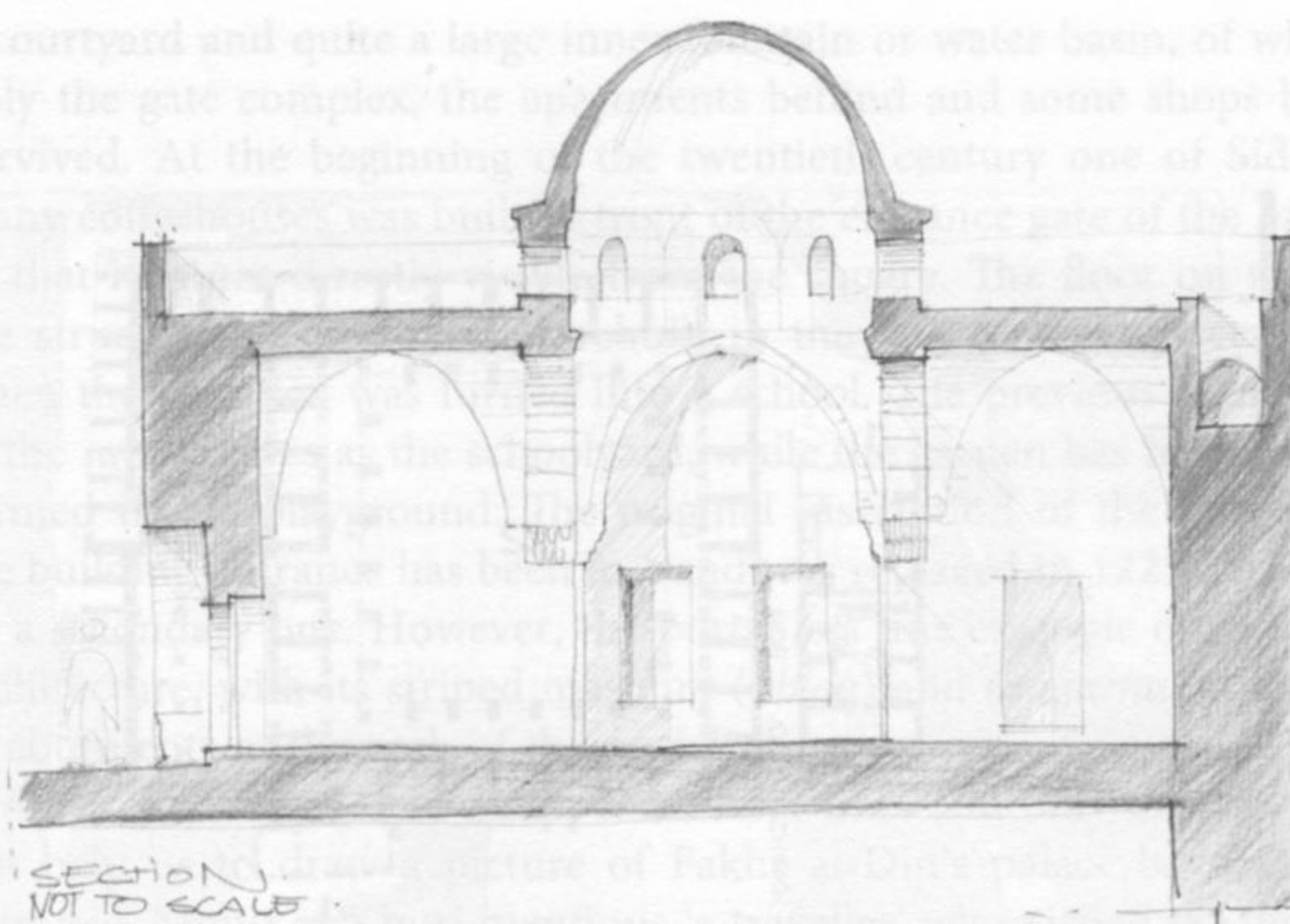


Fig. 16: Dar al-Ma'ni / French consul, section *qa'a* (Chahine / Khoury / Weber 2003)

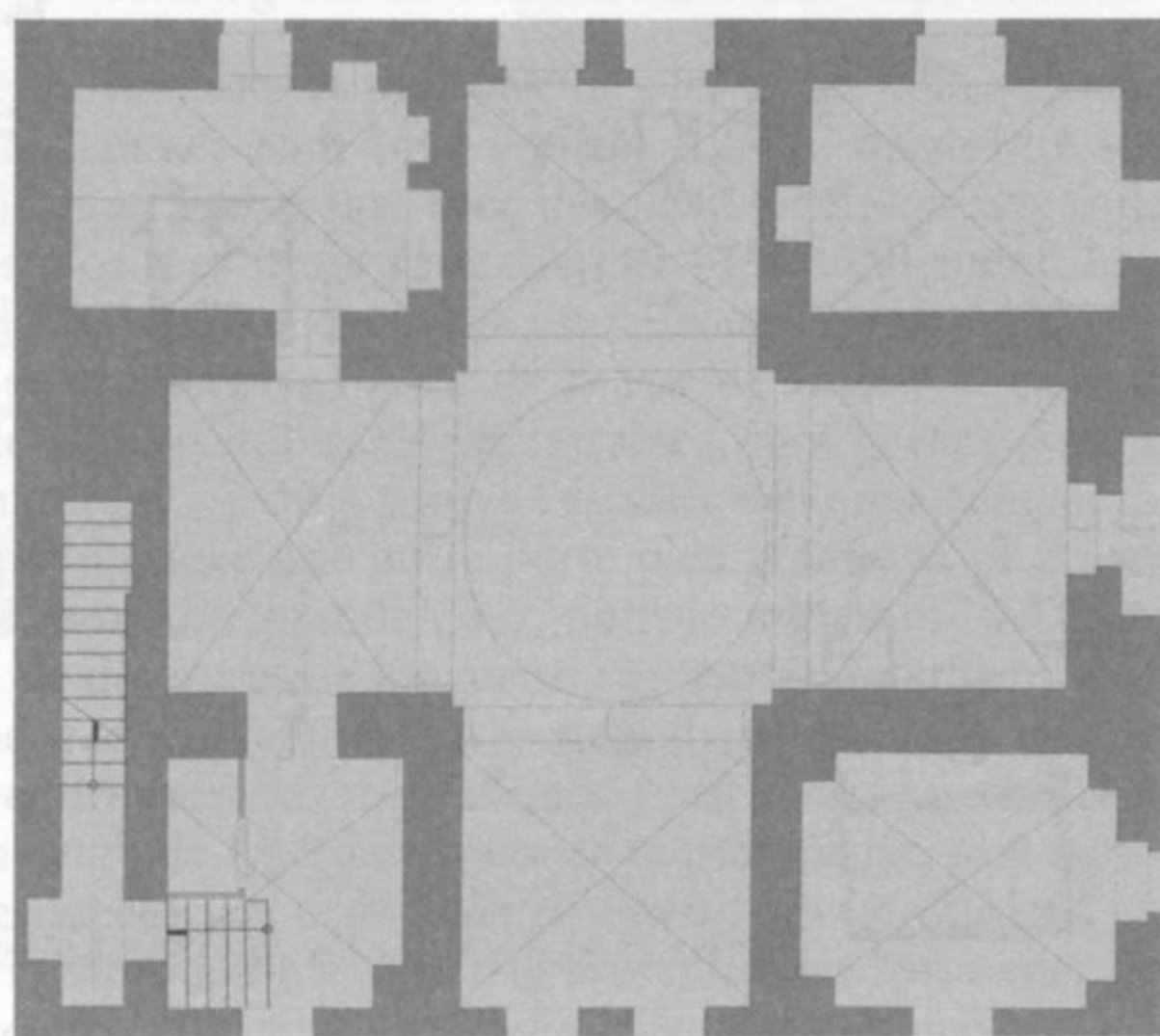
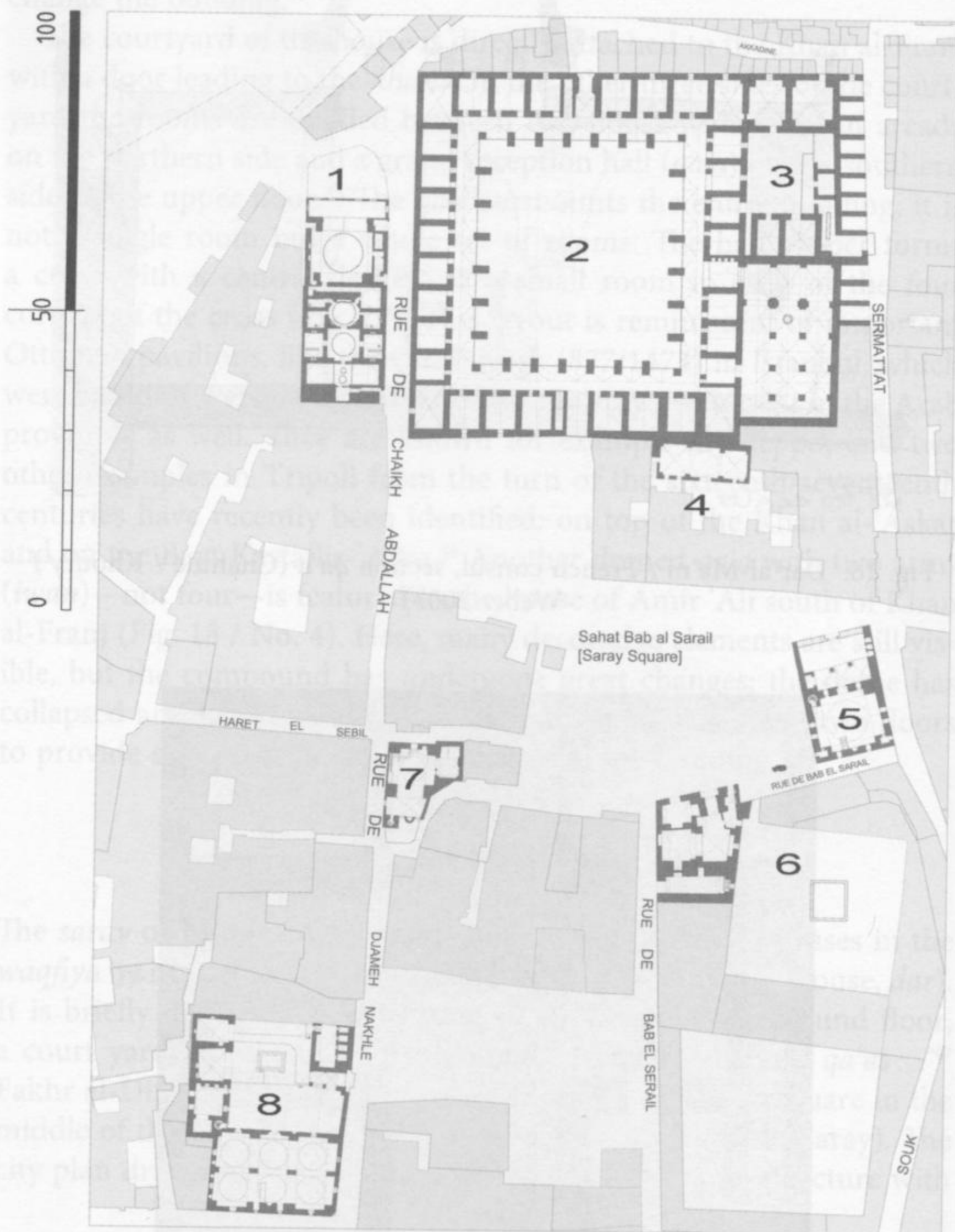


Fig. 17: Dar al-Ma'ni / French consul, plan *qa'a* (Chahine / Khoury / Weber 2003)



Saray Square around 1650 (reconstruction)

Weber 2006

Chahine / Farah

Fig. 18: Saray Square, around 1650 (reconstruction Weber 2005)

a courtyard and quite a large inner fountain or water basin, of which only the gate complex, the apartments behind and some shops have survived. At the beginning of the twentieth century one of Sidon's many coffeehouses was built in front of the entrance gate of the *saray*, so that it is not directly visible from the square. The floor on top of the structure was completely rebuilt in the late nineteenth century, when the complex was turned into a school. The previous courtyard of the *saray* serves as the schoolyard, while the garden has been transformed into a playground. The original inscription of the portal on the building entrance has been lost and was replaced in 1225/1809–10 by a secondary one. However, the portal is a fine example of regional architecture, with its striped masonry (*ablaq*) and *muqarnas* consoles as abutments of the arch of the portal niche.

Most of the *saray* has disappeared over time and only descriptions can help us to draw a picture of Fakhr al-Din's palace beyond the entrance. Munir al-Khuri mentions 'a traveller' who visited the city in 1598 and described the *saray* of Fakhr al-Din as being constructed as the seat of the administration (*Dar al-Hukuma*) with a garden of many plants; it was taller than any other building in the city.⁴⁸ But again Laurent D'Arvieux gives us a more detailed impression:

Ce Sérail est vaste et tout bâti de pierres de taille; les appartements du rez-de-chaussée sont tous voûtés, et ceux de dessus sont enrichis de peintures à l'arabesque, avec des fleurs et des passages de l'Alcoran en lettres d'or. Les murs sont épais et bâtis solidement. Les fenêtres sont grandes et grillées de fer. Il est couvert en terrasses, sur lesquelles on peut se promener, et jouir de la vue de la mer et de la campagne. Les escaliers qui conduisent aux terrasses, sont grands, bien éclairés et fort commodes. [...] On y trouve l'escalier de l'appartement du Kiachia, et à quelque distance une autre porte plus grande et plus ornée, qui donne entrée dans une grande cour, dont le milieu est occupé par une pièce d'eau de dix toises de longueur, sur quatre de largeur, sur laquelle il y a un kiosque, ou cabinet fort enrichi de peintures et de dorures, avec des tapis et des carreaux magnifiques. C'est là où le pacha se repose pendant les chaleurs de l'été. Les côtés de la pièce d'eau sont ornés de terrasses, sur lesquelles il y a de gros orangers, des citronniers, et des arbustes, dont l'ombre joint à celui des murailles des bâtiments qui environnent cette cour, et qui sont fort hauts, répand une fraîcheur des plus agréables dans ce lieu... [...] Le jardin est derrière la face du milieu, il a trente toises de largeur, sur quarante à cinquante de longueur. Il est rempli

⁴⁸ Munir al-Khuri, *Sayda 'abra al-Ta'rikh*, Beirut, 1966; 235f.

de fleurs et de toute sorte d'arbres fruitiers, comme orangers, citronniers et autres. Quoique ces arbres soient plantés sans ordre, il ne laisse pas d'avoir de l'agrément. Il y a des kiosques, ou cabinets en plusieurs endroits, avec des fontaines qui servent arroser les plantes. C'est un plaisir de s'y promener le matin avant la chaleur, et le soir quand elle est passée, lorsque ces arbres sont en fleur.⁴⁹

Several houses, many shops, the two *khans*, and the main bathhouse of the city were commissioned next to the *saray*. The Hammam al-Bahr, mentioned in the *waqfiya*, is undoubtedly identical to Hammam al-Mir (Fig. 18 / No. 1), which was destroyed during the Israeli invasion of 1982. The famous Damascene scholar 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, who visited Sidon at the end of the seventeenth century, has left a detailed description. In his report, he mentioned three *hammams* belonging to the city: Hammam al-Suq (Sab' Banat), Hammam al-Shaykh and the Hammam al-Mir. But Hammam al-Mir received special attention due to the fact that it was the most prestigious and important bathhouse of the three. Whereas only the name is given for the others, he goes into details for the Hammam al-Mir:

...it is facing the seaside, it is very large, it has plenty of water and is paved with marble. In the *mushallah* there is a large high fountain of octagonal shape made of white marble. It is composed of 16 rooms and every room is as nearly as large as a *qa'a*. The paving around the fountain consists of four pieces of marble. There is a piece each side [of the fountain] nearly 5 cubits long. Inside this bathhouse are two large fountains which the people call plunge pools (*maghtis*). The water of the first one is hot and the water of the second one cold. The inside of this *hammam* is very spacious and there are many small separate bathrooms (*khalwa*) of which the best one has a smaller and fine marble fountain (*fisqiya*). Its air is good and mild.⁵⁰

Thus a public square with the *saray*, upper class dwellings, *hammam*, mosques, shops and *khans* developed directly south of the harbour in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Many of these buildings were commissioned by the Ma'n family. With his *saray* on

⁴⁹ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 303ff. The reconstruction of the *saray* and its square around 1650 (Fig. 18) is based on this description, old maps and the remains of the *saray in situ*.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Isma'il al-Nabulusi (ed. Heribert Busse), *al-Tuhfa al-Nabulusiyya fi l-Rihla al-Tarabulsiya*, Beirut, 1971, 34, my translation. D'Arvieux mentions it as well: 'Il y a un grand bain à étuve assez proche le khan des Français, il est grand, bien bâti, fort propre. On y est bien servi et à fort bon marché.' D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 303.

the square, Fakhr al-Din followed a new trend that appeared in the region with the arrival of the Ottomans. The layout of this square in Sidon is quite exceptional among the larger cities in *Bilad al-Sham* and the Arab provinces, since the Ottomans normally built a *saray* in connection with a public square on the periphery of the city, as in Damascus or Tripoli.⁵¹ Fakhr al-Din's *saray* in Beirut was situated on the eastern edge of the city, although its location was probably determined by a previous building which the Druze emir had redeveloped.⁵² As for the *saray* in Sidon, not only is the location in the middle of the urban fabric rare, the distribution of the central functional sectors of the entire city is also highly unusual. Often—and the Mamluk city foundation of Tripoli is a good example—the centre of the city was created around a ceremonial mosque, surrounded by schools and a chain of markets. Many other cities followed this model, but Sidon did not: the main mosque of the city was located on the south-western sea shore and quite far from the commercial and administrative centres around the Saray square and the main commercial building directly north of it. Dayr al-Qamar differs as well; the *sarays* (of Yunus, Fakhr al-Din and later of the Shihabs), the main caravanserai, the *suqs* (most of which have disappeared), the church, the synagogue and the mosque are all situated around a square. But the Druze 'capital' is unique in its setting in the Shuf mountains and can hardly be called a real city. Given the 'saray-with-square' module, prominently visible at the old Hippodrome in Istanbul (At Meydanı) with the major mosque (Hagia Sophia) and the palaces of senior politicians—like that of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha—directly on the square,⁵³ we may assume a similar concept at work in Sidon. Sidon, as a city reconstructed from its ruins, allowed the building of a *saray* and square in the middle of the city, and did not require that they be built on the periphery, as was the case in other towns. It seems in Sidon that local and regional factors followed new concepts of urbanism that arrived in *Bilad al-Sham* during Ottoman rule, which would parallel trends in architecture. As seen in the Bab al-Saray Mosque and the Qutayshiya Mosque, late sixteenth and early seventeenth century mosques followed Ottoman concepts of

⁵¹ See for other examples, with the exceptions of Algiers and Aleppo, Raymond, *Grandes villes Arabes*, 170f.

⁵² Michael F. Davie, 'Maps and the Historical Topography of Beirut', *Berytus* 35, 1987, 158ff.

⁵³ On Sokollu Mehmed's palace, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 41, 332f.

space and often of decoration—and so do some dwellings, as we have seen in one of Fakhr al-Din's houses (the cross-shaped *qa'a*). The representation of power by means of a *saray* square, *qa'as* and of mosques made use of an Ottoman architectural language adapted to vernacular tastes, materials and techniques. In contrast, the often-claimed Italian influence cannot be confirmed from the many remains from the period still visible in Sidon (and in Dayr al-Qamar).⁵⁴

The administrative centre at the Saray Square and the commercial centre at the port, to which Mulhim bin Yunus ibn Qurqumaz al-Ma'ni (1635–58) added another caravansary, the Khan al-Dabbagha, remained the centre of the city until the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁵ Taking all the above mentioned buildings of the Ma'n family and the other documented buildings of that time (Fig. 5, Fig. 12, Fig. 18) into account, it becomes clear that the commercial and the administrative centre with its public buildings and prestigious houses dates back to the period of activity of the two major agents in the history of the town: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Amir Fakhr al-Din. After the impetus of a supra-regional player, Sidon developed as the seat of a regional dignitary in the 1590s and in the first half of the seventeenth century. Unlike Payas, it did not suffer a decline in the face of regional competition. This process continued and was accelerated when Sidon became the base of the regional players of the Ma'n family and later an administrative provincial capital. In the early eighteenth century local agents and their role in the previously established urban structure became responsible for the next significant wave of construction. Hence the rise of the Hammud family was closely connected to the commercial life of the city with its *khans* and *suqs*.

III. Sidon in the eighteenth century: the *waqfiya* of Mustafa Agha and the Hammud properties

The eighteenth century, known in Ottoman historiography as the 'Age of the A'yan', is a significant period in the history of the Middle East,

⁵⁴ Nearly every guide book or local history book tries to establish a link to Italian renaissance architecture to claim a specific Lebanese style. This was already questioned some three decades ago by Friedrich Ragette in *Architecture in Lebanon, the Lebanese House during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, American University of Beirut, 1974, 177f.

⁵⁵ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. I, 326. According to D'Arvieux, the Barrani Mosque (Fig. 5 / No. 1, 2), featuring an Ottoman central dome, domed portico and pencil shaped minaret, was also built by Mulhim.

especially for the city of Sidon. Even though local notables had played and would play an important social role both before and after the eighteenth century, the epithet is not inaccurate. The particular trajectory of the eighteenth century was the rising economic and political power of an urban and rural elite within the Ottoman Empire. In Sidon, the Hammud family served as tax collectors in the course of the first decades of the century, and their increasing wealth and remarkable influence left a strong imprint on the city's appearance. The base of their financial strength was a result of the fiscal reform of 1695, when the right of lifelong tax farming (*malikane*) was legalized in the Empire. Tax collectors were now managing and exploiting tax units (*muqata'a*), lands and customs offices, not on a short-term basis, but for many years into the future. Judging from the material evidence, enormous wealth was being accumulated in the hands of local notable families through this new policy. In many cities the patronage of major construction projects shifted from non-local Ottoman officials to local (or assimilated) social agents and families. Newly acquired wealth was invested in large houses, schools and commercial buildings that indicated the patrons' role in the local context. For rural Lebanon, the date of the fiscal reform denotes a more symbolic value, as various families had already claimed tax farms as their own, even before the legalisation of *malikane*.

As far as the urban context is concerned however, the year 1695 is of considerable importance. In the early eighteenth century a local family gained enormous wealth due to their role as tax farmers of the harbour and as a result, left material evidence on a scale not comparable with any other family originating within the framework of Sidon. The Hammud family seems to have arrived in Sidon sometime during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Material evidence indicates that one family member, Mustafa Katkhuda, had already held an important position during the first half of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, French consular reports⁵⁶ allow us to get an idea of the patriarch of three generations of the Hammud family between the early eighteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century, when most of their buildings were constructed.

Mustafa Agha al-Hammud is the first of his family who can be traced in records and through the visual landmarks of his extensive

⁵⁶ Archives Nationales Paris, Affaires Étrangères (henceforth AE) B¹ 1020—years 1712–15 to B¹ 1025, years 1740–41.

building campaign. His name starts to appear in the consular reports when his buildings (see below) were under construction. The French consul refers to him in January 1712 as 'Aggi Mustafa Hamoud, turc de Seyde'—'turc' being in his terminology a word for an official.⁵⁷ Mustafa's role can be easily confused with a namesake, since the consul refers to two different Mustafas: 'Moustapha Aga douanier de Seyde' and 'Moustafa Aga du château de Seyde' or 'Moustafa Aga, gouverneur de la forteresse de Seyde' respectively.⁵⁸ A document of 1129/1717 refers to Mustafa Agha as warden (*dizdar*) of the castle of Sidon.⁵⁹ Hence this must be the Mustafa Agha (ibn Ahmad Agha al-Zafiri), from whom Mustafa Agha (al-Hammud) had bought several estates a few years before the transaction was recorded in his *waqfiya*.⁶⁰ It cannot be definitely established how Mustafa Agha al-Hammud came by his positions, but since his namesake had already assumed the most important military position, this aspect of his background seems to have been less important.

We can follow up on his position as tax farmer (douanier de Seyde)—a position that stayed in the family for the next two generations. In 1132/1720, Muhammad Qadi of Sidon reports that Hajji Mustafa al-Hammud will receive 4,030 *ghurush* and 64,170 *aqche* from French merchants for 730 *qintar* of olive oil, exported from the ports of Acre, Sidon and Beirut.⁶¹ Thus the wealth and the properties

⁵⁷ AE / B¹ 1020—years 1712–15, 43.

⁵⁸ AE / B¹ 1019—years 1712–15, 16, 18, 146.

⁵⁹ Stoyanka Kenderova, *Inventory of the Documents in Arabic Language kept in the Oriental Department of Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia*, Sofia, 1984, 117.

⁶⁰ His position as *gouverneur de la forteresse*, gives him a military function and he could have been an Agha of the local Janissaries. On several occasions the French reports mention the Agha of the Janissaries; since it seems clear to them which Agha this is, it may be pointing to Mustafa Agha ibn Ahmad Agha al-Zafiri (for example Archives AE / B¹ 1021—years 1719–25, 29).

⁶¹ Called in the report 'Hammud-zade'. Kenderova, *Inventory*, no. 119. *Zade*, the Persian-Ottoman form of *ibn / banu* (the descendants) is used in Ottoman *Bilad al-Sham* as a social marker for the upper strata, a use that intensified during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It might be understood as denoting noble status (close to aristocracy) and attributing a value to a family through its importance in the system. Another report deals with a very similar matter: The French merchant Gustave, belonging to the French community (*ta'ifa*) in Sidon, bought 35 *qintar* of olive-oil (*zayt*) in Sidon. The tax (*rasm*) for this olive oil butter is 26, 250 *sagh aqche*. According to a sultanic order (*firman*), this amount was to be handed over totally (*taslim bi'l-tamam*) to Hajji Mustafa al-Hammud and his son 'Ali Agha. Bulgarian National Archives: F. 285 A, a.u. 252. *I'lam* by the judge (*qadi*) of the town of Sidon, dated 5 *Jumada II* 1133/3.04.1721. Here Mustafa Agha is called '...fakhr al-amathil

of the Hammud family (discussed in detail further below) seem to be a direct result of the legalisation of *malikane* in 1695. Mustafa's power in the city is clearly visible. He was certainly controlling waqfs, since the consul refers to him as 'Mustafa el-Mouvelly de la ville de Sayda'.⁶² A *mutawalli* is a trustee, mainly of waqfs, although the reference could be to other financial responsibilities. The consul talks about 'Aggi Moustafa, procureur du trésorier de Damas' to whom he paid the rent for the house he was living in—the above-mentioned Dar al-Musilmani from the waqf of Küçük Ahmed Pasha (Fig. 15, Fig. 18 / No. 3). Thus Mustafa Agha, like his son 'Ali later, was the *mutawalli* of this important waqf and maybe of other endowments, administered at the court in Damascus as well.⁶³ He was involved in several affairs relating to real estate. The consul, the *qadi* and the governor were in conflict with each other over building undertakings for which Mustafa had taken money to finance repairs (most probably in his function as *mutawalli*). Mustafa was not on good terms with the French consul Poullard, who called him '...un abominateur, un traître...'⁶⁴

Mustafa must have died shortly after April 1721, the last time that his name appears in the consular reports. From that time onwards we have evidence of 'Ali Agha, Mustafa's son, who inherited the two positions that would subsequently be inherited by his own son Ahmad. He was the tax farmer of Sidon and the trustee of various financial affairs emanating from Damascus (like the *tawliya* of the waqf Küçük Ahmed Pasha). In the endowment deed of his father dated 1127/1715 (see below), he is the only one among his siblings addressed as Agha, and, by then he must already have been of a certain age. 'Ali Agha appears in the French reports quite often. In 1720 the consul mentions that '...notre frère Ally Aga qui est ici présent vous salue',⁶⁵ and in 1727 he speaks of '...Aly Aga le douanier mon très intime ami...' who '...

wa'l-aqran Hajji Mustafa Hammud zade', one of the a'yan of the city. This material has been kindly provided by Stoyanka Kenderova.

⁶² AE / B¹ 1019—years 1712–15, 16, 18, 146.

⁶³ AE / B¹ 1019—years 1712–15, 498.

⁶⁴ According to consul Poullard, Mustafa Agha committed several offences against the Turks and had some unfair dealings with a person named Abdallah. Several cases are mentioned in AE / B¹ 1019—years 1712–15, 16–18: '...un abominateur, un traître dont la calomnie évidente est très connue en faisant l'avanie auprès du gouverneur et est seigneur des avanies contre la nation française et aussi contre les musulmans... est un traître un calomniateur un fripon et un malin à outre mesure dans les traces de l'avanie en caution des dommages à la nation française et aux musulmans.'

⁶⁵ AE / B¹ 1021—years 1719–25, 177, also 204b.

possède presque tout le gouvernement...'⁶⁶ On another occasion in 1731 the consul calls him '...Aly Agha, notre douanier, amy très affectionné de la nation.'⁶⁷ The French consul Lemaire makes explicit mention of his great friendship with 'Ali Agha.⁶⁸

'Ali Agha's outstanding importance in the life of the city is often documented in the records. He played a crucial role in everyday affairs, and took over the responsibilities of the governor during his absence—on one occasion he was officially asked by Abdullah Köprülü Pasha to do so until the Pasha's arrival.⁶⁹ After the death of the ex-wali of Sidon, 'Uthman Pasha, in 1139/1726 'Ali Agha was in charge of settling some of the financial affairs concerning his properties.⁷⁰

'Ali Agha was the most influential person in town, especially during governmental transitions. Not surprisingly, the French consul was interested in the local Catholic community, where 'Ali Agha helped him several times by mediating between the consul and the Pasha to support the Catholics and the various missionaries in the region.⁷¹ For instance, one such case was the consul's wish to receive the newly reigning Pasha's permission for baptisms by the Capuchin monks in Beirut, which was only achieved through the mediation of 'Ali Agha.⁷² For the consul himself, 'Ali Agha played a key role. He noted on several occasions in 1729 and 1730 that he had asked 'Ali Agha to protect himself and his interests against the Pasha (governor / *wali*). 'Ali Agha was responsible for arranging audiences with the Pasha, to which he went in person to put in a good word for the consul or gave the latter advice on how to deal with the governor.⁷³ Yet we do not know much more about 'Ali Agha—his date of birth and death remain unrecorded. Since his house (see below) was under construction in 1720 and the

⁶⁶ AE / B¹ 1022—years 1726–30, 49.

⁶⁷ AE / B¹ 1023—years 1731–35, 8b.

⁶⁸ AE / B¹ 1023—years 1731–35, 49b.

⁶⁹ AE / B¹ 1022—years 1726–30, 23b.

⁷⁰ His heritage, described in a register, was confiscated by the state. In March 1727 the outstanding taxes from his *muqata'a* in Sidon and Beirut amounted to 72,108.5 *ghirsh*, half of which were collected by 'Ali Agha directly. The rest was to be collected by the end of that year. Bulgarian National Archive, F. 285 A, a.u. 80, f. 11. *I'lam* by the *qadi* of Sidon, dated 21–29 *Jumada II* 1139/13–21.01.1727 and F. 285 A, a.u. 91. *talkhis* of the Grand Vezir, dated 18 *Rajab* 1139/11.03.1727.

⁷¹ AE / B¹ 1022—years 1726–30, 25a.

⁷² AE / B¹ 1023—years 1731–35, 15a.

⁷³ AE / B¹ 1022—years 1726–30, 163, 168 b, 173 b, 177ff., 184, 192, 279, 342.

French consul refers to '...feu Aly Aga...' in 1738 (see below), he must have been in office from about the late 1710s until around 1735.

In the late 1730s two of the Hammuds found themselves in the same powerful position. Ahmad al-Hammud was the tax farmer of Sidon, while his uncle Yusuf al-Hammud held the same position in Acre. The French consul mentions '...les deux Agha de Seyde et d'Acre, oncle et neveu...' and '...l'Agha de la douane ou par son oncle qui est aussi douanier à Acre...' ⁷⁴ On October 29, 1738, the consul remarks about an estate problem '...présentée à Ahmed Aga fils de feu Aly Aga...', ⁷⁵ which indicates that 'Ali Agha's son Ahmad had followed his father's footsteps in office. But the star of the Hammuds had already started to wane. From the very beginning, Ahmad seemed to have had to deal with numerous financial problems judging from the French consular reports, including an apparently unresolved financial transaction. ⁷⁶

The consular reports indicate that the Hammuds started to have major financial and legal disputes among themselves as well as being at odds with the governor of Sidon. The French consul states that the pasha wanted to remove the Hammud family from office—due to problems with foreigners and the 'douaniers'. ⁷⁷ He complains about the Agha and his uncle in Acre and the way they were collecting money and making great fortunes that allowed them to build 'nice buildings'. Those Aghas, he goes on, were trying to sell the French lands, gardens and houses. These properties must have been part of a waqf, because the consul states that he refused to buy these properties since their revenues were meant to be for Mecca. ⁷⁸ He gives a further detailed description of the conflicts between Ahmad al-Hammud Agha and his uncle Yusuf al-Hammud in Acre, which ended in Yusuf al-Hammud being forced to sell all his properties while in prison. ⁷⁹ The trouble continued: in the same year (1741) the consul mentions a Hammud Agha from Sidon (most probably Ahmad), who escaped from the Pasha and claimed the Sultan's revenues. With the help of his uncle in Acre, Hammud Agha and his family were arrested. During his

⁷⁴ AE / B¹ 1025—years 1740–41, 127, 193.

⁷⁵ AE / B¹ 1024—years 1736–39, 340.

⁷⁶ AE / B¹ 1025—years 243ff., see for a later case 417f.

⁷⁷ Several letters in AE / B¹ 1025—years 1740–41.

⁷⁸ AE / B¹ 1025—years 1740–41, 127.

⁷⁹ Because of the mediating role played by the French consul, Ahmad Agha had already given his word to the consul that the French could buy these properties—which they did. AE / B¹ 1025—years 1740–41, 193. 30/6–202.

detention, the Agha agreed with the Pasha to sell him a *khan* he had built for the navy, for 40 bourses.⁸⁰

Yusuf was finally sent to Istanbul and the fortunes of the Hammuds seem to have suffered a major setback. Only Ahmad Agha appears to have continued in high office; he remained tax collector for Sidon in 1739 and was later appointed *mutasallim* (deputy governor) of Sidon.⁸¹ For the rest of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no document or building inscription referring to the Hammuds was found. It seems that with the rise of Dhahir 'Umar (see below) in Acre and the change of the political centre of the province from Sidon to Acre and later to Beirut, the Hammuds lost contact with their previous sources of wealth.

The buildings of the Hammud family

The prominent status of the Hammud family that shines through the records is clearly reflected in the city's physical appearance, especially in the eastern part of the city, where they commissioned many buildings; nearly all these buildings date from the early eighteenth century, and there are only two constructions from an earlier period. We have evidence that al-Shaykh Mustafa Katkhuda, who had commissioned the spacious Kikhiya Mosque in 1044/1634–35 (Fig. 18 ¶ No. 8), had endowed the Khan al-Yahud and a soap factory to the waqf of his mosque.

Two buildings can be attributed to Mustafa Agha al-Hammud. Building inscriptions identify him as the patron of the Hammam al-Jadid and of the annex to the Bahri Mosque, both dated 1126/1713–14. Two inscriptions in the Bahri Mosque mention him, the first as being

⁸⁰ AE / B¹ 1023—years 1731–35, 428. 6 fév. 1741.

⁸¹ AE / B¹ 1024—years 1736–39, 507, and Bulgarian National Archive, F. 285 A, a.u. 257. *I'lam* by the substitute judge (*muwalla hilafatan*) of the town of Sidon, dated 1–10 *Ramadan* 1177/4–14.03.1764. See also F. 285 A, a. u. 270. Summary (*khulasa*) of document sent by the *mutasallim* of Sidon, Ahmad Hammud Agha. A document in the Tripoli court records from 1166/1753 mentions Ahmad Agha ibn Ali Agha in connection with the delivery of the outstanding taxes of Sidon (9318 *ghirsh*) to the governor of Tripoli Sa'd al-Din Pasha al-'Azm. Ahmad Agha's son Hasan Agha together with 'Abd al-Qadir Agha Qutaysh and his son Salih Agha were imprisoned in the citadel of Tripoli until the sum was delivered. *Sijillat Mahakim Shar'iya bi-Tarablus* No. 13, page 203, year 1166/1753. The numbering refers to the copies available in the municipal documentation office (Qasr al-Nawfal).

responsible for the enlargement of the Bahri Mosque, while the second appears at the new gate installed by his descendants in 1329/1910–1911, referring to repairs of the building carried out with funds from the endowment of Mustafa Agha. The endowment deed of Hammam al-Jadid was completed only one year after the construction of the mosque in 1127/1715. Mustafa Agha probably made his investments at an early stage in his career (he is mentioned in the French consular records between 1712 and 1720). Thus he must have been responsible for at least two waqfs, as the *waqfiya* for his *hammam* does not record the Bahri Mosque.⁸² According to the *waqfiya*, 'al-Hajj Mustafa Jalabi, the son of the late al-Hajj Mustafa known as Hammuda-zada', endowed the following properties:

- Half a garden with various fruit trees next to the bridge of Nahr al-Awwali.
- An entire garden with various fruit trees along the irrigation channel, which he had bought from Mustafa Agha ibn Ahmad Agha al-Zafiri, who was by then the *dizdar* of the citadel of Sidon.
- Half a garden with various fruit trees along the irrigation channel, which bordered another garden of Mustafa Agha al-Hammud, known by the name Bustan Bani Hammud, on the south side.
- Three large store rooms (*makhzan*) near the sea, which were constructed from stone and mortar and covered with wooden beams. Mustafa Agha al-Hammud had bought these shops from the above mentioned Mustafa Agha al-Zafiri.
- Three rooms, built from stone and mortar, covered with wooden beams, which were attached to the back of al-Mallaha (salina?) by Mustafa Agha al-Hammud. The ground floor of the three rooms was rented from the waqf of Küçük Ahmed Pasha.⁸³
- Two rooms, built from stone and mortar, covered with wooden beams, which were constructed on top of the large storeroom (*makhzan*) of the waqf of Küçük Ahmed Pasha. After completion the rooms were rented.

⁸² *waqfiyat* al-Hajj Mustafa Hammud, uncatalogued record, *Mahfuzhat Dairat al-Awqaf al-Islamiya fi Sayda*, 1 folio.

⁸³ It was quite common that the building plot did not belong to the owner of the building, but was rented from another owner, in many cases from a *waqf* to which this land belonged.

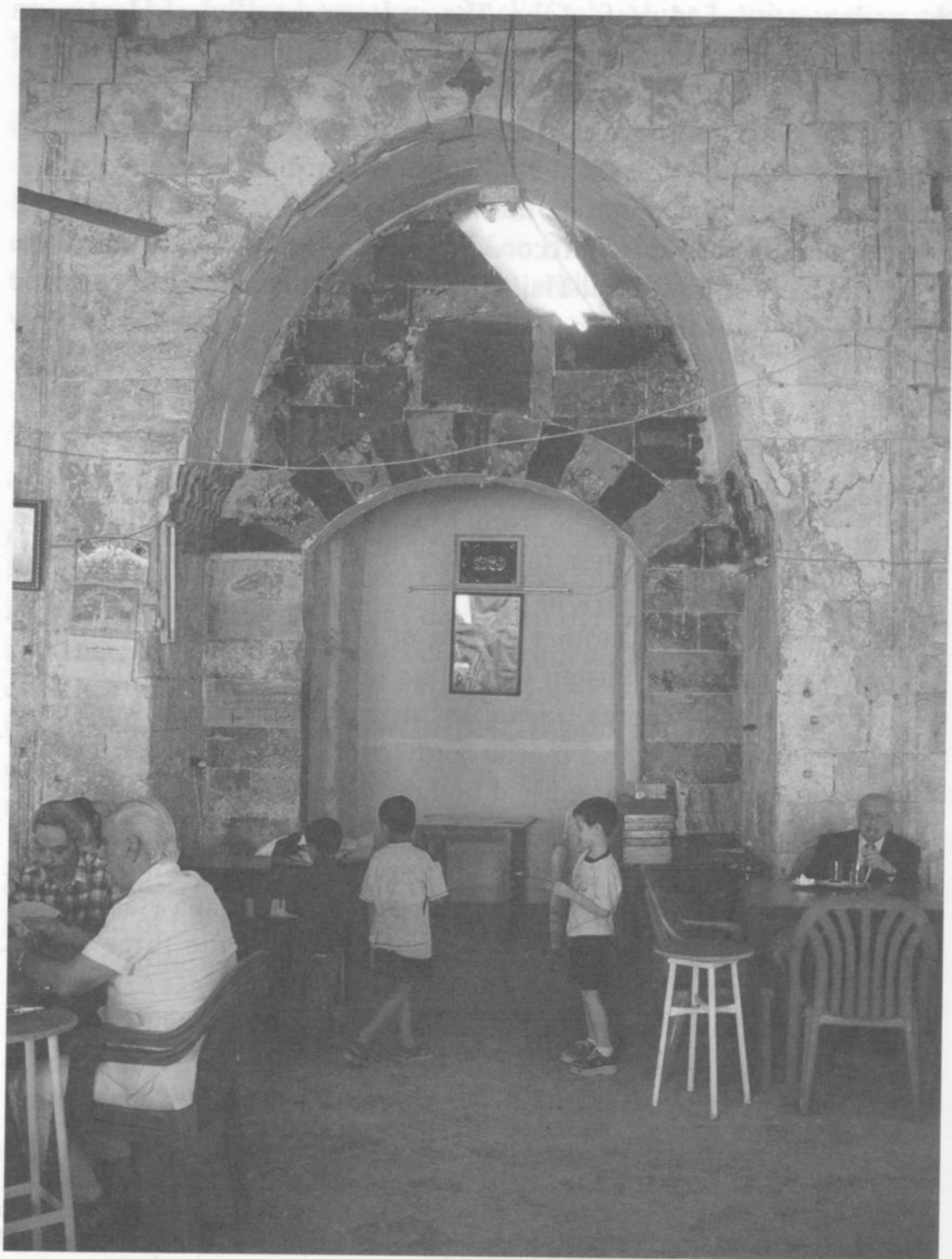


Fig. 19: Bab al-Saray, commissioned by Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni (Weber 2002)

- A *hammam* located close to the soap factory (*masbana*) of the waqf of Mustafa Katkhuda and the Zawiya al-Mushbasiya.

The *hammam*, known today as Hammam al-Jadid, was one of the earliest buildings to be built on the far eastern edge of the city (Fig. 20 / No. 4), where the walls must once have been, located directly on the former moat. Recent excavations have uncovered parts of the moat, but the city walls have totally disappeared. The moat is mentioned in several sources and seems to have been turned into gardens, which were gradually built over.⁸⁴ According to the endowment deed, Mustafa Agha had bought a garden there which was then incorporated into the waqf.⁸⁵ The information from the sources and the Gaillardot plan of 1864 indicate that Hammam al-Jadid formed the eastern border of the city until the late nineteenth century. The main traffic route along the Lebanese coast bypassed the city of Sidon on its eastern edge. Everybody travelling by this route would pass by and spot the 'new' (*jadid*) bathhouse on the city's skyline. The visual quality of its location is also enhanced on the western side of the *hammam*, as it is situated on one of the most important intersections of the city. Today, however, it is quite difficult to spot the building, as many houses have been constructed on top of it. The *waqfiya* provides a glimpse of the baths in eighteenth century Sidon (Fig. 22):

The *hammam*, built by the *waqif* [e.g. Mustafa Agha al-Hammud], includes four sections (*buyut*): the *mushallah*, the outer part (*barrani*), the intermediate part (*wustani*) and the inner part (*juwwani*). The *mushallah* has four *iwans* and a fountain of white marble. This is followed by a corridor (*dihliz*) which has a small fountain (*fisqiya*) of white marble and a rostrum which is covered by coloured marble, and a cold water

⁸⁴ The *waqfiya* of the waqf Bir al-Khandaq mentions in 990/1584 the moat of the city (*khandaq*) and a gate. Başbakanlık Nr. 602: Evkaf Maliye, Şam, Sayda, Kudüs Halil ül-Rahman, Gazza, Ramla, Safed, Nablus evkaf ve emlakın mufassaldefteri, 142. Also other sources and maps mention the *khandaq* and gates. The Mutraniya street, which runs outside the eastern border of the city, is in 1319/1901 still called Shari' al-Khandaq. *Mahakim Sayda, Sijill* 29, p. 78f.

⁸⁵ The eastern border of the bath is given in the *waqfiya* as '...a garden, which was bought by Mustafa Agha and belongs to the *hammam*...' A court record from the year 1288/1871 mentions a garden of the Hammud family eastwards to the bath. *Sijill* 14, p. 70 (1288/1871). Cf. for the neighbourhood of the *hammam* as well: *Sijill* 6, p. 37 (1264/1847). This is most probably the same one mentioned as a garden of waqf Bani Hammud in another record, *Sijill* 21 (1316/1898). Also compare *Sijill* 29, p. 138 (1319/1901) mentioning the waqf Bani Hammud in the quarter called the city moat (*khandaq*).

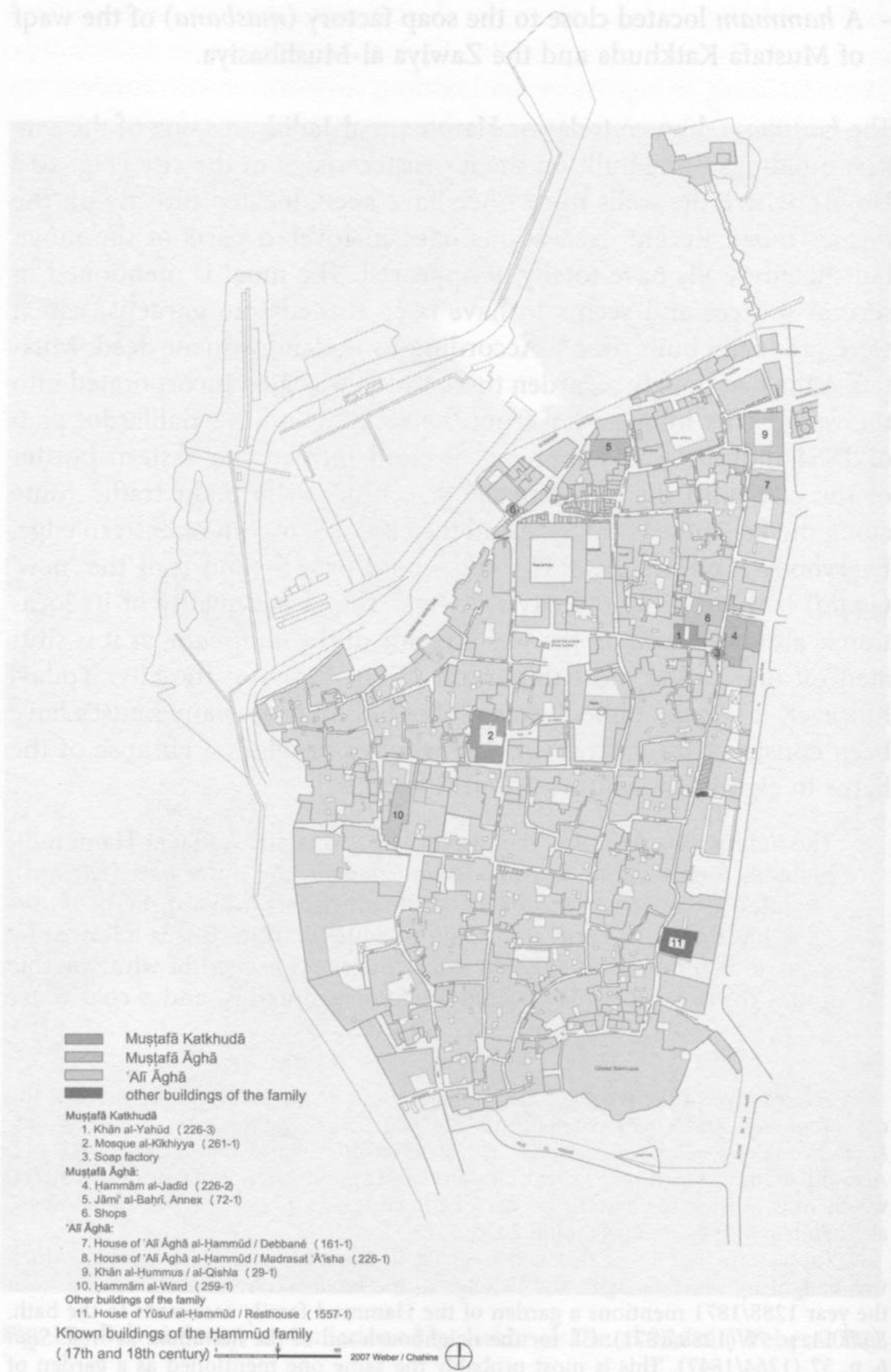


Fig. 20: Map of the distribution of property by the Hammud family in the 17th and early 18th century

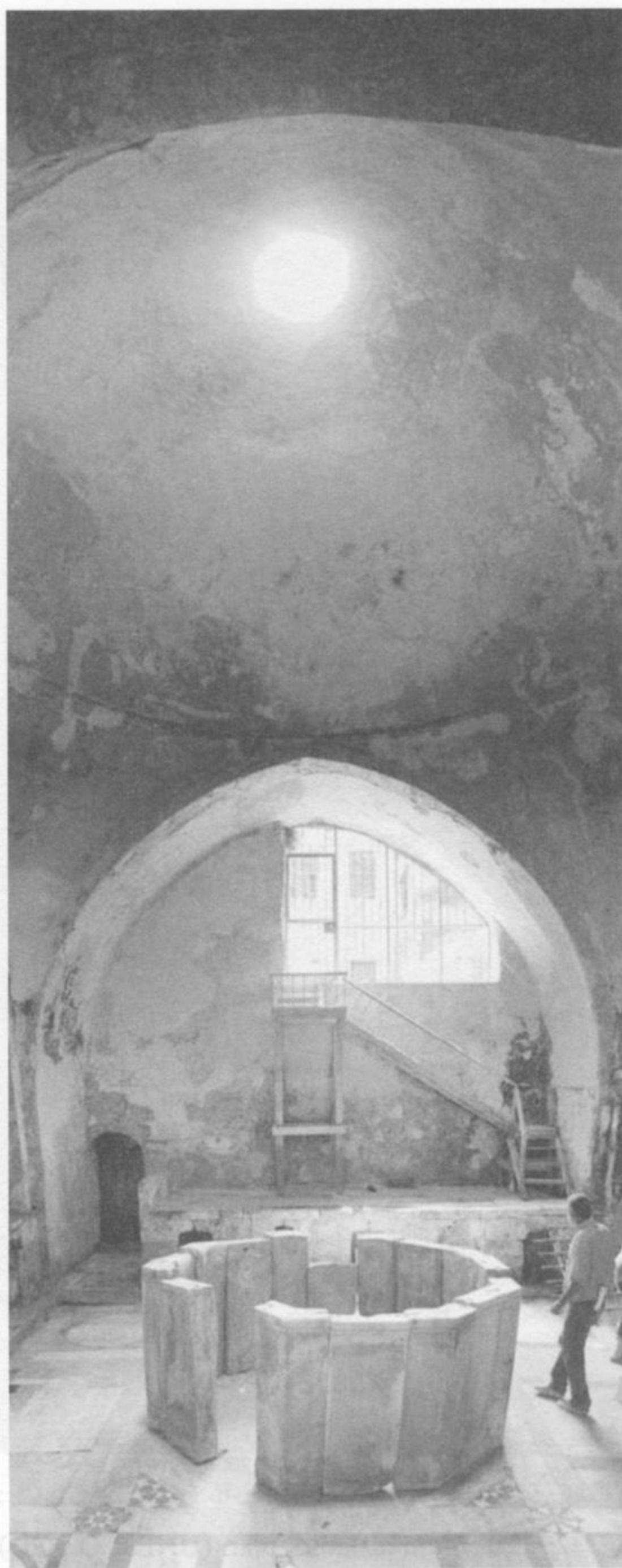


Fig. 21: Hammam al-Jadid, *mushallah* (Khoury 2003)

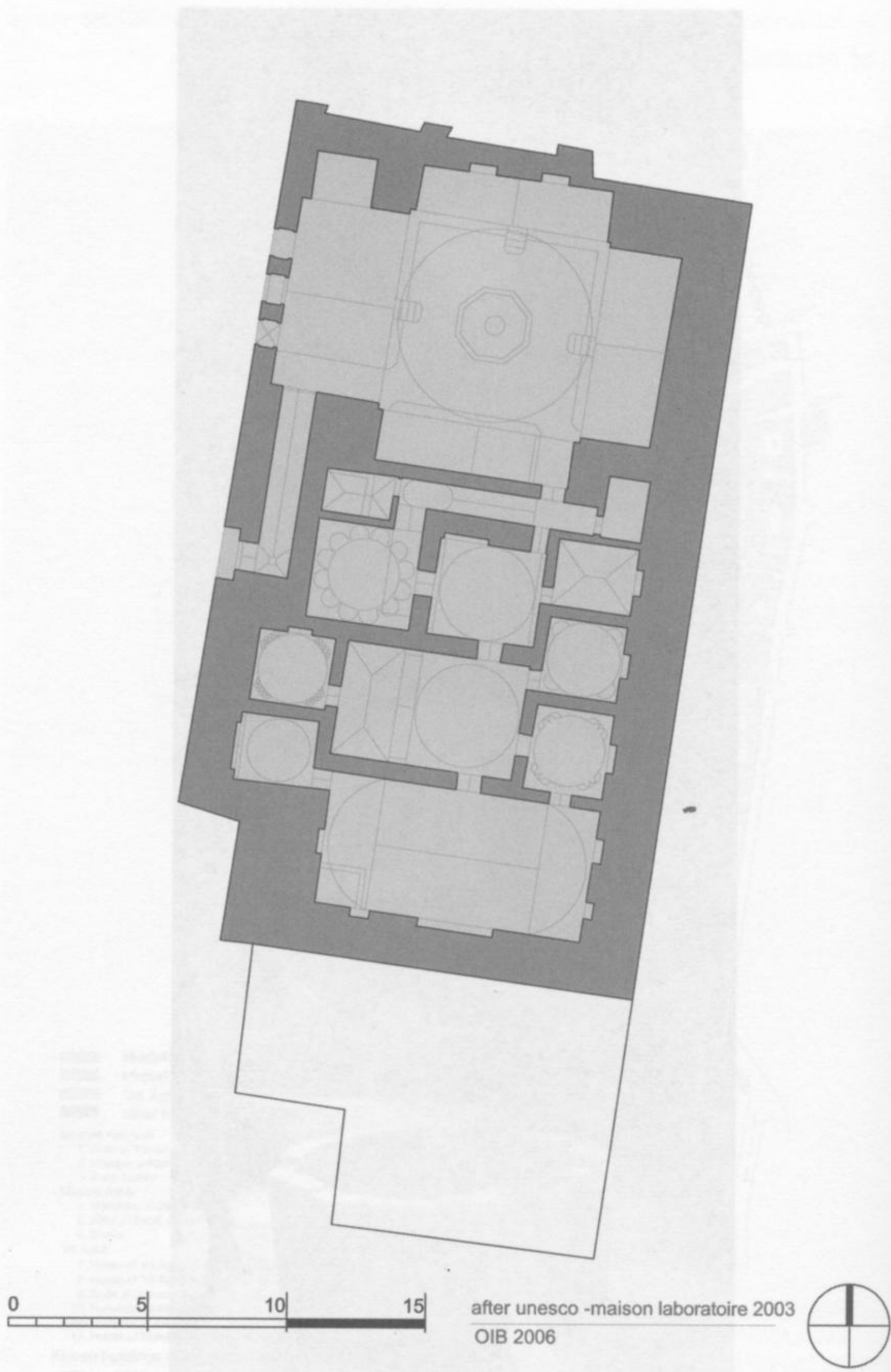


Fig. 22: Hammam al-Jadid, plan (UNESCO 2003)



Fig. 23: Dar 'Ali Agha al-Hammud / Debbané (1134/1721–22)



Fig. 24: Khan al-Hummus / al-Qishla (1134/1721–22), sea castle in the background

pool (*hawd*). From here one reaches the *wustani*. The *wustani* has a hot water basin (*jurn*) and a chamber (*khalwa*) with a hot water basin. From here one reaches the *iwan* with two hot water basins, and two chambers with two hot water basins each. And from there one reaches the *juwwani*, which is also the place where the water is heated (*bayt al-nar*). The *juwwani* includes a chamber with a hot water basin (*jurn*), a hot water pool (*hawd*), and five bowls of hot water. There are two basins for the collection of hot water with large copper bowls and the hearth (*qimim*). All the *hammam* are fitted with coloured marble.⁸⁶

The Hammam al-Jadid is slightly larger than the Hammam al-Mir of Fakhr al-Din and the *mushallah* in particular displays its grandeur (Fig. 21), making it an attractive rival for the other bathhouses of the city. The money generated was—according to the *waqfiya* a family endowment (*waqf dhirri / ahli*)—to be distributed among Mustafa's children 'Ali Agha, Sulayman Jalabi, Yusuf and their sisters Hawad, Fakhira,

⁸⁶ I have translated *jurn* as basin and *hawd* as pool. The basin serves for the collection of water to fill the bowls used for bathing. A *hawd* served similar purposes and was not the kind of plunge pool found in large bathhouses in Bursa and Istanbul.

Khadija, and Rabi'a. But the endower had included a general charity request among the stipulations (*shurut al-waqf*). Every Friday, five *ratl* (1 *ratl* = 3.202 kg) bread of wheat flour (regardless of the price) had to be distributed among the poor of the Muslim community from the income of the *hammam*. This *shart* is also repeated in the inscription above the door—the only one in Sidon that gives details of a waqf.⁸⁷ Today, the old entrance is blocked by a shop and the inscription is in a very bad state, but in the period of its construction, Mustafa's charity was clearly displayed in a public place. The *hammam* is the most prestigious of Mustafa's properties and it began the development of the eastern edge of the city which was continued by his son.

'Ali Agha was the most active patron of the Hammud family. He commissioned two of the largest and most beautiful houses of the city (the present-day Dar Debbané⁸⁸ and the building known as Madrasat al-'A'isha), the Khan al-Hummus (al-Qishla/al-Ishle), and the Hammam al-Ward in two waves of construction activities; the first in 1134/1721–22 and the second in 1143/1730–31 (cf. Fig. 20). He had built his first house (Dar Debbané) and the nearby Khan al-Hummus at the very beginning of his career as tax collector, while the second house and the Hammam al-Ward were built shortly before his death. 'Ali Agha certainly owned several gardens and shops as well, and we believe that the *suq* that runs from underneath his first house to the Khan al-Hummus must have been at least partly his property, although there are unfortunately no records pertaining to it.

Khan al-Hummus (Fig. 5 / No. 3, Fig. 24, Fig. 25) is a typical commercial structure, characterised by a central courtyard and a simple row of rooms for storage and habitation on all four sides. It was built in the north-eastern part of the city in the direct vicinity of the city gate Bawwabat al-Tahta, possibly but not necessarily as part of a larger waqf. Its modern name, al-Qishla (al-Ishle), goes back to a change of function, most likely in the nineteenth century, when it was turned into an army barracks. The inscription of the building is prominently

⁸⁷ Like the *waqfiya* the second line of the inscription mentions that every Friday—for now and forever—five *ratl* of bread should be given (to the poor).

⁸⁸ During the nineteenth century this house became the property of the Debbané family and was remodelled several times. The most important changes were made in 1902 and in the 1920s, when several rooms were added, the courtyard was converted into a splendid hall and the overall appearance was redesigned in the Neo Oriental/Art Nouveau style fashionable at the time. The Debbané Foundation has turned the house into a museum whose concept and contents have been developed by Ralph Bodenstein and myself.

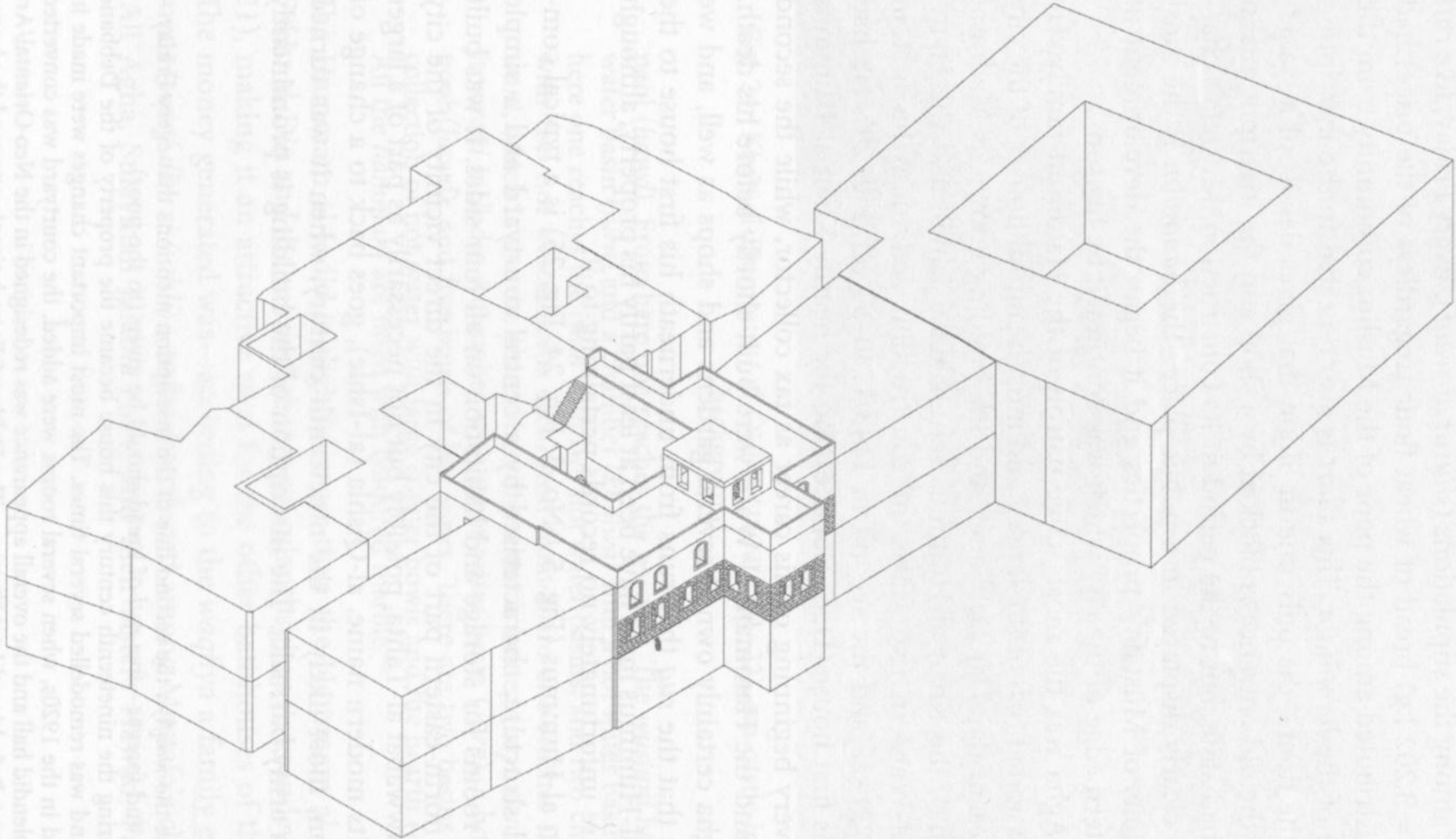


Fig. 25: Dar 'Ali Agha al-Hammud / Debbané and Khan al-Hummus / al-Qishla, reconstruction 1134/1721–22 (Bodenstein, Chahine, Weber 2007)

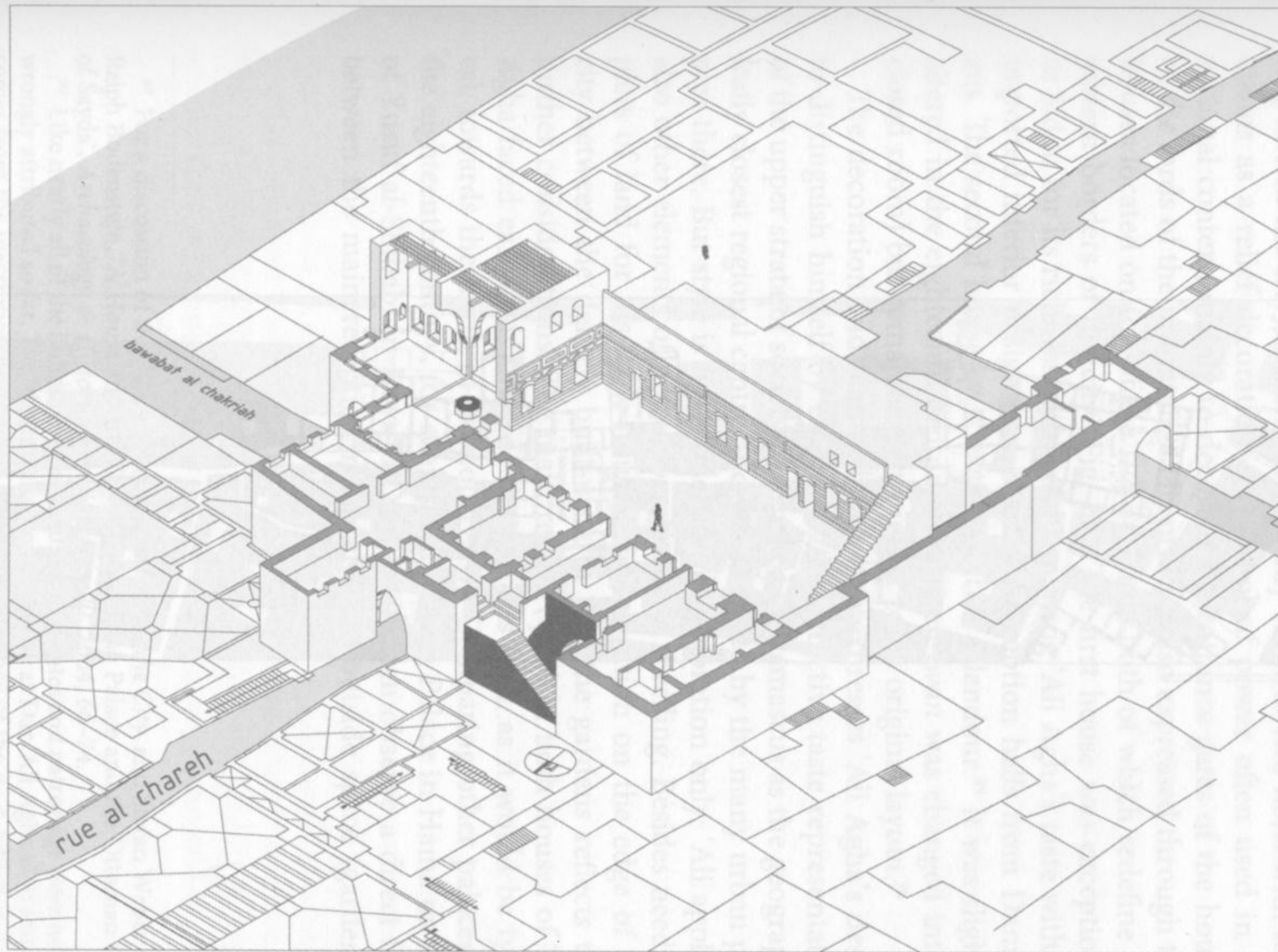


Fig. 26: Dar 'Ali Agha al-Hammud / Debbané / Madrasat 'Aisha (Chahine, Ghoussayn, Haddad, El Khoury 2003)

Fig. 27: Border of the city around 1800



Fig. 27: Border of the city around 1800

positioned above the gate. It states that the patron, 'Ali, scion of the Hammud family, had built a *khan* in the middle of Sayda.' His self-confidence is displayed on the richly decorated gate (the most elaborate one in the city), which prominently features two lions with neck chains as a relief decoration—a symbol of power often used in the regional context, mainly to decorate the entrance gates of the houses of the lords of the mountains. His pride is also expressed through two houses located on top of the *suq* of Sidon, both of which redefine the eastern borders of the city (Fig. 27). The first house was exceptional in Sidon for its richness and style, displaying 'Ali Agha's taste with an imported interior design and layout of reception halls from Damascus. The second house even exceeded it in splendour.⁸⁹ It was slightly altered in the eighteenth century (the open *iwan* was changed into a closed room) but remained very similar to its original layout.⁹⁰

The decoration and plan of his houses expresses 'Ali Agha's desire to distinguish himself by employing a distinctive taste representative of the upper strata of society. He turned to Damascus as the geographically closest regional centre and was inspired by the many urban palaces there. But style is not a question of decoration only; 'Ali applied also other elements of prestigious forms of dwelling. Besides needing plots of land for his large houses, their location on the edge of the city between the densely built-up area and the gardens reflects two further considerations. The main rooms (*qa'a*) of both houses of 'Ali Agha faced eastwards towards the gardens (not, as it would be typical, towards the north of the courtyard). Comparing other palaces of the eighteenth century, for example the 'Azm Palace in Hama or that of Yusuf al-Shihabi in Dayr al-Qamar, one can observe a direct link between the main reception room and the outside space (gardens).

⁸⁹ For a discussion of this house: Weber, *House and the City*, and Stefan Weber and Ralph Bodenstein, 'A House and the City, The Debbané Palace and the Ottoman City of Sayda', *Archaeology & History in the Lebanon* 20, 2004, 66–74.

⁹⁰ Like nearly all of the buildings presented here, its dates and patronage were not or wrongly attributed so far. The identification of the house as Dar 'Ali Agha al-Hammud comes from the inscription on the wall above the entrance of the *qa'a*, which is dated 1143/1730–31. It must have served as the seat of the local administration in the nineteenth century, since it is mentioned in the court records of 1871 as a *Saray* and in 1901 as *Dar al-Hukuma al-Qadima*. *Sijill* 14, p. 70 (1288/1871), *Sijill* 29, p. 78f. (1319/1901).

The direct link to nature and gardens, with their fresh smell (especially during orange blossom time), verdant green, and singing birds, seems to have been a major objective in the arrangement of a well-designed living space. Spatial layout and positioning close to nature formed a crucial element of a very complex system of elite dwellings. Good taste was expressed in several ways. For example, guests sat in the ornate *qa'a* and had coffee while reciting poetry, and enjoyed views of the orchards of Sidon. The shift towards the very edge of the city provided a wonderful view and at the same time avoided being overlooked by outsiders. Given the fact that 'Ali Agha, like his father Mustafa Agha, was the most powerful person in the city after the governor, we can easily imagine how passing travellers, or those who came from the orchards and entered the city from the northern or the southern gates, would be able to look up and see the reception rooms of the Agha standing out proudly from the body of the city. The houses of 'Ali Agha were highly prestigious works of architecture designed as visual confirmation of his important position in the city, a fact which determined the choice of their location and layout.

Another house, which serves today as the Resthouse Restaurant, also originally belonged to the Hammud family. Court records from the nineteenth century prove that this house belonged to a certain Yusuf Agha al-Hammud.⁹¹ It is a typical courtyard house from the early eighteenth century, but its present location is not the original one. Originally, the house was built in the upper Shari' quarter in the old city of Sidon (cadastral number 335-1, Fig. 20 / No. 11).⁹² For our discussion it is important to realize that in the eighteenth century this house with its domed *qa'a* formed—like the other Hammud houses, the Khan al-Hummus and the Hammam al-Jadid—an integral part of the city's eastern border. Architectural studies of all the buildings in question have shown that the early-eighteenth century building phase is indeed the oldest one. None of the edifices integrated any kind of older structure; they were all new constructions, built during

⁹¹ *Sijill* 5, p. 14 (1260/1844); p. 41 (1260/1844); *Sijill* 6, p. 65 (1264/1848); *Sijill* 10, p. 60f. (1275/1858); *Sijill* 17, p. 138 (1282/1865).

⁹² The house sheltered a missionary school for a long time (École des Sœurs de St Joseph). It was moved to its present location in the 1950s or early 1960s. The reason for its relocation was probably the excavation planned by the archaeological department in the moat of the old city, which started after the destruction of the neighbouring American school (Gerard Institute) between 1961 and 1963.

a period of reshaping the city's eastern edge.⁹³ Once more, individual agency—imbedded and enabled through the specific circumstances of the age—led to a new boom in the city's development.

Conclusion

Sidon, along with Tripoli, was the most important harbour town of Ottoman *Bilad al-Sham* during the sixteenth, seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Its decline began in the late eighteenth century and was probably connected with the waning stars of Ahmad and Yusuf al-Hammud and the rise of a new regional centre. Dhahir al-'Umar (d. 1775), who rose to regional power from the late 1740s in Acre, shifted the centre of the province from Sidon to Acre in the 1770s and took over the city in 1771. Under Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar (1775–1804) this change became irreversible. His successors, Sulayman Pasha and 'Abdullah Pasha, were also based in Acre until the rise of Beirut, which began in the 1820s and especially in the 1830s under the Egyptian interregnum of Ibrahim Pasha (1831–1840).⁹⁴ Like his father had done in Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha (1805–1849) began in *Bilad al-Sham* with a broad program of reforms. Modern times became more present in the region. In the 1830s the first steamboats arrived in Beirut and foreign trade with Europe—and the cultural exchange which this involved—was greatly

⁹³ In a number of recent short publications, May Davie suggests the existence of an older medieval tower inside the Hammud / Debbané house. However, this claim seems untenable and is one of many shortcomings in her study. Archaeological research, available source material and the logic of the building clearly demonstrate the eighteenth century origin of this structure. The somewhat medieval-looking crenellated towers on the northern and southern sides are additions of the early twentieth century. Also the 'burj' mentioned in the building inscription (third frame, lower middle cartouche reads: 'najma al-sa'ada halla fi burj'aliy') is in the context of the inscription to be interpreted as a zodiac sign and the verse can be loosely translated as 'the star of his Excellency is at its zenith'. Davie has published much the same article several times, see for example: May Davie, 'Le Bourj 'Ali: D'une tour de garde à un palais damascène turquissant de Saïda du XVIII^e siècle', *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*, no. 18, 2003, 129–37.

⁹⁴ For the rise and decline of Acre see Philipp, *Acre*, 30ff., 78ff. and Thomas Philipp, 'The Empire and Europe in Arab Provincial Capitals: Acre, the First Instance of Changing Times', in Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (eds.), *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*. BTS 88, Beirut, 2002, 77–92. On Beirut, see Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, 28ff., 61ff. and especially Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 29ff.

intensified.⁹⁵ When Beirut opened a quarantine station, conservative forces in Sidon refused to follow and the new maritime trade bypassed the city, with the result that the European governments transferred their consulates to Beirut during the 1820s and 30s. There are many possible reasons why the city was not a part of the developments of the nineteenth century. As a cause or consequence, after the Hammuds' fall from power, Sidon failed to attract or to produce individuals or families that were able to understand or adapt to the changing climate of Mediterranean trade and thereby make Sidon relevant. Unlike other cities of the region (such as Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli) there was no considerable building activity in Sidon during the Tanzimat period. Only towards the end of the nineteenth century were developments taken up and the city finally awoke from its hibernation.

Judging from the material and archival evidence, Sidon flourished between the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. From a historiographical perspective, the city matches the model of Ottoman periodisation for this period quite well. The classical rule of the Empire during the sixteenth century saw a large commercial-infrastructure investment in Sidon from the capital, based on the vision of an extraordinary personality, re-integrating it into a supra-regional network of trade. This mirrored a construction policy from the capital for the newly conquered areas and an interest in the development of the region. Thus, actions by single personalities were embedded in a wider phenomenon. Nevertheless, one place was favoured over another as a result of personal preference, and this personal choice probably provided the jump start for Sidon's re-urbanisation. As seen with Payas, personal vision, interest and engagement, geographical setting and regional developments are not enough to decide the fate of a place. Sidon had developed a momentum, leading—if we can judge from the surviving architecture—to the settlement of a new population that built places for dwelling, commerce and worship. As a power base of local rule under the Ma'ns it became the platform for a regionally ambitious policy, which took shape in a

⁹⁵ The British were the first to set up steam navigation in the Eastern Mediterranean from 1835 onwards. The link between Beirut and Alexandria—and from there to Liverpool—became faster and more regular. The French and Austrians followed soon afterwards. By 1841, 76 steamships served the Mediterranean. Cf.: Dominique Chevallier, *La société du mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris, Geuthner, 1971, 183.

number of new constructions in the city. The momentum allowed for Sidon's version of the age of *a'yan*, when local notables were the main forces of urban economy and politics during the eighteenth century. With regard to urban politics, economy and urbanism, Sidon was controlled by its most influential *a'yan* family.

The city's development was based on maritime trade, its geographical setting, new political entities and perhaps above all on the activities of distinctive social agents: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the sixteenth, the Ma'ns in the seventeenth and finally the Hammuds in the eighteenth centuries. All these agents used and formed urban space according to their framework of action. The scale of the framework under discussion here changed from supra-regional to regional and local levels, often closely intertwined and materialised in the neighbourhoods of the city. In particular, the houses and commercial buildings of some residents reflect their strategy of using space on different layers (from the urban quarter to the Mediterranean) and acting on the various spaces according to the currents and borders of geography and time. Regional change and personal social experience came together in the parlours of Fakhr al-Din and 'Ali Agha al-Hammud, places which can still be visited today.



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THIS VOLUME HONOURS THE WORK OF Abdul-Karim Rafeq, the foremost historian of Ottoman Syria. Rafeq's principal contribution to the study of the social history of Syria between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries lies in his pioneering use of the resources of the Islamic court records, the *sijillāt* in the *maḥkama al-shar'iyya*, for the writing of social and economic history. Rafeq has been the guide and mentor of many of his own contemporaries, as well as of younger scholars in the Arab world, Europe and North America. The volume attempts to follow and complement the major themes in the socio-economic history of Bilad al-Sham which have animated Rafeq's scholarship since the 1960s.

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