



# Bayt al-‘Aqqad

*The History and Restoration  
of a House in Old Damascus*

*Edited by Peder Mortensen*

Proceedings of the Danish Institute in Damascus IV · 2005





# The Bayt al-‘Aqqad between the 15th and the 18th Century

By Stefan Weber and Peder Mortensen

## Introduction

Not much is known about activities and changes along the western part of the *decumanus* in the centuries following the Roman Period. As in other classical cities, however, the capacity of the *decumanus* as a shopping street was later enlarged by the construction of lines of shops along the middle of the street. This division of the western part of the *decumanus* into a northern market street, Suq al-Dhira', and a southern street, now known as Suq al-Qutn, may have taken place in early Islamic times (see Meier and Weber below: p. 379). There is no material evidence for the exact position of the Roman city gate by the western end of the *decumanus*; but Bab al-Jabiya<sup>1</sup> leading through the western city wall into Suq al-Qutn was constructed – or reconstructed – by Nur al-Din on the southern section of the *decumanus*, where after the historian Ibn Asakir (d. 1178) part of the Roman gate was. The construction of Bab al-Jabiya in 1164 was part of Nur al-Din's large-scale plan for the restoration of Damascus' fortification walls. However, much of his work had to be repaired and enlarged by the Ayyubids less than a hundred years later, before the middle of the 13th century.

In the 12th century – and probably already in the Roman Period – the main branch of the Qanawat river was led by a subterranean aqueduct into the city through Bab al-Jabiya, below Suq al-Qutn and further towards the east below the *decumanus* (*via recta*). From here a number of subterranean channels supplied the southern and eastern parts of the city with water. One of the major channels carried water from the Qanawat along what would have been the eastern walls of the Roman theatre towards the south, below Bab al-Saghir towards Midan. On its way it supplied several mosques and two or three baths with water (Wulzinger / Watzinger 1924: 27–30, Tafel 61., compare Meier and Weber below: Fig. 311). What is especially interesting in our context, however, is that in the 12th century it also passed a water mill, situated close to the *via recta*, immediately southwest of the ruins of the Roman theatre. The name of the mill was *Tahunat al-Sijn*, the “mill of the prison”.<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that for centuries one of the largest buildings along the southern side of the *via recta* was the Roman theatre of Herod the Great. It may have been in use for more than five hundred years, possibly until the Byzantine



emperor Justinian in the year 529 interdicted the use of the classical theatres for performances (see Nielsen above: p. 222). In this connection it is worth mentioning that among the pottery recovered by excavation in the 'Aqqad house the latest sherds reflecting activities at the site in the Byzantine Period can be dated to the late 5th or the early 6th century AD (see Mortensen below: p. 328).

In the pottery sequence this is followed by a gap of more than seven hundred years until the 13th century. During these centuries the huge Roman theatre was probably used as a quarry, a convenient source of large regular ashlar for major early Islamic building projects in the city (Mortensen 2002: 238). With the position of the "mill of the prison" next to the western wall of the theatre in mind, it has recently been suggested that the ruin, apart from being used as a quarry, also served as a prison (Burns 2004: 188).

The rebuilding of Damascus after the Mongol destruction in 1401 took some time. Many artists and artisans who had survived Timur's attack were carried off to Samarkand, but during the 15th century the city slowly recovered its position as a flourishing centre of trade and culture. However, as Meinecke suggests and as our observations could confirm, the change of decoration and construction techniques were not complete through this caesura. Only some aspects of interior decoration and design were enriched by patterns from Cairo, like the fine marble/mother of pearl mosaics in the *madrasa* of the governor Jaqmaq al-Arghunshawi or the newly introduced concept of praying halls with open *iwans*, like the Dar al-Qur'an al-Khaydariyya next to Bayt al-'Aqqad. But most of the local patterns survived and developed lavishly in the 15th century (Meinecke 1992: I, 188–194). It seems that the south-western quarter of Damascus changed into an area occupied by members of the Mamluk high society (see Meier and Weber below: p. 290), and within a distance of less than a hundred metres from where the ruins of the Roman theatre were situated we find several important buildings from this period still preserved: the minaret of Hisham (1426/27), the minaret of al-Qal'i (1460–70?) and the Dar al-Qur'an al-Khaydariyya (1473/74).

By this time – as a result of the growing economic development in the 15th century – the stage was set for a major building project at the site of what still remained of the theatre. Important parts of this Mamluk building are still to be found, incorporated in what is now known as the Bayt al-'Aqqad. They include the *qa'a* (No 1.20), the *iwan* (No 1.12), the *murabba'* east of the *iwan* (No 1.11), the *murabba'* west of the *iwan* (No 1.13), the cellar below the eastern *murabba'* (No 0.2) and possibly the ceiling above the *iwan*.

The position of Bayt al-'Aqqad in relation to the Roman theatre is shown in Fig. 144. It appears that the *scaenae* probably served as a foundation for the *qa'a* and that the northern wall of the *qa'a* follows the *scaenae frons* (the wall separating the *scaenae* from the *portico* behind the *scaenae*).

144. The position of Bayt al-'Aqqad in relation to the reconstructed plan of the Roman theatre. The Roman walls discovered during restoration of the house are shown in red (Weber and Barri, theatre and house after Nielsen and Lundqvist, 2005).



In other areas the Roman walls were also incorporated in the Mamluk building complex, for example east of the *qa'a* where a corner of the Roman wall was preserved and still standing to a height of more than 4 metres above the 18th century floor of the courtyard. Towards the south, however, the position of the Mamluk *iwan* erected above the lower part of the theatre house (the *ima cavea*) suggests that this part of the theatre was levelled, possibly down to the floor of the *orchestra*. We believe that the floor of the Roman *scaenae* – if it still exists – might be found c. 1.80 metres below the *'ataba* (i.e. the lower floor of the *qa'a*), and that the floor of the *orchestra* should probably be located c. 3.25 metres below the 18th century floor of the courtyard as it appears today (see Nielsen above: p. 223).

## **The Mamluk Period: The Making of the House in the 15th Century**

### **The Date of the Construction**

The 'Aqqad House does not contain building inscriptions from the Mamluk period and we could not identify the family living in it during the 15th century. Dating parts of the house was only possible by careful observations in the building and comparison with techniques and patterns of construction and decoration of other dated Mamluk monuments. However, thanks to a number of court records concerning real-estate transactions of the 18th century we were able to reconstruct some today vanished elements that most probably belonged to the house in Mamluk times.<sup>3</sup>

### **The *Qa'a***

The northern façade of the Bayt al-'Aqqad is one of the most splendid façades in Damascus (Fig. 145). It is as well one of the few remains of Mamluk dwellings in the old city. As such it is a rare case for urban centres in the countries that were under Mamluk (1250/60–1516) or Ottoman (1516–1918) rule. From Turkey houses older than the 18th century are hardly known. From Cairo, which had many splendid Mamluk palaces, only a few examples of Mamluk and Ottoman houses survived. Aleppo and Damascus are the towns around the eastern Mediterranean that contain – compared to other towns in the region – a large number of historical houses. In both cities several thousand houses are still standing. But even this large amount of urban dwellings contains only a very few and fragmentary examples of Mamluk domestic architecture.

The panels of interwoven ribbons or round medallions with centred rays framed by rows of pseudo-wedge stones, twisted ribbons and mouldings attribute this façade to the Mamluk architectural tradition as we know it from the 14th and



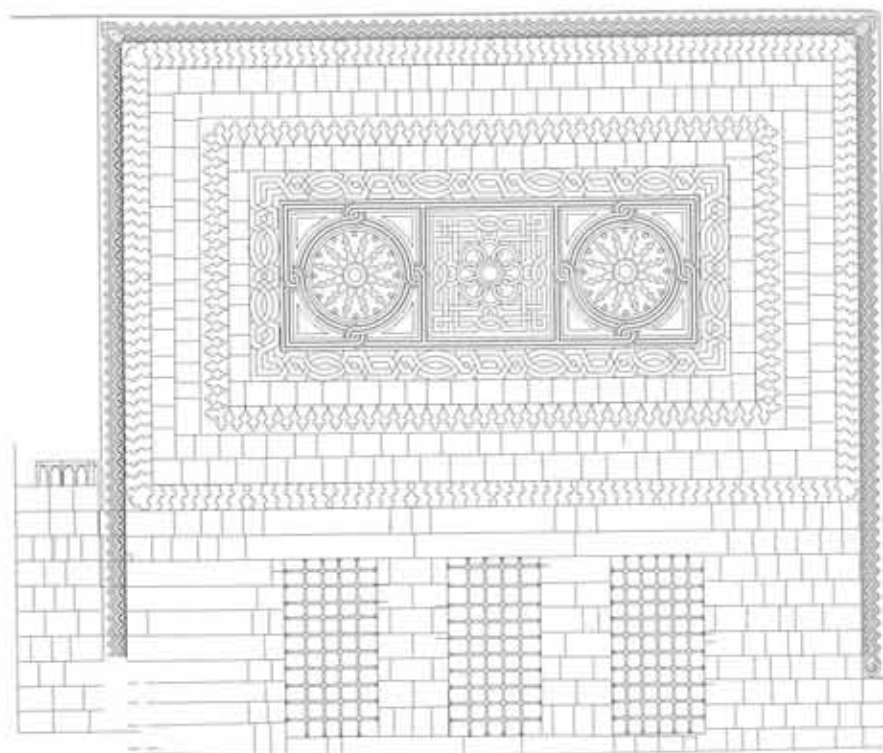
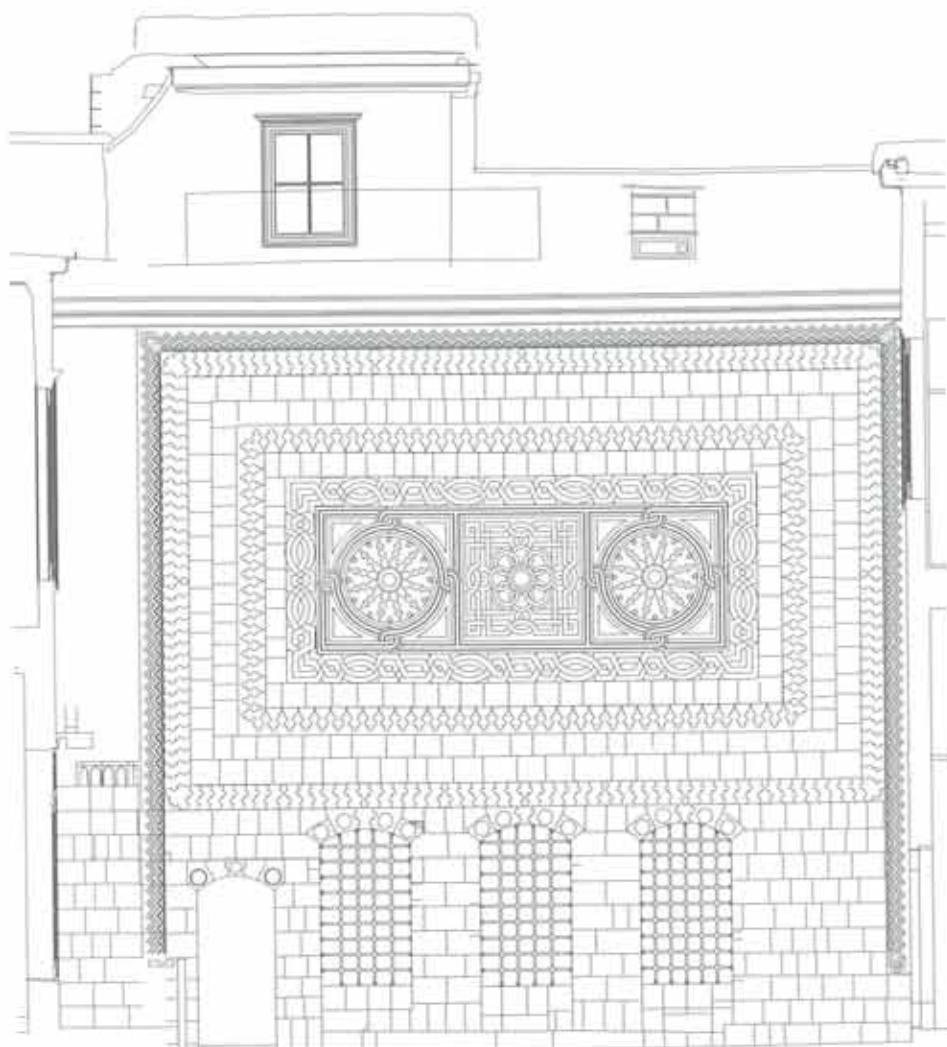


145. *Bayt al-'Aqqad: panel on the northern façade of the courtyard (S.F.L. May 2001).*

15th centuries and continuing into Ottoman times (Fig. 146). But the *qa'a* was altered and reorganized during its history and contains no dating inscription from the Mamluk period. The lower part of the façade with the door and the windows was partially changed and rebuilt in the 18th century, but the upper section with the large panel is characteristic of a style found in the Burji Mamluk period (1382–1516). Its closest parallels all date to the 15th century.

The façade is framed by a zigzag band cut in *mezzi* limestone and with small trefoiled flowers on the inside (Figs. 146 and 196). It continues all the way down along the sides of the façade till just above the bottom of the windows. Towards east the zigzag band is finished by a small, nicely curved sling ornament with a dot in the middle. A very close parallel to this zigzag band, used as a frame and also terminated by curved sling ornaments is seen on the 15th-century façade of a house, most probably from Sidi 'Amud / Hariqa (Fig. 148).<sup>4</sup>





Between the zigzag band and the central panel there is a border of black and white pseudo-wedge stones and a ribbon of black and white interlocked cone patterns. These ornamental frames are spaced by bands of black basalt and of yellow and pinkish red *mezzi* limestone. The central panel consists of three square fields, bordered by a moulded frame and a tri-coloured geometric band with an interlaced motif of alternating ovals and hexagons. A variant of this braid pattern is repeated as an inner frame around the midmost of the three squares.

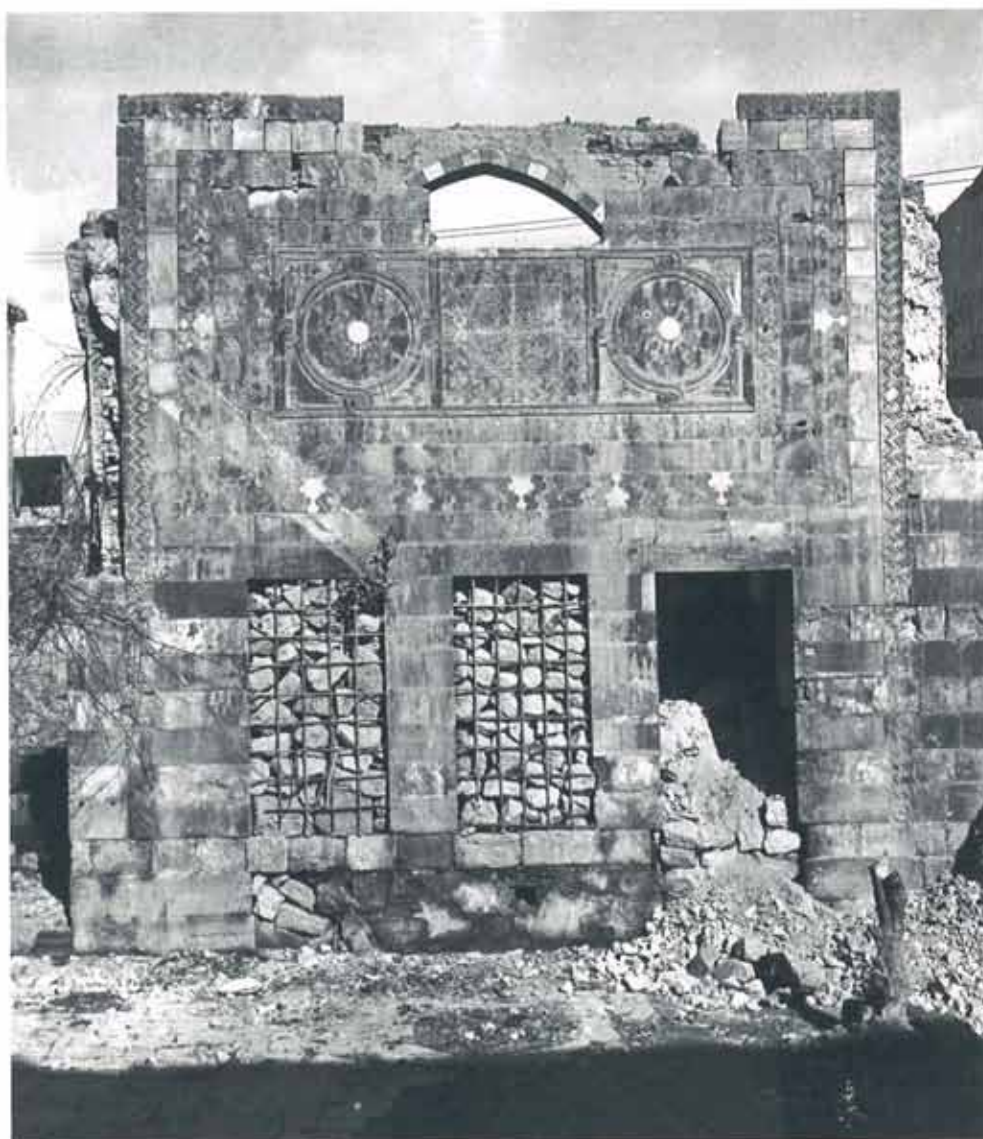
As noted by Michael Meinecke ornamental medallions or panels placed with a regular distance between each ornament are common on Mamluk façades in the second half of the 14th century (Meinecke 1992, I: 192–93), and they continue into the 15th century as seen for example along the beautiful façade of the Shadhbakliya



146. Bayt al-'Aqqad: the northern façade of the courtyard (R.L. and S.L. 1999/2005).

147. Bayt al-'Aqqad: reconstruction of the Mamluk northern façade of the courtyard (R.L. and S.L. 1999/2005).

148. A 15th-century house, most probably photographed in Sidi 'Amud/Hariqa after the French bombardment in 1925 (Photo: IFPO Archives, Damascus).



mosque, dated 857/1453. But panels like at Bayt al-'Aqqad – composed of three or four squares with a composite geometrical motif in the middle, faced on each side by two round medallions with centred rays in a more or less complex arrangement – appear in Damascus for the first time at the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya (868/1464) and on the façade of the Saqifa mosque (869/1465, *Figs. 149–150*).<sup>5</sup> Other examples, possibly from the second half of the 15th century, are seen at Bayt Nadir in the Qabr Atika quarter (*Fig. 151*), and on two façades of houses in Sidi 'Amud (*Figs. 148 and 152*).

On the 'Aqqad façade the two outer panels with centred cone-shaped rays are bordered by mouldings and knots connecting the circles with the moulded frame. This motif appears quite often in the 15th century, e.g. at the Saqifa mosque (*Fig.*

153), at the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya, where the panels are not framed by a moulding but by strips of white marble and colour paste (*Fig. 149*), and at the Qal'i minaret (*Fig. 154*). But unfortunately these general similarities do not offer any firm criterion for dating since the motif seems to have been in continuous use for several centuries, as shown for example at the Hammam Fathi from the first half of the 18th century (*Fig. 155*). It is notable, however, that the simple triangular motifs used to fill in the corners of the two outer panels on the 'Aqqad façade (*Fig. 145*) are closely paralleled in the panel of the Sabuniya façade (*Fig. 149*).

In the middle of the two outer panels there are small medallions made as mosaics of tiny pieces of white and red marble, bits of blue glazed ceramics and coloured paste (*Fig. 156*). The colour paste may, however, be due to repairs. Since part of the façade in later periods has been covered by thin layers of plaster, following the original motifs, it is not always easy to define the techniques and the character of the original surface and joints of stones. A very close parallel to the two medallions from the 'Aqqad House is found on the outer façade of the Madrasa al-Shadhbakliya (857/1453), where exactly the same motif of a six-pointed star surrounding hexagons filled again by smaller pointed stars appears (*Fig. 157*). One can also find similar mosaics in the same arrangement on the façade of the Mu'allaq mosque (862/1458).

The small, central medallion in the middle of the three panels at Bayt al-'Aqqad shows a geometrical star motif formed by black coloured paste filled into limestone (*Fig. 158*). A comparable example is seen at the Saqifa mosque (*Fig. 159*).

It seems that this usage of colour paste for smaller and finer decorative elements appears in the early 15th century. One point of departure seems to be the Qasab/Aqsab Mosque (811/1408–09, *Fig. 160*), which is a close parallel to the minaret of the Tawrizi mosque (832/1428–29). Here we can observe, for the first time, round medallions with thin lines of black inlaid colour paste, and from the 1420s onwards the technique is fully developed.<sup>6</sup>

At the Bayt al-'Aqqad it seems that the twisted ribbons (*Fig. 87*), pseudo-wedge stones, black and white interlocked cone patterns, and the cone-shaped rays of the two outer panels are made of stone (sometimes later covered with paste), while in the central panel colour paste seems to be applied as well. It is extremely difficult to figure out the difference between stone and colour paste. Since the appearance of its surface is exactly the same, one has to look for the joints between two stones. But this sounds much easier than it is. Sometimes joints are covered with colour paste, so that one cannot detect them, and sometimes artificial joints are carved into the paste, like at the middle panel of Bayt al-'Aqqad. Here one can see the bubbles of the basaltic colour paste inside the joints! The combination of the two techniques – stone cutting and its colour paste replacement – on the same façade seems to be common in most cases.

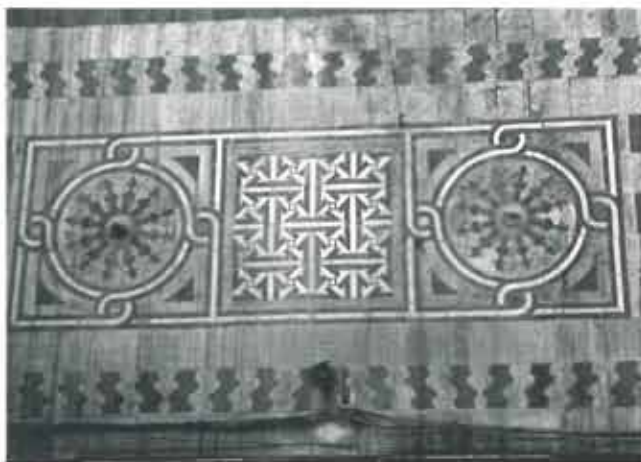
**149.** *Façade of the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya, 868/1464 (s.w. 2001).*

**150.** *Façade of the Saqifa mosque, 869/1465 (s.w. 2001).*

**151.** *Bayt Nadir, 15th century (Photo: IFPO Archives, Damascus).*

**152.** *A 15th-century house in Sidi 'Amud/Hariqa (Photo: IFPO Archives, Damascus).*

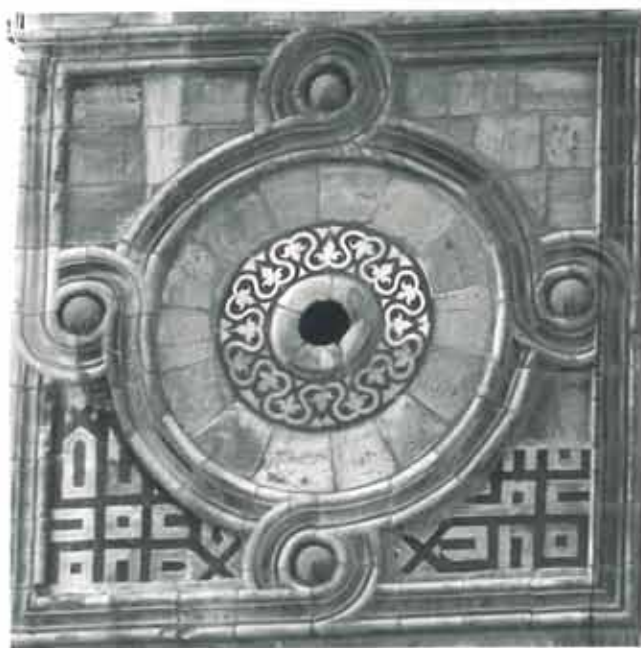




Looking for an approximate date of the ornamental panel on the northern façade of Bayt al-'Aqqad, a number of similarities – in general and in detail – point towards decorations at the Shadhbakliya mosque (857/1453), the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya (868/1464), the Saqifa mosque (869/1465), and possibly the Mu'allaq mosque (862/1458) and the minaret of al-Qal'i (1460–70?). In our opinion this might suggest a date for the construction of the Mamluk *qa'a* within the third quarter of the 15th century.

The courtyard in front of *qa'a* façade was different from today. It was not only wider, but a court record from 1162/1749 gives interesting details of vanished elements of the inner courtyard, mentioning a jet fountain (*birka ma nahida*) and a paved rostrum (*suffa muballata*) with a small fountain, which could easily be of Mamluk origin (124/123/222 14.4.1162). This element – quite common in Aleppo – is very unusual for Damascus and known only from the Bayt Saqqa Amini (Cat. XVIII–292 from the very early 19th century).





153. < Saqifa mosque: detail of façade, 869/1465 (s.w. 2001).

154. The Qal'i minaret: detail of façade, 1460-70 (s.w. 2002).

155. < Hammam Fathi: detail of façade, before 1159/1749 (s.w. 2001).

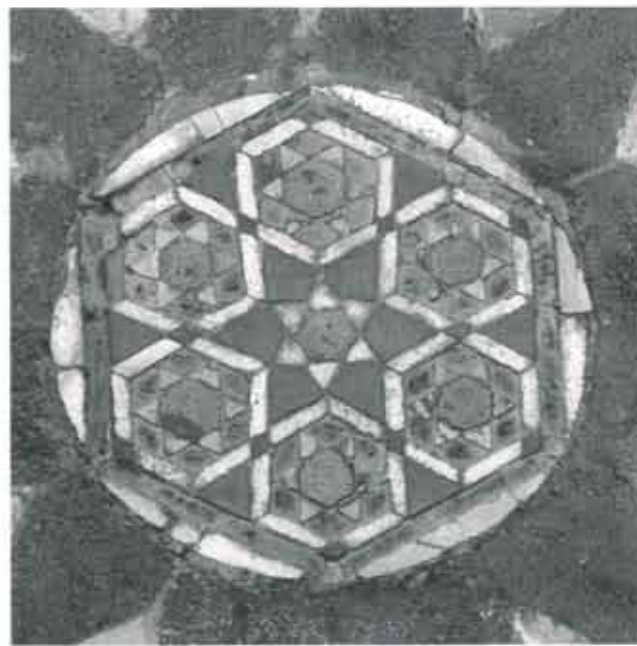
160. Qasab/Aqşab mosque, 811/1408-09 (s.w. 2002).



156. *Bayt al-'Aqqad:*  
northern façade of the  
courtyard: detail (S.W.  
2002).



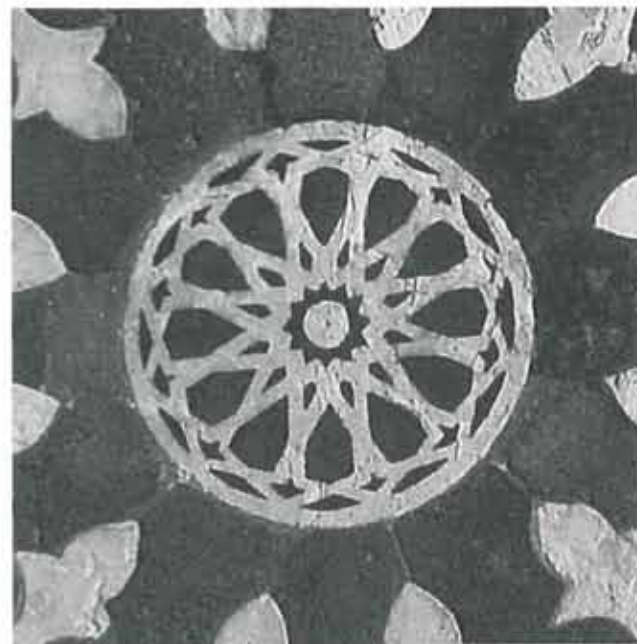
157. *Madrassa al-Shadhbakliya:* detail of  
façade, 857/1453 (S.W.  
2002).



158. *Bayt al-'Aqqad:*  
northern façade of the  
courtyard: detail (S.W.  
2002).



159. *Saqifa mosque:*  
detail of façade,  
869/1465 (S.W. 2001).



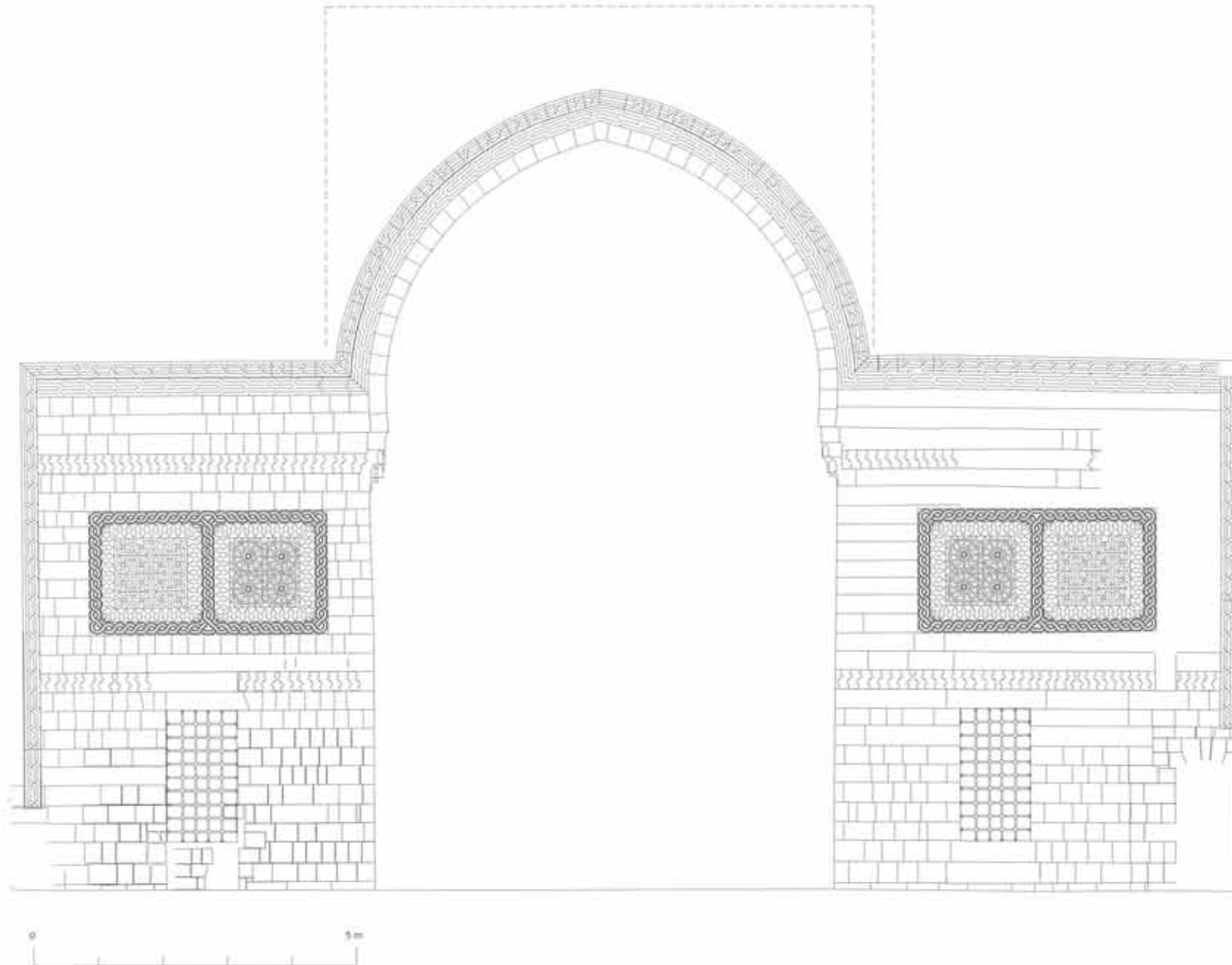


**161.** *Bayt al-Quwatli/al-Muradi: iwan, second half of 15th century (Photo: Royal Archives, Windsor 1863).*

**162.** *Bayt al-'Aqqad: the iwan (R.F. 2001).*

**163.** *Bayt al-'Aqqad: reconstructed elevation of the Mamluk iwan façade showing the panels east and west of the arch, as exposed during the restoration of the house in 1999 (R.L. and S.L. 1999/2005).*





### The *Iwan*

The *iwan* is one of the very characteristic features of architecture in the Middle East. An *iwan* (sometimes called *liwan* as well) is a hall that is often vaulted and most of the time opens to the courtyard on the full height of the façade. The evolution of the *iwan* is not yet clearly established, but most probably it became a part of secular architecture parallel to its introduction as a main element of schools, mosques and hospitals in Bilad al-Sham during the late 11th and early 12th centuries. Unfortunately, except for some palace ruins, no houses remain in the Arab world from periods before Mamluk times. To have an *iwan* on the south side of the courtyard is a very common feature for houses in the Ottoman Period, yet we do not know how common this feature was for houses under the Mamluks, since only very few *iwans* from this period are left. The Bayt al-Quwatli in Kallasa (Fig. 161) bears under its more recent plaster a construction from Mamluk times with com-

posite blazons of Mamluk heraldry typical for the 15th century (compare Mayer 1933: 32), and like the Bayt al-Masri it has a Mamluk *iwan* (for both houses see Weber 2001: Catalogue Nos 609 and 681). Also in other cities there are examples of houses from the late Mamluk and early Ottoman Periods which have an *iwan* – like most of the public buildings in Mamluk times. But the *iwan* in the Bayt al-‘Aqqad is unusual in its dimensions (Fig. 162), and it is even higher than the *iwan* of the Bayt al-Quwatli, which must have belonged to a Mamluk *amir*.

Like the northern façade of the *qa’a*, the façade of the *iwan* has been changed in later periods (Fig. 163). Sometime during the Ottoman Period the inner walls of the arch must have been restored or even replaced by new walls. Stones of basalt and limestone with carved cone motifs, originally inlaid with colour paste, were found secondarily displaced behind the plaster covering the inner walls of the arch and reused in the floor of the *murabba’* west of the *iwan* (Fig. 164). Most of these stones were similar to those used in the frames and borders of the *qa’a* and the *iwan*, but a few stones showed a more elaborate shape of cone, as known from the late 15th century, and the 16th century. They may belong to possible restoration work when a certain Shihabi Ahmad ibn Battuh turned the house into a *waqf* in 932/1526 (see below). The stones were probably taken from other buildings or walls and reused for the restoration of walls and floors in the ‘Aqqad House around 1900. In the 18th century new rooms were added on top of the *murabba’* east and west of the arch, and finally around 1900 the two buildings along the sides of the courtyard were added, covering in this way part of the original Mamluk façade, including most of the panels east and west of the arch.

Before the 18th-century addition of two rooms east and west of the arch, the middle part of the *iwan*, above the arch, rose higher than the rest of the *iwan* façade. In Islamic architecture this is called a *pishtaq*, a construction well known from Mamluk architecture in Cairo and from other parts of the Islamic world. From houses in Damascus only one Mamluk *pishtaq* is preserved at Bayt al-Masri, but they are not totally unknown from Ottoman times, as evidenced by historical photographs of the destroyed houses of Abdallah Khayyata (early 17th century: Fig. 166) and Hafiz Bek al-‘Azmi (1190/1776–77: Fig. 165). A court record from 1162/1749 describes the “large *iwan*” with two rooms called *qubba* at its sides, most probably part of the Mamluk *iwan* structure (124/123/222 14.4.1162).

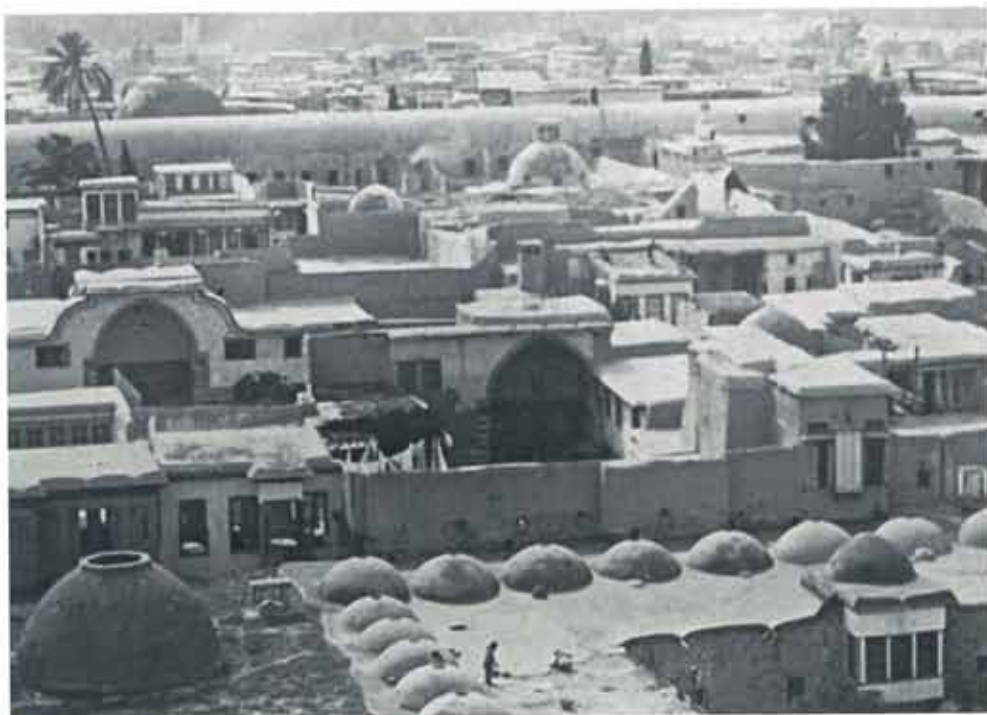
For the eastern *murabba’* some details are given. It was topped by the eastern “dome” (*al-qubba al-sharqiyya*). A representative room (*qasr*) and an open gallery (*riwaaq*) must have been next to it, all served by a stone staircase. The *iwan* complex also contained a kitchen and toilets, and two (stone) basins for water. Both *murabba’*s had cellars. The service units were connected to the water network. The eastern cellar is still there and the unit for housekeeping is even today in the east of the eastern *murabba’*, but as it appears today it probably dates to the 18th century.

164. Bayt al-‘Aqqad: detail of floor in the western *murabba’* (R.F. 2001).



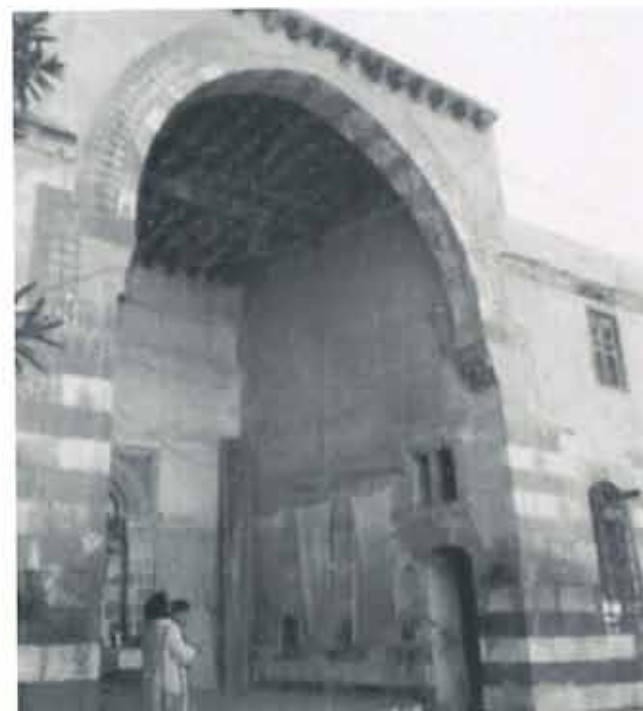






However, no traces of the *riwaq*, *qasr*, or the two “domes” are visible anymore since the upper parts of the *murabba*’s were considerably changed during the late 18th century (probably after the earthquake) and around 1900.

The phenomenology of the term *qubba* is not well established. Literally the Arabic word for “dome” appears quite seldom in Ottoman records. Marino, following the terminology of Aleppine houses, and out of her research on the records from the Midan quarter, refers the term *qubba* to small rooms which give access on the ground floor to a *murabba*’ of an *iwan* or to a *qa’a* (Marino 1997: 231). In documents at our disposal the *qubb*as are mentioned rarely, and if so, it is mainly in relation to several houses from the 16th and early 17th century. The Ghazzi *waqfiyya* from 935/1529 gives two *qubb*as facing each other at an *iwan* of their house, quite similar to a situation where one would expect a *murabba*’ (Waqfiyyat al-Ghazzi 935/1529, p. 7). The *waqfiyya* of Ahmad ibn Sinan al-Qaramani mentions several houses turned into a *waqf* in 1019/1610, among them a house from 999/1590–91 where a *qubba* is attached to a *tazar* of a *murabba*’ next to an *iwan* or simply attached to an *iwan* in a house from 986/1578 (Waqfiyyat al-Qaramani 1019/1610, p. 1). However, the records do not give us much of a hint about their function, and indeed only very little information about their shape (in some cases they are mentioned with windows). A legal proceeding from 1127/1715 describes a large undated house close to the Suq al-Buzuriyya out of the *waqf* for Mekka and Medina, which stretches from the Zuqaq al-Hamrawi to the Madrasa al-Jawziyya.



165. Old photo showing Dar Hafiz al-‘Azim / Bayt al-‘Aidi, 1190/1776–77 (Photo Collection Lemke).

166. Bayt Abdallah Khayyata, early 17th century (Photo: IFPO Archives, Damascus).



The description in the record fits the exact position of the Qasr al-'Azm, which was built some three decades later on the remains of the Dar al-Dhahab, the palace of the Mamluk governor Tankiz (712/1312–740/1340), which was commissioned in 728/1327–28. Since most of the surrounding houses mentioned in the record are from the same *waqf* and in some cases were detached courtyards of the house, the description in the court record deals with a very large structure and may describe parts of the Mamluk palace or remains of it. The record describes two *murabba's*, both having a *qubba* covered with bricks – thus a vaulted or domed structure (H26b 18.8.1127). On the other hand a court record from 1035/1626 does mention a *qubba* with a wooden ceiling, and a court record from 1142/1729 mentions two *qubb-  
bas* with a painted 'ajami ceiling – thus obviously not domed structures (2/34/45, 3.8.1035; 63/370/587, 11.4.1142).

Confronting the information from the records with material evidence, one must mention that domed rooms are generally not known in Damascene residential architecture. Furthermore, anterooms to *murabba's* or to *qa'as* are not known to us, with one exception of a very early and unique *qa'a* in the quarter of Bab Tuma, which gives evidence for the existence of both – domed rooms and anterooms to a *qa'a* – in residential architecture in Damascus (Weber 2004a: 268–271). South of the *qa'a* a domed anteroom is attached, thus matching what was maybe described in early Ottoman court records as a *qubba*. Consequently, we suggest that the term *qubba* could be understood as a domed room in Mamluk and early Ottoman Damascus. Perhaps used as a term for certain rooms with domes, the name and function of this room remained, while the ceiling changed to a wooden beam type during the 17th and 18th century. Thus, the *qubb-  
bas* mentioned in the records of Bayt al-'Aqqad could have been real domes.

Reconstructing the house after the information given in the court record one should keep the possibility of domed rooms topping the *murabba's* east and west of the *iw-  
an* in mind. One finds in late Mamluk/early Ottoman structures in Aleppo a similar setting in the *iw-  
an* complex of the Khan Qurtbak, which was built as a residential unit by the Mamluk governor Aztimur al-Ashrafi in the last decades of the 15th century and incorporated like Bayt al-'Aqqad into an Ottoman *waqf* in 1546 (David 1998: 25–33). Also in Aleppo, *murabba's* in the Ottoman Period were normally not domed or topped by domed rooms. In Ottoman court records from Aleppo the term appears for a type of room – and not for its shape – which was covered in the later Ottoman Period by a wooden ceiling (Tate 1990: 66). Maybe this development – from domed rooms, as in the residence of Aztimur al-Ashrafi, to the term *qubba*, as the name for a certain type of room – can be seen as parallel to Damascus. We assume, therefore, as a probable reconstruction model, that the possible domes in Damascus belonged to the Mamluk building that framed the higher-rising *iw-  
an* frame (i.e. *pishta-  
q*) on both sides, and starting – as distinct from



the example in Aleppo – after two-thirds of its height. Most probably the *qubbas* collapsed during the earthquake of 1759 and were replaced by upper rooms above the *murabba'* during the reorganization of the house in the 1760s.

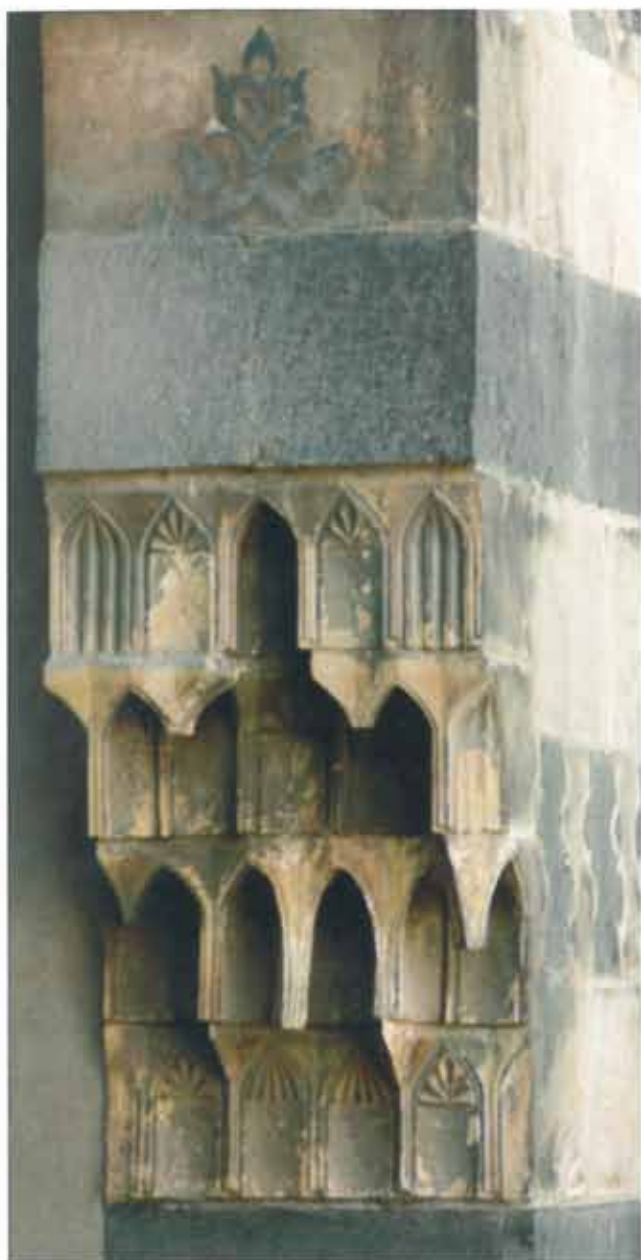
As at the *qa'a*, the outer framing of the *iwan*, moulded in limestone, goes all the way around the façade (Figs. 163 and 167). Similar moulded frames with the same motif appear on a building from the mid-15th century (in Ottoman times used as court/Mahkamat al-Bab), on the Mu'allaq mosque (862/1458) and on the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya (868/1464: Fig. 168). The inner framing, limited to the upper part of the façade, is made in *ablaq* technique in a kind of arrow pattern. It is superimposed on the arch, which is also built in *ablaq* technique with black colour paste motifs on top and at the very beginning of the arch, above the two *muqarnas*, a typical feature for the 15th and the first half of the 16th century.

The *muqarnas* is one of the very symbols of Islamic architecture, having been introduced to Syria most probably by the Seljuqs in the 11th/12th century. Already during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods it was a standard element in making the conjunction between two levels, like pendentives or arches, and in many mosques, schools and houses from the 15th to the 18th century it was a common feature for capitals on columns or as the base of arches as well. During these centuries the *muqarnas* were placed at the bottom of arches in more or less the same arrangement. What differs is the shaping of the single components of the *muqarnas*. Up to

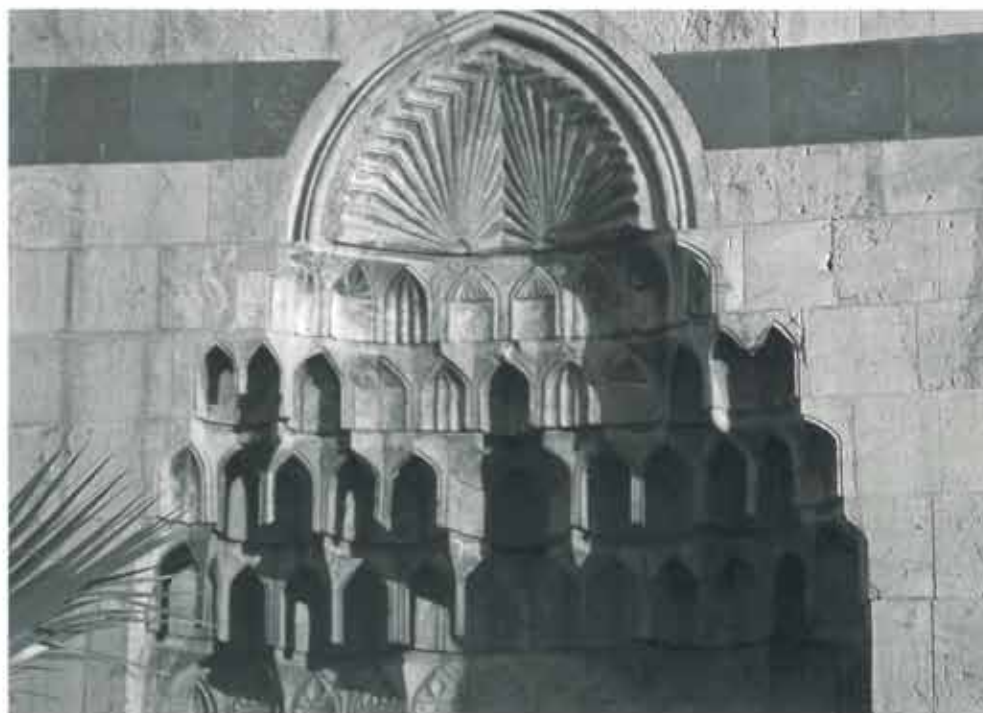
167. Bayt al-'Aqqad:  
detail of iwan façade (s.l. 1999).

168. Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya:  
detail of façade, 868/1464 (s.w. 2002).





169. Bayt al-'Aqqad:  
the iwan, muqarnas (P.M. 1997).



170. Saqifa mosque: muqarnas,  
probably 869/1455 (s.w. 2002).

the 15th century the sections were mostly plain or filled with small cartouches of inscription or sometimes with floral motifs as well. During the 15th century it became normal to structure the individual sections of the *muqarnas* with three motifs: shells, palmettes, and vertical flutes, appearing in an alternating order. Fine examples of this structure are seen in the two *muqarnas* found at the bases of the *iwan* arches at the Bayt al-'Aqqad (Fig. 169). *Muqarnas* with a similar structure are found at the Saqifa mosque (814/1411 or more likely 869/1465: Fig. 170), at Bayt al-Quwatli (second half of the 15th century: Fig. 171), and at two of the buildings very close to Bayt al-'Aqqad: the minaret of al-Qal'i (1460–70?) and the Dar al-Qur'an al-Khaydariya (878/1473–74: Fig. 172).

In the early 16th century these motifs were replaced by a star pattern, as shown by examples from the Siba'iya mosque (920/1514: Fig. 173) and the Ibn Arabi mosque (924/1518: Fig. 174). Later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the single compartments were perforated, like small grilles, as seen at the Bayt al-Sa'ada (early 17th century: Fig. 175) and in the 18th-century *muqarnas* below the arch in the *qa'a* of the Bayt al-'Aqqad (mid-18th century: Fig. 176). Although the development of the *muqarnas*, as it is outlined here, is not linear or exclusive, there is hardly any doubt that the *muqarnas* at the *iwan* of the Bayt al-'Aqqad stylistically falls within a group that should be dated within the second half of the 15th century.

As mentioned above, the buildings along the sides of the courtyard that were







171. *Bayt al-Quwatli*: muqarnas, second half of 15th century (s.w. 2002).

172. *Dar al-Qur'an al-Khaydariya*: muqarnas, 878/1473-74 (P.M. 1997).

173. *Siba'iya mosque*: muqarnas, 920/1514 (s.w. 2002).

174. *Ibn Arabi mosque*: muqarnas, 924/1518 (s.w. 2002).

175. *Bayt al-Sa'ada*: muqarnas, early 17th century (s.w. 2002).

176. *Bayt al-'Aqqad*: the qa'a, muqarnas, mid-18th century (s.w. 2002).

added around 1900 partly covered the two Mamluk double-panels decorating the *iwān* façade east and west of the arch (Fig. 177). The panels are almost identical: farthest to the east and west are squares with a classical arrow motif, and nearest to the arch are squares with an arabesque motif.

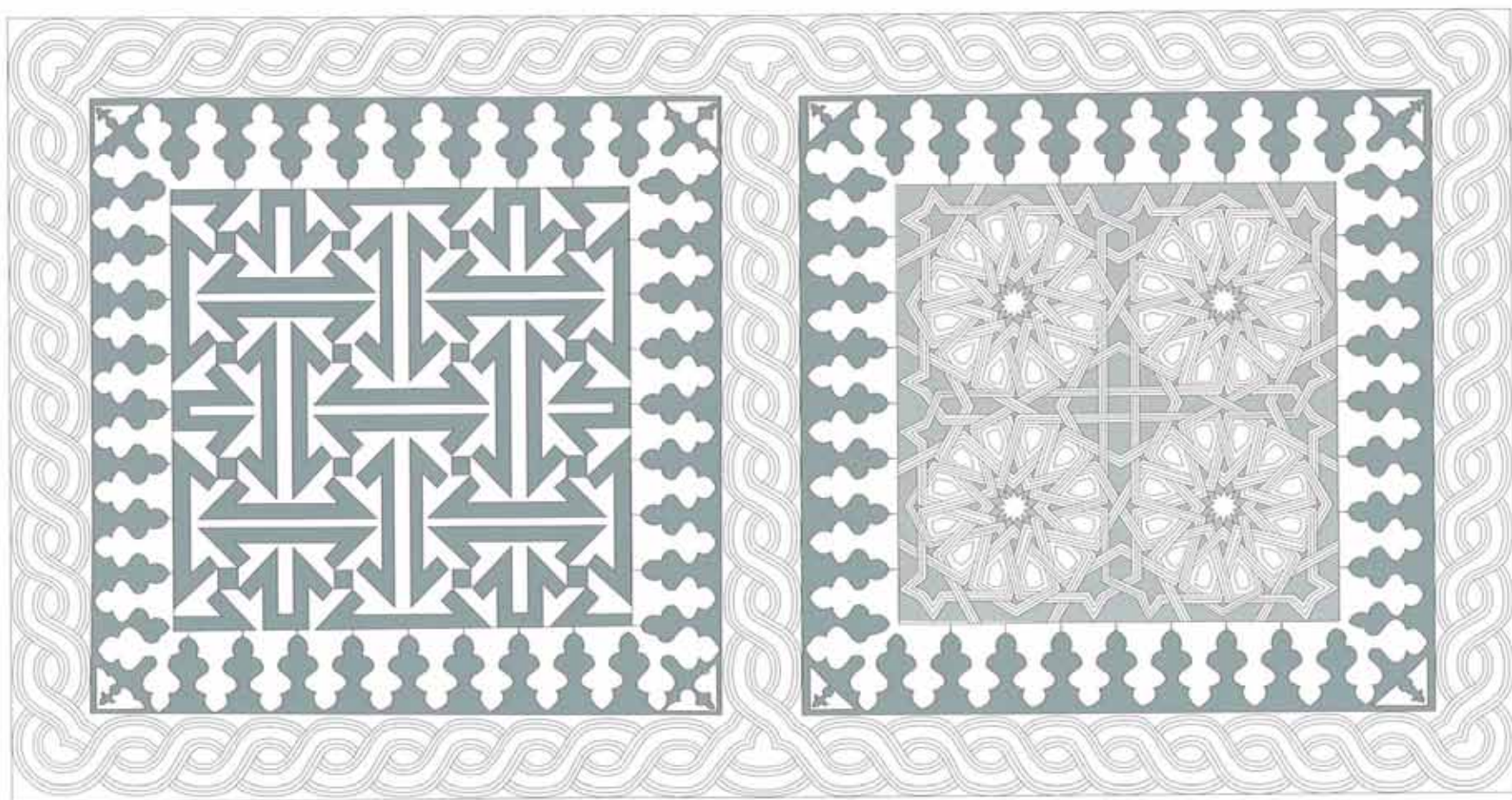
Along the outside, the panels are framed by a moulded, undulating band of interwoven ribbons, cut in bricks of white limestone (Fig. 179). The band represents an early type of this pattern, with rounded corners and empty knots between the fillings, as seen for the first time around the central portal of the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya (668/1464; Fig. 178). In later periods the corners of the ribbons were angular and the knots were filled in with a star motif, as seen for example at the Siba'iya mosque (920/1514; Fig. 180) at Khan al-Jukhiya (963/1555-56; Fig. 181), at Qa'at al-Imadi (early 17th century) and in the mouldings in the qa'a of Bayt al-'Aqqad (mid-18th century; Fig. 200).

Inside, the panels are bordered by a traditional ribbon of a black and white interlocked cone pattern. Especially interesting in this context, however, are the eastern panels, where seven of the triangular corners of the cone pattern are decorated with a lily, carved in basalt and surrounded by white paste (Fig. 179). The filling of corners in this way is not common until the 16th century, as shown e.g. at the Siba'iya mosque (920/1514) and at the Khan al-Jukhiya (963/1555-56; Fig. 181).

The two panels closest to the *iwān* are decorated with medallions with 12 pointed hexagons centred around a star and formed by black paste filled into patterns carved in bricks of limestone (Fig. 179).

The two outer panels are decorated with an arrow pattern made as a mosaic of black basalt and yellow or white limestone (Fig. 182). The motif is known from the 14th century and it appears in panels on almost all important Mamluk buildings from the 15th century (cf. e.g. Figs. 149, 150, and 151), continuing into the 16th century, as seen for example at the Siba'iya mosque (920/1514; Fig. 183).

In trying to date the construction of the *iwān* we are faced with one problem. As with the façade of the qa'a, an analysis of the individual ornamental elements on the arch and on the façade of the *iwān* all point towards parallels on the Mu'allaq mosque (862/1458), the Mamluk *madrassa* – housing in Ottoman times the Mahkamat al-Bab (mid-15th century), the Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya (868/1464), and the Saqifa mosque (869/1465). But the lily motif at seven of the triangular corners of the eastern panel seems to suggest a later date since, as far as we know, a similar motif does not occur until early in the 16th century. However, since all other elements of this panel – including the technique applied on the arrow motif (stone mosaic in contrast to stone inlaid with colour paste) – point towards the middle or second half of the 15th century, we might suggest that the apparently late appearance of the lily motif is accidental, i.e. that other, earlier examples exist or may have existed on buildings which are now destroyed.



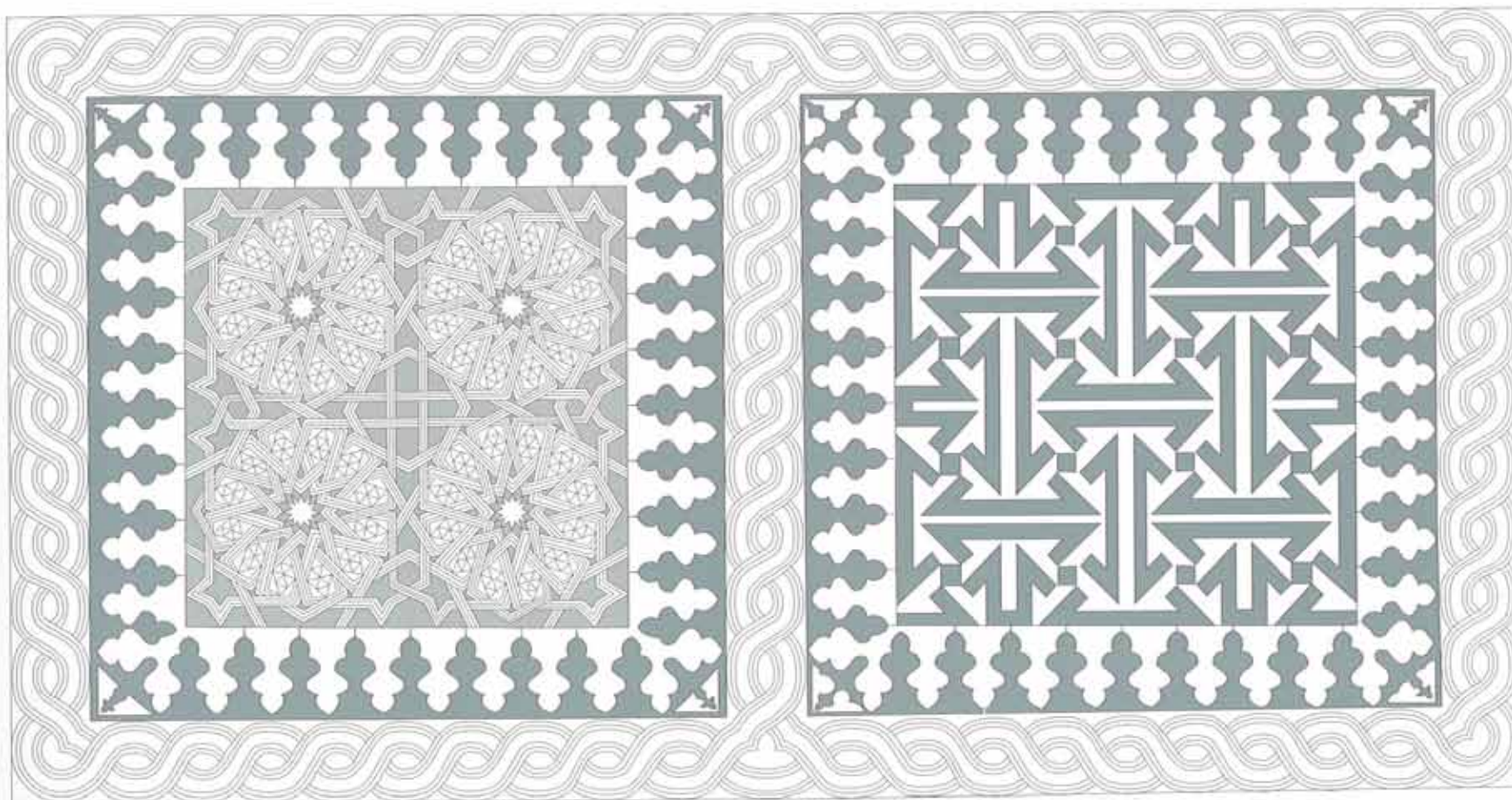
### The Ceiling of the *Iwan*

The question that remains concerns the ceiling of the *iwan*. This ceiling was much damaged, repainted and restored, as shown for example by the date 1338/1919–20 written in one of the niches of the cornice by artists who redecorated the ceiling in the early 20th century. Since in this way it is quite impossible to trace its original patterns and colouring, we have chosen in this context to concentrate on the layout of the ceiling (Figs. 184–185).

The panelled ceiling is carried by an elaborate *muqarnas* cornice. It is framed by plain, wide planks and divided into six panels by seven wooden beams, rounded in the middle and angular towards the outer frame. The transition between the rounded and the angular parts is indicated by simple two-lined *muqarnas*. Each panel is subdivided into seven or nine smaller square or rectangular panels by bars, shaped like rounded columns with an indication of capitals at each end. The interior decoration of the panels is badly preserved, but arabesque- and shell-like mouldings and leaf- and S-shaped patterns occur.

Unfortunately, ceilings from the Mamluk and early Ottoman Periods are very





177. *Bayt al-'Aqqad: panels  
from the iwan façade*  
(R.L. and S.L. 1999/2005).

rare. Apart from the Tawrizi mosque in Damascus (832/1428–29), ceilings from some mosques and houses in Cairo and a few early Ottoman houses in Aleppo are known, like the ceiling from the destroyed Bayt Marashli, dated 1033/1623–24 (Weber 2004b: 258–261). Not until the 18th century are there enough beam ceilings to make solid statements on their development.

It seems, however, that the ceiling of the Bayt al-'Aqqad could date back to Mamluk times. Apart from the *muqarnas* cornice – which is unique and without close parallels in the Mamluk as well as in later periods – the ceiling of the *iwan* is closely related to the ceiling at the Tawrizi mosque (Fig. 186). The similarity is visible in the clear and regular structure of the ceiling, framed by wide planks – very typical for early ceilings – and divided by beams into panels which are subdivided by bars into smaller square and rectangular panels. Also the shape of the beams (angular towards the sides and rounded in the middle) and the bars (with capital-like endings) are nearly identical in both ceilings. Finally, the interior decoration of the panels on the ceilings of both the Bayt al-'Aqqad and the Tawrizi mosque are much alike.





In considering another possibility, that the ceiling might be Ottoman, one must first take the rebuilding activities at Bayt al-'Aqqad into account. The *iwan* was rebuilt twice: during the 18th century (addition of the two upper *murabbas*) and in the early 20th century (remaking of all rooms connected to the *iwan*, and the lower section of the *iwan* by redesigning the walls and removing the *tazar*). Since ceilings of the early 20th century look totally different, the beam ceiling under discussion could only belong to one of the earlier building phases.

In fact some ceilings of the 17th and 18th centuries, like those for example from Bayt Marshli (Fig. 187) and Bayt Jabri (Fig. 188), are similar in lay-out to the Mamluk ceiling at the Tawrizi mosque (compartments, shape of the bars and beams). But at the same time the Ottoman ceilings are generally characterized by a very rich and detailed decoration absent in Mamluk times, and at none of those later houses are the ceilings framed by plain wide planks as at the Bayt al-'Aqqad and the Tawrizi mosque. Normally the later frames are curved and structured while the compartments in the ceiling are often shaped with voluminous wood carvings or – from the 17th century onwards – the paint is applied on a moulded gypsum paste as a slightly raised relief. Earlier the decoration was painted on the plane surface of the wood, sometimes on a thin layer of lime. However, the ceiling in the *iwan* of Bayt al-'Aqqad does not show any remains of paint on moulded paste or gypsum.





178. *Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya:*  
panel, 668/1464 (s.w. 2002).

179. *Bayt al-'Aqqad: the iwan façade,*  
eastern panel (s.w. 2002).

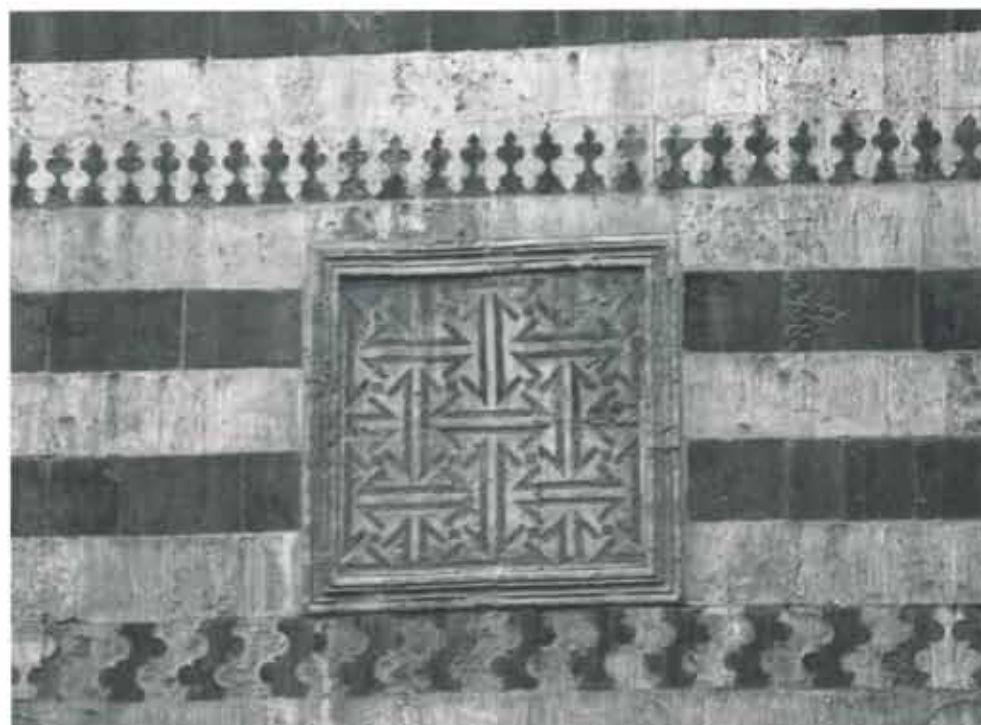
180. *Siba'iya mosque: panel,*  
920/1514 (s.w. 2002).

181. *Khan Jukhiya: panel,*  
963/1555-66 (s.w. 2002).



182. *Bayt al-'Aqqad: the iwan façade,*  
eastern panel (P.M. 1999).

183. *Siba'iya mosque: panel,*  
920/1514 (P.M. 1998).





184. Bayt al-'Aqqad.  
The ceiling of the iwan  
after restoration  
(R.F. 2001).

185. Bayt al-'Aqqad:  
detail of the ceiling of the  
iwan after restoration  
(R.F. 2001).









In conclusion, it is our impression that the ceiling of the *iwan* was made before the 18th century, most likely in the late Mamluk period – possibly at the same time as the *iwan* was built.

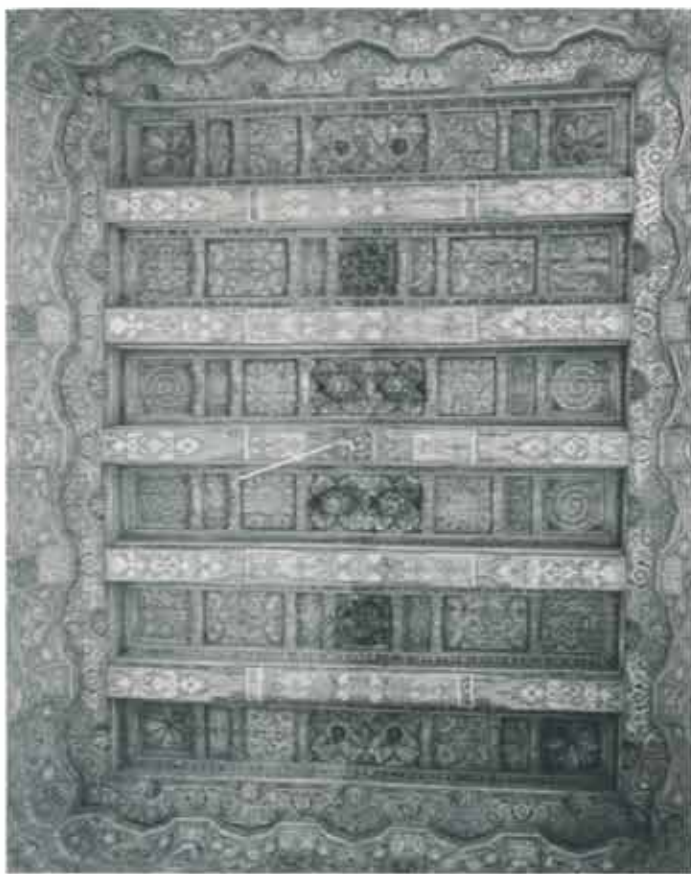
## The Orientation and Setting of the *Qa'a* in Mamluk Times

### Introduction

There is no *qa'a* known to have survived in Damascus with its original layout from Mamluk times. Unlike rooms as we know them in our day, with a more or less unstructured space inside and a plane, levelled floor, rooms from the Mamluk and Ottoman times had a formalized structure before the incorporation of European concepts in the middle of the 19th century. They were orientated towards the entrance door, which very often gave the only access to a room.

Upon entering a room one came first into a lower part, the so-called '*ataba* (threshold), usually occupying one-fifth to one-third of the space. This part, often paved with marble, was the entrance area of the room. Like in the *qa'a* of the Bayt





186. The ceiling of the Tawrizi mosque, detail, 832/1428-29 (s.w. 1998).

187. Ceiling from the destroyed Bayt Marashli in Aleppo (1033/1623-24), now in room F3 of the Mouawad Museum / Pharaon Collection (s.w.).

188. Ceiling at Bayt Jabri, 18th century (s.w. 1998).



al-'Aqqad (Fig. 189), one enters the *'ataba* from its low side, facing a niche at the opposite end. In many cases a fountain is placed in the middle of the *'ataba*. To the right of the entrance (sometimes on the left-hand side as well) the *tazar*, the second part of the room, rises like a platform between 40 and 60 cm from the ground level. This was the real living place where carpets were spread on the ground and small benches (*diwan*) were arranged along the walls where several niches gave storage space.

Both elements of the rooms – the *tazar* and the *'ataba* – were separated by the step between them and by an arch over the step. Often the ceiling of the *'ataba* rose much higher than the ceiling above the *tazar*. This arrangement was highly formalized and nearly all rooms in old houses in Damascus – especially in those built in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century – were organized like this.

#### Suggestions for the Orientation and Setting of the *Qa'a*

There is some evidence that the *qa'a* of the Bayt al-'Aqqad was originally set in another direction and was maybe meant as well to stand isolated or as the main element of a group of rooms. The original setting is not clear but we will attempt to reconstruct the *qa'a* according to two court record documents from 1119/1707 and 1162/1749. The first informs us that what are today Bayt al-'Aqqad and its north-western (Cat. 974) and south-western neighbours (Cat. 977) had been endowed as a unit in early Ottoman times (8m/133/- 25.4.1119). Findings in Bayt al-'Aqqad give evidence of minor changes in the Mamluk structure in the early 16th century. The records suggest that when this house was subdivided into two parts between 1160/1747 and 1162/1749 (further details, see below), not much had been changed in the meantime (124/123/222, 14.4.1162). Thus the description of 1162/1749 can to some extent be applied to the Mamluk building.

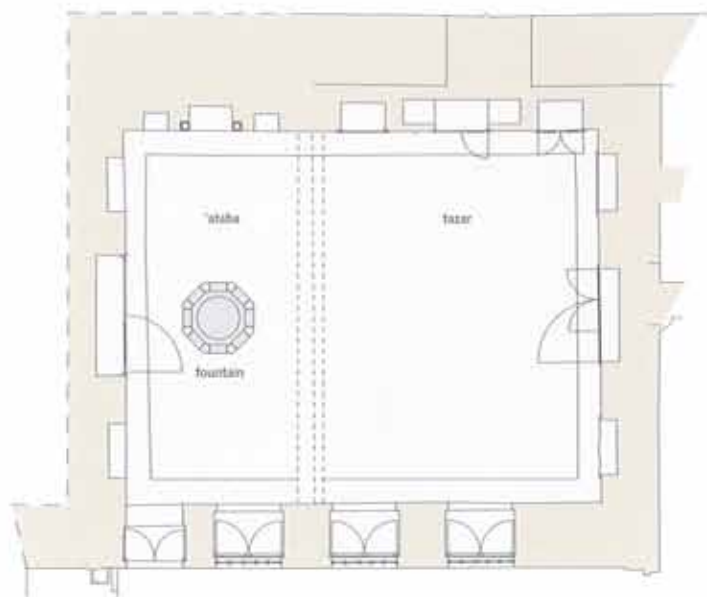
The property under discussion consisted of one outer courtyard (*barrani*, to be identified with Cat. 974) and one inner courtyard (*juwwani*, cat. 976/Bayt al-'Aqqad). The boundary of the property was marked by what is today Suq al-Suf to the north, the vanished Matbakh al-Sukkar in the east and the alley east of what became Bayt al-Hawraniya in the west. The cadastral units 977, 961 can according to this document be identified with the Qa'at Bani Qarandal, once part of the complex. All of the house was facing towards the west, since the entrance of the *barrani* /small house in the northwest was from the alley in the west (*gharban: dakhla ghayr nafidha wa-fiha al-bab*), like the entrance of the *juwwani*/Bayt al-'Aqqad. The *barrani* most probably served as the main access to the building through an obviously impressive entrance. The record mentions a covered doorway (*darkah*), a term quite rarely used and most probably the predecessor of a present day disconnected workshop west of Bayt al-'Aqqad. Moreover, a column (most likely from the ancient theatre) and an arch made of stone are mentioned (*wa-'amud wa-qaws hajjara*). Arranged around a courtyard, there was a room to the east, a stable, a toilet (*murtafaq*), a water channel and a *qasr*, most probably a representative room in the entrance area (later normally used for rooms on the upper floor, like the Blue Room). Thus the *qa'a* was part of a larger setting most probably already in Mamluk times. When the structure was subdivided in the 1740s, this western entrance became part of an independent house and of unimportance for Bayt al-'Aqqad – with consequences for the *qa'a*.

The interior, the ceilings, and the outer walls of the *qa'a* were, to a large extent, rebuilt and seriously changed in the 18th century. The architects who restored the house have stated that the entrance from the courtyard through the south wall was most probably made in connection with the 18th-century rebuilding of the lower part of the façade. On this occasion the three old rectangular windows were raised and supplied with arches decorated with ornaments inlaid with colour paste. The original Mamluk façade would in that case have been very similar to the 15th century façade of the house (cf. Figs. 147–148).

Disregarding the possibility of an entrance from the south, one may have entered the *qa'a* in Mamluk times from the north, east or west. However, the presence of a door into the *qa'a* from the north can also be excluded as it would have been necessary to cut through the Roman wall. The only opening, of which traces were found in the Roman wall north of the *qa'a*, was an arched doorway leading into the Roman *scaenae* below the later Mamluk and Ottoman floor levels (see above: Fig. 126).

This leaves us with the possibility that the *qa'a* may have been entered either from the east or from the west, in which case one would face the *tazar*, an arrangement known in the 16th and 17th centuries, and probably in earlier periods as well.

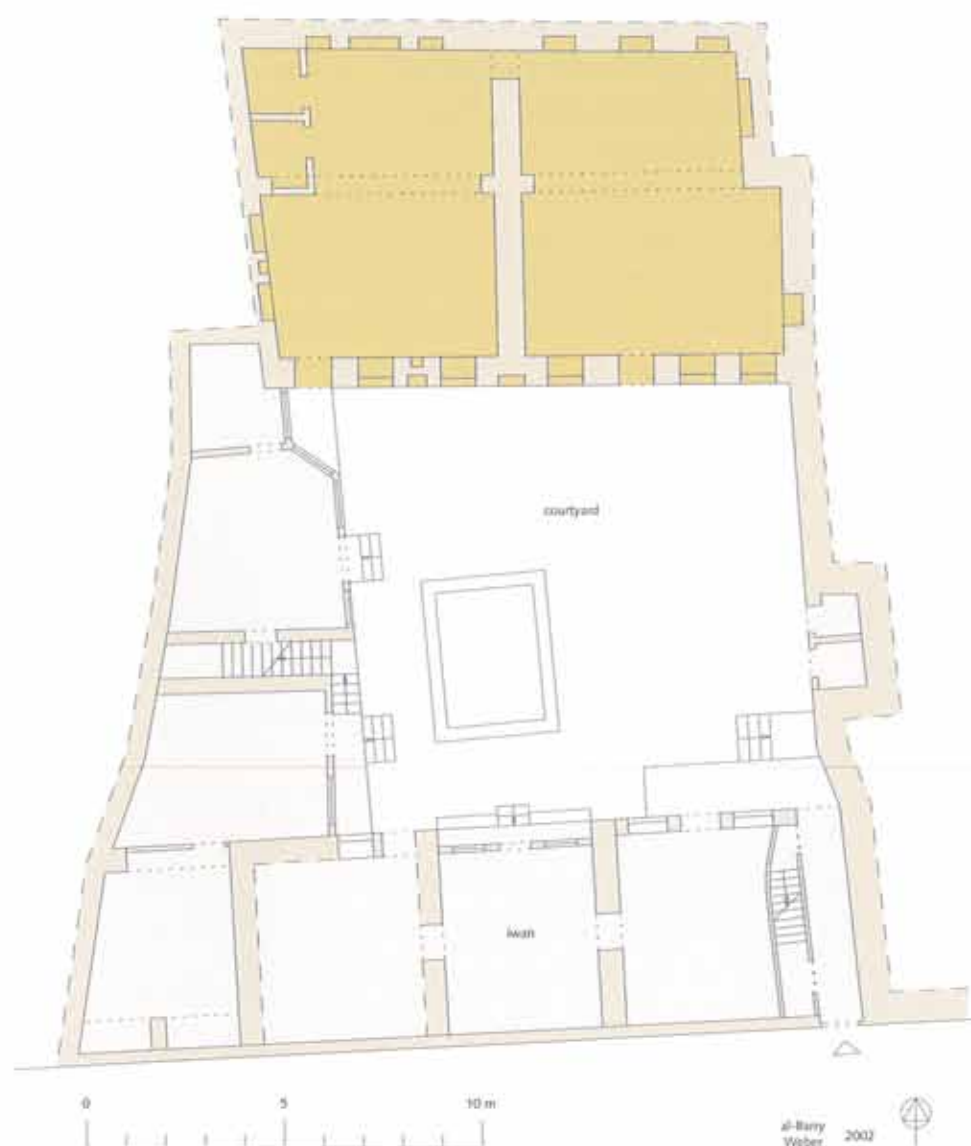
Nearly all houses that we know from Damascus were built in the 18th, 19th and



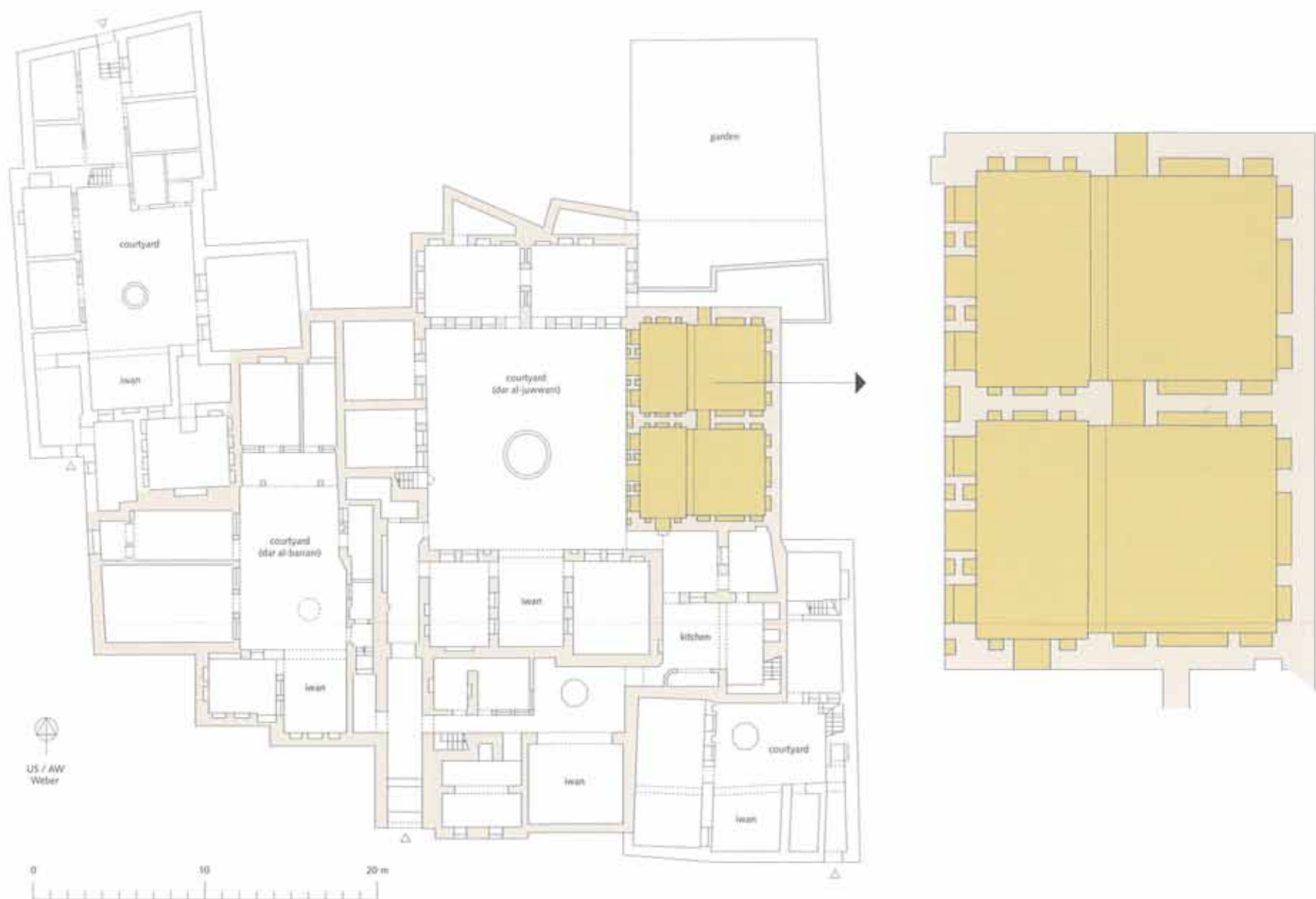


189. *Bayt al-'Aqqad:*  
the 18th century *qa'a* (Weber 2005).

190. *Bayt al-Sa'ada*, originally late 16th or  
early 17th century (Weber and Barri 2002).



20th centuries and the few remaining structures of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries were often changed at a later point in time. A photo of a house from the 15th century (*Fig. 148*) and two room arrangements that could be dated due to their decoration to the late 16th or early 17th centuries give evidence that before the 18th century a *qa'a* was entered from the low side of the room into an '*ataba*' facing the arch and the *tazar*. This can be observed for example in the Bayt al-Sa'ada, which was rebuilt several times, but had preserved large parts of its original late 16th or early 17th-century structure, including two parallel rooms on the northern side of the house with the '*ataba* – *tazar*' laid out as described above (*Fig. 190*). This kind of "twin room" arrangement is something that can be observed also in another house of that period. The house, which around 1841 became the residence of the



Christian scholar Mikhail Mishaqa (1800–1888) was rebuilt after 1860. It also contains two rooms of a much earlier building phase that are very similar to those at the Bayt al-Sa'ada. Here, also, one faces the arch of the *'ataba* and the *tazar* directly when entering the rooms (*Fig. 191*).

Probably this arrangement was common in late Mamluk and early Ottoman times and changed sometime in the late 17th or early 18th century. The shift in “how to organize a room” must by that time have been generally accepted and consistently practised since nearly all rooms with the arrangement of one *'ataba* and one *tazar* that we know from the 18th and the first half of the 19th century have the entrance to the room from the short side of the *'ataba* parallel to the arch between the *'ataba* and the *tazar*. A good example of this new arrangement of rooms in the

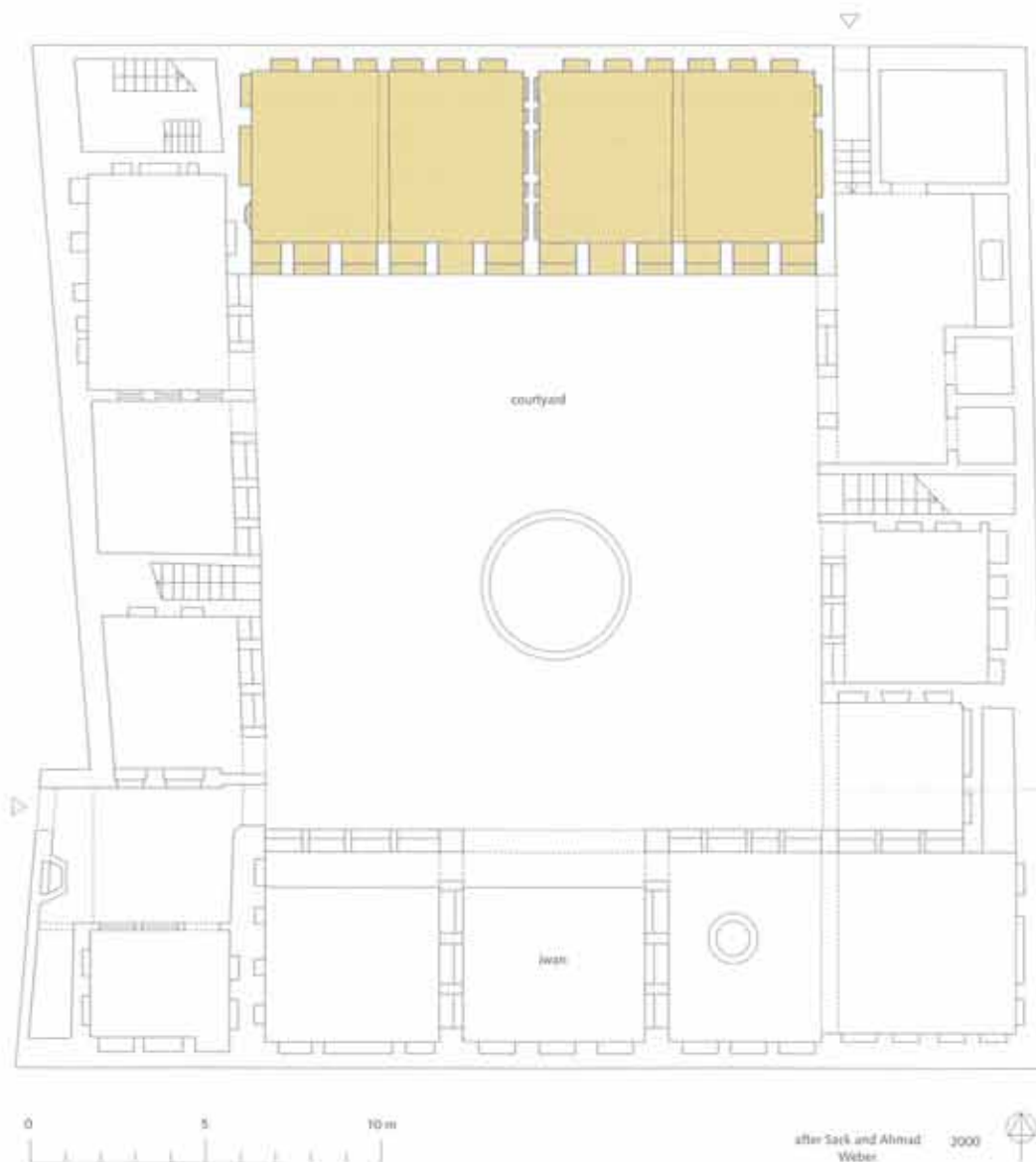
**191.** *Bayt Mishaqa, originally late 16th or early 17th century; rebuilt after 1860 (s.w. 1999).*



18th century, which was applied to the Bayt al-'Aqqad as well, is the Bayt Lisbuna (Fig. 192). The two rooms in the north of Bayt Lisbuna, which originate from the first building phase of the 18th century, have a position very similar to those in the Bayt Sa'ada or the Bayt Mishqa, but have another orientation. One could argue that we are dealing here with the same idea of the position of the *qa'a*, but with a change in orientation due to the adoption of a new fashion in the 18th century. However, the question of twin rooms is not of primary significance for the Bayt al-'Aqqad. But it is important to note, that a *qa'a* in the Bayt al-'Aqqad from the period before the 18th century most likely had the arrangement of the *'ataba* and *tazar* as seen in the Bayt Mishqa and in the Bayt al-Sa'ada, i.e. with an entrance facing the arch and the *tazar*.

Considering a possible western entrance to the Mamluk *qa'a*, it is important to note an apparent continuation towards the west of the southern façade of the *qa'a*. It is indicated by a horizontal *muqarnas* band with small niches leading from the zigzag frame of the *qa'a* towards west, separating the lower stone-built part of the wall from the upper part built in mud brick (Figs. 146 and 193). Although this western wall may have been added to the *qa'a* at a later time, it seems more likely that it represents a simple continuation of the Mamluk southern façade of the *qa'a*. Most of the wall is now covered behind the plaster of what is today the reading room (1.19), but there may have been a door through the wall west of this room where the restorers found a door-like niche in a shop below the Red Rooms, a part of the above-mentioned covered doorway (*darkah*) leading to the *ex-barrani* of the Mamluk/early Ottoman house (see p. 90). In view of its construction, with a mud-built upper part, it is unlikely that the wall was free-standing, dividing two courtyards. It must have been an outer wall of one or several rooms facing the courtyard. Most probably it was the southern wall of the room which is mentioned after the division of the house in the 1740s as the eastern room of the *barrani*. In this case a hypothetical western entrance to the *qa'a* should have given access from this room into the *qa'a* through its western wall and was disconnected during the division of the house. But unfortunately, there is nothing left to indicate or support an arrangement of that kind.

The only signs of a possible door leading into the *qa'a* before the 18th century were found at the eastern wall of the *qa'a*, where the restorers discovered the lintel of an opening at the same height as the original Mamluk windows in the southern façade. In later periods, for example in the Bayt al-Da'di (Fig. 194) and in the 18th century façade of the *qa'a* at Bayt al-'Aqqad (Fig. 146), the height of doors and windows differs. But judging from old photographs and remaining structures this was not the case in the late Mamluk period. Therefore the lintel found by the restorers could easily belong to a door, an impression supported by the inner decoration of the *qa'a*, where the first 18th-century panel of the eastern wall was centred directly



above the top of this opening (see below: p. 267). This means that the orientation of the *qa'a* could have been from east to west.

If the *qa'a* was entered from the east, the interior arrangement of the *qa'a* must later have been changed completely – and this is in fact what happened: the northern wall was added inside the Roman wall, and the eastern, southern and western walls were changed, rebuilt, and redecorated at least twice in the 18th century. So with these substantial changes in mind it is not difficult to imagine that the position of the *'ataba* and the *tazar* may also have been interchanged and a new arch was built between the *'ataba* and the *tazar* when the eastern entrance to the *qa'a* was closed and replaced by a door in the south leading directly from the large 18th-century courtyard into the *qa'a*. But unfortunately we do not know anything about

**192.** *Bayt Lisbuna: rooms from the first building phase of the 18th century (yellow) (Weber 2000, after Sack and Ahmad).*





193. Bayt al-'Aqqad: detail of muqarnas panel (left) separating the lower and the upper part of the wall west of the southern façade of the qa'a (s.w. 2001).

the *'ataba* – *tazar* arrangement in the Damascene houses of Mamluk times, although *madrasas* in Damascus and houses in Cairo suggest that we are dealing with a similar understanding of space (low – high).

Consequently we suggest that the Mamluk *qa'a* was entered from the east or through a room in the west of the *qa'a*. Due to the records we know that until the 1750s there was no entrance courtyard in the north-west of the Bayt al-'Aqqad, and neither was there a door cut through the Roman wall. Thus the main courtyard (*juwwani*) in Mamluk times was most probably extending east of the *qa'a* towards the north, leaving a small square in front of the eastern wall of the *qa'a* and limited by the Roman walls to the north and east. This small square only makes sense to provide access to an entrance from the east of the *qa'a* (Fig. 195).



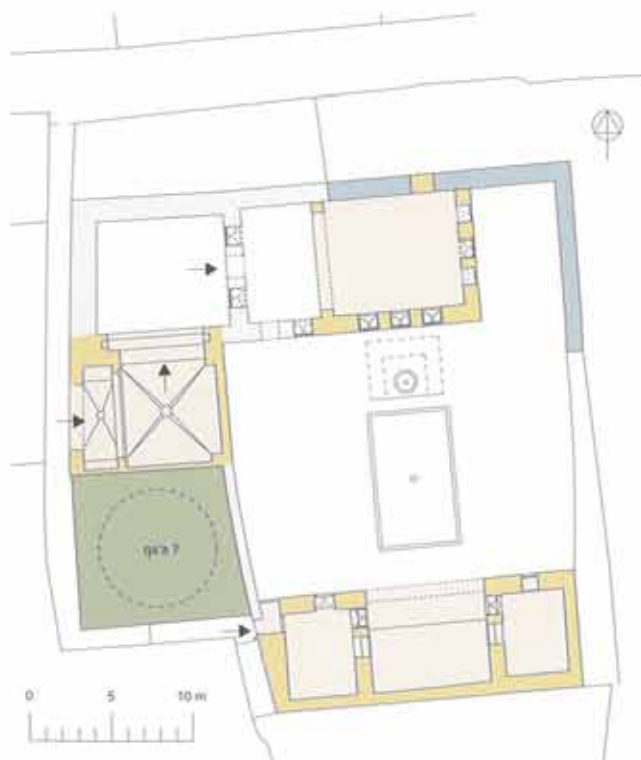


It is also unknown how the large courtyard between the *qa'a* and the *iwan* was restricted on the eastern and western sides. But it is notable in this context that the *iwan* façade west of the arch is c. 6.25 meters wide, while the façade east of the arch is only c. 5.6 meters wide, thus suggesting that the large courtyard was confined towards the east by the continuation of the Roman wall (or its foundations), and towards the south by the small courtyard, as indicated in the reconstruction (Fig. 195). Through the court records we know that the western border of the Mamluk/early Ottoman compound was provided by the small alley east of Bayt al-Hawraniyya, while the western section of this complex consisted of the small courtyard (*barrani*) to the north, an entrance porch-way south of it, and a *qa'a*, later known as Qa'at Bani Qarandal, at the southern end of this block, which defined the western border of the inner courtyard (*juwwani*).

**194.** *Bayt al-Da'di: façade in the juwwani courtyard, 18th century (s.w. 1994).*

**195.** *Bayt al-'Aqqad: the Mamluk buildings as they may have appeared. Two possibilities are shown indicating an entrance to the qa'a from the east (version 1), or from the west (version 2). The reconstruction of a large rectangular fountain in the courtyard is based on a similar fountain in the Bayt al-Quwatli/al-Muradi (Weber and Mortensen 2005).*





- The Bayt al-'Aqqad 263

of the Bayt al-'Aqqad did not belong to the elite of the city anymore. Perhaps it was this shift from Mamluk to Ottoman rule that caused the Bayt al-'Aqqad to change owner and, as indicated above, it appears in later documents as part of an endowment (*waqf*).

A court act authorising the exchange of the house in 1119/1707 refers to a certain Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Battuh who is said to have endowed the complex in 932/1526 (8m/133/, 25.4.1119).<sup>8</sup> We know of him only through his endowments, which also included a mosque in the village of Qabun to the northeast of Damascus towards Barza (12/161/308, 29.8.1094). In this latter document, he is referred to with the title *khawaja*, a title which in late Mamluk and early Ottoman times was given to important merchants. It was not unheard of during this period for men with a commercial background to rise to wealth and prominence, and there are many other examples of endowments of considerable size as the *waqf* of 'Isa al-Qari or those of the 'Anbari family.

Yet the history of the endowment may have been more complicated than it seems. At the turn to the 18th century the endowments of Ibn Battuh were administered by a family called Busrawi, who controlled a whole *waqf* cluster (12/161/308, 29.8.1094; 18/164/265, 21.4.1101; 146/169/395, 16.12.1169). All who were involved in the administration of the house in 1119/1707 had, judging from their titles, a military background and only one belonged to the Busrawi family proper. We know nothing of their activities except through these endowments. Some of them were controlled together with the prestigious Sufi family of the Hisni, who had a famous *zawiya* in outer Shaghur/Mazaz (56/31/1138, 10.4.1138).

Some of these preliminary findings have to be verified by further research, but the Busrawi-Hisni connection could lead a search for the founder into another direction. Shortly after the conquest, the Ottomans began to register all existing and new endowments in and around Damascus in long lists (*Tapu defterler, mufassal*), and these lists were periodically renewed until the end of the 16th century. Though there is a certain bias towards agrarian property, many of the most important foundations can be found without too many problems. Yet the search for Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Battuh did not prove successful. In several of these lists, however, we can find entries referring to a house and a *qa'a* in the *mahalla* of Shaghur, listed under the name of Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Shams/Nasir al-Din al-Busrawi. They concern two different endowments both dated to 935/1529 (Tapu No 393: 17; No 602: 268, 277). Both provided for the founder's descendants in the first priority, but also his sister and his mother. But in the case of the family line dying out, the founder stipulated that half of the *waqf's* income was for the distribution of bread to the poor in al-Mazaz, thus showing a certain attachment to the neighbourhood of Shaghur. This may be explained by the family history of this Busrawi, whose grandmother is referred to in another entry as a daughter of Shams al-Din



Muhammad al-Hisni (Tapu No 602: 288). He was the head of the famous *zawiya* of the Hisnis in Mazaz at the turn of the century (d. 920 or 921/1514–16, Ghazzi 1997: 19). The Busrawi family seems to have been fairly rich, as we can learn from their endowing activities. There are three more *waqfs* listed in the name of Ahmad's father and his cousin respectively (Tapu No 581: 73; No 602: 186). Seeing the importance of the house, it fits that Ahmad seems to have been the most successful of all. He endowed a considerable number of other assets, mostly plantations, but also some pieces of land, rows of shops in Shaghur and a water mill.

The person who owned the house in the early 16th century seems to have undertaken some minor construction works. This is suggested by the material evidence in the *qa'a* of Bayt al-'Aqqad. During the two later 18th-century building phases (that of 1167/1754 and that following the earthquake of 1173/1759), moulded ribbons were reincorporated, similar to those of the Siba'iya mosque and later 16th-century buildings. However, significant material evidence of an early 16th-century construction phase of Bayt al-'Aqqad was not found and it seems that the founder most probably took over the house without changing much of the late 15th-century building.

## The Ottoman Period:

### The Remaking of the House in the 18th Century

In the early 18th century the large house with one *barrani* (Cat. 974) and one *juwwani* was bought from the *waqf* administration by Muhammad Efendi ibn Muhammad Efendi ibn Muhibb Allah al-Ustuwani in 1119/1707. A document dated 1707 (8m/133/, 25.4.1119) records the complex legal procedure necessary to unmake an endowment. The house is said to have been in a state of disrepair and uninhabitable, and though it had been auctioned off several times, nobody had shown interest except the said Muhammad Efendi al-Ustuwani. To ensure the legality of the proceedings he presented to the judge a sultanic order from Istanbul (*amr sultani*) that authorized the exchange, backed up with a number of legal opinions (*fatwa*) confirming the legality of what had happened. Thus the house became the private property of Muhammad Efendi al-Ustuwani, and this transaction started the long circle of divisions and alterations that made the Bayt al-'Aqqad what it is today. We have no evidence of building activities in the very early 18th century and we do not know if Muhammad Efendi al-Ustuwani (d. 1131/1718–19) ever lived in the house. He still worked at the time of the purchase as a chief clerk (*bash katib*) at the main court of Damascus, but he retired shortly thereafter (Ibn Kannan: 135, 301). His father (d. 1115/1703) had held the same position before him (Ibn Kannan: 65) as did other members of the large family. The Ustuwanis were a well-known family of religious standing, but this Muhammad did not belong to the most pres-

tigious lineages and is not mentioned in the more important biographical collections of the time.

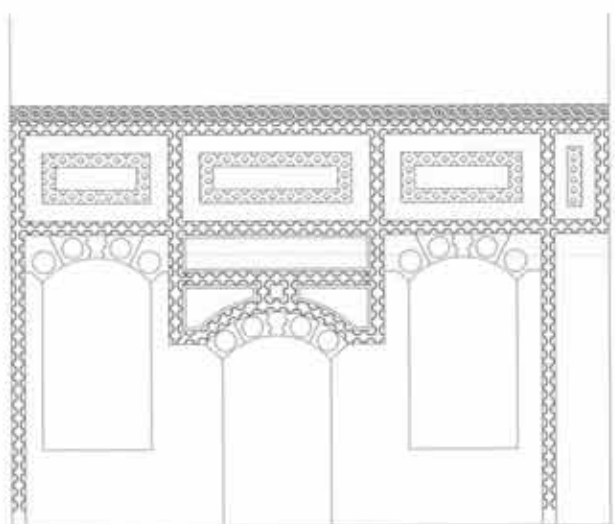
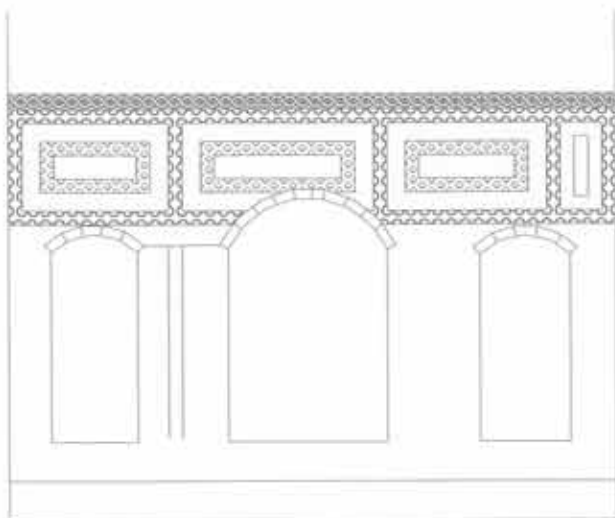
The house, however, did not stay long in the property of the family. Though Ustuwani had several descendants, he or they seem to have sold it to Sayyid 'Abd al-Latif Jelebi al-Hajjar. In 1141/1729 two daughters of the latter and several others sold the part of the house located in the south-western corner (62/42/115, 26.8.1141), leaving the rest to their brothers Muhammad and 'Abd al-Razzaq. The Hajjars were an *ashraf* family whose members mainly worked in trade, but some of their members had entered the religious establishment (Sayyadi: 83–84). They were among the most prominent notables in the Suq al-Qutn neighbourhood (see Meier and Weber below: p. 417), but unfortunately we do not know anything more about this specific branch.

It was the heirs of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Hajjar who further subdivided the house in 1160/1747. Two years later the officially registered division resulted in two units of very different size. The *juwwani* stayed in the hands of the Hajjar children, but the *barrani* now belonged to a certain Hajj Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ammar (124/123/222, 14.4.1162). As we shall see, this division in two sections will have essential consequences for the transformation of the northern *qa'a* of the *juwwani*. Ibn 'Ammar was probably engaged in trade, too. His brother Hajj 'Ali is addressed in his endowment deed as the "pride of the merchants" (*fakhr al-tujjar*) (186/331/625, 21.5.1185).

Only five years later, in 1167/1754, the *juwwani* was sold by the female members of the Hajjar lineage to a certain Sayyid Isma'il Jelebi ibn Mustafa ibn 'Ali al-Hariri (MSD 144/79/98 15.6.1167). Belonging to the descendents of the Prophet (*ashraf*) like the Hajjar, the Hariri were well known for branches in the Hawran, in Hama and in Damascus (Sayyadi: 130–135). We do not know much about this man, except that not long before, he had invested a considerable sum in another house in the neighbourhood, near the Khudayriyya, where later other members of the family lived (122/18/32, 5.3.1160; 174/47/69, 2.4.1180; 236/519/1006, 5.7.1218). He therefore seems to have been rather well off. Isma'il Jelebi himself may not have been very well known in the neighbourhood, because when in 1184/1770 the smallest house of the former unit was rented out, now as a part of the endowment for the *muezzins* of the Umayyad mosque, his house was yet referred to as that of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Hajjar (183/29/44, 15.7.1184; 102/60/173, 9.4.1185; 102/58/172, 2.8.1185).

Isma'il's purchase of the house in 1167/1754 was the birth of Bayt al-'Aqqad as we know it today, but it was not the end of its changes. After the devastating earthquake of 1173/1759 it was most probably Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri and his family who had to rebuild this house, transforming the *qa'a* into what it is today and creating a new *barrani*, entered through an opening in the north-eastern corner of the Roman wall, and by building the Secretariat and what later became the Blue Room. So once again it became a house with both a *juwwani* and a *barrani*.





196. Schematic elevation of the eastern interior wall of the qa'a as it appears today (Weber 2005).

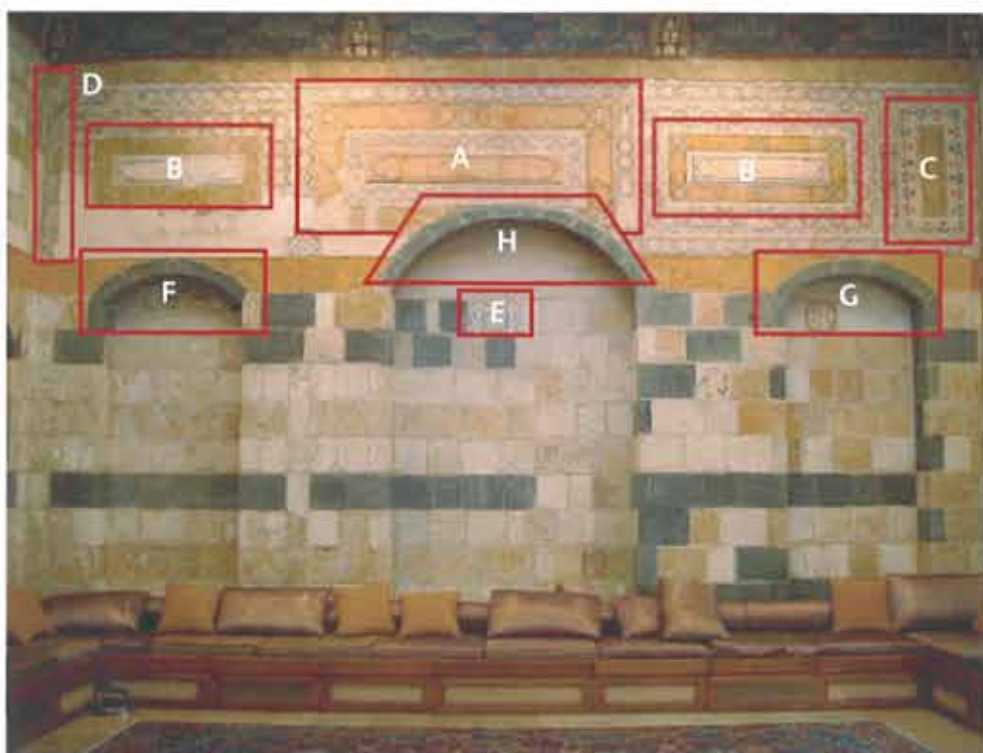
197. Reconstruction of the eastern interior wall of the qa'a as it may have appeared before the earthquake in 1759 (Weber 2005).

## The Interior Decoration of the Qa'a and Its Orientation

As seen in the records, the general layout of the house as we know it today developed due to a series of transactions during the 18th century. It seems that at least two major phases of building activities can be referred to this period. A key to understanding the 18th-century changes of the house is found in the interior decoration of the qa'a.

Shortly before the great earthquake in 1759 – probably in 1167/1754 – the interior of the qa'a had been redesigned in the style of the 18th century (Figs. 196–197). The lintel above an opening in the eastern wall of the qa'a (Fig. 198) is not only a clue to the orientation of the qa'a but gives important hints towards understanding the situation of the inner eastern façade, its decorative programme and its changing appearance. The middle panel (Fig. 198A) was orientated after this opening, which was still there when the interior of the Mamluk qa'a in the 18th century was redecorated with a new mantle of ornamental stone work, plaster, and coloured paste. The main decorative panel was centred directly on the top of this opening. Most probably the rectangular panels on either side of the central panel (Fig. 198B) were also placed on top of openings (windows?), framing the entrance in the middle. Farthest towards the south is a vertical panel (Fig. 198C). Since the rhythm of the decorative panels was determined by the central opening through the eastern wall, the vertical panel towards south must originally have been balanced by a similar panel (Fig. 198D), most of which was later covered by the additional northern wall, which was built after the earthquake in 1759. The width of this panel would have been approximately 55 cm, indicating that the qa'a, which is now c. 6.15 metres wide, must originally have had a width of 6.60–6.80 metres. As in the Mamluk period, it most probably had an *'ataba* and a *tazar*. The *'ataba* in the record of 1162/1749 is called *fasaha*. It was paved with marble, had a jet fountain (*birka ma nahida*) and a window which opened to the rostrum (*suffa*, see above) and the courtyard. No other door to the south is mentioned and the probable room to the west could not have been part of the qa'a anymore since the Mamluk/Early Ottoman house had been divided. The *'ataba* described in the record, and the entrance to it, must have been in the east of the qa'a in 1167/1754.

The decorative patterns of the frames and panels of the eastern wall are exactly the same as the patterns on a stone with an inscription (Figs. 198E and 199),<sup>9</sup> which was later refitted on the same wall when the basaltic arches were broken into the wall and the wall was rebuilt. Originally, the inscription with the date was most probably placed in the centre above the opening in the wall between the arch and the frame of the opening. Due to the inscription the first inner mantling of the Mamluk qa'a in the 18th century should therefore be dated 1167/1754, most prob-



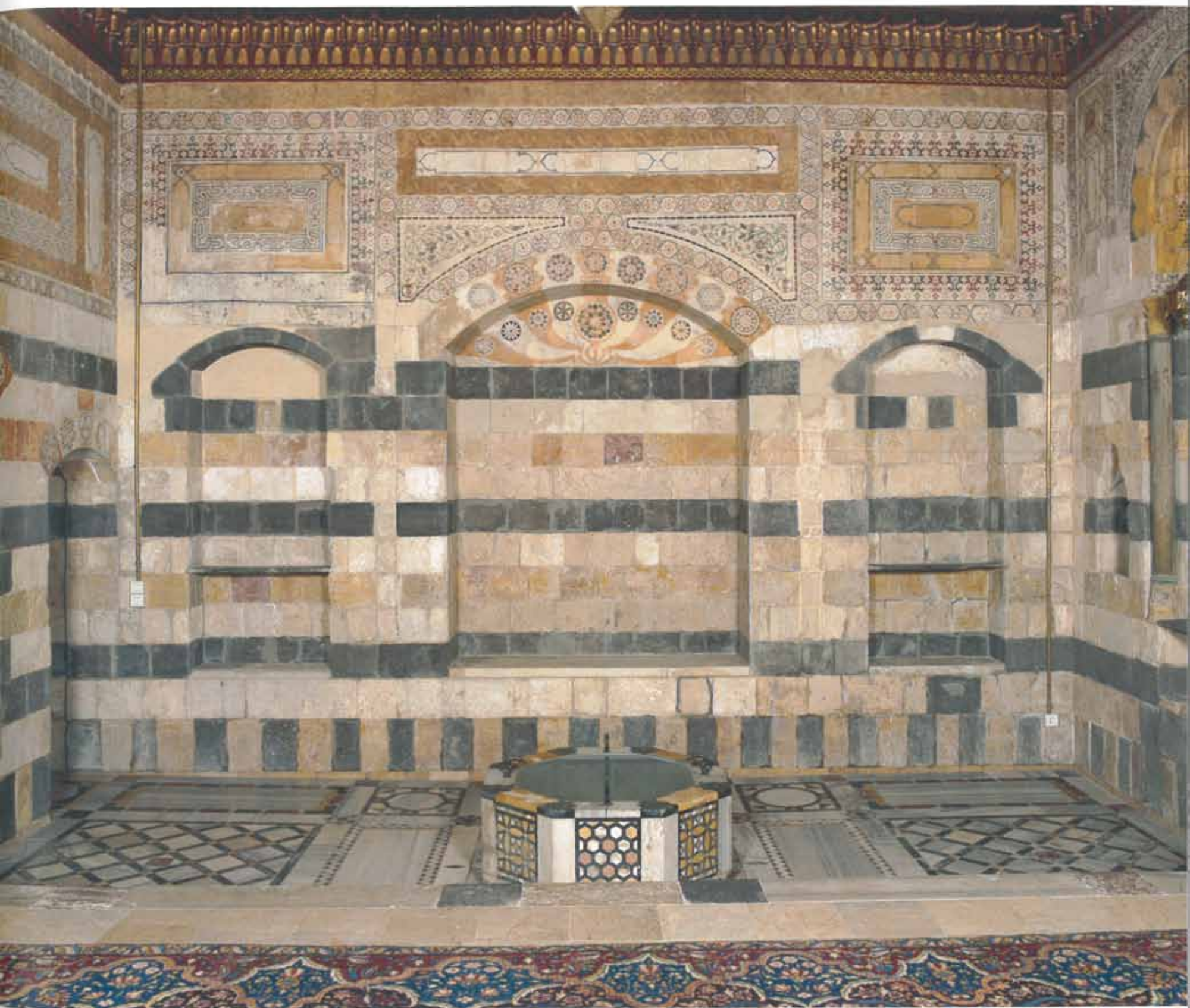
198. *Bayt al-'Aqqad; the eastern interior wall of the qa'a (s.w. 2001).*

ably as a direct response to the division of the estate five years earlier and to the acquisition and restoration of the house by Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri in 1754.

The earthquake in 1759 must, however, have destroyed essential parts of the original *qa'a*, leaving it open to a complete re-arrangement in layout and decoration in accordance with the new perceptions of organization and style adapted in Damascus by the middle of the 18th century. First of all the orientation of the *qa'a* was changed. The eastern opening was closed, and at the wall facing the large courtyard the lower part of the southern façade, below the large Mamluk panel, was rebuilt. The rectangular Mamluk windows were lifted and provided with arches, decorated with inlaid patterns of coloured paste, and a new door was broken through the wall, leading from the large courtyard into the western end of the *qa'a*, facing the short end of a new *'ataba*. The *tazar* was now at the eastern end of the *qa'a*, separated from the *'ataba* by a new arch supported by two richly decorated *muqarnas* (Fig. 176). The interior walls were all redecorated, and since the northern inner wall had to have niches, which were about 50 cm deep, and the builders did not want to cut into the Mamluk/Roman walls, a new wall making space for the full depth of the niches was added along the northern inner side of the *qa'a*.

On the south side, no additional niches had to be built because of the existing windows. But along the east wall a new symmetrical rhythm of the niches, as we











199. Bayt al-'Aqqad: stone in the eastern wall of the qa'a with an inscription. The inscription reads: "All glory to God and His Messenger, 1167" (R.F. 2001).

200. Bayt al-'Aqqad: panel on the western part of the interior south wall of the qa'a (R.F. 2001).



find it today, was created after the eastern entrance was closed (Fig. 198). A similar arrangement of the niches appears at the west wall (see page 269). On the other hand there are no indications of an interruption in the decoration of the southern façade, and also the reused framing ribbons of the southern wall have a clear ending towards the western wall and the *muqarnas* of the arch (Fig. 200).

In a later phase (late 19th century or beginning of the 20th century) some of the niches were elevated and provided with shelves or built-in cupboards. Examples of this are seen at the eastern wall where the tympanums of the small niches were lifted and new arches were cut into the yellow limestone above (Fig. 198F–G).

Here the lines of stones were not refitted regularly since the wall was now plastered and painted over and the stones of the façade were not meant to be visible anymore. This becomes particularly obvious in the central niche, where the new basaltic stone tympanum cuts into the decorative panel (Fig. 198H). It did not have to be so, as the arch and the 18th-century decorative panels and decorations were also covered with plaster and paint. This is very typical of the changes in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, where the new mode of living did not respect the architectural style and decorations of bygone times. This attitude is in sharp contrast to the mentality of the craftsmen of the 18th century, who often tried to incorporate the new elements more harmoniously into the given structures. The accurate completion of the lower frames of the Mamluk panel of the outside *qa'a* façade during the process of lifting the window lintels in the 18th century is a good example of this mentality.

Except for the changes in the 19th and 20th century, the inner decoration of the *qa'a* following the earthquake in 1759 gives the impression of a fairly homogeneous structure, although minor changes can be observed and the patterns of colour paste differ slightly from wall to wall. Especially the northern and western interior façades are filled with tulips and floral decoration, which is missing on the eastern and southern walls, and the colours of the various motifs on the walls are also slightly different. This might perhaps be due to work carried out by two different groups of craftsmen. The use of the three-coloured *ablaq* indicates a date in the second half of the 18th or early 19th century, while the colour paste decoration must have been made before the 1780s. However, since the rest of the *qa'a* decoration on wood and stone seems to belong to the middle or second half of the 18th century, and since similar colour paste decorations are present in other sections of the house where the wood panelling of the Red Room (No 2.12) in the West Wing is dated 1176/1762–63, we suggest that the second major 18th-century building phase of the 'Aqqad House – including the re-orientation of the *qa'a* – took place in the 1760s, shortly after the earthquake when the house was most probably still the property of Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri. But before we turn to this major reorganization of the 'Aqqad House, we need to mention another important consequence of the division of the house in 1160/1747. According to the court record of 1162/1749 the *juwwani* (Bayt al-'Aqqad) had only one entrance from its south-eastern corner, where one still finds a door from the small alley in the west (Fig. 201). Five years later, in 1167/1754, the house had one door from the southwest and another entrance from the north. Thus the building activities in the mid-1750s also reflect a reorientation of the house from west to east. During the construction of the eastern doorway to the *qa'a*, a new entrance to the house from the northeast was established, probably by Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri after he had bought the house.

201. Ancient door leading into Bayt al-'Aqqad from the small alley west of the house (J.L. 2001).

## New Additions to the Bayt al-'Aqqad in the 18th Century

Immediately after the earthquake – probably in the 1760s – a series of building activities and restorations were carried out, and the layout of the house was thoroughly changed by the addition of new elements. Southeast of the *qa'a*, a square building with two rooms (1.3 and 2.1), one above the other, was built, thus creating the small north-eastern courtyard (1.2), with a staircase leading to the upper room of the building. This was a direct response to the new situation before the earthquake and the house consisted again – as houses should – of a *barrani* (now in the northeast instead of northwest) and a *juwwani*. By the construction of this staircase, the eastern door to the *qa'a* was blocked (which most probably caused the new door to the *qa'a* in the south) and a new corridor or passage connecting the







two courtyards was constructed between the square building and the *qa'a* (1.4). During the building of the corridor, parts of the south-eastern *qa'a* wall were removed to make more space for the passage (here the lower part of the wall is 23 cm thinner than the upper part of the wall). The corridor between the courtyards is closed by doors at either end (Fig. 24), and it is constructed in such a way that it is impossible for people entering the small courtyard to look directly into the large inner courtyard. This so-called "bent-axis approach", discreetly protecting the privacy of those living in the house, is a very characteristic element in Near Eastern architecture. It represents a tradition which can at least be traced back to the 4th millennium BC.

Other elements of this second phase of 18th-century building activities probably include the new and exquisite mosaic paving of the courtyard between the *iwān* and the *qa'a*, the marble fountain in the middle of the courtyard – during which the paved rostrum with a small fountain (mentioned in 1749) was removed. In the western *murabba'* (1.13) an *'ataba* and a – later removed – *tazar* were constructed and the rooms on top of the two *murabba'*s on each side of the *iwān* (3.3 and 3.4) added, after the (domed?) rooms mentioned in 1749 must have collapsed during the earthquake.

The windows of these upper *iwān* rooms are framed by stone, and the *ablaq* and colour paste decoration of the lintel are in the style of the 18th century (Fig. 202). Windows made out of stone/*ablaq* on the upper floors of houses are quite rare in this period, but another example is seen at the late 17th/early 18th-century Bayt al-Baltajiyya/al-Sirawani.

The room above the eastern *murabba'* (3.3) may originally have been reached by a wooden staircase from the courtyard. More difficult to interpret is the setting along the western side of the courtyard. Here two rooms, including the Red Room (2.2), may have been part of a western side wing, connected by a kind of lost gallery to the upper *iwān* room. A staircase may have led from the still preserved 18th-century door in the northern wall of the upper *iwān* room down to the gallery along the western wing. A similar gallery is seen on an old photograph of a Damascene house built by Muhammad Pasha al-'Azm around 1775 (Fig. 203).<sup>10</sup>

The court record from 1749 helps us to answer another difficult question. The outside of the northern wall of the Red Room was once an outside wall and its anteroom was added to it. The upper part of the wall has windows, as outer walls normally do. The *barrani* north of the Red Room is described in 1749 as part of the Mamluk/early Ottoman house. Its upper floor consisted of a small loggia (*mashraqa*) and a room with a chimney (*ujaq*) above the covered doorway. A stone staircase led to it. This room with a chimney was most probably the predecessor of the Red Room facing to the north, while the anteroom to it can be identified with the loggia. After the earthquake both were turned into two connected rooms,

202. Bayt al-'Aqqad: 18th-century window to the room above western *murabba'* (s.w. 2002).



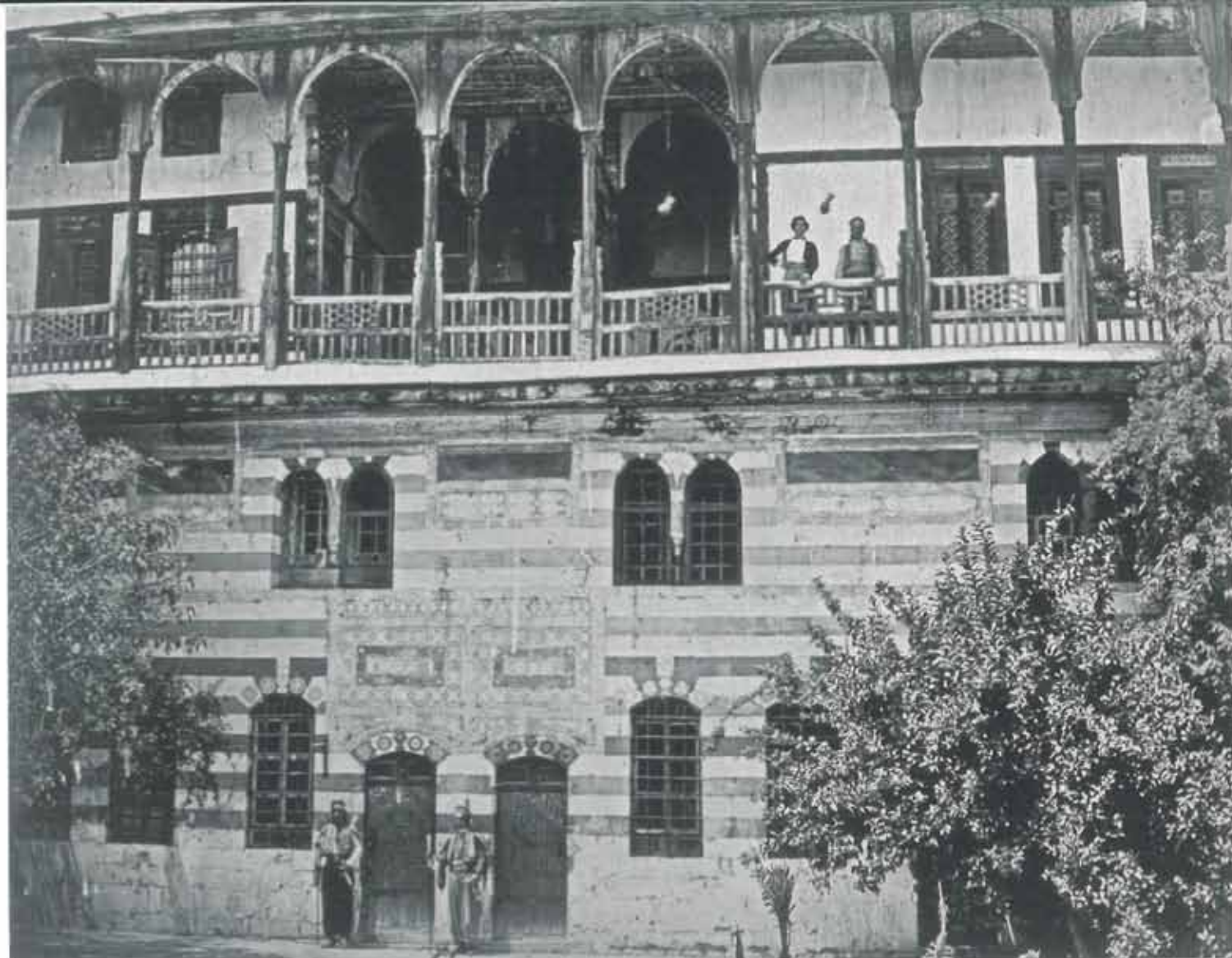


facing Bayt al-'Aqqad (the *junwani*) and not the *barrani* anymore, which had become an independent house. The Red Room is located over the disconnected workshop which was once the covered doorway to the Mamluk house.

## Conclusion

As already mentioned, it is our impression that the first 18th-century modification and decoration of the *qa'a* took place shortly before the great earthquake in 1759, probably in 1167/1754, as a reaction to legal transactions and the division of the original house.

The major changes and additions to the house, including the new setting of the *qa'a*, the square building southeast of the *qa'a* with the staircase leading to its upper room, the new *barrani* in the north-east, the corridor connecting the two courtyards, the mosaic paving of the large courtyard with the new fountain, the two rooms on top of the *murabba'*, and the new western side wing were in all probability carried out as components of a major restoration project in the 1760s, immediately after the earthquake. It is notable in this context that the original 18th century ceilings of the two rooms in the square building southeast of the *qa'a* are almost identical to the ceiling of the Red Room, dated 1176/1762–63, an indication that these rooms were not only built and decorated simultaneously, but that the



same group of workmen were engaged in the construction and decoration of the ceilings in various parts of the Bayt al-'Aqqad (see Haase below: pp. 306–308, and Figs. 226–227).

When Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri bought himself a new home in 1167/1754, the *qa'a* was redecorated and a new entrance built to the house from the north. We don't know if the privacy of the family was disturbed by entering the main courtyard directly and what he would have changed if the earthquake had not happened. However, he and his family took the damages of the earthquake in 1759 as an opportunity to change the house considerably and to adopt it to the taste of the time and their daily needs. The enlargement of the house resulted in a densification of its internal space – a pattern that we will meet again during the next period of rebuilding Bayt al-'Aqqad some 140 years later. However, after the earthquake, Isma'il Jelebi al-Hariri most probably made Bayt al-'Aqqad once again into one of the major and trendy houses of 18th-century Damascus.

**203.** *Bayt Lütticke, built around 1775 by Muhammad Pasha al-'Azam and destroyed in the 1950s (Old photograph from the Messbildarchiv Berlin).*



**List of Buildings Mentioned in the Text**  
With a selected bibliography in European languages  
and the catalogue of Talas in Arabic

- 811/1408–09 **Qasab/Aqsab Mosque**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 307, No 26/B-19; Talas 1975: 222, No 134.
- 826/1423 **al-Tawrizi Mosque**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 328, No 29/53; Sack 1989: 105, No 3.54;  
Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: B/7-1; Talas 1975: 204, No 56.
- 830/1427 **Hisham Minaret and Mosque**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 343, No 33/40; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: E/5-8;  
Sack 1989: 104, No 3.47; Talas 1975: 258, No 296.
- 832/1428–29 **al-Tawrizi Mosque Minaret**  
Gaube 1978: 93, No 177; Meinecke 1992: II, 345 f. No 33/49;  
Talas 1975: 204, No 56.
- ~ 1450 **Mahkamat al-Bab**  
Sack 1989: 110, No 4.41; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: E4/15.
- 857/1453 **Madrasa al-Shadhbakliyya**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 378, No 37/3; Sack 1989: 103, No 3.32; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: B4/1; Talas 1975: 230, No 159.
- 862/1458 **al-Mu'allaq Mosque**  
(or 925/1518-19) after Meinecke Mosque of Amir Bardbak al-Ashrafi  
Meinecke 1992: II, 381, No 37/17; Sack 1989: No 3.71;  
Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: E/2-5; Talas 1975: 253, No 275.
- ~ 1460–70 **Qal'i Minaret**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 348, 33/65; Sack 1989: 104, No 3.46;  
Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: E5/7; Talas 1975: 246, No 243.
- 868/1464 **Dar al-Qur'an al-Sabuniya**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 382, No 37/22; Sack 1989: No 3.52;  
Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: D/6-7; Talas 1975: 215, No 101.
- 869/1465 **al-Saqifa Mosque**  
(or 814/1411) Gaube 1978: 86, No 163 f.; Meinecke 1992: II, 313, No 26B-49,  
391, No 39/23; Sack 1989: 101, No 3.14; Talas 1975: 224, No 138.
- 878/1473–74 **Dar al-Qur'an al-Khaydariya**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 404, 42/46; Talas 1975: 213, No 95.
- ~ 1475 **Bayt al-Quwatli**  
Sack 1989: 108, No 4.13; Schatkowski Schilcher 1985: 162, Fig. 4, F/3-5; Weber  
2001: II, XVIII-100; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: F/3-5.
- ~ 1475 **Bayt Nasir**  
(XXVII-58)
- > 1500 **Bayt Masri (only iwan)**  
Laberyie (1990) Pl. CCXLVII b; Sack 1985: 256; Weber 2001: II, XIII-333.

- 920/1514 **Siba'iya Mosque**  
Meinecke 1992: II, 462 f., No 47/60; Sack 1989: 104, No 3.45;  
Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: D/5-1; Talas 1975: 228, No 151.
- 924/1518 **Ibn Arabi Mosque**  
Gaube 1978: No 201; al-Rihawi/Ouechek 1975; Talas 1975: No 181; Weber  
2001: II, II-67w; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: DN VII.
- 963/1555–56 **Khan Jukhiya**  
Sack 1989: 111, No 4.45; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: E 5/5.
- ~ 1600 **Qa'at al-Imadi**  
Weber 2001: II, IX-17; Weber 2004.
- ~ 1620 **Bayt al-Sa'ada (early 17th century)**  
Weber 2001: II, XII-179.
- ~ 1650 **Bayt Mishaqa**  
Sack 1989: 115, No 5/17; Weber 2001: II, XIV-315.
- > 1700 **Bayt Abdallah Khayyata**  
(XXX-933)
- > 1740 **Bayt al-Baltajiyya/al-Sirawani**  
Weber 2001: II, XVI-568b.
- 1743–44 **Bayt Jabri**  
Sack 1989: 116, No 5.24; Weber 2001: II, IX-252.
- > 1159/1749 **Hammam Fathi**  
(XXXIII-21)
- 1183/1769–70 **Bayt al-Siba'i**  
Sack 1989: 37, 65 f. 73, 113, No 4.67; Weber 2001: II, XIII-227.
- 1190/1776–77 **Dar Hafiz Bek al-'Azam/Bayt al-'Aidi**  
Weber 2001: II, XXI-704; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: F/4-12.
- 1201/1787 **Bayt Hawraniyya**  
(Main courtyard bought in 1201/1787, 1202/1787–88 first building inscription)  
Weber 2001: II, XXI-961, XXI-971.
- ~ 1830 **Bayt Lisbuna**  
(Rebuilt between 1865 and 1872) Sack 1989: 113, No 7.73;  
Weber 2001: II, XI-494; Wulzinger/Watzinger 1924/1984: I/6-1.

**Without Dates**

- Bab al-Jabiya**  
Sack 1989: 92, No 1.11; Weber 2001: II, XXI-307; Wulzinger/Watzinger  
1924/1984: 1924, D5/5.
- Bab al-Saghir**  
Sack 1989: 91, No 1.10; Weber 2001: II, XXII-338; Wulzinger/Watzinger  
1924/1984: 1924, F 6/3.
- Tahunat al-Sijn**  
(XXI-999)

## Notes

1) Scholars do not agree on the etymology of the gate. The name is normally referred to the village Jabiya some 80 km south of Damascus, which was of special importance in early Islamic history. Popular explanations do refer to Sitti or Sayyida Jabiya, a female local saint buried next to the gate.

2) *Tahmat al-Sijn* is one of eleven water mills mentioned by Ibn 'Asakir (1105–1176) in his description of Damascus, *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashk* (Ibn 'Asakir 1954: 155, 130; Elisséeff 1956: 76; see also Sack 1989: 25, 95 No 1.48 and Beilage 3).

3) These records will only be quoted for the most important information. The following records from the Centre of Historical Documents in Damascus belonging to the *Mahakim Shar'iyya Dimashq* Series helped us to identify owners and building phases of Bayt al-'Aqqad.

(register/page/case number, *hijri* date) 8m/133 25.4.1119; 63/42/115 26.8.1141; 124/123/222 14.4.1162; 124/236/396 15.7.1162; 89/240/309 26.6.1145; 144/79/98 15.6.1167; 183/29/44 15.7.1184; 198/336/502 2.5.1190; 221/488/807 17.3.1203; 244/32/53; 27.7.1214; 248/53/102 12.4.1216.

We would like to express our deep gratitude to Astrid Meier for providing most of the records. She gave significant input in finding the "needle in the haystack", identifying and reconstructing with us the history of the neighborhood.

4) We would like to thank Sarab Atassi for the photo from the IFPO-archives. It is not dated or identified.

5) After the Mongol destruction, the Saqifa mosque was rebuilt in 814–15/1411–12. Half a century later it was restored and to some extent renewed by Shaykh Ismail bin Muhammad al-Suyufi, who in 869/1465 added the minaret and probably the ornamental decoration of the façade (Meinecke 1992, I: 192–93 and II. 391, No 39/23).

6) The colour paste decorative technique did not develop in Cairo, as it is sometimes assumed. To be sure, more research on the Mamluk decoration techniques is needed. But one can state that the colour paste technique was not used in the Egyptian capital for larger decoration settings at the turn from the 14th to the 15th century. However, the first samples in Cairo that are known show features unknown in Damascus. In the *qibla* walls of the *madrasa* of Qadi Abu Bakr ibn Muzhir (884/1479–80) and the mosque of Amir Qajmas al-Ishaqi (886/1481), very fine floral motifs were carved in white marble and filled with black paste. Both of them carry the signature of Abd al-Qadir al-Naqqash. In Damascus this technique develops in the 1360s/1370s and is widespread soon after. For the Mamluk colour pastes in Cairo see Behrens-Abouseif 1989: 26 f. and 148 ff., and for the development of colour paste in Cairo see Duda 1971: 28.

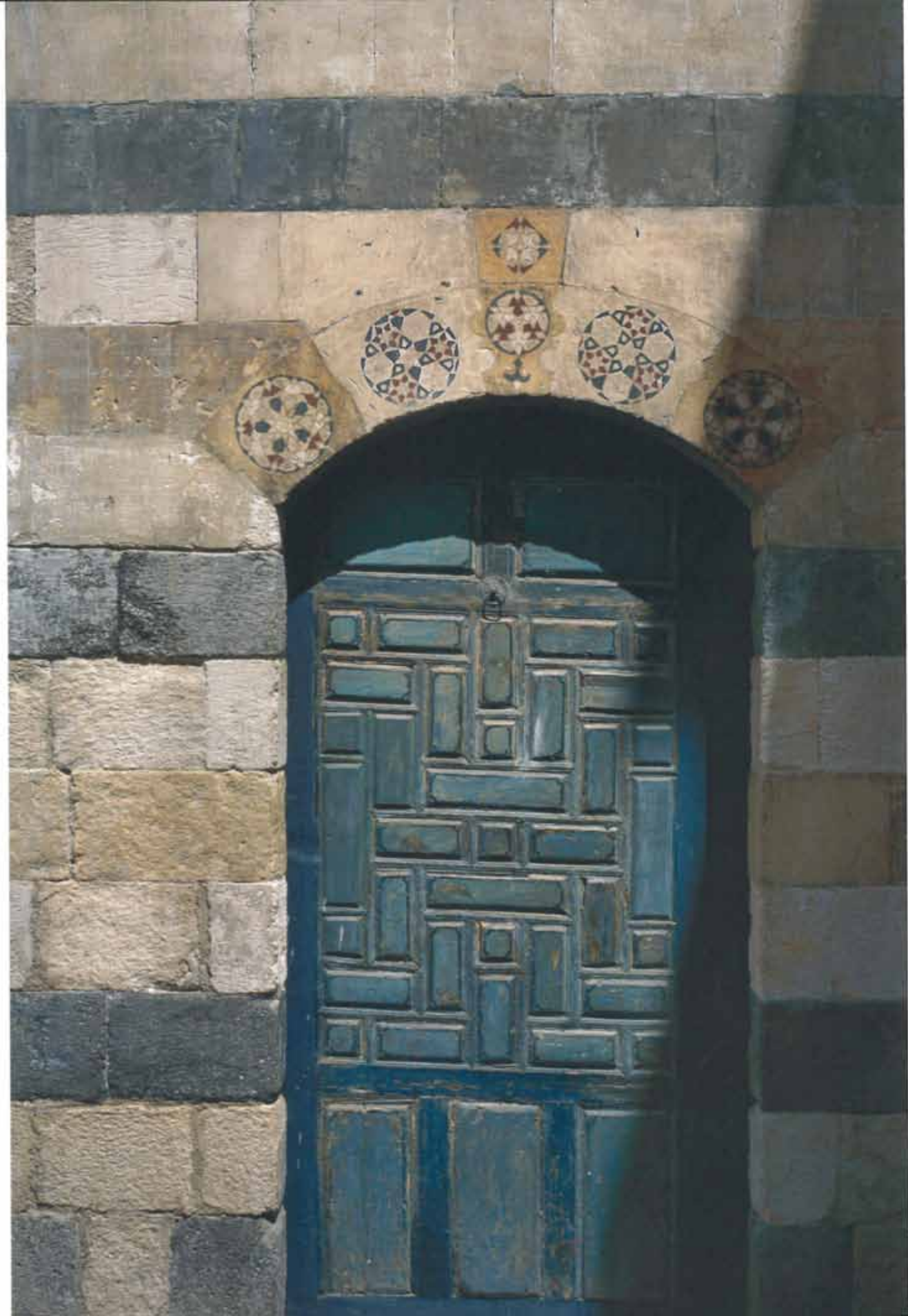
7) The panel at Bayt Nadir is located inside a house, added at a later time. Older structures were not found, but they may of course have existed.

8) All historical information in this chapter concerning the owners of Bayt al-'Aqqad was kindly provided by Astrid Meier.

9) The inscription reads: *Al-'Izatu-lil-lah wa lir(asulih)* 1167, i.e. "All glory to God and His Messenger, 1167".

10) From historical maps we were able to identify the house with plot No XXI/1-67 directly south of the Suq al-Hamadiyya. Court records refer at this location to the house of Muhammad Pasha al-'Azm. In the late 19th century the house served as residence for the German Consul Ernst Lütticke. During his residency in Damascus from 1881 to 1904 the house served both as the German Consulate and as a private bank. The house was destroyed in the course of the ongoing reorganization of the quarter of Sidi 'Amud/al-Hariqa after the French bombardment in 1925 (see Weber 2001: Catalogue No XXI/1-67).











# Bibliography

- al-Ansari, S. al-Din M. b. Yusuf (1991). *Nuzhat al-khatir wa-bahjat al-nazir*. Edited by Adnan Muhammad Ibrahim and Adnan Darwish, vols. I and II. Damascus: Wizarat al-Thaqafa.
- al-As'ad, Kh. and F. Stepniowski (1989). The Umayyad Suq in Palmyra. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4: 205-223.
- Atassi, S. (2001). 'Umran madinat Dimashq wa tawsi' uha ayam al-Mamalik wa al-athar al-haqiqi alladhi khalafatha Timur Lenk 'ala namu al-madina wa tatawwuriha. In: *Mutammarr Bilad al-Sham, Dimashq, 10 to 12 Tishrin al-Thani 2001*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Avigad, N. (1975). The Architecture of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period. *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City, 1968-1974*: 14-20. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Bachmann, W., C. Watzinger, and Th. Wiegand (1921). *Petra*. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Badran, 'Abd al-Qadir (1986). *Munadamat al-atlal wa-musamara al-khayyal*. 2nd edn. Damascus: al-Majma' al-'arabi lil-ta'lif wa-l-dirasat wa-l-tarjama.
- Badran, M. and M. Cooke (1990). *Opening the Gates: A Century of Arab Feminist Writing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bakhit, A. (1982). *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th Century*. Beirut.
- Barbir, K. (1990). *Ottoman Rule in Damascus 1708-1758*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Batari, E. (1994). *Ottoman Turkish Carpets*. Budapest: Budapest Museum of Applied Art.
- Bavant, B., J.P. Sodini, and G. Tate (1983). La Fouille de Dêhès: 1976-1979. *Les Annales Archéologique Arabes Syrienne* 33(2): 83-98.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D. (1989). *Islamic Architecture in Cairo. An Introduction*. Cairo: The American University Press.
- Blair, S.S. and J.M. Bloom (eds.) (1991). *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*. Hanover: Hood Museum of Art.
- Boqvist, M. (2001-2002). L'étude technique du bâti: L'état des recherches dans le secteur de la sale à colonnes. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, LIII-LIV, IFEAD, Damascus: 77-98.
- Bowsher, J. (1992). Civic organization within the Decapolis. *ARAM* 4(1): 265-281.
- Browning, I. (1982). *Jerash*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Brünow, A. and R.E. Domaszewski (1909). *Die Provincia Arabia III*. Straßburg.

- al-Budayri al-Hallaq, A. (1997). *Hawadith Dimashq al-Yawmiyya 1154 – 1175 h./1741 – 1762*. Damascus: Dar Sa'd al-Din.
- Burns, R. (2004). From Theatre to Temple. In K. von Folsach, H. Thrane and I. Thuesen (eds.), *From Handaxe to Khan, Essays presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday, 185-197*. Århus: Aarhus University Press.
- al-Busrawi, S. al-Din A. (1998). *Tuhfat al-anam fi fadail al-Sham*. Edited by 'Abd al-'Aziz Fayyad Harfush. Damascus.
- al-Busrawi, 'A. al-Din 'A. b. Yusuf (1988). *Ta'rikh al-Busrawi. Safahat majhula min ta'rikh Dimashq fi 'asr al-Mamalik min sana 871h. li-nihayat 904h*. Edited by Akram al-'Ulabi. Damascus: Dar al-Ma'mun lil-turath.
- Butler, H.C. (1915). *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909: Division II: Ancient Architecture in Syria, Section A. Southern Syria, Part 5*. Leyden: Brill.
- Canaan, T. (1933-1933). The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore. *JPOS* XII: 222-247 and *JPOS* XIII: 1-83..
- Carswell, J. (1972). Some Fifteenth-Century Hexagonal Tiles from the Near East. *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook* 3: 59-75.
- Cooley, Alison (1999). New Sates for Apippa's Theatre at Ostia. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67: 173-182.
- Crowfoot, J.W. et al. (1957). *The Objects from Samaria. Samaria – Sebaste, Reports on the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933, and the British Expedition in 1935*, vol. III. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Cumont, F. (1926). *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922-1923)*. Paris.
- David, J.-C. (1998). *La suwayqat'Ali à Alep*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- Degeorge, G. and Y. Porter (2001). *L'art de la ceramique dans l'architecture musulmane*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Degeorge, G. (2004). *Damascus*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Dodinet, M. et al. (1990). Le paysage antique en Syrie: L'exemple de Damas. *Syria* 67: 339-367.
- Duda, D. (1971). *Innenarchitektur syrischer Stadthäuser des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts: Die Sammlung Henri Pharaon in Beirut*. Beirut: Texte und Studien 12. Beirut.
- al-Duhman, M. A. (1982). *Fi rihab Dimashq. Dirasat'an ahamm amakiniha al-athariyya wa-maqalat ahamm hawadith al-majhula wa-abhath thaqafiyya*. Damascus: Dar al-Fikr.
- Dunand, M. (1954). *Fouilles de Byblos II (1) 1933-1938*. Paris.
- Ecochard, M. and C. LeCoeur (1942 and 1943). *Les Bains de Damas*, 1-2. Beirut.
- Elisséeff, N. (1956). Corporations de Damas sous Nur al-Din: Matériaux pour une topographie économique de Damas au XIIe siècle. *Arabica* 3: 61-79.
- Elisséeff, N. (1959). *La description de Damas d'Ibn 'Asakir: Historien mort à Damas en 571/1176*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- Erdmann, K. (1959). Ka'bah-Fliesen. *Ars Orientalis* 3: 192-197.
- Ertug, A. (1993). *Topkapi. The palace of Felicity*. Istanbul: Ertug & Kölük.



- Establet, C. and J.-P. Pascual (1994). *Familles et fortunes à Damas. 450 foyer damascains en 1700*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- Farfur, M. A. al-Latif (1987). *A'lam Dimashq fi l'qarn al-rabi' ashar*. Damascus: Dar al Mallah.
- Féhervári, G. (2000). *Ceramics of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum*. New York and London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.
- Finster, B. (2003). Researches in 'Anjar. 1. Preliminary report on the architecture of 'Anjar. *BAAL* 7: 209-244.
- Fishwick, D. (1989). Statues Taxes in Roman Egypt. *Historia* 38: 335-347.
- Folsach, K. von (2001). *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection*. Copenhagen: The David Collection.
- Freyberger, K.S. (1989). *Die frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer der Karawanenstationen im hellenisierten Osten*. Damaszener Forschungen 6. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Freyberger, K.S. (1998). Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte des Jupiter-Heiligtums in Damaskus. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4: 61-86.
- Freyberger, K.S. (1999a). Das antike Kanatha (Qanawat) in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit. In K.S. Freyberger and S. Westphalen (eds.) *Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Syrien 1989-1998*, 28-38. Damascus.
- Freyberger, K.S. (1999b). Das kaiserzeitliche Damaskus: Schauplatz lokaler Tradition und fremder Einflüsse. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11: 123-138.
- Freyberger, K.S. (2000). Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Damaszenus – ein städtischer Kultbau lokaler Prägung. In M. Fasna, H. Gaube and J. Windelberg (eds.) *Damaskus – Aleppo 5000 Jahre Stadtentwicklung in Syrien*, 212-217. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Freyberger, K.S. (2001). Das Heiligtum in Hössn Soleiman (Baitokaike). In K.S. Freyberger (ed.) *Tartus und sein Hinterland*, 28-42. Damascus.
- Frézouls, E. (1952). Les théâtres romains de Syrie. *Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 2: 46-100.
- Frézouls, E. (1961). Les théâtres antiques de l'Orient syrien. *Atti del Settimo congresso internazionale di archaeological classica, Roma – Napoli* 1: 339-351.
- Frézouls, E. (1982). Aspects de l'histoire architectural du théâtre romain. In H. Temporini (ed.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II* 12.1, 343-441. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Frézouls, E. (1989). Les edifices des spectacles en Syrie. In J.M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.) *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II*, 385-406. Saarbrücken.
- Gaube, H. (1978). *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*. Beirut Texts and Studies 17. Beirut.
- Gawlikowski, M. (1989). Les temples dans la Syrie à l'époque hellénistique et romaine. In J.M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.) *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II*, 323-346. Saarbrücken.

- Ghazzal, Z. (1993). *L'économie politique de Damas durant le XIXe siècle: Structures traditionnelles et capitalisme*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- al-Ghazzi, N. al-Din M. (1979) *Al-Kawakib al-Sa'ira bi-A'yan al Mi'a al-'Ashira*, vols. I-III. Edited by Jibrail Sulayman Jabbur. Beirut.: Manshurat Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida.
- al-Ghazzi, N. al-Din M. (1997) *Al-Kawakib al-Sa'ira bi-A'yan al Mi'a al-'Ashira*, vols. I- III. Edited by Jibrail Sulayman Jabbur. Beirut. (2nd edit.).
- Gonnella, J. (1996). *Ein christlich-orientalisches Wohnhaus des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Aleppo (Syrien): Das "Aleppo-Zimmer" im Musuem für Islamische Kunst*. Berlin: Philipp von Zabern.
- Güneş, A. H. (1981). *Das Kitab ar-rawd al-'atir des Ibn Aiyub: Damaszener Biographien des 10./16. Jahrhunderts. Beschreibung und Edition*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz.
- Gutmann, V. (1990). *Arabicum*. Tüsch.
- el-Hage, B. (2000). *Des Photographes à Damas, 1840-1918*. Paris.
- Hammond, P. C. (1965). *The Excavation of the Main Theater at Petra, 1961-1962: Final Report*. London.
- Hanson, J.A. (1959). *Roman Theater-Temples*. Princeton and New Jersey: Greenwood Press.
- Hanssen, J., T. Philipp and S. Weber (eds.) (2002). *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capital in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Beirut Texts and Studies 88. Beirut.
- Ibn 'Asakir (1954). *Tarikh madinat Dimashq*, vol. II. Edited by Sallah al-Din al-Munajjid. Damascus: Matbu'at al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi bi Dimashq.
- Ibn Kannan, Muhammad b.'Isa (1947). *Al-Muruj as-Sundusiyya al-Fasiha fi Talkhis Tarikh as-Salihiyya*. Edited by Muhammad Ahmad Duhman. Damascus: Mudiriya al-Athar al-Qadima al-'Ammā.
- Ibn Kannan, Muhammad b.'Isa (no year). *Yawmiyyat Shamiyya min 1111h. hatta 1153h. 1699m. hatta 1740m*. Edited by Akram M. 'Ulabi. Damascus: Dar al-Tubba'.
- Ibn Qadi Shuhba, T. al-Din Abi Bakr (1997). *Tarikh Ibn Qadi Shuhba (779-851/1377-1448)*, vols. I-IV. Edited by 'Adnan Darwish. Damascus.
- Ibn Tulun, Sh. (1964). *Mufakahat al-Khillan fi Hawadith al-Zaman, Tarikh Misr wa-l Sham*, vols. I-II. Edited by M. Mustafa. Cairo: Ministry of Culture and National Guidance.
- Ibn 'Umar Badhah (1986). *'Aja'ib al-Maqdur fi Nawa'ib Timur*. Damascus: Mu'assasat ar-Risala.
- Al-'Ilmawi, 'A. (1947). *Mukhtasar tanbih at-talib wa-irshad ad-daris ila ahwal dur al-Qur'an wa-l-Hadith wa-l-madaris*. Edited by Salah al-Din al-Munajjid. Damascus: Matbu'at Mudiriyyat al-Athar al-Qadima al-'Ammā.
- Jalabert, C. (2001-2002). Comment Dans est devenue une métropole islamique. *Bulletin d'études orientales* 53-54: 13-42.
- Johansen, C.F. (1971). Les terres sigillées orientales. *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938* 3(2): 55-208.



- Keenan, B. (2000). *Damascus: hidden treasures of the old city*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Kenyon, K. (1974). *Digging up Jerusalem*. London: Benn.
- Khamis, E. (2001). Two wall mosaic inscriptions from the Umayyad market place in Bet Shean / Baysan. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64(2): 159-176.
- Kremer, A. von (1854). *Topographie von Damaskus*, vols. I-II. Vienna.
- Krencker, D. and W. Zschietzschmann (1938). *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, vols. I-II. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- Krogulska, M. (1996). Palmyrenian Pottery of the Second Century A.D. *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 42: 339-353.
- Laberyie, I. (1970). Quelques Réflexions à propos de la Maison Nizam à Damas. In : *Groupe de Recherches et d'Etudes sur le Proche-Orient, Université de Provence, L'habitat traditionnel dans les pays musulmans autour de la Méditerranée*. III, Cairo : Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale : 831-847.
- Lichtenberger, A. (1999). *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Lindner, M. (1986). Entdeckungen in Sabra. In M. Lindner (ed.) *Petra. Neue Ausgrabungen und Entdeckungen*, 146-169. München and Bad Windsheim: Delp.
- McCown, C. (1938). The Festival Theater at the Birketein. In C.H. Kraeling (ed.) *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, 159-167. New Haven, Connecticut.
- McKenzie, J. (1990). *The Architecture of Petra*. New York: Oxford University.
- Marcus, A. (1989). *The Middle East on the eve of modernity. Aleppo in the eighteenth century*. New York: Colombia University Press.
- Marino, B. (1997). *Le faubourg du Midan à Damas à l'époque ottomane: Espace urbain, société et habitat (1742-1830)*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- Marino, B. (2000). Les investissements de Sulayman Pacha al-'Azam à Damas. *Annales Isalmologique* 34: 209-226.
- Marino, B. (2003). L'approvisionnement en céréales des villes de la Syrie ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle). In B. Marino and C. Virlouvet (eds.) *Nourir les cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité – Temps modernes*, 491-515. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- Meier, A. (2004). Waakf in Syria up to 1914. In *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. XI-XII, 823-828. Leiden: Brill.
- Meinecke, M. (1983). Der Survey des Damaszener Altstadtviertels as-Salihiya. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1: 189-241.
- Meinecke, M. (1988). Syrian Blue-and-white Tiles of the 9th /15th century. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 3: 203-214.
- Meinecke, M. (1992). *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648-1250) bis (923-1517)*, vols. I-II. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin GMBH.
- Millar, F. (1993). *The Roman Near East*. Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Miura, T. (1995). The Salihyya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus. Its Formation, Structure and Transformation in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods. *Bulletin d'études orientales* 47: 129-181.
- Mortensen, P. (1996). The Danish Archaeological Expeditions to the Near East. In K. v. Folsach, T. Lundbæk and P. Mortensen (eds.) *The Arabian Journey*, 121-129. Århus: Forhistorisk Museum Moesgård.
- Mortensen, P. (2002). A Note on the Theatre of Herod the Great in Damascus. In L. Al Gailani Werr et al. (eds.), *Of Pots and Plans*, 236-239. London: Nabu Publications.
- Mouliérac, J. (1999). *Céramiques du monde musulman. Collections de l'Institut du monde arabe et de J.P. et F. Croisier*. Paris: Institut du monde arabe.
- Mouterde, P. (1925). Inscriptions grecques conservées à l'Institut Français de Damas. *Syria* 6: 351-364.
- al-Muhibbi, M. A. (1970). *Khulasat al-athar fi a'yan al-qarn al-hadi 'ashar*, vols. I-IV. Beirut.
- al-Muradi, M. K. (1988). *Silk al-durar fi a'yan al-qarn al-thani ashar*, vols. I-IV. 3rd edn. Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm.
- Musselmani, M. (1979). *Damascene Homes 18-19 a.c.* Damascus.
- Nielsen, L. (2002). *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama*. Århus: Aarhus University Press.
- al-Nu'aymi, 'A. al-Qadir (1990). *Al-daris fi tarikh al-madaris*. Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-'alamiyya.
- Oldenburg, E. (1969). Les objets en faïence, terre-cuite, os et nacre. *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938* 4(3): 107-141.
- Pascual, J.-P. (1983). *Damas a la fin du XVIe Siècle d'après trois actes de Waqf Ottomans*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.
- Pensabene, P. (1997). Marmi d'impotazione, pietre locali e committenza nella decorazione architettonica di età Severiana in alcuni centri delle province Syria et Palestina e Arabia. *Archaeologia classica* 49: 275-422.
- Pentz, P. (1997). The Medieval Citadel and its Architecture. *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938* 4(1): 1-127.
- Philon, H. (1980). *Benaki Museum Athens. Early Islamic Ceramics. Ninth to Late Twelfth Centuries*. Athens: Islamic Art Publications distributed by Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications.
- Ploug, G. (1986). The Graeco-Roman Necropolis. *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938* 3(3): 70-113.
- Pollio, M.V. (1960). *The Ten Books of Architecture*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Price, S.R.F. (1984). *Rituals and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- al-Qalqashandi (1985). *Maathir al-Inafar fi Ma'alim al-Khilafa. Al Safar al-awwal, al Khilafa. (d. 821/1418)*. Edited by Shawqi Abu Khalil. Damascus.
- Qasatli, N.E. (1876). *Kitab al-Rawda al-Ghina' fi Dimashq al-Fayha'*. Beirut: Maktaba al-Sa'ih.
- Qasimi, M.S., J. al-Din al-Qasimi and K. al-'Azm (1988). *Qamus al-sina'at al shamiyya*, vols. I-II. Edited by Zahir al-Qasimi. Damascus: Dar Tlas.



- Rafeq, A.K. (1966). *The province of Damascus 1723-1783*. Beirut: Khayats.
- Rafeq, A.K. (1976). The law-court registers of Damascus with special reference to craft corporation during the first half of the eighteenth century. In J. Berque and D. Chevallier (eds.), *Les arabes par leurs archives (XVIe-XXe siècles)*, 141-162. Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Rafeq, A.K. (1990). Public morality in 18th century Ottoman Damascus. *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 55-56(1-2): 180-196.
- Rafeq, A.K. (1991). Craft organization, work ethics, and the strain of change in Ottoman Syria. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111(3): 495-511.
- Rafeq, A.K. (2002). Making a living or making a fortune in Ottoman Syria. In N. Hanna (ed.), *Money, land and trade: An economic history of the Muslim Mediterranean*, 101-123. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Reilly, J. (2002). *A small town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Renda, G. (1997). Painted Decoration in 19th Century Ottoman Houses: Damascene Connection. In A. Temimi (ed.), *Actes du 1er congrès sur: Corpus d'archéologie ottomane*, 91-105. Zaghuan.
- Rey-Coquais, J.P. (1970). *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie. Tome VII. Arados et régions voisines Nos 4001-4061*. Paris.
- al-Rihawi, A. and E. Ouechek (1975). Les deux Takiya de Damas – La Takiya et la Madrasa Sulaymaniyya du Marj et la Takiya as-Salimiyya de Salihyya. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 27: 217-226.
- Riis, P.J. and V. Poulsen (1957). Les verries et poteries médiévales. *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938* 4(2): 1-284.
- Rostovtzeff, M. (1934). *The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report on fifth season of work October 1931-March 1932; on the seventh and eighth seasons 1933-1934 and 1934-35*. New Haven.
- Rouannet, A. and D. Piponnier (1985-86). Etude iconographique et technique d'un ensemble décoratif: La Maison Nizam à Damas. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 37-38: 127-161.
- Roussel, P. (1916). *Délos colonie Athénienne*. Paris.
- Sack, D. (1985). Damaskus, die Stadt intra muros. Ein Beitrag zu den Arbeiten der "Internationalen Kommission zum Schutz der Altstadt von Damaskus". *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2: 207-290.
- Sack, D. (1989). *Damaskus, Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisches-islamischen Stadt*. Damaszener Forschungen 1. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Sartre, M. (1982). *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie XIII 1 Bostra*. Paris.
- Sartre, M. (1991). *L'Orient Romain*. Paris.
- Sauvaget, J. (1934). Le plan de Laodicée-sur-Mer. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 4: 81-114.
- Sauvaget, J. (1949). Le plan antique de Damas. *Syria* 26: 314-358.
- Sauvaget, J. and E. Lorey (1926). Le Palais Azem de Damas. *La Revue de Paris* 6, 15: 443-448.

- Scharabi, M. (1983). Der Suq von Damaskus und zwei traditionelle Handelsanlagen: Khan Jaqmaq und Khan Sulaiman Pasha. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1: 285-305.
- Schilcher, L.S. (1985). *Families in Politics, Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Schulz, B. and H. Winnefeld (1921). *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905 Band 1*. Berlin.
- Schürer, E. (1979). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ II (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*. Revised by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Sear, F. and A. Hutson (2000). Reconstructing the South Theatre at Jerash. *Abr-Nahrain* 37: 3-26.
- Segal, A. (1988). *Town Planning and Architecture in Provincia Arabia*. Oxford: B.A.R.
- Segal, A. (1995). *Theatres in Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Seyrig, H. (1950). Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie. *Syria* 27: 5-50.
- al-Shallah, B. ad-Din (1992). *Al-Masira at-Tijariya*. Damascus.
- Shamir, Sh. (1963). As'ad Pasha al-'Azm and Ottoman Rule in Damascus (1743-1758). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26: 1-28.
- Sourdel, D. (1952). *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque Romaine*. Paris: Libraire Paul Geuthner.
- Steward, J.D. (1986). Part I: The Architecture of the Roman Theatre. In F. Zayadine (ed.) *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983 I*, 206-229. Amman: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- Suriye Vilayetinin Sal-namesi No 3 (1287-88/1870-72), No 21 1306/1888-89), No 27 (1312-13/1895-96), No 28 (1313-14/1896-97), No 32 (1318/1900-01). Yearbook of the Ottoman Province of Damascus. Damascus.
- Tate, J. (1990). *Une waqfiyya du XVIIIe siècle à Alep. La waqfiyya d'al-hagg Musa al-Amiri*. Damascus: Imprimerie al-Andalus.
- Talas, M. A. (1975). *Thimar al-maqasid fi dhikr al-masa'jid: ta'lif Yusuf Ibn Abd al Hadi*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnan.
- Tunsch, T. (1990). Die syrische Innenraumdekoration in der ehemaligen Villa Gutmann in Postdam. *Forschungen und Berichte (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)* 29/30: 129-147.
- Al-'Ulabi, A. (1987). *Timur Link wa-hikayatuhu ma' Dimashq*. Damascus: Dar al Ma'mun.
- Walmsley, A.G. (2002). Die Dekapolis-Städte nach dem Ende des Römische Reiches. In A. Hoffmann and S. Kerner (eds.) *Gadara – Gerasa und die Dekapolis*, 137-145.
- Waqf Document Jami'al-Umawi (unpublished report on waqf properties of the Unmayyad Mosque dated 816/1413-14, copied shortly after 922/1516). Edited by Sarab Atassi and Bassam al-Jabi.
- Waqifiyya al-Qaramani (1019/1610). Syrian National Archive (Markaz al-Wathaiq al-Tarikhyya) Damascus.
- Watzinger, C. and K. Wulzinger (1921). *Damaskus I. Die antike Stadt*. Berlin and Leipzig.



- Weber, S. (1997/1998). The Creation of Ottoman Damascus. Architecture and Urban Development of Damascus in the 16th and 17th Centuries. *Aram* 9 and 10: 431-470.
- Weber, S. (2000). The Transformation of an Arab-Ottoman Institution: The Suq (Bazaar) of Damascus from the 16th to the 20th Century. In N. Akin, A. Batur and S. Batur (eds.), *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture. "A Supra-National Heritage"*, 244-253. Istanbul.
- Weber, S. (2001). *Zeugnisse Kulturellen Wandels: Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des spätosmanischen Damaskus im Umbruch (1808-1918)*. Ph.D. thesis. Berlin.
- Weber, S. (2002). Images of Imagined Worlds, Self-image and Worldview in Late Ottoman Wall Paintings. In: J. Hanssen, Th. Philipp and S. Weber (eds.), *The Empire in the city: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 145-171. Beirut: BTS 88.
- Weber, S. (2004a). An Egyptian *qa'a* in 16th ct. Damascus. Representative Halls in late Mamluk and early Ottoman Residential Architecture in Syria and Lebanon. In: K. von Folsach, H. Thrane and I. Thuesen (eds.) *From Handaxe to Khan, Essays presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, 265-296. Århus: Aarhus University Press.
- Weber, S. (2004b). Walls and Ceilings. In J. Carswell (ed.) *The Future of the Past*, 242-265. Beirut: The Robert Mouawad Private Museum.
- Weber, S. (in press) Der Anfang vom Ende: Der Wandel lackierter Holzvertäfelungen in Damaskus des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. In J. Gonnella and J. Kröger (eds.), *The "Aleppo Zimmer" Symposium in Berlin, 12.-13. April 2002. Kunst des Orients*.
- Weber, T. (1993). Damaskòs Pólis Epísemos. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 7: 135-176.
- Welles, C.B. (1938). The Inscriptions. In C.H. Kraeling (ed.) *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, 355-496. New Haven and Connecticut.
- Wetzstein, J.G. (1857). Der Markt von Damaskus. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 11: 475-525.
- Wiet, G. (1955 and 1960). *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire. Chronique d'Ibn Iyas*. 1-2. Paris.
- Will, E. (1985). *Exploration archéologique de Délos, 35. Le sanctuaire de la déesse syrienne*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Will, E. (1994). Damas antique. *Syria* 71: 1-43.
- Wirth, E. (2000). *Die Orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika. Städtische Bausubstanz und räumliche Ordnung, Wirtschaftsleben und soziale Organisation*, vols. I-II. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Wulzinger, K. and Watzinger, C. (1924). *Damascus, die islamische Stadt*. Berlin.
- Az-Zirikli, Kh. Al-Din (1999). *Al-a'lam, qamus tarajim li-ashhar al-rijal wa-l-nisa' min al-'arab wa-l-musta'ribin wa-l-mustashriqin*, vols. I-VIII. 14th edn. Beirut.