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EGYPT AND SYRIA
IN THE FATIMID, AYYUBID
AND MAMLUK ERAS

VI

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FROM MONTPÈLERIN TO ṬARĀBULUS AL-MUSTAJADDA: THE FRANKISH-MAMLUK SUCCESSION IN OLD TRIPOLI

INTRODUCTION

Modern Tripoli still shows the division into two different urban areas existing since the Middle Ages (Fig. 1). Until the arrival of the Crusaders Tripoli merely consisted of the ancient town on the coast. It was located on the peninsula, which today is occupied by the part of the city called *al-Mīnā*. The Old Town of Tripoli is situated within 3 km to the southeast. It covers the area where the Mamluks founded a new city by the end of the 13th century, after they had defeated the Crusaders and razed all their settlements. This new city (*Ṭarābulus al-mustajadda*) is regarded as one of the very few Mamluk new foundations. Due to the fact that over one hundred buildings survived from this period it is a unique place for the study of Mamluk architecture. In recent years several initiatives were started to investigate these and all scholars concerned with Mamluk Tripoli agree that except from the castle almost no significant remains of the Crusader period are preserved. However, it is known that an extended Crusader settlement has existed at the bottom of the castle hill, undoubtedly at the location of today's Old Town, where the Mamluks have established their new city.

The lack of archaeological evidence and the still insufficient state of research on the monuments and architecture of Old Tripoli turn an assessment of the Crusader settlement at the site into a difficult task. A closer look at the monuments and their topographical setting provides new insights. There is strong evidence that in fact a real town existed at the site in the Crusader period and that there was some kind of a Frankish-Mamluk succession regarding the infrastructure and the architecture. Its study may reveal how the Mamluks adopted elements of a different culture and building tradition and how they used them as a basis for their own construction. In favour of a more inland-oriented development the Mamluks neglected the coastal towns after the expulsion of the Crusaders. Thus other examples of a Frankish-Mamluk succession are primarily found in inland towns like Jerusalem and some former Crusader castles restored by the Mamluks (e.g. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād/Crac des Chevaliers and

Marqab). Therefore, the study of Mamluk building activities on the coast is of a specific interest.

HISTORY

Tripoli was a foundation of the Canaanites/Phoenicians¹, who settled there because of the good natural harbour. The town flourished in the following periods, especially in the 10th and 11th centuries. At the arrival of the Crusaders it was ruled by the Banū ʿAmmār², who had founded a wealthy principality there in 1070, independent from the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt. Due to an arrangement with the Crusaders, Tripoli was not attacked during the First Crusade. But one of their leaders, Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse, much appreciated this region³, which might have reminded him of his homeland in Southern France. Consequently he

¹ For the history of Tripoli see: M. Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 2. Partie: Syrie du Nord. I. ʿAkkar, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Tripoli [MIFAO, volume 25] (Le Caire, 1909), pp. 37-46; M. Noth, "Zum Ursprung der phönikischen Küstenstädte", *Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947): 21-28; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām fī l-tārīkh al-islāmī* (al-Iskandariyya, 1967); H. Sarkis, "Histoire de Tripoli. I: Des origines à l'occupation franque", *Les cahiers de l'Oronte*, 10 (1971/72): 80-102; B. Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* (Beirut, 1961); J. Gulick, *Tripoli, a modern Arab City* [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, volume 12] (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 11-36; N. Jidejian, *Tripoli through the Ages* (Beirut, 1980); ʿUmār ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus, al-siyāsīya wa l-ḥadārīya ʿabr al-ʿusūr*, volumes I-II (Bayrūt, 1978, 1981); F. Buhl & C. E. Bosworth, "Ṭarābulus (or Atrābulus) al-Shām", in *IEP*, X: 214-215.

² For the history of Tripoli in the Crusader period see: M.W. Baldwin, *Raymund III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)* (Princeton, 1936); J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, volume 39] (Paris, 1945); *idem*, "Le Chartier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l'Établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont Pèlerin", in *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 605-612; ʿUmār ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī, *al-Ḥayāt al-tiqaḥīyā fī Ṭarābulus al-Shām khilāla al-ʿuṣūr al-wuṣṭā* (Bayrūt, 1972); P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, III: La Défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche. Étude historique, géographique, toponymique et monumentale* [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, volume 90] (Paris, 1973), p. 7-34; Tadmūrī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus*, I: 1978; H. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des croisades. Problèmes d'histoire, d'architecture et de céramique* [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, volume 106] (Paris, 1980); Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 41-69; J. Richard, "Les Saint-Gilles et le comté de Tripoli", in *Islam et Chrétiens du Midi: XIIe - XIV siècle* [Cahiers de Fanjeaux, volume 18] (Toulouse, 1983), pp. 65-75; M. Piana, "Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Tripoli (Triple, Ṭarābulus)", in *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzzugszeit*, ed. *idem* (Petersberg, 2008), pp. 422-437.

³ This can be deduced from his eagerness to continue the unsuccessful siege of nearby ʿArqā instead of moving on to Jerusalem: William of Tyre, *Chronicon* VII 17-20 [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, volume 63], ed. R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer & G. Rösch (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 364-370; Anon., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* XXXV, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), pp. 428-437;

returned a few years later, eager to establish an own dominion in this very fertile and beautiful strip of land. He began a long-lasting siege of Tripoli and attacked other towns and castles in the vicinity (Ṭarṭūs, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and Homs)⁴. Being not able to seize the latter he conquered Ṭarṭūs (21 april 1102), which from then on served as a solid base for further operations.

To promote the siege of Tripoli and to permanently cut it off from its hinterland Raymond began to build a castle on the top of an inland ridge, the *Abū Samra* hill (Fig. 2). It was located about 3 km southeast of the town overlooking the Abū ‘Alī river⁵. In memory of the pilgrims who were employed in its construction it was called *Mont Pèlerin* (Pilgrims’ Mount). Its purpose was not only to serve as a base for the siege of Tripoli but also to block its supply and communication on the landside⁶. The most explicit account of its foundation is given by William of Tyre⁷:

“During the same time master Raymond, the count of Toulouse of good memory, an illustrious and magnificent man and a true worshipper of God, after he had conquered the town, which is commonly called Tortosa, as quoted before, in an excessively vigorous and manful way, extended his domain all around. Anxious of how he could repel the adversaries of the Christian name from those lands, he built a fortress on a certain hill facing the town of Tripoli, about two miles away. Since the place was founded by pilgrims, he gave it a name reminiscent of that circumstance, that it might be known forever as the Mount of the Pilgrims. And thus until today it preserves the name given by its founder. It is well fortified both by its natural site and by the skill of its builders.”

and most notably: Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* XVIII [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, volume 3], p. 289.

⁴ Abū l-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ta’rīkh al-baṣhar* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, volume 1], p. 6.

⁵ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis* X 32 [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, volume 4], p. 610; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa l-Qāhira* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, volume 3], p. 477; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir’āt al-zamān fī tā’rīkh al-a’yān* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, volume 3], p. 528; *L’Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d’Outremer* X 27 [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, I/1], p. 441. According to Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* CXLV [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, volume 3], pp. 707-708, Raymond was to start building the castle previous to his visit to emperor Alexius I in Constantinople (1100/1101). The purpose of this journey was to ask the emperor for support in the siege of Tripoli.

⁶ Siege castles like this were a common phenomenon during the Crusader period: cf. al-Ma’shūqa (Cr. La Massoqe), built for the siege of Tyre in 1107/08 or Penteskouphi (Cr. Mont Escouvé), built 1205/06 for the siege of Acrocorinth on the Peloponnese.

⁷ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* X 26(27), pp. 485-486.

The place was of excellent strategical value: it not only enabled to control the traffic to and from Tripoli but also guarded the main coastal road traversing at the foot of the castle hill. There a little suburb emerged and a bridge (*Jisr al-‘Atīq*), crossing the Abū ‘Alī river, was located. Some historians believe that this was the place where in 636 – during the Arab conquest of Tripoli – Sufyān Ibn Mūjib al-Azdī had built a fortress (*Ḥiṣn Sufyān*). This seems doubtful as al-Balādhurī relates that it was built “in a meadow a few miles distant [from Tripoli]”⁸. The results of excavations, carried out inside the castle in the 1970s, also do not support this hypothesis⁹. It is more likely that the erection of the castle was a new foundation on a previously unfortified site.

To relieve the town from pressure, emir Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ‘Ammār felt impelled to make a sally. In September 1104 he attacked the castle together with the developing suburb at its foot and set both on fire. Shortly thereafter, Raymond died in February 1105, most probably from the injuries he had suffered during the attack a few months earlier. His ambitious aim to conquer Tripoli was only fulfilled four years later in June 1109 by his son Bertrand, who arrived from Europe and took the town with the help of a Genoese fleet¹⁰. Tripoli remained continuously in Crusader hands until 1268/1289. In late April 1268 sultan Baybars directed a new campaign against the county of Tripoli:

“The year 666 [AD 1267/68]. [Sultan Baybars] marched against Tripoli and pitched camp in front of it in the middle of the month [Sha‘bān, i.e. 30 April 1268]. He went into battle against its inhabitants, took possession

⁸ al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (account from 869), tr. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500. Translated from the Works of Medieval Arabic Geographers* (London - Boston - New York, 1890), p. 348.

⁹ H. Salamé-Sarkis, “Inscriptions coufiques du château de Tripoli”, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 24 (1971): 61-82; *idem*, “Chronique archéologique du Liban-Nord”, *ibid.*, pp. 100-102; *idem*, “Chronique archéologique du Liban-Nord II: 1973-1974”, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 26 (1973): 93-99; *idem*, “Tripoli, céramiques médiévales”, *Les Dossiers d’Archéologie*, 12 (1975): 60-67; *idem*, “Wahlia-Mahallata-Tripoli?”, *Mélanges de l’Université de Saint-Joseph*, 49 (1975/76): 549-563; *idem*, *Contribution à l’histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l’époque des croisades. Problèmes d’histoire, d’architecture et de céramique* [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, volume 106] (Paris, 1980), pp. 69-83; *idem*, “Tripoli: Textes et Fouilles”, *Berytus*, 31 (1983): 129-142. The excavations revealed the existence of a Fatimid cemetery at the site, dated to the 11th century.

¹⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* II 40-41, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 526-533; William of Tyre, *Chronicon* XI 10, pp. 509-510; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl tā’rīkh Dimashq*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* [University of London historical series, volume 5] (London, 1932), pp. 88-90; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī t-Tā’rīkh* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, volume 1], pp. 273-274; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, pp. 489-490; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Arméniens, volume 1], p. 90.

of a castle located there and massacred the Franks who stayed there. [...] He ordered to massacre the prisoners, to cut the trees, to destroy the churches and then distributed the booty among his soldiers.”¹¹

“The sultan camped near Tripoli in a place which had long been unoccupied by Islam, and he was continually riding up to the city while the Muslim forces skirmished with its garrison and shot arrows at them. He took a *burj* in which a number of Franks had held out against him and these were beheaded. [...] The trees were cut down and the churches destroyed as were the water-channels, together with their Roman aqueduct — a vast construction whose like has not been seen.”¹²

The castle¹³ mentioned here must have been the one on Pilgrims’ Mount¹⁴, as Baybars’ troops in 1266 had already taken nearly all the castles in the vicinity¹⁵, except Ḥiṣn al-Akrād¹⁶. The destruction of “the churches” in this context undoubtedly refers to the suburb at the foot of Pilgrims’ Mount¹⁷. The fact that Baybars took Montpèlerin and its castle as early as 1268 was hitherto only denoted by Salamé-Sarkis¹⁸. The synopsis of the records, however, proves it certain by referring decisively to the aqueduct.

¹¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb as-Sulūk fī ma’rifat ta’rīkh al-Mulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda (al-Qāhira, 1957), I/2: 566; similarly but with fewer details: al-Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jūmān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān* [Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux II/1], p. 227; Mufaddal Ibn Abī l-Faḍā’il, *al-Nahj al-saḍīd wa l-durr al-farīd fī mā ba’d ta’rīkh Ibn al-Amīd*, ed./tr. E. Blochet, *Mufazzal ibn Abil Fazāil. Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, vol. I [Patrologia orientalis, volume 12/3, no. 59] (Paris, 1919), p. 507.

¹² Ibn al-Furāt, *Tā’rīkh al-Duwal wa l-Mulūk*, tr. U. & M.C. Lyons & J. Riley-Smith, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa’l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt* (Cambridge, 1971), I: 147 (Arabic text), II: 116 (translation).

¹³ The meaning of *burj* is either “tower” or, pars pro toto, “castle”, chiefly designating those with a dominating tower, such as Tortosa, how the use of the term in the sources implies. For the hypothesis that the castle of Montpèlerin had a central donjon see: Piana, “Kreuzfahrerstadt Tripoli”, p. 430.

¹⁴ This is corroborated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nudhdhār fī gharā’ib al-amṣār wa ‘ajā’ib al-asfār*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325 – 1354* (Cambridge, 1958), I: 88.

¹⁵ al-Ṭūfān (Crusader Touban), Ḥalbā (Cr. Alba), ‘Arqā (Cr. Archas), Qulay’āt (Cr. Coliath); cf. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I & the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London - New York, 1995), p. 167.

¹⁶ For further references see: Thorau, *Lion*, pp. 189-190. However, the author does not refer to al-Maqrīzī.

¹⁷ The destruction of Montpèlerin is also addressed in the famous defamatory letter sent to count Bohemund VI of Antioch-Tripoli after the sack of Antioch in the same year: Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, tr. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1969), p. 310. Consequently none of the sources refer to Montpèlerin any more after the year 1268.

¹⁸ Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 10, 34, solely based on al-Maqrīzī (with an incorrect dating to 1267).

The town on the coast was conquered later, on 28 April 1289 by sultan Qalāwūn after a siege of 35 days¹⁹. Qalāwūn, who initially tended to the reconstruction of the town, ordered to raze it to the ground after a debate with his emirs²⁰. The sources also relate that instead of the destroyed town on the coast a new one was built further inland²¹, in the “Valley of the Churches”²²:

“And so this great calamity befell the city of Tripoli, as I have told you, and the sultan went out and devastated the whole area, so that you could not have found a single house standing. This is the reason why the Saracens built a town in a place called Montpèlerin, which is less than a league from the sea above Tripoli. The town is called New Tripoli.”²³

“After sultan Qalāwūn, at the head of the Muslim army, had retaken Ṭarābulus, a new city was built on a spur of the Lebanon Mountains about 5 miles distant from the old town of Ṭarābulus, which had been laid in ruins.”²⁴

“When in 688 [AD 1289] [Tripoli] was taken by the Muslims, during the time of Khalīl [al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl], son of Qalāwūn, on whom Allah may take pity, they have destroyed it and built a new town about one league from it, which they gave its name and which is visible until our days. When they built this new town, it was in a nauseous and insalubrious region. But after a long period of inhabitation, when people and animals have multiplied and the stagnant water all around has been drained, gardens have been laid out and trees and vegetables been planted, it became less muddy and less nauseous.”²⁵

¹⁹ Abū l-Fidāʿ, *Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 162-163; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda (al-Qāhira, 1939), I/3: 747; Anon., “Annales de Terre Sainte”, ed. R. Röhrich, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, ed. Société de l'Orient latin (Paris, 1884) II: 460.

²⁰ L.S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan. The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)* [Freiburger Islamstudien, volume 18] (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 154; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus*, I: 424.

²¹ According to Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya* (al-Qāhira, 1939), XIII: 317, and Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī l-Faḍāʿil, *al-Nahj*, ed./tr. E. Blochet, vol. II [Patrologia orientalis, volume 14/3, no. 69] (Paris, 1920), p. 531, Qalāwūn himself was to command the rebuilding. This is not supported by Abū l-Fidāʿ, who was an eyewitness of the conquest and destruction of Tripoli in 1289.

²² Abū l-Fidāʿ, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. J.-T. Reinaud & M. Le Bon Mac Guckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris, 1840), p. 10.

²³ Templar of Tyre, *Chronique* §478, ed. G. Raynaud, *Les Gestes de Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIII^e & XIV^e siècles*, [Société de l'Orient latin: Série historique, volume 5] (Geneva, 1887), pp. 237-238; tr. P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre. Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'* [Crusade Texts in Translation, volume 6] (Aldershot, 2003), p. 101.

²⁴ al-Dimashqī, *Nūkhat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa l-baḥr*, tr. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 351. Dimashqī compiled his text between 1323 and his death in 1327.

²⁵ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'* (al-Qāhira, 1914), IV: 142-143, who quotes al-'Umarī (d. 1349) here.

“The inhabitants of Tripoli have removed towards the mountain, and have built another city of the same name at a place 4 miles from the sea. All that remains of the ancient town is the mosque, which is called “al-‘Umarī” and which is still in use. I myself have stayed there some days when we were stationed on the coast. The migration of the inhabitants took place due to the fear of the enemy.”²⁶

This decision provides further evidence for the Mamluk policy to raze the harbours and fortifications on the Syro-Palestinian coast, in order to prevent the Crusaders from re-establishing themselves in fortified coastal towns²⁷. This policy finally led to a de-urbanisation of the coast, leaving most of the major towns like Ascalon, Jaffa, Caesarea, Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Ṭarṭūs, and Lattakia either abandoned or more or less depopulated²⁸. Only a few urban centres on the coast remained. New Tripoli was to become one of them, nominated as the capital of a *mamlaka*, one out of six forming Mamluk *bilād al-shām*²⁹. The foundation of the new town off the coast was a sagacious decision, as frequent attacks by Frankish ships were reported in the 14th century. They illustrate the superiority of Frankish naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean even after the loss of the Syro-Palestinian mainland³⁰. New Tripoli was less endangered by naval attacks and the location closer to the main traffic lines promoted its economic development. On the other hand there is clear evidence from the sources that there were also tangible economic reasons for the reconstruction of Tripoli³¹. The enormous revenues from its rich estates and the economic potential associated with its port were too attractive not to take advantage of.

Due to the insalubrious ground³² it took some time until the first public buildings were erected³³. During the reign of its first governor (*nāʾib*),

²⁶ Margin note on MS. C (15th century) of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (*Kitāb Rūjar*), tr. J. Gildemeister, “Beiträge zur Palästinakunde aus arabischen Quellen, 5. Idrīsī [Geographie]”, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 8 (1885): 136.

²⁷ A. Fuess, “Rotting ships and razed harbours: the naval policy of the Mamluks”, *Mamluk Studies Review*, 5 (2001): 45-71; *idem*, *Verbranntes Ufer. Auswirkungen Mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palastinensische Küste (1250-1517)* [Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, volume 39] (Leiden, 2001), esp. pp. 116-121.

²⁸ N.A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamlūks* [American University of Beirut, Oriental Series, volume 24] (Beirut, 1953), pp. 52-60.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

³⁰ Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer*, pp. 29, 176, 184, 185-186, 188, 211-212, 409.

³¹ Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 293, with references.

³² A result of the cease of cultivation after 1268, when the area, then in ruins, was not drained any more.

³³ On Mamluk Tripoli see: Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 37-139; M. van Berchem & E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Le Caire, 1914) I/2: 116-130; P. Collart, M. Chéhab &

Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī (1290-92) – the Mamluk emir, who held the *iqṭāʿāt* of Hiṣn al-Akrād and Marqab – no significant building activities are reported³⁴. The first structure erected was the Great Mosque (“al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr”), founded in 1293 by sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. The construction of this *jāmiʿ* was the starting point for the development of the new town. Subsequently further mosques, *zāwīyas*, *madrasas*, *khāns*, *ḥammāms* etc. were built (Fig. 3):

“Then [after Tripoli was destroyed] the Muslims built a new town near the river, where they spread and constructed ḥammāms, caravanserais, mosques and madrasas. The running water was conducted into the houses by means of conduits. The palace of the sultan was built. It is inhabited by the governor. This palace was constructed on elevated terrain, dominating the town. [...] The government [of the town] was then entrusted to emir Sayf al-Dīn Asandamur Kurjī al-Manṣūrī, who held it until 709 [AD 1309]. He built a great bathhouse, which attracted traders and visitors from all the country. They agreed that no similar bathhouse had ever been built before in any country. He also built a *qayṣārīya* and a mill. [...] He reconstructed certain parts of the castle and constructed towers. This castle was located near the sultan’s palace in Tripoli.”³⁵

“Tripoli today is a well-populated town, which offers all amenities of life. One can see there mosques, *madrasas*, *zāwīyas*, a hospice, nice *sūqs* and magnificent *ḥammāms*. All the constructions are made of bleached limestone outside and inside. [...] It has a river that supplies water for its lands and its dwellings: the water runs into basins installed on the roofs of the houses in such a way that one can only reach them by stairs.”³⁶

A. Dillon, *Liban: Aménagement de la ville de Tripoli et du site de Baalbek; Rapport de la mission envoyée par l’Unesco en 1953* [Musées et monuments, volume 6] (Paris, 1954); ʿUmār ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār masājid wa madāris Ṭarāblus fī ʿaṣr al-Mamālīk* (Ṭarāblus, 1974); Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 69-97; H. Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, 1983); M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: 648/1250 bis 923/1517*, volumes I-II [Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, volume 5] (Glückstadt, 1992), pp. 55-56, 75-78; *Tripoli, the Old City. Monument Survey – Mosques and Madrasas. A sourcebook of maps and architectural drawings* [American University of Beirut, Department of Architecture, Class of 94/95], ed. R. Saliba (Beirut, 1995); O.A.S. Tadmori, “The Plans of Tripoli Alsham and its Mamluk Architecture”, *ARAM periodical*, 9-10 (1997-1998): 471-495; N. Luz, “Tripoli Reinvented: A Case of Mamluk Urbanization”, in *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East [The Medieval Mediterranean, volume 39]*; ed. Y. Lev (Leiden, 2002), pp. 53-71.

³⁴ It seems that chiefly military safeguard measures were carried out in this time: Tadmori, “Plans”, p. 472.

³⁵ al-Nuwayrī (1278-1332), *Nihāyat al-ʿarab fī funūn al-adab*, tr. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, p. 10.

³⁶ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, tr. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, p. 39.

There is no doubt that the Mamluk builders profited from a still existing or easily recoverable infrastructure. There is evidence that the town of Montpèlerin, although laid in ruins, was not totally destroyed. The objective of this paper is to point out to what extent elements of it have survived and how they were used as a basis for new Mamluk structures.

THE TOWN OF MONTPÈLERIN

The suburb at the foot of Pilgrims' Mount – in fact a *burgus* – must have been founded together with the castle in 1102³⁷. It is mentioned as early as 1103³⁸ and was called after the castle above it. According to Caffaro “count Raymond built a lot of houses there, and many Christians from all around began to live here”³⁹. Several churches are attested and distinct references report an urban settlement, which is consequently designated as *oppidum* or *citè*⁴⁰. The sources always distinguish between Montpèlerin and Tripoli, treating Montpèlerin as an independent site. It was a characteristic castle town like so many others in the medieval world (Fig. 4). If it had an enclosure wall is unknown, as there is no reference. It was certainly not as strongly fortified as the coastal town, as Baybars took Montpèlerin and his castle in 1268 without the use of heavy artillery⁴¹. It stretched to the north and west of the castle and covered more or less the same area as today's Old Town. Its main axis, in line with today's Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn, must have been the same in the Crusader period. It represents a section of the ancient main route along the coast from Ṭarṭūs to Beirut. The Abū ʿAlī river was crossed via the “Old

³⁷ Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 18-20, suggests that this was the suburb (*raḡad*) of Tripoli being set ablaze by emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69) in A.H. 357 (968 C.E.), of which some sources tell. But this may well have been a suburb in the immediate vicinity of Tripoli. The place at the foot of the Abū Samra hill seems to be too far away for being denominated as a suburb and there is no archaeological evidence for a larger settlement on the site.

³⁸ “... suburbio Montis Peregrini noviter edificati castrī” in a charter of that year: J. Richard, “Le Chartrier de Sainte-Marie-Latine”, p. 610.

³⁹ Caffaro, *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis* [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, volume 18], p. 47.

⁴⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* II 30, p. 484; *idem*, II 40, p. 528; William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. W. Stubbs [Rolls Series 90, 2] (London, 1889), II: 458; Philip of Navarre, *Estoire de la Guerre qui fut entre l'empereor Frederic et Johan d'İbelin* §214, ed. Raynaud 1887, p. 120.

⁴¹ He arrived from the siege of the castle of al-Shaqīf (Cr. Beaufort) and had sent the heavy baggage-trains and war machines to Damascus before crossing Mount Lebanon: Thorau, *Lion*, p. 189, with references.

Bridge” (*Jisr al-‘Atīq*; no. 8 on the plan), which is often mentioned in the sources but does not exist any more.

An engraving from the 19th century (Fig. 5) shows the riverfront with the then still existing bridge and a gate (Bāb al-Ḥadīd). It is obvious that a similar arrangement must have existed in the Mamluk and Crusader periods, forming the eastern limit of the town. Other than in the Mamluk period the Crusader town seems not to have extended beyond the bridge and the river⁴².

The sources provide some information on churches. In 1103 possessions of the monastery on Mount Thabor are mentioned⁴³, as well as a church of “the Hospital”⁴⁴. In the same charter a piece of land is given to St. Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem in order to build a church there. The Knights of St. John owned a hospice, which has been donated to the order in 1125 by count Pons⁴⁵. They already possessed a church of St. John the Baptist and a cemetery, awarded to them by count Bertrand (1109-12), mentioned in 1119⁴⁶. The remains of a building identified with this church were excavated in 1946 inside the Maronite cemetery of St. John, which is located about 200 m south-west of the castle⁴⁷.

A charter from 1181 refers to a garden of the “church of St. Mary of the Tower” in the plain of Montpèlerin⁴⁸, which may have been located in the town. The church was regarded as cathedral (St. John)⁴⁹, the church at the place of today’s Great Mosque. A cathedral or bishop’s church must have existed in Montpèlerin in the years before the conquest of Tripoli⁵⁰, as a bishop was already appointed in the time of Raymond of

⁴² To be deduced from *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, nos. 108 (1125) and 118 (1127), where the grant of “... terras ultra pontem Montis Peregrini” to the Hospitallers is confirmed.

⁴³ R. Röhrich, “Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens”, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 10 (1887): 235.

⁴⁴ Richard, “Le Chartier de Sainte-Marie-Latine”, p. 610.

⁴⁵ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, nos. 108 and 118.

⁴⁶ Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 43-45, 118-119.

⁴⁷ M. Chéhab, “Chronique”, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 8 (1946-48): 168-169; H. Salamé-Sarkis, “Chronique archéologique du Liban-Nord II: 1973-1974”, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 26 (1973): 93-99; *idem*, *Contribution*, pp. 40-45, 95-119.

⁴⁸ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 605: “... versus Tripolim horto S. Mariae de Turri”.

⁴⁹ Victor Guérin, *La Terre Sainte*, vol. II: *Liban, Phénicie, Palestine occidentale et méridionale, Pétra, Sinaï, Égypte* (Paris, 1884), p. 88; van Berchem & Fatjo, *Voyage*, p. 118.

⁵⁰ After 1109 the bishop’s see was transferred to Tripoli, as the palace/residence of the bishop is recorded there as early as autumn 1111: Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* XIV 2, tr. E.R.A. Sewter (Hammondsworth, 1969), p. 441.

St. Gilles⁵¹. But the predecessor of the mosque may as well have been another church, for example the one built by the abbey of St. Mary the Latins in Jerusalem. The description of the site at which the new church should be built, “from the place of the church of the Hospital to the bridge and the river”⁵², fits well to the location of the Great Mosque. In his chronicle from 1335 John Elemosina states that the Great Mosque was the former church St. Mary of the Tower⁵³, an information which may have been based on local tradition. A further church of St. Mary, which belonged to the church of Bethlehem, is mentioned in a bull of Pope Gregory IX of 1227⁵⁴.

The ruined walls of several of these churches were used as foundation for later Mamluk buildings (see below). The remains of a round church located near the “Sérail” were still extant by the first decades of the 19th century (Fig. 6)⁵⁵. This structure, by then part of a ruined soap factory, was apparently not reused by the Mamluks, most probably due to its inappropriate design. Another traditional sanctuary, which is said to have existed since the Crusader period, is the Greek Orthodox “Tomb of the Lady” (*Mazār as-Sayda*). It is located in a small alley (*Zuqāq al-Burṭāsī*) in the western part of the Old Town, north of the soap caravansary (*Khān al-Ṣābūn*). Its interior at the first floor of a building complex (Fig. 7) consists of a square room with a niche topped by a pointed arch. There are no specific features of a Crusader origin but it appears to go back at least to the Mamluk period.

An interesting structure in use throughout from antiquity to the Ottoman period is the aqueduct, Ibn al-Furāt and many others refer to. It carried water from the Rashīn spring and, following the Abū ‘Alī river, supplied both the suburb of Montpèlerin and the town on the coast. Considerable remains existed until 1955, in particular a section crossing the river about 2 km upstream from the castle. It was called “Qanāṭir al-Brins” and consisted of a central arch with a height of about 9 m spanning the river, flanked by two smaller subsidiary arches. The whole construction was about 14 m high and over 90 m long. It carried a carved

⁵¹ W. Antweiler, *Das Bistum Tripolis im 10. und 12. Jahrhundert. Personengeschichtliche und strukturelle Probleme* [Studia humaniora, volume 20] (Düsseldorf, 1991), pp. 26-36.

⁵² Richard, “Le Chartrier de Sainte-Marie-Latine”, p. 610.

⁵³ John Elemosina, *Liber Historiarum*, ed. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francese* (Quaracchi, 1913), II: 108.

⁵⁴ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 983.

⁵⁵ C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1928), II: 433, suggesting a church of the Knights Templar.

shield displaying the Jerusalem Cross, indicating a Crusader origin or a major rebuilding during this period⁵⁶. This section was destroyed by a flooding of the river in 1955, having left only scanty remains on both sides of the river valley (Fig. 8). The appellation “Brins” undoubtedly reminds of the princes of Antioch, who in 1187 incorporated the county of Tripoli into their realm. We know from Ibn al-Furāt that Baybars destroyed the aqueduct in 1268. Therefore, it may be concluded that the “prince” referred to was Bohemund VI (1252-75), who must have rebuilt the aqueduct to restore Tripoli’s water supply.

MAMLUK TRIPOLI

The sources are not very detailed regarding the capture of Montpèlerin by the Mamluks and we are not able to assess the amount of destruction associated with it. It is fair to assume that at least basic elements of the infrastructure of the Crusader town were not so badly damaged. Streets and alleys, bridges and parts of the water supply system like canals, wells and cisterns may have been reused after the removal of debris or minor repair works.

Infrastructure

First of all the water supply system must have been restored. In his report Dimashqī reflects the state of New Tripoli only a few years after its foundation. He admires the aqueduct which “carries the water at a height of near 70 ells, and is about 200 ells long”⁵⁷. He further states that “there is hardly a house in the town that has not trees [in its court] in numbers, for the water flows everywhere, coming down from the Lebanon Mountains”⁵⁸. Likewise, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarks in 1326 that it was “traversed by flowing streams, and surrounded by gardens and trees”⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ H. Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* (London, 1810), p. 35; J. Aegidius van Egmont & John Heyman, *Travels Through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, & c.* (London, 1759), II: 292; van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 121; J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), I: 164; B. Condé, *See Lebanon* (Beirut, repr. 1960), pp. 536-538; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, p. 70.

⁵⁷ al-Dimashqī, *Nūkhbat*, tr. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 351. The specification for the height seems to be exaggerated.

⁵⁸ See further al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, as quoted above.

⁵⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat*, tr. Gibb, *Travels*, p. 88.

The bridge crossing the Abū ʿAlī river at the foot of the castle mount was probably not destroyed, just as the main axis of the Crusader town which is taken up of today's *Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn*. It was part of the principal traffic line along the coast and certainly continuously used, even after the destruction of Montpèlerin in 1268. The small alleyways below the castle did likewise exist before the Mamluk rebuilding of the town. This is sure for the bended stairway leading from the castle to the *Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn* which passes the so-called "Red Gate" (see below). Immediately behind the gate a small covered alley branches off to the north, called "Alley of the Secrets" (*Zuqāq al-Asrār*). It is spanned by several pointed barrel vaults and transverse arches which most probably go back to the Crusader period (Fig. 9). The same is true for the straight alley (*Taḥt Sībāt*) climbing from the place in front of the Ḥammam ʿIzz al-Dīn towards the castle gate (Fig. 4, no. 12). It does not continue to the gate anymore but in its course it represents the original ascent to the castle. It may even be supposed that the pattern of small alleys in the Old Town, which reflects the urban layout of the Mamluk period, was not fundamentally different in the time of Crusader Montpèlerin.

The Town Defence

Besides measures to (re)establish the infrastructure, defensive actions were taken in the beginning. A strong garrison was stationed in the time of governor Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbākhī (1290-92)⁶⁰, transferred from Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. Its headquarter was the Khān al-ʿAskar⁶¹, located at the north-eastern fringe of the town (Fig. 3, no. 33). Additionally the harbour, which after recommissioning soon regained its former importance, had to be protected against Frankish raids from Cyprus and pirate attacks. Therefore, a part of the seawall of the destroyed town was rebuilt⁶² and guard towers were erected along the coast⁶³. They were part of a chain of Mamluk towers and fortifications along the Syro-Palestinian coast,

⁶⁰ Northrup, *Slave*, p. 154, with references.

⁶¹ This large building is not dated but it may have been erected in the 14th or even by the end of the 13th century: Condé, *Tripoli*, p. 103-107; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, p. 91-92; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 181-186.

⁶² According to the margin note on MS. C (15th century) of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat*, ed. Gilde-meister, p. 136, the seawall was built in A.H. 768 (1367 C.E.) by the emir Sayf al-Dīn Manjak, during the reign of sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (1363-1377). This seems to have been a direct consequence of the Cypriot attack in this year (see below).

⁶³ van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, pp. 122-130; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 94-95, and particularly J. Sauvaget, "Notes sur les Défenses de la Marine de Tripoli", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 11 (1938): 1-25, with a detailed survey of the surviving remnants.

forming an elaborate defence system. The construction of these towers must have started before c. 1340, as al-ʿUmarī refers to a *burj Ṭarābulus* on the coast⁶⁴. It may have been the tower, which was attacked in 1367 by the Cypriots⁶⁵. Seven towers are known, lined up around the old harbour and to the east of it⁶⁶. They formed self-contained fortifications and were once surrounded by an enclosure wall⁶⁷, most probably already in the Mamluk period. It is assumed that most of these were built on the ground walls of razed Crusader (or even earlier) towers of the seawall of the former town⁶⁸. The debris of the destroyed structures provided abundant material for their construction. There is only one of them, the *Burj al-Sibāʿ* (“Tower of the Lions”), located to the east of al-Mīnā, which is well preserved (Fig. 10)⁶⁹. It is an impressive two-storeyed building with donjon-like dimensions (28.5 × 20.5 m). It was built by the emir Aytmiş al-Bajāsī during the second reign of sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (1390-99)⁷⁰, whose blazon is depicted on a wall inside the tower⁷¹. It was restored by emir Julbān, *nāʾib* of Tripoli, in the years 1441-42 and probably around 1477 by sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbāy (1468-96)⁷². Its architecture is purely Mamluk but there are some striking analogies to elements characteristic of Crusader architecture. One is the facing of the outer walls in rusticated masonry. This ancient custom, although sparsely used in Byzantine and Early Muslim architecture alike, was a widespread practice in Crusader constructions. Another example are the ancient column shafts inserted in the walls as headers. This technique, introduced in Late Antiquity by the

⁶⁴ al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, after van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 125 n. 2.

⁶⁵ Diomedes Strambaldi, *Cronica del regno de Cipro*, ed. M.R. de Mas-Latrie, *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi* (Paris, 1893), II: 76.

⁶⁶ For their localisation see: van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 124 fig. 58.

⁶⁷ This is reported by Cornelis de Bruijn, who visited Tripoli in 1682: C. le Brun, *Voyage au Levant* (Delft, 1700), p. 304: “From place to place there are towers for watching out. They are accompanied by strong walls, so that they can be taken as forts”; for a contemporary seaside view see *ibid.*, Pl. 151.

⁶⁸ The chevalier d’Arvieux noticed in 1660 that three of the six towers he saw were built by “Godefroi de Boüillon”: L. d’Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier d’Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, consul d’Alep, d’Alger, de Tripoli et autres Échelles du Levant*, ed. R. P. Jean-Baptiste Labat (Paris, 1735), II: 383.

⁶⁹ van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, pp. 129-130; Sauvaget, “Notes”, pp. 4-16; Collart, Chehab & Dillon, *Liban*, p. 14; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 94-95; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 294 no. 25B/83.

⁷⁰ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa l-mustawfi ba’d al-Wāfi*, ed. van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 123 n. 4; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lamī’ li ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, *ibid.*.

⁷¹ Sauvaget, “Notes”, p. 8 and 10 fig. 5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

Byzantines, was also extensively used in Crusader constructions, especially in coastal fortifications like Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl and Caesarea. The fact that Tripoli's harbour fortifications in the Crusader period must have been built in the same fashion is attested by numerous accounts of travellers from the past centuries, who wondered about the many columns scattered along the coastline⁷³. These were undoubtedly the remainder of the razed walls, not having been reutilised because of their uselessness for further constructions⁷⁴. Most intriguing is the fact that the Mamluks, following their Ayyubid predecessors, usually employed this motif in a more refined and emblematic way: instead of real columns ashlar were interspersed over the wall, ornamented with disc-shaped bosses. This effected a more harmonious appearance of the façade than in the given example, in which huge columns unsightly contrast with rather small ashlar.

A further interesting feature is the cushion voussoir ("gadron") arch of a window on the north façade of the tower. This element, introduced into Islamic architecture as early as the 11th century⁷⁵, was not much appreciated during the Zengid and Ayyubid periods⁷⁶. Widely used in Crusader architecture, with one preserved example at the Madrasa al-Shamsīya (see below), it experienced a revival during the reign of sultan Baybars, who first employed it in his newly built mosque in Cairo⁷⁷. The tower rests on a battered plinth, an element used in both Crusader and Islamic architecture. This is also true for the so-called "Syrian scroll" moulding, i.e. a moulding, which usually frames window or door

⁷³ For example Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697*, London 1810, p. 42, or Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 165, who noticed "at least eighty of them, of about a foot and a quarter in diameter, lying in the sea".

⁷⁴ The column shafts used to strengthen fortification walls usually were fragments. Fully preserved shafts, mostly from destroyed churches or other ecclesiastical buildings, were of course reused by the Mamluks, particularly for mosques, madrasas etc..

⁷⁵ The first example datable with certainty are the archivolt's topping the niches in the inner flanks of the gate towers of Bāb al-Futuḥ in Cairo, built in 1089: K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt, I: Ikshīds and Fāṭimids: A.D. 939 – 1171* (Oxford, 1952), p. 177. On the motif: *ibid.*, pp. 212-213; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, p. 223.

⁷⁶ In Ayyubid architecture mainly used as spolia from former Crusader buildings: T. Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden 1986), pp. 76-85; L. Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: Bautätigkeit im Kontext von Politik und Gesellschaft 564-658/1169-1260* [Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, volume 10] (Heidelberg, 2004), I: 146.

⁷⁷ Built 1267-1269: Creswell, *Muslim Architecture*, II: 155-172; J.M. Bloom, "The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in Cairo", *AI*, 18 (1982): 45-78; D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo. An Introduction* (Cairo, 1989), pp. 94-95; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, I: 31-36; II: 26 no. 4/104.

openings, ending in a scroll⁷⁸. It can be seen at the bottom ends of the mouldings flanking the jambs of the tower's portal (Fig. 11). Originally developed in the Romano-Byzantine villages ("Dead Cities") of northern Syria it was only scarcely employed in Islamic architecture⁷⁹. There are some further examples in Tripoli⁸⁰ and other Islamic cities⁸¹, all of the late Mamluk period.

As a summary it can be stated that the tower – more than other Mamluk fortified buildings – adopts elements characteristic for Crusader architecture in its decoration. This did not happen incidentally and was surely not done simply to keep to an old tradition. Especially the engaged column shafts, in this arrangement apparently useless for defensive purposes, the rusticated masonry and the donjon-like appearance of the tower, which most probably replaced a razed Crusader predecessor, may be understood as citations, illustrating the superiority of Mamluk power. The inserted columns may also be read as apotropaic symbols⁸².

The town itself was not surrounded by a wall in the beginning⁸³. The Mamluks preferably relied on the force of their troops, i.e. the garrison permanently stationed there⁸⁴, which had well proven their capability to defend against the Crusaders. Tadmurī argues that instead of a wall the Mamluks implemented structural measures to defend the town against invaders. These were narrow streets following a zigzag pattern, covering streets with houses for better surveillance, building thick stone walls at the end of streets or corners of alleys, furnishing walls near street junctions and markets with arrow-slits, enclosing markets with gates and digging secret tunnels⁸⁵. A gate, called the "Red Gate" (*Bāb al-Aḥmar*),

⁷⁸ On this motif see: P. Deschamps, *Romanik im Heiligen Land. Burgen und Kirchen der Kreuzfahrer* (Würzburg, 1992), pp. 339-342.

⁷⁹ An early example is found at the citadel of Damascus, on the portal of the east gate's northern tower, dated by inscription to A.H. 610 (1213-14 C.E.): H. Hanisch, *Die ayyūbidischen Toranlagen der Zitadelle von Damaskus. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des mittelalterlichen Festungsbauwesens in Syrien* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 44.

⁸⁰ *Mihrāb* of the Uwaysiyā Mosque (A.H. 865/1460-61 C.E.); portal of the Madrasa Qādiriyā (not dated; probably beginning of the 15th century).

⁸¹ Damascus: Mosque of al-Qaṣṣāb (built 1408); Jerusalem: *Sabīl* of Qaytbāy (built 1455); Cairo: *Wakāla* of Qaytbāy (built 1480).

⁸² On the apotropaic meaning of decorations at fortifications see: J. Gonnella & K. Kohlmeier, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes. Neue Forschungen und Entdeckungen* (Münster, 2005), pp. 36-37.

⁸³ Margin note on MS. C (15th century) of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat*, tr. Gildemeister, p. 136, stating that the town had no wall.

⁸⁴ al-Zāhirī in his *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik* in the 15th century enumerates a total of 5,000 soldiers: Ziadeh, *Urban Life*, p. 25.

⁸⁵ Tadmurī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus*, II: 279; Tadmori, "The Plans", pp. 484-485.

is preserved in the stairway leading from the castle to the *Sūq al-‘Aṭṭārīn*, where the short *Zuqāq Rifā‘ī* branches off (*Mahātra* district). It may have served in the Mamluk period as an entrance gate to the quarter around the neighbouring *Madrassa al-‘Ajamiya*⁸⁶, located immediately below the castle. The masonry up to the row of the machicolation corbels above the pointed-arched doorway is preserved in its original bond (Fig. 12). It seems to be pre-Mamluk, indicated by the design of the corbels⁸⁷. In addition, the orientation of the gate with its exterior facing the *sūq* below and paralleling the north-west walls of the castle above, makes it likely that this once was a gate or better the rest of a gate tower of an outer bailey of the castle⁸⁸.

Later on, however, the town must have been surrounded by walls. In 1367, when the Cypriots raided the town, gates are mentioned which were destroyed and one of them transferred to Cyprus⁸⁹. Subsequently in the end of the 14th century new gates were built. By 1660 the French traveller d’Arvieux reports that the town “was enclosed by good walls with towers”⁹⁰. He further admits that a “part of these towers are small and less defensive” but “those guarding the gates and the ones located at angles are fairly considerable, especially those built by Godfrey of Bouillon”. The last statement may be taken as a reference to their alleged Crusader origin. But as these fortifications have vanished and archaeological proof is lacking, we are not able to further assess this information⁹¹. One of the gates was the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* mentioned above, which guarded the main entrance to the town from the east. Flandin’s engraving from the early 19th century (Fig. 5) shows a projecting tower flanking the gate to the north and an adjacent curtain wall, obviously formed by the back wall of a house. To the south the east wall of the *Burṭāsiya* Mosque marks the line of defence⁹². As there is evidence that the mosque probably replaced

⁸⁶ Its construction was finished in 1365: Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 241 no. 22/19.

⁸⁷ The rounded part of the corbels is recessed at the flanks, a characteristic Frankish feature to be found at other examples in Tripoli (see below) and elsewhere. Mamluk machicolation corbels usually have plane flanks, in Tripoli for example at the machicolation of the gate tower of the castle and at the Tower of the Lions (*Burj al-Sibā‘*).

⁸⁸ A well-fortified gate like this seems to be totally disproportionate for the defence of such a rather small and marginal quarter. No other gate of this kind exists inside the town. Additionally, outer baileys were a common feature of Crusader castles.

⁸⁹ Tadmori, “The Plans”, p. 481.

⁹⁰ L. d’Arvieux, *Mémoires*, II: 385-386. Rauwolf in 1573 equally refers to gates and a town wall: L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß* (Lauingen, 1582), p. 22.

⁹¹ Only recently wall fragments were discovered, which were associated with it: personal communication by Jean Yasmine, Beirut.

⁹² The continuous riverfront formed by the mosque and adjacent buildings existed until 1955, when a flood swept away all minor structures and left the mosque freestanding.

a former church (see below), it is quite possible that the same arrangement already existed both in the Crusader and Mamluk periods⁹³. There are references to other gates, Bāb al-Aḥmar at the south-west end of the town's main axis, Bāb Bayrūt to the north of it and Bāb ad-Dabbāgha, guarding the entrance to the town via the "New Bridge" (*Jisr al-Jadīd*) on the northern fringe of Old Tripoli⁹⁴. But as all of these gates have vanished and exact dates of their construction are missing, we are not able to assign them to a certain building period.

Mosques and Madrasas

Some of the principal Mamluk mosques and *madrasas* of Tripoli are associated with older structures or elements. This ranges from a simple indication in the sources to the use of easily movable elements as spolia and the integration of parts of a pre-existing building into a new one. The Great Mosque belongs to the latter category and contains, besides the castle, the largest amount of pre-existing fabric⁹⁵. According to building inscriptions it was founded in 1293 by sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-93) and finished in 1314-15 by sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (3rd reign 1310-41), both sons of Qalāwūn⁹⁶. Frankish elements are found at the northern entrance to the courtyard of the mosque. The totally unorthodox layout of the minaret adjoining the gate always remembered western visitors of the *campanili* of medieval Italian churches (Fig. 13). Notably the superimposed bipartite and tripartite window openings strongly resemble the sound openings developed by Lombard architects in the early Romanesque. As the Genoese owned extensive property in

A photograph of the former situation is shown in the UNESCO report of 1953: Collart, Chehab & Dillon, *Liban*, fig. 6.

⁹³ The offset of the mosque's entrance wing from its main body is doubtlessly due to the fact that it refers to the gate, either because it abutted remaining sidewalls of an older gate or because the mosque (initially a madrasa) was built together with the gate. The springers of the former arches of the gateway are still to be seen at the mosque's entrance façade. This implies that the mosque once was entered through the gatehouse or gate passage of Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

⁹⁴ For the location of the gates see: Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 37 fig. 5; Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, p. 7 Carte no. 4.

⁹⁵ van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, pp. 117-119; Enlart, *Monuments*, II: 434-438; Condé, *Tripoli*, pp. 82-84; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 57-134; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 75-77; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 16-28; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 75 no. 8/28, 118 no. 9C/58.

⁹⁶ Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 49-51 no. 20, p. 53 no. 21 (Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe nos. 4975, 5358). The latter inscription, recording the completion of the structure, is set in the wall of the eastern *riwāq*.

the county and Tripoli itself⁹⁷, the occurrence of Italian influence is no surprise. Although the tower has undergone much refurbishment and a thorough exploration is lacking, there is no doubt that its basic structure dates back to the Crusader period. A closer look at the openings reveals that the uppermost storey is a late addition. The windows of the two lower storeys, however, show features characteristic for Crusader architecture: their general design, appearing as coupled openings separated by columns, the foliate capitals with two tiers of thick fleshy leaves and corner volutes, being a widespread 12th century archetype⁹⁸, and the characteristic attic column bases. Especially the smaller bipartite windows of the bottom storey with their lateral mouldings at impost level seem to be undisturbed in their arrangement and therefore seem to be in situ. The windows at the intermediate level may have been reworked, as the elements do not fit exactly, but nevertheless retain their original layout. This leads to the hypothesis that the tower was not totally destroyed during Baybars' raid in 1268. A considerable stump, preserved at least to the intermediate level, seems to have survived.

The portal immediately beneath the tower is the most complete and best-preserved part of Crusader architecture in the town (Fig. 14). Due to cleaning works a few years ago its masonry is now visible. It is entered through a small groin-vaulted porch with an indication of some remodelling. Especially the arch at the front is a later addition. The examination of the portal reveals that the entire structure is preserved in situ, except the tympanum, which is renewed. It consists of two orders with plain jambs flanking a rectangular door opening. The moulded imposts of the jambs support two elaborately carved pointed archivolts. The inner one shows a double chevron frieze enclosed by a fine roll-moulding, the outer one a thick protruding single chevron enclosed by a double-lined roll-moulding⁹⁹, which is based on imposts belonging to slender columns

⁹⁷ Jubayl (Cr. Giblet) south of Tripoli was theirs, later a property of the Genoese Embriaco family, as well as a third of Tripoli itself: *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 55.

⁹⁸ There are many examples of this type reused in the Mamluk buildings of Tripoli, for example the capitals of the columns flanking the portal of the Madrasa Qarṭāwīya (built between 1316 and 1326) or those of the columns at the *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa Nūrīya (built in 1333?).

⁹⁹ A further stage in the development of this motif is illustrated by three Mamluk archivolts, all of Tripoli: at the portal of the Khān al-Manzil, erected in 1309 and pulled down in 1955 (today inside the citadel), at the portal of the Madrasa Qarṭāwīya (1316/26), and at a window on the south side of the "Tower of the Lions" (1390/99). These masterly pieces of Mamluk stonemasonry are all of the same fashion, demonstrating a still more complex, three-dimensional interpretation of this motif. There is no doubt that it was

framing the jambs. The stone cutting of these masonry-built columns and the design of the crocketed capitals imply that these are later additions¹⁰⁰, most probably from the first decades of the 13th century¹⁰¹. The lintel, like its supporting corbels made of marble, contrasts to the brownish sandstone of the other parts of the portal. The corbels are of a specific design, identical to the ones found at the cloister of Belmont. The broad interior jambs of the portal form a deep recess, which is spanned by a short barrel vault with a cavetto moulded arch at the front side bearing a rosette frieze. The rosettes are of a specific form, four-petaled with spiky slender acanthus leaves, for which parallels exist from other Crusader monuments¹⁰². The arch is enclosed by a chamfered hood-mould resting on cyma-recta moulded impost.

The close relation of the tower to the portal makes it obvious that the entire complex is of Frankish origin. It consists of the minaret, the portal, the porch, and the west wall of the adjoining Madrasa al-Shamsīya (see below). Furthermore, parts of the north wing of the gallery surrounding the courtyard seem to have belonged to it (Fig. 15)¹⁰³. That at least the portal stood upright in 1293 can be derived from the founding inscription of the mosque, which was carved into the lintel above the main entrance¹⁰⁴. This was done without doubt during the lifetime of sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, who was assassinated in December 1293¹⁰⁵. Another but simpler portal with the same type of corbels appears on the east wing of the courtyard, giving access to the central bay of the east *riwāq*

adopted from Frankish prototypes such as the chevron frieze at the north portal of the Great Mosque.

¹⁰⁰ The elaborate chevron friezes of the portal are stylistically attributable to the late Romanesque and we may assume that it was erected after the severe earthquake of 1170.

¹⁰¹ Enlart, *Monuments*, II: 437-438, thinks they were modelled on Italian 13th century prototypes, which themselves were influenced from Southern France.

¹⁰² The most striking example is found at the al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem, on the abacus of a twin capital belonging to the northern columns which once flanked the 12th century portal in the east wall (Bāb Ilyas; removed in 1938): H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II.* [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, volume 108] (Wien, 1978), p. 213 and Abb. 197. There, too, Italian prototypes are discussed.

¹⁰³ The masonry and layout of the northern *riwāq* are somewhat different to that of the other wings and only here the piers have impost with a cyma-recta moulding.

¹⁰⁴ Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 49-51 nr. 20 (Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe no. 4975).

¹⁰⁵ As the inscription provides the year A.H. 693, which began on 2 December 1293, it must have happened during this same month, immediately before the assassination of the sultan: Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 49-50.

(Fig. 16). Above the marble lintel a plain archivolt with a cable roll moulding at its inner curvature can be seen. It is enclosed by a broad hood-mould with a shallow egg and dart frieze, which continues horizontally on both sides. This “mason stop” is a characteristic feature of the Frankish architecture of the Latin East¹⁰⁶. A closer examination reveals that the elements of this arrangement may have once belonged together but do not seem to be in situ, as the slightly damaged edges of the hood-mould voussoirs imply.

The prayer hall to the south of the courtyard is a purely Mamluk building. Inside there are a few Crusader spolia. The capitals of the columns flanking the *miḥrāb* have crockets in two tiers. They resemble those of the flanking colonnettes at the main gate. Above the *miḥrāb* a peculiar patera is set in the wall. The encircling rosette frieze shows the same four-petaled acanthus as at the rear arch of the main gate. Its centre is taken up by a circular chevron motif¹⁰⁷. The building consists of a broad hall divided by a row of six pillars into seven bays. If it was built on earlier structures remains open to question. Without excavations the location and the layout of the former church at the site cannot be reconstructed. We do not even know for certain – what seems to be likely – if the galleries around the courtyard replace a former cloister. The significance of the two column shafts standing upright in the northern part of the courtyard, aligned with the pillars of the northern arcade, likewise remains unclear.

East of the main portal of the Great Mosque a small madrasa (al-Shamsīya) is attached¹⁰⁸, assigned to a certain Shams al-Dīn al-Mawlawī and associated with a date of A.H. 697 (1298 C.E.). To the west it abuts the east wall of the porch of the mosque’s main entrance, to the south the northeast outer wall of the northern gallery of the courtyard. The access to the structure was once provided by a portal in the west wall, which was entered from the corridor leading to the mosque’s main entrance. This portal, now partially walled up, has a well-preserved pointed archivolt with cushion voussoirs, enclosed by a hood-mould with a cyma-recta profile (Fig. 17). This hood-mould, too, once had the characteristic mason

¹⁰⁶ This widespread motif is characteristic of Romanesque architecture and only seldom employed in Islamic buildings. The earliest examples are found at the Nilometre on the Island of Rawḍa in Cairo, built in A.H. 247 (861 C.E.).

¹⁰⁷ Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, p. 27, argues that the patera must have belonged to the former church at the site, a belief that is to be corroborated.

¹⁰⁸ Sobenheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 61-83; Condé, *Tripoli*, p. 44; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 278-282; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 125-127; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 211 no. 19A/8.

stops on both sides, which are now mutilated. The homogenous integration into the surrounding masonry, the masons' marks on the voussoirs, and the low level of the former sill, equal to that of the nearby main portal of the mosque indicate that the portal together with the west wall of the madrasa must once have been part of a Crusader structure at the site.

Another mosque is said to have been a former Crusader church, the Jāmi' Ṭaynāl, locally also called "Ṭaylanī"¹⁰⁹. It was built in 1336 by emir Ṭaynāl al-Ashrafī, governor of Tripoli (2nd reign 1335-40). During the entire Middle Ages the site was located outside the town proper, inside a cemetery south-west of it. It is believed that the complex was erected on the ruins of a Carmelite church of the Crusaders, which were incorporated into the existing building¹¹⁰. The complex mainly consists of two domed compartments with the northern one serving as an entrance hall. The latter is much less homogenous in its architecture than the main building (Fig. 18). The ground plan and the inner structure bear some characteristics of Byzantine churches of the cross-in-square type. The capitals of the four columns supporting the main cupola are of late Roman/early Byzantine date, supposedly the shafts as well. Further puzzling elements are two columns, half sunken into the ground, which stand in front of the outer portal, and a walled-up arcade to the west of the corridor leading to the entrance. Because of these peculiarities it is thought that this part of the complex represents the site of the former Carmelite church.

The main building, the mosque proper, shows some peculiarities as well. The four pillars supporting the dome, parts of the outer walls and the bottom section of the minaret are of a masonry different from other parts. In particular the rather unorthodox layout of the minaret, whose shaft is built of comparatively large ashlar, pierced by small rounded-arched loopholes, seems to follow a western scheme. Several walled up openings indicate that it once must have served another purpose. The blocked window openings at each side in the upper part, decorated with rounded cushion voussoir arches, may be interpreted as sound holes of a former bell-tower. The top of the minaret, built of smaller ashlar than the shaft, is certainly a Mamluk addition. Further unusual features are the three tiered groups of splayed windows in the west wall of the mosque.

¹⁰⁹ Sobenheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 86-94; van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, pp. 120-121; Condé, *Tripoli*, pp. 47-52; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 162-189; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 86-87; Salam-Liebich, *Architectur*, pp. 51-68; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 172 no. 9C/344.

¹¹⁰ Enlart, *Monuments*, II: 432-433.

But due to sandblasting of the wall surfaces during the recent restoration it is hard to find discriminating features on the stone surfaces like tooling traces or masons' marks. To gain hard evidence to which extent older structures were reused will not be possible without excavations. The whole complex deserves an in-depth study to clear not only the early history of the site but also the development of its Mamluk and Ottoman building phases. The same is true for the al-^ʿAṭṭār Mosque¹¹¹, located next to the *Khān al-Miṣrīyīn* at the end of the *Sūq al-Bazirkān*. It was most probably built by Badr al-Dīn al-^ʿAṭṭār, a rich perfume merchant, before A.H. 735 (1334 C.E.)¹¹². From this building al-Nābulusī says that it has been built over the ruins of a former church¹¹³. Except for some minor Crusader elements in reuse like the colonnettes at the minaret the architecture of the mosque seems to be purely Mamluk.

A further interesting structure is the Burṭāsīya Mosque at the northern boundary of the Old Town (Fig. 5)¹¹⁴. It was erected from 1310 onwards by order of ʿĪsā Ibn ʿUmar al-Burṭāsī. As stated above the building, originally a madrasa and the first to be built in Mamluk Tripoli, formed the northern border of the medieval town, together with the adjacent *Bāb al-Hadīd* and other adjoining structures. The pre-existing bridge in front of the gate must have been fortified somehow before the Mamluks rebuilt the town. Therefore, a similar arrangement should have existed already in the Crusader period. In fact, a closer look at the outer walls and the inner structure of the mosque reveals that it may once have been a three-aisled church. It is oriented east-west and the conjectured principal nave is now taken up by the wing that carries the main cupola of the mosque. The north wing with the *qibla* wall must have been the former north aisle. This is corroborated by masonry findings. The bottom courses of the outer wall of these wings differ from that of the compartments north of them, which do not seem to follow the former ground walls. Additionally a symmetrical group of three pointed-arched windows, which enclose a rounded window opening is set in the east wall of the principal wing.

¹¹¹ Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 104-109; Condé, *Tripoli*, pp. 93-94; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 190-206; *idem*, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus*, pp. 190-206; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, p. 88; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 68-78; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 165-166 no. 9C/320.

¹¹² According to Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 190-191.

¹¹³ ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *at-Tuḥfa al-Nābulusīya fī r-riḥla al-Ṭarābulusīya*, ed. H. Busse, *Die Reise des ʿAbd al-Ganī al-Nābulusī durch den Libanon* [Beiruter Texte und Studien, volume 4] (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 72.

¹¹⁴ Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 137-138; Condé, *Tripoli*, pp. 121-127; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa āthār*, pp. 207-216; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 83-84; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 34-51; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 143 no. 9C/197.

This much resembles the fenestration of the nearby churches of Anaf (Cr. Nephin) and Balamand (Cr. Belmont). In the east wall of the north wing a simpler arrangement of the same style can be seen, a central pointed-arched window with a rounded opening above. This fenestration scheme, uncommon to Mamluk architecture, may quite well have belonged to a pre-existing building. The window openings of the principal dome, however, are Mamluk interpretations of a western prototype¹¹⁵. Each section of the drum's octagon is filled by coupled pointed-arched windows topped by a rounded opening, enclosed by a pointed cavetto moulding. This is no less than the characteristic scheme of the early Gothic plate tracery window. Furthermore, some Crusader spolia are found at the building, e.g. the capitals of the columns flanking the *miḥrāb* or those of the columns at the coupled windows of the minaret.

Secular Buildings

The hospice mentioned above¹¹⁶ was most probably located at the site of today's Ḥammām 'Izz al-Dīn, which was erected by emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī (1294-98)¹¹⁷. It is located in the northern section of the Old Town opposite to the Burṭāsiya Mosque. Its entrance consists of a porch and portal of a former Crusader building at the site. The facing arch of the porch as well as the surrounding outer wall is of Ottoman date. Above the arch a cyma-recta moulded cornice is set in the wall with an inscription below reading "S[an]C[tu]S IACOBUS". It is engraved above a sculpted lamb¹¹⁸, now badly mutilated, flanked by two scallops

¹¹⁵ On mutual influences and adoptions of architectural motifs see: L. Korn, "Wechselwirkungen zwischen der Architektur der Kreuzfahrer und islamischer Architektur in der Levante", in *Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer. Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung "Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer" im Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale), im Landesmuseum für Natur und Mensch Oldenburg und in den Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim*, eds. A. Wiczorek, M. Fansa & H. Meller [Publikationen der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, volume 17; Schriftenreihe des Landesmuseums für Natur und Mensch, Oldenburg, volume 37] (Mainz, 2005), pp. 226-237.

¹¹⁶ We only have knowledge of one hospice in Montpèlerin, the one mentioned in *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* nos. 108 and 118, which belonged to the Knights of St. John.

¹¹⁷ van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 119; Condé, *Tripoli*, pp. 82-86; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 90-91; Salam-Liebich, *Architecture*, pp. 189-194; Meinecke, *Architektur*, II: 86 no. 11/16, 87 no. 11/17.

¹¹⁸ According to Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 85 n. 4. Van Berchem, however, was not able to identify it: "un médaillon circulaire, ..., peut-être un emblème": van Berchem & Fatio, *Voyage*, p. 119.

in relief¹¹⁹. These elements seem to be part of the original wall and may be in situ¹²⁰. The porch is groin-vaulted and the pavement of the floor in this section seems to consist of the original flagstones. The inner portal has a recessed door opening with masonry jambs and a lintel which bears a central relief displaying the paschal lamb between two rosettes and the inscription “*Ecce Agn[us] Dei*” (Fig. 19). The entrance was once flanked by two engaged columns with only their abaci, which continue laterally on both sides, having survived. They support a pointed archivolt comprising of a thick roll-moulding, enclosed by chamfered voussoirs. These findings may well fit to a hospice for pilgrims located there in the Crusader period. Behind the entrance corridor a small courtyard is located, where older walls with a now blocked pointed-arched door opening are visible. Its conjectured sill is at a lower level than the floor of the *ḥammām*, indicating an earlier building phase. These remains are said to have belonged to a church connected to the hospice.

A further Crusader building, most probably a house of a nobleman or a rich merchant, is found in the *Ribāṭ al-Khayl* alley south-west of the castle, in neighbourhood of the so-called *Khānqāh* (Fig. 4, no. 13). The street façade, although much altered, shows coursed masonry of small ashlar with flush pointed joints (“*rasa pietra*”) bearing characteristic trowel strokes. These are totally uncommon in Mamluk building technique. The portal of this house was redone in the Ottoman period but inside the entrance corridor is original. At the wall to the left the upper half of a large, walled up portal is visible (Fig. 20). Its opening is topped by a slightly pointed arch of plain voussoirs, enclosed by a hood-mould with a scotia-separated double-lined roll profile.

There are much more buildings in Old Tripoli with an alleged Crusader origin like the *Sūq al-Harāj* with its numerous reused columns or the recently restored *Khān al-Khayātīn*. In this paper only an overview of the buildings and structures with a certain or supposed Crusader origin can be provided¹²¹. A systematic investigation, best accompanied by well-defined archaeological measurements, would bring more of the pre-Mamluk building fabric to light and may further support the idea of a Frankish-Mamluk succession in this town.

¹¹⁹ This specific iconography has already led van Berchem to the belief that it once was a hospice for pilgrims: M. van Berchem, “Notes sur les Croisades”, *Journal Asiatique*, 9. sér., 19 (1902): 453.

¹²⁰ This can primarily be seen on older pictures: Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, Pl. IX, photo top left.

¹²¹ Tadmuri in his works addresses some further buildings with potential older structures, e.g. Tadmuri, “Plans”, p. 471 n. 2.

THE CASTLE

The most appropriate site to study the Frankish-Mamluk succession in architecture is the castle (Fig. 2). The building as a whole was never examined thoroughly and not even surveyed exactly¹²². But due to the excavations in the 1970s and based on own observations and surveys during the last years, a much better assessment of its internal structure is now possible. The castle, which still today is named after Raymond of St. Gilles (*Qal'at Sanjīl*), occupies a rocky spur, the *Abū Samra* hill. It overlooks the *Abū 'Alī* River to the east and the town to the north and west. It is of a trapezoidal outline, measuring some 150 m by 80 m. It was founded in 1102 on the site of a Fatimid cemetery with a small *mashhad*, which was incorporated into the new plan. After the conquest of Tripoli it was considerably strengthened. We do not know to what extent the castle was affected by the severe earthquake of 1170 but we can state that at least the gate tower does not date to the first decades of the 12th century. During Baybars' raid of 1268 the castle was burnt and partially razed. Due to the permanent Mamluk pressure and contractual obligations in the last decades of the 13th century the castle was not rebuilt by the Crusaders. After the Mamluks had taken Tripoli in 1289 the only partially destroyed castle must have played a key role in their decision to rebuild Montpèlerin. For the Mamluks citadels not only fulfilled defensive purposes but also played a vital role for administrative needs and the social life of a town¹²³. The reconstruction of the castle was carried out in A.H. 707 (1308 C.E.) under governor Sayf al-Dīn Asandamur al-Kurjī (A.H. 700-709/1301-09 C.E.)¹²⁴. The next rebuilding took place at

¹²² Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, pp. 94-104 (inscriptions); Deschamps, *Châteaux*, III: 293-295, 367-371; Salamé-Sarkis, *Architecture*, pp. 6-40, 57-94, 239-246; Jidejian, *Tripoli*, pp. 95-97; Piana, "Kreuzfahrerstadt Tripoli", pp. 426-431. For the discussion about the castle chapel see: P. Deschamps, "Raymond de Saint-Gilles et sa sépulture au château de Tripoli (Liban)", in *Études de Civilisation médiévale (Mélanges E.-R. Labande)* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 209-216; D. Pringle, "Castle Chapels in the Frankish East", in *La fortification au temps des Croisades*, eds. N. Faucherre, J. Mesqui & N. Prouteau (Rennes, 2004), pp. 36-38; *idem*, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Castle of Tripoli (Mont-Pèlerin)", in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V* [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, volume 169], eds. U. Vermeulen & K. D'hulster (Leuven, 2007), pp. 167-182, discussed in Piana, "Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Tripoli", p. 437, note 84.

¹²³ Besides a principal (congregational) mosque the citadel was an indispensable element of later Islamic urbanism: Y. Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1997), pp. 56-69.

¹²⁴ al-Nuwayrī, ed./tr. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *Contribution*, p. 10; Sobernheim, *Matériaux*, p. 94; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, tr. É.M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi* (Paris, 1845), II/2: 281.

the beginning of the Ottoman period, by sultan Sulaymān I (1520-66), documented by an inscription above the main gate, dated to 1521. In the following centuries the castle seemed to deteriorate more and more. In 1802 governor Muṣṭafā Barbar Āgha (1767-1834) carried out extended restoration works, which determinate the castle's appearance of today¹²⁵.

It is generally read that hardly any pre-Mamluk remains are preserved. Only the eastern front above the river was always supposed to be of Crusader origin. In fact a close look at the walls at its base reveals characteristic features of Crusader masonry: the typical diagonal tooling and distinct masons' marks. A systematic survey of the castle's structures regarding masonry and building techniques revealed the existence of much more of 12th and 13th century fabric than previously stated. Most of the ground walls and a considerable part of the rising structures can be attributed to the Crusader builders. The ground plan shows an inner bailey, marked in grey (Fig. 21). It is most probable that this was the perimeter of the first castle erected by Raymond of St. Gilles. The nucleus of this structure was the pre-existing Fatimid *mashhad* at the south-eastern corner (no. 1), which served as the first ecclesiastic building of the new castle. It is surrounded on the west and southwest sides by graves uncovered during the excavations in 1971-73. The structure may be linked with a charter from 1110/11 mentioning a priory of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Montpèlerin. On the east side the inner bailey is limited by a long vaulted hall, the ground walls of which being preserved (no. 2). Its outer walls are strengthened with buttresses, the larger ones of which having been turrets¹²⁶. The counterpart on the opposite side, of which only scanty remains are traceable, must have been disposed in a similar way. To the north the gate-tower of the main entrance (no. 4) is located. Its ground floor entirely dates back to the Crusader period. It is flanked to the east by two adjoining cisterns (no. 5) with the one next to the tower most probably belonging to the first building phase. In front of the gate a barbican (no. 8) and a ditch (no. 10) must have existed, providing ground walls for the later Mamluk gate.

In a second building phase the chapel was built over and incorporated as the crypt of a new church (no. 3). It had a single nave and stretched along the south wall of the castle. Building no. 14, located at the centre of the bailey and at its most elevated level, is an Ottoman structure

¹²⁵ For the restoration works in the 20th century see: Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution*, pp. 57-94.

¹²⁶ This arrangement adopts Byzantine construction techniques, corresponding with the information that the castle was built with Byzantine help: Piana, "Kreuzfahrerstadt Tripoli", pp. 424, 428.

containing two oblong vaulted halls. This would be the most appropriate site for a Crusader donjon and possibly the extant walls take up the outline of a medieval predecessor. In this phase, which may be attributed to Bertrand of St. Gilles (1109-12) and his son Pons (1112-37)¹²⁷, the castle was considerably reinforced by adding a new eastern front, strengthened with towers and equipped with casemates (Fig. 22). The lower galleries at this side nearly entirely go back to this campaign (no. 6 at the top). The Mamluks generally utilized pre-existing walls and structures. Some of them were repaired, some rebuilt. The only extensions of the original plan were the tower-flanked gate (no. 9) on the north side and large halls to the south, covering the ditch of the earlier castle, which was hewn out of the rock. Thus the principal outline of the older walls was preserved. The only building left in ruins was the church. Besides the reconstructed walls, which were equipped with box machicolations, the most remarkable element is the new gate. Due to the Ayyubid custom it was composed of two neighbouring projecting towers. The east one contains a double angulate passageway, which is entered by the main door in the western flank of the tower. The other tower to the west guarded the entrance and prevented it from direct access. In front of these towers the partly filled ditch is preserved, originating already from the Crusader period. The wall facing of the towers has some elements in common with the "Tower of the Lions": medium-size ashlar, some of them rusticated, and column shafts integrated as headers. Much more investigations and excavations are needed to clarify the building history of the castle. But yet the achievements made so far allow to trace its main lines, indicating an almost continuous occupation of this site for about thousand years.

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Augsburg

¹²⁷ This can be derived from the similarity of the defensive elements to that of the inner bailey and a note in the sources stating that it was the castle of "the son of St. Gilles" (*ḥiṣn ibn Sanjīl*): Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahj*, ed./tr. Blochet, II: 531.

Fig. 1: The Old Town of Tripoli and al-Mīnā in 1907 (K. Baedeker, *Palestine et Syrie. Routes principales à travers la Mésopotamie et la Babylonie, l'Île de Chypre* (Leipzig, Paris 41912), p. 330)

Fig. 2: Aerial view of the castle of Tripoli, seen from north (Armée française du Levant, 1936; Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient no. 20141) (J.-L. Huot & A. Salem Kardous, *Photographies du Levant* (Beyrouth, 2001), p. 119, pl. 51)

Fig. 3: Map of Mamluk Tripoli (Collart, Chehab & Dillon, *Liban*, p. 11)

Fig. 4: Map of Montpèlerin displaying key Crusader monuments: 1 – Castle (*Qal'at Sanjīl*), 2 – Church of St. John (excavated), 3 – Church of St. Mary of the Tower (*Jāmi' al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), 4 – Hospice (*Ḥammām 'Izz al-Dīn*), 5 – Supposed Carmelite Church (*Jāmi' al-Ṭaynāl*), 6 – North-east Gate and conjectured church (*Bāb al-Ḥadīd, Madrasa/Jāmi' al-Burṭāsīya*), 7 – Location of unidentified church (*Jāmi' al-'Aṭṭār*), 8 – “Old Bridge” (*Jisr al-'Atīq*), 9 – Location of Ottoman “Red Gate” (*Bāb al-Aḥmar*), 10 – Location of Ottoman “Beirut Gate” (*Bāb Bayrūt*), 11 – Location of Ottoman “Tanners’ Gate” (*Bāb al-Dab-bāgha*), 12 – Frankish ascent to the castle (*Taḥt Sibāṭ*), 13 – Frankish house, 14 – Crusader gate (*Bāb al-Aḥmar*)

Fig. 5: The Madrasa/Mosque al-Burṭāsīya (left), the “Iron Gate” (*Bāb al-Ḥadīd*; centre) and the “Old Bridge” (*Jisr al-'Atīq*; right), engraving from mid-19th century (E. Flandin, *L'Orient* (Paris, 1853), pl. 8)

Fig. 6: Ruins of round church (Enlart, *Monuments*, II: pl. 187, no. 564)

Fig. 7: Greek Orthodox “Chapel of the Lady” (*Mazār al-Sayda*), interior

Fig. 8: The aqueduct that carried water from the Rashīn Spring: remains at river-crossing after the flooding of 1955 (Condé, *See Lebanon*, p. 537)

Fig. 9: The “Alley of the Secrets” (*Zuqāq al-Asrār*), looking south

Fig. 10: The “Tower of the Lions” (*Burj al-Sibā'*), seen from northwest

Fig. 11: The “Tower of the Lions” (*Burj al-Sibā'*), portal

Fig. 12: The “Red Gate” (*Bāb al-Aḥmar*) in the *Mahātra* district, seen from northwest

Fig. 13: Great Mosque (*Jāmi' al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), minaret and north gate seen from south

Fig. 14: Great Mosque (*Jāmi' al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), north portal

Fig. 15: Great Mosque (*Jāmi' al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), ground plan: conjectured Frankish parts in black

Fig. 16: Great Mosque (*Jāmi' al-Manṣūrī al-Kabīr*), east portal

Fig. 17: Madrasa al-Shamsīya, west portal

Fig. 18: Ṭaynāl Mosque, interior of north building

Fig. 19: Ḥammām 'Izz al-Dīn, inner portal from former Crusader hospice

Fig. 20: Frankish house in the *Ribāṭ al-Khayl* alley, inner portal

Fig. 21: Castle of Tripoli (*Qal'at Sanjīl*), ground plan (Frankish parts in black): 1 – Fatimid *mashhad*, later crypt of Crusader church, 2 – Enclosure wall of inner bailey, 3 – Nave of Crusader church, not rebuilt during Mamluk period, 4 – Crusader gate tower, 5 – Cisterns, 6 – East front, 7 – South gallery, 8 – Barbican, 9 – Mamluk gate towers, 10 – North ditch, 11 – Ottoman ramp, 12 – Former west ditch, 13 – Mamluk halls above Crusader south ditch

Fig. 22: Castle of Tripoli (*Qal'at Sanjīl*), east front: bottom sections showing Frankish masonry

All illustrations not credited are by the author.

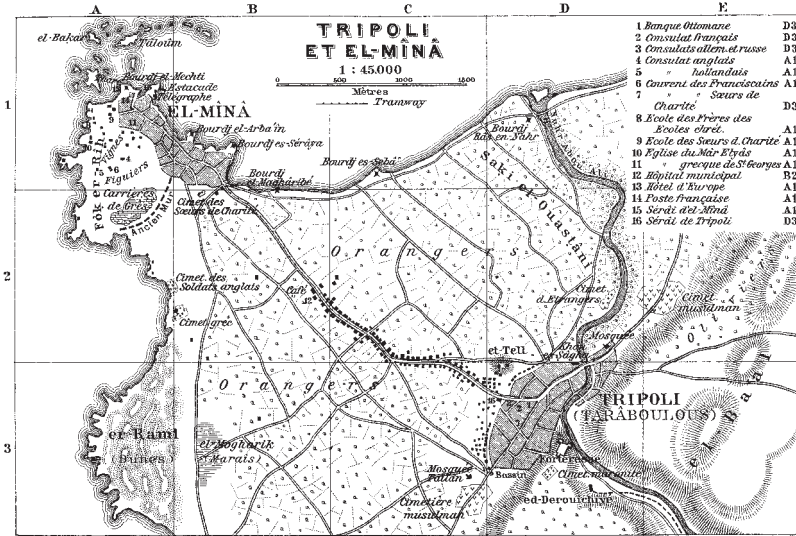
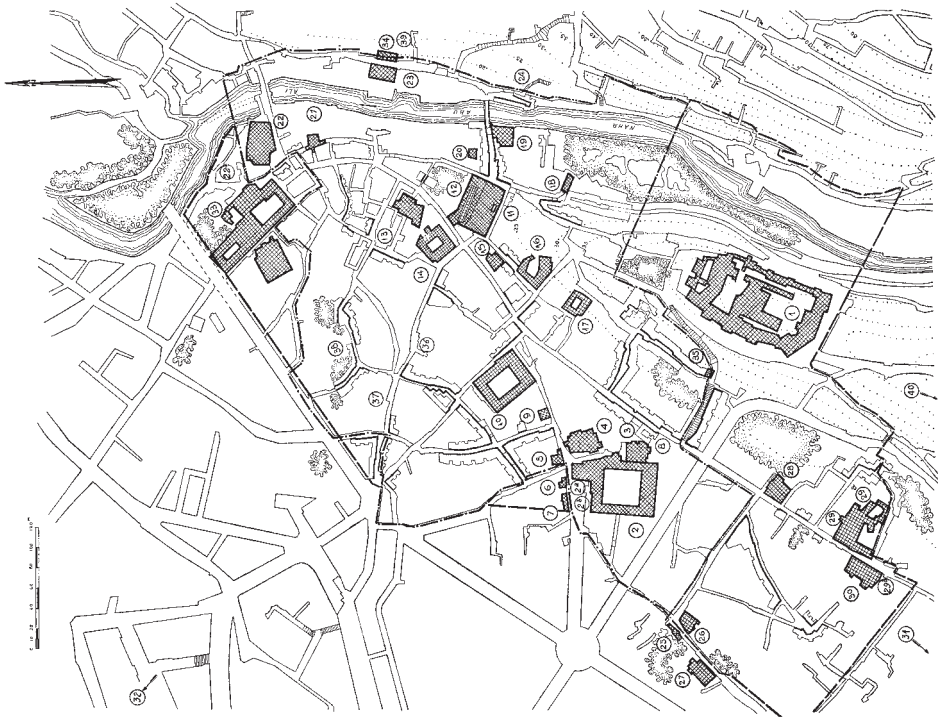


Figure 1



Figure 2



Tripoli and its Monuments

- 1 Chateau of Sarrin-Gilles (Qal'at Saqqij)
- 2 Grand Mosque
- 2a al-Shamsiya *madrassa*
- 2b al-Imic al-Islamic *madrassa* (anonymous donor)
- 3 al-Qartawiya *madrassa*
- 4 Hammam al-Nasri
- 5 al-Nouriya *madrassa*
- 6 al-Malik al-Nasir *madrassa*
- 7 al-Khayriya Husayn *madrassa*
- 8 Arched passageway
- 9 al-Tuwaihiyya *madrassa*
- 10 Khan al-Sabboun
- 11 Hammam Iz ad-din
- 12 Khan al-Khayyatin
- 13 al-Atar Mosque ("Perfumers' Mosque")
- 14 Khan al-Misriyin ("Egyptian Khan")
- 15 al-Qadriya *madrassa*
- 16 al-Uwaysiya Mosque
- 17 Abd al-Wahed Mosque
- 18 al-Zahiriya *madrassa*
- 19 al-Burtasiya *madrassa*
- 20 Bakia Chanem
- 21 Souk al-Haraj
- 22 al-Tawbat Mosque
- 22a al-Dabbaghin Mosque ("Tanners' Mosque")
- 23 Khan al-Manzil
- 24 Byzantine vestiges
- 25 al-Saqariyya *madrassa*
- 26 al-Kharouqiya *madrassa*
- 27 Arghoun Shah Mosque
- 28 al-Tahhain Mosque
- 29 al-Mudlat Mosque
- 29a Khamkah
- 29b al-Tna Fountain
- 30 Hammam al-Jalid
- 31 Taylan Mosque
- 32 Lions' Tower
- 33 Khan al-Ashar
- 34 al-Zurayqiya *madrassa*
- 35 al-Namiyya *madrassa*
- 36 al-Rifiyya *madrassa*
- 37 al-Umuriyya *madrassa*
- 39 Assad Pasha al-Azm Mosque
- 39 Hammam al-Hajib
- 40 Church of Saint John

Khan al-Manzil (No. 23), *al-Zurayqiya Madrasah* (No. 34) and *Hammam al-Hajib* (No. 39) were razed, following the 1953 flood, for the construction of a riverside street.

Figure 3

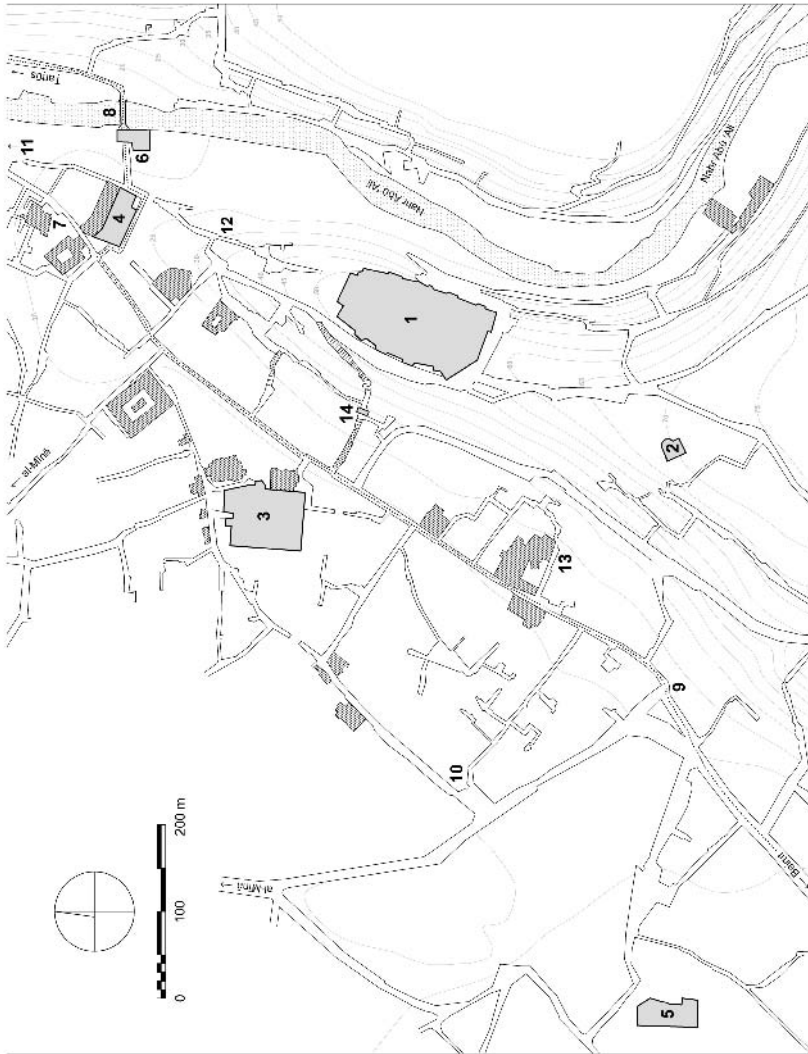


Figure 4

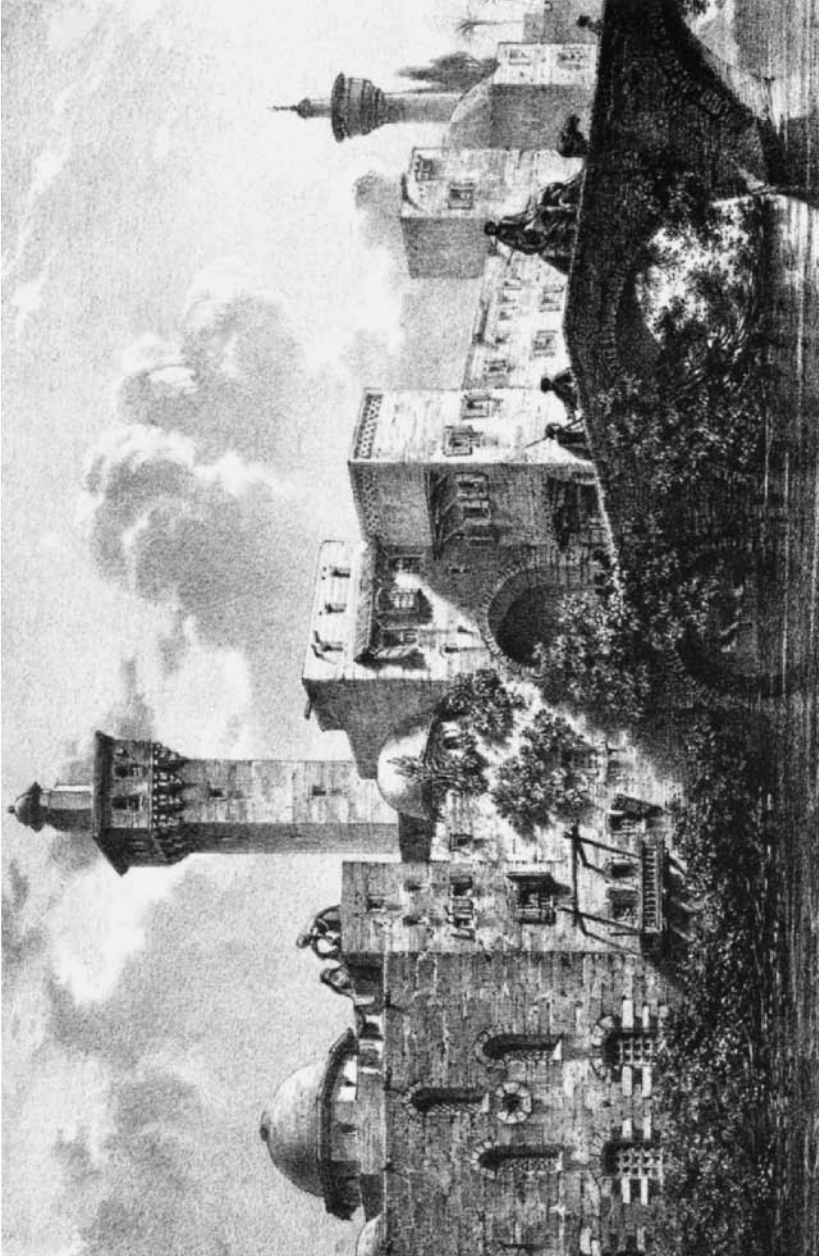


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

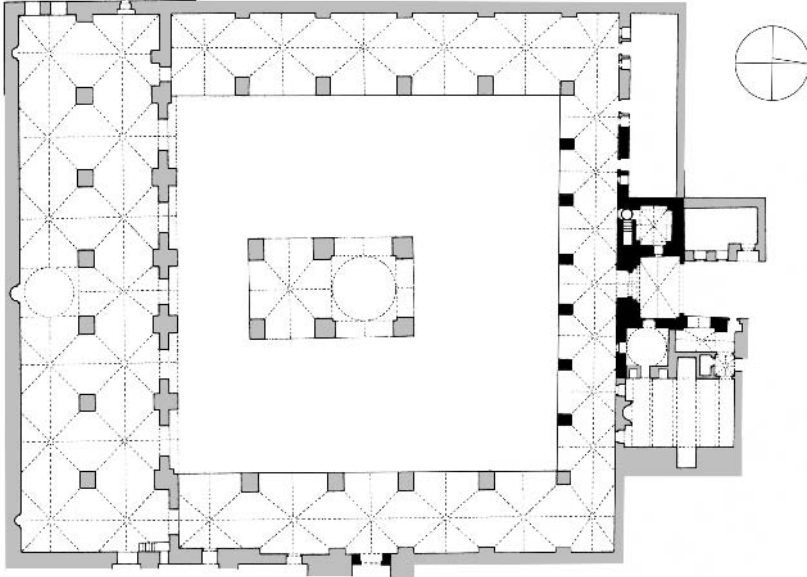


Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20

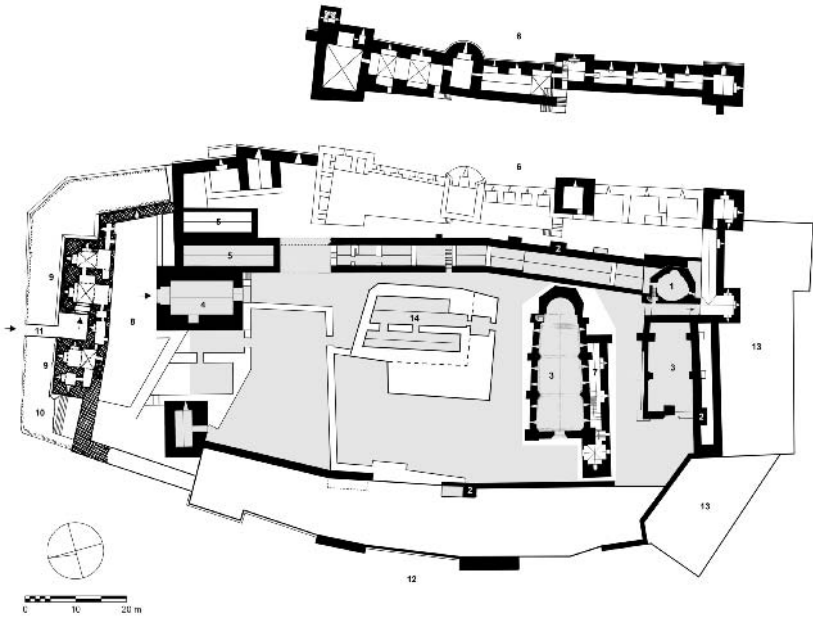


Figure 21



Figure 22