T.C.

KARABUK UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

THE WAQF BUILDINGS IN TRIPOLI IN (1835-1911)

DOCTORAL THESIS

Prepared By
Haitham Mohamed ELGHAWI

Thesis Supervisor
Assoc.Prof.Dr. Barış SARIKÖSE

Karabuk JUNE/2019

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

To Karabuk University Directorate of Institute of Social Sciences

This thesis entitled "The Waqf Buildings in Tripoli in 1835-1911" submitted by Haitham Mohamed ELGHAWI was examined and accepted by the Thesis Board unanimously/by majority as a Ph.D. thesis.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

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Signature

FOREWORD

It was back in the 7th century B.C. before the time of the Phoenicians when Tripoli was built, as it was a commerce hub and market to distribute the crude materials of Africa between the north and the south.

During the 2nd century Tripoli became under the rule of the native *Amazigh* under the Numidian rule of King Masinisa. In 107 B.C. the Romans arrived to the Libyan coast and colonizing Tripoli as they built many structures which none remained today – except for the Marcus Aurelius' Arc in the old districts of modern-day Tripoli – and that was during the time of Trajan's to Antonius Pius in the 2nd and added to Tripolitania region till the 5 century.

After that, Tripoli went under the Vandals (V D.C.) and the Phoenicians in the VI A.D. and both city walls of Sabratha and Leptis Magna were destroyed, which resulted the significant growth and importance Oea received after the fall of both cities, after being the underdog within Tripolitania territory.

It was after that when the Muslims invaded Tripoli during the time of Caliphate Omar Ibn Elkhattab in 643 and remained under the Muslim reign till 1146-1158 D.C., being handed over to the Sicilians and to the Maltese *Order of Saint John* in 1531, till they were driven out by the Tripolitanian allegiance with the Ottomans in 1551 DC.

With the beginning of 16th. century the Spanish fleet embarked a conflict against the Muslims in the Mediterranean taking most of the southern ports of the sea.

Yet due to the accumulating danger of the marine Ottomans and the severity of the resistance on the shores, it was inevitable for the Spaniards to hand over Tripoli to the Order of Saint John in 1530.

On the other side, Tripolitanians requested the help of the Ottomans as the official Muslim caliphate to kick out the Order from Tripoli. The Ottomans managed to drive them out with the leadership of Darghut Basha, which took Tajura – Tripoli suburb – as the Libyan\Ottoman resistance, and after that victory Tripoli became a region under the Ottoman reign.

Since 1551, Libya entered a new era, the 1st Ottoman Reign, which ends by 1711 by Ahmed Basha Garramanli seated on *Welayet Libya* – State of Libya –. The Ottoman

reign sat his grasp on Libya and its three regions, Tripolitania Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Ahmed Basha was an officer in the Ottoman army and by 1711 started a revolt against the 1st Ottoman Reign due to the corruption it inflicted, after his success he started the Karamanli family which ruled over Libya till 1835 and distincted over it's members lies Yousef Basha, which was an ambitious leader and he was which enforced tax on the foreign ships entering Libya's national waters.

It was a matter of time before the Ottoman sultan got done with Yousef Basha's behavior, after the last refused to aid the sultan with his campaign against the Greeks (1829), which was during a revolt in the Libyan land against the Garramanli family, led by Abduljaleel Saif-Ennasr, resulted from the burden of debts of Yousef Basha to the European states and that left him no way but to leave the chair for his son Ali in 1832.

Even though that Sultan Mahmoud II has recognized Ali Basha as a magistrate of Libya, yet his biggest concern was on maintaining the remaining pieces of the Ottoman Empire Especially after the loss of Algeria and Greece in 1830. After an intensive study of the situation in Libya, the sultan decided to intervene and reclaim his control over the Libyan terrain; so the Ottoman fleet arrived to Tripoli and apprehended Ali Basha in May 26th 1835 which ended the Garramanli reign over Libya, and finally the Ottoman Reign ended by 1912 by the Italian occupation.

During the eternal walk of history, identity was dominant as one of the basic needs of the human race. In architecture the idea of identity went over the heads of many, yet the ongoing discussion concerning this phenomenon connected the architectural identity with ancient traditional architecture such point of view were based on that traditional architecture connected with the time used in and reflected the resources utilized for the construction of such establishments. The Libyan architecture particularized with simplicity in planning, design and execution. So the religious buildings were constructed of crude rocks, simple red tiles, as the ceilings were made of palm torsos and mud. In coast side, it was popular to construct buildings with limestone and sandstone – which were brought from local reservoirs – along with simple and non-sophisticated embellishment elements, some Arabic calligraphy as

well, narrow archways and small balconies also, and finally some broken-vectors embellishments.

The diversity of waqf assets and buildings was substantial during the 2nd Ottoman Reign, from road-works, to accommodation services for foreigners to the waqfs of public toilets, schools, libraries, – either school\institute dependent or independent – and waqfs of markets and stores. Which significantly affected the lifestyle of Tripoli's inhabitants; having a larger terrain covered by real-estates from one side and playing a role in the overall development of the city.

Therefore, this study aims to discover the bits of information regarding the body and system of the waqf institution, the buildings and assets in it's responsibility and It's religious, economic, social and intellectual role It's extent on maintaining sustainability of It's assets and the laws and regulations it worked by. This research will follow the methodology of tracing and listing the available information regarding waqf in the tomes of history and jurisprudence.

This requires, however, a broad grasp on the waqf Assets and management information which is summarized in inspecting the achievements of the current ministry of waqf and revising the ancient documentation of waqf back in the 2nd Ottoman Reign period as a certified resource, due to the lack of credibility in regular resources "books, encyclopedias, etc...", and then analyze those documents to gain knowledge on the procedures followed by waqf back then and creating a bigger picture on the waqf structure overall.

The researcher discussed in the first the organizational structure of the research, the reasons for choosing this subject, the importance of this subject, the objective that the researcher wishes to reach, the time limits and the objectivity of this research.

In the first chapter of the research, The first part dealt with the historical introduction of the history of the city of Tripoli from its inception until the arrival of the Ottoman Islamic State of Tripoli and its liberation from the Knights of St. John. In the second part of this chapter he addressed the definition of the waqf .and It's legitimacy, legitimacy, types, resources of The Ottoman Empire II, and It's investments, The

researcher also dealt with the conditions of the Ottoman administration before and during the Second Ottoman Period, also the extent of the reforms it carried out during this period. The second chapter of this dealt with the types of waqf administration. The researcher also highlighted in the third chapter the role played by the Ottoman Empire in the enrichment of religion, education, economic, social and urban movement in order to promote the Tripoli society during that period in. The fourth chapter emphasizes the role of the architect. The researcher tackles the Islamic architecture, the factors that it formed from religious, political and climatic, and the local features of this architecture. The researcher focused on the local features of the Libyan architecture in Tripoli during the Ottoman Period, In the final part of this research are the criteria that are taken to preserve the assets of the waqf and to maintain the continuity of its endowment activity and to preserve its sustainability financing.

With this methodology we can create a strong foundation and shed light immensely on the waqf institution and trace back its procedures during the 2nd Ottoman Reign.

Regardless of waqf's origins, as well as it's own set of regulations and procedures along history, yet there were not barely any resources regarding the methodological way of waqf which were from the disinterest of the public as well as the continuous decrease in it's role, however this role stands behind most – if not all – of the religious, cultural and service constructions and buildings in the city during that time.

However, the waqf body is still reconstructed in our minds in a typical manner – as a religious non-civic establishment – and most of us think that waqf is a mere historic definition which has no whatsoever connection to modern reality. This mental abstraction had a negative effect on both the performance of waqf institutions and the Islamic civilization in total.

Thus, what was mentioned earlier seeks the significant role assumed by waqf institution economically, intellectually and socially, resulting back then a civil society crawling within the city of Tripoli which was one of the most important moments in the city's history and eventually contributing to the heritage of Islamic

culture. Also, seeks the effect of that institution on the physical topography of Tripoli, the amplitude and strength of that institution over the architectural fabric of the city and its development over the pace of time and history. — Which were a main concern to keep a share of waqf earnings to the renovation\development of the asset

From this perspective, this study attempts to contemplate the assets of waqf which are located in Tripoli from an architectural point of view, as these assets diversify from mosques, nooks, charity waqfs like The School of Islamic Crafts & Arts and other social waqfs like the residence units of many well-known families in Tripoli.

In exception to mosques, nowadays most if not all the public buildings which were under waqf are severely neglected and abandoned, leading eventually to be suspended from performing it's regular tasks and services, even the residential waqfs are in no better shape, such negligence is due to lack of awareness and knowledge regarding this valuable heritage, as well to the negativity in the inhabitants' attitude. All of this is due to the marginalization enforced on the waqf institution to become exclusively related to maintaining religious buildings and nothing else.

Such negligence pushes us forward to investigate the reasons behind it, is it due to the system itself? Is it responsible for not achieving the required sustainability to these assets? Is this situation nothing but a mere reflection of it's own condition back then? And if such sustainability used to be achieved in the past which were the methods performed to achieve it?

Therefore, this study aims to discover the bits of information regarding the body and system of the waqf institution, the buildings and assets in its responsibility and its religious, economic, social and intellectual role, its extent on maintaining sustainability of it's assets and the laws and regulations it worked by. This research will follow the methodology of tracing and listing the available information regarding waqf in the tomes of history and Islamic jurisprudence.

This requires, however, a broad grasp on the waqf assets and management information which is summarized in inspecting the achievements of the current ministry of waqf and revising the ancient documentation of waqf back in the second Ottoman Reign period as a certified resource, due to the lack of credibility in regular resources "books, encyclopedias, etc...", and then analyze those documents to gain knowledge on the procedures followed by waqf back then and creating a bigger picture on the waqf institution structure overall.

Haitham Mohamed ELGHAWI

ABSTRACT

At the beginning, this study is a document of historical information and an important historical epoch in the Libyan modern history. It is a link between the past and the present and the bridge between the Libyan and Turkish culture which is a part component of the modern Libyan cultural components, this study is based on many writings of the Arab nationalists, which propagate the idea that the Ottoman State came as a colonizer to Libya and the North African countries and not as the Ottoman State had met the Libyan people's distress in both periods of their rule. Knights of St. John during the first period 1515, in the second period of their rule in 1835, when the call of the people for taxation and the tyranny of the Qarmanian Family came to an end, they also claim that during the Ottoman rule there was no positive role in the social, cultural and urban life in Libya in general and in the city of Tripoli especially the researcher presented this research through its chapters submitting information about the waqf system in the Second Ottoman Era in Tripoli, it's buildings, their economic, social, scientific and religious role, the disclosure of information about it's practical practice through history and the historical administrative role of the waqf system.

The waqf system has many laws and regulations that have evolved and developed with the development of the city of Tripoli in the Ottoman Era and it's property management systems which are largely in line with the regulations governing the management of cultural properties in the modern era, especially those in historical cities. The theoretical information in the books of jurisprudence and history related to the topic of study.

During the Ottoman Eras,a great number of waqf buildings and mosques was established; of which we mention Darghuth Basha Mosque (1560); Al-Nagà Mosque (reconstructed by 1610); Shayeb Aláyen Mosque (1699); Ahmad Basha Mosque (1738); Gurji Mosque (1834) and a number of schools were constructed as well, of

them we mention: Othman Basha School (1654); Maizran School (1880) and the

School of Islamic Arts and Crafts (1898).

The endowed waqf institutions and buildings have varied comprehensively in

categories; waqf items as such to road flatteners, lodging waqf units that provided

services to the foreigners visiting the city, that had reached a number of 35 motels and

8 hotels. In addition to the baths wagf; which were four. And school wagfs which

reached a number of 21 Quranic schools, 3 religious' institutions, among the libraries

waqfs, be them attached to mosques or those being independent. In addition to the

shops wagfs which reached a sum of 3309, or the 33 masjid wagfs and 5 sufism nooks,

21 shrines within and outside of the city walls, all endowed under waqf. It is important

to realize the effect and importance of waqf upon the locals' lives; whereas it extended

the level of social and public facilitations; and turned the endowment culture into a

popular mindset through that time. As well as it has contributed to the architectural

development and expansion of the city. (Himmali, 2010: 140)

This study attempted to answer a number of questions about the conditions of the

waqf buildings in the city of Tripoli during the Second Ottoman Period by

highlighting the religious, scientific, economic, social and architectural role played

by these buildings. To preserve and sustain the urban fabric of the city of Tripoli

over the past decades, and to identify the mechanisms used to manage the buildings

of the waqf and the possibility of benefiting from them today to raise the physical

status of these buildings.

Keywords: Waqf, Ottoman, Tarabulus, Libya, Tripoli

15

Bu çalışma öncelikli olarak tarihsel bilgileri ve çağdaş Libya tarihine ait önemli bir dönemi belgelendirme amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Söz konusu dönem, geçmişle bugünün birleşme noktalarından biri ve Libya ile Türk kültürleri arasında bir iletişim köprüsünün kurulduğu zaman aralığı addedilmektedir. Nitekim bu kültür etkileşimi, Libya kültürünü oluşturan unsurlardan bir tanesi olmuştur. Aynı şekilde çalışma, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Libya'ya ve Kuzey Afrika Devletleri'ne bir sömürgeci olarak geldiği şeklindeki düşünceyi yayan Arap milliyetçilerine bir cevap niteliğindedir. Halbuki Osmanlı Devleti, hakimiyeti süresince Libya halkının sıkıntılarını gidermiş ve birinci hakimiyet dönemi olan 1515'te Libya'yı Aziz John Şövalyeleri'nin sömürgesinden kurtarmış, ikinci hakimiyet dönemi olan 1835'te ise halkın yüksek vergi oranları ve Karamanlı Hanedanı'nın zorbalıkları nedeniyle yaptığı çağrılara karşılık vermiştir. Arap milliyetçileri, Osmanlı Devleti'nin hakimiyeti döneminde genelde Libya özelde ise Trablusgarp'ta toplumsal ve kültürel yaşam ile kalkınma açısından hiçbir olumlu gelişmenin yaşanmadığını öne sürmektedir.

Buna bağlı olarak çalışmanın bölümleri içerisinde, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Trablusgarp'taki ikinci hakimiyet dönemindeki vakıf sistemi ve buna ait yapılar ile Osmanlı'nın bölgedeki ekonomik, sosyal, ilmi ve dini rolüyle ilgili bilgiler yer almaktadır. Ayrıca tarih boyunca Osmanlı Devleti'nin ortaya koymuş olduğu pratik uygulamalar ve vakıf sisteminin idari açıdan tarihsel rolü incelenmektedir. Zira vakıf sisteminin içerisinde çok sayıda alt sistem ve yasa bulunmakta olup, bu sistem Osmanlı'nın ikinci hakimiyet döneminde Trablusgarp'ın gelişimiyle paralel bir gelişme ve ilerleme kaydetmiştir. Öte yandan söz konusu sistem, günümüzdeki – özellikle tarihi şehirlerde benimsenen – kültürel yapıların idare sistemleriyle büyük ölçüde uyuşmaktadır.

Osmanlı döneminde, Trablusgarp'ta birçok sayıda kuruluş tesis edildi. Valiler veya ülkenin elit ve zengin insanları tarafından kurulan bu kuruluşların bazısı vakıflar ve dinî kuruluştu. Diğerleri ise sosyal kuruluşları. ile askeri yapılardı

harbiyelerdi. Bu eserler arasında en önemli camiler Turgut Paşa Camii(1560), Nâka

Camii (1610'da restore edildi), Şayib el-ayn Camii (1699), Karamanlı Ahmet Paşa

Camii (1738), ve Gürcü Camiidir (1834). Osmanlılar Trablusgarp'ta medreseler de

inşa etmişlerdi. Bunlar Osman Paşa Medresesi (1654), Mizran Camii Medresesi

(şehir dışında 1880), Madrasat alfunun w alsanayie al'iislamia, [Sanat ve El Sanatları

Medresesi] (1898);

Osmanlının ikinci döneminde Trablusgarp'ta ve çevresinde yapılan vakıfların verdiği

hizmetler çok çeşitliydi. Sosyal hizmetleri Vakıfları yollarda sebiller yapmıştı. Diğer

taraftan, konaklama vakıfları şehirde 8 otel ve motel ile 35 pansiyon yaptı. Hamam

vakıfları dört hamam kurdu. Medrese vakıfları 21 medrese, üç dinî enstitü ve

medrese ile camilere tabi büyük kütüphaneler kurdu. Dükkân vakfı ise yaklaşık 3309

dükkan' kapsıyordu. Camilerin sayısı yaklaşık 33' tü. Beş sofu ibadet yeri ve 21 veli

mezarı ziyaret yeri yapıldı.

Şehirsel fonksiyonlar açısından neredeyse tüm hizmetlerin içerisinde mutlak surette

bir yer işgal eden vakıflar, ın trabluslir iktisadi,idari-siyasi ve kültürel-sosyal

açısından insanlara ve ülkeye büyük yararı olmuştu. Neredeyse vakıflara ait

gayrimenkuller şehrin tamamını kaplıyordu. Bu nedenle şehrin kentsel gelişiminde

vakıfın çok büyük etkisi oldu.

Bu çalışma Osmanlı Devleti'nin ikinci hakimiyet döneminde Trablusgarp

şehrinde bulunan vakıf binalarının durumu hakkında ortaya atılan sorulara, bu

binaların dini, ilmi, ekonomik, toplumsal ve mimari açıdan oynadığı rolü gözler

önüne sererek cevap vermeye çalışmaktadır. Yine çalışma, vakıf binalarının teknik

yerel niteliklerini ve vakıfların etkisi ile Trablusgarp şehrinin kültürel dokusunu

yıllar boyunca korumadaki işlevini incelemektedir. Ayrıca vakıf binalarının idare

yöntemlerini ele almakta, bu binaların günümüzde içerisinde bulundukları fiziksel

koşulları iyileştirmek için, geçmişteki tecrübelerden nasıl istifade edilebileceğini

irdelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Waqf, Ottoman, Tarabulus, Libya, Tripoli

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SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

This study tries to fulfill a collection of questions concerning the shape of waqf assets during the second Ottoman Reign, through shedding light over its religious, intellectual, economic, social, architectural and artistic role. It sheds light as well on the importance and functions of waqf system concerning maintaining the urban fabric of Tripoli in the past century, as well as recognizing the methods used by the waqf authorities in realizing so; and the possibility of benefitting from it today, to bring back those assets to their former glory.

PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The fact that many of Tripoli's old district buildings are actually under the waqf system, makes it essential to recognize the role played by waqf and to study it profoundly and finding out if it's procedures can be manipulated and modified to be compatible with modern-day. As a summary, the importance of this study can be summed in:

- 1. To provide a credible sum of data and information regarding this system and its asset, as well as to raise awareness to the public concerning waqf's definition, functions and importance and how it can be utilized in the future.
- 2. Shedding light on waqf assets in an independent and sophisticated manner, to study it's characteristics and its relation to the rest of the urban architectural fabric inside the old district and other suburbs of Tripoli and how they can be renovated and how can I apply sustainability on these valuable treasures.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

Analytical descriptive research

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH / RESEARCH PROBLEM

Study Hypothesis.

This study will provide the following

- a. A detailed exhibition of the religious, scientific, social, economic, and architectural role of Tripoli's waqf buildings during the second Ottoman Reign.
- b. A documented contribution into the preservice of the architectural heritage of the city.
- c. It will contribute into the process of forming the urban architectural features of the city, by shedding light on the architectural style of the second Ottoman Reign.
- d. An attempt to enrich the research on the topic of historic architecture.

Study Queru (Why did I choose this subject?)

This study comes as an irrefutable response to some of the Arab nationalist authors which have stated that the Ottoman Empire came as an occupation and did not leave a positive influence inside the cultural social architectural lifestyle and from here comes my query: Did the waqf buildings of the second Ottoman Reign have a cultural role and a positive influence on supporting the sustainability of the architectural structure and the urban fabric in the city of Tripoli?

STUDY EXTENT

The study covers the **waqf assets** in Tripoli and its suburbs during the period of the second Ottoman Reign to define and reflect the roles the system and its assets played during that time.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

A. PhD. Tesis – Taha Hussein Awad Hadeel. "The Impact of Islamic Waqf Upon the Scientific Revolution in Yemen". History of the Islamic Civilization – Aden University.

Research Summary:

A study that enquired whether the success of educational institutions in Yemen during the period between the VI & VIII A.D centuries was due to the abundance of

endowed assets in such era? Or was it due to the strategically optimized disbursing of the revenues yielded by these assets?

To achieve the objective of this study; divided into an introduction and six main chapters; wherein the first narrates a historical overview on the scientific growth in Yemen and the factors that influenced its progress and prosperity.

In the second chapter, a comprehensive definition of waqf, it's systems, it's legitimacy, the factors which have encouraged the Yemenite society to incorporate it, the regulations that had controlled it. The third chapter was appropriated for the categories of waqf assets and it's forms of management. In the fourth chapter the amendments and improvements incorporated in the Yemenite Islamic Waqf model, where the fifth discusses the managerial approaches and methods that have been introduced and applied on it. Finalizing with a comprehensive analyzation of the impact produced by the waqf system upon the scientific movement and infrastructure in Yemen.

B. Abdurrazaq Budiyaf. "Management of Waqf Funds and It's Investment According to Islamic Jurisprudence and Algerian law". 2005-2006.

Study Structure:

- A. The main exposition of this study is divided into four main chapters. Wherein each chapter is attached with a number of appendixes, such as examples of archived waqf contracts, jurisprudence and legal decrees and articles of relation, along with other evidential historic documentations that are bonded with the topic discussed.
- B. Introduction and Preface: The functional progress of waqf institution throughout history.
- C. Chapter One: Financial management of waqf revenues, according to the Algerian law and Islamic jurisprudence.
- D. Chapter Two: Investment of waqf revenues, according to the Algerian law and Islamic Jurisprudence.
- E. Chapter Three: The establishment of Algerian waqf institution and it's growth prospects.
- F. Chapter Four: The legal regulations that protected the and waqf institutions.

Objectives of Waqf:

1. Its contribution in maintaining the functional state of the public service

establishments in the state, such as paved roads, cities walls, wells, bridges,

etc.

2. Its contribution to the sustainability of state security through the

establishment of barracks, forts, castles, guard towers and other defensive

structures.

C. Baháddine Abdulkhaleq Bakr. "Strategies to Develop the Revenues of

the Islamic Endowment Systems in the Gaza Strip Region". 2009

Study Enquiries:

Chapter One

Introduction: Study Preposition:

What are the strategies and procedure amendments that can be implemented for

increasing the revenues of Gaza Waqf institution?

Study Objectives:

The theoretical and practical study aims at the following points:

a. To highlight the concept of waqf and its legitimacy, forms, structures and

conditions.

b. Clarifying the impact of the waqf upon economic development.

c. Identify the forms and types of investment available for the development of

Islamic endowment revenues.

d. Recognize the available developing measures that can be implemented on

Islamic waqf institution in the Gaza Strip Region.

e. Recognize the authentic nature of the Islamic waqf and the ways of investing

its resources in the region.

Resulting a number of waqf-related approaches that can grow the invested

revenues of this system and retain its profitability to the public.

The second topic: Previous studies.

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Chapter Two: Islamic Waqf economics and development perquisites:

The first topic: The role of Islamic waqf in economic development:

a. Waqf laws

b. The endower legal criteria and regulations

c. Legal waqf contract formulation.

The role of the waqf in economic development.

The second topic: the perquisites of developing waqf revenues.

Chapter Three: Investment of waqf funds.

The first topic: The general framework of waqf funds investment.

Chapter Four:

The first topic: the nature of the Islamic waqf and it's means of investment in the

Gaza Strip.

The second topic: Waqf properties and methods of investment in the Gaza Strip.

Chapter Five: Study procedures and results. Methods and procedures of study. the results of the study and its analysis.

D. Abdelkader Ben Azzouz. "Jurisprudence of Waqf Investment and Financing in Islam". 2004.

The subject of the study and it's importance: The Islamic waqf is recognized as one of the most important manifestations of social solidarity in Islam which achieves the Islamic nation's preservation of it's five faculties. It is intended to preserve the doctrine of the nation by endowing educational institutions, it's students and staff. It also aims to preserve the self by providing a sufficient minimum for those whom benefit from waqf systems. Thus serving their basic needs of food, drink and garmenting, it is also intended to preserve the mind which scholars endow books and manuscripts that directs Muslim thought towards the knowledge of the creator and knowledge of the limits of Sharia. It is also intended to preserve the nation's proportions or its offspring, by fulfilling the medical need of them and other members of the nation to preserve their health and the nation continuation.

Another purpose of the waqf is to achieve the nation to preserve it's financial stability, as the endower directs his money to the benefit of the nation, to be in the service of the whole and even if it's an insignificant asset, but what produced by the land of agricultural endowment brings personal profit for the endower financially, but the rest of the nation benefit from the production of it's crops and fruits, thus maintaining the principle of economic circulation and benefits the members of the nation. From here, comes the necessity to study the Algerian waqf institution thoroughly, to enable it's efficient functioning and provide the symbiotic benefits it provides to the nation. However, this social pillar has not received any support from the Algerian government until 1990, where it reinstated the waqf system in a marginal manner that devitalizes the important role it plays in maintaining and developing the economic fabric of the Algerian society, along with providing the needed charity support for the less fortunate. I can see that the marginalization of charity intended by our government is a less strategic option, where the government and the nation treasury handles these expenditures without the support of waqf.

Subject: the subject of the Algerian waqf because of its critical symbiotic and economic benefit, especially that the subject is still gathering official attention which is the need for many studies historical and economic jurisprudence to re-establish the spirit and culture of the waqf in the same Algerian society, and so that the endowment in turn provide service to the economy. Attention has been paid to studying the Algerian endowment in the field of university studies. One of the students studied the Algerian waqf on its economic side. A university letter was recorded for study by the student.

Research outline: The research has been divided into an introduction and a preliminary chapter, then into two sections, a theoretical section and another practical section, each of which includes it's own chapters and discussions.

As for the introduction, it included the purpose of the letter, followed by the methodology utilized, the problematic of the research to be answered, etc. The preliminary section examined the provisions of the waqf and the evidence of legality and the wisdom behind its legislation.

Discusses the history of the Algerian waqf in the past and present and the extent of validity of it due to the importance of that on his development. The first part of the thesis included a theoretical theory study which dealt with the question of the legitimacy of the waqf investment, as well as the legality of it's financing in Islamic jurisprudence, the statement of the meaning of financing and investment in the Islamic economy in general and the funding and investment waqf, especially to achieve this divided into two parts: The first section includes the legitimacy of waqf investment.

The second section examined the evidence of the legality in financing the Islamic waqf. The two sections included research on the meaning of investment in general and concerning waqf, especially for its legitimacy, it's controls and forms and other investment related matters.

It also included research on the meaning of the endowment financing, with a statement of the meaning of financing in general and in particular the waqf and the evidence of it's legitimacy and it's rules, sources and forms in the Islamic economy in general and suitable for waqf projects in particular.

In the second section, in which the research aims to explain the appropriate forms of financing for the investments of the waqf in general and the Algerian in particular. And divided into six sections. Each chapter includes a set of subsections, each subsection on two sections, a section on defining the appropriate funding for the waqf investment, and another study to show the appropriate application formulas for this financing process.

In the first section, the financing of the endowment investment by holding a contract for the importance of this type of contract on the future of the waqf and it's provisions through a statement of the definition of participation and to identify the types of participation appropriate to finance waqf projects, towards continuous participation and participation that ended up with propertization through the appropriate application formulas for the projects of the moratorium.

In the second part, financing and agricultural investment despite some jurisprudential dispute between the jurists in the extent of saying whether or not from one agricultural contract to another, it's importance and relevance to the projects of the waqf because most of it's lands are agricultural land.

In the third section, the research is concerned with the importance of financing endowment investments by selling, whether produced by the land of the waqf or the commercial operation that is based on the waqf institution in order to profit according to what suits it's financial and human potential, towards peace, speculation, usury and manufacturing.

In the fourth chapter, financing the endowment investments in the lease contract by pointing out the importance of the process on the endowment proceeds by using the contemporary and appropriate forms of the nature of the economic and solidarity waqf towards the financing and operational leasing formula and the promise of profit.

The fifth section of the research is concerned with the financing of endowments investments through the financial markets due to their importance and financial implications in the modern Islamic economy which helps the Waqf Directorate to develop its development projects towards the shareholding companies and usury bonds.

In the sixth section, the importance of social participation in the financing process for the projects of the endowment or so-called symbiotic institution that funds in different manners, it helps the Directorate will to stop the development of waqf in a way that cost only the effort in thinking in appropriate formulas for how to involve the nation in this financing process, towards voluntary charity and the cessation of moral rights.

As for the conclusion, the research, suggestions and possible recommendations that help the Directorate of the Algerian waqf to develop the institution of legal waqf.

E. Amal Shafiq Muhammad Alássi. "The Waqf-ndowed Establishments and It's Influence Over the Sustainability of Historical Cities Urban Fabric". Najah National University - Postgraduate faculty. Case Study: The Naples' Old District..

With the general lack of attention toward the waqf system by the twentieth century, followed a lack of support for its mechanisms and means; resulting a deteriorating decrease of it's output and revenues, loss of endowed agricultural plots and orchards as well as abandonment of public service, residential and commercial units. Therefore, this continuing negligence of the waqf system projects the necessity of this study, the waqf administrative body and these endowed establishments, while defining the importance of waqf in sustaining these units to their functioning status.

To reach satiating results from this study one must incorporate the waqf system mechanism and approaches within a theoretical form, then observe the applicated experiences of waqf throughout history, mainly through the Ottoman model which can be observed through the archived documents from that.

The information that can be extracted from Ottoman documents of Naples are an eminent source of reference that can lead us to understand the mechanisms that sustain and maintain the endowed buildings, along with the laws and regulations that protected these assets, concordant with architectural sustainability aims nowadays. In the last section of this study the deeds of the waqf systems in sustaining the physical structure of buildings as well as keeping the other functional factors which have supported it intact.

Study Enquiry:

The old district of Naples consists of a distinctive and integral urban fabric, of which consists the waqf assets a substantial ratio that cannot be neglected or looked over. The history of Islamic waqf systems is abundant with laws, regulations, and standards that form it's distinctive framework.

The existence of a numerous amount of old Naples buildings under the waqf system umbrella reflects the importance of this study as a beacon that sheds light over the conclusive form of waqf, it's systems, approaches, laws and regulations.

Providing scientific output on the waqf buildings, as well as increasing the public awareness to its importance, it's definition, it's significant role that it played during the past and how it can be renovated to suit the needs of the future.

Increasing the awareness among architects on the relation that bonds waqf systems to the contemporary architectural concepts and how it can be utilized in maintaining historic buildings and sustain it's functional form.

It is very likely that this study is the first of it's kind, when it comes to the relation between waqf and the overall urban fabric, as it discusses such relation from an architectural point of view.

Shedding light over each waqf building in the region studied independently to observe it's distinct characteristics and it's function within the overall urban fabric of the city, and its potential exploitation probability in modern day.

Study Objectives:

- 1. Clarifying the relation between waqf and Islamic cities structures.
- 2. Discussing waqf as a system and it's importance from an architectural perspective.
- 3. Observing the individual relation between waqf system and physical status of it's buildings.
- 4. Differentiating the several types of waqf buildings and dividing them into:

Charity waqf (Cultural, Religious, Public Services and Social).

Commercial waqf.

- 5. Recognizing the mechanisms utilized in the management of these buildings, as well as the potential of exploitation of such mechanism in modern day.
- Increasing the public awareness level when it concerns the importance of these buildings and the importance of the potential role that it could lead if maintained and renovated.

F. PhD. Tesis – Muhammad Othman Said Alkhateeb."The Islamic Waqf In Palestine During the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)" . Yarmuk University. 2007.

Abstract:

This study aims at investigating the Islamic waqf endowments in Palestine during the Mamluk Period. It consists of four chapters preceded by an introduction that defines thoroughly the concept of waqf, it's elements, conditions, types and the reasons that led to it's existence and expansion.

The First Chapter presents a comprehensive presentation about the role of endowment in the cultural life. The research took into consideration the schools, the Mamluk educational policy, the role of endowment in financing education, the sources of endowment on educational institutions, children schools and libraries, and the Quranic schools and hadith. Finalizing by discussing the effect of endowment on the cultural life.

The Second Chapter deals with the role of endowment in the religious life. It indicates to the establishment of endowment and mosques, the role of endowment in financing religious institutions: mosques, nooks, gorges and composures. The endowment and various religious issues, the endowment and the expenses of religious institutions and finalizes with the effect of endowment on the religious life.

The Third Chapter presents the role of endowment in the social life. The research discusses about *bimaristans* (hospitals), baths, inns and other various public service institutions.

Thee Fourth Chapter investigates the role of endowment in the economic life. As it covers the managerial functions of endowment and the forms of investing waqfs, be them real-estate, lands, or other economic facilities and services providers in Palestine, from agricultural lands, farms, markets, shops, halls, baths, inns, bakeries and mills. Moreover, it covers the effect of endowment on the economic life in that region.

It is obvious that this study presents a comprehensive view over the nature of waqf in Palestine during the Mamluk Period.

G. PhD. Tesis – Ahmad Hashim Ahmad Badarshini. "The Mamlukid Waqf Assets in Mecca and Medina (1250-1517)".

Study Abstract:

The subject of the thesis dealing with the Two Holy Mosques – THMs – endowments at the ages of Mamluks and it explained the previous interest of Islamic governments about the THMs as they have historical and religious importance. In

Mecca was a destination for people since an ancient time, therefore many Quranic verses and prophet sayings to number in having the best of the pilgrimage and visit. Therefore, the previous Islamic countries which follow through ruling the oriented Islamic preferred on keeping the THMs under their protection for the religious and historical significance. However, the Egyptian Mamluks regarded the rule of the THMs as a religious, political and economical importance, where their princes and sultans concentrated their efforts to care about the THMs in both Mecca and Medina by establishing endowments to carry on doing good bountiful as they wish. Thus, a lot of endowments have been done at a various religious and civil purposes and for the community of the THMs which included beneficial, social, educational and religious establishments.

The researcher depends on a collection of documents from the Mamluk Age which a lot of it have been published for the first time, as it shows essential data about the THMs during the Mamluk Era from a historical and civilizational perspective. The research reached that the muniments of the endowment were important sources for the cities planning study and the geographically regional characteristics of Hijaz through it's description of religious, civil buildings, as well as streets, wells, stations, pathways and the villages which included under endowments.

Thus, the researcher highlights important documents that signalize traveling paths of the pilgrims and consider seriously the covering clothes of the Kaaba and prophetic chambers. Indicating as well Jeddah and Yanbu as locations of Mamluk Waqf systems.

The Mamluk documents as well explain the commencing of school establishing for the first time in Mecca during the last quarter of the 6th Hijri century, and the spread of educational institutions growing in Mecca and Medina alike.

Finally, the researcher concluded that the prosperity of education and medical studies had been indicated through the establishment of *Bimaristans* as well as additional other critical public institutions and buildings.

Study Importance:

This research derives it's importance from the sacred THMs and importance of their existence in comparison to other historic Islamic structures. And how they are functionalized as waqf assets which is the main article of this study.

The study waqf through it historic documents sheds light over the characteristics of this system, as well as the social fabric of the locals living in this region, an unrhetorical source of information that cannot be brought from a different resource. This study provides strong arguments around the nature of waqf contracts, as it provides a transparent image of the nature of it's population and how they are strict about their religion, providing as well detailed information about the management hierarchy of the waqf institution of that time, as well as the regulations and laws that defines their framework.

H. PhD. Tesis –Muhammad Muhammad Amin. "Waqf & The Social Life in Egypt (1250-1517)".

Cairo University

This study comes as a referential resource that sheds light over the importance of waqf system within the Mamluk social model era and the bond that connects it to the social fabric of that era; in a way that affects the social traditions and habits of the locals, altering them by such influence the researcher argues these points by the archived waqf documents of that era that provides an undisputable evidence upon the effect of waqf on the social fabric.

I. Master's Thesis – Abdullah Kalbouna. "Ancient Mosques of Naples".Jerusalem University – 1998

Which is another study that inspects thoroughly into the elements of the ancient mosques in Naples, trailing back the history of these buildings and the events that it had witnessed, aided by a number of archived documents of the Naples Sharia court archive, along with what globetrotters and adventurers had mentioned regarding these establishments.

1. CHAPTER ONE: HISTORY OF TRIPOLI AND THE WAQF

1.1. Introduction to The History of Tripoli:

It was back in the 7th century B.C. before the time of the Phoenicians when Tripoli was incepted, as it was a commerce hub and market to distribute the crude materials of Africa between the north and the south, as the commerce network covered most of the mother continent. (Tellisi, 1997: 7)

There is an irrefutable consensus among many historic documents on the relationship between the erection of the city and the arrival of the Phoenicians to the western and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, in these new terrains, the Phoenicians have built many trade posts and hubs, spreading their own cultural, commercial, and civilizational fingerprint. The historic documents indicating such facts go back between the beginnings of the first millennia B.C. to end of the second millennia B.C which was the time when the Phoenicians were entering their own colonial era around the Mediterranean.

Some researchers propose that the Phoenicians whom have built Tripoli did not come from the eastern coast of the Phoenician Empire but from Sicily. Those adventurers and merchants have built more than ten bustling trading centers, of which distinguished the three cities, the cities that have shaped the face of the North African ancient history which are Leptis Magna, Sabratha and Oea. The aforementioned trading centers were purposed for commercial use in the beginning but the Phoenicians began to have interest in the area to expand their territory during the second millennia B.C an augmenting tendency after the erection of Carthage.

Oea kept on growing through the pace of history; yet it did not receive – compared to Leptis Magna and Sabratha – quite the attention by historians, because it only reached it's golden era when the latters' began to collapse, which is indicated by the lack of historical citation regarding Oea during the times of prosperity Leptis Magna and Subratha were going through. The city only began to shine in historical records during the end of the Byzantine Era and throughout the Arab conquests. (Tellisi, 1997: 9)

It was a matter of time for the Phoenician Empire's strength to fall and crumble on the southern side of the Mediterranean where the Carthaginians grew more dominant in that terrain. The latters' grasped the Phoenicians colonies to save it from falling apart, yet withdrawing all those aspects of independence these cities enjoyed. Such thing did not last for long, as the events fell; the Carthaginians went succeeded by the Grecian and Roman invasions respectively.

The Carthaginians were motivated to conquer the Phoenician colonies due to the importance each represented, historically speaking, thus in the 520 B.C. they took the initiative to expulse the Grecian attempt to build a colony near the estuary of Cypins Valley, such move gave birth to years of conflict between Cyrenaica and Carthage.

It is quite clear, if not obvious, that Carthage was aware of the strategic and economic importance these centers represented, thus it left no other action in hand but to attempt invading it away from it's rivals. After the Carthaginian invasion, these centers kept on it's Phoenician-inherited ways, an autonomous system of rule, keeping the responsibility of defending it to Carthage, as the later forbid the ownership of arms and military fleets to these cities, as it monopolized the commercial maritime movement, keeping it an exclusive privilege to Carthage fleets. Such attitude resulted a leech-like effect, where Carthage prospered and these cities began losing their cultural and economic glow. Yet eventually, it left Carthage suffering a heavy aftermath when the Roman Empire launched a high-scaled campaign upon it, which left the exploited centers in the east unable to support Carthage in return. (Tellisi, 1997: 11)

Those Latin historic records had obliterated any mention of all that is Phoenician or Carthaginian all the same from it's chronicles which projects a vague image of that time. Yet those records seem to have a consensus on mentioning the oppressive manner with which Carthage ruled the eastern trade centers of Tripolitania, having an open maritime trading even with it's own enemies and denying the *emporias* such a privilege. Holding agreements with Rome, other rivals and allies, to exclude the

eastern coast off the trade while rerouting all the commercial movement to Carthage it itself.

Carthage began to impose and collect ridiculous amounts of taxes on the Phoenician *Emporias*, specifically the Libo-phoenician ones, enforcing mandatory enlistments during wars and campaigns. A famous example here lies by 219 A.D. when Hannibal enlisted 450 cavaliers from the Libo-Phoenician cities to follow his ambitions to subdue Caesar to his knees.

Yet, these cities adapted to such ruling by finding other methods to generate income. It is well known that Phoenicians and Carthaginians alike were masters in farming and animal domistication, of which they developed many of it's methodologies and incorporated several new species of fruitful trees into the terrain.

How were the *emporias* ruled? What was their relation to Carthage? In addition, were these emporias autonomous? Some researchers assume that that Carthage gave these emporias a somewhat autonomous ruling that is limited to the economic and military aspects, as have explained beforehand; yet there is some evidence that such autonomic management was an exclusive privilege to Leptis Magna.

The emporias kept their own Phoenician-inherited institutions and systems, electing annually two governors of it's council which were responsible on the sovereignty and judicial aspects. The cities had also an upper congress which summons the governors to discuss the general issues of the city. The governors had some martial jurisdiction, which was only limited to maintaining the security of the city. Carthage was the sole handler of the defense-related issues.

The system of ruling in these emporias as a subtle oligarchy; the city council had somewhat small political powers and responsibilities compared to the upper congress which consisted of those individuals whom are highly suited as nobles and most likely and certainly loyal to Carthage on the account of these cities. *Sallustius* confirmed that such methods of ruling were inherited from the Phoenicians, similar

to those in Carthage in which the latter had no need to modify or change in whatsoever way.

Even though, Carthage kept an open eye with a systematic control through its emissaries to suspend any attempts to gain independence. Induced by the fevered relationship between the annexed emporias and Carthage.

It was only a matter of time until the Numidian leader *Masinisa* emerged to invade these emporias which had not spent any effort to defend its Carthaginian sovereignty, remaining under the same miserable situations during the Carthaginian rule.

Yet the Latin historians keep trying to convince us that these emporias did not prosper until they went under the Roman rule which occurred after several critical events, such as the death of *Masinisa* and Rome giving the death blow to Carthage, ending the Carthaginian existence and The Third Punic War all alike.

After the Numidians lost possession of the emporias, the cities anticipated anxiously their incorporation into the Roman Empire, however, Rome kept on acknowledging the Numidian city rulers whom succeeded *Masinisa* and therefore, they were granted their own independence, away from the Numidian grasp, the cities kept on maintaining and developing good relations with the Roman Empire. Until *Jugurtha's* ambition led him to violently attempt to claim the Numidian throne which led Leptis Magna – probably Sabratha and Oea too – forced to hold an alliance with Rome. It was only a matter of time until the Roman existence began to show in the cities once Leptis Magna called for Rome to help it to extinguish an internal rebellion and the aid came as a legion detachment.

Moreover, that was the first time for the Roman legionnaires to set foot in Oea soil, such existence increased eventually until it's Roman incorporation went eminently.

With the beginning of the new imperial reign, Caesar began his civil war against *Pompey* and *Juba I* alliance, defeating them in the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), which

shattered the last remnants of Numidian rule in the terrain, having the rest of the emporias falling under Caesar's grasp. Luckily, after the death of Caesar whom have been succeeded by Augustus in 25 B.C., the emporias did not suffer the aftermaths of Caesar's death; on the contrary, Augustus united the emporias and held it together as well as he supported it with a several detachments to defend it, giving it a sense of autonomy by the ruling of a congress.

The Roman historians indicate that this system has provided the emporias a unique opportunity to prosper, after having a time of peace under the shade of the vigilant legions. The Roman Empire opened the door for a luxurious life for the citizens of these cities by initiating maritime trade and rebuilding the Phoenician ruins of the city into a variety of temples, markets, residences and baths. In addition to the architectural and urban characteristics of the Roman way of life, the cities began minting their own currency, working by it's own Phoenician political and constitutional framework. Having Latin and Phoenician as official languages. Thus, the city kept it's cultural and traditional Phoenician aspects of life until the Arab conquest.

However, many of the native tribes in the south grew in opposition against the Romans and began to threat the coastal cities, leaving no other option for the Roman Empire but to extend its domination further to the south. (Tellisi, 1997: 15)

The first threat that stood in the face of Romans were the Garamantes which have allied with some of the Numidian rebels and began to reach onto the southern borders of the Roman lands, a detachment of legions faced them by the leadership of *Cornelius Balbus* which have marched from Subratha, through Ghadames and reaching *Garama* the capital of Garamantes. Moreover, he managed to extinguish the rebellion by 20 B.C. for a while, to be set alight again by the time of Emperor *Tiberius*. Where the Numidian tribes allied with the remnants of the Garamantes under the leadership of *Takfarinas*, but it did not go as far until he went defeated at 14 B.C.

The tribes went for a peace treaty with the empire but the peace did not last as long, due to an internal conflict between the cities of Leptis Magna and Oea, the

Garamantes took sides with Oea basing on it's request, sieging Leptis Magna as a result. On the other side, the citizens of Leptis Magna sent a call of aid to *Valerius Festus* which was able to end the siege and restore the peace and order back to the city.

It was not until the end of the first century A.D. for the conflict to end, as the region entered what is known as the "Roman Peace Era", the whole terrain went united under the grip of the empire, from the Mediterranean coast to the mountainous desert, a quite passage of time that lasted for the next century which was the most peaceful duration in the history of the Roman Empire, in addition to that, the Roman historians indicate that the magnitude of commercial relations between Rome and the emporias has led Subratha and Leptis Magna to appoint two commercial representatives in the city of *Ostia Antica*, thus, the trade caravans kept traveling throughout the empire in utter peace.

On top of that, the economic value of the cities skyrocketed, an increase in its agricultural production, along with it gaining more and more privileges and its citizens gaining more tax deductions, being treated equally as Romans. All these luxuries reflected immensely on the architecture of the city and many landmarks stood erect until this day as an ancient witness of that golden era, such as the baths of Leptis Magna, the theatre of Sabratha and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Oea which indicates and confirms nothing but the prosperity that era witnessed.

With the coronation of *Septimius Severus* as Caesar of Rome, his hometown, Leptis Magna, started to gain more and more attention with the passage of time, which is apparent in the ruins left behind to see nowadays. Unfortunately, this prosperity did not last for long after eliminating the *Severan* Dynasty, beginning with Caesar Septimius falling fatally ill, to the empire entering a bloody ominous civil war, and finally, weakened by the war, falling into the hands of barbarians, coming from the north. The restorations of Caesar *Diocletian* (284-305 A.D.) and Caesar *Constantine* (306-337 A.D.) could not save anything worth mentioning, thus the Roman Empire began taking further steps into deathbed as well, however, if such attempts of

rebuilding and restoring the Tripolitanian meant something, it would mean the acknowledgment of these cities and the value of the state of Tripolitania as a whole.

It did not take a while for the empire to fall anew into the chaos of turbulences with a new rebellion. Tripolitania falling into conflict with a new rebellious movement, this time motivated by the new religion, Christianity. Individuals dividing with the thoughts of the African church which has led to enough momentum for it to invite the Vandals to invade the region in 429 A.D., with their King *Genseric* allied by the *Donatists* which were swore archenemies to the Catholics in Rome. (Tellisi, 1997: 17)

The Roman attempts have tried – led by General *Bonifacio* in his attempts to reclaim his relationship with *Galla Placidia* - helplessly to save Tripolitania from being dominated by the Vandals, yet he found himself retreating back to Europe with the remnants of his troops. Thus, ends the Roman rule of North Africa.

Tripolitania suffered a lot during these times, rebellions, wars, conflict, all resulted an immense decrease in it's agricultural potentials, along with scarcity of trade caravans, to let its city turn finally into ghost towns, filled with nothing but sand and ruins.

The Vandal Empire began to crumble by the time when the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I began his campaign to reclaim the North African coasts back, finding allies in the followers of the rebellious Pudentius against the Vandals in Tripolitania. After the reclamation, the Byzantine existence began to fall under the alliance of Laguatans, Numidians, and Garamantes, which expelled the Byzantines out of Tripolitania, to be taken back by the John Troglita in 546 A.D., and somehow, after the end of this bloody era, Tripolitania enjoyed some peace until the Arab Conquests in 643 A.D. (Tellisi, 1997: 21)

1.1.1 Tarabulus and Islam:

Many Muslim historians tell the story of conquering Oea as it being on the hands of *Omar Ibn Alás*, which to have marched after invading Cyrenaica and could not find a way into after sieging it for a whole month, until he found a loophole through the city walls attached to the sea, as the walls were not completely ended by the waterline. The city's fortifications were concentrated facing the land, and that it was relying completely on it's active maritime fleets. Oea was the last city Omar was able to invade under the Caliphate *Omar Ibn Alkhattab*.

Oea was mentioned abundantly in the writings of Arab historians and globetrotters, of which mentioned the *Alyacoubi's* "Tarabulus is an elegant ancient city, laying on the side of coast, prosperous and populous and it was conquered by *Omar Ibn Alás* during the Caliphate of *Omar Ibn Alkhattab*".

In addition, *Alkurkhi* speaks of it in his book [The Routes and The Kingdoms] "Tarabulus is an African city, built on boulders on the coast of the Roman Sea (Mediterranean), lays on a vast and fertile terrain, surrounded by fortifications which are hard to penetrate." (Tellisi, 1997: 24)

In addition, talking about it's gates, mentions *Almakdesi* "It is embraced by towering walls, with four gates, *Bab Albahr* [Seagate], *Bab Alshark* [Eastern Gate], *Bab Aljawf* [Aperture Gate] and *Bab Algharb* [Western Gate], it's habitants drink from rain and wells and an abundance of fruits of pears, apples, milk and honey." (Tellisi, 1997: 25)

"It's inhabitants are eloquent and friendly, treating the strangers with the warmth of a family, inside I see beautiful bustling markets, along with a mesmerizing mosque called *Masjid Alshaab* and has a wide pier with many ships & vessels"... "To the east lay many beautiful garden fields and a marsh of which they cultivate a lot of salt, inside the city stands a well named *Abi Alkanood*". (Tellisi, 1997: 27-28)

The famous geographer, *Alédresi*, in his chronicles, also mentioned the city "A beautiful fortified city, laying just in-between land & water, its white buildings of beauty I never saw before and enjoys an abundance of markets and crafty artisans,

rich in figs and olive trees. Yet the Arabs have rendered it in bad condition, worsening more by the passage of days, cutting it's trees, driving it's habitants away and drying it's sweet waters." (Tellisi, 1997: 29)

Moreover, the Muslim historian, *Abdulwahed Al-Merrakshi* described it's defensive measures "the city had a connected land route to both *Kairouan* in the west and *Alexandria* to the east, which the caravans keep treading safely through day and night. Along the route between Tarabulus and Alexandria, stands well-built outposts, near to each other in destination. For each time an enemy reaches near to either city, a bonfire is lit up on the nearest tower, being seen by the guards on the next tower and lighting up the bonfire as a response and so till the lights reach the other city as a call for support. Such stood as a habit until the Arabs came and demolished these towers".

However, no one has described Tripolitania during his travels in such a vivid manner as the infamous globetrotter *Altijani* which has documented a vast amount of details for each region he had visited during his pilgrimage voyage along with the prince *Abu Zakaria Al-Lahyani*. Accordingly, here is a small list of quotations on the city of Tarabulus by him:

"As the guide told us I were getting near Tarabulus, our eyes were blinded by the reflection of sunlight on the horizon, due to the buildings being painted with white, and I saw its men and women, all clean and friendly and munificent". (Tellisi, 1997: 30)

1.1.1.1.Tarabulus Streets and Districts:

"I have never seen wider, cleaner, straighter streets as the ones I seen in Tarabulus, noticing that all of its streets were penetrating the city in a checkered manner." (Tellisi, 1997: 31)

1.1.1.2. The Pier and Bab Albahr (Seagate):

"After I passed Bab Albahr, I contemplated an elegant scene of all those vessels, ships anchored, as the clean water reflect it's bodies. And those horses and caravans harnessed in neat stables."

1.1.1.3.The Fort:

"An enormous and sturdy castle it is, yet the decay has begun filling it's cracks and holes, it has many rooms and two capacious yard halls."

1.1.1.4. Alriyadh Residence:

"Facing the castle, I can see *Alriyadh*, an exclusive property of the governor and his tribe of *Bani Matrooh* which is memorized by the beauty of its apartments and the abundance of it's fruitful trees, yet now it turned all decayed and littered, but some signs of its lost beauty still remain." (Tellisi, 1997: 33, 34)

1.1.1.5. Masjid Ala'ashra (The Mosque of Ten):

"Outside the castle, I can see the famous mosque of ten and it is known by that name because ten of the city's aldermen used to meet there and discuss the important matters which was a regular habit until the time of *Almohad* which forbade it, yet the name remained."

1.1.1.6. Hammam Albalad (The City Baths):

"The Hammam is one of the castle's utilities, it contained small halls, yet holding a mesmerizing beauty and cleanse I have never seen before. Within the city stand two more baths, but they were not as neat and captivating as this one is."

1.1.1.7.The City Walls:

"I saw many men digging a long continual trench, containing the city's periphery to reach the sea from both sides; they began the digging from the eastern side." "A short wall encompasses the city walls, called *Alsitara* (The Curtain) this wall was not built in the far past, but *Sheikh Abu Muhammad Ibn Hafs* ordered it's construction once he arrived to the city."

1.1.1.8.The City Gates:

Altijani kept on describing the city gates, indicating the Seagate (Bab Albahr), The Curtain Gate (Bab Alsitara), The Green Gate (Albab Al-akhdar) and The Houara Gate (Bab Houara). "And inside, after I entered from Bab Houara, I saw a spacious

area filled with harnessed cattle which was the main livestock *souq* where the shepherds brought their animals to be sold and bought."

1.1.1.9.The Mosques:

- a. Umar Ibn Alás Mosque: located near the cattle market which is the *Ahmed Basha Garramanli* Mosque current location.
- b. Masjid Ala'ashra (The Mosque of Ten): Located near the castle.
- c. A mosque located between the Seagate and the Green Gate, this mosque has a built ablution-basin near it's entrance.
- d. *Almasjid Al-ádam* (The Great Mosque): Which *Abu Ubaid built*, it was also described by *Altijani* as "a towering mosque built on high pillars and with a newly renovated ceiling, it was built during the 300 year on the hands of *Khalil Ibn Isaac Abu Ubaid*.
- e. Masjid Al-Sha'ab: "Albakri kept on praising it's magnificence, yet due to negligence, it stands now in a bad shape."
- f. Masjid Khattab: "Which is located outside the city on the eastern coastline, it is attributed to the wise *Sheikh Khattab Albarki*". (Tellisi, 1997: 35, 36)

1.1.2. The Arch of Marcus Aurelius:

"And between this school and Bab Albahr stands an ancient mysterious structure, a square-bordered symmetrical octagonal dome made of heavy marble – which even a hundred men could not lift it easily – filled with beautiful imagistic engravings, on it's northern pillar there is a strange Roman inscription." (Tellisi, 1997: 38)

During the first phases of the Arab conquest, the city welcomed the vanguards of Muslim conquerors and delivered as a hub for their missions and errands, from invading terrain to scouting for the sake of digging the Muslim roots deeper in North Africa. The city witnessed several rebellions to kick out the Muslims, but it was not far until *Uqbah Ibn Nafá* enforced the Muslim sovereignty over the city, along with *Zuhair Ibn Qais* and *Hassan Ibn Numán*. Uqbah Ibn Nafá had also reinstated the peace and stability, remodeled the laws and initiated a set of organizational decrees to regulate city's management body, along with building the cornerstone for the first

Islamic maritime military fleet in Africa led by Hassan Ibn Numán. (Tellisi, 1997: 40-41)

The Umayyad and Abbasid eras for the region were characterized with turbulences, rebellions and conflicts in a constant manner which has affected the city's wellness due to the misbehaving of some of it's governors, as well as some of these conflicts were due to the autonomic tendencies and the conflicts between the followers of different religious doctrines. The details of such conflict do not interest us, but just sharing a small glimpse to note the major effect this phase has dealt upon the city's social and ideological demography. (Tellisi, 1997: 41)

It is sufficient to only mention the effect of the first rebellions that had occurred, especially the rebellion of *Abi Alkhattab Almafari* which have seized the city in 140 H and ordered the Abbasid governor to leave at once. Then, he made it headquarters to begin his march towards *Kairouan* for the sake of eliminating the existence of *Warfajuma* tribe. Eventually occupying it and giving the governorship to *Abdurrahman Ibn Rustum* which becomes the founder of the *Rustamid* State afterwards. (Tellisi, 1997: 42)

Such strained situation did not change until the city of Tarabulus became under the rule of *Aghlabids*' dynasty which was founded in 184 H. The founder of this dynasty kept on attempting to win Tripoli people over by removing the governors they rejected. Even though, it was also a time of rebellions due to the refusal of the *Aghlabids*' rule, and some conflicts were deliberate by their rivals to the west, the Rustamid Dynasty. The most worth mentioning rebellion was against *Sufian Ibn Almaddá*, the governor of Tarabulus back then. he tried to resist and kept sieged inside a mosque, but the rebels promised him safety if he leaves the city, not too far hears *Ibrahim Ibn Al-Aghlab* of the rebellion news, extinguishes the rebellion with armed force and designates *Ibrahim Ibn Sufian* as governor to satisfy the city's citizens. It is doubtless that some of Tarabulus' governors had had an immense effect on the city's cultural and religious aspects.

By 265 H, *Ahmad Ibn Tawloon* disobeyed his father marched to Tarabulus with thousands of his men to affiliate the city back to the east, after it has been associated with the west for a long time by the Aghlabids, yet he failed. *Muhammad Ibn Kurhub* governed Tarabulus by then.

It would be only natural for the Fatimid Caliphate, instated in the west, being it a strong force in that region, to seek it's sovereignty, cover all of the Muslim lands and be back to the east, the beacon of caliphates. During it's campaign, it began invading Cyrenaica a bit by bit, from Sirte, to *Ijdabia*, until it completely invaded and dominated the rest of Cyrenaica.

Under the Fatimid rule, Tarabulus', citizens became uneasy and furious with the absolutism of the new *Kutama* Tribe rule, so the citizens revolted again by 299-300 H, slaughtering all *Kutama* clan members, the governor *Magnon* escaped and the rebels elected *Muhammad Ibn Isaac* as their own governor.

The Shiite Caliphate decided to take revenge from the Tripolitanians, rallying a tremendous army, led by it's heir *Abulghasim* to subdue Tarabulus. Sieging the city for over a year and when they surrendered and asked for safety, he charged the city a sum of gold, went in and killed every one of the Aghlabids.

During this time, *Ahmad Ibn Kurhub* was in Sicily, doing raids with his fleet on the Fatimid ports and vessels, after he heard of *Abulghasim* being in Tarabulus with his military and maritime forces, he held his campaign and retreated.

It was not too long until *Almuez Li Dinellah Alfatimi* arrived into Tarabulus where the city celebrated his arrival and he stayed in it for a couple of days. Mentioned *Ibn Abi Dinar "Almuez* arrived from Gabes on Wednesday, the 24th of the month – 361 H –, and left by Saturday in two weeks to reach Sirte on the fourth of the month, to arrive in *Ijdabia* in his own palace and from there moved to his mansion in Cyrenaica, famously known as *Almuezzia"*. *Almuez* has been preparing for this voyage since 355 H, ordering to dig wells all the way to Egypt for *Jawhar Alsikilli*'s army and he demanded to have a mansion built in every spot he will stay in all over

the way to Cairo, his personal convoy was saluted and escorted by the people in every city he reached. (Tellisi, 1997: 48-50)

After *Almuez* left Africa, heading to the new Fatimid Caliphate capital in Egypt, he appointed *Yusuf Ibn Ziri* as his deputy and two other governors.

When *Almontaser* became a governor in Tarabulus, the whole region has been preparing to receive the immigrants of *Bani Hilal and Bani Saleem*, this immigration had an evident effect on the economic and social aspects, as the immigrants spread to reside around the city. *Al-Idrisi* mentioned before how the Arabs sabotaged everything, he meant the individuals of the *Hilalian* migration.

With the Arab sovereignty gone from Sicily as the Normans took it over in 484 H, a new threat was getting close, represented in the urges of expansionism of Roger II, and after him his successor William I and the fact of them exploiting the futile and pitiful inner conflicts between the *Ziri* Dynasty and the Fatimids. In addition to the situation of the eastern Arab world where the Crusaders have been circling it like vultures.

The Normans took their chance; they brought the ladders, jumped over the walls and invaded the city, though they spent the first six months of their occupation fixing the city walls and hotels anew. Then they appointed *Abu Yahya Ibn Matrooh* as a governor, as long as he will pay capitation.

Tarabulus kept on being under Sicily's jurisdiction for around 12 years which in apparently Ibn Matrooh could provide some sort of autonomy with a realistic perspective, yet he was hunting for the nearest chance to grab the attention of *Almohad* to relief the city from the Norman domination.

It is apparent from the historic documents that the Almohad control on the city was not direct, yet it kept on being ruled autonomously with the protection of the Almohad. Furthermore, the city had strong and prosperous commercial relations with the European ports.

It was not too long for this peace to last until a new adventurer emerged, Baháeddin Garagoosh which was one of Salahuddin Al-Ayoubi's soldiers. Baháeddin attempted, with a personal agreement with Salahuddin, to try his luck on capturing African lands into his state. He marched through the southern lands of North Africa, from Siwa to Ojala and further to Zweela oases, for the purpose of capture all what is left of Umar Ibn Alkhattab lands, in the end he marched into Tarabulus with the help of Banu Riyah and Banu Diab tribes. Capturing it by 579 H along with Gabes and some other cities in Africa, it so happened that the movements of Garagoosh and a warrior called Isaac Ibn Ghania that left no other choice for the king of Almohad but to march his troops to eliminate them. In which he succeeded at Hammamat of Tunisia, bringing back Gabes, Gafsa, Tuzer and Tarabulus back into his grasp. But after Garagoosh united his powers with Yahya Ibn Ghania they managed to take Tarabulus back, only to have an inner conflict leaving the city to Yahya's hands, finally Yahya left Tashfeen Ibn Ghazi as a governor to Tarabulus. (Tellisi, 1997: 56)

It was a time of bloody conflicts that the city still till now have some memoirs from, for example, the *Gergarish* district of modern day Tripoli has taken it's name from the Baháeddin's built fortress back then. It is a common consensus that the city remained in Yahya's rule for over ten years, in addition, that most historians of that time agree to the fact that the damage which have occurred to the city, was after the time of prosperity under *Ibn Matrooh's* rule. (Tellisi, 1997: 57)

Afterwards, the city went into the *Hafsid* Dynasty reign, as this dynasty had a critical role in the upcoming events that occurred to Tarabulus. It was mentioned by *Altijani* that he used to live in Tarabulus during the governance of *Jacob Yusuf Alhurghi* (639H), which had his own grudges on the Hafsid prince due to his order of killing Jacob's chancellor *Aljawhari*. Leading Jacob to spark a rebellion within the city, but the citizens of Tripoli were not convinced and afraid of the consequences nonetheless. In addition, the news of treason flew around the city and to the Prince's headquarters which he signed an order of execution regarding Jacob, sending his and his conspirators' severed heads to Tunisia.

After the enormous damage by the rebellions of *Garagoosh and Ibn Ghania*, the city habitants grew tired from the lack of peace in Tarabulus. Therefore, the citizens agreed with the governor to spend a portion of the city's income on the purpose of renovating and repairing the city's utilities and defenses, as well as for hiring vigilant squads to preserve security within the city. Those hired vigilantes were *Majresians*, from the tribes of *Houara*. "Strong vigilantes, all descending from its streets, enemies to whom are outsiders; they were contracted by the governor to teach all those Vandals and Bedouins, protecting the city from their wrongdoing." (Tellisi, 1997: 58)

Once more, turbulences and signs of conflict began to appear in Tripoli, many habitants of the city's suburbs began to envy the *Majresians* due to their amount of favor with the governor and the strictness they deal with outsiders. Consequently, a member of the *Maraghma* tribe, *Murgham Ibn Saber*, began to seek support against the Hafsid governance of the city. *Murgham* began to contact the *Mamluk* Sultan, *Mansour Ibn Qalawoon* to grant him his support. Of which he blessed his steps, yet claimed he cannot spend supporting him due to the conflict between his sultanate and the *Tatars*. Thus, the two conspirators joined arms and attacked the city in a failed attempt to overthrow the current governor *Muhammad* "Silverneck" Ibn Isa. After their defeat, they began invading the southern tribes' territories such as *Zuaua*, *Nfusa*, *Nefza*, then conquering Gabes and Tunis after the escape of its governor due to the its troops changing sides and supporting *Murgham*. (Tellisi, 1997: 59)

Tarabulus was representing a critical strategic holdout in the east for the Hafsids and when *Abdulwahed Alhafsi* came to the city, he ordered the renovation of the city walls, repairing the fortifications and building the *Alsitara* walls on the eastern side of the city which was in 614 H.

In this time, emerged a new threatening force in the west, the Marinid Dynasty which have conquered and occupied the city of Tunis. Leading *Muhammad Ibn Thabet* to pay allegiance to the Marinids. However, when the Hafsids reclaimed Tunis and Tarabulus gained it's autonomy once again.

It was referred to by *Ibn Khaldun*, which a group of merchants from Genoa has been coming frequently to Tarabulus, has noticed the level of weakness in it's fortifications, therefore they have attempted to raid it in 755 H. They gathered in the markets to perform their own business, then came to climb the walls at night and invaded the city. Moreover, when the people saw them passing over the walls, all what they did is mere panicking. This raid benefitted the merchants by killing the governor and holding the city hostage for more than five months, but the *Ibn Thabet* Dynasty kept it's ambitions to return into governing the city, eventually the Hafsid regained control over the city and managed to kick the raiders out.

Thus, remained Tarabulus under the rule of the Hafsids through the first ten years of the fifteenth century, during the rule of the *Abi Fares Abdulaziz* which used to control all of the Hafsids military issues and matters. Until the Hafsid's power began to deteriorate with the existence of a new element, *Almoravids*. This chronicled segment is an interesting topic that has not gained a sufficient amount of research until now. The Hafsids began helplessly few campaigns to keep on holding Tarabulus under their reign, until 863 H which was the year when the Hafsid Dynasty fell. In addition, with that collapse, Tarabulus returned to it's autonomous system of governance, similar to being a republic on it's own, by having a congress of *Sheikhs* headed by the president council member of Tarabulus.

1.1.3. Tarabulus During the Spanish Occupation:

In this era, Tarabulus stands out as one of the main key points in the succession of events around the Mediterranean region. It shines again as one of the critical locations for whatsoever purpose. It is quite evident that the Spaniard occupation clarified the level of importance this city has as a strong link between the cities on the southern side of Mediterranean Sea, being it a center of the Islamic maritime activities in that region. Such importance indicated an imperative need for the Spaniards to attack and occupy it as a high-priority target in their scheme to construct several garrisons "*Presidios*" around the Mediterranean; to nullify and suspend all campaigns and actions against Spain.

In 25 July 1510, the city of Tarabulus went occupied by the Spaniards, to be under it's rule for twenty years until being handed over to the forces of Saint John Order to be kept under their reign for more than twenty years. The Spanish naval forces (Known as the Royal Armada) attacked and occupied *Mersa El Kébir* in September 1505, then *Oran* in March, followed by *Béjaïa* in January 5, 1510. In June, the fleet headed to Italy and into Tarabulus, led by Count *Pedro De Navarro*. Revealing a plot to get a hold of all the main ports on the North African coastline. (Tellisi, 1997: 66-67)

On 25 June 1510, the Spanish fleet began attacking Tarabulus and managed to seize the city, after a desperate attempt to defend the city.

What is important to us in this phase are the testimonies which describe the state of the city during that time. Of which stands out the letter sent by Count Pedro De Navarro to the royal commissary after accomplishing a full occupation of Tarabulus, and I quote:

"Sir, I realized that this city is larger than I had expected and even though I have heard many stories about its beauty, I do think that those stories are mere diminutives to what I saw with my own eyes, I have never seen a city that matches Tarabulus, be it in it's fortifications, nor its cleanness. That it looks like a city fit for an emperor more than that of a public territory."

What is worth mentioning here, is that this letter was sent by Don Pedro after he occupied the aforementioned locations, what proves and confirms the level of sophistication and beauty it had around the North African coast. (Tellisi, 1997: 68)

Here, another soldier named *Baltistan De Tunis*, from the Spanish campaign describes the city during that time:

"It is located on a flat land, laying in a square shaped perimeter, possessing two walls, encompassed by a series of narrow entrenchments. The first wall is low and small (Alsitara Wall) and the other is high enough it matches with it's towers. The

city holds a great defensive position, as it is encircled by the sea from three points, along with an excellent capacious pier, able to handle more than 400 ships. Therefore, the loss of this city should be an unacceptable matter. It is said that it is populated with more than ten thousand Arabs and some Jews."

It can be concluded from these descriptions the following points:

- a. That Tarabulus was a prosperous city, holding a reputation among the Europeans of being a luxurious destination which reflects the joy, felt by the Christians once it fell on the hands of the Spanish naval forces. such confirms the strategic and economic importance of the city back then, Ettore Rossi once said "During that time, Tarabulus had a reputation for being a commercial hub, passed on frequently by Arab and and foreign traders and merchants, it is also referred to be richer than Tunis."
- b. That Tarabulus has surprised all whom has passed by it, due to the level of cleanness it had during it's history.
- c. That Tarabulus was fortified and reinforced well with it's high walls and guarding towers.
- d. That it contained a port that could handle an amount of 400 naval pieces which is what confirms and indicates it's maritime importance.

The Spanish occupation had affected the city in so many aspects, limiting it's commercial activities and imposing taxes on the imported competing stocks and goods, leading to a pit-slide of economic depression and soon began the number of arriving vessels to decrease while the commercial traffic began to increase for the other ports outside of the Spanish control.

In 16 October 1511, the Royal Commissary *Hugo De Moncada* issued a royal publication indicating a set of facilitations to whom has the intention to travel and live in Tarabulus, this set includes providing adequate accommodations and lands, tax deductions for ten years and clearing the immigrant's criminal sheets. Which was

in an attempt to encourage an increase of Spanish settlements in the city, indicating the value of Tarabulus in the eyes of the Spaniards.

I have previously mentioned that the city has suffered a set of unfortunate events as a result to the Spanish occupation, from losing it's commercial value, to the death and displacement of it's inhabitants. An elaborated report by a committee sent by the Order of Saint John which holds a wide perspective the current situation of the city, purposed to negotiate with Charles V on the possibility of wavering the city to the Order along with the island of Malta.

The report focused on the physical state of the city walls and buildings, stating that it holds a great location and being encircled by the sea from three sides, leaving the fourth surrounded by land.

It is also worth mentioning that in comparison between the Order's report and De Tunis', the latter describes a population count of 10,000 people, whereas the other report recalls around 60 families only. (Tellisi, 1997: 71)

The Spaniards were more concerned about fortifying and reinforcing the castle more than fortifying and securing the city as a whole. Which is indicated by destroying a portion of the walls to salvage more building materials for the castle. Concluding the fact that all what the Spaniards had added to the city is repairing the castle, and constructing few guard towers to defend the pier. (Tellisi, 1997: 72)

1.1.4. Tarabulus and the Order of Saint John:

This era is taken within a wider perspective, although not quite different from the preceding phase. Hence, the economic and political situation had remained the same and the civilians standpoint as well, Order of Saint John's soldiers were not different from the Spaniard and they were all Christians. (Tellisi, 1997: 73-74)

The city's situation kept on it's pace, the population kept on decreasing even more and more until it reached a count of eighty families. However, the order's detachment in the city was quite concerned about the Ottomans, as the latter were gaining land throughout the Mediterranean, in addition to the agglomeration of rebels in the *Tajoura* region. Which kept the Order on its toes, protruding the upcoming events as indicated by the letters and documents received by the Pope and the supreme leader of the order, stating signs of fright and requesting further support to the detachment to keep the city from the hands of "Pirates" as claimed.

The history of the city turned into the history of the castle itself, where the life of the detachment soldiers was limited to religious and martial duties. The wages were paid every four months.

The supreme leader of the order advised to increase the wellbeing of the castle guards, to double the walls' night guards and the gates guards by day. As well, he forbade opening the Seagate and land gates together in the same time. Furthermore, forbade the entrance of locals, whether Arabs, Turks or Jews to the castle, except for matters of high importance, those locals whom are allowed to pass through must leave their horses and all of their arms at the castle entrance.

It is quite clear from the supreme leader's instructions that the castle was in a continuous state of emergency and paranoia, expecting an assault at any given time.

This is but of a glimpse of how life was in the city during the Order of Saint John occupation which was not that different from the days of the Spanish occupation, the knights of Saint john did not make any vestiges on the city but a number of fortifications, especially the guard tower named after Saint Jacob. Which was destroyed by the Ottomans and went slightly repaired after.

1.1.5. Tarabulus During the First Ottoman Reign:

The Ottomans interest in North Africa, which includes todays Libya and is called Maghreb beginning the end of the 15th century. In Piri Reis's book in Tripoli, Miselata, Musrata, Berka, and Tubruk the properties of the Seljuk ports and histories are located. Piri Reis who said he and Daay Kemal Reis before the invasion of Tripoli by the Spaniards in 1510, states that the request from the record of lus the

people of Tripoli send a paper and want a flag governor is primarily from the locals. Tripoli, the main port of Central Africa's main slave trade and gold dust trade, had lost it's importance by the Spanish invasion and caravans turned to other Islamic ports. Specifically, 12 miles from Tripoli, Tajora showed improvement.

In 1519 a delegation from Tajora came to İstanbul and asked them to be rescued. On the orders of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, Hadim Murad Aga from the Harem agha and a number of soldiers settled in Tripoli which the Spaniards handed over to the Maltese knights, reduced their relations with the country. The Ottomans felt their power in the Western Mediterranean in the city of Tripoli Turgut Reis in seized on 15 August 1551. The city gained it's old trade and wealth and became the center of the region again. (Ben Musa, 1988: 17; Uzunçarşılı, 1988: 296)

The Ottoman Empire, in Tripoli, were considered an outpost in the defense of the empire and the Islamic world rather than a source of production and income. The sea activity and piracy were the main activity areas. The main aim was to prevent the counter-attack of Christians. The layout of the furnace designed for the quarries had to be in accordance with the quality of this outpost. Due to the fact that the level of organization and warfare was very primitive as well as limited knowledge in maritime, the necessary cadres were recruited from Anatolia with two to three years intervals. The janissaries and levents, all of which were of Turkish origin, were obliged to become supporters of the state in the wars according to the orders which come from Istanbul. Indigenous people were pleased to have freedom in Islamic practices and not to lose their earnings to foreigners. Therefore, the new layout initially settled smoothly. In addition, a Turkish-Arab mix generation called kuloglu which was created by the janissaries who were supposed to marry the local women, who were not supposed to marry, also contributed to the union. Thus, the social structure was divided into four layers. The first layer, called Ocaklı, consisted mainly of Turks and a small number of living European pirates, all of whom were in power. The effectiveness of XVII. 2th, the second layer which started to make itself felt in the 19th century, was responsible for the security and tax collection, except for the city walls. The indigenous Muslim people who formed the third layer were divided into two: the tribute, the tribute, the zakat and the other, and the other cellar. The last layer was composed of non-Muslims, especially Jews from Spain. In the history of Ibn Galbunh, the Turkish domination and peace and prosperity came to the region, Turgut Reis's beylerbeyiligi years (1553-1565) the population of the city of Tripoli has increased a lot and the people are enriched, the new management of Ibn Nuveyr tribe to provide some privileges by providing the desert-coast balance is told Fizan. (Koloğlu, 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#2)

Murad Basha was designated as the Turk governor on Tarabulus. Facing an inconceivable amount of issues and challenges, he stood out responsible on the restoration of the city to its former glory. Thus, Tarabulus returned into the Islamic rule once more, contributing as a distinguished base for the Ottoman forces in the Mediterranean, the city has served the Ottomans during many of the events in that time. Such as recapturing the occupied posts within Tunisia, raiding enemy posts on the European shores and supporting military skirmishes such as the battles taking place in the Maltese waters or the battle of *Lepanto*, which took place in October 7, 1571. (Tellisi, 1997: 76)

Murad Basha remained as governor of Tarabulus until 1556, in which he was succeeded by Darguth Basha, spending the rest of his days retreated in Tajoura, where he ordered the construction of a mosque after his name. The mosque was built on 48 pillars, constructed on the shape of a small castle. Murad Basha was buried inside the mosque which remains as one of the main Islamic architectural landmarks of the region, it is worth mentioning that the name of Murad Basha is connected to many of Tarabulus' historic buildings and landmarks. (Tellisi, 1997: 77)

After being designated as governor of Tarabulus, *Darghut Basha* dedicated his efforts on strengthening the city fortifications, ordering the construction of *Darghut Tower* that stands on the western side of the port and overlooks the whole city, as he built his own mosque in 1554, named after him as well. Darghut Basha Mosque is considered one of the biggest mosques around the city which includes his own sarcophagus, it is said that this mosque was built where *Almasjid Ala'atham* was built. Darghut Basha also ordered the construction of his private residence in the city, a magnificent two-story mansion, adorned with beautiful hallways and verandas. He

also ordered the construction of the first burial grounds for foreigners which has stayed in it's location until the Italians relocated it in 1922 during the Italian occupation of Libya. (Tellisi, 1997: 78)

After the rule of respectively succeeding Darghut Basha, Ali Basha and Jaafar Basha.

1.1.6. Trabulus During the Cremantian Period:

Libya entered a new era, the first Ottoman Reign which ends by 1711 by *Ahmed Basha Garramanli* seated on *Welayet Libya* – State of Libya –. The Ottoman reign sat it's grasp on Libya and it's three regions, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Ahmed Basha was an officer in the Ottoman army and by 1711 started a revolt against the first Ottoman reign due to the corruption it inflicted, after his success he conceived the era of the Garramanli family which ruled over Libya till 1835, and distinctively over it's members I mention *Yousef Basha* which was an ambitious leader and he was which enforced tax on the foreign ships entering Libya's national waters.

It was a matter of time before the Ottoman sultan got done with *Yousef Basha*'s behavior, after the last refused to aid the sultan with his campaign against the Greeks (1829), which was during a revolt in the Libyan land against the Garramanli family, led by *Abduljaleel Saif-Ennasr*, resulted from the burden of debts of Yousef Basha to the European states and that left him no way but to leave the chair for his son Ali by 1832.

Even though that Sultan *Mahmoud II* has recognized *Ali Basha* as a magistrate of Libya, yet his biggest concern was on maintaining the remaining pieces of the Ottoman Empire, especially after the loss of Algeria and Greece in 1830. After an intensive study of the situation in Libya, the sultan decided to intervene and reclaim his control over the Libyan terrain; so, the Ottoman fleet arrived to Tripoli and apprehended *Ali Basha* in May 26th 1835, which ended the Garramanli Reign over Libya. (Rossi, 1970: 210-211)

Troops entered the Port of Tripoli in May 1835 and declared that the region was connected to the center. The city was satisfied, but the tribes continued their actions. They continued to fight until it was captured in 1841 and were executed. When the rebellion of Sheikh Guma became harder, he was granted some privileges and Guma was arrested and deported to Trabzon. However, with the help of the British consulate in 1854, he returned to Jebel and the uprising resumed. After being struck and executed in 1856, the region was completely tied to the center. (Koloğlu, 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#2)

During the Ottoman Reign, the Ottomans were kept busy in putting out *Abduljalil's* revolt against the authorities which had infested all over the Libyan land which eventually cooled down, leading to a safe pathway for the commerce caravans along the eastern parts, connecting rural locations with the commercial network which was previously exclusive to the coast. (Rossi, 1970: 422)

Attempts to improve the economy have faced greater challenges. The Ottomans supported the commercial development of Sudan by ensuring the arrival of the trade with the caravans in Tripoli. Thus, Libya had a comfortable period until at least the end of the century, when Egypt and Sudan entered British control. However, it was not possible to create a self-sufficient economic structure. They didn't send taxes to the state headquarters, but he could always live with the money from the center.

Reforms initiated with the orgnization period, in Libya due to the lack of population (in Tripoli 1908 there were only 32,000 people, the whole population in Libya was 500-600.000), depending on the limitation of economic power progressed slowly. In the 1840s the state was divided into ensign, accident and sub-districts. The first steps were taken to establish public administration, sanjak and accident management councils, and even to appoint the district governor and director in some regions. In 1864 the province of Tripoli became a separate banner in Benghazi 1877. Mustafa El-Hemdani, Suleyman Kapudan and Haji Ahmed Galib Bey joined in 1877 Ottoman Assembly on behalf of Tripoli. In terms of facilities and zoning, the initiatives that were limited to mosques and bazaars were replaced by administrative and social services. Cavalry and artillery barracks formed the first step. In 1860s, the first

printing press was established and the first newspaper was published in the Turkish-Arabic newspaper as Tripoli. In 1877 there was a military, a civic fifteen boys and a girls primary school. Applied Art and Industrial School was founded in 1899. Before the Italian occupation in 1911 water was brought into the city by pipes, wells were opened, the first steps were taken to build the ports of Tripoli and Benghazi, silk production was tried to be developed with silk campaign, quarantine application was started, telegraph connection was established and a telegraph connection was established in Istanbul. 160 primary schools were opened. The municipal organization was carried out and the city council became a place to reflect the wishes of the indigenous people. 1908 Ottoman Assembly Mustafa Afendi (Hums), Omar Mansur Pasha and Yusuf Shetivan Bey (Benghazi), Ferhad Bey, Sadik Bey and Mahmud Naji Bey (Balkis) (Tripoli), Cami Bey (Baykurt) (Fizan), Suleyman El-Baruni (Gebeligarbi) participated as deputies. (Koloğlu, 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#2)

In 1850, Tripoli was described as a small city, having a population count of approximately ten thousand people. Being clean and neat except for the Jew district, surrounded by walls in terrible shape. Having two entrance gates from the east side, *Almansheya*, and *Fum Elbab* which are located on a narrow path, to the west a gate named *Bab Elbahr* which led to the coast. In 1849, the Tripoli castle "The Red Fort" was renovated to be occupied by the infantry due to the lack of barracks. (Rossi, 1970: 415)

During the Ottoman and *Garramanli* Reign, Libya generally and Tripoli particularly went through the golden architectural and aesthetic age which is indicated by the fact that Tripoli never had such mesmerizing designs and decorative sophistication before the Ottoman domination over it's land. During the Ottoman Reign, many of the buildings which were damaged during the Spaniard raids and the combat between the Ottomans and the order of St. John were reconstructed and restored under the Ottoman authority and the waqf committees attention, the most damage occurred during the time of the Spaniards and the Order of Saint John's (1550-1551), religious buildings were targeted exclusively, from sieging the city to the bombardment by the

Spaniards and finally by the marine conflict between the Christians and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean.

During the eternal passage of history, identity was dominant as one of the basic needs of the human race. In architecture the essence of identity went over the heads of many, yet the ongoing discussion concerning this phenomenon connected the architectural identity with ancient traditional architecture, such point of view was based on that traditional architecture connected with the time utilized and applied in, and reflected the resources utilized for the construction of such establishments. The Libyan architecture particularized with simplicity in planning, design and execution. So, the religious buildings were constructed of crude rocks, simple red tiles, as the ceilings were made of palm trunks and mud. In coast side, it was popular to construct buildings with limestone and sandstone – which were brought from local reservoirs – along with simple and non-sophisticated decorative elements, some Arabic calligraphy elements as well, narrow archways and small balconies also and finally some broken-vectors embellishments.

Such designs and architecture made a change in the waqf architecture overall during the Ottoman Reign with decorative variations and new construction materials in Libyan mosques including the prominent and sculpted embellishments on marble, sculpted wood, limestone and gypsum, painted with beautiful colors – which is the case with the mosques of *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* (1737) and *Gorji* Mosque (1834), or the school of Islamic Arts and Crafts which were built in a late period during the second Ottoman Reign (1901) –. I can contemplate the ornamental effect on architecture especially when looking to the embellishments sculpted on marble and stone. It was mentioned by a whole lot of historians and globetrotters the rich decorative varieties which adorned Tripoli's mosque architecture – as in wall-related or ceiling-related – during that time due to the variety of materials used in making such ornaments, going from plain stone to marble and porcelain floors.

The diversity of waqf assets and buildings was substantial during the second Ottoman Reign, from road-works, to accommodation services for foreigners, to the waqfs of public baths, schools, libraries, – either school\institute dependent or independent – and waqfs of markets and stores. Which significantly affected the lifestyle of Tripoli's inhabitants; having a larger terrain covered by real-estates from one side and playing a role in the overall development of the city.

1.2. The Definition of Waqf and it's Roots of Legitimacy:

To study the components of waqf properly, one must have theoretical knowledge about the systems waqf subordinates under. This chapter will be information-condensed of the historical, scientific and jurisprudent data related to the subject. Waqf was known before Islam, however named differently, it's existence came from

the fact that each religious group 'nation' has it's motives to enforce the rich to deliver payments for the construction and maintenance of religious buildings, sponsoring religious activities, supporting the poor, orphans and the widowed, as well as to fund other social programs and services, yet the legal identity of such were merged and subordinated under the public assets which were under the governors' grasp.

1.2.1. Waqf Definition in Language:

Waqf is defined linguistically as to suspend, prohibit or endow (Ibn Manthour, 1994: 359), which is a state of mortmain – definition.: Condition of property or other assets which are left in perpetuity to certain entities "Governor of state., religious, charities or public purposes" – which is a state of property utilized in various civilizations.

Sheikh Abu Zahra mentioned waqf as mortmain of assets, in a way it's former owner has no right in utilizing it in whatsoever purpose after deliverance of asset to the entity of endowment (Abu Zahra, 1971: 44). This definition was summarized by *Ibn Qudama Alhanbali* (548-620 H.) as asset endowment and revenue release to certain waqf entities, complying with the institution preestablished terms. (Ibn Qudama, 1997: 185)

1.2.2. Waqf Idiomatically:

Sheikh Manawi defined waqf as the mortmain of property and outcome release with the property sustained, while directing the outcome to public services or charities in favor of Allah. (Manawi, 1990: 340)

Yet *Sheikh Nawawi* defined it as the redirection of mortmain finances to be spent in charities of Allah's favor. (Nawawi, 1988: 464)

Also, *Alsawi* defined it in his book (Balghat Alsalek – The Trotter's shoes) as transition of asset outcome to mortmain purposes. (Sawi, 1952: 235)

Finally, *Ibn Alberr* defined it as the charity delivered by a property owner in favor of Allah's grace, in which the handed property remains intact and not to be sold nor given nor inherited. (Hafez, 1973: 536)

1.2.3. Waqf Legitimacy Roots in Islam:

It is nearly impossible to trace the Islamic waqf system back to a main root due to the mixture of various factors which defined the shape of Islamic waqf. But I can summarize the roots of waqf to four main roots (Amin, 1980: 15), the first is the principle of *Everlasting Charity* – which is the charity that benefits on a chronic basis in favor of Allah's grace – and the most obvious evidence regarding this principle is the Hadith of *Prophet Muhammad "when men die their deeds go suspended excluding three: an everlasting charity, knowledge to be benefitted from, or a good offspring praying for him (Shawkani, 1952: 18). Therefore, the concept of everlasting charity is waqf itself, because waqf benefits sustainably and the goal of it is to seize Allah's satisfaction through spending it's outcomes on society well-being charities.*

The second root lies in the life of the *Prophet Muhammad* and how he spent it doing charities of all kinds, even during raids and war, he denied his share of the loot to other's except for his barely sufficient share. After his death, people conflicted in dividing waqf, until known *sheikhs* had a consensus on how it is spent onto public services and charities. (Mawardi, 1978: 168)

The third root is pillared upon the hadith recited by *Bukhari and Muslim* around the 7th Hijri year, about a conversation circling around the *Prophet Muhammad* and the

Sahabi Omar Ibn Alkhattab after the last looted a land from Khaibar Tribe, so the hadith quotes: "If you'd like, you can turn it into a charity" so Omar made it as a waqf land to not be sold or inherited and to be benefitted from by the poor and orphans and whomever in need. (Khassaf, 1999: 5, 6, 7)

The fourth root is derived from Islamic jurisprudence, as it was known that each of the sahaba has enforced waqf on themselves (Abu Zahra, 1971: 9, 10), even though it is not a pure pillar in the Muslim religion, yet such charities were mentioned in Quran; such as "Thou shall not gain my satisfaction till thou spend what thou desire". (The Holy Quran: 3:92)

1.2.4. Waqf Terms of Legitimacy:

As any other points in the Islamic sharia, there are several purposes and reasons for which waqf is purposed and such purposes are summarized as follows:

- 1. As a sort of charity, to purge the human soul of all materialistic tendencies, and redirecting it into soul clarity and selflessness. (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987:38)
- 2. As a sort of charity as well, but from the social side, as it helps to fulfill the society needs and drive poverty away, yet it differentiates from charities in the following points (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987:38)
 - a. Waqf is a more sustainable resource of funding than other charities and some purposes require continuous financial flow to satiate its needs. (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987:39)
 - b. The nature of waqf manages to consume the outcome of assets on behalf of the contributor to realize the services and purposes it implements. (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987:39)
- 3. The waqf institutions contribute in the redistribution of production utilities and maintaining it's validity to be benefitted from for the longest possible period. (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987:39)

1.3. Types of Waqf:

From an Islamic jurisprudence perspective, waqf divides into two types, benevolent waqf and civil waqf, benevolent waqf is mainly concerned with funding public

services or to any other benevolent purposes, the civil waqf however is appointing individuals or entities to manage the property to be endowed which can be a neighbor, family member or an entity such as the waqf institution itself. (Qahf, 2003: 408)

It is a mere Islamic innovation, the *sahaba* created this concept after the conversation between the Prophet Muhammad and *Omar Ibn Alkhattab* regarding the *Khaibar* land which created a habitual reoccurring as the *sahaba* kept on endowing their own properties to waqf seeking the favor of Allah. (Ghannouji, 1993: 160)

On the other side, waqf could be used as a way to escape taxes or debts which is against the Islamic law as well as it can be used to prevent an asset of being confiscated, so waqf is an instrument of goodwill, yet it can be corruptive as well.

1.4. Waqf Resources During Second Ottoman Reign:

Endowment resources are an important component of the waqf property and institution, as the level of resources can define the total value of the asset under endowment, in Tripoli during the second Ottoman reign it can be summarized the waqf resources in the following points:

- A. Land earnings and revenues, of fruits, vegetables and wood, etc.
- B. Building earnings and revenues, such of residentials, public baths, hotels, mills, bakeries, markets etc. Historical Archives of Markaz Jehad Allibiyeen, Ahmad Nayeb Ansari Historic Record.

Jurisprudent elders have approved endowment of lands, buildings, trees, books, slaves, weaponry horses and all animals and currency. (Ibn Hazm, 2016: 175)

It was understood from the documentations of waqf during that time, that waqf properties of Tripoli during the second Ottoman reign were consisting of markets, public baths, restaurants, offices, schools, mills, agricultural lands, among others

which can yield a respectable sum to be managed and utilized by the institution and guarantees sustainability of it's projects and achievements.

It is documented that in 1895 (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 38). the inventory of waqf consisted of a massive property list consisting of 192 stalls in *Ahmad Basha Mosque* area, *Mohammad Basha Mosque* – 54 stalls, *Darghut Basha Mosque* – 60 stalls, and *Othman Basha Mosque* – 20 stalls, as overall the waqf properties along Tripoli's walls were summing to a number of 133 stalls, from markets to accommodation units, public baths and others. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Historical Research Center of Libyan Jehad Movement: Folder No. 24 - Doc. No. 151)

Generally, the mosque-waqf stalls during (1895-1896) were around 609 stalls for 31 mosques. Such number of stalls and shops under waqf indicated that Tripoli inhabitants were mostly merchants, and most of them dealt goods with merchants of *Burno*, *Aday*, Chad, and Ghat. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 66)

From another perspective, lands are considered as well as a critical resource of waqf, as once it was property of individuals, but put under endowment willingly by it's owners, to be under the supervision of waqf institution. (Cachia, 1975: 85)

1.4.1 Waqf Transaction Logs:

Which are registry documentations for the purpose of logging the waqf properties and assets, as well as all other attachments regarding them, becoming as an important instrument to validate civil history and all related to urban structure. (Ibn Abdullah, 1996: 196)

These logs are significantly huge; containing an immersive description of waqf properties and all that has to do with it, it's revenues, expenditure, type of property, location, etc.

These logs are responsible for the properties that fall under the waqf institution but when it concerns private waqf properties, those are documented in other waqf documents.

1.4.2. Waqf Documentation:

Which is a certificate approving that a certain described property is to be under the waqf system, as well showing the kind of management it's previous owner requires and entities to be responsible of it, as well as full details regarding the property. (Zarqá, 1998: 152)

1.4.3. *Jaquan* Book – The Royal Bookkeep:

Which is a more detailed book containing every single waqf property and every detail regarding it – this recording method was implemented during the times of Sultan Suleiman and Sultan Murad III. (Zarqá, 1998: 128)

One of the main factors that encouraged Tripolitanians on endowing their assets to waqf systems was the tax exemptions the Ottoman State announced on endowed properties in the region which resulted on one hand a significant increase in the waqf-endowed asset sum and gave the owners of these assets a safe haven from their accumulating state-issued taxes. (Khafifi, 2000: 126)

It can be seen a common example in a grievance letter. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. No. 56) and (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 42) that specifies the existence of a certain property — an orchard — within the endowed assets of waqf, wherein it is exempted from all state taxes. However, the owners of this property had found it in the 1863 property chart under the accumulated tax-unpaid charts. When the owners were notified with such taxes they sent this letter of grievance to the state *Vali* to reassign their orchard under the waqf assets. And despite all, they did not wait for a response, as they endowed a quarter of their orchard revenue to the waqf institution.

1.5. Waqf Revenues:

To find universal waqf revenue source chartings is near impossible because this information is fragmented and non-accurate mostly regarding buildings, when it concerns lands, agriculture waqf projects earnings are not known until now.

To elaborate a comprehensive summation of waqf institutions revenues during the Ottoman Reign in Tripolitania is an impossible task, due to the lack of records and booked revenue charts that can verify an exact calculated number of these revenues value. Yet, through the available information in the preserved historic archives and records of the city, acknowledge and prove that the waqf revenues from leasing shops are comparatively much bigger than those of any other type of endowed assets. However, as it mentioned, the lack of verifying historic documents is the only impediment that prevents scholars from putting a conclusive and evidential opinion regarding this matter.

Table 1: Shows the waqf income during the years between 1897 – 1906 AD in Tripoli

| Hijri Year | Gregorian Year | Sum in Paras | Sum in Kurus | Notes |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1315 | 1897 | 85 | 162840 | Annual revenue |
| 1316 | 1898 | 35 | 149705 | Annual revenue |
| 1317 | 1899 | 95 | 168571 | Annual revenue |
| 1318 | 1900 | 45 | 40223 | Quarterly revenue |
| 1319 | 1901 | N/A | N/A | |
| 1320 | 1902 | N/A | N/A | |
| 1321 | 1903 | 2 | 109902 | Annual revenue |
| 1322 | 1904 | 2 | 93972 | Annual revenue |
| 1323 | 1905 | 7 | 121787 | Annual revenue |
| 1324 | 1906 | 7 | 121787 | Annual revenue |
| Revenue Total | | 78 Ottoman | 968789 Ottoman | 7 years and 3 |
| | | Para | Kurus | months |

It is worthy to mention that these numbers do not accurately describe the amounts of waqf revenues, as I can observe that the annual yield varies, increases and decreases by the passage of financial periods. See Figure(26) for picture attachment.

1.6. Waqf Expenditure:

In the section it will be delving through a comprehensive discussion addressing the usual expenditure articles of the Tripolitanian Ottoman waqf institution, shedding light over a general perspective on these matters.

The accredited Islamic jurisprudents have indicated the main articles of waqf expenditure, whereas it has been quoted from Allakhmi that: "The expenditure of waqf revenues purposing maintenance can be divided into three sorts: one having the main expenditure satisfied from a portion of the asset periodical revenues; such the case with shops & hotels. Two having the maintenance expenditure from the endowing owner to maintain it from his own pocket or by leasing his endowed property and cover its maintenance by the lease revenues. Third having the asset maintained by selling a portion of its yield spending it on its maintenance, such is the case with plantations & orchards..." (Sawi, 1952: 307)

Obviously, keeping the waqf asset maintained is of utmost importance, due to it's essential role in preserving it's efficiency through time. And it is evident that the waqf management body have noticed such importance and instructed verbally in all endowment documents that all waqf endowed assets must be kept, maintained and repaired by it's designated overseer – *Nazer* –, even if the process consumed all of the asset revenues and failed to compensate the staff employed in it, excluding the payments of *muezzins*, *imams* and *khatibs*. (Amin, 1980: 86) This emphasis on asset maintenance and optimization surpasses even the authorization of the property endowing owner. The Islamic jurisprudent mentions in this context that: "if the owner of a certain property endowed it to preserve a certain waqf asset, such as a public bridge, therefore the revenues of his property are portioned for the purpose of maintaining the bridge and if it collapsed and no longer can be maintained, the

portion is directed into maintaining other waqf assets; such as public school or a mosque...". (Dusuqi, 1910: 87) This strategy prevents the continuous degeneration of waqf assets and repurposes it's revenues in the right direct for the benefit of the public.

As it mentioned earlier, the revenues of the endowed properties go spent on the renovation, maintenance and development of public waqf assets, as well as on charity projects and initiatives. However, the waqf institution responsible for the management of the waqf usually follow the endowing owner specific directions concerning where his property revenues are to be spent or in the lack of any conditions, the regulations, laws and recommendations the general authority of waqf provides. (Cachia, 1975: 77)

1.6.1. Restoration of Waqf Assets:

Usually, the public administration of waqf expends intermittent monetary amounts to restore and repair certain assets which fall under the authority and supervision of waqf, as well as it provides financial grants and aids to several governmental bodies. Despite these expenses, a great portion of waqf revenues remains as a surplus. This financial surplus gets sent annually to Istanbul, the state of Tripolitania on its own used to send 500,000 Ottoman Liras of waqf surplus revenues by the end of each year. (Coro, 1984: 44)

The process of repairing and restoring assets initiates with the grievances submitted by the locals or by discovering problems with the asset through the state waqf periodical inspection units or through the periodic reports provided by the asset overseer. A mere example of this is the status report dating back to 1895 which was submitted by overseer *Hajj Ahmad Azouz*, the responsible individual of the *Ahmed Sha'ab Mosque* asset, wherein he complains about the damage occurring on the ceiling of the mosque to the point of it collapsing on a couple of rooms; requesting an urgent response by the waqf authorities to commence the process of inspecting and repairing the occurred damage. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. No. 67)

It can be observed another grievance that was submitted by a group of locals, concerning the destruction which have fell upon their neighborhood mosque which reached a level of degeneration that the interior of the mosque does not have necessary lighting, as it's prayer area became restricted to the point that most of the individuals coming to pray usually do their prayers in the exterior spaces of the mosque. Moreover, stating the lack of any water-pumping system to deliver the necessary element of ablution, the lack of a main entrance door which leads to the entrance of trespassers and wild animals. Despite of all these flaws and problems, the actual annual waqf revenue of this asset reaches an amount of 12,000 Ottoman Kurus. it can be find the Tripolitania Vali stating in an official document commanding the waqf head accountant to designate an inspection committee to evaluate the current status of the asset and the approximate needed funds to restore it. Consequently, the designated inspection committee - which was headed by municipality architect Muhammad Jamal Ben Idris - have approximated the restoration expenses value into 1330 Ottoman Kurus, this approximation was accredited by the state council chief Taleb Abdurrahman Ahmad and his deputy Behjat Muhammad Said, along with chief municipality architect Muhammad Jamal and four other members. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc No. 37) and (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. Ref. No. GM3MKZO)

Another documented petition of grievance was delivered by a number of Tripoli locals and signed upon it more than 100 residents of the area, in which they protested the negligent attitude of waqf authorities toward their district status. Responding to the grievance submitted, the municipality overseer had designated a new waqf accountant that, among his responsibilities, had to have a weekly meeting with a committee selected from the district locals to discuss and implement the possible renovation and restoration process of a number of waqf assets in that region, this committee included *Humaida Banoon*, *Abdullah Abugreen*, *Mustapha Dafayri*, and *Abubakr Ibn Saad*. This designation decree was accredited by the state *Vali and* put

into processing and application. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 275)

Sometimes, the grievance\complaint submitted can target a certain official of the waqf management system; a mere example is the letter of complaint submitted to the State *Vali* by a number of *Tajoura* Municipality locals protesting the greedy attitude of waqf overseer *Omar Greis*, claiming his embezzlement of the *Great Mosque* Waqf revenues while refraining from expensing them to the restoration and maintaining of it's facilities, to a degree that such negligence caused a massive damage to the *Great Mosque* of Tajoura. This letter demanded the immediate summoning of *Omar Greis* upon the Vali and the High Council of waqf authorities for the purpose of interrogating this matter, in addition to sending a committee from the waqf authorities to assess the damage befell upon the mosque. This complaint letter, after proper interrogation with the overseer mentioned, led into the termination of this overseer from his position. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. No. 75)

However, under the continuous negligence of the waqf management officials, causing an outbreak of circulating damage in waqf assets — especially those which are categorized under the educational assets waqf category — a number of city locals have reached the Ottoman Parliament being a higher authority than that of the Vali, demanding: "the establishment of several private funded schools, wherein these schools will be cease to be funded by the waqf institution, due to the continuous corruption in it's officials and accountants, whom are to vain to spend the waqf revenues to maintain government-funded schools and pay it's staff their own salaries. Such corruption led to the leave of many honorable teachers from these schools, resulting the permanent closure of these schools." (Ghonaimi,1988: 73)

Moreover, the protestors demanded that the school-endowed waqf properties should have it's endowed sums spent on schools and that it's surplus would not be deposited in Istanbul but kept within the state to be invested over the maintenance of these facilities. All of these demands were fulfilled and agreed upon from the Ottoman

Parliament and have been moved to be reviewed by the *Grand Vizier* of the state. (Ghonaimi,1988: 74)

After being revised upon by the grand vizier, he decreed a list of articles that regulates the expenditure of waqf revenues, which are described in the following points (Ghonaimi, 1988:74):

- 1. The forming of a waqf revenues management committee, that consists of a lawful judge, the state Islamic jurisprudent, the regional head of waqf authorities and two members of the municipality council.
- 2. Registering all properties and waqf assets which have not been utilized or registered before.
- 3. Total utilization of the unregistered and unexploited properties in a way the provides a constant revenue rate upon the waqf assets.
- 4. This committee is fully responsible for the inspection estimation, and restoration processes of all waqf assets within it's jurisdictional territory.
- 5. The committee is responsible as well for indicating the waqf-funded institutions construction locations within its jurisdictional territory.

Such examples show that any group of the state locals can protest grievances with proof, where the government investigate the complaint and establish justice for the oppressed and maltreated.

1.6.2. Salaries:

The employee's salaries value is another article that gets cut from the total amount of waqf revenues. This article includes the salaries of management, religion and education related employees. The dispensed salaries vary in value according to two main factors, the function delivered by the employee and the revenues rate provided by the actual asset. For example: the assigned muezzin of *Muhammad Basha* Mosque receives a monthly salary of 100 Ottoman *Kurus* while the designated muezzin of *Mulay Muhammed* Mosque receives a total of 70 Ottoman *Kurus* per month. Moreover, while an assigned teacher of *Darghuth Basha* Mosque takes 25 *Paras* and

176 *Kurus*, another designated teacher working in *Kharouba* Mosque receives a total of 230 Ottoman *Kurus* monthly. Additionally, this inequity reaches the salaries of imams as well, while the imam of *Naga* Mosque receives 190 *Kurus* per month, the *Shaklani* imam receives 100 *Kurus* contrastively. I will be enlisting the salary ranges of mosque employees in the following chart (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. Ref. No. 2M1MKZO):

Table 2: Shows wagf employees' salaries for wagf revenues 1909 AD.

| Employee | Salary Amount | Currency | Duration |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| Imam | 100 - 190 | Ottoman Kurus | Per Month |
| Muezzin | 100 - 120 | | |
| Mosque Caretaker | 50 - 80 | | |
| Teacher | 176.25 - 230 | | |

1.7. Investment of Waqf Revenues:

After the end of it's reign, the second Ottoman Era had delivered a massive inheritance of waqf assets to the city of Tripoli comparing to the previous eras. Yet such wealth confused the Libyan society, turning it from an instrument of prosperity and economic sustainability, into a shapeshifting manipulated body of greed; where the waqf assets management became immersed in corruption, turning several assets into personal properties under a set of disorientating terms made up by dishonest Islamic jurisprudents in an immoral attempt to divert the waqf system from it's natural purpose.

Regardless, these newly developed terms and labels have contributed to the sustainability of these assets, for an asset remaining without proper investment cannot be maintained and becomes a liability on the owning party. Moreover, the revenues and endowed deposits of the waqf systems would be misspent and wasted without a proper investing.

1.7.1. Definition of Investment – Estithmar:

The Arabic variant of the word "Investment" – Estithmar – comes from the simple verb $Thamar\acute{a}$ which has several meanings that include: to fructify; to bear fruits. As well as to maturate, to ripen. The term refers into the utilization of certain resources for the purpose of benefitting whom have utilized them and What is waqf? If it was not a system of investment, where the capital remains circulating within the perpetuated monetary cycle while it accumulates its revenues periodically, to be either withdrawn or thoroughly circulating along with the basic capital. (Abu Layl & Sultan, 2000: 17-18)

1.8. Leasing Waqf Assets:

I. Uni-Leasing Method:

Which is the general and universal way to rent a certain waqf asset or property, however, the Islamic jurisprudence schools have decreed several contradicting statements when it comes to leasing waqf assets. (Abu Layl & Sultan, 2000: 19):

- A number of jurisprudents including Alhassan Albasri have found the leasing of waqf assets a prohibited misconduct and misusage of these assets.
- 2. Another group Including *Imam Malik* have allowed it's leasing to be valued in payment with gold, silver, currency. However, they prohibited the payment to be with what grows on land (grains, legumes, etc.).
- 3. Other jurisprudents such as *Imam Shaffi and Abu Hunaifa* have allowed that the leasing payment can be in any form, be it monetary or a share of the yield.

In addition to the uni-leasing method, the Ottoman State included the duo-leasing method.

II. Duo-leasing method:

This method consists of a legal long-term leasing contract ratification that is only accredited by the waqf management committee judge. Wherein the lessee agrees to provide a forward payment of the leased asset to be restored into it's former state. And the contract renews with continuous annually-paced payments. (Mais, 1997: 116)

1.8.1. Lease Duration:

The allowed duration of leasing waqf assets is an issue that has been handled and regulated completely by Islamic jurisprudence tomes; one of the main Islamic principles concerning this matter indicated that the leasing period for agricultural assets should not extend for more than three consecutive years and not more than one year for residential and commercial assets per each lessee. (Dusuqi, 1910: 96)

As any other Ottoman territory, the State of Tripolitania had experienced the popularity of waqf assets leasing during the Second Ottoman Era. It was rightful for the lessee to own these assets under these leasing systems, as well as the lessee can sell his leasing rights to whomever bids higher, I can relate to the existence of fifty articles in the Ottoman constitution that regulate the processes and activities of waqf-leasing. This set of articles have been aggregated into the Ottoman constitution on December 1st 1863. (Nawfel, 1872: 137)

I can find an example of legal court conflicts that concerns the leasing ownership rights in a historic court report that indicates that *Hajj Qasem Baggar* had bought a waqf Asset lessee permit for an amount of 1500 Ottoman *Kurus*. Yet, he claims that the waqf accountant *Raif Basha* had enlisted the leased asset as non-leased despite the legal proof of lease that he holds into. After having the suit in court, the reigned judge ruled to the favor of *Hajj Qasem Baggar*, due to the authenticity of his lessee documents and proof of leasing. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. No. 717)

1.8.2. Asset Lease Fees Value:

During that era, the leasing payments were collected on a quarterly basis – every three months – by the installment collection official – *Muhassel* – the average leasing fee varies between 40 to 120 *Kurus* for residential units, the fee varies according to the ceiled area of the house, it's location, number of rooms, current condition and the availability of it's attached utilities and services. In the case of commercial units: shops, stores, etc., it can vary between 7 to 15 *Kurus* per month, varying according to it's area and location. As for baths; they can reach a monthly leasing fee of 350

Kurus, Restaurants go from 20 to 100 *Kurus*, and 10 to 85 *Kurus* for leasing a market-located shop. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 204)

1.8.3. Lease Fee Payment Methods:

There are two main methods to pay leasing fees at that time, one having the lessee to come to the waqf municipal office and pay the fees directly to receive a receipt confirming his payment of fees, many waqf leasing fees receipts can be found at the *Tripoli Archive of Historic Documents and Records* institute. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 42)

It can be collected by official lease collectors whom are assigned by the waqf management body. These officials roam about the leased waqf assets every three months to collect their accumulated fees and provide the lessees with payment receipts as proof. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 44) These receipts contain the lessee full name, the fee value paid, the reference number of the asset paid for it's lease and the date of payment. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 37)

1.8.4. Common Waqf-Leasing Rights:

I. Right of *Kadak*:

Kadak is a Turkish word that refers to whatever objects or modifications that are installed within the leased property, this term refers usually to the necessities and miscellaneous items that are brought in and installed by the lessee to commence his activities – e.g. shop shelves, restaurant tables and chairs, home furniture for residential units, etc. – within the leased property. Bringing in such items is not allowed however, without the direct permit of the lessor, asset overseer or waqf Official. (Mais, 1997: 17) According to Islamic jurisprudents, the lessee has all absolute right to claim total ownership to these items, as he can sell or give these items to whomever he wishes, as well as he can bequeath them to his own heirs. (Abu Layl & Sultan, 2000: 23)

II. Right of Allocated Values – Marsad:

Marsad is the allocated monetary value by the lessee to restore the leased property – or waqf asset – in exchange for a lower leasing fee. This is usually done when the property ownership holders are unable to allocate enough to restore it by their own funds – this section includes the asset overseer and the waqf managing institution –, the Marsad value cannot be spent over the restoration of the asset without a proper permit from the leasing party. If the lessor decided to terminate or annul the contract, or if the contract reached it's expiry date, the lessor should deliver the whole amount spent on the restoration of the asset to the contributing lessee before evicting him from the property. (Abu Layl & Sultan, 2000: 23)

III. Right of Usufruct – Isqát:

The usufruct right is legal term the delimitates a limited ownership contract between the lessor and the lessee which consists of the payment of a large sum of monetary value by the lessee to the lessor for a lifetime-limited ownership of the property leased, this includes the cessation of monthly paid fees. However, the usufruct right is restricted by the lifespan of the lessee, for he cannot lease or sell the property to a third party, nor can he bequeath it to his offspring in his will. This type of contracts was quite popular in Ottoman-Era Egypt. (Ghonaimi,1988: 15) Yet, I have found no evidence of it's existence in Ottoman Tripolitania waqf asset lease archives, unless if it was recalled by another term rather than *isqat*.

IV. Right of Substitution – Istebdal:

With the pace of time, the institutions of waqf and its own assets have prospered and multiplied to an unreached level, to a point where the waqf institution dug it's roots deep within almost every aspect of Muslim lifestyle and society. However, this bestowed opulence and prosperity brought along the woes of corruption, degeneration, and greed, this prosperity led the waqf institution assets to be a prey of the greedy, be them wealthy merchants officials or aristocratic governors sultans and royalty. (Amin, 1980. 322)

The right of substitution is a procedure that allows the lessor to substitute ownership of the property\asset in exchange of another property or an agreed upon monetary value or any other type of compensation that can meet the lessor requisites. According to *Ahmad Kurdi*'s book on the laws that concern the substitution rights, the waqf assets can be substituted according to the following points:

- 1. The lessee was able to acknowledge the right to gain rights over the ownership of the leased property in contract.
- 2. The lessor can abandon the ownership rights of the leased property\asset for the ownership rights of another property or an equivalent compensation if:
 - a. The deterioration of leased asset or if the it's revenues are not abundant enough to maintain it to it's regular state.
 - b. If the lessor found a certain property\asset that can provide better services to it's occupants. (Kurdi, 1982: 214-215)

Fortunately, the Ottoman State did not keep a passive attitude toward these breaches, as its enforced an official decree that dictates the total prohibition of waqf assets substitution without a sultanate royal permission. (Musqawi, 1974: 185) Moreover, by 1863 the general state government issued a number of nine chapters and sixty five articles in the constitution that dealt with the proceedings of waqf institutions, as the sixth chapter of this regulative list included in its fortieth article the legally allowed proceedings and approaches concerning this matter. Continuing, the articles specified concerned any whom are responsible for waqf substitution without proper aforementioned permission will have bound substitution contract annulled and will be apprehended and confined in appropriate penitentiary for a duration that extends between three months to two years, in addition to probability of exile in some cases, with a duration that is more than three months and less than three years. (Nawfel, 1872: 137)

1.8.5. Selling Waqf Assets:

It is only allowed to sell a waqf asset when it has reached a level of deterioration it is no longer able to provide it's services to the society: a collapsed school, a mosque that nobody prays at or that had constricted upon it's attendants, etc. (Ibn Qudama, 1997: 631-632)

And if a certain asset was sold, the monetary compensation should be invested in a property that delivers the same function as dictates *Imam Abu Hunayfa*. Moreover, *Imam Ibn Arafa* reasons that the compensation of sale can be utilized in acquiring a functionally different asset, though it has to be delivering the same level of beneficial functionality as the sold asset. However, *Imam Malik* absolutely prohibited the act of selling waqf assets, even if it reached a level of irreversible deterioration, for the asset is a property of *Allah* and his subject and the waqf authorities hold no ownership claims over these assets. (Sawi, 1952: 308)

Notwithstanding the jurisprudence opinion of *Imam Malik*, the actual reality that Tripolitanians have lived in that era had dictated the selling of ruined and severely damaged waqf assets; for these assets are no longer providing any public service to the locals and whomever is benefitted from have no ability to repair and restore it to it's previous form from his own pocket, abandoning the asset eventually and making it completely profitless to the public.

One of the main examples in this region was an archived bill of sale of a shop owned by the waqf institutions to a Jew named *Mush Jack* due to it's current damaged state. This asset belonged to a group of shop that were endowed under *Kharouba Mosquee* Waqf fund, the selling of this property was on December 18th 1895. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc. No. 38)

The usual contracts of selling and buying waqf assets used to conclude only within the *Royal Bookkeep* offices after it used to be concluded within the local judge offices, but due to the newly adopted regulative constitutional articles which have been incorporated in 1903. This process became only allowed through the royal bookkeep and its accredited notary offices. (Coro, 1984: 39)

1.8.6. Mortgaging Waqf Assets:

In some cases, when the asset receives an irreversible amount of damage, it is allowed for the caretaker, the overseer or the waqf management to apply for a financial loan to be invested on optimizing and restoring the asset. However, it is absolutely prohibited for the management of waqf to mortgage the asset but to redeem it through previously stored revenues. (Mais, 1997: 10)

The loaning procedure of waqf assets was a common phenomenon in Ottoman Tripolitania. However, this procedure cannot be accomplished without the complete permission of the endowing owner – if he lives or his offspring – or a permission from the waqf management committee judge. In some cases, when the targeted asset is a part of the governmental assets category, this loaning procedure becomes needing the permission of the regional governor, or *Vali* to be certified and lawabiding. (Mais, 1997: 10)

To summarize this section, I could say that the waqf system is erected upon the assets which provide revenues whom are utilized for public service, the aspects invested in by these revenues are the main factor in maintaining and increasing the sustainability of these assets and the waqf system as a whole. And it is an obvious fact that the waqf assets played a critical role in the economic and social aspects of quotidian Tripolitania, regulated and righteously kept in check by the laws and decrees of state.

The majority of waqf assets in Tripoli were about 609 commercial units which included shops, stalls, markets, etc. these assets were endowed for the favor of public service public assets, mosques, schools, etc. the variety of endowed properties is not limited to mere shops, as I can add that many public baths, hotels, houses, restaurants, mills and private schools were endowed into the waqf system by it's original owners. Usually, the waqf-endowment documents are issued by rotaries and stored at the regional royal bookkeep and the main bookkeep in Istanbul, in the waqf records of the Royal Bookkeep I can find the expenditure articles of waqf revenues,

where the Tripolitanian waqf revenues at that era were spent over restoring buildings, refurnishing and supplying mosques, schools, repairing public facilities, as well as these funds which were utilized to pay the salaries of the employees of these and other public service buildings.

1. CHAPTER TWO: THE OTTOMAN MANAGEMENT

2.1. The Overall Ottoman Management of Tarabulus Before the Second Ottoman Reign:

The state of Tarabulus remained under the Ottoman reign for more than 360 years, in which it went affected by the laws and regulations issued by the empire and the agreements and treaties it signed with other nations and entities.

It was 1551 when the Ottoman administrative organizational body assumed it's responsibilities in the *Eyalet* of Tarabulus, remaining intact till 1572 which was within the reigns of *Murad Basha*, *Darghut Basha*, *Ali Basha* and *Jafaar Basha* which had put the foundations of this body, subdividing the *eyalet* into three subdivisions called *kazas* (headed by a *Kad* "Judge") which was under the name of *Kaza Tarabulus*, *Kaza Benghazi*, *and kaza Misurata*. (Barbar, 1996: 70)

Moreover, this systematization was kept intact until the *Garramanli* Dynasty reign (1711-1835), in which the region suffered a set of bloody conflicts, the dynasty from a side, the locals from another and the *Janissaries* as a cherry on the top of it all. Aside from the intervention of the European countries's consuls's in the internal affairs of the *eyalet* repeatedly to serve their countries's own agenda. (Kola, 1988: 213, 229)

The *eyalet* had somewhat of autonomy but kept it subordination under the Ottoman rule. It's governors kept focusing their attention on organizing it's administrative, financial and military affairs, including the expansion of it's own fleet. Especially during the Reign of *Ali Bek Garramanli* (1832-1835) which have been seeking the return of prosperity and peace back into the *eyalet*, through a series of laws that regulates various aspects, from organizing taxation procedures, encouraging agriculturalism, industrialism, internal and external commercial and trade activities within the *eyalet*. With which the region has enjoyed a bit of peace and prosperity.

However, it was not long until a band of Tripolitanian leaders and *sheikhs* requested from *Sultan Abdulmajid* (1839-1861), the removal of *Ali Basha Garramanli* from

the seat and recovering the *eyalet* into the Ottoman state direct authority. The sultan responded by sending a military fleet, led by *Najib Basha*, to subdue and apprehend *Ali Basha Garramanli* and his family back to Istanbul in 1835. Thus, the Ottomans regained their direct command over the *Eyalet* of Tarabulus. (Michachi, 1961: 241, 261)

The *Garramanli* Dynasty Reign remained for 124 year, in which it's rulers were interested and focused on strengthening their roots down the eyalet throne and gaining autonomy away from the direct Ottoman authority.

In the perspective of what I mentioned, I will try to shed light in a concise manner about the nature of the organizational bodies during that time.

2.1.1. State Organization:

There has not been much of a change in the administrative systems of the *eyalet* during the rule of the *Garramanli* Dynasty. Remaining as it was before the arrival of this dynasty into the seat, of which were the *kazas* headed by a member, relative or a trusted individual from the dynasty, the *kazas* were divided into smaller units: *nahiyes* which were under the authority of a military official. (Hassan, 1984: 94) Of course, the basha sits on the top of this pyramid, where his decrees are incontestable and absolute, assisted by the following:

1. Diwan:

The *diwan* consists of the *basha*, the naval admiral, the *hazinedar*, the district chief, the supreme judge and the *Janissaries* general. Along with six staff members, which are not allowed to vote nor to express opinion, four of them are responsible for the paperwork and two of them interpret dialogues from Arabic to Turkish and vice versa. (Ibn Ismail, 1966: 166)

2. The *Bek*:

Which is the military chief official. His duties include preserving safety and security and maintaining order within the *eyalet*, as well as contributing in the process of

levying taxes. (Michachi, 1961: 29) This position is usually assigned to one of the basha's offspring.

3. The Major *Kikhya*:

Which is the name for the basha's personal confidant and advisor and comes in the top level of authority among his civilian staff, his duties include conflict resolving between the local tribes and supervising the proper execution of the basha orders. In case of absence, the minor kikhya substitutes him. (Michachi, 1961: 30)

4. The Minor Kikhya:

The castle *overseer* and the leader of the basha's personal guard, he is also responsible for the education and training of the basha's offspring. He can delegate as major kikhya in the case of his absence or falling to sickness, consequently gaining all of his powers and authority. (Michachi, 1961: 30)

5. The Naval Admiral:

Which subordinates the *bek* directly, he is the chief of the Tripolitanian naval forces, and his duties include providing adequate labor force and supplies to his fleet detachment.

6. The Hazinedar:

The treasurer, which oversees and supervises the financial matters of the *eyalet*, he insures the efficient expenditure and collection of funds throughout the *eyalet*. (Naji, 1995: 183) Moreover, two positions that are more critical have been incorporated in the state body during the reign of *Yusuf Basha Garramanli*, the Grand Vizier and the vizier of external affairs. (Naji, 1995: 184)

2.2. The Ottoman Management of Tarabulus:

2.2.1 The Ottoman Reforms in Tarabulus And Its Influence Over It's Management:

The late Ottoman sultans realized the importance of incorporating a series of reforms into the state organizational body and it's effect on the resurrection of the Ottoman Empire former glory. Especially after the state of frailty it has been going through.

The Sultan *Mahmoud II* (1808-1839) managed to abolish the *Janissary* corps by June 1826. In addition to the establishment of a modern Ottoman Army, named the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*. (Omar, 1984: 270) By that, the state went through a full reform movement under the *Tanzimat Decree* (Rafeq, 1974: 378), Focusing on the military aspects but to be extent to most of the state bodies and institutions. Luckily, this decree synchronized with the Tarabulus *Elayet's* return into the sultan's direct authority in 1835. (Rafeq, 1974: 379)

Evidently, the true reforms began during the reign of Sultan *Abdülmecid* (1839-1861), when he issued the *Edict of Gülhane* in 1839, which included reforms such as the abolition of tax farming, reform of conscription, and guarantee of rights to all Ottoman citizens regardless of religion or ethnic group. The goal of the decree was to help modernize the empire militarily and socially so that it could compete with the great powers of Europe. (Rafeq, 1974: 380)

The new reforms called for an almost complete reconstruction of public life in the Ottoman Empire. Under the reconstruction, a system of state schools was established to produce government clerics and Ottomans were encouraged to enroll. Each province was organized so that each governor would have an advisory council and specified duties in order to better serve the territory. The new reforms also called for a modern financial system with a central bank, treasury bonds and a decimal currency. Finally, the reforms implemented the expansion of roads, canals and rail lines for better communication and transportation. (Rafeq, 1974: 275)

Moreover, *Sultan Abdulhamid II* commenced his reign with constituting a House of Commons in 2 November 1876, which consists of two councils, a public-elect Council of Delegates, and the Sultan-chosen Council of Elites. (Rafeq, 1974: 278)

However, those bodies did not last long, shortly; the sultan called a dissolution of the councils and suspended the constitution after less than a year from it's announcement. Turning it into an autocracy. These moves resulted a nation-wide revolt which eventually led to a countercoup in 13 April 1909 by the Army of Action (*Hareket Ordusu*) where it resulted his deposition in Salonica and his brother *Reshad Efendi* was proclaimed as *Sultan Mehmed V*. (Rafeq, 1974: 278)

2.2.2. The Ottoman Administrative Body in Tarabulus:

After taking down the *Garramanli* Dynasty in 1835, the state organization remained the same regardless, due to the continuous instability in the *Eyalet* of Tarabulus and the revolts arising every now and then. After extinguishing these revolts, the Ottomans began issuing and structuring a new state organization for Tarabulus. (Ziyada, 1966: 52)

The *Elayet* of Tarabulus subordinated under the direct authority of the Ottoman State, as it were divided to five *Mutasarrıfates*: Tripoli, *Alkhums*, *Aljabal Algharbi* (Yefren), *Fezzan* (Murzuk) and Benghazi, the latter was jumping around from the authority of the *elayet*, to the direct authority of the state in Istanbul. Each *mutasarrifate* divided into a several number of *kazas*, each headed by *kaymakam*, and each *kaza* divided into several *nahiye*.

To apply the newly issued reforms, the Ottoman constitution acknowledged the *vilayet* management structure which divided them to *elayets*, *kazas* and *nahiyet*. Where the *vali* [Governor] is in the top of the pyramid. (Nawfel, 1872: 382)

1. The Vali:

The *vali* sits on top of the state organization of the *vilayet* which comes with a set of absolute and vast jurisdictional powers. The sultan directly through a royal decree or *firman* assigns the *vali*, along with granting him the "basha" as an affix. According to the Ottoman constitution (Nawfel, 1872: 399), here is a series of his obligations and powers of possession:

- a. Heading the *vilayet* council, scheduling it's periodic meetings, along with the *nahiyet and kazas* council meetings as well.
- b. Give the *mutasarrifs* the approval on the procedures executed within their jurisdictional limits.
- c. Conducting an inspection of the constituencies under his control once or twice annually, whereas the inspection does not last more than 3 months, if further inspection is needed, an approval request is required. (Nawfel, 1872: 400)
- d. Keeping track of the *elayet's* financial matters, being responsible for its treasury and tax collection, revenues and expenses.
- e. A special regard to education and to the scientific and cultural levels of the *vilayet*. (Nawfel, 1872: 400)
- f. Continuous efforts to enhance and develop the economic aspect of his *vilayet*, by encouraging internal and external commerce and securing all of it's activities.
- g. Ensures the wellbeing and general health inside his jurisdiction by providing adequate hospitals and needed medical necessities, and eradicating diseases and epidemics inside the *vilayet*.
- h. Taking special regard to the territory's minerals resources.
- i. Initiating public charity funds (for public utilities).
- j. Working on urbanizing empty lands for the public interest.
- k. Providing safety and security in the *vilayet*.
- 1. Applying the laws, regulations and procedures to keep justice preserved for all citizens. (Nawfel, 1872: 400)
- m. The *vali* is responsible for the military movement inside his territory. (Nawfel, 1872: 400)

2. The Steward – *Kethüda*:

He is the vali's deputy, in every aspect of his work, he also delegates for the vali in case of his absence and he is assigned with a list of duties which are:

- a. Reading all of the incoming documentations from the constituencies, studying it and deliver an outlined version of them to the *vali*.
- b. Sending orders and responses to the constituencies for executing it.
- c. Show opinion in the decisions taken by the *vali*.
- d. He is responsible for all his doings in front of the vali. (Nawfel, 1872: 401)

3. The Bookkeeper – *Defterdar*:

Equivalent to the minister of finance, the main responsible individual of the financial matters of the state and he is connected directly with the financial chamber in Istanbul, falling responsible to it. (Nawfel, 1872: 283-284)

4. State Council:

Which consists of legal inspector, a bureaucrat, the *defterdar*, the exterior official, the religious leaders for non-Muslims and two Muslim and two non-Muslim individuals representing each *mutasarrifate*. The state council holds annual sessions, lasting for more than 40 days to discuss all the matters of the state (Nawfel, 1872: 385), headed by the *vali*. The duties of this council are the following:

- a. Taking care of the economic matters of the state and developing it's sources of income; internal external commerce, encouraging industrialism, etc.
- b. Handling the public works, construction of buildings bridges, and roads within the state. (Nawfel, 1872: 386)
- c. Regulating private and public properties.
- d. Delivering aid to whom in need of the state citizens or organizations.
- e. Supervising the foreign relations of the state.
- f. Overseeing the financial matters of the state, indicating the contracts' expenses of the state-owned buildings. (Nawfel, 1872: 383)

The state council has no right by interfering with judicial orders or laws, including the sharia and personal status laws. (Nawfel, 1872: 413)

The purpose of this council is advisory and the vali is by no any means is obligated to execute any request from it, excepting the urgent matters which are executed by the vali without returning to the capital. (Nawfel, 1872: 412)

A. The Foreign Official:

Which is responsible for all the active consulates' connections with the vali. (Nawfel, 1872: 402)

B. The Agriculture and Industry Official:

Responsible for all agricultural, commercial and industrial matters within the state, as well as coming up with suitable solutions to develop these aspects. (Nawfel, 1872: 403)

C. The Knowledge Official:

Responsible for the matters of education and research inside the states, also executes the orders delivered from the direct knowledge ministry in Istanbul. (Equivalent to the ministry of education).

D. The Roads Official:

Responsible for building, maintaining and reserving the roads throughout the state. (Nawfel, 1872: 403)

E. Civil and Property Registry Official:

Responsible for registering all public and private properties, as well as delivering tax statements to its owners. (Nawfel, 1872: 404)

F. The Waqf Official:

Responsible of all waqf assets in this state, obligated with the collection of waqf debts, and sending them directly to the waqf treasury, he is also responsible for managing the accounts of his states, renovating and rebuilding the old waqf buildings and assets, and overseeing the public charity funds in the state. (Nawfel, 1872: 405)

G. The Bureaucrat:

The bureaucrat, or the "*Maktubji*" is obligated to take note and document all the edicts, decrees orders and regulatory letters of the state. Moreover, the state press is subordinated under his authority. (Nawfel, 1872: 383)

2.3. Ottoman Waqf Management:

This section projects the mechanism used in managing waqf assets during the second Ottoman Reign of Tripoli, such knowledge is required to gain a wider perspective over the state of waqf assets during that time. This chapter will also evaluate these mechanisms on several standards which are general standards that guarantees the success and sustainability of any institution, as for any institution has goals, procedures and regulations based on a well-recognized structure which defines responsibilities and privileges.

2.3.1. Goals of Waqf Institution:

Any set of goals diversify based on level of importance, a charity waqf property needs a constant cash flow to keep its services and functions running, whether they were health-related, educational or other services, a civil waqf does not offer any service to society to require a constant cash flow, but it requires a sense of management and finance to reclaim revenues and distribute them on people mentioned in the waqf certificate. From another side, an asset put under waqf as an investment is way different than an asset with service-based waqf, and therefore managing each asset differentiates from the other's, in which the investment-based waqf aims at finding the best ways to increase revenues, while the service-based waqf concentrates on the sustainability of the asset. Other goals of waqf can be summarized in:

- 1. Maintaining the asset and it's functions.
- 2. Financial management of asset.
- 3. Representing the asset legally.

4. Creation of assets database.

The diversity and sophistication of waqf revenues and expenditure framework influenced the waqf management to regain more sophistication to be in line with it's assets, in accordance to type of asset, revenue and expenditure, I can divide waqf managements into three types individual, judicial and governmental. (Ási, 2010: 95)

2.3.2. Types of Waqf Management:

The waqf management had been divided into three divisions, individual, judicial, and governmental management where in the first the waqf owner manages his asset by himself or using a proxy. While in the second an assigned judge manages the asset — which is a type of waqf management that had been created in the Umayyad Egypt —. The governmental waqf management was created due to the mortality of the sultans and their continuous availability to handle the assets on their terrain. Where a group of bureaucrats that handles all aspects regarding the waqf assets, from maintaining, sustaining, protecting and to leasing the asset, manages this system, all these bureaucrats are presided by the waqf official which is assigned by a royal decree.

2.3.2.1. Individual Management:

Which is handled by a single individual, assisted by personnel which either can be direct – by the waqf owner – or by proxy, all in condition of the implementation with terms mentioned in the waqf certificate. (Himmali, 2010: 105)

A. Direct Management:

If the intention of endowment came from the owner himself with full will, without any extortion or pressure, it is often that the property under waqf is managed by its owner. (Ministry of waqf Yemen, 1987: 39)

Sheikh Abu Yousef indicates that since it is his will and it is own order to put his property under waqf, it might not even need a documentation to prove so (Abu Zahra, 1971: 303). the owner can as well take a fair share of revenues annually, either to put in charity or be invested on the property.

B. Proxy Management:

Which consists of wavering the waqf property to whom the owner sees fit for such position and it is the most common and ancient type of management in Islamic history, as has happened to *Omar Ibn Alkhattab* when he assigned his daughter *Hafsa* as his proxy and to be managing his waqf property for the management to be inherited by her next of kin in case of her death. (Sarkhasi, 1986: 31)

The *nazer* "in Arabic" is the chief officer responsible for managing the asset, according to conditions of the owner. (Khattab, 1992: 37)

After the development of waqf as an institution, it's diversification and sophistication to a point that it is hard for the *nazer* to perform his tasks, it was inevitable to assign assistants to perform mini-tasks to help in the management of assets, those assistants are called – as *Muhammad Amin* called them in his book *Waqf Social Life in Egypt – (Administrative employees)* or *(Labor employees)*, (Amin, 1980: 203). the positions of these employees can be summarized in:

1. Waqf Overseer:

The occupant of this position monitors other employees during their work to oversee the pace of work, it is often that the overseer is designated by the sultan himself, he also supervises the expenditure of asset and is also able of designating employees to assist him. (Haggi, 1993: 68)

2. Clerks:

Administrative employees, should be literate plus with some mathematical knowledge, functioning as revenue\expenditure monitoring officials, report regular financial updates to the overseer, as the later delivers it to the proxy to be signed and stamped after his revision. (Amin, 1980: 203)

3. Collectors:

Collectors' main function is to collect annually or quarterly due revenues, as well they do collect lease fees – if the asset was residential – from occupants. These

employees have rights to live in waqf rental unit if it was vacant, as well he has rights to kick occupants in case of term-contradictions, as well he maintains the asset and handles the repairs. (Amin, 1980: 203)

In the state of Tripoli, special collectors were designated by the institution, as average waqf revenues reached to five hundred thousand liras which is a net sum after cutting out expenditure sums for maintenance and asset activity, then it is sent to the main waqf treasury. (Coro, 1984: 44)

2.3.2.2. Judicial Management:

A. Judicial System in Islam:

As soon as waqf stood on it's feet as an auto-functioning institution, the judicial Islamic system began to contain it under strict terms, due to the fact the waqf's revenues are public property and therefore for the purpose of defending it from corruption, a great importance lies in this system and it is effect on the integrity of this institution is significant. (Nahi, 1983: 52)

B. Judicial Management During Ottoman Reign:

The judicial system of Ottoman State contained of a supreme committee which supervised the whole judicial system, until the time of *Muhammad Alfatih* 1451-1481 which implemented to positions, a Rumilian and Anatolian judge for military court purposes, which were the highest in the pyramid of this system, functioning both as military court judges as well as designating judges inside the system. (Hazel, 1998: 10)

During conquests, Ottoman Empire designates a judge immediately after the occupation of a land for him to handle it's matters and in the case of Tripoli, the judges assigned were under the jurisdiction of the Anatolian army, (Hazel, 1998: 101). the process of official judge designation is for the Anatolian and Rumilian committees to confer four times annually, in that conference they direct positions to judges fulfilling the requirements for the job and after consensus it goes to the sultan for final procedures. (Hazel, 1998: 13)

The Ottoman Empire tried to clean out it's judicial system from corruption, so it issued a set of laws concerning internal regulations which shines among them the 1839 law, which were implemented in 1868 concerning the establishment of civil judicial bodies. (Hazel, 1998: 11), and in 1869 the Ottoman judicial system was implemented in Tripoli state, continuing to spread over the cities and towns in that region. The head of *sharia* court in second Ottoman Reign had the jurisdiction concerning waqf management and had all power to assign or resign individuals in management of waqf assets. (Proshin, 1991: 334-335)

2.3.2.3. Governmental Management.

Since it was prioritized to develop waqf system, this type was a result of development and it included many occupations, administrative, judicial and laborer. (Himmali, 2010: 118)

The popularity of waqf during the second Ottoman Reign led to the governor's having interests in the waqf which led to the incarnation of new waqf structures. It is understood that the new modifications in waqf systems took place during the Governor *Muhammad Amin Basha*'s term in 1842. (Ansari A. N., 1996: 355) which was known as the true builder of Tripoli and during his term Tripoli seen a time of prosperity through the administrative side. (Sameh, 1969: 199)

The protection and sponsorship of waqf structures being a governor responsibility reaffirms that waqf revenues were representing a big portion of the treasury's funds, and clarifies it's significant role in fulfilling the rule tasks and needs, either on health, education, social and economic sides, as well as it provided job vacancies to unemployed individuals.

As a consequence to this attention, waqfs were sorted into the following:

a. Regulated Waqfs:

Which are the waqfs issued by authorities and were fostered under the state\waqf institution due to the death of its owners and lack of heirs. (Qabbani, 1998: 75)

b. Unregulated Waqfs:

Which are individual waqfs or civil waqfs, these assets are managed under the waqf institution until the appearance of a designated proxy. (Najjar, 1991: 396)

c. Included Waqfs:

Which are the assets running by designated proxy and overseer but under the authority of the official waqf institution. (Qabbani, 1998: 75)

d. Excluded Waqfs:

Which are excluded from the waqf authority's cover, by the terms of it's owner to leave it's administration civil and not governmental. (Qabbani, 1998: 75)

Due to the importance of keeping waqf assets in count, the Ottoman authority enforced itself to regulate the waqf procedures, as well as it tried to enforce itself over the management of civil waqfs. (Himmali, 2010: 126)

3. CHAPTER THREE: STATUS OF TRIPOLI DURING THE SECOND OTTOMAN REIGN AND ROLE OF THE WAQF

3.1. Status of Tripoli During the Second Ottoman Reign:

The second Ottoman Reign had been an age of development for all administrational bodies, including the systems of waqf. However, the tug-of-war between the autonomist tendencies of *Garramanli* Reign and the ceaseless attempts of the Ottoman Empire to set the Libyan terrains under the sultan reign again resembled a transitional stage that affected essentially the waqf systems as a whole.

When Libya returned into the direct Ottoman authority in 1835, waqf had transformed from a mere *administro-theological* experiment into a governing phenomenon that strikes it's roots deep within the society.

Yet, the adjustments that have occurred during the *Garramanli* Reign, the partial abolishment of slave trading, along with the internal conflicts and rebellions had forced the government to inflate the currency more than once, kicking the state into the pit of poverty. (Rossi, 1970: 450), Not to mention the unfulfilled debts of *Yusuf Basha* which led the holding parties to interfere in the state affairs as raising taxes which consequently led the citizens to revolt against his rule.

All of these factors, events and circumstances and their impact on the waqf system will be discussed within this chapter.

3.1.1. Administro-Political Status:

A *vali* or state governor represents the executive body of the state. Usually, this *vali* is assigned by a *Farman* – Royal Decree – that indicates his reign mandate. The *vali* handles the state affairs, meets with exterior representatives and ambassadors. The *Vali* assigns on his turn the delegates of his governing council, whom are the supreme state judge, the *defterdar* or state bookkeeper, the waqf official and the *muktubji* or bureaucrat. (Coro, 1984: 26-27), From the period of 1835 and until 1911, more than 32 *vali*s have governed the state of Tarabulus, it is worth noting that the

vali duration varied from one to another, where some reigned for few months, some had ruled for more than fifteen years. (Rossi, 1970: 492-493)

To facilitate the *vali*'s governance, the state of Tarabulus had been divided into four *sanjaks* or jurisdictional districts or municipalities which were Tarabulus Center, *Khums*, Western Mountain and Fezzan. Each *sanjak* is headed by a *mutasarrif* and divided into several *kazas* or subdistricts which divide into *nahiyes* or communes, each *kaza* were headed by a *kaymakam*, as the *nahiyes* were headed by a judge. All mutasarrifs and kaymakams are assigned by the sultan, where the kaza governors are assigned by the *vali* himself. (Coro, 1984: 28-29)

The social and administrational organization reforms did not begin before the time of *Muhammad Amin Basha* (1842-1847). Where the governors before him were only assigned to yield the territory to the sultan's will. Therefore, they were not capable of enforcing administrational and organizational laws yet. (Sameh, 1969: 199)

During his term, Muhammad Amin Basha had instated the charitable bodies, where he as well sorted the jurisdictional system of the state, established councils and *diwans*, as well as he adjusted the tax collection procedures. (Ansari A. N., 1996: 355) However, the bureaucratic matters of the state were still getting worse, especially when the in-term officials leave the state matters in the hands of their entourage while falling into their own personal pleasures, a classic example of this is what happened during the term of *Ahmad Izzat Basha* in 1848. (Sameh, 1969: 202)

On the other hand, corruption was getting deeper into the bureaucrats of the state. Which led the citizens to send several letters of complaint to the Ottoman *Istana*, resulting their substitution in 1872. (Cachia, 1975: 37), However, the corruption remained in place, but the citizens kept complaining to the *Istana* on one hand and to the *valis* on the other, as what happened with *Mustapha Asem Basha* (1875-1876) which had regulated the bureaucratic system of the state and forced heavy monitoring over it. (Cachia, 1975: 38-39)

All of this greedy systematics had caused the state treasury to be sucked dry, of which I mention the adjustment in the tax collection procedures that allowed the neighborhoods *sheikhs* to collect taxes from the citizens. These *sheikhs* began stalking the citizens ruthlessly, collecting ridiculous values of taxes, fulfilling the state values and taking the surplus to each neighborhood's sheikh. (Rossi, 1970: 455)

In 1869, the civil, commercial and criminal courts were instated in Tripoli, where they all ruled under and according to Islamic *Sharia*. (Cachia, 1975: 26, 33), An assigned judge presides each court and all of it's writs can only be appealed in the *Ottoman Istana*. (Cachia, 1975: 33)

The state remained in internal turmoil of revolts for more than thirteen years; these revolts suspended the Ottoman's authority over the suburbs of the city. (Proshin, 1991: 265), These revolts were caused by the detainment of *Sheikh Ghuma Almahmudi* by the officials of *Najib Basha* in 1835, where this event caused an immense number of revolutions and strikes that the state attempted ceaselessly to extinguish it until 1843. (Cachia, 1975: 66-67)

By 1843, *Muhammad Raif Basha* tried to provide the necessary funds to run the state bodies and structures by leasing all of it's resources, even those whom are not leased before like the state jail. (Cachia, 1975: 68)

3.1.2. Economic Status:

The waqf on its part is an economic resource in the state of Tripoli and as the state is affected by the circumstances throughout time, so is the waqf Institution.

These transitions or circumstances can affect the revenues of the waqf assets, either positively or negatively, directly or indirectly. However, this study has settled with mentioning the factors that had affected the systems and bodies of the waqf Institution and its assets, from the Garramanli to Ottoman Reign transition, to the bureaucratic corruption infested within the city, along with the turbulences and revolts, plagues, drought waves. All these factors, whether be it natural incidents or politico-socio factors have all affected the working class of the state as a whole and

the city's especially, resulting death rates, destruction and high immigration rates. Resulting a decrease in the state economy and consequently the waqf institution's.

The internal conflicts and revolts had caused destruction upon the powerhouses of the state economy, in such a time where the governing body began to impose ridiculous taxes to milk the citizens. Both eventually caused the state economy to fall apart and lower the productivity of the state.

The state of Tarabulus has depended mainly on agricultural activity as a source of economy; *Ahmad Alansari* indicates such within his book. (Ansari A. N., 1996: 384), All of the state's goods are consumed locally and it was rare to export Tripolitanian goods. Considering this fact, the annual yields varied from a year to another according to the climate, while in some years the state reached economic prosperity and in the other it faced drought, famine and even epidemics.

In 1848, the state witnessed a year of abundance in agricultural harvests. (Sameh, 1969: 195) Followed by a time of economic prosperity under the term of *Mustapha Nuri Basha* (1852-1855), leading to the arrival of several foreign merchants to import crops and grains from the state for the first time. (Sameh, 1969: 203)

By the end of 1871, the rain precipitation levels decreased immensely which led to a high drought, resulting a shortage of food and currency, such period was named in the history by *the year of slaughter*, due to the amount of cattle slaughtered to keep the citizens fed. (Ansari A. N., 1996: 388)

As an aftermath to this famine, the *Vali Muhammad Hallat Basha* (1870-1871) established a series of goodwill buffets to the misfortuned, where were provided as a state contribution to aid the population. (Cachia, 1975: 37), In 1882 another famine occurred due to the shortage of grains, resulting an order from the *Istana* to send a number of aid ships that were filled with wheat flour. These shipments of flour were distributed on the population for nominal rates. This year was called the *Wheat Year*. (Mahjoub, 1998: 29)

Moreover, in 1889, the Ottoman State enforced whomever earned more than 500 *Kuruş* to pay 5% of their earnings to aid the state in supporting famine-infested families. (Mahjoub, 1998: 29)

Because of this wave of famines and starvations, it would be natural for such drought to carry along its own epidemics. The state of Tripoli survived several epidemics, such as cholera, bubonic plagues, malaria, smallpox, syphilis, several ophthalmological and thoracic diseases, as well as several animal diseases. (Mahjoub, 1998: 34)

The cholera epidemic had reached and infested in the state of Tripoli by 1874 and endured until 1910, killing more than 800 people and it was known locally as the *Yellow Air*. (Mahjoub, 1998: 35) The State of Tripoli began establishing quarantine centers in 1880 and handled the treatment of all whom are infected. (Mahjoub, 1998: 36)

During that period, or precisely in 1836, the bubonic plague emerged in Tripoli for the first time, where the state imposed strict quarantine on the population to limit infection rates. This plague lasted for three long years until 1839. (Virtue, 1994: 454) Moreover, the state witnessed the malaria infestation and the smallpox plague, which lasted from 1903 and until 1904. (Mahjoub, 1998: 47, 49)

This series of plagues and famines have affected the economic situation of the state as the death rates boomed, as well along with the emigration rates from the infected territories, resulting a major change in the demographic distribution in the region, not to mention the workforce damage these plagues afflicted on the production powerhouses of the state. That and all have forced the Ottoman authority to close down markets to prevent the spread on infection, increasing the price of grains as a result. (Mahjoub, 1998: 51, 53)

All of these factors have added up to create a monopoly on commercial goods, where several merchants monopolized the goods, selling them in outrageous prices during the crisis. (Mahjoub, 1998: 127)

To give a close look on the economic infrastructure of Tripoli as a city, here are two charts that summarize the number of economic establishments within and out of the city walls. Figure (29) (A, B, C, D, E) As for within the city: (Mahjoub, 1998: 15-16)

Table 3: Shows the preparation of the facilities located inside the wall of Tripoli City 1919 AD.

| Type of Institution\Establishment | Number |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Prayer Mosques \ Jami' | 10 |
| Study Mosque \ Masjid | 21 |
| Primary Schools | 4 |
| Preparatory Schools | 1 |
| Rashidian Schools | 1 |
| Girls School | 17 |
| Quranic Schools | 2 |
| Almshouse | 2 |
| Quicksilvers | 5 |
| Residential Units | 2470 |
| Hotels and Inns | 20 |
| Small Stalls | 1100 |
| Markets | 50 |
| Public Baths | 4 |
| Churches | 4 |
| Synagogues | 7 |
| Restaurants | 50 |
| Camel-run Mills | 72 |
| Steam Mills | 1 |
| Hospitals | 2 |

| Bakeries | 23 |
|--------------------|----|
| Distilleries | 50 |
| Soap manufactories | 2 |
| Tannery | 1 |

This table shows to us that within Tripoli walls, there were more than 3919 institutions, in both public and private owned. As for the institutions outside the city walls, they will be summarized in the following chart: (Mahjoub, 1998: 16-17)

Table 4: Shows preparation of the facilities located outside the wall of Tripoli city 1919 AD.

| Type of Institution\Establishment | Number |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Prayer Mosques \ Jami' | 45 |
| Study Mosque \ Masjid | 75 |
| Primary Schools | 2 |
| Quranic Schools | 35 |
| Quicksilvers | 50 |
| Hotels and Inns | 48 |
| Churches | 2 |
| Camel-run Mills | 26 |
| Residential Units | 2000 |
| Orchards and Plantations | 2500 |
| Stalls | 650 |
| Restaurants | 25 |
| Steam Mills | 1 |
| Distilleries | 32 |

These entire establishments sum up to 5491 unit, leading to an amount of 9410 establishment inside and outside the walls of the city, yet these numbers decreased to become 6451 establishment in the latest statistics provided in 1911 by Francisco Cuorro. This decrease is due to the plagues, the revolts and the famine and drought

waves whom occurred throughout the years, the following chart shows this in detail: (Coro, 1984: 101)

Table 5: Shows the preparation of the facilities located inside and outside the wall of Tripoli city 1911 AD.

| Type of Institution\Establishment | Number |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Residential Unit | 2750 |
| Stall | 3309 |
| Hotels | 35 |
| Restaurant | 72 |
| Bars | 95 |
| Luxury Hotels | 3 |
| Luxury Inns | 5 |
| Cinema Theaters | 2 |
| Public Theaters | 1 |
| Steam Mill | 1 |
| Camel-run Mill | 45 |
| Bakery | 43 |
| Soap Manufactory | 4 |
| Tannery | 3 |
| Study Mosque \ Masjid | 33 |
| Shrine | 21 |
| Quicksilver | 5 |
| Islamic Institutes | 3 |
| Quranic Schools | 21 |

Moreover, many establishments – including the ones under waqf authority – have faced severe damage in several incendiary incidents, the first incident occurred in November 1862, which have inflicted great damage on the local registries and storage units. (Coro, 1984: 34-35), The second incident happened in May 1864, where the city fell into blazes due to an accident in the storehouse of fire powder within the fort, the destruction of this incident reached many establishments,

including the full destruction of more than 40 residential units. Figure (29) (F) (Ansari A. N., 1996: 385)

The establishments of waqf were not insured against these circumstances, as it appears from the lease contracts of that time that the waqf assets of the city were no longer leasable until the application of needed maintenance.

According to economic status, the society of Tripoli was divided into two tiers, the aristocrats which ruled the city without any interest in increasing it's productivity, and the commoners which were obliged to produce; this tier was divided into three divisions, artisans and merchants and the farmers which included city dwellers and Bedouins. (Sharfuddine, 1998: 197)

To recognize the population number of the state during that time, I can resort to the population count chart ordered by *Hafez Basha* (1900-1902), which indicated a sum of 275,000 person, whom were occupied mainly in agriculture, which is the primary economic resource of the state – regarding its geographic features –. (Cachia, 1975: 48; Mahjoub, 1998: 17)

One cannot deny that the in-state failures – *bureaucratic corruption* – and the plagues and drought waves had inflicted a severe damage on all levels upon it's economic status, in addition to the chaos resulting from the revolts and inner conflicts. All resulting into a major decrease of economic productions and an increase in goods rates.

However, one as well cannot divide the resolutions of political social, and economic aspects all together due to their interlacing nature, they affect each other and incorporate each other and a failure in an aspect, has it's own influence over the other.

3.1.3. Social Status:

To provide a clear perspective upon the societal aspects of Ottoman Tripoli and the nature of it's inhabitants, I will be quoting the memoires of the famous Tunisian traveler *Muhammad Ibn Othman Hashaíshi* during his travels to Tripolitania.

a. Tripoli Locals and Their Nature:

"Know that most of these gentlemen hail from the race of Berbers and that they mainly hold a Bedouin character than that of the city folks, however they are eloquent and affable, most of them are merchants and men of business. I prematurely thought that they had a self-conscious nature that does not appeal to foreigners, however, once they consort with a foreigner and knew him well, they show him their hospitality and the real friendly nature of theirs." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 67)

b. Tripoli and its Men of Knowledge:

"I had not known any immersion of Tripoli folks in the modern knowledge or sciences, nor the existence of any famous Islamic jurisprudence men of knowledge. However, lately I have found that this city was home to many of these gracious godblessed masters; of whom I mention Alhassan Ibn Musa Alhawwari, whom I have copied several sections of his tome into my memoires." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 67)

c. Teaching in Tripoli:

"In their schools, the teacher of the pupils usually sits on a wooden box-shaped bench that is elevated enough so all of his students can observe him clearly, and remains dictating his students and teaching them from noon prayer until sunset." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 68)

d. Tripoli Buildings:

"An ordinary Tripoli house is built upon the traditional style, a one that is similar to ours in Tunisia, in exception to those houses in the Manchia suburb, and foreigners' homes; which are built in a beautifully styled European form." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 68)

e. Tripoli Fruits and Foods:

"All of its produces are edible and delicious and it is abundant with all what Allah has graced us in a moderate price, a noteworthy point that its plantations are rich with watermelons – or as they call it: Dellá – which are peculiarly massive that a camel can only hold two of this deliciously ripe fruit over his carriage without breaking his back." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 68)

f. Commerce of Tripoli: Imported and Exported Goods:

"The city port is open for European cargo ships that deliver imported goods, the same good I can see in Tunisian ports. However, the city exports it's own goods of great quality: from wheat, barley, cattle and livestock to wool, dates, oranges and lemons, henna leaves. The Tripoli Port also exports these exotic goods brought from Sudan, from tanned hides to ostrich feathers and ivory. It is worthy to mention that these exported goods fall under any taxation systems in the ports it gets received in." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 69)

g. Races of Merchants:

"Most of its merchants' hail from it alongside some foreigners and Jews. However, this city has no official banking establishments nor rail-tracks connecting it to other cities, nor steam-powered European factories. A bumbling city that has not witnessed the advancements of the Europeans." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 69)

h. Agriculture in Tripoli:

"As for agriculture, the farmers here are divided into two sorts: ones whom are the owners of vast orchards that are usually located in the outskirts of the city, these know their trade and are well aware of farming and it's principles. And the nomadic Bedouins, they are not interested in farming due to their wandering nature and lack of dedication despite the fertile lands and plots they own. They mostly prefer trading over farming." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 69)

i. Military in Tripoli:

"As for what it concerns the military force stationed in Tripoli, I can divide them, the ranking officials from sergeants to high-ranking generals whom are living a

prosperous life, eating and drinking the best of what is available, wearing luxurious garments and living in modern houses, walking the streets in extravagant pride alongside with their veils covering them from head to toe and most of these officers speak French. As for the soldiers; their circumstances are lower and their lives are poor due to the delay of their salaries at that period. It is worthy mentioning that the Tripoli stationed a number of eight thousand soldiers at that year (1895). And it is also known that the city's port is fortified with marine mines to a point that entering the port waters would be impossible without a guide." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 70)

j. Port of Tripoli:

"The port of Tripoli is not an industrial one, in which the ships be anchored near the pier. In case of grumpy winds, it becomes very tough for the passengers and cargo to be landed. When I was visiting the city, I saw an Ottoman battleship anchored in the pier alongside with two postage vessels, one from France and the other from Italy." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 71)

k. Law in Tripoli:

"The laws of this city are executed complyingly with the Ottoman laws, following the Islamic jurisprudence of Imam Abu Hunaifa Alnúman. The usual executive governor of the city is called a mutassariff whom governs alongside a sharia judge. Both of these officials are appointed by the general government in Istanbul." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 71)

1. Circulating Currencies in Tripoli:

"The circulating coins in Tripoli by that time differ by their popularity and exchange rates, one of the mainly utilized coins during that time was the D'ore – known locally as Abuseera – which is a Dutch minted coin that had an eagle engraved on one of it's sides. This currency is exchanged in North Africa for 24 Ottoman Kurus and for 13 Kurus in Tripoli. The Ottoman Lira is exchanged for 124 Kurus, while in the rest of the region it gets exchanged for 130 Kurus." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 204)

m. Minerals and Metals of Tripoli:

"The state is abundant with what the soil is dug for, I can see that many sulphur mines are located in Sirte, as well as those of phosphates in Weddan Mountains, along with several marble and alabaster quarries in Murzuq, in addition to gold mines in Tuareg lands and several great mineral marshes in Ghat." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 205)

n. Floral Variance of Tripoli:

"Many plants find its existence in this region, I can find in Tripolitania the plants of sagebrush, rhanterium, amaranth, wall lettuce, juniper, acacia, thymes, rosemary, haloxylon, desert gourds, asafoetida trees and many more." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 206)

o. Faunal Variance of Tripoli:

"I have known and seen most of the living animals in Tripolitania, as in this region live many species of beasts, fowls and which of poison. Such as lions, tigers, hyenas, wolves, foxes, hares, gazelles and ibexes. Of the fowls I mention ostriches, eagles, vultures, hawks, crows, sandgrouse, bobwhites and pigeons. From the poisonous are a variety of serpents, scorpions and venomous beetles, alongside fleas, lice, mosquitos, barley bugs and ticks." "...more notes worthy of mentioning that Tripolitanian camels never chew stored alfalfa during caravan travels, on the contrary the guides of the caravans let it eat from whatever greens can be found on the way." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 208)

p. Winds and Desert Currents:

"The blowing winds on this region can be divided according to the season, as in winter I can be familiar with the Western – Sharsh – and the Southern – Jawfi – cold winds. In the summer the existent currents are Eastern – Sharqi – and the Calima – Ghibli – winds that bring the scorching heat with it." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 208)

q. Diseases in Tripoli:

"Know that most of the locals living in the southern side of the state mostly die due to fevers and become blind of the eye ailment. Whomever catches these sicknesses either dies or becomes immune to it." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 210)

r. Literacy in Tripoli:

"Most of the region's locals are illiterate, excluding those whom are living in cities or suburban towns." (Hashaíshi, 1965: 210)

3.2. Role of Waqf Assets During the Second Ottoman Reign in Tripoli:

3.2.1. Religious Role:

3.2.1.1. Mosques:

Waqf in definition is prohibition of property, a state where no owner exists and such state was always direct to religious aspects, in Islam, waqf system were always interested in building and maintaining places of religion (mosques). (Amin, 1980: 179)

Mosques did an educational role plus the religious role, as schools, to educational centers and institutions commencing their duties inside mosques. (Oghlu, 1999: 467)

During that time and according to *Ahmad Nayeb Alansari's* records, the waqf charted mosques were about 178. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc No. 42), It is worth mentioning as well that the waqf proxy\overseer of each mosque was the actual manager of the place. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 217)

The inhabitants used to send their offspring to mosques for the purpose of studying, learning how to read and write, reciting and memorizing Quran under the supervision of *Sheikhs* in study circles, as well as they take lessons in jurisprudence and hadith at advanced levels, such study circles commenced in time between morning and noon prayers.

Adding to that, mosques were a haven for enemies and rivals to reconcile, *Darghut Basha* Mosque was a famous place for such events, as many conflicts were solved and among them the reconciliation between Tripoli's and the coast Bedouin's, which occurred in 1835 during the term of *Najib Basha*. (Sameh, 1969: 190)

The city has witnessed an enormous increase in mosques, as *Muhammad Ibn Othman Hashaíshi* indicated: *inside the cities stand many mosques, almost equal to houses in numbers*. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 14), Of course this is a bit of an exaggeration, but it is a clue of the abundance of mosques in the city, waqf logs of *Ahmad Altayeb Alansari* shows a stunning number of 178 mosques within the city walls. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Sheikh Omar Janzouri Hall: Doc No. 204)

Each religious waqf asset was funded by revenues of a set of auxiliary economic assets, for purposes of maintenance and development, I will be listing a summary of well-known mosques which were under the waqf institution. (Himmali, 2010: 155)

A. Ahmad Basha Mosque:

Facing the southern west side of the Red Fort, separated from it by *Handak* District and *Souq Almoushir* Market from the northern west, overlooking the *Roba'a Souq* from the north and on *Souk Alattarra* from the southern east side. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 74). It was built by *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* by 1711 along with a study circle. See Figure(1) for picture attachment.

B. Mahmoud Mosque:

Standing on the old city's center, overlooking *Zanget Alsara'ari* District from northern west, District of *Mahmoud Mosque* from northern east, from the south on *Muhammad Zreig* District. This mosque was built by *Muhammad Khazendar*, the treasury officer in time of Governor *Muhammad Haddad Alanadoli* 1608-1681, along with a special Eid Prayer place next to it. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 74), See Figure(2) for picture attachment.

C. Dorouj Mosque:

Located in the intersection between *Alsara'ari* District and *Dorouj Mosque* District, the naming of this mosque was due to the elevated entrance of it. (Shaglouf,

Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 69), built by *Ismail Alsanani Alsalimi* in 1522. (Zawi, Álam Libia [Figures of Libya], 1961: 155), See Figure(3) for picture attachment.

D. Shayeb Al'ayn Mosque:

Located in *Souq Altruuk* District, built by *Muhammad Basha* which were nicknamed *Shayeb Al'ayn* "Grey eyed", in 1698. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 55), See Figure (4) for picture attachment.

E. Alhattab Mosque:

Located in the end of *Zanget Kafala* District outside city walls and built by *Sheikh Abu Nezar Muhammad Ben Abdurrahman Alhattab*. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 55) ,(1496-1547). (Hashaíshi, 1965: 39)

F. Assouss Mosque:

Located in *Zanget Bu Dira*, overlooking *Sidi Omran* District which is also named *Altuubi Mosque*. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 59)

G. Darghut Basha Mosque:

Located in *Bab Bahr* Area, bounded by *Zanget Hammam Sghir* from south, north by *Darghut Basha* Alley. This mosque is one of Tripoli's most important mosques, built by *Darghut Basha* – arriving to Tripoli as it's governor in 1556 – and is similar in architecture and design to *Hammuda Basha Almaradi* Mosque. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 42), See Figure(5) for picture attachment.

H. Alnaga Mosque:

Located in *Alfenaidgha* neighborhood which is one of the oldest mosques in the city, said to be built in 913th by *Khalil Isahaq* with the hands of *Bani Obaid* Tribe during the time of *Moez Deen Ellah*, The Fatimid Caliphate, *Tijani* described it as a wide

mosque built on high pillars. Also known as the *Great Mosque "Masjid Aadam"*. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 41), See Figure(6) for picture attachment.

i. Mosque of Sheikh Salem Almeshatt:

Located near the main water plant in the *Bab Bhar* area, overlooking *Salem Meshatt* Alley from the west and *Salem Meshatt* District from north, built posthumously. *Salem Almeshatt* was a figure of Tripoli's, dead in 1493. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 44), See Figure(7) for picture attachment.

J. Mustapha Gorji Mosque:

Built in 1834 by an order of *Mustapha Gorji* himself, overlooking the Arc of Marcus Aurelius from the east. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 108), See Figure(8) for picture attachment.

K. Mosque of Ben Sawwan:

Located in *Koshet Elsfarr* District, consisting of a place of prayer and study circle, bound by the district's path from southern west, and *Reiffi* Alley from northern west. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 129)

L. Ben Tayyeb Mosque:

Known also by *Azzaa Mosque*, located in *Souq Alharara* Alley, it is also said that *Ibn Tayyeb* – of Turkish origins – built this mosque. This mosque cosists of a place of prayer, ablution baths and a Quran study circle. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 119)

M. Dabbagh Mosque:

Located in the center of Old City Area, it is possible that it was built by *Kikhia Muhammad Aldabbagh* during the time of governor *Khalil Basha Al-arnaoti* 1681-1709. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 92), See Figure(9) for picture attachment.

N. Sakalani Mosque:

Located at the intersection between *Benghazi* Alley and *Souq Alharara* Alley, built by *Muhammad Ben Ali Alsakalani*. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 95)

O. Alkharrori Mosque:

Located in *Alkharroba* alley on the southern side of *Souq Altruk* and has an entrance on the northern side, overlooking *Ammoura* Alley. It is said that this mosque was built during the 15th century. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 51), See Figure(10) for picture attachment.

P. Mosque of Ben Taboun:

Located in *Kaws Almufti* Alley outside city walls from the east, distinct by its unique Libyan ornaments and architecture, built by an individual of Libyan *Ben Taboun* Tribe, which pertains it's roots from a bloodline in *Tajoura* area. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 58)

Q. Mosque of Sheikh Abdulwahab:

Overlooked by the northern side of *Mustapha Gorji* Mosque and Marcus Aurelius Arc, appears to be built in the period which were the *Salem Almeshatt* Mosque built; if compared. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 8), See Figure(11) for picture attachment.

R. Albazi Mosque:

Known back then by *Jdoud* Mosque, also by *Jadda* Mosque. After then it got named as *Albazi's* due to the residence of *Alhassan Albazi* in it which is located outside Tripoli from the south. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 39), See Figure(12) for picture attachment.

S. Attia Mosque:

Located in *Saraari Archway* and contains a study nook named *Sidi Attia Nook*. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 86), See Figure(13) for picture attachment.

T. Ben Moqail Mosque:

Located in *Koshet Elsghar* Alley, famous by the name of *Ibn Musa* Mosque, due to the latter being an imam of this mosque. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 148), See Figure (14) for picture attachment.

U. Alhouria Mosque:

Known also as *Almiladi Mosque*, located at *Kaws Saraari*, *Houria* used to be a teacher in the school attached to the mosque, it overlooks *Aldroug* Alley from north. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 145)

V. Mosque of Shan Elshan:

Located in *Souq Attejara* alley, named after *Sheikh Muhammad* (nicknamed as *Shan Elshan*). (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 136)

W. Alsaraya Alhamra Mosque – Mosque of the Red Fort:

This mosque is located inside the Red Fort, reconstructed from a previously-used hall, yet the during their invasion, Ottomans turned it into a place of prayer in 1551. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 140), See Figure (15) for picture attachment.

X. Maizran Mosque:

By 1880, *Hajj Ramadan Maizran* constructed the famous Tripolitanian landmark; Maizran Mosque, a religious structure that was built on a land owned by *Hajj Muhammad Belhaj*. This mosque included two schools, one specialized in Islamic jurisprudence and *hadith*, while the other concerned with Quran reciting and memorization. This initiative to build the schools attached was one of many initiatives caused by the Ottoman negligence toward providing public educational

institutions which led the locals to independently erect these schools, while the reigning government concerned with providing staff and their payments.

After the death of his only son during a business trip to Sudan, *Hajj Maizran* endowed all of his properties and assets to this mosque and it's schools under the waqf system, for the sake of providing reasonable education to Libyan younglings and to provide them with a monthly reward so they can be able to concentrate on studying throughout the period they attend it. It is worthy to mention that due to the abundance of his owned properties in the area his mosque was situated, the street was renamed commonly under his name, however it was renamed again into *Lazio* by the Italian authorities during the occupation, but it remained renowned locally as *Maizran St.* until this day.

Architecturally: this mosque was built in a very similar structure to that of modular Ottoman mosques, the ceiling is supported through walls with a lack of columns or arches, the halls of the main prayer hall are supporting completely the central dome which is surrounded by four exteriorly invisible domes, yet can be noticed from the interior. The mosque can be entered through three main doors, encapsulated with two small windows on each side of each door. The main entrance to this mosque is the northeastern door, where its gate is engraved with astonishing wooden adornments and engravings. The interiors of this mosque are completely decorated with adorned and botanically decorated porcelain. From door and windows frames. The *mihrab* is beautifully simple and overlooked by a small square window, next to it is I can observe the seven-stepped pulpit that's covered with a narrow wooden dome that is filled with botanic engravings going down to the columns supporting it on the pulpit structure, behind the mihrab wall I can find the resting place of Hajj Maizran, peripherally standing meters away to it erects the polygonal minaret. Near the northern entrance I can find the water cycles and ablution taps. The exterior space from the northern and eastern sides of this mosque is supported by a line of supporting archways that forms an exterior, semi-covered hallway. The columns supporting this exterior space are adorned with Ottoman crowns and botanic engravings.

As well standout other mosques such as *Ben Suleiman*, *Nakhli*, *Ben Saber*, *Almufti*, *Ben Lutfi* and a lot more. See Figure(17) for picture attachment.

3.2.1.2. *Kuttab*:

Which are places of study attached to mosques or inside their area, in which one room or more is kept for educational purposes, it can also be in Islamic nooks, or in the residence of the teacher itself, or in waqf-related assets and numerous schools were available all over the state. (Oghlu, 1999: 309)

In these *Kuttabs* the child receives elementary education, consisting of writing and reading Arabic, on the hands of a teacher which locally under the name of *faqih* or *sheikh*. (Oghlu, 1999: 309)

Education in these small institutions was often free, especially if it was built under sponsorship of wealthy merchants or statesmen or if it was attached to other waqf-related assets, sponsorship funds were spent over the maintenance and *kuttab* expenditure articles. (Oghlu, 1999: 309)

If the *sheikh* himself established a *kuttab*, he would take an insignificant fee from his pupils every Thursday, known as *Khamisia*, this fee may vary in items as eggs, beans, wheat etc. and sometimes can be in coin. (Oghlu, 1999: 309)

During the second Ottoman Reign, the number of *kuttabs* varied around 15 *kuttabs* spread around Tripoli, yet they were not all fit for proper education and even the ones which fit did not have enough *sheikhs*. (Ghonaimi,1988: 107).

The Ottoman authority however gave some attention to these *kuttabs*, such thing is identified through the inspection of an Ottoman Notice '*Faraman*' from the governor to the state judge demanding the designation of a committee that is concerned toward regulating *kuttabs* and maintaining them. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 1782), It is clear

that the Ottoman authority have issued laws and regulations to optimize kuttab education even though they were not applied strictly.

Tripoli has known during the second Ottoman Reign a decent number of *kuttabs*; most being attached to mosques, least attached to institutes, following is a provided list of most known *kuttabs* around the state during that age:

A. Kuttab Ben Sawwan:

Attached to *Ben Sawwan Mosque*, used to study and memorize Quran by little children. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 129)

B. Kuttab Taboun:

This *kuttab* is located at the top floor of *Ben Taboun* Mosque, a rectangular room with a narrow entrance. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 58)

C. Kuttab Alhattab:

A small room located west to the mosque, only separated by a narrow alley leading to *Kafala* District and *Souq Alharara* District. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 57)

D. Kuttab Teib:

Named also as *Kuttab of Azzaa* Mosque, which is located in *Souq Alharara* Alley inside the mosque. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 119)

E. Kuttab Alkateb:

This *kuttab* is located near the *Alkateb Mosque and school*, which is a small room for squires to learn reading and writing Quran verses. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 113)

3.2.1.3. Sufism:

It is natural for the waqf institution to affect the spread of sufism substantially, to the point making sufism as a Libyan tradition during second Ottoman Reign. A great portion of waqf revenues were distributed on mystics as well as it gave them a lot of attention. Such attention is clear through the directed sums to *sufis* and the privileges sufis enjoyed. In that time waqf institution provided accommodation, catering, and clothing services to mystics which led to the multiplication of mystics driven by these privileges. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 27) Nooks were put under waqf in favor of poor sufis. A sheikh or more were assigned to each nook, as well it was habitual for sheikhs to decide who has the right to live periodically in the nook. Inside these nooks a sheikh or faqih teaches Islam theology according to one of the four Muslim doctrines. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 95). As those sheikhs had rights to teach in kuttabs, awarding their students with 'diplomas' allowing them to function as educators in any mosque, institute, nook or kuttab later on. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 95-97) Nooks were recognized as a part of education system but being different from schools and institutes, the tradition of establishing nooks was inherited from the Ottomans, following centuries of tradition during the Islamic Era. (Oghlu, 1999: 14)

All of these factors contributed in the increase of nooks throughout Tripoli in the second Ottoman Reign, of which I mention:

A. Nook of Sheikh Yacoub:

Located in *Bab Bhar* Area, west to Marcus Aurelius Arc, in *Sidi Yacoub* Alley, bound from the south by Marine edifice formerly, exactly behind *Kihia* Tower and is also known as *Little Nook*, *Sheikh Yacoub* is the actual founder for this nook. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 89)

B. Alkabira Nook:

Located in *Bab Alhurria* Area, in *Zawia Kabira St.*, the building of this nook is quite similar to the architecture of traditional housings, has two main halls overlooking the patio, besides them another room for prayer purposes. Founded by *Sheikh Muhammad Alem Faresi Banoun* of morocco, in 16th century. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed,

Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 151), See Figure(18) for picture attachment.

C. Kadria Nook:

This nook is located in *Funaidegha* Alley, facing *Alnaga* Mosque from west, which is a small nook and in it were the infamous *Sheikh Ali Siala*. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 147), See Figure(19) for picture attachment.

D. Alma'azi Nook:

Located on the southern east side outside city walls, founded by *Muhammad Ben Mustapha Alma'azi* whom had migrated to Egypt for studying purposes then returned to Tripoli during the rule of *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* (1711-1745) and founded the nook by that time. (Ibn Ghalbun, 1931: 205), See Figure(20) for picture attachment.

Nooks were funded from:

- 1. Waqf revenues, be them in currency or goods to be sold or exchanged.
- 2. Charity.
- 3. Soil reclamation, well digging projects and its reutilization. (Himmali, 2010: 167)

3.2.2. Educational Role:

During the second Ottoman Reign, education had been economically corrupt and neglected by the authorities as other life aspects were, the expenditure of education equaled 1% of the state total expenditure articles, the following chart shows totals of state expenditure in comparison to education expenditure during the period between 1894 & 1898. (Khafifi, 2000: 119)

Table 6: Shows the total expenditure in education for the years between 1894 and 1898 AD

| Year | Total Exp. | Total Education Exp. |
|------|------------|----------------------|
| 1894 | 818,142 | 375 |

| 1895 | 200,132 | 767 |
|------|---------|-----|
| 1896 | 318,155 | 224 |
| 1897 | 932,139 | 324 |
| 1898 | 639,135 | 330 |

Overlooking this situation, the waqf institution started to fund education more immensely, by sponsoring institutes and schools specializing in Arabic Language, *hadith* interpretation, Quran studies and Islamic jurisprudence. (Coro, 1984: 101)

3.2.2.1. Quranic Schools:

Inside Tripoli stand many schools, among them I can mention the school of *Muntaseria*, built in 1358 by *Faqih Abdulhamid Abi Addunia*. (Hashaíshi, 1965: 42), And:

A. Ahmad Basha Garramanli School:

After getting his grasp on Tripoli's governance by 1711, he commenced establishing several edifices around the city, among them the mosque and school which held his name. (Coro, 1984: 101) The economic prosperity period during *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* rule (1711-1745) empowered him to commence a number of public charity projects, from which stands his order of building a school and mosque near the red fort in 1731. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 95), Due to the attention provided by him regarding his school and mosque and his constant monitoring to the development of construction, the site finished building of this institution by 1737. (Sherif and Tweer, 1987: 95)

This school contained 43 rooms for foreign students' accommodation, plus auditoriums and a library, as well as few rooms for teachers. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 101), As well as he put over 32 waqf assets as cashflow resources to fund this school. (Sherif and Tweer, 1987: 103), See Figure (22) for picture attachment.

B. Maizran School:

This school were built in Zawia St., in which it taught Quran and *Sharia* studies, built in late 13th century, and funded by a numerous count of waqf assets. (Alzawi,

1970: 18), This school were built by *Ramadan Maizran*, a distinct member of governance council during the rule of *Ahmad Rasem Basha* (1881, 1883). *Maizran* was born in mid 13th Century Hijri, a famous, wealthy merchant between Sudan, Libya and Turkey, yet after the death of his son he turned into a philanthropist and concentrated on charity projects. (Alzawi, 1970: 18).

All of that led to Maizran School being the most famous among schools during the second Ottoman Reign, becoming a beacon for knowledge seekers due to it's scholarships and handouts, *Maizran* put many waqf assets as fund for this school. (Zawi, Álam Libia [Figures of Libya], 1961: 119), Which made the *Jawaneb* newspaper releasing it's 1066 print thanking him for building the school, a mosque, and a group of roads and water wells. (Ghonaimi,1988: 27). See Figure(23) for picture attachment.

C. Alkateb School:

Located inside city walls, overlooking the shore from the northern east side and *Arreh* Alley from northern west, built on regular structure schemes of schools back then, including a great hall for student accommodation, besides a set of rooms for lectures and other purposes. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, & Mustapha, 1980: 113)

This school was built by *Mostapha Belghasim Alkhoja Alkateb*, born and raised in Tripoli, completed his studies as an outstanding squire to the point *Ali Basha Garramanli* appointed him as his own consigliore. (Zawi, Álam Libia [Figures of Libya], 1961: 343)

Mostapha Alkhoja had a great enthusiasm in knowledge seeking, as he transcribed an enormous number of books, when the school were built in 1769, an enormous library was included in its structure, which had the best books and resources of that time, *Alkateb* passed away in 1798. (Oghlu, 1999: 325)

D. Othman Basha School:

Located in *Darghut Basha St.*, which is another famous school inside the old city. (Shaglouf, Abuhamed, Abdulnabi, Nems, Abdulrahman, and Mustapha, 1980: 113), founded by governor *Othman Basha Sagezli* (term 1649-1672) which assigned many waqf assets to fund it's activities, especially waqf books which helped the students in acquiring their degrees with ease. (Oghlu, 1999: 325), See Figure(24) for picture attachment.

E. Ammoura School:

Located in *Ammoura* Nook in *Janzour* Area which is located in the western suburbs 16 kms away from Tripoli center, funded as well with waqf agricultural assets, a very well designed and structured school. (Oghlu, 1999: 325)

3.2.2.2. Student Hostels:

Waqf provided accommodation needs for all students seeking knowledge at Tripoli, establishing hostels with catering services, all free of charge. (Amin, 1980: 253)

One of the main characteristics of schools in that time, that each school had an auxiliary free accommodation unit for students, only conditions a scholarly admission, conduct and remoteness of residence.

Hostels are one of the most distinguished waqf assets, as their founders realized the importance of convenient accommodation in the educational process. (Ghonaimi,1988: 26), which is a clear evidence of the founders' enthusiasm in spreading higher education.

It's worth noting that *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* School provided 34 quarters for student accommodation. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 101)

3.2.2.3. Wagf of Books:

Some faqihs and sheikhs dealt with the waqf of books for education and knowledge gaining, as Imam Malik indicated for it is not prohibited to put books under waqf for the purpose of gaining knowledge. (Dusuqi, 1910: 77)

By that distinguished the waqf books institutions in Tripoli, as it's overseers outstood in providing libraries with valuable waqf books, the Tripoli *sharia court* records indicate the endowment of over than 283 Books to *Alkateb* School Library, dated in December 23rd 1846. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 69)

Adding to that the library of *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* School which have been provided with a great number of waqf books recorded in the logs of *Tripoli Sharia Court*. (Sherif & Tweer, 1987: 101), where the latter indicated the endowment of over than 231 titles in medicine, jurisprudence, *sharia*, theology, literature, syntax, and interpretation, in favor of the library of *Ahmad Basha Garramanli* School. (Marwan, 1997: 49)

As well in the case of *Othman Basha Sagezli School*, as it contained an enormous library consisting of over than 230 titles and manuscripts, in addition to *Sheikh Gaja's* contribution to the library which exceeded 100 titles. (Marwan, 1997: 49)

Regardless of the current lack of data concerning waqf title inventories in these libraries, yet the series of governors at that time were very circumspect regarding the security of these valuable titles. During *Hassan Basha* Term (1837-1838), he issued an order to assign a committee headed by Judge *Ahmad Nadhif, Muhammad Alassouss* as his deputy, *Muhammad Afandi* as waqf overseer and several *sheikhs* of Maliki and Hanafi doctrines; to collect all the titles mentioned to be stored in *Othman Basha and Ahmad Basha* libraries, recording the transition in *sharia court logs* and in waqf logs as well, then this committee elects a librarian overseer to supervise the status of titles stored, as this committee regulated the issues regarding book borrowing as it limited borrow period to a maximum of three days and in case of loss or corruption of any title, the librarian overseer takes all legal responsibility for such acts. (Marwan, 1997: 51)

Additionally, the governor *Ahmad Basha* issued another decree to assign *Ahmad Shokri Aljazaeri* as a librarian overseer to the titles stored in library of *Ahmad Basha School and Mosque*. (Marwan, 1997: 51)

3.2.2.4. Modern Education:

In one of it's editions published in 1899, the *Tarabulus Newspaper* has indicated that the Ottoman State has demanded it's Department of Education to send a "qualified education official that has a good knowledge of the local Tripolitanian dialect and the capabilities needed to organize and establish a certain level of education in that region". Despite the state efforts to enhance the educational status of the region, I can find many officials complaining about the state of negligence and failure in many schools which have been established by the Ottoman State, a mere example of this is the letter dated on February 28th, 1910, sent by the Zawia City Kayemakam "local judge" Mr. Muhammad Amin Mehdawi to the high officials in Istanbul, mentioning in it the dire situation of the educational institutions and schools in the city, from the lack of educational instruments and stationary, to the incapability of the assigned teachers to do their lessons in an effective manner. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 19)), The main language used in teaching all the subjects in the state-established schools was Turkish, having Arabic being taught as a secondary language. However, in private schools, all subjects were taught in Arabic and the Turkish language classes were taught by retired Ottoman army officers, for whom the Ottoman State provides their monthly salary.

During that era, the education demands in Tripolitania were exclusively met through private-funded schools and institutions, as the Ottoman State and it's department of education fully dependent on the local efforts of Tripolitanians in providing suitable education to their offspring, from self-teaching, to creating small-study circles in mosques and *rabats* and finally by getting funds to establish educational institutions from the generous local men. In this context, the *Tarabulus* Newspaper has mentioned in an article published in 1881 that *Hajj Ramadan Maizran:* a local businessman and merchant, has appraisingly constructed several public institutions, from a mosque, two schools, a Quranic institution, paved a road in a rural region, and finally, built three massive water tanks inside Tripoli, along with him endowing many of these properties as mere state *waqf.* (Ghonaimi,1988: 71), And it adds

"many local owners of wealth have initiated to establish centers of knowledge that can provide an efficient level of education for all of the city's offspring, whereas they as well employed individuals of comprehensive knowledge and performance as teachers, and brought many books from the state capital in Istanbul...". (Ghonaimi, 1988: 71) It is also worthy of mentioning that many Tripolitanians have sent continuous petitions to the regional Ottoman education official, asking permission to reopen and reconstruct schools so their sons and daughters can receive proper education from the local charity funds, only demanding the Ottoman State to provide capable teachers. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 71) The establishing or reopening of a new education institution in the state was a common reason for local celebration, be it funded by the state or by their own collaborations; in the September 26th, 1910 edition of Tarabulus Newspaper, an article mentions a local celebration due to the opening of local-funded school in the Kikla Region, the author of this article praised this event and encouraged the other regions to take Kikla as an exemplary model. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 40)

3.2.2.4.1. Modern Schools:

In the midst of new organizational regulations which have been elaborated by the modernization movement in the state. A council of education has been formed for the purpose of supervising the application of these new regulations. According to the sixth edition of the state *salnamah* – the annual record of state administrational events –, issued by 1875 that the first instated council of education was presided by the judge *Hakim Alshara'a* which can be found as well in the records of the state department of education records, these records include a statistical statement of the amount of boy schools in the region of Tripoli, their names, their physical state and the needed books and stationary resources that need to be provided to each school, the names of each school staff and assigned teachers, the number of its students and the assessed educational level for each student, along with their general information. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 209)

It is worthy to mention that the boy schools here mean Quranic schools, moreover, I can include that the state *salnamah* has published since it's first edition an annual statistic chart that includes all of these state schools, it's locations and the number of students occupying each school, this chart as well included the Quranic schools in the Benghazi Region and it's appendixes.

In addition to these traditional schools, the Ottoman State continuously sought to establish numerous elementary, adolescence and secondary schools, in addition to several vocational institutions in an attempt to spread the modern educational approach in the region. Another statistic chart published in 1902 that the existent schools in the Tripolitania Region include an elementary boys' school admitting 133 students, another elementary girls' school admitting 160 students. A secondary school admitting 60 students, a preparational school for teachers that admits 20 students, an adolescent military school that admits 150 students, a craftsmanship school admitting 65 students, other schools admitting in total 490 students and the *Irfan* School admitting 100 students.

I can also find in this chart the schools established by foreign communities such as the Italian, French and Jewish Cult schools. (Naji, 1995: 88), However, while observing this document, I can note lack of higher education institutions in the region, yet it is mentioned that a number of Tripolitanian offspring have been sent to Istanbul colleges, such as the school of medicine, the school of judges and law, the high school of commerce, the school of agriculture, the higher school of teachers, the school of engineering etc. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 25)

1. Primary Schools:

These institutions – as I mentioned earlier – are usually established by the locally collected charity funds, the Ottoman State only provided the capable staff needed to operate the institutions and was responsible for the staff salaries. The study period of these schools was three years and it was under the jurisdictional authority of the state council of education. After the declaration of Ottoman Constitution in 1908, the Ottoman State commenced a series of reformations and optimization measures that

included a number of regulative articles that had enhanced the educational process in the State of Tripolitania. (Ghonaimi,1988: 132-141).

2. Adolescence Schools – Rushdi Maktabi:

These schools are considered the second phase in the educational process, as it proceeds through three years. The first adolescence military school was established in Tripolitania by 1857 – under the rule of Vali Ahmad Ezzat Basha –, the teachers' staff consisted of a number of state military ranking officers. It is worthy of mention that all the students of this school received annual monetary rewards during the period of their study. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 141-145), By 1877, seven civil adolescence boys' schools were established in the Tripolitania State, following a contemporary curriculum that was not introduced in earlier periods. In 1892 the first girls' adolescence school was established in the state, followed by a letter from the Tripolitania Vali to locals, discouraging them to admit their Muslim offspring into the foreign schools: "According to the Islamic jurisdictional committee, it is prohibited for Muslim younglings to be taught in foreign schools. As I, during the reign of our caliph have established a modern girls' adolescence school that is fully equipped and prepared, with a line of female accredited and efficient teachers from Istanbul, therefore, there is no need for you to admit your offspring in non-Islamic schools anymore...". (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 129)

3. Middle\Preparatory Schools:

These schools are the last phase in the Ottoman secondary education system, which I can imitate it as a primitive model of modern-day high schools, the first Tripolitanian school of this sort was established in Tripoli by 1867 (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 129) This school consisted of four grades that each take one school year in duration in which the student studies French and Persian, along with a comprehensive curriculum to that taught in adolescence schools. In 1909 an additional school year was added into the educational cycle of these institutions to sum into five school

years. (Ghonaimi,1988: 149) These schools used to send honor graduates to Istanbul to complete their high education phase in its institutions.

4. Private Schools:

This sort of schools consists of two main subcategories: privately-funded schools, which were established under the encouragement of the Ottoman State and redirected to deliver a competitive level of quality to that of foreign schools, especially after realizing that most state and military officials used to enlist their offspring in them. And the private charity-funded schools which were established for the purpose of providing education to the poor and orphan younglings. The following paragraphs will discuss examples of these schools:

5. Irfan School:

Established in 1901, with the purpose of competing with the foreign schools through the application of modern curriculums and professional staff members. Admitting the offspring of financially-capable Muslim families, noting that this school received continuous financial aid from the Ottoman State treasury.

6. Kinsfolk Offspring School – Abná Ashayer School:

Established in 1892, at the headquarters of Ottoman Sultanate during the reign of *Sultan Abdulhamid II*. This school handpicked it's students from the offspring of local tribes, clans and elites aiming to prepare these younglings to assume some high leadership and positions under the Ottoman authority. (Ghonaimi,1988: 162) It is recorded that the Tripolitania *Vali Nameq Basha* had demanded from the high council of judges to pick out a number of young individuals to be sent into the Kinsfolk Offspring School in Istanbul, noting that they should be between the age of 12-14, with good health and manners and most importantly to be either the youngling of an upper-class local or that of a local tribe chief. This letter is dated on April 12th 1897. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 136 & 139)

By 1906, the Ottoman State issued a declaration of admittance to this school, distributing it's declaration on all the states that follows it's authority including Tripolitania, attaching to it the list of admittance criteria which I will list in the following points (Ghonaimi, 1988: 163-164):

- a. There are three available seats in this school for the state of Tripolitania.
- b. Each approved candidate will be provided with 600 *Kurus* for traveling expenses.
- c. The candidate must be in good physical health, be able to handle physical education and he must have a certified documentation that proves his lack of any diseases.
- d. The candidate must be of good behavior and manners and to be of a well-known family.
- e. These candidates will be sent to Istanbul with a designated police detachment.
- f. Whomever arrives to Istanbul and found uncompiled with these conditions will be sent back and his family will be held responsible for his departure and return fees.

7. School of Sympathy – Shafaqá School:

Established in Istanbul by 1900 under the encouragement of several Ottoman officials, this school falls under an Islamic charity that has the same name: taking in orphans and offspring of the poor from all Ottoman States. This school falls under authority of Ottoman Interior Ministry and had an educational period of 5 years. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 263)

8. Foreign Schools:

These schools are usually established by the non-Islamic foreign religious communities in the state which include the Jewish cults and the Christian sects. Beginning in the form of ordinary religious schools, but turning and developing into modern state-of-the-art exemplary model schools. These schools followed certain

curriculums and teaching languages which differentiate according to the religion\sect\nationality of the school. (Ghonaimi,1988: 111)

9. Jewish Schools:

In 1804, the Jewish community in Tripolitania established the first Jew School which teaches Hebrew and French along it's own specified curriculum, until 1911 when it added Italian Language to it's subjects of study. Moreover, some Jewish sect leaders established the first Jew Vocational School in Tripoli by 1876; which have trained young Jews on the principles of bartering and commerce along with the theological Talmud studies. It is notable that most Jewish educational institutions were funded by Jewish charities and community funds. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 115)

10. Christian Missions and Foreign Communities Schools:

During the Ottoman Reign, the Christian missions and foreign communities were able of establishing their own educational institutions in Tripolitania, taking in the offspring of foreigners and whomever interested from national families. This initiative was commenced with some Christian missions and sects who have a considerable number of followers, as well as a continuous support from their countries of origin, then it developed with support of foreign consulates and community members. These schools were a public medium to teach it's languages among other subjects, as it targeted taking in the state's own sons and daughters to study in it's facilities. (Ghonaimi,1988: 115) A report delivered by the Tripolitania Vali to the prime ministry in Istanbul indicates the total number of Christian churches and schools in the state: "There are three churches and five Christian foreign schools, one church was established by the French Franciscan Catholic Sect missionaries in 1740, one Romanic Orthodox Church, built in 1740, and a Catholic Church built in Dahra District by 1874, the Protestants however, have their own temple within the British Consulate building. Along with two Ferriermarianth gender-separated schools and three Italian schools." (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations: Doc. No. 278) In the following points, I will be listing a number of schools that have been constructed and established by foreign communities and Christian missionaries:

- I. A small school for little kids was established in 1810 by Franciscan Missionaries.
- **II.** A Catholic mission under the *Good Shepherd Sister* order established a girls' school by 1846. This school was admitted by Christian girls, some Jewish and Muslim girls, the number of students in this school amounted to 60 students in which they get educated in Italian.
- III. An elementary school, established in 1876 by the Tripoli Italian Community, this school was put under the direct supervision of the Italian Government by 1888 which provided standard Italian curriculum and professional Italian teachers and staff members.
- **IV.** In 1888, the Italian Government established another girls' elementary school and a kindergarten, as well as a technical secondary school for boys with an attached industrial education department which had it's own girls' department established in 1907.

In 1904, the Italian community in Tripoli established an Italian School that it's curriculum included Arabic and French Languages, this school was aimed to attract a number of state citizens to study in it, in it's first year after opening, it attracted more than 45 students of national citizens' offspring which have angered the Ottoman State to a point where it issued a number of proceedings to prevent it's nationals and its military officers to enlist their offspring in it.

3.2.2.4.2. Vocational and Technical Institutions:

The Ottoman State have been continuously attempting to establish schools that can provide different levels of education, such as elementary, preparatory and adolescence schools. However, it did not pay attention to establish apprenticeship, vocational and technical education institutions until later dates. When established, it benefitted a number of students of both genders, but it did not satisfy the region needs for artisans and craftsmen. I will try in this section to cover a number of vocational and technical institutions that were built and established during the Ottoman Reign:

1. School of Islamic Arts and Crafts:

This school is a specialized vocational education institution that is dedicated in training it's students on the needed skills for creating traditional and handcrafted items.

Established in Tripoli, Libya at the September 1st St. by 1895, occupying an area of 24,000 m². It began admitting it's first group of students by 1901 where it's curriculum included carpentry, metalworks, embroidery, painting, tanning and leatherworks and general decorative engraving among other traditional handcrafts. The school stopped accepting students by 1911 during the Italian occupation, yet it continued by 1913 until now.

The school mainly concentrate upon teaching basic education along with the skills required to master these crafts. Furthermore, the curriculum of this institution has been extended to include watchmaking and general repairs skills. The school is located 300 m away from the famous Martyrs' Square and it has been established alongside a group of industrial and vocational education institutions by the last years in the second Ottoman Reign era during the governance of *Nameq Basha* (1898). The construction of this school continued for three years until it began functioning by 1901. See Figure(25) for picture attachment.

2. Preparational School of Teachers – Dar Almuallimeen:

Two teachers' institutes were established in the Tripolitania Territory during the beginning of the twentieth century, one in Tripoli and the other in Benghazi. The Tripoli Institute was established in 1901 and as soon as it opened, it took in any student who can read and write, memorize the whole Quran and knows a number of Arabic syntax and grammar principles along with the main principles of Islamic Sharia, and the studying period was only for two years. I will list the conditions of admittance. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Khadouja Shelli Hall of Educational Documentations, pp. (Achive, 1910: Doc. No. 343) (Ghonaimi,1988: 175) to this school in the following points:

- a. The admitting student should be less than 20 years old.
- b. Each student is given 20 *Kurus* each month from the school.
- c. The studying period is two years.
- d. The student is accepted to study after passing the pre-study qualifying exam, given that he applied with his file a certificate of good behavior and manners, along with a health certificate that proves that he is free of any diseases.

3. The Jandarma School:

This school was established in Tripoli by 1908, aiming to graduate capable police officers to be dispatched all around the Tripolitania Region, especially in rural areas. It is worthy to mention that the Turkish word *Jandarma* etymologically originates from the French expression *gens d'armes*, which means "Men-at-arms". (Ghonaimi,1988: 200)

4. Agricultural School:

This school was established in a Tripoli suburban district called *Sidi Almasri* in 1909 by *Ibrahim Basha*, this school included a boarding section where some students could be accommodated within the school. The main aim of this school was to train local farmers and produce professional agricultural specialists.

3.2.3. Economic Role:

The economic role and contribution of waqf assets is clear and noticeable through the waqf available documentations, either if such role were direct or indirect; those assets remain a strong link in the chain of economy through that time. Summarizing a count of 609 asset as a waqf property counted during second Ottoman Reign of Tripoli, this number indicates a substantial contribution and roleplaying in the city's economy. As most of the assets consisted of huge market portions which provided chances to small and big merchants alike to trade openly in waqf-related markets. (Himmali, 2010: 185)

As waqf edifices and buildings contributed by increasing employment in society, especially when these assets required renovation and maintenance works which required a reasonable number of craftsmen from blacksmiths to carpenters and builders. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Uncharted Doc.)

3.2.4. Social Role:

The waqf system and it's assets had never been a rigid system. In contrary, proving to be an honorable body on the social side, a mere example is in how these assets provided social service to it's society members during that time, a service which contributed to the social, cultural, educational, economical heritage, as well to the citizen of healthcare, education, religious and other services. Such services would not be possible to exist if not for the establishment of waqf and it's assets. (Himmali, 2010: 190)

On another aspect, the wealthy put their asset under endowments systems in favor of charity associations and committee to forbid the state from confiscating these assets, in which a person can gain three benefits of waqf, protecting his properties from confiscation, gaining the love and affection of citizens for such philanthropy and finally gaining the favor of Allah being concerned in a good deed. (Ibn Abdullah, 1996: 158)

Waqf assets were and still accounted as merit in the components of Islamic culture, especially on the social spectrum, in which waqf institutions palpates the needs of society and works on delivering it. (Musqawi, 1974: 154), Through the pace of history, the assets of waqf helped decreasing unemployment levels to some and raised revenue levels to some. Being benevolent to citizens of all classes.

3.2.5. Artistic and Architectural Role:

The old city covers an area of approximately 45 acres and is located in center of modern-day Tripoli. Going back in history to over than three thousand years old, it

consists of a unique urban fabric which delivers convenience to social, religious and climatic needs. Where residence, mosque and market are the main components of a unique indigenous fabric which does not fall away from the fabric of other commercial-related Mediterranean cities. Inside the old city, constructions built with limestone and luting, as most of buildings were covered in white paint, with a limited usage of wood for ceilings and apertures. The old city remained bound between it's guardian walls for a long time which gave the urban structure a palletized look, as it uniformed the idea of internal courtyard in the architecture of buildings overall while streets and alleys remained as main arteries of the cities in which within it's sides outstood the city's main landmarks like mosques and schools. (Hasaneen & Lafi, 2009)`

The streets of the city are divided into main streets and peripheral alleys, main streets divide the city into three areas, *Bab Bahar*, *Humet Gheryan*, *Harra*, *Baladeya*, spreading all over these routes numerous shops and workshops while the narrow alleys fall orthogonally with the main routes, penetrating the areas segmented by the main streets and connecting residence units with other utilities and service units like mosques, schools, public baths and markets.

The geographic location of the city, the terrain surrounding it and it's own urban fabric contributed to give the city it's own identity, in which it maintained regardless of the conquests and occupation campaigns it suffered throughout the years. The old city of Tripoli was described by Al Edrisi commenting "the city of Tripoli is a wall surrounded region, close to the shore, stunning white, with streets clean and markets exciting, all of whom I see of craftsmen either working in their stalls or packing for an errand. An architecturally favorite among all". As well the globetrotter Tijani said describing it passing through Tripoli during his voyage dated in 706-708 A.D. "I never saw a cleaner, vaster, or straighter than its street, in where most of them penetrate the city length and width".

4. CHAPTER FOURTH: ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

4.1. Definition and Characteristics of Islamic Architecture:

Defining and determining a precise concept to the term *Islamic Architecture* is no easy task. Throughout the years many scholars and linguists have discussed, argued and disputed over the lines that define the term in a comprehensive, universal, yet accurate way.

In the introduction of his book *Architecture of The Islamic World*, Ernst J. Grube wonders if there is a certain category of architecture that can be defined as Islamic, and if so, would it be recognized as that used in creating buildings which are functioned to Islam service, such as mosques, Quranic schools, and burial grounds? Is it the architecture innovated within the demographic limits of the Islamic world? If so, what is the bond connecting such architecture to Islam? Moreover, if being *Islamic* does not reflect a religion-oriented value, would it be reflecting a set of cultural components pertaining to the Islamic Civilization.

Semantically, an Islamic object finds it's attribution to it being mentioned in the Islamic sacred texts, be it in Quran or in the prophet *hadiths*. I should note here that Muslims have incorporated certain non-Muslim architectural styles, thus leading back to the main questions here: What can be defined as Islamic in architecture? And what are the main standards that define such architectural element as Islamic?

As an answer to these questions, I can divide architecture during the Islamic Era into three categories: Non-Islamic, Disapproved or *Makrooh* and Islamic architecture.

Non-Islamic architecture can be defined as that that unmistakably contradicts clear prohibiting holy norms and texts, such the case in building shrines and constructing over cemeteries and burial grounds be it utilized or not within Muslim lands. The disapproved or *Makrooh* architecture is which it's elements are not prohibited, but not approved altogether by the Islamic *sharia*, such as the use of extravagant decoration in constructing buildings. On the other hand, the Islamic architecture can

be defined as that that it's elements concord complyingly with the Islamic *Sharia* in it's application.

Such concurrent debate and discussion concerning the accurate definition of Islamic architecture has been mentioned by the Pakistani Architect Kamil Khan Mumtaz in his book Architecture in Pakistan. Where he suggested; in a semantic comparison between the Muslim and Islamic terms, defining the first as being bonded primarily by the utter religion itself. Muslims are whom following the religion of Islam in a strict, evidently dictated well-defined manner and so Muslim architecture is that specializes in constructing functional religion-related buildings in a manner that complies completely with the standards and texts of Islam. Where the Islamic architecture relates to the cultural side of the civilization and to it's subjects and peoples regardless of their compliance to the Muslim texts, this category includes the buildings and architecture elements that has influenced and existed within the Islamic-ruled lands, including the buildings which were constructed by the nation\empire\etc. that has existed before the arrival of Muslims.

These two categories can be unified under the *Islamic-era architecture*, a universal semantic unit that consists of the functional Muslim buildings and architectural elements, along with the cultural aspects and influences that bonded with the art of architecture in the Muslim lands. This term includes a diverse set of modular regional, environmental and chronological characteristics.

Regardless of this ever-prolonging debate, the common aspect remains using the *Islamic architecture* term to unify the aforementioned categories.

4.2. Factors That Formed Islamic Architecture:

The Islamic architecture adorns a culturally and environmentally diverse and vast region that extends from central Asia to the Arabian Peninsula, in addition to North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, all along to the coasts of Atlantic Ocean which have been under the Islamic rule during the conquests.

It is quite cumbersome to study the history of Islamic Era architecture as a whole complete unit that formalize into several consecutive stages, due to the multitude of elements and models adopted by Muslims throughout the pace of history, in addition to the tendencies that molded and mutated the patterns of designing, creating, beautifying and finishing the buildings constructed by Muslim architects, all according to the acting environmental and cultural factors. For example, a mosque built in Istanbul during the Ottoman rule will differ entirely from a one built by the Umayyad Caliphate in Cordova, the main components will probably be the same (a minaret, a dome, etc.), but in detail the difference would be distinctively obvious.

I can summarize the main agents that has influenced the Islamic architecture into the following four:

- 1. The Islamic Sharia.
- 2. Politics.
- 3. Regional construction materials and methods.
- 4. Regional climate and the environmental factors.

4.2.1. The Islamic Sharia:

As the essential element of the Islamic civilization, the Islamic sharia has interfered with the previous cultural work-frames, elements, and methods of urban construction. Whereas it adapted it to it's laws and prohibitions by removing all concepts which contradicts with it. These laws and prohibitions that influence the lifestyle of Muslim individuals developed the concepts and techniques of urban construction to fit this lifestyle and ease the quotidian interaction of individuals accordingly within the building.

4.2.1.1. The Sharia Principles of the Individual:

1. Consecration of Marriage:

The Islamic sharia have always prioritized the creation of a family as the main building block into formation of a happy, stable and safe society. In the process of making one must provide the required spiritual guidance to nurture this family and such guidance requires an isolated safe haven, where this unit can exercise it's activities in a private shelter...a home. {And of His signs is that He created for you mates from among yourselves, so that you may find shelter in them; and He planted love and compassion between you. In this are signs for people who reflect.}. (The Holy Quran: 30:21)

2. Privacy of Women:

At the time where Islam encouraged the process of creating a family through sacred marriage, it forbids the casual interaction between the sexes outside the family barriers without an urgent need such as barter, education or to convalesce. Additionally, it prioritized lowering eyesight in the presence of other sex for both genders, this includes the covering of women hair to keep such private character away from the sights of strangers. {And tell the believing women to restrain their looks and to guard their privates and not display their beauty except what is apparent thereof and to draw their coverings over their breasts and not expose their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons and their women.}. (The Holy Quran: 24:31)

Such ideals and laws reflected comprehensively on the design of Islamic residence unit, where the Livingroom and facilities (kitchen, bathroom, bedroom, etc.) usually get constructed within the deep interior space of the house, away from the reception and guest-related rooms. Additionally, the house space was eminently divided into the *Haremlik* (Women-only space) and *Salemlik* (Men-only space).

Moreover, the standard Muslim-inhabited residence had oriels as windows, as well as mini-oriels overlooking the guest public room to watch the parties and activities executed by the men of the house, it is also noted that the court had several alternative pathways to give the females freedom of movement within the house without being noticed by the guests of the house.

Concerning functional furniture, some houses included what is called a *Tallboy of Obtainment*. Which is two-doored multi-shelved drawer that helps the females to provide service of whom are in the *salemlik* without seeing them.

3. Cleanliness is Faith:

As one of Islam main principle, cleanliness and hygiene was as well prioritized in the lifestyle of Muslims, be it during Islamic rituals through ablution or during the day-to-day activities, a Muslim individual must keep on being purged spiritually and physically at all times, thus he\she does ablution five times a day for prayer purposes and keep clean by baths at least once weekly back at the time. This reflected upon the urban architecture by constructing public and private baths all over the Muslim cities to provide its inhabitants with their needs, residential units were provided with running water utilities and disposal units complyingly with the Muslim sharia and sunna. {For Allah loves the repentant and He loves those who keep clean.}. (The Holy Quran: 2:222)

4. Humility, Simplicity and Equality:

The most evident characteristic of Islam has always been it's pursuit of faith through simplicity and humility where it forbids its believers to let their arrogance drive them into vanity, it sought an equal society where all are one, the difference lies in the individual relation with Allah. {And never treat people in vainglory, nor walk proudly on earth. God does not love the arrogant showoffs.}. (The Holy Quran: 31:18)

Such humility appears distinctively in the holy sites of Islam, as the Ka'ba being the most sacred, it still remains a simple cube, it is also apparent in *Al-Masjid an-Nabawi* or the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, Saudi Arabia. This simplicity reflects upon the designs of Muslim residential units where the sense of functioning purpose becomes overwhelming that an individual prioritizes a shelter to protect his family without the need to bring awe in whom who enters it. This is apparent in the exterior fronts of typical Muslim residence where the exterior fronts keep it's simplicity, lacking

overelaborated decorations, yet the interior fronts are usually decorated for the inhabitants to enjoy them.

5. Enlightenment and Education in Islam:

Islam has also encouraged the pursuit of knowledge and understanding which encouraged the construction of mosques, Quranic schools, libraries and other educational facilities.

6. Pedagogy and Child Protection in Islam:

As a part of the process of creating a family, childcare and *infanticulture* has been an everlasting duty in the Muslim society which includes parental bonding and individual space availability, such thing is apparent where the offspring have separate bedrooms and own personal space.

7. Thriftiness:

The Islamic culture was built on the principle of moderation where dissipation and extravagance was seen as a sin that wastes Muslim individual resources. The mispurposed over-expenditure and over-scaling during the construction of a certain building unit is quite prohibited according to the Sharia. *{O Children of Adam! Dress properly at every place of worship, eat and drink, but do not be go in excess. He does not love the excessive.}*. (The Holy Quran: 7:31)

4.2.1.2. The Sharia Principles That Concern Urban Construction:

1. Exterior Spaces:

In a model Islamic city, the exterior spaces are almost obsessively limited and standardized for distinct purposes, like the movement of pedestrians and carriage, it is worth mentioning that the Islamic states designated the bustling commercial and market spaces, along with the public plazas to be near the main mosque of the city, according to what the sharia dictates strictly.

2. Urban Architecture of Mosques:

The simplest model you can imagine for a mosque would be a shady tent that covers the heads of Muslims whom are facing the Ka'ba to begin their prayers. The usual design pattern of mosque would be on a rectangular area, having it's long sides orthogonal upon the direction of the Qibla, such is done to provide the maximum number of individuals on each row. The entrances usually be on the sides or the back of the mosque so the entering individuals won't interrupt those whom are already praying in the front rows.

Visually, the mosque appears quite distinctively from usual pagodas, churches or cathedrals where it is distinguished with it's high minarets and domes, both adorned with a small crescent on the top.

The supporting functional facilities include a running water facility for ablution purposes, a Quranic school and in some cases, a hospital unit. orphanages and infirmaries were not common by that time due to the strength of the family unit back in that time.

Due to the Theo-imperialist mindset of the Muslim civilization, the Muslim architect absorbed the aesthetic and architectural elements of conquered regions which let them apply it in the construction of several types of buildings, including mosques. An obvious example of this are the mosques in Central Asia where many adopted in their design elements that appear in Persian Palaces and Zoroastrian Temples, and I can characterize of the Persian mosque design in the following points:

- 1. Usually built with crude-bricks.
- 2. Can be covered with more than one dome.
- 3. Consists of a cross-shaped atrium that divides into four main halls.
- 4. The halls are usually encompassed by a chain of arcs.

A clear example of these characteristics is the *Shah Mosque* which is located in Isfahan, Iran.

3. Structure Height:

A model Islamic city tends to expand more on the horizontal scale than the vertical, because the religion prohibits Muslims to heighten their buildings an exception can only be made due to functional purposes, for example, a minaret's height is amended by it's function which is calling people to prayer, to make the prayer call reach as much area as possible.

4. Residential Privacy:

I have mentioned previously that the purpose of residence in Islamic culture is to be a safe haven and a completely isolated shelter for whom who lives in it. The first noticeable characteristic in residential areas is the fractured entrance, to protect the private rooms from the eyes of strangers passing if the door was open. The exterior windows are always covered with oriels, this high sense of privacy in Muslim influenced the Muslim faqihs to issue formal religious dictations that prohibits the *muezzin* to elevate to the top of the minaret if it overlooks the interior spaces of residentials.

5. Portraits and Sculptures:

The prophet of Islam forbids entirely the creation of pictures, especially those which take a humanoid or animal form, as such creations imitate an act which only Allah is capable of. On the contrary, it was not the case with botanical form or any other soulless creations.

Some find this prohibition as the reason behind the inception of a unique category of art and aesthesia under the label of Islamic Art. The Muslim artist was capable of creating his own forms of beauty without breaking these laws and prohibitions by lining the general form and avoiding details, as he redirected his attention into the incorporation of aesthetic elements in the day-to-day instruments and objects like glass and metal dishes lanterns and wooden oriels.

6. Social Relations:

It is one of the main principles of Islam to create and maintain a network of social security under it's ruling, the duties of a Muslim, such as doing prayers in mosque, *zakat*, hajj and Friday prayers are all activities that create space for social interaction, which consecutively strengthens the society. Such bonds reflected upon the urban fabric of the city, revealing the harmony and homogeneity through the mid-height of building walls and the similarity of unit areas. Such harmony shows the model Islamic neighborhood, the equality in residence means an equality of individual economic output.

4.2.2. Political Factors:

The process of directing the creation of urban fabric was absolutely defined by the political purposes of it's rulers, some cities were built around the palace and the army barracks like *Kufa* and *Fustat*, some were built to demonstrate the ruler influence and wrath like *Baghdad* and *Cairo*, some were purposed for utter recreation and relaxation like *Samarra*, and some were constructed as a defensive measure like *Rabat*.

Since the Islamic conquests and until the construction of Fatimid Cairo, each *wali* or ruler that governed a Muslim city began to build it behind a defensive chain of walls, then orders the construction of a mosque to transmit his orders through it in the center.

I can see the political influence of Muslim rulers on the urban architecture in several examples, most obviously the construction of the Mosque of *Ibn Tulun* in Cairo, which it's minaret design was identical to *Samarra Mosque* minaret, in the Mesopotamian hometown of *Ibn Tulun*. Moreover, as a countermeasure to resist the Shiite tide, the famous *Saladin* introduced the Quranic Schools system, incorporating them with the main mosques in Cairo.

4.2.3. Regional Construction Materials and Methods:

The main materials which were used in constructing mosques during the early stages of Islamic history consisted mainly of clay and palm trunks. Then, by the spread of Islam, Muslim architects incorporated regional-exclusive materials in the process of constructing buildings and adapting the design to fit the environment built in accordingly.

A mere example is the Persian-origin botanic decorations which were incorporated into the building of Shah Mosque in Isfahan, as well as the apparent Assyrian Ziggurat elements which are incorporated in the Samarra Mosque, in Turkey the construction process of mosque was influenced heavily with the Byzantine architecture and in India, many architects adopted the Hindu decoration patterns in beautifying the surfaces and walls of mosques and other buildings. Even though that all of these regions have their own concepts and aesthetic constructional elements and patterns, yet it all falls under the Islamic spirit that bound them.

4.2.4. Regional Climate and Environmental Factors:

Throughout the pace of history, the natural phenomena have shaped the form of architecture to let constructions adapt to it's nature and as much as the cultural factor had much more flexibility to be dealt with, the natural side was not so forgiving. In the case of Islamic architecture and urban planning, the governors mostly constructed their cities on the edges of deserts. The hot climate of such region created a natural instinct into seeking the shade away from the scorching heat which morphed into a wide use of hanging alley covers to protect the pedestrians from the sun, as well as the gathering of buildings to minimize the exposed surfaces to the sun heat. Which consequently lowers the penetration of heat into the city. Moreover, the flexuous nature of city paths blocks the invading dusty winds and sandstorms, as well as it holds – as much as possible – on the remaining cold breeze that gets sucked into the walls of buildings. A small example on the effect of climate in forming the shape of architecture are the Ottoman mosques where the ceiling gets covered by a dome in the middle that is encircled by a group of hemi-domes, with little to no apertures, to protect the individuals within the mosque from the cold wind and rain in Turkey.

4.3. Classification of Islamic Era Buildings:

I can categorize the main buildings of Islamic Era Tripoli to the following functional groups:

- 1. Religious buildings: this category includes mosques, Quranic schools, *khanqahs* and *tekyehs* and burial grounds.
- 2. Residential buildings: homes, palaces, and living quarters.
- 3. Public service buildings: bimaristans, markets, public baths, khans etc.
- 4. Defensive structures: walls, forts, castles etc.

4.3.1. Religious Buildings:

I can divide the religion-related structures in the city of Tripoli to the following:

1. Mosques and Quranic Schools:

Mosques are mainly a place of gathering for doing prayers, as well as for studying the issues concerning religion in the city in a space where spiritual functions collide with the social. Then mosques construction developed to attach Quranic schools or *madrasa* to the main building to provide a suitable educational space, this space included dormitories and rooms for teaching the principles of the four main doctrines of Islam, along with utility rooms like the kitchen, baths etc.

2. Khanqahs and Tekyehs:

Khanqah is a Persian word that means "a place of prolonged worship", khanqah is a place for spiritual retreat and character recreation where Muslims come to isolate themselves in prolonged prayer and contemplation, during the rule of Ottoman Empire the name was changed into tekyeh, the architectural difference between the two that the first gets attached to Quranic schools, but the other was an independent building situated usually in a rural area to provide the believers with the isolation they seek, both contain several bedrooms but the khanqah gets it's utilities from the school itself.

3. Burial Grounds and Shrines:

It is disapproved in Islamic sharia to build upon graves and create shrines on them, where it reminds Muslims of the paganism temples in classical Mecca, the eldest burial site in Islamic history is the burial ground of the Abbasid Caliph *Almuntasser*, which is situated in Samarra, the shrine built upon is known as the *Dome of Caliphs*, another example exists in Egypt and known as *Mash'had Al Tabataba*.

4.3.2. Residential Buildings:

The city of Tripoli had kept on witnessing the development of shapes, types, and patterns diversity in residential architecture and it is mentioned by many historians whom have lived in it throughout the pace of history.

4.3.3. Public Service Buildings:

This category consists mainly of the following:

1. Hotels and Inns:

The main purpose of these units to provide accommodation for travelers, and for it's nature and location which usually is situated on the edges of cities, they get constructed on the shape of castles or forts to defend them against looting raids, an example in Tripoli is *Dice Hotel* or *Funduq Alzahharr*.

2. *Bimaristans* – Hospitals:

Bimaristan is a Persian word that divides into two functional syllables: Bimari-which means one who have sickness, and -stan which means place. Hospitals were an essential feature of any Islamic city and usually it contained a separate room for each disease. One of the still standing bimaristan is the *Qalawun Bimaristan* in Cairo.

3. Guilds or Wakala:

These buildings are usually located near markets and commercial areas, functioning as an accommodation center for foreign merchants in upper quarters where their cargo gets stored in lower departments. A familiar example is the *Wékalet Al-Ghouri* in Cairo.

4. Markets or Sougs:

Public spaces to barter and exchange goods, each contained a numerous number of stalls, stands and small room to showcase a certain group of good. Usually, these markets are named after the most valuable good they provide in their category, for example gold markets, silk markets, copper markets (blacksmith markets) and Tanners' Market.

5. Caesareas:

Which is a great commercial building that contains many booths for selling everything cheap and expensive, this building usually is striped by pathways to ease the movement of shoppers along with a big hall in the middle, the word *Caesarea* is still used today by several Arabic nationalities to define a big market.

6. Public Baths:

These buildings are specified for hygiene needs of the people and due to the Islamic laws, some were designated for men and some for women or had a certain daytime for them. A familiar example of this type of buildings is the *Darghuth Basha Bath*, which is located in the old districts of modern-day Tripoli.

4.3.4. Defensive Structures and Buildings:

Tripoli is infamous with its history of war and mainly for it's walls where it stood still facing the Muslim conquerors for a long time, these walls were fortified after the Islamic rule with garrisons, towers, and additional walls. Moreover, these walls were punctured by many gates, some of them are still standing till now and each of these gates were named after the region or neighborhood that it overlooks upon, like *Bab Albahar* or Gate of Seashore, *Bab Hawarra* or Gate of *Hawarra* etc.

4.4. Incorporated Local Features in Islamic Architecture:

The geographical expansion of the Islamic culture encompassed a wide area and as much as it influenced the lifestyle of the individuals of these regions, the methods, patterns, elements, handling and processing approaches were developed and affected by the local architectural and constructional influences, elements, and techniques. Such incorporation and adaptation created the wide array of patterns, techniques, and elements that are subjoined under the umbrella of Islamic architecture.

I will take an extensive approach on the types categories and adaptation process of these elements and how they were applied in the construction of landmarks that are until now cherished as some of the architectural wonders in the history of man.

The role played by local influences in modern-day architecture is one of subtility and comprehensive effect. As it holds within the cultural footprint, as well as the architectural, constructional and technological conspectus of the local craftsmen\engineers\architects whom have collaborated in the creation process of such building. A conspectus that holds an ever-expanding heritage of empirical trial and error approaches that led to the inception of solutions that can adapt the structures to the circumstance and lifestyle of the inhabitants of such regions, from counter-climate approaches, to roofing techniques, decoration styles patters and elements and over to the methodologies utilized to organize constructions functional diagrams.

The Islamic architecture has been one of the most cited applicable experiences in dealing with local urban elements and architectural heritage for it's flexibility in incorporating these elements in it's structures within any given region or culture.

4.4.1. Types of the Utilized Local Features within Islamic Architecture:

I can comprehend the types of local elements according to it's utilized manner and approach by the following five subcategories.

a. Structural and Ceiling Approach-Related Local Features:

I can refer in this section to the methods and approaches concerning structural implementation and ceiling related processes, from weight distributing arches for two-folded ceiling height, as well as the peripheral two-story corridors that encompasses the hall of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, continuing with the

Abbasid structural frames which when observed thoroughly; can one comprehend a similarity between it's elements and that of the Assyrian and Babylonian temples. (Kahtani, 2009: 186-187) I can also include the crude-brick construction methods, to the structural details of holding columns and archways, the approaches of constructing ceilings and towers and the main support shafts whom are built with clay-baked bricks in the Mosque of Samarra. (Grabar, 1988: 375-376) Along with the wooden ceiling elements and gable-based structural elements implemented in constructing the Umayyad Mosque and Rock Dome Mosque in modern-day Palestine, these utilized techniques and elements were first implemented during the Roman and Christian Era in the Levant, then adopted by Muslims in the construction of previously mentioned examples. Another adopted element was the utilization of Corinthian order and it's decorative botanical patterns with an omittance and decrease of Acanthus rows in application. (Shafi, 1970: 196, 212)

b. Space Organization Incorporated Local Features:

Despite the scarcity of examples that project this section, it is worth mentioning the few noted studies and observations which have cited this subject, from the general diagram of the mosque of Samarra where the height-paced gradual space that is similar to that of ancient Assyrian temples is being held by massive walls, reaching it's maximum area extension in the ground floor (prayer hall). (Kahtani, 2009: 35-36) As well as diagram drawing techniques utilized in drawing the Rock Dome Mosque, which is influenced by the rotund and polygonal forms utilized in diagramming ancient religious Byzantine, Christian, Roman and Greek buildings consequently. (Shafi, 1970: 184)

c. Architectural Elements and Material-related Incorporated Local Features:

I can refer in this section to the minaret of Samarra Mosque or the *Malwiya* which had the holds the *Ziggurat* Mesopotamian features. As well as the corridors, gates and hemispherical awnings in the *Fatehpur Sikri* Mosque which is an evidence that indicates the continuity of utilizing per-Islamic constructional components in an Islamic architectural context. (Kahtani, 2009: 36, 142) As well as the usage of

macadamized ceiling patterns in constructing Chinese mosques, along with the timber columns that are usually incorporated in the construction of Buddhist temples all around Asia, I can also note the local influenced that structuralized mosque minarets with patterns similar to those of Buddhist Temples' towers in modern-day China. (O'kane, 2007: 166-204, 207-209)

It is worthy to mention as well the utilization and incorporation of rectangular halls or *iwans* in the construction of Iranian mosques, as well as distorted-dome patterns whom are pertained from the local Byzantine heritage in the building of mosques, specifically these patterns visualized in the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia Cathedral. (Grabar, 1988: 398)

d. Decorative and Esthetic Incorporated Local Features:

The amount of local decorative elements which have been incorporated in Islamic architecture is too massive to be comprehended into a list or to be given an example to each, the Muslim architects and artists through time have an unquenchable enthusiasm in incorporating distinct and varied decorative elements and patterns in their architecture, I can mention the utilization of Greek and Roman-esque mosaics while composing it according to the Islamic style in covering massive constructional surfaces, from walls, floors, ceilings etc. Such is distinctively apparent around the Islamic buildings in the Levant, especially in the Umayyad Mosque. (Sultani, 2006: 186-246), Another famous example is Rock Dome Mosque where were the decoration patterns were dominated by the drawings and engravings of Lotus flower, which are a main feature in decorating ancient Egyptian monuments and buildings, along with other decorative patterns symbolizing other local botanic elements, such as palm trees and dates pomegranates, grapes, almonds, cobnuts, and pinecones. (Shafī, 1970: 223-224)

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that too decorative phenomena have been utilized progressively in the process of beautifying Islamic buildings, the first is the incorporation of Roman and Byzantine intermeshed *voussoirs*, the second is the denticulated engravings used in adorning and decorating verandas: a widely used

decorating technique in ancient Mesopotamia and Sasanian architecture, in addition to utilizing decorative inlays of botanical lilies and carnations inscribed on ceramic plates among Ottoman-era mosques. (Shafi, 1970: 180, 290, 208-209; O'kane, 2007: 170-172)

In addition, it was quite common the utilization of local Indo-decorative patterns, which consisted of botanical brick engravements on the walls of minarets and curtains, a mere example of this technique is *Quwat Islam* Mosque in Delhi which is recognized as the first mosque in India. (O'kane, 2007: 182), As well as the diversity and overuse of colors within the internal space surfaces in Chinese mosques, influenced with the decorative patterns utilized within ancient Buddhist temples; such is the case of *Niujie Mosque* in Beijing, China. (O'kane, 2007: 206, 207)

e. Site-related and Exterior Spaces Management Incorporated Local Features:

I can mention in this section the highly built Chinese terraces, intermittently surrounded by ponds connected by mini bridges to reach the main terrace. Along with the extensive planting of local flora and the extensive use of consecutive gateways as dictates the local architectural culture, a common example of such implementation is the Great Mosque of *Xian*. As well as the gradual exterior elevation and the exceptional staircase size, these patterns were utilized in the exteriors of the Great Mosque of *Fatehpur Sikri*. (Kahtani, 2009: 140, 342; O'kane, 2007: 204, 207)

I have put in a concise manner a general categorization of local elements, feature and techniques that has influenced the direction of Islamic-Era. These local features have engraved it's own flavor in an artistic mosaic of beauty creativity and harmony, turning the Islamic architecture into a renowned art and a valuable heritage to all mankind.

4.4.2 The Functional Nature of Incorporated Local Features:

a. Climate-related Functions:

Many studies mention the utilization of several local elements to adapt the building against climatic and weather factors. As disregarding the construction of uncovered atriums in the building process of mosque in cold regions. (Shafi, 1970: 288) As well as the usage of pitched roofs or gables to ensure the drainage of excess water in rainy regions like those in the Levant, Iberian Peninsula and Anatolia. (Shafi, 1970: 286) In addition to increasing natural lighting by adding numerous apertures in the upper walls of the mosque dome.

b. Constructional Aspect Related Functions:

Some of the functional applications which are related to the constructional aspect are the usage of arch-columns – whether being weight-holding or not – or the application of certain material in the wall construction process, from crude bricks, regular bricks, or heated bricks. (Kahtani, 2009: 35) As an example, I can mention the utilization of supporting brachy-domes and quadra-spheres when installing a dome which increases the ceiling area while giving the architect enough flexibility to distribute the weight without an over usage of columns, such is apparent in the structural diagrams of Hagia Sophia. (Grabar, 1988: 398)

c. Decorative Aspect Functions:

The decorative aspect – as I mentioned previously – have been a massive side of the Islamic culture where I can mention the application of Hindu-decoration and stone engravements, along with the complex patterns utilized in the beautifying process of *Quwat Islam* Mosque. (O'kane, 2007: 182), As well as the styles and elements used in decorating and coloring the structural elements of the interiors of Chinese mosques along with the wooden columns. (O'kane, 2007: 204-207) Moreover, I can mention the usage of Roman and Greek-styled mosaics in the decoration of Umayyad Islamic architecture. However, these elements were thoroughly modified on the visual aspect to guarantee it's compatibility with the rulings of Islam.

d. Symbolistic Functions:

Which are subcategorized under the decorative functions, yet they serve as a meaningful unit that transmits a certain concept, for example, the drawings of mythological creatures such as the engraved dragons on the entrance door of *Ulu Camii* conceptualizes the meaning of strength wrath and protection. (O'kane, 2007: 156) As well as conceptualizing the feeling of prosperity by the excessive usage of oases, water and diverse types of trees in Iranian mosques decorative mosaics. (Hillenbrand, 1994: 22) I can also indicate the symbolistic function in utilizing the visual conceptualization of sublimity, splendor and grandeur in the aggrandizement in walls length and in entrance stairs sizes in the *Fatehpur Sikri* Mosque. (Kahtani, 2009: 142)

4.4.3. The Local Features' Aspects of Influence:

I can acknowledge through the past sections that the applied features affect or influence the building structure on a variety of constructional or design-related levels. Which can be demonstrated and realized by dividing them to the following aspects:

- 1. The horizontal scheme\diagram aspect.
- 2. The internal\external fronts' aspect.
- 3. The primary and secondary components' aspect.
- 4. The constructional details and ceiling methods aspect.

I can summarize in the end of this section containing the local features which have been incorporated within the structural components of Islamic architecture the following points:

- 1. The main areas to consider when studying these local features:
 - A. The main categories of these elements and how they influence the architecture of the building.
 - B. The functional nature of these elements, patterns and features, and how they add purpose to the architecture.

- C. The levels and aspects of influence they inflict upon the Islamic architecture style and principles, as much as the Islamic architecture school adapts them to its purposes, vision and ideals.
- 2. As for the manner these local features and patterns can be incorporated and functionalized within the main structure, I can observe that the functionalizing of these elements and features can vary and differ according to the manner a local feature is applied by, As:
 - A. The massive utilization of constructional and ceiling related features, along with the decorative and aesthetic elements which consecutively comes after the utilization of architectural components-related local features. Then comes in last those which are related to site and spaces organizational features. Which shows that the degree of architectural adaptation increases when it concerns decorative and constructional elements, yet the main horizontal scheme remains almost the same.
 - B. The indirect usage of these features transforming it into a form that complies with the Islamic culture and perquisites more than just applying it directly without any modification which indicates the distinct contrast between the local and Islamic mindset and the latter's incapacity of accepting the concept of copycat application and it's ability to modify and process the local heritage to a more harmonized set of components.

The local features which have been inclusive on the functional level have been the most utilized. This indicates the functionality-oriented mindset of Muslim architects and the interest in delivering an optimally functional structures and that delivers an exquisite level of majestic aesthesia through the decorative mindset which have been the second of importance where the beautifying local elements have been added to localize the cultural heritage of the Islamic civilization in the region which the structure have been built.

4.5. History of Ottoman Architecture:

To be capable of studying the history of Islamic Ottoman architecture and Ottoman mosque; and to comprehend its stages of revolution and prosperity, it is of utmost importance to study – in a concise manner – the history of the Ottoman State and the expansion it dealt throughout six centuries of time. A period that had been abundant of conquests and battles on the face of the earth. It is worthy to mention that some of its rulers, such as *Selim and Suleiman Al-Qanuni, as well as Muhammad Alfatih and Sultan Abdulhamid* had a critical role in changing the common history and the Islamic history specifically. (Abidine, 2006: 28)

The chain of victories; which were achieved by the sultan *Bayezid* I have contributed to the state of architectural prosperity and extravagance; of which we mention the Grand Mosque of Bursa; ordered by the same sultan during 1396; this rectangular mosque [56 x 58 m] is divided into twenty equal units with the assistance of 12 beams; this type of architecture was therefore named *The Poly-Isomorphic Units* – as it is named by Prof. Tharwat Ukasha in his book "*Alqiyam aljamaliya fel Emara Al-Islamiya*" –, the mosque is also contains two minarets that rest on the North-West corner and the North-East corner respectively; and its interior is lusciously decorated with calligraphic Quranic inscriptions, drawn in a mesmerizing isometric manner. It is also known that during this period that the inverted T model was considered as a mature and common architectural model during that period. (Abidine, 2006: 30)

Apart from this model, we can still find the simple mosque concepts; which the one built with a square perimeter on stone bricks and heated-clay bricked springs, while the dome rests on the ceiling directly; this concept was quite popular during the six Ottoman centuries due to its ease of construction. This concept is named *The Unidomed Unit* and this model represents the primitive stage that molded the Ottoman mosques architecture which is – by first sight – is deemed influenced by Seljuk architecture.

In the city of Edirne; more architectural models appear, built by order of Sultan *Murat II* after 1434 A.D., these mosque architectural models utilized the Inverted T concept as the *Almuradiya Mosque* which was ordered to be built by 1434, consisting

of two consecutive domes; and two extended and sub-domed halls, the first dome is resting on prismatic triangles. To cover the niche and interior walls, the builders utilized dark and light blue flagstones which held botanic leaves and flowers engravings. (Abidine, 2006: 35)

By 1447, the Üç Şerefeli Mosque construction was complete – means the three balconies mosque –, the naming came due to the four minarets that contain three balconies each – these minarets reach a height of 67.75 m, the highest that the Ottoman architecture could reach during that time.

4.5.1. The Byzantine Influence During The Transitional Period:

By conquering the byzantine empire on the hands of Muhammed Alfatih, when he entered Constantinople on 1453; the Ottoman history began its first eras of glory. From changing the Hagia Sofia Cathedral to a mosque that has four minarets resting on it's corners; each minaret was built in different period.

The Ottoman architecture was significantly influenced by the byzantine dome of this colossal cathedral, where the diameter of this dome is 3.9 m, and it's height reaches to 55.92 m from the ground prayer hall.

Thus, the Ottomans captured and implemented the Byzantine-styled domes for the purpose of providing bigger prayer halls; it is estimated that the mosques which were built during Muhammed Alfatih Reign reached to more than 300 mosques, in addition to the numerous schools, palaces, castles and forts.

4.5.1.1. Fatih Mosque.

Which was built by order of Muhammad Alfatih during 1463 and considered to be the first mosque to be constructed in Istanbul, this mosque consists of a rectangular prayer hall that is divided into three sub-halls, the one in the center equals the peripheral sub-halls in area, consisting of a square-shaped hall and covered with a hemi dome, where the other two sub-halls are covered with three mini domes each. The main dome is measured 26 m in diameter. During the Istanbul earthquake – 1765 – the main dome of this mosque collapsed, the sultan ordered the construction of a

new dome, following a new architectural plan that depends on a central dome that is lined by four hemi-domes. (Abidine, 2006: 42)

4.5.1.2. Beyazid Mosque.

The Ottoman architecture had innovated its own style with the XIV century, especially during the Reign of Beyazid II; in 1501, the latter ordered the construction of a mosque that had his name in the city of Istanbul and the construction supervision was under the architect Khairuddine, finishing it by 1506; this architect disposed of the ordinary columns which were popular in the Ottoman architecture, his act was due to how it blocked the prayer lines and prevented the direct sight of the muezzin and achieved this model by constructing a main dome that rested on hanging "pinkies", these peripheral units covered a hemi-domal area, on the eastern and western sides are two hall per each, and each hall is covered with four small domes, due to this, this model of construction was named The Hetero-Poly Units Model. The mosque yard consists of 24 archway external units, covered by 24 small spherical domes respectively, while in the middle of the yard extends the main courtyard of the mosque or Shadrawan, this Shadrawan unit became an essential and consistent element in the Ottoman mosques architecture. The Beyazid Mosque has two minarets on its margins, and all of its interior walls and domes are decorated with geometric, botanic and Calligraphic Quranic inscriptions. (Abidine, 2006: 46)

4.5.2. Sinan The Architect:

During the Reign of the Sultan Selim, a participant in the Ottoman conquest; named Sinan who was a seasoned traveler that comprehended the Safavid and Irani architecture, and was able to examine the Umayyad architecture in Damascus, and the Mameluke architecture in Egypt. He graduated from the *Ajami Oglanlar* School, and became a technical Janissary cerca the death of Sultan Selim (1520) and the reign of his son Suleiman Alqanuni. Sinan continued his travels and his participations within the Ottoman army during its European conquests and campaigns, until he was assigned as the chief architect in 1534, by the age of 50. The Sinan works of art scatter around the Ottoman state terrain, it was him who constructed the Khasrawiya School in Aleppo by 1536\1537; as well as the Tekiya

Suleimaniya in Damascus by 1577. Also, he participated in renovating the domes of the Meccan mosque in modern-day Saudi Arabia, in addition to numerous works that scatter around Medina, Jerusalem, Basra, among other places. However, we could all agree upon the fact that his most important pieces of work were Shahzada Mosque [1548], Sulaimaniya Mosque [1557] in Istanbul and Selimiye Mosque in Edirne [1574]. (Abidine, 2006: 48)

4.5.3. Evolution of Ottoman Architecture:

After the high level of incorporation and innovation the Ottoman mosque architecture had created, with its colossal size, and the numerosity of its minarets, and it's authentic narrow conocephalic tips; the wind of evolution blew hard on the face of Ottoman State overall, with the gradual movement towards Europe, France, and especially the Danubic terrain, having it falling under the Ottoman Reign in 1689; more accurately during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III [1730-1703]; where the French-ottoman relations began to prosper, such prosperity began to influence the Ottoman architecture with an innovative European style that is flavored with baroque features, this stage was titled: The Tulip Era. This evolution did not only reflect on the mosque's architecture only, but it extended to palaces and external architecture elements as gardens and orchards. The 1st mosque that held all these incorporated elements was Nour Alothmaniya Mosque, which its construction ended by 1755; during the reign of Sultan Othman III. This mosque held all baroque incorporated details and features that were influencing the Ottoman architecture at the time; we can observe that the dome of this mosques reaches 75.35 m in diameter, which is resting upon four arched columns, supported by several narrower columns; as well as the niche became more of an protruded feature than being built within the Qibla wall, the usual prayer hall turned from being squared or rectangular in shape to a more oval shape, with the lack of shadrawan feature which used to be an essential element in the Ottoman mosques architecture. Moreover, this mosque contains two minarets that stand on the entrance sides.

This evolution was incorporated to the Ottoman architecture during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud II [1808-1839], to take a stylish imperial pattern and this tendency

continued during the Reign of Sultan Abdulmajid when the Dolmabahçe Mosque construction was completed, as well as the case with Ortakoy Mosque in 1854. What we had observed in both mosques is that mosques turned into an environment full of decorations, as well as we can see the way the dome rests upon four arching columns pattern. Along with the extinction of hemidomal patterns. Leaving the entrance flow moving directly into the mosque with the lack of external halls. (Abidine, 2006: 72)

4.6. The Incorporated Libyan Features in Islamic Tripolitanian Architecture (1835-1911 A.D.):

The existence of Islamic architecture is a sign of social and economic prosperity wherever it may exist. And the *Tarabulus\Tripolitania* territory is recognized as one of the most important regions in the subcontinental terrain. Whether in it's cultural, historical, anthropo-sociological, or it's mere architectural heritage.

Nearly most of the existing architectural works in Libya belong to the Ottoman Period. Due to it's geographical location the Libyan architecture was influenced by the Muslim Arabs in the east through the Ottomans, on the other hand by the Andalusians who migrated there and Tunisia, which was a unique place in the Maghreb countries. The construction activities of the Ottomans in Libya were initiated by the first governor Hadim Murad Aga. Murad Aga built an administrative center in the fortress, mosque, school and water well during the four centuries between 1551 and 1912, the Ottomans built many mosques, schools, bazaars, khans, baths and hospitals. Castles and bastions to the province of Tripoli. In the days of the holy days (1603-1711), importance was given to the fundamental reconstruction of Libya. Mehmed Dayı and Osman Dayı time were fortified and two-storey buildings were built. The construction of the Turkish Bazaar was completed during the reign of Mehmed Dayı. A new mosque was built in the city and other bazaars were organized. During the Karamanlı Period (1711-1835), many architectural works were built in the province of Tripoli. Ahmed Bey who started this period, brought drinking water to these places as he built mosques, schools and hostels. (Kavas, 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#3-kultur-ve-medeniyet)

In 1835, Tripoli was connected directly to Istanbul and it's construction activities increased. Military sites such as castle, barracks, police station and bastion educational institutions such as schools, primary schools quarantine, military hospital and health facilities such as the Gureba Hospital built in 1898 ordered by Abdulhamid religious buildings such as mosques, lodges and tombs transport and transportation investments, such as roads, ports, mail and telegraph in the commercial, agricultural and occupational areas, the buildings needed by the province were built.

The Ottoman Period brought about a major change in Libyan architecture. Providing unity of space on the basis of the central structure and the central dome in the mosques and masjids, stone workmanship, marble and plaster ornaments and wood carving art are the architectural elements of Ottoman. The historical artifacts in Libya are directly influenced by the mosques in Istanbul but also by the traditional Maghreb architecture and by the interaction between the other states. The mihrabs of the mosques reflect the beautiful examples of colorful stone work. The mosques were planned as a complex and the madreses, baths, tombs and shops were built around them. The minarets were built in different architectural styles.

The most important places of commercial life in Tripoli: one of the commercial centers of the region, are hostels in 18-19th century. These places were two-storey buildings consisting of a courtyard surrounded by arches and the first floor was used mostly for the warehouse, the upper floor had rooms for the merchants. The workplaces were lined up facing the courtyard. The streets of the old city are narrow and very uneven and there are bazaars and shops on both sides. Houses made by Turks usually have large inner courtyards. (Kavas, 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#3-kultur-ve-medeniyet)

There were eighteen mosques and twenty-two lodge in the province of Tripoli in 1890. Within all mosques Osman Buklavuz and Atik Mosque in Benghazi, which were built in the second half of the century are distinguished by their central single domed structures. In this province, the most important mosques of the pre-Ottoman Period were the two domes and the mihrab on four pillars and the Harube Mosque in Tripoli, which reflects the beautiful example of the Maghreb architecture. The main mosques built or repaired during the Ottoman Period are: Naka Mosque it was

completely destroyed by the Spaniards in 916 (1510) and rebuilt by the Beylerbeyi Sefer Dayı in forty-two domes in 1019 (1610). Murad Agha Mosque. Hadım Murad Ağa built the mosque in Tajora. It is the largest mosque in the region, mixed with its magical architecture and numerous domes. Turgut Reis Mosque. In 958 (1551) Turgut Reis built a complex of mosques, baths and shops in Tripoli. The mosque was first rebuilt by Ali Bey in 1013 (1604). However, it represents an example of Anatolian mosques which was destroyed during World war II, lost it's architectural features during the restoration works after the independence. The mosque today is extremely neglected. The Tomb of Turgut Reis located in the cemetery was one of the most important places. Osman Pasha School and Mosque: The school and mosque located on the street where Turgut Reis Mosque is located, was built by the governor of Tripoli, Sakızlı Osman Paşa, in 1065 (1655). It is a complex with its bath, tomb, cemetery and other foundations. Mehmed Pasha Mosque in 1110 (1698-99) was built in Tripoli, the doors of the mosque is one of the finest examples of fine stone work. Karamanli Ahmed Bey Mosque and School, the mosque built by the founder of Karamanli, Ahmed Bey in the years 1736-1738 in Tripoli, together with elem (Kavas. 2003: https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/libya#3-kultur-vemedeniyet)

When discussing such importance, I can reason that it's importance comes from two main characteristics: one being it's strategic geographic location; the Tarabulus region is located on the North African Mediterranean shore, in close proximity to the Central-African commercial centers. Two being the last territory occupied by the Ottoman Empire, in such a time where the latter began to lose grip all over its acclaimed territories and colonies. It's worth mentioning that the nineteenth century was the beginning of the end for the Ottoman State colonial Era. Having by the beginning of the twentieth century none but the remainder of Tarabulus as it's last colony. Another important factor that encourages studying the architecture of this region is it simplicity and lack of rigid complexity, reflecting the humble economic reality of it's locals in that time, contradicting the architecture of the castles and forts and mansions which reflect the prosperous economic situation of rich locals and Ottoman officials.

In this section I will be analyzing and listing the architectural elements, patterns and features involved with the construction of residential buildings, it's diversity according to it's inhabitants economic and social status factors. Starting from the building blocks and through it's furniture and appliances.

Moreover, I will be discussing the public baths, hotels and other public services, diversifying in areas, design, and architectural units which reflects the level of commercial and social complexity as the biggest social\economic hub in the region, a chain-link that binds the southern Sahara with the European Continent.

By these three architectural models, I can have a comprehensive image of the North-African architectural scene at the time. Which differs in a multitude of aspects from the oriental architecture, both falling under Islamic architecture, yet still differ distinctively as I will soon get to that.

I will be also discussing the structure of the ordinary Tripolitanian residence. As an artistic architectural unit that have influenced many modular European and regional residential units. Nonetheless, the residential units in Tripolitania can be subdivided into three categories:

4.6.1. Tripolitanian Residential Units:

1. Portable Residential Units – Tents:

It is a main characteristic of nomads of all sorts their love to wander the lands to look for temporary residence and pastures for their cattle, resting for a while then walking the earth for another fertile land. The nomadic tribes of Tripolitania have gotten as used as any other nomadic tribe to this process, they made their tents out of tinted leather or straw fabrics. (Gashat, 1989: 81) Where the chief of the tribe, along with his big family, his siblings, his offspring and their's live in a set of these tents. It is known that *Vali Rasem Basha* (1881-1896) have tried to seduce these nomads to settle down in the cities with their own residences and in neighborhoods provided with the basic urban necessities, from schools to local infirmary units, however, the

local nomadic tribes response was not so encouraging which led to the termination of this project. (Adham, 1974: Doc. No. 20)

Moreover, rural peasants had also used to living in tents, even though they were more of seasonal nomads. They would usually move to a more well-aired straw hut during the summer. These huts go built inside the agricultural plots they work in a what looks a hut camp, guarded by a group of domesticated dogs. (Cowper, 1990: 58, 59)

2. Ordinary Tripolitanian Residential Units:

As we mentioned earlier, the Tripolitanian residentials distinguished by its simplicity, tidiness and cleanliness. A set of characteristics that went over the consensus of all the globetrotters whom have passed through the region during this era or the one's that preceded it, from the Andalusian Leo Africanus whom have visited the state in the sixteenth century. (Ray, 1877: 110) Another visit by Ali Bek the globetrotter describes the Tripolitanian houses as "neat, clean, simple, and too white on the outside to a degree that blinds an eye" as well as it's composition is very similar to that of ordinary European residential units than of the Islamic. (Haddar, 2003: 109) Some globetrotters in contrast have described the Tripolitanian neighborhood to be irregular and messy, as did mention Anthony Joseph Cachia for in his opinion the buildings were small and the neighbors did lack a sense of organization. (Cachia, 1975: 107) Where the Italian Traveler Justino Rossi describes the Tripolitanian neighborhood as a set of "Exotic and artistic architectural structures which it's doors are always closed, giving me a sense of ambiguity & carefulness, where the Jew houses are more careless and welcoming, as a tourist can enter them without any privacy-based problems". (Tellisi, 1997: 198)

The State of Tripoli developed two distinctive construction\architecture patterns: the first is the traditional rural model; which can be found in oases and semi rurban areas. This model ideally is a one-floor unit, building components are usually sandstone and clay-bricks. These units consist of a small uncovered court surrounded by a number of short and thin walled rooms which risks the house to collapse in case

of exposure to a slight quake. These houses utilized palm trunks for the ceiling with an upper layer of palm branches which gets covered by a thick layer of mud and clay; which strengthens with the continued exposure to sunlight. Some houses disregard the mud layer and suffice with the palm branches and trunks. It is also noted that this model rarely utilized the existence of windows, for the natural sunlight reaches the interior of the house through a multitude of wall penetrations or the entrance door. (Adam, 1998; 72) The entrance door and inter-room doors are made of palm trunk-blank rows tightened with camel-leather straps. (Adam, 1998: 80)

However, the flooring of these simple houses usually is from fine sand, as covering the floor with carpets is usually a privilege that only some of the wealthy families can afford. For sitting or sleeping purposes, the inhabitants utilize goat hide mats. The fine sand used for flooring gets shoveled and replaced after a period of time with cleaner sand to keep a neat floor. (Adam, 1998: 73-74)

The permanent residential units however are built from quarry-broken boulder stones; and is characterizes with a similar composition of that of ordinary residential units in the Mediterranean cities.

The construction of the Libyan house; especially the Tripolitanian house concentrates on the interior court, known locally by *hoosh*, or *jnaan*. The reason behind such attitude is due to the fact that this court is the main movement hub within the house, as it leads to every single separate room within the place. Another thing that characterizes the Tripolitanian home is it's own rooms where the room count does not exceed three rooms which are usually rectangular and not too big (the approximate standard for room area is around 50 m²). The biggest room is utilized for hosting guests and other social activities, the other small rooms are usually known as *khulwa* which are distinctively bedrooms\storage rooms. All of the rooms have oriels for windows to keep the court privacy intact. (Haddar, 2003: 111; Todd, 1912: 108)

As for the flooring, where it is usually called by *loota* it consists of pure sand and covered with various seashells. This combination provides a cold sensation in the summer; especially after sprinkling the floor with clear water. During the winter though, the floor gets covered with straw and hide mats to decrease the cold sensation. (Cowper, 1990: 162)

As for the guestroom – which is known locally by *marbo'a* – it is usually constructed as away from the other rooms as possible, in a way that whomever enters it cannot disrupt the internal movement of the living family. This room possesses windows that overlooks the exterior spaces surrounding the house, as well as it is provided with the best furniture. All these features made this room a private property of the head of the family where he keeps his valuables and entertains his guests, consequently prohibiting the use of this room without his permission. (Tully, 1816: 90-91)

As for the kitchen, being one of the most important rooms in the house: it is humbly constructed and furnished with the necessary cooking tools. However, what distinguishes the Tripolitanian kitchen from the rest is the existence of *dekkana*; which is the Tripolitanian traditional oven. This oven consists of a clay block in which has two airing holes, one for inserting coal – the basic source of energy at that time – and the *kanoon* which is the hole connected to the chimney – *baboor* - to dispose of the excess smoke. (Banse, 1980: 80)

Another important facility in the Tripolitanian house is it's bath and toilet which are two separate facilities having their own separate rooms. However, most Tripolitanian houses have no baths, as it is a limited privilege to those of wealth. When speaking about the toilet facility; the German geographer had described it as "the water-cycles of the Mediterranean Region are quite different from what we have in Europe, where instead of sitting, one squats while standing on two large bricks above a holed bowel, a method that – in my opinion – seems more natural and relieving than our usual methods, after being done, one pours water from a clay vessel to clean all that

is left, the disposed water moves through a small duct into the sea.". (Banse, 1980: 87-90)

Going back to the court – the main element of the Tripolitanian home; where this unit has several doors leading to all of the rooms of the house which their windows\oriels overlook the court at all times. For the flooring of the court, usually it's gets floored with black cement, wealthy citizens however floor it with expensive white or black marble, where the middle-class citizens usually floor it with stones or basic sand as we mentioned earlier. The functional variety of this unit extends from being the basic livingroom to it's inhabitants, a space for preparing food for meals or storage, for instance for drying dates and other fruits and for preparing cookies in the Eid seasons. (Amoura, 1993: 345) Additionally, this unit is utilized as the family's own social events hall; from marriage ceremonies to funerals and newborn receptions. To prepare the court for an event, the housewife begins to cover the floor with straw-mats and carpets, along with several silky cushions as seats. And finally, she decorates the walls with carpets. In the summer season, the court roofless space gets encased with a big cloth to protect the attendants from the sunlight. (Tully, 1816: 88-89)

The court is basically the light-source and lung of the house, as it's uncovered nature provides the other rooms with the needed ventilation and lighting during daylight. To give the trait of privacy to the court, the leading entrance of the house follows a small rectangular waiting hall - saqeefa - which has two doors usually, one to the guest room and the other leads to the court and to the other rooms of the house. (Amoura, 1993: 346-348)

The materials used in creating residential doors vary in quality and raw materials, where the best doors are made of premium green-painted planks and framed with sandstone or limestone. Where the lower-quality doors are usually narrower and less detailed. (Banse, 1980: 115, 125)

The keys that unlock the entrance doors of the house however and to the documentations of some traveling historians are the strangest feature of the

Tripolitanian houses; mentioning that these keys can reach a length of 25 cm, wherein the inhabitants of the house string it in a ribbon to be put on ones' neck to not lose it. (Banse, 1980: 168)

In the following two sections I will describe the adaptive features of ordinary Libyan homes and the water supply mechanisms in them:

A. Adaptation of the Tripoli House to Climatic Conditions:

In this section, we will be discussing the adaptability of Tripolitanian houses to the effects of weather and it's level of protection against varied weather tendencies.

We can start by observing the exterior wall finishing; it is a common culture for Tripolitanians to coat their house walls with a layer of bright-white lime; it reflects the exposing and scorching sunlight and redirects it, as well as it reduces the amount of heat absorbed by the house walls. (Haddar, 2003: 111), Another feature is the thick brick walls which provides a heat and sound proof environment which increases the amount of needed privacy in the Tripolitanian home. We can also mention the shading approach they utilized by planting trees, especially vines to provide shade on the fronts of the house, as well as planting them within the court interior space, such approach lowers the light exposure degree to a certain level on these spaces, as well as it adds an environmental and organic flavor to the residential unit itself. Regarding the urban architecture, the Tripolitanian typical neighborhood is compact horizontally, the spaces between the houses are small if non-existent, as well as the penetrating pathways and narrow; this is a duly intended construction culture to minimize the surface area exposure to sunlight heat. (Amoura, 1993: 347)

During the winter, the inhabitants use the portable coal fireplace – known as *qanoon* –, along with covering the floor with mats and hides to provide the necessary warmth in the cold nights.

B. Water Supply and Utilities of Libyan Homes:

Due to the lack of rivers, or any sort of water resources beside subsoil aquatic reservoirs and rain water, the Tripolitanian families have duly dedicated its efforts to keep a maintained sufficient supply of drinkable water, where they build a collecting duct on the house roof that can be reached through walking a set of wooden or stone-made stairs, this duct collects the flowing water into a *majen* or a temporary primitive water-collecting unit that is built on the roof, with a usual capacity of 20 m³. Consequently, the water flows from the *majen* into a sub-terrain deposit through a series of clay pipes; which are called *halqoom*, this deposit connects with the kitchen through a dug pit in the kitchen with an in-radius of 15 cm. the withdrawn water is kept in baked-clay jars for usage. (Banse, 1980: 167; Amoura, 1993: 347)

Despite of all these proceedings to avoid water deprivation, in a rain-less seasons most families suffer from draught and forcing them to buy two to three jars of water for 3-4 *Metlik* from vendors which is a very expensive price for most of the Tripolitanian middle-to-low class people at that time.

To summarize this concise narration of Tripolitanian homes history and main elements, it is worthy to mention some of the observation recorded by historians and globetrotters whom have visited the region. One of which is that of Ali Bey Abbasi – the infamous Spanish historian *Domingo Badia y Leblich* - whom had visited the Tripolitanian territory from 1803 to 1807, in which he noted that the number of rooms in the typical Tripolitanian home correlates directly with number of the owner's wives. (Haddar, 2003: 111) Naturally, the Islamic society is one that encourages it's followers on polygamy. However, this is utterly wrong, the Tripolitanian Muslim society encourages polygamy, yet this correlation rarely happens, and if it did it would exist with wealthier individuals; the typical Tripolitanian household contain separate rooms for separate related families, a room for the family head, another for each married son – whom are accustomed to marry in their parents' homes, then leave eventually to their own place – and a room for unmarried daughters. conclusively, the number of rooms actually correlates with the size of the family.

Another erroneous misconception is that that claims that the structure of typical Tripolitanian homes resemble European homes' structure in a great degree. Such claim can be dismissed through a plain observation and comparison, the existence of an uncovered court in the middle of the house is not a European feature, contrastingly, it is more of a local unique feature of the Mediterranean and Tripolitanian homes structure.

Despite the fact that the social mixture of foreigners might have added or influenced the addition of several extra-structural features of various architectural roots. As well as for the construction-labor force outsourcing — especially from Malta — which might have had it's own influences also. Despite all, these are only circumstantial exceptions which do not apply to the majority remainder of Tripolitanian homes, whereas they have kept most of their simple and authentic features to this day.

4.6.2. Public Baths – *Hammamat*:

Personal hygiene has always been a paragoned pillar in the Islamic culture and religion and therefore the existence of public and private baths was an essential paradigm in the urban fabric of Islamic cities, especially the North-African and Tripolitanian cities alike.

The construction of bath in Tripolitanian cities had been confined to public baths, due to the high expenses of building and maintaining a personal bath utility. On the Brightside, it turned public baths into more than a mere hygienic instrument, becoming a social and cultural hub for the inhabitants of the city as we will see in the upcoming paragraphs.

During this era, almost all of Tripolitanian cities had no systems or aquatic flow grids whatsoever, let alone it's own sewage disposal systems, as all buildings were provided with independent water collection systems and storage units, in addition to a set of ducts, leading the sewage into what is known as a *Black Well*; which gets drained usually once monthly. (Abu Shweereb, 2000: 16)

There are no available historical resources that had determined the exact number of public baths within the city of Tripoli during that era. However, they mentioned the existence of numerous amounts of baths, as testified *Domingo Badia y Leblich* and Francisco Coro in their memoires, concentrating on the two most important baths in the city, which are the *Darghuth Basha Bath*: which is an attached public bath to the *Darghuth Basha Mosque* (Built circa 1604 during the governance of *Iskendar Basha*). (Missina, 1973: 143) the *Helqa Bath*. (Haddar, 2003: 118; Coro, 1984: 128)

The typical Tripolitanian bath design pertains back to *Mamlukid* and Ottoman origins, therefore, most of the baths in Tripolitania look very similar to those in others found in Ottoman-ruled regions. (Ben Musa, 1988: 368)

We can distinguish two main types of public baths according to the complexity of their architectural design, one being simple in structure; consisting of three main rooms which are fully finished with marble plates, the first being the cold room where the occupants take off their clothes to begin with their baths, this room leads to a moderately warmer room where it leads into the hot bath. – This gradual temperature change adapts the occupants to the hot water in the third room – the third room divides into several compartments, each containing a tap for cold water and another for boiling water. The flowing hot water is provided by two main tanks in a separate room which are installed on elevated pods, one of them is heated through a spitfire fed by timber, olive\date pulps, or animal feces. The ceiling of the third room is usually constructed on the shape of a dome that has several apertures adorned with colored glass. (Missina, 1973: 143)

On the other hand, complex public baths such as *Darghuth Bath* consist of much complicated features and room, from the entrance corridor, cold, warm and hot rooms, public utilities room, heating rooms and finally water storage rooms.

After passing the entrance corridor of Darghuth Bath, one finds himself entering the cold room, in which occupants begin to change cloths in separate compartments to get prepared for a proper bath, in the center of this room situated an octagonal

fountain – *fesquia* – under the room's windowed dome, this room walls reach an approximate height of 2.30 m. (Shaban, 1988: 159)

After leaving the cold room, the occupants pass into the warm room where the temperature is moderately higher, the lighting of this room is provided through several hexagonal glass apertures lined in a neat set of rows. The heat of this room comes from the flowing warm water from taps to the tubs installed in it.

At the farther section of this room we can find a small door leading to the third room; the hot room, this room is characterized by its extreme hot temperature and it's distinctive square shape. In the middle of the room situated two floor elevations by approximately 50 cm, one is rectangular and the other is quadrate shaped the purpose of these two elevations are for the occupant to lay down on to be kneaded and massaged thoroughly. The rest of the room is divided into three marble-walled isolated compartments, each compartment contains two taps that pour water in a white marble elliptic tub. In addition to these compartments there are four private quarters situated in each corner and containing the two water taps along with a smaller tub, these quarters are purposed for providing a private bath for those who prefer it. (Shaban, 1988: 161-164)

In this public bath, works a variety of staff personnel, from receptionists, to masseurs and bath attendants. It is worthy mentioning that the bath attendants wash the occupant's hair with a special ash-like substance that cleans the hair and scalp. After completing the occupant bath, the latter is given a special apron – towel – characterized with its sturdy linen made out of tree fibers and are usually imported from Mecca through pilgriming merchants. (Rauwolf, 1738: 29)

These public baths were not entirely exclusive to men, as women had their own public baths, distinguished with a thick curtain on the entrance doors, in addition, some public baths assigned designated weekdays for it's facilities to be used by women only. (Rauwolf, 1738: 30) These public baths turned into a weekly rendezvous for the city women, we can quote the historian and traveler Richard Tully in his memoirs when he spoke about this weekly event: "There are several women-

only public baths that are open from early morning to sunset, where to women go for grooming and primping their selves along with their bondmaids and female servants. For a woman needs a lot of servants to help her after a bath, where one rinses her hair with citrus water, another dresses her hair with an oil extracted from aromatic seeds like burnt umber, dianthus, musk, and Myristica extractions...". (Tully, 1816: 90, 91)

There are several cultural traditions worthy of mention, regarding the use of public baths for women, one is taking the spoken-for bride to the bath two days before her wedding day, most favorably on a Tuesday, this bath is done with certain proceedings that include singing and dancing, all joint with the company of the female relatives, friends and neighbors, a tradition kept till this day. Another is an old traditional habit that is correlated to the blessing of God and good fortune is having baths each wednesday for forty consecutive times. And even if these traditions are superstitious and contradicting common sense, they still encourage people to care of their personal hygiene and prioritizing the importance of bathing in the common Tripolitanian culture. (Misurati, 1981: 58)

4.6.3. Lodging and Accommodation Units – *Finduq*:

The Tripolitania Region and Tripoli especially had never known the concept of lodging and hotels during the classical era, as the arriving travelers to the city usually get accommodated in homes or in mosque-attached *rabats* and nooks or in owned-private residential units. However, the growing commercial nature of the region, followed with the sophistication of the commercial network connecting it has forced its urban fabric to develop what is known as *khans*, the primary architectural feature that provides lodging and accommodation to traveling scholars merchants and whomever who needs rest. Etymologically, many scholars claim that the word *khan* is an incorporated neologistic brought along with the unit design from the Persians, the modern word in Arabic is *funduq* which pertains it's origin from the Latin *Fundicum* which means either a hostelry and depot for indigenous traders or a regulated and restricted enclave for foreign merchants. (Ben Musa, 1988: 360)

Creating a series of inns and hotels was an inevitable consequence to the increasingly growing commercial activities of the city and it is worth noting that some of the historic commerce-functional landmarks of this city are still standing till now. The necessity of hotels came from the continual arrival of various multinational and multicultural merchants to the city, therefore, many lodging and accommodation units were established and each one specialized in hospitalizing certain nationals, where some accommodated French merchants, others did receive Venetians, etc. (Massai, 1991: 120) These series of events reflected the level of commercial flowage within the region.

Strategically, many hotels and inns of Tripoli were located in close proximity to markets and commercial zones; such as the *Khoja Khan* which included a warehouse to store the goods and merchandise brought in, located in *Souq Alturuk* District, or *Jeeja Khan* which was located near *Souq Alne'aal*, a hotel utilized to store the exotic goods that coming from the commercial city located south of the Niger River: *Jeeja*. (Hamed, 1992: 132) The construction trend was not exclusive to markets and *souqs*; as some hotels were built near the city harbor, a famous example is *Ali Garramanli Khan*; constructed in 1748, during the *Garramanlian* Reign of the state (1711-1835).

The hotels of Tripolitania complied to a code of laws and regulations, one of them the opening and closing time, usually the Tripolitanian hotels opened its door by the *Dawn Prayer* time and kept it's doors open till sunset, during closing time no individual is allowed in or out of the facility. A staff group were hired to serve, protect and secure the hotel and it's attendants at all times, this staff included waiters, cooks, security guards and fee collectors. (Tully, 1816: 92; Hassan, 1984: 588)

The attendants of hotels and khans were not limited to traveling merchants, it included all whom have entered the city but not planning to reside in it, including soldiers, *Janissaries* and artillery men whom have usually lodged at the *Tabjeya* Hotel – located near *Bab Albahar* Area – and *Jeeja* Hotel – which is located near the *Soug Alkabeer*. (Hassan, 1984: 330; Rossi, 1970: 241)

Structurally, the hotels of Tripoli were not distinctive from each other except in size differentiation, most hotels were characterized with a uniform structural design being a two-to-three story exteriorly windowless buildings that feature in the center of it's area a roofless court – purposed as a sleeping barn for the occupants' animals – surrounded by numerous small living quarters for it's occupants. As the residential units, hotels exteriors were almost always covered with a layer of lime to give the building a plain bright white look.

The hotel institutions were controlled by the taxing authorities and systems and were obliged to provide annual activity taxes along state\governor-related taxes. The standard activity taxes were instated in the system circa 1832; wherein each hotel is responsible to provide 18 Ottoman *Kurus* annually. The latter however, were taxes issued by the governor or the state to fill the financial gap in it's treasury which is usually due to the state failure to pay it's ongoing debts to the Europeans. At the same year, the state enforced a *state debt* tax on each hotel that required a payment of 360 Ottoman *Kurus*. (Rossi, 1970: 185) Nonetheless, the taxation system towards hotels was not the same during the era of this study; as in the period between 1853 - 1911. The state enforced an activity percentage tax valued in 10% of the hotel revenues, and 8% for any other commercially exploited personal properties; summing to an approximate amount of 20,000 Ottoman *Kurus*, in later periods, the state lowered this tax down to only %5 of revenue total. (Rossi, 1970: 190)

The list of built hotels in the city of Tripoli goes on, we can mention *Garramanli* Hotel, *Basha Kabeer* Hotel (1654), *Reeh* Hotel (1671), *Medina* Hotel, *Defayri* Hotel, *Ghola* Hotel, *Sabri* Hotel. (Haddar, 2003: 117; Hassan, 1984: 330), It is worth mentioning that Francesco Coro has stated that during the occupation of Libya by the Italian State in 1911, the number of hotels in the city was around 35 hotels. (Coro, 1984: 128) We will be discussing in the following section the main characteristics and features of some of these hotels:

1. Ben Gaddara Hotel:

This hotel was constructed over the ruins of an ancient building, dating around the seventh century A.D., in the *Bab Albahr* District and is a personal property to Mr.

Muhammad Said Ben Gaddara, whom have reconstructed the ruin into a fully-fledged hotel and inherited it to his daughter. Through the building's lifetime, it has been first utilized as a hotel, then reutilized as the consulate of Genoa, then into a traditional crafts school, a textile plant during the Italian occupation, a police station then a marble warehouse, then it stood a police station till 1986 where it has been invested in and recuperated by the *Old District Restoration Committee* to be turned into the *Bab Albahr Hotel & Beach Club*. (Hamed, 1992: 153)

The hotel design was renovated many times due to it's rotating ownership, especially after the arrival of Italians to the Libyan terrain. The hotel contains a roofless court with a small circular marble fountain bowl decorated with numerous plant pots. The main entrance hall is floored with beautiful black marble. This hotel contains 10 living quarters and a common bathroom, some of the bedrooms have wooden roofs, while the others have concrete roofs. (Hassan, 1984: 331)

2. Gargni Hotel:

This hotel was constructed in 1856, under the ownership of Amin Bey Gargni and his spouse Awasha Hanem. This hotel was also known by Funduq Tejari - The Merchants Hotel – due to the main purpose of it's construction; which is to provide a suitable lodging services to wealthy merchants and tourists. During the Italian occupation it has been reutilized as textile weaving and traditional garments plant. In modern-day however, it has been renovated to host goldsmith and silversmith shops, due to its close proximity to the gold market and jewelry market in the old district. This hotel is characterized with it's moderate area, it's massive entrance archway with its extravagant botanic and geometric decorations and engravements, along with a hanged memorial marble plate with the name of the hotel and it's owners on it. The entrance to this hotel is entered through two wooden doors, a big one called Bab Abu-khokha which leads to the ground floor, the other one is moderate in size and leads to the staircase to the first floor. The corridor from the entrance leads to two rooms on the sides, one is used as a café and the other as a storage unit and at the end of the corridor we can find a great roofless hall surrounded by the main four lobbygrounds. This two-story hotel consists of 15 bedrooms in the ground floor and 27

bedrooms on the first floor, wherein all of these room are wooden ceiled. In addition to the other utility and storage rooms. (Hassan, 1984: 335)

3. Maizran Hotel:

This hotel was named after his owner: *Hajj Ramadan Maizran Tarabulsi*, who have built it in 1881 for the purpose of creating a cozy shelter to all who come to the city, yet it has been transformed into another textile plant during the Italian occupation of Libya, currently it is used as a traditional shops center. (Hassan, 1984: 370)

The hotel features a heavily decorated archway entrance leading to an extravagant square court, surrounded by two lobby-grounds decorated with archways that have exquisite *Garramanli* Crown engravings, each lobby leads to a number of bedrooms that surround the whole court. The total amount of rooms in this hotel are 13 excluding the utility rooms and the common bathroom. In both lobby-grounds we can find a staircase leading to the first floor which has four corridors embellished with decorated archways and leading to the 12 wooden-ceiled rooms. (Hassan, 1984: 371)

4. Abu Dalghusa Hotel:

Named after *Hajj Sadeq Abu Dalghusa* which have constructed it during this era. However, it was used for a variety of purposes, beginning as a hotel for foreigners, then some of the Libyan Jews utilized it's ground floor to store a variety of goods, including aromatic herbs and plants, then it became a storehouse for the near shops and markets and finally it turned into another shop center for traditional garment and jewelry smiting shops. Nowadays it has been restored to be a historical landmark and a tourist attraction\inn. The entrance to this hotel leads us into a square court that leads in 12 dome-ceiled rooms with each having its own toilet. From the court we can find the staircase leading to the first floor which consists of four arched lobbies supported by cylindrical columns, this floor contains 16 wooden-ceiled rooms, thus bringing the total room count into 28 bedrooms. (Hassan, 1984: 383)

5. Henshiri Hotel:

This hotel was built in 1883, in one of the alleyways of *Souq Alturuk* Commercial Districts. (Hamed, 1992: 69) And it is till this day used as a warehouse to store various goods and merch. After its building it was used for the accommodation of central African caravanners and merchants alongside that of usual single individuals'. But now it hosts a number of *Souq Alturuk* shops and warehouses. (Hamed, 1992: 58)

While entering this hotel, you'll easily contemplate the exquisite artistic elements and botanic engravings on it's big wooden doorway. Going through the entrance you'll find a rectangular corridor with a hemispherical ceiling that is supported by two massive archways on the right side of this corridor we'll find a large marble plate with a writing inscribed on it stating the date of building and to the left we'll find a small lobby that leads into four large rooms, one of them utilized as a café, and finally this small corridor leads to the main court which leads to the stairs to the first floor rooms. The number of rooms of this hotel is not determined accurately due to the severe damage this hotel received from World War II mortar strikes. (Hamed, 1992: 59) But according to the remains of the building we can determine that the first floor consisted of three lobbies supported by a line of arched pillars and maybe it consisted of a 10 room counts plus the common bath. It is worth mentioning that this hotel was built by the famous Tripolitanian Merchant *Hajj Muhammad Ben Ali Henshiri*.

We can conclude the end of this section with the following resolutions:

- That the Libyan architecture pace of evolution correlates directly with the historical economic pace in the region where it's architectural patterns and elements simplify and sophisticate according to the economical level of the environment.
- 2. The architectural features in building Tripolitanian homes, hotels and public baths are quite distinct from the oriental features we can see in the eastern Islamic world, as the latter was famous for it's extravagance, the Tripolitanian architectural elements evidently shout the common proverb "Less is more".

- 3. That the most of the main architectural elements utilized in building Tripolitanian homes have not lost it's traditional values, as the construction of residential units in Libya still does follow the construction of *Marboa* or the private guestroom, in more or less the same style our ancestors did construct it.
- 4. The Libyan architectural structures feature always it's uniform decorative patterns, in almost all of the structures contain either botanic, geometric or calligraphic decorative elements.
- 5. Contrary to the common assumption, indicating that the Tripolitanian architecture has been influenced by the Europeans' in that era. Most of the residential units which have foreign features were built by foreigners or constructed by non-Libyan families, we can see such diversion in the foreign neighborhoods, but we can distinguish the obvious architectural difference by picking any building in Tripolitania that has been built outside of it, a mere example is that the Libyan residential units are still based on principally creating a court that is surrounded by the other rooms, with most of the rooms overlooking the court through windows. Therefore, such assumption is in no way righteous and can be proven on the contrary by a mere observation of the Tripolitania regional architecture of this day, the continuous spread of hotels and public services [Baths] in the region has influenced and accelerated the financial momentum of it's economy, despite that it was a minimal increase, yet in comparison to other regional territories, this economic increase is considered superb, especially at the end of the eighteenth century and until the end of the nineteenth.

4.7. Architectural Statement and Identity:

The architectural structure of the city and it's appendixes of residential and service units grants it an identity on a psychological perspective, increasing the social, economic and political linkage all together between the city and it's inhabitants. The idea of architectural identity correlates and depends on the concept of architectural statement which consists of certain visual elements contributing to the final aspects of the design – e.g. shapes, materials, construction technology, embellishment

elements, negative space and perimeter characteristics – The old city managed to keep it's unique identity till now regardless of the simplicity and coherence of it's urban fabric with it's abundant heritage of well-known architectural units. (Hasaneen & Lafi, 2009)

The stratigraphy of it's structures – with an average of 48 house by acre – indicates that the standards used for construction are pretty strict and here are some standards used to regulate construction in the Southern-Mediterranean Region:

- 1. Alignment of height for any building cannot exceed the height standard.
- 2. Equilibrium of constructive and architectural elements with human avg. size.
- 3. Accordance to constructive values in a way an individual could look down from windows without peeking inside the residence of someone else.

As well as the functionality which the Islamic *Magharibi* architecture enjoyed generally and in Tripoli especially, during the Ottoman Period, did not forbid the beautification of structures. As Tripoli enjoyed diversification in embellishments and adornments, like sculpted balconies and wooden embellished shutters, as well as thick shiny wooden doors, as marble garmenting filled palaces with geometrical and Islamic adornments. As well as for mosques which had the utmost attention with ultra-sophisticated gypsum domes as the case with *Ahmad Basha and Mustapha Gorji* Mosques and to schools and baths and gateways and hotels which were filled and decorated with geometrical wood carvings, into the minarets which in most cases indulged with detailed beautification. (Hasaneen & Lafi, 2009)

The city of Tripoli has a great chance for the emergence and diversification of arts due to the long-varied history it contains within it walls, witnessing glimpses of civilizations from Phoenicians, Grecians, Roman, Ottoman and Islamic particularly. Where the architectural Islamic and Ottoman arts out stand the rest, which is due to:

1. The fusion between the Native, Andalusian and Ottoman environments created a unique hybrid concept between the three cultures.

- 2. The evolution of artistic taste and style which granted new perspectives which contributed in the historical revolution of architectural arts.
- 3. The native environment being a significant factor in the development of visual identity while stepping from an era to the next politically, socially and religiously different era.
- 4. The phenomenon of light and shadow had great importance in building the concepts of shape-floor relationship, in which painting white walls reflected sunlight and reduced heat, while breaking the light beams with geometrical carvings and adornments to reduce the heat impact even more.
- 5. The Ottoman influences over the native nature of the city and vice versa.
- 6. The harmony between architectural innovations and the city's climate which prevented overheating during summertime.
- 7. The architectural simplicity had it's own unique role in bringing out the beauty within city walls.

4.8. Maintenance Standards of Waqf Assets:

We have learned in the previous chapters about certain factors which are necessary in the process of managing waqf assets which are 1. The main and peripheral goals of waqf management, 2. The administrative\functional structure, 3. The systems and bodies of executes the management of waqf assets. These three works together to realize the general goals of the waqf system. (Ási, 2010: 165)

And it is obvious and necessary for such system to achieve sustainability and protection to it's assets, where management personnel follow the regulations to achieve goals and the responsible administration innovates methodologies to achieve the main target; which to maintain the asset, adapting to each era's constants, variants and characteristics and taste of course, where every society and environment struggles to add it's own flavor to the constantly modifying culture. Ottoman Muslims have elaborated many ways to fund, renovate and maintain waqf assets and each time brought it's own terms and regulations to the equation eventually as the influence indicates in it. (Ási, 2010: 165)

What we aim for in this study is to reach factual date regarding the contribution of waqf bodies in the sustainability of heritage. To know the *hows and whys* which can lighten the way to help us save our heritage as well.

While doing so, we will inspect a collection of waqf documentations logged in the sharia court records back then, to be studied and to get a derived glimpse on the mechanism utilized at that time, such importance relies here due to the fact the waqf did not only maintained the assets, but kept them active and legally stable as well, which granted us a database of information to all what concerns waqf assets as we will see later on.

We will begin to dissect the 'levels' of maintaining waqf assets through analysis of waqf documentations:

4.8.1. Physical Maintenance of Waqf Assets:

Physical renovation of an asset is definitely the most important part of maintaining it, because as always the physical deterioration of buildings is one of the most difficult challenges faced by waqf management personnel, even though that waqf executed renovations from a while to another, yet the revenues of the institute overflows over it's expenditure, this overflow goes to the Ottoman capital Istanbul annually and according the documents, the state of Tripoli used to send a transaction of five hundred thousand Lira annually of revenue overflow to Istana. (Coro, 1984: 44)

The renovation process commences through the plea of citizens\asset personnel often, or during the periodical inspection by the waqf employees or noticed by the reports of the overseer, as an example; *Proxy Hajj Ahmad Azzouz* pleas to the governor about the condition of *Sidi Abdullah Shaab Mosque*, a deterioration inflicted to the point that the ceiling is starting to fall off, which occurred in 1895. (National Archive Of Historic Documents - Tripoli National Archive: Doc. No. 67)

In sometimes where the governor ignored citizens' pleas, they pass the plea to a higher rank which happened in 1876 where the plea about the corruption of educational assets waqf has reached the council of emissaries which stated to

establish civil schools to spread knowledge and be put under mortmain due to the corruption in the lines of the waqf personnel responsible for these assets. (Ghonaimi,1988: 73-74)

The plea indicated for the current waqf schools to stay as it is and for it's revenues to be spent on the school and not sent to the Istana since the waqf personnel are being too cheap, the council agreed to these demands then it was redirected to be put under execution procedure. (Ghonaimi, 1988: 74)

4.8.2. Maintaining the Active State of Waqf Assets:

Maintaining assets is not exclusively concerned on renovating physical appearance and structure of the asset, but it extends to maintaining it's activities as well. Such assets as hospitals, schools and mosques are providing a service to the society which requires a constant cash flow to satisfy it's needs for it to perform properly.

So, for services related to mosques and schools, teachers and sheikhs are assigned to employment after passing a certain examination, where they receive a respective temporary diploma assigned by the judge, until an imminent order from the sultan to be permanently assigned. (Marwan, 1997: 44)

It is possible for the governor to award a diploma based on requirements fulfilled in the test, as what happened in May 1st 1838, in where governor Hassan Basha awarded *Ahmad Shokri Aljazaeri* his diploma to commence working as a teacher in *Shayeb Ala'ayn Mosque*. (Marwan, 1997: 45)

As for investment-based assets, keeping a state of activeness can be achieved by keeping constant employment in the asset to keep it running.

4.8.3. Maintaining Funding Sustainability:

Maintaining the 1st & 2nd goals are impossible without keeping a constant cash flow running to provide expenditure needs, from renovation expenses to employee wagers and material expenses, the lease contracts of deteriorated assets in Tripoli during the

2nd Ottoman reign were long-time and such leases do not complete or be authorized to without the acceptance of the assigned judge to these matters, in such leases the lessee delivers a payment on authorization of lease for repair and maintenance and deliver the next payment annually, in which the lease contract is reissued annually as well.

And this system was created by the Ottomans in the 11th century Hijri in 1020, 1611 D.C., after the great fire in Istanbul, when the waqf management failed to restore the asset, it was leased on two payments, one to renovate, the other to delayed to fulfill the contract. (Musqawi, 1974: 55)

Such system aims to keep the waqf asset leased, so the lease does not claim the asset as property with time and change of authorities, at the same time empowers the lessee to stay in the asset for a longer time. (Khassaf, 1999: 92)

4.8.4. Creation of a Charted Waqf Assets Databank:

The process of logging the updates of waqf assets of Tripoli during the 2nd Ottoman Reign can be of great assistance to trace back mechanisms and strategies of maintaining the assets, knowledge is power after all.

The main info we could derive from such documentations are family-civil related information, currency, prices, physical and financial asset data, instruments of renovations, regulations and laws regarding waqf, description of architecture and urban design overall which is a valuable treasure which can give us clues on how to renovate, manage and fund waqf assets efficiently. (Ási, 2010: 200)

CONCLUSION

The Phoenicians had been visiting the Tripolitanian terrain since 1000 B.C.; whereas this terrain had been characterized with it's safe port; a necessity for the Phoenicians; as well as their need for supplying their ships with food; cargo; and fresh water, their dealings with the natives had led for them to establish a chain of commercial hubs, of them we mention Leptis Magna – established during the 7th century B.C.. as well as Oea and Sabratha, which had been concluded that they were established during the 6th and 7th century B.C. respectively.

The establishment of Oea –Tripoli Later – is considered to be due to its significant spatial location; where it had grown and developed to become one of the most important cities in the Mediterranean. Oea had been under the jurisdictional powers of Carthage from the 5th B.C. until 146 B.C. where the three cities region had become under the direct control of the Numidian Kingdom; conquered by Masinisa, the Numidian general. By the end of the 2th B.C. the Roman influence began to dig its roots in this region until it had consumed and occupied it by 46 B.C. it stood under their reign until being captured by the vandals by 439 A.D., In 543 it went captured by the Byzantine general Pelizarius and went under the Byzantine reign until 643 AD. Which was the point when the Muslim General Omar Ibn Alás conquered it; this period is considered to be one of the most important points in the Tripolitanian history; which indicated the natives high appetite for Islam; which turned the city into one of the main strategic locations that commenced the Islamic conquests unto the rest of North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula.

By 1510; Tripoli had fell under the Spaniard Occupation; when the Spanish Admiral Pedro Di Navarro was able to capture the city and its fort on 25 July 1510; this occupation was motived by the city's strategic location, where it represented a commercial link between Africa and Europe, as well as it was due to the prosperity and safety that had existed in the city, with the existence of a political vacuum, it was also motived and fueled by the Islamic-Christian conflicts in that era, which influenced the Spanish king Ferdinand to make Tripoli a fortified port that enables

him to inflict direct hits to the Muslims in the east while supplying his military vessels with goods, ammunition and men.

However, the Spanish occupation of Tripoli did not extend to more than the city walls and castle; and their existence in the city was limited to small areas; a while after, the locals had organized a vigilant resistance against the Spaniards, which led eventually; and due to the circumstances that the Spanish Kingdom was going through; to forfeit the region to the Order of St. John in 1530; who had occupied the Tripoli terrain until August 8th, 1551; when the locals were able to drive away the Maltese order with the help of the Ottoman Naval Fleet which commenced the Ottoman Reign Era for this city.

By entering this era, it is worthy to mention that Murad Agha was the first to be assigned as the Ottoman Vali on the terrain; and that throughout his reign he faced many challenges and problems; especially the tasks of rebuilding the city and renovating the castle; as well as to stimulate the public life of the city; all after the great damage the city had suffered after as a consequence to Spanish and St. John Order periods. Murad basha remained as the Vali of Tripoli until 1556 A.D. of old age, where he moved to Tajoura area and built the famous mosque named in his name – Murad Basha Mosque – 48 Column Mosque –, after his death, he was succeeded by Darghuth Basha; who was mainly determined on fortifying the city, establishing his self-named mosque in 1554; which was considered to be one of the largest mosques built in that period; as well as he constructed the *Dar Albarood*, which its ruins still remain until this day.

By the end of the 16 D.B, the signs of local irritation were increasing day by day from the direct Ottoman reign, where the tendency for independent rule was beginning to take form. This tendency\movement became more popular between the Janissaries whom were tending to not follow the orders of the Constantinople Valis, and prefer to subordinate under their own ranked officials; all of this turmoil was furtherly influenced by blind ambitions, which caused the city to fall in a state of chaos for several times.

With the beginnings of 1711 A.D. ends the First Ottoman Reign; when Ahmed Basha Garramanli takes the Vali reigns to hold his own independent state which included the totality of Libya States terrain: Tripoli, Bariqa, and Fezzan which was the result of a revolt that toppled the governor. In his beginnings Ahmed Basha Garramanli was a mere official in the Ottoman Army, and started a dynasty that ruled over the Libyan terrain until 1835.

Yousuf Basha is considered to be one of the most interesting rulers of this dynasty, whereas he was an ambitious lead that enforced the state sovereignty over it's national waters, as well as he enforced maritime taxes on all European and American vessels. The Ottoman Sultan began to lose his patience with the attitude of Yousuf Basha and his ways of ruling the region; especially when he refused to help the sultanate during her war with the Greeks in 1829. During these times, the Garramanli Dynasty was faced with a revolution led by Abduljalil Saifunnaser from a side, and the pressure dealt by the European countries for Yousef to fulfill his debts. In a time where his treasury was empty, he enforced new taxes; which increased the state of irritation from the locals; concluding the revolution with resignation of Yousef and leaving the seat to his son in 1832 AD. and even though that the Ottoman Sultan Mahmoud II had acknowledged Ali as a vali to the State of Libya; he was more concerned on how to maintain the remainders of the Ottoman State; especially after losing Algeria and Greece by 1830; and after studying his situation thoroughly, the sultan decided to put the Libyan Vilayet under his direct control; by May 26th, 1835, the Ottoman Fleet arrived to the shores of Tripoli and had attained and apprehended Ali Basha and escorted him back to Constantinople, ending the Garramanli Reign Era. And ending the Ottoman Reign by 1912 with the beginnings of the Italian Occupation.

During the Ottoman Eras, the concurrent governors of the state bestowed upon her a number of waqf religious, defensive and civil institutions which were constructed by governors, officials and the wealthy of the citizens.

During the Ottoman Eras, a great number of mosques was established; of which we mention Darghuth Basha Mosque (1560); Al-Nagà Mosque (reconstructed by 1610); Shayeb Aláyen Mosque (1699); Ahmad Basha Mosque (1738); Gurji Mosque (1834), and a number of schools were constructed as well, of them we mention: Othman Basha School (1654); Maizran School (1880), and the School of Islamic Arts and Crafts (1898).

The endowed waqf institutions and buildings have varied comprehensively in categories; waqf items as such to road flatteners, lodging waqf units that provided services to the foreigners visiting the city, that had reached a number of 35 motels and 8 hotels. In addition to the baths waqf; which were four. And school waqfs which reached a number of 21 Quranic schools, 3 religious' institutions, among the libraries waqfs, be them attached to mosques or those being independent. In addition to the shops waqfs which reached a sum of 3309, or the 33 masjid waqfs and 5 sufism nooks, 21 shrines within and outside of the city walls, all endowed under waqf. It is important to realize the effect and importance of waqf upon the locals' lives; whereas it extended the level of social and public facilitations; and turned the endowment culture into a popular mindset through that time. As well as it has contributed to the architectural development and expansion of the city.

Regardless of the age of waqf system and its deep roots within the society traditions and dealings in such times; the common knowledge of waqf had turned in the past decades into the mere Islamic jurisprudence terminological rigidness, this transformation is due to the continued decrease of utilization by either the governing sector and the people themselves; which turns the high importance of the waqf during the Ottoman Reign in Tripoli city into a marginal component in this day.

It comes to our minds that waqf is a mere religious institution and that it has nothing to do as a civil organization or system. And most people think that it is a mere historic term that has nothing to bring it meaning in this day. In a time that witnesses the breakdown that the waqf institution is going through.

As we can see, and through this situation we see this prestigious institution going through; it is of most importance to shed light over the critical social, economic and scientific role of waqf; a role that participated significantly in forming the Islamic identity of Tripoli within a very important era; as well as the relation of the waqf mindset with; and it's effect on the physical form of the city itself, which can be explored through the colossal heritage of waqf-endowed buildings that are scattered around it's center and suburbs, where the re-implementation of waqf shall maintain and reserve the architectural fabric through it's revenues as we mentioned earlier.

Of these facts thereof, this study is focused upon exploring the waqf buildings indetail, from an architectural perspective; varying from religious waqfs like mosques and Quranic Schools, charity waqfs such as the School of Islamic Arts and Crafts, and socially-endowed waqfs; which have been endowed by many Tripolitanian families.

Except for mosques, most of the public waqf buildings had been and currently are suffering of continual negligence; that decreased the level of the services it used to provide for the city; the residential waqf buildings are in no better state. And the level of negligence keeps on increasing due to the awareness of the locals and the negativity controls the way these buildings are handled; where many of the people who work in these importance facilities the role of waqf and its relation to these buildings; and another fact is due to such, which is the marginalization of waqf role to the mere maintenance of mosques only.

This negligence inflicted to the waqf buildings inside historical city; is it due to the malfunction within the waqf system itself; whereas lacking the capability of delivering sustainability to the buildings? Or is it just a mere expansion to its current state in the past as waqf buildings, continuing to have its poor state to this day? And if these buildings were in their golden age somewhere in time, is it due to the approaches the waqf management was worked-through with?

Of this perspective, the study hereto plans on exposing the intimate information of these buildings and the waqf system overall; along with their economic, social, scientific, and religious role; and the latter's contribution to maintaining the state and function of these buildings in theory; as well as exploring the practical procedures of this system throughout history; which eventually formed the basic shape of the waqf as a system and an institution. The waqf; in this day is abundant of laws and regulations, and building management articles; which had evolved throughout the pace of the Second Ottoman Reign in the city of Tripoli. Where we will follow the information found in regarding such subjects in the tomes of history and Islamic jurisprudence.

To reach accuracy in collecting information concerning the mechanisms and procedures of managing waqf buildings and it's contribution in maintaining the state of waqf buildings and its functions; it is important to inspect the logs and records of that era and compare it to the current waqf ministries. In this regard, we utilized the waqf documentations of the 2nd Ottoman Era as a trusted source due to the lack of information found in literature regarding this subject, processing the information found from these documentations and analyzing the mechanism these logs were recorded and produce a conclusion over this information.

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- . Figure (28-D) Library of Dar Ahmed al nayb Ansari. Tripoli. Libya
- . Figure (29-A) Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü -Ankara

| . Figure (29-B) Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü -Ankara |
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LIST OF ATTACHMENTS.

• appendix 1 photos of mosque.

• Ahmad Basha Mosque: Figure (1)



Figure (A). Picture of the house of prayer, in the Ahmad Basha Mosque in Tripoli



Figure (B). A picture showing the tiles in the front of the Ahmad Basha Mosque

• Mahmoud Mosque: Figure (2)



Figure (A)



Figure (B) Front front of Mahmoud Mosque in Tripoli

• Dorouj Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (3)



Figure (A)



Figure (B) Front front of Dorouj Mosque.

• Shayeb Al'ayn Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (4)



Figure (A). Niche of Shayeb Al'ayn Mosque

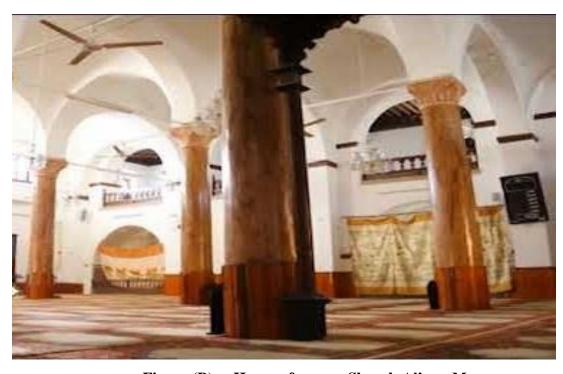


Figure (B) House of prayer Shayeb Al'ayn Mosque

• Darghut Basha Mosque: Figure (5)



Figure (A) House of prayer and part of rostrum Darghut Basha Mosque



Figure (B) Front front of Darghut Basha Mosque

• Alnaga Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (6)



Figure (A)

House of prayer and part of rostrum and niche of Alnaga Mosque



Figure (B)



Figure (C).Front front of Alnaga Mosque

• Mosque of Sheikh Salem Almeshatt in Tripoli : Figure (7)



Figure (A)



Figure (B) Pictures collection of the prayer house and front front of Salem Almeshatt Mosque

• Mustapha Gorji Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (8)



Figure (A). Front front of Mustapha Gorji Mosque



Figure (B) Niche of Mustapha Gorji Mosque



Figure (C) Rostrum and part of Prayer House

• Dabbagh Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (9)

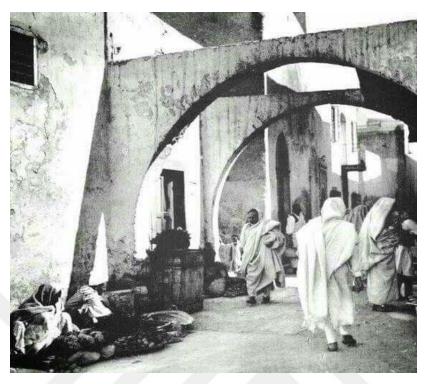


Figure (A). Street of Dabbagh Mosque

• Alkharrori Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (10)



Figure (A)

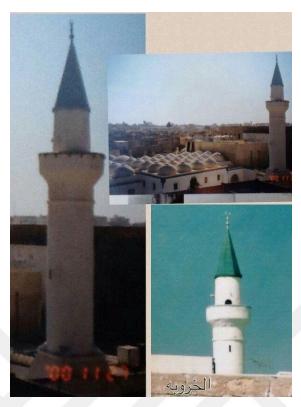


Figure (B)



Figure (C) Pictures collection of the prayer house and front front of Alkharrori Mosque

• Mosque of Sheikh Abdulwahab in Tripoli : Figure (11)



Figure (A) Front front of Abdulwahab Mosque



Figure (B) Prayer house of Abdulwahab Mosque

• Albazi Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (12)

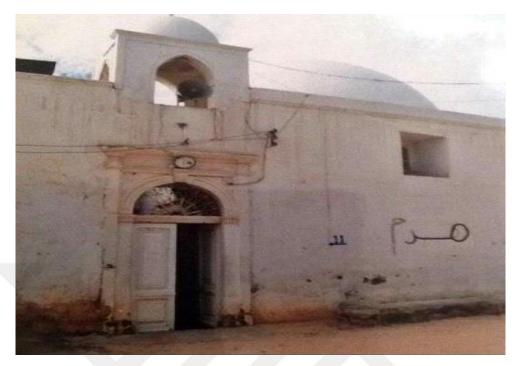


Figure (A). Front front of Albazi Mosque

• Attia Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (13)

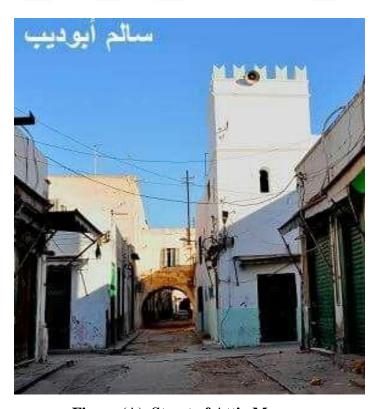


Figure (A). Street of Attia Mosque

• Ben Moqail Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (14)



Figure (A). Front front of Ben Moqail Mosque

• Alsaraya Alhamra Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (15)



Figure (A). Front front of Alsaraya Alhamra Mosque

• Hadar Mosque: Figure in Tripoli: (16)



Figure (A) Front front and house of prayer under maintenance for Hadar Mosque

• Maizran Mosque in Tripoli : Figure (17)



Figure (A). Street of Maizran Mosque

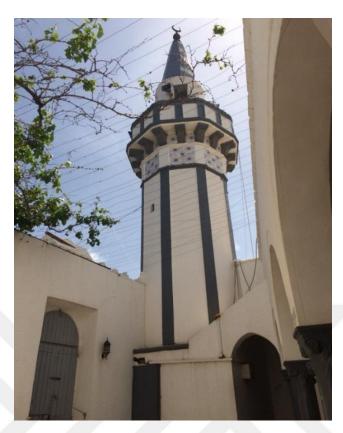


Figure (B) Minaret of the Maizran Mosque



Figure (C) Rostrum of the Maizran Mosque



Figure (D). Muezzin podium of Maizran Mosque



Figure (E) A special podium for prayer women in Maizran Mosque



Figure (F) External niche

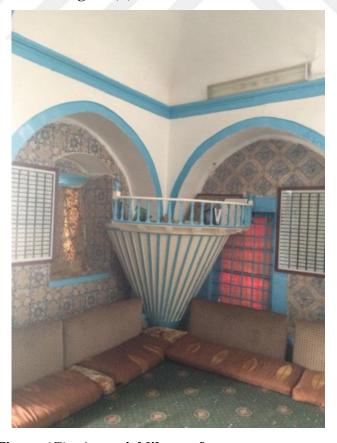


Figure (G) A special library for mosque purposes



Figure (H) The eastern entrance to the prayer house the mosque.

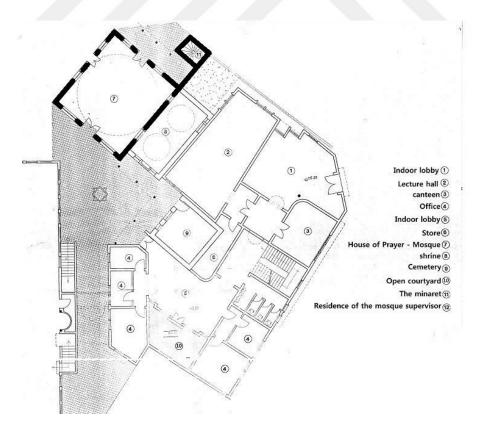


Figure (I). The horizontal section of the mosque

- appendix 2 photos of Nooks.
- Alkabira Nook in Tripoli : Figure (18)

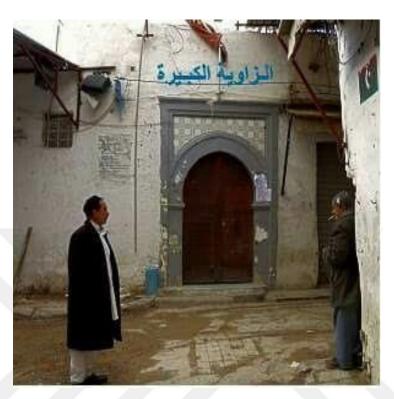


Figure (A) Front front of Alkabira Nook



Figure (B) Al Kabira Nook from inside

• Kadria Nook in Tripoli : Figure (19)

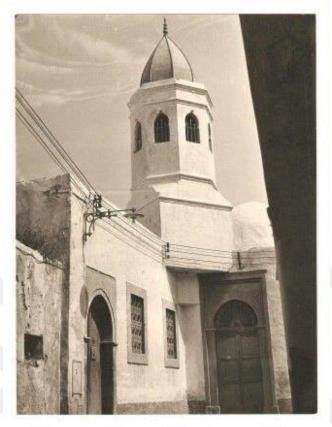


Figure (A). Front front of Kadria Nook

• Alma'azi Nook in Tripoli : Figure (20)

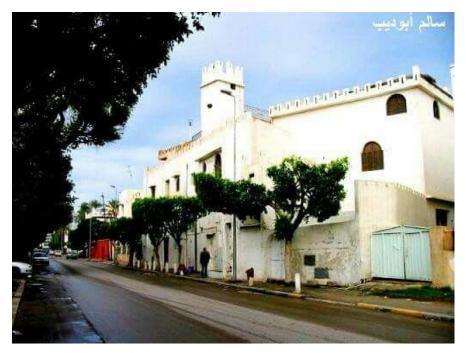


Figure (A). Street of Alma'azi Nook

• Mokni Nook in Tripoli : Figure (21)

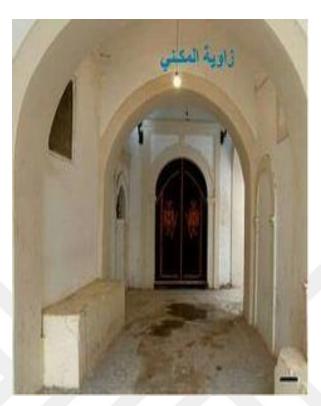


Figure (A) Front front of Mokni Nook



Figure (B) Street of Mokni Nook

• Ahmad Basha Garramanli School in Tripoli: Figure (22)



Figure (A)



Figure (B) A photo collection showing the bad Ahmad Basha Garramanli School situation

• Maizran School in Tripoli : Figure (23)

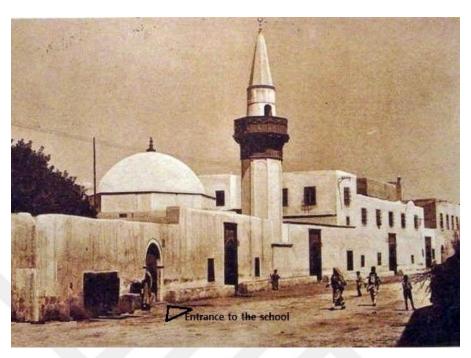


Figure (A). Street of Maizran Maizran School

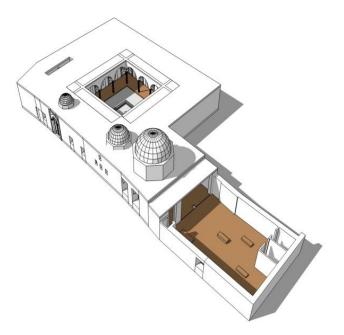


Figure (B). The horizontal section of the Maizran School

• Othman Basha School: Figure (24)



Figure (A) Isometric shape of the Othman Basha School building



 $Figure \ (B) \quad The \ entrance \ of \ Othman \ School$

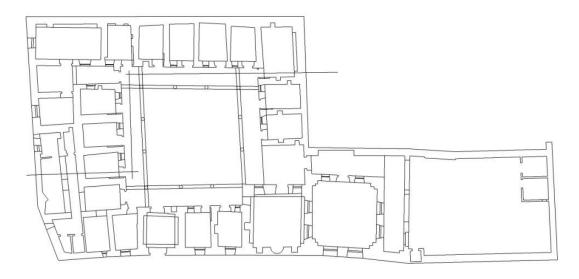


Figure (C). The horizontal section of the Othman Basha School

• School of Islamic Arts and Crafts: Figure (25)



Figure (A). Picture of the governor of Tripoli Namik Pasha and founder School of Islamic Arts and Crafts

The State Council report about The Establishment of Reform the Education of poor and orphaned children, and training them in various crafts, as in other states. The decree municipality of Tripoli to pay from revenues for year 1287 Hijri . It was released in 27.9.1871.

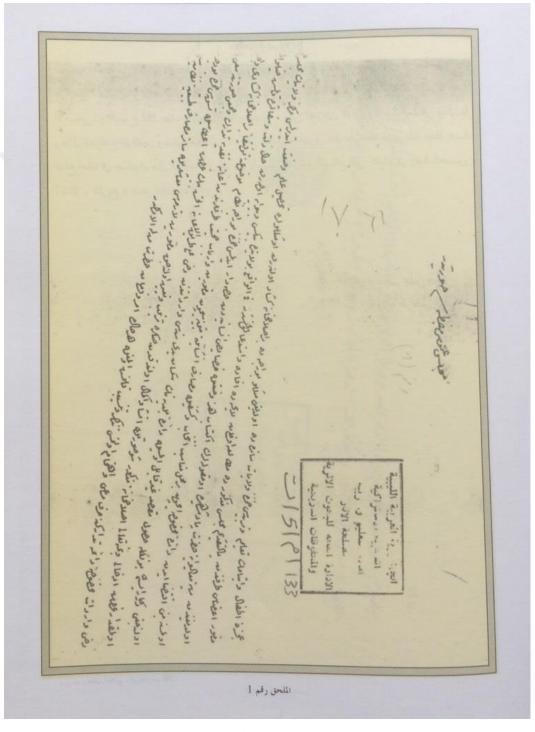


Figure (B)

Submitted report by the Municipality of Tripoli to the state board administration, regarding to the Islamic Arts & Crafts School establishment. This report includes Donors of Feast al-Adha skins and their number (184) pieces Their price is estimated (2410) piasters, and from the donors (the prefect, army commander, senior state officials, employees, and people), on the first page note pointed to save this money in the fund state until the establishment of the Islamic Arts and Crafts School.

It was released in 1874

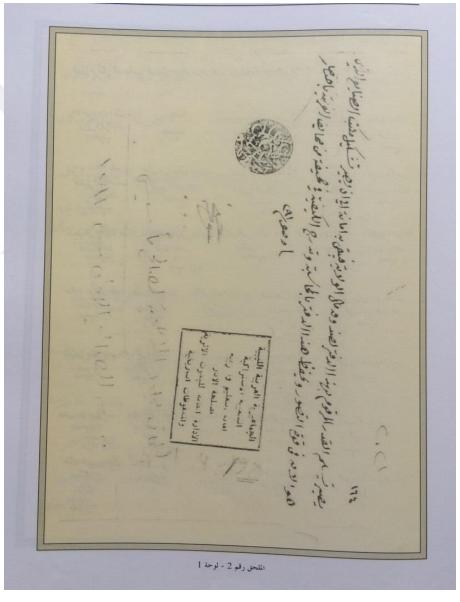


Figure (C)

Receipt of cash in (500) piasters from the province of Tarhona donations from the people, to establish the Islamic Arts & Crafts School.

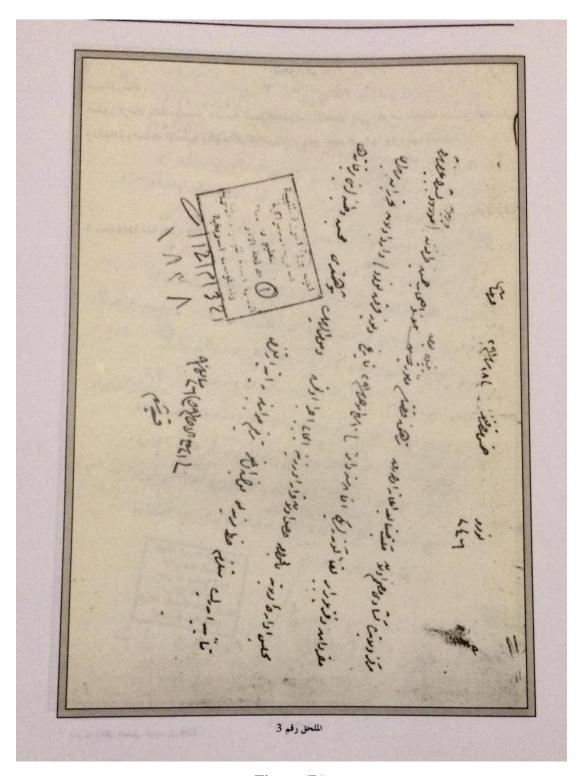


Figure (D)

Decision for Establishment of Islamic Arts and Crafts School for training children on different crafts, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, shoes manufacturing, and other in the state center was locate in various sections and branches.

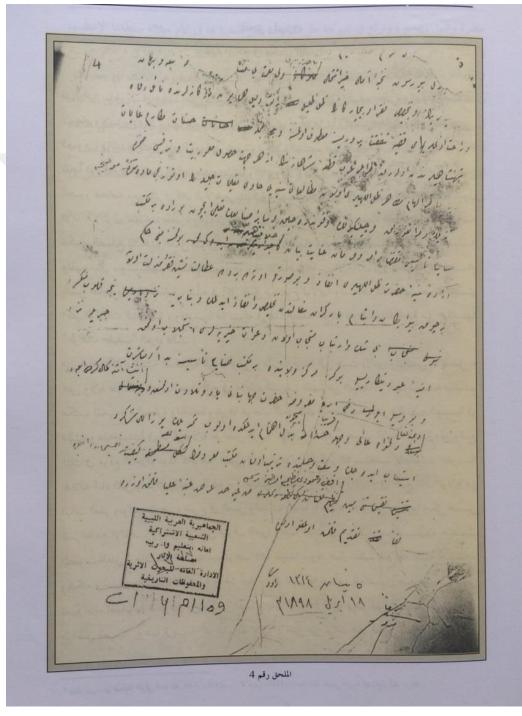


Figure (E)

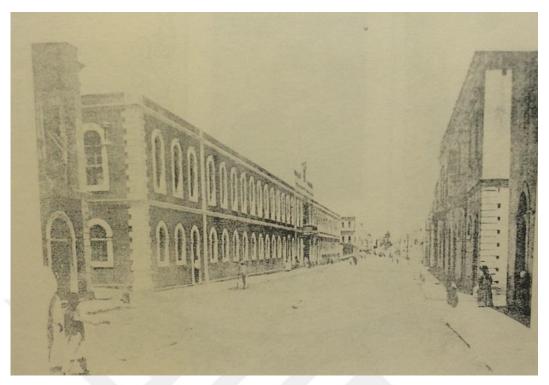


Figure (F). Street of the School of Islamic Arts and Crafts School during Italian Era



 $\label{eq:Figure G} \textbf{Figure (G). Street of the School of Islamic Arts and Crafts School during Era} \\ \textbf{Kingdom of Libya}$

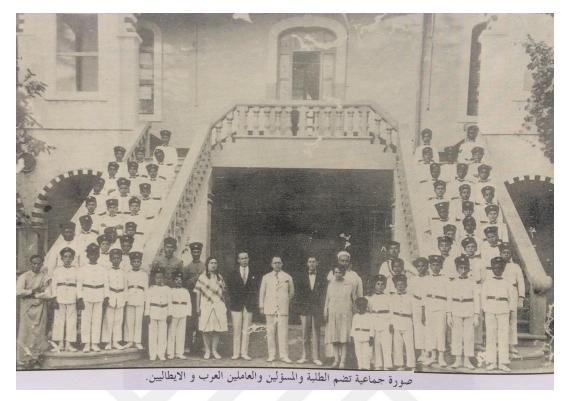


Figure (H). A picture of students and teachers in the Islamic Arts and Crafts School during the Italian Era



Figure (K)



Figure (L). The inner courtyard of the school



Figure (M). The main entrance of the Islamic Arts and Crafts School

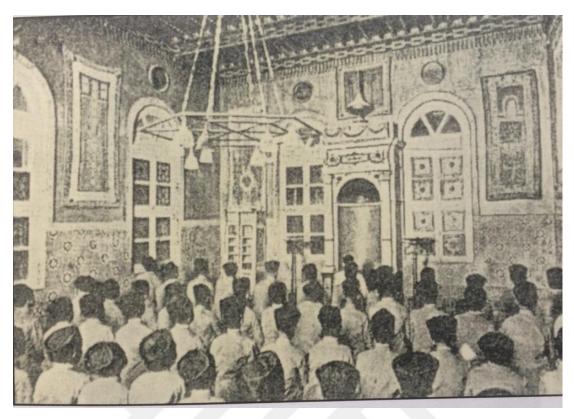


Figure (N). A picture inside the school mosque during the Italian Era



Figure (O). Image within the Department of Leather metier

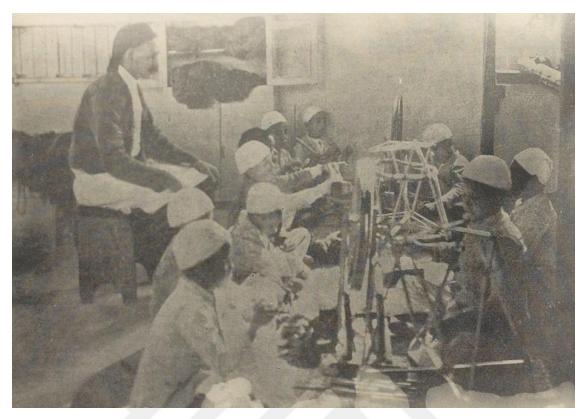


Figure (P). Image within the department of textile



Figure (Q). A picture inside the accommodation section

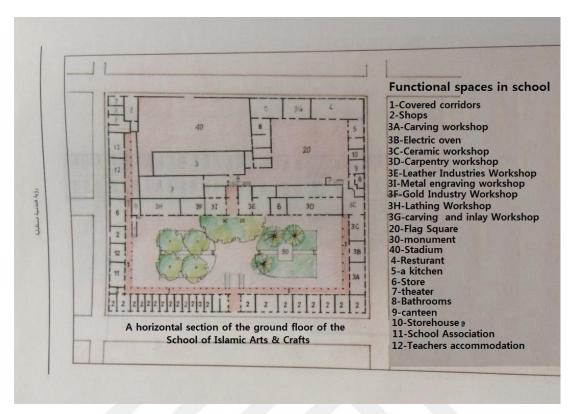


Figure (S). The horizontal section of the Islamic Arts & Crafts School

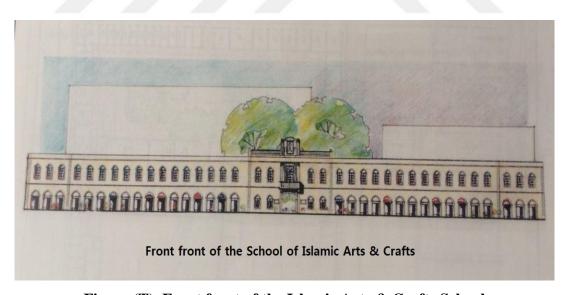


Figure (T). Front front of the Islamic Arts & Crafts School

Collection of rent of the waqf shops between 1321-1322 Hijri, 1903-1904 AD : Figure (26)

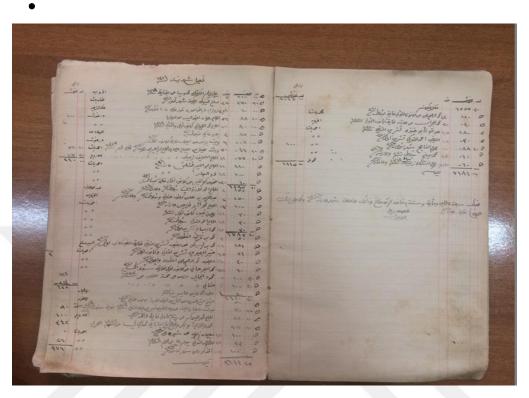


Figure (A)



Figure (26-B)

• The waqf of mosques, register of accounts between 1314-1319 Hijri, 1896- 1901 AD :Figure (27)

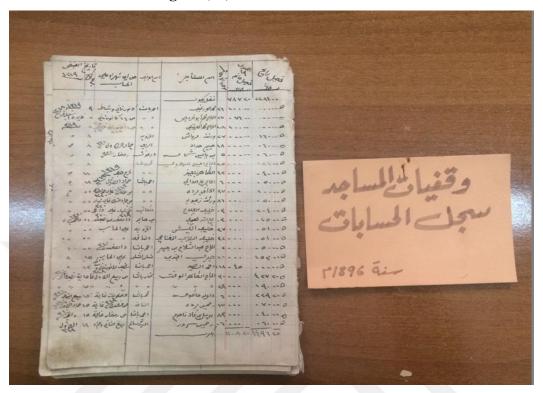


Figure (A)

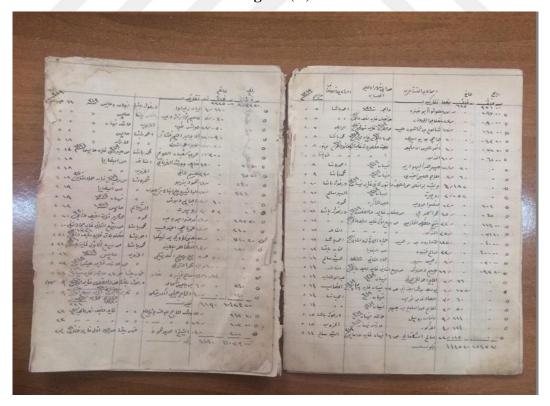


Figure (B)

• The waqf of all mosques, register of accounts between 1313-1314 Hijri, 1895-1896 AD: Figure (28)





Figure (A)

Figure (B)







Figure (D)

Figure (A) Samples of accounts of imports and expenses waqf of Tripoli shops in 1863: Figure (29)

[Trablusgarb eyaleti dahilinde bulunan vakıfların varidat ve masarıfat muhasebe kayıtları].

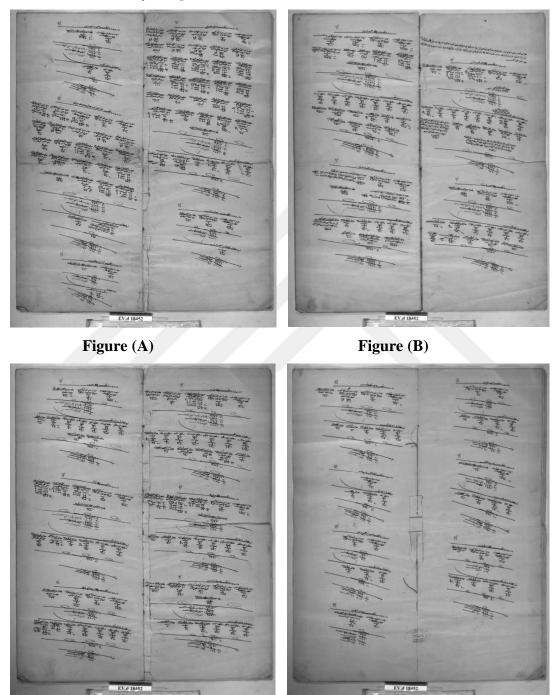


Figure (C) Figure (D)

• In the waqf of Tripoli in the treasury of the Hamyoun, there is the amounts accounts of imports and expenses in 1864: Figure (30)

[Trablusgarb'daki Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Hazinesi'nden mazbut vakıflarda vukubulan varidat ve bakayanın miktarı].

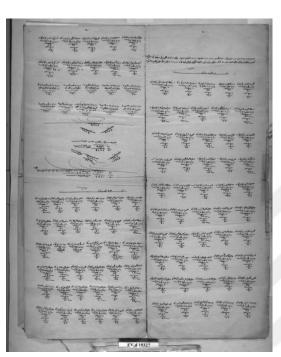


Figure (A)

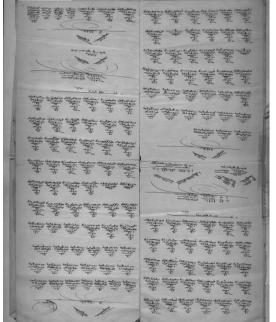


Figure (B)

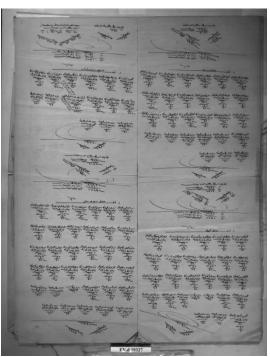


Figure (C)

Figure (D)

Inside the Tripoli waqf all accounts of imports and expenses in 1875:
 Figure (31)

[Trablusgarb dahilinde bulunan muhtelif vakıfların varidat ve masarıfat muhasebeleri].

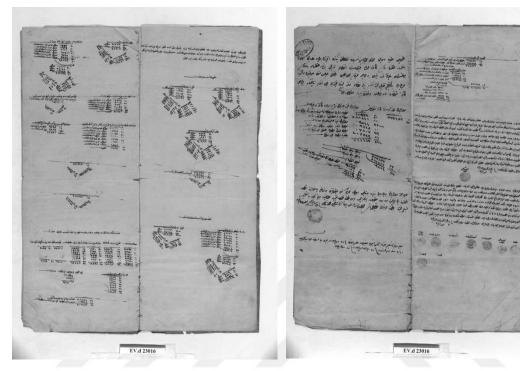


Figure (A)

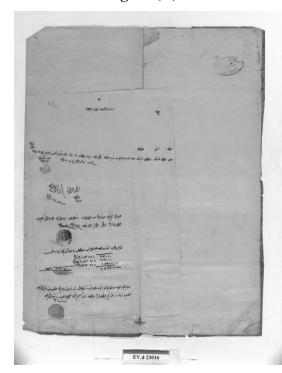


Figure (B)

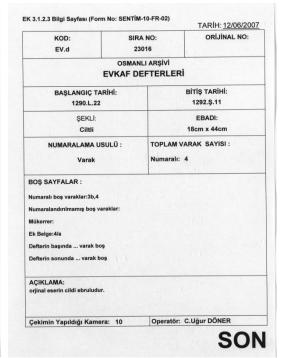
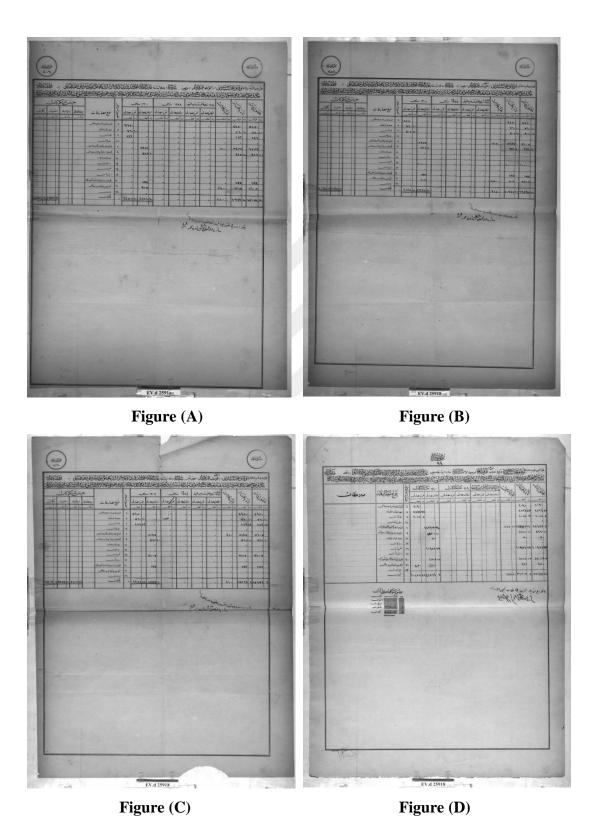


Figure (C)

Figure (D)

 Samples of accounting records of waqf inside the Province of Tripoli in 1899: Figure (32)

[Trablusgarb vilayeti dahilinde bulunan vakıfların muhasebe kayıtları].



• samples of imports waqf in Tripoli in 1886, Mohammed Pasha Waqf,
Ahmed Pasha waqf, and Mahmoud Pasha waqf and other names in the
waqf book: Figure (33)

[Trablusgarb vilayeti dahilinde bulunan vakıfların muhasebe kayıtları].

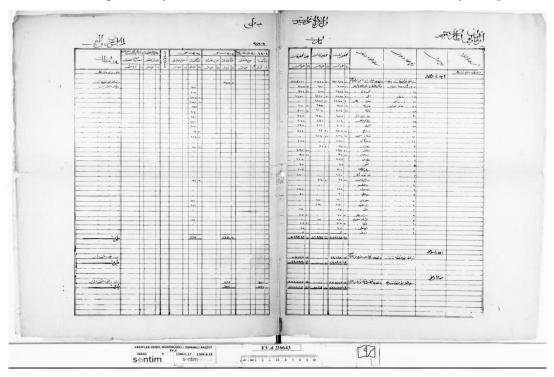


Figure (A)

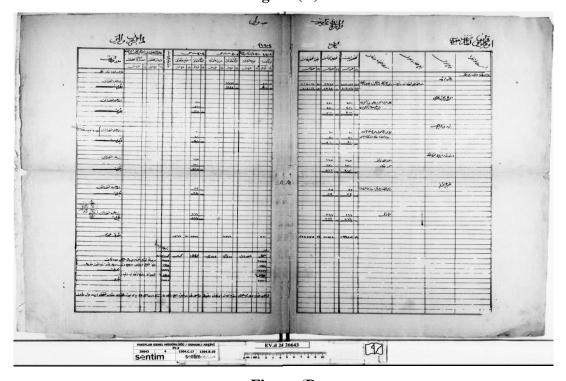
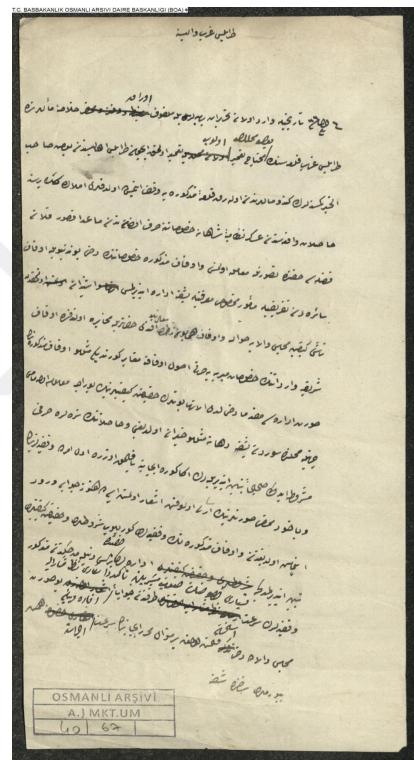


Figure (B

• Repair Tripoli Castle, of the waqf revenues: Figure (34)

[Trablusgarb Kalesi'nin tamirinin, vakıflarının gelirinden yapılması].



A.}MKT.UM.00040.00067.001

Figure (A)

CURRICULUM VITAE

This is Haitham Mohamed Elghawi, I was born in Tripoli-Libya 1973. I studied the primary and secondry school education in Tripoli I gradeuated from Interior Design Department, Fine & Applied Arts, Al - Fateh University in 1998 The Master's Degree in Interior Design, High Academic Education, Tripoli 2009.

From 2000-2012 I was one of the Teaching Stuff Members in the Higher Institute of Training for Tripoli Trainers .

In 2013 I had a Libyan goerment scholarship to study, I choosed Karabuk University in order to complete the Phd in History Department.