





## AN INTRODUCTION TO ME ...

Before starting to unravel all the different stories of Beirut, I want to start by unraveling my own little story. Born in Baghdad, raised in a small town in southern Lebanon, but not for too long before moving across borders to a new place; The Netherlands.

Three places, with each their own soul, though two of them seem similar due to their location in the same region, Iraqi people and Lebanese people are on different horizons. This beautiful mixture of cultures, brings along a mindset in which I try to grasp the ideas and values from each one of them and turn it into something that belongs to me. This has led to the drive to not only look at the greater picture, but at the smaller things, the details and emotions behind everything. And gradually this has extended to my way of thinking about design as well. All its separate parts and smallest details, tangible and intangible, have their value. From the shape of a door handle, to the emotion that extra window provokes, to the effect of the colour of a building on the old man living across the street.

Coming from places that both have encountered war in its many forms, brings out a certain responsibility. You always feel as though there is something you need to do, to make things better, even if these 'things' are far from definite. For me this way of thinking, comes with the full package of being Middle Eastern. It is not about the me but rather about the we, the family, the street, the neighbourhood, the city, the country, the nation, the us.

However, the us is pretty much neglected in both Beirut and Baghdad, and in every Middle Eastern country for that matter. The us is rooted in our minds and our beings but the harsh circumstances are erasing it bit by bit, and all that is left is the I that wants to survive.

The feeling of being responsible for whatever it is that can happen and thinking through the other, or at least trying to, is something that stretches out to me as a future architect. When I chose to do my graduation project on Beirut, one of the main concerns I had in mind was to really understand what the person living and experiencing this city everyday wants Beirut to be. One of the images that struck me from the beginning is the image by James Kerwin, named 'The Circle of Trust'. For me it portrays how behind each 'circle' there is an individual story and all these circles combined create an entity that not only forms the building but a whole society. As a future architect I feel that I should be part of this 'circle of trust' to discover and unfold the true essence of my city and add to that.



illustration ... 'The Circle of Trust' photo by James Kerwin



## CONTENTS

introduction to me	04
introduction	13
research aim & methodology	15
Beirut timeline	22
layers   stories of ...	
layer #1 ... the souk	27
layer #2 ... the void of Beirut	41
layer #3 ... cosmopolitan Beirut	53
layer #4 ... the sea	65
conclusion	77
bibliography	81



## BEIRUT, THE MISTRESS OF THE WORLD

Beirut, the Mistress of the World  
We confess before the One God  
That we were envious of you  
That your beauty hurt us

We confess now  
That we've maltreated and misunderstood you  
And we had no mercy and didn't excuse you  
And we offered you a dagger in place of flowers!  
We confess before the fair God  
That we injured you, alas; we tired you  
That we vexed you and made you cry  
And we burdened you with our insurrections

Oh Beirut  
The world without you won't suffice us  
We now realize your roots are deep inside us,  
We now realize what offence we've perpetrated

Rise from under the rubble  
Like a flower of Almond in April  
Get over your sorrow  
Since revolution grows in the wounds of grief  
Rise in honor of the forests,  
Rise in honor of the rivers  
Rise in honor of humankind

Rise, Oh Beirut!

- Nizar Qabbani

## INTRODUCTION

There is a Lebanese saying that states; 'If you think you understand Lebanon, it's because someone has not explained it to you properly.' I like to think the same about Beirut, for this city is just as intense to grasp as Lebanon as a whole. This complex character of Beirut generates an array of feelings people have towards her. For the Lebanese, she is not just a city made of stone. Beirut is a warrior, Beirut is a tragedy, Beirut is the feeling of being alive and resilient. Beirut is a woman walking along the corniche, wondering what will happen tomorrow on her way to dance the night away. A city whose beauty and pain are undeniable. Every person that has met Beirut, has found her irresistible. And each encounter left a story that no doubt is worth sharing. Each story illustrates a side of Beirut, another character trait her people love or dislike, but either way, have to live with, because as Qibbani wrote 'your roots are deep inside us'.

The first time I started thinking about my graduation project, I had this city in mind for I was intrigued to really get to know her, from the most popular street every Beiruti knows, to the tiny bakery known by the locals of the neighbourhood. Growing up, I had already heard countless stories about Beirut. Childhood stories from my father, historical stories from his father and political stories from every Lebanese, because everyone in Lebanon talks politics. Some of these stories recall a side of Beirut that is already known in books, articles and research or any narrative that is already set and fixed. However, many of these stories are unknown, forgotten or illustrate a different truth about this city. I want to explore this city and get to know her through the stories and feelings of her people.

“ Truth is neither absolute nor a given - indeed there is no one truth but many possible truths - mutable, fluid, and above all deviant. ”

- Rustom Bharucha

## RESEARCH AIM & METHODOLOGY

### Objective & Research Question

'Truth is neither absolute nor a given - indeed there is no one truth but many possible truths - mutable, fluid, and above all deviant'. (Launchbury, 2014) From the beginning I wanted to truly discover and understand the truth of Beirut beyond her fixed histories set by people with 'power, money and control'. These discoveries are not present in the greater 'events', but in the smaller more personal stories and feelings that almost function as a hole one can peek through, to discover a whole hidden world. They tell us about the everyday experiences of the people, they tell us about the feelings and emotions involved, and with that they allow us to create a more intimate relationship with this city. Through this project I want to document these stories and make them accessible, because they can be a means to learn and understand the many layers of Beirut. The aim is to create a platform that can be used to unfold the many stories of Beirut. The research question to be answered is: How can we understand and unfold the narratives around Beirut?

To answer this the following methodology is used. Beirut is made out of thousands and thousands of stories. And each set of stories defines a certain layer that gives us a better understanding of this place.

In unfolding these layers two types of analysis are used. The first one is that of collecting and analysing stories through conversations with different people, through documentaries and

through novels. These stories tell us about the personal experiences, the feelings and meaning those people have towards their version of Beirut.

The second is that of architectural analysis, in which the stories are connected with their architectural qualities and characteristics. From these findings I am creating drawings that show my interpretation of these stories.

The outcome from this methodology will be a set of layers of which each one highlights a certain place, event, or idea of Beirut.

### Stories from You and Me

The personal stories sought for in this research can be explored in a number of ways. One way of researching these stories and personal experiences is through the collection of oral histories. The basic definition of oral histories found in the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines them as 'a recording containing information about the past obtained from in-depth interviews concerning personal experiences, recollections, and reflections'. I tend to see these in-depth interviews more as conversations, where both people involved share and react on each others stories, views and beliefs. This approach creates a more confidential and intimate setting that allows the people sharing their stories to be more open and honest. This distinction between interview and conversation is elaborated

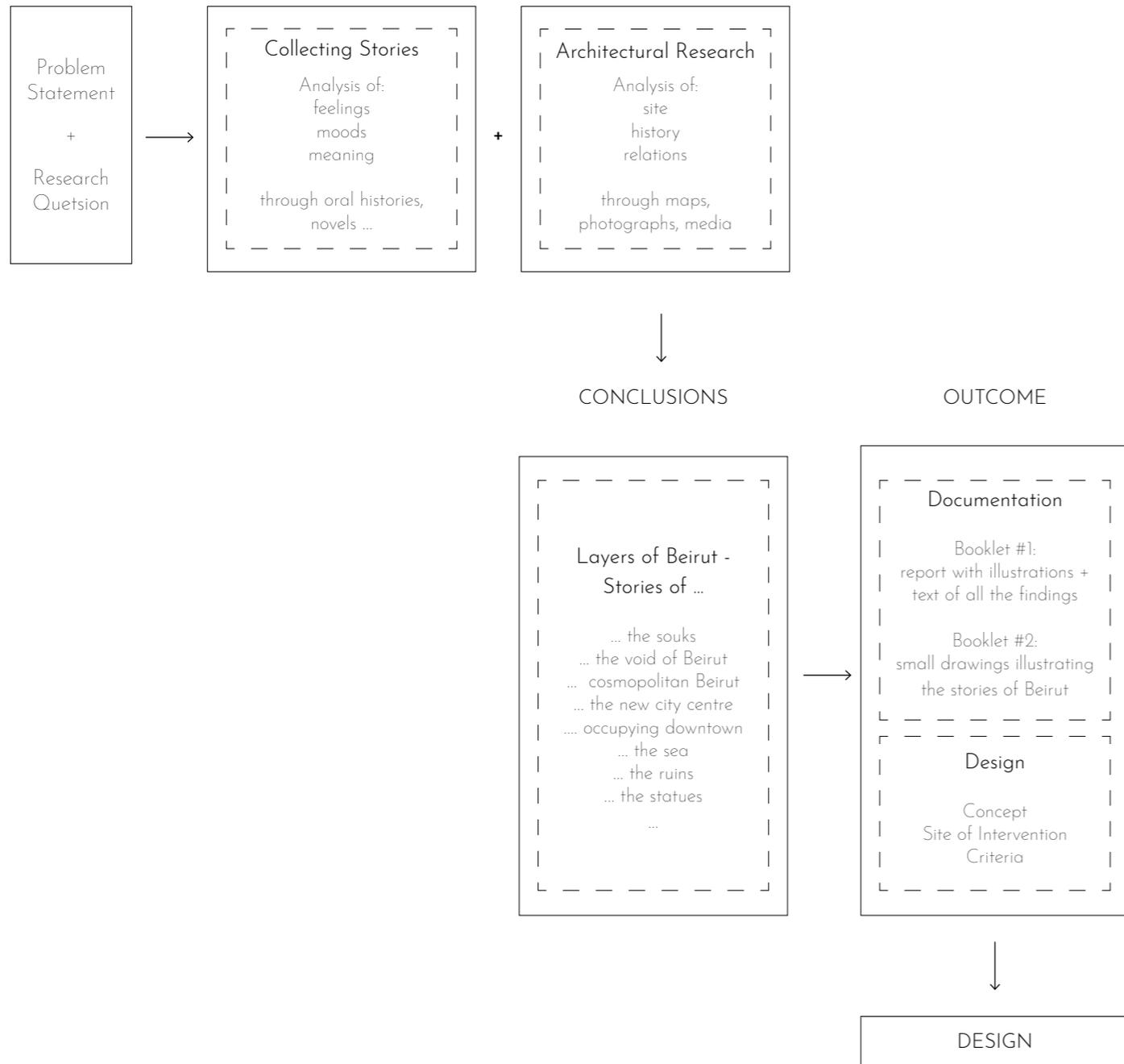


Illustration 1 Diagram of Methodology

more by Gustavsson, according to whom, an interview provides objective data whereas a conversation collects subjective data of peoples personal feelings and opinions. (Gustavsson,) Given this strong personal nature of these conversations, the researcher should be considerate about how the questions are asked as well as when en where, but more importantly on who is asking them. As Ceren Kurum points out in her essay *At the Threshold of Moral Doors* the depth and width of information depend on the person asking the questions and the race, ethnicity, age, class and gender of this interviewer. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) Being an insider or outsider on the subject can lead to different results. Particularly, in the case of Beirut, a city with a divided community, being an outsider leads to being seen as a neutral in the eyes of the interviewees, which in turn makes it easier for them to address stories they would not be comfortable telling a local. However, being an insider, it can be easier to gain the trust of the interviewees, because you are one of them. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) In both cases the status of the interviewer is fluid and can shift throughout the interview, because of the meaning attached to characteristics such as race and ethnicity, which in turn can have a positive or negative influence on the status of the research.

Being Lebanese myself, but having lived most of my life outside of Lebanon, my status varies depending on the person I am talking to. To family members or acquaintances, I might be seen as an insider.

Though people that live in Lebanon and do not know me, might see me as an outsider because I do not live there and I have not seen or felt the daily joys and struggles in that country.

The other way of collecting stories is through interviews conducted by others, in the form of documentaries or writings. This method requires even more care, because these stories have already went through a large part of editing. 'This process of "cleaning up" is done with particular values of its own, so loss is inevitable'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019)

Likewise, this leads to the way in which these stories should be documented. In the concluding conversation between Janina, Naomi and Deborah they reflect on how in writing down spoken language a lot of what is happening during the setting of the conversation is lost. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) It is not only the words of these stories that tell the story, it is the living gestures, facial expressions, laughs or sounds that do not fit into the academic writings of them.

### Stories from Songs

The term oral history itself has many definitions and is explained differently by various scholars or even dictionaries. According to the Collins Dictionary oral history consist of 'spoken memories, stories and songs, and the study of these, as a way of communicating and discovering information about the past'. This definition touches upon the different

ways in which oral histories can be obtained, here they are not limited to interviews or conversations or any type of communication, but are also found in songs. Contrary to information obtained through conversation or interviews, where the stories are more spontaneous and the selection of words is less thought through, the words of songs are carefully selected to convey a certain message or feeling others can understand and relate to. They are less personal and more representative of a larger group of people. They provide 'subtle insights, local colour and details beyond what archives and other forms of oral tradition can provide.' (Alagoa, n.d.)

### Different Histories

Where the former chapter focused on how these stories are collected, the next step is to understand their value and the way they can be used in this research. The method of using oral histories in the architectural research has slowly made its way throughout the past (fifty) years. In the book *Speaking of Buildings* (2019), Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaat shed light on the value of finding 'alternative, more inclusive, multifaceted, and polyvocal architectural histories'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019)

Especially in a city like Beirut, that is made up of various sectarian groups and religions, that are almost embedded in the core of every Lebanese citizen, looking through alternative ways at history is essential because there are so

Lebanese citizen, looking through alternative ways at history is essential because there are so many sides to cover. Many of those peoples voices, part of a sectarian group or not, are not heard or given an opportunity to be heard. As Janina Gosseye explains, oral history methods 'should be used to give a voice to those whose stories have remained untold' resulting in a 'different type of historiography'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) This different type of historiography opens up a world of new ideas and insight into topics that were not even considered. However a conversation is prepared and questions or topics of discussion are set out, a good conversation leads to multiple directions that provide a newfound awareness on the subject. Sometimes, even the lack of a set brief enhances the spontaneity of a conversation (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019)

### Correcting the known

Beirut has survived many wars, the civil war being one of the largest, which lasted for fifteen years (1975-1990) and still has its traces on the fabric of the city and her people today. The public memory of the war is gradually being erased by a state led amnesia, in contrast to the private memory of people that still recalls the war. Sune Haugbolle (2005) points out that people need an outlet 'to make sense of its [the war] past and present, often in response to the misrepresenting generalisations of the nation-state. (Haugbolle, 2005) She explains further how these private

memories never find a voice, because of 'social, political, or emotional constraints and censure, and they die unuttered'. (Haugbolle, 2005)

Giving voice to these people therefore does not only lead to a different type of historiography, but it restores a distorted view of the historical events, almost turning it into an ethical obligation for us to do. Naomi Stead explains how oral histories 'correct the record [...] making it wider, more reflective of what actually happened'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) They bring along a responsibility to share the hidden side of what actually happened. The relevance of a caring attitude towards this type of historiography is that it can guide us to find different importance for the effects of the war rather than the war itself.

### Three step method

One of the advocates' of introducing oral histories as an additional valuable layer to our understanding of history is Alessandro Portelli. In his article 'What makes Oral History different?' Portelli sets out a threefold method in working with oral histories. The initial step is based on our intention, the endeavour to reconstruct the meaning of events of the past. 'Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.' (Portelli, 1979) The second step is the cultural work, or the actual collection and understanding of what is on peoples minds and how they remember, recollect and tell their stories.

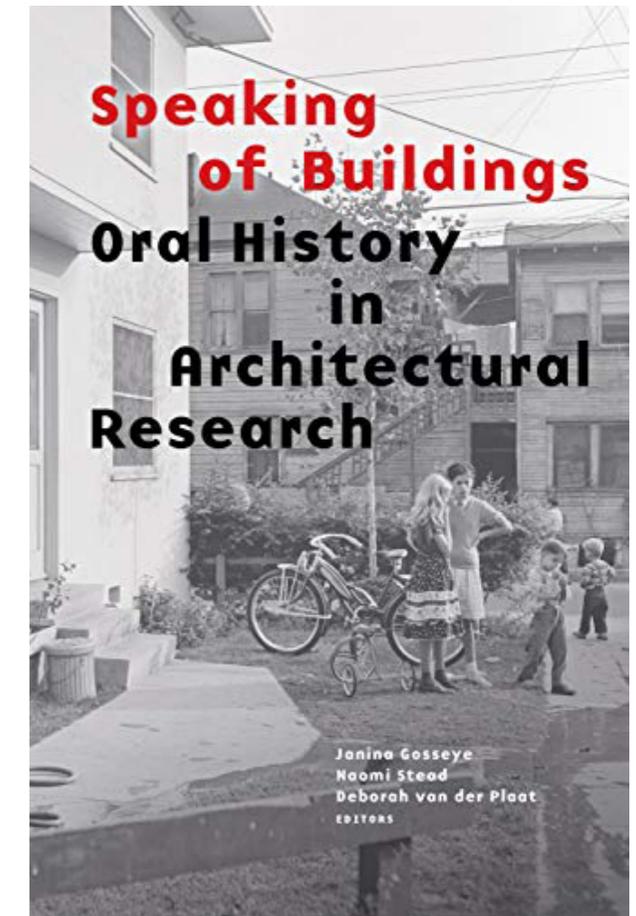


Illustration 2 *Speaking of Buildings* cover, retrieved from <https://www.bol.com/nl/p/speaking-of-buildings/9200000118103567/>

Lastly, it is up to us to connect the dots of what we know and have researched about the facts with what we have gained from the different narratives. This does not mean that these stories are not credible, but they portray a different credibility. (Portelli, 1979) The people sharing their stories believe their perspective is the 'right' one. Their personal experience brought forward a particular thought or feeling, and consequently lead them to act in a certain way. The magnitude of the feelings involved, also have an effect on the extend to which these events are memorised and how they are passed on. Therefore, as Portelli (1979) stresses upon, 'there are no false oral sources [...] the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that wrong statements are still psychologically true and this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts.'

### **Step to architecture**

Oral histories are a valuable addition to our understanding of history. Likewise, this valuable approach is also useful in our understanding of architecture. To use oral history in our understanding of spaces, is to broaden our perspective on the meaning they hold and the impact they have on their surroundings. Buildings have an after life and it is our duty to 'highlight the myriad activities that take place within buildings', because they construct the real function of these spaces. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) These buildings are experienced differently by each person that has any kind of connection with the building, from the

architect, to the user, or even the person walking past the building, therefore it is of importance to 'listen to the full diversity of people who design, make, work, and live within the built environment'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) Thus these stories give us insights on the lived experiences of a space, which in turn allows us to create a deeper understanding of its being that goes beyond the fixed knowledge, and rather sheds light on the physical and emotional connection between the space and the person.

However pure the intentions of this method are, one should be critical and careful if this form of research as 'history from below' can really be achieved within the field of architecture. The ongoing question Gosseye, Stead and Van der Plaat reflect on, is if this method 'is yet another way in which more privileged people in the built environment can be heard above the less privileged?'. (Gosseye, Stead & Van der Plaat, 2019) If the interviewees are the same voices that have set the already known narratives, the value of this method will be lost. Therefore, in conducting this type of research one should be especially careful in the choice of people, songs or novels or any type of source of personal experiences, feelings and meaning being explored.

## BEIRUT TIMELINE

Throughout the years many empires and mandates have inhabited Beirut; the diversity of the city is derived from these different settlements. Her diversity is also visible in the spectrum of religious backgrounds ranging from Sunnis Muslims, Shi'a Muslims, Maronite Catholics, Greek Orthodox to Druze, Armenian Apostolic, Armenian Catholic, and Protestants.

Beirut has been destroyed and rebuilt 7 times and now is still recovering from its last destruction caused by the port explosion. This chapter provides a small overview of the key events in Beirut before going through the layers in the next couple of chapters. Although the official Lebanese history books at schools end on the year Lebanon gained its independence in 1943, to mark the end with a victory and avoid any responsibility for what happened during the civil war in the years that followed. This overview starts at that year for these are the events that have been part of the state Beirut is in today. This timeline is by no means a full overview of the events in Lebanon, it shows the ones that have had a big impact on Beirut to have some background information.

France agrees to the transfer of power to the Lebanese government

1943

Civil war erupts after tension between the Christians and Muslims. A "Green Line" frontline divides Beirut into Christian East and Muslim West.

1975

Parliament passes an amnesty law pardoning all political crimes as the civil war comes to an end.

1991

Hariri is killed on Feb. 14 when a massive bomb explodes as his motorcade travelled through Beirut; 21 others also died.

Mass demonstrations and international pressure force Syria to withdraw troops from Lebanon. Shi'ite allies of Damascus stage their own big rallies in support of Syria.

2005

Arab-Israeli war; Lebanon plays no active role in this war, however it is to be affected by its aftermath when Palestinians use Lebanon as a base for activities against Israel.

1967

In July, five-week war between Israel and Hezbollah. At least 1,200 people in Lebanon and 158 Israelis are killed.

2006

A crisis about waste erupts when authorities close the main landfill site near Beirut, having arranged no alternative. Large protests broke out as rotting waste filled streets and demonstrators chanted "You stink!" at the government. It became a glaring symbol of the failures of a sectarian power system unable to meet basic needs like electricity and water.

2015

Oct. 17 - A government move ignites big protests against the ruling elite. Lebanese of all sects take part, accusing leaders of corruption and economic mismanagement.

2019

On Aug. 4, a vast quantity of ammonium nitrate explodes at Beirut port, killing 200 people, wounding 6,000 and devastating swathes of Beirut

2020



" Today . . . I felt so energetic that I convinced myself to take a serious walk to the further end of the Places des Martyrs, as far as Café Parisiana and, opposite, **the shop of Qaysar Amir, king of fireworks** . . . Then I made a turn at **Zayn, the fresh juice seller**, where I had already carried off two metal trays that I now use at home. I passed in front of the Café Laronda, then **the theatre of Shushu the comedian**, and went on to Gaumont Palace, the famous cinema that I had not yet entered, though a few days ago I had been inside of Cinema Byblos, where I had taken some plastic sheets that I put over the plants in my garden to intensify the sunlight and heat on cold and wintry days . . . I thought about going on as far as the Bint Jbayl Garage and **the shop of Abu Said, the licorice man**. "

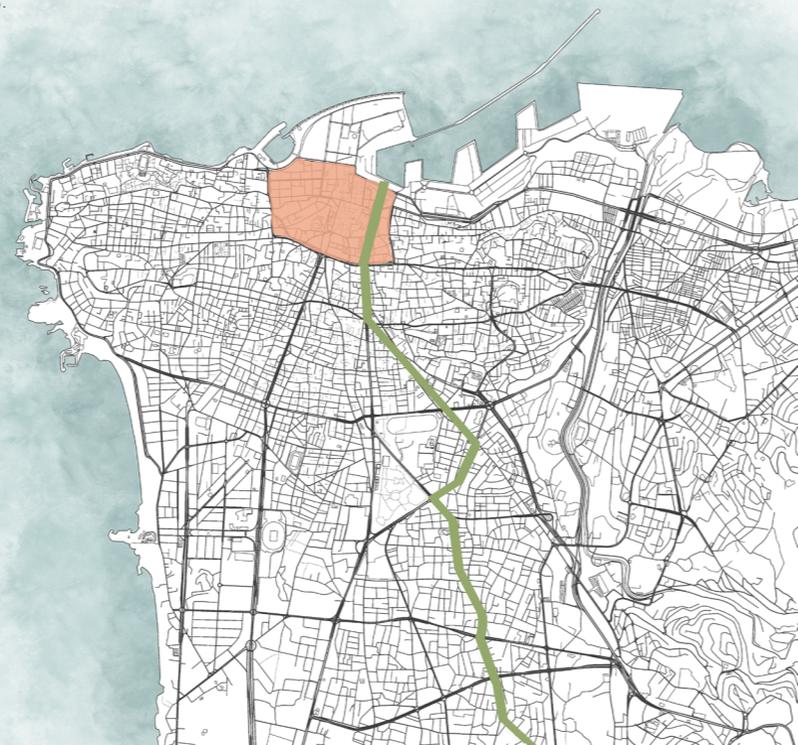


## THE SOUKS

This story starts from the heart of the city; the souk. A souk meaning a marketplace or bazar. This heart of the city was also the heart of the civil war that lasted for 15 years (1975-1990). What started as a war between different political parties, soon turned into a war between Muslims and Christians and, eventually leading to a number of smaller wars during this period that were influenced by the Syrian army and Israel or even between different Christians groups themselves. During this war Beirut was divided between East and West by the Green demarcation line, that started in the area of the old souks.

The area on illustration 4 used to be a collection of many different souks. From Souk el Tawil, where Beirutis could find Tailors and fabrics to souks of gold or Souk el Franj that hosted Lebanon's largest fruit, vegetable and flower market. These souks were filled with stalls for every Beirut and they were visited by people from different backgrounds.

After the civil war, this heart of the city was damaged. But the buildings could still be retrieved. However, a private corporation SOLIDERE which led by the former prime minister of Lebanon demolished the whole area, creating a tabula rasa from which they build the new Beirut Central District. This act is described beautifully by the artist Jalal Toufic who states that: "The demolition of many of the ruined buildings of the city center by implosions or otherwise, was war by other means; the war on the traces of the war is part of the traces of the war, hence signals that the war is continuing." So the political aim of the project is not only reconstruction after the war, but also destruction of the evidence of the war.



- Souk el Tawil
- Wholesale Souk Sursock (import-export, fabrics)
- Weygand (municipality, gold and jewellery)
- Etoile (parliament, mosque, banks)
- Souk Sursock (fabrics, fruits and vegetables)
- Martyrs Square (hotels, cinema, clubs, cafes)
- New Business District



Illustration 4 Map based on Historical Souk Structure of Yasmina El Chami

“ The demolition of many of the ruined buildings of the city center by implosions or otherwise, was war by other means; the war on the traces of the war is part of the traces of the war, hence signals that the war is continuing. ”

- Jalal Toufic

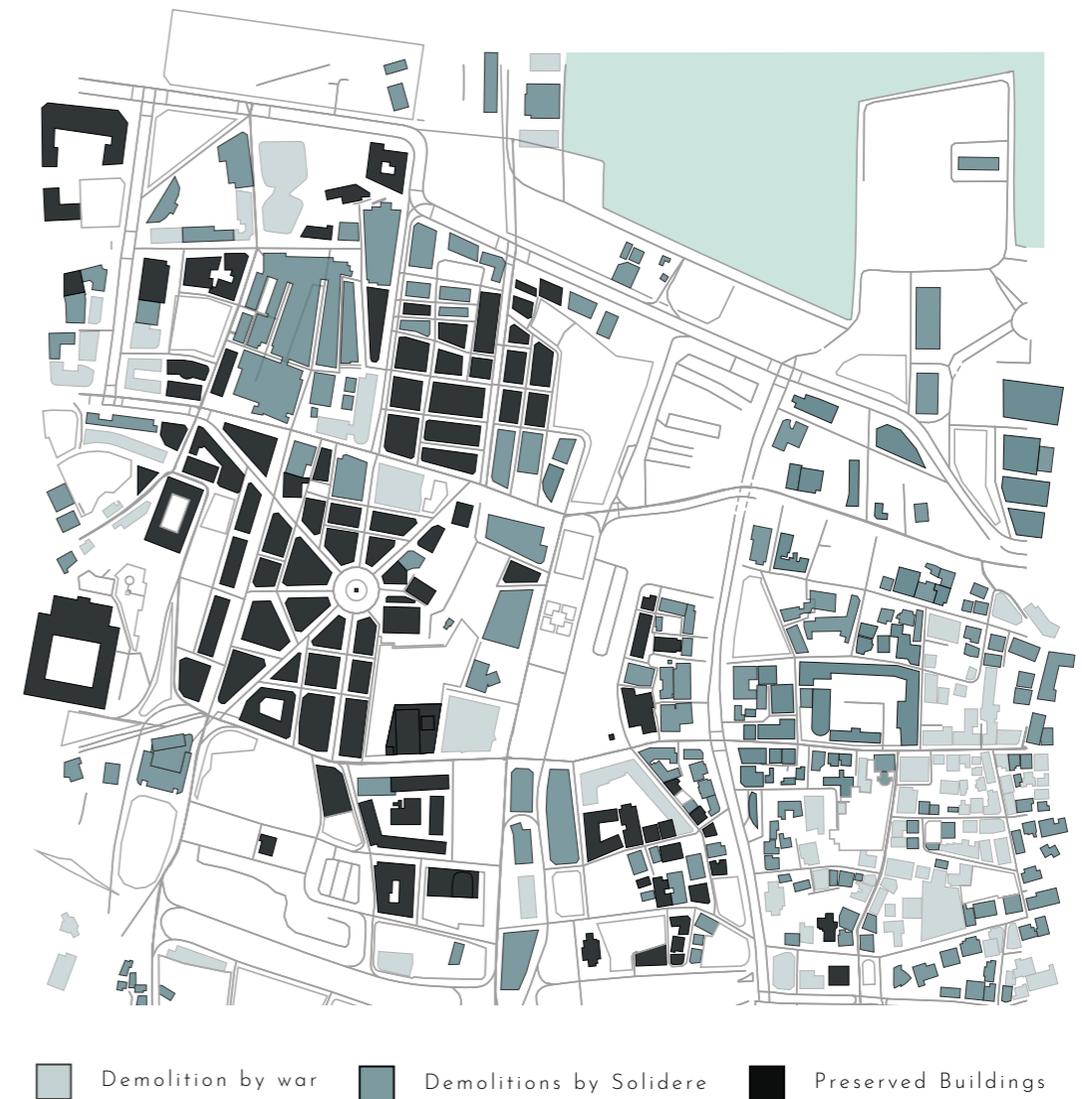


Illustration 5 Map based on Demolition map of Yasmina El Chami

## THE OLD AND THE NEW

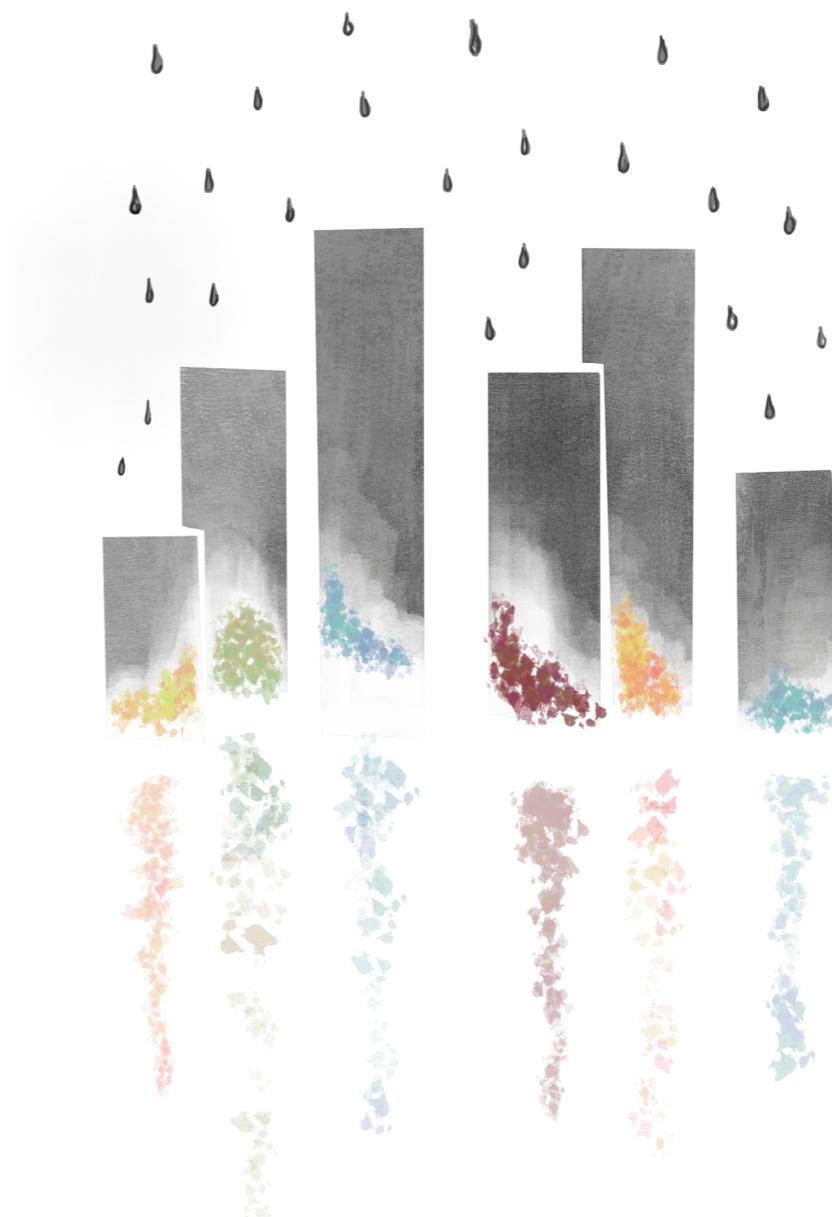
The importance of the old souk stretches out to the novels. In the novel *The Tiller of Waters* by Hoda Barakat, we follow the story of Nikola – a Lebanese man who went back to Beirut right after the civil war looking for his late father's fabric shop. As he walks through the remains of the old souks, he is feeling lost and is having a hard time finding his way in Beirut, because of the changed setting of the city. Nikola tries to map the city through the memory he has of this space.

The interesting part is that he is connecting the spaces with the people that inhabited these spaces. So his connotation with this place is not the space or the souk itself, but the people that are in these spaces. Meaning that, the people are what make the city.

After the demolition of the old Souks, Solidere built a totally new souk the Beirut Souks, that only refers back to the old souk in its name. These new souks are home to big chains like Zara and H&M and more luxurious boutiques of high end global fashion designers, where the people are not as important anymore and almost inferior to the product they are selling. This change from a place where people of different backgrounds could encounter and talk with each other to a place of consumption only, is especially bad for a place like Beirut because it creates more distance between people. The heart of the city is one of the few neighbourhoods that is not defined by one secretarial majority. Therefore this should be the place that should connect people.

I had a talk with a resident in Beirut about these souks and this new city centre. 'I don't feel like it is the real city centre. It's not vibrant, not unique. Every shop you see is the same as any shop you will find in any city in the world. You won't notice that you are in Beirut, because it lacks any character of what Lebanon has to offer. It is especially difficult for creatives to exist in this place. Small businesses that have something special to offer, or even the real authentic baker, florist or grocery shop, they do not have a place over here.'

So these smaller businesses and the creatives did not find their home in this heart of the city. This has resulted in the creation of other hubs in the surrounding neighbourhoods like Gemmayzeh, Mar Mikhael or Burj Hammoud. These neighbourhoods provide the more authentic atmosphere of Beirut, in terms of architecture and the products they have to offer. Burj Hammoud, is now famous for its shops and markets selling everything from fruits and spices to gold and perfumes. Gemmayzeh and Mar Mikhael, are more popular among the younger generation of Beirut, and act as a vibrant social hub. Also they are representative of a newer, more modern Beirut, shaped by the demands of the new generation like art galleries, wine bars and restaurants.



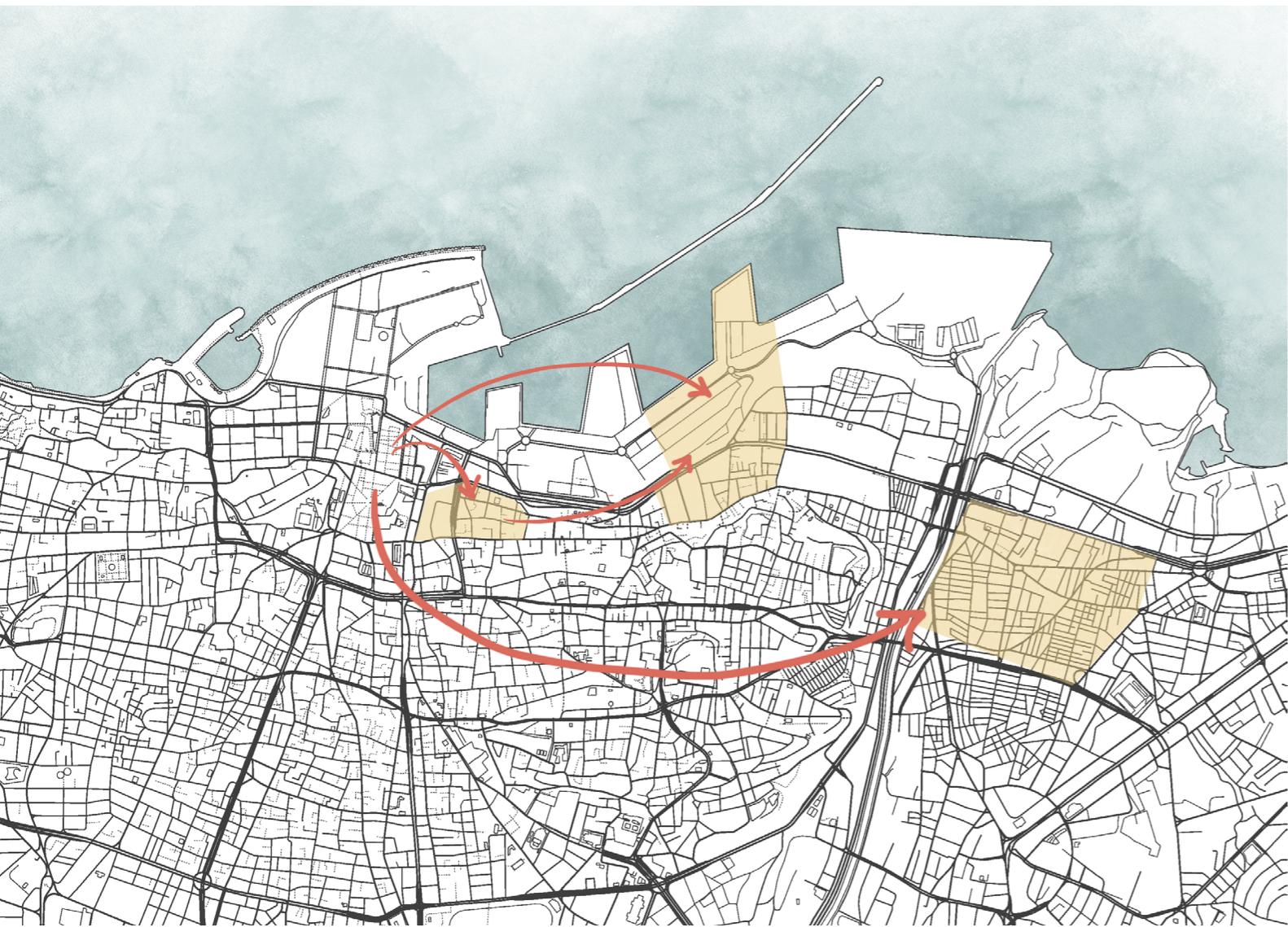


Illustration 6 Own drawing



Gemmayzeh



Mar Mikhael



Bourj Hammoud

Another reaction to the new state of the souks was the initiative of Kamal Mouzawak. Kamal created the first farmers market in Lebanon which is located next to the new souk, but offers the extreme opposite. This farmers market is a forum to share food, traditions and hospitality in a way that has helped bring together fractured communities. The creators behind the stalls of these market come from different backgrounds and even from different villages from all over Lebanon. In an interview with Kamal he compares this market to a house where one can feel at home.

Even after the horrific explosion on the 4th of August in Beirut, Souk el Tayeb aimed to bring the city back to life by coming together as people to help and support each other. One of the initiatives Souk el Tayeb took, was that they transformed an old space into an emergency kitchen providing meals for thousands of people affected by the explosion. In addition to making the free meals they also gave the entrepreneurs that had their restaurants, stores and stalls destroyed a place to be able to come and sell their products and food again. What used to be the only source of income of these entrepreneurs had been taken away in minutes, so now they got that opportunity again.

“ Make everybody feel that this is home, because when you are home, what happens? It is a space of trust, when it is a space of trust. When it is a space of trust, what do you do? You take off your armour and start being closer to the other. And when you start being closer to the other, maybe by then instead of having the energy of one, we can have the energy of two and we can do more and better. ”



Illustration 7 Rothe, E. N. (2015, June 25). [Souk El Tayeb at Beirut Souks]. <https://tinyurl.com/y3trq4rk>



## MARTYRS SQUARE

Martyrs square has a long history that can be traced back according to the many names it has had in the past. The square was founded as Sahat Al Burj in the 1600s, meaning Square of the Tower and referring to the tower of a former palace located on the square. After this its name has changed a number of times, and in a way each new name referred to the new function or meaning the square had been given. Many of them are long forgotten, however, the name Sahat Al Burj is still widely used by the Lebanese (older generation) till this day. (Saad, 2020) The official name the square holds today is that of Sahat Al Shuhada, literally translating into The Square of the Martyrs. This name dates back to the events of 1916 on which 16 Lebanese journalists, merchants and political figures were opposing the Ottoman rule and demanded the independence of Lebanon, this however, resulted in them being hanged on the square. Two years later, the newly established French Mandate officially changed the name of the square into Martyrs Square. (Saad, 2020)

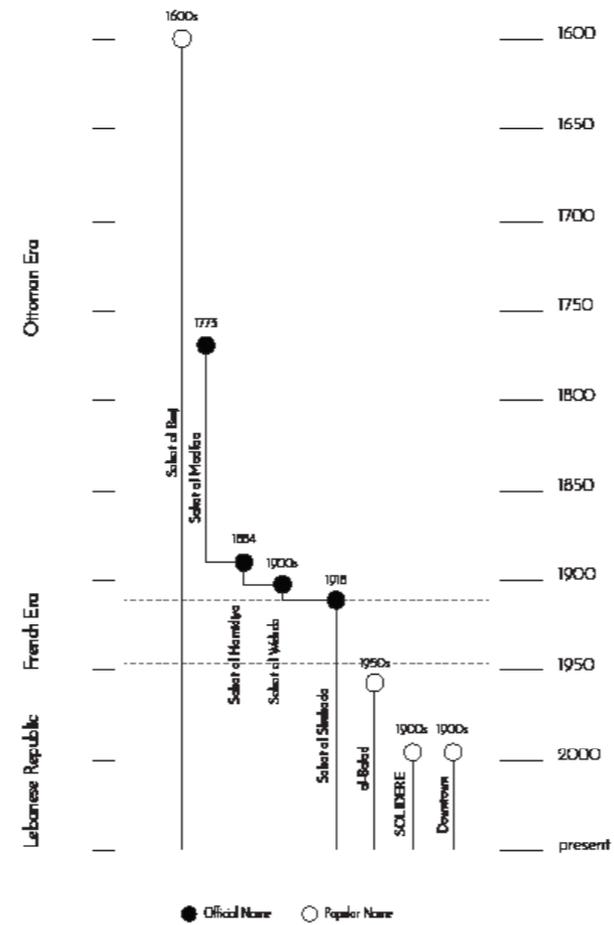


Illustration 8 Past and present names of Martyrs Square. Saad, E. (n.d.). [History of names Martyrs Square]. Park to Parking. <https://patrimoinedorient.org>

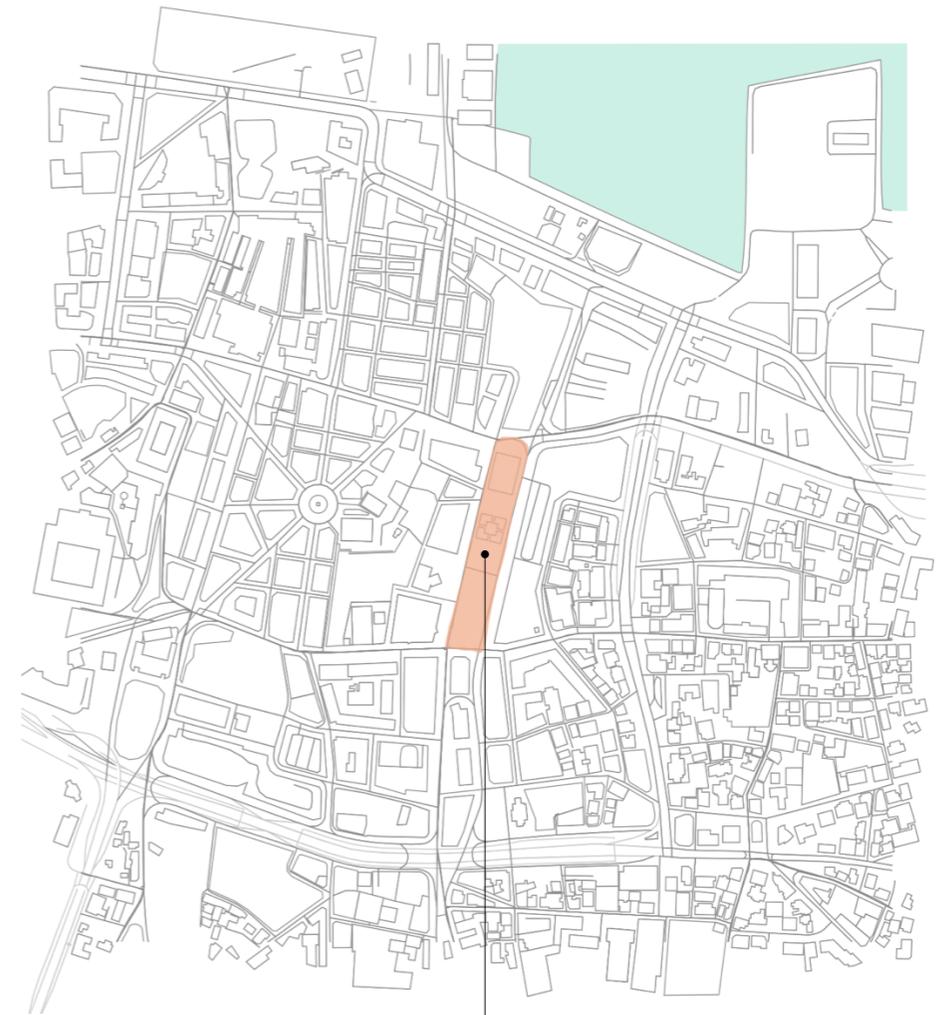


Illustration 9 Own drawing

Martyrs Square

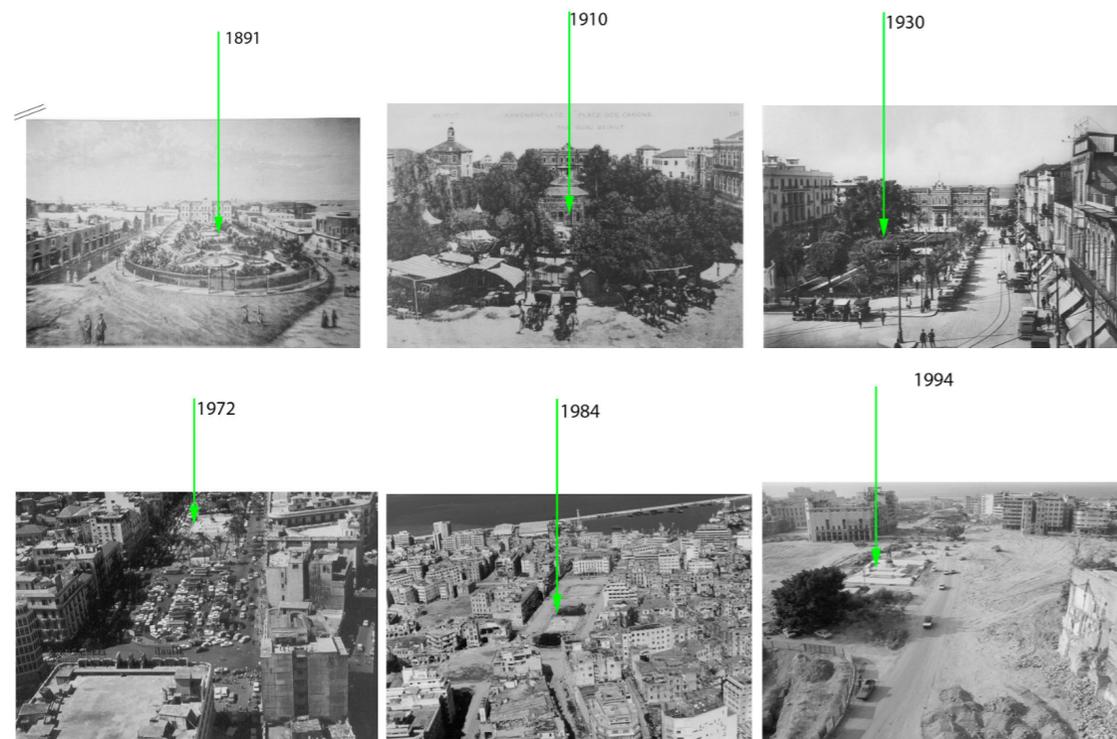


Illustration 10: Evolution of Martyrs Square, retrieved from <http://spatiallyjustenvironmentsbeirut.blogspot.com/2011/08/martyr-square.html>

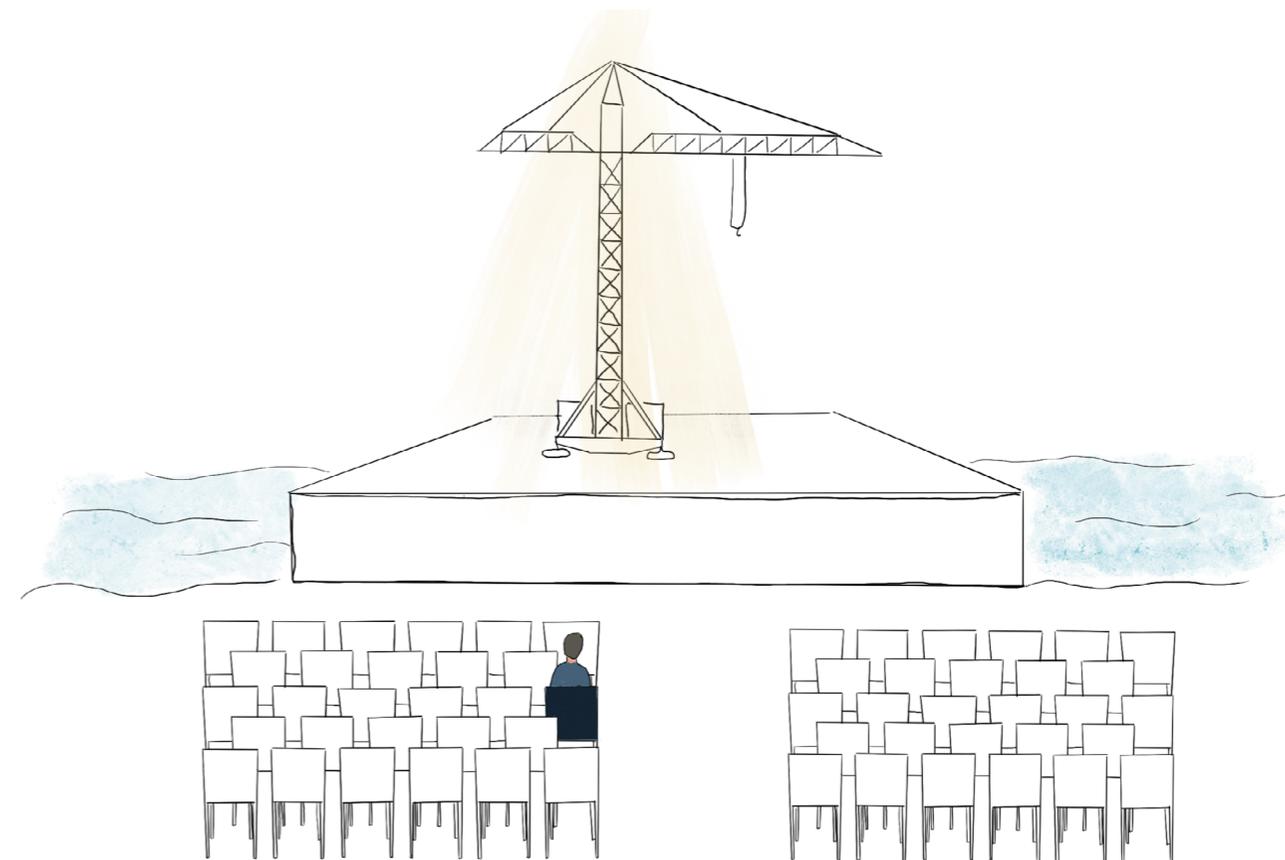
Under the Ottoman rule in the 1800s the square was developed as a central space of the city. It was turned into a garden full of greenery, fountains and kiosks that introduced life, prosperity and development to the space and eventually gave it its monumental status. (Tueini & Sassin, 2000) Throughout the following years, it became a significant place of the city and developed on economic, social and cultural grounds with the emergence of cinemas, theatres and nightclubs. This development was halted once the civil war started, making the square part of the demarcation line and a playground for the militias. Consequently the monumental status the square once held, was turned into that of division.

Once the civil war had ended, Solidere took over and promised that the square would become the nation's arena. To prove this promise and to mark the end of the war and the start of a new phase, one of the first acts the private owned company did, was to sponsor a concert of Fairouz. Solidere promoted the event excessively and commissioned writers to describe the event as follows: "Fairouz sang in Beirut's war-torn centre, against a backdrop recalling the city's maritime heritage. The event attracted crowds from all over Lebanon and began to re-establish Martyrs Square as the nation's public arena." This description placed emphasis on the 'war-torn' state of the city in contrast to Solidere's plan of reconstruction. However, it neglects the fact that the demolition of Martyrs Square was mostly caused by Solidere itself instead of the war. Moreover, in the years following the war, Solidere was actively involved in redefining and rewriting the history of Beirut to suit its own objectives. (Hayek, 2014)

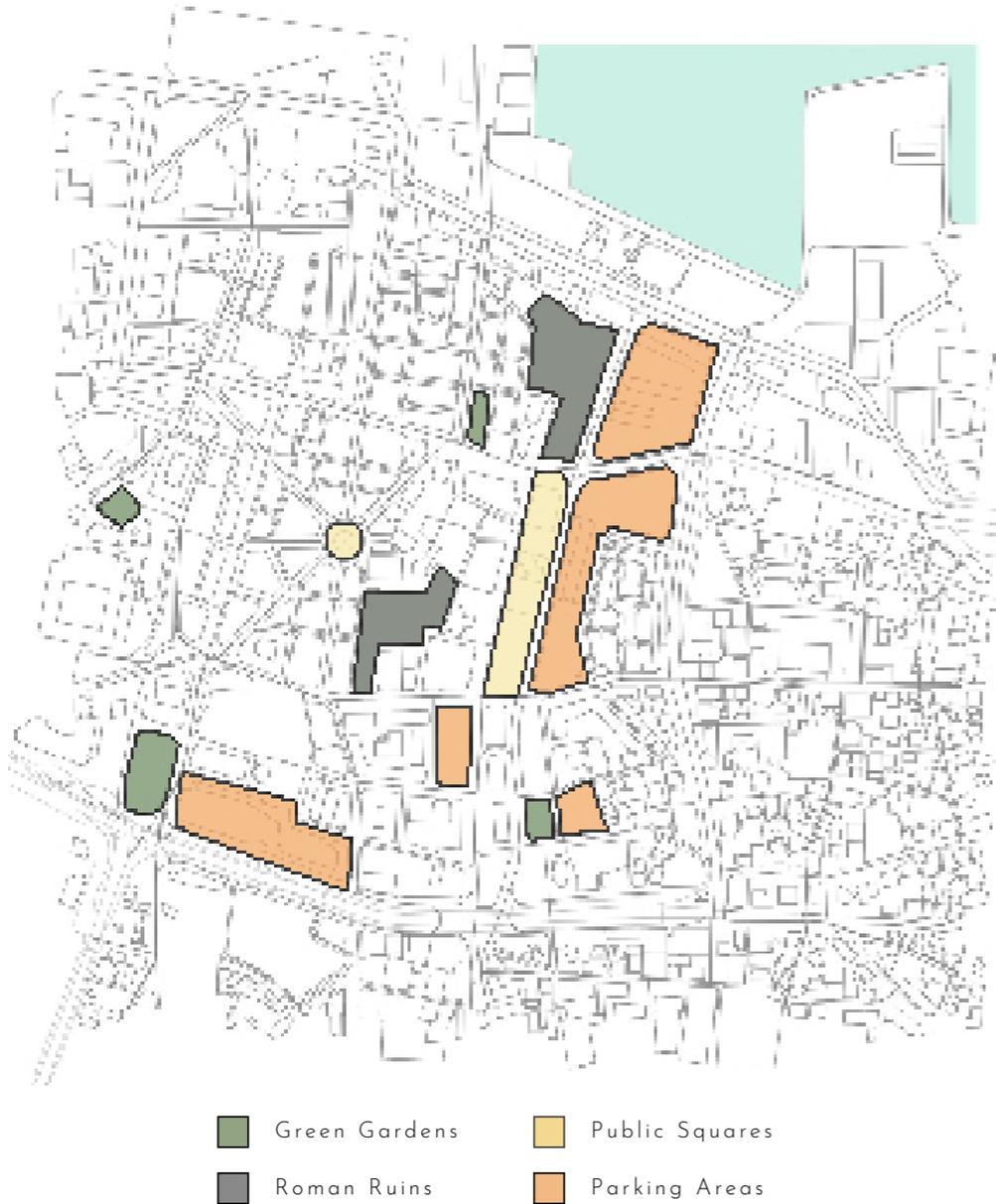
This concert was also described in the novel *The Tiller of Waters*, where Nikola is walking towards the sea but instead of finding the actual sea he finds 'a sea of empty chairs, arranged in lines that made up large squares. Like block formations of infantry. In parallel lines, they all faced the shore. They are there because there is a concert planned, a concert given by someone bearing the likeness of the singer Fairouz.'

In this passage Nikola is confronted with the square that is almost an illusion. The chairs look like formations of infantry, reminding him of the war. The sea that once represented dynamic and unlimited freedom, is replaced by a sea of plastic and static chairs. And even Fairouz, the face of Lebanon, is not what she seems to be, for she is merely the likeness of her. Later on in the passage, Nikola sits on one of the chairs to be part of the event, however, in his mind the concert does not start and no one else besides him is there. Nikola is unable to be part of this collective event that is imposed by Solidere. These two passages illustrate the two ends of the meaning of Martyrs Square after the war. Solidere has a strong 'desire to monumentalise and artificially reinsert the space within a discourse that attempts to produce a clean break with the past'. (Hayek, 2014) While Nikola, who represents the Lebanese citizen, feels uncomfortable and is unable to forget the war and be part of this empty celebration symbolising a fabricated future.

“ ... a sea of empty chairs, arranged in lines that made up large squares. Like **block formations** of infantry. In parallel lines, they all faced the shore. They are there because there is a concert planned, a concert given by someone bearing the likeness of the singer Fairouz. ”



**CHANGE OF SPACE AND USE**



- Green Gardens
- Roman Ruins
- Public Squares
- Parking Areas

Illustration 11 Own drawing

It is safe to say that Martyrs Square was never turned into the nation's public arena by Solidere. Instead, it had become an empty space right in the heart of the city that was solely occupied by the sound of honking cars. Whereas the square used to be a destination point, today it is only a means to get from one place to another. Apart from the deterioration of the square itself, its surrounding spaces and buildings had an impact on the use of the square as well. A notable change was the demolition of the Rivoli Cinema that stood between the square and the sea. The Rivoli was almost a landmark on the square and part of the cultural and economical place it held. The main idea behind its demolition was to create a connection between the square and the sea behind it. An objective that was quite ironic, considering the fact that the shore and the sea had not been used as they should be, moreover, this supposed connection is interrupted by a large parking place on the exact site of the former Rivoli building.

Apart from the social effects the demolition had on the square, it also changed the outline of the square tremendously. The peculiar addition of parking plots surrounding the square, resulted in an unbalanced open area that was too large in comparison with the overall urban structure of Beirut. The square is not in proportion with the rest of the city and has 'lost any character of warmth, protection, unification, and social rapprochement'. (Gharios, 2012)



Illustration 12 Photos retrieved from Solidere

Looking at other public spaces surrounding Martyrs Square, such as gardens, squares or parks, it becomes clear that there is a strong lack of good quality public spaces. This is visible in the Gebran Khalil Garden, which is a very monumental space enclosed by roads, or the Debbas Park, a small plot with some greenery that merely functions as an extra walkway from one side of the road to the other. Thus even at the presence of a public space, its design does not support the function of an inviting public space for people to gather, walk around or rest. Comparing these spaces and the amount of space reserved for open air parking plots, proves that there is almost more public space available for cars to reside in than for people. As a result the heart of the city is a place to be observed rather than engaged with, which adds on to the emptiness of the character of this place.



Debbas Park



Gebran Khalil Garden

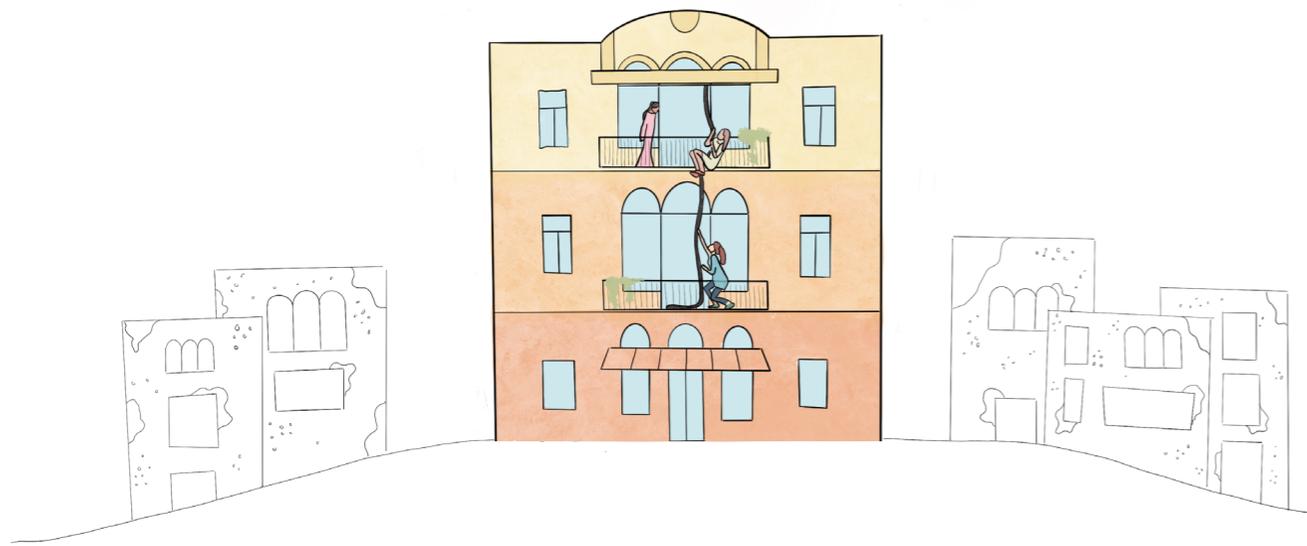
Illustration 13 Photos retrieved from Solidere



## RAS BEIRUT

From the heart of Beirut the stories continue to the 'top' of Beirut: Ras Beirut. A neighbourhood known for its exceptional tolerance, co-existence and the many intellectuals. One thing that has become clear from this neighbourhood is that it is different from any other neighbourhood in Beirut. As Kamal Rbeiz, the Mukhtar or head of the neighbourhood of Ras Beirut, said 'Even the sun in Ras Beirut is different!'

The neighbourhood is home to different communities mostly consisting of Greek-Orthodox Christians, Sunni Muslims as well as Druze. Even during the civil war Ras Beirut had a life of its own. It is said that "You have the Green Line, with East and West Beirut, and you have Ras Beirut". Many stories circulate about the ends 'Ahl Ras Beirut', or the families of Ras Beirut would go for each other by safeguarding each other. In the short documentary 'Memories of Ras Beirut - Wish You Were Here' (2006) by the film director Mahmoud Hojeij one of the interviewees tells the story of a building with Christian and Muslim families who made a deal. If a Christian militia raided the building, the Muslim Family would send their daughters to their Christian neighbour who would claim them as his daughters. And if a Muslim militia threatened the building, the Muslim family would do the same for the Christian family. These stories illustrate the deep bonds of trust and faith between the neighbours and their small fight against the fights of the sectarian civil war that is continuing to happen on other forms.



## THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

The open community of Ras Beirut developed an intellectual scene in the neighbourhood. From a small village of farmers, fishermen and craftsmen who lived on the outerpart of the city, Ras Beirut had transformed to a 'multi-confessional and transnational center of educational opportunity'. (Abunnasr, 2013, p.7)

It attracted the Anglo-American missionary Daniel Bliss to establish the Syrian Protestant Collage (SPC) in 1866, which later became the well-known American University of Beirut (AUB). The first buildings of the SPC outlined the built landscape of Ras Beirut for the next century.

"Though some argue that the College of Ras Beirut and others that Ras Beirut is the College, most agree that the founding SPC in Ras Beirut catalyzed its transformation into a center of transnational and cross-engagement that determined its mental and social make-up." (Abunassr, 2013, p.7)

The Mukhtar elaborates on this, by explaining how the AUB would not have prospered at other locations. The AUB was influential in the intellectual identity of Ras Beirut and in turn, Ras Beirut was influenced by the AUB and what it provided: space for intellectual expression and discussion; free thought and free speech that allowed for debates.



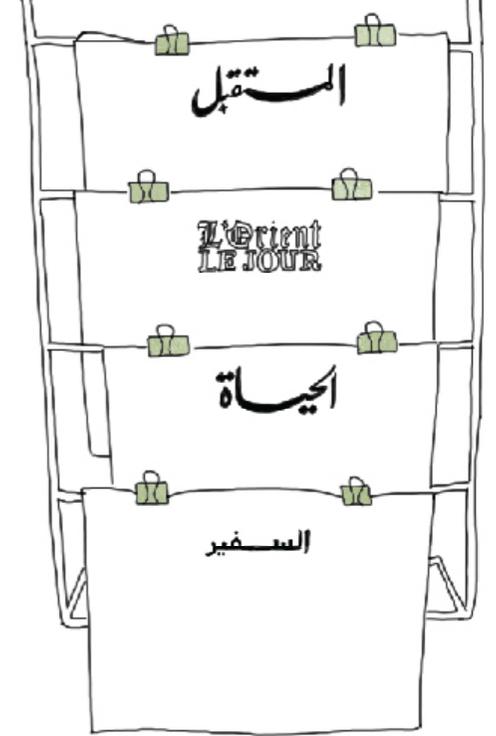
## THE GOLDEN AGE

The late 60s and 70s were the Golden years of Lebanese intellectual life. An example is that Beirut was a city where the press was free. Publishing houses printed books that publishers in other Arab cities did not dare to release. There is even a saying that goes: 'Cairo writes, Beirut publishes and Bagdad reads'. Even today in Lebanon one of the new initiatives during the protests was the launch of a newspaper by a group of people that would really be independent and part of the protests.

This intellectual scene was also visible in the urban fabric of the city. Like Bliss street opposite of the AUBs main gate, that was home to Faysals Restaurant which was the place to be for political figures, literary people, artists and the many students of the AUB. However, during the civil war it was closed and after that it became a MacDonalds.

Or Makhoul street were where artistic and cultural activities took place in the open air. The streets were used as public spaces to come together and talk.

The most important and prominent street however is Hamra Street which was the place for the intellectual cafe culture. The street was well known for its many cafes that were meeting places for politicians, activists, poets, writers, journalists, academics and artists. The most famous one being the Horseshoe cafe, which opened its doors in 1959 and became the first sidewalk cafe at Hamra and remained the centre of cafe culture until the late



80s together with and an example for many other cafes like Modka, Express and Strand. Later this cafe was turned into the British Coffeehouse chain Costa and the others followed as well. This change is also sensed in the following passage, shown on the next page, from Beirut, I Love You by Zena el Khalil.

This passage illustrates the extent of change inside this neighbourhood. Hamra was the centre of an active public sphere and functioned as a second home for students, writers and artists. However, Hamra has turned into a street that is not for the locals anymore, let alone for the writers, journalists and artists. The authentic street has given up its place almost turning into just another street in Beirut. The last sentence says it all: 'cheap-wares, expensive-wears, but mostly plastic-wares' illustrating the fakeness and ephemeral state of Hamra and with that of Beirut. Also it puts emphasis on the previous very cosmopolitan atmosphere of the street, which is now just cosmopolitan in terms of fashion and consumerism alone.

“ Hamra Street. Once the **centre of intellectual debate** in Beirut, now lined with up-to date fashion stores. The coffee shops that were the **centre of social revolutions** have one by one been replaced with huge multinational clothes stores. The coffee shops I sat in as a student are now filled with lycra and glittery sequence phantasmagoria. **There are stores that sell international fashions. Local fashions. And “made in China” fashions. There are cheap-wares, expensive-wares, but mostly there are plastic-wares** ”

“ Cairo writes, Beirut publishes  
and Bagdad reads. ”



Illustration 14 Photo retrieved from  
<https://17tashreen.com>

## CAFE CULTURE

This intellectual scene was also visible in the urban fabric of the city. Like Bliss street opposite of the AUBs main gate, that was home to Faysals Restaurant which was the place to be for political figures, literary people, artists and the many students of the AUB. However, during the civil war it was closed and after that it became a MacDonalDs.

Or Makhoul street were where artistic and cultural activities took place in the open air. The streets were used as public spaces to come together and talk.

The most important and prominent street however is Hamra Street which was the place for the intellectual cafe culture. The street was well know for its many cafes that were meeting places for politicians, activists, poets, writers, journalists, academics and artists. The most famous one being the Horseshoe cafe, which opened its doors in 1959 and became the first sidewalk cafe at Hamra and remained the centre of cafe culture until the late 80s together with and an example for many other cafes like Modka, Express and Strand. Later this cafe was turned into the British Coffeehouse chain Costa and the others followed as well. This change is also sensed in the following passage from Beirut, I Love You by Zena el Khalil:

"Hamra Street. Once the centre of intellectual debate in Beirut, now lined with up-to date fashion stores. The coffee shops that were the centre of social revolutions have one by one been replaced with huge multinational clothes stores. The coffee shops I sat in as a student are now filled with lycra and glittery sequence phantasmagoria. There are stores that sell international fashions. Local fashions. And "made in China" fashions. There are cheap-wares, expensive-wares, but mostly there are plastic-wares."

This passage illustrates the extend of change inside this neighbourhood. Hamra was the centre of an active public sphere and functioned as a second home for students, writers and artists. However, Hamra has turned into street that is not for the locals anymore, let alone for the writers, journalists and artists. The authentic street has given up its place almost turning into just another street in Beirut. The last sentence says it all: 'cheap-wares, expensive-wears, but mostly plastic-wares' illustrating the fakeness and ephemeral state of Hamra and with that of Beirut. Also it puts emphasis on the previous very cosmopolitan atmosphere of the street, which is now just cosmopolitan in terms of fashion and consumerism alone.



Illustrstion 15 Photos retrieved from LiveLoveBracelet



## BEIRUT WATERFRONT

The waterfront of Beirut has changed tremendously throughout the years. Historically, the waterfront served as a place for the public, although, after the civil war many parts of the waterfront have been privatised in both legal and illegal manner. The Mediterranean coastline has gravitated towards exclusive spaces such as resorts, restaurants and hotels that are far from accessible to a large part of the Lebanese population. (Karizat, 2020) The largest piece of private land functions as an industrial area for the port of Beirut. On the western side of the port lays the newly acclaimed seafront. This new addition of land is a direct result of the civil war and now part of Solidere's plan for Beirut Central District. During the civil war, the incinerator used to be located in the Eastern part of Beirut. Due to the dangers of crossing the demarcation line between East and West Beirut, all the garbage that was collected in the Western part of the city had to stay there. (Rowe and Sarkis, 1995) This resulted in a temporary garbage dump located between the St. George Bay and the Port Company, which was both used for the regular garbage, and for the debris and rubble from the destruction of the city. Eventually, this 600 000 square meter landfill has been used to reshape the new waterfront. (Khalaf, 2019)

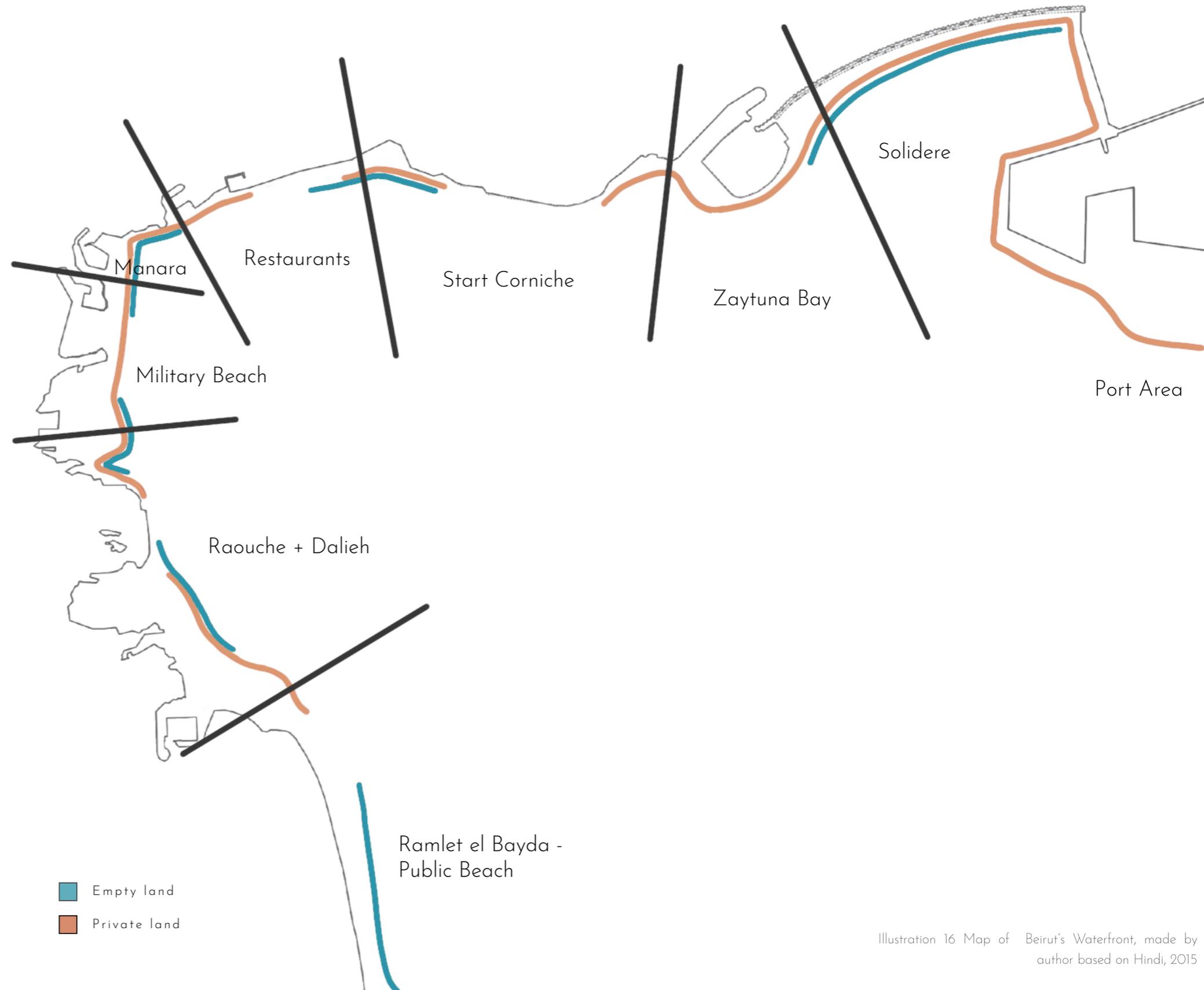


Illustration 16 Map of Beirut's Waterfront, made by author based on Hindi, 2015



## THE CORNICHE

Navigating more to the west of the waterfront, we find the start of one of Beirut's treasures; the Corniche. Although Beirut is not the most pedestrian friendly city, the Corniche is never empty of people walking along this seafront promenade. This main artery stretches from the neighbourhood of Ain el Mreisse up until Raouche and overlooks the Mediterranean with the Pigeon Rocks that are seen as a symbol of Beirut. This linear morphology of the Corniche, made it a place of passage with an incapacity of becoming a political platform, which in turn allowed it to be the only public space that persisted during the civil war. (Hindi, 2015)

Samir Khalaf, a Lebanese historian and sociologist, describes the Corniche as one of the only genuinely open space in Beirut that has evolved as a porous and vibrant public space. (Khalaf, 2019) Khalaf used to live in one of AUB's faculty apartments that overlook the Corniche, which allowed him to closely observe, document and be part of the activities and people the it attracts. "Various groups and users, representing virtually all sectors of society, have spontaneously evolved distinct but mutually compatible routines for maximising use of this scarce resource without encroaching on the needs and routines of others." (Khalaf, 2019) He continues to describe how each group of people uses the promenade at a different time in a different way. From the early birds in the morning jogging in the latest-fashion sport outfits to the late afternoon hyper-active after school kids, young men and woman, after work colleagues and street vendors with colourful eating stalls. The weekends and holidays attract their own set of people as well.

"It is instantly transformed into a boisterous picnic ground and amusement park. Families, parties of friends spread their mats, deck chairs, kitchen utensils next to their cars. They indulge their private fancies with much abandon as though the Corniche was as an extension of their backyards. [...] At night and often late into the early morning hours, the Corniche unfolds into an alluring, perhaps more lurid space; it becomes a lover's lane. As the raucous evening crowds fade away, the luscious tranquility of the sea front attracts yet another assorted motley of pleasure seekers: after-dinner crowds, young amorous couples, and some lascivious groups; generally those bereft of the privileges of private quarters or access to covert or guarded places of assignation. To many the Corniche becomes such an open but sheltered place. Its dark anonymous milieu shrouds its seekers with the needed cover. People drop their reserves and indulge their whims with more abandon."

- Samir Khalaf (2019)

This open space attached to the endless sea, provides an escape from the the city. It is the turning point between the tranquility of the Mediterranean and the chaos of Beirut. During my talk with Richard Pelgrim, a Dutch anthropologist who has lived in Beirut for over 13 years, the Corniche was not left unmentioned.

“ My favourite space is the corniche, along the water”, he told me. “I just really like the sea and the city right next to each other. And it feels like when you live in Hamra, it is the closest space to some natural sort of palm to look out at the sea and get into a different rhythm from the craziness. [...] For me there is a little restaurant, the light house on the corniche, the big new lighthouse. There is a big popular well known restaurant, but then tucked away on the right there is a little stairway that leads to a tiny little shed of a restaurant that a very few people know about with some really good argileh and a beautiful view over the sea, so that is one of my happy places. [...] It is tucked away and a bit of an escape from the hectic craziness and chaos. ”



Illustration 18 Photographs of Dalieh throughout the years, Dalieh Report (2014)

## DALIEH

Just like the stairway leading to the tiny shed where Richard finds his escape, so does the stairway leading to Dalieh create an escape for many Beirutis. The Dalieh of Raouche is a vast rocky area on the waterfront of Beirut that starts around the Pigeon Rocks and slopes down towards the Mediterranean. In Arabic, the name Dalieh refers back to any plant that hangs down, which in a crowded city like Beirut, is usually to be found on roof terraces where families, friends and neighbours come together to mark the end of a workday. (Dalieh Report, 2014) This name could not be more fitting, since Dalieh has served as an 'open access shared space for a variety of city dwellers'. (Dalieh Report, 2014) For decades, Dalieh welcomed all who have lost access to the sea due to restrictive entrance fees elsewhere on the waterfront. (Karizat, 2020) Different social groups use the area for a variety of activities ranging from swimming, diving, having picnics or yoga classes. But also grand festivities like Nowruz which is yearly celebrated by the Kurdish community on these rocky slopes. It is indeed a place for all, and as the long-time fisherman Abu Abid says: "Everywhere you look you will see lovers; they sit on the rocks staring out the sea and at each other. They have no place to go, so they come here." (Saksouk-Sasso, 2015)

The Dalieh of Raouche is surrounded by one of the most expensive real estate areas of Beirut with luxurious residences and hotels. If we were to take a section of Dalieh with the area behind it, the contrast would be visible on every level, from the character of the space to the literal difference in morphology.

Likewise, the Pigeon Rocks next to Dalieh are represented in a different manner due to their monumental state for not only Beirut, but Lebanon as a whole. This area of Beirut is heavily advertised as one of the symbols of the city. Even though geographically Dalieh is part of this area and however important her sloped rocks are for a large part of the population, they do not appear in the official pictorial representations of the city, but rather only in family pictures and memories.

"None of these vibrant and diverse activities on Beirut's seashore appear in publicity images of an empty and sanitised Rock or Raouche. Indeed, these promotional representations erase everyday life, and the possibility of a public. As a lived space [Lefebvre], Dalieh, with its local and alternative forms of tourism, is an asset to the city at large. Yet it is invisible in official narratives of Beirut's history and present." (Saksouk-Sasso, 2015)

This deliberate invisibility makes it easier for higher officials to neglect or even erase the existence of the diverse narratives that are part of Dalieh.

## SPACE FOR THE PUBLIC

Even though Dalieh is used by the public, it is not an official public space for it has a long history of private owners making it a precarious space. Unfortunately, Dalieh is being threatened by these private companies that want to turn one of the last remaining naturally preserved shoreline into yet another exclusive development. Not only does this result in people losing a valuable and inclusive public space, but moreover, it leads to people losing their homes. While for many Dalieh is an outdoor leisure destination, for some it serves as their workplace and residence. Dalieh is home to two traditional fishermen's ports since the 1950s. Ten of these fishermen's families used to live in kiosks on the rocks of Dalieh, however, today only two of these families were allowed to stay there and all others were evicted after which their homes were bulldozed. (Dalieh Report, 2014) The words of Abu Abid, illustrate the strong relationship the fishermen have with the sea:

"The sea has provided wood and other materials for the major part of my house. Everything you see except for the metal doors and the zinc roof has drifted in from the sea, and it will return to the sea as the waves reach here."

As a reaction to the threats of the private development, a group of individual as well as non-governmental organisations started 'The Civil Campaign to Protect the Dalieh of Raouche'. This campaign was created to "advocate for the preservation and enhancement of the role of Dalieh as an open-access shared space for all city dwellers and visitors." (Dalieh Report, 2014)

" The sea has provided wood and other materials for the major part of my house. Everything you see except for the metal doors and the zinc roof has drifted in from the sea, and it will return to the sea as the waves reach here."

They do not only aim for the preservation of the space for the community, but are also committed to protecting the ecological value of the area. Dalieh has served as a platform for representing the low-income groups of Beirut as a legitimate part of the city and her society. Therefore this civil campaign views Dalieh as an important space to imagine the possibilities of reclaiming Beirut and to focus on the rights her people have over her. (Saksouk-Sasso, 2014)



Illustration 19 Poster from the Civil Campaign to Protect the Dalieh of Raouche, the slogan states: "Lift Your Warshi Off Our Rawshi" (warshi meaning construction site). Saksouk-Sasso, A. (2015). [Poster Civil Campaign]. In Making Spaces for Communal Sovereignty: the Story of Beirut's Dalieh.



## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to unfold and understand the various narratives that are connected to Beirut. When I started this project I was searching for the one true essence of this city. However, as the research continued, it became inevitably clear that it was not really about the one true essence, but rather about finding what all these different layers bring forward. The stories in this booklet are an extraction of the tremendous amount of stories kept with their owners. They are the pieces of the mosaic of Beirut.

This research has shown how diverse and valuable all these stories are, and how each one of them presents a conclusion that contributes to our understanding of Beirut. By documenting and analysing these different stories their meaning is defined; they can be the cause of certain events or the outcome of it.

Each layer provided a different insight on Beirut and taught a lesson or more that could be implemented in the design. The first layer showed that people in Beirut are missing the authentic space and spirit of the old souk, when people were connected with each other which generated a feeling of belonging somewhere or to someone. This layer also puts emphasis on the constant difference between the governments approach of erasing and forgetting, and the peoples approach of remembering and belonging.

When translating this to the design, it illustrates the importance of having a place to connect with other people, in this case like they did in 'old times'.

The second layer proved how Downtown has several open spaces, but they hold no specific meaning and neither have specific function. Martyrs Square is one of those places that have lost their initial meaning and function over time, and instead, became an empty place in the city. Martyrs square serves as an example of the many spaces throughout the city that are either left to their fate or are changed in such a way, that they have lost their actual meaning and value.

For the next steps towards the design this means that the value of certain buildings should be preserved, because it is part of the collective memory. Otherwise, these spaces are just an illusion of what they once were or could be, like the concert of Fairouz as seen by Nikolah.

The third layer illustrated the extend of change inside the neighbourhood of Ras Beirut. Hamra was the centre of an active public sphere and functioned as a second home for students, writers and artists among others. However, due to the gentrification of the neighbourhood this home has been taken away.

The intellectual scene has always been present in Beirut and is in need of spaces to manifest itself even more. These spaces can act as a catalyst for the creation of a new form of public gathering for people to exchange thoughts and ideas.

One of the most loved and valued spaces in Beirut is the Corniche. It provides a space for a large diversity of people without them interfering with one another. People use it to find refuge in this area of tranquility between the city and the sea.

Translating this fourth layer as well to the design, it shows that amid all what is happening the city, her people need a place to take a step back.

Apart from the conclusions that each layer illustrates on her own, this research defines the importance of understanding the narratives on Beirut that are not fixed and it gives insight in the various ways of unfolding them, be it through talks, novels, songs or any other form of sharing a story.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abunnasr, Maria B., "The Making of Ras Beirut: A Landscape of Memory for Narratives of Exceptionalism" (2013). Open Access Dissertations. 776. <https://doi.org/10.7275/4ykj-qv59> [https://scholarworks.umass.edu/open\\_access\\_dissertations/776](https://scholarworks.umass.edu/open_access_dissertations/776)

Barakat, H. (2004). *The Tiller of Waters*. American University in Cairo Press.

Dados, N. (2009). Revisiting Martyrs' Square ... again: Absence and Presence in Cultural Memory. In L. B. Lambert & A. Ochsner (Eds.), *Moment to Monument: The Making and Unmaking of Cultural Significance* (pp. 169-181). Bielefeld; New Brunswick, NJ: Transcript.

ElKhalil, Z. (2009). *Beirut I Love You* (First Edition). Saqi Books.

Haugbolle, S. (2010). *War and Memory in Lebanon*. Cambridge University Press.

Hayek, G. (2014). *Beirut, Imagining the City*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Karizat, Nadia (2019). "The Story of Public Space in Beirut's Geography of Power," *Agora Journal of Urban Planning and Design*, 36-45. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/154726DeepBlueDeepBlue.lib.umich.edu>

Khalaf, S. (2019, February 8). The corniche of Ras Beirut: A porous and vibrant public space. *Annahar.Com*. <https://www.annahar.com/notfound.html>

MAKING SPACES FOR COMMUNAL SOVEREIGNTY: THE STORY OF BEIRUT'S DALIEH Author(s):  
Abir Saksouk-Sasso  
Source: *The Arab Studies Journal*, Fall 2015, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Fall 2015), pp. 296-318 Published by: Arab Studies Institute  
Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44744909>

MEMORIES OF RAS BEIRUT – WISH YOU WERE HERE. (2015, July 5). [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OkArIT6nbsw>

Monumentality in a Divided City: the Case of the Martyrs' square, Beirut leBanon (Master's dissertation). (2012, July). <https://edepot.wur.nl/222951>

ON THE MAKING OF PUBLIC SPACES IN BEIRUT (Master's dissertation). (2015, July). [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi-9LjJwqfuAhWBzaQKHcO1DtgQFjAAegQIARAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdeposit.ub.edu%2Fdspace%2Fbitstream%2F2445%2F66975%2F1%2FNADINE\\_HINDI\\_PhD\\_THESIS.pdf&usq=AOvVaw2DGKunlTPPJtCx\\_vQExwf8](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi-9LjJwqfuAhWBzaQKHcO1DtgQFjAAegQIARAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fdeposit.ub.edu%2Fdspace%2Fbitstream%2F2445%2F66975%2F1%2FNADINE_HINDI_PhD_THESIS.pdf&usq=AOvVaw2DGKunlTPPJtCx_vQExwf8)

Rowe, P. G., & Sarkis, H. (1995). *Open City: Rebuilding Beirut's Waterfront*. Harvard Graduate School of Design.

Saad, E. (n.d.). [History of names Martyrs Square]. Park to Parking. <https://patrimoinedorient.org>

Saksouk-Sasso, A. (2015). MAKING SPACES FOR COMMUNAL SOVEREIGNTY: THE STORY OF BEIRUT'S DALIEH. *The Arab Studies Journal*, 23(1), 296-318. Retrieved January 19, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44744909>

Stead, N., Gosseye, J., & Plaat, V. D. (2019). *Speaking of Buildings: Oral History in Architectural Research*. Princeton Architectural Press

The Civil Campaign to Protect the dalieh of raouche. (2014). <https://Dalieh.org>

The Story of Public Space in Beirut's Geography of Power. Available from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341685581\\_The\\_Story\\_of\\_Public\\_Space\\_in\\_Beirut's\\_Geography\\_of\\_Power](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341685581_The_Story_of_Public_Space_in_Beirut's_Geography_of_Power).

Tuéni, G., & Sassine, F. (Eds.). (2000). *El Bourj: Place de la liberté et porte du Levant*. Beirut: Dar al-Nahar.