

## **The Souk in the Islamic City between Power and Organization of Space**

**Nour Eddine Nachouane**

Mohammed V University of Rabat

**Aicha Knidiri**

Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech

**Abstract:** The souk is considered as a symbolic space which shows the economic importance of the biggest medieval cities. The importance of its physical form, as well as its concentration and the differentiation of its industrial activities elucidate the economic and cultural influence of the medieval cities and indicates the degree of their political power. In fact, the administrative structuring of trades and the economic activity's control were inseparable from a traditional organization manifesting the intrinsic relationship between urbanity and the presence of power.

Through this article, and from a large work that we realized about the medieval cities of Islamic foundation such as Marrakech, Granada, Seville or Murcia, we will analyze the importance of tradition and Islamic jurisprudence in the formation of the areas and the management of commercial and industrial institutions.

**Keywords:** Souk, Islamic City, Patrimony, Tourism.

### **Introduction**

The medina is a labyrinthine for only those who have not tried to detect the specific logic of its organization.<sup>1</sup> The clear separation of housing districts and the functional differentiation of their souks and craft is an indication of a specific system's existence. Due to the differentiation functionality of these neighborhoods as well as their articulation within an urban, religious and cultural space testifies of a global organization of this latter.

The souk in the Islamic medina is the spatial expression of the economic and social system of living together and coexistence. An original territorial configuration, considered as a tangible heritage by its architecture, which also contains an intangible dimension, concretized in its organization of relationships and established conventions. Therefore, it is the place of orality by excellence where the material and immaterial aspects intersect together to give life to a single heritage phenomenon.

The aim of this article is to show the importance of the Islamic laws in the formation of space and in the control of commercial institutions. The souk, marked by an administrative structuring of trades and a control of economic

---

1. Mohamed Sebtí, Youssef Courbag et Anne Claire Kurzac Souali, *Gens de Marrakech, Géodémographie de la ville rouge* (Paris: Éditions de l'INED, 2009).

activities that were inseparable from a traditional organization, represents a case of study of the intrinsic character of the relationship between urbanity and the presence of power. Nowadays, it is a symbolic space that shows the economic importance of the medieval cities and an heritage open to tourism development. The article will also try to discuss those issues, essentially in three cities of study, Marrakech, Granada, and Murcia, in light of the evolution of historic centers, dynamics and strategies for safeguarding the heritage.

### **The Medina: in Search of a Model**

Building a model plan for the Muslim city was the concern of many researchers who were divided into two groups. The first one led by early Orientalists such as Von Grunebaum who consider that the Islamic city is the fruit of arbitrariness in reference to the Greco-Roman city.<sup>2</sup> For them the Islamic city is a chaotic set of winding streets, dead ends, and an enigmatic city without any aesthetic effort. For the second group, represented by the works of the Marçais and Sauvaget brothers, Islam is primarily an urban religion<sup>3</sup> that gave birth to a civilization whose essence was its cities.<sup>4</sup>

It was even highlighted that it would be more appropriate to speak of “eastern city” than Islamic one.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the expansion of Islam has contributed decisively to the spread of this kind of city, appeared early in the ancient East, then throughout the Muslim world. Three specific physical qualities of the Islamic city can be designated: the differentiation between shopping and residential areas, the segregation of residential neighborhoods in accordance with the ethical factor, the hierarchy of shops in the souk by putting noble and clean crafts around the mosque.

To this, we can add other essential components of the city: the Friday Mosque, the market, and the public baths<sup>6</sup> which made of the city a land of exchange and commerce.

The formation of the Islamic city starts with a citadel, which is often located in a place of natural defense where a city or royal district could exist.<sup>7</sup> Then there

---

2. Gustave Von Grunebaum, “The structure of The Muslim Town,” in *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, ed. Von Grunebaum (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), 141-58.

3. William Marçais, “L’islamisme et la vie urbaine,” in *Articles et conférences* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1961), 59-68.

4. Jean Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d’une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1941).

5. Eugene Wirth, “Villes islamiques, villes arabes, villes orientales? Une problématique face au changement,” in *La ville arabe dans l’Islam*, eds. A. Boudhiba et D. Chevallier (Tunis-Paris: CERES-CNRS, 1982), 193-225.

6. Jacques Berque, *Maghreb, Histoire et sociétés* (Gembloux-Alger: J. Duculot-S.N.E.D., 1974).

7. Albert Hourani, “The Islamic City,” in A.M. Hourani et S.M. Stern, *The Islamic City* (Oxford-Philadelphie: Cassirer-University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

is a central urban complex, which would include mosques, *madāris*,<sup>8</sup> and central markets with its *funduq*<sup>9</sup> and *qīṣāriyya-s*.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, there is the residential quarters that had at least two characteristics: the combination according to the ethnic or religious differentiation and the autonomy of each district or group of neighborhoods. Finally, in the fifth place, there are the suburbs and the extramural districts where newly arrived immigrants settle.

In Iranian cities, most Islamic town had four main functions that are physically manifested in: (1) the governmental authority, represented by the palace or the citadel; (2) the religious and intellectual life, represented by mosques and *madāris*; (3) the economic exchange that took place in the souks, *qīṣāriyya-s* and caravanserais (4) and the residential neighborhoods, occupied by the urban population.<sup>11</sup>

From what we have advanced and through our study of the medieval metropolises of Islamic foundations, Marrakech, Grenada or Murcia, we can confirm the common characteristic of the three fundamental aspects presented by Wilboux in his work about the medina of Marrakech: centrality, the privatization of spaces, and the specialization of spaces.<sup>12</sup> It is a concentric structure where neighborhoods are organized in concentric circles, from the great mosque to the periphery. Placed in the center, the Great Mosque plays a central role in the city, essentially for the organization of the nearby souk, always placed nearby the religious pole or power. Just after the souk which is structured in streets specialized in trade and crafts, the city is expanded in rings with a strong personality of residential neighborhoods and a gradual transition of public spaces through dead ends belonging of extended family cells grouped gathered in private houses.

---

8. *Madrasa* (in Arabic: مدرسة, pl. مدارس, *madāris*), is a Muslim theological university. Originally a *madrasah* is an educational institution (nearly like medieval universities) founded for the first time around the fifth century of the Hegira (in the twelfth century of the Christian era) to ensure religious higher education and disseminate Sunni doctrines. Usually, the students were housed in the school, and *waqf* services took care of them to enable them to devote themselves to their studies. Another of their characteristics is that teachers were appointed by the state.

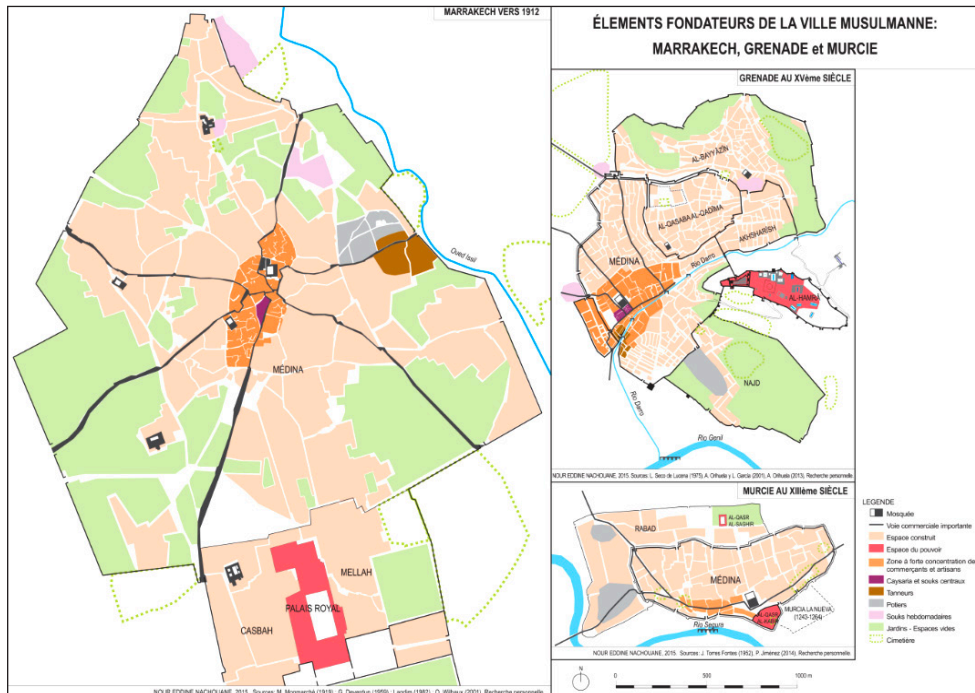
9. The *fondouks* are public establishments, open near the markets either by private individuals or by *habous* to shelter travelers and their animals.

10. It is the Arabic term *al-qaysariyya* which gave in Castilian the word *alcaiceria*; it comes from the Greek *kaisareia*, derived from the Latin *caesar*, initially designating an imperial market or *Caesar*. This denomination alludes to the Emperor Justinian, who granted the Arab people the right to trade in silk.

Voir Leopoldo Torres Balbas, "Alcaiceria," in *Al Andalus XIV* (1949): 431-55.

11. Gaub Heinz, *Iranian Cities*, Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization (New York: New York University Press, 1979).

12. Quentin Wilboux, *La médina de Marrakech. Formation des espaces urbains d'une ancienne capitale du Maroc* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2002).



**Fig. 1:** Founding elements of the Islamic city Marrakech Granada and Murcia, (Sources: J.Torres Fontes (1952), P.Jimenez (2014), Enquête personnelle).

### The Souk in Islamic Cities: Organization and Governance

Before addressing all the components of the Muslim souk, it seems indispensable to make some preliminary remarks: the Western translation of the term souk by market makes an imperfectly definition. The word souk comes from the Akkadian *sūq*, which meant vaguely “the streets and all public roads.” It would have been taken up in Aramaic in the form of *sūq* to mean street and place, as well as to translate “the Hellenistic and Roman concept of agora-forum.”<sup>13</sup> In Arabic, this term would have been used to designate originally “the place where one drove (*sāqa*, *yasūqu*) the animals he wanted to sell.”<sup>14</sup> In the pre-Islamic Arabia *aswāq al-‘Arab* meant periodic fairs taking place, sometimes simultaneously, during the sacred months devoted to pilgrimages.<sup>15</sup> If the market fulfills a purely economic function, the souk arises as a complex legal, social, political and even religious institution that serves mainly economic purposes.<sup>16</sup> In addition to its primary destination as a place where commercial transactions take

13. Maxime Rodinson, “Préface,” in Pedro Chalmeta, *El señor del zoco en España* (Madrid: Instituto hispano-arabe de cultura, 1973), XV-LXIX.

14. Ibn Mandūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol.X (Bayrūth: Dār Šādīr, 1956), 166; et reprise par Thierry Bianquis et Pierre Guichard (1998), 820. (T. Bianquis et P.Guichard, 1998, “Sūq,” *Encyclopédie de l’Islam* 2, n° IX, (Leyde: Brill), 820-23.

15. Chalmeta, *El señor del zoco*.

16. Marçais, “L’islamisme,” 59-68.

place, it can be defined as a place where merchants of the city meet, exchange ideas and deal with legal and social matters.

The souk in the Islamic city is a very identifiable architectural complex with a monumental character perceived as an indicator of urbanity in the hierarchy of the city's system.<sup>17</sup> The importance of the physical form and the concentration and differentiation of industrial activities inform about the economic and cultural influence of a medieval city and indicates the degree of its political influence of power.

As already mentioned, the souk occupies the center, and in the absence of a public monument (communal palace, *palazzo pubblico*) or a main square that precisely mark the urban center, as was the case in the Western medieval and modern cities, the network of specialized souks defined the heart of Arab cities. Enclosed in the markets (Tunis, Aleppo) or backed by them (Algiers, Cairo, Damascus), the large mosques offered their open courtyards or prayer halls as a meeting place for the people visiting the souk and the city's population.<sup>18</sup> It is indeed there that many collective movements were prepared and started, making of the souk and the nearby mosque a central district of cultural, political and religious activities.

The souk as a central district, which generally has an architectural unit consisting of alleys lined with stalls and caravanserais, combining the wholesale trade and the retail trade.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the souk was differentiated from the living quarters by the frequent presence of relatively wide arteries leading to the gates of the city and allowing the passage of goods and mounts.

Within the souk also, the term serves to denominate where alleys, workshops and shops of the same trade gather, for example souk of the carpenters (*sūq al-najjārīn*). In fact, the toponymic identification of each souk could also refer to the particular social background formed by trades. Each trade occupying a particular street, its toponym ceases to have only technical meaning and indicate three complementary realities: (1) the market where the craftsmen and the traders carrying out this activity were assembled, (2) the professional corporation which regrouped them, and which was centered on this geographical point, and finally, (3) the place itself.<sup>20</sup> Starting from the great mosque, the center of the souk, the craftsmen group themselves while respecting the hierarchy of trades imposed by the law and the jurisprudence. One finds first the noble crafts, souk *al- 'aṭṭārīn*, the

17. Frank Mermier, "Souk et citadinité dans le monde arabe," in *L'urbain dans le monde musulman de Méditerranée*, dir. Jean-Luc Arnaud (Paris: Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain - Maisonneuve & Larose, 2005), 81-99.

18. André Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Paris: Sindbad, 1985), 241-2, 336.

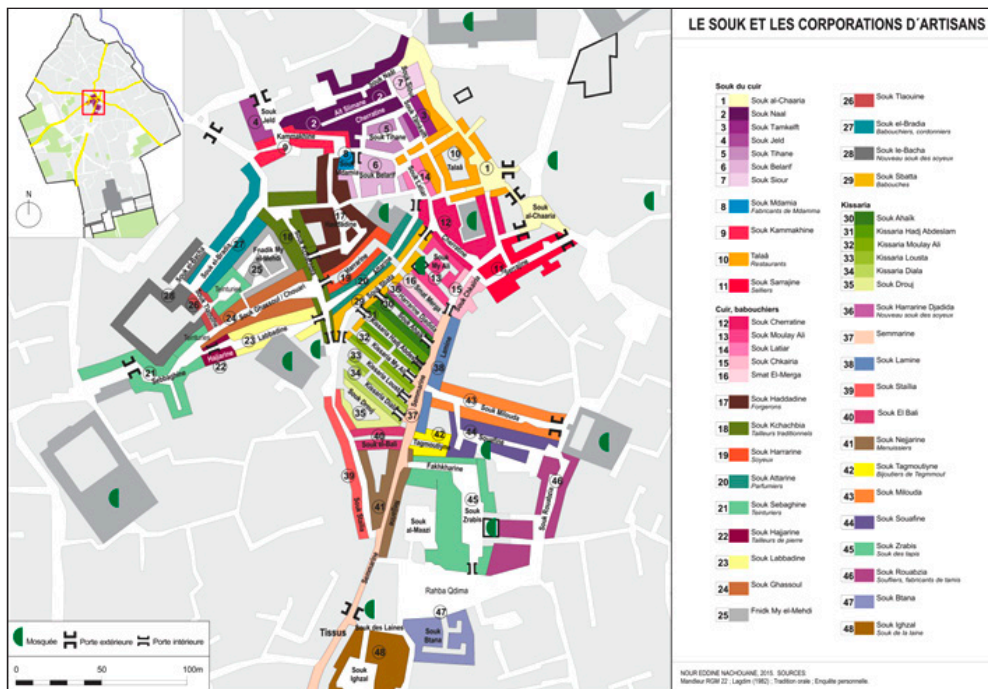
19. Wirth, "Villes islamiques," 193-225.

20. Raymond, *Grandes villes*.

perfumers, also Souk *as-sarrājīn*, specialized in the manufacture of the saddles then on the periphery were repressed polluting trades, like potters, brick makers, lime kilns and tanneries.

The souk has a strong professional specialization and a marked concentration. Settling in a single place for craftsmanship or commerce exercising the same activity is a traditional feature of the organization of work in Muslim cities that ends up being a legal obligation. Each trade occupies a particular street whose name is attached to it.

It is also important to highlight that outside the souk’s enclosure, there is spaces related to it at the level of governance and are intended for a predominantly rural customer base. The activities in those places, often located next to the main gates of the city, are at the service of visitors unfamiliar to urban rites or too weighed down to penetrate further into the city. They are generally close to the main fondouks for travelers and caravans. The souk of blacksmiths of Bāb al-khmīs is a living testimony of this tradition in the city of Marrakech.



**Fig. 2:** The great souk of Marrakech and the craftsman’s corporation.  
 (Sources: A.Mandleur (1972); M B.Lagdīm Soussi, (1982); Enquête personnelle).

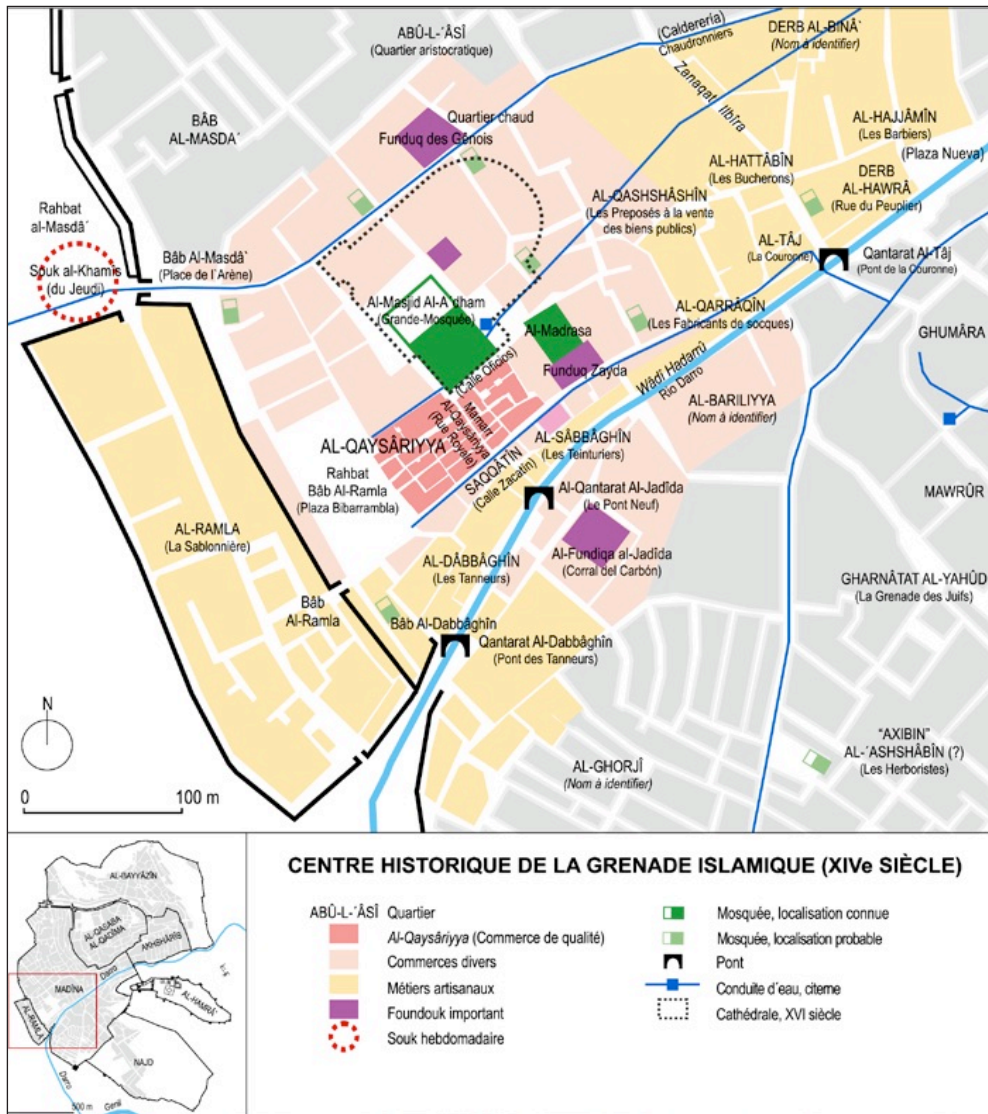


Fig. 3: Localization of the souk in the historic center of Granada in the Islamic era, (© Hamid Triki, 2015).

Another element that comes out in the structure of the souk in these three Islamic towns of our case study is the *qīṣāriyya*. In Granada, it is built next to the great mosque, and belonged to the authorities. The *qīṣāriyya* was the heart of the trade of luxury goods and fabric.<sup>21</sup> The medina of Murcia also had this commercial institution, the Murcian *Alcaiceria*, which was a controlled building that belonged to the sovereign. It was accessible by one or more doors, open only during commerce hours. It was always supervised by guards, because it was intended for the storage and sale of luxury goods.<sup>22</sup> The documentation tells us

21. Isac Angel, *Historia urbana de Granada* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2007).

22. Pedro Jimenez Castillo, "Murcia desde la antigüedad al Islam" (Thèse pour obtenir le grade de docteur, Université de Grenade, 2013), 790.

that it was located in the east of the city, and was destroyed during the creation of the Jewish quarter by Alphonse X. In Marrakech, the oral tradition, the toponymy and the aerial photography of 1948 attest of the existence of a *qaysaria* right next to the great Ben Yousef mosque. Unfortunately, the lack of deep historical and archaeological research as well as the detailed information about this place is deficient.

### **The Islamic Laws: the Formation of Souk and the Control of the Institution**

Since the very beginning, Muslim canon law has contained a commercial legislation related to the control of the markets named the *ḥisba*,<sup>23</sup> a power that is eminently belong to the Caliph, but capable of being delegated. Theoretically, the *ḥisba* is being able to “do good and forbid evil,” it is a control of the exchanges’ morality happening in the souk. All the souks are under the responsibility of *Muḥtasib*, who is the representative of the public authority. He had to monitor the weights and measures, punish fraud, and settle disputes as well as to ensure the morality of markets, the maintenance of streets, and the good circulation of the tracks. Its function is mostly characterized by combining its market control task with a wider religious function of maintaining good social behavior.<sup>24</sup>

The work of the *Muḥtasib* is to frequently review weights and scales, to detect fraud and to prohibit fixed prices. He faces the cornering (*iḥtikār*) and forbids going out of the city gates to buy at low cost from the caravan (*talāqī rukbān wa ta’rod*).<sup>25</sup> The *Muḥtasib* was the chief of economic affairs; he had the power to confiscate, to order prison sentences and fines or even the *tatwif*<sup>26</sup> punishment.

Each trade was under the responsibility of the *Amīn*. The corporations<sup>27</sup> are closed and their staff is limited to avoid unemployment and bankruptcy and ensure that each of its members has the amount of work that will allow him to live. The *Amīn* represents them towards the public authorities; he is responsible

23. A *ḥisba* or *ḥisbah* (in Arabic: حِسْبَة, calculation, verification) is the Islamic principle designating the duty of ordering the good and prohibiting the evil (*al-’amr bi al-ma’rūf wa an-nahy ’ani al-munkar*). By extension, it also refers to the institution responsible for implementing the *ḥisba* and whose members are then called *muḥtasib*.

24. Claude Cahen et Mohamed Talbi, “Ḥisba,” in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, vol.II (Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1990), 503-5.

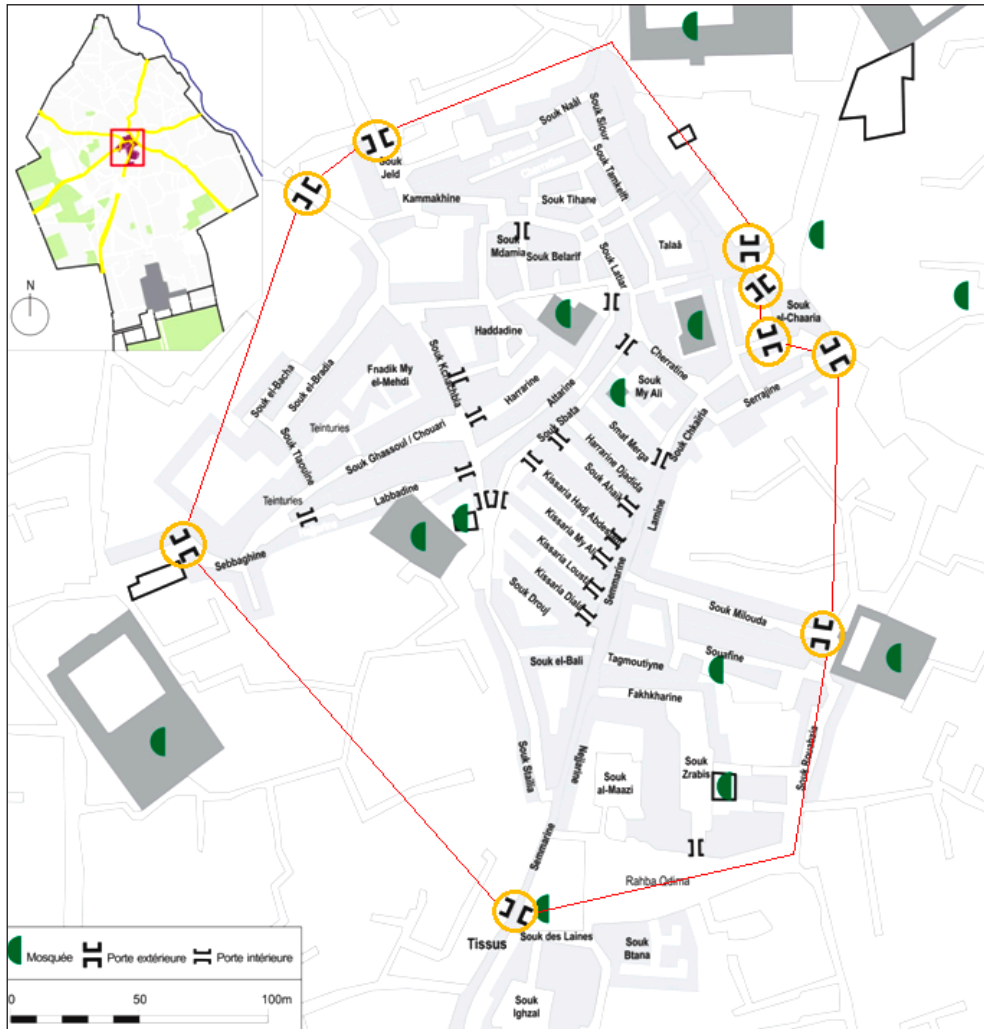
25. Louis Massignon, “Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d’artisans et de commerçants (1923-1924),” *Revue du monde musulman* 58 (1924): 1-250.

26. According to Massignon, this punishment consists in charging the delinquent with his offense (falsified butter, things sold above weight) and walking it across the city and on the souks, forcing him to confess his fault aloud, then the one who had suffered it had only one resource: to leave the country.

27. The corporation is governed by a custom (*urf*) that represent a constitution (*dustūr*) based on the right price (reprobation of the usury), strike in case of insufficient price on the good work, ensures by the jealous guard of the secrets in formulas and of manufacture. In Morocco, the corporation which bears the name of *ḥinṭa* is all the masters of workmen and apprentices practicing in the same city the same profession directed by a chief.



of the actions of his colleagues, and this responsibility is collective with regard to defects and fraud. The organization of commercial transactions in the souks at time imposed that all wealth created must give one tenth of its value to the Muslim community. Manufactured objects, carpets, local fabrics, oriental slipper, clothes, etc. are sold by a *Dallāl*, town crier, in the presence of the ' *Amīn* of the corporation on a fixed location. Two ' *Adūl*<sup>28</sup> draw up the deed of sale, and the clerk of rights collects one-tenth of the price and gives a receipt in the form of card (*Biṭāqa*).

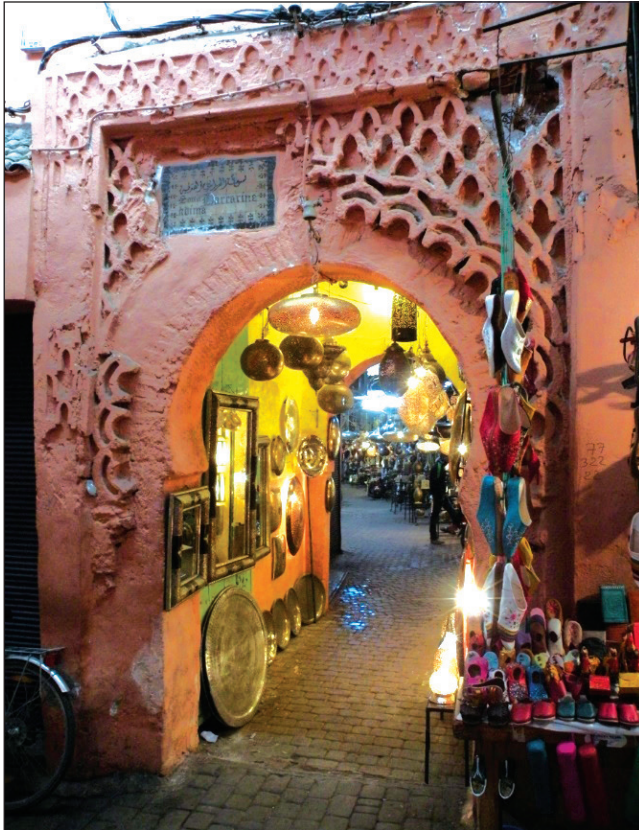


**Fig. 4:** The location of side and main gates that form a closed loop within the souk of Marrakech, (© Nour Eddine Nachouane, 2015).

Once arrived at its fullness, with warehouse and industry, the souk is the center of crystallization of a new society based on the division of labor and the

28. Auxiliary judges, they fulfill the role of registry and notary and are responsible for recording statements and judgments.

complementarities between trades. The strong stable organization on those souks ensures insurance and security and the market becomes a city in the city. The accesses where the doors form a loop allow a better management of the souk and show the rigid organization and control of the souk in the medina of Marrakesh. These main doors are reinforced, within the souk by doors separating the trades and creating limits respected by the craftsmen. These doors identified during our field trips to the medina of Marrakech are called *fhal*.



**Fig. 5:** Picture showing the deterioration of the Side doors of the souk of Marrakech, (© authors).

Those gates are places of control and organization, which make of the souk a place subdivided into several markets and places. The fat market (*qā'a*), reserved for the trade of oil, butter, honey, etc...; the grain market (*rāḥba*) stands in a large square and placed under the supervision of an 'Amīn appointed by the Sultan and who receives the market rights; the raw wool market (*sūq al-ṣūf*) and that of wool spun (*sūq al-ghzl*), etc. In addition to these different souks, each district in the Medina always has a *Swīqa*, one or more mosques, hammams, communal oven and a *mūqaf*, the labor market.

The laws that govern the procurement and the sale, the gates that protect and control access to the souk and the distribution that regulates the layout of the space have made the Muslim city a thoughtful, harmonious and efficient

ecosystem. However, with the arrival of the French protectorate, the medinas of Morocco experienced a new judicial model, which made us forget about the traditional functions of *Muhtasib*, *Amīn*, *Adūl*, etc. This has led to the decadence of corporations, the opening of the souk's borders and the unfair competition of European products, accentuating in this way the degradation of the traditional structures.

### **Souk, between Cultural Heritage and Tourism Development**

The historical analysis of the three medieval cities, Marrakech, Granada and Murcia shows that the spatial organization obeys some Islamic rules, laws, and respects a logic that is based on the centrality, specialization and hierarchy of spaces. However, urban transformations have been different in both shores. The two Spanish cities have undergone profound changes. The Christian conquest, the urban structure has been transformed to adapt to new political, religious, cultural, and social concepts. In the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the main instrument of urban intervention, extension plans or internal reform, was the marginalization of historic areas leading to the loss of heritage, especially the legacy of the Islamic era. Murcia has been able to keep some of its wall from its past, while Granada has preserved many of its Arab Muslim legacy, including the Alhambra, the corral del carbon, alcaiceria and many other historical monuments.



**Fig. 6:** Alcaiceria of Granada transformed into a trade fair, (© authors).

Marrakech, on the other hand, has undergone significant social and economic changes, because it was settled in the background by the protectorate authorities. To sum up, after the independence, the historic city could not escape, like other old urban centers, a gradual degradation that was made in three phases. The abandonment of the Medina by the French colonizing authorities, the departure of wealthy social classes to the “modern European” city and the rural exodus and massive arrival of rural people leading to a mismanagement and a development of urban fabrics that do not respect the specificity of the medina. Consequently, and starting from the 1960s, wealthy families start invading Guéliz neighborhoods fleeing an “archaic” living environment, more and more prey to what they consider “hordes of countrymen not knowing how to live.” Gradually, the medina a “shantytown,” is fragmented, degraded, denied, and no longer recognized.<sup>29</sup> These changes led to a strong impoverishment of the neighborhoods of the medina and its souks.

The souks, as pointed out by several authors, were losing more and more their function of manufacturing and regional trade to metamorphose, brutally or progressively, into commercial arteries on a national and international scale, with a change of its physiognomy and a sophistication of shops and some boutiques into bazaars.

The historical space and specialized souks are involved in the implementation of activities related to visitor consumption. Souvenir shops and tourist catering tend to monopolize the business premises of these areas of the city. The example of Granada is eloquent on this subject; the oriental aspect which dominates the imaginary of the visitors incited the private actors to give to the tourists elements that are easily detected, the cafes restaurants and the tourist trade with “Alhambresque” decorations. For instance, Marrakech does not escape from this rule since we are witnessing a staging of medieval traditional practices<sup>30</sup> such as charm and talisman manufacturers, women making Argan oil in front of tourists, etc. The commercial success of these activities encourages shops like this to develop invading the medina with this artificial workspace. A picture of the urban life whose contemplation must arouse the enchantment of tourists as well as the absence of any legislation for the preservation of trades and the use of premises contribute to this anarchy.

---

29. Ahmed Skounti, “Marrakech: patrimoine versus “élitisation.” Processus de patrimonialisation, pauvreté et gestion de la médina,” in *Unesco, Patrimoine et Développement durable dans les villes historiques du Maghreb. Enjeux, Diagnostics et recommandations*, eds. Pini Daniele, Abdelkafi Jallal, Balbo Marcello et al. (Rabat: Bureau de l’Unesco à Rabat, 2004), 143-56. [Actes du Symposium international Fès 2003. Patrimoine et développement durable dans les centres historiques urbains, Fès, 8-20 décembre 2003].

30. The image of the wood turner using his feet is an example that shows a falsification of reality through the highlighting of an activity that is no longer used in the field of wood craftsmen especially with the appearance of electric engine.

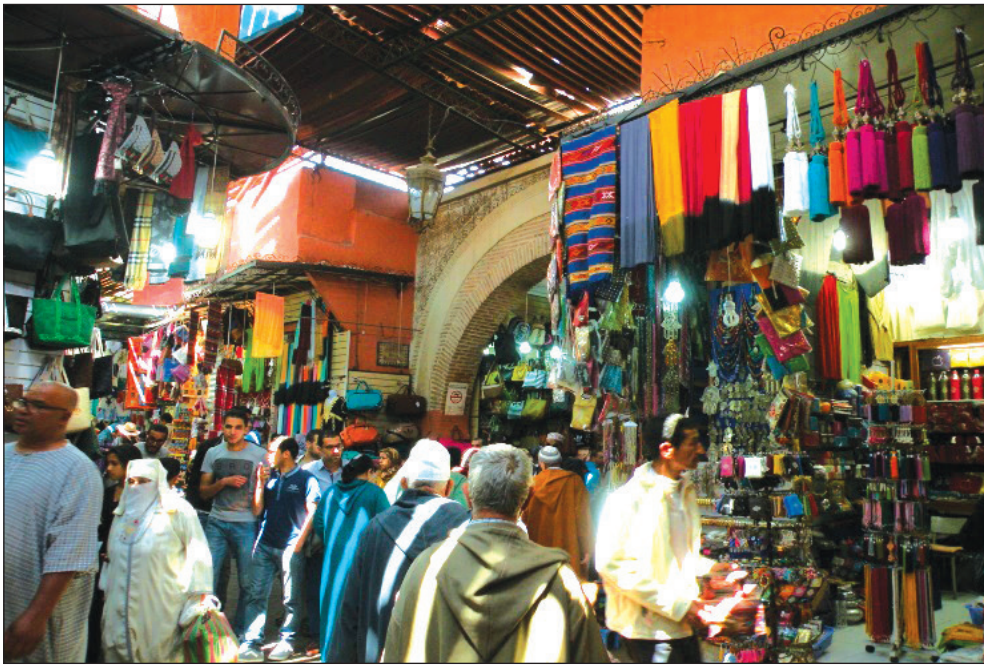


Fig. 7: Main entrance of the souk of Marrakech, (© authors).

Actions for the revitalization of the souks were often concentrated on the requalification of buildings and infrastructures, which led to the evolution of hybrid zones that consciously contrasted an oriental imaginary atmosphere. A strong real estate speculation has led to the eviction of craftsmen and the disappearance of specialized souks. The benefits of Marrakech's rapid economic growth and tourism development have not had positive impacts on the heritage holders and those who give the space its meaning. We believe that the importance of the souks as a place of memory must be based on the historical depth of the city, its exceptional religious dimension<sup>31</sup> and its integrative capacity and creativity (of knowledge, craftsmanship, urban engineering, etc.). The lack of synergy between the different territorial and commercial actors hampers any possibility of development based on a new perception of space in its cultural and heritage dimension.

We also believe that the ability of the various actors to manage the local population, with the aim of "reconciliation" with their environment, guarantees the success of heritage development. The immaterial dimension of a site must never be omitted during the tourism development strategies, because the true heritage of a city is its inhabitants. Immaterial heritage can only be discovered if it is alive and not artificially revived for a reconstruction of its past. For this, considering the craftsmen of the souk and the inhabitants in the strategic decisions

31. Nour Eddine Nachouane, "Preparing the Intangible Heritage for Tourism: Issues, Contexts and Logic of Actors. The Case of Crafts in the Medina of Marrakech in the Light of Spanish Experiences," (Thèse pour obtenir le grade de docteur, Université Cadi Ayyad-Universidad de Murcia, 2015).

is essential. It is necessary that tourism stakeholders invest in methods in order to involve the population in policies that make the city attractive to its inhabitants and also to the visitors. The case of the Spanish cities in this sense is very interesting; especially in the World Heritage cities where there is a real advocacy by the local population to protect their heritage proving that awareness raising and commitment of the population are essential elements for the development of the historic site.

Regarding tourism development, the souk more than ever needs its artisans, the holders of its memory. The close and intimate links that exist between the historic city and the artisans and especially the traditional activities are the originality of the city. “If the medina continues to be attractive for local and international tourists, it owes a lot to the wealth and animation of its commercial places, but what will be these souks without the artisanal production and without the work of these artisans and their families?”<sup>32</sup> To what extent do the interrelations between the heritage processes and the logics of tourism development contribute to the future of living spaces such as the souks? How to respond to a demand for the conservation of a living and evolving heritage with regard to tourism development and heritage protection?

The answer can be found in the fact that in preserving the value of a city, the heritage cannot consist in “fixing” spaces in a given state, but on the contrary, it is necessary to control the way these spaces must continue to evolve, while keeping their heritage values.<sup>33</sup> However, the empirical examination in different cities shows that this escapes any measure and leaves the way available for all the interpretations.

### Conclusion

The current morphology and organization of the souks are the culmination of a long process of historical accumulation and specific actions of shaping space, which took place without any noticeable rupture or upheaval, thus allowing the flourishing of an urban society globally stable over the centuries. The medieval souk is a heritage anchorage of the city both as a “place of memory,” as a historical architectural space and as a spatial support for socio-cultural consumption patterns. The specificity and originality of this space qualifies it in terms of heritage as a cityscape to consolidate, preserve and also highlights for an interesting cultural and tourism development.

Generally speaking, several elements hamper a quality cultural tourism development in the medina, as well as an adequate affluence. First of all, the promotion of historic cities, even if it is focused on architectural goods and the

32. Mohamed El Faïz, *Marrakech patrimoine en péril* (Arles: Actes sud-Eddif, 2002), 81.

33. Daniel Pini, *Villes et paysages de la modernité dans la région méditerranéenne* (Bologna: Heriscape, 2001), 11.

urban historic atmosphere, does not encourage true cultural tourism nor does it attract tourist's especially those who are limited to consumption, recreation or physical rest. Secondly, the absence of tourism policies that deeply integrate the heritage side and the lack of collaboration between tourism promoters and cultural promoters prevent the development of a cultural quality offer. Lastly, it is often difficult to convey the tourism sector stakeholders that heritage which not only has an economic interest but also represents a factor of identity, of historical memory and of cohesion between inhabitants, and that therefore, they have a responsibility to respect it, to present it, and to facilitate its interpretation and its transmission of values, and not to make it artificial in order to increase their revenues.

### Bibliography

- Berque, Jacques. *Maghreb, Histoire et sociétés*. Gembloux-Alger: J. Duculot-S.N.E.D., 1974.
- Cahen, Claude et Mohamed Talbi. "Ḥisba." In *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, vol.II, 503-5. Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1990.
- Chalmeta, Pedro. *El señor del zoco en España*. Madrid: Instituto hispano-árabe de cultura, 1973.
- El Faïz, Mohamed. *Marrakech patrimoine en péril*. Arles: Actes sud-Eddif, 2002.
- Heinz, Gaub. *Iranian Cities*. Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization. New York: New York University Press, 1979.
- Hourani, Albert. "The Islamic City." In A.M. Hourani et S.M. Stern, *The Islamic City*, 222. Oxford-Philadelphie: Cassirer-University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.
- Ibn Mandūr. *Lisān al-'Arab*. Bayrūth: Dār Šādir, 1956.
- Marçais, William. "L'islamisme et la vie urbaine." In *Articles et conférences*, 59-68. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1961.
- Massignon, Louis. "Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants (1923-1924)." *Revue du monde musulman* 58 (1924): 1-250.
- Mermier, Frank. "Souk et citadinité dans le monde arabe." in *L'urbain dans le monde musulman de Méditerranée*, dir. Jean-Luc Arnaud, 81-99. Paris: Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain-Maisonneuve & Larose, 2005.
- Nour Eddine Nachouane, "Preparing the intangible heritage for tourism: Issues, contexts and logic of actors. The case of crafts in the Medina of Marrakech in the light of Spanish experiences," (Thèse pour obtenir le grade de docteur, Université Cadi Ayyad-Universidad de Murcia, 2015).
- Raymond, André. *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane*. Paris: Sindbad, 1985.
- Sauvaget, Jean. *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1941.
- Sebti, Mohamed, Youssef Courbag et Anne Claire Kurzac Souali. *Gens de Marrakech, Géodémographie de la ville rouge*. Paris: Éditions de l'INED, 2009.
- Skounti, Ahmed. "Marrakech: patrimoine versus "élitisation." Processus de patrimonialisation, pauvreté et gestion de la médina." In *Unesco, Patrimoine et Développement durable dans les villes historiques du Maghreb. Enjeux, Diagnostics et recommandations*, eds. Pini Daniele, Abdelkafi Jallal, Balbo Marcello et al., 143-56. Rabat: Bureau de l'Unesco à Rabat, 2004.
- Von Grunebaum, Gustave. "The structure of The Muslim Town." In *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, ed. Von Grunebaum, 141-58. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.

Wilbaux, Quentin. *La médina de Marrakech, Formation des espaces urbains d'une ancienne capitale du Maroc*. Paris: l'Harmattan, 2002.

Wirth, Eugene. "Villes islamiques, villes arabes, villes orientales? Une problématique face au changement." In *La ville arabe dans l'Islam*, eds. A. Boudhiba et D. Chevallier, 193-225. Tunis-Paris: CERES-CNRS, 1982.

### العنوان: السوق في المدينة الإسلامية بين إكراهات السلطة وتنظيم الفضاء

ملخص: ليس السوق داخل المدينة الإسلامية مجرد فضاء قائم الذات، بل إنه رمز يبرز المكانة والأهمية الاقتصادية للمدن الكبرى إبان العصر الوسيط. وقد خضع تنظيم الحرف ومراقبة الأنشطة التجارية لتنظيم محكم يؤكد العلاقة الوطيدة بين السلطة وتنظيم الفضاء داخل المدينة.

ومن خلال اشتغالنا على حواضر ذات نشأة إسلامية كمراكش وغرناطة نحاول في مرحلة أولية تسليط الضوء في هذا المقال على أهمية التشريع الإسلامي ونظام الحسبة فيما يتعلق بتنظيم الفضاء ومراقبة الأنشطة التجارية والصناعية. ونناقش في المرحلة الثانية مدى إمكانات تهمين الأسواق العتيقة باعتبارها تراثا إنسانيا وحضاريا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السوق، المدينة الإسلامية، تراث، سياحة.

### **Titre: Le souk de la cité islamique entre pouvoir et organisation de l'espace**

**Résumé:** Le souk est un espace symbole qui montre l'importance économique des grandes villes médiévales. La structuration administrative des corps de métiers et le contrôle de l'activité économique étaient indissociables d'une organisation traditionnelle manifestant le caractère intrinsèque de la relation qui unit l'urbanité et la présence du pouvoir.

Nous allons dans cet article, et à partir de notre travail sur les villes médiévales de fondation islamique telle que Marrakech, Grenade; montrer l'importance des lois islamiques dans la formation de l'espace et le contrôle des institutions commerciales et industrielles. Nous allons essayer dans un deuxième temps de discuter les possibilités d'une mise en valeur patrimoniale de ces lieux.

**Mots-clés:** Souk, ville islamique, patrimoine, tourisme.