

Chapter II

The Waqf and Building the Cities: The Old City of Jerusalem as a Case Study

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Introduction

Muslim caliphs, sultans, and princes paid special tribute to Jerusalem where many waqfs were established. This charitable deed was not limited to the ruling class but was also open to many other philanthropists. Since the Umayyad era, which corresponds to the first Islamic century (*hijri*), the beginning of Islamic construction in Jerusalem is especially represented by the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. These two magnificent buildings occupied 17% of intra-muros Jerusalem. During subsequent eras, particularly during the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods, many establishments were constructed via endowment. These buildings, supported by waqf, played a significant role in determining the design of the inner city of Jerusalem. Moreover, buildings belonging to waqf included entire markets as well as schools and hospitals. The extensive presence of such establishments inside Jerusalem's walls not only determined the religious features of Jerusalem but also affected its residential and commercial landmarks.

This research proposes that establishments supported by waqf and their affiliated real estate played a crucial role in the building of Jerusalem and developing its architecture. Through knowing the dates when the waqf buildings were constructed, one can identify the periods of building in Jerusalem and the architectural development of the city. It should be noted that these establishments were not restricted to Muslims but also included Christian and Jewish waqf. This paper will rely on judicial documents such as those from the court records (*sijill*) of the Islamic Ottoman court of Jerusalem (*mahkama shar'iyya*) as well as from the Jerusalem waqf archive.

1. The Urban Organisation of the City

Jerusalem's Old City (intra-muros) is a small mountainous area less than one square kilometer in area. It rises 2,500 feet above sea level and is surrounded by

a wall dating back to 1800 BC [Saulcy 1866: 424]. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, construction in Old Jerusalem was limited to the geographical space within the walls [Cuneo 2000: Vol. 1, 219]. The intra-muros area was not able to respond to the demographic and cultural developments witnessed by the city during that period which led to the appearance of extra-muros buildings and neighbourhoods that resulted in the emergence of a new city with its own unique architectural features and cultural identity. This shift came as a result of developments in the city during the nineteenth century, including population growth, shortage of areas suitable for building intra-muros, and high rental prices. All these factors combined, with others, and led towards extra-muros building, i.e. in New Jerusalem [Sroor 2010a: 55–56].

Jerusalem's Old City is divided into four quarters according to religious and sectarian affiliation: Islamic, Christian, Armenian, and Jewish. By studying the records of the Islamic court of Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, one notes that the word "quarter" was not used in reference to the Islamic population in Jerusalem; instead, this sectarian and religious concept was used to refer to non-Muslim quarters [*Sijill* 282, 1215/1800, 51] and refers to the differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim (*dhimmî*) who lived in an Islamic state. For Muslims, the records of Jerusalem's judge show that the sectarian concept of the quarter was not used. Here, rather than having a religious implication, "quarter" was used in a material sense, referring, for example, to a family, such as the al-Sharaf quarter [*Sijill* 288, 1221/1806, 89] or to a profession such as the al-Jawâlda (leather dyeing) quarter [*Sijill* 287, 1220/1805, 86] or to a construction like the Bâb al-'Amûd (Damascus Gate), one of Jerusalem's intra-muros entrances [*Sijill* 281, 1214/1799, 12].

1.1. The Muslim Quarter

The Muslim quarter constituted one of the largest quarters of Old Jerusalem where most of the demographic, architectural, and economic activities pertaining to Muslims were concentrated. Located in the north, eastern, and south-eastern part of the old city, it is close to al-Aqsa Mosque where many religious and educational institutions were located as well as economic activities related to those institutions [Chouraqui 1996: 166].

1.2. The Christian Quarter

The Christian quarter consisted of buildings, streets, markets, and institutions operated by the Christians of Jerusalem, especially those centred around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. That is why this area was referred to by the Islamic court of

Jerusalem as the “Christian quarter” [*Sijill* 287, 1220/1805, 93]. The Christians of Jerusalem had been given the right to establish their own fortified quarter extending from Bâb al-Khalîl in the west to Bâb al-‘Amûd in the north as a result of their participation in the campaign organised by the Fatimid rulers from 1063 to restore and fortify the walls of Jerusalem. This was the area later known as the “Christian quarter.” Prior to that year there are no documents that mention the existence of a private quarter for Christians or a quarter which bore their name [Sroor 2010b: 151]. Therefore, the middle of the eleventh century may be considered the date of the beginning of the Christian quarter, when it was officially recognised by the ruling Islamic authorities. The Fatimid Caliph had ordered that the various communities contribute to the refortification of the city. The Christians, lacking the means to do so, appealed to the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–1067), for support. He signed an agreement between the Caliph that he would fund the construction of a section of the wall adjacent to the Christian churches, which corresponded to the area surrounding the Christian quarter, provided that the area thus delineated would be for the exclusive occupation of Christians only. This quarter was placed under the authority of the Patriarch and so became known as the Patriarch’s (al-Baṭrak) quarter. Before this agreement, Jerusalem residents of different religions lived side by side in all the quarters; there were no exclusive quarters [Hiyari 1990: 133–134].

The Jerusalem residential map changed from that time as a result of the division into quarters that corresponded to the three different religions. The agreement between the Caliph and the Emperor forced “the Muslims...by the order of the Fatimid Caliph to move to other parts of Jerusalem and left the Christian quarter for the Christians only” [Sroor 2010b: 152]. The Christian quarter was then delineated as follows: “The outer boundary is formed by the wall which extended from the west gate, or the gate of David, past the corner tower which is known as the tower of Tancred, as far as the north gate which is called by the name of the first martyr, Stephen. The inner boundary is formed by the public street which runs from the gate of Stephen straight to the tables of the money changers [St Stephen’s Street of the Crusaders], and thence again back to the west gate” [Hiyari 1990: 134].

It should be noted that the Christian quarter continued to be exclusively inhabited by Christians until the time of Saladin, from 1187, after which the Islamic presence returned to the quarter. Muslims lived alongside Christians and many Islamic buildings and institutions were constructed there, by Saladin in particular.

1.3. The Armenian Quarter

The Armenian quarter was given this name in relation to the Armenians who lived

in it: the records of the Islamic court of Jerusalem regarded the Armenians as Christians. This quarter is located in the southwestern part of the city [Ben-Arieh 1984: 243]. Most of the Armenian properties are found in this quarter, though there are other Armenian religious facilities outside it, especially in the Christian quarter near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, such as the Church of St. John located in its courtyard. It should also be noted that other Christian communities had properties in the Armenian quarter and that some Islamic properties and waqf buildings existed there as well [Sroor 2010a: 78–79].

1.4. The Jewish Quarter

The Jewish quarter is considered the smallest quarter in terms of area. According to Baedeker [1893: 22], this quarter is located in the southeast of the city, south of the al-Silsila gate and to the east of the Prophet David road. It is bordered by small quarters named after Muslim families living there, such as the al-Asalî, al-Qarrî'în, and al-Sharaf quarters to the east and the al-Maydân and al-Maslakh quarters to the south [Baedeker 1893: 22]. According to Finbert, the Jewish quarter was known by that name in the thirteenth century when the Jews settled in it, but their number did not exceed 500 persons down to the fifteenth century [Finbert 1955: 352], and it was limited in area and population until the end of the Ottoman period in 1917. Dumper states that this quarter was part of the Islamic quarter; Jewish ownership of real-estate there did not exceed 20% while the rest was owned by properties belonging to Islamic waqf and some Muslim families such as the al-Dajjânî, al-Ḥusaynî, and al-Nimrî [Dumper 1992: 221].

1.5. The Markets

Jerusalem's markets (*sûq*) are situated between these main quarters, forming the city's streets. The most famous of these markets is Sûq al-Qattânîn where cotton used to be sold. It was created in 1336 by Sayf al-Dîn Tankiz al-Nâsirî, the governor of Syria, by order of the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nâsir Muḥammad bin Qalâwûn (r. 1293–1294; 1299–1309; 1310–1341) as a waqf asset for the al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as for a school, the Madrasa Tankaziyya, which bore his name [Golvin 1967: 103]. We should also mention Sûq al-Ṭabbâkhîn, also known as Khân al-Zayt (oil market), which belongs to the waqf of Ahmad Pasha, Ottoman governor of Syria. It was considered to be the most important market in Jerusalem, extending from Bâb al-'Amûd to al-'Attârîn market and separating the Muslim quarter from the Christian quarter. There are also three parallel markets along corridors built in the old Islamic style with small shops on both sides and no windows.

These three markets include the western market which is divided into a southern part called *Sûq al-Lahhâmîn* (butchers' market) where meat is sold, and a northern part comprising *al-Julûd* and *al-Nahhâsîn* where leather is cleaned and brassware is bleached. The second market, the middle of the three, is called *Sûq al-Attârîn* where perfume is sold as well as carpentry tools and horse accessories such as strings and ropes. The third market is called *al-Tujjâr*, also known as *al-Khawâjât*, where fabrics are sold; the shops of goldsmiths are also located there [ʿÂrif 1992: 346–347].

2. Islamic Pious Foundations, Construction Space, and Power

From the time of the Islamic conquest of Palestine during the rule of Caliph ʿUmar in 637, that is, five years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Jerusalem was the centre of attention for the Muslim community. Control of Islamic Jerusalem can be divided into two periods: from the Islamic conquest and down to the Crusader occupation of the city in 1099 and from the Islamic reconquest of the city by Saladin in 1187 to the end of Ottoman control in 1917 with the British occupation of the city. During those periods, both Muslim and non-Muslim interest in the city was evident, as represented by the establishment of waqf foundations there by individuals from both communities. The large amount of waqf foundations was largely a result of the absence of any official state role in many aspects of civil society in areas such as health, education, social services, and religious affairs. Moreover, waqf were important as a form of charity and a means to come close to God [Deguilhem 1986: 53].

Waqf played a crucial role in building the city culturally, which entailed all aspects related to the process of development and construction not only in relation to the physical aspects of economic development and construction such as buildings, markets, caravanserais, etc. [Van Leeuwen 1999: 180–182] but also to the human and intellectual development of Jerusalem's community (education, schools, libraries, Sufi movements). Waqf was also important in terms of supporting the poor and needy and providing food and housing for them, treating the sick and housing travellers [Deguilhem 2004: 396].

If we follow the historical development of the emergence of waqf foundations in Jerusalem, we note that it coincided with the formation of the Muslim community there. Sources indicate that the Caliph ʿUmar built the first mosque in Jerusalem and it is this mosque which constitutes the foundations of the present al-Aqsa Mosque. Due to the fact that Jerusalem is a mountainous city where water is not available, the third Caliph ʿUthman endowed the *Silwân* spring for the benefit of Jerusalemites between 644 and 656 to ensure that water was free and continually available to them. The *Silwân* spring was the first Islamic waqf in

Jerusalem [Duri 1990: 108].

In the Umayyad period, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) established waqf properties to support magnificent buildings considered to be the most important in the cities of the Muslim world, for example, the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid constructed these facilities in the same place that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab built the first mosque in Jerusalem. This place is known in Islamic history as al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf [Neuwirth 2000: Vol. 1, 88], a term denoting the region located in the southeastern part of Jerusalem occupied by al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, as well as everything in between and around these mosques, including religious and cultural facilities. It covers an area of 261,000 square meters, 17% of the surface of Jerusalem.

This area is surrounded on the east by a wall 474 meters long, on the west by a wall of 490 meters, on the north by a wall of 321 meters, and on the south by a wall of 283 meters. There are 10 open gates in this wall [ʿĀrif 1992: 302–303] where the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–833) built the eastern and northern gates in 831 [Duri 1990: 112]. This area is considered to be the most important facility of the Jerusalem waqfs; it formed the nucleus of the Jerusalem Islamic waqf as most of the waqf facilities centred around it. In order to ensure their performance, many of the princes and the city elite endowed a large portion of the commercial real estate including markets, shops, caravanserais, public baths, and agricultural land to support the waqf facilities.

The large and rapid development of waqf facilities in Jerusalem coincided with Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 following the expulsion of the Crusaders. During that period, Jerusalem witnessed radical changes in some aspects of its development and in the composition of its population, as well as in its administration and social life. Despite these changes, the public features of Jerusalem, especially the topographical ones, continued as before [Hiyari 1990: 166–167].

There was a great transformation in the Christian quarter following Saladin's re-establishment of Muslim control over Jerusalem after 1187, in terms both of demographic composition and the institutional functions of the buildings that existed there during the Crusader period. After he had settled in Jerusalem, Saladin not only established the foundations of his political and administrative rule but also erased symbols of the Crusader presence in the city. The changes caused by Saladin to the architectural and functional identity of the institutions of Jerusalem, whether religious or non-religious, were not limited to getting rid of traces of the Crusaders on the Islamic landmarks in Jerusalem but also to removing the identity of Crusader institutions in Jerusalem, in other words, undertaking the Islamisation of these institutions. In this period, the Christian quarter experienced a demographic vacuum that was exploited by Saladin to Islamise some of its recent features and change the demographic composition that had restricted its housing only to

Christians. This meant a repudiation of the agreement made by the Fatimids with the Emperor of Byzantium that prohibited non-Christians from living in this neighbourhood [Sroor 2010a: 153].

In carrying out this policy, Saladin worked to consolidate the Islamic presence in this quarter through the establishment of buildings dedicated to waqf institutions at the level of the local community, which worked to provide services to the residents of Jerusalem and those coming to the city. To achieve this purpose, an important hospital (*bîmâristân*) carrying Saladin's name was constructed to deliver therapeutic services to the population and to serve as an educational institution in the field of medicine. He brought doctors and secured the arrival of drugs to this hospital [Îsâ 1981: 230]. This hospital is located in the Christian quarter on the south side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the place now known as al-Dab-bâgha. Sûq al-Bazâr and the German Church (Church of the Redeemer) are now found at this place, as is the market of Aftîmûs for the Roman Orthodox Church [Ârif 1992: 178]. To support the operation of this hospital, Saladin endowed dozens of pieces of real estate to take care of expenses. These included houses, shops, markets, and agricultural land mostly located within Jerusalem. These waqf also included 75% of the Bani Sa'd quarter and the entire farm located in the al-Ifranjan quarter [Sroor 2010b: 154]. In other words, an important part of the waqf real estate is located in the Christian quarter.

Saladin had also established a large Sufi institution known as al-Khânqâh al-Şalâhiyya in the Christian quarter as a place of residence, worship, and teaching for Sufis in Jerusalem [Waqf 2/27.3/927/13]. This *khânqâh* was the first Sufi institution in Jerusalem and was erected in the place known historically as Dâr al-Batrak (House of the Patriarch), located between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the south and the street which borders it in the north, now known as Khânqâh Street. To ensure the continuity of the work of these institutions, Saladin endowed a considerable amount of real estate both within and outside Jerusalem [Sroor 2010c: 85]. In 1192, he converted the Church of St. Anne into the al-Madrasa al-Şalâhiyya, a school for higher religious studies and Islamic law, and endowed many pieces of real estate for it [Little 1990: 180]. This school was considered the most famous in Jerusalem's history for teaching Shafi'i *fiqh*, its reputation being derived from its position as the headquarters of the prevailing school of thought in Jerusalem in both the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

It is striking to note that despite Saladin's policy of tolerance embodied in his dealings with his enemies, this policy did not include the Crusader institutions in Jerusalem. Despite the existence at that time of urban space in Jerusalem in general, and in the Christian quarter in particular, which allowed for the erection of buildings on vacant sites, Saladin established his institutions on the ruins of Crusader institutions.

Historical sources also indicate that many Islamic institutions were built

in the Christian quarter during this period. In the year 1216, the Ayyubid king al-Muzaffar Shihâb al-Dîn Ghâzî ibn al-Sultân al-Malik al-Âdil al-Ayyûbî converted a house located next to Saladin hospital to function as a *zâwiya* (building used for Sufism) which was known as al-Darkâh, and endowed waqf for it. A church near the castle was also converted to a *zâwiya*; this was called Zâwiya al-Shaykh Ya‘qûb al-‘Ajamî, according to Mujîr al-Dîn al-Ḥanbalî, who said that this church has been constructed by the Romans. Another *zâwiya* known as al-Ḥamrâ’ was established near the Khânqâh al-Ṣalâhiyya, as was a *madrasa* close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre [‘Ulaymî 1999: Vol. 1, 89–99].

Historical sources and archaeological evidence also indicate that a number of Ayyubid sultans (1187–1250) contributed towards the establishment of waqf buildings, such as mosques and schools, in Jerusalem. In 1194, Saladin’s eldest son, al-Malik al-Afdal, endowed and built a *madrasa* carrying his name for teaching Maliki *fiqh*. This school was built in the al-Maghâriba quarter where the Maghribi immigrants settled, most of whom belonged to the Maliki *madhhab* [Little 1990: 180]. Al-Malik al-Afdal created many waqfs for this quarter for the benefit of the Maghribi immigrants, and it was later named the Maghribi quarter. The limits of this quarter as mentioned in the waqf document were: the city wall from the south, al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf from the east, Bâb-al-Silsila leading to al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf from the north, and al-Sharaf quarter from the west. This waqf was considered to be the first endowment granted to the Maghribi in Jerusalem [Tibawi 1978: 13]. The records of the Islamic court indicate that many of the waqf endowed by the Maghribi in their quarter were to subsidise mosques, *zâwiyas*, houses, and shops like the ones endowed by Shaykh ‘Umar al-Maṣmûdî. Until the year 1967, the number of these numbered about 140 pieces of real estate [Waqf 13/1272/5.28/13].

Following the same strategy, the Mamluk sultans (1250–1516) competed in building waqf foundations in Jerusalem, especially educational ones. This not only contributed to the development of the scientific and cultural movement in Jerusalem, but also to its architectural development, as represented in the buildings and markets which those sultans constructed, and these have left us with an important architectural heritage. This development also included the economic sector through the construction of markets, caravanserais, public baths, and other economic institutions as well as through the endowment of many villages, farms, and pieces of agricultural land scattered in all regions of Palestine whose waqf revenues were allocated to the sultans’ waqf institutions in Jerusalem. The Mamluks created more than 64 establishments, concentrated mostly to the west and north of al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf, which were supported by waqf foundations. To ensure the functioning of these institutions, the waqf revenues of hundreds of shops, houses, farmland—whether inside or outside Jerusalem—were dedicated towards these institutions [Burgoyne 1987: 103–244; Schaefer 1985: 282].

The Christian quarter also experienced a boom thanks to interest taken by

the Mamluk sultans. It was an important quarter for Jerusalem at that time, as the Mamluks stationed the police there near the Saladin hospital. In addition, many markets were created in the quarter, namely Sûq al-Ḥubûb (the grain market) for which much land was allocated on the south side of Saladin hospital. The main markets in Jerusalem were found to the east of this hospital where most of the economic activities were carried out [Sroor 2010b: 157–158]. The Mamluk Sultan Qalâwûn built a hospital in the Christian quarter near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The records of the Islamic court specify that the Muslim judge of Jerusalem appointed the custodian of the Noble Dome of the Rock with the help of the late Ḥajj Ḥusayn Effendi al-Khâlidî in the job of administrating the mosque and its endowment [*Sijill* 282, 1215/1800, 120]. Generally, the buildings and institutional activities established by the Mamluks in Jerusalem were focused close to al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf, i.e. on the Islamic quarter. During the Mamluk period, this quarter witnessed building and institutional activities which made a great impact on the demographic composition as well as on the educational and the religious activities of the city.

Compared with other periods, the Mamluk period is considered a golden one for the waqf institutions of Jerusalem. During the Ottoman period (1516–1917), other than the time of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), there was only limited establishment of waqf institutions. Jerusalem received much attention from Suleiman, who rebuilt its walls in their current form, after they had lain in ruins for more than 300 years after being destroyed by the Ayyubid king ʿÎsâ al-Ayyûbî in 1219 [Asali 1990b: 201].

Since Jerusalem is a mountainous city with no rivers or springs, its population depended on the storage of rain water in tanks, wells, and pools. However, with an increasing number of residents over time, these sources of water were no longer sufficient for the basic needs of the population. Therefore, water was brought to the city from neighbouring areas. Sultan Suleiman solved the problem of water shortage in Jerusalem through the establishment of channels, ponds, *sabils* (public water fountains), and *ḥammâms* (public baths). He also reconstructed the canal known as the Qanât al-Sabîl which carried water from ponds and springs located between Hebron and Bethlehem to Jerusalem. In addition, he reconstructed the ponds adjacent to Jerusalem which were later named after him [Asali 1990b: 201]. It is clear from the description of the houses of intra-muros Jerusalem contained in the documents of the Islamic court of Jerusalem that most of the houses had wells to collect water [*Sijill* 282, 1215/1800, 18; *Sijill* 291, 1222/1808, 74; *Sijill* 292, 1224/1809, 117]. There were also large pools inside Old Jerusalem such as the pool of Israel, the Suleiman pool constructed and endowed by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent as well as al-Sulṭân pool constructed and endowed by Mamluk Sultan Barqûq in the year 1399, which was considered to be the biggest of all of Jerusalem's pools. There were also many pools which provided Jerusalem's

baths with water such as the pool of Ḥammâm al-Shifâ', Ḥammâm al-Baṣîr, and Ḥammâm al-Baṭraq [Sroor 2010a: 182–184].

In 1557, Roxelane, the wife of Suleiman, established the greatest and most important waqf institution not only in Jerusalem but in all of Palestine [Heyd 1960: 139]. This institution was known as Khâṣṣikî Sultan: the imperial public kitchen located in the Islamic quarter near al-Aqsa Mosque. It was situated “on the southern side of a lane climbing up the hill, from the Bâb en-Nâzîr of the Haram Enclosure to the Street called after the Khân ez-Zeit. This lane is known by several names, such as ‘*Aqabet at-tkiyyé*’” [Stephan 1944: 172–173]. From the *waqfiyya* (endowment deed) for this institution which was registered in the *sijills*, it is clear that this endowment formed a huge urban complex that included a mosque, a caravanserai, a school, and 55 rooms for a residence for Sufis. Moreover, it incorporated a kitchen which provided daily meals to the poor and travellers and those who lived close to al-Aqsa Mosque. What is more, it contained an oven which produced 2,000 *fadûlas* (loaves of bread) daily. The waqf founder, Roxelane, endowed 34 villages and farms to cover the expenses of this endowment [*Sijill* 270, 964/1557, 18–27].

All the waqf institutions mentioned above are classified as charitable waqfs. In addition to these, there are also hundreds of family waqfs. A question arises here: “what is the size and nature of the waqf properties in Jerusalem, whether family or charitable endowments?” It is not easy to answer this question precisely for several reasons. First, there is the difficulty of separating the waqf properties in the Old City of Jerusalem from those outside due to the close interrelationship between the centre and the outskirts, since those on the outskirts were the main suppliers channelling their revenues to the waqf institutions of the centre, and the related difficulty of determining these properties in the surrounding areas. Second is the absence of precise and official statistics dealing with waqf properties not only in Jerusalem but in Palestine in general. The available statistics in the published sources are not reliable and cannot be trusted because they depend on estimation and speculation. For example, Dumper provides statistics for the proportion of the family and waqf charitable properties in Jerusalem based on the estimates of former officials in the Jordanian government and in the Waqf Administration in Jerusalem, as well as on interviews conducted in 1986 with six *mutawallî* (waqf administrators) of the major family endowments in Jerusalem.

Based on these people’s estimations, Dumper came to the following conclusion: waqf real estate in Old Jerusalem was estimated at 45–50% with the exception of the area of al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf. If we add the area of al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf, which is 17% of the Old City, the sum total of the waqf property in the Old City would be 67% [Dumper 1992: 190–191]. We see that these statistics are just percentages that rely on estimation and speculation and are not based on accurate studies. In addition, these estimated percentages do not take into account the waqf institutions whose property ownership had been transformed and thus became the assets of

others than the endowment or those that disappeared with the passage of the time. Moreover, these estimations do not take into consideration the real estate and land which was extra-muros Jerusalem and which had been endowed for Jerusalem waqf institutions; thus, the two types cannot be separated from each other.

Through the analysis of the various documents and archives concerning the waqf, the following statistics may be cited. There were 27 mosques as well as al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, 70 *madrasas* (religious schools), 2 *khânqâhs*, 16 *zâwiyas*, 7 *ribâts*, for which were endowed the following waqf real estate: 11 bathrooms, 14 caravanserais, all the shops in the al-Qattânî and al-Ḥuṣur markets, and 580 shops and stores located in the rest of the markets of Jerusalem. This is in addition to all the houses located in the al-Qattânî and al-Ḥuṣur markets as well as 330 houses located in different quarters of Jerusalem. Besides this, the following should be added: dozens of olive oil presses and wheat mills, and farms and orchards located within the walls of Jerusalem. Furthermore, 150 villages and farms inside and outside Palestine were endowed either wholly or partially to spend on Jerusalem's waqf. It should also be noted that there were more than 400 properties (shops, houses, mills, presses) endowed as family waqf [Sroor 2010a: 377].

It should also be specified that the non-Muslim waqf institutions belonging to the Jews and Christians contributed to the urban development of Jerusalem intellectually, economically, socially, and architecturally, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Jerusalem was not only a holy city for Islam but also for Christianity and Judaism. The establishment of waqf by Jews and Christians was to maintain the viability of their institutions on the one hand, and to encourage their supporters and religious denominations to leave their original homeland and to immigrate to Jerusalem to reside in them, on the other. This came through the establishment of waqf institutions dedicated not only for the benefit of their religious communities in Jerusalem but also for immigrants to Jerusalem [Sroor 2009: 5–22].

Conclusion

The presence of this important amount of Islamic waqf in Jerusalem in a small area less than 1,000 square meters, along with property and real estate in private ownership, as well as the waqf and institutions of non-Muslims, indicate the essential role of these waqf institutions in determining the features of construction and property ownership in Jerusalem and in determining the functions and tasks of these waqf establishments. The Jerusalemite historian and the former mayor of Jerusalem 'Ârif al-'Ârif (1892–1973) tells us that in 1876, Jerusalem had 1,320 shops which employed 1,920 people working in various crafts, trades, and professions, representing the many religious communities that lived in Jerusalem:

501 Jews, 807 Muslims, 357 Roman Catholics, 146 Latins, 40 Protestants, and 69 Armenians [ʿĀrif 1992: 348–350]. Hence, we see that most of the shops in the Old City were waqf.

Since the period of Muslim control over Jerusalem in 637 and its reconquest in 1187 during the Crusader period, the city's Byzantine imprint and most of the Christian buildings have remained the same despite Muslim rule in Jerusalem. This is particularly reflected in the Christian quarter whose parameters remained the same despite the Islamic presence. In other words, there were no changes in the architectural characteristics of this quarter even in the Ayyubid period, with the exception of the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥâkim (r. 996–1021) who ordered the demolition of churches and synagogues in Jerusalem; this was when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was demolished (1009). The radical changes caused by Muslims after 637 through the building of waqf institutions in the city included the eastern part of the city, where there had been no construction or building on the ruins of ancient buildings. Sources indicate that this part of the city was neglected before the Islamic conquest [Duri 1990: 108]. The building of al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf which occupies an important part of the city contributed to a new overall urban plan for Jerusalem, especially after the construction of walls and dozens of schools supported by waqf around the al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf area. The clearance of buildings in this part of the city allowed for the emergence of waqf markets of new architectural design such as the al-Qattânîn market with a length of 94.5 metres and a width of 5.5 metres [Golvin 1967: 107]. New waqf quarters appeared for the first time, like the al-Maghâriba quarter which occupies the southeastern part of the city. Houses and Islamic religious sites were set up in this quarter. At the end of the Ottoman period, waqf real estate here numbered around 140 properties [Waqf, 3/5, 28/1272/13].

The large number of Islamic waqf in Jerusalem provided permanent sources of funding through the construction of shops, markets, baths, and caravanserais or through the reconstruction of existing buildings belonging to waqf. This explains the proliferation of hundreds of pieces of commercial waqf real estate in the various markets and quarters of Jerusalem. In the year 1561, a delegation of Jerusalem's traders (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) went to Jar Allah Effendi, Judge of the Islamic court of Jerusalem, to inform him about the agreement between them and Shaykh Ḥamza Jalabî, the representative for the Nâzîr al-Ḥaramayn (superintendent of the Two Holy Mosques). This agreement stipulates that the *nâzîr* reconstruct, for these traders, 40 shops in al-Ḥuşur market affiliated with the al-Aqsa Mosque waqf for 40 *sultâniyya* gold pieces as an annual rent [*Sijill* 44, 970/1561, 382].

This research sheds light on the important role played by the waqf in building the Old City of Jerusalem in accordance with new architectural models that do not differ from those found in other Islamic cities such as Cairo, Damascus, and Tunis.

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