

Chapter IX

The Awqaf of Maghribis in al-Quds (Jerusalem): Spiritual Links, Cultural Exchanges, Economic Necessities

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Introduction

The relation between the Maghrib and Mashriq regions is important in waqf studies. Most studies so far have been dedicated to the Maghribi *awqāf* (waqfs for the Maghrib people) in al-Haramayn (Mecca and Medina). Hence the importance to consider other Maghribi awqaf in the Mashriq, and specifically in Jerusalem through the case of the awqaf of the Maghribi quarter in the city from their foundation to the twentieth century. The study of these awqaf is made possible thanks to many documents and qualitative studies that have identified their contents and enable us to show the spiritual, cultural, and human signification as a testimony of the presence of Maghribis in Palestine.

Considering their status, development, and the social and cultural services they provided, the awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem were at the core of the Maghribi relationship with the city. Their continuity and legitimacy were based on the special spiritual status of Islamic sanctuaries in Jerusalem which were pivotal in Maghribi immigration to Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria) in places such as Damascus, Hawran, Safad, Tiberiade, and Galilee where Maghribis fleeing European occupation settled in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries [al-Khalidi 2013: 142–143, 150–151; Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 66–68].

1. Spiritual Importance of Jerusalem and al-Haram Sharif (Holy Sanctuary)

Jerusalem has a special status in the three monotheist religions, especially in Islam.¹

¹ The city of al-Quds, known as the City of Peace (*Ūrshalīm*), is named *Urušalim* in the Amarna letters of Abdi-Heba (1330s BCE), and as *Yerushalayim* in Hebrew. In the Roman period, it was known as *Aelia Capitolina* in honour of the Roman emperor Aelius Adrien.

In the Maghribi and Muslim consciousness about Jerusalem as a sacred place, its main component is al-Haram Sharif or al-Haram al-Qudsi (al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock), considered as the first *qibla* (prayer direction) and the third Muslim holy place (third *haram*) since the first year of the *hijra* (migration).²

Al-Haram Sharif is the place where al-Buraq (a horse which Muhammad rode on) stopped during the Prophet's trip to the Heavens (*al-isra' wa al-mi'raj*), an episode described in the Qur'an in these terms:

Glorified be He (Allah) Who took His slave (Muhammad) for a journey by night from al-Masjid al-Haram (at Mecca) to the farthest (al-Aqsa) Mosque (in Jerusalem), the neighbourhood whereof We have blessed, in order that We might show him (Muhammad) of Our *ayat* (proofs). Verily, He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer. [Holy Qur'an, Surat al-Isra': 1]

Moreover, many *hadiths* (traditions) of the Prophet were reported that incite Muslims to visit Jerusalem and pray in its Mosque (al-Aqsa), as in his well-known *hadith*:

At the time of the Muslim conquest, it was known as Ayla, and was renamed Bayt al-Maqdis or al-Quds to indicate its religious importance due to the al-Aqsa Mosque. Al-Quds has a key importance for Christians as the Holy land where Christ was crucified (Saint Sepulchre). For Jews, it is linked to kings David and Solomon who built the Holy Temple on Mount Moriah (later known as the *First Temple*) (circa 5005 BCE), demolished around 587 BCE, when the Babylonians conquered Judah and Jerusalem, and was reconstructed in 18 BCE by the Jewish client king Herod. The Temple was destroyed again in 70 CE. The Roman rule was again challenged during the Bar Kokhba revolt, beginning in 132 CE and suppressed in 135 CE by the Roman emperor Hadrian, who erased all traces of the Temple and reconstructed the city from which Jews were banned. After the modern development of the city, the old Jerusalem is named the Old City which covers an area of one square kilometer. The length of its walls built by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1536 is 4,200 meters and there are seven entrances, among which is the Gate of the Maghribis (*bab al-Maghariba*). See [Najm et al. 1983: 29–31; al-Hut 1986: 218; al-Arif 1994: 20–37].

² Al-Aqsa Mosque is located in the eastern part of al-Haram al-Qudsi. It is 80 metres long and 55 metres wide. It comprises 53 marble columns and 49 square pillars. Its surface is 4,400 square meters. The mosque was first built in 693 (AH 73) by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan and finished by al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik in 715 (AH 96). It was occupied in 1099 (AH 492) by the Crusaders who transformed a part of it into a church and used the other part to house the Templars and as a magazine for ammunition. After Saladin reconquered al-Quds, he restored the mosque, covered its dome with tiles, renewed its *mihrab*, and transferred to it from Aleppo a *mihrab* decorated with ivory and ebony. After part of it was burned by an Australian evangelical Christian in 1969, it was restored again, but it is still menaced. See [al-Arif 1994: 287–303; Jumaa 1982: 44–45, 58–60; Najm et al. 1983: 27–28; al-Hut 1986: 119–120].

Do not set out on a journey except for three Mosques: al-Masjid al-Haram (Mecca), the Mosque of Allah's Messenger (Medina), and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa (Jerusalem). [*hadith* reported by Abu Hurayra and Abu Saïd al-Khudhri]

The Islamic tradition reports that Maimunah the freed (female) slave of the Prophet said:

I said: "O Messenger of Allah, tell us about Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem)." He said: "It is the land of the Resurrection and the Gathering. Go and pray there, for one prayer there is like one thousand prayers elsewhere." I said: "What if I cannot travel and go there?" He said: "Then send a gift of oil to light its lamps, for whoever does that is like one who goes there." [*hadith* reported by Ahmad and Abu Daoud, Ibn Majah]

The awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem are closely linked to the Islamic tradition which glorifies the place where the Prophet tied al-Buraq during his journey to the Heavens, a place known to Christians as the Wailing Wall (Western Wall) and to the Jews as Hakotel Hama'aravi. This place is located precisely in the southern section of the wall of the Muslim sanctuary (al-Haram Sharif) which is 50 metres long and 20 metres high,³ Thus it forms, with other parts of the sanctuary, an Islamic waqf that consists of buildings inside and around the walls of the sanctuary comprising the Maghribi Gate (*bab al-maghariba*) west of al-Aqsa Mosque leading to the Maghribi quarter demolished in 1967 to give place to the plaza facing the Wailing Wall.

2. Maghribis in Jerusalem

Jerusalem attracted Maghribis for its religious, spiritual, and cultural importance

³ Al-Buraq Wall (ḥa'it al-Buraq), known in western writings as the Western Wall or Wailing Wall, is directly linked to the awqaf of the Maghribis in al-Quds. It is the southern part of the wall of al-Haram Sharif (the Noble or Holy Sanctuary). It is 50 metres long and 20 metres high. Al-Buraq is the creature from the heavens that transported the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and back during the *Isra'* and *Mi'raj* (Night Journey) as recounted in hadith literature. Hence it is considered by Muslims as a holy place and as a Muslim waqf comprising buildings surrounding the wall or inside it. The *bab al-Maghariba* is located besides it in the western part of al-Haram Sharif and is the entrance to the Maghribi quarter demolished by the Israeli army (1967). It was completely closed after the first al-Aqsa massacre (8 October 1990) under the pretext of protecting the Wailing Wall. See [al-Hut 1986: 218; Najm et al. 1983: 26–31; al-Khatib 1997].

which placed it, after al-Azhar and al-Haramayn, as a main centre of knowledge and spirituality. It was a favoured destination for Maghribi scholars, merchants, and students wanting to acquire knowledge from its scholars or to visit its sanctuaries. And many of them chose to reside permanently in it.⁴

During the struggle of Saladin (Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, d. 1193) against the Crusaders, many Maghribi combatants came to participate in the jihad and the liberation of Jerusalem in 1187 (AH 583), and thus, Maghribis became a key component of the Jerusalem population and founded awqaf endowed to their community.

In the later part of the Ottoman period and especially during the first phase of European colonisation from the mid-nineteenth century to World War I, the Maghribi presence was reinforced thanks to an influx of Maghribi immigrants to Bilad al-Sham, fleeing from the oppression of the French occupation of Algeria and later of Tunisia and Morocco, and the Italian occupation of Libya. Of these immigrants, many chose to reside in Jerusalem, such as the groups who followed Ahmad ibn Salam (d. circa 1947 [AH 1366]), Muhammad Mahdi al-Masqalawi (d. 1862 [AH 1278]), Muhammad al-Mubarak (d. 1981 [AH 1401]), and others who came directly to the city as did Ahmed ibn Khadhra (d. unknown) [al-Khalidi 2013: 142–143; Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 66–68].

The awqaf documents inform us about Maghribi families who resided in Jerusalem and were consequently eligible to benefit from Maghribi awqaf income, for example the community of Maghribis whose names are cited as residents of the al-Risha quarter in the *daftar* (register) of Surrat al-Quds in the year 1671 (AH 1082), for instance Abderrahman and Salah, sons of Shaykh Abdelkarim al-Babendi.

Another instance is a document illustrating the importance of the awqaf of Maghribis, which comprises the signatures of 63 Maghribi beneficiaries of the waqf of Abu Madyan Shuaib.⁵ This document was a complaint demanding the dismissal of Hajj al-Bashir al-Juani and his replacement by Hajj Salah ibn Arabi in the year 1901 (AH 1319).⁶

The awqaf documents are also a good indication of the names of many Maghribi families who resided in the Maghribi quarter, and these names are good indicators of the different origins of these families: al-Jazairi, al-Telemssani, al-Zawawi, al-Marrakechi, al-Ribati, al-Maknassi, al-Soussi, al-Tunussi, al-Shawi,

⁴ Among Maghribi scholars and travelers who visited or taught in al-Quds and had ties with its scholars we cite Ibn Jubayr who visited the city three times (1182–1185 [AH 578–581]), Khalid Aissa al-Balawi (1281 [AH 680]), Ibn Rashid al-Sabti, Abu Bakr ben Arabi, al-Abdari, Ibn Battouta, al-Tajibi, Ibn Khaldun, al-Maqqari, Abu al-Qassim al-Zianai among others. See [Abu Safia 2010: 27–32].

⁵ Dafatir Surrat Ahali al-Quds, 178, 1671 (12 Rajab AH 1082). See [Saban 2008: 197–198].

⁶ Petition presented to Shaykh al-Islam by a group of Maghribis on 25 July 1901 (AH 1319) (according to a private document).

al-Bakri, al-Dawadi, al-Jilani, al-Okbi, al-Adhari, al-Obeidi, al-Haifawi, etc.⁷

3. The Maghribi Awqaf in Jerusalem:

3.1. *A Short History of Maghribi Awqaf*

The expansion of Maghribi awqaf in Jerusalem coincided with the end of Crusader rule, to which Maghribis contributed significantly. After the liberation of the city, Saladin made huge efforts to rebuild Jerusalem and established many schools, mosques, *tekiyyas*, *khans*, and other institutions endowed with awqaf [al-Hanbali n.d.: Vol. 1, 341; Sroor 2010: 154–157; Benabdallah 1996: Vol. 1, 130; Abdelkrim 2004: 201–202].

The Mamluks had an equally important role in the expansion of religious and educational institutions in Jerusalem and the foundation of awqaf. Among the Mamluk rulers who played such a role were al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun (d. 1340 [AH 741]), and his representative in the province of Bilad al-Sham, Seiffeddin Tanqar.⁸

Later, the Ottoman rulers reinforced charitable institutions and endowed them with awqaf. A total of 70 madrasas (9 Ayyubid, 40 Mamluk, and 9 Ottoman) were endowed with awqaf under Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman rule in Jerusalem (11th–19th centuries [AH 5th–13th centuries]).⁹

The *tekiyyas*, *zawiyas*, and shrines of Jerusalem were also endowed with a huge number of awqaf, the most important in the Ottoman period being “Tekiyya Hasseki Sultan lil-Imara al-Amira” founded by Kharam Shah (Roxanna the Russian), the spouse of Sultan Suleiman al-Qanuni, in 1552 (AH 959) and endowed by the sultan with an important awqaf in 1556 (AH 964) and 1559 (AH 967) to provide food to the poor (*al-shawraba* restaurants or soup restaurants) serving 500 meals twice a day [al-Arna`ut 2014: 186, 191–192; al-Assli 1983: 98].

According to the registers of the Islamic Law Court in Jerusalem, a significant part of the awqaf of Jerusalem was dedicated to the Maghribi communi-

⁷ [al-Hazmawi 2008: 234]. Al-Hazmawi used the registers of *mahkamas* (sharia courts) in al-Quds to determine the names of Maghribi families: Registers 344-374-378-383, years: 1860–1894 (AH 1277–1312). See also [al-Khalidi 2013: 143–144; Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 66–68].

⁸ For example, Ribat al-Qurd; Adouwidaria, al-Salamia, al-Karimia, al-Amnia, al-Malikia, al-Tankazia, al-Awhadia, al-Maymounia schools; Jami` Qalaat al-Quds; Zawiat al-Maghariba. See [al-Assli 1982: 104–105; Abdelkrim 2004: 201].

⁹ The founders of these awqaf are: 10 by Sultans, 30 by princes and rulers, 3 by princesses and rich women, 109 by legal scholars and merchants, and 4 by men of religion. See [al-Assli 1983: 95].

ty. The *waqfiyyat* (legal documents) of the Maghribi awqaf deposited in the city court and covering a period from 1320 to 1937 (AH 720–1356) were gathered by Shaykh Muhammad Effendi al-Mahdi al-Maghribi and Shaykh Muhammad Effendi ibn Muhammad ibn Hamid al-Tunussi in 1923 (AH 1324), and were numbered, indexed, and authenticated by Ahmad al-Assli in 1981 [al-Almi 1981; al-Hazmawi 2008: 235–253].

3.2. *Components of Maghribi Awqaf*

The following are the Maghribi awqaf in Jerusalem that provided income to Maghribis, according to the chronological order of their foundation.

1. Waqf al-Malik al-Afdal Nurredin known as waqf Hayy al-Maghariba (Maghribi quarter waqf), established in the year 1187 (AH 583). Its original *hujja* (deed) is now lost, but was transcribed twice: first, 40 years after the death of al-Malik al-Afdal (1268 [AH 666]), and the second time in the early Ottoman period (1596 [AH 1004]). The transcribed *waqfiyya* stipulates that the transcription was written according to the founder's conditions in conformity with the order given by the qadi and confirmed—as imposed by the Sharia—with no discontinuity in time as they were fixed in the original *waqfiyya* of al-Malik al-Afdal who established a waqf in the Maghribi quarter¹⁰ to reward Maghribis for their role in the Jihad of his father, Saladin [Benabdallah 1996: Vol. 1, 130; Tazi 1981: 6–11].

2. Waqf of the great sufi Abu Madyan Shuaib al-Ghawth,¹¹ known as the al-Buraq Mosque waqf, was established in November 1320 (29 Ramadan AH 720). It is

¹⁰ This waqf was renewed according to a *waqfiyya* dated 1268 (AH 666). It is delimited from the south by the al-Quds wall and Ain Salwan road; from the east by the wall of al-Haram Sharif; from the north by Um al-Banat bridge; from the west by Dar al-Imam Shamseddin Qadi of al-Quds and the residence of Emir Hussam Eddin Qaymar. See [Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 234–235; Tazi 1981: 83].

¹¹ Abu Madyan Shuaib ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hussein al-Ansari was born in Cantillana, a small Andalusian town near Seville, in 1126 (AH 520). He traveled to Fes to complete his education and attended the courses of eminent scholars like Abu al-Hassan Ali ibn Hirzihim, Abu Ghalib, and Ali Diqaq. He became familiar with the works of the most prominent theologian, philosopher, and mystic of Sunni Islam, al-Ghazali, and especially with his fundamental work “Ihiyaa Ulum Addin.” Abu Madyan left for the Mashriq and went to Mecca where he met great sufis, among whom were the great Muslim saint Abdulkadir al-Jilani, founder of the Qadiriya tariqa, and completed his mystic studies under him. On his return to the Maghrib, he went to the town of Bejaia where he practiced very strict asceticism and held a *fatwa* council. He stayed in Bejaia some 20 years teaching and preaching, and wrote his book “Ussuss Attawhid.” People would come from far and wide both to listen to his public lectures and to consult him. They believed he could even perform miracles and was considered a perfect sufi (*ghawth*) and imam of worshippers and

related to the venerated sufi Abu Madyan Shuaib al-Andalusi, and was probably founded by his grandson, also named Abu Madyan and who adhered to the *tariqa* (sufi brotherhood) al-Madyaniyya present in Egypt and which had a significant following in Jerusalem. It is possible too that the waqf was founded by the *tariqa* itself during the lifetime of Abu Madyan, the grandson.¹²

The Maghribi community became the guardian of the awqaf Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and transcribed their *hujaj* (deeds) many times, for example the transcriptions dated 1780 (AH 1193) [Massignon 1952: 87–89].

The Ottoman rulers were also interested in these awqaf, which were the subject of an Ottoman *firman* (decree) in 1651 (AH 1062), and another in 1666 (AH 1077) confirming their inalienability. In 1841 (AH 1256), the governor of the province of Bilad al-Sham was given an order forbidding changing or disposing these awqaf,¹³ in a period that witnessed the embezzlement of many awqaf and their changing to private houses or properties.¹⁴

The main component of the awqaf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth is a real property inside the Old City known as Mabna al-Qantara Umm al-Banat located near Bab al-Silsila. This property is composed of many service buildings including an asylum of two rooms, an old people's home, a toilet, a shop, and some premises in the underground level [Massignon 1952: 89; Najm et al. 1983: 386; al-Khalidi 2013: 147; Tazi 1981; Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 87–88; al-Mawssua al-Filistinia: Vol. 3, 370].

The other important component of the awqaf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth is

ascetics. This popularity disturbed the Almohad scholars and incited the Almohad caliph Abu Yussuf Yaqub al-Mansur to get rid of him, and he asked him to come to his capital Marrakech. However Abu Madyan Shuayb died on his journey near the town of Tlemcen in the vicinity of al-Abbad where he was buried (1197 [AH 594]). His tomb became a celebrated shrine.

¹² The story goes that Abu Madyan Shuayb had a son by his Abyssinian concubine. This son, named Muhammad, did not leave Bejaia, where he died in 1245 (AH 643). He had a son named after his grandfather Abu Madyan who was linked to the *tariqa* Madyaniyya, known in Egypt and al-Quds, and he is considered the founder of the al-Quds waqf named after his grandfather (waqf Abu Madyan al-Ghawth). See [Saadallah 2008: 163–164; Saadallah 2009: 136–163; Massignon 1952: 85–86].

¹³ For example, the order issued to the governor of Syria province in 1840 (AH 1256) forbidding the alteration of the *waqfiyya* of Abu Madyan. See [Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 236–237]. This move probably made possible the reconstruction of the zawiya in 1852 (AH 1269) and its subsequent preservation. See [Najm et al. 1983: 386].

¹⁴ On the transformation of awqaf into private properties, see [al-Assli 1983: 95; 1981]. For instance, there were many court judgements to prevent the disposal of Maghribi awqaf in al-Quds in the years 1878, 1914, 1917, 1931. These cases were presented to the al-Quds court. Among these judgements are those issued by Suleiman Serri on the awqaf of Ain Karam. See [Massignon 1952: 85–105].

the village of Ain Karam located in the southwest of Jerusalem, covering 1,500 hectares of exploited and abandoned land, ruins, houses, a *bustan* (agricultural garden), and pomegranate trees. This village is limited by al-Malha al-Kubra from the south; Ain Yaqt, al-Qaloonia, al-Harrach, al-Safsaf, and Zawya al-Bakhtiarria from the north; Ain Shaq from the west; and the lands of al-Malha al-Kubra from the east [Massignon 1952: 88, 95–99].

3. Waqf Shaykh al-Mujahid Umar ibn Abdallah ibn Abdennebi al-Majrad(i), known also as al-Masmudi. The endowment founded in 1330 (AH 730) is known as waqf Zawiya al-Masmudi or Zawiya al-Maghribia. It is located on the west side of the high part of the Maghribi quarter and is composed of three houses of 10 rooms and annexes, namely an oven and a mill in Mahallat al-Maghariba; a house in Mahallat Sharaf; shops in Suk al-Qashass; and al-Laymoun bridge.¹⁵

3.3. Supervision of the *Awqaf* of Maghribis

The *awqaf* of Maghribis were supervised by *nudhar* (supervisors) from the Maghribi community and whose names and activities are noted in the registers of the Legal Court of Jerusalem.¹⁶ Of these *nudhar* we cite some who were in charge in the 18th century (AH 11th): Muhammad ibn Said al-Maghribi, Ahmed ibn Ali, Hajj Mansour ibn ‘Abderrahman, Ahmed al-Maghribi al-Maknassi, Nouwiran Farah, Salem ibn Ali; and in the 19th century (AH 13th): Shaykh Abdallah al-Maghribi, Abdallah al-Tunussi, Muhammad Yaqub al-Maghribi, Ahmed al-Wazzani, Hajj Muhammad al-Haluli (al-Bahluli), Hajj Arabi (al-Arabi), Effendi al-Tunussi, Hajj Abdessalem, Bashir al-Maghribi, Muhammad Ibrahim al-Sussi, Salah al-Jazairi, Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Maghribi al-Tunussi and Muhammad Muhammad Arif al-Qassantin [al-Hazmawi 2008: 235; al-Maghribi 2000: 102; al-Madani 2004: 13–19, 206–217; al-Arabiyyat 2000: 112], the latter was *mutawalli* of the waqf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth in 1861–1870 (AH 1278–1287) [al-Madani 2004: 215].

In addition to their task as guardians of the Maghribi *awqaf*, the Shaykhs of the community took care of its members and presented their views and interests to the Ottoman ruler in Jerusalem. They distributed the income of *Surrat Ahali al-Quds* among Maghribi individuals listed on the registers of the *Surra*. For example, the register number 178, dated 1671 (12 Rajab AH 1082), stipulated that the share of the 20 Maghribis living in Hayy al-Risha headed by Abderrahman and

¹⁵ See the text of the *waqfiyya* of Al-Masmudi [Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 231–233; Sroor 2010: 170 (tab. 6)].

¹⁶ Al-Quds Court Archive: Registers: 344-375-378-383; Years: 1860 (AH 1277), 1885 (AH 1303), 1886 (AH 1304), 1887 (AH 1305), 1894 (AH 1312) [al-Hazmawi 2008: 234].

Salah, sons of Shaykh Abdelkarim al-Babindi, was one *sakka* for each.¹⁷

4. The Awqaf of Maghribi in Jerusalem: Facing Difficulties and Liquidation Policies

Like other Islamic awqaf in Palestine, the Maghribi awqaf in Jerusalem faced restrictions and control by a British mandate authority (1918–1948) which was sympathetic with the Zionist movement working for the liquidation of Muslim awqaf as an element of a larger enterprise to dominate the country.

Even before the period of the British mandate, the Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem were outraged at the change of the nature of Jewish visits to the al-Buraq Wall (Western Wall), from a remembrance of the past as they had been during the first Ottoman period (1520–1840), to visits characterized by religious rituals using chairs and tables for reading religious Jewish texts, and veils to separate men and women. The Muslim inhabitants gradually came to see these ceremonies as an affirmation of Jewish historical and religious rights to the al-Buraq Wall. The Jews found support from the British consulate in Jerusalem, and in 1891 this situation urged the heads of the Muslim community to present a complaint to the Ottoman authority to stop the process of transfer of Muslim properties to Jewish hands.¹⁸

Because of the insistence after the imposition of the British mandate of the Jews claiming their supposed rights regarding the al-Buraq Wall, conflict developed after 1925 and resulted in clashes which ended in the al-Buraq uprising (1929) [al-Hut 1986: 218–224], which forced the British authorities to send the Shaw Commission to Palestine in 24 October 1929. The Shaw Report, officially known

¹⁷ [Saban 2008: 197]. According to the Register of Surrat Ahali al-Quds, no. 178 (Jamaat al-Maghariba, no. 42) (Ottoman Archive: Ev. HMK. S.R. 178).

Sakka or *sikki* was a gold currency used in the Ottoman Empire. It was also known as *sultani* or *ottmani*. Its name has its origin in the old Venetian gold currency (*zecchino* in Venetian Italian, *sequin* in French) used in Italy and weighing approximately 3.50 g of gold, and which spread in the Arabic provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Bilad al-Sham and North Africa) as a result of the Venetian commercial activity in the empire. The Ottoman *sakka* was issued in the sixteenth century and had the same weight as the Venetian. There were local variants of the *sakka*, hence the variations in value and weight. For example, at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century the *sakka* of Algiers was equalling approximately 8.74 French francs [Saidouni 2013: 193, 281, 312].

¹⁸ This situation led *mutawalli* (supervisor) of awqaf al-Maghariba in al-Quds to inform the director of the awqaf of al-Quds Arif Hikmat of these violations (1910 [AH 1327]). The director ordered him to stop these acts as they appear in the minutes of the awqaf Council dated 1911 (AH 1328). See [Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 116–117, 239–240].

as the Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929, was presented to the British government on 30 December 1930. After hearing both Muslim and Jewish claims, it confirmed the al-Buraq Wall as Muslim property, since it was a part of the Muslim sanctuaries in Jerusalem considered as Muslim awqaf. In addition, it stated that the sidewalk located in front of the wall and the Mahallat al-Maghariba (Maghribi quarter) were a Muslim waqf too [al-Hut 1986: 226–231].

Despite these decisions, Jewish claims to al-Buraq Wall did not stop. The issue was not settled and the awqaf of Maghribis became a source of political tensions and social conflict. The British law of 1926 and law No. 28 of 1936 did not improve the situation, and the latter even permitted the use of Muslim awqaf for military purposes [Abdelkrim 2004: 208; Shalabi 2008: 472–473].

At the meantime, wider Muslim public opinion concerns about the Maghribi awqaf strengthened, and the Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem (7–17 December 1931) established a High Islamic Council headed by Hajj Amin al-Husayni, and made it responsible for all Islamic affairs and the administration of Islamic awqaf including Maghribi awqaf [al-Arif 1994: 276–277; Z'aiter 1994: 366–375; Busson de Janssens 1951: 37–38; al-Hut 1986: 243–247].

After the First Arab-Israeli War and the foundation of the state of Israel (1948), men of religion from the Maghrib tried to save the Maghribi awqaf. A group of Algerian *muftis*, who were at the time French subjects, presented a complaint to the French government urging it to intervene at the United Nations to safeguard Maghribi awqaf in Jerusalem and Hebron (1948). The Hanafi *mufti* in Algeria Shaykh al-Assimi sent a letter on this matter to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1951) [Saadallah 2008: 166–167; Massignon 1952].

Two Algerian religious scholars, Shaykh Muhammad al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi and Shaykh Tayyib al-Uqbi, were interested in the awqaf of Abu Madyan and made efforts to present them to Algerian public opinion, and a committee headed by Shaykh Tayyib al-Uqbi was constituted under the title of Palestine Rescue Committee whose members visited Jerusalem in 1950 [Mariwush 2006: 423–426].

The representative in the Algerian Assembly Mesbah presented a resolution approved on 17 July 1952, stressing the importance of the awqaf of Abu Madyan for Maghribis and the necessity to rehabilitate and restore the al-Buraq zawiya and mosque [Saadallah 2008: 175].

The French authorities did not hinder these efforts and encouraged the *Comité Chrétien d'Entente France-Islam* of Louis Massignon (1883–1962) which tried to raise the question of the awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem (1947) to preserve French influence in Palestine [Saadallah 2008: 169–171].

The awqaf of Maghribis, now known as awqaf Abu Madyan, were put under Jordanian administration from 1948 to 1967 and benefited from the special attention and commitment of Jordanian awqaf officials. However, the occupation of East

Jerusalem in 1967 set in motion a liquidation process of the awqaf of Maghribis. The Maghribi quarter was emptied of its inhabitants (10 June 1967), the Israeli occupation army demolished 135 houses in the quarter, and a decree of 18 April 1968 confiscated 116 dunams, including the Maghribi quarter, Sharaf (Old Jewish quarter), and Bab as-Salsila street (al-Yashoura).¹⁹

That was the end of the Maghribi quarter in Jerusalem. Its religious and educational institutions and awqaf and other real properties were gradually confiscated by means of pressure and the removal of many families in 1980. Bab al-Maghariba was closed after the first al-Aqsa massacre (8 October 1990) under the pretext of guaranteeing security at al-Buraq Wall [Annab 2001: 99–100, 177; Salah 2010: 169–170; al-Hut 1986: 218].

The awqaf of Maghribis, as inalienable and unchangeable properties, generated historical rights and naturally became a means of resistance to Israeli occupation and the process of annexation of Jerusalem. They are a political and a religious issue and a spiritual link between the Maghrib and the Mashriq and have a huge presence in the Maghribi consciousness, a presence amplified by the still open wounds of Jerusalem and Palestine occupation.

Conclusions

At the end of this paper on the awqaf of the Maghribi community in Jerusalem, it appears, considering their realities, their historical development, and the cultural and social services they provided, that these awqaf were spiritual, human, and cultural links. The following conclusions show their importance.

1. The awqaf documents (*waqfiyyat* and waqf registers) of the Maghribi quarter in Jerusalem are key sources for the study of Maghrib-Mashriq relations in the fields of charity, scholarly activities, and human relationships, since they contain valuable data about the foundation of the awqaf, their description, limits, witnesses, qadi decisions, conditions of income expenditure, beneficiaries and their social classes, the nature of allowances, and even the currencies in use. These documents also inform us about the procedures used to avoid the dilapidation of the awqaf such as *istibdal* (*muawada*, change), income and its fluctuations. All these elements are precious indicators of the historical, social, and cultural reality of the awqaf and the status of the Maghribis in Jerusalem.

¹⁹ Protest petition against Israeli expropriation of Islamic awqaf, no. 1443, 18 April 1968, issued by the two *mutawallis* of awqaf al-Maghariba, Aissa Hashim al-Mukhtar al-Maghribi and Muhammad Ibrahim 'Abd al-Haqq (published 26 May 1968). See [Ibn Khadhra and Abu Hassna 2004: 150, 241–246; al-Khalidi 2013: 144].

2. The documents of awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem are also good indicators of the participation of Maghribis in the cultural and social life in Mashriqi urban societies and their spiritual ties in such culturally and religiously distinguished microcosms. Jerusalem was an attractive centre for its religious and spiritual status complementing the holy places of the Hijaz, and it was a destination for worshippers, immigrants, and transiting pilgrims from the Maghrib. The awqaf documents show the real interaction and uninterrupted ties between Maghrib and Mashriq, despite the geographical and political distance between the two spheres, and their direct relations with the centre of the caliphate in Istanbul.

3. The awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem provided minimal requirements for living and studying, and created among the members of the Maghribi community a strong feeling of unity and homogeneity that they missed in their original countries because of political divisions and geographical distance. Maghribi life in Jerusalem made them feel that they were a specific group distinct from Mashriqi groups, although they wove strong ties with these communities and were fully integrated thanks to religious and cultural brotherhood.

4. The Maghribi presence is also illustrated in the names of Maghribi families settled in Jerusalem: al-Sussi, al-Wazzani, al-Sallawi, al-Lemdani, al-Bahluli (al-Haluli), al-Masmudi, Abdessalam, Abdallah Agha, al-Hajj al-Mubarak, al-Maatawi, al-Ubaidi, al-Haifawi, al-Bakri, etc. [al-Hazmawi 2008: 234; Massignon 1952: 114–116 (Liste A, Awqaf maghrébins)]. The documents of Maghribi awqaf in Jerusalem contain data on these families and their social and economic status.

5. The content of the documents of the awqaf of Maghribis in Jerusalem allows the researcher to measure Maghribi influence in, and interaction with, a specific Mashriqi society, and confirms the free and tolerant environment they were living in. Their Maliki rite did not forbid them from interacting with groups of other rites.

6. Finally, the Maghribi presence marked Jerusalem history and this is best illustrated in the toponymy of the city evoking the Maghribi community: Harat al-Maghariba, Zawiyat al-Maghariba, Jamî al-Maghariba, Mi'dhanat Bab al-Maghariba, Tariq al-Maghariba, Bab al-Maghariba [Najm 2008: 553–561].

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Appendix 1: Maghribi Awqaf in Jerusalem and Their Dependencies

No	Property of the waqf	Date of foundation	Name of the founder
1	Waqf Ain Karam	20 Ramadan 720 H.	Abu Madyan (hujja registered in the legal court, no. 194 (p. 365))
2	House in Bab al-Silsila	1 Rabi II 1252 H.	Hajj Muhammad Agha al-Mahlouli
3	House in the Maghribi quarter	6 Jumada II 1066 H.	Hajja Mariam al-Maghribia
4	Bustan (agricultural garden) outside the walls near Bab al-Maghariba	18 Safar 1136 H.	Hajj Abdessalam al-Maghribi
5	Nothing		
6	Cowshed in the Maghribi quarter	18 Rabi II ?	Founded by Shaykh Ahmed Shaykh al-Maghariba
7	House near the Orphans House	18 Rabi II 1192 H.	Founded by Shaykh Ahmed Shaykh al-Maghariba
8	House in the Maghribi quarter	Rajab 1123 H.	Founded by Shaykh Ahmed Shaykh al-Maghariba
9	House in the Maghribi quarter	28 Jumada I 1123 H.	Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi and Hajj Mubarak
10	House in the Maghribi quarter	28 Safar 1226 H.	Moulay Ahmed al-Maghribi
11	House in Durj Tabbouni	10 Ramadan 1166 H.	Hajj Abdallah Agha al-Maghribi
12	House in the Maghribi quarter	28 Muharram 1187 H.	Hajj Kassim ibn Abdallah al-Marrakechi (hujja registered in the legal court, no. 135, p. 487)
13	House in the Maghribi quarter	15 Rabi I 1161 H.	Hajj Abu Ziyar al-Maghribi
14	House in Harat al-Sharaf	Safar 1214 H.	Ahmed Agha Sayyid al-Maghribi
15	House in the Christian quarter	7 Dhou-l-qida 1231 H.	Hajj Ahmed al-Wazzani moutawali al-waqf
16	Two parts of a house in the Christian quarter	End of Dhou-l-qida 1235 H.	Hajj Ahmed al-Wazzani moutawali al-waqf
17	House in Harat al-Sharaf	10 Rabi II 1158 H.	Hajj Abdallah Sallawi
18-19	Not registred		
20	House in the Maghribi quarter	Muharram 1218 H.	
21	House in the Maghribi quarter	Dhou-l-qida 1166 H.	Shaykh Muhammad ibn Shaykh Ahmed Salem

22	Act for a donation of an amount of money to buy a building in the Maghribi quarter	15 Ramadan 1058 H.	Hahi Safie
23	House in the Maghribi quarter known as Dar Lemdali	18 Shaban 1198 H.	Abdelkader Lemdali
24-25	House in the Maghribi quarter	9 Rabi II 1083 H.	Khalil Bahloul Pacha
26	House in the Armenian quarter	Jumada I 1212 H.	Moutawali waqf al-waqf
27	House in the Armenian quarter	15 Safar 1227 H.	Shaykh Effendi Yacub al-Maghribi (waqf registred in the legal court of Jerusalem, no. 185, p. 478)
28	House in the Maghribi quarter	13 Muharram 1237 H.	Hajj Kassim al-Maghribi
29-30	House in the Maghribi quarter	10 Rajab 1141 H.	Shaykh Abdessalam al-Maghribi
31	Cactus pear plants in the Maghribi quarter	11 Muharram 1212 H.	Hajj Bilal Moutawali al-waqf
32-33	Cactus pear plants in the Maghribi quarter	11 Rajab 1123 H.	Hajj Ahamed ibn al-Hakam al-Maghribi
34	Plot of land	20 Shawwal 753 H.	Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Othman ibn abi Yusuf Yacub ibn Abdelhaqq Sultan of Morocco (Hajj Ahmed ibn al-Hakam was the uncle of Sultan Abi Inan al-Marini)
35-37	Not registered		
38	Purchase of a half in Harat Sharaf	15 Rabi II 1159 H.	Hajj Abdallah Agha al-Maghribi Sallawi
39	Vineyard in al-Ludd	15 Rajab 1255 H.	Abdelamalik al-Maghribi
40	House in Bab Hotta	13 Rajab 1171 H.	Haj Muhammad Lemdani al-Maghribi
41-44	Not registered		
45	House in Hai al-Saadia and three parts in Birqat Sultan near the Jaffa Gate	2 Jumada I 1187 H.	Hajj Ali al-Maghribi
46	Half of a plot of land in the Maghribi quarter	13 Muharram 1203 H.	Hajj Abu Izzat al-Maghribi
47-48	Not registered		
49	Half of a house in Suq al-Hasr	Rabi II 1255 H.	Hajj Muhammad Agha al-Bahlouli al-Maghribi
50	Plot of land in the Maghribi quarter	22 Rabi I 1198 H.	Hajj Ismael al-Maghribi

51	Plot of land of Telemssani	Rabi Ii 1194 H.	Hajj Ahmed al-Sussi al-Maghribi
52	Plot of land in the Maghribi quarter	10 Shaban 1197 H.	Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi
53	Half of a plot of land in the Maghribi quarter	15 Rajab 1197 H.	al-Massghouli
54	Plot of land west of the Maghribi quarter	15 Safar 1123 H.	Shaykh Ahmed ibn Abdelhakim
55-56	Not registered		
57	Plot of land above an oven in the Maghribi quarter	1 Rabi I 1135 H.	Sayyid Abdessalem al-Maghribi
58-61	Not registered		
62	Zawiya and three houses in the Maghribi quarter	3 Rabi 730 H.	Shaykh Omar al-Majrad al-Maghribi
63-70	Not registered		
71	Third of a house in the Maghribi quarter	Rabi I 1160 H.	Hajj Abdallah al-Maghribi
72	Five shops in the Jewish quarter	27 Rabi II 1326 H.	Hajj Bashir Abdessalam al-Maghribi
73	Land of Salwan in Ras al-Amoud		Hajj Ali al-Sarrifi al-Maghribi
74-96	Not registered		
97	Hikr in the hands of Mikhail Raheel	Date and founder unknown	
98	Hikr in the hands of Russians in Ain Karam	Date and founder unknown	

Source: Massignon 1952: 114–116.

Appendix 2: Text of the Waqfiyya of Abu Madyan Shuaib

طبق أصله ترشيحي زادة على عطا الله النائب بمحكمة محمود باشا بدار الخلافة
العلم نمقه الفقير إليه عز شأنه آ علي عطا الله

فتواخانه عالي به ربيع الآخر سنة 320
مهري مطابق ومالي بوجه وقف مذكوري بباندن
عارت ايدوكى في 15 ربيع الآخر سنة 320
مميز اعلامات شرعية
أمين فتوى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وكفى وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى وبعد فهذا
كتاب وقف صحيح شرعي وحس صريح مرضي اكتبه الفقير إليه سبحانه الراجي
عفوه وغفرانه الشيخ الإمام العالم الفاضل الورع الزاهد الخاشع السالف العارف
القدوة أبو مدين شعيب ابن سيدنا الشيخ الصالح العالم المجاهد أبي عبد الله محمد
بن الشيخ الإمام بركة المسلمين حجة الله بقية السلف الصالحين أبي مدين شعيب
المغربي العثماني المالكي نفع الله ببركته وفسح بمدته وأشهد على نفسه الزكية وهو
في صحته أنه وقف وجبس وسبل وأبد وتصدق وحرم وحرر وأكد جميع المكانين
الآتي ذكرهما ووصفهما وتحديدتهما فيه الجارين في يد الوقف المذكور وملكه
وتصرفه وحيازته إلى حين هذا الوقف يشهد بذلك من يعينه في رسم شهادته بآخر
هذا الكتاب المبارك واحد المكانين المذكورين وهو قرية تعرف بقرية عين كارم
من قرى مدينة القدس الشريف وتشتمل على أراضي معتمل ومعطل وعامر ودائر
وأوعار وسهل وصخور صلدا لا تراب عليها ولا ينتفع بها بزراع وعلى آثار دور
برسم سكنا فلاحها وبنيان بأراضيها وبستان صغير وأشجار رمان وغير ذلك يستقي
من عين ماءها وأشجار زيتون رومي وخروب وتين وبلوط وقيقب ولها حدود

أربعة تجمعها وتحصرها وتحيط بها الحد القبلي منها ينتهي إلى المالحه الكبرى والحد الشمالي ينتهي إلى بعض أراضي عين كاوت وقلونيه وحاراش وصاطاف وزاوية البختياري والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى عين الشقاق والحد الشرقي ينتهي إلى بعض أراضي المالحه الكبرى وبيت مزميل بجميع حقوقها ومرافقها ومزرعها ومفلحها واندرها ودمنها والعين الموجودة بها والنزارة والأشجار الثابتة بها والآبار الخربة وقرامي العنب العتيقة الرومية وما ينسب للقرية المذكورة وبكل حق هو من حقوقها داخلا فيها وخارجا عنها منسوب إليها خلا ما في ذلك من مسجد الله تعالى وطريق المسلمين ومقبرة لهم فإن ذلك خارج عن هذا الوقف وغير داخل فيه وأما لمكان الثاني الموقوف فيه فإنه بالقدس الشريف بخط يعرف بقنطرة أم البنات باب السلسلة المشتمل على إيوان وبيتين وساحة ومرتفق خاص وسفلي ذلك مخزن وقبو ولذلك حدود أربعة معلومة وقفا صحيحا شرعيا قاطعا ماضيا صريحا مرعيا وحسبا دائما سرمدا وصدقة جارية ومعروفا مؤكدا وسبيلا خالصا لأهله مؤبدا والمستحقين على الدوام وقفا عليهم ولهم مرصدا محرما بحرمان الله العظيم ابتغاء لوجهه الكريم وطلبا لثوابه العميم يوم يجزي الله المتصدقين لا يباع ذلك ولا شيء منه ولا من حقوقه ولا من حدوده ولا يملك ولا يناقد ولا يحل عقد من عقوده ولا يرجع هذا الوقف لغير أهله ولا يعوض على غيرهم ولا يتبدل محفوظا على شروطه المبنية لا يبطله تقادم دهر ولا يوهنه اختلاف عصر كلما مر عليه زمان أكده وكلما أتى عليه أوان بينة وسدده أبد الأبدين ودهر الدهرين إلى أن يرث الله الأرض ومن عليها وهو ير الوارثين أنشأ الواقف المذكور أعظم الله له الأجور ووقفه على السادات المغاربة المقيمين بالقدس الشريف والقادمين إليها من السادة المغاربة القادمين على اختلاف أوصافهم وتباين حرفهم ذكورهم وإناثهم كبيرهم وصغيرهم فاضلهم ومفضولهم لا ينازعهم فيه منازع ولا يشاركهم فيه مشرك يتمتعون بذلك بالسكن والإيجار وسائر الانتفاعات والمقاسمة والمزارعة على الصيغ المذكورة ويقدم في ذلك الواردون على المقيمين والأحوج فالأحوج والأدين فلا دين فإذا انقرضت المغاربة ولم يوجد منهم أحد مقيما بالقدس سواء كان ذكرا

أو أنثى فيرجع وقفا على من يوجد من المغاربة في مكة المشرفة زادها الله شرفاً وعلى من يوجد منهم بالمدينة المنورة فإذا لم يوجد أحد منهم بالحرمين الشريفين فيرجع وقفا على الحرمين الشريفين وشرط الواقف النظر والتولية على هذا الوقف لنفسه مدة حياته ثم من بعده لمن يوجد رشيداً من جنس المغاربة المقيمين بالقدس الشريف ويُشهد له بالرشد والتقوى وقد أعد المكان الثاني المندرج في هذا الكتاب زاوية سكنا للواردين الذكور من المغاربة وليس لإنات المغاربة الواردون ولا لذكور المغاربة المقيمون ولا لإناتهم السكن في المكان المذكور وعلى كل من يتولى هذا الوقف أن يبدأ بعمارته وإصلاحه وصلاحه وترميمه وما فيه بقاء عينه ومزيد مغلّه وريعه وألاً تُؤجر القرية مع أماكن استغلالها والمقاسمة عليها أكثر من سنتين ولا يستأنف عقد حتى ينقضي العقد الأول وقد شرط الواقف أنه بعد الفايض من التعميرات أن يعمل المتولي في الثلاثة أشهر وهم رجب وشعبان ورمضان خبزاً ويفرق في الزاوية على المغاربة به لكل قادم من الغرب ومقيم من المغاربة بالقدس الشريف جوزاي رغيفان ذكروا وإناتاً عند تفريق الخبز بعد صلاة العصر يقرأ الحاضرون سبع فواتح والإخلاص والمعوذتين ثلاثاً وبهدي ثواب ذلك إلى حضرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ولأصحابه وأتباعه ولروح الواقف ولجميع ما ينسب بالخير في هذا الوقف وشرط الواقف إطعامية في عيد الفطر وفي عيد الأضحى وفي المولد الشريف لفقراء المغاربة وشرط الواقف أن يدفع المتولي لكل قادم من الغرب محتاجاً ومقيماً بالزاوية ثمن كسوة تقيه من البرد وإذا مغربياً ولم يكن عنده شيء فيصرف تجهيزه وتكفينه من غلة الوقف فقد تم هذا الوقف المبارك بتمام شروطه وأركانها وافق قواعده وصحة بنيانه ونفذ حكمه وانبرام لوقوعه من أهله في محله وعلى الوجه المرضي لجوازه وحله ولخلوه عما يؤدي إلى نقضه وحله لكونه صار وقفاً مؤكداً وحبساً دائماً محرراً مسدداً لا يملك ولا يتصدق به ولا يوهب ولا يرهن ولا يناقد به ولا يتعوض عنه ولا يسلب ولا يحل لأحد يؤمن بالله واليوم الآخر ويعلم أنه إلى ربه العظيم صاير من أمير أو مأمور أو ذي سلطان جائران يبطل هذا الوقف ولا شيء منه ولا يغيره ولا ينسى منه ولا يقدر فيه ولا

في شيء منه ولا يسعى في إبطاله ولا في إبطال شيء منه جاهر ولا بإيماء ولا بفتوى ولا بمشورة ولا بتدقيق حيلة يعلمه بها الذي يعلم خائنة الأعين وما تخفي الصدور فمن فعل ذلك وأعان عليه فإِنَّه تعالى طليبه وحببسه ومؤاخذه بعمله ومجازيه بفعله ويلقى الله تعالى وهو غضبان عليه غير راض عنه يوم تجد كل نفس ما عملت من خير محضراً وما عملت من سوء تود لو أن بينها وبينه أمدا بعيداً ويحذركم الله نفسه والله رؤوف بالعباد ومن خالف ذلك فقد عدل عن أمر ربه وتمرد عليه واستبان وعيده واستحق لعنته ولعنة الله ولعنة اللاعنين والملائكة والناس أجمعين فالويل ثم الويل لمن خالفه وتعداه لقوله تعالى فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه إن الله سميع عليم وقد وقع أجر هذا الواقف على الله رب العالمين الذي لا يضيع أجر المحسنين وأشهد عليه أحسن الله إليه وأجرى الخيرات على يده بجميع ما نسب إليه في هذا الكتاب بعد أن قُرئ عليه من أوله إلى آخره وتلفظ بوقف ما عين وقفه فيه على الحكم المشروح فيه في الحالة والحال ولشروط الشروط والنظر كما عين وبين بأعاليه وذلك في اليوم المبارك التاسع والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة عشرين وسبعماية أحسن الله تنظيمها في خير وعافية والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وعترته الطيبين الطاهرين.

اصلنه مطابقدر

محكمه شرعيه

قدس شريف

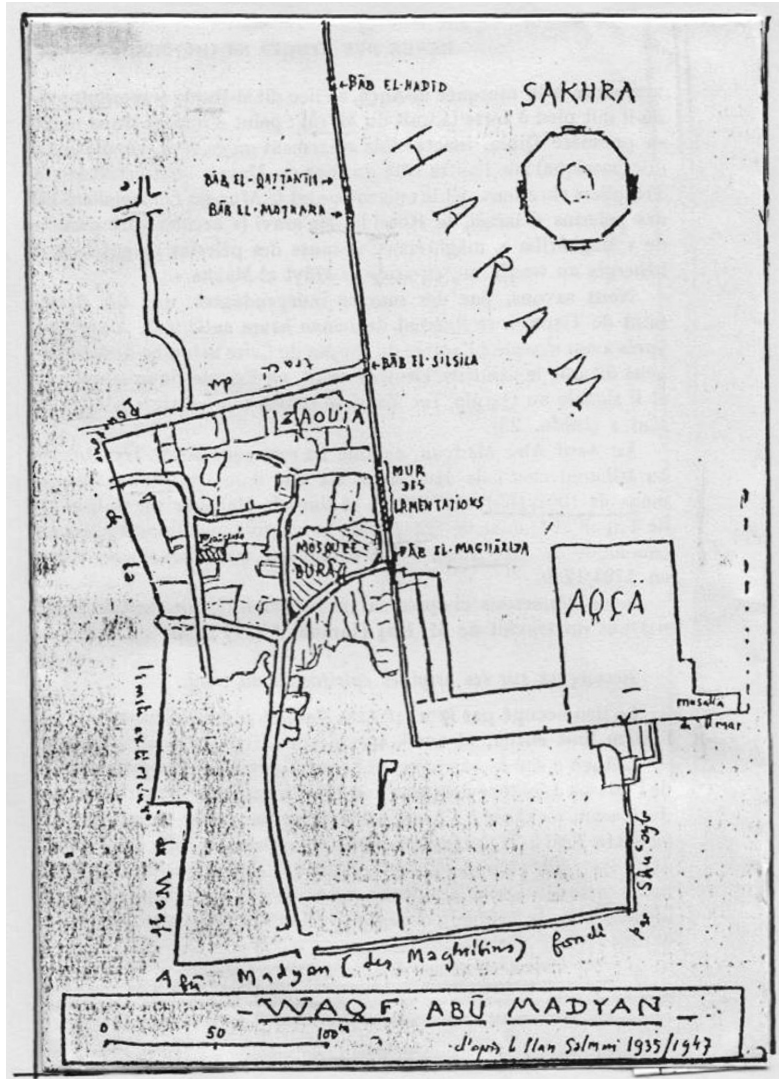
الوثيقة بتاريخ 10 ربيع الثاني 1320 هـ/1902 م، عليها ختم أمين الفتوى في 15 ربيع الثاني 1320 هـ.

Dated 1902 (10 Rabî II AH 1320). The seal of *amin al-fatwa* appears dated 15 Rabî II AH 1320).

Source (Arabic original and French translation):

Massignon 1952: 87–92 (Reviewed by Haj Hammou, Algiers).

Appendix 3: A Sketch of Abu Madyan Waqf in Jerusalem



Source: Massignon 1952: 87–92 (Reviewed by Haj Hammou, Algiers).