Between Ottomanization and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem's Maghariba Neighborhood

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This study presents the *ʿatīk* (old) and *cedīd* (new) appointment registers located in Ankara in the Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations in Turkey, and discusses their importance for the social and economic history of Jerusalem after 1840. They are composed mainly of records of appointments, promotions, and dismissals of waqf employees, and were continually updated. This article focuses on the registers of the Maghariba neighborhood, a unique example of an area founded as a waqf quarter; an unprecedented event in Islamic history. Although a number of studies have explored the establishment of the quarter and its *awqāf* (Ar. s. waqf; Ott. vakf, pl. *evkaf*),¹ the changing nature of these institutions over time merits more attention.

The word waqf and its plural form *awqāf* are derived from the Arabic root verb *waqafa*, which means to cause something to stop and stand still. In the Ottoman Empire, the word waqf was also used to describe a sophisticated philanthropic foundation; a revenue-generating property in which a part of the

1 See for example Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi al-Hanbali, *Al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wa-l-Khalil* [The glorious history of Jerusalem and Hebron], 2 vols. (Amman, 1973); Abdul Latif Tibawi, *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem* (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1978); Ador Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," *Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1992); Tom Abowd, "The Moroccan Quarter: A History of the Present," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 7 (2000); Kamil Jamil Asali, "Haratu'l-Maghariba fi al-Quds wa Ahammiyyatuha at-Tarihiyya" [Maghariba quarter in Jerusalem and its importance in history], in *Al-Buhus ve al-Dirasat ve al-Makalat* [Matters, studies and the articles], 2 vols. (Amman: Vezaretu's-Sakafe, 2009), 19; Muhammad Hashim Musa Dawud Ghushah, *Al-Awqāf al-Islamiyah fi-l-Quds al-sharif: dirasa tarikhīyya muwathāqa* [Islamic *awqāf* in Jerusalem: a historical documentation] (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2009); Hasan H. Güneş, "Kudüs'te Bir Mahalle: Sekiz Yüz Yıllık Meğaribe Mahallesi ve Serencamı" [A Waqf neighborhood in Jerusalem: The Magarebeh neighborhood of eight hundred years and its adventure], *Vakıflar Dergisi* 44 (2015).

revenue is disbursed for a pious purpose in order to seek God's favor.² More than five decades of empirically-based research in the Ottoman archives have contributed to a clear understanding of the depth of influence *awqāf* had on the societies in which they operated. *Awqāf* oversaw a number of public, charitable, and religious activities, and their reach extended to all socio-economic levels of society. As uniquely autonomous institutions in terms of administration, fiscal management, and the provision of public order and security, *awqāf* constitute an interesting topic of historical study, particularly from the standpoint of the history of settlement and *citadinité*.

Awqāf were one of the major institutions in Jerusalem from the Muslim conquest of the city until the end of the nineteenth century. During this time, the area of Haram al-Sharif, which included al-Aqsā mosque and the Dome of the Rock, became the nucleus of the Muslim waqf network³ in the city. *Awqāf* carried out various charitable and religious activities in the city such as feeding the poor and students at the Hasseki Sultan Soup Kitchen. The revenue generated by *awqāf* also went toward the financing of a number of public services including the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems and aqueducts, and some of the municipal services run jointly by the guilds and the *awqāf*. Revenue from the waqf endowed by Saladin funded the maintenance and operation of the biggest hospital in the city. In addition, the *awqāf* built and ran schools (*madrassa*), and provided religious services such as the building of mosques in Jerusalem. In contrast to the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, who gave priority to religious and educational *awqāf* in the city, the Ottomans invested in the city's infrastructure.⁴ They preferred to spend the appropriations and donations given to the city on projects such as improving security and the water supply, and on building a new open-air market. These initiatives aimed to show that the Ottomans were increasing the prosperity of Jerusalem.⁵

2 Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *İthaf-ül-Ahlaḫ Fi Ahkam-İl-Evkaf* [Laws relating to foundations] (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1977), 13; For more detailed information, see David Stephan Powers, "Waqf," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 40 (2002).

3 Şerife Eroğlu Memiş, "Osmanlı Taşra Toplumu ve Vakıf Kurumu: Kudüs, 1703–1831" [Ottoman provincial society and the waqf: Jerusalem, 1703–1831] (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2016), 12–16.

4 Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 31; Yasemin Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti, Kudüs (1890–1914)* [An Ottoman city in the period of transformation: Jerusalem, 1890–1914] (Ankara: Phoenix, 2004), 36.

5 André Raymond, "The Ottoman Conquest and the Development of the Great Arab Towns," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1979–80).

The present study focuses on the role of *awqāf* in the Maghariba neighborhood of Jerusalem. While endowment deeds (*waqfiyyāt*)⁶ are the most valuable and rich resources for waqf studies, they do not provide us with adequate information on the actual nature of the social and economic activities of a waqf, or on the changes in these activities over time. The *waqfiyyāt* must be supported by other primary sources such as the appointment registers (*esās/ṣahsiyyāt*).

The first part of this article presents general information about the registers from the records of the *awqāf* of the Maghariba neighborhood. The second part touches briefly on the founding of the neighborhood and its *awqāf*, and on the significance of the Maghariba neighborhood for Jerusalem. Part three analyzes the appointment records for waqf endowments in detail in order to shed light on the employment policies of the Ottoman state in a provincial town, in which it maintained control through postings and entitlements to waqf stipends.

The Old and New Registers of the Maghariba Neighborhood: before and after 1882

The Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA), located in Ankara, specializes in waqf registers and documents. It houses 610 old appointment and 136 new registers.⁷ The *ʿatīk* registers were also called *treasury* registers and covered the appointment records of waqf staff before 1300/1882. These are mainly composed of the Istanbul, Anatolian, Rumelian, and Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina) series. Although these registers have been

6 For more on the importance of waqf documents, see Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü" [Legal status and evolution of waqf institution], *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları" [Annual accountancy balances of some *İmārah* facilities in and around Edirne], *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (1964): 237–39.

7 The Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA) houses the records related to *awqāf* in the Ottoman Empire. For the history of this institution, the number of records stored there and its present situation, as well as the stages in the official founding of the VGMA, see Kani Özyer, "Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi" [Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations], in *Uluslararası Türk Arşivleri Sempozyumu* [Turkish Archive Symposium], 17–19 November 2005 (Istanbul: BOA Publications, 2006); Mustafa Alkan, "Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları Açısından Vakıf Kayıtları Arşivi" [Waqf records archive from the perspective of Turkish historical studies], *Vakıflar Dergisi* 30 (2007).

mentioned in some studies on the VGMA collections, no study has yet assessed the two collections together.

The registers are bound in leather, cloth, or marbled paper, and are written in the inaccessible *şiyakat* writing style, which may explain why studies have not dealt with them. *Şiyakat* refers to letters and numbers expressed in the “stairs” style of writing, used in Ottoman accounting documents to establish a powerful regime of surveillance, inspection, and communication.⁸ Each register starts with an index page. In the index, the records are organized under the headings of the district names and the records were entered on this basis. Records are usually written vertically. The contents provide detailed information about the administrative structure of the area, the names of the district, names of the *awqāf* and their founders, types of work, previous and current names of office holders, reasons for new postings, fees, names of administrators who can request different postings, and the dates of documents recorded in a specific order and sequence.

Another important detail that appeared in the records was the reason for the appointment. Possibilities were renewal (*mujaddid*), vacancy (*makhlūl*), removal or suspension (*kasr al-yad*, *kaff al-yad*), quitting, or resignation in favor of another person (*fāriḡ*). The waqf staff was considered to be part of the ruling class (*‘askerī*⁹) in the social structure of the Ottoman state, and was therefore exempted from taxes.¹⁰ All staff salaries were paid by the waqf

8 For detailed information on the *şiyakat* writing style, see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili: diplomatik* [The language of Ottoman documents: diplomatic] (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San’at Vakfı, 1994), 64–67; Hilmi Erdoğan Yayla, “Accounting and the Art of Writing” (paper presented at the 19th Accounting, Business and Financial History Conference, Cardiff Business School, September 2007, and the 31st annual congress of the European Accounting Association, Erasmus University, April 2008).

9 Studies on Ottoman social structure and Ottoman society fall into two main classes. Usually, the ruling elite or ruling class, which was differentiated from ordinary taxpayers (*re‘āyā*), was composed of people who had religious or administrative power as granted by a sultan’s charter. This was a service-based nobility, which was composed of the officials who were affiliated with the palace and the military, civil servants and “scholars.” Halil İnalçık, “The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey,” in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1964), 44. See also Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Political Power and Social Networks: Popular Coexistence and State Oppression in Ottoman Syria,” in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks*, ed. Tsugitaka Sato (London: Kegan Paul International 1997), 22.

10 Some of the registers in the series are labeled Aleppo Ruling Class (*Halep ‘Askerī*), Province of Yemen Ruling Class (*Vilayet-i Yemen ‘Askerī*), with a specific reference to the status of waqf staff among the ruling class. See VGMA 529, 526.

administrations as designated and included in the *waqfiyya*.¹¹ Requests for appointments within the Ottoman bureaucracy were submitted by the chief judge (*kazasker*).¹²

While the records in the *'atîk* registers are arranged according to their administrative units, the *cedid* structure is identical to the waqf registers. These registers began to be kept after 1300/1882, with a specific reference to the *'atîk* series. These are also hardcover volumes bound in leather, cloth, or marbled paper, written in *rik'a*, *rik'a crumble*, *dîvanî* or *tâ'lik* style. The records are usually written horizontally. Four series of registers make up this collection.¹³ The *cedid* registers are also organized differently than the *'atîk* registers and are written in a systematic way in a chart called the "Register of Professions" (*Defter Esâs Cihât*). All new appointments and other additions are written in the events section of the chart. Thus, this chart acts as a summary of the activities of the *waqfiyya*.

The records of the Maghariba neighborhood are located in number 515 of the *'atîk* registers (*Kudûs 'atîk*) (fig. 4.1) and in number 160 of the *cedid* (*Kudûs cedid*) registers (fig. 4.2). There is also an index register numbered 163 called the Index of Benghazi and Jerusalem, which includes the index of the *'atîk* and *cedid* registers.¹⁴ In the 515 Jerusalem *'atîk* register, there are 594 records written according to the district names, 137 of which are written under the heading "*Awqâf* of the District of Jerusalem."

11 Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Müesseseler-Toplum Münasebetleri Çerçevesinde XVIII. Asır Türk Toplumu ve Vakıf Müessesesi" [On the framework of institution–society relations in 18th-century Turkish society and waqf institutions], *Vakıflar Dergisi* 15 (1982).

12 The appointee received a certificate called an appointment deed (*berât*) issued by the chief judge. The District of Jerusalem was under the jurisdiction of the Anatolian chief judge. In the Ottoman state there were two offices of the chief judge: the Anatolian and Rumelian chief justices. One dealt with affairs related to the districts of Rumelia and the Aegean Islands and the other dealt with Anatolia, Egypt, Syria and other districts in the Arabian Peninsula. See Mehmet İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kazâskerlik (XVII. Yüzyıla kadar)" [The office of chief judge in the Ottoman state (up to the 17th century)], *Belleten* 61, no. 232 (1997): 640–41.

13 For detailed information on the series, see Alkan, "Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları," 8–9.

14 In the archive, there are many index registers providing details on the registers. See for example the Index of Baghdad, Aleppo, Mosul: VGMA 165; Index of Monastir and Kosovo: VGMA 172; Index of Adrianople: VGMA 173; Index of Thessaloniki: VGMA 178; Index of Ioannina, Shkodër, Crete, Mediterranean islands, Cyprus: VGMA 181; Index of Haramayn: VGMA 753; Index of Rumelia: VGMA 755.

FIGURE 4.1
*Atik (Old) record of the "Waqf of the Tombs of
 Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and Umar al-Mujarrad."*
 VGMA, 515: 97/157.

FIGURE 4.2 *Cedid (New) record.*
 VGMA, 160: 50/378–79.

The records of the *awqāf* of the Maghariba neighborhood before 1882 are also recorded on different pages.¹⁵ Each record starts with a heading that indicates the name of the waqf. For example, “Waqf of *Zāwīya* Maghariba in Jerusalem” or “Waqf of the Tombs of Sayyid ‘Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth in Jerusalem.” Each member of the staff is recorded in a triangle-shaped space filled with five pieces of information: name of the staff member,¹⁶ title of the office, share, salary and the periodicity of payment (daily, monthly or yearly). For example, Sheikh Osman, son of Sheikh Muhammad al-Maghribi, was appointed as mutawalli and sheikh with a half share and 1.5 *kirsh* salary per day.¹⁷

In 160 Jerusalem *Cedid Esās*, there are 142 pages; however, only 46 pages include records. Out of the total of 760 records, between 1 and 137 are appointment records for the *awqāf* of Jerusalem. The records of the *awqāf* of the Maghariba neighborhood after 1882 are written on different pages.¹⁸ The *‘atīk* and *cedid* appointment registers are therefore highly consistent, and should be examined with an integrated approach. While the *Cedid* registers start with the last record in the *‘atīk* registers, references to *‘atīk* registers are also indicated. The appointment records are brief, but further detail can be found in the notes. If more explanation is needed, the notes indicate that other registers, particularly the *tafşil* registers, should be consulted for a detailed description of the appointment process.

The Neighborhood and the *awqāf* of Maghariba

The presence of North Africans from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria in Jerusalem dates back to the earliest periods of Islam. Known as the Maghribis,

15 Madrasa al-Afdaliyya (VGMA, 515: 78/88); *Zāwīyat* al-Maghariba (VGMA, 515: 79/89); *Zāwīyat* al-Fahriyya (VGMA, 515: 92/139); Waqf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and Sayyid ‘Umar al-Mujarrad (VGMA, 515: 97/157); Tomb of the Buraq (VGMA, 515: 98/159).

16 Sometimes the name of the employee is recorded with his social status. For example, in the record of the *Zāwīya* al-Fahriyya, the professor (*mudarris*) Sheikh Abdurrahman is recorded as a member of the ulema.

17 VGMA, 515: 79/89.

18 “*Awqāf* of Sayyid ‘Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and al-Hajj Kasım al-Maghribi ibn Abdullah and the *Awqāf* of Hajj Necme bint Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammed ibn Hajj Abdullah al-Maghribi and Ismail ibn Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyide Cennet bint Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyide Hatice bint Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammed ibn Ismail” (160: 50/378–79); “Hangah-ı Fahriyye” (160: 56/420–25); “Cāmi‘ al-Maghariba” (160: 96/735–37).

they travelled to Mecca for the Hajj pilgrimage and also visited Medina, where the tomb of Muhammad is located. At that time, they also visited Jerusalem, considered the third holiest city of Islam.¹⁹ Those who visited the Holy City typically stayed near the Masjid al-Aqsā.²⁰ The Maghribis were also aware of the presence of Maghribi scholars in the city, which might explain why they travelled there.

Of these Maghribi scholars, Shu'aib Ibn al-Husain al-Andalusi, known as Abu Madyan al-Ghawth, was a celebrated traditionalist and mystic (d. AH 594/AD 1197). He was the leading member of the Andalusian-Maghribi family of great learning and wealth. Tradition relays that his piety, learning, and munificence benefitted the holy city of Jerusalem. The head of the family, Shu'aib, along with other members, moved from Andalusia to Fez, which was then regarded as the chief city in the Maghreb. Later on, his brother 'Ali and his son Madyan immigrated to Egypt. Other members of the family moved later from Egypt to Jerusalem, where the Maghribi community was already well established.²¹

A number of historians of Jerusalem date the establishment of the Maghariba neighborhood to the time of the Ayyubids. In 583/1193, after Saladin defeated the Crusaders, one of the most important foundations was established around the Haram al-Sharif area in Jerusalem by the governor of Damascus (582–592), 'Afdal Malik Nur al-Din 'Ali, son of Saladin.²² Mujir al-Din relates that 'Afdal al-Din "endowed as waqf the entire neighborhood of the Maghribis in favor of the Maghribi community, without distinction of origin," and that the "donation took place at the time when the prince ruled over Damascus [AD 1186–1196], to which Jerusalem was joined."²³ He simultaneously authorized the building of the Harat al-Sharaf neighborhood contiguous to the Maghariba neighborhood in what today is referred to as the Jewish Neighborhood.²⁴ As a waqf endowment, the area was to serve as a destination for new arrivals from the Maghreb. From the thirteenth century until the final days of the Jordanian regime in 1967, immigrants from the Islamic world visited and made this neighborhood their home.²⁵

19 Güneş, "Kudüs'te Bir Mahalle," 10.

20 al-'Asali, "Haratu'l-Maghariba fi al-Quds," 19.

21 Tibawi, *Islamic Pious*, 10.

22 Güneş, "Kudüs'te Bir Mahalle," 10–12.

23 See al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 397.

24 Ibid. See also Tibawi, *Islamic Pious*.

25 Abowd, "Moroccan Quarter," 6–16.

The neighborhood is located in the extreme south of the Old City, and measures roughly 10,000 square meters. It became the site of a number of historically and culturally significant structures erected during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras. These included Waqf al-Maghariba and Madrasa al-Afdaliyya, endowed by Afdal in this neighborhood during the latter part of the twelfth century for the use of Maliki jurists (*fuqahā*).²⁶ *Zāwīyat* al-Maghariba, Mosque (*cāmi'*) al-Maghariba, and *zāwīya* al-Fahriyya were other notable structures in the neighborhood at that time.²⁷ Although during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and twentieth centuries, there were six, twelve, and three new *awqāf* established respectively, no new structures were built. All the founders of the *awqāf* were Maghribi residents of Jerusalem. Three of them were founded for the benefit of the public, one was a cash (*nukūd*) waqf, and the remaining twenty were modest and locally founded family *awqāf* (see table 4.1). The concentration of these religious, charitable and educational foundations in this particular area was undoubtedly due to its association in the Qur'an and Islamic tradition with Muhammad's miraculous nocturnal journey to Jerusalem. It is believed that the two stages of Muhammad's journey: *al-Isrā'* (the nocturnal journey) and *al-Mi'raj* (ascension) took place around the western wall of Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock. These miraculous events in Islamic tradition have endowed the area with a special importance for Muslims. For centuries, scholars and other travelers from all over the Muslim world have come to pray at the Haram and lodge in the sacred places mentioned in the verse: "Glory be to Him, who carried His Servant by night from the Holy Mosque [in Mecca] to the Farther Mosque [al-Masjid al-Aqsā], the precincts of which We have blessed ..." ²⁸

a *Waqf al-Maghariba*

The Maghribi waqf was founded by al-Malik al-Afdal Nurud-Din Ali, soon after the recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders. Al-Afdal was king (*malik*) in Damascus from AH 582 to 592. Malik al-Afdal dedicated the whole area outside the western walls of Haram al-Sharif, known as Hārat al-Maghāriba, as a waqf for the benefit of all Maghribis, male and female. In a series of

26 According to Donald Little, "The location of this school in the Maghariba Quarter was appropriate, since most of the Mālikīs traced their origins from North Africa." See his "Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, 1187–1516 AD," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. Kamil Jamil al-Asali (Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion, 1989), 180.

27 See Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (London: British School of Archaeology for the World of Islam Festival Trust, 1987).

28 *Kur'an-i Kerim*, Surah XVII, verse 1.

documents, immigrants from the Maghreb and residents of Jerusalem were defined as “Western Tunisians, Algiers and Moroccans.”²⁹ The area was consequently turned into a neighborhood for Maghribi Muslims.³⁰ As the name *sharaf* (honor) indicates, and as the occupations of the three prominent types of residents confirm, religious dignitaries and high government officials inhabited the area.³¹

This waqf had several forms of income. According to the Jerusalem *sijillāt* (JS), income was controlled by the sheikh of the neighborhood and disbursed among the community’s population. To these incomes, Shu’aib Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shu’aib, generally known simply as Abu Madyan, grandson of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth, added his lands of the village of ‘Ayn Karim near Jerusalem, the income of which was to benefit the Maghribis.³² However, in the Esās registers, there is no record specifically entitled “Waqf of Maghariba,” but rather “Waqf of the Tombs of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and ‘Umar al-Mujarrad.”

b *Madrasa al-Afdaliyya*

Apart from being religious and charitable, al-Afdal’s waqf was also educational in that he established a madrasa called al-Afdaliyya after him. According to the *waqfiyya* of the Afdaliyya madrasa, it was stipulated that the madrasa was created to train jurists in line with the Maliki school of jurisprudence, the dominant school in the Maghreb and the most prominent among the Maghrebi diaspora in Jerusalem.³³ This madrasa was also called the “Dome” or “Dome of Afdaliyya,” or sometimes “Madrasa al-Malikiyya” and was founded in the year 590/1193.³⁴

29 See for example BOA, ŞD.2296.40.49, 22 Haziran 1319 [5 July 1903]/SD.2296.40.44, 21 Ağustos 1319 [3 September 1903]/SD.2296.40.36, 23 Ağustos 1319 [5 December 1319].

30 Mujir al-Din, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 397. As Mujir al-Din states, the *waqfiyya* document seems to have been lost, but the waqf was recorded and legalized after the death of al-Afdal. This was done twice, once before Mujir al-Din wrote his history and once afterwards: in AH 666 and 1004 (AD 1267 and 1595), shortly after the beginning of the Mamluk period and some eighty years after the beginning of the Ottoman period, respectively. The following translation is a certified copy of the valid document (and a prefatory note confirming Mujir al-Din’s statement), preserved at the shari’a Court in Jerusalem (JS 77: 588).

31 Tibawi, *Islamic Pious*, 10–13.

32 Ibid.

33 Mujir al-Din, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 397.

34 VGMA, 1107: 2/78.

In the eighteenth-century registers, the appointment records of the madrasa appear along with the waqf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth.³⁵ Some of the other staff members such as the doorkeeper and the sweep were appointed and recorded separately.³⁶ On the other hand, in the appointment registers, six employees were registered under the heading of “Madrasa al-Afdaliyya” between AD 1670 and 1825 (AH 1081–1241). The first employee was the *mudarris*, followed by his assistant (*muʿīd*).³⁷ While the fee of the *mudarris* was recorded as a certain unspecified amount (*muʿayyen*), the assistant’s fee was recorded as one kirsh daily. In the third and fourth registers, the collection clerks (*cābiʿ*) were registered as receiving a half share. The fifth employee was a doorkeeper and sweep who was paid one kirsh daily. The last employee was the supervisor and inspector. However, there were no references to the waqf of the madrasa in the *cedid* record.

c *Zāwiyat al-Maghariba*

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the considerable Maghribi community in Jerusalem, residing just outside the western wall of Haram al-Sharif between the two gates of Bab al-Silsala and Bab al-Maghariba, could benefit from two Maghribi waqf charitable foundations or *zāwīya*. The first *zāwīya* was established by an immigrant, ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿAbdun-Nabi al-Masmudi al-Mujarrad, on 3 Rabiʿ 11, 703/1303. He spent a considerable amount of his money on the endowment of a *zawīya*³⁸ for the benefit of Maghribis living near Haram al-Sharif in a neighborhood named after them.³⁹ This was the first waqf instituted by a Maghribi for the benefit of al-Maghariba in Jerusalem. There is a prayer lodge in the upper part of the *zāwīya* which had two floors. In the lodge, the poor of the Maghribis were received and their needs were met.⁴⁰

The second *zāwīya* was endowed in the same Maghariba neighborhood close to Bab as-Silsila, one of the gates of Haram al-Sharif, by Shuʿaib Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shuʿaib.⁴¹ He was renowned for his scholarship and generosity

35 VGMA, 1107: 2/78; 1160: 116/42.

36 VGMA, 1109: 6/37; 1128: 68/28.

37 VGMA, 515: 78/88.

38 Literally a “retreat” for meditation and prayer, but also a hostel for dervishes and an educational establishment.

39 Mujir al-Din, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 397, 580.

40 Tibawi, *Islamic Pious*, 10.

41 According to Tibawi, the attachment to Shuʿaib as a first name and Madyan as a last name was probably inspired by the Qurʾan. In the holy book, Shuʿaib figures as one of God’s prophets sent to Madyan (for example, Surah 7:85: “And unto Madyan did we send their

among Maghribis who had settled in Jerusalem. As mentioned, he assigned the lands of the village of ‘Ayn Karim near Jerusalem, his own property, as a waqf whose income was intended for the *zāwiya* and the Maghribis.⁴²

During the eighteenth century, only the sheikh's appointment records were recorded.⁴³ The records of the 515 appointment registers show that the duties of the sheikh and supervisor were shared by two members of the Maghribi family; Sheikh Osman Ibn Sheikh Muhammad al-Maghribi and Sheikh Abu Bakr Ibn of Sheikh Ahmed al-Maghribi. Each employee had a half share of the position and were paid 1.5 kirsh daily. In the register, at the end of the record, a short statement indicates that the confiscation of the administration of these two *awqāf* was ordered in 1208/1794. After that time, although the appointment of the sheikh to the *zāwiya* continued,⁴⁴ the administration and control of the waqf were placed under the heading of “Waqf of the Tombs of Sayyid ‘Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth in Jerusalem.”

Summaries of twenty-one appointment deeds (*berāt*) appear in the records under the heading of this waqf. Two records refer to the renewal of the appointment deeds after the coronation of a new sultan.⁴⁵ There is a note dated 15 Şafar 1195 [February 10, 1781] under the heading of the waqf, stating that the people who had been appointed supervisor, instructor, and keeper of the tomb of the waqf were also appointed as the sheikh of the town criers. In a record dated 13 Şafar 1198 [December 10, 1783], it is claimed that this was a long-standing tradition.⁴⁶ The initial meaning of the verb *dalla* is “to

brethren Shu‘aib.” He is supposed to be Jethro of the Bible, the father-in-law of Moses. See Exod. 3:1, where the name is written Midian.)

42 Tibawi, *Islamic Pious*, 13. This copy of the Qur’an is preserved in the Islamic Museum in Haram al-Sharif.

43 VGMA, 1160: 116/18; 1109: 6/105; 1112: 1/36; 1112: 1/148; 1111: 54/55; 557: 43/3.

44 VGMA, 1111: 54/55; 557: 43/3.

45 The first renewal was written on 11 Receb 1203 [07 April 1789]. (*Culūs berātı sitāde*). The second renewal was dated 4 Cemāziyelahir 1223 [28 July 1808]. (*Culūs-ı emr-i sherif sitāde*.) VGMA, 515: 97/157.

46 Because of the vacancy in the position, Sayyid Ahmed Effendi was appointed as supervisor, inspector, keeper of the tomb and the sheikh of the town criers in exchange for 7 kirsh (*ğurüş*) daily. In the first record, it was stated that the appointment deed (*berāt*) was received on 15 Safar 1195 [10 February 1781] along with his own petition and the appointment decree (ru’ūs). In the second record about the same appointment, it is stated that the order (*emr-i sherif*) was received on 15 Muharram 1198 [10 December 1783] with his own petition and the imperial edict (*fermān*). In the last record, it is stated that a detailed remark was written on 13 Safar 1198 [7 January 1784]. Furthermore, in a *hurūfāt* record dated Shawwāl 1111 [March/April 1700], Sayyid Yakub al-Mansur al-Maghribi was appointed supervisor, inspector and keeper of the tomb as well as the sheikh of the

indicate, to demonstrate and to show publicly.” As a noun, *dallāl* becomes “a broker,” “a middleman,” in short, a dealer, but the guild kept exercising its original public-crying function as well. The members of this guild pledged to consult their head on every transaction and to obey his orders: “As long as he did nothing to antagonize the guild members and committed no offense (*junha*), he could proceed with his responsibilities. If, on the other hand, he could not properly conduct the guild’s affairs, either because of health problems or due to his absence from town, the judge (qadi) replaced him immediately.” In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the head of the Maghariba neighborhood was granted the right to this position by official decrees from Istanbul.⁴⁷ For Amnon Cohen, this was one of the most active guilds during the seventeenth century in Jerusalem.

This position was sought after by many, and created fierce competition that often ended in opponents sharing the leadership. People in these positions were also granted a daily stipend of eight *kuṭʿa*. The combination of a steady salary and a certain percentage of every guild was exceptional and made this position more lucrative and desirable than others.⁴⁸

Regarding the first appointment, it is also noted that this was a precaution designed to prevent the intervention of the head of the palanquin artisans in matters concerning the town criers guild.⁴⁹ However, the precaution was also related to the tax revenues (*aṣṣār u rusūmāt*) of the village of ‘Ayn Karim. According to this record, the tax revenues of the village would only be delivered to the poor of the *zāwiya* al-Maghariba.⁵⁰ The last record, dated 26 Rabīʿ II

town criers to the Waqf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth. Then, in Shawwāl 1138 [June 1726], Sayyid Abdussalam al-Maghribi was appointed as the head of the town criers in the *sūq* of Jerusalem (VGMA 1091: 77/11).

47 VGMA, 515: 97/157; BOA, C.EV.566.28553 and C.EV.552.27881.

48 Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 178–79.

49 In a variety of documents recorded during different years of that century, there are recurrent attempts to wrest these lucrative positions from the head of the North Africans and invest the honor, and more importantly, the accompanying income, in other candidates. In this case, for example, the head of the palanquins’ guild (*tahteravanci bashi*) claimed that he had been granted this position by a sultan decree from Istanbul, although the head of the North African descendants of the Prophet in town insisted that, upon the death of his predecessor, he had been put in charge of both functions. As it turned out, the outside contender had been appointed under false pretenses, in violation of the incontestable link established for generations among all these functions. Thereupon the qadi confirmed the status quo, to the disadvantage of “the foreigner,” who had tried to usurp it. VGMA, 515: 97/157; for other examples see Cohen, *Guilds*, 178–83.

50 VGMA, 515: 97/157.

1277 [December 11, 1860], references Jerusalem *Cedid* register number 160. This illustrates the consistency between the old and new series. After this date, three more appointments were recorded. In the first record, dated Dhū al-Qa'dah 1301 [September 1884], it is stated that after Mehmed Arif Effendi's passing away, al-Hajj 'Umar al-Maghribi, the oldest, most mature and most suitable candidate in the Maghariba neighborhood, was appointed to the waqf as its supervisor (*mutawalli*), inspector (*nāẓır*), and keeper of the tomb (*türbedār*) by a petition and an imperial edict.⁵¹ After this date, there are no references to the sheikh of the town criers. We do not know whether the post continued to be held by the head of the neighborhood.

The second record, dated 15 Muharram 1321 [April 13, 1903], states that there was a trial concerning the administration of the *awqāf*. During the trial, waqf lands and properties could not be rented to any tax farmers. The record states that the keeper of the Tomb of the Prophet David or any other trustworthy man would be appointed as temporary deputy supervisor by the waqf governorship.⁵² The correspondence concerning these issues was reported to all the related departments as ordered in the imperial edict. In the third and last record, it is stated that after the death of Maghribi Sheikh Mehmed Arif Effendi, according to the conditions stipulated in the *waqfiyya* and procedures applied as usual, Maghribi al-Hajj Bashir Effendi, son of Abdussalam al-Hasani, was appointed as the supervisor, inspector, and keeper of tomb of the waqf on 28 Dhū al-Hijjah 1329 [December 20, 1911].⁵³ The records of the "Waqf of the Tombs of Sayyid 'Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth in Jerusalem" end with this record.

The *'atīk* and *cedid* appointment registers that started with *zāwīyat* al-Maghariba on 18 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1134 [August 30, 1722] are grouped under the heading of the waqf of the Tombs of Sayyid 'Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth on 15 Şafar 1195 [February 10, 1781]. All the public *awqāf* of the neighborhood are grouped thereafter under the heading "Awqāf of Sayyid 'Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and al-Hajj Kasım al-Maghribi ibn Abdullah and the *awqāf* of Hajj Necme bint Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammad ibn Hajj Abdullah al-Maghribi and Ismail ibn Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi and Sayyide Cennet bint Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi and Sayyide Hatice bint Muhammad al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammad ibn İsmail" on 26 Rabī' 11 1277 [December 11, 1860]. This record was a turning point for the *awqāf* of the neighborhood since both the public and family *awqāf* were combined and administered together. It was not a confiscation,

51 VGMA, 160: 378.

52 VGMA, *Tafsil* 405.

53 VGMA, *Tafsil* 202.

awqāf were still run by families, but their administration was united by the central authority. In the registers, corruption and mismanagement of the *awqāf* were listed as the main reasons for the changes in the waqf administrative staff.⁵⁴ The last waqf added to this administratively united structure was the Waqf of the Descendants of the Prophet (*sādāt*) of Maghariba, which will be discussed further on.

d *Cāmi' al-Maghariba*

Al-Maghariba Mosque, near the Bab al-Maghariba,⁵⁵ was constructed north-south to the Haram al-Sharif area and it was considered an integral part of the Haram.⁵⁶ There are no records of the mosque in Jerusalem's *'atīk* register, but in the *cedīd* register of the waqf, there is a note stating that the *'atīk* registers of the waqf were recorded in the Mecca and Medina *'atīk* register numbered 92.⁵⁷ In the *cedīd*, three employees were appointed, but the Treasury later decided that one employee should be appointed at 50 kirsh monthly for all these duties. The name of the waqf was also recorded as "*Evķāf-ı mażbūţadan Kudūs-i Şerīfde kāin Meğāribde Cāmi'-i Şerīfi Vakfı*," meaning that this waqf had already been administered by the representatives of the central authority.

e *Madrasa and zāwīyat al-Fahriyya*

Madrasa al-Fahriyya is also known as the *zāwīyat al-Fahriyya* in the Jerusalem court registers, and was founded by Qadi Fahreddin Muhammad ibn Fadlullah in 732/1331. The madrasa was situated to the west of al-Maghariba Mosque and remained within the walls around the mosque. The library of the madrasa played an important role among Jerusalem's public libraries. Founded by Qadi Fahreddin in 732/1339, this library is said to have housed approximately 10,000 volumes. Its collection of manuscripts on astronomy and religious sciences has

54 For the details of the records, see *zāwīya* of Maghariba (VGMA, 515: 79/89); Waqf of Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and Sayyid 'Umar al-Mujarrad (VGMA, 515: 97/157); *Awqāf* of Sayyid 'Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and al-Hajj Kasım al-Maghribi ibn Abdullah and the *Awqāf* of Hajj Necme bint Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammed ibn Hajj Abdullah al-Maghribi and İsmail ibn Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyide Cennet bint Hajj Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyide Hatice bint Muhammed al-Maghribi and Sayyid Muhammed ibn İsmail (160: 50/378–79).

55 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*.

56 Although Mujir al-Din says the mosque was built during the second caliph's visit to Jerusalem, this is a very remote possibility. The general consensus is that this mosque was built during the Umayyad period, based on the inscription on the eastern entrance to the mosque, which states Sultan Abdülaziz repaired it in the year 1288/1871. Güneş, "Kudüs'te Bir Mahalle," 10–12.

57 *'Atīk Mecca and Medina*, 92.

been lost.⁵⁸ The Fahriyya Bazaar was among the most important sources of joint income of the madrasa and the *zāwiya*. The revenue from the shops in the bazaar was spent on each waqf's expenses. In 978/1570, repair and maintenance of the lodge was carried out by the Ottomans and cost 25 gold coins.⁵⁹

In Jerusalem's *'atīk* appointment register, four employees were appointed as *mudarris*,⁶⁰ two sheikhs of the lodge with half salaries and an inspector. The last appointment was dated 16 Rabī '11 1294 [April 30, 1877]; subsequently the record was transferred to the 160 Jerusalem *Cedid* appointment register. These *Cedid* records show that two new employees whose shares were one-third of a neighborhood were appointed after the death of the former staff. The last record is dated 20 Muḥarram 1318 [May 20, 1900].

What is striking about this record is that the duties and the salary of the sheikh in the lodge were divided among seven employees. Two of the employees were allocated half of one neighborhood, and the remaining five received one third of a neighborhood as daily income. Furthermore, all of the employees were relatives of the former employees. This was maintained by the imperial edicts and orders sent by the central authority.⁶¹ During the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, shared waqf duties were very common because of the privileges linked to the *'akserī* appointment deeds (*berāt*) and the economic conditions of the period.⁶² These duties conferred social status, economic power, and exemption from taxes, which made them attractive to the common people (*re'āyā*).⁶³

Another public waqf structure recorded in the registers is the Tomb of al-Buraq (*Makām al-Buraq al-Arba'in*). In the *'atīk* register of the neighborhood, four records describe the appointment of the sheikh for the tomb.⁶⁴ However, we do not know whether this tomb was a different structure in that spot or whether it was the masjid discussed earlier. The "Waqf of al-Hajj

58 'Arif al-'Arif, *al-Mufasssal fi tarikh al-Quds* [A detailed history of Jerusalem] (Jerusalem, 1961), 451.

59 Güneş, "Kudüs'te Bir Mahalle," 12.

60 Holding the title of *mudarris* meant that one had completed the course of study at one of the recognized teacher-training madrasas of Istanbul, Edirne or Bursa, and that one was qualified to teach. See Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age, 1600–1800* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).

61 See for example VGMA, 814; 11.

62 Mohammad Ali al-'Alami, "The Waqfs of the Traditional Families of Jerusalem during the Ottoman Period," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000).

63 Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayntāb in the 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 83–84.

64 VGMA, 515: 98/159.

Kasım al-Maghribi ibn Abdullah” is recorded under the heading of “Waqf of the Tombs of Sayyid ‘Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth” in 1860. Lastly, “the waqf of the descendants of the Prophet in the neighborhood” (Waqf of Sādāt-ı Maghariba) appears in the *Cedid* appointment register of the Maghariba. Ahmed al-Maghribi was appointed supervisor of the waqf on 15 Şafar 1194 [February 21, 1790]. This is the only record in the register. A reference to the *‘atîk* appointment register indicates that the administration of the waqf was handled jointly by ‘Umar al-Mujarrad and Abu Madyan al-Ghawth. Like other family *awqāf*, the status of this waqf did not change. In 1860, it was grouped with the public *awqāf*.⁶⁵

Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies: Ottomanization and Integration of the Local Elites

All of the public *awqāf* in the neighborhood are recorded in the registers. Updated details including changes in the administration of the *awqāf*, and the reasons for these changes, can also be traced. Some of the centralization measures implemented by the central authority from the very beginning of the establishment of the Ministry of *Awqāf* in 1826 can also be observed in the records. In the Maghariba neighborhood, thanks to the measures taken in 1860, all the *awqāf* in the neighborhood were combined and administered together. As a result, the duties of the public and family *awqāf* in the neighborhood were recorded. The records also detail the mismanagement of the *awqāf* in the neighborhood and show that some of the revenue of the newly-established family *awqāf* was added to public *awqāf*. However, the residents of the neighborhood continued to administer these institutions under greater supervision of the central authorities during the nineteenth century.

This analysis of the waqf records of the Maghariba neighborhood shows that these institutions were managed by the residents for centuries, creating a local network within the neighborhood. The records also show that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, corruption and the mismanagement of waqf properties were rampant. In an attempt to control the situation, the waqf structure was united administratively and control was centralized. Both public and family *awqāf* in the neighborhood were administratively combined in 1860, yet certain records show that some employees continued to be appointed separately. These registers were part of a bureaucratic mechanism that allowed the central authority to exercise strict control over the administration

65 VGMA, 160: 50/378.

of *awqāf* through appointments to waqf posts. The organization of the *awqāf* in Jerusalem through the local Ottoman bureaucracy facilitated this strict control. Ottoman bureaucracy thus included waqf administration, and incorporated a network of scholars (ulema; Ar. ‘ulamā) into the state’s bureaucratic, economic and administrative structure.⁶⁶

The registers also reveal the changes in the number of waqf staff and show how these numbers differentiated from the original *waqfiyya* over time as a result of these new appointments. Ottoman bureaucracy was able to establish itself locally through these new appointments.⁶⁷ This meant that local people became involved in the administrative and distributive networks of the imperial center. A newly formed elite class was integrated into the system as Ottoman bureaucracy was introduced to local affairs.

The decentralization expressed in the concept of Ottomanization⁶⁸ also meant a “restructuring” of Ottoman administrative mechanisms and the

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- 66 Gabriel Baer, “Jerusalem’s Families of Notables and Waqf in the Early 19th Century,” in *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period*, ed. David Kushner (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 109–23; al-‘Alami, “Waqfs”; Şerife Eroğlu Memiş, “Waqfs as a Tool for the Rise of Local Notables in Jerusalem During the 18th Century” (paper presented at the 46th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, 2016). For a detailed analysis on the case of Damascus, see Richard van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–63.
- 67 Canbakal, *Society and Politics*, 82; Ali Yayıoğlu, “Sened-i İttifak (1808): Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bir Ortaklık ve Entegrasyon Denemesi” [Charter of alliance (1808): a partnership and integration experiment in the Ottoman Empire], in *Nizam-ı Kadimden Nizam-ı Cedide: III. Selim ve Dönemi* [Selim III and his era from ancien régime to new order], ed. Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).
- 68 Fundamental changes occurred in the relationship between the Ottoman state and the elites in the provinces during the eighteenth century. Moreover, these changes differed from province to province. Some historians have argued that a large part of the local elites were Ottomanized in the eighteenth century. According to them, this Ottomanization functioned as an antidote to the disintegration of the central control that had developed considerably in the late 1700s. While Jane Hathaway, in *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), does not use the term Ottomanization in her study, in which she argues that a distinctly Ottoman elite political culture was transferred to Egypt. She does indicate that the secondary management environment spread to the Ottoman provinces. By contrast, Bruce Alan Masters, in *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600–1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), appraises these groups as part of the emergent Ottoman upper class, and Dina Rizk Khoury, in *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), defines the process as Ottomanization.

relations between center and periphery.⁶⁹ By integrating provincials into the imperial institutional framework, Ottoman power in the provinces was increased, on the one hand, while the empire's traditional administrative structure was transformed, on the other. The Ottoman center had no other choice than to provide the provinces with resources and to integrate the provincial forces into its own structure to ensure local security and surveillance. However, this integration did not result from a vertical appointment process from the central to the regional, but rather from a horizontal process of ongoing negotiation and consensus.⁷⁰

In terms of the relations between the Ottoman authorities and its provinces, this view is contrary to the claim that central control was gradually relaxed and local powers became more independent during the eighteenth century. Rather, central authority was strengthened, not only through the enactment of strict bureaucratic centralization measures, but also by monitoring events through the appointment of officers with strong local ties and decent stipends. This control was also enforced by careful appointment policies and authorizations to families to build a power base that ensured stability in the local power structures. The *awqāf* functioned as an important mechanism for central control because they served to form and integrate relationship networks and institutions, and hence to monitor them. At the same time, by including the economic network to state officers in its administration, the state was able to supervise waqf institutions and could implement its own policies.⁷¹

69 See Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Rifa'at Abou-el-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: 'Privatization' and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Politics and Society* 21, no. 4 (1993); Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society*, Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), and Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004): 37. For critical comments on the issue, see Leslie Peirce, "Changing Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire: The Early Centuries," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004).

70 Yaycıoğlu, "Sened-i İttifak (1808)," 667–709.

71 Van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 133–63.

In the case of the *awqāf* of the Maghariba neighborhood, the Ottoman state maintained the same policies. Waqf employees were appointed from among the leading scholars of the neighborhood. As seen in the records, nearly all the employees were members of the ulema of the neighborhood. Apart from stipends and tax exemption, the waqf staff enjoyed accrued prestige in society. The Ottoman state also retained the loyalty of these notables through grants provided to them and to the poor of the community during the period under review. Two important devices that were implemented were food allocations from the al-Imara al-Hasekiyya and the *surra* incomes sent from Istanbul. This included allocations for bread, provided daily by the al-Imara al-Hasekiyya, for the employees of *zāwiya* Abu Madyan al-Ghawth and *zāwiya* al-Buraq.⁷² In addition, allocations were distributed through the *surra* grants. *Surra* is a general term that refers to all of the money, gifts, and goods sent to the people in Ḥaramayn during hajj season by the Ottoman Empire.⁷³ As in previous centuries, these grants were earmarked for Jerusalem, and they continued being distributed during the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ The last *surra* register found in the records is dated 1318/1900. The prayer recitants, muezzins, and other employees of the al-Maghariba Mosque were recorded among the prayer reciters of Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock. Grants also

72 See for example BOA, EV.d.13645; BOA, EV.d.18277; BOA, EV.d.18617; BOA, EV.d.19214.

73 The tradition of sending *surra* to Ḥaramayn started during the time of *al-Muktedir Bī'llah*, one of the Abbasi Caliphs (311/923–924). Later states continued this tradition. The Ottoman Empire began to send *surra* to Ḥaramayn during the reign of Bayezid I (Yıldırım Bayezid). The regular transfer of *Surre-i Hümayün* (dynasty *surra*) started during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim (Selim I). As one of the principal sources of Ottoman political history in the chronicle of Aşıkpaşa-zāde, while talking about Murat II, he also stated that the sultan sent gifts and money to Mecca and Medina as well as to Jerusalem and Hebron. It is not clear if this was sent within the context of *surra* or not. Beginning with the conquest of the city by Selim II in 1516, there was a great deal of help and assistance provided to the city. However, the oldest *surra* register associated with Jerusalem is dated 1593. The registers state the amount and the consignee of the gifts and assistance sent to these holy cities regularly on an annual basis. For detailed information, see Şit Tufan Buzpınar; "Surre" [Surra], *DİA – Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* [Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam], vol. 37 (Istanbul: TDV, 2009), 567; Münir Atalar; *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Surre-i Hümayun ve Surre Alayları* [Surra-i Humayun and surra regiments in the Ottoman state] (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1991), 12.

74 For more detailed information about the *surra* allocations in Jerusalem during the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries, see Eroğlu Memiş, *Osmanlı Taşra Toplumu*, 266–74.

supported the poor of the Maghariba neighborhood together with the Risha neighborhood. The latter group was made up of the scholars and the poor of *zāwīyat* al-Maghariba. The amount of the grants remained constant throughout this time.

The Power of Archives

There is a historical link between the conservation of documents and the control exerted by a central authority. In the case of Jerusalem, the central authority – the Ottoman state – maintained control through strict appointment policies on questions of waqf administration.⁷⁵ Comprehensive files on the administration of Jerusalem were preserved in Istanbul. This situation was not limited to the imperial *awqāf*, whose supervisors were called to Istanbul from time to time for the inspection of these files. These appointment registers can be considered part of this bureaucratic process because they also include regularly updated summaries of appointment deeds (*berāts*) of waqf staff. To monitor the appointment of waqf staff and remain informed about conflicts concerning the execution of duties, Istanbul demanded oversight of these registers. The preservation and continuous indexation and updating of these registers thus enabled the central authority to exert its control.

In this sense, the *ʿatīk* and *cedīd* appointment registers provide valuable insight into the administration of the *awqāf* and their effects on social and economic life from the start of the seventeenth century until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Like the *awqāf* of the Maghariba neighborhood, these registers deserve much more historical attention, given that they reveal the changing nature of the *awqāf* and divergences from the conditions stipulated in the *waqfiyyāt* over time.

75 Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 163; see also Mosa Sroor, *Fondations pieuses en mouvement: De la transformation du statut de propriété des biens waqfs à Jérusalem (1858–1917)* (Damascus: Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo); Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d'études sur le monde arabe et musulman (IREMAM), 2010), 461.

TABLE 4.1 *List of the waqfiyyāt of Maghariba neighborhood*

No.	Date	Founder of the waqf	Properties of the waqf
1	4 Rajab 666/April 9, 1268 (26 Sha'bān 1004/1595)	'Afdal Malik Nur al-Din 'Ali, son of Saladin	Maghariba neighborhood
2	3 Rabī' I 703/October 15, 1303	'Umar al-Mujarrad ibn Abdullah al-Maghribi	Three houses in Maghariba neighborhood
3	29 Ramadān 720/November 2, 1320	Abu Madyan Shu'aib al-Maghribi	1. Village of 'Ayn Karim 2. A house situated in Bab al-Silsila
4	753/1352	'Ali ibn 'Uthman ibn Yāqub ibn 'Abdul-Haqq al-Marini, King of al-Maghrib	A copy of the Qur'an which he himself wrote
5	5 Dhū al-Hijjah 1021/January 27, 1613	Muhammad ibn Ismail Beshe al-Lumdani al-Maghribi	A house with a garden in Maghariba neighborhood and neighbor to the Waqf of Abu Madyan
6	10 Rabī' I 1033/ January 1, 1624	Isa bin Ahmed ibn ez-Zeim al-Maghribi	A house in <i>Hatt-ı</i> Merziban
7	1048/1631	Al-Haje Necme bint Hajj Mehmed al-Maghribi	A house in Maghariba neighborhood
8	15 Ramadān 1058/ February 3, 1648	al-Haje Safiye bint Abdullah al-Jazairiyya al-Maghribiyya	350 Esedī kirsh
9	5 Rabī' II 1063/March 5, 1653	Meryem bint Abdülkadir al-Maghribi	A house in Maghariba neighborhood
10	12 Jumāda I 1088/ July 13, 1677	Al-Hajj Kasım ibn al-Attavi al-Maghribi	A house in Maghariba neighborhood
11	Evāhir-I Shawwāl 1134/ August 12, 1722	Al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Ebubekir al-Maghribi	A house in Maghariba neighborhood
12	13 Muharram 1137/October 2, 1724	Al-Hajj Kasım ibn Abdullah al-Maghribi al-Marakashi ibn Ali al-Shaybani	A ruined house in Maghariba neighborhood
13	1137/1727	Abdussalam ibn Ibrahim al-Jalili ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-'Uthmani al-Maghribi	A house in Maghariba neighborhood with a share of 1/2 13 kir 'at

Conditions	Public/Family	Sources
Maghribis	Public	Jerusalem Court <i>Sijillāt</i> (JS) 77: 588; Abdullatif Tibawī, <i>Awqāf al-Islāmiyya bi-Jiwār al-Masjid al-Aqsā, Vezārat al-Awqāf wa al-Šuūn wa al-Muqaddasāt al-Islāmiyya</i> , Jordan 1404–1981, 13–17
The poor of Maghariba neighborhood and visitors of Haram al-Sharif	Public	Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations of Turkey (VGMA) 583: 28/21
The Maghribis who live in Maghariba neighborhood and visitors to Haram al-Sharif	Public	VGMA 583: 27/20
Al-Aqsā Mosque	Public	Tibawī, 1978: 13
<i>Zāwiya</i> Abu Madyan	Family	al-‘Alami, <i>Waqfiyyāt al-Maghariba</i> , 167–69
Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsā Mosques	Family	JS 107: 227.
For the feeding of the poor of Maghariba neighborhood	Family	VGMA 589: 119/332
For the feeding of the poor of Maghariba neighborhood	Public (cash)	JS 141: 41; al-‘Alami, <i>Waqfiyyāt al-Magharibah</i> , 53–55
The poor of Maghariba neighborhood	Public	JS 146: 207; al-‘Alami, <i>Waqfiyyāt al-Maghariba</i> , 1–11
Cihātü'l-bir (ber)	Public	JS 179: 288
Waqf of Abu Madyan	Family	JS 218: 567
The poor of Maghariba neighborhood	Family	al-‘Alami, <i>Waqfiyyāt al-Maghariba</i> , 42–45; VGMA 583: 28/22
The poor of Jerusalem	Family	JS 218: 486

TABLE 4.1 *List of the waqfiyyāt of Maghariba neighborhood (cont.)*

No	Date	Founder of the waqf	Properties of the waqf
14	10 Rajab 1141/February 9, 1729	Abdussalam al-Maghribi (sheikh al-Maghariba)	A house in Maghariba neighborhood
15	1 Sha'bān 1153/October 22, 1740	Muhammad el-Maghribi, known as al-Gazzal, and al-Hajj Muhammad at-Tawil	A multistory house in the Damascus Gate neighborhood, close to the Dome of Hamra
16	10 Rabī' II 1158/May 12, 1745	Abdullah Agha ibn al-Hajj Muhammad al-Maghribi	A house in the Sharaf neighborhood with a share of 12 kīr'at
17	13 Rajab 1171/March 23, 1758	Ismail ibn Hajj Muhammad Lemedani el-Maghribi	A house in the Hutta Gate neighborhood
18	1 Rabī' I 1181/July 28, 1767	Hatice ve Cennat bint al-Hajj Muhammad Agha al-Hodja at-Tawil al-Maghribi	A storey house in the Damascus Gate neighborhood
19	Rabī' II 1185/July 14, 1771	Al-Hajj Ali ibn Ahmed al-Maghribi	A house in the Cotton Gate neighborhood
20	10 Jumāda I 1187/July 10, 1774	Al-Hajj Ali ibn Ahmed al-Maghribi	A house in the Hutta Gate neighborhood
21	1196/1782	as-Sayyid M ibn Hajj Abdullah al-Maghribi	A house in the Shark neighborhood
22	5 Muḥarram 1205/1791	as-Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ismail Beshe (al-Lemdānī al-Maghribi)	Vegetable garden (hakūra) consisting nursery and trees from Abu Madyan waqf
23	5 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1349/1931	Idris ibn al-Hajj Musa ibn al-Hajj Hasan al-Ḳasri al-Maghribi	A house in the Sa'diyya neighborhood, close to the vegetable garden of Mawlawiyya
24	25 Dhū al-Hijjah 1349/1931	Idris ibn al-Hajj Musa ibn al-Hajj Hasan al-Ḳasri al-Maghribi	1. A house in the Damascus Gate neighborhood 2. Two shops in the Silsila Gate neighborhood with the share of 17.5 kīrat and 1/2 kīrat
25	7 Jumāda I 1356 /9, 1937	al-Hajj Mes'ud ibn Bilal known as al-Susi al-Maghribi	Two rooms in Maghariba neighborhood and 60 cuneyh cash

Conditions	Public/Family	Sources
<i>Zāwiya</i> Abu Madyan	Family	JS 222: 66
To Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) and the Dome of the Rock	Family	JS 230: 240–41
<i>Zāwiya</i> Abu Madyan	Family	JS 235: 318
<i>Zāwiya</i> Abu Madyan	Family	VGMA 589: 195/331
For the Maghribis staying in the <i>Zāwiya</i> Abu Madyan	Family	JS 250: 17–18. al-‘Alamī, <i>Waqfiyyāt al-Maghariba</i> , 25–27; VGMA 589: 192/328
Waqf of Maghariba	Family	JS 253: 70–71
Rawāk Abu Ferve that belong to the Maghribis	Family	JS 255: 47
–	Family	VGMA 589: 192/327
–	Family	VGMA 589: 194/330; JS 272, 134–35
Division of the incomes between the (<i>Dārü’l-Eytāmü’l-İslāmiyye es-Snāiyye</i>) and his family	Family	JS 404: 19–21
Muslim Orphanage House (<i>Dārü’l-Eytāmü’l-İslāmiyye</i>)	Family	JS 454: 19–21
Waqf of Maghariba	Family	JS 474: 133–34