

THE WAQFS OF HAJJA SITT IKHWITHA AND KHALIL DAHMASH IN THE CITY OF AL-LUDD: LOCAL AGENTS OF URBAN CHANGE

Tawfiq Da'adli

Abstract | This article focuses on the urban development of the city of al-Ludd (Lydda) at the end of the 19th and the turn of the 20th century. It builds on two cases that left their mark on the city's landscape and considerably affected its social life. The first case involves the endowment deed of a woman who used the revenues from her estate to help the poor and pilgrims. The second case, documented in the archive of the Supreme Muslim Council, has to do with the building of a market adjacent to a newly-established mosque. The first case came to its conclusion after the woman passed away, whereas the market continued to develop. These cases are both illustrative of urban and social dynamics that also shaped topography by changing the face of the city map.

INTRODUCTION

In the small cities and towns constituting the Arab provincial capitals under Ottoman rule, their inhabitants also produced “their own rhythms of change and adaptability within the pervasive and permeating power of Ottoman imperialism.”¹ These local agents impacted the urban landscape in many ways. Some maintained traditional modes of investing in the urban sphere such as building endowment institutions including *madrastas*, *zawiyas* and shrines, but others, adhering to the zeitgeist of modern urban conceptions, were more interested in the public sphere and built new squares, boulevards and gardens.

This article centers on two quarters that existed in the city of al-Ludd in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Both quarters developed northwards out of the city: one towards

the east, Saknet es Sitt Ikhwitha² surrounding the shrine of ‘Abd al-Rahman b. ‘Awf (see Figure 1, a), and the other, which was larger, to the west surrounding Bir el Gharbiye (Bi’r al-Gharbiyya), the well that probably gave rise to the extension of this area. The *sijillat* of the court of al-Ludd and Jaffa help reconstruct the case of Saknet es Sitt Ikhwitha (Saknat al-Sitt, see Figure 1, b);³ aerial photos taken by the German air force in 1917–1918, and later by their British counterparts in 1937, testify to the development of Bir el Gharbiye.

2 The names of the quarters, streets, and other places in the city correspond to the transliteration on the city map of 1929. We use this transliteration to make it easier for readers to refer to the map.

3 Nonetheless these sources should not be taken as a mirror of society. See Dror Ze’evi, “The Use of Ottoman Sharī’a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15/1 (1998); Boğaç A. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankiri and Kastamonu (1652–1744)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Iris Agmon and Ido Shahar, “Shifting Perspectives in the Study of Sharī’a Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15/1 (2008).

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1 Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp and Stefan Weber (eds.), *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), p. 19.





Figure 1: Aerial Photo of al-Ludd Dated 26 June 1936 (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA). (a) Saknet es Sitt Ikhwitha, (b) Bir el Gharbiye, (c) location of city hall and post office.

AL-LUDD

The city of al-Ludd, in central Ottoman Palestine, today the center of Israel, is located on the border between the lowlands and the coastal plain. This location has two main advantages. The first is that al-Ludd is situated within the wide and fertile catchment area of Wadi Musrara (Nahal Ayalon)⁴ that made the city famous

4 In an article about soil erosion in Wadi Musrara, Guy gives an eyewitness account of the flood of 23 February 1938 which testifies to the fertile nature of the region.

for its agriculture. The plain was used to grow grain and vegetables, while olive groves and orchards were located on the surrounding hills. In a *wilayat salnama* (provincial annual report, from Ott. Turk. *salname*) dating to 1872, ten soap factories (*masabin*) were registered in al-Ludd, a greater number than those in the whole district of Ramla in its entirety.⁵

See P.L.O. Guy, "Archaeological Evidence of Soil Erosion and Sedimentation in Wadi Musrara," *IEJ* 4/2 (1954), pp.77-87.

5 Muhammad Salim al-Tarawina, *Qada' Yafa fi l-ahd al-uthmani: Dirasa idariyya iqtisadiyya ijtimaiyya*,

The second advantage is the city's location at the crossroads of two of Palestine's main international arteries: the road connecting Cairo with Damascus and the main road between Jaffa and Jerusalem.⁶ From the Late Bronze Age to modern times, al-Ludd is mentioned in direct reference to these two roads. The importance of the roads is exemplified most vividly by the British Mandate decision to locate the country's main train hub near the city.

Medieval and Ottoman al-Ludd is described as an important station along the Mamluk postal road connecting Gaza and Damascus via Yubna (Yavneh), al-Ludd, and Ra's al-'Ayn. The development of the inland branch of the Cairo-Damascus route was one of the great engineering enterprises of the period. Al-Ludd experienced a revival as a result of the development of this major traffic route, especially since the early Mamluk sultans paid close attention to ensuring the orderly and secure movement of the royal post (*barid*) between the imperial capital of Cairo and the major provincial capital of Damascus.⁷ The monumental bridge of al-Ludd known as Jisr Jindas after the neighboring village, which has been in use since the time of its construction, was part of this effort. Two almost identical inscriptions on both its facades signal its construction by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars.⁸

Ottoman al-Ludd, in contrast, is less familiar to historians since no monumental inscriptions or buildings have survived and most of the city was demolished after 1948, leaving little material evidence behind. This article is thus mainly based on documents, aerial photos, and city plans. In addition to archival documents, several buildings that survived were surveyed. Apart from the main mosque, al-'Umari Mosque, and the Church of St. George, a dozen buildings can still be seen on the ground. They include three

traditional factories, seven shrines, a monastery, and a khan.

Much can be said about the city from a single camera shot taken on Friday, 26 June 1936, when an English pilot flew a plane, most likely from the airport built in al-Ludd during the British Mandate, on a photo flight over the city (see Figure 1). In one photograph, taken at 9:20 in the morning, the city, dense with buildings and crisscrossed by alleys, is seen surrounded by fields. In this picture two cities emerge: one enclosed within a tightly woven fabric, the other open, extending in all directions. The first was later named al-Hara al-Sharqiyya, the eastern neighborhood, and the other, developing in a westerly direction, al-Hara al-Gharbiyya, the western neighborhood (see Figure 2). The latter was built on a plan of intersecting streets and quarters lined with courtyard houses. Although the development of the urban core, west and south, began even before the British entry to the city, its development accelerated under the British.⁹

The Old City plan looks like a dense triangle of structures, including fine lines barely visible in the photo. Parts of the city are surrounded by streets encircling districts, with two or three main streets connecting the various parts of the city. One street bisects the city from north to south and leads to the mosque in the south. Another street passes in front of the khan, in the center of the city. This street was probably home to the city's main market. Despite the density of the urban tissue, the main routes and alleys are still visible. Between those lines are the insulae made up of different buildings.

The photograph shows that the Old City was surrounded by a ring-road, except in the west. The northern part of the ring-road was called Tariq al-Hamza, after al-Hamza's fields and reservoir located just north of the road (see Figure 2). In the west, the ring road was connected to three streets that traversed the city from north to south; between them the neighborhoods are divided into rectangles. These houses were built when the city expanded under the British Mandate. At one of the interfaces between the Old City and the expansion to the west is a square in which the post office and city hall were located (see Figure 1, c). Another

1281-1333h/1864-1914m [The Subdistrict of Jaffa during the Ottoman Period: An Administrative, Economic, and Social Study, 1281-1333/1864-1914] (Amman: Jordan Ministry of Culture, 2000), p. 319 [in Arabic].

6 Joshua Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda), Israel from its Origins through the Byzantine Period 5600 B.C.E-640 C.E.* [BAR International Series 571] (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1991), pp. 23-30.

7 Adam Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 173-176, Map 3.

8 Leo Ari Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 109.

9 Haim Yacobi, *The Jewish-Arab City: Spatio-Politics in a Mixed Community* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 20-22.

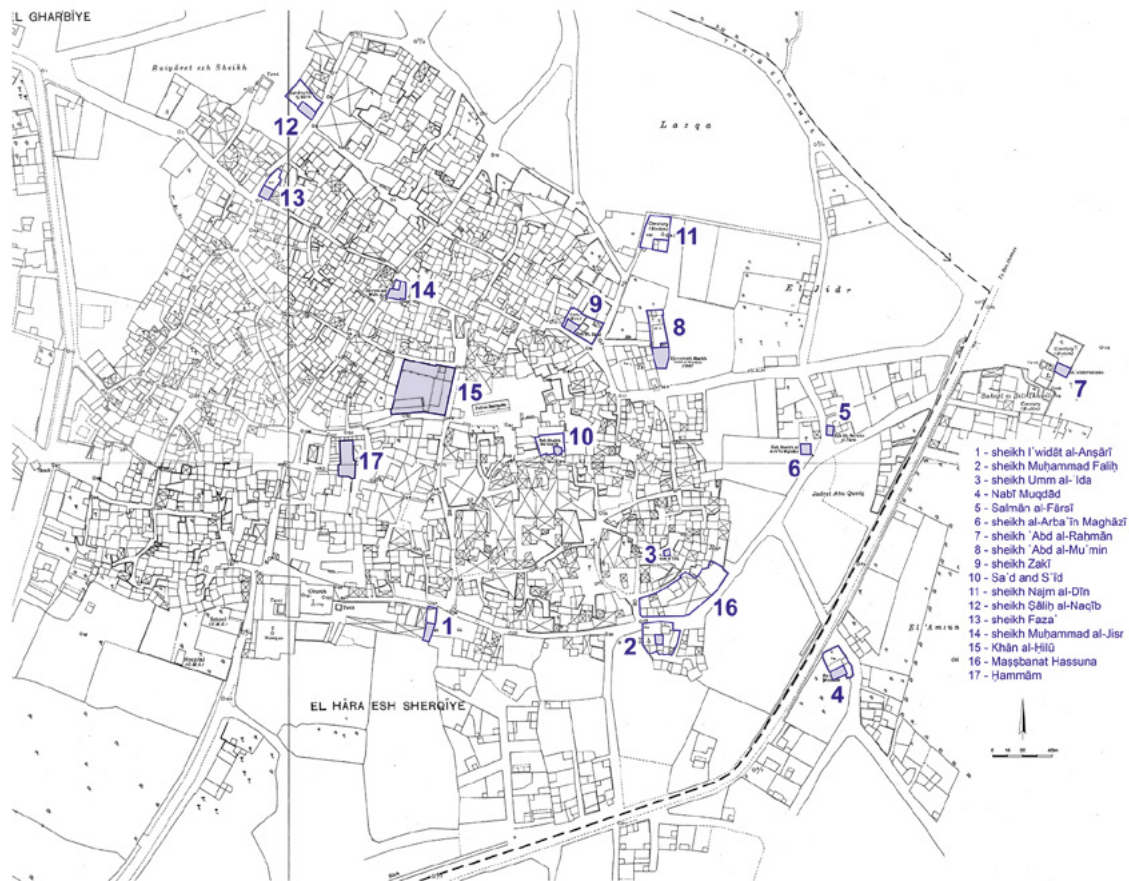


Figure 2: Town Plan of al-Ludd Dated 1929 (Courtesy of the IAA).

square, with Bir el Gharbiye at the center, appears at the intersection of the northern side of the ring-road and two of the three new streets in the western section. This square is fronted by the Dahmash Mosque built by Khalil Dahmash, a wealthy man who decided to establish a mosque and market in the New City, in addition to the one in the Old City, as discussed below (see Figure 1, b).

WAQF OF SITT IKHWITHA: FAMILY WAQF

A long hearing took place in the Jaffa court on 17 Rajab 1315 / 12 December 1897 in which two sisters claimed that their brother, who was managing the endowment deed, *waqf*, of their late mother, had not given them their share of the revenue.¹⁰ The session, although long, was

10 Jaffa court Sijill G/73/35, book 68, pp. 35–43 (kept at

not exceptional. As we learn from Beshara Doumani, siblings often disagreed among themselves and took each other to court.¹¹ Sisters had an even tougher time since they were usually excluded from inheritance and *waqf* revenues. This court session is interesting in so far as it pertained to a unique Hajja who used to live in the city of al-Ludd. This Hajja, who frequently appeared in the local court of al-Ludd and represented herself, can teach us something about the social and urban dynamics of a small town on the cusp of the 20th century.

The first round of *waqf* registration documented in al-Ludd's court records, dated 31 October 1876 / 12 Shawwal 1293, reveals that Hajja Fatima b. Muhammad al-'Awadi, nicknamed Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha, appeared in the small

the Israel State Archive).

11 Beshara B. Doumani, *Family Life in the Ottoman Mediterranean: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

courtroom very frequently.¹² Sitt Ikhwitha used to lend money, serve as a witness to marriages, and buy olive oil. At the end of her life she bequeathed the majority of her estate as a *waqf*. Sitt Ikhwitha asked that her *waqf* be divided between her sons and daughters and that one quarter be set aside for the benefit of the poor in Ramadan. She stipulated that 30 *ratil* of bread be given to the poor each day during Ramadan. Finally, the Hajja stipulated that, when her heirs had all died, the *waqf* revenues should be dedicated to the upkeep of the noble shrine of Medina.

Almost twenty years later, the Hajja passed away and suddenly her name appears in the district court in Jaffa, on 12 December 1897. This time, documents reveal that she had bequeathed her estate to the Zawiya al-Hamra', which she was instrumental in building in her neighborhood in the northern part of al-Ludd. In this *waqf* she also requested that part of the money be transferred to the Azhar Mosque in Cairo to support students. The Jaffa document reveals information about the Hajja's origin. She was identified in this *waqf* registration as:

al-Hajja Fatima sitt Ikhwitha bint al-Shaykh Muhammad al-'Awadi Ibn al-Shaykh Muhammad Bakhshish al-'Awadi from (*min ahali*) al-Zawiya al-Hamra' in Egypt (*bi-l-diyar al-misriyya*) who lives (*al-qatina bi*) in al-Ludd's *Qasaba*, near the Jaffa district (*Qada' Yafa*) in the province of Jerusalem (*bi-Liwa' al-Quds al-Sharif*).

Al-Zawiya al-Hamra is a quarter in the northern part of Old Cairo, where a *zawiya* painted red used to stand.¹³ The Hajja was clearly looking to her origins when she sought to build a *zawiya* by the same name in al-Ludd. The place chosen for the *zawiya* was the site around the shrine of 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf, who appears not to have been buried in al-Ludd. However, this saint had been venerated on the pilgrimage road since the late Mamluk period,¹⁴ and

the Hajja wanted her *zawiya* to be linked to an active pilgrimage site.

Apparently the *zawiya* was not complete when the Hajja registered the *waqf*, since it included a stipulation that the revenue from the *waqf* be dedicated to the faithful who attended the Shawam Riwaq¹⁵ in the al-Azhar Mosque until the *zawiya* was completed. This *riwaq*, built by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ahraf Qaytbay, was donated to the people of al-Sham, Greater Syria; hence the name, *Shawam*. The *waqfiyya* also requested that if the *waqf* revenues could not be dedicated to attendees at the Shawam Riwaq, they should instead go to the poor (*fuqara*) wherever they were found, in perpetuity. In addition to these wishes, the Hajja imposed several conditions:

- Poor: Every day during Ramadan 60 loaves of wheat bread should be served, food prepared to a total value of 300 *qurush* to be served with the aforementioned bread and a sum of 200 *qurush* be allocated for buying coffee for visitors throughout the year.
- Pilgrims: Every year 200 *qurush* should be paid to whomsoever brings water to visitors to the *zawiya* throughout the year. Another 200 *qurush* should be paid to whomsoever brings water to the water tank of this *zawiya*. This water is to be brought from the eastern *saqiya* (water-raising device similar to scoop wheel) that is close to the *zawiya*. Moreover, water should be brought to the *sabil* (public water fountain) situated in this *zawiya*. 100 *qurush* is to be given to the *nazir* (*waqf* administrator) of this *waqf* from profits accruing from the garden appended to it.
- Maintenance: 100 *qurush* should be spent on jars of olive oil and mats to cover the floor; and 65 measures (*uqqa*) of olive oil for lighting; 100 for renovating the *zawiya*.
- *Sadaqa*: 200 is to be set aside for *sadaqa* (charitable purposes).

12 The Awqaf Department, Abu Dis, Sijill al-Ludd, 8/1292/1,1/16, pp. 269–272.

13 Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 1–7, Figure 1.

14 Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *Al-uns al-jalil fi-tarikh al-Quds wa-l-Khalil* [The Glorious History of Jerusalem and He-

bron] (Amman: al-Muhtasib, 1973), 2: 71 [in Arabic].

15 Riwaq al-Shawam is one of the 29 *riwaqs* (lit. arcades) that were used as *majalis ilm*, namely a place to sit and impart knowledge to students at the mosque. Each *riwaq* had its own *waqf* that supported the students and their welfare. Nasser Rabbat, "Al-Azhar Mosque: An Architectural Chronicle of Cairo's History," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), p. 58.

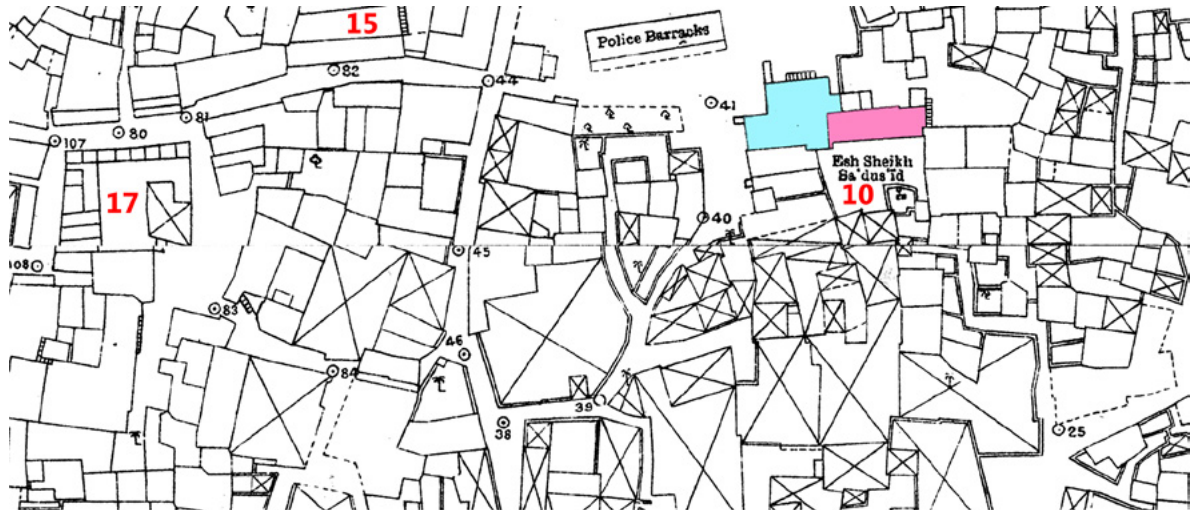


Figure 3: The shrine of Sa'd and Sa'id, no.10, Saray (marked in blue), and Dar al-Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha (marked in red). Part of town plan of Ludd dated 1929 and aerial photo of Ludd dated 26 June 1936.

Moreover, we learn from the endowment deed that if the *zawiya* was not built, the *nazir* should build two vaults and between them a *diwan*, a courtyard and a *murtafaq* (resting place?) to the east. In addition, each daughter, Latuf, Fatma and Salma, was to receive a jar of olive oil and 100 *qurush*, unless she was unmarried, in which case the *nazir* should give her something from the *waqf* revenues.

The Jaffa court hearing dealt with at least seventeen properties in al-Ludd that were owned by Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha, including residences, shops, a sesame press, and orchards. The first property is a residence (*dar*) that consists of nine rooms, an *iwana*, a courtyard situated on the first floor, and two reception rooms

(*qasir*), on the second floor. This residence bordered the Saray (the governor's house) to the west and the *zawiya* of Sa'd and Sa'id to the south. The *zawiya* is marked on the 1929 map of the city, making it possible to identify the Hajja's house and the Saray on the aerial photo of 1936 (see Figure 3). The white roof of a newly renovated building can be seen to the north of Zawiya Sa'd and Sa'id, which might be the Saray to the east of which was the Hajja's residence. A post-1948 report by the Israel Antiquity Authority notes a two-story house in this block that includes an inscription dated to 1294/1877,¹⁶ which might be part of the Hajja's

16 Thirty-seven buildings (or monuments as they are

house or even the *qasr* mentioned in the court hearing.

On 14 Rajab 1293 / 5 August 1876, a year before the date was inscribed, the Hajja bought a residence on the same block (*hawsh*), Hawsh Farraj. The residence had only one room and a courtyard. This was in addition to other properties of hers in the *hawsh* (complex of several houses) that were registered on 12 Shawwal 1293 / 31 October 1876, as part of her *waqf*, which included six rooms, a storage space (*ba'ika*) built of two vaults, an *iwan* and a courtyard. This property was enlarged several years later according to a Jaffa court hearing of 11 December 1897. The process of buying more properties in the same complex was part of the Hajja's strategy to establish her estate in the city center, adjacent to the Saray and next to the main khan and the bazaar situated in front of it. It can be assumed that the Hajja enlarged her property by building more rooms. The inscribed date may actually refer to the construction phase in which the Hajja, a year after she bought more properties in the block, built a reception room or *qasr*.¹⁷

This process of enlarging her residence in the city and then registering it as a *waqf* property is similar to a process that was popular in Nablus. Doumani describes the importance of residences for the families of Nablus:

Dar was solid and immovable: the headquarters of a household, constituting a discrete corporate entity centralized around the male. Dar was the key marker in the built environment of the city that defined a family name's longevity and its potential wealth, power, and status in the larger society. Dar was the anchor of surplus extraction networks connecting the city to its hinterlands, as

well of manufacturing and trade networks on the local and regional levels. Dar, not surprisingly, was and still is the word used in Nablus (and southern Bilad al-Sham in general) for both "house" and "family."

Other properties marked on the map are two orchards situated on the western side of Zawiyat Muqdad, located on the ring-road crossing to the east of the city and called Tariq Danyal in the document (see Figure 2, no. 4). On the same road and further to the north, a vineyard named 'Amsuniyya is also included in the *waqfiyya*. The 'Amsuniyya surrounded the *zawiya* of 'Abd al-Rahman, around which the Hajja asked to build and enlarge the *zawiya* (see Figure 2, no. 7). Other estates that can be identified on the city map are the plantations near al-Lazqa orchard attached to Zawiyat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Mu'min and the one attached to Zawiyat al-Shaykh Zaki (see Figure 2, no. 9).

The Hajja's *waqf* can be considered a mixed (*mushtarak*) *waqf* whereby transfer to the designated charitable purpose was undertaken in several stages, with a proviso that stipulated the endower and her eldest son to be the administrators. In this kind of *waqf*, a portion of the property is transferred to the endower's descendants and another portion directly to a charitable purpose. These *mabarrat* (good deeds) served several purposes simultaneously. They generated rewards in the afterlife and established the infrastructure of a religious institution. They also constituted a spiritual and cultural interface within the family and in society at large.¹⁸

When examining the case of Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha from the perspective of Bilad al-Sham, the case of Sayyid Amin al-Wajih of Tripoli can shed some light on the common practice of good deeds. After dividing the *waqf* revenues between his wife and daughter, Sayyid Amin directed some sums to be set aside annually after his death for the performance of *mabarrat*, the rewards of which were to accrue to his soul. Half the sum was to employ readers to recite the Qur'an twelve times a year, the other half to be spent on feeding the Muslim poor on the holy night of mid-Sha'ban, believed to be the night when the doors of forgiveness and sal-

listed) are marked on the 1929 map with a short description of each. Although the document is not dated, the fact that it is written in Hebrew indicates that it is post 1948. It is included in the Israeli files in the Archive and not in those of the Mandate.

17 Qasr Waqf Abu I-Huda in nearby Ramla is still standing, but not for much longer without maintenance. For examples of such residences, see H. Waddington, "A Note on Four Turkish Renaissance Buildings in Ramleh," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15 (1935), pp. 3-4, figures 3-4, PLII:1; Ron Fuchs, "The Palestinian Arab House and the Islamic "Primitive Hut," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), pp. 166-172, figure 13.

18 Doumani, *Family Life*, p. 105.

vation open, and thus an occasion on which to commemorate one's ancestors.¹⁹

Although there was apparently no organized religious system in al-Ludd, the Hajja was at least looking for *mabarrat* since she wanted the *zawiya* to be built and that money spent on the poor. There may not have been many Qur'an reciters in al-Ludd or perhaps the cost of one was exorbitant. More research needs to be done on these questions. What we do know is that the small town of al-Ludd differed from the larger and wealthier town of Nablus. When comparing Nablus and Tripoli, Doumani claims that the use of *waqf* to infuse moral/spiritual values was ubiquitous in Tripoli, while in Nablus it was almost entirely absent. Moreover, he says that

since good deeds were labor-intensive and largely performed by religious workers who got paid a weekly or monthly salary, this means that the reproduction of family through *waqfs* was critical to the financing and maintenance of a large religious establishment in Tripoli, but not so in Nablus.²⁰

To date we have not found any evidence of any large or even small religious establishments in al-Ludd, except for the many small *zawiyas* about which we have little information.²¹ Thus the few lines we have about the function of al-Zawiya al-Hamra open a window onto a world that would otherwise be concealed.

The dimensions of this obscure world can be ascertained from a list of 47 *awqaf* (endowed properties) in al-Ludd dated 1871. They included 25 family *waqfs*, while the remainder supported mosques, monasteries, and *zawiyas* in the city.²² One *waqf* supported the two noble shrines of Mecca and Medina, one supported the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron, and another was associated with the great mosque in Ramla. At the top of the list it is stated that the *qasaba* of al-Ludd was a *waqf* for the Hasseki Sultan,

meaning that a portion of the endowment revenues was dedicated to Hasseki Sultan 'Imaret in Jerusalem.²³ This list does not appear to be complete since another endowment used to support Maqam Sidna 'Ali b. 'Alil is mentioned in a court hearing in al-Ludd.²⁴

This list indicates that family *waqfs* were also involved in the political economy of local, regional, and imperial religious establishments, because the endower could specify the charitable places to which revenues would go once their lineage ceased to exist. In Tripoli and Nablus, as in most other urban centers, the popular choices were local mosques, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Sufi shaykhs and their progeny, and finally, the "poor," whether of a particular neighborhood, the city as a whole, or the Muslim world in general. Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha chose to refer to her origins, her home-city of Cairo, and more specifically to a specific quarter in that city. The first thing that comes to mind when Egypt is mentioned in the context of mid-19th century Palestine is Egyptian rule over the country between 1831 and 1840, and the immigration of Egyptians to Palestine, especially to coastal cities. As mentioned in the Jaffa court hearing, al-Ludd was in Jaffa district, so the Hajja's family might well have immigrated to Jaffa and then moved on to al-Ludd. The *sijillat* of al-Ludd mention several other Masris; i.e., Egyptians.

If our hypothesis is right, the Hajja was hoping to be reconnected – even if only posthumously – with the place from which she or her father came. Sending money to the Riwaq al-Shawam in al-Azhar testifies to the importance of this institution even to people who lived in the small city of al-Ludd. Neither Mecca nor Medina, nor even Jerusalem featured in the Hajja's donation circle. While the noble shrine of Medina is mentioned in the first *waqfiyya*, it is totally absent from the later one.

From his examination of the *waqfiyyat* of the inhabitants of Nablus and Tripoli, Doumani claims that the public act of purchasing and distributing food – whether daily, weekly, monthly, or annually – in the name of the family

19 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

21 Tawfiq Da'adli, "Lod boker le-yom shishi ha-26.6.1936 [Lod on the Morning of Friday, 26 June 1936]," in Alon Shavit, Tawfiq Da'adli and Yuval Gadot (eds.), *Lod, Diaspolis-City of God*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Keter Press, 2015), pp. 151–164 [in Hebrew].

22 The Awqaf Department, Abu Dis, file, 9/2/3/3/1299/8.

23 Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 49.

24 Andrew Petersen, *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine (Part 1)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 146–148.

and its founding figure, enhanced the family's status and imparted a sense of social and religious discipline among its members. The rituals of purchasing and distributing, moreover, ensured that the endower and the beneficiaries were woven into the larger social and cultural fabric of the neighborhood and city.²⁵ In dedicating her money to pupils in Cairo, the Hajja of al-Ludd and/or her family became connected to the wider social, cultural, and economic fabric.

STATE WAQF

Several institutions are mentioned as supporting the Sitt Ikhwitha Waqf. These included certain shrines and lands belonging to the shrines, as well as the gardens of Zawiyat Zaki and Zawiyat 'Abd al-Mu'min (see Figure 2, no. 9 and 8). The conclusions of the long Jaffa court session reveal that a certain parcel of land planted with olive trees and registered in the Hajja Waqf was actually part of Waqf Hasseki Sultan, which supported the royal kitchens in Jerusalem. How did the Hajja manage to lay her hands on that land? Why did she own gardens attached to *zawiyas* that were probably supported by a *waqf*? These are just some of the questions that emerge from the court case concerning the Hajja's *waqf*. The queries that emerge from Doumani's conclusions can also be raised. Did the olive trees give the Hajja a role in the public sphere as did mulberry trees for the women of Tripoli? In several court sessions, olive trees are mentioned instead of land. What does this tell us about social life in al-Ludd compared with Nablus, where women were less active than their sisters in Tripoli?

It was not only the olive oil industry, as manifested in the many soap factories (some still extant), that gave the Hajja entry into the al-Ludd economy. The Hajja's final *waqfiyya* includes a sesame press, *mi'sarat sirij*, situated in the eastern quarter of the city. The sesame industry was one of the economic pillars of al-Ludd and some sesame presses can still be seen there. Moreover, sesame presses can usually be found under the same roof as olive oil presses and are connected to soap factories. One such factory is still owned by descendants of the

Hajja, the Hassuna family on her second husband's side.²⁶

The case of Sayyid Amin al-Wajih of Tripoli, who donated mulberry trees to a Mamluk charitable *waqf*, sheds light on the way *waqf* lands can be used or partly transferred to a family *waqf*. Al-Wajih's access to the land was secured by a long-term lease (*hikr*) that was part of a sophisticated legal system that allowed for private ownership of trees and buildings planted or erected on *waqf* lands.²⁷ It may be that the *hikr* system made it possible for Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha to bequeath the olive trees to her daughters. Moreover, when the *waqfiyya* refers to the *mashatil*, orchards, attached to the *zawiyas*, it only refers to the fruit and vegetables and not to the land, which explains the Hajja's long-term strategic investment in lands she did not own.

WAQF KAHLIL DAHMASH

On 5 July 1924, the *qadi* of Ramla sent a detailed letter to the president of the Supreme Muslim Council, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, asking for permission to build ablution facilities, restrooms, and storerooms adjacent to the mosque of Dahmash.²⁸ Dahmash hoped that the revenues from these facilities would support the mosque he had endowed. The land adjacent to the mosque on which he sought to build was part of Waqf al-Dabbagh and was described as "land that does not accrue any benefit to the *waqf* and is not suitable for anything that could result in revenue for a long time."

The land and the mosque were situated outside the borders of the Old City on its northwestern side. This area is located between the Old City and an isolated neighborhood fairly far from it and is one of the earliest neighborhoods established "outside the city walls." The remoteness of this neighborhood from the city may be the reason for its description as unprofitable. However, what may seem unprofitable to one side of the city can nonetheless be of benefit to another side. From the perspective of the Old City, the land was outside the trading area, while from the viewpoint of the developing

26 Tawfiq Da'adli, "Remains of Ottoman Buildings in the City of al-Ludd," *Der Islam* 96/2 (2019), pp. 149-180.

27 Doumani, *Family Life*, p. 135.

28 The Awqaf Department, Abu Dis, file, 8/24/2,16/10.

25 Doumani, *Family Life*, p. 154.



Figure 4: View of the City from the West. Bir el Gharbiye in the left foreground and no. 15 Khan al-Hilu (dated 1932), Library of Congress, LCUSZ62-130794.

northwestern extension of the city, it formed the heart of a new market (see Figure 4).

Dahmash decided to situate his mosque on the line connecting the northwestern quarter with the Old City. Shops were built around its entrance sides and facing the road. Hajj Amin al-Husayni's letter confirms that storerooms were added to the shops, forming a commercial plaza. At the core of this plaza stood Bir el Gharbiye and to its north a row of shops that can be seen under construction in pictures from World War I (see Figure 5). Another row of shops was added on the opposite side of the plaza, aligned with Dahmash's shops and the mosque's façade.²⁹ By building the mosque and the shops on the route that linked the Old City with the western neighborhood, Dahmash

²⁹ Dahmash already had a business in this part of the city: a tannery that is registered in a court hearing from 6 Muharram 1293 / 1 February 1876 that was held in al-Ludd, Sijill al-Ludd, 8/1292/1,1/16, p. 180.

strengthened or even established a new pole, in the sense defined by Attilio Petruccioli.³⁰

This pole developed into a major crossroads with lines stretching north to Wilhelma (as indicated on the map) and to Ramla in the south. In addition, routes stretched on the west-east axis to the railway station, the western quarters, and the Muslim western cemetery. On the eastern side, it led to the northern quarters, and to the village of al-Nabi Danyal, and the Jewish settlement of Ben-Shemen through Tariq al-Hamza.³¹ The façade of Dahmash's mosque, decorated with a high central arch with circular hood-mold supported by acanthus capitals on thin elongated pillars (see Figure 6), graced this plaza, in a style redolent of a much larger city, such as Jaffa.

³⁰ Attilio Petruccioli, *After Amnesia: Learning from the Islamic Mediterranean Urban Fabric* (Altamura: Grafica & Stampa, 2007), p. 138.

³¹ Walid Khalidi, *All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1997), pp. 215–217.



Figure 5: Bir el Gharbiye, Bavarian Aerial Squadron (dated 16 December 1917). (a) Saknet es Sitt Ikhwitha, (b) Bir el Gharbiye. Source: Bavarian State Archive, BS-Palästina 463.

CONCLUSION

Salim Tamari's recent observations about the rearrangement of space in some Palestine cities are pertinent to al-Ludd as well. He refers to picnics in Shaykh Jarrah, outside the Jerusalem city walls, and to soccer matches played just outside Herod's Gate. These leisure activities differ considerably from traditional or religious rituals. He argues that:

Urban Palestine witnessed another transformation of the public sphere outside the arena of ceremonious ac-

tivities that can be attributed to a perceptible change in lifestyle. It is related, I believe, to the transfer of habit to the neighborhoods outside the old city, as well as related to the change from leisure activities rooted in religious ritual to new forms of leisure activities.³²

On a timeline of urban development, Tamari's leisure activities were conducted in spaces not

³² Salim Tamari, *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), p. 54.

designed for it very early on. Jaffa's clock tower plaza and the public square built in front of the Saray constitute another milestone. The picture of the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem addressing the Jaffa crowds highlights the importance of this plaza.³³ The end point, at least in Tamari's chapter, was the urban planning of Bi'r al-Sab' (Beersheba), the first "intentionally planned urban center" in Palestine, as Tamari puts it.³⁴ The Bir el Gharbiye square resembles a second point on this timeline and the grid-like plan of the western neighborhoods in al-Ludd that developed under the British Mandate can be considered a third point, later than Bi'r al-Sab's urban plan.

The case of the Dahmash Mosque and shops points to a dramatic change in the market space. Compared to the *suqs* inside the Old City, such as those that were once located in front of the main khan (caravansary), Khan al-Hilu, which were built in traditional style, i.e. a narrow, four-meter-wide lane with rows of shops on each side, the new market square was more than fifteen meters wide. This new square was a precursor to a style of building that accelerated under the British, especially after the earthquake of 1927, when the inhabitants sought to leave the ruined Old City for planned new neighborhoods situated to the west of the city.

On the other side of the city, a new quarter was established, Saknet es Sitt Ikhwitha, sparked by the Hajja's interest in the shrine of 'Abd al-Rahman. The earliest documentation we have of this quarter is German air force photos dated to the end of World War I. In this period, the quarter encompassed the shrine, a cemetery to its north, and the buildings of the quarter to the south. The quarter seems to have three houses with an alley that separated the two blocks. On the 1936 aerial photo, the northern block had been enlarged and was bounded by another alley to the north. What had previously looked isolated and far from the city center was

now attached to the city by a network of roads extending out of the city. This also meant that more houses and buildings were built on the sides of the roads, making the city fabric tighter.

Even though the quarter of Hajja Sitt Ikhwitha also developed out of the Old City, it was funded mainly by estates situated within the city. Unlike the Dahmash Mosque it did not include any businesses, but rather was meant to serve pilgrims visiting the *sahabi* shrine, especially during the month of Ramadan. Per-



Figure 6: Façade of the Dahmash Mosque. Photograph taken on 5 May 2006 by Tawfiq Da'adli.

haps the Hajja also invested in businesses similar to those established by Dahmash, but these are not described in the documents available to date. The Hajja appeared to follow traditional practice, while Dahmash set the stage for changes that accelerated in Palestine and particularly in al-Ludd, or Lydda, as it was renamed by the British, after World War I.

33 Tamari, *The Great War*, Figure 7.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Tawfiq Da'adli is an archeologist and art historian, his field of expertise is on Islamic material culture throughout the medieval period. He teaches at the departments of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies and Art History, at the Hebrew University.

SIJILL, MAPS AND AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS: RECONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF A SMALL TOWN IN LATE OTTOMAN PALESTINE

This chapter is based on a variety of sources that are usually discussed separately in different fields. One is composed of written documents, which are typically used by historians to reconstruct narratives. The other is maps and aerial photos, which are used by geographers and urban historians. However, the combination of these sources can shed more light on the daily lives of the inhabitants. Documentation in the form of a town map or aerial photo also serves as a window on the past. Both sources are highly valuable especially after a town has been almost totally demolished and depopulated. The written documents act, in a certain way, as the voice of the people whereas a single aerial photo can capture the memory of a whole town.

Written documents can, in some cases, allow us to imagine certain alleyway or even a neighborhood, unlike a text, even a long one, that cannot provide a full picture of the dimensions of a town. Certain works of fiction may describe the town or city where the protagonists live but even then, the reader is held captive by the characters' perspectives. Official registration documents are usually closer to reality. Yet, these descriptions tend to be laconic even when describing a building site or location. By contrast, maps and aerial photos supply a general view of a town or a city and provide less information about details on the ground. In some cases, a house or street in a written document can

be located on an aerial photo or map. This yields both a general and specific information about a home or street. The written document supplies social details, the names of the owners, their social status, the number of people in a household and other details whereas photos can situate it within the urban hierarchy.

The written documents consulted for this chapter consist primarily of *sijillat*, court hearings, and *waqfiyyat*, endowment deeds. The latter were often filed in the *sijillat*, although not exclusively. The one presented here was found in two *sijills*, one from Jaffa and the other from al-Ludd. Ludd had a court, and some hundred cases still remain documented in a single file that survived the town's destruction in the war of 1948. It contains several endowment deeds mentioned in the court hearings as part of suits or litigations between family members. The case discussed here was apparently registered in the Jaffa court. Although the relationship between the small court in Ludd and the central court in Jaffa is unknown, their hierarchy is obvious.

The survey of the town some decades before its destruction, and two or three aerial photos taken several years before the survey for military use depict the town in two different stages and reveal a number of urban changes. Each serves to demonstrate a different dynamic, which can be termed "conservative" and more "modern."

