ASK Working Paper 19

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Daniel Redlinger

**The Impact of religious architecture Memorial in rural areas in Jordan in the 13th-16th century as a focus of identity and social, religious and economic centers**

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**The Impact of religious architecture Memorial in rural areas in Jordan in the 13th-16th century as a focus of identity and social, religious and economic centers**

**(Daniel Redlinger)**

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From 2012-2014 Daniel Redlinger was a post-doc fellowship at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg at the University of Bonn. He received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from the University of Bonn in 2012 and previously held a position as associated researcher at the department of Asian and Islamic Art History at the University of Bonn.

Being a trained art historian and historian of the Middle East and South-Asia, Redlinger focused on Indo-Islamic Architecture of the pre-Moghul period in India before getting into the Field of Mamlukology. In his Ph.D Redlinger discusses how historians exploited early Indo-Islamic Architecture in an attempt to construct an image of historical developments that supported particular political ambitions. Redlinger currently works on the perception and new methods of reading monumental Islamic inscriptions. His research also includes studies on contemporary architecture in the Arab Emirates and on the question how and why pre-modern architectural concepts were reused and transferred by modern architects. Among his recent publications are:

———. 2008. Die frühe Islamische Architektur Indiens als Medium eines programmatisch formulierten Herrschaftsanspruchs: Die Quwwat al-Islām Moschee in Delhi. In: *Berichte über die Tagung in Bamberg vom 1. bis 2. Juli 2005 und in Bonn vom 7. bis 8. Juli 2006,* 145–160. Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie 1. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

———. 2009. Kontinuität und Herrschaft? Überlegungen zur modernen Architektur in Dubai und Abu Dhabi. In: *Von Gibralta bis zum Ganges: Studien zur islamischen Kunstgeschichte in memoriam Christian Ewert,* hg. by Martina Müller-Wiener and Marion Frenger, 219–242, Fig. 65–71. Bonner Asienstudien 7. Hamburg: EB-Verlag.

———. 2011. Image without images: Visualization in Islamic epigraphy. In: *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships between Poland and Islamic Countries,* hg. von Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow, Jerzy Malinowski, Conference of the Polish Institute of World Art Studies, und Conference of Islamic Art in Poland, 163–172. Krakow: „Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology: Polish Institute of World Art Studies.

———. 2012. Kulturwissenschaften: Die Antworten der Orientalischen Kunstgeschichte. In: *Was ist Kulturwissenschaft? Zehn Antworten aus den „Kleinen Fächern",* hg. von Stephan Conermann, 199–232. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

**Abstract**

This Working Paper describes the starting point for a post-doctoral project on the social, economic and political meaning and function of memorial architecture constructed during the Mamluk and early Ottoman time in a geographical area that today belongs to the kingdom of Jordan. The post-doctoral project aims at building up a sound documentation of these hitherto neglected structures of the Mamluk and early Ottoman Memorial architecture in this area; it will include a study of their function for the region, but also for the central power in Cairo and Syria in pre-modern times. An important issue of the post doc-project will be to unveil which images of history materialize in the architecture and how they were adapted and exploited by different groups from the past until today.

This Working Paper provides also a short insight into the results of two short field researches in 2013 and 201, which where intended to gain a first insight into the structures, forms, condition and accessibility of the buildings. The methodological work in this post-doctoral project is intended to be interdisciplinary. The analysis is not limited to a philological, historical-critical evaluation of written source material, or an archaeological approach but also includes art historical analysis of the existing buildings and the technic of interviews in the overall consideration of memorial architecture in Jordan.

**Content**

## 1. Introduction

The present paper is intended as an outline of the initial thoughts and ideas for a post-doc project. The preparation of the proposal, which will be submitted, to the DFG in the near future was part of the post-doc fellowship, which was kindly offered to me by the Annemarie-Schimmel Kolleg in Bonn. This Working Paper describes the material and the starting point for the project; it should therefore be read as work in progress rather than as a completed piece of research. For any more substantial research on the topic discussed several months of extensive survey on the buildings and supplementary study of the written sources in the archives will be indispensable. Thus the working paper mainly presents the area of research, the achievable goals of the project and the results of two brief field surveys in 2013 and 2014. The post-doctoral project submitted to the DFG will aim at examining the social, economic and political meaning and function of memorial architecture constructed during the Mamluk and early Ottoman time in a geographical area that today belongs to the kingdom of Jordan.

## 2. Memorial Architecture in Jordan between the 13th and 16th century[1]

Before I discuss the importance of memorial architecture in Jordan, the question must be asked, what I mean by the term memorial architecture- a term that bears strong western connotations. Studies of memorial architecture in the Islamic world, such as the comprehensive publication by Thomas Leisten "Architecture for the dead",[2] discussing the form and function of memorial architecture between the 9th to 12th centuries in the Middle East, links this kind of architecture often with the cult of the death and related religious and social narratives about the deceased. However, the prestigious and meaningful memorial

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1   It was Bethany Walker who first brought the significance and the potential of this topic to my notice. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her for introducing the material to me and for her support and continued interest in my exploration of the topic.

architecture of the Islamic world, e.g. the Dome of the Rock, the al-Aqṣa Mosque or buildings like the various *qadam šarīf*s, which house the footprint of the Prophet or the shrines of Ḫiḍr show that every investigation of memorial architecture has to include more than just burial architecture in the narrow sense.

As will be shown many different types of memorial architecture can be identified for prominent deceased who were influential in the region of Jordan in pre-modern times. These buildings are in most cases memorials for Muslim prophets, *aṣḥāb*, *šuhadāʾ*, local saints and spiritual leaders (*šuyūḫ*), as well as for Christian prophets who are also venerated by Muslim believers; others mark the places of activity and miracles of *šaykhs*.[3] Another kind of memorials are those of legendary military conflicts, such as the Battle of Yamuk close to the Jordan Valley, or commemorative places of special religious events, such as the Cave of the Seven Sleepers (*kahf al-raqīm*) or the site of the baptism of Jesus. A majority of these buildings were important means in creating an identity for the surrounding community as well as for the pilgrims who were visiting these shrines. In many cases these buildings created during Mamluk and early Ottoman periods have maintained their importance as sites of communal identification and places of pilgrimage until today.

A series of architectural inscriptions on buildings in Jordan from the Mamluk period, various *waqf*-documents, official government documents, geographical descriptions and travel reports prove that various Mamluk rulers as well as their regional representatives in Bilād al-Šām comissioned and supported a huge number of architectural projects outside the major urban centers. A well-known and datable piece of inscription can be found at the shrine of Aaron in Wadi Petra. The inscription designates the building to the Mamluk ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalawūn (Fig. 1). While there are only few memorial buildings in Jordan datable to the the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods,[4] the monuments built under the Mamluk rule provide a comparatively good starting point to investigate the meaning and function of Muslim memorial architecture in pre-modern times. Most of the buildings from the Mamluk period were part of the itineraries of travellers and pilgrims

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2    Leisten, 1998.

3    See Walker, 2008a; Walker and Neveu, 2013; Walker, 2007a.

from the entire Muslim world. The most important pilgrimage routes from Damascus to Mecca led through Transjordan.[5] Travellers such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭā report on a variety of shrines in the area of present-day Jordan which they visited during their pilgrimage to Mecca.[6]

The observations derived from my field research in June 2014 confirm these statements; most shrines are located near the famous pilgrim routes and thus are part of an extensive architectural network supporting travellers between the areas al-Ḥiǧāz, Bilād al-Šām, Egypt and Jerusalem.[7] The comprehensive research of Bethany Walker on shrines of the post-Mamluk period - based on building inscriptions, written sources, such as *waqf*-documents, travel diaries of Muslim travellers and pilgrims and official texts, such as tax registers of the Ottoman times (*defters*) - has shown that under the Ottomans this memorial architecture became spaces of identity for the surrounding communities in rural areas of Jordan as well as important social, religious and economic centres.[8] Often the people who maintain these buildings or occupy a religious function in them, are members of the leading religious, social and economic elite of the affiliated communities.

As Bethany Walker has shown in her research on the agricultural and economic processes in Transjordan during the Mamluk period, the region had a high strategic and economic importance for the Mamluks in Cairo in the 13th-15th century.[9] This is also reflected in various building projects and restoration works conducted in the early Mamluk period, for example in the administrative centre Kerak. Such construction projects included the construction and expansion of trade networks, postal routes and shrines throughout Transjordan. Shrines as memorial complexes quickly became centres of - often rapidly growing - communities. The memorial complexes in Jordan under the Mamluks served thus as an interface between the local elites and the central government in Cairo. The leaders of

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4   See Walmsley, 2001; Milwright, 2006; Mackenzie, 2002.

5   See Petersen, 1994; Walker and Neveu, 2013; Walker, 2007a.

6   Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1968.

7   See for Pilgrimage routes in Jordan Petersen, 1994; Walker, 2010.

8   See the research on economic and social transformation processes in the area oft he today Jordan in the time oft he Mamluk and Osman rulership, Kareem, 2000; McPhillips and Walmsley, 2007; Walker, 2004; Walker, 2009b; Walker, 2009a; Walker, 2011c; Walker, 2011b; Walker, 2011a; Walker, 2003; Walmsley, 1997.

9   Walker, 2005; Walker, 2006; Walker, 2007b; Walker, 2008b; Walker, 1999; Walker et al., 2007; Walker, 2009c. See also Kareem, 2000.

the shrines due to their key position became cultural brokers and the space in which they operated were nodes of the Mamluk power politics in the periphery.

## 3. Previous research on memorial architecture in Jordan

Previous research on Mamluk memorial architecture is largely limited to multifunctional buildings in major urban centres in Syria and in Cairo. [10] Compared to the mass of publications on these buildings only a few western publications take into account the pre-Ottoman architecture in modern rural Jordan. Buildings from the Mamluk period outside the few urban centres, especially those in modern Jordan, were often classified as peripheral and therefore inferior to those in centres of power like Cairo or Damaskus; therefore they were to a large extent excluded from previous Western research.[11] This is particularly true for buildings founded between the 13th-16th century such as tombs, shrines or ḫangāhs. A comprehensive documentation and in-depth study of these buildings and their social, economic, religious and political function in the region has not been undertaken. This is equally true for the cult of worship practiced in these buildings and for other activities taking place within the architectural framework of memorial architecture. As even an elementary documentation of the buildings, their architecture and inscriptions is lacking, there naturally is no material basis for any further study of the religious and political program manifesting in these buildings or the specific view of the world and the history that is usually associated with a specific historical thinking. The question arises in this context, which narrative traditions are linked und can be observed within the memorial architecture, whether these narratives reflect the localization of these buildings in a specific rural world of thoughts and experience and how such narratives were taken up and maybe instrumentalised by the Mamluk rulers in the centres.

For the area of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo buildings like ḫanqāhs and madāris foundation complexes are often linked to the followers of the path of Sufism, like the mystical

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10  See for example Gonnella, 2000, Rabbat, 2010. An example of a comprehensive, interdisciplinary case study on a multifunctional foundation complex in Cairo is done in the work of Kahil, 2008; Al-Harithy, 1996 on the Sultan Hasan complex in Cairo. See for publications on Shrines in Mamluk times for example Petersen, 1996.

11  Only a small number of publications in Arabic language on this topic are available, see Ġawānamah, 1986a; Ġawānamah, 1986b; Ġawānamah, 1986c. Non-academic publications on shrines and memorial architecture are addressing Muslim pilgrims and Muslim tourists. These publications are published by the Jordanian

brotherhoods, who lived in these architectures and performed their religious practices. That the term Sufism denotes a problematic and complex phenomenon and how this term was simplified in the research on the Islamic Middle Ages has been discussed by Richard McGregor.[12] With regard to memorial architecture in Transjordan and the religious practices in these buildings in pre-modern times up to now no study has included the role and perception of Sufism. The same neglect can be observed in studies on the role of popular Islam (Volksislam) or the non-Orthodox forms of Islam like the mystical paths in Transjordan during the reign of the Mamluks.

Research on memorial architecture in Jordan with few exceptions is limited to archaeological surveys of the structure of buildings dating to the 18th century or later.[13] How fruitful an interdisciplinary investigation on memorial architecture from the Mamluk period could be - both on the buildings and the written sources - has been made clear by Bethany Walker in her research on shrines in northern Jordan.[14] Only an intense study of different sources can show the multi-layered function of pre-modern architecture. This study would also have to ask how these narratives of the past that materialize in these buildings are perceived in the present.

## 4. Field investigations 2013 and 2014

Subsequent to archaeological excavations in Jordan in 2013 and 2014 I visited a number of buildings that should be part of the post-doc project. This field research was intended to gain a first insight into the structures, forms, condition and accessibility of the buildings. In addition it had to be ascertained whether the buildings could be dated in future investigations. An important focus of the survey was whether the often heavily renovated and rebuilt monuments do still contain traces of architectural structures and inscriptions that can safely be ascribed to Mamluk times. The survey in 2014, however, had to be limited to a few examples, due to lack of time and resources available for a more comprehensive analysis. During the survey a basic photographic documentation of the

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government. See TURAB and Mohammad, 2013 und al-Hayyanrī, 2011.

12 McGregor, 2009.

13 McPhillips and Walmsley, 2007; Walmsley, 1997; Walmsley, 2001.

14 See Walker, 2008a; Walker, 2007a. An existing unpublished Dissertation from Dr. Norig addresses the Shrines of the 18.-20. century in Jordan.

visited buildings was produced in order to provide material for further study and analysis after the survey. The selection of buildings visited was based on a preliminary selection of buildings published by a department of the *waqf*-ministry, which has taken on responsibility for the maintenance, repair and management of a large part of the memorial architecture in Jordan.[15] Another introductory source used was a publication about the most famous holy sites in Jordan, which was published by the *Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought*.[16] A major problem of these publications is that they do not specify details of the buildings, the restoration work, inscriptions or dates of the buildings. Significantly larger and more detailed, useful information on archaeological and art historical data of the architecture and its context is provided by the work of Yūsūf Ġawānamah in which a few memorial architectural remains in the regions of Irbid, Aǧlūn and Ġūr are discussed.[17]

In addition to the buildings or clusters of buildings themselves, the integration of the buildings with the surrounding area or urban structures were documented as far as possible. A particular focus was also on tombs and graveyards, which are often part of the memorial complexes. It was documented which social groups were buried in the cemetery and whether an obvious social hierarchy of the funerals existed.

Another important object of study of the buildings was their integration into the geographical and urban context. This included the questions, where the building was situated - in or outside a local village - or whether it was an isolated construction without any connection to any inhabited area; how it related to the natural landscape - on a hill, a mountain, in a *wādī*, on a river or lake - and if and how it was connected to major roads? Many of these questions can only be fully answered after an extensive study of written sources.

For a reliable localisation of the buildings GPS data were taken and a database was build from this information. A first analysis of these data in relation to the geographical conditions of the region indicates that there are two major north-south axes and several east-west axes; this may point to a comply network of trails connecting the sites with each other. With regard to the distances of the buildings to each other it can be assumed at this

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15  al-Hayyanrī, 2011.

16  TURAB and Mohammad, 2013.

stage of investigation, that each complex formed an individual stage for travellers on long distance pilgrimages, like the Damaskus-Hiǧāz travel or the journey to Jerusalem. This short, rather superficially conducted survey already shows that the combination of an analysis of the buildings and the extant written sources could provide a far more differentiated image of the pilgrimage routes and transport routes in Jordan during pre-modern times.

In addition to the study of architecture a series of interviews was done with people who were directly connected with the construction. Among the persons I interviewed were *imām*s, guardians of tombs, pilgrims and members of the administrative staff of multifunctional complexes. The primary aim of these interviews was to develop methods and questions for a more comprehensive future survey. Such interviews may provide answers to questions that reach beyond what can be deduced from a study of the material remains and literary sources alone; among them the question if, how and to what extent the historical thinking and the cultural identity of modern respondents and visitors relates to the architecture and how their individual position relates to the collective level of historical thinking. A preliminary evaluation of the interviews revealed that an awareness of a historical dimension could be observed almost exclusively for members of the local community whose families reside in the area since many generations. In this group of people narratives can be observed that are associated with the building itself and bear a distinct local expression. On the contrary no such narratives have been traced up to now in interviews with the official representatives of those usually large complexes that are supported with official funds from the ruling dynasty. The reason seems to be that most of the persons responsible for these establishments are not rooted in the rural societies in the immediate vicinity of these memorial complexes.

Another aspect of the investigation focussed on the change of meaning in the architecture; this includes the re-use, transformation and conversion of historic architecture in modern times. In this context a deeper look had to be taken into the administrative structures of memorial complexes in Jordan. The restoration of the buildings, their maintenance, the

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17 Ġawānamah, 1986a; Ġawānamah, 1986b; Ġawānamah, 1986c.

documentation of construction and their marketing on an international level, mainly to tourism companies specialising in Muslim pilgrimage tourism, is supervised and organised by a department of the *waqf*-ministry rather than by the department on antiquities. The management of the buildings and the daily maintenance is on the other hand the responsibility of the regional municipalities. As part of the research project it will be necessary to investigate the relationships among the different social and political groups and local communities, which are related to the daily life and administration of the memorial buildings. On the basis of such observations on the memorial architecture it is obvious that the memorial architecture of Jordan will provide an excellent opportunity to gain an insight into the processes of transformation of historical narratives associated with architecture. With regard to the destruction of social structures and cultural roots of people and their history as a result of the violence in the Middle East in recent years this is an invaluable chance for academic research to trace traditional structures that are have largely vanished in other regions.

## 5. Surveyed Buildings in 2013 and 2014

The investigated buildings include not only tombs but also memorial architecture in a broader sense. As with Mamluk buildings in Cairo and Syria they have and had often a multifunctional character. So for example, today to a tomb includes in many cases a mosque, has become a pilgrim centre, has a library and a madrasa or a museum are often attached.

The buildings can be classified on the basis of assignments to different forms of remembrance in the following groups:

1. Buildings that house the body of Muslim prophets, or are created as a commemorative place for him
2. Buildings for Christian prophets who were also revered in Islam
3. Buildings of the *aṣḥāb*
4. *mašhad*
5. Historical places of remembrance, e.g. the battlefield of Yamuk

6. Commemorative places, which are linked to religious narratives, such as the place of Baptism of Jesus or the Cave of the Seven Sleepers.
7. Commemorative places for local saints and religious *šuyūḫ*.


While the official historical narratives linked to the architecture can be easily traced in modern Media and publications such as official print publications, websites and newspaper articles the same is much more difficult for pre-modern times. Buildings and their historical 'background' maintained by state funded organisations are presented in publications like the of TURAN and the Department of the *waqf*-ministry in Amman. Its historical and religious narrative is presented, in particular to Muslim pilgrim-tourists, by different kinds of media. Almost all of the buildings in these publications of the authorities are linked directly to Muslim orthodox religious narratives by a *sūrā* from the Koran. This equally applies to memorial architecture of the *aṣḥāb* and *šuhadāʾ* as well as that of prophets who play an important role in Christianity and Islam. It seems that in this form of handing down in writing a guide to the buildings, whether it is through official publications or websites, the use of the words of the Koran has a function similar to that of Koranic citations in the building inscriptions of pre-modern Muslim architecture. A in-deep investigation of the functions of architecture and the supporting media, as part of a reference system which links to a collective historical thinking therefore will be an important part of the post-doc project.

Compared to the analysis of the verification of transfer and perception of historical thinking displayed in contemporary Muslim architecture, tracing similar ideas in architecture of the Mamluk period is far more difficult. Only two of the surveyed buildings can safely be related to datable inscriptions. These inscriptions can be found on the cenotaph in the Tomb of Hārūn near Petra (Fig.1) and in the museum in the multifunctional complexe of the *ṣaḥābī* al-Ǧalīl Abū ʿUbayda ʿAmīr Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ in the Jordan Valley (Fig.2, 3). The inscriptions belonging to these two buildings from the Mamluk period, however, are sufficient to show that the inscriptions were used as reference system to religious historical narratives and that the material deserves further study.

For all other buildings that were visited during the survey in 2014 the precise dating of the structures was hardly possible. Almost all buildings were extensively reconstructed and

renovated over the last two decades and were in most cases transformed into multifunctional memorial complexes and opened for Muslim pilgrimage tourism. The most multifunctional complexes took their current shape only after the turn of the millennium under the supervision of a department of *waqf*-ministry. The architectural style of these buildings is comparable to modern Islamic architecture as seen in much of the religious architecture in the Gulf region.[18] A broader study will certainly be able to identify the architectural concepts applied or cited and will bring to light which historical visual models have been adapted in this reception process. The contemporary memorial complexes in Jordan usually include a mausoleum, a mosque, a library, meeting rooms for events, rooms for Koran readings, classrooms and administrative offices. Such complexes are comparable to the architecture of pre-modern Islamised dynasties such as the Salǧūqs, Mamluks and Ottomans. The memorial complex of the *saḥābī* Abū ʿUbayda ʿAmīr Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ in the region Ġūr in the Jordan Valley contains a small museum, where some artefacts belonging to the earlier stages in the history of the complex, including inscriptions, are on display (Fig. 3). Other building complexes that have been visited in 2014 in the same area of the same type were those of the *aṣḥāb* Ḍirār Ibn al-ʾAzwar, ʿĀmr Ibn Abī Waqāṣ and Muʿāt Ibn Ǧabal. Other major complexes of different *aṣḥāb* were investigated in the region Mazār south of Kerak. Mazār was originally a pilgrimage town of Shiite pilgrims. The nature of the design of the cenotaphs is strongly reminiscent of Shiite Shrines in Syria and Iran. In the visited complexes in Mazār the main tombs are those of Ǧaʿfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib (Fig. 4), Zayd Ibn al-Ḥārata (Fig. 5) and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa. Each of these multifunctional complexes is connected with a cemetery and a larger burial ground in the vicinity.

Among the smaller memorial buildings visited in 2014 the shrine of the *aṣḥāb* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf in ʿAwf (Fig. 6) and that of Bilāl Ibn Rabāḥ in Bilāl in the Wādī al-Sīr, both in the area of Amman, are worth mentioning, as are two smaller complexes of other *aṣḥāb* - of Maysara Ibn Masrūq al-ʿAbassī in al-ʿArḍa area near al-Salṭ and of Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifarī near Mādabā (Fig. 7). These complexes usually include a small mosque and everything necessary for ritual washing. In each of these complexes of the *aṣḥāb* a cemetery is affiliated as well.

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18  Considerations on the incooperation of a pan-Islamic History in Muslim Contemporary Architecture in the

Yet other minor memorial buildings are dedicated local saints. These include the Shrine of ʿIkrima Ibn Ǧahal close to ʿAǧlūn, the Shrine of Hadir near Salṭ and that of Abū al-Dardaʾa in Sūm al-Šunak in Irbid area (Fig. 8). In the first case only the foundation walls are preserved. As far as we know a cemetery was only attached to the second building. In the graveyards all gravestones only date back to the early time of Ottoman reign in the region.

A separate group of memorial buildings also officially maintained by the *waqf*-ministry are those tombs belonging to prophets who are revered by both Muslim and Christian pilgrims. Two are the multifunctional complexes of the prophets Yūšuʿa/Joshua in the area of Salṭ (Fig. 9) and Šuʿayyb in the Wādī Šuʿayyb also near Salṭ. Another one, visited in 2013, is a building connected to the Prophet Hārūn/Aaron is located near Petra on the top of the mountain named after the Prophet Jabal Hārūn (Fig. 1).

A unique complex located in the vicinity of Amman is the so-called Cave of the Seven Sleepers (*kaḥf al-raqīm*). Above the essentially pre-Islamic cave and to its south there are two mosques from the pre-Ottoman period. In addition to the cave a large religious multifunctional complex has been set up, including amongst others also an institution for religious education.

The various shrines of Ḫiḍr represent a typus of Memorial architecture characteristically for Jordan. Though they are listed in the publications of the *waqf*-authority and in the publication of TURAN, these buildings were originally not intended as sites of religious gatherings or pilgrimage. Thus, in ʿAǧlūn and in Bayt Rās close to Irbit only the foundation walls of some rooms and walls of the buildings were restored. Only one room of *maqām* of Ḫiḍr in Māḥiṣ in the region of Salṭ (Fig. 10) was restored. Today this room contains many holy images and icons of the saint, whose iconography shows some affinities to icons in the Russian Orthodox Christian tradition.

A final group of memorials, visited in 2014, are memorials in remembrance to episodes of Islamic history, which are held to be of particular importance to the history of Islam. These places are also mentioned in the two official publications. However, it was only possible to pay a brief visit to a plateau over the river Yamuk north of Irbid directly on the Syrian border that marks the Battle of Yamuk (Fig. 11). In the vicinity of this plateau there is a

Golf Region see Redlinger, 2009.

small amusement park and a museum, which presents the History of this battle.

## 6. Aims of the post-doc project

The post-doctoral project aims at building up a sound documentation of these hitherto neglected structures of the Mamluk and early Ottoman Memorial architecture in Jordan; it will study their function for the region, but also for the central government in Cairo and Syria in pre-modern times. A focus of this study lies on whatever information about the social, economic and political power networks and related processes can be derived from an analysis of the architecture. An important issue here will be to unveil which images of history materialize in the architecture and how they were adapted and exploited by different groups.[19]

In a first step every memorial building in Jordan, those identifiable by their architectural remains as well as those only traceable in historical written sources, will be recorded. The restriction to the region of the territory of Jordan in this context is motivated purely by the natural geographical conditions of this region. Moreover, a study of Mamluk architecture in Jerusalem and Palestine has shown that the region west of the boundaries of present-day Jordan should be excluded due to major differences in building techniques and architectural forms.[20]

As a second step, it will be necessary to closely examine the existing architecture. It will be important to analyse the different stages of construction and to develop a precise idea of the growth and changes in Mamluk and Ottoman architectural structures in Jordan. A major source are beside the architectural remains the inscriptions as well as descriptions of the buildings found in historical written sources from different times. Only after such an analysis it will be possible to map the memorial architecture in Jordan, and thus to create a basis on which the social and political power networks can be reliably traced and analysed.

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19 A very inspiring article on the topic of the relationship between space and collective memory is Halbwachs, 2013.

20 For Mamluk Architecture in Ghaza and Jerusalem see for example Luz, 2014; Burgoyne, 1987; Rabbat, 2010; Sadek, 1991. The observations of this paper are based on a short fieldtrip in 2014 in Jordan and Jerusalem.

Through an analysis of the descriptions of the buildings it will be possible to show in detail how the architecture was incorporated in an urban or rural populated area and how essential the existence of such architecture was for the formation of local settlements and the structures of their societies. Other aspects will supplement this complex thematic study. Important questions to be addressed include the following: Who initiated the establishment of a memorial building? How are archetypes and models used by the client for the construction of such buildings? What are the legal and ideological foundations for the construction of memorial architecture in Jordan? To whom was the construction of the complexes assigned and who executed them? What building programs are visible? Are the building concepts and forms merely transferred from major urban centres, do they adapt local traditions or even develop new concepts? Which political spheres of influence are the buildings belonging to - to the *mamlaka al-dimaḏšq* or *mamlaka al-kerak*? How was the financial support of the buildings secured and to whom did the architecture and its revenues belong? Who was responsible for the maintenance and management of this architecture? How were the taxation of the complexes and the ownership of the attached land structured? For Mamluk times the system of *iqṭāᶜāt* and the relationship of the *muqṭāᶜ* and *wākil* certainly have an important role; the exact nature of this influence needs further definition. Who lived and worked in the building? How were these people organized and what were their duties? Who was in charge of the building in daily practice? How was the contact and communication organised between the local communities and the central power in urban centres such as Cairo or Damascus? What was the relationship and communication between the periphery and the centre in general? How did the staff working in the buildings and members of the surrounding settlements interact? Which religious cult took place in the buildings and who were its protagonists? Can there social and religious practices be traced that were taken from the centres of the Mamluk Empire to the memorial buildings in Jordan? Was the cult in such buildings in rural areas in Jordan in this case part of a "state" controlled or even imposed religious concept? How strong was the regional or

local element in the cult in the memorial buildings? Are there proofs for the adaption of Christian and Shiite memorial architecture to Sunni-Muslim concepts under the Mamluks? And what is the role that Sufism played in the context of this memorial architecture? Which social and economic functions had the buildings for the rural communities and were there any relationship, central control, and management over the mass of individual memorial in pre-modern times? Which programs and ideological narratives were transported through the Memorial buildings? And finally: which function did the memorial buildings have within the pilgrimage and trading networks in Jordan?

By analysing the memorial architecture as a social and political space the question arises if and how the Mamluk and early Ottoman rulers used the memorial architecture, the local elites and their narrative potential in Jordan, to establish and consolidate their own power and presence in the periphery. [21] The study of the culture of remembrance in Jordan of the pre-modern time can certainly give us an insight to the strategies of legitimation, the use and perception of narratives as political language of power and interplay between the local elites and the ruling class in the centres.

Based on an analysis of historical events and incidents of pre-modern times the re-use and re-fabrication of these narratives and images of a specific past by the ruling elites in modern times will also become visible. The extensive and costly restoration projects of memorial architecture in Jordan funded by the royal family and the *waqf*-authority in recent years suggests that the architecture is still exploited by a part of today's ruling elite for political purposes. The difficult question that arises here is to what extent and how such an adaption or even the visual manipulation of historical images is realised and taken on by the Jordanian population. Here the study of recent re-use of memorial architecture can serve as a model to develop a theory of how the historical past is received as part of a collective perception and how a basically mnemonic system is displayed in the architecture. The same questions should be applied to the new media as documentation on these buildings. What is

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21 Fort the research on the interaction and independence of social and physical space see Bourdieu, 2013a;

its significance for the transmission of historical thinking as an auxiliary reference system? To what extent do the naming of the Koran and *aḥādīṯ* in modern print media and websites about the buildings serve a purpose similar to that of architectural inscriptions on the medieval buildings themselves?

## 7. Methodical approach

The first and most fundamental step is the documentation of the buildings. Any more detailed study can only be undertaken after the material basis has been ascertained. Here primarily archaeological and art historical methods are used. However, the analysis of the architecture is not limited to their architectonical expression itself. Architecture has to be understood in this project as coequal to written sources.

In addition, it is essential to evaluate the historical sources from the reign of the Mamluks and Ottomans referring to these buildings. In addition to these sources, subsequent reports, such as newspaper articles and excavation reports dealing with the restoration projects of architecture will be taken into account. A philological work with text-critical analysis of written sources from the Mamluk period will be an eminent part of this project and will complement the results of the art historical analysis.

In terms of dealing with the modern architecture interviews with living persons will be an important part of this analysis. The methodological work in this post-doctoral project thus is intended to be interdisciplinary. The analysis is not limited to a philological, historical-critical evaluation of written source material, or an archaeological approach but also includes art historical analysis of the existing buildings and the technic of interviews in the overall consideration of memorial architecture in Jordan. By applying this multifocal, approach the knowledge on memorial architecture in particular and on the social, religious and cultural structures this architecture was and is a part of will increase significantly.

## 8. Sources

In this post-doc project, both archaeological and art historical sources must be evaluated equally. The buildings must be documented, including a photo documentation and drawings of ground maps of the historical buildings. One of the most important elements in the

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Bourdieu, 2013b; Hillier and Hanson, 2013.

investigation of this architecture is the analysis and translation of the building.

The second major source is the Mamluk and Ottoman sources in different Jordanian, Egyptian and European archives. This includes not only geographical and historical treatises, such as Ibn Qāḍī Šuḥba, but also tax registries and *waqf*-documents. A second important group are accounts and reports of travellers and pilgrims, taking account to the memorial architecture. These include, for example, the *riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[22]

For the examination of the architecture of the later reign of the Ottomans and for the mandate period until today travel accounts, documentation of tax and land registrations, newspaper articles and excavation reports, which deal with the buildings must be equally documented and evaluated.

## 9. Cooperation

In Amman the central *waqf*-authority has been contacted 2014. This secured access to the archives of the affiliated institutions, which are entrusted with the restoration and maintenance of memorial architecture in Jordan. Through cooperation with the Annemarie-Schimmel College in Bonn and Bethany Walker, it will also be possible for the project to become a part of existing collaborations and to revert to existing excavation and research permits by the Ministry of Antiquities, including the use of its archives. Further more, the archives and libraries of the State Archives in Amman and various archaeological institutes within the capital Amman are accessible for research. This includes the library of ACOR and the Institute Francais du Proche Orient. Collaboration on a regional and local level, i.e. with the regional municipalities must be organized during the next visit to Jordan. One more institution with an important library for this project is the Albright Institute in Jerusalem. Here, too, access will be granted to the project and its scholars as part of the research group of Bethany Walker in the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg and the department of Islamic Studies in Bonn.

## 10. Perspectives

The current political situation in Syria and Iraq shows the importance of the memorial

architecture as a point of reference and focus for different social groups in Muslim societies. Tombs, that are not belonging to the orthodox Sunni context, as shrines of saints and Shiites are destroyed in Syria and Irak. In order to be able to understand and in a later stage to adequately react to such acts, a better understanding of the mechanisms of identity building in the region is essential. The projected post-doc therefore will not only provide a documentary of the extant architecture, the individual development of the different buildings and the ideas behind their construction, inscriptional and architectural program. On a more general level it will provide insights into the formation processes of local and regional communities, the elements that constitute their identity and the means and techniques adapted by the ruling powers on different levels to manipulate and re-construct these identities for their own advantage. By tracing how this kind of historical thinking originating in the Mamuk period has been preserved and how in modern times the shaping of a national or communal identity in the region still works along the same lines the project will provide a valuable addition to a better understanding of these often seemingly irrational and unintelligible ways of thinking that are essential factors of modern developments in this region. In this context the project will add considerably to our knowledge and will be of immediate importance not only to art history or Islamic studies but to a much wider audience concerned with the situation in the Near east.

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22 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1968.

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# 12. Appendix I: List of shrines (Survey 2013/14)

## (a) Multifunctional memorial-complexes
al-ṣaḥābī Ḍirār Ibn al-ʾAzwar (Ġūr/Jordan Valley)

al-ṣaḥābī Abū ʿUbayda ʿAmīr Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ (Ġūr/Jordan Valley)

al-ṣaḥābī ʿĀmr Ibn Abī Waqāṣ (Ġūr/Jordan Valley)

al-ṣaḥābī Muʿāṯ Ibn Ǧabal (Ġūr/Jordan Valley)

al-ṣaḥābī Ǧaʿfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib (Mazār/Karak)

al-ṣaḥābī Zayd Ibn al-Ḥāraṯa (Mazār/Karak)

al-ṣaḥābī Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa (Mazār/Karak)


## (b) Small aṣḥāb memorial-complexes
al-ṣaḥābī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf (ʿAwf, Amman)

Abū al-Dardaʾa (Sūm al-Šunak/Irbid)

al-ṣaḥābī Maysara Ibn Masrūq al-ʿAbassī (al-ʿArḍa/al-Salṭ

al-ṣaḥābī Bilāl Ibn Rabāḥ (Bilāl/Wādī al-Sīr/Ammān)

al-ṣaḥābī Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifarī (Mādabā)


## (c) Small shrines of *šuyūḫ*
ʿIkrima Ibn Ǧahal (ʿAǧlūn)

Haḍir/Asher (Salṭ)


## (d) Shrines of Muslim and Christian prophets
Prophet Yūšuʿa/Joshua (Salṭ)

Prophet Šuʿayyb (Wādī Šuʿayyb, Nähe Salṭ)

Prophet Harūn (Petra)


## (e) Memorials of important events
Schlachtfeld von Yarmūk (Irbid)

Höhle der Siebenschläfer (Kaḥf al-Raqīm) (Saḥab/ʿAmmān)


## (f) Ḫiḍr complexes
Maqāma des Ḫiḍr (ʿAǧlūn)

Maqāma des Ḫiḍr (Bayt Rās, Irbit)

Maqāma des Ḫiḍr (Māḫiṣ, Salṭ)

## 13. Appendix II: List of Illustrations

Fig. 1: Cenotaph in the shrine of Harūn in Petra (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 2: Memorial Complex ṣaḥābī al-Ǧalīl Abū ʿUbayda ʿAmīr Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ in the Jordan Valley (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 3: Inscriptions in the museum of the Memorial Complex ṣaḥābī al-Ǧalīl Abū ʿUbayda ʿAmīr Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ in the Jordan Valley (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 4: Shrine of Ǧaʿfar Ibn Abī Ṭālib in Mazar (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 5: Shrine of Zayd Ibn al-Ḥāraṯa (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 6: Shrine of the aṣḥāb ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAwf in ʿAwf (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 7: Shrine of Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifarī near Mādabā (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 8: Shrine of Abū al-Dardaʾa in Sūm al-Šunak in Irbid area (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 9: Cenotaph in the shrine of the prophet Yūšuʿa/Joshua in the area of Salṭ (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 10: *maqām* of Ḫiḍr in Māḥiṣ in the region of Salṭ (Image Redlinger)
Fig. 11: Memorial of the Battle of Yamuk (Image Redlinger)
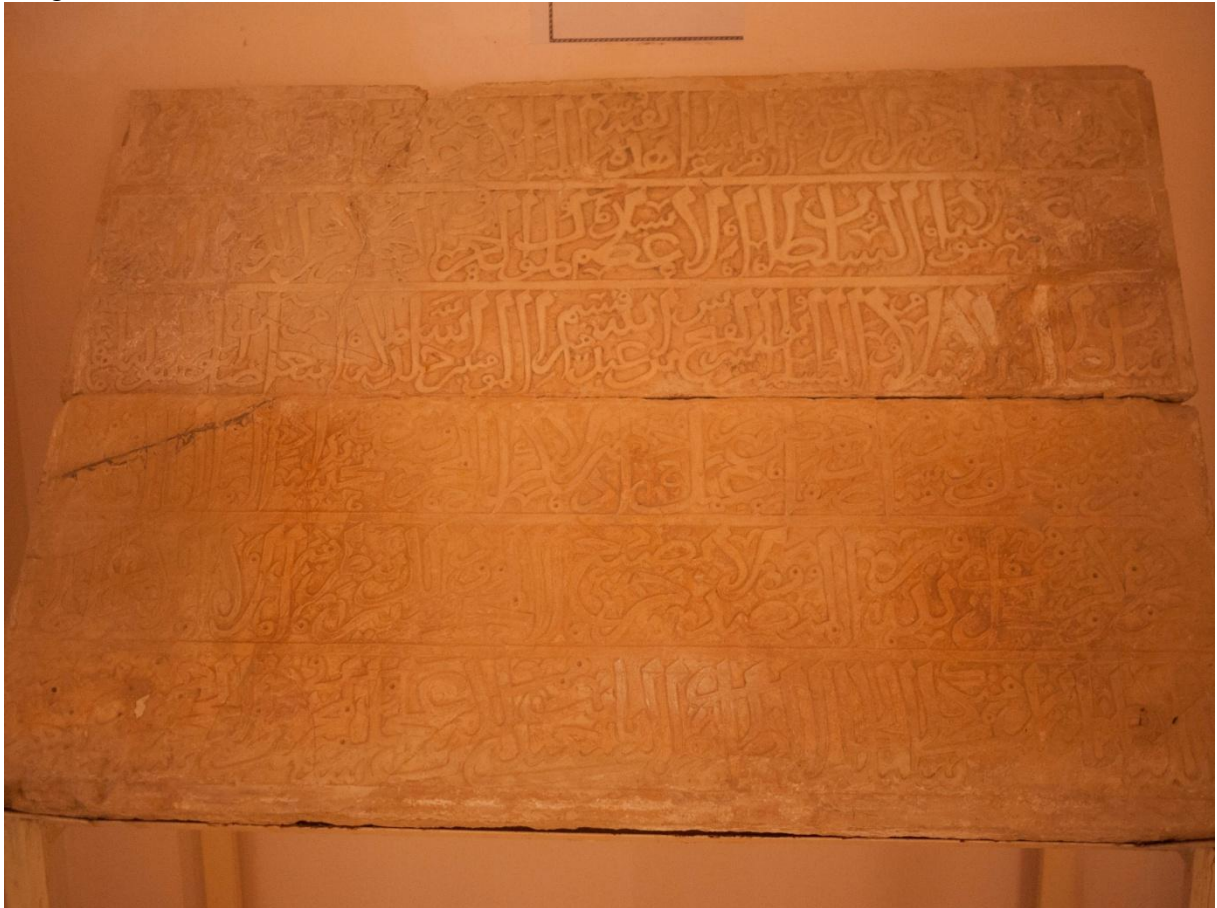
Image 1

Image 2



Image 3

Image 4

Image 5

Image 6


Image 7

Image 8


Image 9

Image 10


Image 11