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Reflections of Islamic I'mār Law on the Urban Space of Gharnāṭa (Granada): The Naṣrī Period (7th-9th / 13th-15th Centuries)*

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Abstract

This article examines the influence of Islamic i'mār law on urbanization processes in the city of Gharnāta (Granada) through concrete examples and fiqhī documents. Contrary to traditional orientalist approaches to urbanism, the study emphasizes that Islamic cities were shaped not only by physical forms but also by legal, religious, and social principles. Based primarily on the fatwas of Maliki fugaha', gada' records, and wagfiyya documents, the article analyzes how the concepts of public interest (maslaha), non-harm, 'urf, and waqf institutions regulated the urban fabric in Granada. The scop of this article is limited to the Mālikī tradition in al-Andalus; therefore, its findings are not generalized to other regions of the Islamic world, where different madhhab traditions led to different urban practices. The study reveals the practical reflections of Islamic i'mār law through key structures such as the Granada Grand Mosque, Māristān, and La Madraza. Methodologically, a qualitative research approach was employed, including textual analysis within the social sciences, supported by references to history, archaeology, and figh sources. By jointly evaluating textual and archaeological data through qualitative methods, the normative and material effects of Islamic law on urban space were approached multidimensionally. This examination, particularly focused on the impact of figh on i'mār with the case of Granada, contributes significantly to the field literature. In conclusion, the research demonstrates that Islamic i'mār law -especially through the influence of public interest (maslaha), 'urf, and waqf institutions- was decisive in shaping the city of Granada. Rather than proposing a general model of Islamic urbanism, this study constitutes a case study within the Andalusi context that may provide a basis for comparative analyses with other Islamic cities.

Keywords: Islamic Law, Islamic Urbanism, I'mār, al-Andalus, Granada.

İslam İmar Hukukunun Gırnata Kent Mekanına Yansımaları: Naşrī Dönemi (7.-9./13.-15. Yüzyıl)

Öz

Bu makale, İslam imar hukukunun Gırnata kentindeki sehirlesme süreclerine etkisini somut örnekler ve fikhî belgeler ısığında incelemektedir. Geleneksel oryantalist sehircilik vaklasımlarının aksine, calısmada İslam sehirlerinin valnızca fiziksel formlarla değil, avnı zamanda hukuki, dinî ve toplumsal ilkelerle sekillendiği yurgulanmaktadır. Özellikle Maliki fakihlerinin fetvaları, kaza kayıtları ve vakfiye belgeleri temel alınarak, Gırnata'da kamu yararı (maslahat), zarar vermeme, örf ve vakıf kurumlarının kentsel dokuyu nasıl düzenlediği analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışma yalnızca Endülüs bağlamında ve Maliki mezhebine dayalı uygulamalarla sınırlıdır; dolayısıyla elde edilen bulgular, diğer İslam coğrafyalarındaki farklı mezheplerin etkisindeki uygulamalara genellenmemektedir. Çalışma, Gırnata Ulu Camii, Mâristan ve La Madraza gibi önemli yapılar üzerinden İslam imar hukukunun pratikteki yansımalarını ortaya koymaktadır. Yöntem olarak sosyal bilimlerde nitel arastırma yöntemlerinden metin incelemesi kullanılmıs; tarih, arkeoloji ve fıkıh kaynaklarına müracaat edilmistir. Metin ve arkeolojik verilerin nitel yöntemlerle birlikte değerlendirilmesi sayesinde, İslam hukukunun kent mekanı üzerindeki normatif ve maddi etkileri çok boyutlu biçimde ele alınabilmiştir. Özellikle fıklını imara etkişinin anlasılmasında Granada kenti örnekliğinde yapılan bu inceleme, alan literatürüne önemli bir katkı sağlamaktadır. Sonuc olarak, arastırma İslam imar hukukunun özellikle kamu vararı, maslahat, örf ve yakıf kurumlarının etkisiyle Granada kentinin sekillenmesinde belirleyici olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu inceleme, genel bir İslam şehircilik modeli önermekten ziyade, Endülüs bağlamında yapılmış bir vaka çalışması olarak diğer İslam şehirleriyle yapılacak karşılaştırmalara katkı sağlayabilecek bir temel teşkil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslam Hukuku, İslam şehirciliği, İmar, Endülüs, Gırnata.

Introduction

The urban landscape of early Islamic cities and the legal-architectural processes that shaped them have still not been sufficiently illuminated in modern research. For many years, orientalist urban literature reduced Islamic cities to certain archetypal forms, and the "madīna" type city model became a general template for the history of Islamic cities. In this respect, any generalization made under the label of the "Islamic city" would overlook the local dynamics of cities and urban structures shaped by different cultural contexts.

Building on this critique, recent studies have emphasized that cities were shaped not only by physical factors but also by social, legal, and religious influences, highlighting the multidimensional nature of Islamic urbanism.¹

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As Janet Abu-Lughod also emphasized, the main challenge in understanding the evolution of Islamic cities arises not solely from colonial biases but also from the limited nature of written and archaeological sources.²

In this context, while examining the impact of Islamic i'mār law in Granada, a distinction is made between urbanization process and the shaping of the physical urban form; the focus is particularly on how legal regulations influenced the configuration of urban space. Archaeological and urban historical research conducted on the al-Andalus region since the last quarter of the 20th century has begun to partly fill this gap, particularly focusing on Granada. Granada, the last stronghold of Islamic rule in al-Andalus -lasting approximately 781 years- provides rich material both in terms of physical urban fabric and fiqhī documents. This city can be considered not only a symbol of political resistance but also the last representative of legal, social, and architectural continuity.

The primary aim of this study is to reveal how Islamic law (figh) guided the urbanization processes in Granada. Using the fatwas of Maliki fugaha', gadā' records, and wagfiyya documents, the normative principles related to the organization of urban space have been analyzed. This focus on Granada is particularly relevant because the earliest sources of Islamic i'mār originate from Mālikī fugahā', allowing the study to examine the practical application of these principles within a specific regional context. The research is limited to the city of Granada to demonstrate how Islamic i'mār law was practically applied, focusing on specific structures, highlighting its primarily direct influence on urban architecture through legal rulings. Indirect effects such as those related to concepts like privacy, also exist and are addressed when relevant. Key structures of the Naṣrī period, including the Granada Grand Mosque (today the Sagrario Church), Māristān (hospital), and La Madraza are treated as exemplary sites where the reflection of fight principles on space can be observed. The mosque is situated at the center of the Islamic city, serving as the focal point of religious life; the madrasa is located immediately

¹ Among the critics of the Orientalist construction of the "Islamic city," Raymond argued that Arab cities possessed their own internal order and dynamics. Ozel, "André Raymond: Arap Şehir Tarihinde Bir Dönüm Noktası," 571. Ülke Evrim Uysal critiques the claims of urban sociologists such as Weber and Johansen, who argued that Islamic cities lacked features like autonomous law and self-governance, by emphasizing that these elements were in fact present through institutions such as *ahilik*, guilds, and the public-oriented structure of fiqh. Evrim Uysal, "İslam Kenti," 394. However, she also points out that these scholars, despite their critique, remained influenced by Weber and could not fully escape a self-Orientalist methodological framework. 398.

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance," 160.

adjacent to the mosque courtyard, functioning as an educational center; and the Māristān occupies a position not far from these two structures, representing the social welfare institution of the state. Additionally, brief attention is given to structures such as military buildings, cemeteries, and houses to ensure the integrity of the urban fabric is maintained. (*see fig.4*)

Textual analysis, a qualitative research method, was employed to conduct a multi-layered reading. Fatwās, waqf documents, ṭabaqāt books, urban history chronicles, and archaeological research were evaluated collectively. The goal is not only to create a theoretical legal narrative but also to reveal the concrete effects and practical outcomes of these principles on the city. Within this framework, the analyzed documents were grouped under thematic headings such as public interest (maṣlaḥa), harm removal (lā ḍarar), waqf law, property rights, and regulation of worship spaces, and how these themes transformed the urban space was discussed.

Considering that Islamic law is a dynamic system regulating not only individual life but also collective living spaces, the importance of such studies for understanding Islamic urbanism becomes evident. It should be noted that the findings from the case of Granada cannot be generalized to urban practices in other regions of the Islamic world. This study is expected to provide comparative insights based solely on the urban principles applied within the Mālikī madhhab. In this way, it also aims to illuminate the relationship between Islamic jurisprudence and urbanism, thereby contributing to the urban history of al-Andalus.

Several studies have examined the influence of Islamic fiqh on urbanization processes. For example, in Ḥusayn Andalib's article, "fiqh alshahr-sāzī" (urban planning fiqh) is considered a subfield of "fiqh altamaddunī" (civilizational fiqh), and a systematic set of fiqh rules to be applied in urban planning is presented.³ The study particularly points out the insufficiency of other research in this field in Iran and argues that Islamic urban principles should be implemented through a four-stage model within the framework of the Islamic Republic of Iran's 2025 vision document. Similarly, Mustafa Dorri's article titled "The Supremacy of Public Interest over Individual Interest in Islamic Urbanism" focuses solely on the principle

³ Husayn Andalīb, "Examining and Elucidating the Principles and Rules of Urban Planning from the Perspective of Islamic Jurisprudence, 5-26."

⁴ Mustafa Dorri, "The Maxim of the Precedence of Urban Interests over Personal Interests, 37-63."

of public interest's precedence over individual gains and emphasizes that this principle should be adopted in conflict situations in urban planning.

Saberi and Hemmati, offering a more conceptual approach to the definition of an Islamic city, assess the views of researchers such as Hākim, Shokueyee, and Oulioliun on ijtihād, housing, and urban figh, thus revealing the historical evolution of the Islamic city concept.⁵ In line with this, Francisco Vidal-Castro's work on Arab-Islamic cities in al-Andalus⁶ analyzes the morphology of cities through the interaction between Islamic law and urbanism; architect and urban planner Selim Hākim discusses principles based on Islamic 'urf found in figh books.7 On the other hand, Sāleh Ali Hathloul's city analysis model, developed from the example of Madīna and based on Mālikī sources and shar'ī cases, methodologically comes closest to this study.8 Jean-Pierre Van Staëvel's doctoral dissertation, published as *Droit mālikite et habitat à Tunis au XIVe siècle*, 9 is a concrete example of the study we aim to achieve in terms of purpose and applicability. Van Staëvel's research on the city of Tunis, centered around the Mālikī faqīh Ibn al-Rāmī's (d. 734/1334) *Kitāb al-I'lān*, addresses the city's construction process from a figh perspective with concrete examples related to ownership, construction, and neighborhood relations. 10

Building upon this literature, this article investigates the impact of Islamic i'mār law on urban space through more concrete examples in Granada. Drawing on Mālikī fatwās, shar'ī documents, archaeological findings, and visual materials, it examines how Islamic legal principles materially shaped the urban fabric, analyzing spatial arrangements, intraurban structures, and architectural forms, thereby connecting local practice with the universal principles of the Islamic urban legacy.

1. General Principles of Mālikī I'mār Law

Islamic i'mār law, defined as the $fiqh\bar{\iota}$ rulings developed by Islamic jurists to resolve urban-related issues arising among people based on the general

⁵ Hemmati and Saberi, "Reflecting to Explanation of Islamic City's Authentic Concept, 378-81."

⁶ Francisco Vidal Castro, "Urbanismo, Derecho y Sociedad en Las Ciudades Árabo-Islámicas de al-Andalus (s. VIII-XV)."

⁷ Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles*.

⁸ Saleh A. al-Hathloul, "Tradition, Continuity and Change in the Physical Environment: The Arab-Muslim City."

⁹ Jean Pierre Jean Pierre Van Staëvel, Droit malikite et habitat à Tunis au XIV siècle: conflits de voisinage et normes juridiques, d'après le texte du maître-maçon Ibn al-Rami.

¹⁰ Van Staëvel's book chapter *Casa, Calle y Vecindad en La Documentación Jurídica* similarly focuses on understanding urban organization through examples of city construction in Morocco based on figh texts. Jean Pierre Van Staëvel, "Casa, calle y vecindad en la documentación jurídica," 53-61.

principles of *fiqh* methodology,¹¹ is a sub-discipline of *fiqh* closely connected to *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence). Also referred to as *fiqh al-i* mār, *fiqh al-bunyān*, and *aḥkām al-bunyān*, this legal field historically provided religiously grounded solutions to disputes and demands concerning construction, significantly influencing historical city planning and urban practices.

In Mālikī i'mār law, the realization of *maṣlaḥah* (public interest)¹² and the elimination of *maṣsadah* (harm)¹³ are fundamental principles,¹⁴ prioritizing the collective good by regulating public spaces and natural resources, to prevent practices that could harm society, (*maḍarra fī ṭarīq al-muslimīn*),¹⁵ such as narrowing streets or encroaching on communal areas.¹⁶ Historical examples, including the expropriation of private properties for mosque expansions in Granada¹⁷ and the allocation of public treasury funds to community institutions,¹⁸ illustrate the practical application of this principle to ensure welfare and equitable use of urban space.¹⁹

The principle of "lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār" (non-harm)²⁰ emphasizes that individuals must not harm while using their own property. In Granada, this principle was applied to regulate neighborly disputes,²¹ infrastructure, and property rights,²² ensuring that potentially harmful activities were limited to preserve social benefit and neighborhood order.²³

The waqf institution played a crucial role in urban development by sustaining public and religious buildings, funding essential services, and supporting social welfare, thereby directly shaping the physical and social organization of cities like Granada.²⁴

Adherence to local custom ('urf) constitutes another key principle, guiding urban planning and legal rulings by integrating established societal

¹¹ Halid Azab, Fıkh al-Imārā al-Islāmiyya, 12.

¹² Ibn Hayyan, al-Muqtabis, 93.

¹³ Ibn Tarkāt, al-'Akkī, Nawāzil Fuqahā' Garnāṭa, 103-4.

¹⁴ al-Shātibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, 1:340-341.

¹⁵ al-Tutaylī, *Kitāb Nafy al-Darār*, 183.

¹⁶ al-Tuṭaylī, Kitāb al-Jidār, 339.

¹⁷ Alfonso Carmona González, "La expropiación forzosa por ampliación de mezquita en tres fetuas medievales," 141.

¹⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:266.

¹⁹ al-Garsīfī, Risāla fī al-Hisba, 124.

²⁰ Cengiz Cengiz İlhan, *Mecelle- Hukukun Doksan Dokuz İlkesi*, 12-13; 30-31.

²¹ Ibn al-Rāmī, al-I'lān bi Aḥkām al-Bunyān, 58-60; Wazīrī, al-Umrān wa-l-bunyān, 198.

²² al-Tutaylī, Kitāb Nafy al-Darār, 181–82.

²³ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Ciudades Hispanomusulmanes, 72.

²⁴ Ana María Carballeira Debasa, "Contribución al estudio de los habices alpujarreños de mezquinos y cautivos (siglos XV-XVI)," 251-52.

practices into the regulation and development of the built environment, as exemplified in Granada's mosques, hospitals, and madrasas. 25

In this section, the study examines these core principles of Mālikī i'mār law and their implementation in Granada, assessing how fatwas influenced the development and sustainability of key structures such as the Granada Grand Mosque, the Māristān, and the Madrasa.

2. Granada: Case Study of Nasrī Urbanism

2.1. The Grand Mosque of Granada: Fatwas and Urban Functions

In Islamic urban planning, mosques were placed at the heart of the city, serving not only as spaces of worship but also as central hubs of social and communal life. Reflecting this principle, the Grand Mosque of Granada originally constructed on level ground in the first half of the 5th/11th century under the Zīrīd dynasty-26 continued to serve as a key institutional and spatial reference point in later Nasrī urbanism.

The theoretical model of the life cycle of a city, developed by Julio Navarro and Pedro Jiménez, includes the stages of "foundation," "expansion," "natural densification," and "overflow." This framework aligns closely with the evolution of Andalusian urban centers, where demographic growth and spatial reorganization followed cyclical yet regulated patterns.²⁷ Within this model, Granada can be regarded as a quintessential example of an "overflowing" city, whose historical trajectory culminated in significant spatial expansion until 1492.²⁸ The Grand Mosque, situated at the city's core, both reflected and reinforced this stage — serving as a catalyst for urban densification and symbolizing the culmination of Granada's Islamic urban development.

Subsequent Almoravid renovations under Amīr A'lī b. Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (1073-1106) expanded the prayer hall, introduced marble columns, reused capitals from Córdoba, and paved the courtyard in stone, measures clearly intended to accommodate a growing population.²⁹

By the late 8th/15th century, Jerónimo Münzer described the mosque as a monumental structure, seventy-six steps wide and one hundred thirteen

²⁵ Ibn Tarkāt, Nawāzil Fugahā' Garnāta, 202.

²⁶ Antonio Orihuela Uzal, "From the Private to the Public Space: Domestic and Urban Architecture of Islamic Granada," 420.

²⁷ Palazón and Jimenez Castillo, "Evolución del paisaje urbano Andalusí. De la medina dispersa a la saturada," 234.

²⁸ Palazón and Jimenez Castillo, 258.

²⁹ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "La mezquita mayor de Granada," 412-13; Basilio Pavón Maldonado, Tratado de arquitectura hispanomusulmana: IV Mezquitas (Ensayo de arquitectura religiosa), 702.

steps long, with an ablution pool, well, and capacity for 3,000 worshippers. He praised it as more magnificent than the Albaicín mosque, with carpeted interiors, draped columns, and countless lamps.³⁰ Yet, soon after, the building was demolished and replaced by the Church of the Sagrario, (*see fig. 1*) as part of a broader policy policy whereby all mosques in Granada were converted into chures between 1560 and 1570.³¹ Münzer's testimony is nonetheless valuable, as the estimated more than 200 mosques across the city, many of which disappeared following the conquest.³² Today, only fragments of minarets – such as San José and San Juan- remain.³³

The Grand Mosque also illustrates the juridical dimension of urban planning. As Torres Balbás observed, mosques were often accompanied by open squares, a practice reinforced by fatwās regulating their surrounding. T̄sā b. Sahl (d. 486/1093), for example, prohibited unloading goods like grain or firewood near mosques, as well as projecting beams onto mosque walls, emphasizing environmental cleanliness and spatial respect. In Granada, wide streets were designed around the Grand Mosque to accommodate Friday congregations, a pattern paralleled in other Andalusian cities.

Fatwās further provided the legal framework for mosque expansion. In Granada, Abū Manzūr authorized incorporating a waqf house and public road into the mosque's boundaries, 36 while another ruling in Ballāṣ condemned the conversion of an ablution facility into a stable, forbidden prayer in space resembling a miḥrāb that no longer served its sacred purpose. 37 Likewise, Qādī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149) approved the removal of a maqṣūra in the Granada Mosque, since such enclosures -though meant for ruler's security-undermined the mosque's communal function. 38

Taken together, these examples show that fatwās were not confined to internal religious matters but actively shaped the physical and social fabric of Islamic cities. The Grand Mosque of Granada thus exemplifies how legal

³⁰ Pavón Maldonado, *Tratado de arquitectura hispanomusulmana*, 702.

³¹ Orihuela Uzal, "From the Private to the Public Space," 420.

³² Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal*, 85.

³³ Pavón Maldonado, *Tratado de arquitectura hispanomusulmana*, 701.

³⁴ Īsā b. Sahl, *Wathāīq fī Shuūn al-Umrān fī al-Andalus*, 20, 66–67, 75; Mazzoli-Guintard, *Vivre à Cordoue au Moyen Âge*, 126.

³⁵ González-Gutiérrez, "Religious Buildings in Early al-Andalus: Origins, Consolidation and Prevalence in Urban Contexts,"1-18.

³⁶ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:468-470.

³⁷ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 7:154-155.

³⁸ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 7:72.

rulings grounded in Mālikī jurisprudence guided both the use of sacred space and the organization of its surrounding urban environment.

The Grand Mosque of Granada and Regulation of Courtyards

In Islamic urban contexts, the mosque courtyard (raḥba) functioned not only as an extension of the prayer space but also as an area subject to strict legal regulation. In Granada, fatwās issued by local jurists reveal how mosque courtyards were conceived as semi-public spaces, balancing worship, social use, and urban order. Activities such as commercial exchange, food preparation, or casual gathering within the courtyard of the Grand Mosque of Granada raised significant concerns regarding the sanctity of the space.³⁹ Jurists explicitly prohibited such practices, describing them as "disgraceful acts" incompatible with the mosque's purpose as a house of worship, remembrance, and supplication.⁴⁰

Islamic jurisprudence established clear boundaries in this regard: activities such as commerce, eating, lighting fires, or rising voices generally classified as $kar\bar{l}h$ (religiously disliked)⁴¹ and subject to removal if they disrupted worship. Historical precedent -such as Caliph 'Umar's construction of an additional $ba\bar{l}ha$ to separate secular activities from the mosque-demonstrate this principle. At the same time, Imam Mālik (d. 179/795) allowed certain limited functions, including temporary eating in case of necessity or overnight stays, provided that the sanctity of the mosque was not compromised.⁴²

Nevertheless, Granada's multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian urban context encouraged more flexible interpretations. Jurists like Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) permitted charitable distribution, the storage of waqf revenues, or even educational activities such as teaching mathematics within the mosque under supervision.⁴³ Similarly, Ibn al-Barā (641-642/1243-1244) of Tunis allowed secular functions in small adjacent rooms exempted from the mosque's legal designation.⁴⁴ These rulings illustrate how mosque courtyards could serve multiple urban needs while remaining under the protection of Islamic law.

³⁹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:97.

⁴⁰ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi^cyār al-Mu^crib, 11:97.

⁴¹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:97.

⁴² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:98.

⁴³ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:98.

⁴⁴ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi^cyār al-Mu^crib, 11:98.

Other rulings addressed the physical management of courtyards. For instance, Ibn Lubāba (d. 330/942) forbade unloading wood and grain in mosque shops, emphasizing judicial intervention to prevent dust and pollution from spreading into prayer spaces. The planting of trees was particularly debated: while Mālikī jurist such as Ibrāhīm b. Attāb al-Ḥawlānī (d. 520/1126) and Ibn Lubb (d. 782/1381) opposed the practice, Andalusian cities -especially Córdoba and Granada- saw widespread planting of orange and other trees in mosque courtyards, often legimitized through the opinions of the Awzāʿī school. Ownership of the fruit itself became a legal question, with opinions ranging from allocation to mosque officials to distribution among the entire Muslim community.

These examples demonstrate that the mosque courtyard in Granada was not merely an architectural extension of the prayer hall but a regulated urban space where legal rulings balanced worship, communal needs, and environmental order.⁴⁸ Fatwās thus played a decisive role in defining the mosque's relationship with its surrounding cityscape, ensuring that multifunctional use did not undermine its sacred character.

In addition to regulations governing mosque courtyards, the interior of the Grand Mosque of Granada was shaped by juridical fatwās reflecting the interplay between Islamic law, architectural design, and urban planning. The establishment of the *khizāna* (library) for reading exclusively within the mosque demonstrates its educational function.⁴⁹ Fatwās by the Granadan jurists, such as Ibn Sirāj (d. 848/1444), regulated the use of these collections, allowing removal only through pledges or trusted intermediaries, illustrating how wagf conditions guided interior organization.⁵⁰

Another key area where juridical interpretations intersect directly with architectural arrangements concerns the determination of the qibla and the direction of the miḥrāb. In Andalusian cities, the qibla orientation of mosques was established not solely by astronomical calculations but through the ijtihād of jurists and local scholars. At the Grand Mosque of Granada, where the miḥrāb direction deviated approximately 45 degrees eastward (mashriq), the mufti Ibn Sirāj was consulted, and the qadi confirmed that prayers performed facing any direction within the southeast quarter were

⁴⁵ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:443.

⁴⁶ Īsā b. Sahl, Wathāīq fī Shu'ūn al-'Umrān fī al-Andalus, 15, 49-50.

⁴⁷ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:12.

⁴⁸ Maryam Kāsım Tavīl, *Mamlaka Garnāṭa fi ahdi benī Zīrī al-Barabar*, 298-305.

⁴⁹ Avner Giladi, "Three fatwa on lending libraries in North Africa and Spain", 143.

⁵⁰ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-Muʿrib*, 7:227-228.

valid. It was also stated that the qibla determination was a collective ijtihād of the city's populace and ulema, rendering the imam not accountable and permitting the congregation to follow this imam.⁵¹ This fatwā demonstrates that the qibla orientation in architectural planning was flexible and shaped by communal consensus. The prevalence of qibla deviations in Andalusian cities, coupled with instrumental measurements by specialists, illustrates the integration of juridical and technical knowledge.⁵² The removal of bookcases and re-centering towards the south by the amīr of Marrakech Ebû Yusuf Yaʻqūb el-Manṣūr (580-595/ 1184-1199) parallels the Almohad practice of qibla determination, reflecting regional variations in architectural and juridical harmony.⁵³

The architectural prominence of the miḥrāb wall and the qibla direction was emphasized by constructing this wall more robustly than others and by making the direction visually distinct. Thus, structural durability and the focus of worship were architecturally highlighted. The qibla orientation was not merely a theoretical direction but became a foundational element of mosque architecture shaped by social and religious norms.

A concrete example of juridical sensitivity to mosque interior behavior in Granada is the disapproval of loud arguments within the mosque. During a Ramadan night prayer in the Grand Mosque, a dispute over recitation styles led to unrest among the congregation and to the objection of Imam Ibn Lubb to the loud recitation.⁵⁴ Despite his hearing difficulties, the imam resolved the issue using juridical criteria, emphasizing the principle that prayer performed with an irregular recitation (*shādh qirā'a*) is invalid. He further highlighted the doctrinal risks of worshipping based on unreliable narrations.⁵⁵ This incident illustrates that loud quarrels disrupt the peace of the worship space and contravene its sanctity. Classical jurisprudence also generally regards shouting, commercial activity, or engaging in worldly affairs inside mosques as reprehensible (*karīh*) or even forbidden.

In conclusion, in the Granada case, juridical fatwās directly influenced architectural decisions and social behavioral norms governing the mosque interior. The *khizāna* system reinforced the mosque's role as a center of education and knowledge, while qibla orientation and miḥrāb direction

⁵¹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 1:117.

⁵² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 1:123-124.

⁵³ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 1:125.

⁵⁴ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 12:68.

⁵⁵ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'vār al-Mu'rib, 12:69.

combined religious norms and technical measures. Likewise, rules on silence and decorum inside the mosque were strictly enforced by religious authorities to protect the sacredness of the space. In this context, the relationship between juridical rulings and urban planning practices became fundamental in shaping both the physical structure and the spiritual function of the mosque.

In addition to the juridical regulation of mosque spaces, the construction, maintenance, and operation of mosques in Granada were sustained through the waqf (Islamic endowment) system, which intertwined legal, social, and urban planning dimensions. The waqf not only financed the physical structure of mosques but also ensured the continuity of their social, educational, and public functions, illustrating the broader impact of Islamic law on urban organization.

During the Naṣrīd period (1238–1492), mosque construction and maintenance were largely guaranteed by revenues from endowed properties. For instance, the grand mosque built under Muḥammad III (701–708 AH / 1302–1309 CE) within the Alhambra was funded by revenues from adjacent baths, demonstrating how waqf resources were strategically allocated to sustain both architectural and functional needs.⁵⁶

Maintenance and repairs were also supported by contributions from the *bayt al-māl* (public treasury) and the congregation, with jurist ensuring that donations were used in accordance with the donor's intent and legal stipulations.⁵⁷ In cases where waqf deeds did not exist, customary practices (*'urf*) guided the management of revenues, reflecting the flexibility of Islamic legal principles in urban governance.⁵⁸

The allocation of waqf revenues extended beyond the mosque itself, contributing to the urban fabric.⁵⁹ For example, revenues from properties dedicated to mosques were sometimes employed for public-benefit projects, such as maintenance of city walls and fortifications. Jurist like Ibn Lubb emphasized that while waqf properties should primarily serve their intended religious and social purposes, expropriation for public benefit -such as mosque expansions- was permissible, sometimes with compensation.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Khatib, al-Lamha al-Badriyya fi al-Dawla al-Nasrīyya, 62.

⁵⁷ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:134-135.

⁵⁸ al-Wansharīsī. *al-Mi* vār al-Mu rib. 7:125-126.

⁵⁹ Pedro Hernández Benito, *La Vega de Granada a fines de la Edad Media según las rentas de los habices*, 46, 62.

⁶⁰ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:112.

This approach highlights the integration of mosque financing with the broader organization of urban space.

Endowment registers and fatwās further indicate the scale and diversity of waqf holdings in Granada. Rural properties constituted the majority of waqf assets, while urban real estate—including houses, bakeries, and educational facilities—reinforced the mosque's role as a socio-economic hub. The management of these endowments, including provisions for libraries and educational rooms within the mosque, illustrates the juridical oversight that guided both financial and spatial organization. Tax exemptions for certain mosques, regulated income from olive groves, and the conditional use of endowed assets all contributed to a structured system in which legal, economic, and urban considerations intersected. In addition to these institutional forms, evidence from Naṣrīd Granada also shows that women contributed to waqf system by endowing properties -including houses, land, and even agricultural produce fort he poor- revealing a broader social base that also shaped the fiscal character of waqf institutions.

Tax exemptions constitute another important aspect of the *waqf* institution. A document from Muḥammad IX al-Ṣaghīr dated 1430 indicates that certain mosques in Granada were exempted from taxes.⁶³ This suggests that mosques were initially subject to taxation before eventually gaining exemption. 'Abd Allāh al-Ibīrī 's (d. 633/1236) *fatwa* regarding the "majzen tax" emphasizes that *waqf* revenues supporting the livelihood of the imam should be exempt from taxation.⁶⁴ Interpretations of expressions found in *waqf* deeds, such as "*fī manfa'at al-masjid*" (for the benefit of the mosque), have also sparked significant jurisprudential debate. While Ibn Rushd al-Jadd(d. 520/1126) and al-Ṭaġkānī (d. 744/1343) debated the scope of such phrases, some jurists like 'Īsā b. Sahl argued that endowments should be used solely for "*masālīh ḍarūriyya*".⁶⁵

The quantitative intensity of *waqf* properties dedicated to mosques in Granada is confirmed by data from habīs registers dated 1505 and 1527. These records contain 137 distinct references to mosques and ribāṭs (religious lodges) in Granada, demonstrating the robust financial foundation

⁶¹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:199-200.

⁶² For spesific examples of women's charitable endowments in Naṣrīd Granada and other Andalusi cities, see Fatma Merve Çınar, *Endülüs'te Kadın (711-1492)*, 301-3.

⁶³ Seco de Lucena Paredes Luis, La Granada nazarí del siglo XV, 55.

⁶⁴ José López Ortiz, "Fatwas granadinas de los siglos XIV y XV," 96, 122-23.

⁶⁵ Ibn Rushd, Fatāwā, 2:592-597; al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:122.

of mosque architecture.⁶⁶ Data from the Alpujarra region further reveal that properties allocated to mosques in Naṣrīd Granada constituted more than 50% of the total *waqf* holdings in that area.⁶⁷

Sources frequently mention that mosques possessed numerous properties or received abundant donations, especially for ablution facilities.⁶⁸ A significant example demonstrating the predominance of donations to mosques is found in a document defining endowed properties as follows: "The incomes from inheritances and properties, and the *waqf* properties donated during the Andalusian period for mosques and jurists, clerics, and for the city of Granada and its mosques and clerics, as well as those for the *alquería* mosques."⁶⁹

An examination of the types of endowed properties reveals that 66.6% consist of rural real estate, while 26.1% are urban properties (notably houses and bakeries). Movable properties donated for educational and religious purposes, such as books, are comparatively limited. A notable exception is a $fatw\bar{a}$ concerning books endowed specifically to the Grand Mosque of Granada. Granada.

The fact that mosque endowments include both rural and urban assets indicates that places of worship functioned not only as religious centers but also as social and economic hubs. In Granada, for instance, al-Mawwāq permitted the use of revenues from properties belonging to Qaštāl Mosque for public-benefit projects like the maintenance of city walls and fortifications; emphasizing the mosque's *waaf* contribution to urban development.⁷² The views of the Naṣrīd jurist Ibn Lubb provide important insight into the expropriation of *waaf* properties. Ibn Lubb maintained that *waaf* properties should not be used outside their intended purposes, but allowed that, for public benefit projects such as mosque expansions, expropriation could occur-sometimes with compensation, sometimes without. This stance allowed for flexible management of *waaf* properties in

⁶⁶ Mayte T. Martínez Pérez, "Las mezquitas de Granada en los libres de habices," 217; Manuel Espinar Moreno, "Estructura económica de las iglesias alpujarreñas a través de los Libros de Habices".

⁶⁷ Carmen Trillo San José, "Mezquitas en al-Andalus: Un Espacio Entre Las Comunidades y el Poder," 357-59.

⁶⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:146; 148-49.

⁶⁹ Bernard Vincent, "Las rentas particulares del reino de Granada en el siglo XVI: fardas, habices, hagüela," 229-30.

⁷⁰ Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, 2:1049-1050; al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 6:89-91, 199; 7:104, 138-39, 151, 158, 198-99, 201, 203-4, 235, 443, 461.

⁷¹ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 7:227-228.

⁷² al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 7:132-135.

line with both jurisprudential and practical urban planning needs.⁷³ This approach illustrates how Naṣrīd jurists prioritized public welfare and demonstrated flexibility in the use of *waqf* assets, thereby supporting the continuity of mosque functions and the development of surrounding urban areas.

Thus, the waqf system provided a stable financial foundation for Granada's mosques while ensuring that their social and educational functions were sustained in accordance with Islamic law. By regulating the use distribution of resources, waqf practices directly influenced the urban environment, linking mosque architecture, juridical norms, and city planning in a comprehensive framework that underpinned both religious and civic life.

2.2. Madrasa and Urban Role of Islamic Law

Following the example of mosques, the Madrasa⁷⁴ in Granada (*see fig. 2*) illustrates how Islamic legal principles guided not only religious practices but also the structuring or urban life. The Yūsufiyya Madrasa, constructed⁷⁵ during the reign of Sultan Yūsuf I (733–755/1333–1354) and initiated by the vizier Riḍwān al-Naṣṣār,⁷⁶ was strategically located opposite the city's central Grand Mosque. This placement reflects the integration of religious, educational, and social functions within the urban core, creating a spatial and institutional focus that shaped neighborhood interactions.⁷⁷

Architecturally, the Madrasa followed the Maghribi model, centered on a courtyard with a small mosque, galleries, and student rooms.⁷⁸ This design simultaneously accommodated worship, learning, and communal life, demostrating the principle that urban educational institutions functioned as both religious and civic centers.⁷⁹ The building's planning, circulation, and

⁷³ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:204.

⁷⁴ for lists of teachers, see Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, "La Madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana," 37-38; Rashīd al-'Affāqī, *Ta'rīj al-Madrasa al-Naṣriyya bi-Garnāṭa*, 21-36.

 $^{^{75}}$ Ibn al-Khaṭīb explicitly states in his work al-Lamḥa al-badriyya that this institution was the first madrasa in the capital, founded by the order of Sultan Yusuf I but initiated by the vizier A record in al-Ihata describes it as: "He established the Madrasa of Granada... endowed it with income, provided student housing, and created a waqf for continuous water supply... becoming a unique structure". Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Ihaṭa, 4:1:516-517. According to Maqqari, after completing Ihata, Ibn al-Khaṭīb donated a copy of the work to this madrasa, indicating the existence of a library and the practice of book donations

⁷⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya, 96, 109.

⁷⁷ Seco de Lucena Paredes, "Hayib Ridwan, la madraza de Granada y las murallas del Albayzín," 295.

⁷⁸ Cabanelas Rodríguez, "La Madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana", 33.

⁷⁹ Muhammad 'Abd al-Hamīd and Suárez Fernández, "Historia de la enseñanza en la España musulmana," 495–96; García Sanjuán, *Hasta que Dios herede la tierra*, 202.

allocation of spaces were informed by the waqf system,⁸⁰ ensuring a sustainable balance between its functional, financial, and social roles.

The waqf institution was pivotal in guaranteeing the madrasa's continuity.⁸¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.776/1374-75) records that Riḍwān endowed productive real estate (al-mughallat al-ribā') to support the madrasa's maintenance, providing both financial stability and administrative structure.⁸² Early 16th century Christian documents⁸³ confirm that the madrasa controlled extensive waqf properties -including shops, land, and vineyards-⁸⁴ generating significant revenue and reinforcing its role as a socio-economic hub. Beyond education, these endowments contributed to public welfare and urban development, aligning with the principles of al-siyāsa al-shar'iyya, the Islamic framework for public governance.

Moreover, the waqf properties facilitated essential services, such as continuous water supply, and supported scholarly activity through provisions for book collections and housing for teachers and students. ⁸⁵ For example, in the *waqf* register of Granada's mosques and villages, it is recorded: "There is a vineyard in Armilla; half of it belongs to Rābiṭa Alhorta or Alhorra, and the other half to the madrasa; half was leased for 137.5 maravedís". ⁸⁶ These legal and financial arrangements illustrate how Naṣrīd jurists embedded urban planning within the framework of Islamic law, ensuring that educational institutions reinforced the city's social, economic, and architectural coherence.

Today, the building survives as a cultural center affiliated with the University of Granada and continues to stand as one of the most tangible examples of public urban development shaped within the framework of Islamic law.⁸⁷ In sum, the Yūsufiyya Madrasa exemplifies the integration of jurisprudential norms into urban design: its location, spatial organization,

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Khatīb, al-Ihāta, 3:199.

⁸¹ Ana María Carballeira Debasa, *Legados píos y fundaciones familiares en al-Andalus (siglos IV/X-VI/XII)*, 311, 316-18.

 $^{^{82}}$ lbn al-Khaṭīb, $al\text{-}lh\bar{a}ṭa,$ 4:1:508; lbn Khaṭīb, al-Lamhaal-Badriyya, 120.

⁸³ Hernández Benito, *La Vega de Granada*, 37, 39, 113; García Sanjuán, *Hasta que Dios herede la tierra*, 202.

⁸⁴ María del Carmen Villanueva Rico, *Habices de las mezquitas de la ciudad de Granada y sus alquerías*, 159; María del Carmen Villanueva Rico, *Casas, mezquitas y tiendas de los habices de las iglesias de Granada*. 55.

⁸⁵ al-'Affāqī, Ta'rīj al-Madrasa al-Naṣriyya bi-Garnāṭa, 51-52.

⁸⁶ Villanueva Rico, *Habices de las mezquitas de la ciudad de Granada y sus alquerías*, 159; Cabanelas Rodríguez, "La Madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana", 36. The same source also mentions other shops whose income was transferred to the madrasa Rico, pp. 55, 73; p. 168

⁸⁷ Cabanelas Rodríguez, "La Madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana", 51.

and financial infrastructure were all governed by Islamic legal principles. Like the Grand Mosque, the Madrasa demonstrates that Naṣrīd urbanism was not merely a matter of building placement, but a sophisticated system where law, architecture, and public welfare were interwined to shape the lived experience of the city.

2.3. Māristān and the Urban Role of Islamic Law

Both the madrasa and the Māristān are institutions of Eastern origin that entered the Western Islamic world relatively late, especially from the 14th century onward; as a result, their development in al-Andalus was limited, largely confined to the Naṣrīd period. Although ribāṭs or zāwiyas are not explicitly mentioned in formal texts, they appear in Naṣrīd fiqh and other 15th-century documents.

The Māristān of Naṣrīd Granada, represents one of the few preserved charitable institutions of the period and illustrates how Islamic legal norms shaped urban functions through the waqf system. Constructed under the reign of Muḥammad V between (1365 -1367),⁸⁹ the building was founded as a *waqf* endowment, with its inscription explicitly grounding the ruler's patronage in religious legitimacy and public service.⁹⁰ The project with Muḥammad V's broader urban initiatives,⁹¹ reflecting a deliberate integration of law, philanthropy, and city-make.⁹²

Functionally, the Māristān was conceived not only as a medical facility but also as a model of social solidarity. Through waqf endowments, its revenues guaranteed independence and sustainability, making it a central institution for the city's poor and needy. This framework illustrates how financial practices recognized in fiqh -particularly *waqf* and *zakāh* and-were translatedinto concrete urban welfare mechanism.

Architecturally, the Māristān⁹³ was located on the southern slopes of the Albaicín, near the Darro River, in proximity to other urban centers.⁹⁴ Its

⁸⁸ García Sanjuán, Hasta que Dios herede la tierra, 173.

⁸⁹ Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, *El Maristán Nazarí de Granada. Análisis del Edificio y Una Propuesta Para su Recuperación*, 81; Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí," 132.

⁹⁰ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "El maristán de Granada," 489; Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí", 133.

⁹¹ Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí", 137.

⁹² James Dickie, "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain," 102.

⁹³ Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes, "Acerca de la gawraya de la Alcazaba Vieja de Granada," 197-203.

⁹⁴ Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, El Maristán Nazarí de Granada, 82.

courtyard-centered design,⁹⁵ with water basins and lion-shaped fountains,⁹⁶ reflects both the functional demands of medical treatment and the symbolic role of water in Islamic medicine.⁹⁷ This placement underscores how the hospital was embedded within the city's spatial logic: positioned to serve both as a healthcare facility and as a charitable landmark integrated into Granada's urban fabric.⁹⁸ (see fig. 3)

The establishment and administration of the Māristān explicitly demonstrate the functional and legitimizing aspects of the waqf institution in classical Islamic law. The nature and allocation of the revenues assigned to the Māristān provide insights into the fiscal and legal practices of the era. The Māristān's waqf deed documents that the building was supported by a fixed income allocated by the ruler after its completion. This practice also illustrates how political authority instrumentalized the waqf institution to consolidate its legitimacy. Indeed, the honorific title "al-Ghanī bi-llāh" appearing in the foundation document supports this symbolic meaning. The most systematic employment of waqf practices to underpin political legitimacy is observed during Muḥammad V's reign. In this context, as assessed through the perspective of the faqīh al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508), such waqf endowments served a public service function directed towards the poor and needy.

Among the properties belonging to the Māristān were those adjacent to the building itself. Some of these properties have survived to the present day along with their valuation documents. For example, a document concerning the valuation of a house in the Ajshārīš district explicitly states that the property adjoins the Māristān: "The witnesses [...] were duly present in the house located in Ajshārīš, Granada, neighboring to the north the street (harq) opening onto the house's entrance and door, and to the west the passageway (mamarr) and the hospital (maristān)". ¹⁰³

95 Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí," 140; Orihuela Uzal, "From the Private to the Public Space," 439.

⁹⁶ Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, El Maristán Nazarí de Granada, 88.

⁹⁷ Torres Balbás, "El maristán de Granada", 465.

 $^{^{98}}$ Athena C. Syrakoy, "Health, sprituality and power in medieval Iberia: the maristan and its role in Nasrid Granada," 192.

⁹⁹ Carballeira Debasa, Legados píos y fundaciones familiares, 13-18; 169-83; García Sanjuán, Hasta que Dios herede la tierra, 180-84; Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí," 163

¹⁰⁰ Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí," 168.

¹⁰¹ Peláez Rovira, "El Maristán de Granada al servicio del poder nazarí," 170.

¹⁰² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:114.

¹⁰³ Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes, *Documentos arábigo-granadinos*, 11.

Waqf records provide important insights into the institution's fiscal structure. Properties adjacent to the hospital and income -generating estates supported its operations, while documents from 1503, record an annual revenue exceeding 45,282 maravedís, making it one of Granada's most significant charitable endowments. In comparison, the San Lázaro leprosarium generated only fraction of this income, highlighting the Māristān's centrality.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, a fatwā addressed to Ibn Rushd al-Jadd cites a donation of five shops for lepers and the blind in Granada, highlighting the religious and social significance of hospital endowments.¹⁰⁵ Such wealth not only sustained medical services but also reinforced the legitimacy of Nasrīd authority through philanthropy.

Although the institution ceased its function after the Christian conquest in 1492^{106} and was later transformed into a mint and other facilities, both architectural traces and documentary evidence reveal its long-lasting influence. Today, the remains -partially restored since the late 20th century- continue to testify to its historical role.

In sum, the Māristān demonstrates how fiqh norms and waqf endowments structured urban development beyond religious and educational spheres. Alongside the Grand Mosque and the Yūsufiyya Madrasa, the Māristān completed a triad of public institutions that materialized the integration of law, architecture, and welfare. This constellation of mosque, madrasa, and hospital created a coherent urban system where the legitimacy of rule, the organization of knowledge, and the provision of public health were all grounded in Islamic legal principles.

${\bf 2.\,4.\,Other\,Urban\,Structures\,in\,Granada\,and\,the\,Juridical\,Regulation}$ of Space

In Granada, urban space was conceived not merely as a physical domain but as a legally and functionally defined environment, shaped by Islamic law. Public structures -including mosques, fortresses, walls, moats, and lodgeswere constructed, repaired, and maintained under fiqh-based principles that governed their usage, function, and relation to the city. The allocation of

106 Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, El Maristán Nazarí de Granada, 83.

¹⁰⁴ Hernández Benito, *La Vega de Granada*, 46-48.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, 1:624-625.

¹⁰⁷ Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, El Maristán Nazarí de Granada, 84.

¹⁰⁸ Orihuela Uzal, "From the Private to the Public Space," 440; Almagro and Orihuela Uzal, *El Maristán Nazarí de Granada*, 95.

resources and revenues for these structures reflected both juridical rulings and necessities of urban defense.

Military constructions, such as fortresses, city walls, and moats, were understood as essential for public welfare (maṣlaḥa) and framed under the principles of $jih\bar{a}d$ and communal protection. Jurist debated the permissibility of using religious funds, including $zak\bar{a}t$, for defense expenditures. al-Mawwāq (d. 897/1492) permitted the use of such funds for urgent military needs, emphasizing that defending against external threats could supersede the traditional objectives of $zak\bar{a}t$. Similarly, other Andalusian legal authorities, including Ibn Yūnus(d. 451/1060), upheld this approach, prioritizing collective security over ordinary charitable allocations. 110

Specific cases illustrate the practical application of fiqh principles to urban defense. For example, questions arose regarding the financing of a cannon (naft) for the Alhama fortress, the construction of observation towers atop minarats, and the payment of wall-builders from dedicated taxes (wazīf). Jurist such as al-Mawwāq 111 and al-Shāṭibī (d. $790/1388)^{112}$ emphasized that as long as these uses did not determine the primary religious function of waqf properties, applying revenues to military and urban infrastructure was permissible under the principle of maṣlaḥa. Similarly, olive oil produced from mosque-owned groves could be diverted to fund fortification maintenance when necessary. 113

According to al-Mawwāq, in a settlement (qarya) conquered and destroyed by Christians, the waqf revenues of a large mosque and its minaret, though substantial, were insufficient to cover the mosque's needs. When asked whether waqf revenues could be used to construct an observation tower ($q\bar{a}mira$) atop the minaret-which would serve to monitor enemies and assist local inhabitants and sailors- jurists ruled that as long as the tower did not impede the minaret's primary function, using the revenues was permissible. 114

¹⁰⁹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:148.

¹¹⁰ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:148.

¹¹¹ al-Mawwāq highlighted the necessity of such military tools, referencing the 1309 siege of Almería by King Jaime II of Aragon, which employed a wooden siege tower. He emphasized that rescuing Alhama fortress served a far broader Andalusian interest than the Almería case. However, he concluded that the cannon's costs should not be covered by *zakāt* or *ḥabīṣ* donations, but rather distributed among Muslims. al-Wansharīsī. *al-Mi'vār al-Mu'rib*. 147–48.

¹¹² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 11:132.

¹¹³ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:148.

¹¹⁴ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 7:148-149.

Similar principles appear in fatwas concerning the misuse of endowed properties. For instance, it was queried whether the olives from the endowment-owned olive grove of the Qastāl mosque—which produced only a small amount of oil used for mosque illumination—could instead be sold to fund the maintenance of city walls and fortresses. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 628/1231) ruled that even if the endowment's purpose was unclear, since the walls' defense function was essential for mosque worship, the revenues could lawfully be applied to wall construction. 115

Beyond military structures and public spaces, locations designated for the confinement of captives also fell under fiqh regulation, indicating that alongside the status of captivity, the spatial dimension was subject to juridical definition and supervision. 116

Overall, the practices observed in Granada demonstrate that space was not merely an architectural or technical element but a concrete manifestation of the shar order, shaped and regulated by fiqh principles. The allocation of $zak\bar{a}t$ revenues, the use of waqf properties, and the designated areas for captives clearly reveal space as a functional and legally significant element within Islamic law. In particular, the debates regarding taxes levied for the construction of new city walls—although such taxes were considered illegal by some—show how al-Shāṭibī deemed them necessary for the public interest (maṣlaḥa). 117 Ibn Manzūr (d. 887/1482), a 15th-century Granadan jurist, issued a fatwa permitting surplus income from a $rib\bar{a}t$ (a religious and military frontier lodge) near the Ballāṣ walls, where Ramadan prayers were held, to be used for the maintenance of the Ballāṣ wall-or the construction of a fortress on the frontier. 118

An important compilation of such documents was produced by L. Seco de Lucena, which includes wills related to charitable endowments (waqf) for the Archidona fortress (dated 1452) and a $rib\bar{a}t$ near Belicena. 119

The $fiqh\bar{t}$ assessments of military structures and the allocation of waqf revenues in Granada were shaped by the defensive needs and economic difficulties of the Naṣrīd kingdom. This situation exemplifies the application of public welfare and maṣlaḥat concepts within legal practice. Finally,

¹¹⁵ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:132-133.

¹¹⁶ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 2:167-168; 197.

¹¹⁷ Delfina Serrano Ruano ve Amalia Zomeño, "Law and Religious Sciences: Development and Daily Practice in Muslim Granada," 359.

¹¹⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:145-146.

¹¹⁹ Seco de Lucena Paredes, *Documentos arábigo-granadinos*, 12-15.

¹²⁰ García Sanjuán, Hasta que Dios herede la tierra, 311.

regarding the question posed to Qādī 'Iyāḍ on whether a largely ruined city wall could be completely dismantled and its materials repurposed, the ruling that such walls were to be treated as *waqf* property under the *maṣlaḥat* of Muslims -therefore prohibiting their alteration, demolition, or alternative use- clearly illustrates the regulatory influence of *fiqh* principles over spatial matters.¹²¹

Following the discussion of military and public structures, the spatial organization of cemeteries in Granada further illustrates the intersection of Islamic jurisprudence and urban planning. Cemetery spaces were not merely functional or symbolic; their design and use were directly shaped by fiqh principles, reflecting the legal and religious framework guiding the city's built environment.

The city's principal cemetery, Sa'd b. Mālik Cemetery, dates to the mid-7th century and developed around the tomb of the prominent poet and jurist Sa'd b. Mālik.¹²² It extended from the Elvira Gate to the Royal Hospital and the modern train station, while distinct neighborhoods such as the Old Town (Alcazaba) and Albaicín maintained separate burial grounds. Outside the city walls, cemeteries were organized for specific social groups, including the Cemetery of Strangers (Maqābir al-Ghurabā') and the Fishermen's Cemetery (Maqābir al-'Aṣṣāl).¹²³

The Maqābirat Shuqastir cemetery, located north of Granada, represents one of the city's oldest burial grounds, with historical roots extending to the Roman period, highlighting the continuity of cemetery spaces across urban development phases.¹²⁴ Observations by the German traveler Jeronimo Münzer in 1494 also confirm the existence of a large Muslim cemetery outside the walls, likely corresponding to Maqābirat Shuqastir.¹²⁵

Within the framework of Islamic law, cemetery organization and burial practices were regulated through fiqh rulings rather than social custom alone. Jurists addressed issues such as the delimitation of cemetery boundaries, permissible constructions, and funeral rites. For example, sleeping overnight in cemetery grounds was considered an innovation (bid'a), emphasizing that these spaces were sacred and meant for

¹²¹ Qādī 'lyād, Madhāhib al-Ḥukkām, 207; al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 5:532.

¹²² Dickie, "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain", 103.

¹²³ Dickie, "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain", 103.

¹²⁴ Dickie, "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain", 103.

¹²⁵ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Ciudades Hispanomusulmanas, 18.

contemplation, visitation, and religious observance. Practical architectural adaptations, such as covering graves to protect visitors from sun exposure, eventually gained fiqh legitimacy, illustrating the dynamic interaction between social practice and juridical endorsement.

The construction of supportive structures behind graves, such as shades or shelters, was generally permitted when deemed beneficial, as cemeteries were understood to belong to the deceased and their heirs, with charitable acts (ṣadaqa) legitimizing certain architectural interventions. 127 Similarly, practices like placing stones or constructing tombs were legally endorsed to ensure the long-term preservation of grave sites, highlighting both communal and individual responsibilities for cemetery maintenance. 128 Conversely, the use of silk coverings for the deceased -common after funeral prayers at the Grand Mosque (al- $J\bar{a}mi$ ' al- $Kab\bar{i}r$)- was considered an unnecessary display lacking religious significance and was recommended to be discontinued, reflecting juridical preference for simplicity and restraint in funerary architecture. 129

Cemeteries in Granada also benefited from the waqf system, which ensured their maintenance and integration within the urban fabric. Christian sources confirm the existence of ḥabīs (cemetery waqfs) in villages in the Alpujarras, demonstrating the continuity of waqf support for burial spaces. While cemetery endowments constituted only a small fraction of Granada's waqf properties, they were nonetheless crucial for the upkeep and religious functioning of these sites. A 14th-century fatwa by Ibn Lubb specified that women's graves should be constructed as conical enclosures with fences but no roofs, illustrating the juridical attention to spatial and material norms in burial practices. Endowed funds were allocated not only for construction but also for Qur'ānic recitation, indicating that grave maintenance was considered a continuous religious obligation.

In sum, the cemeteries of Granada exemplify how fiqh norms materially shaped urban spaces. Their siting, spatial organization, architectural features, and maintenance were regulated by juridical rulings, demonstrating that Islamic legal principles extended beyond ritual spaces to

¹²⁶ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 1:339.

¹²⁷ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 1:340.

¹²⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi yār al-Mu rib, 1:340.

¹²⁹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 1:341-343.

¹³⁰ Trillo San José, "Mezquitas en al-Andalus", 373.

¹³¹ Hernández Benito, La Vega de Granada, 49, 60.

¹³² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 9: 485-486.

encompass broader urban and social planning. Cemeteries, therefore, were both functional and legally significant elements within the city, reflecting a deliberate and integrated approach to urban management informed by Islamic jurisprudence.

In our previous analyses, through the examples of mosques, madrasas, and the Māristān, it was observed that the regulation of Granada's urban fabric by Islamic law was not limited to religious or educational institutions. Islamic law shaped urban space in both social and functional dimensions, with military structures, cemeteries, and residential buildings serving as important components of this regulatory framework. In this context, the principles of $l\bar{a}$ darar (prevention of harm), maṣlaḥa (public interest), and local custom ('urf) ensured the integrated formation of Granada's physical and social structure. This normative framework transformed the city's architectural fabric from a mere collection of buildings into an urban environment interwoven with legal, social, and functional dimensions.

It has been noted that in regions such as Tunis and Granada, the continuous recitation of $takb\bar{t}r$, prayers, and dhikr in mosques throughout the night was a common practice. To example, in Ibn Ṣaḥnūn's (d. 256/870) work $Bay\bar{a}n$, it is stated that if a mu'adhdhin climbs the minaret at midnight and can see inside the houses, the homeowners have the right to prevent the mu'adhdhin from climbing. This is considered a harm that must be prevented, even if there is a courtyard or street between the mosque and the houses. Jurists such as Ibn Rushd al-Jadd and those following the Mālikī school share similar views; "Because being subjected to harm requires its removal." This obliges the harmed party to eliminate the harm. In this case, while the mu'adhdhin intends to perform a $mand\bar{u}b$ (recommended) act (prayer recitation), he commits a prohibited act ($har\bar{a}m$). Similarly, one cannot harm neighbors in any way. The same ruling applies if houses at a distance can be seen inside.

Within this framework, residential buildings were among the fundamental elements of Granada's urban fabric. In Islamic law, the rights of neighbors were central for protecting property and living spaces as well as maintaining social order. Regulations aimed at preventing harm directly

¹³³ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 2:472.

 $^{^{134}}$ al-Wansharīsī, 2:472-473; A similar issue was debated in Málaga in the first ten days of Hijri 702 A mu'adhdhin was calling to prayer from the top of a minaret ($man\bar{a}r$), which rose above a neighbor's house. al-Wansharīsī, 8:470-487.

¹³⁵ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 2:472.

¹³⁶ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 2:473.

shaped the use of physical space. For example, during nightly recitations in mosques, if a mu'adhdhin could see into private homes, the homeowners were entitled to prevent such intrusion. Similarly, dilapidated buildings or workshops that caused harm could be repaired, sold, or their revenues used for charitable purposes, provided no harm came to neighbors.

Agricultural and shared spaces were also subject to these legal principles.¹³⁷ Neighboring olive and mulberry trees that caused mutual damage required pruning to prevent harm.¹³⁸ In multi-story or adjoining residences, physical and functional integrity guided the determination of rights and responsibilities. Andalusian jurisprudence considered not only the main structure but also attached walls, roofs, and annexes as part of property, while later-added structures could remain the property of the original owner. Adjoining walls or interconnected houses were sometimes treated as a single property, based on internal connections and functional continuity.

The prevention of spatial harm is concretized through the regulation of buildings and the environment. For instance, if a tailor shop ($tarzih\bar{a}na$) endowed for the benefit of a religious association ($rab\bar{t}a$) becomes so dilapidated that it harms neighboring shops, the building can be sold in a way that does not prevent repairs, and the income is used for the waqf's benefit. Moreover, based on the opinion of Ibn al-Sirāj, the Granada $q\bar{a}q\bar{d}$ council ruled that constructing dovecotes and raising pigeons is permissible ($j\bar{a}'iz$), but must be prevented if these structures harm neighbors. Imam Malik also permits the construction of towers (burj) as long as no harm is caused to others. 140

In the context of condominium (shared property) ownership in Granada, as exemplified by the case where the downstairs homeowner wants to use the toilet, but the upstairs homeowner objects due to concerns that moisture $(rut\bar{u}b)$ will damage the building's columns and beams, the right to prevent harmful actions was recognized.¹⁴¹ All these rulings demonstrate that the principle of non-harm $(l\bar{a}\ \dot{q}arar)$ was adopted and implemented as a fundamental norm in social and spatial relations in the city of Granada.

¹³⁷ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:437-438.

¹³⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:439.

¹³⁹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 7:199.

¹⁴⁰ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:437.

¹⁴¹ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:440.

Balancing the rights and responsibilities among neighbors supports both the protection of individual property rights and social order.

Discussions on real estate ownership in Andalusian jurisprudential ($fiqh\bar{t}$) practice were not limited merely to the control over physical structures, but also evaluated through the architectural and geographical relationships between houses. In this context, a legal case from Granada illustrates the shaping of the jurisprudential perspective on whether two adjoining houses ($d\bar{a}r\bar{a}n$ $muttasil\bar{a}n$) are considered a single property or two separate properties.

In a case referred to the Granadan jurist Ibn 'Attāb, one of the individuals owning two adjoining houses claimed ownership of one of the houses as a mahr (dowry) given to her by her husband. The architectural structure of the houses is as follows: both houses are physically attached to each other, their front facades face different directions, but both entrance doors are on the same side. Upon the woman's claim of a dowry right (haqq) over one of the houses, the question of whether this house is an independent property or not -that is, the nature of the property inherited by her- became a matter of debate. happa

The jurisprudential evaluation of residential buildings in Granada was shaped not only by who owned the property but also based on the physical boundaries of the structure, its functional use, and social perception. Accordingly, issues such as which parts of the house could be subject to sale or inheritance, which elements are considered immovable property, and the house's relationship with neighboring structures were examined in detail by jurists. The fundamental principle emphasized in these evaluations is that social and functional integrity should be considered along with physical boundaries.

Ibn Salmūn (d. 766/1366), one of the Granadan jurists, stated that in the sale of a house, all its attachments -such as walls, roofs, and side elements-are automatically included in the sale, indicating that ownership is determined not only over the main structure but also over the physical elements integrated with it.¹⁴³ However, Ibn Rushd al-Jadd adopts a more discriminating approach on this matter. According to him, elements added later, like grinding stones, stairs, or small wooden rooms, even if fixed, are not considered part of the essential structure of the house; therefore, their

¹⁴² al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 6:262.

¹⁴³ Ibn Salmūn, al-'iqd al-Munazzam, 190.

ownership belongs to the seller, not the buyer.¹⁴⁴ Here, the concept of immovable property is subjected to a more technical interpretation in terms of both physical permanence and ownership relations.

Another important contribution by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd concerns the ownership boundaries when the wall of a house adjoins another structure. According to him, if a house wall is shared with another building such as a bakery or bathhouse, this wall cannot be regarded as part of the property subject to sale. The main approach highlighted by jurists regarding such cases is that ownership determination should be made not only by the structural boundary lines but also by actual use and functional relationships.

The physical proximity and functional integrity of two houses are so significant that in some cases these buildings have been considered a single house. Even the fact that their facades face different directions or that they have separate entrances does not constitute sufficient grounds for considering them separate properties. On the contrary, by considering the internal connection, usage permeability, and spatial integrity, such combined structures were accepted as joint property. 146

These examples demonstrate that in Andalusian jurisprudence, ownership was not treated merely as a static property law issue but also as a dynamic legal field in conjunction with the social usage patterns of physical space. How houses in Granada were understood within the property system -considering their relationships with neighboring units, internal divisions, and functional annexes- reveals that urban planning processes were openly structured with jurisprudential interpretations in mind.

Some legal disputes seen in Granada are noteworthy for demonstrating how classical jurisprudential principles and local custom ('urf) operated together, and how this synthesis practically and legally regulated urban space. The extent to which 'urf was determinative not only for legal norms but also for shaping zoning and property relations is clearly visible in the approaches of the period's qadis and jurists. Within this framework, an inheritance case from 15th-century Granada stands out as an important example illustrating the role of 'urf in legal processes.

Local custom ('urf) also played a decisive role in urban life and property relations. The proximity and use of houses, workshops, and other

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Salmūn, al-'iqd al-Munazzam, 190-91.

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Salmūn, al-'iqd al-Munazzam, 192.

¹⁴⁶ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 6:262.

¹⁴⁷ al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, 10:286-287.

buildings were regulated not only by formal jurisprudence but also through social practices and traditions. (al-fatwā tattabiʻu ʻurf al-nās wa-ʻādātihim).¹⁴⁸ Decisions regarding the construction of a new bakery adjacent to an existing one, or the addition of a second mill, were based on both legal norms and customary practices. Thus, *'urf* functioned as a dynamic element that bridged written law and social reality, shaping Granada's urban structure and property relations.

In conclusion, as illustrated by military structures, cemeteries, and residential buildings, urban planning and spatial organization in Granada were shaped not only by technical or aesthetic considerations but also by fiqh principles, public interest, and local custom. This approach demonstrates that Islamic law functioned as a comprehensive normative framework regulating the city's physical form, social operations, and urban life in an integrated manner.

Conclusion and Evaluation

The Naṣrī period in Granada provides a clear example of how Islamic urban law (fiqh) structured the city's physical and institutional landscape, moving beyond merely shaping individual behaviors or isolated aspects of urban life. This study demonstrates that Mālikī principles -including public interest (maṣlaḥa), prevention of harm ($l\bar{a} \ darar$), privacy, and customary practices ('urf)- were actively implemented in urban planning and the organization of spatial hierarchies, particularly through the deliberate placement of key civic, religious, and social structures.

The principal institutions of the city -the Grand Mosque, the Yūsufiyya Madrasa, and the Māristān- formed a cohesive urban focus. The mosque occupied a central position, serving as a landmark and anchor for urban life. The madrasa, adjacent to the mosque, reinforced the educational dimension of public space within a religious framework, while the Māristān, though slightly apart, remained within accessible distance, functioning as a social welfare institution. This spatial arrangement illustrates how legal and social principles were embedded into the city's urban form, creating a hierarchy of spaces shaped by both religious and communal considerations.

Waqf institutions were instrumental in sustaining these structures, providing financial resources and ensuring the continuity of religious, educational, and social services. The use of waqf revenues reflects how legal

¹⁴⁸ al-Wansharīsī, al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, 8:459-468.

frameworks translated into both the physical and organizational layout of Granada, integrating architecture, social function, and jurisprudence.

Beyond these central institutions, the application of fiqh to other structures -including military facilities, cemeteries, and residential areas -demonstrates the broad scope of Islamic legal influence in urban development. Military structures were financed and organized according to public-interest principles; cemeteries were sited, constructed, and maintained under juridical guidance; and residential practices were regulated through $l\bar{a}$ darar and 'urf, balancing property rights, neighborly relations, and social cohesion. Collectively, these examples highlight that urbanization in Granada was systematically governed by juridical norms rather than ad hoc practices.

In conclusion, the city's layout during the Naṣrī period illustrates a sophisticated urbanism where legal, social, and spatial orders intersected. The placement and functional relationships of major institutions created focal points that structured the city, demonstrating that Mālikī *i'mār* law materially shaped urban form. This approach offers an analytical framework for understanding the interaction between legal norms, spatial hierarchies, and local customs, offering comparative potential for studies of other Andalusian cities and Islamic urban centers more broadly.

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Appendices:



Figure 1. Exterior and Interior Views of the Sagrario Church (formerly the Grand Mosque of Granada). (Photograph by the author.)



Figure 2. The Yūsufiyya Madrasa. (Photograph by the author.) The remains of the Andalusian structure lie behind the current 18^{th} -century Baroque façade.



Figure 3. The Māristān of Granada. (after restoration) (Photograph by the author.)

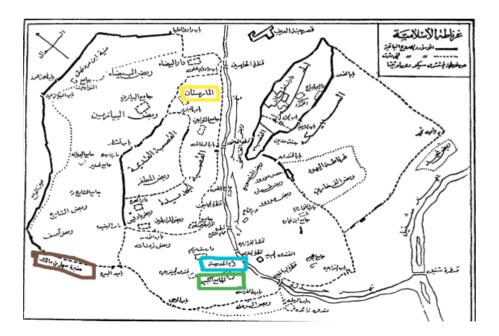


Figure 4. The urban configuration of Granada according to Ibn al-Khatīb's work *lḥāṭa*. Green: The Grand Mosque of Granada, Yellow: the Māristān, Blue: the Yūsufiyya Madrasa, Brown: the cemetery. (modified by the author)