

**THE TRADITIONAL MARKETS IN JERUSALEM, A STUDY
ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY.**

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Abstract

One of the most prominent features of the city of Jerusalem is its ancient markets, which represent an economic part, as it includes among its many many shops, which attract many tourists and women to it.

The phenomenon of economic anthropology appears clearly in the subject of our article on the markets of the city of Jerusalem, so that the subject of economic anthropology is based on explaining human economic behavior according to its historical, geographical and cultural perspective. Economic anthropology studies focus mostly on trade or exchange, and this was evident to us through our topic on the markets of the city of Jerusalem as an economic anthropological study.

Keywords: *Ecological characteristics, individual and social interaction, economic establishments, market, bargaining, and pleading.*

Introduction

This article deals with the "traditional markets in the city of Jerusalem, a study in economic anthropology", represented by the group of old markets located in the city of Jerusalem, which is a commercial center in this city. It includes the Bab Khan al-Zeit market, the apothecary market, the coppersmiths market, the Khawajat market, the tanning market, the Aftimos market, the bazaar market, the Christians market, and other markets.

These markets are characterized by a distinctive ecological specificity, as they occupy an ecological square, divided into long and transverse lines. They are directly connected markets with no spatial divides. As soon as one market ends, another market begins. Shops, merchandise and many vendors mix in the markets. This ecological specificity provided the opportunity to write this article about the markets in the city of Jerusalem, according to the methods and procedures required by the anthropological approach, the most important of which are coexistence and in-depth observation on the subject.

Importance of the Article

The interest in studying these markets is due to several considerations:

First: The distinctive traditional character of some of these markets has changed, as most of them were productive, reflecting an aspect of the distinctive (professional) heritage of the city of Jerusalem in the field of material culture and popular production arts, in addition to its commercial function. Then some of them have now shrunk or are almost concentrated in commercial markets, under the weight of the tremendous economic changes witnessed by society in general and the city of Jerusalem in particular.

Second: These markets reflect some of the features of the development of the socio-economic history of the city of Jerusalem, and how this city was, through different historical stages, an important economic and professional (professional) center, attracting merchants and professionals from Arab and non-Arab countries, so that some of these markets are still preserved today. On its non-Arabic name, such as Al-Khawajat Market, Aftimos Market...

Third: The markets in the city of Jerusalem reflected some of the traditional cultural features that distinguished the traditional neighborhoods (alleys) in the city of Jerusalem, especially in the field of social relations and patterns of social interaction.

Article methodology and basic issues:

First: The theoretical and methodological framework.

Second: The markets of the city of Jerusalem, a historical overview of its origins and development.

Third: The ecological characteristics of the markets of the city of Jerusalem.

Fourth: The market as a system of social economic relations.

First: Theoretical framework.

The study of the article, “The Markets of the City of Jerusalem, a Study in Economic Anthropology,” started from a functional framework as one of the most appropriate theoretical frameworks for dealing with the market as a holistic system, an attempt to identify its structure, functions, and the existing relationships between people in the markets. And how economic anthropology appeared clearly between the treatment of the merchant with the buyer or the tourist in the markets, and between the merchants with each other, which led to integration and social solidarity.

Article Methodology

Given the characteristics of the markets, the subject of the article, of a reality that can be lived and observed, in addition to their historical authenticity, the nature of the subject necessitated the necessity of combining the anthropological approach - which allows observing and experiencing this reality in a way that enables it to be described and analyzed, along with the historical approach that helps to monitor the historical dimension. , so that I can cover the subject of the article in all its aspects, and below I will explain how these approaches and methodological methods will be employed.

Within the framework of benefiting from the anthropological approach: the ecological characteristics of the market, its sub-markets, and the ecological distribution of its facilities such as workshops, shops, and dwellings above the workshops, and other facilities that are based on serving these markets, were used.

As for the historical approach: the emergence and development of the markets, the subject of the article, was traced, and the most important determinants and features of the changes that occurred to them through different historical stages were identified. Historical references and old maps were used, which shed light on the extent of the change in these markets. Which in its concept supports individual and social interaction, in addition to dealing with the market from the perspective of social systems(Warren 1963: 78-92; Al-Johare, Al-khurairji 1983: 203-223).

Second: The markets of the city of Jerusalem: a historical overview of the origin and development.

In order to trace the emergence of the markets, it was necessary to present a brief overview of the historical development of the markets of the city of Jerusalem and some of its economic features related to the subject of the article. It is worth noting that Islamic books have touched on the issue of markets in Jerusalem in a small way. Economic establishments were talked about and described as a market. These establishments were known as hotels, and those coordinates are similar to what was found in the city of Alexandria in terms of establishments and hotels (Al-Shayal 1967: 87).

The markets were built in Jerusalem during the Umayyad era, and took their names from the goods they sell: the Attareen market specializes in selling spices, the welders sell meat, the

Khawajat market sells fabrics, and the goldsmiths market sells gold, and from these markets narrow roads diverge into residential lanes, schools, warehouses, and hotels. One of the most prominent features of the city of Jerusalem is its markets, which represent an integral part of its identity, and are distinguished by the splendor of its domes and the splendid scenery. These markets are the backbone of the city's economy, as they include many shops, and among these markets:

Bab Khan Al-Zeit Market:

This market was established by Prince Saif al-Din Tankar al-Nasseri (Al-Asqalani 1929: 23-45).

It is considered one of the most beautiful markets in the city of Jerusalem. It was known by this name in relation to the ancient khan called "Khan al-Zayt". The Khan al-Zeit market is located to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 300 meters away. The reason for naming the Khan al-Zeit market by this name is due to the presence of olive oil presses in it (Al-Arif 1999: Part 1, 468).

Attarin Market:

It is a market characterized by an arched ceiling that dates back to the Mamluk period, and it has many domes and inside the domes there are openings for ventilation and lighting, meaning that light enters the market. The reason for naming the market by this name is that it is a center for selling herbs and spices, and the most important things sold in the market are perfumes, spices, clothes, and leather bags (Arnaout 2015: 203).

Khawajat Market:

This market was famous for selling gold, which is why it gained its name (Al-Sagha Market) or Al-Khawajat Market, because the goldsmiths were non-Muslims, most of whom were of Armenian origin, and this market was severely damaged as a result of the earthquake that hit Jerusalem in 1927, which led to the demolition of half of the market. (Aqel 2013: 18-26).

Aftimos Market:

The market consists of a triumphal arch consisting of three large arches. In the middle of the "market is a large and beautiful water fountain known as the Bimaristan Fountain".

The history of this market dates back to the Ottoman era, when Patriarch Athanabius purchased the land on which the market was built in 1837 from the Al-Alami family (Foqara2021: 102-18; Al-Asali1981: 86-104).

*Saif al-Din Abu Saeed poked al-Arfi al-Nasiri, the Mamluk prince, who is the great, majestic, just prince. He began his life as a mamluk slave in Egypt. He soon graduated and obtained high positions and jobs in the Levant during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Qalawun. He died in Alexandria in 744 AH.

*The Al-Alami family is an Arab, Jerusalemite family that came to Jerusalem from Morocco during the time of the Mamluks. It produced many scholars and Sufis, the most famous of whom was Muhammad Al-Alami.

Then the Greek Archimandrite Aftimos, by order of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, established the market during the Ottoman era in 1902.

bazaar market:

Fruits and vegetables were sold in the market, and this market was distinguished by its paved land. The market had two schools inside it, the first called “Al-Afdaliyah” and the second “Al-Karimiya”. Then these schools became a waqf land for the families of Al-Husseini and the Jarallah family (Taubir 1994: 95-105). Today, this market specializes in selling tourist goods.

Aloun Market:

It is one of the markets located inside the city of Jerusalem, and it was named after Aloun bin Ibrahim Al-Rande Al-Andalose, who is buried in the “Ma’man Allah” cemetery. What distinguishes this market is that it sells antiques and religious tourism products, and it is one of the markets thriving with foreign tourists (Hanna 2019: 14-20).

Third: The ecological characteristics of the markets of the city of Jerusalem.

The ecology of the markets in the city of Jerusalem will be discussed. The ecology of these markets will be discussed on *three* levels, namely:

First: The location of the markets and their ecological distribution in relation to the city of Jerusalem in general, and its impact on the movement of production and trade within it.

Second: the ecological characteristics of a group of markets as a total integrated unit, then their ecological distribution in relation to each other, and the impact of that on the existing relationships between them.

Third: It will talk about the internal ecological characteristics of each market separately, and the ecological distribution of what it contains of workshops, shops, and other facilities, and the facilities that are based on serving workers in these markets and those who visit them, such as mosques, cafes, etc., and the impact of this on patterns of interaction and social relations inside the market (Badriya 2012: 38-46).

*Al-Husseini family: a Palestinian Jerusalemite family, given this name because of its belonging to the family of the Prophet Muhammad. They belong to the lineage of our master Hussein bin Ali and belong to the Hanafi school of thought, unlike most of the people of Palestine who belong to the Shafi’i school of thought.

*The Jarallah family: a Jerusalemite family, and the original name of the Jarallah family is the Abu al-Lutf family, relative to their grandfather, Shams al-Din Abu al-Lutf. The name Jarallah was given to them after one of their ancestors moved to Mecca and lived near the Grand Mosque in Mecca, so they were called Jarallah.

Location relative to the city of Jerusalem.

The markets - the subject of the article - are located administratively within the scope of the Jerusalem Municipality Administration, and it is a department characterized by a distinct commercial nature. These markets occupy one of the most prominent features of the city of Jerusalem, and these markets are distinguished by the splendor of their domes and the wonderful views. It is the backbone of the city's economy, as it includes many shops. The market was and still is a commercial center of attraction for the city of Jerusalem, where visitors from many parts of the world flock to visit the markets in Jerusalem, taking advantage of the city as a sacred place for the three monotheistic religions Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.

It is worth noting that this area (the markets and their surroundings) represents the human settlement center of the city of Jerusalem since ancient times, as it is characterized by a high population density, which constitutes a large percentage of the visitors to these markets. Inside the many markets, many goods lie, such as fabrics, clothes, household appliances, and many other products. One of the most important ecological features of the section is also that it includes the largest center for public transportation lines through which it can roam all parts of the city of Jerusalem, and it also connects this section with many villages and places adjacent to the city of Jerusalem.

This ecological peculiarity of the ecological domain surrounding the markets has provided an opportunity to ensure the continuous flow of consumers and merchants to these markets (Badriya 2012: 12-22; Hanna 2019: 34-46).

The internal ecological distribution of markets

On the internal scale, these markets occupy an ecological square divided into irregular long and transverse lines into streets, lanes, and narrow paths, which represent the locations of these markets. It is worth noting that the markets are full of goods such as food, clothes, electrical products, etc. These markets follow the path of full supply to the customers who come to the market, therefore most of the goods can be obtained through the markets (Carrier 2005: 82-86).

These markets overlap with each other and a clear overlap. The Bab Khan al-Zeit market and the al-Lahhamin market appear as two long, parallel lines that are not separated by anything, and there are many other markets adjacent to one another without a separation between them. Perhaps this ecological distribution, which is characterized by a great deal of overlap, can be explained in the light of the economic policies that were followed in the era. The Mamluk and the Ottoman era, where historical references indicate that the most important rules of the monopoly system that were applied from those eras are represented in all producers and trades of crafts (professions) in each city in one place to tighten control and avoid smuggling (Khalaf 1962: 180-192).

This explanation may apply to most craft areas and markets in general. It is worth noting that this ecological proximity, which characterized the markets, has played an important role in achieving integration between them and in maintaining the continued prosperity of the markets.

internal ecological characteristics of markets.

The ecological scope of each of these markets separately, we will find a limited range in terms of area. As each market occupies one place or part of a street or a group of small overlapping lanes, we find, for example, Al-Attarin market and Al-Khawajat market, linked

between them by Al-Lahhamin market and Bab Khan Al-Zayt market, and it is distinguished by an arched ceiling that dates back to the Mamluk period.

Despite the limited space for each market, there is a density in the number of workshops and stores in these markets, as there are approximately 200 to 250 shops in the various markets in the city of Jerusalem (Arnaout: 207). And those many markets create congestion and congestion, and in addition to the workshops, shops, cafes, mosques, synagogues, churches, places of worship, a corner for Sufis, and others.¹

This ecological privacy has added patterns of interaction and social relations within the market. As a result of this close proximity and closeness of the shops, and then the agreement on joining, patterns and social relations that are customary among the merchants, and this social ecological integration shows an atmosphere of belonging and social interdependence between the merchants in the markets (Al-Johare, Abdel-Hamid et al 2004: 145-147).

The market as a system of economic-social relations and patterns of social interaction.

The specificity of the market as an integrated local community characterized by the intensity of economic-social relations and patterns of social interaction crystallized a set of rules and basic principles agreed upon among market workers, regulating patterns of interaction and social relations, and acting as mechanisms to maintain balance within the market. These principles include special rules for defining the relationships between market workers with each other, and others for defining the patterns of relationship between them and market leaders such as consumers and traders. These rules include calling, bargaining in prices, economic integration between market units, prior agreement on prices.... This In addition to the conciliation councils that are held by the senior workers in the market to solve any problems that arise.

Here are some of the principles separately:

1) Calling.

Calling appears as a distinctive feature in markets that are predominantly commercial in nature, and it is a basic inherited principle that is included in the prevailing custom, customs and traditions and an acquired right for every merchant, as the market guarantees every merchant the right to call passers-by from the market's customers, attracting them and drawing their attention to his goods. He calls out stereotypical phrases such as "You're welcome, respected", "I have your order", etc., and some of them call out the names of the goods available in the store and shop.

It is worth noting that calling is still one of the basic rules in the markets of the city of Jerusalem, and it appears clearly in the markets that are predominantly commercial in nature (Al-Saadi 2019: 65-73).

2) Haggling over the price of merchandise.

Bargaining in prices constitutes one of the basic rules governing market operations. Where the bargaining turns into a request for a slight increase in the weight or quantity of the sold commodity, and it is added after the weight as a kind of satisfying and attracting the buyer, and in the market there is usually an agreement between shop owners on a unified price for a specific commodity.

¹Including, for example, the Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Mosque, the Moroccan Sufi Corner, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and places of worship for the Jews and other places of worship.

Haggling usually entails that buying and selling operations take a long time, as it is accompanied by interactions and discussion between the seller and the buyer, and discussions and bargaining may overlap more than one buyer with the seller at the same time. Bargaining may sometimes end without buying.

It is worth noting that the principle of bargaining in prices seems to be a distinctive phenomenon for traditional markets, where the merchant and the buyer remain in attempts, signals and bickering over the price of the commodity until the price is changed to the satisfaction of both parties. In some cases in which the merchant persists and insists on his word, the buyer turns away, while the seller tries to hide his willingness to make more concessions, and in the end the seller may accept a lower price than he asked (Winifred Blackman 1995: 231).

****)Consumer relationship***

The pattern of the relationship between the merchant and the consumer is determined and how to deal with him during the buying and selling operations. These considerations are as follows:

*The experience of traders and their full awareness of the market and its mechanisms of supply, demand and prices.

*The experience of the merchants gained about the psychology of the consumer, in the light of which it is determined whether the consumer is willing to buy or reluctant to buy (he came only to look at the goods).

*The volume and type of sales required by the consumer, and the frequency of the consumer to the market and the store.

In terms of the first consideration, awareness and full knowledge of the market and its capabilities intervene as a basic factor in determining the pattern of the relationship with the consumer during the buying and selling operations. The seller can offer the price to attract the consumer.

It should be noted that the interactions between sellers and consumers that take place during purchases within the market may be interspersed with dialogue and discussions, on topics other than buying and selling. This was expressed by Geertz in his description of the eastern market, so he wrote: "The eastern market (meaning the markets of the countries of the East) It is an economic system with a special way of life, as it is a place for exchange activities linked to all aspects of society, and it is a place for sale and trade, and it is also an integrated sociocultural world in itself (Geertz 1963: 76-80).

Fourth: The market as a system of economic and social relations.

Markets form a group as a whole, and this is evident in the integration in the dependence of some of these markets on others as a source to obtain the necessary materials or other deficiencies. Markets are distinguished in that they are both production and marketing markets. The workshop and the production unit are the same as the marketing unit, and the producing manufacturer is the same one involved in the commercial exchange operations, whether it is done wholesale (i.e. in a large quantity) or by piece (i.e. in a small quantity).

Perhaps the foregoing constitutes an essential feature of the small industries in society, and that small commodity production, trade exchange, workshops and markets between them constitute the economic pattern (Georg Stauth 1984: 64-79).

The most important findings of the Article.

First: Markets form a holistic system, and the phenomenon of complementarity and mutual functional dependence appears in the markets, and some markets depend on others as a source for obtaining the necessary materials and other shortcomings in the markets.

Second: The steadfastness of the market in its sale confirms its continuity, and the production of these markets is still witnessing a tangible turnout despite the economic conditions and the changes that occurred in society in general and Jerusalem in particular.

Third: Technological development in some production tools, which is not a comprehensive change, as it also varies from one market to another, as the percentage of technological developments increases in some of these markets.

Conclusion

The divergence between the economist and the anthropologist for a long time posed several questions, although both of them meet in the study of human behavior and daily practices, and this clearly appears to us in the markets, which are a comprehensive and familiar station for all people, and in the markets, the social, political and economic differences are removed because everyone needs to go to the markets. As we see that the article has a close relationship in the analysis of economic behavior in societies.

The rituals and cultural practices surrounding most of the economic phenomena such as the production and exchange of various commodities and trade. It gives them a cultural and social character, and this appears through the markets and practices that take place inside the markets, which were discussed extensively in the article.

If the economy is a space for the practices and behaviors that emanate from man to earn his livelihood, and that is through markets, workshops, and other businesses.

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