

# Waqf as a Model for Production and Conservation of Architectural Heritage

Amour Khalfan

*Received: 13 December 2013 Accepted: 4 January 2014 Published: 15 January 2014*

## Abstract

This paper seeks to link conservation of historic buildings with a tradition of Islamic waqf. Its aim is to inspire useful conservation lessons from this tradition for possible use in modern day practice. The paper investigates traditional waqf practice in the World Heritage Stone Town of Zanzibar to discover how it managed to preserve substantial stock of its historic buildings throughout the times. The results of this paper show that although waqf was originally intended for socio-economic welfare of poor and disadvantaged, it is inherently coded with simple but effective heritage conservation philosophies. The philosophies pre-date the world conservation movements and can be adopted to enrich the present concepts.

**Index terms**— architectural conservation, heritage, islamic waqf, zanzibar stone town.

## 1 Introduction

Traditional systems have little chance of survival in the contemporary times. Conversely, waqf, an Islamic endowment, has endured 14 centuries of economic, political, and social temptations and has emerged potential for conservation of architectural heritage. In the UNESCO inscribed Stone Town of Zanzibar (STZ) (see map in Fig. ??), waqf holds about 20% of the town's building heritage. Originally, waqf system was established to feed the poor and disadvantaged members of society. Later on, waqf went beyond feeding the poor to supporting their wider demands for construction of public facilities and financing their upkeep. One example of the impressive results of waqf is the iconic Al-Azhar University in Egypt. It is said to have been built out of waqf funds\* 1 . And in Iran, waqf funds form an indispensable part of the preservation of Kashan city (Jokilehto, 1999).

In spite of this performance and centuries of operation in Muslim dominated countries, its conservation merit has gone almost unnoticed by scholars. The present study has barely come across an exposition of the subject except that of Assi (2008) \* 2 . Conservation link to this tradition is yet to be documented. The aforesaid results and the existing gap indicate the need to explore useful conservation concepts from the tradition of Islamic waqf. Therefore, the intention of this research is to probe into the waqf traditions through the STZ case and analyze aspects that have for long helped to conserve significant number of buildings in the town. The research on the traditions of Islamic waqf was inspired by the UN-Habitat Agenda\* 3 that advocates exploration and use of knowledge from traditional systems.

## 2 III. Methodology and Meaning of Terms

In order to fulfill the research aim stated above, the following questions were put forward: i. What are the general rules that govern waqf system? ii. How is waqf practice in the historic STZ contributed to building conservation? iii. What conservation lessons can be drawn from the waqf tradition? Data analyzed in this paper was gathered from two main sources; Waqf and Trust Commission (WTC)

and Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA). The archives contain information on waqf administration during the British colonial period (1890 -1963) while the WTC houses in data mostly from the third quarter of the 20 th c. Limited information exists prior to the British era. Hence, information before the British era was obtained from historical, archaeological, and other studies in addition to maps and information from travelers and explores. Some 32 archival files were examined from ZNA. Selection of the files was guided by the archives' documents'

index. ZNA organizes information in alphabetical classes and sub-classes according to their themes. Waqf files belong to 'HD' class. Efforts were made to broadly cover all classes in the 'HD' series and a narrow down search on sub-classes was undertaken based on the relevance of the information to the research. The analysis was made on qualitative and quantitative data from waqf deeds, rent records and books of accounts, waqf decrees, waqf registers, jurists' rulings and court cases, correspondences, individual waqf records as well as minutes of the then Waqf Commission. A strategic selection was made to include general administrative files featuring the British Protectorate daily correspondences from the 'AB' class in order to supplement the information from the 'HD' classes. The research also ventured into confidential files of the protectorate to unveil classified waqf information. Most of the archival information is in English except when Arabs were involved, in which case English translation was often provided. Similar data was collected from the present WTC to get the trends in waqf development in the remaining period of the 20 th c. and beyond. Information contained in the records was then supplemented by an observation survey through the STZ to capture pictorial data to help clarify several unfolding issues. Background information regarding history of waqf and its practice was obtained from past studies and staffs of WTC.

For the sake of comprehending the topic, the terms below are given to provide English phonetic equivalent of words from Arabic origin and the meanings associated with them.

? Waqf: (sometimes pronounced 'wakf') is a term used to explain an Islamic charity system. In Zanzibar, the term is sometimes used to refer to both the property dedicated as charity under this tradition and the commission that administers properties dedicated as waqf, i.e. the WTC.

? Awqaf: is the plural form of waqf when referring to properties.

? Waqif: a person who dedicates his/her property as waqf (the founder of a waqf). which is interwoven with social, economic and religious life of the people. It is a platform on which the rich share their wealth with the poor. The sharing between "have" and "have-not" may be among the reasons that made waqf survive and grow into one of the most important institutions in Muslim communities. Throughout the times, waqf evolves in response to internal and external factors. Many of the external factors attempt to modify its traditions in order to modernize the waqf. But, it has survived the attempts and continues to be practiced according to its rudiments. The presence of several Islamic sects\* 5 with differing philosophies has been instrumental to its internal evolution and guidance on dealing with external threats.

Awqaf may be generally classified as either private or public. The public waqf is an endowment intended for the greater society, especially the poor and disadvantaged. On the other hand, private waqf (also called family waqf) is a dedication to benefit family's progeny. However, some private waqif (dedicators) do allocate portions of their waqf income to serve the public. And in some cases entire dedication ends up benefiting the public after serving the private purpose.

### 3 b) Waqf system

The traditional waqf comprises of a mutawalli who is appointed by waqif as administrator of the said waqf. Mutawalli is responsible to oversee the waqf according to stipulations set out in a waqf deed by the waqif (see sample in Box 2) to ensure the property is maintained.

Waqf deed is the most important document in waqf administration. The deed contains description of the property, waqf beneficiaries, their share of income and the manner in which the waqf should be administered. A sample of 129 old and recent deeds was investigated from ZNA and WTC. Interestingly, despite the fact that the deeds were traditional and individually written they all demonstrated strictness in terms of content and wording. Strictness was particularly observed in laying down the details. Waqf strict stipulations are certainly the basis for reserving its Box 1 Prophetic tradition depicting waqf conditions. It is narrated in Sahih Muslim that Umar, one of the future Caliph of Islam, sought advice from the Prophet on how to use a valuable land he acquired. The Prophet advised him to "keep the corpus intact and give its produce as 'sadaqa'?" Keeping the corpus intact mean it should not be disposed of in any way including selling, inheritance or gifting. The word 'sadaqa' is an Arabic term signifying offerings the poor, the disadvantaged, and the needy members of society in order to achieve piety to God. It is further narrated that, "There is no sin for one, who administers it if he eats something from in a reasonable manner?", meaning the properties. The shortest worded deed contains the optimum explicit declaration for a sound waqf. The sample deed in Box 2 shows the waqif even detailed the boundary of their shamba\* 6 using cardinal references of the neighboring land in that age of the absence of surveying and mapping services in Zanzibar. All these could be viewed as attempts by the waqif to leave no room for misinterpretation that would eventually lead to the extinction of the waqf property.

V.

## 4 Waqf in Stone Town of Zanzibar

The beginning of waqf practice in the STZ is probably from the 12 th c. An archeological study established that people of African origin started to live in the present location of the town around the 12 th c., at which time Islam was already in practice in Zanzibar archipelago. By the 17 th c. Arab Muslims temporarily inhabited the area (Juma, 1990). The 17 th c. saw a relatively active role of waqf considering the presence of the oldest known mosque from the century (Fig. 1) that even pre-dates the oldest structures in the town.

The waqf practice in STZ is perhaps the most synergistic in the world of awqaf. Nowhere else awqaf seem to be endowed and its traditions shaped by different nationalities and various cultural sects than in the STZ. Ibadhi, Shia and Sunni sects of Islam all had hands in the evolution of waqf here. Additionally, Indian waqf laws were used as precedents in some awqaf court cases during the British era (ZNA, HD 10/37) representing an intercontinental influence in the administration of STZ waqf.

The waqf had considerably impacted awqaf development in the neighboring East African territories of Mombasa (Kenya) and Tanganyika (now Tanzania).

While waqf jurists in Mombasa used to refer to its cases, Tanganyika actually drafted a waqf memorandum based on that of Zanzibar (ZNA, HD 10/37). In short, STZ waqf was shaped by different external influences and in turn influenced several others.

Early awqaf in the town were mosques. Historic study affirms endowing mosques started circa the 17 th c. and was certainly strengthened with the settlement in the 19 th century. Of the 51 mosques now found in the town, 2 were of the 17 th century, 42 were constructed in the 19 th century, and the remaining built in the 20 th c. (Sheriff, 1999). Thus, with the exception of few mosques Sheriff (1999) describes mosque endowments to have proliferated in every quarter of the town and was motivated by an Islamic tradition that "a person who builds a mosque, God will build him a home in paradise". This should have triggered several individuals to endow mosques that today are celebrated as world heritage. Considering the position of mosques in Islam and their age in the town, it would be wise for this study on conservation in waqf to use mosques as its point of departure.

There should definitely be means of maintaining these mosques. One of the sources of maintenance to these early endowments is probably funds from the endowers\* 7 . Majority endowers were wealthy merchants of the 19th c., some were also land owners. This suggests adequate funds were available to look after the mosques. Land (shamba) was also endowed as waqf (Fig. ??) and was probably one of the means of finance for the maintenance of some mosques especially in the first half of the 19th century when relatively few lucrative stone buildings\* 8 covered less than half of the town's area. Land situated on the other side of the STZ (Ng'ambo) was almost waqf of these merchants who had their mansion in stone town. As the town developed, buildings themselves were made waqf to Box 2 Sample of a typical waqf deed from ZNA (source: Deed No. 304 of 18 th January, 1937) ? (Name) dedicates as waqf his shamba (land) at ? which is bounded on the North by?, on the South by?, on the West by?, and on the East by? The shamba contains ? (number) trees including the house built of ? (structural material) and covered with ? (roofing material) sheets. The shamba together with their boundaries, rights and whatever is connected therewith are an accomplished wakf in favor of his ? (beneficiaries' name) and their children and grand children and their posterities, one generation after another and that the first generation is entitled to enjoy the wakf before the second one and so forth ?, it is for the benefit of poor, the children of his paternal uncles and aunts ? should be continued in all the generations and on their death it is for the benefit of poor Moslem of ? tribe ? who have to enjoy the income of the wakf and also to live therein after making provision of the upkeep of the property so that it should remain in good condition until on the resurrection day. The dedicator has appointed himself as a trustee during his life time and after him, his executors ? until the wakf revert to poor Moslems of ?tribe when the General Trustee should be a trustee. The executors are entitled to 10% out of the income of the wakf during their life time being their remuneration. It is a valid wakf and lawful and which is neither to be sold, mortgaged, gifted nor inherited until God inherits the Earth ? Dated this day of ? Name and signature of waqif ? Witnessed by ? support family progeny and mosque upkeep. And as Fig. ?? shows the waqf land also expanded.

Waqf in the STZ passed through the influence of Omani Arab Sultanate, the British hegemony, and later a post-colonial government. The Sultanate was favorable to waqf practice but the British influence was rather turbulent and disturbing when it was attempting to remodel its traditions (Oberauer, 2008). On the other hand, the post-colonial government was messed-up with mismanagement of the a waqf. However, waqf largely managed to resist many of these influences and eventually preserved its rudiments.

Figure ?? : The 19 th c. land awqaf on the other side of the STZ (source: Adopted from Myers (1999))  
VI.

## 5 Waqf, Heritage and Conservation

a) The link between waqf and built heritage conservation

Back to the tradition in Box 1, there are two significant scenarios that may enlighten our understanding of waqf in relation to property conservation; its requirement to keep the property intact, and the need for an administrator. The interest of the present paper is in the former in which a prolonged existence of a property is envisaged. In fact, lengthening property life is the key objective of any conservation project. Conservation in waqf system is found to be an automated secondary aim resulting from financing social welfare, the primary concern of the tradition (Fig. 3). But, the primary concern cannot be sustained if the secondary aim of preserving the property is not carried out. Thus, the importance of the secondary aim logically outweighs that of the primary. And this is perhaps why the tradition did not take for granted protection; instead it clearly stipulates that it should be carried out.

## 6 Global Journal of Human Social Science

Analysis of waqf deeds from ZNA and WTC reveals two forms of endowments that assisted to build the waqf-conservation framework in Fig. 3. The first is an asset (building/land) itself set as waqf to generate income for a certain social function, of which part is used for its upkeep. Second is an asset (building/land) set as waqf to provide income for the upkeep of another property, such as public facility, while part of it is retained to maintain the asset. Maintaining awqaf in the first place was found to be a pre-requisite set by all waqif. In no circumstance was a waqif recorded to skip such a stipulation in all waqf deeds scrutinized. The building assets and the facilities continue to be maintained through the system, and as time passes by they become heritage of which their conservation still depend on the same system. Hence, waqf can be explained as a heritage and conservation inherent tradition.

## 7 b) Local waqf-conservation movement

At times, rental income of some awqaf yielded surplus funds. But, owing to the presence of several schools of Islamic jurisprudence in the evolution and development of waqf tradition in STZ, jurists differed over the way the surplus amount should be spent. Spending an amount on other purpose than that endorsed by the waqif was particularly debated.

Nevertheless, a later precedent established that income from one waqf may be spent on another, provided it is for charitable purpose (ZNA, HD10/7). This precedent was significant because several awqaf buildings were falling out of repair due to insufficient income. A cross financing mechanism between the awqaf was then made possible and records show a number of such properties received maintenance fund from the wealthy awqaf (ZNA, AB 34/1; HD 10/85). Such an arrangement defines the co-operate conservation efforts of the individually endowed awqaf and perhaps created a local conservation movement unconsciously.

## 8 c) International waqf-conservation movement

The property conservation co-operation was not limited to the STZ locality. It extended across several nations. The files contain records of waqf funds used to repair pilgrims' lodging house in the city of Mecca in 1934 (ZNA, HD 5/66). A mosque in Cutch Madvi, India also benefited for its upkeep from income of a house in the STZ (ZNA, HD 4/67). Similarly, a mosque waqf at Shangani in the Stone Town is said to receive income from a share of irrigation scheme in Oman (Sheriff, 1999).

The most striking result to emerge from this movement is that, the international conservation activities in waqf pre-dates the global conservation charter, the Athens Charter\* 9 of 1931. And it is learned from history of conservation that UNESCO's first convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was enacted in 1972 to laud the notion of heritage as for all humanity, just found embodied in waqf practice long ago. d) Waqf tradition and building longevity Waqf highly inspires property permanence, longevity and at the far end its perpetuity. In other words it instigates preservation. When the waqf deed in Box 1 is further examined, the waqif provided a perpetual declaration on the property by stating that, "the property should neither be sold, mortgaged, gifted or inherited". And phrases like "until the resurrection day" and "until God inherits the earth" often accompany the declaration to insist on the property eternity. These strict and explicit terms were definitely intended for waqf longevity. They try to leave no room for disposal or alienation of waqf. Moreover, waqf deeds usually go into details about who should be responsible to oversee the waqf management and once s/he dies who would be the next manager. A well defined management is in place to ensure the property does not fall into tampered hands that would eventually cut off its longevity. In short, these stipulations may be summed up to a maxim that "once waqf, always waqf" and in conservation terms, one may refer it to "once reserved, should be preserved". Intentions and realities however, do sometimes mismatch. The waqif cannot utterly foresee everything in the uncertain future with regards to execution of his strict stipulations. Although the waqif insists on no alienation of the waqf, in some situations this proved difficult to abide. In 1947 sale of property was permitted by Muslim jurists after the British administration unilaterally sold several houses on grounds of accessibility (ZNA, AB 34/32), dilapidated condition, and low income (ZNA, HD 3/21). Jurists initially objected the sale presumably to control tampered alienation of waqf by the British. In fact the sale is allowed, but with replacement, under very strict criteria of the Sunni waqf philosophy known as *istibdal*. Maghniyyah (1988) mentions these criteria as: 1) where the waqif stipulates its sale at the time of creation of waqf; 2) where the waqf is a movable property and is considered unfit for its prescribed purpose; 3) an immovable property will be sold for the expansion of public services such road, cemetery, etc. Maghniyyah further stresses that the sale is not permitted in any way out of these even if it lies in ruins and is not being utilized for any purpose. No waqif in the STZ was found to set the first criterion and all awqaf that the British sold did not qualify for the criteria, hence invalidate their sale grounds.

The perpetual concept in waqf is underpinned by the fact that the property and its associated surroundings have to be fixed to ensure its permanence, and so longevity. Thus, a waqf of building erected on non-waqf land is considered invalid\* 10 (ZNA, HD 10/7). But, the records show that one can dedicate his/her e) "Reconstruction" concept in waqf The rules regarding sale of waqf tried to maintain strictness while introducing some sort of flexibility. Besides, they aspired to prevent sale by restricting situations under which the sale should be allowed. This is useful because many awqaf are real estate properties. They are attractive to the lucrative estate market.

---

If the sale is not restricted several properties could be tampered to that end. Following the rules, the British colonial government was politically sympathetic that it replaced some of the sold houses with newly bought properties to be administered according to those sold (ZNA, HD 10/58). The British could have achieved the same if a new building is constructed instead. The replacement gave rise to a new waqf rule of substituting a sold waqf in the STZ, though already in the istibdal. Despite the fact that the sold awqaf were replaced by ones bought elsewhere, a general conservation idea arising from this option is that of a "recreation" of, or make up for a lost heritage which roughly corresponds to "reconstruction" in the world conservation concepts. As well, an interesting correlation emerges here with regards to the number of awqaf. With time, awqaf should not decrease in number.

Instead, they should either increase or remain the same. Recreation idea might be useful in international conservation discourse. Reconstruction concept is a relatively new phenomenon which is currently under controversial discussion. Such discussion is going on in, among other countries, Japan and the United States as a response to a complete replacement of demolished historic heritages in these countries ??Lambiasi, 2008). According to Lambiasi, it is still unclear whether replacement of entire building by new construction should be termed "reconstruction" because the current discourse regards, reconstruction as recreation of nonexisting portions of an existing property.

When we contemplate on waqf practice in the STZ, reconstruction of a complete building may be considered in the discourse. Further, the location of the reconstruction can be debated as to whether such reconstruction should take place on the same site, with in the same district, or elsewhere in the country. Waqf rules suggest a reconstruction on the same site, contrary to what the British government did. The reason for this is logical. It was shown in section 6.4 above that buildings dedicated as waqf have to be on land which is also waqf. Additionally, when a building collapses the land cannot be used for other purpose than that of waqf.

Else, if reconstruction has to take place on site other than the previous waqf land, then the site should first be made waqf.

## f) Authentic preservation issue in waqf

A building survey in 1993 by Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) reported a relatively unsatisfactory condition of waqf buildings. Nevertheless, the waqf case is not exceptional. Majority of heritage buildings from other owners are also in deteriorating condition due to neglect (Fig. 4). In fact, waqf has managed to conserve more than other owners and in rather authentic way. Fig. 4 shows waqf had 2% of its buildings in ruins, 0.6% newunder construction, and 0.3% emptied plots. Therefore, it has lost 2.9% of its buildings. In comparison, private ownership, the largest landlord in the STZ had 1.7% of its building stock as ruins, 4% newly developed sites, and 1.4% emptied plots. Thus, it has lost 7.1% of its buildings in the 1993 counts; more than double that of waqf.

The relatively high percentage of good buildings from the private ownership come from business motivated renovations and adaptations to tourist facilities that started since 1980's. Large number of these renovations was found to be radical to the buildings. As well, the buildings are extended unlawfully and demolished unnecessarily. They are also associated with most ongoing new constructions (Khalfan & Ogura, 2010).

The 1993 survey showed 4% (45 structures) of buildings in private ownership being newly constructed and some 16 (1.4%) cleared (likely to have attracted new constructions). Further, among 98 buildings reported as radically altered, 72 come from private owners, 6 from waqf, and the remaining 20 belong to other ownership. Coincidentally, Khalfan & Ogura (2010) found additional 72 new structures from private developments were erected between 1993 and 2009. Therefore, private properties disappear at a higher rate compared to that of waqf. One major reason that kept waqf buildings far from such effects is that, tourist facilities in the STZ often involve activities that are regarded unlawful to such religiously owned buildings.

In this way, waqf can achieve authentic preservation of its buildings better. It was observed that the original functions of most waqf buildings have remained the same, so is the structural integrity and no less the materials.

Volume XIV Issue III Version I

## 10 Conclusion

This paper set out to link building conservation with an Islamic endowment tradition, known as waqf.

Over the centuries, the history of this tradition is turbulent but its ability to withstand external effects is remarkable. The result of preservation of its built heritage today is a result of waqf's ability to survive without its rudiments undermined. The genius of waqf tradition lies in its rigorous interaction with the society and the means of securing funds for property upkeep in addition to its universality. Properties such as land and buildings are used to generate waqf income to financially support waqf beneficiaries and provide funds for the upkeep. In so doing, waqf created a sort of dependency that certainly makes its beneficiaries to pay attention to. And in order for the benefits to continue, the source of the benefits should stay intact. It is through this simple logic that waqf properties are preserved. Therefore, according to waqf the preservation might be sustainable, if it comes out as a byproduct of something else desirable.

The preservation of waqf building heritage in the STZ and elsewhere should be credited to its highly incredible philosophy of longevity. There are hardly gaps for property disposal. The longevity is based on strict yet flexible

rules supporting stability and permanence. Waqf buildings in the STZ have almost retained their ownership and their number has not decreased due to temptation but rather through neglect, common to most buildings in the town. This has contributed so much to their stability and permanence. Property permanence paves way for its longevity, hence its preservation. The ideas arising from this study are useful and could be used as a model to enrich today's conservation practice. It is surprising for a tradition like this to yield such interesting results. There is certainly an invitation to the conservation society to look back to traditional systems for inspirations. waqf and heritage, perhaps one of the first (if not the first). It is a short article explaining the way waqf was used to manage cultural heritage in Palestine. The author mentions that waqf could be developed and adopted as a sustainable management tool but did not give the details of how such sustainability could be achieved. Besides, it deals with managerial aspects and has not explored the technical aspects on the way conservation of cultural heritages may be achieved through the waqf; the major distinction between this article and the present study.

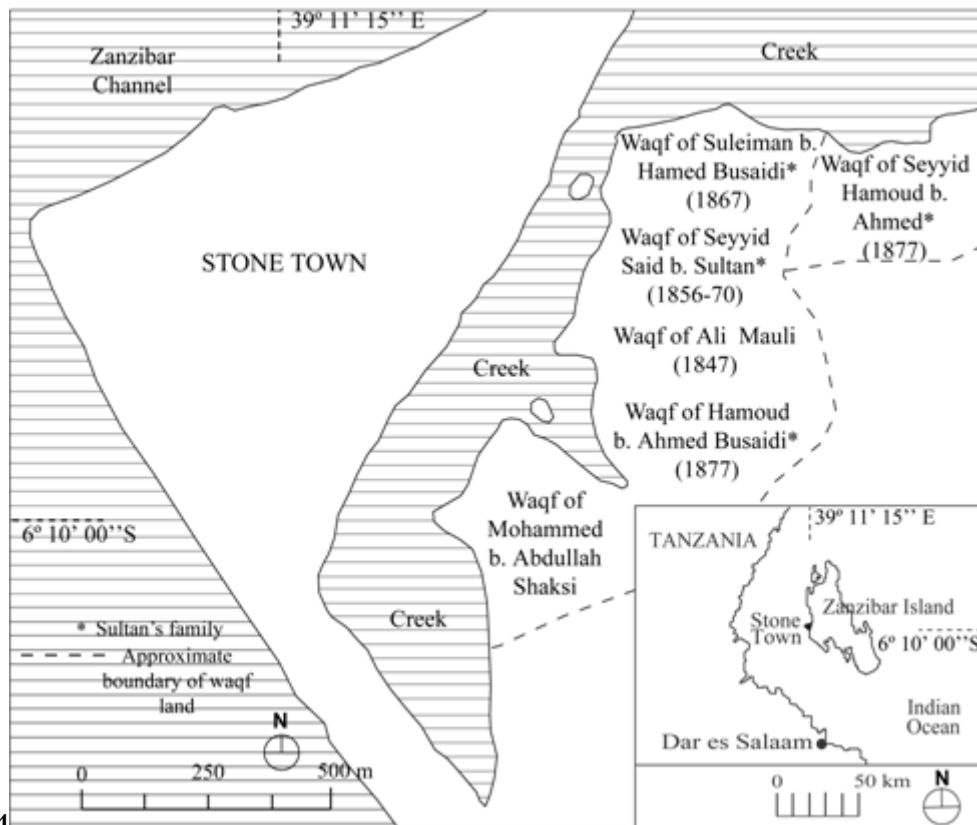


Figure 1: Figure 1 :



3

Figure 2: Figure 3 :



4

Figure 3: Figure 4 :

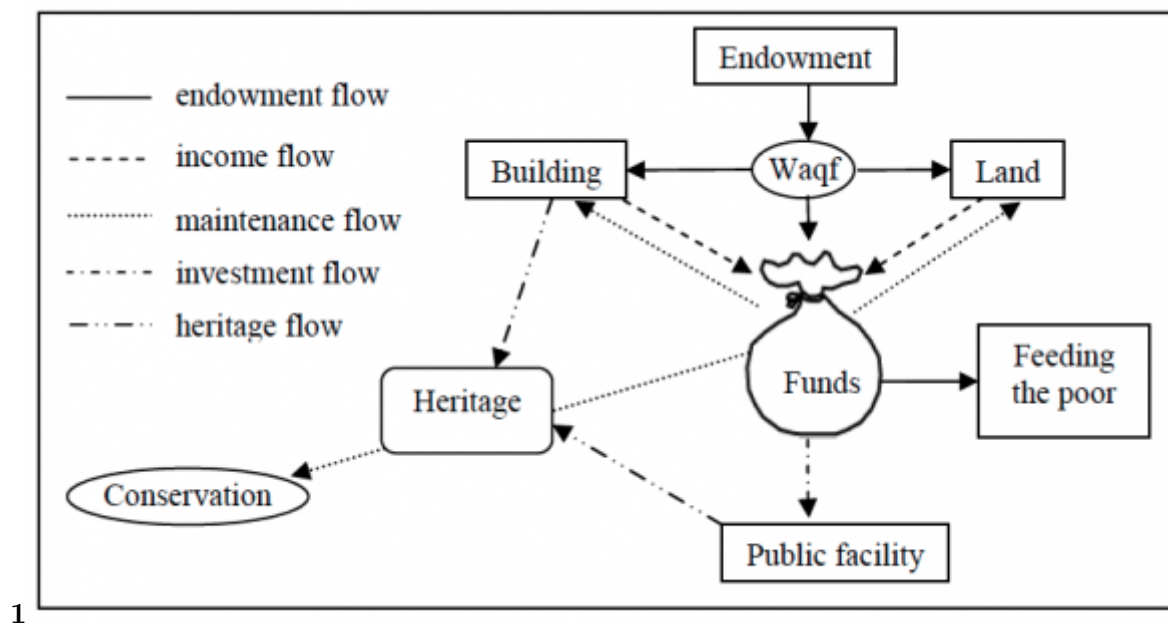


Figure 4: 1 .

IV.

Waqf  
in  
Con-  
text

a) Background history

Waqf can be explained as an endowment carried out voluntarily by individuals who dedicate their property as everlasting charity. In Islamic law, waqf means to give a property a new legal status that has religious associations. Endowing awqaf is said to be an original Islamic tradition (Hennigan, 2004) dating back to 1,400 years ago. Muslim jurists refer waqf origin to different traditions of their Prophet. One of these traditions\* 4 (Box 1) is imperative for understanding of this paper. It sets out terms and conditions for a waqf. The tradition in Box 1 reveals waqf as a practice

Figure 5: ?

Figure 6:



- 
- 295 [Jokilehto ()] *A History of Architectural Conservation*, J Jokilehto . 1999. Butterworth & Heinemann, Oxford.
- 296 [Lambiasi ()] ‘Authenticity -The Mitsubishi Ichigokan Reconstruction: History or Illusion?’. J Lambiasi . *Journal*
- 297 *of Architecture and Building Science* 2010. Architectural Institute of Japan. 125 (1598) p. .
- 298 [Oberauer ()] *Fantastic Charities: The Transformation of Waqf Practice in Colonial Zanzibar*, N Oberauer .
- 299 2008. Islamic Law and Society. 15 p. .
- 300 [Hanafi Legal Discourse and Peters Bernard (ed.) ()] Hanafi Legal Discourse . *Studies in Islamic Law and*
- 301 *Society*, R Peters, W Bernard (ed.) (Boston) 2004. Brill. 18.
- 302 [Hennigan] P C Hennigan . *The Birth of a Legal Institution -The Formation of the Waqf in Third-Century A.H*,
- 303 [Khalfan and Ogura (2010)] ‘Influence of Outsourced Finance on Conservation of Built Heritage in a Developing
- 304 Country -The Case of stone town of Zanzibar, Tanzania’. K A Khalfan , N Ogura . *Journal of Architecture*
- 305 *& Planning* Oct., 2010. 75 (656) p. . (AIJ)
- 306 [Assi ()] ‘Islamic Waqf and Management of Cultural Heritage in Palestine’. E Assi . *International Journal of*
- 307 *Heritage Studies* 2008. 14 (4) p. .
- 308 [Fair ()] *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar*, L Fair .
- 309 2003. Oxford: James Currey. p. .
- 310 [Myers ()] *Reconstructing Ng’ambo: Town Planning and Development on the Other Side of Zanzibar*, G Myers .
- 311 1993. University College Los Angeles, California. (Unpublished PhD thesis)
- 312 [Sheriff ()] ‘The History & Conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town, The Department of Archives, Museums &
- 313 Antiquities -Zanzibar’. A Sheriff . *Mosques, Merchants & Landowners in Zanzibar Stone Town*, A Sheriff (ed.)
- 314 1999. p. . James Currey-London, Ohio University Press -Athens
- 315 [Juma (1990)] *The Zanzibar Town: Continuity of Urban Tradition*, A M Juma . 19-20 November, 1990. (Paper
- 316 presented to the Zanzibar Stone Town Workshop)
- 317 [Maghniyyah ()] ‘Waqf according to five schools of Islamic law’. A M J Maghniyyah . *Al-Tawhid* 1988. 7 (4) p. .