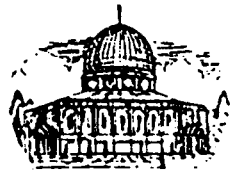
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

University of Jordan  Yarmouk University

The Third International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Palestine 19-24 April 1980

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Contents

Preface

The idea of holding an international conference which will inaugurate a scientific and systematic study of the history of Bilad al-Sham was born in the University of Jordan in 1973. The idea immediately received the support of H.R.H the Crown Prince Hassan ibn Talal, who graciously accepted the presidency of the Higher Committee for the History of Bilad al-Sham and followed up the work of the committee with patronising care and encouragement.

The first conference was held in the University of Jordan on 20-25 April 1974, and was attended by more than 70 eminent historians and researchers from 23 countries from all over the world.

The conference theme was the history and civilization of Bilad al-Sham from the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D. down to the seventeenth century.

After the success of the first conference, the University of Damascus united its efforts with the University of Jordan in the preparation for future Bilad al-Sham conferences.

Thanks to this co-operation the Second International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham was hosted by the University of Damascus from 27 Nov. to 3 Dec. 1978. The theme of the second conference was "Bilad al-Sham from the beginning of the Ottoman period (1516) until the outbreak of the Second World War (1939)".

Having undertaken a broad and general study of the history of Bilad al-Sham in the first two conferences the third conference was dedicated to "the history, archeology and civilization of Palestine from the dawn of history down to the present day".

The holding of such a conference was made imperative in view of the special circumstances of Palestine, a region of Bilad al-Sham which was the target of a Zinonist-imperialist invasion which subjugated Palestine to an alien power, subjected its people to oppression and persecution, distorted its history and civilization and obliterated many of the vestiges of its cultural past.

The third conference was attended by 138 scientists and researchers representing 19 countries and 62 scientific institutions.

In order to facilitate the work of the conference and enable the participants to discuss all papers submitted, the conference was divided into four committees dealing with various fields.

After the conference a standing "Committee on the History of Bilad al-Sham" was formed. The committee was entrusted with the follow- up and preparation for

conferences on the history of Bilad al-Sham. An off-shoot of the standing committee was the "Editorial and Publication Committee". Members of this subcommittee revised the papers of the conference and prepared them for publication. But the subcommittee did not seek absolute consistency in view of the fact that the contributors belong to different backgrounds and use different methodologies.

In the transliteration of Arabic Words, the subcommittee has generally used the Encyclopedia of Islam's style with some obvious modifications.

The Editorial and Publication Committee now takes pleasure in presenting to the reader six volumes containing the papers of the conference. These volumes have been arranged in three categories:

- Papers on Jerusalem (vol. I Arabic, vol. I non- Arabic)
- Papers on Civilisation (vol. II Arabic, vol.II non-Arabic)
- Papers relating to the history and archeology of Palestine (vol. III Arabic, vol. III non-Arabic)

Among the recommendations adopted by the conference were the following:

a) Compilation of bibliograhies of dissertations, manuscripts and printed books relating to Palestine.
b) Collection of documents and manuscripts on the History of Bilad al-Sham in libraries and documentation centres, and the establishment of a specialized library on Jerusalem.
c) Translation of books on Palestine from and into Arabic (especially materials published in the Occupied Territory).
d) Publication of original books on Palestine.
e) The holding of specialized seminars as well as conferences on Bilad al-Sham.

It is hoped that the recommendations of the conference will receive the attention of historians and scholars. We are sure that the fulfillment of these recommendations will be of major importance for writing a comprehensive and authoritative history of Palestine.

Editorial and Publication Committee

RECOMMENDATIONS

Under the Gracious Patronage of His Majesty the King and the Chairmanship of His Royal Highness Prince al-Hassan bin Talal, and at the invitation of the Universities of Jordan, Yarmouk and Damascus, the Third International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham was held at the University of Jordan between 4 to 9 Jumada II 1400 A.H., 19-24 April 1980.

The central theme of the Confrerence was Palestine"Filastin", being an integral part of Bilad al-Sham. One hundred twenty scholars, from twenty countries and thirty nine Universities participated in the conference. They offered papers which dealt with various aspects of the political, demographical, economical and cultural history of Palestine through the ages; and they also held side meetings supplementing and complimenting the presentation of the papers and the discussions which proved valuable for the clarification of other aspects of the topics presented in the formal sessions of the conference.

It can be said that on the whole the papers helped in bringing to light aspects hitherto little known, in putting the record straight on matters previously subject to misjudgment and misconcept, and therefore project with full objectivity the role of Palestine in the history of the region and with in the Arab Islamic cilvilization.

The participants also saw it fit to propose the following recommendations:

1. That the competent centres of documentation and studies in the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan build up complete collections of documentary and manuscript material relating to the history of Bilad al-Sham in general and Palestine in particular, and establish library holdings covering all material revelant to Jerusalem in foreign and Local archives and collections.
2. That bibliographical lists be compiled containing the titles of all dissertations written about Palestine in Arab and foreign Universities, and that efforts be made to publish such of them as might be fit for publication. Also that other lists be compiled covering books and studies on the history of Palestine published in the Arab world and outside, and that lists of manuscript material relating to Palestine be made for the facilitating of the photographic reproduction of such material and the deposition there of in the centres of documentation and studies (as envisaged in item 1 above).
3. That valuable works and studies written about Palestine be translated from foreign languages into Arabic and vice versa, and that due attention be given to the part played by the academic institutions in the Occupied Regions in the area of field work, with the purpose of the preservation of the Arab and Islamic heritage of Palestine and safeguarding it against distortion, misrepensentation or disintegration.
4. That studies about Palestine be supported and that such studies as prove original and useful in the advancement of historical research be published. (The participants might care here to single out with mention the work on the

madrasas of al-Kuds and the study on Gaza both of which were presented by two scholars participating in this conference).

5. That maps of Jerusalem "al-Kuds" and Palestine be circulated to academic centers in the Arab world and abroad either as single sheets or, at a later stage in comprehensive atlasses.
6. That the full text of the lecture on Israeli settlements in the West Bank presented by the Chairman of the Conference be published in a number of living languages along with the full illustrative material and be given the widest possible circulation.
6. That specialised symposia, seminars and colloquia dealing with particular themes in the history of Bilad al-Sham be held along with the continuation of holding the general conference. Such specialzed meetings might prepare for the next conference, decide its nature, theme and venue, and also try to make up for the gaps left out in the themes of the three previous meetings.
8. That fruitful cooperations between universities and other academic institutions in the Arab World and also between them and the centres of Oriental studies in the rest of the world in the field of the history of Bilad al-Sham be encouraged, and that an attempt be made to establish a representative board of such universities for the supervision and follow up of such cooperation.
9. That presentation be made to the competent authorities and organisations for the repair and maintenance of the archaeological monuments and sites (particularly madrasas) in al-Kuds in order to preserve their distinct character.
10. That a fund be established to insure financial support for projects and studies related to Palestine and the "Palestine question" and for various other activities arising from the conferences.
11. That a committee be formed to look into these recommendations and to implement such recommendation as prove feasible to implement; and that this committee be charged with the editing of the papers presented at the Third Conference and the publication of such papers as are properly edited and documented, and that this committee review at the beginning of the next conference the outcome of its efforts in the implementation of the recommendations.
12. That these recommendations be rendered into English in order to have them circulated to non-Arabic speaking scholars and foreign learned journals.

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Of
The Thirf International Conference
On Bilad al-Sham:
Palestine
19-24 April 1980

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JERUSALEM
IN MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

George N. Atiyeh

Sacred to mankind, Jerusalem in its forty, perhaps fifty, centuries of existence has occupied a unique place in human history. Perhaps more than any other place on earth, Jerusalem has stirred the passions of mankind for as long as history has been recorded, inspiring thinkers, poets, prophets, saints and last but not least warriors and politicians. I plan in the following essay to scan the pages of history in search of the role that the idea of Jerusalem as the City of God has played in the development of Christian eschatological thought during the Middle Ages, particularly as it was reflected in the works of Dante Alighieri and other great writers and thinkers of that period. However, it is important in order to understand the place of Jerusalem in the World scheme set up by Dante Alighieri, on whose **Divine Comedy** we shall focus our attention, to consider the early Christian thinking on Jerusalem as a symbol of new and heavenly things.

In the Old Testament, Jerusalem is presented as the place where God chose to establish his special relationship with the Jewish people (Psalms 78:68ff).[1] They could find fellowship with Him in prayer, praise and sacrifice in the Temple. God's presence there made the city holy. The holiness of the place derives, according to Joel (4:17) from Jehovah's dwelling in Zion, the holy mountain. The trends of thought generated from the concept of God's presence in Jerusalem centered around the nature of His presence. Are we to understand His presence in Jerusalem as physical or spiritual? Does God physically reside in the temple or does He reside there in a spiritual manner? Is not God's nature and essence spiritual and non-material? Should we not then understand His presence as a spiritual one to effect revelation and redemption for the whole of mankind and not for one nation? .

In the prophetic tradition, the dwelling of God is understood as a spiritual one. Yet, in spite of the expressed manner in which Jerusalem was called The Holy City, an element of imperfection remained. The Hebrew prophets looked to a future for the revelation of the holy city where God will dwell with his redeemed people in perfect harmony. The Christian religion building on this prophetic tradition distinguished emphatically between an earthly, a heavenly, and a new Jerusalem. Christianity, believing it to be the fulfillment of the Prophets used the symbolism of Jerusalem to point out its new message and new approach to salvation. But how does the Christian concept of Jerusalem, heavenly Jerusalem and new Jerusalem develop and what are its characteristics?

In the New Testament, Jerusalem is basically associated with the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus (Acts 2:4-13). It is not a loose association, but one in which the two become inseparable. The Synoptic gospels, that is the first three gospels in the New Testament, contain various passages that give Jerusalem a central place in the history of the Messianic suffering and death. Especially in the passages recording and explaining the resolution of Jesus to go to Jerusalem to suffer and die, we encounter the note of purpose, compulsion, and urgency that the Messianic suffering and death must be accomplished specifically at Jerusalem. In Luke's narrative in particular, Jerusalem assumes a decisive importance as the destination of Jesus' last journey and as the necessary place where Christ's death is to take place (chapters 9:51 through 19:44). Luke seems in "Travel Narrative" to be more keenly interested in the theological implications than in geographical reporting. He seems to have composed the "Travel Narrative" to describe how Jesus started on the road to Jerusalem with clear understanding that His mission included suffering, death, and resurrection. The road to Jerusalem was Christ's path of suffering and at the same time the accomplishment of His redemptive mission. Therefore the significance of the geography was in its theological implications. It was a matter of great significance where Jesus suffered, died, was buried, and rose again. His sacrifice made sense and was effective only in Jerusalem (Mark 10:33f). By going to Jerusalem, Jesus was fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament and ushering the new kingdom, the Kingdom of the promised Messiah. There, at Jerusalem the center of Old Testament Jewish faith, He confronted the two theocratic institutions: the Priests as functionaries of the cult (Luke 19:45ff), and the Scribes as keepers of the Mosaic Tradition (Matthew 23:37ff). Paradoxically, Jesus laments at the end of His journey that the Holy City, beloved by God and favored with the Messianic visitation was on the brink of disaster, for she would not recognize Him. Because of her sin in failing to recongnize the presence of the Messianic salvation in Jesus Christ, the earthly city has been rejected, man's hope for salvation should no longer be fixed on this earthly city or any other earthly city for the Kingdom of God is not of this world. There is a heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God, where Jesus sits as the mediator of a new covenant (Hebrews 12:22-25), where there is no temple (Revelation 21:22). The Lord God the Almighty is its temple and God fills the whole Universe, the world and man are the temple, God's house is without bounds. Obviously this last idea of man's heart being the temple of God takes us away from the notion that earthly Jerusalem or the Temple are shadows or at best counterparts of the heavenly city, and introduces the idea of an intimate and individual relationship with God. The Kingdom of God, although not of this world, may nevertheless be established in this world in the hearts of men.

The new emphasis on the heavenly city and the spirituality of the Divine presence in man brought forth the salient feature of the Christian concepts of universalism and freedom. As a place of prayer the physical temple itself does not offer anything to God, consequently it should be open and welcome to all men in whose hearts God

may reside. It is his faith and not the cult or the adherence to legality that redeems men. Equally by placing the emphasis on the heavenly city, Christianity brought forth a new concept of freedom built on the emancipation from the laws that bind man to the flesh. This concept of freedom is nowhere more clear than in Galatians 4:26 in the form of the allegory of the two women. The two women stand for the two covenants, for two Jerusalems. One is from Mt. Sinai, and brought forth children to slavery, but the second, Jerusalem on high, is freeborn, and it is she who is **the Mother of Christians.** The indication that this heavenly reality has the name Jerusalem simply means that the metaphor of the heavenly spiritual community of fellowship between God and His people came to realization within the religious community of which the earthly Jerusalem was the center. However, one should not understand in this context that geographic Jerusalem is in slavery with her children but it is the old covenant, the old law that is in slavery. Human freedom does not exactly mean independence or self-sufficiency. Real freedom is the work of God who through the holy spirit provides man with his freedom.

Paul the Apostle was perhaps the single most important person to develop and elaborate this concept of Christian freedom. He even couched it in political terms current at his time. The thrust of Paul's thoughts, however, is directed to the heavenly Jerusalem. This Jerusalem of which the Christian is a "citizen" has no man-made foundations, no spacially defined limits. Its builder and architect is God (Hebrews 11:10) and its "citizenship" is won not through birth or naturalization, but through faith. Jewish eschatology, although conceiving of a heavenly Jerusalem, and an earthly Jerusalem which was a copy of the first, remained associated with the Temple and with a national revival. But according to St. Paul, enrollment in the heavenly city is direct and personal. In this heavenly Jerusalem "where the millions of angels have gathered for the festival, with the whole Church in which everyone is a first-born son and a citizen of heaven". The blessed people, the saved ones, live in the most glorious company. However, each saved Christian has his individual citizenship in the heavenly city. His heavenly citizenship stands in contradiction to that of the Jew who finds his governing and binding relation in the earthly city. In addition to heavenly Jerusalem, the book of Revelation (21:11ff) speaks of a new Jerusalem which is actually a metaphorical figure used to describe the bliss of the redeemed community in the presence of God. Revelation refers to this Jerusalem as a holy city "coming down from God out of heaven, as beautiful as a bride all dressed for her husband". In this city, God lives among men and He will wipe away all tears from their eyes, there will be no more death, and no more mourning or sadness. This last thought of a heavenly city which descends to become the new consummation city is distinctively New Testament doctrine.

In sum, Jerusalem of the New Testament is the symbol of the New Covenant, new citizenship, a citizenship that is universal and not national, spiritual and not materially rooted. It is based on faith and provides the individual direct access to

and relationship with his Creator. Heavenly Jerusalem is then seen as the culmination of the Church in its fullest perfection. When the final consummation occurs, heavenly Jerusalem becomes New Jerusalem--the final abode of the blessed.

The above is the theological framework in which Jerusalem, The City of God, the heavenly city was conceived. However, earthly Jerusalem was for most, if not all Christians, no less significant and important. Jerusalem was the seat where redemption took place through the sacrificial drama of Christ's crucifixion. The importance of earthly Jerusalem was not then forsaken for the heavenly one. The headquarters of the organized church, yes, moved to Rome and Constantinople, yet the Christian popular as well as the theological mind kept focusing on the earthly so much that this was one of the major reasons, if not the primary one, for the Crusades.

Shortly after the crucifixion took place, the Romans destroyed the Temple and the rest of Jerusalem. To the Christian, that seemed to be the fulfillment of the Old Testament's prophetic message that earthly Jerusalem is the evil city that kills the messengers of God and will be destroyed because of that and because its inhabitants have not wanted to be gathered (Matthew 23:37ff). The destruction of the Temple gave the Christians reassurance that it was a just retribution for the crucifixion of Jesus. As a result of Jerusalem's fall, Christians definitely cast their lot with the world that lay outside Judaism, a religion which at the time seemed to most of them to have become meaningless.

The rebuilding of Jerusalem by the Romans as Aelia Capitolina did not affect the attitude of the Christians. The early Christians, however, transferred the name of Mt. Zion from the Temple Mount to the hill that is today called Mt. Zion, the place where Jesus had gathered with his disciples at the Last Supper. For a few centuries Jerusalem had only a small number of Christians. Christianity spread all over the Near East and Europe. Antioch and its patriarchate, until it was overshadowed by Rome, was the leading Christian city in the East. But as the years went by, Jerusalem regained more and more importance. By 431 it became a patriarchate and its bishop claimed primacy over the Patriarch of Antioch.

Because it was the place where the redemptive drama of Jesus Christ took place, Jerusalem became the greatest attraction to Christians. Moreover, there soon arose a feeling that the martyrs when suffering for the faith were able to grant a special remission of sins; and gradually it was believed that the spot where a martyrdom had occurred acquired something of the remissory power. Pilgrims from all over began arriving in the city. The first pious guidebook written by Sextus Julius Africanus early in the third Century describes sites in Jerusalem and Palestine mentioned in the Gospels. Enthusiastic churchmen and pilgrims attempted to follow the path of Jesus in the city, among them the Alexandrian philosopher Origen who journeyed to Palestine to "find the vestiges of Jesus, his disciples and prophets."[2]

Through the efforts of these early pilgrims, the Christian sacred places were identified and have since attracted the veneration of the Christian faithful. Together with pilgrims, the idea of collecting relics of Jesus, His disciples and the saints began to get hold. Empress Helena, after the triumph of Christianity as an officially accepted religion, came to Palestine and built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Throughout the following centuries and until the Arab conquest of **Bilad al-Sham** and Egypt, the pilgrim traffic kept a heavy pace. Many of the fathers of the Church, basing their thoughts on the superior importance of a heavenly Jerusalem considered pilgrims and relics of little value, but the popular mind was captivated and driven to venerate Jerusalem and its sites by a combination of devotion and hope. By the time of the first Crusade, Jerusalem had acquired in Europe a legendary and mystical significance, and possessed the strange and unique virtue of being at once a place which really existed on earth and a symbol of the city that existed in heaven. Perhaps, because of the distances in those days, Jerusalem remained a remote spot on the map of the earth where only a few people could go, but Jerusalem as a symbol was in the heart of every faithful monotheist.

An eleventh century clerk, describing the various shrines of Palestine for pilgrims (Itineraria Hierosolymitana), warns his readers that Jerusalem was not exceptionally large and wealthy, it was just a town like any other. But it was not the geography which inspired the Crusaders in their vocation and made the crowds cry out, "God wills it". Zoe Oldenburg in her famous work on the Crusades states "If there was an element of collective hysteria behind the phenomenon of the Crusade, it was provoked by an involuntary confusion between the elements of time and eternity, between the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem" (p. 43). By conquering Jerusalem, the Crusaders believed they were in heaven.

When the first Crusades took place, Christianity in the West had suffered many changes. Gregory the Seventh who was pope between 1073 and 1085 had added a new dimension to the idea of **militia Christi** —the warfare of Christ which implied to St. Paul the war against flesh and blood, and to many of the early Christians the spiritual combat of the martyr and monk. Gregory took the critical step of proclaiming that earthly warfare could be a part of the warfare of Christ. He furthermore combined this new dimension with the concept of the remission of sins which amounted, as far as the knights of that time were concerned, to an offer for the remission of sin through the exercise of war. Urban II in his councils stated that if any man sets out from pure devotion to liberate the Church of God at Jerusalem, his Journey shall be reckoned to him in place of all penance.[3]

The knights consequently considered themselves God's vessels. Warriors themselves, they thought of Christ as Warrior, rather than as a shepherd as earlier and later Christians were likely to do; and they thought of themselves as his army. And although they knew they might die in battle, they expected their Lord would

reward their devotion by bringing them to Jerusalem, which Jerusalem most of them neither knew nor cared to know since they had little capacity for differentiating between the Jerusalem at the center of the earth and the new Jerusalem at the center of heaven.

This confusion between earthly and heavenly Jerusalem remained throughout the Crusades. When these ended or were about to end, Dante Alighieri came on the scene of literary and religious Europe. In the following we shall try to lay out and explain his concept and vision of Jerusalem.

The Divine Comedy may be truly considered a summation of medieval thought and life. It is a grandiose monument of the Middle Ages pointing towards the Renaissance. In it one is likely to find a strong reflection of the culture, religion, philosophy, and the art of the period. Medieval Western society with its lofty aspirations, denigrating prejudices and burgeoning scientific knowledge is truthfully reflected. In addition to that, the **Comedy** is a great poem of sin, reparation, redemption and beatitude, symbolizing the allegory of the human soul which from error and ignorance can reach the highest degree of perfection--contemplation of God.

Divided into three canticas, **The Divine Comedy** is projected against the background of the World of the Beyond. Following the Christian Catholic belief in Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, the poet grafted three Kingdoms in accordance with the belief and based them on the Ptolemaic system. Hell is an enormous conic-shaped chasm, wedged in the Northern Hemisphere between Jerusalem, one of the fixed points of Dante's world and the center of the earth. Purgatory has the form of a very high mountain situated in the Southern Hemisphere where, according to tradition, the Earthly Paradise was believed to have been located. Paradise is circular in shape and is formed by celestial spheres of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, all of which enclose Hell and Purgatory in their circular motion. The Starry Heaven, the Crystaline Heaven and the Empyrean are placed horizontally over them. Here the spirits of the blessed are visible, and divine harmonies fill the air.

Dante's poem is a vast tale in which an imaginary journey through the three Kingdoms of the Beyond is dramatically related. It is an allegory of mankind's journey, as by its merits and demerits it accrues for itself the rewards or punishment of Justice, Hell is the reflection of the world of nature with all the tendencies that lead man to evil and perdition. Purgatory is the world of purification. Paradise is the world of freedom as a means of reaching perfect happiness in God. The central and essential theme developed is therefore the passing of man, represented by Dante, from the state of pure instinct and sin to that of one who feels the impact of spiritual and intellectual values culminating in the greatest of man's activities--the contemplation of God achieved by love and faith.

The cultural influences in the **Comedy** are many and deep: classical literature, philosophy, the sciences and literatures of the Arabs and Muslims, and especially the Bible and the Catholic Church. It is surprising, therefore, to find that many aspects of the Paradise as Dante depicts them are based not only on Paul's concept of Heavenly Jerusalem and John's New Jerusalem, but also the various religious and cultural influences of his era.

Dante mentions Jerusalem only a few times. However, Earthly Jerusalem is a fixed and most conspicuous point in his geographic scheme of the World. The first mention is made in **Inferno,** Canto 34, v. 114, as the poet and his guide Virgil pass the center of the earth which is the center of gravity. At that point they begin climbing and Lucifer appears to them upside down. An hour or so later the time changes from Friday evening to Saturday morning. Dante wants to know why Satan appears upside down now and how is it that having started their descent of Satan in the early evening, they have after one hour and a half of climbing arrived at the following morning. Virgil explains that having passed the Center, they are now in the Southern Hemishpere, so that "up" and "down" are reversed, and second they are now going by southern time, so that day and night are reversed. Purgatory stands on the opposite meridian to Jerusalem; therefore Purgatory time is 12 hours behind Jerusalem time. However, more important than the location is the way Dante refers to Jerusalem as the place under whose meridian He (Jesus) came to die. The centrality of Jerusalem is then not physical but religious. It is the place where according to Christianity redemption took place. The fact that Jerusalem was considered the navel or center of the earth was not, as we have seen, novel with Dante. But Dante is reflecting herein the physical and spiritual centrality of Jerusalem to the Christian faith. If we are to accept this interpretation, the focality of Jerusalem refutes the claims of those scholars who maintain that in the Middle Ages and at other times Bethlehem, and not Jerusalem, was and is the most important city in the Christian geography of holiness.

In the **Purgatory,** Jerusalem is mentioned four times in Cantos II, 3; IV, 68; XXIII, 29; and XXVII, 2. In Canto II, Dante only describes how, when it is sunset at Jerusalem (in the Northern Hemisphere where the dry land exists) it is sunrise in Purgatory at the antipodes. The Ganges in India is taken as lying on the eastern horizon of Jerusalem, and the Pillars of Hercules on the Western. In Canto IV again Jerusalem (Zion) is mentioned as being at the exact antipodes of the Purgatory. In Canto XXIII, Jerusalem is mentioned in relation with the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and the famine in the city was so great that a Jewess called Miriam killed and ate her own child. In Canto XXVII, Jerusalem is referred to as "The City where his Maker shed His blood". However, the most direct reference to heavenly Jerusalem comes in **Paradise,** Canto XXV, 56:

> Hence, leave to come from Egypt he has won
> To see Jerusalem, though many a year
> His soldiering on earth has yet to run.

In scripture, Egypt is symbolical of life on earth, Jerusalem of eternal life in heaven. Dante refers to Jerusalem in his other writings, but what is most important is to find out if there is any relationship between his vision of the centrality of earthly Jerusalem and the early Christian concept of new Jerusalem.

The distance in time that separates Dante from St. Paul is wide and is filled by the huge accumulations of doctrines elaborated by the Church during almost thirteen centuries. Dante conceives of heaven in terms of the awards accrued by the Christian culture during the Medieval period. The Empyrean heaven which lies beyond and outside of all the other heavens is an incorporeal and motionless heaven, where neither time nor place, but light (**Paradiso** XXIII, 106-20; XXX, 39) exists. This is the special abode of God and the resting place of the Saints. The latter are arranged in the form of the petals of a white rose, and gaze upon the beatific vision of God, who is surrounded by the nine orders of the three Angelic Hierarchies. The Empyrean heaven is representative of the Divine Science, in addition to being the abode of God and of the spirits of the blessed. Although Dante has used in his description of the Empyrean heaven physical images, as though to reaffirm the eternal relationship of the physical and the spiritual in the Divine presence, the basic elements in this heaven are eternity and the harmonious union between God and the Blessed ones, the redeemed people. This is exactly the concept of New Jerusalem in which the people of God dwell with Him. One needs to go here into a discussion of the above concepts and their meaning to bring out the similarities between, especially, John's and Dante's visions. However, what we pretend to convey is that the Empyrean heaven in Dante is greatly inspired by the heavenly and new Jerusalems of St. Paul and St. John, added to it the scientific, philosophical and moral teachnings that accumulated during the thirteen centuries that separate Dante from Paul and John. All three portray the place as a dwelling with God in perfect harmony and the eternal knowledge that comes from the beatific vision. The citizenship of which St. Paul speaks is the reality of God's fellowship with the community of the blessed. Both Dante and St. Paul see the essence of existence in the final fellowship of the believer with his God. The Empyrean heaven and the heavenly Jerusalem signify the ultimate in the realm of spiritual fellowship with God, and the realization of fellowship in the dwelling of the blessed community in the presence of God.

In conclusion, the concept of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian thought leads us to a new vision of reality which expresses the complexity of that vision and distinguishes the Jewish from the Christian vision inasmuch as the first was limited in scope whereas the Christian was universal and ushered with it the beginning of a new community of believers, a new **Ecclesia** which is open to all mankind.

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NOTES

1 All biblical references are to **The Jerusalem Bible.**

2 **The Works of Origen** in **Patrologia Graeca** vol. 14, no. 269, commentary on John.

3 Robert Somerville, ed., **Decreta Claromontenria,** Vol. 1 of **The Councils of Urban II (Annuarium historiae Conciliorum, Supplementum)** (Amsterdam: Haddert, 1972), p. 74.

SCHOLARSHIP AND OPPORTUNITY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY JERUSALEM: HASAN AL-QUDSI'S NOTABLES

Karl K. Barbir

How often in our study of Islamic and Near Eastern history do we pause to appreciate one of our most important types of sources —the biographical dictionary? In the course of our work we may take this genre for granted even as we admire its literary merits or marvel at the length of some of its outstanding examples.[1] Yet we should remember that the Islamic biographical dictionary has more to offer than that: it celebrates and aims to sustain the memory of outstanding human beings once very much alive. If we remember this perhaps-obvious fact, and if we have fresh historical questions in mind, the biographpical dictionary offers us a mirror of Islamic society from which we can learn much about an individual in his or her social environment or about a category of such individuals.[2]

In later Ottoman and modern Arab history, one social category has been singled out for special scrutiny by scholars in recent years. Diffuse and hard to define, this category is known as the notables, **a 'yan**, "elite,"or patricians of the provincial cities or towns. Three subgroups of this category have been discerned: the **'ulama'**, local janissary chiefs, and "secular notables" (whose past family history included either state positions or the "control of agricultural production through possession of **malikanes** or supervision of **waqfs**").[3] Towards the end of the Ottoman era, from the later eighteenth century, the notables increased their influence as intermediaries between the Ottoman state and provincial society. They continued to derive their social status through service, whether formal or informal, to the government, and through mobilization of local, primarily urban, public opinion. Intellectually and morally, this status was not, nor had it always been, ideal, for the notables' freedom of action was more or less limited by definition. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of intellectual history, the **'ulama'**—that segment of the notables engaged in scholarship, teaching, and moral influence — acquired still greater significance. In a period of rapid change, as the Ottoman lands began to move into the beginnings of modernization, the **'ulama'**, as had their predecessors, tried to continue to keep alive what Islam was, to interpret what Islamic society stood for. To preserve the soul of that society and to articulate its values by calling attention to outstanding figures who carried on the tradition, they worked through the medium of the biographical dictionary.

Even before the series of crises that confronted the Ottoman lands at the end of the eighteenth century and that prompted the first attempts at modernization, there was a concerted effort by the **'ulama'** to revive the biographical tradition. In Bilad al-Sham, the outstanding figure in this effort was Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi of Damascus, best known for his **Silk al-Durar,** a masterly four-volume collection of biographies of the men of his age. By his example and at his prodding, others took up the same task, most notably 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti in Egypt and 'Umar al-Daghistani in Medina. These collective efforts aimed at preserving the tradition and a sense of historical continuity that for still-unexplored reasons had lapsed. For us today, these efforts offer fascinating insights into Ottoman and Arab society on the eve of modernization and the role of the **'ulama'** in that society.

This essay attempts to inquire into scholarship and opportunity in eighteenth-century Jerusalem as reflected in Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Qudsi's biographical dictionary, **Tarajim rijal al-qarn al-thani 'ashar min ahali Misr wa al-Quds al-Sharif.**[4] Like al-Jabarti and al-Daghistani, al-Qudsi acknowledges Muradi's strong influence and support as the major reason for compiling biographies of outstanding figures in Jerusalem (contrary to the title, no Egyptians are mentioned except as teachers of Jerusalem scholars). The contents of this hardly-consulted work indicate that Jerusalem's **'ulama'** during the eighteenth century struggled to match their values with prevailing social and political conditions. Although the city and region continued to produce and to attract talented scholars, the opportunities available to them in Jerusalem were relatively few. For this reason, scholarly activity and quantity of scholarship did not compare favorably with larger centers of learning such as Damascus, Cairo, the Holy Cities of Arabia, and Istanbul, all of which were of relatively greater importance and prestige in the world of learning and of politics. Thus scholarship continued in Jerusalem but oppportunity was somewhat circumscribed.

Al-Qudsi's biographical dictionary has a number of strengths and weaknesses that require comment before our inquiry can begin. Even a cursory glance at a random selection of entries shows the extent to which the biographical tradition may have fallen into desuetude by al-Qudsi's lifetime, toward the end of the eighteenth century. Much information that normally would be available is missing in this work: in a distressing number of cases, there are no dates of birth or death, no **nisbahs** (biographical subjects' ancestries), no places of origin, no indication of **madhhab** (this is particularly striking), no mention of Sufi orders even when a subject is identified as a Sufi, and no mention of career pattern. While one might be tempted to discard the entire dictionary on these grounds alone, there are countervailing strengths to this work. Firstly, its greatest strength is perhaps the fact that it was written at all. With prodding from Muradi, whom al-Qudsi praises profusely, calling him (f. 41b) "my prop and authority, the **Shaykh al-Islam** .[the ranking scholar of a region, so recognized by consensus.]. this work is written obediently after his model." Secondly, al Qudsi attempts to provide information on a biographical su-

ject's sons and descendants down to his own lifetime and does so perhaps to re-establish the broken links of continuity in his sources of information. For the questions we are asking about scholarship and opportunity, this approach is significant, for we can learn much about the career patterns and statuses of an entire family of **'ulama'**. (For a summary of the contents and the data relied on in this inquiry,see the Appendix).

In order to understand what happened to scholarship and opportunity in Jerusalem, it is necessary to understand their wider setting in both Bilad al-Sham and in the Ottoman lands as a whole. Jerusalem, al-Quds, referred to both the city and the surrounding region, which was a **sanjak** or provincial sub-unit of the province of Damascus during the eighteenth century. In the first half of that century, there was a discernible shift in Ottoman policy toward that province. Partly in order to reassert itself after the series of military defeats in Europe at the end of the seventeenth century (a process culminating in the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699), the Ottoman state reorganized its administrative system in the province of Damascus. It did so by limiting the mobility of Damascus governors while at the same time increasing their authority by granting them more centralized powers: first, governors acquired direct authority **(tasarruf)** over a varying number of **sanjaks** in the province, Jerusalem frequently being one of them; second, governors acquired added responsibility as commanders of the annual pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of Arabia, with all the prestige and political and tax-collection powers that that implied. How did these changes in the political-administrative environment affect the **'ulama'**? As part of one provincial group with considerable moral authority — the notables—they were the objects of the central government's continuing attention. Along with other notables, the **'ulama'** were subjected to three forms of governmental pressure and influence: (1) increased state patronage; (2) encouragement of the gradual ascendancy of the official Ottoman **madhhab,** the Hanafi, at the expense of the local, tradition **madhhab,** the Shafi'i; and (3) in extreme cases, exile and imprisonment of notables regarded as uncooperative.[5] While it would be tempting to see here a direct relationship between Ottoman policy and **'ulama'** status, one would be disappointed, for the state's methods (with the exception of the third) were generally indirect. Jerusalem, after all, remained a major Islamic site, **thani al -Haramayn,** to which numerous visitors and scholars travelled. It lay across a well-used communications route, from Damascus to Cairo. Yet it was not a major city of the empire, it was subsumed under a large province whose capital, Damascus, **was** a major city, politically, strategically, and religiously. One Ottoman document, for example, refers to Damascus as **harem-i râbi'** the fourth Holy Place (respectively after Mecca, Jerusalem, and Medina), possibly indicating an attempt to upgrade Damascus' Islamic status still further as part of the overall Ottoman policy in the province.[6] More concretely, the state increased the number of religious patronage positions in Damascus itself, from 75 in the early eighteenth century to 334 in 1746.[7] The attractiveness, the lure of such patronage was difficult to resist, for in the world

of scholarship the number of official positions available to the increasing numbers of trained individuals was severely limited by the early eighteenth century and competition for them was fierce.[8] Even some Ottoman officials in the military **(askeri)** and bureaucratic **(kalemi)** careers found that by migrating to Damascus and becoming **'ulama'** or encouraging their sons to do so, they could acquire secure incomes and prestige[9] Although official positions in the **ilmi** career existed alongside other, non-governmental, opportunities, such as the management of awqaf or teaching positions financed by **awqaf,** these trends in the wider Ottoman environment were by no means inconsequential. Encouragement of the Hanafi **madhhab,** for instance, also had an effect on opportunity, subtle and indirect as it was. In Damascus, "it is possible to discern an increasing integration of primarily parochial families into the larger structures of Ottoman religious affairs, as well as continued strong influence of Istanbul politics in local Damascus religious affairs."[10] Posts in the religious establishment were more readily available to those who switched to the official Ottoman **madhhab.** In regard to Jerusalem, al-Qudsi mentions only two instances of **madhhab** changes, the first by a son of Muhammad al-Muwaqqit, **imam** of the Malikis (the son became, significantly, hanafi **mufti;** cf. ff. 16b-17a); the second by a Maliki Maghribi scholar who settled in Jerusalem and likewise became a Hanafi and **mufti** of that **madhhab** (Muhammad al-Taflati; cf. f. 22b). The circumstances surrounding the latter's conversion are of more than passing interest, for they reveal the personal and ethical dilemma involved. As al-Qudsi informs us (f. 22b):

> When the late, esteemed vezir Abdallah Pasha Ceteci [governor of Damascus, 1758-1760] came to Jerusalem and the sublime temple of God, he desired to meet the **shaykh** [al-Taflati] and made every effort to do so. The **a'yan** there asked [al-Taflati to meet the vezir], but he would not accept; he refused and prevented any mediation, although he was giving lessons at the sacred precincts in the Dome of the Rock when the vezir arrived. He used to flee from any religious officials and governors and to keep his distance from them and their residences. Even though they begged to kiss his feet and stood at his door now and then, he would not agree to it nor would he address himself to them. So his standing increased among all the people and they became more certain of it... Then when the late, esteemed vezir Celik Mehmed Pasha [governor of Damascus, 1760] came [to Jerusalem], the **shaykh** was the first person to greet him, requesting his help with a problem concerning the **jizyah,** one of the ephemeral things of this depraved world. [The **shaykh]** now reverted to meeting with magistrates and governors and going everywhere. He became a Hanafi, although he had been a Maliki in **madhhab,** and applied for rank and dignity in this world, abandoning his previous inclination and going to Istanbul to seek the position of Hanafi **mufti,** which was bestowed upon him.[11]

al-Taflati's behavior exposes the full range of problems concerning scholarship and opportunity in eighteenth-century Jerusalem. The **'alim** might desire to preserve his integrity and to carry on the religious life, but the requirements of daily living and social action intervened. The temptations of worldly success and recognition as a notable, a leader of public opinion, were often irresistible. Such leadership in Jerusalem was most readily, though not exclusively, exercised by notables holding official positions granted by Ottoman patronage. That patronage included the positions of Hanafi **mufti, naqib al-ashraf** (syndic of the notables), state-financed teaching posts in al-Aqsa mosque, and the assistant judgeships **(na 'ibs)** and clerks **(katibs)** of the **mahkamah,** the Ottoman law-court of the city and region. In addition to these were incomes derived from **awqaf,** whether public or private. al-Qudsi presents scattered data that show how these positions might stay within families (see the Appendix). He also shows how individuals continued to contribute to scholarship by using the income, prestige, and leisure time to continue to pursue their studies. For example, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahim al-Lutfi al-Hammam (f. 10b) who, like his father, was Hanafi **mufti,** collected his **fatwas,** which became models for his successors throughout the eighteenth century. Others continued to practise Sufism, such as 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Afifi al-Kannani, a **khatib** at al-Aqsa and a Khalwati mystic (ff. 16a-b); and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Siddiqi (f.6a), who combined scholarship and mysticism **(jama'a bayn al-'ilm wa al-wilayah),** a particularly rich synthesis that sustained both learning and piety in the Ottoman world during the early modern period. On the whole, patronage, whether governmental or private, did not appear to impede scholarship, even though judgments of the quality of that scholarship require separate treatment in the context of ongoing discussions concerning decadence **(inhitat)** and revival in modern times. The key question here concerns the ethical dilemma confronting scholars as they searched for opportunities to maintain their social position as notables.

Even though one might argue that the temptation to hold office had long been an ethical problem in Islamic history, it appears to have been particularly acute during the eighteenth century, for between rampant inflation and the lure of patronage, scholarly independence and the pious life were deeply threatened. The man most admired by his contemporaries would accept office but would resist being entangled in the "web of government," and would carry on and exemplify piety and justice to the public. Of the Hanafi **mufti,** Najm al-Din al-Ramli, for instance, al-Qudsi relates (f. 24a): "Reliable sources informed me that at times al-Ramli was in dire need of money for dependents, and that some people would come to him, with cases requiring legal opinions **(fatwas)** based on partial testimony and offering him gifts; but he would not consent nor would he render an opinion except by properly sworn testimony." Even more admired, however, was the man who tried to evade the traps and temptations of official position by earning his keep in other ways. According to al-Qudsi (f.6b), such was 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Khalili, "who used to [earn his sustenance] by the work of his hands, copying **hadith** books after lessons were

recited; he served humanity by writing as the world slept." Significantly, al-Khalili was chosen **mufti** of Jerusalem by acclamation of the notables; he accepted against his will.

That the best and most pious of men was induced to accept patronage requires comments as we conclude our inquiry. Although we know in a general way that inflation was a constant daily concern in the eighteenth century Ottoman world (just as it is in our own day), we cannot at the present stage of our knowledge ascribe to it alone the tendency of notables to pursue wordly ambitions and office. In the case of Damascus, for instance, high appointment fees for registration of patronage positions with the central government could eat up half a year's income. Far worse, such incomes had been set in the sixteenth century and no longer had sufficient purchasing power by the eighteenth.[12] Why then did notables and their families cling to office so tenaciously, beyond trying to retain public recognition and influence? Perhaps a hint of an answer to this question can be seen in the historian al-Muradi's description of the household in which he grew up in Damascus. Since al-Muradi was something of a model to his contemporaries—such as al-Qudsi—his remarks are relevant here. He informs us that his father, the Hanafi **mufti** of Damascus, spent 300,000 piasters annually, although his income could not cover one month of that expense.[13] And his father paid the appointment and diploma fees of notables who could not meet them but who wished to retain their official positions. Perhaps the most striking reconciliation of one man's values with public office can be discerned from this incident involving Muradi's father:

> At one point [Father] had nothing left and gave all his clothes to the poor, even the clothes he was wearing. On one holiday eve he had nothing on except an inner vest. A poor man came along and said to him, "Give." And [Father] said to him, "My friend, there is nothing but my drawers and inner vest, so be patient that I might enter the harem, take them off, and send them out to you, for I cannot sit down socially outside without drawers." But the man would not wait and Father got up at once, took off [the drawers] , gave them to him, then entered the harem. Such things happened to him frequently.[14]

Financial crisis could thus be a reminder of a notable's common humanity and could reinforce his credibility with the public. The price of opportunity did not necessarily mean the loss of one's soul but a chance to display one's pious qualities. Scholarship might continue, but in constant tension with the demands of social action and the ethical dilemma of service to **din** and **dawlah.** The **'alim's** only comfort was the knowledge that his fellow notables sympathized with his plight; but his torment was that they had enough corporate influence to remind him of the exacting standard to which they all aspired.

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NOTES

1 For a brief but excellent treatment of the genre, see H.A.R. Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, eds., **Historians of the Middle East** (London, 1962), pp. 54-59.

2 Concerning the study of a category of individuals, or "collective biography," its purposes and methods, see Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard, eds., **Historical Studies Today** (New York, 1971), pp. 107-140. For a quantitative approach, see Richard Bulliet, "A Quantitative Approach to Medieval Muslim Biographical Dictionaries, " **JESHO**, XIII (1970), 195-211; and Richard Bulliet, **Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period; an Essay in Quantitative History** (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

3 For this widely-admired model, see Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in William R. Polk and Richard Chambers, eds., **Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: the Nineteenth Century** (Chicago, 1969), pp. 41-64; the quotation is on p. 49.

4 British Library, MS Or. 3047. Cf. Brockelmann, **GAL**, II, 294. The manuscript consists of 41 folios measuring 33x21.5 cm., in **naskhi** script. It is dated (f. 41b) Rabi' al-Thani 1195 (March-April 1781). Cf. C. Rieu, **Supplement**, I, 447-448. I wish to acknowledge here the support of Siena College, and particularly: Prof. Thomas O. Kelly, II (Chairman, History Department); Prof. John J. Mckenna (Chairman, Arts Division); and Fr. John C. Murphy (Vice-President for Academic Affairs). My research for this paper is part of a larger project on the life of al-Muradi. That project has been aided by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies; and the Faculty Committee on Teaching of Siena College.

5 For a full account of this transformation of Damascus' provincial system, see Karl K. Barbir, **Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758** (Princeton, 1980), and especially pp. 67-89 for the notables. Research in the Ottoman archives on this topic was supported by a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant in 1973-1974. The Turkish Foreign Ministry and Prime Minister's Office kindly allowed the author access to the archives.

6 Basbakanlik Arsivi, Istanbul, Muhimme Defterleri, Volume 160, p. 377, dated 20 Sha'ban 1171 (30 April 1758).

7 Basbakanlik Arsivi, Istanbul, Kamil Kepeci Defterleri, Register No. 2408 (for the early eighteenth century) and Register No. 2346 (for 1746).

8 For these trends in the Ottoman lands as a whole, see R.C. Repp, "The Altered Nature and Role of the Ulema," in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, eds.; **Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History** (Carbondale, Illinois, 1977), pp. 277-287.

9 For a study of this phenomenon, see Karl K. Barbir, "From Pasha to Efendi: the Assimilation of Ottomans into Damascene Society, 1516-1783," **International Journal of Turkish Studies,** I (1980), 67-82.

10 John Voll, "Old 'Ulama' Families and Ottoman Influence in Eighteenth Century Damascus," **American Journal of Arabic Studies,** III (1975), 48-59; the quotation is on p. 48.

11 al-Qudsi does not say precisely why al-Taflati chose to switch **madhhabs.** al-Muradi, in his notice on al-Taflati (**Silk al-Durar,** IV, 102-108), glosses over it, perhaps in deference to the **shaykh's** outstanding scholarship.

12 On these points, see Barbir, **Ottoman Rule,** pp. 77-80.

13 Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi, **Matmah al-Wajid fi tarjamat al-walid al-majid,** British Library, MS Or. 4050, f. 38a.

14 **Ibid.,** f. 36b.

APPENDIX

al-Qudis's Biographical Dictionary: Contents

Folio	Entry in **Silk al-Durar**	Name	Death-date (A.Ḥ.)	Madhhab	Career	Place of Residence
1a	IV, 95-97	Mhd. b. Mhd. b. Sharaf al-Din al-Khalili	1147	Shafi'i	Qadiri, Sajjadi Sufi; teacher in al-Madrasah al-Baladiyyah	Jerusalem
		Sons:				
		(1) Mhd. al-Salih al-Hammam	1155		Scholar	Jerusalem
		(2) Mhd.	1192			Jerusalem
4a	IV, 190-200	Mustafa al-Bakri al-Siddiqi	1161		Khalwati Sufi; married into Jerusalem family	Jerusalem, Cairo
6a	III, 46-48	'Abd al-Qadir al-Siddiqi al-Baghdadi	1148		Khalwati Sufi	Jerusalem
6b	III, 136-38	'Abd al-Mu'ti b. Muhyi al-Din al-Khalili	1154	Shafi'i	Shafi'i mufti; teacher in al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
		Sons:				
		(1) Mhd. Sa'id	1180		Shafi'i mufti	Jerusalem, Istanbul, Cairo
		(2) Ahmad	1172		Sufi	Jerusalem

8b	I, 71-72	Abu al-Wafa b. 'Abd al-Samad b. Shams al-Din al-'Alami al-Qudsi	1109		Sajjadi Sufi; Scholar	Jerusalem
		Sons:				
		(1) Mustafa	1133		Sajjadi, shaykh of order	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Jawd Allah	1171			
		(2) Mhd.	1122			
		(a) son, Najm al-Din	?			
		(i) son, Mhd.	contemporary of al-Qudsi		Shaykh of Sajjadis	Jerusalem
		(3) Fayd Allah	1170		Mufti, naqib, khatib, na'ib	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Abu al-Wafa	1173			
		(b) son, Mhd.	1173		Shaykh of Sajjadis	Jerusalem
10b	IV, 52	Mhd. b. 'Abd al-Rahim al-Lutfi al-Hammam	1140	Hanafi	Mufti	Jerusalem
	II, 6-7	Cousin, Jar Allah			Teacher in Salahiyya; khatib; mufti	Jerusalem
		Son, Mhd. Abu al-Wafa	1185		na'ib	Jerusalem and Ramla
		(a) son, Jar Allah	1187		na'ib	Ramla
		(b) son, Abd al-Hayy	1186		na'ib, faqih	Cairo
13b		Mhd. Zayn al-'Arab al-Lutfi al-Radi	1121		khatib	Jerusalem
14a		'Abd al-Rahman b. Mhd. Nur Allah b. Mhd. Habib Allah b. Abi al-Lutf	Contemporary of al-Qudsi		Scholar	Cairo, Jerusalem
14b	Iv, 94	Mhd. b. Badr al-Din b. Jama'a al-Kannani	1122		Chief khatib at at al-Aqsa	Jerusalem

Folio	Entry in Silk al-Durar	Name	Death-date (A.H.)	Madhhab	Career	Place of Residence
		Sons;				
		(1) Ishaq	1143		Chief khatib at al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Salih	1170		Khatib, Sufi	Jerusalem
		(b) son, Sadiq			Scholar	Cairo, Mecca, Medina
	II, 2-4	(2) Badr al-Din	1187	Hanafi	Khatib, mufti	Jerusalem
16a		'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Afifi al-Kannani	1180		Khalwati Sufi; khatib; teacher in al-Madrasa al-Zamaniyyah	Jerusalem
16b		Muhammad al-Muwaqqit	1119	Maliki	Sufi, imam of Malikis, astronomer	Jerusalem
		Son				
		(1) Ahmad	1171	Hanafi	Mufti	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Ahmad	1186		Scholar	Medina
17b		Mhd. b. Ibrahim Hafiz al-Din	1161		Scholar, Astronomer	Jerusalem
17b	II, 104-5	Khalil al-Shahwani	1153		Faqih	Jerusalem
18a	IV, 228	Yahya, descendant of Ahmad al-Dajjani	1148		Sufi	Jerusalem
		Sons:				
		(1) Fath Allah	1156		Naqib al-ashraf	Jerusalem
		(2) Salih			Shaykh of Dawudiyyah Sufis	Jerusalem

19a	I, 116	Ahmad b. Salah al-Din al-Qudsi al-'Alami	1116		Shadhili Sufi; khatib	Jerusalem
	I, 49	Sons:				
		(1) Abu Bakr	1144	Hanafi	Mufti	Jerusalem, Istanbul
		(2) 'Abd al-Qadir	1150's		Sufi	Jerusalem
		(3)Mhd. "al-Awhad"	1160's		Faqih	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Mustafa	1180's		Teacher at al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
		(b) Son, Salah al-Din			Imams of al-Sakhra al-Sharifah, Khatibs	Jerusalem
		(c) son, Ibrahim				
		(4) 'Abd al-Karim	1169			
19b		'Isa b. Ibrahim al-Kurani al-Qudsi	1118	Shafi'i	Qadiri Sufi, teacher at al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
	IV, 81-85	Son, Mhd.	1171 (in **Silk**, 1175)		Khalwati Sufi, Poet	Jerusalem, Istanbul
22b	IV , 102-108	Mhd. b. Mhd. al-Tayyib al-Taflati al-Maghribi	1192	Maliki, then Hanafi	Hanafi Mufti, Sufi	Jerusalem
24a		Mahmud b. Yahya al-Fatyani	1127	Hanafi	Imam	Jerusalem
		Brother, Musa			Sufi	
		Son, Mhd.	1182	Hanafi	Imam at Qubbat al-Sakhrah	Jerusalem
24a		Najm al-Din b.Mhd. b. Najm al-Din b. Khayr al-Din al-Ramli	1173	Hanafi	Mufti	Jerusalem
		Sons:				
		Sons:				
		(1) Khayr al-DIn	1194			
		(2) Ahmad	contemporary of al-Qudsi		Faqih	Jerusalem

25b	IV, 123	Mhd. San' al-Khalidi	1140	Bashkatib in mahkamah	Jerusalem
		Sons:			
		(1) Khalil	1161	Bashkatib	Jerusalem
		(a) son, Mhd.	1172	Bashkatib	Jerusalem
		(2) Ibrahim	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Bashkatib	Jerusalem
		(3) Mhd. Allah		Faqih	Jerusalem
26b		Taj al-Din Abu al-Su'ud	1160's	Qadiri Sufi	Jerusalem
		Sons:			
		(1) Mhd. Abu al-Su'ud	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Khalwati, Qadiri Sufi; khalifah of of both orders	Cairo and Jerusalem
		(2) Mhd. Abu al-Huda	1171	Mujawir	Cairo
		Brother: 'Abd al-Rahman Abu al-Su'ud	1173	Qadiri Sufi	Jerusalem
27b		Husayn 'Arif b. Sharaf al-Din al-'Usayli	contemporay of al-Qudsi	Sajjadi Sufi	Cairo Istanbul
28a		Shihab al-Din	1134	Shaykh al-Haram	Jerusalem
		Sons:			
		(1) 'Abd Allah	1147		
		Sons:			
		(a) Mhd.	1163		Jerusalem, died on way to Istanbul
		(b) Shihab al-Din	1178		
		(c) 'Ali	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Katib Thani in mahkama	Jerusalem
		(2) 'Abd al-Wahhab	1157	na'ib	Jerusalem
		Sons:			
		(a) 'Abd al-Rahman	1180	na'ib	Jerusalem
		(b) Ahmad		Shaykh al-Haram	Jerusalem
28a		'Abd al-Rahman b. sharaf al-Din	1184	Imam of al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
		Sons:			

		(1) Mhd. Zayn al-'Abidin	contem-porary of al-Qudsi	Shafi'i	Mufti	Jerusalem
		(2) Mustafa Sharaf al-Din			Scholar	Jerusalem
28b		Hasan b. Qadi al-Salt	1191	Shafi'i	Mufti	Jerusalem, Istanbul
		Sons:				
		(1) Khalil	1187		Scholar	Jerusalem
		(2) Musa	1190			
28b		'Abd al-Latif b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Hammam (al-Qudsi's father)	1122		Shaykh al-haram; naqib al-ashraf	Jerusalem
31a		Sons:'Abd Allah	contemporary of al-Qudsi		Naqib al-ashraf , shaykh al-Islam	Jerusalem
28b		Brother: Hasan	1131			
32b	Brother:	Muhibb al-Din b. 'Abd al-Samad al-Hammam			Shadhili Sufi; naqib al-ashraf shaykh al-Islam	Jerusalem
		Mhd. b. Mustafa			naqib al-ashraf	Jerusalem
		al-Hamman	1119			
	Brother:	Musa b. Mustafa al-Hammam	1151			Gaza
		Sons:				
		(1) 'Ali	1171		Faqih	Cairo
		(2) Badr	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Faqih		Cairo
		(3) Ahmad	1171			
		(4) 'Abd al-Qadir	contemporary of al-Qudsi			Jerusalem

33b	'Ali b. Mhd. al-Khalafawi b. Shaykh Marwan	contemporary Shafi'i of al-Qudsi	Rifa'i Sufi	Cairo, Damascus, Mecca,Medina, Jerusalem
34a	Mhd. b. Budayr b. Mhd. b. Mahmud b. Hubaysh al-Qudsi	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Shadhili Sufi	Jerusalem
41a	Shaykh 'Amir	1140		Jerusalem
	Khalil al-Miqdam	1153	Khatib	Jerusalem
	Mhd. al-Hamami	1170's		
	Mhd. al-Dasuqi	1162		
	son: Mhd. Su'udi	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Wakil al-tawqit	Jerusalem
	'Ali b. Habib al-Lutfi	1157		
	Son: Hasan	contemporary of al-Qudsi	Qadi al-Shafi'iya	Damascus
	Ahmad al-Kamil b.		Imam of al-Aqsa	Jerusalem
	Taj al-Din	1157	and Turbat Dawud	
	Sons:			
	(1) Mustafa	contemporaries	Shafi'i mufti	Jerusalem
	(2) Muhyi al-Din	of al-Qudsi		

AWQAF OF A MADRASA IN JERUSALEM

Mustafa Bilge

This is the waqfiya (a deed of trust) of Molla Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Fanari[1] who was born in 751/1350 and died in 834/1431[2]. He is traditionally regarded as the first Shaykh al-Islam in the Ottoman State. During the formative period of Ottoman culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ottoman Ulama travelled to Egypt, Persia or Turkistan to complete their education under the great scholars of those lands. For the study of Qur'anic exegesis and jurisprudence they went primarily to Egypt and Persia. Molla Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Fanari is one of those ulama who travelled to these countries to complete their education. He is known in Turkish history by the name Shaykh al-Din Molla Fanari. His father was Nur al-Din Hamza b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Hamza[3] and was the student of Shaykh Sadr al-Din al-Qonawi. Molla Hamza studied Miftah al-Ghayb with his teacher who was also the author of the work. He later on studied the same book with his son Molla Muhammad Fanari[4].

His birth is written as 5th of Safar 751/15 April 1350 in "**Anba' al-Ghumur wa Abna' al 'Umur**" by Ibn Hajar, and as the middle of Safar in **al-Manhal al-Safi** by Abu '1-Mahasin al-Tagribirdi. After studying in Necaea in Anatolia with the famous scholar 'Ala' al-Din al-Aswad and in Amasya with Jamal al-Din Muhammad b. al-Aksarayi he went to Egypt in 778/1376 and became a student of the hanafi scholar Shaykh Akram al-Din Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Babarti when he was 27 years of age[5]. At his arrival in Anatolia he was appointed as the Qadi (judge) of Bursa at the age of 44 and he stayed there in that post for 10 years until 805/1402[6] when Timur raised his banner in Bursa after winning a great victory in Ankara against the army of Sultan Yildirim Bayazid "the thunderbolt". Timur revived the Anatolian principalities and placed them under his protection against any further Ottoman encroachments[7]. After leaving Bursa Molla Fanari went to Qonya upon the invitation from Karamanoglu Mehmed Bey. He was appointed as mudarris "professor" and was given 1000 dirhams daily. His students were also given 500 dirhams daily. Karamanoglu Mehmed Bey liked and respected the Molla very much. When Molla Fanari wrote his famous book **'Ayn al-A'yan,** a commentary of the first sura in the Qur'an, he presented it to Karamanoglu Mehmed Bey.

After some time Sultan Chelebi Mehmed entered Qonya and took Molla Fanari back with him on his way to Bursa and appointed him the Qadi (the judge) of Bursa

for the second time. He was then at the age of 67. Husayn Husam al-Din says he was qadi in Bursa 10 years in the first time and 21 years in the second. He had two sons and when he left Bursa to go to hajj (pilgrimage) he left one of them as qadi of Bursa and took the other one with him to hajj. They first went to Egypt and spent the Ramadan there[8] at the Madrasa Zayniya waiting for the great mystic Zayn al-Din Muhammad Khafi and performed their hajj in 822/1419 together. On their way back they visited Jerusalem[9] and Cairo with an invitation from the then ruler of Egypt Malik Mu'ayyad Shaykh al-Mu'ayyadi and as it is written in **Anba' al-Ghumur** Molla Fanari arrived in Cairo on 4 Safar 823/8 March 1420 and left the city for Bursa in the same year on 22 Rabi' al-Awwal and was appointed as qadi upon his arrival. After four years during which he held qada' and fatwa in his hand he was appointed Shaykh al-Islam when Ibrahim Pasha was grand vizier. He went to hajj again in 833/1429 and again visited Cairo where he gave ijazatnama (diploma) to Ibn Hajar writing it in his own hand.

Of Molla Fanari Abu 'l-Mahasin ibn-Tagribirdi says in his work **al-Manhal al-Safi** praising him: ولم يخلف بعده بتلك البلاد مثله رحمه الله

Nobody like him came to these countries afterwards. He was also a very wealthy person as was mentioned in many sources. In Ibn Hajar's work it is written that his total wealth had amounted to 150.000 dirhams. He could very easily be wealthy after having such a great respect from the Ottoman Sultans and the Bey of Karamanoglu, says Husayn Husam al-Din in his article. He further says that he had taken 1000 dirhams daily and he had large lands and villages in the city of Bursa and the neighbouring cities. Many dates have been indicated for his death. He died in Rajab 834/March-April 1431 as it is written in **Shaqa'iq,** 7 months aftar the preparation of our waqfiya (the date of waqfia is August-Sept., 1430). Although many dates have been given this one sounds more correct[10].

He was no doubt a great scholar and more than that he was one of the early personalities who played a great role during the formative period of Ottoman culture in the fourteenth century transmitting the Islamic culture into Ottoman lands. As we know Ottoman Sultans in those periods invited scholars from the old Anatolian cultural centers or from elsewhere in the Muslim World to establish and rapidly develop the madrasa system and cultural life in general[11].

Ottoman scholars on the other hand travelled to Egypt, Persia and Turkistan to complete their education under the great scholars of those lands. For the study of Qur'anic exegesis and jurisprudence they went primarily to Egypt and Persia, and for the study of mathematics and astronomy they went usually to Samarqand.

Molla Fanari has many scholarly works. Among them **'Ayn al-A'yan fi tafseer fatihat al-Qur'an** (a commentary of the Holy Qur'an), and **Fusul al-Badayi' fi usul al-Sharayi'** are the most important[12]. The latter was written in 30 Years' time like the **Muntaha al-Usul** of Ibn Hâjib. The work is on comparative jurisprudence and a

commentary was written on it by his son Muhammad Shah Effendi[13]. His other works are **Anmuzaj al-Ulum**[14] and **Sharh Miftah al-Ghayb**[15]. He wrote also a commentary on the Sayyid Sharif's **Sharh al-Mawaqif** and there he criticizes Sayyid Sharif on many points[16]. Apart from these he has a commentary on **Usul** by Pazdawi **(Sharh usul al-Pazdawi)**, and on **Isaguji**. According to **Kashf al-Zunun** he has the follwing works: **Asas al-Tasrif, Asami al-Funun, Aweesat al-Afkar fi Ikhtibar Uli al-Absar, Muqaddima** to prayer ("salat") and others[17]

The original document of the waqfiya is in the Prime Ministry's Archive (Bashwakalat Arshiwi) in Istanbul with the number 162/9, and dated late Djumada 11. 833/The last days of March 1430. The language of the waqfiya is Arabic and it covers two awqaf together; the first one is for the then famous madrasa in Quds, "The Madrasa Tayluniya" (المدرسة الطيلونية) which was situated, according to the waqfiya, adjacent to the place called "Saff al-Anbiya" in the Masjid al-Aqsa. In the second part of the waqfiya there are some sources of income for the benefit of some religious institutions in Bursa. As we know Molla Fanari had three mosques and one madrasa in the city of Bursa. The waqfiya is arranged in such a way that the administration of the waqf, together with the salary that is involved, is reserved for the waqif (the founder of the waqf) himself and then to his sons and grandsons until the founder's line of descent became extinct. In a way, this kind of awqaf is set up as an indirect way for avoiding the division of large properties under the terms of the law of succession, and for retaining for the male members of the family estates which otherwise would have been split up or alienated[18].

As we know when the waqfiya was prepared the city of Jerusalem did not belong to the Ottomans. After 974 Jerusalem belonged to the Fatimids. Between 1229 and 1244 Christians were partly in possession of Jerusalem with the exception of the Muslim sacred places. In 1244 it again fell into Ayyubid hands, soon after which it became, together with the whole of Syria and Palestine, part of the domain of the Mamluks. It was after 1516 that Jerusalem belonged to the Ottoman State. During the visit of Shaykh al-Islam Molla Fanari and his companion Shaykh Muhammad Khafi to Jerusalem in 822/1419 and later when the waqfiya was prepared in 833/1430 the city belonged to the Mamluks.

Studies on waqfiya:

There are about six witnesses in the waqfiya with their names and professions. This is one of the important points in a waqfiya in which we find out the outstanding personalities of that time in the community. Among those names we see Wali b. Ilyas al-Hasani as kazaskar (mil. judge), Isa b. Muhammad al-'Ayasi also as kazaskar, and Kamal b. Husain as the judge of the city of Bursa. As sources of income for the Madrasa of Tayluniya in Quds the names of four villages are mentioned, which are (1) Elma Agaci,(2) Eyne Ghazi, (3) Sille Oghlani, and (4)Evreghir. All of those villages are situated in the city of Kutahya, one of the

provinces of Gharmiyanoghullari. Out of the income the mudarris and the other staff in the madrasa would take their salaries as follows:

1. Mudarris Effendi (professor) 15 dirhams daily.
2. Jabi (collector) 4 dirhams daily,
3. Katib (clerk) 2 dirhams daily.

In the other parts of the waqfiya he mentions the salaries of staff in other mosques and madrasas in Bursa according to which the imam of the first mosque would take 2 dirhams, and the mu'adhdhin (who calls Muslims to prayer) 1 dirham daily, while in the second mosque the imam would take 1.5 dirhams daily and the mu'adhdhin half a dirham. In the third mosque the imam will be given 2 dirhams and the mu'adhdhin 1 dirham daily. As for his madrasa in Bursa the mudarris is given 7 dirhams daily and the students are given 60 dirhams. Administrator of the waqf takes 10% of the income, jabi 3 dirhams and katib 1 dirham daily.

When we compare the two parts of the waqfiya we notice that the mudarris in his madrasa in Bursa would be given 7 dirhams while the mudarris of Madrasa of Tayluniya in Quds is given 5 dirhams daily. Similarly the jabi and katib take one dirham more than their counterparts in Bursa. The administratorship, together with the salary, is reserved to the founder Molla Fanari himself. After him the administration of the waqf goes to his son Jamal al-Din Yusuf Bali who accompanied him in his trip to hajj[19]. After his son the administratorship is reserved to the male members of his descendants. It goes on like that until the founder Molla Fanari's line of descent became extinct. In the last part of the waqfiya we see the original date which reads (وجرى ذلك في اواخر الجمادي الاخرة من شهر سنة ثلث وثلاثين وثمانمائة)

Dhu al-Hijja (or Djamaziyalakhar) 833/ August-September 1430. There is also a seal of ratification at the beginning of the waqfiya which bears another date, 16 of Ramadan 835/18 May 1432. It is quite obvious that this seal of ratification has been added to the waqfiya after some two years.

The place of madrasa of Tayluniya in Quds is described as follows:

(فوقف وحبس جملة المدرسة الكائنة في القدس المبارك الشهيرة الطيلونية الواقعة في صف الانبياء من المسجد الاقصى)

adjacent to the Saff al-Anbiya in Masjid al-Aqsa. It is also very clear in the waqfiya that the madrasa was very famous and we understand this from the following sentence:

المُسْتَغْنِيَةَ عن التحديد والتوصيف لشهرتها في مكانها على الفقهاء والمُتَفَقِهةِ المحصلين المعلمين والمتعلمين والمشتغلين بالعلوم

There is nothing else in the waqfiya about the madrasa.

For further studies some more knowledge might be obtained about the madrasa Tayluniya from the time of establishment until the end of its contribution to the educational life. We found in Bashwakalat Arshivi some Tapu Defterleri (registers) mentioning this particular madrasa. In one of the registers of the XVIth century it is

mentioned among the awqaf of Quds (Awqaf-i Liwa-i Quds-u Shareef)[20]. The total income is about 4330 dirhams and it comes from a village and three pieces of land. In another defter dating 970 H./1562 A.D. the awqaf of the madrasa is 4500 dirhams again from a village and three pieces of land[21]. In the third defter on pages 104 and 105 we see only the pieces of land but not the village, and the total income is 850 dirhams. We also see some salaries paid to the staff at the madrasa, in which the qayyum (care-taker) takes the biggest amount: 360 dirhams a year, administrator takes 60 dirhams, cleaner 60 and the one who brings water to the madrasa takes 60 dirhams a year[22].

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NOTES

1 For his correct name see Husayn Husam al-Din, "Orhan Beyin Vakfiyesi", TTEM, issue 17 (94), pp. 284-301; Husayn Husam al-Din, "Molla Fanari", TTEM, issue 18(95), pp. 368-383.

2 His death in March/April 1431 and date of this Waqfiya is August/Sept 1430; that means there is a period of about 7 months between his death and the preparation of the Waqfiya.

3 See Husayn Husam al-Din "Molla Fanari", TTEM, issue, 18(95), p.369.

4 See Tashkopruzada Ahmad, **al-Shaqa'iq al-No 'maniyya fi 'Ulama' al-Dawla al-Osmaniyya.**

5 See Husayn Husam al-Din "Molla Fanari", p. 371.

6 Husayn Husam al-Din says that the period he stayed in Bursa as Qadi for the first time dates between 795 and 804. See TTEM, issue 17(94). Molla Fanari has a ratification in that waqfiya from which we understand that he was at that time the Shaykh al-Islam of the state.

7 See Halil Inalcik, "The emergence of Ottomans", **The Cambridge History of Islam,** vol. 1,p.279.

8 See Husayn Husam al-Din "Molla Fanari", TTEM, part two p.150.; Molla Fanari's son. Muhammad Shah completed his father's work on Nahw (syntax) and died in 836/1432, says Mehmed Süreyya in his work **Sidjill-i Osmani,** vol. III., p.159. About his second son Yusuf Bali he says that he had died in the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed II. For his childern and grand childeren see Mehmed Tahir, **Osmanli Müellifleri,** vol.1.,p.390.

9 According to a tradition (hadith) Prophet Muhammad p.b. o.h. classed Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem as places of visit of almost equal value. This hadith was recorded by al-Zuhri.

10 According to Husayn Husam al-Din he might have died in 838/1434. Salname says he died in 834/1431 like **Shaqa'iq** . see p. 25. As to **Sidjill-i Osmani** he died either in 832 or in 843 (1428 or 1431) vol.111.;p.159. In Osmanli Müellifleri it is written that he is buried in the garden of his mosque in Bursa; see vol.1,p.390.

11 For instance in the reign of sultan Murad II. 'Ala' al-Din of Tus (d. 1482) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi who had been invited from Persia, enhanced the reputation of the rapidly developing Ottoman madrasas.

12 Both of these works are printed.

13 For MS. see C. Brockelmann, GAL vol.II,p.233. Yeni Jami, 343/4

1 4 For Ms. see Fatih 3677 in Sulaymaniya. In **Hadiyyat al-'Arifin** it is written **As'ila** and **Anmuzaj al-Ulum,** vol. II,p.188-189. It explains 100 problems in 100 sciences. It is in fact a comment on **Farai'd al-Sirajiyya** and some say that it belongs to his son Muhammad Shah Effendi. See **Shaqa'iq.**

1 5 For MS. see Jar Allah Effendi 1051 in Sulaymaniya.

1 6 See **Shaqa'iq**

1 7 **Kashfal-Zunun,** vol.II,p.1180

1 8 See Claude Cahen, "Economy, Society, Institutions", **The Cambridge History of Islam,** vol.II.,pp. 511-539.

1 9 In the article of Husayn Husam al-Din Molla Fonari's son Jamal al-Din Yusuf Bali is referred to as Sinan al-Din Yusuf Bali. He further says that his son who went to hajj with his father was Muhammad Shah Chelebi. See his article on Molla Fanari in TTEM, Part II,p.150.

2 0 See Bashwakâlat Arshivi (the Prime Ministry's Archive) Tapu Defteri, nr. 522, p.16.

وقف مدرسة طيلونة در قدس شريف

2 1 See Bashwakâlat Arshivi, Tapu Defteri, no 342, p.8.

وقف مدرسة طيلونة در قدس شريف

2 2 See Bashwakâlat Arshivi, Tapu Dafteri no.131,pp.104-105.

وقف مدرسة طيلونة در قدس شريف

بجهت قيوم في سنة ٣٦٠

بجهت توليت في سنة ٦٠

بجهت فراش في سنة ٦٠

بجهت سقا في سنة ٦٠

BRITISH CONSULAR PEPORTS AND THE ECONOMIC EVOLUTION OF PALESTINE: THE MUTASARRIFIYA OF QUDS AL-SHARIF 1885-1914

Marwan R. Buheiry

In this paper the principal objective has been to selectively examine British reports from the consular district of Jerusalem, particularly the annual trade reports on the Mutasarrifiya or autonomous Sanjaq of **Quds al-Sharif** for a thirty-year period between 1885 and 1914, with a view to assessing their contribution as sources for the economic history of this substantial portion of Palestine in two areas: (a) tourism and pilgrimage, (b) agricultural production and trade. Another objective has been a preliminary quantification of data on the port of Jaffa, the Sanjaq's principal harbour. (See tables annexed to the paper). This is in preparation of a larger study, encompassing also the remaining portion of Palestine—the northern districts—under the then administration of the Vilayet of Beirut.**

The checking of the data against other sources and its critical evaluation are tasks that I have yet to complete; therefore, the tentative nature of the findings presented is recognized. The principal sources utilized in this paper are the "Annual and Miscellaneous Series of Reports on Trade and Commerce". Written by experienced consular staff, they make interesting reading and constitute valuable resources, for they raise as many questions of methodological, epistemological, and political nature, as they answer.

The Expansion of Europe and the Dependent Status of the Ottoman Economy

Palestine, together with other parts of **Bilad al-Sham** and of Africa, Asia and America, was brought into the European economic system as a dependent producer of raw materials and cereals as well as a docile market for manufacturecd goods and investments—in short, as a servant of Western needs—as early as the seventeenth century, and with increased vigor during the last 150 years. This was accomplished under a process which began with indirect forms of control (the Capitulations granted to Europeans by the Ottoman Sultanate) and which ended—for Palestine—in direct annexation and dominance of the land and the expulsion of a considerable proportion of its people.

Building upon political and economic gains resulting from the Crusades, Europe embarked on a systematic program of global exploration. The consequences of such frenzied and relentlessly pursued activity was the control and colonization of territories vastly superior to it in size and natural resources. The new acquisitions

yielded three groups of interrelated factors connected with the rise of the West to a position of political and economic hegemony over the rest of the world. In the first place, immense quantities of gold and silver were extracted which stimulated the use of money and the growth of a capitalist economy. Secondly, millions of Africans were transported as slaves to North, Central, South America, and the Carribean Islands to provide the cheapest possible manpower for the production of key agricultural commodities such as cotton, sugar, indigo, tobacco, as well as for the gold and silver mines.[1] Thirdly, the new possessions provided European nations with opportunities to establish plantations also in Asia and with extensive and lucrative markets everywhere, thus helping to make it worthwhile for division of labor practices to develop in the budding industrial sectors of the West. At the same time, placed in a state of subservience, these vast colonial markets acted as shock-absorbers for the numerous economic crises in Europe during the past two centuries. The industrial take-off and sustained growth of Western economy would not have been possible without the large-scale plunder and intensive exploitation of Europe's formal and informal overseas possessions.

A distinctive feature of Ottoman policy was the granting of capitulations to Europe: these were concessions or extra-territorial privileges which amounted in effect to a self-imposed loss of sovereignty.[2] Surprisingly, the Capitulations were not extracted by force; they were awarded by a magnanimous sultan at the height of Ottoman power, with little foresight as to their implications for the future. Europe was invited to come in and take over, for a start, control of the Empire's international trade, an invitation gladly accepted.

In time, the Capitulations matched by Europe's irrepressible will to power proved fatal to the economic independence of the Ottoman Empire: they signified, in fact, that Turkey could levy only 2% tax on European imports in the sixteenth century, rising gradually to a maximum of 10% -11% in the twentieth.[3] In 1907, it was still about 8%. Consequently, the realm of the Sultan was saddled with a permanent handicap in the form of low tariff barrier that played havoc with the manufacturing potential of local urban and rural producers.

The stranglehold on the Ottoman Empire and on **Bilad al-Sham** was tightened following the industrial revolution. The commercial treaty of 1838 symbolized the growing needs of European society and its ability to pressure its way into world markets: old Capitulations were confirmed and additional ones imposed. Then in 1867, the right to purchase property was granted by the Ottoman government to foreigners. The Capitulations also served as a convenient avenue through which massive investments were channelled as soon as sufficient surplus capital accumulated in the advanced industrial societies. The banks in the Empire were generally foreign: even the Ottoman Bank was on Anglo-French enterprise. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, imports, exports, mining concessions, ports, railways, water, power, etc. were largely under foreign control. By then, of course,

the Ottoman Empire was literally bankrupt, unable to meet even half the interest on its massive foreign debt. After 1882, the Administration of the Ottoman Debt commission , a body grouping the Big Powers, took over the revenues of such lucrative monopolies as tobacco and salt, together with other sources of income. The subservience and peripheralization of Ottoman economy had reached a high point.[4]

As we move into the twentieth century, it became clear that the Big Powers had already partitioned the Ottoman Empire into spheres of economic influence. Or to put it differently, the economic partition of **Bilad al-Sham** was the prelude to the political partition that was planned on the eve of World War One, and put in effect with major modifications, immediately after it.[5]

Tourism and Pilgrimage in the Sanjaq

Tourists and pilgrims have traditionally brought their fluctuating but nonetheless valuable contribution to some of the sectors of PALESTINIAN Economy. With the development of steam navigation and other communications facilities, such as the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, they came in ever-increasing numbers to vistit the Holy Places. Yet one finds a noticeable absence of data on tourism and pilgrimage in the annual reports between 1886 and 1894.

However, the report for the year 1895 does contain a detailed summary of the prospects and impact of tourism in Palestine. In his account, Consul Dickson begins and ends with what he sees as benefits resulting from the British occupation of Egypt, which include the influx of European and American tourists. He goes on to say that a large number of

> "these visitors on quitting Egypt in the spring make it a point of coming to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the result being that money is brought into the country and employment is given to numerous class of the population who otherwise would remain idle. Hotel keepers, dragomans, guides, shopkeepers, stable-owners, carriage-drivers, muleteers, etc. all look forward to the tourist season as a means of acquiring a livelihood, and should any unforeseen circumstances occur to hinder the usual influx of travellers, as for example the recent imposition of quarantine on arrivals from Egypt, it is looked upon as something little short of a disaster by the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Jaffa. As an instance of the effect which the annual arrival of tourists has had upon the progress of this country, it may be mentioned that 20 years ago there existed only one decent hotel in Jerusalem, whereas now there are at least six good hotels in this city, two being first class, besides several boarding-houses and hospices for the accommodation of pilgrims. In Jaffa there are at present three first-class hotels, besides several minor establishments of this nature, and good hotels have recently been opened on Mount Carmel, at

Nazareth and Tiberias. These are all more or less dependent on the visits of tourists, and when it is stated that the number of the latter now averages yearly between 2,000 and 3,000 (not calculating pilgrims who arrive from Russia, France, and other parts of Europe), the advantages to the country from an economic point of view are apparent. It may also be mentioned that within the last two or three years further facilities for visiting the Holy Land have been afforded by the yachting cruises to the Mediterranean, which have been got up for the benefit of tourists from England and America. Such fine vessels as the "Fürst Bismarck", of the Hamburg and York Line, and the "Friesland" of the Red Star Line, are now annually chartered during the tourist season for the conveyance of travellers from the United States to Egypt, Palestine and other parts of the Mediterranean; and the "Garonne", the "St. Sunniva", and other steamboats belonging to English companies, fitted up in a manner to ensure every comfort and luxury to the passengers, sail several times between November and April from England for the same destination. The administration of Egypt during the last 14 years, under British control, has, therefore, not only been of inestimable benefit to the country itself, but has indirectly proved to be in no small degree advantageous to the neighbouring province of Palestine."[6]

For the next three years, there is again an absence of data on tourism and pilgrimage. But beginning with 1900, growing attention is devoted to this sector of the economy. Consul Amzalak's report from Jaffa for 1900 indicated that "the number of tourists who visited Palestine passing through Jaffa in 1900 was 3,000, the greatest number of whom were American travellers", whereas the "pilgrims who came to Palestine for devotional purposes amounted to about 14,500 and were as follows: Russians 6,700; Greeks 1,500; Armenians 1,100; Germans 500; Austrians 550; Copts from Egypt 650; and other pilgrims 3,500".[7] By 1904, the number of tourists had exceeded 4,000 and Acting-Consul Falanga, writing from Jaffa, expected that with the suppression of quarantine regulations on vessels coming from Egypt, tourists would double in 1905. There would come "steamers belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, the White Star Line and some private yachts under the British flag."[8]

Likewise, Consul Dickson writing from Jerusalem in the same year, painted a somewhat rosy picture of the prospects and impact of tourism in the Sanjaq of **Quds al-Sharif:**

"...Several large ocean 'liners' visit that port [Jaffa]. being especially chartered for the conveyance of tourists, who are now accustomed to come to Jerusalem in such numbers that the city, during the early spring and autumn, is becoming a second Cairo in this respect. The result is that money flows into the country, and as the native population grows richer,

building material and other necessities, as well as luxuries, of European manufacture are in demand, and trade with the United Kingdom and the Continent generally is stimulated."[9]

In actual fact, the optimistic projections of Falanga did not materialize. Statistics for the next eight seasons indicate a slow increase with a high point of 6,200 tourist for the season 1909-1910. Thereafter, the tensions of war and wartime conditions caused a drop in the trade with a low point of 3,240 tourists for the season 1912-1913:[10]

June 1905 to May 1906	4,181 tourists
June 1906 to May 1907	5,569
June 1907 to May 1908	5,600
June 1908 to May 1909	5,600
June 1909 to May 1910	7,196
June 1910 to May 1911	5,759
June 1911 to May 1912	5,320
June 1912 to May 1913	3,238

Consular reports differentiated between tourists and pilgrims. The latter, composed mainly of Russians, sometimes totalled over 20,000 yearly, while of/the former Americans constituted about a third of the total numbers. There is no reference in the reports to Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The value of the Annual Reports is diminished somewhat by the lack of real data on the impact of tourism and pilgrimage on the economy. There is no attempt to estimate the amount of the economy. There is no attempt to estimate the amount of funds spent on average by the various categories of tourists and pilgrims. Besides, the figures provided reflect the traffic through Jaffa. For a more accurate picture of tourism and pilgrimage in the Sanjaq one would have to add other entrance points, notably Haifa, (under the administrative jurisdiction of the Beirut Vilayet), and the various land crossing points from the Bilad al-Sham and Egypt.

Agriculture and Trade

The economic importance of Palestine has traditionally been underestimated, generally for myth-construction purposes: a dominant theme, taken for granted by the Western World, is the Zionist claim that the region was a desert which bloomed with the arrival of the first wave of Jewish colons-pioneers late in the nineteenth century.[11] In fact, Palestine has always been an important producer of key agricultural commodities and was experiencing a significant expansion of agriculture and allied manufactures at least two generations before the arrival of the first colons from East Europe,[12] who were able to maintain their farms only with the help of Arab labor, and the massive financial subsidies of Baron Edmund de Rothschild.[13]

In the tenth century, al-Maqdisi had stressed the importance of Palestine's olive oil, cotton, grape, sugar cane, and the manufacture of silk and cotton cloths, and soap.[14]Likewise, Fra Francesco Suriano, a Franciscan Father and long-time resident of Palestine in the sixteenth century, described the abundance of its production. In addition to sugar cane, citrus fruits and apples, he reported: "They have an infinite number of bushes which yield cotton and other bushes which produce a seed... from which they make oil called sesame, which is better than olive oil when cooked and even better than butter. And they produce such quantities of this that it supplies all Syria and Egypt."[15]

Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, substantial shipments of cotton and grains were exported from various Bilad al-Sham ports usually by European merchants residing in the area and protected by the Capitulations; the ports of Sayda and Akka played a prominent role in this trade.[16] At first used in the making of candlewicks, cotton was later much sought after as raw material for the European textile industry. The demand for cotton remained important during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century and was further stimulated in the final decades of the eighteenth; in fact, it became a leading factor in the genesis of the industrial revolution.[17]

It is significant to note that the steady demand for this valuable commodity in the West was reflected in the expansion of cotton cultivation in Palestine throughout the eighteenth century, reaching new heights in the 1790's, the acknowledged take-off period for the industrial revolution, and that this increase also provided the economic bases for the rise of the Zaydani family, culminating in the dramatic career of Dahir al-Umar and the development of Akka.[18]Similarly, it would help explain the Ahmad al-Jazzar phenomenon. Largely based on the expansion of agriculture and commerce, with cotton, silk, and grains constituting key factors, Akka rose to even greater prominence under this ruler, becoming the principal seat of power for the southern and western regions of Bilad al-Sham.[19]

Palestinian cotton was always a more important item of trade to France—especially to Southern France—than it was to England. It was considered of superior quality to that of Northern Syria and Southern Turkey, and was valued at 30% to 50% higher. In the 1830's the annual production according to a contemporary report, averaged an estimated 2200 tons of which 3/4 was exported.[20] But thereafter it suffered a severe decline with only a brief revival during the American Civil War, when demand for non-American cotton was greatly stimulated[21]. In the opening years of the twentieth century, there was renewed interest in cotton as reflected in th Annual Reports, with Consul Dickson providing a competent summary of the history and prospects of its cultivation in Palestine. Experiments were being carried out which yielded fair results, and even steam ploughs and tractors were in use as early as 1910.[22] It is quite clear that by 1906 British business interests and Zionist colonization were aware of the cotton producing potential of Palestine

and that this resource may have been an added incentive in the economic partition of the area, which, as has already been suggested, was the prelude to the political partition of the post-1914 era.

Of greater—because of more lasting—importance than cotton in the export trade of Palestine were wheat, barley, citrus fruit and sesame. The last was in demand particularly by the oil and soap industry of Marseilles which imported substantial shipments in the late nineteenth century. In the best years (1889-1897) exports from Jaffa would climb to between £ 50,000 and £ 110,000 a year or roughly equivalent to orange exports. But thereafter there appears to have been a steep decline in exports (1898-1905) while oranges climbed to ever higher heights. (See Table 2.)

Wheat, of course, had once played a considerable role in the commercial exchange with Europe. According to Paul Masson, the economic historian of Marseilles, wheat shipment obtained in Bilad al-Sham, especially at Akka, helped to save Southern France from famine on numerous occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: he quotes a French traveller, Fermanel, who witnessed in 1630 thirty two ships in Akka all waiting at the same time to load the wheat.[23]

Despite much fluctuation and a massive drop in its export from Jaffa (particularly after 1890), wheat remained important for the Italian trade and its 'hard' quality was much esteemed for the macaroni industry: in fact, Italian demand for this hard wheat remained high in spite of the lower market price of Russian wheat shipped from the Black Sea port of Odessa.[24]

In good years, exports of Palestinian wheat from the various ports reached substantial figures. According to A. Ruppin, the Zionist Organization's principal land colonization expert, the Jewish colonies during the period 1901-1907 turned to wheat cultivation, each colonist being given large plots averaging 250 dunums, "under the direction of the Jewish Colonization Association."[25] Yet the results did not seem encouraging. Describing the dismal and despairing conditions of 25 agricultural settlements cultivating 350,000 dunums of land in 1908, Ruppin recalled:

> "There are few things sadder to imagine than (their) state of mind ... round about the year 1908. The older generation was grown weary and sullen with the labour and toil of a quarter century, without the faintest hope for the future or the slightest enjoyment of the present, the younger generation wished but one thing, namely to leave agriculture..., and to find a 'better' occupation in the outside world."[26]

But in contrast with the despair of the newcomers, one can imagine what wonderful harvests could have been obtained by the sturdy peasants of Palestine on 350,000 dunums of land in 1908.

Barley was another valuable export crop, associated principally with the Gaza region. Because of its superb quality, it was in great demand by the breweries of

England, Scotland, and Germany: annual production for export regularly exceeded 40,000 tons for the period 1890-1900 in Gaza alone, representing 3/4 of Palestine's total export of this cereal.[27]

A consular report for the year 1898 indicates exports to Great Britain from Gaza to be 30,000 tons of barley, 4,000 tons of wheat, and 600 tons of dura shipped on board 15 British steamers. A note also adds: "It is to be hoped that the harvest of Gaza and its neighbourhood will be of the best, especially as the districts belonging to the Bedouins of Gaza are very fertile, and more highly thought of than any other district throughout the whole of Palestine, because of their productive qualities."[28]. In fact, what is often forgotten is that the average value of Gaza's barley exports to England (35,000 tons worth £ 180,000) was nearly twice the average value of Jaffa's exports of oranges (£97,000 yearly average for 1901-1905) to all countries.[29]

After 1905, there was more interest shown in the Gaza region in political as well as economic matters. Bir Sabi' appeared more frequently in the reports "as the seat of government of the 70,000 Bedawin who inhabit the district."[30] The governor was credited with doing his best to encourage public works: mosque construction, public gardens, and a pump placed over a water well.[31]

With regard to the chief import from England in the Gaza district, it was unbleached calico cloth, the standard item of popular clothing, which was dyed blue locally using German anilines. According to Consul Blech's report for the year 1907 barley was laid out on the beach in the form of large piles and served as a peculiar landmark for captains of steamers. Exports of this valuable grain had risen to between £ 200,000 and £ 250,000 a year by 1907.[32]

As for the orange and olive on which much of the agricultural fame of Palestine rested, they represented valuable cash crops for the Sanjaq of al-Quds, as they did for the Sanjaqs of Akka and Balqa (Nablus).[33] In this respect, it is interesting to note that, according to Weakley's competent estimates contained in his **Report Upon the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in Syria** (1911), Palestine as a whole produced over 40% more olive oil than the total production of the Mutasarifiya of Mount Lebanon, the Sanjaq of Beirut, and the Sanjaq of Tripoli.[34]

The annual reports on the trade of Jaffa reveal the fluctuating nature of olive oil exports. For instance in 1892 the value of this export was only £ 1,358 as against £ 20,700 in 1891; this is accounted for by the fact that the olive crop is plentiful every alternate year.[35] In bad years, olive oil would be imported from Greece: in 1901, from Mitylene.[36] Table 2 would indicate a huge drop in olive oil exports from Jaffa after 1891 but a corresponding near-tripling in the export of soap (£ 33,600 for 1889 against £ 124,000 for 1891, and £ 114,000 for 1894). There was obviously more oil being converted to soap for export (mostly to Egypt) and this is further corroborated by Consul Dickson's report for the year 1899. However, despite the importance of olive oil and soap, the annual reports devote, on the whole, very little to

this subject. For the twenty-one year period between 1885 and 1905 the total value of oil and soap exported from Jaffa slightly exceeded the total value of oranges.

Of course, the port of Jaffa, the gateway to Palestine, was the centre of orange exports. According to a French source of 1900, 9/10th of total exports went to Britain between 1885 and 1900 due to three factors: increased demand for this fruit in England, more British shipping serving Palestinian ports, and the substantial loans and advances made to Palestinian producers by British firms.[37] Ten years later, a British source claimed that 50% of the Jaffa's orange exports went to England and that the British market preferred smaller oranges packed 144 to a case, whereas the Austrians and Russians preferred the larger fruit packed 96 to a case of similar size: the cost per case was 5 shillings (FOB) and the number of cases was as follows—1905 (456,000), 1906 (548,000), 1907 (631,000), 1908 (676,000), 1909 (709,000)[38].

This then is a brief survey of Palestinian agricultural production exports with the principal emphasis placed on shipments to Europe, as reflected in the annual reports. If to this is added the exports to Egypt and Turkey, it is clear that Palestine, far from being the "land that was desolate" as characterized by Zionist and some Western literature, in fact yielded a substantial surplus for export, and helped to finance the crushing Ottoman Public Debt, long before any significant contributions were made by the agricultural colonization schemes of the Zionist Organization.

But Palestine was not only an exporting land; it also provided a docile market for the consumer goods relentlessly ground out by Western industry. Already by 1830, the region was exporting raw cotton and importing even greater quantities of cheap cotton manufactures.[39] The steady destruction of the Syrian and Palestinian cottage industries which had provided local needs and employment opportunities persisted throughout the nineteenth century. As late as 1906, Reverend C.T. Wilson reported: "In a village I know, where a few years ago forty looms were in full work, only six are now to be found."[39a] In the same year Consul Freeman (Jaffa) emphasized the dramatic increase of cotton good imports which have doubled in quantity and quadrupled in value in 7 years. He cited two causes: (a) "native looms have mostly fallen into disuse", (b) "cotton flannelette in colours have replaced woollen stuffs."[39b] (See tables 3 and 4.)

The Annual Reports and Agriculture: An Assessment

According to one British Consul and "old Turkish hand", Robert Stuart, the Ottoman Empire required the special skills of experienced staff: "The Consul is always regarded as a political and representative officer, and as a repository of the views of his government on questions of state policy."[40] On the thorny question of qualifications Stuart was equally emphatic. A Consul had to see things "through the English medium" because

"if his notions and sympathies are local, they influence his judgement, his mode of reasoning, and habit of thought. They colour his despatches, so that, writing according to his won appreciations, he might, in all good faith, represent a state of things very different to what it would appear to English eyes. Now, it is the English, not the Eastern, view of things that is required by our Government ... Our Government as well as our capitalists and merchants, are directly interested in knowing the real state of things in Turkey. And for such knowledge they are almost, if not altogether, dependent on Consular Reports."[41]

With this observation in mind, how useful is the data and the description of agricultural conditions, including trade, contained in the annual reports? To begin with, one must stress that two areas, orange growing and wine production, are given the bulk of attention while other products of the land, cereals, olive, sesame, colocynth, and watermelon, are dealt with mainly to the extent of their constituting export items, particularly to England and Europe (in that order).

There is a brief, sometimes longer, paragraph on the general condition of crops in every annual report. For instance for 1886 Consular-Agent Amzalak wrote from Jaffa: "The severe sirocco winds, which blew during the month of April last year, caused great damage to the principal productions of the country: such as wheat, barley, beans, lupins, etc... I regret also to add that the blossoms of the most important production of Palestine, the olive tree, were nearly all destroyed by those sirocco winds."[42]

However, for the next three years, information is particularly scarce. The only references to agriculture in Amzalak's report for 1887 concern the extension and high quality of wine production by the German colonies and the somewhat puzzling note in answer to Foreign Office circulars, that "agriculture is carried on in Palestine in too primitive a mode for information in regard to it to be of any interest or utility to British."[43] But he may have had second thoughts with respect to the uselessness of agricultural information from Palestine. In 1894 he reported: "Attention has been drawn to the superior qualities of the [Orange] fruit, both at the Cape and in Australia, and these colonies may find it advantageous to promote the planting and cultivation of young trees procured from Jaffa."[44] In this regard the American Consul in Jerusalem, Henry Gillman, is much more emphatic about the usefulness of Palestinian lessons in agriculture. In a remarkable report, he outlined the reasons why orange in Florida would find it advantageous to adopt Palestinian techniques of grafting onto lemon trees.[45]

The single reference in the 1888 report is that Richon Le Zion has planted about 2,000,000 vines, and that "all the colonists are good labourers."[46] There was hardly a word on agriculture in the 1889 report by Amzalak.[47] Therefore, for the years 1886 to 1889 the information is of little value except as an indication of the par-

ticular bias of the Consular-agent in question. His superior in Jerusalem, Consul Noel Temple Moore, merely transmitted the reports without useful comments of his own.

Thereafter, and for next fifteen years (1890-1905), the informational picture improved, with Consul John Dickson in Jerusalem exercising what appears to be a closer supervision of Consular-Agent Amzalak in Jaffa, in addition to providing his own assessment and data on a variety of agricultural subjects. In this respect, the report for 1891 would serve as a good example:

> "Agriculture in 1891 was not in such a flourishing condition as in 1890, the crops having failed in several districts. The price of wheat and barley was consequently high. The outbreak of cholera, moreover, in the neighbourhood of Damascus during the summer caused the establishment of sanitary cordons at various places on the borders of this province. All communication with the infected districts was prevented and internal traffic and the transport of produce from one part of the country to another was suspended. Cereals consequently rose in price, and farmers of the tithes who had made their contracts with Government, before the appearance of the epidemic were enabled, by the sale of this produce, to reap very considerable profits. Grain is exported almost entirely form Gaza, but statistics as to the amount that is annually shipped are not procurable. As far, however, as can be ascertained, over 1,000,000 bushels of wheat and barley are each year sent out of the country."[48]

The report for 1892 mentioned: "a considerable quantity of colocynth is annually exported from Gaza, as well as from Jaffa, to Europe for use as a drug, and the trade in this article is increasing."[49] This fruit (Citrullus Colocynthis), a drastic purgative, was widely used in the pharmaceutical and veterinary fields. Dickson also mentioned the planting of 1/2 million young American vines in the colony of Petah Tikva alone. As one might guess, the consular reports emphasized information on agricultural pursuits in the Jewish colonies, and showed a particular bent for wine production. And for succeeding years, the volume of news of commercial and agricultural activities in these colonies increased, as they also did with respect to the German colonies in the Sanjaq. The report for 1894 has a sub-title "colonisation" and a semi-ecstatic note—repeated year after year—on the quality of the wines of Richon Le Zion.[50] The section on agriculture in the report for the year 1895 is entirely devoted to the Jewish colonies, with references to the fact that they are not "altogether self-supporting", and that they use European farming methods in sowing and reaping.[51] There is a great deal of detail concerning the quantity of wine and cognac exported to Europe in barrels and bottles in the report for 1897.[52] Consular-Agent Amzalak in his report for the year 1898 writes that "the settlers in the colony of Petah Tikva have begun to plant a large part of their grounds with orange trees",

and that the planting of mulberry trees for the rearing of silkworms is being expanded.[53]

For 1901, the Jaffa Consulate reported: "Several families from the Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine are emigrating to Australia and America in search of work, which is attributed to the recent changes adopted under the new rules by which the colonies are administered."[54] A later report explains the details of the transfer of the Rothschild colonies to the Jewish Colonisation Association whereby the settlements were "thrown into a state of ferment, and not merely single individuals but entire families left for the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa." The report also mentioned that "numerous Arab peasants who had been employed in the colonies received their dismissal."[55]

For the period up to 1905, the most detailed account of the Jewish and German colonies in the Mutasarrifiya of Jerusalem are to be found in Consul Dickson's 1904 report.[56] The Germans consisted mainly of Wurtembergers who founded Sarona and Wilhelma and two other similar settlements in Jaffa itself and near Jerusalem. The Jewish colonies in the district included Petah Tikva (Mulebbis), Richon Le Zion, Ekron, Katra, Kustineh, Rehobot, Wady-Hanein, Artuf, and Mozah (the spelling of the annual report).[57]

As noted earlier, the Jewish and German colonies were given considerable prominence and exaggerated importance in the reports. Whatever the reasons for this inclination on the part of the Consuls—Political, cultural, ease of access of information—it could not have been on rational economic grounds. The agricultural contribution of the German and Jewish colonies was limited, if not marginal, and was restricted in the main to the export of wines and cognac. To set this contribution in proper perspective, it was roughly equivalent to Jaffa's watermelon export. (See Table 2 for the years 1897 to 1905).

This brings us to the last observation: the assessment of the Jaffa orange industry as reflected in the consular reports. To begin, attention is drawn to a valuable study which was translated by the consular authorities and printed in the Foreign Office Miscellaneous Series (No. 300; 1893) as "Report on Irrigation and Orange Growing at Jaffa", drawn up by G. Franghia (perhaps Franjiya), "the local Government Engineer" as he is described by Consul Dickson. A concession for irrigating the gardens of Jaffa by using the water of the River Auja had been granted in Constantinople to Philip Malhame; Franghia's work was in the nature of a feasibility study. What is of interest, apart from the detailed breakdown of the costs of laying - out, planting, irrigating, and maintaining an average garden, was the observation that "orange growing in Syria is conducted exclusively by natives" and that due to the trade in this citrus fruit "Jaffa now ranks next after Beyrout in importance among Syrian coast towns."[58]

As to the annual reports themselves, they all contain a mass of details concerning market conditions, current prices, prospects for the year, current packing and freight charges, the competition from other countries and shipping, and transshipment. And it is perhaps in this regard that they remain most significant for research in the agricultural trade of the Sanjaq. The reports, of course, were meant to serve the reqirements of British policy, trade, and shipping.

In 1892, Consul Dickson provided data on participants in this growing trade: "The firm of Messrs. Houghton and Co., of London, annually send out an agent to Jaffa, who collects carefully and ships the choicest crop of the season for the London market."[59] And in the following year, there was more of the same: "The export of oranges to the United Kingdom has of late been on the increase, and last autumn a line of British steamers was established with the object of shipping oranges direct to Liverpool. The firm of Messrs. Goodyear and Co. sent on an average a steamer every 10 days from the commencement of the orange crop, each vessel loading from 15,000 to 20,000 boxes at a time ... a profitable business for the steamship companies."[60] In a later report, the reader is informed that "a well-known firm in Glasgow has opened an agency in this port (Jaffa) for obtaining consignments of oranges to Glasgow and shippers seem to have been satisfied with this new market."[61]

In the view of the Consuls, the quick rise of Great Britain to a dominant position in the Jaffa orange trade was due to such factors as direct and regular shipping service from Jaffa to Liverpool and money advances made by British merchants to Palestinian growers and speculators.

In his report for the year 1907, Consul Blech charted the growing importance of orange production and provided a detailed breakdown of the costs of establishing an orange garden of 100 dunums (25 acres). "In 1897," he wrote, "only 290,000 cases were exported; the total has now risen to 630,000 cases, and it is confidently expected that within a very few years the output will reach 1,000,000 cases."[62] These cases contained 120 to 150 oranges weighing approximately 80 lbs., and were admitted duty free in English ports: price on the British market 8 to 10 shillings per case. As to the methods of business transactions, Blech described them as follows:

> "It is usual for the owners of orange gardens to sell the produce long before it is ripe to speculators, who thus take off their hands all further trouble and responsibility. The price obtained by the grower is about 3 francs (2 shillings 4 1/2 d.) per case; the cost of packing is about 1 1/2 fr. (1 s. 2 d.); the freight is ls. 3d. per case. Anything obtained over 4s. 9 1/2 d. per case at Liverpool represents the speculators profit."[63]

Establishing an orange garden of 100 dunums (25 acres) with 6000 cuttings required a considerable investment in 1907. Blech's estimates included £ 800 for the land (at £8 per dunum): £ 950 for sinking an 18 meter well, a motor pump, reservoir

and irrigation channels; £ 500 for the orange cuttings, hedges, labour, fertilizer, etc., making a total outlay of £ 2,250 for the first year. To this one must add maintenance costs and interest until the actual production stage was attained in the sixth year after planting, so that the total outlay of garden in fact rose to £4,500. In the seventh year, the garden would normally produce one case of oranges per tree, thereafter 1.5 cases.[64]

Consul Blech's projection of the million cases target was soon to materialize. In 1911, Jaffa's orange export figure reached 869,800; cases valued at £217,000; in 1912, it climbed to 1,418,000 cases valued at £ 283,000; in 1913, according to Consul McGregor's figures, a high point of 1,608,570 cases valued at £297,700 was reached, shipped to the following ports and countries':[65]

Liverpool	825,455 cases
Manchester	10,632
London	14,348
Other British Ports	10,737
Marseilles	3,568
Hamburg	13,317
Trieste	52,594
Odessa	152,942
Egypt	233,291
Turkey	291,024
Romania	5,087

In the same year Jaffa's exports of soap was valued at £ 200,000..

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. The Annual Reports consulted reveal a wealth of material on the application of technology, the importation of textiles, hardware, building materials, petroleum, rice and flour, coffee, and tobacco. They are equally useful for charting the growing interest in investment opportunities, railway construction, public utilities, banks, and shipping. However, as sources for the agriculture of the Mutasarrifiya of Jerusalem, they tend to convey a distorted image of reality. Nonetheless, the cumulative statistical information is capable of correcting the picture.[66]

2. Recalling Consul Stuart's emphatic advice to view things "through the English medium" and not succumb to "Eastern" modes, it is clear that this dictum was closely adhered to, particularly in the reporting on agriculture and investments. The perception of the Consuls was focused on (1) foreign agricultural intrusion: the German and Jewish colonies and thier wine production; and (2) orange production and its British connections: capital investments and shipping. But although the reports reveal the Arab nature of this valuable agricultural enterprise, they provide no sociological information on the new "class" of Arab entrepreneurs, their origin, and impact on the socio-political scene. It is implied that this "class" is dependent

on Europe for their rise and growing wealth, yet the fact that it is also forging increased ties with markets nearer home in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt is ignored. (See Tables 5, 6 and 7.)

3. Little attention is devoted to other centers of the autonomous Sanjaq such as Hebron, Ramla, Ramallah, and even Bethlehem. The reports are therefore not particularly useful to students of the internal-domestic scene: land tenure, income, taxation, markets, handicrafts, and economic geography.

4. A great deal of interest is given to the cotton question in terms of its past history in Palestine, the various experiments conducted from time to time, and its prospects.

5. The reports present a good statistical picture of tourism and pilgrimage in the autonomous Sanjaq. Nonetheless, their value is diminished by the lack of detailed information on the impact of this sector on the economy. No estimates of the amount of funds spent on average by the various categories of tourists and pilgrims are provided.

Besides, the concentration is on the traffic through Jaffa. For a more accurate picture, other entrance points, notably Haifa and various crossing points from Syria and Egypt, would have to be examined.

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** Established as the autonomous Sanjaq or Mutasarrifiya of **Quds al-Sharif** in 1873, this administrative division included: 1 **Markaz-liwa** (Jerusalem); 3 **qadas** (Jaffa, Gaza, Hebron); and 2 **nahiyas** (Bethlehem and Ramla). In 1899 the **qada** of Bir Sabi' was established in a move to better control the border with Egypt. In 1906 the **qada** of Nazareth was added to the autonomous Sanjaq.

NOTES

1 Estimates for the number of slaves transported from Africa to America vary: about one million in the sixteenth century rising to three million in the eighteenth. Eric J. Hobsbawn, **Industry and Empire,** (London: Penguin, 1979), p. 52.

2 The term **Capitulations** is derived from the Latin **Capitula,** i.e., chapters. In formal terms the first Capitulations were granted by Sultan Sulayman to France in 1528 and 1535; the practice of maintaining, indeed of enlarging the scale and scope of such privileges, was followed by the succeeding sultans. Some of the privileges included the right to act as protector of the Holy Places in Palestine, the authorization of European ships to trade in Ottoman ports, the right of having European residents in the empire tried and disciplined by their own consular courts, not by Ottoman authorities, and all kinds of tax exemptions on residence, profit, travel and exports. Le Régime des Capitulations, (Paris: Plon, 1898), pp. 55, 60, 81.

3 Z.Y. Hershlag, **Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East,** (Leiden: Brill, 1964), p. 43.

4 H. Islamoglu and C. Keyder, "Agenda for Ottoman History", **Review,** Summer 1977, p. 54.

5 H.F. Frischwasser-Ra'anan, **The Frontiers of a Nationà A Re-examination of the Forces Which Created the Palestine Mandate and Determined its Territorial Shape,** (London: Batchworth Press, 1955), p. 27. The author argues that economic partition was accomplished between 1906 and 1914 and that it "established the bases for the secret wartime agreements on the partition of the Turkish Empire and, consequently, for the post-war division of the Middle East." **Ibid.**

6 Foreign Office, Annual Series, 1896, Trade of the Consular District of Jerusalem, No. 1698, p. 6. Hereafter cited as FOAS.

7 FOAS, 1901, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 2584, p. 8.

8 FOAS, 1905, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3410, pp. 13 and 5.

9 **Ibid.**

10 **Ibid.** See also FOAS Nos. 3974 (1908); 4697 (1911); 4850 (1912); 5107 (1913); and 5339 (1914).

11 The economic literature on Palestine is richer for the post-World War One period than it is for the Ottoman centuries. Nevertheless the following works are of value: John Bowring, **Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria,** (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1840); Board of Trade, Commercial Intelligence Committe, **Report Upon the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in Syria,** prepared by Ernest Weakley, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1911); Vital Cuinet, **Syrie, Liban et Palestine,** (Paris: Leroux, 1896); Noel Verney et George Dambmann, **Les Puissances Etrangères dans le Levant**

et en Palestine, (Paris: Guillaumin, 1900); ALfred Bonné, **Palastina, Land und Wirtschaft,** (Leipzig: 1932); Abraham Granovsky, **Land Problems in Palestine,** (London: Routledge, 1926); Hanna Salah, **Filastin wa tajdid hayatiha,** (New York: The Palestine Anti-Zionism Society, 1919).

12 John Bowring, **Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria,** (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1840), p. 133.

13 William E. Curtis, **To-day in Syria and Palestine,** (Chicago: Revell, 1903), p. 327.

14 Carl Johan Lamm, **Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East,** (Paris: Geuthner, 1937), p. 223.

15 Fra Francesco Suriano, **Treatise on the Holy Land, 1516,** (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), p 223.

16 Lamm, **Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles,** p. 234; Paul Msson, **Histoire du Commerce francais dans le Levant au XVIIe Siecle,** (Paris: Hachette, 1896), p. 390; Ralph Davis, "British Imports from the Middle East 1580-1780" in M.A. Cook, **Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,** (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 200, 204.

17 Marwan and Leila Buheiry, **The Splendor of The Holy Land,** (New York: Caravan Books, 1978), pp. XXXIII—XIV.

18 **Ibid.**

19 A.L. Tibawi, **A Modern History of Syria,** (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 31-32; Charles Issawi in "British Trade and the Rise of Beirut, 1830-1960", **International Journal of Middle East Studies,** 8 (1977), p. 92 explains the economic factors in the revival of British interests in **Bilad al-Sham.**

20 John Bowring, **Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria,** pp. 13-14, 58.

21 "Cotton Growing in Palestine",**Levant Trade Review,** Vol. 2, no. 3, Dec. (1912), pp. 363-364

22 FOAS, 1904, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3223, pp. 6-7. Ernest Weakley in his **Report** to the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the British Board of Trade in 1911 described the soil of Jordan as particularly suited to cotton growing: Weakley, **Report Upon the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in Syria,** (London: 1911), pp. 56-57, 130. Also the **Levant Trade Review** in a Dec. 1912 article on "Cotton Growing in Palestine" described British attempts to grow cotton in various parts of Palestine including the Jaffa area, and stressed that land prices were about 15% less than in Egypt. It added that the adoption of newly invented American cottonpicking machinery would be the answer to the problem of labor costs: "Cotton Growing in Palestine", **Levant Trade Review, Vol.** 2, no. 3, Dec. 1912, pp. 363-364.

23 Paul Masson, **Histoire du Commerce ... au 19e Siecle,** p. 513, p. 390, and also his **Histoire du Commerce Francais ... au 19e Siecle,** p. 411, 458, 463.

2 4 Masson, **Histoire du Commerce ... au 19e Siecle,** p. 513; Verney et Dambmann, **Les Puissances ...,** p. 637.

2 5 Arthur Ruppin, **The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine,** (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1926), p.4. Ruppin divides Zionist colonisation into 4 periods: (1) the period 1880 to 1900 characterized by the Rothschild administration and the dependance on wine; (2) the period 1901-1907, with the focus on wheat cultivation under the direction of the Jewish Colonisation Association; (3) the period 1908-1920, with attention on mixed farming; (4) the period after 1921 when large scale means were employed and attention devoted to the acquisition of connecting land areas. **Ibid.** p. 4. Furthermore, N. Weinstock, in his **Le Sionisme Contre Israel,** (Paris: Maspero, 1969), p. 77, points out the massive subsidies accorded to Jewish colons by the "Patriarchal" administration of the Rothschilds: 360 families were subsidized at a cost of 40 million francs by 1900. Yet by 1908, and in spite of this enormous investment, Arthur Ruppin could paint such a dismal picture of the total effort.

2 6 **Ibid.,** p. 6.
The myth of the Zionist colon's genius for agriculture (set off against a background of Arab incompetence) and the myth of "the land that was desolate" have been carefully nurtured over generations and are therefore hard to dispel. Yet it is sufficient to recall the observations made in 1918 by S. Tolkowsky, a foremost agricultural engineer of the Zionist Organisation, concerning Jewish Colons in Palestine: "They had come to cultivate again the soil... but, as has already been mentioned, they were ignorant of the most elementary rules of agriculture. Still, far from being discouraged, they started by copying the primitive methods of their Arab neighbours; little by little they became acquainted with the nature of the land, and the requirements of the crops...." S. Tolkowsky, **The Jewish Colonisation in Palestine,** (London: The Zionist Organisation, 1918), p. 6.

2 7 Verney and Dambamann, Les Puissances, pp. 350, 645; Weakley, **Report,** p. 197.

2 8 FOAS, 1899, **Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 2217, p. 7.

2 9 FOAS, 1906, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3561, p. 10.

3 0 FOAS, 1906, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3561, p. 9.

3 1 FOAS, 1907, **Trade and Commercc of Palestine,** No. 3771. B. Abu Manneh in "The Rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the late 19th Century," **The Palestinian and the Middle East Conflict,** (Ramat Gan: Turtledove Publishing, 1978), pp. 24-25 documents the creation of the Bir Sabi' **qada** but neglects to mention the addition of the **qada** of Nazareth to the sanjaq.

3 2 FOAS, 1908, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 3974.

33 Vital Cuinet, **Syrie, Liban, Palestine,** (Paris: E. Leroux, 1896), pp. 25-26, 34, 95, 99; Verney and Dambmann, **Les Puissances,** pp. 641-645; Weakley, **Report,** pp. 59, 193, 194.

34 Weakley, **Report,** p. 59.

35 FOAS, 1893, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 1186, p. 2.

36 FOAS, 1902, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 2822, p. 6.

37 Verney et Dambmann, Les Puissances, p. 645.

38 Weakley, **Report,** p. 194.

39 Bowring, **Report,** pp. 36-37.

39a Rev. C.T. Wilson, **Peasant Life in the Holy Land,** (London: John Murray. 1906), p.5.

39b FOAS, 1907, **Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3771.

40 Gordon L. Iseminger, "The Old Turkish Hands: The British Levantine Consuls, 1856-1876", **Middle East Journal,** 22, 1968, p. 306, quoting G.B., **Account and Papers,** LX (1872), pt III pp. 10-11.

41 **Ibid.**

42 FOAS, 1887, **Trade of Jaffa,** No. 164, p. 1.

43 FOAS, 1888, **Trade of Jerusalem and Jaffa,** No. 363, pp. 1-2

44 FOAS, 1894, **Trade of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 1350, p. 2

45 U.S., Documents of the Jerusalem Consulate, Henry Gillman to J.D. Perter, Report For the Year Ending September 30, 1886 (Dated December 16, 1886).

46 FOAS, 1889, **Trade of Jaffa,** No. 529, p. 3

47 FOAS, 1890, **Trade of Jaffa,** No. 773.

48 FOAS, 1892, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 1023, p. 4

49 FOAS, 1893, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 1186, p. 3

50 FOAS, 1895, **Trade of Jaffa,** No. 1540, p. 2

51 FOAS, 1896, **Trade of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 1698, pp. 4-5

52 FOAS, 1898, **Trade and Commerce of Jerusalem and District,** No. 2050, p. 10.

53 FOAS, 1899, **Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 2217, p. 8

54 FOAS, 1902, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 2822, p. 7

55 FOAS, 1905, **Trade and Commerce of Palestine,** No. 3410, p. 11

56 **Ibid.,** pp. 7-11

57 **Ibid.**

58 Foreign Office, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, **Report on Irrigation and Orange Growing at Jaffa,** No. 300, pp. 1-10.

59 FOAS, 1892, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 1023, pp. 1-2

60 FOAS, 1893, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 1186, p. 3

61 FOAS, 1896, **Trade of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 1698, p. 7

62 FOAS, 1908, **Trade of Palestine,** No. 3974

63 **Ibid.**

64 **Ibid.**

65 FOAS, 1914, **Trade of the Consular District of Jerusalem,** No. 5339.

66 Foreign Office, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, **Report on the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway,** No. 288

TABLE No 1

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS OF JAFFA 1885-1905
(Quantities expressed in thousands)

	WHEAT Quarters	MAIZE Quarters	OLIVE OIL Lbs.	SESAME Tons	SOAP Tons	WOOL Lbs.	ORANGES Boxes	COLOCYNTH Lbs.	HIDES Lbs.	WINES & SPIRITS Kilos	HANDICRAFTS
1885	2.25	7.05	2021.25	2.40	0.43	165.-	106.-	27.50	44.-	—	—
1886	1.90	9.-	—	3.10	0.28	209.-	98.-	60.50	36.-	—	—
1887	12.50	24.-	605.-	2.12	1.20	247.50	180.-	27.50	24.-	—	—
1888	6.25	21.20	1512.50	1.87	1.50	160.-	221.-	60.-	18.-	—	—
1889	14.13	22.75	2052.60	4.32	1.05	264.-	20.50	48.40	—	—	—
1890	20.80	17.47	5817.25	7.26	1.41	221.75	200.-	49.50	564.50	—	—
1891	2.70	18.32	1529.-	1.89	4.25	422.40	270.-	93.40	462.-	—	—
1892	—	0.69	11.-	5.-	1.80	380.-	248.-	88.70	372.-	—	—
1893	—	3.24	1159.20	4.-	3.90	239.20	278.-	42.-	248.-	—	—
1894	—	2.35	643.05	4.12	4.-	33.-	280.-	16.50	90.-	—	—
1895	4.97	4.72	286.-	3.69	4.44	240.77	260.-	18.66	280-	—	—
1896	1.09	20.85	414.44	4.60	4.91	324.-	242.-	33.33	488.89	—	—
1897	—	8.75	250.-	3.12	3.15	275.-	290.-	44.-	308.-	—	—
1898	10.-	3.-	330.	2.-	2.75	264.-	330.-	42.50	254.-	—	—
1899	—	3.-	81.25	1.50	5.25	68.75	310.-	38.55	555.50	366.-	—
1900	—	3.75	598.-	2.30	1.63	83.-	251.07	45.50	120.-	1365.-	—
1901	—	0.12	96.-	1.71	2.21	188.-	361.45	34.70	279.-	2443.-	—
1902	—	1.30	—	6.40	0.74	130.-	304.09	24.40	125.58	1202.79	2.20
1903	—	—	414.50	2.16	2.81	320.50	447.67	71.16	128.60	2805.79	0.58
1904	—	—	80.90	1.67	2.64	349.-	467.50	57.-	267.50	3512.58	0.65
1905	7.66	—	—	0.98	2.27	275.75	456.15	52.50	506.60	3708.40	0.98
	84.25	171.56	17901.94	66.21	52.62	4860.62	5621.43	976.30	5172.17	15403.56	4.41

TABLE No 2.

2. TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM JAFFA 1885-1905
(Values expressed in thousands)

	WHEAT	MAIZE	OLIVE OIL	SESAME	SOAP	WOOL	ORANGES	COLO—CYNTH	HIDES	WINES & SPIRITS	WATER—MELONS	HANDICRAFTS	OTHER ARTICLES
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1885	3,60	7.87	25,26	32,00	13,72	2,40	26,50	0.80	0.64	—	—	—	19,77
1886	3,32	9.-	—	45,53	8.96	3.70	29.40	2.15	0.56	—	—	—	18.93
1887	15.-	21.-	7.55	42.50	38.40	3.60	36.-	1.60	1.-	—	—	—	19.72
1888	7.80	16.96	20.62	28.12	45.-	2.-	55.-	2.-	0.75	—	—	—	26.06
1889	16.95	18.20	26.43	62.66	33.60	2.30	51.20	1.80	—	—	—	—	30.40
1890	19.92	11.24	75.08	109.32	44.70	4.56	83.12	2.20	7.24	—	—	—	89.62
1891	3,30	17.30	20.70	30.80	124.-	4.30	108.40	3.80	8.60	—	—	—	79.33
1892	—	0.42	1.35	69.35	46.80	5.55	62.00	2.58	7.10	—	—	—	63.30
1893	—	2.58	13.84	54.94	112.-	2.40	69.50	0.95	4.07	—	—	—	73.34
1894	—	2.-	9.05	42.15	114.-	0.40	51.00	0.80	1.20	—	—	—	65,00
1895	3.56	3.20	2.60	42.75	93.24	2.07	65.-	1.40	3.08	—	—	—	65.37
1896	1.92	14.17	6.05	59.80	113.11	5.32	72.50	14.27	—	—	—		83.69
1898	14.-	3.-	40.-	81.90	4.-	75.80	1.-	9.80	—	26.-	—		58.93
1898	14.-	3.-	4.50	28.-	62.-	3.36	82.50	1.40	8.10	—	24.85	—	75.07
1899	—	1.22	1.35	21.-	125.75	1.75	77.-	1.30	10.25	2.90	26.10	—	47.25
1900	—	2.95	9.11	30.56	44.55	1.36	74.21	1.88	1.61	21.84	24.50	—	52.37
1901	—	0.12	1.50	25.20	57.-	2.15	86.52	2.19	3.45	35.35	21.75	—	42.40
1902	—	1.45	—	29.26	18.76	1.32	86.50	1.45	2.98	18.40	17.65	4.85	20.77
1903	—	—	5.33	30.04	77.65	4.50	93.43	3,70	4.-	30.35	19.-	7.10	47.23
1904	—	—	0.95	23.35	62.-	7.93	103.95	3.65	6.-	37.86	11.-	9.-	29.61
1905	11.-	—	—	13.82	56.91	4.54	114.65	3.37	8.11	47.02	18.80	12.58	77.01
	100.37	141.13	234.77	861.15	1374.05	70.51	1504.28	42.52	102.81	193.72	189.65	33.53	1085.44

TABLE No 3.

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS TO JAFFA 1885-1905
(Quantities Expressed in Thousands)

	COTTON MANUF Bales	COFFEE Tons	RICE Tons	SUGAR Boxes	PETRO-LEUM	HARDWARE Boxes	TEXTILES Yards	COAL Tons	TIMBER Pieces	TILES Number	SALT Tons	FLOUR Sacks	IRON
1885	4.65	0.32	2.82	2.15	65.-	1.15	50.50	1.-	320	170	1.70	—	—
1886	5.12	0.25	1.60	1.75	48.-	0.90	50.-	0.80	325	110	1.75	12.81	—
1887	3.45	0.19	1.65	1.40	40.-	0.95	58.-	1.-	370	200	0.62	3.-	—
1888	4.75	0.20	2.12	0.92	29.-	0.87	50.-	0.60	335	160	0.70	3060	—
1889	5.-	0.21	2.20	0.85	35.-	0.92	64.31	0.66	400	200	0.65	3.85	—
1890	5.40	0.19	2.10	0.81	36.-	0.89	64.-	0.75	600	400	0.39	3.50	0.85
1891	4.95	0.18	2.40	0.78	38.50	0.78	55.10	2.20	1450	550	0.41	4.20	3.20
1892	5.10	0.19	2.52	0.81	56.50	0.81	59.50	3.20	1650	490	0.39	4.75	2.95
1893	4.85	0.20	3.55	1.24	50.-	0.97	60.20	4.45	1245*	495	0.52	5.25	2.25
1894	4.32	0.15	3.-	2.20	46.50	0.88	64.50	3.20	8.20	654	0.48	6.16	1.-
1895	4.07	0.17	3.25	2.35	48.20	0.79	63.30	3.40	8.45	710	0.46	7.75	0.98
1896	3.95	0.16	1.12	2.28	50.-	0.81	62.50	2.85	7.75	675	0.43	14.50	0.89
1897	4.05	0.68	1.50	2.27	60.-	0.79	69.50	4.80	8.20	810	0.39	10.-	1.20
1898	3.75	0.45	2.30	2.60	42.50	0.81	62.55	5.10	7.65	775	0.41	12.50	4.35
1899	4.12	1.60	3.-	2.20	60.-	0.97	—	4.70	9.15	875	0.39	30.-	3.95
1900	5.48	0.60	3.48	2.10	61.-	1.55	0.54**	2.97	6.14	864	0.80	21.10	1.45
1901	5.02	0.38	5.-	1.87	91.50	1.16	0.21	4.54	7.11	—	1.70	55.95	1.25
1902	4.37	0.24	4.03	1.69	61.50	0.36	0.08	4.45	6.40	—	1.30	68.56	0.93
1903	8.21	0.38	3.61	1.75	98.70	2.15	0.08	5.83	7.26	—	—	33.78	1.52
1904	6.98	0.19	3.78	2.20	100.70	5.68	0.10	1.67	10.52	—	—	19.49	1.64
1905	7.45	0.17	1.67	1.87	115.-	4.91	0.07	4.03	7.71	1010	—	20.-	2.50
	104.84	7.10	56.70	36.09	1233.60	29.10	833.96	62.20	6695	9148	13.49	340.75	30.90
							1.08		94.54				

* Quantities for textiles from 1900-1905 are expressed in bales not in yards

** Quantities for timber from 1894-1905 are expressed in cubic meters not in pieces

TABLE No. 4

4. TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS TO JAFFA 1885-1905
(Values Expressed in Thousands)

	COTTON MANUF.	COFFEE	RICE	SUGAR	PETRO-LEUM	HARDWARE	TEXTILES	COAL	TIMBER	SALT	FLOUR	IRON	OTHER ARTICLES
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1885	4.85	18.20	42.30	68.96	17.87	6.90	14.75	1.50	19.50	10.20	—	—	45.63
1886	46.08	16.-	18.80	36.-	16.50	5.52	14.35	1.40	20.10	8.45	13.60	—	44.08
1887	48.60	14.-	19.20	33.75	13.-	5,80	17.20	1.75	25.-	3.12	3.-	—	47.62
1888	66.50	13.72	43.30	20.-	7.25	5.30	16.-	1.05	22.50	3.33	4.50	—	49.61
1889	74.-	15.19	46.20	17.-	8.75	5.52	90.80	1.15	26.65	3.10	4.82	—	54.43
1890	16.89	22.-	16.20	9.-	4.34	20.50	1.12	20.40	2.85	4.30	7.19	58.01	
1891	71.50	14.50	—	15.70	8.50	3.95	19.10	3.40	61.50	3.-	5.35	28.-	53.20
1892	78.85	15.55	30.24	166.50	11.30	4.35	18.75	4.90	77.50	2.90	7.12	22.75	51.88
1893	74.90	21.50	42.60	22.32	10.-	5.10	18.50	6.96	60.20	3.85	7.30	21.75	54.56
1894	60.55	16.02	35.50	35.20	9.30	4.42	19.55	4.80	17.71	3.66	7.40	5.86	53.25
1895	61.12	14.50	32.50	36.-	16.87	3.96	20.05	5.15	17.65	3.58	7.20	5.28	52.12
1896	59.25	14.35	11.20	35.75	17.45	4.50	20.20	4.32	16.25	3.57	14.51	4.85	50.08
1897	59.70	43.10	15.-	32.-	12.-	4.15	21.80	6.60	17.20	2.37	10.-	6.20	76.50
1898	56.60	18.-	35.50	41.60	8.50	4.05	18.92	8.16	15.30	2.60	15.-	30.45	67.75
1899	61.50	51.20	32.50	33.-	16.50	5.85	22.40	8.86	18.45	2.50	30.-	31.60	75.90
1900	115.05	30.08	36.44	28.89	17.70	7.95	19.50	5.80	14.13	3.50	22.70	17.92	62.74
1901	100.60	18.35	45.40	26.80	20.55	10.60	6.85	7.98	16.75	7.05	53,50	11.80	100.08
1902	112.90	9.25	38.20	19.20	13.80	2.21	2.05	6.85	16.15	5.22	62.50	7.18	110.04
1903	175.-	14.15	37.30	22.07	22.22	9.70	3.70	8.89	19.60	4.-	30.20	10.70	82.24
1904	160.-	8.38	38.80	33.14	24.73	26.90	6.05	3.31	25.96	—	18.70	11.95	115.39
1905	180.-	7.85	19.65	33.10	25.90	28.-	4.60	6.47	22.45	—	18.90	19.60	97.48
	1781.55	390.78	642.63	623.18	307.69	159.07	395.62	100.42	550.95	78.85	340.60	243.08	1402.59

TABLE No 5

5. TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM JAFFA PER COUNTRY
1885-1905

	GREAT BRITAIN	TURKEY	FRANCE	ITALY	EGYPT	RUSSIA	AMERICA	GERMANY	AUSTRIA	OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1885	23,799	18,075	29,353	17,055	30,142	6,785	600	—	6,770	—	132,579
1886	25,890	15,110	30,200	13,505	24,022	5,308	—	—	5,520	—	119,555
1887	42,200	25,100	32,350	18,255	36,300	7,800	5,000	6,500	—	12,866	186,371
1888	50,300	35.830	36,200	15,205	30,200	10,180	3,700	7,200	—	15,500	204,315
1889	64,200	42,300	46,000	21,000	35,600	12,200	3,500	8,600	—	11,161	244,561
1890	102,630	88,600	109.404	12,976	96,000	13,600	2,200	19,060	—	2,540	447,010
1891	99,800	80,000	101,000	11,900	49,000	11,700	2,000	17,000	—	38,130	410,530
1892	71,610	31,356	53,000	8,000	52,000	9,000	1,000	5,600	—	26,900	258,466
1893	69,968	51,200	49,736	3,664	125,240	2,160	1,540	6,000	—	23,120	332,628
1894	52,600	45,000	43,100	2,700	115,200	1,800	1,200	4,080	—	19,924	285,604
1895	40,600	49,600	39,750	3,500	108,600	2,700	1,820	5,200	—	31,136	282,906
1896	55,800	68,700	59,320	7,680	125,300	4,100	1,650	7,400	—	43,497	373,447
1897	59,500	62,500	52,100	6,800	84,300	3,700	1,100	6,200	—	33,189	309,389
1898	61,800	60,500	59,280	7,500	81,900	4,300	1,300	7,200	—	23,000	306,780
1899	65,965	54,800	61,200	8,750	87,750	8,900	2,100	11,150	—	15,543	316,158
1900	77,000	31,500	50,300	7,200	61,400	10,000	2,000	13,400	—	12,150	264,950
1901	74,500	25,700	41,000	10,000	55,000	8,000	3,500	17,500	12,000	30,435	277,635
1902	70,000	22,000	28,000	8,000	32,000	6,000	4,000	15,000	10,000	8,390	203,390
1903	95,000	25,000	30,000	13,000	65,000	12,000	7,000	30,000	20,000	25,335	322,335
1904	98,000	20,000	24,000	7,000	75,000	8,000	8,000	32,000	12,000	11,300	295,300
1905	122,000	31,000	27,000	10,000	86,000	9,500	9,000	35,000	17,000	21,320	367,820
	1423,162	883,871	1002,293	213,690	1455,954	157,733	62,210	254,090	83,290	405,436	5,941,792

TABLE No. 6

6. TATAL VALUE OF IMPORTS TO JAFFA PER COUNTRY
1885-1905

	GREAT BRITAIN	TURKEY	FRANCE	ITALY	EGYPT	RUSSIA	AMERICA	GERMANY	AUSTRIA	OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1885	52,375	25,900	63,360	3,450	41,325	17,595	12,100	5,195	63,760	2,685	287,740
1886	46,200	24,390	55,210	2,500	36,310	14,245	10,090	4,200	44,435	3,300	240,880
1887	40,120	23,200	45,000	8,600	34,200	20,120	3,500	12,000	—	45,305	232,045
1888	46,200	29,915	50,300	10,500	32,600	25,600	4,050	14,400	—	47,500	261,065
1889	48,000	32,200	54,600	12,200	35,000	27,300	3,050	15,000	—	48,272	275,622
1890	17,400	52,300	48,000	12,000	45,800	12,300	2,800	13,500	—	55,711	259,811
1891	22,000	50,700	50,500	20,000	52,000	20,000	2,600	12,500	—	47,400	287,700
1892	50,156	47,844	53,000	22,000	56,000	28,000	3,000	14,000	—	68,597	342,597
1893	52,600	46,300	55,200	21,000	58,000	29,500	2,800	15,000	—	69,140	349,540
1894	42,800	38,700	46,600	17,000	48,000	25,000	1,700	20,000	—	33,433	273,233
1895	29,117	47,513	45,000	18,900	63,700	29,500	2,300	23,600	—	16,360	275,990
1896	27,900	44,500	42,600	15,800	59,200	28,300	2,200	22,800	—	12,790	256,090
1896	27,900	44,500	42,600	15,800	59,200	28,300	2,200	22,800	—	12,790	25,090
1897	32,400	46,500	52,900	17,800	65,000	38,600	3,600	28,900	—	20,930	306,630
1898	30,850	48,250	56,000	16,900	68,500	39,300	2,800	30,100	—	29,730	322,430
1899	34,500	64,250	69,000	20,000	63,900	48,600	3,200	39,500	—	47,310	390,260
1900	38,000	59,500	70,000	21,500	60,800	42,000	3,000	41,300	—	46,305	382,405
1901	40,000	64,500	60,800	14,000	50,700	45,000	4,000	30,000	32,600	84,710	426,310
1902	65,000	120,000	50,000	13,000	31,000	30.000	3,500	21,000	45,000	27,050	405,550
1903	68,000	150,000	36,000	14,000	39,000	32,000	5,000	20,000	50,000	25,775	439,775
1904	75,000	170,000	32,000	15,000	29,000	35,000	6,000	23,000	60,000	28,320	473,320
1905	78,000	161,000	29,000	17,000	28,000	30,000	7,000	25,000	62,000	27,000	464,000
	936,618	1347,462	1065,070	313,150	998,035	617,960	88,290	430,995	357,795	797,623	6952,993

TABLE No. 7

JAFFA'S TRADE

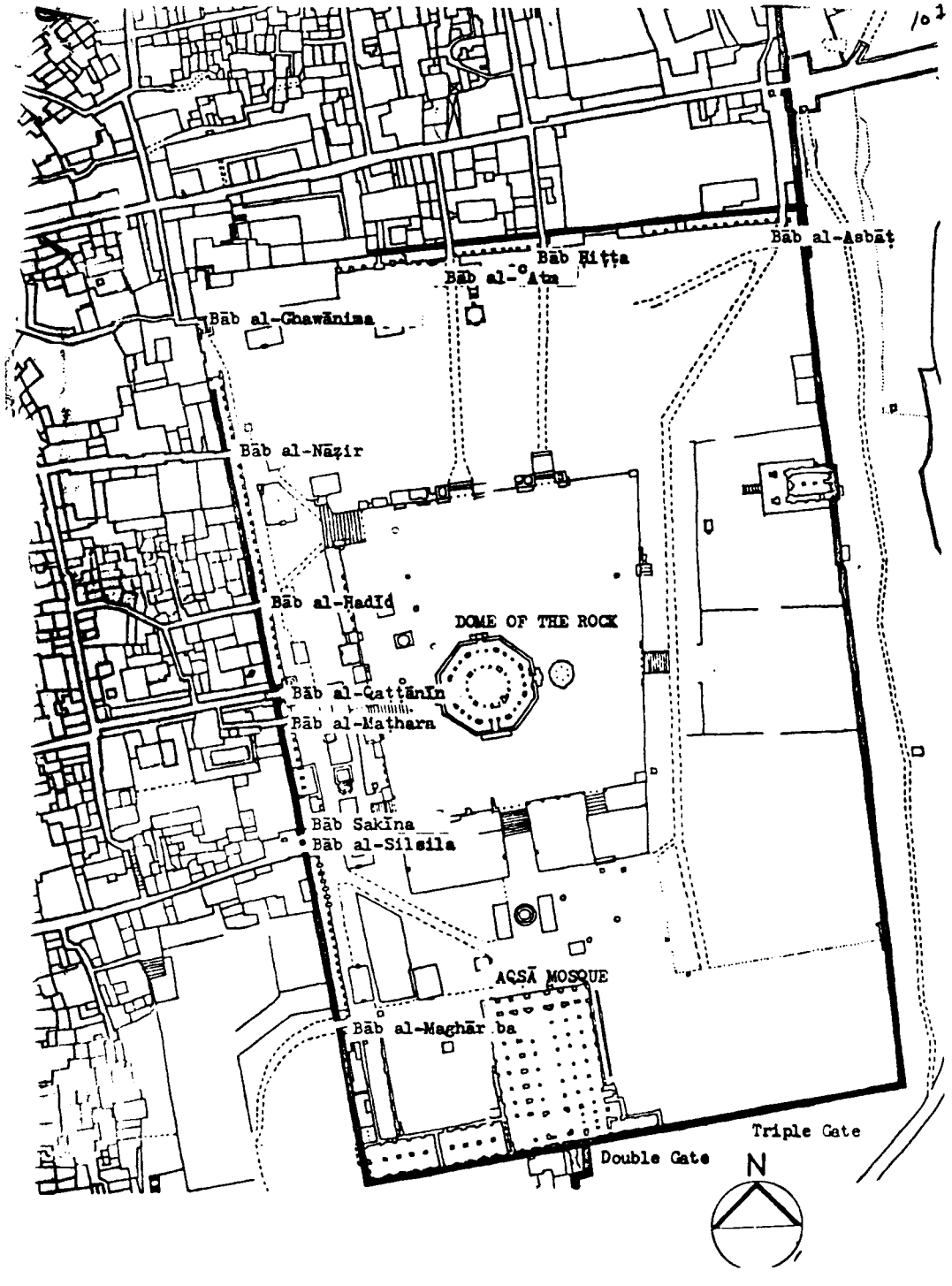
	1906		1907		1908	
	£ Imports From	£ Exports To	£ Imports From	£ Exports To	£ Imports From	£ Exports To
Britain	65,000	145,000	74,000	160,000	80,000	164,000
Brit. Colonies	40,000	12,000	43,000	15,000	44,000	16,000
Turkey	210,000	50,000	257,000	51,000	260,000	59,000
Austria	100,000	24,000	129,000	20,000	85,000	14,000
Russia	40,000	12,000	51,000	9,000	69,000	11,000
Germany	39,000	47,000	54,000	50,000	56,000	46,000
France	43,000	40,000	50,000	30,000	54,000	32,000
Egypt	50,000	116,000	42,000	100,000	49,000	165,000
Belgium	25,000	11,000	33,000	10,000	42,000	11,000
Italy	20,000	12,000	26,000	13,000	31,000	15,000
United States	10,000	12,000	16,000	15,000	12,000	13,000
Others	18,000	19,000	34,000	12,000	22,000	11,000
	660,000	500,000	809,000	485,000	804,000	557,000

From: Board of Trade, Commercial Intelligence Committee, **Report Upon the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in Syria,** prepared by Ernest Weakley, (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1911), p. 16.

TABLE No. 8

IMPORTS & EXPORTS FROM PALESTINIAN PORTS
for the year A.H. 1324 (March 1908-February 1909)

From	To	£ Imports	£ Exports
Britain	Akka	948	3,606
	Haifa	60,115	8,830
	Jaffa	75,502	168,199
France	Akka	798	44,080
	Haifa	12,174	129,463
	Jaffa	52,815	24,587
Germany	Akka	168	480
	Haifa	7,456	728
	Jaffa	43,553	2,585
Russia	Akka	4408	1,866
	Haifa	13,149	4,970
	Jaffa	108,107	16,453
Egypt	Akka	7,763	26,676
	Haifa	13,185	25,704
	Jaffa	93,306	232,971
Austria	Akka	—	1,919
	Haifa	24,327	4,528
	Jaffa	83,297	8,731
Italy	Akka	349	15,961
	Haifa	16,089	10,975
	Jaffa	40,802	25,529
Netherlands & USA	Akka	—	—
	Haifa	357	1,200
	Jaffa	19,426	800
Bulgaria & Rumania	Akka	1,183	—
	Haifa	6,058	109
	Jaffa	29,674	4,672


Bāb al-Asbāṭ
Bāb Ḥiṭṭa
Bāb al-ʿAtm
Bāb al-Ghawānima
Bāb al-Nāẓir
Bāb al-Ḥadīd
DOME OF THE ROCK
Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn
Bāb al-Maṭhara
Bāb Sakīna
Bāb al-Silsila
AQSĀ MOSQUE
Bāb al-Maghāribа
Triple Gate
Double Gate
N

THE ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HARAM IN JERUSALEM UNDER THE BAHRI MAMLUKS

Michael Hamilton Burgoyne

The Pre-Mamluk Devlopment of the Haram Area

The Bahri Mamluk development of the Haram area is really part of a long historical process. A complex patchwork of earlier construction is incorporated into various Mamluk buildings bordering the Haram and these surviving traces of earlier structures undoubtedly influenced the Mamluk development of the city in general and of the Haram borders in particular. A proper understanding of the monumental history of Mamluk Jerusalem demands, therefore, an awareness of the earlier architectural history of the city.

Literary evidence has been adduced for reconstructing the evolution of the city during various periods and archaeological observation can identify remains of earlier constructions which must have existed also in the Mamluk period. Excavation has unearthed features of the area surrounding the Haram, and the Biblical history of that surrounding area has received particular attention. Structural remains from the earliest state of the site are unlikely to have survived within the Haram itself, however, and excavation is prohibited, though surveying by Captain Warren has provided invaluable descriptions of the underlying labyrinth of undated galleries and cisterns. The bulk of the evidence is published in a prodigious collection of books and articles. In the following account of the pre-Mamluk architectural development I have endeavoured to summarize the published evidence and to introduce within a historical framework those new and as yet unpublished discoveries resulting from archaeological excavation or, in our case, careful observation and measurement. I have, in principle, restricted this account to those structures of which some physical remains survive, though I have included certain features known only from literary sources where to ignore them would be to give a false impression of the overall development.

Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Remains. Although the history of Hellenistic Jerusalem is richly documented, the architectural remains seem to be limited to an exposed vertical joint in the masonry some thirty metres north of the south-east corner of the Haram enclosure where the Herodian southern extension of the Temple Area abuts earlier stonework of contested antiquity. Thus, in the absence of other earlier remains, our account of the architectural development must begin with the Herodian period.

The Herodian reconstruction and redevelopment of the Temple Area is well known in its general outline and measurements are given in the Mishnaic tractate **Middoth** (compiled c. 200 A.D.). These measurements and the more detailed descriptions of Flavius Josephus have to certain extent been corroborated by observation and by excavation and clearance outside the walls.

In re-designing the Temple enclosure Herod enlarged the Salomonic Temple platform, supporting it partly on a massive substructure of vaults and piers known today as "Solomon's Stables." The lower courses of Herodian masonry, founded on bedrock, are clearly visible along the length of the south wall. The western wall of the Herodian precinct has been traced for much of its length under later constructions up to a point approximately thirty metres south of the north-west corner of the enclosure. At the north-west corner, where the rock is cut away to form a scarp 10m. high, stood a massive fortress which Herod built on the site of the Hasmonean **Baris** shortly before commencing work on the Temple. This new fortress he named Antonia after his Roman overlord, Mark Antony. The extent of Antonia has been more precisely defined by our recent discovery of extensive remains of its southern wall incorporated into the Mamluk buildings now occupying part of the site. Details in Josephus's account of the siege of Titus show that the north wall of the Temple enclosure adjoined Antonia. In fact a north-west corner stone of the enclosing wall, with typical Herodian marginal drafting on both north and west outer faces verifying that it is **in situ**, confirms Josephus's account.

At the north-east corner of the Haram the Herodian masonry survives to a height of approximately 10m. in places. There the intriguing variety of masonry types scattered among the Herodian stones belongs to later repairs and is not, as has been suggested, evidence that the Herodian stones are in secondary use.

Given the exact positions of the norh-west and north-east corners and the line of the south wall of Antonia, we may conclude that the present north wall of the Haram follows the line of the north wall of Herod's Temple enclosure. Besides, several large sockets 0.48m. wide set 6.3 m. apart into the rock scarp under Antonia about 7.5 m. above ground level almost certainly held roof beams of the continuous colonnade which, according to Josephus, was built by Herod on Hellenistic lines with monumental columns and capitals supporting a timber roof round the inner side of the four walls of the Temple enclosure. With the exception of these sockets no trace of that colonnade remains **in situ**. The present east wall of the Haram where, as noted above, the north and south corners are Herodian, is largely built on the remains of the Herodian wall.

Gates opened through these Herodian enclosing walls and vestiges of four survive: at Barclay's Gate below the present Bab al-Maghariba in the west wall, at the Golden Gate in the east wall and at the Double and Triple Gates in the south wall. Access to the sanctuary at several other points is indicated by the remains of massive arches: Wilson's Arch under the present Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina double gate and

Robinson's Arch at the southern end of the east wall. Warren's Gate, north of Wilson's Arch, is now a cistern but may well have been a Herodian gate passage as Conder has suggested. More northerly gates are known to have existed but their precise location is unknown.

The present boundary of the Haram thus follows the line of the Herodian **peribolos,** lower courses of which have been identified along the west, south and east sides, while vestiges of Herodian construction define the line of the north wall. Of the Temple nothing at all appears to have survived. The general orientation of the enclosure, originally dictated by topographical considerations which probably influenced the siting of the temples of Herod and Solomon, happens to approximate very closely to the **qibla,** the ideal Mecca orientation for Muslim religious constructions.

The Temple and surrounding porticoes are said to have been destroyed by the Roman general Titus when he captured Jerusalem to quell the First Jewish Revolt in 70 A.D. Thereafter, although a fragment of Hippolytus records a tradition that a statue of Caesar was set up before the altar of the (ruined) temple, probably the statue of "Kore" described in another literary fragment, the site almost certainly remained in ruins.

Hadrian, having crushed the Second Jewish Revolt in 135 A.D., rebuilt Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina, a Roman colony on the Graeco-Roman metropolitan model maintaining the Hippodamian grid pattern of streets which, as John Wilkinson has argued (**Levant** VII, 1975), was introduced by Herod and developed by Hadrian which, naturally following the lines of the north and west borders of the Temple precinct, extended the general **qibla** orientation into the surrounding streets. Otherwise the Hadrianic conversion of the city purposely neglected the Temple Area where the only innovation was the erection of a statue of Hadrian, which was probably joined later by a statue of his successor, Antoninus Pius.

These statues are last mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 A.D. They seem to have been destroyed following the Emperor Constantine's (312-37 A.D.) policy of official toleration and promotion of Christianity within the Roman Empire. Then the site was deliberately left as a ruin, though elsewhere splendid churches were erected to commemorate events associated with Christian tradition. Jerusalem thrived; pilgrimage to the Holy City was encouraged by the provision of hospices, infirmaries, etc., while the Roman streets were repaired and extended to include the southern part of the present Old City.

Under Julian the Apostate, who sought to break the **de facto** alliance between State and Church, an attempt was made in 363 A.D. to restore the Jewish Temple but it was abandoned on the night of the first day's construction. And so the Haram continued to be neglected—it is not shown in the detailed representation of Jerusalem in the celebrated Madaba Mosaic Map executed in the 6th century. Avi-

Yonah in his discussion on the Madaba Mosaic Map has suggested that a church dedicated to the memory of St. Jame's martyrdom existed at the south-east corner of the Temple enclosure (the "pinnacle") but there is no good evidence for this.

In 614 A.D., therefore, Persian invaders under Chosroe II (590-628 A.D.), who damaged or destroyed large numbers of Christian buildings in Jerusalem, would have found nothing to occupy them in the Haram. But shortly thereafter, even before the Byzantine emperor Heraclius's expulsion of the Persians from Jerusalem in 629 A.D., a major restoration of the holy places was implemented by a monk named Modestus. It has been asserted that Modestus was also responsible for the restoration of the Double Gate in the south wall of the Haram and the complete reconstruction of the Golden Gate in the east wall, but there is no proof of this. For one thing Modestus had small funds, and though it is reported that Heraclius carried in the True Cross via the Golden Gate, this story is first known from a document of 830 A.D. Both gates are Herodian in origin and most of the original interior structure of the Double Gate survives; almost nothing but the layout survives of the Herodian origins of the Golden Gate. Now a growing body of opinion considers both undertakings to be Umayyad and this view is corroborated to some extent by our discovery of evidence for a less elaborately decorated gateway in the north wall of the Haram which matches other gates, presumed to be Umayyad, in the north, west and south enclosing walls (below, p.59). But regardless of the exact date of the 7th century restoration of the Double Gate and reconstruction of the Golden Gate, we may be sure that the Haram had lain waste since the campaigns of Titus when in 17/638 'Umar captured the city for Islam.

'Umar's conquest and the first Aqsa Mosque. However uncertain are the events surrounding the capitulation of Jerusalem to 'Umar, his appropriation of the Temple enclosure for Muslim use is sure. In a city where by treaty Christian buildings were not to be expropriated, here was a vast empty space visible from many points in the city; the ideal site for a **masjid** to serve the new Muslim community. Other factors may have affected the choice: the early Muslims were influenced by converts who pretended to knowledge of the holy significance of the Temple Area; and there may even have been some prior spiritual attachment to Jerusalem, but this is difficult to demonstrate. Although derelict, the remains of gates and the ruins of colonnades and long stretches of crumbling enclosing walls survived. It was probably amongst the ruins of the southern colonnade (Herod's Royal Stoa) that 'Umar erected a "rectangular place of prayer... roughly built by setting big beams on the remains of some ruins..." thus described shortly before 66/685 by the Christian pilgrim Arculf. Nothing survives of this first mosque in Jerusalem.

The Umayyad Development. The earliest extant Islamic monument is the Dome of the Rock completed by 'Abd al-Malik in 72/691-92. Its purpose, says R.W. Hamilton, was

> to embody, in the universal language of architecture, the voice of Islam

declaring to the People of the Book [specifically: Christians] the authentic revelation of Christ's humanity and God's indivisible unity.

Immediately to the east stands the Qubbat al-Silsila, evidently built by 'Abd al-Malik as a Treasury. The extent of rebuilding at that time of the area surrounding the Dome of the Rock is unclear. The platform and at least one of the stairways leading up to it must have existed then.

The Aqsa Mosque also was begun by 'Abd al-Malik, according to the researches of Henri Stern based on R.W. Hamilton's archaeological analysis. It was, however, 'Abd al-Malik's son and successor, al-Walid, who was responsible for the main construction. Parts of al-Walid's mosque, the "second Aqsa Mosque" in Creswell's terminology or "Aqsa I" in Hamilton's, survive today. In fact, as Stern has convincingly argued, the layout of the present much-rebuilt structure follows that of al-Walid's original construction. Byzantine influence may be detected not only in the form of the Dome of the Rock (which imitates that of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy sepulchre) but in the apparently conscious placing of the Aqsa Mosque in line with the central **qibla** axis of the Dome of the Rock in manner reminiscent of the relationship between the congregational basilica and the commemorative rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre.

Both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque have been studied in considerable detail, but not yet in conjunction with the extensive urban remains currently being uncovered just outside the Haram walls to the south and south-west. The excavations there have revealed substantial remains of a group of Umayyad buildings whose date and function are not precisely known. The excavators tentatively associate these buildings with the **dar al-imara** mentioned alongside the Aqsa Mosque in the Aphrodito Papyri, and date them accordingly to the time of al-Walid. Included within this building complex are streets and stairs leading to the Double and Triple Gates and thence to the interior of the Haram.

The south wall of the Haram today extends upwards to form the **qibla** wall of the aqsa Mosque as it must have done in Umayyad times. It follows then, that the rebuilding of the Haram wall and the refurbishing of the Double Gate immediately below the Aqsa Mosque must have preceded the construction of the Mosque, as, presumably, did the construction in the same wall of the Triple Gate connecting the new Arab quarter in the south with the interior of the Haram.

Our recent survey of the Dawadariyya Khanqah (659/1295) at the north wall of the Haram has revealed that the present Bab al-'Atm/Bab Faysal is actually the westernmost opening of a triple gate (the two eastern bays having been incorporated into the construction of the **Khanqah**(and that this triple gate in the north wall though slightly smaller overall is otherwise identical to the Triple Gate in the south wall. Their common features are: semi-circular arches over each opening with distinctive chamfering of the lower outer edge of the voussoirs; above the semi-

circular arches, segmental rear vaults of slightly greater span so that the door leaves might fold back flush with the piers; and identical layouts on plan. Similar features are to be found on three other gates: the Bab Hitta in the north wall and, in the west wall, the Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina double gate (retained in a later rebuilding) and the Bab al-Nazir (which lacks the chamfering on the voussoirs). The similarities are so striking that there can be no doubt that these four gates were built contemporaneously. Given that the Triple Gate belongs to the period of rebuilding of the south wall of the Haram shortly before the construction of the Aqsa Mosque, this dates the gates in the north and west walls and, by implication, the rebuilding of the walls themselves, to the time of 'Abd al-Malik. It is reasonable to suppose that the east wall was rebuilt and the Golden Gate completed (above, p. 58) at the same time.

Though the extent of the Umayyad development of the Haram (e.g. the size of the Aqsa Mosque, or the number of stairways leading to the Dome of the Rock) cannot be determined, it seems clear that the boundaries of the site were re-established to contain the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, those unmistakable expressions of the new faith. The "monumental and ideological Islamization of an ancient site" had been achieved. Thereafter the Haram was to remain the object of constant pious attention as each succeeding ruler endeavoured to gain the prestige that embelishment or restoration would bring.

'Abbasids, Tulunids, Ikhshidids and Fatimids. The history of Jerusalem during the next three centuries is poorly documented. Ideally the various architecural contributions of each dynasty should be treated separately but the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is scanty and we rely for much of our information on the descriptions of 4-5/10-11th century authors. Since there is no clear way of knowing whether some of the structures they describe were built in an earlier period I have deemed it prudent to deal with the whole period under a collective heading until more evidence becomes available.

Under the 'Abbasids repairs and restorations of the Dome of the Rock and the radical reconstructions of the Aqsa Mosque, necessitated by repeated earthquakes, illustrate the continuing Muslim concern for the maintenance of the Haram. While this concern was focussed on the two dominant monuments, we know from literary sources that certain contributions were made to the general architectural development of the area. The testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faqih (290/903) and al-Muqaddasi (395/985) shows that by the tenth century porticoes had been built along the west and north sides of the Haram; six stairways led up to the platform; and, according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (300/913), there were four minarets. Various shrines, **maqams, qubbas** and **mihrabs** commemorated three main themes: the Night Journey of the Prophet; the Biblical and Qur'anic patriarchs or prophets; and divers eschatological subjects with evident funerary associations. Professor Grabar has observed that these funerary associations are probably to be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery. The Ikhshidid governors of Egypt, for example, were transported to Jerusalem for burial there.

Inscriptions record the pious endowment of a house (c. 290/903), a restoration of the Haram esplanade (c. 300/913) and, probably, the construction or restoration of the arcade at the top of the western stairway leading to the Dome of the Rock platform (artisan's 'signature' 340/951-52) as well as the restoration of the eastern Haram wall by the Amir 'Ali ibn Ikhshid (350/961-62). The sockets for springers of vaults cut at regular intervals into the rock scarp at the western end of the north wall of the Haram most probably represent the only surviving traces of the porticoes described first by al-Muqaddasi.

Under the Fatimids up to the time of the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem little change seems to have taken place in the Haram. The major reconstruction of the Aqsa Mosque under al-Zahir (425-27/1034-36) following the earthquake of 425/1034-35 greatly altered the appearance of the Mosque, but otherwise work within the Haram was restricted to general repair and embellishment. The city walls, including those parts coincident with the east and south Haram walls, and probably including Solomon's Stables, were rebuilt by al-Zahir concurrently with his reconstruction of the the Aqsa Mosque. At this time the old Muslim quarter to the south was abandoned and the Double and Triple Gates in the south wall blocked. Thereafter the main entrances were, as today, in the west and north walls.

The narrative of Nasir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 438/1047, describes the Bab Da'ud (the present Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina) as elaborately decorated with mosaics. Although Nasir's evidence has been criticized as inaccurate, or exaggerated, it is here corroborated by the fact that pick-marks made to improve adhesion of the bonding medium holding the mosaics to the wall may still be seen in the jambs of these gates. No mosaics survive. (They may have resembled the fine Fatimid mosaics in the Dome of the Rock and in the Aqsa Mosque.) None of the other surviving Haram gates which were built contemporaneously with the Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina (above, p. 59) is pick-marked.

Six stairways, one each in the north and east sides and two in the south and west sides are noted by Nasir-i Khusraw, and the text of an inscription at the south-eastern arcade is given. The present south-eastern arcade bears on the central spandrels two similar inscriptions, one of which is dated 412/1021. The recently edited text of these inscriptions corresponds reasonably closely with that given by Nasir-i Khusraw. However, a third inscription on a northern spandrel of the same arcade records a restoration in 608/1211-12, which suggests that the two earlier inscriptions are not exactly **in situ** having been moved to their present position during the restoration.

Such partial confirmations of Nasir-i Khusraw's account encourage greater faith in its accuracy than has previously been professed, which is indeed fortunate since his is the only detailed description of the Harm during the century preceding the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem.

In addition to the features outlined above, Nasir-i Khusraw refers to the three small domes on the platform of the Dome of the Rock, to the Qubbat Ya'qub and the Mihrab Zakariya, and to the porticoes along the north and west wall, all previously listed by al-Muqaddasi.

A mosque near the Golden Gate and "places of prayer" for Sufis located outside the north wall of the Haram are mentioned. This is the first reference to Sufis in Jerusalem where later, large numbers gathered. It is also one of the earliest indications of construction near the Haram border outside the walls. This new development of the area north of the Haram following the blocking of the gates in the south wall may also be attested by a recently discovered inscription (unpublished) re-used as a building stone in the Ayyubid northern porch of Bab Hitta which records the endowment in 445/1053-54 by the Marwanid Amir Ahmad b. Marwan of two adjoining houses in favour of pilgrims from Diyarbekir. The charitable provision of accommodation for pilgrims is, as we shall see, another theme which characterized the Mamluk development of Jerusalem.

In the latter part of the 5/11th century Fatimid authority in Palestine, never absolute, was being increasingly undermined. The expanding Saljuq empire was steadily advancing on Syria. Jerusalem was taken early in 436/1071 and, with the exception of a brief Fatimid re-occupation in 496/1076, remained in Saljuq hands until its recovery by the Fatimids in 489/1096. Virtually nothing is known of any architectural development during these twenty-six years. The Saljuq massacre of the Muslim inhabitants following the siege and recapture 469/1076 is unlikely to have been accompanied by destruction of buildings, at least not on the Haram if the Saljuq restoration of the Great Mosque at Damascus (475/1082-83) is a true indication of their interest in the holy places.

Meanwhile a movement which was to have the most profound effect on the subsequent architectural character of the city was under way; within three years the avowed goal of the first Crusade had been realized and in 492/1099 Jerusalem, after 485/461 years of Muslim rule, once more became a Christian city.

Crusader and Ayyubid Remains. Contemporary accounts suggest that under Crusader control few changes were made to the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque both of which retained much of their pre-Latin character. In the Dome of the Rock, which the Crusaders in real or pretended ignorance of its Islamic heritage, regarded as the **Templum Domini,** the sacred rock itself was covered with marble and surrounded by a finely wrought iron screen—a necessary precaution to prevent pilgrims chipping it away. The Aqsa Mosque was thought to be the royal palace of Solomon, **Templum Salomonis,** and it served as a palace for the Kings of Jerusalem and later for the Knights Templars. The plan to build a new church beside the Aqsa Mosque was reported in the late 6/12th century as under way but seems never to have been completed. The great hall of the Templars extends westwards from the Mosque along the southern Haram wall to meet at right-angles another vaulted hall

of Crusader construction which extends northwards as far as the Bab al-Maghariba. These western extensions now house the Women's Mosque and the Islamic Museum. Crusader eastern annexes to the Aqsa Mosque were recorded before being cleared away during the repairs of 1938-42. Solomon's Stables provided stabling for the destriers of the knights and since the Triple Gate was blocked a new gateway, the "Single Gate," was pierced in the southern wall to give access from outside the Haram.

On the Haram the Qubbat al-Silsila, bedecked like the Dome of the Rock with paintings and inscriptions, was dedicated as a chapel to St. James and, according to T.S.R. Boase, inspired other small shrines built with open arches and cupolas such as the Crusading baptistery (the present Qubbat al-Mi'raj) and the Throne of Jesus (the present Qubbat Sulayman). But the true origin of these enigmatic constructions remains uncertain: the common obsence both of masons' marks and of the distinctive diagonally dressed masonry might suggest non-Crusader construction, but this in a country of local workmen and, frequently, captive labour, may well be misleading. An even more unusual domed edifice is located on top of the Antonia scarp overlooking the Haram (adjoining the Crusader "Prison of Christ" and used as a mausoleum for an Ayyubid) the "Madfan al-Shaykh Darbas" which, as its amalgam of Eastern and Western styles suggests, may be Crusader. The subsequent Ayyubid conversion of every one of these shrines serves further to confuse the issue, just as the Ayyubid reconstruction of the central porch of the Aqsa Mosque led R.W. Hamilton judiciously to identify work of the period as "Crusader and Ayyubid."

As far as can be ascertained, however, it appears that little or no original Ayyubid construction was undertaken in Jerusalem for at least twenty years after the capture of the city (see below, p. 63), and so the possibility remains that most if not all of these enigmatic constructions are indeed Crusader.

Little is known of those Crusader monuments which no longer survive. North of the Dome of the Rock stood an Augustinian monastery which by all accounts was richly adorned with architectural sculpture, but nothing remains **in situ.** In fact fragments of Crusader masonry and sculpture are to be found throughout the Haram incorporated into later Islamic constructions and actually influencing the design of some. And yet no-one has a clear idea of their original purpose and location. Very few can be precisely dated. The literary sources are frustratingly vague on the topic, the epigraphic evidence is almost non-existent, and no systematic survey of the surviving monuments and architectural **spolia** has been attempted. It is somewhat surprising in view of the predominantly Christian background to the researches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the architecture of Crusader Jerusalem has not received the attention it merits.

Certain features are distinctive, however. The Romanesque style, the characteristic masons' marks, and the technique of stone dressing peculiar to the

Crusader masons, all facilitate identification. Naturally with such wholesale re-use of masonry and sculpture, homogeneity of construction must be established before any given structure can be assigned to a particular period. And so, even where later modifications have been made as, for example, in the case of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, the Crusader origin may nevertheless be inferred with some confidence. On the other hand, while the western porches of Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina are built largely of Crusader elements, the construction is post-Crusader, probably Ayyubid.

The reconquest of Jerusalem had become a primary goal for the Ayyubids in their drive to expel the Crusaders from Syria. The sanctity of Jerusalem and the implicit virtuousness of recapturing the city had been extolled in poetry and prose for many years. It can come as no surprise that one of the first duties undertaken after the successful conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187 under the leadership of Salah al-Din/Saladin was to reconsecrate the place.

The process of reconsecration took various forms: ecclesiastical buildings were demolished or converted; everywhere Christian symbols were replaced by Islamic ones. In the Haram the golden cross on top of the Dome of the Rock was replaced by an Islamic crescent finial, from the interior Latin inscriptions and Christian icons were removed, the dome re-decorated and a wooden screen erected round the Rock. The monastery of the Augustinian Canons was torn down leaving no trace. **Mihrabs** were introduced wherever possible not only to convert Christian buildings into Muslim ones like the Crusader baptistery which in 597/1200-01 became the Qubbat al-Nabiy (the present Qubbat al-Mi'raj) but even to re-assert the original Islamic character of constructions like Qubbat al-Silsila and the Aqsa Mosque. At the same time the celebrated wooden **minbar** ordered expressly for Jerusalem by Nur al-Din (564/1168-69) was installed beside Saladin's new **mihrab** in the Aqsa Mosque. Christians were excluded from the Haram and an inscription curiously reminiscent of the Herodian prohibition is reported to have been posted at one of the entrances.

This pious consecration of the Haram clearly reflects the original Umayyad transformation of the site into a Muslim holy place. The Ayyubids regarded themselves as the new champions of orthodox Sunni Islam. The physical expression of the change also echoes the Umayyad development in its debt to pre-existing Christian architecture: those surviving Muslim religious buildings that are positively dated by inscription to the twenty years following the conquest appear to be Crusader in origin and were simply expropriated (e.g. the Qubbat al-Mi'raj; the Salahiyya Madrasa, 588/1192: the Mosque of al-Malik al-Afdal, 589/1193; and so on).

In a time of great upheaval and the continuing threat of a Crusader counter-attack the rebuilding of the city's defences had to take priority over non-strategic construction, while after the death of Saladin in 589/1193 the struggle for power concentrated the attentions of the Ayyubid Amirs primarily on matters political rather than architectural. Hence only practical, secular construction—public works

such as the provision of water (**siqaya** of al-Afdal, 589/1193) or the western porch of Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina (datable c. 595/1198-99) were built anew, even then incorporating quantities of re-used Crusader masonry and sculpture.

But gradually the situation stabilized: Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Adil was formally proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria and successfully negotiated a series of truces with the Crusaders. In 596/1200 al-'Adil appointed his son, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, Governor of the province of Damascus, including Jerusalem.

Under al-Mu'azzam 'Isa's enlightened governorship Jerusalem enjoyed a brief period of relative peace and prosperity during which the business of re-furbishing the Haram could be undertaken more constructively than before. The arcade (**qanatir**) above the south-eastern flight of steps leading to the Dome of the Rock platform was restored (608/1211-12), the Nasiriyya Zawiya rebuilt (610/1214), the central porch of the Aqsa Mosque rebuilt (614/1217-18), the northern portico reconstructed, and new wooden doors were made for most of the Haram gates (?617/1220?). (It is unclear how these constructions—described in their original form by Nasir-i Khusraw—had become ruined, whether they were destroyed by the Saljuqs in the massacre of 469/1076, or whether quarried or simply neglected during the years of Crusader rule.) A certain amount of new building was also undertaken: the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya (604/1207-08), small domed aedicul at the south-west corner of the platform evidently originally intended as a Qur'an School, becoming later a school for grammar as the name implies; and two cisterns or tanks (**sahrij**) for drinking water (607/1210-11 and 613/1216-17).

With the advent of the Fifth Crusade the military and political situation deteriorated once more and in 616/1219 al-Mu'azzam 'Isa was obliged to march on Damietta to assist his brother, al-Malik al-Kamil, in its defence. So few troops were left in Syria as a result that it was decided to dismantle the newly rebuilt walls of Jerusalem lest the city should be re-occupied by the Crusaders.

Ten years later the city did return to Crusader control but this time by treaty, not by force. The peace treaty of 626/1229 between al-Kamil and Frederick II guaranteed to the Crusaders possession of Jerusalem for a decade; the Haram remained in the hands of the Muslims with full freedom to worship there, while the Christians were permitted to enter to pray.

After the expiry of the peace treaty the Crusaders remained in Jerusalem for, with the death of al-Kamil in 635/1238, the Ayyubid Amirs were again thrown into violent and complex rivalries: these left them with little interest in Jerusalem, although al-Nasir Da'ud of Kerak did briefly re-occupy the practically unfortified city in 637/1239.

The increasing Mongol threat from the north persuaded the Ayyubids to renew their uneasy alliance with the Crusaders who thereby regained control of the ter-

ritory won by Frederick in 626/1229 and, in 641/1244, were actually granted full possession of Jerusalem including the Haram. Within six months, however, Khwarizmian forces under Berke Khan and almost certainly with the encouragement of the Sultan of Egypt, al-Salih Ayyub, swept down through the Biqa 'to capture Jerusalem and sack the city. There is no indication of damage to the buildings on the Haram at that time.

The occupation was decisive; the Muslims never again surrendered Jerusalem to the Crusaders. The Khwarizmians, dispossessed of their homeland by the Mongols, soon moved on, raiding the Frankish countryside joining one Ayyubid faction or another as they went until they were conclusively defeated near Homs in 644/1246. Meanwhile the Sultan of Egypt, al-Salih Ayyub, had regained Jerusalem with the surrounding territories and by 645/1247 his suzerainty had been recognized by the Ayyubid princes of Syria.

There is no evidence of any construction whatsoever in the Haram during these forty years of conflict, in which Jerusalem was regarded as a bargaining counter rather than a holy city. Even when the city was firmly in the hands of the Ayyubids only one building was erected on the Haram: the Qubbat Musa (647/1249-50) built by order of al-Salih Ayyub.

The Bahri Mamluk Development

Historical Introduction. When al-Salih Ayyub became ruler of Egypt in 637/1240 he began systematically to create a new regiment of Turkish mamluks. This regiment was known as the Bahriyya after the new barracks on the island of Rawda on the Nile **(bahr al-nil)** where it was quartered. In the subsequent decade, while important centres of power in Syria continued to change hands among the quarrelsome Ayyubid princes at a bewildering rate, the Bahri Mamluks gained in strength. By 648/1250 they had usurped Ayyubid authority and seized control of Egypt. In Syria and Palestine, however, the Ayyubid rulers retained those territories not occupied by the Crusaders and, outraged by the deposition of the Egyptian branch of their family, they endeavoured to settle their disagreements and present a united front against the belligerent Mamluks. In the ensuing confrontation Jerusalem scarcely figured at all. In an uneasy peace made in 651/1253 the Ayyubids conceded Jerusalem to the Mamluks only to regain the city by another peace treaty three years later. Thereafter for nearly four years more Jerusalem remained under Ayyubid control. For the time being the Crusaders benefitted from the hostilities between Egypt and Syria by being left more or less undisturbed to strengthen their position on the coastal territories.

In the meantime the threat of Mongol invasion was intensifying. In 656/1258 the Mongols sacked Baghdad and prepared to advance on Syria. The Ayyubid princes made ready for battle, but after the sack of Aleppo in 658/1260 their resolve weakened and they joined with the Bahri Mamluks. Damascus surrendered to the

Mongols without a fight and detachments were dispatched to seize Nablus and Gaza, though they seem to have made no attempt to take Jerusalem; with its walls dismantled since 616/1219 the holy city had little or no strategic importance, and its spiritual significance was of little consequence in a time of conflict. Indeed, the constant threat of attack first by the Crusaders and then by the Mongols together with the struggle for power between the Ayyubids and the Mamluks meant that Jerusalem in general and the Haram in particular, as we have seen, had been neglected for almost fifty years. But with the decisive defeat of the Mongols in 658/1260 at 'Ayn Jalut, about ninety kilometres north of Jerusalem, all that changed. By their victory the Mamluks had warded off the Mongol danger, and at the same time gained suzerainty over almost all of Syria and Palestine. Sultan Baybars proceeded directly to re-establish security within the Mamluk empire, improving communications and refortifying strongholds. At the same time he built or restored many mosques and holy places, including the Haram in Jerusalem.

Royal Maintenance of the Haram. The epigraphic and literary evidence shows that from the earliest days of Islam the maintenance and embellishment of the Haram had been a royal preserve. Succeeding Muslim rulers continued to repair and embellish the Haram and its two great monuments, the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. The manner in which the Mamluk Sultans discharged their duty to maintain the interior of the Haram has been meticulously documented already, notably by van Berchem, and will only be reviewed briefly here.

Al-Zahir Baybars (reigned 658-76/1260-77). Baybars ordered the restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock, which had suffered from the years of neglect under the later Ayyubids. The mosaics on the Qubbat al-Silsila, of which traces have recently been revealed, were probably repaired at the same time; the marble revetment of its **mihrab** is also attributable to Baybars. The terrace around the Dome of the Rock was re-paved, the work being overseen by the Nazir al-Haramyn, the Superintendent of the Two Harams of Jerusalem and Hebron, who also restored the Bab al-Mathara.

Al-Mansur Qala'un (678-89/1280-90). Qala'un, contrary to customary practice, did, as we shall see, build outside the Haram: the exception that proves the rule. Within the Haram he ordered the partial reconstruction of the roof of the Aqsa Mosque.

Al-'Adil Kitbugha (694-96/1295-97). In 695/1295-96, under Kitbugha, the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock were restored and the east wall of the Haram which forms part of the city wall was repaired.

Al-Mansur Lajin (696-98/1297-99). The south-east Haram wall, also part of the city wall, was repaired under Lajin. The north-western Haram minaret, the Minaret al-Ghawanima, was built at about this time, probably ordered by Lajin.

Al-Nasir Muhammad (three reigns: 693-94/1294-95; 698-708/1299-1309; 709-41/1309-40). During al-Nasir Muhammad's second reign the repairs to the eastern part of the south wall were completed. The fact that these repairs to the south and east walls of the Haram were restricted to those sections which form part of the city wall stresses the military rather than religious nature of the work. The Crusaders had, of course, been ousted from Syria/Palestine in 690/1291, but the threat of Mongol invasion persisted. Only with the death of Ghazan in 703/1304 did that threat dwindle, finally to fade out completely when al-Nasir Muhammad made peace with Abu Sa'id in 723/1323. Thus, during al-Nasir Muhammad's third reign the Mamluk empire was for the first time relatively free from external pressures. In this new climate of peace al-Nasir Muhammad was able to promote his architectural ambitions. His contribution to the Haram is greater than that of any other Mamluk Sultan. In his reign almost the whole of the west Riwaq was built in three stages (707/1307-08, 713/1313-14; 737/1336-47); the dome of the Dome of the Rock restored (718-19/1318-19); the arcades (**qanatir**) at the north end (721/1321) and at the north-eastern end (726/1325) of the Dome of the Rock terrace erected and the paving of that terrace completed (726/1326); the dome of the Aqsa Mosque was restored (728/1327-28)[16] and marble wall panelling added (731/1330-31); the Minaret at Bab al-Silsila erected (730/1329-30); and the great Bab al-Qattanin leading to the Suq al-Qattanin built (736-37/1335-37).

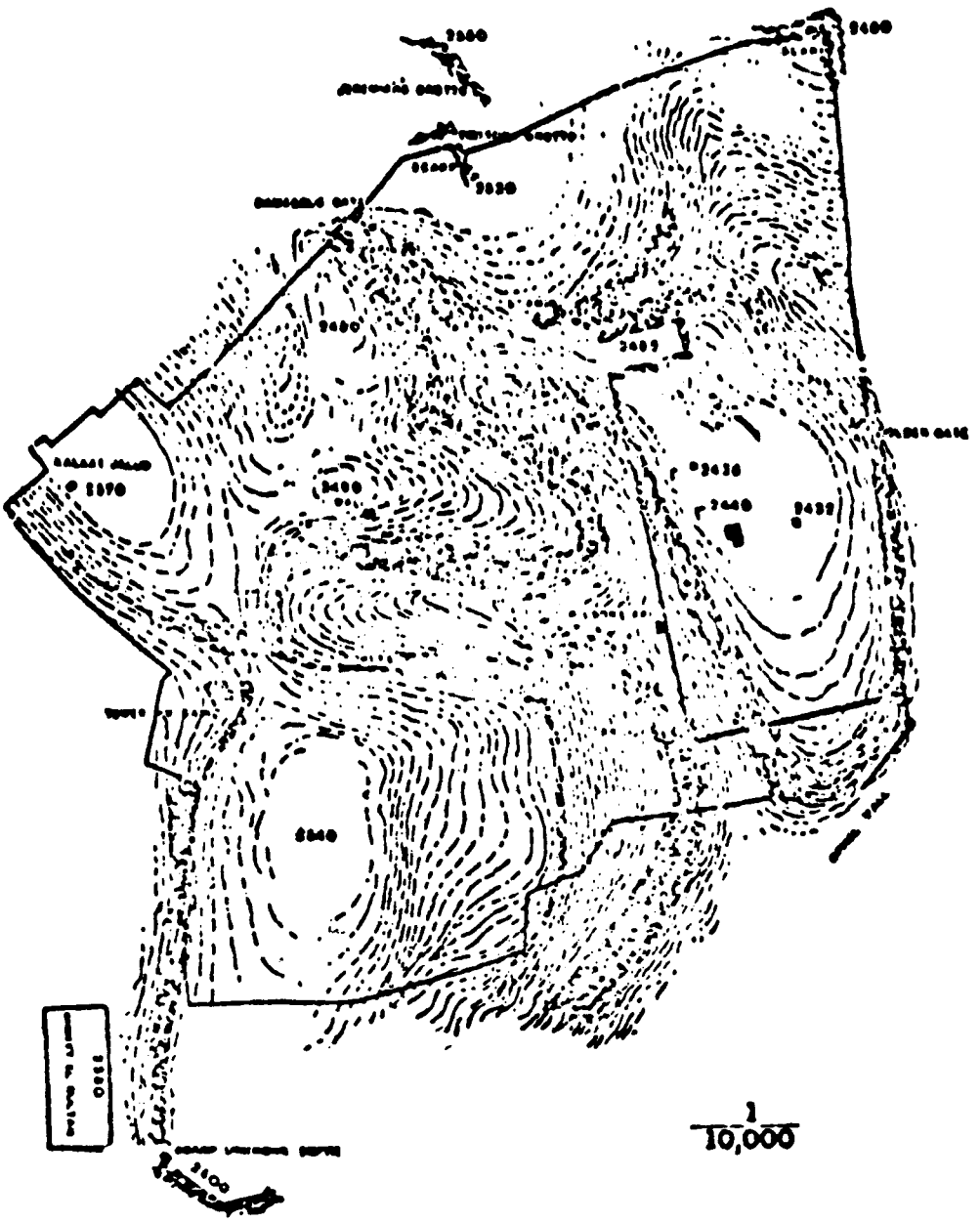
Al-Kamil Sha'ban (746-47/1345-46). In 746/1345-46 al-Kamil Sha'ban ordered the restoration of the doors of the Aqsa Mosque.

Al-Nasir Hasan (two reigns: 748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61). During his first reign in 751/1350-51 Hasan continued the restoration of the Aqsa Mosque, rebuilding the two outer bays on each side of the porch.

Al-Salih Salih (752-55/1351-54). Despite the political instability reflected by these frequent changes of ruler, the restoration of the forepart of the Aqsa Mosque persisted under the constant supervision of the Nazir, Aybak al-Misri. The work was finally completed in 753/1352-53.

Al-Ashraf Sha'ban (764-78/1363-76). During the reign of al-Ashraf Sha 'ban the Minaret Bab al-Asbat at the north wall of the Haram was constructed in 769/1367-68.

The Haram Borders. The area outside the Haram was no royal preserve, however, and the intensive Mamluk development at the west and north, town-side borders—with facades that are such a striking feature of the Haram today—is primarily the result of individual patronage. The B.S.A.J. map showing the location of Muslim monuments in Jerusalem (Fig. 2) graphically illustrates how this remarkable development was concentrated on the Haram. Undoubtedly the fundemental inspiration was the holiness of the place, as extolled in the contemporary Fada'il and Muthir literature.



The rock contours beneath the Old City of Jerusalem, as surveyed by Conder

Fig. 3 (after K.M. Kenyon, **Digging Up Jerusalem**, Fig. 5)

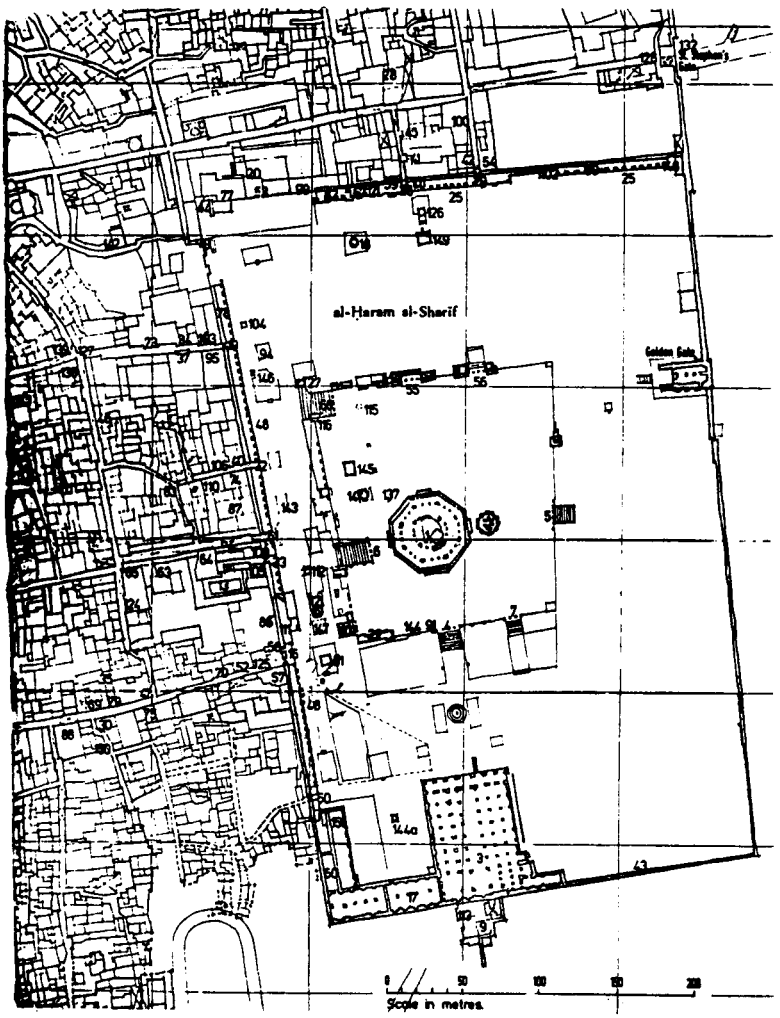


Fig. 4 (after C. Wilson and C. Warren, **The Recovery of Jerusalem**, Fig. facing p. 298).

To be sure, the functions of most foundations around the Haram are typical of any reasonably large town of the period: philanthropic institutions including Madrasas and Khanqahs (often incorporating mausolea), a Hadith School and a school for orphans, as well as commercial establishments, Khans, Suqs, lodgings and bathhouses, to finance their upkeep. Amongst the philanthropic institutions we must also count Ribats which in Jerusalem had the particular purpose of providing accommodation for pilgrims. Each of these pious foundations would normally be sponsored by a member of the ruling class seeking individual salvation through such charitable works. What makes them exceptional is their distinct relatedness to the Haram.

The Catalogue of Monuments deals with the physical configuration of each building and documents also its relatedness to the Haram. In the following assessment of the architectural development I have endeavoured in addition to show how the buildings conformed to the existing pattern of the city and how as sites at the Haram border became increasingly scarce they were fitted in wherever space was available, often in a novel and imaginative way.

In order to understand the evolutionary process of development we have to consider topographical and societal factors: both the configuration of the site in Mamluk times and the status and aspirations of the founder. Fig. 3 shows Jerusalem's natural rock formation; the substantial variations in level around the Haram are specially noticeable and the rock contours are shown in Fig. 4. While the surface of the Haram was purposely levelled partly by quarrying away the rock (at the north-west corner), partly by constructing vaults (at the south-east corner:) and partly by filling (at the north-east and south-west corners), the area outside the Haram walls was largely left to follow the natural slopes, except for a small area in the north). Taking the map of the rock contours (Fig. 4) as our reference and collating it with our chronology of the monuments we find that the areas initially built upon were where either the surface of the rock is at the same level as the interior of the Haram or else where it had been raised adventitiously to that level.

The first Mamluk pious foundation, the **Ribat of 'Ala al-Din** (666/1267-68), is situated at the north side of Tariq Bab al-Nazir. Its function as a hospice for pilgrims obvioushy meant that it had to be close to the Haram, the object of the pilgrim's visit. It is not contiguous with the Haram, however, for an earlier structure occupied the site at the border, next to the Bab al-Nazir. It was at this gate, perhaps in that earlier structure, that the Nazir and his functionaries, according to al-'Umari (wrote c. 745/1345), used to sit to conduct their official business. The founder, 'Ala' al-Din al-Basir, held the office of Nazir and it is easy to understand that he would choose a site near this gate for his Ribat. Moreover, the rock surface here nearly coincides with both that of the ancient street, Tariq Bab al' Nazir and that of the Haram, and so should require very little levelling to prepare the site for construction. Two Crusader halls already occupying the street frontage of the site were simply incorporated into the new Ribat.

The next in chronological sequence, the **Mansuri Ribat** (681/1282-83) built for Qala'un, is one of the few royal foundations outside the Haram in Jerusalem. It is situated on the south side of Tariq Bab al-Nazir just opposite the Ribat of 'Ala' al-Din. As a rule the Nazir was responsible for supervising building works ordered by the Sultan, usually in the Haram as we have seen. Since 'Ala' al-Din continued to serve as Nazir under Qala'un, it follows that he would have been responsible for superintending the construction of the Mansuri Ribat. It would be natural, then, for him to choose a site for the hospice of his sovereign close to his own, not only for practical reasons similar to those governing his own choice of site but also for the prestige an adjacent royal foundation would impart. The Mansuri Ribat is likewise situated about fifteen metres from the Haram wall, the intervening space being occupied by earlier structures.

The first Mamluk construction to be built against the Haram wall is the **Ribat of Kurt al-Mansuri** (693/1293-94) at the Bab al-Hadid. Here the rock surface falls well below the level of the Haram and the reason for this choice of site is not immediately apparent. The narrowness of the building layout provides a clue, however. We know from the excavations outside the south-west corner of the Haram that when Titus pulled down the walls of the Temple area in 70 A.D. the toppled masonry piled up at the base of what remained of the walls. This process seems to have continued until the Umayyad rebuilding of the Haram walls. The accumulated debris appears to have risen here almost to the level of the Haram esplanade, and it was on that strip of raised surface that the Ribat of Kurt al-Mansuri was erected. The founder had been a mamluk of Qala'un and was obviously anxious to build his hospice near that of his master which is only a short distance to the north.

These first three Mamluk foundations have in common, besides being Ribats, a somewhat inornate architectural style which may indicate that they were built by local craftsmen unpractised in the more ambitious decorative techniques being developed in the main cities of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo. The next monument, the **Dawadariyya Khanqah** (695/1295), is different, however, having a magnificently ornate entrance portal. The design of the portal was clearly inspired by a series of similar portals in Damascus and there can be little doubt that 'Ali b. Salama, the master craftsman responsible for it, came to Jerusalem from Damascus.

The Dawadariyya, situated on the east side of Tariq Bab al-'Atm, is the first Mamluk monument at the northern border of the Haram. At Bab al-'Atm the rock surface coincides approximately with the level of the Haram esplanade, but from there it slopes steeply down to the east. However the site was levelled by the construction of two long vaulted tunnels extending westwards from the west end of the Birka Bani Isra'il. The exact date of construction of these ancient vaults is not known but, since the street outside the Bab Hitta is supported by them, they must predate that gate which, as argued above (p. 59), is probably Umayyad. The fact that the floor level of the Khanqah is raised above the level of the roof of the ancient

vaults (since the level of the adjacent Awhadiyya is considerably lower) suggests that the remains of some earlier structure occupied the site. That structure may have been "the places of prayer" of the Sufis which, as we know from Nasir-i Khusraw, existed in Fatimid times at or near this spot. The founding of the Dawadariyya Khanqah for thirty Sufis and their followers maintained that traditional association of the site.

The **Awhadiyya Turba** (waqf 697/1298) stands immediately to the east of the Dawadariyya, on the west side of Tariq Bab Hitta, over the ancient vaults mentioned above, but on a level with the Haram esplanade. With its construction a new element was introduced into the architectural development of the Haram for it is the first mausoleum at the Haram border. The tomb chamber with its ashlar dome is right beside the Haram gate, Bab Hitta, with one window opening on to the Haram and another opening on the street where passers-by entering and leaving the Haram might be expected to invoke blessings on the soul of the deceased. The founder, al-Malik al-Awhad, a grandson of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa was Nazir of Jerusalem and Hebron when he built his mausoleum. The practice of ante-mortem funerary construction was introduced into Syria by Nur al-Din—doubtless emulating his Saljuq overlords—and subsequently introduced into Egypt by the Ayyubids. Similarly in Jerusalem the tradition was introduced by an Ayyubid, albeit some thirty-odd years after the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty in Syria. As in Cairo, the founding of funerary monuments in the form of a mausoleum combined with a philanthropic institution, usually a Madrasa, became a regular occurrence in Jerusalem. But in the case of the Awhadiyya the mausoleum is combined with a small Ribat: evidence that the need to provide accommodation for pilgrims remained dominant.

The first Madrasa in Jerusalem was founded by Saladin (above, p. 63). A total of five Madrasas were founded by the Ayyubids, the last, the Mu'azzamiyya, in 614/1217-18, but none was beside the Haram. More than a century was to elapse before the first Madrasa was erected at the Haram border.

The **Karimiyya Madrasa** (waqf 718/1319) to the east of the Bab Hitta is perched on the west edge of the Birka Bani Isra'il on top of the vaulted tunnels, like the Awhadiyya across the street. The narrowness of the site, bounded by the Birka to the east and the street to the west, led to a somewhat attenuated layout, which implies that by this time the more spacious sites at the Haram borders had already been taken. The founder, Karim al-Din 'Abd al-Karim, accompanied al-Nasir Muhammad when he visited Jerusalem in 717/1317 and doubtless ordered the construction of his Madrasa then, about eighteen months before its endowment. The rather stern architecture, with a simple pointed-arched recess for the plain entrance doorway, may be taken to indicate that the work was done by local craftsmen who, as we have surmised above, did not have the same opportunity to develop their skills as did their colleagues in the wealthier cities of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo.

At about this time the **Jawiliyya Madrasa** (715-20/1315-20) was built at the north

border, on top of the Antonia rock overlooking the Haram. This choice of site interrupts the initial sequence of sites level with the Haram esplanade and may be accounted for by the importance of the Antonia site with its wealth of historical associations and, more important, contact with the Haram. Sanjar al-Jawili, the founder, was a prominent provincial governor, being Governor of the district of Gaza (which at that time included Jerusalem) as well as Nazir of Jerusalem and Hebron, and he would naturally choose a site in keeping with his elevated position. However, substantial remains of the solid south wall of Antonia intervened between the site and the Haram and to effect visual contact the massive wall had to be cut away in places and windows introduced. The ancient wall was also partly re-faced with bi-coloured **(ablaq)** masonry to form a symmetrical façade on to the Haram.

If Sanjar al-Jawili desired a prestigious location for his pious foundation in Jerusalem, the more so would Tankiz who was viceroy of all Syria. For Tankiz only the best would do. Therefore the foundation bearing his name, the **Tankiziyya** (729/1328-29), had first of all to be beside the Haram, and preferably at a focal point of urban life. Obviously meeting these requirements was not altogether straightforward—if it were, any such site would surely have been built upon already. Nevertheless, the site chosen could hardly be better: right beside the principal and most frequented Haram gate, the Bab al-Silsila. The reason why this ideal site was available at that time is explained by the fact that the earlier (Crusader?) buildings on it seem to have been in a ruinous condition as a result of the 702/1303 earthquake. The commercial viability of the site, attested by the inclusion of shops in Tankiz's foundation, makes it probable that, next to the street at least, market stalls would have been repaired and maintained after the earthquake. Thus Tankiz's architect must have had the imagination to envisage the possibilities that the site offered despite its possibly workaday aspect. Tankiz was, of course, rich and powerful enough to secure it.

Tankiz proposed a complex foundation, called simply **makan,** "place," in the inscription, comprising a Madrasa and a Khanqah as well as a Tradition School **(dar al-hadith)** and a school for orphans **(maktab aytam).** But the site was too small to accommodate it all on one level. Consequently the only solution was to extend upwards—a new concept in the Mamluk development. The Madrasa, exquisitely decorated, is the first in Jerusalem to adopt the four-**iwan** layout then fashionable in Cairo. It occupies almost the whole of the ground floor. Above, on the upper levels, a small mezzanine in the north-east corner and a series of rooms over the entrance and northern part of the Madrasa served to provide lodgings for the students of the Madrasa and the Sufis of the Khanqah. For the Khanqah itself Tankiz's resourceful architect had an inspiration which was radically to transform the future development of the Haram borders: to make use of the space on top of the Haram Riwaq. Here he erected the main Khanqah unit, laid-out linearly since it was restricted to the width of the Riwaq, and furnished it with a decorative façade overlooking the Haram.

The skill and versatility with which Tankiz's architect solved the multifarious problems his commission presented mark him as a true master. The quality of the architectural decoration indicates that the building craftsmen were also of the highest calibre. The magnificent entrance portal, for example, is clearly the work of a master stonemason. As his work reveals, this master came from Damascus, as did the one responsible for that earlier masterpiece of Mamluk architecture in Jerusalem, the entrance portal at the Dawadariyya Khanqah.

The immediate impact of the example of the Tankiziyya with its extension on to the Riwaq is apparent, though on a smaller scale, in the multi-storey layout of the **Aminiyya Madrasa** (730/1329-30) at the north border of the Haram, west of the Dawadariyya. Here the exiguousness of the site—bounded by the eastern spur of the Antonia rock to the west and by the street, Tariq Bab al-'Atm, barely nine metres to the east—appears previously to have deterred any would-be builder. But with the way to deal with such problem sites so brilliantly demonstrated by the architect of the Tankiziyya, the solution was relatively straightforward. Thus we find at the AMiniyya a narrow but more or less conventional Madrasa on the ground floor with a tomb chamber in the southeast corner, next to the Haram gate. As at the Tankiziyya, there is a mezzanine floor above, and an upper floor over the Riwaq. This upper floor has a beautifully decorated façade centred on the Haram gate below,while the street frontage is absolutely plain.

This contrast between the decorative Haram façade and the plain street frontage betokens a fundamental change of emphasis compared with, for example, the neighbouring Dawadariyya Khanqah built thirty-five years earlier, which has an ornate portal at the street and a plain Haram frontage. The reason for this seems to be a practical one, however. To have a decorative façade on the Haram it was necessary to build over the Riwaq since at ground level the Haram boundary is the massive pre-existing Haram wall which affords no real decorative possibilities. Even were it considered to re-face the wall, any hoped-for ornamental impact by doing so would be minimal since the wall is in permanent shadow, obscured by the Riwaq in front of it.

The example set by the Aminiyya at the north wall of the Haram was soon followed, but before going on to consider the continued development at the north wall our chronological sequence requires us to turn first to the **Fakhriyya Khanqah** (before 732/1332). Although construction within the Haram precinct was the preserve of royalty, as we have stressed in the introduction to this chapter, the Fakhriyya situated at the south west corner is an exception. This anomaly can be explained by the fact that the Fakhriyya is tucked away behind the large Crusader halls which served in Mamluk times as the Women's Mosque and the Maghrabi Mosque. Owing to their large size and proximity to the Haram wall proper, it may be that these converted Crusader halls were then regarded as the Haram border at this point. In that case the Fakhriyya would be beyond the "border."

As we have noted above, the Crusader developments within the city tended to be oriented towards the main streets. Tariq al-Wad was one such street, having followed its present course since ancient times. The Crusaders seem to have built a large market here, set at right-angles to the main thoroughfare, but evidently it was in ruins by the 8/14th century. At Tankiz's "instruction" **(bi'l-ishara)** al-Nasir Muhammad ordered the construction of a monumental gateway, the Bab al-Qattanin, connecting the Haram with a vast new commercial centre now called the **Suq al-Qattanin** (737/1336-37) at this choice location between the Haram and the city. It was to include a market-street, lodgings and bathhouses, in conjunction with a smaller market and caravanserai ordered by Tankiz himself. The revenues were to be divided, part for the maintenance of the Haram and part for the upkeep of the Tankiziyya.

The original Crusader market did not extend from Tariq al-Wad as far as the Haram border but stopped about forty metres short of it. The new Mamluk market, incorporating the remains of this earlier market, extended eastwards to link with the Haram where the Bab al-Qattanin was erected. At this gate a total of twenty steps split into two flights lead up from the new market-street to the Haram esplanade. The substantial difference in level (more than 4 m.) between the market-street outside the Haram and the esplanade within shows why this area at the west border had not been developed before: to level a reasonably sized site (as distinct from the long, thin site of Kurt al-Mansuri's Ribat) an immense amount of groundwork would be required if it were wholly to match the level of the Haram esplanade. Nevertheless, as time passed, the number of sites available elsewhere at the Haram border diminished so that, if contact with the Haram wall were to be achieved for any new foundation at the west border, this problem had to be faced.

However, it was not faced immediately, for the next three monuments in our chronological sequence are situated at the north border of the Haram. The first of them is the **Salamiyya Madrasa** (c.740/1339) on the east side of Tariq Bab al-'Atm to the north of Dawadariyya. It was founded by Majd al-Salami, the most important merchant of his day who, as such, must have been extremely wealthy. He already had a palace and a mausoleum in Cairo and the choice of Jerusalem for his Madrasa is an indication of the spiritual eminence of the place at that time. But, somewhat surprisingly in view of the increasingly manifest Mamluk propensity for building in contact with the Haram border, the Salamiyya is not. The size of the building—only the Dawadariyya and the Tankiziyya are larger—must account for this choice of site. With no obvious location at the Haram border capable of accommodating a structure on the grand scale appropriate to Majd al-Salami's wealth and stature, he opted for a suitable alternative: a site on a street leading to the Haram between two important earlier foundations, the Ayyubid Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa to the north and the Dawadariyya Khanqah to the south. The bulk of the construction was evidently entrusted to local Syrian masons, but for the main façade on to Tariq Bab al-'Atm, including the entrance portal, specialist craftsmen

were dispatched from Cairo. This is the only known instance of Cairene craftsmen working in Bahri Mamluk Jerusalem and their distinctive architectural style has enabled us, by comparison with directly dated analogues in Cairo, to determine the approximate date of construction.

The example set at the north border by the Aminiyya of building over the Riwaq was bound to be followed, for by this time there was really no option if contact with the Haram were to be achieved. To the east of the Karimiyya the area beyond the Haram wall was occupied by the Birka Bani Isra'il and to the west of the Aminiyya stood the eastern extremity of the Antonia rock. By building partly on top of this rock and partly on a new extension to the Ayyubid Riwaq, the builders of the **al-Malikiyyah** (741/1340) were able to construct the main floor of the Madrasa on a single level, albeit above that of the Haram esplanade. Moreover, as at the Aminiyya and the Tankiziyya, building on top of the Riwaq provided the opportunity to have a decorative façade at the Haram. The Madrasa incorporates a tomb chamber housing the grave of the founder's wife.

The fact that the al-Malikiyya is not built alongside the Aminiyya, as one might expect, but is separated from it by the later Farisiyya Madrasa (waqf 755/1354), calls for an explanation. The reason could be that the builders of the al-Malikiyya chose the site where the surface of the Antonia rock most closely coincided with the roof of the Riwaq in order to facilitate construction of the Madrasa on one level. But there is another factor which may have influenced the choice of site: the presence of a primitive structure above the level of the Haram, set back slightly from the Haram border and partially hewn into the rock between the Aminiyya and the al-Malikiyya. Access to it is by means of a passage cut through the Haram wall reached from a staircase at the western end of the Ayyubid Riwaq. This plainly ancient structure appears to be the Zawiyat al-Lawi mentioned by al-'Umari. Unfortunately, al-'Umari gives no details other than its general location and so it is impossible to know exactly what its status was at that time. Its location at the western end of the Ayyubid Riwaq meant that the roof of the Riwaq west of the Aminiyya could be reached only by the same unprepossessing staircase and ill-lit passage already serving the Zawiya. This the builders of the al-Malikiyya must have been unwilling to accept. So they extended the Riwaq over the entrance to the Zawiya and erected a new staircase leading up to a small forecourt. There they built the beautifully decorated entrance portal to the Madrasa.

The completion of the al-Malikiyya meant that on the roof of the Riwaq between it and the Aminiyya there was now an area bounded by walls on three sides: the al-Malikiyya to the west, the upper part of the pre-existing Haram wall to the north, and the Aminiyya to the east. Access was provided via the entrance staircase of the Zawiyat al-Lawi. Therefore all that was needed to create a new establishment on the site was a south wall (which, facing on to the Haram, could be developed as an ornamental façade) and a roof.

A site like this proved to be particularly attractive to Faris al-Din Ylbaki, Governor of the district of Gaza, who obviously had an eye for economy in building since he had already eponymized with few modifications, if any, the eastern Crusader annexes to the Aqsa Mosque. We know from Mujir al-Din's enumeration of the buildings at the north border of the Haram that he founded on that site a Madrasa, the **Farisiyya,** which he endowed in 755/1354, but now almost nothing of it survives in its original form.

With the northern border of the Haram so intensively developed by the mid-8/14th century, attention turned once more to the western border which remained as yet relatively undeveloped. The limitations imposed by the lie of the land at the western border were, in a sense, just the opposite of those at the northern border. At the northern border—after the construction of the Dawadariyya and the Awhadiyya—the sites level with the Haram esplanade (those occupied by the Karimiyya and the Aminiyya) were relatively unrestricted in their depth but disproportionately restricted in width, whereas at the western border it was the depth which was restricted. The Ribat of Kurt al-Mansuri had shown how the accumulated debris at the base of the Haram wall could be exploited to support a narrow structure on a level with the Haram esplanade. But beyond the pile of debris the ground falls away sharply to the west, as observed at the Suq al-Qattanin.

The only way to accommodate these variations in level without resorting to the impractical and expensive alternative of filling-in the lower level to match the higher was to build on both levels. This is precisely what happened at the **Khatuniyya Madrasa !waqfs** 755/1354, 782/1380) where the most important units of the complex, the entrance, the tomb chamber, the assembly hall and the two **iwans,** were sited at the higher level next to the Haram, while the cells for habitation around the courtyard occupy the lower level. At its southern boundary the Khatuniyya abuts on the north wall of the Suq al-Qattanin. It appears to have been for this reason—to make use of the north wall of the Suq—that the Madrasa is set back from Tariq Bab al-Hadid. This street may have been scarcely more than a pathway at that time, anyway. The meandering route it still follows, quite at variance with the rigid grid-pattern of other streets at the Haram border suggests that the manner in which it evolved was almost accidental, as if the western end merely coincided with some convenient gap in the street frontage at Tariq al-Wad. From there a new path was beaten up to the Ribat of Kurt al-Mansuri and the adjoining Haram gate, Bab al-Hadid. However humble the street may have been at the time, the Khatuniyya appears nonetheless to have been entered from it. There was a door from the Madrasa into the Haram but, since the Haram gates could be closed (each night?), access to the building must have been necessary from outside the Haram as well. Although the original external entrance no longer survives, there is good evidence to suggest that it was reached by means of a path on top of the debris running alongside the Haram wall from the Bab al-Hadid.

However, only a few years later the **Arghuniyya Madrasa** (759/1358) was built on the site between the Khatuniyya and the Bab al-Hadid, blocking what must have been the original entrance to the Khatuniyya. The founder, Arghun al-Kamili had been banished to Jerusalem where he died shortly after. In the brief time he lived in Jerusalem he must have immediately started to build his funerary complex, possibly including living quarters for himself, and, in conjunction with this, he reconstructed the Bab al-Hadid. Obviously he recognized this place between the Khatuniyya and the Haram gate as an appropriate site for his mausoleum. But since building there meant blocking the external entrance to the Khatuniyya some compromise had to be reached. The unusual but eminently sensible expedient was for Arghun to incorporate a new entrance passage for the Khatuniyya within the eastern boundary of his Madrasa in exchange for the land alongside the Haram wall on which he set his mausoleum.

Three years later another exiled Amir chose for his pious foundation a site at the west Haram border also at a gate, this time at the Bab al-Nazir. The **Manjakiyya Madrasa** (762/1361) was, like the Arghuniyya, founded by a former Governor of Damascus, Manjak al-Yusufi. Unlike the Arghuniyya, however, the Manjakiyya does not include a mausoleum; Manjak had already prepared his mausoleum attached to his mosque in Cairo (750/1349-50). Since earlier buildings occupied the site against the Haram wall at the Bab al-Nazir, Manjak could not build at street level. Instead he erected his Madrasa over the Riwaq, following the example of the builders of the Tankiziyya, the Aminiyya, the al-Malikiyya and the Farisiyya. Apart from these examples the roof of the Riwaq remained undeveloped. Consequently it might appear that Manjak had a relatively free choice of site. But to accommodate a Madrasa entailed more than simply selecting an undeveloped section of the Haram roof: the roof alone is not wide enough and there was the consideration too of how to get access to the roof. As it happened, not only was the roof of the west Riwaq available at Bab al-Nazir, one of the most important Haram gates in Mamluk times, but there was also the possibility of extending westwards over the pre-Mamluk structures bordering the Haram and of acquiring part of these structures to accommodate a staircase and entrance portal. Thus the Madrasa sits partly over the Riwaq and partly over preexisting buildings to the west. To the north, over the Riwaq only, there is a group of rooms which form an integral part of Manjak's original construction. Included in this group of rooms is what seems to be a **manzara**, an elaborately decorated room designed to take advantage of the magnificent Haram view. This, together with the fact that access to these rooms is separate from that of the Madrasa, suggests that they were intended as private living quarters for Manjak who spent several years living in exile in Jerusalem. If this interpretation of the architectural layout is correct, then he is the first to make use of the area over the Riwaq—with its magnificent outlook—for private, non-religious purposes.

At approximately this time (c. 762/1361) a structure called **al-Hasaniyya** was built on top of another gate, the Bab al-Asbat at the north-east corner of the Haram.

Since nothing remains of it we can only repeat what Mujir al-Din has to say: that it was the last of the Madrasas at the north wall of the Haram, adding that it had not the status of a fully functioning Madrasa. He explains that its founder, Shahin al-Hasani, died before confirming its ordinance (**amr**), i.e. its intended purpose, and that by his time it become a dwelling house whose revenue was paid into the Haram **waqf.** Implicit in Mujir al-Din's account is the impression that the Hasaniyya was totally unprepossessing, rather as one might expect from its remote situation at the east end of the north Riwaq above one of the least important Haram gates.

The **Is'ardiyya Khanqah** (waqf 770/1368-69) at the west end of the north Riwaq was built by a merchant who was both ambitious and wealthy, as the high quality of the architecture and the choice of this important site shows. While the façade presents characteristic features of Cairene architecture, the general design seems to have been inspired by the adjacent al-Malikiyya. Before the construction of the Is'ardiyya, the north Riwaq ended with the al-Malikiyya. In the absence of suitable sites elsewhere at the Haram border the builders of the Is'ardiyya chose to extend the north Riwaq—normally a royal prerogative—and to erect the assembly hall of the Khanqah above. Access was achieved by sharing the staircase built initially for the al-Malikiyya. The massive Antonia wall that survives here had to be breached, as at the al-Malikiyya, in order to extend the development northwards. The development had to be extended to the north for two reasons: first, to provide accommodation on two levels for the residents of the Khanqah; and second, a tomb chamber (presumably housing the grave of the founder) is included in the scheme. The tomb chamber had to be outside the Haram wall because burial within the enclosure was forbidden, as the concentration of mausolea at the borders and their absence within suggests. The width of the Is'ardiyya beyond the Haram wall was restricted, however. The al-Malikiyya formed the eastern boundary, of course, and in the west it was confined by the Antonia rock just as at the level of the Haram esplanade the width of the Aminiyya had ben delimited by the lower rises of that rock.

The last Bahri Mamluk monument to be built beside the Haram, the **Baladiyya Madrasa** (before 782/1380), is to be found at the west border between the great causeway leading to the Bab al-Silsila/Bab Sakina and the Ablution Place of the Haram, al-Mathara. The Mathara lies about four metres below the level of the Haram and the area to the south would have been even lower were it not for remains of earlier structures on the site; this would explain why the site was not occupied sooner. Over these earlier structures the Baladiyya was erected, evidently incorporating remains of some earlier buildings which occupied the southern part of the site, nearest to the street. The four-**iwan** layout of the Madrasa is conventional apart from the fact that here the central courtyard is open to the sky; it is the only example of a four-**iwan** Madrasa in Jerusalem with an open courtyard. This unique feature may be explained by the large size of the courtyard which is approximately thirteen metres square: too great an area for the builders to construct a vault over. The

founder of the Baladiyya, Manklibugha al-Ahmadi, was the Governor of Aleppo where he had built a mosque (c. 770/1368). From an inscription we know that when he died in Aleppo his remains were transported to Jerusalem for burial in his Madrasa at the Haram border. The fact that his remains were transported all the way from Aleppo to Jerusalem indicates the continuing importance accorded to entombment in Jerusalem with all its eschatological traditions, notably the popular belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the Resurrection.

Following that intensive and impressive Bahri Mamluk architectural activity which transformed and enlivened the west and north Haram borders with glorious façades, there were few sites left for later generations. Nevertheless the sacred and historical numen of the place remained a powerful attraction, and development continued under their successors, the Burji Mamluks. They made great efforts to find building sites at the Haram border, sometimes making use of older buildings but mainly utilizing the roofs of those parts of the Riwaq not already built upon. As even these sites began to run out towards the middle of the 9/15th century, subsequent builders were obliged to resort to such remarkable devices as, for example, at the Muzhiriyya Madrasa (885/1480-81), where contact with the Haram was gained by straddling the intervening Arghuniyya Madrasa.

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THE ETHIOPIAN PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM UNTIL 1517

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The Ethiopian Community in Jerusalem, recorded from the thirteenth century onwards, served for centuries as intermediary between Europe and Ethiopia. This statement is elaborated by Cerulli[1] as follows.

Information about Ethiopia reached Europe through the Itineraries of European pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their informants were the Ethiopians in Jerusalem, who in their turn brought to Ethiopia information about Europe. Thus the history of the Ethiopians in the Holy City is the history of the geographical knowledge of Ethiopia in medieval Europe; and at the same time the history of the first relations between Europe and Ethiopia.

The importance of the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem and Palestine is however not limited to these relations, influential as they may have been. In Jerusalem the Ethiopians came in close contact with other Oriental Christians: Armenians, Georgians, Syrian Jacobites, Maronites and Nestorians. These relations not always friendly, explain how certain Christian traditions, ideas and artistic manifestations could reach Ethiopia independently of Coptic Egypt and of the close connections between the Ethiopian and Coptic Churches. Jerusalem, one might say, widened the horizon of Ethiopia, whose isolation from both Europe and the Christian Orient was thus much less hermetic than one might be inclined to think.

And finally, there is "the historical function of Palestine". The medieval ideas about Ethiopia and its sovereign, considered to be very mighty, were at least partly formed on the basis of the observations of the European pilgrims. It was from these ideas, true and legendary, that arose, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the audacious projects of the navigators of the great discoveries. And so the Ethiopian presence in Palestine played its pivotal role in the history of modern times.

It is evident that even a very condensed summary of Cerulli's rich material can not and should not be given here. It seems more appropriate to concentrate on the period which showed the highlight of the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem, namely the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, when the above-mentioned ideas took shape, and which ended with the Turkish conquest of Palestine and Egypt in 1517.

There is no certainty that there were Ethiopians among the so-called "Suriani" whom the Crusaders met when entering Jerusalem on July 15, 1099 A.D. The term indicates the monophysite Christians in Palestine who were dependent from the

monophysite patriarch of Antioch: Syrians, Copts, Nubians and, perhaps, Ethiopians. These "Suriani" told the Crusaders that an Egyptian ruler had conceded to the Patriarch a quarter part of the Holy City, namely the section lying between the road of Josaphat and the North-Eastern angle of the walls, later called "la Juerie".[2] Their centre was the church and monastery of Mary of Magdala near the Old Gate of Herod, to the North of the Via Dolorosa.

The conquest of Jeusalem by Salah al-Din in September 1187 made a tremendous impression on the Christians, not only in Europe but also in Ethiopia. One of the reasons for king Lalibala of the Zagwe dynasty to construct the well-known rock-churches in Northern Ethiopia is said to have been the need felt by the Ethiopians for a new Jerusalem. According to hagiographical tradition, the churches of the Holy City were shown to the king by Christ himself. There is however no evidence to prove that there were Ethiopians in Jerusalem at that time.

The first undoubtful indication of their presence is found in Barhebraeus[3]. He relates that an Ethiopian monk, by the name of Thomas, requested the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Ignace II, to consecrate him Metropolitan of his country when the Patriarch was visiting Jerusalem in 1237. Thomas's request was very unusual. Normally, the king of Ethiopia, in order to obtain a new Metropolitan, sent a special embassy to the Patriarch of Alexandria, not of Antioch. But Thomas availed himself of an internal conflict in the Jacobite Church between Ignace and Cyril III ibn Laklak, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Traditionally, the boundary between the two patriarchates was at al-'Arish, so that Palestine and Jerusalem were under the jurisdiction of Antioch. But, because of the great number of Egyptian Copts in Jerusalem and Syria, Cyril had consecrated an Egyption Copt as Metropolitan of the Coptic community in Jeruslam, thus encroaching upon Ignace's rights. The latter had reasons to feel offended, and Thomas's request presented him with the occasion to repay Cyril since it was well known that Ethiopia depended from the Patriarch of Alexandria. This plan of Ignace, remarks Barhebraeus, was the more illegal since never before had an Ethiopian been consecrated Metroplitan of Ethiopia, but always an Egyptian Copt. Foreseeing difficulties Ignace, through his co-adjutor Dionysios, consulted the Latin Dominican Fathers who had received him with great honour and had accompanied him to the monastery of Mary of Magdala with its community of seventy Jacobite monks. The Dominicans disagreed with the plan and offered their good services for an agreement with Cyril. But Ignace went ahead and consecrated Thomas. Accompanied by the leaders of the Knights Hospitallers and Templars, the Dominicans gathered in protest at the monastery. Ignace was at a loss, but Dionysios, speaking Syriac which the Franks did not understand, suggested a way out: Ignace should say that Dionysios had not quite understood what the Dominican superior had told him in Arabic and had, wrongly, concluded that the Franks agreed with the consecration of Thomas. This explanation was accepted by the Franks and the affair was closed. There is no evidence to show, says Taddesse Tamrat[4], that Abba Thomas ever returned to his

country to claim the episcopal seat. For our purpose it is more important to note with Cerulli[5] that there is no doubt whatsoever **(addirittura sicuro)** that Barhebraeus refers to Ethiopia proper and considers Thomas to be a real Ethiopian.

The reason for the rather strong reaction of the Latins against Ignace's step is to be found in the extremely weak position of the Crusaders in Palestine caused by internal strife and by the growing power of the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Kamil (576/1180-635/1238) in Egypt. In the eyes of the Egyptian ruler, the move of the Patriarch of Antioch would compromise the Latins. It would seem that they were directly involved in contempt for the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and thus provide the Ayyubid with a pretext for moving gainst the Latins in Jerusalem. The latter were permitted to stay in the Holy City only on the rather weak basis of the famous treaty of 11 February 1229 between Emperor Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kamil[6].

The presence of Ethiopians in Jerusalem in the thirteenth century is also explicitly attested in a latin document, preserved in the Escorial, which can be dated towards the end of that century. Here they are mentioned for the first time under their own name, "Abastini". At the same period, the Dominican father Burcard of Mount Sion, born in Strasburg, was the first Western author to mention in his Itinerary the various elements of the Jacobite community: "Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Nubians, **Jabeani**, Chaldaeans, Maronites, Aethiopians, Egyptians", or, according to another version: "Armenians, Cappadocians, Greeks, Chaldaeans, Medes, Parths, Indians, Nubians, **Jabeani**, Asians and Georgians". Burcard also remarks that the "Nubeani et Jabeani" are considered the most devout among the Oriental Christians, a reference to the rigorous fasting of the Ethiopians and in general to the characteristic features of their liturgical ceremonies which gave the Westerns the impression of a very vivid enthusiasm.

The first document of Ethiopian origin known so far about the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem is preserved in the biography of the Bahri Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur Kalawun (reigned 678/1279-689/1290). In Ramadan 689/September-October 1290, one month before Kalawun's death, there arrived in Cairo an Ethiopian mission sent by king Yagbe'a Syon (1285-1294), with a letter and a carpet for the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem, and one hundred candles to be lighted in the churches there. The Ethiopian king also requested free entrance of the churches in Jerusalem for the Ethiopians in the Holy City (7). It would seem that the restauration of the Salomonide dynasty in Ethiopia by Yakuno Amlak in 1270 marked a renewed interest in the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem and in a way which for centuries to come was going to be the practice of the Ethiopian kings. On the occasion of a mission to Cairo, permits for pilgrims were requested from the Sultan, communications were transmitted to Jerusalem, and often the mission itself would continue its journey on pilgrimage to the Holy Places. In passing it is noteworthy that one of the Ethiopian delegates in 1290 was called Yusuf 'Abd al-Rahman Sharif, apparently a Muslim.

Meanwhile the Christians in Western Europe had become aware not only of the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem, but also of the existence of the Christian power in the South which could possibly be an ally against the Muslims. After al-Malik al-Ashraf had taken 'Akka (Saint Jean d'Arce) in 690/1291 and thus put an end to the Christian domination in Palestine, voices were raised in the West for an intervention in the Holy Land. Various projects were conceived, including an invasion from Armenia, a blockade at Aden of the trade, especially spices, between India and Egypt, and an invasion of Egypt itself. One of the elements common to these plans was to avail oneself of the presence of Christian peoples at the southern frontier of Egypt in order to create a diversion of the Muslim forces, an idea which was still alive in Western Europe during the siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683[8]. As can be expected, the power of the possible ally was greatly overestimated. Guillaume Adam, bishop of Antivari, spoke of "the Christian Ethiopians, a very great and powerful people", united in five kingdoms, one of which would suffice to defeat Egypt. And Marin Sanudo the Elder, called Torcello, repeated the information about the forty Christian kingdoms which were said to exist between Egypt and India. Thus was started the great exaggeration of the power of the Ethiopian king, which was going to have a legendary development in the well-known legend of the Prester John. One of the first elements of this legend was the tradition, found in Marco Polo, according to which the Ethiopian king wanted to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but had to renounce.

Topographical details about the Ethiopians in Jerusalem and Palestine do not occur before the beginning of the fourteenth century. Jacob of Verona relates that in 1335 the **Jabeni** or **Jabes** (= Arabic Habash,[9]) possessed an altar in the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem[10]. According to Nicolas of Poggibonsi, writing in 1345, the Ethiopians had an althar in the absis of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, and the chapel of the Virgin Mary of Golgotha,i.e., one of the chapels near the Basilica. Nicolas also remarks that the Ethiopians wanted to make alliance with the Latins but that the latter were unable to come into contact with them because the Sultan of Egypt did not permit this: the traditional explanation the Ethiopians used to give for their isolation. Nicolas further describes Holy Mass as it was celebrated by the Ethiopians according to their own rite, and their participation in the procession of the Olives on Palm Sunday. They also composed, or adapted, hymns for the Christian feast-days[11]. They were exempted from paying taxes to the Sultan and from paying fees to enter the Holy Sepulchre, and were even permitted to carry the hand-cross (as clerics do in Ethiopia). In 1386 the German traveller Bodmann related that two Ethiopians were permanently in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, receiving food from the outside.

One of the great issues between Muslims and Christians was the opening of the doors of the Basilica. The Muslim authorities permitted them to be opened only on a very few Christian feast-days. This prerogative was jealously watched in far-away Ethiopia. When king Yishaq (1414-1427) [12] heard that the Basilica had remained

closed, he reacted violently by killing Muslims, capturing their wives and children, and destroying mosques. He also sent an expeditionary force against Djabart, then the name of a region of the territory of Zayla' and more specifically of Ifat[13]. when this news reached Sultan Barsbay (825/1422-841/1438), he wanted to kill the Christian Patriarch and all the Christians in his territory, but then renounced the plan[14]. Since the Basilica was normally opened on great Christian feastdays only, Barsbay or his **na'ib** in Jerusalem may have kept it closed for the pilgrims on one of these days, perhaps Easter 1422. Cerulli remarks that Yishaq's move against Djabart was probably part of the expansionist policy which the Salomonides had been executing for more than a century towards the south. But, he adds, it is quite noteworthy that al-Taghribirdi or his source connect Yishaq's expedition with an incident which had happened in Jerusalem: apparently the Egyptian rulers were aware of the sensitivity of the Ethiopians with respect to what happened in the Holy City. And if the Ethiopian king indeed used the closure of the Basilica as a pretext for his war in Southern Ethiopia, it would mean that the Ethiopians highly resented any encroachment upon their rights in Jerusalem.

More details about the topography of the Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem, and also about their rights of lighting lamps—a prerogative which to this day has occasionally caused disputes among the Christian communities—are mentioned in the letter which king Zar'a Ya'qob (1434-1468) wrote to the Ethiopians in the Holy City in the eighth year of his reign when sending them a copy of the **Sinodos** [15]. He writes: "Light lamps for me: one in the Sepulchre of Our Lord; one at the entrance door; one to the right and one to the left of the Sepulchre; three at the place where He was wrapped in linen; one where Mary of Magdala saw Him; three in our chapel and three at the tomb of Our Lady Mary in Gethsemani; one at the place where Our Lord was born in Bethlehem; one at the place of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Light them without interruption at my costs, do not ever permit them to go out and do not accept money from others (to light them)". It is not clear whether the Ethiopian king wanted the Ethiopians in Jerusalem to take steps locally to obtain the authorization for lighting those sixteen lamps, or whether he had already obtained the rights from Egypt. On the basis of this letter it can not be decided whether the Ethiopians found themselves actually in all the places mentioned. It is undoubtful that at that time they possessed an altar in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and the chapel of Mary of Golgotha ("our chapel"), this being confirmed in 1449 in the Itinerary of the German traveller Stephan of Gumpenberg. The chapel however which had been constructed over the place where Jesus had been wrapped in linen for the burial, was in the hands of the Georgians. Did the king want to have rights there as well? That he had other aspirations in Jerusalem is clear from the letter which he sent in 847/1443-4 to Barsbay's successor Sultan Djakmak (842/1438-854/1453)[16] in which he requested permission to construct (an altar?) on the "Tomb of Mary", i.e. in the Sanctuary of Gethsemani, and a tomb in the wall of the graveyard of the Ethiopians, permission which had been refused by the Sultan's deputy. Zar'a Ya'qob refers to the permission which the Europeans had

been granted to build in Jerusalem; a chapel had indeed been constructed between 1430 and 1435 around the Holy Sepulchre itself inside the Basilica [17].

Zar'a Ya'qob's reign was a period of intense contact between Ethiopia and Jerusalem. The Ethiopian delegation which attended the Council of Florence in 1441 was headed by Nicodemus, superior of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem, and a year later an important pilgrimage arrived from Ethiopia [18].

In 1481 a mission was sent to Egypt to ask the Patriarch for a new Metropolitan. On that occasion the following requests were submitted to sultan Ka'itbay (873/1468-902/1495): 1. an Ethiopian mission to Cairo, when continuing its journey to Jerusalem, should be exempted from paying taxes on entering the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre; 2. during the entire stay of the Ethiopian mission in Jerusalem, the Basilica should remain open for all Christians; 3. during that stay, all Christians in Jerusalem should profit of the same exemption from paying taxes, in honour of the Ethiopian mission. It seems evident that during the fifteenth century the Ethiopian kings felt strong vis-à-vis the Egyptian rulers. As had become more or less customary, the mission of 1481 too continued its journey to Jerusalem where they arrived on Holy Saturday 18 Safar 886/18 April 1481[19]. They carried a decree (**marsum sharif**) permitting all Christians to enter the **Kumama** ("garbage", the Muslim Arab depreciatory deformation of **Kiyama** "resurrection", the Christian Arab name of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre). The officials wanted to prevent this and permitted entrance to the envoy and his suite only. But the latter refused and insisted on the rights granted in the decree. Then the "**Kumama**" was opened, and the Ethiopian envoy entered the Basilica with all the Christian denominations without paying tax. From this passage of Mudjir al-Din al-'Ulaymi it is clear that the three requests made to Ka'itbay were all granted. The fact that the Ethiopians had obtained free entrance for all Christians must have increased greatly their prestige with the other Christian communities. This story gives also a concrete example of the origin of the informations, brought to Europe by travellers, about the privileged position of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem and about the power of the Ethiopian king vis-à-vis the Egyptian sultan. A serious set-back for the Ethiopians, and—it can easily be imagined—a scandal among the Christians was the conversion to Islam of one of the members of the Ethiopian mission.

The Ethiopian presence on the Mount of Olives, mentioned in Zar'a Ya'qob's letter, is confirmed by the French bishop Louis de Rochechouart in 1461. He also remarks that the Ethiopians are circumcised, use leavened bread for the Eucharist, fast severely and for long periods, and do not confess. He mentions their liturgical ceremonies and dances[20], apparently not appreciating their singing: **ululant more luporum** "they howl like wolves". Between 1460 and 1480 two more possessions were acquired: the chapel inside the Basilica which contained the rests of the "Column of Insult (Improperium)" on which Jesus sat while being insulted by the soldiers, and the grotto on Mount Sion into which David retreated after having caused the death of Uriah and where he composed the seven Penitential Psalms.

Thus around 1480 the Ethiopian possessions in Jerusalem consisted of: 1. the chapel in the rotunda of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre; 2. the chapel of Mary of Golgotha; 3. the chapel of the Improperium; 4. the grotto of David. Shortly after that date, two more acquisitions were made: an altar in the chapel of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemani (cp.Zar'a Ya'qob's request to Sultan Djakmak) and the house of Elisabeth on the road to the river Jordan, where Mary recited the Magnificat, the church there being in common possession with the Copts. In 1512 they also held the chapel of the Sacrifice of Abraham, situated at the foot of Calvary near the grotto of Adam. Their main centre was perhaps the monastery at the grotto of David.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Ethiopians held more possessions in Jerusalem than any other Christian community, but this does not mean that they were wealthy. On the contrary, the Itineraries often speak of their great poverty, possessing only sacred equipment and manuscripts. Their so-called treasure, mentioned in a letter of Pope Paul III of 1542[21], did simply not exist. Mentioning it to Western travellers was part of the exaggerations through which the Ethiopians wanted to exalt the power and wealth of their country.

The decline of the Egyptian power during the years preceding the Turkish domination of Palestine—Sultan Selim I entered Jerusalem as a pilgrim in December 1516—had its influence on the position of the Christians in the Holy City. On 9 Muharram 919/7 March 1513 they were granted exemptions from paying taxes on arrival and departure in Yafa, Ghazza, al-Ramla and Ludd, and on entering the Basilica. This decree of the Mamluk Sultan Kansawh al-Ghawri (906/1516-922/1516), found in an inscription at the left entrance of the Basilica[22], is explained as a sign of the extreme weakness of the Mamluk government. It was threatened politically by the Turkish expansion under Selim I, and economically by the growing maritime power of the Europeans in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, cutting off the traditional traffic-way from India to Europe. Under these circumstances, Cairo was looking for as much sympathy as it could gather. It is not amazing that the Ethiopians in Jerusalem were boasting before the Westerners of the power of their king and talking about the fear of the Egyptian Sultan that their sovereign was able to cut off the waters of the Nile, a legend known to have established itself already in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The last European to visit the Holy City before the Turkish occupation was probably the Venetian Barbone Morosini, who came to Palestine in 1514. He names the chapel of St.John the Evangelist as one of the places of the Ethiopians. He also relates that they had rights in Bethlehem where they celebrated on an altar of their own in the Sanctuary of the Nativity. According to Jacob of Verona the Ethiopians were there in 1335, so it may be concluded that by 1514 they had been in Bethlehem for almost two centuries.

After the Turkish conquest of Palestine and Egypt in 1517, the presence of the

Ethiopians in Jerusalem and Palestine declined sharply. Some members of their community, but not all, left to go to Italy, Austria and Spain. Between 1530 and 1550, dramatic years for their home-land, they were back in Jerusalem, out of devotion certainly, but also to seek help from Christian Europe against the invasions of Ahmad Gran. By 1640 they had become dependent from the Armenians and in 1654 their rights passed to the Greeks. During the eighteenth century there were no Ethiopians in Jerusalem, while the nineteenth century saw them back in Dayr al-Sultan[23]. But this further story of the Ethiopian presence in Palestine must fall outside the scope of this paper.

A few remarks, again based on Cerulli's work[24], should be made about the route from Ethiopia through Cairo to Jerusalem, and about the organisation of the Community in the Holy City.

Although, according to Wiet[25], the journey to Egypt was very rarely made by land, the route by sea was hardly considered for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem[26]. First-hand and first-class information about the pilgrimage route is given by Francesco Alvares, the chaplain to the Portuguese mission which arrived at Massawa on 7 April 1520. While at Debaroa in Northern Ethiopia, he witnessed the departure of an important caravan of Ethiopian pilgrims and decided to accompany them for two stages in order to be better informed about the enterprise. His remarks[27] can be summarized as follows.

Through the northern province of Hamasen, Suakin was reached in fifteen stages. From there the caravan took the direction of the Nile across the Nubian desert and reached al-Rif, i.e. the cultivated lands along the river[28], in fourteen stages. The distance from there to Cairo was covered in eight stages and another eight stages were needed to reach Jerusalem, altogether forty-five stages. But the chaplain also notes that traditionally the pilgrim-caravans left Ethiopia at Epiphany to arrive in Jerusalem in the Holy Week "because they go very slowly", an average of three months. This particular caravan consisted of 336 persons. They were carrying three **tabots** (altar-stones) to celebrate Mass during the journey. At the departure, the **bahr nagas** (governor of the sea-province, residing at Debaroa) entrusted the caravan to Muslims from Suakin and al-Rif who were responsible to him for the safety of the pilgrims until they reached Cairo. But in this case at least the protection was not effective. Beyond Suakin the caravan was attacked by Beduins and wiped out almost completely; only fifteen pilgrims escaped to continue the journey.

The Copts in Egypt used to receive the pilgrims joyfully, and in Cairo they stayed in the churches of Cosmas and Damian, of St. Barbara and at Matarya[29]. Along the pilgrimage-route, several Ethiopian communities had come into existence: in the monasteries of Qusquam near Dayr al-Muharraka, of Mari Djirdjis near the church of al-'Adhra', in the cells of Bahut and Mena, both in the desert of Scetis[30], probably in the well-known Coptic monastery of St. Anthony and in Harah Zuwaylah in Cairo[31]. The Ethiopian community in Jerusalem maintained strong relations with

Qusquam and Harah Zuwaylah in particular. Goods could and were in fact transferred from one community to another, and if a member was expelled from the community in Jerusalem or Egypt, he automatically was also banned from the other, a very severe punishment indeed, since hope of return was practically cut off. During the stay in Jerusalem or in one of the communities in Egypt, the **naggadyan,** as the pilgrims were called, were members of the community. Those who had taken vows to remain in Jerusalem or in one of the communities in Egypt during the rest of their lives, were called **Qeddusan** "saints". Pilgrims and saints enjoyed several privileges: they had the right to assist at the meetings of all communities and, a privilege which must have been highly estimated, the commemoration **(tazkar)** of a deceased pilgrim was obligatory in all communities on 29 **teqemt.**

The head of the community was called **rayis** in Jerusalem and Qusquam, **ka'im** in Harah Zuwaylah. The assembly **(guba'e)** consisted of the priests, monks and deacons of the community, the **naggadyan** and **qeddusan** having the right to be present. The assembly had authority to deliberate upon the statutes and regulations of the community, and had also judicial power. Property was administered by the **maggabi.** Upon joining a community, a pilgrim bequeathed his possessions to it, taking only his clothes, books and stick upon departure. He who kept back gold, silver "or even a needle and a thread" was expelled. The number of clothes was limited, the one turban permitted should not exceed seven ells. To avoid disputes, the **barnos** i.e. the cloak of black wool typical for the Ethiopians, was forbidden. Apart from the prescription to take meals together, there were no particular rules as far as food was concerned, but then they were hardly necessary in view of the very many fasting-days. Hospitality was offered for three (or ten) days without the obligation to become a member. Insults are particularly mentioned as being liable to punishment, not only the shocking ones like **yet abbat** "bastard", but also **daqqa Habash**" "son of Abyssinians"—**habash** being the Arabic term, the true Ethiopian one is **Ityopya (wi)—eslam** "Muslim" if addressed to a prisoner of the Muslims who had apostasized and returned to Christianity, or even **walda Ya`qob** "Jacobite" i.e. belonging to the Jacobite church of Syria. Punishments were severe: fasting, prosternation, stay in the desert, self-flagellation and expulsion.

Many more details are found in Cerulli's classical work, in Ethiopian hagiographies, in several monographs and articles. The above may suffice to underline the fact that the Ethiopian presence in Palestine played a role in the history of the Holy City.

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NOTES

1 Enrico Cerulli, **Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della Comunita Etiopica di Gerusalemme.** Vol.i, Roma 1943; vol.ii, Roma 1947; i,x. The present paper is almost entirely based on this work in which nearly all relevant Oriental and Occidental sources are published, translated and fully annotated.

2 H.Vincent et F.-M. Abel, **Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire.** Vol. ii, **Jérusalem nouvelle,** Paris 1926, 865-6.

3 **Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum** quod Latinitate donarunt annotationibusque illustrarunt J.B.Abbeloos et Th.J.Lamy. 3 Vols. Louvain 1872-77, vol.ii, 654-64.

4 Taddesse Tamrat, **Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527,** Oxford 1972, 70.

5 **Etiopi in Palestina,** i, 65.

6 R. Grousset, **Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem,** vol. iii, Paris 1936, 306; H.L.Gottschalk, **Al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit,** Wiesbaden 1958, 152 ff.

7 Et. Quatremère, **Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte et sur quelques contrées voisines.** 2 Vols, Paris 1811, ii, 267-8.

8 E.J. van Donzel, **Two Ethiopian Letters of Job Ludolf,** in: **Bibliotheca Orientalis** xxxi, 3/6 (1974), 228-9; id. **Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642-1700, Leiden 1979, 251 note 70.**

9 Cerulli, **Etiopi in Palestina,** i, 113-4 proves that this term should be interpreted as indicating the Ethiopians.

10 For the traditions around this locality, see H.Vincent et F.-M.Abel, **Bethlém. Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité,** Paris 1914, 180, 189.

11 Cerulli, **Etiopi in Palestina,** i, 123, 124-6.

12 See on him I.Guidi, **Le canzoni ge'ez-amarinna in onore di Re abissini,** in: **Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,** sc.mor. I (1889), 55-8; René Basset, **Etudes sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie,** in: **Journal Asiatique,** Série 7 (1881), tome xviii, 95, 134.

13 See **Encyclopedia of Islam,** 2nd ed., s.v; E. Cerulli, **Review** of M. von Tiling, **Die Sprache der Jabarti, Jabarti Texte,** in: **Oriente Moderno** v (1925), 614-5; id. **Review** of C. Conti Rossini, **Storia d'Etiopia,** vol.i., in: **Rivista degli Studi Orientali** xii (1929-30), 358, referring to al-Makrizi, **Al-Ilmam bi akhbar man bi 'ard al-Habasha min Muluk al-Islam,** ed. G. Zaydan, Cairo 1895, 9.

14 **Abû '1-Mahâsin ibn Taghri Birdi's Annals, entitled an-Nujûm az-Zâhira fi Mulûk Misr wa '1-Kâhira,** ed. W, Popper, Berkeley, vi 572

15 For this letter, see Takla Sadiq Makurya, **L'Empereur Zera Yaicob et sa lettre à la communauté éthiopienne de Jérusalem,** Belgrad 1963.

16 Al-Sakhawi, **Al-Tibr al-masbuk fi dhayl al-suluk**, ed. E. Gaillardot, Cairo 1896, 70-1 (rev. and corr. by A. Zeki Bey, **Revue d'Egypte** II, III); S. Euringer, **Ein angeblicher Brief des Negus Zara Jakob vom Jahre 1447 wegen der Christenverfolgungen in Palästina und Aegypten**, in: **Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart**, 1939, 205-40; G.Wiet, **Les relations égyptoabyssines sous les Sultans Mamlouks**, in: **Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte** iv (1938), 125.

17 Francesco Suriano, **Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente**, ed. G. Golubovich, Milan 1900, 31-2: "Dentro dove ardono le lampade, li frati nostri hano facto quel sepolcre postizo che se vede, per poter dir la messa, nel anno del Signor mile quatrocento trenta (in a note the editor remarks: "corrige: 1435")....Ne nulla altra natione de riligiosi po dir la messa in questo Sepolchro, senza nostra particolar licentia, per esser quello in nostra custodia et guardia. Di quel etiam tenimo le chiave".

18 J.Kolmodin, **Traditions de Tsazzega et Hazzega. Annales et documents.** Upsala 1914, p.A 31; cp. Cerulli, **Etiopi in Palestina**, i, 241.

19 Mudjir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, **Kitab al-uns al-djalil bi ta'rikh al-Kuds wa-'l-Khalil, Bulak 1283, ii, 657-8**; G.Wiet, **Relations**, 130.

20 On the origin of these dances, see Ugo Monneret de Villard, **Su una possibile origine delle danze liturgiche nella Chiesa Abissina**, in: **Oriente Moderno** xxii (1942), 389-91.

21 H.Duensing, **Ein Brief des abessinischen Königs Asnaf Sagad (Claudius) an Papst Paul III. aus dem Jahre 1541**, in: **Nachrichten der Kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen**, Philol.-Histor. Klasse, 1904, 70-93.

22 Max van Berchem, **Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. IIe Partie: Syrie du Sud. Tome I: Jérusalem ville**, in: **Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire**, vol. XLIII, Cairo 1922, 378-402.

23 See Salvatore Tedeschi, **Profilo storico di Dayr as-Sultan**, in: **Journal of Ethiopian Studies**, vol. ii no.2 (July 1964), 92-160.

24 **Etiopi in Palestina**, ii, 353 ff.

25 **Relations**, 116.

26 Alvares remarks: "There is another route from here by sea which takes less time; embarking at Massawa for (Tor [al-Tur] which is near) Mount Sinay, they go in fifteen days or less, and from Mount Sinay to Jerusalem they go in eight days. The Abyssinians are not much able to travel this way, because they have not got any ships (or sailors)", **The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520 written by Father Francisco Alvares.** The translation of Lord Stanley of Alderley (1881), rev. and ed. with additional material by C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B.Huntingford.

2 vols., Cambridge 1961. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., nos. cxiv, cxv; no. cxv, 452.

27 **The Prester John,** no.cxv, 449-52.

28 O.H.E.Burmester, **The Rif of Egypt,** in: **Orientalia,** viii (1939), 97; O.G.S. Crawford, **Ethiopian Itineraries, circa 1400-1524, including those collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519-24.** Cambridge 1958. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd. Ser., no. cix, Fig. 11.

29 For the churches in Old Cairo, see Charalambia Coquin, **Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire. I. Bibliographie et Topographie historique. Cairo 1974.**

30 See H.G.E. White, **The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'N-Natrûn, Part II, The History of Nitria and of Scetis,** New York 1932), 363, 365, 368, 396, 399, 403.

31 See Ugo Monneret de Villard, **Note sulle più antiche miniature abissine,** in: **Orientalia,** N.S. viii (1939), 20.

THE LIBRARY OF A FOURTEENTH CENTURY JERUSALEM SCHOLAR

Ulrich Haarmann

One of the most conspicuous specimens of the recently discovered collection of Arabic documents in the Islamic Museum in the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem is a list of the belongings of a certain Shaykh Burhan al-Din Ibrahim al-Nasiri who died around 790/1388. In the second line of the document, after the **hamdala,** we read: **Mufradat al-ashya' al-muba'a min tarikat al-marhum Burhan al-Din al-Nasiri,** "detailed list of the items that were sold from the bequest of the late Burhan al-Din al-Nasiri". This private document served as an inventory for the buyers and for Burhan al-Din's legal heirs, whether they were his offspring or relatives, or whether some public institution inherited his property and therefore also the returns from the sale of his belongings. Evidently the deed was drawn up by the **qadi** responsible for Burhan al-Din's district, who kept it in the files of his office. The document itself consists of one sheet. It is vertically divided, though only on the **recto** both columns are filled. It is neither dated nor signed nor certified. The text of 92 lines is divided into fourteen paragraphs in accordance with the number of buyers. First the name of the purchaser is given, then the individual items follow together with their respective prices written directly beneath, and finally the sum of the sale is stated for each of the fourteen persons. Out of the 153 items 138 are books. The rest are household goods. The language of the document displays the characteristics of "Middle Arabic" (**mawa'id** for **mawa'iz; juzw** for **juz', nassayn** for **nassan,** etc.)

We know very little about Burhan al-Din al-Nasiri. He is mentioned in several other documents of the Haram collection, though I have not had the chance yet to use this additional material. He appears to have been an important figure in the Holy district in the eighties of the fourteenth century. He held several posts as **muhaddith** and Qur'an reciter and was undoubtedly associated with the Salahiyya **madrasa-khanqah** ('Ulaymi, **Uns** I 391, II 41) at the Bab al-Asbat. Saladin had converted the so-called tomb of Mary's mother Hanna into this school in 588/1192, five years after the recovery of the Holy City from the Franks. The close connection of Shaykh Burhan with Jerusalem, and with the Salahiyya in particular, is reflected in several titles of his library. Most probably two works of Saladin's biographer Ibn Shaddad (d. 632/1234), the **Dala'il al-ahkam** (GAL I 317) and the vita of the conqueror, **al-Nawadir al-Yusufiyya,** (GAL I 317, S I 549), and one of the numerous **Fada'il al-Quds** books belonged to him. More important yet is the relatively little known kitab **Mushkil al-sahihayn** by the **ibn al-Nas** Khalil b. Kaykaldi who taught at the Salahiyya during Shaykh Burhan al-Din's apprenticeship and early career and

died in Jerusalem in 761/1359. The **Sufi** brethren of the shaykh, incidentaily, made sure that this book, obviously a work of sentimental value to his circle, was not sold to the outside and acquired it themselves, together with his white **kamiliyya.**

Among those who purchased his belongings we find not only local **'ulama'** such as Shaykh Shams al-Din al-Dayri, whose **nisba** points to the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, the Hanafi and Shafi'i chief judges of the city or shaykh shams al-Din al—Qalqashandi—perhaps an ancestor of Ibrahim al-Qalqashandi al-Maqdisi who wrote several works on tradition and died in Cairo in 922/1516 (GAL II 78) -but also members of the ruling military aristocracy such as al-Maqarr al-Nasiri—i.e., the Mamluk **amir** Nasir al-Din-al-Maqarr al-Sayfi Bulut ("cloud") and, if my reading is correct, the **ustadar** Shams al-Din al-Halabi. This **major domo** may have belonged to the household of one of the lesser Syrian governors. The available narrative sources have so far yielded no information on these fourteen men, nor on Shaykh Burhan al-Din himself. Once Professor Little, to whom I owe access to this precious document, and his crew will have completed their research on the Haram collection, at least a few of those individuals will hopefully appear to us in a clearer light.

Let us now turn to the 153 items themselves. As we have seen, fifteen out of these 153 are household commodities. We find boxes, a book-case **(khizana),** an ottoman **(tarraha)** small furniture **(qushsha),** an oven consisting of different parts **(tannur hayakil [?],** a copper pot **(rakwa),** an iron crutch **('ukkaz hadid),** carpets, including at least one of Anatolian provenance **(bisat rumi),** several garments **(jubba kamiliyya),** fans **(marawih)** and a pair of wooden clogs **(qabqab).** In most of the fourteen entries, books and the other goods are mixed.

The different interests and needs of the purchasers appear clearly from their choice of the items. The Hanafi **qadi,** for instance, must have been a practical man. He selected only books that concerned his own **madhhab** such as as a commentary on Shaybani's **Athar,** and spent a considerable sum on china **(suhun qashani)** and a wooden case. The amir Bulut was equally practical. He invested his money, apart from two standard works on Maliki and Hanafi **fiqh,** in al-Baji's **Muntaqa** and Quduri's **Mukhtasar,** in numerous copies, both complete and incomplete, of the Qur'an, in one anonymous **diwan** for pleasant reading, a tripod **(siba)** and several boxes. The shafi'i **hakim,** on the other side, who is granted the honorific epithet **sayyiduna** in the document, must have been a man with wide intellectual and literary interests. He bought only books, both scholarly and literary, ranging from Muntakhab al-Din Husayn al-Hamadhani's commentary on the **Shatibiyya**—the famous versification of al-Dani's work on the seven readings—to the edifying sermons of the elder Ibn Nubata, al-Mawardi's **Adab al-dunya wa'l-din** and Hariri's **Maqamat.** Among the fourteen purchasers there was one wealthy bibliophile, a certain Baha' al-Din b. al-Muhandis. He acquired 56 items, all of which are books, both from the religious and the Arabic sciences.

The infromation contained in the document is of course as concise as it was possible for the given legal purpose. Small articles are usually mentioned summarily in one entry with an appropriate term. More than once the title of a book is followed by **ghayruhu,** i.e. "including others". Whether this refers to a **majmu'a,** containing several works, the first of which is only mentioned, or whether the **qadi** collected several independent books under one heading because they were assessed and sold together at one single price, can hardly ever be decided. Very often the entries consist only of the first, or the most prominent, element of the title of a book, and can therefore not be safely identified. One example is the **Kitab al-Idah** that is mentioned more than once and may denote Abu 'Ali al-Farisi's grammar or al-Khatib al-Qazwini's manual of rhetoric. In other cases the proper choice is made even more difficult. When the books are especially well known, only the name of the author is given, for instance, Bukhari, Muslim, al-Sharishi or al-Sarsari. Many titles are listed twice or even more often. These books in particular tell us about the inclinations and the academic specialization of Shaykh Burhan al-Din. The duplicates include titles as far afield as Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi's mystic **summa 'Awarif al-ma'arif,** the widely read **Fasih** of the Kufan grammarian Tha'lab, al-Rafi'i's handbook on Shafi'i law and Ibn al-Nubata al-Misri's widely read **diwan.**

A few authors are represented with surprisingly many of their works. One is Tha'lab with his just mentioned **Fasih** and his **Mujalasat.** Others are 'Abd al-Haqq al-Ishbili al-Kharrat with his **Raqa'iq,** his **Ahkam** and the **Jam' bayn al-sahihayn,** or 'Iyad b. Musa al-Sabti with the **K. al-Shifa** "on the duties of man towards the Prophet" and the **hadith** work **Mashariq al-anwar.** From the writings of Ibn Qutayba we find mentioned both his **Gharib al-Qur'an** and the **Mushkil al-hadith.** Sa'd al-Din-al-Kazaruni may well be represented with two of his works, **the Mawlid al-nabi** and the **Musalsalat.** And from Ibn Hajib we have both his handbooks of Maliki law and one of his grammatical writings. Shaykh Burhan al-Din's favorite writer, however, was the Hanbali polymath Ibn al-Jawzi. His sermons **(khutab),** his **Manaqib 'Umar b. al-khattab,** his catechisms **Uns al-nufus** and **Tabsirat al-mubtadi'** and, provided he is the author, also his **Fada'il al-Quds** and his **sharh Mushkil al-Sahihayn** are recorded in our list.

The **sufi** orientation of our scholar is visible throughout the inventory of his books. It may be useful to recall that in precisely this decade, the first years of Sultan Barquq's rule, the Mamluk government began to patronize the establishment of **Khanqah-madaris,** and thus promoted the integration of popular, **sufi,** practices into academic teaching. We know from the endowment deed of Sultan Barquq, composed between the years 788/1386 and 797/1395, that **sufi** students were paid salaries for their participation in the daily **dhikr,** in addition to their stipends for academic or menial jobs assigned to them in the **madrasa. Sufi** books are prevalent in Burhan al-Din's library. We find classics, such as al-Muhasibi's **K. al-Ri'aya li-huquq Allah,** Ibn 'Ata' Allah's biographies of al-Ansari al-Mursi and al-Shadhili al-Kalabadhi's **Akhbar** and, as we have seen, Suhrawardi's **'Awarif al-ma'arif,** but

also—if I interpret correctly—an autograph by Junayd, al-Ta'usi's treatise on the mystical value of letters, and two works by al-Sarsari. Ya'qub b. Yunus al-Sarsari, who died in Baghdad in 656/1258, the year of the Mongol invasion into Iraq, was one of the most popular **sufi** poets in Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Sultan Barquq laid down in the **waqfiyya** of his own Cairo **madrasa,** endowed in the very years of Burhan al-Din's teaching activities, that the salaried **madih,** "eulogizer", of the school should regularly recite al-Sarsari's poem in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. Each verse of Sarsari's mystic **qasida** contains all the letters of the alphabet and was therefore, so one may surmise, of a high symbolic value for the students. The close and institutionalized connection between the capital of the Mamluk domains and Jerusalem finds its expression in Barquq's endowment deed. Barquq who is known for his efforts to curb the spreading of **awqaf** for fiscal reasons and certainly tried to keep the budget of his **madrasa** as low as possible, permitted the professors **(mutasaddirun)** to take a paid leave of absence to make the journey to Holy Jerusalem whenever they chose to do so.

Books on Shafi'i law and other, not strictly legal, writings by eminent Shafi'i authors enjoy an even more prominent position on Burhan al-Din's agenda than the works on **tasawwuf.** Fakhr al-Din al-Razi is represented with his two **usul** works **al-Muntakhab** and **al-Mahsul,** al-Ghazzali with his **Tafsir Jawahir al-Qur'an** and his **fiqh**-book **al-Wasit.** We already mentioned al-Rafi'i's Shafi'i legal manual al-**Muharrar.** If our identification is correct, al-Fayyumi's glosses on Rafi'i's commentary on al-Ghazzali's **Wajiz** are also listed. Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi's books on Shafi'i **furu' al-Tanbih** and **al-Muhadhdhab,** stand side by side with works by Abu Ishaq's most important commentator, the famous al-Nawawi. Both Nawawi's **Riyad al-salihin,** his **Adhkar,** and his **Rawdat al-talibin** could be found in Burhan al-Din's library.

Apart from the books on mysticism and Shafi'i jurisprudence, the syllabus is rather mixed. There are a few standard titles on Maliki and Hanafi law. The works on **hadith** include the **sahihayn** in several copies, writings by the early **muhaddith** 'Abdallah b. al-Mubarak, and titles by Ibn Qutayba, 'Iyad, Kharrat, Kazaruni, and Ibn al-Munayyir. We read about one work on **al-Nasikh wa 'L-mansukh.** The Qur'an commentaries mentioned in the document—in the first place al-Qushayri's **Lata'if al-isharat**—underscore the mystic leanings of our shaykh. Among the books on the seven readings, the copies of, and a commentary on, the **Shatibiyya** deserve to be mentioned.

Political thought is represented by two copies of al-Mawardi's **Adab al-dunya wa'l-din** and al-Turtushi's mirror-of-princes work **Siraj al-muluk.** History proper is strangely underrepresented. Apart from Ibn Shaddad's encomium of Sultan Saladin—the redeemer of Burhan al-Din's city from infidel occupation and founder of his own **madrasa**—and Sibt b. al-Jawzi's **Mir'at al-zaman,** no near-contemporary work is given, despite the unprecedented wealth of historical writing in the thir-

teenth and fourteenth centuries in Egypt and Syria. One **tabaqat** work is listed without any further specifications. Only a fragment of the **sira** and the relatively obscure biographies of the **sahaba** by al-Hafiz al-Isbahani represent early Muslim historiography.

A commentary on Ibn Sina's logical mainwork, the **Isharat,** does not seem to fit into the strictly religious library of our shaykh. It would therefore seem likely that the author of this commentary is critical of Ibn Sina's freethinking approach to logic. This would speak for an identification of this anonymous **sharh** with Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's **Lubab** or al-Amidi's **Kashf al-tamwihat,** and not with Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's strictly philosophical **Hall mushkilat al-isharat.**

Another isolated specimen of its kind is Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Maqdisi's **al-Badr al-munir fi 'ilm al-ta'bir** on the interpretation of dreams. Sermons and other short paraenetical works, many of which seem to have been incomplete, are ubiquitous. Ibn Nubata the Elder's **khutab,** Ibn al-Jawzi's different works, Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarqandi's **Tanbih al-ghafilin,** Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi's **Sifat al-janna wa'l-nar,** numerous **mawalid** tracts, and edifying pamphlets (**mawa'iz**) and prayers underscore the importance of popular religious writing also for a scholar in this period. We look in vain for only one book on **kalam** proper or on the natural sciences—with the sole exception of an anonymous title on **tibb.**

Finally there remain the books on the **'ulum al-'arab.** Some of them are anonymous (**majmu' lugha**), others identifiable, such as al-Zamakhshari's **Asas al-balagha,** a commentary on Ibn Malik's **Alfiyya,** and Ibn Mu'ti al-Zawani's **Fusul khamsin.**

To the two works by the Kufan grammarian Tha'lab mentioned above we have to add an anoymous commentary on his **Fasih.** Both anonymous **diwans** and a few well known poetic works such as Ibn Nubata al-Misri's **Diwan,** al-Husri's **Zahr al-adab,** and al-Hariri's **Maqamat** including al-Sharishi's commentary, attest to Burhan al-Din's literary interests.

Our document is, however, not only an unbiased source of information on the identities and likings of fourteen individuals who bought books and furniture from the bequest of a little known Jerusalem scholar at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Nor does it only reflect the standard inventory of reading of such a humble **shaykh** who never made it into the biographical dictionaries of the age. It also gives the prices of these commodities and thus provides us with data on the relative prices of books in comparison to household goods, and on the market for second hand goods in Jerusalem during this period. A full appreciation of these figures, however, will require careful study of comparable texts, which, for the time being, are not yet available. But not only the economic historian, but also the scholar of diplomatics will profit from this document. The numbers are written in **siyaq**-script. There are only few documents preserved from Egypt and Syria before the Ottoman conquest

with **siyaq**-figures. One is Barquq's **waqfiyya** which we mentioned earlier in this paper, another is our document. The forms employed indicate an early stage of the development of the script: They still resemble the written forms of the numbers more closely than those used in the Ottoman fiscal records, both in Egypt and Syria, and in the Ottoman mainland.

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THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SUNNI FIQH IN JERUSALEM UNDER AYYUBID RULE

Heinz Halm

During the domination of the Crusaders over Palestine and parts of Syria, the intellectual and religious life of the Muslim population was subject to many restrictions. It is well known to what extent science and art in the Islamic world of the Middle Ages depended upon the liberality and munificence of Muslim rulers, princes or notables. But this liberality could not be expected from Frankish barons and knights. Therefore it is no wonder that during the 12th century A.D. Palestine and the Syrian coastlands appeared as a barren spot on the map of Islamic civilization.

But it would be an error to assume that the religious and intellectual life of the Muslims under the Crusaders' rule had completely ceased. The Muslim communities continued to exist, as we can see from the famous **rihla** of Ibn Jubair. From various sources we can conclude that the Muslim communities even maintained their jurisdictional independence. It is evident that during the Crusaders' occupation, at least in Jerusalem, there were Muslim **qudat**: the historian Ibn Tulun in his **Qudat Dimashq** mentions a Hanafite scholar, Muhammad ibn Musa al-Turki al-Balasaghuni (d. 556/1161) as **qadi 'L-Quds** (p. 43, no. 75). But of course Jerusalem at this time was by no means a center of Muslim Jurisprudence, in comparison to Damascus or Aleppo.

Things completely chandged with the reconquest of Jerusalem by Sultan Salah al-Din in 583/1187. In order to re-establish Islamic cult and law Salah al-Din had to recur to jurists from Egypt or Syria, as there were no local **fuqaha'** in the city. The first Friday sermon in the Aqsa mosque was therefore given by a young shafi'ite **faqih** from Damascus, Abu 'L-Ma'ali ibn al-Zaki al-Qurashi al-'Uthmani, then 33 years old, who later becoame **'qadi 'L-qudat** in Damascus like his father and grandfather[1]. The office of **Khatib** continued to remain in the hands of Shafi'ite jurists, as we can see from the list given by Mujir al-Din in his **al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa 'L-Khalil** (p. 478ff.). Professor Salibi in an article in **Studia Islamica** (9/1958) has portrayed the Shafi'ite family of Banu Jama'a which held the office of **khatib** in Jerusalem up to the 16th century A.D.

The most important measure in re-establishing the **shari'a** in Palestine was the appointment of a qadi. Here also Salah al-Din had to rely on a foreigner: the first qadi of al-Quds was a Shafi'ite jurist from Mosul, Baha' al-Din Abu 'L-Mahasin Yusuf ibn Shaddad, then 43 years of age. Ibn Shaddad, who in 583—the year of the

fath al—Quds performed the pilgrimage, and in the following 584 came to Jerusalem and won the favour of the Sultan by his book entitled **Fada'il al-jihad.** Salah al-Din appointed him **qadi 'L-'askar, qadi 'L-Quds** and **nazir** of the **awqaf** in the city.[2] He started the long list of Shafi'ite qadis of Jerusalem[3]. Besides his main functions he also held the **tadris** of the first **madrasa** which Salah al-Din founded in Jerusalem: the famous **Salahiya** which for centuries was the stronghold of the Shafi'ite **madhhab** in Jerusalem.

The foundation of this **madrasa** deserves closer examination. The endowment was initiated only five years after the conquest, one year before Salah al-Din's death; the waqf document was dated the 13th of Rajab 588 (i.e. the 25th of July 1192)[4]. Salah al-Ddin chose the church above the tomb of St. Ann, the mother of St. Mary, and the adjacent cloister, a building which at that time was exactly 50 years old: it had been founded in 1142 by Arda, the widow of king Baldwin I. of Jerusalem. The nuns were by no means driven away; rather Salah al-Din gave order to his **wakil bait al-mal** in Jerusalem, a certain Abu 'Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr ibn Khadir al-Qudsi, to sell all **amlak,** i.e. all the private possesions the sultan held in the city, and to purchase the church of **Sand Hanna** by the proceeds[5]. The qadi Ibn Shaddad was appointed as the first **mudarris.**

So the **Khataba,** the **qada'** and the **tadris** were in the hands of the Shafi'is who maintained their leading position for many centuries. Even the **mashyakha** of the Sufi institutions was held by Shafi'ite **fuqaha',** for examples in the **Khanaqah al-Salahiya** near the Church of the Resurrection, whose first **shaikh** Ghanim ibn 'Ali was a man from Nabulus[6], and also in the **zawiya al-Khutaniya** inside the Aqsa mosque, founded by Salah al-Din in 587/1191[7].

After Salah al-Din's death in 589/1193 Palestine became a part of the realm of his son al-Malik al-Afdal (Nur al-Din 'Ali), who had administered the province during the lifetime of his father. During his short reign (589-592/1193-96) the Malikite school for the first time was established in Jerusalem. This is a rather strange fact, for Malikism had no tradition in Syria and Palestine. There seem to be two different reasons which caused al-Afdal to promote the Malikite school: first, he himself was a Maliki, a pupil of one of the most renowned Malikite scholars of Egypt, Abu Tahir Isma'il ibn Makki al-Zuhri, who taught in Alexandria, the great center of the Maliki **madhhab** in Egypt. Even Salah al-Din himself had studied the **Muwatta'** with him[8].

But obviously al-Afdal had not only private reasons to favour the Maliki school. We know from Mujir al-Din, that the **madrasa al-Afdaliya,** a Malikite institution, was also known as **al-qubba fi harat al-Maghariba,** "the quarter of the Maghribinians". This quarter was not an old one, as Mujir al-Din states, but just newly founded by al-Afdal "for the group of the Maghribinians". The quarter was situated south-west of the **Haram al-Sharif,** where the **Bab al-Maghariba** near the Aqsa mosque indicates its position till today. There seems to be no doubt that this

new quarter was chosen to be a settlement for the Maghribi troops which formed part of the Egyptian army since Fatimid times and which partly had been incorporated into Salah al-Din's army[9]. Mujir al-Din mentions the racial characteristics of the inhabitants of the quarter. From his **Ta'rikh al-Quds wa 'L-Khalil** we can acquire much information on the further destiny of the Malikite Maghribi community in Jerusalem which flourished and attracted many scholars from the far west: in the ranks of the Malikite scholars of al-Quds enumerated by Mujir al-Din[10] we find the nisbas of Masmudi, Sanhagi, Tilimsani, Andalusi and so on. For example it was a Masmudi, the **shaikh** al-Salih 'Umar al-Mujarrad, who in 703/1303 built the **zawiyat al-Maghariba** in the same quarter[11]. In the time of Sultan al-Nasir Faraj ibn Barquq, about 802/1400[12], the Malikite community of Jerusalem first received a **qadi** of its own, Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Hilali, known as Ibn al-Shahhadha, because his mother had to gain the money for his education by begging.

In 592/1196 al-Malik al-Afdal was dethroned by his uncle al-Malik al-'Adil, Salah al-Din's brother. Al-'Adil founded schools with preference in Cairo and Damascus; in Jerusalem he built no new madrasa, but during his reign two **madaris** were founded in the city, both by Salah al-Din's former **khazindar** Faris al-Din Abu Sa'id Maymun ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, the **sahib Nabulus.** The first of his two foundations, the **madrasa al-Farisiya,** was established inside the Aqsa mosque, at the northern side, "where the women used to sit" as Mujir al-Din says. [13] The other one, the **madrasa al-Maimuniya,** was established in 593/1197 in a Byzantine church near the Bab al-Sahira, but at the end of the Mamluk period this school was no longer used.[14]

When al-Malik al-'Adil died in 615/1218, the different parts of his empire were in the hands of his sons. Syria and Palestine were held by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. Ibn Khallikan tells us about him: **Kana Hanafiya 'l-madhhab, muta'assiban li-madhhabihi, wa-lahu fihi musharaka hasana, wa-lam yakun fi Bani Ayyubin Hanafiyyun siwah**[15].

In Jerusalem, al-Mu'azzam founded two new **madaris.** The first, al-**Nahwiya,** in the south-west corner of the **Haram al-Sharif,** was—as is indicated by its name and explicitly confirmed by Mujir al-Din— to be used for the "study of the Arabic language"[16]. But the other one, the **madrasa al-Mu'azzamiya,** founded in 606/1209-10, was a Hanafite institution. The madrasa was situated outside the Haram, opposite to the northern gate **Bab sharaf al-anbiya'** or **Bab al-Duwaidariya.** As the date of its foundation Mujir al-Din gives the 29th Jumada 'L-'ula 660 (rightly: 606), i.e. the 29th of November 1209 A.D. The rich endowment included several villages, but in Mamluk times the **waqf** had suffered the same fate as many other **awqaf** in Egypt and Syria: Mujir al-Din deplores that in his time most of the villages were "in the hands of the people" as **iqta'** or **milk**[17]. Nevertheless the Hanafite **madrasa al-Mu'azzamiya** continued to exist, and when in 784/1382 Sultan Barquq

firstly appointed a Hanafite **qadi** of Jerusalem—besides the Shafi'ite one—this **qadi** Khayr al-Din Abu' l-Mawahib Khalil ibn 'Isa al-'Ajami al-Bayruti simultaneously held the **tadris** of the **Mu'azzamiya madrasa**[18].

The last **madrasa** which was erected in Jerusalem in Ayyubid times was again a Shafi'ite school. It was Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Abi' 1-Qasim al-Hakkari, a Kurdish Emir of Mu'azzam, who in 610/1213-14 founded th **madrasa 'l-Badriya "bi-khatt al-Marzuban".**[19]

The fourth of the great Sunni law schools, the Hanbalite **madhhab** played no important role under the Ayyubid dynasty. Our main source, Mujir al-Din, the chronicler of Jerusalem and Khalil, who himself was a Hanbalite scholar, endeavours to emphasize the early existence of his school in Palestine: he mentions a certain Abu l-Faraj al-Shirazi "alladhi nashara madhhaba 'l-imami Ahmad bi 'l-Qudsi al-Sharifi wa-ma hawlahu ... qabla 'stila' 'l-Ifranji 'alaihi" (p. 592f.), but in reality there is no trace of any continuous presence of the Hanafite **madhhab** in Jerusalem. The grandson of this Abu 'l-Faraj, Zayn al-Din 'Ali ibn Munjih, born in Damascus in 508/1114 or 510/1116, is mentioned as the second preacher who after the conquest of Jerusalem gave a sermon in the Aqsa mosque, but he also didn't stay in Jerusalem and later returned to Cairo.[20]

The real history of the Hanbali school in Palestine starts very late: in 586/1190 Taqiy al-Din Abu 'Abdallah Yusuf ibn al-Mun'im was born in Jerusalem, but he performed his Hanbali studies in Damascus; he later lived as Imam of the "Western mosque" (al-jami' al-gharbi) in Nabulus, where he died in 638/1241[21]. In Jerusalem it was only Shihab al-Din Abu' l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd-al-Wali ibn Jabbara al-Maqdisi (born in 648/1250) who—after his studies in Egypt—established the **madhhab** of Imam Ahmad and became the **shaykh bayt al-Maqdis.** He died in 728/1328[22]

Even in early Mamluk times the Hanbalis were of minor importance: they gave lectures in the old Ayyubid Farisiya madrasa which had been built for the Shafi'ites[23]. The first Hanbali madrasa in Jerusalem was built in the Bahri era: it was the **madrasa al-Wajihiya,** erected north of the **Haram al-Sharif ("bi-khatt daraj al-mula"),** a pious foundation of the Hanbali scholar Wajih al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Uthman ibn al-Naja (d. 701/1302)[24]. This first Hanbali institution was followed in 781/1379 by the foundation of the **madrasa al-Hanbaliya "bi-bab al-hadid"** (west of the Haram), founded by the **na'ib al-Sham,** the Amir Baidamur[25].

The Hanbalis were also the last of the four **madhahib** to receive a qadi of their own. IN 804/1401-2, one or two years after the appointment of the first Malikite qadi, the Sultan al-Nasir Faraj ibn Barquq appointed 'Izz al-Din Abu' l-Barakat 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Ali al-Baghdadi as the first Hanbali qadi of al-Quds[26] and now the four **madhahib** were equally represented by a supreme judge in the city. 'Izz al-

Din's followers held the position of the Hanbali **qadi** not only for Jerusalem but also for Ramla, al-Khalil, Safad and Nabulus[27].

To sum up:

The Ayyubid sultans tried with great enthusiasm and zeal to reestablish and to strengthen the Sunni jurisprudence in Jerusalem, but they did not follow a uniform policy to favour a certain law school. Salah al-Din favoured the Shafi'is, al-Malik al-Afdal promoted the Malikis, and al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was a devoted Hanafi; each sultan was guided by his own partisanship and preference. Only the Hanbalis did not find an influential patron in Ayyubid times. Later, the Mamluk sultans firstly established the policy to favour the four law schools equally by erecting **madaris** shared by all four **madhahib** and by appointing judges for the four rites, at least in the great cities of the empire. Since the rule of Sultan Baybars Cairo had four **qudat**; later, as Ibn Battuta relates, four judges were also appointed in Damascus and Aleppo, and finally Sultan Barquq and his son al-Nasir Faraj in the beginning of the 15th century established the equality of the four **madhahib** in Bayt al-Maqdis.

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NOTES

1 Since Rabi' I 587; Mujir al-Din, **al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa 'l-Khalil,** Cairo 1283/1866, pp. 294: 478. Subki, **Tabaqat** VI, no. 673.
2 Mujir al-Din, p. 447.
3 Ibid,. p. 463-478.
4 Ibid., p. 487.
5 Cf. 'Imad al Din, **al-Fath al-Qudsi,** ed. Landberg, Leiden 1888, pp. 68f.
6 Mujir al-Din, p. 489, 498.
7 Ibid., p. 487.
8 **Shadharat al-dhahab** IV, 268.
9 B.J. Beshir, **Fatimid Military Organization,** in **Der Islam** 1978, p.38f.
10 Mujir al-Din, p. 580ff.
11 Ibid., p. 580f.; 597.
12 For the date, see Mujir al-Din, p. 582.
13 Ibid., p. 385 ult.
14 Ibid., p. 399.
15 **Wafayat al-a'yan,** ed. 'Abbas, III, p. 494.
16 Mujir al-Din, pp. 355; 386; 559, 1.4.
17 Ibid., p.393f.
18 Ibid., p. 557 f.
19 Ibid., p. 398.
20 Ibid., p. 592 f.
21 Ibid., p. 593
22 Ibid., p. 595
23 Ibid., p. 597, 1.5f.
24 Ibid., p. 394.
25 Ibid., p. 395.
26 Ibid., p. 597f.
27 Ibid., p. 598f; 603f.

THE JUDICIAL DOCUMENTS FROM AL-HARAM AL-SHARIF AS SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE UNDER THE MAMLUKS

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Almost six years ago, in August, 1974, the assistant director of al-Mathaf al-Islami, located within the precincts of al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, made a discovery which is of capital importance for the history of medieval Jerusalem and Palestine. Within the very walls of the museum, in a cabinet which had been locked for no one knows how many years, Miss Amal Abu 'L-Hajj found a pile of 354 Islamic documents stuffed into a drawer. Though the documents were wrinkled and rumpled, they were otherwise found to be in an excellent state of preservation, considering the fact that they turned out to be between five hundred and six hundred years old, dating, that is, from the period of the Mamluk domination of Palestine and Syria. Immediately recognizing the importance of the documents as records of the past, Miss Abu 'L-Hajj was greatly excited by her find, so excited, in fact, that she neglected for a time to open other cabinets in the museum which were also locked and whose contents were also unknown. Instead, she tried to secure the assistance of her superiors in the directorate of the Haram in restoring and preserving the documents so that they could be examined and studied by qualified scholars. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons such as the lack of funds and the shortage of qualified personnel, help was not forthcoming. Eventually, however, Miss Abu 'L-Hajj was able to enlist the services of a graduate student in the McGill Institute of Islamic Studies located in Montreal, who had been preparing a dissertation on the Mamluk sultan Qala'un in Cairo and who was passing through Jerusalem on her way back to Canada. Over a period of several months, Amal Abu 'L-Hajj and Linda Northrup deciphered and transcribed fifty of the documents, and on the basis of this work they wrote an article entitled "A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Haram al-Sharif", which appeared in the French journal **Arabica** in 1978. In the meantime, however, in October, 1976, Abu 'L-Hajj opened another locked cabinet in the museum, where she found another cache of documents from the same period but even greater in number; this second batch contained a total of 592 documents plus fragments, with a grand total of 883 more or less complete documents dating for the most part from the late fourteenth century, at the end, that is, of the late Bahri Mamluk period and the beginning of the Burji period. In early 1978, when it became apparent that Abu 'L-Hajj would have to resign her position at the museum she resolved that an effort should be made to insure the preservation of the documents before she left the museum; it was at this point that I was invited to the Islamic Museum to assist in restoring, recording,

and photographing the documents so that their accessibility to scholars would be guaranteed. With the aid of a generous grant from the Faculty of Graduate Studies of McGill University, with the generous assistance in Jerusalem of Mrs. C-M. Bennett, at that time director of the British School of Arachaeology in Jerusalem, and with the full support from Amman of al-Sayyid Ahmad Tuqan, Ra'is al-Lajna al-Malakiyya li-Shu'un al-Quds, and Mr. Kamil al-Sharif, Wazir al-Awqaf wa-al-Shu'un wa-al-Muqaddasat al-Islamiyya, I went to Jerusalem in April of 1978 with Miss Northrup and a professional photographer (Mr. Martin Lyons), where we assisted Miss Abu 'L-Hajj in restoring the documents and in recording and photographing them. A complete set of these photographs is now deposited at al-Mathaf al-Islami in al-Quds and at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University in Montreal, where they are available for study by qualified scholars.

Before I proceed to the main topic of this paper--the judicial documents in the Haram collection--I should first like to give a general idea of the character of the entire collection and its significance for the study of the history of Jerusalem and Palestine. Here I shall be summarizing an article that I have written on this subject entitled "The Significance of the Haram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History," soon to appear in the German journal, **Der Islam.** As I have already indicated, there are 883 separate items in the collection, but this figure is somewhat misleading since many of these items contain more than one document. The total number of documents, then, is much higher than the catalogued entries would indicate, and although I have not made a detailed count, I would guess that there are between 1300 and 1500 separate documents. Thus in terms of number alone the Haram documents constitute the largest collection of medieval Islamic documents to come to light after the Egyptian papyri and before the Ottoman archives; certainly they compare with neither of these in number, but they form, nevertheless, an important missing link between these two collections. As already mentioned, most of the documents date from the eighth Islamic, fourteenth Christian, century, and of these around eighty per cent of those dated fall in the last decade of the eighth Islamic century. With the exception of twenty-seven items, all the documents are written in Arabic. These twenty-seven exceptions are interesting in that, one, they are written in Persian, and, two, insofar as I can tell, they have absolutely nothing to do withe Jerusalem or Palestine. At this stage of research it is conjectural whether the Persian documents were prepared in Jerusalem for the use of Persian-speaking persons who were resident in the city, or whether they were prepared elsewhere, in the east, and were brought to Jerusalem and deposited there by persons so far unknown. For that matter we do not know the provenance of the Arabic documents either except for the fact that they were written in Jerusalem. To whom they belonged, whether they were part of a private collection or a public archive, why they were preserved, where they were kept before they were deposited in the Islamic Museum, who put them there, etc.--all these are unknown factors. Be that as it may, we know considerably more about the Arabic documents than the

Persian ones, because the former concern transactions of one kind or another which were conducted in the city of Jerusalem--transactions of all kinds--political, economic, social, legal, civil, religious, carried out by the rulers and administrators of the city on the one hand and its ordinary citizens on the other. In other words, all the documents consist of records pertaining to activities which took place in Jerusalem during the reign of the Mamluks. From this point of view alone they are of tremendous importance for the history of Jerusalem since the sources for this period are decidedly thin. This judgement I make in full knowledge of the merits of Murjir al-Din al-'Ulaymi's **al-Uns al-Jalil** and the narratives of various travellers who wrote about the city; though the former of these gives a sketch of the political, intellectual, and architectural life of the city under the Mamluks and the latter give visitors' impressions of the life they observed around the holy places, little else is forthcoming from these literary sources. In the Haram documents, therefore, we have a welcome new source of historical data at our disposal.

In order to give an idea of the nature of the documents as historical sources I have classified them according to origin of issue. There are, or course, other ways of classifying the documents, but for present purposes I consider the source of issue to be most instructive. According to this criterion there are five categories. First, royal documents, by which I mean decrees--**marasim**--issued by Mamluk sultans in Cairo, or Mamluk **amirs** who were subordinate to them and were stationed in Jerusalem itself or elsewhere in the Mamluk Empire. There are a total of seventeen **marasim** in the Haram collection, of which seven or eight are royal decrees issued by sultans dating from 664/1265 to 866/1462. These decrees are extremely interesting if only because they are the only Mamluk **marasim sultaniyya** so far to emerge which concern strictly Muslim affairs, as opposed to those decrees found at St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai and at the Franciscan Monastery in Jerusalem, all of which concern Christian affairs. The Haram decrees, on the other hand, reflect the concern of the Mamluk sultans to maintain and provide for the third most holy sanctuary in Sunni Islam, al-Haram al-Sharif, and contain instructions relating to the endowments which provided income for the upkeep of the sanctuary and the salaries of its employees. The second type of documents I call notarial documents because they were issued by notaries, which in Arabic is rendered **muwaththiq, shuruti, katib** or **sahib al-watha'iq, muwaqqi'**, etc. These are by far the most numerous in the collection and comprise documetns of various types: **iqrarat,** for example, or formal acknowledgments of obligations of one Muslim to another. There are hundreds of death inventories witnessed and issued by notaries which contain itemized lists of the assets and liabilities of persons in terminal illness **(marad al-mawt)** who had to put their estates in order before their death. There are in addition bills of sale for property held in Jerusalem, marriage contracts, wills, **waqfiyyas,** powers of attorney, etc. All these notarial documents are extremely precious if only because before the Haram discovery they were thought to be so rare for the medieval period. The third type consists of financial records, or records prepared by accountants or

clerks. Some of these take the form of finished documents which are dated and witnessed, but most are working accounts which seem to consist of notes taken by accountants to cover financial transactions in Jerusalem. Since these accounts usually include the prices paid for various commodities, they are, of course, of great interest to economic historians. However, their value is considerably diminished by the fact that these working ledgers were seldom dated, so that unless approximate dates can be assigned to them on the basis of internal evidence, it will be difficult to make much headway with many of these records. Fourth, private documents, or those which were drafted at the initiative of private, ordinary citizens. For the most part these consist of **qisas**, petitions, which were addressed by citizens of Jerusalem to public officials. Thanks to the research of earlier scholars, we know very well the process by which any citizen of a Muslim state could address a complaint to the ruler or his representatives if that citizen felt that he was being denied the rights that were due to him under the **shari'a**, and examples of **qisas** exist from as early as Fatimid times in Egypt. There are dozens of such petitions in the Haram collection, containing both of pleas for justice and applications for jobs. These documents are obviously valuable sources for the social history of Jerusalem under the Mamluks.

Finally, I reach the announced subject matter of my paper, the fifth type of document, which I call judicial documents because they were issued and/or signed by judges of courts in Jerusalem. These number in the neighborhood of 85, not counting a dozen or so in Persian which were signed by judges with jurisdiction somewhere east of Palestine. In the time at my disposal I can try only to give a general idea of the nature of the judicial documents, the type of information which they contain, and their signficance as sources for the history of Mamluk Jerusalem. In the process I shall also try to indicate some of the problems that one encounters in working with these sources. Again, to simplify matters, I have classified the judicial documents in three groups: judicial decrees, court-certified documents, and court records. As I indicated earlier when I was speaking about **qisas**, I mentioned that petitions and pleas could be submitted to any official of the state; most of the petitions from the Haram seem to have been addressed to Mamluk officers and most of those which bear responses were issued by Mamluk **amirs**. Some, however, were addressed to a judge. This we know either because a judge is mentioned in the petition itself or because a judge actually wrote his answer in the form of a **marsum** on the back of the **qissa**. I have two examples. Document no. 2 recto contains a petition from a man name Burhan al-Din Ibrahim al-Nasiri, who earned his living in Jerusalem from several jobs that he was able to obtain in religious institutions in and around the Haram. The document in question is a **qissa** directed to a **qadi** who was apparently the supervisor of the **waqf** for a **madrasa** in Jerusalem, for Burhan al-Din herein asks his permission to be lodged in the **madrasa**, in return for which he promises to offer prayers for the **qadi** and his family in the holy places of the city. The request takes the format of petitions as we know it from Fatimid and Ayyubid times, characterized by a wide right-hand margin in which only the **tarjama**, the

name of the petitioner, appears. The text of the petition is written in conventional, stereotyped language which had not changed in centuries and phrases such as "al-mamluk yuqabbil al-ard wa-yunhi..." and "su'al al-mamluk min sadaqat mawlana Fulan" are familiar to students of Muslim diplomatic, as are the **basmala** at the beginning, and the **tasliya** and the **hasbala** at the end. As far as we know, there was no fixed format for the **marsum** written in response to the **qissa**, which appears on its verso or sometimes on the bottom or the side of **qissa** itself. In the present example, whoever wrote the **marsum** obviously gave some thought to the spacing of the text on the page but very little attention was given to the **khatt**, which is atrocious, so that it is only with considerable patience and toil that one is able to decipher the judge's response. This **marsum** is couched in careful bureaucratic language, stating that if the **ribat** is not already filled to capacity, Burhan al-Din can have a space; otherwise he must wait for a vacancy occasioned by the death or removal of one of the ocupants. The second example of **qissa** and judicial **marsum** is considerably more interesting. It was written by a woman named Sutayta, whose husband, Musa al-Qudsi, had journeyed to Yemen some thirteen years earlier and had not been seen or heard of since. Claiming that she had been left indigent with a son and a daughter to support, Sutayta asks for a judicial decree from the chief **qadi** of Jerusalem authorizing the sale of her husband's property in Jerusalem so that the maintenance of thirteen thousand dirhams due to her for the past thirteen years might be paid her. The reply of the judge in this case looks considerably more impressive. It is headed by an **'alama** written with a thick pen-**Ahmadu Allah Ta'ala**-which serves as the judge's signature, and the handwriting was executed by someone with a greater flair for layout and penmanship. The content of the **marsum** does not sound very promising, as the judge promises only that he will look into the matter and make a decision in accordance with the dictates of the **shari'a.** I can mention only in passing that there are other examples of **qissas** in the Haram collection which take an entirely different format. In this type the petition is written across the top of the page; if the judge approves, he writes "li-yuktab' beneath the **qissa**, meaning that a **mahdar**, or court record should be written in response to the **qissa**, and this appears on the remainder of the page. In document no. 654, for example, two men ask that a Shafi'i judge record their testimony that they are the legal heirs of the deceased Makhluf b. Mufarraj b. 'Umar b. Adham. The judge accedes to this request and has their **shahada** to this effect recorded in the presence of two witnesses.

The second category of judicial documents I call court-certified documents, by which I mean documents of various types which were certified by a judge presiding over his court. These include bills of sale, wills, **waqfiyyas, iqrarat,** death inventories, etc. As is well known, the validity of almost any legal transaction involving Muslims could be established by the testimony of two or more Muslim male witnesses. Thus, in order to establish the validity of the sale of a house, or a slave, or a horse, the parties to the sale had only to have it witnessed by two or more persons. If they so desired they could have the terms of the sale written in a document, the

validity of which, again, was established by two witnesses. The same is true of wills, **waqfiyyas,** divorces, **iqrarat,** etc. However, if the parties to a legal transaction wanted to make the legality of the transaction virtually incontestable, they could go one step further and have the transaction certified and recorded by a court, that is to say by a judge and the legal witnesses--**shuhud**--of the court. Thereby the parties could not only be sure that the transaction had been conducted according to the **shari'a** but also that a record of that transaction would be permanently preserved in a safe place. There are many specimens of such documents in the Haram collection. Document 209 recto-verso is a good example. Recto contains an **iqrar,** a formal acknowledgment, made by a merchant in Jerusalem named Nasir al-Din Muhammad al-Hamawi, that in a state of illness he had bestowed on his daughter, Fatima, the sum of 10,000 silver dirhams for purposes of her bridal trousseau and household effects. Obviously this was an attempt on the part of Nasir al-Din to bestow upon his daughter an amount of money above and beyond that which she would receive as a legal heir. In order to insure the legality of this gift Nasir al-Din had it certified by the **qadi** whose **'alama,** i.e. emblematic signature, appears to the upper left of the text: "al-Hamdu lillah 'ala ni'amihi." At the bottom of the document appear the signatures of no less than seven witnesses, who by writing "shahida 'alayhi bi-dhalika, " attest that they witnessed the **iqrar** as drawn up in the document. Under the names of two of these witnesses appears the **qadi's** own **shahada** indicating that the witnessing took place in his presence and that he accepted the veracity of at least two of the witnesses. This **shahada,** called **al-tarqim lil-shuhud,** was written "shahida 'indi." In the right-hand margin, perpendicular to the text, the **qadi** has written his **hukm,** his judgment, that the **iqrar** should be certified by witnesses and recorded in the court registers. This **hukm** takes the form: "li-yushhad bi-thubutihi ma qamat bi-al-bayyina fihi wal-hukm bi-mawjabihi." Let be witnessed the certification of what has been herein established by evidence and the judgment in accordance with it. This has been done on the verso of the document, which contains the **isjal al-hukm,** or court registration of the judge's certification. Here, in the upper lefthand corner, the judge has written: "uddu'iyya bihi", meaning that the legal transaction had been legally established as a claim before the judge. This phrase merely certifies that the first step in any judicial procedure, called **tashih al-da'wa,** had been made legally. There are many other examples of certified documents in the Haram collection. Document no. 625 is a **wakala,** a document by which the merchant Shams al-Din Muhammad assigned his power of attorney to one Muhibb al-Din Abi 'Amr before the judge whose **'alama** and **tarqim** appear at the top and bottom of the **wakala,** along with the **hukm** in the right-hand margin that this **wakala** would be certified. In addition, at the bottom of the document, there is an **iqrar** made by Muhibb al-Din pertaining to his duties as **wakil,** which was certified by another judge, 'Isa b. Ghanim, whose signature appears over the iqrar. On verso there are two more documents. The one on the left bears the **'alama** of still a third judge; "al-Hamdu lillah wa-as 'aluhu al-tawfiq", and consists of an **isjal hukmi,** or court registration made by a deputy judge, of the **wakala** written on recto. Finally,

to the right of this **isjal**, there is a last document, also an **isjal** which certifies and registers the document on the left in still another court. Presumably, then, after all these legal and judicial precautions, Muhibb al-Din would have had no problems in acting as **wakil** for Shams al-Din.

The third type of judicial documents in the Haram collection are court records of actual cases which were heard by judges in their courts. These records are immediately recognizable for the most part because they all have much the same appearance. Most are written on a standard-sized piece of paper, measuring approximately 28 by 38 centimetres, with the judge's **'alama** or some other notation in his handwriting appearing in the left-hand corner above the text. The text itself usually consists of between ten and fifteen lines, beginning with the date on which the hearing was held, the names of the plaintiffs who appeared before the judge, a description of the particulars of the case, the production of evidence in the form of witnesses and/or legal document, and, finally, the verdict of the judge if he gave one on this occasion. At the bottom of the document the witnesses to the procedure and the document itself sign the document. Document no. 650 provides an excellent example of the record of a case heard before the Shafi'i chief **qadi** in 797, in which four slaves appeared in courts as plaintiffs, claiming that they had been granted their freedom before their master died. But the case was complicated by the fact that their owner, Muhibb al-Din, a member of the famous Ibn Jama'a family of jurists, though he had reached the age of majority--**bulugh**--before he died, had not reached the age of **rushd**--discretion. Therefore the judge declared the act of emancipation to be null and void and ordered that the slaves be sold at public auction, which they were, under the supervision of the Jerusalem court with the permission of the Shafi'i court in Cairo. Interestingly enough, however, the judge declared that a testamentary disposition made by the same Muhibb al-Din in favor of a hospital in Jerusalem was nevertheless valid, ruling that **rushd** was not a prerequisite for a bequest in favor of charitable institutions. Most interesting of all is the fact that the judge himself was also **nazir** of the endowments which benefitted the hospital, so that he may not have been an altogether disinterested arbiter in the dispute. There are records of other cases of equal fascination preserved in the Haram. For example, one court record involves the treatment of Jews in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period, a subject about which we know very little from literary sources. A third court record concerns attacks made by inhabitants of one village against those of another and reveals indirectly the problem that the Mamluks faced in trying to preserve law and order in the Palestinian countryside. A fourth document describes the unsuccessful attempt of a woman to conceal from the court the full amount of the legacy left to her by her mother. A fifth court record contains the plea of a guardian of orphans that he be allowed to sell slaves whom the orphans own but cannot afford to maintain. All are drafted in much the same format that I have already described.

Having looked briefly at the three types of judicial documents found in the

Haram collection, we should now consider their value as sources for the history of Palestine. I hope that the significance of the documents as historical sources has been obvious from even a quick look at individual specimens and that I need only summarize what is self-evident. First of all, it is clear that each of the documents is in and of itself an invaluable record of the history of life in Jerusalem under the Mamluks which has no parallel in the literary sources. As we all know, the literary histories such as **al-Uns al-Jalil**, focus almost exclusively on the activities of the élite of Jerusalem, the leading political and religious figures of the city, to the extent that the activities of almost everyone else are ignored by the historians. Almost without exception the Haram judicial documents concern episodes in the lives of persons who were not important enough to be mentioned in chronicles and biographical dictionaries and about whom we would know virtually nothing were it not for these documentary sources. There is much to be learned about such people as Burhan al-Din al-Nasiri in his search for a livelihood, Sutayta in her attempt to secure maintenance in the absence of her husband who disappeared in al-Yaman, Nasir al-Din al-Hamawi who tried to settle a larger estate on his daughter Fatima than that allowed by the Muslim law of succession, the slaves who tried in vain to secure their freedom from an unsympathetic judge. A great deal of information can be gained from the documents about these people, their means of livelihood, the property and money that they owned, their relations with their families, their complaints against fellow citizens and the state, their accessibility to legal and political institutions. In other words we have in these records a wealth of information about the nature of life in medieval Palestine which is not available elsewhere. In this respect I should like to mention that although the documents deal almost exclusively with life in Jerusalem in the late fourteenth century, it is my opinion that they should be considered valid for urban society in general under the Mamluks. This is a hypothesis, of course, which can be tested from documentary sources available in Cairo for the early Ottoman period.

At any rate I would like to stress that I believe the Haram documents to be of great importance for medieval Islamic history in general, even though their primary significance is for the history of Jerusalem. Besides their value as sources for the lives of common, ordinary individuals, the Haram judicial documents are also precious for the light they shed on Muslim institutions in general, the Muslim judiciary in particular. Until the discovery of the documents, our knowledge of the medieval judicial system was based largely on literary sources, since few judicial records were known to exist other than those which involved Jews and were preserved in the Cairo Geniza and those which concerned Christians and were preserved at the Franciscan Monastery in Jerusalem. By combining the Haram judicial documents with those from the Franciscan Monastery we will have at our disposal a respectable sample of documents of various types which record the activities of judges and courts as they actually functioned. Hopefully, these records will be sufficient for scholars to gauge the accuracy of information on the judiciary

recorded in literary sources so that, from the total, we can learn a great deal about the way in which Muslim judicial institutions operated and how responsive they were to the needs of Muslim society in fourteenth century Palestine. More specifically, the documents can be used for purposes of comparison with **fiqh** manuals in order to determine whether these manuals were, as some scholars have claimed, theoretical exercises in abstract law with little or no contact with reality, or whether they were practical manuals of functional law, deeply rooted in the legal practice of courts and judges. As an example of how such research might be conducted, I would mention the work that I am presently doing in an attempt to correlate the diplomatic form of the judicial documents in the Haram with the formularies for such documents contained in Mamluk manuals for Muslim notaries. There are three such manuals known to me, the most comprehensive and detailed of which is Shams al-Din al-Asyuti's **Jawahir al-'Uqud wa-Mu'in al-Qudat wa-al-Muwaqqi'in wa-al-Shuhud,** written in the year 865/1460-61. By comparing the judicial decrees, court-certified documents, and court records of the Haram with the models for such documents compiled by al-Asyuti, we will have taken a first step toward solving the problem of the relationship between the theory and the practice of Islamic law during the Mamluk period.

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THE ARMENIANS AND THE HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM

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Any definitive history of Bilad al-Sham, including Palestine, must also include an in-depth study of the minority groups that have inhabited the region since ancient times, for they too have played an important role in its historical development. The Armenians constituted one of these minority groups, and yet very little is known of their long and intimate associations with the region. This presentation will, therefore, attempt to trace the significant role which the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem has played in the custodians of the Holy Places. The topic will be examined against the background of charters and edicts issued by the various conquerors of the Holy City.

It is well known that the history of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and its environs has been a long story of bitter animosities and contentions among rival Christian churches, as well as the cause of much international conflict. As one of the principal custodians of the dominical sites the Armenian church also was frequently involved in these developments. It is equally true that rival churches, in order to support their claims to the sanctuaries, often forged or fabricated official charters and documents allegedly granted to them by the various ruling authorities.

Throughout the long history of the Armenian communities in Bilad al-Sham the patriarchate of Jerusalem has always been distinguished as the single most important institution. Its position of preeminence among the various hierarchical sees of the Armenian church stemmed, first, from its unique association with the dominical sanctuaries in the Holy City and its custodianship, with the Greek Orthodox and Latin churches, of the shrines;[1] secondly, from its control of a sizable number of privately owned monasteries and churches in the Holy Land and neighboring countries; and, thirdly, from the great influence which the see exercised over the large segments of the Armenian communities in Bilad al-Sham and even beyond which were under its administrative jurisdiction.[2]

The construction of the dominical sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the first half of the fourth century induced numerous pilgrims to see for themselves the places hallowed by Christ. This is attested by the fact that by the beginning of the fifth century the number of monasteries and hostels in the Holy City where pilgrims could be housed was over three hundred.[3] The same period, especially from the fourth to the sixth centuries, witnessed the rise of monasticism and asceticism centered in regularly organized and multiracial monastic institutions. In the earliest

days of the Universal Church of Christ the sanctuaries in the Holy Places were used for religious services not by one people alone, but by all Christians. In the course of time national institutions with monastics having a common language and cultural heritage developed in some of these communities, but many had monastic and anchoritic establishments whose congregations represented a multiplicity of races.

Along with the other Christian groups, Armenians began to arrive in Jerusalem in substantial numbers as pilgrims and as residents after the proclamation of Christianity as the official religion of their country in the beginning of the fourth century. They at first shared the multiracial monastic facilities, but in due time, not unlike the others, they founded a number of private monasteries and churches throughout the Holy Land.

The bishopric of Jerusalem was elevated to the dignity of a patriarchate at the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). The wide breach occasioned by the christological decisions of this council did not seriously affect the religious harmony among the heterogeneous Christian communities in the Holy City; rather, for about a century after Chalcedon, all Christians remained under the spiritual authority of the bishop of Jerusalem. The schism between the monophysites and dyophysites at Jerusalem began about the middle of the sixth century. The persecutions of the monophysites, among them the Armenians, reached their climax during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565), a staunch adherent of the Chalcedonian creed. The hostility of the Greek political and religious authorities to the monophysites not only split asunder the unity of the Church of Jerusalem but also adversely affected the status of the nonconformists. It was this persecution that caused the Armenian clergy of the Holy Land to sever their ties with the hierarchy of Jerusalem. Many monophysite clergy abandoned their monasteries at Jerusalem and sought refuge in other regions of the Holy Land and in neighboring countries. Henceforward, the see of Jerusalem was split into the Greek patriarchate exercising jurisdiction over the dyophysite Christians regardless of nationality or language, and the independent Armenian hierarchy having authority over the monophysite communities, that is, the Jacobite Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian.

This was the state of affairs when the Arab Caliph 'Umar I occupied Jerusalem in 638. It is generally asserted that the Greek Patriarch Sophronius arranged the terms of the city's capituation. The text of the charter allegedly offered by the caliph to the non-Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem has been preserved in several versions.[4] The authenticity of this charter seems highly questionable,[5] but its terms essentially reflect the Arab policy vis-à-vis the non-Muslim subjects under their dominion generally. Although Arab policy in the main was based upon the principle of legal, political, and social inequality between the Muslim conquerors and the subject peoples, among the latter the **ahl al-kitab** (people of the book or scriptuaries, namely the Christians, Jews, and Sabians) were given the status of tolerated peoples. In return for Muslim protection (**dhimmah**), these sects were subject to the land

(kharaj) and capitation **(jizyah)** taxes; and, since only a Muslim could draw his sword in defense of the lands of Islam, the **dhimmis** were exempt from military service. In matters of civil and criminal judicial procedure the tolerated communities were left under the jurisdiction of their own spiritual leaders.[7] In the case of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Christians were granted religious freedom and security for their lives, property, and churches; and in return they were to pay the **jizyah** and to assist the Arab rulers in warding off Byzantine troops and raiders. The Greek claim that the Arab conqueror granted a charter to Patriarch Sophronius, entrusting the custody of all the Holy Places exclusively to the Greeks, is based on a later forgery designed to further this community's claims to the sanctuaries.[8]

Equally unauthentic are the edicts which Abraham, the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, is alleged to have received not only from the Caliph 'Umar I but also from the Prophet Muhammad and the orthodox Caliph 'Ali.

The apocryphal charter allegedly issued by the Prophet asserts that, anticipating the imminent occupation of Palestine by the Arabs, the Armenian bishop led a delegation of some forty monks to Mecca and expressed to the Prophet himself the homage of his community as well as the loyalty of the other monophysite Christians, namely, the Copts, Jacobite Syrians, and Abyssinians, who were dependent upon the Armenians. In return, the bishop is said to have secured Muhammad's guarantee respecting the integrity of their privileges and possessions in the Holy Land.[9]

The charter allegedly issued by 'Umar to the Armenian patriarch[10] claims that, immediately after 'Umar's conquest of the city, not only the Armenian bishop but also the monophysite communities voluntarily submitted to Muslim domination, and in return obtained the caliph's guarantee of their security, as well as the integrity of their sanctuaries and properties. After the issuance of the charter 'Umar is stated to have collected the prescribed taxes from the Armenian population; and he is said to have impelled the Armenians to assist the Arab authorities in apprehending and expelling the "Greek bandits and spies" from the Holy City.

The Armenian charter which the Caliph 'Ali is alleged to have granted to the Armenian Patriarch Abraham in A.H. 4 (=A.D. 625) is said to have been secured after Abraham, together with forty ecclesiastics who accompanied him, paid a personal visit to the caliph.[11]

All of these documents, including those claimed to have been issued to the Greeks, must have been fabricated in subsequent times to support rival claims to the dominical sanctuaries, and therefore have no historical foundation. Despite this, the three above mentioned documents are referred to in the charters issued to the Armenians by Saladin and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, respectively.[12]

It is certain, however, that with the Arab conquest the Armenian see of Jerusalem

attained a stature which perhaps equaled the Greek patriarchate, whose associations with the Byzantine empire rendered it suspect in the eyes of the conquerors. Subsequent to the Arab conquest the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians, as well as the monophysites and other Christian sects, continued to enjoy the privilege of holding services in the dominical sanctuaries of Jerusalem and its environs. The Armenians also owned privately a number of important religious establishments in the Holy Land. But, in consequence of the constant persecutions and coercions of the Greek clergy because of the christological views of the Armenian church and because of the excessive taxes imposed by the Arab rulers, the Armenians lost a substantial number of their private possessions and holdings and their rights to free access to the common dominical sanctuaries were seriously curtailed. Nevertheless they did not cease to occupy a prominent position in the ecclesiastical organization of the Holy City.

The actual extent of the Armenian religious establishments in Jerusalem and its environs in the early centuries of Christianity cannot be easily determined. A widely published document, attributed to a seventh-century Armenian monk, Anastas Vardapet, contains a list of seventy monasteries and churches which the Armenians are said to have owned in that century in Jerusalem and its vicinity.[13]

The list supplies the barest minimum of information regarding the alleged Armenian institutions and is limited solely to recording of their names, locations, and the feudal families in Armenia which provided their endowments. The document asserts that an unspecified number of Armenian monasteries confiscated by the Greeks were eventually recovered by the Armenian princes after payment of a large sum of money to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. When subsequently the Greek authorities in Jerusalem warned the monophysites--that is, the Armenians, Jacobite Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians—that unless they adhered to the Chalcedonian doctrine they would not be permitted to sojourn in the Holy City, some five hundred Armenian monastics were advised by Catholicos Hovhannes II (557-574) to abandon their monasteries rather than make doctrinal concessions to the Greeks. Although many of the monks are said to have left for Caesarea in Palestine and Egypt, others remained in their institutions at Jerusalem, despite the persecutions meted out to them by the Byzantine authorities, until the Arab conquest. Under Arab rule the Armenian monastic institutions gradually disintegrated and fell to ruins; some that had been left without administrators were occupied by the Greeks. This disintegration is ascribed to the failure of the catholicoses and princes to dispatch the revenues from the endowments in Armenia and to the heavy taxes imposed by the Arabs. The last section of the text, which appears to have been a much later addendum, asserts that there remained only fifteen monasteries in the hands of the Armenians. These were scattered on the Mount of Olives, in Bethlehem, on Mount Sinai, along the shores of the Sea of Galilee and Jordan River, on Mount Hermon, and on Mount Tabor.

Although some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this interesting document, no one had fully scrutinized its textual characteristics. In a separate study[14] I have shown that, though probably containing a core of truth going back to an earlier document, in the form in which the text has been preserved there are many elements which clearly indicate that it is not reliable. On the other hand, I have shown in the same study that the Armenians did indeed have important religious institutions in the early Christian centuries, albeit not to the extent claimed by the document attributed to Anastas Vardapet.

The existence of these establishments at an early date is confirmed by the fact that in the mid-fifth century the Armenians had established a scriptorium in Jerusalem,[15] which also emerged as an important intellectual center, where a significant number of religious and canonical works as well as patristic texts written in Greek, Syriac, and Latin were rendered into Armenian.[16] Evidence of a fully organized Armenian religious community there is also furnished by the extant Armenian Lectionary, a translation of the Greek Liturgy or Christian liturgy in general--as it was performed in the Holy City in the fifth century.[17] More importantly, it is substantiated by the remains of mosaic pavements with Armenian inscriptions found on the Mount of Olives and in Jerusalem, as well as by one with a Greek inscription which mentions an Armenian.[18] Though scholars are not in complete agreement respecting the exact dates of these mosaic pavements, various suggestions have placed them as early as the fifth and no later than the ninth to tenth centuries.[19] These artistic remains provide ample and most reliable evidence for the presence of Armenians in Jerusalem and its environs and for the important religious institutions which they had maintained there from the Byzantine period to the time of Arab rule.

The important role of the Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Places was not confined to the periods of Byzantine and Arab rule.

The emergance of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia in 1080, and its intimate associations with the Crusaders and the subsequently established Frankish principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, marked a significant turning point in the fortunes of the Armenians in historic Syria. The Frankish-Armenian community of interests, the religious bonds which united them, and finally intermarriage among the Armenian nobility in Cilicia and the ruling classes of the Crusaders--all these contributed to the sizable increase of Armenians in these territories.

With the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187), many Christians, mostly Armenians, from Cappadocia, Edessa, Cilicia and northern Syria, focked into Jerusalem, some to establish permanent residence there and others performing pilgrimages.[20] As a result of this influx and because of the close relationship between the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the Armenian position in the Holy Places, the privately owned Armenian

religious institutions and secular community in Jerusalem enjoyed a period of prominence and prosperity, perhaps never attained before or after. Almost all the Latin queens and a substantial number of the princesses were either Armenian or of Armenian blood.[21] The kingdom had in its service an infantry corps of Armenians.[22] In addition to a sizable number of ecclesiastics, there was a considerable secular community as well. These colonists had a number of hostels, or inns, and they also occupied several quarters in the city, one of which was known as "Ruga Armenorum" as late as the year 1222.[23] The **Assises of Jerusalem** show that the Armenians of Jerusalem constituted a major element of its population and that they were engaged in all spheres of economic activity. Moreover, William of Tyre mentions that King Baldwin II had enacted a law granting to the Armenians and other Christians trade privileges, tax exemptions and other incentives to promote their settlement in Jerusalem.[4] And Queen Melisend had brought many architects from Cilicia to build or restore churches in the Holy City.[25]

With the arrival of the Crusaders and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem a far-reaching change took place. As the cleavage between the Franks and the indigenous Christians became more and more pronounced, the Latin element gained **praedominium** (paramountcy) in all the Holy Places at the expense of the other Christian sects, notably the Greek Orthodox, whose patriarch finally retired to Constantinople.

Yet during and after the Latin rule in Palestine, the patriarchate of Jerusalem enjoyed, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the active interest of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia whose royal family and princes bestowed on it munificent gifts. Moreover, a number of Armenian princes and prelates from Cilicia visited Jerusalem and secured significant privileges for the local community from the Frankish authorities. Among these, Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1133-1166) attended the Latin church council held at Antioch in 1141, and then accompanied the papal legate Albericus on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was given a place of honor at the second Latin council. In consequence of the considerably enhanced bond of friendship between the Latins and the Armenians which was consummated on this occasion, the Armenian community not only secured important privileges guaranteeing the continued prosperity of the institutions which it already possessed, but was able to increase the number of its monasteries and hostels in the Holy City.[26]

In 1165 the Armenians erected the large monastery and cathedral of St. James on Mount Zion, consisting of a complex of sanctuaries, which became the principal headquarters of the Armenian ecclesiastical institutions in the Holy Land.[27] The accommodations of the monastery were considerably enlarged for the benefit of the local monastics as well as for the countless Armenian pilgrims who annually arrived in the Holy City. Since the twelfth century the cathedral and its monastery have remained in the possession of the Armenian patriarchate, although the Greeks

periodically laid claims to them, especially after the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem.

Saladin's occupation of Jerusalem in 1187 and the fall of the Latin kingdom marked another turning point in the fortunes of the various Christian communities. Unlike the Franks, who celebrated their entry into the Holy City a century earlier with a frightful massacre of the Muslims, the Ayyubid conqueror allowed the Christians to leave the city upon payment of the poll tax. He later not only reduced the amount of the ransom but allowed them to depart even though they could not pay the necessary amount.

Unlike the Latins, the Armenians of Jerusalem, comprising some five hundred monks and one thousand families, were neither expelled nor taken as slaves by the lieutenants of the sultan.[29] As an avowed enemy of the Latins and ever suspicious of the Greeks, Saladin seems to have found it expedient to endow the Armenians of the Holy Land with greater privileges, as attested by the extant charter that he granted to them. The Armenian Patriarch Abraham and his leading clerical associates are said to have hastened to pledge their loyalty to the victorious Saladin and to pay him the prescribed poll tax. The patriarch requested the sultan to reaffirm all privileges previously guaranteed to the community in the charters allegedly granted to the Armenians by the Prophet and by the Caliphs 'Umar and 'Ali.[30]

The text of the charter issued by Saladin--which has all the earmarks of being authentic--reconfirmed the "sacred and benevolent acts" of his revered predecessors. The sultan enjoined that not only his successors but also the Muslims generally should faithfully honor the pact granted by him. He guaranteed absolute religious freedom to the Armenians and their monophysite dependents, as well as the integrity of their possessions and prerogatives in the Holy Places and other privately owned institutions and sanctuaries, which are mentioned by name. These included the monasteries of St. James, the Holy Archangels, the Holy Saviour, the Holy Sepulcher, Golgotha, and also their churches at Bethlehem and Nablus. The sultan's protection of the Armenians and their possessions was not limited to the Holy City and its environs, but extended throughout his entire domains. Saladin proclaimed that none of their sanctuaries and places of worship should be destroyed; on the contrary, should the Armenians and their followers suffer difficulties or should Armenian churches need restoring the Muslims were to assist them. It was made amply clear, however, that this injunction in no way meant that the Muslims supported Christianity; rather, all assistance was to be an expression of pity and mercy, and in deference to the pact granted the Armenians by the Prophet. In the contingency of war, the Armenians were to be exempted from additional taxation. In conclusion, Saladin affirmed that all Muslim believers should, on pain of divine punishment and the Prophet's anathema, always faithfully honor the charter.

In addition to permitting the Armenians and their monophysite communities complete religious freedom; Saladin is said to have acceded to the pleas of the Armenian patriarch to refrain from converting the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher into a public domain. It is also claimed that he sold this cathedral to the Armenians.[32] This can be explained by the fact that prior to the Latin occupation of Jerusalem a large portion of this sanctuary had belonged to the Armenian church.

Whereas the Armenians had secured the integrity of their privileges and possessions in the Holy City and elsewhere, the Christian inter-community struggles for paramountcy in the Holy Places continued unabated. The Latin-Greek Orthodox rivalry for control of the dominical sanctuaries began as early as 1188, when the Byzantine Emperor Isaac Angelus allied himself with Saladin to secure the privilege. Nevertheless, for a century or so, even after the fall of Jerusalem, Latin supremacy was maintained. As attested by the treaties made with the Muslims, the Crusaders sought to secure the position of the Latins exclusively and barely tolerated the performance of other rites in the Holy Places. The Franciscan order, established in Jerusalem in 1230, was the official representative of Roman Catholicism in the Holy Places. With the fall of Acre in 1291, however, undisputed Latin supremacy came to an end. The ever deepening estrangement between Rome and the church of Byzantium, and particularly the sacking and plunder of Constantinople by Crusaders in 1204, accentuated the rivalry between the two parties in Jerusalem, which henceforth became their battlefield.[33]

The Mamluks' occupation of Palestine and Syria, and their periodic invasions of Cilicia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had the most adverse effects upon the large Armenian settlements in Bilad al-Sham as well as in the Cilician kingdom and the Holy Land.

In Syria itself, the prominent position which the Armenians occupied under the Latins was dealt a severe blow under the Mamluks. It may be assumed that many of the captives and slaves from Cilicia and northern Syria were gradually assimilated with the Muslim populations in the Mamluk dominion to escape the anti-Christian discriminatory restrictions and burdensome taxation. It is not unlikely that a substantial segment of the Armenians inhabiting the Levantine coast took refuge in the Lebanese mountains and eventually were assimilated with the Maronite community. It seems equally probable that others joined with the Latins who returned to Europe, particularly to the Italian cities. And, finally, the drought, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes that punctuated almost the entire Mamluk era and reduced the population of Syria and Egypt to about one-third of its former size,[34] must have taken a heavy toll of the Armenian communities in the Levant. In consequence, the once prosperous and multitudinous Armenian population was appreciably diminished. Whereas under the Latins members of this ethnic group were found almost everywhere from the Taurus Mountains to Egypt, under the Mamluks they were represented by small enclaves in Cilicia, in northwestern Syria,[35] Aleppo,

Latakia, Damascus, Mount Lebanon, and in the Palestinian towns of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jaffa, Ramle, Gaza, and so forth.[36] This state of affairs continued until the Ottoman conquest of historic Syria in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The records involving the control of the Holy Places and inter-community rivalries and disputes are much more abundant beginning with the dominion of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. Under Mamluk rule the seemingly loyal and trustworthy Armenians, and their monophysite communicants enjoyed relatively greater freedom in the exercise of their religious rites. The special privileges granted to them enabled not only the preservation but also the extension of their sanctuaries, monasteries, and other possessions, after due payment, of course, of regular taxes and bribes.[37] In the first half of the thirteenth century, in particular, the Armenians succeeded in restoring their long-neglected sanctuaries and institutions and were able to construct new edifices. These were made possible through the generous contributions of Armenian pilgrims, who came to the Holy Land in ever increasing numbers, and through the munificence of the Armenian kings and royalty of Cilicia.

The Mamluk administration of the Holy Land, however, did not always exhibit a spirit of tolerance towards the Armenians and other Christians. Tax collectors constantly harassed and coerced the monasteries demanding lawful and illegitimate levies. Ecclesiastical edifices lost their splendor because permits for construction and restoration could not be obtained.[38]

As an example of the predicament which had befallen the Armenians mention might be made of the difficulties encountered by the **vardapet** Karapet of Tosp, who visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage towards the end of the thirteenth century. In the colophon of an Armenian manuscript he refers to the Armenian monastery of the Holy Saviour on Mount Zion which had been confiscated by the local Muslims and converted into stables. Karapet recovered the monastery by paying 4000 piasters; he made three journeys to Egypt to obtain a permit from the sultan for its restoration, and two trips to Cilicia, presumably to secure funds for the purpose.[39] In 1353 the same monastery, which had been destroyed by invasions and brigandage, was restored by the patriarchate. Yet the local Muslims, who had objected to the construction, managed to obtain an edict from the sultan of Egypt rescinding the permit, and the victorious multitudes demolished the monastery.[40]

Under the Mamluks the Armenians also suffered encroachments at the hands of the other Christian communities, notably the Georgians. In 1312, for instance, the king of Georgia sent an emissary to Sultan Malik Yusuf of Egypt, requesting that the Armenian monastery of St. James at Jerusalem be turned over to the Georgian community. The Armenian Patriarch Sargis hastened to Cairo armed with charters substantiating the Armenian ownership of the monastery. He obtained an edict reconfirming their ownership.[41] Seven years later, however, the Georgians and

Latins jointly appealed to the Sultan Malik Zahir Barquq claiming from the Armenians not only the monastery of St. James but also the chapel of Golgotha in the Holy Sepulcher. Once again the Armenians sent a delegation to Cairo and succeeded in thwarting the projected usurpation. The text of the decree certifying their sole possession of these sanctuaries[42]indicates that another envoy had arrived from Georgia to pursue the Georgian objectives. Documents preserved in the archives of the Armenian patriarchate substantiate the fact that a similar attempt by the Georgians to seize the monastery in 1512 had also failed.[43]

Whereas the Armenians successfully withstood all Georgian attempts to annex their monastery of St. James, their endeavors to protect the church of Golgotha proved less successful. According to the available evidence, the Georgian efforts to obtain Golgotha began as early as the 1330's. Upon the protests of the Armenians Sultan Malik Muhammad issued an edict in 1334 enjoining the local Muslim officials to observe the status quo.[44] About a century later, however, the Georgian King Ivané took advantage of the visit to his country of an Egyptian merchant, Gha'ibi, who was known to be influential in the counsels of the sultan of Egypt. He showered Gha'ibi with gifts and bribes, and promised the sultan an annual supply of expensive gifts, servants, and concubines; exemption of Muslim nationals from taxation in Georgian territories; and a treaty professing Georgian-Egyptian friendship--on condition of course that the sultan would transfer the ownership of Golgotha to the Georgians. These enticing offers induced the sultan to accede to his wishes. Learning of this the Armenian Patriarch Martiros immediately left for Egypt in 1424 and recovered the sanctuary after much difficulty. Before a year had elapsed, Ivané succeeded, through the same means in regaining possession of it; and once again Martiros journeyed to Cairo, and after expending much money in bribes recovered it for the second time. A year later Ivané's gifts and bribes again induced the sultan to grant the sanctuary to the Georgians. When Martiros went to Egypt for the third time, he was told by some high-ranking Egyptian officials that he could in no way match the Georgian king's material inducements. It became amply evident to the patriarch that the sultan was using the sanctuary as a pawn to enrich his coffers at the expense of both parties. And as the financial resources of the Armenian patriarchate were almost completely depleted he lost all hope of retrieving the revered sanctuary. At the suggestion of the sultan, therefore, the patriarch acquired in its stead the Triforium of the Holy Sepulcher, which was converted into a church in 1439 and named the Second Golgotha.[45] The victory of the Georgians did not last long, howerver, for soon after the fall of their Kingdom in 1440 their monasteries and sanctuaries in the Holy Cith, including Golgotha, came under the control of their Greek coreligionists.[46]

As we have seen, long before the advent of the Ottomans in the Holy Land, the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians had emerged as the principal custodians of the Holy Places, with the monophysite Copts, Syrians, and Abyssinians possessing minor privileges in the sites owned exclusively by the Armenians.

Under four centuries of Ottoman dominion, the strongest and almost continuous challenge to the Armenians and their holdings in the Holy Land came from the Greek community, despite the fact that the charters issued in March 1517 to the Armenian and Greek patriarchs by the Ottoman conqueror of Jerusalem, Sultan Selim I, did no more than sanction the status quo.

The charter granted to the Armenian Patriarch Sargis[47] indicates the allegiance which the Armenian congregation of Jerusalem immediately expressed to the Ottoman sultan. On the basis of ancient edicts, among which special mention is made of those granted by the Caliph 'Umar I and Saladin, Selim guarantees the integrity of the Armenians' age-old possessions within and without the Holy City, as well as those of their dependent monophysite communities. The charter makes specific mention of certain, presumably major, institutions and sanctuaries owned exclusively by the Armenians, such as the monastery of St. James, the churches and monasteries of the Holy Archangels and the Holy Saviour, the church of St. John in the forecourt of the Holy Sepulcher, a church at Nablus, and other unspecified monasteries, hostels, dwellings, cemeteries, orchards, and olive groves in and near Bethlehem. Among the principal Christian shrines, the Holy Sepulcher, the church of St. Mary at Gethsemane, and the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem are all considered Armenian possessions. Finally, the charter prohibits members of the imperial family, government ministers and officials, and others (presumably the Christian communities) from disturbing the ecclesiastical rites of the Armenians and their dependents or molesting their monasteries, sanctuaries, and other possessions.

On the other hand, the charter which Selim I granted at the same time to the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem[48] also secured the integrity of the Greek monasteries, churches, and other properties within and without the Holy City.[49] The edict also proclaimed the primacy of the Greek patriarch among the ecclesiastical leaders of the Holy City, a position which the Greek incumbents always sought to assert under Ottoman dominion. The charter guaranteed to the Greek community fifteen private monasteries and churches within the limits of Jerusalem, among them the "Georgian monastery of St. James" in the forecourt of the cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher, which should not be confused with the Armenian monastery of St. James on Mount Zion. Among the Greek holdings outside of the city the charter mentions a church on Mount Zion and "Christ's Prison" (which in later times they unsuccessfully sought to identify with the Armenian monastery of the Holy Saviour); the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross and St. Elijah; the church of St. George in the village of Bayt-Jala; and unspecified monasteries, churches, olive groves, and cemeteries in other villages. Of the principal Christian sanctuaries it specifically mentions as Greek possessions the four upper and lower arches in Golgotha, the Holy Sepulcher, and the large central church opposite the Tomb of Christ; the Sepulcher of St. Mary at Gethsemane; and the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

In view of the fact that both charters list the Sepulchers of Christ and St. Mary

and the Grotto of the Nativity it must be assumed that the privileges to these sanctuaries were actually shared by the two communities. Neither charter defines these privileges or alludes to joint ownership, but no other explanation can be found for the specific references to the sanctuaries in both documents. The particular sanctuaries in the Holy Sepulcher which are designated as Greek possessions but which do not appear in the Armenian charter were undoubtedly held exclusively by the Greek church.

The significance of these two charters rests on the fact that they not only represented the first such imperial edicts issued by the Ottoman sultans to the two communities, but also constituted the juridical bases of the communities' status and holdings in the Holy Land. Time and again these charters figured prominently in the inter-community controversies which followed the Ottoman conquest.

From the second half of the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century time and again the paramountcy in the Holy Places alternated, although generally the Greek Orthodox secured the balance of power in their favor. Since the Latins were subjects of powers with whom the Ottoman empire was constantly engaged in war, the sultan's Greek and Armenian subjects in particular were treated with favor at the expense of the "Franks." During these centuries the possession of the Holy Places almost always remained in the forefront of international politics.[50] The European powers, especially France, supported Latin interests; the Orthodox cause was championed by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and, beginning in 1774, by Russia. The Armenians, deprived of such political protection, had to rely on their own resources, particularly their patriarchate and influential secular magnates in the Ottoman capital. The Porte generally was inclined to defend its subject communities from Latin encroachments in the Holy Places, but the Catholics nonetheless could, through monetary inducements, secure concessions. During this period of international contention the smaller Christian sects in the Holy City, such as the Georgians and Serbians, either lost much of their holdings or dropped out altogether, because they were unable to bear the exactions of the Turkish government which was intent on making the utmost out of the dissensions and rivalries of the Christians.

In 1847 the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been dormant since the fall of the Latin kingdom, was revived under the aegis of France, and assumed direction of all Roman Catholic interests in the Holy Land. This development coincided with the intensification of Latin attempts to gain predominance in the Holy Places, particularly at the expense of the Greek orthodox, with the aid of the Catholic powers. The Treaty of Paris of 1856,[51] concluded after the Crimean War, left the position of the contesting communities in the Holy Places as it was. The sultan guaranteed the protection of his subject Christian communities and freedom from discrimination on account of race or religion. It was understood that this guarantee did not permit any of the signatory powers to interfere with the sultan's

relations with his subjects. And Russia gave up her claim to be the lawful protector of the Christians in the Ottoman empire. Ownership of and rights in the Holy Places remained unchanged. Realizing that the intricate questions affecting these sanctuaries could not be left to the jurisdiction of local officials at Jerusalem, the sultan declared that all matters relating to the Holy Places were to be referred to the Sublime Porte itself.[52]

Despite this, controversies among the three major custodians of the Holy Places continued during the remaining period of Ottoman dominion, but the official policy respecting the maintenance of the status quo prevented, in the main, the aggrandizement of any one rite at the expense of the others. What privileges and possessions each community had at the conclusion of the Crimean War they continued to enjoy up to the fall of the empire and during the British mandatory administration in Palestine. Indeed, the status quo in the Holy Places still governs the relations of the principal custodians.

> As L.G.A. Cust rightly said:
> The history of the Holy Places is one long story of bitter animosities and contentions, in which outside influences take part in an increasing degree, until the scenes of Our Lord's life on earth become a political shuttlecock, and eventually the cause of international conflict. If the Holy Places and the rights pertaining thereto are an "expression of man's feelings about Him whose story hallowed these sites," they are also an index of the corruptions and intrigues of despots and chancellories during eight hundred years. The logical results have been the spirit of distrust and suspicion, and the attitude of intractability in all matters, even if only of the most trivial importance, concerning the Holy Places.[53]

During the four centuries of Ottoman dominion the rivalry and interminable struggles among the major guardians for aggrandizement at the expense of each other were marked by an almost fanatical zeal and frequently were attended by violence. The community disputes invariably involved the local and central authorities, who were called upon to adjudicate between contending Christians. The role which the Ottomans played in these cases was sometimes motivated by considerations of justice, law, and order. More often than not, however, the Ottomans played one community against the other. Quite frequently they were influenced by factors extraneous to the merit of the issues, chiefly the possibility of financial gain and the requirements of international diplomacy.

The status quo in the Holy Places as enunciated in the 1850's and as reconfirmed time and again in subsequent years was the sum of a historical evolution whose beginnings are traceable to the early centuries of Christianity, and as a result it established a most complicated network of rights and privileges. This was made more problematical by the difficulty of defining and regulating possessory rights, the doubtful validity of earlier contradictory edicts,[54] and the mutual distrust,

suspicion, and jealousy of the rival communities. Yet the Ottoman government was able to maintain the status quo, and no appreciable change in the holdings and privileges occurred after 1850.

From the standpoint of political protection and material resources, the Armenian community was, of course, considerably weaker than the much more powerful Latin and Greek rites. As head of the monastic congregation of St. James and as chief custodian, the primary function of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem was to safeguard not only the private institutions of his relatively small community but also its age-old privileges in the commonly held sanctuaries. In this most difficult task the patriarch relied upon the moral and material support of the local monastics and secular community, the other hierarchical sees of the Armenian church, pilgrims, and the Armenian people as a whole.

The frequent economic insolvencey of the Armenian patriarchate stemmed largely from external rather than internal factors, primarily from the financial policy of the Ottoman state. At the root of this policy was the system of tax farming, which by its very nature encouraged corruption. Officials, whether on the central, provincial, or local level, aimed principally at deriving, through all the means at their command, the maximum amount of revenues from the institutions and inhabitants under their jurisdiction. Insofar as the Holy Land was concerned, the Christian ecclesiastical institutions constituted, if not the principal, at least one of the most important sources of revenue for these functionaries. They exploited these institutions not only by encouraging their intercommunity rivalries but quite frequently by precipitating crises with a view to securing bribes and gifts. The tax farmers seldom displayed qualms about the use of coercive measures in pusuit of their extortionary objectives, since they could flout even the imperial injunctions with impunity. What encouraged the central and local functionaries to persist in these practices was their conviction that the devout magnates and pilgrims of the Christian communities in the empire, and even beyond, would always continue generous contributions in support of the dominical sanctuaries and religious establishments in the Holy Land. Indeed, these Christain institutions expended enormous sums of money to guarantee their privileges and possessions, which they virtually purchased time and again from avaricous officials. It is remarkable that in spite of the prevailing political maladministration and widespread corruption these institutions were ever able to survive.

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NOTES

1 For a study of the historical role of the Armenian church in the custodianship of the Holy Places see Avedis K. Sanjian, **The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion** (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 168-203.

2 Consult, **Ibid.**, pp. 142-167.

3 See A. Couret, **La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs** (Grenoble, 1869), P. 212.

4 See Tabari, **Annales**, ed. M. J. de Goeje (15 vols.; Leyden, 1879-1901), I 2405-2406; Beladsori (al-Baladhuri), **Liber expugnationum regionum (Futuh al-Buldan)**, ed. Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 139; English trans. of Beladsori by P. Hitti, **Origins of the Islamic State**, Columbia Univ. Studies in History, Economics and Law, vol. 68, pt. 1 (New York, 1951); al-Ya'qubi, **Historiae (Ta'rikh)**, ed. M.T. Houtsma (2 vols.; Leyden, 1883), II, 167. An English trans. of the document will be found in William Muir, **The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall** (Edinburgh, 1924), p. 134; and an Italian version in **Annali dell' Islam**, ed. Leone Caetani (10 vols.; Milan, 1905-1926), vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 956-957, A.H. 17, para. 173.

5 See Caetani, **op. cit.**, pp. 956-957.

6 For a summary discussion of the status of the scriptuaries under Muslim rule consult G. Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitab" in **Encyclopaedia of Islam** (new ed.), pp. 264-266.

7 For the historical evolution of the legal and social status of the **dhimmis** under various Muslim rulers consult the following works: Antoine Fattal, **Le Statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam** (Beirut, 1958); A.S. Tritton, **The Caliphs and Their Non-Moslem Subjects** (Oxford, 1930); F. van den Steen de Jehay, **De la Situation légale des Sujets ottomans non-Musulmans** (Brussels, 1906); also chap. XIV, "The Dhimmis" in H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, **Islamic Society and the West**, (Oxford, 1950 - 1957), vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 207-261; Claude Cahen, "Dhimma" in **Encyclopaedia of Islam** (new ed.), pp. 227-231; E. Strauss, "The Social Isolation of Ahl adh-Dhimmi" in **Etudes orientales à la mémoire de Paul P. Hirschler**, ed. O. Komlós (Budapest, 1950), pp. 73-94.

8 See L.G.A. Cust, **The Status Quo in the Holy Places** (printed for the British Government of Palestine by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), p.6.

9 An Armenian translation of the text will be found in T. Savalaniants, **History of Jerusalem** (in Armenian; 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1931), I, 261-262.

The author states that the "original" of this charter does not exist in the archives of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem; rather, he claims, there is a copy of it bearing the signatures of thirty witnesses, including that of the future Caliph 'Umar I. On the other hand, A. Ter-Hovhannesiants, who fails to reproduce the text, asserts that the charter does exist in the same institution, but he does not state whether it represents the "original" or it is merely a copy of it. (See A. Ter-Hovhannesiants, **Chronological History of Jerusalem,** in Armenian; vol. I (Jerusalem, 1890), p. 108.

10 See the Armenian translation in Savalaniants, **op. cit.,** I, 268-270.

11 See **ibid.,** I, 270-271, which does not reproduce the text.

12 See Sanjian, **op. cit.,** p. 14, 170-171, 174-176.

13 See Sanjian, "Anastas Vardapet's List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh-Century Jerusalem: A Critical Examination" in **Le Muséon,** LXXXII, 3-4 (1969): 265-292.

14 **Ibid.**

15 See Nerses Akinian, **Classical Armenian and the Mekhitarist School in Vienna** (in Armenian; Vienna, 1932),pp. 69-70.

16 See A.G. Abrahamian, **Brief Outline of the History of Armenian Colonies** (in Armenian) **2 vols.,**(Yerevan, 1964-1967), I, 264, 266-267.

17 Consult A. Renoux, "Un Ms. du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jérus. arm. 121)" in **Le Muséon,** 74 (1961): 361-385, and "Lectionnaires arméniens et commémoraison de la sépulture du Christ le Vendredi Saint" in **L'Orient syrien,** vol. 7, no. 4 (1962): 463-476.

18 These mosaic pavements are described in M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine" in **The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine,** 2 (1932): 136-181, and 3 (1933): 26-73, nos (of entries) 117-120, 132.

19 Consult Sanjian, **Armenian Communities in Syria,** p. 315, note 19; **idem.,** "Anastas Vardapet's List..., "pp. 288-290.

20 See Savalaniants, **op. cit.,** I, 342.

21 See F. Macler, **Les Arméniens en Syrie et en Palestine** (Marseille, 1919), pp. 11-12.

22 See Jacques de Vitry, **The History of Jerusalem,** trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896), p. 79.

23 See **Palestine of the Crusades, Survey of Palestine** (Dept. of Antiquities), Jerusalem, 1946; also **Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie,** pp. 2344-2346.

24 See **Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs,** par Paulin, vol. I (Paris, 1879), Bk. 12, p. 456.

25 See Kevork Hintlian, **History of the Armenians in the Holy Land** (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 23.

2 6 See H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, **Jérusalem; Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire,** vol. II, pt. 3, **Jérusalem Nouvelle** (Paris, 1922), p. 522.

2 7 For an authoritative summary history and description of the architecture of the cathedral of St. James, consult **ibid.**, pp. 516-561.

2 8 See Ibn Khaldun, **Kitab al-'Ibar wa-Diwan al-Mubtada wa-'L-Khabar** (Cairo, 1284 A.H.), V, 311.

2 9 See Ter-Hovhannesiants, **op. cit.** I, 154.

3 0 See details in **ibid.**, I, 152-159, and Savalaniants, **op. cit.**, I, 403-408.

3 1 Armenian translations of this charter will be found in Savalaniants, **op. cit.**, I, 409-413; and Ter-Hovhannesiants, **op. cit.**, I, 160-163.

3 2 See M. Carlo Gurmani, **Question sur la propriété de St. Jacques à Jérusalem** (Jerusalem, 1867), pp. 23-24. The author reproduces the following quotation from the Annales de l'Abbaye d'Anchin: "Armeni Christiani, magno dato censi pretio Sepulchrum dominicum sua ecclesia et domini Templum a Saladino redemerunt."

3 3 See Cust, **op. cit.**, pp. 7-8.

3 4 See Philip K. Hitti, **History of Syria** (London, 1957), p. 638.

3 5 For specific references to historic and modern Armenian settlements in northwestern Syria, see Paul Jacquot, **Antioche** (3 vols.; Beirut, 1931).

3 6 For the communities in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, consult Sanjian, **Armenian Communities in Syria,** Index.

3 7 See Savalaniants, **op. cit.**, I, 462, 542.

3 8 See **ibid.**, pp. 514-515; also Ter-Hovhannesiants, **op. cit.**, I, 207.

3 9 See text of the colophon of Ms. No. 540 of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem in Norair Bogharian, **Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts** (in Armenian), vol. II (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 560.

4 0 See details in Ter-Hovhannesiants, **op. cit.**, I, 209-210.

4 1 See **ibid.**, I, 202-203.

4 2 See **Ibid.**, I, 204-205.

4 3 See **Ibid.**, I, 21-233, 241-246.

4 4 See text of the edict in **ibid.**, I, 206.

4 5 The details of this episode will be found in Hanné, **History of the Holy and Great City of God, Jerusalem, and of the Holy Dominical Places** (in Armeian; 3d printing, Constantionple, 1782), pp. 200-203; Savalaniants, **op. cit.**, I, 533-535; Ter-Hovhannesiants, **op. cit.**, I, 222-229.

4 6 Maghakia Ormanian, **Azgapatum** (in Armenian; 3 vols., Constantinople-Jerusalem, 1913-1927), vol. II, col. 1506. III, col. 2454.

4 7 The Turkish-language Armenian-script text appears in Savalaniants, **op. cit.**, II, 880-889; a classical Armenian translation of same will be found in Ter-Hovhannesiants, op. cit., II, 222-229.

4 8 **Ibid.**

4 9 Along with the Georgians and Serbians, the charter also mentions the Abyssi nians as dependents of the Greek patriarchate. THis discrepancy is not easy to explain, unless it is a later addition, since the Armenian charter just summarized, as well as numerous other edicts preserved in the archives of the monastery of St. James, attest to the inclusion of the Abyssinians among the monophysite churches which have always enjoyed the protection of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem.

5 0 See W. Fitzgerald, "The Holy Places of Palestine in History and Politics" in **International Affairs,** 26 (1950): 1-10.

5 1 See text in J.C. Hurewitz, **Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1535-1914** (Princeton, N.J., 1956), pp. 153-156 (Article IX).

5 2 See Cust, **op. cit.,** p. 12.

5 3 **Ibid.,** p. 4.

5 4 For an interesting study of the legal questions involving the custodianship of the dominical sanctuaries in the Holy Land, consult B. Collin, **Le Problème juridique de Lieux Saints** (Cairo, 1956).

CHRISTEN IM PATRIARCHAT JERUSALEM

Bertold Spuler

Es ist eine eigenartige Tatsache, dass sich das religiöse Verhalten der Bewohner des Vorderen Orients im 1. Jahrtausend nach Christus-unabhängig von der Religion, zu der sie sich bekannten-insofern ähnelte, als es Gebiete gibt, die sich praktisch geschlossen einer Konfession, sei es dem Christentum, sei es dem Islam, Zuwandten. Andere sind zwiegeteilt, einige Bereiche schliesslich sind religiös stark zersplittert. Wenden wir unseren Blick auf das Niltal, so finden wir dort sunniten, die auch von den im 10. Jahrhundert eingedrungenen ismailitischen Fatimiden nicht für ihre Überzeugung gewonnen werden konnten und die bis zum heutigen Tage ihrer Konfession treu geblieben sind. Im Rahmen des Christentums zeigt sich das gleiche Verhalten: die byzantinischen Beherrscher des Landes konnten die Bewohner nicht veranlassen, sich nach 451 der dyophysitischen Orthodoxie oder auch nur dem Monotheletismus anzuschlieBen: sie blieben und sie sind bis heute Kopten. Schon der Name dieses christlichen Bekenntnisses zeigt ihre enge Verbundenheit mit dem Land, ist diese Bezeichnung doch lediglich eine Verstümmelung des Namens Ägypter. Freilich soll weder für das Niltal noch für andere Gebiete, die gleich zu besprechen sind, gesagt werden, daB solche Parallelen genetisch etwas miteinander zu tun haben; religionssoziologisch jedenfalls sind sie bemerkenswert.

Wenden wir unsern Blick weiter nach dem Osten ins Zweistromland: es spaltete sich unter dem christentum in Nestorianer and Monophysiten. Beide Bekenntnisse haben sich-wenn auch in geringer Zahl-bis zum heutigen Tage gehalten. Im Islam zeigt sich das gleiche Bild: der Norden des Landes ist überwiegend sunnitisch, der Süden überwiegend schiitisch, in Baghdad treffen sich beid Bekenntnisse. Daneben stehen zahlenmäBig kleine Gruppen ohne groBe Bedeutung für das Ganze: dem Vorhandensein der vor-christlichen gnostischen Täufergemeinschaft der Mandäer auf der Mandäer auf der einen, entspricht die Existenz der vor-islamischen Glaubensgut weitertragenden Gemeinschaft der Jesiden auf der anderen Seite.

Zwischen diesen beiden Ländern mit uralter Stromtalkultur liegt das Küstenland Syrien, zu dem historisch auch das moderne Staatsgebilde Libanon gehört. Hier steht einer Vielzahl christlicher Gemeinden eine ebenso grosse Zahl islamischer Bekenntnisse gegenüber, wobei man bei manchen davon, etwa Drusen oder Nusairiern, fragen mag, wieweit sie (noch) zum Islam gehören. Auch hier kann man

die Parallele-jedenfalls äusserlich-noch weiter führen und sagen: so wie es hier auf islamischer Seite Gemeinschaften gibt, die nur in diesem Raume bestehen, so gilt das auch für die Maroniten auf christlicher Seite, wobei von Abwanderern in moderner Zeit abzusehen ist. Diese Aufspaltungen haben sich wie auf christlicher, so auf islamischer Seite im Laufe der Zeit eher vermehrt als verringert.

Bleibt als letztes Gebiet Palästina, der Raum um Jerusalem, das die Heimat des Christentums ist. Aber anders als im Islam hat sich das Christentum zu Lebzeiten seines Stifters nicht durchsetzen können. Mohammed hingegen ist eben dieses gelungen; der Islam hat sich seit 622 in einem Raume entwickelt, den er auch politisch beherrschte und nach seinen Ideen formte. Palästina hingegen verlor schon im 1. JH. des Christentums seine religiöse Bedeutung, während Mekka und Medina im Islam nach 661 zwar politisch zurücktraten, aber religiös bis heute eine zentrale Stellung einnehmen. Dieser andersartigen politisch-religiösen Entwicklung der beiden Weltreligionen entsprach es, dass Palästina spätestens seit der Zerstörung durch die Römer 70 n.Chr (mit vorheriger Abwanderung der Christengemeinde nach Pella) und nochmals 135 n. Ch. am Rande des Christentums lag. Ein Zeichen dieses Zustandes ist auch die Tatsache, dass bis 1964 kein einziger Papst-jedenfalls während seiner Amtszeit-die Heiligen Stätten besuchte. Die Auseinandersetzungen um die dogmatische Ausrichtung der neuen Religionen fanden-nach der Abdrängung der Judenchristen ins Ost-Jordanland-anderswo statt. So war die christliche Bevölkerung des Landes durch solche Glaubenskämpfe nich in Anspruch genommen, aber auch nicht angeregt. Sie hielt sich hier und auf dem benachbarten Sinai in ihrer überwiegenden Mehrzahl an die in der Byzantinischen Reichskirche durchgesetzte dyophysitische Orthodoxie; Palästina war damit das einzige Gebiet südlich von Kleinasien, von dem solches ausgesagt werden kann. Soweit die Bewohner Christen blieben, hielten sie bis zum heutigen Tage daran fest. Auch hier war das Verhalten der Muslime ähnlich: sie bekennen sich überwiegend zu einer Konfession dieser Religion, der sunnitischen.

Der Lage Jerusalems am Rande der christlichen Entwicklung entsprach es, dass diese Stadt und ihre Umgebung lange dem religiösen Zentrum in der Küstenstadt Caesarea ad mare verbunden blieb. Erst 451 (und endgültig 553) während des Konzils in Chalkedon, das den Trennungsstrich zwischen den Konfessionen (vorläufig) endgültig zog, wurde Jerusalem zum selbständigen (fünften) Patriarchat der Christenheit erhoben (Ein weiteres im Rahmen der Orthodoxie gibt es erst seit 1589 mit Moskau).

Das neue Patriarchat war also im Rahmen der Reichskirche entstanden. Da die Bevölkerung weithin einen Glauben bekannte, blieb auch das Patriarchat ungespalten, ganz anders als im benachbarten Antiochien, wo sich im Laufe der Zeit vier, schliesslich sieben Patriarchate gegenüberstanden. Sein Jurisdiktionsbezirk umschloss Palästina von Caesarea und dem Nordufer des Sees Genezareth, das südliche Ostjordanland mit Petra und Teile der Halbinsel Sinai; das dortige St.

Katharienkloster blieb (bis heute) autokephal. Dieser Bereich war das einzige fast geschlossen orthodoxe Gebiet, das die Muslim 636 eroberten. Bei den Verhandlungen vertrat der Patriarch von Jerusalem die Bevölkerung als seine Gemeinde. Das Glaubensbekenntnis und das Patriarchat blieben, wie überall im Chalifat, unangetastet. Aber eine religiöse Rolle, die über seinen Bezirk hinausging, hat der Patriarch sowenig wie die Othodoxen von Alexandrien und Antiochien gespielt. Es musste genügen, dass Jerusalem Mittelpunkt der orthodoxen Gläubigen dieses Raumes blieb, soweit sie nicht im Laufe der Jahrhunderte zum Islam übertraten.

Die friedlichen Zeiten für die Christen Palästinas wurden erst unter der fatimidischen Herrschaft im 10. Jh. beendet. Unter dem Chalifen Al-Hakim mit seiner auch den Agyptern gegenüber vollkommen willkürlichen Religionspolitik wurde 1009 die Kirche des Heiligen Grabes-seit je der Mittelpunkt der Christen im Heiligen Lande-zerstört, die nach dem Persersturm von 614 wieder aufgebaut worden war. Sie hat seither noch mancherlei Zerstörungen, auch natürlichen Verfall, erlebt! Von daher datiert der Streit um ihren Wiederaufbau, der uns noch beschäftigen wird. Die Schwierigkeiten, die die Seldschuken, seit 1077 Herren Jerusalems, nicht nur den einheimischen Christen, sondern auch den bisher unbehelligten Pilgern machten, lösten schliesslich die Kreuzzüge aus and unterstellten Jerusalem 1099 bis 1187 christlicher, aber abendländischer-lateinischer Herrschaft, die für die Orthodoxen in mancher Hinsicht eine deutlichere Zurücksetzung bedeutete, als die islamische Herrschaft der vorhergehenden Jahrhunderte.

Inzwischen folgte ein Patriarch dem andern. Auch der Übergang der Stadt unter osmanisch-türkische Herrschaft 1516 bedeutete darin keinen Wandel. Erst im 17. Jh. begann eine neue Zeit dadurch, dass die Russen bei ihrem Vordringen gegenüber der Türkei bei den orthodoxen Bewohnern nicht nur der Balkaninsel, sondern auch Vorderasien, Hoffnung auf eine Ablösung der islamischen Herrschaft erweckten. Mehrere Patriarchen der Heiligen Stadt traten mit ihnen in Verbindung, wie Dositheos II. Notaras (der Verfasser des bekannten Glaubens bekenntnisses von 1672) and sein Neffe und Nachfolger. Sie vermittelten ihnen Berichte über den Zustand ihrer Gemeinden and überhaupt des Landes. Als Russland dann nach langem diplomatischen Ringen und mancherlei Kriegen die Schutzherrschaft über die orthodoxen Christen erreicht hatte, konnten die Orthodoxen des Landes in ihnen eine gewisse Stütze sehen, besonders da diese auch Spannungen zwischen der griechischen Hierarchie und den weithin arabischen Gläubigen auszugleichen suchten.

Dieser Spannungszustand zwischen zwei Nationalitäten kennzeichnet auch das Leben der orthodoxen Kirche im 20. Jh. und hat sich während der britischen Mandatsherrschaft nicht geändert. Die orthodoxen Patriarchen der Hl. Stadt sind (wie die Alexandriens, wo freilich auch die Gläubigen mehrheitlich griechisch sind)

Angehörige des griechischen Volkstums, so noch Patriarch Benedikt (Papadopulos), der das Amt seit 1957 innehat und jetzt im 89. Lebensjahr steht. (In Antiochien sind die Patriarchen seit 1931 Araber.)

Die stärkste Stütze des Griechentums im Patriarchat ist die alt-berühmte "Bruderschaft des Hl. Grabes", die die Rechte der Orthodoxen an der Kirche dieses Namens wahrt. Die Bruderschaft erhielt 1938 ein neues Statut und stellt-bei allem Schwund-mit 110 Mitgliedern gerade noch so viele, wie zum Dienste an den Hl. Stätten vonnöten sind. Unter den Mönchen ist nur ein einziger Araber. So wendet sich denn die Bruderschaft mit der Werbung um neue Mitglieder vor allem an die griechisch sprechenden Länder, offenbar mit nur mässigem Erfolg. Von den jüngeren Mönchen können manche arabisch, und vom Patriarchen wird jetzt die Beherrschung der Landessprache verlangt. Der sprachliche Unterschied führt zu manchen Reibungen und lässt die arabischen Christen immer wieder ihr Recht auf eine nachhaltigere Beteiligung im Rahmen der Hierarchie vorbringen.

Die Zahl der Christen im Hl. Lande (darunter 300 mit griechischer Muttersprache) hat sich 1948 durch Abwanderung von 13.000 Gläubigen und auch später noch wesentlich vermindert. Ihre Zahl betrug in Israel 1966 etwa 55.000 (mehrheitlich Orthodoxe), mit den besetzten Gebieten 1967: 90.000. Von ihnen haben inzwischen gar manche das Patriarchat verlassen, doch sind genaue Zahlen der Abwanderer und der Verbliebenen nicht bekannt. Für 1979 hat man die Zahl der Orthodoxen in Jerusalem auf 15.000 beziffert. Auch der Hundertsatz der Christen hat sich wesentlich vermindert. In 1948 fast rein christlichen Ortschaft beträgt ihre Zahl jetzt noch etwas über die Hälfte; in Bethlehem ging sie von (1922) etwa 83 v.H. auf (1964) 32 v.H. zurück. Bemerkenswert ist übrigens, dass in Ortschaften mit starker christlicher Bevölkerung stets eine beachtliche Anzahl kommunistischer Stimmen abgegeben wird.

Das Patriarchat mit seiner also recht geringen Anzahl von Gläubigen besitzt Anteil an der Kirche des Hl. Grabes, von der später noch die Rede sein wird, an Golgatha, am Grabe der Mutter Gottes in Gethsemane (das freilich auch bei Ephesos gezeigt wird), an der Stätte der Himmelfahrt sowie der Höhle der Geburt des Erlösers in Bethlehem. Die Zahl der Mönche beträgt 85 (35 Archimandriten, 20 Hieromonachen, 30 wohl Laienbrüder), dazu kommen 46 Nonnen.

Das Patriarchat hat drei Patriarchats-Vikare in Jerusalem, Ostjordanien und Bethlehem, 16 Bischöfe (darunter viele, die lediglich diesen Titel tragen) und 65 Pfarreien mit etwa 120 Geistlichen (häufig Griechen). Die Synode besteht aus 12 Mitgliedern. Drei Vertreter des Patriarchats im Ausland (Exarchen) residieren in Konstantinopel, in Athen und auf Cypern. Die kirchliche Zeitschrift "Nea Zion" (New-Zion; griechisch) war 1972 bis 1979 eingestellt.

Das Patriarchat unterhält ein Gymnasium mit sechs Klassen, eine Mädchenschule mit Einführung ins Griechische und zwei weitere Mädchenschulen. Die Zahl der

Lehrer betrug vor einigen Jahren 137, der Schüler 2454, der Sonntags-schüler (z. T. in Amman) 150. Schliesslich gehört dem Patriarchat ein Krankenhaus, ein Altersheim für Männer, ein griechischer Jugendverband und eine "Orthodoxe Gesellschaft". Freilich besagen alle diese Zahlen nichts vom inneren, geistigen Leben der Gemeinde, über das wenig zu hören ist.

Trotz der geringen Zahl seiner Gläubigen und trotz seiner Lage am Rande der Orthodoxie (im konfessions-kundlichen Sinne, also entsprechend dem arabischen "rum-orthodox") entfaltet das Patriarchat eine nicht unbedeutende Tätigkeit im Rahmen seines Bekenntnisses. Patriarch Benedikt besuchte die morgen-ländischen Patriarchate, weiter Amerika, Kanada, Grossbritanien, Griechenland und Südslawien, blieb freilich seit 1967 in seiner Residenz in der Altstadt von Jerujsalem, um seinen Gläubigen nahe zu sein; zu seinem Vertreter in Jordanien ernannte er den Erzbischof Diodor von Amman. Lediglich aus Gesundheits-gründen reiste er im August 1971 nach Wien; im folgenden Jahre besuchte er das orthodoxe Zentrum in Chambésy bei Genf, das die Orthodoxie in Mittel-und Westeuropa vertritt.-1967 hatte das autokephale St. Katharinenkloster auf dem Sinai (dessen Abt-Bischof in Alexandrien residiert) den Wunsch geäussert, sich Benedikt zu unterstellen.

Aber auch nach 1967 erhielt der Patriarch vielerlei Besuch aus den Reihen der Orthodoxie, so seitens des bulgarischen und rumänischen Patriarchen, des Athener Erzbischofs und eines Metropoliten aus Cypern. Auch aus der Sowjetunion erschienen verschiedentlich Gäste im Hl. Land, von denen gleich noch die Rede sein muss. Umgekehrt erreichten Abordnungen des Jerusalemer Patriarchats das Ökumenische Patriarchat (wobei im März 1974 Fragen der Hl. Stätten behandelt wurden), sowie mehrmals das Moskauer Patriarchat (zuletzt Okt./Nov. 1975); sie führten die übliche Rundreise mit dem Besuch der bedeutendsten kirchlichen Stätten durch. So steht also das Patriarchat Jerusalem keineswegs vereinsamt im Rahmen der Orthodoxie. Dazu treten die vielen Touristen/Pilger, die an den hohen Festen, aber auch sonst, das Hl. Land und auch den Besitz der Orthodoxie besuchen. Unter starkem Schutz verläuft ihr Besuch weiterhin ungestört.

Neben der einheimischen orthodoxen Bevölkerung arabischer Sprache und den Griechen, die seit byzantinischer Zeit immer irgendwie im Lande waren, hat auch die andere grosse orthodoxe Nationalität, die russische, hier Fub gefasst. Wir erwähnten schon, dass der russische Kaiser seit dem 17./18. Jh. Ansprüche auf die Schirmherrschaft über die orthodoxen Christen erhob, dass ihm dabei die Verbindung zu den Patriarchen von Jerusalem von Nutzen war, und dass den Zaren diese Aufgabe zuletzt auch amtlich zuerkannt war. Im Rahmen dieser Entwicklung kam es 1858 zur Gründung einer "Russischen Geistlichen Mission im Hl. Lande", die bis 1917 natürlich mit dem russischen Kaiser in Verbindung stand. In der britischen Mandatszeit übernahm die Russische Auslandskirche mit dem Mittelpunkt erst in Südslawien, nach dem 2. Weltkriege in den Vereinigten Staaten und danach die "Karlowitzer" bzw. "Jordanviller Jurisdiktion" genannt, Besitz und Verp-

flichtungen dieser Mission. Doch wurde der Besitz 1946 von der israelischen Regierung dem Moskauer Patriarchat überantwortet. Das kam auch zeitweiligen Bestrebungen mancher Orthodoxer des Landes entgegen, die Oberherrschaft dem Moskauer Patriarchat zu übertragen. In Jordanien blieb der Besitz der Auslandsrussischen Kirche erhalten. In Israel änderten auch längere Prozesse seitens der Auslandsrussischen Kirche den Zustand von 1949 nicht, doch soll der Rechtsstreit weitergeführt werden. In der Jerusalemer Altstadt erhob das Moskauer Patriarchat im Mai 1972 bei der israelischen Regierung Ansprüche auf den dortigen Besitz der Geistlichen Mission. Man fragte sich damals, wieweit er dadurch der Zuständigkeit dieser Regierung für die Jerusalemer Altstadt anerkenne.

Die sowjetische Regierung unterstützt Prestige-Gründen-die Forderungen des Moskauer Patriarchats. Im Zusammenhang damit steht die regelmässige (häufig wechselnde) Besetzung der Leitung der Russischen Geistliche Mission (seit Nov. 1948 im Kloster Johanes des Täufers in AIn Karim) durch russische Archimandriten. Im gleichen SInne sind die mancherlei Besucher aus dem Moskauer Patriarchat tätig, die meist als "Pilger" erscheinen. Zu ihner gehörte im JUni 1975 auch der russische Metropolit von Berlin (unter Moskauer Jurisdiktion).

Nun ist Palästina nicht nur für die orthodoxen CHristen das Heilige Land. Auch viele andere christliche Bekenntnisse haben sich dort nierdergelassen und besitzen eigene Einrichtungen dort, ohne dass sie eigentliche Einheimische wären. Da sind zuerst die auf der Erde so weit verbreiteten Armenier zu nennen, die schon früh auch ins Hl. Land kamen und dort schon 1311 ein Patriarchat gründeten das zweite nach Jerusalem bekannte, das es gibt. Freilich ist es nicht das einzige Patriarchat der Armenier (ein anderes besteht in Konstantinopel), und überdies ist "Patriarch" nicht die oberste kirchliche Würde bei den Armeniern: das ist vielmehr "Katholikos". Auch davon gibt es heute zwei: zu Eĉmiadzin in Armenien und zu Sis in Kilikien (mit dem Sitz in Antelias bei Beirut); von ihm hängt heute das Patriarchat Jerusalem ab. Die Armenier gehören zu den wohl etablierten KIrchen des Hl. Landes mit einer eigenen Hierachie und einem im April 1971 neu eröffneten THeologischen Seminar dessen feierliche Einweihung im Juni 1975 Katholikos Vazgén von Eĉmiadzin anlässlich einer Walfahrt vollzog. DOch stehen allerlei kirchliche Gebäude leer (wie auch sonst im Vorderen Orient); hat sich gegen den durch Patriarch Elisaios (Derderiaán) geplanten Verkauf freilich Widerspruch erhoben-Im April 1969 erfolgte eine AUsstellung von etwa 4000 Handschriften, von liturgischen Geräten und anderen Wertgegenstände sind daraufhin in eniem Museum für Kirchliche KUnst in Jerusalem zuammengefasst worden, das in 43 Sälen: 1500 Jahre armenischer nationaler Entwicklung zeigt; die feierliche Eröffnung erfolgte am 19. April 1979-Eine im Okt. 1968 neu organisierte Bischofskonferenz (aus siben Erzbischöfen und Bischöfen) tagte 1970 und 1972 und nahm kirchenrechtliche und liturgische Reformen an.

Die unmittelbaren SPuren der Kreuzzüge-die Verwandlung orthodoxer Kirchen in lateinische, die Einsetzung eines lateinischen Patriarchen anstatt eines orthodoxen-sind nach der Einnahme der Stadt durch Saladin 1187 und endgültig im beiden Jahre 1244 weithin wieder verschwunden, haben freilich eine Animosität zwischen beiden Bekenntnissen hinterlassen die sich bis heute auswirkt und die z.B. den jetzigen Partiarchen Benedikt veranlasste, jede gemeinsame Feier der Hl. Messe-jede "communicatio in sacris" abzulehnen. Doch blieben durch de Anteil der römischen Katholiken an der Hl. Grabeskirche und durch Klöster verschiedener Orden Stützpunkte des Abendlandes erhalten. Besonders der Franziskaner-Orden besitze, durch seine "Custodie des Hl. Landses" getragen, eine starke Stellung, die durch eine rege FOrschungstätigkeit und die Herausgabe einer Zeitschrift unterstützt wird. Im 19 Jh., JH. als Frankreich als Protekor der Lateiner diesses Raumes galt, wurde 1847 ein neues Lateinische Patriarchat Jerusalem gestiftet, das dritte an Ort und und war viefach von italienischen Prälaten besetzt. Seit Dezember 1970 hat Giovanni Guiseppe Beltritti diese Würde inne.

Diese Einrichtungen bilden den Ausgangspunkt fur die zunehmenden Bestrebungen nach einer okumenischen Zusammenarbeit der lateinischen und der orthodoxen Kirche, die in der Uberreichung der Reliquie des Hl. Sabbas aus Venedig (1965) und später des Hl. Lazarus im Mai 1972 ausgebaut wurden. Sie erfuhren durch den Besuch Papst Pauls Vl. im Heiligen Lande im Januar 1964 ihre Krönung; dabei spielte Patriarch Benedikt gewissermassen den Hausherrn. Auch der ökumenische Patriarch Athenagoras war anwesend. Pläne einer Internationalisierung der Hl. Stadt, wie sie von der Kirche gelegentlich vertreten wurden, sind inzwischen wieder fallen gelassen worden.

Zum Gefolge des Vatikans gehören auch die unierten Melkiten (die aus der Orthodoxie hervorgegangen sind). Sie besitzen im Hl. Lande eine Anzahl von Anhängern mit eigener Hierarchie, aber hier kein Patriarchat. Bekannt geworden ist die Kirche durch die im August 1973 seitens israelischer Behörden unter dem Vorwurf des Waffenschmuggels erfolgte Verhaftung des Erzbischofs (seit 1965) von Caesarea ad mare und Jerusalem, Hilarion Capucci. Er wurde später zu 12 Jahren Haft verurteilt, aber im November 1977 entlassen. Nach einiger Zeit als Visitator der (recht zahlreichen) Unierten Melkiten in Südamerika und nach seiner eigenmächtigen Rückkehr von dort wurde er im Mai 1979 vom Papste zum Visitator der uniert-melkitischen Gemeinden in Westeuropa 63.000 Seelen) ernannt; das Amt wurde eigens für ihn geschaffen.

Im 19. Jh. haben auch Kirchen der Reformation Fuss im Hl. Lande gefasst, zueben jener Zeit, als man besonders von Amerika aus begann, die einheimischen Christen im Sinne der Lehren der dortigen Kirchen zu beeinflussen. Aufgrund einer Vereinbarung zwischen Grossritanien und Preussen wurde 1841 das gemeinsame Bistum des Hl. Jakob in Jerusalem geschaffen, das abwechselnd mit einem Anglikaner und einem evangelischen Geistlichen besetzt werden sollte. Von ihnen hat sich besonders Bischof Samuel Gobat (seit 1846), ein gebürtiger Schweizer,

durch die Gründung zahlreicher Kranken-und Waisenhäuser sowie Schulen sehr verdient gemacht. Nach seinem Tode 1897 ist das Bistum nicht wieder besetzt und der Vertrag 1886 gelöst worden. Das Bistum ist seither als rein anglikanisches weitergeführt worden und hat seit August 1974 erstmalig einen Araber, Fa'iq Haddad, zum Inhaber. Januar 1976 wurde das Bistum zum Mittelpunkt des Anglikanismus im Östlichen Mittelmeer-Raum und in Vorderasien erhoben, zu dem vier Diözesen gehören: a) Jerusalem/Jordanien/Libanon und Syrien; b) Cypern und Persischer Golf; c) Iran; d) Ägypten und Nordafrika. Der Diözesenverband erhielt für jeweils fünf Jahre einen "Leitenden Bischof"; erster Inhaber wurde der Bischof von Teheran, ein Perser.

Die nach der Auflösung des gemeinsamen Bistums selbständige deutsche evangelische Kirche erhielt 1889 ein eigenes Kuratorium, in das der vorhandene Kirchenbesitz eingebracht wurde. Mittelpunkt ist die Erlöser-Kirche in Jerusalem, die 1969/71 baulich erneuert wurde.

Aber auch die alten monophysitischen Kirchen neben der armenischen haben im Hl. Lande ihre Stützpunkte; der jakobitische ("Syrisch-Orthodoxe") Patriarch ist wenigstens durch einen Vikar vertreten. Die koptische Kirche hat hier einen Metropoliten, die äthiopische einen Bischof. Das ist insofern eine Besonderheit, als nach dem territoriale Gliederungsprinzip, wie es bei den orthodoxen und monophysitischen Kirchen gilt, das gleiche Bekenntnis an demselben Ort nur einmal vertreten sein darf. Anders wäre Phyletismus, kirchlicher Nationalismus, wie er freilich bei den orthodoxen Kirchen in Amerika im 20. Jh. Brauch geworden ist. Angesichts der Heiligkeit Jerusalems haben die beiden monophysitischen Kirchen des Niltals und Äthiopiens sich schon lange das Recht zugestanden, trotz gleichen Bekenntnisses jeweils einen Vertreter dorthin zu senden. Von ihnen ist der koptische Metropolit Oberhaupt der Kopten im ganzen Vorderen Orient, nachdem die Angehörigen dieses Bekenntnisses im 20. Jh. so zahlreich (anders als vorher) das Land verlassen und sich ausserhalb angesiedelt haben. So unterstehen ihm jetzt Gemeinden in Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Basra, Kuwait and Abu Zabj (Dhabi).

Mehrere christliche Gemeinden haben im Hl. Lande gemeinsamen Besitz an kirchlichen Gebäuden und sonstigen Heiligen Stätten, der meist nach einzelnen Gebäude-Anteilen abgegrenzt ist. So gehört die Kirche des Hl. Grabes, zentrales Heiligtum der Christen im Lande, den Orthodoxen, den Römischen Katholiken, in Teilen auch den Armeniern, den Kopten und den Äthiopiern. Das machte die Wiederherstellung der Kirche, die im Mittelalter mehrmals vernichtet und wieder aufgebaut wurde, die aber 1810 und 1949 erneut durch Brand, 1927 durch ein Erdbeben beschädigt worden war, so schwer. Obwohl verschiedene christliche Kirchen sich zum Wiederaufbau bereit erklärten, obwohl auch aus Amerika ausreichende Gelder zur Vzerfügung gestellt worden waren, kam die Sache lange gar nicht und dann nur langsam voran. Wie hätte z. B. die äthiopische Kirche, die seit 1830 zwei Kapellen besass, dulden können, dab andere Kirchen mit mehr Geld die Ehre der

Wiederherstellung einheimsten, während sie leer ausging? Endlich nach 16 jähriger Arbeit, war das Werk 1975 im Wesentlichen vollendet, nachdem der Architekt Prof. Eduard Utudjian, dem Namen nach ein Armenier, kurz zuvor gestorben war. Das Werk hatte über 3 Mill. Dollar gekostet.

Was aber bei der Wiederherstellung der Kirche des Hl. Grabes lediglich zu einer langen Verzögerung der Arbeiten führte, entlud sich in einem düsteren Gang bei dem zur Kirche gehörigen Sultans-Klosters zu Ostern 1970 in wilden Kämpfen. 1967, als zum koptischen Patriarchat keine Verbindung bestand, hatten sich äthiopische Mönche dieses Ganges bemächtigt und die Schlösser zu den Türen verändert. Da eine unmittelbare Vereinbarung zwischen ihnen nicht zustande kam, beide des gleichen monophysitischen Bekenntnisses, wurde erstmals zu einer Entscheidung zwischen zwei christlichen Kirchen ein israelisches Gericht gerufen (so wie im Mittelalter immer wieder islamische Behörden in einen Streit zwischen christlichen Bekenntnissen eingreifen mussten). Auch ein Beschluss des Gerichts, die Schlüssel mübten den Kopten ausgehändigt werden, und-als das nicht nützte-eine zeitweilige Besetzung durch israelisches Militär, bewirkte nichts, stand doch mehr als christlicher Glaube, stand doch nationales Prestige auf dem Spiel. Auf Gerichtsbeschluss hin musste das Gelände vom Militär wieder geräumt werden, und ein neuer Spruch ist trotz dem Drängen der Regierung nicht ergangen. Der Streit um das Sultanskloster ist noch immer nicht beendet!

Friedlicher ist bisher die christliche Zusammenarbeit in dem im Oktober 1975 errichteten Oekumenischen Institut auf dem Tantur-Hügel zwischen Jerusalem and Bethlehem verlaufen. Die Anregung zur Gründung ging von Papst Paul VI. aus. Erster Leiter wurde Prof. Theodore M. Hesburgh von der Notre Dame-Universität in Indiana. Hier arbeiten aus acht Ländern 12 Professoren zusammen, deren Zahl auf 50 erhöht werden soll. Freilich steht dieses Institut mit den einheimischen Kirchen des Landes nur am Rande in Berührung.

So bietet sich also ein sehr disparates Bild der Christen im Heiligen Lande. Keines der dortigen Bekenntnisse, auch das orthodoxe nicht, hat ein Gewicht, das der Gesamtzahl der Bewohner des Gebietes gegenüber wirklich Bedeutung hätte. So ist die Religion Jesu Christi in seinem Heimatlande ein Bekenntnis, das neben vielem steht, am Rande der Entwicklung des Gesamt-Christentums, wie das seit dem 2. Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung fast stets der Fall war. Die Betrachtung der Kirchengeschichte im Heilgen Lande ist nicht immer erbaulich-aber auch sonst nicht.

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THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM AS REFLECTED IN CODEX PATRIARCHICUS NO. 428, 1517-1805.

Speros Vryonis, Jr.,

In 1897 the indefatigable Greek archivist A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus published in four volumes **The Analects of Jerusalemite Gleanings,** in which he edited a large number of texts and of short listings of documents dealing specifically with the history of the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem and more generally with the broader historical frame of reference[1]. Despite the richness of the documentation which his publications revealed the scholarly world has taken little notice of this rich source of materials for the history of the Jerusalem patriarchate as well as for the details of Ottoman administration of the region. The present state and disposition of the manuscript collections of the patriarchate are not known to me and in contrast to the collections of the Greek patriarchate of Alexandria and of Mount Sinai I am not aware of any detailed program of exploitation and systematic description of this collection.

When Professor 'Adnan Bakhit kindly invited me to participate in this conference, which has as its central focus the history of the region of Palestine, I considered two possible alternatives: The period of Byzantine hegemony and that of Muslim rule. I decided to choose the latter because it has more abundant documentation and because this Greek documentation is less well known than is that for the Byzantine period. The Analecta, as the title indicates, inlcude a variety of texts and documents which span a very great period of time, from Byzantine hagiographical texts to Ottoman administrative documents of the ninteenth century. Among the hagiographical manuscripts appear the vitae of those saints who might be expected to have particular historical relevance and appeal to these easternmost regions of the Orthodox church: The lives of the martyr Anastasius the Persian, of the martyr Golindouch-Maria, of St. Gerasimus, of the church fathers Cosmas and John of Damascus. A smattering of documents emanating from the Constantinopolitan patriarchs and emperors is also to be found there. There is a 'catalogue' of hundreds of Arabic and Turkish documents which, though they are mostly from Ottoman times, nevertheless include references to Arabic documents from the pre-Ottoman period of Middle Eastern history. On page 440, and following of volume four of the Analecta Papadopoulos-Kerameus proceeds to give a list of some of these earlier Arabic documents which list, he tells us, he drew up "by the assistance of some

printed work of Constantius Sinaites the patriarch and of some codex which exists in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem bearing the inscription, "The exalted hatti sherifs and firmans in the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem."[2] This partial list, of only a few of these documents, as he says, includes the following.

"1. Two official copies of the prototype of the ahidname on Mt. Sinai of the founder of the Islamic religion Muhammad, concerning the security of the Orthodox Christian religion. A Greek translation on p. 401.

2. The prototype (original), on parchment, of the orismos of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab, granted to the holy Sophronius I, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the year 636, and 10 official copies of this orismos. A Greek translation in vol. III of the Analecta, 216-218.

3. Original decrees of various sultans, i.e. of the Umayyad caliphs, the Abbasid caliphs, the Fatimid caliphs, the state of the Ayyubids, of the Turks, of the... Bahari Mamluks, and of... the Circasian Mamluks, (decrees) for the Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem, confirming the diatagma given by the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab to the holy Sophronius...

4. Decree (diatagma) of the month of Shawwal of the Arab year 413-1022, securing the patriarch Markos from the demand of the debts of the patriarch preceding him.

5. Decree written on 20th of Shawwal in the year 438 = April 19, 1046 and recommending the patriarch Raphael.

6. Berat, bestowed on the patriarch Athanasius on 4th Rajab of the year 730 = 23 April, 1330.

7. Orismos of the sultan, of the Bahrites, of Egypt, Zahir Meluk in the year 713 = 1313, concerning the custodial authority over the Holy Lands of the patriarch of Jerusalem... .

8. Berat given to the patriarch Ioakeim in the month of Muharram in the year 730 = Octob.-Novem., 1329.

9. Berat confirming the previous one and recommending the same patriarch Ioakeim on the 6th Dhu 'l-Qa'da of the year 734 = 9 July, 1334.

10. Orismos issued on the 12th of Shawwal of the year 707 = 5 April, 1308 to the Orthodox Georgians and concerning the fact that the proskynema of holy Golgotha is their possession.

11. Orismos concerning the custodial authority over the Holy Lands of the patriarch of Jeusalem, given in the rule of the sultan of Egypt al-Malik Zahir Barquq in the year 800 = 1397-1498...

12. Berat given to the patriarch Dorotheus on the 20th Dhu 'l-Qa'da of the year 807 = 20 May, 1405.

13. Huccet of the Muslims of Jerusalem, written in the year 701 = 1302 and confirming that the shrine of the Apokathelosis is from of old a possession of the Romans = Orthodox....

14. Orismos concerning the custodial authority of the patriarch of Jerusalem over the Holy Lands, given under the sultan of Egypt Sayf ad-Din Tchaqmaq the Circassian in the year 818-1410....

15. Orismos of the Circassian Mameluk Sultan of Egypt Melek-Ahmet or Tahir-Tchaqmaq in the year 815 = 1412, bearing the following signature: Sultan Ahmed Sayf al-Din Tchaqmaq. It was sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem Dorotheus and orders that "Just as his predecessors formerly thus he also is to open and to close the gate of the church of the Resurrection without interference'...

16. Orismos concerning custodial authority over the Holy Places of the patriarch of Jerusalem, given by the sultan of Egypt al-Malik al-Ashraf sayf al-Din in the year 835 = 1431-1432....

17. Orismos of the same sultan in the year 841 = 1437-1438 to the patriarch of Jerusalem (= Theophilos), ordering that 'he is to hold everything inside the church of the Resurrection, the Sepulcher, Golgotha and the remaining places, as his own possessions. He shall reside in them and shall open and close the gate of the church freely....'

18. Orismos of the sultan of Egypt al-Nasir Sayf al-Din Ahmad in the year 856-1452 concerning the same question...

19. Orismos of the last sultan of Egypt Qansuh al-Ghori in the year 910 = 1504-1505 concerning the same subject..."[3]

This selection of pre-Ottoman documents regarding the patriarchate of Jerusalem, made by Papadopoulos-Kerameus on the basis of other works and evidently without having consulted the documents themselves, is by his own admission only a small portion of the whole. It is none the less an indication that at the time of his writing there existed a relatively large number of documents, of great antiquity, issuing from various Islamic chancelleries, and of undoubted and great historical importance. One is not concerned at this point with the authenticity, especially of the earliest, of these documents, to wit those purporting to be from the prophet Muhammad and from 'Umar the conqueror of Jerusalem. One notes two documents dated to the 11th century A.D., and fifteen coming from the Mamluk chancellory. I have not had time to investigate in detail whether these have entered the scholarly literature and have been examined anew since they were utilized in the last century by the Greek church to answer the claims of M. Boré in regard to the

Holy Places and the international situation of the times in 1851.[4] The question arising at that time must have had a purely political character as the custody of the Holy Places came to occupy a central position in the evolution of the Near Eastern Question. Nevertheless the existence of these documents, at that time, indicates the degree of continuity not only of the successive Near Eastern sultanates in conscious policies toward the Holy Places and the religious communities located there and disputing possession of these holy sites, but also in the archives of the Greek patriarchate. Despite the occasional fires which consumed one or another part of the Greek establishment a significant portion of its manuscript treasures seems to have survived.

Without a doubt it is the documentation from the Ottoman period which constitutes the richest source for the history and institutions of the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem as well as for the larger historical picture of Palestine from the time of its conquest by Selim and its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire in 1517. Again, though the selection of Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not represent anything systematic it is none-the-less interesting. There is a collection of 36 "cases" which the patriarchate had to settle with various Muslims and Christians between 1698 and 1740,[5] the regulatory statutes governing the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher, 1755,[6] a document recording the donation of a Wallachian hospodar to the Patriarchate in 1721[7] followed by a list of 12 monasteries in Moldavo-Wallachia belonging to the Patriarchate.[8] Of particular value is a lengthy composition of the monk Procopius of Nazianzus, entitled Ierousalem katapatoumene = Downtrodden Jerusalem. Renowned for his knowledge of Arabic and thus surnamed Araboglu, Procopius served as the official dragoman of the Jerusalem Patriarchate and seems to have had a thorough knowledge of its manuscripts, particularly of its official Arab and Ottoman documents, inasmuch as he had to represent the patriarchate, officially, in all cases of dispute before various Muslim-Ottoman courts and officials. From his conversance with the documents he composed this curious treatise composed of five sections. Part I contained a catalogue of the patriarchs of Jerusalem from Jacob, brother of Christ to his own times. Part two chronicles the conflict of the Greeks with the Latins over the Holy Places, followed by part three which chronicles the same story between Greeks and Armenians. But the most interesting are surely parts four and five, the former of which consists of what he considered to be the most important documents (32 in number) for the constitutive history of the Jerusalem patriarchate from the time of the Islamic conquest into the nineteenth century, and the latter of which records events in more recent Jerusalem history.[9]

But the central interest of this short paper is codex pat. 428 which Papadopoulos-Kerameus publishes, with two omissions, in volume IV and which is entitled, by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Old Translations of some Arab and Turkish Documents Concerning the Holy Places."[10] A few words should be said to set the general background for the examination of this collection. First, we are dealing with a

manuscript in which a representative or representations of the patriarchate have brought together a select number of documents which were considered to be of importance for the patriarchate. We must assume a utilitarian principle behind the process of selection. Second, this utilitarian principle, as emerges from the contents themselves of the documents, is to safeguard the rights, often the existence, of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, against the claims of other Christian communities in relation to the Holy Places. Here priority of rights had not only a spiritual and ecclesiastical basis-motive, but an economic one, for it entailed the right to incomes from the pilgrimage, which in turn were often partly owed to various Muslim foundations as far off as Istanbul itself. The conflict over the Holy Places involved first the persistent and powerful Latin clergy with its French backing. Second it involved the Armenian community which, it seems, began to come to Jerusalem after the conquests of Selim and to press its claims thereafter. The Georgians and Ethiopians appear less frequently and seem to have been more passive. Still within the category of the utilitarian principle, again as emerges from the contents of the documents, is the growing necessity of the patriarchate to protect itself against the growing rapacity of local officialdom which was ruthless in its tax extortion and in blackmail. Here the documents are very specific as to the forms of the economic exactions of this local officialdom.

Third, we are dealing with documents in translation, the originals of which are for the most part in Ottoman Turkish and secondarily in Arabic. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, so far as I can detect, did not consult the originals, nor do I know if he actually saw them, for he specifically relates that in the case of the catalogue of Arabic and Turkish documents appended to this list of translated documents, "This catalogue came about with the aid of a printed work of Constantius Sinaites the patriarch and of some codex which exists in the patriarchate of Jerusalem and which bears such a title: The original exalted hatti sherifs and firmans in the Greek monastery of Jerusalem.[11] Thus it is important to keep in mind that cod. pat. 428 is composed of Greek translations of originals in Turkish and Arabic. Further, Papadopoulos-Kerameus says in the introduction to vol. IV of this translation that it is "afeles eremeneia," a simple (naive?) translation. And it is of interest that when it came to the purported orismos of 'Umar of 636, he does not reproduce the translation included in cod. pat. 428, but rather refers the reader to the translation which Procopius of Nazianzus Araboglu made and which Papadopoulos-Kerameus published in volume three.[12] Again in the case of the orismos of Selim, the first of the Ottoman documents, he refers the reader to Procopius' translation which he published in volume III, and he omits the translation from the published version of cod. pat. 428. It is not clear why he did so, for the cryptic phrase "afelas ermeneia" may refer to the fact that the translation wàs erroneous or else that he did not like the style. In any case, this adds further to the difficulties of the use of this body of documents, in translation, embodied in cod. pat. 428. But the question of why these particular documents were gathered together in one manuscript, translated, and

placed, more or less, in chronological order must be answered, even if only by plausible conjecture. One must remember that the patriarchate had to deal with a variety of political factors and that all such dealings had to be based on legal grounds, therefore legal documents composed ad hoc, further, that legal positions established under one or another sultan remained firm only during the life time of that sultan, if that long. They had to be renewed with each sultan or else with each threat to that position as it appeared. Thus one original and constitutive document was never sufficient in and of itself, even though two hundred years later the last document issued on that subject might go back to the original "constitutive" document. Thus cod. pat. 428 is composed of 18 documents. It is in Greek translation for very pragmatic reasons. Many of the patriarchs and patriarchal officials who came to Jerusalem were no doubt insufficiently inculcated in the high language of firmans and berats to be able to consult them readily and to understand them sufficiently. Thus, it was necessary to have a handbook of diplomacy, so to speak, where it was all spelled out in a language readily comprehensible and easily consulted. For actual hearings before the imperial courts and governors the patriarch had his dragoman, a monk well versed in the legal language and who had the documents in their original language. But these 18 documents, precisely because they were chosen for translation from a much larger body of documents, must or may have constituted the core and spine of the juridical claims and status of the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem as the patriarchs saw and understood them. As such this manuscript is, on the face of it, of the first order of importance in comprehending the status of the Greek patriarchate vis-a-vis the Ottoman state as the patriarchate perceived it.[13]

What of the reliability of the contents of these eighteen documents? This question is capable of a short answer, but it must be an analytic and careful one. If we accept the preceding premise, that this document represents the manner in which the Greek patriarchate perceived its obligations to the Ottoman state, and if we accept indeed as we must that it is not a forgery of the nineteenth century, that the Ottoman documents in their original reflect a corresponding perception of its obligations to the patriarchate, then we are in the presence of a document which summarizes, authentically, a set of historical circumstances from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century. Beyond that it clarifies these circumstances by furnishing a number of authentic and interesting details that led to the promulgation of the documents by the sultans. What is subject, it seems to me, to question and to further examination is whether there are historical fictions accepted by both sides in arguing their position. The Greeks, Franks, and Armenians had a decided interest in pushing their cases and in obtaining firmans and other legal papers reinforcing one or another view. Local Muslims, whether pashas or qadis also had economic interests in these documents, particularly from the seventeenth century on when the bureaucratic structure, suffering from economic malaise, began increasingly to extort money from the Christian institutions always on legal and administrative pretexts, and

often in direct contravention and violation of sultanic decrees. Thus as to the question of the reliability of the contents of these documents I have tried to indicate the basic principles of approach. They are not later forgeries, they do reflect an important set of historical circumstances which have religious, ethnic, and administrative parameters, but which within these various parameters no doubt induce elements of self-interest.

Thus a perusal of these documents, albeit in their translated form, will be instructive as to the history of the patriarchate within the limitations described above and always with the proviso that ultimately the Ottoman and Arabic originals must be sought out for the original form of the texts and contents. Above all they will be instructive as to how the successive patriarchs perceived of their legal status and the nature of the problems facing them.

1. Document number one.

The first document is entitled: "Testament of Muhammad which he gave for the monks and generally concerning all Christians."

In this letter, attributed to Muhammad as supposedly written for him by 'Ali and dated to the second year of the hijra, 623, Muhammad is alleged to have made certain provisions for the monks and Christians and warns that all those who violate these provisions are going contrary to the wish of God. Specifically, itinerant monks are to be allowed to inhabit mountains, peaks, caves, villages, monasteries, churches and he, Muhammad, stands as their protector. Further, the Amins are not to demand kharaj from them or other donations. Their abbots and judges are not to be altered, they are not to be disturbed in their peregrinations, and their ecclesiastical properties cannot be expended in the building of a mosque or any other Muslim foundation. From the monks neither kharaj nor tithe is to be taken if they are ascetics in the mountains. Nor may Muslims seek lodging with them as they do not produce a sufficiency for this. They are not to be levied for the armies in time of war. And from the well-to-do Christian merchants only kharaj of twelve dirhams is to be levied, nothing else. A Christian woman married to a Muslim is to be allowed to go to church to pray. The document carries, as witnesses, 21 names including those of 'Ali and 'Umar.[14]

2. Orismos of 'Umar b. al-Khattab

"Thanks be to God who has made us glorious through the Islamic faith and honored us through belief and had mercy upon us through his prophet Muhammad (may God pray for him and peace be upon him), and who has led us from error and who has brought us together from the diaspora, through him, and has united our hearts and has given us victories over the enemies and has made us firm in the lands, and has made us friends in love. You worshipers therefore thank God for such grace. The present is my letter, of 'Umar b. al-Khattab which was given to the

honorable and revered patriarch of the imperial race, to Sophronius on the Mount of Olives in the land of the holy Jerusalem, a treaty and promise for the sustenance of the subjects and priests and monks and nuns, wherever they wish to be and to be found and so that they may have trust (empistosune) from us (for when the subject guards the duties of subjection he should have trust from us the faithful and from those who shall rule after us) and so that it shall remove from them those causes of troubles according to the submission and obedience which they have shown. And also so that they shall have trust over their churches and their monasteries and over all the other shrines in their possession, whcih are inside and outside Jerusalem. And these are Kamames (that is the church of the Resurrection) and the great church of the Nativity of Jesus (on whom be peace) in Bethlehem, and the grotto which has three gates, southern, northern and western; and so that the remaining Christian nations which are found there (that is Georgians and Ethiopians) and those who come for purpose of worship the Franks, Copts, Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites, shall be subject to and shall follow the aforementioned patriarch. And he shall be first over them, since these things were given by the honorable and beloved prophet, the messenger of the most exalted God, and were glorified by the seal of his honored hand, and he decreed that we should show benevolence to them and that they should have trust from us. Similarly we the faithful are benefactors to them in thanks and in honor to him who is a benefactor to them. Wherefore they wish to be free from the kharaj and from the kafari and to be freed from all the obligations and taxes on land and sea, and so that they might enter the Kamame and their remaining shrines and to pay nothing. The remaining Christians who come forth to the Kamame for worship shall pay one and one-third dirhem, each one, to the patriarch. Accordingly each believer, male and female, must guard all that we have decreed in the present letter, be he emperor, judge, or leader having authority over the earth, rich or poor from among the faithful, male or female. And this present decree of ours was given them in the presence of the gathering of honored friends, 'Abd-Allah, 'Uthman , Zaid son of Zeyid, [sic] 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf , and of the remaining brothers and honored friends. Let each make sure as to those things written in our letter and let him act according to it, leaving it again in their hands (i.e. the letter). May God pray and give peace on behalf of our Lord Muhammad and on his religion, and thanks to God, the lord of the worlds. For God is sufficient to us and is the best counsellor. It was written on the 20the of the month of Rebi' al-Awwal , in the 15th year of the prophetic hijra. Whosoever should read our present decree and violates it, from now and until the day of judgement he shall be a violator of the testament of God and a hater of his beloved messenger."[15]

For the moment I leave the document without any comment as to authenticity, period of composition, pausing only to indicate that it purports to asssure the Greek patriarchate of three things: Tax immunity for the clergy, possession of churches and property, and precedence over the other Christian nations in the shrines.

3. The next document in cod. pat. 428 is entitled "Decree of Mu'awiya," and is dated anno hijrae 60, anno domini 680. After the long pious introduction it reads as follows:

"As we entered the city of Damascus, there came before us a multitude of monks from an imperial race, bearing in their hands the testament of the prophet and testaments of the faithful rulers, of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, on whom be prayer and peace, and of the other disciples, and however many thereafter until the end of the world (there shall be), and they genuflected and petitioned for a decree to guard their churches and their monasteries, the Holy Sepulchre and the other shrines inside and outside Jerusalem; the Grotto of Bethlehem, which has three gates, where Christ was born, on whom be peace, and all other Christians from the other races are to be subservient to the patriarch of the Greeks and all monks are to be completely free from every burden and are not to be disturbed by anyone for the messenger of God freed them and after the messenger 'Umar b. al-Khattab. Let them thus also stand free by us and this, my decree, was given to them in treaty and pledge until the end of the world. May God pray and be merciful on our prophet and his disciples and faithful, in glory of the Lord of the whole world. We believe in the all-seeing God. In the eight month of Sha'ban, that is April. In the year of the Hijra 60 (May 680)."[16]

Again I shall limit myself here to the mere observation that this document purports to renew the privileged status of the patriarchate and its clergy first vouchsafed in the documents attributed to the prophet and in that ascribed to 'Umar.

4. These first three documents, allegedly belonging to the very earliest period in Islamic history, exhaust the repertoire of early documents to be found in cod. pat. 428 and they are followed in the fourth place by a decree of sultan Selim I, the conqueror of Palestine. It is in Arabic and is described as vasilikon autographon, with the imperial signature, or hatt-i sharif, and addressed to the Patriarch Dorotheus or Attalla.

The document, after a brief reference to Selim's conquest, states that the patriarch and clergy came before Selim, in Jerusalem, and petitioned that they should have, once more, in their possession those churches and shrines inside and outside of Jerusalem as they had once possessed them in the past, and this according to the ahidname (aktname) of 'Umar and according to the decrees of previous rulers. Selim then proceeds to confirm them in the petitioned possession of the places in detail.

"And I also decreed with this present holy decree of mine that he (the patriarch) shall have authority over the Mugtesel (church of the apokathelosis) lying to the south opposite the gate of the Kamame with its ancient two manoualia and the kandelas, the high and low of the 4 kamaron (arches, stoas?) which are located on the spot of Golgotha, belonging to the patriarchate; the above and below of the 7

kamares located on the so-called place of the mistress Mary; the middle of the great church, the Sepulchre and the dome with all these shrines; the three churches lying in the courtyard outside the Kamame, the church of St. John opposite these, the so-called church of Helen in the Patriarchate, and Saint Thekla; the (church of) Seianayian (of St. Anna), the monastery of St. Euthymius, of Saint Catherine, of saint Michael the Archangel, of St. George, of St. John (the Theologian) with the garden, of St. Basil, of St. Nicholas, of St. Demetrius, of the mistress Maria, another monastery of St. John and another church of his, St. Jacob (the son of Zebedaia) of the Georgians, the monastery of St. George, the grave of (our) mistress Mariam outside Jerusalem, Holy Sion, the prison of Jesus, the house of Anna, the graves on the plain, the monastery of the Cross of the Georgians, that of St. Symeon, that of St. Elios with the olive trees and vineyards, that of St. Sabba. That of St. George located in the village of Pei-touziala, the grotto of the nativity of Jesus in Bethlehem and the keys to the two doors toward the north and south, and the two pieces of garden about it and the olive tree and the graves, and all their churches and monasteries in the remaining villages, and the Georgians, Ethiopians and Serbians subservient to the patriarch, and all their dedications and the metropolitans and monks. And he is to gather the remains of the dead metropolitans and bishops and monks; and he is not to pay koumerkia and badji at the gate of Jerusalem and at Zemzem-souyiou (Jordan) and at Arap-kafari and in the ports, nor shall they make kiesfia. And they shall be free entirely from all the forced levies and they shall not be disturbed by another nation according to my present decree, but the patriarch of the Greeks shall have precedence over all the other nations. I have given according to the ahitname of 'Umar b. al-Khattab and according to the decrees of the preceeding rulers, and with the present holy decree of mine I decreed that the treatment shall proceed according to the said manner. And if after today either the rulers, or the most high vezirs, or 'ulama' or the soulehas, or qadis, or voivodes, or those of the bayt al-mal and kasims, or subashis, or zaims and timar spahis, or muteferrikas and chaouses, or spahis and janisaries, or simply the remaining servants and slaves of my court, should desire to overturn my present decree, such whoever they might be, shall be responsible before the wrath and the punishments of the exalted God. Allowing my holy decree in their hands let them show obedience. It was written in the year 923 of the hijra in Jerusalem."[17]

This is the first document from the newly inaugurated and long period of Ottoman hegemony in Palestine that deals with the patriarchate. There can be no doubt that Selim must have proceeded to a detailed regulation of the newly conquered province and that among the most important measures must have been those which sought to regulate the legal status of the patriarchate and specifically in its relation to state obligations as well as to its possessions. We must assume, as the document specifically states, that the patriarch did appear before the new conqueror and that at that time Selim issued a decree which in considerable detail outlined the rights of the patriarchate. The document is said to be vasilikon autographon (hatt-i

sherif) and so the translation is based on a contemporary document. We are therefore in the presence, undisputably, of the first genuine document in the collection of cod. pat. 428. The next item of interest is that the patriarch Dorotheus claims those churches, monasteries, and shrines inside and outside Jerusalem, that the patriarchate shall again have them just as it had them from the beginning. It is not clear whether he was reclaiming them and that they have been lost, or simply that he wants possession to be reconfirmed. What is clear is the antiquity of the claim which he makes and that it is based on the "holy ahitname of 'Umar and according to those decrees of preceding rulers." He introduces, and the Ottoman sultan accepts, the claim that their patriarchal possession goes back in the first instance to the document attributed to 'Umar and to those documents of later rulers down to the Ottoman conquest. It is, further, to be noticed that nowhere in this document is there mention of the Mamluks and their various decrees on the subject, though we know from the short list-catalogue of the Arabic documents that there were several decrees from the Mamluk chancellory in favor of the patriarchate. Toward the end of the decree Selim states specifically that he decrees "according to the Ahitname of 'Umar b. al-Khattab and according to the decrees of the preceding rulers," thus accepting the patriarchal proposition of the uninterrupted possession of places, rights, and preeminence from the time of 'Umar. The contents of Selim's decree set the general framework for the discussions and negotiations of all further Ottoman decrees in terms of the places of possession confirmed to the patriarchate, the tax status and immunities, and the right of precedence over the other Christian communities. As such it remained the fundamental document, along with that attributed to 'Umar, in cod. pat. 428.

5. Selim's successor, Sulayman Kanuni confirmed Selim's concessions with a hatt-i humayun in 933 at the time of his enthronement and he too refers to the ahitname of 'Umar and to the orismoi of earlier rulers which his father Selim had confirmed. He concludes his own decree with the words "No officials shall overturn the ahitname of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, and the decree of my father and my own previously given imperial orismos".[18]

6. The fifth document in cod. pat. 428 consists of a copy (ison?) of the hatt-i sherif of Sultan Murad IV dating to 1043 AH = 1631 AD, and it is addressed to the qadi and to the emir-oumaran of Jerusalem.

"....Let the patriarchs of the Greeks, according to their belief, take possession (of that) which was anciently their shrines: In the midst of Jerusalem in the so-called Kiam, where there is acknowledged in the church, on the south, of the Apokathelosis which is of old a share of the Greeks with the two manoualia and candles and kandelia, and the four arches (kamares) above Golgotha in that region, up and down, and the Grotto which is in so-called Bethlehem and where Christ was born, and the keys of the two doors on the right and left which are in it, and the two pieces of garden on both sides of the church. The race of the Franks came later and

by falsehood and trickery, having become one with the judges, with force they took possession and because of this the people of the Greeks fled afar and grew weak, the attrition of whom came to my ears. Now having summoned and brought two monks here to the City, in the presence of the teacher of teachers, of our lord Yahya Afandi Shaykh al-Islam , and of my great vizirs and kadiaskers, and with firm disposition have examined and found that the aforementioned lands belonged to the nation of the Greeks from the time of the master of the faithful haziret 'Umar (and from the time of the anciently ruling emperors of the Greeks) these belonged to them. And they found in their hands strong orismoi and it became evident that the Franks have nothing whatever to do with these matters, but we have acknowledged that the patriarch of the Greeks is worthy to command them. In addition there shall be given to the imaret of my merciful father sultan Ahmet Han in the guarded City the tenth from the gardens and olives and other fruit bearing trees, an expenditure annually of 1,000 kurus, neither more nor less."[19]

Murad IV restores possession of these places to the patriarchate, relegates the Franks to a secondary position in processional matters, forbids Muslim authorities to intervene in the collection of the 1,000 kurus for the imaret of Ahmet in Istanbul and generally reinstates the Greeks. Again that which is worthy of our attention is the contention of the Greeks, and its acceptance by the Sultan, that the formers' claims go back to 'Umar and the earlier rulers. New is the reference to the annual donation of the 1,000 kurus to the imaret in Istanbul and the inference that local authorities are intervening in its collection which of course means the imposition of an additional set of fees for the actual collection. The appearance of the Latins at some previous but undefined time of course constituted a major problem for the local Greeks and the conflict and competition over the Holy Places was complicated further, as we see from the next document, by the claims of the Armenians as well.

7. In the same year, 1043 = 1631 Murad IV issued another decree addressed to the mouteveli of Jerusalem, setting forth the details of the dispute over the Holy Places, this time between the Greeks and the Armenians.

"....There came from the side of the patriarch of the Greeks men who submitting an arzuhal announced that from the time that our rulers had conquered Jerusalem, here in the sanctified house which is in Kiam, at the time of the Visible Flame the Armenians and Georgians and Franks and Ethiopians and the remaining nations of the foreigners from the ends of the earth, in order, submit to the patriarchs of the Greeks and that the so-called nation, i.e.,the patriarch and monks of the Greeks and their nation had the custom of going first before all and to perform their service (in the) above-mentioned church both up and down and all around and opposite the door where they read the Gospel and worship and make the rounds according to their ceremonial and where they burn incense every night and light their candles from the mentioned Flame. But later the so-called Gregory the Armenian from Persia and those with him brought opposition to this order which had existed from

the time that Jerusalem had been captured and (which was) from the ancient rulers, and with the power of akches were united to the local police and taking a batch of huccet against the ancient order they disrupted the ancient custom and inside the aforementioned church with the power of the akches they trod upon the path of the Greeks. And we learned that they perpetrated an injustice in reading first and that they did not allow the patriarch to go first. And the latter (Greeks) brought forth their glorious orismoi to the glorious kaziaskers of the West and of the East and to the teacher of teachers... Ametoula and in company with the Armenians there took place a court hearing (mouraf) and we looked at the documents of both. The Armenians showed huccets from the time of the conquest of Jerusalem, (and they were) against the ceremonial of the Greeks. But it was made clear that they acquired them by the force of akches. Whereas the divine decrees found in the hands of the nation of the Greeks were genuine, having seen these my kadiaskers said that justice was on the side of the Greeks..."[20]

Murad thus orders the precedence of the Greek patriarch once more to be restored over all the other Christian nations.

8. One decade later the Latins had managed to take matters into their hands once more, the Greeks were dispossessed, they appealed to the sultan Ibrahim in 1054 = 1641, and once more the new sultan and brother of Murad IV, Ibrahim reinstated the Greek patriarch in his position of preeminence over the Holy Places. There is reference to the hearings of the Greeks and Franks in 1631 before the late Shaykh al-Islam Yahya and the latter's findings that these things belonged to the Greeks"... from the time of haziret 'Umar and those who ruled in ancient times ..."[21] Again both sultan and patriarch resort, in the last analysis, to justification on the basis of ancient custom.

9. Of an entirely new and different nature and contents is the hatt-i sherif of Mehmed son of Ibrahim dated 1064-1651, which gives us a detailed insight into another aspect of the patriarchate's problems at this time.

"....The Greeks who are to be found in Jerusalem sent to my majesty an arzuhal to the effect that they give a share to the waqf of sultan Ahmet and add, 'From the time that Jerusalem was taken by the Turks and up until now we have huccets and orismoi in our hands that we should pay nothing. Indeed from the time of haziret 'Umar we were given the privilege not to be disturbed by some other stranger. Now that we are weak there often arrives a mubashir (superintendent) from the beglerbeg of Sham and from the defterdar with a deceitful judgment bringing letters (or bearing letters) against our privileges. And both inside and outside the church there comes a ligeos without any cause and he says, without further ado 'you are to help us,' and they take our akches in great superfluity. Nor does this much suffice but they take-give (alis verish?) parades maxouzikous. He gives the kurus from 31 and it (he?) brings a kumas of Sham, which has 5 kurus, and he throws it to us for 30. As

for the afentikon koilon of wheat, which goes for ten madia in the bazaar, he 'tyrannizes' it for two kurus and he cuts it up into portions. And when we go to the Jordan according to our custom, it being customary for us (anteti) to give only three kurus on the water, they now take 4 kurus and tulnti (shelter?), and they only three kurus on the water, they now take 4 kurus and tulnti (shelter?), and they do many other injustices to us like these. And again in Kamame and in our churches and our convocations and in the waqfs of the Georgians and Ethiopians (which we hold in our hands with so many orismoi from haziret 'Umar and those who ruled in ancient times) we have authority (that) whosoever shall become patriarch of the Greeks shall take control of them and no one shall meddle in the waqfs. Because of this there was no custom for the Sham beglerbeg and defterdar to meddle in our clothes.' And according to ancient custom we were to light our candles from the Flame which comes forth and to make the rounds before the Armenians and Franks and other nations. And in the (church) of the Nativity of Christ, in the Grotto of Bethlehem, and as to the keys of the two doors on the north and south and the samountania and kandelia and the other things which are in the church, and the two pieces of garden and the graves, no one is to disturb these... And in these things they (the Greeks) asked of me (the sultan) a revered orismos and I have decided that you shall do as I ordain."[22]

So the sultan ordains that the beglerbeg of Sham and the defterdars shall not send officials to collect fees and to tax them, they are to leave their churches and monasteries alone and they are not to send collectors every forty days. They are to cease to force upon them the illegal rate of coinage. i.e. there are six paras to a kurus and so the Muslims are not to oppress them by demanding 30 paras to a kurus; and for the koumasia which have 5 kurus they are not to demand 30; for the grain whcih has 10 madia the koilon they are not to extract 2 kurus. When they go to Zemzem souyiou (Jordan river) you are not to demand 4 kurus instead of three. The patriarch of the Greeks is to control the Kamame, all their churches and monasteries and convocations, and the waqfs of the Georgians and Ethiopians "which were granted from the time of haziret 'Umar and those who ruled of old." They are to light candles and to make their circuit before the other nations, before the Armenians and Franks, according to ancient custom. Their rights over the Grotto of Bethlehem are to be maintained. Then the sultan lists in detail all those officials who are to desist from molesting the Greek church: "beglerbegs, voivodes, subasis, zaims, timar spahis, mutefferikas, caus, spahis, janissaries, and other slaves of the court and 'dynasts' and whatsoever others."

It is of some interest to note that this is the first document in the collection of cod. pat. 428 which describes fiscal rapacity and extortion from the part of the provincial administration at the expense of the Greek patriarchate and clergy. The decree of Selim issued in 1517 established their tax immunity and the subsequent documents refer primarily to the problems which the patriarchate was having from other Christian rivals, primarily Franks and Armenians, in the dispute over the Holy

Places and the income deriving from the pilgrimage. It is only in their document, dated 1651 in the reign of the sultan Mehmed son of Ibrahim that the Greek clergy complain about the violation of their exempt tax status, but they do so with very specific details and charges. They have come to Istanbul where they lodged an arzuhal (petition), setting out a detailed bill of particulars. They acknowledge, and pay, the share (kesimi) of the waqf of Sultan Ahmet in Istanbul, a new burden which was imposed after the establishment of their tax immunity by Selim I, and then they display all their documents demonstrating that (1) they are free from paying anything at all since the time of the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem and, (2) they refer to their orismos from the time of 'Umar not to be disturbed by any stranger, i.e. to pay nothing. In this arzuhal the monks refer to detailed fiscal exactions in a manner which conjures up a more general situation in the provinces that is in consonance with the decline of Ottoman central authority elsewhere. The provincial administrative structure is becoming more and more independent of central authority and more arbitrary in its behavior to the provincial society which it purports to govern. As such this document introduces us to a new phase in the history of the Jerusalem patriarchate under Ottoman rule: This is the period of fiscal extortion and ruination.

10. Five years later, in 1656-57, the Greek monks are back in Istanbul with a complaint, by now familiar, that the Armenians were usurping rights of the Greek patriarchate. The dispute concerns rights over the Holy Places, and specifically the status of the Ethiopians. The Ottoman document gives a short review of the controversy. All these places, says the sultan Mehmet, belong to the Greeks as proven by a decree of 'Umar, written in kufic, and by the decrees of Selim and Sulayman. This status had been confirmed a second time by Mehmet's grandfather Ahmet on the basis of the ahitname of Omar. Now some time ago the Armenians had produced a forged huccet and on that basis had usurped rights of the Greeks. But in the time of Mehmet's uncle Murad,there was a hearing(murafa'a),the Armenians were found to be lying, and the Greeks received a huccet and a hatt-i sharif. Presently the Armenians claim that the Ethiopians and their shrines are yamak of the Armenians. But in the present murafa the papers of both sides having been examined, it emerges that Ethiopians, Copts, Syrians, and Georgians and their shrines are the yamaks of the Greeks.

The sultan thus harks back to the documents not only of his own ancestors but to those of the caliphs back to the time of'Umar![23]

11. Conditions had evidently worsened some three decades later, as is evident from the tenth document in cod. pat. 428, a copy of a hatt-i sheriff of sultan Mehmet on behalf of the tax exempt status (mouafi) of the patriarchal clergy and addressed to the pasha and qadi of Jerusalem. The patriarch and the Jerusalem monks had once more submitted an arzuhal to the sultan in Istanbul in which they asserted that they had been muaf (tax exempt) from the time of the prophet and of

'Umar b. al-Khattab as a result of a document given to them at that time. Further, that sultan Selim and sultan Sulayman, and successively the following sultans, had given them hatt-i sherifs saying that they were muaf. In addition, the monks assert that they give annually to the mosque of sultan Ahmet in Istanbul 1,000 kurus, aslania. "But the governors of Jerusalem and the qadis, coming to Jerusalem not being satisfied with the willing donation from the part of the monks of genuflection and of broadcloth (cuha), kumas, and tzahtshirion, they violently demand help on the pretext that they are emirs of the hajj, saying, "Give to us the 500 kurus which you give for the monasteries and perform for us friendship (hospitality = lodging), or in the place of friendship give us akches, give us yamurluks with golden buttons and come to greet us every month with peshkesh,' and again (they say) 'Give us a small help'. And further (the Greeks added) that the Christians who are inside the city of Jerusalem from of old and from the beginning give nothing above and beyond the kharaj. The pashas of Jerusalem however demand from them husmet and assistance and other similar things, and if they do not give these things willingly they (pashas) take them by force. Similarly the qadis after they receive the above, willingly-given peshkesh of the monks, they come and demand kuntumi (that is akches for welcoming) and in addition antamosin (encounter) every month with peshkesh, and instead of friendship (hospitality) akches, and in addition they say: "Bring the huccets which you have so that we may seal them,' so that they can take the akches (which indeed they do take), and further (they say) 'bring akches for strosimata (bedding?),' and in addition to these 'Bring aid again'', and if we do not give these they terrorize us saying 'We shall rouse the people and shall come against you and shall tear down your churches which are close to the mosques.' They further say, 'You hung candlelabras without permission and you fixed wooden closets and stasidia and stools. You laid out tiles, you painted murals, you put asbestos on walls, you dug cisterns, you built mills and walls of gardens, and repaired churches. Therefore, either bring akches or we shall hold keshfi and shall destroy these things. Then we shall put you in the Kale and shall record your arzi and we shall destroy you.' The document goes on to refer to agents sent by the Pasha of Sham for surveys, and then he demands money supposedly on their behalf. Further, the sultan states that the governors and all the other Turks who go on pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Abraham extract hospitality from the monks in their monasteries in Bethlehem.

The document states: "The governing pashas and qadis having as their object the amassing of akches say 'We wish to go to the shrine of Abraham with all the elders of the land and so prepare, without delay, a konak and hospitality in Bethlehem, because we wish to stay there, that is to say in your monastery and in your church, and if you do not wish to do so, then bring us so many akches and then we will not come.' Further, when the patriarch is about to go to the city (Istanbul) or elsewhere in the land of the ruler, they demand so much to give him permission to leave. And again, when he comes either from the city (Istanbul) or from another region they

demand samourogounais (furs of samur) and akches and other peshkesh. Further in the outer monasteries and vineyards and fields there sometimes occur murders and they thus find the opportunity and demand akches."[25] The violations of the church's rights have reached into the area of land tenure as well, the violators alleging that the huccets and decrees which the monks have are no longer valid. The sultan records that he had previously given two decrees in order to put an end to all these arbitrary and violent acts at the expense of the rights of the Greek patriarchate but to no avail. Such was the arbitrary behavior of the local authorities that he records the following incident. "And since these two decrees were not effective, (and particularly with the second decree the patriarch himself went alone to Jerusalem and the pasha and the qadi told him, 'Why did you bring a second decree? We shall now want to collect double and triple') and no longer being able to bear this the monks flee Jerusalem and scatter about."[26] The sultan once more decrees that governors and qadis are no longer to demand or to receive anything from the patriarch and the monks.

This decree indicates that by the late 17th century the rapacity of provincial officialdom had become institutionalized, that this officialdom was sufficiently removed from control to ignore the decrees, repeated decrees, of the sultan. The mere repetition is sufficient to indicate the degree of the collapse of the central authority. This was the third decree of Mehmet directed at the rapacity of the qadis and governors at the expense of the patriarchate.

12. Document number eleven gives the eleven chapter headings of a hatt-i sheriff of sultan Ahmet dated 1704 which now presents us with an almost constitutional document which says, in those eleven chapter headings, exactly what it is that the officials may not do to the Christians or demand of them. It is no longer an ad hoc adumbration of a by now familiar subject. Rather, it is an institutionalization, a full institutionalization of the prohibitions, which were themselves called into being by an institutionalization, at the provincial level, of the evils of Ottoman administration at its worst. It sets out the following eleven principles:

a) That the monks and the Greeks who are in Jerusalem are muaf (exempt) with so many hatt-i sherifs, but so that they will get along with the judges they willingly decided to give so much. But a number of the judges, as they are unjust, have made many innovations against them, and so we henceforth decree that no one shall be able to take from them anything more than what they give willingly...

b) Those hatt-i sherifs and the decrees and the huccets, the old ones, and the hatt-i sherifs of my uncle the sultan Ahmet and of my brother the sultan Mustafa shall be valid.

c) The third chapter forbids the qadis or other outsiders to subject the possession of Greeks, Georgians and Ethiopians to keshfi, teftish or yoklama.

d) "The pashas shall not be able to summon the patriarch or his epitropos to come out to greet him monthly with peshkesh."

e) "They shall not be able to demand that they (Greeks) should prepare for them their chambers."

f) They shall not demand hizmet nor shall they devise other means for demanding anyting from them.

g) "When the pashas demand akches and they do not give them they (pashas) shall not be allowed to put the monks in prison or beat them or torture them."

h) "The levends of the pashas shall not enter the monasteries demanding to eat and to bother them."

i) "They shall not place among the Christians a protogeron nor shall they demand anything from them."

j) "The pashas, when they go forward to the amir hajj and when they return, they shall not demand loans, or assistance (imdat) or gifts."

k) "The Franks, if they have much and give much, yet they shall not be allowed to demand so much as governors also from the Greeks, neither shall they be allowed to say, "They gave so much, you shall also give."[27]

13. Shortly after the death of Ahmet, in the same year (1704) his nephew issued another firman on behalf of the Greeks of Jerusalem and in the preamble he brings their history up to date.

"...Know that the patriarch of the Greeks in Jerusalem and the Greeks and Georgians and the monks, subjects who dwell about Jerusalem, have made a petition to my rule that they, from the time that they submitted and paid different sums, my ancestors freed them from these by imperial document and this was validated by many other decrees. And the judges there caused them no difficulty for these fees. But in the preceding years (preceding the moment of the present decree), in order to get along with the judges and musselims (soldiers?) they willingly gave to the pashas something and they made gift to them: for their arrival 17 aslania and for their retinue 3 aslania; they gave the pashas 75 kurus, and to their kethuda 7 kurus and to the pasha choha and atlaz and for service 500 kurus, and to his kethuda 50 kurus and for his retinue 14 kurus; and every month they gave the pasha 25 kurus and his kethuda 7 and to his retinue 3 kurus; and to the pasha an atlaz for easter from Haleppo and to his kethuda 6 kurus and to his retinue 4 kurus and for expenses 4 kurus, and to his dragoman 200 kurus and to his kethuda 20 and to his retinue 4 or 3. And they gave all this correctly in one year and they gave nothing beyond this nor did the judges take anything beyond this and the Greeks had repose in this matter. But some of the pashas were not satisfied with those things which the Greeks paid willingly and they did not respect the written documents which the Greeks had, and

subjecting them to injustice. They demanded more and took it by force. Often decrees were given them and supervisors, and the situation would calm down until at some later time again the pashas there would magnify the injustice, making it greater from year to year, aside from all that which they and the muslims took by violence."[28]

The firman indicates that when the Greeks present their documents to the local authorities, they answer that inasmuch as these are from past sultans they are no longer valid. They continue their exactions, choosing one from the Greeks, the epitropos of the patriarch, and forcing him to come to them each month to greet them and they force him to pay money. On the pretext of reexamining the status of their churches they take further money from them and in this they are aped by the muslims. As a result of the frequent extortion a very great many of the monks, being unable to pay, have fled and the remainder groaning under such a burden are also prepared now to flee. Therefore the officials are not to collect any more than was formerly and freely given by the Greeks. The sultan remarks that the pashas go about the churches and monasteries demanding the illegal exactions, food, and drink and they threaten to burn down the churches and monasteries if these demands are not met."

In this, the thirteenth in the series of documents contained in cod. pat 428, we see reflected the full evolution of the status and problems of the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem under Ottoman rule prior to the nineteenth century. Of the remaining six documents all save the last are reiterations of the themes already familiar to us from the preceding documents: Internal administrative affairs of the patriarchate (14), differences with the Armenians (16) and Franks (15, which concerns large-scale conversion of Greek Orthodox to the Catholic faith), fiscal extortion by the local Muslims (17-18). The nineteenth and last document is dated 1805, is addressed to all Ottoman administrative and military authorities between Jerusalem and Istanbul requesting them to expedite the travel of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The subject is new, it is significant, and the appearance of the Russians is symptomatic of a new era in the history of the Ottoman Empire and of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. We are in the aftermath of the treaty of Kuchuk Kaynardji and on the eve of the Greek revolution.

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NOTES

1 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1897).
2 **Analecta,** IV, 440.
3 **Analecta,** IV, 440-442. Number 21 is a huccet dated 1491 and deals with a dispute involving Latins and Georgians.
4 On dispute involving Boré, **Analecta,** III, 216, note 1.
5 **Analecta,** IV. 15-38.
6 **Analecta,** IV, 39-47.
7 **Analecta,** IV, 48-52.
8 **Analecta,** IV, 63.
9 **Analecta,** III, 124-332. Of particular interest are pages 457ff, which record the Ottoman rage at and reaction to the Greek Revolution of 1821, as it was manifested in Ottoman policy toward the patriarchate in Jerusalem.
10 **Analecta,** IV, 401-438.
11 **Analecta,** IV, 440.
12 **Analecta,** III, 216-218.
13 The question of the time of composition of cod. pat. 428 remains open. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his Jerusalem Bibliography I, 422-423, gives as the time of its composition the 17th-18th century. Thus it is unclear whether it was composed in one sitting, so to speak, or whether it was an accumulative document composed by more than one person over a period of time.
14 **Analecta** IV, 401.
15 The Greek translation of this documetn is that of Procopius Araboglu and not that of cod. pat. 428, **Analecta,** III, 216-218. Papadopoulos-Kerameus preferred it, probably because he found the translation of cod. pat. 428 unsatisfactory in terms of the Greek language employed.
16 **Analecta,** IV, 403-404.
17 Again in this instance Papdopolos-Kerameus preferred the Greek translation of Procopius Araboglu to the Greek translation in cod. pat. 428, **Analecta,** III, 219-222.
18 This translation was omitted from Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition of cod. pat. 428.
19 **Analecta,** IV, 405-407.
20 **Analecta,** IV, 407-410.

21 **Analecta**, IV, 410-412.
22 **Analecta**, IV, 412-414.
23 **Analecta**, IV, 415-417.
24 **Analecta**, IV, 418-419.
25 **Analecta**, IV, 419-420.
26 **Analecta**, IV, 420.
27 **Analecta**, IV, 422-423.
28 **Analecta**, IV, 423-425.
29 **Analecta**, IV, 427-437.

CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

John Wilkinson

In 333 A.D. a traveller arrived in Jerusalem. He had come all the way across the Roman Empire from Bordeaux to see the holy places, and the report he made happens to be the first detailed picture of these holy places to have survived.[1] Luckily for us this pilgrim had a passion for accuracy. Indeed he took the trouble to record the exact distance between each of the staging-points on his journey, three hundred and thirty of them.

As all Christians believed, the city of Jerusalem was "the fountain-head from which the river of salvation had sprung forth into the world"[2]. But the Christian community in Jerusalem had at no time in its history been numerous or strong until the days of the Emperor Constantine. Only one small church building had existed in the city,[3]which in the earliest times had served a Christian group largely composed of Jews, and when Jews were expelled from the city[4] in the second century by Hadrian, was large enough for the Gentile Christians there for about two hundred and fifty years. At this period Jerusalem, or Aelia Capitolina as it was then called, was important as a military headquarters, and as the market town for the large district which it controlled. But in other respects there was no visible difference which would enable the visitor to distinguish it from any other country town of the Roman empire, except for the strange fact that it contained a large agricultural area inside the walls. This lay to the east of the city, and it was surrounded by piles of large blocks of stones which had been thrown down from the massive wall which had encircled it. It had of course been the place where the Jews had had their Temple, but it was deliberately kept under cultivation. As far as religion was concerned the visitor would notice the temples which Hadrian had built to Jupiter Capitolinus and to Venus, and, if he had known enough to enquire, he would be shown the wheat fields and vineyards where the Temple had stood, and would realise that they had a message: that at least for Jerusalem, Judaism was an episode of past history. Even the name Jerusalem became unfamiliar[5], and early Arab writings show that "Aelia" was still a normal name for the city four centuries after Constantine.

The holy places shown to the Bordeaux pilgrim reflect the humble position of the Christians in Jerusalem. Though at the time of his visit things were changing, and he was shown two fine new basilicas which had been provided by the Emperor, they are in fact the only churches he mentions in Jerusalem, and the rest of the holy places were either well-known landmarks which Christians explained in their own way, or

else unobtrusive features of the city which they could visit without attracting attention. The first things the pilgrim saw were the ancient pools by Bab el Asbat, Birket Sitti Mariam and Birket Isra'il, and two a little further inside which he was correctly told were the pools of Bethesda. This had until twenty years before his visit been used by non-Christian Romans as a healing sanctuary, and its pagan use then probably ceased. But the pilgrim says nothing which would make us suppose that it had yet become a Christian holy place, despite the fact that the Lord Jesus had gone there and cured a man of paralysis.[6] Since the Jerusalem pools were essential to the city's water supply they were carefully maintained, and most if not all of them had been in continuous use since at the latest the time of Herod the Great. But their names had not all been correctly remembered, and when the pilgrim, later in his visit, was shown Siloam, he was told that a pool just inside the city wall was the one where Jesus sent a blind man for healing, whereas it seems more likely that the name Siloam was in Jesus' time used for the nearby pool outside the wall, which is now a garden. Certainly the pool inside the wall was a good deal more attractive, since some one, perhaps Emperor Hadrian, had surrounded it with a colonnade.[8]

Besides the pools Jerusalem contained a good number of ruins when our pilgrim came on his visit, and some of these were explained to him in terms of the Christian tradition. The most impressive were the ruins of the Temple enclosure which, as we know, had been completely rebuilt by King Herod three centuries before. But the guide explained it all as if it was at least a thousand years old: it had to do either with Solomon, or with Zechariah, whose bloodstains could still be seen, or with King Hezekiah, whose palace, as pointed out by the guide, is likely to have been the lofty ruins of the fortress which Herod had built and named Antonia. Outside the enclosure the pilgrim was taken to see more ruins which had been associated with the events of the Gospels, including a House of the High Priest Caiaphas on the hill which Christians had come to call Sion, and a House (or Praetorium) of Pilate, down in the valley near Bab al-Silsilah. As he passed the old palace which was by then the residence of the Roman city governor, he was told it was the Palace of David.

None of these ruins or buildings appear to have been Christian property. They seem to have been the features of the city regularly pointed out by those who guided the Christians. Educated Christians, like Jerome later in the century,[9] were well aware that most of what the guides told the pilgrims was entirely fanciful.

Besides the pools, the ruins, and the two churches, the pilgrim was also shown an assortment of other sites. The highest remaining corner of the enclosure wall of the Temple was said to be the pinnacle to which Satan had taken the Lord Jesus to tempt him, though the pinnacle to which the Gospels refer was certainly part of the Temple building itself. The two tomb monumeets in the Kidron Valley which we know as those of Absalom and Zechariah were pointed out as those of Isaiah and Hezekiah. And the guides had a dramatic story telling how St James was thrown

down from the so-called pinnacle of the Temple into the Kidron Valley below. We should take note of the fact that this story was already over a century old,[10] as well as being incorrect.[11] Then there were the smaller features, like the rock in Gethsemane where the Lord Jesus had prayed before his arrest, or the palm tree from which children had picked branches when Jesus rode into Jerusalem on the donkey.

Enough has been said to show the character of Christian pilgrimage places in Jerusalem during the reign of Constantine. To most of us who live in Jerusalem the picture is all too familiar, as we hear snatches of the explanations which modern guides give their groups. But simply because it is so familiar we may find it the easier to interpret. The question which interests me is whether all this apparatus of pilgrimage had been developed during the fifteen years during which Constantine had brought the Christians to political prominence, or whether it was something older. Indeed it is reasonable to ask whether in earlier times there had even been such a thing as Christian pilgrimage, for, unlike Muslims, Christians have never regarded pilgrimage as one of the pillars of their faith.

In order to understand this question we should examine what the Emperor Constantine decided to do in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. As Eusebius explains it[12] the Emperor decided to build his splendid new churches at three particular places, all of them of central importance in the Gospels. They are Bethlehem, where the Lord Jesus was born; Jerusalem, where at the place called Golgotha Christians believe that he was crucified, buried, and raised from the dead; and the Mount of Olives, from which he was taken up into heaven, and to which Christians expect him to return at the end of the world, to judge the living and the dead. In fact these are the places which summarise the Christian belief about the Lord Jesus, as we can tell by repeating the central part of one of the oldest Christian creeds with these three places in mind:

(1) I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord.
He was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary.

(2) He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried.
He descended to the dead.
On the third day he rose again.

(3) He ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
He will come again to judge the living and the dead.

Evidently Constantine chose the three places in order to declare to his empire the essentials of the Christian faith. His decision was a natural consequence of his desire to encourage and unite Christians all over the provinces he ruled. And to encourage pilgrimage would be to bring Christians of different origins to a place where they could be in touch with the roots of their faith. Hence Constantine might, if it had been necessary, have invented Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Yet the pilgrimage we have examined hardly looks like a practice which had grown up in a mere fifteen years. Some of the stories told by the guides evidently belonged to the guiding tradition of earlier centuries, like the one about the martyrdom of St James, which surely originated in Jerusalem. And Constantine did not build merely churches, but churches over holy caves, which had been in existence long before. Let us consider these caves.

The one whose history we know least is that on the Mount of Olives, which came to be thought of as the place where the Lord Jesus taught his disciples the so-called "Lord's Prayer", beginning with the words "Our Father". But this seem to be a commemoration which goes back either to the time of the Latin Kingdom or a little before.[13] The earlier tradition was that Christ taught there, but taught not the words of this prayer, but about the ending of the world. And the first author who refers to the cave, if indeed it is this one, also mentions it as a place where Jesus taught, though the teaching there described is highly unorthodox.[14] Since the writer was active before the reign of Constantine it seems that a cave on the Mount of Olives was already believed to have associations with the Lord Jesus before Constantine worked out his policy and built a church over it.

We are told that both the other caves, the one at Bethlehem and the one at Golgotha, had deliberately been transformed into places of pagan Roman worship. We do not know whether Constantine was the first to reclaim the Bethlehem cave for Christian use, or whether the Christian community had already taken it over before he built the new church there.[16] But all the excavations at the Golgotha site suggest that Eusebius was right in telling us that a Roman temple had stood there, and that it completely covered the rock tomb in which Christians believed that the Lord Jesus had been buried. The pagan worship was installed, according to Jerome,[18] in Hadrian's reign.

For some time I did not really believe all this. After all Eusebius and Jerome were describing the moment in history when Christians took over for their own use two places where non-Christians had been worshipping. I used to think that perhaps they were reading back their own motives into the minds of Hadrian when he took over Jerusalem two centuries before. But I think now that they were both right. I do think that Hadrian saw the Christians in Jerusalem as a Jewish sect, and that he wanted to prevent them using Jerusalem as a holy city in the same way that he wanted to turn the Jews out. But if Hadrian did so, then we learn that already before his time Christians had been visiting these caves to pray about the birth and the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. So we seem to have an answer to our question. Constantine does not seem to have invented the idea of Christian pilgrimage as a political convenience, though he may have taken over the practice of pilgrimage and included it in his programme. The practice itself goes back, if our interpretation is correct, to at least the time of Hadrian, and that takes us to within a century of the life of the Lord Jesus himself.

The Bordeaux pilgrim witnessed the Christian way of using the holy places in Jerusalem at a time before there were many churches. But the next pilgrim, probably a nun called Egeria from Galicia in Spain,[19] came about fifty years later, and by that time there were new churches on Mount Sion, in Gethsemane, and at Bethany, as well as a sanctuary of rather different kind surrounding the rock on the Mount of Olives from which the Lord was taken up into heaven. In her time the Christians of Jerusalem and many like her who had come from other parts of the world used to make a joint pilgrimage to all these churches to pray in them during what they called the "Great Week" before Easter. This pilgrimage was led by the bishop himself, and was very different from the guided tour described by the pilgrim from Bordeaux. Perhaps the practices of the Great Week influenced the pattern of later pilgrimages, which after Egeria's time begins to settle into a regular round of visits to churches and chapels, all of which appear, as we should expect, on the Madaba Map.

This round of visits or, as we might call it, the "Jerusalem circuit", appears with very slight variations in pretty well all the pilgrim writings from the fifth to the ninth centuries.[20] When a foreigner arrived at the gate of the Holy City he sometimes stooped to kiss the ground. Then he went to Golgotha, and prayed at the place where the Cross stood and at the Holy Sepulchre. This always seems to have been the first place they visited and the most important. From the Holy Sepulchre they went up Suq al-Bazar towards the Jaffa Gate, and turned south to visit the Church of Holy Sion, and the nearby chapel of St Peter's Tears. Next they went down towards Bab al-Silsilah, and those who came in the late sixth century were shown on the way the enormous Nea, or New Church of St Mary which stood above the present Burj al-Kibrit, which had been built by the Emperor Justinian.

By Bab al-Silsilah they were taken into St Sophia, where they prayed at a stone on which they were told Jesus had had to stand when he was being judged by Pontius Pilate. Then some of them went south down the street which led to Siloam, and prayed in the church there, but the next visit was always to the Church near Bab al-Asbat which stood beside the pools of Bethesda. Here we may notice that the Jerusalem circuit was not a procession like the more recent Stations of the Cross, which offered a series of commemotations in historical order, but one which started with the most important holy place and worked round the rest in an order which was geographically convenient. And it is convenient. I took some students round on the circuit a couple of months ago, and completed the whole circuit without effort in two hours.

From Bab al-Asbat the pilgrims went down to Gethsemane, where they prayed at the Church in the Garden where the Lord prayed, and, from the middle of the fifth century when there was a church there, at the Tomb of the Virgin. They then went up the Mount of Olives and prayed in the church Constantine had built over the cave of Christ's teaching, and at the sanctuary of the Ascension. The Circuit ended

by a walk to Bethany to pray at the church at the Tomb of Lazarus, though I must admit that the students and I did not include this in our two hours.

Christian pilgrimage in Jerusalem is, I believe, a practice so ancient that we can trace it back to within a hundred years of the life of the Lord Jesus. Since in these early times the Christians were few and politically insignificant, pilgrimage was made to unobtrusive places which did not necessarily belong to their community, and in the account written by the pilgrim from Bordeaux we gain a clear impression of the sorts of landmarks and features of the city which were pointed out and explained. We have also seen that many of them were from a historical standpoint explained wrongly, but this was not perhaps of great significance to pilgrims, who came to pray, not to have their faith scientifically proved. And I think that after the time of Constantine, when Christians had the backing and the financial means to make Jerusalem their own, they changed the older form of pilgrimage, and came to adopt a regular round of visits to pray in churches. And I cannot help asking, as I look at the Madaba Map, whether this was necessarily a change for the better.

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NOTES

1 **Itinerarium Burdigalense, ed.** P. Geyer and O.Cuntz in **Itinera et alia geographica, (= Itin.) Corpus Christianorum (= CChr) (Series Latina)** 175 (Turnhout 1965) 1-26: 12-20 are concerned with the Holy Land, and are translated in J.Wilkinson, **Egeria's Travels,** (London 1971) 153-163.

2 Eusebius of Caesarea, **Laudes Constantinianae** 9, J.P. Migne, **Patrologia** Graeca **(= PG)** 20.1369.

3 Epiphanius of Salamis, **Weights and Measures 54c** (ed. Dean, p. 30, **PG** 43.261)

4 Eusebius, **Church History (= EH)** IV.5.6 and V.12.

5 Eusebius, **Martyrs of Palestine** 11.9-10.

6 St John 5.2; Eusebius **EH** IV.26.14, VI.11.12, Origen, **Contra Celsum** 1.51, 4.44.

7 See the present writer's theory in **Levant** 10 (1978) 116-25.

8 if it was the **tetranymphon** mentioned in **Chron. Pasch., PG** 92.613.

9 Jerome, **Comm. Matt. 23.25,** ed. d.Hurst and M.Adriaen, **CChr** 77, 219f.

10 See the earlier writers cited by Eusebius, **EH** II. 1.4, 23.18.

11 Josephus, **Antiquities of the Jews,** XX. 200.

12 Eusebius, **Life of Constantine, (= VC)** III.25, 33, 41.

13 First mentioned, as far as the present writer is aware, in 1102 A.D. by Saewulf, **Relatio** 34.

14 **Acts of John,** 97, 102, translated in E. Hennecke, ed. **New Testament Apocrypha,** vol. 2, London 1965, 232, 234.

15 Jerome, **Letter 58.3,** J.P.Migne, **Patrologia Latina** 22.531.

16 Eusebius, **VC,** III. 43.

17 **Ibid.** 26

18 Jerome, **loc. cit.**

19 **Itinerarium Egeriae,** text in **Itin,** 35-103, translated by the present writer as **Egeria's Travels,** London 1971.

20 A translation of these texts is available by the present writer in **Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades,** Warminster 1978.