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The Land of Palestine As Mirrored in Western Guide Books of the Closing Ottoman Period

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Europeans had been travelling to Palestine as pilgrims to the Christian Holy Places from the Byzantine period onwards, and the advent of Islam in the 7th century did not diminish the enthusiasm of would-be pilgrims, although the changes of political control in the area made the pilgrims status rather more precarious. Accessibility or otherwise of the Holy Places would now depend on political considerations, such as the fluctuations of Arab-Byzantine warfare in northern Syria and the efficacy of intercession by Byzantium or the Latin Christian powers on behalf of their co-religionists. Only during the periods of crusader dominance in the city of Jerusalem (1099-1187 and 1229-44) was unfettered access temporarily restored.

A trying feature of travel through the Palestinian countryside during these centuries, and one which remained a problem till the mid-19th century, was the control of all the territory outside the towns and villages by the Bedouin. Their hold on the countryside may well have antedated the Arab invasions of the 7th century, for the Byzantines had made extensive use of semi-sedentarised, semi-Christianised Arabs, like the chiefs of the Ghassānids and their followers, as frontier auxiliaries (the **must' ariba** of the early Islamic sources), and the degree of control of the Ghassānid princes—who never themselves acquired a fixed capital in the Palestine-southern Syria region—over their tribal followings must have varied from time to time. The Bedouins' hold on the countryside certainly became a reality in Islamic times, and especially after the downfall of the Umayyads in 750, when the degree of social and political control exercised from the great Umayyad royal domains and centres of agricultural exploitation, such as Mafjar and Minya, and doubtless at centres like Ramla and Qadas, was relaxed and grandually disappeared as the 'Abbāsids increasingly neglected Palestine and Syria in favour of Iraq and the East. The accounts of the western pilgrims and travellers in Palestine are henceforth full of the vexations, the frequent violence and the universal pecuniary mulcts, endured by them at the hands of the Bedouin. The Scottish traveller William Lithgow's journeyings in Syria and Palestine in the early 17th century were the subject of a paper presented by the present author at the First Bilād al-Shām Conference ("William Lithgow of

Lanark's travels in Syria and Palestine, 1611-1612", printed in **Jnal. of Semitic Studies**, XX/2 [Autumn 1975], 219-35); at various points in his journey from Damascus to Jerusalem he was compelled to pay out money to the local Turks and Arabs as **Khifāra** or protection money (what he called "caffares").

In the course of the 19th century, however, conditions in Palestine changed. The Ottoman authorities had always left much local power in Palestine to powerful Arab families. The invasion of the Napoleonic army at the beginning of the century and the Egyptian occupation of 1831-40 by Ibrāhīm Pāshā b. Muhammad 'Alī dissolved ancient political and social relationships in the region, and Ibrāhīm's administration in particular made political control from the top more of a reality. The restoration of power in 1840 to the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Mejīd did not affect the gradual process of the pacification of the countryside and the tentative steps towards modernisation in administration and social organisation. Previously, the Ottoman authorities had appointed officials in Palestine, with a **mutessellim** representing the governor of Damascus or Sidon in Jerusalem itself, though the essentially Arab character of the province had hardly been changed by this upper layer of Turks; within the towns, the families of leading Arab notables had remained influential, whilst the countryside had been largely left to the Bedouins. Until almost the middle of the 19th century Christian and Jewish populations in the towns were at the mercy of the ruling class, whilst travellers through the countryside might be attacked and robbed almost to the gates of Nazareth, Bethlehem or Jerusalem. Ibrāhīm was motivated by the ideal of a strong, centralised government and the hopes of securing support from the **Western Powers** against his Ottoman suzerain in Istanbul. Hence he put into effect in Palestine policies of disarming the local population and of securing co-operation of the urban civilian elements at least by enlisting them in the administration and forming consultative bodies. The inauguration of the **Tanzīmāt** or reform period in Ottoman government, from the **Khatt-i Sherif** of Gulhane (1839) onwards, began the slow process of lifting disabilities from the non-Muslim sections of the Ottoman population, especially numerous in Palestine, so that Christian Arabs began now to play a part in political and economic life more proportionate to their numbers, whilst Jewish immigration into Palestine increased.

A corollary of these trends was increased Western interest in Palestine in general and in the Holy Places in particular. Already, Sultan **Maḥmūd** II had granted to the Greek Orthodox permission to restore the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after the disastrous fire of 1808, but this had been obstructed by the Janissaries inciting the Muslim population. The traditional French protectorate over the Latin Church in the Levant, and now over the Uniate Catholic Churches also, dating back to Crusader times, was renewed in 1847 in the shape of a resident Patriarch. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. In 1841 a joint Anglican-Lutheran bishopric of Jerusalem, to be filled alternately by British and German Protestant

ecclesiastics, was set up at the instigation of the Prussian King Frederick William IV. The Russian Orthodox Church, backed by the Tsarist government, showed itself active amongst the indigenous Orthodox of Syria and Palestine by the foundation of schools, etc. In 1841 the Jewish community of Jerusalem was granted by the sultan the right to have a chief rabbi, **Hākhām Bāshī**, of its own. Symptomatic of the climate favouring a relaxation of religious disabilities, at least in the legal sphere, brought about by the **Tanzīmāt** reforms, was the abolition at the time of the **Khatt-i Humāyūn** of 1856 of the prohibition of non-Muslims from entering the **Haram al-Sharīf** and the restoration of bells, prohibited since the time of Ṣalāḍīn's reconquest of Jerusalem, to Christian churches. Much repairing and restoration of churches was done, and certain churches formally made over by the Ottoman sultan to those Western sovereigns claiming to protect specific religious groups. Thus the Church of St. Ann in the **Ṭarīq Bāb Sitt Maryam** (the **Ṣalāḥiyya**) was in 1856 presented to the Emperor of the French Napoleon III by the sultan and taken over by the White Fathers or Carmelites, and the ancient church-hospice of the Knights of St. John (the **Mūrīstān**) was in 1869 presented for the use of the German Evangelical Church on the occasion of the Crown Prince of Prussia's visit and consecrated in the personal presence of the Empress Augusta Victoria in 1898.

Consulates and vice-consulates of the European Powers began to appear in Palestine: in Jerusalem, by Britain in 1838, followed by France, Prussia, Sardinia, Spain and the USA. Modern communications were established: by 1865 Jerusalem had a telegraph link, in 1868 the first road passable for wheeled vehicles was opened between Jerusalem and Jaffa, and in 1892 a French company constructed a narrow-gauge rail link. Agencies of the Austrians, French, Germans and Russians provided postal services at the side of the Ottoman ones, and Palestine in general benefited from less arbitrary government when it was once more made an independent **mutaṣarrifliq** of the Ottoman empire in 1874, with the **mutaṣarrif** directly responsible to the Porte.

Since travel in reasonable safety and comfort was now perfectly possible, it is not therefore surprising that in the second half of the 19th century numerous guides to Palestine (often linked with Syria, or with the Levant in general for this purpose) appeared. Karl Baedeker of Leipzig's celebrated series of guides produced its first edition of **Palästina und Syrien** in 1875, and, characteristic of the high order of scholarship and informativeness aimed at by this series, it was by Professor Albert Socin, successor of the great Fleischer as Professor of Oriental Languages at Leipzig University, a distinguished scholar in the fields of Arabic, Neo-Syriac and Kurdish (he wrote a grammar of Classical Arabic which had a long vogue), and an experienced traveller in Syria and Arabia. Subsequent editions, including versions in English and French, were updated by the German scholar resident in Jerusalem, Dr. Immanuel Benzinger. The rival series of guidebooks in Germany, Meyer's **Reisebücher** also produced a guide **Palästina und Syrien** which had reached its

fourth, updated edition by 1907. In Britain, the old-established firm of John Murray, which had been producing detailed guides for such western European countries as France, Italy, Spain and Switzerland in the first half of the 19th century, and by 1850 for Syria and Palestine, Egypt, Turkey and India, produced a scholarly **Hand-book to the Holy Land**, covering Palestine, Syria and Sinai, and dealt with the seaward districts of the whole of the Levant in the **Hand-book to the Mediterranean** also. Thomas Cook, the English founder of mass and group travel and tourism in the early railway age, was especially careful to secure outstanding scholars to write on the historical and archaeological aspects of the Near Eastern regions covered by his handbooks. Thus the distinguished Egyptologist of the British Museum, Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, compiled for Cook's in 1890 **The Nile, notes for travellers in Egypt**, which, the Introduction to the guide says, "they have much pleasure in presenting to every passenger under their Nile arrangements on their Tourist steamers and Dhahabiyyehs"; with the progress of Egyptological research and discovery, this soon became enlarged into **Cook's handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān** by Wallis Budge, still today a precious guide to the antiquities there. For a subsequent version of their **Traveller's handbook for Palestine and Syria** (1924), Cook's secured the services of Roy Elston, but very shortly afterwards this was revised by Harry (later Sir Harry) Luke, who had been Assistant Governor of Jerusalem after the December 1917 occupation by Britain and who was to become an authority on Turkey and Cyprus also, and had new archaeological information added by Professor J. Garstang, Director of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.

One interesting feature of the guide books is the advice which they give about travelling within Palestine. It was noted that, in pre-1914 days at least, only towns which were already noted tourist centres, such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Haifa, could be expected to have hotels of European type, run either by Europeans or by the native Christians, and outside these centres, the traveller was recommended to stay either at pilgrims' hospices or monasteries in the Holy Places or on Mount Lebanon; in private houses, such as those of priests or of village shaikhs and headmen, observing the traditional rules of Arab hospitality; or even, in case of necessity, in a caravanserai or **Khān** or the mud or wooden huts of the peasantry, taking care however to avoid fleas and vermin. The local horses are commended as being usually docile, but European-type saddles, with stout girths, are advised instead of the native Arab ones; and the services of a **mukārī** or attendant may often be found useful. Many travellers of the 19th century resorted to the services of dragomān (**tarjumān**), either by direct personal arrangement or through a tourist agency. Their services would be found particularly useful, it is pointed out, in the tortuous streets of ancient town centres, although, it was advised, no reliance should be placed on their explanations of historical monuments (a warning which modern travellers in rural areas can still confirm, where any ancient building is likely to be attributed to some prominent figure of the past, e.g. to Saladin in Syria or to Hazrat

‘Alī or Shāh ‘Abbās in Persia). For crossing open country, the dragoman conducted his party, supplying transport, provisions, accommodation, etc. in return for a comprehensive fee negotiated beforehand. The guide books usually adjure the traveller to have a written contract with the dragoman in which the above requirements should be laid down in detail, and Baedeker at least provides a model, specimen contract for travellers to use as a basis for their own agreements.

Security was no longer a serious problem by the end of the 19th century for travellers along the main routes, but off the beaten track, the conspicuous carrying of weapons was recommended, as a manifestation of self-importance rather than for practical use. On certain routes, escorts of mounted police (**Khayyāl**) or soldiers, to be paid at a daily rate, might be necessary. Yet it is pointed out that human life is generally held in high regard in the desert proper, so that little need for escorts should be felt there—unless there is some collusion between the dragoman and local Bedouin over pretended attacks, in order to exact extra payments, as a kind of “dangermoney”. It is stated that the greatest number of marauders were to be found on the borders of the settled lands and the desert, but this information must have been primarily applicable to the lands east of the Jordan rather than to Palestine proper, where the Ottoman presence was more firmly established.

The sections in the guide books on “Intercourse with Orientals”, as Baedeker puts it, are amusing today, but enough in them remains valid today in the remoter and less developed parts of the Near East for one to recognise certain aspects of the picture. It is true that, in our own time, most local people in the Near East have, through the mass media, learnt that a considerable proportion of the contemporary world—Near Easterners among it—spends, appreciable stretches of its time in travelling, whether for work or for pleasure. But this was the case with only a tiny minority, even of Europeans, a century ago, so that it is not surprising to find Baedeker noting that “Most Orientals regard the European traveller as a Croesus, and sometimes as a madman—so unintelligible to them are the objects and pleasures of travelling”.

The travelling classes for whose use the guide books were compiled were normally transient, short-stay visitors to the Near Eastern lands, rather than people of the stamp of the eccentric Lady Hester Stanhope on Mount Lebanon, or the lexicographer Edward Lane in Egypt, who were prepared to live for long periods in the Levant, to get to know the people and customs, and to acquire in some measure—given the gulfs between them of religion and culture—a sympathy for the local ways of life and attitudes. It is a platitude that the tourist or traveller tends to encounter situations where commercialism or venality is the cement of necessarily fleeting relationships, so that he may well acquire a jaundiced view of conditions. Baedeker’s dicta—and it must be recalled that these observations relate to lands where a decaying Ottoman bureaucracy and narrow local factionalism were often the prime actualities, and where tourists might be as alien to an isolated community as visitors from another planet—are amusing reading today:

The word **bakhshīsh** (**bakhshīsh**) which resounds so perpetually in the traveller's ears during his sojourn in the East, and haunts him long afterwards, simply means 'a gift', and as everything is to be had for gifts, the word has many different applications. Thus with **bakhshīsh** the tardy operations of the custom-house officer are accelerated, **bakhshīsh** is the alms bestowed upon a beggar, **bakhshīsh** means blackmail, and lastly a large proportion of the public officials of the country live almost exclusively on **bakhshīsh**. **Bakhshīsh** should only be given at the last moment. It is also advisable at times to give at first less than the full amount the traveller means to part with and to keep the rest to still the further importunity of the receiver.

As a corrective to this jaundiced view, one may quote the sections on personal relationships, ending with an admonition to avoid the imputation of being an "ugly Frank":

Those who understand how to treat the natives will often be struck by their dignity, and gracefulness of manner. The stranger should therefore be careful to preserve an equally high standard in his own demeanour, and should do all in his power to sustain the well-established reputation of the '**Kilmeh frenjiyeh**', the 'word of a Frank'.

The places and monuments recommended for visit are naturally, in the first place, the Holy Places of Christianity, both those connected with Old Testament history and those linked with the period of the New Testament events, but the splendid monuments of the Haram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem are further described in detail, since after the end of the Crimean War it became possible for non-Muslims to enter Muslim religious buildings in Jerusalem (Hebron, however, continued to have a reputation for fanaticism). Baedeker's guide book has a very detailed introduction on history, with due weight given to the Islamic period (as indeed was unavoidable, given the need to provide a proper background to the Crusades), together with sections on Islamic costumes and customs, on the doctrines of Islam, and even a quite detailed section on the Arabic language (doubtless originally by Socin, who as well as compiling a grammar of classical Arabic, as mentioned above, studied the popular poetry and literature of the contemporary Bedouins of northern Arabia), with paradigms of verbs in the colloquial, lists of numerals, and an English-colloquial Arabic (Palestinian rather than Syrian) vocabulary.

Useful information is conveyed on the ethnic and religious groups which were likely to be encountered by the traveller: for the Muslims, on the Druzes, for instance; amongst the Jews, on such groups in Jerusalem as were already distinctive by the end of the 19th century, such as the Russian or Uzbek-speaking Bukharan Jews or the Arabic-speaking Yemeni ones; and amongst the Christians, on the multifarious, often mutually hostile, subdivisions of the Eastern Churches. Thus amongst these last is noted the hatred between the Latins and the Greek Orthodox, with the observation that, at that time, the latter was coming more and more under

the influence of Imperial Russia, thanks to the educational work of the Russian Palestine Society, richly endowed and supported by the state (the subsequent reaction of the Arab rank-and-file of the Orthodox against Greek domination of the church hierarchy was still in the future, as was of course the outbreak of the First World War and the overthrow of Imperial Russia, bringing down with it all the Russian Orthodox Church's missionary and cultural activities).

Of special note, doubtless, to German visitors were the activities of the South German Templers, the religious community of the "Templers" or "Friends of Jerusalem" which arose in 1890 out of a Protestant pietistic movement in Württemberg led by Christian Hoffmann and which, inspired by the Old Testament prophecies, conceived as its task the erecting of an ideal Christian community in the Holy Land, and from this, the instituting of a regeneration of Christian spiritual life in Europe. The first colony was founded in Haifa, in 1868, on the northwestern side of this then Arab town, as part of a greater German Colony, which was to give Haifa a Germanic imprint which lasted almost to the end of the Mandate; and this was followed by a colony at Jaffa. A colony was founded in 1871 in the vale of Rephaim, to the south-west of the Old City of Jerusalem and beyond the railway station, whilst other German religious groups founded schools and hospitals in the German Colony district to the north-west of the Old City.

Mention is made of the immigration of Jews to Jerusalem and the towns along the Mediterranean coast. Cook's Handbook of 1876 already estimated that Jews made up about half of a total population of between 16,000 and 20,000 (in 1845 the Prussian Consul had estimated them at just over 7,000 out of a total population of 16,400). The social and cultural enterprises of noted Jewish philanthropists like Sir Moses Montefiore, who established a Jewish Colony to the west of the *Birkat al-Sultān*, and Lord Rothschild, and the educational organisations like the French Alliance Israélite and the Society for the Assistance of German Jews, are likewise noted as factors which were making for change at the time.

The greater part of all these guides dealing with Palestine are, as noted above, devoted to descriptions of the historic sites and monuments, with suggested itineraries and details of accommodation available en route. The descriptions of buildings are often of considerable historical value to the researcher today, when time and urban reconstruction have frequently taken their toll of the ancient and picturesque, and the street plans are particularly useful for picturing Near Eastern towns as they had been, often for many centuries, just before the onslaught of modernisation. The social attitudes of the compilers tend at times to the condescending, it is true, but the Levant of the later 19th century was in a transitional period, and the process whereby the East, at least in the superficialities of contemporary life, has come to approximate more and more to the West, was only just beginning; it was inevitable that contrasts of human character and motivation should seem sharp, and it is perhaps remarkable that the compilers of the guides could sometimes nevertheless be objective and sympathetic.

The Portrait of the Philistines in John Milton's "Samson Agonistes"

Eid A. Dahiyat

As far as its form is concerned, Milton's **Samson Agonistes** is indebted to Greek tragedy. To Milton drama meant Greek tragic practice, rather than the forms developed by the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Restoration dramatists who, as he says in his preface to the play, made "the error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity."¹ The sources and analogues of **Samson Agonistes** were many. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides all played a part in its making.² The form of the play and many of its artistic qualities are Greek, but the spirit and the characters are basically Hebraic, drawn from chapters 13-16 of the Book of Judges.

Critics who emphasize the Christianity rather than the Hebraism of Milton's play interpret Samson as a prefiguration of Christ. Scott Craig goes even further with the supposed Christianity of Samson, when he says that "Samson Agonistes is really Christus Agonistes," and, consequently, reads the play as a typological representation of the agony of Christ in Gethsemane.³ That this approach has become a scholarly orthodoxy would seem clear from the interesting article by Albert R. Cirillo, "Time, Light, and the Phoenix: the Design of **Samson Agonistes**," where an elaborate analysis of the Phoenix image (**SA**, 1697-1707) is the culmination of a critique centering on the assumption that the whole play is essentially Christian ritualistic drama.⁴ The problem with much recent interpretation of **Samson Agonistes**—though Rajan's skillful analysis in **The Lofty Rhyme**⁵ should be excepted—is that it ignores the wise remark of Douglas Bush that in the play "no specifically Christian doctrines are admitted, no clear statement of the working of grace, not even in Samson's immortality...; no flights of angels sing him to his rest."⁶

I myself do not feel the drama of Samson and the Philistines⁷ Christian. Its power in my mind lies in being the least Christian of all Milton's major works. Milton is at his greatest when he treats the Old Testament rather than the New Testament. The greatness of **Samson Agonistes** as a work of art resides in combining the two cultures to which Milton was most responsive—Hellenism and Hebraism. The play, in short, combines Greek artistic form with Old Testament subject. This does not mean, I should make clear at the outset, that there are no Christian echoes in the play. There are Christian echoes and connotations, but the prevailing and dominant

spirit is undoubtedly Hebraic (I am using the word “spirit” here in terms of dominant idea and attitude not of technique). This Hebraic spirit of Milton’s **Samson Agonistes** creates a particular perspective from which everything in the play is viewed. The Philistines are thus portrayed according to the standards and convictions of the Hebraic spirit of the Old Testament.

As I have already stated, the story of Samson is drawn from the Book of Judges. Samson was a “judge” of the tribe of Dan (12 B. C.). In the Book of Judges, he is mentioned as a tribal leader called judge. It is said that “he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years” (Judg. 15: 20). However, “there is nothing in the narrative of the Old Testament that Samson actually gave judgments or that he led his people in battle. He was not a judge, a military commander, or a religious leader—but a folk hero of the kind that has captivated the popular mind down the ages, from Hercules to Superman, with feats of incredible strength.”⁸ Nevertheless, the birth of Samson, described as supernatural, is viewed as the beginning of Israel’s deliverance from what is called “the bondage of the philistines.” Here are the words of the Book of Judges:

And the Children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years. And there was a certain man of Zor-ah, of the family of the Danites, whose name was Ma-no-ah; and his wife was barren, and bare not. And the angel of the LORD appeared unto the woman, and said unto her, Behold now, thou art barren, and bearest not: but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son. Now therefore beware, I pray thee, and drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing: For, lo, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and no razor shall come on his head: for the child shall be a Nazarite⁹ unto God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines (Judg. 13: 1-5)

The book of Judges also mentions that the Philistines had “dominions over Israel in Samson’ time” (Judg. 14: 4). Samson’s war against them is delineated as one-man raids that ultimately ended in his own captivity. The Philistines with the help of Dalila, Samson’s wife, who is, interestingly enough, a Philistine, discovered the secret of his power and caught him. Milton’s dramatization of the story begins with Samson “eyeless at Gaza”¹⁰ in Philistines’ hands. The play focuses on the episode of Samson’s captivity which ends in his pulling down the temple on the Philistines and on himself. However, by means of flash-backs Milton goes back to Samson’s conflict with the Philistines that ended in his savage act of revenge. Milton also preserved the details of the Old Testament account with few alterations and modifications. Samson is portrayed as a national hero, a deliverer of the Israelites from the grip of their foes.

The play is therefore a record of a struggle between Samson on one hand and the

Philistines of the Pentapolis on the other hand. Samson is fully aware of his role as a deliverer.

He says at the beginning of the play :

Promise was that I
Should Israel from Philistine yoke deliver;
Ask for this great deliverer, and find him
Eyeless in Gaza at the Mill with slaves,
Himself in bonds under Philistian Yoke.

(38-42)

Later in the play, Samson tells Harapha,¹¹ the champion of Philistia, defiantly that:

My nation was subjected to your Lords.
It was the force of Conquest; force with force
Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.
But I a private person, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd
Single Rebellion and did Hostile Acts.
I was no private but a person rais'd
With strength sufficient and command from Heav'n
To free my Country; if their servile minds
Me their Deliverer sent would not receive.

(1205-1214)

The conflict is pictured along national and religious lines. Indeed, the line of demarkation between nationalism and religiosity is so thin to an extent that both words are used inter-changeably. The struggle is between Jehovah, the god of Israel, and Dagon¹² the deity of the Philistines. Dagon is described in **Paradise Lost** as a "sea-Monster, upward Man and downward Fish" (**PL**, I, 462-3). In **Samson Agonistes**, Dagon is given the epithet "sea-idol." Samson visualizes himself as the destroyer of Dagon. Monoa tells his son, Samson, that:

This day the Philistines a popular Feast
Here celebrate in Gaza; and proclaim
Great Pomp, and Sacrifice, and Praises loud
To Dagon, as their God who hath deliver'd
Thee, Samson, bound and blind into their hands,
Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.

(434-439)

Samson, in reply to his father, sums up the basic conflict—the god of Israel against

Dagon (449-463), and emphasizes it in his encounter with the giant, Harapha, of Philistia:

In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,
By combat to decide whose god is God,
Thine or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

(1174-1177)

Complementary to this religious/national perspective of Samson is the sequence of qualities and epithets ascribed to the Philistines. Their being "uncircumcized," for example, recurs throughout the play. Dalila, the Philistine heroine, is referred to as "unclean" and "unchaste" (320-321). Dalila's alleged uncleanness and the epithets used to describe the Philistines in the play were the ritual uncleanness of all gentiles with whom even "the bread that was eaten by the Jews was defiled" (Ezek. 4:13).

Another important element in the play which clearly shows its Old Testament point of view is the insistence on vengeance. The Chorus describes Samson's revenge in pulling the temple down on the Philistines as an act "dearly bought.... yet glorious" (1660). Manoa's concluding speech is a song of rejoice over the plight and annihilation of the Philistines:

Come, come, no time for lamentation now,
Nor much more cause: Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroically hath finish'd
A life Heroic, on his Enemies
Fully reveng'd hath left them years of mourning,
And lamentation to the Sons of Caphtor
Through all Philistian bounds. To Israel
Honor hath left, and freedom, let but them
Find courage to lay hold on this occasion.

(1708-1116)

Milton thus expands Samson's plea, as given in the Book of Judges: "O Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may be at once avenged of the Philistines, for my two eyes" (16:28). As Dale put it, "Milton retains the element of private revenge and couples it with a nationalist bias comparable to that of the Songs of Moses and Miriam in Exodus, chapter 15."¹³ The bloodthirsty delight of Samson and Manoa is a far cry from the benevolent spirit of forgiveness we find in the New Testament. St. Paul teaches that "avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath" (Romans 12:19). Forgiveness is a distinctively Christian virtue lacking in the world of **Samson Agonistes**. The destruction of the Philistines at the end of the play is received with exultation characteristic of the Hebraic spirit of the

Old Testament. The element of revenge makes the play morally repulsive. This fact was unfortunately ignored by E.L. Marilla, *Studia Neophilologica*, xxix (1957) 67-76, who approves of this Hebraic vindictive attitude, when he says that “man must unreservedly commit himself, without regard for possible costs in personal sacrifice, to upholding the ideals that are entrusted to him as a spiritual being.” The irony lies in calling revenge a moral! The description of Samson as a “Heaven-sent” deliverer who has the right to butcher at will has lead some scholars, who are more enlightened and objective than Marilla, to call Samson a “sanctified barbarian,”¹⁴ or a “primitive ruffian of a half-savage legend.”¹⁵

The religious/national conflict between Israel and Philistia as described in the Old Testament treats “things” in terms of black and white. As Anthony Low says in his recent study of the play “Israel, as a nation, or an ideal, is good; Philistia, and what it stands for, is deprived.”¹⁶ The tradition within which Milton is working imposes an unfortunate sense of limitation and restriction on his artistic rendering of the conflict between Israel and Philistia. There are, however, two points that ought to be singled out and stressed. Firstly, Milton, though relying on Old Testament account and perspective, capitalises on the point that the little nation of the Philistines, consisting of five centers known as the Pentapolis, and few hundred square miles, was able to defeat and control the Israelites. Secondly, Milton deviates from the Old Testament narrative, and makes Harapha, the hero of the Philistines, reproach Samson as a murderer and a robber:

Fair honor that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber.

(1178-1180)

Samson is also described as physically dirty, dressed in rags, and a companion of slaves (115-26, 340-42, 1100-1107, 1160-1163, 1224-1226). Milton insists, with imagery and with direct description, on detailing almost every aspect of Samson’s physical degradation. An important element in Samson’s degradation that Milton has added to the Book of Judges is the suggestion that Samson is a diseased person suffering from “wounds immedicable” (620). Instances of disease imagery occur in lines 183-84, 571-75, 579, 599-601, 617-32, and 697-704). Any balanced assessment of Samson versus the Philistines must keep these elements in mind. Closer attention to these neglected references and imagery is useful in adding to one’s understanding of the play. Though a tribal hero, Samson, when the above-mentioned attributes are taken into consideration, is shown as an outlaw and even as a kind of a monster. This description might be a technique of character-isolation,¹⁷ but it stimulates us to see a justification in the Philistines’ capture of Samson. The Philistines are here portrayed as acting according to legal and civilized considerations in trapping a murderer and a common enemy. Samson’s physical degradation and the imagery of disease strengthen this impression. This is one of the very few instances in the play

where Milton deviates from his source to give a bright picture of the Philistines.

In the final scene of the temple, Milton distinguishes the Philistines' nobility from what he calls the "vulgar" crowd outside the temple. The nobility, "Lords, Ladies, Captains, Counsellors, or Priests" are killed (2653-54) while the "vulgar" crowd standing outside the roofed-in area of the temple escape. This should not be understood, I think, as a sign of modern democracy on Milton's part. Milton was a classical republican, who believed in the rule by merit and excellence and had very little respect for the judgment of the mob. The lords and captains are destroyed because "they are closely associated with and responsible for the policies of Philistia and Dagon."¹⁸ Milton's description of the political organization of the Philistines is also derived from the Old Testament. In the **Torah**, we are told of Philistines' lords, the Hebrew word **Serānīm** (Judg. 16: 5, Jos. 13: 3). The **serānīm** are distinguished from **sārīm** (captains) (1S 29: 2-9). In Milton's play, there is a distinction between lords and officers. Apparently, each Philistine city or center had its independent force and lord, but in time of war they were combined under one command made up of all the lords of the Pentapolis.

Of all the Philistines' characters mentioned in Milton's play Dalila holds the foremost place and significance. She is a Philistine woman married to Samson. She collaborated with her countrymen to discover the secret of Samson's strength and, ultimately, helped in his capture. Critics sympathetic to the Hebraic view treat Dalila as a temptress and traitress, and, consequently, compare her to Satan in **Paradise Lost** and **Paradise Regained**.¹⁹ Those critics forget Dalila's famous farewell speech to Samson, where she clearly and squarely states her motives. Let me quote this speech in some length since it conveys the exact and right feelings of Dalila:

My name perhaps among the Circumcis'd
In **Dan**, in **Judah**, and the bordering Tribes,
To all posterity may stand defam'd,
With malediction metion'd and the blot
Of falsehood most unconjugal traduc't.
But in my country were I most desire,
In **Ikron**, **Gaza**, **Asdod**, and in **Gath**
I shall be nam'd among the famousest
Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
Living and dead recorded, who to save
Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose
Above the faith of wedlock bands, my tomb
With odors visited and annual flowers.
Not less renown'd than in Mount Ephraim,
Jael,. who with inhospitable guile

Smote **Sisera** sleeping through the temples nail'd.
 Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy
 The public marks of honor and reward
 Conferr'd upon me, for the piety
 Which to my country I was judg'd to have shown.
 At this who ever envies or repines
 I leave him to his lot, and like my own.

(975-996)

Dalila simply betrayed her husband to save her country. In making Dalila Samson's wife, not his mistress as the case is in the Old Testament, Milton sharpens the conflict between matrimonial obligations on one hand and national duty on the other hand. Dalila tells Samson outright that her national and religious duties come first.

Dalila's national and religious motives are further strengthened by a skillful fabric of marine imagery²⁰ that Milton associates with her. Her entrance in the play is announced by the means of a ship-simile. She approaches Samson "Like a stately ship/Of Tarsus" (714-715). Samson is unable to fight the sea's force: "who like a foolish pilot have shipwrecked, /My Vessel trusted to me from above,/Gloriously rigged; and for a word, a tear" (198-200). It is indeed ironic that a "tear" of Dalila's should have been enough to wreck Samson's vessel. The sea imagery firmly connects her with the Philistines, worshippers of the sea-idol, and contributes to the theme of the struggle between the god of Israel and Dagon. It should be noted here that in the Book of Judges, Dalila is said to have been motivated by money (Judg. 21:5) rather than patriotic consideration. Milton's emphasis on the national feelings of Dalila helps to create another point of view to counter-balance the spirit of the Old Testament. Dalila even reminds Samson of the death of the Canaanite leader, Sisera, whom Jael lured to take refuge with her after his defeat by the Hebrews. Deborah's song, exulting over the death of Sisera (Judg. 5), celebrates the death of an enemy. Dalila stresses that she too feels proud in defeating the enemy of her people.

While emphasizing Dalila's patriotism, Milton was quite aware that post-biblical rabbinical tradition did not place Samson at the top of its lists of heroes because of his marriage to Dalila.²¹ The rabbis of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds regarded Samson as a breaker of Mosaic law in marrying a gentile. Milton was familiar with the legends of the rabbis in **Aggadic Midrash**²² where Samson is represented as unjewish because of his relation with Dalila. As an example, I may quote one of those rabbinical legends. It reads as follows:

When Samson told Dalilah that he was a Nazarite unto God, she was certain that he had divulged the true secret of his strength. She knew his character too well to entertain the idea that he could couple the name of God with an untruth. There was a weak side to his character too. He

allowed sensual pleasures to dominate him. The consequence was that “he who went astray after his eyes, lost his eyes.” He continued to lead his old life of profligacy in prison, and he was encouraged thereto by the Philistines, who set aside all considerations of family purity in the hope of descendants who should be the equals of Samson in giant strength and stature.²³

Milton captures the spirit of the **Talmud** in making the Chorus in the play say to Samson:

Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder
Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather
Than of thine own Nation, and as noble.

(215-218)

Two views—the Talmudic and that of Dalila as a Philistine patriot—are juxtaposed. The clash between the two views is also treated along national/religious lines.

This conflict of views becomes particularly striking in the exchange with Harapha. Israel’s god is seen as a national deity whose champion is Samson; just as Harapha is the champion of Philistia and Dagon. The giant “Harapha of Gath” came to Milton from the account of David’s encounter with Goliath in I Samuel 17:

And the Philistine cursed David by his gods.

And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field. Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand; and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee... that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel. And all this assembly shall know that... the battle is the Lord’s, and he will give you into our hands (I Sam. 17: 43—47)

In each case the champion of Israel wins and the champion of the Philistines loses. In Milton’s play, Samson tells Harapha that the ultimate end is “to decide whose God is God” (1176). This test of deity, always culminating in the triumph of Israel’s god, is typical of the Old Testament, and there are several passages where it occurs. “One of the most striking is the confrontation between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, where Elijah taunts his opponents because of their ineffectual god.”²⁴ Harapha’s defeat symbolizes the defeat of all Philistia; a defeat determined by preconceived ideas and foregone conclusions.

This partial attitude reaches its climax in the brutal barbarism at the end of the play where the Philistines are totally destroyed by the champion of Jehovah. The mood and the general tone of the play's end is undoubtedly another Hebrew song of exultation over the death of enemies, similar to that of Deborah over the death of Sisera. Those critics and scholars who interpret Milton's play as a Christian drama, should be reminded that Manoa's speeches at the end have no suggestion whatsoever of the Christian idea of immortality, of the resurrection of body and soul. Certainly, no Christian spirit of forgiveness is sensed by the reader.

The portrait of the Philistines in **Samson Agonistes** is framed by the Hebraic spirit of the Old Testament and rabbinical writings. The conflict is shown as national/religious between the champion of Jehovah and the Champion of Dagon. Milton is faithful to his Hebrew sources in picturing the Philistines as gentiles whose destruction is received with jubilation. This attitude towards the Philistines stems from certain convictions that usually rely on divine sanctity for a particular perspective. There are indeed instances where Milton deviates from his sources to give a bright picture of the Philistines or simply to present a different point of view. However, the major part of the portrait is much closer to the original story of the Book of Judges. The obvious analogues to Samson are the Hebraic prophets, judges, and men of the Old Testament. Milton's placement of Samson's story in the context of Judges suggests that Samson is to be understood as one of the leaders of Israel whom God has "chosen" to defeat her enemies. The Philistines are viewed as those enemies.

NOTES

- 1 John Milton, "Of That Sort of Dramatic Poem Which is Call'd Tragedy," **Samson Agonistes in John Milton: Complete Poetry and Major Prose**, ed. Merritt Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 549. All references to **Samson Agonistes**, indented by numbers in the text, are from this edition.
- 2 The most comprehensive study of the subject is William R. Parker's **Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes** (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937). According to Parker, Euripides was Milton's favorite Greek dramatist. However, the play resembles Aeschylus', particularly **Prometheus Bound**, in its simple plot, concentration on a main figure, and few characters. There are also reminiscences of the **Trachiniae** and of **Oedipus at Colonus** by Sophocles.
- 3 "Concerning Milton's Samson," **Renaissance News**, V (1952), 43-53. The best treatment of the "supposed" Christianity of **Samson Agonistes** is undoubtedly Michael Krouse's **Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949). See also Marcia Landy, "Character Portrayal in **Samson Agonistes**," **Texas Studies in Literature and Language**, 7 (1965), 239-53, and George M. Muldrow, **Milton and the Drama of the Soul** (The Hague: Mouton, 1970).
- 4 J.A. Wittreich, Jr., ed. **Calm of Mind: Tercentenary Essays on "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" in Honor of John S. Diekhoff** (Cleveland and London, 1971), pp. 209-233
- 5 Balachandra Rajan, **The Lofty Rhyme** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).
- 6 **John Milton: A Sketch of his Life and Writings** (New York, 1964), p. 200.
- 7 The name "Philistine" is first found in the Egyptian form **prst** as the name of one of the "People of the Sea," who invaded Egypt in the eighth year of Ramses III (Ca. 1188 B.C.). The name also occurs in Assyrian sources as both **Pilisti** and **Palastu**. However, "there is no acceptable Semitic etymology for this name, and it is quite probably of Indo-European origin." See **The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible**, ed. George A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 791.

According to the Old Testament, the Philistines came originally from Caphtor, the Hebrew word for Crete (Jer. 47: 4; Amos, 9: 7; cf Deut. 2:23). They settled in Philistia—a name given to the coastal plain of Palestine involving five cities known as the Pentapolis (Gaza, Gath, Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkolon). For a discussion of the Philistines, see

T.C. Mitchell, "Philistia," **Archaeology and Old Testament Study**, ed. D.W. Thomas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 405-427. R.A. Macalister's **The Philistines** (1913), though old, is still useful.

Thomas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 405-427. R.A. Macalister's **The Philistines** (1913), though old, is still useful.

The term "Philistines" was used in the middle of the nineteenth century for a person "deficient in liberal culture." Matthew Arnold popularized the term in **Culture and Anarchy** (1869). Nowadays "it is used of those who oppose innovations in the arts." See **Encyclopedia Britannica**, vol. VII, p. 948.

- 8 Joan Comay, **Who's Who in the Old Testament Together With the Apocrypha** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 327-28.
- 9 The root meaning of "Nazarite" was "to separate," in the sense that men should "separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord; He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink" (Num. 4: 2-3, and Judg. 13: 7). See Merritt Hughes, **op. cit.**, p. 552, n. 31.
- 10 "Milton seems to have visualized Gaza as George Sandys described it in his **Travels** (1615) when he says (p. 116):
"But now return we unto Gaza, one of the five cities, and the principal that belonged to the Palestines, called Philistines in the Scripture, a warlike and powerful people... Gaza or Aza signifieth strong." Hughes, p.551, n. 16.
- 11 "The name "Harapha" is composed of the Hebrew definite article. ha, and the word for giant, raphah. On the etymology of Harapha's name and his function in the play, see John M. Steadman, **Milton's Epic Characters** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 185-93, and Jack Goldman, "The Name and Function of Harapha in Milton's **Samson Agonistes**," **English Language Notes**, 12 (1974)m 84-91.
- 12 "Milton's conception of Dagon as a 'Sea Monster, upward Man and downward Fish' (**PL**. I, 462-3) corresponds with the usual derivation of his name from a Semitic root meaning "fish". In Phoenicia his name was connected with the word for corn, dagan, and he seems to have been an agricultural deity. His cult, as Judg. 16: 23, and I Sam. 5, indicate, centered in the Philistine cities of Ashdod and Gaza." Hughes, pp. 551-52, n. 21. Apparently, Dagon was a Canaanite corn god, whose cult was absorbed by the Philistines.
- 13 James Dale, "**Samson Agonistes** as Pre-Christian Tragedy," **Humanities Association Bulletin** (Canada), 27, 4 (1976), 381.

- 14 A.S. Woodhouse, "Tragic Effect in **Samson Agonistes**", **University of Toronto Quarterly**, 28 (1959), 208.
- 15 Don Cameron Allen, **The Harmonious Vision: Studies in Milton's Poetry** (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), p. 82.
- 16 **The Blaze of Noon: A Reading of Samson Agonistes** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 120.
- 17 On the theme of Samson's isolation and its variations, see E.M. Tillyard, **The Miltonic Setting, Past and Present** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).
- 18 Low, **op. cit.**, p. 121.
- 19 See for example Thomas Kranidas, "Dalila's Role in **Samson Agonistes**," **Studies in English Literature**, 6 (1966), 125-37, and Barbara K. Lewalski, "Samson Agonistes and the Tragedy of the Apocalypse," **Publications of the Modern Language Association of America**, 85 (1970), 1050-62.
- 20 On Milton's use of marine imagery in **Samson Agonistes**, see J.J.M. Tobin, "Samson and Sea-Imagery Again," **English Language Notes**, 15 (1977), 23-27.
- 21 Samuel Stollman, "Milton's Samson and the Jewish Tradition," **Milton Studies**, III, ed. James D. Simmonds (Pittsburgh, 1971), 195-200.
- 22 **Aggadic Midrash** is a collection of rabbinical legends that reinterpret the text of the Old Testament. Harris Fletcher, in **Milton's Rabbinical Readings** (Urbana, 1930), shows that Milton knew the Buxtorf **Rabbinical Bible** of 1618 which includes Midrashic material.
- 23 Quoted by Carole S. Kessner in "Milton's Hebraic Herculean Hero," **Milton's Studies**, vol. 6 (1974), 247.
- 24 Goldman, **op. cit.**, p. 85.

Theological Interpretation of The Crusades According to Abū Shāma.

Hans Daiber

The old dispute between Islam and Christianity¹ culminates in the crusades of the European Christians (5/11th-8/14th century). One aim was the liberation of the Holy Places from Moslem power. But these places were regarded as Holy Places by the Moslems as well, and a strong Moslem reaction was inevitable: the Moslems propagated the Holy War (**jihād**) and organized counter-crusades against the aggression of the Franks. At the same time they developed a propaganda-literature on a big scale².

The Islamic historiography of the time gives therefore not only an enumeration of events; the Moslem historian presents at the same time an Islamic interpretation of history. A very interesting and till now too much neglected source is the historical work of Abū Shāma (died 665/1268 in Damascus)³, his **Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn** and his *Dhayl*. The **kitāb al-Rawḍatayn** is mainly a biography of the Sultans 'Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and describes their expeditions against the Franks. Older sources are very much used. At the same time however Abū Shāma gives an Islamic interpretation of the history of the Crusades. His conception of history is reflected in his theological additions, but also in his choice of the compiled texts.

Starting-point for Abū Shāma's theological interpretation of the crusades is his conception of history. As he stresses in the introduction man has the possibility to learn from the history of famous models worthy of imitation⁴. This is also valid for the jurist; knowledge of history is therefore besides the study of **adab** an instrument for Islamic jurisprudence (**fiqh**): Abū Shāma follows here according to his own words the founder of the Shāfi'ite school Abū 'Abdallāh al-Shaf'ī. He adopted the Shāfi'ite method of jurisdiction by analogy (**qiyas**) and called it like him⁶ **ijtihād**, which must be based on Qur' ān and **Sunna**; uncritical faith in a source's authoritativeness (**taqlīd**) is refused because of the risk of mistakes in the tradition⁷. Here Abū Shāma not only referred to al-Shaf'ī and his pupils⁸ but also to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal⁸. The refusal of taqīd is shared with al-Ghazzālī¹⁰. This theologian developed in his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* an ethic system, which became a guiding-principle for Abū Shāma's teachings: according to him the Islamic jurist, who wants to gain true insight (**al-naẓar al-ṣaḥīḥ**) into the **ijtihād**¹¹, must know the virtues of the "heart" (**qalb**): patience (**sabr**), gratefulness (**shukr**), fear of God (**khawf**) and generosity (**sakha'**), noble character (**ḥusa al-khulq**), sincerity (**ṣidq**) and sincere generosity (**sakha'**), noble character (**ḥusn al-hulq**), sincerity (**ṣidq**) and sincere devotion (**ikhhlāṣ**)¹². These terms circumscribe moral qualities, which for Abū Shāma are the "source of pious deeds" (**manba' al-ṭā'āt**)¹³

Examples for pious behaviour in history are Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāh al-Dīn in their struggle against the Franks. For that reason the study of the counter-crusades and generally the study of history gives the Moslem believer, who according to Abū Shāma¹⁴ has now reached the time where the Day of Judgement is expected (**al-zamān al-akhīr**), the possibility to “learn a lesson” (**itta‘aza**)¹⁵ from the past and to follow its example (**iqṭadā**)¹⁶. Therewith the entrance to paradise will become open to him¹⁷. The memory of the virtue (faḍl) of the sultans Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāhaddīn is therefore a religious duty (**wajaba ‘alaynā**)¹⁸. Everyone who has not forgotten the models of history will earn calmness in his soul and will be safe from the evil¹⁹.

Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāh al-Dīn represent also models of pious behaviour because of their attempts to restore the original Islam and to defeat the heretics and polytheists. Abū Shāma reports about Nūr al-Dīn, that he for example in Aleppo restored the Sunna, abolished cultic innovations in the prayer-practise, defeated Shi‘ite sectarians (**al-Rāfiḍa**) and restored justice (**‘adl**)²⁰. The old ideal of the righteous and courageous ruler as known from the Iranian etiquette for rulers²¹ under-went an Islamic reorientation: Everyone, who follows in the struggle for Islam and in the defense against attacks of the polytheists the example of pious rulers, will reach paradise.

To reach this aim the Moslem believer has several means: the most important are the Holy War²², the martyrdom (istishhād)²³ of the Shahīd, who thereby comes close to the merciful God (intaqala ilā jiwār al-rahman) and increases the enthusiasm (ḥamiyya) of the Moslem eyewitness, who witnessed his endurance (jalād / jalāda)²⁴. The Moslem fighter sells his soul (rūh) for the price of calmness in the other world (**bi-rāḥatihi l-ukhrawiyya**)²⁵. God gives him success (**waffaqa**) in achieving happiness (**sa‘āda**) by martyrdom (**shahāda**)²⁶. Remarkable is the equation calmness in the other world-closeness to God-happiness; it has a parallel in the ethics of Miskawaih, where happiness²⁷, calmness (**yatma’inna qalbhū**; cp. Sura 2,260)²⁸, closeness to God (**muḵāwarat rabb al-‘ālamīn**) and access to paradise (**dukhūl jannatihi**)²⁹ are granted to the man with noble manners, who owns the four cardinal virtues **ḥikma**, **‘iffa**, **shajā‘a** and **‘adāla**³⁰.

Besides the martyrdom also the prayer (**du‘ā**, **ḍa‘wa**), which is spoken with good intention (Niyya)³¹ and which enables the believer to take God into his confidence³², is a weapon in the Holy War and becomes a stimulus for the believer. An example is the eagerness of Nūr al-Dīn to pray.

The confidence of the believer also increases by dreams and visions, which reveal God’s will. Abū Shāma reports in his autobiography that he saw in the month Safar of the year 624 / 1226 ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb coming to Damascus and helping the inhabitants against the Franks³⁵. Or a man sees in a dream a person killing pigs with his sword and is told, that not Jesus or the Mahdī is doing that but Ṣalāh al-Dīn³⁶. The dream is always true³⁷; he stimulates the believer to new actions, because he reveals God’s favours^{37a}.

This is also the case with the omens and miracles done by God: In the year 583/1187 Jerusalem was reconquered by the Moslems during the night of Muhammad's ascension (**mi'raj**) from **al-masjid al-ḥarām** to **al-masjid al-aqṣā**, according to the traditional interpretation from Mecca to Jerusalem²⁸. The coincidence in time proves to the Moslems, that the conquest of Jerusalem was God's will. Therefore a second parallel is imaginable: just like the followers of Muhammad were assisted during the battle of Badr³⁹ by the angels (cp. Sura 8,9.12) Ṣalāh al-Dīn received the help of God's angels³⁹.

The Moslem believer takes comfort from this, because he sees God's will acting in history. Sometimes God's will is foretold by astrology, which thus also stimulates the Moslem to new actions: according to Abū Shāma astrologers foretold to Ṣalāh al-Dīn, that he will conquer Jerusalem and lose by this an eye⁴⁰. But it seems that astrology is not very often used, perhaps because it was refused by most of the Islamic theologians⁴¹; as in medieval western Europe astrology remained not undisputed⁴². A famous forerunner in the use of astrology is the Islamic mystic Ibn Arabi^{42a}

We have seen that martyrdom in the Holy War and prayer, dreams and visions, miracles and astrology give the Moslem believer the confidence that he will enter paradise and will receive happiness and calmness of the soul. The history of the sultans Nūr al-Dīn' and Ṣalāh al-Dīn proves the superiority of Islamic **tawḥīd** about Christian **tathlīth**⁴³. Further the Moslem believer can learn from history: Both sultans are a moral model in their pious behaviour. Even the jurist, who prefers **ijtihād** to **taqlīd**, is obliged to follow the models of history. An example is Abū Shamā himself, who according to Abū al-Fidā⁴⁴ "has reached the level of **ijtihād**" and who himself classified historical science as "means" for jurisprudence. I think that we can find here a reason, why the jurist Abū Shāma also was a historian and wrote a history of the crusades: The jurist who follows **ijtihād** has to be a historian and the good historian must follow the sound methods of a jurist.

In the view of Abū Shāma the history of the crusades not only stimulates the **Moslem** to fight for Islam and presents instructive models; history also proves Allāh's presence in the alternation of events: His decree (**qaḍā'**) determines man's fate⁴⁵; he gives the Moslem believer victory (**naṣr**) and the unbelieving defeat (**khidhlān; qahr**)⁴⁶; the terminology follows Our'anic **tawfiq-khidhlān** (Sura 3,160 and 11,88)

However God is not only the Merciful and the Kind⁴⁷, who is just and is doing the good by taking care for man's reward (**mukāfa'a**)⁴⁸. The history of the crusades also shows, that God is uncalculable: God has sometimes imposed upon man the temptation (**fitna**)⁴⁹ and has for example destined the rise of disharmony (**khulf**), which weakened the fighting power of the Moslem army⁵⁰ Nevertheless the idea of the kind and just God predominates. Traits different from this only underline God's

almightiness. In accordance with Qur'ānic terminology (Sura 3,54/47) God is the "slyest" **Khayr al-mākirīn**) and slyer than the Franks⁵¹.

Finally we may try to classify Abū Shāma's theology of history and to determine its place in contemporary theology. Nothing we can find in the biographical literature⁵². It mentions⁵³ as his teachers the Ash'arite 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī⁵⁴ and the Ḥanbalites Sayf al-Dīn al-Amidī⁵⁵ and Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī⁵⁶. Apart from one not further known treatise mentioned in his autobiography⁵⁷ Abū Shāma seems not to have participated in the dispute between Ḥanbalites and Ash'arites⁵⁸ and has not refuted Ḥanbalite theology. On the contrary: We have seen, that the jurist Abū Shāma also refers to Ibn Ḥanbal. Furthermore he shares with the mystic-Han-balite theology of his time⁵⁹ the following features, which we mentioned as characteristics of Abū Shama's theological interpretation of the crusades:

- 1 . The endeavor to reorientate Islam in accordance with Qur'ān and Sunna;
- 2 . the request to honour the ancestors, whose moral behaviour is a guiding principle;
- 3 . the warning against cultic innovations⁶⁰;
- 4 . the teaching of God's predestination and almightiness;
- 5 . the promise of paradise;
- 6 . the duty of the Holy War.

Abū Shāma's description of the crusades is an interesting example of a symbiosis between theology and history. It enables us at the same time to learn something about the religious-political context of Islamic creeds (**'aqa'id**). But this is another theme.

NOTES

- 1 the literature mentioned in: **Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chretien.** -In: *Islamo-christiana* 1, Roma 1975, p.125-181; 2, 1976, p.187-249; 3, 1977, p.255-286.
- 2 It comprises the **Kutub al-Ziyārāt**, the **kutub al-faḍā' il** and the **kutub al-jihād**: cp. HADIA DAJANI-SHAKEEL: **Jihad.** in **Twelfth-Century Poetry.** In: **Moslem World**, 66, 1976 (p.96-113), p.104.-On the ideology of the Holy War cp. esp. E. SIVAN: **L'IsLam et la croisade.** Paris 1968; A.NOTH: **Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf im Istam und Christentum.** Bonn 1966. = *Bonner historische Forschungen* 28; **The Holy War.** Ed. by TH. P. MURPHY. Ohio 1976, esp. p. 141ss.
- 3 v. EI² I, 1, 50.
- 4 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.2, 1ss.; 3, ult. ss.
- 5 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.2, 6s.
- 6 v. EI² III 1026s.
- 7 cp. *Mukhtaṣar* 19, 5ss.; 31, 8ss.
- 8 *Mukhtaṣar* 14, 12ss.; 14, paenult. ss.; esp. 39, 3ss.
- 9 cp. *Mukhtaṣar* 17, 11ss.; 19, 2ss.; 31, 8ss.
- 10 H. LAZARUS YAFEH: **Studies in Al-Ghazzali.** Jerusalem 1975, 488ss.
- 11 *Mukhtaṣar* 39, 4s.
- 12 *Mukhtaṣar* 40, paenult. ss.
- 13 *Mukhtaṣar* 41, 5
- 14 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.5, 14; cp. 3, ult.
- 15 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.3, ult.
- 16 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.4, 1s.
- 17 cp. *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.4, 2s.
- 18 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.5, 12.
- 19 cp. *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.4, 9s.; *alladhīna bi-dhikrihim tartāhu al-nufūsu wa-yadhhabu at-būs.*
- 20 *Rawḍ.*² I/1 p.10, 1s.
- 21 cp. Ibn al-Muqaffa's concept of adab: s. EI² III 884.
- 22 cp. e.g. *Rawḍ.* II 129, 2s.
- 23 cp. NOTH (v. footonte 2) 27-29.
- 24 *Rawḍ.* II 77, 17s.
- 25 *Rawḍ.* II 154, 22 according to Ibn Shaddad.
- 26 cp. *Raud.* II 154, 2 and II 147, 18.
- 27 **Tahdhīb al-akhlāq** ed. Q. ZURAIQ (Beirut 1969 82s)
- 28 **Tahdhīb** 40, 5; cp. on the calmness of the soul J.VAN ESS: **Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAdudaddīn al-ʿIcī.** Wiesbaden 1966, p. 76.

- 29 **Tahdhīb** 42,4.
- 30 **Tahdhīb** 16; cp. Plato, Rep. 435 B ss.
- 31 Rawḍ. II 172, 12s
- 32 cp. yunājī rabbahū Rawḍ.² I/1 p.34,10s.
- 34 Rawḍ.² I/1 p.34,10ss. (oral communication of Ibn Shaddād-cp. p.32,1).
-Compare also the prayer (**istikhāra**, **istakhāra**) of Salāhaddīn to God with the intention to find the right decision Rawḍ. II 192,8; cp. also Rawḍ.² I/1 p.21,-6s.
- 35 **Dail** 38, 10s.
- 36 Rawḍ. II 85,-11ss. (according to Ibn Abī Tayy).
- 37 cp. the islamic tripartition of dreams into true dreams originating in God, wrong dreams coming from Satan and dreams, which are utterances of the soul: v. H.DAIBER: *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu‘ammar Ibn ‘Abbād as-Sulamī* (gest. 830 n.Chr.). Beirut 1975,p.307s.
- 37a This function of the dream Abū Shāma shares with the Islamic mystics: cp. G.E. VON GRUNEBAUM in: *The Dream and Human Societies*. Ed. by G.E.VON GRUNEBAUM and R. CAILLOIS. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966, p.11.
- 38 v. EI III 581ss. (art. Mi‘rāj).
- 40 Rawḍ. II 92,2.
- 41 M.ULLMANN: *Die Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*. Leiden 1972 (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*.I, *Ergänzungsband VI,2*), p.274s.
- 42 M.L.W. LAISTNER: *The Western Church and Astrology During the Early Middle Ages*.-In: *Harvard Theological Review* 34,1941, p.251-275.
-J.D.LIPTON: *The Rational Evaluation of Astrology in the Period of Arabo-Latin Translations ca. 1126-1187*. A.D. Diss. Los Angeles 1978, esp.p.105. -An idea of the use of astrology (reign of the caliph al-Ḥakim 383-411 h.) gives J.VAN ESS: *Chiliastische Erwartungen und der Versuch der Göttlichkeit*. -In: *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos. hist.Kl. 1977/2, p.34ss.
- 42a cp. TITUS BURCKHARDT: *Clé spirituelle et l’astrologie musulmane d’après Mohyiddin Ibn Arabi*. milano 1974.
- 43 Rawḍ. II 194, 1; cp. mukhtaṣar 16,10-13; Rawḍ. II 76,14 calles the Christians ahl al-aqānīm and their teaching dalāl al-nāsūt wa-l-lāhūt.
- 44 al-Bidāya 13, Beirut-Riyad 1966,p.250-7.
- 45 cp. e.g. Rawḍ.² I/1 p.225,5s.; 287,13s. (according to al-Qalānīsī, *Dail ta’rikh Dimashq*); I/2 p.600,11 (*ahkām Allāh al-ghāliba*).
- 46 Rawḍ.² I/2 p.600,3; cp. in the early Islamic theology J.VAN ESS: *Anfänge Muslimischer Theologie*. Beirut 1977,p.55s.
- 47 cp. the introduction in Rawḍ.² I/1 p.1,1 (luṭf, karam, jūd); 21,4 (luṭf)
- 48 cp. Rawḍ.² I/1 p.259,7s. (addition by Abū Shāma to an excerpt from al-Qalānīsī, *Dhail ta’rikh Dimashq*).

- 49 cp. e.g. Sura 7,154 and NOTH (v. note 2) p.14.
 50 Rawd.² I/1 p.224,10.
 51 Rawd.² I/2 p.391, 11.
 52 cp. the autobiography **Dhayl** 37-45; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī **Fawat al-wafayāt** ed. IH SAN ABBAS 2,Beirut 1974,p.269-271; further the references given there p.269, note and in al-Subkī, **Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īya 1-kubrā** 8,Cairo 1971,p.165,note; al-Sakhāwī, **al-I'qān bi-al-tawbīkh li-man damma ahl at-tawrīkh**, engl. transl. by FR. ROSENTHAL, **A History of Muslim Historiography**, Leiden 1968,b.353.
 53 Abu l-Fidā' (s.note 44) 13,p.250,9; co, on Ibn Qudāma also Dail 139,-2ss.
 54 died 631 / 1233; cp. GAL I 678. Became later adherent of the Shafi'ites.
 55 died 620 / 1223; cp. EI² III 842s.
 56 died 660 / 1262; cp. GAL I 430s.;S I 766-8.
 57 Dhayl 39,-2: al-**Wāḍih al-Jalī fī-al-Radd 'alā 1-Hanbali**.
 58 cp. e.g. the 'aqīda of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abdassalām transmitted by as-Subkī (s, note 52) 8, p.219-229 (= **Mulhad al-i'tiqād** mentioned GAL I 431¹² and S I 767^{12,261!}), a defence against Hanbalite renunciations.
 59 cp. the 'aqīda of Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī: **Lum'at al-i'tiqād** ed. MUHAMMAD ZUHAYR SHAWISH,² Damascus 1383/1964 and the shorter, varying version with the title 'Aqīda (to appear with a commentary in a publication in honor of Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut).
 60 for example in the prayer; they are dealt with in Abū Shāma's book al-Bā'ith 'alā inkār al-bida' wa-l-ḥawādith (Cairo 1310/1892).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Dhayl= Abū Shāma: **Dail 'alā al-Rawḍatayn** = **Tarājim rijāl al-qarnain al-sādīs al-awwal**. Ed. MUHAMMAD ZAHID AL-KAWTHARI,² Beirut 1974.
 EI= Enzyklopaedie des Islam. I-IV and supplement. Leiden; Leipzig 1913-1938.
 EI²= Encyclopaedia of Islam. I ss.Leiden-London 1960ss.
 GAL(S)= C.BROCKELMANN: **Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur**².1.2 (and) **suppl.**1-3. Leiden 1937-1949.
 Mukhtaṣar= Abū Shāma: **Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Mu'ammal li-al-radd ilā al-amr al-auwal**. -IN: **Majmū'at al-rasā'il**. Ed. MUHIADDIN SABRI L-KURDI. Cairo 1328/1910, p.2-44.
 Rawd.²= Abū Shāma: **Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn**. 1-2. Beirut s.a. (reprint of the edition Būlāq 1287-8/1870-1).
 Raud.²= Abū Shāma: **Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn**. ..Ed. MUḤammad ḤILMI MUḤammad AḤMAD. I,1-2 (= book I). Cairo 1956. 1962. (Not more published).

Islamic Mysticism in Palestine: Observations and Notes Concerning Mystical Brotherhoods in Modern Times

F. De Jong

The last two decades have witnessed a substantial increase in the number of scholarly publications dealing with or pertaining to Islamic mystical brotherhoods. By now, more than a dozen brotherhoods have been the subject of separate monographs, and a few comprehensive studies of these associations in particular areas in distinct periods have appeared, in addition to articles and monographs presenting a discussion of one or more brotherhoods within the context of studies of wider social and/or historical scope and content¹. This increase in scholarly production has greatly added to our knowledge of institutionalized Islamic mysticism in past and present, and has substantially complemented the much more developed study of Islamic mystical thought. Yet, partly in consequence of the relatively underdeveloped state of social-historical studies of the Islamic World based upon solid archival research, the analysis of the various shades of mystical teaching(s) of **ṭuruq**² in relation to social structure, has still to begin and only in incidental cases do we have some insights into their place and function within the wider society at particular times and places. Confronted with these circumstances, and considering our inadequate knowledge of the history of the hundreds of brotherhoods which are known to exist and to have existed throughout the Islamic World, and the magnitude of the connected and interrelated areas of inquiry, one realizes that scholarly study of institutionalized Islamic mysticism has been little more than nibbling at the edges of this immense field of study.

Among the geographical areas where the history of institutionalized Islamic mysticism is virtual **terra incognita**, it is somewhat surprising to find Palestine, which, for its religious and historical importance, has drawn so much attention in other respects. The following paper contains a body of material pertaining to **ṭuruq** in 19th and 20th century Palestine. The arrangement might be called topical along more or less chronological lines, in conjunction with a discussion of a number of issues relative to the **ṭuruq** in Palestine but concerning the **ṭuruq** in other parts of the Islamic World as well. It is hoped that this limited survey-like exploration will contribute to the initiation of systematic studies of institutionalized Islamic mysticism in Palestine in the near future.

1.-The established *ṭuruq* and some of their characteristics.

The presence of active *ṭuruq* in 19th century Palestine appears from several sources which mention or describe the participation of "the dervishes" in public celebrations³. During these celebrations, their presence was prominent, notably during the *mawṣim* of the Prophet Reuben and the *mawṣim* of the Prophet Moses⁴. On both occasions and particularly during the latter, which had an official character, visitors from all over Palestine used to attend⁵ and the members of the *ṭuruq* participated in the processions held on these occasions and *hadarāt* were held near the shrines⁶. In addition to participation in these and other *mawāsim*⁷, *ṭuruq* occasionally manifested themselves in processions held as part of circumcision celebrations⁸, and possibly also in marriage and funeral processions, as was the case in Egypt⁹. Just as in Egypt, the *Khulafā'*¹⁰ in charge on such occasions are likely to have received compensation in money or kind for their contribution to the event¹¹.

The presumption of similarity of such practices seems to be justifiable because of the fact that at least two of the *ṭuruq* explicitly mentioned in the sources as having an active membership in Palestine¹², al-Ahmadiyya and al-Disūqiyya, originated in Egypt. Here, both *ṭariqas* had their centres and their founders were buried¹³. Groups of mystics who were active under each of these names, however, did not necessarily have a unity of mystical doctrine and practice, Neither do identical names imply the existence of a single organization incorporating the groups operating under such names. They merely reveal the existence of a spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) which these groups of mystics must have had, at least partly, in common¹⁴. Therefore, it is possible that one or more of the Ahmadiyya and Disuqiyya branches which were active in Egypt¹⁵ were also active in Palestine without presenting themselves under the specific name of the branch. In particular, since in Palestine lack of use of the name of the branch would have been possible without the consequences this had in Egypt. There, the way in which the *ṭuruq* administration had evolved from the early decades of the 19th century onwards had made it virtually impossible for a *Khālifa* of al-Ahmadiyya or al-Disuqiyya (or any other *ṭariqa*; cf. below p.7) to manifest himself independently, i.e. without drawing public attention to the fact of belonging to a specific branch, which had to be officially recognized by the central administrative agency as an independent *ṭariqa* in its own right and under its own distinct name. The very right to act as a *khālifa* was dependent upon this recognition and thus gave pre-eminent importance to explicit mention of the name on all possible occasions¹⁶. Outside Egypt, however, these branches do not seem to have been well-known and the fame of their founders was mainly limited to this country. Therefore, it is more likely that the *khulafā'* of al-Ahmadiyya and al-Disūqiyya who were active in Palestine did not represent a branch but stood in the main line of spiritual descent of each of these two *ṭariqas* by means of a *silsila* connecting them with the founder of the *ṭariqa* through the *khulafā' almaqām*¹⁷. With the known *Salāsil* of *khulafā'* of these *ṭariqas* in 19th Palestine this is indeed the case¹⁸.

The preceding observations about the absence of necessary connections between identical names of **ṭuruq** and the existence of unity of doctrine, practice and organization also apply to al-Qādiriyya and al-Rifāʿiyya, which are known to have had an active membership in Palestine in the 19th century¹⁹. Thus, it is likely that a variety of Rifāʿiyya and Qādiriyya groups were active which had only part of their **silsila** in common. The **salāsil** of **Khulafāʾ** of al-Qādiriyya and al-Rifāʿiyya active in 19th century Palestine which have come down to us do indeed go back to representatives of these **ṭarīqas** who are known to have been heads or to have belonged to local branches of these **ṭarīqas** in adjacent lands, notably in Lebanon and Syria²⁰.

It is striking that in these areas also, the local branches of al-Qādiriyya and al-Rifāʿiyya do not seem to have been commonly known under names of their own²¹ nor do their **khulafāʾ** seem to have presented their branch under distinct names in the **ijāzāt** issued by them²². A likely explanation for this phenomenon seems to be that the **Khulafāʾ** of these branches must have wanted to stress claims for supremacy over or equality with other branches by presenting themselves as the principal representatives of the parent-**ṭarīqa**, or indeed considered their branch to be the undiluted continuation of the original Way and themselves the supreme representative of the **ṭarīqa**²³.

The relative absence, compared with Egypt and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, of branches of the **ṭuruq** mentioned which were commonly known under a distinct name of their own, in Palestine as well as in adjacent lands, suggests something about the degree of formal organization of the **ṭuruq** which existed in these areas. It seems to point towards the absence of central organizational and administrative arrangements pertaining to the **ṭuruq** in the larger administrative units of the Empire, since adequate functioning of such arrangements would have gained by clear differentiation of the **ṭuruq** by name²⁴, and may imply the existence of such arrangements on the restricted local level of towns only, possibly with the inclusion of the adjacent areas, since this setting would require a less high degree of formal differentiation among the various **ṭuruq** than would be the case for geographical or administrative entities of a larger scale. The available evidence largely suggests the existence of local arrangements²⁵.

In connection with these observations it seems apposite to note that Egyptian rule in Palestine (1831-1840) does not seem to have had any consequences for the administration and organization of the **ṭuruq**²⁶. No effort to establish a certain degree of central control in line with or similar to the provisions taken by Muhammad ʿAlī in Egypt to establish central authority over **ṭuruq** and **ṭuruq**-linked institutions²⁷ appears to have been made. In general, the reforms introduced during the period of Egyptian rule have only been of short-term consequence for the region²⁸. Some of these reforms, however, notably the dissolution of much **wāqf** land established in favour of shrines of saints²⁹, in the course of efforts aimed at improvements in the field of agriculture³⁰, must have had long-term effects as is testified by the fact that

memories of these changes survived in popular lore into the 20th century³¹. In Palestine, as elsewhere in the Islamic World, the right to control these shrines was frequently invested in certain families who could claim the saints buried there as their ancestors³². Some of these families traditionally belonged to a **tariqa** and heads or members of these families occasionally assumed **tariqa** leadership³³. In cases where such **tariqa** leaders were beneficiaries of revenues from the **waqf** lands attached to these shrines, the aforementioned partial dissolution of these lands may have affected the financial bases of these leadership positions.

All the **turuq** mentioned so far have a tradition in Palestine going back to the early Mamlūk era³⁴ and the presence of active groups of adherents in the region is well testified until the 1930s³⁵. In addition to these four **turuq** it was al-Sa^cdiyya which was most prominent in the area in the period under review³⁶. This **tariqa** is reported to have been introduced into Palestine at the end of the 17th century³⁷. Originally, the adherents of this **tariqa** seem to have been centred at Nablus from where it spread to other parts of the region³⁸.

In the late Mamluk period, a related **tariqa**, al-Yunusiyya, had adherents in Jerusalem where they inhabited a **Zāwiya** of their own³⁹. In Palestine, this **tariqa**—of which the silsila went back to Yūnus al-Shaybānī (d. 682: 1283/4), the father of the founder of al-Sa^cdiyya, Sa^cd al-Dīn al-Jibāwī (d.736: 1335/6)—does not seem to have survived far into the Ottoman era, although the **zāwiya** al-Yūnusiyya as a construction outlasted the **tariqa** into more recent times⁴⁰. The common origins and the similarities in the Ways of both **tariqas** may well have resulted in the absorption of al-Yūnusiyya into al-Sa^cdiyya, in particular from the early 18th century onwards when such a process must have been facilitated by the additional prestige that al-Sa^cdiyya and its leaders would have derived from the favouritism which several Ottoman Sultans accorded the **tariqa**⁴¹, expressing itself in **awqāf** established in its favour, in fiscal privileges and in exemption from military service granted to Sa^cd al-Dīn's descendents⁴².

In Syria, the Yūnusiyya was revived in the 19th century when a schismatic section of al-Sa^cdiyya adopted a **silsila** going back to Yūnus al-Shaybānī through his son Hilal, thus omitting Sa^cd al-Dīn⁴³. This **tariqa** was introduced into Egypt in the early 20th century, where it spread and became an officially recognized **tariqa**, known as al-Shaybāniyya al-Taghlibiyya, which still has an active membership in the present day⁴⁴.

A branch of al-Sa^cdiyya, which had emerged at the end of the 17th century, known as al-Wafā'iyya⁴⁵ may also have been represented in Palestine⁴⁶. This **tariqa** is not to be confused with a similarly named branch of al-Shādhiliyya which enjoyed a considerable popularity in Egypt during the Ottoman era, when it had powerful leaders who controlled extensive assents⁴⁷. Al-Wafā'iyya al-Shādhiliyya had members in Palestine from the early Mamlūk era onwards⁴⁸ and in Jerusalem two

former *zāwiyas* of al-Wafā'iyya are still existent—though in use as living quarters—and known under this name⁴⁹. Neither Wafā'iyya seems to have survived into the 19th century and it is only in Egypt that al-Wafā'iyya al-Shādhiliyya retains active adherents in our day⁵⁰. Other branches of al-Shādhiliyya were represented in Ottoman Palestine, but about these few details are known⁵¹.

II. Al-Yashrutiyya, al-Khalwatiyya and related issues.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the introduction of al-Madaniyya by ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashrutī (1208-1316: 1794-1899), a *khalīfa* of the *tariqa*'s founder, Muhammad b. Hasan b. Hamza Zāfir al-Madanī (1194-1263: 1780-1847)⁵². The section of al-Madaniyya in Palestine, which was in the ascendant from the 1850s onwards, developed into an independent *tariqa* known as al-Yashrutiyya. The life of ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn and the history of al-Yashrutiyya are relatively well-documented: long and short biographies have appeared along with a fairly comprehensive study of the *tariqa*⁵³. The success with which ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn met in propagating his Way seems to have resulted in defamatory accusations brought against him from the side of anti-mystical Islam⁵⁴. These are likely to have drawn the attention of the Ottoman authorities who appear to have suspected ʿAlī Nur al-Din of initiating a movement of revolutionary potential endangering the insecure stability of the area and thus the interests of the State⁵⁵. Around 1280:1864 he was arrested and exiled to Rhodes, together with some of his adherents⁵⁶. He remained in exile for approximately three years before being allowed to return to Palestine⁵⁷. Here, he settled in the town of ʿAkka where a *zāwiya* of the *tariqa* was founded in 1290⁵⁸. From then onwards, al-Yashrutiyya spread inside and outside Palestine in a rather spectacular way. *Zawāyā* were established in some of the major towns of the region⁵⁹ and in the rural areas membership of the *tariqa* also substantially increased⁶⁰.

The aforementioned action by the authorities against ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn came at a time when the *tariqa* had no other *zāwiya* but the one in the village of Ṭarshīha (in the mountains north east of ʿAkka) where he lived⁶¹. By then, his adherents were already to be found in Syria, but compared with the later extension of the *Tariqa*, this spread was still rather limited; this was also the case in Palestine, where its membership seems to have been confined to Jerusalem and Galilee⁶². These circumstances suggest that ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's power-position was rather insignificant. Therefore, his arrest and following exile seem measures which are somewhat out of proportion to the danger he might have posed. This apparent discrepancy seems to indicate that the figure of a successful leader of a centrally organized supra-regional *tariqa* was not familiar in 19th century Palestine as it was e.g. in 19th century Egypt⁶³.

Moreover, the rather spectacular spread of al-Yashrutiyya after ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's return from exile at the end of the 1860s points to a low degree of opposition to this

spread from members of the **turuq** active in the area. This in turn suggests that the **turuq** in 19th-century Palestine were not wide-spread well-established forms of social organization which had much to lose from the spread of al-Yashrutiyya; rather, they seem to have been of limited significance, without any prominent leaders and, as was already observed in the preceding section, the **turuq** must have had a low level of organization. Thus, in addition to such factors as patronage and membership at the highest levels of the administrative hierarchy of the State⁶⁴, the qualities of ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn himself, and the nature of his Way, the spread of the **ṭarīqa** must have been facilitated by the relative weakness and unimportance of organized Islamic mysticism in 19th-century Palestine in general. This relative weakness and unimportance also explains the virtual absence in Palestine of enmity between adherents of mystical and non-mystical conceptions of Islam⁶⁵, although some criticism of al-Yashrutiyya and its leader was expressed from the non-mystical side by various authors from the late 19th century onwards⁶⁶. By then the **ṭarīqa** had become well-established in Palestine and neighbouring lands. It had also spread to the borderlands of Islam in East Africa, Madagascar and the Comoro Islands⁶⁷, giving the centre of the **ṭarīqa** in ʿAkka an importance extending far beyond Palestine.

The Yashrutiyya never spread in Egypt notwithstanding the fact that ʿAlīNūr al-Dīn had a **muqaddam** in Cairo⁶⁸. Before 1905, this must have been in consequence of the fact that the principle of right of **qadam**, meaning the exclusive right of a **ṭarīqa** to proselytize and to appear in public in an area if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so, was still functioning and adhered to in a limited way⁶⁹. For this reason proselytization by agents of **turuq** which were not officially recognized was severely restricted. In addition, the parent-**ṭarīqa** of al-Yashrutiyya, al-Madaniyya al-Shādhiliyya, had been an officially recognized **ṭarīqa** in Egypt since the 1880s⁷⁰. This implied that members and *khulafāʾ* of al-Yashrutiyya in Egypt could be claimed as belonging to al-Madaniyya by the **shaykh al-sajjāda** of this **ṭarīqa**, in accordance with the prevailing local administrative practice. They would then be treated accordingly by the authorities and would have little chance to manifest themselves publicly as belonging to an independent **ṭarīqa** in its own right⁷¹. The latter circumstances also continued to prevail after 1905, when the principle of right of **qadam** was formally abolished⁷² and thus did not cease to constitute a serious impediment for any successful spread and continuity of al-Yashrutiyya in Egypt.

In the second half of the 19th century another Shādhiliyya branch known as al-Qāwuqajīyya rose in the Lebanon. It was named after its founder and spiritual head, Muhammad b. Khalīl al-Qāwuqajī (1224-1305:1809-1887)⁷³. This **shaykh** had been initiated into al-Shādhiliyya by a well-known Egyptian **khālifa** of the Nāsiriyya branch of this **ṭarīqa**, Muhammad al-Bahay (d. 1260:1840), when he studied at al-Azhar in Cairo in the course of the 1830s⁷⁴. By the 1860s, Muhammad al-Qāwuqajī had become one of the pre-eminent spiritual leaders in this spiritual tradition in the Middle East⁷⁵. By then, his version of al-Shādhiliyya had become a **ṭarīqa** in its own

right with an expanding membership in Egypt, the Lebanon and the Hijaz, as the result of his own proselytization and because of the proselytizing efforts of his **khulafā'**⁷⁶.

In view of the spread of al-Qāwuqajīyya in these lands, it is somewhat surprising to find no indication of the presence of **Khulafā'** of al-Qāwuqajī in Palestine where he must have visited Jerusalem on several occasions on his regular rounds between Beirut, Cairo and the Hijāz⁷⁷. The apparent absence of representatives of this **ṭarīqa** may well have been the result of the fact that Palestine was perceived as unpromising ground for proselytization in view of the presence of a substantial number of adherents of al-Shādhiliyya in the area belonging to a well-organized related **ṭarīqa**: al-Yashrutīyya. The entrance into competition with al-Yashrutīyya in Palestine, as would have been implied by proselytization in the area by al-Qāwuqajīyya, may have been discouraged, moreover, by the fact that ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn had obtained contacts with the Porte⁷⁸, with the **efendiyāt** of Jerusalem⁷⁹, and with other officials in the Ottoman administration from the 1870s onwards when some of those belonging to these classes had joined the ranks of his **ṭarīqa** or had become sympathizers⁸⁰. These contacts might have allowed al-Yashrutī to take effective action against active proselytization of al-Qāwuqajīyya in Palestine with possible unpleasant consequences for its leader. In the Lebanon, however, notably in and around Beirut—where al-Qāwuqajī frequently resided—and in the Tripoli area—where he was born and which he visited regularly—both **ṭarīqas** had an active membership. This makes it reasonable to suppose that the collision of interests of both **ṭarīqas** in this region was not just potential but that actual conflicts must have taken place in result of competition for adherents. Details of such conflicts may become known at some time in future.

In addition to his initiation into al-Shādhiliyya by Muhammad al-Bahay, Muhammad al-Qāwuqajī had been initiated into various other **ṭuruq**⁸¹, among which was al-Sammāniyya, a branch of al-Khalwatiyya⁸², founded by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1132-1189:1718-1775)⁸³. This last **shaykh** was a **khalīfa** of Mustafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162:1688-1749), the great revivalist of al-Khalwatiyya in the 18th century⁸⁴. Al-Bakrī, who was born in Damascus, for varying periods of his life lived in Jerusalem where his **Khalwa** in Dār al-Budayrī can still be visited today⁸⁵. In Jerusalem as well as in Nāblus, where he lived for about a year, groups of adherents of al-Bakrī's version of al-Khalwatiyya appear to have had some countinuity⁸⁶, at least until the early 19th century, when Muhammad b. Budayr, known as Ibn Ḥubaysh (1160-1220:1747-1805) died⁸⁷.

The initiation of Muhammad al-Qāwuqajī into al-Sammāniyya had taken place in 1265:1849 at the hands of Husayn Sālīm al-Dajānī (d. 1274: 1857/8), the then **mufī** of Yāfā⁸⁸. The **mufī** had also been initiated into another branch of al-Khalwatiyya, known as al-Sāwīyya and founded by Ahmad al-Sāwī (d. 1241: 1825)⁸⁹. Of this **ṭarīqa** al-Dajānī was made a **khalīfa** by Muhammad Faṭḥ Allāh al-Samādīs⁹⁰, a deputy

of the **ṭarīqa**'s founder, who visited Yāfā on his way from Egypt to Jerusalem in 1240:1824/5⁹¹. Another member of the Dajānī family in Yāfā who adhered to this **ṭarīqa** was Husayn's cousin, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Dajānī (1224-1294:1809-1877), who was initiated by Muḥammad al-Jisr, the **khalīfa** of al-Sāwiyya in Tripoli⁹². His nephew, Muhammad Amin al-Dajānī, obtained **al-khilāfa** of al-Sāwiyya from the aforementioned Muhammad Faṭh Allāh al-Samādīsī, in addition to being **khalīfa** of al-Rifā'iyya and of al-Ahmadiyya⁹³

Another nephew, Ahmad Shākīr al-Dajānī, was initiated into more than ten different **ṭuruq** and acted as a **khalīfa** to several of these, as appears from the **ijāzat al-khilāfa** he issued to Saʿd al-Dīn Bibī al-Yāfī⁹⁴. More or less contemporary cases of persons who acted as **khulafā'** of more than one **ṭarīqa** have been reported from Nā-blus and Yāfā⁹⁵.

Multiple membership of **ṭuruq** and the collection of **ijāzat khilāfa** are not unusual practices. These are generally justified and explained as implying an accumulation of **baraka** and in serving no other purpose but this accumulation. On the other hand, however, multiple membership has also been condemned and has been declared not permissible since it implies following more than one Way under the guidance of more than one spiritual master (**murshid**). This is held to hamper spiritual progress and to constitute a source of potential conflict about allegiance⁹⁶. Acting as a **khalīfa** of more than one **ṭarīqa**, implying the provision of spiritual guidance in accordance with more than one mystical system, is relatively uncommon⁹⁷. Certainly, many well-known mystics had themselves initiated in more than one **ṭarīqa** and obtained the authorization to initiate and guide others in accordance with the precepts of these Ways⁹⁸. Generally, however, if this accumulation was not looked upon as for the sake of **baraka** exclusively, the outcome tended to be a new **ṭarīqa** incorporating elements of a number of Ways⁹⁹.

The fact that some **mashāyikh** in 19th century Palestine could act as **Khulafā'** of more than one **Ṭarīqa** suggest the absence of any social or administrative mechanism working against such an accumulation of leadership positions. This points towards the relatively small importance attached to these offices by the wider society. It also suggests the absence of relatively well-organized brotherhoods, since in these there would have been no place for double or multiple allegiance. Thus, here again, the implication is that the importance of the **ṭuruq** in 19th century Palestine must have been rather small in terms of numbers of adherents as well as in terms of social significance.

III. **Zawāya, zawāya-based ṭuruq, al-Naqshbandiyya.**

The presence of al-Naqshbandiyya in Palestine goes back to the early 17th century when a certain ʿUthmān al-Bukhārī established a **zāwiya**¹⁰⁰ in Jerusalem¹⁰¹. Right of residence in this **zāwiya** was restricted to non-Arab member of al-Naqshbandiyya while Naqshbandīs from Transoxania had this right over others¹⁰². This explains

why the **zāwiya** was commonly known as al-zāwiya al-Uzbakiyya¹⁰³. The **zāwiya** was expanded towards the middle of the 18th century by Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ al-Uzbakī (d. 1144: 1731/2¹⁰⁴, the then head of this **zāwiya** and the supervisor of the awqāf established in its favour¹⁰⁵. Both functions in combination constituted the main elements of the office of **mashyakhāt al-zāwiya**¹⁰⁶. Succession to the **mashyakha** tended to be hereditary, as used to be the case with the **mashyakha** of other **zawāyā** in Jerusalem¹⁰⁷. From the late 19th century until recently (1973), the **mashyakha** of the **zāwiya** al-Naqshbandiyya in Jerusalem was held by persons of Bukhārī extraction¹⁰⁸. **Zawāyā** reserved for Uzbeks in general and for Bukhārīs in particular, controlled by **mashāyikh** belonging exclusively to al-Naqshbandiyya, existed also in Cairo¹⁰⁹. The presence of these **zawāyā** here and in Jerusalem indicates the importance of Turkestan as a centre of al-Naqshbandiyya¹¹⁰, which still retains active membership in this area in the present day¹¹¹.

In the early 19th century a revival of al-Naqshbandiyya occurred throughout the Ottoman lands and beyond as the result of the activities of Khālīd al-Shahrazūrī (1190:1242-1776-1827), a disciple of ʿAbd Allāh dihlawī, a **khālifā** in the Mujaddidī branch of this **ṭarīqa**¹¹². From 1820 onwards, Khālīd lived in Damascus and from here he made several journeys to Palestine in order to visit the Holy Places of Islam¹¹³. As result of his own proselytization and the activities of his khulafāʾ he obtained for himself a following which included Muhammad Tāhir al-Husaynī, the **muftī** of Jerusalem¹¹⁴, and ʿAbd Allāh Bāshā, the governor of the **eyalet** of ʿAkkā from 1819 until 1832¹¹⁵. These notable personalities among the members of the **ṭarīqa** were not isolated cases but are rather examples of the wide net-work of disciples and sympathisers Khālīd had developed high up in the government hierarchy and in the religious bureaucracy¹¹⁶.

These relationships, in conjunction with the spectacular spread of the **ṭarīqa**, in all parts of the Ottoman Empire and in particular in Kurdistan¹¹⁷, seem to justify the qualification of Khālīd which was given in a recent article: “a figure of utmost importance, not only for the recent development of al-Naqshbandiyya, but also for Turkish and Arab history in the 19th century”¹¹⁸. With the death of Khālīd in 1827, his **ṭarīqa** which became known as al-Khālidiyya, continued to spread for at least two decades¹¹⁹. At the same time, however, strife between Khālīd’s khulafāʾ led towards disruption of the **ṭarīqa** organization entailing its fragmentation into relatively isolated clusters¹²⁰. In the course of this process, al-Khālidiyya may have ceased to have active groups of adherents in Palestine.

In Jerusalem, Khālīd’s **khālifā** was a certain ʿAbd Allāh al-Fardī¹²¹. About his possible contacts with the Naqshbandiyya community centred on the **zāwiya** al-Uzbakiyya nothing is known. This community, however, continued to exist and seems to have grown at the end of the 19th century, when the Russian appropriation of the Central Asian Khanates of Bukhārā, Khiva and Khuqand¹²² induced some inhabitants, including the Jews¹²³, to leave these areas and to come to Palestine.

At the end of the 19th and in the first two decades of the 20th century¹²⁴ the **mashyakha** of the **zāwiya** was held by Rashīd al-Bukhārī who had come to Jerusalem as a political refugee. His period of office was marked by a violent dispute with the adjacent **zāwiya** of the Afghans over the right to control a polt of land bordering on both **zāwiyas**. In the course of this dispute Rashīd met with a violent end when he was killed by the Afghans in the Great Mosque of Yafa in 1919¹²⁵. He was succeeded in the **mashyakha** by his son Ya^cqūb (d. 1956) who is said to have resolved the dispute by abandoning claims to the polt which was definitely ceded to the Afghans.

During the period in which Ya^cqūb was **shaykh** of the **zāwiya al-Naqshbandiyya**, until the Second World War, the **zāwiya** was an occasional meeting-place for members of organizations of political refugees from Central Asia. With these nationalist circles, which aimed at obtaining an independent Turkestan, Ya^cqūb remained in active contact throughout his life¹²⁶

The **zāwiyat al-Afghan** was built upon land which had originally belonged to the **zāwiya al-Uzbakiyya** in the first half of the 17th century. It was established as a **zāwiya** for Afghans belonging to al-Qādiriyya, and therefore was also known under this name¹²⁷. The residents of the **zāwiya** maintained links with the **shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya** in Hamāt¹²⁸. This **shaykh al-sajjāda**, however, does not appear to have had any involvement in appointments to the **mashyakha** of the **zāwiya**; and the establishment seems to have housed an autonomous Qādiriyya community which did not constitute a part of a larger organizational whole.

The only **zāwiya** in Jerusalem which had this quality is the **zāwiya al-Mawlawiyya**. Within the **ṭarīqa** at large this institution ranked as a Mevlevīkhāne of the second order¹²⁹. Appointment of the head of the **zāwiya** was dependent upon approval from the supreme head of the **ṭarīqa** who resided in Konya¹³⁰. The **zāwiya** in Jerusalem, which was established in 995:1586¹³¹, must have ceased to function by the end of the 19th century when the **ṭarīqa** also ceased to have active adherents¹³². The absence of any activity in the **zāwiya al-Mawlawiyya** at the beginning of the 20th century also appears from the fact that no mention is made of its existence in Jerusalem by F.J. Bliss¹³³. His observations on the Mawlawiyya in Sayria show that this author was fairly knowledgeable about this **ṭarīqa**¹³⁴. Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that he would not have mentioned the existence of an active Mawlawiyya **zāwiya** in his account of the **zawāyā** in Jerusalem¹³⁵ if the establishment had still been functioning at that time.

All three **zawāyā** mentioned were endowed and their inmates used to receive regular contributions to their livelihood in money and/or kind¹³⁶. In addition, other endowed **zawāyā** were functioning in the 19th and early 20th centuries¹³⁷. Supervision and/or residence in these **zawāyā** does not seem to have been reserved for members of a particular **ṭarīqa**¹³⁸, although some of these establishments served

them as a regular meeting-place¹³⁹. The heads of these endowed *zawāyā* derived their authority from the Imperial firmān by which they were invested as *shaykh al-zāwiya*¹⁴⁰. In Palestine, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴¹, the office of head of a *zāwiya* tended to be hereditary in the male line¹⁴², while the residents of the establishment could also propose a candidate or had at least to agree upon the acceptability of a potential incumbent to the office¹⁴³. Like the *turuq*, the *zawaya* in Jerusalem and in Palestine at large, did not come under a central authority, except for the *qādi* in the final resort by virtue of *zawāyā* being *waqf* by nature¹⁴⁴.

In this connection it must be noted that the office of head of the *khānaqah* al-Salahiyya, founded by the Sultan Salāh al-Dīn, known as *mashyakhat al-sufliyya bi'l-Quds*¹⁴⁶, did not entail the competence of jurisdiction suggested by this term. The authority of the incumbent to this office seems to have been restricted to the residents of the *khānaqāh* and did not extend to other communities of mystics¹⁴⁷. Thus, the term must have been more or less an honorific, similar to the titles of *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* which used to be given to the heads of *khanaqahs* in Cairo and Damascus in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times¹⁴⁸.

The number of *zawāyā* in 19th and 20th century Palestine is relatively small in comparison with the number of similar establishments existing in such main centres of administration and religious learning as Cairo¹⁴⁹, Damascus¹⁵⁰, Mecca¹⁵¹. This fact seems to reflect the limited significance of Jerusalem in the Ottoman and Istarbul¹⁵² administration¹⁵³ as well as the restricted importance of the city as a centre of Muslim learning and pilgrimage¹⁵⁴.

Besides the relative concentration of *zawāyā* in Jerusalem, other towns in Palestine harboured *zawāyā*. After Jerusalem, the largest concentration of *zawāyā* was found in the town of Hebron. Here, three endowed *zawāyā* existed in addition to at least six *zawāyā* which were each controlled by members of a particular *tarīqa*¹⁵⁵. The existence of these *zawāyā* in Hebron must largely have been the result of the presence of the shrines of the Patriarchs in the mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, whose visitors a few of these *zawāyā* must have catered, and whose sanctified proximity the founders of the *zawāyā* must have sought. Therefore, the concentration of *zawāyā* in Hebron illustrates the significance of the sanctuary as a place of Muslim pilgrimage¹⁵⁶.

At the same time, the existence of at least six *zawāyā* controlled by different *turuq* made the town, to use the words of Bliss, one of the "focal points of dervish life" in Palestine¹⁵⁷. Other such focal points in the 19th and early 20th century, where one may safely assume the existence of one or more *zawāyā*, were Qaryat al-^cIrab near Jerusalem (al-Disūqiyya)¹⁵⁸, Dayr al-Asad in Galilee (al-Qādiriyya)¹⁵⁹, Nāblus (al-Qādiriyya and al-Rifā^ciyya)¹⁶⁰, 4Yaffa (al-Ahmadiyya al-Khalwatiyya)¹⁶¹, Ghazza (al-Ahmadiyya and Yashrutīyya)¹⁶², and .Sha^cb near ^cAkka (al-Yashrutīyya)¹⁶³ in addition to the town of ^cAkka itself.

IV. Schismatic *ṭuruq* and the origins of schism.

The village of Sha^cb is only one of several villages in Galilee of which the majority of the inhabitants were members of al-Yashruṭiyya¹⁶⁴. It is mentioned here, since it was the centre of a schismatic movement within this *ṭarīqa* in the 1880s¹⁶⁵. This movement was led by a certain Amīn al-Sha^cbī, the *muqaddam* of ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn in this village. Amīn claimed superiority as a mystical leader over al-Yashruṭī himself and succeeded in obtaining a substantial following for a conception of the Way tending towards antinomianism. In the course of the ensuing dispute, of which only the outlines are known¹⁶⁶, ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn severed all links with the section of the *ṭarīqa* led by or linked with al-Sha^cbī, whom he accused, moreover, of having provided *ijāzāt* with a falsification of his seal¹⁶⁷.

According to oral tradition of al-Yashruṭiyya, the dissident group did not survive into the era of ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's son and successor, Ibrāhīm (d.1928). In this period, however, there was another *muqaddam*, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sharīf, who became schismatic and started to present himself as the head of his own independent *ṭarīqa*. This *ṭarīqa* was named al-Rahmāniyya¹⁶⁸ after him and it was detached from Shādhiliyya tradition when a *Khalwatī silsila*, linking ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sharīf with Aḥmad al-Sāwī, was adopted as its pre-eminent mystical genealogy¹⁶⁹. In Palestine, the adherents of al-Rahmaniyya were and still are found in a few villages in the northern part of an area which is at present known as the Triangle¹⁷⁰.

Another schism occurred in the 1950s, when Ibrāhīm's grand-son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān Abū Rīsha, who acted originally as *muqaddam* of the *ṭarīqa* under his uncle, Muḥammad al-Hādī, in the Ghūṭa area east of Damascus, separated himself from the mother-*ṭarīqa*¹⁷¹. His adherents in Palestine were few, mainly in the Nablus area. Already before his death in 1972 all activity of this group had ceased in the region, thus testifying to its significance⁽¹⁷²⁾.

The schismatic movements in al-Yashruṭiyya all emerged in an area relatively close to its centre (ʿAkkā, and Beirut after 1948), while no schismatic *ṭarīqa* developed in the far-away territories in East Africa¹⁷³. The sections of al-Yashruṭiyya in these regions retained their uninterrupted contact with the head of the *ṭarīqa* whose supreme authority continues to be acknowledged as appears from the fact that *ijāzāt* issued by *muqaddams* in these lands were and still are sent to ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's *khalīfa*, Muḥammad al-Hādī, in Beirut for legalization¹⁷⁴. In addition, the link with the mother-*zāwiya* was re-afforded and supported through a visit Muḥammad al-Hādī and his son Aḥmad paid to the area in 1961¹⁷⁵.

This somewhat paradoxical phenomenon of schismatic movements in a *ṭarīqa*, manifesting themselves in the area where it has its centre, while sections of the same *ṭarīqa* in the borderlands of Islam maintain a continuous and often intensive contact with this centre, is not unusual in the history of the *ṭuruq*¹⁷⁶. An explanation of

this phenomenon appears to be found in the circumstance that the adherents of a **ṭarīqa** tend to increase initially in a region close to the residence of its founder or principal propagator. This increase of adherents makes the actualization of direct personal authority problematic and necessitates the delegation of functions (of leadership) which may develop into autonomous power-positions and result in the emergence of a schismatic **ṭarīqa**. This pattern also applies to an expansion in terms of geographical scale. In time, however, such a spread tends to occur after a **ṭarīqa** has become well established in the area where it emerged. Thus, schismatic movements in sub-sections of a **ṭarīqa** far away from its centre, commonly arise much later than in the region of the **ṭarīqa**'s original spread. In addition, the leaders of such distant sections will initially depend much upon the legitimation provided by the link with the **ṭarīqa**'s spiritual centre, which may continue to constitute an indispensable source of spiritual radiation and administrative legality for the leaders of these sections if no comparative centre develops locally.

However, the lack of internal cohesion which is characteristic of most **ṭuruq** in the long run, seems to have its more fundamental cause in the almost inevitable conflict between the charisma required for effective mystical leadership and the institutionalization of this leadership dictated by the need for its continuity¹⁷⁷. Only where a functional relationship developed between a **ṭarīqa** or the **ṭuruq** in general and the State and its agencies does organizational continuity, including the continuity of a central authority position, seem to have existed over some periods of time, as the result of interest and/or involvement of the State in/with the well-being of the **ṭuruq**. This was the case in Egypt for the greater part of the 19th century. The Bektashī and the Mevlevī orders in the Ottoman Empire in certain periods seem to constitute examples of individual **ṭuruq** where organizational continuity owed much to functional relationships with the State. Conditions supportive of a smooth transfer of **ṭarīqa** leadership were lacking in 19th and 20th century Palestine. In consequence, ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's death in 1899 was followed by a temporary breakdown of authority in the **ṭarīqa** which was then led by his son Ibrāhīm (d. 1952)¹⁷⁸ .

V. Some trends in the 20th century.

The 20th century has largely been a period of decline for the **ṭuruq** in most parts of the Arab world. This decline has generally been attributed to the process of secularization which occurred in the Ottoman Empire and in the Arab lands from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Changes in outlook, implying a decline of interest in mystical life, as well as opposition towards it, in conjunction with changes in the social order, left their impact upon many of the **ṭuruq**, which gradually ceased to be active and finally completely disappeared¹⁷⁹ .

In Palestine also, the decline of organized Islamic mysticism is manifest from the early decades of this century: **zawāya** ceased to function¹⁸⁰, public **ḥaḍarāt** ceased to

be held [from 1917 onwards no **ḥaḍarāt** at all were held in al-Haram al-Sharīf¹⁸¹], and the absence of any reference to the **ṭuruq** in numerous books on the Holy Land published in the first decades of this century, including the more comprehensive accounts, bear witness to the marginal existence these associations must have had.

In 1930 **ḥaḍarāt** were prohibited near the Wailing Wall. This prohibition was issued by the Mandatory authorities as part of an effort to reduce tension between Muslims and Jews about rights concerning religious activity near the Wall¹⁸². Since these **ḥaḍarāt** were not held at this site until the first years of the Mandatory period¹⁸³, one may safely interpret this innovation as an expression of Muslim opposition involving the **ṭuruq** to the increasing Jewish presence and penetration of Palestine, probably in reaction to the militant ways by which the Jews presented their claims for unrestricted access to the Wall¹⁸⁴.

At the onset of the Second World War, the Nabī Mūsā celebrations were also discontinued¹⁸⁵. From the fostering of these celebrations by the Grand Muftī of Jerusalem, Amin al-Ḥusayni, the **ṭuruq** may have received some new impetus: their contributions to the celebrations had always marked the occasion and the efforts of the Muftī to make this **mawsim** into a great national event must have created a demand for their presence¹⁸⁶.

But whatever the scale of this impetus may have been, it was certainly undone by the events of 1948, which must have had as disruptive an effect upon the **ṭuruq** as it had upon all other sectors of Arab society in Palestine. The outcome of these events for the **ṭuruq** in general must have been largely identical with the consequences they had for al-Yashruṭiyya. Concerning this **ṭarīqa**, it is known that it lost several of its **zawāyā**, which were either destroyed or confiscated in and after 1948¹⁸⁹. A substantial part of its membership fled from Palestine and became refugees, while the **ṭarīqa**'s supreme spiritual leader moved his head-quarters outside the country to Beirut¹⁸⁸. In the subsequent period the **ṭarīqa** and the **zawiya** in 'Akka lost most of its **awqāf** which were appropriated by the Israeli authorities¹⁸⁹. This deprived the **ṭarīqa** of the principal financial basis for the upkeep of the remaining **zāwaya** which fell into a state of dilapidation in consequence¹⁹⁰. In addition, the members of the **ṭarīqa** inside the State of Israel were cut off from their fellow-members and their leader residing outside this territory.

Their relative isolation came to an end, when in the wake of the 1967 War, the members of al-Yashruṭiyya in Israel could establish direct contacts again with their fellow-members in the Ghazza Strip¹⁹¹ and on the West Bank¹⁹². Through the latter, who could move relatively freely between the occupied territory and the outside world, the maintenance of contacts with the sections of the **ṭarīqa** in the Middle East and elsewhere became less difficult. These developments have had noticeably positive consequences for the **ṭarīqa**. The transfer of funds from other parts of the Islamic World to the **ṭarīqa**'s former centre has now become possible again. This

has allowed for an initial restoration of the mother-**zāwiya** and the shrine-complex in ḥAkka¹⁹³. In addition, at least one new **zāwiya** has been constructed recently (1970), in Umm al-Fahm in the northern part of the Triangle, and regular weekly **ḥaḍarāt** are being held again in all **zawāyā** of the **ṭriqa** in the territory controlled by the State of Israel. This points towards a limited resurgence of al-Yashrutiyya in Palestine which may well be a manifestation of a limited revival of organized Islamic mysticism in the area in general, as is suggested by a similar resurgence in activity of al-Raḥmāniyya, centered at Zayta.

To what degree these manifestations of a revival of Islamic mysticism will have to be explained in relation to the specific circumstances of insecurity, discrimination and oppression, under which the Arab population inside Israel lives, or as one of the expressions of a more universal general trend towards renewed Islamic consciousness and Islamic revival is a question to which an answer must wait until after these phenomena of revival have taken on a more distinct shape in future. In the meantime, detailed studies of the **ṭuruq** in Ottoman and post-Ottoman Palestine could be embarked upon using archives in Turkey and local archival collections⁹⁴. From these materials data might be derived allowing for the presentation of an analytical picture of the vicissitudes of the **ṭuruq** in relation to the vicissitudes of Palestinian society at large and permitting the verification of some of the hypothetical assertions made, as well as the formulation of precise answers to the problems connected with the various issues raised, explicitly or implicitly, in the present paper.

NOTES

- 1 For an evaluative discussion of the majority of these studies, see R. Caspar, 'Mystique musulmane. Bilan d'une décennie (1963-1973)', in **IBLA** 1974/1 (no. 133), 69-101; 1975/1 (no. 135), 39-111. More recent studies not mentioned in this article may be found in the bibliography to F. De Jong, **Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked Institutions in Nineteenth Century Egypt. A Historical Study in Administrative Dimensions of Islamic Mysticism**, Leiden 1978 (Referred to as **Ṭuruq** hereafter).
- 2 In the present paper, a distinction is made between the **ṭarīqa**, being an initiatory association with some degree of hierarchical organization founded on a mystical conception of Islam, and the "Way", which is the total corpus of mystical teachings and practices taught, cultivated and transmitted within the **ṭarīqa**.
- 3 **P.J. Baldensperger**, 'Orders of Holy Men in Palestine', **Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1894**, 22-38; Muḥammad Labib al-Batanūnī, **Al-Rihla al-Hijāziyya**, Cairo: Mt. al-Jamāliyya 1329, 163; F.J. Bliss, **The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine**, Edinburgh 1912, 234ff., 267f.; T. Canaan, **Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine**, London 1927, 199.
- 4 Cf. A. Goodrich-Freer, **Inner Jerusalem**, London 1904, 274f.; al-Batanūnī, 163f.; Bliss, 268f.; Canaan, 213.
- 5 Canaan, 193.
- 6 Godrich-Freer, 274f.; Canaan, 199ff., 209.
- 7 See Canaan, 215, for a list of the more important **mawāsim** in Palestine.
- 8 **Ibid.**, 218.
- 9 Cf. **Ṭuruq**, 101, 112, 167f., 214.
- 10 On the various meanings of the term **Khalīfa** in Islamic mysticism, see F. De Jong, '**Khalīfa**', in **Encyclopaedia of Islam**², iv, 950-2. In 19th-century Palestine, a **Khalīfa** of a **ṭarīqa** must either have been a person who was duly authorized to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path by his turn (as discussed in this article, sub 3), or the pre-eminent representative and principal propagator of a **ṭarīqa** in a particular area acting independently (as discussed sub 5).
- 11 Cf. **Ṭuruq**, 101.

Baldensperger, *passim*; Bliss, 235.

- 13 Al-Ahmadiyya had its main centre in the town of Tantā, where the shrine of the founder of this **tariqa**, Ahmad al-Badawī (596-675 : 1199-1276) is situated. Several publications discussing the historicity of this personality have appeared over the past thirty years, outlining his Way and giving additional information about the branches. Among the most comprehensive are Ahmad Tu^cayma, **Hayāt al-Sayyid al-Badawī**, Cairo: al-Mt. al-^cArabiyya n.d. [1965]; and Sa^cid ^cAshūr, **Al-Sayyid al-Badawī, Shaykh wa Tariqa**, Cairo 1967. For a critique of the last-mentioned publication, which applies a more or less critical historical method to the **tariqa** lore, see Salāh al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Hamid al-Hādī, **Karāmāt al-Awliya’**, **Haqīqat min al-Kitāb wa’l-Sunna**, Tanta 1966.

Al-Disūqiyya had its centre in the town of Disūq in the north-eastern Nile Delta. Here, the shrine of the founder of the **tariqa**, Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī (d. 687 : 1288), is situated. For this saint, his **tariqa** and its branches, see Ahmad ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh Khalaf Allāh, **Min Qādat al-Fikr al-Islāmī: al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī**, Cairo: al-Majlis al-‘Alā’ li’l-Shu’ūn al-Islāmiyya n.d. In Egypt, the **tariqa** was commonly known as al-Burhāmiyya, while elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, al-Disūqiyya seems to have been the current appellation; cf. A. Le Chatelier, **Les confrères Musulmanes du Hedjaz**, Paris 1887, 190ff.; Bliss, 234; J.-A. Jaussen, **Coutumes paléstiennes I: Naplouse et son district**, Paris 1927, 220; J.P. Brown, **The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism**, London 1968 (repr.), 60. In this paper I have opted for the latter appellation.

- 14 In this context, cf. the observations in Bliss, 234ff.
- 15 On these branches and their names, see **Turuq**, *passim*.
- 16 For a detailed discussion of the **turuq**-administration and its functioning, see **Turuq**, *passim*, and in particular chapter II.
- 17 The offices of **khilāfat al-maqām al-Ahmadī** and **khilāfat al-maqām al-Ibrāhīmī** tended to be inherited within certain families of descendents of prominent **khulafā’** of the **tariqa** founders; cf. **Turuq**, *passim*.
- 18 Cf. Jewish National and University Library MS A.P. Ar. 8^o 475 (Leiden F.Or.A. 603), Sa^cd al-Dīn Bībī al-Yāfī, ‘**Thabat Ansāb Sādatinā Ahl al-Turuq**’, n.d. [late 19th century as may be inferred from several names and dates mentioned in this text], 120ff., 136ff. The **silsila** of al-Disūqiyya mentioned here, links Muḥammad Amin al-Dajānī al-Yāfī with Mustafa b. Muḥammad ^cAbidīn, **khalīfa** and **nāzir** of the **maqām al-Ibrāhīmī** (cf. *ibid.* 129). He is listed by Tu^cayma, 108f., as the 19th **khalīfat**

al-maqām. The **silsila** of al-Aḥmadiyya mentioned in this manuscript links Sa^cd al-Dīn Bībī al-Yāfi with Muḥammad Ḥamuda, the **khalīfa** and **nāẓir** of the maqām al-Aḥmadi who died in 1239:1823/.

- 19 Baldensperger, *passim*; Bliss, 235.
- 20 See e.g. the Qādiriyya **Silsila** of Aḥmad Shākir al-Dajānī, which goes back to the **shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya** in Ḥamāt; cf. al-Yāfi, 31. The Qādiriyya **silsila** of Fayd-i Rasūl b. Ghulām-i Rasūl al-Afghānī, the **shaykh** of the zawiyat al-Afghan (see below p. 11), equally goes back to the heads of al-Qādiriyya in Hamāt; cf. MS Leiden Or. 14.679, p.5.
- for a Rifāʿiyya **silsila** of members of the Dajānī family going back to Mustafā Efendī al-Bayrūtī, see al-Yāfi, 5. See also Leiden F.Or.A. 680/14, Muḥammad al-Qāwuqajī, ‘Shawārig al-Anwar al-Jaliyya fī Asānīd al-Sāda al-Shādhiliyya’, 99f. for the Rifāʿiyya **silsila** of Husayn Salīm al-Dajānī (d. 1319:1901/2 ; cf. *ibid.*99), **muftī** of Yāfā, who initiated al-Qawuqajī (see below p. 8) into a branch of al-Rifāʿiyya identified as al-Jandaliyya; cf. *ibid.*, 100, and Muḥammad abu’l-Huda al-Ṣayyādī, **Tanwīr al-Absār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Sāda al-Rifāʿiyya al-Akhyār**, Cairo: Mt Muḥammad Efendi Muṣṭafa 1306, 25.
- 21 Cf. e.g. :Bliss, *Passim*, who does not mention any branch by name. See also the biographies of **mashāyikh Rifāʿiyya** who died after 1200 A.H. in al-Ṣayyādī, 88ff.; no reference is made to the branches they belonged to.
- 22 For observations on **ijāzāt** in Palestine (and Syria); cf. Bliss, 251f.; Canaan, 313f.
- 23 For an example of such a case elsewhere, see Mirghani al-Idrīsī, **Daʿwat al-Ḥaqq fī’l-Tariqa al-Dandarāwiyya al-Idrīsīyya**, Cario: Mt Lajnat al-Bayān al-ʿArabī 1952.
- 24 the correctness of this claim is demonstrated by the development of the central administration of the **ṭuruq** in Egypt, which entailed amongst others a clear differentiation of the **ṭuruq** by name; cf. e.g. the case of the branches of al-Ṣāwiyya in **Ṭuruq**, 74 and *passim*.
- 25 Cf. The practice of certifying **ijāzāt** mentioned by Canaan, 313. For 19th-century **ijāzāt** from other parts of the Empire carrying certifications from local **mashāyikh** who did not belong to the **tariqa** of the **khalīfa** issuing the **ijāza**, see MSS Leiden Or. 12.497; and 12.584. There is some indication that in 19th-century Palestine the **mukhtār** of the village where a **khalīfa** was to be invested played a role in granting legality; cf. Bliss, 241.
- 26 For a useful outline of the administration in this period, see Y. Hofman,

- 'The Administration of Syria and palestine under Egyptian Rule (1831-1840)', in M. Ma^oz (ed.), **Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period, Jerusalem 1975, 311-333.**
- 27 For these provisions, see **Ṭuruq**, chapter I, **passim**.
- 28 **The impact of the Egyptian occupation upon Haifa being the exemption; cf. Alexs Carmel, Ta'rikh Ḥayfā fī 'Ahd al-Atrāk al-^oUthmāniyīn, Haifa 1979 (trsl. from the Hebrew by Taysir Ilyās), 121. For information about the reforms, see M. Abir, 'Local Leadership and Early Reforms in Palestine, 1800-1834', in Ma^oz, 284-310; see also Hofman, **Passim**.**
- 29 **Cf. Baldensperger, 35; Bliss, 232.**
- 30 Cf. Hofman, 320 and **passim**.
- 31 See Bliss, 232.
- 32 Cf. Canaan, 302ff.
- 33 Cf. the enumeration in Cannan, 276. Frequently the saint himself had belonged to a ṭariqa; *ibid.*, 310.
- 34 Cf. N.A. Ziadeh, **Urban life in Syria under the Early Mamluks, Beirut 1953, 162f.**; Mujir al-Dīn al-^oUlaymī, **Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl**, ii vols., Cairo: Mt. al-Wahbiyya 1283, ii, 399, 419, 421, 427, 500.
- 35 See Canaan, **passim** for the numerous pieces of information contained in his descriptions of popular lore, custom and practice, testifying to the presence of these ṭuruq.
- 36 bliss, 235.
- 37 Jaussen, 326ff.
- 38 **Ibid.**
- 39 Al-^oUlaymī, ii, 395.
- 40 See Muhammad Kurd ^oAlī, **Khitat al-Sha'm**, vi vols., Beirut 1971 (repr.), vi, 149.
- 41 Cf. the relevant illustrative documents contained in Leiden F.Or.A. 680. A comprehensive study of al-Sa^odiyya in Ottoman Syria, based upon this material is in preparation.
- 42 Cf. Bliss, 233, 235.
- 43 It was known as al-Shaybāniyya al-Sa^odiyya; cf. MS Zāhiriyya 9485 ('amm) [MS Leiden Or. 14. 667], 'Ijāza fī'l-Tariqa al-Shaybāniyya al-Sa^odiyya.

- 44 Cf. **Majallat al-Islām wa'l-Tasawwuf**, iv/3 (Cairo 1961), 78f.; iv/11 (1916), 81.
- 45 This branch was founded by Abū'l-Wafā' Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Dimashqī (d. 1140 approx.); see MS Ibrahim EF endī (Suleymaniye) 430-2, Kamal al-Dīn al-Harīrī, 'Tibyān Wasā'il al-Haqā'iq fī Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭarā'iq', ii, 123; cf. Leiden F.Or.A. 680/48 (preliminary classification), where al-Wafā'iyya is mentioned as one of the four branches of al-Sa^cdiyya going back to Ibrāhīm Abū'l-Wafā'. The other three branches mentioned in this document are al-Salāmiyya (named after ^cAbd al-Salām al-Shaybānī), al-Taghlibiyya al-Shaybaniyya (going back to Yūnus al-Shaybī [al-Shaybānī]), and al-^cAjūziyya, named after ^cAjuzi Baba. For the last-mentioned *shaykh*, see, A. Popovic, 'Un texte inedit de Hasan Kaleshi: "L'Ordre des Sa^cdiya en Yougoslavie" ', in R. Dor & M. Nicolas, **Quand le crible était dans la paille...**. **Hommage à P.N. Boratav**, Paris 1978, 335-348.
- 46 It seems reasonable to make this supposition in view of the geographical proximity of Palestine and the areas in Syria where al-Wafā'iyya is known to have spread (Damascus area and al-Jawlān).
- 47 See **Turuq**, *passim*. For the biographies of the leaders of al-Wafā'iyya, see Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, **Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya**, Cairo n.d.
- 48 Cf. al-^cUlaymī, ii, 392, 526; Kurd ^cAli, 148f., 150; 'Irfān Sa^cid Abū Hamad al-Hawwārī, **A^clām min Ard al-Salām**, Haifa 1979, 25.
- 49 Cf. Kurd ^cAli, vi, 148, 150; and Ishāq Musa al-Husaynī, **Al-Abniya al-Athariyya fī'l-Quds al-Islāmiyya**, Jerusalem: Mt. Dār al-Aytām al-Islāmiyya 1977, 19 (no. 95). Both *zawiyas* seem to have ceased functioning before the end of the 18th century, since they are not mentioned in the lists of payments in money and kind from the *khazīnat al-Quds* to the *zāwāya* in Jerusalem contained in F.Or.A. 681.
- 50 Muḥammad Maḥmūd 'Ilwān, **Al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī**, Cairo: Mashyakhat ^cUmūm al-Ṭuruq al-Sufiyya 1958, 74
- 51 Cf. ^cAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusā, **Al-Ḥadra al-Unsiyya fī'l-Rihla al-Qudsiyya**. Cairo: Mt. **Jarīdat al-Ikhlāṣ** 1920, 74. ^cAbd al-Qādir b. ^cAbd al-Karīm al-Shafshawuni (d. 1313:1895), a *khalīfa* of al-Darqāwiyya, the parent-*ṭarīqa* of al-Madaniyya, stayed in Jerusalem on at least two occasions and may have had disciples there; cf. his **Sa^cd al-Shumūs wa'l-Aqmār wa Zubdat Sharī'at al-Nabī al-Mukhtār**, Cairo: al-Mt. al-Bahiyya al-Misriyya 1310, 1. For additional information about this *Shaykh*, see F. De Jong, 'Materials relative to the History of the Darqāwiyya Order and its Branches', **Arabica** xxvi/2 (1979), 126-143.
- 52 For documents testifying that al-Yashruṭī was originally active as a *khalīfa* of al-Madaniyya, see the texts of the two *Ijāzas* published in Fāṭima al-Yashruṭiyya, **Rihla ilā al-Ḥaqq**, Beirut: Mt. Dār al-Kutub [1954], 325ff.

- 53 Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, **Jāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ**, ii vols., Cairo: Mt. Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubrā 1329, ii, 201f.; ʿAbd al-Razzaq al-Bayṭār, **Ḥilyat al-Bashar fī Taʾrīkh al-Qarn al-Thalith ʿAshar**, iii vols., Damascus: al-Majma ʿal-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī 1916-1963, 1065-67. The main biography is by ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn's daughter, Fāṭima (d. 1979), and is mentioned in note 52. J. van Ess, 'Die Yasrutiya' ('Libanesische Miszellen 6'), **Die Welt des Islams** xvi/1-4 (1975), 1-103, contains a critical evaluation of this biography as part of a comprehensive study of the **ṭarīqa** and its founder. Supplementary to this biography are two other books by Fāṭima al-Yashruṭiyya: **Nāfāḥat al-Ḥaqq**, Beirut: Mt. Dār al-Kutub 1963; and **Mawāhib al-Ḥaqq**, Beirut 1966.
- 54 Cf. van Ess, 16ff.
- 55 Cf. **Rihla**, 144.
- 56 **Ibid.**, 144ff.
- 57 For a discussion of the probable length of this period, see van Ess, 18.
- 58 Cf. Leiden F.Or.A. 681/1-4 (preliminary classification) for the copy of the **waqfiyya** establishing the **waqf ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashruṭī**. This microfilmed document, together with several other documents from **zawāyā** in Palestine preserved under this accession-number, will be the subject of a separate publication.
- 59 Towards the end of the 19th century, **zawāyā** of the **ṭarīqa** existed in 'Akka, Haifa, Beirut, Damascus, Rhodes and Istanbul; **Rihla**, 140.
- 60 Cf. **Rihla**, 138, 140.
- 61 On the village and the **zāwiya**, see Najī Ḥabīb Makhawwal, **ʿAkkā wa Qurāha min Aqdam al-Azmina ilā al-Waqt al-Ḥādīr**, ʿAkkā: Manshūrāt al-Aswār 1979, 129ff.
- 62 Cf. **Rihla**, 138, 145.
- 63 For examples, see **ṭuruq**, **passim**.
- 64 Cf. van Ess, 24f.
- 65 Cf. Bliss, 226.
- 66 See Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jawwad al-Qāyātī, **Nafhat al-Bishām fī Rihlat al-Sha'm**, Cairo: Mt. Jarīdat al-Islām 1319, 24; al-Bayṭār, ii, 1066; **Al-Hidāya al-Islāmiyya**, iii/8(Cairo, Muh. 1350), 443-4; iii/9 (Safar 1350), 499-506.
- 67 On the spread of the **ṭarīqa** in these regions, see B.G. Martin, **Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th-century Africa**, Cambridge 1972 chapter vi.

- 68 This **muqaddam**, was a certain Kāmil Shaybān, who died in 1942 and is buried in a **hawsh** near the shrine of Sīdī Yūnus al-Shaybānī in the cemetery of Bab al-Naṣr, Cairo; cf. [Rāfi °Muḥammad Rafī°], **Risālat al-Tawhīd wa'l-Ta°did °an al-Itlāq wa'l-Taqyīd**, Cairo: Mt. al-Wahda al-°Arabiyya, n.d. [1959], 29. In this publication, Kāmil Shaybān is mentioned as al-Yashruṭī's **khalīfa**. The use of this term is not in accordance with the practice of al-Yashruṭiyya within which the local deputy of the head of the **ṭarīqa** is called a **muqaddam**; while only a direct successor of °Alī Nūr al-Dīn to the **ṭarīqa**'s position of supreme leadership is referred to as **khalīfa**. The reference to Kāmil Shaybān as **khalīfa** is in line with standard usage of this term in Etypt. On the use of the terms **khalīfa** and **muqaddam** as equivalents, see F. De Jong, 'Khalifa', in *E.I.*², iv, 951.
- 69 See **ṬTuruq**, 101ff., 165f.
- 70 **Ibid.**, 108f.
- 71 Cf. **ibid.**, chapter ii, *passim*.
- 72 The principle of right of **qadam** was superseded by legality of tenure of the office of **shaykh al-sajjāda** of a **ṭarīqa** as the main institutional safeguard against secession from a **ṭarīqa**; cf. **turuq**, chapter iii. This has remained the case to the present day.
- 73 For biographies, see °Abd al-Qādir al-Adhamī, **Tarjamat Qutb al-Wāṣilīn wa Ghawth al-Sālikīn Muḥammad Abū'l-Maḥāsin al-Qāwuqajī**, Beirut: al-Mt. al-Adabiyya 1306; and al-Nabhānī, i, 224.
- 74 Cf. al-Adhamī, 10, and °Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, **Fihris al-Fahāris wa'l-Ithbāt wa Mu°jam al-Ma°ājim wa'l-Mashyakhāt wa'l-Musalsalāt**, iii vols., Fez 1347, ii, 289ff.
- 75 Cf. al-Adhamī, 11.
- 76 On some of these **khulafā'**, see **Turuq**, 110f.
- 77 Every year he used to spend approximately four months in turn in Cairo, Beirut and Mecca, in which last city he died; al-Adhamī, 20.
- 78 Cf. van Ess, 22f.
- 79 During his frequent visits to Jerusalem, °Alī Nūr al-Dīn usually stayed at the house of the **naqīb al-shraf**, Muhammad °Alī al-Husaynī; **Rihla**, 149; cf. 348. Meetings of the adherents of the **ṭarīqa** took place in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf; cf. **Nafahāt**, 79. On the social category of the **efendiyyāt** and for further references, see Abir, 292.
- 80 Cf. van Ess, 23, 52ff.

- 81 al-Adhamī, 10.
- 82 On al-Khalwatiyya and its branches, see F. De Jong, 'Khalwatiyya', in *E.I.*², iv, 991-3.
- 83 For his biography, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, **ʿAjāʾib al-Athār fi'l-Tarājim wa'l-Akhbār**, iv vols., Būlāq n.d. [1297], i, 417.
- 84 Cf. C. Brockelmann, 'Al-Bakrī, Mustafā Kamāl al-Dīn', in *E.I.*², i, 965f.
- 85 See Ishāq Mūsā al-Husaynī, 'Alam min Bayt al-Maqdis: al-Hājj Muhammad b. Budayr b. Muhammad b. Mahmūd', **Majallat Majmaʿ 'al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya**, Cairo 1977, 177-82.
- 86 Cf. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaddūmī, **Al-Rihla al-Ḥijāziyya wa'l-Riyāḍ al-Unsiyya fi'l-Ḥawādith wa'l-Masā'il al-ʿIlmiyya**, Nāblus 1324, 1.
- 87 For a biography, see al-Jabartī, ii, 356. For additional detail, see the paper by Ishāq Mūsā al-Hasaynī mentioned in note 85. This paper is based upon data derived from a unique manuscript in possession of the author: Hasan b. ʿAbd al-Latīf al-Hasayni, **Aʿyān al-Quds fi'l-Qarn al-Thani ʿAshar**.
- 88 al-Qāwuqaji, 'Shawāriq', 112.
- 89 Founded by Ahmad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1241: 1825). For his biography, see Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghribī, **Al-Nūr al-Wuddā' fi Manāqib wa Karāmāt ʿUmdat al-Awliyā' ... Sīdī Aḥmad al-Sāwī**, Cairo 1347. Ḥusayn al-Dajānī was initiated by Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī himself, when in Cairo; see al-Nabhānī, i, 407f.
- 90 See al-Maghribī, 149 for biographical data. al-Maghribī, 149 for biographical data.
- 91 al-Ḥarīrī, ii, 219^a; al-Nabhānī, i, 408.
- 92 al-Nabhānī, i, 220; al-Bayṭār, i, 71. But cf. al-Nabhānī, ii, 99, where it is stated that al-Dajānī was initiated by Muḥammad al-Jisr into al-Shadhiliyya. This, however, seems unlikely since Muḥammad al-Jisr, and also his son Ḥusayn al-Jisr, acted first and foremost as **khalīfa** of al-Ṣāwiyya al-Khalwatiyya; cf. Shakīb Arslān, **A-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā aw Ikhā' Arba ʿin Sana**, Damascus: Mt. Ibn Zaydūn 1937, 97.
- 93 Cf. al-Yāfi, 136, 145.
- 94 **Ibid.**, **passim**.
- 95 Bliss, 24lf., Jaussen, 226ff.; cf. Baldensperger, 25, 37.
- 96 Cf. C.E. Farah, 'Social implications of a Sūfī disciple's etiquette', in F.

Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm/Leiden 1975, 53; Al-Sayyid b. Aḥmad al-Sayyid ʿImrān, *Al-Tuḥaf al-ʿImrāniyya*, Cairo n.d. [1970], 16f. On ethical and practical issues involved, see also Alexandria Municipal Library MS nun 3159 **jīm** (collection), ‘Su’āl: “Hal yajūzu li-man akhadha ʿalā Shaykh an yadhaba ilā Ghayrihi”’.

- 97 Among the isolated examples outside Palestine, of **mashāyikh** who gave spiritual guidance in accordance with and acted as a **khalīfa** to at least three **ṭuruq** (al-Khalwatiyya, al-Naqshbandiyya and al-Shadhiliyya) is the Egyptian **Shaykh** ʿUmar Haykal al-Shabrāwī (1235-1303: 1819/20-1886); cf. Aḥmad Muhammad ʿUthmān, *Risālat Imātat al-Lithām ʿan baʿd Āthār Sīdī Abī ʿAbd al-Salām... al-Shaykh ʿUmar Haykal Jaʿfar al-Shabrawi*, n.p. [Cairo?] 1366, 77. This practice was continued by his successors as part of the Way of the **Tarīqa** named al-Shabrāwiyya after him.
- 98 E.g. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1299: 1882), who in his ‘Tibyān’ (see note 45) mentions the **ṭuruq**, in addition to others, into which he has been initiated and/or of which he has received an **ijāzat khilāfa**. Similar information is given by Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī in his ʿIqd al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī’l-Dhikr wa ṭuruq Ilbās wa’l-Talqīn (Leiden F.Or.A. 680/6; being a microfilmed copy of the original manuscript in the possession of **shaykh** Muhammad b. Tāwīt al-Tanjī, Damascus) and by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī in his *Al-Salsabīl al-Maʿīn fī’l-Ṭarāʾiq al-Arbaʿīn* in the margin of his *Masāʾil al-ʿAshar*, Cairo: Mt. al-Maʿāhid 1353.
- 99 Well-known examples are al-Mīrghaniyya and al-Tījaniyya.
- 100 In Palestine, the word **zāwiya** was more commonly used than the word **takiya** (**tekke**); Bliss, 255; cf. **Ṭuruq**, 29f.
- 101 ʿArif al-ʿArif, *ʿAl-Mufaṣṣal fī Taʾrīkh al-Quds*, Jerusalem 1961, 499.
- 102 Leiden F.Or.A. 681/2 (copy of **waqfiyya** dated 10Muh. 1133).
- 103 al-ʿArif, *ibid.*
- 104 The date of his death is mentioned in the inscription on the outside of the shrine standing in the small garden of the **zāwiya**.
- 105 **al-ʿArif**, *ibid.*
- 106 Cf. Leiden F.Or.A. 681/7-9.
- 107 Cf. *ibid.* and A.J.Rustum, *Al-Uṣūl al-ʿArabiyya li-Taʾrīkh Sūriyya fī ʿAhd Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāshā*, Beirut 1930-34, iv vols., iii-iv, 29f.
- 108 Oral information obtained in early 1980, from Mahmūd Ḥabīd Allāh, the

- son-in-law of Musa b. Yaʿqub al-Bukhari (d. 1973), the last **shaykh** of the **zāwiya**.
- 109 See **Turuq**, 80ff.
- 110 B. Hayit, **Turkestan zwischen Russland und China**, Amsterdam 1971, 124, 166, 186; H. Carrere d'Encausse, **Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire russe, Bukhara 1867-1924**, Paris 1966, 66f.
- 111 Cf. A. Bennigsen & C. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, **L'Islam en Union Soviétique**, Paris 1968, 186.
- 112 For an outline of the history of al-Naqshbandiyya and references to the relevant literature, see H. Algar, 'The Naqshbandī Order: A preliminary survey of its history and significance', in **Studia Islamica** xliv (1976), 123-152.
- 113 Algar, 148.
- 114 Cf. Muḥammad Asʿad, **Bughyat al-Wajid fi Maktubat Mawlana Khālid**, Damascus 1334, 219.
- 115 Cf. *ibid.*, 85, 224, 227, 228.
- 116 For letters bearing testimony to these contacts, cf. *ibid.*, 108, 119, 138, 173, 184, 188.
- 117 An interesting effort to explain this spread in terms of structural characteristics of the Naqshbandiyya under Khalid and changes in the social situation in Kurdistan, is found in M.M. van Bruinessen, **Agha, Shaikh and State. On the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan**, Utrecht (The Netherlands) 1978, 284ff.
- 118 Algar, 147.
- 119 Cf. *ibid.*, 149.
- 120 Van Bruinessen, 286.
- 121 Asʿad, 173.
- 122 Cf. M. Holdsworth, **Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century. A brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Khokand and Khiva**, Oxford 1959, *passim*.
- 123 **Palestine and Transjordan**, [London]: Naval Intelligence Division. Geographical handbook series. B.R. 514 (restricted) 1943, 145.
- 124 The following part is based upon oral information obtained from Maḥmūd Ḥabīb Allāh (see note 108).

- 125 The majority of the Afghans in Palestine lived in Yafa. In the 1940s their number was about one hundred; see al-^cArif, 500.
- 126 The community of Muslim refugees from Bukhara in Jerusalem numbered about fifty souls in the 1940s; al-^cArif, 499. Several of these refugees had Connections with the France-based nationalist organization led by Muṣṭafā Čoqayoglu [Čokayev (cf. Holdsworth, 66f.)], which issued the monthly **Yash Turkestan** printed in Berlin; see A. Bennigsen & C. Lemerrier-Quellejey, **La Presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920**, La Haye 1964, 255. An incomplete collection of this periodical is preserved at the **zāwiya**.
- 127 al-^cArif, *ibid.*
- 128 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14.679, which is the **ijāza** of Fayḍ-i Rasūl b. Ghulām-i Rasūl al-Afghānī. He was the **shaykh** of the **zāwiyat al-Afghān** at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Oral information from Jalāl al-Afghānī, the only person of Afghani extraction still living in the **zāwiya**).
- 129 A. Gölpınarlı, **Mevlanaa'dan sonra Mevlevilik**, Istanbul 1953, 334f.
- 130 Cf. Bliss, 246; al-^cArif, 500.
- 131 al-^cArif, *ibid.* For a description of the **zāwiya al-Mawlawiyya** at the end of the 17th century, see al-Nābulusī, 570f.
- 132 Cf. al-^cArif, 500f.
- 133 Cf. Bliss, 225ff.
- 134 Bliss, 236, 246f.
- 135 **Ibid.**, 255f.
- 136 See Leiden F.Or.A. 681/8-10; Bliss, 255; cf. Canaan, 302; Rustum, i, 95; al-^cArif, 499ff.
- 137 For a list of the principal ones, see Canaan, 300f.; cf. al-^cArif, *ibid.*
- 138 In addition to the **zāwiya al-Uzbakiyya** and the **zāwiyat al-Afghān**, two other **zāwiyas** reserved for foreign nationals existed in Jerusalem: the **zawiyat al-Hunūd** (cf. al-^cArif, 499) and the **zāwiyat al-Maghārība**. Bliss, 255, speaks about Moroccan dervishes residing in the latter **zāwiya**. However, the **waqfiyya** establishing the **zāwiya** does not restrict the right of residence to adherents of a particular **ṭarīqa**. It is stipulated in the document that all male Moroccans who are single and live in Jerusalem or are just passing through have the right to stay in the **zāwiya** and are entitled to the daily meals and the occasional distributions of food pro-

- vided here. For further details, see ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, ‘Hayy al-Maghārība bil-Quds’, *Majallat al-Dirāsāt al-Filasṭīniyya* 1972/2, *passim*.
- 139 Bliss, 255f.; Canaan, 301.
- 140 Cf. Leiden F.Or.A. 681 / 11-13; Bliss, 246; Rustum, ii, 159.
- 141 Bliss, 239; cf. *Ṭuruq*, 25.
- 142 See Bliss, 252; and Rustum, ii, 159f., iii / iv, 29f., cf. note 107.
- 143 Bliss, 252; cf. *Turuq*, 78, for the practice followed in this respect in 19th-century Egypt.
- 144 Aref el-Aref, ‘The Closing Phase of Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem’, in Maʿoz, 337; cf. Hanki, *Du Waqf. Recueil de jurisprudence*, Cairo 1914, 59f.
- 145 Cf. al-ʿArif, 50 if; Canaan. 301.
- 146 Rustum, ii, 159f.; cf. al-ʿUlaymī, ii, 500, 521, 527.
- 147 Cf. Rustum, *ibid*. A *hadra* used to be held regularly in this building until the beginning of the 20th century; cf. Bliss, 258. I have not been able to establish which *ṭarīqa* was involved here.
- 148 See S.J. Trimingham, *The Ṣūfī Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; cf. Tawfiq al-Tawīl, *Al-Taṣawwuf fī Miṣr Ibbān al-ʿAṣr al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Adab 1946, 93ff.
- 150 Cf. the enumeration in Kurd ʿAlī, vi, 130ff.
- 151 Le Chatelier, *passim*.
- 152 Brown, 459ff.
- 153 Cf. A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century. Patterns of Government and Administration*, Jerusalem 1973, 169ff.; al-ʿArif, 272; Y. Porath, ‘Al-Hājj Amīn al-Ḥusynī, Muftī of Jerusalem—His Rise to Power and the consolidation of his position’, in G. Baer(ed.) *The ʿUlamāʾ in Modern History, Studies in Memory of Professor Uriel Heyd* (= *Asian and African Studies*, vol.7) Jerusalem 1971, 125.
- 154 Cf. Y. Porath, ‘The political Awakening of the Palestinian Arabs and their Leadership towards the End of the Ottoman Period’, in Maʿoz. 354. For an enumeration of the *madāris* in Jerusalem, see Kurd ʿAlī, vi, 116f. These institutions were not much known. cf. Porath, *ibid*.
- 155 Kurd ʿAlī, vi, 151.
- 156 At the end of the Mamlūk period, Hebron had as many as 32 *zāwiyas* and

- some madāris. It was regarded as a place of Islamic scholarship. cf. M. Sharon, 'Al-Khalīl', in E.I². iv. 958.
- 157 Bliss, 240.
- 158 Baldensperger, 33; Bliss, *ibid*.
- 159 Cf. H. Amun (et al.) 'Deir al-Asad: The Destiny of an Arab Village in Galilee', in H. Amun (et al.) **Palestinian Arabs in Israel: Two Case Studies**. London 1977, 28ff.
- 160 Jaussen, 222ff.
- 161 Bliss, 241f.
- 162 Oral information, obtained locally.
- 163 'Al-Ṭariqa al-Yashruṭiyya'. in **Al-Hidāya al-Islāmiyya**, iii/9(Safar 1350) 501.
- 164 Other villages were 'Amqa, al-Kabri. Kafr Sāmī, °al-Rāma, and Ruways; oral information obtained at the zāwiya in °Akka. For lists with names of prominent members of the ṭariqa, see Riḥla, 348ff.
- 165 Cf. van Ess, 26f.
- 166 An attempt to interpret the schism within a broader historical context, and references to the relevant sources, are found in van Ess, *ibid*.
- 167 Cf. the contents of the letter of °Alī Nūr al-Dīn to his muqaddam in Damascus, Mahmūd Abū'l-Shāmāt, dated 11 Muh. 1303, and appended to the study by van Ess.
- 168 Another Khalwatiyya with the same name existed in Algeria and Tunisia; see L. Rinn, **Marabouts et Khouan**. 'Etude sur l'Islam en Algérie, Algiers 1884, 452ff.
- 169 For this silsila, see the tawaṣṣul in Yāsīn al-Qāsīmī al-Khalīlī, **Majmū °at Awrād al-Ṭariqa al-Khalwatiyya al-Jāmi °a al-Rahmāniyya**, Amman 1387
- 170 These are the villages of Baqā' al-Gharbiyya, Jadd, Mu °āwiyya, al-Ṭayyiba, and Zayta.
- 171 Cf. van Ess, 83
- 172 Oral information obtained from members of al-Yashruṭiyya in Umm al-Fahm confirmed by a variety of informants in the Nablus area.
- 174 According to Aḥmad al-Yashruṭī (Amman), who is the son of Muḥammad al-Hādī, the supreme head of the ṭariqa living in Beirut, and the pre-eminent leader of the tariqa in Jordan, contacts with the East African communities have become severely disrupted over the past few years. This seems to be owing in part to the events in the Lebanon and in part to a general loosening of the ties with the Beirut headquarters by the sections of al-Yashruṭiyya in East Africa.
- 175 Cf. van Ess, 88. On this journey, Muḥammad al-Hādī was accompanied by his son Aḥmad al-Yashruṭī. I am much obliged to the latter for providing me with information about the ṭariqa and its history.

- 176 Another example is al-Sa^cdiyya. This **ṭarīqa** became completely divided in Syria, with numerous local branches (cf. Bliss, 244f.) under local heads who did not recognize the supremacy of any other **ṭarīqa** leadership-position over them. However, the divisions of the **ṭarīqa** in Mecedonia and Kosovo continued to look to the zāwiya al-Qaymariyya in Damascus as their **ṭarīqa**'s spiritual centre. Details about al-sa^cdiyya in these areas will be presented in an appendix to the forthcoming study mentioned in note 41.
- 177 In this connection, see the relevant discussion in M. Gilsenan, **Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion**, Oxford 72ff. For strictures on this study, see my review in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, xix/2 (Autumn 1974), 322-328.
- 178 Bliss, 247.
- 179 Cf. Trimingham, chapter ix.
- 180 Cf. Canaan, 302, and al-^cArif, 499ff.
- 181 Trimingham, 245.
- 182 At the same time, the Jews were prohibited from blowing the **shofar** at the Wall; see Palestine and Transjordan, 538. These prohibitions are part of the 'Wailing Wall question'; cf. al-^cArif, 400ff.
- 183 Oral information obtained from Ḥaydar al-Khālīdī, Jerusalem.
- 184 al-^cArif, 401, 499.
- 185 Abdulla M. Lutfiyya, **Baytīn, a Jordanian Village, A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community**, The Hague 1966, 60ff.
- 186 Porath, 'Al-Ḥājj Amin al-Ḥusaynī', 155.
- 187 These were the **zawāyā** in al-Kabrī, near ^cAkka; Mijdāl al-Ṣādiq, near Lydda; al-Walaja, near Bethlehem; al-Lubṭumāt, south of Ḥaifa; Yafa; and Ḥaifa (2 **zāwiyas**). These data have been obtained from members of al-Yashruṭiyya in various parts of the Middle East.
- 188 Makhawwal, 93; cf. van Ess, 72, 74.
- 189 The **waqf** 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn al-Yashruṭi was considered to be **waqf ahlī** by the Israeli authorities. In the absence of a **nāzir**, who had left the country, the **waqf** was defined Absentees' Property and all rights in it were conferred on the Custodian of the State of Israel; A. Layish, 'The Muslim Waqf in Israel', *Asian and African Studies*, ii (1966), 54ff. See also note 58.
- 190 Inside the 1948 boundaries of the State of Israel only the **zāwiya** in ^cAkka and Tarshīḥha remained. For an enumeration of the localities in the whole of Palestine where the **ṭarīqa** had an active membership at the time and still has at present, see van Ess, 72f.
- 191 **Zāwiyas** exist in Khān Yūnis and Ghazza.
- 192 **Zawāyā** exist in Bayt Ḥaniana, Ṭalūza and Ṭubās.

- 193 The restoration of the main hall of the **zāwiya**, where the **ḥaḍarāt** are held and which functions also as a mosque, was completed towards the end of 1979. The building containing the shrines of [°]Alī Nūr al-Dīn and his son Ibrāhīm, called **al-mashhad** in the terminology of the ṭarīqa, is in an advanced stage.
- 194 On these collections. see the articles in Ma[°]oz , part 6.

The Role of Palestine in the Transmission of the Exact Sciences from Hellenistic to Arab Culture

Anton Heinen

1.

Palestine and the beginnings of Arabic science

In the history of Arabic science it is still unusual to review the contribution of one particular region. Arab and Muslim culture is generally treated as a whole, regional developments are of interest primarily on account of nationalist bias, hence a phenomenon linked to the formation of the nation-states in 18th century Europe. Such bias all too often leads to the well-known disputes and assertions about the national backgrounds of famous scientists like Copernicus, Kepler or Einstein. How different, and obviously healthier, is the universalist standpoint of an al-Birūnī who cheerfully acknowledges the international value of the scientific enterprise.

But a regional history is possible and desirable; many developments appear in a clearer light when viewed in the greater details of events limited to a particular area, hence also science and culture. The pendant to the example of al-Biruni may be seen in such classical histories of Arabic science as that of Sā'id al-Andalusī² or that of Ibn Abī-Uṣaybi'ca.³ They already discuss the biographies and works of the various scientists of whom they have informations in the frameworks of national and regional diversities.

As regards Palestinian, however, a search of the classical Arabic histories of science, or rather scientists, invariably ends in frustration: This region, it seems, did not produce nearly as many scientists as others; hardly any one is mentioned who lived and worked in one of the Palestinian towns.

This lack of information can, of course, be explained in various ways: for one, by the absence of historians who could have known the scientists working in this area; but more likely it is a question of time, for the period during which Palestine was closest to the political, and largely also the cultural, center of the Muslim community is the Umayyad time of which we have little historically secure knowledge.

Even if great original scientists do not seem to have worked in Palestine, its role in the transmission of the sciences from Hellenistic to Arab culture must have been considerable. For the Umayyad period it has become customary to refer to Khalid b. Yazīd as the first testimony of the quickening Arabic science under the waning sun of Hellenistic predominance. But careful analysis of the sources of the available Arabic information about him, lastly by M. Ullmann⁴, has emphasized the insecurity of all such reports.

However, and this seems to be a reproachable omission of the historians, little attention is given to the elements of scientific explanation of the natural phenomena which actually were available to inquisitive Arab scholars at this early time. For a later period, and a different area (Mesopotamia), we have Job of Edessa's **Book of**

Treasures.⁵ Similarly, in mār-Sābās, some 35 km south-east of Jerusalem, a book was written which among theological discussions also contains several chapters on such cosmological entities as the heavens, the sphere, its substance and movements, the elements, the planets and their movements, the basic astrological terms and assumptions, the signs of the Zodiac, the comets, eclipses, and further the various meteorological phenomena, and even the geographical notions and divisions as we know them from the manuals of Greek science. This book is the **Ekdosis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos** (or **Expositio Fidei**) by John of Damascus who by this time (i.e. after 743 A.D.) had retired to the Palestinian monastery Mār-Sābās and there composed a number of his scholarly works.

The cosmological chapters of the **Ekdosis akribes** obviously are a summary of the instruction John of Damascus had received in Greek liberal arts. According to his biographers he had studied the whole range of disciplines belonging to traditional Greek education: Rhetoric, physics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, and in addition theology.⁷ Since the context of the **Ekdosis akribes** only allows him to give a summary of these disciplines, not the results of his own investigations, we can hardly judge how far his scientific interests may have extended.⁸ But we do have his summary as a testimony of the scientific schooling available in the Palestine under the Ummayyads, and this is most important. The contents are a good deal conciser than those of Job of Edessa's **Book of Treasures**, but they serve a similar purpose for this particular area and time. The allusions to the cosmological and meteorological teachings of Aristotle and later Hellenistic scholars—although they are not mentioned by name—are so numerous that a continued transmission of the Greek sciences through systematic teaching up to the time of the Arab ascendancy can hardly be doubted.⁹

The crucial question is, of course, how far this Greek learning can have exerted a real influence on developing Arabic science. John of Damascus surely knew Arabic; he studied "the books of the Saracens" as well as those of the Greeks¹⁰, and, as one-time secretary at the court of the caliph in Damascus, he must have been in contact with many contemporary Arabs with intellectual interests. It is known that the Arab poet Akḥṭal from Ḥīra used to visit the house of John's father Ibn Mansūr, and the two young men seem to have associated with the almost contemporary Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. Perhaps they even received some scholastic instruction together.¹¹

John's **Ekdosis akribes** with its summary of Greek cosmology was translated into Arabic, but as far as is known only in the tenth century by a monk of Mār Sābās.¹² But since it is more of a scholastic manual and as such rather a testimony to the subjects taught in the first half of the 8th century, and since Mār Sābās was in contact with its Arabic-speaking neighbours¹³, the **Ekdosis akribes** with its cosmological and meteorological passages sheds a good deal of light on the transmission of Hellenistic science to the Arabs in Palestine. The same or very

similar materials as those collected in these passages actually reappear in the earliest explanations of the natural phenomena preserved for us mainly in the oldest Tafsīr works¹⁴. They predate the well-known period of translations, during which chiefly at the ʿAbbasid court many Greek or Pahlawī scientific books passed into Arabic, by half a century; and in spite of their fragmentary character they indicate an early beginning of Arabic. Thus they corroborate other equally fragmentary, and usually not so well attested, reports of scientists being present even at the court of Muʿāwīya or Yazīd.¹⁵ title.

II

The case of the geomtry of the conic sections

The geometry of the conic sections is perhaps one of the most shining examples of the Palestinian contributions to Arabic science, especially in consideration of the importance of its theorems for a wide range of scientific investigations. Already Ibn Khadūn stresses the usefulness of this geometry “in practical crafts that have to do with bodies, such as carpentry and architecture. It is also useful for making remarkable statues and rare large objects.. and for moving loads and transporting large objects with the help of mechanical contrivances, engineering (tec hniques), pulleys, and similar things.”¹⁶ He does not even mention its purely scientific value in mathematice or its usefulness in such mathematical disciplines as astronomy and optics.

The “spiritual father” of the geometry of the conic sections, through invention and systematisation, is Apollonios of Perga; he originated from Pamphylia and worked in Alexandria between the years 241 and 197 B.C.¹⁷ It was chiefly through his **konika** that he gained such great fame among Greek mathematicians that they used to call him respectfully “the Great Geometer”.¹⁸ But his admired book apparently was not preserved with appropriate care. The author may have been partly responsible for this himself; for in the preface to the first book he informs the reader that uncorrected copies were circulated even before he had been able to revise the whole work.¹⁹

It was a Palestinian mathematiciar, Eutocius, born in Ascalon around the year 480 A.D, who acquired the merit of making this great work accessible to the scholars of his generation, and especially later on to the Arabs.²⁰ He was not a great original mathematician in his own right, but he wrote commentaries to the treatises of such great predecessors as Archimedes and Apollonios. In doing so he preserved a number of works that otherwise would probably not have come down to us. Thus of the eight books of Apollonios’ **Konika** the first four, which were revised by Eutocius, are still extant in Greek while the books five to seven are only preserved in the Arabic translation, and book eight is lost altogether.

Eutocius of Ascalon is closely linked to the acquisition of the conic sections by the Arabs. Unlike their later European colleagues, who were introduced to the **Konlka**

through a Latin translation of Apollonios' original work, Arab mathematicians were guided by the revision and commentary of Eutocius of Ascalon. His work, therefore, is of far greater importance to the Arabs than to the Europeans. To depend on him as intermediary proves in one way a drawback because Eutocius' text is not inferior to the original text of Apollonios himself as we have it today. In some passages it is even better because Eutocius introduced genuine improvements, as for instance by indicating generality where Apollonios had only asserted validity of his arguments for particular cases.²¹

The bio-bibliographical reports about Eutocius and the translation of the **Konika** into Arabic appear to be somewhat garbled, otherwise the Palestinian connection in the transmissions of this important work would come clearer to the fore. According to F. Sezgin²², Apollonios' great work on the conic sections was among those manuscripts which al-Ma'mūn obtained from Byzantium. At first sight this information seems to square with the accounts of the main bibliographical sources such as Ibn al-Nadīm²³ and Ibn al-Qifṭī.²⁴ But there are some inconsistencies that require caution.

First of all, there must have been more than one manuscript of the **Konika** in the hands of the Arab translators or their employers. Eutocius' revision only covered the first four books, and as said above they are the only ones still extant in Greek. It is unlikely, therefore, that all eight books were kept together in one manuscript; and it is even less likely that the revised version of Eutocius constituted one single manuscript with the remaining books not revised by him.

The way how the translation of the **Konika** into Arabic was made seems to corroborate the theory of several manuscripts. Thus the first four books in Eutocius' revision were translated by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī²⁵, and the books five to seven by Thābit b. Qurra²⁶. In both cases the translations were undertaken due to the initiative of the Banū Mūsā, especially Aḥmad b. Mūsā.²⁷ But it is not altogether excluded that partial translations were attempted earlier on by other scholars; for in their introduction to the final translation they say that many efforts had been made to make the text of the **Konika** available to Arab scholars, but the Greek original in their possession proved too corrupt for this purpose.

Apparently Arab scholars only obtained access to this important geometrical work after a copy of Eutocius' revision had been found. It is said that Aḥmad b. Mūsā brought such a copy with him when he returned from a journey to Syria.²⁸ Since this geographical term at that time was used for the whole region stretching as far as Egypt, perhaps one can understand the somewhat obscure passage in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*²⁹ as meaning that the man from Ascalon coming forward with a very good copy of the **Konika** was not identical with the mathematician Eutocius who had made the revision of the four books some 300 years earlier, but the owner of the manuscript. It was not unusual to travel so far south in the search of rare manuscripts; the great translator Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq tells us that he traveled to

mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt to look for the Greek original of Galen's **Book on Demonstration**³⁰.

For some reason the geometry of the conic sections seems to have remained a favourite subject in the region of Palestine. Another mathematician, again some 300 years later, must have worked in the area known as Palestine; but so little is known of his life that one cannot be sure where exactly he worked. His name was Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn.³¹ Considering his name one might conjecture that he was in some way connected with Ascalon where the head of Ḥusayn was kept, a visible token of attachment to the Prophet's grandson, but this can be nothing but a conjecture.³²

Practically the only thing we know of him is that he wrote a treatise on the perfect Circle (**Al-Birkār al-tāmm wa kayfiyat al-takhṭīṭ bihī**)³³, which he dedicated to Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn Abū I-Muzaffar Yūsūf b. Ayūb b. Shādī (d. 589/1193), and this after the victory of Tiberias and Ḥittīn (584/1187). This dedication seems to indicate that he lived at the court of Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Probably he acted as the court-astrologer of the victorious Sultan because he mentions another treatise of his with the title **Al-Ishāra al-Nāṣiriyya** which apparently contained the horoscope of his employer.

We do know, however, that he was in contact with Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus, the famous contemporary teacher in Mosul.³⁴ Probably he had been a student of kamal al-Dīn b. Yūnus in Moṣul before joining Ṣalāh al-Dīn's court, or the two scholars had studied together. In any case, in the beginning of his treatise on the Perfect Circle Muhammad b. Husayn mentions that he had written a good deal of it already elsewhere, and that he had been helped by the great scholar Abū I-Ma'ālī Mūsā b. Yūnus (i.e. Kamāl al-Dīn)³⁵. On the one hand he stresses how much he had received from that famous mathematician, but on the other he tells the reader that his helper had no time.

Judging from the contents of his treatise Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn hardly needed to emphasize his own share in the work. He seems to have been a quite able mathematician, well-trained in his discipline, who could write such a treatise of high quality on his own. As he tells the reader, he had studied a treatise of al-Bīrūnī on the Astrolabe (**Istī'āb al-Wujūh al-Mumkina fī Ṣan'at al-aṣṭurlāb**) and found there a reference to Abū Saḥī al-Qūhī's work on the Perfect Circle³⁶ and the underlying principles which that mathematician developed in another treatise with the title **Qismat al-khutūt 'ala nisbat al-suṭūh**.³⁷ He searched for these treatises; but although al-Qūhī would seem to have been much nearer to him than al-Bīrūnī (Baghdad in comparison with Khwārizm or Ghazna), he was unable to obtain copies of them. Thus he wrote his own.

Considering the times and area in which Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn lived and worked his treatise on the Perfect Circle is quite important from the historical point of

view. He knew the specialized literature composed up to his time; he was in contact with the leading mathematician of the Near East; and yet, his work was written in the time of the crusades, and for the most energetic military leader of the Muslims, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Conditions cannot have been conducive to scientific investigations around this time. As a matter of fact, when a short time later the emperor Frederick II sent his famous questions, only those related to philosophy and medicine could be answered by scholars living in the towns neighbouring on those of the crusaders; the mathematical questions had to be sent to Moṣul to be solved by Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus.³⁸ The conditions certainly must have been difficult for scientific work in this area and time. But Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn proved that it could be done; and difficult conditions underscore the value of work done in spite of them.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. L. Massignon: "**AL-Beruni et la valeur internationale de la science arabe**"; in: *Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 217-19.
- 2 **Kitāb (Ṭabakāt Al-Umam**; transl. by R. Blachère. Paris, 1935.
- 3 "**Uyūn al-anbā fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā**". Ed. A. Muller, Kairo 1882.
- 4 "Halid ibn Yazīd und die Alchemie: Eine Legende" in: *Der Islam* 55(1978) 181-218.
- 5 Mingana, A.: *Encyclopaedia of philosophical and natural sciences as taught in Baghdad about A.D. 817, or: Book of Treasuries*, by Job of Edessa. Cambridge, 1935.
- 6 New ed. by B. Kotter: *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. II. Berlin-New York, 1973.
- 7 D. J. Sahas: *John of Damascus on Islam*. Leiden, 1972, p. 41.
- 8 P. Duhem's criticism, therefore, is really not justified; see his *Le Systeme du Monde*, III. New ed., p. 35 f.
- 9 M. Meyerhof's "Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des philosophischen und medizinischen Unterrichts bei den Arabern" *SBAW* Berlin 23(1930) 389-429, needs to be extended.
- 10 D. J. Sahas: *John of Damascus on Islam*; op. cit., p. 40.
- 11 J. Nasrallah: *Saint Jean de Damas*. Harissa, 1950, p. 64.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 169 ff.
- 14 Cf. Abu'l-Shaykn: **K. al-'azama**. Ms. Köprülü. kth. II, 138.2.
- 15 Cf. Ibn al-Athīr: **Usd al-ghāya**. Teheran, 1377 H., II, 132: *Daghfal lehrt kenntnis der Sterne*.
- 16 **The Muqaddimah**; transl. by F. Rosenthal. New York, 1958; III, p. 132.
- 17 Cf. G. J. Toomer: **Apollonius of Perga**; in: *DSB* I, 179-193.
- 18 Hultsch: **Apollonios**; in *RE*, 3. Halbband, 1895, p. 152.
- 19 I used Ms. Aya Sofya 2762.
- 20 Cf. I. Bulmer-Thomas: **Eutocius of Ascalon**; in: *DSB* IV, 488-491.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 491.
- 22 **GAS** v, p. 136.
- 23 **Fihrist**. Ed. by Riḍa-Tajaddud. Teheran, 1971; p. 326.
- 24 **Ta'riḫ al-hukamā'**. Ed. by J. Lippert. Leipzig, 1903. p. 61.
- 25 See . Sezgin: **GAS** V, p. 254.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 264 ff.
- 27 Ibn al-Nadim: **Fihrist**. Op. cit., p. 326.
- 28 Cf. L. M. L. Nix: **Das Fünfte Buch der Conica des Apollonius von Perga**. Leipzig, 1889; p. 4.

- 29 Op. cit., p. 326.
- 30 C. Borgsträsser: **Ḥunain ibn Ishāq Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen**. In: Abh. f.d. Kunde des Morgenl. 17(1925) p.47(Arabic), p. 39 (German).
- 31 H. Suter: **Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke**. In: Abh. z. Gesch. d. Math. Wissensch. x. Heft; Leipzig, 1900 p. 139, or 352.
- 32 Cf. Al-Qazwini: **Athār al-bilād wa akhbār al-‘ibād**. Beirut, 1979; p.222. Also: Ibn Baṭṭa: **Rihla**. Beirut, 1980, p. 60.
- 33 Ed. and transl. by M.F. Woepcke in: **Trois traités arabes sur Le Compas Parfait**. Notices et Extraite des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale; T. XXII, p. 1.
- 34 On him see Ibn Abī Usaybi ‘a: **‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’**. ed. by A. Müller, Kairo, 1882, I, 306. Also H. Suter: **Die Mathematiker**, Op. cit., p. 140. nr. 354.
- 35 M.F. Woepcke: **Trois traités**. Op. cit., p. 199 (Arabic), p.19 f. (French).
- 36 Also ed. and transl. by M.F. Woepcke in: **Trois traités**. Op. cit., pp. 145-175 (Arabic). pp. 68-111 (French).
- 36 C.f;F Sezgin: **GAS V**, p. 318 nr. 4. (The title is slightly different).
- 38 Al-Qazwīnī: **Athār al-bilad wa akhbār al‘ibād**. Op. cit., p. 463.-Also H. Sutor: **Beiträge zu den Beziehungen Kaiser Friedrichs II. zu zeitgenössischen Gelehrten des Ostens und Westens, insbesondere zu dem arabischen Enzyklopädisten Kemāl ed-dīn ibn Jūnis**. In : Abh . zur Gesch. d. Naturw.u.d. Medizin, IV; Erlangen, 1922.

Language and Politics in Modern Palestine

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Language is of profound political importance and, hence, the centrality of language in the political life of any community or group hardly needs to be underscored. Language has often been a major component of nationality and nationalism and, consequently, has played a decisive role in the development of nationalistic movements as well as in the formation of new nations and the creation of new political entities. What gives language an added force is that, in addition to its being a major element in nationalism, it is also incorporated into other elements of nationality and national feeling such as literature and educational institutions. In view of these facts, it is something of a surprise to discover that in the vast literature which has been written on Palestine, very little attention has been given to the question of "linguistic politics" (Friedrich, 1975, 231) or "political linguistics" (Hertzler, 1965, 258), a sub-discipline of sociolinguistics concerned with the linguistic struggle which accompanies or precipitates political struggle, and with the political implications of language. Seen in this light, the struggle for Palestine, as will become clear in the course of this paper, has been a struggle between Arabic and Hebrew as much as it has been a struggle between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews.

In this paper I shall examine the battle between the Hebrew and Arabic languages in Palestine since the rise of the Zionist movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century until the present. It is hoped that this examination will reveal the close and intricate relationship between linguistic and political questions in the history of modern Palestine.

Whereas Arabic remained the chief and dominant language in Palestine from approximately the time of the Arab conquest in the seventh century A.D. until 1948, Hebrew ceased to play any significant role in the life of the country, and even ceased to be a living spoken language, since about 200 A.D., after the Romans had occupied Jerusalem and destroyed the second temple. About a century ago, however, a movement seeking to revive Hebrew as a living spoken language was started by Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1922), a Russian Jew who, under the impact of European nationalism, realized the strong connection between linguistic and national revival (Rabin 1973, 67-68).

Certain myths and exaggerated stories have developed around Ben Yehuda and the revival movement which are often exploited by the vast propagandistic machine of Zionism. The revival of Hebrew is sometimes presented by the propagandists as another showpiece of miraculous Jewish achievement. It is not my intention or purpose here to dispel such myths and exaggerations. Suffice it to say that Hebrew never died completely as a spoken language as it continued to be used by Jews as a language of prayer and worship, and as a *lingua franca* among Jews from different countries who spoke different languages. Hebrew also continued to be used to write

a massive religious and secular literature throughout the ages. Long before the revival movement, there were also many periodicals published in Hebrew in different parts of the world. Ben Yehuda himself made use of such a periodical published in Vienna to publicize his views on the necessity for reviving Hebrew. Thus, before the revival, Hebrew was spoken, read, and written by a great many Jews all over the world. The revival had succeeded in achieving a limited objective, namely, to re-establish Hebrew as a mother tongue since those Jews who spoke it before the revival always acquired it as a second or foreign, not a native, language.

Was there any connection between the movement to revive the Hebrew language and the Zionist movement? The answer is unreservedly positive and the evidence for this is not lacking. Ben Yehuda himself made it clear on several occasions that Zionism and the love of Hebrew and the desire to revive it were closely connected. Indeed, he was the first **Zionist** ideologist to state the "connection between Jewish national revival and Hebrew speech" (Rabin 1973,68) On the basis of this fact, it is safe to conclude that 'linguistic **Zionist**' antedates political Zionism.

Ben Yehuda made his first appeal for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language in his famous article 'A Weighty Question' which he published in a Hebrew periodical in Vienna in 1879. In that article we find the linguistic and political aspects of Zionism spelled out for the first time. Ben Yehuda restated his position more succinctly in the introduction to his monumental **Hebrew Language Dictionary** where he tells us how he came to the conclusion that "just as the Jews cannot really become a living nation other than through their return to the land of the Fathers, so too, they are not able to become a living nation other than through their return to the language of the Fathers," and how he finally realized that "without two things Jews could not become a nation, and these were: the land and the language" (quoted in Saulson 1979,16-17).

It is interesting to compare Ben Yehuda's position with that of political Zionism. Hertzl's **Judenstaat** appeared in 1895, i.e., sixteen years after Ben Yehuda's above mentioned article. Yet, in his book, Hertzl flatly rejected the idea of reviving Hebrew and making it the official language of the proposed state, rhetorically asking, "Who amongst us knows enough Hebrew to buy a railway ticket?" (quoted in Rabin 1973, 69). It was, no doubt, Hertzl's influence which made the Zionist organization ignore for many years the place of Hebrew in the movement and to avoid any mention of language in **The Programme** formulated by the first Zionist Congress held at Basle in 1897.

History, however, was on Ben Yehuda's side and proved his brand of Zionism to be more viable. The incessant and hard work of Ben Yehuda and his associates resulted in the gradual revival of Hebrew as a spoken language. Their success in introducing Hebrew into the educational system of the Jewish community in Palestine and the use of Hebrew as the language of instruction in that system was perhaps the most crucial factor in the success of the revival movement. By the end of the first

decade of the twentieth century, the success of the revival movement was no longer in question and all Zionists were now ready not only to accept it, but to defend it and fight for it.

With the early success of the revival movement, political Zionism and linguistic Zionism became one integrated movement just as they had been originally conceived by Ben Yehuda. From now on, the Zionist movement fought for Hebrew as staunchly as it fought for any other aspect of Zionist ideology. As early as 1911 we find a leading educationist in Palestine writing in an attempt to justify the use of Hebrew as medium of instruction, but the substance of his arguments is hardly educational:

The language of instruction in the Jewish schools of Palestine must be only Hebrew... the national regeneration of our people in the land of our history can only begin with the revivifying of our language...

But purely from motives of practical pedagogy, it is equally certain that only Hebrew can serve as the language of instruction. Only Hebrew can overcome the confusion of languages under which Palestinian Jewry, collected from all parts of the world, is **suffering**, expel the numerous corrupt dialects which are not capable of a cultural development, and fuse into one homogeneous people the children of Lithuania, Poland, Roumania,... etc. Only the Hebrew language can in Palestine supply the natural soil for the intellectual and moral training of the **younger generation**...(Thon 1911, 89-90).

In a similar vein, a pamphlet entitled 'concerning the War of Languages in the Land of Israel.' published in Berlin in 1914 by the Zionist central Office of Publication, stated categorically that "one looks upon the victory of the Hebrew language as a **typical political phenomenon** which, along with its establishment and influence, must be taken note of in the days ahead" and that "in our present approach to create Hebrew speaking schools in our ancestral land, we have assumed, **not just educational, pedagogical work, but also a grand political mission** the results of which are important to all branches of our work in the East" (quoted in Saulson 1979, 9-10; emphasis added).

A good illustration of the political nature and significance of the revival of Hebrew is an incident which took place in Palestine in 1913. The incident, known as the 'Language War', was precipitated by a German Jewish organization which wanted to set up a technical school in Haifa in which the language of instruction would be German. This announcement sparked angry demonstrations and strikes in the Jewish schools, and the whole project was thus foiled (for a more detailed account of the 'Language War' see Avidor 1957, 19). As Rabin (1973,75) puts it, it is hardly wrong to "consider the Language War episode as the first proof that indeed there had come into being in Palestine Jewish nation, on a predominantly linguistic basis." such is the primacy of language in the formation of nations and nationalities that Rabin's statement would not constitute an exaggeration. **Additional** support for

this conclusion may be adduced from the fact that before the advent of Zionism and before an association had been established between Hebrew and Zionist political ideology, the traditional Jewish schools (**heder**) in Palestine used Yiddish, Ladino, or even Arabic as languages of instruction with Biblical Hebrew taught as a school subject. Other Jewish schools used as a medium of instruction the language of the agency sponsoring the school(usually German, French, English, or Russian), A change in this situation was brought about by Zionist ideology, and language was a crucial factor in the success of this ideology which made Hebrew the language of instruction in all Jewish schools in Palestine.

The Language War of 1913 settled once and for all the language question within the Jewish community in Palestine, but the war of languages in the country as a whole was to continue for some time to come. As far as the Jewish community was concerned, there was no doubt after the Language War as to what the language of the future state would be. Therefore when the Hebrew University was inaugurated in **Jerusalem** in 1925, it was taken for granted that **Hebrew** would be the language of instruction at this university (Bentwich 1961, 3-14, 23-25, 160-161). Again, that the decision to make Hebrew the language of instruction in the schools and at the university was a political decision rather than an educational one becomes obvious from two well known incidents in Palestinian education under the British Mandate.

The first incident involved a proposal made in 1922 by the British authorities to establish a British university in Jerusalem for the people of Palestine. The idea was rejected and strongly resisted by the Jews on the grounds that the proposed university “was to teach through a medium other than Hebrew and because it was to spread a culture other than the Jewish” (Tibawi 1956, 123).

The second incident arose when attempts were made in 1931 to open an agricultural school for both Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The project was to be financed by an endowment made by Sir Ellis Kadouri who, in the early twenties, bequeathed some £100,000 for the purpose. As envisaged by the Director of Education in Palestine, the proposed school was to teach in Arabic to Arab students and in Hebrew to Jewish students during the first part of the course. During the second part, English was proposed as the medium of instruction for both groups. Arab and Jewish students of the school were also to carry out the same practical work and to share the same dining and sleeping facilities. This plan, approved by the High commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel, was rejected by the Zionist executive who objected fiercely to sending Jewish children to a school “in which Jews were not taught in Hebrew throughout” (Tibawi 1956, 123-124). In the face of this Zionist resistance, the **Mandate** authorities had to give up their original plan and the result was two separate schools for the Arabs and the Jews.

These two incidents are excellent illustrations of a well-known sociolinguistic principle which stipulates that linguistic arguments are often invoked as pretexts to

conceal something more profound. In the two incidents related above, there is little doubt that the real reason behind the Zionist rejection of the university and the agricultural schools as proposed by the British authorities was an ideological rather than a linguistic one. The Zionists had long been planning and actively working for a Jewish state in which they wished to have no partners. There is at least one authority that believes the agricultural school incident belies Zionist claims in the desire of Arab-Jewish sharing in agricultural know-how (Zureik 1979,44).

Nor did the British seem anxious to bring the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine any nearer. The Mandate was in effect the government of the Arab community only whereas the Jewish community was virtually autonomous, particularly in the field of education. Thus, whereas the British authorities controlled the Arab schools and determined what should be taught in them, the Zionist Organization was left in complete control of the Jewish schools (Bentwich 1965, 21). In this way, the school system in Palestine "acquired some definite racial and linguistic characteristics"(Tibawi 1956, 27). It is hard to believe that such a situation could have arisen by accident and was not an integral part of the British plan to facilitate in every possible way the establishment of the Jewish national home embodied in the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

The British Mandate, however, was of some benefit to Arabic. Under Ottoman rule, Turkish had been the language of instruction in all but the lower elementary government schools. Even Arabic was taught to Arab children through Turkish (Tibawi 1956, 19-20).

When Britain replaced Turkey in Palestine at the end of World War I, Arabic was made the language of instruction in place of Turkish in the government-controlled schools. These schools catered mainly for the Muslim Arab community since the Jewish and Christian communities were given an almost free hand in running their own schools. This policy was apparently in pursuance of the British interpretation of Article 15, Paragraph 2 of the Mandate for Palestine which was adopted by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922: "The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own children in its own language, ..., shall not be denied or impaired." The unmistakable intention behind this article was the protection of foreign schools in the country, including those of the Zionist Organization. And it was as a result of this article that "the government schools in Palestine became in many respects practically Arab schools" (Stoyanovsky 1928, 225; cf. also Tibawi 1956,135).

It must have become abundantly clear by now that the language question in Palestine cannot be viewed separately from the political question. and vice versa. The British Mandate authorities did everything in their power to facilitate the establishment of a national Jewish home in Palestine as was promised by the Balfour Declaration. It was natural, therefore, that the Hebrew Language should have shared in the gains made by political Zionism in Mandatory Palestine. When

the Peace Conference in San Remo agreed in April 1920 to a British request to insert the Balfour Declaration in the peace treaty, the two co-presidents of the Hebrew Language Council in Palestine were quick to remark on the importance of this event for Hebrew. In a 'Memorandum to the Zionist Leadership' which they submitted in July 1920, they wrote: "There is no doubt about it that, from now on, the Hebrew language will be one of the dominant languages in Palestine in the general political sense, and the one and only dominant one among the Jews in their dealings with one another and with the British Government." They also estimated that the work of their Council in the future "needs to be increased seven-fold from what it is now to keep pace with the requirements of the language that will grow with the Balfour Declaration's beginning to take effect" (in Saulson 1979, 58-60).

In 1922, the same Ben Yehuda and Yellin, now co-presidents of the Hebrew Language College, which was a precursor of the Hebrew Language Academy, submitted another memorandum, this time to Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner in Palestine. After pointing out the importance of Hebrew for the Jewish people and Zionism, and after reminding him of a promise he made during a conversation with Ben Yehuda to make Hebrew one of the 'governing' languages in Palestine, they express their hope that:

the day is near when the Hebrew language will become one having equal rights along with English and Arabic in the municipality and in the government offices from the highest to the lowest, on the trains and in the customs houses, in the post and telegraph, the police and courts, in official orders and government announcements, on ticket stubs and receipts, and on coins and stamps (quoted in Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 501).

The authors of the memorandum then proceed to propose the following to the High Commissioner (in Saulson 1979, 64-65):

- 1 . The Hebrew language be utilized in all official texts even in localities where there are few Jews or no Jews at all for if, today, no Jews are there, tomorrow they will arrive....
- 2 . The Language College views as a national insult the place to which our language has been relegated for the most part, **beneath** the two other languages in as much as the country by international agreement, has been designated a National Home for the People of Israel. Therefore the Language College believes that the more appropriate focus is that given to the three languages in the official edition of the Royal Decree, where the three languages are not arranged one below the other but rather along side one another.
- 3, anything not classified secret or top priority should have its Hebrew translation submitted to the inspection of the Language College so that translation might be approved in every respect of linguistic accuracy.

However, the first recorded attempt to make Hebrew an official language in Palestine was a memorandum submitted to the British Government in 1916 by the Zionist Organization. The memorandum requested that Hebrew in Palestine be made equal to Arabic and English in every respect (Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 501).

Before the end of 1922 Hebrew was made one of the official languages in Palestine. The new position of Hebrew was embodied in Article 22 of the Mandate over Palestine: "English, Hebrew and Arabic will be the official languages in Palestine. All Arabic notices or inscriptions on postal stamps or currency in Palestine must be repeated in Hebrew, and vice versa." In pursuance of the provisions of this Article. Article 82 of the Palestine Order in Council (the local legal code enforced by the mandatory authorities) states: "All ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the High Commissioner, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used in debates and discussions in the Legislative Council, and, subject to any regulations to be made from time to time, in the Government offices and the Law Courts." The article thus makes a distinction between central and local government in language matters (Stoyanovsky 1928, 258). The three languages must be used by the central authority whereas their use by the local authorities was to be prescribed by the High Commissioner who, at a later time, designated any area in which Jews constituted at least one-fifth of the population as a tri-lingual area, i.e., an area in which Hebrew would be an official language besides Arabic and English.

There is little doubt that the Zionist ideology constantly guided and inspired the organized efforts and careful steps which transformed Hebrew from a half-dead language into one of the official languages of Palestine. The battle for Hebrew was more of a political than a linguistic one. Both the Zionists and the British worked hand in hand on the linguistic front as they did in the political and other fields. The British authorities admitted unequivocally that the recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Palestine was made "in pursuance of the policy of the establishment in that country of a national home for the Jewish people" (Papers presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty 1922, p. 10; quoted in Stoyanovsky 1928, 259). Just as the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate marked the active beginning of the loss of Palestine to Zionism, the recognition of Hebrew as an official language marked the actual beginning of a gradual process whereby Arabic began receding and Hebrew began gaining supremacy. In other words, the political and linguistic gains have been contemporaneous. The same twisted arguments and crooked maneuvers that were used to further Zionist political aims were employed help assist Hebrew against Arabic and its speakers. The following case will suffice as an illustration of this contention.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 22 of the Mandate (quoted above), all inscriptions on Palestinian stamps, money, and official documents and papers began to appear in the three official languages. The Hebrew inscription, however, was followed by the initial letters **alef-yod**, which are the initials of **Eretz Israel** (Land of Israel). The Arabs protested and in 1926, the Supreme Court of Palestine was asked for an injunction against the administration prohibiting the use of the above initials as being contrary to the provisions of Article 22. But the court, composed wholly of British jurists, was of the opinion that :

‘the form of the word Palestine in each language was a matter of administrative discretion’ and consequently refused to grant the injunction. Moreover, it could hardly be maintained that the words ‘repeated in Hebrew used in the above Article 22 merely mean ‘repeated in Hebrew characters’; what was obviously meant is ‘repeated in the Hebrew language.’ ‘Palestine’ in Hebrew is, and has always been, called **Eretz-Isreal** (Stoyanovsky 1928, 259).

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress then petitioned the Permanent Mandates Commission in its ninth session with regard to the same issue. The British representative stated that the Palestine Administration had agreed to the Hebrew inscription on the ground that “the Hebrew name for the country was the designation ‘Land of Israel.’ The rapporteur of the Commission took the same view when he stated that the government had simply approved an’ existing custom’ (Stoyanovsky 1928, 260).

It appears that Hebrew made even greater gains than those officially granted it by the Mandate. A Syrian intellectual, who was later to become the president of the Damascus Arabic Language Academy, visited Palestine in 1922-1923. Upon his return to Damascus he wrote expressing his astonishment at the linguistic situation in Palestine. He observed how the standard of Arabic in the country was quite low, and expressed his bewilderment because all signs on shops and stores were written in English followed by Arabic then Hebrew. To make things worse, the English and Hebrew parts were written in a good script and beautiful calligraphy, whereas the Arabic part was written with ill-formed and badly shaped letters, let alone the numerous syntactic and spelling mistakes of which he gives many appalling examples (Nācūrī 1979, 145-146).

Palestine remained officially trilingual until 1948 when Israel was established. The only official change regarding linguistic legislation since that time has been the repeal of the status of English as an official language. Thus. Paragraph 15(b) of the order of the Rules of Government and Law of 1948 states that “Any provision in the Law requiring the use of the English language is repealed” (**Laws of the State of Israel I,10**). Thus, theoretically at least, Israel has two official languages, Hebrew and Arabic. How equal or unequal are the two official languages?

Israel is, by definition, a Jewish state in which Arabic can never have a status equal to that of Hebrew in spite of all claims to the contrary. In fact, although the official status of English has been repealed by Israeli law and that of Arabic upheld, the actual everyday practice shows that English is second only to Hebrew in almost all spheres of life, from street signs to passports and university education. Arabic, on the other hand, has fallen into a neglected and, at times, suppressed minority language. In 1960, this feeling on the part of Arabs who still reside in Israel made a group of their dignitaries appeal to the President of the United Nations General Assembly. Their appeal was later published under the title **Violations of Human Rights in Israel** (Arab Information Center, New York, 1961). The authors of this appeal did not forget to include language in their list of complaints. After noting that "Little attention is paid to the teaching of the Arabic language and to the history of the Arabs" in Israel (p.18), the appeal goes on to say (pp. 19-20):

(The Arabic) language disappeared from almost every government department. The official gazette in Hebrew appears punctually as soon as legislative enactments are promulgated, but the Arabic copy appears two or three months later... Communications addressed to the government in Arabic are left without reply for an inconsiderate period, and when answered the reply is usually sent in Hebrew which very few Arabs read or understand. Government forms which have to be filled up for one purpose or another are printed in Hebrew, and it is with great difficulty that an Arab can obtain a form in Arabic if it existed.... Statements of Arabs accused with criminal offences and of Arab witnesses are recorded... in Hebrew and the deponents are made to sign the Hebrew record although they do not know Hebrew.

The question regarding the status of Arabic in Israel has been repeatedly debated in the Israeli parliament and in the press (see Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 510 ff.) The following statement by ʿAbd al ʿAzīz al- Zuʿbī, M.P., addressed to the Knesset in 1966, testifies eloquently to the highly inferior position which Arabic holds in Israel (in Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 514-515):

We are concerned with one of the most important requests of all the Arabs in the State, whose number approximates 300,000, an issue which reflects the attitude of the state to these citizens and their language. All nations are proud of their language and love it and we also love our language and are proud of it and will not give it up.... Every Arab can submit a legal claim and appear before the court at any level in Arabic; but for routine and practical purposes our language is disappearing from use, something which offends the right and honor of these citizens and educates the Jewish citizens negatively and even negates the respect for Arabs among them.... Why must an Arab citizen run from attendant to attendant in the central bus station in Tel-Aviv when thousands of Arab citizens pass through it each week, in order to find out where the bus to Nazareth or Ramla waits? Why isn't there even one Arabic

word in the Tel-Aviv train station, nor in Haifa either, to denote the timetable of the trains...? Why are all the signs which direct and show him how to behave in the Dan buses written in Hebrew and English only,...? Why can't an Arab send a telegram from the telegraph office in Tel-Aviv in Arabic, except in Hebrew or Latin letters...? More serious than all this is the sad fact that the Arabic language is disappearing from the scene throughout the country, from its highways and streets, and even at the entrance to Arab villages. Tens of approach roads which were paved to Arab villages bear no sign in Arabic. By the direction of an adviser a beautiful, large sign was set up at the entrance and exit of Nazareth with Hebrew and Latin letters. Members of the Knesset, this is a gross insult, whether intentional or not, to the feelings and honor of the Arab citizens of the State, There is no doubt that this fact does not promote understanding between the two peoples.

The insult to Arabic and its speakers in Israel is not limited to those places where it is totally absent, but extends to other areas where its presence is merely symbolic. Thus the only word in Arabic script which appears on Israeli coins and stamps is the word 'Israel'. And even this single word is written in such poor calligraphy the like of which would not be seen in comparable places anywhere in the Arab countries. It is also often the case that there is a lot more English than Arabic on, say, an Israeli postal stamp. Thus, on stamps issued to commemorate certain occasions, the occasion is usually stated in Hebrew and English, but never in Arabic.

The status of Arabic as an official language still derives from Article 22 of the Mandate and the subsequent Article 82 of the Palestine Order in Council. But this status is as shaky and uncertain as the status of the Palestinians who are claimed to be citizens of Israel. Neither the Palestinians nor their language enjoy anything like the equality which they are claimed to have with the Jewish citizens and their language. The Israeli leaders are not even apologetic about the fact that their state is a Jewish one as "indicated by the Law of Return and by the Hebrew Language" (Ben Gurion quoted in Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 508). Some knowledge of Hebrew, but not Arabic, is required by the Israeli citizenship law as a condition for becoming a citizen of Israel. In case any doubt remains with regard to our assertion that Arabic and Hebrew are not, and in fact cannot be, equal in Israel, it is dispelled by the Israeli legal authorities. In a case which involved an Arab citizen in the 1950s, the defendant complained that certain announcements had not been published in Arabic, which is an official language according to the law. This complaint was rejected by two lower courts and the defendant appealed to the High Court. At the appeal, the relieving president of the court stated, "I am convinced that one can no longer demand the publication of the announcements in Arabic, as this is a change to which the by-laws are subject following the establishment of the State." And the Chief Justice asserted, "it is true that we are not prepared to listen to the claim which comes from the appellant nor to his reason, that the announcement about the decision of the city council had to be published in Arabic too... It is doubtful if an obligation such as this even exists today..." (Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 519).

The inferior position of Arabic can be seen even more vividly in the educational system. Here, it can be easily seen that the authorities have done everything in their power to undermine the position of Arabic. In the first place, Hebrew is an obligatory subject in all, including Arab, schools, but Arabic is an optional subject in Jewish schools and with a status much inferior to English. English is an obligatory language in all schools in Israel from the fifth year onward. In the ninth year, students in the literary stream are permitted to choose a second foreign language, the usual options being Arabic and French. Arabic, however, is selected by so few students that their number hardly shows up in the statistics (Kleinberger 1969, 322). By contrast, all Arab schools must teach Hebrew from the third year onward. Moreover, missionary schools catering for Arab students only are “not obliged to teach in Arabic, but may use their own language as medium of instruction” (Kleinberger 1969, 310). And whereas Hebrew schools are open to Arab children, Jewish children may not attend Arab schools. Finally, Arabic is not used as the language of instruction except in Arab schools run by the State, whereas Hebrew is used in all institutions of higher education. It is easy to imagine the tremendous disadvantages at which Arab school graduates are put as a result of this policy. The following table (based on Zureik 1979, 158) shows the total number of hours devoted in the Israeli syllabus to Hebrew and Arabic in the arts and science streams of Arab and Jewish schools.

		<u>Jewish schools</u>	<u>Arab schools</u>
	Arts	768	512
Hebrew	Science	608	512
	Arts	000	824
Arabic	Science	000	824

It is instructive to know that in June 1972 the Israeli Ministry of Education announced a decision to make spoken Arabic compulsory in all schools from the sixth grade onward. One year later, Yigal Allon, the then Minister of Education and Culture, announced that the plan had been dropped “due to the already overcrowded curriculum and absence of the necessary personnel” (Fishman & Fishman 1978, 261, footnote 28).

A word should be said in this context about Arabic literature in Israel. Whereas the Jewish writers have their own union which receives grants from the government, the Arab writers have no such sponsorship available to them and, until 1972, were even denied membership of the Hebrew Writers’ Union under the pretext that the Union was for writers in Hebrew only. This is another instance of a linguistic argument being used to justify a policy the sole purpose of which is to discriminate against the Arab writers in order to isolate and exclude them. How else can one interpret this argument when one knows that some Arab writers, like the late Rashid Husain, did in fact write in Hebrew at times yet were denied membership of the

Union, whereas some Jewish members of the Union never write in Hebrew, but in Yiddish or some other language (Zureik 1979, 183)? It is significant to know the recommendation made in 1972 to admit Arab writers to the Union was made on the grounds of "political advisability" (Fishman & Fishman 1978, 230).

That Arabic, in spite of its official status in theory, is much inferior to the other official language, Hebrew, is not a matter for disputation. Being the language of an unwanted minority, Arabic is also unwanted and oppressed. Here, then, is another good case of linguistic inequality being merely a reflection of political and socio-economic inequality and of the power structure within society. The language of those who are politically weak, socially inferior, and economically deprived, those who, in other words can at best be second class citizens, cannot be but a second class language. Linguistic and socio-political boundaries in a given society usually coincide and the Israeli society is no exception:

Because of the centrality of language in group integration and maintenance, it has often been a bone of contention between majority and minority nationalities and nationalistic groups within a country. Language is usually the first object of attack on the part of a political power which is seeking to suppress the individuality of the rising cultural and political consciousness of a suppressed or minority people, seeking to denationalize them. The dominant majority... tries to extinguish the language of the subject people... (Hertzler 1965, 237-238).

In the final part of this paper, I shall present evidence to substantiate the claim that the popular and official Israeli attitude to Arabic is largely negative and at times suppressive.

Long before the State of Israel had been established, European Jews made it abundantly clear that just as they wanted a Palestine free from Arabs, they also wanted it free from Arabic. Commenting on the vocabulary lists of the Language Council, the first Hebrew language 'academy', Jacob Fishman wrote the following in 1910 (in Saulson 1979, 134):

What has been chosen from our literature, etc., has been chosen with good taste; however I am certain that our language will not digest the new names of plants, especially those which have been taken from the Arabic language. They will be like atrophied limbs. Despite the fact that the Arabic language is our sister language in the family of Semitic languages, it has no foundation or root in our psyche. One of the members of the Council rightly noted that the Arabic language is precisely the language farthest from our spirit... our language is not comfortable in welcoming Arabic influence.... Similarly, I do not understand why we have to coin words accepted by most of the languages of Europe, like **Constitution, Republik, Telefon...**

Fichman's article, from which the above quotation has been taken, is entitled 'Purity of the Language'. I think that it is clear from the quotation that Fichman's purpose was not to defend the purity of Hebrew as much as to attack Arabic impurities and welcome European influences. We may note in passing that the leaders of political Zionism have always been anxious to associate themselves and their state with Europe and the West in general.

In addition to the political motives behind the arguments contained in Fichman's quotation, there is also a psychological one. Jews, particularly those coming to Palestine from European and Western countries, have always considered the Arabs inferior to themselves. "In culture the Jews are, as a rule, superior to the other elements of population" in Palestine (Yellin 1911, 155). This superiority complex has apparently passed to Jewish immigrants from the Arab countries who, we are told, "tend to discard Arabic as a language of communication" (Kornblueth & Aynor 1973, 19) "lest they be identified as belonging to immigrant groups of low prestige" (Herman 1968, 500). According to another source, "Many Jews dislike Arabic and readily drop it" (Hofman & Fisherman 1972, 353). Two separate field studies (Lambert et al. 1965 and Herman 1968) have shown that Jewish students associate Arabic with low prestige and negative personality traits. On the official side, attempts have been made repeatedly by some Israeli M.P.s to eliminate the theoretically official status of Arabic (Fisherman & Fishman 1975, 504-507). The failure of these attempts, however, does not change the fact that mainly because of Zionist and Israeli ideology, "Even Arabic, a language officially protected and needed for very practical purposes, is largely being neglected if not curtailed... in the process of sociocultural and political-operational intergration" (Fishman & Fishman 1978, 251). This is hardly surprising to anyone who is convinced that "the renaissance of Hebrew was the product of ideological endeavor" (Eisenstadt 1967, 36), and that the ideology which gave rebirth to Hebrew is one that is not tolerant of other ideologies or languages, least of all Arabic.

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Bedesten or **Ḳayṣariyya**: Center of Economic Life in Islamic Cities

Halil Inalcik

The "Ottoman" character of the town sprang not only from the pure Muslim ideal but also from the traditional Middle Eastern view of state and society, a way of life characterized by the existence of a thriving class of merchants and craftsmen under the government of a class of military administrators. In other words, the city population was composed of the upper class attached to the government, including the military and the ulema, the merchant class engaged in both interregional and international trade, and the craftsmen. The latter two groups were *raʿiyya*, the productive urban taxpayers. They differed from each other, however, not only in their economic activities but also in their legal status. The craftsmen were subject to *hiṣba*, or market regulations, their supply of raw materials and rate of production was controlled, and their prices were fixed by the state. The merchants were not only exempt from *hiṣba*, but also encouraged to accumulate wealth by whatever activities they deemed proper.

The merchants themselves were divided into two classes: *ḳāʿid* or *ḳāʿin*, resident, and *saffār*, travelling. The *bazzāziyya* or *bazzāzistān* was the resident merchants' place of business, nearby were the *khāns*, caravanserais where the travelling merchants lodged.

The members of the principal crafts were gathered in the shops which constituted the great bazaar, *Ḳarṣi*, around the *bazzāzistān*.

These two key groups—merchants and craftsmen—determined the social and economic character of every Ottoman city and of Islamic cities in general. Muslim geographers such as *Iṣṭakhri*, *Ibn Ḥawqal*, *Maqdisi*, *Ibn al-Balkhī*, *Idrisi*, *Yākūt*, *Abū'l' Fidā'* and *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* point out this basic structure in Islamic cities from Central Asia to Morocco. Slauhterhouses, tanneries, oil presses, dye-houses and the like were established to provide materials and services needed by the craftsmen while the population in general was served by wholesale markets, *Ḳabbān* or *Kopan* built to provide sources for flour, fruit, honey, oil, vegetables, salt, coal, horses and slaves.

The tradition demanded the construction for the merchant class of a *bazzāzistān* or *bedesten*, the center of the commercial part of the town. In this paper I shall focus on the *bedesten*.

Apparently originating in the Greco-Roman *basiica* or *kaiserion* the *bedesten* or *ḳayṣariyya* as it was called in Arab lands, eastern Asia Minor and Iran, was the cen-

tral building of the commercial part of the city. Because the **bedesten** was an institution linked to international trade, it existed in only the most important cities, and in Ottoman survey books the **bedesten** was always listed among the prominent institutions of a city. In fact, Evliyā Çelebi, in his work describing Ottoman cities, divided them into two classes—cities with, and cities without a **bedesten**.

As a rule, the city with a **bedesten** was a center for international trade. It was generally densely populated and numbered among its inhabitants wealthy members of the ruling class and successful capitalist merchants who imported valuable wares. The construction of a **bedesten** in an otherwise unimportant town could assist considerably in the development of that town as a commercial center by attracting the big merchants, to whom the protection provided by a **bedesten** was vital. Immediately after the conquest of Cyprus the merchants settled in Nicosia (Lefkosa) asked the government to repair and convert a ruined church in the Aya-Sofya bazaar into a **bedesten**. They argued that “it will be benefecial to all people and our wares will be well protected.” The following is an imperial permit for Vizir °Ali Pāshā to build a **bedesten** in Rashīd in Egypt. The contents of the Sultan’s diploma state that the holder of this diploma, vizir °Alī Pāshā, most probably Khādim °Ali Pasha, governor of Egypt in 1559, was solicited by the merchants and wealthy people in the city to build a **bazzāzistān**. The document reads: “so that they would not have the worry of carrying their goods every morning and evening from home to the shop and back”.

Thereupon °AlīPāshā built there, in a well protected place, a **bazzāzistān**, and all the population of the city came to the **kaḏī**’s court and asserted that it was to the best interest of everyone that all kinds of cloths sold by the yard, **dhira**°, and perfumes and drugs be sold exclusively in the **bazzāzistā** and that all the broker-criers, **dallāls**, of these trades do their transactions in that place. Since their decision was recorded in the **kaḏī**’s official register, **sijill**, and a copy of it was sent to my exalted cout with the request for an imperial firman for its confirmation, granted this imperial diploma and order that from now on all kinds of cloths sold by the yard and perfumes and drugs are to be sold exclusively in the aforesaid **bazzāzistān** of °Ali Pāshā, and the broker-criers are to be on duty there. No one is to be obstructive by any means whatsoever.”

* About 1680 Evliya Çelbi (vol.X. Istanbul 1938, pp. 710-13) a description of the two **bedestens** and the city of **Rashīd** as follows:

There are two **bezzāzistān** (in Rashīd), built entirely of stone and having iron gates and one hundred shops each. One of the **bezzāzistāns** is devoted to the sale of costly garments and textiles, the other to that of jewelry. Both of them contain many very wealthy merchants.... The population of Rashīd depend all on trade. Half of the population are craftsmen.... There are many tall, handsome mansions and wharves all along the shores of the Nile river. Ships load and unload huge heaps of wares on the wharves.

°Ali Pāshā who built one of these two **bedestens** in this thriving city must be Khādim °Ali rather than Yavuz °Ali Pasha, governor of Eghpt between 1602-1604 (cf. Evliyā, p. 713).

In many instances a **bedesten** was built on the initiative of the Ottoman government, or of some vizir or governor, for the purpose of promoting trade. On the other hand, a **bedesten** was sometimes built in response to the demands of merchants who, because of their economic success, felt the need for a place in the city in which they could conduct business with security. As a rule bedestens were built as wakf to provide revenue for charitable projects, and to promote commerce and economic activity. The **bedesten** of Istanbul and the bazaar around it were constructed by the Sultan to foster the city's economic life and were part of the reconstruction of the city after its destruction during the conquest.

The specific economic functions of a **bedesten** were three. First, it was the place where the merchants' valuable imported wares, primarily textiles, were safely stored and sold. Second, it was the center where the "resident" merchants conducted their financial transactions and organized their overland caravans and commercial sea voyages on the basis of **mudāraba** contract. Third, the **bedesten** was the place where all sorts of valuables belonging to individuals—principally jewelry and money—were safely guarded under state protection in specially designed safes. In addition, the coffers of the **bedesten** served as the place of safekeeping for items held in trust, **amānet**. These included the fortune of missing persons being held until a legal time period, **bayt al-māl**, had elapsed, trust funds for legally protected minors such as orphans, **māl al-yatīm**, and important documents concerning the city's inhabitants. In sum, the **bedestens** in many respects played the role of modern banks and exchanges. In the eighteenth century J. Porter compares the **bedesten** of Istanbul to a great "exchange."

Above all, the **bedesten** was the headquarters for the merchant guild trading in precious textiles, **bazz**. The merchants of a **bedesten** held an imperial decree and a legal document from the **kādi** guaranteeing the monopoly privilege of their guild. They guarded this monopoly jealously. For example, in 1609, when the wares of the type the merchants dealt in were being sold in drugstores, **ʿaṭṭār**, in Galata, the merchants of that city's **bedesten** complained directly to the Sultan. In the mid-sixteenth century, however, the government eliminated the absolute monopoly over the sale of textiles, ruling that unless a special firman were issued to the contrary, merchants could not prevent the sale of clothing outside the **bedesten**. A regulation attributed to Nishandjī Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭāfa provides that a party building a **bedesten** could not force people to trade in cloths within it, and a firman was issued to this effect. Incidentally, this ruling reflects recognition of freedom in trade in the Islamic city.

Constructed to fill the specific functions of a well-protected storage vault and major trade center, the **bedesten** building holds a unique place in the history of the development of Ottoman architecture. In its design it was no doubt similar to many other traditional, solid buildings of the Middle East.

The oldest Ottoman **bedestens** which survive today are those of Bursa, built under Orkhān and Bāyezīd I (1389-1402) in the fourteenth century. The Ottoman **bedesten** was a compact stone building, square or more often, rectangular in shape, with thick walls and lead-encased domes. It towered over the city like a fortress. Small windows were located in the upper part of its walls. There was usually one gate on each of its sides, from which the broad streets, **shahrāh**, of the bazaar radiated out in four directions. Inside, the **bedesten** was divided by thick pillars into square compartments, each of which had a dome over it. The number of domes varied from four to twenty. Outside the **bedesten** there were shops set up against its walls, and the **carsi**, the rows of shops for the various crafts, were built nearby on both sides of the streets parallel to the axis of the **bedesten**. Outside of this complex additional rows of shops were constructed in squares or rectangles. Architecturally the Ottoman **khān** or caravanserai had a plan completely different from that of the **bedesten**; for the comfort of the "travelling", **saffār**, merchant, the caravanserais were built around a large courtyard, open to the sky, usually with a fountain and basin in the center. As the model and the best example of Ottoman **bedestens** the **Old Bedesten** of Istanbul can be described in some detail here.

The construction of the **Old Bedesten** of Istanbul was completed in the winter of 1460-1461. That the **bedesten** and **Grand Bazaar** were originally built by Mehmed the Conqueror is confirmed beyond a doubt by both the wakf registers and the statements of the Byzantine historian Kritovoulos. In its architectural features it is clearly the apex of a development which can be followed through the earlier **bedestens** built in other Ottoman cities before 1453.

As was the case at Rashīd in Egypt; there existed two **bedestens** in Istanbul both located in the middle of the Grand Bazaar, the **Old Bedesten** for jewelry and precious garments and cloths, the **New Bedesten** for ordinary silks (Saraybosna in Bosnia too had two **bedestens**). In 1520 the **Old Bedesten** had 168 sandūks or shops and the Grand Bazaar around it 1,011 shops. One of the best descriptions of the **Old Bedesten** of the sixteenth century is Dernschwam's who visited Istanbul in the middle of that century. He states that there were two **bedestens** in the Istanbul-stone buildings with domes supported by pillars and with high windows—in which all kinds of jewelry and silks were sold. In the **bedestens** were merchants of all nationalities—Turks, Greeks, Armenians and others. The possession of a shop gave great prestige to its owner. The two **bedestens** were considered the most chic and cosmopolitan places in Istanbul. As the demand for space in the **Old Bedesten** grew ever greater, the rents, which went to the upkeep of the congregational mosque Aya-Sofya, were raised accordingly—in 1489 30,684 akça, in 1520 51,888 akça. In addition, the competition for shops was so keen that one could easily sell one's right of occupancy for 5000 **gurush** or about 3500 gold pieces.

Detailed information about the shop owners of the **Old Bedesten** also is found in the survey registers made for the use of the **jābīs**, the collectors of **wakf** rents. Ac-

According to the registers of 1520, Muslims then occupied 123 of the total of 168 shops; 34 shops were rented by non-Muslims, and 5 corner shops and one **sandūk** shop were vacant. In order to collect the government share of the estates a **bayt al-māl emīnī** and a **kassām** of the **kaḍī** asked occupied one shop each. In another corner shop the surplus left over from the **wakf** revenues of the Aya-Sofya mosque was kept.

According to the registers of 1489 and 1520 there were 18 and 34 non-Muslims respectively. (In 1520 18 Jews, 13 Armenians, 2 Greeks, one European). Although it is noteworthy that the number of non-Muslims doubled in the thirty one years between the two registers, in the period as a whole the overwhelming majority of merchants in the Bedesten were Muslims. In the register of 1520 there are no titles given for 65 of the 123 Muslim shop owners; the remaining 58 were classified as follows: members of the ruling elite 30 (**beys**, **ulema**, **kapi-kulu**, **ḥeblī** etc.) big merchants 11, craftsmen 7. In addition, there were 6 Arabs and three Persians. The members of the upper class usually invested their capital in interregional trading ventures, either by overland caravans or by ship.

As our document attests, some beys even possessed shops in the **Bedesten**. One shop owner was a woman, Glnar Badji. In later registers women were frequently found on the list of craftsmen and traders owning shops in the **bedestens**. In the female slave trade women were conspicuously active. We know that in this period merchants from Damascus and Aleppo and silk merchants from Iran occupied an important place in Ottoman commercial life. According to the data from the **kaḍī** records of Bursa, Arab merchants from Aleppo and Damascus imported huge amounts of pepper, cloves, indigo, as well as cloth of Yaman and exported **kemkhāa** costly brocades, saffron, mohair of Angora and sable furs. An Arab merchant from Andalusia imported in Bursa mohair in 1501. Evidently, some of these Arab merchants stayed on in Istanbul as "resident" merchants in the **Old Bedestan**.

As to the administration and organization of the Old Bedesten, it was under the general supervision of the imperial endowments department. However, the merchants doing business there had formed a guild corporation and, according to Evliyā Çelbi (ca. 1638) the **Old Bedesten** was under the direct administration of an elected body composed of "shaykhs, **naḳkibs**, **duʿādjis** and one **ketkhadā**." In addition it is stated that there were broker-criers operating inside and outside the **Bedesten**, night watchmen (**pāsbāns**) and porters (**ḥammals**). Because of the importance of their respective services the broker-criers and the night watchmen were appointed by the Sultan's diploma (**berāt**) and kept under constant supervision by the public authorities. Other workers were required to show guarantors (**kāfils**) at the time of their appointments. According to Charles White who left a first hand detailed report of the organization and operation of the **Bedesten** corporation in 1845), those in direct charge included one **shaykh** or **kāhyā** (**ketkhudā**), one deputy inspector (**naḳīb**) and six elders. The **kaḥyā** was responsible before the government

for the good behaviour of the guild members and for their strict compliance with the regulations and with the Sultan's order. Whenever there was an infringement of their rights, or the rights of members of associated trades around the **Bedesten** guild representatives went to the court of the *kādī* to make their representations. As a rule, the *kādī* then reported the matter to the Sultan and awaited his orders before taking action.

In Syria while Evliya Çelebi is explicit in distinguishing **bedestens** and **khāns** according to their functions and architectural features, historians in interpreting Arabic sources are not always precise in defining **ḳaysāriyya**, **funduḳ**, **wakāla** or **khān**. N. Eliséef, one of the best specialists in this field, says: "En Egypte le mot **wakāla** finit par l'emporter sur **ḳaysāriyya funduḳ** et **han** pour signifier sous Qayt Bay un entrepôt" (La Description de Damas d'Ibn ʿĀsākīr, Damas, 1959, p. 88, note 4) and adds (*Ibid.*, p.143 note 5): "le funduḳ... est un entrepôt où l'on ne procède pas à la vente aux clients et où il n'y a pas d'ateliers de transformations comme dans le **qaysāriya**", and, **dār al-wakāla** (p. 223, note 14) is a place "où se tient **wakīl** de la corporation de marchands. Ce "mandataire" vérifiait le conaissance des marchandise, apportées par les caravans, prélevant les droits d'octroi et d'entrepôt et surveillait le repartition des parts entre les ayants-droit."

Confusion is partly due to the fact that a building originally constructed to serve a certain purpose was eventually used for some other purpose, usually as a result of economic changes. **Kaysariyyas**, for example, appear to eventually have become "ateliers de transformations", buildings where workshops of a certain craft were located. Evliya Celebi (p.44) makes it clear that as a result of the emigration of the Jews who manufactured woolens to Salonica, two of the **bedestens** of Şafad were left unused while the third one became a *mihmānhāne*, hostet for the travellers (for the change in the use of buildings in the Mamlūk Syria, see Sauvaget, **Aleppo**, pp. 171-172).

Eliséef defines **ḳaysāriyya** as a "colsed market place" (marché clos). Massignon points out that **kaysāriyya** played the function of "magasin générux et presque de bourse des valeurs étoffe" (cited by sauvaget, p. 79), "un endroit clos, aves des portes très solides, sorte de grande halle" (cited by Sauvaget, **Aleppo**, p. 79). Sauvaget traces the origin of this type of market, closed and covered (marché fermé et couvert) back to a market place built in Antioch by Augustus Caesar and argues that the Arabs continued the institution from the time of the Umayyads. He also points out that in Damascus the **kaysāriyya** of garments and that of money exchanges (**ṣarrāf** or sarf) occupied a special area in the city as part of the Great Mosque (an **Agora** in the Greco-Roman world).

The plan of the **ḳaysāriyya** of jewellers of Aleppo, restituted according to the cadastral documents by Sauvaget, shows the essential features of Ottoman **bedesten**(it is located in the place of ancient agora). Also on the testimony of Ibn Jubayr, Sauvaget asserted (pp. 78-79, 119-120) that a "souq" or bazaar, shops

located on either side of an avenue or arranged in a square or rectangle, could also form a **kaysāriyya** as was the case with the Souk of Cloths and that of Jewelers of Aleppo. (Ibn Jubayr refers to the **sūk** also as **simāt**. According to him “**ḳaysāriyya** is around the Great Mosque and each of the **sūks** starts from one of the gates of the Great Mosque” (Sauvaget, p. 120, note 186). “Incendié en 1169 et exproprié au benefice de la Grand Mosquée (in Aleppo), le souk aux étoffes fut reconstruit et reçut une nouvelle disposition qui n’avait plus rien de commun avec un **qaisariya**”.

Distinction should however, be made between the market for cloths, usually of cotton and coarse woolens for ordinary people and costly cloths and garments (**libās fākhir wa dhī-ḳima**) usually of silk or Europeanwoolen, imported for the use of the upper class in the Ottoman period. For the first category, we find a **sūk** or **bāzār** or **ḳarsi** in the cities while the second category, as a rule, is sold in **Ḳaysāriyya** or **bedesten**. Hoever. Evliya Celebi points out that in certain cities, economically thriving, costly cloths and garments can be found in the **ḳarsi** even if there is no **bedesten** there. The **sūk**, built for the sale of costly cloths and furs by the Ayyūbid Sultan Ghāzī was still referred to as **ḳaysāriyya** (Sauvaget, p.172). In parallel to the commercial development during the second half of the 14th century and first years of the 15th century, a number of large, splendid ‘**khāns**,’ each devoted to a particular craft or trade, were built in the central **sūks**. They were designed to lodge merchants from distant places with their wares (Sauvaget, p. 172).

In building **khans**, **bedestens** and **bāzārs** in Syria, the Ottomans introduced the forms of architecture which they developed in Anatolia and Rumili. After this Ottoman style referred to as **Rūm ḥarzī** or **Rūm ḥavri**, a great number of commercial buildings were constructed in Syria and Palestine. Here I shall only give a list of the most important ones which I found in Evliya Çelebi

	Bedesten	Khān	Çarsī
Beirut (Evlīyā, vol. IX 418-20, 1671), Port and city	—	18 (10 of them at the port)	1 (in the varoş, at the port over 200 depots for merchandise, customs house, precious textiles available in the khāns in the city)
Sidon (Şayda)(Evlīyā, vol. IX, 427, 1671)	—	4	1 (400 shops) all kinds of precious goods available in the çarsī, at the port the Frenk Khani with 300(?) rooms is surrounded by shops, European consuls reside in this khān , the port is very large but in ruins
Tyre (Şūr) (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 431-32, 1671)	—	1	1 (20 shops) very good harbor protected by a fortress built by Sinan Pasha
Damascus (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 543, 1671)	?	the principal khāns : Lala Muştafā , Dervisiyye , Sināniyye , Muhtesib , Şāhbender , Gümrük Emīni , Suleymā- niyye	çarsis at the gate of the Ibn ʿAsākīr, La description de Great Mos- Damas , trans. N. Eliséeef, Damas que : ʿItriyāt 1959, arc: k. al-Faḫhriyya, Nisvān , Fahh k. al-Furūṣ , k. al-cafari, āmīn Hallacīn, k. al-Wazīr , (Ibn ʿAsākīr died in 1176); for the later periods see J. Sauvaget, Les monuments historiques de Damas , Beirut 1932
Jerusalem (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 489, 1671)	—	6 the principal ones: Ghūriyya , Khāşakiyya , ʿImāret	Sūk-i Sulṭāni : 2045 shops(?) other sūks: all kinds of precious goods Tawīl , Zergerler , available in the shops of Hallaclar , Kazzaz- lar, Kavvaflar Khani Sipāh Pazari around Sūk

	Bedesten	Khān	Ġarsī	
Safad Savfad (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 441, 1671)	3 (2 of them unused, one turned into a hostel)	3	1 (120 shops)	Jews in majority, formerly a big city with 3000 (?) woolen factories out of which only 40 are left in 1671; famous Safad kecesī is woven, all kinds of precious goods available in the Ġarsī
Antioch (Evlīyā, vol. III, 55, 1648)	—	9 for unmarried workers	1 (300 shops)	“There is no bedesten, but still it has all kinds of precious (imported) goods in its Ġarsī.”
Aleppo (Evlīyā, vol. X. 376-77, 1672)	2 khans used as bedesten big khāns,	47 names given	1 sūk-i Sul-tānī : 5700 shops (?) and several other Ġarsī	In addition 7 caravanserais for travellers. The two Khān-bedestens apparently correspond to the “Sūk of Cloths” and “the Sūk of Jewelers” mentioned by J. Sauvaget, <i>Alep</i> , Paris 1941, 120.
Hamā (Evlīyā, vol. III, 64, 1648)	—	7 for merchants	several	precious (imported) goods available in its Ġarsī, famous with its products of white towels, cotton handkerchiefs, bath covers of silk, black sacks and alaca handkerchiefs
Ĥoms (Evlīyā, vol. III, 59, 1648)	—	3		

Latakia (Evlīyā, vol. III, 64, 1648)	—	4	1 (200 shops)	At the port 150 depots and rooms for merchants from Egypt and Europe, all kinds of precious goods available in its <i>carsi</i> . its silk and cotton products much in demand 1 suḳ-i sulṭāni great number 1270(?) shops of rich merchants; at the port area one <i>khān</i> with 150 depots and rooms for merchants, in addition 200 stone built depots, customs house good harbor
Ceble (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 394, 1671)	—	3	1 (70 shops)	
Tripoli (Evlīyā, vol. X, 410, 1671)	1	12	1 big <i>khāns</i> , names given	
Cubayl (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 415, 1671)	—	1	1 (20 shops)	
Jaffa (Evlīyā, vol. III, 122, 1648)	—	1	1	a small town of 500 houses, but its port is frequented by ships from Syrian and Egyptian ports built by Sinan Pasha the <i>Khān</i> contains precious goods
ʿAkka (Evlīyā, vol. III, 122, 1648)	—	Balyoz <i>Khāni</i>	a few	
Nablus (Evlīyā, vol. IX, 456, 1671)	—	1	1 large stone <i>Khān</i>	all kinds of precious goods; <i>çarsi</i> and <i>khān</i> form part of Lala Muştafā Pasha <i>awḳāf</i> . the valuables of the inhabitants are safeguarded in the fortress of Gaza, production of cotton goods and great quantity of olive oil are exported to Egypt
Gaza (Evlīyā, vol. III, 130, 1648)	—	—	1 (600 shops)	

According to the *Ḳānunnāme* of 1548 the Europeans had their own storehouses of spices in Damascus and shipped them at the port of Beirut. Other ports of transit were Şayda (Sidon), şur (Tyr) and Jaffa where customs dues were paid. The regulations of customs dues of Beirut were valid for these ports while Tripoli had its own regulations

The Waqfs of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century According to the Tahrir Registers.

Dr. Mehmet Ipsirli

The institution of the waqf, or pious foundation, occupied an important place in the Muslim states from the very beginning. Its volume and importance increased continuously and had an impact on every aspect of social life.

The Ottomans, while inheriting many institutions from the previous Muslim states, also had an opportunity to develop and adapt them to different nations and cultures. During the Ottoman period the waqf as an example of these institutions in various forms, reached an immense degree. It was adopted and applied to such an extent by all classes of society that sometimes the state had to take measures to restrict it and to prevent abuses. Many social welfare services were undertaken by waqfs.

For the Ottoman period, although one can find information about waqfs in various kinds of sources, it is possible to name five main types:

1. The waqfiyes or waqfnāmes
2. The tahrir registers
3. The waqf accountancy books (Vakif muhāsebe defterleri)
4. The Şer'īye registers (Şer'īye sicilleri)
5. Other official documents, such as Mühimme registers etc.

While the first source gives only the initial establishment and the basic principles of each waqf, the remaining sources reflect its application and management, and its changes throughout the centuries. These latter sources also detail the annual revenues of the waqf and how the total amount was spent, or the cases and lawsuits among the interested parties, and abuses and efforts to reform them.

For a comprehensive study of the waqf, one should examine all these sources. In this paper only one source, namely the **tahrir** register, has been used. The aim of this paper is only to offer certain information and some material for any future research on the ewqāf of Palestine.

- 1 . The tahrir register nr: 522. It has 72 pages and concerns exclusively the waqfs and **emlak** of Palestine. Pages 14-31 detail the waqfs of Kudus; pages 40-52 give the waqfs of Şafed; pages 64-68 are on the waqfs of Nablus, and page 71 is the waqf of Aclun. About 235 waqfs are dealt with in this register.

- 2 . The tahrīr register nr: 312. It is 133 pages long and is about the waqfs and **emlāk** of livā-i Şafed and Nāblus and Gazze, and the ḳāza-i Ramle.
- 3 . The tahrīr register nr: 342. It has 33 pages and is dated 970 (1562-3): It is about the waqfs and **emlāk** of Ḳuds exclusively.
- 4 . The tahrīr register nr: 602. This register is 495 pages long and remains in very good condition. The main section comprising pages 1-420 is about the ewqāf and **emlāk** of livā-i Şām. Pages 425-461 about the waqfs of Palestine, and the last part, pages 463-495, are about the **emlāk** of Palestine.

This final tahrīr register has been taken as the basis for this paper, with references to the other registers. The section on Palestinian ewqāf includes 243 waqfs dating from various periods and dynasties.

There is no date of compilation, but through the date of waqfiyes one can say that it was compiled just a few years after the annexation of this region to the Ottoman Empire, 922 (1516). The latest waqf in the register is dated 940 (1533-4) or 18 years after the conquest. The earliest waqf on the other hand, was dated 584 (1189) and belonged to the founder of Ayyūbid Dynasty, Salāhaddīn b. Yusūf. The majority of the 243 waqfs belong to the Islamic dynasties before the Ottomans, especially to the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk periods.

For waqfs the most important elements are the founder, the place of dedication, the date of the waqfiye, and the sources of revenue and their annual incomes. In the above-mentioned registers sources and incomes have been regularly given, but the other information is incomplete. Annual incomes sometimes were given as an actual amount of money and at other times simply as a proportion of total village incomes. The types of income sources are:

Ḳarye : village	Mezre'a : arable field
Arz or ḳit'a-i ard : land or plot of land	Dukkān :shop
Furun : baker	Bejt :house
Hān : commercial building	Tāhūn :mill
Bostān : orchard	Hammām :bathhouse
Ḳā'a : courtyard	Hākūre : vegetable garden
Ma'sara : presss, olive oil press	Mahzen : store-room
	Girās : trees

While most of the waqfs have few sources of revenue, there are certain waqfs which have many sources. These are generally imperial waqfs. For instance, the waqf of the Medrese of Kaytbay, the Mamlūk sultan, which was established in Ḳuds in 877 (1472-3), had revenues from 28 villages, 9 arable fields, 3 plots of land, 1 bathhouse, 1 block of shops, 1 press of olive oil, 4 courtyards, 2 orchards, 1 bakery, 1 block of shops (havānit), 1 place, in total 52 immovable properties.

Since the main elements of waqfs such as the founder, the purpose, etc., are not always given in the registers, it is not possible to give reliable numerical data on them. But sultāns (mainly Mamluk and Ayyubid), emīrs, şeyhs and men and women from the people were among the founders.

The purposes of the waqfs on the frequency of appearance, Mosques, Medreses, Zāviyes, Ribāts and Hānkaha and their upkeep, reciting the Kor'an, Seyhs, the Haremeyn, Bīmāristān, a church, the poor (Muslim and Christian) and the descendants of the Prophet are among the recipients of waqf funds.

Here are few examples from the waqf register nr: 602. Nr. 1. The waqf of the Zāviyetü'l-Megaribe in the quarter of the same name in Kud̄s. [Its sources] 1) Shops in the market of el Kaşşaş and in the bridge of Leymūn, which provided an income of 360 akces per year; 2) A bakery in the same quarter whose revenue was 144 akces per year; 3) A mill near the same district, with a revenue of 216 akces per year; 4) A house in the Hārtü'l-Yehūd with a revenue of 96 akces per year. Nr. 39. The waqf Sultan el-Melikü'n-Nāsir Fereç b. Berkük, for Şeyh Cemāleddin Yusuf b. Şeyh Mehmed el-Bureyrī, dated 809 (1406-7).

[The sources:] 1) The village of Bureyr belonging to Gazze. The whole revenue of the village was 20,000 akçes. Of this total 10,000, or which is 12 kīrāts of the income, was the share of the waqf of Medīne-i Mūnevvere and the second 10,000 also equalling 12 kīrāts, was the share of Zāviye of Seyh Cemāleddin.

Nr.46: The waqf of en-Nāsiri ʿAbdullah b. Çomak, dated 940 (1533-4).

[The sources:] 1) Block of houses in the Hārettü'l 1-Haddādīn in the city of Ramle, three houses, whose yearly income is not given. 2) A plot of land known as the vineyard of the orange in the outskirts of Ramle, whose whole revenue was given. 3) A plot of land with trees belonging to Ramle, 12 kīrāts (half of the whole revenue) per year. 4) from a plot of land with trees known as ibnū'n-Naķib, 21 kīrāts per year.

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Cohen, A & Lewis, B: **Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century**, Princeton, 1978.

Filistin Evkafı*

Basbakanlık Arsivi, Tapu Tahrir Defteri, nr: 602, sh:425-461.)

The Waqfs of Palestine

(The Turkish Prime Minister Achives, Tapu Tahrir Register Nr: 620)

- 1 Vakf-i zāviyetü' l-Megāribē fi mahalletihim bi'l-Kudsi's-serif
- 2 Vakf-i el-Emir Ebü 'A'id Hilāl alā erba'atin ve işsrine neferen 'alā kirā' eti' l-Kur'ān ve gayrihi, ta'rihü'l-vak-fiye fî sene 725.
- 3 Vakf-i es-Sāmsi Seyfeddin Sunkur, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fî sene 808.
- 4 Vakf-i es-Sultān 'alā kirā'eti'l-Kur'ān, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 849.
- 5 Vakf-i en-Nāsiri Mehmed b. 'Alī el-Cubeyli 'alā es-Seyh Sehābeddin, ta'rihü'i-vakfiye fî sene 796.
- 6 Vakf-i Melek bint-i 'Abdullāh 'alā Zāviyeti' l-Kalenderiye, ta'rih-i sûret-i da'vā fî sene 905.
- 7 Vakf-i Seydi 'Alī Küçük bi'l-Kudsi's-serif.
- 8 Vakf-i ez-Zāviyeti'l-Edhemiyye, zāhir-i Kudsi's-serif;
- 9 Vakf-i Isfahān Sāh Hatūn bint-i el-Emir Maḥmūd 'alā Medreseti'l-Osmāniye, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 844.
- 10 Vakf-i es-Seyh Burhāneddin b. Ebī Serif el-Makdisi, ta'ri-hü'l-vakfiye fî sene 916.
- 11 Vakf-i Turbe-i Seyh Ebī's-sevr, ta'rihü'l-mahzar fî sene 747.
- 12 Vakf-i es-Seyh Kemāleddin b. Ebī Serif, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 893.
- 13 Vakf-i es-Seyh Kemāleddin el-mezkür, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 897 ve fî sene 898.
- 14 Vakf-i 'A'ise Hatūn bint-i Abdullāh, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 913.
- 15 Vakf-i es-Seyyid Semseddin Mehmed b. Seyyid 'Alā' eddin el-Kibtī ve zevcetuhü 'A'ise Hatun, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 922.
- 16 Vakf-i Medreseti't-Tāziye fi Babi's-selseli.
- 17 Vakf-i Turbe-i Seydi Cerrāh, rahmetu'llāhi aleyh.
- 18 Vakf-i Hangāhi'l-Fahriye, civār-i Mescidi'l-Aḫṣā, ta'rihü'l-mahzar fî sene 903.
- 19 Vakf-i Medreseti't-Taylūniye, fevka sūrī's-Sahra, ta'rihü'l-murabba' fî sene 881.
- 20 Vakf-i el-Hāc Sa'deddin Sünbül, el-hādım 'mescid-i zāviye, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 754.
- 21 Vakf-i Ribāti'l-Hamavi fi mahalle-i Bābi'l-Kaḫḫānīn bi'l-Kudsi's-serif.
- 22 Vakf-i er-Ribātu' l-ma'ruf bi-Dāri Kur'āni's Selāmiyye bi'l-Rudsi' s-seri f.
- 23 Vakf-i Ribāt-i Ibn-i Müsebbit fî mahalle-i Bābi'l-Kattānīn bi'l-Kudsi's-serif.
- 24 Vakf-i el-Hac Zeyneddin el-Amidi, ta'rih-i sicilli'l-vakfiye fî sene 885.
- 25 Vakf-i Bedreddin Hasan b. Zurayk 'alā Kirā'eti'l-Kur'ān, ta'ri-hü'l-vakfiye fî sene 879.

* Here in the text the Turkish pronunciation was given.

- 26 Vakf-i el-Emir vâli'd-Dögeri, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 926.
- 27 Vakf-i es-Seyh Taceddîn Mübârek et-Temimî ,ta'rihü'l-vakfiye, fî sene sitte ve isrîn ve semân-mi'e.
- 28 Vakf-i el-Hâc İbrâhîm b. Abdullatif es-sehîr bi-Ibn Fâris, ta'-rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 893.
- 29 Vakf-i zâviyeti'l-Hatiniye fî kibel-i Mescidi'l-Akşâ.
- 30 Vakf 'alâ kirâ'eti' l-Kur'âni'l-'azîm.
- 31 Vakf-i Emine bint-i Omer b. Suleymân, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 868.
- 32 Vakf-i el-Hâc Ebu-Bekr b. Muhammed. b. Hizr, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 887.
- 33 Vakf-i es-Seyh Bedreddîn Muhammed Ebü'l-Mehdî b. Ebü'l-'avn Muhammed el-Gazzî, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 927.
- 34 Vakf-i Nâsiruddîn Muhammed b. Halîl b. ,ta'rihu'l-vak-fiye fî sene 905.
- 35 Vakf-i el-Hâc 'Alî b. İsmâ'îl, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 849.
- 36 Vakf-i Nâsiruddîn Muhammed b. es-Sihâbî Ahmed b. el-Misrî, ta'rih-i sicili'l-vakfiye fî sine 68. [Here should be an error in the date. In the Tahrîr defter of 522 was given thus: "Vakf-i Nâsiruddîn Muhammed b. Sihâbüddîn Ahmed, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 915".]
- 37 Vakf-i el-Hâc Muhammed b. 'Alî b. Şadağ a el-ma'rûf bita'rihu'l-vakfiye fî sene 875.
- 38 Vakf-i es-Sultân Bâybârs el-Bundukdâri 'alâ Darîh () Veliy-y'llâh es-Seyyid Celîl 'Alî b. 'Alîm fî arz-i Arsuf () bi-kurbi el-Bahri'l-mâ lih.
- 39 Vakf-i es-Sultân el-Meliku'n-Nâsir Ferec b. Berkuğ 'alâ es-Seyh Cemâ leddîn Yûsuf b. es-Seyh Muhammed el-Bureyri, ta'rihu'l-vakfiye fî sene 809.
- 40 Vakf-i es-Sultân Inal 'alâ masâlihi'l-Hânkâh ve'l-Medrese ve'l-Mescidü'l-Cami' el-ma'rûf el-ma'rûf el-ma'mûr fi zâhir-i Misr bi's-Sahra hâric-i Bâbu'n-Nasr, ta'rihu'l-vakfiye fî sene 860.
- 41 Vakf-i el-Emir Karaca b. 'Abdullâh el-Ensârî, ta'rihu'l-vakfiye fî sine 903.
- 42 Vakf-i es-Seyh 'Abdulkâdir b. Sa'bân, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sine 912 ve fî sene 926 ve fî sene 934.
- 43 Vakf-i Seyfeddîn en-Nâsirî 'ala Câmî' el-medfûn bihi hazret-i Ebu Hureyre sâhib-i Rasûlü'llâh salla'llâhu 'aleyhi ve sellem, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 739.
- 44 Vakf-i Altun Boga'alâ zeyti'l-Medîne ve 'alâ'l-Hâremeyn, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 816.
- 45 Vakf-i Muhammed ve Ebü'l-Kâsim veledy ve gayrihi 'alâ cihâti'l-birr ve's-sadaka, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fî sene 889.

- 46 Vakf-i en-Nāsiri ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammed b. Comak (Çomak), ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 940.
47. Vakf-i es-Sādiki İbrāhîm b. ez-Zeynî Mustafâ b. Tuman el-meshûr bi-Ibn-i ‘Arab, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 896.
48. Vakf-i el-‘Alâyi ‘Alî b., el-ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 867.
49. Vakf-i Emeti’l-Azîz bint-i Burhāneddîn el-ma’rûf vâliduhâ bi’l-Ḥaydarî, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 881.
- El-ân mutasarriif olan Semseddîn fevt oldukdan sonra Harameyn’e dâhil oyrur, gayra virilmez; sart-i vakifinda ba’de vefâtihi ‘ale’z-zürriyetihi diyü sart olunmamisdur. sahh.
50. Vakf-i Semeseddîn b. Ebî-Bekr b. Cumeyzî ve veledihi Yûsuf, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 919.
51. Vakf-i Burhāneddîn b. ‘Abdulkâdir el-meshûr bi-Ibn’l-Bureyrî, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 929.
52. Vakf-i ‘Imâdeddîn b. Bedreddîn b. es-Sayih, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 909.
53. Vakf-i Cemâleddîn b. ‘Afîfeddîn es-Sehîr bi-Ibni’l-Muhtesib, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 737.
54. Vakf-i el-Cemâli Yûsuf b. Bahâdir İlyas, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 791.
55. Vakf-i ez-Zeynî Balaban el-Hitâbi ‘alâ Mescid kurbi’l-Cami’i el-Caveli fi sene 911.
56. Vakf-i Zâviye-i ‘Alî eş-Şaykal ve Havzu’s-sebîl.
57. Vakf-i Kutlu Boga b. ‘Abdullāh ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 790.
58. Vakf-i Mescid-i es-Seyh Musâfir fî maḥalle-i Sucâ’iyye الشجاعة Bi-Gazze.
59. Vakf-i es-Sâkiye el-ma’rûfe bi-Halliye zâhîr-i Gazze, ta’rihü’l-mahzar fî sene 931.
60. Vakf-i Zeyneddîn b. Serefeddîn el-Buhârî, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 878.
61. Vakf-i Zeyneddîn Ḥabîb el-Bîrî (البيري), ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 665.
62. Vakf ‘alâ kirâ’eti’l-Kur’ân fî Türbeti’l-Cerkesiyye fî nefsi-i Gazze.
63. Vakf-i Semseddîn Muhammed el-Ensârî ‘Alâ masalihi’l-Mescid fî Sûki’l-Ganem, ta’rihü’l-mahzar fî sene 777.
64. Vakf-i ‘Ömer b. Muhammed el-Ensârî, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 752
65. Vakf-i ‘Ömer b. Bâybars et-Takvâ, ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fi sene 857.
66. Vakf-i Câmî ‘i’ l-Bâsit fî nefsi-i Gazze bi-Sûki’l-Ganem.
67. Vakf-i Has-Türk bint-i Ahmed b. Bakîr (باكير), ta’rihü’l-vakfiye fî sene 849.
68. Vakf-i Câmî ‘i’l-Birdikiyye fî nefsi-i Gazze.
69. Vakf-i Ahmed b. Kemâl el-ma’rûf نصير بني ‘alâ kari’l-Hadîs fî Gazza.
70. Vakf-i Câmî ‘i’ es-Seyh Sihâbuddîn Ahmed b. Osmân el-Gazzi.
71. Vakf-i Mescid yu’ref bi-Ibn-i Muştafâ fî maḥalle-i Turkuman.

72. Vakf-i Fâtima Hatûn bint-i es-Sa'dî Ibrâhîm b. et-Tâci 'Abd ta'ri hû'l-vakfiye, fî sene 893.
73. Vakf-i Fâtima el-mezkûre 'alâ ihvetihi'l-erba'a, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 630.
74. Vakf-i Ibrâhîm b. Kutlu Beg b. Tur 'Alî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 793.
75. Vakf-i Cami've'z-Zâviye es-Seyh 'Alî b. Mervân.
76. Vakf-i Meşhedî'l-Hüseyn ve Bi'rî Ibrâhîm ve Vadi'n-Neml ve Zâviyeti'l-Hadr fî 'Askalân.
77. Vakf-i es-sihâbî Ahmed b. ez-Zeynî 'Abdurrahmân yu'ref bi-Ibn-i Şervîn, ta'rûhü'l-l-Vakfiye fî sene 892.
78. Vakf-i el-Cemali Yusuf b. et-Tâci 'Abdulvehhâb el-Gazzî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fi sene 897.
79. Vakf-i el-Gâzî b. 'Alâ'î 'Alî b. Isrâ'îl, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 848.
80. Vakf-i et-Takvâ 'Abdullâh ve et-Tâci 'Abdulvehhâb veledâni Ismâ'il b. Kays, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 856
81. Vakf-i Nâsiri Ebû'l-Cud b. Anitbay (انتباي), ta'rîhu'l-vakfiye fî sene 919.
82. Vakf-i en-Nâsiri Mehmed b. es-Sihabi Ahmed b. es-sehîr bi-es-Sutûri ve veledihî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 812.
83. Vakf-i Yelboga el-Arsufî es-Semeri (الأرسفي السمرى), 'ale'l-Mescidi ve't-Türbe, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 795.
84. Vakf-i Mengü-Temür b. 'Abdullâh el-Husâmî 'alâ Sâkiye.
85. Vakf-i Hâlime bint-i Ahmed b. Bessâm, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 865.
86. Vakf-i el-Câmi'i'l-Kadîm fi nefsi Gazze.
87. Vakf-i 'Alî ve Muhammed veledey es-Serefî Ahmed es-sehîr bi-Ibn 't-Tercûmân, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 919.
88. Vakf-i Ishâk b. Ya'kûb es-Sâmîrî 'alâ Kinîseteyn fî-Gazze ve's-Sâm, ta'rîh-i vakfiye fî sene 905.
89. Vakf-i Sâkiyeti'z-zeytûn fî zâhir-i Gazze
90. Vakf-i Bedreddîn b. Zeyneddîn b. Zeydî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 882.
91. Vakf-i Haremeyni's-serîfeyn, fî sene 935, min tevâbi'-i Gazze.
92. Vakf-i Cevher el-Konukbay ez-Zimâm 'alâ masâlihi' L-Hankâh bi-l-Kudsi's-serîf, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 843.
93. Vakf-i Halîl b. Mehmed b. Muhriz, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 894.
94. Vakf-i 'Alî b. Ez'ar er-Ribâî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 880.
95. Vakf-i Mehmed b. Ahmed yu'raf bi-'ibn-i Şebbabe (?) er-Remlî, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 930.
96. Vakf-i Ahmed b. Hâlid el-'Irâkî ve veledihî 'Abdul'azîz, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 815.
97. Vakf-i Sa'bân b. Mehmed el-ma'rûf bi-Ibn-i Simâk, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye fî sene 840.
98. Vakf-i Huceyce bint-i Yûsuf b. Simâk 'alâ es-Seyh Eyyûb b. 'Alî el-'Alî mî en yakra'e mine 'l-Kur' âni'l-'azîm, ta'rîhü'l-vakfiye, fî sene 936

99. Vakf-i Sārē bint-i Halīl b. ذقرون li'l-Havzi's-Sebīl, ta'ri-hü'l-vakfiye fī sene 888.
- 100 Vakf-i el-Cāmi'i'l-Ebyaz bi-Ramle.
- 101 Vakf-i es-Sultān Baybars 'alā es-Seyh Ilyās b. Sābik.
- 102 Vakf be-cihet-i birrū şadaka 'alā hādīm-i 'Askalān ve maşālihi'l-mekāni'l-mubārek.
- 103 Vakf-i Aķ-boga b. 'Abdullāh, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 734.
- 104 Vakf-i Hasan b. 'Alī b. Sultān al-Müserrefī, ta'rih-i nüshati'l-vakfiye fī sene 746.
- 105 Vakf-i Mescid-i ابن بدر fī Sūk'i l-Ganem fī Gazze.
- 106 Vakf-i Mescid-i 'Alī b. Ferace bi-mahalle-i Hikr Tüffāh.
- 107 Vakf-i İbrāhīm ve Ahmed veledey Nāsireddīn Mehmed. b. el-Kurdī, ta'rihül-vakfiye fī sene 894.
- 108 Vakf-i en-Nāsiri Mehmed b. Ahmed b. Sirāceddīn 'Ömer el-Ensāri, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 865.
- 109 Vakf-i Nüreddīn 'Alī b. Cemāleddīn 'Abdullāh el-Misri, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 912.
- 110 Vakf-i Mescid-i İbni'l-Vezir fī mahalle-i Dārü'l-Hudār fī nefsi-i Gazze
- 111 Vakf-i Mescidi' l-Cevvāsine fī mahalle-i Berceliyye.
- 112 Vakf-i el-Havāce Seyh Zekeriyā fī mahalle-i Berceliyye.
- 113 Vakf-i es-Semsi Mehmed b.Nāziru'l Ceys الجيش, ta'rihü'l-Vak-fiye fī sene 903.
- 114 Vakf-i Sa'āsat bint- Sa'deddīn el-Hācib, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 893.
- 115 Vakf-i Mescid-i Seyh Nāsiruddīn b. Nüreddīn fī mahalle-i Türküman bi-Gazze.
- 116 Vakf-i es-Sihābī Ahmed b. 'Alā'i 'Ali el-ḤḤācib, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 893.
- 117 Vakf-i Semseddīn Muhammed b. Necmeddīn b. Ganā'im 'alā maşāil-hi'l-Cāmi, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 886.
- 118 Vakf-i en-Nāsiri Mehmed b. Hüseyin b. Muştafā, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 871.
- 119 Vakf-i el-Bedri Hasan b. ed-Derāri el-Hārizimī fī sebili' llāhn, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 756.
- 120 Vakf-i Bimāristān en-Nāsiri fī Cazze.
- 121 Vakf-i Zāviye-i es Seyh Seyfeddīn fī CAzze.
- 122 Vakf-i es Semsı Sunkur b. 'Abdullāh, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 827.
- 123 Vakf-i Hānī b. Hālil alā Mascidihi fī Deyri'd-Dārüm.
- 124 Vakf-i Şerefeddīn İshāk min evlādi بيش , ta'rihül-vakfiye fī sene 835. El-ān zürriyet munkati' olup, Zāviye'ye intikal eylemiştir.
- 125 Vakf-i Semseddīn Muhammed b. el-'Imādi İsmā'il el-Abbāsi ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 880.
126. Vakf-i Cāmi'-i 'Abdurrahmān b.Sultān bi-maḥalleti' t-Tüffāh bi-Cazza

127. Vakf-i Sākiyeti' t-Türki fī arazi-i Karye-i Deyru'd-Dārüm.
128. Vakf-i Tāceddīn Abdulvehhab b. ,ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 924.
- 129 Vakf-i Shihābuddin Ahmed b. 'Abdullaḥ el-Magriḃī, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 897.
- 130 Vakf-i Sultān Kayitbay 'alā Medresetihi bi'l-Kudsi' ş-Şerīf, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 877.
- 131 Vakf-i es-Sultān Kayitbay 'alā Cāmi'ihī fī Gazze, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 883.
- 132 Vakf-i Hizr Beg 'Abdullāh bi-tariki' vekāle 'an maḥdūmiḥi Mūsā Beg Mīr-livā-i Gazze 'alā maşāliḥi' l-Mescid, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 929.
- 133 Vakf-i 'alā' maşāliḥ-i Türbe-i es-Seyh hālid fī maḥalle-i Berceliyye fī Gazze.
- 134 Vakf-i Zāviye-i ve Mescid-i es-Seyh Mücāhid fī maḥalleti' t-Turkuman fī Gazze.
- 135 Vakf-i 'Alemeddīn Sencer e-Cāvlī 'alā Cāmi'ihī bi-medīne-i Gazze fī maḥalleti' Turkuman.
- 136 Vakf-i Semseddin b. Suleyman ve Semseddin b. Takiyyeddin b. حمروش 'alā maşāliḥi'z-Zāviye el-ma'rūfe bi-Seyh Zikrī, tas'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 844.
- 137 Vakf-i Sihābuddīn Ahmed b. Muhammed b. el-Buveyzātī, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 932.
- 138 Vakf-i Mescid-i karye-i Hamāme tabi'-i Gazze, tā'rihi mahzar fī sene 903.
- 139 Vakf-i Darīh es-Seyh Ridvān fī saḥili'l-bahr, rehmetu' llāhi'aleyh.
- 140 Vakf-i en-Nāsiri' Muhammed b. Hālid b. Oztimur ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 861.
- 141 Vakf-i el-Fakīr Nureddīn b. Ahmed b. Celīl ta'rihau' l-vakfiye fī sene 898.
- 142 Vakf-i Fahreddīn Osmaḅ b. Cibrīl el-Burkūnī, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 829.
- 143 Vakf-i el-Hurme Hadīce binti 'Akkāşe ve ibnetuhā Fātima 'alā kirā' eti' l-Kur'ān fī Medreseti' l-Bāsitiye.
- 144 Vakf-i Takiyyüddīn b. 'Abdullāh b. Muhammed el-Hārisī, ta'rihü'l-vakfiye fī sene 863.
- 145 Vakf-i halīl ve Muḥammed ve Sāde evlad-i Zeyneddīn yu'refūne bi-evladi seyh el-Bīr, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 918.
- 146 Vakf-i Ahmed b. Bessām b. ez-Zayfī, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 805.
- 147 Vakf-i Sirāceddīn 'Ömer b. Semseddīn el-Cubeyrī, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 869.
- 148 Vakf-i el-Melik en-Nāsir Salāhu'd-dünya ve'd-dīn مفذ Beyti'l-Makdis min eydi' l-kefereni' l-melā'in Yūsuf b. Eyyub 'alā es-Seyh Veliyyüddīn Ahmed b. ve 'alā es-Seyh Ebi'l-Hasan 'Alī ibni',ta'rihü' l-vakfiye 584.

- 149 Vakf-i Seyyidi' l-Mürselin ve Habib-i Rabbü' l-âlemîn ,Seyyidu'l-'Arab ve'l 'Acem ve İmâmu' l-ka'beti ve'l-Harem Muhammed b. 'Abdullah b. 'Abdulttaleb b. 'Abdi Menâf b. Hâsim 'aleyhi mine'-salâti ezkâhâ ve 'alâ تميم ed-dâri' l-Ensârî-radiya' İlahu 'anh-ve 'alâ evlâdihî ve evlâdihim ve zurriyetihim ve ensâbihim ve a'kâbihim.
- 150 Vakf-i es-Sayh Ebü Medyen Sa'bân b. Muhammed el-Magribî el-'Osmâ nî, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 893.
- 151 Vakf-i es-Sultân Nureddîn b.es-Sultân Salâhaddîn Yûsuf b. Eyyüb 'alâ cemî'-i ta'ifetu' l-Magâribе, ta'rîh-i mahzaru'l-vakfiye fî sene 666.
- 152 Vakf-i el-Melikî' l-Mu'azzam 'Isâ b. Eyyüb. ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 606.
- 153 Vakf-I el-Emîr Mincik 'alâ Medresetihi, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 773.
- 154 Vakf-i ez-Zâviyetü' s-Suleymâniye bi' l-Kudsi' s-serif. Diyâr-i 'Acemden Süleymânî dimekle ma'rûf ta'ifenuñ kuds-i serifde müteveffâ olup, vârisleri kalmayan kimesnelerin metrukatin merhum Sultân Gavri Yine mezkûr ta'ifeden mucâvir olan fukarâya vakf idüp, ellrine menşûr virmis Nûh Çelebi dahi bu vechile kayd idüp ellerine sûret-i defter virmis, Haliyâ dahi veh-i mesrûh üzre defter-i cedide kayd olundi.
- 155 Vakf-i el-Melikî' l-Mu'azzam 'Isâ b. Eyyüb 'alâ' l-Medrese, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 606.
- 156 Vakf-i es-Sultân İnâl 'alâ Hanķâh ve Mescidü' l-Câmi, fi, l-Mişr, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 858.
- 157 Vakf-i Nâşiredîn Muhammed b. Sihâbüddîn Ahmed er-Rahbî tu'ref bi-Ibn ve Ergun, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 915.
- 158 Vakf-i el-Medreseti' l-Müzehheriyye fî'l-ķudsi's-serif.
- 159 Vakf-i Ibn-i Ferher 'alâ ķur'ani'l-'azîm bi's-şahrati's-serife.
- 1 Vakf-i el-Fârîsi el-Bikr b. kutlu Melik 'alâ el-Hanķâh el-ma'rûf bi'l-Fârîsiyye fî Ķuds-i şerîf, ta'rîhü l-vakfiye fî sene 753.
- 161 Vakf-i es-Sultân el-Melik en-Nâsir Yûsuf b. Eyyüb 'alâ Medrese-tihi bi'l-Kudsi's-serif.
- 162 Vakf-i Ogul Hatun bint-i Nuhammed el-Kazaniyye 'alâ Zâviyeti'l-Hatuniyye, ta'rîh-i sicilü' l-vakfiye, fî sene 897.
- 163 Vakf-i el-Malik el-Evhad b. Eyyüb 'ala Türbe fi Bâbi' l-Hiţta, ta'rîh-i nüsha-i kitabü' l-vakfiye fî sene 697.
- 164 Vakf-i es-Sultân Ebu' l-Ma'âlî kalavûn 'ale' r-Ribâţ fî Ķuds, ta'rîhü , l-vakfiye fî sene 681.
- 165 Vakf-i el-Meliku' l-Mu'azzam 'Isâ b. Eyyüb 'alâ Tâvûse bint-i Ebi' l-Ķâsim, ta'rîhu' l-vakfiye fî sene 599.
- 166 Vakf-i es-sihâbî Ahmed b. ez-Zeynî 'Abdurrahmân yu'ref bi-Ibn-i Şervîn, ta'rûhü'l l-Vakfiye fî sene 892.
- 167 Vakf-i İbrâhîm b. es-Sihâbî Ahmed b. ez-Zeynî 'Abdurrahmân b. Servi n, ta'rîhü' l-vakfiye fî sene 928.

- 168 Vakf-i Cemāleddīn b. es-Seyh sāh-Ruh es-Sāmit, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 827.
- 169 kVakf-i Muhammed b. Ebi'l-Ḳāsim b. Muhammed , ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 898.
- 170 Vakf-i Seyfeddīn 'Isā b. el-Huseyn b. Ebi'l-Ḳāsim , ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 751.
- 171 Vakf-i Medrese-i Husāmeddīn ebī Muhammad el-hasan b. en-Nāsirī Muhammed, Nā'ibu'l-Ḳuds, ta'rīhü, l-vakfiye fī sene 838.
- 172 Vakf-i Sihābuddīn Ahmed b.Suleymān b. 'Abdul'azīz er-Ramlī ta'rīhü l-vakfiye fi sene 821.
- 173 Vakf-i es-Sultān el-Meliku'n-Nāsir Yūsuf b. Eyyüb 'ale' l-Hankāh bi' l-Ḳudsi's-serīf, ta'rīh-i sicili' l-vakfiye, fī sene 791.
- 174 Vakf-i Bedreddin Ḥasan b. Halīl b. Yagmīş, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 932.
- 175 Vakf-i el-merhume Eymelik bint-i es-Seyfī Ḳutlu-Temur el-Melikiye, ta'rīh-i sūreti' l-vakfiye fī sene 745.
- 176 Vakf-i es-Sultān Barsbay 'ale'l-hāndimi ve li-kāri'l-kur'ān bi'l-Mushafī'l-kebir bi' l-Mescidi' l-Aksā, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 838.
- 177 Vakf-i el-Melik en-Nāsir salāhaddīn Yūsuf b. Eyyüb 'alā Bīmāristān bi'l-Ḳudsi's-serīf, ta'rīhü' l-mahzar fī sene 910.
- 178 Vakf 'ale' l-hatīb ve'l-imām bi'l-Mescidi' l-Aksā es-sülüseyn ve imāmu'-s-Şahra es-sülüs.
- 179 Vakf-i es-seyh Kemāleddīn b. Ebi Serīf.
- 180 Vakf-i el-Emir Mincik 'alā seyhi' z-zaviye bi-karye-i Şakrān.
- 181 Vakf-i el-merhūm es-seyh 'Alāeddīn Aydogdi el-Basirī er-Rūknī 'ale' r-Ribāt civārī' l-Mescidi' l-Aksā , ta'rīh-i sicili l-mahzar fī sene 824.
- 182 Vakf-i el-Melikü'z-Zāhir Ebu sa'id kansū 'ala türbetihi ve Mescidihi bi'l-Misr, ta'rīhi-i nüsha-i kitābi' l-vakf fī sene 908.
- 183 Vakf-i el-Emir Fārisuddīn Ebū Sa'id Meymūn en-Nāsirī, ta'rīh-isicili' l-Vakfiye fi sene 682.
- 184 Vakf-i el-Emir Tenkiz 'alā Medresetihi fī Bābī's-Silsile ve Ribāti'n-Nisā, ta'rīh-i nüsha-i kitābi' l-vakfiye sene 730.
- 185 Vakf-i Şārimuddīn Ḳaymās en-Necmī, ta'rīh-i l-sicili' l-vakfiye fī sene 727.
- 186 Vakf-i 'Alāeddīn Ak-boga b. 'Abdullāh Turhan, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 838.
- 187 Vakf-i es-Seyh Semseddīn b. Mūsā b. 'Umrān, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 860.
188. Vakf-i el-Emir Seyfeddīn 'Isā b. el-Ḥuseyn 'alā masālihi' t-Türbeti ve 'l-Mescid bi-Kurbihi Lifta, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 656.
189. Vakf-i Seyfeddīn 'Isā b. Huseyn b. Ḳāsim ,ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 661.

190. Vakf-i et-Türebti' l-Geylāniyye der Kuds-i şerif.
191. Vakf-i Faṭīma bint-i Ismā'il el-Hālebī, ta'rihü' l-vakfiye fī sene 912.
192. Vakf-i el-Medreseti' l-Mālikiye el-ma'rufe bi' l-Ḳubbe, ta'rih-i sicili l-mahzar fī sene 770.
193. Vakf-i es-Seyh Muhyiddin b. 'Abdülkadir, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 919.
194. Vakf-i el-Hace Hadice bint-i Nasuh er-Rumi, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 924.
195. Vakf-i Zeyneb bint-i Musa 'ala kari'ine' l-Kur'an.
196. Vakf-i es-Sultān el-Meliku'z-Zāhir Baybars 'ale' l-Hān ve'l-Mescid ve 'alā kari'ine' l-Kur'an. ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 663.
197. Vakf-i Şihābuddin Ahmed b. Muhyiddin el-Hazreci, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 927.
198. Vakf-i Isfahān Sāh bint-i Gazan Sāh , ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 914.
199. Vakf-i es-Sādik i İbrāhīm b. ez-Zeyni Ömer b. Huseyn, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 903.
200. Vakf-i Emine bint-i Ahmed, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 897.
201. Vakf-i es-Sādiki İbrāhīm el-mezkür a'lā, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 909.
202. Vakf-i es-Seyh Semseddin el-Acemī el-Vā'iz, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 928.
203. Vakf-i Sihābuddin Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Ḳā'im el-Ḳudsi, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 808.
204. Vakf-i Takiyuddin Ebübekr el-Vikā'i.
205. Vakf-i es-Sihābī Ahmed el-'Alimī.
206. Vakf-i Trbe-i Seyh Ahmed el-Kutbi fī Ramle.
207. Vakf-i el-Emir 'Alemuddin Sencer el-Caveli 'alā masālihi's-Sākiye.
208. Vakf-i el-Havand Zeyneb bint-i Has-Beg, zevcetü es-Sultān İnal 'alā masālihi's -Sebīl ve'l-Mekteb ve'r-Ribāt, ta'rih-i sureti'l-vakfiye fī sene 864.
209. Vakf-i Semseddin Muhammed b. el-Kettāni, tu'raf bi-Ibn-i Ebi'l-'Abbās, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 897.
210. Vakf-i el-Medresetü' l-Bedri Lülü Gāzi ma'a zāviyetihi ve Ribātihi fi Ḳudsi's-serif, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fi sene hamse ve seb'in ve seb'a-mi'e.
211. Vakf-i Türbe-i es-Seyh Seleme Veliyyu'llāh Ḳaddese'llāhu sirrahu.
212. Vakf-i Seyfeddin el-Kurdi 'alā Ribātihi fī garbi's-Sūri' l-a'lā.
213. Vakf-i Taḳkiyuddin Ebübekr b. Ahmed el-Cābi, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fi sene 927.
214. Vakf-i 'Abdūlmun'im b. Ahmed el-Ensāri, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 783.
215. Vakf-i Sihābuddin el-'Alā'i 'alā kira'eti'l-Ḳur'an bi'Ḳudsi's-serif.
216. Vakf-i Ya'kub b. Yūsuf b. Kanit , ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 910.
217. Vakf-i Mihā'il b. Andreas b. Kostantin en-Nāsrani, ta'rihu' l-vakfiye fī sene 918.
218. Vakf 'ale'l-fuḳarā' ve'l-masākīn mine'n-Nasārā el-mukimine bi'l-Ḳuds ve'vāridine ileyh.

- 219 Vakf-i el-Hāc Kāsim b. Seydi er-Rūmī, ta'rīhü'l-vakfiye fī sene 934.
- 220 Vakf 'alā kira'eti'l-Kur'ān fi külli yevmin fī eyyi vaktin teyesser fī Kuds-i serīf.
- 221 Vakf-i Mahammed Beg 'alā kira' eti' l-Kur'ān fī eyyi makānin teyesser.
- 222 Vakf-i el-Camaḡi Yūsuf nāzirru'l-ha_s 'alā selāseti ḡurra' yak-ra'üne' l-Kur'ān fī'l-Mescidi' l-Aksā.
- 223 Vakf-i Bereke Hān fī Bābī's -silsile bi-Hatt-i Dāvūd.
- 224 Vakf-i Zāviye-i Bistāmiye fī Hāret-i Benī Zeid bi'l-kudsi's-serīf.
- 225 Vakf-i Türbe-i Muhammediye fī Mahalle-i Akabeti's-Sitt.
- 226 Vakf-i 'ale' l-fuḡarā' l-Ahmediye el-muḡ imin Zaviyetü' l-Merci mine' l-Kuds, ta'rīh-i mahzari' l-vakfiye fī sene 843.
- 227 Vakf-i ez-Zeynī 'Abdulbāsit, ta'rīh-i nüsha-i' l-vakfiye fī sene 834.
- 228 Vakf-i ḡanāti' l-Ḳudsi's -serīf.
- 229 Vakf-l es-Sultān ta' rīhu' l-vakfiye fī sene 757.
- 230 Vakf-i pīr Hatun Tatar Hān bint-i el-Melikü'n-Nāsir b. Kalavun, ta'rī hū' l-vakfiye 763.
- 231 Vakf-i Beg-Timur b. 'Abdullāh el-Cukendār el-Mansūrī, ta'rīhu'l -vakfiye fī sene 709.
- 232 Vakf-i Sihābuddīn Ahmed b. Muhammed, tarīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 908.
- 233 Vakf-i es-Seyfī Mincik 'alā isrine, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 749.
- 234 Vakf-i Seyyidinā Mūsā 'aleyhi's-selām.
- 235 Vakf-i Türbe-i seyyidinā Mūsā 'aleyhi' s-selām ve Yūnus 'aleyhi's-selām ve Lūt 'aleyhi' s-selām.
- 236 vakf-i 'Alāeddīn 'Alī b. Ahmed el-ma'rūf bi-Ibn-i Seyhū' l-Bi'r, ta'rīhü'l- vakfiye fī sene 877.
- 237 Vakf-i Hasan b. 'Abdullāh es-sehīr bi-Ibn' l-'Āl, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 867.
- 238 Vakf-i Mescid-i Dāru' l-Hikem, ta'rīhü' l-mahzar fī sene 911.
- 239 Vakf-i el-Hāce 'Alāeddīn el-Burusevī, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 875.
- 240 Vakf-l el-Ḳāzī Semseddīn el-Celcūlī 'alā veledihi Bedreddīn Hasan ve 'ala 'A'ise bint-i Hasan el-Gazzi, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye.
- 241 Vakf-i Emīr Yel-boga b. 'Abdullāh en-Nāsirī 'alā Medresetihi ve Mescidihi fī medine-i Ramlé, Al-ān yu'refu bi-Hasekiye, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 790.
- 242 Vakf-i Ibn-i Müzhir 'alā der Celcūlī.
- 243 Vakf-i Emīr Bedreddīn Bektās b.'Abdullah el-Fahrī 'aleyhi ve 'alā evladihi, ta'rīhü' l-vakfiye fī sene 701.

The Chevalier D'Arvieux: Remarks on His Trips to Palestine

Shereen Khairallah

Although intercourse between Europe and the East had never really been interrupted since the Crusades, it was to enter one of its most stimulating periods during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Commercially and politically, France was the first western power to establish diplomatic relations with the Ottomans. France's prosperity, however, was destroyed by the wars of religion which ravaged her soil, and this was reflected in the Levant where her commerce was neglected. The beginning of the reign of Louis XIV was to be that of greatest economic depression. The Levant trade was concentrated in the hands of Provençal merchants and centered in Marseilles, but their control was non-existent since the city was torn by factions. In the Levant there was a great deal of abuse as well. consuls, the representatives of royal authority, judges, protectors, and guides, were either hereditary or absentee; merchants were troubled by extortions (*avaries*) and discord; the factors owed large debts; corsairs preyed upon ships; and other Europeans entered the Mediterranean markets, established themselves in the ports, and successfully competed against the French merchants there.

It was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that matters were rectified: Colbert began to direct French commercial affairs in 1661 and trade revived. He conceived of a whole new economic system to stop anarchy and decadence. Authorities and duties of officials were defined, and government established tight control over trade which remained centered in Marseilles. To counteract the successful English Levant Company, Colbert decided to form the French Levant company. One strong—and as it proved just—objection against its formation was that the company was bound to fail as it suffered from lack of funds.¹ In fact, the company did fail in 1690, and its privileges were handed over to an individual merchant. Yet although the British and Dutch successfully rivalled the French in the Levant during this period, the latter were to come into their own from the end of the century.

The seventeenth century was also a stimulating period in revived European cultural interest in the East. Oriental studies, beginning in the sixteenth and culminating in the seventeenth centuries, owed their renaissance and growth to emphasis on Biblical exegesis. Protestantism in order to prove its claim of being modelled on primitive Christianity, caused the revival of the study of Semitic

languages connected with the Bible. Early seventeenth century scholars established a tradition of manuscript learning, and Arabic studies reached their apogee during the first half of the century. The study of the Bible found support in the study of Arabic, and as a result instruments for research were created, while the slow growth of Arabic literature accompanied this. Arabic history, geography, and literature came to be known in Europe through the acquisition of manuscripts by scholars and travellers, for it was during the seventeenth century that the great manuscript collections were formed.

From the latter half of the seventeenth century, public interest in the Levant began to grow, for the East became "romantic". This was due to a later generation of Orientalists who popularized the works of their predecessors, and made them available to a wider reading public. These popularizers were not only historians, but dramatists and satirists as well. Tales of travellers were widely read. One of these early travellers was Laurent d'Arvieux, diplomat, special envoy of Louis XIV, advisor to Colbert, linguist, and above all, observer and recorder of Eastern customs and traditions.

Laurent d'Arvieux (1635-1702)² was born in the territory of Marseilles, of a family which originally came from Tuscany. He seems to have shown a propensity for mathematics, languages, and travel. On the death of his father, he was adopted by relatives. At the age of 18 he accompanied his guardian, M. Bertandié, who had been appointed consul (1653-1659) at Seide (Saida). D'Arvieux described his trip from France, which took about two months in volume I of his *Memoires*.³ He was to remain twelve years in the East, travelling throughout the Ottoman dominions, learning languages, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Turkish, returning to France in 1665. Three years later he was sent by Louis XIV to Tunis to negotiate a treaty with the Dey, acquitted himself well of his mission, at the same time procuring the release of 380 French slaves.⁴

In 1672 d'Arvieux was sent to Constantinople as Envoy Extraordinary, as member of the French mission headed by Ambassador Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel (1671-1679), to renew the capitulations with Sultan Muḥammad IV.⁵

On his return to France he was made Chevalier de St. Lazare de Jérusalem, and given a pension of 1000 livres from the Bishopric of Apt. His wide experience in the Levant brought about his nomination as consul to Algiers in 1674,⁶ then as consul to Aleppo between 1679 and 1686.⁷ This appointment also covered the ports of Cyprus, Tripoli, and Scandaroun (Alexandretta); and like his predecessors, he represented the Dutch when, owing to political events, they were forced to leave and put their affairs in the hands of the French nation.

During his travels, d'Arvieux amassed manuscripts and rarities for the King. On his return to France he retired to Marseilles where he remained until his death.

The Chevalier's *Mémoires*, which consist of the journals of his travels, were published by Jean-Baptiste Labat at Paris, 1735. These were attacked in the *Lettres critiques de Hadji Mehmet Effendi*. (Paris, 1735), attributed to Pétis de la Croix. D'Arvieux also wrote *Relation d'un voyage fait par ordre de Louis XIV vers le grand émir, chef des princes arabes du désert, et Traité des moeurs et coutumes des Arabes*. Both were published by de la Roque (Amsterdam, 1717) with notes, and a translation of the description of Arabia by Abu'l Fida.

Thus during the course of an animated career, the Chevalier d'Arvieux took the opportunity to learn something of the people he visited. For, as he told the Amir Turabey in 1664, one of the greatest advantages of travelling was that one got rid of prejudices against foreigners acquired in one's country⁸. For the first time, a European gave a description of the life and culture of the desert nomads. His observations on Palestine, which he visited several times, are to be found in volumes I-III of his *Mémoires*.

The accounts of the first few trips of the Chevalier d'Arvieux into Palestine read like a travelogue, and include notice of customs, traditions, manners, and superstitions of the people he visited.

His first trip began two days before Palm Sunday of 1658, when he set out from Tyre to Acre. Midway between Nāqūra and Cap Blanc, his party arrived at a house with a fountain where each European had to pay one piastre, and non-Muslims 18 sols, to the guards, who were to escort them over dangerous ground. They arrived in Acre on the 15th of April.

He was not impressed by Acre, which was in ruins and covered with sand. It wasn't even a town. But the land around it, he remarked, was fertile, and produced wheat, rice, vegetables, and fruit. The port, however, was non-existent, and ships anchored along the roadstead.⁹ Shipwrecks were frequent, and ships went to Caipha (Haifa), which lay at the foot of Mount Carmel. But unfortunately, here they were prey to pirates.

Most of the seventeenth century was a great era for piracy. Everybody took part in it in the Mediterranean, and no coastline was safe. Pirates lay in wait off Haifa to attack ships going to and coming from Egypt. D'Arvieux was a witness to one such encounter which took place on 5 May 1658. :A French ship was attacked and boarded. The corsairs were most unlucky, however, as the ships carried pilgrims returning from Jerusalem, among them the French traveller and writer Jean de Thevenot (1633-1667).¹⁰ The pickings were poor, and pilgrims were beaten and robbed, while the master and crew jumped into the sea to escape, only to be attacked on landing. The passengers were eventually deposited at Haifa. D'Arvieux was to suffer at the hands of corsaire in 1660, when a Maltese pirate attacked his group and wanted to steal his ring and lock him up. D'Arvieux was able to come out of the encounter safely.¹¹

This first short trip was to be repeated again a few months later. Husayn, Pāshā of Gaza, had lent the French nation a large sum of money without interest, to pay the enormous 'fine' imposed on them by Hasan Aghā, governor of Saida. These **avaries** were extortionate sums of money which the pāshās claimed from the merchants on the flimsiest of pretexts, most of the time unjustly. Usually the consul gathered the nation and tried to find ways and means of escapin payment. For a long time the French were unable to pay Ḥusayn, as there was little commerce, but the French consul was finally able to do so. D'Arvieux decided to join the three deputies (Messrs. Cesar Ravalli, Jean Baptiste Campon, Antoine Souribe) who were going into Palestine to present gifts to Ḥusayn to thank him, and he did so because he felt like seeing the country.¹²

A group of twelve riders and two guides on horseback left saida wearing Eastern dress, bristling with weapons: each person carried a gun, two pistols, a sabre, and dagger, for the countryside was infested with brigands. An attempt to rob them was foiled. They slept at Acre, which he still did not like, for it was unhealthy, then moved on through Haifa and Tartoura. D'Arvieux's mission on this trip was to visit the Amir Turabey to ask him to allow the reestablishment of the Carmelite monks in their convent on Mount Carmel. They were well received by this most honest prince. They paid the yearly tribute of the good fathers, who were allowed to return to their convent.

They next spent the night at Caesarea which, although in ruins, had a place they could sleep in. At the village of Abi bin Alam they attended the feast of a local saint, Japheth son of Noah, whose devotees were women of all sects, who were either ill or mistreated by their husbands.¹³ They finally reached Rama(Ramle).

According to d'Arvieux, Ramle was nothing but any ugly town, with only one interesting feature, a mental hospital. For, he remarked. Lkie everywhere else, people became ill here too. The director of the place was also its doctor, who had evolved simple treatment: good food and plenty of beatings. Patients got well more by luck than by remedy.¹⁴

The Pāshā of Gaza, Husayn, who was to be unjustly beheaded by the Turks in 1663 and succeeded by his brother Mūsā, arrived two days later. D'Arvieux was impressed by the man, for he was greatly loved. The Pasha invited the French to Gaza which, at that time, was the capital of Palestine. The French were even more impressed when, before reaching the city, the Qādī, Nā'ib, and officers met the Pasha to welcome him. The guests were put up in the house of a Greek Christian.

They visited Gaza accopanied by two Janissaries and a shaykh. D'Arvieux liked it, and said that besides Jerusalem, it seemed to be the only city still standing, with beautiful stone or brick buildings, fortifications, mosques, two churches, several public baths. He commented on the difficult lot of women in this harsh land, whose only escape frome a monotonous life was to go to the baths accompanied by their

servants, but that wealthy women did not even have that consolation, since they had their own private baths, and that these latter were as incarcerated as Christian nuns. Gaza also boasted of a bazaar wher all sorts of things could be bought.¹⁵

They remained in Gaza eight days, enjoying themselves as the guests of the Pasha, then left for for Ramle, visiting Ascalon on the way. Their return trip to Saida was through Samaria, and they were lucky to meet forty horsemen returning to Acre, so they travelled well protected. Having visited Nablus, the only town in Samaria which was a town, and the residence of the governor, they made their way through Sebastia to Ramle, Acre, sur, and Saida.

Two years after this second trip, during Lent of 1660, d'Arvieux joined a group of French and Dutch pilgrims going to spend Easter in Jerusalem.

They took ship from Saida, and landed at jaffa, the most miserable town on the coast. Getting to Jerusalem involved a great deal fo preparation. First, the pilgrims had to inform the "mouallem saleh", master of pilgrims at Ramle, of their arrival. Then he collected fourteen piastres from each pilgrim, and thus bound himself to accompany them, provide carts for travel since only Muslims were allowed to ride horses, and pay the tolls.¹⁶ On 20 March they saw the Holy City spread before them. The pilgrims got out of the carts either to pray or kiss the earth. They proceeded to the Damascus Gate, where they had to wait for permission to enter, but first they were searched for weapons. During their stay in Jerusalem they put up at a Franciscan convent.

Jerusalem was not a commercial port, and there were no merchants there. Pilgrims and priests were under the protetion of the king of France. D'Arvieux described all the places he visited of interest to the pilgrim,¹⁷ as well as the different ceremonies and Christian sects in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; he was aslo extremely happy that he could speak the language, since this was extremely useful for him.¹⁸ He carried on a homily on how important it was to support the missions and bring aid to the Holy Land, bitterly mentioned the *avanies*, and went on to virulently attack his compatriots, who seemed to forget their manners once they set foot outside of France, and continued that even the heretical English and Dutch acted with better taste.¹⁹

They remained in Jerusalem until 4 April when, having each paid fifteen piastres, they visited Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. He noticed the fertility of the land, but said that unfortunately no one cultivated it. He made another side trip to Bethlehem, Hebron, and the desert of St. Saba and St. John. Bethlehem was deserted, for its inhabitants had left since they could not pay the extortionate fees of the "sanjak". This second trip was more enjoyable, for he remarked, if there were only security, there were many beautiful and lonely places to visit, with terraced hills, a healthy climate, and beautiful scenery.²⁰

The travellers returned to Jerusalem, and d'Arvieux, indefatigable tourist, set off on 30 April for Nazareth and Mount Carmel. By this time he was tired of seeing nothing but ruins. But Mount Carmel was a beautiful place, ruled by the Amir Turabey, and was autonomous of the Sultan. He compared this prince and the other Arab princes to those nobles who remained on their lands, living with their vassals as good family men, rather than as absolute masters. Here the Turks were hated.

He also found Indians living in a grotto on Mount Carmel, making out a living, speaking Persian and Hindu, generous and extremely polite folk.²¹

Returning to Haifa, d'Arvieux, instead of going back to Şaida, decided to continue with his friend the *soubachi* of Acre to Şafad, because he thought this trip would be useful. It was the capital of Galilee, inhabited by a few Moors and many Jews, who had a mania to die there, since they believed that the Messiah would appear in Şafad. But the town was in ruins. So he returned to Şaida, and continued on a trip through Mount Lebanon to Damascus.

His summing up remarks on this trip of the four provinces which made up the Holy Land were that Galilee was the loveliest and most fertile part; Samaria came a close second. Palestine had hardly any mountains, few trees, little water, and plenty of sand. Judea was mountainous and sterile.²²

In reading these *Mémoires*, one is left with the impression of great desolation and ruin, of sand eating up once great towns, of neglected lands which could have been fertile, of brigands roaming the countryside and corsairs the sea, of simple but kind folk in both town and country, ruled by a cruel oppressor.

D'Arvieux was much happier and more enthusiastic on two other trips he took, in 1664, to the camp of the Amir Turabey, and returned impressed by the behaviour of these free Arabs. He wrote about their manners and customs, and for the first time Europe received a detailed account of a people who were to fascinate Europeans for the next three centuries.

The reason for the trip of 1664 was that d'Arvieux decided to ask the protection for the Amir Turabey after the fall of Gigery (Djidjelli) to the French national forces, for feelings against the French ran high, and d'Arvieux refused to run away to France. So he let his beard grow, put his affairs in order, wore Arab clothes, and with a few servants left for Mount Carmel on 16 April. He carried gifts to the princes of Mount Carmel consisting of dried jam, ells of vermilion cloth from Venice, Brazilian tobacco, bottles of Rossolo, and coral chaplets. They reached the camp on Mount Carmel within three days and were warmly received.

After being granted an audience, d'Arvieux, after mutual compliments were exchanged, spoke of French customs. Everything went well and he was happily speaking of the great freedom between men and women, when he suddenly realized he had shocked his hosts. He immediately changed the subject.

As the guest of the Amir, he was also received by the other princes of the clan, and the Chevalier went to visit the youngest among them, Darwish. Upon returning to camp he found the Amir in a fury: his secretary had been taken ill, and he wanted to have letters written. D'Arvieux promptly and proudly offered his services, to the surprise and wonder of all assembled, and was immediately accepted, acting as secretary not only to the Prince, but to whoever needed him. This lasted for two months, and he was able to observe the people at his leisure, became the arbiter of their disputes, and thoroughly enjoyed himself. He even saw a small war, when the peasants of Nāblus revolted but were defeated by the Amir.

This trip ended in December 1664, as feelings against the French had settled, and d'Arvieux was able to return to Şaida with a passport of his own in the name of Darwish Nāşir the Frank.²³

The end of March 1665 saw d'Arvieux back at the camp of the Amir Turabey, this time accompanied by his younger brother. He was to remain there until 15 May, living with the prince's entourage. He was congratulated by all his friends for having been accepted by these people, who were supposed to be the enemies of all.

True, said the Chevalier, they did relieve people of their worldly goods, but they were excellent fellows, never harming anyone or killing unless one of their own were hurt, and then their vengeance was terrible. They called themselves Beduins, meaning rural men or inhabitants of the desert. This name suited them very well. And he decided to write concerning their customs in order to undeceive Europeans.²⁴

Thus fascinated by the Arabs, far ahead of his time, d'Arvieux proceeded to describe their customs and manners. First of all, he said, the Arabs were divided into many families. There were several kinds of Arabs: the Moors (les Maures) who were looked down upon because they had degenerated and lived in cities indulging in commerce. These were unworthy of the true nobility, like those of Mount Lebanon and many other places, who like their fathers, ran away from towns, remained all their lives under the tents, and had no other exercise than that of arms. Although titular subjects of the Grand Signor, they were always ready to revolt and give the Turks plenty of exercise; in fact, they could become independent if they would only unite under one leader.

These Beduins or desert dwellers were extremely proud of their origins, and almost never married beneath them. Their life consisted in riding, caring for their flocks, making raids on their enemies—meaning everybody. But if one were lucky enough to be their friend, one would find perfect hospitality and fidelity.

There was another type of Arab who lived in Syria and Palestine. These were called Turcomans, lived in the country, and were subjects of the Sultan. They did not steal, but on the contrary welcomed strangers and provided them with food and lodging. They were of great help to travellers. D'Arvieux said that if one offered to pay them, they would say "God will provide"; he could not understand that they

expected to be paid after insistence. He quoted a proverb in the East which stated, "Eat with Arabs for they have good food, and sleep with Turcomans for they have good beds."

Besides the Arabs of the Amir, there were the Christians and Moors who lived in the villages of Carmel, and cultivated the soil. They were called **rayas** and were well treated by the Amir.

D'Arvieux wrote how Arab attitudes had been formed not only by their environment, but by what they believed to be their ancestry. They were descended from Ismā'îl, son of Hāgar. But because Sārah was jealous, she had Abrahām send Hagar and her son away. From this history arose an old resentment and arrogance.

Their religion was simple and straightforward, joined with old superstitions, but uncluttered with ritual. Family honour was extremely important to them, and they never forgot nor forgave an insult. They were hospitable to a fault, and if one went to them in good faith, their treatment of a guest would shame a European nation. They were grave, serious, modest; they were just and needed no lawyers, for the parties pleaded before a judge. Their wealth consisted in horses and flocks.

A picture of the Beduin emerges from the above description: that of the simple but noble man, cruel only when annoyed, practicing a primitive religion; it is a somewhat simplified and romantic image. D'Arvieux did not realize that what he was privileged to see as a guest was only a facet of the life of the Beduin. Yet this first description was to be appreciated long after his death. For between the tales of travellers, and translations into the vernacular of such works as Antoine Galland's **One thousand and one nights** (1704-1708) and Petis de la Croix's **La Sultane perse et les visirs** (1707), a powerful influence was exerted on European minds, and a new secular image of the East began to emerge. The eighteenth century viewed the East with curiosity, and saw it in the light of the **One thousand and one nights**. Two general tendencies developed: the first, encouraged by travellers, the East as they saw it; the second, that of creative writers and missionaries, as they wanted it to appear. The public synthesized these two points of view and made them its own.

- 1 Jean Baptiste Labat, **Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux**, Paris, 1735 (6 vols.), vol. IV, pp. 201-203.
- 2 **Biographie universelle**, vol. II, p. 559, article by Tabaraud; Labat, **Mémoires**, vol. I, pp. i-xv.
- 3 Labat, **Mémoires**, vol. I, pp. 1-36.
- 4 **Ibid.**, vol. III, pp. 391-546; vol. IV, pp. 1-95.
- 5 **Ibid.**, vol. IV, pp. 254-435. For de Nointel, see **Biographie universelle**, vol. XXXI, pp. 341-345, article by Dezos de la Roquette.
- 6 **Ibid.**, vol. V, pp. 57-289.
- 7 **Ibid.**, vol. VI.
- 8 **Ibid.**, vol. III, pp. 15-16.
- 9 **Ibid.**, vol. I, pp. 258-277.
- 10 **Biographie universelle**, vol. XIV, pp. 383-385, article by H. Audiffret and Eyriés. His voyages were published posthumously as **Voyages de M. Thevenottant en Europe qu'en Asie et en Afrique**, Paris, 1689; Amsterdam, 1705, 1725, 1727.
- 11 Labat, **Mémoires**, vol. II, pp. 89-93.
- 12 **Ibid.**, pp. 1-3.
- 13 **Ibid.**, p. 21.
- 14 **Ibid.**, pp. 28-31.
- 15 **Ibid.**, pp. 28-31.
- 16 **Ibid.**, p. 93.
- 17 A list is found at the end of vol. II, pp. 500-511.
- 18 The need to know languages was mentioned by d'Arvieux (**Ibid.**, vol. I, pp. 79-81) for all commerce in the Levant seaports "se fait par le moyen de sensals ou courtiers". He also said that the English consul conducted business through a **trucheman**. (**Ibid.**, vol. V, p. 542).

It was Colbert who first recognized the need for proper translators, and eventually a school of interpreters was created at Pera near Constantinople in 1669. This was based on a proposal of 1652. These apprentice interpreters were called **Jeunes de Langues** or **Enfants de Langues**. This first school was under the supervision of the Capuchins. The languages taught were Latin, Greek, Italian, and Turkish, but no Arabic or Persian, as these were deemed unnecessary. This first attempt was a mediocre one, and it was only in the eighteenth century that Colbert's aims were realized. Between 1700 and 1720 the Jesuits established a school for interpreters at the Collège Louis le Grand (Paris), with the hope of training missionaries for the East. At the same time the school at Pera continued to teach languages. From 1721 onward the two schools were integrated, and the **Jeunes de Langues** knew a golden age. During the nineteenth century these schools were absorbed by the Ecole spéciale

des langues orientales. See Gustave Dupont Ferrier, "Les Jeunes de Langues ou 'Arméniens' à Louis le Grand", *Revue des études arméniennes*, Paris, 1922, vol. II. pp. 189-232; vol. III, pp. 9-46.

- 19 Labat, *Mémoires*, vol. II, p. 151.
- 20 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 185-255.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 264-311.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 323.
- 23 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 9-122.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 143. For this summary see pp. 144-340

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A Propos des Taxes de douane a Damas au XVIe Siècle

Robert Mantran

Les études orientalistes, en matière d'histoire, remontent déjà à plus d'un siècle et demi et, grâce à la recherche et à l'étude de textes, grâce à l'analyse de chroniques orientales ou occidentales, elles nous ont permis d'avoir une bonne connaissance de l'histoire événementielle des pays arabes ou turcs du Proche Orient. Il ne saurait être question de porter un jugement négatif ou dépréciateur sur les travaux des Savants du XIXe Siècle et des débuts du XXe siècle, car ils nous ont fourni le cadre indispensable à toute étude plus affinée ou plus spécialisée, ils nous ont donné les repères historiques nécessaires; de plus, nombre de ces savants ont eux-mêmes permis des percées dans des domaines plus restreints ou ont mis en lumière les rapports entre événements proprement historiques et éléments ressortissant à la religion, à la littérature à la culture, à l'art, etc..

Les progrès de la science historique ne permettent plus de se cantonner dans cette histoire événementielle-qu'il ne saurait être question de rejeter, l'histoire économique, l'histoire sociale constituent des parties essentielles de la connaissance de la vie des Etats et des hommes': mais leur approche dépend de l'existence d'une documentation spécifique que les orientalistes ont, Jusqu'à une période relativement récente, ignorée ou négligée.

En ce qui concerne plus précisément l'Empire ottoman, le véritable départ dans le domaine des études économiques et sociales a été donné par le regretté Omer Lutfi Barkan avec la publication, en 1943, de son recueil de Kanunname-s (règlements organiques) des différentes provinces de l'Empire ottoman au XVIe siècle; cet ouvrage, intitulé "Bases juridiques et financières de l'économie agraire dans l'Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles", dépasse largement l'économie agraire, car il nous donne de multiples informations touchant à bien d'autres secteurs des activités économiques, notamment à ceux des activités de production et à ceux des échanges internes et externes. L'ouvrage d'Omer Lutfi Barkan n'a été à la disposition des historiens et des chercheurs qu'au lendemain de la guerre, mais il a aussitôt constitué une base fondamentale pour des recherches ultérieures. Simultanément, les Archives de la Présidence du Conseil à Istanbul, s'ouvraient à la curiosité des spécialistes et, désormais, le départ était pris pour des études de détail touchant à la vie économique des provinces ottomanes, du XVIe au XIXe siècle, grâce à la publication de documents totalement inédits et d'un intérêt considérable.

Les provinces arabes de l'Empire ottoman ne sont pas absentes dans cette découverte: la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Égypte, l'Irak ont ainsi fait l'objet de recherches et de travaux qui nous permettent maintenant d'avoir une meilleure appréciation de la vie de ces provinces, dans une période jusqu'alors trop méconnue. Mais nous n'en sommes pas encore au point de pouvoir élucider tous les problèmes et de bâtir des schémas généraux, voire des théories à propos de l'histoire économique de l'Empire ottoman.

Il y a maintenant près de trente ans, Jean Sauvaget et moi-même avons publié la traduction des **kanunname**-s relatifs aux provinces de Damas, de Tripoli et d'Alep édictés au cours du XVI^e siècle. Il ne s'avissait alors que donner une traduction française, accompagnée de notes et commentaires, du texte turc édité par Omer Lutfi Barkan. Ce travail, quelque utile qu'il ait pu être alors, était néanmoins limité et incomplet, car il ne présentait ni analyse approfondie des documents, ni essai d'interprétation de la vie économique des provinces en question. En fait, nous ne possédions que le texte général des règlements et non pas les registres détaillés, tels qu'ils ont pu être découverts et utilisés par la suite par divers historiens et qui ont livré des informations complémentaires de grande importance. A partir de ces données, il est désormais possible de déterminer divers aspects de la vie économique et sociale des provinces arabes de l'Empire, en particulier les taxes perçues sur les produits d'importation et d'exportation, sur la vente de ces produits dans les villes, sur les diverses activités économiques.

Bien que n'ayant pas consulté de registres plus détaillés, nous nous sommes penché sur les taxes **perçues** à Damas. En effet, à la relecture de texte du **kanunname** de la province de Damas, il nous est que, tout au long de ce texte, les taxes mentionnées, tout en étant claires en apparence, prêtaient éventuellement à confusion, pouvaient donner lieu à des perceptions multiples, et que leur présentation ne donnait pas une vision très nette du système fiscal en vigueur à Damas sur les objets de commerce intérieur ou extérieur.

Si l'on examine les taxes imposées sur les produits importés, on relève les taxes suivantes, placées sous le terme général de **resm-i gumruk** (droit de douane) : un **gumruk baci** (taxe de douane) de 7 pièces d'or, auquel s'ajoute une taxe appelée **mubasiriye** (commission) de 1/2 pièce³ d'or. Bien que cela ne soit pas indiqué, ces taxes, levées sur les épices et les étoffes, sont à comprendre comme un droit de douane perçu proportionnellement à la valeur des marchandises; s'y ajoutent des taxes de transaction, différentes selon qu'on a affaire à un acheteur franc ou à un acheteur musulman: 10 pièces d'or % du vendeur et 9 pièces d'or% de l'acheteur franc; il semble bien que l'acheteur franc doive aussi payer un droit de courtage (**dellaliye**) puisqu'il est indiqué un peu plus loin dans le texte que, si l'acheteur est musulman, il ne payera que le droit de courtage. Sur quels produits porte cette taxe de 10 et de 9 pièces d'or % ? Sur les étoffes et les épices, ou sur les étoffes seulement? On pourrait pencher pour la deuxième hypothèse, en raison de la mention ultérieure d'une taxe particulière sur les épices, mais, en fait, il semble bien que seule

la première hypothèse soit valable, car on ne saurait oublier la valeur et l'importance du commerce des épices; ce commerce implique en outre le paiement d'une taxe supplémentaire d'exportation levée sur les acheteurs francs, appelée **hakk-i kible** (droit de kibla) et qui s'élève à 7 aspres 1/3 par charge (quelle sorte de charge?); les acheteurs francs doivent aussi payer un droit d'entreposage de 2 pièces d'or %. Les épices sont véritablement une denrée de prix!

Au titre des taxes d'exportation levées à Damas, on notera aussi une taxe de 12 aspres par caisse de raisin de Derboll (raisin sec) partant pour les pays francs: cette taxe, étant donné le contexte, doit comprise comme un droit de kibla.

Il est bien spécifié qu'aucun règlement n'autorise les gardiens des portes du rempart de Damas à percevoir quoi que ce soit sur les marchandises sortant de la ville.

Enfin, la dernière mention d'une taxe sur les exportations se trouve plus loin dans le texte du règlement de Damas: elle concerne la taxe levée sur les marchandises exportées lors de leur chargement sur les navires dans les échelles de la province de Damas: Beyrouth, **Sayda**, Tyr, Acre et Jaffa. Cette taxe est appelée **muceb-i bab-i mina** (imposition de la porte du port): c'est une taxe variable, perçue par caisse, ballot, boîte, sac, cadre, etc. éventuellement selon le poids (raisin de Derboll, coton file), et qui porte essentiellement sur les étoffes (laine, toiles diverses, soie de Damas, coton, sur duvet de chèvre), mais aussi sur les raisins secs, quelques fruits secs, la soude et les sorbets, S'y ajoutent quelques taxes complémentaires sur plusieurs articles: taxe de 2 aspres 1/2 % sur la laine bouclée (si elle a été vendue à l'échelle), taxe de courtage (**simsariye**) de 2 aspres 1/2 sur les raisins autres que de Derboll, de 2 aspres sur les pistaches en coque, sur chaque qantar de fil de coton et de coton; enfin le fisc perçoit 1/2 aspre par sac de pistaches et par qantar de fil de coton ou de coton et par sac de soude.

Le texte du **kanunname** limite là tout ce qui concerne les exportations. S'agit-il seulement des exportations vers les pays francs ou plus généralement des exportations hors de la province de Damas? Je pencherais plutôt pour la deuxième hypothèse, car lorsqu'il s'agit uniquement d'exportations vers les pays francs, cela est clairement indiqué dans le texte; d'autre part, il est fait aussi mention "d'acheteurs musulmans": il est bien connu que divers produits ou denrées étaient exportés de Syrie vers la capitale ottomane ou vers d'autres provinces de l'Empire et, comme tels, ils étaient soumis à la réglementation des exportations.

Pour sa part, la réglementation des taxes d'importation apparaît plus complexe et surtout plus détaillée.

En ce qui concerne les produits importés des pays francs, on note d'abord un **hakk-i kible** (droit de kibla) de 3 pièces d'or (**ashrafi-s**)% sur diverses étoffes (drap, satin, damasquette), le corail, l'alcali, le cuivre et autres produits semblables, de 4 aspres 1/2 par charge sur les "articles de peu de valeur" comme le verre, le fil (à coudre), la toile (de lin?), le papier et autres, de 12 aspres par sac d'amandes. Un

droit de courtage (**'adet-i dellaliye**) vient s'ajouter: il est de 2 aspres % sur le satin, la damasquette, le velours, les chapelets de corail et articles semblables, de 7 aspres % sur le drap, l'étain, le cuivre et autres marchandises semblables, et de 10 ashrafis par caisse de corail. Ce droit de courtage a pour 2/3 au fisc, et pour 1/3 au courtier qui rémunère les drogman.

Les importations étrangères sont également soumises à l'imposition de la porte du port (**muceb-i bab-i mina**) perçue dans les échelles de la province de Damas, taxe en aspres variant suivant les produits et leur contenant: on note, dans la liste, les étoffes, les fourrures, le corail, l'ambre, les drogues, les épices, les métaux, le verre, le papier, le sucre, le miel, les amandes, les noisettes, l'huile d'olive, le blé, l'orge et le riz.

Les produits, denrées et marchandises provenant des pays ottomans sont soumis à divers droits à leur entrée dans Damas. D'abord un droit de pesage à la bascule (**hakk-i kabban**) qui porte sur les marchandises vendues "en gros" et qui sont essentiellement des produits comestibles: miel, riz, sucre, huiles diverses, lait, yoghourt, beurre, fromages, fruits secs, dattes, etc.; la taxe est levée par charge, éventuellement par recipient. Par ailleurs, les fruits frais ou secs et les légumes sont soumis à une taxe par charge (respectivement "**'adet-i dar il-bittih**", et "**'adet-idaril-hudar**) levée à l'entrée dans Damas. Comme pour les sorties, les gardiens des portes du rempart de Damas ne doivent rien percevoir sur les marchands qui entrent dans la ville.

Ce sont là toutes les taxes d'importation ou d'entrée mentionnées dans le **kanun-name**; ajoutons que celui-ci fait en outre mention de taxes que l'on pourrait appeler "taxes de transaction", perçues à la fois du vendeur et de l'acheteur. Ce sont les taxes suivantes: coutume de marché aux chevaux (**'adet-i bazar-i esb**): aspres du vendeur et 3 aspres de l'acheteur sur la vente d'un cheval, 4 aspres de chacun d'eux sur la vente d'un chameau, 2 aspres de chacun d'eux sur la vente d'un et 8 aspres sur la vente d'un buffle. La coutume du marché aux esclaves (**'adet-i bazar-i esir**) consiste à percevoir 30 aspres du vendeur d'esclaves, mais rien de l'acheteur; la coutume du marché aux céréales (**'adet-i bazar-i galle**) est de percevoir 2 enfin, pour la coutume de la soie (**'adet-i harir**) il est levé 2 aspres de l'acheteur et 2 aspres du vendeur.

Si on laisse de côté quelques autres produits mentionnés, tels que l'alcali, l'herbe à alcali et la neige pour les sorbets, on a ainsi énuméré toutes les taxes d'exportation et d'importation levées à Damas dans le cadre de réglementation des droits de douane et des transactions commerciales.

A partir de ces données, il est possible, d'une part de préciser le contrôle fiscal ottoman sur le commerce interne et externe, d'autre part de suivre la filiation avec le régime mamelouk, enfin de comparer ce règlement avec ceux d'autres provinces arabes passées sous la domination ottomane.

Tout d'abord, constatons que la date de ce règlement (955/1548) est postérieure de trente-deux ans à celle de la conquête de la Syrie: est-il le premier règlement qui ait été publié? Cela n'est pas certain, mais il est actuellement le plus ancien que nous pouvons consulter; peut-être, en outre, y a-t-il eu d'autres documents édictés au lendemain de la conquête, ainsi que cela apparaît pour Jérusalem, Gaza, Safed, Naplouse, villes pour lesquelles existent des registres *mufassal* de 932/1525-6 et de 945/1538-39; de même on connaît un règlement de Tripoli de 926/1519-20. Il est probable qu'un règlement de la province de Damas a été édicté peu de temps après la conquête de cette province, comme cela était de coutume chez les Ottomans; apparemment, ce document original a disparu ou n'a pas encore été retrouvé; quoi qu'il en soit, il est incontestable que ce document de 955 reproduit pour la plus grande part ce document plus ancien inconnu. Faut-il mettre en relation étroite la publication de ce *kanunname* avec le gouvernement de Sinan Pacha? cela n'est pas exclu.

La référence aux décrets mamelouks, de Qaytbay en particulier, est à la fois une marque de continuité avec le régime mamelouk, dans la mesure où des réglementations instituées sous cette dynastie ont été maintenues, mais aussi une marque de rupture lorsque certaines des réglementations antérieures ont été supprimées. On peut penser que ces suppressions ne sont pas intervenues immédiatement après la conquête, mais après une période d'observation plus ou moins longue: la liste des "coutumes" et des taxes supprimées est finalement assez étendue, mais ces coutumes et taxes touchaient plutôt à des pratiques internes à la province, à des locaux et non pas à des taxes touchant au commerce, sauf, peut-être, la "protection des transporteurs de céréals" (*himaye-i terrasin*). Quoi qu'il en soit, il serait utile de pouvoir retracer, au travers de documents du même type, l'évolution du commerce intérieur et extérieur de la Syrie et de Damas en particulier depuis la période des Ayyoubides: cela est possible pour l'Égypte, grâce à l'étude de Claude Cahen sur l'Égypte médiévale (période fatimide-ayyoubide) publiée d'après le *Minhadj* d'al-Makhzumi, et même d'après les documents de la Geniza. On souhaiterait pouvoir posséder des documents semblables pour la Syrie, en plus des décrets mamelouks publiés autrefois par Gaston Wiet et par Jean Sauvaget, mais qui ne donnent pas une vision aussi globale des taxes sur le commerce que le *kanunname* ottoman. Il est hors de doute que les Ottomans n'ont pas innové et, en Syrie comme dans les autres provinces, ils ont utilisé le système fiscal en vigueur avant leur arrivée, en l'adaptant si nécessaire. A ce sujet, des points de comparaison peuvent être établis avec le *Minhadj* mais en se gardant de toute tentative d'assimilation.

En ce qui concerne le commerce, local ou international, on voit, d'une part, la persistance d'un commerce traditionnel entre l'Orient et l'Occident: les conséquences de la découverte et de l'exploitation des nouvelles routes commerciales maritimes n'ont pas encore eu le temps d'exercer une influence sur les échanges habituels; encore moins cela vaut-il pour le commerce intérieur syrien ou, plus largement, procheoriental; les taxes perçues se retrouvent, pour certaines d'entre

elles, d'une dynastie a une autre, de même que les pratiques commerciales et les systèmes de taxation, par exemple les taxes a l'importation et les taxes a l'exportation.

Il est indubitable que des études sont à faire sur le commerce local et international de la Syrie médiévale et moderne; un certain nombre de documents existent déjà, répartis sur diverses périodes, mais ils sont encore insuffisants pour appréhender totalement le sujet: il y a là une recherche qu'il faut souhaiter voir entreprendre par les jeunes chercheurs syriens; en rassemblant les informations données par des chroniqueurs et des marchands occidentaux et celles données par les chroniques arabes et les documents ottomans, on devrait pouvoir mieux comprendre non seulement les activités commerciales de la Syrie, mais, à partir de la son importance économique et stratégique entre le Moyen Age et les temps modernes. Cette étude devrait aussi déboucher sur une meilleure connaissance des structures économiques internes, des rapports entre l'administration et les marchands, des divers milieux intéressés au commerce, notamment les producteurs, les intermédiaires, les agents du commerce dans les villes; cela acquis, on devrait pouvoir bâtir une histoire économique et sociale de la syrie entere le XIIIe et le XVIIIe siècle. Des travaux comme ceux du Dr 'Adnān Bakhīt et ceux du Dr Abdul-kerim Rāfeq nous apportent déjà des éléments fondamentaux de ces problemes: il faut souhaiter qu'ils continuent leur oeuvre de recherche et que de jeunes chercheurs viennent se joindre à eux.

Car nombre de problèmes demeurent encore posés. Ainsi, les listes de produits, de marchandises, de denrées sont pleines d'informations et permettent de donner une idée des courants commerciaux; il est dommage qu'aucun chiffre ne soit disponible concernant les volumes, les quantités de produits intervenant dans ces courants. D'autre part, on peut constater que certaines marchandises, en ce qui concerne les exportations sont astreintes a des considérables: tel est le cas des épices et des étoffes. On peut se demander la raison d'une telle taxation: protection de la production locale, protection du commerce inter-musulman, exportations ne portant que sur des étoffes de luxe, utilisation au maximum du rôle de producteur ou d'intermédiaire (en ce qui concerne les épices)? sur ce dernier point, il faut bien penser que le commerce des épices vit ses derniers beaux jours au Proche Orient; ce commerce commence à échapper aux Arabes pour passer entre les mains des Portugais. Dans les lettres du marchand vénitien Andrea Berengo publiées par Ugo Tucci, concernant le commerce d'Alep à la même époque que le **kanunname**, il est écrit que "la caravane traditionnellement considerée comme la plus riche et la plus importante, celle de la Mecque, n'est plus digne de son antique renommée car étant donné les grands prix qu'occasionnent les frais d'un voyage aussi long, on ne porte plus les épices qu'en petites quantités," Ailleurs, dans le même texte, Ugo Tucci note que "les arrivages de produits orientaux sur les marchés syriens sont faibles et les prix se maintiennent élevés, spécialement ceux des épices, que les marchands occidentaux delais sent, préférant se livrer à d'autres trafics connaissant moins d'aléas".

Certaines marchandises importées des pays francs payent également des taxes élevées: c'est le cas de diverses étoffes, de quelques métaux (le cuivre notamment) et surtout du corail. si l'on ajoute aux droits de douane les droits de courtage et droits de kibla, on constate que les marchands francs ne sont alors nullement privilégiés et qu'au contraire le commerce extérieur est lourdement grevé. Les documents d'archives occidentaux nous apportent dans ce domaine des informations notables: nous n'y insisterons pas.

En revanche, les taxes portant sur le commerce intérieur, surtout en ce qui concerne les denrées comestibles, apparaissent relativement modérées; une réglementation est toutefois nécessaire, mais il est bien stipulé, dans ce **kanunname** de Damas, qu'il n'existe pas, de temps immémorial, dans la ville de Damas, de règlement établi à propos de la police des marches (**ih̄tisab**); le **kanunname** tel qu'il apparaît ici ne correspond nullement à un règlement d'**ih̄tisab**: on n'y voit à aucun moment apparaître le rôle du **kadi**, du **muhtesib** ou des gens des corps de métier. Seules sont considérées les taxes de commerce, comme c'est le cas dans ce genre de règlements, et la mention de certains agents de fisc ou intermédiaires mêlés à ces activités, tels que **mubasir**, **dellāi**, **'āmil**. Enfin, il serait bon de pouvoir préciser certaines taxes imposées à Damas, et notamment ce **hakk-i kible** (droit de kibla) dont la mention apparaît, parmi tous les textes de **kanunname-s** publiés par Omer Lutfi Barkan, dans le seul règlement de Damas: que cette taxe soit perçue sur les marchandises venant par la route de sud, la route du pèlerinage, ou partant par cette route, cela peut se comprendre: mais lorsqu'il s'agit d'une taxe sur les épices enlevées de l'ertrepôt de Damas par un marchand franc partant pour Beyrouth, ou de l'imposition des marchandises, telles que verre, fil, toile, papier, etc., importés des pays francs, ce droit de kibla apparaît un peu étrange, car il ne peut s'agir, sous réserve d'informations complémentaires d'un droit levé à l'occasion du trafic avec la Mecque, comme nous l'avions autrefois écrit; peut-être s'agit-il d'un droit levé au profit de la ville de La Mecque, du pèlerinage à cette ville? La question est d'autant plus posée que je n'ai pas rencontré ailleurs cette taxe et que je ne l'ai vu citée dans aucune étude.

Pour conclure, il convient de remarquer d'une part une certaine précision dans les détails, les marchandises, denrées etc. étant soigneusement énumérées et leur imposition étant bien spécifiée pour chacune d'elles; d'autre part, la distinction est bien marquée entre taxes d'importation et taxes d'exportation, taxes levées sur les marchands ou sur les produits francs et taxes sur les marchands ou sur les produits musulmans; enfin, la fiscalité sur les produits de consommation ou de production locale. Mais il n'en demeure pas moins qu'un certain "flou" peut être constaté et que, dans quelques domaines la porte est entr' ouverte à des possibilités de taxation supplémentaire, malgré la suppression de diverses exactions fiscales datant du temps des Mamelouks.

Pour mieux comprendre le mécanisme de la fiscalité ottomane à Damas en matière de commerce, il est nécessaire de connaître de façon plus approfondie la fiscalité

mamelouke, voire ayyoubide, en ce domaine, de rechercher d'autres documents d'archives arabes et turcs, de procéder à des comparaisons avec d'autres villes du Proche Orient à diverses époques et de ne pas négliger les documents vénitiens, genois, français, etc.. Enfin, une étude de la topographie de Damas à cette époque, des recherches sur les bâtiments de la ville à caractère économique, un affinement de la connaissance du vocabulaire technique, tout cela devrait permettre de déboucher sur une connaissance véritable de la vie économique de Damas et de sa province.

L'Organisation De L'espace dans la Présentation de la Palestine par le Géographe Al Mukaddasi (IVe/Xe Siècle)

André Miquel

Comme son nom l'indique, le géographe al-Mukaddasi (ou al-Makdisi) est né à Jérusalem, sans doute vers 331-334/942-945. Il a dû mourir, on ne sait où, après 380/990. Son ouvrage, le *Ahsan at-takāsīm fī ma'rifat al-akālīm*, se propose, dans la tradition inaugurée par al-Balkhi, de décrire l'ensemble du monde musulman de son temps. C'est dire que son pays, le Shām et plus particulièrement la Palestine, n'est qu'une partie d'un immense ensemble. Mais l'intérêt doit-il ici se calculer à la quantité des pages? En réalité, au delà de la peinture du pays, de sa **présentation**, se devinent les arrière-pensées, les désirs, les regrets ou les rêves, bref tout ce qui compose, consciemment ou non, dans l'esprit du géographe, la **représentation** qu'il se fait de son pays. Aucun doute, cette terre-là ne peut pas être pour lui tout à fait comme les autres, pour la double raison qu'elle est le pays natal et l'un des pôles de la foi.

Ces deux niveaux de l'écriture inspireront notre démarche. Nous irons donc du plus concret au plus abstrait, du plus visible au plus secret, de la géographie pure à celle qui se mêle inextricablement à l'histoire, de l'espace en soi à l'espace comme support du temps. Ainsi disrtinguerons-nous⁽¹⁾:

- I - L'espace de la vision:
 - A. L'espace de la nature (l'homme et son milieu)
 - B. L'espace de la vie (ou: la nature aménagée par l'homme).

- II - L'espace de la représentation:
 - C. L'espace du désir (ou: l'histoire d'un homme).
 - D. L'espace de la foi (ou: l'histoire de l'humanité).

La nature a imposé à la Palestine, comme au reste du Shām, une distribution longitudinale en quatre zones parallèles, parfaitement vues comme telles et délimitées par notre géographe (186). D'ouest en est, ce sont, dans l'ordre, l'étroite plaine sableuse de la côte, dont relève, entre autres villes, ar-Ramla; puis la mon-

tagne; puis encore la grande dépression (Ghawr) du Jourdain, de la mer Morte et des vallées affluentes (aghwar); enfin la Steppe (al-Badiya), qui commence déjà à 'Ammān. Dans ce paysage soigneusement reparté par la nature, ce qui domine pourtant, ce sont les montagnes, notamment autour d'Hebron (Djabal Nazra), de Nabulus et surtout de Jérusalem, laquelle s'enorgueillit du mont des Oliviers, la montagne sacrée (46, 177). Aucun doute: comme on nous le dit expressément (186 i.f.), le coeur géographique de la Terre Sainte se situe là, dans cette zone: Coeur géographique et spirituel puisque les montagnes, ici comme ailleurs, sont le signe visible du projet divin dans la création de notre globe (Coran, XIII, 3, XV, 19, XVI, 15 et pass. :rāwāsī).

Ce sont encore les montagnes qui dictent l'organisation du système hydrographique de la Palestine. L'ensemble est bien vu en aval, avec le Jourdain et ses affluents, puis la mer Morte, au niveau immuable, aux eaux très salées, épaissées, malodorantes et presque toujours calmes. En amont, au delà, donc, des limites de la Palestine, l'origine du Jourdain est, curieusement, mal située: on en fait parfois un bras du Baradā, la rivière de Damas (22, 23 (en note), 161 i.f.-162, 184)². Il faut sans doute voir là une des réponses données aux mystères de ce Jourdain, qui, nous dit-on (160)³, jaillit, fleuve adulte et très froid, des entrailles de la montagne, à Baniyas, et dans lequel certains, peut-être, auraient imaginé, contre toute vraisemblance géologique, la resurgence de certaines eaux du Baradā.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le Jourdain et ses affluents font de la Palestine un pays bien arrosé: le Ghor (Ghawr) et les vallées voisines regorgent d'eaux vives, à Nabulus et 'Ammān notamment, et, quand les rivières manquent, les sources prennent le relais, comme autour de Jéricho. Vers l'ouest, sur le piémont et la côte, ce sont les puits qui assurent l'approvisionnement nécessaire (164, 174, 176 I.f. 177). Rivières, sources ou puits, l'eau, en tout cas, est signalée comme il se doit, dans ses qualités et ses défauts: potable, sans plus, à 'Askalān, plus ou moins aigre selon qu'on est à Nabulus ou Jérusalem, résolument détestable à Bayt ar-Rām, dans la région de l'embouchure du Jourdain, elle est, en revanche, excellente à ar-Ramla⁴, extrêmement légère à Jéricho. Mais qu'importe, après tout, ces classifications: bonne ou mauvaise, l'eau est la vie, celle des hommes et des champs (175). Et la joie de vivre: elle coule dans les bains d'ar-Ramla et de Nabulus, anime les moulins du pays d'Ammān, arrive, par canalisations, jusqu'aux bassins, réservoirs, bains et rues de Jérusalem.

Pourtant, cette richesse n'est ni continue, ni uniforme: la présence des citernes atteste, ici ou là, de la crainte de l'eau rare, interrompue. Ainsi recueille-t-on tout ce que peuvent apporter les torrents en hiver, comme à Jérusalem, et la pluie, comme à Césarée et ar-Ramla, ou l'on tient les citernes cadennassées, en "laissant le pauvre sur sa soif et l'étranger dans l'embarras (164 i.f.)." C'est que la Palestine, à la vérité, alterne les climats. La preuve en est qu'elle réunit ces produits du sol qu'al-

Mukaddasī qualifie de contrastés, d'opposés (**addād, ashya' mutadādda**: 164, 166), entendez qu'ils représentent, les uns les pays chauds, les autres ceux de climat plus tempéré. Tropicale, dirions-nous, est la grande dépression du Jourdain et de la mer Morte, qui est "le pays de la chaleur, de l'indigo, de la banane et du palmier (174). "Ailleurs, les choses sont plus nuancées, le modèle étant fourni par Jérusalem, qui ne connaît les excès ni du froid ni de la chaleur (165 i.f., 166, lignes 1-2 et 14). L'hiver voit parfois la neige⁽⁵⁾, les pluies en tout cas: ar-Ramla devient alors une véritable "île de boue". Mais à quelque chose malheur est bon: ici même et un peu partout en Palestine, cette eau du ciel, prolongée jusqu'au printemps, peut dispenser de toute irrigation: véritable bénédiction pour les semences qui lèvent (164, 173). Quant à l'été, il arrive, paradoxalement, qu'il soit sec sur la côte et très humide à l'intérieur: alors que la première "se poudre de sable", le vent du sud, ailleurs, apporte tant de moiteur pendant la nuit que les chêneaux du Masdjid al-Aksā ruissellent (164, 186).

Au total, on le voit, un climat de type méditerranéen, tempéré chaud, mais auquel la situation du pays, entre la mer et les zones arides, apporte quelques contrastes notables. Le tapis végétal, signale, de ci de la, par notre auteur, correspond, en tout cas, à celui que nous pouvons attendre d'un pareil type de climat: la vigne, l'olivier et le figuier semblent être partout chez eux; à côté d'eux, l'amandier, le noyer, le caroubier, le jujubier, le pin, le chène, le sycomore, le sumac et les plantes odoriférantes, tels le fenouil⁽⁶⁾ et le thym. Quant aux bêtes, plus précisément les hôtes naturels du pays, on ne nous signale guère que les importuns: serpents, scorpions, puces et tiques⁽⁷⁾.

L'aménagement de l'espace par les soins de l'homme se perçoit d'abord aux maisons qu'il bâtit pour y vivre. Fidèle au réel, l'oeuvre d'al-Mukaddasī organise sa description à partir des villes autour desquelles se distribue le terroir. Côte-à-côte avec les pays de Kinnasrīn, de Hims, de Damas, de Jordanie et d'as-Sharāt, la Palestine constitue l'une des six circonscriptions (**kura**) qui composent la province (**iklim**) du Shām. Chacune d'elles a un chef-lieu (**Kasaba**), respectivement: Alep, Hims, Damas, laquelle est aussi la capitale de la province, Tibériade, Sughar et, pour la Palestine, ar-Ramla. Des chefs-lieux relèvent, à leur tour, diverses cités (**mudun**), centres de pays plus petits, avec leurs villages. Elles sont, en Palestine, au nombre de onze (154 i.f.-155): Jérusalem⁽⁸⁾, Bayt Djibrīl, Ghazza, Mimās, 'Askalān, Yāfā, Arsūf, Césarée, Nablus, Jéricho et 'Ammān.

Qu'est-ce exactement qu'une **madina**? L'auteur nous le laisse entendre (155): "Il existe, dans la province du Shām, des villages (**Kura**) plus importants et plus vastes que ne le sont la plupart des cités (**mudun**) d'Arabie, par exemple Dārāyā, Bayt Lihya, Kafarsallām, Kafarsāba. Mais comme le mode de vie y est celui des villages (**Kura**), je les compte comme tels, pour me conformer, ainsi que je le fais toujours, à l'usage commun (**ta'aruf**). "Plus explicite encore cet autre passage (176): "De la circonscription de Palestine relèvent quelques gros villages. avec un **minbar**, plus

actifs, plus importants que la plupart des cités d'Arabie. Mais que faire d'eux? D'un côté, ils ne s'imposent pas avec cet éclat qui est celui des cités⁽⁹⁾, mais, d'un autre, ils ne connaissent pas l'obscur faiblesse des villages; devant cette situation incertaine et intermédiaire, nous n'avons pas cru pouvoir ne pas leur faire une place, ni indiquer où ils se trouvent⁽¹⁰⁾. "Ces villages, dont la description suit, sont: Ludd, Kafarsābā, 'Akīr, Yubna, 'Amawās (Emmaus) et Kafarsallām. Nous dirions: des petites villes; mais pas des vraies villes, avec ce que le mot comporte de particulier quant au style de vie, on l'a vu, et aussi quant à la présence du pouvoir: les **mudun** sont, dans la géographie d'al-Mukaddasi comme dans la réalité, les relais, les courroies de transmission de l'autorité, depuis le chef-lieu de la **kura** qui, lui-même, la reçoit de la capitale de la province. "Il faut savoir, écrit al-Mukaddasi (47) que, pour nous, les capitales des provinces (**amsār**) tiennent la place des rois, les chefs-lieux (des **kura**) celle des chambellans, les cités celle de l'armée et les villages celle de la piétaille. "Même importants, on le voit, les villages de Palestine restent des villages: ils sont tout au bas de la hiérarchie, ils ne commandent à personne.

Quelle est la Palestine ainsi délimitée par ses villes et autres localités? Au sud, elle est bordée par la **Kura** d'ash-Sharāt, dont le chef-lieu, on l'a vu, est a Sughar, dans les parages méridionaux de la mer Morte, et qui rémonte, à l'est de cette même mer, jusqu'au pays de Ma'āb, soit au delà de Kerak. Au nord, la **kura** dite de Jordanie (al-Urdunn), avec Tibériade pour chef-lieu, descend jusqu'aux régions de Baysan et Djarash (154 i.f., 162). C'est dire que la Palestine d'al-Mukaddasi laisse en dehors de son territoire, au nord, la Galilée et environ la moitié septentrionale de la Samarie, tandis que, vers le sud, la limite passe à une latitude comprise entre Hebron et Ma'āb: nous aurons l'occasion de revenir plus loin sur cette délimitation⁽¹¹⁾.

Ainsi comprise, la Palestine dépend, à l'époque d'al-Mukaddasi, de l'autorité fatimide: situation qui est celle du Shām méridional et l'oppose, en cela, aux territoires situés plus au nord, lesquels relèvent, eux, de la mouvance des Hamdanides d'Alep (189). Malgré ses sympathies shi'ites, l'auteur⁽¹²⁾ dénonce les abus du régime: une injustice latente et, surtout, une réglementation tatillonne en matière d'échanges commerciaux. A Jérusalem, notamment, les emplacements pour les ventes, aux portes de la ville, sont strictement délimités et surveillés par la force publique, et toutes les transactions, ainsi que les prestations de service de l'hôtellerie, sont écrasées de taxes (167,189). Plus généralement (189, et note de la même page), la Palestine doit être étudiée en fonction de la situation générale du Shām, à propos de laquelle une distinction est faite entre les diverses catégories d'impôts. Les taxes (**dara'ib**) sont légères dans toute la province, réserve faite de ce que nous venons de dire et qui conférerait à la Palestine le triste privilège de l'exception⁽¹³⁾. Les "protections" (**himāyat**) accordées contre le droit d'exercice d'une activité sont dites, un peu partout, lourdes: la Palestine y participe pour 259 000 dinars, contre 170 000 seulement à la Jordanie, mais 360 000 au pays d'Alep et plus de 400 000 à celui de Damas. L'impôt foncier (**Kharāj**), enfin, semble compenser

les désavantages des taxes: alors que, depuis environ un siècle, il est resté stable dans les autres pays du Shām, la Palestine l'a vu baisser de 500 000 dinars à 100 000⁽¹⁴⁾.

Reste l'espace plus proprement économique: celui du champ, du jardin, de la boutique ou de l'atelier. Commençons par l'artisanat, au sens large. Je relève, comme productions de la Palestine, la pierre, et notamment le marbre extrait des carrières de Bayt Djibrīl, l'ocre rouge d'Amman, le soufre du Ghawr, le sel de la mer Morte, le savon, les drogues et remèdes, les chapelets de Jérusalem, les miroirs, les pots à chandelles, les aiguilles, les textiles enfin: voiles, serviettes, soie d'Askalān et coton de Jérusalem. Quant à l'agriculture, les notations d'al-Mukaddasi sont si abondantes, si variées, si spontanées dans leur présentation⁽²¹⁾, qu'il y faut mettre un peu d'ordre. Ce sera donc, d'abord, le champ, avec le riz, la canne à sucre, le blé surtout, la Palestine étant, par excellence, le pays du pain blanc, produit avec la fine fleur de farine (**huwwāra**): ar-Ramla s'en est fait une spécialité. Le verger, domestique ou sauvage, aligne une prodigieuse palette de fruits: coings, cedrats, oranges, amandes, noix, pignons, dattes, jujubes⁽²²⁾, prunes, et encore: les caroubes, dont on tire une confiture réputée, les pommes énormes et bon marché, les bananes, qui font figure de curiosité, les fruits du sycomore⁽²³⁾ ou ceux du sumac⁽²⁴⁾, enfin et surtout ces rois du paysage: le figuier, la vigne, qui fait de la Palestine une exportatrice de raisins secs, et l'olivier, ar-Ramla se distinguant par son huile tirée de fruits à demi mûrs. Autre exubérance: celle du jardin potager. Voici, pêle-mêle, l'asperge, le chou, le lupin, la laitue, la fève, la lentille, la colocase, le melon⁽²⁵⁾; en marge du jardin, la truffe (**kam'a**) de la steppe; entre les deux, sans doute, le chardon⁽²⁶⁾, en train de devenir, avec tant d'autres fruits ou légumes, son cheminement vers l'ouest, jusqu'aux jardins de l'Europe.

N'oublions pas le jardin, le verger lorsqu'ils fonctionnent pour l'artisanat ou l'officine: coton, murier du ver à soie, indigo cultivé dans le Ghawr, plantes odoriférantes ou médicinales, tel le calament (**tardugh**), apparente à la mélisse. Terminons sur l'espace de l'élevage, avec les moutons d'Amman, les buffles⁽²⁷⁾, les ânes⁽²⁸⁾ et enfin les abeilles, la Palestine s'étant fait une spécialité du miel, le meilleur étant le miel de thym, à Jérusalem.

Espace vu, décrit, la Palestine est aussi un **espace désiré**. L'attachement d'al-Mukaddasi à son pays natal est d'autant plus fort qu'il l'a quitté dès qu'il a eu vingt ans, pour courir le monde, et que nous n'avons aucune preuve qu'il l'ait jamais revu. Ainsi a-t-il vécu sa vie entre les deux pôles que se plaît à opposer la littérature de l'**adab**: d'un côté, l'exil (**ghurba**), d'où naissent, avec l'aventure, le savoir, la richesse et l'expérience; de l'autre, la nostalgie du pays natal (**al-hanīn ila l-watan**), qui rappelle, comme à Sindbad le Marin, que le voyage n'est pas une fin en soi, que le but ultime, c'est le retour, une fois que l'homme s'est enfin réalisé comme un être complet, grâce à ce moyen privilégié qu'est la **ghurba**. Quittant sa Palestine, al-Mukaddasi l'emporte donc en voyage. Elle devient son espace à lui, le bagage de son

rêve, regret et désir, le paysage qui se superpose à tel ou tel autre que notre auteur peut découvrir au hasard de ses déplacements.

Le voici par exemple au Fāris (421); il compare ce pays, il est vrai, non pas avec la Palestine, mais avec l'ensemble du Shām: mêmes avantages du climat, qui réunit les produits des pays chauds ou tempérés, même présence de montagnes peuplées et cultivées, même abondance de miel et d'olives. Mais un peu plus loin, la Palestine, la Palestine seule, monte du fond de la mémoire: au Fāris encore, plus précisément à Shirāz (440), al-Mukaddasi s'entretient des méthodes de construction, constate que le renom de la pierre tendre de son pays, si facile à travailler, est venu jusqu'ici; il se souvient de ce que disait l'un des ouvriers de son père, maçon-architecte, à propos de l'agencement du chauffage des bains⁽²⁹⁾. Plus la Palestine est loin, et plus l'amour du pays natal est vivace: a Sarakhs, dans le Khurasān(313), notre homme répond, à quelqu'un qui l'interroge sur Jérusalem, cette phrase polie et pourtant lourde de sous-entendus: "Jérusalem est comme Sarakhs, mais c'est une ville propre, belle, plaisante." Après la terre et le pays aménagé par les hommes, voici le ciel de Palestine: toujours à propos du khurasān (322), al-Makaddasi évoque, par opposition aux violents contrastes du climat de ces régions, les délices de Jérusalem, où l'on dort toujours dans la même pièce, sans avoir à déménager, quand la chaleur vient, à la recherche d'endroits de plus en plus frais, et jusque sur la terrasse.

Avec le recul pris par le voyageur, le pays natal, confronté aux autres régions de l'Islam, loin de perdre ses prestiges, devient un "paradis" (166), un paradis total, comme le montre une anecdote racontée par l'auteur. La scène se passe à al-Basra, chez un cadî. "On parlait de l'Egypte, écrit al-Mukaddasî (166-167), et l'on me demanda s'il y avait pays plus prestigieux. "Oui, le mien, répondis-je.-Plus agréable? -Le mien. -Aussi plein de mérites? -Le mien. -Plus beau? -Le mien. Plus riche en ressources (30)? -le mien. -Plus grand? -le mein." Au milieu de l'assistance stupéfaite, je m'entendis dire que je soutenais, moi qui pourtant étais fort avisé, un point de vue inacceptable, et que je faisais comme l'homme à la chamelle avec al-Hadjdjādj⁽³¹⁾. "Oui, expliquai-je, je dis bien: le plus prestigieux, car il réunit les joies de ce monde et de l'autre; qui était du premier et aspire au second y ressentira son appel, qui était du second et se sent attiré par les biens du premier les y trouvera. Pour ce qui touche à la qualité du climat, le froid n'y est pas virulent, ni la chaleur nocive. Si vous parlez beauté, vous ne verrez rien qui vaille ses édifices, rien de plus propre que cette ville, rien de plus aéré que sa mosquée. S'il s'agit de l'abondance des biens⁽³²⁾ le Très-Haut y a réuni les fruits des vallées (aghwār), de la plaine et de la montagne, ainsi que les produits les plus opposés⁽³³⁾, comme le cedrat, l'amande, la datte, la noix, la figue ou la banane. Quant au mérite, c'est l'esplanade de la Résurrection, l'origine du Rassemblement et le débouche de la Vie nouvelle; si la Mekke et Médine tirent leur dignité de la Ka'ba et du Prophète, elles seront pourtant, au jour de la Résurrection, conduites à Jérusalem, qui cumulera ainsi toutes les vertus. S'agit-il d'étendue? Si toutes les créatures doivent y être rassemblées, trouverez-vous pays plus vaste? "L'assistance en convint et m'approuva."

Ainsi va la Palestine d'al-Mukaddasi. Elle va, en effet avec lui, d'un pays à l'autre et, dans le souvenir emu du voyageur, elle abrite sa terre, ses maisons, ses paysages, ses hommes et son ciel. Tout l'espace embrassé depuis les montagnes de Jérusalem se resserre, s'enfouit dans une pensée, prêt à resurgir au loin, à éclater pour redire chaque fois, au gardien de cette mémoire, que le pays natal est le plus beau de tous et que, pour tous ceux qui l'aiment, il n'est pas fixe jamais sur un point précis du monde: on peut le retrouver partout, il suffit, pour cela, de fermer les yeux.

Espace fidèle et transfigure: on vient de le confronter aux plus grosses provinces de domaine musulman, qu'il défit victorieusement, jusqu'en son exigüité même, laquelle ne doit, selon al Mukaddasī, abuser personne. Mais qui parle ici? Serait-ce seulement un Palestinien parmi d'autres? Comme le dit l'auteur, ce pays-là appartient à deux ordres: celui de la terre et celui de ciel. On ne peut le juger avec les critères qui ont cours ailleurs. Au delà même de l'espace que ses yeux lui proposent jusque dans le rêve ou le souvenir, l'homme, se rappelant qu'il est créature de Dieu, découvre d'autres horizons.

L'espace de la foi nous amène à découvrir une autre Palestine qui ne se réduit, celle-là, ni à la nature, ni au paysage aménagé par les hommes, ni même à l'histoire d'un individu. A un niveau plus profond de représentation, la Palestine devient le théâtre d'une histoire universelle qui, tout à la fois, la dépasse et vient s'y incarner. Et d'abord, cette évidence: la Palestine porte un autre nom, celui de Terre Sainte (**al-Ard al mukaddasa**). Le problème est de savoir ce que l'on entend exactement par là. Une discussion animée se déroule à Nīsābūr, chez le gouverneur de la ville, entre al Mukaddasī et divers juristes. Il ressort de débat, pour notre auteur, et arguments coraniques à l'appui (34), que la Terre Sainte est essentiellement le territoire montagneux qui s'étale autour de Jérusalem (186 i.f.188) Au reste al-Mukaddasī a-t-il précisé auparavant, dans un autre passage (173), les limites exactes du pays considéré (**hadd al-kuds**): celui-ci représente un cercle avec Jérusalem pour centre et 40 milles (soit environ 77 km) pour rayon, le périmètre ainsi délimité englobant, à l'est, le pays d'Amman et la steppe (**al-bādiya**) sur une profondeur de 5 milles (environ 10 km) (35), au nord les régions comprises entre Baysān et Nabulus, à l'ouest la côte et, au delà, jusqu'à 12 milles (23km) en mer, enfin, au sud, les parages méridionaux de la mer Morte. On voit donc que, réserve faite de ce dernier secteur, qui relève de la **kura** d'ash-Sharāt, la Terre Sainte, selon la définition qu'en propose al-Mukaddasī, correspond exactement aux limites qu'il donne de la **kura** de Palestine.

On peut discuter, autant qu'on voudra, sur les sources dont notre auteur a pu s'inspirer en la circonstance, et sur la validité du périmètre ainsi tracé. Mais le fait est là : pour lui, Palestine et Terre Sainte sont, pour l'essentiel, strictement superposables. Le but poursuivi est évident : il s'agit de faire de la Palestine, sous son autre nom, le coeur d'un espace et d'une histoire. Le modèle rond proposé par l'auteur est celui de toutes les cosmogonies classiques, du nombril (**omphalos, surra**) du monde. Sur l'image du globe, le gros point rond qui marque la Terre Sainte a valeur symbolique de centre, tout comme Jérusalem, à son tour, par rapport à la

Terre Sainte. Le modèle efface l'autre, celui de la nature, des quatre zones parallèles que la Palestine partage avec le reste du Shām. La carte du géographe, la première perçue, la plus visible, fait place à la carte du croyant: celui-ci, compas en main et certitude au coeur, bouleverse les perspectives naturelles, transformé l'espace, étiré et découpé, de la géographie physique en un autre, homogène celui-la, ramassé et centralisé.

Mais voici qu'à son tour cet espace se transforme, ou du moins change de sens. Au mouvement qui appelle la terre entière vers la Palesine en répond un autre, strictement inverse, qui fait que la Palestine, avec cette terre qu'elle prétend rassembler, regarde ailleurs, vers un pôle : vers Mekke, évidemment. Dans la vision du croyant, il n'est pas d'espace statique, fige une fois pour toutes, bref coupé de la vie, c'est-à-dire du temps, de l'histoire. Si la Palestine a vocation à être le centre du monde, c'est pour plus tard, quand le temps se sera aboli dans l'éternité: al-Mukaddasī nous l'a dit plus. En attendant, cette **kibla** qu'elle aspire à être-et qu'elle fut au début de l'Islam - lui est retirée au profit de l'autre territoire sacré, celui de l'Arabie. La Mekke, ici, est partout présente: le Masdjid al-Aksā est situé sur la linge idéale qui joint le milieu de la ville à la Ka'ba, et même, plus précisément, la kubbat as-Sakhrā et l'axe de la grande salle couverte (168,170 i.f.171). La Ka'ba, toujours elle, donne son nom à un endroit de l'esplanade sacrée, et La **kibla** a l'une des portes de la kubba. Enfin, la même direction fondamentale de la prière est rappelée, en dehors même des grands édifices de l'enceinte, par les quatre mihrāb de Marie, zacharie, Jacob et al-khidr (169,170) (36).

C'est donc, avant toute chose, d'un espace musulman qu'il s'agit. Et si la perception de cet espace en tant que tel culmine à Jérusalem, on peut aussi l'éprouver ailleurs, en tel ou tel lieu de Palestine. Au Masdjid al-Aksā revient le souvenir du voyage nocturne du prophète, des Hashimites, de 'Umar, des califes umayyades et abbasides, qui construisirent et embellirent la mosquée. Ar-Ramla évoque, elle, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, à qui elle doit son ami; Siloé à un **Wakf** de 'Utman et son puits, dit de Job, est visité par l'eau de Zamzam; quant à Gazza, elle s'enorgueillit d'abriter la dépouille de Hāsīm b. 'Abd Manāf et d'avoir vu naître ash-Shāfi'i. Tous ces lieux, en même temps qu'ils rappellent la foi musulmane, qu'ils assignent, donc, à la Terre Sainte de regarder les lieux où cette foi naquit, tirent aussi la Palestine dans une autre direction: à la verticale, vers le ciel d'où vint la Révélation, vers le ciel où montèrent d'ici même Jésus et le Prophète. Décidément, le croyant ne peut voir la Palestine comme une terre parmi d'autres : aux deux dimensions qui servent normalement à définir tout espace, la Terre Sainte en ajoute une troisième, mais celle-ci n'a rien à faire de produire un vulgaire volume; elle est de l'ordre de la transcendance et, par elle, la Palestine échappe à l'humaine mesure.

Espace de la foi et. par la foi, universel: la Palestine musulmane est aussi celle des chrétiens et des juifs. Des Samaritains aussi, nous dit-on, mais pas des Zoroastriens ou des Sabéens (179). Même si, de ci de là notre auteur laisse percer

quelques préventions (37), il relève, en tout cas, que les **dimmis**, chrétiens en tête, sont nombreux, majoritaires, même, à Jérusalem, que les mois "des Rûm " remplacent ici, comme dans le reste du shâm, les mois musulmans, et que les fêtes chrétiennes sont demeurées dans l'usage commun : pâques qui arrive avec le printemps, pentecôte avec la chaleur, Noël avec les froids et Sainte-Barbara (38) avec les pluies. La présence, à travers ses divers adeptes, musulmans, chrétiens et juifs, de la religion unitaire et révélée, confirme la Palestine comme symbole de l'espace universel de la vraie foi. :Al-Mukaddasî le dit à sa manière (184): "au Shâm, les mashâhid se trouvent, en leur majorité, à Jérusalem, puis dans le reste de la Palestine et en Jordanie."

Ces mashâhid, ce sont les témoins, non seulement de l'Islam, mais de toute la tradition prophétique et biblique qui le précède. Avec notre auteur, je relève pêle-mêle, dans ces souvenirs, Abrabam, Job, David, Salomon, Isaac, Sarah, Jésus, Saul, Jérémie, Urie, Moïse, Zacharie, Jean, Jacob, Loth, Marie et Rachel. A l'espace universel de la foi répond l'histoire, non moins universelle, de la Révélation. Une fois de plus, le pays et le temps sont inséparables aux yeux et au cœur du croyant: la Terre Sainte est sainte parce qu'elle est le lieu d'une histoire, d'une histoire sacrée, celle du salut promis à tout les hommes pourvu qu'ils reconnaissent la vérité. Au terme de l'amour de l'individu pour son pays natal, au point ultime de l'aventure du croyant, la terre s'efface devant la promesse qu'elle porte les lieux s'abolissent dans le souvenir du temps éternel et l'attente des temps futurs. C'est, en renversant la formule, le domaine sacré du **Parsifal** de Wagner: "Zur zeit wird hier der Raum."

NOTES

- 1 Les réflexions qui suivent sont prises, pour l'essentiel, à l'édition de Goeje (Leiden, 1960) du *Ahsan at-takāsim*, p. 164-177 (description de la Palestine) et 179-189 (tableau général des particularités de la province du Shām, en ne retenant ici, évidemment que les traits explicitement rapportés à la Palestine en général ou à l'un de ses villes en particulier). Pour alléger l'annotation, je renvoie globalement à ces pages une fois pour toutes. J'indiquerai seulement (par la page de l'édition de Goeje, entre parenthèses) les références plus particulièrement nécessaires (pour un trait isolé, par exemple) et aussi, bien entendu, celles qui ne relèvent pas des pages indiquées plus haut.
- 2 On relèvera, dans la variante de la p. 23, une autre confusion, avec un troisième système hydrographique: celui de l'Oronte supérieur.
- 3 Où ce fleuve reste anonyme, tout comme plus loin, p. 161 i.f.- 162, a propos de la traversée, par le Jourdain, du lac d'al-Hūla.
- 4 Ainsi est-il dit p. 184 (*mariyy*), mais p. 164, l'eau des puits est qualifiée de salée.
- 5 Signalée comme rare à Jérusalem (p. 165 i.f.), mais indiquée aussi (p. 181) parmi les 36 spécialités de la Palestine (neige comprimée, pour le rafraîchissement des boissons).
- 6 Sur le sens de *ghurr*, cf. *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, Leiden, t. IV, 1879, p. 308, et Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2e éd., Leiden, 1927, t. II, p. 203-204.
- 7 Sur le sens du mot *dalam*, cf. *Bibliotheca...*, op. citp. 237.
- 8 Qu'al-Mukaddasi appelle parfois Iliya, qui rappelle le nom latin, donne par l'empereur Hadrien, de Colonia *Aelia* Capitolina.
- 9 Pas les *mudun* d'Arabie évidemment, compte tenu du contexte, mais les *mudun* en général, ou celles de Palestine.
- 10 Sur la carte qui accompagne le texte..
- 11 A noter qu'au nord, la *kura* de Jordanie (al-Urdunn) mord sur le Liban et la Syrie méridionale, avec Tyr (Sūr) et Adri'at (Dera'a), tandis qu'au sud, la *kura* d'ash-Sharat s'étend jusqu'au territoire de l'Arabie sa'udite, avec Madyan (Madyan su'ayb) et Tabūk: 154 i.f.-155.
- 12 Comme le fait son contemporain, Ibn Hawkal, autre pro-^calide, à propos de l'Égypte.
- 13 P. 189, l'auteur déclare cependant qu'en matière d'hôtellerie, les taxes sont lourdes un peu partout dans l'ensemble du Shām.
- 14 P. 189 (et note d), où les deux manuscrits semblent opposer l'époque de l'auteur à celle d'Ibn Khurdādbēh (les deux rédactions de l'oeuvre de ce géographe se situant vers 232/846 et 272/885). Mais le texte du *Ahsan at-takāsim* est ici peu sur (cf. la note d citée) et l'on ne saurait prendre

sans aucune réserve les chiffres avancés. On remarquera notamment que le chiffre de 400 000 dinars et plus, pour Damas, n'apparaît que dans la variante de la note d, et qu'il est le même que celui qui est donné, pour la même ville, à propos des **himāyāt**.

- 15 Je traduis par ces deux mots **salandiyat** (bateau à fond plat: cf. Dozy, **Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, op. cit., I, 783**) et **Sawani** (ibid., 793).
- 16 Sur cette signalisation et l'organisation des relais décrite ensuite, cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, **La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes, Paris, 1923, p. 129 (n.1) et 258-261 (avec bibliographie)**.
- 17 Le mot employé pour la tour-minaret du **ribāt** et pour les tours qui assurent le relais des signaux est évidemment le même: **manārā**.
- 18 **Ahdāth** ; sur le sens de ce mot, cf. C. Cahen, **Mouvements populaires et auto-urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Age, Leiden, 1959**; ces milices, liées aux villes, sont dites ici venir des **rasātik** (circonscriptions rurales chez Mukaddasi; plus généralement: villages). Il est sans doute question ici de ces gros villages dont on a parlé plus haut, et notamment, pour la région dont il s'agit, de Kafarsallām, Kafarsāba, Ludd, 'Akīr, Yabna et Emmaus. Mais pourquoi l'auteur ne parle-t-il pas aussi des vraies villes, des cités (**mudun**): Césarée, Arsuf, Yafa, Azdud, 'Askalan, Mimās, Gazza?
- 19 **Hātim**; sur ce sens, cf. Gildemeister, "Beitrag zur Palastinakunde aus arabischen Quellen", dans **Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, VII (1884), p. 170, n. 86**.
- 20 Ce sont là les cités (**mudun**) que nous évoquions précédemment en note, Yubna seule étant rangée par l'auteur parmi les villages. **Māhūz** Azdud et **Mahuz** Yubna sont les "ports" des localités de ce nom, situées en arrière de la côte; sur le mot de **māhūz**, tire de l'araméen, voir l'annotation de l'éditeur, p. 177 (note q, suite p.178).
- 21 Je pense notamment à la liste des **hashā',ish** (p. 181), qui les présente, à l'évidence, selon les sollicitations de la mémoire, et sans le moindre souci d'établir des catégories.
- 22 Proprement dite ou fruitée (**nabq, nibq, nabiq**) du **sidr**, arbre de la même famille (**zizyphus spina Christi**).
- 23 Qui rappellent un peu la figue, mais s'en différencient par le goût, une queue plus longue et la couleur rouge.
- 24 La liste de la p. 181 portant sur des produits alimentaires, il apparaît que le sumac, surtout connu pour le tannage des peaux, est cité ici pour l'emploi éventuel de ses fruits comme condiment, ainsi que le signale Ibn Baytār, s.v.

- 25 **Luffāh**: petit melon d'Égypte et de Syrie; autres sens: fruit de la mandrafore, ou encore brugnou: cf. Dozy, *op.cit.*, II, 541.
- 26 ^c**Akkūb**: cf. *Bibliotheca*, *op. cit.*, s.v., et Dozy, II, 155.
- 27 Lait de bufflesse signale p. 181; fromage, en général et sans autre précision, pour Jérusalem, p. 180.
- 28 P. 183: les marchands d'ar-Ramla possèdent des ânes égyptiens, qui sont en effet particulièrement réputés. Il est facile de déduire de ce trait l'usage général de l'âne "commun".
- 29 Avec, de nouveau, généralisation à l'ensemble du Shām.
- 30 **Khayrāt**, qui peut avoir aussi, chez ces géographes, le sens de: céréales. Mais il s'agit ici du sens le plus général, comme la suite le prouve (voir *infra*, en note).
- 31 Allusion à l'histoire célèbre de l'homme qui, questionné par al-Hadjādī, répond, à toutes les questions, par la même réponse: "la chamelle."
- 32 **Khayrāt**: voir ci-dessus, en note.
- 33 **Al-ashyā al-mutadadda**: voir ce qui a été dit plus haut de cette expression, à propos de l'espace naturel.
- 34 **Coran**, V, 24, VII, 133.
- 35 Soit jusqu'au tracé du chemin de fer du Hidjāz.
- 36 Sur cette orientation générale, cf. mon article "La mosquée de Jérusalem: un espace baroque?", dans *Critique*, juin-juillet 1978.
- 37 P. 165, il attribue à Hishām b. ^cAbd al-Malik le mérite d'avoir enlevé aux chrétiens, pour la construction de la mosquée d'ar-Ramla, des colonnes que ceux-ci gardaient pour la construction de leur église. P. 167, il déclare, à propos de Jérusalem, que les chrétiens y sont peu affablés; mais il est vrai que fihim peut se rapporter aux habitants de Jérusalem dans leur ensemble.
- 38 C'est la Sainte-Barbe (4 décembre).

Commerçants Palestiniens au Caire au XVIIIe Siècle

André Raymond

Les archives du tribunal religieux (**Mahkama**) du Caire contiennent un grand nombre de documents concernant les communautés nationales non égyptiennes (maghrébine, syrienne, turque) qui mettent en évidence le rôle important joué par membres de ces communautés dans l'activité économique de l'Égypte¹. Proportionnellement très nombreux dans le commerce et dans l'artisanat, ou on les trouvait aussi bien comme détaillants ou artisans du *sūk* comme grands négociants *tādjir/tudjar* en café et en épices, ces individus, venus de toutes les provinces du monde ottoman, témoignaient à la fois de l'importance des courants intérieurs à l'intérieur de l'Empire, et du rôle que jouait le Caire comme métropole commerciale (et en particulier comme centre de redistribution des produits importés d'Orient). Il est donc utile de procéder à l'étude de ces diverses communautés, tant en raison de l'intérêt qu'elle présente pour une meilleure connaissance de l'Égypte et des pays de l'Empire à l'époque ottomane, que pour les informations qu'elle nous donne sur les liens qui existaient, à cette époque, entre les pays musulmans situés sur le pourtour de la Méditerranée, liens qui devaient se distendre au XIXe siècle sous l'effet de la pénétration impérialiste, L'étude de la communauté palestinienne qui va suivre se situe dans ce cadre général.

L'étude des successions des Palestiniens, dans les archives du Mahkama du Caire, présente quelques difficultés particulières. Ce que nous appelons "Palestine" (c'est-à-dire les régions situées de part et d'autre du Jourdain) zone qui comprenait pour l'essentiel, à l'époque ottomane, les sandjaqs de 'Adjlūn, Naplouse (Nabulus), Jérusalem, Jaffa, Gazza et Ramla (Tous rattachés à la province/ vilayet de Damas 2-faisait partie de la "Syrie" *shām* qui englobait également le Liban et la Syrie actuelle. Les Palestiniens étaient souvent qualifiés de *shāmi* et confondus avec les syriens (originaires principalement de Damas et surtout d'Alep). Nous pouvons donc supposer qu'un certain nombre de Palestiniens figuraient dans les successions du Mahkama sous le nom de "shami". Nous n'avons naturellement tenu compte dans cette étude, que des individus qu'une *nisba* précise rattaché à des localités de Palestine: c'est-à-dire, d'après nos recherches dans les registres du Mahkama des, "kudsi Makdisi" (originaires de Jérusalem), "Gazzi" (originaires de GAZZA) "Nabulsi" (originaires de Naplouse/ Nabulus), "Ramli" (originaires de Ramla), Khalili" (Originaires de Khalil/Hebron), les seules *nisba* que nous ayons rencontrées dans nos documents. Il est donc certain qu'un certain nombre de Palestiniens nous ont échappé, au cours de recherches qui, de toute manière, ont eu un caractère très lacunaire.⁽³⁾

Le nombre des Palestiniens dont nous avons trouvé les successions dans les registres du Mahkama que nous avons depouillés est de quinze (de 1636 à 1797), auxquels s'ajoutent deux *tādjir* mentionnés par *Djabarti* s'agit d'un échantillonnage très limité: nos dépouillements dans les archives du Mahkama nous ont permis de relever 120 artisans et commerçants syriens. Pour la seule période 1776-1798, pendant laquelle nos dépouillements ont été continus, les chiffres sont de 31 artisans et commerçants syriens, et de 4 Palestiniens. Dans les deux cas la proportion est la même: un Palestinien pour huit Syriens ⁽⁴⁾.

Le nombre relativement faible des Palestiniens peut s'expliquer de plusieurs manières (le caractère non exhaustif de nos recherches dans les documents du Mahkama avant été relevé une fois pour toutes). Tout d'abord notre échantillonnage est évidemment défectueux. Nos recherches dans les *daftar* du Mahkama ont porté sur **successions**. Dans ces conditions sont surtout mentionnés, sauf exception, les individus qui étaient installés au Caire d'une manière durable et qui étaient donc susceptibles d'y mourir. Comme la Palestine était voisine de l'Égypte, beaucoup de marchands n'avaient au Caire qu'une installation provisoire et n'y résidaient que temporairement, le temps de régler leurs affaires, par exemple la vente de produits apportés par une caravane, jusqu'au départ d'une caravane avec laquelle ils emportaient des produits destinés à la vente dans leur ville d'origine. De fait des marchands dont nous avons relevé les noms avaient plusieurs installations simultanées qui témoignent d'une résidence seulement temporaire au Caire: le *sayyid* Radjab al-Kudsi, marchand de savon mort vers 1689, avait deux épouses, une au Caire et une à Jérusalem; des trois épouses du *sayyid* 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nābulsi, *tādjir* en café (n.7), une résidait au Caire et une à Naplouse. Cette situation réduisait naturellement la probabilité d'un décès au Caire. Il en allait tout autrement des Syriens et des Maghrebins qui étaient, en général, installés d'une manière plus exclusive au Caire, l'éloignement de leurs pays respectifs rendant plus difficile un va-et-vient régulier. Il y avait donc sans doute proportionnellement plus de Palestiniens au Caire que l'étude des successions ne le fait supposer.

Le deuxième raison du nombre relativement réduit des palestiniens au Caire, par rapport aux Syriens par exemple, tient naturellement à une différence dans l'activité des relations commerciales que ces deux régions entretenaient avec l'Égypte, et en fin de compte à une différence entre l'activité économique de la Palestine et de la Syrie. Moins peuplée que la Syrie (au début du xxe siècle, la Palestine comptait environ 900.000 h, contre 2.500.000 h en Syrie et au Liban, et probablement la moitié moins au début de XIXe siècle) (5), la Palestine ne comptait, à l'époque ottomane, que des villes d'importance moyenne: d'après A. Cohen et B. Lewis, ses quatre villes principales ne comptaient, au début du XVIe siècle, que de 5 à 6.000 h; W.D. Huttheroth et k. Abdulfattah attribuent (vers 1596) II. 390 h à Gazza, 8.431 à Jérusalem, 7.992 à Naplouse; Y. Ben-Arieh, enfin, donne les évaluations suivantes pour les principales villes de Palestine vers 1800: Jaffa, moins de 3.000h; Gazza, 8.000; Jérusalem de 8 à 10.000; Naplouse, de 7 à 8.000; Khalil, 5.000; Ramla, moins de

3.000; Acre, 8.000.⁽⁶⁾ Ces chiffres sont peut-être sous-estimés. Mais de toute manière aucune agglomération de Palestine ne pouvait se comparer, en importance, à des villes comme Alep et Damas dont la population, entre le début du XVIIe et la fin du XVIIIe siècle, 50 au 100.000 h. Et dans ces conditions la Palestine ne pouvait offrir la variété, et l'importance, des productions artisanales très spécialisées sur lesquelles reposait le commerce international, et qui étaient l'apanage des grandes agglomérations ou l'éventail des productions était largement déployé. Elle était aussi un marché de consommation moins important que la Syrie. Bien que le commerce avec l'Europe ne constitue qu'un indicateur de la vitalité économique des pays de l'Empire ottoman, la comparaison du rôle joué dans le négoce marseillais par la Palestine et la Syrie significative. R. Paris, dans **l'Histoire du Commerce de Marseille**, note la faiblesse du commerce européen en Palestine, par rapport à la Syrie et à l'Égypte voisines: il ne venait sur ces côtes qu'un vaisseau anglais par an; la France entretenait un simple vice-consul à Ramla, et n'était représenté dans le pays que par deux ou trois marchands au XVIIIe siècle. Jaffa n'avait qu'une activité maritime médiocre; Acre jouait un rôle plus considérable, mais était tournée vers la Syrie plus que vers l'Égypte. La Palestine ne réalisait donc qu'une partie réduite des sorties de la Syrie méridionale vers Marseille (1,8 millions de livres, contre 3,5 millions pour la région d'Alep en 1785) (7). Centre modeste de production et de consommation, la Palestine entretenait avec l'Égypte des relations commerciales beaucoup moins actives que celles que Damas et Alep entretenaient avec le Caire, D'où le nombre relativement réduit des commerçants Palestiniens au Caire. Sur ce point la situation des Palestiniens peut se comparer avec celle des Libanais (dont la présence au Caire était plus réduite encore).

Les commerçants Palestiniens que nous avons pu identifier étaient, comme il est naturel, originaires des principales villes de Palestine, avec lesquelles l'Égypte entretenait les relations économiques les plus actives. Les plus fréquemment mentionnées sont effectivement les plus importantes: cinq négociants étaient originaires de Jérusalem, quatre de Ghazza et autant de Naplouse. Loin derrière venaient les représentants de Ramla (deux et de Khalil (un seul)).

Les dépouillements que nous avons pu réaliser nous permettent également de préciser les principales activités de ces Palestiniens au Caire. Le commerce du savon intéressait sept d'entre eux, celui du café et des épices sept également, celui des tissus, six⁸. Notons tout d'abord que, contrairement aux Syriens, Maghrébins et Turcs qui résidaient au Caire, les Palestiniens n'exerçaient que des activités commerciales, à l'exclusion de toute activité artisanale: c'est un signe supplémentaire du caractère souvent provisoire de leur présence au Caire. Notons ensuite que les trois produits entre lesquels se partageait, à peu près également, l'activité des Palestiniens au Caire, faisaient l'objet d'un commerce international, dans lequel le Caire jouait le rôle de centre de transit; le café était importé du Yémen, et ensuite réexpédié vers les autres régions de l'Empire, ou les pays d'Europe; les tissus étaient largement redistribués à partir du Caire (tissus d'Orient, tissus européens, tissus égyptiens ou

syriens); le savon était importé principalement de Syrie et de Palestine et en partie réexporté.

Tout comme les Maghrébins (qui avaient un quasi monopole de la vente des étoffes *ahrima* ou des tarbouches) ou les Syriens et les Turcs (pour la vente du tabac), les commerçants palestiniens au Caire concentraient tout naturellement leur activité sur les produits qui provenaient de leur province d'origine, et en premier lieu sur le savon, ainsi qu'on vient de le voir. En effet si la fabrication du savon constituait une des principales activités d'Alep, elle était également très développée dans plusieurs centres de Palestine. Parmi les taxes existant à Jérusalem figure un droit sur les envois de savon en Egypte (*resmi-i ahmal-i sabun*), d'un montant annuel de 11.055 asprès en 1562-3; de même les registres de Khalil mentionnaient, parmi les taxes levées, le revenu de la fabrique de savon de la ville (qui était signalée comme abandonnée en 1553-4). Une exportation active de savon se faisait de Jérusalem et de Ramla vers l'Egypte, par Gazza, par voie maritime, mais surtout par caravanes terrestres, ainsi que l'indiquent plusieurs textes qui mentionnent expressément le savon parmi les produits transportés⁽¹⁰⁾. Ces informations sont relatives au XVIIe siècle mais tout indique que la production (et l'exportation) étaient actives encore au XVIIIe siècle. La *wakāla al-Sabūn*, ou se concentrait le commerce du savon au Caire et qui est localisée par la *Description de l'Egypte* en 343 F 5, dans le quartier de *Djamāliyya*, était surtout fréquentée par des Palestiniens. La corporation des *tudjār* en savon qui y avait son siège avait, elle aussi, un caractère palestinien très marqué: son cheikh était, en 1801, le *sayyid Ahmad al-Zaru* (n 17), originaire de *Khalīl*⁽¹¹⁾. Les *wakala* qui étaient mentionnées par ailleurs à propos de l'activité des marchands de savon (*sabban*), *wakala al-Mulla* (351 F 5), *wakala al-Shishini* (124 F 4/5), *wakala al-Kurdi* (vers F 5), *wakala al-Tuffah* (323 G 5)⁽¹²⁾, toutes situées dans le quartier de *Djamāliyya*, étaient presque toutes également liées aux Palestiniens. On peut supposer qu'une bonne partie des 1 000 à 1200 sacs de savon (valeur 13.200.000 paras) qui étaient importés chaque année de Syrie provenait de Palestine⁽¹³⁾.

Les commerçants palestiniens participaient également, d'une manière appréciable, au commerce de transit dont le Caire était le centre. Nous avons vu que le café était mentionné dans sept des successions, à égalité avec le savon. Trois des commerçants palestiniens mentionnés par le *Mahkama* étaient des *tājir* et se consacraient à l'importation du café du Yémen, via le Hedjaz et Suez (n 4, 6, et 7): al *Hadj 'Ali al-Ghazi* (n 4) était d'ailleurs mort au Yémen, au cours d'un des voyages que les *tudjār* effectuaient en Mer Rouge pour les besoins de leur négoce. Dans la succession d'*'Abd al-Ghani* (n 7) figurent des sommes importantes en espèces retrouvées à *Djudda* (108. 750 para) ou le défunt avait évidemment un comptoir. *Fakhr al-din al-Nabulsi* (n 6) était un commerçant important: ce que nous avons retrouvé de sa succession (un simple arrivage de 93 *furuq* de café, du Hedjaz, après sa mort), ne représente qu'une partie d'une succession qui devait être considérable. Au total, avec trois *tudjār*, le commerce palestinien ne prenait qu'une partie

modeste en grand commerce oriental du Caire puisque 283 tudjar ont été au total relevés par nous entre 1624 et 1798: mais sur ce total les Syriens eux-mêmes ne figurent que pour 20 tudjār et la proportion des Palestiniens par rapport aux Syriens (un tādjr pour sept Syriens) est, à peu de chose près conforme à celle que nous avons relevée plus haut.

En dehors de ces tudjar qui allaient le chercher sur les lieux de production, plusieurs négociants palestiniens consacraient leur activité au commerce du café et participaient donc au grand négoce international dont le Caire était le centre⁽¹⁴⁾. Cohen et Lewis signalent, pour le XVII^e siècle, des droits qui étaient levés à Ghazza sur les épices, arrivant via la Mecque et le Caire; ils en rélévent l'importance qui témoigne de la vitalité d'un trafic dans lequel le café prit ultérieurement la relevé des épices. A ce transit, s'ajoutait celui des produits africains qui arrivaient au Caire et passaient ensuite, par voie de terre, en Palestine et en Syrie: c'était en particulier le cas du commerce des esclaves, la Palestine servant de halte pour les marchands qui apportaient des esclaves noirs d'Égypte⁽¹⁵⁾

Pour ce qui concerne le commerce des tissus, troisième branche de l'activité des Palestiniens au Caire, nous supposons qu'il intéressait à la fois les produits de Palestine, qui étaient expédiés en Égypte, les produits égyptiens que l'on exportait vers la Palestine et la Syrie, et enfin les étoffes maghrébines et orientales qui transitaient par le Caire. Les mentions de tissus qui sont faites dans les successions des Palestiniens témoignent effectivement de cette diversité d'origines: tissus Palestiniens ou syriens (**bafta shami**: cotonnade syrienne; '**atiki**: toile de coton de Naplouse); tissus égyptiens (**mahallawiyya**, **warak asyuti**, **busut**); tissus importés d'Orient (**akmisha hindiyya**) ou d'Europe (**Djukh**). C'est encore Girard qui mentionne, parmi les importations en provenance de Syrie, la toile de coton de Naplouse ('**atki**'), 600 balles chaque année pour un montant de 10.200.000 paras.

Ce commerce entre la Palestine et l'Égypte se faisait pour l'essentiel par voie de terre, la plus commode, compte tenu de la contiguïté des deux provinces. Nous ne disposons pas de chiffres particuliers pour le trafic maritime entre Alexandrie et les ports de Palestine: il est compris dans le trafic avec la Syrie. Il était certainement très réduit puisque, pendant l'année 1786, on ne comptait, à Alexandrie, que cinq navires en provenance et à destination de l'ensemble de la Syrie (sur un total de 377 et 368 navires dont, à titre de comparaison, 18 et 30 navires pour la seule ville de Smyrne). Et en 1789, sur 158 et 156 navires turcs et grecs à l'importation et à l'exportation, on ne comptait que 4 et 2 navires pour la Syrie⁽¹⁶⁾. D'une manière générale on sait d'ailleurs que le trafic maritime à partir des ports de Palestine était assez réduit: même Jaffa, le port le plus actif de la région, avait une activité douanière inférieure à celle des étapes terrestres de Ghazza et Ramla⁽¹⁷⁾. C'était donc par les routes de caravanes terrestres qui passait l'essentiel du trafic commercial entre le Caire et les centres de Palestine. Compte tenu de la proximité de la Palestine il n'y avait pas une caravane unique mais un assez grand nombre de caravanes petites ou moyennes, de 100 à 200 chameaux chacune. La route la plus

fréquemment empruntée passait par Salihyya, al-'Aris, Ghazza, 'Asqalan ou Khalil. Les négociants à qui appartenait les marchandises, chargeaient un **wakil al-tudjar** du soin de les accompagner jusqu'au point de destination, le transport lui-même étant confié à des bedouins (souvent des membres de la tribu des Tarrābin) qui louaient les services de leurs chameaux⁽¹⁸⁾, Nos sources mentionnent un certain nombre de caravanes de ce genre⁽¹⁹⁾. Elles font également état des difficultés qui survenaient parfois en cours de route: pillage par des bédouins, ou simple retard qui pouvait suffire à provoquer au Caire une pénurie passagère de savon et son encherissement⁽¹⁸⁾. L'importance des droits prélevés à Gazza et à Ramla, à la fin du XVIe siècle (plus du double de ceux qui étaient prélevés à Safad) indique que la Palestine entretenait des relations particulièrement actives avec l'Égypte⁽²¹⁾

Dans le cadre de leur activité commerciale les marchands Palestiniens installés au Caire contrôlaient des affaires qui se déroulaient du Hedjaz à la Syri, ce qui les contraignait à de longs et périlleux déplacements dont leurs successions conservent parfois la trace: le hadj 'Ali al-Ghazzi (n4), qui était installé dans la wakala al-Bahar (mais dont la femme se trouvait alors à Ghazza) était mort au Yémen. Une double, ou une triple installation familiale pouvait rendre plus aisées ces inevitables migrations commerciales d'un centre à l'autre. Le sayyid Radjab al-Kudsi (n 2) avait une épouse au Caire et une à Jérusalem et ses enfants étaient pareillement partagés entre ces deux villes. Des épouses du sayyid 'Abd al-Ghani (n 7) une résidait au Caire et une autre à Naplouse Mais le problème technique qui se posait à ces négociants était sans doute plus fréquemment résolu par des associations avec des compatriotes, ou des parents, installés dans la province avec laquelle ils avaient des relations commerciales: c'est ainsi que le hadj Mustafa al-Ramli (n 16) avait une société (Shirka) avec Muhammad al-Dimashki pour des tissus et diverses marchandises. Par des transferts de fonds et de marchandises d'une place à l'autre, suivant une activité commerciale qui intéressait des produits très variés et se déroulait dans des centres très éloignés.

Dans leur implantation au Caire, les commercants Palestiniens donnent l'exemple d'une exceptionnelle concentration professionnelle et nationale dans la wakāla al-Sabun, caravansérail qui s'élevait tout près de la porte de Bab al-Nasr, au nord du Caire, dans le quartier de Djamaliyya dont le caractère "Syrien" était très marqué. Dès l'époque de Makrīzī (qui l'appelait wakāla kusun, du nom de l'emir qui l'avait construite) ce local abritait des commercants et des marchandises venus de syrie. A l'époque ottomane la wakāla prit le nom de al-Sābūn qui correspondait à son activité principale: 15 des 17 tudjar en savon que nous avons identifiés y avaient leur lieu de travail, et dix des quatorze palestiniens dont nous connaissons la localisation professionnelle. Les autres centres mentionnés à propos des Palestiniens ne jouaient qu'un rôle accessoire: w. al-Mulla (351-F 5), également Djamaliyya; suk Amir al-Djuyush (78 F 6); w. al-Bahar (31 k 7) et khān al-Hamzāwī (27 k 6) dans le quartier Bundukaniyyin.

Le lien qui existait entre les Palestiniens et la wakāla al-Sabūn s'exprime professionnellement par l'existence d'une corporation de métier des **sabbānīn** dont la wakāla était le centre; la liste de corporations dressée par les Français en 1801 mentionne une corporation des "marchands de savon qui sont dans laquelle dite **el-Saboun**" dont le cheikh était le négociant palestinien Ahmad al-Zaru, originaire de khalil, qui fut un des principaux tudjar de Caire à la fin du XVIIIe siècle (22). Il est très probable que la corporation, comme la wakāla, était à peu près totalement Palestinienne. Tout aussi significatif est le fait que, en 1140/1727-8, le grand marchand en savon Fakhr al-din al-Nabulsi construisit, dans la wakāla al-Sabun, une fontaine/sabil (23) dont les bénéficiaires principaux devaient être ses compatriotes palestiniens, et ses collègues sabbānīn.

Bien que le nombre des commerçants Palestiniens identifiés par nous soit relativement réduit il nous paraît intéressant de tenter d'évaluer l'importance moyenne de leurs successions. Le montant global des 15 successions relevées est de 3.145.416 paras, soit une moyenne par succession de 209.694 paras. Plus qu'à des chiffres globaux, concernant pour la plus grande part des Egyptiens dont l'éventail de fortunes était très largement ouvert, il nous paraît à nouveau utile de comparer ce chiffre à celui de la moyenne des successions des 120 Syriens shāmi que nous avons identifiés pour la même période de 1624-1798: cette moyenne est de 233.021 paras. Il semble donc que l'on puisse conclure que l'état de fortune des Palestiniens était très voisin de celui des Syriens. Nous ne disposons pas d'assez d'informations sur les Palestiniens pour qu'il nous soit possible d'aller plus loin dans l'analyse de ces chiffres, en dehors de la constatation que les situations matérielles de ces commerçants sont d'une extrême diversité, depuis 'Abdallah, de Ramla, modeste marchand de file(nll) avec sa succession de 692 paras, jusqu'au puissant tadjir en café et en savon Fakhr al-din al-Nabulsi (n6) (certainement plusieurs millions de paras). Notons cependant un phénomène qui, à nouveau, révèle un parallélisme certain entre la situation des syriens et celle des Palestiniens au Caire: de même que le XVIIIe siècle est marqué, pour la communauté syrienne au Caire, par l'essor des chrétiens qui apparaissent, de plus en plus nombreux, et de plus en plus riches, dans le commerce de l'Egypte, nous enregistrons l'apparition de chrétiens au sein de la communauté Palestinienne au Caire. Une seule succession, mais impressionnante, celle d'Andriya b. Fransis al-Nasrani al Kudsi tadjir en étoffes au khān al-Hamzāwi, caravansérail qui avait été investi, à partir du milieu du XVIIIe siècle, par les Syriens chrétiens. Les entreprises commerciales d'Andriya lui permirent même de s'introduire dans le grand commerce oriental, jusque la domaine réservé des tudjar musulmans; sa fortune, de 1.448.502 paras, faisait de lui l'égal des grands marchands de café et d'épices du Caire.

L'importance réelle de la communauté des commerçants palestiniens au Caire se lit, au XVIIIe siècle, à travers le destin d'une famille et d'un homme. Une famille, celle que fonde Fakhr al-din al-Nabulsi, fastueux tadjir en café et en savon, dont nous ne pouvons que deviner la puissance puisque les registre du Mahkama ne nous

donnent qu'une partie de sa succession. De ses deux fils Husain et Hasan, seul nous est connu le second, tadjir en café et en tissus, mort vers 1765 en laissant une fortune encore imposante (n°10). Mais Husain, comme les tudjār les plus puissants du Caire, eut un "mamelouk" qui, une fois affranchi, devint lui-même un commerçant à la wakāla al-sābūn (n°9). Et le sayyid Ahmad ibn Yusuf Fakhr al-dī que Muhammad 'Ali chargea, en 1816, d'installer une manufacture de savon, est peut-être à rattacher à cette dynastie de négociants en savon (25). Un homme: Ahmad al-Zaru, originaire de Khalil (n°17), un des principaux tudjar de la wakāla al-sabun, cheikh de la corporation des marchands de savon, qui fut membre du divan pendant la période de l'occupation, et joua un rôle de premier paln en 1800 et 1801, avant de mourir tragiquement en 1802 (26).

Bien que relativement peu nombreux, si on les compare aux Maghrébins, aux Syriens ou aux Turcs du Caire, les commerçants Palestiniens ne doivent donc pas être négligés. Leur communauté a joué, au XVIIIe siècle, un rôle appréciable dans l'activité économique du Caire et elle a contribué à consolider les liens qui unissaient la capitale de l'Egypte aux autres provinces de l'Empire.

Par ailleurs l'activité de ces commerçants doit être replacée dans le cadre de la présence au Caire de toute une communauté Palestinienne dont le rôle fut incontestablement important au XVIIIe siècle. Nous donnerons un seul exemple: c'est de Jérusalem que le cheikh Mustafā b. Kamāl al-din al-Bakri (1688-1749) inspira la réforme de la khalwatiyya égyptienne qui constitua un mouvement dont l'influence fut sans doute déterminante dans l'histoire religieuse et intellectuelle de l'Egypte de ce temps. Les relations commerciales qui unissaient encore étroitement les pays arabes entre eux fournissaient un support indispensable pour la diffusion de ces courants de pensée; les communautés de négociants installées dans les grandes villes jouaient un rôle utile de relais et contribuaient donc puissamment à renforcer l'unité culturelle et intellectuelle du monde arabe.

ANNEXE: LISTE DES COMMERÇANTS PALESTINIENS AU CAIRE

Référence	date	nom	Origine	activité	lieu de travail	Montant de la succession en paras constants
1 - M.Ar., v.34,256	1636	Nur al-din	Jérusalem	m. tissus	w.al-sabun	16.987
2 - M.Ask., v.82,430	1689	Radiab b. Ibrahim	Jérusalem	m. savon, café	w.al-sabun	14.655
3 - M.Ar., v.73,57	1700	- b. salih	Jérusalem	m. savon	w.a-sabun	54.385
4 - M.Ar., v.73,57	1700	'Ali	Gazza	m. café	w.al-Bahar	26.006
5 - M.Ask., v.123,172	1725	Musallah	Jérusalem	m. café	w.al-Mulla	11.983
6 - M.Ask., v.135,204	1733	Fakh al-din	Naplouse	m. savon, café	w.al-sabun	528.196 partiel
7 - M.Ask., v.136,342	1733	Abd al-Ghani	Naplouse	m. savon, café	w.al-sabun	432-595
8 - M.Ask., v.158,339	1749	Ibrahim	Naplouse	m. savon	w.al-sabun	105.116
9 - M.Ask., v.164,34	1752	Suwaïdan b.AA affranchi de Husain b. Fakhr al-din	m. savon		w.al-sabun	6.394
10- M.Ask., v.176,320	1765	Hasan b.Fakhr al-din	Naplouse	m. tissus, café	w.al-sabun	349.350
11- M.Ask., v.179,113	1799	'Abdallah	Ralma	m. de file		692
12- Gabarti, I,413	1774	Muhammad	Gazza			
13- M.Ask., v.297,95	1784	Mustafa	Gazza		w.al-sabun	25.888
14- M.Ar., v.127,101	1785	Andriya bn.Fran sis	Jérusalem	m. de tissus	han Hamzāwi	1.448.502
15- M.Ask., v.217,318	1791	Muhammad	Gazza	m. café, étoffes	suk Amir al- Djuyush	73.778
16- M.Ask., v.226,615	1797	Mustafa	Ralma	m. tissus		50.892
17- Gabarti	1802	Ahmad al-Zaru	Khalīl	m. savon	w.al-sabun	

Abreviations: Mahkama, suivi de l'indication de la section (Ar. = 'Arabiyya, Ask. = 'Askariyya) no du volume (v), et de la page.

w = wakals

M = Marchand

NOTES

- 1 Sur les archives du Mahkama au caire, voir A.RAYMOND, **Artisans et commerçants**, et D.chevallier, **Les Arabes par leurs archives**, Paris 1976, Au cours de nos recherches,nous n'avons dépouillé d'une manière systématique que les registres de cinq périodes: 1624-1639,1679-1700,1725-1730,1747-1756,1776-1798.
- 2 Voir Amnon Cohen,**Palestine in the XVIII th century**,Jérusalem, 1973:une partie de la Palestine était rattachée à la province/vilayet de Sidon, dont elle constituait les **nahiya** méridionaux.
- 3 **Artisans et commerçants**, XXII-XXIV.
- 4 Voir la liste donnée en annexe.
- 5 Antoine ABDEL NOUR, **Habitat et fonctions urbaines en Syrie**, thèse, Paris, 1979-101.
- 6 A.COHEN et B.LEWIS,**Population and Revenue in the towns of Palestine**, princeton, 1978; W.D. HUTTEROTH et k. ABDULFATTAH, **Historical Geography of Palestine**, Erlangen, 1977,45;Y.BEN-ARIEH, "The population of the large towns in palestine", dans**Studies on Palestine**, ed. M.Ma'oz,Jerusalem, 1975.
- 7 R.PARIS, **Histoire du Commerce de Marseille**, vol. v,393-400.
- 8 Le total de ces activités est superieur 17 parceque plusieurs des commerçant mentionnés étaient concernés par le commerce de plusieurs produits.
- 9 J.SAUVAGET,**Alep**, Paris, 1941,203.
- 10 A.COHEN et B.LEWIS,**Population**,55,63,96,113. Sur les caravanes voir par exemple: DJABARTI, 'Adjaib', de Bulak,III,,124,194,239; **Archives de la Guerre à Vincennes, Expédition d'Egypte, B 6 191,27-28 octobre 1799**.
- 11 **Artisans et commerçants**, 337-338,52d3.
- 12 **Ibid**, 338.
- 13 P.S.GIRARD, **Description de l'Etat Moderne, Mémoire sur l'Agriculture, l'Industrie et le Commerce de l'Egypte**,647-650.
- 14 sur le commerce du café voir **Artisans et Commerçants**, 131-149.
- 15 A.COHEN et B.LEWIS, **Population**, 56,59.
- 16 Affaires Etrangères, Paris, C.C.Caire, 25.Archives Nationales, Paris, C.C.Alexandrie, 114.
- 17 Cela apparait nettement sur la carte de Hutteroth et Abdulfattah (**Historical Geography**,94).
- 18 **Artisans et commerçants**, 172-173; P.S.GIRARD, **Mémoire**, 644,647,650;M.CLERGET, **Le Caire**,Le Caire, 1934,'II, 201-202.
- 19 par exemple la "caravane de Jérusalem" mentionnée par Thevenot, on 1658(**Voyages, Amsterdam, 1727, II, 559-560**) et par Jouvin de

- Rochefort, vers 1670(Le Voyageur, Paris, 1684, 61-63) Djabarti mentionne, en 1800 et 1801 des caravanes chargées de savon et de tabac (III,124,194): est avec la première qu'arriva en Egypte Sulaiman l'Alepin, qui allait assassiner Kleber, Voir aussi Vincennes, Expédition d'Egypte, B 6, 191, octobre 1799: arrivée de 'Abd al-Karim, de Khalil, avec 200 chameaux, chargés de savon et de tabac.
- 20 Par exemple en 1217/1802 Djabarti 'Adjaib, III, 239) Pillage d'une caravane en 1799 (Vincennes, Expédition d'Egypte, B 6 20, 24 mars 1799).
- 21 A.COHEN et B.LEWIS, **Population**, 55-59.
- 22 A.RAYMOND, "Une liste de corporations de métiers au Caire en 1801", **Arabica**, 1957.un document du Mahkama qualifié le sayyid Ahmad al-Zaru de "ra'is tudjar bi-wakālat al-sābun" (kisma 'askariyya, v. 228,p.203,8 janvier 1799).
- 23 AHMAD CELEBI, 'Awdah al-Ishārāt, éd. A.'Abd al-Rahim, Le Caire, 1978,532.
- 24 Rappelons que nous ne disposons pour la succession de Fakhr al-din al-Nabulsi que d'un chiffre partiel:la succession de cet important tadjir était évidemment d'un montant très supérieur, vraisemblablement plusieurs millions de paras.
- 25 Djabarti, 'Adja'ib, IV, 256.
- 26 Djabarti, Adja'ib III,15,1412,150.157,158,179-180,187,191,197,2d10. Vincennes, Expédition d'Egypte, B 6 32,5 et 7 octobre 1799;47,II juillet 1800;132,29 décembre 1800;64,5 mars 1801;65,25 mars 1801.Mahkama, Kisma 'askariyya, u.228,p.203, 8 janvier 1799.Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. arabes, 2455,**Recueil des séances du Divan, f.4.**

The Sinai Documents and the History of the Islamic World: State of the Art — Future Tasks

Hans Robert Roemer

I

In April, 1978, European newspapers¹ reported that two years earlier a certain number of icons and cases had been discovered in the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, and that the cases were filled with papyrus and parchment fragments of Biblical manuscripts from the fourth century, as well as books by Church Fathers, and liturgical writings and documents. As for the icons, they were said to reveal a technical procedure known to have been in use only until the fifth century. Concerning the contents of the written material, the reports only indicated the detection of eight pages missing in the Codex Sinaiticus discovered by Konstantin Tischendorf in 1844 and 1859. It was further reported that the Athens professor Agourides wrote to one of his Tübingen colleagues that during a visit to the St. Catherine Monastery he had been shown 47 cartons containing papyrus and parchment sheets or scraps belonging to the discovered material. At that time he had been allowed to closely examine some pieces thereof which turned out to be Biblical and liturgical texts, parts of which were in excellent condition.

We cannot exclude the fact that this find could prove to be a sensation for students of theology, church history and art history. But is this also true for Islamic history? So far, we have no positive indications, but neither do we have negative ones! Yet this is of no significance. The little we know was conveyed to us by theologians, and Tischendorf, also a **theologian**, does not seem to have taken an interest in the Arabic and Turkish documents which may well have come into his hand.

It was further reported that the Sinai monks themselves, under the guidance of Mr. Nikolopoulos, director of the manuscripts department at the Athens National Library, wanted to put the discovered material into order, to photograph it, and then to publish it later that year. I have not been able to determine whether or not such a publication was ever made.

In the near future it will most likely not be possible to obtain certainty about the relevance of this find to the history of Islam. But in the case of Sinai documents, we have already seen that the mills of the Orientalists grind slowly. Even though Tischendorf had published the Codex Sinaiticus as early as 1862, it took the learned world half a century to obtain information, and then only after a scientific expedition had been sent in 1914 by the Prussian Academy of Sciences to the Monastery of St. Catherine². To be sure, the photographic acquisitions of that expedition, which

included an impressive number of documents from Islamic periods, was lost for reasons related to the First World War. Nevertheless two expedition reports were published³, as well as an article with the reproduction of three documents⁴ together with information about Arabic and Turkish Sinai documents. Still, a whole generation had to pass before the investigation of these documents was given a solid basis.

II.

The credit for establishing this basis goes to the initiative of the "American Foundation Mount Sinai Expedition". In January 1950 they sent an expedition to St. Catherine Monastery which photographed a selection of manuscripts as well as all Arabic and Turkish documents available at that time⁵, a total of 1072 Arabic and 670 Turkish scrolls. With the deposition of the microfilms at the Library of Congress in Washington and other places, together with the publication of a catalogue for each collection by two Egyptian scholars, Murād Kāmil⁶ and Aziz Suryal Atiya⁷, in 1951 and 1955 respectively, research work on this material could finally begin. But again the Orientalists took their time. A few articles⁸ and an unpublished M. A. thesis⁹ were all they produced through these years regarding this sensational find, which offered them material that is in many ways unique.

A turning point took place in 1960. Almost simultaneously but independently from one another, Samuel Miklos Stern¹⁰, of Oxford University, and Hans Ernst,¹¹ in his Gottingen dissertation, gave a new impulse to the exploration of the Sinai Arabic documents. Ernst in his Ph. D. thesis dealt with a consistent and complete body of documents, and Stern produced a publication of a Fatimid decree of the year 1130, which he accompanied with a survey of the work done on the Sinai documents until then.

Hans Ernst can claim the indisputable merit of having given Islamic historiography not only the first publication of Sinai documents in book form, but also an insight into the structure and content of a more or less continuous and consecutive series of documents¹². This was the task that he set out to do, and this he accomplished. The fact that he did not produce such a monumental work as, for example, that of Ludwig Fekete about Ottoman documents in Hungary, is due first of all to the limited purpose normally set for an academic dissertation, i. e., for a beginners's work, secondly to the one-dimensional character of material largely confined in contents to the affairs of St. Catherine Monastery and its monks¹³, and finally to his inability to finance the publication of facsimiles¹⁴, which are commendable, it is true, for any edition of documents. The significance of his publication lies in the fact that the decrees he worked on—although issued by only twenty out of fifty Mamlūk sultans—are spread over almost the whole period of the Mamlūk reign, namely, over the years 658/1259. to 922/1516. This publication does not diminish in value even when, as has already happened¹⁵, a new exploration of the material could yield better results than those granted to their first editor.

The Fāṭimid decree published by Stern is significant above all as a forerunner of a book by the same author, which appeared four years later¹⁶. Containing all ten Fatimid royal decrees known until then, six of which were from the Sinai archives, this book establishes a firm foundation for our knowledge of the Fatimid chancery and may be considered a model for the methods and possibilities of Islamic diplomatics, which, in spite of scanty material, can lead to remarkable results¹⁷. Stern's book is a pioneering achievement, for it deals with the oldest original Islamic royal decrees presently known.

III.

In the case of Ayyūbid documents, work was also done simultaneously in two different places: by Samuel Miklos Stern at Oxford, and Horst- Adolf Hein at Freiburg¹⁸. To be sure, they are fewer than the Fāṭimid decrees. Yet all the more are the difficulties that the investigator has to overcome. Two of these documents were published by Stern in his contribution to a collection of chancery studies that he edited¹⁹. The rest are to be found in Hein's Freiburg doctoral dissertation, entitled "Contributions to Ayyūbid diplomatics". He places them in the context of an inventory of all Ayyūbid decrees known so far, even those which are available only through literary transmission, or in translation, mostly in Latin. He thus recovers sixty- four Ayyūbid pieces²⁰.

Not only Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultans are represented through their decrees at the Sinai Monastery, but Ottoman sultans as well, who are represented by an even greater number of pieces than those of other dynasties together. Their decrees are written mostly in Turkish, yet there are some in Arabic. The Turkish ones, numbering 207, were published²¹ in 1970 by Klaus Schwarz in a Freiburg doctoral dissertation: 14 pieces in full text, translation and facsimile, the rest in a chronologically ordered summaries. These documents spread over 350 years and represent all except one of the sultans who reigned through this period.

Another Freiburg author, Robert Humbsch, dealt with the Ottoman Sinai decrees written in Arabic and therefore not treated by Schwarz, namely, those decrees issued by Ottoman sultans or their representatives as well as by other Turkish officials. His book, published in 1976, contains 82 unpublished pieces²² all in Arabic transcription and German translation with facsimiles of fifteen selected samples. Five documents are firmans of Ottoman sultans, sixty-five were issued by Ottoman governors, and the remaining twelve by other officials. Similarly to Hein in the case of the Ayyūbid decrees, Humbsch has, for his Ottoman decrees, gone beyond the Sinai pieces and collected all other known Ottoman pieces dealing with Egypt. Besides those he published, he investigated ninety additional documents sent by the Sublime Porte to Egypt as well as 162 documents promulgated in Ottoman Egypt itself²³.

So much for the research done hitherto on the Sultan documents and the decrees of governors and other non-clerical dignitaries preserved in the Sinai collection.

IV

Before we turn to the significance of the Sinai state documents, let us take a look at their chronological distribution.

The oldest specimen is a firman by the Fāṭimid khalīfa ʿAbd al-Majīd issued in the year 1130, while the most recent one goes back to the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz issued in 1868. They are 383 pieces in all, 307 of which are royal documents spreading over 738 years in uneven distribution. Within the Fāṭimid documents, there is a lacuna of 18 years, between 1136 and 1154, while between the last Fāṭimid decree and the first Ayyūbid one, there is a gap of 26 years (1169-95); then between the Ayyūbid and the Malūk firmans the gap is almost half a century (121-59). Furthermore, in the richly documented Mamlūk period, there are some large lacunae (1727-85, 1292-1309, 1353-74, 1413-46), and even in the most recent group, the Ottoman, one finds one major interval of 18 years (1667-85). Otherwise, the lacunae do not extend beyond ten to twelve years (1474-85 1536-47, 1584-95, 1606-18, 1740-50. 1764-74, 1845-57).

On the other hand, and for the first time, there are two documents available for one and the same year, 1349. Then, in the following century, there are eight years which have more than one document (1466: three, 1467 and 1468: two for each, 1472: three, 1485, 1486, 1487, and 1488: two for each).

In the 16th century, the years with more than one document are fifteen, amongst which are the years 1506, 1536, 1567, 1538, 1595: each with four or five documents, 1504, 1505, 1508, 1512, 1517, 1525, and 1562: each with two, 1533, 1551, and 1584: each with three. The seventeenth century is less densely documented: only eight years have more than one decree (1625, 1640, 1650, and 1653: two for each, 1690 and 1691: three for each), and only for one year, 1605, there are five. In the 18th century, the number of the years with more than one document increases again, namely, seventeen years (1721, 1755, 1759, 1760, 1764, 1775, 1780, 1781, and 1792 have each two, 1777, 1786, and 1787: each three, 1776, 1784, 1790, 1795, and 1797: each four). However, none has more than four documents. In the 19th century, there are eleven years with more than one document. And the record is held by the year 1809, with eight pieces (1807, 1811, 1814, 1818, and 1844: each two, 1806, 1808, 1840, and 1841: each three, 1804 four pieces).

There are also periods, in which consecutive years have one or more documents: 1347-49, 1466-69, 1485-92, 1504-10, 1661-3, 1758-60, 1774-90, 1792-97, 1801-4, 1806-12, 1814-19, 1838-41, 1843-5).

The Sinai sultan decrees were usually issued in answer to applications by the beneficiaries, and mostly to their written petitions²⁵. Thus, originals of such peti-

tions are also found among the Sinai documents. Some of those are already published, namely pieces of the Fātimid²⁶, Ayyūbid²⁷ and Mamlūk²⁸ periods. These have proven to be particularly instructive concerning the historical as well as the economic state of affairs. In addition to these there also exist Ottoman pieces²⁹.

V.

Among the sources of historical research, original documents are the historian's choice morsels, the value of whose testimony is hardly surpassed except possibly by archeological evidence, mainly epigraphic and numismatic material. Whoever contests this principle will find it difficult to escape the reproach of making a virtue of necessity³⁰. The reason for this has been repeatedly and fully explained since Jean Mabillon's book, *De re diplomatica*, 1681. The history of the Orient makes no exception to this rule, a matter that has been emphasized often enough³¹. So there is no need to demonstrate the use and value of the official documents of the Sinai Monastery to which our discussion has been limited so far.

Still, the question remains as to what kind of historical information can be obtained from the Sinai documents. Apart from a few exceptions all specimens relate to the St. Catherine Monastery and its monks. No wonder then that their contents reflect only a limited section of historical events, namely those occurrences, facts and conditions that were relevant to the Monastery itself and to the interests of its residents. **We shall soon see whether, and if so, to what extent, that limitation impairs their value.**

This limitation of the contents of the documents was, of course, closely connected with the motives for preserving them and thus contributed to the above-mentioned continuity and relatively close succession of the available specimens. As a matter of fact the Sinai Monastery has preserved the biggest stock of Arabic royal decrees known so far. To be sure, the three most important depositories of Arabic documents in Cairo are said to contain much larger numbers, yet printed inventories are still lacking³². Thanks to their easy accessibility by means of microfilms³³, and to the already existing publications, of which some are provided with **excellent facsimiles**³⁴, one can regard the Sinai documents and especially the royal and governors' decrees as constituting a model of an archival collection for the Islamic Orient.

The inclusive character of the Sinai collection points out first of all their significance for the diplomatics of those dynasties from whose chanceries they emanate: **first, the state and court chanceries, then—insofar as governors' decrees have already been published— provincial chanceries.** The forms of the documents, will become clear in their external and internal structure inasmuch as they present some regularly repeated patterns. **Among** these are forms and formulae which, in the course of time and especially through transitions from one dynasty to the other, either remain the same or undergo some change. The disposition of the document's text and the marginal and verso notes reveal what was then current in chancery

practice and administrative routine. It is not difficult to prove this. In the case of all **the chanceries** in question it can easily be proven that the firmans and decrees issued for the Sinai monks were drawn up according to exactly the same principles adopted for the documents of other beneficiaries. Thus conclusions drawn from Sinai documents are valid for the diplomatics of the issuing chancery in general. Consequently, the Sinai material by itself proves to be first-class evidence to more than seven centuries of Islamic history and public administration.

Stern's fundamental research on Fātimid and Ayyūbid documents has in the meantime found a pendant in Humbsch's investigation into the Arabic documents of the sultans and governors of the Ottoman period. Humbsch was thereby able to base his investigation on previous works, mainly Stern's publications, as well as the inventories of characteristics, formulae, usages and rhetorical patterns that Ernst,³⁵Hein³⁶ and Schwarz³⁷ had compiled. He succeeded in filling many gaps which they had left open. As a specimen of his findings suffice it to mention here that there exist Sinai documents promulgated in Cairo bearing the royal emblem, the *tugra*, of Ottoman sultans who never set foot in the Nile valley. The reason for this remarkable fact may have been that either some of their representatives in Egypt were allowed to use blank-firmans with the *tugra*, or that they were entitled to use the royal emblem independently. Add to this the fact that such royal decrees of this type appear in Egypt especially in times of crises, as if to demonstrate the **authority and strength of the Ottoman sovereign**³⁸.

Apart from their diplomatic significance, the validity of the Sinai decrees as historical evidence has not always been fully **appreciated**. Of course, insofar as they had a public character, the documents were supposed to preserve or re-establish the rights of the monks, to prevent encroachment upon them, and to give them official protection and assistance. Yet, their value as sources is by no means exhausted in the apparent difficulties the monks had with every conceivable petty problem of everyday life, in greater or lesser incidents in their social relations with their Muslim neighbors, mainly Arab Bedouins, or in recurrent skirmishes with local or provincial officials. Of the highest significance for the student of Islam is this authentic documentation of the vicissitudes of a religious minority in a Muslim environment, a documentation covering many centuries. It illustrates, on the one hand, the various competences of the provincial government in Egypt, and on the other, those of the Ottoman central government. Granting and confirmation of privileges were the sultan's prerogative, whereas the governor was responsible for their execution, as well as for the prevention of encroachment upon the rights and titles granted by the sultan. Besides, there are in the decrees indications of cooperation between the monks and the government officials, so that the previous thesis of unbridgeable antagonism or even total confrontation between the two groups cannot be maintained³⁹.

By considering the value of the Sinai documents as sources for social and

economic history we touch, to some extent, upon the future tasks which this collection poses for Orientalists, and not only the historians among them. Surely, the hitherto published material, that is the Arabic royal and governors' decrees and those of the Turkish sultans, already gives information about the history of social and economic conditions, and one could think of a closer analysis of this material from the corresponding points of view. Yet, the already published pieces constitute only the smallest part of the collection, as can easily be seen from the above-mentioned numbers. Their full output can be obtained through such an analysis only when the unpublished documents are also investigated. Let's then take a glance at their character and contents.

The Sinai collection comprises manuscripts and scrolls. The manuscripts spread over twelve languages. The scrolls are only in Arabic and Turkish. Of foremost interest to the student of Islam are the Arabic Codices⁴⁰, 601 in number, of which 311 are available on microfilm. Of the scrolls, as already mentioned, there are 1072 in Arabic and 670 in Turkish. All Turkish scrolls and almost all Arabic ones, that is 1069, were filmed. We will later talk about the Arabic manuscripts. For the moment, we will continue to limit our discussion to the scrolls.

If one relies on the information provided by the learned authors, one may assume that the sovereign decrees of the Sinai-Collection, insofar as they are worth publishing, have all been included in the publications that have already appeared, even if the character of these publications is not totally uniform, and if in some cases, a reconsideration of the material may lead to new and better results.

Of the governors' decrees only the Ottoman ones have been dealt with hitherto, inasmuch as they are issued in Arabic, namely in the above-mentioned work of Robert Humbsch. Thus, they originate from the period of Ottoman sovereignty in Egypt. From the same period, however, there exist in the Sinai-Collection many governors' decrees written in Turkish⁴¹. These have not yet found their interpreter, although they seem worthy of a basic investigation, judging from indications concerning their contents available in the published Arabic decrees.

In addition to the official documents, i.e., Fātimid, Ayyūbid, Mamlūk, and Ottoman sovereign and governors' decrees and copies thereof, the Sinai-Collection preserves other administrative pieces, namely, legal opinions (fatawin)⁴² and administrative orders⁴³, both written in Arabic, as well as pieces in Turkish on legal matters⁴⁴. About the characteristics and contents of this archive material we know absolutely nothing except the categories given to them by the cataloguers, the issuing dates of some of them, and that, due to the large format attributed to them, some of them may contain long texts⁴⁵.

The situation is not different when it comes to non-official and non-administrative pieces, which are divided in many groups. Of particular interest among them are the procèsverbaux⁴⁶, the treaties⁴⁷, and the letters⁴⁸. Yet all these

categories do not constitute the largest group of the uninvestigated Sinai-documents. These are rather the hitherto unexamined "deeds", as they are called in the catalogues, i.e., "documents", or more precisely, "private documents". They are particularly numerous, more than 600 in number, and are found only among the Arabic scrolls. An indication for their scope and the vast information they are likely to contain is given by the fact that many of them are one meter long, even two meters and more. The oldest pieces originate from the year 1040, the most recent from the year 1894⁴⁹. As with the royal decrees, the documented periods are the Fātimid, the Ayyūbid, the Mamluk and the Ottoman, the two first mentioned even still less than in the case of the sultan and governors' decrees, namely, both together with only three pieces⁵⁰.

Any investigation of this group of documents must start out from Rudolf Veselys's masterly article⁵¹ on the diplomatics of Egyptian private documents in the late Middle Ages. Although the author does treat the Sinai documents, the problems that appear in these pieces may be similar to those he found in his investigation of the private documents of Cairo Collections⁵². From the contents of comparable Monastery archives it is easy to assume that the private documents of the Sinai Monastery concern mainly economic and social matters⁵³. An insight into such a collection is provided by the first volume of a publication of the private documents of the Armenian Monastery of Ecmiadzin, which are now preserved in the so called **Matenadaran, state archives for old manuscripts at the government of the Armenian Soviet Republic, in Erivan**⁵⁴. Likewise the Sinai-Collection could, to a great extent, consist of deeds of sale, from which one could form a picture of the economic conditions prevailing in that period, such as prices, ways of payment, perhaps also of salaries, above all of local administrative authorities and their customs.

VII

The Sinai documents not only possess great value as historical sources, in the broadest sense, but also as important linguistic evidence, especially for the history of the languages in which they are written, first of all, Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Those who have so far investigated these documents have usually been historians not linguists. They concerned themselves with the historically relevant data of the documents, and moreover with questions of the form and structure of their texts, in brief, questions of diplomatics. From the linguistic point of view, they were interested in the technical terms of chancery, diplomatics, administration and taxation, whereas problems of grammar and syntax, not to mention style, did not fall within their interest and were deemed worthy of only occasional remarks⁵⁵. What is required is a linguistic study by specialists in the field: an invitation to Arabists and Turcologists! For this purpose the already published material may be sufficient, possibly supplemented by microfilms of those documents which are not yet investigated.

Insofar as the Arabic manuscripts are concerned, the work could be undertaken together with linguistic investigation of the Arabic manuscripts of the Sinai Monastery. After all, of the 602 Arabic Codices, of which we know, there are 306 available on microfilm⁵⁶, among which there are translations from the Bible and other Christian texts⁵⁷. The oldest of these Arabic translations go back to the 9th and 10th centuries.

Now, the late Cairo Professor **Nurād Kāmil** (died in 1975) often told me of his long and thorough investigations into the Arabic Biblical material of the Sinai-Collection⁵⁸, from which he not only arrived at relevant theological and religious results, but also collected a great number of items important for a historical grammar of Arabic. On this subject he intended to report upon completion of his research. But his untimely death prevented him from doing so. Nevertheless, he had already completed his work on the Gospel and the Pentateuch and was just working on the Psalms when he died⁵⁹. Even without precise knowledge of Kāmil's manuscript one may say that a continuation of the work is not only possible but also necessary. In this work, it would be desirable to include the linguistic aspects of the Arabic documents.

If within the limits of this paper my statements had to be succinct the notes intended for print, and which you have been given, contain all the necessary reference to further specialized literature on this subject. One of the main tasks of this lecture was once more to draw the attention of the students of Arabic and Islamic history to this unusually rich treasure of primary source material. This material has already been the subject of several works, leading to considerable results, yet remaining far from being fully exploited. I have, therefore, emphasized those groups of documents that have been totally or partly neglected up till now, and I have presented some studies which may have not come to the attention of all scholars⁶⁰. Examples for future work are plenty, not only in the already published Sinai-documents, but also in books and articles about archive material connected with the history of Islamic peoples and preserved in other monastery archives and official collections.

Notes

- 1 Karl-Alfred Odin, "47 Kisten mit Fragmenten-Aufsehen erregende Handschrifted—und Ikonenfunde auf dem Sinai" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 3, 1978, and an AP report, "Deutsche Thrologen fordern Einsicht", in the same newspaper, April 28, 1978.
- 2 Since Archbishop Nektarios(+ 1676) used, among other sources, the Arabic and perhaps the Turkish Sinai documents to do research about his predecessors, the knowledge of the existence of these documents has apparently never been lost, be it through his work which later knew many reeditions and translations. "Epitome zur heiligen und weltlichen Geschichte" or through works partly based on it, cf. H.L.Rabino, "Le monastère de Sainte-Cathérine", le Caire, 1938, as well as Stern's article mentioned in footnote 10 below.
- 3 "Bericht des wissenschaftlichen Beamten Professor Karl Schmidt uber eine Forschungsreise nach dem Katharinen Kloster auf dem Sinai", *Sb. PAW* 1915, pp. 122-5, also Carl Schmidt and Bernhard Moritz, "Die Sinai-Expedition im Frühjahr 1914", *ib* 1926, VII, pp. 26-34.
- 4 Bernhard Moritz, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sinaiklosters im Mittelalter nach arabischen Quellen", *APAW* 1918, No. 4.
- 5 The first publication about the subject Kenneth :Clark, "The Microfilming Projects at Mount Sinai and Jerusalem", *The Library of Congress Journal*, vol. VIII/3(May 1951), pp. 6-11. Id., "Microfilming Manuscripts at Jerusalem and Mount Sinai", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 123 (October 1951), pp. 17-24. Id., Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery Mount Sinai, Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, Washington 1952. Id. "Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem", *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XVI(153); pp. 22-43.
- 6 *Fihrist Maktabat dayr Sānt Kātrīn bi-Ṭur Sīnā'*, Cairo: Idārat Ihyā'al-Turāth 'Arabī, 1951, 2 vols: al-Juz' al-Awwal, *Majmū'at al-Lughāt al-Sharqiyya* (al-'Arabiyya-al-Siryāniyya, al-Siryāniyya al-Faleṣṭīyya, al-ḤḤabashiyya, al-Fārisiyya, al-Qibṭiyya, al-Wathā'iq al-'Arabiyya, al-Wathā'iq al-Turkiyya); al-Juz' al-Thānī, *Majmū'at al-Lughāt al-Gharbiyya* (al-Tūnāniyya, al-Jurjiāniyya, al-Lātīniyya, al-Armaniyya, al-Būlūniyya). The American Sinai-Expedition did not photograph all the manuscripts and archive pieces of the St. Catherine Monastery. Yet Murād Kāmil believes that, apart from the material discovered in the meantime, he has included and registered all the available material in his

- catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970.
- 7 The Arab Manuscripts of Mount Sinai. A hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of St. Catherine Mount Sinai, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955.
 - 8 Murad Kāmil, "Die Handschriftensammlung des Sinai", Universitas, Heft 11 (November 1951), pp. 1175-9. Id., "Studia Aegyptiaca II: Les Manuscrits du Couvent Sainte Catherine au Sinai", Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam, Le Caire 1952, pp. 205-21. 'Aṭiya, "The Arabic Treasures of the Convent of Mount Sinai". Egypt society of Historical Studies. Proceedings. vol. II (1953). Ahmad Muḥammad 'Isā, "Makḥṭūṭāt Wa-Wathā'iq dayr Sānt Kātrīn," Majallat al-Jam'iyya al-Miṣriyya Li-al-Dirāsāt al-Tarīkhiyya, vol. V (1956), pp. 105-24. Roemer, "Über Urkunden zur Geschichte Ägyptens und Persiens in islamischer Zeit", ZDMG 107 (1957), pp. 519-38. Id. Documents et archives de l'Égypte islamique, MIDEO 5(1958), pp. 237-52.
 - 9 Elias Khedorio, Charters and Privileges granted by the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks to St. Catherine's Monastery of Tūr Sinai (ca. 500 to 900 A.H.), edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, University of Manchester 1958. The work's title is not very accurate, since it contains also three Ayyūbid pieces, namely those mentioned in 'Aṭiya, Hand-list, as numbers 11, 12, and 14.
 - 10 "A Fāṭimid Decree of the Year 524/1130", BSOAS XXIII (1960), pp. 440-55 and plate I-X.
 - 11 Die mamlukischen sultansukunden des Sinai-Klosters, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1960.
 - 12 In my article, "Ärabishe Herrscherurkunden aus Ägypten", OLZ LXL (1966), col. 325-43, I referred to Ernst's 72 (or rather 71) firmans, among the 127 Mamlūk decrees that were known until then. My list shows that in the Sinai-Collection there are original decrees of no less than twenty sultans belonging to that dynasty, that is of a thoroughly representative selection of the Mamlūks.
 - 13 Only very few royal decrees of the Sinai Archives are not related to the St. Catherine Monastery: cf. the work of Klaus Schwarz mentioned in note 20, pp. 3-5.
 - 14 One should not forget that Hans Ernst, then no more than a student presenting an examination, not only financed the edition of the book himself, but also personally put it into type.
 - 15 S.M.Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk Period (Notes on the Mamlūk Documents from Sinai)", BSOAS XXIX (1966), pp. 233-76.

- 16 Fātimid Decrees—Original Documents from the Fātimid Chancery, London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
- 17 Summarized and reviewed by J. Wansbrough, BSOAS XXVIII (1965), pp. 633-6.
- 18 Beiträge zur ayyubidischen Diplomatie, Freiburg: Schwarz 1971 (= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd 8).
- 19 "Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai", Documents from Islamic Chanceries (First Series) ed. S.M. Stern, Oxford: Cassirer 1965(= Oriental Studies III), pp. 10-38 and plates I-XIX.
- 20 Hein, Beiträge, pp. 22-6.
- 21 Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer sprache, Freiburg: Schwarz 1970(= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd 7).
- 22 Beiträge zur Geschichte des osmanischen Ägyptens-nach arabischen Sultans-und Statthalterurkunden des Sinai-Kolsters, Freiburg: Schwarz 1976 (= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd 39). If the date, 20th Dhu 1-qa'da, 631, given by Humsch to his document No. 1 (contrary to °Aṭiya No,140) is correct, then it can of course be an Ottoman piece. On the whole, it is to be noticed that in the following reflections we could not escape the inclusion of certain mistakes made by both cataloguers and other contributors. Such mistakes may have different reasons. A document could occasionally be wrongly classified, or two fragments belonging together may be counted as two sparate documents, or drafts and copies may be considered as fully valid documents.
- 23 In these figures pieces given by Feridūn Aḥmed, the Recueil, by Sékaly, or Rustum, Hayret Efendi or Talamas were neglected.
- 24 The Prophet's covenant for the Sinai Monastery listed by °Aṭiya, Handlist, Roll 1-5 and 961 and dealt with by Moritz in his above—mentioned "Beiträge,"(note 4), is attributed to a much earlier period and remains out of consideration.
- 25 Cf. Björkman. "Die Bitteschriften im dīwān al-inshā" **Der Islam** 18(1929), pp. 207-12.
- 26 Donald s. Richards, "Fātimid petition and 'small decree' from Sinai" **Israel Oriental studies** III (1973),pp. 140-58. For comparison, see also three documents not originating from Sinai, preserved in the Cambridge University Library apud Stern, "Three Petitions of the Fātimid Period", **Oriens** 15 (1962), pp. 172-209.
- 27 Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyūbid Period", BSOAS XXVII (1964), pp. 1-32.
- 28 Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk period (Notes on the Mamlūk Documents from Sinai)", BSOAS (1966), pp. 233-76, Richards, "A Mamlūk petition and report from the Dīwān al-Jaysh", BSOAS 40 (1977), pp. 1-14.

- 29 Murād Kāmil (1970, see note 6, above) presents (pp. 211 sq.) “Turkish”, hence surely Ottoman petitions under numbers 614,620,628,629,633,637, and 644.
- 30 J.R.Walsh, “The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavid Relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”, **Historians of the Middle East** (London 1962), pp. 197-211, stands up for narrative sources.
- 31 Cf. the chapter “Archives” in Cahen, Jean Sauvaget’s **Intorduction to the History of the Muslim East**, Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press 1965, pp. 16-21 in I have referred to it in another context, ZDMG 104 (1954), pp. 362-76, and ib. 107 (1957), pp. 519-38.
- 32 For public documents prior to the end of the 16th century preserved in Cairo, namely in the archives of the Ministry of Pious Endowments (al-Awqāf al-Miṣriyya, that of the court of personal legal affairs (al-Maḥkama li-’l-Aḥwal al-Shar‘iyya, previously al-Maḥkama al-Shar‘iyya) and that of the Egyptian National Library we have an estimation of 2000 pieces so far no printed register, ZDMG 107 (1957), p. 525.
- 33 For dealing with certain palaeographic and diplomatic questions which may not be answered on the basis of photographic reproductions, the originals are indispensable. I do not know, however, if these originals are made available for scholars who take the trouble of going there.
- 34 There are excellent facsimiles in ‘Aṭiya’s Hand-list as well as in the above-mentioned works of Stern and Richards. Even those reproduced by Schwarz and Hein, though of lesser quality are still useful. Special mention should be made here of Aḥmad Muḥammad ‘Isā’s enlarged reproductions of signatures or emblems of eleven sultans (cf. his above-mentioned article, note 8).
- 35 Die mamlukischen sultansurkunden, pp. xxiii-xxxix.
- 36 Beiträge zur ayyubidischen Diplomatie, esp. pp. 27-39.
- 37 Osmanische sultansurkunden, pp. 104-17.
- 38 Beiträge zur Geschichte des osmanischen Ägyptens, pp. 58-76.
- 39 Ib., pp. 150 sqq., 160 sq.
- 40 The following(?) details can be found in Murād Kāmil’s catalogue. But his statements, sometimes cryptically formulated, leave many questions unanswered, for instance that of the relation of certain manuscripts to printed texts mentioned in the catalogue. There seems to be no Turkish manuscripts, apart from the scrolls. “The Persian Collection” (catalogue, p. 145) is an exaggeration: It consists only of a single manuscript from the year 1470. namely Sa’dī’s Gulistān.
- 41 These could be the ones mentioned in Kāmil’s Catalogue, pp. 208-10, Nos. 380-540, that is 163 pieces. For the Turkish documents Kāmil gives no issuing dates neither in the catalogue nor in the Fihrist, but the library numbers and the formats, following the serial numbers he provides.

- 42 °Aṭiya, Hand-list, p. 37, Roll Nos. 225-236, pp. 75 sq. Roll Nos. 975-998. Kāmil, Catalogue. p. 172, Nos. 267-279.
- 43 °Aṭiya, Hand-list. p. 69, Roll Nos. 585-868. Kāmil, Cataogue, p. 198. Nos. 956-968.
- 44 Kāmil, Catalogue. pp. 210 sq. Nos. 548-589. °Aṭiya, Hand-list, p. 80, Nos. 549-607 (only summary).
- 45 Some less illustrated type of documents, such as current affairs, proclamations, inventories, accounts, bills, receipts, etc., remain here out of consideration.
- 46 °Aṭiya, Hand-list, pp. 67 aq. Roll Nos. 825-857, p. 79. Roll Nos. 1045-1049. Kāmil, Catalogue, pp. 197 sq., Nos. 920-955.
- 47 °Aṭiya, Hand-list, pp. 35 sqq. Roll Nos. 185-224. Kāmil, Catalogue, pp. 169-72, Nos. 200-266.
- 48 °Aṭiya, Hand-list, pp. 70 sqq., Roll Nos. 892-932, p. 79, Roll Nos . 1050-1057. Kāmil, Catalogue, p. 200 Nos, 992-1040.
- 49 °Aṭiya, Hand-list, pp. 37-67, Roll Nos. 237-842, p. 76, Roll Nos. 999-10444. Kāmil, Catalogue, pp. 172-69, Nos. 280-919. In any event, the Turkish written pieces dealing with legal matters (cf. note 44) which are summarized in °Aṭiya, Hand-list, p. 80. Nos. 549-609 and given in detail in Kāmil, Catalogue, pp. 210 sq., Nos. 548-589 could belong to this category.
- 50 From the Mamlūk period onward, these documents are distributed in the following manner: 13th century—7, 14th century—3, 15th century—67, 16th century—52 pieces.
- 51 “Die Hauptprobelme der Diplomatie arabischer Privaturkunden aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten”, *Archiv Orientalni* 40 (1972), pp. 312-43.
- 52 They originate from the archives of the Ministry of Pious Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf), the archives of the court of personal Affairs (Mahhkamat al-aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya), and from the Egyptian National library (Dār al-kutub al-miṣṣriya).
- 53 Roemer, “Christliche klosterarchive in der islamischen Welt”. Der orient in der Forschung-Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Hoenerbach, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 543-56.
- 54 A.D. Papazjan, *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana II, Kup'cie, Vypusk pervyj (XIV-XVI vv.) Eriwan* 1968.
- 55 Even such a fundamental study as that of Humbsch, *Beiträge*, which contains (pp. 98-114) an instructive chapter about “the relationship of Arabic and Turkish in the Chancery customs of Ottoman Egypt”, says nothing about the linguistic characteristics of the investigated documentary texts.
- 56 °Aṭiya, Hand-list p. XXII.

- 57 The Arabic translations refer to the old and New Testaments, Liturgica, Lectionaries of the Prophets, Gospel commentaries, sayings of the Fathers, discourses and mimars, lives of the Saints, Martyrologies, Church history, etc.
- 58 It is a question of a project sponsored by the German Research Association and entitled "Arabic Biblical Manuscripts". This project was not mentioned by K.S.Kolta in his obituary notice, "Murād Kāmil (1907-1975)", ZDMG 127 (1977), pp. 6-8. Kolta mentions "the last unfinished work" of Murād Kāmil, namely "a critical edition of the Syriac Bible". About this I have no information.
- 59 Information conveyed in a letter, August 25. 1979, by Professor Dr. Alexander Böhlig (Tübingen). Professor Böhlig is willing to care for the final redaction the posthumous manuscript, but not before co-ordination with the work being done at Louvain, which concerns "apparently at least parts of this Arabic Bible".
- 60 In their article, "A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Ḥaram al-Sharīf", *Arabica* XXV (1978), pp. 282-91, Linda S.Northrup and Amal A. Abul-Ḥajj do not mention Murād Kāmil's Catalogue (see supra, n. 8), nor the publications of Hein (supra, n. 18) and Humbsch (supra, n.22). nor my article, "Arabische Herrscherurkunden aus Ägypten", *OLZ* (1966), cols, 325-43.

**“Formless Glow”:
Palestine in the Travel Books of Some 19th
Century Anglo-American Travelers
to the Levant**

Issam Safady

The objective of this paper is to depict the main features of Palestine as some British and American travelers to the Levant saw it. It is based on an examination of travel books written by five nineteenth-century Anglo-American travelers to this part of the world. The choice, both in terms of number of books and historical period, is based on the current availability of highly regarded travel books. Each traveler tries to give an account of his personal experience of travel in the Holy Land: the places of interest, religious or otherwise, that he visits, the people he comes in touch with, and the way or ways of life that prevail in the country. All these points are related, by way of comparison or contrast, to the Holy Scripture first and mainly; they are related also, but only occasionally, to the West and its way of life. For the purpose of this paper, the scrutiny of these travel books will be centered on and limited to the comments made by the authors on Palestine and its people. I suggest that the picture they draw of the country and its people is one which shows their bewilderment. As Christians, even in the broadest sense of the word, they were brought up to idealize Palestine, to conceive it as the land of God, the setting of miracles. This religious picture acquires further romantic, but not religious, touches bestowed upon it by the fact that Palestine is part of the East, the land of every color of mystery and adventure. Such a portrait is, to use a popular expression, too good to be true. When our travelers actually visit the country, the dream, unlike Adam's, is dispelled. Now that the dream is dispelled, the country is a poor, backward one inhabited by people who can be easily labelled, not necessarily from a religious point of view, “enemies;” it is governed by a corrupt, hostile government. Worse, the travelers find that even the Christianity prevalent in Palestine is repulsive to them. Thus they are left with one alternative: to fall back upon the dream, the illusion of Palestine they had had before they came to the country. Consequently, they attempt to search the country for present traces that invoke the remote past. If what I suggest is correct, then there is a degree of non-objectivity inherent in the attitude of our travelers. Their travel accounts are marked by constant oscillation between the reality of the country and its dispelled illusion; no wonder that they tend to ignore considerable sectors of the country and its way of life because such sectors do not bring to life an image or event recorded in the Bible.

The Palestine our authors came all the way to visit is part of the Muslim East. As such, to Western travelers, it is a country of "splendor and havoc"¹ in contrast with modern Europe and America. This quotation supports my contention that the basic attitude of the authors towards the East is one of bewilderment. It is neither absolute admiration nor total denunciation. The land of havoc is one in which you can enjoy freedom "from the stale civilization of Europe" (K, 15). It is the "shinning orient" (K, 30). This reaction of a European to the East is neither an individual peculiarity nor is it new: "There is a longing for the East, very commonly felt by proud people when goaded by sorrow" (K, 69). Like nature for the great Romantics, then, the orient has a healing power. Evidently, what the authors under discussion say about Palestine and its people applies, to a certain degree, to the I evant and the Levantines. As a matter of fact, the larger frame in which they place the country is the East and even the Orient in general; and it is with the West, in equally general terms, that they contrast it.

Palestine, as part of the East, is a country of splendour and havoc. Yet it has its own special features. Here appears the Christian element. It is "a land consecrated by one life [Christ's] to universal and eternal interest," and that one life is always and everywhere present in Palestine. Its presence is not slight or superficial; "it informs the landscape with inexpressible pathos."² What endears Palestine more to the hearts of our travelers is a romantic strain cherished particularly by the American authors (who are more romantic than their British counterparts). Witness what Curtis says upon his departure: "The solemnity and sadness of the landscape oppressed us with their reality. For the traveler must still feel that if the Lord once especially loved the land, it has now only the bitter memory, not the radiant presence of the favor" (C.212)

Curtis points out a human tendency familiar to most of us: associating great events of history with noble landscapes, thus asserting the harmony between nature and man (C, 221). The relevant great events in this case are biblical, of both the Old Testament and the New. The array of such events which took place in Palestine is endless: the land reveals its treasure of sacred scriptural sites to the eager eyes of the travelers: the tomb of Moses, Jacob's well, the fields where shepherd boy David roamed with his herds, the port through which came the material for Solomon's temple, and so on. Equally rich is Palestine with those sites and scenes related to the life of Christ and his disciples, and our authors were particularly anxious to see these: his birthplace as well as his sepulchre, the well where he proclaimed the abolition of all local and sectional observances and the universal abolition of all local and sectional observances and the universal adoration of the common Father "in spirit and in truth," the tree from whose thorns which his crown was made, and the home where Virgin Mary lived.

Those sites, whether associated with the Old or the New Testament, do not make the only bond between traveler and land. The Crusaders, kings and hosts, come to

life in the imagination of the travelers at every place of battle, siege, triumph or defeat. And it is in this connection that the comments of the travelers betray bias and even bitterness. Actually, they seem to consider themselves another wave of the crusaders. "Here we strike the main road from Jaffa, on the coast, to Jerusalem. It was a high-road of the Crusaders in old times, and of Christian pilgrims now" (C, 138). A consequence of such identification is bitterness and vindictiveness: "You remember with savage satisfaction the Crusaders riding breast deep in Muslim gore" (C, 136).

Such is the idea of Palestine as the travelers conceived it. According to what I stated earlier, it is a picture derived from sources of non-reality. And this is the basis, the foreground of Palestine's portrait. On the other hand, the real land, with its solid geographical configurations and features, is also visible in the travel books under discussion. Let us have a look at it.

Apart from the desert and the desolate wilderness, the soil of Palestine, according to our travelers, is rich and fertile. There are particular references to places such as the charming orchards of Nablous, Sharon plains (where the best tobacco is produced) (T, 25), Cape Nakhura and plain of Esdraelon (T,39), the immense olive trees planted by the Romans in the groves at the foot of Mt. Carmel (T, 41-42). Noted also was the rich and cultivated Galilee where olives, oaks, and pomegranates grew (C, 225). In the extensive gardens of Jaffa and its neighborhood, the travelers saw various kinds of trees: fig, olive, citron, palm and pomegranate (T, 47). Impressed by the fertility and cultivation of the soil, Bartlett wrote, in a flashback, that the Jordan valley was an extraordinarily fertile land down to the times of the Crusaders (B, 6). Bayard Taylor, who seems to be observant of agriculture, describes cultivation as most patient and thorough (T, 91); he admiringly describes how some farmers combined in one operation both processes of ploughing and sowing the grain (T, 49). Even the upland ridge or watershed of Palestine is cultivated around Jerusalem and gives good return (T, 62). Those parts of Palestine, so generally described as desolate, were "so covered with wild shrubs-in some places even with rows of olive trees," (T, 53).

It is clear, then, that the travelers admit that the soil is fertile and that it is diligently cultivated. But even in this we notice the religious bias of these travelers who are not exactly religious. What the soil needs is to be put into Christian hands (T, 52) and that is sufficient to make milk and honey run through its rivers. Once again, one can descry the Crusader disguised as traveler, the traveler wearing the mantle and the mentality of the Crusader. Furthermore, our travelers are seeking traces of the land of the Bible, and that land is evoked when they see shepherds and herds (B, 14). The plough, the camel, and the donkey provoke associations with Patriarchal times. Many a scene is described as a truly biblical picture (T, 96). They even lament departures from their biblical vision.

If Palestine, as a country, was consecrated by Christ to eternal interest,

Jerusalem, in particular, was the center of the country. It was considered the center of the whole world. "A great impression prevailed among the ancients that Jerusalem was the centre of the world; and though, with our knowledge of the rotundity of the earth, this conception might want exactitude, placing ourselves in the position of the ancients, it would be found to contain important truth. With the distance from Ararat to Suez as a radius, let a circle be drawn, and the intended space would be found to comprise the most civilized nations of antiquity" (B, 3-4).

The centrality of Jerusalem is not a mere geographical position. Our travelers are educated Americans and Englishmen, and they put the city in the right perspective. "Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem—the physical, the intellectual, and the moral, do we long doubt which is the greatest? The art of Greece is still supreme. The Empire of Rome has never been rivalled. But the spirit which has inspired Art with a sentiment profounder than the Greek—the Faith which has held sway subtler and more universal than the Roman—are they not the spirit and the faith that make Jerusalem, El Khuds or the holy, because they were best illustrated and taught by a life whose influence commenced here?" (C, 145-46).

Jerusalem and the reaction of the travelers to it is important for the purposes of this paper since that reaction illustrates my thesis. Visiting Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, has always been the dream of our authors. As they approach it, their expectations are so dramatically heightened (and idealization is the essence of the heightening process) that nothing on earth, not even Jerusalem, can measure up to those expectations. Two examples should suffice.

First, Curtis. "I passed rapidly over this lofty, breezy table-land, with an **inconceivable ardor of expectation**. Often the pinnacles and shining points of rock upon a distant hill-side, startled me with a doubt that I saw Jerusalem, and at every change in the landscape I paused and searched the mountainous desolation to distinguish the city. But the majestic play of morning vapors with the sun and the mountains, mocked the scrutiny of the longing traveler, and gradually inspired a **statelier hope**. As I passed more slowly along the hills, the words of the psalm suddenly rang through my mind, like a sublime organ peal through a hushed cathedral. 'Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is mount Zion, on the sides of the North, the city of the Great King---' They passed, but in their stead arose an **imperial vision**. Through the stupendous vista of rocky mountain sides, I should behold the joy of the whole earth lifted upon a lofty hill, flashing with the massive splendor of towers, and domes, and battlements, darkened by the solemn sadness of cypresses, and graceful with palms. The delicate outlines of hanging gardens, of marble terraces and balconies, and airy pavilions, should cluster within. Triumphant bursts of music, 'with trumpets, also, and shawms, and the chime of the bells harmonious with the soft acclaim of friendly voices should breathe and pulse from the magnificent metropolis, and preach, more winningly than John, in the wilderness of Judea. In the summer of that Syrian noon, this was the spectacle I

thought to see, the majesty of associations manifested in the city . And as I knew it nearer, I walked more slowly dreaming that dream... In the imminent certainty, the eagerness of expectation was passed. "(C, 153-54). No wonder that the reaction to the real Jerusalem, upon seeing it first, is toned down and subdued. "There was a low line of wall, a minaret, a black dome, a few roofs, and in the midst a group of dark, slender cypresses, and olives, and palms." (C, 154-55).

Secondly, Taylor. "I watched the evening fade away over the blue hills before us, and tried to convince myself that I should reach Jerusalem on the morrow. Reason said: 'You certainly will!'—but to Faith the Holy City was as far off as ever. Was it possible that I was in Judea? Was this the Holy Land of the Crusade, the soil hallowed by the feet of Christ and his Apostles? I must believe it. Yet it seemed once that if I ever trod that earth, then beneath my feet, there would be thenceforth a consecration in my life, a holy essence, a purer inspiration on the lips, a surer faith in the heart. And because I was not other than I had been, I half doubted whether it was the Palestine of my dreams." (T, 51). This is the author's meditation on the eve of his arrival to Jerusalem. When he is really there, "indeed, for one brief moment, I knew that I was in Palestine; that I saw Mount Olives and Mount Zion; and—I know not how it was—my sight grew weak, and all objects trembled and wavered in a watery film. Since I arrived, I have looked down upon the city from the Mount Olives, and up to it from the valley of Jehosaphat; but I cannot restore the illusion of that first view." (T, 58).

Such highly dramatized expectations and the inability of the the authors themselves to believe that they are really and physically in Jerusalem, as they are eloquently illustrated in the two quotations, illustrate what I mean by the bewilderment of the travelers about Palestine and Jerusalem, the constant oscillation between the poles of reality and illusion. That is quite understandable, however. Once the dream, the illusion, is dispelled, Jerusalem is nothing but houses and shops, gardens and desolate areas, sacred sites whose authenticity is questioned, and, worst of all, a version of Christianity most of our travelers considered repulsive (B,188;C,165,182;K,126-27,Crn, 230ff.)⁴.

Though Jerusalem was the Mecca of our authors, it was not the only town they desired to visit; and Palestine offered them more than one town of interest. Almost every town was the scene of some biblical event or occasion. It is not the purpose of this paper to give an account of those towns as the travelers saw them. The pattern of their visits to the various towns and villages is the same as that of their visit to Jerusalem. They start by describing the general, panoramic view of the town or village; this usually includes a geographical description of area, its configurations and features, the kind of its soil and agricultural products. Of course, our authors include accounts of the places which interest them as well as their comments on those places and their authenticity, using the Bible as a reference. A visit to the bazaars and reports on what they see there are quite in order. But the population does not seem to be a special source of interest. The people of Palestine, as a people,

are conspicuously absent from the travel books we are dealing with. Some individuals gain interest when, as part of a scene, they happen, by their attire, action, or conduct, to create in the traveler's mind some biblical association. Hence the interest with which they view women grinding grain between stones (C,241); women with water-jugs on their heads; herd-boys giving their flocks of black goats drinks in large wooden bowls (T,98); passers-by relaxing in the shade of trees where Jesus used to retire with his disciples (B,156). The climax of such a tendency in viewing the people of this land is a scene which illustrates the powerful work of the romantic imagination and the eagerly willing suspension of disbelief. In his first evening in Jerusalem, Taylor's eyes met those of Christ. (Actually the eyes of an individual which resembled those of Jesus.) "During the moment that I saw him, he was to me a revelation of the Savior. There are still miracles in the Land of Judah" (T,81-82).

I have attempted, in the previous part of this paper, to demonstrate that the Levant causes a reaction of bewilderment among our travelers; I shall try, in this part, to show that the Levantines cause the same reaction. Let me start by emphasizing what I said before, that the people of Palestine, as a people, are absent from these travel books. The portrait of that people which I shall present next is based on the remarks and comments which our authors make on those individuals they observe at a distance or come in actual contact with. It is based also on the generalizations they make about the people of the East. These people are different from people in the West, and their difference is seen in the larger context of the contrast between the East and the West. The travelers naturally considered themselves not only the inheritors of the great European past, with the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome, but also the proud, triumphant achievers of modernism and the Industrial Revolution. Theirs is the active, creative mind. In contrast with that, the Asiatic East is merely a "mental mummy" (K,54). Mental mummies are superstitious and believers in magic (K,167). Even the magic they believe in is of the cheapest kind. "A man in England, who gained his whole livelihood as a conjuror, would soon be starved to death if he could perform no better miracles than those which are wrought with so much effect in Syria and Egypt" (K,83). Ignorance is another characteristic of mental mummies. Among the Arabs there are those who are so ignorant that they are unaware of the divisions of time (K,151). Others are so ignorant of nature and life around them that they believe that lions, the kings of the forest, live in the desert (K,197). Ignorance is also betrayed by the explanation the orientals give of the Western traveler's motivation in visiting Palestine. "The theory is that the English traveler has committed some sin against God and his conscience, and that for this the evil spirit has hold of him, and drives him from his home like a victim of the old Grecian furies, and forces him to travel over countries far and strange, and most chiefly over deserts and desolate places, and to stand upon the ruins of cities that once were, and are now no more, and to grope among the tombs of dead men" (K,147). It is hardly needed to point out that what the author denounces as ignorance is not ignorance at all; otherwise, it would be a characteristic of ancient Greeks, whom the author would, under no circumstances whatsoever,

describe as ignorant. Such people who are mental mummies, superstitious, ignorant of life and nature around them must lack foresight (K, 198-99).

The oriental mind is submissive. 'It is certain that in Eastern countries hate and veneration are very commonly felt for the same object' (K,79). On a different occasion, the same author asserts: "The Asiatic seems to be animated with a feeling of profound respect, almost bordering upon affection, for those who have done him any bold and violent wrong; and there is always, too, so much of vague and undefined apprehension mixed up with his really well-founded alarms, that I can see no limit to the yielding and bending of his mind when it is worked upon by the idea of power"(K,113). In the latter statement the author is obviously attempting to see the psychological roots of the phenomenon; and as the roots are psychological, not external, this weakness in the oriental mind can be manipulated to no end. Perhaps this idea determined the way the East was subjected to the West in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Kinglake supports his generalization by actual examples from his own experience with Arabs on both banks of the Jordan. He and his company needed the help of bedouins in crossing the river at a point where the current did not allow easy passage for persons and baggage. They refused to help him. When they realised that he was, according to his claim, a friend of Ibrahim Pasha and that he would give them a written testimony of their good conduct towards him, they rushed to help him. This is not very unusual. But what drew the author's attention was the reason which the Sheik gave for the great respect he and his tribe entertained for the Pasha. It is as follows: the Pasha once sent a body of his troops across the river to the encampment of the tribe; the troops carried off all their possessions and then shot the former sheik together with every tenth man of the tribe. Respect and affection followed (K,113-15).

This alleged submissiveness of the oriental mind, with its roots in the psyche, is different from the usual fear of power or of government felt among people. The governor of Gaza's attitude was similar to that of the bedouins mentioned above (K,210). Yet another governor had for the English people a high degree of "affection and respect" because the captain of an English ship, threatened to destroy the whole place when the governor refused to give him and his men drinking water (K,192-93).

It is interesting to notice that Kinglake relates a new and "unwonted readiness in the Asiatic to succumb to the European" to the submissiveness he attributes to the oriental mind. This new readiness is general; Bartlett, too, observed it (B,13). The relation between the East and the West in the period before and after these words were written shows that the West, officially and culturally, considered the East submissive. One wonders whether this alleged submissiveness is the opening through which Western ideas and the Western way (s) of life marched into the East!

The third quality of the orientals, Palestinians or otherwise, is their fatalism, which is closely related to being mental mummy and submissive. What puzzles the

Western traveler about this quality is that the oriental is particularly proud of his fatalism and of his repudiation of the European idea that the will of God can be eluded (K,159). Kinglake gives a concrete example, taken from his own experience, of the difference between oriental fatalism and European defiance of fate; he notices the contrast of conduct of both parties during the plague (K,159-60). Whereas the Europeans took all sorts of precautions, the orientals ignored such precautions as well as the plague itself. The irony is that the author himself ended up by adopting the oriental conduct, in this matter, knowing how grave the consequences might be. (This is another instance of the bewilderment of the Western traveler in the Levant). This fatalism is considered the most essential quality of the oriental mind.

In my discussion of oriental fatalism, I referred to the pride of the orientals in connection with that quality. Pride itself, however, is another characteristic of the oriental frequently noted by our travelers. Those who observed the quality wondered as to the reasons of that pride. Here we have a telling example of cultural difference or shock. The Western traveler, educated, capable of financing a visit to such a distant country, and actually undertaking it, seems to be curious about the reason why an individual so poor and ignorant is so proud. The assumption in which this attitude is rooted seems to be that pride needs justification, an achievement (mainly material) which qualifies an individual to be proud. An oriental, in contrast, seems to be proud for no such reason; his mere being is probably the only justification, if there is any need at all for justification. Some of our authors who showed interest in this subject seem to ignore that the Arabs, whom they themselves consider primitive of sorts, share with the children of nature the feeling that pride is a constituent element of one's personality (K,3;C,141).

The individual who is a mental mummy, submissive, superstitious, fatalistic, and unjustifiably proud is also cowardly. The Muslims are peaceable enough for they are prodigious cowards, claims Curtis (C,166). In contrast with the "strong wilfulness" of the Westerners, they demonstrate "softness" (K,147). Moreover, orientals seem to tolerate and condone cheating. One of our travelers gives an example of how his camel men tried to cheat him. When he hired them to carry him across the Sinai desert, he agreed with them that they will bring their own food with them. During the journey, they claimed that they had no food and asked him to share his food with them. When he insisted on refusing their demand, they produced their food which they had concealed. What astonished the author was their conduct after their cheating was discovered: they took the whole matter very lightly. And this attitude of the camel men affected the reaction of our author who understood the cheating of his Arabs in terms of an analogy with animals. "In Europe, the detection of a scheme like this would have a disagreeable feeling between the master and the delinquent; but you would no more recoil from an oriental on account of a matter of this sort, than in England you would reject a horse that had tried to throw you "(K,142). As a matter of fact, the camel men started to like him immensely particularly for his hard-heartedness.

All the authors discussed in this paper dealt with both bedouins and city-dwelling Arabs during their travels in Palestine. A reader of their books can easily judge that they were aware of the difference between the two types of Arabs. In spite of this, none of the authors explicitly states his awareness of the differences and their implications. It is relevant to the purpose of this paper, especially this second part, to quote a sketch of the character of a bedouin as one of the travelers saw him. "He had the arched brow, the large, rich, sad and tender eyes, which are peculiar to the Orient, and which painters aim to give to pictures of Christ. It was the most beautiful and luminous eye I have ever seen. The other features were delicate, but full of force, and the olive transparency of his complexion set his planet-like eyes, as evening light the stars. There was an extreme elegance in his face, and in the supple grace of his movement which imagination attributes to nobleness, and which is of the same quality as the refinement of a highbred Arabian horse. He wore, over a white robe, a long mantle of black goat's hair cloth, and his head was covered with the true bedouin headdress—a Mecca handkerchief, or small shawl of cloth of gold, with red borders and a long rich fringe... Picture under this that mystic complexion of the desert, steep it all in Syrian light, and you have what only the Eastern sun can show. Mark, too, the Shekh's white mare, valued even there at purses equal to a thousand dollars, and on whom he moves as flexibly as a sunbeam on the waters" (C 192-93). This is obviously an idealized, romanticized portrait of a bedouin sheik who lived near Jerusalem. If this picture is juxtaposed with that of the bedouin as well as the city-dwelling Arabs whom our travelers came to know in actual life, we can see the basis of my contention that the travelers were bewildered about Palestine and its people. The portrait of the bedouin which Curtis made tries to imitate, not real life, but a set of illusions about Palestine and the East, illusions created by Romance and Religion.

What I find most conspicuously absent from the travel books under discussion is serious, interested comment on the language of the people in this part of the world. It is true that the travelers we are dealing with came to a country which was part of the Turkish Empire, and it is true that they found Turkish much used among the upper class (Crn, 207), yet in Palestine Arabic was the prevalent language. Also, the authors of those travel books were educated and had obvious cultural interests. They had a good English style and an appreciation of their own language in addition to good literary taste. Furthermore, several of them had some knowledge of Arabic, at least spoken Arabic. Considering all this, one finds it unusual that the only remark about Arabic in those books is that it is "the shrieking tongue of the Arabs!" (K, 159). Just contrast this with the usual description of Arabic given by Anglo-American students of Arabic in the same period: a beautiful, sonorous language. The explanation I suggest for the absence of serious comment on the language of the land that our travelers invested so much effort and money in visiting is that the language of the people in Palestine at that time was Arabic. It was part of the real present which they were least interested in. It is not related to the world of

the Bible. This is the result of their basic attitude and reaction and the non-objectivity inherent in it. It is the result, as well, of their bewilderment about Palestine, their constant oscillation between the reality of the country they were visiting, on the one hand, and their concept of that land derived from the Bible, and from sources that portray the East as world of dreams and illusions and mystery on the other. I am afraid that a consequence of their attitude is that the travelers tended to consider the then reality of the country, its people and their language as an obstacle to their favorite vision of Palestine, not as a country, but as "formless glow" (C,233).

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- 1 A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961), p. 1. The book was originally published in 1844. It will be subsequently referred to as (K) followed by the page reference.
 - 2 G. W. Curtis, *The Howadji In Syria* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1852); pp. 124-126. Hereafter it will be referred to as (C) followed by the number of the page referred to.
 - 3 B. Taylor, *The Lands of the Saracen* (N.Y. :G.P.Putman), 1855; pp. 92-93; subsequent references to this volume will be followed by number. See also. W.H. Bartlett, *Scripture Sites & Scenes* (London: A. Hall, n.d.) p.11. Subsequent references to this volume will be (B) followed by page number.
 - 4 "Crn" refers to R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (London: Oxford University Press, 1916); the book was first published in 1850.

Palestine: A Case of Romance in Western Eyes

Muhammad Shaheen

In a public lecture given at Glasgow in 1945, E. M. Forster says:

T. E. Lawrence hated the progress of industrialism, he hated what your city of Glasgow and my city of London stand for. He fled from it into the deserts of Arabia and the last of the romantic wars, in the search of old-time adventure, and later on into the deserts of his own heart.¹

Lawrence was brought up on books of romance on Palestine like that of C. Leach (**The Romance of the Holy Land**, 1911), who made nine visits to the place; and he used to withdraw from the tedious debates of the House of Commons to its library in order to record his memorable visits. He perhaps similarly withdrew to his rooms in Oxford to read or contemplate such romance. In his withdrawal he possibly re-echoed what another writer of romance said:

Who would not go to Palestine?

To look upon that little stage where the drama of humanity has centered in such unforgettable scenes.²

The question in concern is not, however, the story of Lawrence, or his enigmatic **Seven Pillars of Wisdom**. It is rather the story of romance derived in one way or another, from this part of the world, which, I think, directly or indirectly, shaped the history of the whole area of the Arab world. One may presumably say that Lawrence's campaign was, in its origin, a kind of romantic pilgrimage. Lawrence's biography often portrays an early interest in the romance of Arabia developed by the romantic mind of **Lawrance** himself and supported by the romance of the Western travel books which came to be considered a part of the Western culture and heritage. Lawrence's romance, then, may be viewed as a stage in a long series of romances which survived throughout the history of contact between the West and the Arabs. It is, one may be tempted to add, a stage characterized by being climactic, in the sense that it happened to be eventful and decisive.

The two main aspects of romance linked with Palestine can be indentified as follows: one type romanticised Palestine as the remote land of religion; the other as the found land of promise. In the first type, Palestine is presented as a romantic background mainly intended to entertain the medieval audience which was hungry for romance and adventure; in the second, Palestine is envisaged as a romantic dream made attractive as well as affective by writefs (mainly nineteenth century travellers) who hoped that the dream of romance would bear fruit.

Of the first type, we have the popular medieval romance of which the Crusades form a main part. An example of this is the romance of **Sir Beues of Hampton** (originally written in French). Beues, a Christian knight, was, as the tale goes, in love with Josian, a Muslim princess, the daughter of King Ermin of Armenia. The king sent him to the emir of Syria, who, in turn, put him in prison in Damascus. After seven years of imprisonment, Beues managed to escape, and he returned to Jerusalem for a visit before his journey to Armenia.

The account of his travel to Jerusalem stands at the core of the fascinating romance. We know that he swam on his horse across a sea, probably Galilee, and that he took shelter in a castle in Tiberias after he had killed its owner. The rest of his journey to Jerusalem was made across the River Jordan.

After he had visited Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and the monastery of St. Catherine, he took the coastal route up to Armenia passing by Tyre, Sidon and Antioch. On his way he met a Muslim knight from whom he knew that his lady was taken to Mombraunt, a Seljuk emirate. On his return home, Beues reports to the king on the state of war and peace in the lands he visited. This activity of pilgrims and palmers was often a main justification behind the journey in the Holy Land, at least in the initial stage of the journey. The incident can be further demonstrated from the travels of Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211) which emphasise the purpose of pilgrim as not being evil. In the preface to his **Peregrinatio** he writes that he was "bent on and engaged in some business which was not to be considered as blameworthy."³

The reports whose events occur after Hittin (1187) are mostly favourable, simply because they record the chivalry of Saladin as well as the Muslim tolerant attitude towards Christian pilgrims. This is what the romance poem **L'Estoire de la guerre sainte** displays throughout its narrative. Ambrose, a French jongleur and a pilgrim, actually visited Jerusalem with King Richard after 1192. The "estoire" records first the fears the Crusaders had, as they were approaching Jerusalem, for failing to obtain a permit from Saladin, and they expected to be massacred. But not to their expectation they were met with tolerance and even hospitality, as the warm reception Saladin gives to the bishop of Salisbury shows.

Romancers were so overwhelmed by the peaceful coexistence after Saladin's truce that they were inclined to transform history into romance. The situation, both of history and romance, evidently tempted the pilgrims and the palmers to make frequent visits to the Holy Land. Before and during the Crusades, however, those pilgrims and palmers made their way to the Holy Land often under the zeal of religion which was stirred in them not only by popes and kings, but also by jongleurs. Piere Vidal, a famous troubadour, visited the Holy Land sometime before 1187, and was deeply interested in the Crusades. Many of his songs and poems are written in reproach of those who were not active in serving God, and he is

well known for fusing the form of song, **canzo** and the form of war poetry, **sirventes**.

For two centuries after the visitors to the Holy Land, whether they were called pilgrims, palmers or simply travellers, enjoyed a relatively peaceful journey. They were given promises of protection by caliphs and the course of their journey was occasionally and not seriously interrupted by the native inhabitants and soldiers of the land. However in the absence of the adventures of the Crusades and the chivalry of Saladin the material for romance was lacking, and a pilgrimage without the halo of romance did not seem to be worth the trouble of the journey.

Pilgrims, then, had to make their own romance, and the chance of martyrdom was one main ground which they built their stories of sufferings on. The travel accounts of those two centuries appear to have been grossly exaggerated, as Walter Besant remarks:

If the pilgrim returned safely to his home, there was some comfort for his relations. deprived of the glory of having a martyr in the family, in being able to relate how he had been buffeted and spat upon. To this period belong the pilgrimages of Arnulphus and Antoninus. That of the former is valuable, inasmuch as not only his own account has been preserved, but even the map which he drew up from memory.⁴

Romance about Palestine survived in the nineteenth century and after, but rather with a different shift of emphasis. Its justification was more of an escape from industrial European society than a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Palestine was no longer that remote land of the fairy tale kind of romance. Visitors to the Holy Land, however, still went back with the traditional reward of romance, and writers at home would similarly observe the change of the situation. The result is a comparatively specific picture derived mainly from specific and detailed observation of the various aspects of life in Palestine. A good example is a three volume account entitled **The Land and the book** (1880) by William M. Thomson, who spent nearly half a century in Palestine. The picture in this account is inclusive, and its romance is mainly based on establishing a parallel contrast (implied or otherwise) between life in Palestine and life in Europe. This obviously required particular emphasis on the interplay of the past and the present milieu of the Bible.

Visitors to the Holy Land further extended their intimacy to the life of the people. When Marmaduke Pickthall found himself journeying in Palestine, he felt that a dream he cherished for sometime was realised. He happily involved himself in the exotic life of the natives in which he found a great relief:

In all my previous years I had not seen happy people. These were happy. Poor they might be, but they had no dream of wealth; the very thought of competition was unknown to them, and rivalry was still a matter of the horse and spear.⁵

His journey was so inspiring that he went back with a number of tales which he derived from various aspects of the life of indigenous people.

For many writers of the time, Palestine provided some kind of inspiration for the tales on the fictitious accounts they wrote. An example of this is Marcel Schwob's **The Children's Crusade**, short narratives written in figurative language. The writer dedicated his narratives to R. L. Stevenson, who was the leader of the particular kind of romance characterised by a fusion of mystery and adventure similar to what is known nowadays as the thriller. The style is simple, but the content arouses terror. In reading those narratives one may recall Billy Graham's rhetorical style. This is, for example, what the narrator says in the narrative **Goliard**:

They are wild, untaught children. They are wandering toward I know not what. They have faith in Jerusalem. But Jerusalem will come to them. And to me. The end of all holy things is in joy. Our Lord is here, on this reddened thorn, and on my lips, and in my poor words. For I think of him, and his sepulchre is in my thought. Amen. I will lie down here in the sun. It is a holy place, for our Lord's feet have sanctioned all places...⁶

Romanticising the land extended to romanticising the book itself. James Neil says that "the Bible, on its human side, is as much an Eastern book as the Arabian Nights Entertainment."⁷ He believes that close intimacy with the environment (human or otherwise) of the Holy Land is crucial for understanding and appreciating the meaning of the Bible. The result, however, is not gaining knowledge of the Bible as much as secularising the experience of the traveller whose religious intention remains only the overt part of the pilgrimage.

Part of the romantic picture came out of the fact that the land of the book was found by travellers who tended to see the distant past enacted during their visits. Eliha Grant remarks that life in Palestine is suggestive of Biblical times and he hopes "that the reader with dramatic imagination may be able to fill the places and figures of the biblical past with life."⁸

In addition to the romance of the land, its people and its book, there existed a kind of romance which had its origin in the land of promise or in the promised land. The "promise" survived as a romantic power lurking in the background of the political situation of the Jews in Europe beginning in the nineteenth century, and any further deterioration of the situation was accompanied by a further power forced on the promise. Describing the 1936 Arab demonstration in Palestine, John Gibbons records a sarcastic reference the Arabs made to him about "the 'Too Much promised Land.'⁹ The title "promised land" or "the land of promise" has been given to various books written on Palestine.¹⁰

The romance of the promise often exploited the situation of the Temple, and the conviction that al-Aqsa is built on its ruins has been the source of exaggerated sen-

timents. For this reason, a **casual** incident around the area would lead to over-emotional response by the non-Muslim. This is, for example, how a visitor reacts when he and his fellow visitors were stopped and shouted at by Muslim guards of the west gate of the mosque:

Shame on Mohammedanism and its ignorant **barbarian** minions, that a Christian must be insulted, and even his life threatened, if he advance to take a near view of the hallowed spot on which once stood the temple of the Most High. But - so it is. "Jerusalem is trodden down by the Gentiles", and will be "till the time of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled."¹¹

Later in his account the speaker describes the Wailing Wall in more emotional terms. Also he has no doubt about the site of the temple.

A similar picture is recorded in a scene of a tour to the Wailing Wall about sixty years later. The conductor (a Revisionist Zionist) is described by the author as "a young poet of the most Advanced Hebrew school." The scene is presented with a narrative dialogue in which the author attempts to be convincing. Between the Jaffa Gate and the Wailing Wall, the author discusses with the poet-conductor the main aspects of the Palestine problem with the kind of suspense apparently intended to advance the attention of the reader. When the author asks his fellow conductor where he will put the millions of Jews which the program of Revisionists plans to accommodate in Palestine he answers: "Who would have dreamed thirty years ago, that the sand dunes of Tel Aviv would some day be a city of forty thousand inhabitants? Transformed by Jews, back to its ancient frontiers, Palestine will sustain millions of Jews."¹² The author comments that the poet's dream would be impossible to achieve; but the comment is raised only to show how the poet is persistent.

When they reach the Wailing Wall they are moved by the scene which arouses in them much pathos. They hear (or rather imagine) the gentlemen around the Wall saying that they would exchange the Wailing Wall (which brings nothing to the Jewish National Fund) for a few acres to plough. The author subsequently comments that without that Wailing or Wall there would be no such Fund.

Even when the situation is grave, its treatment is light. A demonstration in Jerusalem of about four thousand Arabs is viewed by a British writer, who observed its happening, as a kind of demonstration in Hyde park. Out of what he actually saw, the observer concludes two moral sentiments. The first lies in his appreciation of the British rule which allows such demonstration, and a particular reference is made to the Turkish rule, which, in comparison, would not have allowed such performance or even comtemplate its happening. The second sentiment is relevant to the Secretary of the Jerusalem Relief Laundry, Mrs. Elizabeth McQueen, who had just arrived in Jerusalem when the demonstration took place. As the demonstration was going she volunteered to give a talk in front of the demonstrators in which she says:

Gentlemen, you have come here to make a demonstration of your desires. You believe in prayer. You must act as gentlemen, if you want the respect of the world. If the Jews do wrong they will suffer their faults. The British saved you from the Turkish atrocities.¹³

Sentiment for the Wailing Wall and the Temple is only part of the dream of the past. Unfortunately this dream has extended its territory to the realistic situation of the land. The result is that Palestine has been envisaged as land whose people, they make themselves believe, have no right to existence on their own land. The following account written by David Millard (1842) demonstrates this belief:

Should the time ever take place when the Jews shall again possess the land of their fathers, a very important overturn must first take place with the nations and tribes that surround it. The land is at present inhabited by native Arabs, who till the soil and mainly people the towns and villages. The question arises how are these inhabitants to be dispossessed of the land? Is a purchase contemplated? Who, or what power is to enforce such a purchase? or is it contemplated that they are to be driven out by the sword? This, I am convinced is the only means by which the land can be cleared of its present population.¹⁴

The writer continues to say that the Jews wait for their Messiah's return to Jerusalem to build the throne of his father David.

Arabs on their own land have been presented by partial observers as nomads and bedouins, while newly immigrant Jews as the civilised people of the area. In a letter signed and published in an illustrative book on Palestine, Chaim Weizman seems to claim that Palestine is "our country":

These photographs, which are of a highly artistic quality are perhaps calculated more than any description to afford an impressive picture of the beauty of our country and of the manifold and striking character of its inhabitants.¹⁵

The frequently repeated picture of Palestine as the land of honey and milk has been brought back into revival. In a lecture on "The Future of Palestine" given for Palestine Exploration Fund, C.R. Conder says, "There is no physical reason why the prosperity of Palestine should not be equal to that of former days, or of the Italian regions which, in climate and character, so closely resemble the Holy Land."¹⁶

In recent writings Jewish immigrants have been presented in a fairytale manner. Their image is a fusion of romance and heroism. Here is a narrative which has all the characteristics of fiction except that it is intended to be taken as real. It is entitled **Adventuring in Palestine**. Gabi (a 14 year old boy), and Aviva (a twelve year old girl) live on a commune. The narrative opens with brother and sister going to Jaffa seaport to meet their cousins who come from Germany to settle in Palestine as im-

migrants. The situation is highly dramatised, and every little sentiment is exploited to solicit sympathy and admiration for those newcomers. For example, the narrator deals with the fact that the immigrants know Hebrew (which he claims to be the language in Palestine) in a manner of suspense. The narrative further reveals the capability of the newcomers to shift from Hebrew to English when they speak to the British immigration official, who in turn, gives them a warm reception.

In the meantime, Arabs presented in the narrative serve as an exotic background. The trousers of the boatmen are so baggy that Gabi and Aviva “could hide in one trouser leg and there would be room left.”¹⁷ Another Arab is a peasant who pushes a wooden horse on which he displays the sweets whose pastry tempts Gabi to buy.

Romance continues to fan the Jewish settlers in Palestine, and Israeli officials or otherwise are still pictured with that tang of romance and heroism. The lives of some Israelis have been dug up again and again to produce suspending biographies. These biographies are often coloured with fiction. In function these biographies seem to replace the traditional old books of romance travel. One doesn't know whether there is any logical connection between the heroic survival of the Nazi persecution and the romantic adventure and settlement in Palestine. The only possible link is that of romance. One day the end, however, may turn out to be like that of Lawrence described by Forster: a withdrawal from the deserts of Arabia to the desert of the heart; would the romancers and dreamers realise, then, that Palestine is neither the land of knighthood nor the promise of return?

FOOTNOTES

- 1 - E.M. Forster, **The Development of English Prose Between 1918-1939** (Glasgow, 1945), p.8.
- 2 - Henry van Dyke, **Out of Doors in the Holy Land** (London, 1911), p. 3.
- 3 - Dorothy Metlitzki, **The Matter of Arabi in Medieval England** (New Haven, 1977), p.135.
- 4 - Sir Walter Besant and E.H. Palmer, **Jerusalem, The City of Herod and Saladin** (New York, 1889), p. 129.
- 5 - Marmaduke Pickthall, **Oriental Encounters: Palestine and Syria 1894-1896** (New York, 1927), pp. x-xi
- 6 - Marcel Schwob, **The Children Crusade**(New York, 1898).?
- 7 - James Neil, **Everyday Life in the Holy Land**(London, 1913),p. viii.
- 8 - Eliha Grant, **The People of Palestine**(London, 1907),p.5.
- 9 - John Gibbons,**The Road to Nazareth Through Palestine Today** (London, 1936),p.172.
- 10- A typical example of this is **Romised Land** by E. Thorbecke (New York, 1947) apparently written as a textbook for schools. The following is a specimen of its writing:

Historical and archaeological research have proved that two thousand years ago millions of people lived in Palestine and Transjordan; and the Bible speaks of the LAND OF MILK AND HONEY which Moses promised the Jews. From the decline of the Jewish kingdom onwards, the fertile land gradually deteriorated, and for the last twelve centuries the Holy Land has been little more than desert, swamps and eroded soil. The Arab Bedouins knew no better, and took the condition of the country for granted; but the Jews, in their desperate longing for their ancient homeland, resolutely tackled the problem by reclaiming the wasted soil of the old country.
- 11 - David Millard, **Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petrae, and the Holy Land During 1841-2** (Rochester, 1842),pp. 271-3.
- 12 - Edmund Fleg, **The Land of Promise**, tran. Louise Waterman Wise(New York,1904), p.80.
- 13 - W.D. McCrackan, **The New Palestine**(London, 1936), p. 229.
- 14 - **Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petrae, and the Holy Land During 1841-42**,p. 348.
- 15 - Roberto Almagia, **Palestine with 265 Photographs** (Rome, 1932).
- 16 - **The City and the Land**, p. 34.

John Gibbons remarks that "Modern Zionism is rather reviving those ancient Hebrew names, much as Mussolini in Italy is reviving the names of the old Roman Empire." (**The Road to Nazareth Through Palestine Today**,p.314).
- 17 - Marion Rubinstein, **Adventuring in Palestine** (New York, 1935), p. 6.

The Greek Community in Palestine

A Personal Memoir and Recollection

P.J. Vatikiotis

The only published study relating to the modern Greek presence in Palestine to my knowledge is not about the Greek community but about Greek consular authorities in the country; and it is in Greek.♦ A certain Mr Orphanides, who published a Greek pictorial journal in Alexandria in the 1920s, and 1930's occasionally included the odd news item about or feature on, members of the Greek community in Palestine. Needless to say, the two main sources for a study of the community and its activities are the Patriarchate archives in Jerusalem, diocese and parish records, and Greek consular records, as well as those of the lay communal organizations in Jerusalem and Haifa. In addition, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens contain documentation about the problems of the church in Palestine.

I do not pretend to have conducted a systematic examination of these records. Over the years, however, I have, for one reason or another, looked into parts of these archives, especially in trying to reconstruct the reasons for my family's arrival in Palestine between the 1880s and 1902. What I have attempted here therefore is more of a **personal memoir** and less of a systematic paper about the Greek community in Palestine. May I then be allowed to begin with a personal note, and I hasten to apologize for the digression regarding my own family. It is intended only as an illustration of Greek emigration to Palestine, and one which can be reproduced in the case of many other families.

My paternal grandfather, Ionannis Vatikiotis, went from the Greek island of Ydra to settle in Acre ('Akkā) sometime in the 1880s. Acre was at that time a relatively important harbour for commerce at least and, considering the fact that my grandfather was a seafaring man, he may well have called at Acre several times before he settled there. Actually, one of his old passports in my possession was issued by the Greek Consulate in Beirut in 1874 and renewed several times by the Greek Consulate in Jaffa. Another, also in my possession, was issued by the Greek Consulate in Jaffa in 1889, and renewed several times by the Greek Consular Agent in Acre throughout the 1890s.

♦ Constantine C. Mavrides, *Proxenikai archai en Palestini* (Jerusalem 1946).

But there were other Greeks already settled in Acre by the time my grandfather arrived. These went there in the late 1860s and 1870s from the western Greek islands of Corfu and Cephallonia, the Aegean and Dodecanese islands, especially Chios, from Cyprus and from the heavily Greek populated Asia Minor in Turkey. We know, for instance, that there was a Greek physician, Diakakis, in Acre who, at one time, was the Public Health doctor, i.e., an official of the Ottoman administration; an inn-keeper, Pagoulatos, several brothers, Yakoumi, from the island of Chios, who were merchants. Later, these were joined by a few Greek technicians and engineers, working on maritime projects in Acre and Lake Tiberias and the construction of the Hejaz Railway. But these came exclusively from Asia Minor. The Yakoumi brothers, for instance, and their children who subsequently emigrated to America, were eventually Arabized; so were others like a certain Ioannis Glianos who was known as plain "Yaṅni." The Arabization was due to intermarriage with members of the sizeable Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox community in Acre. As an important archdiocese (Ptolemais) of the Greek Orthodox Church, the church in Acre was the centre and pivot of the community's life, for it also provided the main school in town for members of the Arabic-speaking Orthodox community.

There were other Greeks, however, who, though they married Arab women, did not become Arabized. This was due partly to the fact that some of these women had been themselves hellenized, in speech at least, from a very young age by the Greek Church and its schools. My paternal grandmother was one of these women, from the 'Azzām family. But there were other reasons too why some Greeks, like my grandfather, did not Arabize; in fact, my grandfather hardly knew any Arabic when he died in 1913.

The Greeks who had come from Turkish Asia Minor were *rayas*, or subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. Those who came from the Greek mainland, i.e., the Peloponnes or Thessaly and the Saronic Gulf islands (like Ydra), were Greek subjects. Those coming from the Dodecanese islands were also *rayas* in the main, whereas the Greeks from the western Greek islands could have been subjects of either Britain or some other European power. Those, like my grandfather, who were citizens of Greece, took great pride in their newly independent country, and held on stubbornly to their Greek citizenship. Thus twice in his lifetime in Acre my grandfather went on exile during the 1897 war between Greece and Turkey and the 1912 Balkan War. He could conceivably have renounced his Greek citizenship and become a *raya* in order to avoid exile.

As for my mother's side of the family (Meimarachi), they emigrated to Jerusalem from the island of Rhodes around 1902. Their link with Palestine was a paternal uncle who had left the island of Crete earlier in order to become a monk, first as an ascetic in the caves around Mar Saba monastery and later as an abbot in the Old City of Jerusalem. Many Greeks, incidentally, were brought to Palestine by their relatives or guardians who were members of the Greek clergy or the Holy Sepulchre

Order. Greeks, therefore, other than the clergy or members of the Holy Order, had settled in Palestine for nearly a century, spanning three generations.

The Greek Church.

In contrast to the huge and illustrious Greek community in Egypt, the one in Palestine, say, in 1945, was relatively small, about 200 families in all, and not too illustrious. The existence of the Holy Sepulchre since the fourth century A.D., several monasteries throughout the country and the Holy Order since the seventh century A.D. at least, meant that there was always a number of Greeks in Palestine, most of them clergymen. The way the Order and the Church were kept ethnically and culturally Greek was by the constant importation of recruits to their ranks from Asia Minor and the Greek islands. During the nineteenth century in particular there was a great deal to attract these recruits, especially if they came from poorer backgrounds: free schooling and, for the more able among them, a first-class theological seminary, "O Stavros," outside Jerusalem (the seminary was shut down just before the outbreak of the Great War), employment and the chance of advancement within the Church hierarchy and the Church's school system.

The special position of the Order, the Church and the monasteries was recognized by the Ottoman authorities, and renewed by periodic *firmans* of the Sultan. It should be noted here that after 1948 the Jordanian authorities honoured the status of the Greek Church as it was defined in these decrees.

The income of the Holy Order and the Church came primarily from their extensive urban and agricultural properties attached to monasteries. Yet with this income, at least until the Great War, the Church provided extensive free educational and social services (including a hospital) for its faithful, the vast majority of whom were Arabic-speaking in Palestine and East Jordan. It maintained (and still maintains) a fully-fledged secondary school, "Aghios Demetrios," in Jerusalem, primary and elementary schools in practically every important town centre in the country. The primary and elementary schools gradually diminished in number until they disappeared altogether by the end of the Second World War. In the meantime, however, with the organization of lay Greek communities in the interwar period in Jerusalem and Haifa, Greek elementary schools were maintained by the communities independently of the Church. Similarly, lay councils (*majlis milli*) of the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox community maintained their own schools.

During the Mandate, the fortunes of the Church declined. This was due partly to the general decline of the Church everywhere, and the difficulty in securing new recruits to its Order in the face of other competing opportunities for young Greeks in their own country, or for emigration to North America. But it was also due to the fact that the predominance of Greeks in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and their control of the Patriarchate had become bones of contention with the majority Greek Or-

thodox Arabs early this century. Tsarist Russian encouragement and the rise of Arab nationalism together influenced a movement among the Orthodox Arabs demanding the de-hellenization of the Church in Palestine. Another vigorous challenge, during the Mandate, came from the activities of Protestant missionaries, American, British and German and even Italian. In the 1930s especially, the generously financed activities of the Italian Salesian Order had made serious inroads on behalf of Fascist Italy in the ranks of the Arab Orthodox community. Similar inroads within the community were made by the Communist movement in the early 1940s. Internal disputes and factions among the Greek clergy themselves, whether over Patriarchal elections or the administration of properties and finances, further eroded the Church's authority and prestige, often inviting the intervention of the Mandate authorities in its affairs. Direct financial assistance from the Greek government to the Patriarchate was never adequate nor readily forthcoming. As the contribution of rich Greeks, many of whom for one personal reason or another joined the Order in Palestine, diminished and eventually stopped altogether, the vitality of the Church was greatly reduced and sapped. Today, the Greek Church in Palestine is not only a mere shadow of its size, vitality and activity in the past, but also no longer has a lay Greek community to support it.

The Greek Community in Palestine.

In the days of Ottoman rule, seafaring Greeks, pharmacists, physicians and commercial agents came to Palestine. The construction of the Hejaz Railway towards the end of the nineteenth century brought a few Greek technicians, engineers, cereal merchants, agents of European commercial houses and steamship companies in Jaffa and Acre, a few tradesmen, craftsmen and shopkeepers to the country. Unlike the much larger community in Egypt, however, there was never a sizeable concentration of Greeks in Palestine. Neither did any of the Greeks in Palestine, unlike those of Alexandria, Cairo or Port-Said and Egypt's provincial town centres, engage in agricultural pursuits, the textile industry, banking, finance and insurance. Nor did they develop and enjoy the scale and magnitude of cultural, literary and artistic activities of the Egyptian Greeks. To be sure, the Greek Patriarchate possessed one of the oldest, if not the oldest, printing presses in Palestine, and published for a very long time one of the leading archaeological, historical and theological journals, *Nea Sion*. It was rather during the British Mandate that the number of Greeks in Palestine suddenly increased. Artisans, technicians and administrators were moved *en masse* from Egypt and the Sudan to Palestine, especially to Haifa, to work in the railways, ports, customs and other Mandate government departments.

Neither in Palestine nor in Egypt were the Greeks exactly a *millet*. Clearly, the Greek Church was juridically treated within the *millet* system, and it had jurisdiction over personal status matters of the Greeks. Similarly, those Greeks who were *rays* under Ottoman rule came under the *millet* system. Those who were subjects or protected subjects of foreign powers enjoyed the advantages of the Capitulations.

But since most of the Greeks who arrived in Palestine during the mandate were not **rayas**—most of them were Greek citizens—neither system applied to them. They were simply expatriate Greeks employed by the then government. Thus the construction of Haifa harbour in 1933— a major public work of its day—for example, attracted more Greeks from the Dodecanese islands, especially expert divers from the island of Simi.

Because of the massive presence of the Church, the Greeks in Jerusalem never quite organized a lay community (**koinotis**). At the end of the Great War, they established a Greek settlement, or quarter, on land given to them by the Church in the new city, just beyond the German Colony and before the Katamon. They called it “Omilos”, and it came to be commonly known as the Greek Colony. In it they also erected a Social and Athletic Club.

In Haifa, a lay community organization (**koinotis**) was founded around 1930, which financed and maintained an elementary school and a sports and social club. It also provided philanthropic services for the needy members of the community. The only sources of its income were membership dues.

Unlike the highly organized and populous Greek communities in Egypt, those in Palestine did not erect or administer any churches or cemeteries. These remained under the direct control of the Patriarchate. Moreover, since hardly any of the Greeks in Palestine were rich, they were unable to erect hospitals, engage in massively capitalized enterprises in commerce or industry. Most of them were salaried employees, or wage earning skilled workers and technicians. Their involvement in free enterprise was confined to the odd shop, grocery, cafe, bakery and restaurant. Some were privately engaged as owners, printers and typographers, picture framers and photographers. Very few among them were occupied as shipping agents in Jaffa and Haifa, of whom one or two may well have become affluent during the interwar period and, possibly, during the Second World War. Socially speaking, most Greeks in Palestine, though literate (except for members of the clergy, those with a higher education were the rare exception), came from working, lower middle and petty bourgeois classes. As already noted, the vast majority of them were originally islanders.

Relations between the Greek Community and Greece.

Greeks went to Palestine, as they did elsewhere, in order to make a living. Those who arrived after 1930 from Egypt and the Sudan had very little choice: they had to accept their transfer by the British to Palestine or lose their jobs. Others were attracted by the new prospects of employment in mandated Palestine. One commonly held myth about Greeks in Arab lands must be dispelled at the outset. The myth held that Greeks, in contrast to all other foreign communities, assimilated easily and comfortably in the Arab environment. This was simply not so. If anything, the Greeks were very particular about creating, or at least reproducing their peculiarly

and exclusively Greek cultural world by preserving and guarding the **paradōsis (al-turāth)**, consisting of Church and School. They may have been the most amenable to a diaspora existence in foreign lands, but that is not the same as assimilation. After all, Greeks have been colonizing the Mediterranean and emigrating to distant lands since very ancient times, if one recalls their settlement of Ionia (Western Asia Minor) before 1000 BC, or of Italy, Egypt and the North African coast. Their singular characteristic has been their ability to establish themselves in new countries. Thus the huge Greek immigrant community in North and South America since the beginning of this century (nearly three million), Canada (quarter of million), **Australia** (three quarters of a million) and Africa after the Second World War. Greeks fought not only for the Mamlūks and Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt, but also for the Mahdī in the Sudan. Yet the small community in Palestine was not as exclusive as that in Egypt; some assimilation, as I indicate in this paper, did occur, mainly because of the existence of a relatively numerous Arab Greek Orthodox community in the country. The exclusiveness and heightened feeling of national identity occurred during the Second World War.

In Palestine, in any case, except for the clergy, an identifiable Greek community of, say, 500-1000 people existed for a short time, roughly from 1930 to 1948. There had been already one native "Palestinian Greek" generation, namely, the children born to those few who had come to the country during Ottoman rule: my father and his siblings, for example. A second native "Palestinian Greek" generation was born to those who had moved to Palestine during the Mandate: I and my siblings and others like myself, for example. There was now, however, a greater and wider determination by these Greeks to retain their hellenism, and consequently a closer and better organized communal existence, through the Church, the Schools and the Clubs. Furthermore, the link with the mother country in the interwar period became stronger. Travel was easier and accessible to more people. Events in Greece had their echo in the community, which remained politically split between Royalists and Republicans (or Venizelists), reflecting the political division in Greece.

The link became even closer and more immediate during the Second World War for three main reasons. First, was the heightened nationalist and patriotic feeling and pride of the Palestinian Greeks over their country's fight against the Italian Fascist and German Nazi invaders in 1940-41. Second, was the Axis occupation of Greece from 1940 to 1944, which brought in its wake a large number of Greek refugees to Palestine. These, of course, temporarily swelled the numbers of the Greek community in Palestine once they had been processed out of the temporary camps. Ministering and catering to their needs gave the Palestinian Greeks an immediate involvement in the affairs and fortunes of their mother country. Third, was the conscription of many Palestinian Greeks into the Greek armed forces that were being reorganized in exile in the Middle East. The close contact between the community and a Greek army division, a battalion of commandos, units of the air force and the navy, as well as Greek Cypriot units in the British Army, gave them an add-

ed feeling of proximity to the mother country. A visit by the Greek monarch and crown prince, and by members of the Greek government in exile were also conducive to a feeling among the Palestinian Greeks of belonging to a country some of whom had never seen.

Relations between the Greek Community and the indigenous Population

Since most of the few Palestinian Greeks were either employed by the Mandate government, the Church, or ran very small businesses, better described as trades, they hardly constituted keen competition or presented an economic threat to the two main communities in Palestine, the Arabs and the Jews. Despite the Arab Rebellion of 1936-39, most of them hardly speculated about future developments. They had no capital to export abroad as insurance against any likely future difficulty, and rarely contemplated leaving the country. Among the less than one per cent of Greek youngsters of the post-Great War generation who left Palestine temporarily for a university education or other professional training abroad, most of them went to Greece only to return as doctors, dentists or pharmacists. The still fewer who pursued the same goals among the Second World War generation, by the time they had completed their higher education, or professional training, there was no Palestine to return to.

As a tightly knit and, despite inter-marriage mainly with Arabs, separate community, the Greeks, during the Arab Rebellion, did not involve themselves with either side of the conflict. They remained cautiously aloof and circumspect. Except for the Church, whose spiritual ministrations and educational services reached the Arab faithful, the lay Greeks in Palestine, even before the Rebellion, had no impact on either the Arab or Jewish inhabitants of the country. They felt separate from both communities, and were consistent in maintaining their Greek identity. Yet most, if not all, Greeks in Palestine learned at least spoken Arabic and, very few among them, how to read and write it. Hardly any of them learned Hebrew. Many of them, as already indicated, had close relations and ties of marriage or kinship with the Arabs, and not only the Christians among them. In short, they were not as exclusive as the Greek communities in Egypt, at least not before the Second World War. There are several reasons for this discriminatory behaviour of the Greeks in Palestine.

It is clear that Greeks who had been in Palestine before the Mandate had contacts outside their own small community with Arabs only. The location of their churches and limited communal activities was contiguous to Arab neighbours. Then, in the 1930s especially, with the influx of Jewish refugees from Europe, the growing Jewish community erected exclusively Jewish quarters, towns, and settlements throughout the country. Furthermore, as members of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greeks had historically dealt with Muslim, Ottoman and Arab interlocutors. It may thus be asserted that their non-involvement notwithstanding, the Greeks tended

to observe the protest strikes called by the Arabs during the 1936-39 Rebellion and after, and that their private sympathies, if they had any, were weighted on the Arab side.

In settling in Palestine, however, their motives, like those of all Greek immigrants anywhere in the world, were those of seeking a livelihood. They were never interested in changing—or losing—their ethnic, religious and cultural identity. Only in the Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the United States, Canada and Australia, does one observe a degree of assimilation among the generations that were born and raised there. Even this assimilation is always guarded insofar as the religious dimension of identity is concerned. As for the very limited relations or contacts between the Greeks in Palestine and the Jews, these can be ascribed to the feeling that the Jews, like themselves, were exclusive in their religious and cultural presence in the country.

The Greek Community at the end of the Mandate.

The Greek community disintegrated and dispersed with the ending of the British Mandate. Since many of them were employed by it, the older ones among them retired to their native country or Cyprus, while the younger ones moved on elsewhere as new immigrants to south Africa, Australia, Canada, and the USA. For several years after 1948 a proportion of them moved to Lebanon and Egypt as refugees. There was a group of them that had spent several weeks, if not months, in a refugee centre in the Gaza Strip. These places however provided temporary stops en route to somewhere else. A number of them secured employment in Kuwait and the other countries in the Gulf. Very few remained behind in Israel. For example, a maximum of eight to ten Greeks remained in Haifa. In Jerusalem, the few shopkeepers, the odd pharmacist, doctor, dentist and schoolteacher moved in to the Old City, mainly Hāret el Nasārā, which had come under Jordanian control. The clergy, now drastically reduced in number, remained in the various churches and monasteries throughout the country. It is perhaps clear, economic reasons of job security aside, that the Greeks did not feel they could remain in a Jewish-controlled Palestine which, they believed, would be exclusive.

I cannot say if any Greeks became involved in the struggle between the Arab and the Jews over Palestine in the period from November 1947 to May 1948 since I was not there. What is certain is that they seriously considered, for the first time, the prospect of leaving the country and making their lives over elsewhere. Like many other communities, the Greeks too lost homes and personal possessions in that exodus. It was, in a way—although on a minuscule scale when compared to that of others—just as harrowing and catastrophic an experience for them. They faced the prospect of adjusting and surviving in what were effectively new and alien environments to which they were not accustomed, including their own country of origin. Yet most of them managed to survive and prosper in part as a result of their enriching experience of having lived among other communities. There are many among them, like the Greeks from Egypt, who distinguish themselves from other

Greeks by virtue of the fact that they are “Palestinian Greeks”.

The Greek community in Palestine could survive – and prosper – only so long as a foreign (European) power was in control of the country. To have remained behind under an exclusive nationalist regime without having been prepared to assimilate was impossible. In fact, the Greeks never considered the possibility or hesitated over their decision to leave the country. To what extent they could have remained as a Greek community, ethnically and culturally different and separate from the majority under an Arab controlled Palestine, is another question, about which one can only speculate. Being however very small in size and not at all prominent, as Greeks in Egypt were, in industry, commerce, finance and agriculture, they would most probably have survived.

Like other foreign communities, the Greeks in Palestine were part of the Middle Eastern mosaic. Though a small community, it was the second largest in Arab lands, after the one in Egypt. The fact remains that both communities dispersed and disappeared from the region between 1948 and 1958.

Les Intérêts Français en Palestine à la Veille de la Première Guerre Mondiale

Jacques Thobie

Si les intérêts français en Palestine ne sont pas, au début du XXème siècle, par rapport à d'autres régions de l'Empire ottoman, les plus massifs et les plus concentrés, ils figurent cependant à La meilleure place face aux concurrents étrangers. Il est donc utile de pouvoir en mesurer le poids, les différents aspects, économiques, culturels, religieux, politiques, et d'évoquer la mesure selon laquelle ils sous-tendent, à Paris, des ambitions plus vastes, dans le cadre des visées impérialistes que nourrissent, à la veille de la première guerre mondiale des milieux économiques et politiques français sur l'ensemble de la Syrie, région qui englobe précisément, pour les Européens, comme du reste pour la plupart des nationalistes arabes, la Palestine.

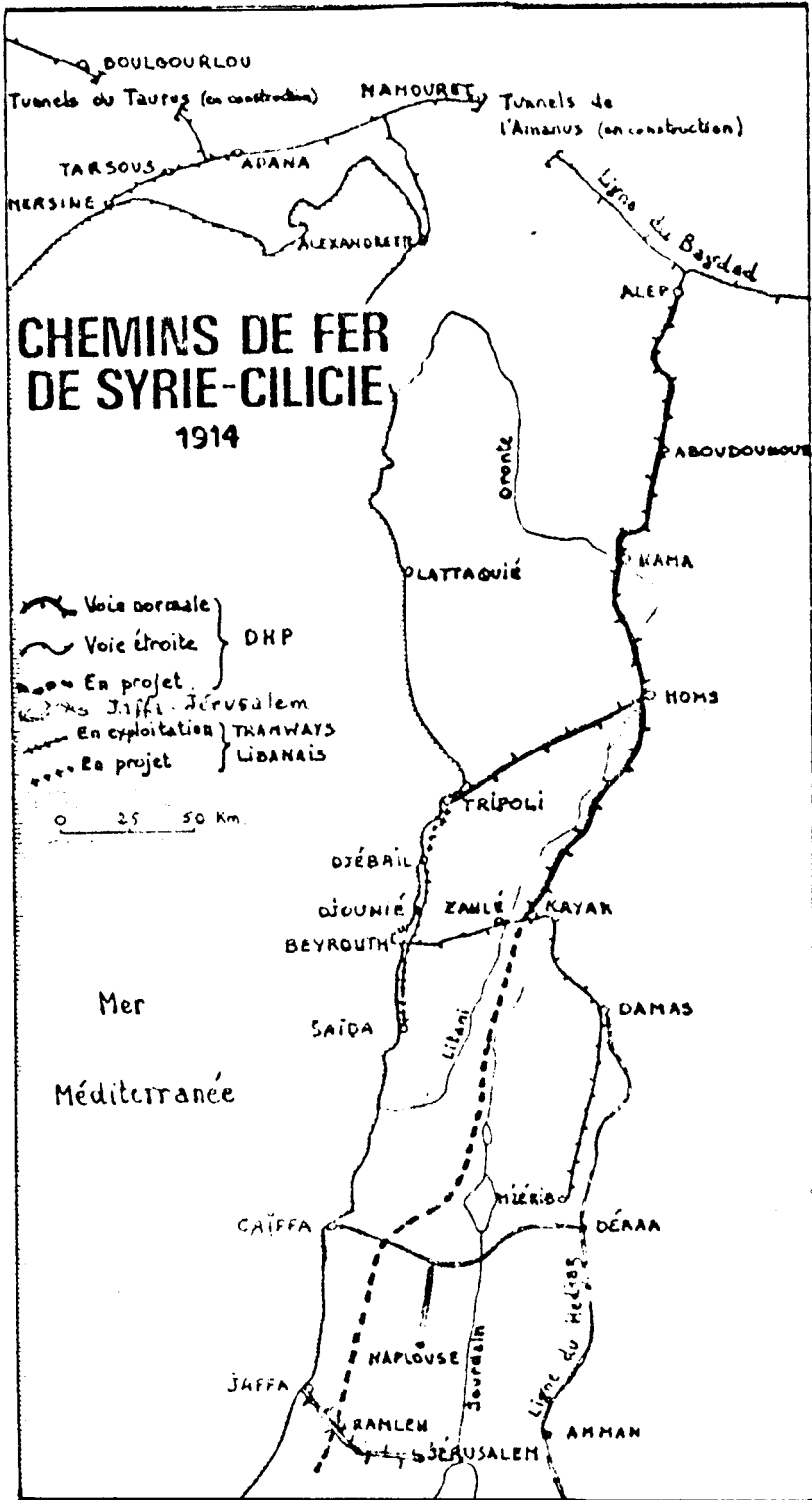
C'est que la Palestine est plus alors un concept historico-culturel qu'une unité géographique, économique ou administrative. Pour le Français moyen du début du siècle, le terme de Palestine est lié d'abord aux Lieux-Saints des chrétiens, aux épisodes de la vie du Christ rapportées par les Evangiles (Jérusalem, Bethléem, Nazareth, lac de Tibériade) et bien entendu aux Croisades. Il s'agit là d'une conception imprécise de la Palestine. Dans son gros ouvrage sur la Turquie d'Asie, V. Cuinet⁽¹⁾ réduit la Palestine à la province de Jérusalem. Pourtant dans nombre de rapports et études rédigés par les représentants diplomatiques et consulaires de la France, sur les activités commerciales, économiques, scolaires et d'assistance, le terme de Palestine recouvre un secteur géographique plus vaste, exigeant le regroupement de renseignements d'origines diverses, car cette Palestine ne correspond ni à une subdivision administrative ottomane, ni à une circonscription diplomatique française. Ainsi, pour fixer un cadre à l'exposé, disons que nous entendons par Palestine, la région comprenant le mutessariflik de Jérusalem et les sandjaks de 'Akkā (St Jean d'Acre) et de Balga (Naplouse), couverte par le consulat général de Beyrouth. Le territoire ainsi défini est en fait fort proche de celui de la Palestine mandataire.

Le support des intérêts économiques français en Palestine est constitué par deux éléments essentiels, la présence des Lieux-Saints et la richesse agricole de certains districts, en liaison bien entendu avec l'ouverture sur la mer. En effet, Jérusalem où se trouvent réunis, à des titres divers, les Lieux-Saints des trois grandes religions monothéistes: juive, chrétienne et musulmane, voit s'amplifier, au début du XXème siècle la présence des pèlerins et touristes, surtout d'origine européenne, évolution qui va de pair avec le développement de communications modernes: chemins de fer, routes, ports. D'autre part, les progrès agricoles d'une région

relativement favorisée, dirigés notamment vers certaines cultures comme les fruits et la vigne, et rendus possible par l'apport de capitaux venus de l'extérieur, favorisent la Croissance des échanges et donc ici encore des moyens de transport qui les renient plus aisés. Il faut noter que les intérêts français, en dépit de quelques tentatives, sont pratiquement inexistantes au niveau de l'exploitation agricole. Ce n'est pas, en effet, parce que d'importantes sommes d'origine française ont été investies dans certaines colonies juives⁽²⁾ qu'on peut rattacher celles-ci aux intérêts français: ni les utilisateurs ni les gestionnaires, n'ont agi comme Français ou avec l'objectif de favoriser l'influence française dans la région⁽³⁾. La remarque vaut naturellement plus encore pour les autres colonies qui sont essentiellement des réalisations allemandes⁽⁴⁾. Les échanges avec la France ne jouent pas non plus un rôle considérable dans la croissance des activités commerciales en Palestine. Les intérêts économiques français sont essentiellement liés aux communications.

Et d'abord le chemin de fer Jaffa-Jérusalem⁽⁵⁾. Cette ligne à voie étroite de 87 kms fut ouverte au public à l'automne 1892. La **Société du Chemin de fer ottoman de Jaffa à Jérusalem et prolongements** a eu comme premier président le Bordelais B.C. Collas, administrateur-général des **Phares de l'Empire ottoman**, dont une part des solides profits se trouve ainsi réinvestie en Palestine. L'affaire débuta mal car on avait calculé trop juste le capital de départ (4.000.000 f.) et les clients se montraient moins nombreux qu'on ne l'avait espéré: les pèlerins russes, les plus nombreux mais les plus pauvres, continuaient de faire à pied le trajet Jaffa-Jérusalem tandis que chameaux et mulets restaient de grands concurrents de la Petite Vitesse. Le concordat obtenu, sur la base d'un emprunt obligatoire de conversion (9.850.000F et de modifications tarifaires, l'affaire s'avera viable, avec une croissance moyenne des recettes de 5% par an en vingt ans (1894-1913). Le trafic marchandises a augmenté plus vite que le trafic voyageurs⁽⁶⁾. Touristes et pèlerins venus de l'extérieur représentent en 1913, 85.000 voyageurs. Et l'on se souvient encore de la très bonne année 1898, lorsque le voyage de Guillaume II avait entraîné la venue de nombreux Allemands. Les bénéfices nets accusent une croissance moyenne annuelle de 13%, et après une période de rendement du capital assez modeste vu l'endettement de la société (2,4%), l'on entre à la veille de la guerre dans une période de profits confortables. La faillite de la société de Travaux Publics détentrice d'un gros paquet d'actions du chemin de fer avait fait craindre à Hanotaux que la compagnie ne passe en des mains belges (Empain): en fait le petit-fils de Collas, P. de Vaureal, rachète ces titres et devient l'unique détenteur du capital qu'il s'engage à conserver pendant vingt ans. En 1914, il préside le conseil d'Administration, assisté d'E. de Nalèche, directeur financier du "Journal des Débats".

Le besoin économique se fait sentir de l'élaboration d'un réseau régional, mais le problème des prolongements de ligne touche à des intérêts dont les divergences semblent en voie de solution à travers l'accord général franco-ottoman d'avril 1914.



P. de Vauréal avait envisagé le prolongement de Jérusalem à Jéricho, où l'exploitation des phosphates aurait pu s'accompagner de l'utilisation des eaux du Jourdain pour la force motrice et l'irrigation. Mais la vigueur de relief aurait imposé une crémaillère: le projet français, comme les projets concurrents allemands et italiens, est finalement abandonné. Les possibilités de raccordement viennent du nord: des chemins de fer de Syrie (**Damas-Hama et prolongements**) contrôlés par la **Banque ottomane** et de la ligne de Hedjaz administrée par gouvernement ottoman. A la suite de nombreux pourparlers, il est entendu que la ligne Alep-Rayak, à voie normale, pourra être prolongée vers le sud, touchera le Jaffa-Jérusalem à Ramleh et filera, ultérieurement, vers la frontière égyptienne⁷. D'un autre côté, l'achèvement depuis 1905 du Deraa-Haïffa, embranchement vers la mer du Damas à 'Mecque (**arrêté à Médine**) porte un réel préjudice au **D.H.P.** et menace, à terme, le Jaffa-Jérusalem. En effet, construite grâce à une vaste souscription dans le monde islamique, la ligne sacrée n'a pas de capital à rétribuer. Cette situation, inadmissible pour les intérêts français, est réglée par l'imposition au gouvernement ottoman de deux mesures: le directeur de la ligne Damas-Deraa sera un Français⁸, et l'embranchement prévu 'Affouleh-Jérusalem ne devra pas dépasser Naplouse⁹. P. de Vauréal prend soin de s'assurer que, si jamais ce projet venait à exécution, un accord de tarif devrait être élaboré entre les deux sociétés¹⁰. Sans grande ambition, le Jaffa-Jérusalem veille à assurer ses profits. Il reste qu'à Jaffa, la ligne n'atteint pas le port. Cette question est naturellement liée aux échanges extérieurs et à l'opportunité de construire des ports modernes dans la région.

L'entretien des routes existantes et leur expansion depuis 1910 enter les mains, comme l'ensemble du réseau asiatique ottoman, d'un consortium français, la **Société générale d'entreprises dans l'Empire ottoman**, qui regroupe la **Banque française** les maisons **Fougerolles frères Giros et Loucheur** et la **Sciété de Grand Travaux de Marseille**¹¹. L'effort devait être porté sur le quadrilatère Jaffa-Jérusalem-Jéricho-Naplouse. Les difficultés financières ont amené la société à faire des choix qui n'ont pas été favorables aux routes de Palestine.

Le développement des échanges avec l'extérieur depuis les dernières années du XIXème siècle est notable. C'est ainsi que le mouvement maritime du port de Jaffa double entre 1895 et 1909 et que, plus significatif encore, le tonnage et la valeur des marchandises traitées par l'échelle de Jaffa double entre 1905 et 1910, il est vrai la meilleure année de l'avant-guerre. Haïffa, depuis l'arrivée du chemin de fer en 1905, a doublé également son trafic en quelques années, à partir de chiffres absolus plus faibles. A l'exportation, plus de la moitié du tonnage est constitué d'agrumes. Et naturellement ce qui intéresse les investisseurs éventuels pour la modernisation des ports, c'est la tendance, et celle-ci semble favorable.

Il faut noter ici combien la part du commerce français est modeste dans le trafic général des échelles de Palestine. Si, en reprochant des chiffres de différentes sources¹², l'on prend la moyenne des années 1905-1913, on constate que pour le port

de Jaffa, plus actif, la valeur des marchandises à destination de la France représente 800.000. sur un total de 14.000.000.f., soit 5, 7% le 4ème rang après l’Egypte, la Grande-Bretagne et l’Allemagne, tout juste devant l’Autriche-Hongrie, l’Italie et la Russie; aux importations qui s’élèvent à la moyenne de 24.000.000f., la France participe pour 1.600.000f., soit 6,5% du total, et se contente ainsi de la 6ème place après la Grande-Bretagne, l’Autriche-Hongrie, la Russie, l’Allemagne et l’Egypte, précédant de peu la Belgique, si l’on considère l’ensemble du commerce français pour Jaffa, Haïffa et St Jean d’Acre, les importations françaises en provenance de la Palestine représentent 1% importations françaises totales de l’Empire ottoman, et, dans l’autre sens, 2% des exportations françaises totales vers l’Empire; la France exporte en petites quantités, du sucre, du café et des produits fabriqués divers et importe des agrumes, des sésames, des peaux brutes et des objets de piété. Quant au nombre de voyageurs français, il est insignifiant: ce trafic répond donc sinon à une nécessité immédiate, du moins à un souci de présence, la présence du pavillon face aux concurrents, symbolisée par les navires de **Messageries Maritimes** affectés aux deux lignes subventionnées et qui, touchent Jaffa et parfois Haïffa¹³.

Quand, après la révolution jeune-turque, le gouvernement constitutionnel se propose de moderniser certains ports de commerce, un groupe français se constitue, en 1911, le **Consortium des ports de l’Empire ottoman** qui associe les firmes Hersent et Schneider, la **Régie générale des chemins de fer et travaux publics**, la société des **Batignolles** et la **Banque ottomane**.¹⁴ Le consortium qui a dû lâcher prise pour Samsoun et Trébizonde au profit d’un groupe anglais¹⁵, attache une particulière importance à la côte syrienne et singulièrement au port de Jaffa que les études de l’ingénieur Godart signalent comme particulièrement rentable. Dans le cadre du partage en cours de l’Empire en zones d’action économique entre les puissances, les Allemands se limitent à Alexandrette (dans la zone du **Bagdad**) et les Anglais agissent surtout en Mésopotamie: le consortium français a donc la possibilité d’agir sur les côtes de Syrie. Celui-ci, après avoir désintéressé deux députés de Jérusalem qui avaient misé sur un projet allemand, passe un accord avec le président de la ligne Jaff-Jérusalem. Conscient de la plus-value qu’apportera au chemin de fer la présence d’un port bien équipé à Jaffa, P. de Vauréal accepte, le 5 mars 1912, contre le renoncement du gouvernement ottoman à tout rachat avant l’expiration de la concession et l’autorisation de raccorder la gare aux quais, de verser à la société du port une indemnité de 3000.000 F. par an pendant la durée de la concession. Après quoi le consortium introduit à Constantinople une demande de concession pour la construction et l’exploitation du port de Jaffa.

Pour Haïffa, le consortium est plus réservé. Certes la présence du chemin de fer est un solide argument pour la construction d’un port moderne, conforté par une très forte augmentation du trafic. pourtant les ingénieurs de Schneider pensent que cette flambée ne se poursuivra pas et qu’en tout de cause, la région ne peut pas valablement alimenter trois ports modernes aussi rapprochés que Beyrouth, Haïffa et Jaffa. Or, l’administration du chemin de fer de Hedjaz, ou les Allemands sont

influents ¹⁶, déclare que, si besion est, elle construira elle-même un port moderne à Haïffa. Cette éventualité inquiète Paris. Alors, sous la pression de la **Banque impériale** et de l'ambassadeur de France (Maurice Bompard), le cosortium décide de demander également une concession pour Haïffa. Schneider et Hersent se réservent les 2/3 des commandes. L'accord général franco-turc d'avril 1914 entérine les deux concessions pour Jaffa et Haïffa¹⁷, à ceci près que pour Haïffa, il ne s'agit que de la construction, la gestion devant être assurée par l'administration du chemin de fer du Hedjaz dont le directeur pour le port (comme pour la ligne Haïffa-Damas) sera un Français. On le voit, l'avenir des intérêts français est bien ménagé.

Les communications ne constituent pas le seul secteur d'exploration de groupes français. Evoquons un échec dans le domaine de la colonisation agricole et un succès dans celui des services urbains.

la confiscation des domaines de la couronne (en 1909) et leur mise en vente ou en concession, aiguissent l'appétit de certains hommes d'affaires. Après l'abandon d'une première tentative, c'est plus de 2.500.000 hectares qui se trouvent mis en vente le 1er juillet 1913. parmi les 69.000 hectares du vilayet de Beyrouth se trouvent 15.000 hectares des terres de Ghor qui s'étendent sur la rive occidentale du Jourdain, de la gare de Bissan à la rivière Zarka: ces terres riches, convénat au coton, ont été achetées par la maison de Haïffa, **Reiss-kassab** qui cherche des capitalistes pour procéder à leur mise en valeur¹⁸. Or, la **Banque d'Algérie et de Tunisie** est sur les rangs et son président A.Lebon, avec le chaleureux appui du ministre français des Affaires étrangères, qui se rejouit de voir l'influence française se renforcer dans une région où "elle est restée jusqu'ici prépondérante"¹⁹, projette de mettre en place une "société des domaines impériaux" pour l'ensemble des terres, moyennant un capital de 200 millions de francs. par l'intermédiaire du banquier Fondère²⁰, le correspondant à Constantinoble du Syndicat des Affaires Turquie du président Noguès, Neguib Asfar, s'intéresse tout particulièrement aux terre de Ghor. Le Vice-consul de France à Haïffa estime qu'Asfar est le prête-nom des sionistes²¹. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'affaire échoue faute de pouvoir mener à bien l'emprunt projeté.

Le dénouement sera plus heureux en matière de services publics urbains. Les projets grandioses de la municipalité de Jérusalem (eaux, tramways, éclairage, égouts, téléphone) ont de quoi tenter les investisseurs. Après deux tentatives infructueuses de concurrents, la banque Pevier emporte la concession à la veille de la guerre.

Le premier échec est allemand. La concession des eaux a été offerte à un industriel allemand de Brême Karl Frank, par son cousin, le directeur à Jérusalem de la Jewish Colonisation Association. Un contrat est signé le 2 septembre 1909 entre la municipalité et la Deutsche Palaestina Bank mais ne pourra pas déboucher à la suite de difficultés liées à l'insuffisance des études techniques²².

Des études plus poussées sont menées par trois candidats à la concession des eaux: l'agent à Constantinople des Hauts-Fourneaux et Fonderies de Pont-à-Mousson,

A. Duboul; l'ingénieur R. Viterba, dépêché en juin 1910 à Jérusalem par la Société générale économique franco-ottomane présidée par de Bernis²³, un homme d'affaires, Fouquiau, représentant les capitalistes parisiens de la Banque de Bruxelles. C'est ce dernier qui remport l'affaire, mais il ne lui est pas possible de trouver le financement²⁴.

C'est ainsi qu'à la fin de 1913, sur un nouvel avis de la municipalité, un projet solide de contrat est proposé aux éventuels concessionnaires. C'est un nouveau venu dans l'Empire ottoman, le groupe Périer, qui va s'imposer, **La Banque Périer** qui vient d'obtenir, en dépit de l'opposition de la **Banque ottomane**, l'emprunt de la ville de Constantinople, a créé une Association en participation, l'Omnium d'entreprises²⁵ qui se répand, à la recherche de contrats de concession de services municipaux, et a envoyé Jérusalem un agent compétent, Mavromatis. Périer a de la chance car les concurrents sérieux, **Pont-à-Mousson** et la **Société générale de Travaux d'Etat de Paris**, déposent trop tradivement leur demande, et il est aisé de désintéresser les candidats locaux: la **Banque commerciale de Palestine**²⁶ obtient une participation de 40% du capital à créer. Le 24 janvier 1914, la concession est obtenue pour les tramways, l'éclairage électrique et la distribution des eaux à Jérusalem. La guerre éclate au moment où se constitue la société et interrompt les pourparlers bien engagés par Périer pour le projet du tramway Jérusalem-Bethléem²⁷.

Le fonctionnement et le développement d'activités économiques liées à l'agriculture et au commerce, la présence de nombreuses écoles et institutions religieuses de diverses nationalités, le siège à Jérusalem de plusieurs patriarchats et de la Custodie, les lettres de crédit des touristes et pèlerins, les transferts de fonds entre la province et Constantinople, les arbitrages en monnaies, entraînent des mouvements d'argent qui appellent l'installation d'organismes bancaires, Non point que les profits immédiatement escomptés apparaissent considérables, mais il s'agit ici encore d'assurer, face eux concurrents, une présence, dans l'espoir d'une croissance future de l'ensemble des activités économiques et financières de la Syrie.

En ouvrant en 1892 une sous-agence à Jérusalem²⁸, le **Crédit Lyonnais** espère faire de la banque l'intermédiaire entre le gouvernement russe et ses nombreux établissements religieux en Palestine, en lieu et place des Rothschild, et compte sur les conséquences, favorables aux affaires, de la mise en route de chemin de fer Jaffa-Jérusalem. Les résultats sont assez décevants: jusqu'en 1903 les bénéfiques de l'agence plafonnent à la moyenne annuelle de 15.000 F.²⁹ et ont tendance ensuite à baisser⁰³. C'est que la concurrence s'est vite fait rude. Il fallut bientôt compter avec la **Deutsche Palaestina Bank** installée à Jérusalem des 1897, puis à Jaffa en 1899 et à Haïffa en 1904, avec le correspondant de la **Banca Commerciale Italiana**, avec l'**Anglo Palestine Bank** (1903) qui traite la plupart des affaires des colonies juives. Plus grave encore la **Banque impériale ottomane** décidait d'ouvrir, en 1904, une agence à Jérusalem et à Jaffa et l'année suivante à Haïffa, Le **Crédit Lyonnais** envisagea de fermer la sous-agence de Jérusalem après entente avec La **Banque ot-**

tomane une correspondance s'engagea, mais n'aboutit point,³¹ il y a donc deux banques françaises concurrentes à Jérusalem.

Dès 1900, le consul général de France à Jérusalem, impressionné par les progrès que l'on prêtait à la **Deutsche Palaestina Bank**, a proposé l'ouverture d'une agence du Crédit Lyonnais à Jaffa, et Delcassé est intervenu auprès du siège parisien.³² Dans ses réponses la direction des agences démontait les arguments avancés: elle estimait qu'il suffisait de travailler à Jaffa avec le correspondant habituel, B. Alonzo et fils. Pourtant ces derniers bientôt menacés de faillite, créèrent le fait nouveau qui entraîna l'ouverture en 1902 à Jaffa d'un bureau de la banque. Toutes les interventions pour faire transformer le bureau de Jaffa en sous-agence ont buté devant le refus de Paris de s'engager dans une opération qui aboutirait simplement à doubler les frais généraux.³³ Ces tribulations bancaires sont à la fois le signe d'une incontestable ouverture économique de la région, et la marque de ses limites.

Il est assez difficile d'arriver à chiffrer les intérêts économiques et financiers français dans la Palestine telle que nous l'avons définie. Les investissements mobiliers sont essentiellement liés au chemin de fer, car les autres affaires ne peuvent réellement aboutir avant la guerre. Si l'on veut bien ajouter les dépenses des études des différents projets, et la capital propre des agences bancaires, on atteint difficilement le chiffre de 15.000.000 F., soit moins de 3% de l'ensemble des capitaux français (valeurs mobilières) investis dans les entreprises de l'Empire ottoman dans ses frontières de 1914. Si l'on veut prendre en compte l'ensemble du patrimoine appartenant à des Français, terres, immeubles et maisons, fonds de commerce dont l'estimation est fort aléatoire, il semble difficile de dépasser les 40.000.000.F.³⁴ Chiffres modestes, sans doute, mais qui ne donnent pas, à eux seuls, la véritable mesure des intérêts français dans cette région.

Les intérêts culturels français en Palestine sont liés essentiellement à la présence dans la région d'établissements hospitaliers et d'écoles qui interviennent sous des modalités différentes dans la mise en contact avec la France à travers le soulagement de la souffrance, l'application pratique de son savoir faire en matière médicale et d'assistance et surtout dans l'acquisition de la langue française, médiateur fondamental pour l'accès à la connaissance et à l'appréciation de la culture et de l'histoire de la France. Nous voudrions ici insister particulièrement sur écoles qui sont l'objet des soins attentifs du gouvernement français, dans l'ensemble de l'Empire ottoman, et pour ce qui nous concerne, en Palestine.

Nous disposons à cet égard d'une vaste enquête qui fut confiée en 1912 par le **Comité des intérêts, français en Orient**³⁵ à un rédacteur au **Journal des Débats**, Maurice Pernot, et dont les résultats furent publiés dans un ouvrage sous le titre **Rapport sur voyage d'étude à Constantinople en Egypte et en Turquie d'Asie**³⁶. Le but est naturellement de montrer l'ampleur des intérêts culturels français dans la région, mais la lecture des archives diplomatiques et des archives des principales congrégations religieuses en cause me permettent de dire, que l'auteur s'est référé

aux meilleures sources et, on pourrait tout juste lui reprocher d'avoir choisi, devant une estimation, Le chiffre le plus élevé. Les chiffres sont donc acceptable à 10% près. Sans pouvoir entrer dans ces nuances de détail, nous essaierons de tirer quelques réflexions à partir de ce travail et des sources disponibles.³⁷

Nous plaçant du point de vue de la connaissance de la langue française, nous retenons les établissements français, ceux que la France protège et subventionne parce que le français y est enseigné des l'école primaire, et ceux dont la langue de l'enseignement est le français, les écoles de l'**Alliance israélite universelle**. Ainsi en 1912, pour l'ensemble de ces écoles, collèges, orphelinats, séminaires, fonctionnant en Palestine, le chiffre des élèves est de 9.000(3.500 garçons et 5.5000 filles), soit 10,3% de l'ensemble des élèves fréquentant les écoles de langue française dans l'Empire ottoman.³⁸ Il est pratiquement impossible de ventiler ces élèves par nationalités, mais en revanche pour plus de 90% du total, la région est soigneuse-

ment prise en compte, ce nous permet d'établir quelques pourcentages significatifs, Sans reprendre ici les chiffres absolus, disons que 66,25% de ces élèves sont des chrétiens(catholiques latins et unis: 25,5% orthodoxes grecs et arméniens: 12,5% protestants:1,25%), 25, 75% des israélites, 8% des musulmans On remarque que le taux de scolarisation dans les écoles de langue française est inversement proportionnel à la composition de la population que l'on peut approximativement³⁹ établir ainsi: 79,4% juifs 11,6%, chrétiens 9%. Vu sous un autre angle, qui n'est pas sans comporter quelques risques, on peut dire que les élèves des écoles "françaises" en Palestine touchent 40% de la population chrétienne scolarisable ⁴⁰,12% la population juive scolarisable et 0.55% de la population musulmane scolarisable. La langue et la culture françaises concernent donc avant tout les populations minoritaires de la Palestine⁴¹.

Ceci est compréhensible si l'on constate que, mis à part les écoles de l'Alliance Israélite universelle, les écoles de langue françaises sont essentiellement congréganistes. Rien de comparable ici avec ce qui se passe à Beyrouth où la **Mission laïque** a ouvert un collège et encourage les tentatives de laïcs qui cherchent à ouvrir leurs établissements en direction notamment des Arabes musulmans. si, dans certaines régions de l'Empire, des aménagements sont tentés par des enseignants congréganistes dans cette voie, il ne semble pas que ce soit le cas en Palestine. Les principaux ordres religieux faisant oeuvre d'enseignement (et d'assistance) en Palestine, sont les **Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes**), les **Lazaristes**, les **Pères de Terre Sainte** les **Dames de Sion**, les **Soeurs de St. Joseph de l'Apparition**, les **Filles de la Charité** les **Dames de Nazareth**, les **Soeurs du Rosaire** et les **Tertiaires du Carmel**, Il est possible d'établir les chiffres, par nationalité, des enseignants, auxquels nous joignons ici les contemplatifs et le personnel des établissements hospitaliers: 376 français, 72 ottomans et 64 étrangers de diverses nationalités⁴². Si l'on y adjoint les étrangers ou internationaux relevant du protectorat français, notamment le **Patriarcat latin**, la **Custodie de Terre-Sainte** et les **Salesiens** ces chiffres passent respectivement à

412,142 et 328 notera que par rapport à la population scolarisé le chiffre des enseignants français est relativement satisfaisant.

Pour tenter une approche de l'impact de cet enseignement sur ceux qui le suivent, il convient de distinguer les ordres d'enseignements. Il n'existe en Palestine qu'un seul établissement d'enseignement supérieur, l'**Ecole d'Etudes bibliques** des Dominicains de St Etienne à Jérusalem. Le but de l'Ecole est de "former des professeurs d'Ecriture sainte, des conférenciers, des écrivains qui soient au courant de l'état actuel des controverses bibliques".⁴³ Les cours, qui s'étendent suivant le cas, sur un, deux ou trois ans, touchent au mieux une douzaine d'étudiants par qui se disperseront ensuite. Cette Ecole, dirigée par le R.P.Lagrange depuis plus de deux décennies, contribue certes au prestige de la France dans la région, mais elle est en butte à un projet du Sain-Siège qui no peut manquer de lui porter un coup. Le Pape a confié au jesuite allemand Leopold Fonck la présidence de l'**Institut Biblique Pontifical** avec mission d'installer une succursale de cet Institut à Jérusalem. Il s'agit de porter ombrage au P.Lagrange donc certaines positions ont déplu au Vatican. Le consul général de France craint que cette opération n'aboutisse à introduire à Jérusalem, à la fois "les Jésuites et les Allemands"⁴⁴. Pourtant ce nouvel établissement demande la protection de la France et est compris dans l'accord franco-ottoman du 18 decembre 1913.

L'enseignement secondaire représente l'élément-clé pour qu'une association de la langue et de la culture françaises puisse prendre éventuellement un caracère stable et durable. Il ne touche, sur l'ensemble des 9000 élèves recensés dans les écoles de langue française, que 938 garçons et 357 filles, soit peu près 15% du total; encore faut-il préciser que sur ce chiffre, 208 garçons sont des séminaristes ou des novices(45) destinés au renouvellement de la fonction enseignante. Ce qui est appelé ici enseignement secondaire ou assimilé correspond plutot à un niveau de primaire supérieur, qui débouche souvent sur un enseignement pratique préparant à une profession (par exemple les sections "commerce" des collèges des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes). Les élèves qui fréquentent ces collèges, payants la plupart de temps, sont, pour un bon nombre, des fils de notables, de propriétaires terriens, de commerçants, qui poursuivront dans les affaires familiales ou trouveront assez aisément une place dans les administrations ou les maisons de commerce de la localité. Certains serviront d'utiles intermédiaires entre les autorités locales et les intérêts économiques français ou constitueront les cadres moyens nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de ces intérêts: chemins de fer, ports, banques, mais aussi entennes locales de l'**Administration des Phares**, de la **Régie cointeressée des Tabacs**, de l'**Administration de la Dette publique**, tous organismes ou le pouvoir de décision est entièrement ou largement français. Quant aux filles, elles sont essentiellement préparées à devenir de bonnes mères de famille et de compétentes maitresses de maison.

Il est difficile d'apprécier l'empreinte culturelle de l'enseignement primaire "français", d'où il faudrait du reste extraire mais les statistiques disponibles ne le

permettent pas toujours-ce qui ressort plus de la crèche et de la garderie que d'un véritable enseignement. Nombre de ces élèves sont des orphelins recueillis, dont la prise en charge gratuite est couverte, soit par des subventions extérieures, soit par le produit de l'école payante attenante. Si l'on peut avoir quelque doute sur la connaissance du français des élèves des écoles melchites ou des **Soeurs du Rosaire**, toutes arabes " et entendant le rester" (46), il ressort de l'enquête de M. Pernot que enseignent bien sûr la langue du pays-l'arabe et plus rarement le turc arrivent à donner avec succès, à leurs élèves, une connaissance suffisante de la langue française. A cet égard, et malgré les pressions des dirigeants sionistes, l'**Alliance israélite universelle** qui a dû admettre l'hébreu comme "langue du pays", maintient, non sans difficultés, la primauté du français comme langue d'enseignement(47). Ajoutons que toutes les écoles primaires de langue française comprennent un enseignement manuel adapté aux minces possibilités économiques de la région. C'est cet ensemble, aux limites souvent un peu floues, qui constitue cette "bonne instruction française"(48) capable de susciter les réactions de sympathie qui pourraient s'avérer, le moment venu, politiquement exploitables.

C'est une des principales raisons pour lesquelles les gouvernement de la république française, laïque et radicale, n'ont jamais cessé de subventionner la plupart de ces écoles ainsi que les oeuvres d'assistance. En plus des écoles il faut, en effet, citer en Palestine, quatre hôpitaux et plusieurs hospices et plusieurs hospices et dispensaires français(49). L'aide s'impose d'autant plus que la concurrence est vive: les Italiens, les Allemands, les Russes, les Anglais et d'autres encore, ne cessent de développer leurs oeuvres dans la région. Non point que les institutions françaises ou protégées de la France soient trop peu nombreuses, mais elles sont souvent d'une gestion difficile, faute de moyens, notamment les hôpitaux qui sont sou- équipés. Il y aurait sans doute à prendre dans la façon dont fonctionnent sur place, la **Société russe de Palestine**, la **Société italienne de Turin**, le **Palaestina Verein**. La France sait mal lier son action culturelle à ses intérêts économiques et financiers et Maurice Pernot forme le voeu que le **Comité des intérêts français en Orient** tente de jouer ce rôle(50). En attendant, le gouvernement français reconduit, d'année en année, la subvention inscrite au chapitre 22 du budget du ministère des Affaires étrangères(51). Les légères augmentations introduites en 1912 sont destinées à la région de Beyrouth (et d'abord aux oeuvres laïques) mais il y a quelques retombées sur le nord de la Palestine rattaché au vilayet de Beyrouth. Ainsi, sur les 850.000 F. de subventions votées par le Chambres en 1913 pour les intérêts culturels français dans l'Empire ottoman,(52) dont 85.000 pour les oeuvres d'assistance et 765.000 pour l'enseignement, la Palestine se voit attribuer respectivement 42.000 et 105.500 F. Il semble que Maurice Pernot ait été entendu puisque 50% des subventions destinées à l'assistance va aux hopitaux et hospices particulièrement nombreux, il est vrai, en Palestine tandis que, pour 10,3% des élèves, la Palestine obtient 13,2% des subventions attribuées aux écoles. incontestablement la Palestine bénéficie des retombées de l'effort particulier mené en direction de la Syrie, sans en être le point d'impact principal.

Les intérêts politico-culturels sont, à travers la question du protectorat catholique de la France, en liaison directe avec les intérêts plus généraux que l'on peut qualifier de politico-religieux. Il s'agit d'un privilège reconnu à la France, notamment par la Capitulation de 1740, de protéger partout, et surtout dans les Lieux-Saints, les personnes et les oeuvres catholiques latines, étrangères à l'Empire ottoman et quelle qu'en soit tenait une forme de patronat étendu aux Latins de nationalité ottomane, le protectorat catholique de la France était battu en brèche, dans la mesure où le traité de Berlin, tout en réservant les droits de la France, avait reconnu à chaque puissance le droit d'exercer partout, même dans les Lieux-Saints, au profit de leurs nationaux, ce type de protection. Cette évolution donnera parfois lieu à des accords comme celui entre la France et l'Italie en 1905, mais si la pratique tend à réduire les possibilités d'intervention de la France le Saint-Siège reste absolument ferme sur le principe du protectorat catholique de la France et intervient périodiquement auprès de la **Custodie de Terre Sainte** pour en sauvegarder le fonctionnement. En effet, la bonne volonté des Pères Franciscains de Terre Saints, gardiens des Lieux-Saints depuis 1333, est indispensable au bon fonctionnement du protectorat de la France, comme intermédiaire obligé entre les plaignants éventuels et les autorités consulaires françaises de Jérusalem. Le droit et la mission du consul général de France est de veiller, comme on a coutume de dire depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle, au maintien du **statu quo** "équilibre de fait existant entre les différentes communautés qui se partagent les Lieux Saints"⁽⁵³⁾. Si bien que dans les années qui précèdent la guerre le protectorat catholique de la France s'articule entre la qualité des relations entretenues avec le Père Custode d'un côté et de l'autre, la marge d'intervention de la France vis-à-vis des autorités ottomanes, pour le règlement des multiples incidents qui ponctuent les heurts entre les six communautés (Latine, Gercque Arménienne, Copte, Syrienne, Abyssine) qui se partagent la jouissance des sanctuaires des Lieux-Saints.

La **Custodie de Terre Sainte**, institution, qui regroupe des Franciscains de diverses nationalités est dirigé, depuis la **Bulle** de Benoît XIV, par un discretoire de 7 personnes, mais où le pouvoir réel est entre les mains du P. Custode, toujours un Italien et du P. Procureur général responsable financier), un Espagnol; quant au poste de Vicaire custodial, réservé à un Français, il est plutôt honorifique. Or, entre 1906 et 1913, les relations entre la **Custodie** et le Vicaire custodial sont particulièrement mauvaises, reflétant en fait des contradictions plus profondes entre les Français et les Italiens, dans la compétition pour le profondes entre les Français et les Italiens, dans la compétition pour le protectorat⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Certes les problèmes personnels ne sont pas négligeables et il semble bien que le P. Custode, Roberto Razzoli, ne soit pas d'un commerce commode. Considéré, selon le consul de France, comme le plus "gran buggiarde" des temps modernes, "violent et grossier comme un portefaix", il ne connaîtrait qu'une seule façon de traiter les affaires: "le coup de Poing"⁽⁵⁵⁾. Cela ne facilite évidemment pas le règlement des incidents, mais cette attitude recouvre en fait la lutte sourde menée par les Italiens

“ultra-nationalistes” de la Custodie qui se rejouiraient, “en dépit des instructions pontificales, de voir notre protectorat remplacé par celui de leur patrie.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Là est sans doute le fond de la question. Et la France à l’occasion en 1913 de prendre indirectement une sorte de revanche. En effet le nouveau P. Custode, Onorato Careaterra, appliquant brutalement un **motu proprio** papal, démet de ses pouvoirs le Procureur général et concentre toute l’autorité entre les mains du P. Custode. Le gouvernement espagnol réagit vigoureusement, à cette tentative d’enlever à la Custodie son caractère international et la France dans cette affaire soutient plutôt personnellement favorable à la France⁽⁵⁷⁾ Finalement, le discrétore reprend sa forme antérieure, et l’ambassadeur de France se réjouit de ce que l’intervention espagnole “ait rendu un réel service aux puissances catholiques et en particulier à la France”⁽⁵⁸⁾ L’arrivée, le 28 mars 1914, à la tête de la Custodie, du P. Serafino Cimino, soucieux d’entretenir avec le représentant de la France des rapports amicaux, laisse bien augurer, sur le terrain, du fonctionnement du protectorat français. Perspective d’autant plus appréciée que si les relations entre le consul général et le Patriarcat latin, protégé de la France, sont bonnes, on peut cependant regretter que les prêtres français qui en font partie soient beaucoup trop effacés⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Quant aux multiples incidents nés de l’atteinte au **statu quo**, et qui imposent au consul de France démarches et interventions, il faut en souligner le caractère à la fois insolite et sérieux, voire grave. Tous n’ont pas l’ampleur de l’incident du Parvis, quand, le 4 novembre 1901, pour avoir balayé une rangée de pierres de trop au pied de l’escalier de l’Eglise des Francs, des Franciscains furent assaillis par des Grecs et des Arméniens armés de cailloux, couteaux et hachettes et laissèrent une quinzaine de blessés sur le terrain⁽⁶⁰⁾. Pour être moins spectaculaires, les incidents relatifs au passage officiel des Latins par la petite porte de fer et la grande porte de la basilique de Ste Hélène à Bethléem, occupent le consul de France aussi souvent que les détériorations de l’Etoile d’argent de la Grotte de la Nativité⁽⁶¹⁾. Périodique aussi, l’incident du passage des Grecs par l’escalier nord de la Grotte. Il faut, à plusieurs reprises ramener à la raison des Arméniens qui ont la prétention de balayer seuls “la partie qui surplombe le divan des portiers musulmans”⁽⁶²⁾. En avril 1912, le consul général “résume” en douze pages dactylographiées les heurts intervenus entre Grecs et Latins à propos du droit de présence pour l’ouverture de la Basilique du Saint-Sépulcre, et qui est à l’origine d’une vive altercation avec le P.Custode⁽⁶³⁾. Encore en juillet 1912, le vernissage de quelques armoires que les Grecs ont effectué sans le consentement des Latins déclenche de graves difficultés. Généralement, le gouverneur ottoman intervient dans un sens favorable à une détente. Mais le consul général doit éviter de se laisser entraîner par le P.Custode dans des interventions en faveur de sujets ottomans latins, ce qui ne peut que susciter des démêlés avec Constantinople⁽⁶⁴⁾. Si bien que parfois, à l’ambassade de France, on en vient à se demander si s’accrocher au protectorat catholique ne présente pas finalement plus d’inconvénients que d’avantages.

Pourtant, le gouvernement français n’est pas de cet avis, montre au contraire la

plus grande vigilance à cet égard, et particulièrement en ce qui concerne les Lieux-Saints. C'est que les **énergies** dépensées à ce qui peut apparaître comme des masquineries de moines **déboucher** sur la grande politique. La protection de nombre d'écoles et de couvents, des sanctuaires des Lieux-Saints, ménage à la France des possibilités d'intervention dont on a pu mesurer les développements en 1860 et qui ne sont pas impensables dans le contexte du partage de l'Empire en zones d'influence. C'est la raison pour laquelle, après avoir obtenu, à l'occasion de l'intervention navale de Métélin en 1901⁽⁶⁵⁾ la reconnaissance de privilèges pour les écoles françaises et protégées, le gouvernement français, dans le cadre de la négociation générale franco-turque de 1913-1914, a imposé au gouvernement ottoman, par l'accord du 18 décembre 1913, sanctionné par le sultan au début de 1914, l'extension de ce régime de faveur à tous les établissements scolaires, hospitaliers, de bienfaisance et de culte, français ou sous le protectorat de la France. Et les Lieux-Saints viennent naturellement en bonne place dans cette reconnaissance, par le gouvernement ottoman, d'un privilège que la Papauté a toujours appuyé, même après la rupture des relations diplomatiques avec Paris. On peut donc estimer qu'en 1914, tout semble se conjuguer, en dépit des concurrences qui ne désarment pas, pour placer la France en bonne position lorsque viendra en discussion le sort de la Palestine⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Intérêts économiques, intérêts culturels et religieux forment un ensemble digne de retenir l'attention du gouvernement de Paris, dans les desseins généraux que certains secteurs des affaires et du monde politique nourrissent en direction de la Syrie. Pourtant, la Palestine elle-même n'est sans doute pas la région qui, du point de vue français, évoque un particulier dynamisme. En dehors des 500 enseignants congréganistes, combien y a-t-il de Français en Palestine? La réponse est difficile pour de nombreuses raisons, mais le chiffre de 150 à 200 paraît un maximum. Dans toutes les écoles françaises on note seulement trois élèves de nationalité française. Toutes les entreprises françaises se plaignent des difficultés qu'elles éprouvent à recruter des Français pour des postes de responsabilité; il en va de même pour la gestion des bureaux locaux de l'Administration de la Dette publique, de l'Administration des Phares, de la Régie des Tabacs, pour tenir les recettes des postes françaises⁽⁶⁸⁾. P. de Vauréal doit se contenter de deux agents français pour le chemin de fer Jaffa-Jérusalem et le Crédit Lyonnais, quant à lui, doit mettre un Grec à la tête de son agence de Jérusalem. Sans doute les Français sont-ils casaniers: il faut cependant bien reconnaître que, si Jaffa et Haïffa montrent quelque activité liée aux fonctions portuaires et ferroviaires, Jérusalem, comme l'avoue un inspecteur du Crédit Lyonnais, "est un tombeau où l'on meurt d'ennui"⁽⁶⁹⁾. L'isolement est encore aggravé par les quarantaines entraînées par des épidémies de choléra, dont l'une encore en 1912, perturbe la vie économique de la région. Certes, un peu d'animation s'empare de la ville au moment des pèlerinages. Le pèlerinage orthodoxe de Pâques par exemple, ou près de 10 000 personnes, Russes pour l'essentiel, envahissent les ruelles de la Ville Sainte. Le consul général de France attache une particulière importance aux **Pèlerins de la Penitence**⁽⁷⁰⁾ qui, deux fois par an, sous la houlette des

PP. Assomptionnistes, débarquent à Jaffa, puis après trois heures et demie de train atteignent Jérusalem. C'est alors que du balcon pavoise de l'agence du Crédit Lyonnais, près de la Porte de Jaffa, le représentant de la France regarde les deux cents pèlerins se rendre processionnellement au Tombeau du Sauveur, pavillon français en tête. Des réceptions suivront au cours desquelles il fera applaudir la France, non seulement par la centaine de Français qui ont fait le voyage, mais par les pèlerins de différentes nationalités (souvent des sud-américains) qui se sont joints aux Français. Depuis 1908, le **pèlerinage Saint-Louis** de Mrg Potard est notoirement soutenu par la Custodie, pour faire pièce aux pèlerinages des Assomptionnistes jugés beaucoup trop engagés du côté des Français⁽⁷¹⁾. Mais ce sont là, comme les visites d'officiers de marine ou le passage d'une célébrité, épisodes d'exaltation dans un contexte où l'isolement domine.

Vue de Paris, la Palestine provoque des réactions plus complexes. En effet, les accords généraux du printemps 1914 avec Constantinople placent la Syrie, Palestine comprise, dans la zone d'influence française. Mais il faudrait se garder de trop faciles simplifications. A la veille de la guerre, personnel politique et hommes d'affaires français sont divisés sur l'opportunité d'une éventuelle intervention de la France en Syrie. Les uns, comme l'ambassadeur Bompard, ses amis de la Banque impériale ottomane, J.Caillaux, estiment que les intérêts français doivent être poussés dans toutes les régions de l'Empire, sans envisager l'occupation d'une province particulière difficile à "diger" alors que la France s'installe au Maroc. D'autres, au contraire, avec les frères Jules et Paul Cambon, Poincaré, les promoteurs de la Banque du Liban, certains soyeux lyonnais, soutenus par une presse nombreuse, prennent appui sur les divers et puissants intérêts français dans la région, pour célébrer les "droits" de la France en Syrie. Cette position, qui est celle du gouvernement français à partir de l'automne 1912, est confortée par le desintéressement politique déclaré de l'Angleterre⁽⁷²⁾. Si globalement, ni le sionisme ni les sionistes ne semblent jouer un rôle sensible dans les décisions d'un gouvernement français fortement méfiant à cet égard, ce dernier ne dédaigne pas, en revanche, d'utiliser les aspirations et les contradictions de certaines tendances du mouvement nationaliste arabe: pour preuve l'accueil chaleureux réservé par les autorités françaises au premier Congrès arabe syrien, réuni à Paris en Juin 1913⁽⁷³⁾. Il s'agit pour la France de se ménager un capital de sympathie, sans porter grave ombre au gouvernement ottoman, et en préparant ainsi avantageusement l'avenir.

Certes, on peut aisément convenir que l'évocation des Croisades et de la sauvegarde des Lieux-Saints, même avec le renfort du talent de Barrès, participe largement de la fabrication et de l'utilisation d'un mythe, à condition toutefois de ne pas oublier que les intérêts réels, économiques, culturels, religieux français en Palestine, contribuent, à leur mesure, à l'élaboration d'un projet impérialiste français en direction de la Syrie.

NOTES

- 1 Vital Cuinet, **La Turquie d'Asie**, 6 vol., 1896, tome 6 "Syrie, Liban, Palestine", Avant-propos, p.III.
- 2 La vingtaine de colonies juives, représentant environ 11.000 hectares, sont gérées, depuis le début du siècle par la Jewish Colonisation Association, société de législation anglaise, dont le président est N.Leven, président de l'Alliance Israélite universelle. Voir notamment Archives du Consulat général de France à Jérusalem (C.J.) 94, Jérusalem à ministre des Affaires Etrangères Paris (A.E.) le 17.11.1903.
- 3 Le but ultime du baron E. de Rothschild est, comme il le dit lui-même en 1899, "la renaissance d'Israel à ancienne patrie". Cité par I.Margalith, **Le baron E.de Rothschild et la colonisation juive en Palestine 188-1899**, Paris, 1957, p. 75.
- 4 **Les huit plus importantes colonies allemandes sont estimées à 3.000 hectares.**
- 5 **Pour de plus amples informations sur le chemin de fer, voir J.Thobie, Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire ottoman 1895-1914**, Paris 1977, p. 158 et p.330.
- 6 En vingt ans, 212% pour les voyageurs. Les voyageurs de lère classe passent pour 95% par des agences de voyage anglaises Cook en tête; la société (française) de voyages économiques ne touche guère plus de 2% des touristes.
- 7 En 1914, le gouvernement britannique reste opposé à ce projet où il voit une menace potentielle pour la sécurité de l'Egypte.
- 8 Art. B et C de protocole de clôture paraphé le 9 avril 1914.
- 9 Art. 4 de l'accord-annexe sur les chemins de fer et les ports.
- 10 Art. 6 de la convention signée entre P.de Vauréal et Djavid bey (ministre ottoman des finances), le 10 avril 1914.
- 11 Pour cette affaire, voir J.Thobie, **op.cit.**, p. 368.
- 12 Rapports commerciaux des consuls, notamment Archives Nationales Paris (A.N.) F 12, 7281 et 7389; Diplomatic and Consular Reports; rapport de l'ingénieur Godart, AN 84 AQ SCB 9.
- 13 Le passage de ces navires de fort tonnage met le pavillon français au 2e rang après la Garnde-Bretagne, pour le mouvement maritime à Jaffa, exprime en tonneaux de jauge.
- 14 AN 89 AQ 18 SCB Consortium.
- 15 Archives du Foreign Office (F. O.) 371 1240.
- 16 Le directeur de la ligne du Hedjaz fut français de 1905 à 1908 (Gaudin), mais à partir de cet date, ce sont des ingénieurs allemands qui sont choisis. AE CFA XI, notamment Constantinople à AE, le 19.2.1912. Le directeur-général est bien entendu un Ottoman.
- 17 Art. 10 de l'accord-annexe.

- 18 AE Turquie NS 377. Haïffa, AE, le 3.8.1913.
- 19 AN F 30 356. Pichon (AE) à Lebon, le 19.7.1913.
- 20 Fondère et son ami Noguès sont administrateurs de plusieurs sociétés au Congo français.
- 21 AN F 30 350. Haïffa à AE, le 28.6.1913.
- 22 AE Turquie carton 47, correspondance de l'Omnium d'entreprises, et CJ 86.
- 23 Cette société, fondée en octobre 1909, regroupe des entrepreneurs et des industriels, à la recherche de toutes opérations industrielles et commerciales en Turquie. AN 65 AQ 241. Elle prend, en mars 1914, le-titre de **Société générale économique franco-orientals**.
- 24 CJ 86. Jérusalem à Constantinople, le 2.11.1911.
- 25 Créée en 1912, ce consortium regroupe des banquiers (Périer, Société ancienne de crédit, Banque Renaud) des entrepreneurs et des industriels, pour la réalisation de travaux de toutes sortes dans l'Empire ottoman. AE Turquie carton 47.
- 26 La **Banque commerciale de Palestine** a été créée à Jérusalem, en août 1909, par des chrétiens et un israélite, tous sujets ottomans, dans le but de participer au développement de la Palestine. Le capital, de 25.000 Ltq (575.000.F.) témoigne de la modestie de l'établissement. AN F 30 361. AE à Finances, le 3.8.1909.
- 27 Le capital français ne s'est point intéressé à la recherche pétrolière pourtant ouverte en Palestine ou, de 1910 à 1914, 29 permis de recherches ont été accordées à des notables syriens pour plusieurs périmètres autour du lac de Tibériade et de la mer Morte. Il s'agit bien sûr de trouver les capitalistes décidés à investir dans ces affaires. Ainsi, l'ingénieur allemand G.Schumacher, de Haïffa, allié à de grands propriétaires de la région, ne trouve personne en Allemagne et les Majors (du pétrole) se refusent. C'est finalement le groupe anglais E.T.Boxall, qui constitue en novembre 1912 la Syrian Exploration Co. au capital de 500.000 F. Cette Société est entièrement contrôlée par le capital anglais, même si un Français détient quelques parts. Ce programme porte sur six permis. Seize permis échouent à la Turkish Petroleum Co, et sept à un groupe de Jérusalem où se trouvent associés un Al Hussein et la Standard Oil. Pour toutes ces affaires, voir FO 371 424, 1817 et 2124, ainsi que Archives de consulat général de Beyrouth (CB) 254. Cette absence du capital français, comme du reste dans tout l'Empire ottoman, pour les recherches pétrolières, est particulièrement fâcheuse dans une région considérée par Paris comme étant sous influence française.
- 28 La Palestine dépend, pour le Crédit Lyonnais, de l'agence d'Alexandrie. Il n'y a pas d'agence du Crédit Lyonnais à Beyrouth. Il n'y a encore aucune agence de banque étrangère à Jérusalem.
- 29 Archives du Crédit Lyonnais (CL), direction des Agences étrangères

- (DAE) 8050. Soit 5.5% des **bénéfices** de Constantinople et 20% de ceux de l'agence de Smyrne
- 30 "Les bénéfices actuels de Jérusalem sont très modestes, nous dirions même volontiers nuls, si l'on tient compte des risques de toute nature que comportent nos affaires en Palestine", CL DAE 6119. DEA à Agence Alexandrie.
- 31 CL DAE à Alexandrie, le 4.11.1904.
- 32 Id. DAE à Alexandrie, le 12.11.1902.
- 34 CJ 126. Dans le cadre de l'enquête sur la fortune française à l'étranger, le consul général de Jérusalem évalue, sur une base très optimiste, les propriétés diverses des religieux, des particuliers et de l'Etat français à 22 millions de francs à Jérusalem et environs, et à 4 millions à Jaffa, 11 convient de tenir compte de Haïffa. Jérusalem a AE, le 18.5.1901.
- 35 Le Comité des Intérêts français en Orient a été fondé à Paris, par des personnages éminents du monde de la politique, des affaires, des Lettres, "pour travailler sans distinction de parti et dans l'esprit le plus large à maintenir et à développer notre situation morale, politique et économique en Orient". Il est présidé par A.Ribot, académicien, sénateur, ancien président du conseil; les vice-présidents sont Léon Bourgeois, Paul Deschanel Ernest Lavisse, et parmi les membres figure le président de la République R. Poincaré.
- 36 Paris, 1913, 338 pages.
- 37 L'établissement des chiffres pose de sérieux problèmes: double emplois souvent impossible à repérer, différence entre les inscrits et les présents réguliers, vagabondage scolaire etc..
- 38 Le chiffre donne par Pernot est de 87.743 élèves pour l'Empire ottoman, 108.122 si l'on y inclut l'Egypte.
- 39 J'admets pour la population palestinienne en 1914, le chiffre de 730.000, dont 580.000 musulmans, 85.000 juifs et 65.000 chrétiens. Voir, par exemple O.Carré, **Le mouvement national palestinien**, Paris, 1977, pp. 12-13.
- 40 J'entends par population scolarisable la tranche d'âge 5-14 ans, en adoptant la pourcentage de la population française de 1790. on voit qu'il s'a git bien d'une approximation.
- 41 Par ailleurs, 42% des élèves fréquentant les écoles de langue française sont à Jérusalem.
- 42 CJ 91. Tableau pour 1911.
- 43 CJ 56. Dépliant de L'Ecole pour 1904.
- 44 Id. Notamment, Mémoire sur l'érection d'une succursale de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical, par Léopold Fonk, le 14.10.1912.
- 45 Séminaire de Sainte-Anne des Pères Blancs, Séminaire maronite des Lazaristes, Séminaire syrien des Bénédictins français.
- 46 M.Pernot, **op. cit.**, p. 100.

- 47 Archives de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) France XI F 20, et E.Cohen, **Influence intellectuelle et sociale des établissements de l'A.I.U. sur les Israélites du Proche-Orient**, thèse dactylographiée, 1962, p.324. Cependant cette bataille est perdue après 1914.
- 48 M.Pernot, *op.cit.*, p.101.
- 49 Hopital Saint-Louis de Jérusalem (Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition), 1160 malades en 1911; Hopital français des Filles de la Charité à Bethléém, 1635 malades; Hopital municipal des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph à Naplouse; Hopital français des Filles dola Charité à Nazareth, 281 malades.
- 50 En réalité, le Comité des Intérêts français en Orient se dissout en 1913, et ses membres rejoignent le **Comité de l'Asie Française**, qui publie son **Bulletin du Comité** et répond, par son dynamisme, au voeu de M. Pernot.
- 51 Il n'y a pas de Comité de l'Alliance française à Jérusalem et l'aide financière aux écoles se fait assez rare en Palestine.
- 52 J.O., Débats Sénat, 1913, p. 179.
- 53 Bernardin Collin, **Les Lieux-Saints**, Paris, 1948, p.111.
- 54 AE Turquie NS Palestine 133. Jérusalem à AE, le 22.1.1911.
- 55 Id. Rapport du consul général Gueyraud, le 7.7.1912.
- 56 Id. Dépêche du 26.6.1911 à l'occasion du passage de l'escadre italienne. Pour les difficultés avec les Italiens, voir S.Minerbi, **L'Italie et la Palestine 1914-1920**, et surtout les travaux en cours de D.Grange.
- 57 Id. Note pour le ministre du 15.3.1913.
- 58 CJ 27. Constantinople à Jérusalem, le 8.6.1913.
- 59 AE Turquie NS Palestine 134. Notamment Jérusalem à AE, le 28.3.1914.
- 60 CJ 4. Dossier "Affaire du Parvis".
- 61 CJ 9 et 11.
- 62 AE Turquie NS 133. Jérusalem à AE, le 25.2.1910.
- 63 Id. Id. le 16.4.1912.
- 64 Id. Id. le 30.7.1911.
- 65 CL DAE 6116. Rapport du 15.4.1902.
- 66 Sur cette affaire voir J.Thobie, *op.cit.*, pp.562-583.
- 67 Texte en CJ 91.
- 68 Bompard regrette cependant que l'asence de relations diplomatiques ait empêché Paris d'intervenir auprès de la Propagande et de la Secrétairie d'Etat. AE Turki NS 133. Constantinople à AE, le 21.4.1913.
- 69 Le Bureau de poste français de Jaffa fonctionne depuis 1815, ceux de Haïffa et de Jérusalem depuis 1895.
- 70 Le premier pèlerinage de la Pénitence, organisé par le P. Bailly, directeur de **La Croix**, eut lieu en 1882. En septembre 1913, le 45e pèlerinage regroupe 190 participants. La traversée s'effectue depuis quelques années sur le "Notre-Dame de Salut", et le voyage comprend une visite de la

Galilée. Le tout dure environ trente jours et il en coute, tout compris, de Marseille à Marseille, en 1905, 700 F. en 1ère classe, 500 F. en 2e classe et 350 F. en 3eme classe. A Jérusalem, les pèlerins descendent à N.D. de France.

71 AE Turquie NS 134. Jérusalem à AE, le 20.6.1912.

72 Voir, à cet égard, J.Thobie, *op. cit.*, p.712-713.

73 Les source diplomatiques françaises donnent à cette réunion le titre de "Congrès arabe syrien". On trouve aussi la denomination Congrès panarabe, par exemple, Ali Mahafzah, **Le problème du croissant fertile de 1918 a 1945**. Thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Paris 1980, ex.dact. p.18.

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