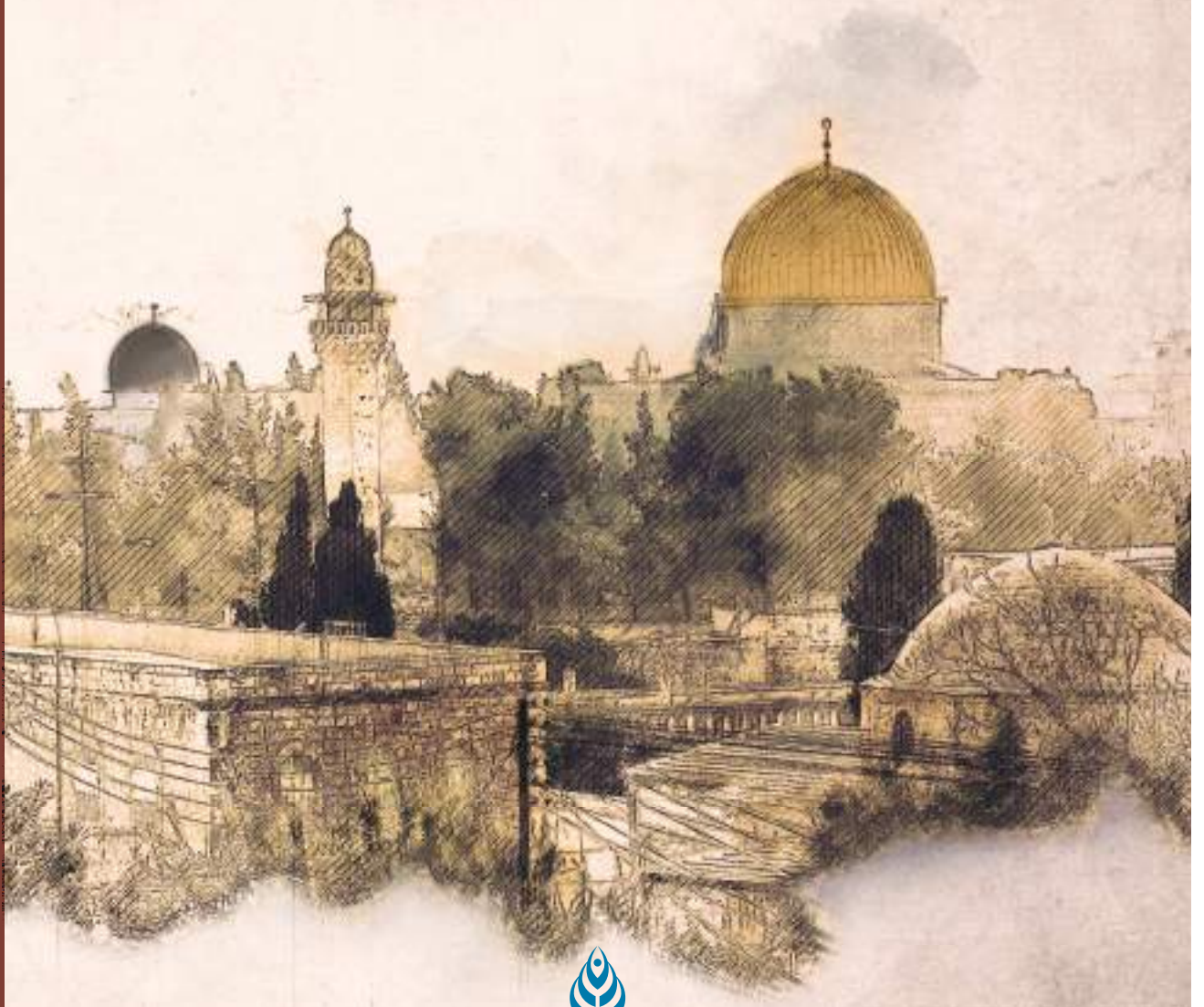


THE CITY AWAITING PEACE

Jerusalem



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Jerusalem



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction Necmeddin Bilal ERDOĞAN	6
Editorial Osman AYDINLI	7
“General Information About Jerusalem and Jerusalem Before the Islamic Conquest” Eldar HASANOĞLU	11
“Jerusalem During the Reign of Khalifa Rashid and Its Conquest By Muslims” Osman AYDINLI	63
“The Islamic Period of Jerusalem From the Umayyads to the Crusaders” Nuh ARSLANTAŞ	73
“Jerusalem in the Period of the Crusaders” Eldar HASANOĞLU	93
“Saladin and Jerusalem in the Period of Ayyubid” Ziya POLAT	99
“Jerusalem in the Period of Mamluks” Cengiz TOMAR	109
“Jerusalem Under Ottoman Governance” Abdullah ÇAKMAK	115

<i>“From the Balfour Declaration to The Foundation of Israel: The Invasion of Palestine”</i> Can DEVECİ	132
<i>“Jerusalem as an Area of Political Discussion”</i> Muhammed Hüseyin MERCAN	142
<i>“Jerusalem in the Jewish Tradition”</i> Nuh ARSLANTAŞ	151
<i>“Jerusalem in Christianity”</i> İsmail TAŞPINAR	159
<i>“Jerusalem and Its Importance in Islam”</i> Eldar HASANOĞLU	165
<i>“Jerusalem in Islamic Art”</i> Mehmet TOP	174
<i>“Jerusalem in Classical and Modern Turkish-Islamic Literature”</i> Alim KAHRAMAN	204
<i>“Jerusalem in Travelogues”</i> Selim TEZCAN	216
<i>“Scholarly Life, the Ulama and Educational Institutions in Jerusalem”</i> Harun YILMAZ - Muhammet Enes MİDİLLİ	234
<i>“A Study on the Ilmiya Class in Ottoman Jerusalem”</i> Mustafa ÖKSÜZ	250
<i>“Sufistic Life in Jerusalem”</i> Veysel AKKAYA	264
<i>“Significant Islamic Structures of Bayt al-Maqdis”</i> Fettah AYKAÇ	274
<i>“Living Together in Ottoman Jerusalem”</i> Abdullah ÇAKMAK	337
<i>“Social and Economic Functions of Jerusalem Foundations in the Ottoman Period”</i> Mustafa GÜLER	354

ABBREVIATIONS

ed. : *Editor*
transl. : *Translator*

PHOTO ARCHIVE ABBREVIATIONS TABLE

D-DAI-IST-R : *Istanbul German Consulate Archive*
FA : *Fettah Aykaç Archive*
IRCICA-FAY. : *IRCICA Abdülhamid Han Archive*
IYV : *Foundation Archive*
MT : *Mehmet Top Archive*

INTRODUCTION

Jerusalem [al-Quds], one of the most ancient cities in the world with its holy places and history, is a center of great importance for Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. Bearing the stamp of many prophets and housing specific places regarded as sacred to Jews and Christians, this city has great importance on one hand as the first qibla of Muslims, while on the other it is also home to Masjid al-Aqsa [Haram al-Sharif] with its large area of around 36 acres containing many structures sacred to Muslims such as the Qibly Mosque and the Dome of the Rock [Qubbat al-Sakhra]. In other words, on top of being a holy city, Jerusalem is as important for Muslims as it is for Jews and Christians. Jerusalem, which Arabs also refer to as Bayt al-Maqdis, which means “fertile, blessed land”, bears traces of all the great states and conquerors established there throughout the history of Islam. The truth is, this city was ruled with peace, tranquillity and tolerance since the moment Hz. Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab] annexed Jerusalem to Islamic lands, and this city needs the peace it awaits again more than ever.

The aims of our Foundation are to pave the way for raising the wise and skilled scientists who will guide society using everything at their disposal and to provide a future where siblinghood and justice will prevail in our society and among humanity. We have thus far carried out significant activities on this path we had started out by following the hadith “The rank of knowledge is the highest

of ranks.” We have crowned our efforts with the institutions we’ve established and the scientific activities carried out there, culminating with the İlim Yayma Awards [The Awards for the Dissemination of Knowledge] we handed out in 2019. Our work titled “The City Awaiting Peace: Jerusalem” emerges as a product of this effort of ours. As the İlim Yayma Foundation [The Foundation for the Dissemination of Knowledge], we have worked for a long time in order to keep this blessed place on the agenda and to neatly provide proper information about Jerusalem to benefit those interested in these issues. This work has been edited based on objective information as a result of the outstanding efforts of the academic staff as experts in their fields as well as the editorial board. We think that our work will be beneficial to all researchers interested in Jerusalem who want to know it and are considering working in this field. Gratitude must be given to those working day and night to accomplish this work, notably to our editor, Assoc. Dr. Osman Aydın, the members of the Editorial Board, the technical team who prepared the work for publication, and especially our scholars who enriched this work with the articles they wrote as a result of their meticulous research and brought us together with stimulating information. I pray to Allah Almighty that our work bodes well and will contribute to solving the troubles of this blessed land and that peace will also prosper again in this land.

Necmeddin Bilal ERDOĞAN
İlim Yayma Foundation
Board of Trustees Chairman

EDITORIAL

Praise be to Allah the Exalted and peace be upon our Prophet [Hz. Muhammad] and his family, friends, companions, and followers who depend on Him.

The first active region of humanity’s recorded history is the Middle East of today. The geography is the cradle of civilization, preserving this feature even today, and continuously sheltered humanity’s first experiences with life. The biggest factors in the centralization of the region are the three Semitic divine religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam respectively born in this geography. The places these religions consider to be sacred are located in this geography.

This is exactly why Jerusalem [al-Quds] has beyond question been the most important city in the world since the first ages of history. This blessed city has changed hands more than 40 times in its history and is also the only city whose adventures can be followed in the literature of various nations. The religious and political identity of the Israelites was shaped by this city; Jesus [Prophet Isa] as the Prophet of Christianity carried out his mission as a messenger in this city and its environs. In Islam, this city was the first qibla of Muslims. Apart from the many prophets that Muslims believe lived in this city, Jerusalem also hosted the miracle of Mi’raj, which allowed for the message of Prophet Muhammad, who had inherited the legacy of tawhid from these prophets, to be universalized. For this reason, Jerusalem, is a living history that has witnessed the adventure of humanity aside from being a city.

In 586 BC the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar subjected Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon [Prophet Sulaiman] to terrible destruction. Part of these on-going activities involved many massacres and slaughters with the murder and exile of many Jews. These actions began again when the Roman commander Titus (in 70 AC) and the Roman Emperor Hadrian (in 135 AC) destroyed Jewish temples and holy sites in the region and subjected Jewish people to slaughter. In 614 AC, the Sassanid Army made up of Jewish people captured Jerusa-

lem and burned down many Christian religious buildings and massacred its people. As a result of all these events, Jerusalem had been the scene of much suffering, tears, destruction, and massacres since ancient times and was recaptured in 638 AC, this time by Muslims during the reign of Hz. Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab]. The people of Jerusalem were finally able to restore peace, trust, humane living, and respect for the freedoms of faith of members of all religions during the Islamic rule of the city.

Muslims’ conquest of Jerusalem was an extraordinary event and a turning point for this holy city whose positive effects continue to this day. This is because with the Muslim’s conquest of Jerusalem, a new era had been entered in which relationships based on mutual respect and trust existed in the city between the followers of the three divine religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; this environment of peace has been maintained as long as Muslims were in charge of Jerusalem apart from rare periods. The city would start to suffer whenever the city left the hands of Muslims for any period of time. As a matter of fact, while Jerusalem had been a city of peace for the members of all three religions for 462 years since its Muslim conquest, it was once again engulfed in great suffering with the occupation of the Crusaders in 1099 AC, and the Muslims and Jews living in the city were horribly massacred. Saladin offered to surrender the city without revenge or bloodshed in 1187 to the Crusaders, who had inflicted unprecedented suffering on the city for a century. Although the Crusaders responded to this offer with war, Saladin emerged victorious. Instead of killing or paying a heavy ransom, the victorious Sultan freed tens of thousands of prisoners free of charge. This behavior was an example of his attitude, which coincided with his Islamic identity. From that time until 1917, Jerusalem had generally remained peaceful throughout the years under the rule of Muslims, yet once it left Muslim hands in particular the Ottoman Empire in 1917, it again became the center of pain, distress, and problems. Thus, today’s Jerusalem is a city that awaits peace with great longing.

As mentioned in the Qur'an (al-Baqara 2:285), the importance of Jerusalem in the eyes and hearts of Muslims is due to the belief that Muslims believe in Allah's Prophet and accept and approve of all prophets that have been sent since Prophet Adam; thus, this place is seen as the City of Prophets where many prophets have come and gone. Also, due to Bayt al-Maqdis and Masjid al-Aqsa, which Allah has praised by mentioning them at the beginning of Surah al-Isra in the Qur'an, being there, the city is closely associated with the events of Isra and Mi'raj. In addition, since the beginning of the religion of Islam till 624 AC when Allah commanded through the prophet to face the Kaaba (al-Baqara 2:144) during prayer, the Prophet Mohammed and the first Muslims had turned their faces toward Jerusalem while performing prayers. These are the factors that make Jerusalem the third most important city for Muslims after Mecca and Medina.

Having been under the domination of different nations throughout history due to its importance and strategic location for all the Abrahamic religions, Jerusalem is almost a miniature mirror reflecting world politics. Because Jerusalem contains much variety in terms of religion, language, and race, its story has been told many times from different perspectives. Thousands of books have been written about Jerusalem throughout history. Our book is one of these; it is a scientific and cultural study written by academicians who are experts in their field in as plain a language as possible so that all segments of the public can understand for the purposes of enriching the literature in this field, contributing to this holy city, and providing objective information about it.

This work we present begins with Eldar Hasanoğlu's article on general information about Jerusalem as well as Jerusalem before the Islamic Conquest. This first article examines Jerusalem, particularly in terms of the Christian and Jewish communities as recorded in the general historical data. By referring to the prophets and messengers Allah has sent to the fertile city of Jerusalem, the article attempts to reveal the portrait of pre-Islamic Jerusalem through an analysis within the framework of historical data. Another topic in this article is on the Jewish and Christian buildings in Jerusalem.

Osman Aydınli writes about Islam while honoring the city of Jerusalem as one of the first and most important centers of the monotheistic religions within his article "Jerusalem During the Reign of Khalifa Rashid and Its Conquest by Muslims." The question of how the companions and the generation that followed them addressed Jerusalem after the death of our Prophet as one of his relics is answered with Nuh Arslantaş' article "Jerusalem in the Islamic Period from the Umayyads to the Crusaders." With the article "Jerusalem in the Period of the Crusaders," Eldar Hasanoğlu touches upon the political change of hands in Jerusalem that occurred when it was converted to Islam, as well as the suffering it endured during this period. After the Crusades, Jerusalem's return to Islamic rule, under which it found peace for five centuries starting with the Conqueror of Jerusalem, touches hearts with Ziya Polat's narration in "Saladin and Jerusalem in the Period of Ayyubid." The beginning of the stable period of Islamic rule is described in Cengiz Tomar's article "Jerusalem in the Period of Mamluks." Through Abdullah Çakmak's work on this topic, the chapter "Jerusalem Under Ottoman Governance" offers a review of a time that lasted for four glorious centuries. The recent history of Palestine, which was systematically occupied and removed from Islamic rule as a sad result of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, whose collapse symbolized the change in balance in the world, is revealed through evidence from Can Deveci in his article "From the Balfour Declaration to The Foundation of Israel: The Invasion of Palestine." Muhammed Hüseyin Mercan attempts an understanding of the current situation in Jerusalem with the article "Jerusalem as an Area of Political Discussion."

At this stage, Nuh Arslantaş turns the conversation toward the foundations and main causes of Jerusalem's history of oppression, pain, and tears as well as its current struggle, examining this perspective through historical records from its beginning to the present with the article "Jerusalem in the Jewish Tradition." In turn, İsmail Taşpınar analyzes "Jerusalem in Christianity." Eldar Hasanoğlu's article "Jerusalem in Islam and Its Importance" is the name of the permanent

settlement of peace as briefly mentioned in the Qur'an and specific hadiths, discussing Jerusalem throughout history as well as the possibility of its present and future peace. The Islamic approach to Jerusalem is as a prophetic trust involving religious services and humane, scientific, intellectual, literary, erudite, architectural, and cultural aspects. The entire history of the Islamic Ummah's sensitivity toward Jerusalem is summarized in Alim Kahraman's "Jerusalem in Classical and Modern Turkish-Islamic Literature" and Selim Tezcan's article "Jerusalem in Travelogues;" through the findings in Mehmet Top's "Jerusalem in Islamic Arts," the evaluations in Fettah Aykaç's "Important Islamic Buildings of Bayt al-Maqdis," and the analyses in Harun Yılmaz and Muhammed Enes Midilli's "Scientific Life, Ulema and Educational Institutions in Jerusalem;" up to the Ottoman Empire with Mustafa Öksüz's research "A Glance at the İlmiye Class in Ottoman Jerusalem" and Veysel Akkaya's article "Sufistic Life in Jerusalem." The most original, significant, and exemplary form of Islam's vision of Jerusalem and resultant peace-based character that has been witnessed for centuries is conveyed through Abdullah Çakmak's approach in "Living Together in Ottoman Jerusalem." Mustafa Güler's article "Social and Economic Functions of Jerusalem Foundations During the Ottoman Period" ends the historical journey of Jerusalem, the dome of civilizations.

Lastly, the need exists to touch upon perhaps the first and most famous name of Jerusalem: Bayt al-Maqdis. According to the hadiths of the Prophet, the interpretations directly associated with the verses of the Qur'an, and the narrations indirectly conveyed in the information about the environment of revelation in the commentaries, a wide range of different opinions exists about the use of Bayt al-Maqdis as a name and the area it covers. In this direction, Bayt al-Maqdis according to some carries the same meaning as Masjid al-Aqsa (i.e., Haram al-Sharif). Some consider Bayt al-Maqdis as a word to refer to Jerusalem as a city. Another approach views Bayt al-Maqdis to mean a mosque that encompasses all holy lands. Some names related to historical events have been used by Muslims and some Islamic States throughout the history of Islam for this holy city. Jerusalem, which has been called

different names in different religions and by the dominant peoples in the region, is still known by many names. As all three usages are present in the hadiths from the Prophet, we left the option of which of these three names to use up to the authors in this study.

While we conclude our research with gratitude to our Lord, we do this not as a duty to remember but as a heartfelt offering for the effort, sensitivity, and support the authors have shown to the members of the board of trustees, especially Mr. Yücel Çelikbilek as the Board of Trustees Chairman of the İlim Yayma Foundation, Mr. Necmeddin Bilal Erdoğan as the Vice Chairman [today Board of Trustees Chairman], and also Adem Yavuz, Osman Acun, Bayram Yalçın, the directors of the İlim Yayma Foundation, and the members of the editorial board who have worked devotedly to publish this book with the quality it deserves, sharing their ideas at every opportunity. We also thank Prof. Dr. Necmettin Gökçır, Faculty Member Dr. Abdullah Tirabzon, and Faculty Member Dr. Osman Yılmaz for the use of the resources ISAM [CFIS] library, IRCICA, which helped greatly with the supply of photos as well as the Istanbul German Consulate, Dr. Mehmet Top, Dr. Fettah Aykaç, the directors and students of İlim Yayma Foundation's dormitory, our teacher Alim Kahraman, Akile Tekin for her service in editing and proofreading the book in a short time, and the employees of İlim Yayma Foundation who wholeheartedly responded to our demands at the many meetings we held. We would like to present this article to our esteemed professors who submitted their articles with conscientiousness and sincerity while showing all kinds of tolerance.

As we leave our esteemed readers to peruse our *The City Awaiting Peace: Jerusalem*, we remind you that every human effort is flawed, and we ask for your understanding for any mistakes that may have inadvertently occurred.

Tawfiq is only from Allah.

Assoc. Dr. Osman AYDINLI
February 2, 2020,
Eyüpsultan



GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT JERUSALEM

Eldar HASANOĞLU*

Jerusalem [al-Quds] is a holy city in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The literature from these religions is full of countless legends about Jerusalem, and the members of these three religions regard this city as a focus of prayer and have enshrined it as blessed and sacred. Considering that one out of every two people in the world believes in the sanctity of this city make it the number one city in the world in terms of the number of people who believe in its sanctity. It ranks first among religious centers in terms of prestige. This prestige has not only given importance to the city but has also been the cause of the attacks and calamities it has suffered. In fact, being in a mountainous region has prevented it from being an agricultural center and not becoming a trade center on caravan routes. However, the divine seal and strategic position it carries in its bosom has always whetted the appetites of conquerors. Realizing that dominating such a city means the same as ruling the world, rulers have wanted to capture Jerusalem and have this privilege at the expense of the lives and blood of countless soldiers. Jerusalem has been besieged, changed hands, and been burned, destroyed, and plundered many times. Its people have been repeatedly massacred and exiled. Historians say that this city was rebuilt 18 times. Despite all the attacks and devastation it has suffered, Jerusalem still remains and carries the heavy burden of its fate on its back.

For centuries, people of different faiths, races, and colors have lived together in Jerusalem. The neighborhoods of Jerusalem have been shaped according to the faith, ethnicity, and even profession of their inhabitants. Muslims, Christians, Jews, Abyssinians, Assyrians, Copts, Moroccans, Germans, and Indians were former residents of

the city and led a life of mutual respect and understanding. The emergence of the idea of Zionism damaged this fraternal environment. This holy city, which lived in peace under Islamic rule for centuries, longed for peace and stability after it was taken from the Ottomans, so much so that hardly a single day goes by when the city of Jerusalem is not the scene of devastating and painful events.

Jerusalem's Geographical Position

Jerusalem is located at a longitude of 35.21° E and a latitude of 31.77° N. Considering its cardinal location on the map, Jerusalem is one of the most important points in the world, located centrally in the heart of the globe. Positioned on a mountain range stretching east to west, this city is close to the Mediterranean to the west. The geographical location of Jerusalem has strategic importance and forms part of a bridge between Asia, Europe, and Africa. In this respect, having Jerusalem also means dominating the roads stretching to all three continents. Apart from being at the crossroads of landways, it is also close to waterways such as the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, and the Gulf of Aqaba. It is placed in such a way where the surrounding cities can be easily reached by highway. The distance from Jerusalem to Acra is 175 km; to Haifa, 150 km; to Nablus, 65 km; to Hebron [al-Khalil], 36 km; to Jaffa, 64 km; and to Gaza, 94 km. The city is also not far from neighboring Arab countries, approximately 90 km from Amman (a regional capital), 308 km from Damascus, 306 km from Beirut, and 530 km from Cairo. As for Jerusalem's waterways, it is 24 km from the Dead Sea, 52 km from the Mediterranean, and 250 km from the Red Sea.¹

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¹ Refk Ş. Neşçe et al., *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, (Riyad/Amman: Daru'l-Kermel, 1984), 5-6; Şefk C. A. Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, (Amman: Daru'l-Besir, 1984), 20; Muhammed H. Mehasine et al., *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, (Kuwait: Mektebetü'l-Felah, 2003/1423), 22; Abdülhamid Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, (Cairo: el-Hey'etü'l-Misriyyetü'l-Amme li'l-Kitab, 1974), 13-15.

Jerusalem's Climate

Jerusalem has a desert on one side and sea on the other, and its climate is shaped by these geographical features. It is rainy due to the effect of the Mediterranean climate on the west, while semi-arid due to the effect of the desert climate on the east. However, the weather in Jerusalem is generally not harsh. The city can experience four seasons. On summer evenings, light breezes coming from the sea reduce the effect of heat on the weather. Winds do not reach dangerous levels in the city, and generally warm weather prevails. Winds blowing from the northwest also have a moderating effect on the weather, which is hot and moderately dry. In winter, Jerusalem has cold and rainy weather. While the city only sees snow once every two or three years, this snowfall ends quickly. In winter, strong winds from the west buffet the city. Often these winds are followed by rain. Winter begins in December and continues until March. The weather is warm in spring and autumn. In the evening, dew falls on the soil, moistening the trees and soil. The agriculture in the city is mainly watered by rainfall. The annual amount of rainfall in Jerusalem is approximately 551 mm, with 70% of the precipitation falling in winter. The soil is largely composed of limestone, which is suitable for growing a variety of plants.²

Its Settled Ground

Jerusalem is located upon mountain ranges extending east to west and was established on a mountainous area. In the earliest periods of history, the first settlement in Jerusalem was formed on the Ophel, a hill on the slopes of Temple Mount on which Haram al-Sharif (the Temple Mount) is located, overlooking the village of Silwan. The main reason people settled here at that time is its natural water resources. This tiny settlement was built on a small hill at first and grew over time; life developed here, the city expanded, and a city-state was established over the course of time.³



Old Jerusalem



Dome of the Rock [Qubbat al-Sakhra] under torrential rain (MT Archive)



The green of Jerusalem in spring (IVV Archive)

Historical and geographical sources divide Jerusalem into two parts, the inner walled city (Old City) and the section outside the walls. Old Jerusalem was built on four mounts whose heights vary between 720 and 830 meters above sea level; it is where the holy places of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are located. The altitude of Old City is about 800 meters above sea level and about 1,150 meters above the level of the Dead Sea.⁴ Jerusalem's inner and outer sections are separated by the wall at the top of the hills and mounts, with valleys separating them from each other



Kidron Valley from Mount of Olives with a view of al-Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem upon Temple Mount (IVV Archive)

The Old City and the Walls of Jerusalem

The Old City of Jerusalem was built upon four mounts: Temple Mount, Mount Bezetha, the Acre, and Mount Zion. The most important and famous of these is Temple Mount.⁵ According to the Jews, Abraham [Prophet Abraham] wanted to sacrifice his son Isaac on this mount. The altar of Melchizedek, the servant of the Almighty God who blessed Abraham, is on this mount. David [Prophet Dawud] planned to have the temple built for God on Temple Mount, and Solomon [Prophet Sulaiman] fulfilled his wish. According to the Jews, the Temple Sanctuary altar stone (Holy of Holies or Beit HaMikdash) is connected to the throne of God while also being the center of the world, and this stone is on Temple Mount. This stone is mentioned in sources to be known as Hajar al-Muallaq [The Floating Stone] in the Islamic tradition, and on the Night Journey, the Prophet ascended to the divine circles above this point. Today, Qibly Mosque [Masjid al-Qibly] and the Dome of the Rock are located on this mount; Temple Mount in Arabic is known as Haram al-Sharif [The Noble Sanctuary].



Temple Mount/Al-Aqsa Compound

That's why this mount is also called Mount Haram al-Sharif or Dome of the Rock.⁶ The Ophel, upon which the first settlement was established in Jerusalem, is said to be an extension of Temple Mount.



The Ophel

The Ophel has been called az-Zahura by some geographers. It is the slope overlooking the village of Silwan, located on the southeast side of Haram al-Sharif. Due to its proximity to water sources in the village of Silwan, the first settlement in Jerusalem started at this point in the early 20th century BC.⁷



Silwan Hill (IVV Archive)

² Şevki Şa'as, *el-Kudsü's-Şerif*, (Rabat: Islamic Educational Scientific, Scientific and Cultural Organization-I-SES CO, 1988), 19; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 35-37; Mehasine, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 24.

³ Netşe, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 26.

⁴ M. Meksi İskender, *el-Kuds abre't-tarih: Dirase Cuğrafiyye Tarihiyye Eseriyye*, (Al-Jizah: Ruseys, 1972), 6; Menashe Har-El, *Golden Jerusalem*, (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2004), 8; George Adam Smith, *Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from The Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907), 1:34-37.

⁵ Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, transl. Shlomo Ketko (Jerusalem: Carta, 1996), 12 et al.; Galyn Wiemers, *Jerusalem: History, Archeology and Apologetic Proof of Scripture*, (Wauke: Last Hope Books, 2010), 45 et al.; Arif al-Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds*, (Beirut: el-Müessesetü'l-Arabiyye li'd-Dirasat ve'n-Neşr, 2005), 3 et al.

⁶ Nebi Bozkurt, "Kubbetu's-Sahre", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2002), 26/305; Mehasine, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 23.

⁷ Karen Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem: One City Three Faiths*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1997), 6; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 21.

Another mount within the city walls is Mount Zion. This section of the walled Old City corresponds to the western corner of Jerusalem. This is the Zion mentioned in Jewish scriptures indicating Jerusalem. When David took Jerusalem, he built a palace here, and his own tomb is located on this mount. It is one of the old quarters of the city and was inhabited before the Israelites. According to Christians, the room where Jesus [Prophet Isa] ate his last supper is on Mount Zion.

The hill in the northeast corner of the Old City is Acra. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is on this mount, and the Christian quarter in the city was also founded on the Acra. Life on the Acra developed around the middle of the 2nd century BC. The Acra Fortress (168 BC) was built here during the reign of Seleucid king Antiochus IV and became the Roman military garrison in the city, this is why a settlement developed on this hill.

Mount Bezetha is another of the hills upon which the walled Old City had been settled and is also known as Mount Tur or Mount Zeyta. It is the mount where Bab a-Zahara [Herod's Gate] is located today. From this door it continues to Bab al-Amud [Gate of the Column], also called Damascus Gate, and looks upon the Temple Mount. The settlement on this mount in particular began in the Roman period. During the time of Herod Agrippa,



Abbey of the Dormition (D-DAI-IST-R32508)



Mount Zion

the grandson of Herod the Great, (reign: 37-44 AD), a neighborhood surrounded by walls was established with garish mansions, palaces, and large halls.

Old Jerusalem Beyond the Old City Walls

Jerusalem has grown and expanded over time. It spread over the nearby hills from the Ophel on Temple Mount where the first settlement had been made; these mounts were surrounded by walls for military reasons. However, due to the increased population, life in old

Jerusalem went outside the walls with people starting to live in the surrounding valleys and hills. These places turned into another district of Jerusalem and include hills and mountains such as Mount of Olives, Mount Scopus (Jabal al-Masharif [Mount Lookout] in Arabic), and Jabel Mukaber [Big Mountain].⁸

The Mount of Olives is the most well-known and most important mount in Jerusalem, so named due to the olive trees found on it. Between Old Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives is the Kidron Valley.



Mount Bezetha & Acra



A View of Jerusalem in the Late 19th Century (D-DAI-IST-R32482)

⁸ Mehasine, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 24 et al.; Arif Başa al-Arif, *Tarihu'l Kuds*, (Cairo: Dâru'l-Meârif, 1994), 187 et al.



The relationship between the Mount of Olives and the Old City has been said to be as inseparable as the relationship between the soul and the body. The Mount of Olives is on the eastern side of the Old City and is the most convenient spot to observe the city. Commanders like Roman Titus and Saladin who had come to seize Jerusalem observed the city from here before attacking it. At the end of the 7th century AD, the French bishop Arculf who had come to visit the city reported back about agriculture production on the Mount of Olives.⁹ Many legends exist about the Mount of Olives in Islamic, Christian, and Jewish sources. Some commentators have said the oath regarding the olive in the Qur'an (95:1) to be in regard to the Mount of Olives. This mount has mosques, cemeteries, and tombs belonging to Muslims; Rabia Basri's tomb is also here. The tombs of Zechariah [Prophet Zakariya] and John the Baptist [Prophet Yahya] are said to be at the foot of the Mount of Olives. According to Christians, the Mount of Olives is the place where Jesus took refuge, with the Bible telling how Jesus, tired of the persecution and traps of the Jews, went to the Mount of Olives and cursed the city from there.¹⁰ Christian sources also mention that Jesus

ascended to heaven from the Mount of Olives. Many churches and monasteries belonging to Christians have been established on the Mount of Olives and its foothills. The Garden of Gethsemane, where the graves of Mary [Hz. Maryam], her carpenter husband Joseph, and her parents are found, is located at the foot of the Mount of Olives. This is the olive grove that Jesus visited on the night of his capture, and the magnificent Church of Gethsemane was established there. Jewish tradition has characterized the Mount of Olives with extraordinary legends. This is the place where Yahweh will place His feet in the End Times,¹¹ when His Glory¹² has been established. When the Second Temple was destroyed and the Jews forbidden to enter the old city, they gathered on the Mount of Olives and performed the pilgrimage. According to Jewish tradition, the apocalypse and resurrection will begin on the Mount of Olives. Eliyahu ha-Navi (Elijah) will sound the shofar horn from here to announce the beginning of the apocalypse, and the dead who hear this sound will be resurrected. The Jews compete in burying their dead on the Mount of Olives because being buried here means being virtuous and privileged in the sight of God.



Late 19th century, Mount of Olives (IRICA-FAY.22.41.29)



Today, Mount of Olives (IIV Archive)

Mount Scopus is located on the north side of the old walled city overlooking it. The people of Jerusalem call this mountain Jabal al-Masharif. This is the best place to observe the city. All names in other languages are inspired by this meaning. When viewed from this mount, both the walled city of Jerusalem can be easily seen for miles around. As a matter of fact, the commanders who came to seize the city watched Jerusalem from here. According to the rumor, Alexander of Macedonia (d. 332 BC) also surrounded the city while watching it from here.

⁹ Al-Arif, *el-Mufassal fi tarihi'l-Kuds*, 106.

¹⁰ *Matta 23: 37-38.*

¹¹ *Ezekiel 11: 23.*

¹² *Zechariah 14: 4.*

Between the city and Mount Scopus is Wadi al-Joz [Valley of the Walnuts]. Today, modern structures have been built on this mount. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the memorial cemetery (Jerusalem British War Cemetery) for the British soldiers who lost their lives in the battle of Jerusalem during World War I are located on this mount.



Mount Scopus/Jabal al-Masharif

Jabal Mukaber is on the south side of Old City outside the walls. When Omar conquered Jerusalem, he passed this mount and approached the city. Due to the presence of the Jewish Sanhedrin Court during the time of Jesus and the deal made here with the traitor Judas Iscariot, it was popularly known as Jabal al-Muamere [Assassination Hill] and Jabal Mashwarat al-Fasida [Mount of the Mischievous Deal] in Ottoman Times. It is separated from the Mount of Olives by the Silwan Valley and from Mount Zion by Wadi er-Rababi.

The south-eastern part of the er-Rababi Valley has been called Nahal Prat or Wadi Qelt (Valley of the Shadow of Death). The valley on the eastern side of the walled city is called Kidron Valley. In the third and fourth centuries AD, this valley was called the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Ibnu'l-Fakih (d. 286) mentioned the valley to the east of the city as Wadi Gehenna [Valley of Hell]. In addition, other names for Kidron Valley [Dark Valley] are Silwan Valley, Wadi Sitti Maryam [Valley of the Virgin Mary], and Wadi en-Nar [Fire Valley].

These hills and mountains on which the old Jerusalem had been built both within and beyond its walls are separated from each other by valleys. The common names of these valleys are er-Rababi, Kidron, and Tyropoen, and have been known at times by some non-common names apart from these. Wadi er-Rababi is the name of the valley on the south and southwest side of the old city. It has also been known as the Valley of Hinnom since ancient times. It extends from the northwest of the city to the south, continuing eastward from there and reaching the Kidron Valley around Biru Ayub [Job's Well], south of the Ophel. The place where these two valleys meet is called Silwan Valley.



Jerusalem over the valleys and hills (D-DAI-IST-R32477)

Kidron Valley is located between the walls of Old City and the Mount of Olives. Tyropoen Valley is on the east side of the city. This name was given by the Jewish historian Josephus and means cheese sellers. This is the place where the people of the city would throw their refuse and is also known as Wadi Revs ve'z-Zubale [Garbage Valley] among the people.

The geographical location of Jerusalem provides a natural defensive position for protecting the city from enemy attacks. As a matter of fact, this feature of the city has been one of the reasons why people settled here. However, the north and northwest sides of the city were open with no defense from attacks at this point. As a matter of fact, the conquerors who captured the city always attacked from this direction. Historical sources report that Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander of Macedon, Pompey, and Caliph Omar had entered the city from here.¹³

Water Resources

Since Jerusalem was founded in a stony and barren area, water resources in the city have been of great importance. No natural water source was present within the walls of Old City; the people of the city met their water needs from rainfall and nearby water sources. In order to collect rain water, river water, and spring water, water tanks were formed in the city, and channels were built to transport water to the city from outside.

The reason why the first settlement in the city was formed on the slopes of the Ophel overlooking Silwan village was its water source. The only source of water for the people was the Ain Um al-Daraj in the village of Silwan, 300 meters to the east of the city walls. This spring, located inside a cave, was also given names such as Ain Siti Maryam [Spring of the Virgin Mary], Ain Azra [Spring of the Maiden], and Ein Rogel (Well of Job). This spring is said to have been called Gihon Spring in ancient times. Near Ain Um al-Daraj is the Pool of Siloam. Sources mention this pool's water to have healing properties. Near the Pool of Siloam is the Ain al-Hamra [Red Spring], also known as Ain Tahtaniy [Subterranean Spring]. About 1 km from this pool is the Ein Rogel (Biru Ayub). Some claim Job [Prophet Ayyub] to have dug the well, hence its name.

During enemy sieges of the city, measures were taken to meet people's water needs. For this purpose, the Canaanites built an underground tunnel from Ain Um al-Daraj to the city. David's soldiers infiltrated this tunnel to take over the city. During the Roman period, water channels were built in the city. In addition, water tanks and cisterns were built for collecting water within the city. The Mamella cistern, built by the first inhabitants of the city, is the oldest and largest among these. The Hezekiah cistern, built by the Jewish King Hezekiah, is from the eighth century BC. Apart from these, other water reservoirs such as the Sultan cistern, the Bani Israel cistern, the Solomon cistern, and the Iyad cistern have been found in the city.¹⁴



Ruins of the Church remaining from the Byzantine period in West Jerusalem

JERUSALEM IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

Jerusalem in Ancient Times

Archaeological excavations that shed light on the ancient history of Jerusalem began in the middle of the 19th century. The earliest finds in these excavations date back to the beginning of the 20th century BC. However, these finds about the city are not many, and most are not historical in nature. The number of discovered archaeological finds such as pottery, monuments, and epigraphic materials is limited and insufficient for forming reliable information due to the weathering of time. These data on the history of Jerusalem before the Children of Israel were not considered suitable for either dating or interpretation, so experts have referred to the Jewish scriptures while evaluating the findings. This has resulted in Western studies on the written history of Palestine under the influence of Jewish scriptures.



Kidron Valley and Mount of Olives (IYV Archive)



Hezekiah Spring

¹³ Wiemers, *Jerusalem*, 45-58; Smith, *Jerusalem*, 33-49; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 20-30; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-hali-de*, 13-15.

¹⁴ Al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 176-180; Iskender, *el-Kuds*, 10-11; Har-El, *Golden Jerusalem*, 126-143.

First Settlement in Jerusalem

The history of the city of Jerusalem does not begin with the Children of Israel. A permanent settlement had existed before them. According to much information and archaeological data, life in Jerusalem began at the end of the third millennium BC. Although the data for determining who the first inhabitants of the city were insufficient, hunters and nomadic herders are assumed to have been present. Factors such as its distance from the seaside and scarcity of water resources prevented people from seeing Jerusalem as a suitable settlement. In Jerusalem, being the temporary residence of hunters in the 30th century BC, Jerusalem went on to see regular life take shape at the beginning of the 20th century BC. Initially, Jerusalem was established as a small settlement on the slopes of the Ophel due to its proximity to water sources. Today, this place coincides with the southeast side of the Temple Mount, also called Haram al-Sharif. In the process that followed, this place turned into a city state. The borders of this state are thought to go much beyond the walls of Old City. In 1961, British archaeologist Kathleen Kenyon discovered a wall on the Ophel where the city's first settlement had taken place. This 6.5-foot-thick wall circumnavigated the Ophel. It had a wide gate on the side of Ain Um al-Daraj. Kenyon dated the ceramic ruins he'd found in the city to 1800 BC. He argued that people had been living here in the previous period but in a pre-urbanization period, stating that true city life had emerged in the 18th century BC.¹⁵

Jerusalem in Old Tablets

The first information about Jerusalem is found on ancient Egyptian tablets. The oldest of these tablets is known as curse tablets. These tablets belong to the period of Pharaoh Sesortis the Third (1878-1842 BC) and are written on pottery vessels. These writings were deciphered by the German Egyptologist Kurt H. Sethe and published in Berlin in 1926. They are estimated to have belonged to the clergy. These curse tablets mention and curse the city and its rulers that posed a danger to Egypt. Sethe also deciphered the word

Awsamm as transcribed in these tablets to mean Urushalim and argued it to indicate Yerushalim (i.e., Jerusalem). Although people claimed that the city mentioned in the text is not Jerusalem, Sethe's view is the common one. Urushalim is the Canaanite pronunciation, which was the language of the city at that time, and means "the city of Shalim" or "the place established by Salim." At the same time, this word also means "he will see peace." The words Yq'rm and Sz-n mentioned in the texts are also the names of the two rulers of the city, which Sethe read as Yaqir-'ammu and Sa'z'anu. In another tablet dated around a century later, one person is named as the ruler of the city. Experts have interpreted this as the evolution from a tribal system ruled by several chiefs to a city life ruled by a single king. Another find in which Jerusalem is mentioned are the Amarna Letters. Dating to the 14th century BC, this tablet was discovered in 1887 on the east side of the Nile River, about 300 km south of Cairo. In these tablets, the name of the city is mentioned as Urushalim and Bet-Shulmanu. The six letters Abdi-Heba, the king of Urushalim, wrote to Pharaoh Amenhotep III (1386-1349) and his son Akhenaten (1350-1334 BC) on the tablets (numbered 285-290 here), offers information related to that period of Jerusalem. King Abdi-Heba asks for help from the pharaoh against the Habiru raiders attacking the region, denounces kings unfaithful to the pharaoh, declares his loyalty and obedience, and finally complains to the pharaoh about the Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem. The contents of these letters reveal Jerusalem to have been a part of Egypt at that time. Although some have said the Habiru who attacked the region in the tablets were Hebrews because of their similar pronunciation, recent studies have revealed Habiru and Hebrew to be different.¹⁶

For several centuries after time of the Amarna letters, no archaeological data is found mentioning Jerusalem by name. Experts have interpreted this situation to mean that Jerusalem had no important position at that time. After a long time, Jerusalem finally appears in Assyrian texts. Mentioned among the

kings who paid tribute to the Assyrian King Tiglath-Pileser in these texts, which are thought to belong to 730 BC, is Ahaz, the King of Judah residing in Jerusalem. Information about this period can also be found in Jewish scriptures.¹⁷

Religious Life in the City

In ancient Egyptian tablets, the name of Jerusalem occurs as *Urushalim* and *Bet Shulmanu*. The names *Yerushlem* in Aramaic, *Urislem* in Syriac, *Urusalim* in Assyrian, and *Yerusalayim*/Jerusalem in Hebrew are also different versions found in the excavations of the oldest name of the city, *Urushalim*. In all these names, the phenomenon of respect and honor toward the site is dominant. Regardless of the language, an element of sanctity has been apparent in all the names given to Jerusalem since its establishment. Being the oldest name of the city, *Urusalim* is formed by combining two words. As the first word, *Uru* has been said to mean "to establish" or "city." While some say *salim* as the second word means peace and security, Shalim as the name of the deity worshipped by western Semites has also been interpreted to signify Shulmaniya. In this respect, the name of the city means "city of peace," "place of peace," or "work of Shalim." This name gives clues about the religious life in the city.

No archaeological data or temples related to the religious life of Old Jerusalem have yet to be encountered. The only clues are the name of the city and the information in Jewish scriptures. As mentioned in the curse tablets from the 19th century BC, Shalim after whom the city was named, became the name of a god in the Syrian pantheon of gods. This reveals the city at that time to have believed in the cult of Shalim. Shalim was the name of the god of the evening star (i.e., Venus), and people would come to visit Jerusalem to establish a bond with him. The culture of the region commonly associated cities with gods. This naming reveals the city to have had been under the religious influence of Syria. Having the name of the city be mentioned as *Urushalim* and *Bet Shulmanu* in the Amarna letters is an indication that the cult of Shalim were still in the

city in the 14th century BC. However, even though Habiru and others who flocked to the region at this time brought their own beliefs in the cult of Baal with them, the cult of Shalim continued to dominate in Jerusalem. No archaeological finds related to the worship of Baal have been found in the city. Some historians drew attention to the names of David's sons Absalom and Shlomo (Solomon) who had captured the city at the end of the 11th century BC and made it the capital, interpreting this to mean the Israelites, who had been in Jerusalem for a century, had also been influenced by the cult of Shalim and continued to believe in Shalim even after the city had been captured by the Israelites.¹⁸

Commentaries by Jewish and Muslim commentators provide information about the former faith of the city. Jewish scriptures say Melchizedek, who is mentioned as a contemporary of Abraham who'd blessed him, had been the kohen to El Elyon, the Supreme God and also the king of Shalim. Melchizedek is stated as being Noah's son Sam or his son. Jewish commentators are of the opinion that the place referred to as Shalim here is Yerushalim. Jewish sources mention that along with the cult of Shalim, the cult of Zedek had also been present in Jerusalem, zedek meaning honesty, truthfulness. In ancient Jerusalem, Zedek is said to have been considered a competent manifestation of the sun god. Similar to the name of the city being Shalim according to the Torah, one interpretation of the Torah mentioned the name of this city to be Zedek.¹⁹ In the Jewish religious texts established between Jerusalem and Zedek and exemplifying connections, Melchizedek, the King of Shalim and contemporary of Abraham is synonymous with the name of the king of the city Adonizedek when the Israelites first attacked the city in the time of Joshua, with the name of Yahweh in many places in the Torah, with the name Zedek in many places. Muslim commentators interpreted the prominent names for the city of Şalim and Zedek from a monotheistic perspective. They stated the Melchizedek as mentioned in Jewish texts to have believed in one God and his name to have been Malik-Sadik,

¹⁵ Margreet Steiner, "Expanding Borders: The Development of Jerusalem in The Iron Age", *Jerusalem in Ancient History and Tradition*, ed. Thomas Thompson, (London: T-T Clark, 2003), 68-72; Mahmud, Tarihu'l-Kuds, 21 et al.; Mehasine, Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds, 29-47.

¹⁶ Samuel Abramsky-Shimon Gibson "Jerusalem", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., ed. Fred Skolnik, (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 11/144; H. J. Franken, "Jerusalem in the Bronze Age: 3000-1000 B.C.", *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. J. Asali, (Essex: Scorpion, 1989), 17-20; Zayid, *al-Kudsul-halide*, 29-36; Khalid Muhammed Gazi, *al-Quds: Siretu Medina*, (Minya: Daru'l-Hüda, 1998), 22-25; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 3-14.

¹⁷ Especially *Samuel I-II*, *I-II Kings* and *I-II Dates* are given detailed information about the period.

¹⁸ John Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts, Their Relevance*, (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 185; A. Rozenberg Roy, "The God Sadeq", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 36 (1965), 166.

¹⁹ H. Friedman - M. Simon (Ed.), *Midrash Rabbah*, (London: The Soncino Press, 1939), *Genesis Rabbah* 43: 6.

which means "honest king;" the Zedek part in his name should be evaluated as honesty, not as an idol. They stated him to have ruled with monotheism and justice.

Commentators have mentioned that, because Melchizedek was peace-loving and refrained from war and bloodshed, Salem as the name of the city should also be interpreted to mean peace and well-being, not as an idol, and therefore the old name of Jerusalem means "city of peace." Sources mention Melchizedek to have built a mosque on Temple Mount and to have worshiped the one true God, Solomon to have built his temple on the foundations of this mosque, and Zadok as the chief kohen in the temple to be a descendant of Melchizedek and to have believed in one God like him. From this point of view, the religious life of the city had been in the hands of this monotheistic family from the time of Melchizedek and Abraham until the Second Temple was destroyed in 70 AC; the Sadducees disappeared soon after. Looking at these meanings in the names of the city reveals religious life in Jerusalem to have been about belief in one God since ancient times and the city to have been the home of peace and well-being and to have been governed with justice and honesty.

Jews in Jerusalem

Having wandered the desert for 40 years after leaving Egypt, the Israelites were able to enter the land of Palestine under the command of Moses' [Prophet Musa] successor, Joshua [Prophet Yusha]. The king of Jerusalem made an alliance with other kings in the region against Joshua, who had taken the city of Jericho, also known as the City of the Moon, by war: "And the five kings of the Amorites, the King of Jerusalem, the King of Hebron, the King of Yarmuth, the King of Lachish, and the King of Eglon, gathered themselves and all their armies and landed against Gibeon, and they fought against him."²⁰ The Jewish scriptures mention that, in this war that ended in favor of the Israelites, God had helped the Israelites, even keeping the sun and the moon in place until the Israelites won the war, the sun did not

set for a full day and Yahweh fought for the Israelites. Here again, Joshua is said to have divided all the lands he conquered among the twelve tribes of Israel and gave Jerusalem to the Yehuda and Binyamin tribes.²¹ However, according to information in the Jewish holy texts, the Israelites who had captured Jerusalem during this time are understood to have not dominated the city because, when David captured Jerusalem, only the Jebusites had been living there.²² Thus, the Yehuda and Binyamin tribes are understood to have not subjected the local people of the city to emigration. The domination of the Israelites over Jerusalem took place in the time of David.

Sources show the name of Jerusalem during the time of Joshua and David to have been *Yerushalayim* and *Yevus*.

The Period of David

After the death of Joshua, the Israelites deviated from the right path and shifted toward pagan beliefs. As a result, they were constantly defeated by their enemies through divine punishment. On the other hand, despite their deviance from the right path, God showed them mercy, saved them from their enemies, and appointed rulers among them who would govern well. This period is known in Jewish history as the Period of Kings. The form of government the Israelites had in the period of Kings was not based on a single central leader. Each tribe independently had and was governed by its own leader. After the death of their leaders, the Israelites again inclined toward idolatry and were defeated by their enemies; the Israelites asked the Prophet Samuel [Ishmael] to appoint a king for them, and finally Saul (also known as Talut) became their first king. With this event, *Malahim* [the period of Kings] began in Jewish history.

While Saul was still king, Goliath (Jalut in Arabic) as the most dangerous enemy of the Israelites was killed by a soldier, David. While this caused David to gain fame among the Israelites, it also led to hostility from Saul. Afterward, a 30-year-old David was divinely inspired to go to the city of Hebron and then led the Yehuda

tribe for seven and a half years. During this time, David became very powerful while Saul gradually lost his. Eventually, each of the twelve tribes pledged allegiance to David as king. Thus, at the age of thirty-seven, David became king with the approval of all twelve tribes of Israel, and he reigned over them for 33 years.

The second king of the Israelites, David would be the one who established a united kingdom in the land of Canaan. During his time, the state became very strong, its borders expanded, and it had a prominent place among neighboring states. This was due to David's ability to carry out successful domestic and foreign policies, not only putting his own tribe in front but also by being able to maintain a balance among all tribes. The conquest of Jerusalem took place with the aim of such a balance. David needed a new capital from a strategic point of view in order to prevent his supporters from dominating the other tribes in Hebron. He decided that Jerusalem would be a suitable city in this aspect, one where none of the Israelites could dominate and so they could not argue for possession. It could be a complete buffer zone between the tribes in the north and south. He organized an attack on this city, where the Jebusites lived at that time. Thus, David's nephew Joab managed to enter the city through the water channel and conquer the city.

...And David and all the Israelites marched to Yerushalim, which had become Jebus. There were the Jebusites, the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Jebus said to David, 'You will not come here.' But David took the castle of Zion. It is the city of David. And David said, whoever strikes the Jebusites first will be the chief and the chieftain. Joab son of Zeruiah first went up and became chief. David was residing in the castle. That's why it was called the city of David. He built around the city, from Millo to the surrounding area. The rest of the city David was growing and also being built, the Host of Hosts was with him."²³

Although the exact date of the conquest of Jerusalem is not clear, it is widely shared to have taken place between the end of the 6th century BC and the beginning of the 10th century BC. In addition,

some historians have claimed the geographical structure of Jerusalem at that time to be different from what it is now (e.g., the Kidron Valley had been 15 meters deeper).

After the city was conquered, David moved his residence to the Castle of Zion and changed the name of the city, giving it his own name: *Ur David* [City of David]. David declared this place as the capital of all Jews, giving importance to construction and public works in order to make the city look like a capital city. A royal palace was built for David in Jerusalem.²⁴ David brought the Ark of the Covenant (Hebrone ha-berit), the most important religious object for the Israelites, to Jerusalem, as God is believed to reside in it. Bringing the Ark of the Covenant, which all tribes of Israel considered sacred, to Jerusalem was a successful policy for eliminating the distance among the tribes and making them one people.) After the Ark of the Covenant was brought to the City of David in the fortress of Zion, it was put in a tent near the palace that had been prepared beforehand. Although David himself lived in the palace, he could not accept the Ark of the Covenant being placed in a tent; he wanted to build a temple for it. However, God revealed through the Prophet Nathan that the construction of this temple would be a destiny not for him, but for his descendant king.²⁵

Through Gad the Seer, Yahweh ordered David to set up an altar on the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite.²⁶ David bought this land and built an altar for Yahweh there.²⁷ This location is where the Qibly Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are located, the place is referred to as Haram al-Sharif in Islamic sources. Providing chipped stones, iron and nails, bronze, countless logs of cedar, ornamental stones of various color, gold, and silver for the construction of the temple, David prayed that the temple would be famous and magnificent in the eyes of all nations. However, God warned and informed him that the construction of this temple would not be given to him because he had fought countless wars and shed much blood; instead, this task would fall on his peace-loving son Solomon, whose name symbolizes peace.

²⁰ Joshua 10:5.

²¹ Joshua 15: 1, 8; 18: 11, 16.

²² Chronicles I 11: 4-6.

²³ Chronicles I 11: 4-9.

²⁴ Samuel II 5: 11.

²⁵ Samuel II 6-7; Chronicles II 13-17.

²⁶ Chronicles I 20,21:18.

²⁷ Samuel II 15, 18-20, 24.

The Davidic era is a period of success and glory in Jewish history. Jerusalem was established as the capital, construction activities were carried out here, and all the Israelites were united as a single state. However, the introduction of new taxes for the continuation of wars and construction activities also caused social turmoil. Jewish scriptures should be noted as making no mention of Jerusalem having any religious meaning for the Israelites until David. Strategic and political purposes rather than religious reasons had affected David's choice to focus there. However, David brought the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, making this city the center of religion as well as politics. The Israelites, who had previously gone to Shiloh for pilgrimage, now had to come to Jerusalem for this worship. Therefore, Jerusalem entered Israelites' religious agenda; the first steps for its sanctification began to be taken with King David as well as King Solomon, who would later build the temple.

The Period of Solomon

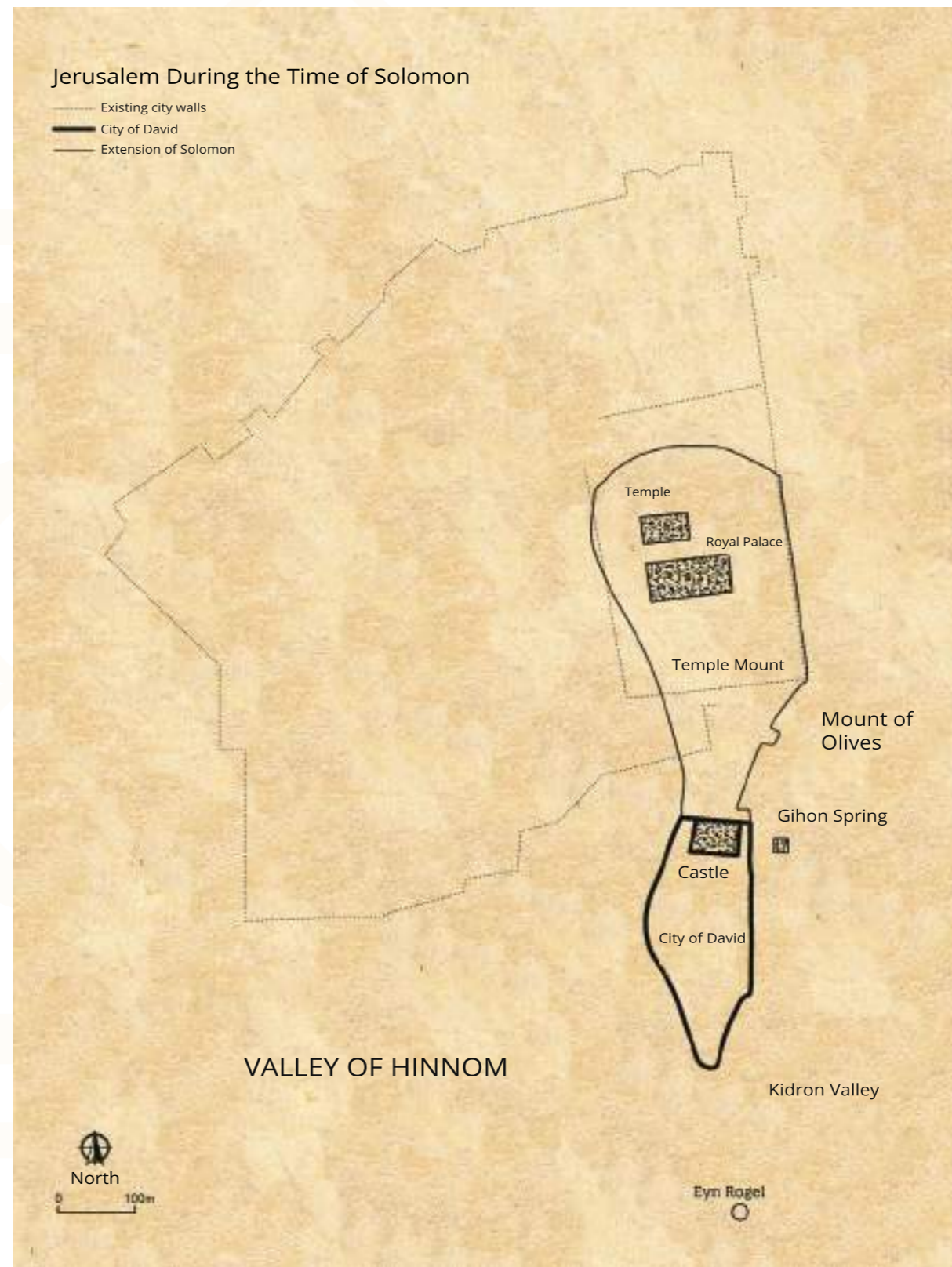
After the death of his father in the second quarter of the 10th century BC, Solomon became the third king of Israel. Jerusalem, the capital and political center of all tribes, expanded to include the Temple Mount during the reign of Solomon. During this period, new houses, magnificent palaces, and decorated mansions were built in Jerusalem. Walls were built around the city, the level of prosperity increased, and the state became stronger in terms of politics and economy. Trade routes were opened from Jerusalem to neighboring states, upon which Jerusalem became an international trade center. In Jewish history, David's reign marked the period of conquests while Solomon's marks the period of peace and successful diplomatic relations. In addition, Jewish scriptures describe the period of Solomon as a time of religious perversions, despite the brightness of the world. The importance of this period is that Solomon built a magnificent temple that would carry his name for centuries in Jewish history.

With Solomon's construction of the temple, the first steps had been taken toward the sanctification of Jerusalem. In the fourth year of his reign, Solomon started construction of this temple for God upon the will of his father in the area known today as al-Aqsa Mosque on Temple Mount. Temple Mount, where the temple was built, should notably be identified in Jewish tradition with Mount Moriah, where Abraham had attempted to sacrifice his son. The temple was built on the rock called *Even ha-Shatiyah* [Foundation Stone] or *Sakrah al-Musarrifah* [The Noble Rock] in Arabic. According to Judaism, this rock is the central point of the world, and the philosophical commentary *Akedat Yitzchak* [The Binding of Isaac] on sacrifice occurs here. This rock is also known as *Hajar al-Muallaq* in Islam, and the Dome of the Rock was built over this stone. Jewish scriptures give detailed information about the construction of the temple and its attendants. The construction of this temple, which was known as *Beit ha-Mikdash* [House of the Holy] in Hebrew sources, took seven years. Not only the Israelites but foreigners as well worked on it during this time. All 153,600 foreigners residing among the Israelites were assigned to the construction of the temple. In addition, Jewish scriptures mention Hiram, the King of Tyre, to have supplied materials and workers for constructing the temple. This situation reveals the temple construction to have had an international dimension even at that time and to have employed craftsmen with a good understanding of construction. At Solomon's request, Hiram sent skillful craftsmen and workers skilled in metalwork, stone carving, wood carving, and fabric weaving to manage the construction and the materials made of cedar, sandalwood and pine to be used in construction. Timbers and stone slabs obtained from the Lebanese forests were used in the temple's construction. Iron tools such as axes and hammers are said to have not been used in the construction of the temple.²⁸

The temple had a length of 60 cubits (about 27 meters), a width of 20 cubits (about 9 meters), and a height of 30 cubits

(about 13.5 meters). The temple consisted of three parts. The first was the *Ulam* [porch]. This was the *iwān* [vaulted hall] opening to the temple; the altars for sacrifices and offerings were also located here. After the *Ulam* comes the second part of the temple called the *Heikal* [Main Hall]. As the main hall of the temple, the *Heikal* was the place of worship. The next section was known as *Debir*, or *Kodesh ha-Kodashim* [The Holy of Holies]. This is where the Ark of the Covenant was placed; it was considered the holiest place on Earth and was kept closed to the public. This area was where the chief kohen could enter only once a year on the holy day of Yom Kippur. The walls of the temple were covered with cedar and pine trees so that no stone was visible from inside. The walls, beams, and door sills of *Kodesh ha-Kodashim* and the prayer hall were completely plated with pure gold; Cherubim, date trees, and blooming flower motifs were carved on the walls and curtains and then plated in gold. A cherub is a winged angel, and two cherubim statues are placed on the cover of the Ark of the Covenant, facing one another (Significantly, this word is the antonym of *Buraq*, the name of the Prophet's mount on the night of Isra.) These statues are made of olive wood and covered with pure gold. Their faces are oriented toward the prayer hall, and their wings touch each other. Three-story rooms adjacent to the outer wall were built in parts of the *Kodesh ha-Kodashim* and the prayer hall. Windows narrowing outward were placed in the prayer hall, and these windows were covered with lattices. At the beginning of the *iwān* in front of the temple, two metallic pillars called *Boaz* and *Jachin* were erected. The height of these pillars was 35 cubits (about 15.8 meters).

When the temple was put into service, the Ark of the Covenant and other sacred items on Mount Zion were brought ceremoniously and placed in *Kodash ha-Kodashim*. In the prayer that Solomon recited during the opening of the temple, he prayed that the temple would not be limited to Jews but be a place where the prayers of everyone who prayed to the only God would be answered. At the end of his 40-year reign, Solomon died toward the end of the 10th century BC and was buried in the City of David in the Mount Zion district of Jerusalem.²⁹



Jerusalem During the Time of Solomon

²⁸ Kings 16:7.

²⁹ Kings 15-8; Chronicles 22-6

I. Temple Period: Kingdom of Judah

Tensions among tribes that had started during the reign of Solomon flared up after his death, and toward the end of the 10th century BC, the kingdom was divided into two; the 10 tribes living in the northern lands formed the state of Israel. The two tribes descended from Judah and Benjamin living in the southern lands were united under the roof of the state of Judah under the leadership of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon. The capital of the state of Israel became Shechem, Tirza, and Samaria; Jerusalem became the capital of the state of Judah. Numerous wars took place between the Israelites and Judeans, and the Israelite tribes decided to build temples in their own cities as an alternative to the temple in Jerusalem. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser attacked the state of Israel in 721 BC, captured it, and expelled its people from there. As a result of this exile, the Israelites dispersed all over the world, and all traces of them were lost. This is referred to in Jewish history with the metaphor of the 10 Lost Tribes.

The capital of the state of Judah was Jerusalem, and its first king was Rehoboam, who would reign for seventeen years. According to Jewish scriptures, the people of Judah have strayed from the right path since the time of Rehoboam. Sometimes honest kings emerged from among them and tried to prevent them from idolatry and turn them to the right path. However, these kings did not attempt to have the temple Solomon built dominate the worship life of the Jews, and worship continued in *bamas*, places of worship for the common masses. This situation proves that Jerusalem did not have a privileged place in the eyes of the people in terms of religion.³⁰

*"The Judeans did what was bad in the eyes of Yahweh, angering Him more with their sins than their ancestors had. They also built for themselves places of worship/bamas, pillars and Ashera idols on every high hill and under every leafy tree. There were even men engaged in prostitution in the country. They did all the abominations of the peoples that Yahweh had driven out before the Israelites"*³¹

³¹ Kings I 4: 22-24.

³² Kings II 26: 9; 27: 3.

³³ Chronicles II 16: 5.

³⁴ Nehemiah 3: 8.

The state of Judah was constantly exposed to attacks by regional states such as Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon; at the same time, the state of Israel that had been formed by the tribes in the north attacked Jerusalem. Therefore, Jerusalem at this time was no longer a sovereign powerful state but a capital sometimes looted by the great states of the region, even sometimes having to pay tribute to them. Since this period, Egypt's presence is seen in the region. During the reigns of Uzziah (786-758 BC) and Jotham (758-742 BC), the Jerusalem administration gained the strength and power to defeat the surrounding peoples. During the time of these kings, the walls of Jerusalem were repaired and reinforced. Although Jerusalem was besieged by the combined army of the kings of Israel and Aram during the reign of King Ahaz (742-726 BC), this siege was unsuccessful. However, Ahaz came under the protection of the Assyrian king to protect himself from their attacks, even accepting their rituals as a sign of obedience to the Assyrians and turning his back on Yahweh.³² Although his son King Hezekiah (726-697 BC) paid tribute to the Assyrians at first, he is seen to have taken successful steps in terms of religion and politics over time.

The era of Hezekiah was a period of development for Jerusalem in every respect. The closed temple was opened to worship, worship of Yahweh resumed, war was waged against idols and superstitions, and Jerusalem was returned to its original identity. Hezekiah had the city walls repaired, built towers on the walls, and had an additional wall built on the outside.³³ Through this fortification, which is referred to as the Broad Wall in Jewish holy texts,³⁴ the vulnerable part of the city had been closed off, thus Hezekiah further entrenched Jerusalem's defense system. The remains of this wall were discovered in the 1970s during an archaeological dig led by Nahman Avigad. Hezekiah did not pay tribute to the Assyrian state and made Judah an independent state. Thereupon, the Assyrian King Sennacherib attacked Jerusalem; however, the Assyrian army perished through a divine miracle as a result of an epidemic. Jerusalem was saved, and this led to the people of the city having increased religious feelings.

This political superiority also contributed to the city's social and economic development. During this period, Jerusalem's population increased considerably, probably because of those forced to emigrate due to disturbances within the state of Israel. In parallel, the settlement became denser and overflowed to the surrounding areas. The city borders were widened to include the surrounding valleys. If the population of the city had been around 8,000 at the time of Solomon, it approached 24,000 in the time of Hezekiah. Similarly, the land of Jerusalem had grown fourfold. In addition to extensive zoning activities, infrastructure works were started in the city, and water was brought to the city through an underground tunnel from Ain Um al-Daraj and Gihon spring in the nearby village of Silwan. In addition, water was drawn from the Mamilla pool (later the Hezekiah pool) to the dam, which is now called the Patriarch's bath pool in the Christian quarter.

During the reign of his son, Menasseh (697-642 BC), who ascended the throne after Hezekiah, idolatry rose again and became widespread. When Menasseh later returned to the right path after being punished with divine punishment, God showed him His Grace, and Menasseh, who had become king again, had an external wall built around the city and made various repairs.³⁵ However, the state's complete cleansing of Jerusalem from pagan customs and the guiding of the people to belief in the One God Yahweh didn't occur until the time of King Josiah (640-609 BC). The temple in Jerusalem was repaired, the *bamas* were demolished, and the righteous path had been reestablished. Jewish scriptures state the Torah to have been observed in the temple during his time and the community to have performed elevated religious rituals on Passover. This indicates a revival to have occurred in the religious life of the people and Jerusalem to have gained religious importance and become a center. This centrality was an unprecedented status for Jerusalem. However, during the reign of Josiah's son, Jehoahaz (609-608 BC), idolatry was reaccepted, and so the people were subjected to divine punishment, first coming under the

³⁵ Chronicles II 33: 2-17.

rule of Egypt and then the Babylonians who had defeated Egypt and dominated the region. Jerusalem had also been attacked by Chaldean, Aramean, Moabite, and Ammon raiders. In the time of Jehoiakim (608-597), the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem, taking the king under his command and the valuables of the temple to Babylon with many people. Three years later, Jehoiakim rebelled, upon which Nebuchadnezzar entered Jerusalem for the second time in 597, took Jehoiakim to Babylon with the remaining belongings of the temple, and this time appointed Jehoiakim's son Jehoiachin in his place. The new king reigned for a hundred days then was also taken to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar now appointed Zedekiah as king, and bound the Judeans to tribute. King Zedekiah's reign (597-586 BC) marks the destructions of the state of Judah and the temple in Jerusalem. In the tenth year of his rule, Zedekiah revolted against Babylon, upon which Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem in 586 BC and besieged the city. Nebuchadnezzar's army burned the city's houses, palaces, and the temple, destroying everything of value including the city walls. The treasures of the palace and the temple were taken to Babylon, the people were put to the sword, and most of the survivors were exiled to Babylon. With the fall of Jerusalem, the last state of the Israelites became history, and the life of exile began.

In the end, the period from the reign of Solomon to the fall of the state of Judah became known as the era of the First Temple in Jewish history. During this time, Jerusalem was described by historians as a city that had risen from mediocrity to being a capital. Other than the Amarna letters, a silence occurs in the archaeological data about Jerusalem to the end of the 8th century BC. This situation has been interpreted by historians as meaning Jerusalem and the state of Judah having a small insignificant position at that time. In addition, this lack of data has led historians to discuss the splendor of Jerusalem described in the period of David and Solomon, in fact meeting the idea of the city as a political center with suspicion. During this period, the city had sparse settlements.

Findings show the city to have gained importance at the end of the 8th century BC. Archaeologists and historians studying this period have drawn a picture of a beautiful city in that time with palaces, warehouses, walls, and bastions. Archaeologists came to the conclusion that the city had gained importance at this time by looking at the numerous small settlements, wall ruins, towers, water canals, and agricultural remains as well as the sudden increase in size and number of tombs during this period. Therefore, what the holy texts mention in regard to Jerusalem gaining a central feature at the end of the 8th century BC is supported by archaeological findings. These findings indicate Jerusalem to have been a medium-sized city with a central position in this period. The developments, construction, and renovation activities mentioned in the Jewish scriptures regarding the Hezekiah period are also supported by archaeological findings. The significant increase in Jerusalem and Judah's populations in the 8th century BC is associated with the migration of tribes to Judah after the collapse of the state of Israel in the north in 720 BC.³⁶

The Era of the Second Temple: The Persian Period

In 538 BC, Cyrus from the Persian Achaemenid dynasty defeated the Babylonian State and became the ruler of Jerusalem. Thus, for about a millennium until the Muslim conquest, Jerusalem fell out of the hands of the Semitic race and passed into the hands of Indo-Europeans. Having conquered Jerusalem, Cyrus allowed the Jews to return to their homeland. The claim has been made that at this time, the Persians sent the Israelites back to Palestine as a precaution against attack from Egypt, one of the mighty states of the Middle East. According to this approach, the Persians thought that creating a buffer zone it would be beneficial in order to not be caught unprepared for an attack from Egypt; thus, they undertook the reconstruction of Jerusalem and the temple and sent the Israelites there. Being allowed to return, tens of thousands of Jews came back

to Jerusalem. In addition to those who returned, other Jews are also known to have remained in Babylonian lands.³⁷

The first thing the Israelites did after their return was to rebuild the temple in the desolation that Jerusalem had become. However, this was not so easy; construction was interrupted by various obstacles. The Samaritans were said to be the ones preventing the construction of the temple. While Samaritans wanted to take part in the construction, they were rejected on the grounds that they were not purebred Israelites. In addition, the rulers of the surrounding peoples warned the king that the Jews should stop rebuilding Jerusalem, otherwise the Israelites would disobey and not pay taxes. As a result of this warning, the construction and renovation activities of the temple were stopped. However, although King Darius had received the same warning, he discovered Cyrus' edict granting him permission and support to build the temple from the archive, thus removing all obstacles to the temple's reconstruction. The temple was rebuilt with superior construction materials obtained from Lebanon, Tiro, and Sidon upon the ground Solomon had used and opened for worship in 515 BC.

In 457 BC, Jerusalem entered one of the most important and glorious periods in its history with Ezra's return to the city. This splendor increased even more with the arrival of Nehemiah, whom the Persian king had appointed as governor of Jerusalem. With Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem, large-scale reconstruction activities began and the city walls were built. The construction of the city walls took 52 days. (Ezra 1:1-8; Nehemiah 1:1-11) The construction of the walls was an important turning point in the city's development, and the people of the city became more and more crowded. However, this should not be understood to mean the city was in a developed state, because during the reign of the Persians, misery and poverty prevailed in Jerusalem. People lived in simple huts with insufficient enough pottery vessels. During this period, Jerusalem's religious centrality and importance was accepted by all Jews.³⁸

Alexander of Macedonia in Jerusalem Jerusalem in the Seleucid Era

Alexander of Macedonia seized the region in 332 BC, and so Jerusalem passed under his rule. According to rumors, Alexander wanted to destroy the city at first, but the elders and clergy dressed in white robes went out of the city to welcome him and begged him not to destroy the city. Thus, he did not harm the Jewish temple, instead desiring to place a statue there. The Jews objected to this, and when they promised to glorify their first-born sons by naming him after him, Alexander abandoned his decision. With the occupation of the city, Yerushalim as the Hebrew name of the city was changed and started to be called *Hierosolyma* in Greek.³⁹

The Ptolemy Dynasty in Jerusalem

After the death of Alexander in 323 BC, Hierosolyma (i.e., Jerusalem) became tied to the Egyptian Ptolemy dynasty. During the Ptolemy period, Jews had control of their religious and social life. The Ptolemies respected Jewish beliefs and even had their scriptures translated into Greek. The translation of these texts into Greek is associated with Emperor Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) of the Ptolemy dynasty. Because Ptolemy II was fond of reading and books, he enriched the Library of Alexandria with books brought from the East and the West. The director of the library, Demetrius of Phalerum was also a bibliophile and encouraged Ptolemy II to bring Jew's sacred texts to the library. Upon the Emperor's request to translate Jewish scriptures into Greek for the purpose of adding to the palace library, the High Priest Eleazer selected 72 Jewish clergymen from each of the 12 tribes of the Israelites and sent them to translate the Torah into Greek within seventy-two days on the island of Pharos, near Alexandria. These translated texts gained fame with the name The Septuagint [The Translation of the Seventy], in relation to the number of translators and the number of days translated.⁴⁰

In 199 BC, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Greek Seleucid dynasty. During the Seleucid period, Hellenization policies were carried out intensively in Judah, particularly in Jerusalem. During this time, Jerusalem found itself in a clash of civilizations with its culture degenerating and being corrupted. With the establishment of gymnasiums and stadiums, the organization of the Olympics, and the construction of Greek temples, Jerusalem turned into a Greek city/polis. Educational and entertainment institutions promoting Hellenic culture were expanded, and many people in Jerusalem adopted this culture. Athletes competing in the Olympics ignored Jewish rules on covering the body and went to the races naked like the Greeks. Circumcision, which had been one of the most basic rules of Judaism, was perceived as a defect and shame for them; many Jewish youths resorted to surgeons to hide their flaws. The number of those who did not circumcise their children in order not to look different from a Greek in the races was quite high. The Hellenization policies peaked in the time of the Seleucids, reaching dimensions that disturbed the Jewish community, with Jerusalem constantly being the scene of minor uprisings. In 168 BC, Antiochus III had a fortress in Acra (an acropolis) built right next to the southern wall of the temple to keep the temple under control. As sources of that period, Maccabees I from the Bible and Josephus provide information about this castle.⁴¹ The garrison of the Seleucids in the region was also found in this castle. This castle, which had been taken over and demolished by Simon Thassi in 141 BC, was discovered in 2015 by a team led by Israeli archaeologist Daron Ben-Ami. The period of the Seleucids was not only a period of religious degeneration among the Jews but also of political degeneration. In this period, internal conflicts over office roles flared up between the rulers in Jerusalem, attempts were made to bribe the emperor to become the temple administrator, and the temple treasury was plundered many times for this purpose.⁴²

³⁶ George E. Mendenhall, "Jerusalem from 1000-63 BC", *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K.J. Asali, (Essex: Scorpion, 1989), 56-59; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 81-88.

³⁷ Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature: Interpreting Biblical Texts Series*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 106-108.

³⁸ Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 34-41; Mehasine, *Tarihu medinet'l-Quds*, 82-84; Simon S. Montefiore, *Kudüs: Bir Şehrin Biyografisi*, transl. Cem Demirkan, (Istanbul: Pegasus Publications, 2016), 49-54.

³⁹ William Hale, *History of the Jews: From The Time of Alexander The Great to The Destruction*, (London: William Claves 1850), 3-9; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 25-26; Mehasine, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 84-85; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 43-44.

⁴⁰ Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 56-57; Baki Adam, *Yahudi Kaynaklarına Göre Tevrat*, (Istanbul: Pınar Publications, 2001), 19-20.

⁴¹ Maccabees I :35-38; Josephus Flavius, *Josephus Complete Works*, Trc. William Whiston, (Michigan: Kregel Publications, 1970), *Jewish Wars*, 5. 4:1, *Jewish Antiquities*, 12:252.

⁴² Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 103-118; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 26-28; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 45-61; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 59-65.

Jerusalem in the Hasmonean Era

Because the Jews rebelled against Greek rule many times, the Seleucid emperor Antiochus Epiphanes IV attacked Jerusalem in 168 BC. He is rumored to have burned down the city, plundered the temple treasury, taken the women and children with him along with the animals, and collected taxes that would put the people of Jerusalem under difficulty. Not only that, he ordered the people of Jerusalem and other cities to worship Greek idols. When this demand could not be met, he implemented harsh policies; banned basic religious rituals such as the Sabbath celebration, circumcision, and sacrifice; and turned the temple into a temple for the Greek god Jupiter. Jason, the chief kohen was rumored to have also supported him by bribing him in these practices and becoming the ruler of the temple.⁴³

In 167 BC, Seleucid soldiers imposed the worship of Greek gods on the Jews in the town of Modi'in, near Jerusalem; Matatياهو ben Yohanan, a cleric from the Hasmonean family, was forced to honor these statues in order to persuade the people. Matatياهو refused this and killed the soldier who conveyed the order as well as a Jew who wanted to sacrifice to the idols in the temple; this caused rebellion to flare up. The rebels fought using guerrilla warfare tactics, and after several years of struggle, expelled the Seleucids and cleared the statues of Greek gods from the temple. This war is known in Jewish history as the Maccabean Revolt. After the victory in 164 BC, Judah was ruled by the Hasmonean dynasty for more than a century until 37 BC, sometimes with freedom and autonomy. This victory was also the reason for the establishment of the Hanukkah Feast and brought the temple to a more significant central position, thus gaining Jerusalem a privileged character. The fact that Jerusalem gained importance in this period was not only as a religious center but also as the capital of the powerful Judah State that had seized the surrounding lands and forcibly Judaized them.

During the Hasmonean period, Jerusalem grew westward, and many renovation and construction activities were carried out in the city. The reason for this westward growth was to establish a neighborhood where only the elite and aristocratic

would live. This neighborhood was established on the west side of Temple Mount and surrounded by a wall during the time of Simon and Hirkanoth I; it was called the Upper City because it overlooked the Temple Mount. The houses in the Upper City were built in the Hellenic style typical of Hellenic cities. The Hasmoneans appear to have assimilated Hellenism by adapting it to their own style. Although available data do not give detailed information about Upper City, this Hellenic neighborhood can be said to have been a very important place in the city life of Jerusalem at that time.

Starting at the end of the 2nd century BC which coincides with the Hasmonean period, theological differences of opinion occurred among the Jews, with two sects emerging, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. These two sects controlled the temple in Jerusalem. Although this separation emerged on religious grounds, it was actually a result of political disagreements. While the Sadducees aimed to ensure the continuation of the political existence of the Jews on the basis of statism, the rise of religious and cultural identity was a priority for the Pharisees. The Pharisees favored success by preserving and developing religious identity and by making concessions to the Greeks and refusing to exist in the political arena. While the Sadducees, who represented the traditional rulers and aristocracy of the Jews, sought to maintain the status quo and favored getting along with Rome, the Pharisees represented the widespread popular masses and advocated opposing Rome. Contrary to the Sadducees, the Pharisees' world of beliefs included details about fate and submission, angels, and the afterlife. This difference in matters of faith was actually a reflection of the intellectual background that supported their political worldview. Representatives of both sects attempted to influence the masses in the Second Temple. This group of rabbis ruled the Jewish people from the temple and established a high court called the Sanhedrin. In this way, they maintained their rule over the people. The popularity of the Pharisees among the people was very high, and they also had the upper hand in the Sanhedrin. Therefore, the people of Jerusalem mostly listened to the Pharisees in this period.⁴⁴

⁴³ *Maccabees 11-2.*

⁴⁴ *Mehasie, Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds, 85-86; Zayid, el-Kudsul-halide, 112-116; Peters, Jerusalem, 51-61.*

Pompey the Great's Capture of Jerusalem

As a result of the political conflicts of the Jewish rulers in the 70s BC, the Hasmonean dynasty weakened. This weakness gave Rome the opportunity to occupy Jerusalem. In 63 BC, the military and political leader Pompey attacked Jerusalem, capturing it after a 3-month siege. After capturing the city, he targeted the temple and massacred many of the city's people. The name of the city, which had been Jerusalem until this time, started to be called Hierosolyma. The administrative gap in Rome allowed the members of the Hasmonean dynasty to continue to rule the city autonomously.

In the process from Pompey's capture of Jerusalem to the conquest of the city by Muslims, Jerusalem has experienced three historical breaking points. The first of these started with Pompey and ended with the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus in 70 AD. The second is the period when the new Hellenic city was established as a pagan city under the name of Aelia Capitolina. This phase ended with Byzantium's adoption of Christianity. The third phase, in which the Christian faith dominated the city, ended with the conquest of the city by Muslims in 638 AD.

The Jews initially accepted Pompey as governor of Jerusalem but later revolted. Thereupon, Pompey, had the city walls destroyed upon his return, destroying many buildings in the city and forcing the Jews to offer sacrifices to Rome and the emperor every day. In order to finance the war with the Parthians, Marcus Licinius Crassus plundered the temple treasury in 54 BC. This situation caused the nationalist consciousness of the people to be revived. During the reign of Julius Caesar (49 BC), the Jews had some peace. This peaceful environment continued in the time of the Antipater the Idumaeon (46 BC), but after his death, violent conflicts began between the Edomites and the Jews. Although the Persians captured Jerusalem, which had been weakened by conflicts in 40 BC, they were able to hold it for two years until the Romans took the city from them again in 38 BC.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Peters, Jerusalem, 61-65; Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds, 29-30; Montefiore, Kudüs, 73.*

The Time of Herod the Great in Jerusalem

In 37 BC, Rome appointed Herod the Great as governor of Jerusalem, believing him to be able to stop the internal conflicts there, at which point the Hasmonean administration completely ended. The period of Herod the Great went down in history as a revival period and golden age for Jerusalem, with Jerusalem reaching the peak of its development. The population of the city at this time is estimated to have been between 20,000 and 50,000. Although Herod ruled the region on behalf of Rome, he is rumored to have minted coins in his own name. Herod, who was of Edom origin and later converted to Judaism, had tried to find a relationship between the Romans and the Jews but was unsuccessful in this desire. The people did not accept him because of his authoritarian attitudes. In order to ensure social stability, he held council on those who led the uprisings, the Maccabees and the Pharisees, and had 45 of the Sanhedrin's 71 members executed. Herod could not make peace with the people. Although Herod treated the Jerusalemites violently, he was sometimes helpful. For example, apart from his harsh attitude, he is rumored to have distributed money and wheat from his own treasury to the people when hunger arose in the city, and this is why he was called Herod the Great.

During Herod's time, countless construction and renovation works were carried out in Jerusalem, the traces of which have survived until today. Archaeological findings and historical sources give detailed information about the magnificent structures he had built in Jerusalem. Through these activities, he succeeded in making Jerusalem one of the brightest cities of the old world, transforming it from a secluded fortress city into a genius of architecture and a metropolis of Rome. The construction wave he started continued after his death. With these buildings, which were completely reminiscent of the Greek style in their construction, size and decorations, Herod is said to have aimed to transform Jerusalem into a Hellenic city and thus attract the attention of the Roman rulers. Ornate buildings,

mansions and palaces were built in the rich Jerusalem neighborhood of Upper City. The elite of the city, including Herod himself and the chief kohen, lived there.

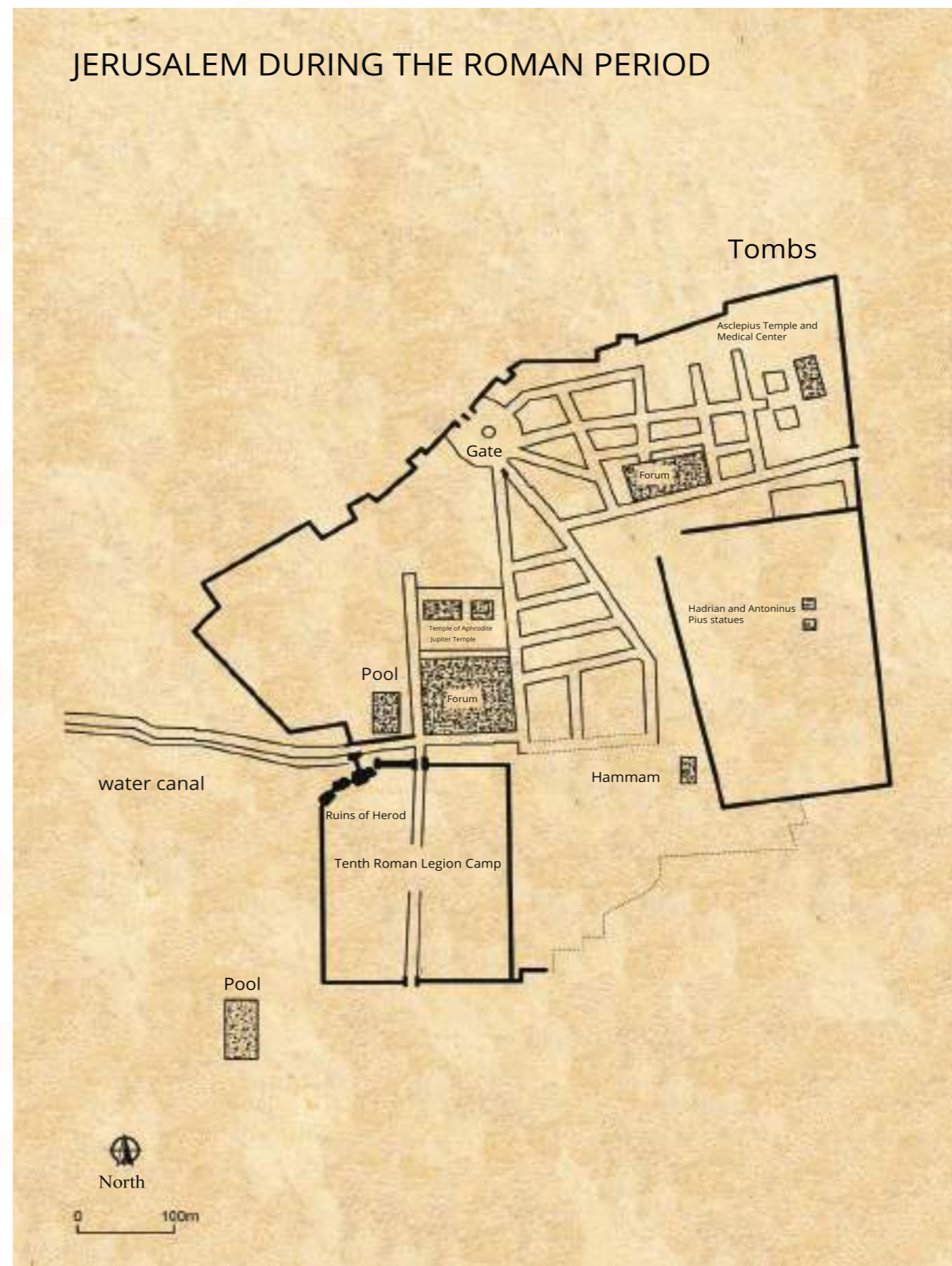
Thanks to these structures, an unprecedented change occurred in city life, and Jerusalem with an area of more than 400 acres hosted the Olympics with the games organized in honor of the emperor. Herod had the tower built known today as the Tower of David as well as a few other towers. He also repaired the towers from Hasmonean times. The two most important buildings Herod renovated or had built in Jerusalem were the temple and his own palace. He rebuilt the temple by enlarging and surrounding it with a wall. This structure, which Muslims today call the Buraq Wall and the Jews the Western or Wailing Wall, is the remnant of this outer wall that Herod had built.⁴⁶

Jerusalem before the Destruction of the Second Temple

Herod died in 4 BC. Jesus was born during the time of Herod. The Roman emperor appointed his son, Herod Archelaus, to replace Herod. However, the uprisings in the region never ceased after that. At that time, because Jerusalem had become quite disorganized and troubled, the new administration chose the city of Caesarea as its official residence and left a sparse military unit in Jerusalem. Although the administration had changed cities, Jerusalem was still perceived as the capital city for the Jews. Between 26-36 AD, the governor of Judah Province, Pontius Pilate. In his letters, he wrote the rabbis in the temple in Jerusalem to be dishonest, deceitful, and ready to give anything of value or worth for their own interests and Jerusalem to be a nest of strife and intrigues. The preaching of Jesus coincided with the period of Pilate. Jews often rebelled under Pilate. After Pilate, the governor of Jerusalem became Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great. During his reign (37-44 AD), the city became very developed. Spectacular mansions and palaces, luxury galleries, and great halls were built, and the new neighborhood of Bezetha was established in the

north-eastern part of the city. Agrippa started the construction of the new wall known as the Third Wall, but the construction of the wall was halted by order of Rome. The third wall was finished by Jewish fanatics known as the Kanaim in 67-69 AD. This wall surrounded the district known as Calvary in Jerusalem. The Roman emperor asked him to limit these construction works, especially as he had been requested to stop building the walls.

Constant uprisings occurred in Jerusalem during the time of the governors who came after Agrippa. The Jews were not only in conflict with the Romans, but also from time to time entered into wars with their neighbors, the Edomites, Arabs, and Samaritans. In addition, disagreements occurred among the Jews themselves, with conflicts taking place between the poor people and the wealthy clergy. During the time of Gessius Florus, who had been appointed as governor in 65 AD, local uprisings were experienced not only in Jerusalem but also in other cities of Judah. These rebellions fed each other. Emperor Nero, who decided to put an end to these rebellions, sent a strong army of 60,000 regular soldiers and volunteer groups to the region under the command of Vespasian. As Vespasian approached the city, a civil war broke out among the Kanaim in Jerusalem, and control of the city was divided in the hands of three different groups under the leadership of Eleazar ben Simon, Simon bar Giyora, and Yohanan ben Levi of Gush-Halav who was supported by the Edomites. During the Passover, while the Jews were praying in the temple under the leadership of Eleazar, Yohanan and his men attacked the temple, massacred most of them and captured the temple. Meanwhile, Simon's men were creating an atmosphere of terror in the city. The death toll in Jerusalem is rumored to have exceeded 10,000 due to this internal conflict among the Kanaim. Upon Nero's death and his election as emperor, Vespasian returned without suppressing the rebellion and gave the army to his son Titus.⁴⁷



Jerusalem in the Roman Period

The Fall of Jerusalem

Titus sieged the city during the Passover feast in April 70 AD and chose Jabal al-Masharif to hole up, a high point 1,300 meters away from the city walls and allowing him to observe the city comfortably. While the factions in the city were fighting among themselves, Titus' army encamped in front of the city walls. Titus started the attack from the north side of the city, which is historically the weakest part of the city's defenses. Although he first made a call to open the gates and surrender, he was refused. He then began to have the city and its walls destroyed with large stones thrown from catapults. The Kanaim went out through a secret door and burned these catapults, fighting with great courage and inflicting serious casualties on the Roman army.

Although the Jews did not want to surrender, hunger and disease increased daily in the city, as well as the death toll. Just one officer responsible for the death records is reported to have recorded 115,880 dead. According to rumors, the corpses thrown out of the wall filled the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. However, the Jews steadfastly resisted. In the face of this resistance, Titus promised a great reward to those who could climb the walls and enter the city. Twenty-four Roman soldiers managed to climb the walls and enter the city at night; thus capturing the Antonia Fortress. One night, a Roman soldier threw fire through the window on the north side of the temple, and although the Jews tried to put out the fire, their efforts were ineffective. Thus, the Second Temple was completely burned. Jewish sources wrote that day to be the day of mourning in Jewish history (Tisha B'Av) due to the start of the tragic events.

Although the Jews tried to resist again after the temple was burned, the Roman army swept away everything that came before it with the eagerness of winning the war. On September 8, 70 AD, Jerusalem completely fell into the hands of Titus. Titus took the people of the city captive. Some were sold to Rome as slaves to be used in military services, others as gladiators to fight with predators or other gladiators in the arena, and still others to be used for heavy labor in the mines. Jerusalem was plundered, the valuables in the temple and palace were seized, and people fled the city or were taken captive. With this, the era of the Second Temple in Jewish history came to an end.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ I Armstrong, *Jerusalem, 126-140*; Peters, *Jerusalem, 65-87*; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds, 30*; Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds, 41-42*; Zayid, *el-Kudsii'l-halide, 119-126*.

⁴⁷ Armstrong, *Jerusalem, 149-152*; Peters, *Jerusalem, 107-115*; Zayid, *el-Kudsii'l-halide, 141-149*; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds, 31-35*; Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds, 54-60*; Montefiore, *Kudüs, 114-128*.

⁴⁸ John Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium", *Jerusalem in History*, Ed. K.J. Asali, (Essex: Scorpion, 1989), 85-86; Peters, *Jerusalem, 115-122*; Armstrong, *Jerusalem, 149-152*; Gazi, *Siretu Medineti'l-Kuds, 42-43*; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds, 35-36*; Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds, 60-66*; Zayid, *el-Kudsii'l-halide, 146-149*.

The Roman Period: Aelia Capitolina

The Roman Army's attack on Jerusalem under the command of Titus in 70 AD in order to quell the continuance of the Jewish revolt ended life in the city. Meanwhile, Simon, the leader of the Christians in Jerusalem, and his co-religionists fled to the town of Pella, one of the cities of the Decapolis Rome had built west of Jordan. When the war finished, Jerusalem was destroyed, the temple was destroyed, the people of the city were scattered about, and only the Roman army remained in the city. About ten years later, first the Christians and then the Jews began returning to Jerusalem. The Romans forced Jews between the ages of 20-50 living in and around Jerusalem to pay the *Fiscus Judaicus* [Judaism Tax] to be used in the Temple of Jupiter being built in Rome. This situation made the Jews feel very uncomfortable, so occasional uprisings occurred. These uprisings began to increase in scale in 106 AD during the reign of Emperor Trajan with the hope that Jews would take over Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. However, Rome suppressed this revolt.⁴⁹

The final Jewish uprising in Jerusalem took place during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD). According to sources, Hadrian did not have a negative opinion about Jews when he started his rule, making sure to establish good relations with them. Moreover, he provided opportunities for the Jews to return to Jerusalem and promised them the temple would be rebuilt. However, when the Samaritans persuaded him against Jewish opinion, he fell out with the Jews. Following this, Hadrian planned to build the city as a Roman city with a Hellenistic culture. In the face of this situation, the Jews thought they could easily defeat a small guard regiment in Jerusalem, thus attacking the Roman army and inflicting serious casualties. Starting in 130 AD, Hadrian made very drastic decisions to break the Jewish resistance against Rome, banning circumcisions and Sabbath celebrations. To combat terrorism, Hadrian deployed additional legionnaires in Jerusalem and ordered a temple to be built for the Roman chief god Jupiter upon the ruins of the Jewish temple. Thereupon, a large-scale Jewish uprising called the Bar Kokhba Revolt began in 132 AD.

This rebellion started under the leadership of Shimon bar Kokhba and achieved significant success. In a short time, the Romans were expelled from the city and Jerusalem was captured. Bar Kokhba and his supporters drove the Romans to coastal areas, thus naval wars took place between the two sides. The rebels minted coins in the name of Bar Kokhba in reference to their independence. Meanwhile, Hadrian sent his best armies and most successful commander, Julius Severus, to face the rebels, reversing the situation. Bar Kokhba and his supporters left Jerusalem and fled to the town of Betar, located on the southeast side of the city. Severus succeeded in suppressing the rebellion with the final battle in Betar in 135 AD, killing Bar Kokhba and his supporters. The dead were reported to be allowed to be buried after six days to ensure that all Jews in Betar had been massacred. Around 580,000 Jews were rumored to have been killed in this war, apart from those who died of starvation and disease. In Jewish sources, the day the rebellion was suppressed was recorded as Tisha B'Av, the date of mourning in the Jewish calendar. This date marks the date when not only the First but also the Second Temple had been destroyed and is known as a day of mourning in the Jewish tradition.⁵⁰

The Romans either sold the other Jews in Jerusalem as slaves or deported them to Egypt, completely destroyed the city in order to scrape it from the memory of the Jews, and plowed the land so that no traces were left. With this, the prophecy of the Jewish Prophet Micah came true: "Zion will be plowed like a field because of you. Jerusalem will turn into a pile of stones. The mount where the temple is built will be covered with bushes."⁵¹ Hadrian forbade Jews from entering the city and stated that those who violated the ban would be executed. He even changed the name of the region for the same purpose, renaming it after the Philistines, whom the Israelites did not like. Thus, Judah became Palestine. After the fall of Jerusalem, the life of the Jews shifted to the northern city of Galilee. Likewise, this uprising brought the end of Christians of Hebrew origin as well as Jews in Jerusalem. Until the reign of Hadrian, while the Christians in Jerusalem should be noted to have adhered to Jewish law, since all descendants of the

⁴⁹ Al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 36; al-Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds*, 66-67; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 131-135.

⁵⁰ Peters, *Jerusalem*, 126-130; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 36-37; Arif, *el-Mufasssal fi tarihi'l-Kuds*, 67-68; Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, 154-155; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 137-139.

⁵¹ *Mika* 3: 12.

Israelites were prohibited from living in the city, Christians who had abandoned Jewish law in the teachings of Paul began to live in Jerusalem. As a matter of fact, Christianity during the reign of Hadrian is known to have not had yet completely separated from Judaism sociologically and a group called Jewish Christians (Ebionites) to have still maintained Jewish tradition. Hadrian banned Jewish relics such as reading the Torah, observing the Sabbath, being circumcised, applying to religious courts, and gathering in synagogues in order to ensure the city's full integration into Hellenic culture, and these measures accelerated the separation of Christianity from Judaism. Likewise, Hadrian was very strict with the Christians and allowed only Christians not descended from Israelites to stay in Jerusalem. At this time, Jerusalem turned into a pagan city with people living there who did not follow Jewish law; the city had become part of the Roman Empire.⁵²

Hadrian was a member of the Aelia clan and named Jerusalem Aelia Capitolina, combining both names in order to perpetuate his own lineage as well as to present the city to the chief god of Rome, Jupiter. Aelia Capitolina was built on the ruins of old Jerusalem in the style of a typical Hellenic city, where the debris from buildings were used to construct the new city. This new city of Aelia Capitolina was much smaller than the old Jerusalem and was founded as a kind of Roman military city. Hadrian built a pagan temple on the Temple Mount and erected a statue of Jupiter. According to one rumor, this statue resembled Hadrian. According to other sources, the Temple of Jupiter was not built on the foundation of the old temple but on the Hill of Calvary due to its central location. Although some remains of Aelia Capitolina have been found during archaeological excavations, these data are not enough to draw a detailed picture of the structure and life in the city at that time. Findings reveal Hadrian to have built this newly founded city using the materials left over from the rubble of the old Jerusalem. As a matter of fact, researches also show the stones and rocks extracted from the soil to have also been used in constructing the city. The city was built with a rectangular plan like a typical Roman city. The Romans built many towers, temples, pavilions, water channels, cisterns, roads, bridges, arches, and

theaters in Aelia Capitolina. These were destroyed in 614 AD at the time of the Persian attack on the city and did not survive due to the level of destruction. However, Aelia Capitolina was politically attached to the city of Caesarea on the Mediterranean coast. Between 135-330 AD, Aelia Capitolina was not a city drawing people's curiosity. No historians visited or described the city. As a result, no detailed information exists about this period of the city. This situation actually benefited Jerusalem, as the city lived in peace and safety until the Persian attack in 614 AD.⁵³

With Rome's acceptance of Christianity in the fourth century AD, Jerusalem now turned into a Christian city. In 312 AD, Emperor Constantine allowed the Jews who had been forbidden from entering Jerusalem to come to the city for one day a year on Tisha B'Av to mourn. According to sources, when the Jews were not allowed on the Temple Mount apart from that day, they visited the closest place to it, the Mount of Olives, and watched the ruined temple from there. The importance of Jerusalem for Christians who lived in the underground period until that time began with the emergence of pilgrimage worship in the middle of the fourth century AD. During this interim period, the Christians did not consider the small town of Jerusalem to be important in terms of religion; they believed that its importance was from Jesus Christ. For them, Jerusalem on Earth had left its place to the heavenly Jerusalem in the kingdom of God. Things changed when Rome Christianized in the fourth century AD; pilgrimage worship emerged, and Jerusalem where the Messiah had lived the last days of his life turned into an important city for Christians. Byzantine emperors gave importance to the city and tried to develop it. Sources give information about the Jews trying to claim the city. Empress Aelia Eudocia was able to meet with them on her way to visiting Jerusalem in 438 AD, and Jewish clergy were able to get permission for Jews to enter Jerusalem. When this news was announced to the Jews in the Diaspora, more than 100,000 Jews came to the city. However, when the Christians in Jerusalem opposed this situation, the ban continued. Therefore, Jerusalem, which was an important city of the Byzantine Empire from the 4th-7th centuries AD, was a Christian city until the Muslims conquered it.⁵⁴

⁵² Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 45-47; Netş, *Tarihu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 36-37; Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, 155-156; el-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 36-37.

⁵³ Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 161-166, 170-173; Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 36-40; Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, 155-156; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 139-141.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium", 89-103; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 131; Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, 158-159; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 51-56; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 139, 150-153, 159-161.

JEWISH BUILDINGS IN JERUSALEM

The Jews came to Jerusalem through David at the end of the 11th century BC and resided in Jerusalem for about a thousand years after this until the Great Exile following the fall of the Second Temple in 70 AD. Although they built many structures here during this time, not all have survived. For this reason, when talking about Jewish structures in Jerusalem, they should be considered in two groups: those that have survived to the present and those that have not.

Existing Structures

Today, Jewish buildings in Jerusalem are basically products of the 19th and 20th centuries. Because Jews had not lived in Jerusalem for centuries, it has no historically Jewish buildings. In the 19th century, various structures were built in the city due to migrations from Eastern Europe and Russia to the region. According to historical records, the Roman army destroyed Jerusalem in the 1st century AD, destroying all the structures that had been built in the city up to that point. Since then, Jews were unable to make anything there because they had been banned from living in the city. Although some Jewish and Christian historians report Omar to have given permission to Jews to live in the city during the conquest of Jerusalem, the Jews in the city decided to build a synagogue next to al-Aqsa Mosque, and Muslims destroyed this synagogue in a very short time; no information is found on this subject in Muslim sources.⁵⁵ A similar narration is also stated to have occurred in the 15th century. In summary, information about Jewish-built buildings in the city may be accessed not physically but from archaeological and historical sources.

Some of the Jewish structures that convey the ancient history of the city to the present day are the cemetery in the Kidron valley to the east of the old city walls, the Wailing Wall located near al-Aqsa Mosque, Hezekiah's Tunnel, and Zedekiah's Cave.



Zedekiah's Cave



Hezekiah's Tunnel



Tomb of Absalom (IRCICA-FAY.13.42.40)



Tomb of Zechariah (IYW Archive)

The tombs found in the cemetery in Kidron Valley are magnificent monuments carved into the rock. For example, the height of the Tomb of Absalom reaches 22 meters. This tomb, which the Jerusalemites called Yad Avshalom, is also known by Jews as the Pillar of Absalom, the son of David, who rebelled against his father.

The Tomb of Zechariah is considered by some to be the tomb of the Kohen Zechariah bin Jehoiada, who lived in the 9th century BC. A tomb is also found here known as the Tomb of Benei Hezir [Sons of Hezir]. Religious men belonging to the Hezir family are believed to be buried in this family tomb, whose columned arched entrance is decorated with Doric architecture. This family tomb is said to have been built in the style of ancient Greek architecture from the 2nd century BC. These three tombs are adjacent to one another without much distance separating them. Christians believe that the apostle James was buried in the Tombs of Benei Hezir. Sources mention that Jews had paid a base fee of 200 gold dinars to the Muslim foundation, the owner of the land, in order to keep these magnificent monumental sarcophagi carved into the rock.

⁵⁵ F. Meir Loewenberg, "A synagogue on Har Habayit in the 7th century: dream or historical fact?", *Hakirah the Flatbush Journal of Jewish Law and Thought*, 21 (Summer 2016), 253-262.



The Tombs of Children of Hezir (IYV Archive)

Another tomb is known as the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, the fourth King of Judah who lived in the 9th century BC. Some have stated Jehoshaphat to not be buried there and that the name had been given only because it is the name of the valley.⁵⁶

Apart from these tombs is a famous shrine on Mount Zion believed to be the tomb of King David. The lower floor of this building is the tomb, and the upper floor is where Jesus ate his last supper. Although the Jewish scriptures say that King David had been buried in Old Jerusalem,⁵⁷ these do not specify an exact place. David's burial here has been disputed by some historians and archaeologists. The belief that this tomb is David's real tomb is said to have become widespread after the 9th century AD. For example, Bordeaux found Optatus of Milevis and Epiphanius of Salamis mentioning seven

synagogues to have been on Mount Zion in the 4th century BC, but they did not establish a connection between the only synagogue found at that time with King David. Bordeaux stated David's real tomb as being next to his ancestors in Bethlehem by reading the names on the wall of the family cemetery. The belief that the tomb in Jerusalem is the tomb of David emerged after the city fell into Muslim hands. The Catholic Franciscan order bought this structure from Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1332 for 30,000 ducats and moved their headquarters there. Although Mamluk Sultan Baibars took this place from the Franciscans and turned it into a mosque in 1429, it was restored to its former state after a short time. This place was turned into a mosque again during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.



Jehoshaphat's Tomb Entrance (IRCICA-FAY.22.22.15)



King David's Tomb

⁵⁶ Arif B. el-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds, (Kahire: Dari'l-Mearif, 1994), 237-238; Rita Bianucci, Art and History of Jerusalem, (Florence: Bonechi, 2006), 128-129.*

⁵⁷ Kings 12: 10.



Tomb of David (D-DAI-IST-R32492)

The mason who built the walls of Jerusalem by order of Sultan Suleiman is rumored to have paid the price with his life because he did not include this place inside the walls. The administration of the tomb was transferred to the family of Sayyid Ashraf Decani Ed-Davudi from Jerusalem by Sultan Suleiman. After the Ottoman domination of the city ended during the British Mandate period, this place was put in the hands of Muslims and managed by the Nebi Davut Foundation. After Israel was established in 1948, this shrine was converted into a synagogue, and the attempt was made to destroy any Islamic features there. From that time until the occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, the tomb of King David was

the holiest place from their ancient history in the hands of the Jews.⁵⁸

The wall known to Muslims as Buraq Wall and as the Wall, the Western Wall, and the Wailing Wall by Jews was the only place where Jews could worship. This wall is the remnant of the outer wall of the Second Temple built by Herod the Great. When Muslims dominated the city, this place was known as the Moroccan Quarter due to the settlement of those who'd migrated from Morocco. The Wailing Wall is approximately 485 meters long and 18 meters high, with the top 6 meters exceeding the level of the Haram al-Sharif. The Wailing Wall has 24 rows of above-ground stones and 19 rows underground.



David's Masjid (IYV Archive)

⁵⁸ Erkan Aydın, *Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs, (Istanbul: Çığır Publications 2019), 207; Bianucci, Art and History of Jerusalem, 122.*



Wailing Wall (IVV Archive)

Some of the stones on the Wailing Wall are 12 meters long, 1 meter high, and weigh more than 100 tons. In memory of the Temple, the Jews consider this structure to be sacred and were allowed to gather here for worship on religious days for centuries while the city was in the hands of Muslims. The Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela also reported Jews coming here to worship in the 12th century. After the Ottomans conquered Jerusalem, they repaired this wall many times and saved it from destruction. Today, the top 11 rows of stones on this wall are from the Islamic period. Although only a 30-meter section existed where worship was possible due to being in the Moroccan Quarter until the 1967 War, when Israeli soldiers captured East Jerusalem in 1967, they destroyed the Moroccan Quarter where this wall is located, razing the area with dozers and creating a large area for worship and gathering.⁵⁹

Jewish Renovation Activities in Jerusalem throughout History

The Jewish presence in Jerusalem began in the 10th century BC and lasted until the 1st century AD. Jews, or the Israelites as they were called at that time, completely dominated Jerusalem in the 10th century BC during the reign of David. Before them, the Jebusites had lived there, and archaeological excavations reveal the Jebusites to have protected the city by building walls and forts. During the reigns of David and his successor Solomon, Jerusalem was the joint capital of the united 12 Hebrew tribes, and the temple Solomon built gave the city a religious character.⁶⁰

Although the Jewish scriptures mention the construction of the temple in the city during the reign of Solomon,⁶¹ the archaeological data interestingly do

not provide any evidence that Jerusalem had any houses or defense systems during this period that would reveal the density of a settlement suitable for being a capital. Therefore, contrary to what is described in the holy texts, the science of archaeology has been unable to identify large-scale construction or renovation activities in Jerusalem during the reigns of David and Solomon. As a matter of fact, according to archaeological findings, no intense settlement was found in the city in 10th-8th centuries BC.⁶²

After the death of Solomon in approximately 930 BC, the state was divided into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The kingdom of Israel was the homeland of 10 tribes and established in the northern lands of the state, with its capital in Shechem; that capital was later moved to the cities of Tirza and Samaria. The kingdom of Judah was established in the southern lands of the state. Jerusalem was the capital of this kingdom, which had been founded by only the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin.⁶³

Both the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were small tribal states in the region and had weakened their power with constant conflicts among themselves. This situation offered the Egyptians and Assyrians as the mighty states of the region the opportunity to seize them easily. These kingdoms the Israelites founded had numerous conflicts with the peoples of the region between the 10th and 6th centuries BC,⁶⁴ which is known as the First Temple Period in Jewish history. They had to come under the protection of the Egyptian and Assyrian states in order to be protected. The rebellion against Assyria so as to regain their freedom alongside the other tribes by backing up the Egyptian state resulted in large-scale attack and destruction. In the last quarter of the 8th century BC, the Assyrian king attacked Israel, expelled 10 tribes from the region, and brought different tribes from other regions of the Assyrian kingdom to settle there. With this, the Kingdom of Israel ultimately disappeared from the stage of history. The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Israel were mostly deported to other regions by the Assyrians. History records them as the Ten Lost Tribes due to their being scattered. Others

took refuge in the southern tribes in the Kingdom of Judah. Due to this migration, the population of Jerusalem increased considerably and new houses were built. As a result of this new settlement, the borders of Jerusalem overflowed to the surrounding regions and expanded to include the surrounding valleys. When comparing the population and borders of Jerusalem of the Hezekiah period to the Solomonic period, sources state the city population to have increased three-fold and the settlement area four-fold.

Archaeological findings have revealed dramatic changes to have taken place since the end of the 8th century BC in the state of the city. Hezekiah, king of Judah, having learned lessons from what had happened to the kingdom of Israel, developed the city's defense systems, repairing old walls and building new ones⁶⁵ to protect the capital city of Jerusalem from possible attacks, as well as taking measures to meet the city's water needs in case of siege. Water was brought to the city through an approximately 1,700-meter-long underground tunnel from Ain Um al-Daraj in the nearby Silwan village, as well as building a water reservoir known as the Hezekiah cistern. The developments, construction, and renovation activities described in the Jewish scriptures regarding the period of Hezekiah are also supported by archaeological findings. The significant increase in the population of Jerusalem since the 8th century BC as revealed by archaeological findings is explained by people migrating there from Or Yehuda after the collapse of the state of Israel in the north in the 720s BC. Data indicating large-scale renovation activities have been found in the city during archaeological excavations. Archaeologists and historians studying that period describe Jerusalem as being a city with palaces, warehouses, water tanks, walls, and towers. Archaeologists believe the city saw numerous small settlements, wall ruins, towers, water canal, agricultural ruins, tombs that suddenly increased in size, seals, central pottery production facility, and oil and wine production facilities emerged or suddenly increase in this period in the city, reaching findings that show it to have gained importance.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, 44, 47, 51; *el-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 233-234.

⁶⁰ Yusuf Besalel, *Yahudi Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Universal, 2000), 40.

⁶¹ *Kings I 4: 1, 5: 5-6: 38; Chronicles II 2: 1-3:3.*

⁶² Ann E. Killebrew, "Jerusalem During The First And Second Temple Periods: Recent Excavations And Discoveries on And Near The Temple Mount", *Temple of Jerusalem: From Moses to The Messiah*, Ed. Steven Fine, (Leiden: Brill 2011), 372-374.

⁶³ Besalel, *Yahudi Tarihi*, 44.

⁶⁴ *Kings I 14: 13-14; Chronicles II 25: 23-24.*

⁶⁵ *Nehemya 3: 8.*

⁶⁶ Killebrew, "Jerusalem During The First And Second Temple Periods", 372-374.



Tower of David (IRCICA-FAY.22.36.58)

This splendor of Jerusalem came to an end in the first quarter of the 6th century BC. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had power over the kingdom of Judah and attacked Jerusalem to put an end to the people's constant uprising. As a result of this attack, the Kingdom of Judah fell in 586 BC, the Israelites were exiled to the lands of Babylon, Solomon's temple was destroyed, and Jerusalem was completely burned after being looted. As a result, all structures built in Jerusalem up to that day turned into ash with no structures remaining.⁶⁷

On the seventh day of the fifth month, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, Nebuzaradan commander of the imperial guard, an official of the king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem. He set fire to the temple of the Lord, the royal palace and all the houses of Jerusalem. Every important building he burned down. The whole Babylonian army under the commander of the imperial guard broke down the walls around Jerusalem.⁶⁸

The Babylonian exile ended when the Persians defeated Babylon. King Cyrus from the Persian Achaemenid dynasty gave permission to the Israelites to return to their

homeland in 538 BC. The return began in waves, Jerusalem was re-established, and the temple was rebuilt.⁶⁹ With the return of Ezra in 457 BC, a social revival occurred in the city. With the arrival, in 445 BC of Nehemiah, Ezra's cupbearer, remarkable progress occurred in the construction and renovation of the city. He started large-scale renovation activities in Jerusalem and surrounded the city with walls. When Nehemiah talked about these walls, he mentioned the people and families who contributed to the construction and the part that everyone built by name. However, the construction of the walls taking as little as 52 days can be interpreted as a sign that this structure was not very strong. While describing Nehemiah's work, he mentioned historical structures such as the walls of Jerusalem, the broad wall, the walls of the Ophel, the Wall of the Selah Pool, the stairs of the City of David, the Sheep Gate, the Fish Gate, the Old Gate, the Creek Gate, the Dung Gate, the Spring Gate, the Water Gate, the Horse Gate, the East Gate, the Miphkad Gate, the Observation Gate, the Tower of the Furnaces, the Tower of Hammeah [The Hundred], and the Tower of Hananeel.⁷⁰ These walls stretched south to north and included the Pool of Siloam [Ain Silwan], the City of David, the Ophel, and the temple.

⁶⁷ Besalel, *Yahudi Tarihi*, 47-48, 51.

⁶⁸ *Kings II 25: 8-10.*

⁶⁹ Besalel, *Yahudi Tarihi*, 51-52.

⁷⁰ *Nehemiah 3: 1-32.*

The Dung Gate is located in the east corner, the Fountain Gate is high up in the southeast corner, the Water Gate is located in the east around Gihon spring, the Horse Gate is located on the Ophel in the northeast and southeast of the temple, the Sheep Gate is located in the north, the Fish Gate is in the northwest, the Creek Gate is in the west, and the Miphkad Gate is located in the northwest. Archaeological research has identified the Wide Wall, the Creek Gate, the Dung Gate, the Spring Gate, the wall of the Selah Pool, and the point where the stairs descending to the City of David were located. In addition, a castle palace had been built in the city for the governor. Nehemiah called this castle-palace the citadel.⁷¹ Taking into account similarity in names, some historians are of the opinion that Acra Fortress, which was built in Jerusalem during the Ptolemaic period, rests on the remains of this citadel. In general, the location of the border walls of the city during the Persian period is controversial, and almost no remains of buildings or structures in the city have been identified. Also in this period, Jerusalem was a small city and its population is estimated to have been around 1500 families. However, the archaeological excavations that give information on this matter belong to the Temple Mount and eastern side of Mount Zion, with areas that had been other parts of the city before the Babylonian exile not being excavated. During the excavations, evidence was found that the settlement had been dense in these parts of the city in the 4th-3rd centuries BC.⁷²

In 332 BC, Jerusalem fell into the hands of Alexander of the Great, coming under the rule of the Egyptian King Ptolys after

his death followed by the Greek Seleucid dynasty at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Construction activities in the city continued during their period as well. The Letter of Aristeas, dated at the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC, talks about construction projects in the city. Sources mention the Ptolemaic Baris as a citadel built in Jerusalem during the Ptolemaic period. During the Seleucid period in particular, different structures such as educational and entertainment institutions became widespread in order to promote Hellenic culture in Jerusalem. Jerusalem had now been turned into a polis [city] where huge gymnasiums, temples in honor of the Greek gods, stadiums, and efebions [youth sports houses for organizing the Olympics] make it indistinguishable from a Greek city. Structures were also built in the city for security purposes. To keep the temple under control, Antiochus III had a fortress built near the southern wall of the temple in 168 BC. The Greek garrison settled in this fortress, which was known as Acra. Some historians claim Acra to have been built on the ruins of the Ptolemaic Baris. In 141 BC, Maccabi leader Simon Thassi took over Acra, demolished it, and built the huge Birah fort on its ruins.⁷³ The Birah Citadel was the residence of the Hasmonean dynasty. Herod the Great (37-35 BC) had it demolished, and the Antonia Fortress built in its place. This fortress was destroyed in 70 AD during the siege of Jerusalem led by commander Titus to suppress the Jewish uprising. The ruins of this constantly renovated fortress, which some historians refer to as the fortress palace of Birah from the Persian era) were discovered in 2015 by a team led by Israeli archaeologist Daron Ben-Ami.⁷⁴



Antonia Fortress



Ruins of Acra

⁷¹ *Nehemiah 2: 8, 7: 2.*

⁷² Abdulhamid Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, (Kahire: el-Hey'etü'l-Msriyyetü'l-Amme li'l-Kütüb, 1974), 100-106.

⁷³ *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, 15.403, 18.91.

⁷⁴ DanDan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, transl. Shlomo Ketko, (Jerusalem: Carta, 1990), 39-40; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 110-112; Simon S. Montefiore, *Kudüs: Bir Şehrın Biyografisi*, transl. Cem Demirkan, (İstanbul: Pegasus, 2016), 62-63.

As a result of the Maccabees revolt, the Jewish Hasmonean dynasty came to dominate Jerusalem in 164 BC. The sources mention gates such as the double Huldah Gates, Kiponus Gate, Tadi Gate, and Shushan (or Golden) Gate in the old wall surrounding the Temple Mount during the Hasmonean dynasty (140-37 BC). During this period, Jerusalem grew with many renovation and construction activities being carried out, palaces and large mansions being built, and a new neighborhood being formed with a wall built around it. However, these built structures have not survived to the present in their original form. The largest construction activity during the Hasmonean period was the liberation and fortification of the new quarter in the city. This wall, which Josephus called the Old Wall⁷⁵ (according to Dan Bahat, who had mistakenly conducted archaeological excavations within the borders of Old Jerusalem), had been built in the middle of the 2nd century BC according to archaeologists. Findings reveal this wall to not have been built all at once. As a matter of fact, the apocryphal Maccabees I states the Hasmonean King Jonathan to have started constructing a city wall that was completed in the time of his brother, Simon.⁷⁶ This new wall had been built on the western side of the Mount Zion and had extended to the city wall in the First Temple period; its purpose was to defend the neighborhood that had been established here during the reigns of Simon and John Hyrcanus I (140-104 BC). This new neighborhood was called Upper City and took its name from its location overlooking the Temple Mount. This neighborhood was where the upper class and the social elite lived and was built in the Hellenistic style. As in every Hellenic city, it had a commercial center (agora), gymnasium and *xystus* (covered portico of the gymnasium), *Boule* [City Council] and a street in the style of the Hippodrome. Sources also mention a bridge between the Temple Mount and Upper City. Josephus wrote that this bridge had been burned by Aristobulus⁷⁷ for defense when Pompey attacked the city. Again, Josephus stated that a palace had been built here that allowed the Temple Mount to be observed.⁷⁸ Although the descriptions show the Upper City neighborhood to have been a typical Hellenic

polis, existing data provide insufficient information. At the end of the 1st century BC during the renovation and construction activities of Herod the Great as ruler of the region in Jerusalem, these buildings were demolished or destroyed as needed with new structures being built on top of old ones. For this reason, these structures from the Hasmonean period have not survived in their original form. The most well-known structure to have survived from the Hasmonean period of Jerusalem is the aqueduct bridge built in the Birah Citadel where the Maccabi family resided.⁷⁹

The period of Herod the Great, who came to power in Jerusalem as governor of Rome in 37 BC, is considered the golden age in terms of construction and renovation activities in Jerusalem. Evidence of Herod's works have survived to the present. Archaeological findings and historical sources provide detailed information about the structures he had built in Jerusalem. The wave of renovation he started continued after his death, with Jerusalem being made into an urban architectural example. The buildings and institutions, construction style, size, and decorations were entirely in the Greek style. Due to these structures, the city's area grew to more than 400 acres. Ornate buildings, mansions, palaces, a stadium, and a theatre were built in Upper City. Herod renovated and strengthened the wall that had been built during the Hasmonean period and also built a new wall around the new quarter of the city. This wall, reaching 3.5 meters in height, at some points rose above the wall in the time of the Hasmoneans, in fact, the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman would later have the city walls built upon this retaining ground. Herod had a canal built in the city, as well as roads, bridges, and a magnificent castle and palace for himself. The towers were repaired during the Hasmonean dynasty, and new towers were built. At that time, Jerusalem had three fortresses: Antonio Fortress, the Temple Fortress, and the Herodium. Herod demolished the Birah Citadel, which had been the residence of the Hasmoneans, and had the new Antonio Fortress built in its place, named in honor of the Roman politician and general Marcus Antonius.

⁷⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, 5.4: 2.

⁷⁶ *Maccabees I* 10: 10, 13: 1.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.8.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, 2.17: 3, *Jewish Antiquities*, 20.89.

⁷⁹ Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 37-40; Zayid, *el-Kudsu'l-halide*, 110-112.

This castle became the last refuge of the Jews in the city after the fall of the Second Temple in 70 AD, and was later destroyed during the war. The two most important and magnificent structures that Herod had built in Jerusalem were the Second Temple and his own palace. He enlarged the temple, rebuilding and surrounding it with a high wall. Jewish rabbis speak of Herod's temple with great admiration: "One who hasn't seen Herod's temple should not say they've seen a beautiful building". Made of yellow and white marble (some said that blue marble had also been used) on the floor of this sanctuary, different colored stones were laid in sequence, giving the impression of sea waves when viewed.⁸⁰



Ark of the Covenant



The Temple

The Second Temple had five gates for accessing it while crossing this wall. The Tadi gate in the north went unused; the paired Huldah Gates in the south and the Kiponus gate in the west were used by the people. Only the chief priest could enter or exit through the gate on the east side.⁸¹ Nothing remained of this temple as it had been destroyed in the Roman attack; only the western part of the surrounding wall remained standing. This structure, known to Muslims today as the Buraq Wall and to Jews as the Western (or Wailing) Wall, is what remains of this outer wall built by Herod. Another monument of

magnificence built by Herod in Jerusalem was his palace, known as Herodium. Towers were built on the wall surrounding this palace, which was built as a castle near the Bab al-Khalil (Gate of Hebron). Herod named these towers in honor of his wife Mariamne, his brother Phasael, and his friend Hippicus. Later, these towers were demolished, only partially surviving to the present. Archaeologist Bahat stated that the tower known as the Tower of David today to have been called Phasael or Hippicus Tower by Christians since the 5th century AD, being a remnant of the towers Herod built.

⁸⁰ Rabbi Isidore Epstein, (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*, (London: The Soncino Press, 1978).

⁸¹ *Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), *Middot* 1: 3.



Jewish Industrial School (IRCICA-FAY.14.47.86)

During the reign of Herod Agrippa (37-44 AD), the grandson of Herod the Great, Jerusalem grew and developed, and construction activities continued. The new neighborhood of Bezeta was realized in the north-eastern part of the city. This place falls between the Hitta and Damascus Gates today. Herod Agrippa attempted to surround this neighborhood with a wall, but the construction of the city wall was stopped by order of Rome.⁸² Surrounding the district known as Golgotha is the Third Wall; this wall was finished by the Kanaim (Jewish fanatics) in 67-69 AD. The Roman army, which attacked the city in order to finally suppress the constant uprisings of the Jews, destroyed the city in 70 AD.⁸³ This devastation and destruction destroyed all the aforementioned structures built in Jerusalem during the Hasmonean and Herod dynasties. The Jews were forbidden to reside

in Jerusalem as of this date and no permanent structure of theirs remained in the city.

The Jews who settled in the region since the 19th century AD have built new structures such as a new synagogue in Jerusalem. Jerusalem had six synagogues in the 19th century, two for Ashkenazi Jews who'd immigrated from Russia and Poland, three for Sephardi Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, and one for the Karaite Jews. Moreover, in the middle of the 19th century, Jews had three hospitals and several schools in Jerusalem. In addition to schools providing religious education such as Heder and Yeshiva, educational institutions existed such as Alliance Israélite Universelle, Evelina de Rothschild Girls' School, and Orphans' School. In the next period, many Jewish buildings were built in the city in order to bring a Jewish face to Jerusalem.

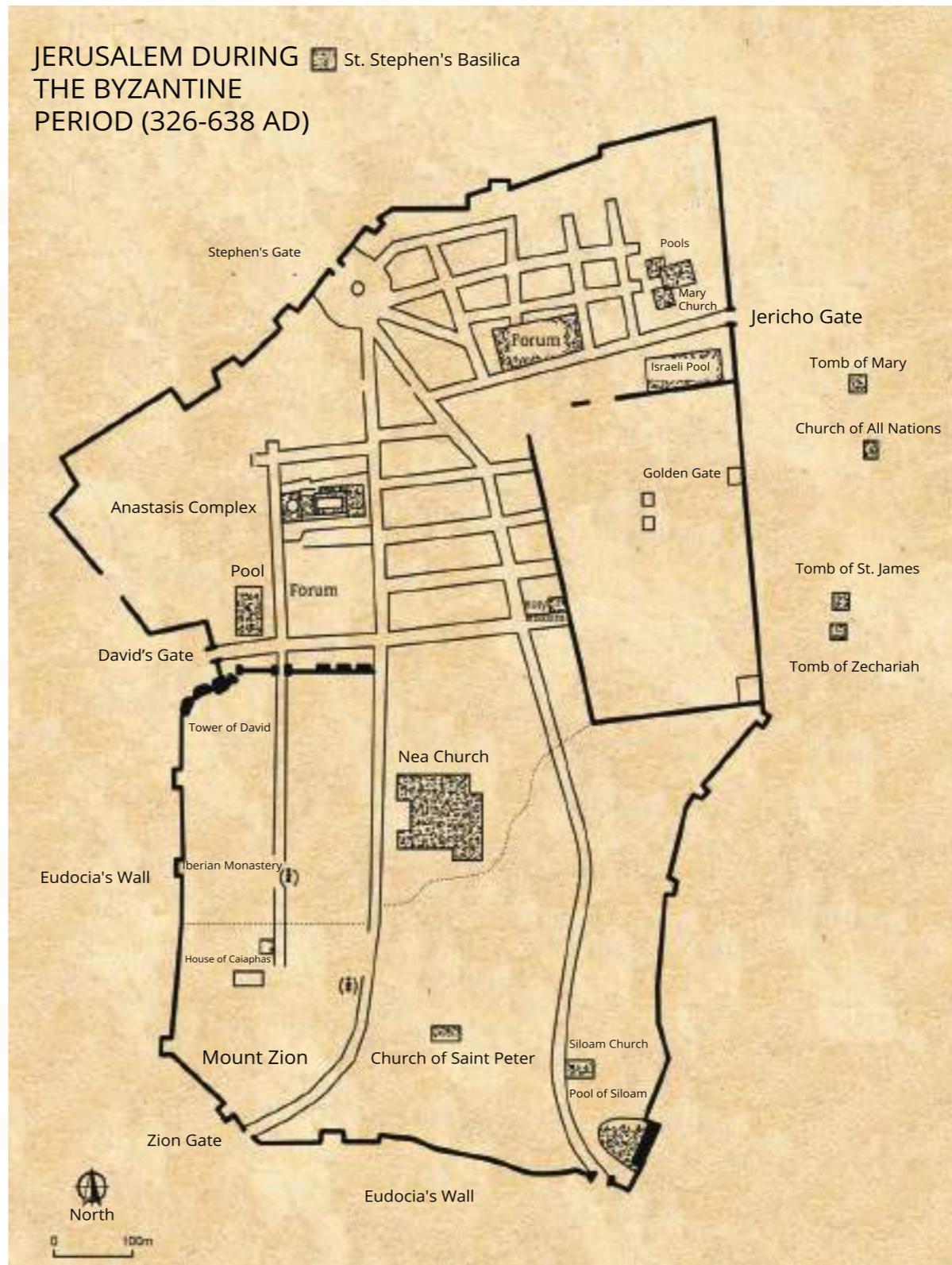


Jewish Synagogue (IRCICA-FAY.14.45.30)

⁸² Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, 40-43; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 121-136; el-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 30-33; Montefiore, *Kudis*, 83-88, 112-116.

⁸³ Besalel, *Yahudi Tarihi*, 61-62.

JERUSALEM DURING THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (326-638 AD)



Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period

THE BYZANTINE AND CHRISTIAN PERIOD

The emergence of Jerusalem as a Christian city begins in the 4th century. The first three centuries of Christianity is known as the underground period because it coincides with the period when the Roman Empire was powerful and pagan Rome did not tolerate different beliefs. Christianity experienced a challenging developmental course during this time, spreading with the committed efforts of devotees to this religion. Starting from the 4th century, the situation changed in favor of Christianity. While still a pagan, Emperor Constantine took care of those who believed in Christianity and died as a Christian himself. Constantine ascended the throne in 312 AD and recognized Christianity as one of the legitimate beliefs of the empire with the Edict of Milan in 313 AD one year later. With this legitimization, Jerusalem began to turn into a credible and important city for Christians. Thus, Aelia Capitolina, which had had a dull economic and political profile from the time of Emperor Hadrian until the 4th century AD, experienced a revival. During the reign of Constantine, many churches, monasteries, and religious buildings were built in the city.⁸⁴

The Council of Nicaea, the first ecumenical council that convened in 325 AD, decided to honor Jerusalem and recognize its rights, thus taking the first step toward transforming the city into a patriarchate: "Honor the bishop of Aelia and keep the rights of the metropolis intact and preserved" (Law of the Council of Nicaea, VII). In addition, due to the name Aelia Capitolina evoking idolatry, the city's name was reverted to Yerushalim. However, the fact that the city was referred to as Iliya/Aelia in Islamic sources shows that Aelia Capitolina had not been erased as a name from people's memory.

Constantine's mother Helena visited Jerusalem in 326 AD, which brought about basic steps for Christianizing the city. She guided the bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius I, who was a devout religious man who'd been appointed by Constantine, and obtained permission from the emperor to demolish the pagan temples in the city.

⁸⁴ Mehasine, *Tarahu Medineti'l-Kuds*, 88-89; Mahmud, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 55; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 158-159; Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium", 94-95; Montefiore, *Kudis*, 148-149.

During this visit, Helena tried to identify places related to Jesus Christ and the apostles, and because she hated the Jews, she made the temple ruins the trash site of the city. While Macarius and Helena were watching the destruction of the temple of Aphrodite on Golgotha Hill, an empty tomb was found between the foundations of the temple. Believing that it had belonged to Jesus, Helena had the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built above the tomb. This church opened for worship in 335 AD and was the first Christian church built in Jerusalem. The sources mention Helena as having found the cross on which Jesus had been crucified during her research. Helena spared no expense on renovating and constructing Jerusalem and also built the church named *Eleona* (Olive Grove) Chapel on the Mount of Olives. In the Christian tradition, Helena is considered the patron saint of archaeologists and the first pilgrim due to her activities in Jerusalem. After constructing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (also known as the Church of the Resurrection, Christians flocked to the city to visit, thus pilgrimage had emerged in Christianity.⁸⁵



Tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (D-DAI-IST-R31327)

Emperors who came to the throne after Constantine also attached great importance to Jerusalem. However, the accession of Renegade Julian (361-363) interrupted Christian life in the city. Churches and monasteries in the city were demolished, all laws against Jews were annulled, and registrations and limits on the arrival of Jews in the city were abolished. Thereupon, the Jews began to flock to the city. Julian wanted to rebuild the holy temple for the Jews, but the fire that broke out during the ground survey in the temple area prohibited the temple from being constructed. While some consider this fire a natural phenomenon, others say it had been a trap from Christians. After Julian's death in 363 AD, things changed in favor of the Christians. In 380 AD, Emperor Theodosius declared Christianity the only official religion of Rome. After his death in 395 AD, the eastern and western lands of the empire were separated from each other. The Roman Empire was established in the western lands, and the Byzantine Empire was established in the eastern lands. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Byzantine Empire when the state of Palestine was composed. The Byzantine period was a period of stability, social development, and urbanization for Jerusalem.⁸⁶

The emperors who sat on the Byzantine throne gave importance to Jerusalem as a religious center. During this period, many churches and lodgings for the clergy were built in Jerusalem. In 422 AD, the Juvenail (420-458 AD), bishop of Jerusalem, attempted to celebrate December 25 as the birthday of the Messiah and include it among Christian holy days, which was accepted and supported. Bishop Juvenail's effort to bring Jerusalem to the position it deserves among the church came to a conclusion by observing balance within the empire. The Council of Chalcedon convened in 451 AD and brought Jerusalem to the top position in the church hierarchy, giving it independence and allowing it to become an independent patriarchate and autocephalous church like in Rome, Istanbul, Antakya, and Alexandria. Although the decision taken in the previous Council of Nicaea regarding Jerusalem's metropolitan rights had not allowed the city to be moved to a high rank as a religious center and saw it remained attached to the metropolitan city of Caesarea, which was subject to the patriarchy of Antakya within the religious administrative hierarchy. The decision taken at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD ultimately allowed Jerusalem the opportunity to become its own independent patriarchate.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Zayid, *el-Kudsii'l-halide*, 159; *el-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 38; *Peters, Jerusalem*, 137-139, 151-157; *Armstrong, Jerusalem*, 171, 173, 187-190; *Montefiore, Kudüs*, 150-151.

⁸⁶ *Mahmud, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 55-56; *Şaas, el-Kudsü'ş-şerif*, 27; *el-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 38-39; *Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium"*, 95; *Peters, Jerusalem*, 145-147; *Armstrong, Jerusalem*, 193-196; *Montefiore, Kudüs*, 153-154.

⁸⁷ *Mahmud, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 56-57; *el-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 39; *Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium"*, 98; *Peters, Jerusalem*, 157-161; *Armstrong, Jerusalem*, 176-179.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre (IVV Archive)

The second significant period in the construction of Christian buildings in Jerusalem coincides with the time of Eudocia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius II. Eudocia was exiled to Jerusalem in 444 AD and became the ruler of the state of Palestine due to her position. She was very generous to the Christian clergy and enabled the construction of many religious and social structures in the city. Sources report that Eudocia had the Church of St. Stephen built north of Damascus gate, as well as a shelter for the elderly, a church by the pool of Siloam where Jesus had healed a blind man, and several other churches in commemoration of the apostles. She also had a palace built for herself on the southeast corner of that temple hill, large enough to shelter 600 nuns. Eudocia died in 480 AD and had been buried in the Church of St. Stephen. Because her name means "to be satisfied" in Greek, it was connected with the biblical passage "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem."⁸⁸ This is thought to be the reason that she had built the city walls.⁸⁹

The last construction and renovation waves in Jerusalem took place during the reign of Emperor Justinian the Great (527-565 AD), which saw the construction of religious buildings, churches, and monasteries in the

city accelerated. As a matter of fact, he was the last Byzantine emperor to build in Jerusalem. Sources highlight the New Church of the Theotokos to be among the many religious buildings he had built. Although this church is next to the Wailing Wall and some claim it to have been built upon the ground of Masjid al-Aqsa, no literary or archaeological evidence exists to support this claim. This church was opened for worship in 543 AD and is also known as the Nea among the people. This church is stated to be an engineering masterpiece, and aside from being a church, it also included two more hospital buildings with a capacity of 100 people each. One of these hospitals was planned for sick pilgrims and the other for local patients. Although this building is pointed out as the Pearl of Byzantine Jerusalem, Christians did not adopt this church. Justinian was shown to have not been dedicated to Jesus Christ or to have distinguished people and events, which was why he lacked popularity among the people. For this reason, when this church was destroyed during an earthquake in 746 AD, the Christians did not support repairing it. Many religious structures such as churches and monasteries that had been built over the centuries in Jerusalem were destroyed during the Persian attack in 614 AD and have not survived.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Psalms 51:18*.

⁸⁹ *Zayid, el-Kudsii'l-halide*, 159; *Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium"*, 98-99; *Peters, Jerusalem*, 161-162, 169; *Armstrong, Jerusalem*, 205-208; *Montefiore, Kudüs*, 157-160.

⁹⁰ *Mehasine, Tarihu medineti'l-Kuds*, 89-90; *el-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 37, 40; *Peters, Jerusalem*, 162-165; *Armstrong, Jerusalem*, 209; *Montefiore, Kudüs*, 162-164.

Persians in Jerusalem

Jerusalem was seized from Byzantium for a short time at the beginning of the 7th century AD, with the Persians capturing Jerusalem in 614 AD. This issue is also mentioned in Surah ar-Rum in the Qur'an. The polytheists mocked Muslims by interpreting this victory of the Persians as the superiority of polytheism over monotheism.

Jewish warriors were also found in the Persian army. The Persians wanted the Jews to join them in the fight against Byzantium, and the Jews joined the army with the aim of taking Jerusalem. Although the people of the city resisted the Persians, the army destroyed the eastern walls after a siege of about 20 days and entered the city. The siege was very difficult; people ate dead animals from hunger. The Persians were quite upset due to the resistance of the people, so they slaughtered unprecedented numbers of people in the city. Thousands of Christians were killed in the city, with blood flowing instead of water. Sources report that the Persian and Jewish army had attacked people "with the fury of wild animals," destroying churches and monasteries in the city including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The persecution continued for three days, during which the people were massacred and large-scale damage was done to structures in the city. Sources mention approximately 90,000 Christians to have been killed in this attack. Some churches and monasteries were destroyed that had been constructed in previous years; these were not rebuilt but instead became history. Those who could escape watched the smoke of their burning city over the Mount of Olives. Some of them could not escape, hid in caves and cisterns, then emerged after the Persian commander Shahrbaraz announced that he would give quarter to the people. The commander did not have those skilled in the arts and professions killed but rather took them with him as captives. Jerusalem Patriarch Zechariah was among these. The Persians took many valuables and relics in the city, along with the holy cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then handed over the administration of the city to the Jews.

The Jews forced the remaining people to convert from Christianity to Judaism, killing those who did not accept. The Jews who took over the administration of the city met on the Temple Mount and began to pray. This was the first opportunity the Jews had had to worship on the Temple Mount for centuries.⁹¹

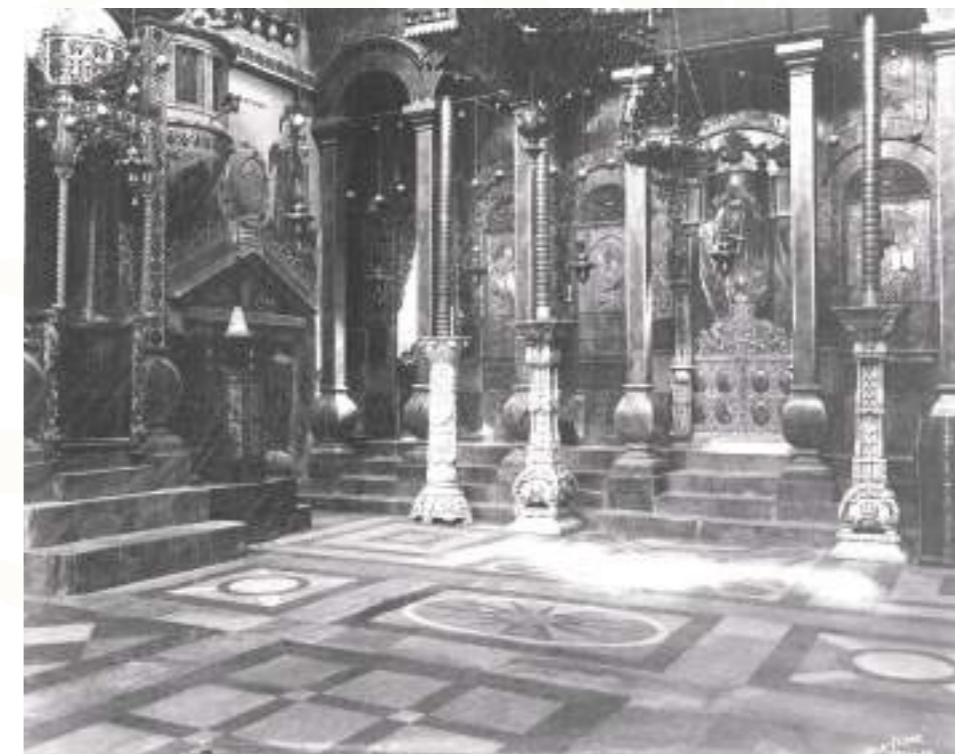
The Jews' domination of Jerusalem did not last long. Three years later in 617 AD, the Persians thought cooperating with Christians would be more convenient as they were the more populous community of the region. Thus, the Persians took the administration of Jerusalem from the Jews and handed it over to the Christians. Although the Jews resisted leaving the city with all their might, it did not help much. The Christians who took over the city's administration in connection with the Persians started to rebuild churches and monasteries, in particular the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Many buildings were lost to history as they were unable to be renovated.⁹²

After being under the rule of Persians for nearly 15 years, Jerusalem returned to the rule of Byzantium in 628 AD. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius succeeded in peacefully taking the city back from the Persians and appointed the ascetic Modestos of Jerusalem as its patriarch. This time, the Christians returned upon the Jews in the city what had been done to themselves a few years previous: They massacred those who did not convert to Christianity. According to sources, although this situation did not comply with the will of Heraclius, he dared not oppose his coreligionists as they were burning with a feeling of revenge. Heraclius recaptured not only Jerusalem but also the holy relics that the Persians had plundered from the city. Sources report that he personally carried the cross taken from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on his shoulder and walked barefoot to the church. September 14, the day of the return of the holy cross to the church, has since been celebrated as the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross by some Orthodox Christians. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christians and Byzantine until it was conquered by the Muslims ten years later.⁹³

CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS IN JERUSALEM

Jerusalem, a holy city for Christians, is the city where various Christian communities have lived together for centuries. Jerusalem became a Christian city in the mid-4th century AD until the Muslim conquest of the city after being in Persian hands for a short time. After the Islamic army conquered the city in 638 AD, the city remained under Muslim control until the 11th century AD; the Crusaders dominated it from 1099-1187 AD and from 1229-1244 AD. After taking Jerusalem from the Ottomans in 1917, the city was again in the hands of Christians until 1947. In summary, when totaled from its beginning until the establishment of the state of Israel, Jerusalem had been under the rule of Christians for about 450 years. Even when Jerusalem was under the rule of Muslims, Christians continued to live there. They were not oppressed but protected, and Muslims did not hinder Christian's construction or renovation activities. For centuries, the city has been inhabited by Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Protestants, Copts, Abyssinians, Ar-

menians, Maronites, Melchites, Russians, Assyrians, British, and Germans. Jerusalem has hosted various Christian communities of different creeds and races. During the period when the administration in Jerusalem was in the hands of Christians or Muslim dynasties, many Christian buildings such as churches, monasteries, cathedrals, chapels, basilicas, tombs, cemeteries, hospitals, schools, and church administration centers were built in the city. These structures are mostly rectangular in shape, with few having rounded architecture. Fortunately for the Christians, Muslims did not try to destroy these structures, as such they have survived to the present day. The sectarian conflict between different Christian communities naturally made itself felt here. For this reason, every Christian sect considers some of the places belonging to Christians sacred in the city, while other places belong only to specific denominations. Some of these structures, whether magnificent and ostentatious or modest in size, are currently inactive; others are active but closed to visitors. Below are just some of the various types of Christian structures found in Jerusalem.

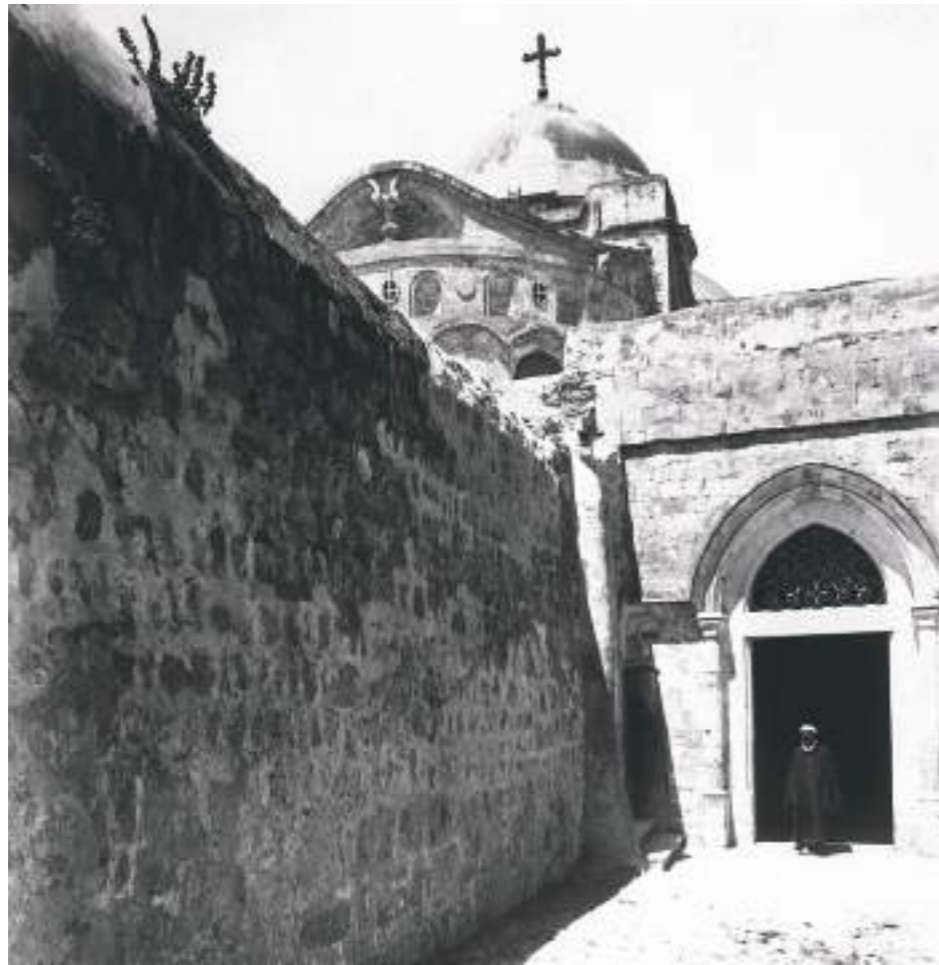


Greek Cathedral (D-DAI-IST-R31322)

⁹¹ Netşe, *Tarihu medineti'l-Kuds*, 37-38; Zayid, *el-Kudsü'l-halide*, 167; el-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 40; Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium", 100, 102; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 170-173; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 213-214; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 165-166.

⁹² Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 214-215; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 167.

⁹³ Wilkinson, "Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium", 100-103; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 173-174; Armstrong, *Jerusalem*, 215-216; Netşe, *Tarihu medineti'l-Kuds*, 38; el-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 40; Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 167-169.



A Monastery in Jerusalem (D-DAI-IST-R32508)

Church of Holy Sepulchre

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the lead the list of Christian holy places in Jerusalem. This church is currently located inside the city walls in the Christians quarter established on Calvary (i.e., Golgotha). This church is also known as the Church of the Resurrection or Church of the Anastasis, and the Church of the Sacred Skull among Christian sources and as the Church of the Resurrection or Kamame Church among Islamic sources. Christians believe Jesus to have been crucified here; after he died, he was taken down from the cross, buried, and resurrected here. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is considered the holiest spot for Christians as it houses the tomb of Jesus where his resurrection is said to have occurred.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre (D-DAI-IST-R32485)



Path of the Passion/Via Dolorosa (IYV Archive)



Church of the Holy Sepulchre (IYV Archive)

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem where Christians come to perform their pilgrimage, houses 4 of the 14 stations of the cross on the Via Dolorosa, the path and stops Jesus took in the last moments of his life. Protestants, however, believe the tomb of Jesus is not here but a little further in a place called the Garden Tomb.⁹⁴

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is believed to be the oldest church built in Jerusalem. It was built by Saint Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine. Visiting Jerusalem, Helena had visited Jerusalem and found an empty tomb and the remains of the cross of Jesus while having the pagan temple to Aphrodite/Venus demolished; she be-

lieved this tomb had belonged to Jesus. Thereupon, she built a church there, and Christians have since gone there for their pilgrimage. The church was opened for worship on September 13, 335 AD, and this date is still celebrated in Eastern Orthodox liturgics.⁹⁵ Helena had two different buildings built here. One was the large Martyrium Basilica on Golgotha, where the cross had been erected. This rectangular building was built in conjunction with the colonnaded courtyard. The second building was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built over a tomb believed to be where Jesus had been buried and resurrected. This building was built circularly with a dome.⁹⁶



Inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre



Church of the Holy Sepulchre From Above

⁹⁴ Rita Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, (Florence: Bonechi, 2006), 66; Ahmet Türkan, "Anahtarını İki Müslüman Ailenin Koruduğu Kilise: Kıyamet Kilisesi", *Milal ve Nihal*, 10: 2 (2013), 227-228.

⁹⁵ Erkan Aydın, *Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs*, (İstanbul: Çığır Publications, 2019), 245; Abdulhamid Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, (Cairo: el-Hey'etü'l-Misriyyetü'l-Amme li'l-Kitab, 1974), 159.

⁹⁶ Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 159-160; Türkan, "Kıyamet Kilisesi", 227-228.

When Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Persians in 614 AD, the Persians attacked and looted the churches and monasteries in the city. The Persians also destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, taking the holy objects and the cross with them to their capital city of Ctesiphon. After Emperor Heraclius took the city in 628 AD, the Greek Orthodox patriarch Modestus (d. 630) had the church rebuilt smaller than the original; the sacred objects and cross were returned back to their place. Muslims conquered the city in 638 AD; even though Omar did not pray there, he did not harm the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, being sensitive to protecting Christians' ownership of this church.⁹⁷

In 746 AD, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was damaged due to a severe earthquake in Jerusalem. In the beginning of the 9th century, when another earthquake caused serious damage, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas I, brought cedar and pine trees from Lebanon in 810-817 AD and had the dome of the church rebuilt with these and covered with lead. The doors and dome of the church are said to have burned down due to fires at different times in the next period. In 1009 AD, the church was completely destroyed by order of Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah from the Egyptian Fatimid dynasty. In order to get permission to reconstruct the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos agreed with the Caliph al-Mustansir by accepting to build a mosque in Constantinople and to deliver a sermon on behalf of the Fatimid Caliph, and thus the church was rebuilt. In this new structure, only the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt with five small chapels additionally built on the east side. Only a cellar, no building, is said to have been built on the remains of the

Martyrium Basilica. The expenses were covered by the emperor, and the church was opened for worship in 1048 AD.⁹⁸

In 1099 AD when the Crusaders took the city, they started rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These activities changed the appearance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The St. Helena chapel was built over the crypt at the site of the Martyrium Basilica, with new structures being added using arches and porticoes. The church was completed in 1149 AD during the reign of Melisende Queen of Jerusalem, built in the Romanesque architectural style. This new structure was built as a single building, and all buildings within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were united under one roof. In 1187 AD when Salahaddin Ayyubi took Jerusalem back from the Crusaders, he did not demolish the church but instead took Hz. Omar as an example and built a mosque and a lodge next to it.⁹⁹

In the following period, renovation and repair works were carried out many times in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the holy tomb itself was renovated. In a fire that broke out in 1808 AD, the church was seriously damaged with its dome burning down and collapsing. With the permission of Ottoman Sultan Murat II in 1810 AD, the Greeks attempted to repair the church, giving it its present form. In 1834 AD, an earthquake destroyed the church. In 1869 AD, the church was repaired with France and Russia agreeing to cover expenses and Ottomans carrying out the renovation. Again, an earthquake in 1927 and a fire in 1949 caused serious damage to the church. The reason for the slow progress of the repair works that started in 1958 involve disagreements among the Christian sects in the church.¹⁰⁰



Church of the Holy Sepulchre Interior View (IYV Archive)

⁹⁷ Talha Uğurluel, *Dinlerin Başkenti Kudüs: Eski Şehir*, (İstanbul: İnkılap, 2018), 308; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, (Cairo: Darü'l-Mearif, 1994), 265-266; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 161.

⁹⁸ Bianucci, *Art and history of Jerusalem*, 66; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 161-162; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 266.

⁹⁹ Al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 266.

¹⁰⁰ Uğurluel, *Dinlerin Başkenti Kudüs*, 309; Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, 66; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 267-268.



Kamame Church (IRCICA-FAY.17.13.09)

Today, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre covers a large site and is a magnificent church complex with a pair of domes and balconies built on magnificent columns; it consists of several floors with chapels, monasteries, and tombs with cellars on basement floor, and small rooms on each floor. In 1930, the mosaics and decorations of the church were taken to the Rockefeller Museum.¹⁰¹ The church is subdivided among Christian denominations (i.e., Catholics, Orthodox, Armenians, Assyrians, Copts, and Abyssinians). Apart from the cellar, rooms, and corridors in the church that have been subjected to a strict subdivision, its roof, stairs, and holy relics were shared. This subdivision was formalized with the Status Quo Edict in the 19th century during the Ottoman period and is still in effect.¹⁰² Some of the clergy working in the church were not satisfied with their allotment and coveted others' shares with the hope of more rewards; bloody incidents took place as a result.¹⁰³ The frequent conflicts and struggles experienced throughout history still occur today, with tragically comic examples such as the wooden staircase on the church wall, which shows parties' unwillingness to compromise. Due to security measures, the keys of the church were handed over to two Muslim families. These two families have undertaken this task for centuries, with the Nusaybe family carrying the key

and the Cude family continuing to open the doors of the church to this day.¹⁰⁴

The headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem is in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Garden of Gethsemane and the Church of All Nations

The Garden of Gethsemane is located outside the walls of Old City at the foot of the Mount of Olives in the Kidron Valley. Gethsemane is the garden Jesus visited and prayed in while the apostles slept; it is where he was caught while giving his last speech to the apostles, and the olive trees here are believed to be from the time of Jesus. Since Gethsemane is where Jesus gave his last speeches while free, the Garden of Gethsemane is remembered and visited by Christians with a special feeling.

Across from the Garden of Gethsemane is the Church of All Peoples. This church is also known as the Basilica of the Agony. Two ancient churches, formerly the Byzantine Basilica and the Crusaders Chapel, were found here. The Byzantine basilica was built in the 4th century AD and destroyed in 746 AD due to an earthquake. The Crusaders Chapel was built in the 12th century AD and abandoned in 1345 AD. The present Basilica of the Agony was built on the remains of these two structures at the beginning of the 20th century. The architect was Antonio Barluzzi. Twelve different states covered the costs of the basilica, which was built in 1919-1924, while its mosaics were built by still other states. This is where the name Church of All Nations comes from. The symbols of the contributing states are placed on the ceiling inside the church.



Garden of Gethsemane (IYV Archive)

¹⁰¹ Uğurluel, *Dinlerin Başkenti Kudüs*, 309.

¹⁰² Halit Eren – Sefer Turan, *Fotoğraflarla Düünden Bugüne Kudüs*, (İstanbul: TİKA, 2015), 122; Uğurluel, *Dinlerin Başkenti Kudüs*, 310-312; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 272.

¹⁰³ al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 268-273.

¹⁰⁴ Eren – Turan, *Kudüs*, 114; Aydın, *Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs*, 247-250; Uğurluel, *Dinlerin Başkenti Kudüs*, 313; Zayid, *el-Kudsul-halide*, 163.

With its domed ceiling, thick columns, and tiled mosaic floors, the Church of All Peoples represents Islamic and Byzantine architectural styles. Rows of columns in the front of the church, the mosaic of Jesus Christ the Intermediary between God and humanity, and decorations on the upper section give this structure an impressive appearance. The upper sections of each of the four pillars here have passages from the Bible describing the agonies of Jesus. The mosaic and decorations on the front facade were carried out and designed by Prof. Giulio Bargellini. The altar in the basilica overlooks the rock slab on which Jesus prayed in agony on the night of his capture. This rock is surrounded by a crown of thorns made of wrought iron to symbolize the crown of thorns placed on Jesus' head.

The Church of All Peoples belongs to the Roman Catholic denomination and is under the supervision of Franciscan priests. Nevertheless, the open altar in the garden is also provided to other sects.¹⁰⁵

The Church of Mary Magdalene

This church belongs to the Russian Orthodox Church and is located near the Garden of Gethsemane opposite the Haram al-Sharif in the Kidron valley. With

its bright golden domes, this church presents an eye-catching and impressive image typical of fairy tales and reminiscent of the Kremlin's style of architecture among the churches on the slope of the Mount of Olives.

Mary Magdalene was a follower of Jesus and the first person to see him after his resurrection. This church was named after her and built by Tsar Alexander III in 1886 AD in memory of his mother, Mariya Alexandrovna. Some of the belongings of Mary Magdalene are said to be kept here in a specially made wooden box. The church has seven gilded onion domes in the traditional Russian architectural style of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Two saints, Grand Duchess of Russia Tsarina Elizabeth Feodorovna who lost her life in the Bolshevik uprising in 1917 and her sister-in-law Santa Barbara Yakovleva, are buried here. The duchess's niece and Queen Elizabeth II's mother-in-law, Alice of Battenberg, wanted to be buried here when she died.

The Church of Mary Magdalene is in the Russian Orthodox liturgy and is also the central headquarters of the mission of the Russian Church in Palestine.¹⁰⁶



Church of Mary Magdalene (IYV Archive)



Church of Mary Magdalene (IRCICA- FAY.14.45.34)

¹⁰⁵ Aydın, Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs, 185-187; Bianucci, Art and history of Jerusalem, 130-135; al-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds, 246.

¹⁰⁶ Aydın, Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs, 184; Bianucci, Art and history of Jerusalem, 140-141; Eren – Turan, Kudüs, 182-183; al-Arif, Tarihu'l-Kuds, 257.

Abbey of the Dormition

Located outside the walls of Old City near the Zion Gate, this monastery is one of the foremost Christian structures in Jerusalem due to its size, location, and beauty. It takes its name from being thought to be the place where the Virgin Mary ascended to heaven. The original basilica Hagia Sion used to exist at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. in the location where the current abbey is found. That basilica was destroyed when the Persians attacked the city. During the time of the Crusaders, a monastic community called Our Lady in Zion was established and a church was built here. When this place was demolished in the 13th century AD, the hermits here moved to Sicily.

The site where the monastery is located was purchased from the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II, during the visit of the German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II to Jerusalem in 1898. By giving this land to the Germans, Sultan Abdulhamid aimed to give balance the growing Russian presence in Jerusalem. The foundation of the monastery was laid in 1900, and the structure was built from 1906-1910. Because the Kaiser also aimed to show German might, a structure resembling a castle emerged here. The monastery is a 12-story building in height, with four floors (34 meters high and 60 meters in circumference).

The Abbey of the Dormition was built in a circular shape as well as its surrounding towers. Combining Eastern and Western motifs, it is reminiscent of old European cathedrals with its Romanesque architectural style, in addition to its architecture from the Mamluk period with the rows of red and white bricks. Corner towers were erected on all four sides of the large conical roofed building, which constitutes the main structure of the abbey. Due to the high acoustic quality of the abbey, religious concerts are held here.

The abbey's interior is rich with mosaics. The mosaic depicting Noah's flood symbolizes salvation in Christianity. In the mosaic of Christ holding his mother's hand, the passage "I am the light of the world" can be read from the open book in Jesus' hand. Below this mosaic are the depictions of the prophets who heralded the coming of the Messiah. In addition to the names and descriptions of the prophets in the Jewish holy texts, descriptions of the apostles are also included, and the ring of the tradition is explained to have not been broken.

The Abbey of Dormition belongs to the liturgy of the Catholic sect and is under the supervision of the Benedictine monks. After the state of Israel was established, Jewish youths repeatedly attacked this place populated by "radical" clergy.¹⁰⁷



Dormition Abbey (IYV Archive)

¹⁰⁷ Aydın, Arz-ı Mukaddes Kudüs, 240-241; Bianucci, Art and History of Jerusalem, 122-123.



The Garden Tomb

The Garden Tomb

This mausoleum is located outside the walls of the old city near the Damascus gate. According to Protestants, this is the real place where Jesus was crucified, buried, and ascended to heaven. According to Christian scriptures, Jesus was crucified near a garden outside the city and buried in a nearby rock tomb. This tomb takes its name from this.

Protestant opposition to Catholicism also reflected itself in determining where Jesus had been crucified, especially since the beginning of the 19th century. The

proper place to establish the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been discussed in scientific circles, and the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was claimed to not fit what was described in the Gospels.

British officer Gordon, who came to Jerusalem in 1883, set out to search for the real tomb. Convinced that the real Calvary was elsewhere, Gordon focused his research on a skull-like rock near the Damascus gate. During his research, he claimed to have found evidence bearing signs indicating that place to be the real Calvary. Claiming one of the tombs found in this location in 1869 as having belonged to Jesus, Gordon interpreted the old pool and wine-pressing place here as the garden mentioned

Beginning in 1894, the Garden Tomb started to serve as a place of visit by members of the Protestant movement, especially with it being owned by Anglican Evangelists. Despite only Protestants adopting the belief that this is the real Calvary, those who belong to other Christian denominations also visit this place.¹⁰⁸



St. James's Cathedral (Interior)

Cathedral of St. James

Located in the Armenian quarter within the walls of Old City, this church is one of the more ornately decorated churches in Jerusalem. This building was built in the time of the Crusaders in the 12th century AD on the remains of a church that had been built at the beginning of the 5th century.

Armenians believe two important figures in the Christian tradition to be buried here: John, the brother of Jesus and leader of the congregation in Jerusalem, and Saint James, son of Zebede, one of the apostles of Jesus. Only the head of St. James is buried here.

¹⁰⁸ Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, 149; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 261.



Monastery of Saint Mark (Exterior)

Electricity is not used in the church. It is furnished with blue tiles, and its interior is illuminated with oil lamps. The church has a dome with blue-and-green wall tiles inside, gilded altars, large chandeliers, nu-

merous lamps with ceramic eggs added to them, paintings, and wood carvings; inlaid mother-of-pearl bronze engravings give this structure a magnificent appearance. The exaggerated embroidered clothing of the priests, oil lamps, incense, and chants add an air of mystery to the ancient cathedral. In the courtyard of the church, a wooden pole is hung horizontally from the ceiling for ringing the bell to call worshippers to prayer.

Two thrones are found in front of the cathedral. The larger, recessed throne was dedicated to St. John, brother of Jesus. This throne is under an onion-shaped baldachin (sculpted canopy). The low iron grill behind the throne surrounds his tomb. The small throne is the seat of the Armenian Orthodox patriarch. The church is also the central headquarters of the Armenian patriarchy in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹



Monastery of Saint Mark (Interior)

Syriac Orthodox Monastery of Saint Mark

Built in memory of St. Mark, this church and monastery is a modest building located in the Armenian quarter with Old City. Assyrians argue this monastery to have been the first Christian church in the world, claiming it to have been built on the site of the house mentioned in the Christian holy texts.¹¹⁰ Information on this matter is engraved on the wall just at the entrance door. The inscription found during the renovation made here in 1940 reads as follows: "This is the house of Mary, mother of John who was called Mark. Proclaimed a church by the holy apostles under the name of the Virgin Mary, mother of God, after

the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven. Renewed after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 73 AD" Although some experts find its authenticity questionable, Assyrians believe this inscription had been written in the 6th century AD. Historical records mention that, when the pilgrimage began in Christianity in the 4th century, visitors to the city also visited this house.

According to the claims of the Assyrians, the Last Supper was also eaten in this house, and the head of the congregation, the apostle Peter, came to this house when he was freed from prison with the help of an angel. These examples give sanctity to this house.

The remains of the cross on which Jesus Christ died, and the belongings of many saints and holy persons are preserved in this monastery. In addition, the famous library of the books of important Syriac priests is also located in this monastery.

The monastery has been rebuilt and renovated several times in history. The last restoration was made in 1858 and the current state of the church dates from that period. The monastery and the church are under the supervision of the Syriac Orthodox clergy.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Uğurluel, *Dinlerin başkenti Kudüs*, 253-256; Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, 118; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 251; <https://en.qudsinfo.com/known-quds/churches/>.

¹¹⁰ *Elçilerin İşleri* 12: 12.

¹¹¹ Uğurluel, *Dinlerin başkenti Kudüs*, 253-256; Bianucci, *Art and History of Jerusalem*, 118; al-Arif, *Tarihu'l-Kuds*, 255; <https://qudsinfo.com/known-quds/>.

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Zekeriya lahiti olarak adlanan lahit bazıları tarafından M.Ö. IX. yüzyılda yaşamış ko-hen Zekeriya b. Yehoyada'nın lahiti olarak kabul edilir. Yine burada Heziroğulları aile kabirlerini içeren lahit mevcuttur. Sütunlu giriş kemeri dorik mimari tarzında süslemelerle donatılmış bu aile kabristanında Hezir ailesine mensup din adamlarının gömüldüğüne inanılır. Eski Yunan mimari tarzında yapılan bu aile kabristanının M.Ö. II. yüzyıla ait olduğu ifade edilir. Bu üç lahit birbirinin yanında olup aralarındaki mesafe çok değildir. Hristiyanlar, Heziroğulları lahitinde havari Yakub'un gömüldüğüne inanırlar. Kayaya oyulmuş, ihtişamlı ve büyük çaplı olan bu anıt lahitlerin yerinde kalması için, Yahudilerin arsanın sahibi Müslüman vakfa 200 altın dinar yer ücreti ödediği kaynaklarda geçmektedir.



JERUSALEM DURING THE REIGN OF KHALIFA RASHID AND ITS CONQUEST BY MUSLIMS

Osman AYDINLI*

Jerusalem [al-Quds] was a crucially sacred city to Muslims from the Meccan period of Islam until the middle of the second year of the Hijra through the signs in Qur'anic verses¹ and hadiths,² in particular with regard to Isra and Mi'raj. As a matter of fact, Allah the Almighty states in the Qur'an in Surah al-Isra, "Exalted is He Who made his servant travel at night from Masjid al-Haram to Masjid al-Aqsa the environs of which We have blessed, so that We let him see some of Our signs. Surely, He is the All-Hearing, All-Seeing."³ In one narration from Abu Hurayra, the Messenger of Allah said, "One can only travel to these three mosques (to pray and get more rewards): My mosque [Masjid an-Nabawi], Masjid al-Haram, and Masjid al-Aqsa."⁴ Once again, when Maymunah, the freed maid the Prophet [Hz. Muhammad] had freed, asked the Prophet

what he had to say about Jerusalem, the Messenger of Allah said, "Go and pray there. If you cannot go there and pray, at least send oil to illuminate the lamps there!"⁵

The conquest of Jerusalem, a place sacred to the religion of Islam and with great spiritual value in the eyes of Muslims, was undoubtedly more important for Muslims than the conquest of other regions within the Islamic conquest movements of the *Rashidun* [The four rightly guided caliphs]. Caliph Abu Bakr [Abu Bakr al-Siddiq], who eliminated the Ridda movements that had become a danger following the death of the Prophet using the Islamic army under Khalid ibn Walid's command, unexpectedly sent armies one day against the two superpowers of the world (i.e., the Sassanid and Byzantine Empires) to Iraq and Syria.

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¹ See Qur'an (17:1; 5:21, 7:137, & 21:71)

² See Bukhari, *Sahihu'l-Buhari*, (Istanbul: el-Mektebetü'l-İslâmiyye, 1981), *Fazlû's-salât fi mesciidi Mecca ve'l Medina*, 1, 6; Muslim, *el-Câmiu's-Sahîh*, (Cairo: 1991), *Hac*, 511-513; Ibn Majah, *Sünen-i ibn Mace*, (Istanbul: Çağrı Publications, 1981), *İkâme*, 198.

³ Qur'an 17:1.

⁴ Muslim, *Hac*, 511-513; Ibn Majah, *İkâme*, 198. In another hadith, prayers performed in these mosques are said to be 50,000 times more virtuous than prayers performed alone in one's home (See Ibn Majah, *İkâme*, 198).

⁵ Abu Dawud, *Salât*, 14.

First of all, one should note that various evaluations have been made for centuries about the first Islamic conquests that had amazed the whole world with the unprecedented speed with which they had been realized.⁶ In particular, Western researchers have made many contradictory evaluations about these conquest movements, putting the religion of Islam and its importance into the background and prioritizing material interests. These Western researchers have ignored the spirit of *jihād*, the idea of martyrdom, which in short is the universal message of Islam and the main reason for these conquests.

However, Muslims' foremost aim was to bring the great name of Allah to the four corners of the world, to convey the light and justice of Islam to those who were oppressed and in darkness in these regions, and to distinguish between right and wrong. If they died for this cause, they would reach the degree of martyrdom, the highest of the stations heralded in the Qur'an and the hadiths of the Prophet, gaining them Paradise. If they survived, they would be able to spread the religion of Allah from continent to continent and be instrumental in helping rid people of ignorance and governing with justice; they would both receive rewards and benefit from the worldly blessings they had attained. Thus, the main purpose of these conquests was *jihād* for the sake of *i'lai kalimatillah* [upholding the law of Allah], which means glorifying Allah and His Name. *Jihād* is not an act of destruction, invasion, or devastation; it is the way Muslims use as necessary in order to achieve peace, security, safety, and justice. In short, the real owner of these conquests is the religion of Islam.⁷

Abu Bakr, the first caliph of the Muslims, sent four Islamic armies under the command of the Sahabah Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Amr ibn al-As, Yazid ibn Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, and Shurahbil ibn Hasan to the Syrian front in Damascus.⁸ Of these, the army under the command of Amr ibn al-As was tasked with conquering the Palestine region,⁹ including Jerusalem. The Islamic armies turned to the Syrian lands and first dealt the final blow to the Byzantines in the Damascus region of Syria with the Battle of Ajnadayn in 634 AD and then the Battle of the Yarmuk in 636 AD. After many victories, they then attempted to capture all Syrian lands with no serious obstacles in front of them. As a matter of fact, Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah as the commander-in-chief of the Syrian Islamic armies and Khalid ibn al-Walid as the commander of his lead forces followed the enemy who'd fled from the Yarmuk and taken shelter in areas such as Palestine, Antakya, Aleppo, and al-Jazeera, chasing them to Damascus and from there to Homs.¹⁰ They were able to recapture the city of Damascus, which they had previously conquered but then had to withdraw due to the Battle of the Yarmuk, without much difficulty. This is because the non-Muslim people, having experienced and been satisfied with the fair governance from the Muslims for a few years, opened their city gates wide wherever the Muslims passed, greeting them with drums and horns and paying the *jizyah* [a tax paid by non-Muslims who are capable of paying].¹¹

Later on, Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah marched first to Belum, then to Aleppo, Antakya, Maarrat Misrayn, Cyrrhus, Jibrin, Tel-Aziz, Manbij, and other Syrian cities, with Khalid ibn al-Walid at the head of his vanguard, conquering these places

peacefully.¹² Once Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah reached the Euphrates and the borders of Anatolia (Bilād al-Rum [Land of the Romans]), he returned to Amr ibn al-As in Palestine to conquer Jerusalem. Up to that point, Amr ibn al-As had conquered Gaza, Sebastia, Nablus, Lod, Yibna, Amawas, Bayt Jibrin, Jaffa, and Rafah; he had laid siege to Jerusalem to conquer the city, but was unable due to the large number of soldiers there and the strength of its walls.¹³ In fact, Muslims had left the conquest of Jerusalem until last, conquering many cities of equal or greater strength than Jerusalem in terms of walls and numbers of soldiers; they had probably waited due to their desire to take the city peacefully without much bloodshed in respect for the sanctity of this city.

Before Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah moved from Belum to Jerusalem, he sent Khalid ibn al-Walid to Jerusalem at the head of the vanguard, and they resisted Khalid. When he came to Jerusalem, he offered peace to the enemy and asked them to surrender their city in peace. However, they did not accept this and continued to defend their city. When Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah saw this, he laid severe siege to the city from all sides. The people of Jerusalem resisted for a while but then realized there'd be no salvation and sued for peace. They paid the *jizyah* and tribute and made peace just like the people of other cities and made treaties just like with Damascus. However, they wanted to receive assurances from Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab] directly. Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah wrote about this to Omar, who was in Medina at the time, and informed him of the wishes of the Jerusalemites. As a result of the consultations Omar made with the leading Sahabah in Medina and despite the long and arduous journey Omar decided to go to Jerusalem in order to not shed any more blood and, more likely, not to harm the sanctity of this blessed city.¹⁴

He left Ali [Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib] (d. 661) instead of him in Medina and set out from Medina with a small delegation consisting of the notables of the Companions [Sahabah]. Al-Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib was also in the delegation. After all the prayers he performed along the way, Omar was thankful that Allah had honored them with Islam, made them successful in wars, and given them great blessings and dominion over the lands of Damascus. Omar came to Jabiyah, the encampment of the Muslims northeast of Jerusalem, and camped there.¹⁵

While Omar was moving from Jabiyah toward Jerusalem, Muslims saw his horse was limping and brought him another. While Omar was riding it, he did not like the horse's overactive and arrogant gait, so he dismounted.¹⁶ At this time, he was told he would gain more respect and reverence among the Jerusalemites if he replaced the very old woolen travel clothes he was wearing with a white ostentatious outfit of cotton that had been brought. Omar scolded those who'd brought him the outfit, saying honor and glory are only from Allah in his sight. He set out for Jerusalem with Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah and the other commanders, without changing his woolen journey clothes, a symbol of his modesty.¹⁷

When Omar arrived to Jerusalem, the representatives of the Jerusalemites, in particular the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronios, kept their promise and gathered before him. Omar made an agreement with them. He personally wrote the mandate he would give them and took the city from Patriarch Sophronios in 638 AD.¹⁸ This assurance that Omar gave to the Jerusalemites basically guaranteed the security of property and life and freedom of religion and worship in return for *jizyah* and tribute.¹⁹

⁶ For examples, see Leoni Caetani et al., *İslam Tarihi*, transl. Hüseyin Cahid, (Istanbul: 1924-1927), 3:91.

⁷ Osman Aydınli, *Ebu Ubeyde b. al-Cerrâh*, (Istanbul: IFAV Publications, 2015), 98-100; For more information, see Mustafa Fayda, *Halid b. Velid*, (Istanbul: Çağ Publications, 1990), 300-301.

⁸ *Damascus region that day, from the Euphrates River in the north to al-Arīṣū'l-Mütahim in Egypt in the south; It is a wide region extending from the two mountains belonging to the Thai Tribe in the east (on the able side) to the Greek Sea (Mediterranean) in the west, and the important cities of the region are Homs, Damascus, Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem), Manbij, Aleppo, Hamâ, Maarrâ, and Antakya, Tripoli, Acre, Sur, Askalan, and others on the coast, and there were five camps (junds) in Kinnesrin (Belum), Damascus, Jordan, Palestine, and Homs (Yakut al-Hamevi, Mujam al-Bildân, ed. Ferid Abdulaziz al-Cundi, (Beirut: Daru's-Sâdir, 1990), 3:312). In short, the Damascus region of that day consisted of the lands of today's Syrian, Palestinian, Israeli, Jordanian, and Lebanese states and a part of Southeastern Anatolia (Aydınli, Ebu Ubeyde, 96).*

⁹ *Al-Baladhuri, Fütuhul-huldân*, ed. Abdullah Enis et-Tübbâ'-Omer Enis et-Tübbâ', transl. Mustafa Fayda, (Beyrut: Müessesetü'l-Maarif, 1987), p. 150-151, 159; *al-Tabari, Tarihu'r-rusul ve'l-muluk*, ed. Muhammed Ebu'l-Fadl İbrahim, (Cahira: Daru'l-Maarif, ty), 3:387 (1: 2079); *Ibn Hibban, es-Siratü'n-Nebeviyye ve ahbaru'l-Hulefa*, (Beirut: Müessesetü'l-Kütübü's-Sekafiyye, 1987), 446; *Ibn al-Athir, el-Kâmil fit-târih*, ed. Carolus Johannes Tomberg (Beirut: Daru Sâdir-Dâru Beirut, 1965), 2:405-406; *Diyarbekri, Tarihu'l-hamis fi ahvâli enfesi nefis*, (Beirut: Müessesetu Şa'ban), 2:223-224.

¹⁰ *Al-Baladhuri, Fütüh*, 184, *al-Tabari, Tarih*, 3:570-571, (1:2347-2348).

¹¹ *Ezdi, Fütuhu's-Şâm*, ed. Ensign W. N. Lees, (Calcutta: 1854), 208-211; *al-Baladhuri, Fütuh*, 186; *Ibn Asakir, Tarihu Medineti Dimeshk, Salahaddin al-Muneccid*, (Dimeshk: Matbuatü'l-Mecma'i'l-İlmiyye 'l-Arabi) 1:544-545.

¹² *Al-Baladhuri, Fütuh*, 187, 197-200, 202-205, *Ibn al-Athir, al-Kâmil*, 2:495-496.

¹³ *Al-Baladhuri, Fütuh*, 188.

¹⁴ *Ezdi, Fütuhu's-Şâm*, 218-223; *al-Baladhuri, Fütuh* 189.

¹⁵ *Ezdi, Fütuhu's-Şâm*, 224-225. See also *al-Tabari, Tarih*, 3:608 (1: 2404); *Ibn A'sem, Kitâbü'l-Fütuh*, (Beirut: Daru'l-Kütübü'l-İlmiyye, 1986), 1:224-225; *Ibn al-Athir, al-Kâmil*, 2: 500; *Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya*, 9:655-656.

¹⁶ *Al-Tabari, Tarih*, 3:610 (1: 2407); *Ibn al-Athir, al-Kâmil*, 2:501; *Ibn Kathir, al-Bidâye*, 9:659.

¹⁷ *Ezdi, Fütuhu's-Şâm*, 228.

¹⁸ *Al-Baladhuri, Fütuh*, 189; *al-Tabari, Tarih*, 3:608 (1:2404); *Ibn al-Athir, al-Kâmil*, 2:501; *Ibn Kathir, al-Bidâye*, 9:658.

¹⁹ See Casim Avcı, "Kudüs", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 2002), 26:327.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ . هذا ما أعطى عبدُ الله عمر أمير المؤمنين أهلَ إيلياء من الأمان ؛ أعطاهم أمانًا لأنفسهم وأموالهم ، ولكنائسهم وصلبانهم ، وسقيمها وبريئتها وسائر ملتها ؛ أنه لا تسكن كنائسهم ولا تُهدم ، ولا يُنتقص منها ولا من حيزِها ، ولا من صليبهم ، ولا من شيء من أموالهم ، ولا يُكرهون على دينهم ، ولا يضارَ أحد منهم ، ولا يسكنُ بإيلياء معهم أحد من اليهود ، وعلى أهل إيلياء أن يعطوا الجزية كما يُعطى أهل المدائن ، وعليهم أن يخرجوا منها الروم واللصوت^(١) ؛ فمن خرج منهم فإنه آمن على نفسه وماله حتى يبلغوا مأمنهم ؛ ومن أقام منهم فهو آمن ؛ وعليه مثل ما على أهل إيلياء من الجزية ، ومن أحب من أهل إيلياء أن يسير بنفسه وماله مع الروم ويخلى بيئتهم وصلبهم فإنهم آمنون على أنفسهم وعلى بيئتهم وصلبهم ، حتى يبلغوا مأمنهم ، ومن كان بها من أهل الأرض قبل مقتل فلان ، فمن شاء منهم قعدوا عليه مثل ما على أهل إيلياء من الجزية ، ومن شاء سار مع الروم ؛ ومن شاء رجع إلى أهله فإنه لا يؤخذ منهم شيء حتى يُحصد حصادهم ؛ وعلى ما في هذا الكتاب عهد الله وذمة رسوله وذمة الخلفاء وذمة المؤمنين إذا أعطوا الذي عليهم من الجزية . شهد على ذلك خالد بن الوليد ، وعمرو بن العاص ، وعبد الرحمن بن عوف ، ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان . وكتب وحضّر سنة خمس عشرة .

*Text of the Assurances Omar Gave to the Jerusalemites
Al-Tabari, Tārīhu'r-Rusul ve'l-Muluk, 3: 609 (1: 2405-2406).*

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent and Merciful! This contract is given to the Jerusalemites by Omar, the servant of Allah and commander of the believers as assurance for their lives, property, churches, crosses, sick, healthy, and all other individuals. Their churches will be neither inhabited nor demolished. No area will be reduced from them, and their sacred objects such as crosses and goods will not be touched. No one will be coerced or harmed because of their religious beliefs, and no Jew will be settled in Jerusalem alongside them. In return, the Jerusalemites will pay the jizyah just like other people in other cities. The Jerusalemites must remove the Greeks and thieves from this place. The safety of life and property cannot be ensured until the Byzantines have left and gone to their destinations. Those who want to stay here can safely stay and pay the jizyah like the other Jerusalemites. Whichever Jerusalemites want to leave with the Greeks and vacate their churches and crosses, their lives, churches, and crosses will be safe until they reach their place of destination. As for the other inhabitants of Jerusalem, whoever wishes to live here may do so like the other people of Jerusalem: on the condition that they pay the jizyah. Those who want may leave with the Greeks, and those who want can migrate to their family; no tax will be collected from them until they've harvested their crops. This assurance is an oath of security given to the people of Jerusalem from the Messenger of Allah, the caliphs, and the believers provided they pay the jizyah. Khalid ibn al-Walid , Amr ibn al-As, Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, and Muawiyah Abu Sufyan are witnesses to this agreement. Omar has written this agreement in the 16th year after the Hijri and been given to the people of Jerusalem.”

*Translation of the Assurance Text Given
by Omar to the Jerusalemites*

It is understood from the narrations that the people of Jerusalem wanted peace. Omar came to Jerusalem at the end of 637 AD, and the assurance was given to them at the beginning of 638 AD.²⁰

Thus, being considered sacred to Muslims, Christians, and Jews, Jerusalem passed into the hands of Muslims peacefully without bloodshed, and a period in which peace and security would prevail in the city began for the members of the three monotheistic religions. This was first of all due to this assurance guaranteeing the safety of life, property, and freedom of religion not only for Christians but also for everyone residing and living in Jerusalem with no exceptions. Thus, all nations and religions present there were able to practice their religion freely.

The sentence in the assurance text that the Jews will not be resettled in Jerusalem does not appear to be from the original version of the text but seems to be an addendum, because the developments after the agreement showed no such practice, but rather the opposite. As a matter of fact, Jewish chroniclers stated that Omar had cleared the hill where the Temple of Solomon [Prophet Suleiman] had been located in Jerusalem, restored it to its former function, and allowed Jews to enter the city easily and to even settle there.²¹

According to this contract, those who were required to leave the city were only the armed soldiers and thieves, and since they threatened the sanctity and safety of the city, this situation was considered and accepted as normal by everyone. In this way, the safety of those staying in the city would be guaranteed in every way. In return for all these assurances, the inhabitants of Jerusalem had a responsibility and duty to the Muslim rulers. The first of these was the *jizyah*, and the other involved not allowing in people who would endanger the security of the city. As a result, Muslims exhibited a tolerance that Byzantine Emperors had not even shown

toward their own co-religionists, and the advent of Islam was a salvation for the Jews and almost all people of the Christian region. The Muslims' humane treatment toward the defeated Christians and Jews who'd not been able to enter Jerusalem for centuries was the guarantee of the holiness of Jerusalem and opposite to what previous victors had done.

When Omar entered the city alongside Patriarch Sophronios, he visited the first Christian Church of the Resurrection, which they believe to have been the tomb of Jesus and where he had been crucified. When prayer time was called as he entered the church, Omar did not accept the offer from the members of the church to pray there; instead, he prayed outside the church.²²

He did this because he was afraid that Muslims would take the church from the Christians and use it as a masjid on the grounds that he had prayed there, thus violating the articles of the contract. Afterward, Omar entered al-Aqsa Mosque by accepting the invitation from the door where our Prophet had entered during the ascension. He found the mihrab of the Prophet David on the south side of the compound and prayed there. His worship there lasted until the time of the morning prayer, and when the time came, the muazzin (probably Bilal the Abyssinian) called the adhan, after which the Muslims with him led the morning prayer at the mihrab of David.²³ It had been later built by the Jews as the center of the Temple of Solomon. Omar had searched for the Foundation Stone, which Muslims consider sacred as the Prophet is thought to have stepped off of this while ascending to heaven. Omar found the Foundation Stone had been turned into a garbage dump by the Christians; he cleaned the area himself and presented it. Later, Omar had a mosque built on an area of approximately 144 acres²⁴ on the south side of the qibla within the borders of the al-Aqsa Mosque. Today it is known as the Mosque of Omar.²⁵ According to rumors, this mosque prior to the large-scale renovation by the Umayyads,

had been large enough for 3,000 people to pray in and had been constructed using planks and timber.²⁶ In addition, Omar spared no expense for designing this area where he had the mosque built. Taking into account the maintenance and other needs of this place, he allocated properties, fields, and gardens as foundations.²⁷

Omar made many arrangements in the region and stayed for 20 days in Jerusalem and its surroundings. He decided to establish a defense line on two separate fronts by dispersing the Muslims' Jabiyah camp in the region in order to prevent attacks from Byzantium. He delivered half of it to Alqama bin Mujazziz al-Mudlijji and ordered the camp to be established and deployed in Jerusalem.²⁸ In addition, he assigned Muadh ibn Jabal, Ubadah ibn al-Samit, and Abdurrahman

Ganmi to teach Islam to the people in Jerusalem. He also encouraged the Arab tribes to settle there and gave favors to settlers. Before Omar left Jerusalem, he gave some advice to the Muslims in the region. In his speech, he also pointed out the issues to consider in their relations with non-Muslims and warned them to abide by their promises.²⁹

As a result, from the moment Omar received the keys of the city from Patriarch Sophronios and entered Jerusalem (17/638), both he and other Muslims complied with all the articles stipulated in the assurance contract. For centuries after Omar, Muslims remained faithful to these assurances. The lives, properties, and places of worship of the people living in the city were not touched. Thus, Jerusalem was able to attain the environment



Omar's Masjid/Qibly Mosque [Masjid al-Qibly] (MT Archive)

²⁰ For more information, see Ezdi, *Fütühu's-Şam*, 224-228; Ibn Asem, *Kitab al-Fütuh*, 1:224-229; al-Baladhuri, *Fütuh*, 189-190; al-Tabari, *Tarih*, 3:607-608 (1:2404); Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kâmil* 2:500-501. We think that the date 15 at the end of the assurance text in al-Tabari was added later. Because Muslims first started to use the Hijri calendar [Islamic calendar] in 16 or 17 AH (see Ibn Sa'd, *et-Tabakâtü 'l-Kübrâ*, (Beirut: Daru Sadır), 3:28; Halife b. Hayyât, *et-Tarih*, ed. Ekrem Ziya al-Omeri, (Riyadh: Daru Taybe, 1985), 1: 6-7). Therefore, it is not possible for such a date to fall in the year 15, and it is highly probable that this date will be 17.

²¹ See Nuh Arslantaş, *Yahudilere Göre Hz. Muhammed ve İslâmiyet*, (Istanbul: İz Publications, 2011), 168, 188-189.

²² Musa İsmail Basir et al., *Kudüs Tarihi*, Transl. Esra Education Translation Commission-Ali Benli, (Istanbul: Nida Publications, 2011), 69.

²³ See Ezdi, *Fütühu's-Şam*, 231-232.

²⁴ The Bible of the 10th century Islamic author records the length of this place as one thousand *zira* (about 450 meters) and its width as seven hundred *zira* (about 315 meters) (Ahsenü't-Tekâsim, 147).

²⁵ Mukaddesi, *Ahsenü't-Tekâsim*, (Beirut: Ilyau't-Türâsi'l-Arabi, 1987), 145, Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaye*, 9:655-656, 661-663.

²⁶ Nebi Bozkurt "Mescid-i Aksa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 2004), 29:270.

²⁷ Arslantaş, *Yahudilere Göre Hz. Muhammed ve İslâmiyet*, 170.

²⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kâmil*, 2:501. On that day, all of Palestine was included in the Damascus region and Palestine was divided into two parts as Jerusalem (Iliya) and Ramle (al-Tabari); *Tarih*, 3:608 (1:2403).

²⁹ See Fayda, *Hulefâ-yı Râşidîn Devri*, 239-240.

of trust and peace for which it had longed for centuries.

The political and military structure of Jerusalem as determined by Omar can be said to have continued throughout the *Rashidun*. Caliph Uthman [Uthman ibn Affan] also gave the same importance to Jerusalem as had Caliph Omar. As a matter of fact, Uthman donated the revenues of the Silwan gardens located in the outskirts of the city (Rabad) to the poor of the city.³⁰

In the years of turmoil during the reign of Caliph Ali, Jerusalem became the center for some actions of Muawiya (d. 680), who was opposed to Ali. As a matter of fact, when Muawiya was the

governor of Syria, he made an agreement to find and punish the murderers of Caliph Uthman in Jerusalem with Amr ibn al-As, who was the conqueror of Egypt and had settled in Palestine by that time.³¹ Again, after Ali was murdered by the Kharijites, Muawiya declared his caliphate by taking the allegiance of the Syrians in Jerusalem (660 AD),³² thus he had taken over Jerusalem.³³

After the conquest of Jerusalem, many Sahaba and their successors visited the city, with some of them even settling there. As a matter of fact, some Sahaba are known to have been buried in Jerusalem such as Ubadah ibn al-Samit and Shaddad bin Aws al-Khazraji (d. 678 AD).³⁴



Kubbetü's-sahra ve Ömer Mescidi (IRCICA-FAY.22.40.07)

³⁰ Mukaddesi, Ahsenü'l-Tekâsîm, 147.

³¹ Ibn Sa'd, at-Tabakâtü'l-kübrâ, 4:254.

³² Al-Tabari, Tarih, 5: 161 (2: 5/); Ibn al-Athir, al-Kâmil, 3:267.

³³ Casim Avcı, "Kudüs", 26:327.

³⁴ Mukaddesi, Ahsenü'l-Tekâsîm, 147.

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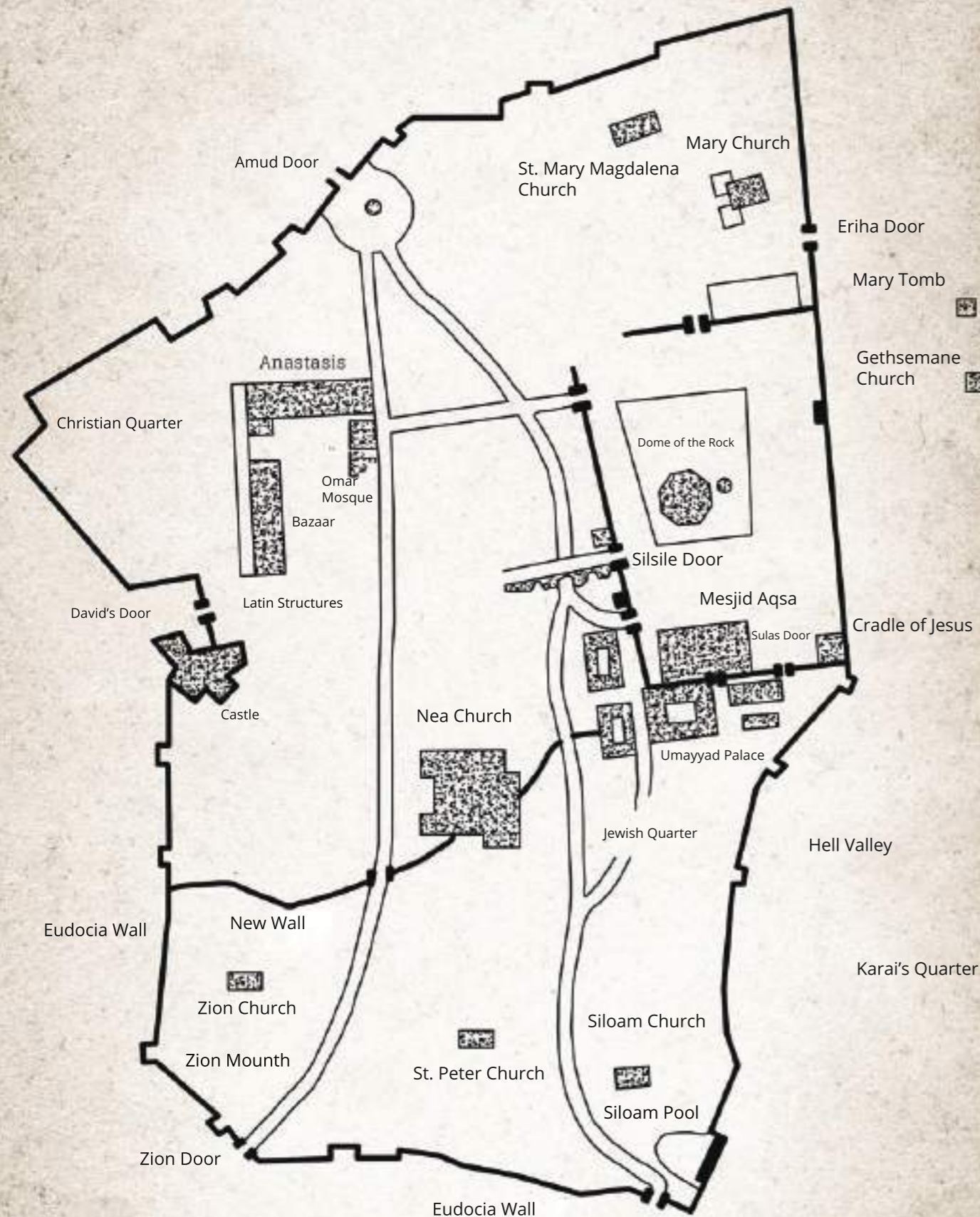
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St. Stephan's Church



Christian Cemetery

Eyn Rogel



THE ISLAMIC PERIOD OF JERUSALEM FROM THE Umayyads TO THE CRUSADERS

Nuh ARSLANTAŞ*

Jerusalem During the Umayyad Caliphate

The Umayyad Dynasty was founded in 661 AD by Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (d. 680). After Uthman ibn Affan's [Third Caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate] martyrdom in 656, Mu'awiya resolutely continued his struggle against Ali (RA) (d. 661) and declared his caliphate after the Battle of Siffin in 657. With al-Hasan ibn Ali's renunciation of the caliphate in favor of Mu'awiya in the Year of Unity (661), he was able to become a caliph in the Islamic world.

After Mu'awiya seized the caliphate, he first tried to establish his control by solving internal problems. Dividing the state into four administrative regions (i.e., Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Hejaz), Mu'awiya moved the center of the caliphate to Damascus, which was in a sense the source of his power, and left the region under his own rule.

While Mu'awiya was still the governor of Syria, he claimed his caliphate in Jerusalem [al-Quds] with the title Emir al-Mu'min.¹ Mu'awiya had come to power after a very controversial process and wanted to legitimize and strengthen his caliphate by assuming his position in Jerusalem as the third holiest city for Muslims after Mecca and Medina and emphasizing its sanctity. He attached great importance to Jerusalem. The city had a Sahabi governor named Salama ibn Qaysar,² and due to its sanctity and geographical proximity, Jerusalem was always of deep interest to the Umayyad caliphs starting with Mu'awiya. Mu'awiya tried to attract not only the Muslim but also the other non-Muslim subjects of the city to his side, especially the Christians. He is said to have wanted to give a message to the Christian subjects, who made up the predominant population of the city, by visiting Golgotha [Hill of Skulls],

Gethsemane Garden, and the tomb of Mary before receiving allegiance.³ During Mu'awiya reign, Jerusalem experienced a calm and stable period. In addition to dealing with many secondary issues of the city such as the use of forests or the arrangement of vineyards and gardens, he also built new components that the city needed. Mu'awiya repaired the old buildings and walls from Byzantium and also expanded the Mosque of Omar.⁴ The Christian Bishop Arcluf visited the city during Mu'awiya's reign in 680 and gave detailed information about the city.⁵

Mu'awiya's interest in Jerusalem was maintained by the Umayyad caliphs that followed. The Umayyad dynasty wanted to take advantage of Jerusalem's fame to strengthen their power. Like Mu'awiya, some of the later Umayyad caliphs also claimed their caliphate while in Jerusalem.

Although the capital of the state was Damascus, the fact that some Umayyad caliphs took up their caliphate in Jerusalem strengthened the importance of the city in the eyes of the society of the time. Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (d. 685), al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik (d. 705), Sulayman ibn Abd al-Malik (d. 717), Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (d. 720), and Yazid ibn Abd al-Malik (d. 724) were the Umayyad caliphs who visited Jerusalem.⁶

The caliphate of Yazid ibn Mu'awiya's son, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. 684-685) and his son al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705), who became the caliph after the 48-day reign of Mu'awiya II (r. 684), were eliminated in Palestine by the supporters of Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, and the authority of the Umayyads in the region was consolidated. Jerusalem remained loyal to the Umayyads even when many governors gave their allegiance to Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr after Husayn ibn Ali was martyred.⁷

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¹ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, ed. Ali Şiri, (Dâru l-hyâi'r-Turâsi'l-'Arabi, 1408/1988), 8:41.

² Ibn Mende, *M'arifetu's-Sahâbe*, (Matbû'ât Câmîi'at l-Imârâti'l-'Arabiyye el-Muttehede, 1426/2005), 758; İbmi'l-Esir, 'Usdu'l-gabe, ed. Ali Muhammed Mu'avvid-Adil Ahmed 'Abdulmevcûd, (Dâru'l-Kitâbi'l-'Arabi, 1415/1994), 2: 507; Ebu'l-Yumn el-'Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi târihi'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, ed. 'Adnân Yünus-'Abdulmecid Nebâte, (Amman: Mektebetü Densis), 2: 50.

³ Goitein, "al-Kuds", *E12*, 5: 324.

⁴ Basit et al., *Kudüs Tarihi*, transl. Ali Benli and Comission, (İstanbul: Nida Publishing, 2011), 73; Goitein, "al-Kuds", *E12*, 5: 324.

⁵ See Mihail Meksi Iskender, *el-Kuds abre'l-tarih*, (Cairo, 1972), 51.

⁶ Abdulaziz Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. J. Asali, (Scorpion Publishing Ltd: Essex, 1989), 108, 110.

⁷ In this process, the governor of Jerusalem Hasan ibn Bahdal continued his support for the Umayyads.



Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock (MT Archive)

During the reign of Abd al-Malik, Jerusalem received extraordinary attention. During his caliphate, the Islamic geography in general and Jerusalem in particular experienced one of its peak periods. Like Mu'awiya, Abd al-Malik took up his caliphate in Jerusalem⁸ and used the sanctity of the city to support his own power. Abd al-Malik had the city's buildings renovated and its walls repaired, physically transforming Jerusalem into a fully Muslim city with his reconstruction activities.⁹ The most striking construction activity of this period was the Dome of the Rock. The construction of the Dome of the Rock, one of the first-known domed works in Islamic architecture, started in 685 under the control of Raja b. Haywa al-Kindi and Yazid ibn Sallam, who'd been assigned by the caliph. It was completed in 691.¹⁰ Abd al-Malik consulted the people and their governors before having the Dome of the Rock built. Abd al-Malik told the people of Jerusalem that he'd been thinking of building a temple for Muslims on al-Sakhra [the Noble Rock] where they could do their worship in a comfortable environment and protect them from the heat and cold, and with the support of the governors, he begun by allocating the seven-year tribute of the Egyptian province to the construction of

this mosque.¹¹ This is the most reasonable reason for the construction of the Dome of the Rock. According to the Muslim geographer al-Maqdisi (335-390), the reason for the construction of al-Sakhra Mosque [The Dome of the Rock] was the effort to bring a prominent mosque to the Muslims who felt overwhelmed by the stylish churches in the city. Seeing that the Christians had ostentatious temples, especially the Church of the Resurrection, the caliph wanted to have a beautiful mosque built in the city upon considering the possible admiration that might get aroused in Muslims toward these mosques.¹² By building the Dome of the Rock, the caliph is understood to have aimed at providing an Islamic face and spirit to the old church-rich Byzantine city of Jerusalem.

According to the claims of some later writers, in order to prevent Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, the ruler of Mecca during the reign of Abd al-Malik, from influencing people and attracting them to his side, Abd al-Malik¹³ exploited the hadith "Only three masjids are traveled to for the purpose of worship..."¹⁴ and by building the Dome of the Rock, he encouraged people to visit al-Sakhra from which the Prophet [Prophet Muhammad] had ascended for the Mi'raj.

⁸ Halife b. Hayyât, *Târîhu Halife b. Hayyât*, ed. Süheyl Zekkar, (Beirut: Daru'l-fikr, 1993), 200.

⁹ Ira M. Lapidus, *İslam Toplumları Tarihi, V.1, Hazret-i Muhammed'den 19. Yüzyıla*, transl. Yasin Aktay, (İstanbul: İletişim Publications, 2002), 108.

¹⁰ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, 309; al-Maqdisi, *Müsrü'l-garâm ila ziyareti'l-Kuds ve's-Şam*, ed. Ahmed el-Huteymi, (Beirut: Daru'l-ceyl, 1994), 172; Ebu'l-Yümm el-Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi tarihî'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, ed. Adnan Yunus Abdilmecid Ebû Tebbâne, (Amman: Mektebetu Dendis, 1999/1420), 1: 401.

¹¹ Şehabeddin Abi Mahmud ibn Temim al-Maqdisi, *Müsrü'l-garâm ila ziyareti'l-Kuds ve's-Şam*, pp. 171-172; Ebu'l-Yümm el-Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi tarihî'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 1:401.

¹² Al-Maqdisi, *Aḥṣenu'l-tekâsîm fi ma'rifeti'l-'ekâlim*, (Beirut: Dâru Sâdur, 1411/1991), 159.

¹³ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, transl. C. R. Barber, S. M. Stem, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1971), 2: 44-45.

¹⁴ See al-Bukhari, "Faḍlu's-salat fi mescid-i Mekke ve'l-Medine", 6. Müslim, "Hac", 95.



Dome of the Rock (MT Archive)

For this purpose, he had a domed building built over the rock and covered it with Atlas silks; he encouraged people to circumambulate there as is done around the Kaaba. He also declared this place to be a place of rest and ordered people to rest there on the Day of Arafa.¹⁵ This narration, first reported by the historian Ya'qubî, who was known for his anti-Umayyad opposition, was repeated by some historians such as Said ibn Batriq (Eutychius of Alexandria) and Ibn al-Jawzi. Later authors such as Ibn Kathir also quoted this without any criticism.¹⁶ As stated above, apart from Ya'qubi being an author with a Shiite inclination, activities such as the pilgrimage to Mecca not having decreased since the time of the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik, the Kaaba's door having been sent from the capital city to Mecca after being shown to the public in Masjid an-Nabawi, and Abd al-Malik having the Kaaba's sills gold-plated¹⁷ show such a rumor to be completely inconsistent with fact.

A sample was made before the construction of the Dome of the Rock. This sample dome, known as the Dome of Silsilah, is currently located in the eastern part of the Temple Mount and was built as a kind of model of the building. It functions as a *bayt al-mal* [financial institution] where the expenditures made during the construction of the original building had

been kept.¹⁸ Egypt's seven-year tribute income was allocated for the construction of the Dome of the Rock.¹⁹ When it was being constructed, a great management opportunity from its plans to its budget was given to Raja b. Haywa al-Kindi and Yazid ibn Sallam. At the end of the construction, a huge amount of money around 150,000 dinars had remained unspent. Raja and Yazid wrote a letter to the caliph in the capital and asked what they should do with this money; the caliph told them they could use it as they wished. However, with the consent of the caliph, they used the unspent amount for arbitration purposes to protect the dome against rain, snow, and wind.²⁰ The Dome of the Rock, the oldest original masterpiece of not only Jerusalem but also Islamic architecture, is conveyed by the dome sitting on four columns over the rock where our Prophet ascended for Mi'raj, and three pillars are also found between these columns. The structure is surrounded by an octagonal arcade consisting of eight small columns with two pillars between each and was planned to form two galleries nested within one another.²¹ After the completion of the building, Caliph Abd al-Malik brought the horn of the ram sacrificed by Abraham [Prophet Abraham] and the crown of Kisra to Jerusalem and had them placed in the Dome of the Rock.²²

¹⁵ Ya'qubî, *et-Ta'rîh*, I, 214; Kalkaşandî, *Meâşiru'l-inâfe fi me âlimi'l-Hilâfe*, ed. 'Abdussettâr Aḥmed Ferâc, (Kuwait: Matba'atu Hukumeti'l-Kuveyt, 1985), 1: 129.

¹⁶ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, 8: 308-309; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 110-111; Bozkurt, "Kubbetü's-Sahra", 26: 306.

¹⁷ Küçükaşçı-Bozkurt, "Mescid-i Nebevi", 29: 289-290.

¹⁸ Ebu'l-Yümm el-Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi tarihî'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 1: 401.

¹⁹ Al-Maqdisi, *Müsrü'l-garâm ila ziyareti'l-Kuds ve's-Şam*, 171.

²⁰ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, 8:281.

²¹ Bektaş, "Emeviler: Sanat", 11:105.

²² Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi tarihî'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 1:404. Uleymi explains in detail the opening ceremony of the Dome of the Rock. See 1:403-404.



Al-Aqsa Mosque (MT Archive)

Abd al-Malik had the Jerusalem-Damascus Road redesigned and also ordered two gates to be opened in the walls for entry to the city.²³ In the time of Abd al-Malik, a man named Haris ibn Sa'ïd rebelled in Jerusalem claiming to be a prophet; however, the revolt was suppressed before it grew too big. After the revolt in 699, Haris and his men were executed.²⁴

Abd al-Malik's son, Walid I, became the next caliph and began his rule in Jerusalem. His pledge is said to have taken place under the Dome of the Rock's dome.²⁵ Walid loved Jerusalem very much and ordered regular financial aid to the poor by prohibiting begging in the city. He is known to have sent aid to Jerusalem at different times.²⁶ He appointed his brother Sulayman ibn Abd al-Malik as the regional governor in order to show the importance he gave to Palestine, which contains Jerusalem.²⁷ Continuing the reconstruction and construction activities that Abd al-Malik started in Jerusalem, Walid built a flamboyant palace in Jerusalem. Extending along the south of Harem al-Sharif to its western corner, this

palace functioned as the governor's mansion. The palace, of which some ruins have survived, was also used during the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates.²⁸ Another important construction activity in Jerusalem during the reign of Walid I was Masjid al-Aqsa, which began in 709 and completed in 715. Although the wooden mosque (the Mosque of Omar) had a capacity of three thousand people when it was built in the time of Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab], it was no longer able to meet needs. The mosque that was decided to be built still preserved its old form and original plan, despite having undergone changes in its plan due to the repairs and renovations it has undergone throughout history. The mosque consists of naves extending perpendicular to the qibla wall and a nave parallel to the qibla wall intersecting them; this nave paralleling the qibla is covered with a dome over the opening formed by the vertical nave in the middle that cuts in front of the mihrab. A few columns from the east of this dome have survived from its original structure.²⁹

²³ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, 11:226; Asiye Derya Tetik, 7. *Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, (Master Thesis, Celal Bayar University, 2018), 36.

²⁴ Ibn 'Asâkir, *Târîhu Dimeşk*, ed. 'Amr b. Ğurâme el-'Umrevî, (*Dâru'l-Fikr*, 1415/1995), 11:427; al-Dhahabi, *Târîhu'l-İslâm ve ve feyâtü'l-müşâhîr ve'l-'alâm*, ed. Beşşâr 'Avvâd Marîf, (*Âlâvly* 2003), 2:803; Ibn Hacer el Askalânî, *Lisânu'l-mizân*, ed. 'Abdufettâh Ebû Guddê, (*Dâru'l-Beşâiri'l-İslâmiyye*, 1423/2002), 2:516.

²⁵ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 109.

²⁶ Ibn 'Asâkir, *Târîhu Dimeşk*, 6:428; Taberânî, *Müsnedü's-Şâmiyyîn*, ed. Hamdi b. 'Abdulmecid es-Selefi, (*Beirut: Müessesetü'r-Risâle*, 1405/1984), 1:27.

²⁷ Ibnu'l-Fakîh, *el-Buldân*, ed. Yûsuf el-Hâdî, (*Beirut: 'Alemu'l-Kutub*, 1416/1996), 152.

²⁸ Goitein, "al-Kuds", *E12*, V, 325-326.

²⁹ Teddy Kollek-Moshe Pearlman, *Jerusalem, Sacred of Mankind: A History of Centuries*, (*Jerusalem: Random House*, 1967), 161; Beksaç, "Eneviler: Sanat", 11:105. For the narrative see Üsâme Cüm'atü'l-Aşkar, *Medinetü Beyti'l-Makdis fi'l-karni'l-İslamiyyi'l-ula*, (*Damascus: Müessesetü Filistin li's-Sikafe*, 2012), 279 et al.

After the Dome of the Rock built in the time of Abd al-Malik and the Masjid al-Aqsa built in the time of Walid, a magnificent change occurred in the appearance of Jerusalem. These two magnificent structures overshadowed even the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the tomb of Jesus is located, and drew the city's religious focus to Haram al-Sharif.³⁰

Sulayman ibn Abd al-Malik, the caliph to succeed Walid, became caliph in Jerusalem. Sulayman had been in Jerusalem at the time of his elder brother Walid's death. Sulayman also became caliph under the Dome of the Rock's dome and loved Jerusalem very much.³¹ He is said to have wanted to move the center of the caliphate from Damascus to Jerusalem, but was discouraged by his bureaucrats due to Damascus' strategic location.³²

In the last years of the Umayyad dynasty during the caliphate of Marwan II (744-750), many people lost their lives in an earthquake in Jerusalem.³³ This earthquake³⁴ took place on Jumada al-Awwal 10-12, 130 AH (January 16-18, 747 AD), with many people losing their lives and monasteries being destroyed in many cities, especially in Jerusalem.³⁵ This earthquake and its aftershocks lasted 40 days and saw people leave their homes and stay in open areas.³⁶ The eastern and western walls of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were destroyed, and the children of Ansar who lived in the city died in this earthquake.³⁷ All the children of the Sahabi Shaddad ibn Aus died under the rubble after their house collapsed.³⁸ Many structures built in the city during the Umayyad period were either destroyed or became unusable due to this earthquake. The damage from the earthquake would not be healed until the Abbasid dynasty.



Al-Aqsa Mosque and Its Interior (MT Archive)

³⁰ Tetik, 7. *Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, 36.

³¹ Üsâme Cüm'atü'l-Aşkar, *Medinetü Beyti'l-Makdis fi'l-karni'l-İslamiyyi'l-ula*, 288; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 110.

³² Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, ed. 'Abdullah b. Abdi'l-Muhsin et-Turki, 12: 632; Üsâme Cüm'atü'l-Aşkar, *Medinetü Beyti'l-Makdis fi'l-karni'l-İslamiyyi'l-ula*, 290.

³³ Theophanes, *The Chronicle of the Theophanes (Annu Mundi, 6095-6305 AD, 602-813)*, English transl. Harry Turtledove, (*Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press*, 1982), 112; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, translation from Hebrew to English: Ethel Broido, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*, 1997), 89.

³⁴ Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89; Theophanes, 112.

³⁵ Theophanes, 112; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89.

³⁶ Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucümü'z-Zâhira fi Mulâki Misr ve'l-Kâhira*, (*Egypt: Vezâratu's-Sekâfe ve'l-İrşâdi'l-Kavmi, Dâru'l-Kutub*) 1:311; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89.

³⁷ Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89.

³⁸ Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucümü'z-Zâhira*, 1: 311; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89.

During the Umayyad dynasty, Jerusalem became a very lively and colorful city where Jews and Christians lived alongside Muslims. Christians from distant lands came to Jerusalem for their pilgrimage, and no obstacles prevented Jews from visiting or settling there.³⁹ After the conquest of Jerusalem, the 5 to 6-centuries-old settlement ban Christians had imposed on Jews was lifted. A detached neighborhood in the south of the city was allocated to them, and 70 Jewish families settled in this neighborhood.⁴⁰ Jewish midwives were used to deliver the Muslim women who settled here after the conquest, and non-Muslims, including Jews, took on the job of cleaning the city.⁴¹ The Jews were assigned to clean the area where the Masjid al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock were located during the reign of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan in Jerusalem, and they continued this work until the time of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (717-720). Although they still worked there for a while during Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz's rule, they were later dismissed.⁴²

In short, the Umayyads gave great attention to transforming Jerusalem into a Muslim city in terms of politics, economy, and culture through the efforts of the Umayyad caliphs.

Jerusalem During the Abbasid Caliphate

The Abbasids had been planning a long-term revolution since the middle of the Umayyad dynasty. The practices carried out under the Umayyad caliphate had gone on for almost a century and caused the emergence of many dissatisfied elements in Islamic society to spread over a wide geography. The Abbasids' coming to power found the environment to be in such a state, and with the help of intense propaganda made under the leadership of groups dissatisfied with the Umayyad administration and a comprehensive and systematic organization, the revolution had succeeded. The Abbasids skillfully used all the positive and negative conditions in the state to their advantage, making their final move to seize the caliphate in 749.

Great changes occurred in almost every field with the passing of the administration in the Islamic world to the Abbasids. First of all, Syria's importance had decreased with the collapse of the Umayyad State, its political and socio-cultural center of gravity shifting to Iraq. Staying in Syria would have been dangerous for the Abbasids. For this reason, they preferred to set up their capitol in Iraq, which had adopted their own ideology. The Abbasid caliphate was founded in 766 and ruled the vast Islamic geography for nearly five centuries from Baghdad. The administrative center being in Baghdad affected the Palestinian region, which included Jerusalem. Despite its geographical distance, Jerusalem was able to retain its position as the third holiest city in the Islamic world, alongside Mecca and Medina.

On the eve of the Abbasids' coming to power, a great earthquake struck Jerusalem. The first activities of the new administration in the city were to heal the damage from the earthquake. The earthquake had occurred on the Dead Sea Rift during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Marwan II and caused great damage in both Syria and Palestine. This earthquake⁴³ took place on Jumada al-Awwal 10-12, 130 AH (January 16-18, 747), many people lost their lives and monasteries were destroyed in many cities, especially in Jerusalem.⁴⁴ Due to the fear of earthquakes, people had to leave their homes in Jerusalem and spend the night outside for 40 days.⁴⁵ The eastern and western walls of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were destroyed.⁴⁶

The Umayyads were unable to take care of Jerusalem due to the Abbasid revolution. From the moment of the first Abbasid caliph, Abu al-Abbas as-Saffah (r. 750-754), the new power struggled to impose itself; sources mention the repair of places that had been damaged by the earthquake, but the information about the period concerns the second caliph, al-Mansur (r. 754-775).

Al-Mansur, who is accepted as the real founder of the Abbasid caliphate in many respects, was rumored to have visited Jerusalem four years after his transition to the caliphate. This first visit took place in 758 on al-Mansur's return from the hajj. Historian al-Masudi recorded this visit to have been made because of the caliph's vow and to have occurred in 758-759.⁴⁷ Al-Mansur⁴⁸ tried to win the hearts of the people of Jerusalem with the gifts he distributed

during his visit. He also wrote letters to his governors requesting for economic support as the Abbasid bayt al-mal had insufficient funds for repairing the places damaged in the earthquake. Upon this decree, each of the governors undertook the repair of one of the porticos in the Temple Mound. In addition, the gold and silver in the *riwaqs* [portico open on at least one side] of the Dome of the Rock were melted into money to recover some of the repair costs.⁴⁹



Dome of the Rock (MT Archive)

During his first visit to Jerusalem, al-Mansur increased the jizya tax on Christians living in Jerusalem, ordering the monks to be paid the jizya (757-758). Due to the increase in the number of people who registered themselves as clergy in churches in order to avoid taxes, the jizya was also imposed upon them. During this visit, the Caliph ordered some property belonging to the churches in Jerusalem to be confiscated and Jews and Christians to be marked on their hands to indicate they were responsible for paying the jizya. The conversion of some of the goods confiscated by the caliph into money was carried out by Jewish merchants.⁵⁰

Sources mention al-Mansur to have visited Jerusalem again in 770.⁵¹ Islamic sources provide no information about the details of this visit. However, Jewish sources state that al-Mansur ordered the Dome of the Rock to be repaired during this visit. As it turns out, this second visit from al-Mansur was also due to the earthquake that had caused destruction in Jerusalem.⁵²

Palestine was transformed into an independent state during the reign of Caliph al-Mansur, since it housed Jerusalem. Before that, Palestine had been part of the Syrian Province. Abd al-Wahhab ibn Ibrahim was appointed governor of the new Palestine Province.⁵³

³⁹ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 109.

⁴⁰ Assaf, *Makorot u Mahkarim be-Toldot Yisrael*, (Yeruṣalayim: Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, 1946, 21, Hebrew translation, 22; Hirs chberg, "Inyaney Harha-Zeytim bi 'Tkufat ha-Geonim", *Yediot ha-Hevra ha-'Ivrit le-Hakirat Erets-Yisrael ve 'Atikote ha (BJPES)*, 13 (1946-47), 157.

⁴¹ Arslantaş, *İslâm Toplumunda Yahudiler, Abbâsi ve Fâtîmî Dönemi Yahudilerinde Hukukî, Dinî ve Sosyal Hayat*, (İstanbul: İz Publishing, 2008), 148.

⁴² Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, I, 282; Hirschberg, "Inyaney Har ha-Zeytim bi'Tkufat ha-Geonim", 158.

⁴³ Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89; Theophanes, 112.

⁴⁴ Theophanes, 112; Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 89.

⁴⁵ Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucümü'z-zâhira*, 1:311; Gil, *A History of Palestine*, 89.

⁴⁶ Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucümü'z-zâhira*, 1:311; Gil, *A History of Palestine*, 89.

⁴⁷ Al-Baladhuri, *Ensâbu'l-eşraf*, ed. Suheyl Zekkâr-Riyâd ez-Zerkeli, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Fikr, 1417/1996), 4:231; al-Masudi, *Murûcu'z-zeheb ve ma 'âdinu'l-cevher*, ed. Es'ad Dâğur, (Kum: Dâru'l-Hicre), 3:304.

⁴⁸ Al-Baladhuri, *Futûhu'l-buldân*, (Beirut: Daru'l-Mektebetü'l-Hilal, 1988), 230.

⁴⁹ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye* 8:281; Tetik, 7. *Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, 40.

⁵⁰ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, V. 326. *Some of the confiscated goods were converted into cash by Jewish merchants. See Theophanes, 119; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113.*

⁵¹ Al-Baladhuri, *Ensâbu'l-eşraf*, 4:261; Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye*, 118.

⁵² Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, 298; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 112.

⁵³ Ya'qûbi, *et-Ta'rih*, I: 266; Ibn Asakir, *Târîhu Dimeşk*, 37: 302.

Ibn Ibrahim's son, al-Mahdi succeeded Caliph al-Mansur and also visited Jerusalem in 780.⁵⁴ Al-Mahdi tried to repair the damage caused by an earthquake that had occurred in 774 during his stay in Jerusalem. The earthquake also occurred in Palestine and caused much greater destruction than previous earthquakes, especially to Masjid al-Aqsa. The renovation of the mosque, or rather its almost complete reconstruction, took place during this visit from the caliph. The dimensions of Masjid al-Aqsa also changed due to this repair. In the time of al-Mansur, the mosque had been narrow and long. With al-Mahdi's repair, its width grew while its length shortened.⁵⁵ Al-Mahdi during this visit must have repaired some of the other damage that had occurred from previous earthquakes but had been unable to be repaired for various reasons. Al-Masudi stated that the caliph had built Jerusalem. The caliph wrote letters to his governors and commanders, ordering them to contribute to the costs of repairing the damage caused by the earthquake, especially to Masjid al-Aqsa.⁵⁶

After the damage from the earthquake was fixed, the Christians were settled in a new neighborhood in Jerusalem, whose construction costs they covered. During this period, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Elijah III was also rumored to have been exiled from the city due to some of his political activities.

During the reign of Caliph Musa al-Hadi (r. 785-786), no remarkable developments occurred in Jerusalem. In the context of Jerusalem, sources draw attention to the special interest his successor, Harun al-Rashid, had in the city. During Harun al-Rashid's (r. 786-809) reign, the Abbasid state made significant progress in every field. Jerusalem became a part of the political scene in this period and witnessed important developments for Christians. The biggest factor in this development was the improved relations between Caliph Harun al-Rashid and Frank King Charlemagne (r. 768-813). Known in the West as Charles the Great, Charlemagne was ordained by the Pope as Holy Roman Emperor and King of the Franks. His approval by the Pope also assigned Charlemagne the role of political patron of Christians. Charlemagne was a smart politician and tried to gain sympathy

from the Christian world by showing his interest in the holy city of Jerusalem; meanwhile, he also tried to gain allies against his rival Byzantium to the East by improving his relations with the Abbasids who ruled there. Improving these relations was not difficult at all as Byzantium was both a bordering neighbor of the Abbasids and an imminent danger to both. The relations opened with letters and gifts, moving on to exchanges of ambassadors over time.

Charlemagne sent ambassadors to the Abbasid court in 797, 802, and 807. In response, Harun al-Rashid sent ambassadors to the Frank kingdom in 801 and 807. The ambassadors presented valuable gifts to the administrators during these visits.⁵⁷ The envoys were rumored to have brought the legendary Ruler of the East expensive gifts, some of which were peculiar to the West, such as German hunting dogs, water clocks, rare spices, and elephants, along with quality woolen cloth and other textiles. Political contacts between Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid are certain, although modern research finds the gifts exaggerated and dismisses them as unrealistic.⁵⁸ Another striking aspect of these communications is that they occurred mostly through Jewish ambassadors. One Jew named Isaac from Aachen was present in one of the delegations that came to Baghdad. When he and this delegation left to return to their country, only Isaac survived; the others had died on the way.⁵⁹ The rapprochement of the Caliph and Charlemagne had very positive results for the Christians who came to Jerusalem for pilgrimage. Charlemagne requested security from the caliph so that pilgrims could come and go freely to Jerusalem. The pilgrimage routes that used to be safe for Christian pilgrims were made even safer with new measures taken in line with these demands. Similarly, Charlemagne is said to have requested some concessions from the caliph for the Christians in Jerusalem.

He asked the caliph to allow them to establish groups that would meet the needs of the Christians in Jerusalem, and the caliph responded positively to this request. As a result of this initiative from Charlemagne, various religious and social institutions were established in Jerusalem in favor of the Romans.

In this context, two monasteries/guest-houses were established for Christian pilgrims, one near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other on the Mount of Olives. During this period, some Spanish nuns settled next to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, where Christians had built 12 large mansions. Charlemagne had several churches in the city repaired as well as a new church called *al-Azra* built in memory of the Virgin Mary. In the context of social institutions, a large library, a hospital, and a market were established for Christians in Jerusalem.⁶⁰ The Christian traveler Arculf stated that many merchants from different races participated in this fair, which was held every year on the Christian holiday of Id al-Salib between September 13-15.⁶¹ This fair continued to be held until the Fatimid dynasty.⁶² With the efforts of Charlemagne, some orchards and mansions in the Valley of Josaphat between the Mount of Olives and Harem al-Sharif were established to cover the expenses of these institutions. The Christian visitors who came to the city a half-century later and recorded their observations stated that these institutions still be standing despite wearing down over time. Charlemagne is also rumored to have regularly sent financial support every year to be distributed among the Muslim poor in Jerusalem. The power struggles and failures of kings after Charlemagne weakened the state externally due to Viking and Muslim raids on the Carolingian Empire, while the recovery of Byzantium stalled due to the influence of the Romans in Jerusalem. As a result of these developments, no other memories remained in the city except for some institutions Charlemagne had built in Jerusalem, the Latin rites performed in the Roman Catholic Church of Mary, and the nuns serving in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.⁶³ Charlemagne has never been forgotten in the West due to the legendary stories created around him due to his services to Jerusalem, and his successor Ludwig the Pious (r. 813-840) is said to have also provided financial support as a contribution to the poll tax on Romans living in Jerusalem.⁶⁴

After Caliph Harun al-Rashid, a power struggle occurred between his two sons, al-Amin and al-Ma'mun. During this struggle, al-Amin's a member of the Abbasid family from both his parents' side had the support of the Arabs, and al-Ma'mun, whose mother was an Iranian concubine, had the support of the Iranians. Some uprisings broke out in the region as a result of the power vacuum that was left in Palestine. Christians in the city suffered greatly during these uprisings. The rebels destroyed many Christian churches, buildings, and institutions. A great famine also occurred in the city during the uprisings, and most people had to leave Jerusalem.⁶⁵ Al-Ma'mun won the 4-year power struggle with his brother, finally coming to power as the seventh Abbasid caliph.

An earthquake also occurred in Jerusalem during the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mun. This earthquake also severely damaged the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock, as well as other structures in the city. Al-Ma'mun is said to have come to Jerusalem due to the earthquake and to have personally taken care of the reconstruction and repair works. The caliph had the Eastern and Northern gates of the Haram al-Sharif built. Abdallah ibn Tahir, a bureaucrat, was assigned to the construction and repair works of the buildings destroyed in the earthquake (831). Sources reveal information that, during the repair of the Dome of the Rock, the inscription stating Abd al-Malik to be the founder of the mosque had been made of blue tiles, but these were replaced with dark blue tiles and a different inscription. According to the sources, the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik's name was removed from the inscription in the middle arch as the founder of the mosque and replaced with caliph al-Ma'mun's name. However, those who committed the forgery forgot to change the construction date of the mosque (691 AD) at the end of the inscription they'd replaced.⁶⁶ During the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mun, some repairs were made to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁶⁷

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kâmil fi'l-târîh*, ed. 'Omer 'Abdusselâm Tedmuri, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kütâbi'l-'Arabî, 1417/1997), 5:232.

⁵⁵ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 112.

⁵⁶ Al-Masudi, *Murûcu'z-zehab*, IV, 224; al-Maqdisi, *Ahsenu'l-tekâsim*, 168.

⁵⁷ Runciman, "Charlemagne and Palestine", *The English Historical Review*, 50/200 (1935), 607.

⁵⁸ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, V, 326; Gombrich, *A Little History of the World (A Conqueror who Knows How to Rule)*, 128.

⁵⁹ Runciman, "Charlemagne and Palestine", 607-608; Blumenkranz, "Charlemagne", *EJd2*, IV, 575; "Isaac", *EJd2*, 10:35.

⁶⁰ İskender, *el-Kuds Abre t-tarih*, 52; Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5: 326.

⁶¹ Gil, "The Jewish Community", *The History of Jerusalem, The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer-Haggai Ben-Shammai, (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; New York: New York University Press, 1996), 191.

⁶² A Genizah document dated March 14, 1062, complains about the prices for oil and silk decreasing considerably after this bazaar was established in Jerusalem. See Gil, *Erets-Yisrael bi 'Tkufat ha-Müslimit ha-Rişona*, (Tel Aviv: Üniversitat Tel Aviv, 1983), 3:171.

⁶³ Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, transl. Fikret Işıltan, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Publications, 1987), 1:22; same author, "1095 Yılına Kadar [Hristiyan Aleminde] Filistin'e Yapılan Hac Yolculukları", transl. Nuh Arslantaş, *İSTEM: İslâm, San'at, Tarih, Edebiyat ve Müsikisi Dergisi* 21:40-43 (2013); Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113.

⁶⁴ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:326.

⁶⁵ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113.

⁶⁶ The expression in this inscription, which has survived to the present day, is as follows: "Imam al-Ma'mun, the servant of Allah and the commander of the believers, built this dome in 72 AH. May Allah accept it and be pleased with him. Alhamdulillah Rabbil-'Alamin." See. Grabar, *The Dome of The Rock*, (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 59.

⁶⁷ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:326; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113.



Dome of the Rock's Interior (MT Archive)

Sources make no mention of any significant developments in Jerusalem apart from the rebellions that broke out in Palestine during the Abbasid caliphs after al-Ma'mun.

Jerusalem was badly damaged during the Abu Harb al-Yamani revolt (841) that broke out during the reign of Caliph al-Mu'tasim (833-842). The uprising is rumored to have begun when a soldier broke into Abu Harb's house and insulted the women while al-Yamani was out. Abu Harb could not accept the disrespect toward his family, fled the city while murdering soldiers, and rebelled against the Abbasids with the Umayyad supporters he'd gathered around him in Jordan. During the revolt, most temples in Jerusalem were either looted or destroyed. For fear of the rebels, most of the people had to leave the city. Abu Harb al-Yamani became known as al-Mubarqa [the Veiled One] because he covered his face. Abu Harb was captured by the forces sent under the command of Raja ibn Ayyub al-Hidari when the villagers who joined him returned to their villages during the harvest and the people around him had decreased in number; he was sent to Samarra and

the rebellion was suppressed (842 AD).⁶⁸ Shagbab, the mother of Caliph al-Muqtadir Bi-llah, had the dome of the Dome of the Rock repaired and covered with gold. She is also rumored to have had magnificent wooden doors installed at all entrances of the mosque.⁶⁹

With the Umayyad caliphate in the 8th century, Jerusalem started to become an important scientific and cultural center and experienced its golden age during the Abbasid caliphate.

Scholars such as al-Awza'i (d. 774), Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 778), and al-Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 791) had many students they'd raised in the scientific circles they'd established in Jerusalem. Sufi masters such as Rabia of Basra (d. 801), Bishr the Barefoot (d. 841), and Sari al-Saqati (d. 865) also settled in Jerusalem in the 9th century, as it had become a center of attraction for Sufis. Imam al-Shafi'i (d. 820) also settled in Jerusalem during the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mun.⁷⁰

Livelihood in Jerusalem was generally based on trade with foreign visitors, with brilliant honey-colored clothes and various threads being produced and traded.⁷¹

Jerusalem's Introduction to the Turks

Starting with Caliph al-Mu'tasim, the Turks began to take charge in the state levels of the Abbasids, especially in the army. The Turks began being active under the Abbasid administration a century after its establishment, which in the beginning had been under the influence of Iran. The Turks who settled in Samarra, which had been established during the al-Mu'tasim's reign, would eventually gain a position where they could determine the fate of Palestine and Jerusalem.

The Abbasid caliphate entered a period of stagnation due to political and socio-economic reasons starting in the 9th century. Statelets emerged that were attached to the Abbasid administration on paper but actually exhibited an independent administration in the regions where the caliphate could not fully penetrate due to geography. One of the most striking of these states was the Tulunids, the first independent Turkic state established by Turkic commander Ahmad ibn Tulun in the 870s during the Abbasid caliphate.

The Turkic Amajur al-Turki was appointed as the first governor of Syria and Palestine in 870. Amajur al-Turki had been sent to the region after the Abbasids declared independence there. Taking advantage of the laxity in the Abbasid administration, Isa ibn Sheikh al-Shaybani, the governor of the Palestinian region rebelled but was taken down by al-Turki. The governor of Egypt, Ahmad ibn Tulun, also contributed greatly to suppressing the rebellion.⁷² This situation would actually result in Ahmad ibn Tulun taking over Palestine after a while, which included Jerusalem. Jerusalem can be said to have experienced a quiet phase at this time. Jerusalem patriarch Theodosius said that Christians lived freely in the city and that Muslim rulers easily fulfilled their religious obligations by building their mosques without any pressure.⁷³ The Frank monk Bernard the Wise, who visited Jerusalem in the 870s after meeting with the Pope in Rome, also gave detailed information about the churches,

Christian guesthouses, and other institutions in Jerusalem in his travel book; he noted that the relations between Muslims and Christians in the city were very good and sincere, and that the city had a high level of security and safety.⁷⁴

Although Ahmad ibn Tulun had dominated the region in a short time with his charismatic personality and organizational character. Despite declaring that he had dismissed the viceroy al-Muwaffaq and appointed Ishaq ibn Kundajiq, he started minting money in his own name, and this did not help. Ibn Tulun declared his independence by severing relations with caliphate's capitol. Ibn Tulun went on an expedition to Syria, and eliminated his son, whom Amajur left in his place after his death, and took Jerusalem under his dominion along with other cities (264/878).⁷⁵ From this period until the Crusader occupation, Jerusalem would remain under the administration of states based in Cairo and mostly be administered by Turkish governors.

The tradition of burying Egyptian rulers in Jerusalem began with the Tulunids and the influence of books written on Jerusalem at that time. In this tradition, the acceptance that the resurrection from death would take place in Jerusalem also had great impact.⁷⁶ After the elimination of the Tulunids, the body of Isa ibn Musa, one of the Abbasid governors who'd ruled Egypt, was brought from Egypt and buried in Jerusalem.⁷⁷

A new practice of the Qarmatians, a group belonging to the extreme Ismaili Shia sect considered to have emerged during the Zanj revolt against the Abbasids, also coincides with this period and pertains to Jerusalem. This deviant group⁷⁸ is accepted to have emerged in 869 and compelled its followers to turn to Jerusalem as the qibla in their prayers, which consisted of two rakat before sunrise and after sunset. They also accepted Jerusalem as the place of pilgrimage.⁷⁹ Although Palestine was affected by their brutal attack, no information is found to show the Qarmatians to have reached Jerusalem.⁸⁰

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kâmil fi't-târih*, 6: 74-75; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113; Avci, "Mu'tasim-Billâh", 31:381.

⁶⁹ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113.

⁷⁰ Avci, "Kudûs: Fethedilişinden Haçlı İstilasına Kadar", 27:328.

⁷¹ Al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsensu't-tekâsîm fi ma'rifeti'l-'ekâlîm*, 180.

⁷² Ya'qûbi, *et-Ta'rih*, 1: 318-319.

⁷³ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5: 327.

⁷⁴ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5: 327.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kâmil fi't-târih*, VI, 353; Ibn Khaldun, *et-Târih*, ed. Halil Şehhade, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Fikr, 1408/1988), 396.

⁷⁶ On Fezâil literature and its influence, see Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 113-118; Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:332-333.

⁷⁷ Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucûmu'z-zâhira*, 3:156.

⁷⁸ For detailed information, see Hizmetli, "Karmatiler", 24:513.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kâmil fi't-târih*, 6:464; Ebû'l-Fidâ', *el-Muhtasar fi ahbâri'l-beşer*, (el-Matbaatu'l-Huseyniyye), 2: 55; Zehebi, *Târthu'l-Islâm ve vefayatu'l-meş hiri'l-a lâm*, ed. 'Umar 'Abdusselâm et-Tedmuri, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kitâbi'l-'Arabî, 1413/1993), 20: 234; Ibn Khaldun, *et-Târih*, 419.

⁸⁰ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:327.

After the Tulunids were eliminated in Egypt by the Abbasid commander Muhammad ibn Suleiman al-Qatibi in 905, family members were taken to Baghdad and everything in the Tulunids' Egyptian capital city of al-Qatai was destroyed apart from the Tulunid Mosque. The Abbasids struggled for 30 years until the Ikhshidids were able to stabilize the region in 935, after dealing with the Fatimid issue and rebellions and the governors had taken revenge on the people. The second domination of the Turks in Jerusalem took place under the reign of Ikhshid. The Ikhshidids paid special attention to Jerusalem.

Although Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty, died in Damascus, he was buried in Jerusalem.⁸¹ The vizier of the Ikhshidids also had famous figures from the same family as Muhammad's brother Hasan, his sons Abu'l-Qasim Unujur ibn al-Ikhshid,⁸² Abu'l-Hasan Ali ibn al-Ikhshid,⁸³ and Abu al-Misk Kafur,⁸⁴ buried in Jerusalem,⁸⁵ probably in the cemetery to the east of Masjid al-Aqsa known today as al-Shuhada cemetery.

During the collapse of the Ikhshidid dynasty and the domination of the Fatimids in Palestine, Byzantium entered a period of recovery and started campaigns against the Islamic world. Nikephoros Phokas had ascended to the throne by marrying Romanos II's widow, the Empress Theophano. He took Cyprus back from the Muslims in 965 and brought the Cilicia region under Byzantine rule in the same year; thus, the way to Syria was opened for Byzantium. The Byzantine army captured many castles and cities in Northern Syria and occupied Antakya in 969.⁸⁶

The military successes of Phokas and the massacres committed against Muslims in the cities he occupied caused great fear and excitement in Jerusalem with the concern that it might happen there as well. The Muslim population revolted. A masjid was hastily built by removing part of the large front garden of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, upon which Omar (RA) had prayed. This masjid would gain fame as the Mosque of Omar in the following

periods. Byzantium's hostile attitude and the Orthodox Christians' hope of occupying Jerusalem caused conflicts with the Christian population in the city from time to time. With the encouragement of the Berber governor of Jerusalem, the rebellious people of the city were able to turn to oppressing the Orthodox people, which sometimes led to destruction. Due to the heavy taxes imposed on Christians in 966, the patriarch of Jerusalem asked for help from the government in Egypt. Kafur, the last vizier of the Ikhshidids, sent a Turkish commander to the city to protect the Christian people. However, at the instigation of the governor, many churches in the city, in particular the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, were looted and the patriarch was killed. The historian Yahya of Antioch (Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki) stated the events to have been provoked by Jews; he noted that during these lootings, Jews left even the Muslim population alone, inflicting much destruction on Christians.⁸⁷

Jerusalem During the Fatimid Caliphate

As stated above and parallel to the Abbasid state's loss of centralized power, new local governments emerged in the various regions of the wide Islamic geography. In this process, the Abbasids were unable to prevent powerful states such as the Fatimids from seizing important lands such as Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The Fatimids became stronger by establishing their state in Tunisia starting with Abdallah al-Mahdi Billah in 909 and caused a great break in the Islamic world by taking over Egypt starting with al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah in 972. The Fatimids' capture of Egypt marked not only a change of government but also a religious, political, and social change that deeply affected the Islamic world. For the first time in the history of Islam, a Shiite caliphate had emerged alongside the Sunni caliphate.⁸⁸ After the Fatimids conquered Egypt by eliminating the Ikhshidids, they had no difficulty dominating Palestine, which is a natural extension of Egypt. However, the Fatimid rule of Palestine had also prevented the region, which had had a power vacuum, from falling into the hands of the Byzantines.



Al-Aqsa Mosque's Entrance (MT Archive)

Meanwhile, Byzantium started to increase its political and military moves against the Islamic world in this process. The Byzantine army, which in 974 had captured Gezira under the administration of Nikephoros' successor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969-976) after being assassinated in the palace, entered Syria a year later and advanced north of Damascus and Beirut in 975. With this advance, the road to Jerusalem was now in Byzantium's sights. Tzimiskes' ultimate goal was Jerusalem; however, this attempt could not be realized due to the Fatimid conquest of Palestine.⁸⁹ The news that Tzimiskes was going to occupy Jerusalem caused the rumor to appear that if the city were dominated, the Christians would expel the Jews from Jerusalem again. Hebrew sources mentioned the Jews to have had very anxious times during this process for fear of being massacred.⁹⁰ Although Tzimiskes' successor, Basil II, was also a skillful warrior, his two expeditions to the south toward Jerusalem failed to advance beyond Tripoli. Basil II had lost hope of invading and had to make a 10-year treaty with the Fatimid caliphate. Thus, the Fatimid rule of Jerusalem, which would last for nearly a century, became certain.⁹¹ Although a Fatimid authority was established in Jerusalem, the city occasionally faced pressure and threats from the Qarmatians, who accepted the city as a qibla and pilgrimage center, and from the Jerrahis with provocation from Byzantium. The Jerrahis ruled south of Palestine and were a tribe that did not hesitate to ally themselves with the Fatimid administration from time to time or with Byzantium when their relations with the Fatimids deteriorated, as the Jerrahis were a counterweight to the Qarmatians and Hamdanids.⁹²

The most critical period regarding the Fatimid period in Jerusalem was the reign of Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (r. 996-1021). In fact, the reign of the

Fatimids, who were known for their tolerance of non-Muslim elements, marked a time when non-Muslims experienced great difficulties. The caliph attracted attention with his contradictions and was a person who could change a decision quickly due to having a weak personality. Despite the religious tolerance experienced in this period, neither the Dhimmis [People of the Book, i.e., Christians and Jews] nor the members of the Ahl as-Sunnah were able to escape from al-Hakim's oppression.⁹³ Regardless of the warnings from the Byzantine emperor from 1004 to 1014, the caliph never lessened his oppression against the Dhimmi, issuing edicts ordering the demolition of many churches, the confiscation of their property, the burning of crosses, and the persecution of Dhimmis. In 1009 and in the context of these orders, the churches in Jerusalem, in particular the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, were first plundered and then burned; many Christians were also forced to convert. This type of looting and destruction was also committed against Jews and Sunni Muslims.⁹⁴ However, after a while in 1020, the Caliph again allowed the renovation and reconstruction of these destroyed buildings of worship;⁹⁵ many churches were rebuilt with support from the Byzantine emperor, in particular again the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The reconstruction of large-scale churches such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were notably difficult. The church has a capacity of 8,000 people and is a pilgrimage center for Christians; it started being rebuilt in the time of al-Zahir in 1022 but could only start functioning after 40 years.⁹⁶

After the death of Caliph al-Hakim, Jerusalem fell for a while under the rule of Aleppo's Emir, Salih ibn Mirdas. But in 1029, the Fatimids again conquered the city, and their rule would last until the Turkish domination.⁹⁷

⁸¹ Ibn Kathir, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye* 11:215; Ibn Manzur, *Muhtasarü Târîhu Dimeşk*, ed. Râhiyye en-Nehhâs-Riyâd 'Abdülhamid Murâd, Muḥammed Mutî, (Dimeşk: Dâru'l-Fikr, 1402/1984), 12:248.

⁸² Ibn Hallikân, *Vefyâtu'l-a'yân ve enbâu ebnâi'z-zamân*, ed. İhsân 'Abbâs, (Beirut: Dâru Sâdir, 1318/1900), 4:99; Makrîzî, *el-Mevâ izve'l-i'tibâr*, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kutubi'l-İlmiyye, 1418), 2:147.

⁸³ Ebû 'Omer el-Kindî, *Kitâbu'l-vulât ve Kitâbu'l-kuḏât*, ed. Muḥammed Hasan Muḥammed-Hasan İsmâ'il, 'Ahmed-Ferid el-Mezîdî, (Beirut: Daru'l-Kütübü'l-İlmiyye, 1424/2003), 214.

⁸⁴ Ibn Asakir, *Târîhu Dimeşk*, 50:6.

⁸⁵ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:327.

⁸⁶ Demirkent, "Bizans", 6:236.

⁸⁷ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:327.

⁸⁸ Seyyid, "Fâtîmiler", 12:230.

⁸⁹ Ostrogorsky, *Bizans Devleti Tarihi*, transl. Fikret İşıltan, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 275 et al.; Demirkent, "Bizans", 6:236.

⁹⁰ For example, see Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1931), 2:18-19; Gil, "The Political History of Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period", *The History of Jerusalem, The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, Ed. Joshua Prawer-Haggai Ben-Shammai, (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; New York: New York University Press, 1996), 21-22. As a matter of fact, they were right in their concerns. Because a century later, when Jerusalem was occupied by the Crusaders (1099), the Jews were packed into synagogues and burned. In addition, the tombs of the Jews buried in the caves around the city were dismantled and used in building construction. The Crusaders had driven all the Jews from the city, allowed only one Jewish family to remain on the condition they dye cloth for the Crusaders in return for a heavy tax. For details, see Arslantaş, *İslam Toplumunda Yahudiler*, 53.

⁹¹ Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 1:25-28.

⁹² Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:327.

⁹³ Seyyid, "Fâtîmiler", 12:230.

⁹⁴ Diyarbekri, *Târîhu'l-hamis fi aḥvâli enḡesi'n-nefis*, (Beirut: Dâru Sâdir), 2:356; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 1:28; Seyyid, "Fâtîmiler", 12:231; Gil, *Erets Yisrael*, 2:55.

⁹⁵ Ibn Rahîb, *Târîh*, ed. Luvis el-Yesui Seyho, (Beirut, 1903), pp. 81-83; Bar Hebraeus, *Abu'l Farac Tarihi*, Trc. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1945), 1:280.

⁹⁶ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, V. 328; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 118.

⁹⁷ Al-Maqrîzi, *es-Sulûk li ma'rifeti duveli'l-mulûk*, ed. Muḥammed 'Abdulkadir 'Atâ, (Beirut: Daru'l-Kutubi'l-İlmiyye, 1418/1997), 1:141.

During the Fatimid caliphate, Jerusalem suffered great damage from various earthquakes. The first of these occurred in 1015. The exact date of this earthquake, which occurred on the Arabian Plate, was recorded as September 4, 1015. Mecca and Medina were also damaged in this earthquake, during which the dome of the Dome of the Rock collapsed.⁹⁸ The earthquake that really affected Jerusalem and caused great damage occurred on the Dead Sea Transform in 1033 and also affected Egypt and Damascus. In particular, Ramla, Nablus, Ashkelon, Gaza, and Jerusalem were badly damaged in the earthquake and eight days of aftershocks. One of the arteries of Jerusalem was destroyed, and most of the altar of the prophet David (SAAS) was in ruins. A wall of outbuildings for the Jewish synagogue Dahr El Maghara in Jerusalem had been damaged in the earthquake and destroyed in the following year as the Jews gathered to celebrate the Passover Festival.⁹⁹ The Fatimid administration started work by repairing the city walls after the earthquake because the city faced constant plundering from Jerrahis and other Bedouin Arab tribes.¹⁰⁰ The stones from previously destroyed churches are said to have been used to repair the walls. The Fatimid administration divided the repair work for the city's walls among the religious groups living in Jerusalem. When the Christians in Jerusalem had difficulty meeting the repair costs, they are said to have asked the Byzantine emperor for help, and the emperor allocated the revenues from Cyprus to the Jerusalemite Christians for help. The emperor is also said to have agreed with the Fatimid administration in granting upon Charlemagne's request for an autonomous area that had previously been allocated as a Christian quarter.¹⁰¹ During these repairs, the city's layout changed. The new layout narrowed defense areas and left the Jewish quarter behind the walls. For this reason, a new neighborhood was established for the Jews in the northeast corner of Jerusalem. The Jews continued to reside in this neighborhood until the

Crusaders expelled them completely from the city.¹⁰²

During the Fatimid caliphate, earthquakes shook Jerusalem two more times within almost a year, shortly before the Turks took over. The first of these occurred in 1067 in Palestinian and caused a tsunami in the Mediterranean; Baniyas, Ramla, and Jerusalem were severely damaged. All the walls around Ramla were destroyed, and all the houses in the city but two were razed to the ground. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was first split, but then later regained its former shape with an aftershock. Sources state the death toll in Jerusalem to have been 100 people.¹⁰³

The next earthquake occurred in 1069. Ramla and the surrounding Aqaba and Jerusalem were shaken by this earthquake, which also caused a tsunami in the Mediterranean as in the previous earthquake. Many places in and around Ramla were destroyed, and Aqaba was leveled.¹⁰⁴ The almost complete destruction of Ramla in successive earthquakes caused the administrative center of the region to shift to Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵

During this period, a significant increase was observed in the number of Christian pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from Europe. The number of pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from Germany and the Netherlands in 1065 is said to have been around 12,000. No obstacle was present for those coming from different religions and nationalities who wanted to settle in the city. All kinds of manufactured products could also be found cheaply in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶

During the Fatimid caliphate, great progress was made in Jerusalem in the field of medicine. Many physicians trained here, including Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Tamimi (d. 980). Many foundations were established for the hospital that opened in the city. Regardless of religion or nationality, hospitals offered free treatment services. At the end of

the 10th century, a propaganda center called Dar al-Ilm is said to have been established in the city in order to spread the Fatimid-Isma'ili calling. Benefiting from the Jerusalemite priest Anba Zecharia ben Thawabah's knowledge of medicine and pharmacy, the botanist al-Tamimi learned the plant varieties growing in the Palestine region very well.¹⁰⁷ An important representative of the reason-revelation (philosophy-religion) reconciliation in the history of Islamic thought, Mutaḥhar ibn Tahir al-Maqḍisi (d. 966) was also an important scholar mentioned in relation to Jerusalem in this period. Al-Maqḍisi drew attention with an advanced view of history for his age and was a versatile scholar interested in history, geography, the history of religions and sects, mathematics, philosophy, and theology. His work *Kitab al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, is an important source on civilization, the history of religions, theology, and Islamic philosophy as well as political history and is a masterpiece that has maintained its importance to today.¹⁰⁸

The Beginning of the Turkish (Seljuk) Rule in Jerusalem

During the time of the Tulunids and Ikhshidids, Turkish governors ruled Jerusalem; they were apparently loyal to the Abbasids but in reality were a state rendering important services to

the city. During the Fatimid caliphate, Turkish governors were occasionally appointed to the city.¹⁰⁹ Establishing the Great Seljuk Empire in Khorasan in 1040 and conquering Iraq and Iran in a short time, the Seljuks had two important goals: conquer Anatolia to establish a homeland and establish political unity in the Islamic world by conquering Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Due to internal and external interventions, Syria and Palestine were conquered by Atsiz ibn Uwaq during the reign of Malik-Shah (r. 1072-1092). In 1071, a Turkmen group called the Yavgiyya (or Nawaki/Nawaqiyya) is said to have come to Palestine and made it their homeland. As they'd come to a region not very well-known by the Turks at that time, they were called the Yavgiyya [confused, those who've lost their way, fugitives]. Leading the newly arrived Turkmen masses were Khizli Beg, Atsiz ibn Uwaq, and Shukli.¹¹⁰ The arrival of the Turks also pleased the Fatimids, who had at first been unable to cope with the Arabs in the region. These Turkmen lords are said to have settled in Galilee and its surroundings and to have also rebuilt Ramla, which had suddenly lost its status as administrative center due to earthquakes and other political reasons. Thus, a Turkmen principality affiliated to the Seljuks was established in the region.¹¹¹



Haram al-Sharif and al-Aqsa Mosque (FAY.13.42.43)

⁹⁸ Gül, *A History of Palestine*, 386, 647; Arslantaş, *İslam Dünyasında Depremler ve Algılanma Biçimleri*, (İstanbul: Gelenek Publications, 2003), 75.

⁹⁹ Gül, "The Political History of Jerusalem during the early Muslim Period", 30; Arslantaş, *İslam Dünyasında Depremler ve Algılanma Biçimleri*, 77-78.

¹⁰⁰ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:328.

¹⁰¹ Tetik, *7. Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, 55.

¹⁰² Tetik, *7. Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, 55.

¹⁰³ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Târîhu Dimâşk*, ed. Süheyl Zekkâr, (Damascus: Dâru Hisân, 1983), 159; Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kâmil fi'l-târîh*, 8:214; Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nucûmu'z-zâhira*, 5:80; Arslantaş, *İslam Dünyasında Depremler ve Algılanma Biçimleri*, 82.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Jawzi, *el-Muntazam fi târîhi'l-muluk ve'l-ünem*, ed. Muhammed 'Abdulkadir 'Atâ, Mustafa Abdulkadir 'Atâ, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kutubi'l-'Ilmiyye, 1412/1992), 16:116.

¹⁰⁵ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:328.

¹⁰⁶ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:328; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 118.

¹⁰⁷ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 119; Kaya, "Temimî, Muhammed b. Ahmed", 40:423-424.

¹⁰⁸ Şeşen, *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, (İstanbul: ISAR Vakfı Publications, 1998), 66-67; Sayar, "al-Maqḍisi, Mutaḥhar b. Tâhir", 27:432-434.

¹⁰⁹ Goitein, "al-Kuds", E12, 5:327.

¹¹⁰ Koca, "Büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Meliksâh'ın Suriye, Filistin, Mısır Politikası ve Türkmen Beyi Atsız", 10.

¹¹¹ Gül, 11-13. *Yüzyıllarda Kudüs*, (Doctoral dissertation, Fırat University, 1997), 46.



The magnificent Dome of the Rock in al-Haram al-Sharif

After the Turkmen lords settled in Palestine, they began to conquer the Fatimid cities in the region. Khizli Beg died during the Fatimid siege of Acre. Atsiz ibn Uwaq became the Turkmen chief in his place.¹¹² Understanding the difficulty in sieging Acre, Atsiz headed for Jerusalem, which he considered important in the region as the center of Palestine. The Turkish-origin governor of the city handed it over to Atsiz on the condition that he, his family, and the people of the city would be given safety. Thus, Atsiz took the holy city without bloodshed. In Jerusalem, the sermon was read on behalf of the Abbasid caliph and the Seljuk Sultan (463/1071).¹¹³ This situation was a great prestige for both Abbasids and Seljuks. After conquering Jerusalem, Atsiz pursued a policy of balance in the city where many people from different faiths lived. Instead of a Muslim governor in the city, he appointed a Ya'qubi Christian as governor, one whom the Fatimids could accept.¹¹⁴ In this process, Atsiz seized Acre and then eliminated Shukli, who'd rebelled against him; Atsiz strengthened his rule in the region on behalf of the Seljuks by taking different

cities in Palestine after strengthening the internal situation.¹¹⁵ Despite organizing an expedition to seize Egypt, Atsiz returned defeated (1077). Meanwhile, people had taken the opportunity to leave the region and revolted in Jerusalem. Upon rejecting Atsiz's offer of being entrusted the people without bloodshed, he entered Jerusalem for the second time, this time armed, capturing the city and putting the rebels to the sword.¹¹⁶

When news of Atsiz's defeat in Egypt and Palestine reached the Seljuk Sultan Malik-Shah, he was also erroneously told that Atsiz had died. As such, the sultan appointed his brother, Taj ad-Dawla Tutush, as the ruler of Syria and Palestine instead.

The new governor was ordered to conquer Egypt as well as Syria and Palestine. Despite Nizam al-Mulk's objection, Malik-Shah is said to have made such an appointment in order to prevent danger from the outset with the concern that Atsiz was able to establish an independent state rivaling him in Southern Syria and Palestine.¹¹⁷ However, Tutush informed Malik-Shah that Atsiz was not

dead. Although they had defended Damascus together, Tutush later had Atsiz strangled with the bowstring of his bow on the pretext that, by showing up late to meeting him, Atsiz had been preparing a conspiracy with his brother (1079).¹¹⁸ Atsiz was unfortunately killed, despite having been a successful commander who'd quickly conquered Syria and Palestine within 4-5 years. Tutush, who had full control of the administration after Atsiz, also did not neglect Jerusalem. He conquered the city by sending a contingent. Thus, Seljuk rule was established over a very wide geography from Kashgar to Jerusalem.¹¹⁹

Tutush appointed Zaheer-ul-Daulah Artuk Beg to Jerusalem and gave the city and its surroundings to him as *iqta* [a taxable administrative grant]. Artuk Beg came to Jerusalem in 1082 and had a new mosque built in the city. After this, Artuk Beg never left the city, dying and being buried there in 1091. After his death, Jerusalem continued to be an *iqta* for his sons Sökmen (Artuqid) and Ilghazi. They continued to rule the city through their regents.¹²⁰

During the quarter-century when the Seljuks dominated Jerusalem, the city witnessed important scientific developments. In 1096, the Shafi'i scholar Nasr al-Maqdisi established the Nasr Madrasa in the city, which would become an important fiqh center in this period. The madrasa was located next to Bab al-Asbat [Lion's Gate]. Another Shafi'i scholar of the period was Abu al-Fadl al-Maqdisi. He trained many students in the scientific circles he established in al-Aqsa Mosque. In this period, a Hanafi madrasa was established in the outbuildings of Haram al-Sharif. Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi also gave lectures in the Hanbali madrasa in line with the teachings of this sect. Abu al-Qasim Mekki ibn Abd al-Salam (d. 1099) was also a hadith scholar who lived in Jerusalem during this period. This scholar is said to have been murdered by the Crusaders and to have prepared a book on the history of Jerusalem but was unable to complete it due to the Crusaders' occupation of Jerusalem.¹²¹ Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-Qaysarani (d. 1113) was another scholar born in Jerusalem who returned there after studying

science in different parts of the Islamic world and established scientific circles. Ibn al-Qaysarani was one of the scholars who knew best the lineage, life, and hadiths of the Prophet; he had a strong memory for hadiths and was a Sufi who prioritized science and hadith.¹²²

In this process, many scholars from different parts of the Islamic world came and settled in Jerusalem. With the above-mentioned Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi (486/1093) being one of them and the one who also opened up the city to the Hanbali sect. Imam al-Ghazali (d. 1111) wrote his famous work *al-Risale al-Qudsiyya* in Jerusalem's Haram al-Sharif. Andalusian alfaqui Abu Bakr al-Turtushi came to Jerusalem in 1091) and gave fiqh lessons in al-Aqsa Mosque where he stayed for three years. Ibn al-Arabi (d. 1148) departed from Andalusia to come to Jerusalem in the same year al-Turtushi arrived and was among the many scholars who came to Jerusalem and gave lectures. Meanwhile, scholars were found in Jerusalem from many different parts of the wide Islamic world, from Khorasan to Andalusia. Members of non-Sunni sects such as the Mu'tazila, Karramiyya, and Anthropopathic sects had also taken Jerusalem as their headquarters. Jerusalem saw scientific debates and discussions occur not only among Sunni sects but also among scholars from various Islamic sects as well as different religions.¹²³

With the power struggles within the Seljuk family, the activities of the Crusaders, and the efforts of the Fatimids who viewed these activities as opportunities, Jerusalem again came under the rule of the Fatimids. The Fatimid army under the command of al-Afdal Shahanshah took the city after a 40-day siege in 1098. Al-Afdal did not stay in the city but left a small garrison and returned to Egypt.¹²⁴

Meanwhile, the Islamic world was drowning in struggles over the throne, power struggles between emirs, and rivalries and conflicts between sects and cults. This was a unique opportunity for the Crusaders. The Crusaders fueled these fights in the Islamic world and finally succeeded in occupying the regionally important Jerusalem after Antakya on July 15, 1099.

¹¹² Koca, "Büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Meliksâh'ın Suriye, Filistin, Mısır Politikası ve Türkmen Beyi Atsız", 11.

¹¹³ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Târîh Dimeşk*, p. 166; Ibn al-Athîr, *el-Kâmil fî'l-Târîh*, 8:226; Sevim, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçukluları Tarihi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 65-66; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 1:59.

¹¹⁴ Tetik, *7. Yüzyıldan Haçlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Kudüs Tarihi*, 58.

¹¹⁵ Sevim, Ali, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçukluları Tarihi*, 66; Koca, "Büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Meliksâh'ın Suriye, Filistin, Mısır Politikası ve Türkmen Beyi Atsız", 12 et al.

¹¹⁶ Sevim, "Atsız b. Uvak", 4:92-93; Koca, "Büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Meliksâh'ın Suriye, Filistin, Mısır Politikası ve Türkmen Beyi Atsız", 17 et al.; Gül, 11-13. *Yüzyıllarda Kudüs*, 48.

¹¹⁷ Koca, "Büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Meliksâh'ın Suriye, Filistin, Mısır Politikası ve Türkmen Beyi Atsız", 14, 25.

¹¹⁸ Al-Dhahabi, *el-'İber fî haberî men ğaber*, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kütübü'l-'İlmiyye), 2:329; Ibn Khaldun, *et-Târîh*, 83.

¹¹⁹ Goitein, "al-Kuds", *EI2*, 5:328; Sevim, "Atsız b. Uvak", 4:92-93.

¹²⁰ Sevim, "Artuk Oğlu İlgazi", *Belleten XXVI/104* (1962), pp. 649-651; Goitein, "al-Kuds", *EI2*, 5:328; Korkmaz, "Selçuklular Döneminde Kudüs", *1. Uluslararası Selçuklu Sempozyumu, Selçuklu Siyasi Tarihi (Bildiriler)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 363.

¹²¹ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 119.

¹²² Kandemir, "İbnü'l-Kayserânî", 21:109-111.

¹²³ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", 120.

¹²⁴ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Târîh Dimeşk*, 221.

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JERUSALEM IN THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

Eldar HASANOĞLU*

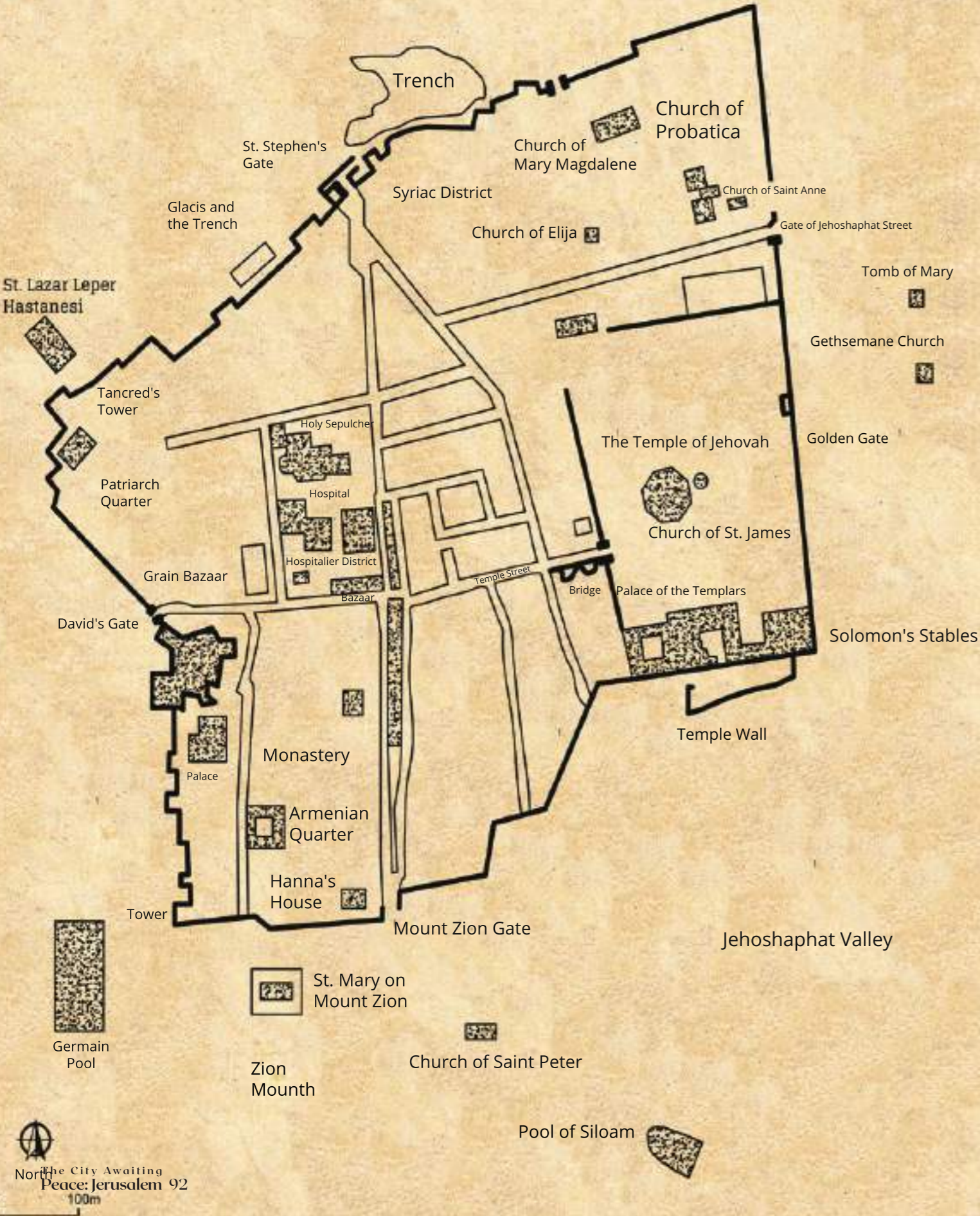
At the end of the 9th century, Christians under the leadership of the Catholic Church began the military campaign to conquer the Middle East and take Jerusalem [al-Quds] and its surroundings back from Muslims. The invasions made within the framework of this campaign are called the Crusades. Even though the Crusades were claimed to have been carried out with the aim of helping Eastern Christians from abroad and protecting the holy lands and pilgrimage routes in the east from Muslims, this was an occupation campaign and economic objectives had priority. During the Crusades, non-Catholic Christians suffered as much as Muslims.¹

The people became enraged after Pope Urban II's fiery sermon at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Just like the aristocrats who were poor, even though they came from noble families, the Christian poor also set out with the desire to pillage from the riches of the East. This army consisted of undisciplined units that departed for the campaign in 1096. This was the starting date of the Crusades. Through the invasions that started the year following the failure of these troops, Christians were successful at gaining land and established their own state. As a result of this wave of Crusaders, Crusader kingdoms were established in Urfa, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Tripoli. The Crusaders maintained their dominance in the region until the Catholics were expelled 1291 from Acre, the Catholics' last state in the Middle East.²

After Antioch in 1098, the Crusaders advanced south along the coast of the Mediterranean with the goal of capturing Jerusalem, plundering the cities that stood in their path along the way. When the Crusader army arrived on Mount of Nabi Samuel near Jerusalem on June 7, they watched Jerusalem from

afar. Jerusalem was in the hands of the Fatimids at that time, with the city being ruled by Fatimid governor Iftikhar al-Dawla. Iftikhar al-Dawla had about a thousand soldiers under his command. Muslims preferred to defend their city rather than surrender to the Crusaders; the people of the city participated in the defensive war alongside the soldiers. Defending themselves within the walls, the Muslims destroyed the water springs outside the wall and all types of materials that could be used in the attack to leave the Crusader army waterless and thus complicate the siege. Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, was at the head of the army attacking Jerusalem. He had 20,000 soldiers under his command and about as many Christians who had joined the army intending to perform the pilgrimage. Having encountered resistance from the Muslim, the Crusaders did not stop their siege of the city. The siege lasted five weeks, during which the Crusaders attempts to strike were repulsed. The Crusaders received aid in the form of food and assault provisions from two Genoese and four British ships that had run aground at Jaffa Port. The Genoese dismantled their ships and transported the wood to Jerusalem for use in the attack on the city, building two towers and using them to bear down on the walls. The Crusaders' attack on Jerusalem began on July 13-14, and on July 15, 1099, the Crusaders had captured Jerusalem. Two knights from the troop of Duke of Lower Lorraine Godfrey de Bouillon infiltrated the city from the northeast gate first, after which Godfrey, his brother Commander Eustace, Commander Tancred, and their soldiers were able to enter the city by crossing the walls near the Flower Gate at noon. When the soldiers of Raymond IV, who led the troops on the south side, opened the Damascus Gate, the main army entered the city. The Muslim people took refuge in the

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¹ Arda Deniz - Koray Kamacı, Haçlı Seferleri, (Istanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Publishing, 2013), 19-20, 156-160; Thomas Asbridge, The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land, (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 33-35.
² Işın Demirkent, Haçlı Seferleri, (Istanbul: Dünya Publishing, 1997), 5-9, 73, 81, 89, 97, 239, 257; Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 1: 106-109; Thomas F. Madden, Concise History of Crusades, (Lanham: Rowman Littlefield, 2014), 7-9.
³ Demirkent, Haçlı Seferleri, 47-54, 89-93; Runciman, A history of the Crusades, I, 265-267, 279-282, 286-288; Şefik C. A. Mahmud, Tarihi'l-Kuds, (Amman: Dari'l-Beşir, 1984), 253-255; Hüseyin Mehasine et al. Tarihi Medineti'l-Kuds, (Kuveyt: Mektebetü'l-Felah, 2003/1423), 153-154.



area of the Temple Mount. The troops under Tancred's command attacked and plundered there, planting the banner of the Crusaders over the Dome of the Rock. Although the Governor, having taken refuge in the Tower of David, continued his resistance from there. Upon Raymond IV's assurance that he and his army would not be harmed and could leave the city freely, the Governor surrendered in desperation and left Jerusalem with his army.³

Blood in the true sense flowed instead of water due to the massacres the Crusaders committed in Jerusalem. The brutalities committed from the evening of the day the city had been captured until noon the next day mark an unprecedented atrocity in the history of the city. Sources mention that within two days, more than 70,000 people had been killed with no one left alive in the city; the Crusader army showed no sorrow for the elderly, women, or children, nor even pity for the Muslims who'd taken refuge in Haram al-Sharif, massacring everyone without exception. Among those killed had been many destitute ascetics who'd come to the city seeking seclusion. Some historians have stated non-Catholic native Christians to have also been killed in the attack. The Latin chronicle *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* [The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem] from an unknown author is a first-hand source written in the form of a diary of the attack; describing the massacre, the author wrote about the bloodshed, where a torrent of blood flowed in the city streets, rising up to the soldiers' ankles.⁴ Having entered Jerusalem with the army, the historian Crusader Fulcherius confirmed this account and wrote how the city folk had had their bellies pierced, likely killed by choking on gold coins.⁵ The mosques, madrasas, homes, and shops in the city were looted and shared as plunder. The crusaders' method of looting was unimaginable, as when sharing the plunder, they applied the principle of keep as much as you get.⁶ The historian priest and Crusader Raymond d'Aguilers proudly described the atrocities the Cru-

saders committed in Jerusalem in his work *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* [History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem].⁷

The Crusaders' plunder of Jerusalem also impacted Islamic art and architecture. Valuables in al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock were destroyed or stolen. The structure of the Dome of the Rock was not changed; however, it was converted into a church the Crusaders called *Templum Domini*. A cross was placed on the cupola, icons were placed inside, and the Foundation Stone (also called Noble Rock), which had until that

time remained in the open, was covered with marble. The Crusaders renamed al-Aqsa Mosque *Templum Solomonis* (or *Palatium Solomonis*) and transformed it into a palace. Later on, al-Aqsa Mosque was given over to the Order of the Knights Templar, who used it for food storage. The nearby Marwan-e-Masjid was also converted into horse stables. Muslims were prohibited from having permanent residence in the city, and the mosques were converted into churches or used for various purposes. With the newly built churches, Jerusalem generally preserved its old appearance but had become a completely Christian city.⁸



The Crusaders' Occupation of Jerusalem

The Muslims struggled to take back the city, and the Fatimid vizier al-Afdal Shahanshah prepared an army for this purpose. The subjects of other Muslim states that had joined this army set out for Jerusalem and got as far as Ramla. Various sources write this army as having had somewhere between 20 and 50 thousand soldiers. Although the Fatimids sent envoys to Jerusalem on August 5 demanding the city be surrendered, Godefroy, who had ascended the throne, refused; the Crusader army attacked the Muslim's camp at the Ashkelon fortress. With the Muslims being caught unprepared for war, they were defeated, and Jerusalem thus remained in the hands of the Crusaders.⁹

The Crusaders established the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This kingdom was ruled by the Catholic Christians of Western European descent and had other Christian states in the vicinity attached to it until Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187. Although the papacy's goal had been to establish a theocratic system in the city, circumstances did not allow this to happen. The first to ascend the throne was Godefroy de Bouillon, the commander of the first troops that had entered the city. Godefroy was a religious man and did not take the title of king out of humility; he instead called himself the *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri* [Defender of the Holy Sepulchre]. He was succeeded upon his death a year later by his brother Baudouin I (r. 1100-1118 AD) and Count of Verdun. Unlike his brother, he used the title of king. He wore his crown in Bethlehem to avoid conflict with the Catholic clergy of Jerusalem, and this tradition was carried on by later kings. The army that had captured the city made Arnulf of Chocques the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Arnulf was a strict Catholic and very harsh toward the other Christian denominations, expelling their clergy from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Displeased with not having been consulted in Arnulf's appointment, the Pope instead appointed Dagobert, Archbishop of Pisa, as the new Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem in late 1099.

⁴ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum/The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, transl. Rosalind Hill, (London/New York: T. Nelson, 1962), p. 91-92.

⁵ *Fulcher of Chartres, A history of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, transl. Frances R. Ryan, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 121-122.

⁶ *Demirkent, Haçlı Seferleri*, 55-59; *Deniz-Kamacı, Haçlı Seferleri*, 104-106; *Adrian J. Boas, Jerusalem in the time of the Crusades*, (London: Routledge, 2001), 9-13; *Cecile Morrison, Crusaders*, transl. Nermin Acar, (Ankara: Dost, 2005), 36-37; *Simon S. Montefiore, Kudüs: Bir Şehrin Biyografisi*, transl. Cem Demirkan, (Istanbul: Pegasus, 2016), 214-217.

⁷ *Raymond D'Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, transl. John H. Hill & Laurita L. Hill, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), 125-128.

⁸ *Mehasine, Tarihu medineti 'l-Kuds, 155-157*; *Arif Başa el-Arif, Tarihu 'l-Kuds*, (Cairo: Dari'l-Mearif, 1994), 74, 76; *Francis E. Peters, Jerusalem*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 314-318, 320-323; *Karen Armstrong, A History of Jerusalem*, (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 276-277.

⁹ *Runciman, A history of the Crusades*, 1: 286-287, 295-297, 303-304.



Crusaders Massacre of Muslims in Jerusalem

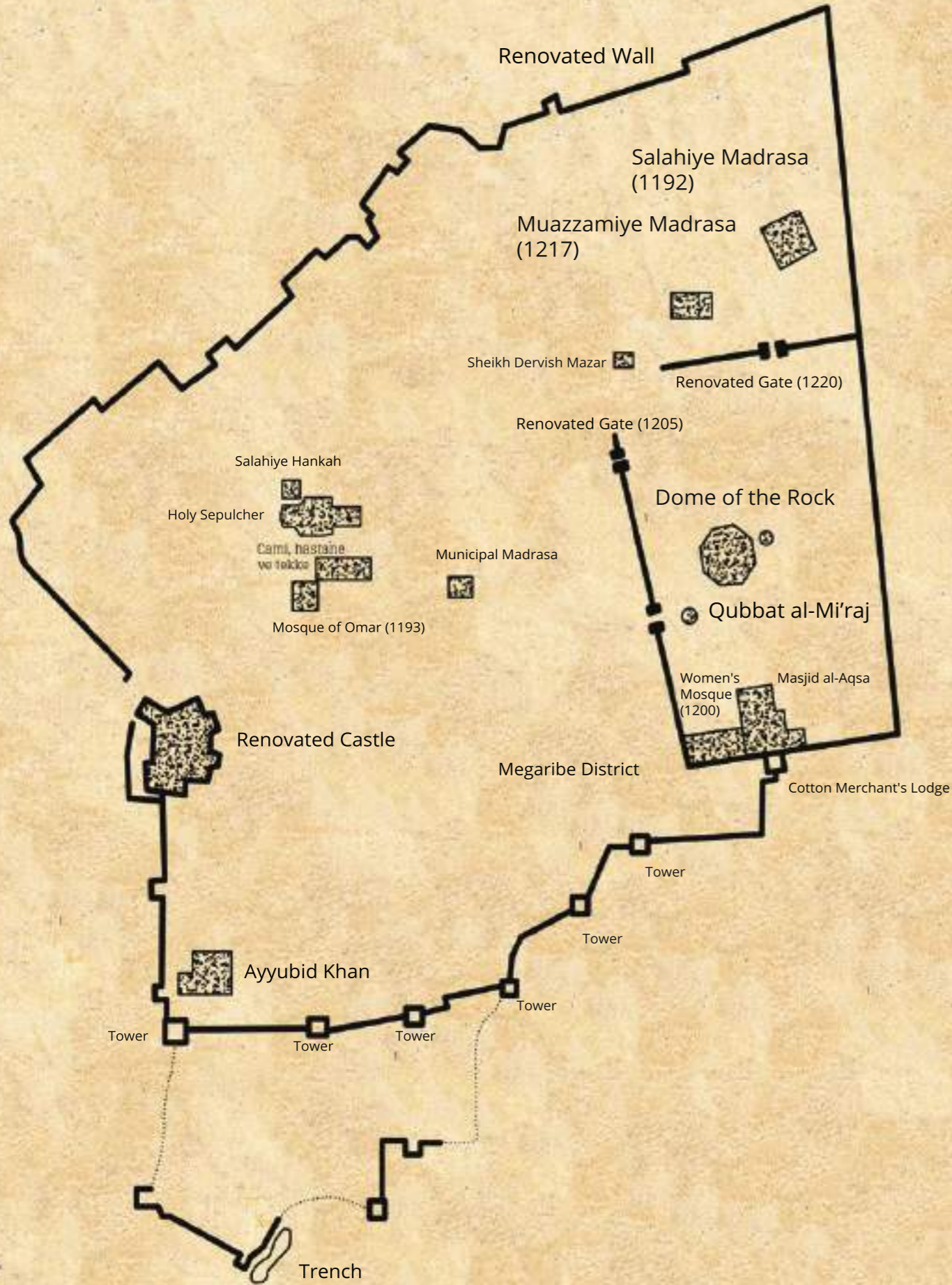
Life in Jerusalem under the rule of Catholics was difficult for members of other Christian denominations; the locals had grown tired of the Crusaders' cruelty and missed the days under Muslim rule. Within the local Christians were Armenians who got along well with the Crusaders. Because they had assisted the Crusaders in capturing the city, they benefitted from many opportunities that others did not. The official religion of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem was Catholicism, and its official language was Latin. Ascending the throne using the system of succession, the king was responsible to the *haute cour* [high court] of nobles. Once the high court had chosen the king, the new king was then submitted to the Pope for approval. Although this situation did not give the Pope sovereignty over the king of Jerusalem, it was a factor that prevented the king from claiming possible superiority over the Pope as he ruled Jerusalem. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was chosen from among the clergy and was able to start his duties upon receiving approval from the king. In order to avoid any administrative issues, care was taken to ensure the newly elected patriarch would not be someone to whom the Pope would object.

The army of the kingdom consisted of barons, nobles, knights, religious knights, clergy, and foot soldiers; Christians were constantly coming to the city and also joining this army. The responsibility for meeting the needs of the army belonged not just to the king but also to the church. Despite being a coastal city, the kingdom had no navy; this absence was filled by fleets from Italian city-states. New military sects were established or militarized in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. For example, the Order of the Knights Templar was founded here; the Knights Hospitaller were also transformed into an order established for serving sick pilgrims. These religious-military sects developed over time and had military duties at strategic points. While the rulers took care to marry only Franks, Byzantines, Armenians and people from the West, commoners also married local Christians; in this way, the population of the kingdom adopted the cultural characteristics of the region. Crusaders who assimilated with the local Christians were influenced by them in every aspect of life.¹⁰

¹⁰ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 289-292, 294-298, 315-326; Madden, *Concise History of Crusades*, 35-37, 46-48; Morrison, *Crusaders*, 104-115; Ahmet Türkan, "Başlangıçtan Günümüze Kudüs Latin Patrikliği", *Milel & Nihal* 10/2 (2013), 36-39, 41-44.

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SALADIN AND JERUSALEM IN THE PERIOD OF AYYUBID

Ziya POLAT*

Saladin's Sultanate

Jerusalem [al-Quds] was the first qibla of Islam and remained under the rule of Muslims from 638 until July 15, 1099. For about 462 years, the people of Jerusalem lived in peace apart from the rare occasions. However, the situation changed with the Crusaders' arrival in the region in 1098. When the city was captured on July 15, 1099, the people were put to the sword with no one surviving except Governor Iftikhar al-Dawla, who ruled the city on behalf of the Fatimid Caliphate, and his entourage. The governor was able to save his life in exchange for delivering the Tower of David. After the Crusaders finished massacring the city and completed their occupation, they converted the Jerusalemite structures within the borders of al-Aqsa Mosque into churches and administrative centers, using them for purposes other than originally intended, and ruled the city this way for 88 years.¹

During the Crusaders' nearly century-long occupation, the Muslims living in the region suffered great difficulties. In particular, during the first period of the occupation from 1099 until 1127 when Imad al-Din Zengi (d. 1146) was finally appointed as Atabeg to Mosul, indescribable suffering had occurred as no one was around to protect Muslims. Although Imad al-Din Zengi and then his son Nur al-Din Maḥmud (d. 1174) did establish an order that would prevail over the Crusaders in the region, Jerusalem remained occupied.

However, their struggle and the structure they created became a road map for a commander like Saladin (d. 1193). When Sultan Saladin assumed leadership of the struggle against the Crusaders, he set certain goals: to ensure unity among Muslims in the region, to conquer Jerusalem, and to expel the Crusaders from the region. As a matter of fact, his first goal was to unite the Muslims who'd been divided since Nur al-Din.² During this approximately 12-year period, he sometimes made treaties with Crusaders and left them without fighting. When Raynald of Chatillon (d. 1187), Lord of Kerak-Oultrejordain violated the treaty he'd signed in 1185 by confiscating a caravan, he began the conquest of Jerusalem, which was his second goal. The success in Sepphoris on May 1 and the victory in Hattin on July 4, 1187 paved the way for the conquest of Jerusalem.

While Saladin was still under siege by Ashkelon, he sent a delegation to Jerusalem stating he did not want bloodshed and demanded that they hand over the city to him, in return he would grant them certain rights; however, the Crusader leaders in Jerusalem arrogantly rejected this generous offer. Thereupon, the sultan swore he would take the city by sword.³ The Sultan rode toward the walls of Jerusalem, stopping at a point close to the city on September 20, 1187. Meanwhile, Balian of Ibelin (d. 1193) and Patriarch Heraclius (d. 1190) made

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Ziya Polat, "Kudüs Katliamı Bağlamında Haçlı Seferlerinin Sebepleri", *Milel and Nihal* 16/1 (July 1, 2019): 175-198.

² M. A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East*, transl. P. M. Holt (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 213.

³ Ernoul, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi Selahaddin Eyyubi ve Kudüs'ün Fethi*, transl. Ahmet Deniz Altunbaş (Istanbul: Kronik Bookstore, 2019), 154-155; transl. Peter W. Edbury, *The conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Aldershot: Ashgate Pub., 1998), 55; Poole, *Selahaddin Kudretli Sultan ve İslamın Bütünleştiricisi*, 205; Steven Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society 2008), 2: 388.

preparations to lead the defense. The city had a population greater than it could handle at that time.

The Crusaders went to the places Muslims had conquered, relying on the sanctity of the city. Before the Muslims arrived in front of the city, a significant amount of warriors and knights came to defend the city and began to take the necessary precautions. Muslim historians mention around 60,000 foot and horse soldiers in the city. Likewise, the preparations for the defense were so advanced that the Crusaders even set up catapults on the walls. Therefore, the Islamic army, having set up headquarters in front of the city, was alarmed by the sight and realized the difficulty in conquering the city.⁴

While Saladin prepared to start the siege, he offered the defenders one last chance to surrender the city. Yet this offer was also rejected. Thereupon, Saladin swore that he would conquer the city for the second time with the sword.⁵ Despite all of the Sultan's goodwill, the Crusaders were determined to defend. Thereupon, he first moved the headquarters to the vicinity of the Mount of Olives (the side where the Jaffa Gate and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are located) then began the attack began on September 26. As a result of the fierce first day of fighting, the Muslims reached the city walls and started digging trenches. As a result of

the intense attacks that lasted for three days, they in fact succeeded in demolishing the wall on the northern part of the city in the Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna). This caused turmoil in the city, as the defenders couldn't find any soldiers who would dare protect the pierced section of wall. The people became furious and requested mercy from Saladin rather than from the notables. As a result of long discussions with other notables, Balian and the patriarch realized they would be unable to hold the city and decided to seek safety from Saladin. The delegation sent on September 29 received harsh treatment from the sultan, who rejected the delegation saying he would do as they had done in 1099, with the recompense for evil being doubled, his reason being that he had taken oaths as a result of the rejection of his previous offers. Yet at the same time, he gave the impression that an unconditional surrender could also be a solution, as the letter he sent to the caliph stated that a treaty had been offered on very good terms. This outburst from Saladin panicked the crusaders, causing Balian himself to come to the headquarters the next day. Balian threatened to burn the city down in his desperate courage, but then promised to accept all of Saladin's demands, upon which the sultan agreed to make a treaty and provide the Crusaders safety.⁶ The agreement was as follows:

“

The decision was made to pay a ransom of ten dinars for men, five dinars for women, and two dinars for boys and girls, regardless of wealth. Those who paid the agreed ransom within 40 days would be freed, and those who did not would be considered slaves.⁷

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⁴ *Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad, en-Nevâdirü's-sultâniyye ve'l-mehâsinü'l-Yûsufiyye: Sîretü Salâhüddin, ed. Cemaleddin Şeyyâl (Cairo: Mektebetü'l-hancı, 1994), 134; İmâdüddin el-Kâtib el-İsfahani, el-Fethu'l-kussî fi'l-fethi'l-kudsî (Cairo: Dâru'l-menâr, 2004), 67, 70; Ibn al-Athir, İslâm Tarihi: el-Kâmil fi'l-Târih Tercümesi, transl. Abdülkerim Özeydin (İstanbul: Bahar Publications 1991), 11: 431-432; Bundari, Sene'l-Berki's-Şâmî, ed. Ramazan Şeşen (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2004), 393-395; Abu Shame, Kitâbü'r-Ravzateyn fi ahbârî'd-devleteyn, ed. İbrahim Şemseddin, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dâru'l-kütübi'l-ilmîyye, 2002), 3: 338-339; Cemaleddin Muhammed ibn Sâlim İbn Waşil, Müferricü'l küürüb, fi ahbârî Benî Eyyüb, ed. Cemaleddin Şeyyâl, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dâru'l-fikri'l-Arabi, 1957), 2: 212; Ricardus, Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi, transl. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 1997), 38; Malcolm Cameron Lyons - D. E. P. Jackson, Selahaddin Kutsal Savaşın Politikaları, transl. Zehra Savan, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Pinar Publications, 2006), 332.*

⁵ *Ibn Shaddad, Sîretü Salâhüddin, 134; Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem, 55; Ricardus, Chronicle of the Third Crusade, 38; Lyons - Jackson, Selahaddin, 332.*

⁶ *Ibn Shaddad, Sîretü Salâhüddin, 134-135; Ibn al-Athir, İslâm Tarihi, 1991, 11: 432-433; al-İsfahani, el-Fethu'l-kussî, 71; Bundari, Sene'l-Berki's-Şâmî, 396; Abu Shame, Ravzateyn, 2002, 3: 340-341; Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem, 58; Ibn Wasil, Müferric, 1957, 2: 213; Ernoul, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 169-175; Runciman, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 2008, 2: 389-390; Lyons - Jackson, Selahaddin, 333.*

⁷ *Al-İsfahani, el-Fethu'l-kussî, 74; Ibn al-Athir, İslâm Tarihi, 1991, 11: 433; Bundari, Sene'l-Berki's-Şâmî, 396-397; Abu Shame, Ravzateyn, 2002, 3: 341; Ernoul, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 175; Ricardus, Chronicle of the Third Crusade, 38; Gregory Abu-l Farac, Abu-l Farac Tarihi, transl. Ömer Rıza Doğrul (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1987), 2: 445.*

Although minor differences are found in the chronicles, the treaty is understood to have been made within this framework. As a result of the agreement signed on the 27th of Rajab (October 2), the city would be surrendered as if it had been taken with a sword, and those inside could only be released as prisoners of the sultan with a ransom. This enormous synchronicity coinciding with Lailat al-Miraj (the Prophet's (as) ascension to heaven) made the conquest of Jerusalem even

more meaningful.⁸ Saladin focused on the result that would make him the hero of the Muslims by conquering Jerusalem rather than the income to be obtained under the treaty. As a matter of fact, tens of thousands of prisoners were released without any compensation.⁹ His mercy would lead to the formation of the Saladin legend, which continues today. Saladin's attitude significantly contrasted with the attitude of the Crusader victors who had captured Jerusalem before him.¹⁰



Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem

⁸ *Ibn Shaddad, Sîretü Salâhüddin, 135; al-İsfahani, el-Fethu'l-kussî, 73; Ibn al-Athir, İslâm Tarihi, 1991, 11: 433; Abu Shame, Ravzateyn, 2002, 3: 341-345; Ricardus, Chronicle of the Third Crusade, 38-39; Ernoul, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 177; Lyons - Jackson, Selahaddin, 333; Runciman, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 2008, 2: 390; Poole, Selahaddin Kudretli Sultan ve İslâmın Bütünleştiricisi, 209.*

⁹ *Salâhüddin Eyyûbi ve Devri (İstanbul: ISAR, Islamic History, Art and Culture Research Foundation, 2000), 121. al-İsfahani, el-Fethu'l-kussî, 72-73.*

¹⁰ *Edbury, The Conquest of Jerusalem, 57-64; Runciman, Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi, 2008, 2: 390-391; Poole, Selahaddin Kudretli Sultan ve İslâmın Bütünleştiricisi, 209-210.*



Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem

With the treaty completed, Muslim soldiers entered the city. Naturally, their target was al-Aqsa Mosque. The first thing done in this context was the lowering of the Golden Cross on top of the Dome of Rock, to the joy of Muslims. During this time, shouts of sadness and crying were heard among the Crusaders. Afterwards, the blessed places were restored to their former state. In particular, a small church had been built around the field stone, and buildings for the knightly orders had been built in the mosque's courtyard. These were either destroyed or repurposed by order of the sultan. Perhaps the most interesting event in this process was in regard to the field stone. When the crusaders first came, they had taken the pieces of stone to the West and exchanged them for gold of equal weight. After a while, an area of trade had emerged related

to this. The rulers of Jerusalem were aware that the stone would run out if it continued like this, and they covered it with marble. One of the works done after entering the mosque was the dismantling of this marble. After all these procedures, the interior and courtyard of the mosque were cleaned and washed with rose water. The first khutbah was read in al-Aqsa Mosque on the following Friday (4 Shaban/October 8), after which the Juma prayer was performed. Muhyiddin ibn al-Zaki, one of the scholars of the time, had the opportunity to read the first khutbah in Jerusalem after the occupation.¹¹ One of the great examples of Saladin's loyalty was that Nur al-Din Zengi brought the pulpit he had built from Aleppo and placed it in al-Aqsa Mosque.¹² Ali ibn al-Athir described what had been done in Jerusalem after the conquest as follows:

¹¹ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 11: 435; al-Isfahani, *el-Fethu'l-kussî*, 76; Abu Shame, *Ravzateyn*, 2002, 3: 376-380, 396-397; Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 218, 230; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 2: 382; Ziya Polat, *Salâhaddin Eyyûbî'nin Haçlı Siyaseti ve Kudüs Haçlı Krallığıyla Yapıldığı Antlaşmalar (PhD Thesis, İstanbul University Institute of Social Sciences 2015)*, 218-219.

¹² Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 228-229; Abu Shame, *Ravzateyn*, 2002, 3: 392-393.



After performing the Friday prayer, Saladin ordered al-Aqsa Mosque to be repaired and made sound and perfect and to mobilize all means to take care of its frescos; thereupon, they brought incomparably beautiful marble, gilded black stone from Constantinople, and other things needed. These had been accumulated over the years. Repairs were made immediately. They destroyed the iconography on the buildings. The Franks laid marble over the Sahara and lost sight of it. Saladin ordered it to be exposed.¹³



After the conquest of Jerusalem, the city became the first stop for pilgrims in the region. Before going to Mecca, pilgrims stopped by Jerusalem and stayed there for a while, then continued on their way.¹⁴ After the conquest of Jerusalem, the Eastern Roman Emperor Isaac II Angelos (d. 1204) celebrated the victory of Saladin by sending an embassy delegation and requested the churches and holy places in the city be handed over to the Orthodox patriarch. Although the Sultan hesitated at first, after consulting with scholars, he accepted these places being given to the Greek Patriarchate. This goodwill of Saladin would be rewarded during the third Crusade, as the emperor would maintain positive relations during that time.¹⁵

Undoubtedly, the conquest of Jerusalem would cause great activity in the West. Indeed, the papacy soon after called for a new Crusade. Therefore, although the conquest of Jerusalem was seen as a great success for Muslims, more important was keeping the city in the coming years. As a matter of fact, the German, English, and French kings were learned to have responded to the pope's call and would join the new Crusade.¹⁶ Upon receiving this news, Saladin quickly went into action to take the last remaining places under the occupation of the Crusaders. But despite all his efforts, he could not take the coastal city of Tyre. This situation would become a

significant weak point for Muslims during the third Crusade and would pave the way for Crusaders to maintain a hold on the region.¹⁷ Due to the sensitivity of the situation, Saladin could not neglect taking the necessary measures in Jerusalem. When he left the city to besiege Tyre, he made the particularly necessary arrangements regarding the administration.¹⁸ After the siege failed, he returned to Jerusalem with his brother Sayf al-Din al-Malik al-'Adil to celebrate Eid al-Adha in January 1189.¹⁹

Although the aim of the Third Crusade was to take Jerusalem from the Muslims, this was by no means possible. The kings of England and France who came to the region spent most of their time with the Siege of Acre. At the end of the almost 2-year siege, the Crusaders managed to take the city by treaty on July 12, 1191, but they had exhausted most of their power. However, Acre was a strategically important center as an arms depot for Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, and the coastal cities, even Egypt. The loss of Acre meant Muslims had been weakened and the enemy strengthened in terms of weaponry, as well as the Jerusalem Saladin had been fighting for falling into danger.²⁰ As a matter of fact, the next steps of the Crusader leaders were to demand all the lands of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that the sultan had conquered in

¹³ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 11: 435-436.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 11: 441.

¹⁵ Abu-l Farac, *Abu-l Farac Tarihi*, 2: 446; Ibn Shaddad, *Sîretü Salâhuddin*, 202; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 2: 392.

¹⁶ Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, 73, 76; Ernoul, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 198-199; Ibn Shaddad, *Sîretü Salâhuddin*, 178; al-Isfahani, *el-Fethu'l-kussî*, 179; Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 322; David Nicolle, *Üçüncü Haçlı Seferi 1191*, transl. L. Ece Sakar (Türkey İş Bankası Culture Publications, 2011), 19; P. M. Holt, *Haçlılar Çağı: 11. Yüzyıldan 1517'ye Yakınođu (İstanbul: Tarih Foundation Yurt Publications, 2003)*, 59.

¹⁷ Abu Shame, *Ravzateyn*, 2002, 3: 348; Polat, *Salâhaddin Eyyûbî'nin Haçlı Siyaseti*, 221.

¹⁸ Al-Isfahani, *el-Fethu'l-kussî*, 221.

¹⁹ Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 278.

²⁰ Ibn Shaddad, *Sîretü Salâhuddin*, 257-258; al-Isfahani, *el-Fethu'l-kussî*, 269-270; Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi: el-Kâmil fi'l-Târih Tercimesi*, transl. Abdülkerim Özaydın (İstanbul: Bahar Publications, 1991), 12: 65; Abu Shame, *Kitâbü'r-Ravzateyn fi ahbârî'd-devleteyn*, ed. İbrahim Şemseddin, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dârü'l-küttübü'l-ilmîyye, 2002), 4: 255, 262; Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 356, 360; Polat, *Salâhaddin Eyyûbî'nin Haçlı Siyaseti*, 230-232.

two years. However, this arrogant attitude was not considered, and after a year's struggle, the Crusaders under the leadership of King Richard of England (d. 1199) had to accept that Jerusalem belonged to the Muslims with the Treaty of Remle on September 1, 1192. During this struggle, the

sultan went to Jerusalem many times, inspecting the city's fortifications and war preparations.²¹ He maintained the same attitude after the treaty. Shams al-Din al-Maqdisi also quoted the following statements from Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani:



After the treaty, the Sultan returned to Jerusalem to check on the situation. While there, he fortified the city walls, started work restoring the structures, deepened the trenches, repaired the roads in the city, added a bazaar and land to the foundation of the madrasa he had opened, and also made arrangements for the Sufi's needs. He converted a church on Kamame Street into a bimaristan [old Turkish hospital], put all kinds of pharmaceuticals there, and walled the Church of the Holy Sepulchre so it remained in the city.²²



Shortly after the Treaty of Remle when the king of England returned to his homeland, Sultan Saladin appointed Izz al-Din Jurdik from the Mamluks as *naib* [deputy/representative of authority], left Jerusalem on October 15, 1192, stopped by the surrounding settlements to review the situation, and then went to Damascus on November 4. The sultan fell ill after a while and died on March 4, 1193.²³

Jerusalem after Saladin

After the death of Saladin, the dynastic fights among the Ayyubids caused Jerusalem to change hands many times among family members.²⁴ However, none of them fell to the Crusaders as al-Malik al-Kamil (d. 1238) had in 1228-1229. Meanwhile, the fourth and fifth Crusades were overcome with minimal damage, and Jerusalem remained under the rule of Muslims, albeit with great difficulty. In the fifth Crusade in particular, the walls and

a section of Jerusalem had been destroyed to prevent it from falling into Crusaders' hands, and although the Crusaders were offered the entire region including the city in exchange for Damietta at the treaty table, the agreement could not be made once the Crusaders demanded the large amount of 300,000 dinars for the repair of the destroyed city. Jerusalem was saved from being surrendered to the Crusaders at the last moment when the crusaders' overconfidence saw them sink into the waters of the Nile.²⁵

After the death of al-Malik al-'Adil (d. 1218), the struggle for dominance continued among his sons al-Malik al-Kamil, al-Mu'azzam al-Malik (d. 1227), and al-Ashraf al-Malik (d. 1237). Although the other two brothers recognized al-Malik al-Kamil as sultan, they did not want him to interfere in their internal affairs. Al-Malik al-Ka-

mil also struggled to end their threat to his rule. This situation weakened both sides and in particular endangered Jerusalem's situation. Al-Malik al-Kamil sought to ally himself with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250) in order to consolidate his position against his brothers. For this purpose, he sent Fakhr al-Din Josef ibn Sheikh al Shuyukh in 1126 to Sicily with some gifts, with the emperor sending him a delegation in return under the leadership of Thomas Aquinas, Count of Acerra. Al-Malik al-Kamil was very happy with this situation, presented the delegation with valuable gifts and saying that, if the emperor ever came to the region, he would give the emperor Jerusalem and its surroundings. In fact, Jerusalem and its environs were not under his rule, he made such an offer to put al-Mu'aZZam al-Malik in a difficult position. The envoy proceeded to al-Mu'aZZam al-Malik, but they received a harsh unexpected answer and returned empty-handed.²⁶ However, al-Malik al-Kamil's offer caused Frederick II to consider restarting the Crusade, which he could not realize for a long time despite his promise.

The emperor soon began preparations but fell ill with malaria along the way. Despite taking a break from the expedition to recover, he requested the army continue under the command of the patriarch of Jerusalem. When the emperor's recovery became prolonged, Pope Gregorius IX (d. 1241) excommunicated him and forbade him from participating in the Crusade. However, Frederick II continued on his path, ignoring the pope's decision. Meanwhile, al-Mu'aZZam al-Malik had died, with his son an-Nasir Dawud (d. 1258) taking his place and thus relieving al-Malik al-Kamil. Yet the Emperor was still coming to the region.

Therefore, al-Malik al-Kamil moved to Damascus in July 1128 to both assume rule over the region and meet with the emperor. Meanwhile, he was having clandestine meetings with al-Ashraf al-Malik. As a result of the treaty, Damascus had actually been given to him, so he escaped having to make a treaty with the emperor.²⁷

Upon arriving to the region, the emperor was unable to find the expected support from the Crusaders. For this reason, he aimed to solve the Jerusalem issue using diplomacy. Meanwhile, despite the death of his brother, al-Malik al-Kamil did not feel strong enough as he had insufficient support among the people to fight the Crusaders. Also, part of his army was in the siege of Damascus. Moreover, the remnants of the army of Khwarazmian Empire had fled from the Mongols and arrived in the region; it was only a matter of time before the Mongols would arrive. In addition, the Anatolian Seljuk state and other principalities in the vicinity were looking for an opportunity to expand their lands. All these problems indicated to al-Malik al-Kamil that he could not risk war. Therefore, he believed that he could solve the problem diplomatically with Frederick II because he had invited the emperor himself to the region. The negotiations began under these conditions. In the months-long discussions, both sides tried to make concessions from the other. While the Emperor attempted to save the iconography by buying more land in addition to Jerusalem, al-Malik al-Kamil intended to minimize the people's reaction by conceding the least. As a result, an agreement lasting 10 years, 5 months, and 40 days was decided upon starting on March 7, 1229.²⁸ Accordingly:²⁹

²¹ Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 2: 402-403; Ibn Shaddad, *Siretü Salâhüddin*, 344-346; al-Isfahani, *el-Fethu'l-kussî*, 316; Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 70, 72, 81; Ricardus, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 371; Polat, *Salâhüddin Eyyûbi'nin Haçlı Siyaseti*, 245, 281-282.

²² Abu Shame, *Ravzateyn*, 2002, 4: 194. Ibn al-Athir also uses similar expressions: (Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 81-82).

²³ Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad, *Selahaddin-i Eyyubi*, trans. Mehmet Selim Bilge, 1st ed. (Lis Publications, 2015), 364-374; Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 82.

²⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 99, 107-107, 112; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 23-24, 26-28.

²⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 162, 165, 278, 283, 285.

²⁶ Steven Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 4th ed. (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2008), 3: 162; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 153-154.

²⁷ Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 154-155.

²⁸ Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 3: 161; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 156.

²⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *İslâm Tarihi*, 1991, 12: 446; Cemaleddin Muhammed ibn Sâlim ibn Waşil, *Müferricü'l-kürüb, fi ahbâri Benî Eyyüb*, ed. Cemaleddin Şeyyâl, (Cairo: Dâru'l-fikri'l-Arabi, 1957), 4: 241-242; Abu Shame, *Kitâbü'r-Ravzateyn fi ahbâri'd-devleteyn*, Thk. İbrahim Şemseddin, (Beirut: Dâru'l-kütübü'l-ilmîyye, 2002), 5: 233-234; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 3: 163-164; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 157.



Jerusalem, the valley up to Jaffa, the villages on this valley, and Lod were left to the Crusaders, but the lands outside the city center such as al-Khalil [Hebron], Nablus and al-Gawr remained under the rule of Muslims. The governor of these places in Jerusalem will reside in el-Bira north of the city. Likewise, the Temple Mount plaza, which includes the Dome of Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, having belonged to the Muslims in the city center, would remain under Muslim rule, and they are allowed to read the adhan and perform their prayers freely. Christians may only visit these places in the company of Muslims. Also, the Jerusalem walls that had been destroyed during the reign of al-Mu'azzam al-Malik will not be repaired.²⁹



When the announcement was made that Muslims in the city had to leave, Muslims living in the city and the region had strong responses. 42 years had passed since the conquest of Saladin, and Muslims had become the settled people of the region. Having a holy city like Jerusalem taken from their hands was difficult. A large part of the Muslim families he'd settled in Jerusalem had to leave the city weeping, condemning, and cursing the treaty al-Malik al-Kamil had made. Despite all the negativity, al-Malik al-Kamil considered the Temple Mount being in Muslim hands and not repairing the surrounding walls small reason for consolation, stating as long as the walls remained unfortified, Crusaders could retake the city whenever they want.³⁰

Jerusalem remained under the domination of the Crusaders for about 15 years. As al-Malik al-Kamil stated, there was no situation where Muslims could take the city whenever they wanted. As a matter of fact, before the expiry of the treaty, al-Malik al-Kamil died on March 9, 1238, and Jerusalem continued to be under the rule of the Crusaders.³¹

After a while, the situation worsened and, in 1243, Damascus ruler Imad ad-Din Ismail, Homs ruler al-Malik al-

Mansur, and the people of Aleppo and an-Nasir Dawud united against al-Malik as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (d. 1249). Afterwards, they made a treaty of alliance with the Crusaders. According to the treaty, Jerusalem, Tiberias and Ashkelon would be left to the Crusaders. Ibn Waşil stated stopping by Jerusalem on his way to Egypt in April-May 1244 and seeing clergy and priests performing rituals on the Sahara stone with wine glasses in their hands; bells were hanging in al-Aqsa Mosque, and he witnessed the prohibition of salat.³² But this joy of the Crusaders did not last long. When al-Malik as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub invited the remnants of the Khwarazmian Empire's army to Egypt to form an alliance with him, 10,000 horsemen in the vicinity of Harran entered the Damascus region like a storm. The army continued on its way, looting as it went; it entered Jerusalem on July 11, and burned the city. The Crusaders in the inner castle who'd resisted were allowed to leave the city. However, they became the target of looters on their way out. Thus, Jerusalem definitely had come under Muslim rule. From this date until 1917, Jerusalem only exchanged hands among Muslim dynasties and states such as the Ayyubids, Mamluks, and Ottomans.³³

³⁰ Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 4: 243; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 3: 164; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 157.

³¹ M. Sedar Bekar, "el-Melikü'l-Kamil, Muhammed", *Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2004), 29: 69.

³² Cemaleddin Muhammed İbn Sâlim İbn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürûb, fi ahbâri Benî Eyyûb*, ed. Cemaleddin Şeyyâl, (Cairo: Dâru'l-fik ri'l-Arabi, 1957), 5: 332-333; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 3: 194; Şeşen, *Selahaddin'den Baybars'a*, 199.

³³ Ibn Wasil, *Müferric*, 1957, 5: 336-337; Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2008, 3: 194-195.

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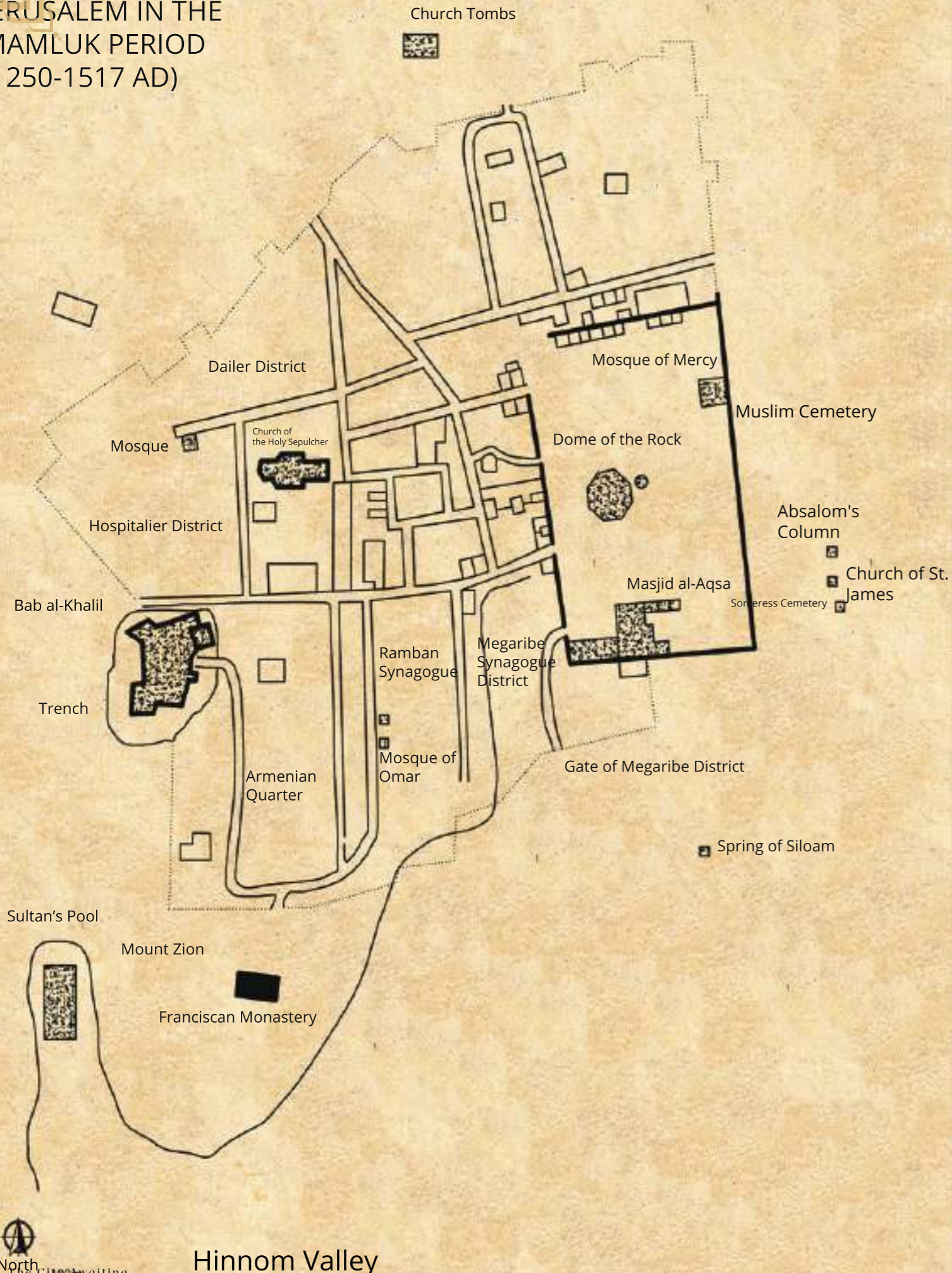
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JERUSALEM IN THE PERIOD OF MAMLUKS

Cengiz TOMAR*

In the last period of the Ayyubids, Egypt and Syria had been under the dominion of weak leaders who constantly struggled with each other but gained a more stable administration with the establishment of the Mamluk State in 1250. Thus, a stable administration was established against the Mongol and Crusader threats in the region. In the first years of the Mamluks, Jerusalem [al-Quds] was the scene of the struggle for influence between the Mamluks who had taken over governance in Egypt and the Ayyubids *emirs* [monarch, aristocrat] who ruled over Syria. Ayyubid *meliks* [king] and Mamluks even offered to give Jerusalem to the Crusaders in the region in order to gain superiority in this struggle for influence.

In this delicate situation, the Abbasid Caliph sent his envoys and ensured that an agreement was made between the Ayyubid emirs and the Mamluks in 1253. According to this agreement, Jerusalem remained under the reign of the Mamluks as the rulers of Egypt. However, soon after, the city would again come under the reign of the Ayyubid meliks. Jerusalem was in the hands of the Ayyubid Melik an-Nasir Yusuf between 1256-1260. After the Mamluks defeated the Mongol army in Ayn Calut in 1260, Jerusalem remained under the rule of the Mamluks until it passed to the Ottoman rule at the end of 1516. Bilad al-Sham [modern Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan] was structured as city-states under the administration of an individual melik during the Ayyubid period. The Mamluks maintained this structure, connecting Jerusalem to the *nâib al-saltana* [regent of the sultanate] of Damascus, first as

the governor and then as the regency. For this reason, the assignment of all kinds of administrative and religious duties in Jerusalem was made by the Damascus regency. Powerful Damascus regents like Tankiz were in a more effective position than the governors and regents of Jerusalem in reconstructing the city. With the exception of the Crusaders, Jerusalem had generally had a religious and spiritual rather than a political and military significance throughout Islamic history. This practice was also valid during the Mamluk period, and the regents of Jerusalem were represented by lower-ranking administrators in the military hierarchy compared to the regents such as in Damascus, Aleppo, Gaza, and Safed. When Jerusalem was elevated from governorship to regentship in 1376, the regents were appointed from central Cairo; however, other officials in the city continued to be appointed by the Damascus regent.

As in other Mamluk cities, Jerusalem had the *naib al-Qal'a* [Garrison commander], a *hadjib* [doorman] to solve the problems between the Mamluk emirs and his soldiers, and a *kashif* [revealer] who in a sense served as the mayor, in addition to the *naib al-Saltana* [governor]. In addition to the *muhtasib*, the person who controlled the prices and quality of goods in the city markets and bazaars, Jerusalem had officials such as the *nâzir al-Haramain* [overseer], the minister of the Church of the Resurrection, the imam of the Temple Mount, and the orator of Jerusalem, who were responsible for the harems in Jerusalem and al-Khalil due to the religious importance of Jerusalem and its structures.

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Mamluk sultans attached special importance to Jerusalem, being the holy city of three monotheistic religions. As such, they had the city rebuilt through madrasas, mosques, water channels, public fountains, inns, and bazaars. Jerusalem still bears the stamp of an Ayyubid-Mamluk silhouette today. Almost all the important Mamluk sultans made repairs in the city and allocated foundations. They established charitable organizations to help the poor and those seeking knowledge. Mamluk sultans such as Sultan Baibars I, Qalawun, Kitbugha, Lajin, Nasir ad-Din Muhammad ibn Qalawun, al-Ashraf Sha'ban II, Barquq, Nasir ad-Din Faraj, Shaykh al-Mahmudi, al-Ashraf Barsbay, Qaitbay, and Qansuh al-Ghawri performed many repairs and construction activities in Jerusalem and at al-Aqsa Mosque. In addition to the Mamluk sultans, statesmen such as Damascus Governor Tankiz, the wives and daughters of the Mamluk sultans, great merchants, and notables also contributed to this reconstruction activity; even in this period, Ottoman and Turkish statesmen also supported these intensive beautification and construction activities.

Baibars I, one of the Sultans of the Bahriyya Mamluks, visited Jerusalem several times and had the destroyed parts of the Dome of the Rock [Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra] repaired. Baibars I had an inn built outside the walls to welcome the merchants coming to the city and to accommodate the poor and allocated the income of some villages to maintaining

the city's holy sites. Qalawun, another sultan who also visited Jerusalem, had al-Ribat al-Mansouri built in 681 AH (1282 AD) for the poor who came to the city. Sultan Lajin also revived the Prayer Niche [Mihrab] of David [Prophet Dawud]. The main development of Jerusalem during the Bahriyya Mamluks occurred during the reign of Muhammad ibn Qalawun (1293-1294, 1299-1309, and 1310-1341). The Sultan had al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of Rock repaired, as well as the had the arches around this structure built, the back of al-Aqsa Mosque covered with marble, and the domes of some of the sanctuaries on the Temple Mount [Haram al-Sharif] gilded.

Sources noted these activities to have been carried out with great care and to have retained their appearance even after many years. During the reign of Muhammad ibn Qalawun, who ruled for more than 40 years, many madrasas, bazaars, inns, baths, and ribats were built; the Jerusalem Fortress was also renovated, and water was brought to the city. The mosque in the western corner of the castle was built in 1310.

The sultans' interest in Jerusalem continued during the time of the Burji Mamluks. Barquq came to Jerusalem for a visit and stayed there for a while. In 1386, he had Caesarea rebuilt as well as the Jerusalem aqueduct. The Sultan Barsbay in 1429 had the fountain Sabil Shaalan repaired, which had been built in 1216 by Sharaf ad-Din al-Mu'azzam Isa. Al-Malik az-Zahir Sayf



Sabil Qaitbay (MT Archive)



Madrasa al-Ashrafiya rebuilt by Qaitbay (MT Archive)

ad-Din Jaqmaq had the dome of the Dome of the Rock repaired, as it had been burned as a result of a lightning strike. Al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf ad-Din Inal, who ascended the throne in 1453, had al-Aqsa Mosque repaired and the fountain Sabil Qaitbay repaired since it had been built during the Qaitbay era.

Sabil Qanat [The Sabil Channel] supplies water to this fountain and was renovated in 1462 by Sayf ad-Din Khushqadam. In addition, Madrasa al-Sultaniyya, also known as Madrasa al-Ashrafiya after being demolished and rebuilt by Qaitbay, had been built during the reign of Sayf ad-Din Khushqadam. Sultan Qaitbay had Madrasa al-Ashrafiya rebuilt in 1482 as well as Sabil Qanat and Sabil Qaitbay repaired, which had been neglected for many years.

In addition to the sultans, emirs, and their relatives, wealthy merchants, ulama, and people who had migrated to the city from other regions also contributed greatly to the city's reconstruction activities. This period saw around 50 madrasas and around 20 zawiyas, khanqahs, and ribats [al-Maqrizi, an Egyptian Mamluk-era historian and a Sunni, refers to them all as Sufi homes] built in Jerusalem. Among these were the Ribat [poorhouse] of Ala ad-Deen built by Emir Ala ad-Deen Aydogdu (d. 666/1267), Khangah al-Dawadariya built in 1295 at the command of Emir Alamuddin Sancar ed-Dawadar as-Salahi, Madrasa al-Wajhiyya as donated by Damascus Hanbali Shaykh Muhammed Waji

al-Tanuhi in 1302, Madrasa al-Jawliqiyya (707/1307) as the waqfiya [charity] of Emir Rukn ad-Din Baibars, and Madrasa al-Jawliyya, and Madrasa as-Salamiyya (al-Mawsiliyya) built between 1315-1320). Madrasa al-Karimiyya, Madrasa al-Aminiyya, and Madrasa al-Khatuniyya were also waqfs [charitable foundations] built during the reign of the Bahriyya Mamluks.

The most magnificent of the structures built by the Emirs was the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya and Bab al-Qattanin, which was built by Damascus regent Emir Tankiz an-Nasir in 1329. Among the madrasas built during the Burji Mamluks period, Madrasa al-Mawsiliyya built by the merchant Abu Bakr Ali as-Shaybani for Hodja Fakhr al-Din al-Mawsili (d. 797/1395). Also, of importance are Madrasa al-Shubaybiyya and Madrasa al-Basitiya.

The population of the city, which had generally been around 10,000 during the medieval age, was able to reach up to 20,000 during the Mamluk period, depending on stability. Slave-born Mamluks were foreign to the society they ruled and made important investments in holy cities such as Jerusalem, both for religious reasons and for political reasons such as making themselves accepted and legitimized by the society they ruled but of which they were strangers. The construction of many madrasas supported by waqfs, especially due to the Mongol invasion, attracted the ulama who had migrated from Anatolia and Iraq to the region

and Jerusalem. The stable life in the city during the Mamluk Sultanate moved Jerusalem, which was neither a political nor a military center, to a position where the ulema who'd migrated from the west and the east would settle. The development of trade during the Bahri Mamluk period was also one of the factors to increase the city's population. During the Mamluk period, the majority of Muslims as well as Christians and Jews with their many denominations lived in the city and were able to freely practice their cultures and beliefs. During this period, Mamluks of Turkish and Circassian origin as well as Arabs and Turkmen lived in Jerusalem.

The spread of security and stability in the region and the economic development during the Mamluk period led to the enrichment of scientific life. The Mamluk dynasty was the period that saw the most works in the history of Islam come into print. Aside from their religious motivations, the Mamluks supported the ulama, the only group in society that could oppose them. One of the cities that benefited most from this support was Jerusalem. During the Mamluk dynasty, many ulema families and those who'd journeyed seeking knowledge (going on a *rihle*) went to Jerusalem. The Reconquista in the West and the Mongol invasion in the East had also made the Mamluk lands and Jerusalem one of the most important areas of protection. Among those who had come here were Maghreb scholars such as al-Dhahabi, Sheikh Bedreddin, and Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani. In this period, those who'd sought knowledge from Anatolia, Iraq, and Hijaz arrived in Jerusalem to find more than 40 madrasas in the city. Ulama families such as al-Qalqashandi and Ibn Jamaa also played an important role in the revival of scientific life in Jerusalem.

Although Jerusalem was not a center through which the main trade routes passed in the history of Islam, it was close to these centers. The low population of the city and the fact that it was not suitable for agriculture was one of the factors that prevented Jerusalem from becoming a center of attraction in terms of trade. As for agriculture, Jerusalem could produce olives, figs, grapes, and various other fruits. It was an important sector in cotton production. As such, the textile industry developed there. Sources also mention glass production there. Agriculture in the villages around the city mostly met the needs of the village itself. However, the city was also known to import wheat. Sugar cane and its related sugar production have also been among Jerusalem's sources of income. Olive oil used to be one of the most important livelihoods in Jerusalem. Soap and candle making were also among the products Jerusalem exported.

The increased security during the Mamluk Sultanate and the state's tolerance greatly increased visits from European Christians to Jerusalem for

the pilgrimage. Important sources of income for the people of the city including providing subsistence and accommodating pilgrims' worship, providing them with souvenirs, icons, and carvings. Silversmithing was also an important industrial activity. The fact that many bazaars, inns, *funduqs* [inns] and *caesarea* [cargo ports] were built in the city during this period is an important indicator of the revival of trade. The presence of consulates for foreign merchants' and pilgrims' transactions is an indicator of the international position the city has had.

In order to solve the water problem, which is one of the most significant problems of the city, many infrastructure works were carried out during the Mamluk period. The city's water channels have been the subject of frequent repairs and renovations. In addition, new canals were built for Jerusalem from various water sources outside the city. Many wells and public fountains were also built in the city. In order to diversify the city's water resources, the Mamluk sultans had ponds (*birke*) built, especially around the Temple Mount for collecting rain water. Many baths were built in order to meet the city people's cleaning needs.

As a result, Jerusalem can be said to have lived its happiest days after the Crusader occupation during the Mamluks and the later Ottoman dynasties. By ensuring the stability and security in the city during this period, the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim people of the city can be said to have led a very peaceful life within the freedom of religion and worship.



el-Ünsü'l-celil bi-târîhi'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil eserinin sahibi Ebü'l-Yümn Mücürüddin Abdurrahman El-Uleymi'nin Kidron vadisindeki kabri (İYV Arşivi)

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JERUSALEM IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD (1517-1917 AD)



JERUSALEM UNDER OTTOMAN GOVERNANCE

Abdullah ÇAKMAK*

The Ottoman administration of Jerusalem [al-Quds] began at the end of 1516 and lasted for about four centuries until the British occupation in 1917 apart from the period of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha between 1831 and 1841. The governmental center for Jerusalem, which had mostly been a *sanjak* [administrative sub-division of a larger district] under Ottoman rule, changed from time to time. In general, Jerusalem had been included in the state of Damascus between 1516-1831, in the state of Sidon between 1841-1865, and the state of Syria that had formed by merging the states of Sidon and Damascus in 1865. Between 1872-1917, Jerusalem was given the status of an independent *mutasarrifate* [mutasarrifate of Jerusalem or sanjak of Jerusalem] and directly connected to the central government.¹

This chapter will first examine Jerusalem's annexation from the Mamluks to the Ottoman Empire and its initial governmental structure, going on to reveal the prominent political developments in Jerusalem under Ottoman rule. However, according to the decisions made in the *Divan-ı Hümayun* [Imperial Council], as issues such as suppressing the Bedouin Arab revolts, ensuring security, and controlling state officials had come to the fore in governing the Jerusalem Sanjak of the Ottoman Empire and were consistent throughout the centuries, this chapter limits examples of these developments to the 16th century in order to avoid repetition. This chapter will discuss in detail the major developments that affected Jerusalem in the 19th century, such as

the French invasion of Egypt and their advance towards Damascus, as well as the rebellion of the Egypt *Wali* [governor] Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha.

The Annexation of Jerusalem and the First Governmental Structure

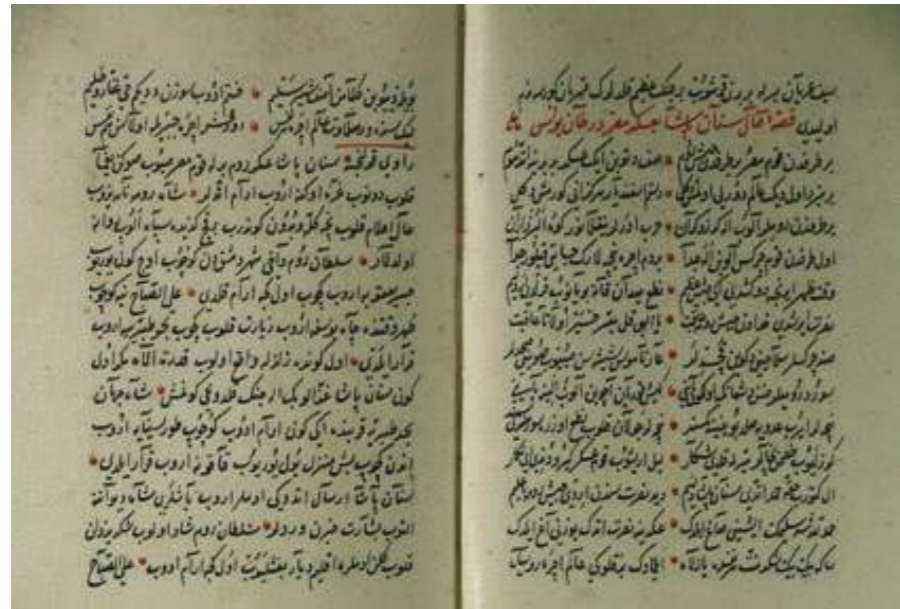
Coming to the Ottoman throne in 1512, Yavuz Sultan Selim made very important conquests during his reign of only eight years. He first attacked the Safavid State that had supported Shiite propaganda in Anatolia, ending the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514 victorious. However, the fact that this victory did not completely eliminate the Shiite threat in Anatolia required organizing a second campaign against the Safavids. Having completed the preparations for the expedition and moving towards Iran, Selim I received intelligence that the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri was moving from Egypt to Aleppo and that he would not pass the Ottoman army through the lands under his control. When adding al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri's move to the Mamluks' inability to undertake the period's role as protector of Muslims while the Mamluks dominated holy lands such as Jerusalem and the Hejaz where the cities of Mecca and Medina are located, Selim I changed the route of the expedition from Iran to Egypt. The Ottoman and Mamluk armies came face to face for the first time on August 24, 1516 in the Marj Dabiq plain near Aleppo and engaged in a fierce battle. This war resulted in a victory for the Ottoman Empire, after which the army advanced toward Damascus and annexed many of the castles along the way.

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¹ Kâmil C. el-Aseli, "Kudüs (Osmanlı Dönemi ve Sonrası)", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2002), 26: 334-338.



Meanwhile, the unit under the command of Mehmet, son of Isa Bey and who'd been assigned to annex Gaza and Ramla, faced the defense of Janbirdi al-Ghazali, the Mamluk Wali of Damascus. Thereupon, Yavuz Sultan Selim sent the unit under the command of the Grand Vizier Hadim Sinan Pasha to assist Gaza. While these events were taking place on the Ottoman side, an unexpected event occurred on the Mamluks'. With the sud-

den death of Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri, Tomanbay took his place. When Selim I received news that the Circassian Murad he had sent as ambassador to the new Mamluk sultan had been killed, he immediately took action, heading from Damascus to Egypt. On December 28, 1516 while the Ottoman Sultan was near Ramla, he received news that the war in Gaza's Khan Yunus region had resulted in victory. With this victory, Selim I took



The First Leaf of the Battle of Khan Yunus in the Silahşör's Fetihname-i Diyar-ı Arab (Süleymaniye Library, Nur-ı Osmaniye, 4087)

the Palestinian lands under his control, arriving in Jerusalem on December 31, 1516 with the guard unit he'd taken with him as well as a few commanders. The Ottoman Sultan visited the holy places in Jerusalem and also gave abundant gifts to the scholars and poor of the city.²

After Selim I annexed Bilad al-Sham, Jerusalem was turned into a sanjak of the Arab states in the first administrative division in the region and handed over to Skender Bey, son of Evrenos Bey. After this short-lived structuring, Gaza, Safed, Jerusalem, Kerak, and Nablus forming the Palestinian lands were transferred on September 25, 1517 as long-term sanjaks to Janbirdi al-Ghazali as the wali of Damascus. Behind the Ottoman administration's assignment of such a task to the former ruler of

the Mamluks lay the idea of benefiting from experienced administrators in governing these lands that were unknown to them, thus preventing an administrative weakness in the region until the governance restructuring process was completed. However, Janbirdi al-Ghazali had the courage to declare his sultanate in Egypt and took advantage of the change in Ottoman rulership with the death of Selim I in 1520; the new Sultan Suleiman I (Suleiman the Magnificent) abolished him.

A document estimated to be from 1520-1521 indicates the state of Rumelia as being composed of 30 sanjaks, Anatolia of 20, Karaman of 8, Greece of five, Arabia of 15, and Diyarbakir of nine.³ In this document, Gaza, Safed and Jerusalem, which constitute the Palestinian lands, are not included in the sanjaks

of the Damascus State. This shows Gaza, Safed, and Jerusalem were connected to Damascus at this time. In addition, the expression "mahlûl" [blank], which indicates that there is no wali of the Damascus State, implies that no new wali has been appointed here after the death of Ghazali. During the reign of Ayas Mehmed Pasha, who was appointed to Damascus State after the death of al-Ghazali, Gaza, Safed, and Jerusalem were organized as separate sanjaks.⁴ Thus, the Ottoman Empire accepted the general governance established in Gaza, Safed, and Jerusalem, which the Mamluks had seen as sanjaks of Damascus State. The sanjak of Jerusalem, which took its place in the Ottoman administrative structure as a sanjak of Damascus State, consisted of the districts of Jerusalem, al-Khalil, and Beni-Amer as the Mamluks had initially divided them. However, in 1538, the Beni-Amer sub-district was dissolved, reducing the number of sub-districts to two.⁵

Jerusalem under Ottoman Governance

As a requirement of the Ottoman provincial governance, the highest military bureaucratic authority in the Sanjak of Jerusalem was the *sanjak-bey* [lord of the standard]. As in every duty, bannermen were appointed annually and could be reappointed to the same duty or another following their annual term. The sanjak-bey was responsible for ensuring security in the city center and surrounding countryside, regularly collecting urban and rural taxes, making sure trade was done legally, supplying the city with sufficient food regularly, and keeping the local military force prepared as necessary, which he would command for expeditions.⁶

In 1522, Jerusalem sanjak-bey was Abaza Hasan Pasha. However, Jerusalem had constant administrative changes at this time and was included in Gaza Sanjak a year later, which had Üveys Pasha as the sanjak-bey. According to the cadastral register from 1530, Gaza

Sanjak consisted of the two districts of Gaza-Ramla and Jerusalem. Jerusalem had a total of 147 villages and 98 hamlets and consisted of the sub-districts of Jerusalem and Hebron.⁷ After a while, Jerusalem took its place in the administrative organization as an independent sanjak and maintained this position throughout the century.

The major issues for the Jerusalem sanjak in the first half of the 16th century were the Bedouin Arab rebellion and the safety of pilgrimage routes. During the al-Ghazali period, measures had been taken for these problems, but these measures had been interrupted by al-Ghazali's rebellion. For this reason, administrative order in Jerusalem was understood to have not been able to be fully established during the time from al-Ghazali's death until the middle of the 16th century, and the issue of pilgrims' safety was again the main issue of the sanjak-beys. For this reason, the Ottoman Empire began to appoint provincial administrators such as sanjak-beys and *qadis* [judges] directly from Istanbul in order to settle these issues in Jerusalem. The perceived weight of the central government in Jerusalem, which was far removed from the Ottoman administrative center, played an important role in the sanjak's protection. Thus, issues such as suppressing the Bedouin Arab revolts, ensuring security in the city, and checking on state officials had become the major regional issues to address during this period.⁸

Kaytas Pasha became the sanjak-bey of Jerusalem in 1560 and was informed in two decrees from Istanbul that he was not to leave the sanjak to protect it and that if an excursion order were to happen, he would take the necessary measures to protect the sanjak from Bedouin Arab attacks.⁹ The Decree of 1585 ordered that, even if an excursion order were to issued and the presence of many Arab bandits were mentioned, the sanjak-bey of Jerusalem must remain within the protection of the sanjak as well as the *zeamet* and *timar* holder [fief holder and lord of the manor].¹⁰

² For Jerusalem's annexation by the Ottoman Empire, see Silahşör, *Fetihname-i diyar-ı Arab*, (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Nur-ı Osmaniye, 4087), 18a-36b; Solakzâde Mehmed Hemdemi, *Solakzâde Tarihi*, (Dersaadet: Mahmud Bey Printing House, 1297), 384-389; Hoca Sadeddin, *Tâci'ü't-tevârih*, (Dersaadet: Matba'a al-Amiriya), 2: 337-349.
³ Ö. Lütfi Barkan, «H. 933-934 Mâli Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği», *Istanbul University İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15/1-4 (1954): 306.

⁴ Şair Nedim Efendi, *Münevverbaşı Tarihi Tercümesi*, (Dersaadet: Matba'a al-Amiriya, 1285), 3: 463; Hoca Sadeddin, *Tâci'ü't-tevârih*, 2:342; Solakzâde, *Solakzâde Tarihi*, 391; Hadidi, *Hadidi Tarihi (Manzum Osmanlı Tarihi)* (1285 1523) Publisher: Necdet Öztürk, (Istanbul: Bilge Culture and Art Publications, 2015), 389-394; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, (Ankara: TTK Printing House, 1983), 2/309.
⁵ *The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives (BOA), Tapu Tahrir Defterleri [TT.d.]*, No. 1015, 1.
⁶ Amy Singer, *Kadılar, Kullar, Kudüslü Köylüler*, transl. Sema Bulutsuz (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Cultural Publications, 2008), 33.
⁷ *At this time, the Gaza Sanjak consisted of the districts of Ramle, Jerusalem and Halilurrahman*. BOA. TT. d. No. 998, 291.
⁸ For the provisions reflected in the 16th century *Mühimme Defterleri* on these issues, see Halit Eren (Ed.), *Mühimme Defterlerinde (1545-1594) Kudüs I*, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2016).
⁹ BOA, *Bab-ı Asaflı Divan-ı Hümayun Mühimme Kalemi* [A. DVNS. MHM. d.], no. 3, provisions 1020, 1025.
¹⁰ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d. No. 59, provision 57.

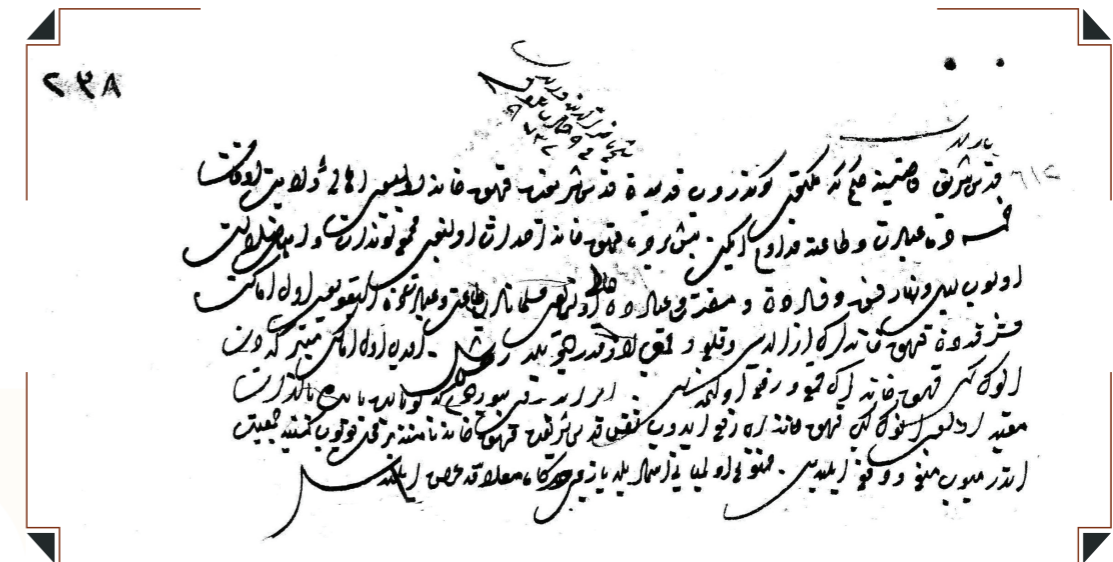
These provisions show the Ottoman central government had given great importance to this sensitive issue by reminding the Jerusalem sanjak-beys that their first and essential duty was to protect the sanjak and to take the necessary precautions to ensure that the sanjak was not left abandoned even for a moment. One of the policies implemented in preventing an Arab rebellion was to reward those who showed usefulness in the struggles against the rioters. Those who fought and defeated the Arab rebels on or around the paths of Jerusalem were rewarded with a fiefdom and tax concessions. A good example of this issue was Murad Pasha of the Ajloun region being given 20,000 coins for having killed more than ten and wounding many other Manzur, Beni Said, and Karim Arabs who had killed and robbed travelers along the road between Jerusalem and Egypt during the battle.¹¹ Again in a judgment from 1574, Jerusalem Sanjak-bey Suleiman Pasha requested a fiefdom be conferred to Abdullah, son of Mehmed who was among the Janissary agha of Damascus for shooting and killing one of the notable rebels with his rifle in the battle with the Banu Atiyya Arabs who'd rebelled in the Hebron district.¹² Another record from 1574 speaks of a letter where a man asks to be rewarded by the wali of Damascus, stating to pay the tax of 26,600 akches [Ottoman currency] to Mustafa in the Nablus Sanjak, who'd accompanied him in the murder of the mischief-maker Emir Ali who'd cut off the roads between Jerusalem and Egypt.¹³ The coordinated work of the commanders in these sanjaks with each other was considered important for suppressing the Arab revolts that frequently occurred in the sanjaks in the Palestinian region. In particular, Jerusalem being home to holy places of the three monotheistic religions caused many caravans to head to this region every year, which in turn increased the looting activities of Arab bandits in the region. Meanwhile, the Ottoman central government had ordered the

regional administrators to be aware of each other in the face of these rebellious Arab groups and to overcome them by helping one another. In this direction, due to the likelihood that the trouble-maker Ebu Rişoğlu would harm the Hajj convoy in 1576, the sanjak-beys of Safed, Jerusalem, and Leccun were asked to help Kansu Pasha, *amir al-hajj* [commander of the pilgrimage] of Damascus, together with their soldiers.¹⁴ When Gaza Sanjak-bey Ahmed reported not being able to stop the rebellious Arab Bedouins from the city, Jerusalem's sanjak-bey was ordered in 1578 to help Gaza Sanjak-bey Ahmed with resisting the Arab Bedouins who'd fled from the borders of Jerusalem to the mountains.¹⁵

Another decree from 1581 again requested that if the rebel Arabs were to come to any of the sanjaks of Jerusalem, Gaza, or Ajloun and cause mischief, the pashas of these three sanjaks should communicate with each other and act in unison against the rebels.¹⁶

Apart from the decrees the Imperial Council sent to the Jerusalem sanjak-bey and qadi about the Arab revolts, the decrees for eliminating specific security problems in the sanjaks also contained important information in terms of showing each sanjak administrator's areas of responsibility. Despite the prohibition in the decree from 1565 addressed to the sanjak-bey and qadi of Jerusalem, the decree also ordered those bringing wine to Jerusalem from outside for sale to be immediately stopped.¹⁷ Another decree from the same year requested the qadi of Jerusalem to close the coffeehouses immediately, as the five newly opened coffeehouses in Jerusalem had brought together vagrants and outsiders who caused mischief day and night and prevented people from being in obedience.¹⁸

One of the methods the Ottoman Empire used to ensure justice in the lands under its domain was the use of the complaint mechanism. Accordingly,



Provision on the closure of coffee houses for causing mischief in Jerusalem. (BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 5, provision 612)

if allegations against statesmen were confirmed as a result of the necessary inspections, the relevant statesmen would be given the necessary punishment by taking into account the public complaints. This allowed the state to both carry out an internal check on the levels of service and remove the obstacles in front of the people of the region in order for them to lead a prosperous life. When an inspection was carried out on those working as tax collectors in Jerusalem by taking into account the complaints the Imperial Council received in 1564, these people were revealed to have been persecuting the public for a long time and thus were dismissed from their duty. However, when the Jerusalemites complained that these people had maintained their duties in an unofficial capacity and had become more problematic than before, an inspection of the incident was ordered stating if their crimes were proven, they would be terminated from their duties.¹⁹ In 1573, a copy of the complaints from the people of the region about Jerusalem Sanjak-bey Suleiman Pasha was sent to the wali of Damascus as well as its qadi with the request to inspect and investigate the veracity of the allegations.²⁰ In 1577,

a complaint about the tax collectors stated that after the tax collectors were unable to find some villagers in their homes, these officials burned all the villagers' property and cut down their trees. These people were also inspected and an order was issued to dismiss them if their crimes were proven.²¹

Apart from these issues that had come to the fore regarding the Ottoman Empire's administration of Jerusalem, the zoning activities carried out in the city during the second half of the 16th century increased the quality of life in the city. Although Selim I had annexed Jerusalem, he did not spend his life rebuilding the city. However, Selim I's son Suleiman succeeded him and during his reign carried out great renovation activities in Jerusalem as well as in other regions under Ottoman rule. This was so prominent that two of the inscriptions belonging to Suleiman the Magnificent in Jerusalem describe him as *Solomon II* in reference to the Prophet Solomon who'd originally built the city. In this respect, most of the Ottoman presence in Jerusalem today is based on the reconstruction activities carried out during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent.

¹¹ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 4, provision 851.
¹² BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 25, provision 960.
¹³ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 25, provision 2974.
¹⁴ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 28, provision 686.
¹⁵ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 33, provision 627.
¹⁶ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 46, provision 297.
¹⁷ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 6, provision 1344.
¹⁸ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 5, provision 612.

¹⁹ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 6, provision 104.
²⁰ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 23, provision 169.
²¹ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 31, provision 271.



The first reconstruction activity Suleiman the Magnificent carried out in Jerusalem was the conversion of part of the King David Tomb Complex, which involved this part being turned into a mosque. This was also the hall where Prophet Jesus had his last supper with his disciples. Additionally, the reconstruction of the city walls and the castle, the repair of the Dome of the Rock and the Qibly Mosque, the decoration of the Dome of the Rock with Iznik-style tiles, and the construction of six fountains in the city bringing water throughout Jerusalem were other construction activities Suleiman the Magnificent carried out.²² The complex built in 1552 by Hürrem Sultan, the wife of Suleiman the Magnificent, consisted of a mosque, madrasa, inn, roadhouse, and soup kitchen. The soup-kitchen had the distinction of being the largest of its time not only in Jerusalem but also in the Palestinian region.²³

In the 17th century, a series of disturbances known as the Celali rebellions and the uprisings of the rebel pashas in Eastern Anatolia made communication between the state center and the Arab states very difficult. When adding the power shifts within the government to these developments, the Imperial Council in the Arab states turned into a more localized system, so much so that during the 17th century, the three local dynasties (i.e., Ferruhis, Ridwanids, and Turabayns) ruled the sanjaks of Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza, and Lajjun in the Palestinian region. These three dynasties strengthened their ties throughout the century: Marriage ties gradually developed through strategic interests and financial business partnerships in Damascus State, thus becoming one large dynasty in the second half of the century.²⁴

The Ottoman Empire benefited from the military power of this dynastic alliance and its good relations with the Bedouins. However, the Istanbul administration always kept the local dynasties' ambitions of being in power from time to time on the agenda and permitted these dynasties to exist only as long as they provided the opportunity to realize the basic goals of the state's policies.²⁵ In this way, when the power of the local dynasties increased in the second half of the 17th century, the viziers of the Divan in Istanbul led by the Köprülü family thought abolishing these dynasties and appointing rulers from the capital would help the centralization process. However, the biggest obstacle in eliminating the local dynasties was the command of the cavalry unit that had been formed for the safety of the pilgrimage route in this period. The command of this cavalry unit established for the security of the pilgrimage routes was an important activity area for the legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire in the region and was entrusted to the sanjak-beys of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Safed in the Palestine region until the command of the military unit was passed over to the Wali of Tripoli in the 18th century.²⁶ Therefore, the local dynasties leading the pilgrimage caravans established close relations with the Bedouins in the region and received support from the local notables based on the mutual benefit. All these issues constituted major obstacles to the Köprülü leaders' centralization policy.²⁷ However, the Ottoman Empire's insistence on a policy of breaking the power of the local dynasties had positive results toward the end of the century, and the administrators of these dynasties began to be appointed from Istanbul to the Jerusalem Sanjak.

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Tarafından Çinilerle Süslenen Kubbetüssahra (İYV Arşivi)



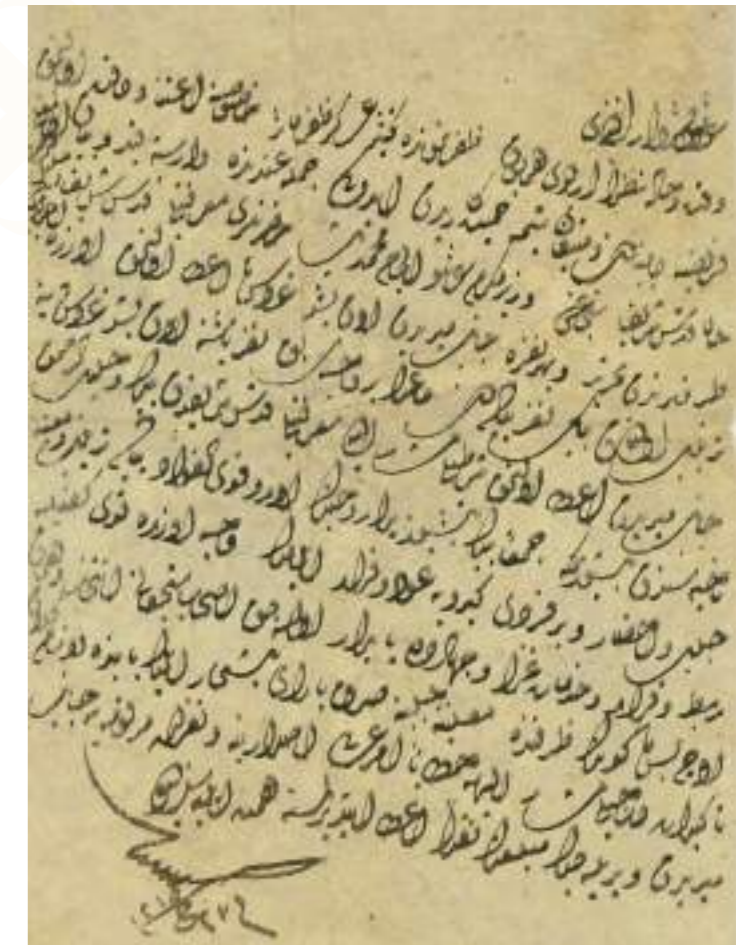
The fact that some of the newly appointed administrators from Istanbul saw their positions only as a source of income led them to display harsh and ruthless attitudes toward the people. These new rulers abandoned the alliances with the local dynasties and notables of Jerusalem, and this time the new rulers' attitudes paved the way for the integration of the gentry and the people. Finally, as a result of pressures that had reached a breaking point, an uprising was led by the Nakib al-Asraf Qaimaqam [sub-governor] Muhammad al-Husayni in 1703; it was the largest reaction against this serious case in the administration. Meanwhile, the revolt in Jerusalem was unable to be suppressed immediately, as the Imperial Council in Istanbul was busy suppressing the military uprising known as the Edirne Incident. In the end, the uprising was suppressed by the approximately 2,000 Janissaries, 300 armorers, and 100 artillery soldiers who'd been sent to the command of the sanjak-bey who'd been newly appointed in 1705. Thus, a devastating blow was dealt to the political and social status of the local notables in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, intelligence had reached Tripoli Wali Mustafa Pasha regarding the rebel Muhammad al-Husayni: he'd taken refuge in the Tarsus Castle around Tripoli and attempted to take wearing a disguise. Upon receiving this information, Muhammad al-Husayni was captured by Mustafa Pasha and sent to Istanbul; al-Husayni's death sentence was carried out in the Yedikule Dungeon.²⁸ Another conflict that took place in Jerusalem in the 18th century had occurred between the Janissaries who the central government in Istanbul had placed in the Antonia Fortress in Jerusalem and the local indigenous soldiers. The violent actions of the Janissaries in Jerusalem had led the Jerusalemites to support the local

soldiers who'd they'd always supported. With this power they'd received from the Jerusalemites the local soldiers seized the Antonia Fortress and expelled the Janissaries in 1731. At the end of the incident, the Janissaries had no choice but to demand an edict be sent from Istanbul supporting them.²⁹ After these uprisings, the Ottoman Empire that had tried to rule Jerusalem through central appointments for a while began to commonly assign the sanjaks to pashas. Through these appointments, Jerusalem retained its status as a sanjak of the Damascus State. Sometimes the sanjak was conferred to the wali of Damascus and administered by a consortium appointed by the wali. However, the fact that the notables of Jerusalem determined over time who would be the successor resulted in the notables' influence on the Sanjak administration to increase beginning in the second half of the 18th century, so much so that most of those appointed as sanjak-beys of Jerusalem in the 18th century were chosen from among the Tukan and Nimr families.³⁰ Families such as al-Husayni, al-Khalidi, al-Asali, and al-Alami who'd grown stronger during this period also took on some duties in Jerusalem. Although al-Husayni family lost their reputation in Jerusalem after the 1703 revolt, they managed to keep many duties such as qadi, mufti, nakib al-ashraf, sheikh al-Haram, muazzin conservator, and key security of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Members of al-Khalidi family, on the other hand, carried out the duties of the chief clerk and regent of the Jerusalem court and were also among the permanent witnesses of the court. Al-Asali family has carried out the religious duties of Jerusalem's Tower of David from generation to generation, while al-Alami family has had a say in the management of many foundations in Jerusalem.³¹

With Napoleon's occupation of Cairo at the end of the 18th century, Jerusalem was also affected by the activity in the region. Napoleon had set off from France with a naval force of 38,000 first captured Malta and then moved toward Cairo. The British became aware of this French operation and sent their navy under the command of Admiral Nelson to follow the French navy in order to protect their interests in India. Napoleon occupied Alexandria before the British could catch up, anchoring a part of his fleet in Abu Kir Port then heading toward Cairo. By carrying out an attack against the French ships anchored in the Abu Kir Port, the British blocked the way for Napoleon to get help from France. Meanwhile, Napoleon occupied Cairo on July 24, 1798, but he remained stuck there with his soldiers due to the heavy casualties suffered in Abu Kir Port. Napoleon first thought to stay in Egypt and make a treaty with the Ottoman Empire; however, he had no choice but to fight once he received news that the Ottoman Empire had made a treaty with England and Russia and sent a large navy toward Egypt. Thereupon, he headed toward Damascus and captured Gaza and Ramla. When facing Acre under the rule of Sidon Wali Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar, Napoleon encountered great resistance. After Napoleon's 2-month siege, Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar left the fortress on May 20, 1799, launching a grand attack and defeating the French.³² The political instability that had started in the Palestinian region with the French occupation of Egypt caused tension between the Muslim and non-Muslim people living in Jerusalem. The Imperial Council had received intelligence indicating Napoleon to have made false statements to attract the local people during the occupation; as a result the Imperial Council revealed the French's real intention with the edicts they sent on this matter: The French were trying to destroy Islamic rule in this holy place by occupying the mosques, masjids, ribat, mausoleums, and foundations in Jerusalem.³³

Another development that occurred was the change in the administrative

structure of Jerusalem. It had been administered by wali-appointed trustees as a sanjak of the state of Damascus. According to this, Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha was appointed as sanjak-bey of Jerusalem under the Timar system, which bestowed land rights apart from ownership. As a tax collector, he was given treasury resources from the income of Jaffa, Gaza, and Ramla. The Imperial Council had made such a disposition due to their attempt to provide logistical support to the Ottoman army in the war against the French. As sanjak-bey of Jerusalem, Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha actually rendered important services to the Ottoman army with his usefulness in matters such as the delivery of soldiers and the supply of grain, medicine, and camels.³⁴



The Sanjak-bey of Jerusalem Was Ordered to Summon Soldiers Against the French (BOA. AE. SSLM. III, No. 229, Leaf No. 13382.)

²² Mehmet Tütüncü, "Kudüs ve Sultan I. Süleyman", *Düşünce ve Tarih Dergisi*, (August 2016), 40-49.
²³ For the Foundation of Haseki Sultan Imaret, see. *Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA.) No. 608-2, 235/178*; Also, for a separate study on this subject, see Amy Singer, *Osmanlı'da Hayırseverlik, Kudüs'te Bir Haseki Sultan Imareti*, transl. Dilek Şendil (Istanbul: History Foundation Yurt Publishing, 2002).
²⁴ For the rise of these three dynasties in Palestine and their relations with each other, see Dror Ze'evi, *Jerusalem, Kudüs 17. Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Sancağında Toplum ve Ekonomi*, transl. Serpil Çağlayan (Istanbul: History Foundation Yurt Publishing, 2000), 40-65.
²⁵ Andre Raymond, *Osmanlı Döneminde Arap Kentleri*, transl. Ali Berkay (Istanbul: Alfa History, 2018), 33.
²⁶ Alaattin Dolu, *Osmanlı Kudüsü'nde Toplum ve Siyaset (1703-1789)*, (PhD dissertation, Hacettepe University 2017), 63-71.
²⁷ Ze'evi, *Kudüs*, 68.
²⁸ Raşid Mehmed Efendi & Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Târih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, Eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et al. (Istanbul: Klasik Publications, 2013), 2, pp. 767, 785; For the rebellion that took place in Jerusalem in 1703, see also. Adil Menna, "Eigtheenth and Nineteenth Century Rebellions in Palestine", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 24/1 (1994), 52-57; Minna Rosen, "The Naqib el-Ashraf Rebellion in Jerusalem and Its Repercussions on the City's Dhimmis", *Asian and African Studies: Journal of the Israel Oriental Society*, 18, (Haifa: The Institute of Middle Eastern Studies University, 1985), 249-270.
²⁹ Raymond, *Osmanlı Döneminde Arap Kentleri*, 72.
³⁰ Al-Aseli, "Kudüs", 26/335.
³¹ For these families, see Esmâ Câdullah Abd Hasâve, *Ailâtü'l-Kudsî'l-müteneffizeti fi'n-nisfi'l-evvel mine'l-karnî's-sâ min aşar: Dirâsetü min hilâli'l-vesâiki's-şer'iyye*, (PhD dissertation, Yarmuk University, 2005); Adel Mennâ, *A'lâmu Palestine fi evâhiri ahdi'l-Osmâni (1800-1918)*, (Beirut: Müessesetü'd-Dirâsâti'l-Filistinîyye, 1995).

³² Abdurrahman b. Hasan el-Cebertî, *Acâ'ibü'l-âsâr fi'l-Terâcim ve'l-ahbâr*, ed. Abdurrahim Abdurrahman Abdurrahim (Cairo: Matbaatü Dâri'l-Kütübî'l-Misriyye, 1998), 3/78-102; Darendeli İzzet Hasan Efendi, *Ziyânâme Sadrazam Yusuf Ziya Paşa'nın Napolyon'a Karşı Mısır Seferi (1798-1802)*, ed. M. İkin Erkatun (Istanbul: Kitabevi Publications, 2009), 118-121; Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, *Tarih-i Cevdet, (Dersaadet: Matba'a al-Amiriya, 1858)*, 7/84-91; M. C. Şehabettin Tekindağ, "Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığında Bonaparte'nin Akkâ Muhasarası", *Tarih Dergisi*, 15/20 (1965), 1-20.
³³ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d, No. 207, 172-173.

Thus, he was first appointed as the wali of Egypt and then as the wali of Damascus and amir al-hajj. However, these appointments caused him to experience great hostility from Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar who'd become well-known for his struggle against Napoleon. So much so that Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar had captured Gaza and Ramla, appointed his own men as administrators, and besieged Jaffa. The people of Jerusalem remained neutral in the face of this struggle between two successful statesmen in the region. However, developments such as Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha's large need for goods and money for the services he performed for the Ottoman army as well as his constant appeal to the public to meet these needs caused the Jerusalemite Ulama and notables to side with Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar. Upon the constant complaints about Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha, the central government appointed him as the wali of Diyarbakir. Thus, the administration of the Jerusalem Sanjak was removed from the Timar system, and it began to be conferred as a civil service to someone with the rank of vizier and wali, as had been in the past. For this reason, even though the Sanjak of Jerusalem had been conferred to Icel Sanjak-bey and Dimyat Guard Ahmed Pasha, Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar's attempts to take over the administration of the Palestine region continued. The Ottoman Imperial Council found this situation inconvenient for the sanjak administration, as Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar continued his duty as amir al-hajj in this period and would administer Jerusalem with a trusteeship due to the great danger of his struggle with the Wahhabis. Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar won the struggle for the Jerusalem Sanjak in 1803 thanks to his promises to ensure security in the sanjak, but the death of the Pasha a year later caused new developments for the Jerusalem Sanjak and its people.³⁵

The Ottoman Empire needed a strong person who knew the region well to fight the Wahhabis. The first name that came to mind was Ebulmerak

Muhammed Pasha, who had been expelled from the region due to his struggle with Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar. In 1804, the Jeddah Sanjak and Abyssinian State were conferred onto Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha.³⁶ In addition, tax collections from many places in Palestine were given to him so he could raise the money, goods, and ammunition he would need to eliminate the Wahhabi threat in the Hejaz.³⁷ This also meant that Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha would once again come face to face with Jerusalemites, people who had previously driven him from the region. As a matter of fact, the expected happened. Although not under his administration, Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha started to pressure the people by acting as if the Palestinian lands were his Tamir. Despite the increase in complaints on this issue, Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha continued to collect taxes, especially from the non-Muslim people in Jerusalem.

Finally, his entry into Gaza with the troops under his command caused him to be sent against Sidon Wali Sulayman Pasha, and Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha took refuge in the Egypt Wali Mehmed Ali Pasha.³⁸

While the power struggles of the local administrators around the Wahhabi danger in the Hejaz were like this, the fire that broke out in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1808 caused a great crisis between the state and community. Janissaries also participated in this conflict between Armenian Catholics and Greek Orthodox, who had disagreed on the repair of the church. Once the state intervened, the janissary soldiers rebelled. The Janissaries captured the castle, expelling the Jerusalem deputy from the city. Meanwhile, Damascus Wali Young Yusuf Pasha, who was busy suppressing the riots in Tripoli, asked for help from Sidon Wali Sulayman Pasha to suppress the rebellion in Jerusalem. However, Yusuf Pasha's threatening attitude had no effect on the Janissaries. Afterward, Young Yusuf Pasha was able to suppress the rebellion with the mili-



A view from the Harem al-Sharif and Dome of the Rock in the period of Abdulhamid II (IRCICA FAY134243)

tary unit he sent to Jerusalem, but all his duties were terminated due to the weakness he'd displayed on the Hejaz issue. This time, Egypt Wali Mehmed Ali Pasha was appointed to the Hejaz issue and became a powerful administrator who strengthened his treasury and managed to establish a modern army thanks to his policies on agriculture and trade. Mehmed Ali Pasha and his sons Tosun and Ibrahim Pasha won this struggle in 1819 and saved the Hejaz from the Wahhabi occupation. Young Yusuf Pasha's duty as the wali of Damascus was given to Sidon Wali Sulayman Pasha. During the reign of Sulayman Pasha as the wali of Damascus, stability and tranquility were restored in Jerusalem, and even some reconstruction activities were carried out on the Temple Mount plaza, especially on the Noble Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque.³⁹

Political developments in the lands under Ottoman rule continued to affect Jerusalem indirectly. This time, the likelihood that the non-Muslim revolt in the Peloponnese in 1821 might also be mobilized by non-Muslims in Jerusalem came to the fore. For this reason, a large-scale repair was carried out on Kerak Castle. The attempt was made to ensure public order in Jerusalem as a result of the balanced policy the

Ottoman Empire monitored between the walis of Damascus and Sidon. However, Damascus Wali Mustafa Pashas increased taxes in 1825, arguing the taxes collected in the sanjaks to be insufficient; the non-Muslim subjects became insubordinate and initiated this into a popular revolt. The people captured the castle and expelled the Jerusalem deputy from the city. They chose the Janissary Captain Yusuf Agha, whose family members were prominent in the city. Ahmed Agha as the director of the Castle led the rebellion. The rebels felt that Jerusalem being administered by the walis of Damascus who also carried out the duty of amir al-hajj had brought extra responsibilities upon them. For this reason, they considered Jerusalem's separation from the state of Damascus as the final solution, thus abandoning the duty of amir al-hajj. The task of suppressing this rebellion was given as it had before to the wali of Sidon. As the rebels did not favor making a treaty, a military unit was sent by the Sidon Wali Abdullah Pasha to intervene. Thereupon, upon the recommendations from the Jerusalemite ulama, the rebels ended their rebellion on the condition that the people of Jerusalem not be taxed more than usual.⁴⁰

³⁴ BOA, Bab-ı Aşağı Divan-ı Hümayun Military Mühimme Kalemi [A. DVNS. LOVE. MHM. d.], No. 11, 127; BOA, Ali Emiri Tasnifi III. Selim Evrakı [AE. SSLM. III], no. 132, Leaf No. 8042; BOA. AE. SSLM. III, No. 178, Leaf No. 10632; BOA. AE. SSLM. III, No. 229, Leaf No. 13382.

³⁵ Abdullah Çakmak, *Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde Devlet ve Toplum (1798-1841)*, (PhD Dissertation, Afyon Kocatepe University, 2019), 44-54.

³⁶ BOA. A. DVNS. LOVE. MHM. d. No. 221, 102.

³⁷ Adel Menna, *Livâü'l-Kuds fi evâsıtı'l-ahdi'l-Osmanî*, (Beirut: Müessesetü Dirâseti'l-Filistinîyye, 2008), 24.

³⁸ Çakmak, *Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde Devlet ve Toplum*, 55-56.

³⁹ Menna', *Livâü'l-Quds*, 26-31.

⁴⁰ BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayûn, [HAT.], BOA. HAT, no. 541, Leaf No. 26730; BOA. HAT, no. 772, Leaf No. 36194; BOA. HAT, no. 1229, Leaf No. 47940.

With the abolition of the Janissary Corps by Mahmud II in 1826, the number of soldiers who comes from the Damascus State was one thousand and it was forty thousand from the Jerusalem Sanjak for the new Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye [Mansure Army]. Upon the Jerusalemites' opposition to the draft, 17,500 piastres [units of currency] were ordered to be taken from the sanjak as the price. However, as this money was not collectible, long-term changes were made to the administrative structure of the Jerusalem, Nablus, and Lajjun Sanjaks of the Damascus State. Because these three sanjaks could not be managed properly due to the Damascus wali's simultaneous duty of amir al-hajj, the three sanjaks became affiliated with the Sidon State in 1830 on the condition they pay 2,000 purses to the annual tax treasury and 750 purses to the Damascus treasury for the Hijaz crew.⁴¹ In this way, the Jerusalem Sanjak became affiliated with the state of Sidon instead of being directly connected to the center, and having the sanjak make annual regular payments in order to carry out the pilgrimage efforts as before nullified the demand from the Jerusalemites. The administration of the Jerusalem Sanjak

remained under Sidon State until 1865; it left the Ottoman Empire between 1831-1841 and passed to the Egypt Wali Mehmed Ali Pasha.

After the Wahhabi danger ended, Egypt Wali Mehmed Ali Pasha, whom the Ottoman Empire had requested suppress the rebellion in Morea, rebelled and withdrew all his aid when the reimbursements he requested for himself and his son did not materialize. At the end of 1831, he sent his army of 24,000 people under the command of his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to Damascus. Egyptian forces captured their primary targets of Gaza, Jerusalem, and Jaffa without bloodshed.⁴² Thus began the period of Mehmed Ali Pasha in Jerusalem, which lasted the decade between 1831-1841. During this period, the strict policy of the Pasha regarding military service and taxes caused a series of rebellions in Jerusalem. Notably, Mehmed Ali Pasha's administration of Jerusalem was limited to the military field, and he suppressed these revolts with his son, Ibrahim Pasha. From the cases reflected in the Jerusalem Court, the people of Jerusalem who had been under Ottoman rule for three centuries at this point were understood to have continued their lives in line with the rights



Ceremony and prayer, which coincides with the Culus day in the period of Abdulhamid II, on the occasion of the water supply to the fountain on Şimendifer Street in Jerusalem for the first time (IRCICA FAY143917)

⁴¹ BOA. HAT, no. 554, Leaf No. 27425.

⁴² S. N. Spyrdion, "Annals of Palestine, 1821-1841", *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 18, (1938), 84.

provided by the Ottoman Empire. However, the European states had wanted to make their political influence felt in Jerusalem for a long time, and they can be said to have achieved this goal during the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha. England opened its first consulate in Jerusalem in 1838, and this was followed by Prussia, France, Austria, and Russia. England in particular had tried to take the Jews under its protection and create a Protestant population in Jerusalem. In addition, the French intensified their influence on the Catholics just as the Russians did on the Orthodox Christians. The increase in the interest of non-Muslims in the holy places in Jerusalem, the institutions they established, and the number of visitors each year required keeping them in check and closer monitoring. For this reason, the Tanzimat [reform] period that started with the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 led to significant changes in the administration of Jerusalem.

When Jerusalem came under Ottoman rule again in 1841, new institutions were built in the city through the influence of the Tanzimat period. In 1863, the Jerusalem Municipality was opened, and an administrative council was established to regulate the administration of the sanjak. Having a telegraph system in 1865 and opening the highway between Jaffa and Jerusalem in 1868 contributed significantly to developing Jerusalem's relations with the outside world as well as to increasing its number of visitors and economic development. The government mansion that was built in 1868 both functionally and symbolically showed Jerusalem and its surrounding areas to have become more closely connected to the capital in Istanbul. Thus, while the center of political power in Palestine had been the port city of Acre, this center shifted to Jerusalem, which is located further inland, so much so that upon the issuance of the 1871 Provincial Regulation [Vilayet Nizamnamesi], Jerusalem was transformed into a mutasarrifate directly affiliated with the capital. This situation led the notables of Jerusalem, who had been known for their

activities in the religious field, to also show themselves in the administrative field. The Jerusalemites who'd settled in as administrative council members, court committees, municipal leadership, and various civil servants in the state offices in Jerusalem took a more active role in the administration. Among the state-organized public services in the city, buildings such as banks, hotels, theaters, and municipal parks showed that city life had changed.⁴³

The Ottoman central government's interest in the city lay in the background of the changes that had occurred in Jerusalem since the second half of the 19th century. This interest reached its highest level during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in particular. However, not only the Ottoman sultans but also the European states should be stated as having become more interested in Jerusalem during this period.⁴⁴ Allowing European states to open consulates in Jerusalem during the 10-year occupation by the Egypt Wali Mehmed Ali Pasha had paved the way for these states to increase their influence in the holy city. The fact that the consulates felt they had jurisdiction throughout Palestine had caused the Ottoman Empire to take precautions against this. Toward the end of the 19th century, the European population in the region had increased as a result of the Jewish immigrations to Palestine.⁴⁵ Born within Western political thought in the second half of the 19th century, Zionism was the factor that had encouraged Jews to migrate. Zionism was a universal movement aimed at establishing an independent state for Jews in Palestine and at reviving Judaism in this land with all its institutions.⁴⁶ In line with the views of Doctor Pinsker, who was among the advocates of this movement, many societies under the name "Lovers of Zion" were formed in various parts of Europe. The most important field of activity for these societies was the attempt to establish a colony in Palestine.⁴⁷ Two important names serving this purpose should be mentioned here: Theodore Herzl and Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

⁴³ For the last period of Ottoman Jerusalem, see Yasemin Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs (1890-1914)* (Ankara: Phoenix Publications, 2004); al-Asali, "Kudüs", 26/334-338; Mohamad Alamleh, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kudüs Mutasarrıflığı (1874-1914)*, (PhD Thesis, Ankara University, 2019).

⁴⁴ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the Late Nineteenth Century", *The Israel/Palestine Question*, ed. Ilan Pappé, (London: Routledge, 1999), 42-43.

⁴⁵ Avcı, *Kudüs (1890-1914)*, 63-67.

⁴⁶ Mim Kemal Öke, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu (1880-1914)*, (Istanbul: Üçdal Publications, 1982), 32.

⁴⁷ Öke, *Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu*, 36-38.

Theodore Herzl, who gave Zionism a political identity, tried to get Jews to immigrate from their lands to Palestine. He thought the widespread use of the concept of "anti-Semitism" among them might persuade them to migrate. According to Herzl, the perception that this concept would create in Jewish minds would show them to be foreigners in the lands where they lived and thus accelerate their migration to Palestine.⁴⁸ Having Jews gather in Palestine and acquire these lands was contrary to Sultan Abdul Hamid II's policies, as he emphasized the title of caliphate the most. In this direction, Sultan Abdul Hamid II took a series of measures against these immigrations with the idea that Jewish immigration to Palestine would endanger Ottoman dominance in the holy lands.⁴⁹ The first of these measures can be examined in four parts, the first being the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, the Ministry would spend all its diplomatic efforts abroad to prevent other states from adopting Zionism. As a second precaution, the Ministry of the Interior would take the measures needed to prevent Zionists from entering Palestine, remain in constant communication with the walis in the region, and always keep security forces at the ready in case of a negative situation. As a third measure, the Ottoman High Porte would exempt Jews infiltrating Palestine from

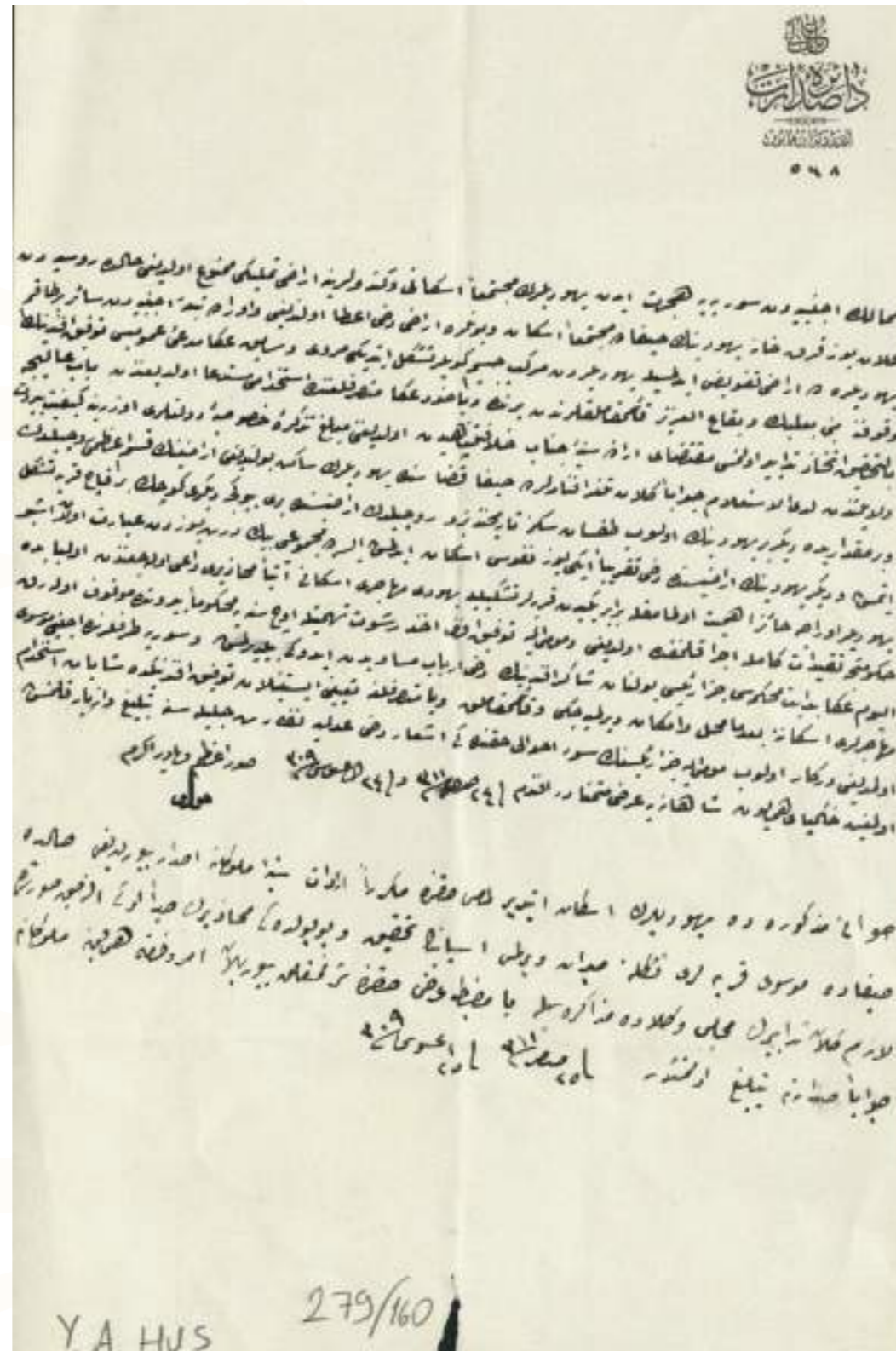
capitulations and deprive them of the protection of European states despite all their measures. For this reason, the High Porte would transfer Zionists who'd infiltrated Palestine to the status of Ottoman subjects and thus keep them under control. The last measure was the *Defter-i Hakani* [Tax Registry Court], which aimed to prevent Jewish immigrants from purchasing land in Palestine. Due especially to the third and fourth measures, Sultan Abdulhamid planned for Jews to be unable to obtain protection from foreign states or buy land in Palestine and thus give up this passion and return to their country.⁵⁰ Theodore Herzl came to Istanbul, contacted Ottoman bureaucrats, and made some offers to the Ottoman Empire in order to realize his plan to transform Palestine into a Jewish homeland. One of these was involved the Armenians' ability to mobilize Jews, who had significant influence in the European press, and to end the propaganda they'd started against Sultan Abdul Hamid II. He made his second offer to Sultan Abdul Hamid II, as he had the opportunity to meet the sultan in person. This proposal was aimed at removing the Ottoman Empire's financial crisis.

After making the offer, the Sultan asked Herzl to prepare a report for consolidating the Ottoman debt. Herzl presented his report to Sultan Abdul



Sultan Abdulhamid II and Theodore Herzl

⁴⁸ Roger Garaudy, *Siyonizm Dosyası*, transl. Nezih Uzel, (Istanbul: Pinar Publications, 1983), 119-120.
⁴⁹ Avci, *Kudüs (1890-1914)*, 79.
⁵⁰ Öke, *Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu*, 78.



Willingness not to resettle Jews in Palestinian territories

Hamid II about a month later. Notifying Sultan Abdul Hamid II in a separate letter, Herzl stated they could collect all Ottoman debt bonds from the European stock market with the stipulation that the Sultan grant Jews permission to settle in Palestine and the right to establish an autonomous administration.

However, Abdul Hamid II refused this offer. In 1902, the Ottoman Empire made an offer to Theodore Herzl. In return for consolidating the Empire's debts, the Jews would be allowed to settle in lands outside Palestine under the provision they become Ottoman subjects. However, Theodore Herzl this time insisted on allowing settlement around Acre, at least including Haifa; no agreement was able to be reached.⁵¹

Contrary to Theodore Herzl, Rothschild⁵² was in favor of conducting the migrations quietly, and this was the most important step in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.⁵³ Despite the measures the Ottoman Empire had taken in this direction, Rothschild secretly carried out activities in Palestine. He established some colonies on the lands he bought in Palestine. Reports from the rulers in the region, especially from the sanjak-bey of Jerusalem, mentioned these Jewish activities in detail. In this direction, the letter written on September 27, 1891 by Boyacıyan Mihran, one of the mulazim [junior officer rank] of qaimaqam employed under the Jerusalem Sanjak, contained important information. Mihran wrote how some Jewish communities, especially Rothschild, had established colonies on the lands they'd bought between Haifa and Gaza, were carrying out agricultural works professionally, and also training people skilled in art and trade; he wrote that this situation would allow Jews to have a say in Jerusalem and its surroundings if it were to continue unchecked. He drew attention to the fact that Muslims and non-Muslims living in Turkey were able to sell their lands and hand over the holy land to the Jews and, most importantly, the state of Israel could be established not through war but by purchasing land.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Öke, *Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu*, 51-57.

⁵² The Rothschild family's relations with the Ottoman Empire began with the Ottoman-Russian War, which happened in 1828-1829. During the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, this family was borrowed from twice. For the Rothschild family's relations with the Ottoman State, see Mustafa Balcıoğlu and Sezai Balci, *Rothschildler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (Ankara: Erguvani Publishing House, 2017).

⁵³ Balcıoğlu & Balci, *Rothschildler*, 211.

⁵⁴ BOA, *Yıldız Perakende Umumi Evrakı [Y. PRK. UM]*, no. 23, Leaf No. 66.

Another report came to the Grand Viziership [Sadaret] a year later stating that the Jews who'd come from Russia and settled in Haifa had settled in villages belonging to Rothschild and another Jew and their numbers had reached 1,400. The Grand Viziership conveyed this information to Yıldız Palace on September 6, 1893, after which Sultan Abdul Hamid II expressed his will as follows:



"Despite the sultan's repeated orders not to resettle the Jews in this ordinary atmosphere, it was announced to the Grand Vizier's office in response to the sultan's edict in regard to allowing the formation of Jewish villages in Haifa, investigating the issue, and discussing the measures to be taken in the parliament."⁵⁵



Despite the edicts not allowing Jews to settle on Palestinian lands, land purchases continued thanks to Edmond de Rothschild's representatives in Palestine. These representatives were dominant in Islamic and Ottoman law, and he was in constant contact with the local government on issues such as price bargaining, problematic title deeds, expropriation, and taxation of farmers. Thanks to these relations, Edmond de Rothschild bought many parcels along the boundary stretching from Haifa to Jaffa; he sent administrators, agronomists, physicians, teachers, and engineers to the colonies he established there. Thus, Rothschild laid the first foundations for a permanent Jewish settlement in Palestine.⁵⁶ With the British occupation in World War I, four centuries of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem and Palestine came to an end.

⁵⁵ BOA, Yıldız Perakende Umumi Evrakı [Y.A. HUS.], no. 279, Leaf No. 160.

⁵⁶ Balcıoğlu & Balcı, Rothschildler, 413-414.

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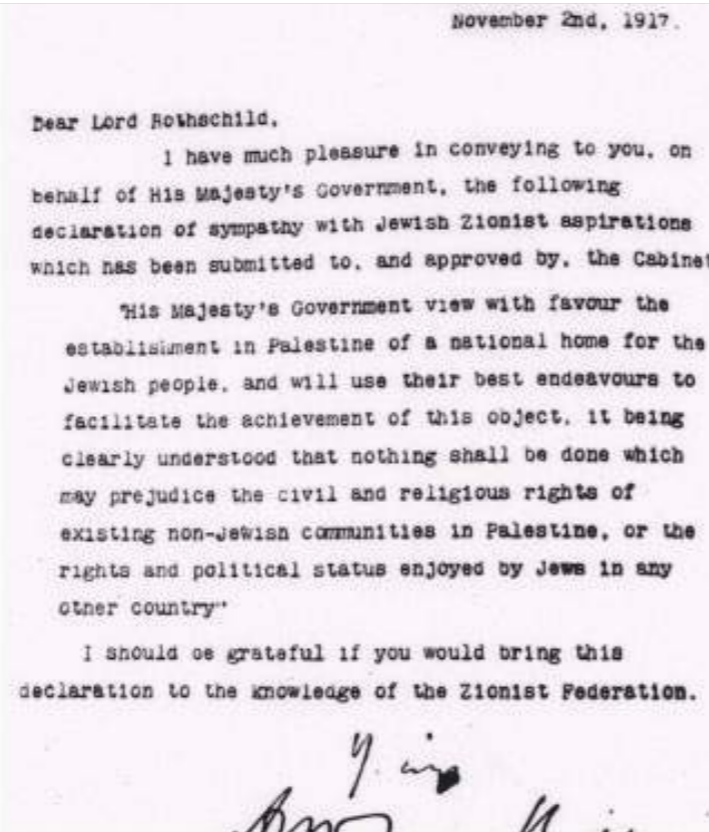
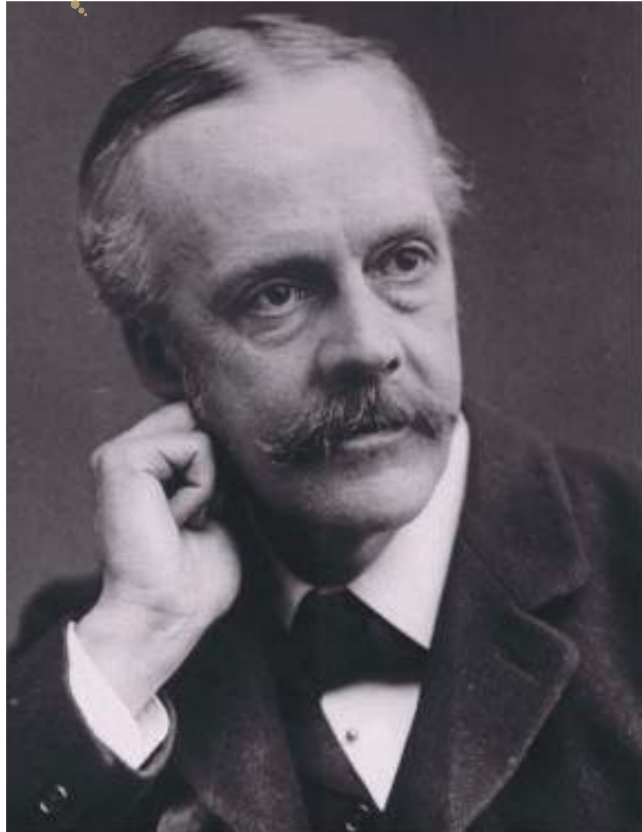
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Letter from Lord Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild: The Balfour Declaration

FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION TO THE FOUNDATION OF ISRAEL: THE INVASION OF PALESTINE

Can DEVECİ*

INTRODUCTION

The important moments of World War I for Palestine were the last months of 1917. At this time, the Ottoman administration that had been based on justice in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem [al-Quds], had come to an end, and the occupation process shaped under the British mandate had begun. Britain worked with the World Zionist Organization for its strategic interests in Palestine.¹ With Theodor Herzl's death in 1904, Chaim Weizmann, a faculty member in the Department of Chemistry at Manchester University, took over leadership of the Zionists in 1905 and moved the center of the movement to England. As a chemist who had devel-

oped acetone used in the making of explosives, Weizmann was in a position to satisfy Britain's needs for wartime explosives during World War I. In this way, Weizmann developed his relations with the British bureaucrats serving in the House of Lords, with David Lloyd George, Sir Mark Sykes, Arthur James Balfour, and Sir Herbert Samuel being just a few of his colleagues.²

With the start of World War I, the Zionists under the leadership of Weizmann had the opportunity to provide by virtue of England the condition of getting the support of a great state, which had been adopted as a principle

at the 1896 Basel Congress. According to the Zionists, Britain's support of the Jewish homeland in Palestine would prevent the Suez Canal and the lands around it from being threatened by another great power. This perspective coincided with the strategic interests of the British War Cabinet under David Lloyd George's leadership regarding the Middle East-India line. As a result of many meetings with the Zionists, Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour sent a letter to the prominent Zionist Lord Rothschild containing British sympathy for the establishment of "a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine."³ With the Balfour Declaration published on November 2, 1917, Britain declared its support of the Jews; this became an important turning point in the creation of the British mandate for Palestine, as this declaration is considered the basic legal document for the Palestinian mandate. Aside from this declaration, Britain took another step and occupied Palestine.

While World War I was going on, British Prime Minister Lloyd George asked General Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby to occupy Jerusalem until the 1918 Christmas celebrations and give it away to the British people and the Christian world. According to Lloyd George, the last crusade would be completed with the occupation of Jerusalem. After occupying Jerusalem, which was one of the main centers the Ottoman State had used to govern Palestine, the process of seizing Palestine and its surrounding regions accelerated. Continuing his military operations, General Allenby had occupied Southern Palestine by January 23, 1917, Haifa by September 23, 1918, Damascus by October 1, 1918, and Beirut by October 8, 1918.⁴ Thus, in the regions known today as Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, a superior military administration had been established under the name of Occupied Enemy Territories through the directive Allenby issued on October 26, 1918.⁵ Since this date, establishing a government based on justice and peace has been impossible in these regions because Britain had worked with the World Zionist Organization for its strategic interests in Palestine.

As one of the victors of the war, Britain participated in the Paris Peace Conference that had begun in January 1919. Before the mandate, the Zionists had gone to Paris with the support of a big state to have the international community accept their demands. The Declaration of the Zionist Organization on Palestine, which would be defended against Palestine at the Paris Peace Conference, was completed on February 3, 1919 by a group of Zionists led by Weizmann and sent to bureaucrats close to the British government. This declaration was also revealed in front of the commission that administered the Paris Peace Conference on February 27, 1919.⁶ In his presentation at the commission, Weizmann demanded recognition for Jew's right to establish their national homeland in Palestine, the British mandate for Palestine be established, the Balfour Declaration be implemented, a council representing Jews living in Palestine be established, and Jewish immigration to Palestine be facilitated, thus paving the way for its colonization.⁷ Many of these demands were accepted at the Paris Peace Conference and formalized at the San Remo Conference held on April 16-25, 1920. Thus, Palestine was given to the British mandate. The British military rule in Palestine since the 1917 occupation has left its mark on the civilian mandate. With the start of British administration, the demographic structure of Palestine began to change within the framework of the decisions taken by the High Commissioners appointed by London. Jewish immigration, which had been considered illegal under the administration of the Ottoman State, gained a legal basis in the British mandate administration. Thus, the Arabs living in Palestine gradually began to lose their influence on the administration of Palestine as the High Commissioners and lower administrative staff acted jointly with the World Zionist Organization. This chapter will discuss the developments that took place in Palestine between 1917-1948 as a result of Jewish immigration.

¹ For the activities carried out by the World Zionist Organization in England since 1905, see *Barnet Litvinoff, The Letter and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* (Jerusalem: Transaction Books, 1983).

² Andrew Mango-Robert McNamara, T. G. Fraser, *The Makers of the Modern Middle East* (Istanbul: Remzi Bookstore, 2011), 95. David Fromkin, *Barışa Son Veren Barış*, transl. Mehmet Harmancı (Istanbul: Epsilon Publication, 2004), 248. İlan Greilsammer, *Siyonizm*, transl. Işık Ergüden (Ankara: Dost Publications, 2007), 51.

³ For a detailed discussion of the Balfour declaration, see Jonathan Schneer, *Balfour Deklarasyonu*, transl. Ali Cevat Akkoyunlu (Istanbul: Kırmızı Kedi, 2012), 129-172.

⁴ Mathew Hughes, *Allenby and British Strategy in the Middle East 1917-1919* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), 20-21.

⁵ FO 371/3384, 1918. *Gudrun Kramer, A History of Palestine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 155.

⁶ February 3, 1919, the declaration of the Zionist organization on Palestine, on behalf of the Zionist organization and the Jews in Palestine, Lord Rothschild, Weizmann and Sokolow, on behalf of the Russian Zionist organization Israel Rosoff, on behalf of the American Zionist organization Julian Mack, Stephen Wise, Harry Friedenwald, Jacob de Haas, Mary Fels, Louis Robison, and Bernard Flexner signed. *The Paris Peace Conference was chaired by the council formed by the victors of World War I. The commission included the heads of government and foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and two Japanese representatives.* Mango, McNamara, Fraser, *The Makers of the Modern Middle East*, 96, 154, 156.

⁷ Alan Taylor, *İsrail'in Doğuşu*, transl. Mesut Karışahan (Istanbul: Pinar Publications, 2001), 43-44.

British Mandate and Jewish Immigration in Palestine

At the Royal Hotel in San Remo on April 24, 1920, Lloyd George offered Sir Herbert Samuel, who had detailed information about Palestine, the position of Palestinian Civil High Commissioner.⁸ Sir Herbert Samuel being specified as Palestine's first civilian ruler was no coincidence. Samuel was a member of a Jewish family that had been living in England for many years. He also had close relations with the President of the World Zionist Organization, Chaim Weizmann, whom he had met on December 10, 1914. He served on the commission Zionists had established for writing the Balfour Declaration in 1917. He took part in and advised the Zionist delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. A document titled "The Declaration of the Zionist Organization on Palestine" was prepared on February 3, 1919 under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel as a result of a series of meetings by a small group composed of Sir Alfred Mond, Chaim Weizmann, and Nahum Sokolow, who served in Lloyd George's government.⁹ This historical background was an important factor in Samuel's appointment.

After Herbert Samuel accepted the post, the Foreign Affairs Minister Lord Curzon informed General Allenby in the British Egypt office that civilian administration would start in Palestine as of July 1, 1920. In addition, Curzon told Allenby to give all documents and correspondence in his archive related to Zionism and the Jewish National House to Herbert Samuel.¹⁰ Samuel and the High Commissioners succeeding him would administer Palestine on behalf of the King of England, His Majesty's Government. The High Commissioners strove to shape a structure that would consist of the political participation of Arab, Jewish, and Christian notables. However, the Arabs and Jews had no intention to cooperate. Among the main reasons for the disagreement were the High Commissioners' ignorance toward the Arabs on how to manage Palestine, the institutionalization of Zionist activities in Palestine, and the daily increase in Jewish immigrations.

Jewish immigration to Palestine gained momentum during the mandate. The main reason why Zionists accelerated the increase of the Jewish population was to declare to the world that Palestine had become a national homeland for the Jews. The foundations of the institution that organized the immigration to Palestine were laid within the framework of the mandate declared for Palestine by the League of Nations dated July 24, 1922. Developing Jewish immigration, population, institutions, and economy in Palestine was one of Britain's commitments to the League of Nations. The institution that Britain would consult while doing this was the Jewish Agency, which carried out the activities of the World Zionist Organization in Palestine. The Jewish Agency would advise the High Commissioners as the sole representative of Zionists in Palestine. For example, this institution would decide which Jews would migrate to Palestine from another country.¹¹ Thus, Jewish immigration to Palestine under the British mandate had gained a legal basis.

Regular Jewish migrations organized before World War I had taken place illegally without the Ottoman Empire's permission. The estimated number of Jews in Palestine in 1845 was 12,000. By 1914, it had reached 85,000.¹² After Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed High Commissioner to Palestine on July 1, 1920, he issued a decree establishing the Palestine Immigration Department on August 26, 1920 to control Jewish immigration to Palestine. The Palestine Immigration Department started its activities in Palestine on September 1, 1920, and all legal regulations regarding Jewish immigration came into effect through this institution. Samuel defined the duties of the Palestine Immigration Department under controlling and regulating migrations to Palestine, determining departure and settlement permits for passengers arriving in Palestine, issuing temporary citizenship certificates to those settling in Palestine, and making legal arrangements regarding these

issues.¹³ In this direction, the Palestine Immigration Department implemented legal regulations regulating mass or individual migrations to Palestine between 1920-1925. Thanks to these regulations, unlawful immigrations during the Ottoman Empire had become legalized through British administration.

British Jews were appointed to the managerial staff of this unit to manage immigration on behalf of the High Commissioner. For example, Colonel Morris was appointed director of the immigration department and followed Herbert Samuel's instructions. N. I. Mindel was appointed as the director of the Port of Jaffa, as immigration to Palestine was mostly organized through this port. Meanwhile, Jerusalem was the center monitoring immigrants and conducting basic registration procedures. The immigration office here was under Dennis Cohen's responsibility. Albert Montefiore Hyamson had been appointed as deputy director of the immigration department.¹⁴ The main factor in Samuel appointing these names was the fact that these people were involved in the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. Thus, the Zionists had the power to directly organize the potential to change the demographic structure

in Palestine.¹⁵ The absence of any Palestinian (Arab, Druze, Christian) among these appointments was also important in terms of showing British intention regarding Jewish immigration. In addition, this institutional structure impacted the entire British Mandate administration. Although the persons on duty changed, the understanding of acting together with the Jewish Agency did not.

The population balance in Palestine started to change as a result of the Jewish immigration organized after these arrangements. In 1919 through the effect of World War I, the number of Jews in Palestine's general population of 590,000 had declined to somewhere between 55-60 thousand. As a result of the Jewish immigration in 1925 that took place during the reign of Herbert Samuel, the Jewish population increased to 121,725 among a general population of 847,328.¹⁶ When evaluated from a different perspective, while the number of Jews in the general population had increased to 66,574 over the 38 years between 1882-1920, this figure had doubled to 121,725 during Samuel's 5-year tenure. These figures reveal his support for establishing the Jewish National House in Palestine during the first years of the British Mandate.

YEAR	TOTAL	MUSLIM	JEW	CHRISTIAN	OTHER
1920	673,193	521,403	66,574	77,801	7,415
1921	761,796	585,271	81,263	88,049	7,213
1922	757,182	590,890	83,794	73,024	9,474
1923	778,989	609,331	89,660	72,090	7,908
1924	804,962	627,660	94,945	74,094	8,263
1925	847,238	641,494	121,725	75,512	8,507

Population Distribution Chart in Palestine¹⁷

Lord Herbert Charles Onslow Plumer was appointed as the second High Commissioner to Palestine on May 21, 1925 following the end of Herbert Samuel's term. Lord Plumer planned the Jewish immigrations between 1925 and 1928 in accordance with Palestine's economic assimilation capacity.¹⁸ During Plumer's tenure, 51,773 Jews immigrated to Palestine from June 1925 to July 1928. As of 1928, with the number of additional Jews reaching 151,656, the overall population of Palestine had increased to

⁸ Herbert Samuel, *Memoirs* (London: Cresset Press, 1945), 9, 150. Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete Jews and Arabs under The British Mandate* (London: Abacus, 2000), 149.

⁹ Alan Taylor, *İsrail'in Doğuşu*, transl. Mesut Karavaşan (Istanbul: Pinar Publications, 2001), 43-44.

¹⁰ FO/371/5205/E. 7101/1136/Earl Curzon to Sir Herbert Samuel (Jerusalem), 19 June 1920; FO/141/742/E. 7436/476/44, Earl Curzon, Foreign Office, to General Allenby, 22 July 1920.

¹¹ For Britain's commitments to the League of Nations, see cmd. 1785 *League of Nations, Mandate for Palestine* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1922), 3rd Jewish Agency in Palestine for Weizmann's statements about advising the British civil administration, see Litvinoff, *The Letter and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, 360. Herbert Samuel asked Weizmann to establish the Jewish Agency under Article 4 of the League of Nations. See. *Government of Palestine Report, Report on Palestine Administration 1922* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1922), 11-12.

¹² Can Deveci, "Filistin'in Kaderini Değiştiren Göçler: Aliyah", (*Derin Tarih 10 Kasım 2017*), 35-43. J.C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Norton Company, 1950), 27-28.

¹³ CMD. 1499, *Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the year ended 30th June 1921* (London: His Majesty Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1921), 6. Sahar Huneidi, *A Broken Trust Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians 1920-1925* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), 192.

¹⁴ *The Palestinian Immigration Department kept detailed reports on the countries from which Jews were immigrated. Government of Palestine Report, Report on Palestine Administration 1925* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1925), 58. M. Mossek, *Palestine Immigration Policy under Sir Herbert Samuel British Zionist and Arab attitudes*, (London: Frank Cass, 1978), 96-97.

¹⁵ Albert Hyamson and Dennis Cohen were active workers at the World Zionist Organization headquarters in England during World War I. In addition, Hyamson had been an adviser to the World Zionist organization Chaim Weizmann since 1917. Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine Under the Mandate 1920-1948*, (London: Methuen, 1920), 51.

¹⁶ *The Palestinian Immigration Department kept detailed reports on the countries from which Jews were immigrated. Government of Palestine Report, Report on Palestine Administration 1925* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1925), 58. M. Mossek, *Palestine Immigration Policy under Sir Herbert Samuel British Zionist and Arab attitudes*, (London: Frank Cass, 1978), 96-97.

¹⁷ The tables were created by the author as a result of the examination of the reports. These numbers include birth rates in Palestine. *Government of Palestine Report, 1925*, 58.

¹⁸ *The Government of Palestine, Official Gazette*, (Jerusalem: 21 May 1925).

935,951.¹⁹ The High Commissioners who served in Palestine after Lord Plumer up to 1948 were Sir John Chancellor (1928-1931), Sir Arthur Wauchope (1931-1937), Sir Harold MacMichael (1937-1944), John Vereker (Lord Gort, 1944), and Sir Alan Cunningham (1945-1948), and they also continued the efforts to establish the Jewish National House in Palestine.²⁰ In this context, the Jewish population increased daily between 1922-1947 during Britain's dominance over Palestine. Anti-Semitism emerged with the Nazi party coming to power in Germany before World War II in 1933 and also caused an increase in Jewish immigration between 1933-36. The number of people who settled in Palestine had doubled as

a result of the largest migration to date.²¹ According to statistics kept by the Mandate administration and the organized records kept by the Jewish Agency, 213,629 Jews had migrated to Palestine between 1932-1939.²² For example, Jerusalem had a Jewish population of 53,800 in 1931 and was home to 82,000 Jews in 1939. In Tel Aviv, the center of Jewish settlements, the number of Jews had been 46,300 in 1931 yet reached 177,000 by 1939.²³

As the above table states, the number of Jews had been 174,139 during the 1931 census and increased by 9% between 1933 and 1936, reaching 382,857. In this same period, the Arab population had increased by about 120,000. Another

Years	Arab	%	Jews	%	Other	%	Total Population
1922	640,798	78	94,752	12	84,709	10	820,259
1931	864,806	82	174,139	19	18,269	2	1,057,601
1933	909,687	78	233,912	20	20,017	2	1,163,616
1936	983,244	71	382,857	28	22,751	2	1,388,852
1939	1,060,593	69	455,329	30	24,805	2	1,540,727
1941	1,123,168	68	489,830	30	26,758	2	1,689,756
1946	1,310,866	67	599,922	31	31,562	2	1,942,350

Population Distribution in Palestine 1922-1946

comparison can be made between 1922 and 1936, and this will make determining the increase of Jews in Palestine during the British Mandate period much easier. In 1922, the number of Jews constituted approximately 5% of the population at 94,752. In 1936, Jews made up 28% of the general population at 382,857 people.²⁴ While the British rulers found controlling the Jewish density that had spread uncontrollably throughout Palestine to have become more difficult; the responses from the Palestinian Arabs who wanted to protect their lands had finally come to light.

Palestinian Arabs' Response to Britain and the Zionists

Although many reasons exist behind the Palestinian Muslim and Christian Arabs' responses to Britain, the most important of these was toward the occupation of their lands by England and the transformation of the demographic structure in Palestine through the force of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. Reactions up to 1948 had been shaped around this background. The Palestinian Arabs made the following demands from the international

community and the UK: Annul the contents of the letter sent by British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour to the Zionists on November 3, 1917 that stated His Majesty's Government would work to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, halt Zionist immigration by claiming rights over the lands inhabited by Palestinian Arabs under British administration, cancel this population's duties in the offices of the British civil administration, and block the Jewish Agency's and Jewish National Fund's purchasing of fertile agricultural lands in Palestine.²⁵

Palestinian Arabs expressed their response within the framework of these reasons and demands, starting with the Nabi Musa festivals of April 4-6, 1920, the events of Jaffa on May 1-7, 1921, the events at the Wailing Wall in 1929, and the Arab Strike of 1933; these were non-violent but did turn into a conflict between the two communities from time to time. England managed the process by establishing commissions after each event in order to appease the Arabs' just response and to prevent its own economic expenses from increasing in the region. Although the commission reports justified the Arabs, the High Commissioners did not reflect this in how they governed Palestine, and the tension in the region increased daily.²⁶ The great conflicts that would take place between 1936-1939 separated the two communities in such a way that they would never be able to come together again. The conflicts that erupted between the two communities on April 15, 1936 brought a new process to Palestine. The killing of two Arab farmers by the Zionist terrorist organization Haganah made the situation uncontrollable. On April 18, 1936, the Palestinians maintained a commercial boycott in many centers, which also hurt them financially.²⁷

The Palestinian Arabs' desire to reclaim their lands resulted in Arab nobles establishing the Arab High Committee on April 25, 1936. For the first time under the Mandatory Palestine, many different elements such as Christians, Muslims, Nashashibi, al-Husayni, and Istiklal groups

came together under one roof. Thus, Arabs had gathered for the first time under a leadership within the Mandate. The High Committee declared the strike would end once Jewish immigration was restricted, land sales to Jews were stopped, and an administration with Palestinian Arab representation was established. The events continued with mutual attacks by Jews and Arabs throughout the summer of 1936. By the time Britain had begun to take decisive steps toward suppressing the attacks, 1,000 Arabs and 80 Jews had died.²⁸ After the strike, Palestinian Arab society and economy suffered greatly. The British disintegration of the Palestinian leadership, which was likely to have developed under the leadership of Palestinian Arabs, revealed a leadership vacuum whose influence would last for a long time. The newly established Arab state leaders would fill this gap and use the Palestinian issue as a means of domestic political legitimacy.

The Partition of Palestine and Establishment of Israel

The strike was ended by the order of the Arab High Committee after the UK announced that it would send the Peel Commission to the region. Since 1929, England has consistently sent commissions to investigate the conflicts in Palestine. The commissions that have been sent recommended London assess the demands of the Palestinian Arab community and limit Jewish immigration. However, getting these recommendations on the agenda was prevented by efforts from the Zionist leader Weizmann and the Zionist lobby in the House of Lords.²⁹

The Peel Commission was in Palestine between November 1936 and January 1937 to conduct research and visited many regions. The Commission presented its report to the House of Lords in July 1937. While the report argued that the mandate system could not continue, it recommended that Palestine be divided into three regions, with the division being designed for Arab and Jewish states and Je-

¹⁹ The main reason for the low number of Jewish immigrants in the period 1925-28 was the economy. Due to this reason, immigration started from Palestine to different countries in the same period. During the mentioned period, 16,150 Jews emigrated. Colonial Office, Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan 1928, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office H.M.S.O., 1929), 91.

²⁰ Anthony Best, Jussi M. Hanhimaki et al., 20. *Yüzyılın Uluslararası Tarihi*, transl. Tücciser Ulaş Belge, (Ankara: Siyasal Bookstore, 2012), 130.

²¹ Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine*, 24, 25, 27, 29. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca, *Berna Süer, Arap-İsrail Uyuşmazlığı*, (Ankara: METU Publications, Ankara, 2010), 24-25.

²² For detailed statistics, see Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and Mandate*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 171, 228.

²³ McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine*, 223, 231.

²⁴ For a detailed study of the table, see McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine*, 35-37.

²⁵ J. McTague, "The British Military Administration in Palestine 1917-1920", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 7(3) (1978): 67. Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete Jews*, 127. Can Deveci, "Yafa Olayları", *TYB Academy*, 7/21 (2017): 148. For Jews working in Palestinian government offices, see CMD. 1499, *Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine during the year ended June 30, 1921*, (London: His Majesty Stationery Office, 1921), 25. For the amount of land purchased by the Jews between 1920 and 1945, see Rosa I. M. El Eini, *Mandated Landscape: British Imperial Rule in Palestine 1929-1948*, (London: Routledge & Taylor, 2006), 471.

²⁶ CMD. 1499, *Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine*, 7. *Reports of the Military Administration, Occupied Enemy Territory Administration South 1919*, (Cairo: Government Press, 1920).

²⁷ Arab revolts had two aspects. One was anti-British and the other anti-Semitic. *Cambridge Archive Editions, The Middle East Intelligence Handbooks Palestine and Transjordan*, (Oxford: Printed by CPI Antony Rowe, 1987), 126. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine*, 67. For the first time, search points were established in Palestine. El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape*, 317.

²⁸ Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine*, 67-68. The events that started during the duty of British General Sir Arthur Wauchope lasted for short intervals until 1939. *Cambridge Archive Editions, The Middle East Intelligence Handbooks*, 127, 128.

²⁹ Shaw Commission (September 1929), *Hope Simpson Commission Pasfield White Paper (1930)*, for commission reports, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi (ed.), *Documents on Palestine until 1947 (Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2007) Volume 1: 155-158, 160-258*.

Jerusalem remaining under British control. The Zionists rejected the report on the pretext of the inadequacy of the size of their own lands. The Arabs also opposed the partition of Palestine and resumed their rightful response in 1937. By March 1939, the Arabs were in conflicts with both Jews and British. As a result of these conflicts, 3,000 Arabs, 2,000 Jews, and many Englishmen lost their lives.³⁰

Britain began questioning its presence in Palestine after the uprising. The approach of World War II as well as the expansionist policies of Italy and Germany once again reminded the British administrators of the importance of the Middle East. As such, the fragility of the newly established Arab states in Palestine should not be ignored, because these states were the ones England wanted to cooperate with regarding oil fields in the upcoming war. At the cabinet meeting held on December 22, 1937, British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain decided to send a commission to Palestine under the chairmanship of John Woodhead in order to implement this strategy. The task of the commission was to investigate whether or not to implement the partition plan in Palestine. While the commission's work was ongoing, Malcolm MacDonald was appointed to the British Colonial Office. MacDonald opened the London Conference at St. James's Palace on February 7, 1939 without waiting for the Commission's decision. In addition to Palestinian Arabs, representatives from Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Jordan also attended the conference. The World Zionist Organization was represented by a delegation of 42 people under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann.³¹ Arabs' and Jews' imposition of their desires at the conference made finding a compromise in the agreement difficult. With the effect of the approaching war in Europe, Britain found a solution to the Palestine problem within the framework of its own strategies. On March 15, 1939 just after the conference ended, the document that would go down in history as MacDonald's "The British White Paper of 1939 on Palestine" was prepared. The

document was announced on May 17, 1939. Accordingly, Palestine would gain its independence within 10 years under British control, 75,000 Jews would be allowed to settle in Palestine for five years, and after this date, if the Arabs accepted, Jewish settlements would be allowed. The sale of land to the Jews which had constantly disturbed the Arabs would be limited to certain regions.³²

The published document became an indicator of the policy change that Britain had maintained on Palestine since the 1917 Balfour Declaration. The statements in the document, "His Majesty's government clearly declares that a Jewish state for Palestine is not among their policies," was interpreted differently by Arabs and Zionists. Britain was trying to prevent the Arab leaders, who were aware of the fact that oil, airport, and transportation networks had passed through their country before the war, from shifting to the German-Soviet axis. The Jews began to respond to this decision from England with various demonstrations in Palestine.³³ The Zionist leaders convened in Geneva on August 16, 1939 only to condemn the White Paper at the Zionist congress, as Hitler had occupied Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939 and signed the Nazi-Soviet Agreement on August 23, 1939 to invade Poland.³⁴ On September 1, 1939, the great war began in the center of Europe and would last until 1945. Another interpretation of this was that difficult days awaited the Jews living both in Germany and in Poland. During the World War II, the Zionists responded to the white paper with a realistic strategy. The following words of Ben Gurion explain this strategy very well: "We will fight together with England in this war as if there were no white paper, and we will fight the white paper as if there were no war."³⁵

Within the framework of this policy, the number of Jews working in transportation and construction projects that joined the British forces in the Middle East in 1943 but did not take part in the heat of the battle had reached 21,000. In the face of this realist policy of the Zionists, some Arab states and some

Palestinian Arabs negotiated with Nazi Germany and the Soviets.³⁶ Traditional Jewish societies in Europe were virtually eradicated through the Holocaust Nazis had perpetrated on Jews during World War II. 2,800,000 Jews were determined to have been killed in various ways in Poland alone. At the end of the war, 250,000 Jews had been displaced and were living in camps.³⁷ The Holocaust was the impetus for US elites to get involved in the problem of the Jewish search for a homeland. Many American Jews began to support the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The Biltmore program of the American Zionists in 1942 was proof of the USA as the center of Zionism. The program declared that Britain would free up Jewish immigration and establish a Jewish state in Palestine.³⁸ US President Harry Truman had taken office in 1945 and defended the program. Truman was aware of the effectiveness of the Zionist lobby within the Democratic Party.³⁹ This support from the USA was an indication that the British influence was gradually losing power in the new order being established in the Middle East. In fact, the Zionist program was redefining one of the most important decisions taken at the First Zionist Congress held in 1897. This article was to receive the support of a great power in establishing the national home for Jews.

Despite pressure from the USA and Zionist leaders, Britain's indifference to Jewish immigration caused tensions on both sides. The newly elected Labour Party in England was looking for solutions that would sway Arabs, Zionists, and the world's public opinion. Zionists meanwhile were organizing illegal Jewish immigration. The death of 257 Jews after the explosion of the SS Patria in Haifa Harbor on November 25, 1940 and the sinking of the MV Struma, which had set out from Romania in February 1942, offshore in the Black Sea as a result of the British blockade resulted in Zionist underground organizations accelerating their activities. The Zionist defense

organizations Irgun, Haganah, and Stern had two goals: Palestinian Arabs and British rule. Ignoring the White Paper after 1944, these organizations started attacks against British personnel in Palestine. These groups were responsible for the murder of the British Middle East Minister Lord Moyne in 1944, the bombing of immigration offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and the bombing of the King David Hotel, the British administrative headquarters in Jerusalem, in 1946 which killed 92 people.⁴⁰

As events escalated, British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin informed United Nations officials in February 1947 that the UK had renounced its Mandate for Palestine. The UN established the Palestine Special Committee (UNSCOP), which consisted of representatives from Sweden, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Australia, Canada, India, Iran, Guatemala, Uruguay, and Peru to investigate the problems in Palestine and submit a report.⁴¹ Palestinian Arabs refused to meet with UNSCOP for their just cause. By August 1947, the Committee had held talks with the Zionists and other Arab states, enough to complete its report. Two different views prevailed in the committee's recommendation. Representatives from India, Iran, and Yugoslavia recommended the minority plan, which included a federated state of Palestine where Jewish and Arab communities lived together. Representatives from Sweden, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Guatemala, Uruguay, and Peru meanwhile recommended the majority plan, where Jerusalem would consist of a Jewish and an Arab state and would remain under UN administration. According to the report, the two states would come together with economic integrity and Jerusalem-Bethlehem would be under international control as a separate settlement. The recommendation report was submitted to the UN on September 1, 1947 with 7 votes in favor of, 3 against, and 1 in abstention (Australia).⁴²

³⁰ For the published minutes of the Peel Commission, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi, *Documents on Palestine*, 332-351. In 1938 alone, 5,708 events were recorded. *Cambridge Archive Editions, The Middle East Intelligence*, 130.

³¹ Fraser, Mango, McNamara, *The Makers of the Modern Middle East*, 347.

³² For the "MacDonald White Paper" documents, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi, *Documents on Palestine*, 369-376. *Cambridge Archive Editions, The Middle East Intelligence*, 132. J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East A Documentary Record 1535-1956* (New York: Printed by Cambridge Archive Editions, Redwood Burn Ltd, 1987), Volume 2: 218-226.

³³ In 1939, Jews protesting the restriction on Jewish land purchases in Palestine were carrying banners that read, "We are not getting our rights on these lands from the British Mandate, but from the Torah". See Jean Christophe Attias, *Esther Benbassa, Paylaşılmayan Kutsal Topraklar ve İsrail*, transl. Nihal Önal, (Istanbul: İletişim Publishing, 2002), 19.

³⁴ Fraser, Mango, McNamara, *Modern Ortadoğu'nun*, 347.

³⁵ William Cleavend, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, transl. Mehmet Harmancı, (Istanbul: Agora Bookstore, 2008), 289.

³⁶ Fraser, Mango, McNamara, *The Makers of the Modern Middle East*, 352. Atmaca-Suer, *Arap-İsrail Çatışması*, 28. 372,800,000 Polish, 800,000 Russian, 450,000 Hungarian, 350,000 Romanian, 180,000 German, 60,000 Austrian, 243,000 Czechoslovakian, 110,000 Netherlander, 25,000 Belgium, 50,000 Yugoslavian, 80,000 Greek, 65,000 French, and 10,000 Italian Jews were exterminated by shooting, gassing and hanging.

³⁷ Emma C. Murphy, "Siyonizm ve Filistin Sorunu", transl. Fethi Aytuna, *Ortadoğu Tarihi Dini Siyasi Kültürel ve Ekonomik Perspektiften*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, (İnkılap Publishing House, 2011), 331, 343.

³⁸ For the discussions of the Biltmore program within Zionism, see Taylor, *The Birth of Israel*, 80, 81. For the archive document published on the Biltmore program, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi, *Documents on Palestine*, 377, 378.

³⁹ Hurewitz, *A Documentary Record 1535-1956*, 234, 235.

⁴⁰ 257 Jews died. Fraser, Mango, McNamara, *Making the Modern Middle East*, 353. Süer-Atmaca, *Arab İsrail*, 30. Menachem Begin, who had just arrived from Poland in 1943, took over the Irgun. Begin, who remained at the head of the organization until its dissolution in 1948, carried his uncompromising militancy into Israel's political life. *The Stern*, or *Leh'i gang*, was named after their founder, Avraham Stern. Murphy, "Zionism and the Palestine Question", 332. Cleavend, *Modern Middle East*, 291, 292.

⁴¹ Hurewitz, *For Struggle Palestine*, 185. Ali Balcı, "İsrail Sorunu: Ortadoğu'nun Gordion Düğümü", *Dünya Çatışmaları: Çatışma Bölgeleri ve Konuları*, ed. Burhanettin Duran et al. (Istanbul: Nobel Academic Publishing 2010), 106.

⁴² For the published archive document of UNSCOP's recommendation to the UN, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi, *Documents on Palestine*, 469-496. See also for internet access: Balcı, "İsrail Sorunu: Ortadoğu'nun Gordion Düğümü", 106. United Nations (UN), "UNSCOP", (Accessed: November 10, 2019).

The UN approved the majority plan with the vote and Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947. The majority plan was accepted with 33 votes for, 13 against, and 11 abstentions.⁴³ Accordingly, the Arab state to be established would consist of Gaza, Nablus, al-Khalil, and Beersheba. The Jewish state included the Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Haifa, Najaf, and Hula valleys. The Arabs and Arab states did not recognize the UN resolution envisaging a Jewish state on their territory. The Zionists, however, generally welcomed the decision, as it posed no obstacle to Jewish immigration. Both communities were naturally dissatisfied because neither possessed Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the British government declared that it would not implement the UN resolution and called the last civilian High Commissioner of the Palestinian Mandate, General Alan Cunningham, to London on May 14, 1948. Just after the British left the region, the Jewish Agency announced the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. The first President of Israel was Chaim Weizmann, while the first prime minister of the state was David Ben Gurion, who took the oath in front of Theodor Herzl's picture.

After its establishment, Israel expanded its territory in Palestine by fighting Arab states in 1948, 1949, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. As a result of the 1948-49 war, Israel increased the lands reserved for Jews in UN resolutions from 56% to 80%. As a result of the Six-Day War that started on June 5, 1967, Israeli armed forces defeated Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian military units and expanded their borders to the Suez Canal, the Jordan River, and the Golan Heights, 48 km from Damascus. An agreement with Egypt, one of two states able to threaten Israel directly in the Middle East, would herald a new order in the region. As a result of the consensus reached with the 1979 Camp David Accords, Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula in 1982. In 1993, after the Palestinian Intifada (1987-1993) that had broken out toward the end of the Cold War, the Oslo Accords were initiated under the leadership of the USA. This process opened a period whose political and social effects have continued until today. This period, which was considered as a peace process, did not run in line with its name as it contains many problems. In other words, while peace was spoken on one hand, on the other hand was a process in which Israel launched attacks on Palestinians using disproportionate force.

Conclusion

British rule in Palestine started with the occupation of Jerusalem in 1917 and ended on May 14, 1947. However, with the establishment of Israel, the occupation gained a different dimension. The High Commissioners' administration of the region for a short time constituted the most critical phase in the history of Palestine. In this period, the name of the occupation become synonymous with the support of Jewish immigration under any circumstance. Britain's support for Jewish immigration to Palestine is the source of the main problems addressed today. With this support between 1922 and 1948, the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel evolved from a political discourse to an institutionalized and nationalized structure in Palestine.

While the Jewish population had been 12,000 in Palestine in 1845, it reached 650,000 in 1948 through these immigrations. With a planned strategy, the Jewish Agency for Israel in affiliation with the World Zionist Organization placed expatriated Jews on fertile lands, generally on coastlines. In addition, Jews established many political, social, security, and economic structures (e.g., Histadrut, Haganah, Irgun). The fact that these organizations have lobbies abroad has brought the Jews of the world closer together. In this way, when the State of Israel was established, its institutionalization process was completed in a short time.

Palestinian Arabs were not allowed to institutionalize during the British mandate. As a result of events in 1920, 1921, 1929, and 1936-1939, British rulers had left Palestinian Arabs without a leader. Many Arab leaders had been exiled or arrested. By 1948, Palestinian Arabs lacked the military and political integrity as well as a strategy.

As a result of Israeli attacks and US-supported peace processes, the main problems between Israel and Palestine today are the status of Jerusalem, the problem of the Palestinian Refugees who've become displaced as a result of Jewish migrations and wars, and the problem of Jewish settlers. Also noteworthy, the leaders of the Arab states have remained silent while Israel continues its policy of standardizing the whole of Palestine. While Arab states have used the events in Palestine for nationalist discourses regarding their domestic policies in recent years, they currently remain silent and tend to protect their own assets.

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⁴³ For the UN 18 voting resolutions that took place on November 29, 1947, see Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Documents on Palestine, 529-54. Hurewitz, A Documentary Record 1535-1956, 281-296.

JERUSALEM AS AN AREA OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Muhammed Hüseyin MERCAN*

And the City of Jerusalem. The city that was built in
the sky and brought down to the ground.
The city of God and the city of all mankind.
(*Sezai Karakoç- Ahmyazısı Saati*)

Due to its important position in the eyes of all monotheistic religions, Jerusalem [al-Quds] has always been a place where theological and political fields intersect. The status quo that emerged after World War I deeply affected the fate of both the city and the region and opened the door to one of the longest-running issues of the modern era. The British proclamation of the document known as the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917 paved the way for establishing a foreign state in the Palestinian territories through foreign intervention. In this document, the British Government stated that they would make every effort to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine and implemented a decision that would radically affect the region's future.¹ Although the Jewish state's establishment was not realized until 1948, the British not allowing Arabs as the original owners of the Palestinian lands the right to determine their own future had paved the way for the Palestinian issue to turn into an issue of sovereignty from the onset.

While determining the status of the British mandate, the text of the Mandate for Palestine as adopted by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922

also allowed the formation of conditions suitable for the Jews to establish a state.² Although Article 3 of the text indicated that the Mandate administration would endure by empowering the local authority, the fact is that the practice existed that denied the Arabs who made up the majority from creating a political case in which they would be able to exercise their right of sovereignty within their own lands. For this reason, the basic mission of the Mandate administration in Palestine was different from other examples in the Arab geography. After the mandate administrations were withdrawn in the post-Ottoman British and French mandates, the Arabs as the majority in these lands were able to establish their own states. However, they were not allowed to use the right of self-determination due to the Mandate administration in Palestine; thus, in contradiction with the principle of goodwill in international law, a state was established for Jews who'd immigrated from abroad.³ This situation evolved into the dominance of a pro-Israeli understanding that resulted in Palestinians' sovereign rights being ignored and a policy being implemented that in reality was completely removed from moral norms.

Ignoring moral norms and determining national interests in international relations make a discussion on the right of sovereignty impossible on any equal or fair platform. For this reason, the understanding of sovereignty while being insensitive to the suffering of others based on a power- and interest-centered worldview greatly loses meaning and has led to injustice at the international level.⁴ At this point, the main issue that needs to be emphasized is how the matter of Palestine had been dragged into a dead-end vortex for decades due to a preference for the interests of the powerful over what is moral. The main source of the matter is how justice has been ignored between the real owners of the Palestinian lands and the Jewish settlers who migrated there in the approaches used to stabilize the area. While a community coming to these lands through immigration has established a state with very privileged rights, the original owners of those lands are being constantly pressured to abandon what they have, with the suggestion that the only permanent solution to choose will be to recognize Israel's 'absolute' sovereignty.

The main reason for the continued deadlock between the two parties stems from the lack of balanced negotiations between the parties. Although Israel is a nation-state, it acts with the support of other power elements far beyond the power it holds, thus Israel attempts to both manipulate the international community while placing psychological pressure on Palestinians.⁵ In such an environment, the Palestinian side's room to maneuver is restricted; Palestine is prevented from having any dominant character in the negotiation process. While Israel's attitude, one that views itself outside or above the international system when appropriate and often scoffs international law, gets ignored, the Palestinian struggle gets evaluated in a multitude of different contexts. Despite the Israeli nation-state's capacity to

use diplomacy and force beyond its borders, Palestine is not allowed to exercise its sovereign rights. Thus, the way has been cleared for perceiving the phenomenon of Israel as a supra-nation-state.⁶

Israeli State and Changes to the Political Status of Jerusalem

With Israel's establishment on May 14, 1948, the status of Jerusalem became the most important topic of discussion in the region. Despite the pressures and restrictions against Arabs during the British mandate, few radical practices had been implemented in relation to Jerusalem's status. In fact, the decision the Mandate administration-formed commission announced on June 8, 1931 to work on the status of Jerusalem emphasized Palestinian (i.e., Muslim) ownership of Jerusalem.⁷ Although this relevant decision allowed Jews to enter the Western Wall (Wailing Wall) for worship purposes, Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) and its surroundings remained entirely in the possession of Muslims. Allowing a region that required being transferred to the sovereignty of the Palestinians to pass to the occupying powers over time if international law were used correctly reveals what kind of strategy the global powers of the time had followed. Interrupting Palestinians' attempt to create their own national presence through this strategy and the global powers ignored Palestinian's demands in spite of the Zionist movement's aggressive attitude did not permit the Palestinian State to form at the end of the process and deepened the deadlock even more.⁸

The victory of Zionist forces over the Arab coalition in the Arab-Israeli War between 1948-1949 while reinforcing Israel's presence in the Palestinian territories as a state radically changed the political structure of Jerusalem.

Occupying West Jerusalem, Israel tried

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¹ "Balfour Declaration," November 2, 1917, <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/thebalfourdeclaration.aspx>.

² "Mandate of Palestine", February 5, 2020, <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20thCentury/palmanda.asp>.

³ Berdal Aral, *Bitmeyen İhanet: Emperyalizm Gölgesinde Filistin Sorunu ve Uluslararası Hukuk*, (Istanbul: Çıra Publications, 2019), 155.

⁴ Berdal Aral, *Küresel Güvenlikten Küresel Tahakküme BM Güvenlik Sistemi ve İslam Dünyası* (Istanbul: Küre Publications, 2016), 62.

⁵ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Küresel ve Bölgesel Dengeler, Ortadoğu Barış Süreci", in *Filistin Çıkmazdan Çözümüne*, (Istanbul: Küre Publications, 2003), 5.

⁶ Davutoğlu, 5-6.

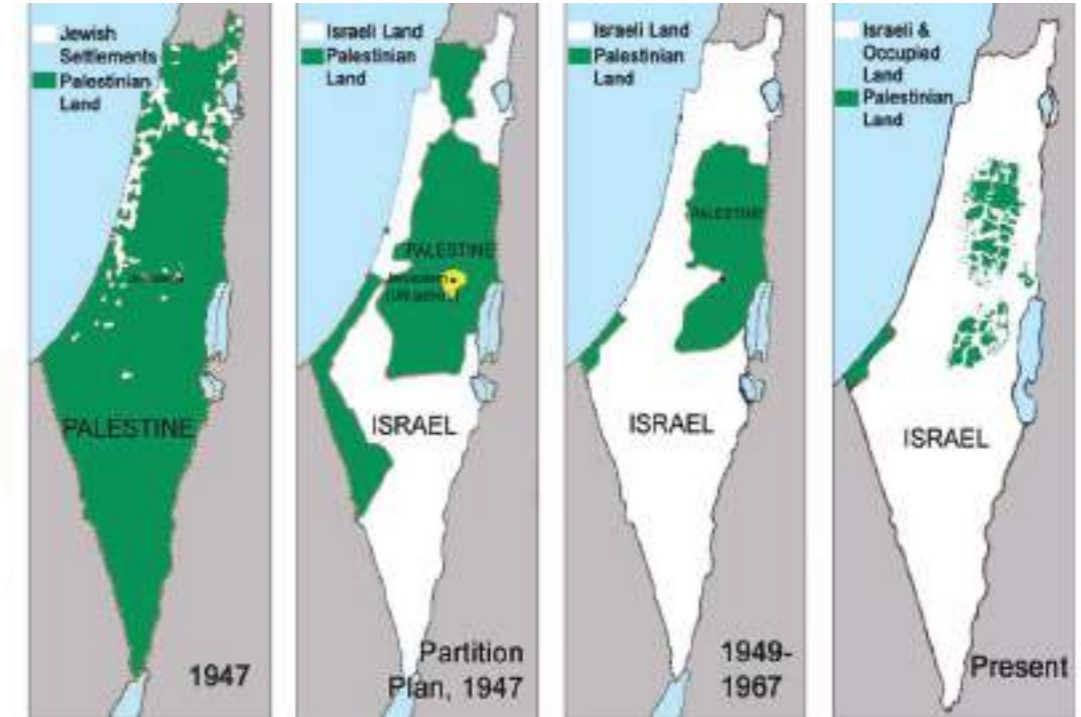
⁷ United Nations, "The status of Jerusalem-Study (31 August 1997)", 1997, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/181c4bf00c44e5fd85256cef0073c426/533b4714451b48bf0525651b00488d02?OpenDocument>.

⁸ Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, Reprint edition (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2006), 182-83.

to create a legitimate area for itself, in particular by using the Jordanian presence in East Jerusalem as an excuse.⁹ However, the international community's overwhelming silence toward Israel, which had no legitimacy as an occupying power, and the United Nations' attitude recognizing Israel's sovereignty along with specific warnings encouraged Israel to carry out the expansionist policy regarding Jerusalem in the following periods. In fact, the decision was made to move the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, to Jerusalem in 1949, and in 1950 the Knesset began to conduct its legislative activities in Jerusalem.¹⁰ With the Knesset relocating to Jerusalem, the Zionist state put forth its most serious claim to sovereignty over Jerusalem and implemented the strategy of making Jerusalem more a part of Israel with each day. The Arab's great defeat in June 1967 led to the Israel expanding its borders; meanwhile, the status quo in Jerusalem turned in favor of the Zionist state. With its offensive, Israel absorbed East Jerusalem into its municipal boundaries and claimed sovereignty over the entire city. Immediately after this event, the United Nations General Assembly convened on July 4 and through Resolution 2253 declared the illegitimacy of Israel's attack and efforts to change the status of Jerusalem, pointing to the concern about the developments in Jerusalem.¹¹ As a result of Israel's continued indifference toward the decisions the General Assembly made, the Security Council made a direct decision on May 21, 1968 regarding the status of Jerusalem and invited Israel to abandon its policy and act in accordance with the General Assembly's decisions.¹²

Despite the decisions the UN made to have Israel withdraw from the lands occupied in 1967, the lack of serious sanctions in the international arena and in particular the United States of America's

support toward Israel resulted in the Zionist administration furthering their claim of sovereignty over Jerusalem. The most important manifestation of this situation was the Basic Law, also called the Jerusalem Law which the Knesset adopted on July 30, 1980. The Basic Law opens with the text "Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel;" this opened a new dimension in the dispute between the parties and brought a legal basis to Israel's claim to sovereignty over the whole of Jerusalem.¹³ When considering that the basic structure and functioning of the state were determined by the Basic Law as no main law was in place, Israel had openly ignored all decisions and initiatives regarding the special status of Jerusalem and had included Jerusalem as a whole within its borders using a constitutional decision. Through this decision, the attempt had been made to completely eliminate the will for establishing an independent Palestinian State based in East Jerusalem. Following this move by Israel, concerns were expressed about the law enacted by the Zionist state with the Security Council Resolution 478 made on August 20, 1980, with particular emphasis on the invalidity of this law.¹⁴ In addition, the most important feature of Resolution 478 was that, for the first time, the intention to ignore Israel's claim of sovereignty over Jerusalem was being provided by third-party states. The request from states with diplomatic missions for Israel to withdraw their embassies in Jerusalem was an important step toward preserving the status of Jerusalem in the eyes of the international community. However, the fact that Israel did not comply with any of the decisions made and the *de facto* acceptance by the great powers, including the Security Council, of Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine in the following years were the main factors behind the failure to establish a permanent solution.



Palestinian territories from 1947 to present day

Despite UN resolutions, Israel's willingness to act opened the doors to peace talks between Palestine and Israel, largely at the initiative of the USA. Many initiatives, especially in Madrid, Oslo, Washington, and Camp David, were carried out to solve the problem, especially in the 1990s. However, due to the Israel-centered approach in most of these negotiations, they were unable to achieve the desired stage, and the sovereignty of Palestine became more deadlocked. The Washington Agreement, signed in 1993 following the Madrid Talks in 1991, was an important step in ensuring distance between the parties regarding peace. The agreement envisaged the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho and a transitional administration.¹⁵ However, the agreement made no mention of sanctions if Israel failed to comply with the terms of the agreement or limited Palestine only to the West Bank and Gaza while postponing the Jerusalem issue until later, thus resulting in the agreement becoming invalid. As a matter of fact, Israel acted very slowly in

the withdrawal process and continued to build settlements in both Jerusalem and the West Bank. In this respect, this agreement "predicted an ambiguous autonomy that would undermine the Palestinian people's right to self-determination rather than independence."¹⁶ In addition, this agreement had a nature that belittled Palestine and completely ignored its sovereignty, seeing as it left even very important political issues such as the structure and responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority in the elections to the approval of the Zionist administration.¹⁷

The Trump Administration and Efforts to Legalize the Status of Jerusalem

US President Donald Trump's efforts to legitimize the Zionist administration reached their peak with the decision he made in December 2017 to move the US Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The implementation of this decision, which had wide repercussions causing serious reactions all over

⁹ Aral, *Bitmeyen İhanet: Emperyalizm Gölgesinde Filistin Sorunu ve Uluslararası Hukuk*, 161.

¹⁰ "First Knesset", February 5, 2020, <https://knesset.gov.il/review/ReviewPage.aspx?kns=1&lng=3>.

¹¹ "UN General Assembly Decision of 2253," Jul 4, 1967, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/A39A906C89D3E98685256C29006D4014>.

¹² "Security Council Resolution of 252, S/RES/252," May 21, 1968, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/46F2803D78A0488E852560C3006023A8>.

¹³ "Basic Law: Jerusalem the Capital of Israel," 5740 § (1980), <http://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/BasicLawJerusalem.pdf>.

¹⁴ "Security Council Resolution of 478, S/RES/478 (1980)," August 20, 1980, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/DDE590C6FF232007852560DF0065FDDB>.

¹⁵ "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (Oslo Accords)" (United Nations General Assembly, 11 October 1993), https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IL%20PS_930913_DeclarationPrinciplesInterimSelf-Government%28Oslo%20Accords%29.pdf.

¹⁶ Aral, *Küresel Güvenlikten Küresel Tahakküme BM Güvenlik Sistemi ve İslam Dünyası*, 151.

¹⁷ Gilbert Achcar, *Kaynayan Orta Doğu: Marksist Aynada Orta Doğu*, transl. Rida Şimşekel (Istanbul: İthaki Publications, 2004), 273.

the world, in May 2018 also brought the discussions on the status of Jerusalem to a different dimension, making the Palestinians' struggle more difficult than ever.

With this decision from the US President, the USA as the leading actor in global politics was ignoring the situation regarding the status of Jerusalem, which Israel has consistently violated; again the attempt was being made to minimize the possibility of an independent and fully sovereign Palestinian State.¹⁸ Contrary to UN resolutions and the general acceptance in the international community, the US attitude evaluating Jerusalem as a whole, as stated in the Basic Law of 1980 without making any distinction between East and West, has been appropriately defined as the greatest politically based harm inflicted regarding Jerusalem's future of Jerusalem.

Trump's attempt to legitimize Israel's expansionist policy increased the Zionist administration's maneuverability and encouraged it to take radical decisions affecting regional dynamics. The Basic Law of the Jewish nation-state can be regarded as an extension of this state and is a good example in comprehending the understanding of sovereignty Israel has interpreted along the axis of Zionist philosophy. The Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People

was adopted by a vote of 62 to 55 in the early hours of July 19, 2018 and has great importance in terms of Israel expanding the areas over which it claims sovereignty.¹⁹ With this new law, Israel can now implement its settlement and expansion policies, which have no legitimate basis in terms of either international law or humanitarian values, within the framework of the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. Undoubtedly, while this situation has strengthened Israel's hand in the international arena, it will also play a major role in deepening the Palestinian issue and its evolution into a deadlock.

When considering how this issue has been maintained due to the lack of any fair environment for negotiation from the beginning and the lack of recognition of Palestine's internal and external sovereignty, Israel's expansion of its claims of sovereignty over the area have had the effect of hindering Palestine's demand for independence and sovereignty. Although Israel has been stated as home to all Jews in the world since its inception, this situation has no legal basis or constitutional certainty. With the proclamation of the new law, this situation gained a legal status with Israel being defined as the national home of all Jews. In addition, Article 1 of this law, which makes the right of self-determination exclusive to Jews, is as follows:

- a. The land where the State of Israel was founded is the homeland of all Jews.
- b. The State of Israel is the nation-state in which all Jews exercise their right to natural, cultural, religious, and historical self-determination.
- c. The exercise of the right of national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to Jews.²⁰

As can be understood from these enacted articles, the Zionist administration has attempted to prevent any demand for independence or autonomy from non-Jewish elements by preemptively claiming its citizenship status. It also transforms non-Jewish Israeli citizens into the 'other' of the state, as it defines the borders of the state as the historical homeland of the Jews. In this respect, Israel has reinterpreted the definition of citizenship, which is one of the basic parameters of the modern nation-state, ignoring legal and humanitarian norms by creating a status difference among its citizens. This article also has an important dimension regarding the political existence and sovereignty of Palestine. When considering the facts that Israeli settlements in many areas belong to Palestinians, especially in East Jerusalem, and that this is constantly increasing, the legitimacy of the demands from non-Jewish elements in these lands for self-determination will not be accepted, and Israel will use coercive means in the face of such demands based on the authority it has bestowed upon itself through sovereign rights. In other words, this means the Palestinians' demands for independence will be invalidated by the laws Israel makes.

In particular, Article 7 of the law defines the increase of Jewish settlements as "national value" and expresses the state's promotion of settlements as an important duty. In this respect, a political system that accepts the construction of new settlements as a national value obviously has adopted a mentality far removed from any type of permanent solution. Similarly, the repeated emphasis on a "complete and united Jerusalem" in the Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People is reference to the 1980 Jerusalem law, completely ignores the two-state solution initiatives involving East Jerusalem and the Palestinian claims on Jerusalem. In other words, this law reveals the approach of willful ignorance.

The current situation clearly shows that Israel, using its sovereignty over the whole of Jerusalem, will not allow a Palestinian State to be established in East Jerusalem nor be open to Palestinian representation from other countries in East Jerusalem.

Since 1967, Israel's attempts to change the demographic structure in East Jerusalem have continued uninterrupted, with various strategies being implemented to transform Jerusalem into a Jewish city. The Zionist administration wants to affect the Muslim population's migration from East Jerusalem by using economic and physical pressures and aims to bring the structure of Jerusalem to the desired stage through its own methods. As of 2019, the total number of settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank has reached 200, and these settlements are inhabited by more than 750,000 settlers settled by the Zionist administration.²¹ As the numbers show, Israel is attempting to gain full sovereignty by reducing the number of Muslims in East Jerusalem and by increasing Jewish settlements in an important sections of Jerusalem in the coming years.

The draft peace-plan that Donald Trump described as the Deal of the Century only served to legitimize Israel's occupational position by providing a legal basis. It contains new dangers regarding the future of the Palestinian issue and Jerusalem. Although the prepared plan seems to be one that provides economic advantages to the Palestinians and aims to establish stability in the region, it basically has an identity that strengthens Israel's borders while completely ignoring international law. Although many reactions are found toward the draft Deal of the Century in the international arena, Trump's support from the Arab world and the new situation that will occur in Palestine after President Mahmoud Abbas carries various risks regarding a process that will develop in favor of Israel.

¹⁸ Muhammed Hüseyin Mercan, "Reconsidering the Palestine Issue in the Shade of Israel's Expanding Sovereignty Claim", *New Middle Eastern Studies* 8/2 (2018): 69.

¹⁹ Jonathan Lis and Noa Landau, "Israel Passes Controversial Jewish Nation-State Bill After Stormy Debate", *Haaretz*, July 19, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/israel-passes-controversial-nation-state-bill-1.6291048>.

²⁰ "Basic Law: Israel as the Nation State of the Jewish People, September 5, 2018, "http://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/BasicLawNationState.pdf.

²¹ Aral, *Bitmeyen İhanet: Emperyalizm Gölgesinde Filistin Sorunu ve Uluslararası Hukuk*, 166.

Conclusion

Jerusalem is the most important pillar of the Palestinian issue and has had the feature of always being at the center of the resolution or non-resolution between the parties. After Israel's establishment, the attempt is ultimately being made to transform Jerusalem as a whole, with its status changing from day to day, into the capital of the Zionist state. The attempt to legally extend the dominance of the Zionist state in Jerusalem, where a difficult political struggle has been occurring, to the entire city is the biggest obstacle to the formation of an independent Palestinian state and to resolving the problem. Despite international law and UN resolutions, Israel's unruly maverick attitude has been supported by the United States; this has led the Zionist administration to take bolder steps in global politics, evolving to the point that it ignores Palestinians' rights. In the current situation, Palestinians' inability to demonstrate a lasting will to end Israel's occupation policy in the eyes of international forces and organizations has caused Palestinians to witness one of the most difficult periods in their history. In this context, the increase in the Jewish population in East Jerusalem with new settlements in the near future will cause the Palestinians to face greater difficulties and will result in the goal of a Palestinian State based in East Jerusalem to turn into a scant possibility.

In the decades-long struggle over Jerusalem, new strategies need to be implemented that ignore Israel's sovereignty, and solutions to the problem should be sought using a more rational basis rather than racist rhetoric. When one considers that the political parties adopting Zionist thought have recently lost power in Israeli society, albeit relatively, finding more permanent solutions for the status of Jerusalem and an independent Palestine may be possible using the support from those opposed to the Zionist government. Thus, thanks to the gains to be made in the political field, the possibility of preventing the Zionist administration and forming a new status quo in the region will be on the agenda, and the door to a new era will be opened in Palestine. If new strategies for resolving and bringing to an end the illegitimate practices of the Zionist state remain unable to be identified or implemented, all of Palestine, especially Jerusalem, will come more under Israeli rule with each passing day, and a serious defeat will be encountered in this decades-long struggle. For this reason, determining and implementing a stable, consistent, and rational politically based Palestinian strategy toward Jerusalem in a way that involves the international community stands before us as an indispensable reality for the future of Palestine and Jerusalem.

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JERUSALEM IN THE JEWISH TRADITION

Nuh ARSLANTAŞ*

The first active region in the recorded history of humanity is the Middle East of today. This geography hosted the first life experiences of humanity and has uninterruptedly been the cradle of civilizations. The most crucial factors central to the region are the birth of Semitic and Abrahamic religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as well as the places located in this geography that these religions consider sacred.

For this very reason, Jerusalem [al-Quds] has undisputedly been the most important city in the world since the first ages of history. This blessed city has changed hands more than 40 times in its history and is also the only city whose journey can be viewed through the literature of various nations. This city shaped the religious and political identity of the Israelites, Jesus [Prophet İsa] as the Prophet of Christianity carried out his duty as a messenger in this city, and this city in Islam served as the first qibla for Muslims. Apart from the fact that many of the prophets in which Muslims believe lived in this city, it also hosted the Miracle of Mi'raj, which allowed the message of Muhammad [Prophet Muhammad] who had inherited the tawhid [unification or oneness of God as per Islam] legacy of these prophets to be universalized. For this reason, beyond

being a city, Jerusalem is a living history as witness to the journey of humanity.

Semi-nomadic small city-states had existed around Jerusalem, whose deep-rooted history in the light of archaeological findings dates back to 3,000 BC. These statelets had formed alliances due to their limited and common interests within the framework of seasonal and regional conditions and often maintained their existence based on the powerful states of the period that wanted to dominate Palestine politically, militarily, and strategically.

A small settlement of the period, Jerusalem is accepted as either having been founded by the Canaanites or that its first inhabitants were Semitic Canaanites (3,000-2,200 BC). Having achieved a high level of culture compared to the surrounding nations in this era, the Canaanites were the first to use weapons made of iron and were also a nation that knew the art of war well.¹ Emurim, who were also Semites, existed in the 22nd century BC.² The first settlement in Jerusalem is accepted as having started in the early Bronze Age at the time of Prophet Abraham near the Gihon spring, the city's most important water source.³ The Jews' historical relation with Jerusalem may have begun at this time with Prophet Abraham. According to information

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¹ In the Torah, the ancient people of Palestine are referred to as Canaanites and Palestine as *the Land of Canaan*. Ken'an in Islamic sources is stated to be the son of Prophet Noah [Prophet Nuh]. The Canaanites, who had originally lived around the Persian Gulf, migrated west over time and established dominance around Lebanon and Palestine. When the Israelites came to Palestine, the Canaanites were the most powerful nation in the region. The term "Ken'an" was also used for the Phoenicians, who sometimes came to settle in Palestine. See: Ahituv, "Canaan, Land of", *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish*, ed. Werblowsky-Wigoder, (USA: Oxford University Press, 1997) 146-147; Easton, *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1893), 120; Shepherd, *The Westminster Bible Dictionary*, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1880), 113.

² The Amorites, referred to as "Martu" in Sumerian records and "Amurru" in Akkadian records, lived around the Dead Sea. These people were called the mountain people by surrounding nations and were later exiled from here. Prophet Abraham also made an agreement with these people, who are known to have lived around al-Khalil (Hebron). For detailed information, see Shepherd, *The Westminster Bible Dictionary*, 42; Easton, *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 38-39; Norman, "Amorites", *EJd2 (Encyclopaedia Judaica)*, ed. Fred Skolnik, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 2007), 2:95-96.

³ Kollek-Pearlman *Jerusalem, Sacred of Mankind: A History of Centuries*, (Jerusalem: Steimatzky Ltd., 1968), 15-22; Avi-Yonah-Gibson, "Jerusalem: History", *EJd2*, 11:144.



in the Old Testament, the kings of the region took the Prophet Lot prisoner during a war they fought among themselves. After saving his nephew Lot, Prophet Abraham was hosted upon his return by Melchizedek, the King of Salem.⁴ In the later Jewish scripture, *zedek* is accepted as the name of *Bait Ha-Mikdash* [House of the Holy]. It symbolizes honesty and virtue, or in other words, the *Yerushalayim* [Jerusalem] to be built in the future. Based on this, when considering that Melchizedek means King of the City of Virtue, Jewish tradition identifies the city of *Shalayim* where the king lived with *Yerushalayim* (i.e., Jerusalem).⁵ *Shalayim* has always been interpreted as *Yerushalayim* in the Me-forshim (i.e., exegeses on the Torah) written in the Middle Ages.⁶ However, despite the Judaic tradition's efforts to connect the Prophet Abraham with Jerusalem in this way, no connection with the city has not been upheld by archaeological findings.⁷ Similarly, when contrasted to the holiness Jerusalem gained in later Jewish scripture, Jerusalem is not mentioned at all among the vast geography that was promised to Prophet Abraham from the Nile to the Euphrates.⁸ This absence also applies to the covenants made with Isaac [Prophet Ishaq], Jacob [Prophet Yaqub], and Moses [Prophet Musa]. Jerusalem is not mentioned at all as the land promised to the generation after Prophet Abraham.⁹ In any case, these ancestors were unable to enter the land (i.e., Jerusalem) promised by God.

The Israelites did end up in the promised land. They were able to enter after Moses, in the time of his successor, Joshua [Prophet Yusha]. However, King Adonizedek of Jerusalem was killed during Joshua's period. Joshua seized the region mostly by war and partly by peace; the inhabitants of the city were left alive and not exiled from

the city.¹⁰ This shows that Joshua, like his previous ancestors did not view Jerusalem as a significant or promised city. Moreover, the Israelites did not stay in the city permanently.

In summary, Jerusalem was not considered an important or sacred center for the Israelites before, during, or the two centuries after the time of Moses.¹¹

The Process to Sanctification

The importance of Jerusalem for Jews began with David [Prophet Dawud]. Prophet David, who was a fighter with a charismatic personality and an ordinary shepherd among the Israelites; he was a leader who gathered the tribes of Israel through the family of the Prophet Samuel; achieved political unity among them. Following an active and successful policy against other nations in the region, David crowned these achievements by conquering Jerusalem. The Old Testament should be noted as having attributed no importance or sanctity to Jerusalem until the time of David. David had tents built for the kohens and the Ark of the Covenant (*Aron ha-Berit*; *Tabut'ul-Ahd* in Arabic sources)¹² next to the royal palace; he wanted this ark, which was considered sacred by the Israelites, to be brought from al-Khalil to Jerusalem and had a temple dedicated to God built in the city; however, the construction of the Temple was not done by King David but by his son King Solomon. This was also prophesized to David, that not he but his successor would be the one to construct the temple.¹³ Thus, Jerusalem through King David began to gain importance in terms of the history of Israel. However, David's choice of Jerusalem as a political center was not based on the religious significance of the city as in later periods but on a strategic political goal to maintain balance among the tribes of Israel.¹⁴

King Solomon [Prophet Sulaiman], who had a different temperament compared to his father, made Jerusalem a center of attraction through his political and economic initiatives in the state he had taken over; it was perfect in terms of power and stability. He also had constructed the temple his father had planned to build. The temple, whose construction is described in detail in the Old Testament, was built on the highest point of the city on the site of the *mazbah* where David offered his sacrifices. This area is called the Temple Mount (*Har ha-Bayt*) by today's Jews and Haram al-Sharif by Muslims. With the Temple's construction, Jerusalem became the qibla of the Israelites and thus started turning into a religious center.¹⁵ This transformation may also be evaluated as a different political expansion by Prophet Solomon adding a religious aspect to his father's policy that made Jerusalem the political center.

Immediately after Solomon's death, the state split two. The ten northern tribes established the Kingdom of Israel centered on Shechem (present-day Nablus) under the leadership of Jeroboam. The two tribes in the south (Judah and Benjamin) maintained the Kingdom of Judah and its capital of Jerusalem under the leadership of Solomon's son Rehoboam. Relations between these two kingdoms generally turned into struggles. The northern kingdom of Israel had built two sanctuaries containing six calves at Beth-El and Dan as an alternative to the Temple in Jerusalem. It should be noted that the Israelites, who preferred to worship in these sanctuaries (called *bama* [high place used for sacrifice] during this process), did not accept Jerusalem as a privileged place of worship as no reaction occurred from the Children of Israel toward these bamas located in different cities. Moreover, the wars that occurred at this time

saw Jerusalem and the Temple being occasionally looted by the Northern tribes.¹⁶ However, these raids also meant that Jerusalem was considered blessed and cared for by a very small number of Jews during these times. Although the bamas were considered as an alternative to the temple in Jerusalem, they were abolished in order to centralize worship during the reign of the Judah kings Hezekiah (727-697 BC) and Josiah (640-609 BC); this was, however, not very successful.¹⁷

The northern Kingdom of Israel had changed many rulers and dynasties before being destroyed by the Assyrians. After the invasion, the Jews were exiled to various parts of Assyria (722 BC). The Southern Kingdom of Judah,¹⁸ which became a semi-independent kingdom under the Assyrian Empire after the collapse of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, was destroyed alongside the Temple Mount by the Babylonian Emperor Nebuchadnezzar about two centuries later; many Jews were either killed or exiled (586 BC).¹⁹

Sanctity Made Using Exile Psychology

The Babylonian exile was a turning point in Jewish history. For Jerusalem, the exile was a turning point for the sanctity of the city. From this date on, the city would gradually turn into a holy city in the minds of the Jews; its holiness would become a creed in the full sense of the word.²⁰ Jerusalem, which had previously been the capital of the Israelites, was occasionally infected with the filth of idolatry due to regional cultures and gradually come to the fore as a spiritual center for both Palestinian and displaced Jews after the exile.²¹ Jerusalem would then gain the identity that represents the motherland for the exile and would turn into something Jews desired to meet with great longing day and

⁴ Genesis 14:14-21.

⁵ See RoSH (Ya'kov ben Asher ben Yehiel), *Tur on the Torah: Commentary on the Torah, with notes into English Transl. Eliyahu Munk*, (Jerusalem-New York: Lambda Publishers), 1: 113. For more information, see Singer-Kohler, "Melchizedek", *JE (The Jewish Encyclopedia)*, 8:450; Gruenwald, "Melchizedek", *EJd2*, 14:11.

⁶ For example, see Ibn 'Ezra, (Ibn 'Ezra's) *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers&Deuteronomy, with notes to English transl. H. N. Strickman-A. M. Silver*, (New York: Menorah Publishing Company, 1988-2001), 1:167; RamBaN (Nal:manides: Moses ben Nal:man), *The Torah Commentary*, ed. Avrohom Biderman, *English with Hebrew text and notes, transl. Ya'akov Blinder et al.*, (New York: AriScroll series Mesorah Publications, 2004-2006), 1:331

⁷ Nir, *Jerusalem le-Doroteya I: me-'Ir Yevusit le-Birat 'am Yisrael*, (Ra'anana: ha-Universita ha-Petuha, 1984), 4. See Genesis 13:14-15; 15:18-21.

⁸ See Genesis 35:12; 28:13; Numbers 34.

⁹ See *Yehoshu'a* (Joshua) 2/1, 7/2, 8/1, 10/1-7.

¹⁰ Hasanoğlu, "Tanah'a Göre Kudüs'ün Kutsallaşma Süreci", *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 24:2 (2015): 132-133.

¹¹ For the description of the Ark of the Covenant in the Torah, see *Exit*, 25/10-22.

¹² Watson, *The Story of Jerusalem*, (London-New York: J. M. Dent and Co., 1918), 31.

¹³ Kollek-Pearlman, *Jerusalem Sacred of Mankind*, 33-34; Cline, *Jerusalem Beseiged: from Ancient Canaan to Modern Israel*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 314-315.

¹⁴ *I Kings 8:44-48; II Chronicles 6:34. For detailed information, see Abramsky-Liver, "Jerusalem: in the Bible", EJd2, 11: 208-210.*

¹⁵ Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", *Eski Yeni: Anadolu İlahiyat Akademisi Araştırma Dergisi*, 37 (2018): 115-116.

¹⁶ *I Kings 18:4; II Chronicles 31:1. For detailed information, see Watson, The Story of Jerusalem*, 47.

¹⁷ *I Kings 15:29; II Kings 17:4-6. For details on the demolition, see Güntaltay, Elam ve Mezopotamya*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society 1987), 552-557; same author, *Suriye ve Filistin- Yakın Şark III*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1947), 560.

¹⁸ See *Jeremiah 52:16, 27-30; II Kings 24:14. This event is very important in terms of Jewish history, and the period between the construction of the Temple by Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar is called the First Temple period. After this period, the independence of the Jews as a state ended; no organized state order was able to be fully established until 1948, and the exile of the Jews continues even today.*

¹⁹ Gafni, "Ma'amado sel Erets Yisrael ba-Toda'a ha-Yehudit be-'Ikvut Mered Bar Kohba", *Mered Bar Kohba: Mahkarim Hadaşim*, ed. A. Openheimer-A. Rapaport, (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben Tsvi, 1984), 231.

²⁰ Armstrong, "The Holiness of Jerusalem: Asset or Burden", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27 (1998/3): 12; Gafni, "Ma'amado sel Erets Yisrael ba-Toda'a ha-Yehudit be-'Ikvut Mered Bar Kochba", 231.

night. After being exiled, the perception of sanctity that had begun to settle in the Second Temple period would become permanent in the Jewish consciousness with the Roman's destruction of the Temple. Since the Second Temple's destruction in the *Tannaim* period, Jerusalem took on special attention in the discourses of the Jewish clergy; after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132 AD), the Jews were banned from living in or around Jerusalem, and literature on the sanctity of residing in the region was produced.²² In summary, since their exile, Jews have transformed Jerusalem into a utopian city through the mythology and legends they retrospectively invented in almost every field of life from faith, law, and art to worship, politics, and literature. In fact, this longing should be noted not to be for the city but to be for the glory of the times of David and Solomon. After the Second Temple's destruction, this longing became even more acute, and talking about the holiness and splendor of Jerusalem expressed the longing for the old kingdom.²³ All this longing and discourse has strengthened the importance of Jerusalem in the minds of Jews with each passing century. Centuries later, Zionists exploited this longing in Jews and succeeded in uniting their coreligionists in different parts of the world under this ideology. When considering Zion to be one of the names of Jerusalem, evaluating Zionism as Jerusalem-ism becomes easily possible.²⁴

Jerusalem is most commonly referred to as *Yerushalayim* in the Old Testament. While the Old Testament's authors were writing it, they mostly recorded the name of the city as *Yerushalem* and *Yerushalayim*. Although some consider the first part of *Yerushalayim* (or *Yerushalem*),

which consists of the two parts *yar* (i.e., fearing) and *ra'e* (i.e., to see) to be *Yerush* (i.e., to have) or *Yire* (i.e., to see), the general consensus is that *Yeru* (i.e., he founded it) is the origin of the word in the scientific world. Forming the second part of the word is *shalayim* (or *shalem/salim*); this is the name of Shulmanu/Shulman, a god of the Western Semites. Hence, *Yerushalayim* is said to mean the city of Shalem. This naming is said to be suitable for the tradition of how cities established in that time had been named. The fact that the city is also referred to as *Bet-Shalem* [House of Shalem] in the Tell Amarna letters also indicates the name to relate to *Shalem*. *Shalem* translates as peace in manuscripts, both in Josephus' book *Jewish Wars* and in Onkelos's Aramaic translation (*Targum Onkelos*). Consequently, Jerusalem as a word is accepted to mean The City of Peace. The first Jewish scholar to translate Jewish scriptures into Arabic in the Middle Ages was Said b. Yusuf al-Fayyumi; Saadia Gaon (882-942 AD) translated "Jerusalem" in the Old Testament as "Darussalam" (Isaiah 44:28, 51:17) and as "Medinet'us-Salam" (Isaiah 40:2).²⁵

Apart from the common name of Jerusalem, various books of the Old Testament also refer to the city as Jebus (Judges 19:10), Zion, David's City (Samuel 5:7, 9; I Chronicles 1:5, 7), Ariel (Isaiah 29:1), Moriah (Chronicles 3:1), holy city (Nehemiah 11:18), city of God (Psalm 46:4), the city of the Lord of hosts (Psalm 48:8), the city of believers, the city of peace, and the city of righteousness (Isaiah 1:26), as well as the abode of justice (Jeremiah 31:23). The Arabic name of the city is accepted as al-Quds, which comes from *Ir ha-Kodesh* in Nehemiah (11:18).²⁶ As stated above, *Shalem* has always been interpreted to mean

Yerushalem (i.e., Jerusalem) in *meforshim*.²⁷ In Jewish tradition, Jerusalem is accepted as having 70 different names, just as God and the Torah have 70 names.²⁸

The Legend of Longing

The Midrashic literature claims Jerusalem to have existed long before the creation of the realm, possibly due to the longing brought on by exile. Allegedly, Prophet Adam was created from the soil in the area where David's *mazbah* was located. For this reason, the sanctity of Jerusalem is innate rather than an afterthought. Not just man (who is the small world) but the whole World had been created from Zion.²⁹ Meanwhile, Palestine is the center of the world, and Jerusalem and the Temple are the center of Palestine; as such, Jerusalem is at the very heart of the world. Jerusalem is located at the projection of the celestial temple, God's *shekhina* [dwelling/residence]³⁰ on Earth. Stating Jerusalem to exist both in the sky and on earth, rabbis have said that, despite the destruction of the earthly temple, the heavenly temple still exists.³¹ Because of this *shekhina*, Jewish people feel security of life in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is life insurance for people. Fires do not burn anywhere in the city, nor do earthquakes occur; or if they do, no building is damaged.³² Jerusalem is the pinnacle of perfection. It is the symbol of beauty and the prince of cities. When God created the world, He divided beauty into

ten parts, nine of which were Jerusalem's share. Anyone who hasn't seen Jerusalem has never seen a beautiful city in their life. Like Jerusalem, Jerusalemites are beautiful and wise people. Those living in Jerusalem will receive forgiveness twice a day.³³

In Judaic belief, because God chose Jerusalem for Himself, eternity and blessing will be in this city.³⁴ Because His Ark was in the Temple in Jerusalem, the center of communication with God was also directly in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the qibla to which Jews collectively face during their worship.³⁵ It was a place of pilgrimage when the temple was still standing, a place where male Jews visited for three festivals a year (Passover, Shavuot [Feast of Weeks] and Sukkot [Feast of Booths]) to present their sacrifices.³⁶

In the Jewish tradition, fasts were generally held in connection with Jerusalem in order to keep Jerusalem alive in people's memories. *Asara B'Tevet* [10th of Tevet] and *Shiva Asar B'Tammuz* [17th of Tammuz] are days of fasting tied to the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem; *Tisha B'Av* [9th of Av] commemorates the destruction of the Temple, and *Tu B'Av* [15th of Av] is a mysterious day of fasting held to commemorate the day when the fire of the Temple was extinguished after the Temple's destruction. These fasts are always held in connection with Jerusalem.³⁷

²⁷ For example, see Ibn 'Ezra, 1:167; RaMBaN, 1:331.

²⁸ "Jerusalem in Aggadah", *EJd2*, 11: 212.

²⁹ *Babylonian Talmud*, Yoma 54b; "Jerusalem in Aggadah", *EJd2*, 11: 212; Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", 18; Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", 114-115.

³⁰ *Divine manifestation. The visible presence of God's presence in the world. In Jewish history, this presence was expressed by the concept of shekhina. Shekhina, which means "God's holy presence" or "God's honor and glory," symbolizes His spiritual existence, not his corporeal presence on Earth. The Jews developed a theological fiction in this way because of the concern of comparing God to a human-like being (anthropomorphism). The glory of the Lord is not in a particular place; it was wherever the Israelites are. The connection between the Ark of the Covenant and shekhina is also indicated in the Qur'an (2:246-248) as sekine. For detailed information about Shekhina, see Urbach, The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs, (Hebrew University Magnes Press: 1979), 37-65; Kaçan, Kitab-ı Mukaddes ve İslâm Geleneğinde Ahid Sandığı, (İstanbul: Ataç Publications, 2004), 38-40.*

³¹ *Babylonian Talmud*, Ta'anit 5a. On the idea of the celestial temple among the Jews, "Jerusalem in Aggadah", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 21:213; Yiğitoğlu, "Yahudilerin Tapınak Siyaseti ve Semavi Mâbed", *Türkiye İlahiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1:1 (2017): 48-49.

³² "Jerusalem in Aggadah", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 21: 211-213; Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", 116.

³³ *Babylonian Talmud*, Kiddushin 49b; *Babylonian Talmud*, Suka 51b; "Jerusalem in Aggadah", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 11:212; Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", 18.

³⁴ *Psalms* 132:13-14.

³⁵ *I Kings* 8:48; *Babylonian Talmud*, Berahot 30a.

³⁶ *Exodus* 23:14-17; 34:23; *Leviticus* 23:7; *Deuteronomy* 16:16-17; *II Chronicles* 8:13.

³⁷ Rosenthal, "The Four Commemorative Fast Days", *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review*, ed. Abraham A. Neuman-Solomon Zeitlin, Philadelphia 1967, 446; Herr, "Fasting and Fast Days", *EJd*, 6:722-723.

²² Safray-Safray, "Kedushat Erets Yisrael and Jerusalem: Kavim le-Hitpathuto sel ha-Raayon", *My Jew and Yahadut be-Yeme Bet Sheni, ha-Mishnah and ha-Talmud*, ed. Aharon Oppenheimer et al., (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben Tsvi, 1993), 345, 359; Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", *Geçmişten Günümüze Kudüs*, ed. Ahmet Kavas et al., (İstanbul: Ümraniye Municipality Culture Publications, 2019), 15.

²³ Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", 116.

²⁴ For this determination and evaluation, see Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", 19-20.

²⁵ See: Avi-Yonah-Gibson, "Jerusalem: History", *EJd2*, 11:144; Harman, "Kudüs", 26: 323; Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", 110-111.

²⁶ Hasanoğlu, "Tanah'a Göre Kudüs'ün Kutsallaşması Süreci", 131.

The hymn *L'Shana Haba'ah B'Yerushalayim* [Next year in Jerusalem], which is sung on special days such as Passover and Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement], attempts to rivet the vividness of these memories by transforming them into some kind of belief. This riveting is also reflected in daily prayers. For example, the 14th verse of the *Amidah* [Standing] is completely devoted to Jerusalem. This verse begins with the words "May Jerusalem be rebuilt today, the city of mercy..." and ends with the words "Hail to you, O God, the founder of Jerusalem." The perception of Jerusalem began being kept alive this way in daily prayers.³⁸

Similarly, while *Sos Tasis* [prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem] was added to *Sheva Brachot* [the seven blessings] for the *Birkat HaBayit* [groom's prayer] in weddings,³⁹ the rabbinical *Halakha* [rulings] of the Jewish clergy in the Middle Ages always ended with the prayer "May the Lord allow Jews to build the Temple as soon as possible. Amen."⁴⁰ By ending with a prayer to Jerusalem, the Jewish communities' hopes for Jerusalem were constantly renewed.

Jerusalem also has an important place in Jewish eschatology. Jerusalem is the city where the Messiah will gather the dispersed and exiled Jews together. For this reason, Jerusalem will be rebuilt in the future, and the Jewish peoples will also unite in Jerusalem. After this rebuilding, God will reside in Zion, and Jerusalem will again become God's eternal throne.⁴¹ Therefore, God is both *Bone Yerushalayim* [Builder of Jerusalem] and *Shohen Yerushalayim* [Inhabitant of Jerusalem].⁴² Again, according to Jewish beliefs, *Yom Ha-Din* [Day of Judgment], the *tequmah* [resurrection] from the dead afterward, and the place of reckoning will be in Jerusalem. For this reason, Jerusalem is like the gate between heaven and hell. It is important to die in Jerusalem and be buried there in order for judgment to pass easily in matters pertaining to the Hereafter. It is an important place for human salvation in the afterlife.⁴³

³⁸ S. Gürkan, *Yahudilik, İstanbul 2012*, 128; Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", 19.

³⁹ See *Babylonian Talmud, Ketubot 8a*; Bloch, *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies*, (New York: Ktav Publishing House), 1980, 35.

⁴⁰ For example, see Agus, "Teshuvot Geone Erets Yisrael u-Bavel", *Horev* 12 (1956-57): 200.

⁴¹ *Jeremiah* 3:17; *Ezekiel* 40:1-49; 43:7-9; *Zechariah* 1:16-17.

⁴² Hasanoğlu, "Yahudilikte Kudüs Algısı", 18-19.

⁴³ Aydın, "Yahudiler/Yahudilik Açısından Kudüs", 119-120.

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JERUSALEM IN CHRISTIANITY

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Christianity introduces itself as a continuation of Judaism, and at its center is Jesus [Prophet İsa]. According to Christians, the Messiah was realized in the person of Jesus and is expected to come again in the End Times. Accordingly, both the promised land in which Jerusalem [al-Quds] is located and the belief in the chosen nation were pushed into the background through the person of the Messiah and the gospel of salvation from original sin. Therefore, as with every belief and principle in Christianity, the sanctity Christianity holds toward Jerusalem will remain associated with the fact that Jesus Christ had lived there. With the destruction of Solomon's [Prophet Sulaiman] Temple in 70 AD, Jerusalem on Earth as the center of the promised land would be replaced by Christianity's belief in the heavenly Jerusalem.¹ However, certain places in Jerusalem are considered to be places where Jesus Christ, who came down to earth as the Son of God the Father and took on flesh and blood, spent his life. Namely, the places where he was born, lived, held his preaching activities, was crucified, buried, and resurrected are the places Christians visit as holy places. and consider as pilgrimage centers. In particular, Jesus carried out his preaching activities in the region of Galilee north of Palestine. When considering this,

Jesus' activities in connection with Jerusalem constitute the last part of his life in particular.²

Jerusalem is a city Christians consider important and as having places to visit not only because of Jesus but also because Jerusalem has the graves of the people and saints who had an important role in his life. Christianity believes Jerusalem holds the tomb of Mary [Hazrat Maryam], who had "begotten God" and gave birth to the Messiah as a virgin. This is one of the places Christians visit the most. For Christians, Mary is the most important person after Jesus. Also, Jerusalem is where Mary was born and consecrated. According to rumors told in Christian sources, Mary was taken to the Solomon Temple in Jerusalem when she was a child and pledged the oath of virginity. She then retreated to the Temple, devoted herself to God, and engaged in worship day and night. Every day an angel would visit her and bring a variety of food. Mary's choice for such a life would become one of the pillars of the Christian institution of nuns. Again, according to Christian sources, Mary had lived in Nazareth with her fiancée Joseph and went to Jerusalem with her child forty days after Jesus' birth to offer a sacrifice there. Mary took Jesus when he was 12 to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover, and they visited Solomon's

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¹ Behman Özbek, *Kutsal Kitap Sözlüğü*, (Istanbul: 2016), 833-839.

² Dominique Trimbur, 'Jerusalem', *Le Monde du Catholicisme*, (Paris: 2017), 683-685.

Temple together. Here, Jesus argued with the Jewish clergy and surprised them with his answers. This was the sign according to Christian belief that Jesus was the expected Messiah. According to Christians, another meaning of this event that had taken place in Solomon's Temple was that Judaism had been invalidated. From now on, a new era had begun heralding the Messiah, because the Messiah whom the Jews expected to come to Jerusalem had arrived.³

John, whom tradition accepts as the author of the fourth Gospel and to whom Jesus had entrusted his mother Mary, was an apostle residing in Jerusalem. Christian sources report that Mary died in Jerusalem around the age of 90. Accordingly, the work *Transitus Mariae* [Mary's Transition] describes the death of Mary and events related to this, with Mary praying in sorrow upon the death of Jesus and to deliver her soul from Jerusalem. Later, after Jesus' burial, his apostles buried his body in the Valley of Josaphat (also known as the Kidron Valley), located between the Temple Mount and the Mount of Olives. Today, this site is believed to be in the Church of the Assumption, which descends sixty steps to the place where Mary's tomb is located. However, according to sources, this place was actually unearthed in the 5th century at the behest of Empress Pulcheria. Tradition reports this place to have been visited by Christian pilgrims since the 5th century. Because Christians believe Mary's body ascended to heaven, the place where this stands today is empty. As an ancient ritual, incense is burned there at certain times of the day in the belief it drives away evil spirits. Interestingly, although sources state Mary to have

died in Jerusalem, information exists regarding the Virgin Mary spending her last days in Ephesus with the apostle John. Much doubt is cast on Mary having died in Ephesus rather than Jerusalem. As a matter of fact, two different buildings in Jerusalem today are known as the place where Mary died or where her tomb is. The Church of the Ascension, which belongs to Catholics, is considered the place where Mary did not actually die but was raised up to God body and soul.⁴ The other building related to Mary's death is the place where she sleeps in death like everyone else waiting to meet God; this is the view expressed and accepted by Orthodox Christians. This place is located inside a monastery built upon where this event supposedly took place. However, the general opinion is that Mary's tomb is in Jerusalem.⁵

Kidron Valley is also known as the cemetery of Jerusalem, and next to Mary's tomb are the brother of Jesus Christ, James, who is also considered an important figure in the history of Christianity, Mary's mother Anna [Hanne] and her father Joachim [Imran], as well as John the Baptist's [Prophet Yahya] father Zechariah [Prophet Zakarya], and Mary's husband Joseph.

The room in Jerusalem that is currently considered the place where the Last Supper had occurred is on the upper floor of King David's [Prophet Dawud] Tomb. The 12th-century Crusaders determined this place to be the tomb of David as well as the place where Jesus' Last Supper had taken place when a rumor mixed with legend was put forward. This led to the emergence of claims and disputes between Jews and Christians that lasted for many years. In the end, Suleiman the Mag-

nificent seized this place and turned it into a mosque. However, despite having a mosque architecture and lines with Qur'anic verses in it, this site is no longer used as a mosque, instead having become a place visited by Jews, Christians, and Muslims.⁶

Jesus was condemned to death because he confessed to being the Messiah during his interrogation by the Sanhedrin, the tribunal of Jewish elders. They reported their request for Jesus' death to Pontus Pilate, the Roman Governor in Jerusalem at the time. The Church of the Apocalypse has also been known as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher since the Crusades. Traveling the Stations of the Cross is a very important ritual for Christian pilgrims, stopping for a while at each station to read relevant passages from the Bible and to try and feel the suffering of Jesus Christ. Meanwhile, some Christian pilgrims feel the pain that Jesus suffered by conducting the 14 Stations of the Cross while carrying a cross on their back. The last five stops of the *Via Crucis* are located in the Church of the Resurrection, which is considered the holiest place in the Christian world.

Jerusalem is also where the Council of the Apostles was held, the first council in the history of Christian Councils. The Council of Jerusalem discussed and decided upon the basic beliefs of Christianity and the religious obligations of non-Jews. From this, Jerusalem would be considered the holiest land for Christians as the place where Jesus lived the last days of his life. Muslims, who accept Jesus as a prophet and his mother Mary as the beloved servant of Allah, accept the existence of these places in Jerusalem, such as where Zechariah, his wife, and

apostles lived, holding their spiritual memories within the framework of their own beliefs.

According to Christian sources, the Jerusalemite community continued to exist under the leadership of Jesus' brother James for many years after Jesus. As stated in the New Testament of the Christian Bible, Jacob [Prophet Yaqub] strongly advocated for the Jerusalem congregation to adhere to Judaic law; He struggle long with Paul on this issue. For this reason, early Jerusalem Christianity under the leadership of James would continue to exist for a long time, albeit under different names, as a congregation with faith-based beliefs and religious law. In this sense, the Jerusalemite community embraced its Jewish heritage and represented a non-Christian faith based on the belief in the Messiah who sacrificed himself in exchange for the forgiveness of humanity's original sin, which Paul adapted to the Hellenic and Roman culture. However, the Romans' decision to prosecute and arrest the new Christian community in 35 AD would cause the community, having adopted Hellenic culture over Jewish law and culture, to leave Jerusalem.⁷

With the Edict of Milan published by Roman Emperor Constantine in 313 AD, Christians gained a legitimate presence in Jerusalem. Those who converted from paganism to Christianity during the Roman period could claim the ancient heritage of the first Judeo-Christians. In 335 AD after Emperor Constantine's mother, Empress Helena, performed the pilgrimage in Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (also known as Kamame Church, Anastasis Church [Resurrection], and Hill of the Cross [Martyrion/Calvary]

³ Trimbur, 'Jerusalem', 683-685.

⁴ İsmail Taşpınar, "Katolik Assomptionistler Tarih ve Türkiye", *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 10/2004, 95-120.

⁵ E. Aman, 'Église de Jérusalem', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, 8: 1010.

⁶ Pelin Çift - Ö. Faruk Harman, *Kudüs'ün Gizemli Tarihi*, (İstanbul: 2016), 79-130.

⁷ Philippe Blaudeau, 'Jerusalem', *Christianisme*, (Paris: 2010), 312-314.

where Jesus was believed to have been crucified) would be considered a sacred place. A piece of wood believed to be a remnant from Jesus' cross would also be found during Empress Helena's visit. Jerusalem, which had lost its political importance to the sea city of Caesarea, would thus turn into a place of pilgrimage that all Christians could accept as the spiritual center of their religion.⁸

At the time when divisions had occurred among Christians, Empress Eudocia would establish the monastery of Saint Etienne in Jerusalem in 455 AD; she would pass away there. Emperor Justinian (r. 527-565 AD) would go on to build many religious buildings, including the New Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Council of Nicaea convened in 325 AD and decided that the metropolitan of Jerusalem had priority in the protocol among other archbishops. The metropolitan of Jerusalem would begin using the title of Patriarch starting in the 6th century. According to Christians, the tradition of the bishopric in Jerusalem started with Jesus' brother James and continues today with the Greek Orthodox patriarchy.⁹

With the Crusades the Papacy led in the Middle Ages, Jerusalem would be occupied by Western Christians in 1099 AD. During the Crusades, a Latin patriarchate would be established in Jerusalem to replace the Orthodox Patriarchate. However, when the Muslims took back Jerusalem in 1187 AD, the Latin Patriarchate moved first to Acre, which was the headquarters of the Knights of Saint-Jean. The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was later forced to move to Rome with the Mamluk's conquest of Acre in 1291 AD. The Christian pilgrimages that had begun in the 4th century would

cease with the expulsion of the Crusaders from Jerusalem. European Christians' pilgrimages to Jerusalem would resume in the 19th century with some travelers.¹⁰

In addition to the Latin Patriarchate, the Greek and Armenian patriarchates also have a presence in Jerusalem. The Armenian Patriarchate is located in the monastery of Saint-Jacques. The authority to perform mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is reserved only for these three sects. The local Jacobite Church is represented by a diocese. Coptic Christians, on the other hand, have performed pilgrimages to Jerusalem since the early years when it formed a congregation and settled here in the 9th century. It has had a church there ever since. The Copts started to use the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene (Sainte Marie Madeleine) together with the Jacobites in the 12th century. Today, this place is used as al-Qadisiyyah Girls' School. The Coptic Church has been represented at the level of archbishop since 1236 AD. This caused some arguments with the Assyrians, who were in favor of remaining under their custodianship. Like the Assyrians, Copts have their own chapels in the Church of the Holy Resurrection. During the Middle Ages, the Ethiopian Church settled in Jerusalem, following the Copts. However, the Ethiopian Church would split from the Coptic Church in 1820 and gain its own private monastery in the dome of the Chapel of St. Helena. The Georgian Church and the Nestorian Church have no representation currently in Jerusalem, as they have lost the importance they once had. Christians are said to currently have 56 old churches in Jerusalem.¹¹

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¹¹ J. Assfalg-P. Krüger, *Petit Dictionnaire de l'Orient Chretien*, transl. J. Longton, Belgique: 1991.

JERUSALEM AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN ISLAM

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Just like Christianity and Judaism, Islam considers Jerusalem [al-Quds] as a sacred city. The data regarding Jerusalem as a holy city has settled in the minds of Muslims since the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad. Many references are found both in the Qur'an and in hadith regarding Jerusalem as the first qibla of Islam and one of the stops from the Isra and Mi'raj miracle. Muslim scholars have been unable to finish counting the virtues of Jerusalem while making use of this information. Unique works have been written in relation to this compilation of books and parables mentioning the virtue of Jerusalem and explaining its importance. These studies occur in the form of Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis [The Praises of Jerusalem] as a special type among Islamic sources. When considering that the first work written in relation to the virtues of Jerusalem was Ishaq ibn Bishr al-Bukhari's (d. 821 AH) *Futuh Bayt al-Maqdis*, studies will also be seen to have been made earlier on this subject. This is the most obvious evidence showing the importance of Jerusalem for Muslims.

Many names are found for Jerusalem in early Islamic sources. Al-Zarkashi (d. 1392 AD) stated Jeru-

salem to have 17 names,¹ The most common among these being Iliya, Masjid al-Aqsa, and Bayt al-Maqdis. The Qur'an uses Masjid al-Aqsa to refer to the area of al-Aqsa Mosque while explaining the Isra and Mi'raj miracle. Because the Qur'an uses this expression, this name is popular among Muslims. Bayt al-Maqdis is a reference to the temple of Prophet Solomon [Sulaiman] built. Early Islamic scholars, mufassirs [an author of a tafsir], muhaddith [scholar of hadith], historical and geographical ulama mention all three names together or alternately. For example, when Ibn Ishaq (d. 768 AD) described Isra and Mi'raj, he annotated Jerusalem as "mine'l-Mescidi'l-Harami ile'l-Mescidi'l-Aksa ve hüve Beytul-makdis min Iliya."² Ibn Hisham also repeated the same pattern.³ Al-Baladhuri also alternately used Bayt al-Maqdis and the city of Iliya.⁴ Tabari gave the city of Jerusalem's name as Iliya, calling it "Yerushalayim and the city Bayt al-Maqdis Iliya." This reveals Iliya to have been better known.⁵ The most common name for the city of Jerusalem was al-Quds al-Sharif, meaning "Honourable Jerusalem" as a sign of respect.

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¹ Ebu Abdullah Bedruddin Muhammed ez-Zerkeşi, *İlamü's-sacid bi-ahkami'l-mesacid*, 5th ed., ed. Sheikh Mustafa al-Maragî, (Cairo: al-Meclisu'l-Ala li'sh-Shuumi'l-Islamiyye, 1999/1420), 277-279.

² "From Masjid al-Haram to al-Aqsa Mosque is Bayt al-Maqdis in Iliya." Muhammad al-Madani ibn Ishaq, *es-Siyer ve'l-meghazi*, (Beirut: Daru'l-Fikr, 1978/1398), 295.

³ Abdulmalik al-Himyari ibn Hisham, *es-Siretu'n-Nabawiyya*, 2nd ed., ed. delegation, (Egypt: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halebi, 1955/1375), 2: 32.

⁴ Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri, *Fütuhu'l-buldan*, (Beirut: Daru ve Mektebetu'l-Hilal, 1988), 140.

⁵ Muhammed b. Cerir et-Tabari, *Tarihu'r-rüsiül ve'l-mülük*, 2nd ed., (Beirut: Daru't-Turas, 1387), 1: 603.

Jerusalem in the Qur'an

The Qur'an describes Jerusalem as the holy land, a place whose surroundings are blessed. Even if its name is not mentioned as Jerusalem per se, several Surah make reference to it. A total of 70 surahs in the Qur'an make note of Jerusalem, with the 21st surah (Surah al-Anbiya) talking about Jerusalem both directly and indirectly. According to some mufasssirs, no specific verse marks

out the name of Jerusalem directly. The other verses make implied references about Jerusalem. While the Meccan Surahs indicate Jerusalem to be holy land, the Medinan Surahs emphasize Jerusalem's sanctity as a result of likely dialogue with Jewish people.

One verse that clearly talks about Jerusalem is the first verse of Surah al-Isra and gives information about the miracle of Isra and Mi'raj:

سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَا الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ
لِنُرِيَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِنَا إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ

Exalted is He who took His Servant (i.e., Prophet Muhammad) by night from Masjid al-Haram to Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing. (Qur'an 17:1)

Fakhr al-Din al-Razi stated⁶ the *Masjid al-Aqsa* mentioned in this verse to signify al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, and this is unanimously accepted by mufasssirs in the Islamic tradition. According to mufasssirs, although the Qur'an makes no clear mention of the known names of Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque is clearly mentioned. Like classical era mufasssirs, most of the ulama who wrote about hadiths, history, and geography stated Jerusalem to be one of the travel points mentioned during the night journey of Isra. Emphasis must be made that Jerusalem did not exist in its present form on the night of Isra. Jerusalem took its present form later, having been destroyed and rebuilt several times. Prophet Mohamad did not mention any one building while leading all the prophets in pray; instead, he mentioned a region. In other words, a region, not a building, is mentioned in the verse.

Al-Tabari (d. 310 AH), al-Zamakhshari (d. 538 AH), Qadi Baydawi (d. 685 AH), Nasafi (d. 710 AH), Ibn Kathir (d. 774 AH), Muhammed Hamdi Yazir (d. 1942 AD) and many other mufasssirs have stated Masjid al-Aqsa in the verse to refer to Bayt al-Maqdis but to a place, not

to a specific building there. Tafsir scholars have interpreted the expression "whose surroundings We have blessed" in the verse to be a sign of material and spiritual abundance, stating material abundance to refer to the products grown in the vineyards and gardens in Jerusalem and spiritual abundance to refer to the spirituality of the prophets and righteous people in this city.

Based on the fact that today's al-Aqsa Mosque was built during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, what is mentioned in this verse does not refer to the current mosque but the area in connection with Jerusalem and established as an alternative to the Kaaba due to the political conditions in the early Islamic period. The information in the related hadith and tafsir sources is said should be read from this perspective. Although this claim had been put forth by a German Orientalist of Jewish origin named Ignath Goldziher as well as by other Orientalists, S. D. Goitein, M. H. Shurrab, J. Horovitz and still other Orientalists have emphasized this claim to be untrue.⁷ Another proof of the falsity of this claim is the importance Muslims attributed to

Jerusalem in the early period. Jerusalem has been a respected city among Muslims since the time of the Sahabah [the companions of the Prophet]. In the first years, Muslims prayed facing this city. When they came to Jerusalem for conquest, they did not see it as an ordinary city and attempted to take it without bloodshed; even Caliph Omar came to Jerusalem from Medina and crossed distant deserts for this purpose, a public memory of the early Islamic period in which the Sahabah lived. This is ample for showing Muslims to have considered Jerusalem a privileged and holy city.

Again, Surah al-Isra in the Qur'an contains this verse in question and mentions the Children of Israel from the very beginning; this is a sign that the Jews

also considered this place to be sacred. Rather than mentioning all the verses indicative of Jerusalem here, gathering the relevant verses under specific categories would be more useful. Although mufasssirs are found to have not interpreted the verses mentioned here in this way, the majority of scholars should be mentioned to have argued these verses to refer to Jerusalem.

In several places, the Qur'an describes Jerusalem as a blessed and sanctified place. For example, Surat al-Araf mentions that the Children of Israel had been given the Promised Land because of their patience, and these lands were said to be blessed. Ulama such as al-Tabari, al-Qurtubi (d. 671 AH), and al-Mawardi (d. 450 AH) declared this to be Jerusalem.

وَأُورِثْنَا الْقَوْمَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يُسْتَضْعَفُونَ مَشَارِقَ الْأَرْضِ وَمَغَارِبَهَا الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا

And We made those who had been persecuted inherit the eastern and western lands which We had blessed Thus your Lord's gracious promise was fulfilled to the Children of Israel, for they had endured with patience; and We destroyed all that Pharaoh and his people had wrought, and all that they had built. (Qur'an 7:137)

While talking about the prophets, one verse in Surah al-Anbiya, mentions the Prophet Abraham, the ancestor of the prophets, and explains that he was directed to a fertile place.

وَنَجَّيْنَاهُ وَلُوطًا إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا لِلْعَالَمِينَ

And We delivered him and Lot to the land which We had blessed for the worlds. (Qur'an 21:71)

Tafsir scholars have stated this verse to refer to Jerusalem; al-Tabari more specifically said the verse refers to Hajar al-Muallaq, upon which prophet Abraham had attempted to sacrifice his son.⁸ In the following verses bringing up the subject of Solomon, reference is made to Jerusalem, where his throne and temple are located.

وَلَسُلَيْمَانَ الرِّيحَ عَاصِفَةً تَجْرِي بِأَمْرِ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي بَارَكْنَا فِيهَا

And to Solomon (We subjected) the wind, blowing forcefully, proceeding by his command toward the land which We had blessed. And We are ever, of all things, knowing. (Qur'an 21:81).

Other verses have indicated Jerusalem by referring to it as the Holy Lands. For instance, Surah al-Ma'idah, while explaining the departure of Prophet Moses [Musa] and the tribe's escape from persecution under the Pharaoh in Egypt toward the Promised Land, mentions the Holy Land. Although tafsir scholars have put forth different opinions about the exact location being mentioned here, al-Razi, Ibn Kathir, al-Maqdisi, al-Nasafi, al-Mawardi, al-Qurtubi, and others have been of the opinion this place is Jerusalem and its surroundings.

⁶ Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Omar er-Razi, *Mefatihul-l-ghayb*, 3rd ed., (Beirut: Daru Ihyai'l-Turasi'l-Arabi, 1420), 20: 292.

⁷ Aşır Öreñç, "Kudüs ve Mescid-i Aksa'nın Faziletine Dair Hadisler ve Yorumu", *Türk İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 11:22 (2016), 141-142.

⁸ Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Camiu'l-beyan fi te'vili'l-Kuran*, ed. Ahmed Muhammed Şakir, (Beirut: Muessesetu'r-Risale, 2000/1420), 18: 468, 470.

يَا قَوْمِ ادْخُلُوا الْأَرْضَ الْمُقَدَّسَةَ الَّتِي كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ

O my people, enter the Holy Land which Allah has assigned to you and do not turn back (from fighting in Allah's cause) and (thus) become losers. (Surah al-Ma'idah 21:21)

As can be understood from the verses mentioned above, the stories of the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an involve Jerusalem because Jerusalem is the city of prophets. When talking about David [Prophet Dawud], the Qur'an indicates his position as a distributor of justice as well as a prophet (Qur'an 38:17-22). Jerusalem was the place where the case of the two plaintiffs who appeared to David while he was in his prayer chamber, was held. The Qur'an (27:20-44 in Surah an-Naml) tells the story of Prophet Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The place where the events take place was also Jerusalem. The throne of Belkis was brought to Jerusalem in the blink of an eye by someone with divine knowledge. Belkis, who realized the un-ordinariness of her experience, abandoned worshipping celestial bodies and started to believe in the one God while in Jerusalem. Dedicated to the temple by her mother, the Virgin Mary [Hazrat Maryam] worshiped in the mosque allocated to her in Jerusalem for years. The place where Allah Almighty blessed Mary with fruit to eat is Jerusalem (Qur'an 3:37). Witnessed by Allah, Almighty, the Prophet Jesus [Isa] gave witness to Mary remaining chaste, speaking in Jerusalem while still in the cradle. Prophet Jesus announced his message in Jerusalem, and revealed the deception of those who abused religion in Jerusalem. Those who wanted to silence his divine message wanted to trap and kill him by crucifixion. However, Jesus was conveyed to heaven, and someone else was crucified in his place (Qur'an 4:157). Lastly, Jerusalem has been historically proven to have been the qibla in the early Islamic period. The Qur'anic verses dealing with the

change in qibla (Qur'an 2:142-145) involve Jerusalem as the first naturally signaled qibla. Tafsir scholars have mentioned many verses indicating Jerusalem aside from those listed here.

Jerusalem in Hadith and Biographical Resources on the Prophet

Prophet Mohammad had a special affinity toward Jerusalem and invited his ummah to embrace Jerusalem. This special affinity was not enough for him, and he made some initiatives to take Jerusalem from the Byzantium Empire. The first of these initiatives involved a letter sent to the Byzantium Emperor Heraclius inviting him to Islam. Haris ibn Umayr, who conveyed this letter, was sent to the governor of Busra in Palestine. The letter did not reach its destination because the messenger was martyred on the way. The Prophet Mohammad then sent a second letter through Dihyah al-Kalbi. This letter reached Emperor Heraclius in Jerusalem. Emperor Heraclius asked Abu Sufyan [Abu Sufyan ibn Harb] who was on a commercial voyage around Gaza some questions to learn more information about Islam and the Prophet Mohammad. Abu Sufyan, who was a polytheist at that time, spoke truthfully because he knew what would happen to him if he was discovered to be lying. Heraclius, who apparently did not take a stand against Islam and found its doctrines useful, informed Dihyah that he could not accept this invitation due to political reasons and that he could not become a Muslim.⁹

Prophet Mohammed saw diplomatic methods had not been useful and decided to try other methods, among

which included military interventions on Palestinian lands. In 8 AH, a Muslim army was sent to Palestine and put up a tough fight in the Battle of Mut'ah; Zayd, the adopted son of the Prophet, his cousin Ja'far ibn Abi Talib, and many of the Sahabah were martyred in this battle. The next year, the Muslim army actually set out for defense and came to a place known as Tabuk. Some of the tribes living not only in Tabuk but also in the Syrian and Palestinian lands around it agreed to pay the jizyah. Therefore, the Tabuk expedition opened the door to Palestinian lands. The Prophet's last attempt toward gaining Palestine was the creation of an army under the command of Usama ibn Zayd. After the Prophet returned from the Farewell Pilgrimage, he formed this army, taking care of every detail and wanting the army to set out immediately even though he was bedridden with a serious illness. However, some of the Sahabah understood these were the last days of the Prophet and could not accept being away from him in such an environment, so the army did not set out. After Abu Bakr [Abu Bakr al-Siddiq] was elected caliph, his first act was to send this army.

The Prophet's hadiths also reveal the importance of this blessed city in addition to his military interventions and diplomatic attempts toward Palestine. In contrast with the direct and indirect implications from the Qur'an, the name of Jerusalem is seen to have been directly mentioned in the Prophet's hadiths. Accordingly, the Prophet practically awakened his ummah about this blessed city and its various names and virtues. The hadiths on Jerusalem focus on Jerusalem as a place that can be visited for worship, the time of the temple's construction in this city, the importance of the temple, the need for Muslims to protect it, the level of rewards given in return for prayers performed there, the sins of those who worship in the temple being forgiven, and other virtues. Apart from this, Jerusalem has special importance in the life of the

Sahabah. Because this city had been the qibla for many years and witnessed the miracle of Isra and Mi'raj, which practically served as divine rehabilitation during a time when the Prophet and Muslims had been experiencing great difficulties, this city had a superior rank in the eyes of the Sahabah.

According to the information from hadith sources, Muslims had faced this direction while praying during the Meccan period, accepting Jerusalem as the qibla. This situation continued for a while during the Medina period until a divine decree ordered Muslims to face toward Mecca while praying with the Kaaba as the qibla. Although different dates between the 16th-18th month after Hijrah are mentioned in sources regarding the change in qibla, this difference is obviously not very large. The important thing here is the value that Jerusalem has had in the eyes of the Sahabah as the first qibla. Even after the direction of the qibla changed, the Sahabah's great sensitivity toward Jerusalem is evident from their attitude toward the conquest of the city: Jerusalem was not just an outdated qibla in the eyes of the Sahabah, They were also aware that Jerusalem bears the mark of the prophets.

Another reason underlying the respect the Sahabah had toward Jerusalem was its involvement in the Isra and Mi'raj miracle. The detailed information on this subject is located in hadith sources rather than in the Qur'an. According to adith, the Prophet experienced a miraculous journey where he was brought to this place as one of points of destination. The Prophet tied his mount, Burak, to an area on the Temple Mount and prayed. After praying, he took a cup filled with wine and milk served to him by the Angel Gabriel and drank. The celestial journey began after this.¹⁰

In another narration, when the Prophet arrived in Jerusalem, all the prophets greeted him there; the Prophet then led them in prayer,

⁹ Al-Tabari, *Tarih*, 2: 646-651; Abdurrahman Müciriüddin el-Uleymi, *el-Unsu'l-celil bi-tarihi'l-Kuds ve'l-Ifalil*, Jun. Mahmud Ali Ataullah, (Amman: Mektebetu Dendis, 1999/1420), 1: 202.

¹⁰ Abu'l-Hussein Muslim ibn al-Hajaj, *Sahih-i Muslim: al-Musnedu's-Sahih al-Muhtasar mine's-Sunen*, ed. Muhammed F. Abdalbaki, (Beirut: Daru ihyai't-turasi'l-Arabi), "Faith", 74, hadith no: 259.

after which the celestial journey began.¹¹ Meanwhile, al-Tabari explained the miracle of Isra and Mi'raj with other details. According to one narration, the Prophet explained the experience of Mi'raj to the polytheists in Mecca; the Quraysh denied his claim and asked him to bring evidence describing the truth. Upon this, Jerusalem was brought in front of the Prophet's eyes, and he described what he was looking at while also giving information about the Quraysh trade caravan around Jerusalem; the Prophet then invited them to faith.¹² Through these memories, Jerusalem has always had special value as the place where prophets before the Sahabah had gathered.

Because of the strong emotional bond the Sahabah felt toward Jerusalem, they prayed that the Prophet would take Jerusalem as soon as possible from Christian Byzantium and that it would get Islamized. Some Sahabah vowed to pray in Jerusalem on condition that Mecca would be conquered;¹³ this not only informs about their strong beliefs toward Jerusalem but also that Jerusalem was not some foreign place but one to which they could travel. In fact, the Sahabah's belief that Jerusalem would be conquered in the near future is evident from the document the Sahabi Tamim al-Dari received¹⁴ from the Prophet that stated the administration of Jerusalem would be given to him once this place was conquered.

When the Prophet's death was approaching, Jerusalem had not yet been conquered. This situation was not in line with what some Sahabah expected; they believed this was an important issue. Some sources reported that, after the Prophet sadly

learned his Sahabah Shaddad ibn Aws had been buried near the walls of Jerusalem, the Prophet in consolation said that Jerusalem would be conquered soon.¹⁵ This was realized during the reign of Caliph Omar [Umar ibn al-Khattab], who conquered Jerusalem.

This conquest was felt necessary as a result of the Prophet's discourses on Jerusalem. The Prophet had advised that the Sahabah must somehow seize Jerusalem. The Prophet recommended that anyone who could go there should go there, and whoever could not should make a donation toward this. Maymunah, one of the Prophet's wives, explained this in her narration. According to Maymunah's narration, she asked the Prophet, "Oh Messenger of Allah, give us a ruling about Jerusalem. The Prophet answered her, 'Go there and pray. If you cannot, you should send oil olive to light the oil lamps.'"¹⁶ In this context, the Prophet had emphasized three cities to exist where Muslims should intend to visit and pray: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. According to narrations from hadith sources, the Prophet said, "You should saddle up camels for three cities: Masjid al-Haram, the Prophet's Masjid, and Masjid al-Aqsa."¹⁷ In order to spread this awareness, the Prophet said that the *umrah* [pilgrimage] should be by way of Jerusalem to Mecca, those who did would have their old sins forgiven.¹⁸ Sources emphasize that the Sahabah who narrated this obeyed his advice and would perform their *umrah* starting in Jerusalem and going on to Mecca.¹⁹ The Prophet is said to have encouraged visiting Jerusalem and to have talked about the virtue of prayers made in Jerusalem. The common point of narrations about the virtue of worshipping there is that

the rewards for praying in al-Aqsa Mosque were many times more valuable than prayers performed anywhere else apart from Masjid al-Nabawi [the Prophet's Mosque] and the Kaaba.²⁰ Prophet Mohammad is known to have said, "Solomon, the son of David, begged for three supplications from Allah when he finished the temple. The first was for the ability to judge with the judgment of Allah, the second was to have a sovereignty that nobody after him would have, and the last was that anyone who came here only with intention to pray would be forgiven and become as sinless as a newly born babe. The Prophet went on to say, "Two of these were granted to Solomon; I hope the last one was one of those granted to him."²¹ Thus, the Prophet gave the Sahabah information about the history of this temple. He confirmed that Solomon, the son of David, had made this temple. Yet the Prophet went even further and said that the temple in Jerusalem had been made much, much, earlier than Prophet Solomon's. In this context, the Prophet is recorded as having stated the first masjid on Earth to be the Kaaba and the second to have been built in the region of Haram al-Sharif [The Temple Mount]. Hadith sources narrated from Abu Dharr al-Ghifari state, "I asked the messenger of Allah, 'Where was the first masjid built on Earth?' In response, he replied, 'Masjid al-Haram.' When I asked him, 'How long was the period between the building of the two?', he replied, '40 years' and then said, 'Pray wherever you are when the time of prayer comes; the whole Earth is a mosque for you.'" This hadith is found in many sources²² and reveals Jerusalem to have been a place of great religious importance since very early times. Jewish sources refer to the temple as being attributed to Prophet Solomon, while the aforementioned hadith declared the actual temple to have been built at an earlier date.

The Muslim ulama also report that the temple Prophet Solomon had built was not built from scratch but to have built it upon the ruins of an older mosque there. Sources that describe the history of this place differ in regard to who first built the original mosque, such as whether it had been Adam [Prophet Adam], Noah's [Prophet Nuh] son Sam, or Jacob [Prophet Yaqub].²³ However, according to the dates given in hadith, the mosque in Jerusalem is more likely to have been made by Prophet Adam. According to hadith, another feature of Jerusalem is that this place, like Mecca, will not fall under the rule of al-Dajjal in the End Times.²⁴ When describing what would happen in the End Times, the Prophet informed that a community from his ummah would always be victorious against the enemy and that they would only see relief once the command came from Allah. When asked where this would be, he said that it would be in and around Jerusalem. Apart from this, hadiths also mention Jerusalem as the place of resurrection on the Day of Judgment.²⁵ When the Prophet's wife Maymunah asked about Jerusalem, the Prophet said that Jerusalem would be the place of judgment.²⁶ Judaism should also be pointed out as believing this way about Jerusalem. Therefore, this information may come to mind as being of Israeli origin. However, al-Tabarani and Samura ibn Jundab mentioned similar hadiths: "You will be resurrected in Bayt al-Maqdis, then you will gather together on the Day of Judgment."²⁷ This different narration is sufficient to refute the possibility that the hadith has Jewish origins.

The army of the Sahabah intended to conquer Jerusalem without bloodshed in respect for the city. Since the Age of Bliss, Jerusalem has been a city respected by Muslims. In addition, throughout the history of Islam, the city has turned into one of rallying points of Islam and acted as a bulwark

¹¹ Ebu Abdurrahman Ahmed b. Şuayb en-Nasa'i, *es-Sünü'l-Kübra*, ed. Hasan A. Selebi, (Beirut: Müessesetu'r-Risale, 1421/2001), "Salat", 1, hadith no: 450.

¹² Al-Tabari, *al-Jamiu'l-beyan*, 17: 335-336.

¹³ Takiyüddin Ebu'l-Abbas Ahmed b. Abdülhalim el-Harrani ibn Taymiyyah, *Mecmuu'l-fetava*, ed. Abdurrahman b. Muhammed, (Medine: Mecma'ul-Melik Fehd, 1995/1416), 31: 245.

¹⁴ Ebubekir ibn Ebi Asim, *el-Ahad ve'l-mesani*, (Riyad: Daru'r-Raye, 1991/1411), 5: 11.

¹⁵ Ziyauddin Muhammed b. Abdulvahid al-Makdisi, *Fezailu Beyti'l-Makdis*, ed. Muhammad Muti al-Hafiz, (Dimeshk: Da ru'l-Fikr), 69.

¹⁶ Sulaiman b. al-Ash'as Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abi Davud*, ed. Muhammed M. Abdulhamid, (Beirut: el-Mektebetu'l-Asriyye), "Salat", 14, hadith no: 457.

¹⁷ Ebu Abdullah Muhammed b. Ismail al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari: al-Camiu'l-Musnedu's-Sahih*, ed. Muhammad Z. en-Nasir, (Beirut: Daru Tavki'n-Necat, 2001/1422), "Fadlu's-Salat", 1, hadith no: 1189, 6, hadith no: 1197; Muslim, "Hajj", 95, hadith no: 511.

¹⁸ Abu Dawud, "Menasik", 8, hadith no: 1741; Abu Abdullah Muhammed ibn Majah, *Sunan ibn Majah*, ed. Muhammed F. Abdulbaki, (Cairo: Daru Ihyai'l-kütübi'l-Arabiyye, 1975/1395), "Menasik", 49, hadith no: 3001.

¹⁹ Ibn Majah, "Menasik", 49, hadith no: 3002.

²⁰ Ibn Majah, "Ikametu's-Salat", 196, hadith no: 1407.

²¹ Ibn Majah, "Ikametu's-Salat", 196, hadith no: 1408; al-Nasa'i, "Mesacid", 6, hadith no: 693.

²² Al-Bukhari, "Ehâdisu'l-Enbiya", 11, hadith no: 3366, 39, hadith no: 3425; Muslim, "Mesacid ve Mevadiu's-Salat", 1-2, hadith no: 520; Ibn Majah, "el-Mesacid ve'l-Cemaat", 7, hadith no: 753; al-Nasa'i, "Mesacid", 3, hadith no: 771.

²³ Al-Bukhari, "Ehâdisu'l-Enbiya", 11, hadith no: 3366, 39, hadith no: 3425; Muslim, "Mesacid ve Mevadiu's-Salat", 1-2, hadith no: 520; Ibn Majah, "el-Mesacid ve'l-Cemaat", 7, hadith no: 753; al-Nasa'i, "Mesacid", 3, hadith no: 771.

²⁴ Ebu'l-Kasim Süleyman b. Ahmed et-Taberani, *el-Mucemu'l-Kebir*, 2nd ed., ed. Hamdi b. Abdülmecid es-Selef, (Kahire: Mektebetu ibn Taymiyyah, 1994), 7: 189, hadith no: 6797; Ebu Bekr Ahmed b. Hüseyin el-Beyhaki, *es-Sünenü'l-kübra*, 3rd ed., ed. Muhammed A. Ata, (Lübnan: Daru'l-Kütübi'l-İlmîyye, 2003), 3: 471, hadith no: 6361.

²⁵ Al-Tabarani, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Kebir*, 20:317, hadith no: 754.

²⁶ Ibn Majah, "Ikametu's-salat", 196, hadith no: 1407.

²⁷ Al-Tabarani, *el-Mu'cemu'l-Kebir*, 7:264, hadith no: 7076.



against non-Muslims. For centuries, Muslim rulers carried out construction and renovation activities in this city with great care, building various structures such as mosques, masjids, zawiyas, dervish lodges, madrasas, palaces, mansions, inns, khangahs, caravanse-rais, fountains, and cisterns.

The Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan had the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa built. These are some of the most important monuments in the history of art in the world, and a sign of Islam's greatness in the face of the Christian churches in the city. The construction of Jerusalem, which became symbolic of the power struggle with Byzantium, was the state policy of the Umayyads. The Abbasids and later dynasties also paid attention to construction in Jerusalem and allowing Muslim people to live in peace and prosperity. These dynasties dedicated taxes collected from various towns toward developing this holy city.

Reclaiming Jerusalem, which had been shaken by the Crusader disaster, was the main goal of the mighty Sultan of the East, Saladin. Christian historians appreciate that the sultan, who always kept this goal in his mind, never smiled but did not deviate from justice and mercy toward the Chris-

tians when he reclaimed the city. After the Ayyubids, the city came under the rule of the Mamluks, starting in the beginning of the 16th century, Ottomans ruled the city.

These important dynasties of the Islamic world did their best to develop the city. The memory of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, who repaired and built the walls of Jerusalem and started the construction of many buildings in the city to protect it from enemy attack, is still alive in the city. Even Jews, who started a state of unrest in the city with their arrival, bow their heads to the magnanimity of this great sultan.

Hebrew sources referred to this city as Jerusalem. This name is said to come from the expression Yire-Shalem, meaning "It will see peace." Despite the bitter experiences of the non-believer population during the times when Christians and Jews were dominant, no pressure was applied to non-Muslims living in the city while under the rule of Muslims. Muslim rulers did not bother non-Muslims because of differences in belief. In this sense, the peace promised as the ancient name of Jerusalem did manifest itself in the city during Muslim rule.

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JERUSALEM IN ISLAMIC ART

*Mehmet TOP**

Introduction

Among ancient cities in the world, Jerusalem [al-Quds] has preserved its importance and had a different place and location, despite the many invasions, occupations and destructions since its establishment. It is a city sanctified by Allah and is representative of all the divine religions in the Middle Eastern geography as a place where religions and civilizations intersect. Located between the Mediterranean and Dead Seas, Jerusalem now lies within Palestinian territories, most of which are occupied by the State of Israel. Shown within Syrian territory in the past, the city is considered sacred in terms of the three Abrahamic religions, namely Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Its sacredness comes from three hills, one being the Temple [Moriah] Mount where the Bayt al-Maqdis [al-Aqsa Mosque] is located. The mount is considered sacred by Jews as the place where the Temple of Solomon [Prophet Sulaiman] had been built. In addition, since it is the mound from which our Prophet [Prophet Muhammad] ascended on Mi'raj, the Dome of the Rock was built there during the

Umayyad dynasty and is also considered sacred by Muslims. The second sacred hill important to the Abrahamic religions is the Mount of Olives, and Mount Sion is the third, where the prophet King David [Prophet Dawud] was buried and today houses the King David Tomb complex.

Understanding Jerusalem in terms of Islamic history and civilization depends on presenting it well in terms of art and architecture as well as religion. Undoubtedly, Jerusalem's acquaintance and connection with Islam happened due to Jerusalem both being the first qibla as well as where the Prophet Mohammed's Miracle of Mi'raj occurred.

Although known as Bayt al-Maqdis before the Mi'raj event, Jerusalem gained an Islamic meaning when it was referred to as Masjid al-Aqsa in the Qur'an. The name of the city has been Jerusalem in Jewish history and began to be called al-Quds or Quds al-Sharif after the appearance of Islam. The fact that Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab] went to Jerusalem and took the city himself from the Christians in 638 reveals its importance in terms of Islamic history.

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*Overview of Jerusalem City**



Overview of Dome of the Rock

* Makaledeki tüm fotoğraflar Mehmet Top arşivindedir.



Overview of the Qibly Mosque in al-Aqsa Mosque

From this date until the end of the Ottoman era, Jerusalem remained under the rule of Islamic states and dynasties without interruption apart from the interval when crusaders dominated it. Islamic art began to appear in Jerusalem with the Umayyads established in Syria; the first monumental structures of Islamic architecture were also built there. Construction was ongoing in Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa in the following Abbasid and Fatimid dynasties, the Ayyubid dynasty after its recapture from the Crusaders, and during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

The old city of Jerusalem, which also includes the Masjid al-Aqsa located in the southeast, was surrounded by walls during the Ottoman period and divided into four sections: the Muslim

quarter, the Christian quarter, the Armenian quarter and the Jewish quarter. With temples belonging to each, every religion and belief was allowed to be represented at the highest level.

Jerusalem remained in ruins after the destruction of the Temple of Solomon and the Second Temple that had been renovated by Herod, and the pagan temple Rome had built dedicated to Jupiter was abandoned and not favored by the Eastern Roman Christians who reshaped Jerusalem prior to Islam.¹ This became al-Aqsa Mosque, as noted by Omar when he visited Jerusalem, purified it, and built the first mosque there; it is a place that had been practically rebuilt and was home to the Islamic architectural artworks of Jerusalem.²

¹ Simon Goldhill, *Kudüs Tapınağı*, transl. İbrahim Şener (Istanbul: Doruk, 2011), 97-107; Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Kudüs Bir Şehrin Biyografisi*, transl. Cem Demirkan, (Istanbul: Pegasus Publications, 2016), 147-161; Talha Uğurluel, *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs Mescid-i Aksa*, 4th ed. (Istanbul: Timaş Publications, 2016), 24.

² Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 178.

Throughout Islamic history, each period appears with its distinctive and remarkable works. The Islamic buildings in Jerusalem clearly reveal the differences of the periods in which they had been built through their styles and aesthetic features. This is revealed in the mosaic decorations of the Umayyads, the stone decorations of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, and the tile decorations of the Ottomans that had been implemented in works there. While these were being made, political power was observed to be represented at the highest point by works of art and architecture,³ such as Caliph Abdulmalik [Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan] of the Umayyad, the conqueror of Jerusalem and Ayyubid ruler Saladin, the Mamluk Sultan Qaitbay, and Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The religion of Islam, the last representative of the Abrahamic and monotheistic religions accepts Mecca with the Kaaba

(also known as Masjid al-Haram), Medina where Masjid an-Nabawi is found and to which our Prophet had migrated, and Jerusalem with Al-Aqsa Mosque as holy cities and towns; the revivals and construction activities show these places to have been cared for in every period.⁴

This study will emphasize the prominent buildings of each period in terms of Islamic art in Jerusalem, its styles and artistic features, as well as its aesthetic structures. Undoubtedly, Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa have been discussed and studied in many ways, and they have been treated and published as subjects in domestic and foreign publications. From the Umayyad period to the end of the Ottoman period, a total of around 190 Islamic structures have been identified, and an evaluation will be made on examples that have the characteristics of being works of art.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF JERUSALEM

Dividing the history of Jerusalem into periods will make addressing and understanding Jerusalem easier. The first important period is the Jewish Kingdom of Jerusalem, which started in 1000 BC with King David and continued with his son Solomon and ended with the invasion of King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon in 587 BC. Solomon's Temple had been built during this period. When the invasion occurred, Jerusalem and Solomon's Temple were destroyed, thus beginning Jews' first exile to Babylon. In the Persian era that followed, Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem 537 BC, and they built the Second Temple. With Alexander the Great becoming king in 336 BC, Persian domination came to an end; afterward, the region was first dominated by the Maccabees and then by the Romans.⁵

During Jerusalem's Roman era between 37 BC and 4 AC, Herod came to the fore as the ruler of Jerusalem and rebuilt the Second Temple. The ruins of the Temple in Masjid al-Aqsa today are from

this period. The birth of Jesus [Prophet Isa] during this time and his life in and around Jerusalem are some of the most important events in the history of the region. One of two significant events during the Roman era was the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AC, and the other was the construction of a temple to Jupiter in its place in 135 AC, upon which the Jews were exiled from Jerusalem for the second time.⁶

After the Roman Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity, Christianity spread rapidly in Jerusalem, with churches beginning to be built in the 4th century AC; Eastern Roman domination continued until the advent of Islam. While Christianity was being established, Christians did not touch the Temple area (i.e., Bayt al-Maqdis) in order to keep themselves separate from the Jews. In 629 AC, Byzantine Emperor Heraclius liberated Jerusalem, which had been occupied by the Sassanids in 614 AC; this emperor placed the holy cross he had taken back from the

³ Montefiore, *Kudüs*, 185-187.

⁴ Mustafa Yiğitoğlu, *İsra ve Miraç'ta Süleyman Mabedi ve Mescid-i Aksa'nın Varlığı Meselesi*, *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6 (Nisan 2017): 641-642.

⁵ Harman, Ömer Faruk, *Kudüs, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2002), 26: 325-326.

⁶ Harman, *Kudüs*, 26: 326, Yiğitoğlu, *İsra ve Miraç'ta Süleyman Mabedi*, 642-646.

Persians in Jerusalem. The city was then conquered by the Muslims in 638 AC.

In 621 AC, one year before the Muslims' conquest of Jerusalem and the Hijrah, Prophet Muhammad's night journey (Isra) from Masjid al-Haram to Masjid al-Aqsa took place, followed by his journey ascending to heaven (Mi'raj). Islam in this way became connected to Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa. In the following periods, the city remained under the rule of the Umayyads (661 AC), Abbasids (750 AC) and later the Fatimids (969 AC), then passing to the Great Seljuk Empire for a while before returning to the Fatimids in 1098 AC. The Crusaders invaded Jerusalem in 1099, dominating it for nearly a century before it was taken from the Crusaders

by Saladin in 1187 AC, conquered for a second time by Muslims.

Thus, the period of the second Islamic domination of Jerusalem began with the Ayyubids, followed by the Mamluks (1250 AC), and then the Ottomans (1517 AC) up until British occupation in 1917. The importance given to Jerusalem during the 400-year rule of the Ottoman Empire is clearly seen. This can be more clearly understood only when taking the efforts of Suleiman the Magnificent and Abdulhamid II into account. Jerusalem acquired very important works in the field of art and architecture under the hands of the Islamic states and administrators that ruled here. Many structures in and around al-Aqsa Mosque are from these periods.

JERUSALEM IN ISLAMIC ART

Jerusalem is a city that houses temples sacred to the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religions. This city reveals artforms depicting the sacred. In order to fully understand what this means, al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock need to be examined.



Dome of the Rock



Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat an-Nabi)



Dome of Mi'raj



Dome of Khidr



Dome of al-Silsilah (Dome of the Chain)

Islam first encountered the dome in all its splendor and glamor as the symbol of monotheism during the Umayyad dynasty.⁷ The Dome of the Rock had been built as a pilgrimage site upon the land where the Temple of Solomon had once stood. Domes are also found in and around this area, among which can be counted the Dome of al-Silsilah (Dome of the Chain), Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Mi'raj), Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat an-Nabi), and Dome of al-Khidr.⁸

⁷ M. Hattstein, P. Delius, *İslam Sanatı ve Mimarisi [Islam: Art and Architecture]*, (Istanbul: Literatür Publications, 2007), 64-66, Titus Burckhardt, *İslam Sanatı Dil ve Anlam [Art of Islam: Language and Meaning]*, transl. T. Koç, 2nd ed., (Istanbul: Klasik Publications, 2013), 30-37.

⁸ Abdulkadir Dündar, *Bulunduğu Şehir İnşa Edildiği Alan, Mimarisi ve Süslemeleri Bakımından Kubbetü's-Sahra*, In *Dini, Tarihi ve Edebi Açılardan Kudüs*, eds. İbrahim Çelik, Mehmet Dursun Erdem, Özcan Güngör, & Necip Fazıl Kurt, (Istanbul: Dün Bugün Yayıncılık, 2018), 271-272.

Perhaps more important than the domes, the mihrab comes first among the forms described as sacred art above. Dozens of mihrabs can be seen on the indoor and outdoor areas of Masjid al-Aqsa today. In addition to mihrab's meaning and structure for directing where to face for salat (qibla), its usage in the verse "Whenever Zachariah [Prophet Zakarya] visited her in the sanctuary [mihrab]" (Qur'an 3:37) shows

it to have additional meaning. In addition, this verse was frequently used as a mihrab verse in Ottoman mihrabs.⁹ In this verse, the mihrab tells us that Bayt al-Maqdis identifies the place where Mary [Hazrat Maryam] stayed and expresses the sacredness in it meaning if not its form as a structure. Thus, as the most important liturgical element of Islamic religious architecture, the mihrab has been tied to al-Aqsa Mosque.¹⁰



Edirne Bayezid The Second Mosque's Mihrab Verse Inscription

Mosques with mihrabs were first constructed in the Mosque of Omar within the al-Aqsa Compound. The biggest breakthrough that followed was achieved with the Qibly Mosque (Al-Aqsa Mosque) built by the Umayyad Khalif al-Walid.



North Facade of Qibly (Aqsa) Mosque



East Facade of Qibly (Aqsa) Mosque

⁹ Mehmet Top, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mihrabları (XIV - XV Yüzyıl)*, (PhD Thesis, Yüzüncü Yıl University, 1997), 319.

¹⁰ Tolga Bozkurt, *İslam Mimarisinde Mihrap Sembolizmi*, in Prof. Dr. Selçuk Mülayim Armağanı Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları, ed. Aziz Doğanay, (Istanbul: Lale Publishing, 2014), 188-189.



Jerusalem's Damascus Gate (Bab al-Amud)

In addition, quite a number of masjids were built in Jerusalem, and they can be grouped as the masjids within the old city, the masjids on the Temple Mount (i.e., Al-Aqsa Mosque), and masjids outside the old city.

The city of Jerusalem (old city) was surrounded by walls including those of al-Aqsa Mosque, and gates were placed in various parts of these walls. Suleiman the Magnificent had these

walls and gates rebuilt on their old foundations during the Ottoman Era. This is regarded as one of the greatest Ottoman contributions to the city as it caused the city to be divided in two: within and beyond the city walls. The gates placed in these walls were named according to their characteristics or location. The most significant of these gates are Bab al-Asbat [Lion's Gate], Bab al-Amud [Damascus Gate], and Bab al-Nabi Daoud [Zion Gate].¹¹



Jerusalem's Lions' Gate (Bab al-Asbat)



Jerusalem's Lions' Gate (Bab al-Asbat)

¹¹ Baha Tanman, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs: Kent Doku, Mimarlık ve Çini Sanatına İlişkin bir Araştırmanın Sonuçları*. In *Ortadoğu'da Osmanlı Dönemi Kültür İzleri Uluslararası Bilgi Şöleni Bildirileri*, ed. Şebnem Ercebeci-Aysu Şimşek (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Publications, 2001), 2: 523.



Al-Qattanin Gate (The Cotton Merchants' Gate) in al-Aqsa Mosque



Bab al-Silsilah (Chain Gate) in al-Aqsa Mosque



Examples of al-Aqsa Mosque's Northwest Madrasas



Al-Aqsa Mosque's Sabil of Sultan Suleiman located inside the Bab al-Malik Faisal (Dark Gate)

Located in the southeast corner of the city, Masjid al-Aqsa (i.e., the Temple Mount) is surrounded by high exterior walls on the east and south sides while being mostly connected to the city on the north and west sides. As in the city, many gates open onto the Temple Mount.¹² The most significant of these gates are Bab al-Asbat, Bab al-Huttah [Gate of Remission], and Bab al-Attam [Gate of Darkness] on the north side and Bab al-Hadid [Iron Gate], Bab al-Silsilah [Chain Gate], and Bab al-Qattanin [Gate of the Cotton Merchants] on the west side.

Apart from these, many building types are encountered with different plan features outside and within al-Haram al-Sharif. These structures are grouped as *madrasas*, *alcoves*, *zawiyas*, *namazgah* [open-air places of prayer], *khangahs* [places serving food to guests and the poor], mausoleums, fountains, *sabils*, and *shadirvans* [fountains built near mosques], and their units, plans, and architectural and ornamental elements have characteristics reflecting best the art of their period.

¹² Mevlüt Çam, *Tarihçe-i Harem-i Şerif-i Kudsi*, *Vakfiyat Dergisi*, 48, (Ankara: December 2017), 196-200.



Examples of al-Aqsa Mosque's Shadirvans



An Example of al-Aqsa Mosque's Open-Air Prayer Place



Interior of Dome of the Rock



Dome of the Rock's Glass Mosaic Decorations



Qibly Mosque's Wooden Minbar Decoration (Minbar of Zengi)



Interior of Qibly Mosque



Example of Stone Ornamentation in Jerusalem's Architectural Artifacts



Tile Decoration of Al-Aqsa Mosque's Dome of the Chain (Qubbat al-Silsilah)



Qibly Mosque's Colored Glass (Stained Glass) Decoration



Handwork Decorations of Dome of the Rock's Dome (Qubbat as-Sakharah)

When considering the architectural structures in Jerusalem with respect to different eras, the architectural elements are seen to have been shaped according to the styles and stylistic features of the period. Another application is the ornamentation that was applied to surfaces or the architectural elements of buildings that aims to beautify a building with more aesthetic charm and show off some technical feature. In many examples, especially in the Dome of the Rock and the Qibly Mosque, clearly visible are not just the decorations of the period in which it was built but also traces from the periods that followed. These examples are rich in motifs and compositions and also show wide variety in terms of material and technical characteristics such as glass, mosaic, stone, wood, tile, and pencil work. Compositional features take shape based on their

position within the structure and are symmetrically distributed on the surface or in accordance with the infinity principle. Many examples of these are encountered on the exterior and interior decorations of Sahara era structures.

As structures of the early Islamic period, the glass-mosaic decorations in the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque are examples that have survived to the present day with their Umayyad characteristics. During the Ayyubid period, decorations in the glass-mosaic technique continued. During the Sahara, these glass mosaics are located on the arches upon which the dome sits and on the inner surfaces of the dome; in the lower two sections, the upper row is arranged between the windows and generally consists of writing and floral motifs and compositions.



These plant motifs consist of cannabis leaves, curved branches, rosettes, vine branches, grape clusters, and palm trees, as well as various vases with flowers coming out from them, strings of pearls, and ribbon strips. Apart from the dome, mosaic decorations consisting of botanical motifs from vases have been used between the upper arches of the octagon that forms the second interior row. In addition, four-line mosaic verses are found along the edges of the main mihrab. Both technical and compositional forms of these glass mosaic ornaments are reminiscent of Byzantine practices.¹³

The first and longest glass mosaic inscription in Islamic architecture is located here. The inscription continues uninterruptedly on the arches of the second octagonal gallery, which is formed by

columns and interior pedestals, and was written in Kufic calligraphy. Verses from various surahs of the Qur'an are written in this inscription, starting with the Basmala and followed by all of Surah al-Ikhlâs, verse 56 from Surah al-Ahzab, verse 111 from Surah al-Isra, the first verse from Surah at-Taghabun, the second verse from Surah al-Hadid, verses 171-172 from Surah an-Nisa, verses 34-36 from Surah Maryam, and verses 34-36 from Surah Ali Imran. Muslims emphasized the belief of oneness with these inscriptions and wanted to reveal how Islam differs from religions such as paganism, Judaism, and Christianity.¹⁴



Dome of the Rock's Mosaic Decorations and Writings



Dome of the Rock's Mosaic Decorations



Dome of the Rock's Mosaic Decorations

¹³ Birol Can - Özgür Güllübadak - Burak Muhammet Gökler, *Fusayfisa İslam Mimarisinde Mozaik, Art-Sanat Dergisi*, 7 (İstanbul: 2017), 73-75.
¹⁴ İlhan Özkeçeci, *Doğu İşİğİ VII-XII. In Yüzyıllarda İslam Sanat Vol. 1*, (İstanbul: Yazİgen Yayİnevi, 2006), 84-85.

Mosaic Decorations of Qibly Mosque's Dome Crossings



Mosaic Decorations of Qibly Mosque's Mihrab of Saladin



Kible Camii Kubbe
Kuzey Kemerli Mozaik Süslemeleri

Mosaic Decorations of Qibly Mosque's Front Mihrab Dome



Mosaic Decorations of Qibly Mosque Dome's North Arch

Mosaic decorations are found on the mihrab of Masjid al-Aqsa, on the dome in front of the mihrab, on the skirt with eight windows under the dome, on the pendentive surfaces above the arches supporting the dome, on the belts on the walls, and on the wall surface above the northern arch of the dome.¹⁵ Among these, the ones embroidered on the skirt of the dome are symmetrically enriched with plant motifs between the eight windows, with plant clusters coming out of the vase depicted in the mid-

dle. Various mosaic ornaments are found such as leaves on the surface of the concave circular-shaped cavities inside the dome pendentives. During the Ayyubid dynasty, mosaic decorations were placed on the cavities of the mihrab, the arch corners, the construction inscription above, and the vertical stripes on the upper sides that had been renovated by Saladin. Geometric arrangements created with knot motifs and ornaments with leaf motifs were created inside the interceptor. Geometric ornaments consisting of stars and polygons were made on the arch corners. Inscriptions for the upper section were created with gold gilding on a green background. The floor is filled with botanical motifs along with Kufic writings on the strips on the sides.

¹⁵ Lorenz Korn, *Ayyubid Mosaics in Jerusalem. In Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187-1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand & Sylvia Auld, (London: 2009), 377-379.

Stone ornamentation is very rich in buildings in Jerusalem, especially in Masjid al-Aqsa. Stonework and ornamentation from the Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods may be seen in the buildings from the early Islamic period. Stone ornamentation is one of the most important materials used in the architecture of buildings. It requires marble and colored stone work to be added to this. Reused stone material is also found in all these structures, and detailing all these stonework structures with all their features is simply impossible. The use of stone from the city of Jerusalem in the Lion's Gate, or from the Temple Mount in the Dome of the Rock, the Qibly Mosque, the Madrasa al-Ashrafiya, Sabil Qaitbay, the Fountain of Suleiman the Magnificent, and some minbars, and mihrabs will be discussed and evaluated in terms of their contributions to Islamic art.

The gates on the walls of the old city opening to the east attract attention with their clean-cut stone work and decorations in terms of architecture and decoration¹⁶ and were built during the Ottoman period. Lion figures were carved in relief on the wall surface on both sides at the level of the gate arch. Figures not frequently encountered in the Islamic period in

Jerusalem are important in terms of being rarely encountered examples. The lions, which are depicted to mean power, strength, and protection, are seen as inward-facing pairs.¹⁷

In addition to the other ornamental features of the Dome of the Rock, heavy stone is seen to have been used in the Temple Mount as a coating on interior and exterior architecture, mainly in the repairs made during the Mamluk Sultanate. Colored stones and marbles are used as coatings on the lower parts of the outer facades of the octagonal structure. Because a door was opened in the middle of the four main directions of the octagon, it was divided into six surfaces, three on each side of the octagon and three on the other facades, then divided into seven inwardly recessed surfaces with rectangular plasters built with marble coating at the window level. Symmetrical geometric patterns were made with colored stones inside these surfaces. The vaulted structures of the entrance doors in the form of porches are supported by marble columns. In addition, a porch supported by three marble columns on both sides of the door overhang was built on the south facade. These columns' capitals have ancient herbal ornaments.



Lion Figures of Jerusalem's Bab al-Asbat (Lions' Gate)



¹⁶ Feyza Betül Köse, *Osmanlı Dönemi Kudüs'ünde Mimari Çalışmaları, Kahramanmaraş Sütcü İmam Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 29 (Kahramanmaraş: 2017), 30; Robert Hillenbrand, *Introduction: Structure, Style, and Context in the Monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem*, In *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917*. ed. Sylvia Auld & Robert Hillenbrand, (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 4.

¹⁷ Gönül Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Arslan Figürü*, In *Anadolu [Anatolia]*, (Ankara: 1971), 13: 37-41.

Inside the building, the support columns and their capitals are entirely made of marble of varying colors; most are probably spolia. The surfaces of the walls, pedestals, and arches are covered with marble slabs, mostly made using natural veined patterns and colors. In addition, the mihrabs and niches inside the building were created and decorated with marble material. One early example of a mihrab is thought to have been carved from a monolithic marble on the left of the stairs, one of the two mihrabs in the Well of Souls located under the rock inside. It is framed rectangularly, bordered by twisted colonnades on both sides, and ends with a three-segmented arch at the

top. All elements on the mihrab surface have decorative features.¹⁸ The mihrab to the right of the other staircase is also made of rectangular marble. It is bordered on two sides by interlaced double columns with spolia knot motifs, and the niche at the top is finished with a pediment with three slices of arches. The arch corners have floral ornaments with passionflower arrangements. The entrance to the stairs of the Well of Souls, which was also formed from marble, is bordered by two marble columns and crowned with a pointed arch resting on each. The belt was gradually enriched with moldings, and some Western-style floral motifs were embroidered into the pediment.



Dome of the Rock's Interior Marble Work



Well of Souls in Dome of the Rock's Eastern Marble Mihrab



Well of Souls in Dome of the Rock's Western Marble Mihrab

¹⁸ Eva Bear, *The Mihrab in the Cave of the Dome of the Rock*, In *Muqarnas*, Vol. III, (Leiden: 1985), 8-19.



The Main Mihrab of the Dome of the Rock

The main mihrab¹⁹ located at ground level on the qibla wall to the left of the door was built entirely from and includes mosaic decorations in its cavities. The mihrab is bordered by two columns placed in a stepped recess on both sides and is formed from a semicircular niche and a two-stage pointed arch. Colorful marble decorations on the arch surfaces and on the belly enliven the mihrab. Apart from this, two more mihrab arrangements are found on the legs, one with three arrangements and the other with seven.

The Qibly Mosque,²⁰ which was built adjacent to the southern wall of the Temple Mount, shows richness in terms of stonework in its exterior and interior architecture, as well as in many other aspects. When addressing stonework and decorations, one of the leading places is the northern facade

of the building. This facade was built in the form of an entry portico with seven arches and sections. Seven doors open inside corresponding to each section. Among the arch openings of the portico arrangement, the middle one is wider and higher while the others are arranged in threes on either side of it. The piers supporting the arches were animated with double columns with the moldings of the arches placed upon them. In addition, the arch in the middle is animated with moldings, unlike the others. The facade is bordered by two moldings from the top to form a unity, and the moldings are gradually raised in the middle. The uppermost crest is dentil-shaped and terminates in crest order. These dentils were widely used in Fatimid and later Mamluk structures in Cairo. The raised middle part is emphasized by moldings from the sides, and pointed arched niches are placed on its two side surfaces at the level of the arch. On the same facade, the upper middle and sides of the great arch have been applied with architectural arrangements. The niches are indented in the upper middle and bordered by double columns in the middle and on the sides, finished straight from the top with an inscription on the inside left. On both sides of the arch, inwardly recessed double niches were formed with columns in the middle and on the sides, ending in pointed arches. In addition, on the sides between the first arch and the second are niches that end with a pointed arch arranged with two-tone stones and bordered by two recessed columns.



Qibly Mosque's North Facade Stonework



Qibly Mosque's Main Entrance Arch of the North Facade

On the middle axis of the building at the level of the large arch is the main entrance door. The portico that corresponds to this door is covered with a stone dome. This dome is placed upon arches on four sides. Although the dome transitions and interior are kept simple, circular-shaped hollows with oyster grooves are placed in the pendentive surfaces and inside the dome in the four cardinal directions. The door has a flat rectangular opening, and the door jambs and lintel are animated with groups of molding. The inside of the pointed arched pediment above the door is filled with marble, geometric interlacing, and star compositions carved in the lattice. On both sides of the main door behind the porticoes covered with cross vaults are three more doors with straight rec-

tangular openings. All the doors have pediments, some with pointed arches and some with round arches like in the main door. The pediments are similarly filled with geometric stars and interlacing patterns. Apart from these arrangements in which cut stone and marble are used in harmony, a heavy inclusion of moldings and colonnades are seen that allow the northern facade to be perceived as a whole.

The east wall of the building was formed from smooth cut stone and is divided into five surfaces with slightly recessed pointed arches, supported by plasters from the bottom, starting from the north and east walls of the portico to the crown door. These are followed by the crown door, and after the door comes the wall surface with



Main Entrance Gate and Dome of the North Facade of the Qibly Mosque

¹⁹ Ahmet Gedik, *Hat Sanatı Bakımından Kudüs ve Çevresindeki Eyyubî Kitabeleri*, (PhD Thesis, Necmettin Erbakan University 2013), 77-78.

²⁰ Lorenz Korn, *Ayyubid Jerusalem in Perspective: The Context of Ayyubid Architecture in Bilad al-Sham*, In *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187-1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand & Sylvia Auld, (London: 2009) 405; Uğurluel, *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs*, 196-197.



rose windows. This place coincides with the Maqam of Zachariah that protrudes from the main structure. In addition, rows of windows are found along the facade, including the lower, middle, and upper rows.

This crown door is the only one of its kind in the building and reflects the style of the Mamluk Sultanate. Its rectangular facade rises up to the level of the upper window. The door was built completely from smooth-cut stone showing two-color stonework and has a pointed arch pediment. The door is designed in two parts: a lower and upper. The lower part continues up to the



Rosette Window and Crown Door of the Eastern Facade of the Qibly Mosque

form of a box has been left blank on it.

The upper part of the door is made of two-stage pointed arches, pediments, and corners resting on the side wings. Intersecting arches are arranged on the inner-pointed arch surface. Apart from this, the second continuing arch is made from two-tone smooth-cut stones bordered by shank moldings. The moldings continue on the arch and are separated by a knot in the middle, forming the corners. The corners are filled with triple-knot motifs, the ends of which are circular in the middle with sharpened sides. The interior of the pediment in the middle of these arches is filled with oyster-shaped grooves that develop around the pointed-arched panel in the middle. In addition, the inside of the middle panel is decorated with symmetri-

cal palmette and Rumi motifs. level of the arch and consists of two side wings with colonnades placed on the inner corners, with the main door opening in the middle of the door recess. The surface of the door's side wings is made in two different ways, and the outer part is plain-cut stone mesh. The inner part is separated by a thin molding; it was formed from two-color cut stones with colonnades placed at the corners. The door opening, on the other hand, is bordered by rows of two-tone stones on the sides and covered with a pointed arch. The arch corners are filled with knot motifs. A horizontal inscription in the

cal palmette and Rumi motifs.

The mound at the top of the crown door consists of an inverted flat bottom and row of palmettes connected to the top by the stems. While this door does not attract the attention of researchers and visitors, it is important in terms of stonework and reflecting the stylistic features of the period in which it was built.

A rose window draws attention in the upper middle on the protruding wall surface right next to it. This rose window from the Crusader period is common in Gothic Cathedrals in Europe. It is framed externally with circular moldings, forming a window with a hexagonal opening in the middle of the interior and drop-shaped openings on its six edges.



Colorful Stone Decorations of the Interior of the Qibly Mosque

Stone and marble from different periods have been used extensively in constructing and decorating the Qibly Mosque. Foremost among are the main mihrab of the mosque (Mihrab of Sala-



The Inscription on the Qibly Mosque's Main Mihrab

The main mihrab of the mosque having been renovated by Saladin after the second conquest of Jerusalem is understood from the inscription.²¹ The mihrab is located on the main axis in the middle of the qibla wall. The niche of the rectangular-framed mihrab is bordered on both sides by marble cylindrical columns of different colors, one double and the other single. The semicircular deep niche is covered with vertical rows of colored marble. The niche of the mihrab is covered with a semi-domed hood surrounded on top by a two-stage arch. It is framed from above with the continuation of the outer arch and the construction inscription placed on the arch. Old pictures show two smaller mihrabs to have been adjacent to the columns on the lower two sides of the main mihrab, which is not seen today. These mihrabs were superficial and end with pointed arches bordered by cylindrical columns on

both sides. When compared with the old pictures, the mosque is understood to have undergone some changes with the renovations after the arson in the mosque in 1967. On the east side of the mosque, parallel to the qibla wall, is the Mosque of Omar. It has a mihrab on the qibla



Kible Camii Ömer Mihrabı

²¹ This mosaic inscription is the first Ayyubid inscription in Jerusalem and adorns the arch plate of Al-Aqsa Mosque. The horizon is 210x40 cm in rectangular form. We could not find any information about the calligraphy of the Arabic script, which has the size of a glass mosaic and was engraved with the inlay technique, in four lines without a ruler using Ayyubid Celi Thuluth calligraphy. The line number, wording, and meaning of the inscription are given below:
Pronunciation: 1 Bismillâhirrahmânirrahîm emera bitecdâdi hâ ze l-mihrâbi l-mukaddes ve imâratî l-żescidi l-Aksâ llezî hüve 2 ale l-takvâ müesses Abdullâhi ve velîyyüh Yûsuf ibnü Eyyûb Ebu l-żużaffer elżelikü n-Nâsr Salâhu d-dünyâ ve d-dîn 3 inde mâ fetehahu llâhu alâ yedeysi fi şühûri seneti selâsin ve semânine ve hamsimietin 4 ve hüve yes'eli llâhe iżâhü şükra hâzihi n-ni meti ve iczâle hazzâhi mine l-mağîrati ve r-rahmeti. Meaning: In the name of Allah, Ar-Rahman, Ar-Rahim. When Allah conquered Bayt al-Maqdis with His (Saladin's) hands, Allah's servant and friend, Abu'l-Muzaffer, Melik-i Nasir, salah [goodness] of the world and religion Yusuf b. Eyyub in the months of 583, he ordered the renewal of this holy altar and the repair of Al-Aqsa Mosque, which was established for taqwa. He (Saladin) begs Allah to inspire gratitude for this blessing and to be blessed abundantly with forgiveness and mercy. Description: 27 Recep 5, which coincides with the anniversary of the Mi'raj miracle." Gedik, Hat Sanatı Bakımından Kudüs Ve Çevresindeki Eyyubi Kitabeleri, 63-68.

wall covered with cross vaults. This is accepted as having been added to the structure after the Crusades. It is an interesting example of a mihrab, one not often encountered in other examples of Islamic architecture and art. The two side wings of the mihrab are formed from capitals and bases with monolithic twisted marble columns. These spolia pieces are estimated to be from the Crusader or before. Which civilization it belongs to will be understood after making detailed examinations. The bodies of these columns are made of four double helixes. Mythological and allegorical animal figures with two different subjects and composition characteristics were engraved on their heads. Following this are two more columns bordering the niche of the mihrab. These have cylindrical bodies made of marble and are spolia. At the tip of the niche, the molding extending horizontally at the starting level of the arch surrounds the arches and corners rectangularly. The two-tiered pointed arch surrounding the caisson was made from two-tone smooth-cut stones. The concave surfaces and corners were formed from plain-cut stones.

Just north of this, the place described as the Tower of the Forty Martyrs is directly connected to the sanctuary from the west by two arch openings. The walls of this rectangular-planned place projected from the east are covered with multi-colored marble, starting from the bottom of the northwest

and southwest corners going midway up. Rectangular, circular, polygonal, and square marble pieces with a rich variety of colors are arranged in different ways on the surfaces, ending with a lettering strip from top to bottom. The inscription at the top is written in relief with Jeli Thuluth calligraphy on a dark blue background, and includes the first verses from Surah al-Isra in the Qur'an. The quality of the writing draws attention aesthetically.²² On the east side of the south wall is a door with a pointed arch of colored marble leading to the Mosque of Omar. It has circular panels, one on the remaining part of the completely marble-covered surface, two each on the other eastern and northern surfaces, with a square frame on the outside and attached with four knots inside. They are placed symmetrically on the wall surface. In addition, some of these strips were created with carved floral motifs, and the edges of the squares and circles were enriched with star motifs made with colorful marble mosaics. On the remaining surfaces, colored marbles line up sequentially or turn into surfaces framed with black marble. Ornaments are seen in various parts of the sanctuary, with geometric motifs and compositions in red- and white-colored marble mosaic, inlay, or plate techniques engraved on rectangular or square panels similar to the one here. These multicolored marble decorations in the building should be considered part of the style of the Mamluk Sultanate.



Marble Decorations on Qibly Mosque's Tower of the Forty Martyrs

²² Uğurluel, *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs*, 219.

Another unit on the north side of this place is the area where the Zachariah altar is located on the qibla wall, called the Maqam of Zachariah. In fact, this place corresponds to the facade with rose windows that were described from the outside. Opening to the harem with a pointed arch, a rounded-arch opening bordered by marble columns on both sides is placed on the east wall here, under the rose window at the top and in the middle. In addition, colored marble coatings arranged in the form of plates were made on both sides, on the lower part of the opening used as a window on the eastern wall of the space, and on the entire northern wall. The Mihrab of Zachariah, on the other hand, was built entirely of marble on the south wall of the room. It was added at a later period. The mihrab, which is rectangular

from the outside, is shaped by a pediment in the form of a three-segmented arch, both sides resting on two marble columns. A half polygonal mihrab niche opens up in the middle of the surface. The narrow niche of the mihrab is covered with vertically extended colored marble and was finished with a sliced caisson. Its corners are decorated with plants on a green-painted background. The top is decorated with a horizontal striped hill, curved branches, and rosette decorations.²³

As is understood from the sources, an inscription belonging to the Seljuk period is found under the Mihrab of Zachariah. It is a repair inscription written in Arabic with Kufic calligraphy in the engraving technique. It is important in terms of showing the presence of the Seljuks here.²⁴



Qibly Mosque's Masjid of Zachariah



Mihrab of Zachariah in the Qibly Mosque

The Mihrab of John the Baptist, which is based on the qibla wall to the west of the minbar, was built as a symbolic prophet's office. It is a small square area, open on three sides, closed on the qibla side, and formed from three sliced arches supported by four marble columns. The three-segmented arches at the top were made of green marble and accentuated in four stages with moldings. A plate-shaped mihrab was built on the marble surface on the qibla side, with black strips and a three-segmented arch at the top.

Another mihrab on the west side is known as the Mihrab of Moses. The small-scale mihrab is rectangularly framed by a flat molding of green marble followed by thin strips. The semicircular niche in it is finished with a semi-dome shaped cavity. The interior of the concave surface is covered with two-tone marble in six slices. The surface of the niche is arranged with vertically oriented colored marble from the middle to the upper section. On the upper section of the mihrab, a panel remains with embossed botanical ornaments, framed with marble.

²³ "Bünyamin Erul, *Kudüs ve Aksa*, 2nd ed., (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2019), 62-63.

²⁴ Uğurluel, *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs*, 204-206; Mehmet Tütüncü, *Mescid-i Aksa'da Saklı Selçuklu Kitabesi*, *Yedikta*, 37 (İstanbul: Eylül, 2011), 14-17.



The only marble minbar on the Temple Mount is called the Summer Minbar, or Minbar of Kadi Burhan al-Din, and was built on the south side of the Dome of the Rock platform on the western edge of the arched entrance in the middle, adjacent to the outer wall. It was made alongside the mihrab on the eastern edge. It is a Mamluk-Sultanate structure that was repaired during the Ottoman period. The inscription on it contains the tughra and name of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulmajid. Marble and colored stone are used together in the mihrab and minbar.

The mihrab extends in the north-south direction and consists of the door, body, pavilion, and sub-pavilion. The door is bordered by two marble columns and covered with a flat weft stone. After a decorated eaves molding, an Ottoman period inscription with a round arch was left on the door. It is written with the tughra of Sultan Abdulmajid and the date 1259.

The facades of the minbar facing both sides were made with the same features. The balustrades of the body consist of three parts with plain marble plates. The side mirrored section is arranged in two parts, the north side is bordered with triangular colored stones, and the inside is left as a plain marble coating. The other part is under the passage between the staircase and the mansion, and its plaster-

bound surface is divided into three marble panels. The star and crescent motif facing left is embroidered on the upper panel. The others have relief herbal ornaments.

The kiosk is supported by six columns on a hexagonal base with each surface connected to each other by three sliced arches. Geometric and botanical ornaments were engraved on the lower plinth and surfaces of the upper eaves. The mansion is covered with a sliced dome. The lower part of the mansion is in the form of a horseshoe-arched opening supported on both sides by double marble columns. This horseshoe arch is enriched with moldings and also has decorations showing antique and Western characteristics.

Adjacent to the wall on the east side of the mihrab, the mihrab is bordered by columns on both sides with a rectangular appearance consisting of a flat-surfaced niche with pointed arches. It is finished with fringe molding from the top. It is made entirely of marble, sometimes with colored and veined marble also being used.

Along the northern and western borders of the Temple Mount, many madrasa structures are encountered, mostly from the Mamluk period. These are very remarkable structures in terms of plan, architecture, decoration, and stone use.



Entrance vault of al-Aqsa Mosque's Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya



Entrance vault decorations of al-Aqsa Mosque's Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya



Entrance vault crown door of al-Aqsa Mosque's Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya

One of these, the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya is located on the western wing of the harem between the Chain Gate and Cotton Merchants' Gate. The building is connected to the Temple Mount as one of the madrasas whose door opens to the harem. It has a special place among many of the works from the Mamluk Sultanate, with its architecture and stone decorations belonging to the later period. In fact, it is considered the third jewel of the Temple Mount after the Dome of the Rock and the Qibly Mosque. It is the most beautiful and ostentatious building among the madrasas of Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa. This feature can be understood just from the door and its two-color stonework consisting of red and white stone.²⁵

The southeastern corner of the madrasa's structure protrudes from the boundaries of the harem and is arranged as the entrance. The entrance opens directly to the outside with pointed arches from the south and east and is covered with a ribbed cross vault. The core of this vault is arranged in a cruciform manner, and the ribs gathered at the core with three grooves from the corners are made with two-tone stones. On the surface of the collapsed cruciform core, a quarter and twelve-pointed star composition is engraved right on the sides in the middle. Also, plant decorations were made inside the star arms and the remaining surfaces.

The western surface of the entrance has been evaluated through the crown door extending from the ground to the vault. The crown door is framed from the outside by molding with a knot motif. The side wings of the door recess, which ends with a three-section arch from the top, are formed from two-tone stones. It has a flat rectangular opening in the middle that is covered with a flat weft stone. A marble inscription was left in the middle of the opening, overflowing toward the two side wings. This inscription is decorated with three vertical palmette motifs on each side. Both sides of the lintel stone are framed with moldings where white stone botanical decorated panels were placed. The second row of lintels above this is made of white and gray marble in the form of palmette motifs. Geometric panels are arranged on both sides.



Mihrab of Kadi Burhan al-Din in al-Aqsa Mosque

Mihrab of Kadi Burhan al-Din in al-Aqsa Mosque

²⁵ Archie, Walls. *Ottoman Restorations to the Sabil and to the Madrasa of Qaytbay in Jerusalem, In Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture, Vol. X, Ed. Margaret B. Sevcenko (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993) 91-95; Uğurluel, Arzin Kapısı Kudüs, 153-156.*

Covering the door recess, the concave surface is shaped with a three-segmented arch, has a window in the lower middle, and a semi-dome arrangement on both sides with muqarnas. The muqarnas fill the lower corners of the three-segmented arch in five rows with botanical ornaments on their surfaces. The half-dome surface forming the upper middle of the arch is filled with interlaced palmette motifs. In addition, pieces of turquoise tiles were placed between the stones.

A window opens in a recess in the middle of the north wall of the entrance. Above the rectangular open window,

the wall surface is divided into four parts by a thin reddish stripe. The lower two sections form the flat window lintel, and the second is shaped and interlaced with red- and cream-colored stones. In addition, the surface of the light-colored stone is enlivened with botanical decoration. The third part is square in shape with a circular twelve-armed star network window opening in the middle. The outside is in the form of sixteen slices of alternating-colored stones. The top three rows are muqarnas and cover the window recess. In addition, writing and floral motifs were engraved on the muqarnas slots and their side surfaces.



Entrance North Window of Masjid al-Aqsa's Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya

The mihrab in the south *ivan* of the building was entirely made of two-tone stones in accordance with the Mamluk style. The niche of the mihrab is bordered with two-tone smooth stone work on the sides and is in the form of a semicircular hollow with one of the corners stepped. Its surface is covered with vertical rows of colored marble. The cave covering the niche has a semi-dome, and two-tone horizontal stone rows were used to contrast the surface of the niche. The concave surface ends with an arch from the outside, and the strip forming the arch also borders the corners by looping from the top. The only decoration on the mihrab is the row of palmettes above the niche.

The only decoration on the mihrab is the row of palmettes above the niche. The floor decorations should also be mentioned, from the pool in the middle of the upper terrace to the beautiful and aesthetic parts of the building. The rectangular panel turns into a geometric composition with black, white, and red marble, and the dark floor has light lines. The composition was created with an open and closed line system, and a beautiful ornament emerged when the contrast of colors was added to the principle of infinity. The success of the composition stems from the kneading of geometric forms with the principles of tawhid aesthetics such as repetition, harmony, rhythm, and complexity.

One of the most beautiful water structures on the Temple Mount, drawing attention with its architecture and stone decorations, Sabil Qaitbay is one of the late-period structures of Mamluk architecture. This elegant fountain was built by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qaitbay, who re-established his reign after a political upheaval and economic decline. His reign also coincided with a time of revival, when architecture was characterized by grace and harmony rather than monumentality.²⁶

The Sabil is located in the western square of the Temple Mount near the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya. Its long and elegant cubical body, made entirely of stone, is enlivened by a four-cornered colonnade. The square-planned, single-unit space is covered with a dome

(4.6x4.8x7.65m). It was built with smooth cut stone, sometimes using two-tone stone. The colonnades placed at the four corners of the body are arranged with a cylindrical body; their lower bases are hourglass shaped and their heads are arranged with two rows of muqarnas. The ones in the western corners and those in the east have different body decorations. Openings such as doors were left on the eastern facade of the building, and windows were left on the other three facades. Double-row knot motif moldings entwine on the upper part of the door and on the other facades. Inscriptions with Jeli Thuluth calligraphy are placed on the upper part of the facades. The dome resting on an octagonal rim has heavy botanical decorations in the Mamluk style.



Sabil Qaitbay of al-Aqsa Mosque



West View of al-Aqsa Mosque's Sabil Qaitbay

Pointed arches are placed inside the building along the four cardinal directions. The corners of these arches are filled with botanical ornaments. The arches use two-tone stonework. Thin strip corners that go around the outer part of the arch are also framed. The transitions to the dome are

completely formed with muqarnas series. A small window was opened in each of the four directions of the transition, and the surrounding and interior of the muqarnas nests were decorated with plants. The interior of the dome is plain and trimmed with molding.

²⁶ Walls, Ottoman Restorations to the Sabil and to the Madrasa, 85-88; Uğurluel, *Arzın Kapısı Kudüs*, 158.



Interior of al-Aqsa Mosque's Sabil Qaitbay

In the Ottoman period, fountains were built in the streets and small squares in the old city of Jerusalem. Most were built by Suleiman the Magnificent and still stand today. One is Sabil Bab al-Silsilah (Fountain of the Chain Gate); it is located in the city just outside the

Chain Gate on the west side of Harem al-Sharif. The three-line inscription on it shows it to have been built by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1537.²⁷

The facade of the fountain, the back of which leans against the wall, is



Sabil Bab al-Silsilah (Chain) of Jerusalem

surrounded by straight grooves and pipe moldings in a rectangular appearance. The fountain niche, with elegantly featured divided columns and knot motifs in the middle, is covered with pointed arches resting on two rows of muqarnas on each side.

The pointed arch facade has been made more pronounced with a zig-zag shape and flat molding group. The corners of the arch are decorated with vegetal ornaments, and the upper center is decorated in the form of roses.



Arch and Pediment of Jerusalem's Sabil Bab al-Silsilah (Chain)

A large monolithic rosette was placed on the pediment of the fountain as a spolia, and its lower three slices were cut. The circular inner section and edges of this rosette have herbal decorations. A three-line Jeli Thuluth inscription was built on the upper part of the fountain niche surface with a fountain mirror placed underneath. The bottom has a stone trough with geometric ornaments on the surface.

Reflecting the Ottoman style, these fountains attract attention with their elegant structures. Meanwhile, they provide charitable services in the city while contributing to the aesthetics of the city with their architectural features.

Conclusion

This study has been handled with the aim of defining and evaluating Jerusalem's art and architecture to an extent in order to provide an understanding of Jerusalem within Islamic history and civilization. Undoubtedly, Jerusalem is of great importance as it was the first qibla of Islam. The fact that it is a city connected to our Prophet Muhammad through the Mi'raj miracle increases its value many times over in the eyes of Muslims. This place is referred to as Masjid al-Aqsa in the Qur'an and has been instrumental in gaining an Islamic identity. In addition, the city's name having changed

²⁷ Tanman, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs*, 527.

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from Jerusalem to al-Quds shows that the city and Islam have merged and integrated.

Islamic art found meaning mostly in forming states; the first examples of this were realized in the Umayyad dynasty. Administrative centers, in particular capitals, have been the places best reflecting the art of a period. As these centers expand toward the countryside, the influence of the central style on works of art is observed to decrease and local dynamics to come to the fore. In terms of Islamic states apart from the Umayyad dynasty, Jerusalem has been more of a provincial location far removed from the capitals. However, the city's sanctity and religious importance can be clearly understood by examining the existing structures, which have been given special care and importance in every period despite being in a provincial position compared to the administrative centers. This richness of art can be seen on existing works of art that are fused with local stylistic features and carry traces of the styles from each period. The quality and colorful stone and marble craftsmanship is the most concrete example of this. Some artifacts found in Jerusalem such as the Dome of the Rock reflect the artistic characteristics of all Islamic periods from the time they were built to the present, while others only emphasize the stylistic features of the period in which they were made.

This has been attempted while identifying Islamic art in Jerusalem mostly through architectural, immovable works of art. The reason for this is that museums exhibiting movable works are not always open and offer limited opportunities for examination, as well as the fact that whether or not these works belong directly to Jerusalem is controversial because they were built and brought from outside the city. As studies of Islamic art on Jerusalem increase, this will also be emphasized.

Islamic works of art in Jerusalem clearly express with their style and aesthetic features the beauties of the period in which they were made. The materials and styles used in these works, combined with the Islamic identity, have brought art and architecture to the top. Thus, as the last representatives of tawhid, Muslims have shown their care for the city with their revival and construction activities by accepting Jerusalem as a place just as sacred as Mecca and Medina. However, when considering these activities as a whole, the process is seen to have gone from magnificence to modesty. While Caliph Abdulmalik had the Dome of the Rock built on the Temple Mount in a way that would match the splendor of the Temple of Solomon, Sultan Suleiman had fountains built on the streets of Jerusalem as a sign of humility.

Undoubtedly, recognizing and knowing the city of Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa will facilitate establishing a relationship for art and architecture with religion. This is also true for the religion of Islam. In other words, the traces left by Islamic civilization not only allow one to keep track of Islamic architecture and art in Jerusalem but also help understand them. However, a little more time is apparently needed to understand this, because this is not considered enough and research is not able to be properly conducted; as in many parts of Islamic geography, the troubles concerning Jerusalem will not end.

In short, without understanding the Dome of the Rock, Masjid al-Aqsa cannot be understood; without understanding Masjid al-Aqsa, Jerusalem cannot be understood; and without understanding Jerusalem, Islamic geography as well cannot be understood.

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General View of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Era (IRCICA FAY 224004)

JERUSALEM IN CLASSICAL AND MODERN TURKISH-ISLAMIC LITERATURE

Alim KAHRAMAN*

The oldest documents to mention Jerusalem go back to the 19th-18th centuries BC. Al-Quds is the name given to Jerusalem by Muslims and means "The Blessed." Al-Quds is not mentioned in the Quran. Masjid al-Aqsa is mentioned in Surah al-Isra (Qur'an 17:1) and refers to al-Quds, in particular Haram al-Sharif, which includes the Dome of the Rock and its surrounding plaza. Al-Arz al-Mukaddes (Qur'an 5:21) occurs in the Qur'an and generally refers to the lands of Palestine, inclusive of Jerusalem.¹

1. Jerusalem in Classical Poetry and Texts

Referring to the first verse of Surat al-Isra in a *Na'at* [poetry in praise of Muhammad] in his *Diwan* [collection of an author's poems, usually excluding the *mathnawi* (long poems)] Birri Mehmed Dede of Manisa stated the following about the secret in the verse "Subhaanal lazeee asraa" (Qur'an 17:1) that will make all hearts ecstatic:

*Sırr-ı sübhane'l-lezî esra şeb-i mi'râcun
Remzidür sermest ider bu sir ser-â-ser dilleri*²
[The secret of Subhaanal lazeee asraa is the symbol of Mi'raj night,
This secret intoxicates hearts fully]

What makes Jerusalem holy and blessed for Muslims is that it is the home of past prophets and their graves as well as Muslim's first qibla and the location of the Prophet's important Mi'raj miracle. The *mazmun* [metaphor in Ottoman poetry] of al-Quds is used around these meanings in Ottoman classical literature and mostly appears in poetic formats such as *qasida*, *ghazal* and some prose. In one *ghazal*, Hayali wrote:

*Mekanun Mekke'dir kiblem evün Kuds
Yüzün Rum eli zülfün mülk-i Efrenî*³
[Your place is Mecca; my qibla, your home, is al-Quds
Your face is Rumelia; your lock of hair, the property of Europe]

as he thought of his beloved's home as Jerusalem, as it is the place where the lover of Allah always turns.⁴ Again, Suleiman the Magnificent described the eyebrow of one's lover as the mihrab [prayer niche] of the lover, with his *mazmun* about Masjid al-Aqsa saying:

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1 Ömer Faruk Harman "Kudüs", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Publications, 2002), 26: 324.
2 Rasih Erkul, "Birri Mehmed Dede Divanı'nda Ayetlerden İktibaslar" MCBÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi (Celal Bayar University Publications 2017), 15:3, 99.
3 Hayali Bey Divanı, ed. Ali Nihad Tarlan, (İstanbul: İstanbul University Publications, 1945), 118.
4 Cemal Kurnaz, Hayali Bey Divanının Tahlili, (İstanbul: Ministry of Education Publications, 1996), 152.

*Kaşundur Mescid-i Aksâ, yüzündür Ka'be-i ulyâ
Aceb mi zülfün olursa anun her dem siyeh-pûşî*⁵
[Your eyebrows are al-Masjid al-Aksa; your face, the almighty Kaaba
I wonder, is your lovelock its black dress?]

He references Jerusalem as the first qibla in this way.⁵

A wealth of literature also formed around the miracle of Mi'raj: "Mi'raj has been handled a lot in Turkish works. Apart from the independent ones, some parts of works such as *siyer* and *mawlıds*, *mu'cizat-ı nebi* [miracles of prophets], and books such as *Muhammediyye* and *Garibname* are devoted to Mi'raj. In addition, it has become a tradition to include poems on this subject in *diwans* and non-religious *mathnawis*. Over time, a rich literary genre emerged, in which *qasidas* were called *mi'racyye* and *mathnawi* called *mi'racname*."⁶

Some events and elements related to Jerusalem, including the miracle of Mi'raj, have also taken place in classical Turkish poetry. One of these involves the Prophet as the imam of other prophets and leading them in prayer in Jerusalem. Zati wrote:

*Cümlesine muktedâ oldun o dem kim enbiyâ
Kudsde isrâ şebinde ta namaza tutdı sâf*⁷
[At that moment, you became the imam of all the prophets
who prayed on the night of Isra in al-Quds]

Omar's request from Bilal the Abyssinian, who was among the participants of the expedition during the conquest of Jerusalem in 638 was to recite the adhan, and Bilal's call to prayer in the Masjid al-Aqsa are among the scenes poets mentioned. Bilal was very devoted to the Prophet and had not recited the adhan since his death; however, he changed his mind at the request from Omar in Jerusalem. This situation made this adhan recited in Masjid al-Aqsa special. Fuzuli used the adhan recited by Bilal in Jerusalem as a *mazmun* in one of his *bayt* [a verse of classical Arabic, Persian, Turkic or Urdu poetry akin to a couplet]:

*Halka i'lâm etmeğe din-i Muhammed tâatın
Eyledin ol mescid-i Aksâ'ya ta'yin-i Bilâl*⁸
[You appointed Bilal to Masjid al-Aqsa
to let the people know to worship in the religion of Muhammad]

In addition to the use of such metaphors, Jerusalem and its surroundings have been the subject for poets and the literati who've seen it in poems and works of prose. One of the reasons for these people to travel to Jerusalem was that the city has been among the pilgrimage destinations for a long time. Actually, Jerusalem is not one of the destinations for all pilgrimages. However, some pilgrims continue on their way after stopping by and visiting Jerusalem:⁸

There are 9 destinations between Damascus and Jerusalem. The caravan of Damascus neither goes to Jerusalem nor stops at these destinations. However, pilgrims like Ahmed Fakih, Nabi and Evliya Çelebi have followed this road and visited Masjid al-Aqsa.⁹

The eighth of these nine destinations is Jerusalem, and the ninth is Hebron [Khalil al-Rahman in Arabic meaning "Friend of God"]. Before arriving in Jerusalem, travelers can stay in the villages of Bi'r or Cheshmeli three hours outside of the city. Jerusalem is a big city surrounded by gardens. The city has six gates, five baths, and markets. Al-Aqsa Mosque is the most important place where pilgrims come to visit. Outside the city are places to visit such as the Pool of Siloam and the tombs of the prophets. In Hebron, the ninth destination, pilgrims visit the tomb of Abraham in particular: "Two hours from Jerusalem is the village of Beytullah, a church where it is thought that the Prophet Jesus was born. Outside there is a cistern built by Kanuni and a castle built by Ahmed I. There is a church in Halilurrahman [Hebron]. There is a mosque where Prophet Abraham with his wife, Prophet Isaac with his wife, and Prophet Joseph are buried. The tomb of Prophet Isaac is believed to be in a cave under the mosque."¹⁰

⁵ Muhibbi Divanı, ed. Coşkun Ak, (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 1987), 795.
⁶ Mustafa İsmet Uzun, "Mi'racyye", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Publications, 2005) 30:135.
⁷ Gencay Zavoğlu, Klasik Türk Edebiyatı Sözlüğü, (İzmit: Umutepe Publications, 2013), 508.
⁸ Ahmet Talat Onay, Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Publications, 1992), 78.
⁹ Fatma Bityükkaracı Yılmaz, Hac Menzûnamelerinde Osmanlı Şehirleri, (İstanbul: Simurg Publications, 2018), 196.
¹⁰ Yılmaz, Hac Menzûnamelerinde Osmanlı Şehirleri, 197-198.

The oldest of the mentioned travel books is Ahmed Fakih's *Kitâbu Evsâf-ı Mesâcidi's-Şerife Fezâyil-i Mecca ve'l-Medine ve'l-Kuds* [Book on the Qualities of al-Aqsa Mosque Compound, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem]. The work was published together with a review by Hasibe Mazioğlu. This work is a mathnawi from the 13th century with 390 *bayts* [couplets] in total. *Bayts* 189-303 describe Mecca and Medina and is also devoted to a narrative of Jerusalem and its surroundings. *Bayts* 340-390 praise Jerusalem. The poet, who begins with:

'Acâyib yir imiş Kuds-i mübarek
Yaratmış anı sun'ından Tebârek

[Blessed Jerusalem is a strange place
It has been Blessed from the moment of its creation]

states in the following *bayts* that he stayed in Jerusalem for two months despite other pilgrims having left and continued on their way. In the *bayts* where he describes the Dome of the Rock, Ahmed Fakih mentions many individual details. Here are a couple of examples:

Sekiz katdur o kubbenin bucağı
Anun karşısındadır Tur dağı

[The pillars of that dome are eight floors tall
It faces the Mount of Olives]

Degme bir pencerede envâ'-ı cam
Pencereler kamusu kırdur tamam

[A variety of glass in every window
Of which there are forty in total]

O kubbe içi mermer taşı mermer
Bakınca heybet alır kişi derler

[The interior of that dome is marble, its stone is marble
Awe is said to fall upon the on lookers]

Yaşıl kızıl direkler mermer eblak
Bunun ortasıdır Sahre daşı çak

[Green red pillars, dappled marble horses
Cleft Sahara stone in the middle]

Hebron's narration begins at bayt 235:

Gelün Halilullah varalum türbesine yüz sürelüm
Canımız kurban virelüm şeylillah yâ Halilullah

[Let's go to Khalilullah and face his tomb
Let's sacrifice our lives for God's sake, O Khalilullah]

The poet describes the place of Khalilullah in detail, from the cover on his sarcophagus to the two candlesticks next to his tomb and the tombs of the Prophets Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph nearby.¹¹

Pages about Evliya Çelebi's visit to Jerusalem are in the 9th volume of his *Seyahatname* [Travel Book]. Çelebi begins by stating Jerusalem, being a part of the Hajj geography, had been the qibla of the Sons of Adam before and after the Noachian Flood: "Then, the Hijrah of Hadrat Resalat-panah [Prophet Mohamad] from Mecca to Medina al-Munawara with the command of Haqq [Truth and one of the names of God in the Qur'an] took place when he was fifty-one years and 9 months old. And he was a resident in Medina al-Munawara for 10 years, and in the second year, the verse 'Then, turn your face to the direction of the Masjid al-Haram' was revealed in Surah al-Baqara through the angel Gabriel from God Almighty, and the qibla was turned from Jerusalem to Mecca."¹²

Another remarkable part in the *Seyahatname* is the section describing Yavuz Sultan Selim's visit to Jerusalem in 922 AH (1516 AD). The keys of the city were handed over to Yavuz Sultan Selim by the ulama and righteous who went out to greet him. Thus, the conquest of the city had been bestowed. According to Evliya's records, Yavuz Sultan Selim then said, "Alhamdulillah, I have become the owner of the first qibla."¹³

¹¹ Ahmed Fakih, *Kitabu Evsaf-ı Mesacidi's-Şerife*, Publisher: Prof. Dr. Hasibe Mazioğlu, (Ankara: Turkish Language Association Publications), 1974), 33-40, 42-45.

¹² Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, Preparer: Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications, 2011), 2:230.

¹³ Ibid.

Nabi's *Tuhfetu'l-harameyn* (1712 AD) is a work written as a mixture of verse and prose. Although Nabi stayed in Jerusalem for three days, he devotes many pages to narratives about the city.¹⁴

Hifzi's prose work *Mir'atü'l-Kuds* [Mirror of Jerusalem] written in the 17th century provides information about Jerusalem, while also making use of hadiths and certain stories. Hifzi's reason for going to Jerusalem was a little different than others' reasons. He went there for educational purposes:

... know that this poor, miserable, fault-filled Hifzi spent his time in worship in 1051 [1641 AD] visiting many prophets' and saints' graves as well as studying many worldly and otherworldly sciences.

His work consists of 66 leaves, 12 sections and 26 chapters, in which Hifzi focuses on the religious meanings of the places in Jerusalem rather than their descriptions. Apart from Jerusalem, the longest section in the work mentions places such as Damascus, Egypt, Mount Judi, Euphrates River, Antakya, Edirne, and Constantinople, but starts with the Mi'raj miracle. After explaining the historical processes related to Jerusalem one by one, the work is seen to then glorify the city in all its aspects. In addition, Hifzi stated that, although many works on Jerusalem are found in Arabic, he wrote this book because it is not a Turkish work.¹⁵

The manuscript diwan containing the poems of Allama Sheikh, who was the Qadi of Jerusalem for a year, has a collection of a Jerusalem-themed *qasida* and two *ghazals* from when he came to Jerusalem at the end of 1622 in which he used the pseudonyms Sayyid [Seyyid] and Sheikhî [Şeyhî]. One of these compares trees covered with white cloth in the snow falling on Jerusalem to the pilgrims in *ihram* [the sacred state and clothing required for a Muslim to perform the minor and/or major pilgrimage] and likens the Quds al-Sharif to the Haram al-Kaaba where the pilgrims go:

Harem-i Ka'beye döndü harem-i Kuds-ı şerîf
Bürünüp hâcı-sıfat her şecer anda ihrâm¹⁶

[Al-Aqsa Mosque became the Haram al-Kaaba
The trees took on the attire of pilgrims entering ihram.]



The image of the Haram al-Sharif covered in white in the snow

¹⁴ Menderes Coşkun, *Nabi'nin Tuhfetu'l-Harameyni*, (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2002), 219-232. Nabi's short piece gives an idea of the narrative about Jerusalem: "Hakka harem-i nur-peymayı Mescid-i Aksa bir saha-i ruh-bahşadur ki sekiz yüz kırk zira' tulu ve beş yüz yigirmi beş zira' arzı ferman-ı Benna-yı kar-hane-i kaderle resm-keşide-i pergar-ı guşe-i bal-i Ruhü'l-emindür. Daire-i sur-ı mamure-i Kuds-i mübarekin mikdar-ı sülûsi saha-i sıhhat-bahşa-yı harem-i Aksa olup sülûsan-ı ahri mesacid ü mevazi'-i biyut-nas idügi karar-dade-i hendesiyan-ı diyardur." (Coşkun, 219).

¹⁵ Bilge Karga, "XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir Seyahatname: 'Mir'atü'l-Kuds", *Mine Mengi Adına Türkoloji Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, October 20-22, 2011, (Adana: Çukurova University Publications, 2012), 137-144.

¹⁶ Mustafa Öztürk, "Türk Edebiyatında Kudüs Teması", *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies*, (Beytül Makdis Studies Foundation Publications: 2017), 17:2, 48-49. While preparing the "Jerusalem in Classical Poetry and Texts" section of our article, this article by Mustafa Öztürk was a guide.

2. Jerusalem in Some Commemorative Books at the Beginning of the 20th Century

So far, we have focused on the poets who used Jerusalem as a *mazmun*, the writings of those who passed along the road to Jerusalem during the pilgrimage, and the works written by an administrator and qadi who went there to learn knowledge. Memoirs written by the administrators and civil servants in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century are also included in the scope of literature. Considering that the Ottoman Empire was in the process of dissolution and collapse, the memories of this period takes on a different meaning.

One of the first books to come to mind among these is the book *Zeytindağı* [Mount of Olives] by Falih Rifki, a soldier in that region. Namık Kemal's son, Ali Ekrem, ruled Jerusalem for a few years just before the Second Constitutional Era in 1908. His years in Jerusalem are not among Ali Ekrem's memoirs. However, his daughter Selma Ekrem devoted an important part of her memoirs to her family's time in Je-



Jerusalem's Train Station

rusalem; she wrote and published this in English in the United States in the early 1930s. Selma Ekrem was a child of five or six years old while in Jerusalem. She seems to have gotten help from her father while writing about those years.¹⁷

The writings of Yusuf Akçura, who travelled to Jerusalem as a journalist in 1913, stayed there for 3 months, and published his impressions and evaluations in letters, were later published in a book. Hüseyin Vassaf's memoirs also have a section on Jerusalem; he travelled to Syria and Palestine in 1913.¹⁸

Let us dwell on each work separately.

2.1. Selma Ekrem's Unveiled

Selma Ekrem gave Jerusalem its own chapter. She had gone there as a family with her father, who had been appointed governor. Her memoirs in *Unveiled* were translated into Turkish as *Peçeye İsyân* [Rebellion Against the Veil]. After reaching Jaffa from Istanbul by sea, they took a small narrow-gauge train from Jaffa to Jerusalem. A crowd was at the station to greet the new governor:

A few hours later the train entered Jerusalem. A city full of houses, hopelessly

*enveloped by deep purple hills bathed in the half-light of evening. A large crowd had gathered on the platform. A neat line of soldiers, civil servants in all their dignity, representatives of foreign missions in their uniforms, and a delegation of priests were lined up on the platform. These priests were respectable men in their purple robes and silks. Quite far away, a crowd was watching us, prodding each other... We got in cars and went to the government house, which was a stone structure.*¹⁹

Ali Ekrem's wife, who had been used to life in Istanbul, fell into depression in Jerusalem with the tiredness and strangeness of the first days. The father, on the other hand, was very busy while fulfilling his role as a conciliator in this city of many problems, especially regarding the hatred and jealousy among the Christian communities. Her first impressions about the city in here memories were that Jerusalem was a city of dirt and dust as well as the city upon which three major religions claimed rights.

Jerusalem has congregations of Christian churches, each of whom wants to highlight their own religious presence and gain more dominance in the city. One of these communities was the Russian Orthodox Church. Selma Ekrem's family lived close to the large building of this community called Moskovia, which also has a clock tower and beautiful gardens in front:

*The Russians of Jerusalem live here, and the Russian pilgrims came here in groups. I could see them coming from morning to night. At dawn we could hear them singing. Men and women were singing beautiful Russian hymns together.*²⁰

The first problem is brought up by one of these Russian pilgrims. He entered Bethlehem late at night and, in a state of *wajad* [religious ecstasy], threw himself upon the golden star that had been hammered into the ground where Jesus was supposed to have been born. He does not get up from there for a long time. After he gets up, he mingles with the crowd. When the Ottoman soldiers

in charge of security became suspicious of the man's condition and approached the star, they saw that a part of the star had been removed. This is an event that could lead to war, bloodshed, and death among the Christian communities in Jerusalem. The governor (Ali Ekrem) first went to the Russian consul. They looked for that pilgrim all over Jerusalem. Finally, he was found and brought forth. Yet, despite the threat of excommunication, he denied the accusations. In the end, he became discouraged by the threats and intimidations from the Russian Consul and returned the piece he took. Other similar events are also described in the book.

The lines in the book in which Selma Ekrem describes the call to prayer that she heard when she was in crowds of Christians to see the ceremonies on an Easter night are also noteworthy:

*Then, amidst these overflowing voices, a faint voice arose, as if from another world: Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar. This sound pulled me out of the madness that looked like a whirlpool that pulled me to the bottom. I lifted my head and saw the slender minaret of a small mosque longing for the sky. On its embroidered balcony, I saw the dark-dressed muezzin calling the believers to prayer, his hands on his head. Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar.*²¹

2.2. Travels among Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem in Letters and the Issue of Zionism

Yusuf Akçura published his impressions of his trip to Palestine in March-July 1913 on behalf of the *Vakit* newspaper published in Orenburg in the Tatar language between April 20-October 17, 1913.²²

Akçura wrote these articles with the attentiveness and meticulousness of a thinker and scientist without forgetting his religious beliefs and sensitivities as well as with his identity as one from Kazan and Istanbul where he was a journalist.

The author tried to open the eyes of the reader, starting with the ship he set out on belonging to a French company.

¹⁷ Ali Ekrem, in his letter to Şaziye Berin dated February 14, 1930, mentioned his daughter Selma Ekrem's conferences and works in America, and stated that his daughter had written a work that was accepted by a publisher who even paid an advance. The aforementioned work is the memories of Selma Ekrem, translated into Turkish as *Peçeye İsyân* [Unveiled] (Istanbul 1998). However, her father, Ali Ekrem, is behind these successes of her daughter in America: "Why should I deny that I am a factor, maybe the first, in my daughter's success? But is this an easy task? Look what articles I have sent to Selma since the 15th of Kanun-ı evvel [December 1929] to the present: Marriage in Turkey (Weddings etc.) 65 [pages], Ramadan Nights in Istanbul 57, A Lesson (Novel) 17, Mad Sultan Ibrahim 28, Stories (from Ancient History) 52, Hazrat Muhammad 75, Sultan's Harem 58, Our Family (Information about our ancestors and grandfather, part one) 50" (Esra Sazyek, Şaziye Berin'e Mektuplarıyla Ali Ekrem Bolayır, (Ankara: Hece Publications, 2019), 368-369.

¹⁸ Mehmet Tevfik Biren is one of those who were in Jerusalem as an administrator. With his wife, painter Naciye Neyyal. Memoirs of both have also been published. They opened pages from Jerusalem at the end of the 1890s in front of us. While the administrators mostly focus on political and administrative issues, a family perspective is also involved in the writings from women. Remarkable human images have emerged. (Thanks to Muhammed Murtaza Özören, who informed me about the memoirs of Tevfik and Naciye Biren).

¹⁹ Selma Ekrem [Bolayır], *Peçeye İsyân*, transl. Gül Çağalı Güven, (Istanbul: Anahtar Kitapları Publishing House, 1998), 64-65.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

²² These articles were first translated into Turkish by İsmail Türkoğlu (*Suriye ve Filistin Mektupları*, Istanbul 2016) and later by Ömer Hakan Özalp (Istanbul 2019) with some additions and published as a book. This is based on the publication prepared by Ömer Hakan Özalp.

He drew attention to how the French had been preparing to become Turkey's heirs in Syria for a century, and that a French ship sailed from Istanbul to Beirut every fortnight. Russia, Austria, and England also operated ferries to this region. Meanwhile, a Turkish ferry could only sail once every two or three months. This was before the Balkan Wars. Now that opportunity had gone. In other words:

*It is foreigners who connect these very important provinces to the capital and take the Istanbul post and, therefore, the government's orders to these provinces.*²³

Yusuf Akçura, like Selma Ekrem, arrived at Jerusalem by train, Jerusalem being around 650 meters higher than Jaffa:

*The train was coming out of the slopes of the valleys at the foot of these mountains, curving like a big snake. Sometimes at the top of a mountain, piles of reddish ash-colored stones looked more ridged; this was supposed to be a village... Sometimes on the top of another, among the same piles of stones, a white dome shone brightly; this was the grave of one of the old prophets (Samson, Elijah, Ezekiel). Since we've entered the mountainous area, we've encountered very few people on the road; there is no tree or anything... You could say life was absent...*²⁴

The author described the inside of the Jerusalem fortress as a "completely Oriental city." The streets were narrow, crowded, dirty, and plain:

*It is so crowded, so crowded that it is impossible to walk without bumping into someone. Bedouin woman adorning her half-open face with blue paint and wearing a piercing on her nose; a donkey, flour sacks, a broad-robed mullah, a camel, an Arab boy who puts small round yellow breads on a long large tray and carries it on his head... all of them were flowing through that narrowness and filth by huddling in one place, pushing each other around, yelling and shouting.*²⁵

The author stayed in the Hotel de Frans. The area around the hotel was like his hometown. Because this was a

Russian street. As soon as he left the hotel door, he felt as if he'd stepped off the ship to the big pier of Kazan. There were shops selling pickled cucumbers in huge black barrels, dried fish in boxes with Russian letters on them, and black bread unique to Russia. No language other than Russian was heard on this street, and no money other than Russian money could be seen.²⁶

Akçura visited the holy places there one by one. After visiting Hajar al-Muallaq, he turned his head to the ceiling, walls, arches, and columns of the Dome of the Rock. He concluded that he had never seen a more perfect building of worship than this. The Parthenon in Athens and Hagia Sophia in Istanbul came to mind: "The simple nobility of the Parthenon and the immense majesty of Hagia Sophia are overshadowed by the mysterious beauty of the Dome of the Rock."

He also made the following determinations about Masjid al-Aqsa:

*Al-Masjid al-Aqsa is two or three times the size of the Dome of the Rock, rectangular in shape with just a mosque inside. Thick, short, heavy columns divide this rectangular structure in three in the direction of the qibla... The Dome of the Rock is alive, beautiful, lovely, and spiritual. The various stained glass placed on the windows alleviate the cold glare of the white glass; dark green and gold mosaics were carved on the walls and between the arches, giving a dim light... A deep and mysterious dome, just like the one above Saḡrah al-Musarrafah [Foundation Stone], covers this holy place. Its pulpit is considered to be one of the most perfect works of wooden Islamic mastery of the 12th century.*²⁷

He wrote about a Friday prayer he performed there. He liked the sermon he listened to.

Akçura also climbed the Mount of Olives in the footsteps of past prophets. This mountain, which the Arabs call Jabal at-Tur, is slightly higher (818 meters) than Jerusalem al-Sharif [The Noble], which is 790 meters above sea level. The view from its highest point inspired him:

*The Kidron river underfoot, the valley of Jehoshaphat... On one side, al-Haram al-Sharif square seated on a rather large fortress wall; the turquoise Dome of the Rock in the square, the wide Masjid al-Aqsa compound with large and small domes, olive and plane trees circling all around; cypresses stretching out like a thick black candle... This magnificent square looked like a very precious toy from afar.*²⁸

The book contains remarkable findings about the Jewish people's aims and activities. The author also made use of a book by G. Maspero on this subject and quoted the following lines from there:

*The conquest of the land by the Jews never happened with quick and sharp movements; It happened slowly and piecemeal. Jewish immigrants entered the country as shepherd groups or gangs blocking the way and were able to advance step by step. After a long time passed and their numbers multiplied, they began to drive out or take over the former owners of the land.*²⁹

Yusuf Akçura also met with Ruhi al-Khalidi, a descendant of Khalid bin Walid, one of the Islamic commanders and conqueror of Syria. Ruhi al-Khalidi, whom he knew from Istanbul, had completed the Maktab al-Mulkiye in Istanbul after learning Arabic and religious sciences from Jerusalemite scholars. Akçura found the opportunity to chat with him about the issues of Jerusalem and Palestine. One of the on-site determinations Yusuf Akçura made on this trip in 1913 was in regard to the situation of the Ottoman bureaucracy and civil servants in the region. He criticized them harshly, noting that most of them are "lethargic, ignorant, impotent, idealless, stupid, dissolute, and drunk." They viewed themselves as exiles and prisoners there and were making plans to return to Istanbul or Izmir as soon as possible. Worse still, some administrators worked with Zionist Jews:

Despite this, the Zionist Jews took a lot of land from the landlords and the peasants thanks to the help of the governor and the pashas in exchange for bright and shiny gold. Many here have stated a gentleman

*who was the Minister of Internal Affairs in the cabinet of Kamil Pasha during the time of the Jerusalem Governor was documented to have saved up to 400,000 rubles in a few months from being a broker to the Zionists. El-Uhdetü 'ale'r-ravi [Responsibility belongs to speaker].*³⁰

2.3. Hejaz Memories (My Tour in Syria and Palestine)

Hüseyin Vassaf, who came to Jerusalem where he would stay for a few days by train in the same year as Yusuf Akçura but about six months later, described this arrival in his own unique style as follows:

I took the train at dawn and set out for Jerusalem. Colonel [Miralay] Hafiz Bey was with me. The roads were very nice. We were passing through the orange groves. During the journey, I saw lots of unladen donkeys. They were fleeing to the fields afraid of the train. The clothes of the Jerusalemites can be seen in the picture. Jerusalem appeared in the distance. It was obvious by my reflections in my heart that he was going to a holy place.

*We arrived at a beautiful station. It was late afternoon, we got off. The Qadi of Jerusalem, Rizeli Nuri Efendi, with whom we befriended on the ferry, sent his servant to the station on a hunch. Since our description had been given to him, he found us and asked about us. Upon receiving a satisfactory answer, he said, "Here, I will take you."*³¹

These lines from Hüseyin Vassaf contain some differences from the other memoirs we have quoted. First of all, Hüseyin Vassaf's narrative draws attention to an eye that is adjusted to seeing well. As the eye sees, the heart is informed by "reflections" that a blessed place is coming. Again, as can be understood from these lines, another feature that distinguishes Hüseyin Vassaf from others is that he narrated his travel writings together with the postcards and photographs of the period he obtained from there. The author, who was the guest of Rizeli Nuri Efendi, the Qadi of Jerusalem, immediately went to the pilgrimage places the next day:

²³ Yusuf Akçura, *Mektuplarla Suriye-Filistin-Kudüs Seyahati ve Siyonizm Meselesi*, ed. Ömer Hakan Özalp, (Istanbul: İşaret Publications, 2019), 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 194, 196.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 292.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 325. Ömer Hakan Özalp, who prepared the book about the identity of this governor, made the following note: "What is meant here is Ahmed Reşid Bey, the father of Ekrem and Cemal Reşit Rey brothers, who was the Governor of Jerusalem in 1906 and the Minister of Internal Affairs in 1912-1913."

³¹ Hüseyin Vassaf, *Hicaz Hatırası*, (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Publications, 2011), p. 346.

Haram al-Sharif is wide. Two places are most important here. One is Sahratullah and the other is Masjid al-Aqsa. The domes in the second and third pictures on this page are the blessed places where Sahratullah is.

It is the most sacred place that has no equal in the world in value. As is known, this is one of the most sacred places where our Master, the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, set foot in Jerusalem on the Night of Mi'raj. Here is known as Bayt al-Muqaddas, Bayt al-Maqdis, Sahratullah, and Haram al-Sharif. At the moment of ascension, traces of his blessed feet appeared on a hard rock where his feet touched. Upon this place Hazrat Omar had the foundation of the existing building built.³²

Hüseyin Vassaf, who later visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, gave the following remarkable information about the key to this place:

The church is very ancient. Its interior is decorated with mosaic marbles and its ceiling is decorated with gold like Hagia Sophia. There was a dispute among the Christian sects that I would have the keys to the church, and it was decided that it would stay with the Muslim as a neutral party. The inside is astonishing in terms of ornaments.³³

2.4. Mount of Olives

In his memoirs, Falih Rifki mentioned the German guesthouse building that was used as the headquarters of the Fourth Army during World War I in a large pine grove on the Mount of Olives. He asked, "Can we call it an Inn of Pilgrims?" in regard to the building he described as "It's a German hotel if you look at the suites, a monastery if you approach the church part, and similar to a clinic with its nurses wearing headscarves and walking around as if taking news from their patients." Here, the author also tells of the day he appeared before the army commander, Demal Pasha: "A very clean, overwhelming, and massive German build! Everyone is an officer and a soldier. They're on their toes, and nurses, tending the bedrooms and the tables, occasionally pass through the wide hallway."

Here is Djemal Pasha's room:

A large room: The Jordan River and the Dead Sea are on the left, the city of Jerusalem is on the right, there are Russian structures and gardens called Moskovia in the front. Djemal Pasha is busy signing papers with his back to us, between the triangle of the window facing the Sheria and the window facing Moskovia.³⁴

Falih Rifki identified his location as follows:

*I'm at the top of the Mount of Olives. I am looking at the Dead Sea and the mounts. Farther on is the entire left bank of the Red Sea, the Hejaz, and Yemen. When I turn my head, the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre catches my eye. This is Palestine. Below is Lebanon, there is Syria, on the one hand is the Suez Canal and on the other is the Persian Gulf, deserts, cities, and above all our flag! I am the child of this great empire.*³⁵

While Falih Rifki described the situation of Jerusalem at the time he wrote his memoirs, he explained his people as being only a "gendarme" in these lands, making an analogy with the situation of the Muslim who carries the key to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

*You know that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is divided among the Christian nations. Every part of its interior and every service of the church belongs to another congregation. These communities were just not able to share the key. A hodja has the key. In all these continents, we are doing the duty of this hodja. Trade, culture, farming, industry, and buildings, everything belongs to Arabs or other states... Only the gendarmerie was ours; not even the gendarme, but the clothes of the gendarme.*³⁶

The author, returning to Istanbul, recalled those places and the Turkish soldiers who stayed there and defended the homeland. He explained the fall of Jerusalem as follows: "In the Headquarters, the words 'Jerusalem has fallen!' spread like news of death. Now we need to prepare our tears for Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo."³⁷

The author also wrote the following lines comparing the situation of Jews and Arabs:

*I have travelled several times through Jewish Palestine, from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Palestine's new towns and villages are Jewish artifacts. This is not a new Palestine; it is a brand-new Palestine. An English Jew who wears a tuxedo in the evenings in their village is the headman. Red-cheeked German Jewish girls return to the village from the vineyard, singing over the dilijans [four-wheeled carts]. Muslim Arabs are at the service of these masters. The Arab daily squeezes the grapes, and the fat Jew drinks his wine.*³⁸

3. Jerusalem in Recent Literature

Jerusalem's departure from being an Ottoman territory in 1917 was one of the biggest events of the last century for Muslims. A second development took place with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. The pain of these events still continues in the form of a constantly bleeding wound. Wars, massacres, and persecutions never cease. If one can talk about the development of a Jerusalem sensitivity in this new position, Turkish poetry owes it to Sezai Karakoç. Upon the Zionists burning Masjid al-Aqsa in 1969, he published his poem "Ey Yahudi [O Jew]" in the journal *Diriliş*:

*Nihayet Mescid-i Aksa'yı da yaktın ey Yahudi! ...
Asırlardır insanlığın ruhunu yaktığın gibi ey Yahudi! ...*
[Finally, you have burned Masjid al-Aqsa, O Jew!
As you have burned the soul of humanity for centuries, O Jew!]

This poem, which begins with the above lines, brings together the event of the American astronauts' moon landing, which was a current topic at the time, with the Prophet's Night Journey as a metaphysical "ascension" and the city of Jerusalem, with which the Night Journey is associated. It separates them from one another by revealing the situation of presumption and truth in the face of one another, thus offering humanity a whole new perspective:

*Aya çıkararak göğe çıktığını sandın ey Yahudi! ...
Göğe çıktığına inanır inanmaz
Büyük Peygamberin göğe çıktığı yeri yaktın ey Yahudi! ...
Mescid-i Aksa'yı yaktın ey Yahudi! ...
Daha doğrusu yaktığını sandın ey Yahudi! ...
Senin yaktığın gökteki Mescid-i Aksa'nın ancak gölgesidir ey Yahudi! ...
Senin yaktığın Mescid-i Aksa'nın ruhu değil
Taş, toprak ve ağaçtan işaretidir ey Yahudi! ...
(...)*
[You thought you had ascended to the sky by going to the moon, O Jew!
As soon as you believed in your ascension,
You burned the place where the Great Prophet ascended to the sky, O Jew!
You burned Masjid al-Aqsa, O Jew!
More precisely, you thought you burned it, O Jew!
What you burned is only the shadow of Masjid al-Aqsa in the sky, O Jew!
It is not the soul of Masjid al-Aqsa that you burned.
It was the sign of stone, earth, and wood, O Jew!]

To Sezai Karakoç, Jerusalem is one of the great civilization cities like Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Damascus, and Istanbul. In his diary writings, he frequently touches upon these civilization cities from his historical perspectives, forming a unity with his poems. In another poem of his, we witness new expressions of metaphysical thinking. The poet describes the city of Jerusalem as:

*Ve Kudüs şehri. Gökte yapıлып yere indirilen şehir.
Tanrı şehri ve bütün insanlığın şehri.
Altında bir krater saklayan şehir
Kalbime bir ağırlık gibi çöküyor şimdi
Ne diyor ne diyor Kudüs bana şimdi
Hani Şam'dan bir şamdan getirecektin
Dikecektin Süleyman Peygamberin kabrine
Ruhları aydınlatan bir lamba
İfriti döndürecek insana:
Söndürecek canavarın gözlerini
İfriti döndürecek insana*³⁹

[And the city of Jerusalem. The city made in Heaven and brought down to Earth.
The city of God and the city of all mankind.
The city that hides a crater underneath
It weighs on my heart like a stone now
What does Jerusalem say to me now
Weren't you going to bring a candlestick from Damascus
You were going to plant it in the tomb of Prophet Solomon
A lamp that illuminates the souls
It will turn the ifrit into man:
It will extinguish the eyes of the beast
It will turn the ifrit into man]

³² Ibid, 348.

³³ Ibid, 354.

³⁴ Falih Rifki Atay, *Zeytin Dağı*, (Istanbul: Ministry of Education Publications, 1989), 3-4.

³⁵ Ibid, 36.

³⁶ Ibid, 37.

³⁷ Ibid, 112.

³⁸ Ibid, 69.

³⁹ Sezai Karakoç, *Gün Doğmadan*, (Istanbul: Diriliş Publications, 2000), 627.

The new Islamic sensitivity born in Turkish literature finds its widest expression in Sezai Karakoç's concept of "Diriliş [Dirilish/Resurrection]" after 1960. A generation of literature was born, powered by this perceptive and inclusive perspective and sensitivity. This generation also produces other names that have their own originality. Cahit Zarifoğlu travelled over the Islamic geography in many of his poems:

*Farz et körsün olabilir
Elele tut
Taş al ve at
Kâiri bulur
Hani ceylanların
Hani cihat marşın
Bir yumruk harbinden nasıl kaçtın
En arka safta bile kalmadın
Cengi attın dünyaya daldın⁴⁰*

[Suppose you are blind, it could be
Hold hands
Take a stone and throw it
It finds the well
Where are your gazelles?
Where is your jihad march?
How did you escape a fistfight?
You're not even in the back row
You threw away the battle, you plunged
into the world]

He uses a warning language in the above verses.

If one considers Jerusalem in particular, even though saying another light at the same level or power as Karakoç cannot be said to exist, we should mention the sensitivity toward the Middle East and Africa that Nuri Pakdil tried to establish around the literary journal. Pakdil drew attention with some elegant statements naming the authors in this journal as Middle Easterners. His translations of modern Arabic poetry and story through French are also included in the same context. The sensitivity he showed on this subject led Pakdil to author poems that raised the consciousness of Jerusalem under a pseudonym, despite not being a poet. Poems and references are encountered with the theme of Masjid al-Aqsa and Jerusalem, especially those from Mehmet Akif Inan and Arif Ay.⁴¹ Here is stanza from Akif Inan's famous poem published in 1979:

Mescid-i Aksa'yı gördüm düşümde
Götür Müslümana selam diyordu

Dayanamıyorum bu ayrılığa
Kucaklasın beni İslâm diyordu.

[I dreamed of al-Masjid al-Aqsa
It said to greet the Muslim.
I can't stand this separation
It was saying 'Islam embrace me']

Here is a quote from Arif Ay's poem:

*Ben Kudüs
Bana çok kapıdan girilir
Bir de aşk kapısından
O kapı kalp kapısı
O kapı gök kapısı Mescid-i Aksa
İlk ve son durak
Bende yükseldi Burak⁴²*

[I Jerusalem
Was entered through many doors
One also from the gate of love
That door is the heart door
That door is the gateway to the sky, al-Masjid al-Aqsa.
The first and last stop
Lightning arose in me]

4. Conclusion

We have outlined the sensitivity toward Jerusalem reflected in Turkish/Islamic literature from the 13th century to the present. In the long period when Jerusalem was under Islamic rule, the perception is that more poetry was poured upon and basically woven as a language around this land as the home of past prophets, the first qibla of Islam, and the place of the Prophet's Night Journey. Memoires from the last period of the Ottoman Empire bear witness to the emergence of the power struggle over the region. The administrators and civil servants in the region were seen to be in a mood of frustration in parallel with the general disintegration. Aside from those who did their best were also understood to be those who'd abused their position and used it for personal interests. Beyond all this, more than a few lines are found to have detected the inner tremors that the spiritual atmosphere of the city had awakened in souls.

After the fall of Jerusalem and the establishment of the state of Israel in the region in particular, the persecution and suffering there came to the fore in literary works. In this period, Sezai Karakoç opened the door to a warning poem possessing high sensitivity, a perspective of civilization, and a metaphysical dimension mixed with pain.

⁴⁰ Cahit Zarifoğlu, *Şiirler*, (Istanbul: Beyan Publications 2000), 383-385.

⁴¹ Here, it is necessary to remember the voices rising from other corners of the geography such as Nizar Kabbani, Mahmut Derviş and Adonis with their poems translated into Turkish. Let us suffice to mention the following lines from Nizar Kabbani: *O Jerusalem, my city / O Jerusalem, my beloved / Tomorrow, tomorrow the lemon will bloom / Green hyacinths and olives will rejoice / Eyes will smile / Migratory doves will return / To their immaculate nest / And children will return to play / Fathers and sons to meet / O my hometown / O city of peace and abundance.*

⁴² Names such as Osman Sarı, Necat Çavuş, Hüseyin Atlansoy, Metin Önal Mengüşoğlu, Mustafa Miyasoğlu, Cahit Yeşilyurt, İlhami Çiçek, Ahmet Mercan, Ali Göçer, Yasin Doğru, Recep Garip, Şeref Akbaba, Mustafa Yüreklî, Cevat Akkanat, Mürsel Sönmez, Seyfettin Ünlü, Kemal Sayar, Mücahit Koca and Özcan Ünlü can be counted among those having sensitivity toward Jerusalem.

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JERUSALEM IN TRAVELOGUES

Selim TEZCAN*

Introduction

Jerusalem [al-Quds] has always been a frequent destination for travelers and pilgrims from all over the world due to its religious, historical, and cultural importance. This situation continued throughout the Ottoman period as well, with many visitors coming from Europe as well as Muslim travelers such as Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682), al-Nabulsi (d. 1731), al-Luqaimi (d. 1730), Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi (d. 1799). Since the beginning of the 19th century, with the “rediscovery of Palestine by the West,”¹ a large number of travelers flocked to Jerusalem from all over Europe and America, including famous authors such as Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Mark Twain. Therefore, Westerner visiting the city in the 18th century and before had focused their attention primarily on the temples and places related to their own religion. However, in accordance with the scope of the study, we will focus this section on Jerusalem with respect to the times of both the Eastern and Western travelers who had come to the city since the beginning of the Ottoman period, from the general appearance of the people to their houses, streets, food, and drink while also focusing on their impressions of the works from the Islamic period, especially the Temple Mount plaza and the mosques in it.

General Interior and Exterior

Travelers approaching Jerusalem for the first time agree that the most beautiful view of the city from afar is from the East, from the Mount of Olives. Swiss historian Philip Schaff said, “Jerusalem must be seen once and for all from the Mount of Olives. That view can never be forgotten.”² According to the Moroccan diplomat Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi, Jerusalem presents a magnificent and beautiful view from the Mount of Olives.³ As the English traveler Edward Daniel Clarke approached Jerusalem for the first time from the Mount of Olives, it appeared before him in the guise of a majestic and magnificent metropolis filled with domes, towers, and palaces shimmering with unimaginable splendor in the sunlight.⁴ The French poet and author Alphonse de Lamartine also expressed what he saw when looking from the Mount of Olives as “a glamorous city with its light and colours;” the author spoke of the city walls without a single stone missing, the Dome of the Rock’s blue facade and white portico with “thousands of luminous domes where the sun’s rays hit them and reflect back like incense from the light,” as well as the houses whose facades were covered in golden yellow by the successive summers.⁵



View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (Lamartine, *De Lamartine's Visit to the Holy Land*, 2/314-15.)

Many of the visitors passing through the gates express their disappointment as they walk inside after watching the beautiful view of the city from afar. British traveler William Rae Wilson, who came to Jerusalem at the beginning of the 19th century, stated that, although the city looks impressive from afar, he was disappointed when he entered it, seeing that all that remained of its former glory were desolate ruins, narrow streets, and the remains of a few statues.⁶ Schaff, who arrived in the 1870s, was also fascinated by the city’s unique location in the hills but was shaken by the misery of its interior and the poverty of its people.⁷ Even the English writer John Wardle, who came to the city much later at the beginning of the 20th century, was disappointed when he entered the city after watching its

beautiful view with its domes and minarets. He soon realized that he was lost in the narrow, hilly, stony, earthy streets among the rising dust clouds.⁸ However, the American biblical scholar Edward Robinson, who first came to Jerusalem in the 1830s, had a different opinion. While he expected to find the houses shabby, the streets dirty, and the people miserable based on the accounts of travelers before him, his first impressions were positive, and he saw no reason to later doubt the accuracy of these impressions. He found the buildings better made than those in Alexandria, Izmir, or even Istanbul, and the streets cleaner. According to him, Jerusalem succeeded only Cairo in these respects. In his opinion, the people filling the streets were no less than those seen in any other Eastern city.⁹



View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 43.)

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¹ Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine* (San Fransisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 11-43.

² Philip Schaff, *Through Bible Lands: Notes of Travel in Egypt, the Desert, and Palestine* (New York: American Tract Society, 1878), 234.

³ Abdülhadi et-Tazi (ed.), *el-Kuds ve'l-Halil fi rihlati'l-garbiyye, rihlet ibn-Uzman nümuzeceen* (Fes: ISESCO, 1997), 65.

⁴ Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, 4th ed., (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817), 4/289-90.

⁵ Alphonse de Lamartine, *De Lamartine's Visit to the Holy Land, or Recollections of the East*, transl. Thomas Phipson, (London: George Virtue, 1847), 1/313-14.

⁶ William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*, 2nd ed., (London: Longman, 1824), 111-12.

⁷ Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 233.

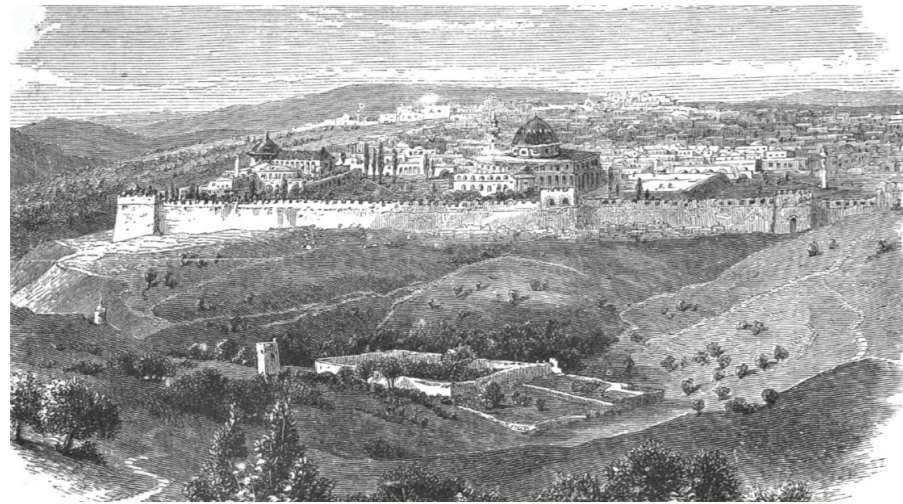
⁸ John Wardle, *A Tour to Palestine and Egypt and Back* (Nottingham: H. B. Saxton, 1907), 105. For a similar observation, see Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece, Palestine*, 2/180.

⁹ Edward Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 & 1852*, 2nd ed., (London: John Murray, 1856), 1/222-23.

Ambience

One of the issues travelers who've conveyed their impressions about the city agree on is its atmosphere of sadness. According to Irish author Richard Robert Madden, any foreigner who visits Jerusalem will admit that the city has a mood of sad grandeur.¹⁰ Wilson also had the opinion that gloom and sadness currently reigned in the once magnificent city.¹¹ Likewise, the Italian missionary Eugene Vetromile found an expression of sadness and pain in everything. During his entire stay in Jerusalem, he never saw a smile on

anyone's face, regardless of nationality. According to him, it was difficult to find anything in the city that would cheer you up; everything seemed to suggest piety, withdrawal from the world, and deep thought.¹² According to the Italian soldier Emilio Dandolo, the general character of Jerusalem was sadness, and to live in this city requires the likes of enthusiastic souls who can only get nourishment from contemplation. For those who, like himself, were deprived of this attribute of perfection, visiting the holy city brought more sorrow and distress than peace.¹³



View of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (Philip Schaf, *Through Bible Lands: Notes of Travel in Egypt, the Desert, and Palestine* (New York: American Tract Society, 1878, 232-33).

Another feature of Jerusalem that has attracted the attention of travelers is its desolation and silence. Lamartine, who came to the city in the 1830s, likened the city to a "ghost city" in this respect. Although it seemed to shine with youth and life from the outside, this was understood to be an illusion when looked at closely. Not a single sound rose from the streets or squares of the city with a population of tens of thousands. Likewise, the same silence and desolation prevailed at the gates of the walls: He didn't meet anyone going in or out all day. He was of the opinion that the reason for this couldn't just be the plague.¹⁴ Robinson, who came to the city for the first time in the 1830s,

also found the number of people he met during his walks in and around the city to be striking. The Bazaar is the only place in Jerusalem showing signs of life; but even there in the center, the pulse of the city beats so lightly as to be almost imperceptible apart from a few main streets where certain activities took place. The streets further from the center were cold and lifeless; one could walk all day without meeting a single person there.¹⁵ Dandolo heard neither the roar of the crowd nor the noise of the shops. Even in the bazaar, an incomprehensible silence reigned. His heart tightened as he looked at this city, wherever all its inhabitants are hidden was unknown.¹⁶

However, some travelers felt that this desolation and silence reinforced the holy atmosphere of the city. Madden was of the opinion that the dead silence he observed in the streets of Jerusalem, something he had not witnessed anywhere else, gave the city an air of holiness and spirit.¹⁷ Russian statesman Avraam Sergeevich Norov also recorded Jerusalem to be generally immersed in a shocking silence and desolation with the exception of the lively and crowded Christian quarters at Easter, and this state of the city was difficult to explain. In any case, however, Jerusalem has a peaceful sanctity.¹⁸

Returning to the city in 1852, Robinson witnessed a significant change compared to the 1830s. He noted general marks of progress to be noticeable everywhere. With the increase in Western influence, new schools and hospitals had opened, progress had been made in agriculture through the contributions from schools, the money in circulation had increased, and the local people of Palestine had also entered into similar efforts at development. Because of all these developments that had taken place in Palestine during the reign of the Mehmet Ali Pasha I (1831-1840) and how the continued reforms in the Ottoman administration had contributed to it, Robinson observed more activity in the streets, more people on the move, more hustle and bustle, and more shopping.¹⁹

Streets and Houses

The streets of Jerusalem have attracted the attention of many travelers. Arriving in the city in the 1830s, Norov saw that the main streets were paved with large stones at different levels, while the side streets were stone and earth. Thus, the streets were difficult to walk not only for horses but also for pedestrians.²⁰

Evliya Çelebi, who had arrived two centuries prior, mentioned the same large stones: "It is a road paved with large stones the size of a rug from Gaile Market to the door of the

Mosque of Omar adjacent to the *Kumame's* [Church of the Resurrection's] wall. They say that the giants of Prophet Solomon made it." However, he had claimed all the streets of the city to have been completely covered with white polished stone during this period.²¹ He also frequently emphasized the narrowness of the streets.

American author Mark Twain visited the city in the second half of the 19th century and saw cats able to easily jump from one roof to another over streets so narrow that cars couldn't enter. Also, because of their curves, streets always appear to end a hundred meters in front of a person while walking.²² Robinson also observed the narrowness of the streets as well as most of them having vaulted roofs, combining this with the heavy style of architecture gave the city a rather gloomy appearance.²³ Of course, these covered streets are actually to protect people from the heat in summer and rain in winter. Meanwhile, travelers were also seen to get a more positive impression from the streets. Clarke found the streets of Jerusalem as narrow as but cleaner than the streets of all other cities in the Levant.²⁴ British author James Kean also pointed out that, despite the winding and often dead-end streets of Jerusalem appearing perhaps like a hopelessly confusing labyrinth at first glance, they actually have a unique order: each of the five main axes follow the five valleys that separate different parts of the city from each other; once someone references these, they will never get disoriented.²⁵

Travelers make similar observations about the general appearance and architecture of the houses in Jerusalem. Referring to the line "Jerusalem was built as a city united in a single building" from the Book of Lamentations, Norov stated this to perfectly describe the structure of the city both in his time as well as in the past because almost all the houses in Jerusalem are interconnected by arched passages and *abbaras* [traditional arched gates], with some of

¹⁰ Richard Robert Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 2/324.

¹¹ Wilson, *Travels*, 27.

¹² Eugene Vetromile, *Travels in Europe, Egypt, Arabia Petraea, Palestine and Syria*, (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1871), *Travels*, 2/246.

¹³ Emilio Dandolo, *Viaggio in Egitto, nel Sudan, in Siria ed in Palestina (1850-1851)*, (Milan: Carlo Turati, 1854), 385-86.

¹⁴ Lamartine, *De Lamartine's visit*, 1/314-15.

¹⁵ Edward Robinson, *Travels in Palestine and Syria* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), 1/116-17; Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/245.

¹⁶ Dandolo, *Viaggio*, 385-86.

¹⁷ Madden, *Travels*, 2/324.

¹⁸ Avraam Sergeevich Norov, *Puteshestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye v 1835 godu*, (St. Petersburg: 1854), *Puteshestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye*, 348-49.

¹⁹ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 3/161-62.

²⁰ Norov, *Puteshestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye*, 350.

²¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Kütahta, Manisa, İzmir, Antalya, Karaman, Adana, Halep, Şam, Kudüs, Mekke, Medine*, 9th book, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications, 2011), 2/525.

²² Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress*, (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1871), 558-59.

²³ Robinson, *Travels in Palestine*, 1/115.

²⁴ Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 4/375-76.

²⁵ James Kean, *Among the Holy Places: A Pilgrimage through Palestine*, 5th ed., (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), 29-30.

the streets even passing under them. All of them having the same beautiful color also contributes to their appearance of being fused into a single mass.

Only the domes of the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Resurrection are distinguished from this mass. Norov described Jerusalemite houses as buildings with a rough architecture made of stone or mud brick, covered with terraces and domes instead of roofs.²⁶ Twain also observed that, when viewed from above, no street is visible due houses' proximity to one another, and together they give the city the appearance of a single solid mass. However, his attention was especially drawn to the domes of the houses: the flat roof of each house has one to six low wide domes of white plaster. This gives the city a unique appearance. According to Twain, Jerusalem was the city with the most domed view in the world outside of Istanbul.²⁷ Robinson explained these domes to be not just ornamental but to also serve to support the flat roof in the absence of wood and provide a higher, spacious ceiling for the rooms below.²⁸ According to this description, the houses were built of coarse-cut large stones, often not exceeding two stories in height and giving them the appearance of castles, as their windows face the

courtyard and only their outer walls and doors are visible from the street.²⁹ This is of course one of the dominant features of Islamic residential architecture; due to privacy concerns, windows do not open to the street or other houses but rather to the middle courtyard.

Travelers also noted the abundance of houses in ruins in Jerusalem. Wilson, who came to Jerusalem at the beginning of the 19th century, saw most of the buildings had been neglected and were in a shabby ruinous state; their stones had been used for tasks such as repairing walls. If all these ruined houses were restored and settled, the population of the city could be much higher.³⁰ Dandolo, who visited the city in the middle of the 19th century, observed empty and ruined houses encountered at every step among the still standing residential homes, their rubble overflowing onto the streets.³¹ However, Robinson, who'd come back to Jerusalem during the same time, witnessed the beginning of feverish activity, demolishing old houses and building new ones; he compared the city to New York in this respect. In fact, the number of houses he saw demolished and rebuilt in Jerusalem that year was more than he had seen in six Dutch cities in the previous year.³²



View from the streets of Jerusalem (Hermann Wedewer, *Eine Reise nach dem Orient* Regensburg: Druck und Verlag von Georg Joseph Manz, 1877, opposite the cover page).

²⁶ Norov, *Putešestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye*, 349-50.

²⁷ Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, 558.

²⁸ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/223.

²⁹ Robinson, *Travels in Palestine*, 1/116.

³⁰ Wilson, *Travels*, 126-27.

³¹ Dandolo, *Viaggio*, 410.

³² Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 3/161-62.

Inhabitants

Mark Twain came to Jerusalem in the second half of the 19th century and counted Muslims, Jews, Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Assyrians, Copts, Albanians, Greek Orthodox, and Protestants among the groups making up the city's inhabitants. The fine distinctions within each of these communities and the languages they speak are too numerous to count. It was as if "all the races, colors, and languages of the world are represented" among the inhabitants of Jerusalem.³³ Muslim and Western travelers seem to have different impressions of the general character of Jerusalemites at first glance. Talking about the city's residents, Evliya Çelebi mentioned, "The faces of the people are red because of the pleasant weather. They have very poor-friendly people, people of pleasure, and people of sects and well-being. The poor wear tawny aba, chuka ferace, and white mohair while the rich wear sable, colorful chuka, and halal mohair. The women are very decent, they wear gold and silver caps, they wear white coats, and they always wear boots on their feet."³⁴ Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi, visiting the city a century later, also described the people of Jerusalem as cheerful and smiling, possessing good morals, and just like Evliya Çelebi had said, people who are inclined to befriend and chat with those from abroad; if this person is from the scholar class, they show particularly even closer interest.³⁵ Meanwhile, the French philosopher and Orientalist Constantin-François Volney, a traveler from the West, argued that, based on the respect that the people of Jerusalem show toward the holy places in the city, he believed no more religious a community could exist in the world. According to him, this respect did not prevent them from earning the reputation of "the meanest people in Syria and Palestine."³⁶ Two British pilgrims who'd come to Jerusalem at the same time as Evliya Çelebi went even further, saying, "There is no evil in the world that the inhabitants of this Holy Land have not committed," and claiming them to have no share in humility or virtue.³⁷ Such negative views about the people of Jerusalem seem to stem from the prejudices Western

authors have toward the Muslim people who'd dominated Jerusalem rather than as a result of on-the-spot observations. This was because many Western travelers have different impressions than the ones they've form from one-on-one relations with the local people. One of these, French diplomat Laurent d'Arvieux, visited Jerusalem at the beginning of the 18th century and wandered around the markets by himself, wearing local clothes, speaking Arabic, and entering and leaving shops: "Neither in this city nor in all other parts of Turkey has the slightest unpleasant incident happened to me; I can only praise its honest and completely polite demeanor," he said.³⁸ However, those who did not wear local clothes like d'Arvieux were known to sometimes be subjected to quite different treatment. British author Thomas Robert Jolliffe, who came to the city at the beginning of the 19th century, stated appearing in the streets in European costume was not safe because people would be subjected to all kinds of heavy insults with a loud voice; people would follow you and children would throw stones. According to him, the French Occupation (1799) led by Napoleon had caused a sharp break in the attitude of Palestinian Muslims toward Westerners. A certain respect is given to the British only because of the defense the British captain Sidney Smith provided with his navy during the French siege of Acre; Jolliffe also encountered no response when he went out in his British hunter's outfit.³⁹ However, what had happened to Wilson, who was visiting Jerusalem at the same time, is understood as the British not always being immune to reactions. When stones were thrown at him near the Lion Gate while he was walking around in his English outfit, he entrusted his life to the monastery where he was staying; the monks told him the only way to avoid similar incidents would be to dress in local clothing, as the locals hate European-style clothing. That's what he did and it was comfortable. According to his explanation, although Muslims have no difficulty recognizing Western Christians dressed as Easterners, they perceive obedience to their dress code as a compliment and show respect to Westerners who do so.⁴⁰

³³ Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, 559.

³⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/533.

³⁵ At-Tazi, *el-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 80.

³⁶ Constantin-François Volney, *Travels Through Syria and Egypt in the Years 1783, 1784, and 1785* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 2nd ed., 1788), 2/304.

³⁷ Nathaniel Crouch (Nickname: Richard Burton), *Two Journeys to Jerusalem* (London: 1759), *Two Journeys to Jerusalem*, 67.

³⁸ Laurent d'Arvieux, *Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, 2nd ed., (Paris: Charles-Jean Baptiste Delespine, 1735), 116-17.

³⁹ Thomas Robert Jolliffe, *Lettres sur la Palestine, la Syrie et l'Egypte, ou Voyage en Galilee et en Judée, fait dans l'annee 1817*, transl. Aubert de 39 Vitry, (Paris: Picard-Dubois, 1820), 104-5.

⁴⁰ Wilson, *Travels*, 123.

Travelers who came to the city 20 years later made no mention of this; the attitude Wilson and Jolliffe experienced probably occurred because the memories of the bloody French invasion were still fresh. While Robinson was making various measurements in the city, no one got suspicious or asked questions; at most a couple of people paused and stared, after which he continued on his way. However, if he were to do the same work in New York or London, a crowd would have gathered around him.⁴¹ The English novelist and illus-

trator William Makepeace Thackeray also observed that the people inside the walls showed tolerance and even kindness toward all Europeans. While he was drawing sketches of the landscapes he saw in the city, the people around him looked with a smiling face and never interfered with his work, some even allowed them to draw their portraits and expressed their satisfaction with polite gestures when they saw the result. However, a similar courtesy was not encountered from those beyond the city walls.⁴²



Portrait of a man and boy from Jerusalem (William Makepeace Thackeray (Nickname: Michael Angelo Titmarsh), *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, by way of Lisbon, Athens, Constantinople, and Jerusalem* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1846), 229).

Travelers visiting Jerusalem during this period also spoke positively of the courtesy and character of the members of the ruling class in addition to the inhabitants. While Robinson described his visit in 1838, he didn't skip over mentioning the demeanor of the soldiers and officers he met to have been extremely civilized, both in the city and the barracks.⁴³ Also, the host was an American priest, Fr. Lanneau and neighbors with some of the city's notables, including the mufti of the Muslim quarter where he was residing. Robinson had the opportunity to meet them, as they frequently visited and diligently maintained a relationship of

mutual kindness. This depicts the mufti as an extremely lively person in his 60s or 70s, with a long white beard neatly clipped and intelligent eyes. The mufti was quick to promise all the help they would need for their scientific research with his team, and Robinson was under the impression that the mufti was sincere in his interest.⁴⁴ When Kean stopped by the court of Madrasa al-Tankiziyya near one of the gates of al-Aqsa Mosque, the two young qadis who had seen and completed the trials of that day greeted him, welcomed him to sit, and shared their observations; they appeared to Kean as intelligent and competent people.⁴⁵

Travelers also have spoken highly of Jerusalem's religious tolerance. German educator and historian Hermann Wedewer described the pilgrims praying at various stops on the Via Dolorosa, saying, "I was very surprised that Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem could kneel and pray in the middle of the street without being severely insulted by Muslims who were so reviled for

being bigoted," and adding, "Such a thing would probably be impossible in many Christian-inhabited cities of our Motherland."⁴⁶

Lamartine made a similar comparison: He praised the tolerance of Muslims, whom he collectively referred to as Turks, similar to many travelers because of the Ottoman domination.

"I see no reason to blame or vilify the Turks; instead of the so-called brutal intolerance they are accused of possessing by ignorant people, it is only their respect and tolerance towards what other people respect and worship that is evident. Wherever a Muslim sees an idea of God in the minds of their brothers or sisters, they respect it and believe that this idea sanctifies all religions. Muslims are the only community with tolerance. Let Christians ask themselves this question and answer honestly: What would they do if the war had fortunately given them Mecca and the Kaaba? Would the Turks be able to come from all over Europe and Asia to worship in peace at well-preserved Islamic monuments?"⁴⁷

Mexican writer and politician López Portillo y Rojas, who came to Jerusalem in the 1870s, similarly emphasized Palestine as being a tolerant country where everyone is allowed to adopt and practice the religion of their choice. According to Rojas, the only thing Muslims in the region find intolerable is not a person with different beliefs but those that boast of their unbelief. This is because religious skepticism is nonsense to Muslims, and the skeptic is a freak who should be excluded from society. Rojas noted, however, that this is not always the case, particularly in the context of Western pilgrims. In the past, pilgrims had to pay many taxes and duties, with their co-religionists and priests in the region often getting insulted and harassed. But now, foreigners are respected not as enemies but as friends separated by the sea. According to the author, this change, which the West and Russia in particular had attributed to the growing influence of the Ottoman Empire was so large and irreversible that travelers at the turn of the century would be astonished if they were to revisit the city.⁴⁸ We observed this change Rojas mentioned in the accounts from Jolliffe and Wilson as

well as and Robinson and Thackeray regarding the treatment of European-dressed travelers. Yet, we did indicate the possible effects from the Napoleonic invasion.

The Bazaar, Crafts, and Trade

Travelers who've seen the city at different times have expressed different impressions about the state of the Jerusalem bazaar. The French traveler Marie-Dominique de Binos arrived at the end of the 18th century and observed plentiful fruit and vegetables, especially lemons and oranges.

Maronites sell fabrics such as muslin that they brought from Europe. The headdresses and long canes used by villagers and Bedouins are also found in the shops.⁴⁹ The French author François-Rene de Chateaubriand came to the city in 1806 after Napoleon's 1799 expedition to Palestine and painted a very different picture of the bazaar, which he described as the main street and best quarter of Jerusalem. Having it be completely covered cuts off the light, and infection is rampant. He couldn't help but yell, "What misery! What solitude!" The vicinity was vacant. A few small and shabby shops in the bazaar

⁴¹ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/246.

⁴² William Makepeace Thackeray (Nickname: Michael Angelo Titmarsh), *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, by way of Lisbon, Athens, Constantinople, and Jerusalem* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), 228-30.

⁴³ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/245.

⁴⁴ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/246-47.

⁴⁵ Kean, *Among the Holy Places*, 51.

⁴⁶ Hermann Wedewer, *Eine Reise nach dem Orient*, (Regensburg: Druck und Verlag von Georg Joseph Manz, 1877), 279.

⁴⁷ Lamartine, *De Lamartine's visit*, 1/323-24.

⁴⁸ Jose López Portillo y Rojas, *Egipto y Palestina: apuntes de viaje* (Mexico: Imprenta de Diaz de Leon y White, 1874), 96-98, 129.

⁴⁹ Marie-Dominique de Binos, *Voyage par l'Italie en Egypte, au Mont-Liban et en Palestine ou Terre Sainte*, (Paris: Boudet, 1787), 2/328.

presented a miserable scene, and often remained closed or abandoned for fear of the pasha or the qadi.⁵⁰

Visiting Jerusalem ten years after Chateaubriand, Clarke's impressions also revealed the situation to have not changed much since the time of Chateaubriand. He also witnessed the bazaar to be extremely unhealthy, with empty stalls and swarming with all kinds of infectious diseases.⁵¹ Wilson, who had come to the city at the same time, talked about the checks the Ottoman administration had implemented in the bazaar. According to Wilson, when a complaint of a shop owner giving insufficient money was made to the governor, the governor immediately ordered this person's ear to be nailed to the door of his shop; the shopkeeper would then be exposed to the passing public for several hours. Shop owners who use fraudulent weights or cut pieces from coins being weighed would also later be severely punished.⁵²

Travelers who came to Jerusalem in the second half of the 19th century were more positive about the bazaar, painting a crowded and splendid picture. Colombian traveler Rafael Duque Uribe came to the city in 1858; as he approached the entrance to the bazaar from the direction of the Church of the Resurrection, the crowd grew larger. As soon as he entered the main street, he encountered numerous vendors selling soaps, leather, dried fruit, milk, vegetables, coal, and firewood. He could barely pass through the stalls of these vendors, whom he likened to the peddlers in his hometown. Further ahead, prayer beads, medallions, and other items made from olive wood were sold.⁵³ Visiting the city at the same time, Wedewer couldn't get enough of watching the colorful activity he encountered in the bazaar. He also observed stylish shops known in the West as Uribe to not be

found there. Each seller performed their craft with simple tools, sitting in kiosks or even on the street while taking care of their customers, as in markets and fairs in Germany.⁵⁴

As for crafts and trade in Jerusalem, Robinson gave the most comprehensive information on this subject.⁵⁵ He stated the city to have few industries. One of the leading production sectors was soap. Jerusalem had nine long existing soap production facilities, and the waste ash collected in a northern region outside the city walls of these facilities formed heaps similar to natural hills. During Easter, pilgrims would buy large quantities of scented soap. Two hundred years before Robinson, Evliya Çelebi had also observed the most popular products of Jerusalem as being scented soaps and essential oils.⁵⁶ Robinson also saw nine plants and one tannery producing large volumes of sesame oil, all of which were the private property of Muslims. On the other hand, Christians were engaged in the production of items such as rosaries, crosses, small models of the Church of the Resurrection, boxes for holding relics, shoulder coverings used in prayer made from olive wood, mother-of-pearl, or shiny black stones. Many other travelers also referred to the manufacture of the same items: Jerusalemites engaged in manufacturing these as families due to their high sale price and low raw costs. Large volumes were also exported from Jaffa Port to Turkey, Italy, Portugal, and Spain in particular.⁵⁷ Again, Robinson saw the city turn into a gigantic bustling fair every Easter, with pilgrims buying large quantities of both the local products as well as the goods merchants from neighboring cities such as Damascus sold and taking them to their hometown. According to the author, this bazaar was no less significant than the ones in Leipzig and Frankfurt.

Food and Drink

Most travelers appreciated the food in Jerusalem, especially the fruit. According to the description from the Polish-Armenian traveler Simeon, who'd come to the city in the first half of the 17th century, the breads sold in loaf and pita shapes were white in color; the most delicious of the breads was called challah, and the region had delicious oils, cream, and yogurt.

Although lamb were slaughtered on grand feast days, he found the meat of the local kid goats' to be more delicious. Jerusalem is located on rocky dry land, yet the creek hill is a very fertile place with olive groves and very delicious fruits growing: "The melons and watermelons here are big and very sweet, the pomegranates are large, the figs are very honeyed, the quince is small but very delicious and can be stored for months. Its various grapes also grow in very large clusters. We weighed a bunch; it came to an ounce and a half [about two kilograms]. Roses are so fragrant that they extract their juice and are taken to distant lands as gifts."⁵⁸ Evliya emphasized that, despite its rocky terrain, Jerusalem's olive groves and vineyards are abundant with a variety of extremely delicious grapes; he also witnessed rose water being brought as gifts to many provinces.⁵⁹

200 years later at the beginning of the 19th century, the Western traveler Jolliffe came to Jerusalem and found food prices to be quite cheap compared to Europe but to have unsatisfactory quality. The bread was hard and not as nutritious as in England; the cheeses were also completely different. Contrary to Simeon, Jolliffe claimed butter to be unknown there. The honey was pure and delicious. He rarely saw veal or beef, with practically only lamb and kid goat being consumed; poultry on the other hand was plentiful. What Jolliffe really admired were the fruits. Despite the lack of variety, they are all wonderful, superior in terms of taste and quantity to any other place he had visited. The grapes were excellent; figs were both larger and sweeter than European ones; and the olives, pomegranates, and watermelons were also of superior quality.⁶⁰ Wedewer came to the city in the second

half of the 19th century and also didn't like the bread. He complained that the inside was doughy with a sour taste. The selection of meat consisted of lamb and poultry and were not easy to find. Wedewer mentions zucchini stuffed with rice and currants, farci, and vegetable dishes swimming in lamb fat among the dishes he had eaten. He said rice pilaf was very popular. He actually found getting used to the Jerusalem cuisine to be quite difficult. However, like Jolliffe, he felt the fruit had made up for all of this. From small and sweet tangerines and grapes, sweet dates, and bananas to juicy figs and large, refreshing oranges and lemons, he couldn't help but say, "What an inviting, refreshing selection!"⁶¹

In the context of beverages, Evliya Çelebi praised the city's water, which had been brought from the mountains during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent; "Many men and women are satisfied with the sweetness of their water," he said.⁶² Jolliffe also found the water coming from the springs to be extraordinarily pure and clean.⁶³ However, this water tended to run out, especially in the summer. Kean explained that meeting the water needs would not be possible by drilling a well; the rain runoff is not able to penetrate the rocky hills upon which the city is built, so no matter how deep one digs a well, no water comes out. As a remedy, rainwater falling on the flat roofs of Jerusalem houses is transferred to underground cisterns, and the accumulated rainwater is used by pulling buckets from the narrow mouths of these cisterns. The author did not find the taste of this runoff very satisfying, even when drained from towels and boiled, but it does satisfy the water needs throughout the long summer.⁶⁴ Apart from the water, Vetromile observed the most consumed beverage to be coffee, which is cooked and drank from tiny cups at any time of the day, despite the high cost of firewood. According to the Vetromile, goat's milk was also consumed in abundance.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, Wedewer observed the scarcity of cow's milk to be due to the few cows in Palestine. Apart from these beverages, fresh-squeezed fruit juices such as lemonade and orange juice were consumed, as well as thick grape juice.⁶⁶

⁵⁰ Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece, Palestine*, 2/80, 180.

⁵¹ Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 4/376.

⁵² Wilson, *Travels*, 131.

⁵³ Rafael Duque Uribe, *Recuerdos de la Tierra Santa: apuntamientos del viaje que hizo a la Palestina en 1858* (Bogota: Imprenta de Echeverria Hermanos, 1868), 78.

⁵⁴ Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 70.

⁵⁵ Robinson et al. *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1/428.

⁵⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/533-34.

⁵⁷ William George Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1799), 361; Volney, *Travels Through Syria and Egypt*, 2/306-7; Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, 262; Uribe, *Recuerdos de la Tierra Santa*, 103.

⁵⁸ Polonyalı Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi*, transl. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: Istanbul University, Faculty of Literature Publications, 1964), 128.

⁵⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/533-34.

⁶⁰ Jolliffe, *Lettres sur la Palestine*, 175.

⁶¹ Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 82-83, 154.

⁶² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/533.

⁶³ Jolliffe, *Lettres sur la Palestine*, 178.

⁶⁴ Kean, *Among the Holy Places*, 33. See also Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 154.

⁶⁵ Vetromile, *Travels*, 2/241.

⁶⁶ Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 82-83.

The Temple Mount Plaza, al-Aqsa Mosque, and Islamic-Era Artifacts

While describing the general appearance of the Temple Mount plaza and al-Aqsa Mosque, both Muslim and Western travelers alike have expressed their admiration for its beauty. The Sufi, jurist, and poet an-Nablusi of Damascus described this place as “a very large, green, bright, spacious field.”⁶⁷ The Arab traveler al-Lukaymi from Dimyat also praised the beauty of the view from the Temple Mount, mentioning the 47 water cisterns that bring great abundance to the area, the marble fountain in the middle, and the olives and other kinds of trees: “The heart is relieved by seeing all these, the clouds of sadness over the heart are dispersed.”⁶⁸ The Egyptian traveler al-Kayati had come to Jerusalem during the reign of Abdulhamid II (d. 1918) and said that no one can worthily describe the Temple Mount and al-Aqsa Mosque; every time he stepped inside he encountered beauties he had never seen before.⁶⁹ The Western traveler Kean, who came to the city at the same time, defined al-Aqsa Mosque and the Temple Mount plaza as by far the most beautiful part of Jerusalem: its huge plain covered with neat stones, its fountains, vast grassy expanse, and lofty cypress trees come together in the middle of this steep stony city and constitute a real garden of paradise pleasurable to watch. As a matter of fact, the residents of the Muslim quarter on the northern and western sides of this beautiful place go there to rest and relax as well as worship.⁷⁰

Evliya Çelebi, one of the Muslim travelers who visited the Dome of the Rock in the middle of the Temple Mount plaza, enthusiastically expressed his admiration, “I had visited 17 sultanates in these despicable 38 years and had not seen any of the seven heavens in the buildings I’d observed. When people enter the Dome of the Rock, they take their finger to their mouth in horror and admiration. It is a mosque full of light, like the Havernak House in the middle of a white marble-paved field.” According to his description, the courtyard on which the Dome of the Rock is located is called *Akyayla* [the White-Plateau]

because of this marble, and those who wander in the courtyard when they are grieved and sad regain their joy. Çelebi said, “The courtyard is the relief... Many thousand works of God” can be seen on each piece of mottled marble, Pakistan light green onyx marble, and jade harakani marble covering the mosque exterior. The embroidered and artistic tiles adorning the top of the marble stones to the eaves of the dome fascinate everyone.⁷¹ Muslim travelers apart from Evliya Çelebi rarely attempted to describe what they had seen at the Dome of the Rock. The Ottoman traveler Hifzi stated the interior wall of the mosque to be made of marble and to amaze those who see it with its patterns.⁷² Ibn Omar al-Miknasi also likened the marble on the mosque’s interior and exterior to a mirror; like Evliya, he had never seen art like this mosque’s in Islamic countries in terms of its elegance and delicacy.⁷³ On the other hand, Western travelers had visited the Dome of the Rock from afar, as non-Muslims had not been allowed to enter the Temple Mount plaza; later on they could see it and its interior up close with the permits⁷⁴ that started being given regularly in return for payment after the Crimean War. Their first response was to compare it with other famous mosques in the Islamic world. Regarding the distant view of the mosque, Clarke had said, “It was so magnificent, we did not hesitate to consider it the most magnificent current architectural example in the Turkish Empire and a work superior to the Hagia Sophia Mosque in Istanbul.”⁷⁵

The view of al-Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (James Kean, Among the Holy Places: A Pilgrimage Through Palestine (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 5th ed., 1895), 18-19.



Jolliffe also felt that, although not as large as Hagia Sophia, the Dome of the Rock surpassed it in terms of delicacy and elegance but was unable to surpass the Blue Mosque in terms of splendor and beauty.⁷⁶ According to the Mexican López Portillo y Rojas, this beautiful sanctuary is reminiscent of the Cordoba Mosque and the Alhambra Palace with its flamboyant yet delicate grace typical of Maghreb architecture.⁷⁷ Likewise, Vetromile believed the Dome of the Rock to be the most beautiful mosque after the Cordoba Mosque and the most perfect work of Islamic architecture after the Alhambra.⁷⁸

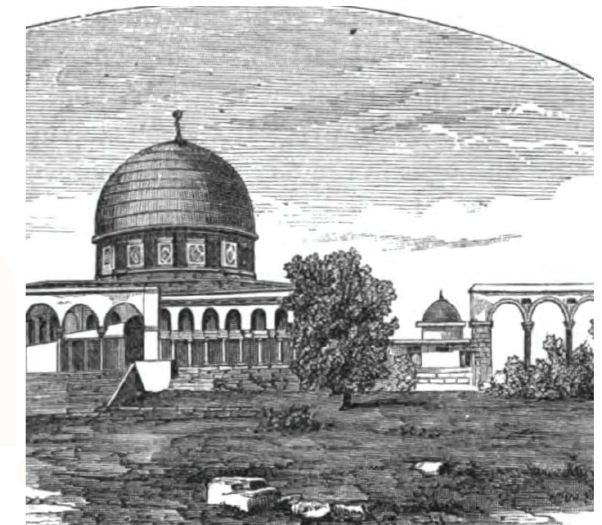
The Frenchman Marcel Ladoire, one of the travelers who saw the Dome of the Rock when entrance permission had not yet been given to al-Aqsa Mosque, could not help but appreciate its beauty and splendor while observing the mosque from the Mount of Olives; he was sorry that non-Muslims could not visit such a noble temple.⁷⁹ Clarke, who was seen to compare the Dome of the Rock with Hagia Sophia, was sure no other building in Jerusalem existed that could be compared to it in terms of beauty and wealth: “The Saracen splendor displayed so nobly in the style of the building, its numerous rows of arches, all the ostentatiousness of the place. Its large dome with its ornaments, its wide courtyard paved with the finest colored marble... All this makes it one of the most magnificent sights that Muslims can boast about.”⁸⁰ The English scholar Henry Maundrell also noted that, although the mosque is not very large, it draws an extremely imposing silhouette thanks to its location.⁸¹



General view of al-Aqsa Mosque (Wedewer, Eine Reise, 144).



General view of al-Aqsa Mosque (Alphonse de Lamartine, De Lamartine's Visit to the Holy Land, or Recollections of the East, transl. Thomas Phipson (London: George Virtue, 1847), 1/312-13).



Exterior of the Dome of the Rock (Mark Twain, The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1871, 581).

⁶⁷ Abdülgani b. İsmail en-Nablusi, *el-Hadretü'l-iüsiyye fi'r-rihleti'l-Kudsıyye*, ed. Ekrem Hasan el-Ulebi (Beirut: el-Masadir, 1990), 98.

⁶⁸ Mustafa Es'adel-Lukaymi, *Tezhibü Mevanihi'l-Üns bi-Rihleti ila Vadiyi'l-Kuds*, ed. Riyad Abdülhamid Murad (Dimaşk: Vezaretü's-Sekafe, 2012), 108-9.

⁶⁹ Muhammed Abdülcevad el-Kayati, *Nefhetü'l-beşam fi rihleti's-Şam*, (Beirut: Darü'r-Ra'idi'r-Arabi, 1981), 91.

⁷⁰ Kean, *Among the Holy Places*, 20, 39, 50.

⁷¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/50a2, 508-9.

⁷² Bilge Karga, *Hifzi'nin Hayatı, Eserleri, Edebi Kişiliği ve Mir'at-ı Kudüs* (Master Thesis, Selçuk University, 2011), 120.

⁷³ At-Tazi, *el-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 60.

⁷⁴ Eduardo Malvar, *Recuerdos de un viaje a los Santos Lugares*, (Madrid: Imprenta Calle Del Pez, 1876), 116; Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 142-43.

⁷⁵ Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 4/385-86.

⁷⁶ Jolliffe, *Lettres sur la Palestine*, 84-85.

⁷⁷ Lopez Portillo y Rojas, *Egipto y Palestina*, 152.

⁷⁸ Vetromile, *Travels*, 2/232-33.

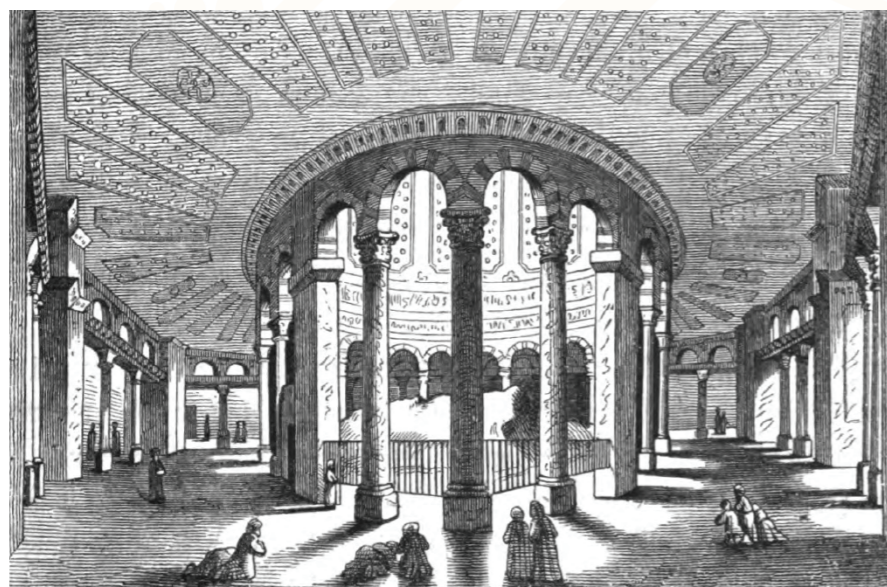
⁷⁹ Marcel Ladoire, *Voyage fait a la Terre Sainte en l'annee M. DCC. XIX* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1720), 52-3.

⁸⁰ Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 4/392-93.

⁸¹ Wright, Thomas (ed.), *Early Travels in Palestine*, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), 472-73.

Although Norov came to the city in the 1830s when the ban was still in effect, he did get the chance to visit al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock with the special permission from Mehmet Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt in control of the Damascus Province at that time. The author stated the Dome of the Rock to occupy in Eastern architecture the place that the Pantheon in Rome holds in classical architecture. Walls covered with blue-tinted tiles; examples of gilded calligraphy that wrap around the dome and eaves and the building, intertwining with floral patterns; and the dim light passing through the colored glass windows and filling everything inside with an unusual mystery always provokes the imagination and does justice to the colorful imagination of the Easterners. The beauty of the temple stands out even more on its white marble platform, which also has a *shadirvan* [fountain] of unique beauty in a style harmonious with the building. Like Evliya Çelebi, Norov considered the Dome of the Rock to be a place where Muslims were able to regain their joy in this sad city.⁸²

Wedewer, one of the Western travelers to come Jerusalem after the Crimean War and see the Dome of the Rock with permission, made similar observations: The exterior of the mosque is decorated very ostentatiously and the dim light that reaches the colorful interior and crowned by a magnificent dome creates a unique effect through the stained glass. What attracted his attention the most in this magnificent building was the wooden minbar, which he called a carpentry masterpiece.⁸³ The Englishman Henry Baker Tristram, who arrived at the same time, also observed the building to have been better preserved than other Islamic artifacts he had seen. The outside was wonderful and the inside practically dazzling; its proportions were graceful and tiles beautiful, painting everything around in rainbow colors with its abundant, sparkling rose-colored, and delightfully harmonious decorations. During the traveler's visit, all these elements came together to take on a dazzling magnificence in the dim morning light filtering through the windows.⁸⁴



Inside the Dome of the Rock (Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 147).

Evliya Çelebi was the traveler to make the most detailed observations about al-Aqsa Mosque opposite the Dome of the Rock, enthusiastically describing everything he saw. First of all, al-Aqsa Mosque stands on porphyritic

and other-colored columns, which he described by saying, "Each column is jewelry worth an Egyptian treasure." According to him, the pitcher-shaped dome over the mihrab is unique in the world in terms of height and brightness:

⁸² Norov, *Putešestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye*, 270, 277-78, 280-81.

⁸³ Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 146-47, 150.

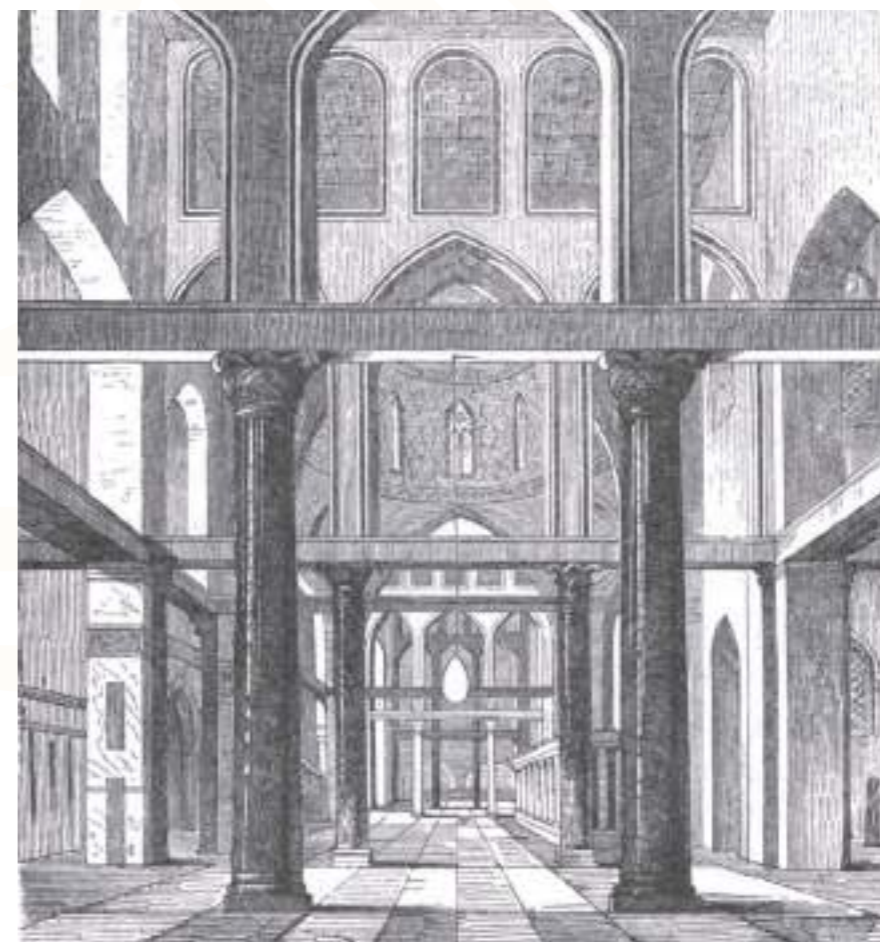
⁸⁴ Henry Baker Tristram, *The Land of Israel: Journal of Travels in Palestine*, 3rd ed., (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1876), 173.

"It is a dome of light upon light, decorated with various streams of multi-colored glass, decorated with the Tuba Tree and various flowers, all of which are gilded. And around the dome is written 'Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth' [Qur'an, An-Nur, 35]."

He stated the tongue to be inadequate for praising the mihrab and minbar, stating the minbar to be so artfully made "as if it is pure magic" and the mihrab to be "*zer-en-der-zer* [gold-on-gold ornamental art] as if it has a jeweled-crystalline structure." Where the master had chopped up every precious stone on earth like an eyelet and embroidered them together. When the sun hits the twelve types of patterned glass on the mihrab, "when the mosque is lit, it becomes light upon light, the eyes of the whole congregation are enlightened and worship with awe." Apart from these glassworks, al-Aqsa Mosque has 105 others such as Najaf, crystal, and smoked glass; to some, they are the most beautiful glassworks

in the world.⁸⁵

Foreign travelers have talked about al-Aqsa Mosque much less than the Dome of the Rock. Norov wrote that when he entered this solemn building through the porch door, he thought he was in the giant St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome. His attention was particularly drawn to the mosque's columns made of various-hued marble; he wrote that these do not detract from the Dome of the Rock.⁸⁶ Tristram, on the other hand, found the architectural style of al-Aqsa Mosque to be lighter than that of the Dome of the Rock with its pointed arches and fringeless columns. Although al-Aqsa is richly and elaborately decorated with stained glass and lamps, Tristram was of the opinion that it lagged behind the other mosque in terms of splendor.⁸⁷ Vetromile also observed al-Aqsa Mosque's elaborate decorations and mentioned finding its gilded ornaments, decorations, and marble stones of extraordinary whiteness extremely beautiful.⁸⁸



Inside the Dome of the Rock (Wedewer, *Eine Reise*, 147).

⁸⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 2/498-99.

⁸⁶ Norov, *Putešestviye po Svyatoy Zemlye*, 287.

⁸⁷ Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 175-76.

⁸⁸ Vetromile, *Travels*, 2/232-39.

Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi also spoke highly of the maintenance and restoration works carried out by the Ottoman Empire in al-Aqsa Mosque. According to his words, the Ottomans paid as great attention to Jerusalem and Haram al-Sharif as they did to Mecca and Medina, and they made important contributions such as replacing fallen stones; if one side was ruined, they renovated it, and in this way greatly improved Jerusalem's structures. He also mentioned the *Imaret-hane* [almshouses] of the Haseki Sultan [Sultan's wife], where meals had been served morning and evening for years and where the Ottomans had constantly helped the families of Jerusalem. Emphasizing the positive effects of these alms, al-Miknasi prayed for the continued rule of the Ottoman sultans.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, Western travelers mentioned Ottoman period works such as these almshouses very rarely and quite negatively. According to Robinson, the city had few public buildings, none of which were remarkable in any way. He also found the baths he visited in the Muslim quarter to be much simpler than others found in the Orient.⁹⁰ Chateaubriand, however, stated that the works from the Ottoman period should not be confused with the works of the previous Islamic period, arguing that "the Turks did not understand anything about architecture." According to Chateaubriand, the only things Turks had added to Jerusalem were a few bazaars and mosques.⁹¹ He failed to take into account that this situation may have resulted from the low number of these buildings in the city when the Ottomans took Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the city walls built during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent attracted the close attention of all travelers. After stating how the walls had been built by Lala Mustafa Pasha during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, Evliya Çelebi praised him for his exaggerated style: "He has built a strong castle of stone unable to be praised sufficiently with words. It was built from the foundations of the castle that had been destroyed in ancient times, 40x50

Mecca Zirai [an old unit of measure] on the outside. It was transformed into a large four-walled castle similar to Kahkaha [a Persian castle mentioned in Evliya Çelebi's notes], taking the Sahratullah and al-Aqsa Mosque behind its walls, each stone the size of a Mengerus elephant."⁹² Al-Nablusi came to Jerusalem later in the 17th century and, like Evliya, described the walls as a lofty structure with strong foundations, solidly built with chipped stones and mortar. Upon learning that the walls had been built by Suleiman the Magnificent, he then prayed for this sultan.⁹³ Arab travelers who visited the city in the 18th century could not help but express their admiration for the walls. Al-Luqaymi found the walls to be not only solid but also magnificent in terms of construction, style, and workmanship as well as the six gates, which are difficult to comprehend.⁹⁴ Similarly, Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi from the Maghreb described the city walls as a fortified structure, a work of great mastery and craftsmanship, and named the six gates as: *Bab al-Amud* [Damascus Gate], *Bab al-Sahira* [Herald's Gate], *Bab al-Asbatt* [Lions' Gate/St. Stephen's Gate], *Bab al-Maghariba* [Dung Gate], *Bab al-Nabi Daoud* [Zion Gate], and *Bab al-Khalil* [Jaffa Gate].⁹⁵ Western travelers have conveyed similar sentiments. Scottish traveler William Lithgow was of the opinion that the high walls built of stone blocks adorn Jerusalem more than almost any other building in it.⁹⁶ Wedewer also observed the walls made of dark stone to give the city a serious, dignified but fortified appearance. Stands above the Damascus Gate in particular are the two towers, crowned with bastions and decorated with cantilevers, rising on both sides of the gate. Wedewer viewed this as one of the most beautiful fortifications of the city and appearing sufficient to protect it from all kinds of attacks.⁹⁷ French author Pierre Loti was also fascinated by this door, finding it mysterious and describing it as "The fiercest and most elegant" of all the gates in the walls. He found the walls gloomy: As he walked past them, a beautiful rose-shaped calligraphy relief caught his eye among the rough, weathered stones.

Its gracefulness informs passers-by that those who'd built these harsh walls and those who knew how to embroider the marvelous lace on the walls of mosques and palaces were the same people.⁹⁸

Ottoman Order in the Church of the Resurrection

The soldiers watching the entrance of the Church of the Resurrection have attracted the attention of many Western travelers. Vetroville depicted them sitting on great divans (benches), drinking coffee and smoking while watching the door carefully.⁹⁹ In Loti's eyes, these guards appeared as if they were "armed for a massacre," watching those coming to worship in this church they regarded as "the disgrace of Muslim Jerusalem" from the divan on which they sat with a mood of a monarch.¹⁰⁰ Robinson's approach was quite different. According to him, although the presence of these soldiers, who received their wages from every person who entered, initially offended the feelings of the pilgrims coming here, Robinson thought it more appropriate to find solace by thinking that both the Church of the Resurrection and the other holy places he'd come to visit had been saved from destruction thanks to the protection they provided.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Dutch diplomat Johan Aegidius van Egmont and his uncle John Heyman, who came to the city in the 18th century, told of how the Arab peasants who wanted to take advantage of the Pasha's absence had attempted to plunder the Church of the Resurrection; just as they reached the door of the church and began to force it open, they were driven away from the castle by the *agha* [master of the soldiers] who'd come running with a squad of

soldiers.¹⁰² The same two travelers also spoke appreciatively of how the Ottoman soldiers had successfully kept order even at their own expense despite the large crowd gathering during the ceremonies when the Greeks and Armenians invoked the Holy Light.¹⁰³ According to the Swedish traveler Frederick Hasselquist, these ceremonies could not have occurred without an unfortunate accident if the Turks had not acted cautiously and prevented the likely turmoil as much as possible.¹⁰⁴

Both Hasselquist and other travelers believed the most important job of the soldiers in the Church of the Resurrection was to prevent conflict and maintain order between the different Christian sects to which different parts of the church had been allocated.¹⁰⁵ The American traveler John Thomas said, "The quarrels of the Christians had gained such a serious character [that] the Turkish administration intervened and found it necessary to take the Holy Sepulcher under its protection. Therefore, there is a permanent Turkish guard stationed there today."¹⁰⁶ Lamartine was the one to give the most detailed information on this subject, lauding the order the administration provided. He described the guards as respectable-looking people with long white beards, sitting on their sofas, and drinking coffee as he entered the church; they greeted him and his companions with a gentle and dignified air and instructed the superintendent to show the visitors around the church. The author did not see the slightest trace of disrespect in their faces, words, or behaviors; they do not enter the church, yet talk to Christians with a respect and seriousness appropriate to the sanctity of the place.

Lamartine emphasized the importance of the Muslim administration these soldiers represent in maintaining order and balance among the Christian communities in the church: "While they have conquered the holy temple of the Christians, they have not destroyed it nor scattered its ashes in the wind; they have preserved it, maintaining order and an agency of law enforcement, and display a silent deference among themselves that the Christian congregations fighting for the temple would rather not get involved in the fighting than miss out on the church. They pay attention to the fact that this work, which is the common property of all Christian people, is reserved for everyone and that each congregation can worship in the Holy Sepulcher. If not for the Turks, this grave over which Greeks, Catholics, and countless sects of the Christian faith contend would have long since become the subject of controversy hundreds of times between these rival and angry congregations, one after another, one to the other, and to the exclusion of the others; it would no doubt have been held back from the enemies of the victorious side."¹⁰⁷

⁸⁹ *At-Tazi, el-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 77.

⁹⁰ *Robinson, Travels in Palestine*, 1/116.

⁹¹ *Chateaubriand, Travels in Greece, Palestine*, 2/126.

⁹² *Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname*, 2/494.

⁹³ *Nablusi, el-Hadretü'l-iüsiyye*, 97. See also same author, *El-hakikatü ve'l-mecaz fi rihleti ila biladi's-Şam ve Mısır ve'l-Hicaz*, ed. Ahmed Abdülmecid Heridi (Cairo: el-Heyetü'l-Mısriyyetü'l-Amme li'l-Kitab, 1986), 116.

⁹⁴ *Al-Luqaymi, Tezhibü Mevanihi'l-Üns*, 102.

⁹⁵ *At-Tazi, el-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, 59.

⁹⁶ *William Lithgow, Travels and Voyages Through Europe, Asia and Africa for Nineteen Years*, 12th ed., (Leith: William Reid & Co., 1814), 196.

⁹⁷ *Wedewer, Eine Reise*, 53.

⁹⁸ *Pierre Loti, Jerusalem*, 47th ed., (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1896), 47-48, 176.

⁹⁹ *Vetroville, Travels*, 2/158.

¹⁰⁰ *Loti, Jerusalem*, 54-55.

¹⁰¹ *Robinson, Travels in Palestine*, 1/44-45.

¹⁰² *Johan Aegidius van Egmont & John Heyman, Travels Through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai* (London: L. Davis and C. Rymers, 1759), 1/345.

¹⁰³ *Egmont & Heyman, Travels*, 1/312.

¹⁰⁴ *Frederick Hasselquist, Voyages and Travels in the Levant in the Years 1749, 50, 51, 52* (London: L. Davis and C. Rymers, 1766), 137.

¹⁰⁵ *Hasselquist, Voyages and Travels*, 121; *Kean, Among the Holy Places*, 24.

¹⁰⁶ *John Thomas, Travels in Egypt and Palestine* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1853), 87-88.

¹⁰⁷ *Lamartine, De Lamartine's Visit*, 1/323.

Conclusion

Looking at Ottoman-era Jerusalem through the lens of travelogues allows one to see the city from a different perspective than the one chronicles, archival documents, and other local sources enable. With senses sharpened by breathing the city's air for the first time, travelers diffuse under the cover of habit, recording their fresh observations extending to the details of daily life, observations that this section shows are not mentioned much in other sources. The Jerusalem of travelers thus places travelers in a special position as an integral part of the historical picture of Jerusalem's forms.

The reason why we talk about Jerusalem here in the plural rather than a single Jerusalem of the travelers is the important differences observed in the perceptions and descriptions of the travelers coming from different places at different times. Apart from Evliya Çelebi, who depicted Jerusalem with a colorful language through many different aspects, from its people to its food, beverages, and temples, other Muslim travelers have generally focused on the holy sites. Rather than describing and explaining what they saw, a large part of their travelogues consists of citations from theologians, hadiths, and poems; considerations about the virtues of Jerusalem and al-Aqsa Mosque; and narratives about the people they'd met and the graves they'd visited. Western travelers who'd visited the city until the end of the 18th century were also mostly interested in their own holy sites; when they touched upon issues such as the people of Jerusalem, their opinions were generally negative and appear to have been based on prejudices rather than on-the-spot observations.

This situation began to change with the West's discovery of Palestine, with travelers tending to offer detailed observations about Jerusalem in general. However, the impressions of those who came at the beginning of the 19th century, especially after the French Occupation led by Napoleon, were not very positive; they compared the city to a desolate ruin. Western travelers who came to Jerusalem from the mid-19th century onward, on the other hand, drew a relatively positive and vivid picture of the city as well as the people in general, as a result of the effect of the reforms and developments that took place, first under the rule of Mehmet Ali Pasha and then again under Ottoman rule. Although no clear distinction exists in the perceptions of Western travelers with respect to the countries they came from, travelers from Protestant countries and Russia can be said to generally have had a more positive approach than those from Catholic countries; even when they found the city to be too deserted and quiet, they could sense its "air of holiness." However, important exceptions certainly are found to this general observation, such as Lamartine, who lauded the Muslims' tolerance and the order the Ottoman administration had established in the Church of the Resurrection.

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Al-Omariya, al-Malikiyah, al-As'ardiyya, al-Farisiyya, al-Aminiyya, al-Basitiyyah and Dividdar Madrasas, from west to east, located on the northern cloisters of Masjid al-Aqsa (MT Archive),



The tomb of Shaddad ibn Aws, one of the Companions who came and settled in Jerusalem (IYV Archive)

SCHOLARLY LIFE, THE ULAMA, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN JERUSALEMİ

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Home to al-Aqsa Mosque with surroundings the Qur'an has declared blessed, Jerusalem [al-Quds] is the first qibla of Muslims and the place where the Prophet's [Prophet Muhammad] Isra and Mi'raj [Night Journey] took place. Muslims accept Jerusalem's sacredness, and it has received special respect and attention in almost every period of Islamic history. Jerusalem was first besieged by Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah in 16 AH (637 AD) during the conquests of the Rashidun Caliphate, the first of the four caliphs after the Prophet. The conquest of Jerusalem was completed with the arrival of Omar [Omar ibn al-Khattab] in 638 AD, and many of the Sahabi [Companions of the Prophet] came to the city after the conquest. After

Omar took over the city, he appointed Alqame ibn Haqim as governor of half of the Palestine region and Alqama ibn Mujazziz as governor of the other half, with Alqama ibn Mujazziz being ordered to reside in Jerusalem.¹ Some of the first Sahabi who came to the city, like Abu Dzarr al-Ghifari, stayed in Jerusalem for a time, while others settled in the city and stayed there. In addition to Wasila bin Asqa and Abu Rayhana from Ashab al-Suffa [the place next to Masjid an-Nabawi in Medina that had been built as a shelter for the poor Sahabi and gradually became an educational institution], Abd Allah ibn Amr ibn Kais, Uqba ibn Amir al-Juhani, Selama ibn Kaysar, and Fayruz al-Daylami were also some of the Sahabi who settled in Jerusalem.²

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¹ Izz ad-Din Abu al-Hassan Ibn al-Athir, *el-Kamil fi't-tarih*, ed. Ömer Abdüsselam Tedmüri (Lebanon: Darü'l-Kitabi'l-Arabi, 1997), 2: 330.

² Ebu Abdullah Muhammed b. Sa'd, *et-Tabakatü'l-kübra*, ed. İhsan Abbas (Beirut: Daru Sadir, 1968), 4: 231; 7: 402, 408, 424; Ebu Abdullah Ziyaeddin Muhammed b. Abdülvahid el-Makdisi, *Fezailü Beyilmakdis*, Ed. Muhammed Muti' el-Hafiz (Damascus: Darü'l-Fikr, 1985), 90-92; Ebü'l-Fazl Şihabeddin Ahmed b. Ali Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *el-Isabe fi't-temyizi's-sahabe*, ed. Adil Ahmed Abdülmevcud ve Ali Muhammed Muavvaz (Beirut: Darü'l-Kütübi'l-İlmiyye, 1995), 3: 114-115, 289-291; 4: 167.

In the following years, the children and grandchildren of some of the Sahabi and their followers settled in Jerusalem.³ The names of nearly forty Sahabi who visited or settled in Jerusalem are recorded in Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi's (d. 1522) *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wal-Khalil* [The Glorious History of Jerusalem and Hebron], the most important work devoted to the history of Jerusalem throughout the Islamic written tradition. Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Muadh ibn Jabal, Bilal ibn Rabah, İyad ibn Ghanm, Khalid ibn al-Walid, Abu Dharr al-Ghifari, Ubadah ibn al-Samit, Tamim al-Dari, Amr ibn al-As, Abdullah ibn Salam, Sa'id bin Zayd, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, Abu Hurairah, and Abdullah ibn al-Abbas were the most prominent of these Companions.⁴

After the conquest, Jerusalem noteworthy began to rapidly gain an Islamic identity, and scholarly activities played an important role in this process. During the caliphate of Omar,

when Damascus Amir Yazid ibn Abu Sufyan demanded teachers teach the people of Syria about the Qur'an and Islam, Omar sent Ubadah ibn al-Samit, Muadh ibn Jabal, and Abu Darda' al-Anşari to Syria. Before this, Muadh ibn Jabal had worked as a teacher and qadi in Jerusalem, and was succeeded by Ubadah ibn al-Samit after his death.⁵ Umm al-Darda, the wife of the Companion Abu Darda' al-Anşari, spent six months in Damascus and six months in Jerusalem each year while her husband was the Qadi of Damascus. Known for her fondness for worship and ascetic life, Umm al-Darda would preach in the scholarly assemblies she established, uttering beautifully wise words and sometimes writing them on tablets and giving them to her students.⁶ The fact that eminent figures such as Muadh ibn Jabal, Ubadah ibn al-Samit, and Umm al-Darda had come to Jerusalem and held scholarly assemblies there shows scholarly activity in the city to have started in the early days of Islam.

³ Ibn Sa'd, 3: 495, 503; 4: 401, 402; Makdisi, *Fezail*, 92.

⁴ Mücürüddin Ebü'l-Yümn Abdurrahman el-Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil bi-tarhi'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, ed. Adnan Yunus Abdülmecid Ebu Tebbane (Amman: Mektebetü Dendis, 1999), 1: 385-394.

⁵ Ebü'l-Kasım Ali b. el-Hasen ibn Asakir, *Tarihu medineti Dumaşk*, ed. Amr b. Garama el-Anri (Beirut: Darü'l-Fikr, 1995), 26: 194.

⁶ Aşşe Esra Şahyar, "Ümmü'd-Derda el-Vassabiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Accessed November 10, 2019).

Immediately after the conquest, Omar had a mosque built in Jerusalem.⁷ Meanwhile, Uthman [Uthman ibn Affan] donated the revenues of the Silvan gardens to the people of Jerusalem. This foundation is the first example of many rich foundations to be established for Jerusalem in later periods.⁸ The Dome of the Rock, one of the most important places for worship and visitation in Jerusalem, was built by the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan ibn al-Hakam, while al-Aqsa Mosque was likely built, if not by him, then by his son al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.⁹ The Temple Mount where these two buildings are located has been visited by many scholars over the centuries and has become the most important center of scholarly activity in the city.

The existence of an important scholarly circle in Jerusalem can be mentioned in the 2nd century AH because important alfaquis and scholars of the time such as Muqatil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767), Awza'i (d. 774), Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 778), Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 791), Waki ibn al-Jarrah (d. 197/812), and Abū Abdullah Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i (d. 820) visited and gave lectures in the city. In the same period, important figures in the history of Sufism such as Ibrahim ibn Adham (d. 778), Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya al-Qaysiyya (d. 801), Bishr ibn Hareth (d. 841), and Abū al-Ḥasan Sarī (al-Sirri) b. al-Mughallis al-Saqāṭī (d. 865) were also in Jerusalem.¹⁰ Jerusalem was accepted as an important center by both the political groups as well as the ulama during the Abbasid dynasty. Importantly, some of the Abbasid caliphs had visited Jerusalem and expressed interest in the construction of al-Aqsa Mosque in terms of showing the value they attributed to the city. In this context, Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur is known to have visited Jerusalem twice, once in 758 and again in 771; during these visits, he had the parts of al-Aqsa Mosque that had been damaged by earthquakes

repaired. Caliph Abdallah al-Mahdi Billah also visited the city in 163 (780) and had the Aqsa Mosque rebuilt. Meanwhile, Caliph al-Ma'mun had the Eastern and Northern gates of the Temple Mount built in 831, and the mother of Caliph al-Muqtadir-Billah had the four magnificent gates of the Dome of the Rock built.¹¹

In the middle of 10th century when the Abbasid dynasty dissolved and independent states began to emerge under a caliphate in different parts of the Islamic geography, Jerusalem first came under the rule of the Egyptian-centered Tulunids (935-969) and then the Ikhshidids (935-969). The fact that the Ikhshidid rulers were buried in Jerusalem when they died shows the special importance they attributed to the city.¹² Jerusalem remained under the rule of the Fatimids for about a century (969-1071) after the Ikhshidids. The Iranian traveler Nasir Khusraw (d. 1073) visited Jerusalem in this period and stated the city to be a prosperous place where 20,000 people lived, with beautiful bazaars and high-rise buildings. He also mentioned Jerusalem to have a large hospital that paid regular salaries to its doctors.¹³ His statements also indicate the presence of a scientific circle in Jerusalem operating in fields such as medicine, pharmaceuticals, and botany in addition to religious sciences. Born and raised in Jerusalem at this time, Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Tamimi (d. 990) gained fame with his knowledge and works on the medical, botanical, and pharmaceutical sciences. He is known to have come from a family of Jerusalemite doctors and his grandfather Said to have been an important doctor of his time. He took courses in medicine and pharmacy from scholars such as Abu Muhammad Hassan ibn Abu Nu'aym and Father Anba Zahriya bin Sawaba.¹⁴ Al-Maqdisi's (d. 1000) *Aḥsan al-Taqaṣim fi Ma'arfat al-Aqalim* [The Best Divisions for the Knowledge of the Provinces] is one of the resources giving information about Jerusalem during the Fatimid

dynasty and contains rich information about the virtues of the city, its climate, structures, trade products, and scholarly and cultural life. In the work, al-Maqdisi talks in detail about the sects of the people of Jerusalem and also mentions extremely valuable anecdotes such as a community belonging to the Karramiyya sect in the city, their khanqahs [Sufi gathering place], and scholarly assemblies. Al-Maqdisi stated the majority of the people of Jerusalem to be Shafi'i and also noted a scholarly circle to exist belonging to the Hanafis in al-Aqsa Mosque. Al-Maqdisi also conveyed information pointing to the multi-faceted vitality of scientific life in the city, such as the debate assemblies held among Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars in Jerusalem.¹⁵ Rumors exist about a *dar al-ilm* [house of knowledge] established in Jerusalem during the Fatimid dynasty. Information on this establishment is based on the records from sources about the history of the Salahiyye Madrasa Saladin Ayyubi had built in Jerusalem. Accordingly, this building was converted into a madrasa, was used as a church during the time of the Crusaders, and had been a *dar al-ilm* before the Crusaders' rule.¹⁶ Although no detailed information exists about the *dar al-ilm* built in Jerusalem, this institution may possibly have fulfilled functions such as elevating the Shiite-Isma'ili platform, as was the case with the *dar al-ilm* in Egypt.

After the Shiite Fatimid domination of Jerusalem was ended by the Seljuks, the city remained under their control for about a quarter of a century. Atsiz ibn Uwaq, one of the sovereigns of Sultan Malik-Shah who had entered Jerusalem in 1071, removed the Fatimid governor from the city and started to have the khutbah read on behalf of Abbasid Caliph al-Qa'im bi-amri 'l-lah and Sultan Alp Arslan.¹⁷ In these years

during which Jerusalem was under Seljuk rule, both the first madrasas in the city were built and important scholars came to the city from the Eastern and Western Islamic world such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (d. 1126), and Abu Bakr ibn al-Arabi (d. 1148). As these names have been distinguished not only during the period in which they lived but throughout the entire history of Islamic thought and the Islamic written tradition, the period in which they lived in the city constitutes one of the most important phases in Jerusalem's scholarly history.

In his autobiographical work *al-Munqidh min al-dalal* [The Rescuer from Error], al-Ghazali talks about his research on kalam, philosophy, Ismailism, and mysticism and how this search for truth had caused a depression that lasted for some time. In his own words, al-Ghazali¹⁸ had doubts about whether his pursuit of knowledge and education was for the sake of Allah or to attain rank; he eventually left his respected position in Baghdad, decided to go on a journey and retreat in seclusion. He spent about two years in Damascus from the end of 1095 to the beginning of 1097. During this journey, al-Ghazali also came to Jerusalem and lived there for a while. Ulaymi said that al-Ghazali resided in the an-Nasiriyya Madrasa, located to the east al-Aqsa Mosque.¹⁹ Al-Ghazali states in *al-Munqidh min al-dalal* that he entered the Dome of the Rock every day during his stay in Jerusalem, closing the door behind him and busying himself with cleansing his soul.²⁰ In addition, al-Ghazali also stated having written his work *al-Risala al-Qudsiyya* [The Jerusalem Epistle], a chapter from *Ihya'e Ulum-ed'Deen* [The Revival of the Religious Sciences] dealing with the issues of creed, for the people of Jerusalem while in Jerusalem.²¹

⁷ Ebu Nasr Mutaḥhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi, *el-Bed' ve'l-tarih* (Cairo: Mektebetü's-Sekafeti' d-Diniyye), 4:88; Ebi'l-Abbas Şihabeddin Ahmed b. Ali el-Kalkaşendi, *Subhu'l-a'ş'a fi sma'ati'l-inşa* (Cairo: Darü'l-Küttübi'l-Misriyye, 1914), 4: 101.

⁸ Abdülaziz ed-Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. C. Aseli (Essex: Scorpion Publishing, 1989), 108.

⁹ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period", 111; Casim Avci, "Kudüs", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Accessed February 10, 2019).

¹⁰ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 292-295; Avci, "Kudüs".

¹¹ Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period", 112-113; Avci, "Kudüs".

¹² Jamal al-Din Yusuf bin al-Amir Sayf al-Din Taghribirdi, *en-Nücumü'z-zahire fi müluki Mısır ve'l-Kahire*, (Egypt: Darü'l-Küttübi'l-Misriyye, 1933), 4: 10.

¹³ Nasr-ı Hüsvrev, *Sefername*, transl. Yahya el-Hasşab (Egypt: el-Hey'etü'l-Misriyyetü'l-Amme li'l-Kitab, 1993), 67-68.

¹⁴ Ebi'l-Hasen Cemaleddin Ali b. Yusuf İbnü'l-Kıfti, *İhbaru'l-ulama bi-ahbari'l-hukema*, ed. Julius Lippert (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 105-106, 169.

¹⁵ Abu Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisi, *Ahsenü't-tekasim fi ma'rifeti'l-ekalim* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), 167, 182.

¹⁶ Jamal al-Din Abu Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Wasil, Müferriciü'l-kürub fi ahbari Beni Eyyub, ed. Cemaleddin eş-Şeyyal (Cairo: Darü'l-Küttübi'l-Vesaiki'l-Kavmiyye, 1957), 2: 407. The most important Dar al-Ilm known during the Fatimid period is the one founded by al-Hâkim bi-Amr Allah in 1004 in Egypt. This institution became an important scholarly institution of Egypt with its rich library and the opportunities it offered to scholars. All expenses of the institution, which had a library with works from all branches of science, were covered by the caliph himself. This institution was known to have had a Sunni identity at the beginning; Sunni scholars also participated in the scholarly assemblies held here, and the caliph also participated in these assemblies from time to time. However, after the death of the caliph, this institution was particularly known for having become a center where dais [Inviters to Islam] were trained for the Ismaili invitation (Taqi al-Din Abu al-Abbas Aḥmad ibn Ali ibn Abd al-Qadir ibn Muḥammad al-Maqrizi, *el-Meva'iz ve'l-i'tibar fi zikri'l-Hutati ve'l-asar*, ed. Eymen Fuad Seyyid, (London: Müessesetü'l-Furkan li'l-Türası'l-Islami, 2013) 2: 502-508; Ibn Taghribirdi, *en-Nücumü'z-zahire*, 4: 222; Ismail E. Erünsal, "Darü'l-ilm", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Accessed November 1, 2019).

¹⁷ Avci, "Kudüs".

¹⁸ Abu Hamid Muḥammad el-Ghazali, *el-Münkız mine'd-dalal ve'l-müfşih bi'l-ahval*, ed. Abdürrezzak Tek (Bursa: Emin Publications, 2013), 63-66.

¹⁹ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 434, 436-437.

²⁰ Al-Ghazali, *el-Münkız*, 67.

²¹ Abu Hamid Muḥammad al-Ghazali, *Ihya'ü 'ulumü'd-din* (Jeddah: Darü'l-Minhac, 2011), 1: 380.

The Maliki *alfaqui* [expert on Islamic law] Abu Bakr al-Turtushi also visited Jerusalem, stayed there for a while, and probably even met al-Ghazali there.²² Born in the city of Turtush located in Northeastern Andalusia in 1059, al-Turtushi left Andalusia at the age of 25 to perform the hajj and acquire knowledge, traveling to various cities in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt and keeping busy with his teaching activities until his death. Although the exact date and duration of his stay in Jerusalem is indeterminable, al-Turtushi did stop by Jerusalem, which was part of the route many scholars who set out for pilgrimage during their lifetime took, and developed relations with the scholarly circles there.²³

Abu Bakr ibn al-Arabi, one of al-Turtushi's leading students, stayed in Jerusalem for three years and developed close relations with the scholarly circles there. Ibn al-Arabi was born in 1076 in Seville and went on a nearly decade-long journey in 1092 with his father, Abu Muhammand ibn al-Arabi, and his family to perform the hajj and acquire knowledge. Abu Bakr ibn al-Arabi provided extensive information about the scholarly circles he'd visited and scholars he'd met in his travel book *Tartib al-Rohla li al-Tarhib fi al-Millah* and in his book *Qanun al-ta'wil*. After studying science in some cities in the Maghrib, Ibn al-Arabi first went to Egypt and then to Jerusalem. While Ibn al-Arabi talked about not being able to find what he was looking for in the knowledge of Egypt and then to have continued to travel to Jerusalem with his father for al-Hajj, he spoke highly of the elevated qualifications of the scholars and their councils in Jerusalem. Arabi was very impressed by the scientific life in Jerusalem and decided to stay there while sending his father to the holy land for hajj and got involved in his own education for three years.²⁴

During his stay in Jerusalem, Arabi went to the Shafii and Hanafi madrasas and followed the debate assemblies there. He also debated with scholars from the Karramiyya, Mu'tazila, and Tash-

bih (anthropomorphic) sects, as well as with Jewish and Christian scholars.²⁵ He stated being particularly engaged in the sciences of kalam, util-i fiqh and falsification while in Jerusalem and reading works on these disciplines.²⁶ When the Hanafi scholars from Khorasan (e.g., Abu Sahl Zawzani, Radi al-din al-Saghani, Abu Zayd al-Zanjani) came to Jerusalem to visit, Ibn al-Arabi joined their lecture circles and stated being very impressed by their scholarly assemblies.²⁷ He is understood to have been greatly influenced by the scholarly environment in the city and the time he spent there played an important role in his education, as he frequently referred to the scientific debates in Jerusalem and the views of the scholars he'd met there.²⁸ According to information Ibn al-Arabi conveyed, he revealed this period to have had a rich scholarly circle in Jerusalem at al-Aqsa Mosque and Shafii and Hanafi madrasas, with scholarly debates being held between members of different sects and religions, and scholars from various parts of the Islamic world giving lectures. As seen in the example of Ibn al-Arabi, Jerusalem was a city visited by pilgrims and scholars from Andalusia and Maghreb, and these scholars wanted to stay there for a while to study science. Andalusian scholar Abu Ja'far al-Ghafiqi, one of Ibn al-Arabi's contemporaries and as famous as Ibn al-Unsuri, went on a pilgrimage after receiving his first education in Andalusia and received knowledge from various scholars in Jerusalem where he'd stopped by.²⁹ Andalusian and Moorish scholars maintained this orientation in the following centuries and continued to come to Jerusalem during their pilgrimages to both visit and acquire knowledge. One of the important scholars in Jerusalem in the 11th century on the eve of the Crusader invasion was the Hanbali *alfaqui* Abu al-Faraj al-Shirazi (d. 1094). Shirazi studied for many years under al-Qadi Abu Ya'la (d. 1066), one of the important names of Hanbali fiqh, in Baghdad before heading to the Damascus region and living in Jerusalem for a while.

Shirazi is said to have had a significant impact on the increase in the number of members of the Hanbali sect in Jerusalem and Damascus.³⁰ Shirazi was an effective preacher and ascetic, spread the Hanbali sect in and around Jerusalem, and trained many students under him in this region.³¹

Two madrasas, one for Shafiis and the other for Hanafis, are known to have operated in Jerusalem during the Seljuk rule, and these are the first madrasas to be identified in the history of Jerusalem. Nasr al-Maqdisi (d. 1096) was a professor in the Nasiriyya Madrasa located to the east of al-Aqsa Mosque and is understood to have been allocated to Shafiis, who thus attributed the name of the madrasa to him. Nasr al-Maqdisi spent most of his life and education in Jerusalem working as a scholar there and was one of the leading Shafii *alfaqui* of his time. Some scholars even compared his place within the sect to that of Imam al-Haramayn Dhia' al-Din al-Juwayni (d. 1085) and Abu Is'haq al-Shirazi (d. 1083), some even stating his method to be superior.³² An-Nasiriyya Madrasa was also known as Ghazaliyya in relation to al-Ghazali as he'd resided in this madrasa while in Jerusalem.³³ Another madrasa allocated to Hanafis in Jerusalem during this period was Abu Uqba Madrasa. Abu Bakr Ibn al-Arabi frequently talked about the scholarly assemblies he attended in this madrasa while in Jerusalem.³⁴

After about a quarter of a century of Seljuk rule, Fatimid vizier al-Afdal bin Badr al-Jamali (d. 1121) captured Jerusalem in 1098 and returned to Cairo while appointing a governor in Jerusalem. However, the Crusades against

the Islamic world that started at the same time constitute a turning point in the history of Jerusalem. The Crusaders took Antakya in 1098 and proceeded toward the Palestinian coast a year after July 15 1099 when the Fatimids invaded Jerusalem and established a rule over the city that would last around 90 years.³⁵ With the start of the Crusades against the Islamic world, many scholars from the regions occupied by the Crusaders during the 12th century were seen having to migrate to other cities. In this process, many of the scholars who'd survived the massacre in occupied cities, especially in Jerusalem, traveled to different parts of the Islamic world, going to the Abbasid caliph and the Seljuk sultan in Baghdad in particular.³⁶ After the collapse of the Great Seljuk Empire, the Zengid and Ayyubid geography emerged as the most suitable regions for the ulama to settle in with the opportunities they had. Many of the scholars who migrated to the cities where Zengids and Ayyubids had ruled were protected by the kings or sovereigns and obtained various positions.³⁷ Aware of the important role the ulama play in social life and the fact that their biggest supporters would be the ulama in the struggle against the Crusaders, the Ayyubid rulers took many of them under their protection.

In Jerusalem, which had been devastated by the Crusader occupation, the Crusaders used the places Muslims considered sacred, especially Masjid al-Aqsa, and the scholarly activities in many places came to an end. However, some scholars are known to have remained in the city. As a matter of fact, Sem'ani (d. 562/1166), one of the leading hadith scholars of the 12th century,

²² *Shams ad-Din al-Dhahabi, Siyerü a'lami'n-nübelâ, ed. Şuayb el-Arnâvut (Beirut: Müessesetü'r-Risale, 1985), 19: 491; Taqi al-Din Abu al-Abbâs AHmad ibn Ali ibn Abd al-Qadir ibn MuHAMMAD al-Maqrizi, el-Mukaff'e'l-kebir, ed. Muhammed el-Ya' lavi (Beirut: Darü'l-Garbi'l-Islami, 2006) 7: 221.*

²³ *Uleymi, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 1: 439.*

²⁴ *Abu Abd Allah MuHAMMAD ibn Ali ibn MuHAMMAD ibn al-Arabi, Kanunu'te'vil, ed. Muhammed es-Süleymani (Jeddah: Darü'l-Kible li's-Sekafeti'l-Islamiyye) 432-433; same author, "Muhtasarü Tertibi'r-rihle li't-tergib fi'l-mille", Ma'a'l-Kadi Ebi Bekir b. el-Arabi, ed. Said A'rab (Beirut: Darü'l-Garbi'l-Islami, 1987), 202-203.*

²⁵ *Ibn al-Arabi, Kanunu'te'vil, 436-437; same author, "Muhtasarü Tertibi'r-rihle", 205-207.*

²⁶ *Ibid, 438; same author, "Muhtasarü Tertibi'r-rihle", 208.*

²⁷ *Ibid, 438-439; same author, "Muhtasarü Tertibi'r-rihle", 208-209.*

²⁸ *Ahmet Baltacı, "İbnü'l-Arabi, Ebu Bekir", Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (Accessed 11/5/2019).*

²⁹ *Ibn Asakir, Tarih, 3: 16-17.*

³⁰ *Ebü'l-Hüseyn Muhammed, Muhammed İbn Ebi Ya'la, Tabakatü'l-Hanabile, ed. Muhammed Hamidel-Fiki (Beirut: Darü'l-Marife), 2: 248-249; Uleymi, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 1: 433.*

³¹ *Ebü'l-Yünn Mücirüddin Abdurrahmanel-Uleymi, el-Menhecü'l-ahmed fi teracimi ashabi'l-İmam Ahmed, ed. Muhyiddin Necib (Beirut: Daru Sadr, 1997), 3:7-9.*

³² *Ibn Asakir, Tarih, 62: 17-18; al-Dhahabi, Siyerü a'lami'n-nübelâ, 19: 136-139; Ebu Nasr Taceddin Abdülvehhab b. Ali es-Sübbki, Tabakatü's-Şafiiyyeti'l-kübra, ed. Mahmud Muhammed et-Tanahi ve Abdülfezzah Muhammed el-Hulv (Cairo: Matbaatu İsa el-Babi el-Halebi, 1967), 5: 351-353.*

³³ *Uleymi, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 1: 434, 436-437; 2: 68, 76.*

³⁴ *Ibn al-Arabi, "Muhtasarü Tertibi'r-rihle", 211. Mustafa A. Hiyari, "Crusader Jerusalem 1099-1187 AD", Jerusalem in History, ed. K.C. Aseli (Essex: Scorpion Publishing, 1989), 136-137.*

³⁵ *Mustafa A Hiyari, "Crusader Jerusalem 1099-1187 AD", Jerusalem in History, ed. K. C. Aseli (Essex: Scorpion Publishing, 1989), 136-137.*

³⁶ *When the Crusaders entered Jerusalem, they carried out a great massacre against Muslims and killed some of the ulama. For example, Shafi'i alfaqui Abu al-Qasim (d. 492/1099), who also wrote a book about the history and virtues of Jerusalem, was murdered by the Crusaders during the invasion (Sübbki, Tabkatü's-Şafiiyye, 5: 332-333; Uleymi, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 1: 435-436). Likewise, Shafi'i alfaqui Abu al-Qasim Abd al-Jabbar Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Razi (d. 492/1099), who came to Jerusalem after studying knowledge in Transoxiana and Iraq, was killed by the Crusaders while he was in a secluded state after entering the path of Sufism (Uleymi, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 1: 436).*

³⁷ *Undoubtedly, one of the most striking of those who had to migrate from the region due to the Crusader occupation in this period is the Hanbali Qudama family. While the Qudama family had resided in Jammal near Jerusalem, they had to migrate to Damascus in 551 due to the Crusaders' occupation of the region and their bad behavior toward the local people. The famous alfaqui Muvaffaq ad-Din b. Qudama (d. 620/1223) was 10 years old when he came to Damascus (Zeynüddin Abdurrahman b. Şihabeddin Ahmed İbn Receb, Kitabü'z-zeyl ala tabakati'l-Hanabile, ed. Abdurrahman b. Süleymanel-Useymin (Riyad: Mektebetü'l-Ubeykan, 2005), 2: 133; Ebü's-Safa Salahuiddin Halil b. İzziddin Aybeg b. Abdillah es-Safedi, el-Va'fi bi'l-vefeyat (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), 17: 37; Ferhat Koca, "İbn Kudame, Muvaffakuddin", Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (Accessed October 1, 2019).*

visited Jerusalem during the Crusader invasion and talked about the scholars whom he met there and from whom he received knowledge in *al-Ansab*, his most famous work to survive until the present day.³⁸

During the years under Crusader rule, Jerusalem was largely removed from its Islamic identity. For this reason, when Saladin reconquered Jerusalem in 1187, he made some arrangements both to make the city a center of attraction from the scholarly point of view and to establish a healthy functioning social life. After the Muslims took the city back, almost all Roman Catholic Christians left the city. However, the Orthodox and Assyrian Christians remained in Jerusalem in return for paying the *jizya* [a *per capita* tax levied on non-Muslim citizens]. Saladin encouraged them to stay in the city and gave the places holy to Christians that had previously been under the control of Catholics to Orthodox control. In addition, although some people around Saladin suggested that the Kamame Church be completely destroyed, he said that such a move would be against Islamic law and that the destruction of the church would not prevent Christians from coming to Jerusalem. He also rejected these suggestions, saying that it would not be right for him to do what Omar had not when he conquered Jerusalem.³⁹

Saladin made major changes in Jerusalem to reintroduce an Islamic identity to the city. Immediately after the conquest, the cross that had been first placed on the Dome of the Rock during the Crusader period was taken down, and all the signs of Christianity there were destroyed. In addition, Masjid al-Aqsa, having been under the control of the Knights Templar, was purified from all traces of their occupation. Both buildings were thoroughly cleansed

and scented. Saladin had the minbar for Masjid al-Aqsa designed by Nur ad-Din, brought from Aleppo, and installed.⁴⁰

After the conquest, Saladin made many new arrangements in Jerusalem. In particular, the madrasa and khangah that he established with the aim of reviving the religious life in the city can be counted among the most important indicators of this. Saladin wanted Jerusalem to be the center for Sufis, who in addition to the ulama had an important role in the functioning of the city's social and religious life. For this reason, he founded the Khangah al-Salahiyyah in 585⁴¹ with the aim of making the city an important center for Sufis by having Hussam al-Din al-Jarrahi (d. 598), who was also in one of Saladin's leading orders, constructing a hermitage for them.⁴² Saladin's steps toward reviving scholarly life in Jerusalem continued in the following period. When he came back to Jerusalem after the threat of the Third Crusade had disappeared, he made some administrative and financial arrangements in the city. Meanwhile, he also added some shops and orchards to the madrasa waqfs there, increasing their revenues.⁴³

Later Ayyubid kings also enthusiastically participated in Saladin's efforts to give Jerusalem an Islamic identity. For example, Selahaddin's son al-Afdal Ali had a madrasa built for the Malikis in 1194, and his brother al-Adil I had fountains and drinking water kiosks built on Haram al-Sharif.

Al-Mu'azzam Isa, one of the Damascus ruler al-Adil I's sons, emerged as the Ayyubid ruler who gave the most importance to Jerusalem after Saladin. Al-Mu'azzam had some parts of Masjid al-Aqsa rebuilt as well as some repairs to the Haram al-Sharif area. Al-Muazzam also significantly contributed to the

city's scientific development by having two madrasas built, one for the Hanafis and the other for teaching Arabic.⁴⁴

The madrasas the Ayyubids established in the city played an important role in Jerusalem regaining an Islamic identity. Meanwhile, scholarly life in the city was revived by the established madrasas; the ulama would also provide other benefits to the Ayyubid rulers. Protecting the ulama as the most important source of legitimacy of Islamic society was an important tool for the Ayyubid rulers and ulama in supporting each other against their external rivals, in their internal struggles, and in the alternative local political struggles. As a matter of fact, the ulama was the most important element that determined, implemented, and supervised the rules necessary for the healthy functioning of Muslim society in every field. Therefore, from political groups' points of view, the role the ulama played was extremely important for the proper functioning of social life. In addition, the most important assistants to the ulama Ayyubid rulers in making Islamic society a part of the struggle, especially against the Crusaders, were undoubtedly the scholars. The most important motivation of the struggle against the Crusaders was that the leading preachers of the period encouraged Muslims to jihad, especially in the sermons they gave in mosques and in the works they wrote. For all these reasons, the Ayyubids attached great importance to systematically protecting the ulama by establishing many madrasas, especially in Jerusalem.

The first madrasa established in Jerusalem during the Ayyubids period was the an-Nasiriyya Salahiyya, or more famously the Madrasa al-Salahiyya. It was founded by Salahaddin Eyyubi and named after him. As understood from the sources of the period, the idea of establishing a madrasa was among the innovations that Saladin had planned to carry out after the conquest of Jeru-

salem. However, the start of the Third Crusade shortly after the conquest delayed the madrasa's establishment. As a matter of fact, the madrasa's founding date is mentioned as 1192 AD in the inscription, which shows the madrasa had become operational after the Third Crusade. This date was when Saladin assigned the deputy of Jerusalem Bayt al-Mal, Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Maqdisi, to sell some of the properties allocated to Jerusalem after the conquest. Saladin Ayyubi bought a church from among these properties, one which he had previously reserved for establishing a madrasa, with his own wealth. He dedicated it as a madrasa for Shafi'i *alfaqis* [theologians], and allocated large salaries to the scholars and students who stayed there.⁴⁵

The church Saladin had dedicated to become a madrasa was believed to contain the tomb of Mary [Hazrat Maryam] and was considered holy by Christians.⁴⁶ During the Fatimid reign of Jerusalem, leading scholars gave lectures in this madrasa, which had been transformed into a *dar al-ilm* [house of knowledge]. When the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, they turned it back into a church. Saladin then returned this place into a madrasa as a scholarly center.⁴⁷

Saladin wanted to bring 'Isa Diya al-Din al-Hakkari (d. 1189), one of the leading *alfaqis* of the period, as Saladin trusted him very much on the teachings of the madrasa and had spent many years with him.⁴⁸ However, when the madrasa's establishment was delayed due to the Third Crusade during which time 'Isa Diya al-Din al-Hakkari died, Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad (d. 1234) was brought in his place.⁴⁹ Salahiyya was the most prestigious madrasa in Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period.

The fact that the leading scholars of the period undertook the duty of professorship in the madrasa confirms this situation. After Ibn Shaddad, leading scholars such as Majd al-Din ibn

³⁸ Ebu Sa'd Abdülkerim b. Muhammed es-Sem'ani, *el-Ensab*, ed. Şerefeddin Ahmed (Haydarabad: Dairetü'l-Maarifi'l-Osmaniyye, 1981), 12: 389-390; Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 440-441.

³⁹ The church, which was closed shortly after the conquest, was opened for Christian pilgrimage to those able to pay a certain fee (Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 485; Steven Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, transl. Fikret İlyan, Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Publications, 2008, 2: 392; Şakir Mustafa, *Salahuddin, Damascus: Daru'l-Kalem*, 268). Runciman, *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, 2: 392; Mustafa, *Salahuddin*, 268.

⁴⁰ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 99. It is also stated that the khangah in question was a house that belonged to the patriarch of Jerusalem during the period when Jerusalem was in the hands of the Crusaders, and that Saladin dedicated this house to the Sufis after the conquest (See Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 485; İl, 88; Abdülcelil Hasen Abdülmehtdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdisi fi'l-asreyni'l-Eyyubi ve'l-memluki devruha fi'l-hareketi'l-fikriyye* (Amman: Mektebetü'l-Aksa, 1981, 181).

⁴¹ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 101-102.

⁴² Ebu'l-Kasım Şehabeddin Abdurrahman Ebu Şame el-Makdisi, *Kitabü'r-Ravzateyn fi ahbari'd devleteyn en-Nuriyye ve's-Salahiyye*, ed. İbrahim Şemseddin (Beirut: Daru'l-Kütübi'l-İlmiyye, 2002), 4: 194; Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürub*, 2: 407.

⁴⁴ Carole Hillenbrand, *Müslümanların Gözünden Haçlı Seferleri*, transl. Nurettin Elhüseyni, (Istanbul: Alfa Printing & Distribution, 2015), 226-227.

⁴⁵ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürub*, 2: 407; Abdülmehtdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 182-183.

⁴⁶ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 1: 485.

⁴⁷ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürub*, 2: 407.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 169; Ebu Şame, *Kitabü'r-Ravzateyn*, 4: 65; Ebü'l-Abbas Şemseddin Ahmedb. Muhammed Ibn Khallikan, *Vefeyatü'l-a'yan veenbauebnai'z-zaman*, ed. İhsan Abbas (Beirut: Daru Sadr, 1978), 3: 497.

⁴⁹ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürub*, 2: 407. Ibn Shaddad met Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem. Saladin invited Ibn Shaddad, whose knowledge he appreciated, to Damascus, gave him blessings, and included him among the names closest to him. After the establishment of Ibn Shaddad Salahiyya, whom Saladin Ayyubi had brought to Jerusalem, he also assumed the professorship of the madrasa. Ibn Shaddad continued his duties in Jerusalem during the period of Saladin. He was sent as a messenger to the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah in order to obtain support from Saladin in the face of the Crusader threat. Ibn Shaddad was one of Saladin's greatest supporters in his lifetime and went to Aleppo after Saladin's death to Saladin's son al-Zahir Ghazi, where he acquired important positions, primarily Sheikh al-Islam (Ibn Khallikan, *Vefeyatü'l-a'yan*, 7: 84-100).

Jahbal (d. 1200), Fakr al-Din Ibn Asakir (d. 1223), Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1245), and Izz al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Salam (d. 1262) were among the names who undertook teaching in the madrasa.⁵⁰ Al-Salahiyya continued to maintain its importance during the Mamluk period. Even madrasa professorship became the subject of struggle and competition between the ulama from time to time.⁵¹ As in all the leading Mamluk cities, Jerusalem had a *Qadi al-Qudat* [Chief Justice of the Highest Courts] from each of the four Sunni *fiqh* schools, and the Shafi'i Qadi al-Qudat was also the *mudarris* [teacher] at Salahiyya. In addition, the madrasa's *mudarris* being the orator at Masjid al-Aqsa had become a tradition.⁵²

After Salahiyya, other madrasas were established in Jerusalem. Another remarkable one being the Madrasa al-Afdaliyya. Al-Malik al-Afdal ibn Salah ad-Din (d. 1225), son of Salahaddin Eyyubi who'd founded the madrasa, dedicated it to the Maliki *alfaqis* who came to Jerusalem and resided there in 1193.⁵³ In this respect, Afdaliyya can be considered proof of the vitality of scholarly relations between Jerusalem and geographies where the Maliki sect was strong, such as the Maghrib region and Andalusia as well as proof of the falseness of the claims that the Ayyubids neglected other sects by protecting Shafi'ism in particular.⁵⁴

A good example from this period of the support from political and military groups toward scientific activities and establishing foundations is Madrasa al-Maymuniyya. Sources have little information about this madrasa; it was donated by Amir Faris ad-Din Abi Said Maymun al-Qasri in 1197 for the followers of the Shafi'i sect.⁵⁵ Another madrasa, al-Badiriyya, was donated in 1213 for the followers of the Shafi'i sect by Badr al-Din Muhammad bin Abi al-Qasim bin Muhammad bin Abdallah

al-Hakkari (d. 1217), one of the leading sovereigns of al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa.⁵⁶ Amir Badr ad-Din, who gave great importance to science and scholars, assigned the madrasa's administration to himself and to his children after him, as was often seen in this period.⁵⁷

Nahviyya, another madrasa established in this period in Jerusalem, is remarkable in that it shows different madrasa typologies to have existed that focused not only on *fiqh* but also other disciplines during the Ayyubid dynasty. The Ayyubids' Sovereign of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, had dedicated the madrasa to the education and teaching of Arabic. In addition to Damascus, which was al-Malik al-Muazzam administrative center, many foundations were also established in Jerusalem. Giving great support to scholars, al-Malik al-Muazzam himself was known both as an *al-faqi* and an important linguist and is considered one of the leading names of his period, especially in grammar.⁵⁸

Sibawayh's *al-Kitab*, Abu Ali al-Farisi's *al-lzâh*, Ibn al-Sikkit's *Islah al-Man-tiq*, and Hariri's *Mulhat al-l'rab* were among the most widely read books in the madrasa, whose name suggests it to have been established for providing syntax lessons. However, other disciplines related to the Arabic language such as lexicography, prosody, rhetoric, and literature were also known to have been taught in the madrasa.⁵⁹

Al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa stood out as the only Hanafi king among the Ayyubid family, almost all of whom were followers of the Shafi'i sect, and established the Nahviyya Madrasa for Hanafi scholars and students. A *mudarris* was at the head of the madrasa, and an imam was appointed by the waqf to lead the five daily prayers. The endowment charter of the madrasa stipulated that the madrasa should have 25 students learning *nahw* [syntax] and a

nahw sheikh as a teacher and that all of these people should be Hanafi.⁶⁰

The sources have no information about who the first *mudarris* of Nahviyya was. However, the fact that prominent figures such as Taqi ad-Din Abu Bakr ibn Isa ibn al-Rassas al-Ansari al-Maqdisi al-Hanafi (d. 1429), who had undertaken the sheikh al-Islam of Jerusalem and Gaza during the Mamluk period, served as the *mudarris* in the madrasa made it an important place in scholarly circles.⁶¹ Muazzamiyya, another madrasa founded by the Damascus sovereign al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, was among the most important madrasas of Jerusalem during the Ayyubid Caliphate. The madrasa opened in 1209 and had been established for the followers of the Hanafi sect. For this reason, the madrasa was also known as Madrasa al-Hanafiyya. Al-Muazzam allocated the madrasa with large waqfs, including those in many villages,⁶² and stipulated in the charter that its administration should remain in the hands of his descendants. Muazzamiyya was one of the most prestigious madrasas in Jerusalem and continued to operate as a madrasa where prominent Hanafi scholars taught during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Caliphates.⁶³

A lecture circle was also found among the madrasas in Jerusalem. The madrasa known famously as an-Nasiriyya and Ghazaliyya was actually a portion of Masjid al-Aqsa dedicated to teaching. The madrasa was previously known as an-Nasiriyyah in relation to Shafi'i *alfaqis* Nasr al-Maqdisi (d. 1097), who was also its first *mudarris*, and later as Ghazaliyya Madrasa al-Ghazaliyya in relation to Imam Ghazali.⁶⁴ Ghazali wrote the treatise titled *er-Risaletül-kudsiyye-i kavaidi'l-akaid* here for the people of Bayt al-Maqdis and later included this treatise in the *Ihya*.⁶⁵ Al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, who also founded the Nahviyya and Muazzamiyya madrasas, revived an-

Nasiriyya as its scientific activity had ended with the Crusader occupation of Jerusalem. The madrasa, whose foundation was revived in 1213, was dedicated as a recitation and *nahw* madrasa, with al-Muazzam donating many books on the Arabic language to it.⁶⁶ Al-Muazzam also appointed Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrezuri, who was the *mudarris* of Salahiyya in Jerusalem, as the professor of the madrasa. Ibn al-Salah continued being a professor there until he went to Damascus due to the Crusader threat in 1218.⁶⁷ The madrasa foundation made recitation and *nahw* lessons compulsory, and they were definitely taught.⁶⁸ Ibn al-Salah, who is known to have taught hadith, *fiqh*, and other lessons in Salahiyya where he was a *mudarris*, may also have given these lessons in addition to his *nahw* classes at an-Nasiriyya.

Sources also refer to the madrasa as the Madrasa al-lzziyya, and it may have actually been a class circle. The endowment charter of the madrasa, which had been dedicated by the master of sovereign al-Muazzam Isa, Izz ad-Din Aibak al-Muazzami (d. 647/1249), stipulated that, if the foundation is in the hands of the Muslims, the madrasa must operate in Jerusalem, and if the foundation is not in the hands of Jerusalemite Muslims, it must operate in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, strengthens the likelihood that this madrasa had actually been a *zawiyah* [Sufi building] in Masjid al-Aqsa or another mosque rather than a stand-alone building.⁶⁹

Finally, two more madrasas the Ayyubids founded in Jerusalem can be mentioned. One is the Amcediyya, which was dedicated to the followers of the Hanafi sect by al-Malik Amced Hassan, the half-brother of al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, and the other is the Avhadiyya Madrasa established during the Mamluk Caliphate. Very little information exists about Amcediyya in the sources. What is known is largely

⁵⁰ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 187.

⁵¹ During the time of Sayf ad-Din Jaqmaq, when the two leading *alfaqis* Jamal al-Din ibn Cemaa and Siraj al-Din Omar ibn Musa al-Hinsi struggled to obtain the sheikhship of the madrasa, the decision was made to organize a debate between these two leading scholars; Ibn Cemaa prevailed over Hinsi in the debate and was appointed as the Salahiyya *mudarris* (Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 196-197).

⁵² Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 197-198.

⁵³ The endowment charter of the madrasa clearly states the madrasa to be dedicated to men and women scholars and students who came to Jerusalem to acquire knowledge from the Maghrib region (Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 97; Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 336).

⁵⁴ For the aforementioned claim and the criticism of this claim, see Yılmaz, "Zengi ve Eyyubi Dimaşk'ında Ulama ve Medrese (Istanbul: Klasik Publications, 2017), 248-253.

⁵⁵ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 100; Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 340.

⁵⁶ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 359.

⁵⁷ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 359.

⁵⁸ For detailed information about the scholarly life of al-Malik al-Muazzam, see Yılmaz, "Dimaşk Eyyubi Meliki el-Melikü'l-Muazzam'ın İlmî Hayatı", *Eyyubiler: Yönetim, Diplomasi, Kültürel Hayat*, ed. Önder Kaya (Istanbul: Küre Publications, 2012), 329-347.

⁵⁹ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 351.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 352.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 353.

⁶² Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 89-90.

⁶³ For some of the leading scholars who worked as *mudarris* in the madrasa in these periods, see Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 365-390.

⁶⁴ Hatim Mahamid, "Mosques as Higher Educational Institutions in Mamluk Syria", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 20/2, (May 2009), 201.

⁶⁵ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 356-357.

⁶⁶ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 76; Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 357.

⁶⁷ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kürub*, 4: 32; Ebü'l-Muzaffer Şemseddin Yusuf b. Kızıoğlu Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'atü'z-zaman fi tarihi'l-a'yan*, Hayda rabad 1951, 8/2: 757.

⁶⁸ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi beyti'l-makdis*, 358.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 396.

limited to its waqf being buried in the madrasa.⁷⁰ Avhadiyya was founded in 1298 and is remarkable in that it shows that people from the Ayyubid family had continued to support scientific activities during the Mamluk dynasty.⁷¹

Although Jerusalem witnessed many developments and innovations in terms of the development of scientific life, especially the establishment of scientific institutions, neither Saladin Ayyubi nor any of the Ayyubid rulers who came after him adopted it as a political or military center. The Ayyubid kings in Damascus had traditionally chosen Damascus, which was considered the center of the region, and the sovereigns in Egypt had chosen Cairo as their center of political administration. Despite its religious importance and prestige, Jerusalem could not get ahead of Damascus, Cairo, or even coastal cities.

In addition, although many steps were taken during the Saladin Ayyubi period for Jerusalem to regain its Islamic identity, both the city and its scholarly life experienced periods when they were adversely affected by the ongoing struggles with the Crusaders and internal conflicts within the Ayyubi family. Jerusalem's scientific life regained its vitality during the Saladin era and experienced its first great shock in 1219. When the possibility of the Crusaders heading towards Jerusalem and the threats against the city gained strength during the Fifth Crusade that had occurred in this year, the ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, feared the city would fall into the hands of the Crusaders and ordered the demolition of a significant part of the city walls.⁷² This caused panic in scholarly circles as well as in the public. Sources from the period mention that, after al-Muazzam's decision, the Muslims in the city started to pray by going to the holy places during the great turmoil that arose; many people left the city and migrated to

other cities near Damascus, especially in Damascus Province,⁷³ among those being prominent scholars of the time such as Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrazuri.⁷⁴

The second development to negatively affect Jerusalem's scholarly life took place about 10 years after the Fifth Crusade. In this period, the ongoing struggles between the Ayyubid sovereigns reached such dimensions that they threatened Muslim rule in Jerusalem. In the struggle between Egypt and Damascus, the city was captured by Saladin Ayyubi as a result of great struggles. After the Egyptian sovereign asked for help from the Crusaders against his rival and offered to give Jerusalem to them in return for this help, this time the city was handed over to the Crusaders without a fight.⁷⁵ The surrender of Jerusalem by the Egyptian sovereign to the Crusaders caused outrage among Muslims. Many names from both the public and the ulama reacted to the situation. As a matter of fact, Ibn al-Jawzi, one of the leading scholars and preachers of the period, gave a sermon at the Damascus Umayyad Mosque to tell the public about the disaster that had befallen Jerusalem at the request of the Damascus sovereign, who wanted to turn the developments into a propaganda material against his rival Egyptian sovereign.⁷⁶

The third earthquake that Jerusalem experienced under Ayyubid rule occurred after the struggle between the sovereigns. In 1244, as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub wanted to use the numerous Khwarizm troops who'd come to Damascus after being defeated by the Mongols against his rival Ayyubid sovereign. He attempted a move that would have had consequences for Jerusalem. The Khwarizm troops who came to the Palestine region at as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub's invitation entered Jerusalem, plundering the city and many of its places.⁷⁷

As a result, although the Ayyubids accepted Jerusalem as a religious center and appreciated its value, as seen more clearly in the post-Saladin period, they never considered the city to be a political or military priority. This understanding is clearly seen in their ambivalent policies that emerged in their struggle both with the Crusaders and with each other. Jerusalem was important for the Ayyubids as a religious symbol rather than a political or strategic center. For this reason, they preferred to take important steps toward consolidating the religious and scholarly identity of the city and carried out activities that would make the city attractive for scholars. The Mongols' attacks on Damascus in 1260 brought an end to the Ayyubid rule in the region, meanwhile bringing the Mamluks who'd been ruling in Egypt for about ten years to carry their sovereignty to the Damascus region.

By winning the Battle of Ain Jalut, the Mamluks not only stopped the Mongols' advance toward the west but also managed to take control of Damascus Province and Jerusalem, which had been the subject of their struggle with the Ayyubids. Within a few years, they put an end to the Crusader threat to the Palestinian coast and ultimately liberated Jerusalem from the Crusader threat.⁷⁸ Being aware of the religious and symbolic importance of Jerusalem, the Mamluks continued the practices of the Ayyubids in estab-

lishing foundations, building madrasas, and providing opportunities to the scholars in Jerusalem. During this period, the number of scholarly institutions built in Jerusalem and the officials offered to the ulama gradually increased. In addition to the madrasas and foundations established by the Mamluk sultans themselves, the madrasas established by the regents of Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem and other amirs are the most important indicators of the support the Mamluk administrators provided to scientific activities in the city. Over 30 madrasas were established in Jerusalem during the Mamluk Caliphate, with the total number of madrasas in the city approaching 50 alongside the madrasas from previous periods. The majority of the madrasas and other scientific institutions in Jerusalem were established in the vicinity of Masjid al-Aqsa, with the scientific center of the city being this region. In addition to the lessons held in madrasas, many lessons were dedicated to al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock during the Mamluk period, and extensive opportunities were offered to the ulama through these foundations.

One of the most remarkable madrasas established in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period is Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya built by the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qaytbay (1468-1496) within Haram al-Sharif. Sources from the period also refer to al-Ashrafiyya



Exterior of Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (MT Archive)

⁷⁰ Ibid, 394.

⁷¹ The founder of the madrasah, al-Malik al-Avhad Najm ad-Din Yousuf, is the grandson of al-Malik an-Nasir Dawud, the son of the Ayyubids' Damascus ruler al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa (Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 85).

⁷² Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kütüb*, 4: 32; Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'atü'z-zaman*, 8/2: 757.

⁷³ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kütüb*, 4:32; Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'atü'z-zaman*, 8/2:757; Hillenbrand, *Müslümanların Gözünden Haçlı Seferleri*, 229-230.

⁷⁴ Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'atü'z-zaman*, 8/1: 289 In Damascus, where Ibn al-Salah immigrated, he first became the professor and minister of the Shamiyya Cavvaniyya and the newly built Ravahiyya Madrasa, and after al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa ruled Damascus, he became the professor of the Ashrafiyya Dar al-Hadith which he'd built. (Ibn Khallikan, *Vefeyatü'l-a'yan*, 3:244; Ebü'l-Mefahir Muhyiddin Abdülkadir b. Muhammed b. Ömered-Dimaşkiyen-Nu'aymi, ed-Darisftarihi'l-medaris, ed. Caferel-Haseni, (Cairo: Mektebetü's-Sekafeti'd-Diniyye, 1988), 1:266).

⁷⁵ Al-Malik al-Kamil, who ruled in Egypt, invited Frederick II to the region as an ally against his brother al-Malik al-Muazzam, the ruler of Damascus, whose enmity he feared, and agreed to hand over Jerusalem to Frederick II. Frederick accepted this offer from al-Kamil with satisfaction, with the city being handed over to the Crusaders in 1229 (626) in return for the Muslims not entering the city apart from the Temple Mount. Thus, approximately 30 years after Saladin's death, Jerusalem was again handed over to the Crusaders by Ayyubid rulers, this time of their own accord. (Hillenbrand, *Müslümanların Gözünden Haçlı Seferleri*, 230-231).

⁷⁶ Ibn Wasil, *Müferricü'l-kütüb*, 4: 245.

⁷⁷ Hillenbrand, *Müslümanların Gözünden Haçlı Seferleri*, 234.

⁷⁸ Donald P. Lütte, "Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks", *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. C. Aseli (Essex: Scorpion Publishing, 1989), 186.

⁷⁹ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi Beytılmakdis*, 2: 156.



as Madrasa al-Sultaniyya and Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya al-Sultaniyya.⁷⁹ Some important features distinguished al-Ashrafiyya from other scholarly institutions, the most important being that the foundation operated both as a madrasa and a khanqah, because both Sufis as well as other *mudarris*-es and students received allocations from Waqf al-Ashrafiyya. Uleymi stated Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya to be one

of the three pearls of Masjid al-Aqsa during the Mamluk Caliphate, al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock being the other two.⁸⁰

Amir Sayf ad-Din Tatar, who was the minister of Nazir al-Haramayn, began construction of al-Ashrafiyya in the name of al-Malik al-Zāhir Khushqadam (r. 1461-1467). However, when the sultan died before the comple-



Entrance Door of Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (MT Archive)

tion of the madrasa's construction, the amir presented the madrasa to Sultan al-Malik Al-Ashraf Qaytbay who'd ascended the throne in 1468. Thus, the Sultan became the foundation of the madrasa. The sultan donated various properties in the city of Gaza to the madrasa. When the Shafi'i *alfaqih* Sheikh Shahab al-Din al-Umayr (d. 1485) was appointed to the position of teacher and sheikh in the madrasa, a monthly salary of 500 dirhams were allocated to him. As can be understood from this, al-Ashrafiyya had courses on fiqh and shar'i sciences and duties related to Sufism carried out together, all of

which were supervised by a *mudarris*-sheikh who had the duties of education and administration. In addition, the 60 Sufis assigned to the madrasa were given a monthly salary of 15 dirhams; the other students who attended courses on fiqh and other religious sciences were also given a monthly salary of 15 dirhams.⁸¹ Apart from this, al-Ashrafiyya hosted other positions reserved for the ulama such as *Qari al-Mushaf*, *Qari al-Hadith* and *Qari al-Bukhari*.⁸²

When Qaytbay visited Jerusalem in 1475-76 and saw al-Ashrafiyya, which was the first to bear his name but he

⁸⁰ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 78-79.

⁸¹ Abdülmehdi, *el-Medaris fi Beytilmakdis*, 2: 156-159.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 2: 166.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2: 161-163.



Entrance Door of Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (MT Archive)

had yet to see, he did not like the madrasa's architecture and so ordered the construction of a new madrasa according to his own wishes and having the madrasa demolished five years later. Qaytbay personally followed the construction process of the new madrasa by coming to Jerusalem, bringing architects, engineers, and stone workers from Cairo with him. The construction of the new madrasa was completed in 1482.⁸³



Mihrab of Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (MT Archive)

During the Mamluk period, the majority of Jerusalemite madrasas were established by amirs. The most famous among these is the Madrasa al-Tankiziyya built by Amir Tankiz an-Nasiri. Tankiz, one of the powerful amirs of the Mamluks period and the regent of Damascus for nearly 30 years between 1312-1339, carried out important developmental activities in the cities under his administration, having many roads, water canals, bridges, inns, squares, and madrasas built.⁸⁴ Tankiziyya was built in Jerusalem in 1328 as a multifunctional scientific institution consisting of a Hanafi madrasa, a *dar al-hadith*, a *ribat* [Islamic monastery], and a mosque.⁸⁵ In this scholarly institution, many positions such as *mudarris*, *muid*, sheikh al-hadith, sheikh qari al-hadith, sheikh al-sufiyya, and qari al-Quran were allocated to scholars. Scholars appointed from the foundation of the madrasa to these subordinates were given monthly salaries and provisions.

⁸⁴ For detailed information on the reconstruction activities carried out by Amir Tankiz an-Nasiri in the Damascus region, see Ellen Kennedy, *Power and Patronage in Medieval Syria: The Architecture and Urban Works of Tankiz al-Nasiri* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2009).

⁸⁵ Kamil Cemil Aseli, *Vesâik Makdisiyye Tarihiyye* (Amman: el-Camiati'l-Ürdüniyye, 1983), 1: 105-107.

For example, while the Hanafi *mudarris* was allocated 60 dirhams and daily provisions in this context, among his 15 students, those at the beginner level [*mubtadi*] were given 10 dirhams per month and daily provisions, those at the intermediate level [*matawasat*] were given 15 dirhams per month and daily provisions, and those at the advanced level [*muntehi*] were given 20 dirhams per month and daily provisions.⁸⁶ A hadith sheikh and 20 hadith students were also appointed to the madrasa. The hadith sheikh was also tasked with arranging the public lecture on certain days of the week in the madrasa, and the reading of the Sahihs of Bukhari and Muslim was stipulated for these.⁸⁷ In addition, a sheikh and 15 Sufis were appointed to the Tankiziyya Madrasa, so the madrasa also served as a khanqah. The madrasa also served as a *ribat* [convent] for female Sufis, and a sheikh al-Ribat was assigned to the ribat where female Sufis were present.⁸⁸ Among the scientific institutions the amirs established in Jerusalem are Khanqah al-Dawadariyya built by Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Dawadari (d. 1300), a leading amir from the Early Mamluk period who'd served as the regent of Egypt for a while; Cavliyya Madrasa founded by Gaza regent Amir Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Jawli (d. 1344); and Madrasa al-Arguniyya built by Aleppo regent Amir Argun an-Nasiri (d. 759/1358).⁸⁹

Although the majority of madrasas in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period

were established by Mamluk administrators, different groups such as merchants, women, and scholars also built scientific institutions in the city. For example, the Madrasa al-Khatuniyya founded by Ughul Khatun al-Khazaniyya al-Baghdadiyya in 1380 and the Madrasa al-Uthmaniyya built by Isfahan Shah Khatun, the daughter of an Anatolian amir, in 1436 were some of the scholarly institutions established in the city by wealthy women.⁹⁰ Scholars also established madrasas in Jerusalem using their own means. For example, Shams al-Din al-Fanari (d. 1431), who'd visited Jerusalem, dedicated a madrasa there, and this madrasa was named Fanariyya in his honor. While returning from his pilgrimage in 1419, al-Fanari stayed in Cairo for a year, then visited Jerusalem and returned to Bursa after establishing this madrasa.⁹¹ Another example of the madrasas scholars established in Jerusalem is Madrasa al-Muhaddisiyya. This madrasa was built by the *mudarris* scholar Izz ad-Din Abu Muhammad Abd al-Aziz ibn Suleiman al-Ardabili in 1360.⁹²

A significant part of the madrasas established during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Caliphates continued their functions after Jerusalem came under Ottoman rule. While the Ottomans ensured the continuity of the existing madrasas and foundations in Jerusalem, they also built new madrasas in the city and established wealthy waqfs to support scholarly activities.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1: 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1: 14.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 114.

⁸⁹ Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 80, 82, 84.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 79-80.

⁹¹ *Ebü'l-Fazl Şihabeddin Ahmed b. Ali Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, İnba'ü'l-gumr bi-ebnai'l-'umr*, ed. Hasan Habeşi (Egypt: *el-Meclisü'l-'A'la li'ş-Şuuni'l-İslamiyye*, 1969), 3: 465; Uleymi, *el-Ünsü'l-celil*, 2: 86-87.

⁹² Uleymiel-Ünsü'l-celil, 2: 91.

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Western Portico in front of Sabil Qait Bay with al-Ashrafiyya, al-Uthmaniyah, al-Araguniyah, al-Khatuniyya, and al-Manjakiyah Madrasas from south to north. (IYV Archive)

A STUDY ON THE ILMIYA CLASS IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Mustafa ÖKSÜZ*

After Omar's [Omar ibn al-Khattab] conquest of Jerusalem [al-Quds] in 638, a class of ulama with their own traditions historically emerged there with the Islamization of the region. As an important factor, the *ilmiya* [Ottoman state class that absorbed the ulama] took root in the city, having come under Turkish rule during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim. They were the focus of social life. As a matter of fact, much information and many traces can be found about the changing and developing roles they had in the city as one of its important components from the archives of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled Jerusalem until 1917. Therefore, the relations they have both internally and externally have always ensured the continuity of their existence as a different class.

Under the influence of what they had inherited, the Ottomans were eager to protect the *ilmiya* and allowed them to maintain their privileges. The importance of Jerusalem for Muslims and the attention and care shown to it by the new administrators played an active role in determining this attitude. Acting on the basis of these reasons, the rulers never hesitated to show

their generosity to the *ilmiya* until the last days of the empire. In this context, when examining the late period *defters* [notebooks] of Haseki Sultan's [chief consort's] waqf, the names of the *ilmiya* who regularly received salaries from the *imaret* [public soup kitchen] are encountered. Looking at the names (i.e., Nüsaybe, Khalidi, Qutb, Neşasıbi, Ulaymi) shows them to be deep-rooted families, some of whom date back to the Mamluk dynasty.¹

Not only individuals but also other institutions in the city are understood to have been supported by the *imaret*. Archival documents belonging to Hurrem Sultan's [chief consort and wife of Suleiman the Magnificent] waqf systematically mention the names of institutions the capitol financially supported. Among these, the names with prominent S aspects draw attention. Zawiyas such as Sheikh Abdulkadir, Seydî al-Badawi, Seydî Abu Madyan al-Gavs, Sheikh al-Kkhalili, Sheikh al-Alemi, Uzbakiyye, Hunud, Buraq al-Sheriff, Dawud and Mawlavi *khanehs* [houses] regularly received financial aid. The aid was aimed at meeting the needs of the waqfs as well as the people assigned there.²

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¹ "Defter-u masarifat-ı mürettebat-ı ahali'l-Kudsî'sh-Şerif'an-'alayif-i ciüz'han-ı rab'at-i şerife ve 'alayif-i Tekyete Amire ve maktu'-u kuraya ve bedel-i ahbaz-ı fukara ve mücavirine'tekaya ve'r-ruvakat ve'z-zevaya ve'n-nısa' ve'l-eramil ve'l-murtezika bi-tekyete sahibeti'l-hayrat ve'l-miras el-merhume ve mağfurun leha Haseki Sultan der-Kuds-i Şerif tabe seraha ve zalike'an vacib-i sene 78 semaniye ve seb'in ve mi'eteyn ve elf." *The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives (BOA), Evkaf Defterleri [EV.d] 1278 (1862/63), No. 17753, 1b.*

² *Defterun Yetezamanu Masarifat-ı Tekyete-i Haseki Sultân bi'l-Kudsî'sh-Şerif fi Şehr-i Haziran Sene 1264 Erba'â, BOA, Evkaf Defterleri [EV.d] June 1264 (June/July 1848), No. 13432, 1b.*

The inclination of the rulers, especially the sultans, toward Sufis has always led to the protection and preservation of this class. However, as pointed out, not just sheikhs but also other sections of the *ilmiya* had their share of this privilege, and this was seen to include all their children,³ regardless of gender.⁴

Because Jerusalem is a religious center, the ulama were known to come and settle in Jerusalem from other Islamic cities for various reasons. These moves had positive effects on scientific life there. As a matter of fact, Steih (2019) determined that 48 scholars had lived in the city in the 18th century, 11 of whom had come from places such as Nablus, al-Khalil, Ramla, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Egypt, Maghrib, and Nishapur. These visitors having received education in places such as Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Maghrib, Baghdad, and Istanbul reveal the relationship Jerusalem had with the various education centers of the Islamic world.⁵

Madrasas

In Mujir al-din al-Khanbali's work,⁶ where he tells the history of Jerusalem and Khalil, a separate chapter is reserved for the madrasas and zawiyas in the city, with explanations of their founders and the waqfs' locations. When looking at the information al-Khanbali provided, the existence of more than 40 madrasas can be seen from the Mamluk period and before. However, a recent study has suggested that the number may be higher, citing 70 of them.⁷ Güneş classified the higher education institutions in the city as those assigned to a particular sect, to joint madrasas, or to those without sectarian restrictions and stated these places to have provided religious education, some even having

courses such as mathematics and history in their curriculum; naturally, the weight of the four sects had been felt.⁸ As a matter of fact, the names of these institutions can be encountered in the records of the Ottoman administration established after 1516. Generally, the documents contain information about the internal affairs and financial income of these institutions, each of which had gained the identity of a waqf. Therefore, the effort was made after Omar's conquest to establish an active scientific life in the city in line with Islamization and to turn this place into a scientific center. In the name of preserving this heritage that had been passed on to them, the Ottomans attempted to inventory and ensure the waqfs' works and to protect them at no cost to the waqfs.

The judgment sent to the Qadi of Jerusalem in April or May 1593 emphasized that the incomes were insufficient for covering expenses and that the salaries were paid in violation of the law and order. It also informed that the waqf of the Madrasa al-Maymuniya fell into a financial bottleneck. The complainant was stated to be Muderris Mohammed, an insider who was unsatisfied with the course of the situation and immediately presented the situation to Istanbul, trying to make the waqf work properly again. Although the Ottomans preferred to not interfere in any way with the internal functioning and curricula of the madrasas operating in the city before them, they did try to ensure their continuity. In a way, the aim of these actions was for these institutions to stand on their own feet. As a matter of fact, upon the complaint, an order was sent to prevent disruptions to the existing system and to take the necessary measures.⁹

³ "Müretteb-ü Ayişe bint-i Derviş", BOA, Evkaf Defterleri [EV.d] March 1279 (March/April 1863), No. 18277, 1; "Müretteb-ü's-Seyyide Hanım Hadice Kerîmetü's-Seyyid Musa Efendi el-Muvakkit yevmî ragîf 32' anhä hintâ vukiyye 00 rûl 00 müd 14", BOA, Evkaf Defterleri [EV.d] 1279 (1863/64), No. 18431, 3a.

⁴ "Müretteb-ü evlâdi'sh-Şeyh Derviş er-Rufâ'î Yevmî Vukiyye 4", BOA, Evkaf Defterleri [EV.d] May 1264 (May/June 1848), No. 13407, 1.

⁵ Abdalqader Steih "Osmanlı Devleti ve 18. Yüzyılda Kudüs Şehrine Ders Vermek İçin Gelen Alimler" *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitim Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (Istanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019), 12-13.

⁶ Mucirüddin el-Hanbeli el-'Uleymi, el-'Ünsü'l-celil bi-tarihi'l-Kudsî ve'l-Khalil, el-mücellid es-sani, i'dad ve tahki-k ve müraaca: Mahmud Avde el-Ke'abina, (Ürdün: Mektebet-ü Dandis, 1999), 522-523.

⁷ Ali İhsan Aydın, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs Medreselerinin Arşiv Kaynakları", *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitim Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (Istanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019), 103-104.

⁸ Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, "Kudüs Medreselerinde Vazife Mücadeleleri ve Kriz Üretimi" *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitim Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (Istanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019), 109-110.

⁹ "...Buyurdum ki bu husûs hak üzere şer'la teftiş idiüp göresiz. Kazıyye'arz olunan gibi ise ki şer'la tamâm-ı ma'lûm ve zâhir olan mahsûlât-ı vakf müderris ve mütevellî ve nâzır vesâyir mürtelikaya berâtları mücebince tevzi' ve taksîm ettikten sonra herkese şer'la müstahik oldukları vazîfelerin virdürtüp şer'-i şerife ve fervâ-yı münife ve tevzi'nâmeye muhâlif kimesneye iş ettirmeyesiz..." *Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (843-1009)*, ISAM Library, No. 11, 78.

The repair of Madrasa al-Asa'rdiyah, famous as *Rawaq al-harâb* [the dilapidated portico], began under the mediation of Qadi Chivzade but remained unfinished at the time of his death. As a matter of fact, a provision was sent regarding the completion and resumption of the work. In addition, one of the three rooms in the Madrasa was ordered to be allocated to Shafi Mufti Joseph and the other two to Sheikh Mohammed Es'ardi and Sheikh Fakhr al-din Es'ardi.¹⁰

As the record points out, the provincial administrators were seen to play an active role in the repair and preservation of educational institutions using their own savings, with the central government sometimes getting involved in unforeseen situations. In addition, Shafi Mufti Joseph being mentioned in the allocation of the rooms is remarkable considering that state took the Hanafi sect as the main group. Thus, the members of the *ilmiya* who belonged to other Sunni schools are understood to have also been included in the protection/preservation policies and privileges to have not been entirely limited to just Hanafis. This is also proof that even the simple education projects that failed in Jerusalem were monitored seriously, including by the capital city, and not left to their own fate.



Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri, number 11 (843-1009), 79-80

* Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (843-1009), 79-80.

Maintenance for the madrasas was not limited to this. The attempt was made to also prevent any kind of problem that would hinder education. Sometimes, quarrels between people regarding teaching led to a change of hands in the rank and file. These sudden changes, in which financial concerns played an important role, may have also interrupted the scientific education. The provision sent to the Qadi of Jerusalem dated November 29, 1539 (Rajab 18, 946 AH) stating that Mudarris Abd al-Rahman of Madrasa al-Tankiziyya was being externally interfered with regarding the claim that he received a salary higher than specified for a foundation despite having a *berat* [formal authorization]; the Qadi was ordered to investigate the situation and not to interfere with anyone if there is no mistake.¹¹ The intervention of the state center in problems that arose due to professors' salaries were good, constituted a balance from the point of operations, and prevented random behaviors.

The essential thing in appointing a *mudarris* [religious scholar in the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires] is to send a *berat* to the person concerned. The aim in declaring how much salary the appointed person will receive in the charter is to not allow any debate. In the face of the issues raised by appointments that didn't satisfy everyone, the requested would be made to decide by referring to the stipulations written in the charter. This attitude reflects the respect for legal identity and is an indication that waqfs' internal affairs were not interfered with and that the attempt was made to protect their autonomous structures.

One of the basic principles in protecting the autonomy of educational institutions is to ensure financial independence. As a matter of fact, the villages were seen to allocate waqfs as charitable endowments to various madrasas in the cadastral registers. The presence of records for the Salahiye,

Tayluniye, Fahriye, Muazzamiyat al-Hanafiyya, Javeria, al-Basitiyah, Huseyniye, Mazhariya, al-Asa'rdiyah and other madrasas indicates they'd established networks outside the city. In this way, a constant close bond and dependency was established between the surrounding villages and institutions. To interrupted this bond would mean the order would be shaken and everyone would suffer. Thus, scientific institutions were freed from being trapped inside the city and found new channels and paths in the villages.

The existence of various waqfs belonging to other educational institutions in addition to madrasas in the city and their protection by this means is a sign that education life had been approached as a whole. As a result, training students for the madrasa, the highest educational institution of the period, started with the schools scattered among the streets. These structures had more features than being the first stage on the road to higher education and aimed to prepare the children of the city for society and the future by providing them with a rudimentary education. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman state official Mehmed Agha was seen to have allocated some real estate as charitable endowments for the needs of the school in addition to his tomb in Jerusalem.¹²

Having libraries in a madrasa is an essential need because this is where the main sources that students would practice with during their education were kept. Khalil mentioned libraries in Masjid al-Aqsa named after such people as Ali Mustafa Abu al-Wafa al-Alami, Mohammed Sunullah al-Khalidi, Hasan Abdullatif al-Huseyni, Mohammed al-Khalili, Mohammed al-Budeyri and Ahmed Muwakkit in the 18th century. He also stated the Ottomans and their predecessors to have contributed to the enrichment of these structures in the context of encouraging scientific life; therefore, this necessitated the presence of a separate guild in the city to meet the need for books.¹³

¹¹ Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (945), ISAM Library, No. 9, 67.

¹² "Vakfu'l-merhum Mehmed Ağa der-Kuds-i Şerif 'ala-masalih-i'l-mekteb ve türbetihî", BOA, Defter-i Evkaf ve Emlak der-Liva'-i Kudüs-i Şerif [T.T.d], No. 0342, 17.

¹³ Alaattin Dolu, "18. Yüzyılda Kudüs'te Kitap Sahipliği", Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitim Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (İstanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019), 49-80.

Patronage

The central state aimed to include the *ilmiya* class in Jerusalem by various means within the framework of certain policies, primarily by *surra* [annual money distributed to the pilgrimage lands],¹⁴ and to include them in the system. Their being employed over various items with good returns, especially *muqata'ah* [state-owned land], can be said to have led to the growth and strengthening of Istanbul's allies in the provinces.

The names of those in charge of the *muqata'ah* reveal their mystical aspects. For example, Ahmad Nasr al-Din al-Khariri, one of Ahmad Rufai's caliphs, was seen to have taken the village of Kakula near the village of Bethlehem. Given the importance of this Bethlehem has for the Christian world, assigning a place near it to a caliph of the Rufai order reflects a conscious rather than an accidental choice.¹⁵ The Ottomans were known to have employed Dervishes for colonization both in the Balkans and in other conquered regions. Therefore, this choice can also be said to have been for such a purpose.¹⁶ At the same time, the administrators had adopted a way of benefiting from Sufis in order to encourage sanjaks' settlement. As a matter of fact, after the death of the famous Jerusalemite Sufi, Ahmed el-Dejani, the let-

ters between Qadi Nurullah and the sanjak chief emphasizing the need for him to be given Bayt 'Ur al Fawqā and Jira Field by the *muqata'ah* method to be left to his sons stated that, in case of a change in the current practice, the people would disperse. He was pointing out the need to maintain the same procedure in order to maintain stability. In fact, this is nothing but the reflection of the settlement policy the empire had applied to the region.¹⁷

The *Ajzaa al-Qur'an* [the 30 parts of various length into which the Qur'an is divided] also appears as one of the means of protection, with the *Ajzaa al-Sharif* being read to the souls of the sultans. As is customary here, various parts of the Qur'an were seen to have been allocated for recitation by certain people from the *ilmiya* class in the city for the soul of the sultan, and a certain fee was paid to them in return for this. Arguments were known to sometimes occur between parties regarding the payment of salaries. As a matter of fact, those who were in charge of reciting a *juz* [1 of the 30 *ajzaa*] for the soul of Suleiman the Magnificent were paid out of the Kamame Church's income.¹⁸ However, when this was understood to provoke greed in some people and that trustees were making up excuses to not pay, this matter was transferred to the state headquarters in an attempt find a solution.¹⁹



Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (972-978), ISAM Library, No. 47, 17.

The important point here is that those ulama having recitation duties gave them power and prestige in their relations with Istanbul. Therefore, this network of relations played an important role in their future by ultimately placing them in a more privileged position among their peers. On the other hand, such duties strengthened the legitimacy of the Ottoman sultans in society by bringing the rulers and the ulama class closer together. As a matter of fact, the writings from Sheikh Şemseddin Mohammed el-Khalili, the author of the book *Târîhu'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil* [History of Jerusalem and el-Halil] involve the history of the actions of Rajab Pasha, who had been appointed as Governor of Jerusalem between 1714-1716 and shows how the sides influenced one another.²⁰

Foundations in the Formation of Ilmiya Families

The ulama established foundations for their children to inherit in order to preserve the position they'd acquired from the early period. Thus, they aimed for their families to continue their legacy by relying on their own financial resources while trying to secure the future for the next generations.

¹⁴ Mustafa Güler, "Surra Defterlerine Göre XIX. Asrın Başında Kudüs'teki Eğitim Görevlileri ve Tahsisleri", *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitim Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (Istanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019), 169-184.

¹⁵ "Mezra'a-i Kâkûlâ der-nezd-i karye'-i Beyt Lahm hâss-ı şâhî hâsil ber-vech-i maktû' der-'uhde'-i Şeyh Ahmed Nasruddîn el-Harîrî halîfe'-i Kutbi'l-'ârîfin veliyyullah Mevlânâ Şeyh Ahmed er-Rufâ'î kuddise sirruhu.", *Kuyûd-u Kadîme Arşivi* (TKG.KK), *Defter-i Livâ'-i Mufasssal Kuds-i Şerîf*, [TKG.KK.TT.d], No. 178, 21b; *Mezra'a-i Ra's-i Ebu Debbûs der-nezd-i karye'-i Beyt Safâfâ tâbi'-i Kuds-i Şerîf hâs. Hâsil ber-vech-i maktû' der-'uhde'-i Seyyid Zekeriya ve Seyyid Şerefüddîn veledân-i Seyyid Muhammed fî sene 300*, agt, 23b.

¹⁶ For the settlement and Islamization policy of the dervishes, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I: İstîlâ Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2, (1942): 279-386.

¹⁷ *Nâhiye der-livâ'-i m. Karye'-i Beyt-i 'Üri'l-fevkâ tâbi'-i m., hâsil ber-vech-i maktû' der-'uhde'-i Şeyh Taha bin Şeyh Ahmed Decânî ve Şeyh Yunus ve Şeyh Ebu Hüreyre fî sene 350; mezra'a-i Cîre der-nezd-i karye'-i Beyt-i 'Ür hâsil ber-vech-i maktû' der-'uhde'-i Şeyh Taha ve Şeyh Yunus evlâd-u Şeyh Ahmed Decânî ve Şeyh Ebu Hüreyre fî sene 100. Zikr olan karye ve mezra'a vilâyet defterinde Şeyh Ahmed Decânî kuddise sirruhu 'uhdesinde maktû' mukayyed olup fellâh getirüp şenledüp ol mahalden mürûr iden âyende ve râvende emn ü emân ile geçüp ol vilâyetin halkı hadden birün mûmâ ileyh şeyh hazretlerine i'tikâdları olmağın eyüden ve yâvuzdan bir ferde gir-u tedâbüir görmezlerdi. Hâliya şeyh-i merhûm müteveffâ olmağın fellâh ümenâ cevrenden gaybet idüp harâb olması mukarrerdir. Bunlar der-'uhde oluncak kemâ kân ma'mûr olur deyü Kudüs-i Şerîf kâdist Mevlânâ Nurullah ve sancağı beyi mektûb virdüklerinden 'uhdelerine maktû' kayd olundu. El-fakîr Dervîş, fî 12 Zilka'de sene 971 (22 June 1564) tarihli hüküm, Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (972-978), ISAM Library, No. 47, 17.*

¹⁸ *Zikr olan karye ve mezra'a vilâyet defterinde Sheikh Ahmed Decani kuddise sirruhu 'uhdesinde maktû' mukayyed olup fellah getirüp şenledüp ol mahalden mürûr iden ayende ve ravende emn ü eman ile geçüp ol vilâyetin halkı hadden birün muma ileyh sheikh hazretlerine i'tikadları olmağın eyüden ve yâvuzdan bir ferde gir-u tedâbüir görmezlerdi. Haliya sheikh-i merhum müteveffâ olmağın fellah ümena cevrenden gaybet idüp harab olması mukarrerdir. Bunlar der-'uhde oluncak kema kan ma'mur olur deyü Kudüs-i Şerîf kadisi Mevlana Nurullah ve sancağı beyi mektub virdüklerinden 'uhdelerine maktû' kayd olundu. Al-Fakir Derviş, the judgment dated 971 (22 June 1564) in fî 12 Zilka, Jerusalem Sanjak Sharia Registry Book (972-978), ISAM Library, No. 47, 17.*

¹⁹ "Mahsul-i resm-i Dari'l-Kamame der-nefs-i Kuds-i Şerif. Vakf-u Hazret-i padişah-ı 'âlem-penah Sultan Süleyman Şah halledellahu mülkehü ve eyyede salıtanatahu ila-yevmi'l-rika be-cihet-i kara'at-i ecza'i'l-mükerrerme der-Sahrati'l-müşerrefe tamamen fî sene 120000", *Kuyûd-u Kadîme Arşivi* (TKG.KK), *Kubbe Altında Müdevver 'Atik Kudüs Mufasssal Defteri*, [TKG.KK.TT.d], No. 112, 17b.

²⁰ Eş-Şeyh Şemsüddîn Muhammed bin Muhammed bin Şerefüddîn el-Halilî, *Târîhu'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil*, ed. Muhammed Adnan el-Bahî, *Nüfân Recâ el-Hamûd es-Sevâriye*, (London: Müessesetü'l-Furka li'l-Türâsî'l-İslâmî, 1425/2004).

Bedreddin Hasan bin Quteyna, the founding father of the Quteyna family, is just one example of this phenomenon.²¹ This type of accumulation prioritized the scholars themselves, then their children. In fact, Mohammad bin Abu al-Qasim bin Mohammed al-Khaqqari provided foundations for himself first and then for his children. In this way, he was saying first his life, then his progeny.²²

Sometimes another patron outside the family would be seen to intervene and watch over a scholar, allocating various places to him and his offspring under the name of a foundation. As a matter of fact, the foundation Khaci Beq made for Ali al-Khalwati and his generation is an example of this.²³ Kaymas establishing a foundation for Sheikh Abdulaziz from Harba village in Jerusalem is another example of this.²⁴ As can be seen here, the preferred class usually involved the famous sheikhs of the period. The sultans were observed to take the lead in this matter, practically guiding their own subjects. Salahaddin Ayyubi's allotment of a charitable endowment to Sheikh Ahmed bin Abu Bakr al-Khaqqari completely from the village of Tur-u Zeyta, and partially from the village of Abu Dis can be cited as yet another example.²⁵

This situation is known to have not been limited to previous rulers and sultans; the Ottomans also followed this trend. As a matter of fact, Mustafa

Iskender Pasha allocated some mansions as charitable endowment to the poor of Khalwatiya. Undoubtedly, the pasha's spiritual devotion to this order played an important role in his choice.²⁶ As the most important person on this list, the sultan of the period, Suleiman I or Sultan the Magnificent must be mentioned as the importance he gave to Jerusalem and his contributions to transforming the city resulted in the Ottoman seal being stamped there. The foundations he made for Sheikh Ahmad el-Dajani, who had been appointed there after the seizure of David's tomb in 1549, shows that he not only was content with the physical changes and transformations but also aimed to contribute to the emergence of new *ilmiya* families.²⁷

The Magharibah Neighborhood was the charitable endowment of Saladin Ayyubi and was destroyed by Israel under the pretext of making room for the Wailing Wall. This neighborhood no longer exists today but presents a different characteristic with its unique structure in the light of the examples mentioned above. The ulama who'd concentrated here and maintained their presence within the borders determined by the benefactor, had also been able to maintain their privileges during the Ottoman period. Therefore, various families belonging to the *ilmiya* class emerged within this shield of protection the foundation provided.²⁸

²¹ "Vakf-u Bedrüdün Hasan bin Kuteynâ 'alâ evlâdihî ve zürriyetihî: Karye'-i 'Aynâtâ tâbi'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf Tamâmen Hâsıl 8686; 'an-karye'-i 'Acül tâbi'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf Hisse 12 T 4000; Yekûn 12686" BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 14.

²² Vakf-u Mohammed bin Ebi'l-Kasım bin Mohammed el-Hakkari 'ala nefsihi sümme 'ala-evlâdihî, Mezra'a-i Beyt Ebreze tabi'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf tamamen Hasıl 2500, BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 16.

²³ "Vakf-u Mohammed Çelebi Ahu Hacı Bey 'ala Sheikh Ali el-Halveti sümme 'ala evlâdihî ve neslihî ve 'akabihi, Guras-u 'ineb ve tin bi-arz-i Tayliye zahir-u Kudüs-i Şerîf tu'rafu bi'-i-Ta'likiye tamamen fi sene 200", BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 15.

²⁴ "Vakf-u Kaymas Abdullah 'ala'-ş-Sheikh Abdülaziz, Karye'-i Harba tabi'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf tamamen Hasıl 2500", BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 17.

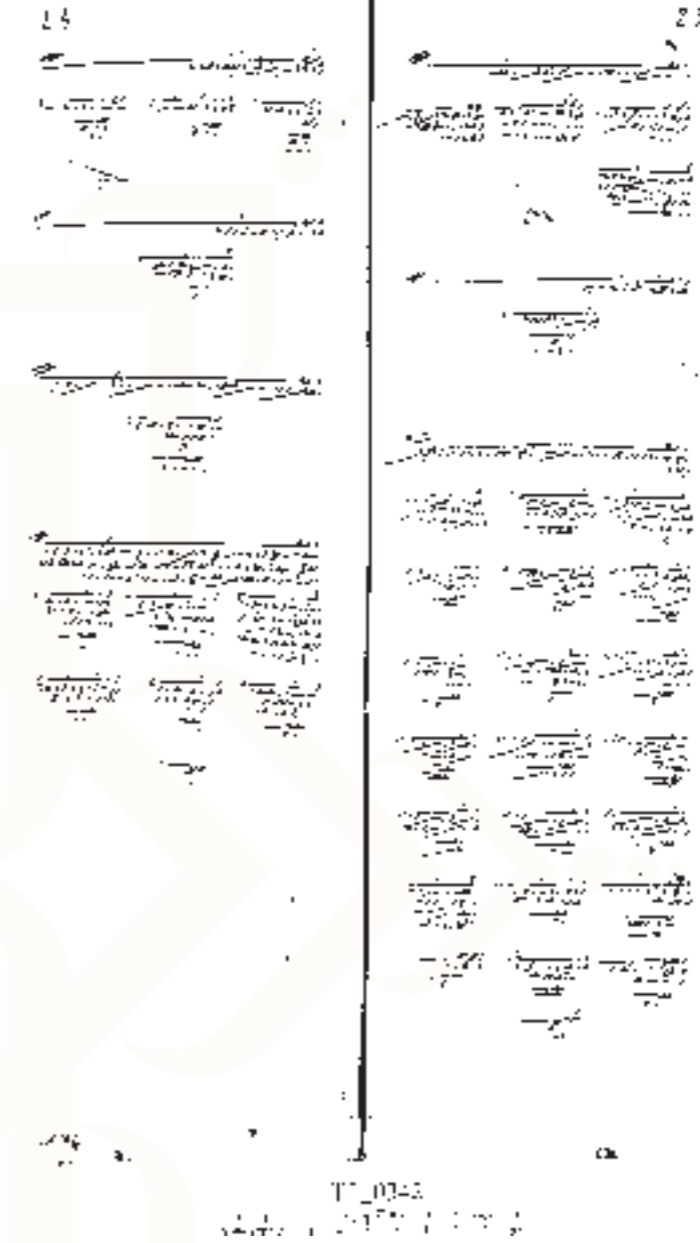
²⁵ "Vakfu'l-Melik Salahuddin 'ala'-ş-Sheikh Ahmed bin Ebibekr el-Hekkari Karye'-i Tur-u Zeyta tabi'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf tamamen Hasıl 2908; Karye'-i Ebu Dis tabi'-i m Hasıl 10500, Yekun 13406", BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 16.

²⁶ BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 17.

²⁷ BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 24.

²⁸ For the neighborhood, see Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, *Kudüs Meğaribe Mahallesi*, (Ankara: Directorate General of Foundations Publications, 2017).

²⁹ BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 28.



Ottoman Archive (BOA), *Defter-i Evkâf ve Emlâk der-Livâ'-i Kudüs-i Şerîf* [T.T.d], No. 0342, p. 24.

Property

The properties that developed over time in the hands of the ulama, either through inheritance or through their own dispositions, have led to their status being preserved as a family of sorts in the historical process and the proportional formation of their traditions within a class affiliation. The business of acquiring property, which this class had no choice in, became a process where administrators supported them on various occasions. This class in fact did participate in the purchase of real estate, which represents an important part of economic activity, at times and places they deemed appropriate, taking advantage of the available medium. As a result, property making up the most important part of their wealth was transformed into a tool for reinforcing their position in society.



A record from 1538 reported the owners of a mansion and cistern in the Bani Zayd Neighborhood of Jerusalem to be the children of Sheikh Alauddin al-Khalwati.²⁹ When considering the city's water shortage and the problems that occur during a drought, no need exists to explain how the presence of this cistern would help the family be a savior in critical times. As a matter of fact, making personal allocations from the general water network depended on permission from the capital. Being aware of the importance of water for the city, the state center kept tight control over the decision-making process so as to avoid any steps that would endanger public interests. In this context, the petition el-Dajani, who'd gained the sultan's appreciation,³⁰ submitted to Istanbul can be presented as an important example in terms of providing information on how the process worked. Despite all his fame, when it came to water, the event was examined in detail and, as a result of the getting the people's consent, the allocation was able to occur on September 6, 1564. However, the sheikh did not live long enough to see this.³¹ When considering the two examples in parallel, the house with a cistern will certainly appear as a symbol of power for individuals and families in a city that is likely to encounter water shortages at any time. Therefore, achieving such power also depended on having a serious reputation and material wealth.

Sheikh Ali Khalwati's son, Sheikh Abdulkadir, first bought a residence in the Akabayt al-Sitt Neighborhood next to Haseki Hürrem Sultan's Imaret Emir, on May 30, 1556. Two years later on April 12, 1558, he is seen to have added the adjacent range to his property by way of surrender.³² Undoubtedly, these examples were not limited to the Khalwati Sufis. Apart from these, com-

mercial contracts can be encountered belonging to other ulama class both in the city and in the villages of the province. In this context, the properties purchased by the children of the Salt judge Shikhab al-Din in 1540/1541 can also be cited.³³

To think that this process was only limited to male heirs would be a mistake. The ulama did not neglect their daughters. Sheikh Alauddin's daughters Fatima, Aisha, and Sittishah appear as property owners in 1545.³⁴ As can be seen, they did not lag behind men in this regard but also got what they deserved from wealth.

The mention of Ahmad el-Dajani's record of eight properties (four in Bayt Safafa, three in al-Maliha, and one in Deir Ebi Sur) dated 1557 shows how state administrators protected the ulama in the process of acquiring wealth. Showing that this had been done is important.³⁵ After the seizure of David's tomb, Suleiman the Magnificent appointed a sheikh to this place, which the sheikh converted into a *zawiya* [institution]. This led to a noticeable increase in his wealth. At the end of the expulsion of the Catholic priests, which meant more than a simple transformation for the state center, having the appointed *Postnishin* [highest rank in the Mawlawiyah Sufi Order] and his family living in need or having a low standard of living would have been unacceptable. Therefore, a Sufi who should have been commemorated with asceticism, piety, a loaf of bread, and a cardigan eventually turned into a rich and powerful person. At the same time, this contradicted the portrait of a group of Sufi connoisseurs far removed from worldly goods as occurs in today's minds. Here, the aim was to create a strong and mighty class at the sole discretion of the sultan instead of weak

individuals who'd open their hands in the *zawiya* on the coast.

The fact that the *ilmiya* class, who received the financial and moral support of the administrators, had over time formed the wealthy part of the society was a result of conscious policies from the Ottomans and their predecessors for the purpose of protecting this place. The main aim was to develop science by establishing an appropriate medium. Facilitating the emergence of a certain stratum in an age when communication and transportation means were challenging and limited compared to today facilitated supplying the necessary staff the future society would need. As a matter of fact, the realization of the targeted aim can be seen in the remnants of the *ilmiya* families that continue until today. However, despite the importance attributed to this class and the opportunities they were offered, whether they had fulfilled their role in developing science or their duties in developing society is a matter of debate. Undoubtedly, this problem is not only limited to the ulama in Jerusalem, but also applies to other regions in the Islamic geography.

Competition Regarding the Heads of the Ilmiya

Other duties specified in the legal personality of the foundation, particularly *müderislik* [professorship], were passed on from generation to generation in line with the conditions imposed by the foundation as the exclusive monopoly of a family. As a matter of fact, the interest of the people who would benefit from the rule and order is what had been determined from the very first moment. However, these privileges were seen to have led to arguments. The interest the state center had shown cannot be said to have prevented or ended the struggles among the *ilmiya* because the financial opportunities sometimes caused them to clash. The fact that others coveted the income of the family-owned foundation and tried to deprive others of

this blessing ignited the debate. As was customary, at the end of such disputes, the parties to the case invited the state to the field as an arbitrator. Meanwhile, the arbitrator emphasized the abolition of oppression and the establishment of justice, defended the preservation of the ancient structure, and emphasized the points that everyone should pay attention to. As a matter of fact, people such as Sheikh Nusret, Mohammed, and Selim had informed the state headquarters that they had been treated unfairly, stating that their duties had been taken from them and they'd been dismissed without reason. These complainants did not neglect to add a criminal case to their petitions. The order that came back stated that, if the situation was as had been presented, no one should be persecuted, just the injustices were ordered to be removed.³⁶

As seen here and in many other examples, the method the state center adopted in these discussions was a continuation of the ancient structure preserving the legal bases that ensured it. In other words, effort was requested to be made to solve the problem in line with the rules set by the person who'd established the foundation. In this way, the aim was to protect the hopes that ensure and determine the purpose of the institutions' existence, ensuring they operate freely within themselves and continue in a manner appropriate to the spirit of their establishment.

The capitol constantly being called to intervene as an arbiter in the debate was not a matter of justice. It resulted from the allocation and assignment of all duties having to occur with its approval. Therefore, those who wanted to receive a regular salary in any madrasa, dervish lodge, or *zawiya* in Jerusalem had to first apply to the state headquarters in order to obtain *berat* as no other possible way existed to receive a salary from a foundation or make any savings. The Judge of Jerusalem, Abdurrahim,

²⁹ For the Sheikh's biography, see Mustafa Öksüz, "Kudüslü Bir Süfi: Ahmed ed-Decâni" *Osmanlı Döneminde Kudüs'te İlmî Hayat ve Eğitimi Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun et al., (Istanbul: Bağcılar Municipality, 2019) 25-47.

³⁰ For the provision dated 10 Şaban 967/6 May 1560, see Murat Uluskan, et al., *Mühimme Defterlerinde Kudüs (1545-1594)*, 1, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2016), 54, 68.

³¹ "Mülk-ü Sheikh Abdülkadir bin Sheikh Ali Halveti der-mahalle-i 'Akabetü's-Sitt der-nezd-i 'imaret-i amire der-Kuds-i Şerif tarihi'l-müşterâ fi 20 Receb Sene 963. Cemi'-u'd-Dari der-mahalle'-i m tamamen; Cemi'-u'd-dari'l-mülâsik li'd-da ri'l-mezbur der-mahalle'-i m tarihi'l müşterâfi 23 Cemaziyelahir sene 965", BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 30.

³² "Mülkü'l-Hac Mohammed ve ihvetühü Mahmud ve Şihabüddin evlad-ı Kadi's-Salt bi'l-Kudsi's-Şerif tarihi'l-mülkiyeti fi sene 947", BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 31.

³³ "Mülk-ü Benati'l-merhum Sheikh Alauddin el-va'iz ve hüme Fatıma ve Ayiße ve Sittişah el-katmin bi'l-Kudsi's-Şerif tarihi'l-mülkiyeti fi sene 952", Ibid.

³⁴ BOA, T.T.d., No. 0342, 32.

³⁶ *Darendegan-ı ferman-ı şerif Sheikh Nusret ve Mohammed ve Selim nam kimesneler bab-ı sa'adet-me'abima 'arzihal idip Kuds-i Şerif 'de berat-ı şerifte ba'z-ı cihata mutasarrıf olup eda-i hizmet idip mucib-i 'azl cürmü müz, yoğ iken ve Kuds-i Şerif kadısı halimize muttali' iken ba'zı kimesneler cihetimizi bila-sebeb elimizden alıp Şam kadısı ve beylerbeyisi 'arzu ile ve nazır ve mütevellî 'arızıyla olup bize hayf iderler. Mucib-i 'azl cürmümüz Kuds-i Şerif mahkemesinden sicl-i mahfuza kayd olmadan bila-sebeb ahara tevcih olunup bila-sebeb bir tarik ile ahar kimseler ise girü eydi-i fukara olmak talebi deriz deyü...*" Evâ'il-i Rebi'ulâhîr 993 provision dated (April 1585), Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (843-1009), 126.

submitted that Jafar bin Ramadan, who had been a prisoner in the Sahara-i Musharrefe, had undertaken this job without *berat*. Pursuant to this letter from July 4, 1540, the relevant person was granted a certificate and ordered that he be assigned a duty in return for his service from the Qamame crop, and that no one should hinder him in this matter.³⁷

Sometimes the technical mistakes of officials had made put the rights holder in trouble and deprived them of their usual income. The order sent to the governor of Damascus and his Qadi on January 8, 1540 gives a good description of such a problem. Half the income from the village of Beyt Lykya, one of the foundations of Melik the Great Isa bin Ayyub, one of the Ayyubid kings, had been allocated to the Madrasa al-Muazzamiya in Jerusalem by Sheikhuniye and Damascus, and the rest for his children and his offspring. As a matter of fact, in accordance with this rule, while Şemseddin Sayf ibn Mülük's father continued to receive the income by being progeny, he received a certificate in this regard during the reign of Sultan Selim. However, after the death of his father, the places belonging to the foundation were registered as unique to Naqqaş Ali Beq, which resulted in him being deprived of his salary. As a result, help was requested from Istanbul to rectify the situation.³⁸

Relations with Non-Muslims

The ulama were sometimes seen getting into arguments with non-Muslims in Jerusalem. The location of the synagogue around the Mosque of Omar can be cited as an example. When the feelings of the Muslims were hurt, they acted together with the *ilmiya* women in the city and quickly reflected the seriousness of the situation to the capital. However, in such cases, the state center advised the parties to calm down and necessitated settling the matter justly, not adopting an immediate reactionary attitude. However, the capitol did not hesitate to make final decision

by taking into account the likelihood of a situation turning into a serious crisis.

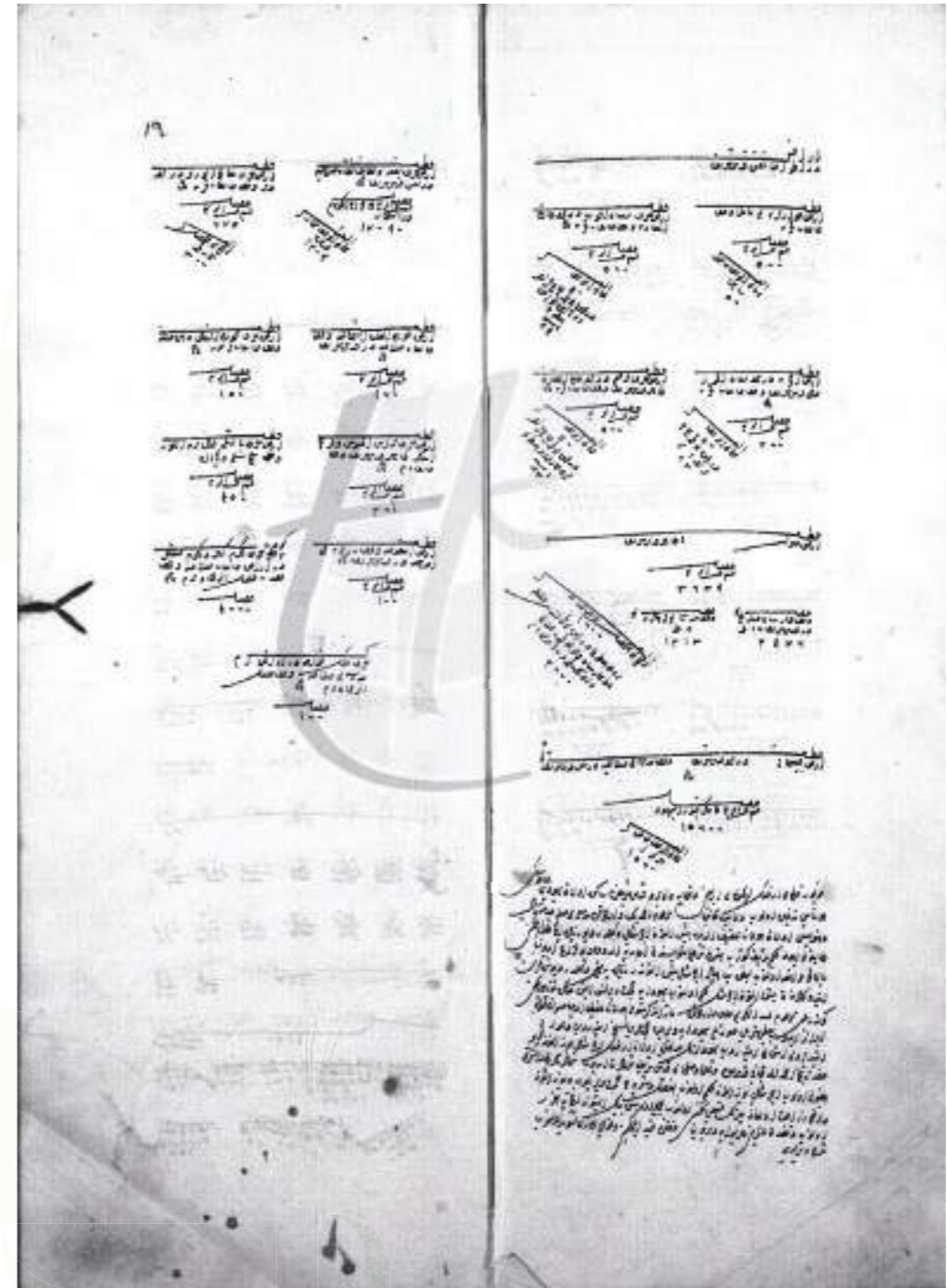
The city being considered holy by three religions led to its followers gathering there and constructing various places of worship. Therefore, each section was familiar with the others but also knew their own respective borders. However, times have occurred when places of worship became issues that brought about encounters with Muslims and non-Muslims. Rather than the structures themselves, what was at issue was injury to a dominant element, not the desire to prevent or abolish another's right to worship as a whole. As a matter of fact, the process of confiscating the synagogue known as Nahmanides represented a point where lines had been crossed and tensions had peaked. The order from Istanbul reminded the Jews that they had no right to a temple in Jerusalem under any circumstances, and the temple was recommended to be seized.³⁹

Another crisis that brought the ulama and the Jews face to face involved the tomb located in Gethsemane next to Madrasa al-Salahiyah. Mawlana Afif al-Din as the Hodja of the madrasa and trustee of the foundation opposed the Jews' use of this place as place where Jews could bury their dead in exchange for 5 gold a year. As a matter of fact, the Provincial Scribe, Ahmed Bey, had requested to increase the amount, complaining about the low annual rent being paid. As a result, the case was referred to the court. The Jews succeeded in preserving the current situation by presenting the previous ruling on this issue with the evidence that they had rented this space from the previous trustee for this amount with the support of some cavalymen that this fee could not be raised. However, Mawlana Afif al-Din did not give up and got a fatwa regarding the invalidity of the *ijarah* [rights transfer] contract and succeeded in making a new contract for 100 gold per year in a second lawsuit filed in court with the support of the ulama.⁴⁰

³⁷ Provision dated 2 Rebi'ulahir 946 (August 17, 1539), Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (945), 23. Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (945), 23-24.

³⁸ Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (945), 23-24.

³⁹ Mustafa Öksüz, "The Jewish Temples of XVI. Century Jerusalem and the Ottoman State", *Israeliyat: Journal of Israel and Jewish Studies*, no. 2, (Summer 2018), 9-32.



TKG.KK., TKG.KK.TT.d, No. 112, 18b.

⁴⁰ "Kit'at-u arz-i Cesimani () der-nezd-i Kudüs-i Şerif. Vakf-u Medrese-i Salahiye der-nefs-i Kudüs-i Şerif tamamen. Hasıl kısmın mine'r-rub' ma'a hikri kuburi'l-Yahud 15600. El-'öşr 'an-mali'l-vakf-hass-ı mirliya 1560. Mezbur kit'a-i arzın içinde sene erba'in ve tis'u miehden berü Kudüs-i Şerif'de sakin olan Yahudi taifesinin mevtaşı tedfin olup vilayet katibi merhum Ahmed Bey vardukta Medrese-i Salahiyye müderrisi ve mütevellisi olan Mevlana Affüddin 'beş altun ecr-i misli değildir' deyu ziyade akçe taleb eylemeğin tayife-i Yahud hükm-i şerif getirüp 'mukaddema şer'la mütevellisinden icarete aldık' deyu niza' idüip bi'l-ahir[e] müraf'a' olunup ba'zı sipahiler 'ecr-i misli beş altundan ziyadeye mutahammil değildir' deyu şehadetlerin ittüklerinden beş altun ecr-i misil hükm olunup Yahudaya hucet virilmiş imiş. Sonra tevzi' için gönderilip merhum Abdülkerim Çelebi vardukta marru'z-zikr mütevellî Mevlana Affüddin suret-i fetva'yı ibraz idüip ba'zı şer'î suretle Yahudaya virilen hucetleri fesh idürip da'vayı ibtidadan istima' idürip 'Yahudanın medfeni olan arzın ecr-i misli yüz altundur' deyu Hazreti Sheikh Ahmed ed-Decani kudüise sirruhu ve 'ulema ve suleha-i Kudüs-i Şerif şehadet idüip şehadetleri 'inde-ş-şer' makbul olup ecr-i misli yüz altun hükm olunup mufassal ve meşruh hucet virilüp ve yüz altun dahi zira' at olunan yerin kısmı tahmin olunup cümle on beş bin altı yüz akçeye mukarrer olup vakıfın 'öşrin mirlivaya virüp deftere kayd eylemeyin vukii' u üzere tesvid olunup şerh virildi.", TKG.KK., TKG.KK.TT.d, No. 112, 18b.

The members of the *ilmiya* cannot be argued as always having bad relations with non-Muslims. In the examples mentioned above, the feelings of the Muslim public had been taken as a basis and acted upon accordingly. Here, too, the military wing is not always seen to have acted in unison with the *ilmiya* or to always support the Jews, as in the example of the cemetery. This indicates a natural balance had existed among the power centers in the city. That a mutually dependent relationship had been established among the parties by allocating some of the *jizya* revenues to Islamic foundations should not be forgotten. Harassment from non-Muslims would ultimately cause them to leave their places over time, thus reducing the *jizya* revenue obtained from this group. Undoubtedly, the ulama adopting a radical attitude at all times would not be reasonable as they would not want to be deprived of this income. Such an attempt would naturally harm them. At the end of the day, the *ilmiya* class knew best that constant tension and bickering would benefit no one.⁴¹

Conclusion

The history of the scientific life that took place in Jerusalem started with the conquest of Omar, the second caliph. Frankly, every Muslim state that ruled here until the conquest of Yavuz Sultan Selim in 1516 contributed to this. Therefore, the Ottomans inherited the scientific tradition that they had nurtured from the same source, one that was not alien to them. Nothing occurred for either side to find the other strange. With the establishment of the new administration, the process of merging the parties with one another started normally and continued until the withdrawal of the empire from the stage of history. As nothing could be more natural than for every administration to reflect their own experiences on the field, the practices created consisted of steps toward bettering the functioning and development of the system. Therefore, no internal reactions were seen to occur in such cases, and the intervention of the state center was only expected in difficult situations.

The emergence of new elites within the *ilmiya* class in the city consisted of the reflection of the Ottoman protection policy there and a natural extension of the historical process. As a matter of fact, deep-rooted families were protected, and the continuity of their privileges was practically guaranteed. The fact is, no change in their positions occurred, and the preservation of their prestige facilitated their adaptation to the new structure. What actually was expected of them was to continue their activities and presence within the framework of ancient methods and to play their role within society.

⁴¹ Provision dating from December 1593 (Evâhir-i şehri-i Rebî'ulevvel 1002), Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri (843-1009), 140.

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Kudüs'te bazı tekke, ribat ve hankahlarının konumu

SUFISTIC LIFE IN JERUSALEM

Veysel AKKAYA*

Introduction

Palestine is a spiritual hub of the Islamic world and has been the scene of intellectual, social, mystical, philosophical, and political movements throughout history. As a beautiful reflection of Islamic spirituality, Sufi life has preserved its vitality throughout history in Jerusalem, which has a special place in the hearts of Muslims throughout Islamic geography and is where al-Aqsa Mosque is located.

Sufis naturally can be said to have been in Jerusalem [al-Quds] as in other Islamic cities since the first centuries of Islam. The establishment of the first *khanqah* [Sufi building for gathering] in the city of Ramla close to Jerusalem in the 2nd

century AH was important for the vitality of mystic life in this region.¹ Over the centuries, many *zawiyas* [Islamic religious school/monastery] and *khanqahs* belonging to sects such as Duwaidariyah, Karramiyya, Fakhriyya, Sa'diyya, Manjakiyah, Mawlawiyye, Qadiriyya, and Sulhiyya were established around the Jerusalem harem. In fact, these places were used by Sufis as well as by worshipers, ascetics, and scholars.²

One of the first famous libraries of Palestine in terms of culture was known to have belonged to Sheikh Mohammed bin Mohammed Khalil, a sheikh from the Qadiriyya Sufi order and a Shafi'i jurists. This library and its adjacent madrasa are good examples of Sufis activity in the scientific life of Jerusalem.³

The Development of Sufi Life in Jerusalem

Sufis also played an important role in Saladin Ayyubi's conquest, the man who conquered Jerusalem and saved it from the oppression of the Crusaders. Many people were found in the Islamic army, from ascetics and mystics. After the conquest, Sufi life became more active in Jerusalem. Saladin took some steps to strengthen the city's Islamic identity. He had madrasas built for jurists and ribats for Sufis. He ensured their continuity with endowments by allocating places where Sufis could settle.⁴ The Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties maintained Saladin's approach of supporting mystical life in Jerusalem. Mamluk Sultan Baibars had *zawiyas* built for the sheikhs of Jerusalem. The Ayyubids and Mamluks established many foundations that were maintained in the city after the Ottoman conquest. During the Ottoman period, the number of foundations related to *zawiyas* increased, and more conditions were provided for their continuation. The conditions Saladin set continued in the same way, some of these conditions being: "No non-Sufi may come between Sufis without their permission. No one in the *zawiya* may live beyond their needs. If a Sufi goes to another town and then returns, he is entitled to the same place." This interest in Sufis was instrumental in the development of Sufism in Jerusalem,

the proliferation of dervish lodges and *zawiyas*, and the spread of the Rifa'iyya, Khalwatiyya, Shazzaliyya, Wafaiyya, Bistamiyya, Kalandariyya, Yunusiyya, and other Sufi sects.⁵

One of the works the Ottoman Empire conducted to prevent European states' efforts at recapturing Jerusalem was to give great support to developing mystical life in the city of Jerusalem. This is because Sufis provided the city with stability and made great contributions to the religious, spiritual, social, and political life of the city. The Ottoman sultans not only sent gifts to the sect sheikhs but also gave them various responsibilities by assisting the lodges with their subsistence expenses. The foundation registers contain information about the which sultans or statesmen had helped found them. To give some examples, Sultan Selim I paid the sheikh of the Mawlawi sect a monthly salary of five hundred akce. Qasim Beg, son of Deputy Governor Kızıl Ahmad of Jerusalem, donated a vineyard for Sheikh Ali al-Khalwati in 1530. After appointing the sheikh from the Wafaiyya sect to the Prophet David [Dawud] *Zawiya*, Suleiman the Magnificent established several foundations for Ahmad al-Decani. When Sheikh Decani heralded the conquest of the island of Crete, Sultan Suleiman ordered a water channel be opened in his *zawiya* with valuable gifts and water be given to him as a means of gratitude.⁶



Zawiyah al-Wafaiyya in Jerusalem

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¹ Süleyman Uludağ, "Hankah", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 1997), 36:42.
² *Sihyr Qasim, Turuku al-Sufiyye asaruha fi Filistin, (Palestine: Camiatü Beirut, 2006), 80.*
³ Ribhi Mustafa Alyan, "al-Mektebatü fi Madina al-Quds", (Jordan, Efkâr, 2018) 348:124.

⁴ Ahmed Houssein Abd al-caburi, *Kudüs fi ahdi Osmaniyye*, (Amman: Daru Ahmed, 2010), 190; Asad al-Khatib, *Sufis and Action*, transl. Halil Ibrahim Kaçar et al., (Istanbul: İnsan Publications, 1999), 71.
⁵ *Abdulcaburi, Kudüs fi ahdi Osmaniyye*, 190; al-Hatib, *Sufiler ve Aksiyon*, 85.
⁶ *Muhsin Muhammed Sâlih, Dirâsât fi'l-türâs es-sekâfi li medîneti'l-Kuds*, (Beirut, Merkezü'z-Zeytâne li'd-Dirâsât, 2010), 191.

Jerusalem as a Place Where Sufis Find Peace

Jerusalem is a travel destination and source of inspiration to which Sufis attach great importance.⁷ In this sense, Imam al-Ghazali's visit to Jerusalem in 1095 was famous. Imam al-Ghazali visited Jerusalem and lived there in seclusion for a while. During that time, he wrote *al-Risale al-Qudsiyya*, a chapter in his *Ihya Ulum al-Din* [The Revival of the Religious Sciences], for the people of Jerusalem.⁸

The Sufis gave importance to the *caravanserais* [inns with central courtyard for travelers] and *zawiyas* in Jerusalem, the number of which exceeded 50. Academic studies on the Ottoman Empire talk about Sufi-owned foundations in Jerusalem. These foundations covered their guests' lighting, food, and beverage expenses.⁹

A common custom in Palestine during the Ottoman period was to invite the masters of Sufi sects to religious and official events. For example, on the last Friday of Ramadan, wealthy families would host their neighbor Sufi sect master to their home to perform dhikrs and rituals. In the period following the Ottoman Empire, these invitations were limited to official days, Laylat al-Qadr [Qadr Night], and the Prophet's [Prophet Muhammad] Birthday [Mawlid]. During the occupation after 1948, the *zawiyas*, like other structures had been severely damaged and destroyed. Compared to the past, very few lodges were able to maintain their existence.¹⁰

Throughout history, great Sufis and disciples visited Jerusalem, with some of them living there and building *zawiyas*, lodges, and *khanqahs*. Sufis in Jerusalem also wrote books and treatises on Sufism.¹¹ Studies have determined Jerusalem to have many manuscripts related to Sufism.¹²

Briefly touching upon the Isra and Mi'raj miracle would be useful from a mystical point of view here. As is known, Muslims hold Jerusalem in sanctity first and foremost for Isra and Mi'raj, the two parts of the Prophet's night journey. For this

reason, many works have been written about these, with Sufis also having produced important texts on the subject. Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) was a leading Sufi who wrote a separate book on Isra and Mi'raj from a mystical point of view.¹³ Ibn Arabi's interpretations of the events influenced later Sufis, and his work has become a leading resource. In his works, Ibn Arabi described in detail his own different spiritual ascensions while describing the ascensions of saints based on the ascension of the Messenger of God.¹⁴ According to Ibn Arabi, al-Buraq Mosque where the Buraq [creature in Islamic tradition said to carry certain prophets] that carried the Prophet from Mecca to Jerusalem waited symbolizes divine love, and al-Aqsa Mosque symbolizes divine light and how prophets obey the message of Allah. It is a sign of purity of heart. Prophet Muhammad drank milk there, which indicates *ledun* [knowledge of Allah]. The knocking on the heavenly doors is a sign of the soul's struggle. Reaching *Sidrat al-Muntaha* [tree marking the utmost boundary of the 7th heaven] and eating its satisfying fruit symbolize faith.¹⁵

Ismail Haqqi Bursevi (d. 1715), on the other hand, drew attention to the rock on which the Prophet ascended to the sky. According to him, this rock is no ordinary rock but a sign of something significant. In Bursevi's view, the center of the world's waters lays right under this rock. All waters are distributed to the world from this center. Making a connection between water and mercy, Boursavi reminded how the Messenger of Allah was a mercy to the worlds. Calling the rock *Sahratullah* [the Noble Rock] also shows respect for the Messenger of Allah. As an example, Bursevi reminded people how the Kaaba is called *Baitullah*, which means "House of God" and shows reverence for Prophet Abraham.¹⁶

Jerusalemite Sufis

Palestine is a center of vital importance for the Islamic world. The inhabitants of the region are located in this geographical area as an extension of Islamic civilization. What makes



Zawiyah al-Naqshbandiyya in Jerusalem

Palestinians different from other Muslims is that they've had to lead their lives in an insecure manner due to political events and the Israeli occupation.

Sufis in Palestine are in the same situation, and the difficult conditions of the occupation have inhibited the emergence of Sufi life. Therefore, the majority of Sufi sect sheikhs prevalent in Jerusalem live outside of Palestine.¹⁷

Sects such as the Yunusiya and Kalkashendiyya from North Africa, the Mawlawiyya order from Turkey, and the Desukiyya and Gilaniyya from Egypt came to Jerusalem. All of the sects coming from Egypt are called Dervish sects.¹⁸

Ibn al-Jalla

His full name was Abu Abdallah Ahmad b. Yahya al-Jalla, and he lived for a while in the town of Ramla along today's road from Jaffa to Jerusalem in Palestine. In his childhood, Ibn al-Jalla (d. 918) served famous Sufis such as Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, Sari al-Saqati, and Dhul-Nun al-Misri. Ibn al-Jalla's main mentor was Abu Turab al-Nakhshabi, whom he met while in Damascus. Saying that there were three real Sufis in his age, Ibn Nujayd (d. 976) stated his time to have seen three real Sufis, and Ibn al-Jalla was one of these.²¹

Abu al-Fadl Muhammad b. Tahir b. Ali Ahmad al-Shaibani al-Maqdisi (Ibn al-Qaisarani)

Ibn al-Qaisarani was born in 1056 in Jerusalem. Qaisarani, who'd received a good education in religious sciences, was reported to have been a strong memorizer of hadiths and a Sufi who prioritized science and hadith. Qaisarani wrote eleven works on hadiths as well as the two works *Safvetü't-Tasavvuf*²² and *Kitâbü's-Semâ*²³ as two of the first works on the subject. He died in 1113.²⁴

⁷ See Veysel Akkaya, *Evliyaullah'ın Mekke-Medine Hatıraları*, (Istanbul: Erkam Publications, 2017), 234–238.

⁸ Mustafa Çağrıncı, "Gazzâlî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 1996), 13:492.

⁹ Süheyr Kasım, *Turuku's-Süfîyye ve eseruhâ fi Filistin*, 5-7.

¹⁰ Süheyr Kasım, *Turuku's-Süfîyye ve eseruhâ fi Filistin*, 85.

¹¹ Süheyr Kasım, *Turuku's-Süfîyye ve eseruhâ fi Filistin*, 72.

¹² See Emin Said Ebi Leyl, *Mahtûâtü'l-Tasavvuf fi Filistin*, (Zerkâ: Mektebetü Menâr, 1988).

¹³ Muhyiddin İbnü'l-Arabî, *el-İsrâ ilâ Makâmi'l-Esrâ (Kitâbu'l-Mi'râc)*, ed. and commentary Suad el-Hakim, (Beirut: el-Müessesetü'l-Câmiyye, 1988).

¹⁴ See Muhyiddin İbnü'l-Arabî, *Tenezzülü'l-emlak min âlemi'l-ervâhi ilâ âlemi'l-eflak*, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Kütübi'l-İlmiyye, 2000); Veysel Akkaya, *Şeyh-i Ekber İbn Arabî'de İdris Peygamber*, (Istanbul: Erkam Publications, 2010), 193-208.

¹⁵ Ebu'l-Alâ Afîfî, *el-Kitâbu'l-tezkârî li İbni Arabî*, (Cairo: el-Heyetü'l-Misriyye el-Âmme li'l-Kitâb, 1969), 1:92.

¹⁶ Ismail Haqqi Bursevi, *Tuhfet-i Atâiyye*, 53a, ed. Veysel Akkaya, *Kabe ve İnsan*, (Istanbul: İnsan Publications, 2001).

¹⁷ Süheyr Kasım, *Turuku's-Süfîyye ve eseruhâ fi Filistin*, 74.

¹⁸ Ez-Zevâyâ es-Süfîyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-İlmi'l-Filistinî, <https://www.palinfo.com/news/2016/1/7/>. (Accessed: 02.02.2020).

¹⁹ Afîf Haseni el-Kâsimî, *Advâu alâ'l-Tarîkatü'l-Halvetiyyeti*, (Palestine: el-Câmiatü'r-Rahmâniyye, 1997) 5.

²⁰ Süheyr Kasım, *Turuku's-Süfîyye ve eseruhâ fi Filistin*, 75.

²¹ Mustafa Bahadroğlu, "İbnü'l-Cellâ", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 1999), 20:538.

²² The book has been translated into Turkish. See al-Maqdisi, (Ibn al-Qaysarani), *Tasavvufun Özü (Safvetü't-Tasavvuf)*, transl. M. Cevat Ergin, Istanbul: İlk Harf Publishing House, 2015.

²³ The book was verified and published in Egypt. Ibn al-Qaysarani al-Maqdisi, *Kitâbü's-Semâ*, ed. Ebi'l-Vefâ Merağî, Cairo, 1994.

²⁴ M. Yaşar Kandemir, "İbnü'l-Kayserânî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 2000), 21:109-111.

Ganim al-Maqdisi

Ganim b. Ali Asakir al-Maqdisi was born in 562 AH. He was an ascetic from among the great saints. He lived in Jerusalem and died in 632 AH.²⁵

Ahmed al-Bistami

Ahmad b. al-Kurdi al-Bistami was the sheikh of the Zawiya al-Bistamiyya in Jerusalem. He was a great jurist of the Madrasa al-Salahiyya and sheikh of the Shari'a Sufis in Jerusalem until his death in 881 AH.²⁶

Muhammed b. Abu Bakr al-Maqdisi

Abu Bakr al-Maqdisi was born in 841 in Bayt al-Maqdis. He was the sheikh of the Zawiya al-Wafaiya and the professor of the Madrasa al-Housseiniya. He died in 891.²⁷

Shihabuddin al-Maqdisi

Shihabuddin Abul Abbas al-Shaibani al-Maqdisi was born in 844. He was a righteous, pious and honest person as well as the sheikh of the Zawiya al-Shaibaniyya in Jerusalem. He died in 925. More Sufis and ascetics grew up in Jerusalem. We suffice with this as an example.

Zawiyas and Khanqahs in Jerusalem

Jerusalem has been a rich city in terms of zawiyas and khanqahs throughout history. Some have not survived to the present day. The zawiyas had been built both inside and outside the old city walls of Jerusalem.²⁸

In fact, having the Madrasa al-Nasiriyya and the zawiye around al-Aqsa Mosque is important in terms of showing the effectiveness mysticism has in Jerusalem. Nasr Ibrahim al-Maqdisi built this zawiya and madrasa in the 5th century AH.²⁹ More than 20 zawiyas were present during the Ottoman period.³⁰

Zawiyas are found outside the walls of the ancient city of Jerusalem. All these zawiyas are around forty-five according to some studies.³¹ We will detail some of these zawiyas below.

Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya/Rifaiyah

Located in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, the zawiya belonged to Hussam b. Sharif al-Din al-Jarrahi, an emir for Saladin Ayyubid. Isa al-Jarrahi died in Jerusalem and was buried on the grounds of the zawiya. In 1202, a tomb was built over his grave. This place also became a frequent destination for the followers of the Rifaiyah sect.³²

²⁵ *Şezeratü'z-Zeheb, Beirut, 5:154.*

²⁶ *Müjir al-Din al-Hanbali, el-Ünsü'l-celil bi-târîhi'l-Kudsi ve'l-Halil, (Najaf: 1968), 2: 197.*

²⁷ *Şezeratü'z-Zeheb, 8: 131.*

²⁸ *Ez-Zevâyâ es-Süfiyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-İ'lâmî el-Filistîni, <https://www.palinfo.com/59932>, (Accessed: 07.01.2016).*

²⁹ *El-Firak fi Filistîn- es-Süfiyye, Merkezü Beyti'l-Makdis li'd-dirâsâti et-Tevsikiyye, <http://www.aqsaonline.org/news.aspx?id=378>, (Accessed: 01.01. 2008).*

³⁰ *Muhsin Muhammed Sâlih, Dirâsât fi'l-Türâsi's-Sekâfi li Medineti'l-Kuds, (Beirut: Merkezi ez-Zeytûniyye li'd-Dirâsât, 2010), 188.*

³¹ *See Nûmân Dâved Ahmed el-Eşkar, es-Süfiyyetüfi Filistin el-Kuds Nemûzecen, <https://pulpit.alwatanvoice.com/articles/2010/07/24/205133.html>, (Accessed: 02.02.2020).*

³² *Ez-Zevâyâ es-Süfiyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-İ'lâmî el-Filistîni, <https://www.palinfo.com/news/2016/1/7>, (Accessed: 07.01.2016).*



Zawiya al-Rifaiyah

Zawiya al-Hindiyya

Within the walls of Jerusalem to the right of Herod's Gate [Bab al-Sahira] is an Indian zawiya. This name was given because the majority of the people who've come and lived here are from India. The buildings belong to the 13th or 14th century according to certain views. In the first period of the Ottomans, an Indian Sufi named Farid al-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, known reverentially as Baba Farid, had this zawiya repaired and set aside for Indian visitors. In 1964, a section of this zawiya was rented to help refugees. This is partially used to distribute supplies and relief aid to the poor and to asylum seekers. Another part is used as the pilgrim lodge.³³



Zawiya al-Hindiyya

³³ *Ez-Zevâyâ es-Süfiyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-İ'lâmî el-Filistîni, <https://www.palinfo.com/59932>, (Accessed: 07.01.2016).*

Zawiya al-Wafa'iyya

This zawiya is located in the city of Jerusalem at the intersection of the Wizards' Gate [Tranquility Gate] and the Road of the Mujahideen. It is also called the Road of Zawiya. It was built in the early Ottoman period.³⁴

Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya (al-Uzbekiyya)

The residents here took this name for their zawiya because they were from Uzbekistan. Again, this name may have been given because the visitors came from Uzbekistan. The Zawiya al-Naqshbandiyya also hosted Indonesian pilgrims until 1967. Since the occupation of Jerusalem, its activities have stopped.

Today, the zawiya serves as a mosque. The Jews have repeatedly tried to seize it to use it as a gateway to the tunnel they dug under the western cloisters of al-Aqsa Mosque. They almost achieved this goal in 1996. However, their attempts were unsuccessful against opposition from the Islamic Foundation.³⁵

Zawiya al-Afghani

In 1633, Indian Sheikh Abdul Qadir Gilani came to Jerusalem from India and built a zawiya here to spread the Qadiri-Alawite sect. Today, this zawiya is known as Zawiya al-Afghani because a group of Afghans stay there. Zawiya al-Afghani is still active and holds events. In particular, private events are held on the Prophet's birthday and the Islamic New Year.³⁶



Zawiya al-Afghani

³⁴ Ez-Zevâyâ es-Sâfiyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-Î'lâmî el-Filistîni, <https://www.palinfo.com/59932> (Accessed: 07.01.2016).

³⁵ Muhammed Ebû Elfilâk, ez-Zâviyetü'n-Nakşibendiyye İrsü Sâfi Arık, <http://honaalquds.net/ar/article/943/>, (Accessed: 06.29.2014).

³⁶ Ez-Zevâyâ es-Sâfiyye bi'l-Kuds, el-Merkezü'l-Î'lâmî el-Filistîni, <https://www.palinfo.com/59932>, (Accessed: 07.01.2016).

Zawiya al-Bistamiya

Zawiya al-Bistamiya is located under the Dome of the Rock to the east of the Mount of Olives. It is a pleasant place where the poor from Bastam meet.³⁷ On its northern side is the Zawiya al-Samediyya adjacent to Durj al-Buraq.³⁸

Jerusalem is also a rich city in terms of khanqahs. Some should be given as examples.

Khanqah al-Salahiyya

This is located on the northwest side of the ancient city of Jerusalem. It is north of the Church of the Apocalypse and was built by Saladin Ayyubi and Yusuf b. Ayyub in 1189.

Khanqah al-Duwaidaryah

This one is located across the northern side of Haram al-Sharif. It was built by Ayyubid Mamluk Amir Alam al-Din Abu Musa Sanjar b. Abdallah Ibn al-Dawadari in 1295. This building combined Sufism with a madrasa education. This khanqah, which was also a madrasa, provided lessons in the science of recitation and prophetic hadith in addition to fiqh, according to the Shafi'i school. Today, it is used as a primary school and is known as Madrasa al-Bakiriyya.



Khanqah al-Duwaidaryah

³⁷ Al-Hanbali, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 2:23.

³⁸ Al-Hanbali, el-Ünsü'l-celil, 2:23.

Khanqah al-Fakhriyya

It is located in the southern corner of the Haram al-Sharif Complex near the Islamic Museum. It was built by Qadi Fakhr al-Din Mohammed b. Fadl Allah in 1329. The building was first built as a madrasa then later used as a khanqah. In 1967, the Israeli occupation forces destroyed most of it. The rest was used for Islamic works. Today, it is used by the staff of the Islamic Museum.³⁹



Khanqah al-Fakhriyya

Conclusion

Throughout history, Jerusalem has been one of the centers where Sufi life has been most vividly lived. After Saladin conquered Jerusalem with great involvement from Sufis, Sufi sects began to increase their institutions in Jerusalem, with more than fifty dervish lodges (zawiyas) and khanqahs known to have been built during the Mamluk and Ottoman eras. This is the clearest indication of the importance Sufi life has had in Jerusalem.

Islamic states have given importance to supporting the activities of Sufi sheikhs and the services provided by zawiyas and khanqahs through waqfs as a policy against the crusaders for maintaining Muslims' presence in Jerusalem.

³⁹ Nûmân el-Eşkar, *es-Sûfiyyetü fî Filistin*, <https://pulpit.alwatanvoice.com/articles/2010/07/24/205133.html>, (Accessed: 02.02.2020).

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SIGNIFICANT ISLAMIC STRUCTURES OF BAYT AL-MAQDIS

Fettah AYKAÇ*

A- The Importance of the Bayt al-Maqdis Area

Jerusalem [al-Quds] has hundreds of architectural structures that were built to satisfy people's needs such as mosques, schools, hospitals, and foundations. Most of the buildings mentioned in historical books still stand, and many of the buildings such as mosques and schools are still in use today.

Since its first years, the religion of Islam and its members have shown their interest in Jerusalem by forming many foundational organizations and building the architectural works housing these foundations.

When considering the religious importance and value of Jerusalem has in the Islamic faith, the early period caliphs and later Muslim sultans and governors are seen to have built many sumptuous public and foundational buildings in the city around mosques for charitable purposes aimed at meeting the various needs of peoples from all religions, whether they be a resident or traveler.

1- In Terms of Religions Short History of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is holy city for all of the Islamic, Christian, and Jewish religions and is one of the oldest places in the world where people have resided. Archaeological excavations show the city to have a history of more than 5,000 years. This area has over 200 historical buildings. According to Judaism and within the framework of the Abrahamic religions, the Prophet Moses [Musa], after liberating Jews from the persecution of the Egyptian pharaoh and living 40 years in the desert, led them in the era of King Joshua [Prophet Yusha] of the Israelites to Palestine. They entered and tried to settle there,

defeated the army of King Adonizedek who ruled the region Jerusalem is central to. However, they were unable to enter Jerusalem under the rule of the Jebusites. The land of Canaan was divided among the Israelites, and although Jerusalem was allotted to the generation of Benjamin, it remained under the rule of the Jebusites until Prophet David [Dawud] conquered Jerusalem. According to information given early on in the Old Testament, after Joshua died, the tribes of Judah and Simeon captured the Jebusite king and burned the city, but the Jebusites retained control of Jerusalem.¹ When David became king over all of Israel, he attacked the Jebusites who controlled Jerusalem, took Sion castle, and named it the City of David. After conquering Jerusalem, David made it the center of the kingdom, strengthened the city, rebuilt the fortress that the Jebusites called Zion, and built a palace there for himself. He wanted to make Jerusalem a religious center, and to do this, he brought the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem and placed it in a tent near his palace. David wanted to also build a temple and gathered the materials needed to do this, but the Lord did not grant this permission to David.²

2- A Brief History of the Bayt al-Maqdis Area in Terms of the Abrahamic Religions and the Temple's Construction

Known as Bayt al-Maqdis in the Islamic World because of its mention in the Qur'an, non-native sources also describe this area as a square with a very large surface area of approximately 142-144 decares (see Image 1-a). Different meanings and values have been attributed to this area or some parts of it and buildings have been built by people of different faiths throughout history.



Image-1. The area of Bayt al-Maqdis as seen from the Mount of Olives (IYV Archive)



Resim 1a, 1b Kudüs'ün batısından Beytü'l Makdis alanı ve Zeytindağı tarafına bakış (<https://www.picuki.com/tag/EIaksa>)

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¹ Ömer Faruk Harman, "Kudüs", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 26: 324, (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2002.)

² Harman, "Kudüs", 26: 324-329.

In the past, two full-fledged temples had been built on the area of Bayt al-Maqdis, which non-native sources refer to as Mount Moriah or the Temple Mount. The first temple is accepted as having been built in first years of Prophet Solomon's [Sulaiman] rule, which lasted between 972-942 BC (see Image 2a-b). This temple and Jerusalem were later destroyed and looted by Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar in 600, 597, and 587 BC.³ The second

temple was built by Herod (though not of Jewish ethnicity, he is said to have later converted to Judaism for his political and economic plans), who ruled the region of Palestine in the name of the Emperor of Rome between 18 to 4 BC (see Image 3a-b). However, in 70 AD after suppressing the Jewish revolt of 67-69 AD, the second temple is accepted to have been utterly destroyed and demolished by the Roman commander Titus.

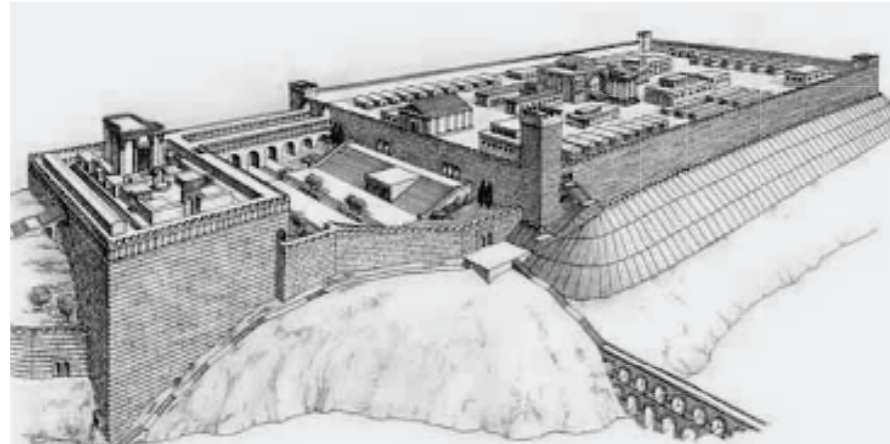


Image 2a. According to the descriptions from the Jewish historian Josephus (d. 100 AD), the area of Bayt al-Maqdis and the location of the first Temple of Solomon were here.



Image 2b. A 17th-century drawing showing the approximate location of the area of Bayt al-Maqdis and the first Temple of Solomon according to Judaism (Jewish Encyclopedia.com).

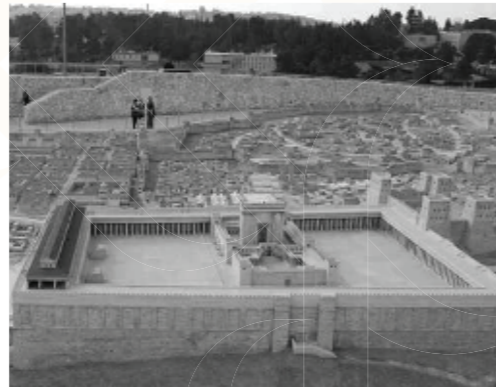


Image 3b. A representation of the temple as rebuilt by Herod (wikipedia.org/wiki/Second Temple. 01.05.2016).

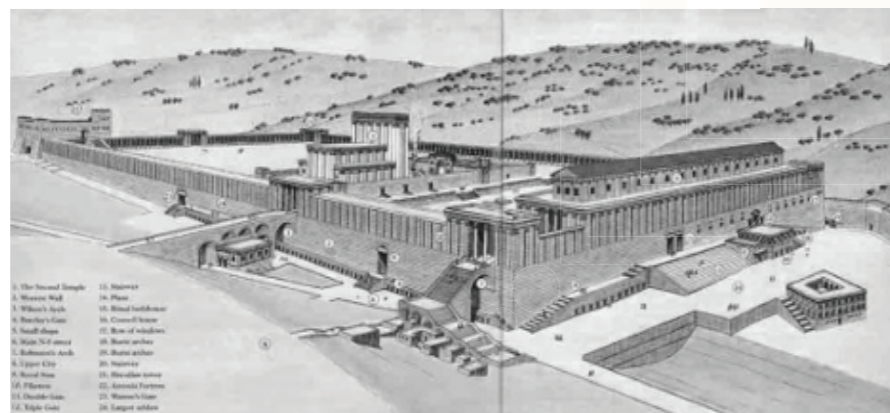


Image 3a. Approximate view of the second temple and outbuildings as built by King Herod and viewed from the southwest (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Temple_in_Jerusalem and <http://en. 01.05.2016>).

³ This is said to be indicated in the Qur'an 17:4-5. See Harman, "Jerusalem", 26: 325.

In the interims after these two great temples were destroyed (e.g., the Babylonian return of the Jews between 350 BC and after the first of the Roman-Persian Wars around 100-135 AD), though the attempt was made to build a makeshift temple using the remaining materials, these temples ended up getting demolished because of the periods of political turmoil that followed, as these were not durable structures. One of these temples is accepted as having been destroyed by Emperor Hadrian after suppressing the Jewish revolt that took place around 132-135 AD.⁴

After the Roman Empire accept Christianity as its official religion in 323 AD, they did not build any religious

buildings in the area of Bayt al-Maqdis between 323-613 and 627-637 AD when they ruled the administration of Jerusalem due to their fear of God's wrath stemming from two verses in the Bible.⁵ In addition, they also did not allow the Jews whom they'd permitted to practice their religion only at certain times to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. In the 88 years between 1099 AD when the Christian crusaders took Jerusalem from the Fatimid State by way of agreement then put the Jerusalemites to the sword and 1187 AD when they lost against the Islamic armies lead by Saladin, they built no new structures, only using existing buildings for religious, administrative, and military purposes.



The view of the Dome of the Rock and the Qibla Mosque from the southeastern courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)

3-Ottoman Services to the City of Jerusalem and the Bayt al-Maqdis Area

Writing about the conquer of Jerusalem, the famous Muslim explorer Evliya Çelebi stated, "In 1516 when Jerusalem was rule by the Circassians, all significant Muslim scholars came out from Jerusalem to meet Sultan Selim and give him the keys to Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock of Allah. Praying to Allah, Sultan Selim said, 'Thanks be to Allah for handing me the

first qibla of Islam."⁶ Just as had been done by previous Muslim states, from 1516 when Egypt and Palestine were taken from the Mamluks by Yavuz Sultan Selim until 1918, the city of Jerusalem and the area of Bayt al-Maqdis remained under Ottoman rule (referred to as al-Aqsa Mosque and Haram al-Sharif in many Arabic sources). Small-scale construction works and all types of both large and small maintenance and repairs required for all the structures in the area of Bayt al-Maqdis were carried out there.

⁴ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, v.1, pt.1, New York 1979, p. 29, n.3-6.

⁵ "Listen, your house will be left in ruins." Mathew 24:2 and "I will leave no stone unbroken there." Luke 19:44 (Pocock's Ed. Oxon, 1658, ll, p. 288-289) K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, v. 1, pt. 1, p. 31, Oxford 1969, NY 1979 (via Eutychius, who wrote in 939).

⁶ Archie G. Walls, "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and Their Political Significance 1537-1928", *Muqarnas* V, p. 85-97.



Suleiman the Magnificent Walls surrounding the Temple/Mount Moriah and al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)

The first great reconstruction works in Jerusalem involve architectural activities carried out throughout the entire city, particularly in the area of Bayt al-Maqdis, which had been made during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim's son, Suleiman the Magnificent. In addition to the major works such as repairs⁷ to all the city walls and the new construction of additional buildings in this period under the supervision of Güzelce Hasan Pasha, the governor of Egypt in 1524, important large structures such as al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock were completely overhauled inside and out,⁸ with vital maintenance and repairs being made to these two large structures as well as others. Thanks to the large-scale maintenance and repairs carried out at this time, these structures were able to last into the 19th century.⁹ In the 19th century after Sultan Abdulaziz declared Jerusalem a municipality (1863-65), important maintenance and repairs were carried out at great expense to the structures in the Bayt al-Maqdis area, in particular to al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. (Image 31-34). Even after the Ottomans lost Jerusalem as a result of World War I upon the official request of England, Mimar Kemaleddin Bey came to Je-

rusalem and made important repairs on al-Aqsa Mosque. As some researchers have stated, "Thanks to such great maintenance and repairs that have not been granted to any other state since the 16th century, these artifacts have survived to the present day and the Ottoman seal has been affixed to Jerusalem in a way that cannot be easily removed."¹⁰

B- Other Islamic Architectural Elements and Structures in and around Jerusalem and the Bayt al-Maqdis Area¹¹

Many sources related to Islamic structures in Jerusalem's Bayt al-Maqdis area have introduced the subject by grouping them under main headings such as masjids, *namazgahs* [places for outdoor worship], domes, minarets, minbars, arches, madrasas, porticos/porches, gates, water resources, the Islamic Museum, and al-Buraq Wall [The Western Wall]. In order not to conflict with the introductions made in different sources on this subject, a brief introduction of the architectural structures in and around the Bayt al-Maqdis area has been made based on the groupings and main headings made in these publications.

⁷ The tombs of the two masters/architects who worked on the repair of the Jerusalem city walls are still present in Jerusalem today (See Image 32a, b).

⁸ Creswell, *EMA*, v. I, pt. I, 1969/79, p. 91, n. 4.

⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses", *Muqarnas* V, 25, pp. 17-105, 2008.

¹⁰ Mehmet Tütüncü, "Kudüs ve Sultan I. Süleyman", *Düşünce ve Tarih*, İstanbul (2016): 41.

¹¹ The introductory information and some images used in the promotion are from the *Mescid-i Aksâ Rehberi*, TİKA, August 2003; *Filistin, Kutsal Topraklara Hoş Geldiniz*, prepared by TİKA and Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities; trans. S. Demirsoy & M. Usta, *Orta Doğu'nun Kalbi Kudüs*, İstanbul: 2018; Harman, "Kudüs", 26: 323-338, Ankara, 2002; Mehmet Tütüncü, "Kudüs ve Sultan I. Süleyman", *Düşünce ve Tarih*, İstanbul: 2016; K. Balcı-A. İnce, *Kutsalığın Başşehri Kudüs*, İstanbul: Timaş Publications. These have been prepared as a compilation of the printed publications from 2012 and the web publications whose addresses are given in the bibliography list.

1- The Main Gates of Bayt al-Maqdis

A total of 15 gates lead to the Bayt al-Maqdis area, five of these gates (3 single and 1 double gate) are closed and the other 10 gates are still open.



Bayt al-Maqdis Area and Gates (IYV Archive)

The names of the functioning gates:

i- The Gate of the Tribes (*Bab al-Asbatt*): The Gate of the Tribes is located in the north-east corner of al-Aqsa Mosque. It is also known as St. Mary's Gate.

ii- The Gate of Remission (*Bab al-Huttah*): This gate is located on the northern wall of the mosque between the minaret of the Gate of the Tribes and the Faisal Gate.



Gate of Remission (IYV Archive)

iii- The Gate of Darkness (*Bab Shah Faisal*): This gate is located to the west of the Gate of Remission on the northern wall of the mosque and is also known by other names such as the Gate of the Honor of the Prophets, the Gate of al-Dawadariya, and King Faisal Gate.

iv- Gate of Bani Ghanim (*Bab al-Ghawanima*): This gate is located on the north-western corner of al-Aqsa Mosque, also known as the Qibly Mosque.



Gate of Bani Ghanim (IYV Archive)



Council Gate (IYV Archive)



Cotton Merchants' Gate (FA Archive)



Moors Gate (IYV Archive)



Chain Gate (IYV Archive)



Golden Gate from inside al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)

v- The Council Gate/Inspector's Gate (*Bab al-Majlis/Bab an-Nazir*): This gate faces north on the western wall of al-Aqsa Mosque and is also known by other various names such as Bab al-Habis, Bab al-Mikail, Bab al-Alaaddin al-Busairi, and Bab er-Rabat al-Mansuri.

vi- The Iron Gate (*Bab al-Hadid*): This gate is on the west wall of al-Aqsa Mosque between Bab al-Qattanin and Bab an-Nazir.

vii- Cotton Merchants' Gate (*Bab al-Qattanin*): This one is located on the western wall between Bab al-Hadid and Bab al-Mathara.

viii- The Ablution Gate (*Bab al-Matharah*): This gate is located south of Bab al-Qattanin on the western wall and is also called Bab el-Mutawada.

ix- Chain Gate (*Bab as-Silsileh*): This one is located on the western porch of al-Aqsa Mosque.

x- Moors Gate (*Bab al-Magharibah*): This is the southern-most gate on the western wall.

xi- Tranquility Gate (*Bab as-Salaam/Bab as-Sakina*): This is also known as Dawud's Gate or the Wizard's Gate. This gate is one of the main gates to the Haram. It is adjacent to the Chain Gate from the north and is currently closed. The construction and renovation of the gate dates back to the Ayyubid period. This large wooden door with intertwined embroidered stones has two wings, and when the wings are closed, a small door on one of the wings allows enough room for a person to enter.

The other non-functioning doors are:

xii. Golden Gate (*Bab al-Dhahabi*): It is located on the eastern wall. It leads to the Gate of Repentance (*Bab at-Tawbah*) the Gate of Mercy (*Bab ar-Rahmah*).

xiii. The Double Huldah Gate. This gate is on Masjid al-Aqsa's southern wall.

xiv. The Triple Huldah Gate. This gate is in the middle of the southern wall.

xv. The Crusaders' Single Gate. This gate is also in the southern wall.

xvi. The Funeral Gate (*Bab al-Buraq*): Located on the eastern wall of the campus.



Golden Gate outside al-Aqsa Mosque walls and the Muslim cemetery in front of it (IYV Archive)

2- Mosques

i- Al-Aqsa Mosque

Al-Aqsa Mosque Complex includes open areas, underground and above-ground masjids, prayer places, minarets, domes, madrasas, buildings, porticos, public outbuildings, gates, outbuildings adjacent to the open areas of al-Aqsa Mosque, and the walls surrounding it on all sides. The name al-Aqsa Mosque and Haram al-Sharif stem from folk culture. The term *Haramayn* in Islamic belief is used to refer to the two holy cities, Mecca for housing the Kaaba and Medina housing Masjid an-Nabawi. All the existing buildings and open spaces within the boundaries of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex (also known as Bayt al-Maqdis), whether above ground as in the example of the Marwani-Masjid or underground, have the same sanctity in terms of Islamic belief and fiqh. Someone who performs *i'tikaf* [staying in a mosque for a certain number of days] in al-Aqsa Mosque, their *i'tikaf* is considered to be maintained if they stay within the complex, whether in the open or closed areas of the area.

The Structures of Al-Aqsa Mosque Complex at Various Ground Levels:

1. The first level is underground and includes the water wells, water channels, and some buildings that are covered with soil.
2. The second level is also underground and includes Marwani-Masjid (located north of Masjid al-Qiblatain [Mosque of the Two Qiblas]); al-Buraq Mosque; the Ancient al-Aqsa Mosque (located under the base of Masjid al-Qiblatain); the Golden Gate, the Gate of Repentance; the closed doors of the Single, Double, and Triple Huldah Gates; the Funeral Gate; and the Chain Gate.
3. The third level is ground level and includes Masjid al-Qiblatain located on the south of al-Aqsa Mosque, the main areas, the open gates, and porticos.
4. The fourth level rises just above the ground and includes the Dome of the Rock, the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock, the domes, the prayer places, and the other buildings and arches surrounding them.



Ancient al-Aqsa Mosque entrance and interior (IYV Archive)

The Historical Origins of the Name "al-Aqsa Mosque"

i. Al-Aqsa Mosque

Al-Aqsa in Arabic means "the furthest." The reason why this area is called al-Aqsa Mosque is that it was named after where the Temple of Solomon was located known as Bayt al-Maqdis and was the house of worship farthest from Mecca at the time when the revelation was revealed to the Messenger of Allah. In the dictionary, the word *al-aqsa* is used to relate the distance of one place from another known place. The reason for the holiness of al-Aqsa Mosque as the building that was built there later is due to the phrase "the farthest mosque" occurring in the Qur'anic verse referring to the distance from the Bayt al-Maqdis area to the Kaaba.

As Prophet Moses described, "O my people, enter the holy land which Allah has prescribed for you [as your homeland] and turn not on your backs, for then you will turn back losers." (Qur'an 5:21). Al-Aqsa Mosque is located in the Holy lands. The lands of al-Aqsa Mosque are blessed by Allah who stated this in the Qur'an in Surah al-Isra Ayah 1. Three masjids have unique status because of their holiness, as stated in hadith sharif. Al-Aqsa Mosque (The First Masjid of Solomon) was the first qibla, and Mecca, which was built around the Kaaba, became the second masjid.

ii- Qibly Mosque/Mosque of Omar

Masjid al-Qiblatain is the name given to the narrow and long single-nave area in the southwestern part of today's al-Aqsa Mosque complex and is used as the Women's Masjid (see Image 19, Plan of Today's al-Aqsa Mosque and its annexes, No: 9). The area of Masjid al-Aqsa has undergone architectural changes many times. When Muslims conquered Jerusalem for the first time in 15 AH/637-638 AD, they founded the haram of al-Aqsa Mosque (the area of Bayt al-Maqdis) as an open area with no solid build-

ings but filled with partially destroyed buildings and garbage heaps. Jerusalem in the area of Bayt al-Maqdis later known as the Mosque of Omar was the first masjid and was built by the Islamic army led by Omar.

The plan for the masjid in this area was arranged according to the columns of a building that had been an annex from the Second Temple built by King Herod and destroyed by the Roman commander Titus in 70, using remnant materials such as walls and columns. In addition to the existing stone material, the wooden material that was abundant around Jerusalem at that time were used to complete the masjid within 15-20 days of Omar's stay in the region where needed such as for pillars, doors, and windows. The building was organized as a mosque built from east to west at a normal length but quite narrowly from south to north. The mosque has large capacity where 3,000 people can pray.

The Mosque of Omar's Appearance, the First Mosque of the Bayt al-Maqdis Area

British researcher K.A.C. Creswell,¹² who has made serious research and publications on the Bayt al-Maqdis area and its important mosque structures, deals with the history of this area and its buildings in the first volume of his book *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford Press, 1969), which he updated and published in 1969. He gave very detailed information from important Western and Eastern sources of this area's earliest and later periods. According to Creswell's information about the southern side of the Bayt al-Maqdis area (up to where al-Aqsa Mosque is located now), a mosque was built with the works of Islamic army under the supervision of Caliph Omar after Jerusalem was conquered when Caliph Omar came to take the keys of city.

The Mosque of Omar as a structure is a collection of columns, lintels, and walls from the Stoa structure (Image 4a-b), which was what remained of

¹² K. A. C. Creswell was born in London in 1879 and lived in Cairo between 1922-1972. His very important and large volume of books such as *Early Islamic Architecture* and *Early Islamic Architecture of Egypt* can still be cited as the most important references in all publications in this field (see Semavi Eyice, "Creswell, K. A. C.", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 8: 75; Istanbul: TDV Publications, 1994).

the outbuildings from the Temple of Jupiter the Roman Emperor Hadrian had built in 137 AD in this area. Using these ruins, the Mosque of Omar was built by Caliph Omar in a short time, two or three weeks (the south-north part of this ruin was narrow while the east-west section was long). For the next 70-75 years,¹³ Jerusalem's *jamii* [gathering place] for *Jumah* [Friday prayer] used it as the Great Mosque (see Image 5). For this reason, the

Mosque of Omar was known as the Great Mosque from 637 to 710-715 when it was destroyed and rebuilt. The latter part of the century saw this structure destroyed and rebuilt several times, though its name turned from the Mosque of Omar to al-Aqsa Mosque. The Mosque of Omar as a name continued to be used in European sources in the following centuries in connection with the issue of Jerusalem being taken over by the Muslims.



Image 4a¹⁴ Artistic impression of Hadrian's Stoa¹⁴



Image 4b¹⁵ Artistic impression of the Roman's Stoa¹⁵



Image 5 Caliph Omar's Estimated Plan¹⁶

iii- Al-Aqsa Mosque

The Transformation from the Mosque of Omar to al-Aqsa Mosque

The mosque not being a normal structure in terms of having a complete mosque plan and the western and eastern sides being too long compared to the northern and southern sides has caused some difficulties in daily uses. The new mosque was built by the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (d. 705), who had Caliph Omar's Mosque demolished and rebuilt. He died before he could rebuild it; this ended up being left to his son, Walid I, who ascended the throne after him. The view widely accepted by art history researchers is that he had it rebuilt as the first al-Aqsa Mosque (see Image 6).¹⁷



Image 6. Estimated plan of the first Aksa Mosque with three naves and a transept plan, built by Walid ibn Abd al-Malik, around 710 in place of the Omar Masjid which was demolished by Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.

¹³ Although Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan had the Dome of the Rock built in 692 AD upon the hill, which is considered the holiest part of the Temple and had been rebuilt by the Jewish King Herod between 18-4 BC, in the area of Bayt al Makdis. (According to Yakubi's statement) it is accepted that it was not used as a great mosque because it was built as a pilgrimage site rather than a mosque.

¹⁴ Based on ancient sources, King Herod II had it built in Jerusalem. The Temple was destroyed by Titus in 70, and then the Roman Emperor Hadrian (d. 138) rebuilt the ruined city around 130 and changed its name to "Aelia Capitolina" and dedicated it to the Roman god Jupiter (Although the temple was said to have been built by Zeus) and the Stoa ruins in the south were the outbuildings of the Temple of Jupiter (see <http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadrian> n. 57, 58 (02.02.2016); Harman, "Kudüs", DJA, XXVI, s3.25). On his issue Creswell commented as "These ruins were belong to the stoa of the Temple which were built by Herod [between 18-04 BC]." (Creswell, EMA, 1969, v. I, pt. 1, p.28-29).

¹⁵ Image 5-6: Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif: An Iconographic Study, Al-Masjid al-Aqsa-Al-Aqsa Mosque", Qedem 28, Jerusalem 1989, pp. 4-7

¹⁶ Ayalon, Qedem 28, Jerusalem 1989, p. 4-7.

¹⁷ Abd al-Malik I's son Walid, who was the Umayyad caliph between 705-715, was very interested in renovation and construction. He had the first Masjid an-Nabawi structure in Medina, the Umayyad Great Mosque in the center of Damascus, and the villas of the old Jewish rabbis under the southern part in Jerusalem demolished and rebuilt during his 10 years on the throne. He is known to have had many mosques and palace structures built in the area, such as the palace. For this reason, most researchers consider this the second mosque built instead of Masjid Omar. He readmits that Walid did it.

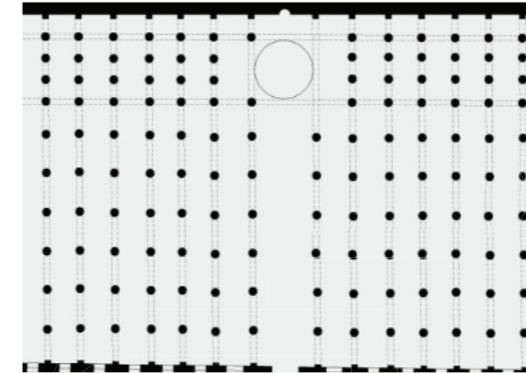


Image 7a.¹⁸ Plan of the second al-Aqsa Mosque structure, where Abbasid Caliph Cafer al-Mansûr had the first three-naves of al-Aqsa Mosque of Walid I rebuilt with 15 naves in 758-59 (His son al-Mahdi is said to have had it repaired in 786-787). (Creswell)

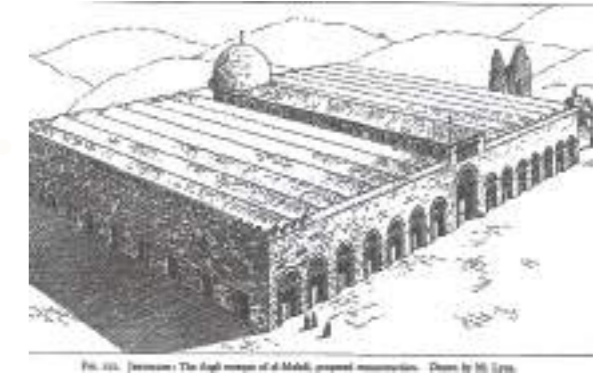


Image 7b Estimated exterior view of Jafar al-Mansur's second al-Aqsa. (Creswell, 1979, v.II, p.125)

¹⁸ The second mosque (the first al-Aqsa Mosque) built by Walid I (in the transept plan similar to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus) survived until 750, when many parts including the dome were destroyed and damaged in the great earthquake. It remained damaged until 757-58. The mosque was reported to have been rebuilt by the second Abbasid Caliph Ja'far al-Mansur, who came to Jerusalem in 757-58 and rearranged the plan to a rectangular floorplan with 15 naves). The gold and silver ornaments on the doors of the mosque were melted down and spent on the construction (Image 7a-b).

The second al-Aqsa Mosque is known to have remained standing till 1040, the great earthquake resulted in great damage that required al-Aqsa Mosque to be rebuilt. As a result of the insistent demands of the people in the following period, the plan for the Great Mosque of al-Mansur was built in 1035 by the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir, who was based in Egypt. He had the eastern and western sections narrowed to 7 naves and expanded the northern side (see Image 8a).¹⁹

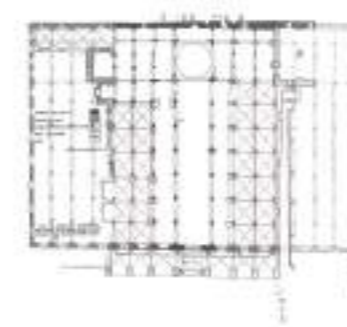


Image 8a. Floorplan for al-Aqsa Mosque Complex as rebuilt by the Fatimid Caliph ez-Zahir in 1033-34 (Hamilton).

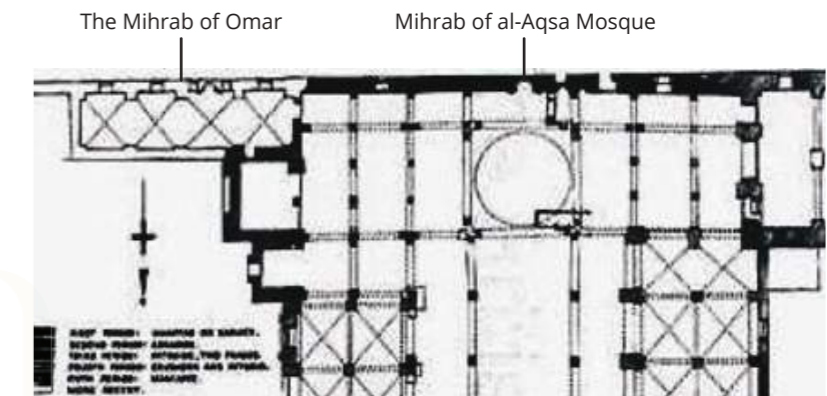


Image 8b. (Detail from Image 8a) The location of the main mihrab of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Mihrab of Omar in the southeast.

¹⁸ Creswell, EMA, v. II, p. 122, Fig. 120: 1969/79 and Creswell, A Short Acc. of EMA, UK, 1958, p. 211, Available in Image 41.

¹⁹ K. A. C. Creswell EMA, v. I, pt. 1, p. 375, Oxford 1969/NY 1979.



Image 8c-8d A part of the area where the Mosque of Omar, also called the Masjid al-Qiblatain, was located. Also, the view of the nostalgic Mihrab of Omar that was later placed there (IYV Archive).



Image 9. The Mihrab of Zechariah in the eastern wing of al-Aqsa Mosque (FA archive)



Image 10. Repair inscription from the Great Seljuk period behind the Mihrab of Zechariah.²⁰

²⁰ The approximate meaning of the inscription is: "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, Allah, Imam Abu'l-Qasim Abdullah al-Muqtadi [Bi-emrillah; 1075-1094] and the esteemed king, victorious, crown of the state with the great sultan Malikshah, the light of the nation, the son of the Islamic ruler [Abu Said Tutus], help him. This repair was done for the sake of Allah, by the deputy of the commander of the believers, the supreme Vizier Fahu'l-Maali [Abu Nasr Ahmed bin al-Fadl (May Allah glorify his victories)]. Peace and blessings be upon Muhammad Aleyhisselam" (S. Demirsoy- M. Usta, Kudüs, Orta Doğu'nun Kalbi).

In 1075, Jerusalem was captured by Atsız, one of the commanders of Alparslan, after which some repairs were made in Jerusalem and to al-Aqsa Mosque, which remained under the rule of Muslim Turks for 25 years. One of the repair inscriptions mentioning Tutuş's name is known today as the Erbain Mihrab (see Image 9) and is located behind the mihrab (see Image 10). In 1099, the Turks had to withdraw from Jerusalem as a result of pressure from Efdal, the commander of the Fatimid army and son of the famous Vizier Badr al-Jamali, former Governor of Akka. The expected military aid did not come, and then the Fatimid Vizier made an agreement with the Crusader army that besieged Jerusalem. The city was handed over to the Crusaders by Efdal without a fight, and after the Fatimid soldiers and the civilians left the city, the crusader army carried out its infamous massacres. When the Crusaders occupied Jerusalem in 1099, they converted part of the ground floor of al-Aqsa Mosque

into a church and the other part as a shelter for the Templars; the lower floors were used as stables and a warehouse for their ammunition. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christian Crusaders for 188 years until it was taken from them by Saladin Ayyub, the commander of the Sultanate army in 1187. Some architectural works from the period of Saladin remain in the city of Jerusalem, which stayed under the rule of Muslims afterward. The mihrab (see Images 13a, b), the pulpit (see Images 16a, b)²¹ and some architectural elements such as marble cladding are accepted as evidence of these works. A mihrab was placed in the Mosque of Omar during the Umayyad Dynasty (see Images 5, 8b); however, this mihrab was removed during the later reconstructions of the mosque. Afterward, sources mention various new mihrabs in memory of Omar in the east wing. A rather crude mihrab is also known to have been placed in the baroque style in the 19th century (see Image 8c).



Image 11. The seven-pointed arches of al-Masjid al-Aqsa (remaining from the 12th-century Crusaders) with its front (north) entrance and the entrance to the basement, which was used as a synagogue by some Jews and a small mosque by Muslims (FA archive).



Image 12. The wider middle nave of al-Aqsa Mosque. A general view of the wooden-clad beams that were rebuilt after the 1969 fire between the staged columns (IYV archive).

²¹ This pulpit was badly damaged in a fire that broke out as a result of arson by a Jewish fanatic in the mosque in 1969 and was removed. Some pieces are exhibited in the Islamic Museum. The wooden pulpit that exists today in al-Aqsa Mosque was built in 2008 in collaboration with a woodworker from Turkey and Jordan's es-Salt University to partially resemble the Saladin pulpit (see Image 17).



Sources report that al-Aqsa Mosque, which is currently in the Bayt al-Maqdis area, had been built with a length of 80 and a width of 55 meters with 53 marble columns and 49 square pillars. The basement of al-Aqsa Mosque is similar, with an additional masjid, mihrab, and other related areas and architectural elements (see Images 18a, b). The mosque has 15 gates.



Image 13a. The main mihrab of al-Aqsa Mosque with its pointed arch and interior mosaic decorations. It is considered to belong to the Saladin era (FA archive).



Image 13b. Saladin inscription on the mihrab of al-Masjid al-Aqsa (IYV Archive).



Images 14a-b. Al-Aqsa Mosque's mihrab from the Saladin era (IYV Archive).



Image 15a. Inside view of al-Aqsa Mosque/Masjid al-Qiblatain (MT Archive).

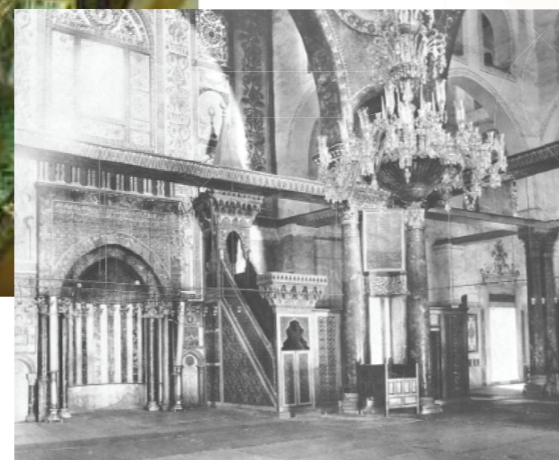


Image 15. The pulpit of al-Aqsa Mosque from the Saladin era (Creswell, 1930s).



Images 16a-b. Views from the front, front doors, the facade facing the mihrab and the side of the 800-year-old minbar [pulpit] that burned down in the 1969 arson of al-Aqsa Mosque (Images 16a, b, Creswell 1930s).²²



Image 17. The new minbar built in 2009, built to resemble the Saladin minbar that had been destroyed in the 1969 fire (IYV Archive).



Image 18a-b. Prophet Solomon's stables/Marwani-Masjid, located in the basement of al-Aqsa Mosque (MT and IYV Archive).

²² K. A. C. Creswell, 1930s via <https://archnet.org/sites/2809>.

Outbuilding Plan of Today's al-Aqsa Mosque

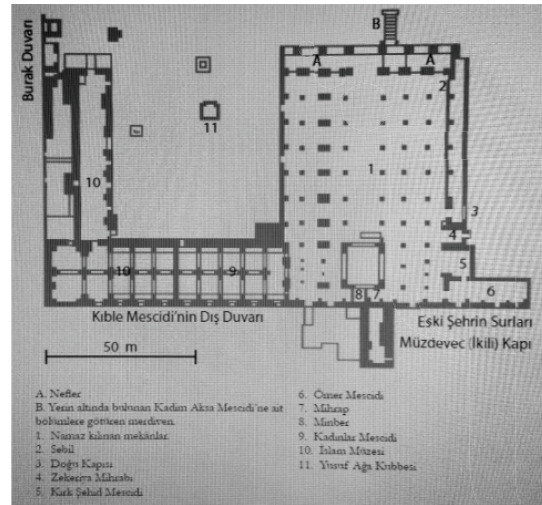


Image 19a. Floorplan of today's al-Aqsa Mosque and its outbuildings.²³

The floorplan key to today's al-Aqsa Mosque and its outbuildings:

Naves, B. Stairs leading to the underground sections of the Ancient al-Aqsa Masjid.

1. Places where prayers are performed. 2. Sabil, 3. Eastern Gate, 4. Mihrab of Zechariah, 5. Mosque of Forty Martyrs, 6. Mosque of Omar, 7. Mihrab, 8. Minbar, 9. Masjid al-Qiblatain / Women's Mosque, 10. Islamic Museum, 11. Dome of Yusuf Agha

iv- The Mosque of the Forty Martyrs

This mosque is a wide room located the north of the Mosque of Omar. The other door of the Mosque of Omar goes to the front of Masjid al-Qiblatain. The Mosque of the Forty Martyrs is accepted as a part of the masjid. This room was named the Mosque of the Forty Martyrs (see Image 19a, annex plan, no. 5) based on the narration that 40 people who are among the righteous servants of Allah and the prophets are buried here. No information is found in historical sources regarding this subject.



Image 19b. The Mosque of the Forty Martyrs (IVV Archive)

²³ Passia, *Al-Aqsa Mosque Guide*, (Jerusalem: 2003): 11.

v- Mihrab of Zechariah

This mihrab adjoins the eastern part Masjid al-Qiblatain. Even though this mihrab is named after Prophet Zechariah, the current mihrab is known to have been built in the 19th century. Because the Qur'an (3:37) states, "Whenever Zechariah visited her in the sanctuary, he found her provided with food," Muslims believe that Mary had built a temple in a corner of the Second Temple or courtyard King Herod had built in the area of Bayt al-Maqdis. A mihrab was built in the 19th century in memory of this (see Image 9). The mihrab was known to not exist in the 13th century because a Seljukian inscription is behind the wall of the mihrab (see Image 10).

vi- Qubbat as-Sakhra

The structure of Qubbat as-Sakhra [Dome of the Rock] is known to have been built by Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan between 686-692. Despite Abdullah b. Zubayr being elected caliph by the people of Hijaz (Mecca and

Medina) after the death of his father, Marwan bin Hakam, after he becoming the Syria-based Umayyad caliph in 685-686, he had the Dome of the Rock built as part of the ongoing effort in the face of the magnificent domed Christian Ascension Church in Jerusalem (see Image 20, 25, 27, 29) and as a work of which Muslims can be proud. Abd al-Malik is reported to have had the Dome built with octagonal walls and a floorplan suitable for circumambulating around the small rocky hill known as Mount Moriah and its cave underneath.²⁴

This structure is accepted as one of the oldest and most beautiful in Islam architecture with its spherical dome that was first covered with copper plates. Its apex has a golden crescent. Al-Sakhra, also known as the Foundation Stone, became widely known during the Umayyad period as the stone upon which Prophet Muhammad ascended into heaven, a stone covering a cave underneath it (see Images 29, 30).



Sketch of the Dome of the Rock in Ancient Jerusalem

²⁴ Since this rocky hill was the place where Abraham tried to sacrifice Isaac and the cave under the rock was the place where the Ark of the Covenant was kept during the First Temple of Solomon, the Jews consider this rock and the cave as the Holy of Holies. During the period of moderate rulers (following Titus in 70 AD and Hadrian in 137 sending the Jews to exile from Jerusalem), Jews would come to Jerusalem once a year and pray around this rock by reciting verses from the Torah (See, Harman, "Jerusalem", 26: 325). *After the surrender of Jerusalem without war in 637, when Caliph Omar entered this area, he could not find the location of the rock. The reason why the rock could not be located was that the Christians, who had been in charge of the city for a long time, were angry with the Jews for supporting the heathen Sassanids in the Byzantine Sassanid wars of 613 and 628 and also because the Jews were forbidden to build here by means of two verses in the Bible. In order to prevent the temple from being rebuilt, the Christians had turned this area into the city's garbage dump, and this rock remained under the garbage heaps. However, Ka'b al-Ahbar, who entered the city with Omar, showed the location of the rock. Caliph Omar is reported to have had the garbage on and around the rock cleaned up out of respect for Abraham. Later on in 658, Muawiya b. Sufyan is known to have prayed around this rock once he came to Istanbul and received the allegiance of the caliphate. It is reported that this rock, which did not have much importance for Muslims until this date, was especially associated with the Mi'raj and Isra event from 661 and its importance increased through various narrations (see N. Bozkurt, "Kubbetü's-Sahre", Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Islamic Encyclopedia), 26:305. (Ankara: TDV Publications, 2002).



Image 20. The Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Resurrection/Kamame (Holy Sepulcher) Church in East Jerusalem (IYV Archive)



Image 21. Aerial view of the double-door entrance and courtyard of the Holy Sepulcher Church²⁵



Image 22. A view from inside the Church of the Resurrection (MT Archive)



Image 23. The stone in the Church of the Resurrection believed by Christians to have been placed on Jesus when he was taken down from the cross (IYV Archive)



Image 24. Surah Al-Fath under the outer rim of the dome above the Foundation Stone, Surah Yaseen inscribed on the lower 8 sides (IYV Archive)



Image 25. Jerusalem's first bayt al-mal [house of wealth] from the Dome of the Rock (referred to in recent years as the Dome of the Chain)²⁶ (IYV Archive)



Image 25a. Inside view of the Dome of the Chain (MT Archive)



Image 27. The view of the door entrances to the Dome of the Rock that in later years were superimposed on the columns by opening up the marble porches (FA Archive)



Image 28. The second corridor and ceiling decorations of Qubbat al-Sakhra around the Foundation Stone (IYV Archive)

²⁵ See Figures 22-23, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07202b.html> (02.09.2017). (The diameter of the dome of this church is 3-5 cm larger than that of the Dome of the Rock. In addition, under the church (just like in the Dome of the Rock, Picture 29-30) is the place where Jesus was buried and later disappeared (it is claimed that he ascended; see Figures 23a-b).

²⁶ Although it is referred to as the Silsilah and Chain Dome in recent publications, this structure was built by Abd al-Malik as the bayt al-mal building in 686 for the preservation of the gold to be used in the construction of the Dome of the Rock, and later it was converted into a prayer place by constructing porticoes around it and putting a mihrab inside (see K. A. C. Creswell, EMA, v. 1, pt. 1, p. 98, n. 6, Oxford 1969/NY 1979).

This dome was built right in the middle of the Masjid al-Aqsa complex as an open area four meters above the level of Masjid al-Qiblatain. This area can be reached by passing under an eight-pointed arch that purposefully adds beauty to the place. The framework of the dome covers an area that surrounds the circle in the center of an octagonal structure with a side length of 20.59 meters and a height of 9.5 meters. It has four doors. Between the dome and the octagonal structure on the outside is a circular cornice decorated with tiles on which some verses from Surah al-Isra are written in white high on a blue background and completely encircling the entire facade.

The outer surfaces of the eight facades are covered with Surah Yaseen written on a dark blue background starting and ending on the qibla facade (see Image 24, 27). The calligraphy was done by Mehmed Şefik Bey, a student of Kazasker Mustafa Izzet from Istanbul, while some worn tiles from the Kanuni period were replaced with new tiles in 1863-1865 as part of the repairs made in the city and this area after Jerusalem became a province during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz. The signature shows that it had been prepared (see Images 34a, b). Due to the inclination of the columns that keep the circle standing between 2.5° and 3°, this structure allows one to see a wide view of the interior of the building while standing by the pillars, no matter from which of its four doors one enters.



Image 29a. A view from inside the Dome of the Rock (IYV Archive)



Image 29b. A view of the upper surface of the Foundation Stone, the arches surrounding it, and part of the dome above it (IYV Archive)



Image 29c. Inside view of the magnificent Dome of the Rock covered with gold on the outside (IYV Archive)



Image 30a. A mihrab from the 10th century to the right of the staircase leading to the bottom of al-Sakhra (FA Archive)



Image 30b. The location of the early mihrab in the cave to the right of the staircase (FA Archive)



Image 30c. The northwest section of the cave, which has been enlarged to fit 25-30 people. (FA archive)



Image 31a. An Ottoman window with the inscription "Inne'd dinindallahil' Islam" from the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent in al-Aqsa Mosque (FA Archive)

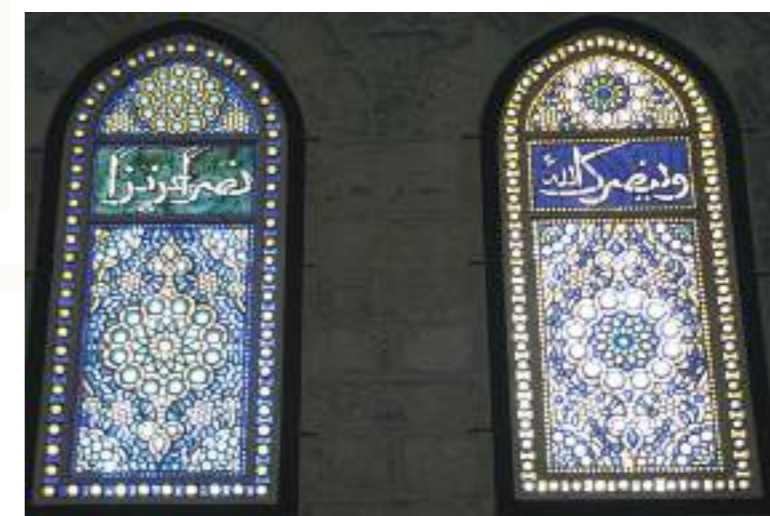


Image 31b. Revzen works on the windows from the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (FA Archive)



Image 32a-b. The tombs of Muhammed Çelebi en-Nakkaş and Engineer Bayram Çavuş are on the right between the houses in the city. They were from the team that repaired the Jerusalem walls during the Kanuni era (IYV Archive)



Image 33a-b. The view of the double tiger relief stones from the period of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars that were placed on the wall while the gate and walls known as the Lions' Gate were repaired during the great reconstruction activities in Jerusalem during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (IYV Archive)



Image 34a. By order of Sultan Abdulaziz (1873-1875), tiles with the inscription of Surah Yaseen cover the eight facades of the Dome of the Rock (the upper part of the south facade, where the beginning and end of Surah Yaseen are located)

Image 34b. Calligrapher Mehmed Şefik Bey's signature at the beginning and end of Surah Yaseen



Image 34c. Part of the inscription on the facade facing the qibla, where Surah Yaseen begins and ends as prepared by Mehmed Şefik Bey (d. 1880) (Image 34a-c FA archive)

Dome of the Rock during the Abbasid Caliphate

Abbasids gave importance to the Dome of Rock and repaired it several times. The importance of these reparations was redone by the second Abbasid Caliph Jafar al-Mansur in 757-758 with 15 niches after the earthquake of 754 greatly damaged the three stages that had been built by Walid I. Afterward the building's dome was repaired in al-Mahdi's (786) and al-Ma'mun's (831) reigns. The mother of Caliph al-Muqtadir also had large wooden structures built in the Dome of the Rock.

Dome of Rock during the Fatimid Caliphate

During the Fatimid era, Caliph Abul Hasan Bin al Hakem in 1033 after the big earthquake occurred in Jerusalem made comprehensive repairs to the Dome of Rock. Abu Jafar Adullah was one of the Fatimid Caliphs who made some similar reparations.

Dome of Rock during the Crusades

The Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099. During that time, they converted the Dome of the Rock into a church and named it *Templum Domini* [Temple of God]. They added some ornaments to this structure and covered the Foundation Stone with iron and other obstructions to prevent people from taking pieces of it. This church is believed to have been the meeting center of the Paladins. After Saladin liberated Jerusalem again, he reverted al-Aqsa Mosque to its original form.

Dome of Rock during the Ayyubid Dynasty

After Saladin took Jerusalem from the Crusaders, he realized a comprehensive renovation of the Dome of Rock by removing the Crusaders remnants and replacing them with Islamic ornaments. Saladin also had changes made to the walls inside the Dome of the Rock. He placed gold ornamentations along the sides inside the Dome of the Rock.

Dome of Rock during the Mamluk Dynasty

The Mamluks gave importance to the Dome of Rock and also made repairs several times. Zahir Aybars fully renovated the Dome of Rock. He renewed the valuable mosaics covering the outside of the Dome of Rock in 1264. Malik al-Adil al-Mansur's reign saw comprehensive repairs to the Dome in 1294. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Qalawun, Amir Muhammed bin Seyfeddin ez-Zahirî also had some repairs and restorations performed.

Dome of Rock during the Ottoman Empire

When the Ottomans conquered Jerusalem, a wealth of architecture was witnessed as a result of the many buildings that were constructed. Suleiman the Magnificent changed the historical mosaics surrounding the area upon which the dome rise, specially having tiles brought from Istanbul between 1548-1561. In addition, after the general repairs were done to the Dome of Rock,

he opened new windows to the Dome of Rock and covered its doors with copper cladding. Abdulmajid II also had the building comprehensively repaired in 1853 so that it regained its former beauty. Afterward, Sultan Abdulaziz placed a large chandelier between the doors at the side of Masjid al-Qiblatain and the pulpit and had its dome covered with lead plating. He also ordered Surah Ya-Seen be written along the outer edge of the Dome of Rock using Thuluth script.

Dome of Rock during the Hashemite Dynasty

The Hashemites (a Jordanian family dynasty) had renovations done to the Dome of Rock at various times after taking over its management and protection. King Abdullah ordered a comprehensive repair of the Dome of Rock in 1924. These works were carried out by his successor, King Abd al-Malik Husayn b. Tallal, and the Dome was clad in gold-colored aluminum plating. Marble was also installed upon the interior walls. The repair of the exterior tiles was completed in 1953. The third phase of renovations continued from 1969 to 1994, during which the Dome of the Rock that had been made of iron and copper was replaced with 24 carat gold-plating. Preservation efforts were made to the interior decorations. A fire-protection and extinguishing system was established to protect the wooden materials making up the dome. The Hashemites continue to maintain the Dome of the Rock²⁷ with the support of Islamic countries by way of the Islamic foundations in Jerusalem.²⁸

Mosaic Inscriptions on the Inner Walls of the Dome of the Rock and their Arabic Transcriptions²⁹

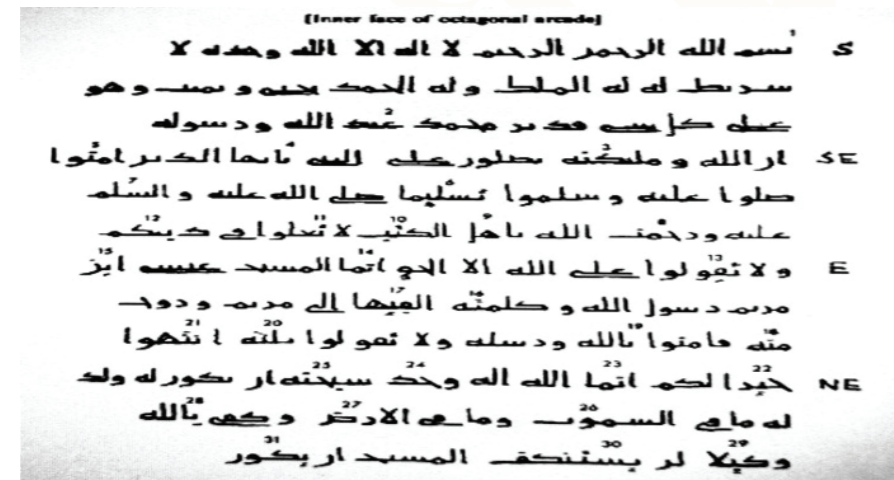


Image 35a. Mosaic inscriptions from the Dome of the Rock (Group-1)

²⁷ In 1433 AH/2012 AD, with the cooperation of the al-Aqsa Mosque Reconstruction Committee and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the work of re-gold-plating the crescent of the Dome of the Rock was carried out (Pasia, 12).

²⁸ Ibid, 15.

²⁹ The inscriptions on the interior and exterior of the octagon inside the Dome of the Rock, inscribed with (gold-colored) mosaics from the reign of Abd al-Malik were discovered by art historian Dr. Christel Kessler, who copied the texts (by analogy with the archaic Kufic style) and helped Creswell with the 1969 EMA update; Dr. Kessler's footnotes in the texts, with explanations about the comments (and some differences) were put forth in publications such as Max v. Berchmen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum, Jerusalem II, Haram, MIFAO, XLIV, 1927.*

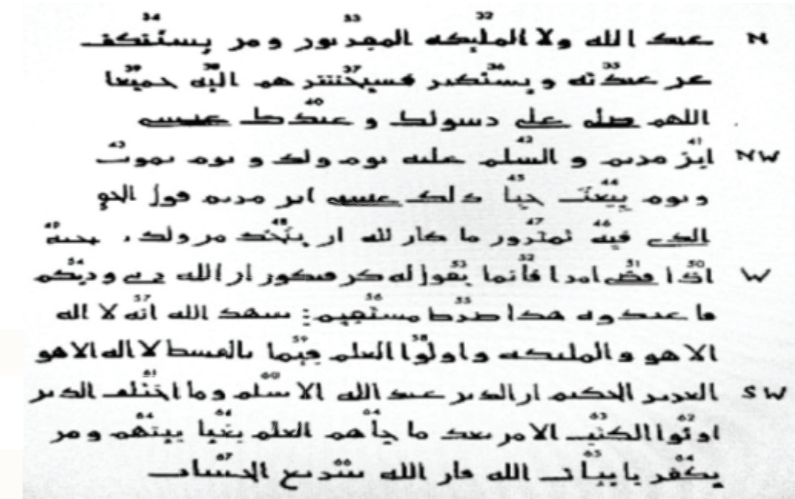


Image 35b. Mosaic inscriptions from the Dome of the Rock (Group-2)

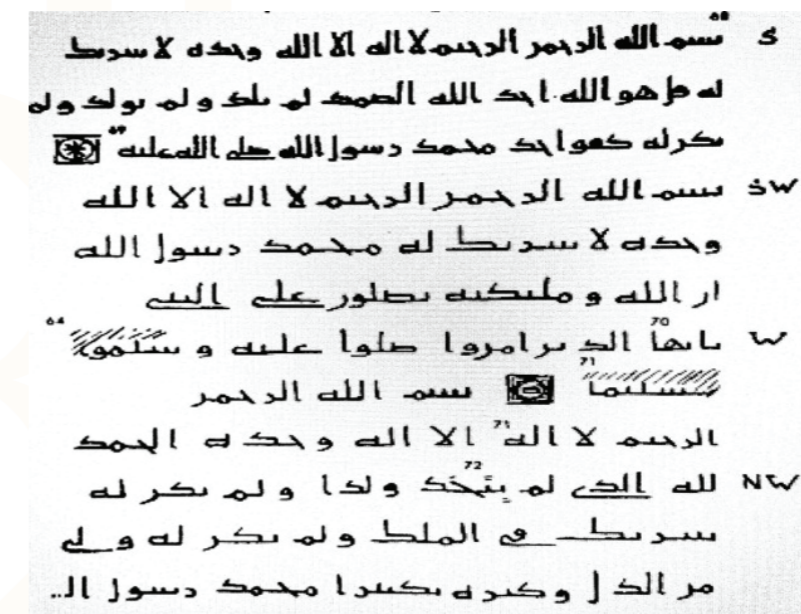


Image 35c. Mosaic inscriptions from the Dome of the Rock (Group-3)

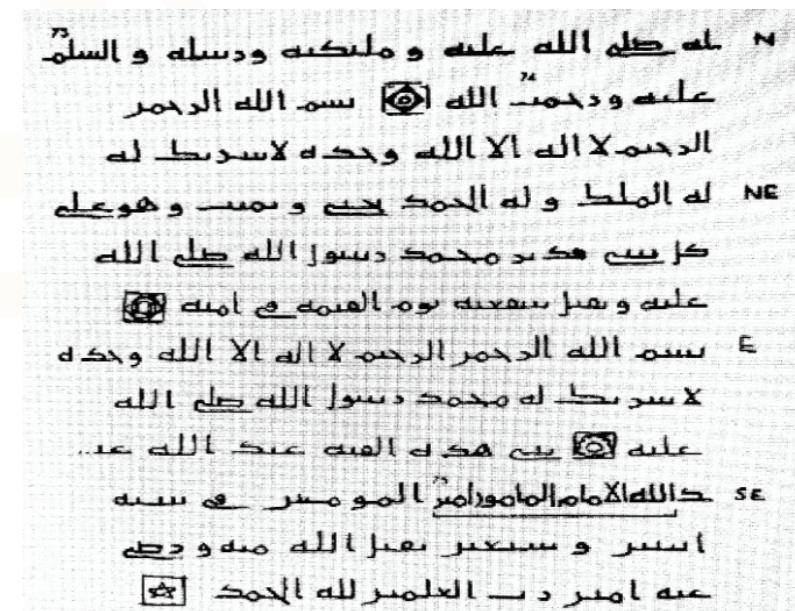


Image 35d. Mosaic inscriptions from the Dome of the Rock (Group-4)

The diagram showing the locations of the mosaic inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock as prepared by Markus Milwright.³⁰

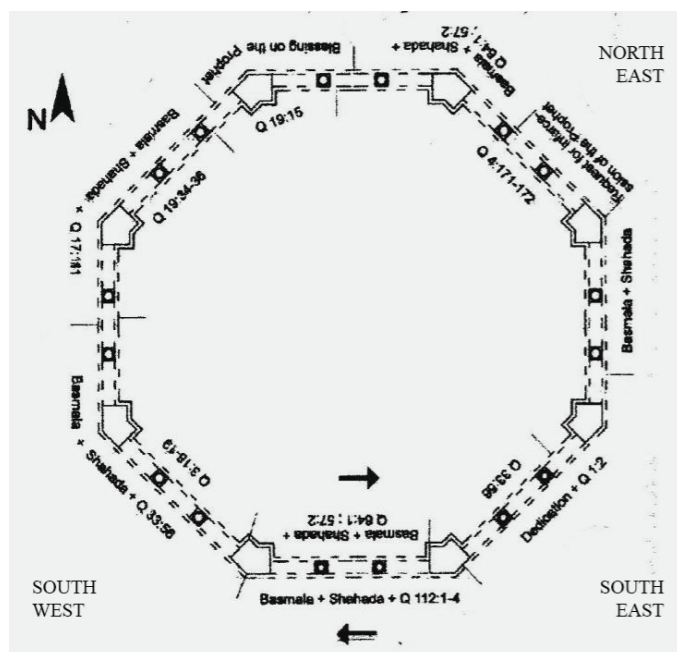


Image 35e. Diagram showing the areas where writing is found on the inner and outer circles of the Dome of the Rock and what is written there

The key to the inscriptions on the upper facades of the outer circle:
 South (Qibla): Basmala + Shahada + Qur'an 112: 1-4, Southwest: Qur'an 33:56,
 West: Basmala + Shahadat Northwest: Basmala + Shahada+ Qur'an 17:111,
 North: Salawat + Salawat + Shahada. Northeast: Qur'an 64:1 + Qur'an 67:2 +
 Salawat + Shahada,
 East: Basmala + Shahada, Southeast: Salawat + Qur'an 1:2,
 The key to the inscriptions on the upper facades of the inner circle:
 South: Basmala + Shahada + Qur'an 64:1 + Qur'an 57:2, Southeast: Qur'an
 33:56,
 East: no text. Northeast: Qur'an 4:171-172
 North: Qur'an 19:15, Northwest: Qur'an 19:34-36
 West: no text, Southwest: Qur'an 3:18-19

C- Other Important Area around Bayt al-Maqdis

1. The Cradle of Prophet Jesus

This small structure consists of one dome and is known to have been built during the last era of Ottoman State by Abdul Hamid II in 1898. The dome is located in the middle of stairs southeast of Marwani-Masjid. This dome stands on four pillars and has a pool with stone under the dome, a mihrab is in front of the nativity cradle. According to preferred opinion, this place was given this name because of the stone pool that had been placed during the Fatimid or Abbasid Dynasty known as the Cradle of Prophet Jesus [Isa]. Prominent clergy from the Christian church in Jerusalem contradict the narrative about this cradle, saying no holy place or work associated with this is found in Jerusalem.

³⁰ Mehmet Tütüncü, "Kubbetüssahra Yazıları", *Düşünce ve Tarih*, 4/40, (January 2018): 37-44, there is a partial explanation about the contents of the inscriptions.



Image 35g. Al-Buraq Mihrab (IYV Archive)



Image 35h. Al-Buraq Mosque (IYV Archive)



Image 35i. Inside al-Buraq Mosque (MT Archive)

2- Al-Buraq Mosque (Umayyad Period/Mamluk Period)

Al-Buraq Mosque is next to the Wailing Wall [Buraq Wall], in the porticos of the western wall of al-Aqsa Mosque extending north of the Moors Gate. It is a vaulted structure with a ladder that descends to the floor, shaped like a big cirlet. This mosque's name comes from Muslims' belief that the Prophet Muhammad tied his holy steed Buraq to a ring on this wall. Al-Buraq Mosque has survived to the present day as it had been first built; its history traces back to the Mamluk Dynasty sometime between 1307 and 1336. Al-Buraq Mosque is adjacent to the Ancient al-Aqsa Mosque, Marwani Masjid, and the Moors Gate. Its main access gate in the Buraq Wall is currently closed. The Mosque has another gate that looks onto the open area of al-Haram as well as open porticos to the west. It is open for people who want to pray there.

3- Mosque of Magharibah (Ayyubid Period)

This masjid is found next to the Moors Gate (Bab al-Magharibah) in the southwest al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. It was an old masjid used by the Maliki; its builder is unknown as are the circumstances under which it had been donated. The history of the structure is known to belong to Ayyubid Dynasty from the 12th-13th centuries. The building is currently used as part of the Islamic Museum where the most beautiful examples of works belonging to the various periods of Islamic history are found.

4- The Ruins of the Umayyad Palace in the South

The Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew University Archaeology Institute performed some excavations between 1968-1970, from which the ruins of six different structures emerged below the southwest side of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex in Jerusalem al-Haram ash-Sharif. Due to the dimensions and other features of parts of this area, it is understood to have belonged to the administrator. In addition, reasons such as stairs entering from the upper corridor of this excavation to al-Aqsa Mosque show the group of buildings in the lower part to have been planned and built in connection with Bayt al-Maqdis and al-Aqsa Mosque.



Image 36c. Ruins of the Umayyad Palace in the south in front of al-Aqsa Mosque and the location where Israel excavated under al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)

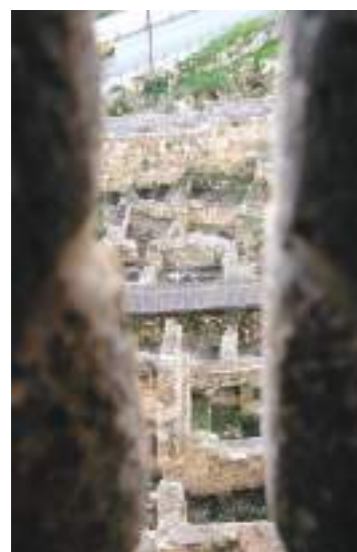


Image 36a. Umayyad Palace ruins south of al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)



Image 36b. Umayyad Palace ruins south of al-Aqsa Mosque (IYV Archive)

5- Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate)³¹



Image 37a. Inside view of Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Khalil), early 1900s (web)



Image 37b. Ottoman Clock Tower that stood from 1908 to 1922 in al-Khalil Square, Jerusalem (Image 37a, b: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaffa_Gate)



Image 38. "La ilaha illallah, Ibrahim Halilullah" lettering at the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem (Alper Tan)

This gate features an inscription on its interior wall stating "Lailaha Illallah Ibrahim Halilullah," and is believed to be from the period when the walls were repaired by Suleiman the Magnificent. In addition, another important aspect of the Jaffa Gate is that it links an important district where Muslim, Christian, and Jewish tradesmen traded peacefully throughout the entire Ottoman rule in and around this square and is a symbol of the divine religions ability to live in peace. For this reason, Abdul Hamid II, who had clock towers built in the most important part of cities in many Ottoman provinces after 1900, also had one built in the square inside Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem. However, the administration of the city passed over to England in 1917. The British claimed the clocktower did not fit the historical texture of the square and had it demolished in 1922 (see Image 37b).

³¹ <http://www.ayvakti.net/ayvakti-gezi/item/talarn-konutuu-ehir-kudues>



Re 38b-The interior of the Marwani-Masjid (MT Archive)



Re 38c- Inside the Marwani-Masjid, the staircase leading to the room where Mary had secluded herself (IVV Archive)

6- Prophet Solomon's Stables (Later Marwani-Masjid)

Later called Marwani-Masjid, this place is reached by stairs leading to the lower floor (north facade) in front of al-Aqsa Mosque (See Image 18a,b & 38a,b). Present al-Aqsa Mosque and the outbuilding plan: B)³² This masjid has 16 naves and covers an area of 4.5 acres. It is the largest covered space in al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. It is large enough for 6,000 people to pray and can be reached by passing through the two big doors and stone stairs to the northeast of Masjid al-Qiblatain. It has a few small mihrabs in the corridors and similar areas (Image 18a-b). A radical Jewish society group recently started using this area as a synagogue.

7- The Muslim Cemetery East of the Bayt al-Maqdis Area

This area is believed to have been used as a cemetery by Muslims since the first conquest of Jerusalem and is part of the Bayt al-Maqdis area extending from north to south below the eastern wall facing the Mount of Olives. This area is used as cemetery in particular for leaders from the Islamic community who died during the Ottoman era (Image 39a-b).



Image 39a. The view of the Muslim cemetery below the eastern wall of the Bayt al-Maqdis Area from in front of the Mount of Olives (IVV Archive)



Image 39b. The Muslim cemetery at the bottom of the Wall, east of the Masjid al-Aqsa (IVV Archive)

³² This structure was known as Solomon's Stables before it was returned to the Islamic Foundations Administration. Although this name is said to be based on this part having been the basement and stables for horses during Crusader occupation of Jerusalem, this name existed before this, and the Crusaders used this place as the barn where the knights kept their horses. This origin is known through ancient Western sources. Likewise, the Crusaders opened a door on the south wall of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex that they called the Single Gate to facilitate the entry and exit of their horses. It is also known as the Masjid al-Qiblatain (currently used as the Women's Masjid) of the Crusaders. They were also known to have converted the mosque into a church and named it Solomon's Temple based on ancient sources. It was thought to have been called the Marwani-Masjid in memory of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan and his sons because they'd built the Dome of the Rock and the later al-Aqsa Mosque Complex buildings during their reign.

8- Mamilla Cemetery

Since Muslims first conquered Jerusalem, the historical Mamilla Cemetery has been used by Muslims who'd settled in the city as a cemetery. Even though this usage was interrupted by the Crusades, when Salahaddin conquered Jerusalem, the soldiers who were martyred in the 1187 war were buried here, and Mamluks often used this area as a cemetery. At present, the cemetery is located at the big park in front of the Jaffa Gate area of Old Jerusalem. This cemetery holds the graves and tombs of many Sufi leaders (Image 41 a-c). After the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, it became one of the areas occupied by Israel. Years later, a tolerance museum is reported to have been established here through the work of Simon Rosenthal containing a museum, part of the cemetery, a courtyard, and parking lot.

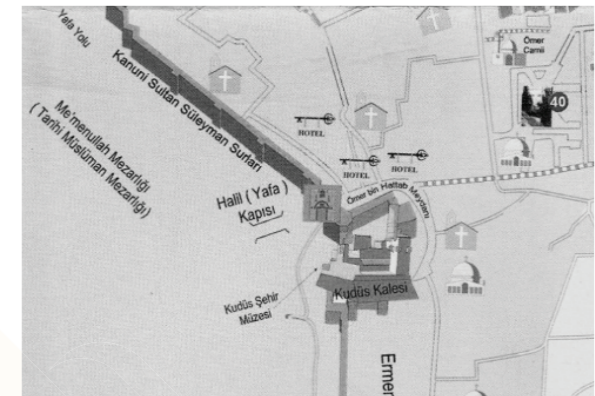


Image 40a-b. Maps showing the location of Mamilla Cemetery outside of Jaffa Gate near one of the old walls of Jerusalem



Image 41a. A section of Muslim graves with broken headstones in Mamilla Cemetery



Image 41b. The mausoleum of Sheikh Kebekiyye in Mamilla Cemetery



Image 41c. One of the destroyed tombstones in Mamilla Cemetery (Images 40-41 via https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamilla_Cemetery)

D-The Domes

1- Dome of Rock

Qubbat al-Sakhra means Dome of the Rock and is called such due to being built over the stone from which the Prophet Muhammed ascended for his night journey.



Image 41d: Dome of the Rock (IYV Archive)

2- Qubbat al-Arwah (Dome of the Spirits/Dome of the Souls)

This dome is located north of the Dome of the Rock in the Bayt al-Maqdis area and dates back to the 16th-17th centuries and is perhaps so named because of its proximity to the cave in the Dome of the Rock known as the Cave of Souls. The dome is a structure consisting of eight marble columns supported by eight vaulted arches.



Image 42a-b. Qubbat al-Arwah (IYV Archive)



3- Dome of the Chain (Bayt al-Mal)

Although claimed to be the first example of the Dome of the Rock according to some historians or known as the Dome of Chain of the prophets by the people, the truth is that this structure was built by the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik ibn Marwan in 686. Before becoming the Dome of the Chain, it was built as the Bayt al-Mal building for storing the gold to be delivered to the building trustees for construction. It is located east of the Dome of the Rock. Although the Bayt al-Mal structure in the middle is a hexagonal structure standing on six columns, it was converted into a prayer hall by adding an eleven-cornered portico on eleven narrow columns around it with a mihrab inside. The surface of the Bayt al-Mal section is covered with hexagonal Ottoman tiles inside and out. The dome was decorated with tiles in 1561 by the decree of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The Crusaders converted this dome into a chapel during their occupation of Jerusalem and named it the Saint James Chapel. However, after the recapture of the city of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, it was restored to its former state.



Image 43. Dome of the Chain located to just east of Qubbat al-Sakhra (FA archive)



Image 43b. Dome of the Chain (MT Archive)

4- Dome of Moses

According to the inscription, this dome was built by Saladin in 1249-1250 to create a special place for great scholars to perform their prayers. It consists of a square dome-covered room with several niches inside and outside. The entrance of the building is on the north side.



Image 44. The Dome of Moses (IYV Archive)

5- Dome of al-Khidr

This is a small dome. Its construction belongs to the late 7th century. The dome rests on six marble columns connected to each other by stone arches. The dome is circular from the inside and hexagonal from the outside. Under the dome are red stones in the form of a mihrab showing the qibla. The location of the dome is mentioned in the Qur'an (18:65-82). It is believed to be the place where Khidr and Moses stayed for prayer and dhikr as described in the story of Moses and Khidr in the Qur'an.



Image 45. Dome of al-Khidr (IYV Archive)

6- Dome of Prophet Solomon

This dome is located in the Bayt al-Maqdis Square near the Gate of Darkness (King Faisal Gate) and has an octagonal structure with a fixed rock inside. Some historians say that the dome dates from the Umayyad period. However, the building style does not indicate this, but rather gives the impression that it belongs to the Mamluk period.



Image 46. Dome of Prophet Solomon (IYV Archive)



Image 47. Dome of Prophet Joseph (FA archive)

7- Dome of Prophet Joseph (Qubbat Yusuf)

This dome is situated between the School for Nahiv and the Burhanuddin pulpit placed south of the Dome of the Rock. It was built in the era of Saladin in 1191 and renovated by Ottoman Sultan Mustafa IV in 1681. It was given this name for two reasons. The first reason refers to Prophet Joseph. According to the second reason, the name comes from this structure being built by Yusuf bin Saladin. The south facade is closed by a wall, and all other facades are open. It is centered close to the south wall of the courtyard of the Dome of Rock and has two inscriptions. One of the inscriptions explains in Arabic what Saladin did, while the other inscription shows in Turkish the name of Ali bin Yusuf Agha, who renovated this dome. This structure consists of the dome and a square building. Another dome also bears the same name between Aqaba.

8- Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Mi'raj)

This dome was built during the Umayyad period in commemoration of the Prophet's Mi'raj. It was renovated in 1200 by Amir Osman bin Ali ez-Zencibili, the governor of Jerusalem. This dome draws attention with a crown-like ornament at its apex. Previously, the dome had been covered with lead plates, but a recent renovation replaced the lead plates with stone slabs.



Image 48a-b. Dome of the Ascension (IYV Archive)



9- Dome of the Prophet (Mihrab of the Prophet)

This small dome is situated near the Dome of the Ascension to the northwest of the Dome of Rock. It was built to mark the area where Prophet Muhammed led all the angels and prophets in prayer. The dome's construction was completed in two stages. It was first built as a mihrab whose length was extended by 70 cm by Muhammed Bey, governor of Jerusalem and Gaza during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. In the second stage, the dome's construction was completed by adding a dome over the mihrab during the reign of Abdulmajid II. The dome covers a small circlet on eight marble columns connected by arches. It is located on the northwest side of the Dome of the Rock with the Dome of Ascension on the other side. It is also called the Mihrab of the Prophet. According to its inscription, it is understood to have been built in 1539 by Muhammed Şakir Bey, the Commander of the Gaza and Jerusalem Brigades.



Image 49a-b. Dome of the Prophet (IYV Archive)



10- Dome of Yusuf Agha

This dome is located in the southwest section of Bayt al-Maqdis Square between the Islamic Museum and al-Aqsa Mosque. According to its inscription, the building was completed in 1681 by the Ottoman Sultan Yusuf Agha IV who was governor of Jerusalem during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Today, this building is used as an information office for visitors to al-Aqsa Mosque.



Image 50-Image 50a. Dome of Yusuf Agha (IYV Archive)

11- Dome of Muhammadiyah/al-Khalili Zawiya (Ottoman Period)

This dome was built during the Ottoman era by the Governor of Jerusalem, Muhammed Bey, in 1700 during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Mustafa II. It is located northwest of the Dome of the Rock. The dome has two rooms, one being at ground level and the other being underground. Both rooms have a mihrab. Today, it is used as the office of the al-Aqsa Mosque Reconstruction Committee. This dome is known as the Dome of Sheikh al-Khalili in relation to the Islamic Sufi scholar Muhammed al-Khalili as the place where he prayed and worshiped.



Image 51. Dome of Muhammadiyah/al-Khalili Zawiya (IYV Archive)

12- Dome of Sultan Mahmud II (Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet; Ottoman Period)

This dome is located in the northern al-Aqsa Mosque Complex near King Faisal Gate. It was built in 1808 when the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II wanted to leave a work of his own within al-Aqsa Mosque. It is a square-shaped building open on four sides and resting on four columns on a square-shaped prayer hall half a meter higher than the floor of al-Aqsa Mosque. It has a small dome supported on columns and a beautiful mihrab in the middle of the south facade. The reason it is more popularly called the Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet is because Sufi sheikhs and dervishes gather under this dome and make dhikr. Across from it is a prayer hall.



Image 52. Dome of Sultan Mahmud II/Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet (IYV Archive)

13- Madrasa of the Nahivists and Its Dome

The madrasa was built by Melik Muazzam Isa in 1207. He added a dome in 1213 to the Madrasa al-Nahivist building, which was allocated for teaching the Arabic language and the science of Nahiv in particular, and this dome was named the Nahivists Dome. The building consists of two rooms and a hall in the middle. The top of the room on the west side is covered with a large dome, and the room on the east side is covered with a smaller dome of lower height. The top of the hall is covered with a flat roof. The entrance of the building is located to the north at the hall. The hall has two marble pillars known as the Unfortunate Sons. This madrasa had an important role in Jerusalem's cultural and intellectual life up until the 17th century, especially in Arabic language and grammar. The madrasa was later used as the Supreme Islamic Assembly Office. In 1956, Qubbat al-Sakhra was used as the Architect and Engineering Services Office. Today, the madrasa is used as the headquarters of the President of the Supreme Shari'a Court.



Door to Madrasa of the Nahivists (FA Archive)



Image 53a. Dome & Madrasa of the Nahivists next to al-Aqsa Mosque's Arches (IYV Archive)

E- Minarets

1- Moors Gate Minaret

This minaret is located in the southwest corner of Bayt al-Maqdis. It is also known as Fihri minaret. It was built by Sharaf al-Din Abdurrahman bin es-Salih in 1278. This minaret stands without a foundation and is accepted as the smallest minaret of al-Aqsa Mosque at a height of 23.5 meters. The top of the minaret was damaged by the earthquake of Jerusalem in 1922 and restored by the Committee of Jerusalem Zoning with a new dome added to the minaret where none had been before. The minaret was restored again by al-Aqsa Mosque Zoning Committee and lead plated. The inscription of the minaret states it to have been built during the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Baraka Han in 1280 and built at the command of Hakim Şaraf al-Din Abdurrahman bin es-Sahib al-Vazir al-Fahr al-Din al-Halil.



Image 54a-b. Moors Gate Minaret (IYV Archive)

2- Chain Gate Minaret

This minaret is next to the Chain Gate on top of the porticos west of Masjid al-Aqsa. It was built by Amir Seyfeddin Tenkez bin Abdullah en-Nâsirî in 1329. This structure stands on a four-corner square platform and has a covered balcony that still stands thanks to the stone columns. It has stairs with eighty steps. The minaret is reached from Madrasa al-Ashrafiye. It was restored by the Islamic Foundation after the earthquake Jerusalem in 1922. Because this minaret looks toward the side of the Wailing Wall, the state of Israel does not allow Muslims to approach or enter the minaret to protect Jewish people.



Image 55. Chain Gate Minaret (IYV Archive)

3- Gate of Bani Ghanim Minaret

This minaret was built by Kadı Şaraf al-Din Abdurrahman es-Sahib, who also supervised construction of the Moors Gate Minaret, during the reign of Sultan Hosam ad-Din Lajin in 1297-1299 on the northwest corner of Bayt al-Maqdis next to the Gate of Bani Ghanim. It was also renovated at the same time as the Chain Gate Minaret was built during the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Qalawun. The Gate of Bani Ghanim Minaret is known as al-Qalawun Minaret.



Image 55.1. Gate of Bani Ghanim Minaret (IYV Archive)



Image 55.2. Gate of Bani Ghanim Minaret (IYV Archive)



Image 55.3. Gate of the Tribes Minaret (IYV Archive)

4- Gate of the Tribes Minaret

This minaret was built by Amir Seyfettin Kutlu Boga, the regent of Jerusalem and overseer of al-Haramain during the reign of Mamluk Sultan Ashraf Shaban. It is located next to the Gate of the Tribes. It had a rectangular structure like other Mamluks minarets in this is period but became cylindrical from a renovation made during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed III in 1599. Thus, the Gate of the Tribes Minaret became the only cylindrical minaret of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. The minaret was restored two times. The first restoration occurred in 1927 after the earthquake of 1922 because the foundation building had been damaged. Its second restoration was done by al-Aqsa Mosque Zoning Committee due to being hit by cannons and shells during the Israeli War and the resulting structural damage. Its surface was covered with lead plates.

F-Arches

1- The Southern Arches

Large stones support both sides of these pointed arches, with three marble columns between them. They were built by the Abbasids and renovated during the Fatimids and Ottomans. Unlike other arches, these were restored by Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1893 with a sundial on the middle pillar in the middle of the south facade. The sundial was built in 1907.



Image 55.4. Dome of the Rock's Southern Arches (IYV Archive)



2- The Eastern Arches

These arches have large stones supporting them on both sides with four marble columns between them. The columns are connected to each other with vaulted arches. Although no information is found about the exact date of construction, they are said to have either been built during the Abbasid Dynasty or during the Mamluk Dynasty, depending on which historian is asked. They were likely built by the Abbasids and renovated by the Fatimids.



Image 55.5. Eastern Arches (IYV Archive)

3- The Western Arches

These arches have large stones supporting them on both sides with three marble columns between them. The columns have four vaulted arches. It was built in 951 during the Fatimid Dynasty, but by whom is unknown.



Image 55.6. Western Arches of the Dome of the Rock (IYV Archive)

4- The Northwestern Arches

These arches have large stones supporting them on both sides with two marble columns between them and four vaulted arches above the columns. These were built by the Mamluk Sultan Ashraf Shaban in 1376 and renovated in 1519-1520 during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.



Image 55.7. The Northwestern Arches (IYV Archive)

5- The Northeastern Arches

These arches have large support stones on either side with two elegant marble columns between them. The vaulted arches are found between the columns. They were built in 1325 by the Mamluk Sultan Muhammad ibn Qalawun.



Image 55.8. The Northeastern Arches (IYV Archive)

6- The Southwestern Arches

These consist of three vaulted arches on two marble columns placed between two support stones. They were built in 1472-1473 by the Minister of al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn, Amir Nâsir al-Din al-Nashashibi, during the reign of Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay.



Image 55.9. The Southwestern Arches of the Dome of the Rock (IYV Archive)

7- The Southeastern Arches

These consist of three vaulted arches on two marble columns placed between two support stones. They were first built in 1030 during the Fatimid Caliphate.



Image 55.10. The Southeastern Arches (IYV Archive)

G- Madrasas

1- Madrasa al-Khitaniye (Ayyubid Dynasty)

This madrasa was built during the reign of Saladin in 1191. The name of the madrasa refers to Sheikh Khitani who gave the course of Islamic studies in the madrasa. It is located next to the southern wall of Masjid al-Qiblatain. It has been restored at various times, with rooms and toilets being added to the madrasa building. Few arches and windows currently remain from the original structure of the madrasa.



Image 55.11. The Javiliyye, Melekiye, Is'ardiyya, Fariysiye, Aminiyya, and Basitiye Madrasas and Madrasa al-Dawadariyya, from west to east, located on the northern recesses of al-Aqsa Mosque (MT Archive)

2- Madrasa al-Fahriye (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa takes its name from its builder, Qadi Fahreddin Muhammed bin Fadlullah. It was built in 1329-1330. Although it was donated as a madrasa where religious sciences would be taught, it was later transformed into a Sufi lodge. At present, only one masjid and three rooms remain from the original structure, as Israeli Occupation Forces demolished most of the building. The mosque of Madrasa al-Fahriye is a simple rectangular building dedicated to prayer. Its roof is covered by three large domes added during the Ottoman period, supported by three pillars in the room. The mosque has a mihrab decorated with red stones.

3- Madrasa al-Dawadariya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa is located next to what had been known as the Gate of al-Dawadariya and is now called King Faisal Gate (Gate of Darkness). This building is both a madrasa and a khanqah.³³ The madrasa was built in 1295 by Amir Alem al-Din Ebu Musa Sanjar Dividdar. Shafi fiqh was taught in the madrasa. It was then allocated to the education of girls until the British Mandate. The building consists of two floors and is entered through a beautiful door with Mamluk-style *muqarnas*³⁴ decorations. There is a mosque inside. Today, it is known as Bekiriye School and is used to provide special education to mentally handicapped students.

³³ *Khanqah*: It is a Persian word given to buildings where Sufis used to stay in seclusion to engage in worship.

³⁴ *Muqarnas*: A kind of decoration resembling palm branches. Previously, it was a carrier element of construction in mosques, but later it was used for decoration.



Image 55.12-55.13. Madrasa al-Tankiziyya Entrance (IYV Archive)

4- Madrasa al-Tankiziyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

It is located between the north of the Chain Gate and the south of the al-Buraq Wall. A part of the building is included in the porticoes to the west of Al-Aqsa Mosque. It was built by Amir Seyfeddin Tenkez in 1328 during the Mamluk period, and it was dedicated and given the name “Nâsirî”. This Madrasa specialized in the science of hadith, became the headquarters of Sultan Qaytbay during the Mamluks period, and later turned into a court. It was used as a religious court during the Ottoman period and has been known as the “Court” ever since. During the British Mandate Administration, it was the private residence of “Sheikh Haji Emin al-Huseyni, Mufti of Jerusalem and Chairman of the Supreme Committee of the Islamic Assembly”. Then it was used as the “Islamic Fiqh Madrasa”. An open area of the two-storey Madrasa, the mihrab, it has four iwans, a large hall that was used as a library, and other outbuildings. In 1969, the Israeli Zionist Occupation Forces seized the Madrasa in order to control the Al-Aqsa Mosque. They turned it into a police station.

5- Madrasa al-Farisiye (Mamluks Dynasty)

This madrasa’s name was taken from Amir Faris al-Bekki bin Amir Kutlu Melik bin Abdullah, who had this place built and dedicated in 1352. It is located above the northern cloisters of Haram al-Sharif and its main facade overlooks al-Aqsa Mosque. The building has a beautiful arched, crowned, and embroidered entrance door pedestaled on two large stones on both sides and is accessed from the courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque via a staircase. It has an open courtyard in the form of a square inside the madrasa. This courtyard has a stepped staircase that leads to the neighboring Madrasa al-Aminiyya and also to the first floor. Madrasa al-Aminiyya and Madrasa al-Farisiye are intertwined structures. Today, this building is used as a residence.

6- Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa was first established in 1467. It was built by Hasan bin Tatar ez-Zahiri, the Amir of Malik Zahir al-Haşgum. However, he died before the madrasa could be completed. Ez-Zahiri appointed Sufis and clergymen to manage the Madrasa and presented them to Sultan Ashraf Qaytbay. During his visit to Jerusalem in 1475, Sultan Ashraf Qaytbay disliked the building and ordered it to be demolished. The madrasa was rebuilt in 1480. It is counted as the third jewel of Jerusalem next to al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Half of this madrasa is inside al-Aqsa Mosque and the other half is outside the boundaries of al-Aqsa. A large part of the upper floor of the 2-story building has been demolished. The madrasa has a beautiful entrance decorated with white and red stones. It has a mosque and two tombs that had been used by the Hanbalis in the past. One of these tombs is said to be the tomb of Sheikh al-Khalili. Today, a large part of the madrasa is used by the Aksa Şar’i Girls High School. Some parts of it are used as a repair center for manuscript documents in al-Aqsa Mosque, while the remaining parts are used by families from Jerusalem. Comprehensive restoration of the madrasa’s structure was carried out in 2000 by al-Aqsa Mosque Reconstruction Committee and the Charitable Association.

7- Madrasa al-Melikiye (Mamluk Dynasty)

This was built by Melik al-Nasiri Juqindar during the reign of Nasir Muhammed bin Qalawun in 1340. The 2-story building has a beautiful entrance decorated with white and red stones cut in the Mamluk style. The entrance is followed by a narrow corridor then an open square courtyard. From there it goes on to the classrooms and halls of the madrasa. The largest classroom overlooks the courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque. Today it is used as a residence.

8- Madrasa al-Javiliye (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa is located in the northwest of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. Since its construction dates back to the pre-Islamic period, it is considered one of the oldest buildings in the city. It was dedicated by Amir Alem al-Din Sanjar bin Abdullah Al-Javili, the Minister of al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn, during the period of Melik Nasir Muhammed bin Qalawun between 1312-1320. The southern facade of the madrasa overlooks the courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque. It was used as a madrasa until the Ottoman period. At the beginning of the 15th century, it became the city council building. It was used as the residence of Jerusalem deputies until being used again as the city council building. It has two floors with many rooms that face an open courtyard. Today, it is used as part of the Omariye Madrasa.

9- Madrasa al-Khatuniyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This one is located along the western portico of al-Aqsa Mosque. Its construction dates back to the 13th century. It was dedicated by Hatun Hanim, the Son of Baghdad and allocated for Qur’anic sciences and fiqh lessons. The windows on the south facade of the madrasa overlook the area of al-Aqsa Mosque. The madrasa’s courtyard contains the tomb of Hatun Hanim, the son of Baghdad who dedicated the Madrasa, as well as the tombs of one of the famous Palestinian amirs Muhammed al-Hindî (an Indian who defended the Palestinian cause), Moses Kazim al-Huseyni (the governor of Jerusalem during the Ottoman period and the 3rd Palestinian National Council), Abdulkadir al-Huseyni, the hero of the Kastal War, and his son Faisal al-Huseyni, Sharif Abdulhamid bin Awn, and Abdulhamid Shuman, one of the founders of Arap Bank.

10- Madrasa al-Is'ardiyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa was built in 1358 and dedicated by Majid al-Din Abdulgani bin Sayf al-Din Abu Bakir Yusuf al-Esardi in 1369. The madrasa is entered through a stepped road from inside al-Aqsa Mosque. The two-story madrasa has a courtyard in the middle surrounded by rooms. It has three domes on the north, south, and west of the madrasa and a beautiful masjid overlooking al-Aqsa Mosque courtyard. Today, the madrasa is used as a residence.

11- Madrasa al-Aragoniyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This was built in 1356, first by Amir Aragon al-Kamilî who died before the building was completed, and then completed by Rükneddin Baybars. It is located between the Cotton Merchants' Gate and the Iron Gate. The two-story structure has an entrance decorated with red and white stones to the south of the Iron Gate. The name of the builder and the date of construction are shown on the inscriptions on a marble stone at the entrance. The madrasa has two tombs within the ground floor. One of the graves belongs to Amir Aragon who had the Madrasa built, and the other belongs to King Hussein bin Ali. The madrasa is used as a residence today. The walls of the madrasa were damaged from the excavations carried out by the Israelis under the al-Aqsa Mosque, and its inhabitants were evacuated from the building.

12- Madrasa al-Aminiyya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This was built by Eminuddin Abdullah in 1330. The two-story building faces the northern courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque. The ground floor has the graves of scholars and righteous people. The entrance door of the madrasa is shared with the Madrasa al-Farisiye. Until recently, this Madrasa was used as a residence.

13- Madrasa al-Basitiyye (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa is located within the northern cloisters of al-Aqsa Mosque. It is located between King Faisal Gate and the Gate of Remission and is adjacent to Madrasa al-Dawadariya. It was dedicated between 1412-1421 during the reign of Maliq al-Muayyad Sayf al-Din al-Mamluk by the Vizier of the Army and Treasury, Qadi Abdulbasit Halil al-Dimeshki. Its construction was started by al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn Nazir Shayk al-Islam Shams al-Din Muhammed Al-Harawi, but he died before the construction was completed. The madrasa consists of three rooms and an open courtyard. The madrasa specialized in Shafi fiqh, Qur'an, and hadith. Education was allocated to orphans and mystics. Today it is used as a residence.

14- Madrasa al-Manjakiye (Mamluk Dynasty)

Adjacent to the northwest wall of al-Aqsa Mosque, this madrasa is located next to the Council Gate. It was founded by Amir Sayf al-Din Manjak al-Yusuf al-Nasiri in the 8th century. The two-story building has many rooms and corridors. It was used as a madrasa until the Ottoman era. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was converted into a residence and then a guesthouse for Jerusalem pilgrims. It was converted into a primary school during the British Mandate Administration. The building was restored by the establishment of the Supreme Committee of the Islamic Assembly and was used as the administrative center. Today, it is used as the administrative building of the Islamic Waqf Directorate affiliated with the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Awqaf of Jordan.

15- Madrasa al-Utmaniya (Mamluk Dynasty)

This madrasa is located on the south side of the Ablution Gate. The southern facade of the building connects with Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya. This madrasa was dedicated by the Ottoman daughter of Mahmud Isfahan Shah Hatun during the reign of Sultan Ashraf Baybars. The entrance to the two-story Mamluk-style building is decorated with geometric motifs using intertwined red and white stones. The southern facade of the madrasa faces the courtyard of al-Aqsa Mosque. The building has several rooms and a mosque, as well as two graves to the left of the entrance. One of the graves belongs to Isfahan Shah Hatun, who dedicated the madrasa. The foundation of the building was affected by the excavations the Israelis carried out under it, and the Israeli Occupation Forces confiscated the masjid of the madrasa to provide ventilation for the tunnels. Other parts of the madrasa are used as residences by some families from Jerusalem.

H- Porticos

1- North Portico (Ayyubid Dynasty)

The oldest part of this portico, which extends west of King Faisal Gate, was built by Maliq Muazzam Isa in 1213. This part has an inscription upon which is written the name of the builder and its date of construction. Madrasas al-Aminiyya, al-Farisiye, al-Malikiye, al-Is'ardiyya, and al-Sabibiye are built on this portico. The other parts of the portico were restored by many sultans, amirs, and caliphs at various times. It has a large support stone. The roof of the portico is covered with lime mortar and extends above the grounds of al-Aqsa Mosque. The Ottomans built new sections by closing off the portico, and the building was used as a guesthouse for the poor who came to Jerusalem.



Image 55.14-55.15. The northeastern and northwestern cloisters of al-Aqsa Mosque and Madrasas al-Dawadariya, al-Basitiyye, al-Aminiyya, al-Farisiyye, al-Is'ardiyya, al-Melekiye, and al-Javiliyye above them from east to west (IYV Archive)



2- West Portico (Mamluk Dynasty)

This portico was built between 1307-1336 during the Ottoman era. Its roof consists of arches ornamented with interlocking corner stones. The ground covering is a little higher than al-Aqsa Mosque's and is furnished with stones. This portico had previously been used as the center for science.



Image 55.16. West Portico with Sabil Qaitbay in front and Madrasas al-Ashrafiyya, al-Utmaniya, al-Aragoniye, al-Khatuniye, and al-Manjakiye from south to north (IVV Archive)

I. Large Water Fountains (Sabils)

1- Shadirwan (Ayyubid Dynasty)

This structure was built as an ablution room by Sultan Adil Abu Bekir Ayyubi in 1193. This fountain was restored twice, first by Amir Tankaz in 1327 and then by Sultan Qaytbay. The fountain consists of a circular pool surrounded by stone seats that are used while take ablution. It has a fountain in the middle. Faucet taps surround the pool for ablution. The walls of the pool are marble, and the top of the wall is surrounded by a metal fence.



Image 56. Shadirwan from the Ayyubid Dynasty at the entrance of al-Aqsa Mosque (MT Archive)

2- Sabil Qaytbay (Mamluk Dynasty)

This fountain was built by Sultan Sayf al-Din Inal in 1456. Sultan Qaytbay renovated it in 1428. However, only the water well remains from the original structure. Sultan Qaytbay had a colored stone structure added to the building and the floor covered with marble. Its dome and walls are decorated with Islamic motifs and embroidery. It was also renovated by Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1882-1883. The dispenser consists of two floors with a water well at the ground level. The upper floor has a room for storing water. White and red stones were used in the construction of the dispenser. The square-shaped fountain was built on an octagonal base. The top of the building is covered with a magnificent dome.



Image 57. Sabil Qaytbay (IVV Archive)

3- Sabil al-Naranj (Mamluk Dynasty)

This fountain is located in the western area of al-Aqsa Mosque between Sabil Qasim Pasha and the *namazgah* adjacent to Sabil Qaitbay. This fountain was renovated when Madrasa al-Ashrafiye was built by Sultan Qaytbay in 1483. It is a square building on an area of 49 square meters with a marble-paved floor. The fountain was renovated by al-Aqsa Mosque Reconstruction Committee and turned into an ablution facility. A total of 24 taps were added to its three facades, and water is supplied from the water tank of Sabil Qasim Pasha next door.



Image 58. Sabil al-Naranj (FA Archive)

4- Sabil Qasim Pasha (Ottoman Era)

This was built by the Brigadier of Jerusalem Qasim Pasha in 1527 during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent near the Chain Gate on the west side of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. This fountain is octagonal where the taps are reached by descending a small staircase. A wooden awning was built to protect the users from sun and rain. It has 16 faucets. This sabil is also called the Court Gate Sabil.



Image 59. Sabil Qasim Pasha (FA Archive)

5- Sabil of Sultan Suleiman (Ottoman Period)

The Sabil of Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent is located near King Faisal Gate. It was built over a prayer hall with the same name. This fountain was dedicated in 1541. An ablution room was added between the Sabil and the Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet. It was renovated in 1997 by the Al-Aqsa Mosque Zoning Committee.



Image 60a-b. Sabil of Sultan Suleiman, interior surface arrangement and inscription (FA archive)

6- Melik Muazzam Isa Water Tank (Ayyubid Period)

This water tank was built in 1210 by Melik Muazzam Isa. Some rooms of the Dome of the Nahivists that had been built in 1207 were converted into the water tank in 1210. The water tank consists of three rooms with thick walls between them. Its roof is domed and has three entrances from the south. The entrance door to the middle part has the name of the builder and the year of construction recorded with embroidered inscriptions. During the Mamluk Dynasty, a part of the water tank was converted into a warehouse where the crops collected for al-Aqsa Mosque were kept, and the other part was allocated to the members of the Hanbali Sect and converted into a mosque. Later, the warehouse was left unlooked after and is now used as a center for the gardening works of the al-Aqsa Mosque.

J- Other Smaller Sabil

1- Sabil al-Kas

This one is located in front of al-Aqsa Mosque on the south side. It was built in 1193 during the reign of Sultan Sayf al-Din Abu Bakir Ayyub.

2- Sabil Sha'lan

At the foot of the northwest staircase is a place leading to the nave of al-Sakhra. It was built in 1216 during the reign of Malik al-Muazzam Isa ibn Adil.

3- Sabil al-Busairi

This one is located northeast of the Council Gate and was renovated in 1436 during the reign of Sultan Yarsay.

4- Sabil Kabat

The small fountain is located opposite al-Aqsa Mosque to the west of Bayt al-Maqdis Square. It was built during the reign of Sultan Sayf al-Din Inal.

5- Sabil al-Badiri

This one is located to the east of the Council Gate on the west side. It was built in 1740 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud I.

6- Sabil of the Gate of Remission

This fountain is located near the Gate of Remission and was built during the Ottoman era.

7- Sabil of the Moors Gate

This is located near the Moors Gate and was built during the Ottoman period.

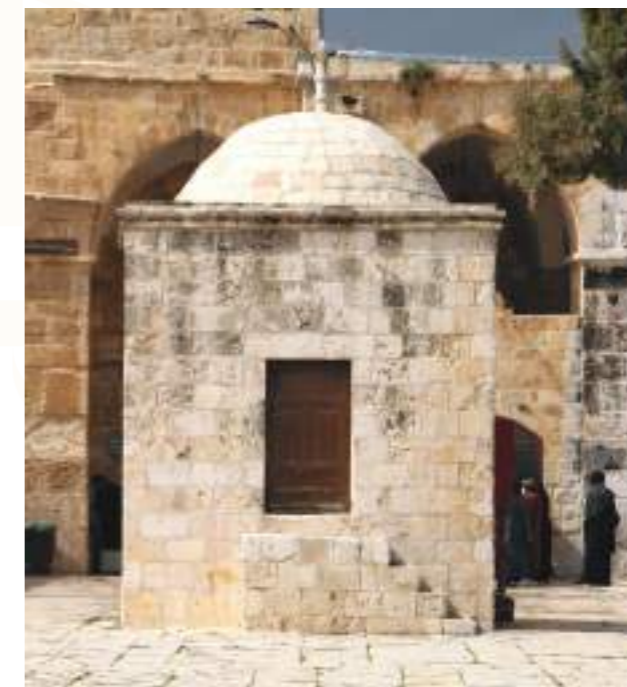


Image 61. Sabil of the Moors Gate (IW Archieve)

K-The Wells

Al-Aqsa Mosque Complex has 25 wells that are mostly full of water. Eight wells are placed around the Dome of the Rock and the other 17 wells are spread out over al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. These wells were drilled at various times during the Islamic period in order to provide water needs for the people praying at al-Aqsa Mosque as well as for the Old City inhabitants.



Image 62. One of the water wells in the courtyard of Bayt al-Maqdis (IVV archive)



Image 63. Saladin's Minbar before 1969

L- Pulpits (Minbars)

1- The Minbar of Nureddin Zengi/The Minbar of Saladin (Ayyubid Dynasty)

This minbar was made by Nureddin Zengi for al-Aqsa Mosque just before conquering Jerusalem and after taking al-Aqsa Mosque from the Crusaders in 1168. Yet, Nureddin Zengi died without seeing the conquest of Jerusalem. After its conquest, Saladin ordered Nureddin Zengi's minbar be brought from Halap in order to be placed in al-Aqsa

Mosque. The pulpit was made from a cedar tree, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and decorated with ivory. The top of the door has a crown. According to legend, this crown was added by Amir Tankaz while the pulpit was being restored in 1330. This crown was the emblem of al-Tankazi State. There is a wooden balcony at the top of pulpit that is reached by stairs. This historical pulpit burned as a result of fire that occurred by a racist radical Zionist and citizen of Austria in 1969. This event caused a great response from the Islamic world, resulting in the Foundation of the Islamic Conference Organization. Firstly, the burned pulpit was replaced with a simple pulpit. Afterwards, a new pulpit similar to the old one was made using the same materials in Jordan. The newly built pulpit was brought to Jerusalem and reinstalled in 2007.



Image 64a. Burhaneddin Minbar (FA archive)



Image 64b. Ottoman repair epitaph at the dawn of Burhaneddin Minbar (FA archive)

2- Burhaneddin Minbar (Mamluk Period)

This pulpit is located on the south side of the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock, west of the Southern Arches leading to Masjid al-Qiblatayn. It was built in 1309 by Burhan al-Din Jama'a. While a movable pulpit at first made of wood and wheels, it was later transformed into a pulpit made of marble and stone. It has a short staircase and a beautiful entrance that leads to the stone-made seat at the top for the orator to sit. The pulpit is decorated with a fancy dome that rests on four marble columns. This dome is called the Mizan Dome as the arches nearby are very old. A mihrab is engraved next to the pulpit. This mihrab is located to the west of the pulpit, under where the orator sits. There is another mihrab in the same place. This mihrab was engraved on the first pillar of the southern arches to the east of the pulpit. It is the only minbar out in the open on al-Aqsa Mosque Complex and is no longer used.

M- The Islamic Museum

The Islamic Museum was established in 1923 by the Supreme Muslim Council. Thanks to this museum, the first historical artifacts museum was established in Palestine. The original museum was located near Ribat al-Mansur opposite its current location, near the directorate of the Islamic Foundation and the Bab al-Nazir [Gate of the Superintendent of al-Haram ash-Sharif]. Later on in 1929, the museum was moved to its current location next to the Moors Gate to the southwest of al-Aqsa Mosque. The museum consists of two corner halls. Previously, the western hall of the building was called the Moorish Masjid. The southern hall was part of the Women's Mosque. The works exhibited in the Islamic Museum are among the most valuable and rarest works in Islamic history. The artifacts there document the history of al-Aqsa Mosque from the period of Omar in the 7th century. On display are rare manuscript copies of the Qur'an from the 19th century. Among the rare works is also a copy of the Noble Qur'an ordered by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars between 1422-1437. This copy is the largest copy of the Holy Qur'an found in Palestine and measures 110x170 cm.



Image 65. Islamic Museum near the Moors Gate (IYV Archive)

N- The Buraq Wall (The Wailing Wall)

The Buraq Wall is part of al-Aqsa Mosque and is located southwest of al-Aqsa Mosque Complex. After Israel occupied Jerusalem in 1967, the wall was captured by the Jewish state and its name was changed to the Wailing Wall. Jews claim the Wailing Wall to be all that remains of the Temple of Solomon. According to Islamic beliefs, this wall is where the Prophet Muhammed tied his steed named al-Buraq before ascending to the sky on the night of Isra and Mi'raj.

Until the 15th century, Jews had performed their prayers and worship on the Mount of Olives outside the Old City of Jerusalem. In 1930, an investigation by the British Fact-Investigative Commission into Muslim and Jewish claims regarding the ownership of the Buraq Wall resulted in a decision confirming al-Buraq Wall and other buildings to be owned by the Islamic Foundations. Today, the existing square in front of the wall emerged after the occupation of Jerusalem by Israeli Forces in 1967, the destruction of the Moors Gate belonging to the Muslims. The Muslims living there were expelled.



Image 66a. Al-Buraq Wall (MT Archive)



Image 66b. Al-Buraq Wall (Wailing Wall); IYV Archive)



Image 67a. The mihrab of one of the prayer places in front of the Dome of Moses in the courtyard of Bayt al-Maqdis/al-Aqsa Mosque (FA archive)



Image 67b. View of some mihrabs in the courtyard of Bayt al-Maqdis/al-Aqsa Mosque (MT archive)

O- Namazgah (Prayer Places)

Al-Aqsa Mosque Complex has 26 *namazgah*. These prayer places are more than one meter above ground level and were built by stone with flat surfaces. Most of them have marker stones showing the direction of the qibla and have a small mihrab. These places are allocated to prayer, sermons, and lectures and are still used for this purpose. Two of the twenty-six *namazgah* are newly built, while the others were built at various times in the Islamic administration, especially during the Mamluk and Ottoman eras.



PASSIA, *Al-Aqsa Mosque Guide, Jerusalem: 2003*, p. 66-69

P. MAPS AND KEYS

(The numbers/letters on the legends mentioned above indicate the places marked with these figures on the map. Each place has a special consecutive number on the map.)

1. Qibly Mosque
2. Dome of the Rock.
3. Ancient Masjid al-Aqsa
4. Marwani-Masjid
5. Women's Mosque (White Mosque)
6. The Cradle and Mosque of Prophet Jesus
7. Al-Buraq Mosque
8. The Moors' Masjid
9. Dome of the Chain
10. Dome of the Mi'raj
11. Mihrab and Dome of the Prophet
12. Dome of Prophet Solomon
13. Dome of Moses
14. Dome of al-Khidr
15. Dome of Yusuf Agha
16. Dome of Joseph
17. Dome of Souls
18. Dome of Muhammediye Zaviye/Dome of al-Khalili
19. Dome of Sultan Mahmut II/Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet
20. Dome of the Nahivists
21. Gate of Bani Ghanim Minaret
22. Gate of the Tribes/Salahiye Minaret
23. The Moors Gate Minaret/Minaret of Fahriye Zawiya
24. Chain Gate Minaret
25. Southern Arches
26. Eastern Arches
27. Western Arches
28. Northwestern Arches
29. Northeastern Arches
30. Southwestern Arches
31. Southeastern Arches
32. Madrasa al-Hitaniye
33. Madrasa al-Fahriye
34. Madrasa al-Dawadariya
35. Madrasa al-Tankizyya
36. Madrasa al-Farisiye
37. Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya
38. Madrasa al-Malakiye
39. Madrasa al-Javiliye
40. Madrasa al-Khatuniye
41. Madrasa al-Isardiyye
42. Madrasa al-Aragoniye
43. Madrasa al-Amaniyye
44. Madrasa al-Basitiyye
45. Madrasa al-Manjakiyye
46. Madrasa al-Utmaniyye
47. Northern Portico
48. Western porticos
49. Gate of the Tribes
50. Gate of Remission
51. King Faisal Gate (Gate of Darkness)
52. Gate of Bani Ghanim
53. Council Gate
54. Iron Gate
55. Cotton Merchants' Gate
56. Ablution Gate
57. Tranquility Gate
58. Chain Gate
59. Moors Gate
60. Golden Gate and Gate of Repentance
61. Gate of al-Buraq
62. Double Gate
63. Triple Gate
64. Single Gate
65. Shadirwan
66. Malik Muazzam Isa Water Tank
67. Sabil Qaytbay
68. Sabil al-Naranj
69. Sabil Qasim Pasha
70. Sabil of Sultan Suleiman
71. Nureddin Zengi Mibar/Saladin Minbar
72. Burhan al-Din Minbar
73. Islamic Museum
74. Al-Buraq Wall

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LIVING TOGETHER IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

Abdullah ÇAKMAK*

Freedom of Faith and Worship in Islam

The religion of Islam gives people the right to choose one's religion due to possessing reason and will. In this respect, people can enter the religion of their choice or believe in line with their own free will. The Qur'an has many verses regarding this issue.¹ Among these is "There is no compulsion in religion,"² as mentioned in Surah al-Baqara. The verse strictly forbids pressuring anyone to change their religion. When considering this divine law together with the need for people to live together as social beings, that Muslims and non-Muslims living together in Islamic society is understood to be inevitable.

The principles of coexistence in Islamic society were put forward by the first Islamic state established after the migration to Medina in 622. In this regard, the Prophet [Prophet Muhammad] is known to have assured the safety of the Christians of Najran whom he'd met in Medina. Again, the Constitution of Medina, the first constitution of the Islamic state, touches on many issues such as the duties of the head of state, defense of the country, justice, freedom of belief and worship, security of life and property, and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Among these, the articles regarding our subject that include the right to belief and worship granted to non-Muslims are as follows: "Those Jews who follow us will be entitled to our help and assistance free of persecution and without help to those who oppose them (Article 16)."³ "The Banu Avf Jews form a community with the believers. The religion of the Jews is to their own, and the religion of the believers is their own. This includes both their mawla [sovereigns] and themselves (Article 25a)." The Prophet was the first to implement these principles,

which revealed the freedom of belief and worship for non-Muslims living in the lands under Islamic rule. When the Prophet migrated to Medina, approximately 1,500 of the 10,000 inhabitants of the city were Muslims, 4,500 were Arabs belonging to the Aws and Khazraj tribes, and the remaining 4,000 were Jews. Although a minority group had formed, Muslims under the leadership of the Prophet adopted the first constitution they created not by disregarding non-Muslims but seeing them as citizens of the state and adapting them to society. Only the *jizya* tax was demanded from non-Muslims as the price of recognizing their right to security of life and property and freedom of belief and worship.

The First Assurance Given to Non-Muslims in Jerusalem

When Omar conquered Jerusalem [al-Quds] in 638 and took it under Islamic rule for the first time, one of the first practices he carried out in the city was to grant the freedom of belief and worship to the Christians living here. The assurance given to Patriarch Sophronios on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem includes articles regarding the freedom of belief and worship of the Christian people. Accordingly, the Kamame Church in Jerusalem, Bethlehem as the birthplace of Jesus [Prophet Isa], and other holy places can be visited by Georgian, Ethiopian, Coptic, Assyrian, Armenian, Nestorian, Jacobite, and Maronite Christians; as long as they comply with the *dhimmi* [People of the Covenant of Abraham] rules, no attempt to intervene will be made toward these people. In addition, these people were reported to be exempt from the *jizya*, instead having to pay three silver dirhams to the patriarch who would come only to visit the Kamame.⁴

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¹ See Kur'an-ı Kerim Meali, transl. Halil Altıntaş & Muzafer Şahin (Ankara: Directorate of Religious Affairs Publications, 2006), Yunus 10/99; Hud 11/28; ez-Zumar 39/41; Cuff 50/45; al-Ghashiya 88/21-22.

² Al-Baqara 2/256.

³ Muhammad Hamidullah, Muhammed Hamidullah, İslâm Peygamberi, transl. Salih Tuğ (Istanbul: İrfan Publishing House, 2003), 188-210; Mustafa Özkan, Medine Vesikası/Anayasası ve Birlikte Yaşama, (Ankara: Fecr Publications, 2018), 25-55.

⁴ The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives (BOA), Hatt-ı Hümayun, [HAT], no: 1516, leaf no: 47, 5.



Assurance of Omar ibn al-Khattab (RA)

In the name of Allah, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate

Praise be to Allah who gave us glory through Islam and honoured us with Iman and showed mercy on us with his Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, and guided us from darkness and brought us together after being many groups and joined our hearts and made us in the land and made us beloved siblings. Praise Allah O servant of Allah for his grace.

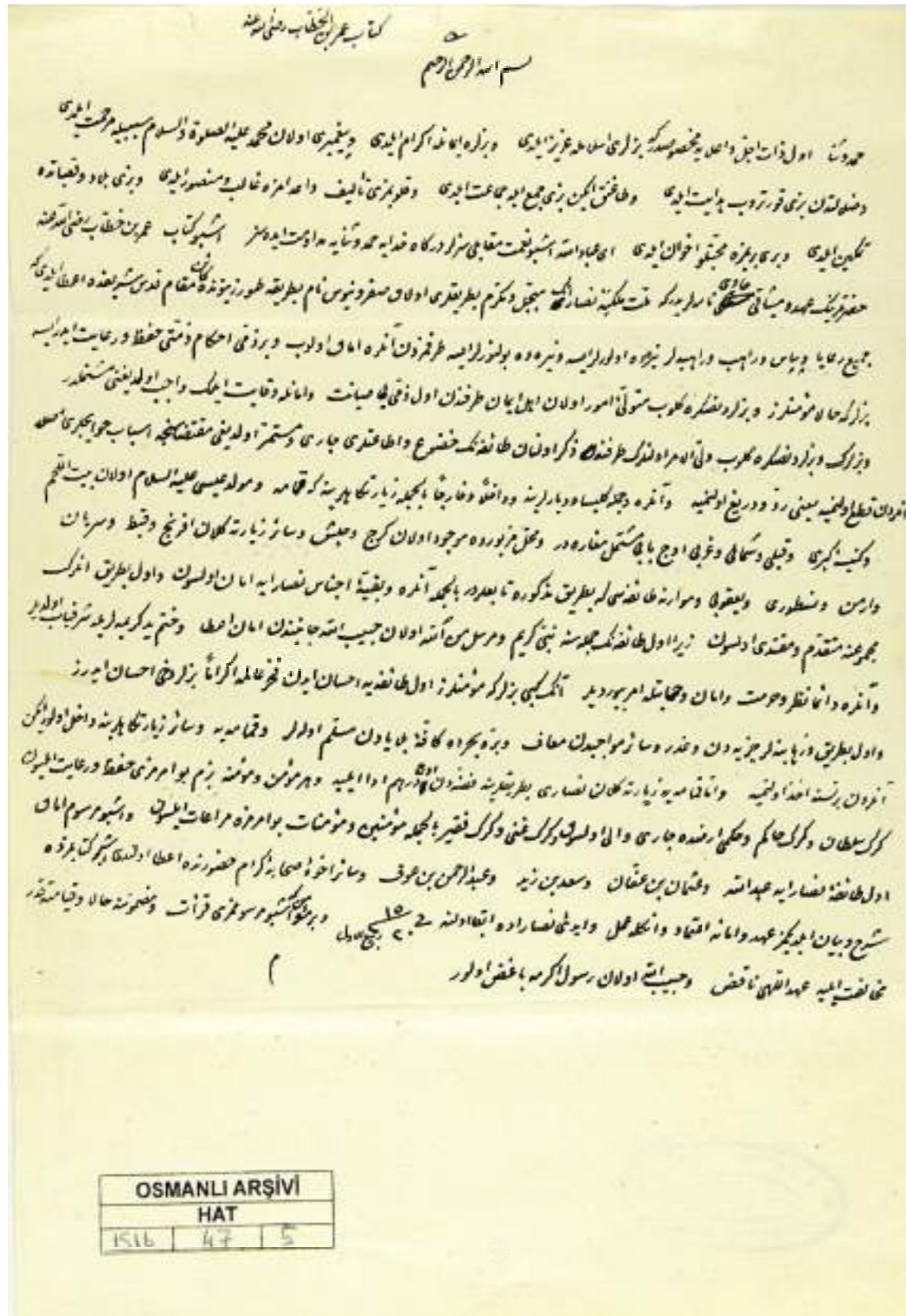
This document from Hazrat Omar ibn al-Khattab gives assurances to the respected, honored, and revered patriarch Sophronious, patriarch of the Royal sect on the Mount of Olives, Tur al-Zaitun, in the honorable Jerusalem, al-Quds as-Sharif, and includes the general public, the priests, monks, and nuns wherever they may be. They are protected. If a *dhimmi* guards the rules of religion, then it is incumbent on us the believers and our successors to protect the *dhimmi*s and help them achieve their needs as long as they live by our rules. This assurance of *Aman* covers them, their churches, monasteries, and all other holy places under their control within and outside the city: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; Bethlehem, the place of the Prophet Isa (Jesus); the big church (Cathedral); the cave of three entrances, East, North, and West; and the various remaining sects of Christians present there, and these are: the *Karj*, the *Habshi* and those who come to visit from the Franks, the Copts, the East Syrians, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, and the Maronites and those who fall under the leadership of the above mentioned patriarch. The patriarch will be their representative because they were given from the dear, venerable, and noble Prophet who was sent by Allah, and they were honored with the seal of his blessed hand. He ordered us to look after them and to protect them. Also, we as Muslim (believers) show benevolence today toward those whose Prophet was good to them. They will be exempted from paying Jizya and any other tax. They will be protected whether they are at sea or on land, whether visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or any other Christian places of worship, and nothing will be taken from them. As for those who come to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Christians will pay the patriarch one dirham [currency 1/1000 of a dinar] and three silver. Every believing man and woman will protect them whether they be Sultan or ruler or governor ruling the country, whether they of the believing men and women be rich or poor.

This assurance was given in the presence of a huge number of noble companions such as Abd Allah, Othman ibn Afan, Said ibn Zayed, and Abd al-Rahman ibn Awf as well as the remaining noble companions' brothers. Therefore, what was written in this Assurance must be relied upon and followed. Hope will stay with them, Salutation of Allah the Righteous to our master Muhammad, peace be upon him, his family, and his companions.

All praise to Allah, Lord of the World. Allah is sufficient for us and the best of guardians. Written on the 20th of Rabi al-Awal in the 15th year after the Prophet's Hijra.

Whoever reads this Assurance from the believers and opposes it, from now until the Day of Judgement, has broken the covenant of Allah and is deserving of the disapproval of his noble messenger.⁵

⁵ The Orthodox Patriarchate's Version: The English translation of the Orthodox Patriarchate's version of the Omar's Assurance as translated by Maher Abu-Munshar. For its manuscript in the Ottoman archives, see also: BOA. HAT. no: 1516, leaf no: 47, 5.



Turkish Translation of Hazrat Omar's Assurances to the Jerusalemite Christians

When examining Omar's assurances to the Jerusalemite Christians, attention is understood to have been drawn to two issues. The first is that the practices of the Prophet Muhammad toward Christians are based on freedom of belief and worship. The second issue is the recommendation to all future Muslim statesmen to maintain these rights granted to non-Muslims. The application gains a universal dimension by emphasizing the future validity of these rights and privileges, the basis of which was declared in the past. In this direction, a common bureaucratic language can be seen in the assurances of not only Ayyubid Sultan Selahaddin Eyyubi, who ruled Jerusalem after Hazrat Omar, but also in Muslim statesman such as the Egyptian sultans Tahir es-Seyfi and Eşref es-Seyfi,⁶ the Ottoman sultans Suleiman the Magnificent, Murad IV, Ibrahim, Mehmed IV,⁷ Uthman III, Mustafa III, and Mahmud II.^{8,9} Like the links of an interlocked chain, this practice was maintained for centuries as a manifestation of the Islamic state tradition.

The Ottoman State and Non-Muslims in Jerusalem

After the annexation of Jerusalem, Yavuz Sultan Selim came to this holy city and visited many holy places, especially al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and Halilurrahman; he also gave plenty to Muslim scholars and the poor. In addition, Yavuz Sultan Selim had two edicts prepared upon the request of the Armenian Patriarch Serkiz and the Greek Patriarch Attalya after this visit to Jerusalem. The only thing that separates these two edicts from the Assurance of Omar is that these patriarchs are mentioned separately in both edicts. This is because the nations of these two patriarchs consider some different places in Jerusalem to be sacred. These two edicts from Yavuz Sultan Selim also state that the rights and privileges granted to the freedom of belief and worship of Christians under Omar's protection were based on the past and also included in the future. The statements that indicate the historical basis of the edicts given to the Armenians and Greeks are as follows:

In the edict given to the Armenians:

In accordance with the Ahidname-i Humayun of Hazrat Omar radiyallahu ta'ala anh and the Evamir sharifs given since the time of the late Melik Saladin, which is in their possession...

In the edict given to the Romans:

In accordance with the Ahidname-i Humayun of Hazrat Omar radiyallahu ta'ala anh and the honorable commands of past rulers, to capture and use as...

The expressions regarding the recognition of these given rights in the future are expressed as follows in both edicts with some minor differences:

In this regard, from my honorable children and ancestors, to my great viziers and notable people, judges, governors, sanjak rulers, voivodes rulers, treasury of the Islamic state, and estate division owners and their men, tax collectors, grooms, and fief owners, those in charge of arranging state affairs, employees, sanjak administrators and others are not to interfere with, change, or disrupt in any way nor for any reason in matters large or small that are privately placed and received by my servants and others.¹⁰

⁶ BOA. HAT, no: 1516, leaf no: 47, 7.

⁷ After conquering Istanbul, Mehmed the Conqueror gave an edict to the Christians protecting their freedom of worship in the region at the request of Atasyos, the Patriarch of the Greeks in Jerusalem. For a copy of the edict dated 1458, see BOA. Bâb-ı Defteri Kilise Defterleri [A.DVN. KLS. d.], no: 8, 6.

⁸ For the edicts of the mentioned Ottoman Sultans on Jerusalem Christians, see BOA. A.DVN. KLS. d. no: 8, 8-25.

⁹ For the edict given by Mahmud II to the Greek and Armenian nations of Jerusalem, see BOA. HAT, no: 1516, leaf no: 47, 14-15.

¹⁰ BOA. HAT, no: 1516, leaf no: 47, 10-11.

These two edicts from Yavuz Sultan Selim only addressing Jerusalemite Christians is due to Christians being the only non-Muslims living in Jerusalem in this period and because the assurances from Omar's period had been taken as the basis. However, although these edicts addressed only Christians, the general provisions on freedom of belief and worship also included Jews as another non-Muslim community during Ottoman Jerusalem. The epitaph on the Jaffa Gate from Suleiman the Magnificent, who practically rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, confirms this point. In the book

"*La ilaha illallah Ibrahim Khalilullah*" is written. However, the Magnificent Gate of Jaffa, which shows that this holy city belongs to Muslims. "*La ilaha illallah Muhammadun Rasulallah*" He could very well embroider his kalima-i tawhid. However, here, the Ottoman Sultan preferred to write the name of Hazrat Abraham, the common prophet of all three monotheistic religions, in order not to hurt the non-Muslims living in Jerusalem. Thus, both the belief in oneness was emphasized and it was shown that the existence of non-Muslims living in Jerusalem as well as Muslims were valued in the society.

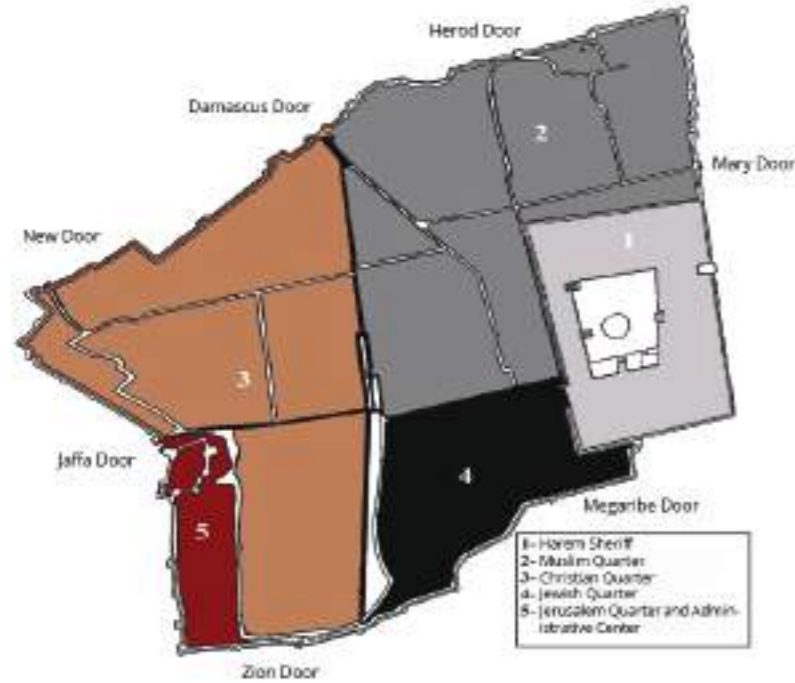


Inscription of Suleiman the Magnificent at the Jaffa Gate from the Gates of the City of Jerusalem

Jerusalem being considered sacred by Muslims, Christians, and Jews paved the way for Jerusalemites to be made up of people from these religions during the Ottoman period. The neighborhoods in the city's old settlement area surrounded by walls are called the Muslim Quarter, Christian Quarter, and Jewish Quarter according to population density. However, this does not mean that Muslims, Christians and Jews live in isolation from each other. Although the settlement plans in the ancient city were distinct

from one another, these three ethnic groups maintained social and economic contact with each other. The villages around Jerusalem should be noted to not have as sharp an ethnic divide in their settlements as in the city center, with Muslims and Christians in particular living in the same villages. As a matter of fact, many provisions in the Jerusalem Qadi Registers reveal that people belonging to these three religions lived alongside one another in the villages around Jerusalem.¹¹

¹¹ Kudüs Sancağı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri, [KŞS], no: 290, 5 and 20; no: 299, 51; no: 319, 44-47.



Distribution of Jerusalem's Neighborhoods

The first cadastral survey made in Jerusalem under Ottoman rule showed the central sanjak of Jerusalem to consist of 12 quarters, ten of which were Muslim. Apart from this, there were also areas where the Muslim Maghreb community lived alongside non-Muslim Syriac and Jewish communities.

	Neighborhood and community
Muslim	Bab al-Hitta neighborhood
	Bab el-Kattanin neighborhood
	Zera'ine neighborhood
	Risha neighborhood
	Beni Harith neighborhood
	Al-Huwayd neighborhood
	Haw Alid neighborhood
	Al-Sharaf neighborhood
	Bab al-Amud neighborhood
Non-muslim	Beni Zaid neighborhood
	Maghrib Community
	Melkite neighborhood
	Saqafat al-Nasrani
	Syrian Community
	Jewish Community

Neighborhoods in the Center of Jerusalem 1525-26¹²

¹² BOA. Tapu Tahrir Defterleri [TT.d.], no: 427, 261-269.

Considering how Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived together in Jerusalem and how people from these three religions visited Jerusalem together from all over the world, the Ottoman Empire inevitably would engage in some activities against Muslims and non-Muslims in Jerusalem due to this unique situation.

When the Hedjaz came under Ottoman rule, the Ottoman sultans in their capacity as *Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn* [Caretakers of the Pilgrimage sites and pilgrims, namely Mecca and Medina] showed special interest toward the Muslims in these holy places and also made Jerusalem Salisi Haramayn al-Sharifayn, the third holy place for Muslims. Two areas of activity stand out in terms of the Ottoman Empire's regulation of Jerusalemite Muslims' social and economic lives: *waqfs* [foundations] and *surre* [money pouches and various gifts sent out by the Ottoman sultans for distribution during the pilgrimage period to the officials of Rawda al-Mutahhara in Medina, Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, and al-Masjid al-Aqsa in Jerusalem as well as to the poor, scholars, and the righteous people living around the sacred sites in these cities who set role models for other people]. In this direction, many structures in the city surrounded by walls, especially Masjid al-Qiblatain and Qubbat al-Sakhra being among the foundation works were repaired during the Ottoman period. The laws of the foundations that existed in the city since before the Ottoman rule were continued in the same way during the Ottoman period and many new foundations were added to them. Thus, the aim was for Muslims to lead a prosperous life with the services provided in the fields of religion, society, economics, and education. In addition, a share for the people of Mecca and Medina was also allocated to Jerusalem from the *surre* Istanbul sent every year with the pilgrimage convoy. The *surre*, from which the sayyids, scholars, poor, and slaves in particular benefited in Jerusalem, reveals the importance the Ottoman Empire gave to the Muslims of Jerusalem.

When looking at the Ottoman Empire's policy toward the non-Muslims of Jerusalem within the scope of freedom of belief and worship, Christians are seen to have been more addressed because they rank second after Muslims in this

regard. Although Jerusalem is a place of pilgrimage for Christians, the center of this pilgrimage is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which was built in the 4th century AD by Helena, the mother of the Eastern Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. The cave where Jesus was born in the village of Bethlehem and the tomb of the Virgin Mary are also considered sacred by all Christians alongside this church, which is more commonly referred to as the Kamame or the Church of the Apocalypse in the Ottoman archival documents.

Conflicts have occurred among the various Christian communities over these holy places in Jerusalem for centuries. The settlement of these disputes during the Ottoman era was done by the Imperial Council of the Ottoman Empire (Divan-ı Hümayun). In this direction, when one of the Christian communities came to the Jerusalem court regarding the holy places and claimed a right, the Jerusalem judge had to convey the case to the Imperial Court. Even if the claimant community had the documents supporting its claims, sending all these documents to the Imperial Court was obligatory. Thus, the Imperial Court would compare these documents with the agreements that had been given in the time of Hazrat Omar and renewed during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim, after which they would be able to make a decision in line with the obtained information. In such a case in 1689, the Divan-ı Hümayun harshly warned the local administrators and qadis who had not sent to Istanbul the documents the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem had submitted to the local court.¹³ In a decree from 1697, the Greeks complained that their place in the Kamame Church, which had been in their possession for a long time, was being occupied by the Armenians. According to the Greeks' claims, some qadis whom they thought were greedy had taken bribes from the Armenians and prepared false evidence, thus giving their places of worship to the Armenians. Even if the defendant was a qadi of Jerusalem, the Court of Humayun took these allegations into account and informed them that the documents alleged to be fake would be sent to Istanbul and that the case would be heard by the Court of Justice.¹⁴

¹³ BOA. Bab-ı Asaf Divan-ı Hümayun Mühimme Kalemi [A. DVNS. MHM. d.], no: 98, provision 266.

¹⁴ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 110, provision 942.



Christians' Pilgrimage Center: Kamame Church in Jerusalem¹⁵

The dispute between the Greeks and Armenians over the holy places in Jerusalem became so complicated during the reign of Sultan Selim that the State had to appoint a bailiff to Jerusalem for settling this issue. The Armenians made great efforts and ensured the issuance of the edict of September 1803, thus gaining the privileges they always claimed belonged to them.¹⁵

This decree involved the decision to remove the oil lamps found in the Tomb of the Virgin Mary that had been allocated to the Abyssinian, Coptic, and Assyrian nations, longtime coreligionists and helpers of the Greeks, to have the Greeks hand over their keys to the Armenians, and moreover, to have Greeks be barred from jointly held ceremonies.¹⁶ The Greeks were adversely affected by the arrangement of the churches and other pilgrimage sites; they had almost all their rights taken away as a result of the privileges the Armenians obtained and made important attempts to revert the situation to its former state. The most important work of the Greeks in this regard was to remind Istanbul of the edicts in their hands showing the Greeks' rights. As a result of the investigation carried out by the bailiff, the Greeks were found to be

in the right, and the rights of the Greek and Armenian nations in the churches and other pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem were clearly spelled out with the new edict issued before even two months had passed. Accordingly, the Mugtesil stone in Kamame Church, two old candlesticks, oil lamps, four arches belonging to the Greek patriarchate, seven arches on Sitti Meryem, the middle of the Kamame Church, the tomb area, all visiting places, its courtyard, and three churches in the courtyard opposite the Kamame where the patriarch resided; the Elene Church, Mar Sekala, and Sitti Nay, Mar Eftimiyus, Mar Mikail, Mar Yorgi, Mar Yuhanna, Mar Vasil, Mar Nikola, Mar Dimitri, Sitti Meryem, the other Mar Yuhanna, the Georgian Monastery, Mar Yakub, Mar Yorgi, Mar Seyyum, the other Mar Yorgi, Mar Simon, Mar Ilyas, Mar Sava, and Mar Yorgi monasteries in Beit Cala; the Virgin Mary's Shrine outside of Jerusalem; Jesus' dungeon in Hanan's house and its tombs in the field; the Jerusalem cave and church where Jesus was born; the north area of the church, the keys of the two doors on the qibla, and the qibla sides; the two gardens around the church; olive groves; shrine grottoes, and churches and monasteries in other villages were remanded to the Greeks.¹⁷

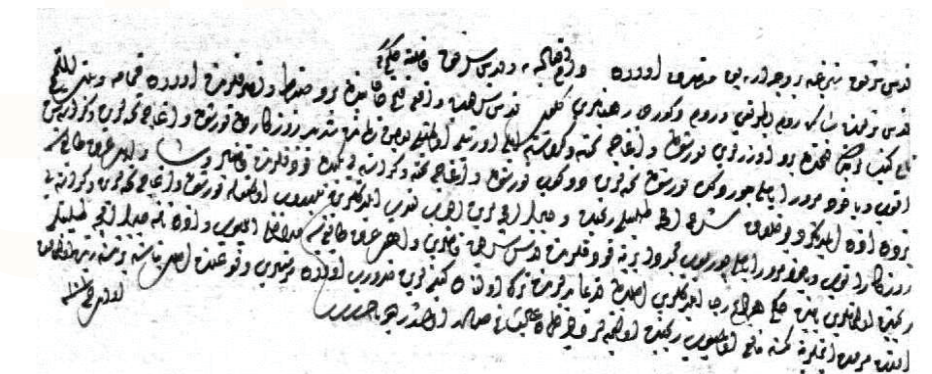
¹⁵ <https://digitalcollections.nyppl.org/items/510d47d9-5d65-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>
¹⁶ Sarkis Karakoç, "Ermenilerin Kuds-i Şerif'te Haiz Oldukları İmtiyazat-ı Kadimelerinin Teyidiyle Rumların Men'-i Taarruzatı Hakkında Ferman-ı Âli (evâil-i Cemâziyelahir 1218)", *Külliyât-ı Kavanin*, file no: 2/6389, (Turkish Historical Society Library).
¹⁷ *Külliyât-ı Kavanin*, file no: 2/4007.

Put briefly, the Ottoman central administration resolved the disputes among Christian communities, especially between the Greeks and Armenians in Jerusalem. The Imperial Court personally addressed about one hundred and fifty edicts were issued to the Christian communities in Jerusalem starting with Yavuz Sultan Selim on the issue of the arrangement of the holy places.¹⁸ This number suffices to show how great the conflicts had been among the Christians in Jerusalem. In the face of such great centuries-long conflicts, the Ottoman Empire did not abandon these communities but instead always tried to find solutions to their problems, thus preventing further turmoil.

One of the rights granted to non-Muslims in Jerusalem by the Ottoman State within the scope of freedom of belief and worship was in regard to the repair of their holy places. The central government had two remarkable policies regarding the repair of these places. The first was to prevent the local administrators of Jerusalem from trying to turn the situation into an opportunity. This was because individual incidents had shown some greedy people from the local rulers of Jerusalem to have viewed non-Muslim subjects as a source of income. This situation caused undesirable events to occur in Jerusalem from time to time and could only be overcome by non-Muslim subjects lodging complaints with the Imperial Court. When the Jews who came to visit Jerusalem in 1581 complained that

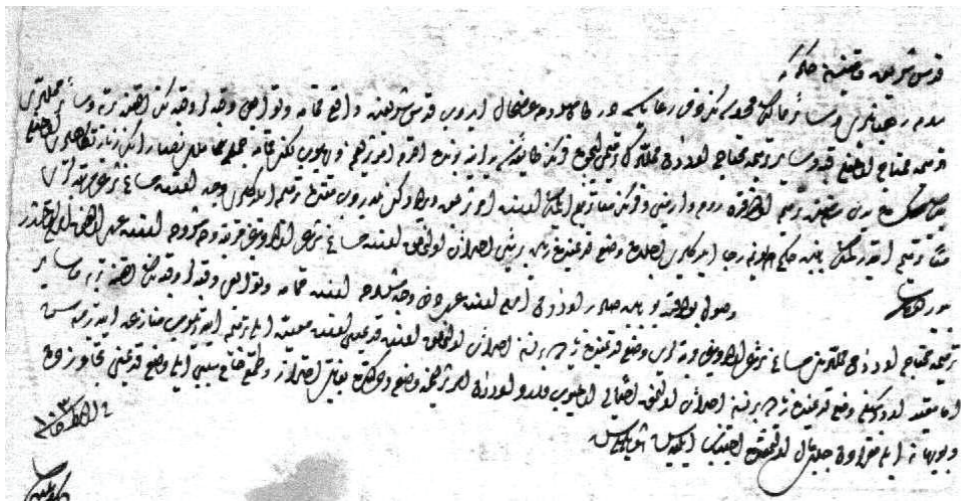
the local administrators of Jerusalem had insulted them and extorted their money, the Imperial Court ordered the governor of a sanjak and the Qadi of Jerusalem to stop such behaviors immediately and report to Istanbul the names of those who were opposed to the order.¹⁹

When examining the complaints about non-Muslims in Jerusalem being extorted from, they were understood to have encountered these unfair demands mostly when they wanted to repair their holy places. The greedy local rulers, discontent with their own earnings, demanded money from non-Muslims for various reasons and threatened them by saying they would start investigating their places of worship if the non-Muslims did not pay them.²⁰ The second policy was applied toward repair activities to prevent Christians from expanding their places of worship under the name of repair. By giving permission to the Christians of Jerusalem to repair their existing places of worship, the Ottoman Empire aimed not to be victimized due to these architectural works falling apart over time. Other than these, building new temples/churches or trying to expand existing ones was banned. In this respect, these attempts from the Christians who wanted to bribe local administrators to expand their existing temples/churches using various tricks were each time kept under control with the orders sent from Istanbul.²¹



Christians not being prevented from making repairs to Kamame Church (BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 99, provision 329)

¹⁸ For these decrees, see Sarkis Karakoç, *Külliyât-ı Kavanin*.
¹⁹ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 46, provision 238.
²⁰ *Ibid*, no: 99, provision 330.
²¹ *Ibid*, provision 329; no: 102, provision 438; no: 102, provision 564.



Christians doing their repairs in the Kamame Church without expanding
(BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 102, provision 564)



Jews Worshipping at the Wailing Wall (1898-1914)²³

When looking at the temple repair issues the Jews as the other non-Muslim subjects in Jerusalem faced, a more complicated situation is encountered. When Yavuz Sultan Selim annexed Jerusalem, the Jews had no temple in the city; Suleiman the Magnificent, however, rebuilt the Wailing Wall, which he considered the most sacred thing to do.

However, the absence of a Jewish temple and the prohibition of non-Muslim subjects from building new temples in areas under Muslim rule became a major problem for the Jews of Jerusalem. First off, religious Jews tried to solve this problem by opening their houses or places they

had bought for their co-religionists as places of worship purposes. The Ottoman Empire tolerated the existence of these places as long as they did not cause a public crisis, considering that it was natural for a religious group to need temples, especially for congregational worship. After Jewish temples emerged in this way, the same two policies applied to Christians were followed in regard to repair. When the Jews who applied to the Jerusalem court for repair were threatened by the local administrators of Jerusalem, they applied to the Imperial Court, and as a result of the decisions, they obtained legal protection for their temples.²³

²³ <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3b09368/>. (Accessed: 11/6/2019).
²⁴ See Mustafa Öksüz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Kudüs'ünde Yahudi Mabetleri ve Osmanlı Devleti", *İsrailiyat: İsrail ve Yahudi Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 2, (Yaz 2018), 9-32.

Christians who wanted to spend their Holy Days in Jerusalem would flock to Jerusalem from all over the world during the Ottoman period. Christian visits to Jerusalem were not consistent throughout the year. The number of visitors should be noted to increase considerably, especially between Christmas and Easter. When adding together the Chris-

tians' Easter celebrations in April, Muslims' Nabi in the same month, and the Jewish celebration of Passover, the population of Jerusalem is understood to be at its highest in April. The Ottoman State allowed non-Muslims to perform without any problems their rituals and activities carried out specifically for these celebratory seasons.



Easter Celebrations at Kamame Church between 1898-1914²⁴



Muslims departing from the Damascus Gate for the Nabi Musa Festival between 1898-1917²⁵

²⁴ <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.06563/>. (Accessed: 11/6/2019).
²⁵ <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.04617/>. (Accessed: 11/6/2019).

In line with these measures, reinforcements were added to the soldiers in Jerusalem before the celebrations in order to prevent conflicts and boycotts between anyone. Generally, 100-300 reinforcements would have been sent from the Nablus Sanjak, depending on the number of visitors expected to arrive in Jerusalem.²⁶ While such security measures were taken in the city at the behest of the local administrators of Jerusalem, the central government provided the facilities the Christians needed, especially those from Europe, on their way to Jerusalem. The request in 1579 from the Georgian Bey Aleksander, regarding not preventing the Christians who want to go to Jerusalem from Georgia for the purpose of visiting the Kamame Church, was discussed in the Imperial Court in this regard. The decision the Court made emphasized the recent developments in the region and mentioned the conquest of Shirvan (i.e., the enemies who'd been neutralized in the Koyungeçidi Muharebesi [War] against the Safavids and the newly established Shirvan rule.

However, the report was sent to the Governor of Erzurum and the Governor of the Sanjak of Jerusalem that the Christian Georgians who wanted to go to Jerusalem should not be prevented, provided that they had the sealed evidence from the Georgian Bey Alexander.²⁷ In the order regarding the Jewish man David who wanted to go to Jerusalem from Istanbul in 1631, the Qadis, Bays, and governors in and around Jerusalem were ordered to lay no hand on the man.²⁸ Again in the same year, a similar order was given stating that no one should interfere with the departure or return of the secret clerks of the King of France who wanted to go from Istanbul to Jerusalem.²⁹ Necessary measures were also taken to meet the shelter, food, and health needs of the growing Christian population during the celebrations in Jerusalem. In the second half of the 19th century, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem requested the Ottoman State

to allocate a temporary place for accommodating the Greeks who came to Jerusalem for the purpose of visiting. At the request of the patriarch, the state allowed the Greeks to stay in the barracks in Jerusalem for a month in order to solve the housing problem for non-Muslims.³⁰ The number of health and cleaning personnel in the city would be increased during the pilgrimage seasons with the thought that crowded groups coming together and performing rituals may cause many contagions to spread.³¹ In addition, the amount of food that was sufficient for the people of the city under normal conditions was insufficient during major holidays. For this reason, increasing the food stock in the city was deemed necessary during the celebration seasons. The precaution the District Governor of Jerusalem Hafız Ahmed Pasha took during the Easter celebrations of 1852 is one example that can be given in this regard. That year's Easter season also coincided with the Nabi Musa tribe of Muslims, which caused a greater need for food in the city than ever before. Hafız Ahmed Pasha ensured that the celebrations would be completed without any problems by keeping plenty of provisions and food in the city this year. In this way, the notable Muslims of Jerusalem as well as the Greek Patriarch and the Armenian Patriarch informed Sultan Abdülmecid that they were pleased with Ahmed Pasha's activities.³²

Adding an important point to the principles put forward so far would be useful regarding the Ottoman State's granting the rights of belief and worship to the non-Muslims of Jerusalem. Although the Ottoman Empire granted freedom of worship to non-Muslims, this freedom did not mean non-Muslims could act as they wished. Because the freedom of worship of those who are in debt is established according to the principles determined by the religion of Islam, preventing behaviors contrary to the Shariah also became necessary. In this respect, non-Muslims who perform rituals or have

²⁶ Regarding troops being dispatched from Nablus to Jerusalem before the Easter season, see: BOA. Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası, [BEO.], leaf no: 56708, 1. BOA., Yıldız Münevvis Maruzat Evrakı, [Y. MTV.], no: 153, leaf no: 41; BOA. Y. MTV. no: 174, leaf no: 177; BOA., Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umumi [Y. PRK. UM.], no: 45, leaf no: 56.
²⁷ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 32, provision 497-498, 502.
²⁸ Ibid, no: 85, provision 100.
²⁹ Ibid, no: 85, provision 280.
³⁰ BOA. Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Nezaret ve Devair Kalemî [A. MKT. NZD.], no: 212, leaf no: 79.
³¹ BOA. Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Mühimme Kalemî [A. MKT. MHM.], no: 584, leaf no: 17.
³² BOA. İrade Hariciye [İ. HR.], no: 87, leaf no: 4289, 1-4.

Handwritten Ottoman Turkish text, likely a legal or administrative order. The text is written in a cursive script (Rika) and includes a date at the top: "حکم السلطان ۹۷۳" (Imperial Decree 973 AH). The content discusses the management of the city of Jerusalem during the Easter season, mentioning the need for food, the presence of pilgrims, and the role of the Governor of Jerusalem. It also touches upon the rights of non-Muslims and the responsibilities of the state during these celebrations.

The Order Sent to the Qadi of Jerusalem on the Complaint of Mullah Siyami (BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 5, provision 191)

behaviors that undermine, make fun of, or harm the beliefs or holy sites of members of other religions would be put to an immediate halt. A petition sent to Istanbul in 1565 shows importance in terms of revealing both the desecration of holy places and the measures taken against those who did this. In the petition from Molla Siyami, attention is drawn to the following issues happening in Jerusalem:

- i. *Some women who come to Masjid al-Aqsa for the purpose of visiting relieved themselves in the courtyard and the cleaning staff was unable to clean up after them, especially during Eid and Friday prayer as well as at other times.*
- ii. *The tomb of the Virgin Mary, the footprint of Jesus, and other holy places are areas where non-Muslim women come together and exhibit behaviors not in compliance with the Shari'a. For example, when one of the Arabs in Jerusalem dies, they visit the neighborhoods with lamentation to announce that their funeral is around, and they circulate around the grave, smearing dirt on their faces and wailing.*
- iii. *Due to the fact that doormen do not fulfill their duties, food scraps are thrown on the roads by people living in the vicinity.*
- iv. *Some Indians residing around the Sakhratullah relieve themselves at night there.*
- v. *The farmers who bring yogurt and milk to the market with their wives pass through the Temple Mount on the pretext that it is on the way.*

Upon Mullah Siyami's complaint to the Imperial Court about these people who'd been behaving outside the bounds of the Shariah, the order was given to the Qadi of Jerusalem that any man or woman who behaved inappropriately in Masjid al-Aqsa, Sakhratullah, or other holy places should be immediately prevented. This order was recorded in the registry book and those who would become Qadis of Jerusalem from now on were noted that they should also comply with the order.³³

Upon the petition sent to the Imperial Court that Christians had drunk wine in the tomb of the Prophet Uzeyir in Jerusalem in 1578, an order was sent to the ruler of Jerusalem and the Qadi to stop the situation immediately. The order states that no Christian, Jew, or any other person should no longer be allowed to engage in such behavior.³⁴ Another decree from 1695 responded to Muslims who claimed that the Musallebe Monastery, located outside of Jerusalem, had used to be a mosque.

Accordingly, Muslims had claimed this place to have previously been a mosque, and as a result of the discovery made there, the claims were revealed to be unfounded. Referring to this discovery, Muslims were ordered not to disturb Christians on this issue again.³⁵ In the last example on this subject, a report was sent to Istanbul by their own patriarch that the Greeks of Jerusalem had exhibited acts provoking Jews. At the request of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem dated April 14, 1854, he demanded that some ignorant team from their own nation be prevented from playing a kind of game on the streets before the Easter celebrations, as this would harm the relations between the Christian and Jewish nations.³⁶

³³ BOA. A. DVNS. MHM. d., no: 5, provision 191.

³⁴ Ibid, no: 34, provision 219.

³⁵ Ibid, no: 106, provision 35.

³⁶ BOA. A. MKT. NZD, no: 113, leaf no: 39.



When German Emperor Wilhelm II entered the Sakhratullah within Haram al-Sharif (IRICICA FAY 184822)

As a result, non-Muslims living in Jerusalem under Ottoman rule were granted the right to safety of life and property and freedom of belief and worship in line with the teachings of the Islamic religion. Yavuz Sultan Selim, who first annexed Jerusalem, gave two assurances of safety to the Christians in this context. However, the issues included in these assurances also cover the Jews, the other non-Muslim subjects living in Jerusalem. The facilities provided to Christians and Jews regarding the arrangement and repair of their temples and the facilities provided for them to perform their rituals easily prove this. In this direction, the Ottoman sultans, who protected the Muslims as their caliphs and gave them privileges such as foundations and *surre*, always made them feel that they were a part of the society with their policies toward non-Muslims. Attributed to Mahmud II regarding the subject "I recognize the Muslims of my subjects in the mosque, the Christians in the church, and the Jews in the synagogue, there is no other difference between them. My love and justice for the word is strong, and they are all my true offspring."³⁷ The place where the word is embodied can easily be said to be Jerusalem.

³⁷ Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 100.



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A general view from Abdülhamid period Jerusalem and Masjid al-Aqsa (IRCICA FAY 144034)

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF JERUSALEM WAQFS IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Mustafa GÜLER*

Since the Abbasid period, *waqfs* [Islamic foundations] performed many social, economic, and religious services using different sources of income in various fields within the states and societies established in the Islamic world. This trend continued to increase in a positive direction thanks to both the encouragement of outright kindness from religious resources and the consolidated waqf law that emerged over time. In the Great Seljuk State in particular as well as the states established

apart from it, then in the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties established in Egypt, and finally in the Ottoman Empire, waqfs took on the quality of service to all beings, especially human beings, in addition to the historical services they performed. This prevalence and popularity manifested at a higher level for the places whose sanctity had been clearly declared in religious scriptures; many different foundations were established, offering people economic and life benefits to various degrees.

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In other words, Muslims have considered establishing foundations to be a sacred duty beyond normal foundation practices for Masjid an-Nabawi since the time of Prophet Muhammad as well as for the Kaaba and Jerusalem since the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. In this way, waqfs were established not only for the reconstruction, repair, and maintenance of the holy places in these three cities but also for all humanitarian elements living there whether temporarily or permanently.

Abraham [Prophet Ibrahim] can be said to have been the first person to establish foundations for the holy places in and around Jerusalem, though we cannot authenticate this. He is said to have established foundations for both the Kaaba Muazzama (Grand Kaaba) and al-Aqsa Mosque, but no document-based information is found about the income sources or charitable works of these foundations. However, we should immediately mention that the foundation of the imaret in the city of Hebron near Jerusalem, which Abraham built and established, is the oldest example of a still-standing authentic foundation.

The history of the foundations established by the Ottoman Empire in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem coincides with the period long before they began political rule in all three cities.

The Ottoman State's Appropriation Of Jerusalem Pre-1517

The Ottoman State completed its actual establishment in the time of Sultan Orhan Ghazi as well as Sultan Murad I. As with all Muslim states, it sent money to holy places through foundations or central treasury from the reign of Sultan Bayezid I.¹ The clearest indication of this is the *surre* [money and gifts sent annually to Mecca and Medina] sent to *Haramayn* [Islamic appellation for Mecca and Medina] during

the reign of Sultan Bayezid I. *Surre* for the Ottomans also included the money and gifts sent out by the Ottoman sultans for distribution during the pilgrimage period not just to the officials of Rawda al-Mutahhara in Medina and Masjid al-Haram in Mecca but also Masjid al-Aqsa in Jerusalem, as well as to the scholars, righteous people, and the poor living around the sacred mosques in these three cities who were role models for other people.

Let us immediately point out that Jerusalem was not included in the *surre* Sultan Bayezid I provided. In this respect, the practice of sending the *surre* to Jerusalem is accepted as having started with the Ottoman Empire beginning with Sultan Murad II.

The oldest document on the Ottoman Empire's appearance in and control of Jerusalem, in particular al-Aqsa Mosque, is found in the madrasa foundation, which had been built as a two-story building between al-Aqsa Mosque's Mathara Gate built by Isfahanşah Hatun,² the daughter of Amir Mahmud, one of the amirs of the Murad period, and also the wife of Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha (1430), between the Ashrafiya Mosque and the Mathara Gate in Jerusalem.^{3,4} According to this document, which is also the oldest waqf document related to Jerusalem in the Ottoman Archives, she allocated incomes of Çayören, Avşar, Goncaaliler, Mankalar, Kabaklar, Geçitler, Sargurlar, Dümenler, Demirciler, and İncikler,⁵ villages of Gerece, Hasbeyliköyü, the village of İznik, and the villages of Karagür, Şalgamlu, and Yörgüçlü^{6,7} in Hayrabolu to the expenses of this madrasa.⁸ According to relevant books showing the income of this foundation at the end of the 16th century, the annual amount collected just from the village of Hasbeyli in İznik was 288 gold coins. According to these books, the waqf expenses for the madrasa at the end of the 16th century were as follows:⁹

Type of expense	Amount of expense
Mudarris	3800 akçe
7 pupils	2520 kuruş
7 reciters	2520 akçe
<i>Suleha</i> [Faithful Persons] & <i>fukara</i> [Poor Persons]	900 akçe
<i>Kapıcı</i> [Caretaker] and <i>saka</i> [water carrier]	820 akçe
Lighting	820 akçe
Repair	1000 akçe

¹ For detailed information on the subject, see Midhat Sertoğlu, "İl. Murâd'ın Vasiyetnâmesi", (Ankara: 1961), 8: 67-69; Mustafa Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları*, (İstanbul: TATAV, 2002), 101.
² For detailed information about Pasha and his wife, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1986), 46-55. <http://mirasimiz.org.tr/sayfa/Mescid-i-Aksada-Bulunan-Osmanli-Eserleri/22>. (Accessed on November 14, 2019).
³ <http://mirasimiz.org.tr/page/Mescid-i-Aksada-Bulunan-Osmanli-Eserleri/22>. (Accessed November 14, 2019).
⁴ The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives (BOA), Ali Emiri Classification, Murad II Period Documents, no: 9; Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations (VGMA), defter no: 1760, 1.
⁵ For the village, see BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (TT)*, defter no: 438, 801; <http://www.iznikrehber.com/yazarlar-48-iznik%E2%80%99te-unknown+koyler-recep+bozkurt> (Accessed November 14, 2019). The village can be said to be around Elbeyli today.
⁶ Vedat Turgut, "Germiyanogulları'nın Menşei, Vakıfları ve Batı Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesi Meselesi Üzerine", *The Journal of Social and Cultural Studies*, 3/5, (Sakarya: 2017), 41-42.
⁷ Ali Emiri, Murad II, 9.
⁸ For the endowment of the madrasa, see VGMA; 1760, 227-228.
⁹ BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD)*, 1806, 12; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (TSMK)*, defter no: 1213, vr.1b.

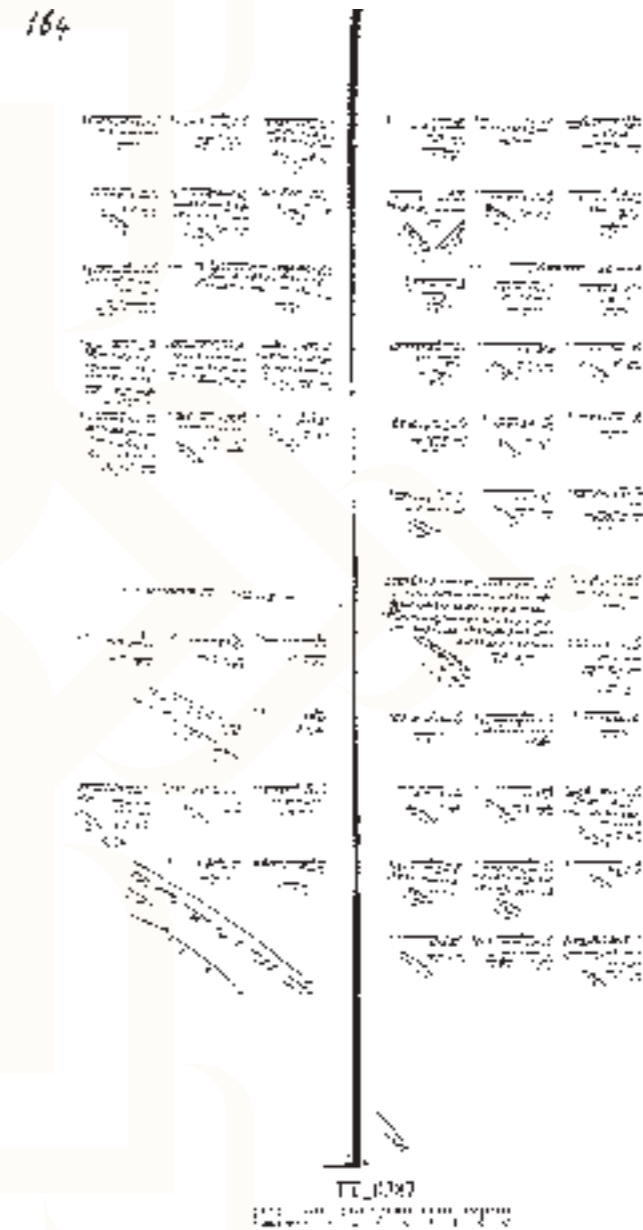
The main question that needs to be answered here is why did Isfahanşah Hatun dispose of such a foundation, because according to classical waqf law, the important point in the areas that a foundation should focus on is to be devoted to the area where people need it in the place where it was established or in its immediate vicinity. Isfahanşah Hatun¹⁰ lived in Bursa or Edirne. In our opinion, the mentioned lady went on a pilgrimage while she was alive and stopped by Jerusalem on her way there or back and had a madrasa built and foundations established in memory of this visit. In other words, she may have made such a disposition on the occasion of a relative who'd gone to Jerusalem. The reason why only İznik is mentioned among the above-mentioned villages in the accounting books kept at the end of the 16th century is that its name came first in the charter, because when doing the accounting for a foundation, collecting a net sum such as 288 gold from a village is very difficult.¹¹



Isfahanşah Hatun Foundation Certificate-Charter, BOA, Ali Emiri, Murad II Period Documents, no: 9

¹⁰ Münir Aktepe, "Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa", Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi, (Istanbul: TDV Publications, 1993), 8:214.
¹¹ MAD 1806, 12, TSMK, 1172, 14.

Murad II was the first person to establish a foundation for Jerusalem among the Ottoman Sultans. He stipulated 200 gold for the poor of Jerusalem from the income of his goods in Saruhan, Manisa.¹² Likewise, he allocated funds for Jerusalem from the Madrasa foundation he had built in Bursa.¹³ The third Ottoman foundation established in Jerusalem before the annexation was the allocation of Kayı Village¹⁴ of Nigde as the foundation of a madrasa built in Jerusalem.¹⁵ The income of Kayı village and its four quarters, which can be said to be quite large both in terms of population and economy, increased from 19,838¹⁶ akches in 1500 to 33,806 akches in 1530.¹⁷ At the end of the 16th century, the income of this village was 52,855 akches.¹⁸



Nigde Kayı Village Jerusalem Foundation Registration, TT, 387,164

¹² Midhat Sertoğlu, "II. Murâd'ın Vasiyetnâmesi", Vakıflar Dergisi, (Ankara: General Directorate of Foundations, 1961), 8:67-69.
¹³ Topkapı Palace Museum Archive Books (TSMK. D.), 1213, vr.2nd.
¹⁴ For the geographical location of the village, see:
<https://www.google.com.tr/maps/place/kay%C4%B1,+%C4%B0stiklal+mahallesi,+51700+kay%C4%B1+k%C3%B6y%C3%BC%2Fbor%2Fni%C4%9Fde/@37.8959118,34.3930762,14z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x14d625f185fc26e5:0x9dbc869aae20dc90!8m2!3d37.90004!4d34.403792?hl=en> (accessed: 14 November 2019).
¹⁵ TT, 387, 164.
¹⁶ Ibid, 42, 24.
¹⁷ Ibid, 387, 164.
¹⁸ MAD, 1806, vr.8a.

ANNEXATION OF JERUSALEM AND ITS PROTECTORATE

After Selim the Resolute concluded The Battle of Chaldiran in victory, he embarked on the second Eastern Campaign in 1516 and defeated the Mamluk ruler Qansuh al-Ghawri in the Battle of Marj Dabiq in 1516 as a result of the events that developed in this process, opening the way for Syria and Jerusalem to fall under Ottoman rule. Subsequently, with the victory of the Battle of Yavis Khan, the Mamluk resistance in the Palestine region was completely broken. As mentioned above, the cities of Jerusalem and Al-Khalil, which had always had great importance and respect for the Ottoman State and its dignitaries before the annexation, also came under Ottoman protection without war. In the continuation of this development, Selim the Resolute came to Jerusalem on the afternoon of December 26, 1516 and first visited the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. While he was in al-Haram, he gave plenty to the people and returned to the camp at night.¹⁹

The next day, the Sultan revisited the holy places and gave gifts to the people and the officials of al-Harem.²⁰ Sultan Selim visited Khalil al-Rahman after his visit to Jerusalem.²¹

These actions by Selim the Resolute and his viziers are quite remarkable in terms of our subject because the Mamluk State, being in a difficult situation due to the struggles with the Ottomans and the insecurity within, was known to have been unable to deal with the reconstruction of Jerusalem in its last days; the holy places and its people were in a difficult situation. Before the war with the Mamluk State was over, Sultan Selim's first visit to the holy places in Jerusalem and, more importantly, the fact that he took money to be distributed to the people are very strong indicators of the tradition of embracing the people of the holy city. This event is important in two respects.

1- Although he was at war, the Sultan himself made two separate visits by

avoiding this environment and keeping the people of the holy city out of this event.

2- During this visit, he carried out an established practice of the patronage tradition, which constitutes the general theme of this article. Both issues contain data that will clearly reveal the connection between the Ottoman State and the holy places.

Whatever the political and economic situation required, the Ottoman Empire knew how to keep the holy places and people removed from this, and even made it a priority. In addition, at least similar to the *surre*s of Mecca and Medina that had been sent systematically since the time of Bayezid the Thunderbolt, Sultan Selim must have started toward Jerusalem at least with this visit. In fact, although we have no information about this at the moment, we can think that Sultan Selim took the money, which we can call *surre*, when he left Istanbul, in consideration of the annexation of Jerusalem.

Showing how advanced the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the holy places was, Sultan Selim second visit was to the city of Khalil al-Rahman, or more accurately, to the Khalil al-Rahman Complex. The distance between the two cities is about forty kilometers. Sultan Selim also visited the Abraham Complex, the tomb, and the authorities, distributing gifts to the people while coming and going. Of course, these behaviors and visits had economic and political consequences as well as religious ones. However, the most important aspect of the issue was that these visits from Sultan Selim and his close men had positively affected the view of the people in the holy cities toward the Ottoman Empire so as to be able to cement the Ottoman rule in Jerusalem and its surroundings.

Another explanation for the behavior of Sultan Selim I of the Ottoman Empire is that it had been prepared well in advance, especially given the importance of geography in the process under the auspices of the Muslims.

VISIBILITY OF PROTECTION: THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE OTTOMAN STATE IN JERUSALEM

One of the issues that we will emphasize in this study is that the Ottoman Empire had sent *surre* to the people of Jerusalem annually since 1517 according to the first determined systematic. Although the oldest *Surre Defterleri* [Surre Registers] date to the end of the 16th century, stating our thesis to be based on the fact that the same situation was also the case in the Mecca and Medina Surre Registers is not unfounded.²² If this highly probable situation was repeated every year after 1517, we can easily say the first pillar of the Ottoman State's social and economic protection of Jerusalem was the *surre*. This is because, as is more evident in the *Surre Defterleri* of the 19th century, taking *surre* had two aspects for the people of Jerusalem.²³ The first of these was naturally aimed at generating income. Although this situation is clearly seen in the *Surre Defterleri* from the first period, this figure was clearly not enough for survival, considering that the annual *surre* was around one gold per person. In that case, this situation of the *surre* right holder who received the *surre* or was recorded in the book in some way, had a different meaning beyond money. That meaning can be thought of as being entered into the records of the Ottoman State center, or to be more precise, obtaining status in this way.

The Maintenance and Revival of the Ancient Foundations in Jerusalem

As is known, the treatment of a waqf is an eternal disposition according to Islamic law. The foundations established by Muslims in any period, anywhere, and for any purpose have been preserved not only in the case of the continuation of their incomes and condi-

tions, but also in the case of the change of the Muslim states under their administration. From this point of view, the Ottoman Empire preserved all the foundations that had been established or existed before the Ottoman Empire, especially in Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Jerusalem. The Empire ensured the continuation of their existence and activities until its final days.

In this context and in order to form an idea, we find in detail the foundations with social and economic value that had been established before the Ottoman Empire and were active in the 16th century in the detailed *Tahrir Defterleri* [Cadastral Record Books] of Jerusalem dated 1562-1563. According to the information in the book, a total of 95 foundations had been established prior to this date, 15 of which were established during the Ottoman period. The founders of 39 waqfs could not be identified, and the remaining 42 waqfs were inherited from the pre-Ottoman period.²⁴

Apart from this book, detailed information about foundations from the pre-Ottoman period is found especially in *El-Evkafu'l-İslamiyye il-Kudsi's-Şerif Dirase Tarihiyye Muvevssika* that Muhammed Haşim Guşe prepared by making use of Qadı/Court Registers and local documents. According to Guşe's determinations, 145 pre-Ottoman foundations existed in the 16th century.²⁵ According to the same source, the Ottomans established a total of 292 foundations in Jerusalem and its surroundings in the 16th century.²⁶

First of all, we would like to talk about the *surre* foundations and their allocations in Jerusalem, as they were the most concrete indicators of the contributions made through foundations to social life.

²² The main question needing an answer here is why no *Surre Defterleri* has survived, despite the fact they are mentioned in Ottoman chronicles and Arabian histories, and moreover, despite the large number of foundations established both in 1517 and from 1517 to the end of the century. The document dated 2 Safer 967/ November 3, 1559, which deals with the distribution of *surre* in Mühimme records belonging to the beginning of the second half of the 16th century, which we determined during our doctoral studies, is the most obvious evidence that *surre* had been sent during this period. (The Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives Divan-i Hümayun Mühimme Defterleri (A.DVN. MHM), 3/1381). While this is the case, why haven't any of the 16th or even 15th century notebooks in the Topkapı Palace and the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives survived to the present day? In our opinion, the most logical answer to this question for now may be that the writing system and preservation of the notebooks that we have today had not been adopted in previous periods. Perhaps after the troubles experienced during the distribution of the *surre*s that were sent out from Istanbul reached the center, multiple copies of the same content may have started to be kept and at least one of them may have been put in the Defterhane-i Hümayun.

²³ BOA, *Evkaf-i Hümayun Surre Defterleri*, (EV. HMK SR), 3064.

²⁴ Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, *Kudüs'ü Yeniden Düşünmek*, (Istanbul: Önsöz Publications, 2017), 58

²⁵ Muhammed Haşim Guşe, *el-Evkafu'l-İslamiyye fi'l-Kudsi's-Şerif Dirase Tarihiyye Tarihiyye Muvevssika*, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2009), 1/29-335, Güneş, *Kudüs'ü Yeniden Düşünmek*, 59.

²⁶ Guşe, *el-Evkafu'l-İslamiyye*, 1/336-539; Güneş, *Yeniden Düşünmek*, 59.

¹⁹ Silahşor, "Fatih Name-i Diyar-ı Arab", (Pub. Selahattin Tansel), *Tarih Vesikalari Dergisi*, (Ankara: 1958), 2, 318.

²⁰ *Ibid*; Feridun Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, (Istanbul: 2011), 246-247.

²¹ Emecen, *Yavuz*, 248.

The Jerusalem *Surre* Foundations at the End of the 16th Century

More than half the total amount of Jerusalem and Khalil al-Rahman's *surre* was covered by foundations. These payments were recorded on the registers as *Hakaniye-i Rumiye*, and the allocations made by the Sultans themselves were called *Sadaka-i Sultaniye*. The foundations that sent *surre* as *Hakaniye-i Rumiye* are as follows:

1. Isfahanşah Hatun Foundation: Isfahanşah Hatun foundation's allocation to Jerusalem in the 1590s totaled 288 gold coins; the equivalent of 14,400 coins was calculated for that period.²⁷
2. Sultan Murad II Foundation: Sultan Murad II donated 24,000 kuruş to the poor in Jerusalem from the soup kitchen foundation he had built in Bursa.
3. Sultan Selim II Mosque and Imaret Foundation in Edirne: He allocated 400 gold coins (i.e., 48,000 akches of gold) annually. These coins were requested to be given to those reading the Qur'an.
4. Chief Harem Eunuch [Darussaade Agha] Mehmed Agha Foundation: Chief Harem Eunuch Mehmed Agha, the first Haramayn foundation minister, allocated a total of 68,411 coins to the poor of Jerusalem.²⁸
5. Kethüda [Chamberlain] Hatun Foundation: It allocated 5,016 coins to the poor of Jerusalem.
6. Qansuh al-Ghawri's Aleppo Foundation: Qansuh al-Ghawri, one of the last Mamluk sultans, allocated 42,960 coins from his foundations in Aleppo to the poor of Jerusalem.
7. Abdüsselam Bey Foundation: Abdüsselam Bey died in 1526, and he left a madrasa and soup kitchen in Küçükçekmece. He also built a mosque in Hasköy and a school in Küçük Pazar. In our opinion, 1,200 coins were allocated to Jerusalem from these foundations.²⁹
8. Foundation of Suleiman the Magnificent: A total of 2,720 coins were allocated to 92 people on the condition that the Qur'an be recited in the Dome of the Rock for the soul of Sultan Suleiman.³⁰
9. Kayı Village Foundation in Nigde: According to our opinion, this foundation from the Anatolian Seljuk period had sent 38,738 coins to the poor in Jerusalem by the end of the 16th century.³¹

²⁷ Ali Emiri, *Murad II*, no: 9.

²⁸ MAD 1806, 5-11

²⁹ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani Yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye*, (Ali Aktan et al.), (Istanbul: Sebül Publications, 1996), 3/382.

³⁰ TSMK, 1213, 6b-7b.

³¹ *Ibid.*



Suleiman the Magnificent's Caravanserai within the Walls of Jerusalem (IYV Archive)

Jerusalem *Surre* Foundations at the Beginning of the 19th Century

1. Darussaade Agha Mehmed Agha Foundation in Istanbul:

Mehmed Agha ibn Abd al-Rahman (1107/1696) served as Chief Harem Eunuch at the end of the 17th century and stipulated the rental income from his houses around Hagia Sophia first for his children, and after their downfall, for Medina. The same foundation rented out its houses in Üsküdar and Kadıköy and demanded that half the obtained amount be spent on the poor of al-Haramayn and the remaining half on the mosque he had built.³²

The source of the *surre* transferred from this foundation to the poor of Jerusalem at the end of the 18th century must have been on the condition of transferring a part of the rental income of the houses above to the poor of al-Haramayn. In this sense, 18 gold kuruş were sent to four groups with certain names in 1799.³³

2. Abbas Agha Foundation of Darussaade Agha in Istanbul:

Abbas Agha was the Chief Agha of the Valide Sultan and became Chief Harem Eunuch in 1667. The waqf has mosques in Molla Gürani and Beşiktaş and Turkish baths in Demirkapı.³⁴

The amount of *surre* transferred to Jerusalem from his Istanbul-based foundations was 149 gold per year. In the *Surre Defterleri*, the terms of the Agha's foundation for Jerusalem are very clearly stated. Accordingly, Agha's foundation services in Jerusalem are as follows:

54 gold kuruş per year for the muezzin of al-Aqsa Mosque who will recite one *juz* [1/30th of the Qur'an] daily, is sent by Abbas Agha to Jerusalem as a foundation.³⁵

Likewise, 54 kuruş was sent per year to the muezzin who will read from the Qur'an.³⁶

³² BOA, *Evkaf Nezareti Vakfiyeleri (EV. VKF)*, 15/49; Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları*, 110.

³³ BOA, *Evkaf-i Hümayun Surre Defterleri (EV. HMK, SR)*: 3064, vr.48 a.

³⁴ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 3:331.

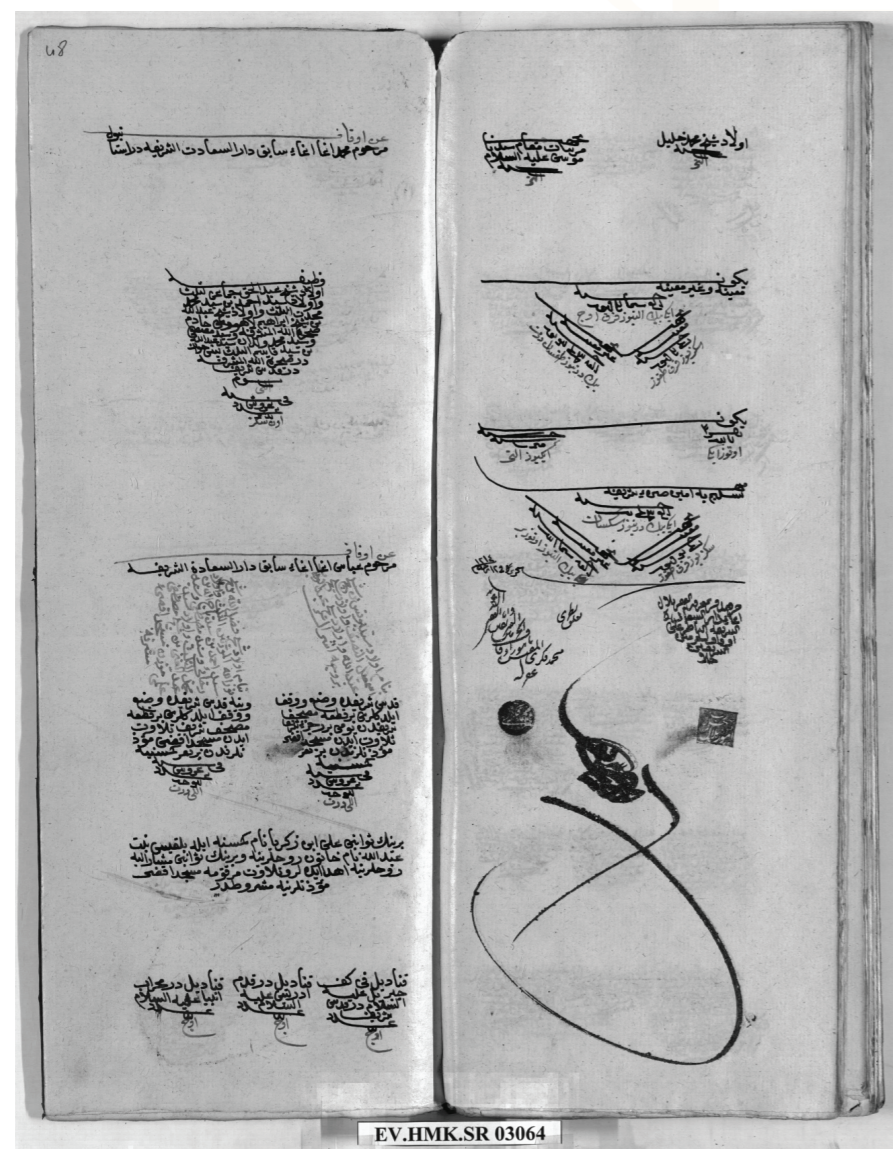
³⁵ EV. HMK, SR. 3064, 48a.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

He wanted these two muezzins to present the reward of the Qur'an they recited with the spirit of the foundation Abbas Agha to the souls of Ali ibn Zakariya and Belkis bint Abd-Allah

He allocated a total of 15 kuruş out of three gold kuruş to the five people who would make oil lamps in different venues. These venues are as follows: Lampholder of Keff-i Jibril, Lampholder of Kadem-i Idris, Lampholder of Mihrab-i Anbiya, Lampholder of Aqsa, Lampholder of Dome of the Rock.³⁷ Abbas Agha allocated 5 gold coins to the person who would maintain and repair these oil lamps.

In order to oversee all the services, he appointed an overseer and allocated 12 kuruş to this person.³⁸



Surre Defteri of Jerusalem on Foundation Allocations at the Beginning of the 19th Century (EV. HMK. SR, 3064, 47a-48b)

³⁷ Ibid, 48b.

³⁸ Ibid.

3. Ghazi Turahan Beg and Omar Beg:

Gazi Turahan Beg and his son Omar Beg³⁹ played the biggest role in the gradual conquest of today's Greece and transferred 10 gold kuruş from the revenues of Kırkkavak Village and Ergene Bridge in Edirne to Jerusalem as *surre*.⁴⁰

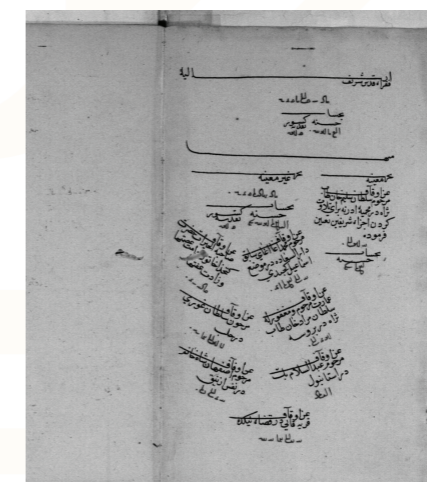
4. Emetullah, one of the wives of Ahmed III:

The head woman has allocated a total of 20 gold kuruş from her foundation in Istanbul Royal Mint, the details of which are as follows:^{41 42}

To all al-Aqsa Mosque's Orators	10
To al-Aqsa's Dersiam	120
To al-Aqsa Mosque's Shaykh al-Haram	25
To al-Aqsa Mosque's Preacher	25
To other al-Aqsa's Sheikhs	25

5. El-Hajj Beshir Agha:

El-Hajj Beshir Agha, one of the most important palace aghas of the 18th century, allocated 70 kuruş from the rental income of his bath in the Social Complex near Istanbul Topkapı Palace to be distributed equally among the al-Aqsa muezzins.⁴³ In addition, he allocated 30 kuruş from his other charity in Istanbul to the poor of the Hind Lodge in Jerusalem. The money transferred from foundations as *surre* was 300 gold kuruş in total.



Surre Defteri of Jerusalem on Foundation Allocations at the End of the 16th Century (TSMK, 1213, 1b)

After raising the issue in this way, we should immediately point out that revealing the employment and financial size of the foundations in Jerusalem goes far beyond the dimensions of this study. For this reason, we will create an example list by making use of an *awqaf* accounting book kept in 1843 belonging to al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock foundations, a *Surre Defteri* belonging to the period, and the accounting book from 1848 belonging to Haseki Sultan Foundations and by giving the contribution of foundations to economic and social life:

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² For detailed information about el-Hajj Beshir Agha, see Ayhan Ürkündağ, *Hacı Beşir Ağa ve Hayratı*, (PhD Thesis, Afyon Kocatepe University, 2017).

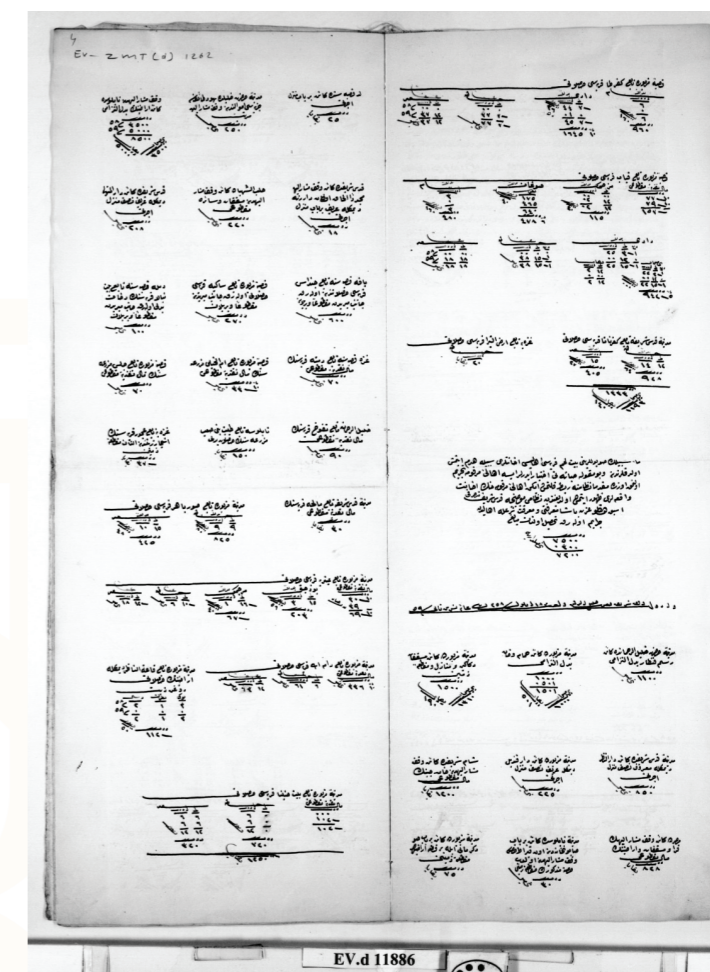
⁴³ EV. HMK. SR. 3064, vr.48b.

Real Estate Property of Foundations belonging to al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem at the Beginning of the 19th Century

Ittizam fee [iltizam is the method of collecting a part of the Ottoman state revenues by the state transferring them to individuals in return for a certain price.] in the market in the city center: 27,000 kuruş	Ittizam fee of a house in the city center and weighbridge tax: 8000 kuruş	Ittizam fee of a house in the city center: 1400 kuruş
Ittizam fee of Sifa Hamami	Muqata'ah rents of some shops, houses and land in the city: 7,427.5 kuruş	From the Jerusalem jizya livestock: 1,015 kuruş
29 kuruş from Surre Istanbul	residence fee taken from Jews: 45 kuruş	Half share price of Daru'n-Naz: 750 kuruş
Half share price of Daru'l-Qandil: 750 kuruş	Income of foundation trees in Remla and Lud district: 218.5 kuruş	The price of Abu-Hamdi house: 300 kuruş
207 kuruş from Dar al-mu-tawalli	Coffeehouse in the city center: 500 kuruş	Half price of musakkafat (endowed houses, shops and similar structures) and other revenues in Aleppo: 220 kuruş
Ittizam fee of Uca and Nutim hamlets: 4,000 kuruş	Crop price of the olive trees in Haram al-Sharif: 165 kuruş	The price of barley and wheat in Abu Gush Village: 400 kuruş
Price of a soap shop in the city center, next to the gun shop: 2,200 kuruş.	Revenues of a piece of land in Kaatü'n-nazar in the city center: 132.50 kuruş	Revenues from Beit Linan Village: 144.5 kuruş

Lefa Village revenues: 5,217 kuruş	Beit Hanina Village revenues: 1,147.50 kuruş
Tayyibetü Beni Sab Village revenues: 1,724 kuruş	The revenues of Ayn el-Arab Village: 1575 kuruş
Beynune Village revenues: 4,092.5 kuruş	The revenues of Ayn al-Beirut Village: 3237.5 kuruş
Canya Village revenues: 2,756 kuruş	Income of Siyam Olive Grove purchased for the foundation: 5206 kuruş
	The rent from one shop in the jewellers' bazaar: 200 kuruş ⁴⁴
TOTAL:	102.634,5 kuruş

⁴⁴ BOA, Nezaret Sonrası Evkaf Defterleri (EV), defter no: 11886, 3b-4a.



Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque Foundation Compendiums (EV, 11886, 3b-4a)

At the beginning of the 18th century, a total of 30 real estate parcels were registered to cover the expenses of Masjid al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. When considering these, the bazaars, lands, and villages in and around Jerusalem and non-Muslim jizyas draw attention.

Although distributed differently in a separate item, it is quite interesting that the amount of 29 kuruş from Surre Istanbul is included in the income of the foundation because *surre* is the operation of distributing the money sent to the people of Jerusalem as formed under the name of *Sadaka-i Sultani* by the foundations whose source is mentioned in the book and the sultan of the period. These details will be revealed below. In our opinion, the reason for this operation to be included in the foundation book may be as a result of the endowment of the rights of one or more people who took part in the *surre*. Although appearing as an uncommon

practice at first glance and not in compliance with waqf law, we are of the idea that the *surre* was dedicated in this century based on the fact that the vast majority of foundations were adopted in this century.

An important issue is that Haram al-Sharif's foundations allocated around Aleppo continued in this century. These foundations were allocated in the first years of the Ottoman period and were still active at the end of the 18th century. The annual money they transferred to al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock was 4,220 kuruş.

When considering the total income of the real estate property above, the figure is seen to be 102,634.50 kuruş. We believe that the total revenues for just al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock foundations exceeded 1,000 gold in a rough calculation, which gives an idea about how the foundations functioned in Jerusalem's economic life.

Monthly Costs of al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock Foundations

Advance duty fees: 4,995.50 kuruş	4,800 kuruş per month for the muezzins of the four minarets of al-Aqsa Mosque	1,042.50 kuruş per month for the storage of mosque water at night
264 kuruş given monthly to mosque doorman Selim	Dersiam Sheikh Halil Efendi's salary in the mosque: 720 kuruş	The fee of the mosque lamp-holder is 54 kuruş
50 kuruş to Sheikh Suleiman Efendi, who recites the Qur'an in the al-Aqsa Mosque on Friday	250 kuruş to Sayyid Yusuf and his brothers from the foundation scribes	200 kuruş to Shaykh al-Harem and Sheikh Musa Feyzi Efendi from the foundation scribes ⁴⁵
TOTAL	12,736	

When considering the wages, the payments to the officials are seen to have been mostly made on a monthly basis. Apart from the usual services, what draws attention here is the amount allocated for water conservation. The monthly 1,042.50 kuruş paid to the officer assigned to maintain the water at night is a very high and remarkable figure. This figure shows that more than one person had primarily provided this service. The issue of water conservation is an issue worth considering because the water issue around Jerusalem was known to have been largely resolved as a result of the water services delivered to Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman period. In this case, this assignment should be aimed at preventing the public from using the water, which is always available for the needs in the Harem, for other purposes.

Annual Fees

Rice price customarily given to Sheikh Musa Feyzi Efendi: 150 kuruş	The annual fee of Sheikh Khalil Qutb and his son Abu Arab: 150 kuruş	50 kuruş to the head of the foundation
The muqata'ah [land parcels owned by the State] given to the aforementioned foundation and others: 104 kuruş	180.50 kuruş spent for sweeping the Dome of the Rock on each Arafah day	Qandil price per year: 1,877 kuruş
Khilat-baha [In the Ottoman Empire, the money received per each boy from the people of the places where they were recruited to cover the clothing expenses of the devshirme (Janissary recruit) children given to a bazaar multezim (the farm holder): 500 kuruş	Caravanserai multezim khilat-baha: 500 kuruş	Khilat-baha of multezim of Sifa Hamami: 300 kuruş
90 kuruş from the jizya property to the judges	The cost of the scribes and soubashis of Uca and Nutim hamlets: 180 kuruş	1000 kuruş to Engineer Ahmed Efendi from Akka
The coffee price given to the village sheikhs from the villages in Jabel Jerusalem: 199.50 kuruş	Cost for sweeping mosques: 90 kuruş	330 kuruş for cleaning the grass in the harem
Beeswax price to be burned in the mihrabs in Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsa: 1,702 kuruş	Wheat and barley price given to the janitor, foundation clerks, and other clerks as the price of bread for which they are governors: 2,395 kuruş	
TOTAL	12,376 kuruş	

⁴⁵ Ibid, 6a.

One important payment was made to the engineer sent from Akka from the annual or one-off foundation monies. During this period, the Governor of Sidon Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar was known to have been closely involved with the issues of Haram al-Sharif. We can conclude that an engineer came from Akka in exchange for 1,000 kuruş, and one of the engineers who worked there for the development of the city also carried out repair, maintenance, and construction works in al-Aqsa and its surroundings.

928.50 kuruş for the purchase of an al-Haram mat	250 kuruş given for the transfer of land from al-Haram	Vakıf defteri bahası 37 kuruş
The paper price spent for the foundation: 92 kuruş	Repair of some Sifa areas: 2,715.50 kuruş	Repair of Harem al-Sharif windows: 770 kuruş
The cost of repairing Dome of the Rock tiles: 810 kuruş	Repair cost of al-Haram bullets: 754 kuruş	Gypsum wood and journeyman fee for al-Harem: 981 kuruş
Wood shipping fee: 143 kuruş	The cost of repair and reconstruction in al-Haram during İzzet Pasha's governorship of Jerusalem: 37,859 kuruş	
The repairs made during the governorship of Mehmed Reşid Pasha: 38,991 kuruş.	Lighting oil fee in Masjid al-Aqsa and Dome of the Rock Mosque: 25,997 kuruş	
Total	109,574 kuruş	

The services in this unit generally involve the routine payments that can be made for any foundation work. However, the allocation for clearing weeds from the Harem is remarkable as this is rarely seen.

When totaling the above figures, the expenditures reflected in this book are seen to be 134,686 kuruş. What first comes to mind is that the income of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa foundations from Jerusalem and its surroundings is 102,634.50 kuruş, and this money was not enough. However, considering the expenditure of 27,667 kuruş from the income surplus mentioned below and the tradition of sending the repair money of both mosques from Istanbul, the incomes of the foundations can be concluded to have been quite high and they had given a surplus.

Salaries and Other Expenditures from the Foundation's Surplus

The salary of Mehmet Dervish Efendi, Director of Foundations: 1,500 kuruş	Trustee Hamevi Mehmed Ağa received 21,778 kuruş per month Hasene: 50 Barley: 57 Wheat: 4,745	
The salary of the Turkish scribe İzzet Efendi, who was at the service of the accountant Derviş Efendi: 1,000 kuruş	910 kuruş for Carullah Efendi, the Arabic scribe who recorded the income and expenses of 3 foundations	
The salary of Sheikh Vefa Efendi, who recorded Arabic documents: 650 kuruş.	Fee for the appointment of 3 foundations for 5 months: 1,077.50 kuruş	
The alms given to Sheikh Dervish, Imam of Dome of the Rock: 80 kuruş	600 kuruş for the scribes of İbrahim Salim, who is in the manager's entourage	Repair of the windows of Madrasa al-Taziyya: 71.50 kuruş
Total	27667	

The foundation surplus from the payments in this table can be said to have been mostly reserved for personnel expenses. A small amount, 71.50 kuruş, was paid only for the window repairs for Madrasa al-Taziyya and is an obvious example of the fact that the foundations, which gave more when needed, also supported other foundation needs.

Sabil Foundation

Public fountains that provide free water to the people of the region or the needy were built in cities or in a corner of places of worship not only in Anatolia but also in most Arab cities, especially in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. These structures, whose numbers increased rapidly during the Ottoman period, not only ensured the permanent continuation of water services, but also eliminated the problem of water supply with their rich foundations and provided employment opportunities for the people working there. The real estate property of public fountains are as follows:

Revenues from Muglus Village in Ramla	366 kuruş
Revenues from Kefirta Village in Ramla	2709,5 kuruş
Revenues from al-Qubab Village in Ramla	1230 kuruş
The revenue of Kafernata Village in Jerusalem	133 kuruş
The revenue of Kafernata Village in Jerusalem	20 kuruş ⁴⁶
Total	4458,5 kuruş



Harem-i Şerif avlusunda ilk defa olarak su isalesi münasebetiyle Padişaha dua merasimi için icra olunan tören (IRCICA FAY 171214)

In this period, two items stand out: the expenses for the Sabil Foundation: 64.50 kuruş given to the clerks, and 3.5 kuruş for the rope to be used in the waterway.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid, 6a.
⁴⁷ Ibid, 6b.

JERUSALEMITE FOUNDATIONS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO JERUSALEM'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

As explained above, the Ottoman Empire built and maintained the foundation institution in and around Jerusalem over three systematics.

1. Distributing the foundation revenues transferred from Istanbul, Anatolia, and the Balkans through *surre*s to the persons determined in Jerusalem and transferring them to the institutions,
2. Adding incomes when necessary to continue the foundations that existed in Jerusalem before the Ottoman Empire and whose income sources were mostly in the vicinity of Jerusalem and Syria,
3. Activities of foundations established for the needs or wishes of individuals.

The material size of the foundations sent through the *surre*, which ranks first among the foundations established on these three principles, and their contribution to the economic and social life of the city can be quite easily determined because the sources of income and accounting were based in Istanbul. As mentioned in detail above, the material size of the Foundations established for Jerusalem at the end of the 16th century and delivered to the city by the *surre*s from Istanbul and the amount of personnel employed are as follows:

Employment Provided by Foundations at the End of the 16th and 19th Centuries

Count	Coins	Period
323	571 coins	The end of the 16 th century
2191	4674 coins	The beginning of the 19 th century

When looking at both figures above, while 323 people took a share from the foundations delivered with the *surre*s at the end of the 16th century, this figure is seen to have increased to 2,191 per person in the 19th century. Let's point out right away that this increase is only the number determined from the names recorded in the ledger. However, the amount of money allocated also increased eightfold. Undoubtedly, the allocations of new foundations, especially by the Sultans, have a role in this increase.

Masjid al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock foundations and the Salahiyyeh and Haseki foundations come first among those falling under the second group. In order to give an idea, we would like to mention the figures related to the social and economic size of these foundations, remaining faithful to the above classification.

For example, a breakdown of the people who received a salary from the revenues of the Haseki Foundation in Jerusalem and its surroundings in 1846 or for reading the Qur'an in the lodge and other facilities and who met all their needs only from the imaret will give a solid idea about the economic and social function of all foundations.

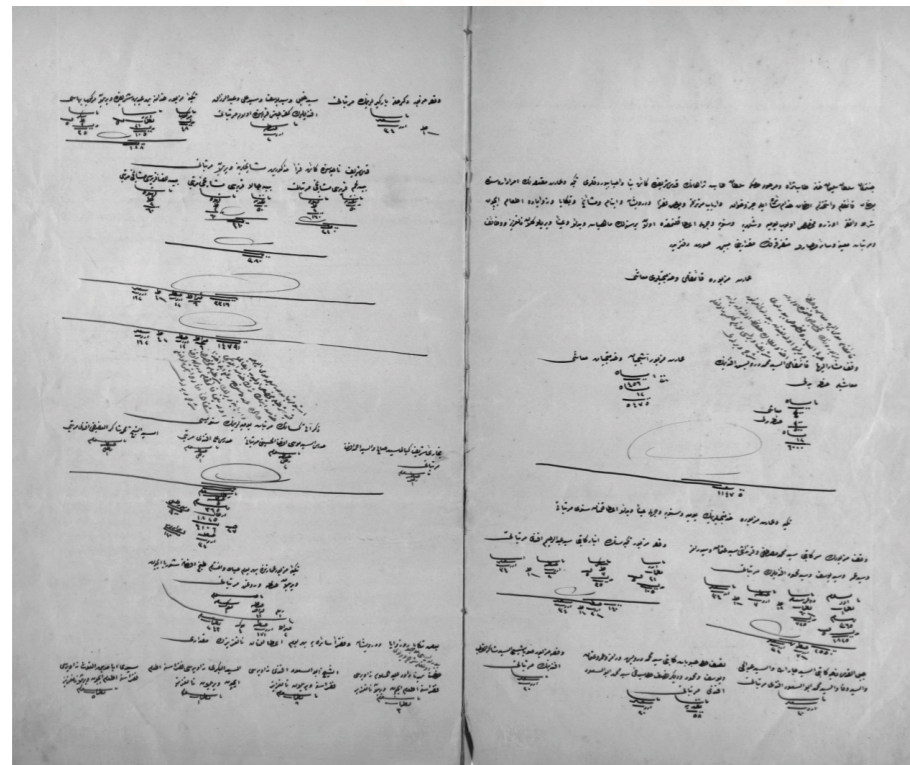
Haseki Foundation Officer and Murtezika* Accounting of for 1845

Paid Out	Count	
Foundation Governor	1	6,000 kuruş
Head Scribe	5	1,825 kuruş
Lodge and warehouse scribe	1	150 kuruş
Scribe of the Jebel Jerusalem District	4	20 <i>erdeps</i> [unit of weight like a bushel] of barley
Scribe of Shepherd	7	58 kuruş and 20 <i>erdeps</i> of barley
Subasi	1	20 <i>erdeps</i> of barley
Hostler	1	34 <i>erdeps</i> of barley
For the crew of Qafra Janna Village	4	2 <i>erdeps</i> of wheats
To the foundation village sheikhs around Jerusalem		380 kuruş
Dervishes	68	335 <i>erdeps</i> of wheat
Reciters	85	2,341 kuruş
Janitors	9	4,410 kuruş 10 <i>para</i> [monetary unit]
The price of repairs	17	910 kuruş
The poor (<i>fukara</i>), orphans (<i>eytam</i>), widows (<i>eramil</i>), destitute (<i>miskin</i>), etc.	320	14,172
Water and grain "basis"		3,822 kuruş ⁴⁸
Total	627 people	34,068 kuruş and 86 <i>erdeps</i> of barley and 335 <i>erdeps</i> of wheat

In the last table above, the annual cash payments to more than 600 people from the Haseki Sultan Foundation, one of the largest foundations in Jerusalem, is seen to have approached 40,000 kuruş with in-kind expenses. The total income from the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Foundations for the same period and relevant headings was stated to be over 150,000 kuruş. These two figures provide serious clues about the role the foundations in Jerusalem played in the Ottoman period, both in economic and social life. The number of employees in al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock foundations, the Haseki Foundation, and the Saladin foundations, which can all be considered as the same size, make us think that the economic size of the real estate property was also in this vicinity. Only two large-scale foundations can be said to have received a share from approximately 2,500 Muslim Jerusalemites annually, and their total economic size exceeded 250,000 kuruş, in other words, this corresponds to a figure of 2,500 Ottoman gold with the gold count of the period. In other words, if we take into account the repetitive duties in the Ottoman centuries, we can say that at least half of the inhabitants of Jerusalem received a share or salary from foundations, including the *surre* foundations. Likewise, we can add that all foundations provided an annual economic contribution of 3,000 gold coins to the city.



Hürrem Sultan Lodge Entrance Gate (IYV Archive)



Haseki Foundation Compendiums (EV, 13100, 2b-3a)



Haseki Hürrem Sultan Lodge/Soup Kitchen and Orphanage in Jerusalem, which continues to serve the poor and orphans today (IYV Archive)

* *Murtezika* is a word whose root comes from sustenance. It means to be provided sustenance. In the Ottoman Empire, the *murtezika* class was used to express the people who benefited from the foundations.

⁴⁸ EV, 13100, vr. 1b-10a.

CONCLUSION

The most important point we should mention is that this study has attempted to reveal the economic and social contribution of two big foundations only over a certain period based on the fact that a comprehensive study on the social and economic contributions the Jerusalem foundations made to the city and the economic size of the foundations would take a lot of time. From this point of view, we can say that conducting a study on the employment status of the Jerusalem foundations, their incomes, charities, expenditures, changes in income, and payments made to specialized personnel is necessary, at least over a short period of time.

Even so, this study has revealed in detail the foundations the Ottoman Empire established, especially before the annexation. Afterwards, we included the activity of these foundations in the 16th and 19th centuries.

While the roles of these institutions in both religious, social, and economic life were undisputed in Jerusalem until the beginning of the 19th century until the foundations began being managed through their own systems in the Ottoman state. Determining that the same situation continued in the middle of the century is extremely important. Although most of the newly established foundations in and around Jerusalem were adopted, the foundations around holy sites in particular and large foundations such as Salahiyyeh and Haseki foundations were seen to have maintained their former power in terms of income sources and employment numbers. The case is the same for the foundations in Anatolia and the Balkans in the 19th century that had been sent *surre*s in the 16th century; they also made important social and economic contributions to Jerusalem.

As a result, Ottoman foundations have been at the center of both social and economic life in Jerusalem and its surroundings from the first period of the Ottoman Empire until 1918 when it withdrew from Jerusalem and even until today. In addition, the Ottoman foundations are in a position to provide the most important material, documentary, and international contributions for protecting their positions against current occupations and for preserving historical artifacts.

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INDEX

- Symbols* 238
- 1871 Provincial Regulation* 127
- A**
- Abaza Hasan Pasha* 117
- Abbas Agha Foundation* 361
- Abbasid* 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 109, 176, 188, 236, 237, 239, 241, 285, 297, 300, 316, 354, 355
- Abbey of the Dormition* 14, 57
- Abdallah al-Mahdi Billah* 84, 236
- Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr* 73, 74
- Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan* 73, 78, 166, 172, 177, 236, 284, 291, 304
- Abdi-Heba* 20
- Abdurrahman Ganmi* 69
- Abdüselam Bey Foundation* 360
- Abraham* 13, 21, 22, 24, 75, 151, 152, 155, 157, 167, 205, 266, 291, 337, 341, 355, 358
- Absalom* 21, 37, 61
- Abu al-Misk Kafur* 84
- Abu al-Qasim Mekki ibn Abd al-Salam* 89
- Abu Bakr* 63, 64, 89, 111, 169, 173, 237, 238, 239, 243, 256, 268
- Abu Bakr Ali as-Shaybani* 111
- Abu Bakr al-Khaqqari* 256
- Abu Bakr al-Turtushi* 89, 237, 238
- Abu Dis* 256
- Abu Harb al-Yamani* 82
- Abu Kir Port* 123
- Abu'l-Hasan Ali ibn al-Ikhshid* 84
- Abu'l-Qasim Unujur ibn al-Ikhshid* 84
- Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah* 64, 65, 234, 235
- Achaemenid* 28, 42
- Acra* 11, 14, 15, 29, 43
- Acra Fortress* 14, 43
- Admiral Nelson* 123
- Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri* 95
- Aelia Capitolina* 31, 34, 35, 47
- Agrippa* 14, 32, 46
- Ahaz* 21, 26
- Ahmad ibn Tulun* 83
- Ahmad Rufai* 254
- Ahmed el-Dejani* 254
- Ahmed Muwakkīt* 253
- Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar* 123, 124
- Ain Um al-Daraj* 18, 20, 27, 41
- Ajzaa al-Qur'an* 254
- Akabayt al-Sitt Neighborhood* 258
- Akedat Yitzchak* 24
- Ala ad-Deen* 111
- Al-Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib* 65
- Al-Afdal* 89
- al-Alami* 122, 253
- al-Amin* 81
- Alamuddin Sancar ed-Dawadar as-Salahi* 111
- al-Asali* 122, 127
- al-Asa'rdiyah* 252, 253
- al-Ashraf al-Malik* 104, 105
- al-Ashraf Barsbay* 110
- al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri* 115, 116
- al-Awza'i* 82
- al-Azra* 81
- al-Basitiyah* 253
- Albert Montefiore Hyamson* 135
- al-Dhahabi* 76, 112, 238, 239, 280
- Alexander of Macedon* 18
- al-Ghazali* 89, 116, 117, 237, 238, 239, 266
- al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah* 54, 85
- al-Husayni* 122, 137
- Ali* 65, 68, 70, 71, 73, 84, 88, 90, 91, 102, 111, 113, 115, 118, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 131, 133, 139, 141, 168, 173, 186, 203, 204, 206, 208, 209, 214, 215, 219, 228, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 248, 249, 251, 253, 256, 258, 260, 263, 265, 267, 268, 309, 310, 322, 348, 353, 355, 356, 360, 362, 373
- Ali al-Khalwati* 256, 265
- Ali Ekrem* 208, 209, 215
- Ali ibn al-Athir* 102

Ali Mustafa Abu al-Wafa al-A-lami 253
al-Jazeera 64
al-Khalidi 122, 211, 253
al-Khalil 11, 45, 106, 109, 117, 140, 151, 152, 230, 251, 303
al-Khanbali 251
al-Layth ibn Sa'd 82
Alliance Israélite Universelle 46
al-Mahdi 80, 84, 236, 285, 297
Al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf ad-Din Inal 111
al-Malik al-Kamil 104, 105, 106
al-Malik al-'Adil 103, 104
al-Malik as-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub 106
Al-Malik az-Zahir Sayf ad-Din Jaqmaq 110
Al-Mansur 79
al-Maqdisi 74, 80, 87, 89, 104, 167, 236, 237, 239, 241, 243, 267, 268
al-Masudi 79
al-Mu'azzam al-Malik 104
al-Mubaraq 82
al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah 84
al-Muqtadir 82, 236, 297
al-Mustansir 54
al-Mu'tasim 82, 83
al-Muwaffaq 83
al-Qalqashandi 112
Alqama bin Mujazziz al-Mud-lijji 69
al-Qatai 84
al-Qatibi 84

al-Ribat al-Mansouri 110
al-Risale al-Qudsiyya 89, 266
al-Tamimi 86, 87, 236
Amarna 20, 21, 27, 154
amir al-hajj 118, 124, 125, 126
Amir Mahmud 355
Ammon 27
Amorites 22, 151, 157
Amr ibn al-As 64, 65, 67, 70, 235
Anatolia 64, 65, 87, 111, 112, 115, 116, 120, 188, 359, 368, 369, 372
an-Nasir Dawud 105, 106
Antakya 48, 64, 84, 89, 207, 239
Anthony Eden 138
Antiochus 14, 29, 30, 43
Antiochus IV 14
anti-Semitism 128
Antonia Fortress 33, 43, 122
Antonio Barluzzi 55
Aphrodite 48, 53
Aqaba 11, 86, 309
Aram 26
Aramean 27
Arculf 16, 81
Arif Ay 214
Aristeas 43
Ark of the Covenant 23, 24, 25, 45, 152, 155, 274, 291
Arnulf of Chocques 95
Arthur James Balfour 132
Artuk Beg 89
Arz al-Mukaddes 204

Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhamme-diye 126
Ashrafiya Mosque 355
Assassination Hill 17
Assurances Omar 66
Assyrian 20, 21, 26, 41, 153, 240, 337, 344
Atabeg 99
Atsız 87, 88, 89, 91, 287
Atsız ibn Uwaq 87, 88, 237
Ayn Calut 109
B
Bab al-Amud 14, 181, 230, 342
Bab al-Asbat 89, 181, 182, 188
Bab al-Khalil 45, 230, 303
Bab a-Zahara 14
Babylon 26, 27, 42, 177
Babylonians 27
Baibars 38, 110, 111, 265
Balfour Declaration 4, 8, 132, 133, 134, 138, 142, 149
Bani Israel 18
Bani Zayd Neighborhood 258
Bar Kokhba Revolt 34
Baron Edmond de Rothschild 127
Basel Congress 133
Battle of Ajnadayn 64
Battle of Chaldiran 115, 358
Battle of Khan Yunus 116
Battle of the Yarmuk 64
bayt al-mal 75, 79, 293
Bedouin Arab 86, 115, 117
Bedreddin Hasan bin Quteyna

256
Benei Hezir 37
Ben Gurion 138, 140
Beni-Amer 117
Beni Said 118
Benjamin of Tudela 40
Bilad al-Sham 109, 116, 190, 203
Bilal 3, 6, 9, 68, 205, 235
Binyamin 22
Birah Citadel 43, 44
Birri Mehmed Dede 204
Biru Ayub 17, 18
Boyacıyan Mihran 129
British War Cabinet 133
Broad Wall 26
Buraq al-Sheriff 250
Buraq Wall 32, 39, 45, 278, 302, 320, 330, 334
C
Cadastral Record Books 359
Caesarea 32, 35, 48, 110, 162
Cahit Zarifoğlu 214
Canaanites 18, 151
Catholic Church 81, 93
Chaim Weizmann 132, 134, 135, 138, 140, 141
Chaldean 27
Charlemagne 80, 81, 86, 90, 91
Charles the Great 80
Children of Israel 19, 20, 153, 167
Church of All Peoples 55, 56
Church of Gethsemane 16
Church of St. Stephen 49

Church of the Sacred Skull 52
City of David 23, 25, 42, 43, 274
Colonel Morris 135
Constantine 35, 47, 48, 53, 54, 161, 177, 343
Council of Chalcedon 48
Council of Clermont 93
Council of Nicaea 47, 48, 162
Count of Toulouse 93
Count of Verdun 95
Creek Gate 42, 43
Crusaders 3, 7, 8, 51, 54, 55, 57, 58, 85, 86, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 160, 162, 176, 178, 237, 239, 240, 241, 244, 245, 265, 280, 287, 297, 304, 307, 328
Culus 126
Cyrus 28, 42
Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha 355, 373
D
Dagobert 95
Dahr El Maghara 86
Damascus Gate 14, 93, 181, 230, 347
Dar al-Ilm 87, 237
Darius 28
Daron Ben-Ami 29, 43
Darussaade Agha Mehmed Agha Foundation 361
David 13, 14, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 68, 86, 94, 99, 103, 107, 110, 120, 122, 132, 133, 139,

140, 141, 145, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 160, 168, 171, 174, 177, 256, 258, 265, 274, 348
David Lloyd George 132, 133
Dawud 13, 63, 105, 106, 110, 152, 160, 168, 170, 174, 244, 250, 265, 274, 280
Dead Sea 11, 13, 78, 86, 151, 212
Defter-i Hakani 128
Demal Pasha 212
Dennis Cohen 135
Dhimmis 85, 122, 131
Diriliş 213, 214, 215
Divan-ı Hümayun 115, 117, 124, 131, 343, 353, 373
Diwan 204
Doctor Pinsker 127
Dome of Silsilah 75
Dung Gate 42, 43, 230
E
East Gate 42
Ebulmerak Muhammed Pasha 123, 124
Ebu Rişoğlu 118
Edict of Gülhane 127
Edomites 31, 32
Eglon 22
Eid al-Adha 103
Ein Rogel 18
El-Hajj Beshir Agha 363
Eliyahu ha-Navi 16
el-Ünsü'l-celil bi-târîhi'l-Kuds ve'l-Halil 112
Emir Ali 118
Emir al-Mu'min 73

Eudocia 35, 49, 162

Euphrates River 64, 207

Evelina de Rothschild Girls' School 46

Evliya Çelebi 205, 206, 215, 216, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 277

Evrenos Bey 116

F

Falih Rifka 208, 212, 215

Fatimids 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 93, 95, 178, 236, 239, 315, 316

Fetihname-i Diyar-ı Arab 116

First Zionist Congress 139

Fiscus Judaicus 34

Fish Gate 42, 43

Foundation of Suleiman the Magnificent 360

Foundation Stone 24, 68, 94, 210, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297

Franciscans 38

Frederick II 105, 244

Fuzuli 205

G

Galilee 34, 87, 159, 221, 233

Garden of Gethsemane 16, 55, 56

Garibname 205

Gate of Hebron 45

Gate of the Column 14

Gaza Sanjak-bey Ahmed 118

General Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby 133

Gessius Florus 32

Gest Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum 94

Gethsemane 16, 55, 56, 73, 260

ghazal 204

Ghazi Turahan Beg 363

Gihon 18, 27, 43, 151

Giveon 22

Godefroy 93, 95

Golgotha Hill 48

Goliath 22

Great Exile 36

Great Seljuk Empire 87, 178, 239

Greek Cathedral 51

H

Hadım Sinan Pasha 116

hadjib 109

Hadrian 7, 34, 35, 47, 277, 284

Haganah 137, 139, 140

Hagia Sion 57

Haifa Harbor 139

Hajar al-Muallaq 13, 24, 167, 210

Hakaniye-i Rumiye 360

Hanbali 89, 111, 238, 239, 268, 271, 273, 327

Hanukkah Feast 30

Harry Truman 139

Harun al-Rashid 80, 81

Hasan Abdullatif al-Huseyni 253

Hasan ibn Ali 73

Haseki 122, 131, 230, 250, 258, 363, 369, 370, 371, 372

Hasibe Mazıoğlu 206, 215

Hasmonean 30, 31, 32, 43, 44, 46

Hattin 99

Hebrew University 17, 155, 157, 302

Hebron 11, 22, 23, 45, 106, 117, 118, 151, 205, 206, 235, 355

Heikal 25

Helena 47, 48, 53, 54, 161, 162, 343

Hellenization 29

Herbert Samuel 132, 134, 135, 141

Herod Agrippa 14, 32, 46

Herodium 44, 45

Herod's Gate 14, 230, 269

Herod the Great 15, 31, 32, 39, 43, 44, 46

Hezekiah 18, 26, 27, 28, 36, 41, 153

Hezekiah's Tunnel 36

Hifzi 207, 226

Hiram 24

Hirkanoush 30

Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem 94, 97

Hodja Fakhr al-Din al-Mawsili 111

Holy Sepulchre 14, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 95, 100, 104, 122, 124, 161, 162, 212, 339

Horse Gate 42, 43

House of Lords 132, 137

House of the Holy 24, 152

Huldah Gates 44, 45, 282

Hunud 250

Hurrem Sultan 250

Husayn ibn Ali 73

Huseyniye 253

Hüseyin Vassaf 208, 211, 212, 215

I

Iberian 46

Ibn al-Jawzi 75, 86, 243, 244, 249

Ibn al-Qaysarani 89, 267

Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani 112, 234, 248, 249

Ibn Jamaa 112

Ibn Kathir 65, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 84, 166, 173

Ibn Tulun 83

Ibnu'l-Fakih 17, 76

Ibn Wasil 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 240, 241, 243, 244, 249

Id al-Salib 81

Iftikhar al-Dawla 93, 99

Ikhshidids 84, 87, 236

Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani 104

Imad al-Din Zengi 99

Imaret Foundation 360

Isaac II Angelos 103

Isa Bey 116

Isfahansah Hatun 355, 356, 360

Islamic foundations 262, 298, 354

Isra 8, 25, 63, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 178, 186, 194, 204, 205, 234, 266, 283, 291, 294, 330

Israelite 26

Izz al-Din Jurdik 104

İbrahim Pasha 126, 355, 373

ijarah 260

i'lai kalimatillah 64

ilmiya 250, 251, 252, 254, 256, 259, 260, 262

J

Jabal al-Masharif 15, 16, 17, 33

Jabal al-Muamere 17

Jabal Mashwarat al-Fasida 17

Jabel Mukaber 15, 17

Jaffa Port 93, 224

Janbirdi al-Ghazali 116

Janissaries 122, 124

Javeria 253

Jehoahaz 27

Jehoshaphat 17, 38, 211

Jerrahis 85, 86

Jerusalem British War Cemetery 17

Jerusalem Sanjak-bey Suleiman Pasha 118, 119

Jewish Industrial School 46
jizya 79, 240, 262, 337, 364, 366

Joab 23

Job's Well 17

John I Tzimiskes 85

John Woodhead 138

Jordan River 140, 212

Joseph 16, 159, 160, 205, 206, 220, 223, 233, 252, 309, 334

Josephus 18, 29, 43, 44, 60, 154, 276

Joshua 21, 22, 81, 85, 90, 152, 274

Josiah 27, 153

Jotham 26

Judah 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38, 41, 42, 153, 274

Julius Caesar 31

Jumada al-Awwal 77, 78

Jupiter 30, 34, 35, 176, 177, 284

Justinian the Great 49

Juvenail 48

K

Kaaba 8, 75, 166, 169, 171, 177, 205, 207, 223, 266, 282, 283, 355

Kadem-i Idris 362

Kamame Church 52, 55, 161, 240, 254, 337, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348

Kanaim 32, 33, 46

Karaite 46

Karim Arabs 118

Karramiyya 89, 237, 238, 264

Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha 115

Kayı Village Foundation 360

Kaytas Pasha 117

Keff-i Jibril 362

Kerak Castle 125

Khacı Beq 256

Khalid ibn Walid 63

Khalifa Rashid 3, 8

Khalwatiya 256, 265, 267

Khangah al-Dawadariya 111

khanqahs 111, 237, 264, 266,

268, 271, 272

Khan Yunus 116

Kharijites 70

Khizli Beg 87, 88

Khwarazmian 105, 106

Kidron Valley 13, 15, 17, 18,
23, 37, 55, 160

King David Hotel 139

Kiponus Gate 44

Kitab al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh 87

Knights Hospitaller 96

Knights Templar 95, 96, 240

Kurt H. Sethe 20

L

Lachish 22

League of Nations 134, 136,
141, 142

Lion's Gate 89, 181, 188

Lord Curzon 134

*Lord Herbert Charles Onslow
Plumer* 135

Lovers of Zion 127

Ludwig the Pious 81

M

Macarius I 47

Maccabean Revolt 30

Maccabi 43, 44

Madrasa al-Aminiyya 111,
320, 322

Madrasa al-Asa'rdiyah 252

Madrasa al-Ashrafiya 111,
188

Madrasa al-Basitiya 111

Madrasa al-Jawliyya 111

Madrasa al-Karimiyya 111

Madrasa al-Khatuniyya 111,
248, 321

Madrasa al-Mawsiliyya 111

Madrasa al-Muazzamiya 260

Madrasa al-Shubaybiyya 111

Madrasa al-Tankiziyya 111,
222, 247, 253

Madrasa al-Taziyya 367, 368

Madrasa al-Wajihyya 111

Madrasa as-Sallamiyya 111

Magharibah Neighborhood
256

Malahim 22

Malcolm MacDonald 138

Malik-Shah 87, 88, 237

Mamilla 27, 305

Manzur 84, 118

Marcus Antonius 44

Marj Dabiq 115, 358

Mary 16, 17, 18, 56, 57, 59,
73, 81, 133, 159, 160,
161, 162, 168, 180, 241,
279, 291, 304, 343, 344,
350

Masjid an-Nabawi 63, 75,
177, 234, 282, 284, 355

Matanyahu 30

Mathara Gate 355

mathnawi 204, 205, 206

Mawlana Afif al-Din 260

Mawlawi 250, 265

Maymunah 63, 170, 171

Mazhariya 253

mazmun 204, 205, 208

Mediterranean 11, 12, 35, 64,
86, 93, 174

Melchizedek 13, 21, 22, 152,
157

melik 109

Melik an-Nasir Yusuf 109

Menasseh 27

Micah 34

Mihrab-i Anbiya 362

Miphkad Gate 42, 43

mi'raciyye 205

Mi'raj 7, 8, 63, 74, 75, 151,
165, 166, 169, 170, 174,
178, 179, 193, 201, 204,
205, 207, 212, 234, 266,
291, 310, 330, 334

Mir'atü'l-Kuds 207, 215

Moabite 27

Modestos 50

Mohammad bin Abu al-Qasim
256

Mohammed al-Budeyri 253

Mohammed al-Khalili 253

Mohammed al-Khaqqari 256

*Mohammed Sunullah al-Khali-
di* 253

Mongols 105, 244, 245

Moroccan Quarter 39, 40

Moskovia 209, 212

Mosque of Omar 68, 73, 76,
84, 180, 193, 194, 219,
260, 283, 284, 286, 287,
290

Mount Bezetha 13, 14, 15

Mount of Nabi Samuel 93

Mount of Olives 13, 15, 16, 17,
18, 35, 48, 50, 55, 56, 81,
90, 100, 160, 174, 206,
208, 210, 212, 216, 217,
218, 227, 271, 275, 304,
330, 337, 339

Mount of the Mischievous Deal
17

Mount Scopus 15, 16, 17

Mount Tur 14

Mount Zeyta 14

Mount Zion 13, 14, 17, 25, 38,
43, 44

Muadh ibn Jabal 69, 235

Muawiya 64, 70, 291

Muazzamiyat al-Hanafiyya
253

mu'cizat-ı nebi 205

Muhammad al-Husayni 122

Muhammed Haşim Guşe 359

Muhammediyye 205

Muhammed Waji al-Tanuhi
111

Muhyiddin ibn al-Zaki 102

muqata'ah 254, 366

Murad Pasha 118

Mustafa Iskender Pasha 256

Mustafa Pasha 122, 230

mutasarrifate 115, 127

N

Nabi 93, 137, 179, 181, 205,
207, 215, 230, 347, 348

Nabi Musa 137, 347, 348

Nahal Prat 17

Nahman Avigad 26

Nahmanides 157, 260

Nahum Sokolow 134

Na'at 204

naib 104, 109

naib al-Qal'a 109

nâib al-saltana 109

Nakib al-Asraf Qaimaqam
122

Namik Kemal 208

Napoleon 123, 124, 221, 223,

232

Naqqaş Ali Beq 260

Nasr Madrasa 89

Nathan 23

nâzir al-Haramain 109

Nazi-Soviet Agreement 138

Nea 49

Nebuchadnezzar 7, 18, 27, 42,
153, 155, 177, 276

Nehemiah 26, 28, 42, 43, 154

Nero 32

N. I. Mindel 135

Night Journey 13, 213, 214,
234

Nikephoros 84, 85

Nimr 122

Nizam al-Mulk 88

Noah's flood 57

Nur al-Din Zengi 102

Nuri Pakdil 214

Nusaybe 55

O

Observation Gate 42

Old Gate 42

Old Jerusalem 12, 13, 15, 21,
38, 44, 305

Omar 6, 7, 17, 18, 36, 54, 65,
66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 76,
84, 90, 166, 167, 170,
174, 176, 180, 193, 194,
205, 212, 219, 226, 234,
235, 236, 240, 242, 250,
251, 260, 262, 283, 284,
285, 286, 287, 290, 291,
329, 335, 337, 338, 339,
340, 341, 343, 363

Omar Beg 363

Ophel 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20,

42, 43

Orphans' School 46

Ottoman Empire 7, 8, 9, 115,
116, 117, 118, 119, 121,
122, 123, 124, 125, 126,
127, 128, 129, 134, 135,
178, 208, 214, 223, 230,
250, 265, 266, 297, 343,
345, 346, 348, 354, 355,
358, 359, 366, 369, 370,
372, 373

P

Paris Peace Conference 133,
134

Parthians 31

Patriarch Heraclius 99

Patriarch Sophronios 65, 68,
69, 337

Peçeye İsyân 208, 209, 215

Peloponnese 125

Phalerum 29

Pharaoh 20, 167

Pharisees 30, 31

Pompey 18, 31, 44

Pool of Siloam 18, 42, 205

Pope Urban II 93

Postnishin 258

Priest Eleazer 29

Ptolemaic 43

Ptolemy 29

Ptolys 43

Q

qadi 118, 119, 122, 208, 224,
235, 343

Qadi Chivizade 252

Qaitbay 110, 111, 177, 188,
199, 200, 203, 324, 325

Qansuh al-Ghawri 110, 358, 360

Qansuh al-Ghawri's Aleppo Foundation 360

Qarmatians 83, 85

qasida 204, 207

Qibly Mosque 6, 13, 23, 69, 120, 176, 180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 277, 279, 283, 334

Queen Elizabeth 56

R

Rabia of Basra 82

Rajab Pasha 255

Raja ibn Ayyub al-Hidari 82

Rawaq al-harâb 252

Rawda al-Mutahhara 343, 355

Raymond d'Aguilers 94

Raymond IV 93, 94

Raynald of Chatillon 99

Red Sea 11, 212

Ribat 110, 111, 248, 329

Ridda 63

Rizeli Nuri Efendi 211

Romanos 84

Roman Titus 16

Ruhi al-Khalidi 211

Rukn ad-Din Baibars 111

S

Sabbath 30, 34, 35

Sabil Foundation 368

Sabil Qaitbay 110, 111, 188, 199, 200, 324, 325

Sabil Qanat 111

Sadaka-i Sultaniye 360

Sadducees 22, 30

Safavids 115, 348

Said ibn Batriq 75

Saint James 58, 307

Saint Mark 59

Saladin 3, 7, 8, 16, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 172, 177, 178, 187, 193, 237, 240, 241, 244, 245, 256, 265, 268, 271, 272, 277, 287, 288, 289, 297, 307, 308, 309, 319, 328, 334, 340, 371

Salahiyeh 369, 372

Salama ibn Qaysar 73

Salih ibn Mirdas 85

Samaria 26, 41

Samuel 20, 21, 22, 23, 60, 93, 132, 134, 135, 141, 152, 154

Sanhedrin 17, 30, 31, 161

sanjak 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 254, 340, 342, 345

sanjak-bey 117, 118, 122, 123, 129

San Remo Conference 133

Sari al-Saqati 82, 267

Sayf ad-Din Khushqadam 111

Sayf al-Din al-Malik al-'Adil 103

Second Temple 16, 22, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 41, 45, 60, 154, 176, 177, 276, 283, 291

Seleucid 14, 29, 30, 43

Seljuks 87, 88, 89, 195, 237

Selma Ekrem 208, 209, 210, 215

Sephardi 46

Seyahatname 206, 207, 215, 221, 224, 225, 226, 229, 230

Seydi al-Badawi 250

Sezai Karakoç 142, 213, 214

Shaddad bin Aws al-Khazraji 70

Shaddad ibn Aus 77

Shafi'i 82, 89, 237, 239, 241, 242, 243, 246, 264, 271

Shahrbaraz 50

Shams al-Din al-Maqdisi 104

Shaykh al-Mahmudi 110

Shechem 26, 41, 153

Sheep Gate 42, 43

Sheikh Abdulaziz 256

Sheikh Abdulkadir 250, 258

Sheikh al-Alemi 250

Sheikh al-Kkhalili 250

Sheikh Bedreddin 112

Sheikh Fakhr al-din Es'ardi 252

Sheikh Şemseddin Mohammed el-Khalili 255

Shiite 75, 84, 115, 237

Shimon bar Kokhba 34

Shurahbil ibn Hasan 64

Sidon 28, 115, 123, 124, 125, 126, 367

Siege of Acre 103

Silwan 12, 13, 17, 18, 27, 41, 42, 70

Simon Thassi 29, 43

Sir Alan Cunningham 136

Sir Alfred Mond 134

Sir Harold MacMichael 136

Sir Herbert Samuel 132, 134, 135, 141

Sir John Chancellor 136

Sir Mark Sykes 132

Sitti Maryam 17

Skender Bey 116

Solomon 7, 13, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 40, 41, 42, 68, 119, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160, 165, 167, 168, 171, 174, 176, 177, 179, 202, 213, 219, 276, 283, 289, 291, 304, 309, 330, 334

Sons of Hezir 37

Spring Gate 42, 43

SS Patria 139

St. Jacob's Cathedral 58

Suez Canal 11, 133, 140, 212

Sufyan al-Thawri 82, 236

Suleiman the Magnificent 38, 116, 119, 120, 160, 177, 178, 181, 188, 200, 204, 225, 230, 250, 254, 258, 265, 278, 295, 296, 297, 303, 307, 310, 317, 326, 340, 341, 346, 360, 361

Sultan Abdulhamid 57, 128, 315, 325

Sultan Bayezid I 355

Sultan Murad II Foundation 360

Sultan Murat 54

Sultan Orhan Ghazi 355

Sultan Selim 115, 116, 206, 250, 260, 262, 265, 277, 278, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 351, 358, 360, 373

Sultan Selim II Mosque 360

Surre 254, 263, 355, 359, 360,

361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 373

Surre Defterleri 359, 361, 373

Surre Registers 359

Şemseddin Sayf ibn Mülik 260

T

Tadi Gate 44

Tahrir Defterleri 117, 131, 342, 353, 355, 359

Talut 22

Tankiz 109, 110, 111, 247, 249

Tanzimat 127, 351, 353

Târîhu'l-Kuds ve'l-Halîl 255

Tarsus Castle 122

Tayluniye 253

Temple Mount 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 24, 30, 35, 41, 43, 44, 50, 60, 75, 81, 94, 106, 109, 110, 112, 125, 143, 153, 160, 169, 171, 181, 182, 188, 190, 196, 197, 199, 202, 216, 226, 236, 244, 276, 335, 350

Temple of Solomon 7, 68, 174, 176, 179, 202, 276, 283, 291, 330

Templum Domini 94, 297

Templum Solomonis 95

The Noble Rock 24

Theodosius 48, 49, 83

Theophano 84

Third Crusade 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 107, 240, 241

Thomas Aquinas 105

Tiglath-Pileser 21

timar 117

Tire 24, 28

Tirza 26, 41

Tisha B'Av 33, 34, 35, 155

Tomanbay 116

Tower of David 32, 42, 45, 94, 99, 122

Tower of Hammeah 42

Tower of Hananeel 42

Tower of the Furnaces 42

Trajan 34

Treaty of Remle 104

Tuhfetu'l-harameyn 207

Tukan 122

Tutush 88, 89

Tyropoen 17, 18

U

Ubadah ibn al-Samit 69, 70, 235

Umayyad 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 166, 172, 174, 177, 179, 180, 185, 188, 202, 236, 243, 244, 284, 285, 287, 291, 302, 303, 307, 309, 310, 355

Umayyad Dynasty 73, 287

UNSCOP 139, 141

Unveiled 208

Ur David 23

Urushalim 20, 21

Uthman 70, 73, 216, 221, 230, 236, 340

Uzbakiyye 250

Uzziah 26

Üveys Pasha 117

V

Vakit 209

Valley of Hinnom 17, 100



Valley of the Walnuts 17

Venus 21, 53

Vespasian 32

Viking 81

W

Wadi al-Joz 17

Wadi en-Nar 17

Wadi er-Rababi 17

Wadi Gehenna 17

Wadi Qelt 17

Wadi Revs ve'z-Zubale 18

Wailing Wall 32, 36, 39, 40, 49,
137, 143, 256, 314, 330,
346

Wali 115, 116, 121, 122, 123,
124, 125, 126, 127

Walid ibn Abd al-Malik 73, 236,
284

waqfs 111, 240, 243, 248, 250,
251, 253, 272, 343, 354,
355, 359

Water Gate 42, 43

World War I 17, 130, 132, 133,
134, 135, 142, 212, 278

World War II 136, 138, 139

Y

Yad Avshalom 37

Yahweh 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27

Yahya of Antioch 84

Yarmuth 22

Yavuz Sultan Selim 115, 116,
206, 250, 262, 277, 278,
340, 341, 343, 345, 346,
351, 358, 373

Yazid ibn Abd al-Malik 73

*Yazid ibn Muawiya ibn Abi Suf-
yan* 64

Yazîd ibn Sallâm 74

Yedikule Dungeon 122

Yehuda 22, 23, 41

Yerushalim 20, 21, 23, 29, 47

Yıldız Palace 130

Yom Kippur 25, 156

Young Yusuf Pasha 124, 125

Yusuf Agha 125, 290, 309, 311,
334

Yusuf Akçura 208, 209, 210,
211

Z

zawiya 258, 265, 268, 269, 270

zeamet 117

Zechariah 16, 37, 50, 156, 160,
161, 286, 290, 291

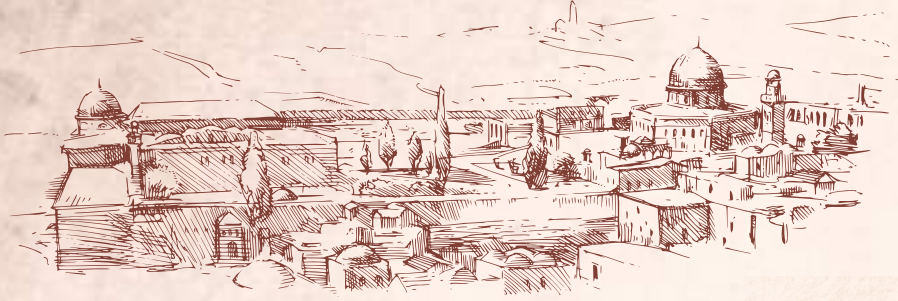
Zedekiah 27, 36

Zedekiah's Cave 36

Zeruiah 23

Zeytindağı 208, 275

Zionism 11, 127, 128, 134, 135,
139, 141, 154, 209



From its establishment to the present, Jerusalem has preserved its importance within the ancient cities of the world and possesses a distinct place and position despite the many invasions, occupations, and destructive events it's suffered. Lying in the geography of the Middle East where religions and civilizations intersect and where all the monotheistic religions sanctified by Allah are represented, this city attained real peace, security, and respect for the beliefs of members of other religions mostly under its Muslim rule. Located between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, within the vast lands of Damascus and Syria from ancient times and currently within Palestinian lands mostly occupied by the Israeli state, Jerusalem is considered sacred for the three monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

