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Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition

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al-Ḳuds

(26,015 words)

, the most common Arabic name for Jerusalem.

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A. HISTORY

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony ¶ to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamlūk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sulaymān’s wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarrıflıḳ* , whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-d̲j̲alīl bi-taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḳuds wa ʾl-K̲h̲alīl* in 900/1494-5, rightly observes (p. 6) that besides material of the type of the *faḍāʾil* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "ʿUmar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (232, 262, etc.) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (264). The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

I. The first six hundred years

2. *Names* . In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was *Īliyāʾ madīnat bayt al-maḳdis* , "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (Ṭabarī, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, Īliyāʾ, or, more commonly, *bayt al-maḳdis,* were used. Īliyāʾ (pronounced in three different ways, Bakrī, *Muʿjam* , ed. 1945, i, 134, l. 5; 217), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other explanations, ¶such as the sanctuary of Elijah (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīk̲h̲* , ed. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8; from Hebrew, since the Ḳurʾānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by Muṭahhar). *Bayt al-maḳdis* is Aramaic *bēth maḳd^{e} ʿs̲h̲ā* , "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. *ʿIḳd al-farīd* , 1321, iii, 290, l. 10: "in the prayer of Ezra this is found: Oh God, from all places you have chosen

Īliyāʾ and from Īliyāʾ— *bayt al-maḳdis* ". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muḳaddas* , see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-maḳdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram* .

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Ḳuds* , still unknown to Ibn Saʿd, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī* , the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* and other classics of the 3rd/9th century, underwent a similar development. Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (vi, 91, perhaps a later change), but al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Ḳuds* was used by the local people. *Al-Ḳuds* is Aramaic *ḳudsha* , which, in the term *ḳarta de-ḳudsha* (e.g. Isaiah, xlviii, 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-maḳdis*, but the Temple area *al-ḳuds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza [*q.v.*] fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies*, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Kaʿb al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph ʿUmar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire *al-ḳuds*, that is, *al-masdjid al-ḥaram* (!) will be before you (Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣāʾ* , Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 81a, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *ʿīr haḳ-ḳōdesh* , to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣaʾ* , ff. 9b-10b, enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim* , ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"). Suyūṭī's list does not include here the Ḳurʾānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* (see below), or *mubawwā ṣidḳ* , "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. *neve ṣedeḳ* , Jeremiah xxxi, 22). *Al-arḍ al-muḳaddasa* (V, 21), "the Holy Land", also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (*Itḥāf* , fol. 188b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-maḳdis* as *bayt al-muḳaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi, 3) and Aram. *Urishlem* (Arabicised *urshalīm*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (*Sallam* , al-Aʿshā, al-Bakrī, 144, l. 22, 812, l. 17; *Salim* , *Itḥāf*, f. 10a). Whether *dār al-salām* , "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108-10, corresponding to Heb. *ʿīr hash-shālōm* , Gottheil-Worrel, *Geniza fragments from the Freer Collection* , New York 1926, 26), found in Geniza letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. *Jerusalem in the Ḳurʾān* . Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Ḳurʾān. But "the city of ¶ the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al-Isrāʾ* and *Banū Isrāʾīl* , in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masdjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrāʾīl. *Al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Ḳurʾān the "nearest" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz, cited in MIʿRĀDJ). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definition were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *ḳibla* , or direction of prayer (II, 136-8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first *ḳibla*" is no doubt genuine; since the new *ḳibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. *The Conquest* . The battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, "who boast they would conquer the entire world". Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] (Radjab 15/Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with K̲h̲ālid b. T̲h̲ābit al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ* , 139, ll. 4-9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales* , ii, 17, reproduces a treaty, ¶ but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Balād̲h̲urī's version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition "that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem". This condition is found also in Ṭabarī, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Ṭabarī's source here was Sayf b. ʿUmar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* , vi, 3-7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamlūk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by *Uns* , 225, adds several conditions of the legendary "Covenant of ʿUmar", in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 323 (pseudo-Wāḳidī), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūshaʿ) b. Nūn. This is a "harmonising" legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5. *The beginnings of Islamisation* . Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ʿUmar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] suggested to ʿUmar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *ḳibla* s should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Kaʿba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bidʿa* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still

were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ʿUmar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet's court poet Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit. Aws was a disciple of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist, Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 233. Several other Medinese are listed ¶ as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Saʿd, iii/3, 57; vii/2, 129, l. 13, etc. Among them the famous "companion" ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Duwal al-Islām* , 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemenī auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman* , also was stationed there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muḥammad's Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (*Uns*, 235).

The strange *ḥadīt̲h̲* running *ʿimrān bayt al-maḳdis k̲h̲arāb yat̲h̲rib* , "the building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina", might have been originally a *bon mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥid̲j̲āz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the *malāḥim* literature. (Its continuation: *wa-k̲h̲arāb yat̲h̲rib k̲h̲urūd̲j̲ al-malḥama* , "and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days". *Masnad Aḥmadb. Ḥanbal* , v, 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim* , 3; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* , ed. Sandūbī, ii, 28; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya* , i, 79; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ* , 1955, i, 120; *al-Sirād̲j̲ al-munīr* , ii, 460, where are further sources).

Muḳaddasī, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ʿUthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Dardāʾ, the wife of the wise *ḳāḍī* , of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor" (*Uns*, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Muḳaddasī tells us (182, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through

Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 141, 146).

6. *The Umayyads* (*19-132/640-750*). About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Muʿāwiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of cooperation, which decided the contest between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in the latter's favour (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 2, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Muʿāwiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Muʿāwiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics (*ibid.*, 85), but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time, sc. Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

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During the long rule of Muʿāwiya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in *ca.* 680 (see L. Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum* , *Series Latina* , clxxv, *Itineraria etc.*, Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Muʿāwiya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after ʿUmar". It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Muʿāwiya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691-2, but the beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ʿAbd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Muʿāwiya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *mud̲j̲āwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv (1972), 84-91.

Goldziher, *Muh . St.*, ii, 35-7, Eng. tr. ii, 44-6, expounded the theory that ʿAbd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muḳaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687-8, Ṭabarī, ii, 781-3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of ʿAbd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥadjdj* . They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Balādhurī, *Ansāb* , v, 360. Moreover, it is obvious that ʿAbd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥadjdj* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and this after the *ḳibla* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *kāfir* , against whom the *djihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that ʿAbd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock, tried to attract the *ḥadjdj* to Jerusalem, sc. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 311, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *ḥadjdj*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-bi-mawḳif bi-īstand* , "and performed the *wuḳūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ʿArafāt [*q.v.*]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, ¶ must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ; it even had a special name, *taʿrīf* , derived from ʿArafāt, Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *ḥadjdj*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*] of Baysān, who was in charge of the building operations (*Uns* , 241, and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawlā* Yazīd b. Salām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Shaʾm, a pietist and ascetic, (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb* , iii, 266), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiliastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 97, ll. 11-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*, 99, l. 10). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Caskel; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-K̲h̲aṣṣāf (d. 261/874-5) in his book on *wak̲f* , 341, says: "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-mak̲dis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *wak̲f* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 10th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Aḥimaʿa's chronicle* , ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *masd̲jid al-ak̲ṣā* and the *dār al-imāra* , see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, xi, 226, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥad̲jd̲jād̲j, at that time governor of Filasṭīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (*RCEA*, no. 15). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

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The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Ak̲ṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ifrīk̲iya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [*q.v.*] as capital city of the province of Filasṭīn by the crown prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, ix, 174; cf. also E. Sivan, in *Israel Or . Stud .*, i, 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes (iv, 72, ll. 2-3): *bayt al-mak̲dis min* *sawād al-ramla baʿd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān wa-Dāwūd* , “Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David”.

7. *The ʿAbbāsıd Period* (*132-358/750-969*). The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Baghdād from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758 (Ṭabarī, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masʿūdī, vi, 212, l. 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, in 154/771 (Ṭab. iii, 372) was made in connection with a great rising in the Maghrib; al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balādhūri, *Futūḥ* , 233, ll. 4-5, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Ṭab. iii, 500), but Hārūn al-Rashīd, who made the *ḥadjdj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Maʾmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later ʿAbbāsid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidʿa* s, the foreign elements and “innovations”, in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia* , i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to “Romania” via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the ¶ city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīth* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, l. 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Ṣūfīs, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (*JAOS*, lxx, 107), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* , i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, *op. cit.*, i, 302).

Ca. 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yeshiva* , headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites [*q.v.*]ʿ a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the S̲huʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids* , repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to co-operate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimids recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fellāḥīn* , which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-Mubarḳaʿ ¶ ("veiled one"—as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, or messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Muʿtaṣim's successor (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vi, 371-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Syrus, ii, 541).

In 256/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amadjūr, Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 165, ll. 3-7), but this did not change the ways of the ʿAbbāsid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppressing them. (J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, *Itinera* , 319).

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Ṭūlūnids and later the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Ḥimyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Bēth-Shaʿarayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Nūsharī, the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Ṭūlūnids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909; the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the esoteric sect of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such oddities (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Ḳarmaṭians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned at that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting ¶ threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *masdjid ʿUmar* , probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of

355/966. The patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob; the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, 125, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18-19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922 (*M.G.H. Const* ., i, 4-7).

8. *Fāṭimids* , *Turkomāns and Saldjūḳs* (*358-492/969-1099*). Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Ḳarmaṭians and bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years the Banū Djarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem (Ibn Athīr, x, 308, l. 17), sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the bedouins “were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception” (Geniza letter, J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, ii, 181, l. 22). The details reported in the Geniza letters are revolting.

The unceasing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims’ anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l’Église de la Résurrection … et … la descente du feu sacré* , in *Byzantion* , xxv (1965), 16-43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process; that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the bedouin chieftain Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismāʿīlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the ¶ Ṣakhra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, i, 313). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ii, 201). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Banū D̲j̲arrāḥ and other bedouin hordes forced the Fāṭimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Sald̲j̲ūḳ invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsîz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], whom the Fāṭimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine. But Atsîz turned against the Fāṭimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [*q.v.*], and Atsîz was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fāṭimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsîz's hordes (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from *AJSLL* [1906], 1-34). The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsîz had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Aḳṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsîz was soon liquidated by the brother of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan Malik S̲h̲āh, Tutus̲h̲, who then was governor of Damascus (470/1078). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Sald̲j̲ūḳ empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar to Jerusalem" (Yāfiʿī *Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲anān* , iii, 139). Tutus̲h̲ assigned Jerusalem to Artuḳ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuḳ took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In S̲h̲aʿbān 491/July 1098 (Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 38), that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fāṭimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege on the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar* , v, 184). The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal. How unaware the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Riḍwān, a son of Tutus̲h̲, set ¶ out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army; the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

9. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries*. Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Geniza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders. This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Muḳaddasī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir-i K͟husraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Geniza letters, between the atrocities of the bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B. Al-Muḳaddasī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bāb al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, l. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 33, l. 16; 166, l. 2; 167, n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (182, l. 9). During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *zāwiya* s mentioned by Mud͟jīr al-Dīn, 264. The Persian religious group of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *k͟hānaḳāh* s for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i K͟husraw and Ḳalānisī, might have been identical with the *midrās͟h* s or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mas͟hāriḳa* , the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir-i K͟husraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the *ʿīd al-ḳurbān* , but Ibn At͟hīr, xi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Muḳaddasī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, l. 9), or more populous than many a provincial capital (165, l. 12). The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching ¶ invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḳṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1020s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Muḳaddasī, 166, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (*ibid.*, 167, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Mag͟hrib (*ibid.*, 243, l. 12). Similarly, many a Jew from the Mag͟hrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥād͟jd͟j* (i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage) or as the *zāʾir* (on another occasion) has left letters in Geniza. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, Muḳaddasī, 167, l. 7, complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, e.g. 448, and the Geniza letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *ḳāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way, as the edicts of the Fāṭimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir* , in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969], 203-22).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suftad͟jas* , or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suftad͟jas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter- *dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Geniza letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *t͟hawb* , of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ibrīzim* silk from K͟hurāsān (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as ¶ becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. “Here”, a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fustat, “black and sky-blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon”. Wool traders, *ṣawwāf* , clothiers and *tād͟jir* s are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well-developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292-4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as “there is no livelihood in Jerusalem”, “when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him”, or “many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty”, are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāt͟h* [*q.v.*], whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Geniza is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96-7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem’s mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period; despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 516, 859, 887, etc.; Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 397, l. 26; ii, 54, l. 3; 161, 14; iv, 153, l. 16; 154, l. 2, etc. But it is characteristic that in Yāḳūt’s *Dictionary of learned men* Baṣra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing; in the *K. al-Ag͟hānī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muḳaddasī’s complaint, 167: “the mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputations and no instruction”, was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-G͟hazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times (Ṭabarī, i, 1920, l. 10; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156-7). T͟hawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Ḳadarī [*q.v.*] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770 (Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 68, l. 21; iii, 383-84). Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 321/933) banished thither the Ṣūfī Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Dīnawarī (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* , i, 294). In Mamlūk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.

¶

Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic* , Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library oî the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz* , xli [1972], 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 263-5, the main local *mad̲h̲hab* in the town, even before the Crusades, was S̲h̲āfiʿī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abu ʾl-Farad̲j̲ al-S̲h̲irāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *ḳāḍī* , a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests: the great traveller al-Muḳaddasī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿs̲h̲ar al-Ḳudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulayman al-Manṭiḳī, was the author of the *rasāʾil* of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*]. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu ʾl-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīt̲h̲* , and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamad̲h̲ān, continuing the longstanding connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Mus̲h̲arraf b. Murad̲j̲d̲j̲aʾ, the author of a book on the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, “the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the S̲h̲āfiʿīs in the whole of Syria”, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt* , iii, 152-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca.* 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

10. *Crusaders and Ayyūbids* . The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fāṭimid

commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkenazim" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Kedar as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The ¶ Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnār* s per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem* , since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b.

Munḳidh [*q.v.*] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca.* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabīʿ II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were ¶ dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* , so called after its founder Saladin, and the Mūristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *ʿAsāḳila* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāriba* —a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Muḳaddasī, see § 9 above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, ʿIrāḳ, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period *ca.* 1210-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyūbid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿaẓẓam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section B; but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialise, but his brother al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyūbids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance—the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1236) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-S̲h̲arīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *ḳāḍī* , the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra, near Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin* , Paris 1970, ii, 199). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians, which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Pâris, *Historia major*, iv, 290, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in *Tarbiz* , xli [1971] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild K̲h̲ʷārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The K̲h̲ʷārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other ¶ churches. The combined armies of the K̲h̲ʷārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (D̲j̲umādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 922-3/1516-17).

II. The second six hundred years

11. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* . The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muḳātil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles* , in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 149-82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍāʾil al-Quds literature*, in *Israel Or. Stud.* , i (1971), 263-71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§ § 4-6, above). The *ḥadīt̲h̲* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥid̲j̲āz (cf. the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ḥud̲h̲ayfa: “Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there”, quoted in M. J. Kister, *You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition,* in *Le Muséon* , lxxxii [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see ABDĀL] and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrād̲j̲* [*q.v.*] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Cœur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré* , 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya* , viii, 280, l. 4 ff., formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* (the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries did not command ¶ a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍāʾil* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *k̲h̲aṭīb* of the al-Aḳṣā mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kister in the library of the al-D̲j̲azzār Pas̲h̲a mosque of Acre; in the course of publication by Y. Hasson), and another by Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Mus̲h̲arraf b. Murad̲j̲d̲j̲āʾ, a *faḳīh* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Sivan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīt̲h̲* s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī al-Maḳdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zankī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *d̲j̲ihād* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* work appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Muʿaẓẓam's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Kāimil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré* , 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bidʿa* s disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966) writes this in his huge work on the Ḳurʾān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1: "the *Isrāʾ* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with theirs" (*Fī ẓalāl al-Ḳurʾān* , xv, 12, ll. 5-9).

12. *Jerusalem under the Mamlūks* (*648-922/1250-1516*). At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khʷārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbiz* , xli [1971], 89-91). After the victory of the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q v*] in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy ¶ of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nāʾib* , or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn* , who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya (see section B), so the *amīr* s and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasa* s, *zāwiya* s, *khānaḳāh* s, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāl* s. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamluk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *Israel Or . St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 333, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāl*s, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicuous aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasa*s, as *k̲h̲aṭīb*s, *ḳāḍī* s, *muftī* s, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *fiḳh* (*uṣūl and furūʿ*), *tafsīr* , *sīra* , occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always ¶ to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamlūk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa [*q.v.*], who originated in Ḥamā and inhabited in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *k̲h̲atīb* s and *ḳāḍī* s. One branch of them, the al-K̲h̲aṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Ḳarḳas̲h̲andīs, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *k̲h̲aṭīb* s in the al-Aḳṣā mosque. The Banū G̲h̲ānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large al-Ṣāliḥiyya *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* . All these were S̲h̲āfiʿīs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Dayrīs, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Muʿaẓẓamiyya *madrasa* , and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn* . The well-known modern al-K̲h̲ālidī family (see §§ 13 and 14, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them; positions were often held in partnership). Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Hāʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d. 412/1021), and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī S̲h̲arīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822-905/1419-1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmillāh cemetery (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḳuds* , Jerusalem 1961, 506, 508).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Ṣūfīs. Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *zāwiya* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply condemned. A collection of *fatwā* s in this spirit, written by an Ibn D̲j̲amāʿa and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

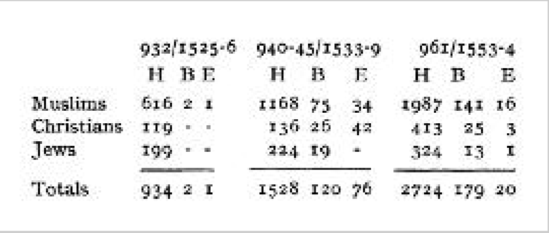
The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the “Tomb of David”, the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection ¶ and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 633-46, by Ibn Iyās, ii, 154-5, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn ʿUbayya (analysed by Goitein, in *Zion*, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 18-32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn ʿUbayya three times decided that the Jewish place of worship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* . Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn ʿUbayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned; Ibn ʿUbayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems; the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn ʿUbayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was “new”, that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal* , 236-57, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *ḥadjdj* from Jerusalem for ten years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mayer, *A sequel to Mujīr al-Din's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 95-6, Ar. text 11-12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk period.

13. *The first Ottoman period* (*922-1247/1516-1831*). The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His successor Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in its eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabīl* , inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *waḳf* s made by him and his wife Khurrem [*q.v.*] further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *ʿimāret* , donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its cauldrons, ¶ lists of recipient and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Ḥaram Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives* , in *BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim* , ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 117-27 (see *ibid*., 117, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952). The population movement during Sulaymān's reign is illustrated on p. 122 by lists of taxpayers: (H = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons).

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population,



	932/1525-6			940-45/1533-9			961/1553-4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1168	75	34	1987	141	16
Christians	119	-	-	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	-	-	224	19	-	324	13	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2724	179	20

which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Ṣafad and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre, which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *aḳča* s in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the Sultan to the readers of the Ḳurʾān in the Aḳṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*iḥtisāb*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Sulaymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by this lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Sulaymān to the Abu G͟hos͟h, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Ḳaryat al-ʿAnab west of Jerusalem was renamed. Complaints that bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Ḳurʾān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sand̲jaḳ* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sand̲jaḳ*, because this was "the border of ʿArabistān, where rebellious bedouins disturb the peace" (Heyd, *ibid*., no. 28). By the end of the 18th century Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage* , Neuwied 1791, ii, 301-3, reports that the Pas͟ha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the ¶ Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc* ., London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutasallim* , but once a year he himself would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal* , 309-10, for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iḥtisāb* only 500 *ḳūrus͟h* , one-twelfth of that of Sidon, Cohen, *ibid*.) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *ḳūrush* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel* , Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *sidjill* s of the *maḥkama sharʿiyya* of the city. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the *ḳāḍī* "in the presence of the two *muḥtasib* s" in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries and *mahrs* through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 317-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sandjaḳ*, and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *ḳāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waḳf* s and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well-known families of the Khaṭīb, Khālidī (see sec. 12, above) ʿAlamī, Anṣārī, Dadjānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashāshībī, Nusayba and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Ottoman ¶ domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu ʾl-Fatḥ al-Dadjānī (d. 1660), entitled *Djawāhir al-ḳalāʾid fī faḍl al-masādjid* . It shows the *ḥaram al-sharif* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aqṣā* , in *Israel Oriental Studies* , iii [1973], 261-92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Djawāhir*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Mag̲h̲ribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal* , 356-8, quoting Mik̲h̲āʾīl Burayk al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāḥīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1825 and raised a fine of 100,000 *ḳūrus̲h̲* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutasallim*, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege on the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine* , 1821-1841, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3-4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City

III. Modern times

14. *1831-1917*. A time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular ¶significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavour to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāḥīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834-5). But Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a to give up his conquests, the Sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean war, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21-canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *hāk̲h̲ām bas̲h̲i̊* , or chief rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ʿAbd al-Med̲j̲īd of the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* (see § 10, above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūristān area (see § 10, above) to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer ¶ world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its stationbuildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIwāḍ, *Mutaṣarrifiyyat al-Ḳuds awā̲k̲h̲ir al-ʿahd al-ʿU̲t̲h̲mānī* , in *Palestine Affairs* , iv [Beirut 1971], 126-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pa̲s̲h̲a of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarrıflıḳ* directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waḳf* , security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely crammed, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī D̲j̲ōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The "German colony" of the Templars in the south-west, and the "American colony" in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf's famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲arrāh mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Ṣūfī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

15. *After 1917*. The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the ¶seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 52 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-K̲h̲ālidī, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Isḥāḳ Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A. L. Ṭibāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nas̲h̲ās̲h̲ībī, K̲h̲alīl al-Sakākīnī and K̲h̲alīl Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *muftī* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council ¶created by the government (1921). For the next seventeen years al-Ḥādjdj Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib al-Nashāshībī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall-Burāḳ [*q.v.*] affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Ṣafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Ḥādjdj Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥādjdj Amīn and his adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J. L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after this decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Ḥurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions ¶were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1952, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The eastern sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing S̲h̲a‘fāṭ and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ‘Ārif al-‘Ārif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rūḥī al-K̲h̲aṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of inner-Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan's rights on it belong to history. Jordan's rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-s̲h̲arīf* , in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ‘Abd Allāh while proceeding from the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 July 1951 did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aḳṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday-Wednesday 5-7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north-eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St. Stephen's (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* , finding but little resistance. The barriers between the two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The ¶ most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waḳf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the “reunification” of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waḳf* several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in part B. and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine (“Rockefeller”) Museum contains unique exhibits from K̲h̲irbat al-Mafd̲j̲ar [*q.v.*] and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The

Khālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barnāmadj al-maktaba al-Khālidiyya* . Jerusalem 1318, and so does the library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental reading room of the University library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million-and-half index cards, while the newly created L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

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B. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the pecularities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, ¶on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*]. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn. Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-ḤARAM AL-S̲H̲ARĪF), the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyūbid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to *ca.* 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.

1. *Early Islamic , until the middle of the 4th/10th century*.

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the ¶ city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zion and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built… quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus *ca*. 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aḳṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under ʿAbd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

¶

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Ḳurʾānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fāṭimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamlūk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the ¶ Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrad̲j̲*); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Kaʿba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. Too many arguments (see above, section A and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Ḳurʾān). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aḳṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Ḥaram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aḳṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Ḥaram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aḳṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aḳṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aḳṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ¶ ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Ḥaram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dar al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Ḥaram al-S̲h̲arīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *masd̲j̲id bayt al-maḳdis* , the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Ḥaram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aḳṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdi) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Ḥaram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Ḥaram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mother of al-Muḳtadir, who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Ḥaram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faḳīh or al-Muḳaddasī or through littérateurs like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Ḥaram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maḳāms* and of *ḳubbas* , ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *miḥrābs* , and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *Ḳubba al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *ḳubba* of ¶ the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ik͟hs͟hīdid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 385/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod’s ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Matériaux* , *Ville* , no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders* .

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fāṭimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓāhir, probably around 421-4/1030-3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Ḥaram), but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aḳṣā mosque which are Fāṭimid (cf. below). It is also from the ¶Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aḳṣā mosque also under al-Ẓāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fāṭimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fāṭimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aḳṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Ḳurʾān, xvii, 1, the *isrāʾ* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fāṭimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now in Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe* , in *Syria* , v [1924], 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fāṭimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fāṭimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

3. *The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks* .

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aḳṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn's chronicle) have ¶ not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Ḥaram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aḳṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 15, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Ḥaram. As van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyūbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval *ḳalʿa* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Ḥaram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Ḳāʾitbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlūk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasas* , baths, *k͟hānaḳāhs* , *ribāṭs* , hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of ¶ Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasa* s, and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *īwān* s. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muḳarnas* series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyya, the Arg͟hūniyya, and the Sūḳ al-Kattānīn for the 8th/14th century and the As͟hrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Ḳāʾitbāy on the Ḥaram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlūk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Ḥaram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Ḥaram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Ḥaram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Ḥaram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Ḥaram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fāṭimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4. *The Ottomans* .

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Risāsiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamlūk practice and Mamlūk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later. ¶ But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Sulaymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Ḥaram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem*, *Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, *Hashiridim min hatikufa hamuslamit hakaduma beʿazor har habayit*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

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