



AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Shawqi Sha'th

A Study of the Holy Islamic City:
Its History, Geography, Economic and Social Development
from the Ancient to the Present Times

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Publications of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
-ISESCO-
1415/1995



*The World Islamic Call Society,
Tripoli, Libya,
Cooperated in the translation and printing of this book*

Photocomposition and Typesetting at ISESCO

Deposit number : 787 / 1995

ISSN : 9981-26 049 5

Imprimerie AL MAARTI AL JADIDA
Rabat - Kingdom of Morocco

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CALIPH OMAR'S COVENANT

"This is the covenant which Allah's servant Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, grants to the people of Aelia (Jerusalem). He grants them the security and protection of their lives, their possessions, their churches, their crosses, their articles of faith, and everything pertaining thereto. Their churches and the courts thereof shall not be occupied, or demolished, or reduced in area or in height. Their churches, crosses, and property shall be protected. They shall be allowed freedom of religion, and none of them shall be harmed. No Jews shall be allowed to live with them in Aelia.

"The people of Aelia, like the inhabitants of other cities, shall pay the *jizyah* (poll tax). They shall order Romans and robbers out of their city. Those aliens who wish to leave shall go free ; they shall be allowed to take their belongings and shall be granted safe conduct. Those of them who wish to stay shall be granted security ; but they, like the people of Aelia, shall pay the *jizyah*. Those inhabitants of Aelia who wish to take their possessions and leave with the Romans shall be granted safe conduct. Those aliens in Aelia who wish to stay shall be free to settle therein provided that they pay the *jizyah*. But those of them who wish to go with the Romans or to leave for their homeland shall be at liberty to do so once they have paid their tax, which shall not be claimed from them until they have harvested their crops.

"Commitment is hereby made before Allah, the Prophet, the Caliphs, and the Believers, that the points of this covenant shall be strictly observed provided that the concerned individuals promise to pay the due *jizyah*".

Written in the Year 15 of the Hegira, witnesses hereto being :

- Khalid bnu Al-Walid,
- 'Amr bnu Al-'Aas,
- Abdurrahman bnu 'Awf,
- Mu'awiyah bnu Abi-Sufiaan,
- Omar bnu Al-Khattaab.

PREFACE

The situation of Al-Qods Al-Shareef stands highest amongst the major preoccupations of those who take part in Islamic action ; it gets top priority as one of the issues whose import constitutes the cornerstone of Islamic solidarity as well as the fundamental pillar on which rests the edifice of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. This Organization itself came into existence as a result of the Islamic world's reaction to the barbaric aggression against this holy city nineteen years ago, thus leading to the First Islamic Summit Conference held in Rabat, the capital of the Kingdom of Morocco, from 9 to 12 Rajab, 1389 A.H./22-25 September 1969 A.D.

The Islamic action worldwide stems from the basic care for Al-Qods Al-Shareef as a holy land blessed and consecrated by Allah as the cradle of the First Qiblah and the Third Holiest Shrine of Islam. The policy of Islamic solidarity has been a commitment to sustained action for the liberation of Al-Qods as the historical symbol of Palestine and the capital of its future State. The international activity of the Islamic countries remains focussed on this sacred cause which has been unequalled by any other issue whatever its weight or importance. Likewise, Muslims throughout the world look upon Al-Qods with awe and veneration as much as they wish to make any sacrifice that will free this holy city from the yoke of the conquering occupant.

Considering the great importance of Al-Qods Al-Shareef for Islamic public opinion worldwide and, on the other hand, considering the Muslims' fervent attachment to the First Qiblah and the Third Holiest Shrine of Islam and, further, in view of these religious, historical, and civilizational factors, ISESCO has taken the initiative to publish a reference book on Al-Qods which not only contributes to better knowledge of this city but also offers a comprehensive and highly concentrated compendium of general information, historical facts, statistics, and various details from ancient and modern books about this holy city. This publication is undertaken for the sake of both keeping alive the issue of Al-Qods in the sphere of world concerns and keeping up the attachment of Muslims worldwide to this city. This initiative should help to disprove the false claims of both the Zionist movement and the State of Israel ; on the other hand, it should cancel the effect of the fallacious propaganda that seeks to deny Muslims their natural rights to this holy city, which is the locus of the Ascension of our Lord, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the cradle of Jesus, and the place of the Revelation.

Being highly aware of its duties towards Al-Qods, the Islamic Organization is glad to present to the reader this valuable work on Al-Qods by the Palestinian scholar, Dr. Shawqî Sha'th, hoping that it will benefit the growing Muslim generations and that it will enable public opinion worldwide to know the historical facts, for these will defeat the allegations of the violators of the inalienable rights of Arabs and Muslims to Al-Qods.

Dr. Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri
Director General of ISESCO

INTRODUCTION

The study of a city like Al-Qods, which is a city of special importance to monotheists (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) and non-monotheists alike, poses particular difficulties and obstacles to the scholar. The complexity of the views and accounts is overwhelming, for each of these often corresponds to a different viewpoint ; hence the tens of thousands of studies published throughout the ages and in many languages. Moreover, many are the passages in the Revealed Books (the Holy Quran, the Bible, and the Torah) about Al-Qods and its importance. Likewise, references to Al-Qods occur in travel literature by both Muslims and non-Muslims, in the memoirs of Christian pilgrims, in geography accounts, and so forth.

However, the major sources that a scholar writing about Al-Qods may refer to can be categorized as follows :

1. The Holy Quran,
2. The Holy Book (the old and the new testaments)
3. Archeological findings, to which we will refer in due time,
4. Travellers' and pilgrims' chronicles ;

The travel chronicles include those written by non-Muslims as well as those by Muslims. Among the great Muslim travellers who visited Al-Qods and wrote about it, one may mention :

- * Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Ibrahim, better known by the name of Ibn Battuta (799 A.H./1377 A.D.) ;
- * Nâssir Khosrû, the Persian traveller who visited Al-Qods in 438 A.H./1047 A.D. while on a tour in the Islamic world and the holy places of Islam. Among his works is a description of both the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, along with an emphasis on the importance of these to Muslims ;
- * Ibn Al-Jawzi Abul-Faraj Abdurrahman (d. 597 A.H./1200 A.D.), author of *Muthâr Al-Gharâm ilâ Sâkin ash-Shâm* ;
- * Abul-Maâli Al-Mushriq bin Al-Marjî, who wrote a book on the beneficial effects of Al-Qods ;
- * Al-Wâssiti (500 A.H./1106 A.D.), author of a book on the beneficial effects of living in Ash-Shâm (present-day Syria) ;

- * Abu-Sa'd Abdulkarîm, author of a book on various cities of Islam, including Al-Qods ;
- * Al-Idrissi (d. 1160 A.D.), who was invited by King Roger II of Sicily and was commissioned by him to write a book on Al-Qods, which work he completed in 1154 A.D. and wherein he described the Mosque of Al-Aqsa as it was in the twelfth century A.D. ;
- * Ibn 'Assâkir (d. 600 A.H./1203 A.D.), son of the author of the famous *Mu'jam As-siar* (Dictionary of Biographies) and author of **Al-Mustaqsâ fî Fadâil Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa** (*An Exhaustive Study of the Benefits of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa*) ;
- * Ali Al-Harwî (d. 611 A.H./1215 A.D.), who visited Palestine between 1170 and 1174 A.D. while it was under Frank occupation. He wrote a booklet on the city of Al-Qods ;
- * Ibn Jubair (d. 614 A.H./1217 A.D.), a great traveller who left various pieces of writing on Al-Qods, which he had visited ;
- * Abu-Saïd Abdullah bin 'Assâkir (b. 606 A.H.), author of a book on the good aspects of the Holy city by the title of **Fadaail Bait Al-Maqdis** ;
- * Burhânuddîn Ibrahim bin Al-Farkâh (d. 729 A.H./1329 A.D.), author of **Ba'âitu An-nufûs ilâ Ziyârat Al-Qods Al-Mahrûs** (*Spiritual Motives for a Journey to the Protected City of Al-Qods*) ;
- * Ibn Surûr Al-Maqdissî (d. 765 A.H./1364 A.D.), author of **Muthûr Al-Gharâm bi Fadâ'il Al-Qods wa Ash-Shaam** (*The Source of Passion for the Benefits of Al-Qods and Ash-Shaam*), in which he treats the climate of Al-Qods, its boundaries, and its various positive aspects ; and
- * Muhiyiddîn Abdurrahmân Ahmad Al-Hanbalî Al-'Amrî (d. 928 A.H./1522 A.D.), author of a book by the title of **Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl bi Târîkh Al-Qods wa Al-Khalîl** (*Delights of the History Al-Qods and Al-Khalîl*).

Likewise, upon their visits to Al-Qods, Christian pilgrims both from the West, and from the East, and Jews have, on their side, recorded extensively their impressions of this holy city. Their works were full of admiration and positive at times and critical and negative at others. One may list the following by way of example :

- * The Christian pilgrim Burchard, who reached the East in 630 A.H./1232 A.D. He lived in Al-Qods for some time and subsequently published a book by the title of **Description of the Holy Land**, which describes the location of Al-Qods, its geography, as well as its many sites ;

- * De Rothelin, who visited Al-Qods in 660 A.H./ 1261 A.D. and wrote a book on the city, its architecture, its gates, its markets, its houses, and its convents, in particular as well as on the daily life of its inhabitants.
- * John Haundville, who arrived in Al-Qods in 722 A.H./1322 A.D. In his book, *The Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Haundville*, he describes Al-Qods, its holy sites, as well as the habits and customs of its inhabitants ;
- * Fra Niccolo, who visited the East, including Al-Qods, between 1346 and 1350 A.D. He visited several Palestinian cities. In his book, *Voyage Beyond the Seas*, he gives a detailed description of Al-Qods, including its markets, its waterworks, and its orchards and fruits.⁽¹⁾

V. BIOGRAPHIES

In addition to the works of Christian pilgrims and Muslim travellers, one should point out some of the most outstanding biographies by dignitaries of Al-Qods. A few examples :

- * *Fawâtul Wafiyât* (*Traces of Dead Persons*), by Muhammad Al-Halabî bin Shâkir Al-Kittî (764 A.H./1363 A.D.). This author gives many details on Al-Qods schools, sanctuaries, scholars, and notables. He also describes the city's monuments and gives an account of the restoring of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa ;
- * *Ad-Durar Al-Kâmina fî A'Yân Al-Mi'ah Al-Thâmina* (*The Best Works by Dignitaries of the Eighth Century <A.H.>*), by Shihâbuddîn bin Hajar Al-'Asqalân (853 A.H./1449 A.D.). This book contains information that could be found in no other work ;
- * *Addaw'ul-Lâmi' li Ahl Al-Qarn Attâsi'* (*The Shining Light of Ninth-Century <A.H.> People*), by Abul-Khaîr Muhammad bin Abdurrahmân As-Sakhâwî (902 A.H./1497 A.D.) ; and
- * *Nuzum Al-'Oqbân fî A'Yân-il Al-A'Yân*, by Jalâluddîn Abu-Bakr As-Sayûti (911 A.H./1505 A.D.). This work gives the biography of many scholars from Al-Qods and sets out their philosophy about beings and things.

1. Imâm Rashâd, *The City of Al-Qods in the Medieval Period*, pp. 37-38 (in Arabic).

VI. WORKS ON ISLAMIC HISTORY

Works on Islamic History are many. In addition to those already mentioned, one may point out the history treatises by At-Tabarî, Ibn Al-Athîr, Ibn Al-'Ibrî, and Al-Maqdissî. All these works deal with Al-Qods among other subjects pertaining to the Islamic world.⁽²⁾

VII. GEOGRAPHY BOOKS

Travel literature may be included in this category of geography books, which are very large in number. Some of the best-known Muslim scholars in the area of geographic literature are : Ibn Haouqal Al-Maqdissi, Al-Istakhari, Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, Ibn Al-Faqîh, and Al-Hamadânî.⁽³⁾

One should also point out that Father Marmarjî has assembled in his book, *Arab Palestine*, the accounts by travellers, geographers, and historians bearing on Al-Qods and particularly on the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, its architecture, its multiple galleries, its extensions, as well as the historical monuments adjacent to it. The following are some of the authors that he quotes in his book : Al-Ya'qubî (260 A.H./874 A.D.), Ibn Al-Faqîh (290 A.H./903 A.D.), Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih (300 A.H./913 A.D.), Ibn Al-Batrîq (328 A.H./930 A.D.), Al-Maqdissî (375 A.H./985 A.D.), Nâssir Khosrû (438 A.H./1047 A.D.), Al-Bakrî (487 A.H./1094 A.D.), Al-Idrîssi (548 A.H./1154 A.D.), Yâqût (623 A.H./1225 A.D.), Ibn Al-Athîr (630 A.H./1232 A.D.), Abu Al-Fidâ' (721 A.H./1321 A.D.), Al-'Omarî (728 A.H./1347 A.D.), and Mujîruddîn Al-Hanbalî (901 A.H./1496 A.D.).⁽⁴⁾

Additionally, there are many recent works on Al-Qods, the most important of which come as follows : <written in Arabic>

- * 'Aref Al-'Aref, *A detailed Study of the History of Al-Qods ;*
- * 'Aref Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods ;*
- * 'Aref Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Aqsa Mosque ;*
- * Mustapha Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdiss ;*
- * Iss-hâq Mustapha Al-Husseini, *Al-Qods : An Arab City ;*

2. Abdurrahmân 'Afif (1984), *Al-Qods*, pp. 230-31 (Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium on the History of Ash-Shâm (Amman, 1984).

3. Abdurrahmân 'Afif, *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31

4. Marmarjî (1984), *Arab Palestine*, (Beirut), pp. 242-301.

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| * Kâmil Al-'Aslî, | <i>The Scientific Institutes of Al-Qods ;</i> |
| * Kâmil Al-'Aslî, | <i>Vestiges of Our Past in Al-Qods ;</i> |
| * Kâmil Al-'Aslî, | <i>Our Ancestors in the Cemeteries of Al-Qods ;</i> |
| * Abdul-Jafîl Mahdî, | <i>Schools in Al-Qods under the Mameluke and Ayyubid Dynasties and their Role in Intellectual Life ;</i> |
| * Rashâd Al-Imam, | <i>Al-Qods in the Middle Ages ;</i> |
| * Râ'if Najm, | <i>The Treasures of Al-Qods.</i> |

Many studies have been published in the proceedings of the Third International Colloquium on the History of Ash-Shâm which dealt particularly with Palestine. Volume One of these proceedings is entirely devoted to the city of Al-Qods. Also, both the Palestine Encyclopedia and Volume One of the proceedings of the International Conference on the Ancient Monuments of Palestine contain many research papers on the city of Al-Qods.⁽⁵⁾

In addition to the above references, one should point out the large number of more recent documents, the most important of which being on excavations in the holy city and on the damaging of the cultural heritage of Al-Qods by Israeli occupation forces. Some of these documents on Al-Qods deal with such topics as its economic development, its extension, as well as the attempts to judaicize the city and to set up Israeli settlements in it. It should be mentioned that researchers from the British Institute of Archeology have elaborated lists of historical monuments of Al-Qods and that Michael Burgoyne, the renowned historian, has established an inventory of Mameluke constructions in Islamic Al-Qods.⁽⁶⁾ Most of these documents are referred to in the citations and in the bibliography.

In spite of the considerable amount of research carried out on the city of Al-Qods, this city still needs further in-depth study which will keep it alive for its inhabitants and for Arabs and Muslims in general.

5. See the bibliographic list, in Arabic and English, prepared by Omar Hamastarî on Al-Qods, available in the Libraries of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Amman : 1981). See also the bibliography by Rashâd Al-Imam, published in the review *Shu'ûn Arabiyâ* (*Arab Affairs*), in its special issue on Al-Qods, 1985.

6. This inventory, prepared before 1967, was made possible thanks to the support which the British Institute of Archeology in Al-Qods provided before 1967. After 1967, this Institute transferred part of its activities to Amman, where it was renamed "The British Institute of History and Archeology".

CHAPTER I

THE CITY OF AL-QODS

(Its name, geographic location,
topography, and climate)

The City's names

The city of Al-Qods has carried several names throughout its long history. Among other names, it has been designated as Ur-Shalem, Jebus, Al-Madina, Aelia Capitolina, Beit Al-Maqdis, Al-Qods Al-Shareef, Dar Es-Salam, and various other names.⁽⁷⁾

The earliest recorded name for this city occurs in Egyptian manuscripts, as in the Execration text, which dates back to the 18th and the 19th centuries B.C., in a form which could be deciphered as "Rushalimum". In the cuneiform character writings discovered in Tell Al-Amarna and dating back to the 14th century B.C., the name "Urusalim" often recurs.⁽⁸⁾ In the 7th century B.C., the appellation "Ursalimu" was the name frequently used in the San Sherib writings.⁽⁹⁾ Before this period, the Hebrews referred to this city as "Yerusalim", while the Greeks and Romans referred to it as "Hierosolyma", and the West gave it the name "Jerusalem".⁽¹⁰⁾ At one time (70 A.D.), the Romans called it "Solimus" and again (175 A.D.) "Solima"⁽¹¹⁾ Tarn (1974) reports that, for a period of the Hellenistic Age, Al-Qods carried the name of "Antaquia".⁽¹²⁾

7. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Volume III (1984).

Talfât Khair-Allah, *Al-Qods Throughout the Ages*, Baghdad : 1981, p.16.

8. Ad-Dabbâgh (1974) notes in his book, *Beit Al-Maqdis*, that the Akkadians mention in their writings the name "Urusalem", but does not give the source of this information. See p. 23 <of his book>.

9. *Jerusalem Revealed : Archeology in the Holy City (1969-1974)*.

Al-'Amiri notes in his book, *Al-Qods (in English)*, that "Ursalimu" was the name for Al-Qods in Assyrian texts. The current appellation "Yeru-Shalim", used by Zionists, is borrowed from Aramaic, Hebrew itself being derived from Canaanite and Aramaic languages.

10. Ad-Dabbagh (1974), *Beit Al-Maqdiss*, p. 24 ;

Al-Hosseini Ishaq, *Al-Qods : An Arab City*, p. 34

11. Al-'Aref, *The History of the City of Al-Qods*, pp. 167-168

12. Tarn (1974), *The Hellenistic Civilization*, pp. 214-215

According to Is-hâq Mûssa Al-Huseinî, the city of Al-Qods was known in the works of Arabic historians and geographers by various names, of which the following : Yerusalem, Hieroshalem, Shalem, Salem, Jebus, Sion Moriah, Aelia, Beit Al-Maqdis, Al-Qods, and Al-Qods Al-Shareef⁽¹³⁾

The Old Testament makes reference to "Shalem", which is perhaps the short form for "Hieroshalem". This appellation occurs in the Book of "Genesis", where the context is the arrival of Abraham, the Hebraic, in the land of the Canaans, in which he was received by "the King of Shalem", the Jebusan, and it also occurs in the Book of Joshua (10 : 1-5). The Book of Judges contains a mention of "Urshalem" while in the Book of Samuel II it is referred to as the "City of David". There is also a mention of it in the Book of Isaiah (29: 1) as "A'ri-el", which means God's lion or the "House of God".⁽¹⁴⁾

With the advent of Islam, Al-Qods has had various appellations, including the following : Beit Al-Maqdis, Beit Al-Qods Al-Shareef, Al-Madina Al-Moqaddassa (the Holy City), and Ilyâ' (Aelia). To these appellations, Le Strange (1963) adds that of "Al-Balât".⁽¹⁵⁾

This city is also referred to as "Al-Aqsa Mosque" and "The Olive". Both of these appellations occur in the Quran as follows :

"Glorified be He Who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of Worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship** the neighbourhood whereof We have blessed, that We might show him of Our tokens!"*

* Mecca.

** Jerusalem.

Sûrah XVII (Al-Isrâ), Verse 1.

(Translation and notes from Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall's ***The Meaning of the Glorious Quran***, Dar Al-Kitab Allubnani, Beirut).

1. "By the fig and the olive,
2. By Mount Sinai,
3. And by this land made safe ;"

Surah XCV (At-Tîn / The Fig), Verses 1-3.

(Translation from Pickthall, op. cit.)

13. Al-Hosseini, ***The Arabicity of the City of Al-Qods***, p. 31

14. ***Palestine Encyclopedia***, volume III (1984), pp. 510-511;

Al-Hosseini, *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 38;

A Dictionary of the Holy Book (1971) ; see the article on "Urshalem".

15. Al-Hosseini, *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Marmaji (1948) ***Arab Palestine***, see the chapter on Beit Al-Maqdis

Le Strange (1965) ***Palestine under the Muslims***, p. 48.

Ibn 'Assâkir, quoting Ibn Al-'Abbâs, explicates the latter verses by stating that "*The fig is the metonymic reference to the land of Al-Shâm <roughly, present-day Syria>, and the olive in like manner refers to the land of Al-Qods : Mount Sinai is the mountain on which Allah directly addressed Mûsâ (Moses), and the land made safe refers to Mecca*".⁽¹⁶⁾

The name "Yerusalem" is etymologically composed of two words of western Asian origins : "Yrw" and "Slm" ; together these two terms probably signify "The institution of God". Shalem and Shahar are known in ancient mythology texts as two beautiful and generous gods whose names suggest the serenity of dawn and dusk twilight.⁽¹⁷⁾ Some historians favour the interpretation of "Yerusalem" as "the City of Peace" "the Land of Peace". Others emphasize the metaphorical nature of the foregoing phrases, which accordingly stand for "the City of Justice" or "the City of Truth".

The City's geographical location

From its earliest history, Al-Qods has been located north-east of Mount Moriah. The earliest settlers of Al-Qods seem to have chosen this specific site because it is protected on three sides : on the east, it is protected by the Valley of the Kidron⁽¹⁸⁾, the south by the Valley of the Hinnom⁽¹⁹⁾, and on the west by the Valley of Tyropoeon.⁽²⁰⁾

The city of Al-Qods is situated at latitude 31°52' north and at 35°13' longitude east. It lies at an altitude of 820 metres and is constructed on four mounts : Mt. Moriah, Mt. 'Akra, Mt. Beit-Zeta, and Mt. Zion. Its altitude is 2598 feet (820-830 metres). It is 52 km from the Mediterranean Sea, 22 km from the Dead Sea, and 250 km from the Red Sea. From Al-Qods to Amman, Beirut, Damascus, and Cairo, the distances are respectively 88, 388, 290, and 528 km ; to Baghdad, the air distance is 865 km.⁽²¹⁾

The City's topography

Al-Qods is situated on a ridge which previously consisted of five mounts : Fûriâ, on which the Mosque of Al-Aqsa is located ; âwfâl, which overlooks the

16. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 169

17. *Jerusalem Revealed*, p. 4

18. Arabs call this valley "the Valley of Sitty Mariem". Jews call it "the Valley of Josaphat". It is located between the city and the Mount of Olives.

19. This valley has various names, including "Rabah Valley" and "Gehenna Valley"

20. Tyropoeon means "cheese-makers". See the article on "Urshalem" in *A Dictionary of the Holy Book*. See also *Jerusalem Revealed*, p. 1

21. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Bit Al-Maqdis*, p. 413 ; *Talfâh, Al-Qods in the Middle Ages*, p. 11

village of Salwân ; Sion, which overlooks the Pool of As-Sultân ; 'Akra, where the present Christian Quarter is ; and Bit-Zeta, which stretches from Bâb Hitta to Bâb Al-'Amûd.⁽²²⁾

The expansion of Al-Qods has nowadays spread in all directions and construction has covered many of the neighbouring plateaux, the most important of which being : the Mount of Olives, the Mount of Al-Mashârif⁽²³⁾, the Mount of Al-Qâtmûm, and the Mount of Al-Mûkabbir.⁽²⁴⁾

The City's climate

The climate of Al-Qods is of the Mediterranean type. The average temperature is 9°.7 C in January and 25° C in August. In 1941, a heat wave raised the temperature in Al-Qods to 44° C.

The annual average rainfall in Al-Qods is about 551 mm, of which 70% occurs in winter. Studies of the weather conditions of this city show that periods of drought have occurred between 1854 and 1872, and again between 1924 and 1936.⁽²⁵⁾

In a general manner, the climate of Al-Qods is very mild, and the air therein is bracing. In the summer, the sea breeze blows over the city and eases the heat. While no wind ever blows from the north, the north-west breeze is gentle and mild, and the west winds are frequent in winter.⁽²⁶⁾

In his book, *Ahsanu At-Taqâssûm fî Mâ'rifat Al-Aqâlîm*, Al-Maqdissî describes the climate of Al-Qods as follows :

"The city knows neither harsh winters nor scorching summers. It rarely ever snows there. The air in it is neither too hot nor too cold ; this verily resembles the air in Paradise..."⁽²⁷⁾

22. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 187

23. This is "Mount Al-Mash-had" for the inhabitants of Al-Qods

24. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, p. 54. *On the mounts of Al-Qods*, see Constantine Khammâr, *Geographic Encyclopedia of Palestine*, n° 16, pp. 92 & 101

25. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Volume III, p. 510

26. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 176

27. Quoted by Talfâh Khair-Allah in *Al-Qods Throughout the Centuries* (1981)

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF AL-QODS FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

Prehistoric man lived on the site of Al-Qods, in a settlement which is believed to be the present ground of the Greek Quarter, which overlooks Rephaim Valley. Many prehistoric objects have been found in that ground when diggings were undertaken for modern construction foundations and for railways ; although the area of the settlement has not been determined, the spread of the found objects indicates that it was an extensive settlement.

J. German-Durand was the first person to have discovered this settlement; however, it was M. Stekelis, together with R. Neuville who, in 1933, undertook the first systematic excavations, funded by the Office of the Paleontology of Man in Paris.

Owing to these excavations, it was possible to find out several settlements. Stekelis was able to group the found objects into several categories according to the material used for their production. He found out through his investigations that these objects date back to the protohistoric period, and he believes that the objects he has found in Al-Qods are older than any other objects unearthed in the various caves in Palestine, notwithstanding the resemblance between all the objects found. Thus the former objects are older than the latter.

The excavations undertaken indicate that Al-Qods was already in existence early in the Bronze Age.⁽²⁸⁾ Articles of pottery dating back to that period have been found during excavations in the eastern part of the plateau. It is highly probable that this age - the Bronze Age - was one of profound mutation in civilization in Palestine.⁽²⁹⁾ However, evidence that the city really existed in the Bronze Age consists of a small part of the cut-stone ramparts built around 1800 B.C. along a line pointing to the eastern base of the plateau. Other vestiges of the middle of the Bronze Age have been found in Râs Al-'Ain.⁽³⁰⁾

28. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Vol. II, pp. 579-580

29. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 12 (1970), p. 100 d "Archeology of the Holy Land".

In her work, *Monuments of the Holy Land*, Dame Kenyon writes on p. 236 that some of the found objects date back to the beginning of the Bronze Age, that some necropolises go back to the Proto-urban period, but that there is no evidence of human presence prior to 1800 B.C.

30. Abû-Tâlib Mamûd, (1978) *Vestiges of Jordan and Palestine in Ancient Times : Some New Insights*, p. 65.

In its earliest known history, Al-Qods covered an area of 11 feddâns according to the archeological findings. These findings have also established that practically no vestiges of the early middle part of the Bronze Age can be recovered because of past quarrying and extraction activities. The few ruins that remain are of little importance and situated here and there on the slopes of the hills. Al-Qods seems to have acquired its prestige towards the middle and late parts of the Bronze Age (about the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.), that is to say at the time of the Jebusites. From about this time, the city managed to ward off Israelite incursions for a long time.⁽³¹⁾

Al-Qods was for a long time governed by the Jebusites. The Torah describes it as a very powerful Jebusite city, and it actually remained so until Dâwûd (PBUH) liberated it in 995 B.C. As the Prophet Dâwûd (David) saw it, occupying this city was vital for the continuation of his reign, which began with the decimation of his enemies and the limiting of Philistine power zone to the littoral areas.⁽³²⁾

Jebusite Al-Qods was situated in an area protected by valleys on all sides and located on the Ad-Dhahra Ridge, in the southern part of contemporary Al-Qods which is contained within the ramparts. In spite of the powerful control that Dâwûd (PBUH) maintained over the eastern, northern, and southern regions, he never succeeded in bringing the Palestine littoral areas under his power. This seems to have been the result of the balance of power policy that the Egyptians kept vis-à-vis Dâwûd and the Philistines. This explains why the coastal areas were never brought under Israelite rule.⁽³³⁾

The oldest known writing from Al-Qods is mentioned in Egyptian texts, found in Tell Al-'Amârnah, which date back to about 1370 B.C. About this date, the ruler of Al-Qods, 'Idî Haiyâ, addressed a letter to the Pharaoh, Akhenaton, asking him for help as well as military back-up against the assaults by the Khâbirû⁽³⁴⁾ (or the Habira, i.e. Hebrew), who had grown into a serious threat to peace in the land.⁽³⁵⁾

The conquest of Al-Qods by Dâwûd (PBUH) carried within it the seeds of the creation of an Israelite political entity led by the Prophet Dâwûd. In a

31. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (1970), p. 1009 C.

32. Kenyon, *Archeology in the Holy Land*, p. 233.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 236

34. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 1009 a.

35. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, 3, p. 510.

general manner, one may say today that the infiltration of Palestine by the Israelites has been, and still is, a matter of unending controversy. Some tales have it that some ancient Israelite tribes had infiltrated from the south and others from the east (headed to the north), but without being able to make one community because the powerful city of Al-Qods maintained itself between the two until the time when Dâwûd (PBUH) conquered it.

According to the tale in the Torah, once David conquered Al-Qods (Jebus at that time), he managed to gain the Jebusites' approval and had the city renovated. However, no extension of the city seems to have taken place in his time ; there is no indication of any extension of the city, and the excavations conducted on the site have yielded no evidence to that effect. The part of the ramparts, which is mentioned above and which dates back to the Bronze Age, had continued its unaltered existence in Dâwûd's time and served its function for two centuries thereafter.⁽³⁶⁾

Suleiman (Solomon) took the power after the death of his father, Dâwûd. His reign marked the peak of the power of the city of Al-Qods, which was now getting extended under his aegis. Suleiman saw to the completion of the construction of the Temple on Mount Moriah on a land parcel which was purchased by Dâwûd from the Jesubite Ernân.⁽³⁷⁾

When Roboam⁽³⁸⁾ succeeded Suleiman, his father, he became involved in a conflict with his brother, Jeroboam.⁽³⁹⁾ The Kingdom accordingly broke up into two parts : the part of the southern tribes, with Al-Qods as its capital, and the part of the northern tribes, with Shalem as its main centre. It was after this split that the Pharaoh Shishak seized the opportunity and subjected Al-Qods to his rule, and made its inhabitants pay the poll-tax before returning to his homeland.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Subsequently to that, the Arabs and the Philistines ruled alternatively.

The history of this post-Solomonic dismembered Kingdom is very complex. The enmity between the two sides persisted down to the time when the Assyrians occupied the northern region in 722 B.C. The city of Al-Qods subsequently came under greater and greater threat ; however, Hezekiah, its ruler then, somehow managed to hold the Assyrian enemy in check. A century

36. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 1009 d.

37. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*

38. Roboam, son of Suleimân and of his Ammonite wife. See Ad-Dabbâgh's, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, 2/9, pp. 35 and 37.

39. Jeroboam, son of Solomon, born to him by his Egyptian wife.

40. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 17. Also, see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, p. 1009 a.

later, attacks on the city were renewed and repeated with the rise of the Neo-Babylonians (the Chaldeans), who substituted themselves for the Assyrians and ultimately ruled southern Mesopotamia and Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar, their King, toppled Jehoiakim and took Jerusalem in 587 B.C.⁽⁴¹⁾ He pillaged the city, destroyed the Temple, and deported nobles and artisans to various areas. Part of the city's population migrated to the city of Babylon.

Under Nabonidus and Belshazzar, the Babylonian Empire declined and ended as a Persian province after Cyrus II conquered it. With the collusion of the Achaemenids, the Jews who were previously deported from Al-Qods played an important role in the fall of the Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.⁽⁴²⁾ By way of rewarding them, Cyrus II terminated their captivity and allowed many of them to return to Al-Qods. Through this gesture, the Persians sought three objectives : to get rid of those Jews, thereby hedging against any risk of treason by the latter ; to make of them allies in Al-Qods ; and finally, to tactfully gain their friendship.

However, the Persians only partly succeeded in convincing these Jews to return to Al-Qods, for most of them actually stayed in Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq). It was the descendants of these Jews who, in 1948, were made to migrate to Israel through the concerted action of the Israeli Intelligence Service with other authorities.⁽⁴³⁾ Even though the Persian King allowed them to return to Al-Qods to settle therein and to rebuild their public institutions, he came back on his decision under pressure from Amonians, Acedonians and Arabs.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The city of Al-Qods thus remained under the rule of the Persians until it was conquered by Alexander the Great (King of Macedonia). After Alexander's death and the subsequent dislocation of his empire, the city of Al-Qods fell to the Ptolemies of Egypt, and later to the Seleucids of Antioch (in 198 B.C.).

The inhabitants of Al-Qods came under the influence of Greek civilization in the Seleucid Hellenistic era. About 165 B.C., Antiochus IV destroyed the Temple and seized its treasures. He appointed as successive rulers of Al-Qods

41. Al-'Aref, Ibid. p. 17

42. *The Old Testament*. See also in *A Dictionary of the Holy Book*, p. 358, the article on Daniel. The Persian King rewarded Daniel, the leader of the Jewish plotters, by making him a high minister in his Kingdom.

43. This operation was known as "Operation Ali Baba". The Iraqi Jews who were reluctant to migrate to Palestine saw their synagogues attacked by way of coercing them into migration.

44. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 18. He forbid them from renovating the wall, the construction of which they finished only at the time of Dara (445 B.C.).

governors whose strong dislike of the racketeering and the rare scruples of the Jews, compounded by the latter's failure to honour their agreements, imposed on them heavy taxes.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In 63 B.C., Al-Qods was conquered by Pompey, the Roman general, who put an end to the anarchy which prevailed therein at the end of the reign of the Seleucids. The new rulers of the city gave some autonomy to the Jews, who chose as their ruler Herod I the Great after his conversion to Judaism and subsequent to his appointment by the Romans as the King of the Jews. Herod was friendly with Marc Antony, with Octavian, and with Augustus.

In A.D. 6, the southern part of Palestine became a second-rate Roman province governed by procurators.

In 70 A.D., the city of Al-Qods was destroyed because of the intrigues of the Jews. At the instigation of Titus, the city was besieged and demolished, but the Roman Emperor subsequently allowed the Jews to settle therein. The Jews behaved as before and thus continued to defy the law. In 115 A.D., they revolted again, but it was not until 132 A.D. that they managed to occupy the city in the aftermath of a revolt. The Emperor Hadrian put an end to this revolt in 135 A.D. by destroying the city of Al-Qods.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Peace was restored and Hadrian was able to rebuild the city in the image of a Roman colony, adopting a construction plan in the shape of a square with two main streets crossing it. It was then that Al-Qods took the name of Aelia Capitolina.

In 1937, Hamilton uncovered a section of the ramparts of the city close to the Bâb Dimashq (Gate of Damascus). Well before him, however, Schmick in 1878 and in 1889 was able to determine the location of these vestiges. The excavations undertaken by Hamilton demonstrated that Aelia Capitolina was built within an enclosing wall, but also that, like most Roman cities, it was accessible to all visitors. Frescoes found in the area indicate that the city was managed by the Antonines; this indication rules out any claim that these ramparts⁽⁴⁷⁾ may date back to the third century B.C., and this conclusion is further corroborated by ceramic finds dating from that era.⁽⁴⁸⁾

45. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 511.

46. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 71.

47. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Vol. II, p. 610.

48. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Vol. II, p. 610. The excavations undertaken by Kenyon between 1961 and 1967 did not enable her to uncover vestiges which date back to the era of David or Solomon. The tower and the ramparts mistakenly attributed to David in the 1930s were shown to date from the Hellenistic era according to Kenyon. See, also, Abû-Tâleb, *Ancient Monuments of Jordan*, p. 90.

Subsequent to the division of the Roman Empire into the Christian Empire of the East and the pagan Empire of the West, Aelia became a part of the former, which later became known as the Byzantine Empire. The city suffered a great deal from the political and doctrinal scissions which undermined and ultimately weakened the unity of this Empire. The Sassanians took advantage of this situation and occupied Aelia in 614 A.D. Hence, they slayed many of the city's inhabitants, demolished its churches and monasteries, and captured its patriarch. It is reported that these acts were fomented by the Jews, who were strongly opposed to the Christians.

However, the Byzantines soon regained their strength and recovered Al-Qods. In the aftermath of the restitution of this city, the belligerents were reconciled with each other and Heraclius entered Aelia in 629 A.D. and wreaked vengeance upon the Jews for their treachery. Under his rule, the Empire recovered for some time but was not altogether able to stand by to the Arabs, who, setting off from the Arabian Peninsula ten years later, had the mission to spread a new faith among men. Thus, they liberated all of Bilâd Ash-Shâm (roughly Syria, Lebanon and Palestine) (636-639 A.D.). Aelia, too, was liberated, but the other religions were tolerated and the dignity of those who practised them was respected. From that time on, Al-Qods, which was conquered by Omar bin Al-Khattâb, a Muslim Caliph, became both an Islamic and an Arab city.⁽⁴⁹⁾

49. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 38 and 40.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF AL-QODS IN THE ARAB-ISLAMIC ERA

Muslim Arabs conquered the city of Al-Qods in the reign of wise Caliph Omar bin Al-Khattâb (15 A.H./638 A.D.).⁽⁴⁹⁾ Caliph Omar (may Allah be pleased with him) took good care of the Christian and Jewish holy places. Likewise, he manifested no intolerance of their worship practices.⁽⁵⁰⁾

With this Arabo-Islamic conquest, many Arabs settled in Al-Qods, which became an Arab and Islamic city.⁽⁵¹⁾

When the conflict between Ali bin Abi-Tâlib and Mu'âwiyah ended in favour of the latter (40 A.H./660 A.D.), it was in Al-Qods that, upon the abdication of Al-Hassan bin Ali, Mu'âwiyah was appointed as a Caliph.⁽⁵²⁾

The Umayyad caliphs gave great importance to the city of Al-Qods, where several of them were invested and given allegiance as rulers. In addition to that of Mu'âwiyah, such was the case of Caliph Suleyman bin Abdul-Mâlik (96 A.H./714 A.D.) among others. The Caliphs had their palaces built in the neighbourhood of the Esplanade of *Al-Haram Al-Shareef*, as demonstrated by the recently undertaken excavations. The importance of this city to them was brilliantly manifested through the construction of the sumptuous Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ, both of these being considered masterpieces of Umayyad architecture in Palestine. Some Umayyad Caliphs liked Palestine

49. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1970), 1009 F.

50. Some historians think that the Arab conquest took place in 636 A.D. This is noted by Ad-Dabbâgh, who in his work *Beit Al-Maqdis* (p. 91), cites At-Tabari to this effect. The same belief is expressed in *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 511.

51. Historians report the following incident, which indicates Caliph Omar's discernment and perceptiveness : while Omar was visiting one of the churches, he had to accomplish one of his daily prayers as the hour for it was on. The priests showing him round offered the invitation that he could perform his prayer within that church if he wanted to; however, Omar insisted on praying outside the church premises for fear that Muslims should turn these into a mosque. Later in time, Muslims erected a mosque on the site where Omar had performed that prayer ; they called it the Mosque of Omar.

52. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 118, citing At-Tabari, pp. 158-161.

so much that they decided to settle in Al-Qods. Abdul-Mâlik was one such. Others almost transferred their capital from Damascus to Al-Qods and Ramalah, as in the case of Suleyman bin Abdul-Mâlik.

Among other things that the Abbassids inherited from the Umayyads was the city of Al-Qods, which they sought to embellish. Thus, they restored the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock subsequent to the damage that these had suffered. Some of the greatest Abbassid Caliphs, like Al-Mâmûn, Al-Mansûr, and Al-Mahdî, made special journeys to visit Al-Qods.

In the Abbassid era, Muslims and Christians lived together in a symbiotic manner. The Christian pilgrim, Bernard Le Sage, described life in Al-Qods in these terms : *"Muslims and Christians in this peaceful city live in perfect harmony"*.⁽⁵³⁾

With the decline that the struggle for succession brought to the Abbassid dynasty, both Al-Qods and Palestine came under the administration of the Tûlûnids, who were regional governors from Egypt (265-292 A.H. / 878-905 A.D.). These were succeeded by the Ikhshidites (327-359 A.H. / 939-969 A.D.), who gave such importance to the city of Al-Qods that some of their leaders made the will to be buried in it, and their will was subsequently carried out.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Thus Muhammad Al-Ikhshîdî, who died in Damascus, was buried in Al-Qods (334 A.H./945 A.D.). Likewise, the sepulchre of Abul-Qâssim Muhammad (349 A.H./960 A.D.) is located in this city, in which he lies next to the tomb of his father, Muhammad Abul-Qâssim, named "Anûjûr". It was in the reign of the latter that Khosrû, the Muslim traveller of Persian origin, visited Al-Qods, which he thus described in his book, *Safarnâma* :

"The population of Al-Qods amounts to twenty thousand souls. Its markets are tidy and attractive. Its streets are paved with cobblestones. In the area known as "As-Sâhira", there is a vast necropolis with the tombs of many benefactors in it..."⁽⁵⁵⁾

Also buried in Al-Qods were Abul-Hassan Al-Ikhshîdî, who died in 965 A.D., and his successor, "Kâfûr", who made speeches in the city as parts of his travels to Syria and Palestine and who upon his death in Egypt in

53. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (1984), p. 512.

54. Ad-Dabbâgh Mustapha, *Beit Al-Maqdis*, 9/2-1, p. 118, citing At-Tabarî, pp. 158-161.

55. Al-'Aref (1951), *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 60.

966 A.D. was carried all the way to the city where his predecessor and master was buried. This goes to show that the importance that Al-Qods had for the Ikshidites was mainly of a religious and spiritual order. Indeed, in their reign, this holy city did not have much of a commercial, economic, or military role.⁽⁵⁶⁾ It was the town of Ramlah which by far played such a role.

Thanks to Jawhar As-Siqalli, the general of the Egyptian army in the reign of Caliph Al-Mu'izz li Dîn-Allah Al-Fâtimî, the Fâtimids in 357 A.H./966 A.D. took advantage of the power-eroding internal differences over succession upon the death of "Kâfûr" and seized the power from the weakened Ikshidites, chasing them away. Hence Al-Qods came under their control in 359 A.H./969 A.D. Accordingly, this city of twenty thousand inhabitants became well-known for the fertility of its farm-land as well as the beauty of its sites, olive-trees, vines, apple-trees, carob-trees, together with the quality of its cotton-fiber and soap-brands. On the political level, it ranked second to Ramlah.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The beginning of the Fatimid reign was marked by such good treatment of the Christians within the holy city that Al-'Azîz bin Al-Mu'izz appointed as governor of Palestine a Coptic minister by the name of Abûl-Youmn Qazmân. At the beginning of his reign, Al-Mansûr bin Abdel'azîz, better known as "Al-Hâkim bi Amr-Allah" (386-411 A.H./996-1020 A.D.), followed the example of Ibn Al-Mu'izz ; however, he subsequently changed his mind and turned against the Christians.

In point of fact, both Christians and Muslims⁽⁵⁸⁾ suffered his mismanagement of public affairs. But he ultimately thought better of it and allowed the Christians to build churches, and it is reported that he even went as far as to grant credit from his funds for the construction of places of churches and convents for the benefit of his Christian subjects. This gesture indicates his respect for their religion.

The wall of Al-Qods was erected in the reign of Ad-Dhâhir li I'Zâz Dîn-Allah Al-Hâkim. The earthquake that occurred at that time almost destroyed Al-Aqsâ, but Ad-Dhâhir had it both restored and enlarged.⁽⁵⁹⁾

56. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 61. See also, Ibn To'zâ, *An-Nujûm Az-Zâhira fi Akhbâr Misr wal Qâhira* (*Twinkling Stars in the Chronicles of Egypt and Cairo*), Vol. 4, p. 4.

57. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

58. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 512.

Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

59. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî*, p. 18.

In 463 A.H./1070 A.D., the Seljuks put an end to the Fatimid rule of Al-Qods and restored Abbassid legitimacy therein. Thereafter, the Friday *Khotba* (sermon) was to be delivered in the name of the Abbassid caliph. However, twenty-six years later, the Fatimids, led by Caliph Al-Musta'li, recovered Al-Qods, which they controlled for three years.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The Franks, as we will see below, captured the city thereafter.

A number of public institutions were founded in Al-Qods in the Seljuk era, including the "Bîmâristân", which was the first hospital complex in the city, and "Dâr Al-'Ilm" (the House of Learning), which was an annex of "Dâr Al-Hikma" (the House of Wisdom) in Egypt.⁽⁶¹⁾

Geographer Al-Maqdissî, in his *Ahsanu At-Taqâssim fî Ma'rifat Al-Aqâlîm*, wrote the following by way of describing Al-Qods :

"There is no city greater than Al-Qods. With its mild climate, the winter in it is never harsh and the summer never scorching. Snow rarely ever falls there, which gives it a quality of paradise. <...> Built of stone and of neatness rarely equalled elsewhere, it is a pretty city that offers a good life. No inhabitants are nobler or more modest, no markets are tidier, no mosque is larger, and no sights are more wonderful than in Al-Qods..."⁽⁶²⁾

Further, Al-Maqdissî writes that

"It is prettier than Egypt <...> more majestic and nobler <...> However, being both temporal and spiritual, Al-Qods has its own disadvantages. Hence, for instance, some of its golden walls are teeming with scorpions. Its public baths are sordid. It has few erudites. Many austere-looking and disagreeable Christians live therein. The products on the market there are unreasonably over-taxed. In Al-Qods, the rich man is envied, the man of learning is deserted, the man of letters is disbelieved, and the oppressed man finds no allies..."⁽⁶³⁾

60. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 572.

61. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 512.
Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 63

62. This passage was quoted further above.

63. This passage is quoted by Al-'Aref in his book, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 64. Al-'Aref quotes it from Al-'Adsi, giving the particulars of the source.

Nâssir Khosrû, who visited Al-Qods in 1047 A.D., introduces it as follows:

"The city is enclosed within a fortified wall ; it is built of stone, and it has iron gates. It has some twenty thousand inhabitants, most of whom are artisans. For each guild of craftsmen, there is a special market..."⁽⁶⁴⁾

In 1072 A.D., the Seljuk general Alp Arslan seized Al-Qods. After his death, his son Mâlik Shâh succeeded him and chose the title of "As-Sultân Al-'âdil" (the upright Sultan); however, as it happened under his reign, specifically in 1077 A.D., the inhabitants of Al-Qods rose up against the Seljuk governors. One of the latter, Emir Irtiq bin Iksik At-Turkumânî founded in Al-Qods a dynasty that bore his name. Upon his death in 1091 A.D., his two sons jointly governed Palestine and Al-Qods until 1096 A.D., when the Fatimids made a comeback and took the power away from them.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The Franks took advantage of the conflicts opposing the Fatimids to the Seljuks, ultimately vanquished them, and finally made their long-cherished dream come true by capturing Al-Qods under the pretext of securing the access of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. One of the historians of the Crusades describes the conquest of Al-Qods in the following way :

"The Byzantines besieged the city on June 7, 1099 A.D. and it was not until the night from 13th to 14th of July of the same year that they managed to enter it. This long siege as well as the enormous difficulties they had to overcome so as to occupy Al-Qods made them furious. They attacked houses and mosques, and they killed all the people they met on their way : men, women, and children, without distinction or pity."

The slaughter lasted all day Thursday 14 July 1099 A.D. and all night from Thursday to Friday. The Tancred standard that the Crusaders flew at the top of the minaret of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and of the Dome of the Rock did not spare Muslims from massacre. According to the Armenian sources, more than 65 thousand Muslims were killed during this barbarous attack. The Latin sources give accounts of streets and squares strewn with corpses, cut-off heads, single arms and legs scattered all over.⁽⁶⁶⁾

64. Quoted by Al-'Aref in his book, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 65.

65. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 67.

66. In this passage, the author has drawn on Ad-Dabbâgh's *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis* (1975), pp. 157-180 and on Philippe Hitti's *The History of Syria and Palestine*, Vol. 2, p. 229.

An eminent Arab historian, Ibn Al-Athâr (1160 A.H./1234 A.D.), in his work *Al-Kâmil fi Attârikh* (The Complete in History), writes the following on the siege of Al-Qods and the bloodshed perpetrated by the Christians on the Muslim population :

"When the Christians reached Al-Qods, they besieged it for over forty days (...) They erected two towers (...) Raging battles followed and, for a week, the Christians slaughtered the Muslims..."

Thus eminent Muslim scholars were killed, many of whom were great ascetics, who had turned away from luxuries and physical pleasures in order to devote their life in this holy Islamic city to the worship of Allah.

Gustave Le Bon contrasts the Christians' inhuman behaviour during their occupation of Al-Qods with that of Omar bin Al-Khattab, who was so tolerant, towards the inhabitants of the city, their faith, and their places of worship. (See 'Caliph Omar's Covenant' at the beginning of this book).

On 17 July 1099, when Al-Qods found some peace, the Crusaders met to discuss the future of the holy city. A Christian Kingdom was then created and Godfrey of Bouillon became its ruler, taking the designation of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre". Godfrey remained the ruler of this Kingdom until he died of typhoid in Jaffa in 1100 A.D. His brother, Baldwin I, succeeded him and, after taking the title of King, became the first Christian monarch of the Kingdom of Al-Qods, which lasted from 1100 to 1187 A.D. He extended his territory as far as the tiny Pharaoh island, thus controlling all the commerce roads linking Damascus to Hedjaz and to Egypt.⁽⁶⁷⁾ At his death in 1118 A.D., the Kingdom of Al-Aqsa had reached its peak, stretching from Al-'Aqabah to Beirut and eastward to the Jordan Valley.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Between 1118 and 1131 A.D., Baldwin II of Le Bourg ruled as the successor of Baldwin I. He was the latter's cousin and, like the latter, he was the count of Edessa (1100-1118 A.D.). Baldwin II was captured by the Muslims in one of the battles he fought against them. He was released at the end of 1124 and in 1125 he returned to Al-Qods, the capital of his Kingdom. His reign was marked by the formation of the Knights Hospitalers and the Knights Templars.

Baldwin II was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk of Anjou (1131-1143 A.D.), who had many fortresses constructed in order to defend his Kingdom and to extend his power over the commerce roads.⁽⁶⁹⁾

67. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, pp. 170 and 171.

68. Philippe Hittî, *The History of Syria and Palestine*, Vol. 2, p. 231.

69. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

Upon his death in the course of a hunting expedition, he was succeeded by his son, Baldwin III (1143-1162), whose reign witnessed such important events as the fall of Edessa to the Muslims. He died in Beirut in 1162 A.D. and was succeeded as King of Jerusalem by his brother, Amalric I (1162-1174 A.D.), who was succeeded by Baldwin IV (1174-1185 A.D.), then by Baldwin V (1185-1186 A.D.).

Finally, came the reign of Guy of Lusignan (1186-1187 A.D.), who was captured in 1187 A.D. and released the following year. This makes Guy of Lusignan the last Latin King of Al-Qods, for his political incompetence brought about the decisive battle of Hattin, wherein Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi (Saladin) liberated Al-Qods on October 2, 1187 A.D., putting an end to a period of about eighty-eight years of Frank rule over this city.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Upon entering Al-Qods, Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi allowed the Franks to leave the city in exchange for a token tax on each person with the decent financial means to do so. The poor and the have-nots were allowed to leave free of charge. Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi's treatment of his Frank prisoners was so fair that he has been considered throughout Christendom as a model of Islamic chivalric values.⁽⁷¹⁾

During their reign, the Franks made attempts to modify the aspect of the monuments of the city of Al-Qods. Thus, they put a cross at the top of the Dome of the Rock. They made the Mosque of Al-Aqsa into the headquarters of the order of the knights Templars⁽⁷²⁾ and appointed a Latin patriarch to replace the Orthodox patriarch. Likewise, they erected a number of religious buildings as well as large-capacity hospices for pilgrims.⁽⁷³⁾

When the great Sultan Taqiyuddîn Omar bin Shâhinshâh walked into the gallery of the Mosque of Omar, he made a point of sweeping the floor therein himself, washing it several times with water, using rose water for the last wash, and cleaning its walls and its panelling.⁽⁷⁴⁾

70. Al-'Aref (1984), *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*.

71. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 512.

72. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

73. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 512.

Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 74 and 76.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 199.

Several works in Arabic and other languages deal with this period :

- Ransiman, *A History of the Crusades*, in three volumes.

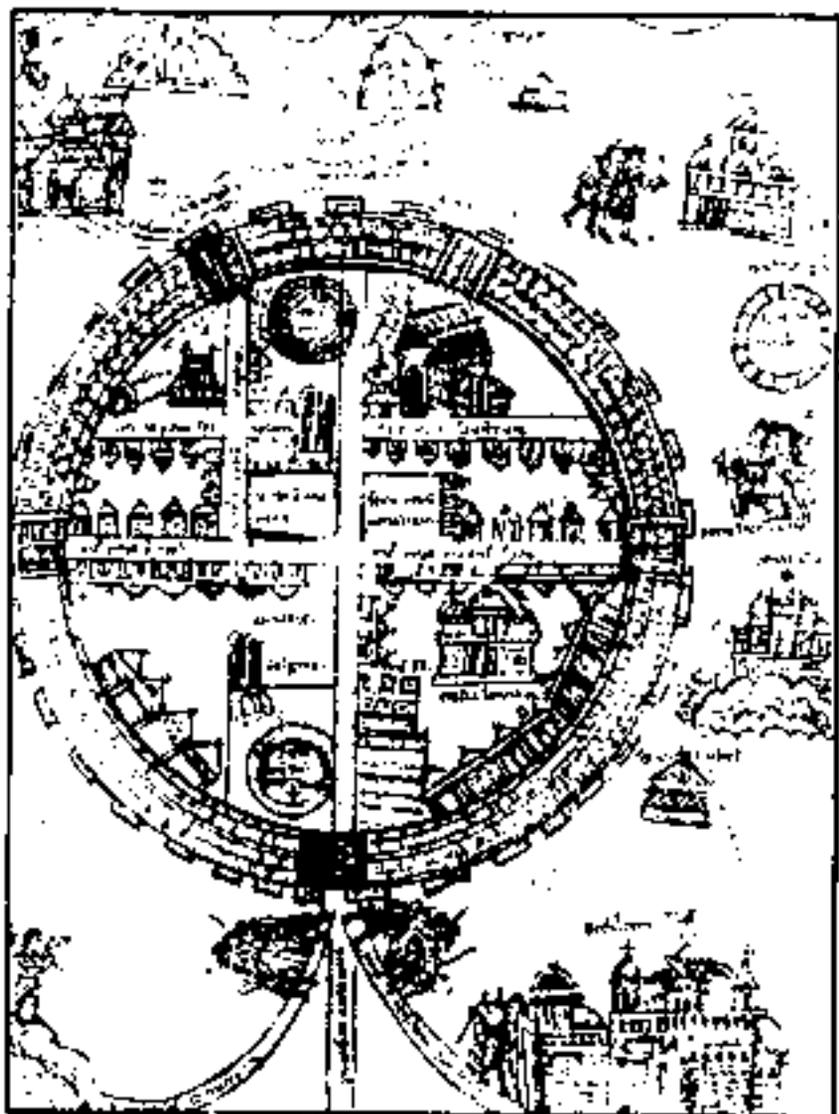
- Ashour 'Abdelfattah, *The Crusades Movement*, in two volumes, (1975).

- *Palestine Encyclopedia*, (cf. article on the Christian Kingdom of Al-Qods, Vol. 3, pp. 543-547.

- Ibn Wâssîl (1960), *Mufrij-ul-Kurûb fi Akhbâri Beni Ayyûb*.

74. Al-'Aref (1984), *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, pp. 157-158.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 200.



A map of Al-Qods in the Reign of the Crusaders (1170 A.D.)

Ransiman, a historiographer of the Crusades, writes about Al-Qods after it was freed by Salâhuddîn and about the relationship between Muslims and Christians that

"While the Franks had been for eighty-eight years worse and bloody villains, the Muslims became well known for their uprightness and their goodness. Under their reign, there was neither pillage nor oppression, for security men under the order of Saladin patrolled the streets, saw to the respect of law and order, and prevented any attack of the Christians."⁽⁷⁵⁾

In Salâhuddîn's time, the city of Al-Qods achieved great prosperity. Schools, institutes, hospital complexes, hospices, and leisure centres were constructed in large numbers. Trade was brisk and very fruitful. There was an abundance of export products like cheese, cotton, raisins, olives, apples, special dairy products, mirrors, oil lamps, and so forth.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Among the edifices erected by Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi, one can mention the Mâristân (a hospital complex)⁽⁷⁷⁾, As-Salâhiyya Caravanserai, the Dome of Youssuf, As-Salâhiyya School, Al-Khashaniyya School, Al-Mâmûniyya School, and many other constructions. Al-Qods remained Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi's favourite city to the day he died in 589 A.H./1193 A.D. in Damascus, where he was buried.⁽⁷⁸⁾ His Sultanat was subsequently divided up into several kingdoms led by each of his sons, brothers, and cousins. Al-Qods was the lot of his son Al-Afdal, who erected in it Al-Afdaliyya School and Al-'Umarî Mosque. However, he ended up conceding the city to his brother King Al-'Azeez, the Sultan of Egypt.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Among the Ayyubid sultans who particularly favoured the city of Al-Qods were King Al-Mu'addham Sharafuddîn 'Issâ, who, following in the footsteps of King Al-'Aâdil, frequently visited Al-Qods, in which he built several edifices.

75. Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., p. 200.
Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 79.

76. Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., p. 204.
Al-'Aref, Ibid., pp. 79-80.

77. Some historians believe that the Mâristân was built by the Fatimids. The Franks used it but added no extensions to it. When Salâhuddîn liberated Al-Qods, he had it refurbished and enlarged, thus making the entire complex the largest hospital in the Islamic Empire. Cf. Ahmed Issa, A History of the Mâristân in Islam, p. 230.

78. Al-'Aref, Ibid., pp. 79-82.

79. Al-'Aref, op. cit., p. 82 ; Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., p. 221 ; Imam Rashâd, *The City of Al-Qods*, pp. 48-49.

Among these : Al-Mu'addhamiyya School, the ruins of which still exist today between the Gate of Hitta and the Gate of Al-'Utm ; Al-Badriyyah School ; and Sabeel (the Fountain of) Sha'lân. However, Al-Mu'addham's pathological apprehension that the Franks may occupy Al-Qods prompted him to destroy it. Evidently, his act was badly received by the population of the city. Grieved and heartbroken, he passed away in 1226 A.D.

In 1228 A.D., King Al-Kâmil, the brother of King Al-Mu'addham 'Issa, signed with the Franks a pact whereby he gave up the rule of Al-Qods to Frederick II provided that the Islamic holy places in this city were left in the hands of the Muslims. Later on, however, Al-Kâmil's successors managed to liberate this holy city, which remained under their rule until an accord was signed between the Ayyubid and the Mameluke princes in 651 A.H./1253 A.D. to the effect that territories on the west side of the Jordan River would become Mameluke provinces while those on the east side would become Ayyubid provinces.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Accordingly, in 1253 A.D. Al-Qods became Mameluke territory.⁽⁸¹⁾

Because of its character as a spiritual and holy city, Al-Qods was the object of the Mamelukes' care and interest. Hence, it was only natural that the sultans should make every effort to make close to them the city's general population as well as its scholars and jurisconsults. Moreover, the repeated conflicts between Christians and Muslims and the recovery of the city of Al-Qods by Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbi conferred on it special importance.⁽⁸²⁾

Sultan Ad-Dhâhir Baybars I was a Mameluke ruler who took the greatest care of Al-Qods, which he visited in 1262 and again in 1265 A.D. Other sultans, like Sayfuddîn Qalâoun, Annaser Mohammed Ibn Qalâun and Al-Ashraf Qaytubay, followed in his footsteps. The cultural institutions that they founded in Al-Qods are still extant and their architecture is of magnificent beauty.

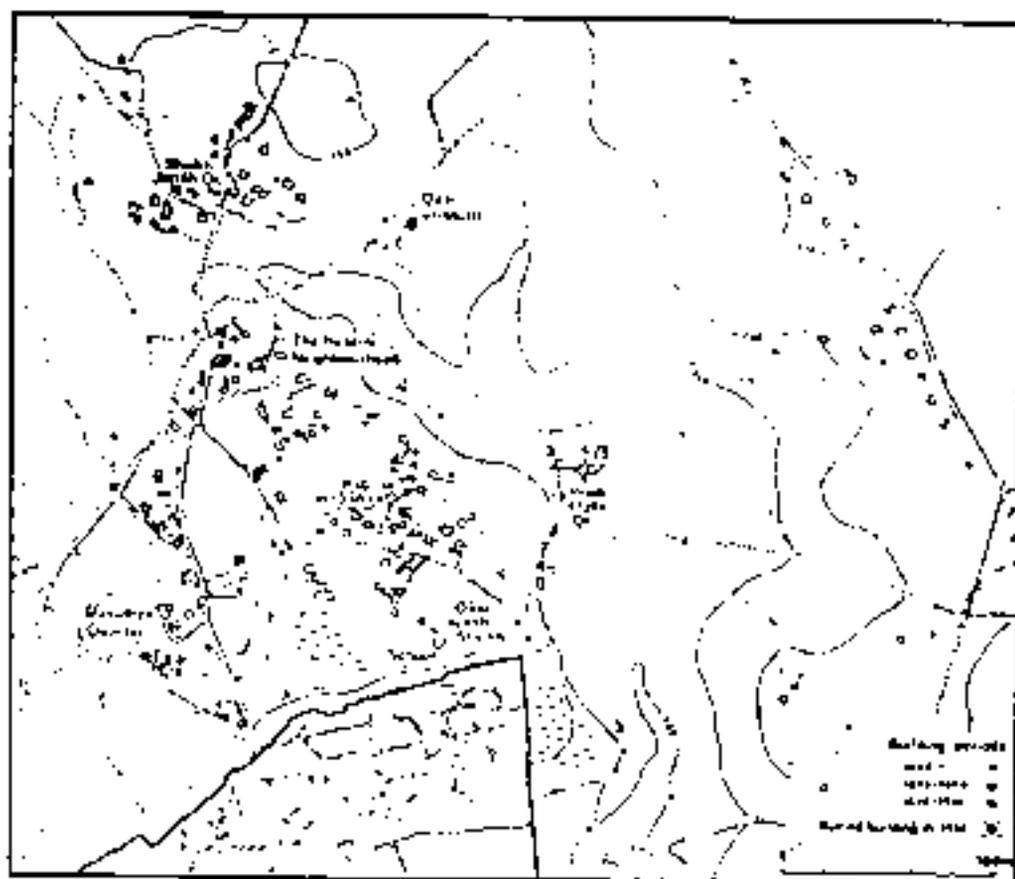
The Mamelukes have constructed in Al-Qods over fifty schools, seven hospices, and dozens of zâouias. In 777 A.H., they removed this city out of the suzerainty of Damascus and turned it into an autonomous principality (Cf. the chapter on "the Evolution of the Administrative Status of Al-Qods") which became dependent upon the Sultanate of Egypt.⁽⁸³⁾

80. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85 ; Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 221 ; Imam Rashâd, *the City of Al-Qods*, pp. 48-49.

81. Imam Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

82. Imam Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 61 ; Al-'Aref, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

83. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 513. Imam Rashâd notes in *The City of Al-Qods* (p. 62) that Sultan Al-Dhâhir (Baybars I) visited Al-Qods four times : in 661 A.H./1262 A.D. ; 662 A.H./1263 A.D. ; 664 A.H./1265 A.D. ; & 668 A.H./1269 A.D.



Source: Author, 1968, p. 100, fig. 100. The map is a photograph of a map.

The extension of Al Qods to the north: the Muslim quarters of Al-Mas'ûdî, Wâdî Al-Jawz, and Sheikh Jarrah.

Thus, in the Mameluke reign, Al-Qods had become an outstanding cultural and scientific centre which topped other centers in the Islamic world and which drew into itself students, scholars, and juriconsults from all parts of the world. The many schools built in that era as well as the valuable documents found in the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and dating back to the Mameluke dynasty all bear witness to this situation. The documents in question contain a list of schools and pious endowments (*waqfs*) at the time. The income from such endowments was used to cover students' and instructors' expenses. It should be noted that pious endowments played a preponderant role in the funding of education in the Mameluke era, and that whenever such funds ceased, the schools closed down and the instructors stopped teaching.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Although the city of Al-Qods in the Ayyubid and Mameluke eras knew definite prosperity, it did not escape periods of trouble. When unrest occurred, lack of security was sorely felt, and the city sometimes suffered from pillage and vandalism. The following are some of the widely known periods of trouble :

1. After the assassination of Sultan 'Izzuddîn Ayback by his wife Shajar Addourr, his son was installed as his successor ; however, because of his minority, it was actually Prince Sayfuddîn Qotr who ruled as the regent. This power intrigue did not please the Mamelukes who lived in Al-Qods and who revolted against this ruler from Egypt. Thus, they declared allegiance to the Ayyubid Sultan Al-Mughît of Al-Kûrk⁽⁸⁵⁾, in whose name the Friday sermon was delivered in mosques. On the other hand, the Mamelukes of Egypt soon counteracted by saving Al-Qods from the conspirators' hands and bringing the city back under the rule of the Mameluke dynasty in Egypt after a few months' insubordination⁽⁸⁶⁾... the first of its kind in Egyptian Mameluke control of Al-Qods.
2. Among other troublesome events, Al-Qods was repeatedly raided by Mongols whose attacks spared none of the cities throughout Al-Shâam. One can mention the invasion led by Ghâzân bin Arghûn,

84. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, pp. 88-89.

Palestine Encyclopédia, Vol. 3, p. 513.

Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, pp. 63-81.

'Ashûr Sa'id Abdulfattâh, *Al-Qods*, pp. 89-92. Proceedings of the Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâam (Palestine), Vol. 1.

85. A peace treaty signed between Mamelukes and Ayyubids designated territories west of the Jordan River as Mameluke provinces and those to the east of it as Ayyubid provinces. Accordingly, Al Kûrk was an Ayyubid province.

86. Imam Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 84.

who occupied Damascus, Gaza, and Al-Qods, and who located great fortunes, by the account of the historian, Ibn Al-Wardî.⁽⁸⁷⁾ One can also mention the invasion of Timûr Lank (Tamerlane), who occupied Damascus. Although he never managed to occupy Al-Qods, his cruelty was such that the spiritual leaders of Al-Qods designated a notable man amongst them, Sheikh Fûlâd bin Abdullah, and entrusted him with the task of delivering to Tamerlane the keys to the Holy Places that he might be persuaded to spare Al-Qods suffering and looting at the time of its imminent conquest. Fortunately, however, while the Sheikh was on his way to meet Tamerlane in Damascus, he learned that the latter had sought other destinations; the holy city was thus spared from his invasion.⁽⁸⁸⁾

3. There were also Bedouin attacks which emanated from the areas around Al-Qods, and which were particularly repeated during extended periods of drought and were cause of disorder and highway banditism. Al-Maqrîzî states that, in 748 A.H./1346 A.D., the prices of food products soared to such an extent that Bedouins unhesitatingly attacked the city and plundered its wealth⁽⁸⁹⁾. Al-Hanbalî describes such attacks in these terms : "*The Bedouins penetrated the city, plundered practically everything, and wrecked every part of it (...) It was an outrage never seen before.*"⁽⁹⁰⁾
4. In 885 A.H./1480 A.D., the King's representative in Al-Qods, Nâsiruddîn bin Ayyûb, in his eagerness to put an end to Bedouin attacks, had some individuals from the Banî-Zeid tribe arrested and executed ; but this measure only brought out fierce Bedouin reactions. Indeed, they renewed their wrecking of the city, plundering its shops⁽⁹¹⁾ and smashing the doors of its prisons. The governor of the city took flight, and anarchy reigned supreme. The whole imbroglio turned the city into a hellish place.⁽⁹²⁾

Among the internal disturbances in the Mameluke era, particularly in the reign of Qaytbay, was a conflict between the inspector of the Holy Places and the representative of the Sultan in Al-Qods. The city's population itself became involved in this conflict and anarchy returned.⁽⁹³⁾

87. Ibn Al-Wardî, *Tatimmatu Al-Mukhtassar fi Akhbâr Al-Bashar* (1868), Vol . 2.

88. *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 514.

89. Al-Maqrîzî, *As-Soulûk li Ma'rifatî Douwwal al-Moulûk*, Vol. 2, Chapter III, pp. 740-798, and p. 804.

90. *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 656.
Imam Rashâd, *Al-Qods*, p. 87.

91. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

92. *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 656.

93. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 98.

5. There were also discords between Muslims and Jews about a house in the Jewish quarter between the synagogue and the mosque. The matter was taken to court and the verdict was in favour of the Jews. The Muslims were not happy with this decision and complained to the Sultan in Egypt, who first invalidated the verdict of the dignitaries of Al-Qods. However, he soon regained his self-control and issued a decision in favour of the Jews. Rumours had it that the Jews had won the case only because of the sums of money that they had paid to the Sultan's treasury, and the Muslims revolted and destroyed the synagogue. Infuriated by this situation, the Sultan sent for the dignitaries to come and see him. They were brought to him all chained up. They were subsequently flogged then thrown into prison. They were not freed until the revolt was over.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Shortly before the fall of their dynasty, the Mamelukes had very strained relationships with neighbours, the Ottomans, for various reasons, among which were border disputes as well as the support given by the Mamelukes to the brother of the Ottoman sultan, Selim I, who was aspiring to the throne. Selim I applied himself to the conquest of Al-Shâm and Egypt and thus put an end to the Mameluke dynasty.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Most historians state that Sultan Selim I occupied Al-Qods in 1517 A.D. in the aftermath of the Battle of the Dâbiq Plain, which opened to him the door for the conquest of Syria and Egypt. It is reported that, upon entering Al-Qods, the first thing he did was to visit the Holy Places and pay reverence to the tombs of the Prophets. Selim I was warmly received by the city's inhabitants and was feasted in the precincts of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. However, they deliberately served the food in plates that, conventionally, only the poor used when serving a guest. They thereby meant to convey to the Sultan how much they had suffered from Bedouin acts of vandalism and how much they need his help. In response, the Sultan promised to restore, and to make higher, the wall around the city so as to protect them from further Bedouin attacks. This promise was not kept in the short run because the Sultan immediately returned to the capital of his kingdom. It was only later that his son, Suleiman Al-Qânûnî, fulfilled this promise once he succeeded his father.

The restoration of the wall of Al-Qods took five years (1536-1540 A.D.) ; the citadel, too, was restored. More mosques, schools, *Khânqas*, and fountains

94. Al-'Aref, Ibid., pp. 99 and 100.

95. Al-'Aref, Ibid., pp. 103 and 104.

were built. The Dome of the Rock was renovated and new tiling was laid on its floor. Likewise, the walls and doors of the Esplanade of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa were restored. The earthen tile of Qubbat As-Silsila (the Dome of the Chain) was renovated.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Under Sultan Suleiman, the city of Al-Qods enjoyed the kind of great care that it was not going to get from his successors, Selim II, Murâd III, Muhammad III, Ahmed I, Mustapha I, and Osman II. In point of fact, for this phase of its dependency on Egypt from 1566 to 1622 A.D., Al-Qods had drawn no benefit whatsoever.

With the ascension of the throne by Sultan Murâd IV in 1622 A.D., Al-Qods came to the foreground again. Mourâd IV prohibited the consumption of both coffee and tobacco by the inhabitants of Al-Qods.⁽⁹⁷⁾ He erected the citadel that bears his name, the Citadel of Mourâd, within which he had a mosque and some fifty houses constructed for his soldiers.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Murâd IV was succeeded by his brother, Ibrahim bin Ahmed I (reigned 1640-48 A.D.), then by Ibrahim's son, Muhammad IV (reigned 1648-87 A.D.), who built the minaret of the Citadel (1655 A.D.) and the mosque adjacent to the Fountain of Sha'lân (1651 A.D.).⁽⁹⁹⁾

The best description of Al-Qods in this era was made by the well-known Turkish traveller, Evliyâ Tshelebî, who visited this city in 1670 A.D. and left a detailed account of it. Among other things, he praises the quality of its bread, fruits, and vegetables. He writes that Al-Qods was well-known for the excellent musk, perfume, incense, and brass censers made in it. He also relates that there were two thousand and forty-five shops in this city, that there were many markets, and that there was an official who controlled prices. According to him, the fields around the city contained vineyards containing as many as forty-three thousand trees and as many as one thousand and five hundred bridges. Tshelebî reports that the population of Al-Qods amounted to forty-six thousand inhabitants and that most of these were Muslim Arabs. There were, by his account, one Armenian church, three Roman churches, two synagogues, two hundred and fifty *mihrâbs* (prayer recesses for Muslims), seven schools for the teaching of religious sciences, ten Quranic schools, forty boy schools, six public

96. Al-'Aref, Ibid. p. 105. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 542.

97. The use of tobacco had become widespread in the Ottoman Empire by 1603 A.D.

98. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 105.

99. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 105.

(Turkish) baths, eighteen fountains, and various *tekkiiye* (dervish convents) belonging to seventy brotherhoods, including those of Al-Kaylâniyya, Al-Badawiyya, As-Sa'diyya, Ar-Rifâ'iyya, and Al-Maoulaouiyya.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Notwithstanding the prosperity described by Tshelebî, security was poor or non-existent, particularly outside the ramparts of Al-Qods, which was dependent on Tripoli, Syria, in this era.

In 1824 A.D., there were uprisings subsequent to the heavy taxation imposed by Mustapha Pasha, the governor of Syria. When it became impossible for the local officials to put down the uprisings, Mustapha Pasha decided to go to Al-Qods in person, at the head of an army of five thousand janissaries. Upon reaching Al-Qods, he was greatly surprised that its inhabitants had not come out to welcome him the conventional way. Moreover, they had refused to pay even the Sultanat taxes. Infuriated by this situation, Mustapha Pasha ordered his janissaries to confiscate his subjects' money and to destroy the crops in their fields and all their property. After Mustapha Pasha had left, the uprisings became even more violent than before. The rebels occupied the Citadel, seized the arms therein, locked up the janissaries, and even mistreated some of the inhabitants. They appointed as administrators of Al-Qods two of its inhabitants, Youssuf 'Arab Al-Jabjâb and Ahmad Aghâ Ad-Duzwâr,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ in order to avoid its fall into anarchy.

When the Ottoman sultan learned of this new uprising, he instructed that it should be put down immediately. To this end, he ordered Abdullah Pasha (1826 A.D.), the governor of Saïda (Sidon), to advance on Al-Qods and make peace in it. Abdullah Pasha accordingly managed to bring order back to the city in 1827 A.D., after violent fighting with the rebels, who were successful in imposing their conditions, namely abolishing taxation and granting total amnesty to all in the city.

In 1831 A.D., the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha conquered Al-Qods and all of Palestine. The holy city, by the terms of Kotahia Accord (1831 A.D.), was put under the tutelage of Cairo. However, in 1834 A.D., Al-Qods rebelled once more against Ibrahim Pasha subsequent to his decision to disarm the city's population and to make military service compulsory. Anarchy prevailed and the rebels took the city by storm, but the Battle of Fahmâs was decisive. The Egyptian army triumphed and Ibrahim victoriously entered Al-Qods, where

100. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

101. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 110.

only the Jews and the Christians welcomed him. The surrender of the Muslims of Al-Qods was provisional and was only the result of the blind and repressive policy adopted by Ibrahim Pasha. Further uprisings subsequently broke out, spread throughout Palestine, and were to end only with the withdrawal of the Egyptian soldiers in 1841 A.D., after a military presence which lasted some ten years.⁽¹⁰²⁾

All these disturbances, which shook up Al-Qods in this era, did not hamper its development. For instance, many public places were constructed, including the windmill in the west part of Al-Qods, which is considered the first public facility as far as the collective milling of the inhabitants' cereals is concerned. Among other constructions were the Zaouiyat Al-Ibrahîmiyya, located north of the shrine of Prophet Daoud (David), which is on Zion Hill; the Citadel of Wâdî Al-Jaouz and several other citadels for the control of the road linking Jaffa to Al-Qods.

Moreover, nepotism and favouritism had decreased and an interest in developing a road network increased. Alien tradesmen were allowed to ply their trade freely and with no constraints whatsoever. The tribute that used to be paid out to priests as church guardians, like the one-fifth (*al-Khoumus*) which used to be levied on the harvests, was abolished. Grain seeds were handed out to farmers, who were encouraged to grow fruit-trees and to increase the yield of their orchards. New cultures were introduced and nomads in large numbers had been compelled to settle down as a sedentary community.⁽¹⁰³⁾

When Al-Qods was back under Ottoman tutelage, its twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom one thousand were Christian, resumed a life of peace. The Ottoman sultan showed care for Al-Haram Al-Qodsî and in 1860 A.D. decided to allocate sums amounting to twenty thousand Turkish lires for the funding of its restoration. This interest seems to have been motivated by the Crimean War (1855), which broke out due to a dispute over the Palestinian Holy Places. Victory in this war was, as everybody knows, a victory of the Turkish side thanks to the help of the French and the British, who sought to take advantage of this military success.

Al-Qods became an independent principality in 1871. Its streets and markets were paved (1863). It was in this era that the people of Al-Qods knew, and started wearing, the fez.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

102. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 116.

103. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 116.

104. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.



A map of Al-Qods in the 6th century A.D. on a mosaic plate
 found in Madiá in 1897 A.D.

The year 1882 A.D. saw the promulgation of the Ottoman decree prohibiting the migration of Jews to Palestine and the purchase of land in it. This decree was subsequently amended, however, to allow Jews to get into Palestine to accomplish their religious duties.

1892 A.D. saw the construction of the Municipal Hospital, located near Sheikh Badr. In 1891 and 1892, railway tracks were laid down to link Al-Qods to Jaffa.

Subsequent to the revolution in 1908 A.D. of the Young Turks, who let the "Union and Progress" committees, the Constitution was re-established after it had been suspended by Abd-al-Hmîd II in 1878 A.D. Al Qods was represented by three deputies in the (Ottoman) Parliament : Sa'îd Bak Al-Hosseini, Rûhi Bak Al-Khâlidî of the city of Al-Qods, and Hâfez As-Sa'îd.

When the Young Turks gave up their liberal program and advocated a nationalist pan-Turkism, antagonism developed between Arabs and Turks, thus poisoning their mutual relationship, particularly in the aftermath of the assassinations committed by the bloodthirsty General Jamâl Pasha, who executed four Palestinians : Ali An-Nashâshibî from Al-Qods, Ahmad 'Aref Al-Husseini and his son, both from Gaza, and Selim Abdulhâdî from Nablus.

The Ottoman Turks lost the war and Al-Qods fell to the British on December 9, 1917⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ after it had been under Turkish tutelage for four centuries.

Martial law was proclaimed in Al-Qods under General Bill Borton, who resigned for health reasons only two weeks after he was appointed military governor of the city, and was replaced by General Alexander Baird. All of Palestine was now administrated by a high military officer, aided by an administrative governor.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

The establishing of the British mandate caused great disappointment to Arabs and Muslims alike, particularly to the Palestinians, as the Balfour Declaration contained the British Government's promise to aid the establishment of a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine under the leadership of the Zionist movement. Thus, Arabs and Ottoman Muslims lost their territories because of the betrayal and the defection of the British.

105. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, pp. 128-129.

106. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

The mandated State in Palestine implemented a policy whose main objective was to help with the creation of the Jewish homeland and foster Jewish immigration there. It also enabled them to purchase and own land in Palestinian territories. The World Zionist Congress was allowed to open up offices in Palestine and to pursue agricultural, cultural, and educational activities as a prelude to the establishment of the future State. The British also allowed Jews to conduct military training under the pretext that these formed a minority, and that they had the right to defend themselves against any eventual attack.

Under the British mandate, the Palestinian nationalist movement led strong opposition both to the policy of Jews immigration and settlement of Palestinian territories and to the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. In this period, the city of Al-Qods witnessed bloody demonstrations whereby Palestinians expressed their rejection of the British mandate, declared their opposition to the Balfour Declaration, and their hostility to the World Zionist Congress, and requested the independence of Palestine within the framework of the territorial unity of Al-Shâm (Syria and Palestine).⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The action of the Palestinian national movement is notably demonstrated through the revolutions of 1920, 1925 and 1929. It was also demonstrated through the well-known six-month strike, which began on 25 April 1936 A.D. and did not end until the leaders of the Arab States intervened.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ In a general manner, one may repeat the words of the late 'Aref Al-'Aref by way of epitomizing the situation in Palestine in this era :

"Under the British Occupation, the Palestinian people continually requested the installing of the parliamentary system, the abolition of the British mandate, and the struggle against the establishment of a national "Jewish homeland". Alas, all the efforts made for this purpose have failed because the British Government's connivance with the Jews and its strong support of their action towards the realization of their project to judaicize Palestine."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

107. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 141. Emile Al-Ghûrî, *The Royal Commission Bulletin*, pp. 18-19.

108. Shâat Shawqî, *Arab Resistance in Resistant Palestine* (Aleppo).

109. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 161.

CHAPTER IV
ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN
AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Ancient monuments in Al-Qods are numerous and have always had various functions. Thus there are monuments which come under the category of military buildings, like ramparts, towers, access gates, and citadels ; monuments under the category of public facilities, like schools, caravanserai, markets, hospitals, reservoirs, pools, and fountains ; or monuments under the category of places of worship, like mosques, prayer recesses, tekkiye (dervish convents), churches, synagogues, shrines, and so forth.

Since Al-Qods is holy for the three monotheistic religions, Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike have privileged the construction of religious buildings in it.

Many of these ancient buildings have fallen in ruins and other monuments have been built in their place. Some have been damaged, but have been restored several times over. Others, owing to their religious vocation, have remained intact, except for damages caused by natural disasters - earthquakes, for example. However, restoration has immediately followed in such cases in an effort to preserve their spiritual value.

In this chapter, we will review the most important ancient monuments in Al-Qods Al-Shareef. While some of these have already been discussed in previous chapters, this review will be very brief, for any fair treatment of ancient monuments would require volumes.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

110. Ancient monuments in Al-Qods are of such a large number and variety that it is impossible to cover all of them in this book.

A. ANCIENT MILITARY MONUMENTS

In this category of monuments, those that will be very briefly mentioned here are the ramparts and towers, then the gates, and finally the citadel.

1. The ramparts and towers

The ramparts of Al-Qods were built simultaneously with the city itself in the Jebusite era. For a long time, they played a major role in the protection of this holy city ; and every time damage came to them through enemy attacks or the injury of years, the city's inhabitants hastened to mend them.

With the extension that the city knew throughout the centuries, the ramparts grew higher and followed the extension. Some history books make the wrong claim that it was Dâwûd (David) (PBUH) who first saw to the construction of the ramparts of Al-Qods. But recent archeological research has established that it was the Jebusites who had actually built a wall around the city. Some of their successors took good care of it, others destroyed it, and still others made it higher as they restored it. The ramparts of Al-Qods have accordingly undergone all the trials and tribulations of different eras. Hence they were destroyed during the war between the Jews of the Kingdom of Israel and the Jews of the Kingdom of Juda in 790 B.C. History sources relate that the ramparts were built during the siege of the city by the Assyrians in 664 B.C. The Chaldean King, Nebuchadnezzar, had it pulled down in 586 B.C. After the fall of the Chaldeans, the Persians allowed the restoration of the ramparts in 440 B.C. Then came Ptolemy I, who occupied the city in 320 B.C. and pulled down part of the ramparts. The part of them that remained was waiting to be demolished in 168 B.C. in the Selucid era, specifically in the reign of Antiochus IV.

In A.D. 70, in the reign of Titus, Al-Qods was demolished, its ramparts included. It was demolished again in the reign of Hadrian in A.D. 130.⁽¹¹¹⁾

According to historical sources, the city's ramparts were restored by the wife of Emperor Theodosius I in the Byzantine era, but they were again to be destroyed during the attack made by the Persians in 614 A.D.

With Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî (Saladin), who liberated Al-Qods from the Franks in 1187 A.D., the ramparts were strengthened, the towers were restored,

111. Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, *Liwâ' Al-Qods fî Moujallad Al-Qods*, Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâam, p. 23.



An aerial view of Al-Qods with the rampart in the foreground

and a ditch was dug all around the city for greater security.⁽¹¹²⁾ However, King Al-Mu'addham 'Issâ had the ramparts demolished in 1219 A.D. for fear that Al-Qods might fall to the Franks. It was a common habit in the Ayyubid era purely and simply to destroy a city every time the Ayyubids were forced out of it or were not sure that they could protect it.

The city's ramparts remained in a state of ruin until the reign of King Al-'Adil Nûruddîn, who restored it in 1292 A.D. In 1330 A.D., King Al-Mansûr Qalâoun followed the example of Nûruddîn and undertook further restoration work.⁽¹¹³⁾

The rampart which today protects the ancient part of the city is the work of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman Al-Qânûnî. It dates back to 1536 A.D., which falls within the period when Al-Qods was repeatedly assaulted by the Bedouin population around the city. Hence, it was for the purpose of protecting the city's inhabitants and securing their property that Sultan Suleiman had the rampart restored and made higher. Concerning this restoration and construction work, some reports say that it was Sultan Selim who had launched it, and that his son, Suleiman, only finished it.

The current rampart is four thousand and two hundred metres long, of which six hundred metres are contiguous with the east and south walls of Al-Haram Al-Shareef. It is possible to get into the enclosed city through many gates, including such north gates as Bâb Al-'Amûd, Bâb As-Sâhira, Bâb Al-Jadîd, or such south gates as Bâb Al-Maghâriba and Bâb Dâoud. On the west and the east sides, one can get in through Bâb Al-Khalîl and Bâb Al-Asbât respectively.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Historians write that the Jebusite rampart was flanked with sixty towers. The wall that was subsequently built, known as "the second wall", was flanked with fourteen towers. In the Roman era, there were as many as ninety towers. Today, the ramparts have thirty-four towers and seven gates.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

112. Imâm Rashâd, *The City of Al-Qods*, p. 164.

113. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, pp. 170-173.

Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl, Vol. 2, pp. 436 and 438.

114. Najm Râ'if, *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 29.

Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Al-'Abidî Mahmoud, *Ancient Monuments of Palestine and Jordan*, p. 113.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 509.

115. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 173.



The compartments : Southern part of the west wall

For the decoration and the strengthening of the ramparts of Al-Qods, innovations have been made : for instance, corbelled stalactites or thin and short columns. Horizontal beams have been built into the wall to strengthen it. It should be noted that such innovations were not features of Frank cities.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The width and the height of the ramparts vary from block to block, depending on the particular topography on which the block is built. Hence, in some places the wall gets thirty metres high ; the thickness of the wall is mostly over two metres. The ramparts have battlements and are fitted with holes so as to enable the soldiers to shoot the enemy and to protect themselves at the same time. The horizontal layers of the upper part of the ramparts are made of small rock pieces, unlike the layers of the lower part.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

2. The gates of the city

It has been pointed out above that there are currently seven gates to the city in the ramparts of Al-Qods.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The door structures have been fitted with several such protection components as front and side latches and crenels for the shooting of arrows ; they share these features with the Gates in Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, and many other Islamic cities of the Ayyubid and Mameluke eras. The gates that are still in use today are the following :

2.1. Bâb Al-'Amûd

This gate is also known by the name of "Damascus Gate". It dates back to the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman Al-Qânûnî. Its entrance area is curved and its façade is decorated with an arch set between the two towers. It is generally thought that this gate was constructed as a replacement of a previous one dating from the Frank era.

Archeological excavations were undertaken in the era around this gate in 1936. Further excavations in this area in 1966 made it possible to unearth vestiges of two (previous) gates, the one dating back to the reign of Hadrian, the founder of Aelia Capitolana (A.D. 133 and 137)⁽¹¹⁹⁾, the other dating to the reign of Herod Agrippa I (middle of the first century A.D.).

116. Al-'Abidi Mahmoud, Op. cit., p. 113.

117. Najm Râ'if, Ibid., pp. 21 and 32.

118. Ad-Dabbâgh, in his book, *Our Land Palestine*, notes that Al-Qods has many gates, of which four are closed.

Imam Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, pp. 165-166.

119. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 517.



Bab Al-An'ud



Bab Al-Asbat

This gate was called "the Column Gate" (Bâb Al-'Amûd) in memory of the column that Hadrian had raised in it. On the other hand, because commercial caravans heading towards Damascus took this gate as their point of departure, it was also called Bâb Dimashq (the Gate of Damascus).⁽¹²⁰⁾

2.2. Bâb As-Sâhira

This gate is also called "the Gate of Herod". It is located in the northern part of the ramparts, to the east of Bâb Al-'Amûd. It is a gate which dates back to the reign of Ottoman Sultan Suleiman Al-Qânûnî.⁽¹²¹⁾

2.3. Bâb Al-Asbât (the Gate of St. Stephen)

This gate is located in the eastern part of the ramparts and is considered as one of the ways of access to the northern part of Al-Haram. It was constructed by order of Ottoman Sultan Suleiman (the son of Selim I) (945 A.H./1538 A.D).⁽¹²²⁾

2.4. Bâb Al-Maghâriba

This gate is located in the southern part of the ramparts of Al-Qods. It consists in an archway set through a square-shaped tower, and it draws its name from its proximity to the mosque called Al-Maghâriba Mosque (the Moroccans' Mosque). It was formerly called Bâb An-Nabî (the Gate of the Prophet).⁽¹²³⁾

2.5. Bâb An-Nabî Daoud

This gate was also called "the Gate of Zion", and is located in the southern part of the ramparts of Al-Qods. It is large in size and leads to a court on the inner side of the ramparts. It dates back to the reign of Sultan Suleiman, who undertook the restoration of the city's ramparts.

2.6. Bâb Al-Khalîl

Also known as "Bâb Yâffa", this gate is located in the western part of the ramparts.

120. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 518.

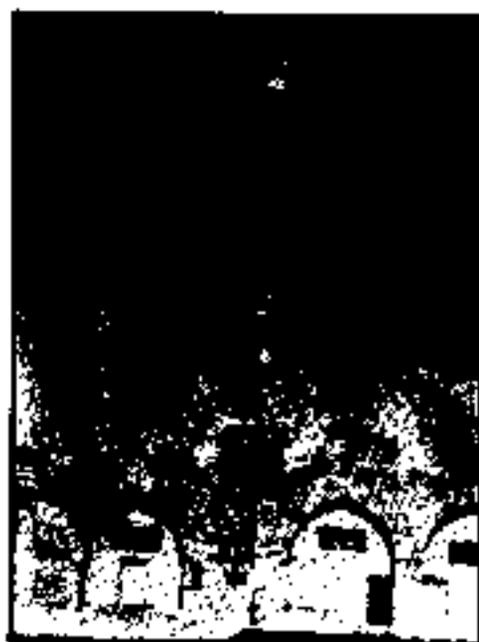
121. *Ibid.*, p. 518.

122. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî*, p. 87.

123. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.* p. 90.



The Minaret of Bâb Al-Asbât,
a general view



The Minaret of Bâb Al-Asbât,
a view of the façade



The Minaret of Bāh Al-Ghawānma



The Minaret of the
Citadel Mosque



The Minaret of Bâb As-Silsila



The Minaret of Bâb As-Silsila,
a view from the west gallery

2.7. Bâb Al-Jadîd

Being relatively more recent, this entrance was constructed in the wall which is west of Bâb Al-'Amûd when German Emperor Wilhelm II visited Al-Qods in 1898 A.D.⁽¹²⁴⁾

As to the gates which are currently closed, as indicated above by Ad-Dabbâgh, their names come as follows :

- * **Bâb Ar-Rahmah**, which non-Muslims call "Al-Bâb Ad-Dhahabi" (the Golden Gate) because of its beauty and rich decoration. It is located south of Bâb Al-Asbât in the eastern part of the ramparts. It probably dates back to the Ayyubid era and was blocked off in the Ottoman era on the circulation of a rumour that the Franks were going to reconquer Al-Qods by way of this gate.⁽¹²⁵⁾
- * **Al-Bâb Al-Mufrad** (the Single Gate).
- * **Al-Bâb Al-Moutallath** (the Triptyc Gate).
- * **Al-Bâb Al-Mouzdawij** (the Double Gate), which is believed to date back to the Umeyyad era.⁽¹²⁶⁾

3. The Citadel

The Citadel in Al-Qods is located between Bâb Al-Khalîl and Bâb An-Nabî Daoud on a rocky steep slope and overlooks the city. It seems that ancient and by-gone citadels stood on this very location. This citadel used to be linked to the public road by means of a wooden footbridge stretching over the protective ditch.⁽¹²⁷⁾

As it is today, this building is mainly an Islamic piece of architecture. It was constructed by the Mamelukes at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. (8th century A.H.), that is, immediately after the conquest and liberation of the city of 'Akkâ (Acre), which was under Frank occupation. Like the citadels in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, it was fortified so that it could stand all enemy raids.⁽¹²⁸⁾ It was sometimes called "the Citadel of Daoud" because of a tower inside it which was named after this Prophet (PBUH) and from which one may get a view of Al-Qods and its ancient monuments, including Al-Harâm Al-Qodsî Al-Sharîf (Al-Aqsâ Mosque) and Qubbat As-Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock).⁽¹²⁹⁾

124. Al-'Aref, Ibid. p. 90. This gate is also called "Bâb Abdulhamîd".

125. Al-'Abidî Mahmood, *Islamic Monuments*, p. 116.

126. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 519.

Najm Râ'if, *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 32.

127. C.N. Johns, *A Guide to the Citadel of Al-Qods*, p. 3 (The Government of Palestine : 1944). Al-'Abidî Mahmood, Ibid., p.116. Al-'Abidî notes that the construction of the present citadel dates back to the reign of Ayyubid Sultan Al-Mu'addham Issâ.

128. Johns, Ibid., p. 4.

129. Al-'Abidî, Ibid., p. 10.



Bāb Al-Ghawānima



Báb Al-'Um



Báb Al-Qadim

Bāb An-Nabī Daqud



Bāb Al-Maghriba

One part of the Citadel contained individual rooms for pilgrims as well as the imâm, the predicator, and the muezzin. In another part were barracks for the soldiers.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Not far from the public road⁽¹³¹⁾ and along the leaning wall of the Citadel, there used to be a ditch whose southern part was the deepest. When German Emperor Wilhelm II visited the holy city in 1316 A.H./1898 A.D., the ditch running between the north tower and Bâb Al-Khalîl was filled in and the part of the wall linking the Citadel towers was destroyed so as to clear space for the way that nowadays leads to the Old City. The other parts were pulled down in 1927 A.D.⁽¹³²⁾

The mosque called the Citadel Mosque, was built in the west angle of the Citadel. An inscription on its portal indicates that it was built by King An-Nâssir Muhammad bin Qalaoun in 710 A.H./1310 A.D.⁽¹³³⁾

Under the British Mandate, large scale archeological excavations were undertaken in 1934 A.D. under the direction of C.N. Johns, and the finds as well as the results were made public in 1950.⁽¹³⁴⁾ In the aftermath of their military occupation of Al-Qods, the Israeli authorities, on their side, conducted excavations within the Citadel between 1968 and 1969⁽¹³⁵⁾ under the direction of R. Amiran and A. Eitan. Further excavations sponsored by the Directorate of Antiquities were undertaken between 1975 and 1978 under the direction of S. Gibson, who was assisted by B. Alpert. Pottery pieces dating back to the end of the Iron Age and to the Byzantine era were unearthed.⁽¹³⁶⁾

B. ANCIENT RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS

The religious places in Al-Qods Al-Shareef that are holy to the followers of each of the three monotheistic religions have been touched upon in other parts of this book. The subject of this section will be mosques, *tekkîyye*, sanctuaries, *zaouias*, domes, *madrassas* (schools for the study of the Quran and of Sharî'a law), and some of the most important ancient buildings in the city of Al-Qods.

130. Johns, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

131. Johns, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

132. Johns, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

133. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 537.

134. For the finds and results of the excavations between 1934 and 1947, see QDAP, Vol. V (1936), pp. 127-131, Fig. I, Pls. 68-73. QDAP, Vol. XIV (1950), pp. 121-190 and Pls. XLVII-LXIV.

135. These excavations have been carried out for the Hebrew University, the Israeli Museum, and the Israeli Association for Archeological Surveys. See the excavation results in IEJ 20, (1970) pp. 9-17 m. Figs. 1-5 ; Pls. 5-8.

136. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, Vol. II (1982), p. 52.



A tower in the north rampart

Lanqiaq Tower



These monuments can be distinguished by their building materials, which consist of rock, lime, and clay. The windows, as may be readily noticed, are kept to a relatively small size ; however, they provide enough lighting and air ventilation. Some of these buildings have a view of the street through elegant carvings through wood pieces. These wooden pieces help to ventilate the air, screen the house interior from the eyes of passers-by, and let the viewer see the daily street scene. In general, ancient housing and public buildings have an open air yard area inside of them. They are of simple construction and their style suits the function for which they were conceived. The materials of which they were built were mostly local, like stone and lime.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The main ancient religious monuments are :

- Mosques and oratories or places of prostration,
- Zâouias, tekkiyyes, and khânqas,
- Rîbâts, and
- Qubbas.

1. Mosques

Al-Qods being a holy land, it is normal that great mosques and places of prostration should exist in profusion. In their great quest to get closer to Allah, Muslims have always taken care to accomplish their daily prayers in the Holy Places. They have always raised high the banner of Islam with such energy and fervour in this blessed city ; but, at the same time, they have shown exemplary tolerance towards the other religions. Indeed, churches, basilicas, synagogues, and other Christian and Jewish places of worship have flourished and multiplied everywhere in Al-Qods.

In the Arab-Muslim reign, the three monotheistic religions have coexisted in uninterrupted peace and serenity, except when they had to face foreign intrusions of a political nature.

The most important mosques in Al-Qods are definitely the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ, the Mosque of As-Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock), as well as the mosques located in Al-Haram Al-Qodsî (the Esplanade), the chief of which have already been mentioned elsewhere in this book. Among the mosques not covered as yet, one should mention the following :

137. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 33.



Bāb Ad-Dahabī :
A view of the outer façade,
showing Bāb Ar-Rahmā and
Bāb At-Tawba



Bāb Al-Jawūd

The Citadel ;
The outer façade of
the East Gate



- Al-Omarî Mosque (The Mosque of Omar)

According to the *Palestine Encyclopedia*, this Mosque was rebuilt in 589 A.H./1193 A.D.⁽¹³⁸⁾ by Al-Malik Al-Afdal Nûruddîn Abul-Hassan Ali bin Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî (Saladin's son) during his reign over Damascus. Better known as "The Mosque of Omar", it is located south of the Resurrection Church⁽¹³⁹⁾, probably in the very place where Caliph Omar bin Al-Khattâb performed one of his daily prayers when he entered Al-Qods. It is a known fact that Caliph Omar (may Allah be pleased with him) abstained from accomplishing that prayer within the Resurrection Church for fear that Muslims might convert it to a mosque.

The Mosque of Omar has been the object of the Muslims' care throughout history. It was rebuilt in 589 A.H./1193 A.D. and its minaret was renovated in 870 A.H./1465 A.D.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Other mosques worth mentioning are :

- An-Nissa' Mosque (The Women's Mosque) 590 A.H./1194 A.D.
- Waliyyu-Allah Muhârib Mosque 595 A.H./1198 A.D.
- Al-Qal'â Mosque 710 A.H./1310-1311 A.D.
- Al-Harîrî Mosque 885 A.H./1480-1481 A.D.
- Al-Qaymarî Mosque 10th cent.H./16th cent.D.
- Al-Mawlawiyya Mosque 995 A.H./1551-52 A.D.
- Ash-Shawrabâjî Mosque 1097 A.H./1685-86 A.D.
- An-Nabî Mosque 1120 A.H./1700-01 A.D.
- Al-Maghâriba Mosque restored 1283 A.H./1866-7 A.D.
- The Mosque of Ad-Dubaysî, Al-'Umarî As-Saghîr, Mos'âb, Khân As-Sultân, Abu-Bakr As-Saddiq, Othmân bin 'Affân, Souayqat 'Allûn Al-Burâq, and Sheikh Rayhân.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

138. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 535.

139. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 535.

140. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 104.

Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî*, pp. 42 and 69.

141. For further information on the mosques in Al-Qods, see : Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, (A publication of the Organization of Arab Cities), Appendix n°.1 on ancient monuments in Al-Qods.



Tekküyye Khaski Soltân with partial view of the Fountain

2. Zaouias, Tekkiyyes, and Khanqas

Zaouias, convents, and hospices are many in Al-Qods. Their founders, who were generous benefactors, provided for their needs by making available to them substantial financial resources through the *waqf* (pious endowment) arrangement. The role of these institutions was to provide food and shelter for devout, mystics, travelling pilgrims, and the poor.

2.1. The Zaouias

Among the best-known zaouias, one may mention the following :

2.1.1. Zaouiat Al-Hounûd

Located south of Bâb As-Sâhira within the city ramparts, this institution, according to Al-Hanbalî, was founded for the benefit of the needy fellows of Ar-Rifâ'iyya Brotherhood. In the 7th century of the Hegira (13th century A.D.), it took in a group of men from India led by Baba Farîd Shakarkank ; therefore, its name *Al-Hounûd* (the Indians). It was restored in 1286 A.H./1869-70 A.D.⁽¹⁴³⁾. This zaouia constitutes a large architectural complex which was severely damaged in the 1967 war. Our undamaged part of it is currently used as office space for the International Relief Agency ; another part of it includes a nursery school for Muslim children as well as a mosque with a courtyard.

2.1.2. Zaouiat Al-Mâghariba

This zaouia is located outside of the Esplanade of Al-Harâm. It was instituted as a *waqf* (pious endowment) by Sheikh Omar bin Abdulghanî Al-Maghribî (703 A.H./1303 A.D.).⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ It is also known as "Zaouiat Walye Allah Abî-Madîn". It was founded in the reign of the Ayyubid King Al-Malik Al-Afdhal and received substantial endowment. It was renovated in the Ottoman era in 1269 A.H./1852 A.D.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

142. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 536.

143. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 120.

144. Najm et al., *Ibid.* p. 120.

145. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 538.

146. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 386.

Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, 2/45.

Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâal*, 6/149.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, 2/28.

Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 348.

Al-'Aslî, *Our Buried Ancestors in Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 81.



Bab As-Silsila
(Al-Haram Al-Sharif)



Bab Ad-Dahabi and the Cemetery of Bab Ar-Rajma

2.1.3. Zaouia Al-Bastâmiyya

This zaouia is located in the quarter by the current name of "As-Sa'diyya" (previously called "Al-Mashâriqa"), and built around 770 A.H./1368 A.D. It was instituted as a waqf (pious endowment) by Sheikh Abdullah bin Khalîl Al-Bastâmî for the benefit of the needy in Al-Qods. It should be pointed out that there is another zaouia by this same name to the east of the Dome of the Rock.

2.1.4. Zaouia Al-Wafâiyya

This institution is named after Tâjuddîn Abulwafâ, who had purchased its site in 782 A.H./1380 A.D., and it is very probable that it was built shortly thereafter. This zaouia also went by the name of "Dâr Mu'âwiyyah bin Abî-Sufiân" and that of "Dâr Ibn Al-'Aim". It is a two-storey building, with private rooms and study rooms on each floor. Today, it is used as a residence and bears the name of "Dâr Al-Badîr".⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

2.1.5. Zaouia Al-Ad-hamiyya

This zaouia is located west of Bâb As-Sâhira outside of the city ramparts. It was built by Prince Munjik, the governor of Syria (762 A.H./1361 A.D.)⁽¹⁴⁸⁾, who along with other benefactors instituted waqfs (pious endowments) in Safad, Ramlah, Gaza, Al-Qods, and Beit Safânâ for the benefit of this institution, which was of great help to the poor. Some of the space of this zaouia was reserved for the tombs of many of those who served as its administrator.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

2.1.6. Al-Jarrâhiyya

This zaouia is located outside of the ramparts north of the city and on the side of the road to Nablus. It is also known as "Zaouiat Sheikh Jarrâh", thus being named after a governor appointed by Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî (Saladin)⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ by the name of Husâmuddîn bin Sharafuddîn Issâ Al-Jarrâhî, who was buried within this institution upon his death in 598 A.H./1201 A.D. It had substantial financial resources thanks to the endowments instituted for it. It was built in the shape of

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147. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 540.
Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 275.
Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâal*, 6/148.
Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, 1/353.
Al-'Aslî, Learning Institutes in Beit Al-Maqdis, pp. 345-347.
148. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 540.
149. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 226.
150. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 535.

a large courtyard with rooms built on all sides. A praying room was later added on the south-west side in 1313H/1895 A.D. This Zaouia was provided with a minaret⁽¹⁵¹⁾ and was also referred to as "Al-Madrassa (School of) Al-Jarrâhiyya".

2.2. The Khânqas (Hospices)

The following were some of the Khânqas of Al-Qods :

2.2.1. Khânqa As-Salâhiyya

Founded by Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî subsequent to his liberation of Al-Qods in 583 A.H./1187 A.D., it was donated by the same to Sufî mystics in 585 A.H./1189 A.D.

This hospice is a two-storey architectural unit made up of an oratory, of private rooms, and of public facilities -all built in the Mameluke era. A minaret was added to it in 840 A.H./1417 A.D.⁽¹⁵²⁾

2.2.2. Khânqa Ad-Dawâdâriyya

This hospice being also a madrassa (Islamic school), it will be dealt with in the section on Madrassa Ad-Dawâdâriyya (further below).

2.2.3. Khânqa Al-Fakhriyya

This hospice was built by Al-Qâdî (Justice of the Peace) Fakhruddîn Muhammad bin Fadlullah in 730 A.H./1329-30 A.D. Courses in religious subjects had been taught for centuries in this institution, which was renovated in the Ottoman era.⁽¹⁵³⁾ It is a large building which contains a facility for praying and for involving Allah, in addition to an accommodation area. This building served as the residence of the Abussa'ûd family up to the Israeli occupation in 1967 A.D., which brought about the demolition of most of its parts. Thus, the only construction that was spared consists of the praying facility and three of the accommodation rooms, which have been converted to office space of the Islamic Antiquities Section of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs in Al-Qods.

151. Najm et al., *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, p. 2/47.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, 1/212.

152. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 96.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, 1/206.

153. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Beit Al-Maqdis*, 1/273.

Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâm*, 6/148.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, 1/273.

3. The Ribâts (Forts)

The major ribâts (fortified posts) in the city of Al-Qods are the following :

3.1. Ribât 'Alâuddîn Al-Bashîr

This fort is located north of the way to the Esplanade of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, close to Bâb An-Nâdhîr and to Ribât Al-Mansûrî. Initially earmarked as a pious endowment by Emir Alâuddîn bin Abdullah As-Sâlihî An-Najmî (666 A.H./1267 A.D.)⁽¹⁵⁴⁾, it was converted in the reign of Al-Malik Ad-Dhâhir Baybars I to a charity house for the benefit of the poor among the visitors of Al-Qods. There is a *mihrâb* (a recess for praying) in this fort.

In the Ottoman era, this ribât was used as a prison camp. Later on, it was made into a private residence. Extension rooms have been constructed in this fort, which is now a residence used by a community of people of Sudanese origin living in Al-Qods.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

3.2. Ribât Al-Mansûrî

This fort is situated south of the way leading to Bâb An-Nâdhîr. It was built in 681 A.H./1282 A.D. by Sultan Al-Mansûr Qalâoun As-Sâlihî, who earmarked it as a pious endowment at the service of the visitors and the locals who need help.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

3.3. Ribât Az-Zamanî

Located east of Madrassat (School of) Al-Othmâniyya, this fort was built in 881 A.H./1476 A.D.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ by Sultan Al-Ashraf Qaytbay, as the inscription at the building entrance indicates. It was given as a pious endowment by Shamsuddîn Muhammad bin Az-Zaman and has nearly always served as an educational institution by the name "Madrassat Az-Zamaniyya"⁽¹⁵⁸⁾, whose walls are decorated with a beautiful epigraphic frieze, in naskhî calligraphy, in addition to magnificent stalactites. Ribât Az-Zamanî is nowadays used as the residence of the 'Aqbaqî family.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

154. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 356.

155. Najm et al., *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

156. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 536.

157. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 514.

158. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Beit Al-Maqdis*, pp. 322-323.

159. Najm Râ'if, *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 122.

3.4. Ribât Bayram

This fort was built in 947 A.H./1540 A.D. by Bayram Shâwîsh bin Mustapha in the reign of Ottoman Sultan Suleiman Al-Qânûnî⁽¹⁶⁰⁾, as evidenced by the epigraphic strip at the entrance of the building, which consists of two storeys, and whose façade is skilfully decorated with corbeled honeycomb designs. Ribât Bayram is considered a unique architectural complex in Al-Qods, and, as a monument, it has been restored several times. It was given the name of "Madrassat Ar-Rassâssiyya" at the end of the Ottoman era. It is currently used as an orphanage school under the name of "Dâr Al-Aytâm Al-Islâmiyya".⁽¹⁶¹⁾

3.5. Ribât Kurd

This fort is located near Bâb Al-Jadîd, opposite Madrassat Al-Urghûniyya. It was given as pious endowment for the benefit of the needy and the visitors of Al-Qods by Al-Muqîrr As-Sayfî Kurd (693 A.H./1293 A.D.)⁽¹⁶²⁾, governor of Egypt in the reign of Sultan An-Nâssir Muhammad Qalâoun. The building consists of three storeys : the lower storey was the ribât proper and the middle storey was an annex of Madrassat Al-Jaouhariyya ; the upper storey, relatively recent, was added in the Ottoman era.

The building is currently used as the residence of the Shihâbî family. It should be pointed out that this is a timeworn building which is facing the risk of getting demolished by the Israeli authorities to allow for archeological excavations.⁽¹⁶³⁾

4. The Domes

Many commemorative domes have been erected in Al-Qods and have been used for educational and cultural purposes. Most of these domes are situated within the precincts of Al-Haram Al-Sharîf and the most important of them are the following :

4.1. The Dome of Al-Mi'râj

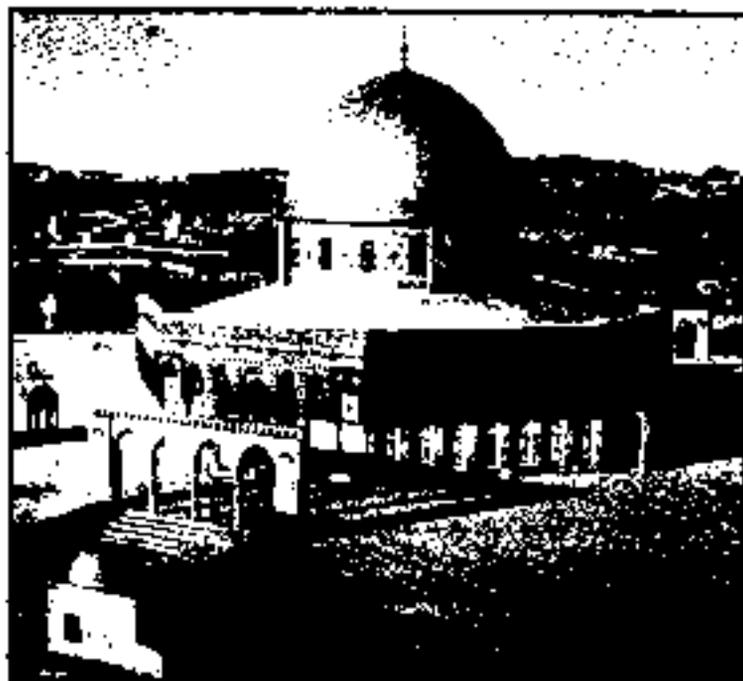
This dome was built in 519 A.H./1201 A.D. by Emir 'Izzuddîn Abû-'Amr Othmân Az-Zanjâlî, a governor of Al-Qods. It is octagonal in shape and is

160. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 542.

161. Najm Ra'if, *Ibid.* p. 360.

162. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 536.

163. Najm Ra'if, *Ibid. The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 153.
Al-'Asli, *Learning Institutes*, pp. 320 and 322.



The Dome of the Rock with the Mount of Olives in the Background



The west façade of the Dome of the Rock

carried by thirty columns. Also, its walls are covered with marble slabs and its cupola is covered with lead sheets. It is located on the north-west of the Dome of the Rock⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and was constructed in commemoration of the Ascension of the Prophet (PBUH).

Najm and others (1983) say that Emir 'Izzuddîn Abû-'Amr Othmân Az-Zanjâlî only restored this dome.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ But this cannot be made evident through the content of the epigraphic frieze on the wall above the doorway on the north-west side of this dome.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

4.2. The Dome of An-Nahwiyya

This is a very beautiful building located at the south-west angle of the Dome of the Rock. This dome was erected in 604 A.H./1207 A.D.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ by King Al-Mu'addham 'Issâ, who made of it a school devoted to the teaching of Arabic grammar. Thus the probable origin of its name *An-Nahwiyya* : "grammatical", for it used to be called *Al-Madrassa An-Nahwiyya*, and king Al-Mu'addham had assigned an imam and a sheikh as instructors of a class of twenty-five students therein. In 608 A.H., he had the dome added to the initial building.

This building was converted for some time into a library used by the Islamic Supreme Council for Legislation ; in 1956 A.D., it became the headquarters of the Architectural Engineering Office for the Restoration of the Dome of the Rock. At the present time, it is used as the main office of the Commission for the Maintenance of Al-Aqsa Mosque. The building consists of two rooms and a lounge ; above the room on the west side is erected a picturesque dome.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

4.3. The Dome of Suleiman

This dome is located in the courtyard of Al-Haram near Bâb Sharaf Al-Anbya' (the Gate of the Noblest of the Prophets), which is also known as Bâb Al-Malik Faiçal (the Gate of King Faiçal). This is a dome of octagonal shape and has a permanently fixed rock within it.

164. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 535.

165. Najm et al., Op. cit., p. 122.

166. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî*.

167. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 536.

168. Najm Ra'if et al., Op. cit., p. 122.

Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 78.

Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes*, p. 62.



The Dome of Al-Mirra



The Dome of Aai-Nahwiyya



The Dome of Suleiman

Although Al-Hanbalî in his *Al-Ounsu Al-Jalîl* claims that the Dome of Suleiman was erected by the Umeyyads, its architectural style does not support his claim ; rather, it indicates that this dome dates back to the 7th century of the Hegira/13th century A.D.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ 'Aref Al-'Aref reports that Al-'Umarî mentions in his work, *Mâlik Al-Absâr*, that this dome had on its north side a gate with a marble column on each side as well as a rock bench on the right and on the left sides.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

The general condition of this monument is not bad, but it needs care and maintenance.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

4.4. The Dome of Al-Arwâh

This dome is situated north of the Dome of the Rock and dates back to the 11th century of the Hegira (16th century A.D.).⁽¹⁷²⁾ It was probably named *Al-Arwâh* because it is adjacent to Ghârat Al-Arwâh (the Cave of the Spirits). The dome is carried by eight marble columns which are linked with wide-rimmed arches.⁽¹⁷³⁾

4.5. The Dome of Al-Khidr

This dome is located near the stairway leading to the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock. It is likely that it was built in the 10th century of the Hegira (16th century A.D.).⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ This is a picturesque dome constructed on a very small area which contains a small zaouia called Zaouiat Al-Khidr⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ ; it is carried by six marble columns linked with wide-rimmed stone arches.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

4.6. The Dome of Youssuf

This dome is situated between the Dome of An-Nahwiyya and the Minbar (recess for praying) of Burhânuddîn, on the south side of the Dome of the Rock. It consists of a small oratory founded by Ali Aghâ in 1092 A.H./1681 A.D. ; on

169. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 535.

170. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram*, p. 80.

171. Najm Ra'if et al., Op. cit. p. 117.

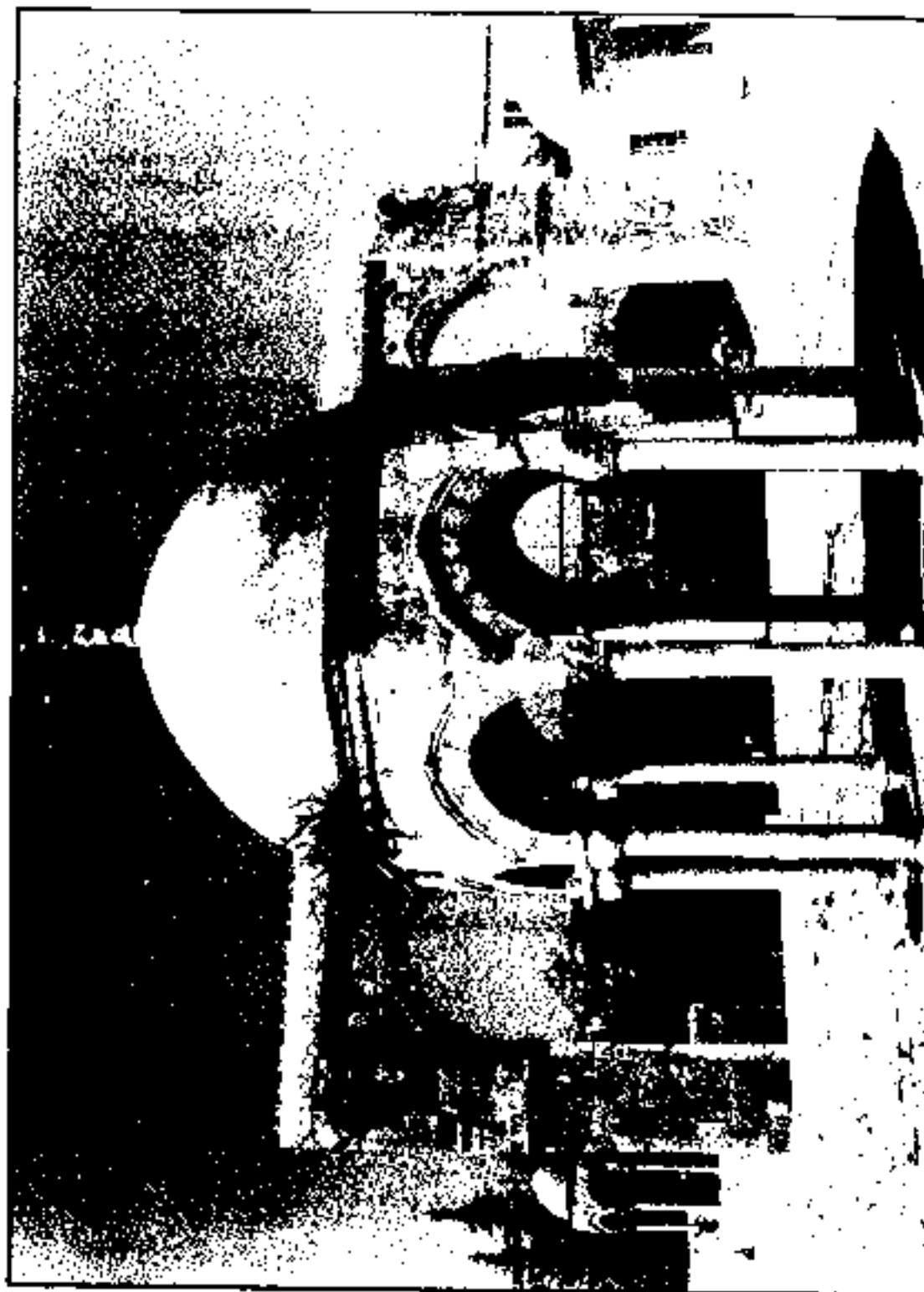
172. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 542.
Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Ounsu Al-Jalîl*, 1/21.

173. Najm Ra'if et al., Op. cit. p. 320.

174. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 542.

175. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram*, p. 79.

176. Najm et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 321.



The Dome of Al-Arwah

the other hand, it is said to have been built in the reign of Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî (Saladin) in 587 A.H./1191 A.D.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ and Governor Ali Aghâ is thought to have only renovated it in the Ottoman era.

This dome is erected on a small square whose side is two metres ; it is raised on the front side and it opens on all sides except for the south side. It is fairly well preserved on the whole.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

It should be pointed out that between the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and Al-Maghâriba Mosque there is another dome with the same name as this dome.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

Among other domes found here and there around the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, one should mention the following :

- The Dome of As-Silsila (the Dome of the Chain, 72 A.H./691 A.D.), which is said to have been built by Abbassid Caliph Abdumâlik bin Marwân as the locus of the public treasury.
- The Dome of Moussa (Moses), which dates back to 649 A.H./1251 A.D. and used to be known as the Dome of the Tree. It is said to have been built by King As-Sâlih Najmouddîn Ayyûb, the son of King Al-Kâmil.
- The Dome of Sheikh Al-Khalîfî, which stands very close to the Dome of Al-Mi'raj. It is thought to have been built by Sheikh Al-Khalîfî, who used it as a place for meditation as well as for nightly recitation of the Quran.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

ANCIENT COMMUNITY BUILDINGS : MADRASSAS

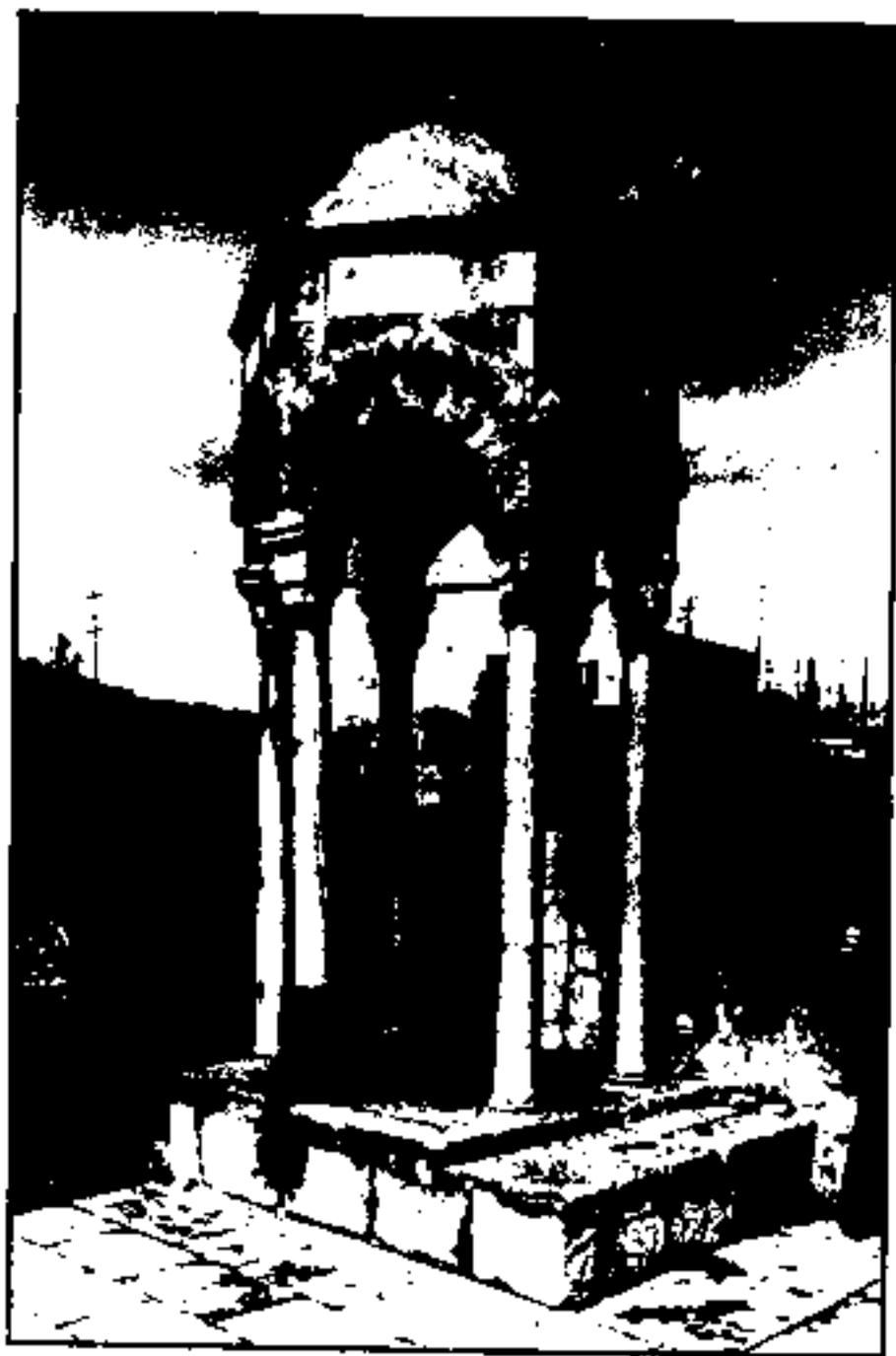
Ancient community buildings are many and diverse. Hence, some buildings had a purely economic function, others were used for essentially cultural purposes, and so forth. Some facilities have already been pointed out, like fountains, public (Turkish) baths, reservoirs, and caravanserais ; however, this section will be strictly devoted to ancient madrassas (Islamic schools) in Al-Qods Al-Shareef.

177. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 542.

178. Najm Ra'if et al., Op. cit. p. 99.

179. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram*, p. 78.

180. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 78.



The Dome of Al-Khuds

Al-Qods has very many ancient madrassa buildings which mostly date back to the Ayyubid and Mameluke eras. It is impossible to cover all of these schools here ; hence, only the best-known amongst them will be the object of this survey. It has already been pointed out that most of these schools were funded through the pious endowments that were allocated to them. Today, many of these schools have been converted to private residences or to institutions with purposes other than the initial one. The following are the most important of these ancient madrassas.

1. Al-Madrassa As-Salâhiyya

This school is located near Bâb Al-Asbât. It was named after the man who provided funds for it, Sultan Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî (Saladin), who instituted it for the benefit of Shâfeîtes in 588 A.H./1192 A.D., as indicated by the inscription on the wall above its entrance. Some of the subjects that used to be taught in this school were : al-fiqh (the science of Divine Laws), al-farâid (the science of the laws of inheritance), al-hadîth (the traditions established by the Prophet), grammar, poetry, Arabic language skills⁽¹⁸¹⁾, mathematics, and history.⁽¹⁸²⁾

Al-Madrassa As-Salâhiyya stands out as the best-known and the oldest of all the educational institutions in Al-Qods Al-Shareef. It assumed educational functions for nearly six centuries, that is down to the 12th century A.H. (18th century A.D.), at which time it was deserted.⁽¹⁸³⁾ Early in the third decade of the 19th century A.D., it was partly destroyed by a violent earthquake ; so much so that, when the Egyptian Ibrahim Bâshâ occupied Al-Qods in 1831, he began pulling down the rest of it so as to use its rock blocks for the building of a military fort. However, the general outcry of the city's inhabitants dissuaded him from pursuing this plan.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

About the middle of the 19th century, there was an attempt to bring this school back to life, but this failed. In 1840 A.D., the Greek community obtained a decree whereby it could take charge of the school, but the Muslims' opposition put an end to this plan. In 1855 A.D., the French proposed to the Ottoman sultan their help in the Crimean War in exchange for the site of this school, which they wanted to convert back into a church ; however, the sultan turned

181. Imam Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, pp. 179-188.

182. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 70.

183. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

184. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 85.

down their offer. In 1878 A.D., the Christians restored this madrassa and gave it to white Catholic priests, who turned it into a Catholic school where many Arabs worked as teachers.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

In 1915 A.D., Jamâl Bâchâ converted this school into an Islamic Faculty, which he named "Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî", which functioned as a modern institution until January 9, 1917. When the English took Al-Qods, this Faculty was given back to white Catholic priests. Finally, came the turn of Israeli forces, which bombarded this building and inflicted severe damage upon it.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

It should be noted that Sultan Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî, as mentioned further above, had earmarked substantial real estate yields for the funding of this school, including income from the rent of shops and of orchards in and around the city of Al-Qods.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Likewise, in order to ensure high teaching standards, he saw to assigning as instructors in this school such eminent scholars as Shamsuddîn Abu-Abdillah Al-Harwî, Najmuddîn bin Jamâ'ah, and Shamsuddîn Abul-Khayr Ad-Dymashqî.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

2. Al-Madrassa Al-Afdaliyya

The location of this school was in the Moroccans' quarter. King Al-Afdhal, the son of Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî, founded it and provided a pious endowment for it in 590 A.H./1192 A.D. for the benefit of Malekite scholars in Al-Qods Al-Shareef.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Al-'Aref provides information about this madrassa in his work, *A detailed History of Al-Qods*, wherein he also notes that a group of indigent Moroccans lived in this school.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ This madrassa used to be known by the name of Al-Qubbah (the Dome)⁽¹⁹¹⁾, and it no longer exists today, or like many other ancient buildings, it was completely razed by Israeli bulldozers.

185. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 59.
Ali Muhammad, *Plans of Al-Shâam*, 6/161.

186. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
Najm Râ'if et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 102.
Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, pp. 205-6 and 240.

187. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 65.

188. Dr. Kâmil Al-'Aslî has compiled a long list of the names of scholars and masters who had lectured or taught at Al-Madrassa As-Salâhiyya. This list can be found on pp. 75-95 of his work, *Learning Institutes in Beit Al-Maqdiss*.

189. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, 189.

190. Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 238.

191. Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâam*, Vol. 6, p. 124.
Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 116.
Ad-Dabbâgh, *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

3. Al-Madrassa Al-Maymouniyya

This school is situated near Bâb As-Sâhira. It was instituted through a pious endowment in 593 A.H./1196 A.D. by Fârissuddîn Aboussa'îd Maymoun, who served as treasurer under Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyubî.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Although its original construction is no longer in existence, a secondary school for girls was built on the site and still operates under the old school's name.⁽¹⁹³⁾ Incidentally, Al-Hanbalî notes that the site of this old madrassa had served as the locus of a Roman church.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

4. Al-Madrassa Ad-Dawaydâriyya

It is located east of the gate known as Bâb Al-'Utm and north of Al-Haram Al-Shareef, and is considered as the earliest Mameluke construction in this part of Al-Qods. It was built in 695 A.H./1295 A.D. by Emir 'Alamuddîn Shanjar bin Abdullah Ad-Dawaydâr As-Sâlihi, and was named after him. This madrassa is a school of Shâfi'ite affiliation⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ and both Al-Hanbalî⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ and Al-'Aref⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ have mentioned it in their respective works.

An inscription on the wall above this madrassa's entrance indicates that it was once a hospice by the name of Dâr As-Sâlihîn (the Benefactors' House) wherein mystics were accommodated, and it drew income from a great deal of real estate instituted as pious endowment in Palestine. The above-mentioned inscription also indicates the number of beneficiaries and of endowments left for this institution.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

Today, this ancient madrassa is used as a primary school for boys.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Van Berchem describes it as "*the most magnificent construction that comes to us from the Bahri Mameluke era*".⁽²⁰⁰⁾

Amongst the notable scholars who lectured in this school were the great judge Burhânuddîn bin Jamâleddin bin Jamâ'ah, Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad, and Sheikh Sharafuddîn bin Shihâb Al-Mouhandis.

192. Imâm Rashâd, Op. cit., p. 189. Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 48.

193. Shaouqî Sha'th, ed., *Studies in the History and Archeology of Palestine*, 1/1984.

Al-'Aslî Kâmil, *New Data on the Islamic Schools in Al-Qods*.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, 2/9, p. 207.

194. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 535.

195. Imâm Rashâd, Op. cit., p. 191.

196. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 290.

197. Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 242.

198. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 239.

199. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 241.

200. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 241.

5. Al-Madrassa As-Salâmiyya

This school is situated north of Al-Madrassa Ad-Dawâdâriyya, at Bâb Al-'Utm. It was made into a pious endowment after 700 A.H./1300 A.D. by Majduddîn Abul-Fida Ismâ'îl As-Salâmî, after whom it was named. It is presently used as a private residence. This building is imposing and its door is picturesque, with stalactites overhanging the entrance. Al-'Aslî reports that Moujîruddîn Al-Hanbali states that this madrassa became a pious endowment after 700 A.H./1300 A.D., while Michael Burgoyne goes as far as claiming that it was not built until 740 A.H.

The funds for this school came from the *waqf* of real estate property located in many villages, particularly the two villages, Na'layn and Jaba', in addition to a farm in Al-Qods.⁽²⁰¹⁾

6. Al-Madrassa Al-Wajîhiyya

This school is situated close to Bâb Al-'Utm and was instituted as a pious endowment by Sheikh Wajîh Muhammad Al-Hanbali (d. 701 A.H./1301 A.D.). Today, it is used as a private residence.

According to various historical sources, this school was the first madrassa in Al-Qods for the adepts of the Hanbalî rite. It was built in the Bahri Mameluke era.⁽²⁰²⁾

7. Al-Madrassa Al-Karîmiyya

This school is in the neighbourhood of Bâb Hitta. It was instituted as a pious foundation in 718 A.H./1318 A.D. by Egyptian dignitary Karîmuddîn

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201. Imâm Rashâd, Op. cit., p. 192.
Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 393.
Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâam*, Vol. 6, p. 123.
Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 265.
Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 243.
Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 243.
Burgoyne, *The Development of the Haram*, p. 41.
202. Ad-Dabbâgh, Op. cit., p. 264.
Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, p. 42.
Al-'Aref, Op. cit. p. 242.
Imâm Rashâd, Op. cit., p. 192.
Kurd Ali, Op. cit., p. 123.
Al-'Aslî, Op. cit., p. 220.

Abdul-Karîm bin Al-Mu'allim Hibatullah. Presently, it is a private property owned by the Jârullah family.⁽²⁰³⁾

Al-'Aslî reports Al-'Umarî's observation that the length of this madrassa's east-west side is twenty-five cubits.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ The following are some of the scholars associated with this madrassa : Sharafuddîn Abdurrahmân Al-Qarqashandî, Shamsuddîn Abulkhair Al-Qarqashandî, Sheikh Jârullah, also known as Ibn Abîllutf Al-Hasfakî, Ali Jârullah and his sons, Muhammad, Ahmad, Mustapha, and Abdullah.⁽²⁰⁵⁾

8. Al-Madrassa At-Tankaziyya

This school is close to Bâb As-Silsila. Its structure is still extant and is considered as a unique example of orthogonal wall-building design. The building's façade is decorated with ornate stalactites. The length of this building (north to south) is twenty-eight metres and its width (east to west) is twenty five metres.⁽²⁰⁶⁾

This madrassa was founded by Emir Tankaz An-Nâssirî, governor of Al-Shâm (729 A.H./1328 A.D.)⁽²⁰⁷⁾, who had it designed as a boarding school for mystics, a Hadith school, and an office for the care of orphans.⁽²⁰⁸⁾

In his *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl fî Târîkh Al-Qods wa Al-Khalîl*, Al-Hanbalî sees this madrassa as "a great school whose construction quality and design are unmatched by those of any other madrassa".⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Kurd Ali writes that it is currently used as a court of assizes in Al-Qods.⁽²¹⁰⁾

Van Berchem worked out a plan of this madrassa which clearly shows the four chambres that it contained⁽²¹¹⁾ in addition to its courtyard and its individual

203. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdis*, p. 271. Al-Hanbalî, Op. cit., 40/392.

Al-'Aref, Op. cit., p. 244

Kurd Ali, Op. cit., p. 122.

204. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 255.

Al-'Umarî, *Massâliku Al-Absâr*, Vol. 1, p. 175.

205. Al-'Aslî, Ibid., p. 256.

206. Al-'Aslî, Ibid., p. 119.

207. Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 193.

208. Al-'Aslî, Ibid., p. 339.

209. Al-Hanbalî, Op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 35.

210. Kurd Ali, *Plans of Al-Shâam*, Vol. 6, p. 116.

211. Van Berchem, in Al-'Aslî, Ibid., pp. 124-125.

rooms. On its walls, there are inscription areas which give the names of the fund providers for the madrassa and the year it was instituted as a pious endowment. Tankaz is a name given therein, followed by the real estate property made into a waqf for the funding of this school.⁽²¹²⁾ The inscription also gives the names, credentials, ranks, and salaries of the instructors, the tutors, and the *fuqahâ* (jurisconsults) serving in the school. Also given are the names and ranks of the senior *muhaddith* (the one who mastered and memorized all the chain-reported sayings and traditions of the Prophet), the person who declaims the Hadith, the group of Hadith exegetes, mystics, and elders, and the individual who chants the Quran.⁽²¹³⁾

Among the names of the learned and scholars who worked in this great institution are the following : 'Alâuddîn Al-Maqdissî (666-748 A.H.), Sheikh Salâhuddîn Abu-Sa'îd Al-'Alâî (694-761 A.H.), Sheikh Shihâbuddîn Mahmûd Al-Assad, Sheikh Jamâluddîn Abu-Mahmûd Al-Maqdissî, and Sheikh Muhammad bin Hâfedh As-Sarûrî Al-Maqdissî (1089 A.H./1678 A.D.).⁽²¹⁴⁾

When Sultan Faraj was in Al-Qods, he used this madrassa as a residence. It was subsequently used as a court of justice and a meeting place for judges and governors.

From the beginning of the Ottoman era to the time of British mandatory rule, this building was used as a court of assizes. Later on, it became the residence of the President of the Supreme Islamic Council who, at that time, was Haj Amîn Al-Husseinî. Finally, it became an institution for the teaching of fiqh (jurisprudence).⁽²¹⁵⁾

9. Al-Madrassa Al-Amîniyya

This school is close to Bâb Ad-Dawâdâriyya, the gate that is also known by the names of Sharaf Al-Anbiyya, Beit Al-'Utm, and more recently, Bâb Faïçal.⁽²¹⁶⁾ It was founded by the dignitary Amînuddîn Abdullah (740 A.H./1339 A.D.).⁽²¹⁷⁾ Today, it is used as a private residence. According to the

212. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

213. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

214. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133.

215. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine : Beit Al-Maqdiss*, pp. 271-272.

Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 241.

216. Al-'Aslî, *Learning Institutes in Al-Qods*, p. 230.

217. Imam Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

author of *Plans of Al-Shâm* and to Al-'Aref⁽²¹⁸⁾, this madrassa contains tombs wherein were buried some of the members of the Al-Imâm family, including those of them who were erudites, like their great grandfather, Diyyâuddîn Muhammad Abu-Îssâ Al-Hakârî.⁽²¹⁸⁾

Among other great scholars of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries A.D., who taught at Al-madrassa Al-Amîniyya, one finds Sheikh Muhammad Sâlih Al-Imâm, Sheikh Muhammad Ass'ad Al-Imâm, Sheikh Râghib Al-Khâlidî, Sheikh Khalîl Al-Khâlidî, Kalîl Bakk At-Turjumân, and Raûf Bâshâ, the governor of Al-Qods.⁽²¹⁹⁾

10. Al-Madrassa Al-Mâlikiyya

This school is located to the north of Al-Haram Al-Shareef. It was built by Haj Malik Al-Jûkandâr in 741 A.H./1340 A.D.⁽²²⁰⁾, as indicated in the inscription on its east-side wall, beyond the northern portico of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. It was also known as Madrassat Al-Jûkandâr.

Today, this building is used as a private residence by the Al-Khatîb family. On the west side of this building and sharing the entrance steps with it is an Islamic library. Within the building of this previous school is the tomb of Dame Malik, who used to provide funds for this school, and who is the daughter of As-Sayfî Tashtemor An-Nâssirî.⁽²²¹⁾

Some of the scholars who taught at this school were Abû-Abdillah Muhammad Al-Gharnâtî, Sheikh Al-Imâm Sirâjuddîn Abû-Hafs Omar Al-Qabbânî Al-Hanbalî (d.755 A.H.), and Sheikh Sharafuddîn Abdurrahmân Al-Qarqashandî (d.826 A.H.).⁽²²²⁾

11. Al-Madrassa Al-Jâwaliyya

This madrassa is situated at the north-west angle of the courtyard of Al-Haram Al-Shareef. Together with other structures, it constituted "The

218. Kurd Ali, *Ibid.*, p. 121.
Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 245.

219. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 272. This author notes that this madrassa was made into a pious endowment in 730 A.H.

220. Imam Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 194.
Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Unsu Al-Jalîl*, p. 283.

221. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 272.

222. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

Faculty of the Garden of Knowledge" (Kulliat Rawd Al-Ma'ârif), which was founded at the beginning of the 1920's A.D. This school is currently called Al-Madrassa Al-'Omariyya⁽²²³⁾, and is a waqf property which was instituted by Emir Alamuddîn Sanjar Al-Jâwali, the governor who represented the Sultan in Gaza, and who died in 745 A.H./1344 A.D.⁽²²⁴⁾

Van Berchem believes that Al-Madrassa Al-Jâwaliyya dates back to 715 or 720 A.H.⁽²²⁵⁾ This madrassa had functioned for nearly one century as a learning institution before it was converted to a Government House. In 892 A.H., it was extended, and in the nineteenth century A.D., it was converted into a court of justice and an army building known as "the Old Squadrons".⁽²²⁶⁾

With the termination of the British Mandate on Palestine, Al-Jâwaliyya came under the management of the Supreme Islamic Council. During the revolution of 1936 A.D., it was converted into a police station ; and in 1948 A.D., it was used as the headquarters of the Jihâd Forces. Today, it functions as the Omariyya School for Boys.⁽²²⁷⁾

12. Al-Madrassa Al-Argûniyya

This school is close to Bâb Al-Jadîd, one of the gates west of Al-Haram. Its construction was started by Emir Arghûn Al-Kâmilî in 758 A.H./1357 A.D. and was completed by Emir Ruknuddîn Baybars 759 A.H./1358 A.D.

King Hussein I was buried in this building, which is now used as the private residence of the Al-'Affî family.⁽²²⁸⁾

223. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Al-Hanbalî, Vol. 2, p. 38.

Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 244.

224. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222. Emir Jâwal was one of the governors serving Sultan Ad-Dâhir Baybars. Jâwal was the inspector of the Holy Places in Al-Qods, then the Sultan's representative in Al-Qods in the reign of King An-Nâssir Qalâoun. Gradually, he became one of the most influential emirs in Egypt.

225. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 221.

226. Van Berchem, *The Complete Book on the Arabic Art of Decoration*, p. 226.

227. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 270.

228. Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 93.

13. Al-Madrassa At-Tashtamuriyya⁽²²⁹⁾ (759 A.H./1357 A.D.)

This madrassa is located close to Bâb An-Nâdhir and to Al-Madrassa Al-Hassania. It should be noted that another school by this name is located close to Bâb As-Silsila.

This school was instituted as a pious endowment in 759 A.H. by Emir Tashtamur As-Sayfî, one of the governors who served King An-Nâssir bin Qalâwûn. The building is now inhabited by members of the 'Alâuddîn family. Within the part previously called the guests' chambers, there still exists a *mihrâb* (a recess for praying) of elaborate decoration.⁽²³⁰⁾

14. Al-Madrassa Al-Bârûdiyya (768 A.H./1366 A.D.)

This school, too, is located near Bâb An-Nâdhir. It is close to Al-Madrassa At-Tashtamuriyya and was instituted as a pious endowment by Dame Hâjja Safarî Khâtûn, the daughter of Sharafuddîn bin Mahmâd, better known as Al-Bârûdî.⁽²³¹⁾ Today, the building is used as a private residence.⁽²³²⁾

15. Al-Madrassa Al-Lou'lou'iyya (775 A.H./1373 A.D.)

This school is located in the quarter of Al-Wâd, south of Al-Madrassa Al-Badriyya and close to Zaouiat Sheikh Muhammad Al-Qarmî. It was instituted as a pious endowment in 775 A.H. by Emir Lou'lou' Ghâzî, who was freed from bondage by King Al-Ashraf Sha'bân in 775 A.H. The real estate rent from the village of Beit Sâwir provided funds for this madrassa.

Today, the building is used as a private residence where several families have lived in succession, including the Al-Asmar family.⁽²³³⁾ The original plan

229. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 93. The other madrassa by the same name was built in 783 A.H./1382 A.D.

230. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 217.
Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 43.
Kurd Ali, *Ibid.*, Vol. 6/123.

231. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 218.

232. Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 250.

Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 94.

Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-44. This author states that this madrassa became a pious endowment in 768 A.H. Cf. *Al-Unsu Al-Jâlîl*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-44.

233. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 203-204.

Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 46-47.

of the building was modified, for additional rooms have been affixed to it. Some of the initial rooms crumbled in 1980.⁽²³⁴⁾

16. Al-Madrassa Al-Hanbaliyya

This madrassa is located near Bâb Al-Jadîd. Emir Baydamar, the governor who served Sultan Al-Ashraf Sha'bân, instituted it as a pious endowment in 777 A.H./1375 A.D.⁽²³⁵⁾ However, its construction was not completed until 781 A.H./1379 A.D.

At the present time, the building is used as the private residence of the Al-Qotb family.⁽²³⁶⁾

It should be noted that this was another school of Hanbali affiliation. The other one, already dealt with above, was Al-Madrassa Al-Wajîhiyya.

This monument is otherwise known as Dâr Fatîna and was purchased by Sheikh Ali At-Tazîz in 1954 A.D.⁽²³⁷⁾

17. Al-Madrassa As-Sabîbiyya

This madrassa was so named because the benefactor who provided funds for it, Emir 'Alâuddîn Ali, as the Sultan's representative in Al-Qods, was the administrator of the fort known as As-Sabîbiyya (now called "Namroud")⁽²³⁸⁾, which is situated between Bâniyâs and Tabnîn. This school is also called Al-Madrassa An-Nassîbiyya because the above-named benefactor apparently was also in charge of the fort called Nassîbîn, out of which he continued to send substantial sums to this madrassa.⁽²³⁹⁾ Incidentally, 'Alâuddîn died in Damascus, but was buried in Al-Qods in 809 A.H./1406 A.D.

Al-Madrassa As-Sabîbiyya played a major role in the cultural life of Al-Qods ; all the more because substantial funds were available to it.

234. Najm Râ'if, *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Mahdî Abduljalîl, *Islamic Schools in Al-Qods*, Vol. 2, p. 91.

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 278.

Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 95. This author claims that this madrassa became a pious endowment in 781 A.H./1379 A.D.

235. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 44. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95. According to this author, this school became a pious endowment in 781 A.H./1379 A.D.

236. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 95.

237. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

238. Cf. Murphy O'Connor, *The Holy Land : An Archaeological Guide*, pp. 273-274, Fig. 94.

239. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 96.

Most of the building has become a ruin, and the only part that is extant today is a wall with two windows above which there are traces of heraldic drawings to the left of Al-Madrassa Al-As'ardiyya.⁽²⁴⁰⁾

18. Al-Madrassa Al-Kâmiliyya

This school is located near Hitta in the area immediately north of Al-Madrassa Al-Karîmiyya.⁽²⁴¹⁾ In 816 A.H./1413 A.D., it was instituted as a pious endowment and provided with funds by Haj Kâmil, of Tripoli (in present-day Lebanon).

Today, this building is used as the private residence of the family of Haj Tawfiq Qabbânî⁽²⁴²⁾, but it is in a state of dilapidation and is in absolute need of restoration.⁽²⁴³⁾

19. Al-Madrassa Al-Bâssitiyya

It is located near Bâb Al-'Utm in the northern part of Al-Haram Al-Shareef, and overlooks Al-Madrassa Ad-Dawâdâriyya. The eminent *mufîû*, Shamsuddîn Al-Harwî, the Sheikh of As-Salâhiyya Brotherhood, was the man who first drew its blueprint ; but he died before his construction plan was carried out. Hence, the building was completed and provided with funding sources by Justice of the Peace Zînuddîn Abdalbâssit bin Khalîl Ad-Dimashqî, a great political figure as well as the commander-in-chief of the Sultan's armies. This school, then, became a pious endowment in 834 A.H./1430 A.D. and the village of Sûr Yâher was among the real estate that yielded funds for this school. Upon inaugurating it, Judge Zînuddîn insisted that the scholars in it should regularly recite the Sura of *Al-Fâtîha* (The Opening) and conclude by imploring Allah to grant His Blessing to Al-Harwî.⁽²⁴⁴⁾

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240. Râ'if Najm et al., *Ibid.*, p. 274.
Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 38, 243, and 274.
Imâm Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, p. 199.
Kurd Ali, *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.
Ad-Dabbâgh, *Ibid.*, p. 283.
Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 225.
241. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 42.
242. Najm Râ'if et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 277.
243. Imâm Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, p. 200.
244. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 39.
Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 200.
Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 69.

It should be noted that this madrassa played an important role in the intellectual life of Al-Qods and attracted a large number of eminent scholars.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

This school is in good condition. Part of its building is occupied by members of the Jârullah family, while the rest of it is divided between Al-Madrassa Ad-Dawâdâriyya and Al-Bakriyya School for girls.⁽²⁴⁶⁾

20. Al-Madrassa Al-Ghâdiriyya

This school is located in the precincts of Al-Haram Al-Shareef. It was made into a pious endowment by Emir Nâsiruddîn Muhammad bin Al-Ghâdir, and was completed and equipped by his wife Nisr Khâtûn in 836 A.H./1432 A.D., in the reign of King Al-Ashraf, as the inscription on the madrassa's façade indicates.

This building is now dilapidated and the only purpose it is used for is the storage of biers.

This madrassa played an important role in the cultural life of Al-Qods up to the 10th century of the Hegira. The author of *An-Nujûm Az-Zâhira* (Radiant Stars) reports that, in 837 A.H., this madrassa was organized in such a way that it had such defined posts as that of an imam, a caretaker, a room-cleaner, and a manager of the waqf property and of the funds for the school.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

21. Al-Madrassa Al-Hassania

There are two educational institutions that bear this name in Al-Qods : one is located near Bâb An-Nâdhir, the other near Bâb Al-Asbât.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ The former, which is the focus here, was built in 837 A.H./1433 A.D. by Emir Hussâmuddîn, surnamed Al-Kashkalî⁽²⁴⁹⁾, who was governor of Al-Qods and inspector of the Holy Places. He committed real estate property into waqf so as to provide regular funds for this madrassa, which enabled it to play an important

245. Najm Râ'if et al., pp. 278-279.

246. Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., p. 284.

247. Najm Râ'if et al. Ibid., p. 279.

Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 200.

Al-Hanbalî, Ibid., p. 40.

Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 248-258.

Al-'Aslî, Ibid., p. 284.

248. Al-'Aslî, Ibid., p. 213.

Al-Hanbalî, Ibid., p. 43.

Ad-Dabbâgh, Ibid., p. 374.

249. Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 200.

role in the intellectual life of Al-Qods up to the twelfth century A.H./18th century A.D.⁽²⁵⁰⁾

22. Al-Madrassa Al-'Uthmâniyya

This school is nowadays known as Dar Al-Fatyânî and is located on the left side as one leaves Al-Haram through Bâb Al-Muadda', which is also called Bâb Al-Mathara. This madrassa was instituted by Asfihân Shah Khatûn, who left a great deal of real estate as a pious endowment for its funding.

On the wall above the entrance of this madrassa an inscription indicates that it was built in 840 A.H./1437 A.D.⁽²⁵¹⁾

The building is now used as the private residence of some of the Al-Fatyânî family members.⁽²⁵²⁾

23. Al-Madrassa Al-Jaouhariyya

This school is situated near Bâb Al-Jadîd and across from Al-Madrassa Al-Arghûniyya. It was made into a waqf in 844 A.H./1440 A.D. by As-Safdî Jaouhar, the Sultan's representative in Al-Qods.⁽²⁵³⁾

According to *The Palestine Encyclopedia*, it was Jaouhar As-Safouî Al-Qanqabay who made this school into a pious endowment. The latter is believed to be the same person as the one named in Al-'Aref's works.

24. Al-Madrassa Al-Muzhariyya

This school is located close to Bâb Al-Jadîd and opposite Al-Madrassa Al-Jaouhariyya. It was made into a waqf in 885 A.H./1480 A.D.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ by Az-Zaynabî (possibly Az-Zaynî) Abû-Bakr Al-Ansârî Ash-Shâfîû, the proprietor of Dâr Al-Inshâa in Egypt. It stands next to Al-Madrassa Al-Arghûniyya, and it is now used as a private residence by members of the Ash-Shâ'bânî family.⁽²⁵⁵⁾

250. Najm Râ'if et al., *The Treasures of Al-Qods*.

251. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 541.

252. Al-'Aref, *The History of Al-Qods*, p. 97.

253. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 71.

254. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 541.

255. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 541.

25. Al-Madrassa Al-Mounjikiyya

This madrassa is situated in the west part of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî Al-Shareef. It was built in 762 A.H./1360 A.D. by Emir Sayfuddîn Mounjik, after whom this school was named. The building has been restored and is now used as the headquarters of the Supreme Islamic Council.⁽²⁵⁶⁾

256. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 541.



Al-Madrassa Al-Mounjikiyya

CHAPTER V

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE CITY OF AL-QODS ⁽²⁵⁷⁾

Excavations in Palestine began fairly early in time and involved Al-Qods in particular, the purpose being to learn about the city's history and monuments. However, the earliest methodical techniques of archaeology were not applied until the period between 1865 and 1867 under the direction of Professor C. Warren⁽²⁵⁸⁾ and the patronage of the British Fund for Excavations and Surveys, which was set up to this end.⁽²⁵⁹⁾ Owing to the galleries and tunnels, Warren managed to find out the ramparts of old Al-Qods.

The Association of the contributors to the above-mentioned Fund undertook further excavations, between 1894 and 1897, directed by archaeologists F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie, both of whom sought to determine the course of the ancient ramparts on the southern side of the city by following their traces.⁽²⁶⁰⁾

In 1901 and 1911, a British expedition led by Professor M. Parker managed to locate vestiges of the underground tunnels and galleries in the valley of the Qadrun (Kidron) which communicates with Gihon Spring. The results of these excavations were published by L.H. Vincent.

R. Weill, with the help of Baron Edmund Rothschild, conducted large-scale excavations in the southern part of the Hill. Further excavations, financed by the above-mentioned Fund, were undertaken between 1923 and 1925 under the direction of R.A.S. MacAlister and J.G. Duncan, and between

257. For further information on excavations undertaken in Al-Qods, see the references listed in E.K. Vogel's *Bibliography of Holy Land Sites* (1947), pp. 44-49.

258. Warren published the results of the excavations that he had directed between 1867 and 1870 in three works :
- *Recovery of Jerusalem*,
- *Underground Jerusalem*, and
- *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*.

259. Concerning the British Fund for Excavations and Surveys, see Dr. Khairiyya Qâssimiyya's interesting paper, read at the Third Congress on the *History of Bilad Al-Shâam* held in Amman in 1983. See *Proceedings of the Congress*, Vol. 2 : *Geography and Civilizations of Palestine*, pp. 393-446.

260. See *Excavations of Jerusalem* (1894-1897).

1927 and 1929 under the direction of J.W. Crowfoot. MacAlister and his colleague worked in a site at the top of Tell Al-Hadaba and were able to unearth part of the ramparts on the east side of this location. On the other hand, Crowfoot worked in a site west of the bottom of this Tell and unearthed vestiges of a gate along these ramparts.⁽²⁶¹⁾ In addition to these excavations, there were others conducted between 1935 and 1940 by C.N. Johns in the Citadel of Al-Qods under the auspices of the Palestinian department of Antiquities.⁽²⁶²⁾

Between 1961 and 1967, excavations were carried out by a joint archaeological mission from the British Institute of Archaeology (located in Al-Qods), the British Fund for Excavations, the British Academy, the Dominican (French) Archaeological School, and the Canadian Royal Museum of Ontario. Directed by the English archaeologist Kathleen Kenyon, these excavations involved three sites in the Old City : the first was near Bâb Dimashq (the Gate of Damascus) the second was close to the third rampart, and the third was at the top of Mount Zion. It was in the course of these excavations that the findings of previous research work were checked through the application of modern archaeological investigation methods and processes.⁽²⁶³⁾ In the above-mentioned sites and not far from the excavation site where Crowfoot worked, Kathleen Kenyon in 1963 unearthed vestiges of Byzantine dwellings built in Roman quarries and of water towers with staircases. These dwellings were quite spacious and very skilfully constructed.⁽²⁶⁴⁾

In 1937, Palestinian archaeologist Dimitri Barâmika, who conducted excavation work under the auspices of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities, unearthed in the vicinity of the third rampart the vestiges of a picturesque chapel which was 6.1 metres long and 3.5 metres wide. This archaeologist first suggested that this place of worship was a Byzantine construction which dated back to the 5th century B.C.; however, a close examination of the mosaic material used in the chapel subsequently revealed that the latter must have been constructed in the 7th century A.D.⁽²⁶⁵⁾

Also in 1937, under the auspices of the above-mentioned Department, archaeologist Johnson conducted excavation work in various sites which date back to the time of the Franks' occupation of Al-Qods. Some of these excavation sites consisted of one of the churches in the Valley of Kidron and

261. *Encyclopedia of Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 2 (Oxford : 1975), pp. 591-593.

Y. Yadin, ed., *Jerusalem Revealed : Archeology in the Holy City* 1968-1974, p. 21

262. Yadin, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

263. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Vol. 2, p. 592.

Y. Yadin, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

K. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem* (1974).

264. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, *Ibid.*, p. 619.

265. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, *Ibid.*, p. 619.



Al-Haram Al-Sharif: A general view,
including the Excavation Sites at the centre of the picture

Al-Qal'âa Al-'Arabiyya (the Arabic Citadel), which was once made into the headquarters of the Roman governor of Al-Qods. Among other sites which were explored and found to date back to this same period, there was that of the St. Anastasia Basilica, a small church next to the St. Stephen Church.⁽²⁶⁶⁾

In 1956 and 1962, Catholic priests undertook in the old city excavations in the parcel that they have in the Muslim quarter, close to St. Anne Church, and unearthed finds which also date back to the Byzantine era.⁽²⁶⁷⁾

Subsequent to the aggression against Al-Qods, the Israeli authorities in 1968 conducted excavations near the south wall of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ, thereby violating the international conventions which prohibit archaeological excavation in areas under military occupation. This excavation was later extended to the area of the Mosque's west wall up to the Arch of Robinson. The vestiges unearthed through the excavations undertaken along the south wall were dated back to the following :

1. The early Arab-Islamic Age : from the Umayyad to the Seljuk dynasties;
2. The Byzantine Age : from the reign of Constantine I to the Arab conquest;
3. The Roman period : the era of Aelia Capitolina; and
4. From the reign of Herod to A.D. 70.⁽²⁶⁸⁾

The Israeli archaeologists who were hoping to find therein vestiges dating back to the period of Herod I the Great were very disappointed by the finds, for most of these were part of the vestiges of the Islamic buildings which dated back to the Umayyad Age and were located in the south-west area of Al-Haram Al-Shareef.⁽²⁶⁹⁾ These buildings were probably palaces, for their vestiges are similar to those of palaces found in Syria, Palestine, and Jordan inasmuch as all of these had a cylinder-shaped tower at each corner. It is very probable that after they had been restored, these three palaces were used as residences throughout the 9th century A.D., that is in the Abbassid Age. Then, they probably became ruins in the 11th century A.D. and people must have subsequently used the fallen stone-piece for the construction of their own dwellings.

266. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Ibid., p. 626

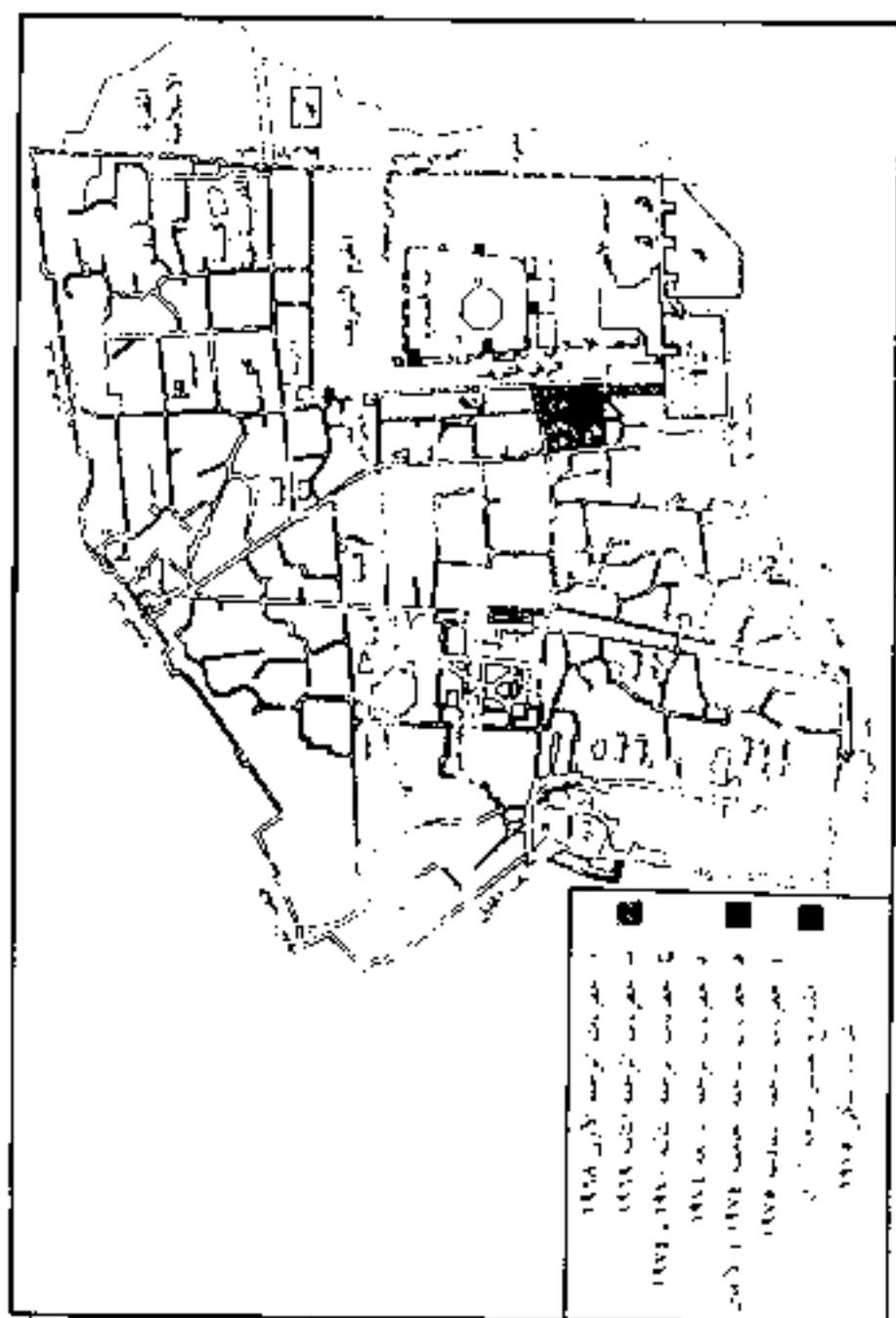
267. *Encyclopedia of Excavations*, Ibid., P. 612

268. B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount* (1974), p. 1.

269. M. Bendov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount in the early Islamic Period" in *Jerusalem Revealed*, pp. 97-102.

Y.Yadin, Ibid., p. 39

Mahmûd Al-'Abidî, *Islamic Monuments in Palestine and Jordan* (Amman, 1973), pp. 123 and 124.



A map of Israeli excavations around Al-Haram Al-Sharif and underneath the Mosque of Al-Aqsa

Some scholars believe that the buildings in question (i.e. those that used to be adjacent to Al-Haram Al-Shareef) were Umayyad palaces belonging to one of the Umayyad caliphs, but others variously think that one of these (Building I) was an Abbassid tax collector's headquarters while another (Building IV) was a mosque. However, most of them believe that these were constructed in the reign of Al-Walîd bin Abdelmalek. Historian Al-Maqdissî writes in his description of the ramparts of Al-Qods that one of the gates bears the name of Bâb Al-Walîd. A gate by the same name in Al-Qods is mentioned by another historian, Ibn Ar-Râbihî, who was Al-Maqdissî's contemporary. On the other hand, fifteenth-century (A.D.) historian Mujîruddîn Al-Hanbali makes no mention of it.⁽²⁷⁰⁾

Between 1975 and 1978, the Israeli authorities undertook excavations in the Qal'âa (the Citadel) alongside the west wall and unearthed, sixteen meters away from it, a stone-built sewage conduit which, as was subsequently realized, stretched all the way to this wall and continued underneath and beyond it, as it channelled waste water westward. The unearthed section of it was some fifteen meters long. In 1982, further excavations led to the unearthing of another part of this conduit east of the city's ramparts. The section between the two unearthed stretches is rather narrow, having a depth and a width of about forty centimetres.⁽²⁷¹⁾

In 1981, the Hebrew University in Al-Qods, with financial help from the so-called Association of the City of David, conducted excavations in an attempt to find out the areas of Al-Qods where the city's populations lived from the Stone Age to A.D. 70. These excavations led to the unearthing of vestiges of ramparts which date back to the early period of the Bronze Age and of other ramparts dating back to the middle period of the Bronze Age.⁽²⁷²⁾

In 1982 and 1983, further excavations were undertaken by Israeli authorities in the Old City, on Mount Zion, and in the outskirts of Al-Qods, particularly in Kharbat 'Ain At-Toot and Kharbat Al-Issâwiyyah. After making a survey in 1981 and 1982, the Israelis claim to have established a total of eighty-eight ancient sites that include dwellings, olive and seed presses, hedged farms, watch towers, cemeteries, stone quarries, public ovens, reservoirs, and public (Turkish) baths, in addition to tools and various pieces dating back to the Paleolithic Age. Paleolithic tools and pottery pieces have also been unearthed in a site south of Tell Al-Fûl, immediately east of the surveyed area, and south of Kharbat As-Sawma'ah.

270. B. Mazar, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

J.M. O'Connor, *The Holy Land : An Archeological Guide* (Oxford : 1980).

271. *Excavations and Surveys in Occupied Palestine*, Vol. 2, (1983) p. 52.

272. *Excavations and Surveys in Occupied Palestine*, Vol. 1, (1982) pp. 49-60

Back in 1936, archaeologist Nasrullah had explored this area, for he gathered about three thousand Neolithic chipped-granite tools. Close to these, vestiges of quasi-cylinder-shaped constructions were unearthed by Nasrullah, who believes that they date back to the Megalithic Age. Likewise, ruins were found which variously date back to the Bronze Age, to the Iron Age, to the Hellenic period and to the Byzantine period.⁽²⁷³⁾

The aims of these excavations⁽²⁷⁴⁾, needless to say, differ and vary depending on the individuals and the institutions that undertake them.⁽²⁷⁵⁾

The character of Al-Qods as a holy city has always been part of the collective consciousness as far as the believers of the three monotheistic religions are concerned. This explains why scholars have undertaken studies, monographies, and excavations as a means to understand better both the history of this city throughout the centuries and its spiritual as well as strategic importance. Muslims, Christians, and Jews have always sought pilgrimage to Al-Qods in quest for Divine Grace through the sight and the touch of all the holy places and objects therein. The rivalry to monopolize Al-Qods has always been so intense between Muslims that it brought them to war as rival parties. There is nothing surprising in this, for controlling Al-Qods means controlling the holiest place on earth. The same can be said about Christian factions who fought each other to death to extend their control of this city; such conflicts, according to some historians, have brought about the Crimean War.⁽²⁷⁶⁾

The Zionists who are currently undertaking these excavations in Al-Qods have some specific objectives in mind, for they are constantly seeking for arguments to support their alleged historic right to Al-Qods and to Palestine. Their investigations have produced vain results and their simplistic theories have dealt a fatal blow to the cultural heritage of both Al-Qods and Palestine, for they remain based on false and unfounded claims.

273. *Excavations and Surveys in Occupied Palestine*, Vol. 2, p. 52

274. Cf. Kathleen Kenyon (1974), *Digging up Jerusalem*.
Roger Moorey (1981), *Excavations in Palestine*.

275. A. Hadîdî, *Jordanian Annals*.
Shawqî Sha'th, "New data concerning Palestinian Ancient Monuments", a paper read at the First Colloquium on Palestinian Ancient Monuments, whose proceedings are in press.

276. A. Tazi (1984), *Moroccan Pious Endowments in Al-Qods*.
Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 118.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF AL-QODS THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES

From its very beginnings, the city of Al-Qods has played an important role in the administrative life of Palestine. Its exceptional role from the spiritual point of view has added so much weight to its administrative importance throughout these centuries. At times, it grew into a major administrative centre which played a great political role that raised it to the status of a wilâyah, or a principality; at other times, its role grew so weak that it was reduced to the status of the smallest sanjaq or province.⁽²⁷⁷⁾

Ever since it was conquered by Arab Muslims in 15 A.H./635 A.D., Al-Qods ceased to be the capital of any large empire. Hence, despite the relatively large number of Sultanates of which the Ayyubid Empire was organized, Al-Qods was never raised within this structure to the rank of a political capital the way the case was with such cities as Damascus, Cairo, Halab (Aleppo), Hims Hamât, and so forth.⁽²⁷⁸⁾

At the beginning of the Mameluke era, the city of Al-Qods was made into a wilâya whose political affairs were managed by a delegate who was directly under the authority of the Sultan's representative in Damascus. The status of Al-Qods changed only when the Sultan Annâssir Muhammad bin Qalâoun wished to reorganize the administrative structure of Al-Shâm (Syria and Palestine), which consisted of six governorships, by instituting two more governorships : the one in Al-Qods, and the other in Gaza. Accordingly, the governorship of Al-Qods was entrusted about 713 A.H./1312 A.D. to Emir 'Alamuddîn Sanjar bin Abdallah Al-Jâwalî, who was also appointed as the protector of both the Mosque of Al-Aqsa and Al-Haram Al-Ibrâhîmî in Al-Khalîl (Al-Haramain Al-Sharîfain).

277. S. 'Ashûr, *Some New Light on the City of Al-Qods in the Mameluke Era*, in Proceedings of the Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâm, (Amman : 1983), p. 110.

278. Y. Ghawânima, *The Governorship of Al-Qods* in Studies in the *History and Antiquities of Palestine Ancient Monuments* (University of Halab : 1984) p. 142.

Not all the historians agree as to the year on which the governorship of Al-Qods was inaugurated in the Mameluke era. For example, Ghawâanima quotes the statement by Al-Khâlidî in his book, *Al-Maqsadu Ar-Raff'ul Mansha'*, to the effect that : " *The governorship of Al-Qods was instituted in 767 A.H. (1365 A.D.) and Tabalkhâna was appointed as the city's governor.*"⁽²⁷⁹⁾ On the other hand, Al-Qalqashandî in his work, *Sobhou Al-A'shâ*, notes that Al-Qods became a governorship in 777 A.H. (1375 A.D.)⁽²⁸⁰⁾ and that its appointed governor in this same year was Emir Tamrâz Al-Mou-ayyidî⁽²⁸¹⁾, whose successors were Emir Badruddîn Hassan bin 'Imâduddîn Al-'Askarî (appointed 782 A.H./1380 A.D.), Emir Nâsiruddîn Muhammad bin Bahâdir (appointed 789 A.H./1387 A.D.), Emir Sharafuddîn Moussâ bin Badrudîn Al-'Askarî, and Emir Jântimar Ar-Ruknî Ad-Dhâhirî (appointed 796 A.H./1393 A.D.)⁽²⁸²⁾

The city of Al-Qods had thus become a governorship by itself, which implies that the management of its affairs was entrusted to an eminent Emir who was appointed by a decree made by the Sultan, who resided in Cairo, the capital city in that era. Moreover, it was a tradition that the appointed Emir should also serve as the protector of Al-Haramain Al-Sharîfain (the two holy shrines : the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and Al-Haram Al-Ibrâhimi) in Al-Qods and Al-Khalil respectively; hence the title of the appointee as "The Emir Guardian of Al-Haramain and Representative of the Sultanate in Al-Qods Al-Shareef and in the city of our lord Al-Khalîl". This amounted to a privilege that was not granted to a representative of the Sultan anywhere else in Al-Shâm.⁽²⁸³⁾ Very often, in addition to the above-mentioned responsibilities, the Sultan's representative in Al-Qods concurrently held administrative and political functions in the city's neighbourhood areas, as happened in the reign of Sultan Al-Ashraf Barsay.⁽²⁸⁴⁾

This interest, throughout the Mameluke era, in the administrative situation of Al-Qods along with the raising of this city to the rank of a governorship may be explained by its great importance on the international scene. The Crusaders' ambition and their tenacious wish to occupy Al-Qods could be given as evidence of this city's worldwide importance in that era.⁽²⁸⁵⁾ In the face of the

279. Ghawâanima, *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Cf. Al-Khâlidî, *Al-Maqsadu Ar-Raff'ul Mansha'*, (Unpublished MS), p. 147.

280. S. 'Ashûr, *Ibid.*, p. 110

Al-Qashqashandî, *Sobhou Al-A'shâ*, Vol. 4, p. 199

281. Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Ounsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 272.

282. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, p. 272; Ghawâanima, *Ibid.*, p. 142

283. Ghawâanima, *Ibid.*, p. 148; 'Ashûr, *Ibid.*, p. 110

284. Ghawâanima, *Ibid.*, p. 148

285. 'Ashûr, *Ibid.*, p. 110

impeding threats to the security of the city, Sultan Al-Ashraf Sha'bân began by promoting Tabalkhân to the rank of governor probably within a strategy that shows the great importance he attached to Al-Qods.

On the other hand, Al-Maqrîzî writes that the vested interest which the Mameluke Sultan, Ad-Dhâhir Barqûq, had in Al-Qods was motivated by his fear of Tartar threats to this city, and that the Sultan accordingly made it into an independent principality so that it could react promptly to any Tartar aggression without having to wait for orders from Cairo.⁽²⁸⁶⁾

In the Mameluke era, the representative of Al-Qods had a substantial budget consisting of annual resources which came from various rural villages designated for this purpose, and one such village, according to what Al-Hanbalî says in his *Al-Ounsu Al-Jafîl*, was the Arîhâ (Jericho) rural neighbourhood, located in the Jordan Valley. The representative, as mentioned above, was appointed by a decree issued by the Sultan. It was an established ceremony that a newly appointed representative, or a representative whose term was renewed, should be cloaked in the official garb of this office as he entered the city, and that on this occasion the city's magistrates, officials, and notables should be out to welcome him into the city. The procession then moved with pomp and ceremony to the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ, wherein the appointment decree was read to the public.⁽²⁸⁷⁾ Every night, drumbeating took place at the entrance to his residence, exactly the way such a ceremony was conducted in honour of the high princes in Egypt.⁽²⁸⁸⁾

The administrative provinces of Al-Khalîl, Nablus, and Ramlah were all dependencies of Al-Qods, the county town which was the seat of the representative and of such officials as the Citadel manager, the governor of the city, the chamberlain, the magistrates, the price controller, the head doctor, the army commander⁽²⁸⁹⁾, as well as religious and political officials.

The governorship of Al-Qods kept a regular army as well as a special force which, respectively, served to protect the city of Al-Qods and to maintain peace and security throughout the province. It was not unusual in the Mameluke era that the representative of Al-Qods should be called upon for combat missions outside

286. Ghawânima, *Ibid.*, p. 146

Al-Qashqashandî, *Soubhu Al-A'shâ*, Vol. 4, p.199

Al-khâlîdî, *Al-Maqsidu Ar-Rafî'u Al-Mansha'*, p. 147 (quoted by Al-Ghawânima).

287. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, p. 337

288. Ghawânima, *Ibid.*, p. 149

289. Ghawânima, *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150

his jurisdiction territory. Hence, the representative of Al-Qods helped to check rebels and invaders in Al-Shâm; he also mobilized the army under his command and joined other Mameluke army units both in the Shah Siwâr war and in the war against the Ottomans. The size of the army grew larger or smaller as the danger faced by the Mameluke Empire increased or decreased.⁽²⁹⁰⁾

When the territory of Al-Shâm, including Palestine, came under Ottoman rule after 1516 A.D., Al-Qods became a province subordinated alternately to Damascus and to Saydâ (Sidon). Later on, it was raised to the rank of an autonomous wilâya so as to consolidate its status on the international level. In 1845 A.D., Al-Qods was demoted to a sanjaq subordinated to the governorship of Damascus; within the same year, it was subordinated to the governorship of Saydâ (Sidon).⁽²⁹¹⁾ In 1845 A.D., the Sanjaq of Al-Qods was again promoted to the rank of a wilâya to consolidate its status on the international level. A specially high-ranking governor was accordingly appointed as its governor, and a most elaborate formula had to be used every time by any person who wanted to address him.

When the Ottomans adopted the administrative system of wilâyas in 1281 A.H./1864 A.D., the status of Al-Qods was lowered to the rank of a region subordinated to the wilâya of Damascus and made up of the districts of Al-Khâlîl, Gaza, Ramlah, Bethlehem, and Yâffâ (Jaffa).⁽²⁹²⁾ This situation continued until 1874 A.D., when Al-Qods was made into an autonomous governorship which was linked to Istanbul and included the districts of Gaza, Yâffâ (Jaffa), and Al-Khalîl.⁽²⁹³⁾ Thus, between 1874 and 1914 A.D., seventeen governors have succeeded each other at the head of the governorship of Al-Qods.⁽²⁹⁴⁾

Among the administrative functions in the province of Al-Qods in the Ottoman era was that of "the tax collector", who after 1840 A.D., took the title of "intendant". The tax collector initially had the rank of "second-grade pasha",

290. Ghawânima, *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169

291. Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, "Lioua' Al-Qods : 1840-1873 A.D.", a paper published in Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the History of Al-Shâam, (Amman, 1983), p. 13.

292. Sabrî B. Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Abdul'azîz 'Awad, "Moutassarrifiyyat Al-Qods : 1874-1914 A.D.", a paper published in Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the History of Al-Shâam, p. 205. The author notes that, in 1864, the city of Al-Qods was subordinated to the wilâya of damascus, but that the rank of its governor was far higher than that of any other. The city's governor accordingly was an "Intendant", but actually had the rank of "Prince of Princes"

293. Abdul'azîz 'Awad, *Ibid.*, p. 208

Al-Aref, *A History of Al Qods*, p. 118. The author notes that, in 1871 A.D., Al-Qods was an autonomous governorship.

294. Abdul'azîz 'Awad, *Ibid.*, p. 209.

but subsequently was changed to that of 'first-grade pasha'. In his duties, the tax collector was assisted by a team of civil servants which included the treasury inspector, the investigation police officer, the agriculture director, the director of *waqfs* (pious endowments), the police commissioner, the qâdi (magistrate with wide-ranging attributions), a council of advisers, and the army commander, whose headquarters were in the city's Citadel,⁽²⁹⁵⁾ which for some time could boast an artillery section and an infantry division among other forces.⁽²⁹⁶⁾

After 1918 and for the period of the British mandate, Al-Qods became the capital of Palestine as well as the seat of the British commissioner, who by virtue of the laws promulgated in London on the basis of the Mandate entrusted to it, had all the powers and could have control over the whole country. Al-Qods was also the seat of most of the Ministries : the Ministry of Education, of Religious Affairs, of Health, and of Economic and Social Affairs. Moreover, Al-Qods was also the county town of what was known as the "Province of Al-Qods".

To assist the British High Commissioner, there were two councils : the Consultative Council and the Executive Council. The former consisted of a Chairman (the High Commissioner), a Secretary-General, a Treasury Inspector, a Security Commissioner, and other high officials. The latter Council was also presided by the British High Commissioner and included a Secretary-General, a General Prosecutor, a Finance Secretary, and the Prefect of the Province of Al-Qods.⁽²⁹⁷⁾

After 1948, the West Bank was annexed by Jordan. Al-Qods became the seat of the Government of the Province. This city ranked as the second most important city after Amman, but after the Zionist aggression of 1967. The Arab and Muslim part of it was annexed to the part which came under Israeli control. Ever since that time, Al-Qods has lost elements of its identity and its independence.

295. Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16

296. Sabrî Bahjat Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 22

297. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 223

At the end of the British era, Palestine consisted of six Provinces led by Prefects : Al-Jalîl, Haifa, Nablus, Al-Qods, Jaffa, and Gaza. Each province was divided into districts which were administrated by officials of the Province.

Cf. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, Vol. 1, pp. 141-142.

In 1931, Palestine consisted of only three Provinces :

- The Province of Al-Qods, which had the following districts : Al-Qods, Ramallah, Ariha (Jericho), and Bethlehem;
- The North Province, which was made up of the following districts : Haifa, Akka (Acre), Nazareth, Tabaria, Safad Nablus, Janîne Bissan, and Tulkrum; and
- The South Department, which had the following districts : Jaffa, Ramlah, Gaza, Bîr Sabâa, and Awja Hafîr.

Cf. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 160

CHAPTER VII

URBAN CONSTRUCTION AND EXTENSION OF AL-QODS THROUGHOUT THE AGES

The earliest constructions which constituted the city of Al-Qods were located on ad-Duhûr Hills, which overlook Salwân Village on the south-east side of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ. This site was probably chosen for two main reasons : first for the security it provided, since it could be easily defended, and secondly for its proximity to the Oumm Ad-Darj Spring, located in the eastern part of these hills. It is bounded to the east by the Valley of the Kidron, to the south by the Valley of -Rabâbina (Hinnom), and to the west by the Valley of Az-Zibl. This site was abandoned later on, and other construction sites were chosen, particularly on the Hill of Bezana located north-east of present-day Al-Qods between Bâb As-Sâhir, Bâb Hitta, and Moriah, with the plateau of Al-Haram courtyard to the east, and Mount Zion to the south-east. All these plateaux are located within the ramparts of the city.⁽²⁹⁸⁾

Al-Qods expanded and acquired protection walls throughout the centuries. As early as the Bronze Age, it was equipped with ramparts to protect it from enemy attacks. Excavations undertaken in Al-Qods have indicated the existence of such walls.⁽²⁹⁹⁾ In the Roman era, the city developed considerably; its total extent, then and throughout the Byzantine era, measured over two square kilometres in area. However, it was with the Arab-Islamic conquest that Al-Qods really began its most important expansion. This is due mainly to the city's spiritual character, which Caliph Omar and his Umayyad and Abbassid successors fostered.⁽³⁰⁰⁾

Yâqût Al-Hamaouî (626 A.H./1228 A.D.) in his description of Al Qods writes that "*its site and its farms are all hills. There is no flat land immediately around it or even near it (...)* The city itself lies high among the hilltops and all its ground is rocky."⁽³⁰¹⁾

298. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 58

299. Many sources and archeological finds indicate that it was the Jebusites, i.e. the inhabitants of Jebus (an old name for Al-Qods), who had erected the ramparts of this city.

300. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 514.

301. Yâqût Al-Hamaouî, *A Dictionary of Cities : Beit Al-Maqdis*.
Imâm Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, p. 164.

Upon his visit to Al-Qods in 1670 A.D., the Turkish traveller Evliya Tshelebî wrote that this was such an important city not only because of its spiritual status but also because of its economic resources and the size of its population, which amounted to forty-six thousand inhabitants. He also listed the names of many of its public baths and fountains, its madrassas (Islamic schools), churches, prayer processes, and fountains, churches, prayer recesses, and markets.⁽³⁰²⁾

The map of ancient Al-Qods shows that the city consisted of two main parts : the one part stretches from Bâb Al-Khalîl on the west side to Bâb As-Silsila on the east side; the other part runs from Bâb Al-'Amûd all the way to the neighbourhood of Nabî Daoud on the south side.⁽³⁰³⁾

Like all the other Islamic cities from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, Al-Qods had several quarters each of which being populated by a different religious or ethnic community. Within the wall of Al-Qods, there are four quarters of unequal size.⁽³⁰⁴⁾ The Christian quarter, located in the western area of the Old City and inhabited by the Armenian and Roman communities, was the least populated in the city until 1845, at which year its inhabitants were not more than 2390. The second is the Jewish Quarter, which is situated in the south-eastern part of the city.⁽³⁰⁵⁾ Then come the other two quarters, located in the north-eastern part around the Haram⁽³⁰⁶⁾, which are mostly populated by Muslims.

The combined effect of population growth and social mobility brought about the extension of the city in all directions outside the ramparts in order to accommodate a growing population and suit its new housing style.

It should be pointed out, however, that the extension of the city did not develop at the same rate in all directions because the topography was different from area to area. Thus, construction activity spread over the neighbouring mounts, on which were built such fashionable quarters (typically named after

302. Sabrî Bahjat, *Lioua' Al-Qods : 1840-1873* in Proceedings of the Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâam, Vol. on Al-Qods, p. 23.

303. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 514.

304. Sabrî Bahjat, *Ibid.*, p. 24

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 514

J.M. O'Connor (1980), *The Holy Land : An Archeological Guide*, pp. 21-55.

305. The Jews in Al-Qods enjoyed their full rights throughout the reign of the Muslims, but under the Franks they suffered inhumane treatment.

306. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 514

Encyclopedia Britannica (1970), Vol. 12, p. 107.

Sabrî Bahjat, *Ibid.*, p. 24

the mount on which they are located) as Al-Mashârif, Al-Qatmûm, Al-Moukabbir⁽³⁰⁷⁾, and other quarters like Sheikh Jarrâh Quarter, also known as Bâb As-Sâhira, Masrâra Quarter of Al-Baq'â and At-Thaourî (to the south), and the quarters of Râs Al-'Amoud and Wâdî Al-Jaouz (to the east).⁽³⁰⁸⁾

After Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî liberated Al-Qods from the rule of the Crusaders, the extension of the city was pursued outside of the ramparts, but it mostly involved the construction here and there of religious buildings to confer a spiritual character on those areas around the Old City.

In the Ottoman era, particularly towards the middle of the 19th century, Muslim inhabitants in Al-Qods shifted to building outside of the ramparts, thus staking out cemetery areas and constructing houses and pleasure or holiday palaces. From 1860 A.D. onwards, they started building houses in which they lived year-round, and this construction wave continued up to the outbreak of World War. It was only normal that additional Muslim dwellings should be constructed close to the Muslim Quarter and to Al-Haram Al-Shareef. In the same vein, the religious buildings that were erected in the areas outside the ramparts served a similar function, that of triggering the movement of constructing Muslim houses outside the ramparts. This, along with the construction of the road between Al-Qods and Nablus, has encouraged the extension of the holy city beyond the ramparts.⁽³⁰⁹⁾

In point of fact, Muslims, Christians, and Jews began the construction of the dwelling houses outside the city's ramparts at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This can be gathered from various sources : the city plans from that period, the aerial photographs taken during World War I, and the memory reports of still-living Muslim individuals. Additionally, the writings of non-Muslims who had contacts with Muslim communities have provided researchers with valuable information on this subject.

Needless to say, this extension of the city can reveal a great deal not only about the kind of cultural, religious, and economic relations that prevailed under Ottoman rule, but also about the architectural style of that period. Historical resources indicate that, during the extension that began beyond the ramparts

307. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, pp. 509-510.

308. M.A. Aamiry, *Jerusalem : Arab Origin and Heritage*, Longman, 1978.

Ruth Hark and Shimon Landman, *The Establishment of Muslim Neighbourhood in Jerusalem*.

309. *Outside the Old City during the Last Ottoman Period* in PEQ (1980), n°. 132.

Al-'Aref notes in his *A History of Al-Qods* that, from 1958 on, Muslims began the construction of multi-storey buildings outside the ramparts of Al-Qods.

about the middle of 1950, Christian and Jewish populations settled outside the Old City before the Muslims did. This was due to various factors. Most Muslims had dwellings within the Old City and therefore did not need to build outside the ramparts. Moreover, many Muslims lived in houses which had been made into pious endowments, which means that the rent that they paid for these was very low indeed. One major factor, however, is that a large part of the Muslim population received no external financial help, unlike their Christians and Jewish counterparts. The very few Muslim families who were able to acquire a residence or a luxury house outside the ramparts of Al-Qods were among the rich.⁽³¹⁰⁾

From 1870 on, Muslims began the construction outside the Old City of permanent dwellings for themselves in five different areas all located in the northern part of the city and providing easy access, within the ramparts, to both Al-Haram Al-Shareef and the Muslim Quarter. These dwellings were particularly concentrated in the vicinity of religious constructions like the Sa'd and Sa'd mosque, the Sheikh Jarrâh Mosque, and Zaouiyat Al-Adhamiyya. Similar constructions of Islamic dwellings occur close to Bâb Yâffa and in Al-Baq'a, Masrâra, and the areas along Ethiopia Avenue. An exhaustive study has shown that, between 1865 and 1918 A.D., there were altogether five Muslim quarters outside of the city's ramparts. They come as follows⁽³¹¹⁾ :

1. Al-Mas'oudiyya Quarter

This quarter lies north of Bâb Dimashq (Damascus Gate). The Ottoman administrative authorities, for census purposes, gave it this name, which later on also covered the area that used to be known as Sa'd and Sa'd. From 1870 to the middle of 1980, only a small number of houses were built therein; these were mainly concentrated along Al-Anbiyya Avenue and Nablus Street. Among the families that had a house built-therein, one may mention Ad-Dazouâr, Nassîbah, Al-Nashâshibî, and Al-Khâlidî.

Between 1894 and 1918, houses were built in the area located between Sa'd and Sa'd and the houses of Ad-Dazouâr and Nassîbah on Al-Anbiyya Avenue. The families that had houses built in this area were Sharaf, Ad-Daourî, and Hijâzî.

310. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 120

311. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 120

Be it noted here that the 1905 census showed that altogether 119 families of Ottoman nationality lived in this area; of these families, 59 were Muslim, 43 were Christian, and the rest were Jewish.

2- Bâb As-Sâhira Quarter

This quarter is located north of Bâb As-Sâhira and was administratively considered part of Sheikh Jarrâh Quarter.

In 1880, this quarter had only four houses which belonged to the families of Al-Ansâri, Al-Shahâbî, and Al-Husseinî. But the number of houses subsequently multiplied in the form of three concentrations. The first of these emerged along Salâhuddin Al-Ayyûbi Avenue and was inhabited by members of the Al-Husseinî, Nassîbah, Hallâ, and Shishîh families. The second concentration was located north of Bâb As-Sâhira and was inhabited by members of the Al-'Alamî, Al-Husseinî, An-Nashâshibi, Abu-Assa'ûd, Al-'Affî, and Al-Badîrî. The 1905 census shows that this quarter was not considered as one by itself; it was considered part of the district which included Wâdî Al-Jaouz, Al-Husseinî, and Sheikh Al-Jarrâh.

The Land Registry publications for the 1902-1904 period show that As-Sâhira was considered a quarter by itself and not a part of Bâb As-Sâhira despite the similarity of their name. Aerial photographs taken in 1918 show that this quarter had some fifty dwellings.

3- Wâdî Al-Jaouz Quarter⁽³¹²⁾

This quarter is situated north and north-east of the city's ramparts and stretches along the old road to Arîhâ (Jericho) and towards the road to 'Anâtâ. In mid-1890, this area had no more than two buildings erected along the road and owned by members of the Al-Badîrî and Shahwân families. At the outbreak of World War I, other houses, owned by Al-Hindî family members were built on the slopes of Wâdî (the Valley of) Al-Jaouz. Other families had houses built for themselves in this area. Among these were the families of Ad-Douïk, Al-'Akramâouî, Abu-Ghazâla, Hamdûn, Dujânî, Kamâl, and Qutaynî. These constructions, however, reflect little or none of the luxury and decoration of the houses in other quarters. Aerial photographs taken in 1918 show that sixteen houses had been built in this area.

312. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 123

4- Al-Husseini Quarter⁽³¹³⁾

This quarter is located east of Sâlâhuddîn Avenue and Nablus Road and south of Sheikh Jarrâh Quarter. It contains the largest and the oldest of Muslim quarters outside the city ramparts. In mid-1890, this area had no more than six houses, of which three were owned by Yûnus Al-Husseini, Rabâh Al-Husseini, and Selîm Al-Husseini, two were owned by the Nassîba family; and one by the 'Affî family. This quarter was named after Al-Husseini because nearly all its inhabitants were members of the Al-Husseini family. This quarter was referred to by his name in the register of construction permits delivered by the Municipality of Al-Qods. In 1918, this quarter consisted of thirty houses.

5- Sheikh Jarrâh Quarter

This quarter lies in the northern city limit at the intersection of Nablus Road and the road leading to Jabal Al-Mash-had (Mount Scopus). The earliest houses here built between 1870 and 1890 A.D. and belonged to the families of Jâr-Allah, An-Nashâshîbî, and Mourâd, among others. The number of houses kept growing and the quarter took the name of Sheikh Jarrâh. At the beginning of 1918, the area along the two above-mentioned roads saw the building of houses which belonged to the families of Ad-Dujâni, Hindiyyâ, Al-Sheikh, Ghûshah, and Ad-Dabîshah. This quarter consisted of thirty houses in 1918, as may be shown by the aerial photographs taken in that year.⁽³¹⁴⁾

To the above-named quarters, one should add both the area of Al-Baq'a, a quarter inhabited by Muslim as well as Christian populations, and the area which begins from Bâb Yâfâ (Bâb Al-Khalîl) and stretches towards Hûrat Al-'Inab.

Undoubtedly, the architectural style of the houses in the area of Al-Baq'a is similar to that of the houses in the above quarters, while that of houses in the area of Hûrat Al-'Inab is quite different, since it contains inhabitants of different religions and therefore remains a cosmopolitan quarter.

It should be pointed out that some Muslim families lived in Christian quarters, as did the families of Masrâra and An-Nashâshîbî in the areas of Mamillâ and Al-Mashiyya. Other families, like the Al-Ya'qûbiyya family, lived in Jewish quarters. Others yet, like the family of As-Sarâfiyya, lived in Christian-Jewish quarters.⁽³¹⁵⁾

313. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 123.

314. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, pp. 123-125

315. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 125

The Muslim quarters, at their beginning stage, grew in size and developed thanks to kinship ties between the families that first settled in those areas. Among the families that first built houses outside the ramparts of Al-Qods, one can mention An-Nashâshîbî, Al-'Alamî, Al-Hindî, Nassîba, Jâr-Allah, Dajânî, Khâlidî, Ad-Dardâr, and Sharaf; it should be pointed out that most of these families were rich and long-established in Al-Qods; they also had a great deal of political and religious influence on the life of the city.⁽³¹⁶⁾

A basic structure which efficiently helped the development of the new quarters outside the ramparts was a road network linking these quarters to the Old City, which remained the centre of all commercial activities and public facilities like markets, caravanserais, public (Turkish) baths, schools, and civil services buildings. The emergence of public services outside the ramparts also helped to develop these new quarters. Hence the opening of the school known as Al-Madrassa Ar-Rashîdiyya, the opening up of the city gates, particularly the gate known as Bâb As-Sâhira (which used to remain closed from sunset to sunrise), and the setting up of new shops which sold food products. Likewise, many other products and construction materials were available in new shops which were built outside of Bâb Dimashq, and the government had Nablus Road paved at the end of the nineteenth century.⁽³¹⁷⁾

Under the ghastly British mandate, construction in Al-Qods was carried on at a fast rate, mainly because the British authorities gave every opportunity to Jews in every country to migrate into Palestine. The Zionist Fund for the Colonization of the Palestinian Territory provided financial help for all the immigrant Jews who undertook the building of houses in Palestinian cities, particularly in Al-Qods Al-Shareef. Thus sprang up in the west and south-west parts of the city new and large quarters whose main characteristic was the peculiarity of their architecture in relation to the historical environment of the city of Al-Qods.⁽³¹⁸⁾

In 1948, the west rampart of the city became an impenetrable barrier between Arabs and Israelis after the armistice was signed. Thus the new part of the city was annexed by Israel, and after this date a new Arab city was built north of the Old City and as an extension of it.⁽³¹⁹⁾ Hence, the city of Al-Qods now has three distinct parts :

316. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 126

317. Hark and Landman, *Ibid.*, p. 130

318. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1970), Vol. 12, pp. 1006 and 1009b.

319. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Ibid.*, p. 1009b.

- In 1948, the area of Al-qods amounted to 3000 hectares, of which the Jews owned no more than 500 ha, while Arabs owned 2500 ha. This goes to disprove the propagandist claim by the Zionists that Al-Qods is a Jewish city.

Cf. M.A. Aamiry, *Jerusalem*, p. 9.

- 1- The Old City, which is enclosed within the ramparts built by Sultan Suleiman Al-Qânûnî in the sixteenth century, and which contains most of the ancient monuments and Islamic sanctuaries.
- 2- The Modern Western Quarter, which is located north of the Old City, and which is considered as the northerly extension of the city over the slopes of the Mount of Olives.
- 3- The west and south-west Quarter, which is the Jewish part of the Modern city, and which has grown at such a fast rate⁽³²⁰⁾ owing to the enormous amounts given by the Zionist organizations worldwide and by the United States of America to Israel by way of financial help.

After the occupation of the Arab city of Al-Qods in 1967, the Zionist forces, in defiance of international laws, proceeded to annex the Arab Islamic city to the State of Israel. Hence, such Arab villages and quarters as Wâdî Al-Jaouz, At-Thaourî, Salwân, At-Tûr, Al-'Ayssaouiyya, Beit Hanîna, Sha'ât, Fulandiyya, Beit Safâfa, Sharafât, and Saur Bâhir became dependencies of the Israeli Municipality of Al-Qods.

Israel subsequently undertook the construction of large quarters containing hundreds of high-rise buildings where thousands are housed today.⁽³²¹⁾ The city of Al-Qods has thus been deprived of its Arab-Islamic character. Furthermore, its charm and its status as a spiritual and touristic centre of attraction have been considerably spoiled.

The Israeli authorities have been trying to judaicize the city of Al-Qods through and through.⁽³²²⁾ To reach this objective, they set up an institution which they named "The Society for the Development of the Old City", whose task is purely and simply to judaicize the city of Al-Qods under the pretext of promoting the Old City. The sad fact is that it seeks to destroy the areas where Arab populations are housed and to substitute Jewish-owned buildings for Muslim-owned ones. The promulgation on 30 July 1980 of the special statute to the effect that Al-Qods would become the capital of Israel only made this situation worse than it was. An examination of the measures to judaicize Al-Qods will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

320. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ibid., p. 1006

321. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1948), Vol. 2, p. 515.

322. The author recalls having personally met a professor of urban planning who comes from a Muslim country in the East and who teaches in the United States of America. This professor related that a very rich Zionist paid three million dollars to Harvard University so that a detailed architectural survey could be made for the purpose of a definitive judaicization of Al-Qods.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Before the Ayyubid and the Mameluke eras, the formal education process in Al-Qods Al-Shareef took place in mosques and oratories, as the custom was in all countries of the Islamic world. However, this does not mean that special schools for the teaching of non-religious subjects did not exist.

Schools, in the modern sense of this term, appeared in Bilâd Al-Shâm (present day Syria and Palestine) in the Nurid era, which preceded the Ayyubid reign. These were instituted possibly through the influence of the An-Nidhâmiyya School, which was created in Baghdad by Seljuk Minister Nidhâm Al-Moulûk. In any case, the custom of setting up a special building as the locus of each school began way back in the Nurid era. Likewise, each school had its curriculum, its instructors, and its students; also, to cover such expenses as staff remuneration, pious endowments were instituted to provide funds on a regular basis. Most of these schools were boarding schools.⁽³²³⁾

The Arabic education curriculum in Al-Qods has evolved throughout the centuries down to this day. After the Zionist occupation of Al-Qods in 1967, the Israeli authorities took a number of decisions concerning the Arabic education curriculum in this city.⁽³²⁴⁾ They thus proceeded to suppress the Arabic curriculum used in the educational institutions of Al-Qods and impose the curriculum they had introduced in 1948 in the Arab schools throughout the occupied areas. This substitution was particularly imposed after the illegal annexation of Al-Qods to the state of Israel, despite the fact that the Director of Education, the headmasters, the teachers, and the learners throughout the city refused to follow these Israeli measures. One immediate consequence of this situation was a drop in the number of Arab schools, teachers, and learners. The

323. Adam Metz, *Islamic Civilization in the Fourth Century of the Hegira, or The Renaissance Era of Islam*, Vol.1, p. 318 (Translated to Arabic by Muhammad Abdulhâdî Abû-Rîda).

A. Metz, on the basis of all the information he has collected, demonstrates that the first school -- properly speaking -- was instituted in Nissâbûr and that it was built by Abû-Isshâq Al-Asfarâyînî (d. 418 A.H./1027 A.D.). On the other hand, Al-Maqrîzî, in his work, *Al-Khoutat*, Vol. 2, p. 363, reports that the first school built in Nissâbûr was Al-Bayhaqiyya School, built by Al-Bayhaqî (d. 454 A./1062 A.D.). Furthermore, Ad-Dhahabî claims that the first school in the Islamic world was An-Nizâmiyya, located in Baghdad.

324. Cf. *Bulletin of the Royal Commission for the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 106, (1983) p. 13.

effect of this drop was that some degree of flexibility was shown on the part of the Israeli authorities, who accordingly allowed the native religious schools to carry on the Arabic education curriculum.

However, the relatively small number of these native schools, combined with the high cost of maintaining them, ultimately made some of these institutions' officials adopt the Israeli measures while most of the students from these schools sought, and were denied, the opportunity to carry on their Arabic studies in the Arab West Bank. In the face of this denial, the Arab population of Al-Qods protested and denounced the measures which deprived their sons and daughters of attending Arabic universities, hence of getting jobs in Arabic countries. The Israeli authorities consequently reversed their decision and allowed the students from Al-Qods to register in West Bank educational institutions.⁽³²⁵⁾

HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN AL-QODS

The city of Al-Qods stands out among other Palestinian cities as the centre of higher education in Palestine throughout the British Mandate. Al-Koulliyya Al-Arabiyya (The Arab faculty) and Al-Koulliyya Ar-Rashîdiyya both provided a complementary two-year undergraduate programme for students who already hold the 'Matriculation' diploma.

The programme of studies at Al-Koulliyya Al-'Arabiyya was designed to train the students as prospective teachers of primary school classes as well as of classes at the junior secondary school level. On the other hand, Al-Koulliyya Ar-Rashîdiyya offered a curriculum which prepared students for the study of medicine, mathematics, or other branches of science.⁽³²⁶⁾

Over the academic year 1945-46, the student population at Al-Koulliyya Al-'Arabiyya was 166, including 19 senior students. That of Al-Koulliyya Ar-Rashîdiyya in the same year was 310 students, including 26 senior students.⁽³²⁷⁾

In addition to the above-named higher education institutions, Al-Qods could boast a School of Law offering a Programme covering five years of study. Among other admission requirements, the applicants had to hold the General

325. *Bulletin of the Royal Commission*, Ibid., pp. 15 and 16.

326. *Bulletin of the Royal Commission for the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 10.

327. Ibid., p. 33.

Certificate of Education. At one time, it had a population of 553 students, including twenty female Jewish students.⁽³²⁸⁾

From 1923 on, Palestinian Arabs have tried on many occasions to create a State University of Palestine, but the British authorities discouraged their project and ultimately opposed it. Although these Palestinians continued to cherish this dream and demanded equal treatment by the British authorities, who allowed the Jews to found the Hebrew University in 1925, the British throughout their mandate remained opposed to the creation of such a university.⁽³²⁹⁾ The Palestinians, however, did not give up their dream and thus asked to create a university in Al-Qods immediately after Palestine was divided up in 1948. However, this university was finally created -not in Al-Qods, but in Amman, for "logical reasons" as the phrase went at the time.

The higher education institutions located in Al-Qods today are as follows :

- Koulliyyat Ad-Da'wah wa Oussûl Ad-Dîn (The College of Theology) :

This College was created in 1978 and is located in the building used also as the locus of the Institute for the Training of Primary School Teachers; this building is the property of the Association of Beit Hanîna Residents. This institution offers a Programme leading to the Bachelor degree. In 1982, its teaching staff were ten in number, of whom two hold a doctoral degree, seven hold a Master's degree, and one holds a Bachelor's degree. Over academic year 1981-82, this Faculty had a population of 237 students, of whom 139 were male students.

- The Science and Technology College (Abû-Dîss, Al-Qods) :

Initially founded in 1970 as Al-Ma'had Al-'Arabî (The Arab Institute), it was renamed as The College of Science and Technology in 1977. It had some difficulties which made it close down for a short time, but it reopened in 1981.⁽³³⁰⁾ This faculty has a Board of Trustees composed of eighteen members.

This Faculty has four departments (mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology), and offers courses leading to a Bachelor's degree in these fields and to a Teacher Training Diploma. In 1982, this institution had fifteen teaching staff members, of whom four hold a doctoral degree, three hold a Master's degree,

328. Ibid., p. 33

329. Ibid., p. 33.

330. Sâlih Abduljawâd (1982), *The Specific Problems of Higher Education Institutions in the West Bank and Ghaza*, pp. 21-22

and eight hold a Bachelor's degree. In this same year, it had a population of sixty students.⁽³³¹⁾

- The Arab College for Medical Training (in Al-Beira) :

This institution was founded in 1979 under the initial name of "The Arab College of Medicine" and comprises the School of Nursing, the School of Health Science, Medical Lab Testing, and Hygiene. It offers courses leading to the Bachelors's degree and has a teaching staff consisting of two members with a Doctoral degree, thirteen with a Master's degree, and eleven with a Bachelor's degree.

In addition to the above-mentioned Colleges, Al-Qods also has Al-Ma'had Ash-Shar'î (The Institute of Shari'a Law Sciences), which was founded in 1975 as an extension of the institute by the same name in Amman. Additionally, there are various training schools here and there in Al-Qods, like the School of Hospital Nurses, which is attached to Mustashfâ Al-Maqâssid Al-Khayriyya (The Charity Hospital), and the School of Nursing, attached to the International Lutheran Union in Al-Qods.⁽³³²⁾

Arabs and Muslims alike still hope that the above-named institutions will serve as the core of a future university in their city. However, the Israeli authorities persist in their opposition to this project in spite of UNESCO's resolution, in favour of the instituting of such a university.

331. Sâlih Abduljawâd, *Ibid.*, p. 22

- Cf. The Fourth Annual Report (1983) of the Association of the Friends of the Arab Institute in Amman.

332. Sâlih Abduljawâd, *Ibid* p. 23



The west gallery of Al-Haram Al-Sharief

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC LIFE IN AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Divine wisdom has it that the cities of spiritual importance should be cities of no material wealth or natural resources, and that they should be situated in arid valleys so that they would always be hedged against opulence, which often draws ruin upon country and city alike.⁽³³³⁾ Al-Qods seems to be no exception to this rule. Geographer Ibn Haouqal describes it as a city with no great water resources, except for a few springs that are of no importance for farming purposes.⁽³³⁴⁾ Moreover, Al-Istakhrî writes that

"The City of Al-Qods lies high on mountain ridges and one can climb up and get into it from any direction one may reach it. With the exception of a few springs, there are no water courses that can be used for the irrigation of the land tract around Al-Qods, which is one of the most fertile areas in Palestine."⁽³³⁵⁾

The low annual rainfall and therefore the low water supply sustain a meagre seasonal crop of cereals and vegetables. On the other hand, this semi-dry land seems to be quite suitable for arboriculture, particularly where the olive-tree, the fig-tree, and other fruit-trees are concerned. This actually explains why Al-Qods has always depended on the farming areas around it for the supply of cereals, durum wheat in the main. The high demand for durum wheat, which has always been the staple food in Al-Qods, often gave rise to price speculation and the price of this commodity was always higher in this city than in its neighbourhood. In this connection, Ibn Qâdi Shahiyya relates the food and water shortage that marked the year 798 A.H. by reporting that

"In that year, news from Al-Qods came that therein a sack of wheat, which was regularly twice more expensive than in

333. S. 'Ashûr (1983) in *Proceedings of the Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâm*, Cf. the volume on Al-Qods, p. 107

334. Ibn Haouqal

335. Marmajî (1948) in his *Cities of Arab Palestine*, p. 31 quotes from Al-Istakhrî's work, p. 56 and Ibn Haouqal's work, p. 111

Damascus, had soared to the value of a thousand sacks in the latter city; that no bread at all was in supply; and that drought has caused such a shortage of water that even the Ayyûb Springs had gone dry. On several occasions, the collective "Prayer for Rain" was conducted in Al-Qods; but the irregular rainfall was not enough to fill the wells or to cancel the damage wreaked by the drought. The situation of the city's population changed from bad to worse."⁽³³⁶⁾

This goes to show that agriculture has never been a cornerstone in the economy of Al-Qods. This city has suffered water shortage throughout the ages and its inhabitants have often struggled to save it for drinking and for domestic use rather than for anything else. Although the cultivation of olive-trees, vines, fig-trees and other fruit-trees within this city and in its immediate neighbourhood was appreciable, it lost its importance in time.⁽³³⁷⁾ The great Persian traveller, Nâssir Khosrû relates the rich agricultural products of Al-Qods at one time when he writes that "*olive-trees, fig-trees, and other trees are cultivated (therein) without irrigation means. Agricultural products are varied and expensive. In some cases, a family may keep as much as a volume of fifty thousand litres of olive oil in wells and in tanks for worldwide export.*"⁽³³⁸⁾

According to the statistics of 1935, the area of olive-groves in Al-Qods amounted to 31,388 dounums, the grown olive-trees were 408,044 in number, and the volume of olive-oil (pressed in that year) was 661 tons. Vine-yards covered an estimated area of 6,579 dounums and yielded a crop of 3,990 tons of grapes. The land planted with fig-trees amounted to an area of 3,653 dounums, the grown fig-trees were 54,795 in number, and the crop was 625 tons of figs.

Although Al-Qods and its neighbourhood produced only a modest volume of agricultural products, this city nonetheless served as the main commercial centre for the agricultural products from the neighbouring Palestinian areas, particularly from Al-Baq'a.⁽³³⁹⁾

336. S. 'Ashûr, *Ibid.*, p. 107

This author further notes that food prices soared exceptionally in Al-Qods when drought struck. During the depression of 798 A.H., a sack of wheat in Al-Balqâ cost 300 while in Al-Qods it cost 800 or more and only 180 in Damascus.

337. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 228

338. Marmajî, *Ibid.*, p. 33

- Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p.146

- Al-Maqdissî, *Housnu At-Taqâssim*, p. 166

339. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.* pp. 228-229

Thus, commerce is another pillar of the economy of Beit Al-Maqdis. Although it does not lie on any major commerce route, Al-Qods in the Ayyubid and the Mameluke eras had many markets to cater for the needs of the local as well as the neighbouring populations; each of these markets was used for the commercializing of a particular category of products. Thus, one market was reserved for the commerce of meats and one area in it served for the slaughtering of male sheep brought all the way from Amman. There were separate markets for woven material, dyeing products, fish, poultry, vegetables, fruit, spices⁽³⁴⁰⁾, cereals, oil, soap, legumes, silk, perfume, and so forth.⁽³⁴¹⁾

Additionally, weekly markets were held in Al-Qods, exactly as they are still held today in places throughout Palestine and the other Arab countries. Each locality took the name of the day on which the market was held in it. These weekly markets gave the opportunity for commerce and exchange. Country folk sold their own products and purchased other products that they needed.

Moreover, other markets were held on special occasions such as the pilgrimage period. These periodic markets were profitable business for tradesmen from Al-Qods and its neighbourhood.⁽³⁴²⁾

Concerning its commerce with the exterior, Al-Qods had good relations with the European states, particularly with the Italian one. Hence, a special Agency was set up in the city to facilitate transactions with overseas tradesmen. The merchants of Al-Qods exported balm, oil, soap, wine, indigo, and sugar. On the other hand, they imported cotton and silk material, ceramics, and glass.⁽³⁴³⁾

Generally, one may say that commercial activity in Al-Qods was flourishing. However, it was nowhere near the commercial activity of other cities in the Arab world, like Halab (Aleppo), Damascus, or Cairo. Palestinian historian 'Aref Al-'Aref (1951) describes the trade situation in Al-Qods at the end of the Ottoman era and during the British Mandate in the following terms. "*Trade 'in Al-Qods' was thriving. Many merchants from this city were considerably wealthy. A slump in their business occurred only once or twice every three decades.*"⁽³⁴⁴⁾

340. Imâm Rashâd, Ibid. pp. 148-150
- Ghaouânima, *Studies in the History of Palestine*, p.154

341. Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 154
- Ghaouânima, Ibid., p. 154

342. Ghaouânima, Ibid., pp.155-156

343. Ghaouânima, Ibid., p.157

344. 'Aref Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 229

The large number of khâns or caravanserais that used to be found here and there throughout Al-Qods is a good indicator of how brisk trade was in this city. Although Al-Qods was of a relatively small area and could not be counted among the large trade centres throughout the Arab-Muslim world, it had over sixteen caravanserais in the Mameluke era and in subsequent eras.⁽³⁴⁵⁾

The Mameluke sultans put a great deal of efforts into the development of trade in Al-Qods. For instance, it was on the order of Sultan Ad-Dhâhir Baybars that the caravanserai bearing his name was built in 622 A.H., the large wooden door of this facility was brought all the way from the Fatimid Grand Palace in Cairo, where this door was a fixture of one of the Palace's gates, known as Bâb Al-Abd. Also, in 788 A.H., Sultan Barqûq ordered the building of the caravanserai known in Al-Qods as Khân As-Sultan and sometimes as Dâr Al-Wakâla.⁽³⁴⁶⁾

The following is a list of the main caravanserais in Al-Qods :

Name	Location
Khân As-Sultan (Dâr Al-Wakâla)	On the side of the road to Bâb As-Silsila
Khân Al-Ghâdiriyya	Al-Qattânîn Market
Khân Tankir	Al-Qattânîn Market
Khân Al-Qattânîn	Al-Qattânîn Market
Khân Al-Qâdî	Near Durj Al-'Ain
Khân Al-Fahm	On the side of the road to Bâb As-Silsila
Khân Al-Masraf	Upper end of the road to Bâb As-Silsila
Khân Ash-Shaâra	Al-Hasr Market
Khân Az-Zayt	Bâb Khân Az-Zayt Market
Khân Al-Khâssakiyya	'Aqabat At-Takiyya
Khân Al-Joubaylî	Hârat Al-Qaramî
Khân Al-Jâdilî	Bâb Hitta ⁽³⁴⁷⁾
Khân Al-'Ounnâna	Hârat An-Nassâra
Khân Ad-Dhâhir	Hârat Sa'd wa Sa'îd
Khân Banî Sa'd	The outer edge of the Old City

Most of these caravanserais date back to the Mameluke era and only a few were built in the Ottoman reign. Also, most of these khâns were pious endowments. Some caravanserais are in ruins while others are still being used as khâns or have been converted.⁽³⁴⁸⁾

345. S. Âshour, Ibid., p. 108

346. S. Âshour, Ibid., p. 108

347. Al-'Aslî, *Our Ancient Monuments in Beit Al-Maqdis* (Amman : 1982) p.42

348. Al-Aslî, Ibid., p. 43

The third pillar of the economy of Al-Qods was a light industry connected to agricultural products, e.g. the manufacture of oil presses, of soap, which used oil-pressing by-products, and of bibelots and icons, which were made out of olive-tree wood. The latter objects were highly sought by Muslim and Christian pilgrims and by tourists visiting the city. Miniature objects were manufactured as copies of Mosque Al-Aqsa and of the Holy Sepulchre, and as crosses made of metal and rosaries made of polished olive stones. Handicraft products included leather articles, hand-embroidered material⁽³⁴⁹⁾, candlesticks, glass-works, and silverware.⁽³⁵⁰⁾

Al-Qods had been well known for the skilful manufacturing of mirrors, candelabra, and other copper and brass objects since the fourth century of the Hegira (10th century A.D.).⁽³⁵¹⁾ These manufacturing skills have been preserved in spite of the occupation of Al-Qods by Israel. Moreover, a new kind of light industry has been introduced, e.g. a canning industry, quarrying, the manufacture of furniture pieces, tiles, plastic articles, and cigarettes, in addition to confectionery and soft drink bottling. The Jordanian statistics of 1965 indicate that, in the Arab part of Al-Qods, the number of manufacturing businesses employing ten or more persons amounted to 152 firms with a total of 2,500 employees.⁽³⁵²⁾

The fourth pillar of the economy of Al-Qods was the revenue from tourism and pilgrimage by Muslims and Christians. Such a flow of visitors provided an income for the inhabitants of the city for their services (accommodation, food, and transportation charges), as well as a revenue for the local authorities through the taxes paid by the pilgrims for the maintenance and restoration of the holy places. Likewise, in Al-Qods and elsewhere, the owners of beasts of burden earned their living from their transportation services, for the pilgrims who disembarked in the port of Yaffa needed transportation all the way to Al-Qods. Also, Muslim pilgrims from the various countries of the Islamic world needed transportation to the Holy Places in Al-Qods either before or after their pilgrimage to Mecca.⁽³⁵³⁾

349. Âshûr, *Ibid.*, p. 108

Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, p. 248.

350. M.A. Aamiry, *Jerusalem*, Part II, p. 248

351. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 148

352. *Palestine Encyclopedia* (1984), Vol. 3, p. 516

353. Imâm Rashâd, *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Âshûr, *Ibid.*, p. 108

Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 228

The fifth pillar of the economy of Al-Qods consisted of *waqf* (pious endowment) property instituted by Muslims and Christians. These endowments were numerous and provided regular funds for madrassas, mosques, zâouias, tekiyyes, as well as the Holy Places in the City. Instituting pious endowments was a common practice throughout the Islamic world in the Ayyubid and Mameluke eras. Most of these endowments were concentrated in such cities as Al-Qods, Cairo, Damascus, and Halab. Part of the endowments reserved for the religious buildings of Al-Qods in the reign of Sultan Ad-Dhâhir Baybars (661 A.H./1262 A.D.) was farmland in the village of Al-Moushayrifa and half of the farmland in the village of Kîgha. Moreover, regular funds reserved for Al-Qods also came from the usufruct of dwellings, buildings used for commercial purposes, and (in other Islamic countries) essentially farmland.⁽³⁵⁴⁾

The sixth pillar in the economic life of Al-Qods consisted of the emoluments earned and expended by functionaries from this city and from elsewhere, for their expenditures activated the economy. In 1947, there were in Al-Qods some ten thousand functionaries who were paid by various governments and spent money for their living expenses in this city. Additionally, various international institutions were located in Al-Qods and thus helped the local economy through the money that they spent as well as the money that came to them from the exterior. Examples of such institutions : Christian and Jewish missions, Archaeological Associations, Archaeological Schools, and various religious establishments.⁽³⁵⁵⁾

This is roughly what the profile of the economy of Al-Qods was like up to 1948, when Palestine was usurpated by the Sionists. For the period when the city was under the rule of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the economy of the Arab part of Al-Qods had developed to a fair level. Various industries were introduced and both trade and agriculture improved. Small- and mid-sized manufactures were set up in the areas around the city. The number of grown trees, particularly olive-trees had enormously increased.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ Thus, the city's economy was boosted through resources from industry, tourism, agriculture, hard currency savings by natives working in the Gulf countries and in the American continent, and from aid from Jordan and other Arab countries.⁽³⁵⁷⁾

354. 'Âshûr; Ibid., p. 108

Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 143

355. Imâm Rashâd, Ibid., p. 143

356. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 228

357. Ad-Dajâni (1982) "Economic Factors in the City of Al-Qods before the Israeli Occupation", *The Bulletin of Al-Qods*, n° 101, p. 22

In the wake of the Israeli occupation in 1967, the city's economy suffered extensive decline, particularly after the illegal annexation of the Arab part of Al-Qods and its integration in the Israeli economy. This change caused serious damage and led to the following :

- 1- The closing down of the major hotels in the Arab city, for control of tourism was now in the hand of the Israelis, who gave business to their hotels, thus driving Arab Hotels to bankruptcy.
- 2- The closing down of Arab banks, for the use of the Israeli currency forced the banks to close down; among these were The Arab Bank, The Bank of Cairo, The Mortgage Bank, and The People's Bank of Jordan.
- 3- The ban on all agricultural and industrial products imported from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip so that only Israeli products would be on the market.
- 4- Disallowing any funds transfer by Palestinians employed abroad in favour of their family or relatives living in Al-Qods.
- 5- Imposing heavy taxes on Arab products absolutely needed in Al-Qods.
- 6- An immediate consequence of the above-named measures was that many people in Al-Qods lost their jobs, no more investments were made, cash circulation became low, and an inevitable economic depression was the order of the day.⁽³⁵⁸⁾

The enforcement of Law no. 5728, promulgated in 1968 and related to the administrative and judicial organization of Al-Qods, aggravated an already difficult situation and enabled the Israeli authorities to gain full control over the economic potentialities of Al-Qods. This Law particularly in its Articles 6-14 stipulated the mandatory re-registration within six months of every Arab company or cooperative whose headquarters was Al-Qods as an Israeli enterprise; a further stipulation was that any branches of the company or cooperative in question should be made autonomous within the period allowed. As one may expect, the Arab reaction came as a full rejection of such arbitrary measures, and some Arab companies and cooperatives had purely and simply ceased their business activity. It should be pointed out that, prior to the enforcement of this Law, Al-Qods had twenty companies, one hundred and ten cooperatives, and some six hundred shops. Ultimately, while the number of companies remained the same, that of the cooperatives dramatically tumbled down to just one cooperative, the funds of all the other businesses having been seized and treated as the property of missing persons.⁽³⁵⁹⁾

358. *The Bulletin of the Royal Commission on the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 106 (1983), p. 1

359. Cf. *The Bulletin of the Royal Commission on the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 106 (1983), p. 6.

Thus did the Israeli enemy manage to paralyze then smother the economic life of Al-Qods, making its future entirely dependent on the Israeli economy. The situation in the other occupied territories was no better, for land therein was taken away from its owners, heavy taxes were imposed, and the prices of agricultural products were set to suit the Israeli interests.

By means of these draconian measures, the Israeli authorities have been seeking to break the ties between the Arab peasant and his farmland and to make him give it up so that the Israelis may settle in the Arab territories as a prelude to judaicizing them and expelling their Arab inhabitants from them.

CHAPTER X

WATER POINTS AND WATERWORKS IN AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Water has decisively conditioned the life of Al-Qods Al-Shareef. Although this city's existence has been dependent for its water supply on the Spring of Oumm Ad-Durj, which was the prime mover in siting and starting the earliest settlement form of Al-Qods, its inhabitants were to suffer severe occasional shortages of water from this spring. However, the city's inhabitants throughout the ages have struggled so hard to secure water supplies and have succeeded.

In time, water availability has encouraged the setting up of constructions connected with water, including hammams (public Turkish baths), ornate drinking fountains, water conduits, and reservoirs in Al-Qods. The many pools and reservoirs indicate that this city had to deal with water shortages, particularly because of drought periods but also because of the fast-growing population. Thus, water has been piped to the city from the Valley of Al-'Arûb⁽³⁶⁰⁾ which is located between Al-Qods and Al-Khalîl. As the demand grew further, water was also piped from other springs, such as 'Aïn Fâra and Ras Al-'Aïn.

In addition to the above-mentioned springs, the following is a list of the main springs and wells that have supplied water to Al-Qods :

- '**Aïn Salwân**, which was the main water supply source to Al-Qods, and which had several names, including 'Aïn Jjûn, 'Aïn Oumm Ad-Dourj, and 'Aïn Al-'Adhrâ⁽³⁶¹⁾

Aïn Salwân is located 300 metres away from the south-east angle of Al-Haram. From the earliest times, this spring has been mentioned many times in travel books and travel literature in general. Some authors have even gone as far as claiming that its waters could cure many ailments, that its underground

360. There are seven springs in the Valley of Al-'Ârûb : Farîdîs, Al-Mazra'â, Al-Ghouâr, 'Aïn Al-Boss, 'Aïn Al-Barrâda, 'Aïn Ad-Dalba.

361. K. Al-'Aslî, *Ancient Monuments in Al-Qods* (Amman, 1982), p. 97.
Palestine Encyclopedia (1984), Vol. 3, p.. 516.

source is close to that of Zam-Zam (the well-known spring near Mekkah), and that Caliph Othman bin 'Affân out of devotion had made it into *waqf* (pious endowment) in favour of the poor in Al-Qods.⁽³⁶²⁾

The Franks, for the time they occupied Al-Qods⁽³⁶³⁾, gave great importance to 'Aïn Salwân, for they believed that the Virgin Mary had washed in it the clothes of the new-born Christ. It was for this reason, according to some, that it was also known as 'Aïn Al-'Adhrâ' (The Spring of the Virgin). Today, it is mostly known as 'Aïn Oumm Ad-Dourj (The Stair Spring), for one has to climb stairs to get to it.

- **Bir Ayyûb**, which is four hundred and fifty metres away from 'Aïn Salwân, and which gets abundant water in winter. A legend has it that Prophet Dâoud (may Allah be pleased with him) once bathed in the water of this well and, as a result of this, healed from an otherwise incurable ailment. This well was also called Aïn Rûjal and used to be the second most important source of water supply to Al-Qods. In the Ottoman era, many water vendors filled their traditional goat-skin containers with water from 'Aïn Salwân or Bîr Ayyûb then sold drinks of water to passers-by on the streets of Al-Qods.⁽³⁶⁴⁾

- **Aïn Al-Laouza**, which is located five hundred and thirty-four metres south of Bîr Ayyûb, where Bâssûl Valley and Salwân Valley meet.⁽³⁶⁵⁾

- Wells :

What with the growth of the city's population and the various ways in which water was now being used, the water drawn from 'Aïn Salwân, Bîr Ayyûb, and 'Aïn Al-Laouza no longer sufficed for the daily needs of the inhabitants, who resorted to boring wells, each family extracting water from a well dug within their own house, or setting up a reservoir or a pool to catch rain-water. Al-Maqdissî, in his work, *Ahsanu At-Taqâssîm*, writes that "*it was rare to find a house without a well or a water catch, and it was just as rare to find a quarter without a drinking fountain or a water point for public use.*"⁽³⁶⁶⁾

362. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, pp. 189-190.
K. Al-Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 101

363. The Franks occupied Al-Qods in the 12th century A.D./6 th century A.H. They founded in it "the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem", but the Muslim Arabs, led by Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî, liberated this city.

364. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 103

365. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 103

366. Al-'Aref, *A Detailed History of Al-Qods*, p. 437.
Al-'Aslî *Ibid.*, p.109

Generally speaking, wells and reservoirs have been major sources of water supply to Al-Qods throughout the ages. In the middle of the 19th century A.D., a statistical survey showed that the Old City had nine hundred and fifty wells. At the end of the Ottoman era, Al-Qods and its suburbs (i.e., inside and outside the ramparts) had an estimated number of six thousand and six hundred wells. In 1919 A.D., the volume of the water contained in wells, reservoirs, and pools (including the wells of Al-Haram Al-Shareef) was estimated at one and a half million cubic metres.

As to pools, they used to function as arteries that gave lifeblood to the city in previous ages. Because of their important role, they were looked after; today, however, they are abandoned and most of them seem to be useless since they have been substituted for by modern water conduits which pipe water to the city from the springs of Ras Al-'Ain.⁽³⁶⁷⁾

Some of the best known pools in the history of Al-Qods⁽³⁶⁸⁾ carried the following names : As-Sayyida Mariam (Mary the Virgin), Al-Bahj, As-Sarray, Al-Ghanam, Al-Burâq, Hammâm Ash-Shifâ', An-Na'âma, Hammâm Al-Bassar, Hammâm Al-Batrik, Ard Al-Birka, Mâmilla, As-Sultân, and the pool by the tombs of the sultans.

The pools communicated with springs and other water sources through water canals; the most important canals were : the canal which links the Spring of Sitti Mariam and Al-Hamra' Pool : the Salwân Canal, which links the Spring of Sitti Mariam and the Pool or the Spring of Salwân (a pool which links Mâmilla and Hammam Al-Batrik); and the canal which links the Valley of Al-Bayyâr and Bâb Al-Khalîl.⁽³⁶⁹⁾

Among other constructions set up owing to the wide availability of water, one should point out drinking fountains, which were many in Al-Qods. These fountains provided cool water to quench the thirst of the people who walk by and those who had them constructed did so in the hope of securing divine mercy. Thus, sultans, governors, princes, wealthy merchants had drinking fountains set up to provide people with drinking water free of charge.

367. K. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 114.

368. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 117

Encyclopedia of the Holy Book (Second Edition), p. 132.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol.1, p. 379, for information on further pools in Al-Qods and throughout Palestine.

369. *Encyclopedia of the Holy Book*, p. 132.

N. Shaheen (1977), *The Siloam End of Hezekiah's Tunnel* in PEQ n° 109, pp. 107-112.

On the problem of waterworks in Al-Qods, see J. Wilkinson (1974), *Ancient Jerusalem : Its Water Supply and Population* in PEQ n° 106, pp. 33-51.

Al-'Aslî (1982) reports that there still exist in Al-Qods vestiges of twenty eight such fountains, of which five date back to the Ayyûbid era, seven to the Mameluke era, fourteen to the Ottoman era, and two of unknown date. The enclosure of Al-Haram Al-Shareef by itself counts eleven of these twenty eight vestiges, while the rest of the Old City has fifteen; the remaining two vestiges are located outside the city ramparts.

These fountains are different from each other in point of architecture and style of decoration. Thus, some are elaborately ornamented, others were built quite soberly, and others yet are much less sober in style, depending on the financial means of the benefactor or the economic situation of the city at the time when the fountain was constructed. To point out two contrastive cases, one may mention the Fountain of Qaytbay, which is sumptuously ornamented and set to embellish the Esplanade of Al-Haram Al-Shareef and, on the other hand, the Fountain of Bâb Hitta, which is well known for its sober design.

Among the best-known of these fountains are those built in the reign of Suleiman Al-Qânûnî in the 10th century A.H.⁽³⁷⁰⁾

The following is a list of drinking fountains extant in Al-Qods and fountains that are in ruins, along with their construction period and their location.

I. DRINKING FOUNTAINS OF THE AYYUBID ERA

These are five in number.⁽³⁷¹⁾

Name	Date	Location
1. Al-'Âdil Abî-Bakr	589 A.H.	The Old City
2. Al-Ka's	589 A.H.	Between the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa
3. Al-Malik Al-Mou'addham	607 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram
4. Qâssim bin Abdallah	of unknown date	The Esplanade of Al-Haram
5. Sha'lân	613 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram

It should be observed here that all of these fountains are located in Al-Haram Al-Shareef, with the exception of the first one.

370. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, pp. 217 and 220.

371. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 220



Qaytbay Fountain

II- DRINKING FOUNTAINS OF THE MAMELUKE ERA

All together, these are twelve fountains⁽³⁷²⁾, of which the most important are :

Name	Date	Location
1. Bâb Al-Habs	666 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram
2. Tankir	729 A.H.	No longer in existence
3. Al-Qaramî	760 A.H.	Al-Qaramî Street in Al-Wâd
4. At-Tushtumuriyya	784 A.H.	Bâb As-Silsila
5. Khân As-Sultân	788 A.H.	Bâb As-Silsila
6. Turbat Barkat Khâtûn	792 A.H.	Bâb As-Silsila
7. Qaytbay	887 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram

III- DRINKING FOUNTAINS OF THE OTTOMAN ERA

Name	Date	Location
1. Qâssim Bâshâ	933 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram
2. Al-Wâd	943 A.H.	Al-Wâd
3. Bâb As-Silsila	943 A.H.	Bâb As-Silsila
4. Suleimân	943 A.H.	Al-Haram Street
5. Bâb An-Nâdhir	943 A.H.	Bâb An-Nâdhir Street
6. Sittna Mariam	943 A.H.	Al-Moujâhidîn Street
7. Tekiyyet Khâskî Sultân	959 A.H.	'Aqabat At-Takiyya
8. Darj Al-Wâd	959 A.H.	Al-Wâd
9. Bâb Hitta	959 A.H.	Bâb Hitta
10. Bâb Khân Az-Zayt	959 A.H.	Bâb Khân Az-Zayt
11. Ash-Shaourabajî	1097 A.H.	The interior side of Bâb Al-'Amûd
12. Al-Badîrî	1153 A.H.	The Esplanade of Al-Haram
13. Bâb Al-Khalîl	1325 A.H.	Bâb Al-Khalîl

Further constructions set up owing to the wide availability of water are the hammams (public Turkish baths), commonly found throughout the Islamic world. These public baths are a major feature of the large Islamic cities, and people use them regularly to take a bath, to have their linen laundred, or to celebrate weddings and other happy events. Like other public facilities, hammams have social, sanitary, and sometimes economic functions.⁽³⁷³⁾

Geographer Al-Maqdissî (10th century A.H.) reports that Al-Qods had many hammams in addition to three fantastic swimming pools which had attached

372. K. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 222.

373. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p.174.



Sitti Marhum Fountain



Bab An-Nadhir Fountain

baths set up next to them and which, by his account, were "squalid and expensive."⁽³⁷⁴⁾

Some of the hammams in Al-Qods were made into *waqfs* (pious endowments) so that they could supply regular funds for some *madrassas* (traditional Islamic schools) or caravanserais in the city. Such was the case of Hammam Al-Batrick, which, along with the shops adjacent to it, were pious endowments that provided regular funds for a caravanserai in the Ayyubid era. Such also was the case of Hammam Bâb Al-Asbât, which provided regular funds for Al-Madrassa As-Salâhiyya.

In the Mameluke and the Ottoman eras, hammams in Al-Qods grew in number. Some of the best-known ones were : Hammam Ash-Shiffâ⁽³⁷⁵⁾, Hammam As-Sultân, Hammam Al-'Aïn,⁽³⁷⁶⁾ Hammam Al-Jamal, Hammam Al-Batrick, Hammam Alâ'udîn Al-Bassîr, Hammam As-Sayyida, Hammam Bâb Al-Asbât, Hammam Bâb Al-'Amoud, Hammam As-Sakhra, and Hammam As-Souq.⁽³⁷⁷⁾

History records indicate that these hammams functioned continually up to the 10th century of the Hegira, and that, from the 11th century A.H. on, their number began to decline. This is reported by Turkish author-traveller Evliâ Tshelebî in his **Siyyâhât Nâmat**, wherein he states that Al-Qods, in addition to six large caravanserais, had six hammams, which were : Hammam Sittna Mariam, Hammam As-Sultan, Hammam Ash-Shiffâ', Hammam Al-Aïn, Hammam As-Sakhra, and Hammam Al-Batrik. Tshelebî must be writing here about the best-known hammams in Al-Qods in his own time.

Hammams in Al-Qods varied in area and in degree of luxury; however, regardless of these, they certainly did not match up to hammams in such great Islamic cities as Istanbul, Cairo or Damascus, for Al-Qods was a relatively small city with a much smaller population and very limited economic resources. However, hammams in Al-Qods are similar to those in other Islamic cities as to the lay-out of the rooms, the furnace location, and the general interior features.⁽³⁷⁸⁾

374. Quoted by Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, 169.

375. Hammam Ash-Shiffâ is located within the Al-Qattânîn Market. It was built in 730 A.H. and functioned for a long time. It is now being restored.

376. This is about the best-known hammam in Al-Qods. It is located at the point where Al-Wâd Street ends at the Al-Qattânîn Market. It still functions as a public bath today, but it needs restoration.

377. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 170

378. Al-'Aslî, *Ibid.*, p. 172



Bab Al-Um Fountain



Cheikh Radfi Fountain

CHAPTER XI

THE SCHEMES TO JUDAIZE AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Schemes to judaize the city of Al-Qods were started very early in an attempt to fulfil a false dream that is still cherished by orthodox Jews and some Christian zealots. This seems to be closely linked to the Jews' migration to Palestine. It should be noted that this migration first took on a purely religious character, but it soon shifted to a political objective presided by the World Zionist Congress, viz. the creation of a Jewish State in "the Promised Land", as they claimed.⁽³⁷⁹⁾

Al-'Âbidî reports that Ayyûbid Sultan Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî gave audience in 1211 A.D. to three rabbis who had come from England and France to find out if Jews could emigrate to Palestine. The consultations fell through, however, because of the two parties' diverging points of view on this point. Be it noted here that, in 1267 A.D., only two Jews lived in Palestine. Actually, these were two full brothers who resided in Al-Qods. In 1327 A.D., there was in Palestine a small Jewish community whose members mostly worked as goldsmiths. The number of Jewish inhabitants in Al-Qods gradually increased so that, in 1481 A.D., it reached about one thousand and five hundred individuals over a total population of ten thousand. However, in 1492 A.D., with the fall of Grenade in Moorish Spain, the number of Jews in Al-Qods increased as they were expelled from Spain and other European countries.⁽³⁸⁰⁾ On the other hand, their number decreased so dramatically that, in 1800 A.D., only one Jew lived in Al-Qods. Later on, their number picked up gradually so that they were about thirty thousand in 1890 A.D. fifty thousand in 1896, and eighty thousand in 1898.⁽³⁸¹⁾

379. This issue has been dealt with in many studies, the most recent and most interesting of which is Rajae Garaudy's book *Israel and Political Zionism*, published in 1978. Cf. the Arabic translation, p. 14.

380. M. Al-'Âbidî (1978), *Some of Our History*, p. 14.

381. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 192. This author also states that in 1670 A.D. the Jewish population was one hundred and fifty according to the census of the time.

At the beginning of this process, the Arab Palestinians welcomed to their community all the immigrant Jews, with whom they had cordial and peaceful relations for many generations. The very few and isolated incidents that ever occurred between Arabs and Jews were considered unimportant and expected in any society with multiple religious or ethnic groups. Thus, a very good relationship developed between Arab farmers and the first Jewish colonies that settled in Palestine. Members of those colonies employed many Arabs as farm-hands.⁽³⁸²⁾ Palestinian city-dwellers saw these early settlers as refugees who had fled from the persecutions in Eastern Europe or as pilgrims who had decided to settle in Palestine as devout.⁽³⁸³⁾

Between 1881 and 1891, the Arabs' attitude remained a peaceful one. However, as the Zionist threat gradually became evident, their reaction became one of scepticism and disapproval concerning Jewish immigration. The old amity turned into deep aversion which gradually developed into an open war between Arabs and Jews in 1947.⁽³⁸⁴⁾

After 1947, the city of Al-Qods was divided into two parts : the Arab part to the east, and the part to the west, called the "new Al-Qods", whose inhabitants were mostly Jews. Each of these two parts of the city grew larger with the growth of its population. In the Arab part of the city, the population growth was mainly due to an increase in the birth rate and to an exodus from the country to the city. The population growth in the west part was the result of the migration of Jews from overseas.

The former mayor of Al-Qods, Professor Rouhî Al-Khatîb, who is now an expatriate, states that the Judaization of Al-Qods and the modification of its demographic structure may be said to have taken place in four stages corresponding to the following periods : the first stage (1907-1917), the second stage (1918-1948), the third stage (1948-1967), and the fourth stage (1967-1981). He then lists the various schemes devised in order to judaicize the city.⁽³⁸⁵⁾

382. A. 'Awad (1984), *The Palestinian Personality and Zionist Immigration* in *Studies in Palestinian History and Archeology*, p. 398.

383. A. 'Awad, *Ibid.*, p. 398.

384. A. 'Award, *Ibid.*, p. 399, Arab-Jew relations changed once the Arabs realized that the Jews, helped by the World Zionist Congress, were carrying out their plan to establish a Zionist State in Palestine and to expel the Arab natives from it by way of ethnic purification.

385. Rouhî Al-Khatîb (1982), *Bulletin of the Royal Commission on the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 100; p. 12

Under the British Mandate (i.e. before Palestine was divided up and after the first Arab-Israeli war (i.e. during the period when Palestine was divided up), the schemes to judaicize Al-Qods were numerous⁽³⁸⁶⁾; but it was not until 1967, after the Zionist forces had occupied the city, that these measures became draconian, for they affected the administrative system, the educational system, and the historic environment of Al-Qods. Jewish settlements were set up, thereby helping with the measure to change the city's demographic structure; and the historic vestiges, which gave Al-Qods its Arabic and Islamic specificity, were removed.

After Al-Qods had been occupied, voices in Israel called loud from the settling of further Jewish colonies in the occupied territories, particularly in Al-Qods because of its strategic location and political importance for the state of Israel. Among those voices was that of David Ben-Gurion, who, in 1967, urged the members of his party in a speech that "*The inhabitants of Arab Al-Qods should be those who are returning to it*" (i.e. the immigrating Jews).⁽³⁸⁷⁾ In a prayer ceremony held by the West Wall (the Wall of Al-Burâq) and attended by a congregation of Jewish soldiers, Solomon Warren, a rabbi of the Jewish army, repeated many times over that the dream of many Jewish generations had been fulfilled, that Al-Qods belonged to the Jews and should never be given up by them, and that it was the eternal capital of the Jewish State.⁽³⁸⁸⁾ Also, representatives of the Jewish part of Al-Qods had a meeting with the Jewish Prime Minister, David Eshkol, whom they asked to authorize Jews to populate the Arab part of the city. As a matter of fact, some Jewish settlers seized Arab houses and occupied them long before the authorization of their government was officially announced.⁽³⁸⁹⁾

The situation got worse when the Executive Committee of the National Religious party urged its party members to march into the Arab part of Al-Qods and settle it. Also, various Israeli institutions manifested their wish to move to the Arab part of the city and carry on their business activity there. Some such institutions were the Hadassa Medical Organization and the Hebrew University. The Israeli Government services competed for the control of the administrative institutions of the Arab City. Thus, the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs on its own initiative took control of the Holy Places, the Antiquities Division usurped the Palestinian Museum and seized the ancient monuments and sites,

386. Getting more and more Jews to settle Al-Qods was one of the objectives of the Zionists, who repeated to credulous Jews that "*Our feet have always been at your door, O Jerusalem! O Jerusalem! the ever-unified city.*" Cf. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 522.

387. J. Samîr (1983), *Jewish Immigration to Al-Qods and its Neighbourhood* in *Bulletin of the Royal Commission on the Affairs of Al-Qods*, n° 107; p. 1

388. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 522.

389. J. Samîr, *Ibid.*, p.1

and the Ministry of Housing launched its project to build new residential areas. The Ministry of Tourism and Communications as well as the other Ministries had similar plans.⁽³⁹⁰⁾ In short, every Government body and institution sought to carry out its own building projects without ever coordinating with other bodies and the resulting chaos caused extensive damage to the infrastructure and to the socio-economic foundations of the city.

The Israeli Government tried to confer legitimacy on this chaotic situation by declaring at the end of its meeting of 11 June 1967 that it was proposing to the Knesset a bill whereby it sought the annexation of the Arab city of Al-Qods. The Israeli Parliament wasted no time, for on the same day, it unanimously passed it into a law.

Thus, the Arab city of Al-Qods became politically and administratively an annex of the State of Israel by virtue of decree n° 2064. On the basis of this same decree, the Israeli Government decreed the 1967 Law and Order Rule n° 1, which stipulates that the Arab city was subject to the rules and laws of Israeli administration.⁽³⁹¹⁾

Thirteen years later, the Knesset laid down the so-called "ground rules of the unified Jerusalem" according to which "the city of Al-Qods, both of its parts included, constitutes Israel's unified capital and is thereby the head-quarters of the Government, the Knesset, and the Supreme Court."⁽³⁹²⁾

In order to complete the judaization of the city as fast as possible, the Israeli Government took a series of measures, particularly the settling of Jewish colonies within the Arab city⁽³⁹³⁾, the setting up of a Society for the Restoration of the Jewish Quarter and the Development of the Old City⁽³⁹⁴⁾ and among other things, the substituting of Hebrew names for Arab names carried by the streets and squares in the city.

Concerning the Israeli colonies to be mentioned later on, the occupying authorities deliberately settled them within the Arab city so as to judaize it immediately after its occupation. This strategy consisted in setting up three settlement belts around the city⁽³⁹⁵⁾. The first belt involved the Old Arab City

390. J. Samîr, *Ibid.*, p. 2

391. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 522

392. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 522

393. M. Abdulhâdi, *Israeli Settlements in Al-Qods and the Jordan Valley : 1967-1977* published by the Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî Al-'Arabî Association (Al-Qods : 1978), p.57

394. J. Samîr, *Ibid.*, p. 5

395. These belts also seemed to have the military aims of controlling and subjugating the Arab city. The same scheme was followed in the setting of other Jewish colonies in occupied Palestine.

within the ramparts; the second was set around the Arab part of the city outside the ramparts; and the third was intended to contain the Arab populations in the suburbs of the city. This scheme was carried out in such a way that the Arab city was contained within a larger "Jewish Al-Qods" as the Zionist schemers wished to see it.⁽³⁹⁶⁾

The occupying authorities first set up colonies in the Arab and Muslim area between the west wall of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Latin Convent, thus usurping Muslim parcels which were *waqf* property (pious endowments) and, by contrast, using only a small parcel that was owned by some Jews before 1948. To carry out this scheme, four Arab quarters, namely Ash-Sharq, Bâb As-Silsila, Al-Yâshûra, and Al-Maghâriba were pulled down and their occupants were thrown out.⁽³⁹⁷⁾

Such measures are part of the Israeli scheme to stamp out the Palestinian entity by means of the colonies set up in the city of Al-Qods and throughout the occupied territories. The following are the most important of these Jewish colonies⁽³⁹⁸⁾ :

1. 'Athrooh

This colony was set up close to Qalandiyya Airport in 1970 on an expropriated land area of about 1,000 dunums which belonged to Arab owners from Beit Hanîna. Part of this land was used for the construction of Israeli factories that produce space heaters, paint, furniture, and building materials, in addition to a biological laboratory, a refrigerated depot, and other facilities. The rest of this land area was used by the occupying forces for the construction of one hundred and eighty one housing units.⁽³⁹⁹⁾

2. Prophet Jacob

This colony was set up seven kilometres away from the centre of Al-Qods in 1973 and involved a project for the construction of four thousand housing units. Accordingly, vast Beit Hanîna land areas, estimated at thirty dunums,

396. J. Samîr, *Ibid.*, p. 6

W. Al-Ja'farî, *Settlement Colonies in the Occupied Territories : 1967-1980*, Mou-assassat Ad-Dirâssât (Beirût, 1981), p. 171.

397. W. Al-Ja'farî, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

398. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

399. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 525.

were expropriated. It was expected that this project would provide housing for seventeen thousand inhabitants.⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾

3. Ramooth

This colony was set up in 1973 on the site between Aksomat Beit Hanîna and Prophet Samuel; this site was developed into a residential area for some seven thousand five hundred settlers, with a thousand houses constructed on an area of thirty dunums. To secure the land for this colony, the occupying forces pulled down a hundred houses belonging to Arabs and deprived many other owners of their parcels.⁽⁴⁰¹⁾

4. Ramath Eshkol

This colony was set up in 1968 near Sheikh Jarrâh Quarter on a land area of six hundred dunums, where seven thousand five hundred Jewish settlers live in two thousand and two hundred houses.⁽⁴⁰²⁾

5. At-Talla Al-Afransiyya

Located east of Mount Al-Mashraf (Scopis), this colony was set up in 1969. About fifteen dunums of Arab-owned land was expropriated by the Israelis for the construction of five thousand houses for twelve thousand Jewish settlers.⁽⁴⁰³⁾

6. Ma'looth Dafna

This Arab-owned site was converted in 1968 into an Israeli residential area which is considered an extension of the Ramath Eshkol colony. Its area is of two hundred and seventy dunums, on which two thousand and four hundred houses were built for about four thousand five hundred Jewish settlers.⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾

400. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 524. Abdulhâdî reports that this colony contains a population of seventeen thousand while the *Palestine Encyclopedia* reports an estimation of only twelve thousand inhabitants.

401. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 522.

402. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 524.

403. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 524.

M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

404. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 524.

M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

7. Jello (Sharfât)

This colony was set up in 1973 for the housing of thirty five thousand Jewish settlers.⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾

8. At-Tâlibiyya Ash-Sharqiyya

This colony was established in 1973 near Abou-Thaour and Sûr Bâher (Jabal Al-Mukabbar), about three kilometres south-east of the Old City. It was built on an area of twenty thousand dunums of Arab-owned land which was expropriated by the Israelis.

9. The Jewish Quarter in the Old City

Immediately after the occupation of Al-Qods in 1967, a Jewish colony was set up in this quarter on the site between the west wall of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Latin Convent. This site essentially consisted of Muslim *waqf* (pious endowment) estate.

One hundred and sixty Arab houses were pulled down, six hundred others were expropriated, and up to the beginning of 1977, six thousand five hundred Arab inhabitants were thrown out of their houses.

By 1981, the occupying forces had built and restored four hundred and sixty eight houses for about one thousand eight hundred Jewish settlers. Additionally, a market and a synagogue were built on the site of four Arab quarters, which had been razed so that those facilities could be built. The following are the names of the quarters in question : Ash-Sharq, Al-Bâshûra, Al-Maghârîba, and Bâb As-Silsila, as pointed out further above.⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾

10. The Hebrew University

This colony was set up so that a university campus could be built on Mount Al-Mashraf (Scopis). Construction work was launched on Mount Al-Mashraf in 1969. Thus, residence halls for students and for professors, offices, a lecture hall, and a university hospital were built on this site. These

405. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

406. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 64

Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 523.

buildings offer space for a population of 31,500 students and staff. The residential quarter contains one hundred and nine housing units.⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾

11. The Sâhadriyya Quarter

This quarter was set up in 1973 north-east of the city on Arab-owned land which had been expropriated. Three thousand housing units were built for a population of three thousand two hundred settlers.

These are some of the colonies which were set up in Al-Qods and its outskirts despite the protests which were voiced throughout the world and in defiance of condemnation emanating from such international organizations as the United Nations, UNESCO, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the various Arab organizations, and other international institutions.

It should be reiterated that these colonies were established within a scheme of wiping out the Arabic aspects of Al-Qods and totally judaizing, in the shortest possible time, this Arab and Islamic city.

407. M. Abdulhâdî, *Ibid.*, p. 64.
Palestine Encyclopedia, p. 524.

CHAPTER XII

THE HOLY CONSTRUCTION IN AL-QODS AL-SHAREEF

Since Al-Qods has always been a holy city as far as the three monotheistic religions are concerned, Muslims, Christians, and Jews erected in it many holy places which have been inherited over the generations down to this day. Sometimes we find that a most ancient holy place still serves the religious function it did when it was first built, for the people who came to proclaim in Al-Qods a relatively more recent religion simply considered that an ancient sacred place built by their predecessors still was a holy place. This has been the case with many peoples in many countries and, based on such examples, some historians have argued that ancient holy places are perpetual in that these have always served their function as such.

The following are some of the most important holy places in Al-Qods :

I. Muslim holy places

The most important Muslim holy place in Al-Qods is Qubbat As-Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock), founded by the Umayyad Caliph Abdulmâlik bin Marwân in 72. A.H./791 A.D.

Some claim that the Caliph built it because he wanted to both safeguard the Sacred Rock and perpetuate the name of the Third Holiest Place in Islam with reference to the Hadith Saying by Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) : "*There are only three places of pilgrimage : the Mosque of Al-Harâm (Makkah), the Mosque bearing my name (i.e. the Mosque of the Messenger in Medina), and the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ (Al-Qods).*" Others claim that he wanted to build a monument that would both perpetuate his own name and match up with the other monuments in Syria.⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾

408. Badr Muhammad 'Abbâs, *The Dome of the Rock* in *Proceedings of the Second Congress on the Monuments of the Arab World* (Baghdad, 1957), (publications of the Arab League, 1958), p. 313.

The Dome of the Rock is of very sturdy construction. Each of the four arches that constitute the four entrances faces towards a cardinal point. A wooden dome is built over the Sacred Rock. The outside of the cupola is covered with lead strips and the inside is covered with gilded designs that are beautifully carved. The cupola, measured from base to top, is 20.44 metres high. The dome, measured from the ground up, is about 35 metres, excluding the crescent which surmounts it and which is 4.5 metres high. The cupola sits on a circular base which is ornamented with mosaic and whose inner walls are harmoniously decorated with carved floral designs of soft shades of blue. In the middle of the drum, there is a marble frieze with gilded elaborate carvings. The frieze crowns a supporting wall with sixteen panes each consisting of stained glass framed with porcelain blocks.

The circular base of the cupola is supported by four large marble-covered pillars. Between any two pillars stand three multi-coloured marble columns which support four archways made of black and white marble.⁽⁴⁰⁹⁾

The size of the Sacred Rock is 13 m x 18 m, and it is about one and a half metres high. Inside the Rock is a square-shaped cavern with stairs leading into it. This cavern has an area of about eighteen square metres and contains a flat *mihrâb* (a recess for praying) which is made of marble and whose top cover has an opening in it which has been cut about one metre long.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

Between the circular building of the Dome and the external octagonal part, there is a middle octagonal space consisting of eight marble-covered pillars and sixteen columns of multi-coloured marble, arranged in such a way that every pair of columns alternates with every single pillar. Atop these pillars and columns, there are vaults decorated with floral patterns in mosaic coloured in gold and azure blue. The arches are linked to each other with wood beams covered with chiselled bronze.⁽⁴¹¹⁾

The middle octagon stands between the middle portico and the outer portico, which are both covered with a wooden cupola which, in its turn, is covered with lead strips on the outer side and with carved wood on the inner side.

409. Badr Muhammad 'Abbâs, *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Cf. *The Bulletin of the Commission in Charge of the Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ* (Amman, 1964), n° 4, pp. 16-17.

Cf. Imâm Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, p. 171.

410. *The Bulletin of the Commission in Charge of the Maintenance and Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ*, n° 4, pp. 16-17

411. *Idem.*, p. 17.

Concerning the decoration of the Dome, see Safwân At-Tall's *The Construction and Decoration of the Dome of the Rock in Al-Qods* in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the History of Bilâd Al-Shâm* (Amman, 1983); pp. 27-140.

The lower part of the outer octagon's façades is covered with marble slabs while their upper part is covered with porcelain which dates back to the Ottoman era and which initially used to be covered with mosaic. Each of these façades has seven vertical rows, of which five have oblong stained glass panes similar to those in the wall which supports the Dome. Each of these windows has a design and a pattern of stained glass which are particular to it.⁽⁴¹²⁾

The Dome of the Rock has been kept intact and has withstood the injury of time owing to the great care taken of it by all the governors of Al-Qods throughout the ages. Probably the most important restoration of this monument was undertaken in the reign of the Abbassid Caliph Al-Mâmûn in 216 A.H. In the course of the restoration work, a blunder was committed, for the building of this mosque was now ascribed to Caliph Abdulmâlik bin Marwân, while the construction year, which dates back to the Umeyyad era, was kept as it was. Hence, from the reign of Al-Mâmûn onward, one could read on the inscription at the entrance of the Dome of the Rock the following commemoration : "*This Dome was erected in the year seventy-two (of the Hegira) by the servant of Allah, Al-Imâm Al-Mâmûn, Commander of the Faithful, may Allah be pleased with him.*"

In 407 A.H., an earthquake hit the city and some parts of the large cupola fell off. Restoration work was undertaken by order of Ibn Al-Hâkim bi Amrillah Ad-Dhâhir li I'zâzi dîn Allah (413 A.H.) and under the supervision of 'Alî bin Ahmad, whose name is carved on the wood pillars which support the Dome.⁽⁴¹³⁾

Pilgrim priests at that time took pleasure in tearing off the Rock pieces which they took to their home country and traded for gold. To put an end to such petty vandalism, the Crusaders decided to cover the Rock with marble slabs.⁽⁴¹⁴⁾

When Sultan Salâhuddîn Al-Ayyûbî liberated Al-Qods, he had all the Christian symbols (e.g. the statues, the altar, the icons) cleared off the Sacred Rock. He also had the marble covering the Rock removed. He then had all the

412. *The Bulletin of the Commission in Charge of the Maintenance and Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ*, n° 4, p. 18.

Cf. also Hussein Mu'nis's work *The Mosques* in the *World of Knowledge* series (Kuwait : 1981), pp. 177-180.

Ahmad Kâssim Joumu'a's excellent paper, *Architectural and Artistic Elements of the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ*, read at the First International Colloquium on Palestine Monuments, and published in *Palestinian History and Monuments*, Vol. 1, pp. 49-78.

Rayhâwî Abdulkader's article in *Palestinian History and Monuments*, Vol. 1, pp. 79-100.

413. Badr Muhammad 'Abbâs, *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 289.

414. Al-'Aref, *Ibid.*, pp. 289-290.

walls of the Mosque covered with marble slabs and had the inside of the cupola embellished with sumptuous engravings.⁽⁴¹⁵⁾ This was recorded on the inscription frieze of the inner Dome, where one could read the following :

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The Late Learned and Righteous Sultan Salâhuddîn bin Ayyûb ordered that this Sacred Dome be renovated and regilded over the months of the year five hundred and eighty six" (of the Hegira).⁽⁴¹⁶⁾

All the Ayyubid successors of Salâhuddîn took good care of the Dome of the Rock (the Mosque of the Rock), for each of them had swept it clean and washed its floor with rosewater.⁽⁴¹⁷⁾ The Mameluke sultans did the same, for Sultan An-Nâssir Muhammad bin Qalâwûn had the Dome regilded and had this event commemorated by means of an inscription which bore the following :

"By order of our Sire, Allah's adoring shadow, who carried out both Allah's traditions and commands, Sultan Muhammad, son of the Late Victorious Martyr Qalawûn, this Sacred Dome was renovated and regilded in the year seven hundred and eighteen." (A.H.)⁽⁴¹⁸⁾

All the other sultans, particularly Ad-Dhâhir Barqûq, Al-Ashraf Barsbay, Ad-Dhâhir Jaqmaq, and Al-Ashraf Qaytbay, followed in the footsteps of their predecessors in attending to the maintenance, embellishment, or extension of the Mosque of the Dome.⁽⁴¹⁹⁾

In the Ottoman era, specifically in 945 A.H., Suleiman Al-Qânûnî had the mosaic removed off the façades supporting the Dome and replaced with porcelain. In 1291 A.H., Sultan Abdul'aziz undertook some maintenance work whose traces can still be seen today. In 1292 A.H., Sultan Abdulhamîd renewed the porcelain layer to protect the upper part of the structure which supports the Dome and on which is engraved the Quranic Surat of Yâ Sîn. The porcelain used in this layer seems to be of a better quality and applied with skill and refinement.⁽⁴²⁰⁾

Under the British Mandate, the Supreme Islamic Council took care of the Dome of the Rock by undertaking some maintenance work in 1938 A.D. While

415. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 290.

416. Badr Muhammad 'Abbâs, Ibid., p. 316.

417. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 290.

418. Badr Muhammad Abbâs, Ibid., p. 316.

419. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 290.

420. Badr Muhammad 'Abbas, Ibid., p. 316.

the initial construction of this monument was not altered, it needed to be fully mended all over.⁽⁴²¹⁾ After 1947 A.D., Al-Qods came under the administrative supervision of the Jordanian Arab Rule and the Dome of the Rock came under the supervision of "the Commission for the Maintenance and Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Dome of the Rock" under the presidency of His Honour the Chief Justice of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. For the restoration of the Dome, the Commission called upon Egyptian experts who handed in their report in 1953. The mending and restoration work lasted from that year until 1964, on which year the Islamic world celebrated the accomplishment of this work which gave the architecture and decoration of the Dome of the Rock an impressive face lift.⁽⁴²²⁾

Many Arab and non-Arab travellers and historians strove hard to describe the Dome of the Rock (the Mosque of the Rock) because of the great importance it has in the history of the Islamic religion. Ibn Battûta described it as "*a monument of most wonderful, refined, and wondrous form. It is the embodiment of a felicitous marriage of every kind of beauty ... Within and without, the richness of its ornamentation and the excellence of its workmanship are beyond description. Most of its features are gilded in such a way that it sparkles like a diamond and flashes like lightning. The eye of its contemplator will be dazzled by its beauty and his tongue will fall short of rendering what his eye can see.*"⁽⁴²³⁾

Ibn Fadlillah Al-Ma'marî, the author of *Massâlik Al-Absâr fî Mamâlik Al-Amsâr*, wrote in 743 A.H. upon his visit to Al-Qods Al-Shareef that the Dome of the Rock was covered with white marble and floral design.⁽⁴²⁴⁾

Al-Hanbalî describes the Dome of the Rock as "*decorated with mosaic both within and without.*"⁽⁴²⁵⁾ Many others have described the Dome of the Rock and it would be impossible to quote them in the limited space of this chapter, apart from the fact that the point about the importance of this monument is hopefully made by now. Suffice it, then, to quote a few more authors -contemporary ones.

A Swiss author by the name of Burkhart in a paper on the Dome of the Rock stated that "*The achievement of a monument of this standard of perfection and artistic mastery by an Islamic Empire less than a century old is an exceptional phenomenon in the history of civilizations.*"⁽⁴²⁶⁾

421. Al-'Aref, Ibid., p. 291.

422. Ar-Rayhâoî Abdulqâdir, *Palestinian History and Monuments*, p. 98.

423. Imâm Rashâd, *Al-Qods in the Medieval Era*, p. 171.

424. Badr Muhammad 'Abbas, Ibid., p. 317.

425. Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Ounsou Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

426. Ar-Rayhâoui Abdulqâdir, Ibid., p. 92.

Creswell writes that "The Dome of the Sacred Rock is very important in the history of Islamic architecture. Its structure, splendour, beauty, and harmony have dazzled every scholar and researcher who tried to study it."⁽⁴²⁷⁾

As Hartman sees it, "*the Dome of the Rock is the very model of symmetry and harmony.*" Last but not least, Hayter Lewis writes that "*the Dome of the Rock is the most beautiful construction in the world and it is the most beautiful ancient monument.*"⁽⁴²⁸⁾

After Al-Qods was occupied by the Israeli forces, the Islamic Holy Places, including the Dome of the Sacred Rock, became the targets of repeated attacks seeking to destroy them. Such attacks are still attempted today. To counter their effect, the Commission for the Maintenance and Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Dome of the Rock is taking various steps, including the raising of funds throughout the Islamic world for the purpose of restoring and thus preserving the Islamic Holy Places in Al-Qods Al-Shareef.

The second most important Islamic Holy Place in Al-Qods is the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ, which is located south of the Dome of the Rock. Its area is about 4,400 square metres, the building being 80 metres long and 55 metres wide. This mosque has supports amounting to 53 marble columns and 49 square-shaped pillars. Its construction was launched by Caliph Abdulmâlik bin Marwân in 693 A.D., but it was not finished until 705 A.D. in the reign of Al-Walîd bin Abdulmâlik. This mosque was built on part of the site of the Mosque of Omar, which stood on the east side.⁽⁴²⁹⁾

The designation "The Mosque of Al-Aqsa" used to refer to the whole of the Holy Precinct (Al-Haram Al-Shareef) and the various holy places within it, including the Sacred Rock. Today, however, this designation refers only to the Grand Mosque located south of the Esplanade of Al-Haram.⁽⁴³⁰⁾

In the year 130 A.H. / 737 A.D., this religious monument was severely damaged as a result of an earthquake. However, probably in 140 or 141 A.H. /

427. *Bulletin of the Commission for the Maintenance and Restoration* ..., (1964), p. 8.

428. Najm Râ'if, *The Treasures of Al-Qods*, p. 28.

429. Najm Râ'if, *Ibid.*, p. 28

Mou'nis Hussein, *The Mosques*, p. 186.

430. *Palestine Encyclopedia* (1984), p. 203.

Most historians ascribe the building of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ to Umayyad Caliph Abdulmâlik bin Marwân; among these, one may mention Al-Bashâra Al-Maqdissî, Shihâbuddîn Ahmad Al-Maqdissî, and Mujîruddîn Al-Hanbalî, who say that this mosque was built in 72 A.H. / 691 A.D. But other historians, like Ibn-Bitriq, Ibn Al-Athîr, and Ibn At-Taqtaqî ascribe the building of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ to Caliph Al-Walîd bin Abdulmâlik (86-96 A.H. / 705-714 A.D.).

758-759 A.D., Caliph Al-Mansûr had it rebuilt. It so happened that it got severely damaged once more and was abandoned until Abbassid Caliph Al-Mahdî had it rebuilt in 158 A.H. / 774 A.D. or 163 A.H. / 780 A.D. Again, in 425 A.H. / 1033 A.D., this mosque was totally destroyed by a third earthquake; and Fatimid Caliph Ad-Dhâhir li 'Izâz Dîn-Allâh has it rebuilt, this time reducing it in size. This building and its Fatimid architectural style is still extant today, as are the seven doors on the north side of the Mosque.⁽⁴³¹⁾

It should be pointed out that, when Al-Qods was under the occupation of the Crusaders, part of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ was converted into a church as well as an accommodation area for the Templars and storage space for their arms. However, when Salâhuddîn conquered Al-Qods, he had this mosque put back into its proper use after its dome had been covered with mosaic of the highest quality and after a wooden *minbar* (sermon chair) with ivory inlays had been brought all the way from Halab and set in this mosque as a symbol of the glory of Islam.⁽⁴³²⁾

In 614 A.H. / 1217 A.D, King Al-Mu'addham 'Ïssa built an extension to this mosque consisting of a gallery whose seven arcades open onto the seven doors of the Mosque. The Mamelukes and, later on, the Ottomans all contributed their own share of restoration of extension as far as the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ is concerned. However, this mosque's original architectural style as an Ayyubid masterpiece has been preserved throughout the ages.

Extensive restoration work had been undertaken to consolidate the cupola and the rest of the building, and further work was executed in the 1357-1363 A.H. / 1938-1943 A.D. period to restore the east gallery and the middle gallery under the aegis of the Supreme Islamic Council. Further restoration is in progress under the supervision of the Commission for the Maintenance and the Restoration of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Mosque of the Rock.⁽⁴³³⁾

As it is today, the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ has generally kept its initial structure and decorations although it was restored a number of times and despite the fact that a large part of it had been built all over in the Mameluke and the Ottoman eras. The architecture of this mosque makes it a masterpiece whose delicate balance between simplicity and restrained grandeur is rarely achieved

431. *Palestine Encyclopedia* (1984), Vol. 1, p. 203.

Mou'nis Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 187. According to Mou'nis, the Mosque was destroyed by an earthquake in 210 A.H. and rebuilt by Abdullah bin Tâhir.

432. Cf. Sa'd Kawâkibî's article in *Studies in the History and Monuments of Palestine* (University of Halab, 1984), p. 91-101.

433. *Palestine Encyclopedia*.

in the architecture of other mosques. Much of its grandeur is instilled by the immensity of the prayer hall, so much so that its architect must have felt that the simplicity of a wooden ceiling was quite enough to enhance the effect.⁽⁴³⁴⁾

On August 28, 1969, the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ was barbarously attacked and profaned by the Israelis, who also set fire to it. However, the Commission for the Restoration of Al-Qods, the population of the city, and Arabs and Muslims worldwide have all promptly reacted; hence they made it possible to contain the situation and to restore the burned part of the mosque.⁽⁴³⁵⁾

In sum, the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ is a holy place for Muslims worldwide. The early Muslims faced towards it as they recited their daily prayers; hence the common reference to this Mosque as "the First Qibla". Moreover, to all Muslims, it is the Third Holiest Place after Makkah and Al-Madîna for, as implied in the reference by Muslims to this Mosque as "the Mosque of *Al-Isrâ'* and *Al-Mi'râj'*", it was from this place that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) ascended to Heaven on his *burâq* or winged horse. Accordingly, this Mosque has played such an important role throughout history in the spiritual, social, cultural, and political life in Palestine and the Arab and Muslim world.

Al-Haram Al-Shareef (the Holy Esplanade) contains both the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ in addition to various memorial monuments such as the domes, the fountains, and the galleries. Various minarets were erected and positioned so as to overlook Al-Haram Al-Shareef; some of these are the Minaret of Bâb Al-Asbât, the Minaret of Bâb As-Silsila, and the Minaret of Bâb Al-Ghawânima. Likewise, various gates were set and designed to lead to Al-Haram Al-Shareef; some of these are Bâb Hitta, Bâb Al-'Utm, Bâb Al-Qattânîn, Bâb An-Nâdhir, Bâb Al-Ghawânima, Bâb Al-Mathara, Bâb As-Silsila, Bâb Al-Maghâriba, and Bâb Al-Asbât.

II. Christian Holy Places

Christians started building churches and other holy places in the fourth century A.D., when Constantine in A.D. 325 had three churches built in Palestine, the most important of them being the Resurrection Church. This construction contains a churchyard, the Remembrance Church, as well as another church. The second church built by Constantine was the Eleona Sanctuary on the Mount of Olives; and the third was in Bethlehem.

434. Mou'nis Hussein, *Ibid.*, p. 188.

435. Najm Al-Ra'if, *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Haram Al-Qodsî*.

The most important of the fifth-century A.D. churches is the St. John Church, which still stands in the centre of the city. There are also other holy places bearing the name of the Christ, or that of Mary the Virgin, or names of the Christian saints. Among the holy places built in this early era is St. Stephen Church, which draws a great deal of Christian pilgrims. This church is located north of Bâb Dimashq (the Gate of Damascus).⁽⁴³⁶⁾

436. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1970), Vol. 12, p. 1009. I.

CHAPTER XIII

MUSEUMS, ARCHAEOLOGY INSTITUTES, ASSOCIATIONS, AND LIBRARIES IN AL-QODS

Museums

The most important museum in Al-Qods is the Palestinian Museum of Antiquities (previously called the Rockefeller Museum). This museum was founded with the generous donation in 1927 by the American J.D. Rockefeller of two million dollars, of which half a million was paid out for the construction of the building, and another half million served for the acquisition of furniture and books for the museum. The other million was deposited in the Bank of England so that the yield could be used to cover the expenses of the museum management. This museum was opened in 1933 and started up its own review, known as the Review of the Palestinian Museum.⁽⁴³⁷⁾

The museum is located at the north-east angle of the ramparts of Al-Qods, in the vicinity of Bâb As-Sâhira and the Wâdî Al-Jaouz Quarter.

In 1967, the Israeli occupation forces seized the museum and forbade its employees to pursue their job activities. The Dead Sea Scrolls (the Qamrân manuscripts) as well as the Tell Ad-Dowayr manuscripts were taken away from the museum. Moreover, these authorities changed the lay-out of the exhibited objects in such a way that it served their own interests.⁽⁴³⁸⁾ They also changed the identification comments on the exhibited pieces, replacing them with other comments in Hebrew, and they stuck up tendentious advertising posters on the museum walls.⁽⁴³⁹⁾

The museum collects antiquities which date back to various periods of Palestinian history from pre-history to the Ottoman era. It contains a library

437. Al'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 200.

Qâssimiyya Khairiyya, *The Issue of Al-Qods*, pp. 55-56. This author reports in her book that before they left Palestine, the British took the care to separate this museum from the Division of Antiquities and constituted an international group of scholars for it. In 1966, the museum became attached to the Jordanian Department of Antiquities.

438. Al-Ahmad Najîb, *The Judaicization of Al-Qods*, p. 40.

439. Qâssimiyya Khairiyya, *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.



A view of the front of the Islamic Museum.

with a great deal of books and references of interest to any researcher in the history of Palestine.⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾

The Islamic Museum

On the initiative of the Supreme Islamic Legislative Council, the Islamic Museum was founded in Al-Qods Al-Shareef in 1923, which makes it the oldest museum in Palestine. The museum was first housed in Ribât Al-Mansûrî, which dates back to the reign of King Al-Mansûr Qalâwûn (681 A.H. / 1282 A.D.). In 1929, it was transferred to the precincts of Al-Haram Al-Shareef, where it was housed in two rooms standing at a right angle to each other south-west of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ.

This museum was created for the purpose of giving prominence to the Islamic cultural heritage, preserving and exhibiting the various antiquities of interest presented to the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ and the Dome of the Rock, and providing a research centre for those interested in Islamic studies.

The Islamic museum contains various antiquities of great importance, like Umayyad carved-wood pieces, antique hand-written copies of the Qur'ân, in-lays in metal and marble, glass and metal objects, and porcelain and stained glass objects.⁽⁴⁴¹⁾

Archaeology schools

There are many schools in Al-Qods which specialize in archaeological research. Among these, there is the British Institute of Archaeology, which is attached to the British Academy. It should be pointed out that there are several similar institutes in the Near-East area, like the British Institute of Archaeology in Cairo, and the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara.

The British Institute of Archaeology in Al-Qods has undertaken many excavations in Al-Qods and in Palestine in general,⁽⁴⁴²⁾ in addition to

440. Cf. the descriptions in *The Guide to the Palestinian Museum of Antiquities* under the following headings :

- * Exhibits in the Stone Age and the Bronze Age Room (Al-Qods, 1937);
- * Exhibits in the Iron Age Room (Al-Qods, 1940); and
- * Exhibits in the room for the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Ages (Al-Qods, 1943).

441. Abdulhaq Marwân, *The Islamic Museum in Al-Qods : Its History and its Heritage* in *Proceedings of the Third Congress on the History of Al-Shâm*, pp. 302-303.

442. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 201.
Palestine Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 : *Archeology Schools in Palestine*.

archaeological surveys, particularly the survey within Al-Qods of Mameluke constructions, part of which was studied by archaeologist Burgoyne.⁽⁴⁴³⁾

There is also the French School for Biblical and Archeological Studies, the American School of Oriental Studies, the German Institute of Oriental Studies, the Anglo-German Institute for the Study of Medieval Vestiges in the Holy Land, the British Fund for Excavations in Palestine, the American Association for Oriental Research, and the Jewish Association for Excavations in Palestine.

All these schools played a destructive role concerning the history and the ancient monuments of Palestine at a time when the natives of Palestine were not yet aware of the importance of archaeological excavations for their national cause and were merely concerned about safeguarding their lives and their property.⁽⁴⁴⁴⁾

Cultural Associations

Various literacy associations, some of them politically oriented, have been in existence in Palestine. Some of them date back to the Ottoman era, like the Zâhira Literary Association (1898).

In 1908, Khalîl As-Sakâkînî founded a literary association called "Arab Brotherhood" (Al-Ikhâ' Al-'Arabî). On visiting Al-Qods, the writer Selim Sarkîs stated in a letter addressed in 1920 to Khalîl Badîs that "*I was very pleased to know that Al-Qods Al-Shareef has a Guild of Writers of a calibre that I have not found in Damascus or Jaffa.*" He further writes that "*in Al-Qods, the lions of literature frequent a special den that those below their level fear to tread.*" He concludes that "*I like their meetings in Al-Qods so much that, as you may imagine, I was the first to arrive at the meeting place and the last to leave it.*"

There was also in Al-Qods an association by the name of An-Nâdî Al-'Arabî (the Arab Club), which used to arrange contests for literary prizes known as "Sûq 'Ukâdh" (1924). This Club gave poetry prizes during Prophet Moses annual festivals.

In the summer of 1945, Al-Qods saw the coming into existence of "the Commission for Arabic Culture", whose objective was to preserve and promote Arabic culture by various means. This Commission, which was presided by Moussâ Iss'hâq Al-Husseini, organized many lectures and book exhibits.⁽⁴⁴⁵⁾

443. Michael Burgoyne, *A Chronological Index to Muslim Monuments of Jerusalem*. Michael Burgoyne, *The Development of the Haram in Jerusalem under the Bahre Mamluks* (O.U.P., 1979).

444. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-13 : *Archeology Schools in Palestine*.

445. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, p. 62.

Up to the end of 1945, Al-Qods had a total of two thousand and twenty-three literary, cultural, and sports associations and clubs.⁽⁴⁴⁶⁾ The most important of these today is Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî Al-'Arabî (the Arab Culture Forum), which is a non-profit autonomous Palestinian association whose main objective is to promote and consolidate cultural and economic development in the West Bank. Its motto is "Combative Resistance". Its projects are financed by members' contributions and by donations from non-government associations and associations with aims like its own.

Thus, Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî seeks to encourage development activities in the occupied territories based on local potentialities and according to a strategy that would enable Palestinian communities to overcome cultural and economic difficulties; it also promotes further exploitation of the economic and cultural resources at the local level.

Likewise, Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî guides the activities of other associations which operate in the Palestinian cultural area by means of cooperation, consultation, and dialogue. It encourages development operations through programmes, workshops, and long-term studies. It looks upon all existing associations, whether their vocation is agricultural, economic, cultural, or social, as both a prelude to efficient work that will bring about radical change in the present situation and a transition to the imminent independence of Palestine.

Various study groups within Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî are currently working on projects in the following areas : study and research, culture, education, economy, information, and computer science. Al-Multaqâ has a specialized library (the only one in the area) of books and references dealing with development issues from a scientific point of view and according to an original strategy, which is that of development under occupation. This Association has to its credit hundreds of activities, particularly cultural ones; it has also achieved a comprehensive study of the socio-economic reality of the villages in the areas of the Valley and a comparative study between a village that relies on a consumer economy and a village that relies on an economy that boycotts the products of the occupant ...

In the cultural field, Al-Multaqâ does everything it can to promote the potential of the young writers and artists. One of the Association's most important achievements over the last several years was the organization of a Colloquium on "Development at the Service of Resistance", and the publishing of all its proceedings. It is trying to organize similar colloquia in the future.⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾

446. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*.

447. The information above was provided by Professor Muhammad Al-Batrâwî, the president of "Al-Multaqâ Al-Fikrî Al-'Arabî".

A glimpse at the current year's programme of activities (1986) will show that this is a dynamic association which seeks the participation of the largest possible number of its members.

It should be pointed out that this Association has a board of governors composed of 32 members who are Palestinians highly trained in such areas as economics, culture, social science, and humanities.

Libraries

Before it was occupied, Al-Qods had some forty-nine public and private libraries. The oldest of these is called "Al-Qodsî Al-Mokliss", which dates back to A.D. 558 and the most recent one was established in 1944 and carries the name of "Qalam Al-Matbû'ât".

Other well-known libraries are :

- The Al-Khalîlî Library (1725)
- The St. George Library (1890)
- The French Evangelic Archeological Library (1890)
- The Al-Khâliidiyya Library (1900)
- The Library of the American School of Oriental Research (1801)
- The Library of the German Evangelical Institute (1902)
- The Library of the Arab Faculty (1902)
- The Library of the British Institute of Archeology (1920)
- The Library of the Mosque of Al-Aqsâ (1927)
- The Library of the Palestinian Museum (1928)

Additionally, there are such private libraries owned by some intellectuals from the city of Al-Qods as the library of Abdullah Mokhliss, that of Iss'hâq Moussâ Al-Husseînî, that of Al-Khalîl As-Sakâkînî, that of 'Aref Al-'Aref, and so forth. There are also libraries owned by well-known families from Al-Qods; some of these are the Al-Hosseiniyya Library, the Ad-Dawâdiyya Library, the Abû-As-Sa'ûd Library, and the Al-Imâm Library. Finally, one should also mention the libraries of the higher education institutions in Al-Qods.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRESS IN AL-QODS

Since Al-Qods has been an important religious and administrative centre, it also became an active and dynamic centre of culture and of journalism in the Ottoman era and throughout the British mandate. Thus various newspapers were published there for a long time. Some of these papers were private while others were official government papers. The most important papers were :

1. *Al-Qods Al-Shareef*

A monthly bilingual Arabic-Turkish paper which was created in 1876. The editor of the Arabic section was Sheikh 'Alî Ar-Rayhâouî and the editor of the Turkish section was Abdussalâm Kamâl.

2. *Al-Ghazâl*

An official monthly paper founded in 1876; its editor-in-chief was 'Alî Ar-Rayhâouî.

3. *Al-Qods Al-Shareef*

A newspaper published in Arabic by the governing authorities of Al-Qods. It started on September 1, 1903, and closed down in 1909.

4. *Al-Asma'î*

A bi-monthly review specialized in literary and social studies. It was issued in Al-Qods and Jaffa and its editor was Hannâ Abdullah Al-Îssî.

5. *Al-Ahlâm*

This is a paper which was issued in handwritten form. Its publication began on September 10, 1908, and ended on September 18, 1909.

6. *Al-Qods*

This paper was founded on September 18, 1908 and its editor was Jorjî Habîb Hanâniyyâ.

7. *Ad-Dîkou As-Souyâh*

Its first issue was published on November 1, 1908.

8. *Al-Qods Al-Shareef*

This is an official paper which was founded in 1913 and its editor was Sheikh 'Alî Ar-Rayhâouî.

9. *Sourya Al-Janûbiyya*

This paper was issued throughout 1919 and its editors were 'Aref Al-'Aref and Muhammad Hassan Al-Yadîrî.

10. *Mir'ât Ash-Sharq*

Based in Al-Qods, this paper was founded on September 17, 1919.

11. *Beit Al-Maqdis*

This paper was founded in 1919 and its editor was Yandalî Elîas Mashhour.

12. *An-Najâh*

Founded in 1908, this weekly paper covered issues in politics, science, and agronomy.

13. *Al-Bulbul*

This paper was created in 1908.

14. *At-Tâ'ir*

A paper founded in 1908.

15. *An-Nafîr*

This paper was created in 1908.

16. *Al-I'tidâl*

Initially based in Al-Qods, this paper subsequently moved to Jaffa. It was founded in 1910.

17. *Ad-Doustûr*

This paper was created on November 26, 1913. It was edited first by Khalîl As-Sakâkînî, then by Jamîl Al-Khâlidî.

18. *Râ'id An-Najâh*

This paper was issued in the 1910-1911 period. Among its editing committee members was Moussâ Al-'Alamî.

19. *Al-Qâfila*

This paper was founded jointly by the Board of Publications and the Palestinian Radio Agency; its editor-in-chief was Hassan Mustapha.

20. *Ad-Dhakhîra*

This paper was founded on October 8, 1946; its editor was Hussein Hosnî.

21. *An-Nidâl*

Issued in 1946, its owner and editor was Emile Al-Ghûrî.

22. *Al-Watan*

Based in Al-Qods, this paper was owned by Youssuf Haykal; its editor-in-chief was Zakî Nassîba.⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾

448. This information was drawn from a book in Arabic by the title of the *Arabic Press in Palestine from 1876 to 1948*, published by the General Association of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

It should be noted that this proliferation of newspapers in Al-Qods was largely due to the creation of private printing houses, among which were that of Jorfi Habîb Hanâniyyâ (1894) and Bâssilâ Jad', and before these, the Roman Orthodox Printing Houses, and the Protestant Printing Houses (1867). After 1908, printing machines became widely available and almost every newspaper had its own printing facility.

1908 was a landmark in the Arabic press, for it was the year when the Ottoman Constitution allowed the publication of newspapers and granted freedom of expression to the press. Hence, in that year alone, 15 papers were issued, of which 12 were based in Al-Qods.

These newspapers played a vital role in denouncing both the Zionists' intentions to judaicize Palestine and the migration of Jews to it.⁽⁴⁴⁹⁾ With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, a state of siege was decreed and the publication of the newspapers based in Al-Qods was suspended. They were not back in publication until the beginning of the British mandate.⁽⁴⁵⁰⁾ Various magazines and newspapers were published in Al-Qods under the British mandate because Arabic was acknowledged as the official language and the language used in the classrooms throughout the public school system. This situation has largely contributed to the stimulation of the population's patriotic feelings and to an intellectual and cultural renaissance.

The range of specialization and subject-matter was quite diverse as far as the press was concerned; hence, there were political, literary, economic, and religious papers, of which the most important were *Sourya Al-Janûbiyya* (1919), *Al-Aqsâ* (1920), *As-Sabâh* (1921), and *Al-Jâmi'a Al-'Arabiyya* (1927). These papers were very critical of the British presence in Palestine and advocated the withdrawing of the Balfour Declaration together with the project of a "national homeland" for the Jews.⁽⁴⁵¹⁾

Over the Great Palestinian Revolution (1936-1939), the press played a prominent role in the dissemination of the objectives of the revolution, which consisted in getting the Balfour Declaration withdrawn, getting Jewish immigration stopped, and getting the British mandate terminated and replaced by a national Palestinian government.

During World War II, the publication of most newspapers was suspended, as had happened in World War I, except for *Falîstîn*, *Ad-Diffâ'*, and *As-Sirât*

449. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 8.

450. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 9.

451. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, pp. 11-12.

Al-Mustaqîm, which were major papers. However, between 1945 and 1948, Palestine saw the emergence of sixty eight new papers, of which some were based in Al-Qods. The most important of these papers were *Al-Qarya Al-'Arabiyya* (1946) and *Ash-Shabâb*.

After the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, eighteen more papers and magazines (12 in the 1950s and 6 in the 1960s) were established in the two cities of Al-Qods and Ramallah. Among these, the most important daily newspapers issued in Al-Qods were *Al-Jihâd* (1953), *Al-Manâr* (1960), *Ash-Sha'b* (1960), and *Al-Bilâd* (1956). Early in 1967, two newspapers, *Falistîn* and *Ad-Difâ'* were banned in compliance with the proclaimed legislation on publications. However, in substitution for *Falistîn* and *Al-Manâr*, a new paper called *Ad-Doustûr* was founded in Amman; likewise, *Al-Qods* is the paper that replaced both *Ad-Difâ'* and *Al-Jihâd*. One of the leading weekly magazines based in Al-Qods was *Al-Hadaf* (1950).⁽⁴⁵²⁾

After the Israeli occupation of the city, the paper *Al-Qods* (1967) was back in publication, and new papers, *Al-Bashîr*, *Ash-Sha'b*, and *Saout Al-Jamâhîr* were established respectively in 1969, 1972, and 1973.

The Israeli occupying authorities launched newspapers in Arabic in order to influence Arab and Islamic public opinion. *Al-Anbâ'*, founded in 1967, was one of these.⁽⁴⁵³⁾

452. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, p. 12.

453. *Palestine Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 12. Pages 13-18 provide a list of papers and magazines that were established in Palestine along with the place and date of publication. For further information on this subject, see Volume 1 of Khalîl Al-'Aqqâd's *The Arabic Press in Palestine* (in Arabic), (Damascus, 1966).

CHAPTER XV

THE NECROPOLISES IN AL-QODS

There are in Al-Qods various Muslim and Christian cemeteries. These are outside the ramparts and are situated east, west, and north of the city. The most important of these necropolises are the following :

1. The Cemetery of Mâmillâ

This necropolis, located west of the city, is the largest in Al-Qods. Many dignitaries, scholars, and martyrs were entombed therein.

Mâmillâ, the name of this cemetery, is said to be the contracted form of the Arabic phrase *mâman Allah* (the refuge of Allah). The Christians call this cemetery *Babella* while the Jews call it *Beth Melou*. However, the most common name for it is *Mâmillâ*.

In the middle of this necropolis is a shrine in ruin which the Muslims call *Al-Qalandariyya*. The Christians have a different name for it.

Another elaborate construction in this cemetery is a dome called *Al-Kabakiyya*, which is derived from the name of Prince Alâuddîn Abdullah Al-Kabârî.

2. The Cemetery of Bâb Ar-Rahma

This necropolis is situated alongside the east wall of Al-Haram Al-Shareef and is considered to be the cemetery nearest to the Old City. It contains the shrine of Shaddâd bin Aous Al-Ansârî and of other erudites and saints.

3. The Cemetery of As-Sâhira

This Muslim cemetery is located on a high mountain near Bâb As-Sâhira, north of the Old City. It contains the shrines of many benefactors. The word *as-sâhira* in Arabic means "desert area", or "land surface", or, according to some, "vast flat land".⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾

454. Ad-Dabbâgh, *Our Land Palestine*, pp. 312-313.
Al-Hanbalî, *Al-Ounsu Al-Jalîl*, Vol. 2, p. 62.

4. The Cemetery of Ash-Shouhadâ' (of the Martyrs)

This cemetery is located in the vicinity of Bâb As-Sâhira and on the east side of it.⁽⁴⁵⁵⁾

* * * * *

It should be noted that there are also Christian and Jewish necropolises in Al-Qods. Most of the Christian ones are located on Mount Zion, like the Roman Orthodox Cemetery, the Latin Cemetery, the Protestant Cemetery, and the Armenian Cemetery.⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾

One of the Jewish cemeteries is located east of the ramparts in the valley known as Gehenna; it stretches from this valley across to Râs Al-'Amoud to the east foot of the Mount of Olives and contains four of the shrines that are most venerated by the Jews : Anthelme, Yehuda Shavat, Jacob, and Prophet Zachary (PBUH).⁽⁴⁵⁷⁾

455. Al-Hanbalî, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

456. Al-'Aref, *A History of Al-Qods*, p. 264.

457. Al'Aref, *Ibid.*, p. 238.

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Appendix

I. ISLAMIC ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN AL-QODS

List N° 1 ⁽⁴⁵⁸⁾

The Umayyad Era

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| 1. The Dome of the Rock | : 72 A.H./691-692 A.D. |
| 2. The Dome of As-Silsila | : 72 A.H./691-692 A.D. |
| 3. The Mosque of Al-Aqsâ | : 90-96 A.H./709-715 A.D. |
| 4. The Umayyad Palaces (Dar Al-Imâra) | : Late first cent. A.H./early eighth cent. A.D. |
| 5. Al-Bâb Ad-Dahabî : restored as Bâb Ar-Rahma | : 1st cent. A.H./8th cent. A.D. |

The Abbassid and Fatimid Eras

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| 6. The South Gallery | : 4th cent. A.H./10th cent. A.D. |
| 7. The East Gallery | : 4th cent. A.H./10th cent. A.D. |
| 8. The West Gallery | : 340 A.H./951-952 A.D. |
| 9. The Mausoleums of the Ikhshidite Princes | : 4th cent. A.H./10th cent. A.D. |
| 10. The South-East Gallery | : 412 A.H./1021 A.D.; restored in 608 A.H./1211-1212 A.D. |
| 11. The Holy Sepulchre | : before 438 A.H./1047 A.D.
restored in 12th cent. A.H./18th cent. A.D. |

The Ayyubid Era

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| 12. The Mauristan/Hospital | : 582 A.H./1187 A.D. |
| 13. The As-Salâhiyya Caravanserai | : made into a <i>waqf</i> 585 A.H./1189 A.D. |
| 14. Zaouiat Al-Khataniyya | : made into a <i>waqf</i> 587 A.H./1191 A.D. |
| 15. The Dome of Yûssuf | : 587 A.H./1191 A.D. |
| 16. The City's Ramparts Reconstructed | : 587-610 A.H./1191-1214 A.D. |
| 17. Madrassat As-Salâhiyya | : 588 A.H./1192 A.D. |
| 18. The Mosque of Omar | : 589 A.H./1193 A.D. |
| 19. Al-Mathara | : 589 A.H./1193 A.D. |

458. These lists were first made by the British Institute of Archeology and were translated into Arabic and published by Is-hâq Mûssâ Al-Husseînî. They were later issued in Najm Râîf's *The Treasures of Al-Qods*. These lists were published in English as *File of Jerusalem (Old City)* Amman, 1982).

20. Al-Ka's :589 A.H./1193 A.D., restored
:728.AH./1327 A.D.
21. Maşjid An-Nissa' (The Mosque of Women) :circa 590 A.H./1194 A.D.
22. Maşjid Walî Allah Mouhârib :595 A.H./1198 A.D.
23. Qubbat Al-Mi'râj (The Dome of the Ascension) :597 A.H./1200 A.D. Its *mihrâb* decorated 1195 A.H./1780 A.D.
24. Zaouiat Al-Jarrâhiyya (The Mihrâb) :circa 598 A.H./1201 A.D. The Mosque constructed 1313 A.H./ :1895 A.D.
25. Bâb As-Silsila and Bâb As-Sakîna :circa 600 A.H./1203 A.D.
26. Qubbat Suleiman (The Dome of Suleiman) :circa 600 A.H./1203 A.D.
27. Bâb An-Nâdhir (The doors renovated) :circa 600 A.H./1203 A.D.
Construction of the Gate c. 707 :A.H./1307 A.D.
28. The Shrine of Sheikh Darbâs :circa 600 A.H./1203 A.D.
29. Zaouiat Al-Honoûd (Zaouiat Ar-Rifâ'iyya) :early 7th cent. A.H./13 cent A.D.
30. Qubbat An-Nahwiyya :604 A.H./1207 A.D.
31. The Pool of Al-Malik Al-Mu'addham 'Îssâ :607 A.H./1210 A.D.
32. Madrassat Al-Badriyya 610 A.H./1213 A.D.
33. The Citadel (of pre-Islamic construction)
- Construction of the Tower :610 A.H./1213 A.D.
 - Restoration of the Gate :710 A.H./1310 A.D.
 - Restoration of the whole structure :938 A.H./1531 A.D.
34. Bâb Al-'Utm :610 A.H./1213 A.D.
35. The Fountain of Sha'lân :613 A.H./1216 A.D.
- Restored :832 A.H./1428 A.D.
 - Restored :1037 A.H./1627 A.D.
 - Building of the outer mihrâb :1061 A.H./1650 A.D.
36. Madrassat Al-Mu'addhamiyya :614 A.H./1217 A.D.
- Building of the minaret :673 A.H./1274 A.D.
37. Bâb Hitta (rebuilt) :617 A.H./1220 A.D.
38. The Mausoleum of Khân :after 644 A.H./1246 A.D.
- Enlarged :792 A.H./1389 A.D.
39. The Dome of Mûssâ :647 A.H./1249 A.D.
40. The Dome of Al-Qaymariyya (west of the Old City on Strauss Avenue) :before 648 A.H./1250 A.D.

The Bahrite Mameluke Era

41. Bâb Al-Mathara (Restored) 665 A.H./1266 A.D.
42. Ribât Alâuddîn Al-Bassîr :666 A.H./1267 A.D.
43. Dâr Al-Hadîth :666 A.H./1267 A.D.
44. Zaouiat (Shrine of) Sheikh Haydar :674 A.H./1275-1276 A.D.
(This building seems to have been recently demolished during the construction of the so-called Jewish Quarter)

45. The Minaret of Al-Fakhriyya : 670 A.H./1278 A.D.
46. Ribât Al-Mansûrî : 681 A.H./1282-1283 A.D.
47. The Mosque of Al-Mansûrî : 686 A.H./1287-1288 A.D.
48. Zaouiat Al-Kabakiyya (close to Mâmilla Cemetery) : 688 A.H./1289 A.D.
49. Ribât Al-Kurd : 693 A.H./1293-1294 A.D.
50. The Hospice of Ad-Daouâdâriyya : 695 A.H./1295 A.D.
51. The Mihrâb of Dâoud : 696-698 A.H./1296-1298 A.D.
52. The Tomb of Al-Aouhadiyya : 697 A.H./1298-1299 A.D.
53. The Minaret of Al-Ghawânima : *circa*698 A.H./1298-1299 A.D. Restored
: 1341 A.H./1922-1923 A.D.
54. Madrassat As-Salâmiyya : after 700 A.H./1300 A.D.
55. Unidentified building (Ghanîm's house) : 8th cent. A.H./14th cent. A.D.
56. The Tomb of Al-Jâliqiyya : 707 A.H./1306-1307 A.D.
57. The West Gallery : 707-737 A.H./1307-1336 A.D.
58. Bâb Al-Ghawânima : 707 A.H./1306-1307 A.D.
59. The Mosque of Al-Qal'a : 710 A.H./1311 A.D. Restored
: 1336 A.H./1910-1911 A.D.
60. The Tomb of As-Sa'diyya (made into a *waqf*) : 711 A.H./1311 A.D.
61. Bâb Al-Maghârîba : 713 A.H./1313 A.D.
62. Madrassat Al-Jâoualiyya : 715-720 A.H./1330-1315 A.D.
63. Madrassat Al-Karîmiyya (made into a *waqf*) : 718 A.H./1318 A.D.
64. The North Gallery : 721 A.H./1321 A.D.
65. The North-East Gallery : 726 A.H./1325 A.D.
66. Madrassat At-Tankaziyya : 729 A.H./1328-1329 A.D.
67. The Minaret of Bâb As-Silsila (rebuilt) : 730 A.H./1328-1329 A.D.
68. Al-Madrassa Al-Amîniyya : 730 A.H./1329-1330 A.D.
69. The Al-Fakhriyya Hospice : 730 A.H./1329-1330 A.D.
70. Bâb Al-Qattânîn : 736 A.H./1335-1336 A.D.
71. The Souq (Bazaar) of Al-Qattânîn : 737 A.H./1336-1337 A.D.
72. Khân Al-Hôbîr (Tankir) : 737 A.H./1336-1337 A.D.
73. Hammâm Ash-Shifâ : 737 A.H./1336-1337 A.D.
74. Hammâm Al-'Ain : 737 A.H./1336-1337 A.D.
75. The North-West Gallery (rebuilt) : 737 A.H./1336-1337 A.D.
76. Madrassat Al-Malakiyya : 741 A.H./1340 A.D.
77. Zaouiat Al-Mahmâziyya (Dâr Ad-Douwayk) : before 745 A.H./1344-1345 A.D.
78. The Tomb of Al-Kaylâniyya : 753 A.H./1352 A.D.
79. The Tomb of Turkân Khâtûn : 752 A.H./1352-1353 A.D.
80. Madrassat Al-Fârissiyya : 755 A.H./1354 A.D.
81. Bâb Al-Jadîd (restored) : 755-758 A.H./1354-1357 A.D.
82. Madrassat At-Tushtoumuriyya (made into a *waqf*) : 759 A.H./1357-1358 A.D.
83. Madrassat Al-Arghûniyya : 759 A.H./1357-1358 A.D.
84. As-Salâmiyya Quranic School (made into a *waqf*) : 761 A.H./1359-1360 A.D.

85. Zaouiat Al-Adhamiyya (located north of the Old City outside the ramparts) : 762 A.H./1360-1361 A.D.
 86. Madrassat Al-Mouhaddithiyya : 762 A.H./1360-1361 A.D.
 87. Madrassat Al-Mounjikiyya (Renovation of its gate) : 1340 A.H./1921-1922 A.D.
 88. At-Tâziyya : the Tomb and Madrassa (Restored) : 736 A.H./1361-1362 A.D.
 89. The Minaret of Bâb Al-Asbât (Restored) : 1346 A.H./1927-1928 A.D.
 90. Zaouiat Al-Bastâmiyya : 769 A.H./1367-1368 A.D.
 91. Madrassat Al-As'ardiyya (made into a *waqf*) : 1346 A.H./1927-1928 A.D.
 92. Madrassat Al-Hanbaliyya : before 770 A.H./1368-1369 A.D.
 93. Madrassat Al-Lu'lu'iyya : 770 A.H./1368-1369 A.D.
 94. Zaouiat Al-Lu'lu'iyya : 781 A.H./1379-1380 A.D.
 95. Al-Baladiyya : the Madrassa and the Tomb : 781 A.H./1379-1380 A.D.
 96. Madrassat Al-Khâtûniyya (made into a *waqf*) : 781 A.H./1379-1380 A.D.
 97. The Seraglio of Tanshaq Al-Mudhaffariyya (made into a *waqf*) : 781 A.H./1379-1380 A.D.
 98. At-Tushtumuriyya : the Madrassa and the Tomb : before 782 A.H./1380-1381 A.D.
 : 782 A.H./1380-1381 A.D.
 : 781-783 A.H./1379-1382 A.D.
 :
 : 784 A.H./1382-1383 A.D.
 :

The Burjite Mameluke Era

99. Zaouiat Al-Qarmiyya : before 788 A.H./1386-1387 A.D.
 100. Zaouiat Sheikh Ahmad Al-Muthabbat : *circa* 788 A.H./1386-1387 A.D.
 101. Khân As-Sultân (Al-Wakkâla) (restored) (Restored) : 788 A.H./1386-1387 A.D.
 102. Minbar Burhânuddîn (the Dome of Al-Mizân) (Restored) : 1177 A.H./1763-1764 A.D.
 :
 : 1259 A.H./1843 A.D.
 103. Mistabat (decorated stone bench) Ad-Dhâhir : 795 A.H./1392-1393 A.D.
 :
 104. The Tomb of At-Tanbaghâ (Al-Ma'lam As-Sayî) : 798 A.H./1395-1396 A.D.
 :
 105. The Tomb of Sittî Tanshaq Al-Mudhaffariyya : late 8th c. A.H./14th c. A.D.
 :
 106. Dâr Al-Khatâba : late 8th c. A.H./14th c. A.D.
 107. Mistabat Al-Bussayrî : 800 A.H./1397-1398 A.D.
 108. Birkat As-Sultân (the Pool of As-Sultân) : 801 A.H./1397-1398 A.D.
 109. Madrassat As-Sabîbiyya : before 809 A.H./1406-1407 A.D.
 110. Zaouiat Al-Wafâiyya : early 9th c. A.H./15th c. A.D.
 111. Madrassat Al-Kâmiyya : before 816 A.H./1413 A.D.
 112. Madrassat Al-Bâssitiyya (made into a *waqf*) : 843 A.H./1430-1431 A.D.
 113. Madrassat Al-Ghâdiriyya : 836 A.H./1432-1433 A.D.
 114. Madrassat Al-Hassaniyya : 837 A.H./1433-1434 A.D.
 115. The Fountain of Al-Bussayrî : 839 A.H./1435-1436 A.D.

116. Madrassat Al-'Uthmâniyya : 840 A.H./1436-1437 A.D.
 117. Madrassat Al-Jaouhariyya : 844 A.H./1440-1441 A.D.
 118. Mistabat Qaytbay : 860 A.H./1455-1456 A.D.
 119. The South-West Gate : 877 A.H./1472-1473 A.D.
 120. The Grand Mosque (of Sayyidouna Omar) : before 878 A.H./1473-1474 A.D.
 121. Ribât Az-Zamanî : 881 A.H./1476-1477 A.D.
 122. Zaouiat Sheikh Ya'qûb Al-'Ajamî : before 885 A.H./1480-1481 A.D.
 123. Madrassat Al-Mushiriyya : 885 A.H./1480-1481 A.D.
 124. The Mosque of Al-Harîrî : before 886 A.H./1481-1482 A.D.
 125. Madrassat Al-Ashrafiyya : 887 A.H./1482 A.D.
 126. The Fountain of Qaytbay : 887 A.H./1482 A.D.
 (Restored) : 1300 A.H./1882-1883 A.D.
 127. The Pool of Ghanghaj (restored and : 887 A.H./1482 A.D.
 renovated) :
 128. Zaouiat Ad-Dhâhiriyya (Dâr Al-Bayraq) : 9th c. A.H./15th c. A.D.
 129. Unidentified building (Dâr Al-Yaman) : 9th c. A.H./15th c. A.D.

The Ottoman Era

130. The Dome on the Tomb of Mujîruddîn : 927 A.H./1520-1521 A.D.
 Al-Hanbalî, historiographer of Al-Qods
 (outside the ramparts) :
 131. Masjid (Oratory) Al-Qayramî : 10th c. A.H./16th c. A.D.
 132. The Dome of Al-Arwâh : 10th c. A.H./16th c. A.D.
 133. The Dome of Al-Khadir : 10th c. A.H./16th c. A.D.
 134. The Minaret of Al-Hamra : 10th c. A.H./16th c. A.D.
 135. Hammâm As-Sultân : 10th c. A.H./16th c. A.D.
 136. The Tomb of Prophet Dâoud (David) :
 (located 150 metres south of Bâb Dâoud) : 930 A.H./1523-1524 A.D.
 137. The Fountain of Bâb Al-Mahkama (Qâssim : 933 A.H./1526-1527 A.D.
 Bâshâ) :
 138. The Minaret of the Citadel : 938 A.H./1531-1532 A.D.
 (Restored) : 1065 A.H./1654-1655 A.D.
 139. The Fountain of Birkat As-Sultân : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 140. The Fountain of Tarîq Al-Wâd : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 141. The Fountain of Bâb As-Silsila : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 142. The Fountain of Bâb Al-'Utm : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 143. Mistabat of the Fountain Suleiman (Bâb : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 Al-'Utm) :
 144. The Fountain of Bâb An-Nâdhir : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 145. The Fountain of Bâb Sittî Mariam : 943 A.H./1536-1537 A.D.
 146. The Ottoman-built ramparts and gates : 944-947 A.H./1537-1541 A.D.
 147. Bâb Al-'Âmûd (Bâb Dimashq) (rebuilt) : 944 A.H./1537-1538 A.D.
 148. Bâb As-Sâhira : 944 A.H./1537-1538 A.D.
 149. Bâb Al-Laqlaq : 945 A.H./1538-1539 A.D.
 150. Qubbat An-Nabiye (the Dome of the : 945 A.H./1538-1539 A.D.
 Prophet) :

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| 151. Bâb Sittî Mariam | : 945 A.H./1538-1538 A.D. |
| 152. Bâb Al-Khalîl (Bâb Yaffa) | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 153. Bâb An-Nabiye Dâoud (Bâb Zahyûn) | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 154. Barj (the Tower of) Kibrît | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 155. Bâb Al-Maghâriba (Bâb Az-Zibl) | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 156. Ribât Bâryâm Jâouîsh | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 157. The Study of Bâryâm Jâouîsh | : 947 A.H./1540-1541 A.D. |
| 158. Khâssikî Sultân | : 959 A.H./1551-1552 A.D. |
| 159. The Mosque of Al-Maoulawiyya | : 995 A.H./1586-1587 A.D. |
| 160. The Hermitage of Muhammad Âghâ | : 996 A.H./1587-1588 A.D. |
| 161. Zaouiat An-Naqshabandiyya (Al-Azbakiyya) | : 1025 A.H./1610 A.D. |
| 162. Zaouiat Al-Afghâniyya | : 1040 A.H./1630-1631 A.D. |
| 163. Mihrab Alî Bâshâ | : 1047 A.H./1637-1638 A.D. |
| 164. The Dome of Yûssuf Âghâ | : 1092 A.H./1681 A.D. |
| 165. Ash-Shaourabajî : the Oratory and the Fountain | : 1097 A.H./1685-1686 A.D. |
| 166. Masjid An-Nabiye (the Oratory and Bakh-Bakh Dome) | : 1112 A.H./1700-1701 A.D. |
| 167. The Fountain of Sheikh Badîr | : 1153 A.H./1740-1741 A.D. |
| 168. Mistabat At-Tîn | : 1174 A.H./1760-1761 A.D. |
| 169. Dâr Al-'Izz | : 1205 A.H./1790-1791 A.D. |
| 170. The Palace of Sultan Mahmûd | : 1223 A.H./1808-1809 A.D. |
| 171. Bâb Al-Asbât (Al-Haram) | : 1223 A.H./1808-1809 A.D. |
| 172. Zaouiat Waliyyu Allah Abû-Madîn (Zaouiat Al-Maghâriba) | : 1269 A.H./1852-1853 A.D. |
| 173. The Mosque of Al-Maghâriba (restored) | : 1283 A.H./1866-1867 A.D. |

List N° 2

A. Various eras

- 174. The Wall of Al-Burâq
- 175. The closed gates
- 176. The wells
- 177. Masjid (the Oratory of) Al-Hayât
- 178. The Stable
- 179. The Abode of Ghabâyin

B. The Ottoman Era

- 180. Masjid Ad-Daysî
- 181. Al-Masjid Al-'Umarî As-Saghîr
- 182. Masjid Mus'ab
- 183. Masjid Khân As-Sultân

184. Masjid Abû-Bakr As-Siddîq
185. Masjid 'Uthmân bin 'Affân
186. Masjid Suwwayqat 'Uluân
187. Masjid Al-Burâq
188. Masjid Sheikh Rayhân
189. The Tomb of Sheikh Makkî
190. The Tomb of Sheikh Hassan
191. The Abode and Oratory of Sayyidunâ Suleiman
192. The Tombs of Bâb Al-Khalîl
193. The Fountain of Sûq Al-'Attâfîn
194. The Fountain of Khân Az-Zayat
195. The Fountain of Durj Al-Wâd
196. The Fountain of Bâb Hitta
197. The Abode of Sharaf
198. The bridges
199. The markets

II. CHRISTIAN ANCIENT MONUMENTS

List N° 1

200. Station I (Madrassat Al-'Umariyya), Pepose.
201. Station II, the Flagellation Church, Institute, and Library.
202. Station III.
203. Station IV
204. Station V.
205. Station VI, the Church of St. Veronica.
206. Station VII.
207. Station VIII, the Great Monastery.
208. Station IX.
209. The Resurrection Church (A.D. 335), which includes Stations 10 to 14 as well as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
210. The Station of the Monastery of Abraham (A.D. 335, renovated 1887 A.D.).
211. The Roman Monastery.
212. The Roman Orthodox Patriarchate.
213. The Church of St. Ann (A.D. 530, renovated 1856 A.D.) together with the Seminary and the Monastery.
214. The Monastery and Church of St. John (A.D. 450, renovated 1048 A.D.).
215. The Convent (594 A.D.).
216. The Armenian Monastery and St. James Church (1142-1165 A.D.).
217. The Armenian Patriarchate, including a school, printing house, and museum (1142-1165 A.D.).
218. The Olive Tree Convent (12-13 centuries A.D.).
219. The Church of the Birth Place of the Virgin Mary (12-13 centuries A.D.).

220. St. Mary's Church of the German Templars (12-13 centuries A.D.).
221. St. Julian Church (12-13 centuries A.D.).
222. The Coptic Patriarchate, Queen Helen Church, and the Monastery of St. Anthony (12-13 centuries A.D.).
223. The Ethiopian Monastery (12-13 centuries A.D.).
224. St. James Intercisus (Al-Ya'qûbiyya) (12-13 centuries A.D.).
225. St. Aynes Church (Al-Maoulawiyya) (12-13 centuries A.D.).
226. St. Thomas Church (Al-Harîrî) (12-13 centuries A.D.).
227. St. Saviour Church (Franciscan) (1559 A.D.).
228. The Convent of Al-Addas (1571 A.D.).
229. The Austrian Hospice (1756 A.D.).
230. The Coptic Khan and the Pool of the Patriarch (1839 A.D.).
231. The Roman Catholic Patriarchate (1839 A.D.).
232. The Christ Church (Anglican) (1839 A.D.).
233. The St. Joseph Convent (1850, 1930 A.D.).
234. St. Mark's House (Syrian Orthodox) (1855 A.D.).
235. The Ecce Homo Basilica (1665 A.D.).
236. The Patriarchate Latinus (1863 A.D.).
237. The Christian Brothers Church and School (1876 A.D.).
238. The Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate (1883 A.D.).
239. The St. Rosary Convent (1833 A.D.).
240. The Church of St. Maria of the Spasm (the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate) (1886 A.D.).
241. The Chapel of Alexander (1887 A.D.).
242. The Church of the Redeemer (Lutheran) (1898).
243. The Church of the Prison of the Christ (1906 A.D.).
244. The Church of the Nazarene (Maronite).

List N° 2

245. The Casanova Hospice.
246. The St. Nicholas Convent.
247. The Convent of St. Kharalambous.
248. The Saydah Convent.
249. The St. Aftimos Convent.
250. The St. Catherine Convent.
251. The St. Andrews Convent.
252. The St. Dimitrius Convent.
253. The St. George Convent.
254. The St. Michael Convent.
255. The Asperodus Convent.
256. The St. Joseph Orphanage.
257. The St. James Church.
258. The St. Jacob Convent.
259. The St. Mary Convent for Coptic Sisters.

III. JEWISH MONUMENTS AND SITES

All of these were either rented or built in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries

- 260. The Tiferet Yerushalayem Synagogue.
- 261. The Four Sephardi Synagogues : Youhanan ben Zakkai, Eliyahu Honve, Stounbouli, and Merkazi.
- 262. The Ramban Synagogue.
- 263. The Bet-El Synagogue.
- 264. The Porath Yousef Yeshiva Synagogue and School.
- 265. The Habad Synagogue.
- 266. The Hurva Synagogue.
- 267. The Wilson Synagogue.
- 268. The Karaite Synagogue.
- 269. The Yisrael Synagogue.
- 270. The Moroccan Synagogue.
- 271. The Hatorah Synagogue and School.
- 272. The Torat Chayim Synagogue.
- 273. The Hakotel Synagogue and School.
- 274. The Etz. Chayim Synagogue and School.

A List of Ancient Islamic Schools in Beith Al-Maqdis (the Old City)

<i>Name of the School</i>	<i>Construction date</i>	<i>Location</i>
- Unidentified school	1st c. A.H./7th c. A.D.	Site of the tombs of 'Ubâda bin As-Sâmit and Shaddâd bin Aous, outside the ramparts, near Bâb Ar-Rahma Cemetery
- Madrassat An-Nasriyya	450 A.H./1058 A.D.	Bâb Ar-Rahma - Bâb As-Sâhira
- Madrassat Abî 'Uqba	485 A.H./1092 A.D.	Near the Resurrection Church
- Madrassat Al-Afdaliyya	589-92 A.H./1193-95 A.D.	Bâb Al-Maghâriba
- Darfîh of Sheikh 'Îd	590 A.H./1193-94 A.D.	Within Madrassat Al-Afdaliyya
- Madrassat Al-Maymûniyya	593 A.H./1196-97 A.D.	Near Bâb As-Sâhira
- Madrassat Al-Amjadiyya	late 6th c. A.H./12 c. A.D.	Unidentified location
- Zaouiat Ad-Darakât	613 A.H./1216 A.D.	Near the German Church

- Madrassat Al-Waj̄hiyya	700 A.H./1300 A.D.	Near Al-Ghawâanima
- Zaouiat Al-Muhammadiyya	751 A.H./1350 A.D.	Bâb An-Nâdhir
- Zaouiat At-Tawashiyya	753 A.H./1352 A.D.	Ash-Sharaf Quarter
- Madrassat Al-Hassaniyya	761 A.H./1358-59 A.D.	Bâb Al-Asbât
- Zaouiat Ash-Shaykhûniyya	761 A.H./1361 A.D.	Bâb Hitta
- Ribât Al-Mâridînî	763 A.H./1361 A.D.	Bâb Hitta near the Tomb of Al-Awhadiyya
- Madrassat Al-Bârûdiyya	768 A.H./1366 A.D.	Bâb An-Nâdhir
- Zaouiat Al-Yûnussiyya	790 A.H./1387 A.D.	Bâb An-Nâdhir
- Madrassat Al-Jahârixiyya	791 A.H./1388-89 A.D.	Bâb An-Nâdhir
- Madrassat At-Tûlûniyya	before 800 A.H./1397 A.D.	Between Bâb Al-Asbât and Bâb Hitta
- Madrassat Al-Fihriyya	800 A.H./1397 A.D.	Between Bâb Al-Asbât and Bâb Hitta
- Madrassat Al-Qarqashandiyya	after 800 A.H./1400 A.D.	Between Bâb Al-Asbât and Bâb Hitta