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Volume 30

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Arabicarum Palaestinae

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Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae

Volume Six

– J (1) –

By

Moshe Sharon



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For my parents of blessed memory

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FOREWORD

The sixth volume of the *CIAP* deals with the inscriptions in sites whose names begin with the letter J excluding Jerusalem. The reason is that a special volume has to be dedicated to Jerusalem following Max van Berchem's monumental work on it (*CIA*, *Jerusalem Ville* and *Jerusalem Haram*). For this reason, the present volume deals with all the sites that, alphabetically, should appear either before or after Jerusalem. The major entry in this volume is dedicated to the city of Jaffa with its forty-eight inscriptions. It is interesting that although Jaffa is one of the oldest inhabited places in the country, or even in the world, most of the inscriptions found in it are mainly from the Ottoman period. Only two or three inscriptions belong to the Mamlūk period and there is one unique inscription from the period of the Crusades, more precisely that of Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor. This particular inscription goes beyond the borders of the city of Jaffa, for it reveals a significant chapter of European history as well.

Jaffa was the sea gate of the Holy Land, and frequently named the "Port of Jerusalem." It received travellers and pilgrims, merchants and soldiers from all over Europe, North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean in spite of the fact that it seldom offered good physical conditions for either vessels or travellers. Probably more than any other town in the Holy Land it suffered from the horrors of wars, bloodshed and devastation. Its last Muslim rulers, the Ottomans, through their local governors, treated it favourably on the whole, particularly in the 19th century following the horrible devastation and massacre of Napoleon in 1799. The Ottoman builders, official and private, left a few remarkable edifices commemorated by inscriptions. The presence of Christians, whether subjects or guests, also left its mark in epitaphs and in construction texts, emphasizing the cosmopolitan nature of the city.

As in the previous volumes all the inscriptions are studied and analyzed in the context of their historical, linguistic, and cultural background as much as possible. The volume opens with a short section of *addenda* relating to the previous volume. This is an opportunity to thank Dr. Necati Alkan for his contribution of the Turkish material to the *addenda* and to this volume as well. Every such contribution is acknowledged in situ.

In recent years, Ami M. Schragar, my long time pupil and assistant, has been, and still is, of unusual help to me in the work on the *CIAP*. He spares no time searching for material needed to support the study of the inscriptions, proving himself a professional epigrapher with a keen eye, and serious, independent research qualities. He deserves all words of thanks.

Thanks are also due to colleagues who have always been ready to answer questions relating to their fields of expertise: Albert Arazi, Joshua Blau, Reuven Amitai, Isaac Hasson, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and my teacher and friend Bernard Lewis.

In my work on Jaffa, I received constant help and highly important information, as well as many photographs and plans, from architect Samuel Giller, who is a first-hand authority on the physical layout of the city and its modern history. The IAA archeologist Yoav Arbel, who in recent years has been excavating in Jaffa, unreservedly supplied me with information and inscriptions discovered in his digs.

The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) continued with its much-appreciated co-operation with the *CIAP* project, and supplied me with archival information and visual material, which I needed. I have been particularly helped by Ms. Sylvia Krapiwko the custodian of the archives of the IAA who did not spare either time or effort searching for whatever material I required, putting her knowledge, and professional experience at my disposal.

I could not carry out the work on the *CIAP* without the financial and moral support of *Fondation Max van Berchem* in Geneva, and without the availability of van Bechem's archives. The encouragement and the active interest in the *Corpus* by the Foundation's management and the personal attention of Professor Charles Genequand inspired reassurance and feeling of constant satisfaction. Special gratitude is due to Mme. Antoinette Harri for always being available to contribute her professional support, which makes my work in the van Berchem archives in Geneva fruitful and satisfactory. Finally, I cannot ignore the constant encouragement of E. J. Brill, my faithful publishers that drive me to supply them with yet another new volume of the *Corpus*. Their professional production of the *CIAP* is a masterpiece.

As in previous volumes, the inscriptions in each entry are arranged chronologically according to the Islamic (*hijrī*) calendar. Jaffa presents a special case since quite a few inscriptions have only the Christian date, such as Frederick II inscription (1229 CE) or epitaphs of Christians. Seeking to keep the chronological order of the entries, an Islamic date has been added to the Christian inscriptions thus integrating them into the general system.

In spite of the fact that previous readings of some of the inscriptions from Jaffa are problematic, to say the least, I decided to refer to all of them and have corrected both the readings and the translations when available.

The whole manuscript of this volume has been edited by my wife Judy whom I thank for this, and for always being a source of strength and encouragement.

Moshe Sharon
October 2016

ADDENDA

ADDENDA TO CIAP V

103a
HAIFA
Ḥammām al-Bāshā
Construction text

1326/1908

Slab of marble, 1.20 × 0.80 (approx) 5 lines, professional late Ottoman *nasta'liq*, points, some vowels and decorative signs; in relief. Publication: Tütüncü, 2008:286; Dow, 1996:74. Fig. 01

(١) هذا النعيم لمن بالعزّ مأهولُ
(٢) فادخُلْ رياضَ الهنا والانسِ مغتسلا
(٣) قد شاده الاكرمُ المرعيّ جانبه
(٤) المصطفى من سرّاتِ طابِ عنصُرُهُم
(٥) سنة ١٣٢٩

وكلُّ طهرٍ سوى الحمّامِ تعليلُ
تحظي بكلِّ سرورٍ فيه تمثيلُ (!)
في طالع السعد تحرسه الطهاطيلُ
آل الخليل فما في الصدقِ تضليلُ
سنة ١٣٢٦

This (place of) enjoyment is for him who is espoused to glory
And any purification save in the *ḥammām* is but an allegation.
Therefore, enter the meadows of enjoyment and friendliness to wash
You shall gain every happiness imaginable.
It was built by the munificent, whose person is estimably guarded,
Under the lucky star protected by the *ṭahāṭil*.
He is al-Muṣṭafā, (the chosen) from nobles of superior origin
(They are) the Khalil family: there is no deception in truth!
The year 1326 (*hijrī*) 1329 (Ottoman *mālī*)

Text

The text is a poem following, on the whole, the *basīṭ* metre. It is written in good language, and, as it should be, the two hemistiches of the first verse rhyme with each other.

L.2: A typo mistake at the end of the line where instead of *tamthīl* the text reads *matthīl*. It is corrected in the reading above (followed by an exclamation mark).

The following corrections refer to the text as copied by Tütüncü (T in what follows). The correct reading is given first followed by the word “correct” and T’s text.

L.3: طالع correct T: طاله.

L.4: من سرات correct T: من سرا[ة].

تطاب [أع / غ] صرهم correct T: تطاب عنصرهم.

الخليل فما الصدق ضليلُ correct T: الخليل فما في الصدق تضليلُ

Translation and Comments

L.3: The grammatical form in this line is *naʿt sababī*, an adjectival clause which defines the generous (*al-akram*) builder. The translation should therefore be: “It was built by the munificent (or the generous), whose person is estimably guarded.” Correct the wrong translation, “It was built by the generous the protector of it” which ignored the *naʿt sababī*. The second hemistich of the verse refers to the verb *shādahu* “he built it,” and continues to say directly “under the rising star of luck” which I translated “under the lucky star”. It is not “in the utmost happiness” as was wrongly translated. The whole hemistich points to the magical protection of the *ṭahāṭīl*, which I left untranslated since as it stands is meaningless as we shall soon see in the discussion of Islamic magical spells below.

L.4: The word *al-muṣṭafā* in line 4 means, as I translated, “the chosen,” and refers at the same time to the name of the builder of this ḥammām, namely Muṣṭafā Pasha from the al-Khalīl family that was one of the most prominent and rich Muslim families of Haifa. Muṣṭafā Pasha Āl Khalīl (died in 1919), was the head of the family. He owned land in the eastern part of the town where he built, as we learn from this inscription, its (only) public bath called Ḥammām al-Bāshā in reference to his title. He was buried in the family cemetery not far from the bathhouse. (Seikali, *Haifa*, 2002:41 n. 15).

The translation of the last part of the first hemistich is based on a wrong reading and is incorrect: It is not “*ṭāba ʿaṣruhum*” which led to the translation “whose age is

made delightful” but as I corrected this reading above: “*ṭāba ‘unṣuruhum*”—“whose origin is good, superior.”

L.5: The two dates refer to the *hijrī* date and to the corresponding Ottoman *māliyyah* (*maliyyeh*, fiscal) date, of that particular year.

Ṭahāṭīl

This is a term relating to practical Islamic magic (*siḥr*). It belongs to sets of incantations, none of which make any sense to the uninitiated reader, for whom they are not supposed to make sense since their “power” is in their strange sounds and spellings, which give them their mystical flavour. In practical magic, namely magic intended to achieve benefits or ward away danger, series of strange words are used (samples of which will be given further on). Since the world is seen as being inhabited not only by humans but also by demons of different kinds (*Shayṭān* pl. *shayāṭīn*, *‘ifrīt* pl. *‘afārīt*, *mārid* pl. *maradah.*), evil and good spirits, as well as by jinn, harmful or helpful, Muslim and heathen, which represent a mirror image of the human world, it can not be left without means of defense. The incantations, and the recitation of these strange words, their writing on talismans worn by humans, and attached to objects which need protection, such as this *ḥammām*, create the necessary defense by generating expulsion or invitation: expulsion of the demons and evil forces, and invitation of the good heavenly ones for help (*istinzāl amlāk wa-istiḥḍār a‘wān*). (Cf. Būnī, 1951:67f) The latter are, for instance, the angels Jibrā’īl, Mikā’īl, Isrāfīl and ‘Azrā’īl, and other angels whose names end with “*īl*” as well as other good spirits who come to one’s service when one uses the spells correctly. (For a detailed discussion see also: *idem*, *Shams al-Ma‘ārif al-Kubrā*, 1405/1985:122ff.; Ibn an-Nadīm 1988:369. (*Kitāb al-Fihrist*, second *fann* from the eighth *maqālah*).

Magic in Islam, to which extensive literature has been dedicated, is widely practiced to this day. (See in detail “*siḥr*” *EI*, *Short EI*, *EI²*) One of the groups of spells (“names”) is classified under the term *barḥatiyyah*. It covers lists of certain incantations frequently used by the followers of practical “white” magic, independently or together with the recitation of specific Qur’ānic verses (Q, 2:255; Q, 39; Q, 113, 114—“*al-Mu‘awwidhatān*—the protective two”). All the spells enumerated and discussed under *barḥatiyyah* have no meaning either. Their number is contested—between 27 to 37, more or less. I possess the manuscript of a book whose writer collected a large number of incantations and popular “medical” and other prescriptions for his personal use. They are accompanied by the proper charms, texts of talismans and amulets, as well as other magical instruments for the treatment of various ailments, for combating evil spirits, for attracting the beloved, for defeating enemies, for attracting customers, for helping women who find difficulty in conceiving or giving birth and so on. The compiler of the manuscript copied them

haphazardly, so it seems, from various sources, two of which are frequently mentioned. One is: the famous *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, which has nothing to do with the present subject under discussion and the second is called: *Bahjat an-Nufūs wa-al-Arwāḥ fī tarkīb aṣ-Ṣanā'i' wa-Funūn al-Arwāḥ* (hereafter Ms. *Arwāḥ*). No author is mentioned and I was unable to locate one using this name that refers to its contents; it deals with “*tarkīb aṣ-ṣanā'i'*” namely the “mixtures” used in the profession of magicians, the mystical nature of which is defined by the word “*arwāḥ*.” This includes the whole field of the preparation of talismans (*talāsim*) and “seals” (*khātim* pl. *khwātim*). The compiler copied scores of them, and even prepared some for immediate use (probably for selling) on long and narrow strips of white linen. Below in pls. Haifa 1326–1329 (1–2) there is an example of four pages from the manuscript representing examples of the spells and incantations of the *barhatīyyah*, and some of the mystical signs used in the talismans, charms and seals. On page 68b (pl. 01) there are instructions on how to prepare a seal for attracting a good, beneficial spirit (*dhāt al-mahāsīn*). It runs as follows:

باب في احضار ذات المحاسن . إذا أردت احضارها تكتب هذه الطلاسم على خرقين
 كنان بمسك وزعفران وماء ورد وتعمل سراجين تحط فيهم (!) سبع زيوت وتشعل
 الكانتين وحدة فوق رأسك والثانية تحت رجلك وتُعزّم عليها بالبرهتية الصغيرة ٢١ مرة
 وأمر باحضارها ذات المحاسن وكلها فيما تريد من خيرٍ وشرٍ فإنها تعمل كل شيء
 وهذه صفة الطلاسم واعلم انها ٢٩٥ انيه اذا ام ١٥٤٧ قضت له جميع اغراضه من الخير
 والشر .

A chapter regarding the attraction of the spirit of benefaction (or: spirit of good qualities). If you wish to cause her to come, you should write the following talismans on two pieces of linen with a (mixture of) musk, saffron and rose water, and prepare two lamps, and fill them with seven types of oil, and burn the two pieces of linen, the one above your head and the second under your feet, and you should chant over them the lesser *barhatīyyah* 21 times ordering her to bring the beneficial spirit; and commissioning her to do whatever you wish, either good or bad, for she can do everything. This is the design of the talisman (here come a short series of letters and numbers) she will fulfill his needs whether good or bad. (This is followed by mystical signs drawn on two long horizontal lines).

Following this passage on the same page (*ibid.* 68a) the compiler copied the *barhatīyyah* spells (apparently the “greater” one) all of which, like most of the mystical “names”, have no meaning whatsoever. Since in Islamic magic the *barhatīyyah* refers to an important set of spells, in what follows I have copied a few of them and the rest

can easily be read from the manuscript below. At this point special attention should be paid to the vowels of each spell. (See Būnī, *Manbaʿ Uṣūl al-Ḥikmah*, 1951:67ff., 75. Probably the source of our anonymous compiler). In the language of the practitioners of magic it is called: *al-ʿahd al-qadīm*—the Old Testament (*ibid.*) probably because personalities like King Solomon and the musician Asaph ben Berekhyāhū are mentioned as the source of magical wisdom, having acquired the powers to control the various spirits (see more below):

وهذا قسم البرهتية برهتية، كَرِيرٍ، تَتْلِيهِ، طُورَانِ، مَرْجَلِ، بَرْجَلِ، تَرْقَبِ، بَرْهَشِ، غَلَشِ،
خَوَطِيرِ، قَلَنْهُودِ، بَرْشَانِ، كَطْهَيْرِ، نُمُوشَلِخِ، بَرْهَيُولَا . . .

Altogether 24 “names”:

The passage begins with “and this is the spell of the *barhatīyyah*” followed by a list of spells all finishing with *tanwīn kasrah* except for the ones finishing with *alif* (like *barhayūlā*). It is emphasized that the word *barhatīyyah* in the list of spells, should be pronounced according to its vowels: “*barhatīhin*.” (*Ibid.*).

The magical text emphasizes, in general, that the spells, or at least many of them are “*sirianiyyah*”, namely Syriac. Some practitioners of Islamic magic even announce that they are Syriac (*siryānī*) as far as their profession is concerned. It follows therefore that the strange sound of the spells is due to their non-Arab origin. In many of the spells one can easily detect Hebrew, but it is not surprising that the Muslims preferred “Syriac” to Hebrew with which they were unfamiliar. In the list of the *barhatīyyah* spells quoted by Būnī (*ibid.*, 74–75) the Hebrew source is clearly mentioned several times although their identification as Hebrew is not indicated: “The ancient, uncontested account (regarding the spells) come from Āṣaf son of Brakhyah transmitting Solomon the son of David etc.” Asaph ben Berekhyahu is a famous member of the Levite family of musicians and the leader of David’s choir, to whom 12 psalms are ascribed in the book of Psalms. (See, 1Chr. 6:39; 2Chr. 5:12, 29:30, 35:15; Neh. 12:46; Ps. 50, 73–83). Among these spells we find ones like *shimkhahar*, *shimkhahār*, and *shimkha bārūkh* (Būnī, *op. cit.* 75). No keen eye is needed to detect the Hebrew *shimkha* (שִׁמְכָה) —“thy name” combined once with *har*—which could refer to mountain, once with *hār*, which is meaningless, and once with *bārūkh*—“blessed.” (שִׁמְךָ בָּרוּךְ “blessed is thy name” is clearly a spell with a clear positive message.) But incantations, although meaningless for the uninitiated, are mysterious, powerful, and meaningful for the master of magic, whose tools they are to mobilize angels and demons and other spirits to work for him.

Here is an incantation which can be passed as Syriac or as a mixture of Syriac, Greek or Latin (or nothing) used for “burning the jinni” (*tahrīq al-jinn*): “*shanūshin*, *danūshin*, *kanūshin*, *yanūshin*, *sashin*, *barūshin*, *hūshin*, *tūshin*” (Ms. *Arwāḥ* 12a).

In what follows there are enchantments containing more Hebrew and Jewish elements. These enchantments are “good” for driving away demons. The instructions for their usage are that they should be recited after a short prayer asking Allah’s support and protection:

ثم تقول سبع مرات هواه هواه ياهواه أهوش أشمخ أيا أيا انصرفوا يا عمار هذا
المكان حتى اقضي حاجتي بسهولة وعودوا كما كنتم بحق اهيا شراها اءوناي
صباؤوت ال شداي انزل يا طارش واعزل اولادك من هذا المكان وكونوا
عوني فيما اريد نفخ اسرافيل قبض عزرائيل امطر ميكائيل هبط جبرائيل . . .
(*Ibid.*, fol. 76a)

After the introductory sentence: “Then you say seven times” the Hebrew text consists of versions of the name of God that despite distortion can easily be detected:

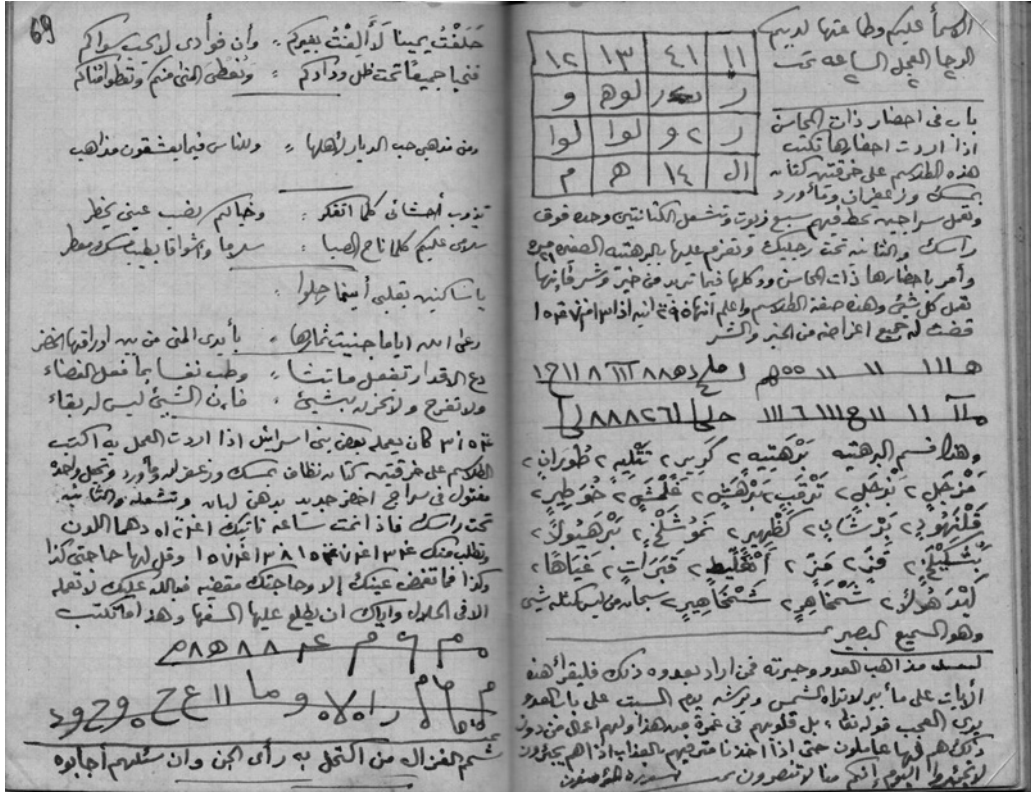
הוא הוא י-הוה הו שמך יה אל..אהיה אשר אהיה אדוני צבאות אל שדי

This incantation was probably influenced by a Jewish source or directly learnt from Jews practicing magic (*cf.* Būnī, 1951:76). The whole passage after the instruction to repeat it seven times, can be translated as follows:

He he YHWH (“*tetragammaton*”) is your name. Lord God. Go away O dwellers of this place (demons, jinni) so that I may perform that which I need easily and (you) return to what (or where) you were in the name of (Him Who is) “I Am that I Am (Ex. 3:14), the Lord of Hosts God *Shadday*. (Gen. 17:1) Descend O Tārish (King of the demons) and clear your children away, and be my helpers in whatever I wish (the angels): Isrāfil has blown (the horn), ‘Azrā’il (*sic!*) took possession (of the souls), Mikā’il caused rainfall, Jibrā’il descended (to earth).

The general name *ṭahāṭīl* for spells listed under it, (which led to the above discussion of Islamic magic), is written either with *ṭā’* or with *tā’* (*taḥāṭīl*). There are seven variations of the spell (*at-tahāṭīl as-sab’ah*) each one corresponding to one day of the week; they influence the seven “kings above” and the seven “below.” *Sūrah* 36 of the Qur’ān, *sūrat yā sīn* is divided into seven portions according to the days of the week. It combines with the seven *ṭahāṭīl* to perform a particularly powerful spell. There are a few spellings of the variants of the *ṭahāṭīl* “names”, which there is no point to mention. Each of these *ṭahāṭīl* “names” contain an element of its origin such as *qaḥṭaḥṭīl*, *maḥṭaḥṭīl*, *faḥṭaḥṭīl* etc. (Ms. *Arwāḥ*, fol. 55a, Būnī, 1405/1985:263ff.)

This is the first time that I have come across a reference to a protective magical spell in an inscription which is not an integral part of any magical practice like charm plates, amulets and talismans. On the other hand, the protective Qur’ānic verse Q, 2:255 (*āyat al-kursī*—the Verse of the Throne) is commonly used, particularly in construction texts and epitaphs. (See more details in *CIAP*, 1:148–149)



Pl. 01. *Arwāḥ*, fols. 68b–69a spells (middle right). Sample of a seal (fol. 68b top) and mystical signs of talisman (both pages).

Hebron

78a

The Quarantine (re-edition)

The Quarantine of Hebron was built in 1265/1848–1849 and commemorated by this inscription. For some time it fulfilled its original function and then was deserted for a while. Later the British mandatory government transformed it into the seat of the public health council, and today it houses the local health centre.

Construction text
(Contribution of Necati Alkan)

1265/1848–1849

White marble stone, 0.60 × 0.45m. (approx.) 4 lines Ottoman official *nasta'liq*, lines divided by bands, points, no vowels; in relief. Above the script, *ṭughrā*, located on the porch of the second floor above the main outer gate leading to *iwān* of the



Pl. 02. *Arwāh*, fols. 75b–76a: incantations including Hebrew words (fol.76a) and reference to the four archangels (top right and left), instructions concerning the invocation of Q: 2:255 (*āyat al-kursī*) and the section of *barhatiyah*—middle and bottom left; see above fig. Haifa 1326–9 (1).

quarantine. The inscription in Turkish and the *tughrā*, are artistically produced. CIAP 5, fig. 76.

- ١) شه دوران خان عبد المجيدك لطف آثاری
 - ٢) مناسب جاده قیلدي بو تحفظخانه بي انشا
 - ٣) دو جوهردار تاریخ اولدي زیور مصرع واحد
 - ٤) تحفظخانه بي قیلدي شه دوران عدل احیا
- ۱۲۶۵ ۱۲۶۵

- 1) Şeh-i devran Han Abdülmecid'in lutf-i âsârı
- 2) Münasib cadde kıldı bu tahaffuzhaneyi inşa
- 3) Dü cevherdar tarih oldu Ziver-i mısra-ı vahid
- 4) Tahaffuzhaneyi kıldı şeh-i devran-ı adl ihya

- 1) It is the sign of the benevolence of the king of the age, Abdülmecid Khan
- 2) He built a proper street (and) this quarantine
- 3) Twice the dotted letters become the date [of the construction], the ornament (Ziver) of one verse [the last one]:
- 4) The king of the age of justice revived the quarantine

In what follows are Necati Alkan's notes to his above reading, transliteration and translation of the Turkish inscription, including the corrections he made, in gray, of the original text (CIAP 5:234):

This poem was written by Ahmed Sadık Ziver Paşa, in short Ziver Paşa (1793–1862) (Tahir, 1333/1914: 2:220; Süreyya, 1996, 5:1715; Aksoy, 2011: 474–75), an Ottoman statesman who wrote most of the poems for the inscriptions of official and charitable buildings during the reigns of the sultans Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) and Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861). Ziver's name appears in the third line of this poem, which at the same time means "ornament". His poems are compiled in the volume *Âsâr-ı Ziver Paşa*.

One of Ziver's poems is the Ottoman inscription at the George Washington Memorial in Washington DC that was sent as a gift by Sultan Abdülmecid to the USA (Mert, 1999; Derman, 2005; Griffith, 2013).

In general, poems composed to commemorate the construction of a building, i.e. "chronograms," represent the inscription texts, and contrary to the usual custom of giving the date of the building in the *abjad* (numerical) value of the last line of the inscription poem (DOI₁), Ziver Paşa is famous for creating chronograms by counting only the dotted letters (*mu'cem* or *menkut*, also *cevher*, *mücevher*, *cevherdar*) of the last line (Mert: 1999:45; Yakıt; also Karaarslan, 2015: 4). Sometimes he used *ta'miye*, i.e. an enigma, in that he provided the date in the numerical value of the dotted letters of the penultimate line, gave the date plus one year in the numerical value of the whole last line and advised in the preceding verse to subtract one. This is the case in one of the inscription poems of Bezmialem Valide Sultan Çeşmesi (fountain) in Istanbul, where he provides the years 1255 and 1256 in the last verse (DOI, 2).

Counting the numerical values of the dotted letters of the last line in the inscription poem of the Hebron Quarantine makes 2530, which is twice the date 1265. This

تاریخ دیگر

- (شه دوران خان عبدالمجیدك لطف آناری * مشاهد اولهده هر برده قصر آسمان آسا)
 (اطبا رأی اوزره غزهده وضع قرانتیه * مناسب جاده قیلدی بوتحفظخانهی انشا)
 (اوله دار تحفظ اول شهک عدل هایونی * عللدن ایده سالم سایهسندہ جملہی مولی)
- * (دوجوهردار تاریخ اولدی زیور مصرع واحد) *
 * (تحفظخانهی قیلدی شه دوران عدل احیا) *

۱۲۶۵

۱۲۶۵

is alluded to in the third line where it says “Twice the dotted letters . . .” 1265 is also written twice on the inscription after the last verse.

As regards the year of the construction of the Hebron quarantine, according to a document in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi/BOA) it was decided in 1847 to “build anew quarantines in Gaza and Hebron (*Gazze ve Halilürrahman’da yeniden tahaffuzhane inşa edilmesi*)” (BOA, İrade-Dahiliye 151/7828; summary in the online catalogue). This would mean that there was a quarantine in Hebron and Gaza before, and it was decided to “revive (*ihya*)” them, as the last verse of its inscription indicates. There are other BOA documents from 1848 that speak about assigning personnel for the quarantines in Hebron and Gaza and the need for military outposts in their vicinity with soldiers for protection (BOA, A.MKT. 130/8; BOA, A.MKT. 132/19; BOA, A.MKT. 140/12).

What escaped our attention before is that a closer look at *Âsâr-ı Ziver Paşa*, his collection of poems, reveals that the text of the inscription for the quarantine in Hebron (above) is published there, and has four additional hemistiches (Ziver, 1313/1896: 192). The complete poem, then, is as follows, with the inscription text in bold:

- 1) Şeh-i devran Han Abdülmecid’in lutf-i âsârı
Müşahid olmada her yerde kasr-ı âsmân-âsâ
- 2) Etibba re’yi üzre Gazze’de vaz’-ı karantina
Münasib cadde kıldı bu tahaffuzhaneyi inşa
- 3) Ola dâr-ı tahaffuz ol şehin adl-i hümayunu
İlleden ede salim sayesinde cümleye mevla
- 4) **Dü cevherdar tarih oldu Ziver-i mısra-ı vahid**
Tahaffuzhaneyi kıldı şeh-i devran-ı adl ihya

The translation of the complete poem is:

- 1) It is the sign of the benevolence of the king of the age, Abdülmecid Khan
Everywhere one is witness to heavenly palaces
- 2) Based on advice of physicians a quarantine should be arranged in Gaza
He built a proper street (and) this quarantine
- 3) May the quarantine be the imperial justice of that king
May the Lord through him save everyone from illnesses
- 4) **Twice the dotted letters become the date [of the construction], the**
ornament (Ziver) of one verse [the last one]:The king of the age of justice revived the
quarantine

From the complete poem of Ziver Paşa we learn that it was actually composed for the quarantine in Gaza. Whether this was realised, we do not know; the first Ottoman document referred to above mentions that quarantines in Gaza and Hebron were meant to be built anew. It may be that only the quarantine in Hebron was built and part of the Ziver’s poem was used for its inscription, deleting the lines that refer to the quarantine in Gaza (for a discussion of the present entry and the complete poem and a different translation, see Tütüncü, 2009/2016:27–29).

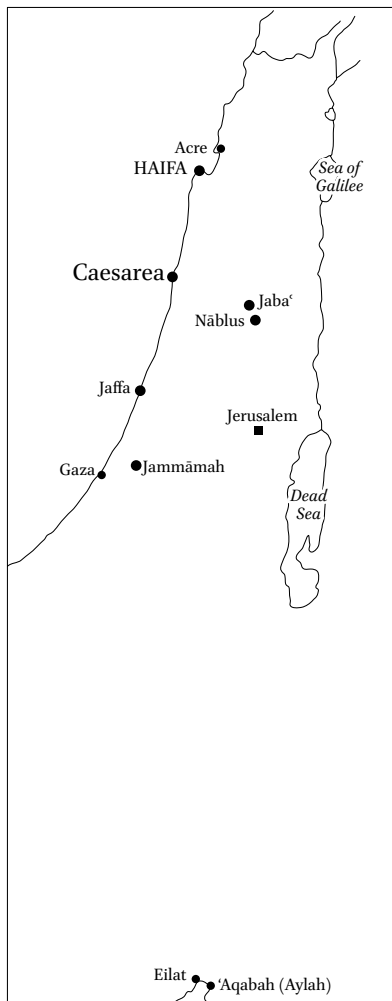
Ziver also wrote another poem with the Hijri year 1265 for a quarantine in Ramla (Tütüncü, *ibid.*), stating that it “was built by imperial order/ that God may protect Syria from calamities/ and the people may find health and comfort through the justice of the sultan” (Ziver, 1313/1896:192, hemistiches 4, 5, and 6) but there seems to be no other information about a quarantine building or an inscription in Ramla.

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JABAʿ

Is. Gr. 170 192 N.Is. Gr. 220 692



Jabaʿ is a village situated 4 km to the north of Nāblus on the site of an ancient city called Gebaʿ in Samaria, one of a few cities bearing this name throughout the country. It is mentioned in the Samaria Ostrakon 8 and in Biblical records (2Kings 23:9; Abel, 2, 1938:329; Aharoni, 1988:278, 280, 295.). Gebaʿ was the last northern border settlement under King Josiah's (641–609 BCE) authority ("From Gebaʿ to Be'er Sheba" Smith 1968:173–174, 194) mentioned in the context of his religious reforms ("Deuteronomic Reforms"). The ancient name is preserved in the Arabic name Jabaʿ (Smith, 1968:234 n.4) which is found in a few other places in the country bearing the same, or a similar ancient name such as Gebaʿ. (Cf. Abel, *vol. cit.* 333–335; Press, 1, 1951:139f.). Until modern times, the village was not mentioned in the Arabic sources, and the sanctuary of Shaykh Amīn does not appear in the map of the PEF from the end of the 19th century which is strange since the inscription referring to the sanctuary, called after this shaykh, dates from the beginning of the century. It is however, possible that the saint (if indeed he was regarded as such) was "discovered" not much before the building of the shrine. Until the 1960s, so local information goes, the *maqām* was a proper building with a dome and even a small minaret, no doubt the work of the person commemorated in

the inscription. Max van Berchem who saw the building at the end of the 19th century referred to it as "édicule modern" (MvB files "Jabaʿ"). The *maqām*, was built in the western side of the village cemetery. In the last 50 years or so it was neglected, and fell into ruin. Nothing more than one dilapidated wall has remained from it; and when these words are being written it is no more than a heap of stones. (See pl.3 below.)

01
MAQĀM ASH-SHAYKH AMĪN
Foundation Text

1232/1816–17

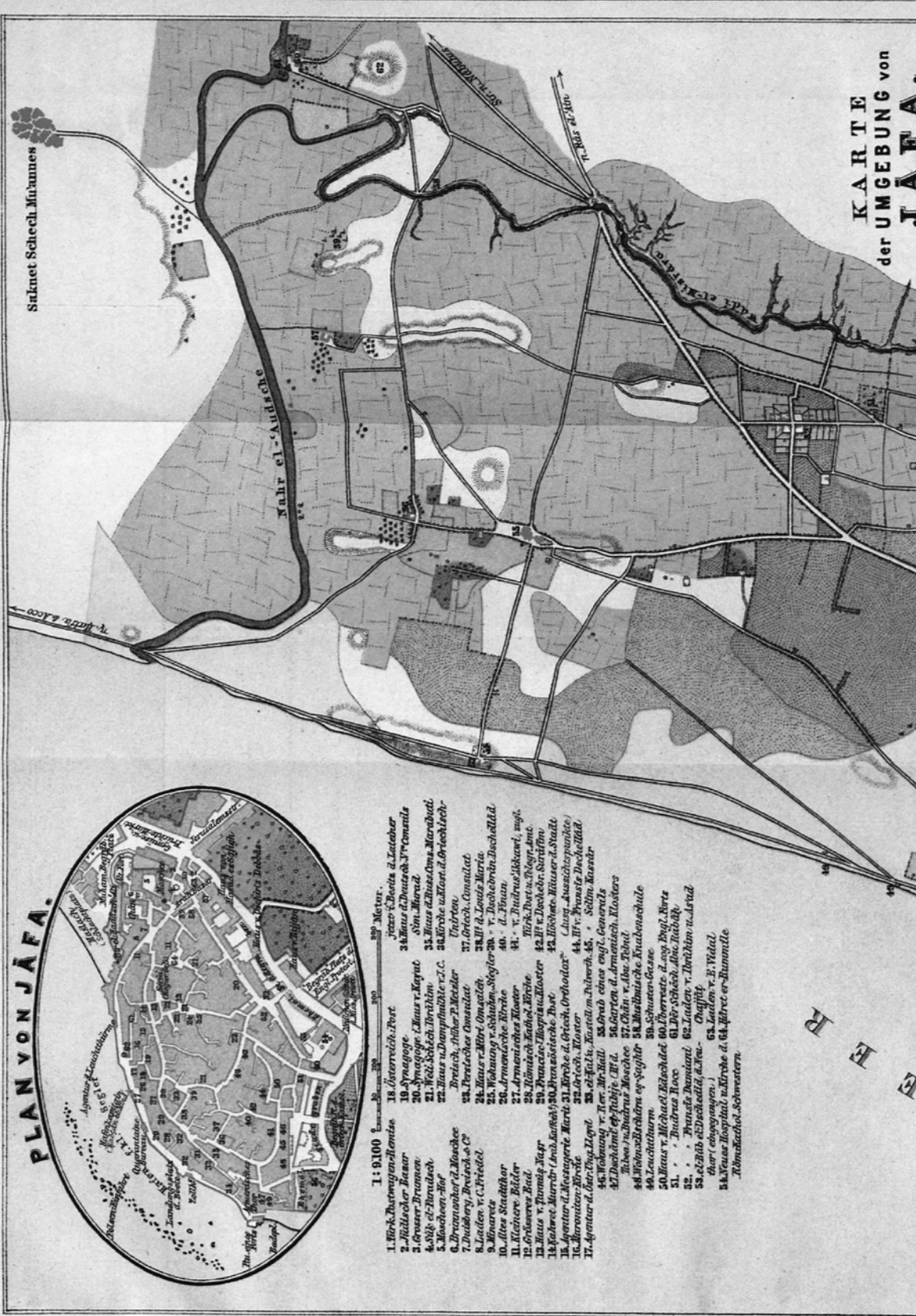
The inscription has disappeared with the rest of the building, but its record was preserved by Mülinen in *ZDPV* 31:192

١) أمر بعمارة (٢) هذا المكان أحمد (٣) الحامدي سنة ١٢٣٢

Hath ordered the building of this place Aḥmad al-Ḥāmīdī in the year 1232 (=1816–17)



Pl. 03. Maqām ash-Shaykh Amīn, present state (2008).



PLAN VON JÄFA.

1 : 9.100

- 1. Türk. Hauptgenossenschaft
- 2. Hüdischer Hauser
- 3. Grosser Brunnen
- 4. Saknet Schech M'annes
- 5. Moschee-Hof
- 6. Brunnenthor d. Moschee
- 7. Dudeney, Betsch, 4° C
- 8. Läden v. C. Friedel
- 9. Minarets
- 10. Altes Stadthor
- 11. Klöcher, Bilder
- 12. Grosser Bad
- 13. Haus v. Tharimig Nagr
- 14. Scherif, Murré (Arab. Kaffeh)
- 15. Apertur d. Messingerie Markt
- 16. Maronitar-Kirche
- 17. Apertur d. Ostr. Oug. Logi
- 18. Boverreich-Port
- 19. Synagoge
- 20. Synagoge, Haus v. Kaptul
- 21. Wadi Schich, Brühim
- 22. Haus u. Dampfmaschine v. J. C.
- 23. Betsch, Hof v. Metzler
- 24. Haus v. Hoff, Omsatz
- 25. Wohnung v. Schaban, Sijel
- 26. Armenisches Kloster
- 27. Armenisches Kloster
- 28. Klöcher, Kathol. Kirche
- 29. Francisc. Hospit. u. Kloster
- 30. Franciscische Post
- 31. Kirche d. Griech. Orthodox
- 32. Griech. Kloster
- 33. Hof d. Louis Martin
- 34. Haus d. Deutsch. v. Comanté
- 35. Haus d. Russisch. Marabadi
- 36. Kirche u. Hof d. Griech. Lechr
- 37. Griech. Consulat
- 38. Hof d. Louis Martin
- 39. v. Tschobrin, Dschalla d.
- 40. d. Finan
- 41. v. Fudrus, Jikkawi, engl.
- 42. Hof v. Dschob, Sirdim
- 43. Hof d. Russ. Konsul
- 44. Hof, Franke Dschalla d.
- 45. Hof, Franke Dschalla d.
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- 57. Hof, Franke Dschalla d.

KARTE der UMGEBUNG von JÄFA.

Aufgenommen & gezeichnet
in den Jahren 1878-79
von
Theodor Sandel.

1:31.800
M E T E R

1. Marktplatz
2. Mischach
3. Begräbnisplatz d. Musulmen
4. Arab. Hof
5. Sabaei Markt
6. Deutscher Markt
7. Markt d. v. d. Hand
8. Markt d. v. d. Hand
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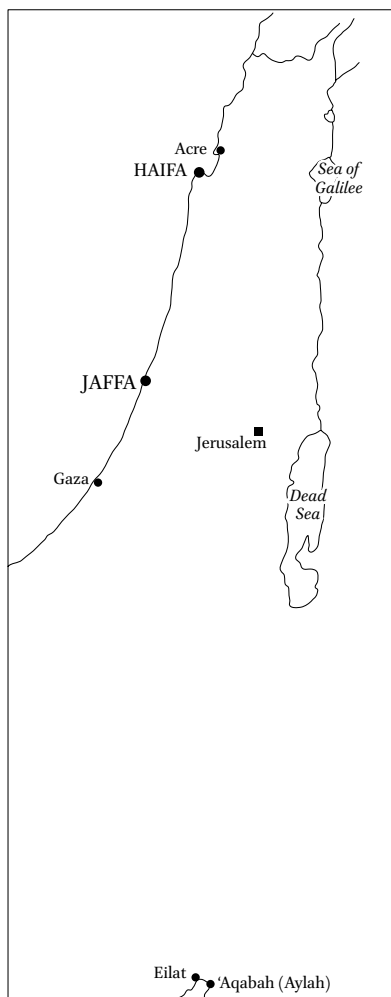
Wagner & Debes, Leipzig

Leipzig,
In Commission bei K. Baedeker
1880.

Map 1. Sandel's map of Jaffa 1878-9 original Source—ZDPV.

JAFFA (YAFO, YĀFĀ)

Is. Gr. 126 162 (N.Is. Gr. 176 662)



Fifty-five kilometres to the northwest of Jerusalem, built on a hill about 40m. high that drops sharply into the waters of the Mediterranean is the city of Jaffa, one of the most ancient cities in the world. The allegations of ancient authors that it was founded before the Deluge, or that it received its name from its founder Japheth the son of Noah, sustained the assertion of its antiquity even before its name appeared in historical accounts. (Cf. Wright 1848:142) It has been known, with slight variations of this name, since the 15th century BCE, as we learn from the Egyptian records in which it is called *y-p-w*, and *ya-pu* in the El-Amarna tablets and in the Sennacherib (d. 681 BC) inscription (Wolfgang Zwickel in *Jaffa* 2012:84ff.). The name was preserved in the Hebrew *Yafo* (יָפוֹ) in Biblical and post-Biblical records as well as in Canaanite and Phoenician. In Arabic it is called *Yāfā*, which also echoes the ancient name. This name is usually written *يافا* with an *alif* at the end. However, in some Arabic sources as well as in inscriptions we find the spelling of *يافة* with *tā' marbūṭah* (or *hā'*). Muqaddasī uses this spelling in his description of the city (Muqaddasī, 1906:174; 1407/1987:148).

In Greek, notably in the Septuagint, it was known as *Ioppe* (Ἰόππη). A Greek legend says that Kepheus (Cepheus) king of Ethiopia established it and

named it after his wife *Kassiopeia* (Cassiopea) or *Iope*, hence *Joppa* in Latin and most of the European Languages.

In another myth, Poseidon punished Kepheus and *Kassiopeia* because the queen had boasted that her daughter, *Andromeda*, surpassed the *Nereids* in beauty. *Andromeda*, sentenced to be sacrificed to a sea monster, was chained to a rock in the sea of Jaffa. *Perseus*, on his way back from killing *Medusa*, saved *Andromeda* and killed the monster. To this day, a rock known as the “*Rock of Andromeda*” is shown in

the reefs of Jaffa. The part of the myth connecting Andromeda with Jaffa is not as old as the original story. It took its present form between the end of the 8th century BCE and the middle of the 7th century BCE. Traces of the myth are to be found in ancient records of Jaffa. Pliny the Elder, like Pomponius Mela (c. 40 CE) says that Jaffa was established before the Deluge and refers to the story of Andromeda indicating that her fetters can still be seen on a rock opposite Jaffa. Josephus also states the same (Tolkowsky 1924:28; *Wars* 3:420). According to Pomponius Mela, the gigantic bones of the sea monster were displayed in Jaffa until Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, the Roman governor of Syria (nominated 62 BCE) known as a collector of exotic items, carried them from Jaffa to Rome. When, in 58 BCE, he became aedile, he put them on public display. (Udo Reihardt “Andromeda und Jaffa” in *Jaffa* 2012:77–82. “Rock of Andromeda” *ibid.*, pl. 1 p. 78; Safrai-Stern, 1987, 2:1079–1082.). It is very possible that the legend of St. George killing the dragon reflects the myth of Perseus slaying the sea monster. It is worth remembering that Saint George (Mār Jiries) is a revered saint among the Christians of Syria and Egypt.

It is likely that the idea of a huge sea monster destined to swallow a victim is also reflected in the Biblical story of the Prophet Jonah who “rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord . . . went down to Joppa, and he found the ship going to Tarshish . . . and went down unto it.” He was cast forth from the ship into the tempestuous sea but “the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow Jonah. Now Jonah was in the belly of the fish for three days and three nights.” (Jonah 1:3–17) South of the city there is a mound called *Tel Yūnis* that preserved, in a way, the name of the unfortunate prophet. (Cf. Rüdiger Lux, “Jona, die Taube und das Buch” in *Jaffa* 2012:65–69)

Jaffa is mentioned a few more times in the Bible as the chief sea port of Judea. In the book of Joshua, it is mentioned as a town in the portion of the tribe of Dan. When King Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem, King Hiram of Tyre undertook to supply him with the necessary wood saying: “And we will cut wood out of Lebanon . . . and we will bring it to thee in floats by sea to Joppa.” (2Chronicles 2:16) When Ezra built the second temple, he also brought “cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea, to Joppa.” (Ezra 3:7) Note that here the name of Jaffa in Hebrew ends with an added *alef*—אֵלֶף.

According to the New Testament, Peter resided “many days” in the house of Simon the tanner “by the sea side” in Joppa, and on the roof of this house he received his “vision of tolerance,” and he raised the dead Dorcas (Tabitha) to life. (Acts 9:36–43; cf. Susanne Luther “Hafen von Jerusalem Hafen zur Welt” in *Jaffa* 2012:70–76)

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Jaffa’s topographical position offers a unique feature in the southern part of the Eastern Mediterranean. The cliff or hill rising sharply above the sea on the west, the reefs, which extend in semi-circle jutting into the sea from south to north-west

creating a shallow, natural harbour, and the two sweet-water springs at the foot of the hill that extends moderately eastwards, attracted prehistoric settlers. Excavations at the top of the hill, carried out from the 1950s onwards, exposed buildings of a city, pottery and other artifacts from the 16th and 15th centuries BCE. Prehistoric traces of human activity in the area go much further back. (NEAEHL 2:586–591). Since then the hill of Jaffa has, on the whole, been inhabited except for relatively short periods when it was demolished. For Jaffa suffered many a time throughout its history from pillage, massacre, and destruction.

Its natural harbour, though only partially protected by the line of reefs, turned it into a desirable port which was one of the main gates into the Holy Land until the twentieth century. Its proximity to Jerusalem made it the main port for the landing of pilgrims once Christianity replaced the world of paganism, and a desired strategic position coveted by European merchants and invaders, the former for trade the latter for establishing a military naval base.

It is not surprising that the name of Jaffa appears first in the Egyptian records describing its occupation by the army of Thutmose III in the 15th century BCE. This Pharaoh was the first, so it seems, to discover the strategic importance of the city, and he strived to possess it and turn it into a major naval base for his ambitious military campaigns (1468–1436 BCE). The story of the Egyptian occupation of Jaffa belongs to the genre of folk tales which we encounter in the story about the occupation of Troy. Egyptian soldiers, hidden in two hundred big jars and smuggled cunningly into the city, break the jars and open the gates for the besieging army. (Aharoni 1987:127; *ANET* 1969:22ff, Tolkowsky 1924:13–14) For a long time Jaffa remained in Egyptian hands with an Egyptian garrison and governor. It is mentioned as such in the el-Amarna tablets from the middle of the 14th century BCE. (*Ult. op. cit.*, 16–19; Aaron A. Burke & Martin Peilstöcker, “Ägypter im spätbronzezeitlichen Jaffa” in *Jaffa* 100–104)

According to the Biblical reports mentioned above, it was in the hands of David and Solomon, and served as the maritime gateway of Judea. In about 702 BCE, Sennacherib conquered it together with a few towns around it. At the end of fifth century BCE under Persian rule, the Persian king gave it, together with other cities in the coastal plain, as a gift to Ashmunazar II (אשמונעזר) king of Tyre and Sidon. In the inscription on his sarcophagus, Ashmunazar humbly acknowledges the gift given to him, shedding some light on its great economic value.

The Lord of Kings gave us Dor and Yapho, the rich wheat-lands that are in the Plain of Sharon, in recognition of the great deeds that I accomplished; and we have added to the lands that are forever those of the Sidonians.

Alexander the Great took it from the Phoenicians at the end of the 4th century BCE, and after him it fell into the hands of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the third century. In the second century BCE, under the Hasmoneans it was mostly part of the Jewish

kingdom. Pompey (66 BCE) annexed it to the province of Syria. It returned to Jewish hands under Herod and his successors. However, in the Roman period it lost its position to Caesarea, which under Herod (73–4 BCE) had already emerged as a rival maritime city with an excellent (artificial) harbour. After the massacre of the Jewish population by Cestius Gallus, Governor of Syria, at the outset of the Jewish revolt (66 CE), Vespasian ordered the destruction of its walls and built instead a fortress called Flavia Joppa. Under the Roman rule, a few decades after the Jewish revolt had been crushed (70 CE), the city was rebuilt, mainly by Jews, and it is frequently mentioned in both Mishnaic and Talmudic literature as a centre of economic and intellectual activity. Among the Jewish communities settled in the city there was also a community of Babylonian Jews. The city enjoyed municipal autonomy, which existed until the Byzantine period when the Christian emperors abolished it. Under the Byzantines, who divided Palestine into three administrative units (409 CE), Caesarea became the capital of Palaestina Prima, which comprised the central part of the country to which Jaffa belonged. (Tzafrir 1982:372–373)

Once Christianity established itself as a tolerated religion, and then as the state religion, we are able to follow the position held by Christian clergymen in some major urban centers in the country. It is also interesting to note the absence of such clergymen in Jaffa. Thus, for instance, no bishop of Jaffa is mentioned in the list of bishops who participated in the council of Nicaea in 325, which means that at that time there was no real Christian community in Jaffa. Eusebius who passed through Jaffa five years later (330) does not mention a Christian community in it. St. Jerome, who visited the city in 382 or 383, mentions the rock to which Andromeda was tied and the “harbour of the fugitive Jonah,” but says nothing about the house of Simon the tanner or the tomb of Tabitha, sites so intimately connected with New Testament reports about the activity of St. Peter. The fact that there is no reference to sites connected with such important events that are recorded in *Acts*, means that in the 4th century there seems to have been no Christian community that could point out these sites to this Church Father. (Tolkowsky 1924:73–74)

No concrete information is available about Jaffa after the division of the Roman Empire in 395. Like the rest of the Eastern provinces, the city now fell under Byzantine rule although in a true sense, it had belonged to the realm of Byzantium (later Constantinople since its establishment in 330) and the Greek administration long before Constantine the Great (272–337). In the 5th century, there is more information about the city. It is described as the sea gateway to Judaea and the port, serving travellers to other cities in the Levant who preferred the sea to the land route. In the meantime, a large Christian community developed in it and it became a Bishopric under the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Jewish community, which preceded the Christian one having established itself in Jaffa since the end of the 2nd century, attracted Jews from the diaspora who settled there. They spoke a variety of languages, mostly Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew and were an important factor

in the economic development of the city. This we learn from many references in Talmudic literature to the port of Jaffa (*e.g.* BT, *Yoma* 38:1) and to the many rabbinic scholars who lived and taught there. The large Jewish cemetery, which Clermont-Ganneau discovered in *saknet* Abū Kabīr to the east of the city (“*The Jewish necropolis of Joppa*”) in November 1874, supplies particular evidence to this. The many epitaphs in Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic found in the cemetery testify not only to the sizable local Jewish community but also to the bringing of Jews from outside Jaffa, and from abroad to be buried in this necropolis. (*AR* 2:3–4; Tolkowsky 1924:168–173 and notes.) The inscriptions on the tombstones are decorated either with palm branches or with the typical Jewish symbol of the seven-branch candlestick (*menorah*).

The constant increase of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land passing through the port of Jaffa since the 5th century contributed to the growth of the Christian community in the city, and the “discovery” of Tabitha’s tomb to which we find references in the 6th century, gave a significant boost to its Christian character. From then on, it was the memory of St. Peter and his bringing Tabitha to life that became the focal event for the Christians visiting Jaffa. (*Ult. op. cit.* 74–75) Clermont-Ganneau reports a very interesting popular festival that developed in time around the memory of this female saint, whose name was pronounced in Arabic *Dhabīta* (ظبيتا *zabīta*) preserving the Aramaic pronunciation, and at the same time the correct meaning of the name “a doe” or “a female deer” in Arabic. Clermont-Ganneau’s report runs as follows:

During my stay in Jaffa in 1881, I remarked the existence of a great yearly festival in honour of *Dhabīta* on May 15th. The inhabitants go in procession to the *sebil* of Abū Nabbūt singing a kind of hymn, the words of which I was not able to note. The whole population of Jaffa, without distinction of creed, take part in the solemnity, and make it a pretext for all sorts of festivities. (*AR* 2:4 note.)

No more concrete information is available about the history of Jaffa until the Islamic conquest in the seventh century except about the brief, but highly significant, Persian occupation between 614 and 628. Within a very short time, the Persian army was able to occupy large parts of inner Syria, and reach the coast of Palestine. It occupied Caesarea and the other coastal towns by agreement which saved them from the destruction and massacre of war, unlike Jerusalem that chose not to capitulate and fell after a siege. For three days the Persians went on a frenzy of massacre, both of the civilian population and the clergy, and of destruction in particular of the Christian edifices. The Christians that were not killed were sold into slavery and only a small number were sent into captivity in Persia. The persecution of Christians and devastation of churches and monasteries continued throughout the country except for the towns that capitulated, Jaffa included. (Baras 1982:330–331)

The Muslims conquered Jaffa, probably around 638. Balādhurī, the foremost authority on the Islamic conquests, mentions it in a few words, and is interested only in the identity of its conqueror. Talking about the achievements of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ he says: “and he conquered Yāfā and some say that it was Mu‘āwiyah who

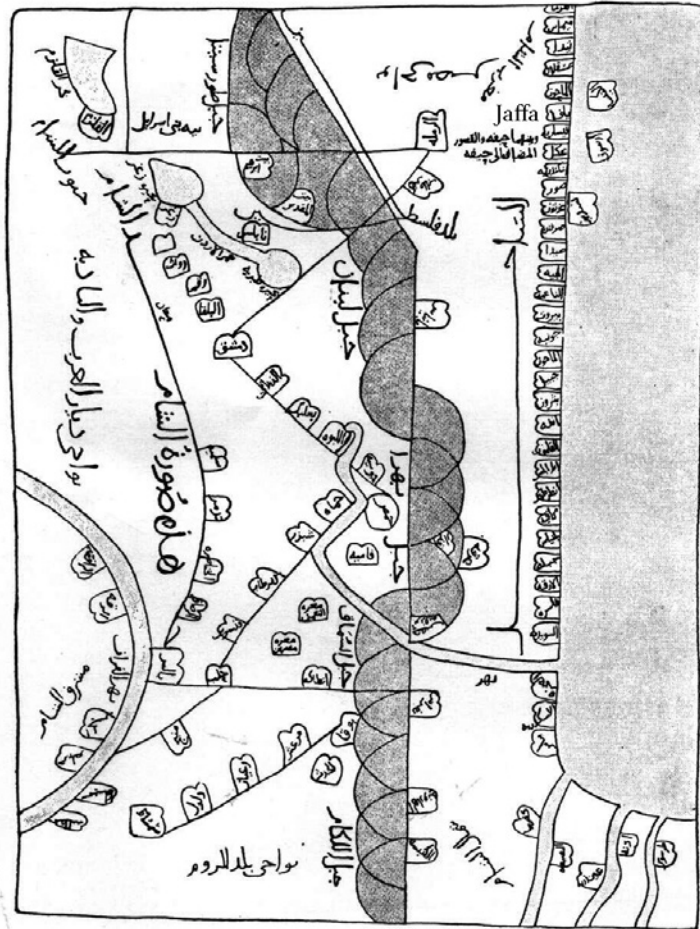
conquered it.” (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1866:138). The city, like most of the fortified cities of Syria capitulated to the Muslims without resistance following *ṣulḥ* agreements, and did not suffer from the horrors of siege, bloodshed or destruction. The only city in Palestine about which there are reports of a long siege was Caesarea the capital, which was supplied by sea, but even in this case the reports belong more to the realm of fantasy and folklore than facts. (Balādhurī 1866:141)

Until the end of the seventh century, when the Greek-Byzantine influence was still perceptible, particularly since the administration was still in Greek hands and conducted its correspondence and reports in Greek, the Arab rulers, the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, made a particular effort to Arabize the settlements along the Syrian-Palestinian littoral. As far as they were concerned the coastal towns were the frontal defense line, taking into consideration that they were at all times exposed to Byzantine naval attack. For this reason the Arab historians and geographers define these towns as the marine frontier fortresses (*ath-thughūr as-saḥiliyyah*).

The achievement of the arabization of the coast depended on changing the composition of the population in these towns by introducing into them a large Arab element. This was not an easy task since the Bedouins, the only Arabs available, were very apprehensive of the sea and preferred the proximity of the desert. They were even more terrified of the possibility of having to ride boats. It was in their eyes similar to a worm clinging to a twig (*dūd ‘alā ‘ūd*). The abundance of traditions ascribed to the Prophet encouraging and enticing Muslims to live in the coastal towns, promising the martyrs there a huge reward in paradise, point to the difficulty of implementing the policy of populating the “sea frontier” with Arabs.

The Muslim administrative division of Palestine followed that of the Byzantines for almost four centuries. The northern part of the country “Palaestina Secunda” of the Byzantines, comprising mainly the Galilee, was called *Jund al-Urdunn* and the central part of the country comprising Samaria and Judaea, “Palaestina Prima” of the Byzantines, was called *Jund Filasṭīn* (Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān* 1891:327–328; Le Strange 1890:28ff). In each one of the two there were four geographical regions: coastal (*sāḥil*), mountainous (*jabal*), the Jordan valley, (*ghawr*) and the desert areas (*bādiyah*) of Transjordan.

In the map of the Arab geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī (951) and his follower Ibn Ḥawqal (978) we see that the Syrian-Palestinian littoral was densely populated. The map reflects the situation in the 10th century or even earlier, since Iṣṭakhrī reflects a geographical picture, which includes the period before his time. It is easy to identify all the sites in his original map copied by Ibn Ḥawqal. (As Wiet and Kramers did in their translation and annotation of Ibn Ḥawqal’s *Configuration de la Terre*, Beirut Paris 1965, 1, between pp. 164–165 Map 7 original Arabic, transliteration and notes.) The direction of the map is south-north with Palestine on top, and northern Syria at the bottom. The Mediterranean coast is on the right and Jaffa can be seen among the littoral towns at the top part of the map. (See inserted map Pl. 04, with Jaffa pointed out.)



Pl. 04. Ibn Ḥawqal's (Iṣṭakhrī's) 10th century map of Palestine Jaffa indicated on top right.

The cosmopolitan nature of the coastal towns was preserved for many generations after the Islamic conquest, and the Arab authors of the 9th and 10th centuries tell us that the coastal towns were populated with a variety of peoples, cultures, and languages: Jews, Samaritans, Greeks, Persians and also some Arabs. Since Arabs avoided the coast, the Umayyads, were obliged to transfer Persians from Iraq and other places to it, creating an artificial Persian element, which augmented the heterogeneous mixture of peoples that already existed there. (Sharon 1986:90 and notes.) In time, however, the population of these towns was amalgamated. Arabic became the standard language, and the ethnic composition of the Muslim armies was changed, so that the Arab element lost its original favoured status. The coastal towns, Jaffa included, became, as we shall soon see, a source of attraction to *jihād* warriors.

Jaffa was an important coastal frontier post and like the rest of the coastal towns, it was exposed to Byzantine attacks from the sea, particularly after the establishment

of the 'Abbāsīd rule, which paid attention more to the eastern provinces of the Empire than to Syria and Palestine, the home of its hated predecessors. This was one of the reasons that with the weakening of the 'Abbāsīd control over Syria, it came under the control of independent dynasties that ruled it from Egypt, first the Ṭulūnīd dynasty (868–905) then the Ikhshīd (935–969) followed by the Fāṭīmid Caliphate. Thus the Egyptian rule over Palestine was continuous from the 9th century until the coming of the Crusaders in the late 11th century, and after the Crusader period it remained under Egyptian rule until the Ottoman conquest. In this entire period, Jaffa kept its position as the main gate to the Holy Land, and the preferred port for the pilgrims from Europe because of its proximity to Jerusalem.

The Egyptian rulers of Palestine (except the Mamlūks) developed their naval power, and although they tended to neglect the inner part of the country, they paid particular attention to the coastal towns, particularly the ones with harbours, primarily Jaffa, Acre and Caesarea. The Fāṭīmids, who began their rule over the country in 969, created a very active naval, military power, but even before, from the beginning of the 10th century, the Muslims carried out naval expeditions against the Byzantines. They assembled boats from the Syrian-Palestinian coastal towns and from Egypt in Cyprus, which served as the starting point for these excursions in which the Fāṭīmids were particularly active being a major naval power in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. Whereas in the past, Arab warriors avoided the Mediterranean coast, under the Egyptian rule the Syrian coast attracted seekers of Holy War and martyrdom (*shahadah*).

Jaffa played an important role in this naval activity. Muqaddasī in the middle of the 10th century describes it as follows:

Yāfah, being on the sea, is but a small town although the emporium of Palestine and the Port of Ar-Ramlah. It is protected by an impregnable fortress, with iron-plated gates. The sea gate is wholly of iron. The mosque is pleasant to the eye, and overlooks the sea; the harbour is excellent. (Muqaddasī 1906:174; Trans. Ranking 1897:285 and note 5; Le strange 1890:550–551; cf. Qalqashandī 3:233, 4:100; Idrīsī 1414/1994:356, 358 describes Jaffa early in the 12th century as “the port of Jerusalem”.)

Not long after this description, the town played an important function as an impregnable naval fortress. In 970, when the Qarāmiṭah (Carmathians) invaded Palestine and conquered the capital Ramlah, the Fāṭīmid garrison withdrew to Jaffa and was easily supplied by sea from Egypt. The military and strategic importance of Jaffa, and the rest of the major coastal towns was connected in the tenth century to the intensive development of Mediterranean commerce and generally speaking to the enhancement of the economic importance of Syria. In spite of the frequent confrontations between the Fāṭīmids and the Byzantines on land and sea, this was also a period of dramatic development of the economic ties between the two. In order to avoid the dangers of travelling by inland routes, the traders on both sides preferred sea travel or at least the route along the coast. The tightening of commercial

relations between the Fāṭimids and the Italian commercial cities in which the port of Jaffa played a significant role, enhanced the interest of the Fāṭimids in the coastal towns which led to the nomination of a special Egyptian governor for them.

On the other hand, the coastal towns were involved in a curious activity, which at the same time reflected the hostility between Byzantium and the Muslims. A special alert system was established connecting the capital, and other inland urban centers in Palestine, with the coastal cities, the function of which was to announce in good time the arrival of enemy ships carrying Muslim prisoners for exchange or ransom. The annual summer battles along the northern border of Syria involved taking prisoners, who in turn became a kind of merchandize: they were either ransomed with money or exchanged for Christian prisoners. The transactions used to take place in Jaffa and other coastal towns. What follows is Muqaddasī's description of these transactions:

Along the sea-coast of the capital (ar-Ramlah) are Watch-stations (*Ribāt*), from which the summons to arms (*naḡīr*) is given. The war-ships and the galleys of the Greeks come into these ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Muslims; these they offer for ransom—three for hundred dinars. And in each of these stations there are men who know the Greek tongue, for they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in provisions of all kinds. At the stations, whenever a Greek vessel appears, they give the alarm by lighting a beacon on the tower of the station if it be night, or, if it be day, by making a great smoke. From every Watch-station on the coast up to the capital (ar-Ramlah) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. As soon as they perceive the beacon on the tower of the coast Station, the men of the next tower above it kindle their own, and then on, one after another; so that hardly an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating from the city tower, calling the people down to this Watch-station by the sea; and they hurry out in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together. Then the ransoming begins. One prisoner will be given for another, or money and jewels will be offered; until at length all the prisoners who are in the Greek ships have been set free. And the Watch-stations of this District where this ransoming of captives takes place are: Ghazzah, Maimās, 'Asqalān, Māḡūz-(the Port of) Azdūd, Māḡūz-(the Port of) Yubnā, Yāfah and Arsūf. (Muqaddasī 1906:177; Trans. Ranking 1897:291)

Muqaddasī's report describes the concurrent existence of belligerent state of affairs and peaceful commercial relations between the Muslims and the Byzantines ("... they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in provisions of all kinds.") He also describes Jaffa as an excellently fortified city, but in spite of that, in 1099, the city was deserted by its inhabitants once they heard about the approach of the Crusaders (Prawer 1984, 1:131).

Godfrey of Bouillon arriving in Jaffa in May 1099 found a ruined and abandoned city. Its inhabitants had destroyed its walls and harbour before they left for fear of its becoming a military naval base for the enemy. After the conquest of Jerusalem on July 15, Godfrey returned to Jaffa, and rebuilt it. Following the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at the end of that year, Jaffa and its surroundings

became a county and a Bishopric under the patriarchate of Caesarea. Once Ascalon was captured in 1153 Jaffa became “the County of Jaffa and Ascalon.”

The Pisans, whose fleet played a decisive role in the siege and capture of Jerusalem, were given one quarter of the city of Jaffa, and for all purposes the control of its trade. The Fāṭimids made every effort to recover their losses, and tried to take Jaffa in 1100; but by then the city was fully fortified and the harbour cleaned. Their attack came to nothing.

In spite of the fact that the harbour of Jaffa was attractive for pilgrims and traders from Europe, it was still extremely unsafe. The line of reefs jutting into the sea to the west forming normally a natural wave breaker was very dangerous because there was only a narrow passage through it into the shallow harbour behind it. At time of a storm, it became a deathtrap. The boats caught in the storm were tossed towards it, and crushed to pieces. The English pilgrim Saewulf left a vivid description of such a storm in 1102, which took the lives of more than a thousand people, and almost a whole fleet.

Nothing was to be heard but the roaring of the sea and the dashing together of the ships . . . Our own ship, which was a very large and strong one, and many others laden with corn and merchandise, as well as with pilgrims coming and returning, still held by their anchors, but how they were tossed by the waves! . . . We had not looked at them long before the ships were driven from their anchors by the violence of the waves . . . until they were run aground or upon the rocks, and there they were beaten backwards and forwards until they were crushed to pieces. For the violence of the wind would not allow them to put out to sea, and the character of the coast would not allow them to put into shore with safety . . . Thus, out of thirty very large ships . . . all laden with palmers and with merchandise, scarcely seven remained safe when we left the shore. Of persons of both sexes there perished more than a thousand that day. (Wright 1848:35–36)

The Fāṭimids made recurring efforts to retrieve Jaffa after it fell to the Crusaders. Year after year, they attacked it by land and sea and once, in 1103, not long after the storm just described, they almost succeeded in taking it. In every case they failed because reinforcements of Italian fleets from Genoa, Pisa and Venice arrived in time to relieve the Egyptian siege, and force the Fāṭimid land and naval forces to retreat. Particularly important was the arrival in 1103 of some 200 English ships laden with soldiers and pilgrims that foiled the most dangerous attack of the Egyptians that year. (Runciman 2, 1957:73–79) Another attempt of the Egyptians in 1105 (the third battle of Ramlah) was also beaten back by King Baldwin. This was their last major expedition against the Franks, but their threat to Jaffa and the Latin Kingdom at large, remained as long as they held on to their base in Ascalon, and ceased only after the latter capitulated to the Crusaders in 1153. The Russian Hegumen, (Abbot) Daniel, who visited the country in 1106–1108 described the continuous danger that the pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem experienced from the Fāṭimids in Ascalon. Leaving Jaffa and arriving at the Church of St. George in Lydda, he found there

“abundant water and the pilgrims rest, but they experience awful fear. The place is deserted and the Saracens from the nearby city of Ascalon assault the pilgrims on the road and cause great terror.” (Raba, 1986:31)

Later, Jaffa was entangled unintentionally in a scandal that involved King Fulk of Anjou (1131–1144), his wife Queen Melisende, Hugh II of Le Puiset, the count of Jaffa, the local nobility and the Church. In 1132 Fulk accused Hugh who, in addition to being regarded the handsomest and strongest man in the kingdom was also the queen's cousin, of having an affair with her. The scandal developed into the open rebellion of Hugh who went to Ascalon, and allied himself with the Muslims, who promised to harass the vicinity of Jaffa while he fortified himself in it. Hugh returned to Jaffa and closed its gates in preparation for a long siege that did not materialize because he was abandoned by all his allies, including the Egyptians, and finally had to fall back on the King's mercy. The King preferred negotiations to civil war. Hugh was sentenced to a mild punishment, three years exile, no doubt because of Melisende's intervention. After a serious attempt on his life, in which he was severely injured, and from which he never fully recovered, he went to Sicily to the court of his cousin King Roger II where he soon died. (Runciman 2, 1957:191–193; Tolkowsky 1924:91–92)

Jaffa remained under Christian rule until 583/1187 when Saladin's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took it following the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, and reduced all its inhabitants to slavery. The historian Ibn al-Athīr says that the fate that befell the Christians of Jaffa, exceeded anything that happened to the inhabitants in other places (*wa-jarā ʿalā ahlīhā mā lam yajri ʿalā aḥad min ahl tilka al-bilād*. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil* 1402/1982, 11:541). In 587/1191 it was retrieved by the Franks who, under Richard I (Lion Heart), fortified it, and reinforced, in particular, the citadel on the hill that overlooked the sea. The Christian hold on it was consolidated following the battle of Jaffa, and the three years and eight months armistice (*hudnah*) agreement between Saladin and Richard signed near the city on 20 Shaʿbān 588/2 September 1192. (*Ibid.*, 12:85, *cf.* Praver, 2:91–92) In 593/1197 Jaffa was taken by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and, following the Ayyūbid policy of demolishing the coastal towns and fortifications, he destroyed it. It remained in ruins until the Emperor Frederick II decided to fortify it. On the 18th of February 1229 the work was finished, and Jaffa had a new wall built over the foundations of the former one, and a citadel with two strong towers and a paved moat. The Emperor left two inscriptions commemorating his work, one in Latin and one in Arabic published hereafter with the full relevant details regarding the crusade of Frederick II. (See below No. 04 Jaffa 626/1229, *Crusades*, 11, 2012:139–158). The city was again destroyed after its occupation by Baybars in 666/1268. (Qalqashandī, 4:100; Praver, 2:465–466), but it was restored about fifty years later, and returned to be the main port of Palestine and the gate to the Holy Land for pilgrims and merchants. Late in the 13th century, it is mentioned in the agreements between the Franks and Qalāwun, and his son Khalīl. (Qalqashandī, 14:52, 64) Ismāʿīl

Abū al-Fidā', writing before 721/1321, describes Jaffa as a small and very pleasant city, well fortified, containing busy markets, and a large harbour frequented by many ships (Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, 239; Le Strange 1890:551). In 1322, Sir John Maundeville recommends the port of Jaffa to travellers who intend to go to Jerusalem:

And those (European travellers MS) who are willing to go a long time on the sea, and come nearer to Jerusalem, may proceed from Cyprus by sea to the port of Jaffa for that is the nearest port to Jerusalem, the distance being only a day and a half.

At this point Sir John adds his learned information concerning the antiquity of Jaffa, repeating the ancient legend about its establishment by Japheth.

The town is called Jaffa because one of the sons of Noah, named Japheth, founded it and now it is called Joppa, and you shall understand that it is one of the oldest towns in the world for it was founded before Noah's flood. (Wright 1848:142)

R. Isaac Ḥilū (also mistakenly: Chilo), who in 1333 came from Aragon in Spain to settle in Jerusalem, also describes Jaffa as a flourishing, rich city with thriving commerce:

Jaffa is the "Beauty of the Sea". It is a seat of a rather important trade, and the population is large and wealthy. Amongst the articles, which are the most important objects of the commerce of Jaffa, are olive oil, spun cotton, perfumed soap, glassware, dyed fabrics, dried fruits etc. The Jews of this town have a beautiful synagogue, containing a large number of very old and very fine scrolls of the Law. Adjoining this Synagogue there are a religious college and a library... The books are a donation from an old rabbi who died in Jaffa, and who gave them to the community on condition that they... must be lodged in a suitable building near the synagogue... (Eisenstein 1926:75; Tolkowsky 1924:126–127)

In 736/1335–36 a mosque was built in it. The inscription which commemorates the building of a mosque, in 736/1335–6, studied below (Jaffa 736, and see also *CIAP, Addendum* 2007:115–116 and the references there), was discovered and edited first by Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQ* 1874:271–272; *AR* 2:154). It belongs to a mosque built in this dynamic city and not to the small simple shrine bearing the name of a certain Shaykh Murād some 2.5 km to the east of Jaffa, where it was found. (Tolkowsky *op. cit.*, 127) It was not for long that Jaffa enjoyed the affluence and beauty described by Ḥilū. This city, which frequently suffered throughout its long history from pillage and destruction, was again exposed to the same fate, this time by its Egyptian rulers.

In the same year of Ḥilū's description, the sultan, an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwun, concerned by the news that arrived in Egypt about the preparations of a new crusade by the Kings of France and of England in 736/1336, ordered the destruction of Jaffa's port, and prohibited the landing of pilgrims there. (Ludolph von Suchem 1895:49; Tolkowsky 1924:129) For the same reason, in 746/1345 another demolition, this time of both city and harbour was ordered, which reduced Jaffa to mounds of ruins. (Tolkowsky, *JPOS*, 5, 1925:82–84, followed by *ET² q.v.* "Yāfā"). It seems, however, that at the end of the 14th century it was still inhabited, and probably partly restored since,

in the time of Sultan Barqūq, between 784/1382 and 801/1399 and probably nearer to the earlier date, a mosque was built in it. Judging by the remains of the inscription commemorating its building (below, Jaffa 784), it must have been a respectable edifice. It fell into ruins with the rest of the city, which in the first decades of the 15th century is described as being completely ruined except for the two towers, which were sometimes manned by a few soldiers. Travellers who reached the demolished harbour and came ashore left descriptions of miserable desolation.

Bertrandon de la Brocquière in 1432 writes about Jaffa:

It formerly belonged to the Christians and was then strong; at present it is entirely destroyed, having only a few tents covered with reeds, whither pilgrims retire to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. The sea enters the town, and forms a bad and shallow harbour . . . There are two springs of shallow water, but one is overflowed by the sea when the westerly wind blows a little strong. (Wright 1848:286)

This miserable condition of the harbour and the town did not prevent the flow of European ships to Jaffa. Pilgrims still preferred to land in Jaffa, and suffer the humility of lodging in the filth of the three dilapidated vaults or “caves” near the shore. For three centuries no attempt was made to rebuild the demolished city. Subsequent travellers do not speak about the tents mentioned by Bertrandon de la Brocquière, but there are detailed descriptions of the three “caves,” or ruined vaults in the itineraries of all the European travellers as well as in the drawings of Jaffa. With the help of these drawings, one can follow the appearance of the city one century after the other. The drawings, all done by competent artists, illustrate the descriptions in the itineraries.

In the drawing of the painter Erhard Reuwich (Dutch: *Reeuwijk*) who accompanied Bernhard von Breydenbach, the Canon of the Cathedral of Mainz (Mayence), on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1483–4, we see the bare hill of Jaffa on top of which there are only two towers. At the lower part of the hill there are the famous



Pl. 05. Jaffa 1483. Erhard Reuwich's impression of Jaffa. Two towers on top of the hill, the southern one bigger than the northern. At the bottom: the “caves” or St. Peter's cellars. On the left the pilgrims' ship.

three vaults; these are the “caves” or “St. Peter’s cellars” in which the pilgrims had to lodge after landing in Jaffa. (See Plate 05).

The descriptions of the European travellers and pilgrims give further details about these pictures, and enable us to follow the vicissitudes that befell Jaffa. The first meeting of the pilgrims who landed in Jaffa was with the filth of the three dilapidated vaults or “caves” (“St. Peter’s cellars.”) Felix Fabri who left us a detailed itinerary of his pilgrimage in 1480–1483 describes the experience as follows:

I have hardly anywhere seen such great ruins as here, and I wondered how they could have thrown down such thick walls. Just at the entrance as one comes up from the sea, they have left two vaulted buildings standing, which are cut out of the hill itself, and are covered above with earth and ruins: wherefore it is always damp in those vaults, and water drips from above, the walls are wet, the foundation muddy, and all year round the place is used by the Saracens as a common sewer. Into this sewer, they thrust the Christian pilgrims, as has been said: but what especially troubles the pilgrims, who are confined there, is that as you enter the cave, the vault is broken and great stones hang threatening to fall upon their heads, so that a push of one’s finger would bring down a great heap of stones, and it is beneath these dangerous ruins that the pilgrims are forced to go in and out continually. (Fabri, P.P.T.S 1893:238)

We saw that St. Peter’s cellars described here (also *ibid.*, 244) appear in the drawings accompanying many itineraries for centuries.

In a vivid report from 1481, the Jewish traveller Meshullam of Volterra describes the Muslim treatment of the Christian pilgrims arriving in Jaffa. Since he arrived in the Holy Land by land having landed in Egypt, he did not experience the lodging in St. Peter’s cellars.

We arrived in Jaffa, which is a place situated 6 miles from Ramlah. And Jaffa is totally ruined, and it is at the sea built on a raised slope. There is a tower guarding the sea (overlooking the sea), and there we met the *nā’ib* of Jerusalem, and the royal interpreter who lives in Jerusalem. They went there (to Jaffa MS) last Saturday (Meshullam arrived at Jaffa on Monday) accompanied by large group of some 400 people who joined the pilgrims and the owner (captain) of the ship, because this is what they are obliged to do, since every pilgrim who goes to the (Church of the Holy) Sepulcher in Jerusalem which is called Golgotha, and in order to be allowed to enter into the said place, they have to pay 14 ducats per head. Therefore they (the governor and his company MS) must accompany them so that they travel safely protected from the Bedouins and others. (*Relation of a Journey of Meshullam of Volterra in the year 5245/1481* (Hebrew). Edited by A. Yaari, Jerusalem 1948:78)

Almost one hundred years later, the Belgian Jean Zvallaert (Svalaert) who visited Jaffa in August 1586, reported that the city was still in ruins and that only one of the square towers was renovated as we can see in the drawing in his book published in 1587. The same drawing also appears in the itinerary of Johannes Kootwijk who visited Jaffa in 1598. (Tolkowsky 1924:134, pl. 12) Early in the 17th century, travellers’ reports sound more or less the same: the city is still in ruins and the coast exposed to pirates’ attacks.

In another drawing from 1615 by H. de Beauvau, there is still no real change in comparison to the situation in 1586. At the bottom of the hill, there are the same three vaults. Two buildings on the north tower slope are unidentifiable. Sixty two years later, in a drawing of O. Dopfer from 1677 the two towers on the hill seem to have been enlarged, and look like small fortresses. Around the northern one, there are a few more buildings, and the three vaults have been replaced by a massive building which is the Franciscan Latin hospice built in 1654 (see below); no doubt this is its first portrayal. To the north of it, almost on the water line, there is a long building, which looks like a warehouse. Earlier in a drawing from 1658 by Electus (Elektus) Zwinner, we see on the hill, in addition to the two towers now turned into two fortresses, some additional buildings and the massive building of the Latin hospice. Zwinner's picture, however, was no doubt drawn from memory and a considerable amount of imagination was involved in it.

In 1516, the country fell together with the rest of the Mamlūk kingdom to the Ottomans under Salīm I, and remained under Turkish rule until the British conquest in 1917.

The change of masters from Mamlūks to Ottomans did not initiate immediately the recovery of Jaffa. It seems from the itineraries quoted above, and the accompanying pictures, that the revival of the town began very slowly, three or four decades after the Ottoman conquest, in the last years of Sultan Sulaymān I (1520–1566) who paid special attention to the Holy Land and in particular to Jerusalem whose walls he built. According to the agreement of the "capitulations" with Francis I of France, special status was accorded to the French merchants arriving at the ports of the Levant, and Jaffa port was the first to benefit from the change.

In Ottoman documents dated 3 Şafar 967/4 November 1559 and 23 Muḥarram 987/27 March 1579, the port of Jaffa is mentioned as an active port to which ships arrived for trade, not only from Europe but also from Egypt. (Heyd 1960:131–133) In the 16th century, the port was also active receiving European pilgrims. In a document dated 23 Jumādā I 959/17 May 1552 Christians pilgrims to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem are mentioned arriving at the port of Jaffa. (*Ibid.*, 182) It seems that the port revived but not the city.

In 1642, there was an attempt made by the Franciscan monks to build a decent shelter for pilgrims in place of the vaults of St. Peter's cellars. The Ottoman government accused them of trying to build a fortress, and made them destroy whatever they had built. In the middle of the 17th century, Jaffa still did not have permanent buildings apart from the towers on the hill. The Franciscans only received permission to build the hostel for the pilgrims in 1654 thus founding the present Latin Hospice. They claimed that its site, the vaults known as St. Peter's cellars, was that of the house of Simon the Tanner, thus reviving in modern times the New Testament account of St. Peter's activity, and attaching it to a concrete location. In the second half of the 17th century, Jaffa began to revive as a result of the considerable growth

of foreign trade, particularly by the French merchants who enjoyed the special benefits of the capitulations and established themselves in Jaffa with a permanent vice-consul. Local merchants who had long left Jaffa for Ramlah returned to it and rebuilt its markets, first temporarily and then permanently, enhancing local as well as international trade.

In a drawing from 1675 by the Dutch painter Cornelius de Bruyn (1652–1727), we see many houses as well as a mosque already built along the shore of the harbour. This means that a sizeable Muslim community had taken permanent residence in the town. In addition to homes built by individuals, other religious communities followed the example of the Franciscans and built similar establishments.

A proper Ottoman fortress at the top of the hill that developed from the former southern tower protected the small but growing town, or rather village, whose population of all creeds steadily grew. Industry, particularly of soap, developed rapidly and this particular commodity became one of the main items of export. Soap production remained active in Jaffa until modern times, and the building of the soap factory is still standing near the new (Ottoman) government complex up the hill (today the Museum of Jaffa) overlooking the Great Maḥmūdī Mosque. Together with the growth of industry and trade, local farmers cultivated the vast fertile land east of the city, and planted the first orchards of citrons, particularly oranges, that became the world symbol of Jaffa's major agricultural product. The availability of spring water near the surface enabled the watering of the orchards, and the gardens of the city in general. The development of facilities for accommodating pilgrims followed the unusual growth in the volume of the marine transport, which frequented the port of Jaffa.

Jaffa and its port, in a drawing by P. Angelicus Maria Myller from 1726, shows considerable development in the city. We still see the Latin hospice on the shore and the long warehouse, but in addition, there are many smaller buildings crowded at the bottom of the hill and extending down to the shore. On the hill, the old southern tower was replaced by a proper fortress: the new fortress of Jaffa. Much imagination was involved in the drawing of this picture which was drawn from memory. Although representing the early stages of the emergence of modern Jaffa, it is far from being a true representation of the city's topography. The city in this picture is built on one mountain with two lofty mountains behind it, the product of sheer imagination.

The positive development of the city in the 18th century was marred by bad fortune. In the second half of the century, it suffered from war, siege and destruction. It was involved in the wars between Zāhir al-ʿUmar the Bedouin governor of the Galilee and the Ottoman government, which developed into the invasion of Palestine by ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr the Mamlūk master of Egypt (1766) who allied himself to Zāhir al-ʿUmar. In 1770 following the invasion of the country by an Egyptian force that challenged ʿUthmān Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, the

government troops sacked Jaffa. It was attacked again in 1772, coming under Zāhir's and 'Alī Bey's siege which lasted eight months and ended with its capitulation to the combined forces of the two allies in February 1773. 'Alī Bey's manumitted Mamlūk, Muḥammad Abū Dhahab, who had performed some services for his former master in Syria, rebelled against him, and managed to kill him. Abū Dhahab, now supported by the government, invaded Palestine in February 1775, and marched on Jaffa that was protected by a wall that was not much more than a garden wall, less than one metre thick and about 4 metres high. The inhabitants of Jaffa, nevertheless, decided to resist the attackers but, in spite of their bravery and determination, they were overcome by the Egyptian Mamlūks who put some 7000 of its inhabitants to the sword, old and young, men, women and children. Muḥammad Abū Dhahab ordered a pyramid of 1200 heads to be built at the point at which his artillery had stood opposite the wall, southwest of the city. Until not long ago a low hill there called "Tel ar-Rūs" ("The hill of the heads") preserved the memory of this hideous atrocity. (Mu'ammār 1979:227–228).

When Volney visited Jaffa in 1783, it had almost completely recovered from the effects of this siege, pillage and massacre, but its vicinity continued to suffer from the marauding Bedouins. (Volney 1787 1:140ff)

In the last year of the 18th century, Jaffa experienced its most horrendous suffering ever. In 1799, Napoleon, on his way to Acre, besieged it for six days, from the 3rd to the 9th of March. On the morning of the 9th, after the city wall had been breached, the French soldiers poured into the city "and gave themselves up to one of the most terrible massacres to which a captured city has ever fallen victim. The pillage and slaughter lasted a full thirty hours." Napoleon described this barbarous event in his memoirs as follows: "The fury of the soldiers was at its height. Everything was put to the sword. The town thus being pillaged suffered all the horrors of a place taken by assault . . ." (Quoted by Tolkowsky 1924:149) The French soldiers did not differentiate between Muslim, Christian or Jew; men, women and children. The testimony of the massacre, pillage and rape by Etienne-Louise Malus, a physician of the French army, is beyond comprehension. (*Idem*, 150) On the 10th of March, 4000 Turkish soldiers of the garrison who capitulated on the promise that their lives would be spared were executed to the last at Napoleon's orders. Meanwhile the bubonic plague broke out in Jaffa among the remaining civilians and spread to the French soldiers in such intensity that the population that survived the carnage of the 9th of March was further decimated by it. On his way back from his failed siege of Acre, Napoleon decided to leave behind sick soldiers to their fate, after abandoning, so it seems, the idea of poisoning them.

Once the French army left Jaffa, the British admiral Sir Sidney Smith who had helped to defend Acre, arrived at Jaffa and helped to rebuild its fortifications, which the French had blown up before leaving. However, early in 1800, before the completion of the fortifications, Jaffa again came under siege. This time it was Jazzār Pasha the governor of Acre, who had successfully defended his city against Napoleon.

His adversary was Muḥammad Pasha Abū Marāq who fortified himself in Jaffa, which was part of Jazzār's domains, as the governor of Sidon and Acre, and the whole coastal plain. After 9 months of siege, Abū Marāq fled from Jaffa by sea only to return to it in 1804 after Jazzār's death. (*CIAP* 1:56–57) Sulaymān Pasha, Jazzār's manumitted Mamlūk and adopted son, who succeeded Jazzār as the governor of the territory of his former master, besieged Abū Marāq again in Jaffa and caused him to flee to Damascus. It was *Silahshūr* Muḥammad Āghā, nicknamed Abū Nabbūt, who accomplished the defeat of Muḥammad Abū Marāq, and took his place as the deputy governor (*mutasallim*) of Jaffa. Abū Nabbūt was also the manumitted Mamlūk of Jazzār Pasha like Sulaymān Pasha, now his new master as well as his good friend. (See below Jaffa No. 16 1229 for more details.) Once secure in his post, Abū Nabbūt embarked on an extensive project of building Jaffa and fortifying it. Between 1810 and 1820 He rebuilt and extended the Great Maḥmūdī mosque, two public fountains within the city and one a short distance outside it on the way to Jerusalem (1230/1815), and modernized the water system which supplied the fountains and the mosque as well as the khān built next to the mosque. To each of these projects he endowed rich *waqfs*. (I surveyed the details concerning his works in Jaffa in the commentary to the inscription No. 16, Jaffa 1229 below.) He also completed the encircling the city with a proper wall including on the coastal side. The drawings from the 19th century show clearly the emergence of the the new city.

In 1830 W. H. Bartlett's picture of Jaffa shows the city from the south. It is densely built, and encircled by a wall. We get the same impression from two pictures dated 1842 found in the papers of the Corps of the Royal Engineers VI, 1843, one from the north and one from the west.

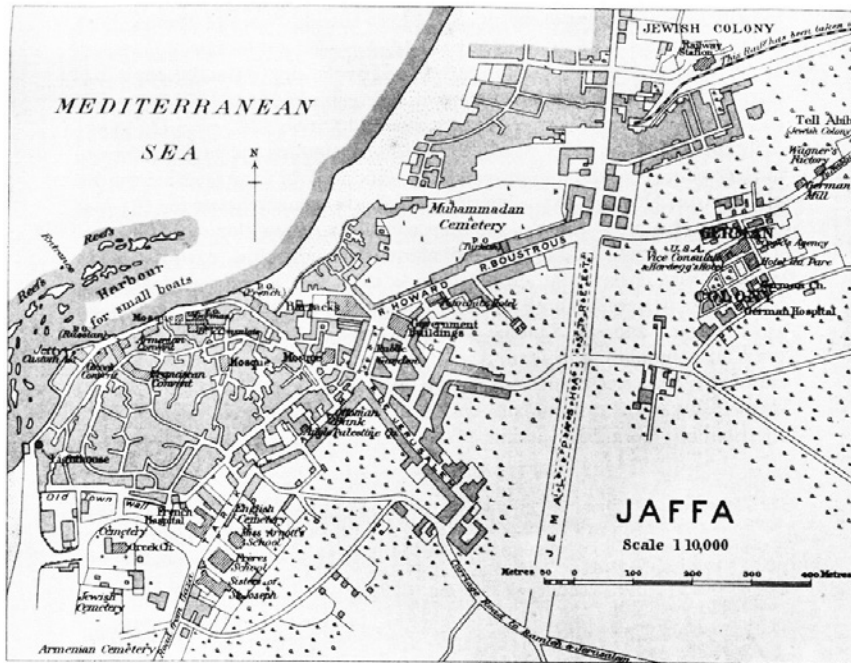
In a drawing of Jaffa in 1836 seen from the south, (in M. Grand and M. A. Egron, *La Terre Sainte*, 1837) the modern city is clearly seen encircled by walls. In another picture from 1852, the city seen from the north is protected by a proper wall. But in 1870, a picture of Jaffa from the sea shows a breach in the sea-wall signifying the beginning of the removal of the wall altogether. By then the city experienced intensive growth and could not be confined anymore within walls. (See all the pictures in Vilnay 1965:164–177.)

During the Egyptian occupation between 1830 and 1840 Jaffa suffered neither siege nor the horrors of war and continued its steady development. Egyptian families that came to Palestine with the army of Ibrāhīm Pasha established a few residential compounds to the north, east and southeast of Jaffa. Each one of these compounds was called colloquially *saknah* by the Egyptian immigrants, (*sakneh*) pl. *saknāt*. This was their pronunciation of the classical word *thuknah* pl. *thukunāt* (and *thukan*) meaning army camp, barracks. Being part of the occupying army, it was natural that they would describe their new residential complexes in military terms. (This information was supplied to me by Professor Arieḥ Levin). Clermont-Ganneau heard the word pronounced *sakneh* (AR, 2:3) Kark preferred the classical Arabic word *sakinah* pl. *sakināt* derived from the verb *sakana*, to dwell, to reside in a place hence a

neighborhood, a settlement (Kark 1990:25, 69, 73, 117, 158, 160). In spite of the plausibility of this reading, the actual meaning is the one suggested above by Levin, which is based on the usual pronunciation of the *th* as *s* particularly in Egypt. One of these settlements, which kept its name to this day, is *saknet* Abū Kabīr (colloq. *Kbīr*) to the east of Jaffa. In 1868, the German Templers (*Templegemeinde*) of Württemberg, Germany, established the German colony (replacing the unsuccessful American one) to the northeast of Jaffa which flourished until its evacuation in WWII. One of the most important contributions of the Germans to the economy of Jaffa was their introduction of a modern metalwork enterprise to the city.

Between 1886 and 1892, two Jewish neighborhoods, Neveh Zedek and Neveh Shalom, were established to the north of Jaffa, as well as the Arab quarter of al-Manshiyyeh. Jaffa could not develop any more within its suffocating walls. They had to be demolished in order to enable the natural growth of the city. In 1879, the Ottoman authorities began the levelling of the walls. The work of removing them altogether was finished in 1888, enabling the spread of the city southwards to include the new 'Ajamī and Jabaliyyah quarters. Concurrently, the seabed in the harbour was deepened to enable easier access for the boats. In 1892, a railway line connected Jaffa with Jerusalem, the first in Palestine, which enabled direct and quick contact between the holy city and its historical port. In 1909, Tel Aviv was established as a modern suburb of Jaffa, and in time outgrew its ancient predecessor and annexed it.

When WWI broke out, the Turkish government expelled all the citizens of Jaffa that belonged to the Entente countries. Earlier, in August 1914, Ḥasan Bek al-Başrī al-Jābī was nominated as the new military governor of Jaffa (commandant). He immediately embarked on a project of developing and modernizing the city. He renovated the Maḥmūdī mosque, and built a new gate for it from the main city square on the east, opposite the Clock Tower, and commemorated this work by a monumental inscription. (See below No. 47) To the east of it he cut a new boulevard through the orange groves which he called after his superior, Jamāl Pasha the governor of Syria (After the war it changed its name to "King George Avenue".) The beauty of this avenue was enhanced by the row of Washingtonia palms planted by the Jewish students of the Mikveh Yisrael agricultural school along the centre of this avenue. In the city of Jaffa itself, Ḥasan Bek demolished houses, including the picturesque bazaar built by Abū Nabbūt, in order to widen roads particularly the ones leading to the harbour. In the Manshiyyeh quarter he built a large mosque called after him to this day: "the Ḥasan Bek Mosque." In 1916 he was replaced by Shukrī Bek, who left the city in March 1917. He was replaced by Hādī Bek. Fearing an imminent attack by the British army, the Turkish headquarters gave the order to evacuate the population of Jaffa altogether. The order was enforced, and caused much suffering, and material losses. On November 16, 1917 the mounted troops of the British Anzac (Australian New Zealand Army Corps) occupied a practically empty town.



Map 2. Jaffa plan 1917.

02

Jaffa 290–320?
Epitaph of a Muslim

290–320/903–932

Slab of marble, 0.1 × 0.12 × 0.035m., broken, on the right from top to bottom, only fragment remaining. 2 lines, angular script, no points, no vowels; in relief. Discovered above the ground in the course of the excavations in Tel Yaffo, now at Jaffa museum (Jaffa, A/ 72/ יפ). Fig. 1a.

(١) ربه (٢) محمد

His Lord... Muḥammad

There is nothing much that can be done with the remaining of two words of the inscription. Possible reconstruction could be:

توفي الى رحمة (١) ربه (٢) محمد

He passed away to the mercy of his Lord... Muḥammad

Ustinow collection. Slab of Marble 0.40 × 0.45m, origin uncertain. Presently the right corner of the stone is broken and lost, top left corner slightly broken with one word missing. The squeeze was taken when the stone was still almost complete and the reading below is based on it. Monumental angular script, ends of a few letters curl up in the Fāṭimid style. Figs. 2, 2a of MvB squeeze 25. It is mentioned here because it was seen and studied in Jaffa by MvB. Full report, photographs and study see *CIAP, Addendum*, 2007:17–18 where I classified it under Ashqelon (‘Asqalān). The following reading offers additional possible suggestions for rendering the name of the deceased.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا قبر [بر] ٢) حسين الاحول الجليلي البدالي [فتى] (?) [أ] ٣) مير
المؤمنين صلوات الله على امي [ر] ٤) المؤمنين وعلى سلفه وخلفه الطاهـ [ر] ٥) ين استشهد
في [المجا] ولة؟ رحمه الله [هـ] [٦] [تعالى] ونفعه بولاية توفى في صفر ٧) سنة تسعين وثلثماية

Basmalah. This is the tomb of Ḥusayn al-Aḥwal al-Jaylamī/al-Ḥaylamī (etc.) al-Baddālī/al-Barrālī slave of Amīr al-Muʾminīn may the blessings of Allah be upon Amīr al-Muʾminīn and upon his pure ancestors and successors. He died as a martyr during the battle(?) may Allah the Exalted have mercy on him and avail him with divine friendship. He died in Şafar 390 (=Jan.–Feb. 1000).

Note by MvB files in “Jaffa” files:

“In the index of Ibn al-Athīr there is one *al-Aḥwal* called al-Aghlabī none else. There is neither الحيلبي (nor any word that can be constructed by similar letters. MS) nor النزالي (or any word that can



be constructed with similar letters. I preferred al-Baddālī but it might be al-Barrānī. MS) nor any Ḥusayn who fits here. The paleography is not favorable to المجاولة—combat, strife (l.5). Restored by Jaussen, it fits well here; but although the word is only partly preserved, there is a remnant of a long letter in the middle, which does not fit into the word *mujāwlah* (See MvB’s drawing inserted on the right). It is therefore possible that the word refers to a specific site, particularly since, between 387–390, the Fāṭimids were involved in battles around Ramlah, Ashqelon etc., as Wüstenfeld writes in His *History of The Fatimid Caliphs*. (Wüstenfeld: *Geschichte d. Fatimiden Chalifen*. Gottingen 1881:168, 170, 172) The name of Ḥusayn, however, is not found there.”

For al-Aḥwal al-Aghlabī see Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'* 1:58–59. His full name is al-Aḥwal b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab. He lived in the time of 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdī (d. 322/934), too early for the date of this inscription, but not impossible. (Cf. *Addendum*, *loc. cit*)

04

Jaffa 626

Frederick II's Inscriptions from Jaffa (Shaykh Murād)

Construction text

626/1229

The following Arabic inscription attached to the sanctuary of Shaykh Murād near Jaffa (Pl. 09 Jaffa 626) is, no doubt, the twin inscription of a Latin one discovered at the end of the 19th century by Charles Clermont-Ganneau, both commemorating the works of Emperor Frederick II in Jaffa at the beginning of 1229. They were prepared by two different carvers; the Arabic on a block of stone and the Latin on a slab of marble. The natural place for such monumental inscriptions was the gate of the citadel. The block with the Arabic inscription must have been used as the lintel of the gate, and the Latin, on a slab of marble, was probably fixed above the lintel. The discussion of the Latin fragment will follow the detailed study of the Arabic one.

There is a remote possibility that another piece of the Latin inscription was seen by somebody in the 19th century somewhere near the walls of Jaffa. Writing about an “*alleged inscription*” Clermont-Ganneau remarked:

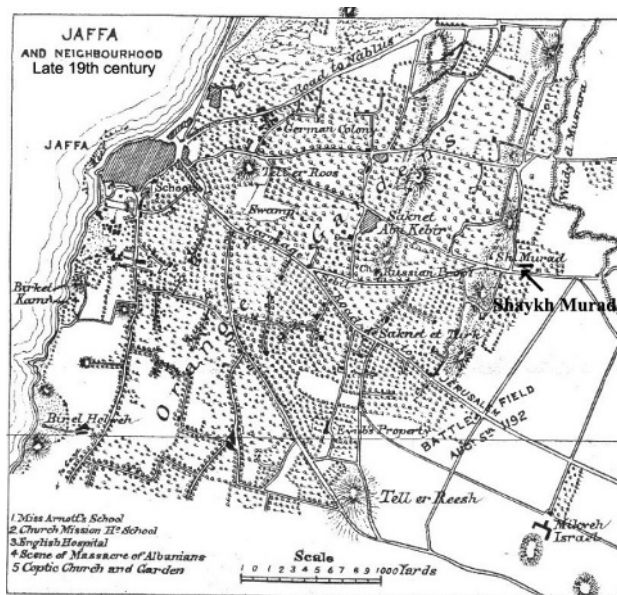
I was told of another fragment of an inscription built into the wall of the town, and from the description given me, I suspect it also to be mediaeval. Unluckily, however, I could not manage to test the truth of this statement. It may perhaps be a fragment that I found in 1881, referring to the King of England.” (*AR*, II, 156)

At any rate, it is clear that the Arabic inscription reached Shaykh Murād with other building material gathered from around the ruins of Jaffa. In the same way, a fragment of a slab of veined white marble reached this local sanctuary carrying on one side a Latin inscription and on the other an Arabic inscription dated 736/1335–6, (studied below No. 05 Jaffa 735–36), commemorating the building of a mosque. (Clermont-Ganneau, in *PEFQ*, 1874:269ff; *idem*, *AR*, 2: 152–154; H. C. Key, in *PEFQ*, 1898:246–247; Pringle, *Churches* 1:269 pl. cxc; *CIAP*, *Addendum*, 2007:113ff).



Pl. 06. Shaykh Murād 1932: inscription built upside down into the W. wall.
(Photo: Courtesy IAA)

SHAYKH MURĀD: THE SITE AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS



Shaykh Murād is the small sanctuary of a local Muslim saint (*walī*, colloq. *Welī, wīlī*), otherwise unknown, built on a hill some 2.5 km to the east of the walls of Jaffa. (top: map inserted. Petersen, *Gazetteer* 1, 2001:169) The date of its establishment has nothing to do with the Arabic inscription just mentioned, dated 736/1335–6, commemorating the building of a mosque somewhere in Jaffa. It found its way to the hill where

the sanctuary stands together with other fragments. The double-domed one-story building of Shaykh Murād, housing a tomb, the like of which one finds all over the country, and elsewhere in the Middle East, is not mentioned by Tewfik Canaan in his *Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (1927). It is mentioned here only because the Muslim builders of the sanctuary mistook the Arabic inscription for some sacred Islamic text, and attached it upside down to its western wall. (Pl. o6) When the sanctuary was twice repaired, once just before 1949, and once again thirty years later, it was placed elsewhere the right way up. (Pl. o8).

The first recorded mention of the inscription is found in a report by Jacob Ory, inspector in the Department of Antiquities of the British Government of Palestine from 13 June 1932 (File details: Ref. Atq/40 No. S 1751). Ory added to his short description of the inscription an exact drawing of its shape and the necessary measurements, indicating "scale 1:10." (Pl. o7) The report reads:

Arabic inscription on marble slab inserted upside down into the W. wall of the maqam, in four lines. Height of line 7 cms.

The report was accompanied by photographs showing the inscription attached to the original building of the sanctuary, before its modern reconstruction. The inscription can be seen built into the wall to the right of the lower remnants of an arch partly blocked by a wall, which had been built in it. (Pl. o6)

In the IAA archival file on Jaffa there is a further report about the inspection of the place in 1949 by Jacob Ory and Shmuel Yevin. On the 6th and 13th March 1949, Ory visited the sanctuary site again, searching for the inscription mentioned in Clermont-Ganneau's report published in the *SWP* II pp. 275–278, oblivious of the fact that it had left the country for Oslo with the collection of Baron Ustinow. He reported that the Mamlūk inscription was not found and seized the opportunity to describe the site which he had visited seventeen years earlier:

... the *maqām* contains two chambers. It has a domed roof and a small uncovered yard. One of the chambers contains a tomb and in the other one a recent tomb. The entrance to the *maqām* is through the yard. The height of the walls is 1.5m. At the western wall next to the corner, inserted into the wall is a slab of marble stone 34 × 60 cm., bearing an Arabic inscription with 4 lines. It seems like an epitaph and it is not the Mamlūk inscription mentioned above ...

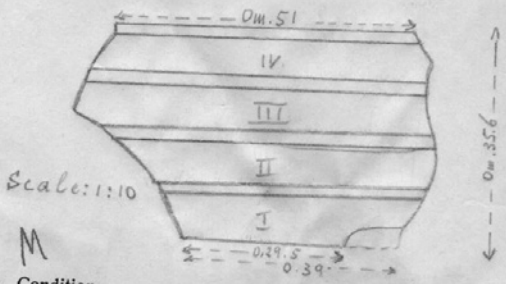
(The mistake in this report is that the Arabic inscription is not on a "slab of marble stone inserted into the wall" but on a massive block (Fig. 3)

It was L. A. Mayer who asked for the inspection of the site but he never followed the investigation, probably accepting Ory's remark that the inscription "seemed like" a non-Mamlūk epitaph, and Yevin's ruling that the inscription was "completely recent;" in other words, of little interest.

Sometime before 1970, it was photographed by Baruch Sapir who described it as "an Arabic inscription from Shaykh Murād." (Sapir 1970:41 fig. 50) The mortar used

No. S. 1751 Name of Inspector. الشيخ مراد
 Date 13.6.32 TORY

1. Site. Sh. Murad (Jaffa)
 2. Map Ref. XIII.G.9. 12/10.
 3. Situation & approaches. 13
 4. Description. Arabic inscription on marble slab inserted upside down into the N. wall of the Magam, in four lines. Hgt. of line 7 cms.



Scale: 1:10

5. Condition.
 6. Recommendations.
 7. Remarks. Ref. Atq/40. Photo 5.
Mura

Pl. 07. Reproduction of Jacob Ory's report (1932).

to attach it to the wall was modern which means that the inscription was found and attached to its present place not long before Sapir saw it. (Pl. 08)

In 1874 and 1881 Clermont-Ganneau surveyed the surroundings of Shaykh Murād and described his finds in detail. (*AR*, 2:130ff) He pointed out that the inhabitants of the small hamlet called Saknet Abū Kabīr, about one kilometre to the west of Shaykh Murād, were mostly quarrymen who dug building material from ancient sites and ruins around Jaffa. In this way, this and other stones bearing bas-reliefs, fragments of sculptures, and inscriptions reached their village and its vicinity, relatively far from their original sites.

The Arabic inscription discussed here, as well as other ancient fragments found by Clermont-Ganneau, are, no doubt, only meagre remnants of what was dug out



Pl. o8. Inscription inserted into the southern wall of the W. courtyard after repair around 1949. (Photo: Courtesy IAA)

by the villagers of Abū Kabīr and other quarries. They were either reused as a filling material after being broken into small pieces and mixed with mortar, reshaped to fit into place in walls, or directly cast into the lime furnaces. The present Arabic inscription, almost miraculously, found its way to the *welī* of Shaykh Murād. It was saved, but not before earlier hands had shaped the large block of stone on which it had been engraved to serve some construction function. What remained is about two-thirds of the original inscription.

It is very possible that the fragment of the Latin inscription of Frederick II, discussed below and reconstructed and studied by Clermont-Ganneau as well, also came from Shaykh Murād or from the quarrymen in Abū Kabīr who sold it to the Russian Archimandrite whose church was built nearby. (*AR*, 2:155–156) It is pretty sure that both the large block with the Arabic inscription, and the small fragment of the Latin one, were dug from the ruins of Medieval Jaffa, probably during the reconstruction of its modern walls early in the 19th century.



Pl. 09. Arabic inscription Frederick II 1229 (Original, courtesy IAA).

THE ARABIC INSCRIPTION

A large fragment of a block of a gray marble 0.33×0.56 m. (max.) broken on all sides, with greater damage on the top right, removed from the southern wall of the open courtyard in front of the gate of the sanctuary on the west (Pl. 08 Fig. Jaffa P1) and transferred to the custody of the IAA in Jerusalem. 4 lines in an unidentified and unique style of *naskhī*, points, some vowels and signs; in relief. Figs. 3a Jaffa 626 IAA original; 3b Jaffa 626 copy). Publication: *Crusades*, 11:139–158.

(١) [قيصر المعز] ظم امبراطور رومية فر [دريك المنصور بالله مالك ألمانيا] (٢) [ني]ة ولبردية وتسقانة وإيطالية وإنكبردة وقلورية وصقلية ومملكة (٣) الشام القدسية معز إمام رومية الناصر للهمة [المسيحية] بشهر فورارو (?) سنة ألف (٤) وما [تين وتسع وعشرين لتجسد سيدنا يسوع المسيح] . . .

... The august Caesar the Roman Emperor Frederic, the victorious by the help of God, King of Germany (*almāniyah*) and Lombardy and Tuscany and Italy and Longobardia (*ankubardah*) and Calabria (*qalawriyah*) and Sicily and the Syrian Kingdom of Jerusalem (Lit. the Kingdom of the Jerusalemite Syria) the defender of the Pope (*imām*) of Rome the protector of the Christian community in the month of February(?) of the year one thousand two hundred and twenty nine of the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ.

Fortunately it is possible to reconstruct this inscription almost to the letter by comparing it to the opening of a letter which was written in August 1229 by Frederick II to his Arab friend, Fakhr ad-Dīn b. Shaykh ash-Shuyūkh, the general and chief negotiator of al-Malik al-Kāmil the Ayyūbid Sultan of Egypt, who was responsible for

the fashioning of the treaty of Jaffa a few months earlier. The opening of the letter contains the titles and the possessions of the emperor in exactly the same order of the text of the inscription, and they represent the wording of similar texts of the Norman chancery in Sicily since the time of Roger II, studied by Jeremy Johns. (Johns 2006) The text of the letter contains the genealogy of Frederick II up to his grandfather Frederick I Barbarossa, not included in the inscription.

This reconstruction is based on the fact that most of the text is missing from the end of each line whereas at the beginning of the lines, except for the first line, only two to five letters are missing. At the beginning of the first line, six letters are missing. At the end of the lines, 24–25 letters are missing. In other words, the original inscription was double the size of the present fragment. Still, because we have the exact parallel in *at-Ta'rikh al-Manṣūrī*, which we shall soon quote in full, and other parallels from similar documents from Sicily, the loss, though unfortunate, can be reconstructed as close as possible to the original. The only serious doubt that can be raised concerns the month, and the exact transliteration used for it, with which we shall soon deal.

The parallel passage in *at-Ta'rikh al-Manṣūrī* presents a full letter sent by Frederick in which he informs his friend Ibn Shaykh ash-Shuyūkh about the situation which confronted him in Sicily and in his Italian domains on his return from the Holy Land (the invasion of the Pope's army commanded by Frederick's father in law, Jean of Brienne), and his success in defeating all his enemies.

The letter begins with the necessary preamble according to both Islamic and Norman chancery rigid formulae.

ثم دخلت سنة سبع وعشرين وستائة

وفيهما وصل بجران رسول الامبراطور إلى الكامل وعلى يده كتب إلى فخر الدين بن شيخ
الشيوخ بما نسخته:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عنوانه ترجمته قيصر المعظم امبراطور رومية فردريك
بن الامبراطور هنريك بن الامبراطور فردريك المنصور بالله المقتدر بقدرته
المستعلي بعزته مالك ألمانية ولمبردية وتسقانة وإيطالية وانكبردة وقلورية
وصقلية ومملكة الشام القدسية معز إمام رومية الناصر للهمة المسيحية...
(Body of the letter)... بتأريخ أثلث والعشرين من شهر أوسو الأندقس الثاني

(Ḥamawī, 1960: 187b–188a)

The following is Francesco Gabrieli's translation with some minor changes (1969:280–281):

In the year 627/1229 an ambassador to al-Kāmil came to Ḥarrān from the Emperor with a letter to Fakhr ad-Dīn, the son of Shaykh ash-Shuyūkh which ran as follows:

In the name of Allah the compassionate the Merciful. Heading and Dedication:

The august Caesar, the Roman Emperor, Frederick, son of Emperor Henry (Henrīk, more like Heinrich), son of Emperor Frederick, the victorious by the help of God, powerful in His might, exalted in His glory, King of Germany (*almāniyah*) and Lombardy, Tuscany and Italy, Longobardy (*ankubardah*) and Calabria (*qalawriyah*) and Sicily, and the Syrian Kingdom of Jerusalem, the defender of the Pope (*imām*) of Rome the protector of the Christian community . . . (body of the letter). Written at Barletta 23 August of the second indiction (1229).

Apart from the list of the few titles at the beginning of the letter and the mentioning of the Emperor's father Henry VI and his grandfather Frederick I (referred to by the words: *'unwānuhū tarjamatuḥu*—the heading genealogical dedication), the letter is completely identical with the inscription. However, the inscription could not have contained the *Basmalah*, which figures twice in Frederick's letter. This verse that opens 113 *Sūrahs* of the Qur'ān (except for *Sūrah* 9) has entered into the Norman chancery directly from the Fāṭimid Muslim one, and appears in inscriptions as well (Johns, Italian, 51; English 326). The possibility that one line was lost from the top of the inscription seems very remote mainly because the letters in the first line are larger than the letters in the rest of the inscription and give the impression of being the first line of the inscription, which begins with the exact first words of the letter: "The august Caesar." The inclusion of the *basmalah* in the letter, issued by Frederick's chancery, to a Muslim friend fits the mandatory opening in such correspondence, which involved a Muslim side. In the case of the inscription, it was fixed to the wall or above the gate of the citadel of Jaffa to commemorate the work of a Christian monarch, and was dated with an explicitly Christian date (see below), whereas the letter was dated according to the indiction system, which was fairly neutral.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION

L.1: قيصر المعظم. August, magnificent, resplendent etc. Caesar. The top right corner of the inscription is more damaged than the rest of the right side. Six letters are missing; these are the four letters of *qayṣar* together with the three first letters of *al-mu'azzam*. The word *qayṣar* is regarded to be a definite noun, like a proper name, and therefore, following the opening of the letter, does not need the article.

المنصور بالله The number of the missing letters at the end of the line allow the insertion of this title (as in the letter), which is also found in other examples from the Norman chancery. Idrīsī refers to King Roger II by titles such as "*al-malik al-mu'azzam Rujar al-mu'tazz bi-Allah al-muqtadir bi-qudratihī*" the powerful

through God and strengthened by His omnipotence (Idrīsī, 1994, 1:4; cf. Johns 2006, Italian: 50; English: 325 for more examples from the Norman chancery).

L.2: صقلية... إيطالية، تسقانة، لمبردية—The names of these four regions are perfectly transliterated (see Idrīsī *loc. cit.*). Foreign names have always been subject to strange transliterations in the Arabic sources (see next note). Thus, for instance, Qalqashandī referring to Lombardia has its name transcribed: al-Lunbardiyah (correct) “and it is also called (*wa yuqāl lahā*) an-Nūbaridiyyah wa-al-Anbaridiyyah.” (Qalqashandī, 5:415)

انكبردة، قلورية—This is the usual spelling in Arabic of the names of Langobardia and Calabria. (Idrīsī, *ibid.* Amarī 1879, 2:87, 91) Qalqashandī (5:410) transliterates Calabria as *Qalafriyah*, quite close. A particularly bad transliteration appears in the letter of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ from 1137–38, to Roger II. (Johns *loc. cit.* cf. also Abū al-Fidā’, 3:141)

Ll.2–3: مملكة الشام القدسية. The Syrian Kingdom of Jerusalem. The title *Jerusalem et Siciliae rex* was very important for Frederick. If he were finally to head the Crusade, even as an excommunicated emperor he wished to do so as the legitimate King of Jerusalem. The marriage to the child queen of Jerusalem Yolanda of Brienne—Isabella II—gave him the desired title. The marriage was arranged by Pope Honorius III, the Emperor and John of Brienne, Yolanda’s father, in their meeting in Frentino in 1223 when the bride was barely 11 years old. The marriage by proxy took place in August 1225 and on 9 November in the Cathedral of Acre, and Isabella was also crowned as the queen of Jerusalem in the Cathedral of Tyre. The 13 year old queen was sent to Italy. There, after the marriage ceremony at the church in Brindisi Frederick immediately declared himself King of Jerusalem. He still postponed fulfilling his promises to lead the Crusade until 1228. Meanwhile his queen, whom he confined to his harem in Palermo, died in giving birth to their son Conrad (her first child Margaret had died a year earlier), and when he finally went on the Crusade at the end of 1228, he was not really the King of Jerusalem but the regent in the name of his infant son (Mayer 1988:237; *idem*, *MGH*, 1996, 40, 1:312–15, 332–33; 2: 715, 743. Death of Isabella II and her titles: 2:585.) However, this small impediment did not disturb him “to walk under the crown” of Jerusalem on March 18, 1229 a day before the Archbishop of Caesarea arrived in Jerusalem to deliver the interdict on the city at the order of Gerold the Patriarch of Jerusalem (Prawer, 2:160ff, 195f; Abulafia, 185–189; Grousset 3:312–313).

L.3: معز إمام رومية الناصر للملة المسيحية. The defender, he who strengthens the Pope of Rome, the protector of the Christian community. These explicitly Christian titles appear from the very beginning of the rule of King Roger II in 1130, when the *dīwān*, the office of the chancery, was imported in full from the Fāṭimids. “There are strong reasons for believing that these formulae were awarded to the Norman King by an Islamic chancery, presumably that of Fāṭimid Cairo.” (Johns 2006 (English): 326.

On the Fāṭimid Chancery see Stern 1964 *passim*.) These and similar designations remained for many generations as standard titles in the Muslim chancery. They represented the fact that the Muslims understood that the Pope was “the caliph of the Christians” (*al-bābā khalīfat al-franj*. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 4:248). He was therefore an *imām* of the Christians. They knew that he resided in Rome and therefore designated him as “the Master of Rome” (*ṣāhib rūmiyah*. *Ibid.*) or the *imām* of Rome. They also knew the word Papa used by the Christians and transliterated it into Arabic as *bābā*, *pāpā* and *bāb*. Qalqashandī dedicates detailed lists of the titles used in the Muslim correspondence with the European rulers. These titles were created especially for Christians referring both to the pope, and to the Christian Community. The versatility of the usages invented by the Muslim bureaucrats in the Muslim chancery, particularly in Egypt is remarkable. Thus, in addition to *mu‘izz imām rūmiyah*, which is the standard usage in Sicily (as in the inscription and the letter), we have for instance: *mu‘izz al-bābā*, *ṣahīr al-bāb*, *bābā rūmiya*—the supporter of the *bāb* the Pope of Rome. It is clear that the designation of *bāb* here is meant to ascribe an Arabic meaning to the word *bābā*. (Qalqashandī, 6:89, 176; 178). Many titles were created with reference to the Christian community similar to the one in the inscription, and in the letter. Thus we find among many ingenious usages (*idem*, 6: 174–176) titles like: *mu‘ayyid al-millah al-masīhiyyah*—“the support of the Christian community,” *dhakhr al-millah an-naṣrāniyyah*—treasure of the Christian community (*ibid.*), and a synonym of the latter: *kanz at-ṭā’ifah aṣ-ṣalibiyyah*—“the treasure of the community of the cross,” as well as *jamāl at-ṭā’ifah aṣ-ṣalibiyyah*—“the beauty of the community of the cross;” *nāṣir al-millah al-masīhiyyah*—“protector of the Christian community,” and so on. The titles were carefully categorized so that each Christian ruler was addressed with his properly designated title. (*Ibid.*, 94, 176–178).

All these titles, whether in Egypt or Sicily represented the rigid formulae of protocol and could not be changed, even if a given political situation would call for such a change. Thus the title “the defender of the pope of Rome” in the inscription and the letter, for the excommunicated Frederick II, who had to fight against the Pope, seems completely out of place, and Gabrieli is justified when he remarked about this expression in the letter as “one of the ironies of protocol.” (Gabrieli 1984:280 n.5) Only that in reality no irony was intended. The title of the “defender of the Pope and the Christian community” was not intended to represent facts; it was a format of official correspondence, which was unchangeable.

The Europeans on their part, both in their correspondence with the Muslims, and in translations of Muslim letters, also took care to use proper formulae even if the missionary tone would sometimes creep into their preambles. However, they never reached the resourcefulness of their Muslim counterparts, and in many cases they were unable to mask derogatory terminology and disrespect. (Kedar 2008: 409–10, 414)

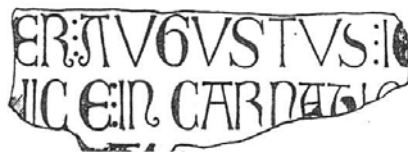
...بشهر فورارو(?)سنة ألف... The number of missing letters in this line too is about 24 which allows the reconstruction of the end of line 3 with the suggested text. After the word *al-masīhiyyah* which is sure, and can be copied from the letter, there is a place for the name of the month, most probably February, although I am not sure how was it transliterated by the Sicilian chancery into Arabic letters. Tentatively I use the Sicilian name for February—*fivraru* and offer, very hesitantly, this transliteration. I could not find a parallel text from Sicily with a date containing the name of February, the month in which the fortification of Jaffa was completed. L.4: The date in this line is very clear and represents the Arabic translation of *anno dominice incarnationis*, which we read in the Latin inscription. In the documents and inscriptions from Sicily we find the usage of every existing calendar: according to the system of indiction (as in the letter), and according to the Jewish rabbinical calendar of the date since creation (Amari, 2:87), the usual Christian calendar since the birth of Christ (as in these documents), and the Muslim calendar from the Hijrah. (cf. Johns 2006 (English):326 (Italian): 51; Amari, 2:91–92)

Incidentally, the *hijrī* date was officially used from the time of Roger II. He owned an elaborate royal mantle with a *ṭirāz* of an Arabic inscription bearing the Hijrī date 528/1133–34. Since he was crowned king of Sicily on Christmas Day 1130, he could not have worn it for his coronation ceremony, but it was used in the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperors. (Bauer 2004: 85ff, 115ff.; Jones, (Italian): 53, (English): 327) On the other hand, the inscription woven on the alb of William II (1166–89) reads: "...*sanat alf wa-mi'ah wa-aḥad wa-thamānīn li-ta'rīkh sayyidinā yasū' al-masīh*—"the year one thousand and one hundred and eighty one (according) to the date of our lord Jesus the Messiah."

The date according to the Christian calendar was introduced by the formula: *wa li-as-sayyid almasīh*—"and to the lord the messiah" (the year). The date in this inscription referring to "the incarnation of our lord Jesus the Messiah" emphasizes its pure Christian character, fitting the status of the emperor as the head of the Crusade, and of the Christian spirit of the crusaders around him: the army, the pilgrims and the military Orders. It is so clear that in the letter to Fakhr ad-Dīn the date chosen was the neutral date of the indiction. I do not believe that this was unintentional.

THE LATIN INSCRIPTION

Fragment of a block of marble 0.77 × 0.27m., thickness, 0.15m. The original was purchased by the Russian archimandrite. Clermont-Ganneau describes the 13th–14th century Latin letters of the inscription as "splendidly cut" (Pl. 10).



Pl. 10. Frederick II Latin inscription.

Analyzing the inscription Clermont-Ganneau wrote (*AR*, 2:155):

All that is left consists of two imperfect lines and the remains of the third. The upper line, to judge from a fragment of border, must have been the very first of this monumental inscription.

....[? semp]er Augustus I[mperator]
[anno domin]ice incarnati[onis].....
ti?.....

Clermont-Ganneau attributes the inscription to Frederick the II and proposed to reconstruct the third word of the first line as: I[mperator]. He offers a convincing re-construction of the two lines based on the formula found on the medals of the Emperor (but as we know also from other inscriptions of his predecessor Roger II, and other documents relating to other Holy Roman Emperors):

[*Fridericus Romanorum imperator semp]er augustus Ie[rusalem rex] etc;* (*AR*, 2: 155–156; cf. Abel 1946: 20, 24 n.49. Sabino de Sandoli 1974:258, No. 347; Pringle, *The Churches* 1:266).

It is possible not only to verify Clermont-Ganneau's reconstruction but also to continue it by adding:

[*anno domin]ice incarnatio[nis millesimo ducentesimo vigin]ti [novem]*

Frederick emperor of the Romans, always august, the king of Jerusalem
 Year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand two hundred and twenty nine.

It is from the Arabic inscription that it is possible to add the exact date to this inscription: 1229, to which Christians, including the Crusaders, used to add the formula "year of the incarnation of Jesus Christ" as we find here.

The Emperor stayed for a few months in Jaffa between 1228 and 1229 and supervised the fortification of the fortress of the city (not the walls which were not reconstructed). In 1229 or 1230, following the emperor's departure, Gerold of Lausanne, Patriarch of Jerusalem re-enforced the defense of Jaffa by building two towers in the western wall of the fortress facing Ascalon (*Grousset*, 3:305, n.1). It is impossible, however, to assume (as Clermont-Ganneau did) that the Latin inscription commemorating the emperor's work was attached to them, or to other parts of the new fortifications of the city by Gerold who opposed the Emperor following his excommunication by the Pope, and the interdiction on Jerusalem which he

himself imposed. The Latin and the Arabic inscriptions were attached to the new city fortress by Frederick II himself. The bilingual texts were fashioned according to the practice in Norman Sicily where multilingual inscriptions (Latin, Greek and Arabic and Hebrew) were common. It suited Frederick to put up two such inscriptions in which his grandeur as the “emperor of the Romans” was emphasized and fortified by the very significant title “King of the Syrian Kingdom of Jerusalem,” and the enumeration of all the lands under his authority, in the style already used by his father (Johns, *loc. cit.*), and by the Muslim rulers who in their agreements with the Christians used to enumerate in great detail all the territories under their sovereignty. The usage of the Christian date in an Arabic inscription with reference to the incarnation of “our lord” Jesus Christ (*li-tajassud sayyidinā yasū‘ al-masīh*) by the King of Jerusalem is in itself one of the rarest examples if not a unique prototype in Arabic epigraphy in this part of the world (though common in Sicily).

In this period, the official titles of Frederick II were *Fridericus secundus divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, Jerusalem et Sicilie rex*—Frederick the second by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans always august, the King of Jerusalem and Sicily.

Matthew Paris applies to Frederick II the title *Stupor Mundi*, the Wonder (or amazement) of the World, indicating that he stands as an equal ruler to Charlemagne, and describes him as *Principum mundi maximus, stupor quoque mundi et immutator mirabilis*, “greatest of the princes of the earth, the wonder of the world and the marvelous regulating genius [innovator] in its affairs.” (Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 5, 1882 (1998): 108, n. 265 quoting Luard’s *M. Paris*, V. 190, 196. See discussion of Matthew Paris’s (forged) letter of Gerold to all the Faithful, James M. Powel, “Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II . . .” *Journal of Medieval History*, 25. 1, 1999:19–26) In his letters around the year 1229, Frederick used for himself, among others, the following formulae: *Fredericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper augustus, Jerusalem et Siciliae rex*. Frederick by divine grace, emperor of the Romans, and always august, the king of Sicily and Jerusalem.

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FREDERICK II AND THE MUSLIMS

It is not the intention here to deal with the biography of Frederick II. There is hardly a personality in medieval history who attracted so much the attention of historians, writers and poets. While admired as “the amazement of the world” (*stupor mundi*), he was hated by the Church and its Head, and described as no less than the Anti-Christ:

He honoured serfs and baseborn, he exalted and defended thieves . . . he was cruel beyond measure, so that he had no pity in him . . . he was treacherous and evil, etc. etc. (quoted by La Monte in *The Wars of Frederick II in Syria and Cyprus*, Columbia: "Records" p. 190= La Monte, 1949:428)

On the other hand Salimbene of Parma (Salimbene di Adam, 1221–c1290) the Franciscan friar, who should have hated him, wrote:

Although in faith of God he had none, and that he was crafty, witty, avaricious, lustful, malicious, wrathful . . . and yet a gallant man at times, when he would show his kindness or courtesy; full of solace, jocund, delightful, fertile in devices. He knew to read, write, sing and make songs and music. He was a comely man, and well-made although of middle stature. I have seen him once and loved him . . . Moreover he knew how to speak many and varied tongues; and to be brief, if he had been rightly Catholic and had loved God and his Church he would have had few Emperors his equal in the world." (Quoted by La Monte, *loc. cit.*).

Modern biographies of Frederick II, either dedicated only to him or as part of wider works on the Crusades, display some form of this ambivalence. On the one hand, there are those who highlight his greatness as a politician, strategist and administrator, emphasizing his major achievements in defying Pope Gregory IX, and overcoming the excommunication imposed upon him; succeeding to gain important territorial achievements in the sixth Crusade, including Jerusalem; unifying the Holy Roman Empire, and bringing solid administration and strict law and order to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as well as many other achievements which earned him the title of *stupor mundi*. (Bryce, La Monte, Grousset, Röhrich, to mention only a few, represent this line of evaluation. On the other hand David Abulafia, Praver, Runicman and particularly Wolfgang Stüner and Mayer present a more balanced and sometimes even less favorable view of him). However, nobody could ignore his colourful figure, and it is doubtful if there is another medieval monarch who attracted as much attention on his way straight into the *Inferno* of Dante (X, 119: "*Quà entro è lo secondo Federico.*"). It is not only that his Christianity, or rather his religious convictions in general, were weak but that he was particularly inclined towards the Muslims. His courtiers and many of his administrators were Muslims, and the city of Lucera, which he built on the borders of the Papal States, was a Muslim colony from which he derived soldiers for his wars against Rome. His close relations with the Sultan's court in Cairo continued a tradition that had existed since the time of the Hautevilles. Under him these relations, which no doubt helped in the negotiations for the Truce of Jaffa in 1229, developed almost to friendship which involved the exchange of expensive and unusual gifts including exotic animals that enriched his Zoo, the first proper zoo in the world. The Emperor used to travel accompanied by this zoo. Following the Muslim example, he had a harem. This, La Monte writes, "could be overlooked, but that he included in it Muslim women was an offence to all good Christians." His scepticism and intellectual curiosity impressed the Muslims and annoyed the Pope who attributed to him (probably falsely) the saying that "The world has been fooled by three great imposters, Moses, Christ and Muhammad".

The presence of Jews, Muslims and Greek ministers in his court working together with Latins makes the attribution of this saying to him highly improbable. (La Monte 1949:427) In the Arabic sources, there is much sympathy for his person and his behaviour, particularly where Muslims were concerned. During his visit to Jerusalem, after he had received the city from al-Malik al-Kāmil according to the Treaty of Jaffa, he is said to have rebuked the *qāḍī* of Nāblus, who had accompanied him, for preventing the *mu'adhdhin* from calling for prayer as a sign of respect for him. The Muslim chronicler, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, quoting the *qāḍī*, who narrated the story to him, says that Frederick reacted saying: "You did wrong, *qāḍī*; would you alter your rites and law and faith for my sake? If you were staying in my country, would I order the bells to be silenced for your sake?" (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt az-Zamān*, ed. Jewett, Chicago, 1907:434; also quoted in Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1(1), ed. Ziyadeh, 1956:231 n.3; translated in Francesco Gabrieli 1969: 275; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1935, 3:316 quoting al-'Aynī 1431/2010, 4:208.)

The Muslims also appreciated the Emperor's interest in science, logic and medicine (*muḥibban lilḥikmah wa-al-manṭiq wa-aṭ-ṭibb. Ult. loc.cit.*) and the Arabic sources mention the fact that he referred questions in mathematics and philosophy to the court in Cairo, which were put by the Sultan to the best scholars in Egypt, whose answers were sent to the Emperor. (See for instance Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 3:234 who also mentions the fact that "he was refined and learned (*fāḍil*)... was favourable towards the Muslims because originally he grew up in the country of Sicily, and he, his father and his grandfather were its kings; and the inhabitants of that island are mostly Muslims."

On the other hand, the Muslims who encountered him were not impressed by his looks, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, who disliked him immensely, reports rather sarcastically that the "The Emperor... had a red skin, and was bald and short-sighted. Had he been a slave, he would not have been worth two hundred *dirham*." And referring to Frederick's convictions, the chronicler felt that he was materialistic and that his Christianity was like a game for him.

قالوا وكان الإنبرطور أشقر أمعط في عينيه ضعف، لو كان عبداً ما يساوي مائتي درهم.
قالوا والظاهر من كلامه أنه كان دهرياً وأنه كان يتلاعب بالنصرانية.

(‘Aynī, *loc. cit.*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *loc. cit.*; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1(1):232 and note; Gabrieli 1969:275. Cf. Mayer 1988:235 who reduces the original 200 *dirhams* of the Arabic source to 20).

Yet this interest in science, which impressed the Muslims, was often connected with horrible experiments that he carried out on living human beings. (See Umberto Rizzitano, *Storia e cultura nella Sicilia saracena* 1975:319–20, 327–29; Coulton, *St. Francis to Dante* 1906:242–43 Talking about Frederick's cruelty in his "experiments" mentioning seven.)

He had no questions regarding his exalted status that would later develop into a messianic message.

On March 18th 1229, he, the excommunicated Crusader, after “walking under the crown” of the King of Jerusalem, issued a manifesto to all the peoples of the world.

In it the Emperor had himself elevated to a more than earthly position. He stood between God and mankind; in his nearness to God he was like the angel. What he had done, God had done through him. Then he was placed in the context of the traditions of the kingdom of David. Thus was born the Hohenstaufen conception of the Last Emperor, who ushers in the End of Days, the long awaited Messiah. No-one doubted that he marked the end of an era. (Mayer 1988: 237–238. And see the colourful description of James Bryce of the Emperor’s character and his attitude to himself and his place in history. *The Holy Roman Empire*, 1907 (1968): 204–207. His messianic figure: *ibid.*, 178)

Naturally the Muslim sources did not perceive this Messianic aura, which developed around Frederick II in Europe, but they also looked with awe at his achievements. “In fact, no-one in Christendom, from the time of Alexander until today, has ruled a kingdom the equal of his, particularly when one considers his power, his behaviour to their Caliph, the Pope, and his audacity in attacking him and driving him out.” (Gabrieli 1984:283, translating *at-Ta’rīkh al-Manṣūrī*). The last sentence refers to the victory of the Emperor over the Pope’s army in the autumn of 1229. (Mayer 1988:238)

The reference of the Muslim source to the vast lands under Frederick’s rule is directly connected with the enumeration of all these lands in the letters sent by the Emperor to his Muslim counterparts. The same list of territories that appears in the opening of the letters also appears in our inscription. The enumeration of the imperial domains does not appear in the Latin titles of the Emperor, even at the height of his achievements. They appear in the Arabic documents, and in this inscription, where the influence of the Muslim chancery is very obvious. This influence commenced from the very beginning of the Norman rule with King Roger II (1130–1154) when the Norman administration flourished with the establishment of the royal *dīwān*—a completely new institution imported from Fāṭimid Egypt together with a complete system of titulature that included the enumeration of the ruler’s territorial possessions. The Arabic ceremonial style and the fixed formal parts regarding the addressees in every correspondence, as well as the preambles in every Arabic document, which was issued by the *dīwān*, followed a very rigid pattern that formed the most important part in the education of the clerks. When writing to the Norman rulers of Sicily, the chancery of the Fāṭimids in Egypt made a point of mentioning the territories ruled by him among the titles of the Norman King. The first known example, which seems to have created a bureaucratic precedent, was the letter, mentioned above, of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥāfiẓ to King Roger II dated 1137–38. (See the detailed study by Jeremy Johns, Italian p. 50 = English p. 325)

Fortification of Jaffa

What remains now is to go into some detail about the Crusade of Frederick II and the fortification of Jaffa.

Jaffa was, before the Crusader period and up until 1187, an important port and the emporium of Syria. The Arab geographers portray it as the harbour of Ramlah and describe its beauty and the strength of its fortifications. (Le Strange 1890; 550–551; Marmadji 1951:206–207). Only Yāqūt chooses to quote the negative view of one of his sources, Ibn Butlān, who wrote in 442/1050 that it was stricken by drought and famine as well as diseases that killed its children in such numbers that it had no need for a school teacher. (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Dār Ṣādir, 5:462 s.v. “Yāfā”) This is, no doubt, an exaggerated description or even an outright lie. About a hundred years earlier, Maqaddasī (1906:174) and the other sources mentioned above, described it favourably. Idrīsī, writing in 548/1154 describes Jaffa as the seaport (*furḍah*) of Jerusalem (Idrīsī 1414/1994:358, 364, 376) and refers to it as well as to the other coastal towns in positive terms. (See particularly *ibid.*, 364 *infra*.)

ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, (d. 684/1285) who wrote a book on the rulers of as-Shām and the Jazīrah, in 674/1275, dedicated a short description to the history of Jaffa. He said that the city was not mentioned, to the best of his knowledge, among places conquered by the invading armies in the time of the second caliph, ʿUmar (634–644). It was once a populated town, protected by strong walls and a castle that was “high in the air”. He then described the vicissitudes in the city’s history under the Fāṭimids and other local Muslim rulers, until it was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon the ruler of Jerusalem in 492/1099. “He fortified it, and built it, and gave it to Tankred of Antioch (*wasallamhā ilā tankrīd ṣāhib anṭākiyah*)”. It remained in their hands until al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn conquered it by force in the year 588/1192. Here Ibn Shaddād is mistaken. He moves to the events of the third Crusade and misses the events following Saladin’s victory in the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 583/1187. It was his brother, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, advancing from Egypt, who conquered Jaffa by force, and later Saladin ordered its demolition. It remained in ruins until 1191, when it was taken by Richard I (Lion Heart), refortified in September and October of that year and, following the building of its citadel, the city was rapidly built and started to be inhabited as well. (Prawer 1984, 2:76–78, 82) The attempt of Saladin to take it in a sudden attack failed (22 July 1192), following which the Treaty of Jaffa was signed on 2nd September 1192. Jaffa remained in the Crusaders’ hands until September 1197 when al-Malik al-ʿĀdil heard about the arrival of the German military power in Acre as part of a new Crusade. He attacked Jaffa which was defended by a small garrison of some forty horsemen. The city, which lacked a wall, fell quickly and after a short siege its citadel also fell. The garrison and the population were massacred. The city and citadel were demolished and their rubble was thrown into the sea. (Prawer 1984, 2:91–92; 105–106; Ibn Shaddād 1962:255–257)

The fortification of the main cities on the coast, as much as it troubled the Muslims, was the Crusaders' major objective from the beginning of the 13th century. After intensive rebuilding in the north, the time for rebuilding Jaffa arrived when Frederick II finally landed in Acre. Until he came, the Crusader armies that preceded him busied themselves with building Montfort, the castle that would become a stronghold of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land, as well as Sidon and Caesarea. (Mayer 1988:234; Prawer 1984, 2:182). When the Emperor had declared his wish to rebuild Jaffa, his declaration was received with great enthusiasm. It had always been the feeling in the Crusaders' camp that the fortification of Jaffa was a necessary step in order to achieve the real, great goal of returning to Jerusalem. They were not aware of the negotiations which had been in process between the Emperor and al-Malik al-Kāmil via the good services of Fakhr ad-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Shaykh ash-Shuyūkh, who had developed friendly relations with the Emperor. Friendly relations or not, the building of Jaffa was also meant to add just the necessary pressure on the Sultan not to drag out the negotiations, a strategy followed then by al-Kāmil.

The announcement of the Emperor about his intention to re-fortify Jaffa was made public at the beginning of November 1228, a short while after his arrival in the Holy Land. The assembled army, now headed by the Emperor, moved southwards and reached Jaffa on November 15. At the beginning the Crusader forces suffered from lack of provisions, since the supplies sent by sea could not be unloaded because of bad weather and high seas. At a certain point the situation was desperate, and some of the Crusaders attacked and plundered Muslim villages, a fact which created unnecessary difficulties in the negotiations. Fortunately, a change in the weather enabled the unloading of the supply ships, and the abundance of the supplies changed the atmosphere in the Crusader camp. Compensation to the plundered Muslim villagers cleared the impediments, and the negotiations proceeded accompanied by the exchange of gifts (al-Kāmil sent an elephant to the Emperor's zoo), and the exchange of letters concerning mathematical problems and philosophical questions. The fortification of Jaffa proceeded with great enthusiasm; the city which, as already mentioned, was completely destroyed in 1197, began to emerge from the mountains of rubble which covered the foundations of its walls. The work of the fortifications concentrated on the city citadel. Its walls were built over the uncovered foundations, and were strengthened by towers. The moat was cleaned and paved. Jaffa was again protected by a new and solid fortress. The work was finished on the 18th February 1229, and on that same day the peace treaty between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil was signed in Jaffa, for the duration of ten years, five months and forty days. (*Cf.* Gottschalk, "al-Kāmil (al-Malik)." *EI*²) Jerusalem minus the Temple Mount was returned to the Christians, and the Emperor could place the crown of the King of Jerusalem on his head in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

In addition to the peace treaty, which gained considerable territory for the Crusaders, the refortification of Jaffa, to which Patriarch Gerold of Lausanne added

two more towers about a year later, was a great achievement for Frederick. Whereas in the Holy Sepulcher he took the opportunity to publish his imperial manifesto to the world, in building of Jaffa he thought that he had left a monument for posterity.

The Arabic inscription, bearing his name and enumerating his domains, which he no doubt ordered to be engraved on the massive monolith lintel of the gate of the fortress accompanied by the Latin one on a massive slab of marble were aimed at commemorating the work as much as his name in the Holy Land in a manner well-known in Sicily, but rather unique in the Crusader lands beyond the sea. The Muslim scribes of his chancery following a well-known formula and style, which had already been in use for seven decades and more, from the time of Roger II, composed the text of the inscription introducing only a few necessary amendments to it. Unfortunately for Frederick, as much as he was enthusiastically received when he arrived in Acre, he left the city and the Holy Land for ever, hated and humiliated, pelted with offal by the butchers through whose market he sneaked out of the city to board his galley.

The amount of research on the fortification of Jaffa, and the events which preceded and followed it, is vast. Here are only a few of the main works used for the above description:

Röhricht 1898:782–783; Grousset 1935: 3:315; on Frederick's character: "Frederick II is too complex a personality to enable forming an absolute judgment of him." But see *ibid.*, 312–315, Gerold and the interdict on Jerusalem. 304–306, fortification of Jaffa. Runciman 1957, 3:171ff; 186; Prawer, 1984 2:184–185 (Hebrew) French translation by P. Nahon 1970, 2:170ff, (esp.) 195–197; Abulafia 1988:185–191; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1934, 1(1):221; Frederick and Fakhr ad-Din Yūsuf b. Šadr ad-Dīn Shaykh ash-Shuyūkh in Sicily, Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 3:233–34; Ibn al-Althīr, *Kāmil*, 1982, 12:478ff.)

...

The Epigraphic Context

The two centuries of the Crusaders' presence in Palestine are very poor in epigraphic material relating to them. Concerning this rarity of inscriptions Clermont-Ganneau wrote in 1874: "During all the years that I have hunted for inscriptions in this ungrateful soil I have met but five or six texts belonging to the period, and even they were for the most part fragmentary." (*PEFQ*, 1874:269) These words refer to the rarity of inscriptions in general; the Arabic epigraphic material from the Crusaders side is even poorer. Until now, only three Arabic inscriptions bear witness to the western activity in the country, but only one, the inscription discussed above, contains a complete text written by a European who was no less than the Holy Roman Emperor himself. It is a unique inscription which brings the research of the Crusades, for the first time, physically in contact with a text bearing the fingerprints, so to speak, of

a western monarch whose life and deeds are fully documented. In spite of the fact that a text identical with this inscription exists in an Arabic manuscript, it is still a wonderful occasion to see its verification on stone.

The other two inscriptions which bear only indirect witness to the Crusaders were found, one in Ashqelon (Ascalon, 'Asqalān) dated 540/1150 bearing the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph aḏ-Ḍāfir bi-Amr Allah (544/1149–549/1154) and the other in the village of Farkhah between Jerusalem and Nāblus. The Arabic inscription from Ashqelon commemorates the building of a tower on the walls of Fāṭimid Ashqelon that succeeded in withstanding the Crusaders' attempts to take it until 1153. The tower was built about three years prior to the fall of the city. Ashqelon was destroyed and partly rebuilt by Richard Lion Heart, (D. Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116, 1984:133–147) again destroyed, and rebuilt by Richard of Cornwall in 1241. The Arabic inscription was then superimposed with five heraldic shields, three large and two small ones. The three large shields carry the blazon of the Wake family of Northampton. They were engraved over the Fāṭimid inscription of 1150 by Sir Hugh Wake who in 1240–1241 took part in the Crusade of Richard of Cornwall (Holy Roman Emperor who never took office) and Simon de Montfort, and participated in the building of the fortifications of Ashqelon in 1241. The huge slab of marble with the Arabic writing, which Sir Hugh found near the tower that was assigned to him to build, seemed suitable for engraving on it his heraldic shields; and thus, damaging the inscription, he commemorated his name and work. He died in Ashqelon in the same year (*CIAP*, 1:163ff).

The second inscription dated 606/1210 comes from the village of Farkhah. It is a Muslim dedication text which contains details regarding the money devoted to the upkeep of a local mosque from the revenue of the "faṣal" of the village. This Arabic word is simply the transliteration of the French "vassal" and represents a system of Frankish taxation that continued to be used by the Muslims long after the Franks had left the village, and even after they left the country altogether (*CIAP*, 3:188–200; M. Sharon, "Vassal and Faṣal: The evidence of the Farkhah inscription from 608 (correct to 606/1210)." *Crusades*, 4, 2005, 127–140).

As much as these two inscriptions are important, they cannot be compared to the only direct Arabic inscription, backed by a Latin one, relating to the short and eventful presence of one of the great personalities of European history in the Holy Land.

05

Jaffa 735–6

SHAYKH MURĀD (MUSLIM SANCTUARY NEAR JAFFA)

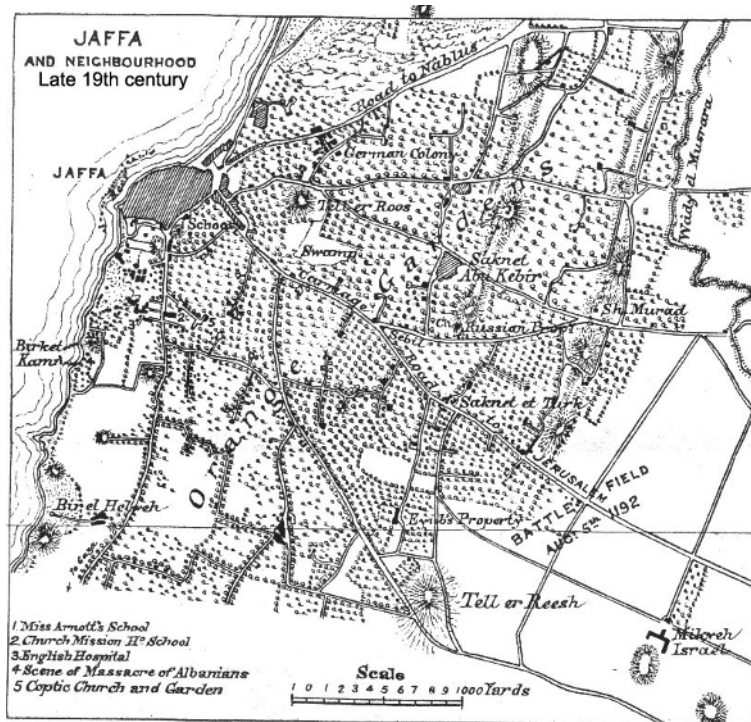
Is. Gr. 12870 16207 (N. Is. Gr. 17870 66207)

The following inscription was first discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. It came from the Walī (Weli) of Shaykh Murād (see map 2a below). The slab on which the Arabic

inscription was engraved is a small fragment of the original slab of marble or limestone, which covered the grave of a Crusader clergyman (bishop?), and bore a dateable Latin inscription. The following is Clermont-Ganneau's description of this find:

While exploring the gardens round Jaffa... I penetrated as far as the wely of Sheikh Murād, which lies on the extreme edge of the gardens, in the north-east corner, about 2500m from the town. The sanctuary is guarded by an old Mussulman, who told me he had found close to the Kubbeh a large inscription and bas-relief. The object had been removed by someone whose name he did not know. Finally after much searching, I discovered that this someone was a converted Jew, and found the stone in question in his house. Afterwards, in 1881, I again saw the original in the possession of Baron Ustinoff (*sic!*), who had acquired it meanwhile from its possessor. (*AR* 2:152–153; *cf.* his letter in *PEFQ* 1874:271; and J. E. Hanauer in *PEFQ* 1898:246)

This is interesting evidence about the way in which antiquities found their way to the Baron's collection. According to Clermont-Ganneau, the slab's measurements were $0.70 \times 0.55 \times 0.05\text{m}$ and it represented about one-fifth of the original Crusader tomb's cover. Even this fragment was broken in two, as can be seen on the squeeze, but the broken parts fit perfectly. MvB saw the fragment in 1893, and took a squeeze of the inscription. His measurements are: $0.70 \times 0.60\text{m}$. In one of his notes he mentioned that the inscription had been "published"; on another he writes:



Map 2a. Jaffa in the late 19th century. Shaykh Murād: in the east. (Source: *PEFQ* 1898)

“unedited.” (In fact Clermont-Ganneau published it in 1876). Although he pointed out that the latter clearly read the date 736/1335–6, he believed that the type of writing was that of one century earlier, and suggested 636/1238–9 as the date of the inscription, that is to say the late Ayyūbid period. However, this is impossible since the Arabic inscription was engraved on the back of a stone bearing the fragment of a Latin inscription. The fragment has a clear date: 1258. This eliminates the possibility of dating the Arabic inscription as 1238. The date offered by Clermont-Ganneau is therefore the correct one. What is sure is that both Clermont-Ganneau and MvB saw the same fragment in Ustinow’s collection within two years of each other. But the former had the advantage of studying the Crusader bas-relief, and the Latin inscription. (Pl. 13 *CIAP Addendum*, pl. 51b copied below.) Since the Latin inscription is important for the discussion of the Arabic one, here are the relevant parts of Clermont-Ganneau’s description of the Latin side:

Here we see, carved in outline, a full face representation of a man with shorn beard with a mitre on his head, and holding in his left hand the Episcopal crozier. It is hard to say . . . whether this is a bishop or an abbot. The head and the shoulders are surrounded with a trilobated arcade resting on a small column with a capital. In the right portion of the arcade there is . . . a winged angel, with a nimbus, carrying incense, which he wafts round the head of the deceased . . . Evidently, we have here the remains of one of those flat tombs, sunk to ground level, that were so numerous in this period . . . The slab must have represented the deceased at full length, but all that is left of it is the left half of the head as far as the place where the shoulders spring from. The primitive slab must have been divided into five or six pieces . . .

All around the figure of the deceased there ran a Latin inscription in medieval letters. The following is my reading . . . :

[*Anno d(omi)ni millesim]o ducentesimo, qui(n)quagesimo octavo in festo sanctorum (O . . . or C, perhaps M?)*

In the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifty eight on the feast of the saints . . . ?” (*AR* 2:153–154; *cf. idem, PEFQ* 1874:272)

From the remnants of one letter it is impossible to know the day of the month in this inscription (All Saints—November 1; or Saints Cosme and Damian—September 27?) but Clermont-Ganneau has no question about the year: “The date of the year is beyond doubt, it is 1258.” But the stone, he says, has another peculiarity namely that it was subsequently used, after being broken away from the large original slab, for an Arabic inscription. The Arabic inscription was written when the stone fragment was nearly square, since the broken and lost corner contained the missing text of the present inscription. (*Ibid.*)

Construction text

736/1335–6

Ustinow collection. MvB squeeze No. 38, 0.63 × 0.57m. taken in 1893. 7 lines, early Mamlūk *naskhī*, points, some vowels, bands divide the lines; in relief. The lower

right part of the inscription (from the spectator's point of view) was broken and lost. On the margin of the squeeze, van Berchem noted that the inscription came to Ustinow's garden from the Walī (*welī*) of Shaykh Murād "north of the railway" near wādī al-Mazgharah. Pls. 11, 12. Publication: Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876:29–41. *Idem*, *PEFQ* 1874:271–272; *AR* 2:154 only translation; MvB files: "Jaffa;" H. C. Kay, *PEFQ* 1898:247 (oblivious of the former publications); Pedersen 1928:34; *RCEA* 15:58–59, No. 5687; *CIAP Addendum*, 2007:113–115.

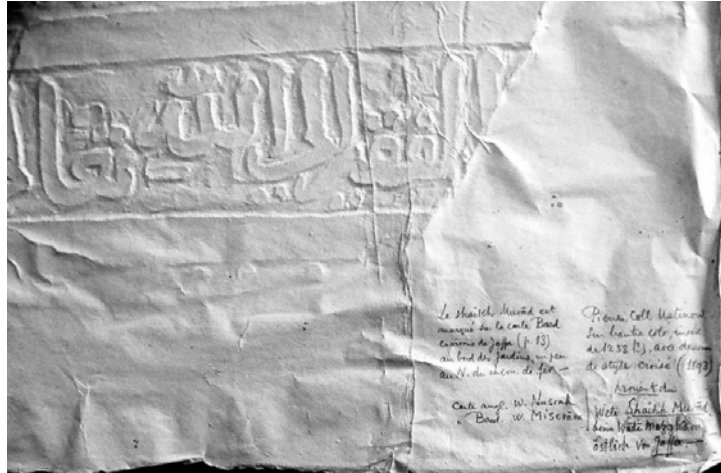
The reading below is based on that of Clermont-Ganneau (*Matériaux*, 1876:29–41).

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ (٣) وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ
الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ (٤) وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أَوْلَاؤُكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا (٥) [مِنْ] الْمُهْتَدِينَ أَمْرٌ
بِعِمَارَةِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكِ (٦) [العبد] الفقير إلى الله تعالى الأمير جمال الدين [ين] (٧)
[بن اسحاق] بتاريخ سنة ستة (!) وثلاثين [وسبعمائة]

Basmalah. Q. 9:18 (full). Has ordered the building of this blessed mosque, the slave who is needy for (the mercy of) Allah the Exalted, the amīr Jamāl ad-Dīn... [b. Ishāq] in the date of 736 (=1335–6).



Pl. 11. Jaffa 736.



Pl. 12. Jaffa 736 (Detail).



Pl. 13. CIAP Addendum 51b. Fig. MvB 39b (Latin inscription).

L.7: The words “ibn Ishāq” appear in Clermont-Ganneau’s translation but not on the squeeze. Since he was so sure about these two words I bring them here in square brackets. MvB did not see them, and he notes in his files that the inscription is missing about 5 words here.

The engraver made a point of supplying the Qur’ānic verse with vowels. The date of the inscription was partly lost in the squeeze but, as I mentioned above, the year 736 seems to be the only possibility. Because of the script, it is impossible to opt for an earlier or for a later date (unlike H. C. Kay *loc. cit.*: “736, 836, 936 etc.”).

It is clear that the Muslims removed the long slab from a Christian tomb, and broke it into a few pieces in order to re-use them for inscriptions and other purposes. The inscription must have commemorated the building of a mosque in Jaffa in the time of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwun. The assumption that it commemorated the building of the small shrine of Shaykh Murād has nothing to support it. The fact that the inscription happened to be discarded in the vicinity of the shrine does not prove anything particularly since a mausoleum is by no means a mosque. Tolkowsky’s remark (1924:127, copied by the authors of the entry on Jaffa in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd edition *q.v.*) that Jamāl ad-Dīn “founded the *wely* (*sic!*) . . . known as the ‘kubbet Sheikh Murad’ which still exists today” is not supported by the inscription itself which speaks specifically about the building (or even renovation) of a mosque (*‘imārat masjid*), not a *maqām* or *mashhad*, *qubbah* not even *makān*—a (holy) place.

Jaffa was then a built city, and an important harbour. Abū al-Fidā’, writing around 1321, describes it as a small and very pleasant town, well fortified, with frequented markets, and a large harbour visited on a regular basis by many ships. (Abū al-Fidā’, *Taqwīm*, 1840:239; Le strange 1890:551. See introduction above.). At about the same time, Sir John Maundeville who visited Jaffa in 1322 writes:

And those who are willing to go a long time on the sea, and come nearer to Jerusalem, may proceed from Cyprus by sea to the port of Jaffa, for that is the nearest port to Jerusalem, the distance being only one day and a half. (Wright 1848:142)

The city harbour was destroyed by an-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 737/1336. This destruction is documented. Ludolph von Suchem who visited Jaffa in 1340 says that it was

“an exceeding ancient and beauteous city standing on the sea shore” still fairly well populated. Once the common pilgrim way passed through this city, but, shortly before my time, the soldan laid waste to the port out of fear of the king of France. (Ludolph von Suchem 1895:49, 65)

The circumstances for the sultan’s decision are also well known. He ordered the destruction of the harbour in 737/1336 when news arrived from Europe about the preparation of a Crusade to be lead by Philip VI King of France (1328–1350) who took the cross in the summer of 1332, and Edward III King of England (1327–1377). The Crusade, which was envisaged in 1334 by Pope John XXII, to avoid the approaching conflict between the two kings, never materialized in spite of the preparations,

which were underway (and alarmed the sultan). Instead, Edward's claim to the crown of France triggered the Hundred Years' War between the two countries, and the Crusade was forgotten.

Ten years later, afraid of another Crusade, the Sultan ordered the harbour to be completely destroyed in 746/1345–46, and this time together with the whole city. (Tolkowsky, *JPOS*, 5, 1925:82–84) A Franciscan monk who visited Jaffa in 1347 reports that the town was razed to the ground, except for two half ruined buildings inhabited by an officer and a few soldiers. Another piece of evidence by an Italian pilgrim from about the same time reads as follows:

The city of Jaffa is entirely destroyed, there being nothing else than two caves where are stationed a poor officer with a few Saracens for the purpose of guarding the harbour; but the harbour is destroyed and filled up, like those of Syria, out of fear less Christian ships or galleys land in the Holy Land with the intention of conquering the country. (Tolkowsky, *ult. loc. cit*)

In spite of such a thorough demolition, it seems that the city must have revived, at least partially, and was able to support a small population and local markets. Otherwise, it is not compatible with the fact that at the time of Barqūq (784/1382–791/1390 and 792/1390–801/1399) a mosque was built in Jaffa, according to the fragment of an inscription which I date, for the sake of order, in 784/1382. (See below no. 06 Jaffa 784 where this particular point is discussed.)

To sum up, the Arabic semi-monumental inscription commemorated the building of a mosque in Jaffa itself, probably on the site of the modern Maḥmūdī mosque from the early 19th century (1227/1812). All the evidence shows that the latter “was built on the remains of an older one.” (Kana'an 2004:122) It is also possible that it was built next to the port where the Ṭābiyah mosque was constructed in 1143/1730–1. (See below No. 09 Jaffa 1143.)

06

Jaffa 770

Epitaph of a Muslim woman

5 Rajab 770/41 Feb. 1369

Slab of marble, 0.68 × 0.25 × 0.1m. Unknown location; found accidentally by the local police, and brought to Jaffa Museum (No. Jaffa 008). 7 lines, professional Mamlūk *naskhī*, points, no vowels; in relief. Fig. 4.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (٣) الله كل نفس ذائقة الموت هذا
(٤) قبر الست المصونة عائشة بنت ا (٥) لفقير الى الله تعالى الامير شهاب (٦) الدين احمد ابن
قاضي القضاة توفيت (٧) خامس رجب سنة سبعين وسبعماية

Basmalah. There is no God but Allah Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Every soul shall taste of death (Q, 3:185, 21:35, 29:57. Trans. Arberry). This is the tomb of the virtuous lady ‘Āishah the daughter of the needy for Allah, the Exalted, the amīr Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad son of the chief Qāḍī. She passed away on the fifth of Rajab, the year 770 (=14 Feb. 1369).

شهاب الدين احمد ابن قاضي القضاة: 6-5Ll.

There are a few short biographies of this scholar. Ibn Kathīr defines him as an authority on *ḥadīth* and “a traveller (*raḥālah*)”. His full name is Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-Ma‘ālī Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ayyad b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl b. Abū Ṭālib al-Abarqūhī al-Ḥamadānī, namely from Abarqūh a locality in the province of Shīrāz. (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Dār Ṣādir, 1:69–70; Le Strange, *Lands* 1966: 284, 294 297) He moved to Hamadān (hence the *nisbah* al-Hamadānī), and finally settled in Cairo (in the Qarāfah quarter) acquiring the third *nisbah*—al-Maṣrī. In Ibn Kathīr’s biography there is no mention of the title “*amīr*.” He was born in 615 and died in Mecca at the end of 701, a few days after the end of the *ḥajj*. (Ibn Kathīr 1416/1996, 9:264)

Nu‘aymī, *ad-Dāris*, 1427/2006, 1:70, 105, 531, 532) mentions him a few times as ash-Shihāb al-Abarqūhī. Ibn Ḥajar (*Durar*, 1:102–103) records a longer biography, which mentions all his teachers, and some of his pupils (who transmitted traditions on his authority) and his father, Rafī‘ ad-Dīn Ishāq who was Qāḍī in Shīrāz (hence the reference to him in the inscription as *ibn qāḍī al-quḍāt*). Apparently he was a *ṣūfī* who wore the coarse cloak (*khirqah*) in the style of Suhrawardī, and was therefore known among the *ṣūfīs* by the nickname “as-Suhrawardī.” He died in Mecca on 19 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 701/15 August 1302 following a dream in which the Prophet told him that he would die at the end of the *ḥajj* of that year. Ibn al-‘Imād, (*Shadharāt* 6:4) mentions his date of death briefly, and indicates the exact spelling of Abarqūh. Abarqūh, in Persian Iraq, is the Arabic spelling of the Persian Abar koh. The town is situated on a high mountain hence its name “above the mountain.” (Steingass, *s.v.* “*abar koh*”; Le strange *op. cit.* 284).

o6

Jaffa 784–801

Construction text

784/1382–801/1399

Two fragments of a slab of gray marble in secondary usage at *as-sabīl al-Maḥmūdī* in Jaffa. The *sabīl* was built on the right hand inside the eastern gate of the city in the southern wall of the grand Maḥmūdī mosque. According to the building inscription (see Jaffa No. 13 1224a below), the *sabīl* was built in 1224/1809 during the extensive building activity and fortification of Jaffa by Muḥammad Abū Nabbūt who ruled it between 1803 to 1819. The slab with the inscription was used as building material. It was reshaped and cut according to the needs of the builders who, in the process, destroyed a large part of the inscription. The slab was cut in the middle, and its

present measurements are 2.65m. long and maximum width 0.32m. The parts bearing the inscription were formed by the builders into a rectangular shape, each with a narrow protruding piece on the right. The following measurements of the inscribed areas, therefore, contain two lengths for each fragment; the top is long, followed in brackets by the bottom, which is much shorter. Right fragment: 0.80 (0.54) × 0.32m. (max.). Left part: 0.89 (0.34) × 0.32m. The two parts of the inscription were each engraved in a frame of stylized *tabula ansata*, and originally contained three lines, six lines altogether. The mutilators of the stone left only four lines—part of two lines on each side.

Provincial Mamlūk *naskhī*, engraved professionally, many points, no vowels, some decorative elements; in relief. The find was reported to me on 12 May 2013 by Yoav Arbel of the IAA, who wrote to me that the inscription was discovered during preservation works in the *sabil*, inserted upside down into the wall high above the ground with the writing facing skywards, which explains why it had not been noticed until now. The following reading and suggested reconstruction are based on the assumption that the original six-line inscription began with the part on the right followed by the part on the left. In each part the third line is missing and the second line is damaged. In what follows is the reading of the surviving parts and suggested reconstruction of the whole inscription. Figs. 5, 5a, 5b, P1a.

A. The right side:

١) أنشأ هذا الجامع المبارك العبد الفقير [إلى الله ٢] تـ[عـالـى] محمد بن يوسف ابن عيسى
الغازي (؟) العدوي ٣] [وأنفق على ذلك من حِلِّ ماله وفضل ما اتاه من (؟)]

B. The left side:

١) خير الله غفر الله [له ولجميع المسلمين في أيام ٢] السلطان الملك الظاهر برقوق عز
نصره و[ذلك ٣] في شهر . . . سنة . . . ؟ وثمانين وسبع مائة . . .]

Has founded this blessed mosque the slave who is in need (of Allah), the Exalted, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAdawī, the warrior(?), (and he financed that from his own lawful funds and from what has reached him from the grace of) Allah's generosity, may Allah pardon (him and all the Muslims. In the days of) the sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir Barqūq, may his victory be glorified (and this in the month of . . . the year 78?).

A l.2: *al-ghāzī*. This is the closest I could get to reading this word, about which I am not sure.

Al-ʿAdawī the reference of this relative adjective could be to one of the many Arab clans called ʿAdī or, to the Egyptian village al-ʿAdawīyah (which I prefer). (Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 1408/1988, 4:168ff; Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, 1840:177)

I shall argue below, that it might be possible to know the location of the mosque commemorated by this inscription or, at least, to show that it belonged to a mosque built in Jaffa. (See also above No. 05 Jaffa 735–36). Sometime before 1224/1809, the slab (or slabs) of marble with the inscription reached the construction site of the *sabīl* with building material from diverse locations. It must have been in a better condition before the harsh treatment by the builders fitting it for their needs. However, the mosque, which was built more than 420 years earlier could have been built in Jaffa, since a considerable part of the building material was dug from the surroundings of the city by villagers, who traded in marble and lime-stone, part of which was sold to the lime furnaces. In this way, inscriptions and other archaeological remains of great value from Jaffa as well as from Ashqelon (‘Asqalān), Caesarea (Qaysāriyyah) and other places, were lost.

Here is what Clermont-Ganneau, wrote in connection with examining an ancient Graeco-Roman bas-relief, “used as a flagstone pavement in a house,” during his visit to Jaffa in 1873:

This bas-relief, like so much of the of the old stone work used in the construction of the houses at Jaffa, came from Caesarea, the ruins of which town have been, and still are, worked by the inhabitants of Jaffa in the same way as a quarry. (*AR*, 2:1)

On leaving Jaffa on the way to Jerusalem he passed

... a small hamlet called Saknet Abū K’bīr (*sic!*), where I enquired of some fellahīn. One of them took us a few yards further on into the middle of some poorly tilled gardens, where I noticed that numerous excavations had been newly made for building stone. (*AR*, 2:3)

The present inscription from the time of Barqūq refers to the fact that sometime between the years 784/1382 and 789/1387, and probably nearer to the earlier date, a mosque was built in Jaffa. This can only be a sign of the existence of a Muslim community there, just before the site was completely deserted, and this mosque was ruined, like the rest of the city. In the 8th/14th century, Jaffa suffered two major acts of destruction: in 736/1336, and around 746/1345–46. This last act of destruction included whatever remained of the harbour together with the whole city. This information is supported by good evidence. (Tolkowsky, *JPOS*, 1925:83) The material found by Tolkowsky proves, beyond doubt, that the orders to destroy whatever remained from Jaffa and its harbour were issued by the sultan in Cairo sometime between 745/1344 and 747/1346, that is to say, by aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād-Dīn Ismā‘īl (743/1342–746/1345) or by his two short-lived successors (Sha‘bān I and Ḥājjī I, 746/1345–748/1347). Again, this act of demolition was instigated, as mentioned above, by the fear of a new Crusade, this time initiated in 1344 and 1345 by Venice and Austria with the blessing and encouragement of the Pope. The material to which Tolkowski refers is the itinerary of a Franciscan monk who landed in Jaffa in 1347 describing a devastated city and harbour. (Tolkowsky 1925:84)

This evidence, which I already quoted above (in Jaffa 735–36), partly fills the gap between the time of Ludolph von Suchem who visited Jaffa in 1340, describing it as a

built city even after its port had been destroyed, and Baron d'Anglure who visited it 1395. This French nobleman left a description of a completely uninhabited and devastated town but with an active harbour (*qui est le port où l'on descent à terre pour aller dans la sainte cité de Iherusalem*). The pilgrims could find shelter for the night in the remains of a chapel of the church of St. Peter within the ruins of the citadel. (Baron d'Anglure, 1858:50. See introduction above.) Since we do not have any information about the circumstances which led to the total destruction of Jaffa as seen in 1395, it is possible to assume that the building of a mosque in the city during the first reign of Barqūq could have been part of a plan to revive the city, particularly since commercial activity in it and its environs never ceased, in spite of the fact that Jaffa remained in a state of desolation. (Tolkowsky 1924:129–130)

The travellers from the 15th century describe the deplorable state of the ruins of Jaffa, which a century earlier, around 1333, Isaac Ḥilū called “the Beauty of the Sea” (Eisenstein 1926:75; Tolkowsky 1924:126–127). Its port, however, was still used for the disembarkation of travellers (mainly pilgrims), and for the unloading of merchandise. Its markets were moved to the city of Ramlah, which Jaffa, even in its heyday, was frequently described as its port. However commercial activity was not completely severed and some provisional markets were also set up, from time to time, in the ruins of the town.

Theoretically speaking, there is a possibility that the inscription belonged to a mosque somewhere else far from Jaffa, but this seems very remote, since both Caesarea in the north and Ascalon in the south, from which building material was brought, were in total ruin. In Jaffa at least there was full activity around the port, and therefore one cannot discount the possibility of a short revival which attracted people to the city and was then in need for a mosque.

If the mosque built in 735–6 was demolished with the rest of the city, then it is possible that Barqūq's mosque was built over its foundations, and it is very possible that over the foundations of the latter mosque, Muḥammad Abū Nabbūt, the acting governor of Jaffa built the present Maḥmūdī mosque in 1227/1812. (Kana'an 2004:122. See below Nos. 14, 16: Jaffa 1227, Jaffa 1229).

o8

Jaffa 881

Construction text

10 Rabī' II 881/2 Aug. 1476

Slab of marble, 0.70 × 0.46m. 4 lines, Mamlūk *naskhī*, very small letters, some points and signs. On the route to Jerusalem from Jaffa near Abū Ghūsh. Ustinow collection.

For the analysis of this inscription see in detail *CIAP, Addendum*, 2007:5–7 pl. 1 fig. MvB 1. It is only mentioned here because in the files of MvB it appears under “Jaffa” although van Berchem himself attributed it to “the road to Jaffa.”

09

Jaffa 1143

AṬ-ṬĀBIYAH MOSQUE

The Ṭābiyah mosque, called after a certain Shaykh Muḥammad (or Maḥmūd) aṭ-Ṭābiyah (or aṭ-Ṭībī), about whom nothing is known, is the oldest existing mosque in Jaffa. It is situated next to the Jaffa lighthouse (erected in 1936 by the British mandatory authorities over the remnants of the original lighthouse built by the Ottomans in 1865) in the southwestern corner of the old city, overlooking the port. The mosque was built adjacent to the house, which traditionally came to be known as the House of Simon the Tanner in which St. Peter stayed, and on the roof of which he had the vision instructing him to offer Christianity to the gentiles, as reported in Acts 10, 11. It is from there that he first set out to convert Cornelius the Roman Centurion after the latter had been ordered by the angel:

Now you must send some men to Jaffa and fetch a man called Simon, known as Peter, who is lodging with Simon the tanner whose house is by the sea. (Acts 10:5–6)

It is also in this house that some traditions locate the miracle, performed by Peter, of raising Tabitha (Dorcas) to life. (Acts 9:40–43) This made the place an important site of Christian pilgrimage. (Hoade 1984:612) Pilgrims however are not allowed to enter into the house which is now a private residence occupied by the Armenian family of Azarian. Although the mosque was built in 1730, as we learn from the inscription, the territory on which it was built is claimed to be that of the Tanner's house. A report by a modern Christian Arab writer indicates that the mosque itself is in fact Simon the Tanner's House. (Elias Ḥannā Rantisi 1995:33, quoted by Ḥasan 2000:21) The name of St. Peter however was kept in the place, for in addition to the name Jāmi' aṭ-Ṭābiyah and Jāmi' Maḥmūd aṭ-Ṭībī the mosque is also called Jāmi' al-Buṭrus (with the article; even mispronounced "al-Budrus") namely, Peter's Mosque.

It is a small structure, the outer measurements of which are 12 × 6m. Its maximum height is 4m. The minaret, 10m. high, built in a pencil shape following the style of the Ottoman minarets, is attached to the north-western corner of the mosque. The entrance into it is from the roof of the mosque through a small gate. The proximity to the sea has had bad effect on the limestone from which the minaret is built, and the whole structure is now in a state of corrosion.

The entrance to the mosque from the street is through the same gate that leads to the Tanner's House (the Azarian Family residence). The gate opens under a simple arch above which rises a much more elaborate and elegant high pointed arch. In the tympanum between this arch and the simple arch of the gate is imbedded the construction inscription of the mosque.

There is no evidence of any connection to the early mosque attributed to Ibn Ṭūlūn, which is probably the mosque mentioned by Muqaddasī: "The mosque is

pleasant to the eye, and overlooks the sea.” (Muqaddasī 1906:174; 1408/1987:148; English trans. Ranking, 1897:285; Le Strange 1890:550; cf. Ḥasan 2000:20) It is, however, possible (allowing myself wild speculation) that an old tradition about the site of an ancient mosque that “overlooks the sea” remained in Jaffa and lead to choosing this site for the 18th century Ṭābiyah mosque. The same old tradition could well be behind the identification of the Christian holy place in the same site as well.

The date, 1143/1730, which appears in the inscription, is indeed the date of the present mosque. But the inscription does not refer to the name of the builder, unless the word *khalīl* (ll.4, 8) is a personal name referring to the builder of the mosque, and not a word meaning “a friend” usually used (with the article—*al-khalīl*) to indicate the Patriarch Abraham, and hence the city of Hebron. Regarding the whole verse this seems a remote likelihood though it is not impossible. In such case we would have to reject aṭ-Ṭābiyah altogether, particularly since the personal name of this shaykh is not sure, whether it was Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, or Aḥmad, admittedly generally regarded as synonyms.

The combination of Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭābiyah looks rather strange and I venture to suggest that it is an invented name possibly connecting it somehow with Tabitha whose name was traditionally attached to the site. Actually, with minor change in the diacritical points Tabītha (transliterated in Arabic *تابيثا* or even *طاييثة*) can easily be transformed to Ṭābiyah, and the fact is, that the mosque and the house of Simon the Tanner occupy the same site. (Cf. Hoade 1984:611–614)

Construction text

1143/1730–31

Slab of marble, no measurements. 9 lines of a poem; in each line (except for the first and the last lines) two hemistiches. Ottoman *naskhī*, points, some vowels; in relief. Fig. 6. Publication: Ḥasan, 2000:26, Tütüncü 2008:268–270. (He was unable to read anything.) The poem follows the *ramal* metre with only minor diversions.

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢ يا لقوم مسجد مستحسن
٣ تحته البحر غدا يجري كذا
٤ هذه (؟) الاثار جاءت غنوة
٥ ... (؟) قضي (؟) بنا ندعوا له (؟)
٦ رب رقيه (!) مقاما عاليا
٧ فجزى الاحسان احسان (!) كذا
٨ قلت لما ان بدا تار يخه
٩

قد بُني لله مولانا الرحيم
حوله حصن منيع مستقيم
من خليل يرتجي الصنع العظيم (؟)
بابتهال فيه المولى الكريم
في جنان الخلد مع حور مقيم
جاءنا بالنص في القول القديم
وخليل فاز بالبر الحسيم
1143 = 144 + 235 + 88 + 676
سنة ١١٤٣

Basmalah.
 O for the people (there is) an appreciated mosque,
 Which was built for Allah our compassionate Lord.
 The sea beneath it, its water flowing;
 It is surrounded by an impregnable sound fort.
 These vestiges came as a fortune,
 From *khalil* aiming for a great act of charity.
 (He?) required that we pray for him,
 Invoking therein the generous Lord.
 O, my Lord, elevate him to a high place,
 In the eternal gardens cohabiting with the Maidens of Heaven
 And the generosity was gracefully rewarded; thus
 It was exactly stated for us in the (Prophet's) ancient saying.
 I said when its date became clear:
 And Khalil was rewarded for the huge act of charity
 The year 1143 (=1730)

A. Text Proofs

The right and left sides of the inscription are damaged, and my suggested readings of these parts are sometimes questionable. In such cases a question mark follows the reading which I regard as doubtful. The attempted reading by Ḥasan contains large number of mistakes, and although I was tempted to quote his reading and leave it to the reader to make the necessary comparison I decided to draw attention to the mistakes. In each line I first bring my reading and then Ḥasan's reading that should be corrected, preceded by the word: "correct."

L.2: يا لقد ر يا لقوم correct Ḥasan: العظیم
 الرحيم correct Ḥasan: العظیم

L.3: تحتہ correct, missing in Ḥasan.

يمر correct Ḥasan: يجري

مستقيم correct, missing in Ḥasan.

L.4: بهذا حاز رجاء عزه correct Ḥasan: الاثار جاءت غنوة: (?)

يرتجي الصنع العظیم (?)

L.5: The reading of this hemistich is problematic because of the condition of the stone. I read with reservation كمجيب اقف بنا ندعو Hasan: . . . (?). قضي بنا ندعوا له. There is clearly an *alif* before the last word, following which I read it ا له allowing a very common grammatical mistake ندعوا in the imperfect instead of ندعو. This "hypercorrection" of the imperfect is influenced by the perfect form (with an *alif* after the *wāw*). I read the hemistich therefore قضي بنا ندعوا له, and translated it accordingly, admitting difficulties in both the reading and the translation. The

word which Ḥasan reads كعجيب is completely defaced. The translation of Ḥasan's reading, excluding the first defaced word, would be "... let us stop and pray for him" which is quite possible.

بانيها الرحبة للمولى الكريم Correct Ḥasan: بابتهاال فيه المولى الكريم The two points under the *yā'* of *al-mawlā* are clearly visible in the inscription.

L.6: رقيه instead of رقه The imperative verb رقيه (!) instead of رقه is also a common mistake. The *yā'* in the inscription cannot be ignored and the reading fits the metre perfectly. Ignore Ḥasan's reading الماء مقروء (. . . غير مقروء) which is completely far-fetched.

و في Correct Ḥasan: و في

حق correct Ḥasan: حق

L.7: مجزي correct Ḥasan: مجزي The two points of the *yā'* are very clear.

إحسانا The word is clear with the grammatical mistake. Correct Ḥasan: إحسان (!) which is grammatically correct but missing in the inscription.

جان The *hamzah* is clear in the inscription. Correct Ḥasan: جان.

B. Contents

The poem is a eulogy praising the builder of the mosque. It is very strange, as mentioned above, that his name does not appear in the inscription, but only hinted at by the word *khalīl* (friend), unless this is, in fact, his name. If so, we must conclude that either Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭābiyah (or any name similar to this one) was not the builder of the mosque or that the inscription was brought from another site and fixed in its present position. This question is, for the time being, left open. There are a few places where the inscription is damaged, although it is doubtful whether the answer is in one of them. Apart from some grammatical mistakes, which are not unusual, the poem is a solid and elegant literary piece, which follows the *ramal* metre closely.

Ll.2–3: describe the mosque as graceful and pleasant to the eye for which the poet used the adjective *mustahsan* which refers to a graceful object that calls for appreciation. The mosque overlooks the billowing sea and is protected by an impregnable fortress (a rather gross exaggeration).

L.4: The mosque and the fortress are described as vestiges (*āthār*) not in the sense of ruins or relics, but as cherished objects established to leave their mark on their environment. They came as an expensive gift from the donor-builder whom the poet defines as "a friend" (if this is not his name, which brings immediately to mind the generous Patriarch) aspiring to perform a great act of charity. Defining the rich contribution of the "friend" the poet uses the rather singular word *ghunwah*.

Ll.5–6: In either my or Ḥasan’s reading: We, when reading this inscription, and acknowledging the generosity of the builder, are called to pray for him that the Lord elevate his position and place him in Paradise with the *ḥūrīes*, the black eyed maid-ens of heaven.

L.7: This verse hints at a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet who said: “Whosoever builds a mosque for Allah the Exalted, Allah builds for him a home in Paradise” (Muslim, *Masājid*, 4:24; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 65; cf. *CIAP*, 1:52). This is the reward: an act of human charity is repaid by an act of divine charity, a house of God in this world by a house in Paradise together with additional enjoyment of the heavenly damsels. The “ancient saying” of the Prophet is defined as *naṣṣ*—the exact text of the *ḥadīth* attributed to him.

L.8: The last hemistich, which contains the date in the numerical value of its letters is most intriguing. The word *khalīl* (which I left as is) seems very much like a personal name and only with great difficulty it can be understood to mean “friend.” We are thus left with the open question: who was actually the builder of the mosque? A certain Khalīl or Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) aṭ-Ṭābiyah (aṭ-Ṭībī), whose name does not appear in the poem, and about whom we know nothing.

10

Jaffa 1215

Epitaph of a Muslim

1215/1800

Stele of marble, 0.56 × 0.26 × 0.09m., 6 lines, Ottoman *naskhī*, with points and vowels; in relief. Original location unknown, now in Jaffa museum (Jaffa 009)(MHY 100.086). Written in Turkish. Fig. 7.

The Arabic text:

هو الخالق الباقي (١)

سنة ١٢١٥ (٢)

He is the creator the everlasting. The year 1215 (=1800).

11

Jaffa 1215a

Epitaph

Ramadān 1215/Jan. 1801

Slab of marble in a very bad state, from the ‘Ajamī cemetery, no measurements. 4 lines, divided by bands, top edge is triangular shaped with tree-like ornamentation, provincial Ottoman *naskhī*, with points, no vowels; in relief. Fig. 7a.

١) الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى ٢) الشهيد المغازي شريف ٣) علي اقا انضلي اكجي تلك في
٤) شهر رمضان في سنة ١٢١٥

The slave who is in need of the mercy of Allah, the Exalted, the martyr, the warrior champion, Sharīf ‘Alī Āqā Anḍulī (or Anaḍulī) Akanajī and it took place in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 1215 (=Jan. 1801)

L.3: *Anḍulī* (*Anaḍulī*) most probably reference to Antalya or to Anatolia (*al-Anaḍūl*). *Akanjī*, a very well known name of a Turkish family. It is possible that the word *sharīf* here refers to a claim of nobility connected with this title.

12

Jaffa 1224

Epitaph of a Muslim

Rabīʿ I 1224/April 1809

Slab of marble, no measurements, taken from the Arab cemetery, now in Jaffa museum. 4 lines, divided by bands, each line within cartouche, slightly broken on top edge, provincial Ottoman *naskhī*, with points, some vowels and *hamzah* sign; in relief. Fig. 8.

١) وبشر المؤمنين يا محمد ٢) هذا قبر المرحوم احسين؟ ابن الحاج ٣) محمد الزوّ في العاسي بكر وحه
الفاحة ٤) توفي ربيع الاول سنة ١٢٢٤

And give good tidings to the Muslims (Q, 2:223, 9:112, 10:87, 61:13) O Muḥammad. This is the tomb of the late Ḥusayn (colloq. Ḥsein?) the son of the Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Zawfī(?) al-‘Āsī the *fātiḥa* should be recited for his soul. He died in Rabīʿ I 1224 (=April 1809)

L.1: The words *wa-bashshir al-muʾminīn* appear 4 times in the Qurʾān in various contexts but without the reference explicitly to Muḥammad, as in the inscription.

L. L.2: The name Ḥusayn seems to be written with an *alif* preceding it. If I am not completely off the mark, then it seems that the name was written according to colloquial pronunciation: Ḥsén.

L.3: The *nisbah* az-Zawfī seems a reasonable possibility for the reading of this word (Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 1408/1988, 3:177–178; Suyūṭī 1840:128). *Ar-Rūmī*, which is the reading that comes first to mind is problematic, since the point over the *zāy* is very clear.

However, the *nisbah* al-‘Āsī with *sīn* is apparently non-existent unless the writer meant to write al-‘Āṣī (with a *ṣād*).

L.4: I have some reservations concerning the reading of the date, but I have no better suggestion.

13

Jaffa 1224a

AS-SABİL AL-MAḤMŪDĪ

Moral teachings and construction text

1224/1809

8 slabs of marble, imbedded into the arched flat front wall of the *sabīl* in the following order from top to bottom: middle top attached to the arch itself, slab I, *ṭughrā* of sultan Maḥmūd II within richly decorated frame.

Second row: slab II, directly beneath slab I, oval shaped, 0.6 × 1.17m., 1 line, stylized inscription in the middle, decorated with floral ornaments on both sides; black letters on gray marble.

Third row from right to left: Slab III, oval shaped, 0.84 × 0.33m., 2 lines, each line within cartouche, black letters on white marble. Slab IV, oblong with rounded sides, 0.88 × 0.35m., 3 lines, each line divided into two parts, each part within cartouche, black letters on white marble. Slab V., oval shaped, 0.88 × 0.30m., 2 lines, each line within cartouche, black letters on white marble.

Bottom row from right to left: slab VI, oblong, 0.84 × 0.33m., 2 lines, each line within cartouche, black letters on white marble. Slab VII, oblong with rounded sides, 0.42 × 0.15m., one line, within cartouche, black letters on white marble. Slab VIII, oblong, marble, 0.88 × 0.30m., 2 lines, each line within cartouche, black letters on white marble. All inscriptions are in late monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, with points and vowels; in relief. Figs. 09 slab I, 09a slab II, Jaffa 09b slab III, 09c slab IV, 09d slab V, 09e slab VI, 09f slab VII, 09g slab VIII; P2 (the *sabīl*). Publication: Ḥasan, *Masājid Yāfā*, 2000: 81–85; Tütüncü, 2008: Kana'an, *Levant* 2001:193.

Text Proofs and Commentary

In each case first comes the correct reading, followed by the word “correct,” and by the former readings.

Slab I

Ṭughrā of Sultan Maḥmūd II:

محمود خان بن عبد الحميد مظفر دائما

Maḥmūd Khān b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd forever victorious.

Slab II

ما شاء الله كان

Whatever Allah wants happens

Correct Ḥasan: **الله كافي**

The inscription was engraved in such a way that its letters created an ornamental design. To create the frame of this design the artist used the technique of straight and mirror script. The words *mā shā'a* form the two lines of the encircling frame. At the bottom, above the lines formed by these two words, he engraved the word Allah in straight and mirror writing and above it, in an interwoven style, the word *kāna*.

Slab III

(۱) يملیخا مثلینا مکلینا مرنوش دبرنوش (۲) شازذنوش کفشطیوش قطمیر

Traditional names of “the people of the cave—*ahl/aṣḥāb al-kahf*” (Q, 18:9).

L.2: **شازذنوش** Correct Kana'an **شازذنوش** The point over the *dhāl* is clear, but her reading exists as well although not in this inscription.

Ḥasan (2000:296 pl. 47) did not recognize the names, or their literary context, and decided that “The slab bears an inscription in Persian (*sic!*), and this is its translation:

مکان سیبیل ماؤها کالمسک اغرفه بیدک واشرب هنیئا

There is no need to add anything more concerning the absurdity of this “reading” and “translation.”

In what follows is the detailed study of the inscription.

The *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* inscription contribution of Necati Alkan

Text of the inscription:

The text outside the brackets represents the modern Turkish rendering of the names, and the text in brackets is the exact transliteration of the inscription.

Yemlîhâ (Yamlîkhâ), Meslînâ (Mathlînâ), Mekselînâ (Makthalînâ), Mernûş (Marnûsh), Debernûş (Dabarnûsh), Şâzenûş (Shâzdhanûsh), Kefeştatayûş (Kafashṭatayûsh), Kitmîr (Qitmîr)

The inscription on slab III of as-Sabîl al-Mahmûdî at the upper right corner bears the names of the Seven Sleepers or the “People of the Cave (*ahl/aṣḥāb al-kahf*)” and of their dog *Kitmîr/Qitmîr*, as transmitted (with a few variants) in Qur’ān commentaries (*tafsîr*) and extra-Qur’ānic Islamic sources. Their story is narrated in *Sūrat al-Kahf* (Q, 18 “The Cave”) of the Qur’ān from verse 9 to 26, where the names of the “People of the Cave” are not mentioned, neither their exact number. Qur’ān 18:22 gives their number as three, five or seven, in addition to their dog, “but only God knows well their number and no one else except a few.”

The Qur’ānic parable tells about a group of pious youths who believe in the one true God and seek refuge from the idolatry of their people. They flee to a cave in order to escape persecution. There, God puts them into a miraculous sleep for 300 (plus 9 years) (18:25), they thinking that they had only slept for “a day, or part of a day” (18:19). Again, only God knows how long they slept. After

waking from their slumberous state with which God had sheltered them, one of them goes to the town with a silver coin to buy food. He is advised to be cautious, so that people will not learn about them; otherwise they would be stoned and forced to revert to idolatry. The sleepers are nevertheless made known to the people and in the end a “place of worship” (*masjid*) is built over them. The Qur’ānic parable ends here; it is somewhat incomplete, and the order of the events is confusing. The aim of the parable is to confirm the faith of the inhabitants in the resurrection or the “hour” (apocalypse) (18:21; see also *EI*¹ 1:478; *EI*² 1:691; *EQ*, 1:292 and 3:374; Brown).

It is generally accepted that this Qur’ānic parable is based upon an apocryphal Christian story about the “Seven Sleepers of Ephesus”, i.e. seven noble young Christian men, who are oppressed by the pagan Roman emperor Decius (r. 249–251) around 250 CE (*EI*¹, 1:478; *EI*², 1:691; *EQ*, 3:374). They escape his oppression and persecution and hide in a cave. Decius orders the entrance of the cave to be walled up, to punish them with death. Their story is recorded on a tablet and placed at the entrance of the cave. They fall asleep and wake up after about 180 years, during the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408–450). They send the youngest one with some coins to buy food, whereupon he is surprised to see crosses in the city and people praying to Jesus. As the owner of the shop sees the old coins showing Decius, the youth is arrested and interrogated. After learning of the death of Decius and how much they slept, the youth takes the people to the cave. The tablet is discovered and the seven youths die praising their resurrection and God. The people and the emperor also believe in the resurrection and are confirmed in their faith.

There are considerable variations of the story derived from the Syriac, Greek and Latin and as to their names. One variant of their Latin names before being baptized is Achillides, Diomedes, Diogenes, Probatas, Stephanus, Sambatius, and Quiriacus; after becoming Christians they are called Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Constantinus, Dionysius, Johannes and Serapion. Their names as we have them in Arabic in this inscription are most probably corruptions from the Syriac (Koch, 1883:81–97; Huber, 1–91; Kandler, 1994:9–13; Griffith). Decius is *Daqyūs* or *Daqyānūs* in Arabic *tafsīr* books. Muslim commentators have embellished the Qur’ānic story with details from Christian narratives of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. It still is enormously popular throughout the Islamic world.

The names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog are used in inscriptions, amulets and on paper for protection and luck. It is said that the names on a building protects against fire; the Seven Sleepers and their dog act as patrons of seamen, and their names in Arabic are often written in a ship form; their names are also used as powerful charms to avert evil (Hasluck, 1929:313).

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Slab IV

(١) بني السبيل بعزم مولى المسلمين محمود خان نصره للمؤمنين
(٢) خليفة الجزار شبل و يقين محمد ذو الطول والراي الامين
(٣) حاز العلا من العلى ارخته من بنصر اشربوا يا واردين

$$1224 = 271 + 11 + 510 + 342 + 90$$

Has built the fountain by the order of the master of the Muslims Maḥmūd Khān as support for the believers, the successor of al-Jazzār—a lion cub and resolute (man), Muḥammad a man of power and decisive opinion. He gained honour from Him the (most) High. I fixed the date by (the numerical value of the Arabic words): “Bestowed with victory. Drink O you that come to the water.” (=1224/1809)

L.1: في زمن correct Kana'an: من هو. Correct Ḥasan: بعزم
L.2: خليفة الخيرات نسله بين correct Kana'an: شبل و يقين
يقينا وتسليم

¹⁰ *Khalīfat al-Jazzār*, Jazzār's successor: the reference is to Sulaymān Pasha the governor of Sidon, the true successor of al-Jazzār. Muḥammad Abū Nabbūt appears, however, in his name and grammatically is the actual subject of the sentence.

L.3: من بنصر correct Kana'an: من تبصر correct Ḥasan: من بنصر. With her reading Kana'an arrived at the date 1574, and concluded that there was a “mistake in the chronogram.” In all the inscriptions that I know, a mistake of this magnitude in chronogram is non-existent. In this case the date 1574 which is about 150 years after the present and 350 years “later than the date inscribed in the central panel of the lower tier,” should have raised a question about the correct reading. (Kana'an 2001:203, n.3) In Ḥasan's reading 50 years are missing, but he did not calculate the numerical value of the letters. With the correct reading, the numerical value of the letters gives the exact date.

Slab V

Two verse poem in the *basīṭ* metre:

(١) الْمَلِكُ لِلَّهِ مَنْ يَظْفَرُ بِنَيْلِ مَنِيٍّ يَرُدُّدُهُ قَهْرًا وَنَفْسُهُ تَضْمَنُ الدَّرَكَا
(٢) لَوْ أَنَّ لِي أَوْ لِعَيْرِي قَدْرَ أُثْمَلَةٍ فَوْقَ الْبَسِيطَةِ لَكَانَ الْأَمْرُ مُشْتَرَكَا

Dominion belongs to Allah. Whoever succeeds to acquire an object of desire will return it forcibly; and his soul shall certainly be assured of the abyss.

If I or anyone else had as much as a size of a fingertip on the surface of the earth then the cause would have been a joint affair.

The story goes that Salīm I when he was in Egypt wrote these verses on a slab of marble fixed to the wall of the pavilion where he lodged. In the reports quoting these verses there are negligible variants like the following verses copied by Ibn al-‘Imād (*Shadharāt*, 8:144)

يَرُدُّهُ قَسْرًا وَيَضْمَنُ عِنْدَهُ الدَّرَكَا الْمَلِكُ لِلَّهِ مَنْ يَظْفَرُ بِنَيْلِ غِنَى
فَوْقَ التُّرَابِ لَكَانَ الْأَمْرُ مُشْتَرَكَا لَوْ كَانَ لِي أَوْ لغيرِي قَدْرُ أَنْمَلَةٍ

Ghin^{an}—wealth instead of *min^{an}*—objects of desire ...

Wa-yaḍman ‘*indah* almost synonym of *wa-nafsuhu taḍmanu*, and he shall certainly be assured of...

Another version quoted in Salīm’s biography (Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:210) reads:

يَتْرُكُهُ قَسْرًا وَيَضْمَنُ بَعْدَهُ الدَّرَكَا الْمَلِكُ لِلَّهِ مَنْ يَظْفَرُ بِنَيْلِ مَنِي
فَوْقَ التُّرَابِ لَكَانَ الْأَمْرُ مُشْتَرَكَا لَوْ كَانَ لِي أَوْ لغيرِي قَدْرُ أَنْمَلَةٍ

Yatrukhu instead of *yardudhu* with the same meaning; and *wayaḍman ba’dahu* and afterwards he shall be assured of... instead of *wa-nafsuhu taḍman*.

The text of the second version is the nearest to the text in the inscription which seems to be the authentic one.

L.1: مَنِي the word is clear. Correct Kana’an منه which does not make sense, since Salīm spoke of the worldly objects of desire, or wealth (*min^{an}* or *ghin^{an}*); and see variants above.

L.2: *Fawq al-basīṭah*: In the two versions above: *fawq at-turāb*, both meaning the same thing “on the surface of the earth.”

The verses in general speak about the fact that any earthly gain is worthless, since dominion belongs to Allah, and no human shares with Him even the smallest thing on this earth. In the context of the *sabīl* it seems to indicate that though it is called after the ruling sultan, and the name of the builder is mentioned on it, its true owner is Allah, none else.

I used the word “cause” to translate *amr* referring to the authority of God. If man had even the minutest part of what is on earth to himself, he would then be in partnership with Allah.

Slab VI

اللَّهُمَّ لَا سَهْلَ إِلَّا مَا جَعَلْتَهُ سَهْلًا ٢) وَأَنْتَ تَجْعَلُ الْحَزْنَ إِذَا شِئْتَ سَهْلًا ١)

O Allah, nothing is easy except what You make easy. And if You wish, You make mourning easy.

Slab VII

انه من سليمان وانه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم في ذ سنة ١٢٢٤

It is from Sulaymān and it is: "In the name of Allah the compassionate the merciful" in the year 1224 (=1809).

This Qur'ānic text (Q, 27:30) was used in other works connected with the name of Sulaymān Pasha, simply because it contains the name Sulaymān (actually King Solomon). It also appears on the *sabils* which he built in Acre (Akko 'Akkā, See *CIAP* 1:55 and commentary there). Although this particular *sabil* in Jaffa was not built by him, he still had to be mentioned being the governor of the province.

The letter *dhāl* before the year means probably the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah or Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

Slab VIII

١) يا نفس لا تقنطي من زلة عظمت ٢) ان الكبائر في الغفران كاللهم

O, soul do not despair from a misfortune even if it is immense, for even the great transgressions are (regarded) small sins in (God's) mercy.

This verse is one of the last five verses of a 174 verse long poem praising the Prophet called *Qaṣīdat Burdah* "the Poem of the (Prophet's) Mantel" by the famous Ṣūfī poet, the *imām* Sharaf ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī, died in Alexandria in 695/1295. His poetry is frequently quoted in Sunnī circles, and it is not surprising that we find this verse on the wall of this *sabil* next to other pious sayings. The verse is one of two verses usually quoted together:

١٦٩ يا نفس لا تقنطي من زلة عظمت
١٧٠ لعل رحمة ربي حين يقسمها
إن الكبائر في الغفران كاللهم
تأتي على حسب العصيان في القسم

Perhaps the mercy of my Lord when He allots it
Equals the measure of the transgression when it is assigned.

For details about this *sabil* in the context of the works of its builder Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt see below No. 16 Jaffa 1229.

14

Jaffa 1227

Jaffa Great Maḥmūdī Mosque

Construction text

Rabī' II 1227/April 1812

Slab of marble, no measurements, 7 lines, divided by bands, professional late Ottoman *nashkhī*, points, vowels, and many decorative signs; in relief. Figs. 10 Jaffa; P3, P4, P5. Publication: Ḥasan, 2000:54. The following is a new reading.

(١) الله (٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٣) انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر (٤) جدد هذا البناء (٥) في هذا المسجد في سلطنة حامي دين المسلمين السلطان محمود خان نصره العزيز الرحمن بامر حضرة (٥) وزيره المعظم الحاج سليمان پاشا يسر الله له من الخير ما شاء (٦) والي صيدا وغزة ويافا حالا بمناظرة سلحشور خاصة (٦) ومتسلم لوا (٦) غزة ويافا حالا ومعتوق المرحوم والمغفور له الحاج احمد پاشا الجزار صب على ضريحه سحائب الغفران (٧) الامير محمد امين غفر الله له ولمن دعا له بخير واجره على الحي الذي لا يموت بتاريخ شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ١٢٢٧

Allah. Basmalah. Q, 9:18 (first part only). The building in this mosque was renewed during the sultanate of the protector of the faith of the Muslims, the Sultan Maḥmūd *Khān*, may the Mighty Compassionate render him victorious, on the order his vizier, His highness the *hājī* Sulaymān Pasha—may Allah facilitate prosperity for him as He wishes—presently the governor of Sidon, Gaza and Jaffa. (The work was accomplished) under the supervision of *silāḥshūr khāṣṣah* (commander in chief) and presently the acting governor of the sub-district of Gaza and Jaffa, and the freed slave of the late *hājī* Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār may clouds of mercy rain over his grave, the emir Muḥammad Amīn may Allah pardon him and whomsoever prays for his well-being. And his reward (for accomplishing this task) is due from the Living One Who Does Not Die. In the month of Rabīʿ II 1227 (=April 1812).

Text Corrections

The correct reading comes first followed by the word “correct” and the previous reading.

L.4: ديار correct Ḥasan: دين

نصرة correct Ḥasan: نصره

L.5: پاشا correct Ḥasan: باشا

L.6: پاشا correct Ḥasan: باشا

L.7: ١٢٢٧ correct Ḥasan هـ ١٢٢٧. There is no sign of هـ. The three dots over سنة mistaken for a *hāʾ* belong to the *nūn* and *tāʾ marbūṭah* of this word.

L.7: Muḥammad Amīn: a rare occasion where the full name of Abū Nabbūt is mentioned.

Ḥasan reproduced and copied the original document of the *waqfiyyah* of the great mosque dated 22 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1227. (See reproduced manuscript: *idem*, 2000:147–154; reading: 156–162.)

The great mosque of Jaffa, known as the Maḥmūdiyyah or Maḥmūdī mosque, named after the ruling sultan, was rebuilt in 1227/1812 as we learn from this inscription, fixed above the gate leading to the mosque compound from the south. It states that the building was “renewed” (*juddidah*) during the reign of “the protector of the faith of the Muslims, Maḥmūd Khān” (1808–1839). The usage of the verb “*jaddadah*” to describe the work of the builder (the Sultan himself as protocol calls for) “in this

mosque” means that there had been an older mosque in the place. The original waqf document from 1227/1812 states that since the great mosque of Jaffa was ruined and that all the endowments which had been dedicated to it were lost, Muḥammad Āgha *Silāḥshūr khāṣṣah* (Abū Nabbūt) decided to rebuild it and donate for it waqf properties. For this, he used his own private funds. (Ḥasan 2000:158)

“He built the above mentioned mosque and renovated it using only his funds as a donation for the sake of Allah. The building was a firm construction (*‘amārah muḥkamah*) and he widened it considerably, and caused the water to run into it, and covered its floor with the best of carpets.” He appointed attendants to look after it and paid them well. He also dedicated waqfs to cover the expenses encountered by the running of the mosque. (*ibid.*, 159)

No doubt the reference to the old mosque, which had been ruined, was to the mosque for which one of the leading religious figures in Jaffa, called Muḥammad al-Bībī, endowed in 1158/1745 very rich waqfs. (*Ibid.*, 118ff) The study of the various elements of the existing structure show the profound changes applied to the original old mosque, which itself had undergone serious renovation around 1745, since the Jaffa Islamic Court Records, as we have just seen, indicate the date of 1158/1745 as that of the *waqf* of the old mosque. (*Cf.* Kana’an 2004:15, n.8) This means that at the same site there had been a mosque prior to the mid-eighteenth century one. This mosque was small, and in an advanced state of decay. Its use was therefore prohibited as we learn, again, from Abū Nabbūt’s waqf document as well as from the records of the Islamic court in Jaffa. (*Idem* 2004:122) I have noted above, that this information might well refer to the existence of a mosque there in the late Mamlūk period, as recorded by the fragment of the inscription found in as-Sabīl al-Maḥmūdī (No. 06 Jaffa 784–801).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman military commander of Jaffa Ḥasan Bek al-Jābī, in 1914, cleared the buildings and the picturesque market south of the mosque compound, in order to build a wide road to the port. In the same year, he also built the eastern courtyard in front of the prayer hall (Fig. P3) and opened a new monumental gate to it from the Clock Tower Square in the east. (See below Nos. 46,47: Jaffa 1333, 1334).

For a thorough study of the mosque’s description, history and architectural elements, in the wider context of Ottoman mosques, see Kana’an, 2004:120–140. For more details concerning the endowment of Abū Nabbūt see below No. 16: Jaffa 1229.

15

Jaffa 1227

KHĀN AL-MAḤMŪDIYYAH

Construction text

Jumādā al-Ākhir 1227/April 1812

Slab of limestone, broken into two pieces: left part 0.76 × 0.22m × 0.2m. in situ, right part 0.76 × 0.66 × 0.2m. kept in Jaffa museum. 4 lines, divided by bands, professional

Ottoman *naskhī*, floral motif above the opening word *bism*, points and some signs; in relief. Incomplete publication: Tütüncü, 270–271. Ḥasan, 2000:55 (only reading of left side). This is a new and complete reading. Figs. 11 (left), 11a (right).

١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ اَدْخُلُوْهَا بِسَلَامٍ اَمِیْنٍ ٢) یَا دَاخِلَا خَانَ الْمَحْمُوْدِیَّةِ نَسَا لَ لِّلّٰهِ رَبِّ
الْبَرِیَّةِ اِنْ تَدُوْمُ فِی عِیْشَةٍ هَنِیْةٍ (!) وَیَحْفَظُكُمْ بِالذَّهَابِ وَالْاِیَابِ بِحَفْظِهِ وَحَمَایَتِهِ الْمَحْمِیَّةِ ٣)
اَنْشَأَ هَذَا الْخَانَ الْمُبَارَكِ الْفَقِیْرَ مِیْرَ مَحْمَدٍ اَغَا سَلْحَشُوْرٍ خَاصَّةً وَمَتَسَلِمَ الْوَاوِءِ غَزَّةً وَیَافَةَ (!)
حَالًا مَعْتُوْقٍ الْمَرْحُوْمِ الْمَغْفُوْرِ لَهٗ الْحَاجِّ اَحْمَدَ بَاشَا (٤) الْجَزَارِ رَحِمَهُ اللّٰهُ رَحْمَةً مَرْضِیَّةً وَاسْكَنَهُ
جَنَانَهُ ١٢٢٧ الْعِلیَّةِ وَذَلِكُ فِی شَهْرِ جَمَادِی الْاٰخِرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعَةِ (!) وَعِشْرِیْنِ وَمِائِیْنِ (!) وَالْف

Basmalah. "Enter ye unto them them, in peace and security!" (Q, 15:46. Trans. Bell) O you who enter *khān* al-Maḥmūdīyah! We ask Allah lord of creation that you live a delightful life, and He will protect you, going and coming, with all His means of protection and shielded care. Has established this blessed *khān* the needy [for Allah's mercy] *mīr* Muḥammad Āghā the commander in chief (*silāḥshūr-i khāṣṣah*), presently the acting governor of the district of Gaza and Jaffa, the freed slave of the deceased, the late Ḥajj Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār may Allah grant him agreeable compassion and lodge him in His highest paradise. And that [took place] in the month Jumādā II in the year 1227 (=April 1812).

Since the previous readers of this inscription had only its right fragment, there is no point in discussing their text and reading. The text of the inscription, composed on the whole in rhyming prose is similar, though not identical, to the other inscriptions of Abū Nabbūt. See below No. 16 Jaffa 1229 for details.

The Khān mentioned in this inscription was one of two *khāns* near the great mosque built and dedicated as waqf by Abū Nabbūt. Most probably, it was the khān built to the west of the great mosque. (Fig. P5 Jaffa 1229b, air photograph where the borders of the khān are drawn in white). The year 1227 in digits appears in a decorative frame in the middle of the 4th line.

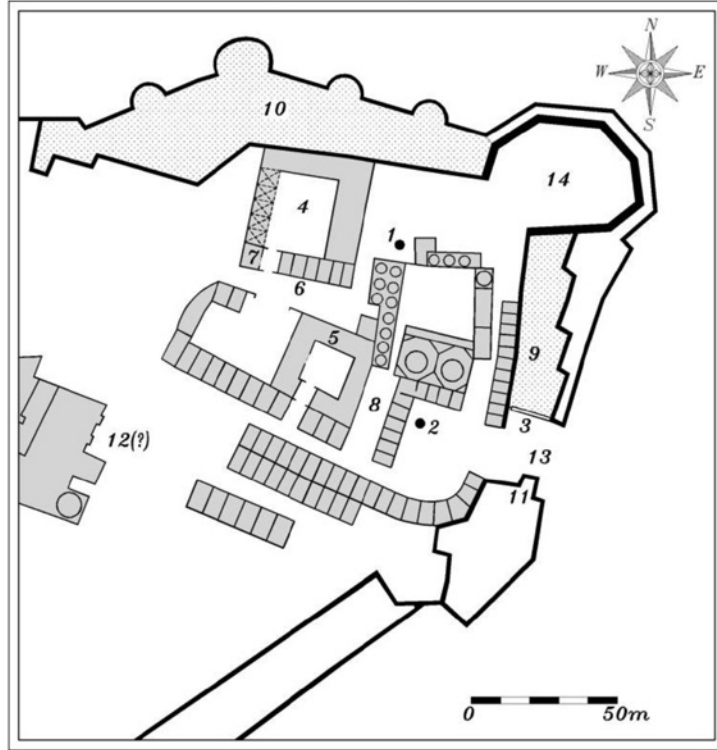
16

Jaffa 1229

Waqf document

1229/1813–1814

A slab of marble, 2.17 × 0.96m. (Inscription space: 2.00 × 0.94m.) Imbedded in the western wall of the northern arcade of the Maḥmūdī mosque. 10 lines divided into two parts. Each half-line engraved in a sunken field with rounded ends. Professional late Ottoman *naskhī*, small letters, full points, many vowels and decorative signs; in relief. The last line damaged at the very beginning. Figs. 12 (full text), 12a (right side), 12b (left side). Publication: Ḥasan, *Ruqūm*, 1998; *idem*, *Masājid Yāfā*, 2000:55–57; Tütüncü 2008:272–274, (who correctly counts 10 lines, the last being 10b, but



Map 3. Jaffa 1227 Jaffa 1229. (Drawing: Jonathan Sharon)

Early 19th century approximate plan of The Great mosque area After R. Kana'an.

1. Mosque well with water wheel. 2. Sabil of the bazaar. 3. as-Sabil al-Mahmudi. 4. Khān 1. 5. Khān 2. 6. Six shops. 7. Room. 8. Shops next to the W wall of the mosque. 9. Garden. 10. Kitchen garden. 11. Coffee house at Burj as-Sitār. 12. (?) House bought from the sons of 'Izz ad-Dīn. 13. City Gate

refers to 21 lines (which would mean 10 double lines plus half a line which does not exist.)

In the reading below, the diagonal sign (/) indicates the division between the two halves of each line. The text represents the exact spelling of the inscription (supplied occasionally with a few vowels only), in which the *hamzah* was consistently left out (but added by the previous readers). This is a new reading correcting previous mistakes, and complete translation.

١) هذه صورة اوقاف البير والسيلين وهو جميع دار اسمعيل أغا المشتراة من السيد سليمان قطينة القدسي وجميع الخان انشاء، الواقف المشتل على سبع حواصل / ومصبغة وايوانين وبايكتين واوضة خلف الباب لجهة الغرب واوضة فوق الباب وبير ماء، معين وجميع الستة دكاكين الملاصقين (!) للخان وجميع الدكاكين الملاصقة ٢)

لحايط الجامع الغربي وجميع الدكان التي كانت بابا للمعصرة المستبدلة من ورثة النقيب وجميع دار البرج المشتراة من الياس باسيلا وجميع ارض الجنيينة التي خلف السبيل / المحمودي وجميع ارض الحاكورة التي بين الصورين(١) المستبدلة من ورثة الجاويش وجميع القهوة المحمودية الملاصقة الى برج الستار بباب البلدة وجميع دار أولاد عز الدين المشتراة انشاءً، جناب فخر الامرا الفخام(٣) معتوق المرحوم والمغفور له المغازي الحاج أحمد باشا الجزائر طاب ثراه الامير محمد سلحشور خاصة ومتسلم الدستور الوقور الحاج سليمان باشا والي صيدا حالا في سنجق غزة والرملة ومتولي وقف شريف / وضابط أسكلة يافة حالا وقفه هذا على مصالح البير والسيلين واشترط شروطا يجب العمل بها منها ان المتولي يصرف ريع الوقف على عمارته(٤) وعمارة البير والسيلين وايصال الما الى السيلين والجامع كفاية الغادي والبادي والمتوضيين ولا يواجر أكثر من سنة ولا لذي شوكة ولا يستبدل بعقار ولا بغيره واشترط الواقف لنفسه / الإدخال والإخراج والتغيير والتبديل والزيادة والنقصان ما دام حيا وجعل على الوقف متوليان(١) ينظران بنور الله تعالى ويصرفان ريعه كما شرط وهما السيد الحاج خميس واخيه(٥) السيد الحاج عثمان ومهما فاض في كل سنة يبقى تحت يد امين للحاجت(١) او يشتري به عقار(١) للجهة الوقف وذلك بعد المحاسبة عند القاضي بحضور / ارباب التكلم ووجوه البلدة وان ظهر من المتوليان(١) او من ذريتهما خيانة او تغريط(١) تغريط (Read) او اهمال للوقف يكون النظر لمن يصلح من اهل الديانة(٦) بمعرفة الحاكم الشرعي ووجوه البلدة وعين لهما في كل يوم من ريع وقفه هذا اربعين فضة مصرية وعليهما بتقوى الله تعالى وذلك بعد المرافعة / والمحكمة تحريرا في شهر القعد(١) الحرام سنة سبعة(١) وعشرين وماتين والفقير ثم شرع الواقف بحسب شرطه لنفسه الادخال والاخراج باعطا الجنيينة والحاكورة(٧) المشروحين(١) اعلاه الى السيد محمد ابن الحاج محمد خميس ليتعاطى استغلالهم(١) خاصة له بنظير المكالف اللازم دفعها لجهة الوقف وهي تعيين / معارجي باشي الوقف في كل

سنة مائة وخمسة وثلاثين غرشا وراتب ثمن احبال البيارة في كل سنة سبعة وثلاثين غرشا ونصف وراتب فتل (٨) رباط القواديس في كل سنة اثنين وعشرين غرشا ونصف وراتب ثمن قواديس البيارة في كل سنة خمسة وعشرين غرشا وراتب مغازل / ودروس واجرة عملهم في كل سنة عشرة غرشا (!) فيكون جملة ذلك مائتين وثلاثين غرشا وان اقتضى زيادة (٩) مصارف على المشروح حسب اوقاته يكون هو القايم به وذلك بموجب سند شرعي بيده حرر في شهر جماد (!) الاخر سنة تسع / وعشرين ومائتين والف وعلى من ينظر الى هذا الخط من امير وقاضي وصادق الايمان ان يدقق ويفتش على ما فيه (١٠) [وذلك (؟) ابتغاء] لوجه الله وان صار خلل او خراب في هذه الشروط وتركه يكون ذلك من ضعف ايمانهم وقنوتهم برحمة / ربهم وللواقف امل بربه ان تزيد غلّة وقفه على مدى الزمان ووقع اجر الواقف على الحي الذي لا يموت سنة ١٢٢٩

This is the register of the endowments (*awqāf*) dedicated to (the upkeep of) the well and the two public fountains (*sabīlayn*). They include the entire house of Isma‘īl Āgā, which was bought from *Sayyid* Sulaymān Qutṭaynah (Colloq. Qutṭeineh) the Jerusalemite (*al-quḍṣī*), and the entire caravanserai (*khān*) built by the founder of the waqf (*inshā’ al-wāqif*), comprising seven stores (*hawāṣil* Dozy, 1:296), and a dye house, and two vestibules, and two stables, and a room behind the door on the west side, and a room above the door, and a (perennial) artesian well (*bīr ma‘īn*), and all the six shops, adjacent to the *khān*, and all the shops adjoining the western wall of the mosque, and the entire shop, which used to serve as the (access) door to the oil press that was received by way of exchange from the inheritors of the *naqīb*, and the whole of the tower-house (*dār al-burj*), which was bought from Eliās Bāsīlā, and the entire land of the garden (situated) behind the Maḥmūdī public fountain (*as-sabīl al-maḥmūdī*), and the whole plot of the vegetable (kitchen) garden (*hākūrah*) located between the two (city) walls (*bayn aṣ-ṣūrayn!*) acquired by way of exchange from the inheritors of the *jāwīsh*, and the whole of the Maḥmūdiyyah coffee house attached to Burj as-Sitār at the gate of the town, and the whole house of the children of ‘Izz ad-Dīn, which was purchased. (The whole of this endowment) was established by the honourable, the pride of the high ranking emirs the manumitted slave of the late, and pardoned (by Allah), the warrior, the *ḥājj* Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār, may he rest in peace (lit. may his dust be pleasant, similar to the Hebrew: *ינעמו לו רגבי עפרו*), the emir Muḥammad, the commander-in-chief (*silāḥshūr khāṣṣah*), the (sub district) acting governor (*mutasallim*) for His Venerable Excellency (*dustūr waqūr*), the *ḥājj* Sulaymān Pasha—presently the governor of Sidon—in the *sanjaq* of Gaza and Ramlah, and the administrator of a noble endowment (*waqf sharīf*), and presently the officer in charge of the port of Jaffa. This waqf of his is dedicated for the needs of the well and the two fountains. And he laid down conditions which must be fulfilled, among which are: that the administrator of the waqf should

spend the income of the waqf (property) for keeping it in a state of repair, and for the necessary repairs of the well and of the two fountains, and to attend to the flow of water (from the well) to the two fountains and to the mosque in quantity sufficient for everybody (“the dweller and the passer by”), and for those who perform the ablution (*al-mutawadi’in*). (The property) should not be rented out for more than one year, and not to powerful people. It cannot be exchanged for land property or for any other thing. The founder made provisions for himself according to which he was allowed to introduce or remove (“bring in and take out” *al-idkhāl wa-al-ikhrāj*), change and replace, add and subtract, as long as he is alive. He nominated two administrators for the waqf to carry out their duties under the light of Allah, the Exalted, and to spend its income according to the stipulations which he set up. They are *sayyid ḥājj* Khamīs and his brother *sayyid ḥājj* ‘Uthmān.

An annual surplus of income should be put under the care of a trustee, to be used to cover (an (unforeseen) need, or to buy with it a piece of property for the waqf; but this must be done only after an account has been submitted to the *qāḍī* in the presence of the principal officials, and the notables of the town. And if it were to be found out that the waqf was subject to deceitfulness or negligence or carelessness on the part of the administrators and their descendents, the post should be transferred to a suitable pious person, after notifying the *sharī‘ah* judge and the notables of the city. He (the founder) allocated to both of them (the administrators) a daily payment from the income of his waqf, forty Egyptian silver pieces, and they (the administrators) should be devoted to Allah, the Exalted. This document was recorded after the legal procedure took place, and the judicial decision issued, on the holy month of (Dhū) al-Qa’d(ah), the year one thousand two hundred and twenty seven (began 6 November 1812). Thereafter the founder, in accordance with the stipulations which he prescribed for himself, allowing him the introduction (*idkhāl*) and removal (*ikhrāj*) proceeded to give the garden and the vegetable plot, mentioned above, to *sayyid* Muḥammad the son of *ḥājj* Muḥammad Khamīs to benefit himself personally from their cultivation in exchange for covering the expenses due to the waqf (*al-lāzim daf’uhā li-jihat al-waqf*) namely, the appointment of a master builder to attend to the waqf (costing) annually one hundred and twenty-five piasters, and the payment for the cost of the ropes for the spring wells (*biyārah*) every year thirty-seven piasters and a half; and the annual payment for plaiting the hawsers of the water wheel buckets, twenty-two and a half piasters a year; and the annual payment for the water wheel buckets of the spring-wells (*qawādis al-biyārah*) twenty-five piasters; and the price of the spindles and the threshing (sledge?) and the wages for their employment ten piasters a year. The sum total of all this comes to two hundred and thirty piasters. And if it happens that the expenditure to date exceeds these detailed sums, he (the tenant) will be responsible for it (to cover the deficit), and this in accordance with a legal deed which he holds. This (document) was recorded in the month of Jumādā II the year one thousand two hundred and twenty nine (began 21 May 1814). Whoever sees this writing whether emir, *qāḍī*, or a pious believer should examine and investigate its contents aiming to please Allah. And if (they find that) any of the conditions was damaged or broken and neglected, then it is because of the weakness of their faith and flaw in their submissiveness to their Lord’s mercy. The founder has hope in his Lord that the yield of this waqf will increase with the passage of time; and the reward of the founder is left to The Ever-Living Who Never Dies. The year 1229 (=1814).

The commentary below consists of two parts according to the procedure followed above.

The first, text proofs, deals with the verification of the text, with occasional interpretations. The correct reading in each line comes first followed by the word “correct” after which comes the previous readings.

The second is commentary referring to the translation and the information supplied by the inscription.

A. Text Proofs

L.1: وسيلين correct Tütüncü: وسيلين

وهو وجميع correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: وهو وجميع

أبي اسماعيل correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: أبي اسماعيل. The word *āghā* can be seen above Isma‘īl. The two *alifs* are clear as well as the *ghayn* between them. The word Isma‘īl is written in the Qur’ānic spelling without the elongating *alif* after the *mīm*.

الستة دكاكين الملاصقين the grammatical mistake—*al-mulāṣiqīn* must have been influenced by colloquial usage, although the correct word—*al-mulāṣiqah* follows immediately at the end of the line.

L.2: باب correct Tütüncü: باب

سور common mistake of the pronunciation of the word *سور* and thereafter its mistaken spelling: because of the vowel *ū*, the *sīn* is pronounced *ṣād*.

أولاد correct Tütüncü: أولاد

فخر الامة correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: فخر الامة

L.3: سلحشور خاصة correct: Tütüncü: سلحشور خاصة.

واشرطه correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: واشروطه

L.4: والمتوضيين correct Tütüncü: والمتوضيين probably a printing mistake. (Ḥasan inserted *hamzah*).

واشترط correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: واشترط

الإخال correct Tütüncü: الإخال.

والزيارة correct Tütüncü: والزيارة

L.5: او يشتري (!) للحاجت This is the exact spelling in the inscription. It is not sure whether the spelling *للحاجت* is due to Turkish influence or that the written text read *للحاجات* in the plural, and the second *alif* was carelessly omitted. Correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü: *للحاجة ويشترى* The word *او* is clear and it represents the explicit aim of the founder that the two administrators of the waqf should use the surplus income for financing some unforeseen needs *or* buy property for the waqf (presumably, if such needs do not emerge.)

عقار (!) Grammatical mistake; the accusative is needed here. Similar mistake in the word *mutawalliyān* instead of the accusative (l.4) and genitive (l.5).

تغريط (!) Read: تغريط Ḥasan and Tütüncü missed the blunder of the engraver who clearly wrote *taghrīt*—a nonexistent noun—instead of *tafrīt*.

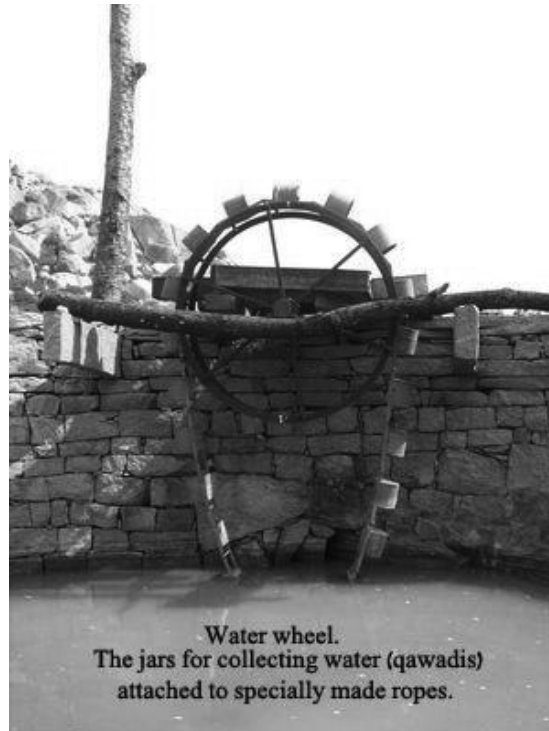
اومان correct Tütüncü: او من

L.6: شهر القعد (!) This is the exact spelling in the text. Ḥasan and Tütüncü read شهر القعدة with no reference to the text. In the document of the *waqf* the exact date is indicated 22 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1227=27 November 1812. (Ḥasan 2000:183)

باعطاء correct Tütüncü: باعطاء

L.7: في كل سبعة في كل سنة سبعة: correct Tütüncü: في كل سبعة

The first letter in this word was not properly engraved, but I am sure about its reading. It is *fā’*, and the word is *fatl* (rope weaving, rope spinning), which fits perfectly with *ribāṭ* (1.8)—strap, band, tie etc. Correct Ḥasan and Tütüncü who read مثل ignoring the fact that the first letter—*open and with the point above it* (*fa’* in my reading)—cannot be *mīm*. Only for the sake of argument, had it been *mīm* there could have been no other letter before the *lām*. (See photograph). The second letter has clearly two points above it. It is *tā’* not *thā’*. The text here speaks about the prices paid for ropes tied to the buckets, which were used by the public to draw water from the spring wells by hand, and the price for the spinning (*fatl*) of different type of hawsers for holding the buckets, or jars turning with the water wheel (*ribāṭ al-qawādīs*). (See picture below.) These hawsers were particularly rough, and were made from branches and twigs, to prevent them slipping on the wheel while carrying the buckets or jars full of water. (See below *addendum 2*). The reference is to the payment (*rātib*) for the production of this variety of ropes as well as to the price (*thaman*) of the jars or buckets themselves.



L.8: زيارة زيادة correct Tütüncü

L.9: جماد (sic! without ي) correct Tütüncü and Hasan جمادي (with ي added).

L.10: وذلك (؟) ابتغاءً The place into which I inserted these two words, about which I am almost completely sure, is damaged, but both Tütüncü and Hasan do not indicate the damage, and begin the line with لوجه الله that does not tie up with the previous words.

وان اصابه correct Hasan: وان اصابه and Tütüncü who has اصابه without وان صار

ايمانهم correct Tütüncü

ان تزيد على وقفه correct Hasan and Tütüncü ان تزيد غلّة وقفه

في عامة الزمان correct Hasan and Tütüncü: على مدى الزمان

وقع correct Hasan and Tütüncü: وقع

B. Contents

The Arabic text of this inscription has never been translated into English or into any other language. Tütüncü tried to translate part of line 1 only (with mistakes). As to the rest of the inscription he wrote: “Because of the specific technical and detailed character of the contents of inscription we have abstained from translation (sic!).” It is exactly because of its “technical and detailed character” that this inscription is so important. The above full translation, following the corrected reading of the inscription, reflects the relevant parts of the legal documents of the *waqfs* established by Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt relating to all the institutions which were destined to enjoy the income from these *waqfs*. (Kana’an 2004:137, n.3)

L.1: The endowments (*waqfs*) recorded in this inscription, comprise several valuable properties, dedicated to the Great Maḥmūdī Mosque and to the Maḥmūdī *sabīl*, the items of which were registered in the *waqfiyyah* (legal document of the *waqf*) deposited in the religious court of Jaffa in 28 Dhū al-Qa’dah 1227/3 December 1812. (See texts Hasan 2000:128–162; 175–189, and the *addendum* at the end of this item.) The income from the endowment of the Maḥmūdī *sabīl* (Hasan 200:177–183) was dedicated, by the founder, to the maintenance of a perennial spring-well (referred to simply as “*al-bīr*”—“the well”), and to two public fountains (*sabīlayn*) which were supplied by the water of the well. The well seems to be one of two ancient springs that supplied Jaffa with fresh water (Tolkowsky 1924:5), To this day, it is possible to locate one of the wells at the north-western corner of the open courts of the great mosque (Fig. P4 Mosque well, located by Samuel Giller). This well was registered in the *waqfiyyah* together with the rest of the many properties of the *waqf*. In addition to this well, which supplied sufficient water to the two *sabīls* and to the mosque, the second well was in the *khān* north-west of the mosque described in the *waqfiyyah* from 1227/1812, and this inscription. The difference between the two wells was that

the one adjacent to the mosque was provided with a water wheel (*dūlāb*), and the one in the courtyard of the *khān*, which supplied the needs of the *khān* had no water wheel. Apparently, the water from it was drawn out by buckets, and poured into a small pool or a trough discovered in recent excavations (Fig. P5: The yellow line marks the estimated *khān* borders, and the numbers signify the following: 1 well of the great mosque supplied with a water wheel; 2 the *khān* pool next to the well; 3 *Khān* well (See map 3). Information supplied by Samuel Giller.)

One of the two *sabīls* mentioned here is located in the southern wall of the complex of the great—Maḥmūdī—mosque on the right hand side when entering the city from its eastern gate (map 3 no. 3, fig. P5 no. 5). It was called *as-sabīl al-maḥmūdī* in honour of the ruling sultan Maḥmūd II (1223/1808–1255/1839). The other *sabīl* was also erected by Abū Nabbūt in the centre of the bazaar which he built in front of the Maḥmūdī mosque. The scribe who copied the detailed *waqf* document, now kept in the archives of the Jaffa Islamic Library (JIL), describes the well and the two *sabīls*, the beneficiaries of the endowments detailed in this inscription, as follows:

He (Abū Nabbūt) constructed from his own funds, and from what he rightfully obtained, a large spring-well to which he attached a water wheel for drawing [the water] next to the mosque that is thriving with the name of God, in the port-city of Jaffa; and he constructed a *sabīl* next to it. He also constructed the Maḥmūdī *sabīl* that is located in front of the city gate. (Ḥasan 2000: 178–179. Cf. Kana'an 2001:190; Tolkowsky 1924:154. Fig. P5, air photograph of the great mosque area. The numbers on Fig P5 indicate the following: 4 Sabīl of Sūq al-Faraj, 5 Sabīl Maḥmūdī; 6 Ḥammām. See *addendum* below, quotation in Arabic.)

The *sabīl* of the bazaar—called *sūq al-faraj*—attracted the attention and admiration of the travellers more than the big and impressive *sabīl* inside the city gate. This is not surprising since the Maḥmūdī *sabīl*, built in 1224/1809 (see above No. 13 Jaffa 1224a), described by James Silk Buckingham (1822:228), as “a gaudy fountain faced with marble slabs, and decorated with painted devices and Arabic sentences in characters of gold,” was but a wall (admittedly beautifully decorated) with several spouts from which water pored out into a trough (Fig. P2), whereas the bazaar fountain, which made bigger impression on Buckingham, was constituted of a freestanding, beautiful edifice with a strikingly decorated, protruding roof resting on six pointed arches springing from six slender columns. “A traveller in the middle of the 19th century describes this fountain as recalling, by the elegance of its architecture, and the beauty of its ornamentation, the Moorish fountains of southern Spain wrought and chiselled like jewels of ivory.” (Tolkowsky, *loc. cit.* quoting Enault, 1854:60). Nothing has survived of this fountain, and the modern “reconstruction” built not far from its original site to the west of the mosque is a poor reminiscence of the rich beauty of the original, as we can learn from the etchings in the early 19th century itineraries. (Pl. 14) However, in an oil painting (“*Market in Jaffa*,” 1877) by Gustav Bauernfeind (1848–1904) this pretty fountain seems to be at least partly deserted and in condition of disrepair, although still reflecting its original splendor (Fig. P6).



Pl. 14. Jaffa 1229. The *sabil* of the bazaar *sūq al-faraj* (c. 1836). Note the Maḥmūdī mosque at the back and the row of shops adjoining it on the left (map 3 no. 8). Etching by Bartlett in J. Carne 1836, 1:20.

The water of the sweet water well, (*al-bīr*) mentioned above as part of Abū Nabbūt's project, was conducted with the help of a water wheel to supply the two public fountains and the ablution basin in the mosque (see below). I have just noted that the *waqfs* mentioned in this inscription represent only a portion of the whole property which Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt endowed in Jaffa. "His *waqf* was comprised of a mosque, a *madrassa*, three *sabils*, two *khāns*, one bazaar, 67 shops and several stores and houses." (Kana'an 2001:189; *idem* 2004:137 n.3).

The *waqf* discussed in this inscription, also in detail, specifies the property endowed explicitly for three highly important public water sources and installations. The list of the properties in lines 1 and 2 include: three houses, a *khān*, a dye house, seven store rooms, a few more rooms, two stables, six shops in a row, an unspecified number of shops and one shop of particular importance, an oil pressing factory, the well of perennial spring water, a garden, a vegetable plot, and a coffee house.

The well and the water wheel, as well as the Maḥmūdī *sabil*, feature in this inscription. In line 2 the garden (*junaynah*), just mentioned, is described as being located behind the Maḥmūdī *sabil* (*khalf as-sabil al-maḥmūdī*). In line 3 it is indicated that the *waqf* was established to care for the needs of the well, and the two public fountains (*al-bīr wa-as-sabīlayn*). Again, in line 4, it is determined that the administrator of the *waqf* is responsible for the proper maintenance of "the well and the two public fountains," and for securing the flow of water to these fountains and to the mosque. (The third *sabil* was built by Abū Nabbūt outside the city of Jaffa on the road to Jerusalem in 1230/1815. It was called *sabil ash-shifā'*, better known by its popular name: "Sabīl Abū Nabbūt." It will be discussed under the entry dealing with its inscription (No. 17 below, Jaffa 1230).

سبع حواصل ومصبغة وايوانين ويايكتين The word *ḥāṣil* pl. *ḥawāṣil* means (in plural) depots, storehouses, places for depositing things (“*entrepôt*.” Dozy, *Supplement*, q.v., *CIAP*, 5 No. 59, Hebron 881).

Bāykah pl. *bawā'ik*—is an animal enclosure or stable. Khayr ad-Dīn az-Ziriklī wrote in the itinerary of his trip from Damascus to Mecca in 1926 (Ziriklī 2009:51) that “the (Mamlūk) Sultan Qāyitbāy (872/1468–901/1496 MS), “the Circassian king,” built the mosque of al-Khayf (at Minā near Mecca MS) at the end of the year 874/1469–70 and in the previous year. It was a mighty, solid building. In its southern part he built four *bawā'ik*.” The last word is explained as follows: “*bawā'ik* plural of *bā'ikah* (which should be spelt without the Arabic *hamzah*: *bāykah* and *bāyikah*) being a Turkish word which means an enclosure for cattle, or a stable (*wa-hiya kalimah turkiyyah ta'nī zaribat al-ḥaywānāt aw al-iṣṭabl*).” The existence of stables in a khān resembles a parking lot next to a hotel today. The *bāykahs* which were built by Qāyitbāy in the great mosque of al-Khayf were evidently intended for keeping the animals that were slaughtered by the pilgrims in the last part of the *ḥajj* at Minā. (*Idem*, *loc. cit.* n.2)

Bīr ma'īn literally: a well of running water, an artesian well. The meaning of the word *ma'īn* is, abundant, fresh, sweet water (*al-ma'īn . . . al-mā' al-'adhb al-ghazīr; wa-mā' ma'īn ay jārin*;—*al-ma'īn* is the abundant sweet water and *mā' ma'īn* is running water. *Lisān*, 12:410b–411a).

The well, described in the inscription, is a typical artesian well which was sunk until the underground water, namely the artesian aquifer, was reached. Digging the upper layers of earth with the aim of finding groundwater was known from ancient times. Thus, in the Bible we find a rather long report about Isaac who, dwelling in the valley of Gerar, “digged again the wells of water which they had digged in the days of Abraham, his father . . . And Isaac servants digged in the valley and found there a well of springing water.” (Genesis, 26:17–19). The water in the artesian well rose by positive pressure and filled the well so that a large quantity of water was permanently available in it. In the Bedouin language there is a clear differentiation between a well in which rain water is stored, called *harābah*, and an artesian well which is called *'idd* (also in classical Arabic). The water of the artesian aquifer could be drawn simply by a bucket tied to a rope, as was done since time immemorial. About Rebecca it is reported that in response to the request of Abraham’s servant for a drink of water she said: “I will draw water for thy camels also . . . and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels.” (Genesis, 24:18–20). In the case of the well in our inscription, a far more sophisticated method of drawing a large quantity of water and conducting it to the fountains and the mosque was needed. This was done with the help of a water wheel, which was in use until the introduction of the motor-driven mechanical pump. This is clearly stated in the original legal document of the waqf in the *sharī'ah* court in Jaffa. The relevant passage which describes the system runs as follows:

مير محمد آغا سلحشور خاصة متسلم غزّة والرملة ويافا حالا أنشأ من ماله . . . بيراً كبيراً
وركب عليه دولاباً لإستخراج [الماء] الملاصق للجامع الكبير المعمور بذكر الله وأنشأ
سيلاً ملاصقاً للبير المذكور وأنشأ أيضاً السيل المحمودي الكائن تجاه باب البلدة .

The emir Muḥammad Āghā *silahshūr khāsshah* presently the acting governor of Gaza, Ramlah and Jaffa established from his own funds . . . a large well, close to the great Friday mosque—in which the name of Allah is permanently mentioned—and fitted it with a water wheel for drawing (the water). He built a fountain (*sabīl*) attached to the well just mentioned and he also built the Maḥmūdī fountain (*as-sabīl al-maḥmūdī*) situated in front of the city gate. (See the waqf document reproduced and copied by Ḥasan 2000:177–189. The quotation above: *ibid.*, 186).

The explicit reference to the artesian well, the position of which is clearly indicated—close to the mosque—and the water wheel (*dūlāb*) fitted to it explains the attention which was paid in the inscription, and the *waqf* document, to all the items used for its operation. In one or two cases the technical terminology reflects the local usage which I have tried to elucidate above in the text proofs.

In every orange grove around Jaffa, and elsewhere, there was at least one artesian well from which water was drawn by the same method, a water wheel operated by an animal. The population of Jaffa could obtain water either from the fountains or directly from the wells using buckets lowered down into the well by ropes (*aḥbāl al-biyārah*—the ropes of the wells), for the making and purchase of which money was allocated from the income of the *waqf*.

Sulaymān Quṭṭaynah

According to Maqrīzī (*Sulūk*, 4(1) ed. ‘Āshūr, 1972:375) and Sakhāwī (*Ḍaw’*, 2:55) the spelling should be Quṭṭaynah (diminutive of *quṭnah*) which we shall use hereafter. The family is an aristocratic family that claims descent from the tribe of Quraysh. In what follows we shall see that the family claims direct descent from the prophet Muḥammad via his grandson Ḥasan, thus the title *sayyid*, attached here to Sulaymān Quṭṭaynah, is connected with his Qurayshi-Ḥasanī pedigree, which earned members of this family *sharīfī* titles. The family has three branches: Jerusalemite, Yemenite, and Maghribī. In Jerusalem the family was involved in religious, political, commercial and administrative activity; it appeared in the historical records in the late 8th/14th century.

Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Umar known as Ibn Quṭṭaynah (as well as Quṭṭaynah without *ibn*) was the first member of this family mentioned by Maqrīzī as holding, in 799/1397, an administrative post under Barqūq. One of his responsibilities was to supply barley to the army, and at that particular time to see to it that the barley was ready in fixed posts along its way for the expedition force which left Egypt to fight Timūr Lang. (*Sulūk*, 3(2) ed. ‘Āshūr, Cairo 1970:879–880). In 801, he was already called *amīr* and his post was *ustādār al-buyūt*, majordomo of the “houses” of the

great Mamlūk emirs, a post which involved controlling large amounts of money from which he became very wealthy. (*Ibid.*, 925). At the end of 801/1399, under an-Nāṣir Faraj he was nominated vizier but he resigned after about a week in office, and returned to his former position (*Ibid.*, 970–971). Here Maqrīzī adds the *nisbah* al-Ḥasanī to his name, which entitles him to the title of *sayyid*, namely, descendent of the prophet. Not surprisingly, his wealth attracted the attention of the sultan who arrested him and soon freed him after he paid a ransom of 100,000 *dirhams*. (*Ibid.*, 997). Being in charge of collecting taxes, much of the money “taken from the people” (*al-ma’khūdhah min an-nās*) found its way into his purse, and from time to time, he had to be relieved of part of it, either in the form of a ransom or in a more orderly way, after presenting an account to the *qāḍī*. (*Ibid.*, 1056; *cf. ibid.*, 1067–1068). He died in 819/1416, and his biographers emphasize his great wealth (Sakhāwī, *ibid.*: *māta . . . ‘an māl jazīl*. Maqrīzī 4(1) :375: *wa-kana dhā yasār wa-taraf*—he was prosperous and opulent).

Wealth and affluence has signified the family since then. It acquired property all over Jerusalem and its vicinity as well as in Jaffa, as we learn from the inscription. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad Quṭṭaynah mentioned here was one of the richest people in Jerusalem, who contributed a large sum to build a library near the Damascus gate (*bāb al-‘amūd*). In the 19th century a few members of the family held the position of *shāh bandar*—head of the merchants. The family followed the Ḥanbalī school of law, and Mujīr ad-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron belonged to it (oral information).

L.2: *المستبدلة من ورثة النقيب* received by way of exchange from the inheritors of the *naqīb*. *Naqīb* is both a general title, meaning leader, a headman of a certain group, or a particular title: *naqīb al-ashrāf*, namely the head of the descendants of the Prophet (via the latter’s daughter). I believe (although I cannot be sure) that this is the meaning of the title in this inscription. The fact that *naqīb* here appears without any defining word strengthens the possibility that what is meant here is *naqīb al-ashrāf*. (I have just pointed out that Quṭṭaynah was a family of *ashrāf*.) It is not clear whether this particular *naqīb* actually lived in Jaffa or only had property in Jaffa owned by his heirs. In Egypt and elsewhere, the holder of the post of *niqābat al-ashrāf* had various rights and duties. He had the right to punish the *ashrāf* or execute punishment demanded by others. He was entitled to 10 per cent of debts paid owing to his intervention. However, his important duties were to keep the record of the *ashrāf* and their genealogies, to ensure that they obtained the rights due to them, supervise their *waqfs*, and ensure the distribution of the revenues to those who had the right to have them. The *naqīb* of each province was nominated or re-nominated annually by the *naqīb* in Istanbul. Usually the post of *naqīb al-ashrāf* was hereditary. (De Jong 1978:12 quoting Jabartī extensively.)

Eliās Bāsīlā

Christian, the chief clerk and treasurer of Muḥammad Āghā abū Nabbūt, stationed in Jaffa, but in charge of the whole *sanjaq* of Gaza. Ibrāhīm al-‘Awrāh the historian of Sulaymān Pasha dedicates a large section in his book to his biography. (‘Awrāh 1936:353–361) In what follows is a summary of selected passages from it.

Before taking the position as the *mutasallim* of the *sanjaq* of Gaza, Muḥammad Āghā was the officer in charge of the customs in the port of Acre (‘Akkā). (*Ibid.*, 353). Eliās Bāsīlā was his chief clerk and accountant. Muḥammad Āghā was particularly fond of him, and in spite of the fact that Eliās was a Christian, a close friendship developed between the two almost to the degree of “love between brothers.” The Āghā delegated all his affairs to Bāsīlā, and had such confidence in him that he even entrusted him with his harem, allowing him to enter into the women section in his house even in his absence. The women used to gather around Bāsīlā asking for their needs, which he usually fulfilled. Moreover, Muḥammad Āghā used to engage him in idle talk freely in the presence of his women. Eliās Bāsīlā is described as being good-hearted, simple and a very quiet person. He hardly spoke, and because of being very economical with his words, he was generally regarded to be a wise man. He was also famous for his generosity. It was known that he distributed large amounts of money to the poor who always gathered around him when he moved about town. (*Ibid.*, 353, 356)

When Muḥammad Āghā became the *mutasallim*, and took up residence in Jaffa, he brought Bāsīlā with him, and a year later he made him his *bāshkātib*, chief clerk. In addition to the personal friendship, his position as *bāshkātib* of Abū Nabbūt was similar to that of *mu‘allim* Hayyim Farḥī *vis a vis* Jazzār Pasha and Sulaymān Pasha. The position of *bāshkātib* of the *sanjaq* required an official letter of nomination issued at the Pasha’s request and it was acquired for Bāsīlā by Abū Nabbūt via Sulaymān Pasha (والتمس له من سليمان باشا جلب براءة باشكاتب السنجق فجلبها له) This diploma was not free. It involved an annual tax payment of 30 piasters (*Ibid.*, 354). The professional title of the non-Muslim top clerks and accountants was *mu‘allim* (*Ibid.*, 352), a term which can be rendered in English “master” in French: *maître* and in German *Meister*. Like “*mu‘allim* Hayyim (Farḥī)” under Sulaymān, Eliās Bāsīlā was “*mu‘allim* Eliās” just as Sam‘ān aṣ-Ṣāliḥ the *bāshkātib* of Abū Marāq, the predecessor of Abū Nabbūt, was “*mu‘allim* Sam‘ān.” The latter, having lost his position after the ousting of his master, approached Eliās Bāsīlā and asked to be employed as a clerk under him. Eliās, who did not suspect anything, convinced Abū Nabbūt to enable Sam‘ān’s employment. Abū Nabbūt disliked Sam‘ān, and was not keen to employ him. However, owing to his close friendship with Bāsīlā, he finally agreed to the nomination. Sam‘ān and his son joined the rank-and-file of the clerks in Bāsīlā’s office, and outwardly showed the latter great respect and gratitude, at the same time devising a plan to depose Bāsīlā by undermining his friendship with Abū Nabbūt. Eliās made use of the information which he received from Sam‘ān concerning the

running of the financial affairs of the *sanjaq* and, within a short time, was able to control all the affairs connected with his post as chief clerk, and run them his own way. 'Awrah makes a point of emphasizing that as much as Sam'ān was disliked, Eliās, famous for his generosity, was esteemed in Jaffa as well as in Acre.

Sam'ān waited for the right moment to act, and this came at the end of 1226, the beginning of 1227 (December 1811 January 1812). That winter, the plague struck Acre and spread southwards reaching Jaffa within a short time. Eliās was terrified. Realizing that in the current conditions of the crowded city of Jaffa there was no chance of isolating himself in some sort of quarantine, he looked for a way to leave the city for a safer place. Sam'ān seized the opportunity and convinced Eliās to leave the affairs of the *sanjaq* to him, and run away for safety. Eliās retired to the French monastery in Ramlah (*dayr al-ifranj*) having obtained the permission of Abū Nabbūt who was, nevertheless, against the whole idea. The ground was now left free for Sam'ān who succeeded in convincing Abu Nabbūt that Eliās's abandonment of his post at such a time of trial amounted to treachery, and thus turned the Āghā's old friendship for Eliās Bāsīlā into hatred. Under the threat of losing his life, Bāsīlā, with great effort, succeeded in sneaking away from Ramlah to Acre, and thereafter to Beirut, as remote as possible from his former master and friend. He stayed in Beirut until 1230/1815, when he returned to the service of Abū Nabbūt following the intervention in his favour of a few influential people, including Farḥī. He succeeded in regaining the confidence of his master, who nominated him to look after his personal affairs in Jerusalem. Eliās died peacefully in Jerusalem holding the office of *bāshkātib* of the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem which he occupied until the death of Sulaymān Pasha (1819), and a few years into the rule of 'Abdallah Pasha. He witnessed the fall of Abū Nabbūt who was deposed by Sulaymān Pasha shortly before his death. Abū Nabbūt escaped from Jaffa (with a huge amount of money) and found refuge with Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt. Bāsīlā also lived to see the violent death of Sam'ān aṣ-Ṣāliḥ who was hanged in Damascus. (*Ibid.*, 310, n.1)

'Awrah mentions property that Bāsīlā owned in Jaffa, his home and his garden (*dāruhu wa-bustānuhu alladhī lahu fī yāfā*) which were managed by his brother Sābā Bāsīlā. (*Ibid.*, 359) A house belonging to this property is mentioned in the inscription (l.2) as *dār al-burj*, a house probably adjacent to the tower at the gate of the city, which was bought and added to the rest of the property of the *waqf*.

Al-ḥākūrah allatī bayn as-sūrayn—the vegetable garden situated between the double city walls." The reference is to the plot of land located between the outer northern city wall and the inner one (map 3 no. 10). The plot belonged to the "inheritors of the *jāwīsh* (*shāwīsh*)" and was acquired by way of exchange, that is to say that another property was given to the said inheritors instead of cash payment.

Jāwīsh. This is one of the Arabic spellings of the Turkish *çā'ūsh* (modern: *çavuş*). Among other Arabic spellings of the word we find *jā'ūsh*, *shā'īsh*, *shāwīsh*, and *shā'ūsh*. (For the origin and pre-modern usage see Mantran, *EI*² s.v. *çā'ūsh*.) In modern armies

and police, it is a rank equivalent to sergeant. In the late Ottoman, and in most of the post-Turkish Arab police forces, the *shāwīsh*, although non-commissioned, in the public eye represented the law, wielded a considerable degree of authority, and commanded respect, probably because unlike the commissioned officers, he was the holder of the highest rank that the public could approach. It is, therefore, possible that in this inscription, the *jāwīsh* was the de-facto commander of the local police in Jaffa prior to the time of Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt. Similar to all the officials who held any governmental position, he accumulated wealth and property, which he bequeathed to his heirs (*warathah*).

The other possibility that must be mentioned is that *jāwīsh* refers here to the famous family by this name, the members of which can be found in many parts of the Middle East. However, in practice it is impossible since in the inscription the word *jāwīsh* is prefixed by the article “*al*” which excludes the name of the family (simply “*Jāwīsh*”), and I opt for the rank of the office.

Al-qahwah al-mahmūdīyyah: A coffee house also named after the ruling sultan, adjacent to the tower at the city gate called “the tower of hiding, concealment.” It was adjacent to the women’s market, built by Abū Nabbūt and called accordingly: *sūq as-sitār*—market of concealment (map 3 no. 11).

L.3: *Ma’tūq*—Freed (Mamlūk). Abū Nabbūt refers to himself as the freed slave of Jazzār Pasha, the governor of the province, which included the whole coastal plain from Sidon southwards, from 1189/1775 until his death in 1219/1804. It is clear that being the Mamlūk of Jazzār Pasha, the hero of the resistance to Bonaparte in Acre, was deemed an honourable status. Al-Jazzār himself is described as “*al-mughāzī*” a rather unusual adjectival form to describe Jazzār as a warrior. In the epitaph on his tomb in Acre we find the usual attributes: “*al-ghāzī al-hājī*” (CIAP 1:56)

Silahshūr-i-khāṣṣah. The title originally referred to the first regiment of cavalry of the Ottoman household, and it later became a title of honor. In the translation, I followed Ruba Kana’an (*Muqarnas* 2004:128) and used the title “Commander in Chief”. However, here I am not sure that this is the correct translation of this honorary military rank.

دار أولاد عز الدين The house of the children and heirs of a notable called ‘Izz ad-Dīn who is not identified and there is nothing in the sources concerning this person. No point in speculating.

Ad-dustūr al-waqūr—“His honorable Excellency,” “his venerable eminence,” etc. are possible translations. It is one of the honorific titles (cf. CIAP 1:58) of Sulaymān Pasha the governor-general of the province of Sidon (main seat: Acre) which extended over the whole Galilee and the coastal plain to Khān Yūnis, and included the cities of Gaza, Jaffa, Lydda and Ramlah as well as other locations. (Kark 1990:15)

Sulaymān Pasha was a Mamlūk of Jazzār Pasha exactly like Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt. However, although both had the same status in the household of their master who freed them, Sulaymān reached a higher personal status and official

rank. He was a young slave of a Georgian origin who was given as a gift to Jazzār by the governor of Egypt after 1199/1785. He was, therefore, surnamed al-Kurjī and al-Jazzārī, in reference to his origin and to his master. He was also called “*al-‘ādil*” (“the Just”) due to his good record as the governor of his province. Jazzār was particularly fond of him, and he used both money and influence to get the title of pasha and the rank of *wazīr* for Sulaymān destining him, de facto, to be the future *wālī* of the province.

In 1219/1804, Jazzār was nominated as the governor-general of Syria (*ash-Shām*) and moved to Damascus where he died the same year. Sulaymān Pasha, by then already the governor of Sidon, was confirmed in this position (‘Awhrah, 10–20 and notes). He sent his comrade Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt to Jaffa as his acting governor (*mutasallim*) of the Sanjaq of Gaza.

Before taking up the position Abū Nabbūt had to expel from Jaffa Abū Maraḡ (mentioned briefly above) the former governor of the Sanjaq, who rebelled against the new pasha. In 1218/1804, Abū Nabbūt occupied Jaffa ousting Abū Maraḡ and securing the Sanjaq nominally for Sulaymān, but in fact for himself, and developing Jaffa as his own capital. (*Ibid.*, 77ff.) During the 15 years of his governorship, he built and fortified the city, developed its harbour, contributed many public buildings to it, including the great mosque, and a few markets, established rich endowments to support the public and religious buildings, and crowned his works with the building of the sea wall of the city in the west. The building material for all these projects was brought by sea, mainly from the ruins of Caesarea. (In detail: Kana’an 2001, 2004). With permission obtained from Sulaymān, canons were brought from Tripoli and placed on the new walls of the town. (‘Awhrah, 318–321; Kark 1990:18–20).

Not long before his death in 1819 Sulaymān became suspicious of Abū Nabbūt. He dismissed him and expelled him from Jaffa. As mentioned above, he found refuge with Muḥammad ‘Alī in Egypt leaving Jaffa with his wives and concubines, and an unusually great fortune of money and valuable items laden on 270 camels. (‘Awhrah, 393; Kark 1990:18, n.20).

From a few inscriptions, as well as from the long document of the *waqf*, we learn his full name and his *kunyah* Abū Maḡmūd (referring to his deceased son), In the present inscription he is called only Muḥammad Āghā with the addition of his honorific title *silāḡshūr khāṣṣah*. On *as-Sabīl al-Maḡmūdī* from 1224/1809 he is also called Muḥammad, to which words of praise are added; “*dhū at-ṭawl wa-ar-ra’y al-amīn*—A (man) of power and trustworthy judgment. (See above no. 13 Jaffa 1224a. Wrong reading of Kana’an (2001:193)). The word “*al-amīn*” here is an epithet not a proper name. The only time his *kunyah*, Abū Maḡmūd, just mentioned, appears in an inscription is on that of *Sabīl ash-Shifā’* built in 1230/1814 (Jaffa 1230 no. 17 below), and it is only in the last line of the inscription of the Maḡmūdī mosque, from 1227/1812, that his full name Muḥammad Amīn appears. (See above No. 14 Jaffa 1227; cf. Kana’an 2004:128.)

L.4: *واشروط الواقف لنفسه* In the written document of the *waqf*, as well as in the inscription, the creator of the *waqf* lay down the conditions regarding his status in what concerns the *waqf*. Abū Nabbūt left nothing to chance, and made sure that he had full control of its vast property. To begin with he was honored with the title of *mutawallī waqf sharīf*: administrator in charge of a noble *waqf* (L.3) exercising full authority to “introduce or remove, change and replace, add and subtract as long as he was alive.” The deep involvement of Abū Nabbūt in his *waqf* probably stands behind the long list of items for the purchase of which the income of the *waqf* was to be dedicated.

The most surprising part in these items is the salary paid to the administrators in charge of the day-to-day management of the *waqf*: 40 Egyptian silver coins per day, which looks like an exorbitant price. (The same amount appears in the original document of the *waqf*. Ḥasan 2000:60, l.6) One may assume that this high salary was allocated in order to try to prevent embezzlement on the part of the administrators, though this attempt proved to be futile.

Ll.6–9: There are two dates mentioned in the inscription. One is the date on which the *waqf* was officially registered before a Qāḍī in the *maḥkamah*—the *sharīah* court in Jaffa; this date is the month of Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1227/began 7 November 1812. (However, see above *note* to l.6 for the exact date, and below in the addenda). The second date Jumādā (the first?) 1229/began 21 April 1814 (L.9) is the date of the inscription, commemorating the fact that all the works on *waqf* property were accomplished.

ADDENDA

1. *Extracts from the waqf Document (waqfiyyah) of the maḥmūdī sabīl*

وقف السبيل المبارك المحمودي

In the religious court of Jaffa 22 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1227 (27 November 1812).

Full text: Centre of the Revival of the Islamic Heritage (*markaz ihyā’ at-turāth al-islāmī*) Abū Dīs. Photocopy, Nājilḥ D. Ḥasan 2000: 175–183. Reading, *idem* 2000: 185–189.

The building and endowment of the khān

(Also quoted above in the commentary to the inscription).

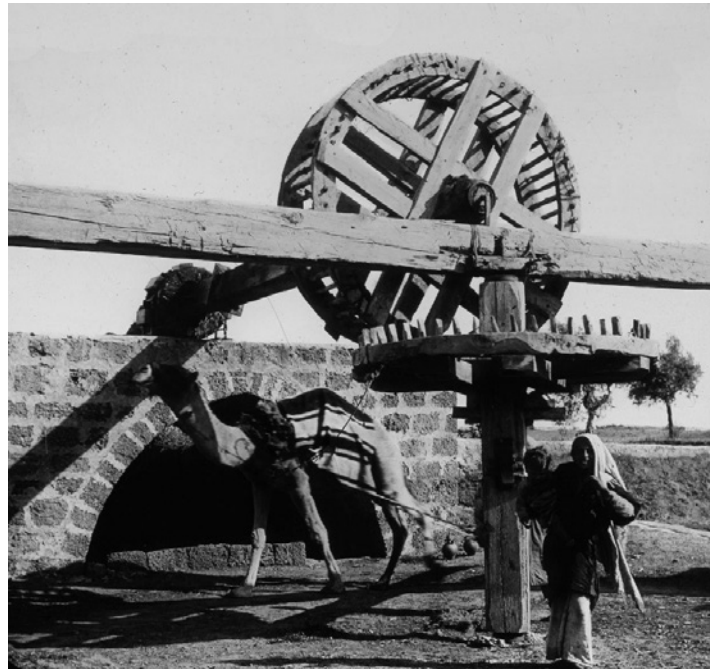
He also endowed the whole *khān* which had been built by the above mentioned donor in the port city of Jaffa comprising of two *īwāns* seven stores and dyeing workshop, and *bāykah* (stable), a well of spring water, a room above the gate, and all the legal attachments, and an open court . . .

And all the shops that are situated in the New Market, and the whole coffee house in front of the city gate, which is attached to *burj as-sitār*, and the whole garden that is situated next to the city gate immediately at the back of the Maḥmūdī fountain (*as-sabīl al-maḥmūdī*), and the entire land which is situated between the two walls (of the city) on the northern side in which the water of the ablution (from the mosque) accumulates.

(p. 179) : الخان المشتل على ايوانين وسبعة (!) حواصل ومصبغة وبايكة وبئر ماء معين واوضة فوق الباب ومرافق شرعية وساحة سماوية .
 (pp. 190–181) : وجميع الدكاكين الواقعة بالسوق الجديد . . . وجميع القهوة الكائنة بحذاء باب البلدة الملاصقة لبرج الستار وجميع الجنيئة الواقعة عند باب البلدة الملاصقة لظهر السيل المحمودي وجميع الأرض الواقعة بين السورين من الجهة الشمالية التي يشتر فيها ماء الوضوء الخارج من الجامع .

2. Water Wheel—Persian Wheel

To get an idea about the funds allocated in the inscription, and in the waqf document, for constructing, maintaining and operating the water wheel (the water-lifting mechanical device that the Europeans called “Persian Wheel”) attached to the well of the great mosque of Jaffa, it is essential to describe the method of its operation in the 19th century. In what follows is William McClure Thomson’s description of a water wheel in Jaffa quoted from his *The Land and the Book*. (London, 1859, 1872. Revised addition 1911.) In an engraving entitled “Jaffa and its gardens” (vol. 1 between pp. 8 and 9), in the forefront of the picture there is a water wheel operated by a donkey, similar to the picture below (Pl. 15). Here is Dr. Thomson’s full description of the water wheel:



Pl. 15. For Jaffa 1229. Waterwheel operated by a camel (right) and by a donkey (left).

A wide cog-wheel is carried around horizontally by a mule with a sweep, this turns a larger one perpendicularly, which is directly above the mouth of the well. Over this revolve two rough hawsers, or thick ropes made of twigs and branches twisted together, and upon them are fastened small jars or wooden buckets. One side descends while the other side rises, carrying the small buckets with them. Those descending empty, those ascending full; and as they pass over the top, they discharge into a trough which conveys the water to the cistern. The length of these hawsers and the number of the buckets depend, of course, upon the depth of the well, for the buckets are fastened on the hawser about two feet apart. The depth of the wells in Jaffa varies from ten to forty feet. If the mule turns the wheel rapidly, which he rarely does, a bucket with two gallons of water will be carried over the top of it and be discharged into the trough every second . . . The hawser is made of twigs, generally of myrtle branches, not only because it is cheap and easily plaited by the gardener himself, but because its extreme roughness prevents it from slipping on the wheel, as an ordinary rope would do, and thus fail to carry up the buckets. (p. 516)

17

SABĪL ASH-SHIFĀ'—AS-SABĪL AL-BARRĀNĪ

This fountain was built outside the eastern wall of the city of Jaffa for which reason it is called "as-Sabīl al-Barrānī" namely "The Outer Sabīl," to differentiate it from the other two fountains, which Abū Nabbūt built inside the city. (See above No. 16.) Its official name was *Sabīl ash-Shifā'*—The Fountain of Health, but it seems that from the very beginning, it became known, following the name of its builder, as "Sabīl Abū Nabbūt," and its real name has been forgotten. Today it is located within the municipal borders of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa next to house No. 49, Ben Zvi Boulevard, in the southern Abū Kabīr neighbourhood of the town. When it was built, some 2 km away from Jaffa, next to the main road which led to Ramlah and Lydda, and thereafter to Jerusalem, it was destined to serve the travellers who came to Jaffa after a long stretch of journey, and those who left for Jerusalem. Once built, the Sabīl became a popular market place. Unlike the other two Sabīls built within the city, this one is a proper building, 18m. long, 6m in depth, and some 4m high. In each of its four corners there is a semi-circular tower, about 6m high, supplied with elongated domes (Figs. Jaffa P7, P8, P9). The main building has three ribbed domes each covering one section of the total three compartments of the building. The fountain itself is located in the wall of the central section which is richly decorated with slabs of brown and white marble, built into the wall in the Mamlūk *ablaq* style, dividing it into three panels. This central part of the southern wall is fully surrounded by a receding circular arch above which rises the largest one of the three ribbed domes. The present red colour of the domes represents their original colour. The two slabs of the foundation inscription were fixed in the tympanum of this arch above the decorated three panels. The spouts of the fountain are at the bottom part of the panels.

This middle section of the building with the highest dome and the fountain, contains the water reservoir, and it is flanked by two large rooms almost equal in size; the western one open with a decorated arch built with bricks, which occupies the whole wall, and the eastern one whose identical arch is blocked with bricks. The domes covering these rooms or *iwāns* are also ribbed and, as mentioned, slightly smaller than the central dome over the reservoir section. (For a detailed study of this fountain see Kana'an 2001:189–204)

Jaffa 1230

Construction text

15 Rajab 1230/11 June 1815

Two slabs of marble, one above the other. Top one 0.27 × 0.18m; bottom one 1.20 × 0.60m (approx.). The top slab: one line pious inscription, in stylized professional ornamental *naskhī* designed in such manner that two long *alifs* create the frame of the rest of the inscription, points, some vowels; in relief.

The main dedication inscription on the large slab: 7 lines, each line within an individual sunken frame, rounded on both ends. The first line is richly ornamented with a floral design, and, on both ends of the last line there is a carved cypress tree. The inscribed slabs were imbedded in the tympanum of the arch of the southern wall of the *sabīl*. Professional Ottoman *naskhī*, points, and some vowels; in relief. Publication: Kana'an 2001:197 (reading only). Fig. 13.

TOP INSCRIPTION

ما شاء الله كان

Whatever Allah intends happen.

The expression *mā shā'a allāh*, is very common in the Qur'ān (cf. Q, 18:39; 87:7 for instance. Combinations with *shā'a allāh*, or *shā'a rabbuka* etc. appear more than 50 times in the Qur'ān). In common usage whether in literary or colloquial language the expression became an exclamation of surprise such as: "amazing! great! bravo! etc." This pious ornamented inscription above the main dedication text was meant to say the obvious—human deeds depend on God's predestination.

MAIN (BOTTOM) INSCRIPTION

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) تعمّر هذا السبيل المبارك في زمن الملك المظفر حضرت (!)
مولانا السلطان محمود خان ادم الله سلطنه على مدي (!) الدهور (٣) والازمان وقد انشاه

جناب عين الامراء والاكابر العظام سلحشور خاصة وملتسم سعادة الدستور الوقور
الحاج سليمان باشا والي صيدا (٤) حالا المعظم في الواء غزة ويافه (١) الامير محمد اغا ابو محمود
معتوق المرحوم الحاج احمد باشا الجزائر (٥) طاب ثراه رغبة في الثواب الجسيم والاجر
العظيم هنيئا لمن شرب ودعي (٦) اليه بالمغفرة تاريخه في اواسط شهر رجب الفرد من
شهور سنة (٧) ثلاثين وماتين والفاء من الهجرة على صاحبها افضل التحية والسلام سنة
١٢٣٠

Basmalah. This blessed public fountain was built in the time of the victorious king, his majesty our lord the sultan Maḥmūd Khān, may Allah prolong his sultanate for ever. Has established it the honorable, the head of the distinguished commanders and notables, the commander in chief and the acting governor for His Grace (*sa'ādat*), the Venerable Excellency the *hājī* Sulaymān Pasha, presently the governor of Sidon, the venerated in the districts of Gaza and Jaffa, the amīr Muḥammad Aghā Abū Maḥmūd the manumitted slave of the late, the *hājī* Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār, may he rest in peace (lit. may his dust be pleasant for him) (Muḥammad Āghā built it) aiming for great reward and vast recompense (from God). May it do much good to whomever drinks from it and invokes (Allah's) forgiveness for him (the builder). Its date is in the middle of month Rajab “the single” in the year 1230 (11 June 1815) of the *hijrah*. May the best greetings and peace be for its owner (the prophet)! The year 1230 (in digits).

In the manuscript of the original *waqf* document dated Jumādā I 1230, the reference to this fountain is “*as-sabil al-barrānī al-musammā sabil ash-shifā*”—The outer fountain called *sabil ash-shifā*.” (Ḥasan 2000:171–174).

L.2: *تَعَمَّرَ* the vowels were added to emphasize this strange form of the verb in the fifth declination, which does not appear in standard dictionaries. The translation of such a form would suggest something like “built itself” which is definitely not the intention of the verb, which should have been *‘ummira*. I am convinced that the composer of the text used the fifth declination knowing that it represented the passive form of the second declination, and used it because it looks somewhat special.

علي مدي the two superfluous points under the *yā* are clearly visible in the inscription.

Ll.3–4 contain almost all the titles of Abū Nabbūt including his *kunya* (after his deceased son) Abū Maḥmūd. From this point of view the inscription is unique.

Ll.5–6 *ودعي* instead of *له ودعي* not a common mistake. Here also the two points under the *yā* appear in the inscription.

18

Jaffa before 1245(?)
Epitaph of a Muslim (Turkish)
(Contribution of Necati Alkan)

Before 1245/1829

Slab of marble 1.17 × 0.35 × 0.13m., 9 lines, Ottoman *naskhī*, with points and vowels; in relief. This Turkish inscription was taken from a building next to the museum. Now in Jaffa museum (No. Jaffa. 019). Fig. 14.

Text

١) هو الباقي ٢) بنى قيل مغفرت اى ربّ يزدان ٣) بحق عرش اعظم نور قران ٤) كلوب
قبريم زيارت ايدن احوان ٥) ايدو روحيمه بر فاتحه احسان ٦) الايالى مرحم و مغفور ٧)
عبد الغانى زاده سيّد ٨) الحاج عبد الكريم اغا ٩) روحيجون الفاتحه

Transliteration

1) Huve'l-Baki 2) Beni kıl mağfiret ey Rabb-i Yezdan 3) bi-hakki arş-ı a'zam nur-i Kur'an 4) Gelüb kabrim ziyaret eden ihvan 5) ede ruhuma bir fatiha ihsan 6) Alâyâli merhum ve mağfur 7) Abdülgâni-zade Seyyid 8) el-Hac Abdülkerim Ağa 9) Ruhi-çün el-fatihâ

Translation

He is the Everlasting. Forgive me, O Lord Omnipotent One, by the most glorious Throne, the light of the Qur'an. The brethren, who come and visit my grave, may recite *al-fātiḥa* for my soul. The late Seyyid el-Hac Abdülkerim Ağa, son of Abdülgâni, from Alâyâ. *al-fātiḥa* for his soul.

Commentary

The text is common to many Ottoman gravestones, asking God for forgiveness and the visitors of the grave to recite *al-fātiḥa* for the soul of the deceased (*cf.* Şeyban, 2007:40, 126). The lowest part of the gravestone with the date of the death is missing. A significant marker for the identity and social rank of the deceased person is the turban (*sarik*) on top of the gravestone (*cf.* Bozkurt).

As the text of the gravestone says, the individual in question is Abdülkerim from "Alâyâ", son of a certain Abdülgâni. Alâyâ—more common Alâiye—is one of the

original names of Alanya, a port city near Antalya in the south of modern Turkey, but it is misspelled here (see below). The title *ağa/āghā* and the turban on top of the gravestone indicate that Abdülkerim was an Ottoman official of a higher rank. Heads of the janissaries, among others, were called *ağa*. While it is maintained that the turban in question was worn by janissaries and is called *dardağan* (İşli 2009: 123), most of the sources do not agree with this (Eldem 2009:11–12).

Abdülkerim may have been sent to Jaffa for a post or exiled to there. *Seyyid* denotes his being from the family of the prophet Muḥammad, and *el-Hac* that he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Unfortunately no information could be found about Abdülkerim or his father. One document from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA) from 1242/1827 mentions a certain “Abdülkerim Kapdan” (admiral of the Ottoman navy) from Alâiye, who was supposed to be exiled together with others due to their disobedience to the local governor, and preventing him from pursuing state affairs. (BOA, HAT 514/25143). Whether this person and Abdülkerim to whom the gravestone belongs are the same person remains unclear.

Since, as noted above, the date of his death is missing, the headgear can provide a hint to the date of Abdülkerim’s death. The turban with all its variants ceased to be in vogue after 1829. In that year Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) banned the wearing of turbans and decreed that the fez be worn by civil officials, and at the Ottoman court. Due to this reform we can imply that this gravestone is from before 1829, for after this reform gravestones with fezes became common for officials, and were used on top of gravestones. (Quataert 1997:412–14; Biçici 2012:1083–84).

As to the text itself, it has five typos: 1. the *yi/y* in the word *kabrim* (“my grave”) does not belong there; it is usually written *قبرم* (cf.); 2. *ziyaret* (“visit”) is written *ذيارت* but should be *زيارت* (even though the pronunciation in Turkish, as in Persian, for both is like the English *z*); 3. *ihvan* should be *اخوان* (“brethren”), the dot may have been erased over time; 4. *Alâyâlî* (“from Alâyâ”) written *الايالى*, should be actually *علايالى* since *علايا* ‘Alâyā, and its more common *علائية* ‘Alā’iyya/Alâiye, are derived from to its founder, the Saljuk sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I (Taeschner; Bostan); 5. *merhum*, translated here together with *mağfur* as “the late”, appears to be misspelled as *مرحم* and should be written *مرحوم*, but in fact the *و* and *م* are joined together, as are the first *و* and *م* in *ve mağfur* *ومغفور* (cf. Aslan).

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19

Jaffa 1250?

Epitaph of a Muslim

1250/1834

Slab of marble, 0.36 × 0.3 × 0.7m., broken on the left side, 4 lines, Ottoman *naskhī*, with points and vowels; in low relief. Taken from a grave in Neveh Shalom, now in Jaffa museum (No. Jaffa. 004)(MHY 100.082). Fig. 15. The following reading was done from the inscription.

١) قد انتقل الى [رحمة الله] (٢) عثمان القهوجي... الشا... (٤) توفي ١١/٢١
رمضان سنة []

'Uthmān al-Qahwājī passed away to Allah's forgiveness... founded?... died 11 or 21 Ramaḍān the year?

The inscription is too fragmentary to enable more than the suggested reading. The year of the date is a guess and was suggested here based on the type of script and for keeping the order of the inscriptions.

20

Jaffa (1257) 1841¹

Anglican cemetery

Epitaph of General Michell

1257/1841

The Anglican cemetery between houses nos. 17–19 of Yefet Street in Jaffa, once the old route to Gaza, has been neglected for many years. The last burial in it took place early in the 20th century. The land for the cemetery was bought in 1842, outside the southern wall of Jaffa. In 1875 or thereabout, the remains of Brigadier General

¹ The date according to the Islamic calendar does not appear in the original. It was inserted here to keep the order of the inscriptions.

Edward Thomas Michell were transferred to it from his initial burial place in a small fort called Sydney Smith Bastion named after Admiral William Sydney Smith, famous for the defense of Acre against Napoleon in 1799. The bastion was located at the middle of the southern wall of Jaffa. The Turkish authorities prevented other burials in the place, which was inside the walls of the city. In time, towards the end of the century, the walls of Jaffa were demolished together with the bastion of Sydney Smith, the plot of which was sold to the Sisters of the Order of St. Joseph who built the French Hospital there. When they extended the hospital to the site of the grave, the remains of Michell were transferred to the Anglican cemetery less than 100 metres to the south of its original location. However, because the cemetery was neglected for a long time most of the graves in it deteriorated (Fig. P10). As part of the reconstruction of the cemetery, the tomb of Michell has been renovated, and rededicated in the presence of the British ambassador to Israel, and the British Military attaché.

Brigadier General Edward Thomas Michell was born in 1787. He entered the Royal Military Academy as a cadet in 1802 and in 1803 he joined the Royal Artillery as a second lieutenant. Over the years, he served as an artillery officer in Spain, in Holland and Belgium. Between 1839 and 1840, he served with the British forces that helped King Charles (Carlos) V in his fight against the republicans. After his promotion to Brigadier-General, he was sent with his artillery forces to join Admiral Stratford who helped the Ottomans to force the retreat of the Egyptian forces of Muḥammad 'Alī from Syria. Shortly afterwards on 24 January 1841 he died at Jaffa after a short illness. His fellow officers and friends commemorated his memory by preparing this special tombstone on his grave. The story around the preparation and erection of the tombstone was published in the *Naval and Military Gazette* published on 7 September 1844. In what follows are excerpts from this publication.

On the death of Brigadier-General E. T. Michell, which took place at Jaffa, in January 1841, at the close of the operations that terminated the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptians, the Officers of the Staff and the detachments who had served under his orders resolved to consecrate to his memory, in the bastion of Sir Sydney Smith, at Jaffa, where his remains were interred, a testimony of their esteem and of their deep regret. To carry into effect their intention, it was, however, necessary to obtain permission from Constantinople, the tomb being inclosed within the walls of a Turkish fortress; this caused some delay, but, by the kindness of Sir Stratford Cuning, H.M.'s ambassador at the Port, the necessary authority was at length procured. The grave is in the left flank of the bastion, overshadowed by a fig- tree, and opposite, on the interior face of the parapet in front of it, is placed a tablet of white marble of large dimensions, bearing the following inscription, preceded by two lines of Arabic poetry. The subject of the latter is to claim from everyone, whatever be their creed, Christian, Moslem, or Druse, the respect that is due to the distinguished dead . . .



Pl. 16. Map 4: Jaffa Skyring map mid-19th century A: Sydney Smith Bastion—Michell's Final burial site indicated by black spot.



Pl. 17. General Michell's tombstone Arabic inscription.

Arabic Inscription

Two verses of a poem, beautiful modern *naskhī*, full points and many vowels; in relief. The metre of the verses is *al-kāmil*. Fig. 16 and Pl. 17

(١) عَجَبًا الْقَبْرُ ضَيْقٌ وَسِعَ الَّذِي
 قَدْ كَانَتْ الدُّنْيَا تَضِيقُ بِمَثَلِهِ
 (٢) فَلْيَعْتَبِرْ كُلُّ بَدَلِكُ أَنَّهُ
 مِنْ عَادَةِ الدَّهْرِ الْغُرُورُ بِأَهْلِهِ

It is a wonder that a narrow grave contains him whom the
 world could be narrow for the like of him.
 Let everyone learn a lesson that this is
 the practice of the Time to deceive its people.

The official original “translation,” which appeared in the *Gazette*’s report (“and may be thus translated”) reads as follows:

*This narrow grave contains the remains of one whose fame during life was widely extended.
 Let all respect it for he was of those who have rendered their period illustrious*

The first line, though not an accurate translation, reflects the content of the verse.

The second line, however, is not the translation of the Arabic verse, which reflects a common theme in Arabic literature speaking of Time (*dahr*) being a deceiver (*gharūr*) of the humans under its control. This is the lesson to be learnt from the calamity, which Time caused, taking away such a person who was greater than life, confining him to a narrow grave.

English Inscription

16 lines in capital letters. (Fig. 16a)

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
 BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD THOMAS MICHELL
 OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY
 COMMANDING THE FORCES OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY IN SYRIA
 COMPANION OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH
 COMMANDER OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC
 AND KNIGHT OF ST. FERDINAND AND OF CHARLES III OF SPAIN
 WHO DIED AT JAFFA ON THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY 1841
 A[G]E 54
 HE WAS DISTINGUISHED BY HIGH AND NOBLE QUALITIES
 BY LONG AND BRILLIANT SERVICE
 AND BY THE AFFECTIONATE REGARD OF ALL WHO KNEW HIM
 THE OFFICERS OF H. B. MAJESTY’S FORCES SERVING IN SYRIA
 IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR ESTEEM AND REGRET

AND TO RENDER SACRED THE SPOT WHERE HIS REMAINS REPOSE
HAVE ERECTED THIS STONE TO HIS MEMORY

On the slab on the ground set in front of the main tombstone:

E.T.M
1841

Following the text of the English inscription and the supposed translation of the Arabic one, the report in the *Naval and Military Gazette* continues:

By the kindness of the Admiralty, the tablet, which had been executed at Malta was, in the early part of the present year, conveyed from thence to Jaffa in H.M.S. *Tyne* . . . Captain Glascock, with his Officers and men, influenced by the feelings that are characteristic of the British sailor have associated themselves most cordially in the object and have carried it into effect . . .

It is not often that the Turk joins to do honour to the grave of a Christian; but it is due to those of Syria to make known, that the tomb of Major Oldfield, of the marines, who fell in the defense of Acre, under Sir Sydney Smith, in 1799, placed in a public thoroughfare of that fortress, was found in 1840, to be perfect, and to have suffered no defacement whatever—seeming to prove that in the profession of arms, or the fellowship of those who have fought together, there is something that is capable of mitigating even the intolerance of hostile creeds. Let it be so, and let us hope that the distant and lonely grave of Edward Michell, who was known to many, and loved wherever known, will also be respected.

21

Jaffa 1261

Construction text

1261/1845

Slab of marble, 0.31 × 0.315 × 0.085m., taken from the entrance to public bath in Mifratz Shlomo Street, Jaffa. 5 lines, semi-monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, points, no vowels; in relief, small flower ornamentation at the bottom right corner. Fig. 17.

١) يا صاح ان رمت الشفا مع الوفا ٢) وزوال همك زر لحمام الصفا ٣) قد شاده البيك

السعيد فأرّخَنَ ٤) وَاِذَا الشَّفَا حَمَامِ بَيْتِ الْمُصْطَفَى

٥) ١٢٦١ = ٢٦٠ + ٤١٢ + ٨٩ + ٤١٢ + ٨٨ سنة ١٢٦١

O you who is conscious! If you desire health with longevity and freedom from your worries, then visit *ḥammām aṣ-ṣafā* that the lucky Bek has built. Calculate the date (according to these words): health has reached the bathhouse of Muṣṭafā: (88 + 412 + 89 + 412 + 260) the year 1261 (=1845)

L.3: البيك السعيد These words signify Sa'īd al-Muṣṭafā, a prominent member of the Sa'īd family that was known in Jaffa as the “*ā'ilat al-bek*—family of the Bek” (spelt

with a *yā'*, exactly as in the inscription). The title was held by a few members of the family, particularly the founder of the branch in Jaffa, Muṣṭafā as-Sa'īd, seemingly the father of the builder commemorated in this inscription. The word *sa'īd* here carries a double connotation a personal name, and its meaning in Arabic: "fortunate." One can, therefore, read it as an Arabic adjective: "the fortunate *bek*" or as addressing the person Sa'īd whose title is Bek. Genealogically the family is said to belong to the Tiyāhā tribe in the Negev, the origins of which go back to the old tribe of Banū 'Uqbah that belonged to the ancient tribe of Judhām. One has to treat this information more as folklore than a historical fact, particularly since there is another report about the arrival of the family from the Maghreb. More plausible is the information, which says that the founder of the Sa'īd family in Jaffa came from Nāblus. Sa'īd al-Muṣṭafā whose name appears in this inscription as the builder of the bathhouse came to prominence following the Egyptian occupation of Syria in 1831 by Ibrāhīm Pasha, who nominated him as the *mutasallim* of Jaffa. When the Ottomans returned after the expulsion of the Egyptians in 1840, he remained in office and his authority was even extended; he was nominated as the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem and in charge of collecting taxes from which he became very rich. (Qalyoubi 2006:291, quoting Sharāb, Muḥammad Ḥasan. 2002).

L.4: The usage of the phrase حمام بيت المصطفى the *ḥammām* of the house of Muṣṭafā, is a play on words taking into consideration that Muṣṭafā is the name of the builder and one of the names of the Prophet.

L.5: The value of letters of each word of the verse in line 4 was calculated and engraved in this line.

22

Jaffa 1272 or 1273
Maḥmūdiyya mosque
Construction text

1272?/1855–56 or 1273?/1856–57

Slab of marble, 1.60 × 0.40 (approx.), found in the compound of the great Maḥmūdiyyah mosque detached from its original location. 4 lines of a poem, each divided by horizontal and perpendicular bands into 4 sunken fields equal in size, two fields for each hemistich. A wide band separates the hemistiches. Provincial semi-monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, with points and many vowels; in relief. Figs. 18 (full), 18a (left), 18b (right). Publication: Tütüncü 2008:275–276.

(١) وَمِنْ أَسْنَى الْمَفَاخِرِ وَالْمَأْتَرِ عِمَارَةٌ مَسْجِدٍ قَدْ كَانَ دَائِرَ
وَأَيَّةِ أَمَّا نَاهِيكَ فِيهَا لِمَنْ يَجِي الْمَسَاجِدَ مِنْ بَشَائِرِ
(٢) فَبَادِرَ مَا قَدَرْتَ بِفَعْلٍ بَرِّ تَرَاهِ يَوْمَ إِذْ تُبْلَى (!) السَّرَائِرِ

وهذا جامع بالذكر يعلو ونور جماله لاه وزاهر
 (٣) وعمره جماعة اهل خير رجاء الاجر منه بيوم الاخر
 وذاك بعصر سلطان البرايا له الملك المجيد اعز ناصر
 (٤) على يد عبده حسن الدجاني ابو الاقبال راج عفو غافر
 لاهل الخير فاهد دعا وارخ فهذا مسجد الله عامر
 سنة ١٢٧٣

And among the more sublime, memorable and glorious deeds is the reconstruction of an extinct mosque; and (according to) a verse—how remarkable it is!—in which there are glad tidings for him who revives mosques. Rush as fast as you can to perform a pious deed that you will see (its consequences) in the day in which secrets will be put to the test. This mosque is elevated through the invocation of God, and the light of its beauty is dazzling and radiant. Have reconstructed it a group of charitable people asking the reward from Him in the Last Day (of Judgment). This took place at the time of the sultan of mankind to whom belongs glorious sovereignty, the mightily victorious. (It was built) by his slave Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī the possessor of good fortune who asks forgiveness of Him Who pardons charitable people. Therefore, offer supplication and fix the date: “and this is the populated mosque of Allah.” The year 1273 (=1856–57) (or 1272=1855–56).

If this inscription is indeed related to the reconstruction of the al-Maḥmūdiyyah mosque, it means, according to its contents, that 44 years after its last renovation in 1227/1812 it reached such a state of deterioration that a new restoration was needed. The man responsible for this restoration, Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī states that his contribution to the rescue of Allah’s house of prayer from total annihilation should be an example to pious people to take quick initiative to perform acts of kindness and righteousness. (*birr*).

If, however, the inscription was brought to the Maḥmūdiyyah mosque from somewhere else (*cf.* Tütüncü, 2008:276: “The provenance is unknown.”), then it is very difficult to locate a mosque in Jaffa from which it could have come. It is also difficult to locate a mosque outside Jaffa which is connected with the activity of the Dajjānī family, particularly Ḥasan. With much reservation, therefore, I must conclude that some restoration work took place in the Maḥmūdiyyah in the middle of the fifties of the 19th century when several members of the Dajjānī family held important, mainly religious, posts in Jaffa (see below). The exaggerated description of the work invested in rescuing the mosque from falling into oblivion could well be attributed to “the demands of poetry.”

Text and Contents

L.1: Throughout the poem there is an internal rhyming within the first hemistich as well as rhyming between the first and the second hemistiches in each verse. For this reason, we are compelled to end the words *ma’āthir* and *mafākhir* in the first hemistich with a *sukūn*, and *dāthir* (*sic!* written without *tanwīn*) ending this hemistich

also with *sukūn*, clearly against grammatical rules that require its vowelless form in the accusative form (being *khābar kāna*). The running rhyme ends, therefore, with a mute *rā'* not only at the end of the verses but also internally between the two hemistiches in each verse, which I therefore vowelless with *sukūn* all the way through. Throughout the poem the letter *sīn* is marked with a small symbolic *sīn* under it like in *masjid* and *masājid* in this line.

L.1: لم لمن correct Tütüncü: لم;
يحيي correct Tütüncü: يحيي.

وآية—“and (according to) a verse”—the reference here is to Q, 9:18 in which the imperfect *ya'muru* that initially means in this verse “to visit, to dwell, to sojourn” (Bell 1937:175 translated “manage,” adding in note 1: “visit” “visitation.”) can, also be translated as “to build, to construct.” This is the meaning followed in most of the construction texts of mosques.

Translation: Tütüncü and his helper translated *asnā* “one after the other.” The word is the comparative form of *sanīy* which means “noble, magnificent, high, sublime, splendid.”

The second part of the line was not translated. The words “he has builded” (*sic!*) do not exist in the text.

L.2: السراير correct Tütüncü: السراير;
وزاره correct Tütüncü: وزاره.

تبلي The two points under the *yā'* are superfluous. The verb should read *tublā* in the passive voice. I left the text as is in the inscription drawing attention to the error with an exclamation mark.

Translation: Tütüncü completely ignored the first hemistich of the second line. (“Rush as fast as you can to perform a pious deed that you will see (its consequences) in the day in which secrets will be put to the test.”)

ونور جماله [. . .] وزاره correct Tütüncü: ونور جماله لاه وزاهر

Translation: Having left part of the line unread, and reading the last word wrongly (*wazārahu* instead of *wazāhir*) Tütüncü translated this hemistich: “Where the name of Allah is repeated every time and the light of its beauty.” The correct translation of the accurate reading is: “This mosque is elevated through the invocation of God and the light of its beauty is dazzling and radiant.” The word “Allah” does not appear in the text of the inscription.

L.3: وعمره correct Tütüncü: وعمره

Translation: Tütüncü translated *wa'ammārahu* in the passive voice: “is builded” (*sic!*) in addition, as noted above, to misreading the word. The verb however is in the active voice—“have reconstructed it.”

رجاء الاجر منه بيوم الاخر Tütüncü translated: “They will return on the day of judgement.” The correct translation is “asking the reward from Him in the Last Day

(of Judgment).” another (remote) possibility is to understand the word *minhu* as referring to the pious deed of renovating the mosque.

Tütüncü translated the second hemistich of this line: “And it was done in the time of Sultan with the beautiful name the King Mejid let his victory be glorified” which hardly exists in the inscription. The correct translation: “This took place in the time of the sultan of mankind to whom belongs glorious sovereignty, the mightily victorious.” Tütüncü misread *almalik almajid* instead of *almulk almajid*, translated accordingly, and came up with a non-existent King Mejid (see below).

The sultan in whose time the mosque was renovated was Abdülmecid I (1839–1861) who was himself a prolific builder (notably the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace, 1843–1856, and the restoration of the Hagia Sophia 1847–1849). His name is implied in the phrase *lahu al-mulk al-majid* “to him belongs the glorious sovereignty” at the end of this hemistich. The admiring language and lofty terms used to describe this sultan, who was responsible for the introduction of vast reforms (*tanzimāt*) to the empire, and for its inclusion in the fold of the European family of nations after the Crimean war, still seem out of place. Tütüncü’s statement that Abdülmecid I “was sultan until his abdication in 1861” (Tütüncü, *op. cit.* 276 is a mistake. This sultan died in 1861 age 39.

L.4: غفر correct Tütüncü: عفو

Translation: Tütüncü translated this line على يد عبده حسن الدجاني ابو الاقبال / راج عفو غافر / لاهل الخير فاهد دعا وارخ فهذا مسجد الله عامر “by the hands of Abdi Hasan el Dejeni Ebul Eqbal may the graceful has (*sic!*) grace on his soul. O people of good deeds let us pray for him and date” He mistook ‘*abdihi* “his slave” for a proper name, and the epithet *abū al-iqbāl* for a patronymic; and as far as the last part of the translation, almost nothing of it is in the text. (I ignore the odd transliteration.) The correct translation: “(It was built) by his slave Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī the possessor of good fortune who asks the forgiveness of Him Who pardons charitable people. Therefore, offer supplication and fix the date.”


The Builder

Ḥasan Effendi b. Salīm ad-Dajjānī al-Ḥanafī al-Yāfī.

The following short biography of Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī is based on al-Bīṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, 1:242–244. He was born in Jaffa in approximately 1230/1815 and was raised by his father who gave him his basic education. After that he moved to study at al-Azhar. Following his graduation, he returned to Jaffa and, due to his higher Islamic education, was put in charge of the office of *fatwāhs* in which he was very successful. Al-Bīṭār himself, while visiting the Holy Land, met Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī in Jaffa. They spent some time together discussing religious matters and al-Bīṭār, who was impressed by him, states that when the famous scholar ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī

ad-Dīn al-Jazā'irī came to Jaffa on his way to visit Jerusalem, Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī presented him with a new *qaṣīdah* which he dedicated to him. Poetry, so it seems, was Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī's main forte, and the many poems he wrote were gathered in his *diwān*. Al-Biṭār quotes some of these poems. In one line from a poem dedicated to his brother the *muftī* of Jaffa, Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī refers to himself as *abū al-iqbāl*, the same term that describes him in our inscription. It seems, therefore, very possible that he himself wrote the construction poem of this inscription. Ḥasan ad-Dajjānī passed away in 1290/1873 and was buried in Jaffa.

L.4: *فهذا مسجد الله عامر* Tütüncü translated wrongly: "This is the mosque that Allah has ordered to build." The correct translation is "and this is the populated (or flourishing) mosque of Allah." The date of the inscription is given in the numerical value of these last four words of the inscription after *arrikh*—"fix the date," and in digits. The sum total of the numerical value of *فهذا مسجد الله عامر* is 1270 (= 786 + 107 + 66 + 311). To this, it is possible to add 2, which is the value of two hidden *alifs* in *hādhā* and in *Allāh*. This amounts to 1272, which could well be the date of the

inscription. However the number in digits as we see in this inserted detail  seems more like 1273. The second digit -2- and the last digit look different. They represent the numbers 2 and 3 in cursive writing. But since the numerical value of the date is categorically maximum 1272 we shall have to uphold the two dates, unless we assume that the digit 2 was engraved once in the simple cursive way, and once in the usual *naskhī* style (with the rounded top line). Tütüncü does not comment about the discrepancy between the number in the numerical value of letters 1270, and the apparent date in digits, nor does he explain why he attached two dates to the inscription: 1273 in the table of technical details and 1272 reading the date in digits and again 1273 in the comments. Correct Tütüncü's reading: there is no هـ after the date in digits.

23

Jaffa 1287

CEMETERY OF SHAYKH 'AJAMĪ MOSQUE

Epitaph of a Muslim

1287/1870

The cemetery to the south of the mosque, which existed until about a decade ago, does not exist anymore. There are traces of graves and a neglected structure of a *maqām* presumably of the local saint Shaykh 'Ajamī but the inscriptions disappeared including the present one studied below.

Slab of marble, 0.90 × 0.30, rounded on top in the style of Ottoman monumental tombstones. 6 lines; first line, two words of invocation engraved in a round sunken field above the main text, 5 lines engraved in sunken decorative fields. The last one

is particularly ornamental with its border band extending downwards to include the date in line 6 flanked by elegant floral decorative elements occupying the whole lower part of the stone. Monumental late Ottoman *naskhī*, points, some vowels; in relief. Fig. 19.

(١) يا حي (٢) هذا ضريح فوقه سُحِبَ الرضا (٣) جادت واملاكُ السماء تُنادي (٤) حاز الكرامة يا
مؤرخ والبهاه (٥) داود نجل محمد البغدادي (٦) سنة ١٢٨٧

$$1287 = 45 + 15 + 83 + 92 + 1052$$

O, The Living! This is a tomb over which the clouds of the divine approval rained, and the angels of heaven are calling: “he has gained nobility”—O thou who calculates the date—“and splendor Dāwud the son of Muḥammad al-Baghdādī.” The year 1287 (=1870)

L.1: *yā ḥayy*—“The Living” is one of the 99 beautiful names of Allah. The attribute *yā ḥayy* appears twice in the Qur’ān 2:255 and 3:2. According a *ḥadīth* recorded by Tirmidhī (*Da‘awāt, Bāb* 99 No. 3593) the Prophet, in times of distress or grief (*karb*) used to raise his head to heaven and say: “O the Living, the Eternal, I seek help in your mercy” (*yā ḥayy yā qayyūm biraḥmatika astaghīth*). Cf. another version in which it is said that the Prophet used to say: *yā ḥayy yā qayyūm* when he was immersed in intense prayer. (*Ibid., Bāb* 40 No. 3498)

L.3: *Amlāk* plural of *malik*—king, instead of *malā’ikah* plural of *malāk*—angel, which is certainly what the composer of the epitaph meant to say here.

I found no information about the deceased although the tombstone, the beautiful inscription and the site of the grave next to the *maqām* of al-‘Ajamī point to an important personality who “gained nobility and splendor.”

24

Jaffa 1300

Construction text

c.1300/1882

Slab of marble, 0.44 × 0.45 × 0.08m., taken from Maḥmūdiyyah mosque, probably belonged to a *khān* or a house next to it, now at Jaffa museum. Its top right side, and the left half were broken and lost. Few letters in line 3 missing due to erosion. 3 lines, Ottoman monumental *naskhī*, points, no vowels, two *hamzah* signs in line 2, and a few decorative signs fill empty spaces between the letters; in relief. Fig. 20.

([هذا من فضـ] ل ربي الملك لله وحده . . . ٢) قد أنشأه الحاج عبد المالك . . . ٣)
راجي (!) من مولاه ان ينقذه من المهالك . . .

This is of the bounty of my Lord (Q, 27:40 Trans. Bell) . . . Dominion belongs to Allah alone . . . Has built it the *ḥājj* ‘Abd al-Mālik . . . asking his Lord to save him from the perils.

L.1: In spite of the fact that the beginning of the line is mutilated, the reconstruction of the damaged text is sure. The word *mulk* means both dominion and authority, as well as possession and wealth. It is used in construction inscriptions to indicate that the builder recognizes the fact that in reality he does not own the place since Allah, the sole ruler of the world, is the owner of everything in it.

Ll.2 and 3 rhyme with each other (*mālik* with *mahālik*) forming a verse.

There is not enough information in this fragment, which is only the right half of the original inscription, about the nature of the building, its date and the identity of the builder. The date 1300/1882 is a guess.

25

Jaffa 1300a
SABİL SIKSIK
Construction text

1300/1883

The fountain (*sabīl*), called after the members of the family who built it, is a structure constructed in the style of the Maḥmūdī fountain adjacent to the Maḥmūdiyyah mosque (See above No. 13 Jaffa 1224a). It is located in Beit Eshel Street, the present name of the street, which used to be called after the Siksik family. Like the Maḥmūdī fountain, it is also adjacent to a mosque, which was built by the Siksik brothers in the same year (1883). There is no original inscription commemorating the building of the Siksik mosque.

Beautiful double decorative pointed arch frame the front flat wall of the fountain building. The upper half of the front wall is divided by wide bands into six fields, all empty. The slab with the inscription was attached by iron hooks to the middle top field after the structure was already built. It is clear that it does not fit properly in the empty field to which it was attached. Three flat decorative arches, at the bottom of each there is a tap, occupy the lower section of the fountain wall. The water flows from the three taps into the trough in front of them. (Pl. 18)

Slab of marble, about 1.20 × 1.00m. attached to the top middle front wall of the *sabīl*. 5 lines, divided by bands. The first line is inscribed in two fields divided by a broad vertical line. The *ṭughrā* of the Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II above the inscription is flanked by two olive branches. Monumental late Ottoman *naskhī*, points, vowels, many signs including *hamzah*; in relief. Figs. 21, P11. Publication: Tütüncü, 281–282.

Pl. 18. Jaffa 1300 *Sabīl* Siksik.

(١) رد مورداً فيه الشفاء لوارد بسلاسة يروي حديث الكوثر (٢) انشأ هذا السيل ابتغاءً
 لوجهه تعالى الحاج عبد القادر (٣) والحاج عبد اللطيف والحاج محمد اولاد الحاج حسين
 (٤) السكسك سنة الف وثلثمائة عفى الله عنهم (٥) ١٣٠٠

Come to a watering place where there is health for the seeker of water, who fluently narrates the *ḥadīth* of *al-kawthar*. Have built this fountain (*sabīl*), seeking to please Him, may He be exalted, the *ḥājj* ‘Abd al-Qādir and the *ḥājj* ‘Abd al-Laṭīf and the *ḥājj* Muḥammad sons of the *ḥājj* Ḥusayn as-Siksik in the year one thousand and three hundred. May Allah pardon them. 1300 (=1883)

The Siksik family (*as-Sakāsik*) claims descent from the Yemenite tribal group of Ḥimyar. This claim might be based on the fact that in medieval sources the name Siksik or Saksak appears quite frequently in Yemenite legendary, and genealogical reports and traditions.

The most detailed and factual report was recorded in *al-Ansāb* by Sam‘ānī (d. 562/1166–67). Referring to the *nisbah* “as-Saksakī,” (*sic!*) Sam‘ānī says that it derives from Sakāsik.

Sakāsik is a clan from Azd. Wādī as-Sakāsik is a location in the Province of Urdunn. The Sakāsik settled there when they came to ash-Shām in the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—may Allah be pleased with him. They produced several transmitters of *ḥadīth*.

Sam‘ānī mentions all of them: some were natives of Yemen; some lived in Damascus and Kūfah some lived in Ramlah, one in Nīshāpūr, and some others whose place of origin is not mentioned. (Sam‘ānī 3:267–268)

In the geneological and historic-legendary traditions about Southern Arabia and its tribes the name Saksak belongs to a person, usually Saksak b. Wā’il, a king of the royal family of Ḥimyar. (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* 1:20f) The same type of traditions appear

in other sources as well. See for instance, Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, 1:66; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 432; Yafi'ī, *Mir'āt*, 1:144, and Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 4:576.

It is doubtful whether these reports refer to the present Siksiks (see below). The family tradition as I heard it on 1 March 2015 from 'Uthmān Siksik, native of Jaffa, says that the family came from Algiers. He also added that the name *Siksik* represents the sound "sik sik sik" which the family shepherds produced when driving along their herds, and that this is why of the family was nicknamed *siksik*.

What seems more likely, however, is that they were the inhabitants of the village Saksakiyyah in southern Lebanon (or was the village called after them?) half way between Sidon and Tyre (Ṣūr). Some members of the family are still living in this village; others migrated during the late Ottoman period to Jaffa and to Jerusalem, where the Christian branch of the family live. Branches of this family are scattered also in Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. This makes as-Saksakiyyah as their sole place of origin doubtful, in addition to another crucial fact discussed below by way of summary.

In Jaffa, the Siksiks were particularly successful, and a street in the commercial centre of the city was called after them. As mentioned above, both their mosque and fountain are in this street. (Qalyūbī 2006:113, 293, 380)

By a way of summary, I wish to finish the discussion about the name of the Siksiks with two observations. The first refers to the presence of the name in the Arabic sources mentioned above. Sam'ānī (*loc. cit*) draws attention particularly to the pronunciation of the name indicating that the vowel above the two *sīns* is *fathah*, which means that the name in these sources is Saksak not Siksik, and this is a significant difference. The name as-Saksakiyyah (not as-Siksikiyyah) of the village in southern Lebanon supports this fact. Secondly, the name Siksik, whatever is its origin, belongs to more than one or two groups. In Jerusalem alone, there are at least 8 Jewish families and many others elsewhere in the country bearing the name Siksik.

Notes on Text and Contents

L.1: Tütüncü's reading and translation of the inscription are so much off the mark (to say the least) that I do not feel the need to indulge in detailed corrections. Yet I cannot refrain from pointing out the gross mistake of this line. It contains an important Islamic message, and was cleverly composed. Tütüncü describes it as "a Persian/Arabic poem" which he supposedly reads, and transcribes into a most bizarre text, which is neither Persian nor Arabic. The text of course is *a pure Arabic text*. It invites the person who seeks water to come and drink from the healthy water of the fountain, where one remembers and narrates the tradition of the *kawthar*, the legendary river of paradise. The clever composition of this introductory line contains the verb *yarwī*, which obviously refers to the *narration* of *ḥadīth al-kawthar*, but at the same time also relates to quenching the thirst (which in Arabic is the same verb).

There are many traditions, particularly those dedicated to the interpretation of sūrah 108 (*sūrat al-kawthar*) in which the Prophet describes in detail this heavenly river, which pours its wonderful liquid into a pond (*ḥawḍ*) that the Prophet was shown when he ascended to heaven during his famous night journey accompanied by archangel Gabriel. The tradition appears in many versions in all the collections of *ḥadīth*, such as this tradition recorded by Tirmidhī (*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Kawthar* No. 3419 *cf.* Nos. 3417, 3418):

Al-Kawthar is a river in Paradise, the banks of which are from gold, and it runs on a bed of pearls and sapphires; its mud's scent is more delicious than musk, and its water is sweeter than honey, and whiter than snow.

الكوثر نهر في الجنة حافتاه من ذهب ومجراه على الدر والياقوت تربته أطيب من المسك
وماؤه أحلى من العسل وأبيض من الثلج.

Other traditions describe in detail the *kawthar* flowing with cold water, wine, milk and honey. In another tradition, the Prophet says that he saw on the banks of the *kawthar*, domes built of pearls, at the sight of which the Prophet asked the angel: "what is this O Gabriel?" The angel answered: "this is the *kawthar* with which Allah presented you."

26

Jaffa 1303/4

TURKISH INSCRIPTION OF THE JAFFA POLICE STATION (KISHLE)

Construction text (Turkish)
(Contribution of Necati Alkan)

1303/4/1886/7

2 slabs of marble, no measurements, placed one beneath the other, surrounded by a decorative panel (reminiscing sultan Sulaymān inscription in Jaffa gate, Jerusalem). The top slab is decorated with the *ṭughrā* of sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; the bottom slab has 3 lines, each line divided into 2 hemistiches, monumental Ottoman *nasta'liq* script, black letters, points, no vowels; in relief. Fig. 22.

١) لطف سلطان زمان ملکن ایتدی کامران ٢) اولده (؟) هر دم جهان سایه سنده
مستفید ٣) لشکری منصور اوله دشمنی مقهور اوله ٤) شوکتی موفور اوله عمر و اقبالی
مزید ٥) ایتدم عاصم لشکره مرده بر تاریخله ٦) یاپدی دبوی عسکره عهد خان عبدالحمید

1) Lutf-i sultan-ı zaman mülkün etdi kâmrân

2) Olmada her dem cihan sayesinde müstefid

- 3) Leşkeri mansur ola, düşmeni makhur ola
- 4) Şevketi mevfur ola, ömr ü ikbali mezîd
- 5) Etdim Âsım leşkere müjde bir tarihle
- 6) Yapdı debuy askere ahd Han-ı Abdülhamîd
1304(?)

- 1) The grace of the king of the age, he made his dominion prosperous.
- 2) The world ever profits through him.
- 3) May his armies be victorious, his foes subdued.
- 4) May his grandeur be abundant, may he live long.
- 5) Âsım announced good news to the army with a date:
- 6) Abdülhamid Khan promised the depot to the soldiers

Commentary

The building that has the inscription above its entrance was the depot of the Ottoman reserve army (*redif deposu*) in Jaffa. (Fig. P12) One information maintains that being a two-storey military compound with an arched main gate in the “empire style” (*ampir üslubu*), consisting of plaster, and also having arches on the front façade, it was built in the Tanzimat (reform) period (1839–1878) (*Üç Kitaplı Kentler*, caption of the photo). Yet, the “empire style” for buildings was imported to the Ottoman Empire from France previously in the early 19th century, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) and remained popular throughout the Tanzimat until the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) (Eyice 1995:159–63; Aydın 2012).

The inscription text praises Abdülhamid II. Below the inscription is the date of a year that appears to be 1304, the last cipher is not readable but could be either 3 or 4. Âsım, the writer of the inscription announces in the fifth hemistich the date, which is hidden in the sixth and last hemistich. Poems composed to commemorate the (re)construction of a building, i.e. “chronograms,” represent the inscription texts. The numerical value of the letters in the last hemistich of these poems usually gives the date of (re)construction (DOI 1). In this case it is 1303. Mehmet Tütüncü, who has recently provided the text of this inscription maintains, for some reason, that the expression “announced good news . . . with a date” in the fifth hemistich means that one should be added to the numerical value of the last hemistich, and the date thus becomes 1304 (1886–87 CE) (Tütüncü 2009/2016:39). However, since the last number in digits could well be 3 agreeing with the chronogram value of 1303, there is no need to make any unnecessary change in this date. If the building was constructed during the Tanzimat before the rule of Abdülhamid II, as we are informed, then the year 1303 of the inscription may indicate that it was transformed into a depot. But it may also have been constructed during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Unfortunately, we have so far no source about the date of construction.

The writer of the inscription, as indicated above, is Âsım. This is the statesman and poet Âsım Yakub Efendi from Kütahya in Western Anatolia, who was born in 1220/1805 and died in 1301/1884 (Süreyya 1996: 1:328; Uzunçarşılı 1932:222–23; Wikipedia) or in 1305/1887–88 (DOI 2). He composed many poems equivalent to two *divans*, and there are at least two other inscriptions in Turkey for which he provided the poems. One inscription from 1282/1865–66 is at the Altunizade Mosque in Istanbul (Menekşe, 2010:258–59; DOI 2), the other dates from 1283/1866–67 and is the inscription at the Ziya Bey Sebil (fountain), also in Istanbul (DOI 3).

Our inscription here has already been referred to twice. Once in 2014 in the Turkish journal *Osmanlıca*, with slight errors in the reading (Osmanlıca, 2014:35). Tütüncü has recently also provided the text of this inscription, with a different translation and no background information (Tütüncü 2009/2016:39).

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27

Jaffa 1305

Epitaph of a Muslim

21 Jumādā I 1305/4 Feb. 1887

A slab of marble 0.43 × 0.32 × 0.06m., broken on top and top right corner, kept at Jaffa museum. The first lines are missing. 4 lines, professional Ottoman *naskhī*, points and many vowels and signs, bands divide the lines creating shallow fields for the text; in relief. Fig. 23.

(١) [واذكر] (؟) في الأخرى جميل ثوابه (٢) وإهدايه (!) فاتحة وبالتاريخ (٣) قل لصالح مناع
رحمة ربه (٤) سنة ١٣٠٥ هـ في ٢١ جمادى الأولى (!)

—And remember in the hereafter the beauty of his reward, and the dedication of the *fātiḥah* for him; and (concerning) the date: “Inform Ṣāliḥ Mannā‘ about his lord’s mercy.” In 21 Jumādā I 1305 (=4th Feb. 1887).

L.1: The lost lines and the broken corner contained an invocation. I can see the remnants of the letter *rāʾ* and probably remnants of a *hāʾ* which could be *waʿdhkur lahu* or *waʿmur lahu*—“and order for him” or another combination. The subject of the invocation could be Allah who is beseeched to grant the deceased in the hereafter the graceful reward he deserves. The call for granting him the *fātiḥah* (l.3) might be directed at the visitors of the grave.

L.3: The full name of the deceased, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Mannā‘, appears again in a later inscription from 1330/1911 in Jaffa.

L.4: The date of the inscription appears in the numerical value of the letters قل لصالح رحمة ربه (1305 = 207 + 648 + 161 + 159 + 130) and in digits: the year 1305 of the Hijrah. (The *hāʾ* for *hijrah* hangs over the *tāʾ* *marbūṭah* of the stylized *sanah*.) The month, first Jumādā, was erroneously defined as *al-awwāl* instead of *al-ūlā*, but this is not unusual.

28

Jaffa 1307

ISKANDAR ‘AWAD’S MARKET

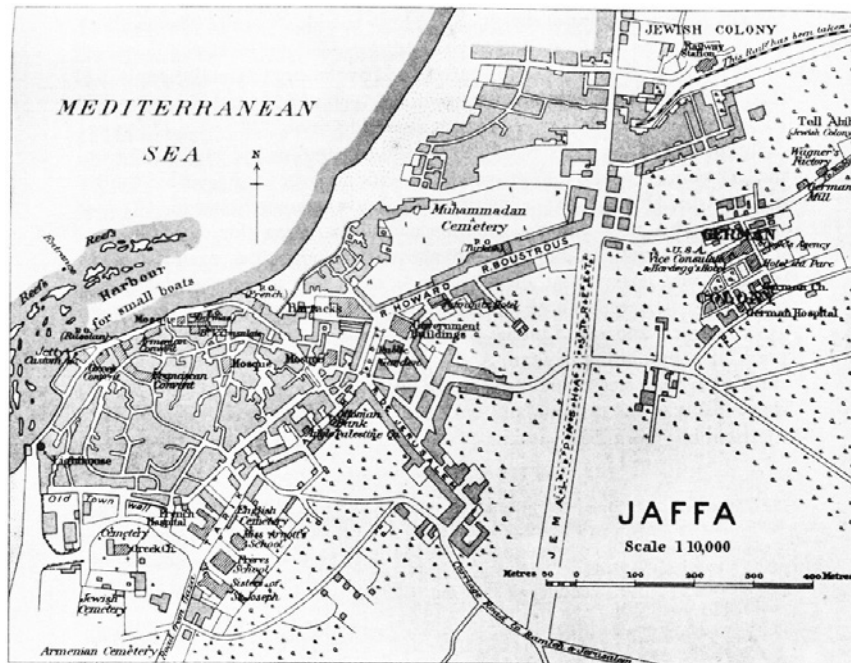
Street sign

1307/1889

Marble plaque within marble frame 0.70 × 0.40m. (approx.) located at the beginning of Raziel St. next to the clock square. 4 lines, first two in Arabic, third line in French, fourth line in Arabic. Text in first line flanked on both sides by a five-pointed star inside a round sunken field. The star also appears in the middle of the bottom line. Ottoman professional *naskhī*, with points and signs, no vowels; incised. Fig. 24.

(١) على الله تيسير الامور (٢) سوق اسكندر عوض (٣) Rue Howard 1889 سنة ١٣٠٧ (٤)

On God depends the facilitation of affairs. The market of Iskandar ‘Awad. Rue Howard 1889. The year 1307.



Map 4. Map of Jaffa 1917. Top: Rue Howard and Rue Bustros.



This inscription marks one of the first construction projects outside Jaffa city walls. Its location was not accidental: it was built along the path connecting the port of Jaffa with the road leading north to Nablus and Acre, and east to Ramleh and Jerusalem. This street, presently called Razi'el St., used to be divided into two sections, named after their builders. The first section, called Howard Street, started at the Clock Tower Square, and continued northeastwards to Post Street. Under the Ottomans the Turkish Post office was located on the left side of the road. This section was named after its founder, Iskandar 'Awaḍ or, in the European version, Alexander

Howard (see below No. 30 Jaffa 1310 for details). The second section of this road, starting at Post St., continued in the same northeastwardly direction, until it met the Jerusalem Boulevard (previously Jamāl Pasha Street and King George V Boulevard). It was called after Negib Bustros, a rich Christian merchant. A street sign that bears his name: “Rue Negib Bustros 1886” tells us that it was already functional and known in 1886. (See map no. 4 and insert above).

Howard’s date of birth is unknown yet it seems that he was originally from Beirut (though some claim that he was born in Malta). In 1867, during the early activity of Thomas Cook & Son travel agency in the Middle East, Howard met Cook in Cairo and was hired as Cook’s *dragoman*. He was in charge of two of Cook’s excursions to Jerusalem, one starting in Beirut and the other in Jaffa. He excelled in this post (apparently earning a fortune) and kept it until 1875, when for some reason Cook decided to end their partnership. Howard’s next enterprise was real estate. He must have moved to Jaffa during his work as Cook’s *dragoman* in order to manage Cook’s excursions closely. He was apparently well aware of the business potential of a new market in an important city like Jaffa, and decided to invest his money in building a new market in proximity to Jaffa’s port, which was then the gate to Palestine.



Howard’s new market complex, together with Negib Bustros’s buildings, were built in a similar manner that provided maximum security outside the city walls. The market was built as a long rectangular structure containing at least two levels. The lower, street level was divided into small cubicles each functioning as a shop. Each shop had a wide door that was safely closed at night. The top level served as apartments for potential tenants, or offices, and could only be reached via a

staircase from the main entrance at the street level that was guarded at night by watchmen.

Our inscription marks the completion of only the first part of Howard's market that was already known and functional in 1889. The second part of his market on the south-eastern side of the road was completed 3 years later and is commemorated in a different inscription (see No. 30 Jaffa 1310/1892).

Judging by its contents and symbols it is hard to determine whether this inscription was placed on the side of the building by Alexander Howard himself, or by the Ottoman officials. The text of this inscription is both Muslim and Christian. The five-pointed star decorating the text has a strong magical meaning as a protective talisman against various evils but is also used as a Christian symbol of the Epiphany or the manifestation of Jesus, and it usually accompanies scenes of the nativity. (CIAP, 3:132) Both in Islam as in Christianity, it is said that the five-pointed star suggests the figure of man (*haykal* in Arabic: head, two arms, and two legs) that, from the Christian point of view, mean the true God and the true man in one person. (*Our Christian Symbols*, 1973:59).

29

Jaffa 1308

Construction poem

1308/1890–1891

Slab of marble, 0.78 × 0.75 × 0.07m., 5 lines of a poem, engraved in sunken fields of equal sizes, created by wide bands which separate the lines (horizontal) and the hemistiches (vertical). The date in digits appears separately at the bottom of the stone. Ornamental Ottoman *naskhī*, points and many vowels; in relief. Taken from sabīl Abū Sirḥān, corner of Yefet and Ba'al Shem-Tov Streets, Jaffa, on the old way to Gaza, kept at Jaffa museum (No. MHY 100.087). Today the stone is broken into 5 pieces, but I have an early photograph of the inscription (Pl. 19) still intact. Figs. 25 (complete) and Jaffa 25a (broken). The metre of the poem is *al-kāmil* but suffering from several defects. Most of the vowels in the reading below appear in the original.

فصاِدٍ به يروى وينهل وارِدُ
رجاءِ ثوابٍ فيه تسمو المقاصِدُ
محمد سِرْحَانٍ وِكلا ماجدُ
وكل هذا الخَيْرُ لله قاصِدُ
سبيلُ صفتٍ للورد منه مواردُ

1308 = 251 + 95 + 270 + 570 + 102

١٣٠٨

(١) سبيل لنفع الخلق قد فاض مأثُه (١)
(٢) شريكان بالاخلاص شادا بنائُه (١)
(٣) علي هو القبطان والشهْرُ صادقُ
(٤) علي البر والتقوى هما قد تعاونا
(٥) ومدتم بالتوفيق اريخ زهابه

+7 +13

(٦)



Pl. 19. Jaffa 1308 undamaged inscription.

A fountain that its water pours forth for the benefit of the people;
 The thirsty quenches its thirst in it, and the seeker of water comes to it.
 Two partners in dedication constructed its building
 Seeking the recompense for which the intentions soar high
 ‘Alī—he is the captain and the fame is truthful,
 Muḥammad Sirḥān; they are both splendid.
 They collaborated in (the works of) charity and piety
 And all these good works are intended for (pleasing) Allah
 And since the happy outcome happened, fix the date: “In it shone
 A fountain which is a source of clear water for the travellers seeking it.”
 1308 (1890–91)

The fountain was built at a junction of two roads, one leading from Jaffa to Gaza starting at the eastern gate of the city, and the second leading eastwards and connecting with the main road to Jerusalem. It provided travellers with water, which they needed for the long stretch of road ahead.

L.3: The two charitable builders of the fountain were the captain of the port who was also in charge of the customs. He is mentioned only by his first name—‘Alī, and the second person was Muḥammad Sirḥān (after whom the sabil was called). If I am interpreting correctly, the phrase *والشهر صادق* then *ash-shahr ṣādiq* is directly connected with Muḥammad Sirḥān describing him as a person whose fame is based on truth, or his fame is justified. I found no reference to this person or to the captain.



Map 5. Theodor Sandel's map 1878–9 (detail). Bottom left: "al-bīr al-ḥilweh".

Although Sirḥān is the correct pronunciation of his name which means a wolf, in the inscription it seems to be vowelled Sarḥān, unless the long stroke above the *sīn* is an ornamental sign. The same may be said about the *kasratayn* under the *nūn*.
L.5: *Wird* means a party of travellers coming to the water. A term befitting the purpose of the fountain.

To the west of the Jabaliyyah neighborhood, very near the shore, there was an artesian well called *al-bīr al-ḥilweh* (Sandel's Map 1878, No. 24) situated on an artesian aquifer on which the *sabīl* was built, both enjoying the same source of natural water.

30

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS—ISLAMIC DATES

In what follows, I arranged all the Christian inscriptions according to their calculated Islamic dates. Needless to say that the *hijrah* dates do not appear in the Christian inscriptions. They were inserted (in brackets) in all the references to these inscriptions, which naturally have only the CE date, in order to place them in the right chronological order alongside the other inscriptions of Jaffa.

Jaffa (1310) 1892
 Building of a market
 Construction text

(1310)/1892

The building known now as the “house of Iskandar ‘Awaḍ” has two entrances: on the right (facing the building): an ordinary looking gate leading to a staircase to the two top floors. On the left: a wider decorated entrance leading to the ground floor, which seemingly served as a hotel entrance. (Pl. 20)

The façade of this entrance, which is richly decorated with a mixture of classical, and art nouveau style, can be divided into three parts:

- A. The lower part has two classical columns serving as doorposts, each topped with double Doric capital.
- B. The middle part designed to resemble a classic entablature has 3 sections:
 - 1) Narrow architrave at the bottom.
 - 2) Frieze decorated with an arch with a single protruding keystone dividing it into two semi-arches resting partly on the two columns. The keystone contains a 5 lines inscription in Arabic and French. The Arabic: small characters, professional Ottoman *naskhī*, points and vowels; incised. Each semi-arch is divided into 4 cartouches each containing an inscription in Arabic. The bottom part of the frieze underneath the arch is designed as a



Pl. 20. Jaffa 1892. Iskandar ‘Awaḍ house.

folded curtain with two curtain tassels hanging in the middle between the folds of the curtain. On both sides of the arch there are two oblong square blocks representing mock column, decorated with a circle in the middle. (Pl. 21, Fig. 26)

- 3) Decorated cornice running above the arch (Figs. 26a, 26b)
- C. The top part designed as a triangular tympanum, is decorated in the middle with a small-scale model of the classical façade with two square column, one on each side topped with architrave under which the stone was sculptured like a folded curtain. The space between these two columns contains a two-line inscription in Hebrew; incised. Three five-pointed stars appear beneath the Hebrew text. The triangular tympanum of this small scale façade contains an inscription in Arabic. 2 lines, professional Ottoman *naskhī*, points, some vowels; incised. See Kark 164; Yinon 252–253; leBor 32–33, none of whom published the construction poem of the market.

The reading in what follows is from top to bottom.

- a. Small-scale Arabic inscription in the tympanum:

(١) سلام (٢) على ابراهيم

“Peace be upon Abraham!” (Q, 37:109).

The usage of a Qur’ānic citation by a Christian (here and below) is puzzling. However, it seems that Alexander Howard, being a Freemason wanted to attach to his building a multi-religious nature, hence the Hebrew citation from Psalms (clear Masonic usage, see below) and Arabic from the Qur’ān.



Pl. 21. Jaffa (1310) 1892.

Hebrew inscription:

(1) שלום (2) על ישראל

Peace Be upon Israel! (Psalms, 125:5; 128:6)

b. Keystone inscription Arabic and French:

(1) الكاقلير اسكندر عَوْض (2) (3) ١٨٩٢ (4) CHEVALIER (5) A. HOWARD 1892

The chevalier Iskandar 'Awaḍ—Alexander Howard 1892

c. Arch inscription Arabic

Right side (beginning):

بنيت السوق في جد وكد / واتقان وعون الله حسي // فقد خطت يد الاسعاد فيه /
الا ذاكه من فضل ربي

Left side (end):

اثر يمي (!) ويحلو ذكره / قد اقمنا السوق و المولى عضد // وبدلنا الجد في انشاءه / ليس
بدعاً ان من جد وجد

I built the market with effort, hard work and perfect workmanship, and God's help is enough for me (paraphrase on Q, 9:129; 39:38?). The hand of good fortune left a mark on it. Lo, all of it "is of my Lord's bounty" (Q, 27:40). This is a monument whose memory brings life and joy. We built the market with God's help and we exerted ourselves in its establishment. It is not a mere saying that he who makes an effort achieves his goal.

This famous and frequently used proverb about serious effort resulting in full reward has a Hebrew equivalent **אם יאמר לך אדם: יגעתי ולא מצאתי—אל תאמן, יגעתי ומצאתי—תאמן**—"If a person says to you 'I worked hard and did not achieve'—do not believe him, if he says: 'I did not work hard and I achieved'—do not believe him but if he says: 'I worked hard and I achieved'—believe him." (BT, *Megillah* 6b)

The varied nature of this unusual façade and inscriptions reflect Alexander Howard's eclectic background. As mentioned above in Jaffa 1307 Howard was a Maronite Christian from Beirut. While working in the service of the Cook & Sons agency in 1871, he joined the *le Liban* Freemason's lodge in Beirut (Sommer, 81). This date marks the beginning of Howard's close relationship with Freemasonry, which seems to have surpassed his Maronite background. While residing later in Jaffa, Howard created close connections with another Freemason named Rolla Floyd. Though Freemasonry symbolism is closely connected with King Solomon and his Temple in Jerusalem, there was no active lodge in the Holy Land before 1868. The first authorized Masonic lodge named "Royal Solomon Mother Lodge" was established in Jerusalem in 1873. Rolla Floyd, who had settled in Jaffa in 1866, was one of the active members of this lodge that held its meetings in Jerusalem, and later he became its president. Thus, the meeting between two active freemasons like Howard and Floyd could not be accidental.

When the partnership between Cook and Howard ended, the latter changed course to real estate. As mentioned above he had constructed a new market in Jaffa in 1889 and in addition, he built three new hotels in Jerusalem, Latrun and Jaffa (Zeldis, "Masonic lodge," 197). An advertisement published in "*ha-Tzvi*" newspaper in 1896 states that the "Howard Hotel" is located in front of the Jaffa gate in Jerusalem and is able to entertain 125 people, first class, with hot and cold baths. This advertisement also states that the "Howard Hotel" in Jaffa offers the same advantages. One of the reports in the "Masonic Sun" from 1898, states that the members of the Royal Solomon Mother Lodge did not have a regular meeting place and therefore sometimes held their meetings in the "Howard Hotel" whose owner, Brother Howard, was an active member in the lodge. This last report does not specify whether these meetings took place in Howard's hotel in Jerusalem or in Jaffa; yet Zeldis claims that Howard's, house on which the inscription under discussion is placed, used to be the meeting place of Masonic activity in Jaffa. Hence, it is quiet safe to presume that this unusual façade was in fact the entrance to the "Howard Hotel". A post card in German from 1899 contains some sketches of major sights in Jaffa including the discussed façade that bears the title: "Eingang zum Hotel Howard", namely the entrance to the "Howard Hotel", thus confirming the latter assumption.

Howard's Masonic background is clearly represented in the design of this façade. The top part was designed to recall the shape of the Masonic apron. The two classical columns topped with Corinthian capitals symbolize the columns of Jachin and Boaz that stood at the Solomonic Temple's entrance, a well-known feature in Masonic halls. The Hebrew writhing **שְׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל** (peace be upon Israel) is one of the Masonic sayings that accompanies the 18th degree of the Scottish rite: "Chevalier Rose-Croix." Howard was promoted to this degree thus presented himself in the inscription as the "Chevalier A. Howard" together with the Hebrew aphorism of this degree.



Pl. 22. Postcard from Jaffa 1899: Hotel Howard top left.

However, all being said, it is important to point out that the main Arabic inscription on the façade does not commemorate the construction of a hotel but the building of a market. After the completion of the first part of Howard's market in 1889, the continuation of the works took place on the other side of the road. A similar complex was erected, replicating the same basic design of Howard's initial market; this time, however, three levels high. The present inscription commemorating the first market was placed, no doubt, by Alexander Howard himself and was written in the first person indicating his own personal doings.

The text is a short poem divided into eight hemistiches: the 2nd hemistich rhymes with the 4th (*ḥasbī-rabbī*) the 3rd hemistich with 7th (*fīhi-inshā'ihī*) and the 6th hemistich with the 8th (*'aḍada-wajada*). The main theme of this poem is Howard's own much invested efforts in the building of this market, which could not be achieved without the help bestowed upon him by God. The word *jidd*, namely making great effort in accomplishing something, appears three times in this poem implying that the market project demanded great determination, and personal effort. Howard's efforts represent human efforts, which in order to succeed need divine assistance, and the poem clearly states that the major force behind the construction of this market is that of God.

Howard died in 1904 and was buried in his house. Later his tomb was moved to the Maronite church in Jaffa, to which his wife Helen donated some funds in his memory, and assisted in the construction of a new belfry. (See Jaffa Nos. 42, 43)

31

Jaffa (1313) 1895

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man

(1313)/14th Feb. 1895

Slab of marble, 1.70 × 0.72m., slightly cracked at top and middle parts. 5 lines all engraved in sunken rectangular fields. The first three are a poem with each hemistich engraved in an individual sunken field, the 4th line is also divided into two sections containing the name of the deceased, but is not part of the poem. The fifth line, containing the date of death, was engraved in a single field. Semi-monumental late Ottoman *naskhī*, points, some vowels; in relief. Above the inscription, occupying about half the size of the tombstone, is a richly decorated winged Calvary cross in bas relief within a sunken heptagonal field with angels spreading their wings on both sides. Information supplied by Samuel Giller. Pl. 23, Fig. 27.

The poem metre seems to be imperfect *ṭawīl*.



Pl. 23. Jaffa (1313)/1895.

(١) الا ايها القبر الذي ضم نعشه
 (٢) ففبك ثوت كل المكارم والعلی
 (٣) عليك سلام الله ما بل الندی
 (٤) ضريح المرحوم - يعقوب موسى
 (٥) المتوفي في ١٤ شباط سنة ١٨٩٥ عن عمر ٧٥ سنة

O thou grave that embraces his coffin,
 Be kind to him and enjoy whom you carry.
 For in you rest all gracious qualities and nobility,
 And within you are gathered intellect and learning.
 May God's blessing be on you as long as dew wets your soil
 And as long as rain pours down heavily on you.

The tomb of the deceased Ya'qūb Mūsā who passed away on 14 February 1895, aged 75.

The composer of this poetic epitaph was, no doubt, a learned person who knew Arabic poetry like many Christian 19th century scholars in the Levant who dedicated themselves to the study of Arabic language and literature—both prose and poetry.

L.3: Addressing the tomb in order to eulogize the deceased lying in it, the writer of the poem follows a poetic technique used by classical poets. The verse echoes a famous elegy by Ibn ar-Rūmī (836–896) finishing with a similar verse:

عليك سلام الله مني تحيةً ومن كل غيث صادق البرق والرعد

Let the peace of Allah be a salute for you from me
 And from all rain that follows true lightning and thunder (*Dīwān* 2002, 1:402)

We find a similarly common technique of animating a grave for the same purpose in an elegy by ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, (970–1015) beginning with the verse:

أَيَعْلَمُ قَبْرٌ بِالْجَنَّةِ أَنَّا أَقْمَنَاهُ نَنعِي النَّدَى وَالْمَعَالِيَا

Does a grave in the little garden know that we
stayed in it to lament generosity and noble traits? (*Dīwān* 1995, 2:505)

32

Jaffa (1314) 1896

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man

(1314)/1896

A slab of marble 0.53×1.23 m., broken into six pieces, five with the complete inscription, found on a tomb in the Anglican cemetery in Jaffa during its restoration in 2014–2015. 6 lines of a poem, professional, semi-monumental and artistically shaped modern *naskhī*, each hemistich engraved in shallow field created by horizontal bands that divide the lines, and the vertical band that divides the hemistiches, points, many vowels; in relief. The cross on the top of the stone was on the lost, broken piece. The poem was, no doubt, composed with some idea of metre, which I am unable to define with certainty. Fig. 28; Pl. Jaffa (1314) 1896.



Pl. 24. Jaffa (1314)/1896. (Photo: S. Giller)

(١) رمسُ يباهي الصَّرْحَ فخرًا إذ حوى
 (٢) جزعت بوادي العلم إذ فَقَدَتْ بِهِ
 (٣) حزن القريض لفقده متوشحًا
 (٤) كحر مقله سفكت عقيق الدمع من
 تاريخه زكى العلي بشاره
 في جوفه شهماً أجلاً كريم
 من كان يفديها بكلٍ عظيم
 حُلَّ السوادِ مقطع المنظوم
 ماء العيون فمن أخٍ وحميم
 كرمًا محلاً في ديار نعيم

١٨٩٦ ١٧٠ + ٢١٥ + ٩٠ + ٧٩ + ٢٦١ + ٩٠٣ + ١٤١ + ٣٧

(٦) من آمن بي وإن مات فسيحيايو [حنا] ١١ : ٢٥

A tomb that vies in nobility with a palace since it contains

Within it an astute, exceedingly benevolent (man)

The deserts of knowledge grieved since they lost in him

The one who saved them from any massive problem.

Poetry mourns his passing, donning

Black garments, rending the verse apart

Like the heat of an eyeball that pours cornelian-red tears are

The water of the eyes of both brother and bosom friend.

Its date: The Most High kindly justified Bishārah

(Granting him) a place in the abodes of happiness.

... he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. (John, 11:25)

L.2: "The deserts of knowledge" is the literal translation of *bawādī al-‘ilm*, which means the vast territories, or vast lands of science, or scholarship.

L.5: This line contains the name of the deceased Bishārah (meaning annunciation, good tidings), a common Arab-Christian name, and the date of his passing in the numerical value of the letters following the word *ta’rīkhuhu*, "its date." It should be noted that the *tā’ marbūṭah* in the name Bishārah (actually, *Bishārat^{an}* with *tanwīn* in the original) is calculated according to the value of an ordinary *tā’* that is to say, 400. The value of the letters in this line: 37 + 141 + 903 + 261 + 79 + 90 + 215 + 170 adds up to 1896.

33

Jaffa 1317

THE KAZAKHĀNAH MUSLIM CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Muslim

2 Muḥarram 1317/14 May 1899

Tombstone in the Kazakhānah (or Kazkhānah) Muslim cemetery in the Jabaliyyah neighborhood, Jaffa. A long and narrow, well preserved slab of marble, 0.93 × 0.32m. 9 lines, semi-monumental late Ottoman *nashī* engraved in sunken fields, full points

and large number of vowels and signs; in relief. Figs. 29, P13 Kazakhānah cemetery, P14 Kazakhāna elements, P15 Kazakhāna tomb.

(١) هو الحي الباقي (٢) قد انتقل بالوفاة (٣) الى رحمة الله تعالى (٤) السيد عمر بن (٥) اسماعيل أبو
(٦) الخير غفر الله له (٧) ولوالديه أمين (٨) توفي في ٢ محرم ٩ سنة ١٣١٧ هـ

He is the Living, the Everlasting. Has passed away into the mercy of Allah the Exalted after dying, the *sayyid* ‘Umar b. Ismā‘il Abū al-Khayr, (“the father of charity”) may Allah pardon him and his two parents. He passed away on 2 Muḥarram, AH 1317 (=14 May 1899).

The Kazakhānah Muslim cemetery in the Jabaliyyah neighborhood to the south of the ‘Ajāmī quarter in Jaffa is a relatively new cemetery. Burial began in the low hill overlooking the Mediterranean at the end of the 19th century and continued until the middle of the twentieth century. Because of its proximity to the sea, most of its tombstones have been affected by the natural elements and the salty humidity, and many are in advanced state of disintegration. (Figs. P13; P14) The reconstruction works which have taken place in the cemetery since 2008 consist mainly of white washing the graves, (Fig. P15) but this cannot stop the process of decay. There are about 4000 graves in the cemetery, the majority of which fall outside the scope of the *CIAP*. The present inscription is the only one that is still preserved from the last year of the 19th century.

34

Jaffa (1319) 1901

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man

(1319)/1901

A slab of marble 0.52 × 1.07m., broken into 3 pieces but complete, found in the Anglican cemetery in Jaffa during restoration works carried out there in 2014–2015. 6 lines each engraved in a shallow sunken field, professional modern *naskhī*, full points and vowels; in relief. Fig. 30; Pl. 25.

(١) إبراهيم منصور (٢) من شفاعمرو توفي في ٣ ك ١١ ١٩٠١ (٣) نَنْتَظِرُ مُخْلِصًا هُوَ الرَّبُّ يَسُوعَ
الْمَسِيحَ الَّذِي (٤) سَيَغَيِّرُ شَكْلَ جَسَدِ تَوَاضِعِنَا لِيَكُونَ (٥) عَلَى صُورَةِ جَسَدِ مَجْدِهِ فِي [لِي] ٣:
٢١ (٦) تَعَالِ أَيُّهَا الرَّبُّ يَسُوعُ رُبُّ [يَا الْقَدِيسِ يُوْحَنَّا] ٢٢: ٢٠

Ibrāhīm Maṣṣūr from Shafā‘amr. He died on 3 October 1901 “(For our [citizenship] is in Heaven from which also) we look for the Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, Who shall change our lowly body, that it might be fashioned like his glorious body etc.” (*The Epistle to the Philippians* 3:20–21) “(Even so), come Lord Jesus.” (*Revelation*, 22:20)



Pl. 25. Jaffa (1319)/1901. (Photo: S. Giller)

L.4: **شَكَلٌ** is a small deviation from the Arabic translation of the Jesuits (Beirut 2nd printing 1882) as well as from the Standard English translation which I used here. (*The New Scofield Reference Bible*, Oxford 1967)

35

Jaffa 1319a

'AJAMĪ CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Muslim

c. 1319/1901–1902

A slab of marble 0.50 × 0.50m. (approx.) fixed on the eastern (narrow) side of a built tomb, partly sunk into the ground, concealing a line or two of the inscription. These lines are lost due to the failure of the photographer to excavate them before taking the pictures. The grave does not exist anymore and there is no way of knowing what the lost text was. 4 lines, the fourth only partly preserved. Each line engraved in flat, sunken fields with rounded endings. Professional modern *naskhī*, points, some vowels; in relief. Fig. 31 There is another inscription fixed on the southern (wide) side of the tomb to be discussed under the following entry (No. 36 Jaffa 1319b).

	(١) هو الحي الباقي
وبئ مجاور الرب الرحيم	(٢) إذا أمسى فراشي من تراب
لك البشري قدمت على كريم	(٣) فهتوني أحبائي وقولوا
مصطفى آغا	(٤) hemistich covered by grass

He is the Living the everlasting

If my mattress is now made of dust

And I came into the company of the compassionate Lord;

Congratulate me O my beloved and say:

"Glad tidings to thee, thou hast come to the Gracious (Lord)." . . . (Muṣṭafā Āghā)

Ll.2 and 3 are a two-verse poem with which I deal below.

L.3: the first word in this line is damaged. But I am sure about this reading since all the letters can be detected and also because of the abundant parallels of these two verses that convey an appeal by the deceased to his friends to come to his grave, and share with him the good tidings that after death he came into the presence of the Benevolent Lord.

L.4: From this line, only the name and the title have survived. The first half and the rest of the inscription are either concealed by greenery, or buried in the ground.

The year 1319 is a guess, based on the type of script, and the following inscription, Jaffa 1319b fixed on the same tomb.

The two-versed poem in lines 2–3 is attributed to the famous 7th century poet Ya‘aqūb b. Sābir al-Manjanīqī (born in Mūṣul in 595 and died in Ḥamāt in 675). He composed these two verses before his death and they are his last piece of poetry in which he is speaking to himself (وَأَنْشَدَ قَبِيلَ مَوْتِهِ لِنَفْسِهِ وَهُوَ آخِرُ شِعْرِهِ). The metre is perfect *wāfir*

إذا ما بات من تَرَبِّ فراشي وبتُّ مجاور الرب الكريم
فهونني أصيحايب وقولوا لك البشري قدمت على رحيم

If my mattress is now made of dust

And I came into the company of the Gracious Lord;

Congratulate me O my friends and say:

“Glad tidings to thee, thou hast come to a Compassionate (Lord)”. (Ibn Kallikān, *Wafāyāt*, 1977, 7:45. The whole biography of the poet *ibid.*, 7:35–46)

The differences between the two versions, as one can see, are very slight. The only meaningful change is the replacement of the word *uṣayḥābī* in the original poem with *aḥibbā’ī*. The meaning is the same. The word *uṣayḥāb*, being the plural of *aṣḥāb* is quite rare. It appears, however, in the *ḥadīth* literature at least on two occasions. (See Ibn Mājah, *Sunān, muqaddimah*, 12; *manāsik*, 76) The usage of *aḥibbā’ī* in this inscription is therefore not surprising and we find a similar replacement in the verses quoted by al-Yūnīnī where *Uṣayḥābī* was replaced by *akhillā’ī*, a word with the same meaning but less rare:

إذا أمسى فراشي من تراب وبتُّ مجاور الرب الرحيم
فهونني أخلائي وقولوا لك البشري قدمت على كريم

This version is almost identical to the poem in our inscription. (See Yūnīnī 1374/1954, 3:22)

An account about the usage of these verses for epitaphs is reported on the authority of Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) in the context of interpreting certain words in the poem.

وقال القرطبي رأيت على قبر مكتوبا:
 إذا ما صار فرشي من تراب وبت مجاور الرب الرحيم
 فهنوني أصحايي وقولوا لك البشرى قدمت على كريم
 قدمت بفتح التاء تقوله الناس عند رؤية الجنازة.

(al-Jarrāhī 1351/1932, 2:93.) Qurṭubī said: “I saw written on a grave” (quoting the poem). The interesting addition here concerns the last sentence: “People pronounce this (namely these verses) on watching a funeral.” The verses read almost the same except for two differences: *mā šāra* instead of *amsā* or *mā bāta* (all are the “sisters of *kāna*”).

Another version of this poem comes from Spain. The theme is the same: the sin of man and the compassion of God. al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 /1632) in his monumental compilation on the history and literature of Muslim Spain, *Nafḥ at-Ṭīb min Ghušn al-Andalus ar-Raṭīb*, quotes a poem composed by Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Abrash ash-Shantarīnī (d. 532/1138), the Arab linguist and jurist from Santarém (ash-Shantarīn, now in Portugal. On him see aṣ-Ṣafadī 1420/1999, 13:228). The poet emphasizes that on his deathbed, while men forsook him because of his serious sins, Allah will surely forgive him when they meet, namely after death. (Maqqarī 1968, 4:319) Iḥsān ‘Abbās in his 1968 edition of *Nafḥ at-Ṭīb* notes that in a different manuscript two more poems by the same poet exist. One of these poems is almost identical with the poem quoted in our inscription, with negligible variants.

إذا ما بتت من تراب فراشي وبت مجاور الرب العظيم
 فهنوني صحايي ثم قولوا لك البشرى قدمت على كريم

The usage of *ṣiḥābī* in the second hemistich is necessary for keeping the *wāfir* metre and the same applies to *batta* instead of *bāta* in the first hemistich of the poem. (Both of which are used in the various versions.) Note that the original *uṣayḥābī* was exchanged for *ṣiḥābī*, a better known word even in colloquial usage. If indeed the poem was composed by Ibn al-Abrash ash-Shantarīnī, who died before Manjanīqī was born, then we witness here a migration of this poem from the west to the east. It seems, however, that Maqqarī, as he himself admits, quoted verses of *Mashriqī* origin, which were attributed to Andalusian poets (“And someone else said, and I assume that he is a man from the Orient.”). It is also possible that in the additional manuscripts which Iḥsān ‘Abbās used for his 1968 edition, material attributed to Maqqarī was not his.²

² R. Dozy, G. Dugat, I. Krehl and W. Wright published al-Maqqarī’s work under the title: *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1859). In this edition (II,2:651) there is no reference to the poem

36
Jaffa 1319b
‘AJAMĪ CEMETERY
Epitaph of a Muslim

1319/1901–02

A slab of marble 0.40 × 0.40m. (approx.) fixed to the southern (long) side of the previous tomb (No. 35 Jaffa 1319a). Like the inscription on the eastern side, this also was not fully uncovered before its photograph was taken, and one line or more was left sunk in the ground and lost. In the 1990s, the cemetery (Fig. P16) was already in a state of neglect when this and the following inscriptions were photographed. Now the graves no longer exist and there is no way of knowing what the lost text was.

3 exposed lines, in square, sunken fields, professional modern *naskhī*, points, no vowels; in relief. Fig. 31a.

(١ هو الحي الباقي ٢) توفاه (١!) الى رحمة الله تعالى (١!) الشيخ (٣) محمد المنيني (؟) سنة ١٣١٩
(one or more lines missing)

He is the Living, the Everlasting. Has passed away to the mercy of Allah—may He be exalted—the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Manīnī (?) in the year 1319 (=1901–1902) . . .

L.2: *Tawaffā* instead of *tuwuffiya* is a common mistake influenced by colloquial language; *t’ālā* with two points under the *yā*’ is also a common mistake, or practice, of tombstones makers, particularly in the Ottoman period.

L.3: Unfortunately, the information about the deceased Shaykh was lost. The *nisbah* al-Manīnī, referring to a village near Damascus (Suyūṭī, *Lubb*, 1840:254) is the only reading that I can suggest for this word.

The two inscriptions on the tomb (No. 35 and No. 36) are not related to each other. It is almost sure that someone found them in the area of the cemetery and fixed them haphazardly to the grave, one bearing the name Muṣṭafā Āghā and one Shaykh Muḥammad, neither of whom is identifiable.

or to another manuscript containing this poem. However, Iḥsān Abbās’ 1968 edition of *Nafḥ at-Ṭīb*, contains new manuscripts that were unavailable in 1859. In his introduction, Iḥsān ‘Abbās notes that the manuscript (manuscript [Ⓢ]) in which the discussed poem appears is full of omissions and additions, and is not the work of al-Maqqarī himself alone.



Pl. 26. Jaffa (1320)/1902. (Photo: S. Giller)

37

Jaffa (1320) 1902

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man

(1320)/1902

The inscription was engraved on two blocks of marble placed one upon the other, top block 0.30 × 0.18m. and bottom block 0.40 × 0.18m., each about 0.25 m. thick. 6 lines, provincial late Ottoman *naskhī*, points, some vowels and signs; incised. Information submitted by Samuel Giller. Pl. 26, Fig. 32.

(١) تذكّار (٢) للقّس (٣) سيرا فيم بوتاجي (٤) ولد في عكا سنة ١٨٣٧ (٥) توفي في اللد سنة ١٩٠٢
(٦) اختطف الى الفردوس ٢ كو ص ٢١ عد٤

In commemoration of the priest Sīrāfim Būtājī. He was born in 'Akko (Acre, 'Akkā) in the year 1837 and passed away in Lydda (al-Ludd) in the year 1902. "[How] he was caught up into paradise, [and heard unspeakable words, which is not lawful for a man to utter]" 2 Corinthians 12:4. (Trans. KJAV)

38

Jaffa (1322) 1904

MARONITE CHURCH

Construction text

(1322)/1904

Slab of marble, 1.90 × 1.10m. (approx.), within a rectangular frame, 6 lines, 4 lines within cartouche separated into two parts, professional late Ottoman *naskhī*, points, vowels and many decorative signs; in relief. Fig. 33.

(١) لعظمة الله ٢) تعزيزاً لعبادته تزلفاً الى مرضاته—لخلاص عباده لانطونيوس فخر زهاده
 (٣) بعناية بطيركا الملقان—مار الياس الحويك النشيطة ٤) قد شاد هذه الكنيسة—عرشا
 للالوهية مقاما لمناجاتها ٥) الملقان القس بولس عبود الغوسطاوي (!) —البناني النائب
 الاسقفي الماروني ٦) سنة ١٩٠٤

For the majesty of God. For the reinforcement of His worship, for drawing nearer to His gratification, for the redemption of his servants, for Saint Anthony the pride of His ascetics, (and) under the intensive attention of our Patriarch, the Doctor in Divinity, Saint Ilyās al-Ḥuwayyik, has built this church, as a throne for the Divine Presence and as a place for dialogue with Him, the Doctor in Divinity, the priest Būlus ‘Abbūd al-Ghūṣṭāwī(!) from Lebanon the Maronite episcopal representative. In the year 1904.

According to the official website of the Maronite Patriarchal Exarchate, Jerusalem, the first Maronite church and monastery in Jaffa were only established in 1855. Until then the Latin Church supplied the religious needs of the slowly growing Maronite community in the city. Thanks to two Maronite priests, ‘Abd al-Aḥad Mattā and Labbāws Karam, a Maronite church was established in the old city next to the harbour. Forty years later, in 1895, thanks to a significant donation, father Antonius Shbayyer al-Ghūṣṭāwī was able to construct a new and bigger church in its present location on Dolphin Street. Yet for some reason this newly erected structure was demolished, and in 1904, as this inscription points out, it was rebuilt. This time, it was built by another native of the village of Ghūṣṭa, the priest Bulūs ‘Abbūd.

L.5: *Būlus ‘Abbūd al-Ghūṣṭāwī*

A Maronite priest who was a member of the scientific association of Lebanon. He was born in 1287/1870 in the village of Ghūṣṭa in Lebanon (hence his *nisbah*). He first studied in Beirut and later attained a degree in philosophy and theology in Rome in 1900. He then returned to Lebanon and settled in the city of Jūniyah, cut off from the church’s support. He did not stay in Jūniyah for long because, as we learn from this inscription, he was responsible for the construction of the Maronite church in Jaffa in 1904. At that time he had already been appointed the Maronite episcopal representative. He was a productive writer and translator (from Latin). He died in 1941. (Ziriklī, *A’lām*, 2:78)



Pl. 27. Jaffa 1328/1910. (Photo: S. Giller)

39

Jaffa (1325) 1907, (1328a) 1910

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man and his wife

(1325)/1907, (1328)/1910

A slab of marble on a tomb 0.40 × 0.71m., in the Anglican cemetery in Jaffa, found during its restoration in 2014–2015. Six lines professional modern *naskhī* engraved in shallow fields, points, many vowels and signs in relief, with a Latin cross incised on top. Pl. 27. Fig. 34.

(Latin cross) ١) بسلامة أضطجعُ بل ايضاً أنام لأنك ٢) أنت يا ربّ منفرداً في طمأنينة
٣) تسكنني مزمو ٤:٨:٤) موسى طنوس توفي في ١٨ حزيران ١٩٠٧ (٥) سامرة امرأة موسى
طنوس نوفيت في ١١ حزيران ١٩١٠

“I will both |lie| down in peace, and sleep; for thou, Lord only makest me dwell in safety.” Psalm 4:8 (*King James Version*) Mūsā Ṭannūs died on 18 June 1907. Sāmīrah, the wife of Mūsā Ṭannūs died on 11 June 1910.

40

Jaffa 1325

SHAYKH ‘AJAMĪ CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Muslim woman

1325/1907

Slab of marble, no measurements, 5 lines, divided by bands, late professional Ottoman *naskhī*, points, vowels and signs; in relief. Fig. 35.

١) الفاتحة ٢) هذا ضريح المرحومة ٣) صفية زوجة الشيخ ٤) محمد افندي عاشور ٥) توفت (!)
سنة ١٣٢٥ هجري

al-Fātiḥah. This is the tomb of the late Ṣafīyyah the wife of Shaykh Muḥammad Efendī ‘Āshūr. She passed away in the Hijri year 1325 (=1903)

L.5: **توفت** instead of the usual **توفيت**. Colloquial language influenced this mistaken usage of the verb. The ‘Āshūr family was one of the richest families in Jaffa. The ancestors of the family came to Jaffa from Lydda, and in time became the owners of large orchards near the city. Some of its members played a role in political life in the 1930s.

41

Jaffa 1328/1910

ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian man

(1328)/1910

A slab of marble $0.49 \times 0.99\text{m.}$, on a tomb in the Anglican cemetery in Jaffa, found during its restoration in 2014–2015. 5 lines, and a cross on top of the text, professional modern *naskhī*, full points, no vowels, lines engraved in shallow fields. Fig. 36 and Pl. 28.



Pl. 28. Jaffa (1328) 1910. (Photo: S. Giller)

(١) بشاره ميخائيل البهو (٢) توفي في ٥ نيسان سنة ١٩١٠ (٣) وله من العمر ٩٣ عاماً (٤) طوبى
للأموات الذين يموتون (٥) في الربّ

Bishārah Mikhā'il al-Bahū. He died in 5 April 1910 age 39. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord (*Revelation* 14:13).

The cross on top of the inscription is probably the Calvary or Graded Cross in spite of the fact that its pedestal is made of two stylized rather than three steps. (Rest 1973:21)

L.1: Initially I was not sure about the reading of the surname of the deceased from the photograph, but close examination of the inscription shows that the suggested reading *al-Bahū* is sure. There was a family by this name living in Jaffa. However, the meaning of the word *bahū*—parlor, reception hall does not seem to fit here.

42

JAFFA BELFRY OF THE MARONITE CHURCH

Memorial text

(1331)/1912

A slab of marble set in a marble frame resembling the wooden frames used for pictures, no measurements). English inscription followed by the Arabic version, three lines, professional modern *naskhī*, letters painted black, full points and some vowels; in relief. Fig. 37 and Pl. 29.

THE BELFRY OF THIS CHURCH HAS
BEEN ERECTED BY M^{RS} HELEN
HOWARD TO THE MEMORY OF HER
LATE REGRETTEED HUSBAND
CHEVALIER ALEXANDRE BEY HOWARD
MARCH 1912



Pl. 29. Jaffa (1331)/1912 Maronite church (1). (Photo: S. Giller)

(١) إن قبة أجراس هذه الكنيسة قد شيدت بمساعدة السيدة (٢) هيلانه عوض لذكر
المرحوم المأسوف عليه قرينها الكافالير إسكندر بك عوض (٣) اذار ١٩١٢

L.1: The word السيدة in the inscription was written السَّيِّدَة with the vowel *fathah* over the *yā'*; and *fathah* was also added to the *hā'* of Hīlāneh rendering it Haylāneh (هَيْلَانَه).

43

JAFFA MARONITE CHURCH

In memory of Iskandar Bey 'Awaḍ—Alexander Howard

(1331)/1912

A slab of marble set in a marble frame resembling the wooden frames used for pictures (no measurements). Arabic inscription followed by the English version, three lines, professional modern *naskhī*, letters painted black, full points and some vowels; in relief. Fig. 38 and Pl. 30.

(١) لذكر المرحوم (٢) الكافالير إسكندر بك عوض (٣) المحسن الى هذه الكنيسة

IN MEMORY OF THE LATE
CHEVALIER ALEXANDER BEY HOWARD
BENEFACTOR TO THIS CHURCH



Pl. 30. Jaffa (1331)/1912 Maronite church. (Photo: S. Giller)



Pl. 31. Jaffa (1332) 1913.

44

Jaffa 1332a/1913

THE ANGLICAN CEMETERY

Epitaph of a Christian woman

(1332)/11th Dec. 1913

Two blocks of marble placed one upon the other with the inscription on the narrow rectangular faces of both blocks. Top face 0.30 × 0.18m., bottom face 0.40 × 0.18m. 6 lines, provincial late Ottoman *naskhī*, with points, some vowels and signs; incised. Fig. 39 and Pl. 31.

(١) تذكار (٢) للحبيبة املي ابنة (٣) الدكتور بوتاجي (٤) ولدت في ٢٧ ك ٢ سنة ١٨٩٩) توفيت
في ١١ ك ٦ ١٩١٣) طوبى لانقياء القلب متي صه عده

In memory of the beloved Emily the daughter of the Doctor Būtājī. She was born on 27 January 1899 and passed away on 11 of December 1913. "Blessed are the pure in heart" Matthew, 5:5 (Trans. KJAV: "Blessed are the meek [for they shall inherit earth].")

45

Jaffa 1332

Epitaph of a Muslim man

20 Ramaḍān 1332/30 July 1914

Slab of marble, 0.44 × 0.315m., broken on top, in a secondary usage as tombstone, stored in Jaffa Museum (200/م/٨٤) (MHY 100.084). 4 lines, Ottoman *naskhī*, points no vowels; in relief. Fig. 40.

١) في جنة الفردوس قد تعيش (?) (٢) هذا قبر المرحوم بن (٣) الحاج صالح مناع انتقل
في ٢٠ رمضان سنة ١٣٣٢

In the garden of Paradise you may well live. This is the tomb of the late . . . son of *hājī* Ṣāliḥ Mannā'. He passed away on 20 Ramaḍān 1332 (=30 July 1914).

L.1: In a copy that was made from this inscription, instead of the verb *ta'īsh* we find *ta'īs*, which does not fit here.

See No. 27 Jaffa 1305, the epitaph of the deceased's father Ṣāliḥ Mannā'. Unfortunately the name of the deceased himself was lost.

46

Jaffa 1333

MAṢJID ḤASAN BEK

Construction text

1333/1914–15

A slab of marble, fixed on one of the walls at the entrance into the mosque (no measurements available). A poem, the metre of which is a short form of *al-kāmil*. 8 lines, with the hemistiches divided by decorative elements of flowers and leaves in a vase. Elaborate monumental modern *naskhī*, letters recently painted black, the leaves and flowers partly painted green. The writing heavily decorated with small letters and other ornamental signs; points, most of which inserted only for decorative reasons and have nothing to do with the text. This renders the reading difficult in places. Publication: Tütüncü 2008:277–280. This also is a new reading and translation correcting many previous mistakes. Figs. 41, P17.

إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
 ١) أَسْنَى الْمَسَاجِدِ مَسْجِدُ يَرْعَى الْجَمَالَ بِهِ الدِّمَمُ
 ٢) فِيهِ الْجَلَالُ وَحَسْبُهُ تَغْرُ الْجَلَالَ بِهِ ابْتَسَمَ
 ٣) أَمْرُ الْجَمَالِ بِهِ وَفَى عَهْدَ الْجَمَالِ الْفَضْلُ عَمَ
 ٤) ذَاكَ الَّذِي آثَارُهُ لَمْ يُحْصِ عِدَّتْهَا قَلَمَ
 ٥) أَحْيَا الْمَسَاجِدَ مِثْلَهَا أَحْيَا الْمَعَاهِدَ بِالْهَمَمِ
 ٦) لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدُهُ الَّذِي بِجَمَالِهِ بَهْرُ الْأُمَمِ

(٧) إِنِّي أَقُولُ مُؤَرِّخًا فِيهِ بَيْتٍ مُنْتَظَمٍ
(٨) بِالْجِدِّ شَادُوا مَسْجِدًا أَمَرَ الْجَمَالَ بِهِ فَتَمَّ

سنة ١٣٣٣

كاتبه عمر لطفي شهاب الدين

They shall only visit Allah's places of worship who have believed in Allah and the Last Day (Q, 9:18 fragment. Trans. Bell.)

The loftiest of all mosques is a mosque
Therein is the glory; and suffice for it
In it the order of Jamāl was carried out
He is the one whose exploits
He revived the mosques similar
How wonderful is his mosque!
I shall say, referring to its date
"With effort they built a mosque

in which Jamāl takes care of responsibilities.
that the mouth of the glory smiled there.
in the epoch of Jamāl bounty prevailed.
no pen can enumerate.
to reviving the institutes with resolution.
whose beauty dazzled the nations.
in a poeticized verse:
Jamāl ordered, and it was accomplished."

The year 1333 (=1914–15)

Its writer: 'Umar Luṭfi Shihāb ad-Dīn

Text

The correct reading is followed by the word "correct" and Tütüncü's reading.

Qur'ānic verse: **يَعْمُرُ** correct Tütüncü (hereafter T): **يَعْمُرُ** (probably a typo).

L.1: **أَسْمَى** correct T **أَسْمَى**.
نَزَعِي correct T **نَزَعِي**.

L.2: **وَجَنِبُهُ** correct T **وَجَنِبُهُ**.

L.4: **أَتَارَهُ** correct T **أَتَارَهُ**.

Date: **١٣٣٣** سنة correct T **١٣٣٣** هـ

L.8: The date also appears in the numerical value of the last verse in this line:

(40 + 312 + 108 + 241 + 105 + 7 + 520 = 1333) **أَمَرَ الْجَمَالَ بِهِ فَتَمَّ بِالْجِدِّ شَادُوا مَسْجِدًا**

Translation

The mistakes in T's translation are so numerous that I decided not to refer to all of them. The following is only a sample:

The loftiest of all mosques is a mosque in which Jamāl takes care of responsibilities.
Therein is the glory; and suffice for it that the mouth of the glory smiled there.

Correct T who rendered these lines as follows:

*The mosques are called Masjid
We guard the beauty of this mosques
And also the glory of beneath them
The mouth of glory laughs at me
etc. etc.*

Commentary

This is a panegyric poem for Jamāl Pasha (1872–1922) the governor of Syria during the First World War (insert on the left). The words *jamāl* (lit. beauty) and *jalāl* (lit. loftiness, splendor, sublimity etc.), repeated throughout the poem, refer first to his name Jamāl, and the second to his glorification. After the outbreak of the war, Jamāl became military governor of Syria and commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army. In January 1915, he launched an offensive across the Sinai Peninsula aiming at the Suez Canal in which he failed. Following this failure, he confined himself to the governorship of Syria. He demonstrated great cruelty both during the Arab revolt and during the Armenian genocide, which earned him the nickname “*as-saffāh*”—“the bloodshedder.”

With the collapse of the Palestinian front and the fall of Jerusalem in December 1917, Jamāl returned to Istanbul as a cabinet member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) administration. When the government was forced from office, he and other CUP leaders fled the Ottoman capital on board a German ship on



November 1, 1918 (Ten days before the end of the war). Jamāl thereafter served as a liaison officer in talks between the new Communist government of Russia and the postwar Turkish government. He then served as a military adviser to Afghanistan. Tried in absentia by a military tribunal in Istanbul on war crimes charges, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. On July 21, 1922, an Armenian assassin attacked and killed Jamāl in Tbilisi, Georgia, in retribution for his role in the Armenian massacre.

Ḥasan Bek al-Başrī al-Jābī (born in 1882) was nominated governor of Jaffa in August 1914. He immediately set himself to embellish the city by building new roads, destroying in the process many of the old buildings. In order to facilitate a good approach to

the port, which until his time was reached via a narrow alleyway that hardly enabled a loaded camel to pass, he destroyed the old markets built by Muḥammad Āghā Abū Nabbūt to make room for a new wide road that connected the port with the crossroads to Gaza, Jerusalem and Nāblus. From the main square of the city, known incorrectly as the Square of the Clock Tower (it's actual name is *sāḥat ad-dawlah* "State's Square"), he opened a new wide gate to the Māḥmūdī great mosque. Being subordinate to Jamāl Pasha he paid tribute to him by paving the Boulevard Jamāl Pasha to the east of the city, a wide dual carriageway running in a north-south direction alongside the orange groves. The "Washingtonia" palms planted in the middle dividing section running along the boulevard by the Jewish students of the Jewish agricultural collage Mikveh Yisrael near Jaffa, gave the boulevard its particular character and famous beauty. (See also the introduction above). After the establishment of the British mandate, following World War I, the boulevard was renamed "King George Avenue" (today "Jerusalem Boulevard"). In the Manshiyyah neighborhood, to the north of Jaffa (today on the border of Tel Aviv), Ḥasan Bek built the impressive mosque called after him, but in fact it was also dedicated to Jamāl Pasha as we learn from the text of the inscription. In May 1916, Ḥasan Bek was replaced as the governor of Jaffa by Shukrī Bek. (Tolkowski 1924:164–165; Kark 1990:49)

47

Jaffa 1334

EASTERN ENTRANCE INTO THE GREAT MOSQUE

Construction text

1334/1916

A block of pink marble, about 2.00 × 0.30m. (inscribed face), built above the lintel of a wide gate opened by Ḥasan al-Jābī (died 1953). into the Maḥmūdī great mosque. A large space above the inscription is occupied by sophisticated, ornamental tracery elements including a richly decorated representation of a wheel flanked by an interwoven trellis sculpted in the same pink marble, thus creating a monumental entrance into the mosque from the east. 3 lines of a poem in *ramal* metre, monumental modern *naskhī*, points and many vowels; incised. Fig. 42. (See above No. 46 Jaffa 1333 and the photograph of the builder Pl. 32.).

Publication: Ḥasan 2000:58, 275

(١) إِنَّ هَذَا خَيْرَ بَابٍ شَادَهُ
 حَسَنُ الْجَابِي سَلِيلُ الصَّالِحِينَ
 (٢) وَلِهَذَا قِيلَ فِي تَارِيخِهِ سَنَةَ ١٣٣٤
 يَتُّ شِعْرُ يَسْتَرِقُ السَّامِعِينَ
 (٣) قُلْ لِمَنْ سَادُوا بِحَزْمٍ وَهُدًى
 ادْخُلُوهُ بِسَلَامٍ آمَنِينَ

This is the best gate which Ḥasan al-Jābī, the descendent of the righteous, built.

For this reason, concerning its date a verse was said which softens the listeners (hearts):

Tell those who rule with resolution and right guidance “Enter ye into it” (in the Qur’ānic verse “them”) in peace and security.” (Q, 15:46. Trans. Bell)

Text Corrections

L. 2: الصالحين correct Ḥasan: السامعين

١٣٣٤ سنة missing in Ḥasan

L.3: وهدى missing in Ḥasan

The numeric calculation of the date in l.3 is 1334:

قُلْ لِمَنْ سَادُوا بِحَزْمٍ وَهُدًى
 ادْخُلُوهُ بِسَلَامٍ آمَنِينَ

$$1334 = 151 + 133 + 646 + 25 + 57 + 72 + 120 + 130$$

Correct Ḥasan’s calculation (missing also the word وهدى) which comes to 1324/1906 when Ḥasan Bek was not yet in Jaffa. The date in digits 1334 is inserted in the middle of l.2. It is very clear.

Details about the builder see above No. 46 Jaffa 1333, and cf. Ḥasan 2000:58.



Pl. 32. Jaffa 1334. Ḥasan Bek.

48

THE SEA MOSQUE (MASJID AL-BAḤR)
Construction text

1415/1994

Modern inscription on the front wall of the Sea Mosque in Jaffa facing the harbour commemorating the restoration of the mosque. 3 lines modern *naskhī*, thick letters in the middle lines representing the name of the mosque “Masjid al-Baḥr.” The first and the third lines, small letters all engraved, most probably, by machine; in shallow relief Fig. 43.

١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ٢) مسجد البحر ٣) تم ترميم المسجد سنة ١٤١٥

There is no God but Allah, Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Masjid al-Baḥr (the Sea Mosque). The restoration of the mosque was completed in the year 1415 (=1994–95).

49

JAFFA FRAGMENTS

Fragments of inscriptions from excavations

The following fragments of inscriptions were found in the rubble of modern items (broken tiles, glass bottles and pieces of iron) that filled a water cistern found in the western end of the Goldsmith's street. The street runs in a N/S direction parallel to Japheth Street. The cistern was dated by Yoav Arbel from the IAA, who excavated and cleaned it, to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. Together with the inscriptions fragments, some other architectural remains were also found in the debris. (Pls. 33, 34, 35, 36).



Pl. 33. Jaffa Late Ottoman 1.

No. 1
Goldsmiths Street
Qur'anic fragment from a mosque

A fragment of a slab of marble 0.17 × 0.12, originally with a monumental inscription, sunken in double frames, one around the whole inscription, the second, a decorated sunken field within the first one, prepared especially for every line. Remnants of two lines, but only one visible word in line 1. Monumental late Ottoman script probably from the earlier 14th/later part of the 19th century, points, and vowels; in relief. (Excavation details: Locus 219 Basket 1569.) Pl. 33. Possible reconstruction could be as follows:

١) تبارك [الذي إن شأ جعل لك خيراً من ذلك ٢) جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ويجعل
لك قصوراً]

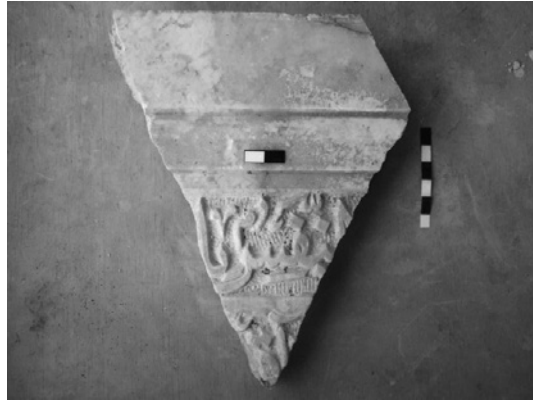
Blessed be He (who if He willeth, will appoint for thee something better than that—gardens through which the rivers flow; and will appoint for thee castles. (Q, 25:10. Trans. Bell, Q, 25:11)

In earlier periods of Islamic history, this verse could be connected with Holy War and part of an epitaph on the tomb of a martyr (See *CIAP*, 2: 283–284). However, already in the Mamlūk period the verse was used in inscriptions over mosques, which praised the builder of the mosque in the language of the tradition that said that he who builds a mosque Allah prepares for him a home or even a palace in paradise. I therefore believe that this fragment belonged to an inscription fixed on a mosque. As far as I can judge, it was not part of an epitaph.

The division of the fragment into two lines in the above order is based on the remnant of the word in the second line which I believe was جنات. The present fragment is the beginning of the entire inscription.

No. 2
Goldsmiths Street
Fragment, origin unknown

A triangular shaped fragment of a slab of marble, base width 0.14.5m. length: 0.21m. Originally a slab on which a monumental inscription was engraved in a sunken field surrounded by an elaborate frame. Two visible line: in the first remnants of two words; in the second traces of two letters. Late Ottoman decorated writing, beautifully and accurately produced, points, vowels and many decorative signs; in high relief. (Excavation details: Locus 222 Basket 1598) Pl. 34.



Pl. 34. Jaffa Late Ottoman 2.

١) النفس با... (٢...)

The soul in the ?

If the inscription consisted of a Qur'ānic verse it would be rare, to say the least, in the corpus of Arabic inscriptions since the only possible verse, containing the present letters in this sequence is Q, 5:45:

[وكتبنا عليهم فيها أن] النفس بالنفس والعين بالعين

(We have sent down the Torah) . . . Therein we have prescribed (as a law) for them "A life for a life, an eye for an eye . . . etc." (Trans. Bell, Q, 5:48–49)

I cannot think of any reason why such verse should appear on an inscription. But, then, one can never be sure. The inscription could well be non-Qur'ānic, in which case this discussion is irrelevant.

No. 3
Goldsmiths Street
Fragment

1231?/1816

About one fourth of a round slab of white marble, present radius: 0.214m. Vertical surviving length: 0.22m. Horizontal surviving length: 0.25m. The inscription was engraved in a sunken field surrounded by a wide frame about 0.023m. wide. Its back face is plain, with a partial shallow groove running along the left side of the circular edge.

Remnants of the two last lines of the inscription, the first too fragmentary to enable any meaningful reading, the second is clear. There seems to have been some



Pl. 35. Jaffa Late Ottoman 3 (1231).

writing in the third line that is hardly visible. Late monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, complete with points, but no visible vowels. Bands divide the lines. The bottom line is decorated with floral tendrils on both sides and so must have been, no doubt, the first line too. (Pl. 35)

(١ . . . ٢) سنة احدى وثلاثين [ومائتين والـ؟ . . .]

The year 1231? (=1816) . . .

At first sight, I dated the inscription 931/1524–5; however, closer examination of the style of the script convinced me that the inscription belongs to later period. Early 13th/19th century seems a plausible date, although a later date should not be ruled out.

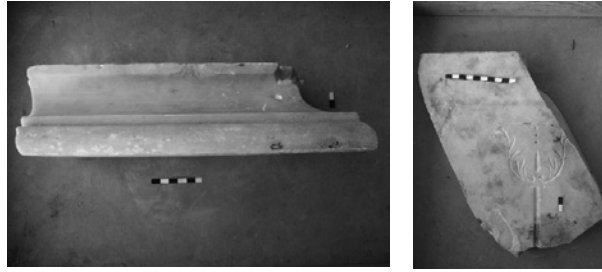
The inscription does not seem to have been an epitaph. It could well have come from a mosque or some other public building.

No. 4
Goldsmiths Street
Decorative elements

Ottoman origin. No inscription visible. In the left fragment of a column base there are probably signs of attempts to produce primitive graffiti. (Pl. 36)

Jaffa
Fragments from Mosque of Ibrāhīm al-‘Ajāmī (Jāmi‘ al-‘Ajāmī)

The ‘Ajāmī quarter was first built as a Maronite residential area, and one of its major landmarks is the new Maronite church built at the very beginning of the twentieth century on the site of the first church and monastery constructed at the end of the 19th century. At about the same time, in 1895 al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Manāwī built



Pl. 36. Jaffa late Ottoman 4. Decorative elements.

the mosque of Ibrāhīm al-‘Ajāmī after whom the whole neighborhood is named. According to a tradition (local or imported) Ibrāhīm al-‘Ajāmī was a companion of the prophet, and a shrine to the south of Jaffa (in the northern part of the future ‘Ajāmī quarter) was said to be the shrine of this saint. The new mosque was built over it. However, in the Muslim literature about the Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) which I examined there is no mention of a companion called Ibrāhīm al-‘Ajāmī. The cemetery developed around the saint’s shrine, a common phenomenon in other places as well because the supposed resting place of a holy man attracts people to bury their dead in its vicinity. In my recent visit to the site in 2015, I found that the cemetery had been neglected for a long time and most of the graves had disappeared. (Fig. P16)

No. 5

‘Ajāmī cemetery

Epitaph of a Muslim man (a)

Late 13th/19th century

Fragment of a slab of gray marble 0.21×0.20 m., found in the ‘Ajāmī Mosque cemetery in Jaffa broken on all sides, only one small fragment available, 3 visible lines, divided by bands, monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, points, vowels, and many decorative signs; in relief. Fig. 44.

(١ . . . ٢) بالسر منه والعـ [لانية] ٣) قد باع دنياه بالـ [لا] خـ [رة]

Secretly on his part and overtly . . . He sold his present world to buy the world to come.

In all probability this was at least a five line epitaph written in the form of a poem, lines divided by bands that created sunken fields for each hemistich. The contents, although I am not completely sure about my reading, refer to the deceased who left this world willingly, exchanging it for the afterlife. The script, professional and monumental. The deceased must have been a man of some status particularly since he was buried in the prestigious ‘Ajāmī cemetery.

No. 6

'Ajamī cemetery
Epitaph of a Muslim man(b)

Late 13th/19th century

Two pieces of a slab of gray marble 0.34×0.22 m., found in the 'Ajamī cemetery in Jaffa, broken on the left and bottom sides and lost. Originally, a respectable tombstone of at least six lines out of which there are five visible lines and only a few words survived in the last three lines. Monumental Ottoman *naskhī*, divided by bands creating sunken fields, points, some vowels, and many decorative signs; in relief. Fig. 45.

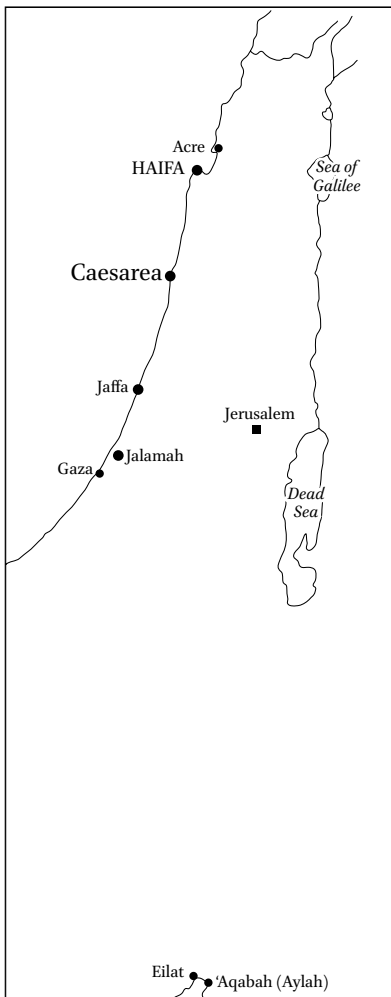
(١ هو الباقي ٢) هذا ضريح حله (٣) ذو الخلق وا. . . (٤) من الجنة (٥) . . . (٥) بامر الـ [مولى (؟)]

He is the Everlasting. This is a tomb occupied by the possessor of high morals and . . . From Paradise . . . by the order of (the Lord?).

See commentary on the previous fragment.

JALAMAH (KH.)

Is. Gr. 114 106 N. Is. Gr 164 606



Khirbat Jalamah (colloq. Jalameh), as its name indicates is a ruined site near the southern bank of Wādī al-Ḥasī (Modern: Nāḥal Shiḡmah) 16 Km Northwest of Gaza. The site is better known as Bīr Jalamah (Jalamah Cistern. Modern Hebrew Name: Be'er Gluma. Cf. Kadmon 1994:23). The ancient remains are scattered over a large area of about 40,000 sq. m. and include 3 cisterns, remnants of a wine press, broken pieces of marble and basalt, and dressed as well as undressed building stones of limestone and kurkar (mixture of lime and sandstone). The pottery finds represent the Roman, Byzantine, early Islamic and late medieval period.

Guérin visited the site in June 1863 (Guérin 1869, *Judée*, 2:292–293). He describes it as debris of a completely ruined village. Only two cisterns were preserved in fairly good condition. He was told that the name of the place was Khirbat Jalāma (with a long a).

A fragment of the column with Arabic inscriptions was found at the end of the 1980s during road works in the area. (Information supplied by Jacob Huster of the IAA on 16 October 2001).

Inscriptions, which can be clearly identified, and very little unreadable scribbled graffiti cover the lower half of the column (1.58m long shaft) that was probably still standing on its base at the time

of the writing, for there are signs of another inscription just at the line of the break at the bottom of the fragment.

The gray marble column must have come from an important building. The diameter of the lower side of the present fragment is 0.45m, the marble and the method of its construction are excellent. The Muslim conquerors, who found these ancient columns, either standing or lying, used them for their inscriptions.

In places where professional engravers were hired to prepare inscriptions, ancient columns were carefully cut into slabs on which the inscriptions were then engraved. This practice was followed on a large scale in Caesarea, a city with great abundance of marble remains of various objects, particularly columns. (See *CIAP* 2, s.v. “Caesarea”).

THE INSCRIPTIONS

The following four inscriptions were engraved from about the middle of the broken column and downwards. The longest and most rewarding inscription which I numbered 1 is the third in the order of the inscriptions from top to bottom. The order in which the inscription were numbered on the column is 2,3,1,4. Fig. 46.

50

Invocation

c. 23/644

A long inscription 1.35 × 0.29m, almost encircling the whole column, was engraved about 0.50m. from its bottom. 4 lines shallow, angular early Islamic graffiti in good hand. No points, no vowels; incised. The letters were produced first by delineating them by knocking points on the marble and then filling the space and creating the body of the letters. Line 1 was badly produced, as if the writer gave a hint of the *Basmalah* and then went on to the main inscription with its message. The word **الله** stands above the inscription and seems not to belong to it. Figs. 47, 47a, 47b, 47c.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) محمد ٣) [!] اللهم اغفر لمحمد بن ابراهيم مولا (!) عثمان بن عفان
٤) بن عفان ولوالدو (!)

Basmalah. Muḥammad. O Allah forgive Ḥamd b. Ibrāhīm the client (*mawlā*) of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. ‘Affān and (forgive also) his father.

Ll.1–2: Only the name of Muḥammad from the *shahādah* was engraved.

L.3: The name **حمد** can be pronounced in a few ways: Ḥamd, Ḥumad, Ḥummad, as well as Jamd and Jumad (Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 1411/1990, 2:541; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, 1:2004)

L.4: **ولوالدو (!)** The mistake is clear, but it may be explained as representing a colloquial pronunciation: *wa-liwāldo*.

Ibn ‘Affān is repeated in this line, as if the writer forgot that he had already inscribed the two words in l.3. It is very possible that he started the inscription and left it for a while, and when he resumed it he repeated, without paying attention, the last words of the previous line.

As far as I know, this is the first time that the name of the third Caliph ‘Uthmān (644–656) appears on an inscription. This is very valuable information for it enables the dating of the inscription to the first half of the first century (middle of the 7th century CE). The sources do not mention a *mawlā* of ‘Uthmān bearing any of the above names.

51

Invocation

Middle 1st/7th century

0.70m. from bottom. 1 line 0.69m., height of letters 0.05m. Angular ancient graffiti; no points, no vowels; incised. Fig. 48.

اللهم اغفر [ل] احمد بن جحاف

O Allah forgive Aḥmad b. Jaḥḥāf.

For the name Jaḥḥāf see Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:918, 3:1606.

52

Invocation

Middle 1st/7th century

0.54m from bottom. 3 lines 0.25 × 0.16; length of letters, 0.04. Fine small angular script, which seem more professional than the other inscriptions on the column. No points, no vowels; incised. Fig. 49.

اللهم [اغفر لنجمي] (٢) بن (١) جحاف ولوالديه (٣) ولما ولدا

O Allah forgive Najmī b. Jaḥḥāf and his parents and whom they begot.

Aḥmad and Najmī (or Najm) no doubt were brothers who commemorated their names and the name of their father on the stone. It is possible that Najmī was more skillful than his brother, or he asked a better engraver to write this invocation for him.

53

Invocation

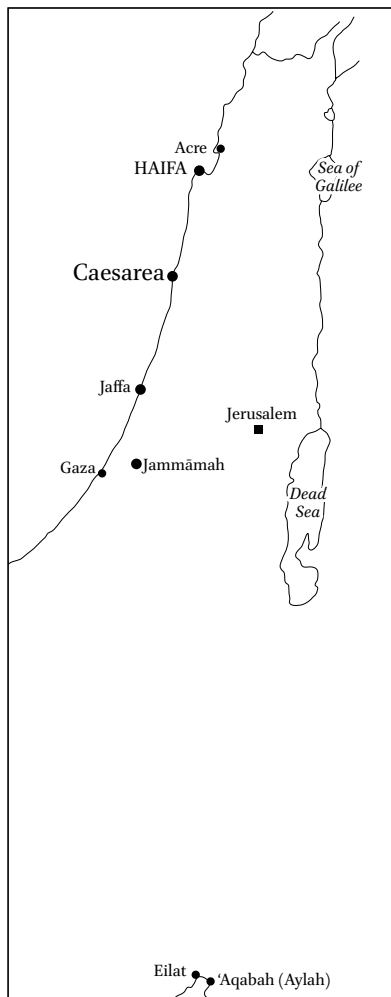
0.24m from the bottom. 3 lines, 0.38 × 0.20m, length of letters: 0.05. Bad graffiti, no points, no vowels; incised. Fig. 50.

الله همّ (!!!) اغفر (٢) لتميم بن [عبد] (٣) الله

O Allah forgive Tamīm b. ‘Abdallah.

JAMMĀMAH (KH. JAMMĀMAH)

Is Gr. 120 101 N. Is. Gr. 170 601



Guérin saw the site on June 12, 1863 in the course of his survey of the area between Gaza and Bayt Jubrīn. He describes Khirbat Jammāmah, to which he dedicates three lines, as “inconsiderable” ruins. (Guérin 1869, *Judée* 2:293, ch. 46). He did not spend any time in the place itself, which was deserted at that time. About a decade later Condor, Kitchener and their teams reported: “Remains of a ruined village, about 20 houses. Rubble. Cisterns. A spring well, dry in summer. An olive press and a piece of tessellated pavement.” (*SWP* 3, *Judaea*: 282)

Jammāmah’s ruins are far from being “inconsiderable.” The area, some 150m. above sea level, in the north-western corner of the Negev, enjoys on average 340mm (about 13.6 inch) of rain a year, and is very fertile. Wheat, barley and a variety of vegetables and fruit trees grow in the rich soil. Spring water can be reached at a depth of between 20 to 30 metres in addition to rain water, which could be collected in cisterns, some of which are still visible at the site.

All these favourable conditions, especially the availability of cultivable land, attracted settlers to the area in ancient times. During the Byzantine period there was a thriving settlement in Jammāmah, which, in addition to its fertile soil, was situated on one of the routes connecting Hebron

and the south-western parts of the country, with Ashqelon (Ascalon, ‘Asqalān), Gaza, and the southern coastal plain.

In recent surveys and subsequent archaeological excavations, remains of a sizable monastery and church from the Byzantine period were discovered. A large part of a beautiful mosaic floor of the church was preserved (parts of which were transferred to the neighbouring Kibbutz Ruḥamah).

The monastery complex was built on a low hill overlooking a wide fertile valley to its south and southeast, with wide, open fields stretching in all directions as far as the eye can see. In 1958, Ram Gophna, excavated the whole complex, including the water installations and the tombs. Only in 1993 he published his finds (Gophna-Feig 1993:97–107). He found that the monastery and the church, one of a few in the area, represented the intensive activity of a substantial population, which chose to settle in the region. “With the rise of Christianity, as the state religion many churches were founded throughout a larger region encompassing the area from Naḥal Besor (Wādī Ghazzeh) in the south to as far north as Nahal Shiqmah (Wādī Ḥesī).” (*Ibid.* 107) From the first half of the 5th century, the settlements that developed in the area were administratively dependent on Gaza. To the west of the church there are remnants of a Roman or Byzantine bath, in the vicinity of which a grey marble column of ancient origin was found on which an Arabic inscription was engraved. Columns of the same type, as well as other elements of ancient masonry are quite abundant in this region as attested by Guérin (*vol. cit.*, 281–284) and the *SWP*.

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact time in which the name Jammāmah was given to the place. The fact that in the 19th century it was known as “*khirbah*,” namely ruins, points to the fact that among the local population it was classified as the remains of some ancient settlement. However, it cannot be ratified whether the name Jammāmah retains residues of the ancient name.

Archaeological evidence also points to the fact that the place ceased to be inhabited sometime between the 6th to the early 7th century, either just before or immediately after the Islamic invasion. No mention is made of the place in the Arabic sources, and it remains to be verified if it was known under a different name. The two inscriptions that were discovered in the area throw the only light on the place in the middle ages. One inscription was engraved over the ancient marble column (Fig. P18), and although it is no more than a pious invocation, the style of writing suggests the period of its production. The name that appears on it is a clear reference to the Arab tribe that could have been in the area. Clearly, in spite of the fact that this short inscription is a common graffiti (No. 54), the person who incised it was well acquainted with the style of script in his time. The type of letters suggests that the inscription was produced towards the second half of the 2nd (early 9th) century at the latest. The name of the tribe of Jahm can be learnt from the *nisbah* of the person whose name appears in the inscription.

The second inscription, which is only a fragment (No. 55), is more informative. It commemorates the construction of a well or a cistern (*biʿr*). The name of the builder was preserved in part, but the date was lost with the broken pieces of the stone. The style of writing in this inscription belongs to the late 5th/11th century, not long before the first Crusade. (See below notes on the inscription).

This inscription draws attention to the many cisterns and spring wells that characterize the region in general. From ancient times, pastoral nomads and peasants,

seeking water in this semi-arid area, dug cisterns to collect rainwater and searched for underground water digging deep wells at the bottom of the narrow valleys. Some of these ancient wells, up to 30–50m deep, exist to this day although most of them had been silted and ceased to produce water. These wells remind us of the Biblical stories about the fights over ownership of spring wells between the shepherds of the Patriarchs and shepherds belonging to other chieftains who shared the same region. Thus, it is told of Isaac who “pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar.”

He “dug again the wells of water, which they had dug in the days of Abraham his father . . . and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them. And Isaac’s servants dug in the valley, and found there a well of springing water. And the herdsmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac’s herdsmen saying: The water is ours: and he called the name of the well Esek; because they strove with him.” (Gen. 26:17–20).

This vivid description of the Biblical account is still reflected in the remains of the many wells and cisterns in Jammāmah, and the whole of its region. It is very possible that name Jammāmah, which could very well be a modern name, is originally the name given to one of the deep wells in the valley just south and east of the site of the Byzantine church.

Wells were dug at the lowest points of the valleys being nearer to the underground source of water. In this small valley, at its lowest point, a deep well was dug in the Byzantine period, and was probably used until modern times. Next to it were found two conical milling stones, top and base still on top of each other. Many marble capitals (mainly Corinthian), a few marble columns scattered in the vicinity of the well, many burial caves found in the area, and particularly the excavated monastery and church attest to the thriving Byzantine settlement in Jammāmah. The Byzantine settlers entrenched themselves in the same area, and around the same sources of water as other more ancient civilizations had done before them. Further to the west of this well there is another well called Bi’r Jammāmah by the nomads in the area, and it is very possible that the whole site of the ruins was called after it.

The word *jammāmah* is an adjective form derived from the verb *j-m-m* which means “to be abundant, plentiful.” However, in this particular form the word does not appear in Arabic dictionaries. The expression *mā^{un} jamm^{un}* means: plentiful water, and for a well with abundant water the Arabs used the term *bi’r jamūm* and *bi’r jammah*. The verb *jamma* is used in particular to describe this accumulation of spring water in the well. (*Lisān*, 12:104–105)

The inscription commemorating the construction of the well was unearthed accidentally when the field next to the well was ploughed. The fact that we find an inscription from the end of the Fāṭimid period written in perfect monumental and fashionable script, commemorating a project of local importance is not easy to understand. It is possible that the inscription, until now one of its kind in the Negev, represents the strengthening of the hold of the Fāṭimids on the country towards the

end of the 11th century. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is no need to rush to conclusions but rather to assume that a local chieftain, who controlled the region, commissioned the digging of a new well or, what seems more plausible, the restoration of an old one.

54

Invocation

Early 2nd/9th c.

The inscription, 0.31 × 0.42m, was engraved on the lower third of the shaft of a grey marble column of an unknown ancient origin, found in a field not far from the remnants of the ancient bath. 3 lines, in provincial, simple angular script, no points no vowels; incised. Kept in Kibbutz Ruḥamah next to the dining hall. Figs. 51, P18.

١) الله رحمك ٢) عمرو بن سهل ٣) الجهمي

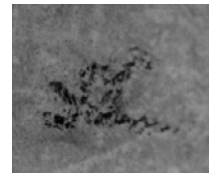
May Allah have mercy on you, 'Amr b. Sahl al-Jahmī.

In spite of the fact that the letters are shallowly and unprofessionally incised, they clearly show a style which was known to the writer. In some of the letters it is possible to detect a decoration of barbs, which appear in inscriptions from the second half of the 2nd/early 9th century and this is, more or less the time of the inscription. From the position of the inscription on the column about 1.2m. above the ground, it may be deduced that the column was standing when the inscription was engraved, but the structure to which it had belonged was clearly already deserted and probably in ruins.

The *nisbah* al-Jahmī refers to a tribe or clan. The name Jahm appears in the books of genealogy but no specific mention is made of a clan under the name of Jahm. The only case in which Banu al-Jahm are mentioned is in the genealogy of the descendant of Sāmāh b. Lu'ayy of Quraysh (Fihṛ). (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah* 1973:173; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah* 3:68, pl.29; index, 3:424; az-Zubayrī 1982:440)

Ancient columns seem to have attracted graffiti writers, as attested by the many similar inscriptions containing *shahādah*, or some common formula of invocation on marble columns in Beth Shean (Baysān), Yabneh (Yubnā), Caesarea (Qaysāriyyah) and elsewhere. (Cf. *CIAP*, 2)

Based on this short inscription one cannot reach the conclusion that there was renewed settlement in Jammāmah in the 9th century. It seems more plausible that the writer could have been a traveller who stopped in the place, and did what visitors do to this very day: scribble their names on monuments. Another such visitor was the person who stopped in the place about the same time, or even



earlier, and inscribed his name ^{عمر} Umar (insert above right) in simple angular letters (about 4cm. long), at the bottom of the column (Fig. 52). Or was it the same person who began to write his name from an uncomfortable position, and after inscribing 3 letters moved to produce a more elaborate inscription at a comfortable height?

However, in older days, there were only a few people who knew the art of writing. This is, probably, the reason for the relatively small number of graffiti inscriptions in general. What is important is the fact, that the writers sometimes knew the style of the script of their time, and their graffiti, like in this case, enables good guess of the date.

55

Construction text

Late 5th/11th c.

Fragment of a slab of yellowish granite with fine black spots, 0.20 × 0.30m. The left and the bottom broken and lost. Found in 1955 by Yitzhaq Minervi of Kibbutz Ruḥama, ploughing a field near the ruins of Kh. Jammāmah. It is kept today built into a wall in a small archeological garden, near the dining hall of the kibbutz. Three lines, angular, monumental script; small letters fashioned beautifully in late 5th/11th century style by a highly professional hand, no points, no vowels; incised. The letters are decorated with barbs and “swallow tails,” and most of their endings curl up elegantly to form an integral element of ornamentation; only the letter ‘ayn is produced in the form of three joined petals resembling a *fleur-de-lis* rising on a stem. Publication: Ben Ḥorin in Roth 1958:100, Pl. 37. Fig. 53.

(١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ (٢) [ع] حمل هذا [ا] البئر عی [سی] [٣] [ابن سعید بن احمد] . . .

Basmalah. Has constructed this well ‘Īsā b. Sa‘īd b. A(ḥmad?).

The width of the inscription was that of the first line so that from the preserved three lines only the third line was partly lost, and the beginning and the end of the second and third lines are slightly defaced. Ben Ḥorin original reading (Roth 1958:101) was, therefore, corrected accordingly.

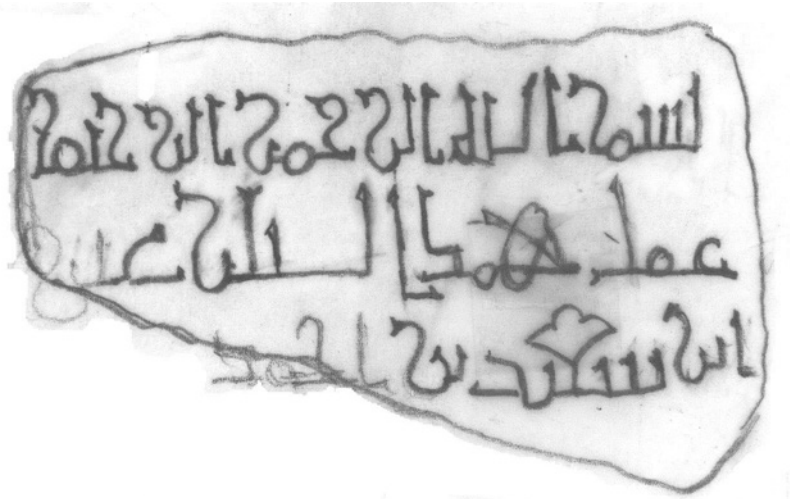
L.1: Ben Ḥorin added: *amara* after the *basmalah*, for which there is no space.

L.2: Ben Ḥorin: *bi-‘aml* which follows his reading of the first line (*amara bi-‘aml*). There is a space for only one letter before the *mīm* and *lām* of the first word in the line, and the only possible reading is ‘*amala*. The reading of the builder’s name as ‘Īsā is possible, with great difficulty. There is not enough space for *sīn* and *yā*. ‘Alī would have fitted better, as I show in the reconstruction at the end of this entry (Pl.37). However, there is hardly any more space for the word بن in this line. This word should be added to the third line.

L.3: Add: *ابن سعيد* before *سعيد*. The rest of Ben Ḥorin's reading is a guess. It is possible to see the trace of the word *بن* after the name Sa'īd and probably the tip of an *alif* but the reading of Aḥmad cannot be verified. It could be Ibrāhīm or any other name starting with an *alif*.

The style of writing recalls the details of the Fāṭimid inscription from Ashqelon dated 544/1150 (*CIAP* 1:164f). I hesitate to ascribe this inscription to such a late date only because of the fact that in that period the Crusaders had already taken over the whole country except Ashqelon, although it is not impossible that in such a relatively secluded area Muslim nomads or semi-nomads could have continued with their normal lives, at least for a while.

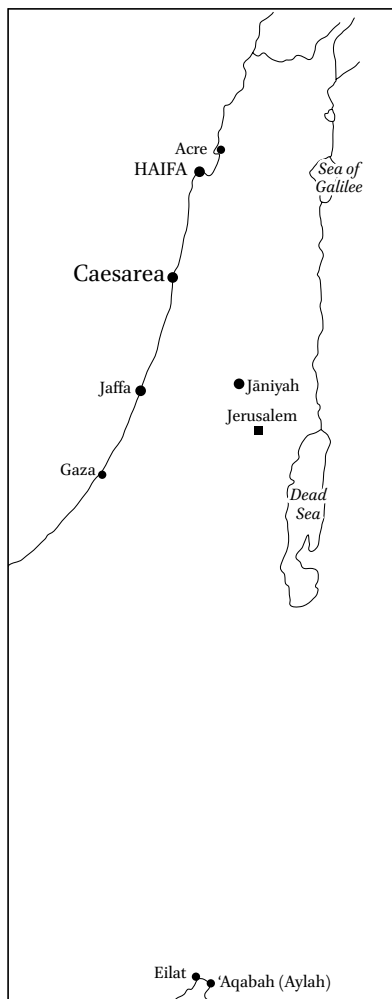
The translation of the word *bir* as "cistern" is possible, since the word is used both for a cistern employed for collecting rainwater, and for a well dug to reach an underground spring source. In this case, judging also by the site in which the stone was found, it seems that the inscription speaks about a spring well, which the Arabs call *'idd*: "what gushes forth from the ground (*mā naba'a min al-arḍ. Lisān*, 3:285).



Pl. 37. Jammāmah sketched reconstruction

JĀNIYAH

Is. Gr. 161 149 N. Is. Gr. 211 649



A village 24.14 km to north of Jerusalem identified with the ancient village of Ganta (Γανθά κτηλι). It belonged to the empress Eudocia (401–460) who bequeathed it to the Church of Jerusalem. Around 450, Paul, a priest native of the village, established a large and renowned coenobium in it. Clermont-Ganneau accepted the identification of Jāniyah with Ganta mainly because the name of Ganta was preserved in the names of a valley and a spring (Wādī Jannata and ‘Ayn Jannata) not far from the present village. “We know,” he says, “that in Palestine once a name was preserved in a spring or a valley, there are chances that this name may be that of an ancient village or an ancient town.” This must be the case here, he adds. The actual inhabited place could have disappeared or the name was slightly changed throughout the ages, as it frequently happens. (RAO, 3:230, Abel, *Géographie*, 1938 2:325). Guérin visited the place in the summer of 1870, and he describes a small village inhabited mainly by Muslims with a mosque that used to be a church. (Guérin, 1875 *Samarie*, 2:88). A report of a visit to the village published in the *PEFQS* (Peters 1904:394–395) reads as follows: “On the side of (a hill) was the poor little village of Janieh. In the court of the little mosque stood a column, a few others lay around...” In the same mosque,

“there was a stone with a funerary inscription, or a part of one, in Greek.” There is no mention of the Arabic inscription over the entrance to the village mosque, which was seen and described by inspectors of the Department of Antiquities of the British Mandate (now the IAA) on 11 January 1941. Their descriptions contains an attempted reading of the Arabic inscription, a short description of the church over which the mosque was built, and a hand sketched plan of the structure.

Slab of marble, 0.70 × 0.50m., located above the main entrance to the mosque, 3m. above ground level, 4 lines, divided by bands; a cartouche in the middle of first line with two incised lines, professional Mamlūk *naskhī*, no points, no vowels, some decorations; in relief. Publication: IAA report dated 11 Jan. 1941. Figs. 54, 54a (cartouche).

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انشي «ء» هذا المكان السعيد ارضه (؟) (٢) وعلوه والبستان
المجاور له في ايام مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر (٣) خلد الله سلطانه على يد العبد الفقير الى الله
تعالى شرف الدين عيسى بن محمد (٤) القيمري اعزه الله شادا الخاص والاوقاف الشريفة سنة احد
وثلاثين وسبع مائة

Cartouche (٢): عز [ل] مولانا السلطان الملك (١) الناصر

Basmalah. This felicitous place, its ground floor and its upper floor and the garden adjacent to it was established in the days of our lord the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir, may Allah perpetuate his sultanate, through the endeavor (lit: by the hand) of the servant, the needy for Allah, the Exalted, Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Qaymurī may Allah glorify him, the officer in charge of the private properties (of the sultan) and the honourable religious endowments (*al-awqāf ash-sharīfah*) in the year 731 (=1330–31)

Cartouche: Glory to our lord the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir

Text Corrections

The correct reading comes first followed by the word “correct” and the previous attempted reading on the spot, found in the files of the IAA (probably Ḥusseini’s).

L.1: اهدى Correct IAA: انشي «ء»

L.2: لنا Correct IAA: له

L.3: اخلد Correct IAA: خلد

محمد بن عيسى الدين Correct IAA: شرف الدين عيسى بن محمد

L.4: سادا الخلاص بعيه (!) والامان اليه Correct IAA: شادا الخاص والاوقاف الشريفة

سنة سبع مئة وثلاثين وواحد Correct IAA: سنة احد وثلاثين وسبع مائة

The word *arḍuhu*, which I read at the end of l. 1 is a guess. The context of the sentence needs the word *sufuhu*, which one finds frequently in similar texts, but for

this, I can find no trace. At any rate, the word at the end of the line is too mutilated to enable definite reading.

Commentary

It does not seem that this inscription was brought to Jāniyah from elsewhere, and attached to the small local mosque. It is very possible that it belonged to a local sanctuary, which drew the attention of a high Mamlūk official, who built it and commemorated its dedication by a monumental inscription mentioning prominently the name of the sultan. The description of the sanctuary as a *makān*, a rather neutral word, could well mean a mosque or a *maqām*, a saint's sanctuary.

Although Jāniyah in modern times was but a small, poor village, it seems to have been quite an important place under the Byzantines with the great monastery and a sizeable church built in it; and its dedication as an endowment to the Church of Jerusalem by the empress points to the fact that it must have been a rich place. The many marble columns found in it also point to the remarkable colonnade of its church. The small mosque was built over the ruins of this large church, where some Greek inscriptions were seen in 1835. This was not the only mosque. J. P. Peters' report refers to ruins of another "older mosque and a somewhat later smaller mosque (or *maqām*?) also ruined." (Peters 1904:385). One of the ruined buildings, a *maqām* or a mosque built over an older Christian edifice, was no doubt the *makān* commemorated by this inscription.

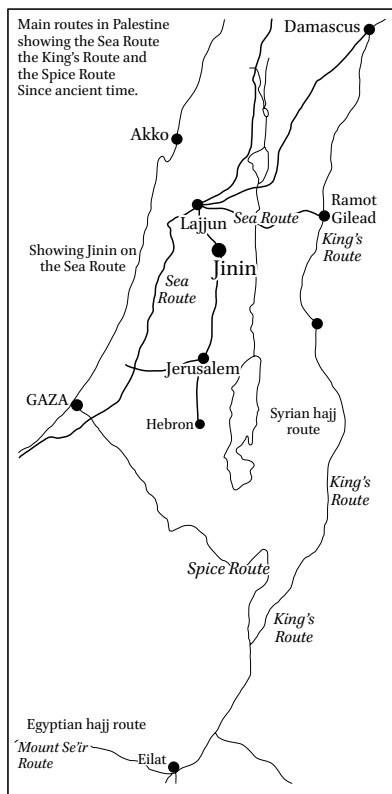
Ll.3–4: Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Qaymurī is described as the amīr in charge of the sultan's private property (*shādd al-khāṣṣ*) and the royal endowments (*al-awqāf ash-sharīfah*) two posts, which gave considerable power. He was not a Mamlūk but a free born Muslim. His name and the name of his father attest to this, and as we shall soon see, he was a Kurd. The *nisbah* "al-Qaymurī" which appears in the literary texts and inscriptions from the Ayyūbid period, or shortly earlier, refers to the fortress of Qaymur in central Syria "in the mountains between al-Mawṣil (Mūṣul) and Khilāṭ. Concerning this *nisbah*, Yāqūt (*Buldān* s.v. "Qaymur") says that some of the prominent Kurdish emirs in Mawṣil and Khilāṭ were attributed to this fortress. (*wa-yunsab ilayhā jamā'ah min a'yān al-umarā' bi'l-mawṣil wa-khilāṭ wa-hum akrād*). L.4: *Shādd al-khāṣṣ* was the first deputy of *nāzīr al-khāṣṣ* the Mamlūk amīr who held the extremely important post of supervising the sultan's private property. The *shādd* in fact had direct control over these properties and in this case also over the royal *waqfs*.

Dīwān al-khāṣṣ the office in charge of the royal properties, and the income which they yielded, was created following the reform effected by the sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his third reign (709/1309–741/1340) involving the abolishment of the ministry of the vizierate. The new *dīwān* received income

from Alexandria and many other rich localities. As mentioned above, the high-ranking amīr in charge of this office was *shādd al-khāṣṣ*. (Qalqashandī, 3:452) Above him was *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* the amīr who in fact replaced the (abolished) vizier and under whom were other deputies, apart from *shādd al-khāṣṣ*: *shādd ad-dawāwīn*, *shādd al-‘amā’ir* and other high officials responsible for various kinds of revenues, and the highly important position of *shādd al-awqāf* the officer in charge of the religious endowments. (*Idem*, 3:458, 460)

(JENĪN) JĪNĪN

Is. Gr. 188 207 (N. Is. Gr. 238 707)

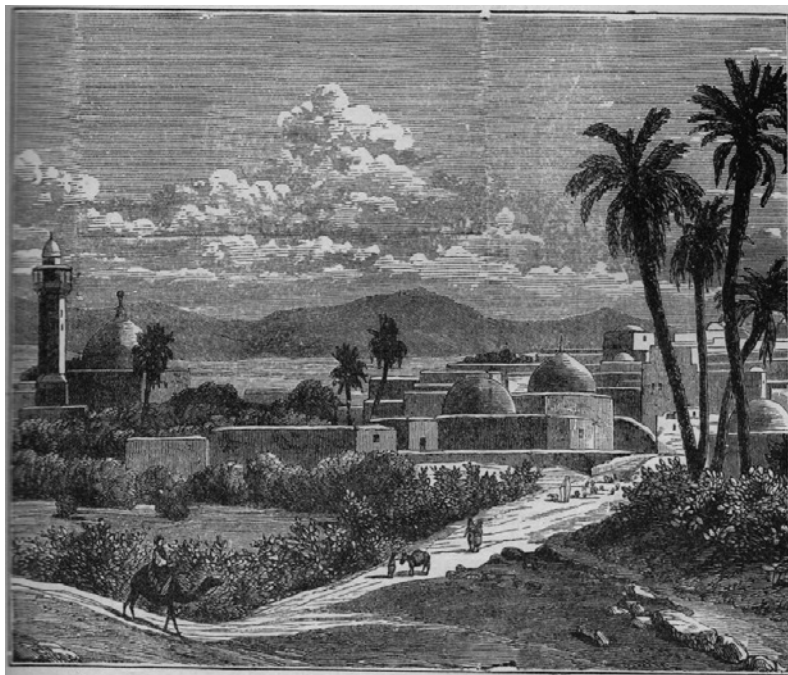


Jinīn (colloq. Jenīn) is a town in the southern end of the plain Jezreel (Esdraelon, Hebrew: עמק יזרעאל, Arabic: مرج ابن (بني) عامر Marj Ibn (Banī) ‘Āmir). It was identified with the Biblical town of ‘Ein Gannīm, allotted to the tribe of Issachar (Josh. 19:17, 19:21). Josephus calls it Ginaia, Ginaea, (Cf. Press 1955, 4:703; Guérin, 1874 *Samarie* 2(1):327ff), and he mentions that it is a border town between the Galilee and Samaria, for the latter is located between Galilee in the north and Judaea in the south (*Ant.* 20, 6, 1; *Wars* 3, 3, 4). The Jewish pilgrims from the Galilee used to pass via Ginaia on their way to Jerusalem crossing the Samaritan areas in Samaria, and exposing themselves to Samaritan attacks. According to a Christian tradition, Jesus healed the ten lepers in Ginaia although the name of the place is not mention in the NT report (Lucas, 17:11–19). In the records of the Arab conquests, there is no mention of it. This is not surprising, since it was a small place of minor importance, although two main roads passed next it: the road from Damascus

to Egypt and the road, which led to Jerusalem via Nāblus. (See inserted map).

Yāqūt describes it as a small and beautiful town “between Nābulus and Baysān (Bethshean,).” It has many springs supplying good water. (Yāqūt, *Dār Šādir*, 2:202; Le Strange 1890:464) This is a reference particularly to the two main springs from which the water was conducted by aqueducts to the middle of the town until modern times.

Under the Crusaders Jinīn was a small seigniory connected with the Principality of Galilee or the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was called Le Grand Guérin or in Latin: Garinum as well as Gallina Major (Prewer 1984, 1:380, 544 n.30). Shortly before the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 it was taken by Saladin and remained since then in Muslim hands.



Pl. 38. Jīnīn in a 19th century etching. On the left, the great mosque of 'Izz ad-Dīn.

In the thirteenth century, it seems that a wall, which in time disappeared, protected it. (*Cf. Guérin loc. cit.*) In the 19th century, the local inhabitants used to show some large rocks which they claimed to have been the remnants of the local fortress that protected Jīnīn in the 16th century (Heyd 1960:77, 78 n.4). This fortress was one of a few fortresses located in strategic places, which were restored or built in Palestine during the second half of the 16th century (Heyd 1960:102). A Turkish document dated 15 October 1564 describes the process of the building of Jīnīn's fortress. The document begins by quoting a letter sent by the beg of Lajjūn to the beglerbeg of Damascus:

[According to it] the village named Jenīn in the sanjak of Lajjūn is situated on the road to Jerusalem and Egypt, on the border of the sanjak of Nāblus, and in the middle of the country close to the sanjak of 'Ajlūn. If the stone caravanserai which is [located] within it (the village) were repaired, if forty mounted musketeers, and ten fortress soldiers (*hiṣār eri*) were [stationed] and those who are the begs of Lajjūn took up their residence there, the above mentioned sanjak would greatly prosper and the road to Egypt and Jerusalem would become safe and secure.

The sultan's answer from Istanbul was:

I have therefore ordered that the caravanserai mentioned in the report become a fortress etc. (Heyd 1960:104–105. On this fortress, see also *ibid.*, 190)

Located on one of the main routes, which connected the Mediterranean coast with the Jordan in addition to Egypt with Damascus, (*cf.* Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 14:380) it did not play any significant part in the historical events that took place near it. (Smith 1968:235) In the Arabic sources, there is hardly any reference to it until the early Mamlūk period when it is mentioned as a sub-district in the *mamlakah* of Ṣafad (Le Strange 1890:41). Qalqashandī, reports that this *mamlakah* contained 11 sub-districts.

The eleventh sub-district (*ʿamal*) is the district of Jīnīn . . . It is an ancient spacious town which is riding on a shoulder of a nice valley in which there is a river of flowing water. It is about a day's travel to the north of Qāqūn on the top end of Marj Banī ʿĀmir. In it is the sanctuary of Dihyah al-Kalbī, the friend of the Prophet (*ibid.*, 4:154, 241. In the latter reference: "*niyābat* Jīnīn" part of "*niyābat* Ṣafad.")

Early in the Ottoman period, Jīnīn was the centre of a sub-district (*nāḥiyeh*) in the district (*sanjaq*) of Lajjūn. (Heyd 1960:65) Also in the Mamlūk period, Jīnīn was a station in the network of postal pigeons (*abrāj al-ḥamām*—pigeons' towers.) It was connected with Qāqūn in the south and with Damascus and its district in the north. (*Ibid.*, 14:393). Since the time of the sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Jīnīn was one of the stations on the route of the transportation of ice from the north on camels (in addition to eleven ships) to the kitchens of the sultan in Cairo, to the sharabkhānah the "drink house" where cold drinks for the sultan were prepared. (*Ibid.*, 14:396–397). Located as it was on the postal road, it was chosen as one of the sites where fire was lit by night and smoke was raised by day to alert the Mamlūk kingdom against a Mongol attack (as long as the state of war between the Mongols of Iran and the Mamlūk sultanate existed. (*Ibid.*, 14:399). Under the Ottomans Jīnīn, became capital of the sanjaq of Lajjūn.

...

The following comments summarize parts of my study on the political role of the Bedouins in Palestine in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. (Sharon, *Bedouins*, 1975:11–30)

The close proximity of the desert and its dwellers, the Bedouins, constituted major security problems for the inhabitants of the sedentary land in Palestine, and other regions in Syria. In times of strong government, the Bedouins overall were kept in check. But when they felt any weakness on the part of the ruling power, they took advantage of it, and broke into the cultivated territories, turning them into grazing land and controlling the main traffic routes, including the *hajj* routes from Damascus (*al-hajj ash-shāmī*), and from Cairo (*al-hajj al-maghribī* or *al-miṣrī*). The pressure of the nomads on peasants and travellers has been constant since ancient times. The vivid description in the book of Judges is relevant for the whole history of the relations between the nomads and the peasants:

For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came like grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without numbers, and they entered into the land to destroy it (Judges, 6:5)

The combat between the desert and the farmed land never ceased. (Reifenberg 1953:378–389) The Islamic conquests created continuity between the vast deserts of Arabia and their protruding stretches to the north and west, bringing them to the heart of the cultivated lands and the permanent settlements. The Bedouins became, even more than what they had been in the distant past, a permanent problem in the life of Syria and Palestine soon after the fall of the Umayyads in the middle of the 8th century. In the 10th and 11th centuries, they gained so much power that they challenged the Fāṭimid Caliph (*cf.* Kennedy 1986:338–339) and their presence became particularly threatening during the second half of the Mamlūk rule and throughout the Ottoman period. They succeeded in taking over great parts of the country and the authorities found it difficult to secure even the main roads. Neither Muslim nor Christian pilgrims and travellers were safe. There is hardly a traveller from the medieval period to modern times, whose itinerary does not contain detailed descriptions of the Bedouin danger. (See for instance Saewulf report from the first years of the 12th century about the dangers on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, Wright 1848:86, and in detail Sharon 1975:13–17, and notes mainly about the Mamlūk period.) From time to time, we hear about Bedouin tribes taking an active part in the politics in Syria and Palestine. (Kennedy 1986:285ff)

The Bedouin danger to the agriculture and travel reached serious heights in the second half of the Mamlūk period and throughout the Ottoman period. Towards the end of the Mamlūk period, the Bedouins almost paralyzed most of the main roads of Palestine and southern Syria, and once caused the cancellation of the *hajj* caravan for ten years. (Sharon 1975:14f)

From the very beginning of their rule in Syria and Palestine, the Ottomans inherited the Bedouin problem, and tried to solve it, without much success. The Bedouin danger was aggravated when they acquired firearms frequently of a better quality than the weapons of the government's army. The building of fortresses and the equipping of some of the soldiers with cannons did not subdue the Bedouins. One of the methods that the Ottomans tried to check Bedouins was to incorporate some of their tribal chiefs into the administrative and military system of the Empire. Heads of certain tribes were nominated *sanjaq begs*. They were regarded part of the Ottoman feudal system and were given the property and authority which went along with their posts. In few places this technique worked to a certain degree, although the Bedouin *sanjaq begs* were not completely subordinate to the Beglerbeg of Damascus. On the other hand, in following this policy, the Ottoman government created families of tribal rulers, which played an important role in the political life in the country from the very first years of the 17th century to almost the end of the 19th century.

One of these tribal ruling families that took over the northern half of the country, roughly speaking from the line of Haifa and Acre to the line of Nāblus and even more to the south, on both sides of the Jordan, was the Ṭurabāy family. The origin and early history of this family are rather obscure. According to Muḥibbī, they belonged to the clan of Sinbis, a subdivision of the large tribe of Ṭay'. (Muḥibbī 1284, 1:221. On Sinbis see Qalqashandī 1:321–322) The name Ṭurabāy is not an Arab name and appears in literature in various spellings such as Ṭurabak, Ṭūra Bak, Ṭurā Bay and also Ṭurabāy. The name Ṭurabāy (the spelling I preferred) in any of these spellings was common among the Circassian Mamlūks as a personal name. In 1520, the name appears for the first time in the sources not as a private Mamlūk name but as the name of a Bedouin chief from the vicinity of Nāblus—Qarajah b. Ṭurabāy. How a Bedouin family that traced its origin to a south Arabian tribe, acquired a Mamlūk name is an enigma. It appears that this family already constituted a political unit in the vicinity of Safad at the end of the Mamlūk period, and its members served as guides to Salīm I's army on its way to Egypt. Salīm rewarded the family for its services by bestowing on its chief the governorship of the *sanjaq* of Lajjūn to which the village of Jīnīn belonged. In 1520–1521, however, Qarajah ibn Ṭurabāy, joined the rebellion of Jānbirdī al-Ghazzālī the powerful governor of the province of Damascus against Sultan Sulaymān. It is reasonable to assume that he was killed when, in 1521, the Ottoman army defeated and executed his master. This episode covers the earliest known section of the Ṭurabāys' history.

Among the *firmāns* published by Heyd from the Ottoman Archives, several mention the Ṭurabāy family. One of the dominant figures mentioned in these documents is 'Assāf b. Ṭurabāy who guarded the roads passing through the Sanjaq of Lajjūn northwards to Damascus and southwards to Cairo with great success. (Heyd 1960:59–52, No. 4*; Sharon 1975:25ff. As a result, the Chief of the Ṭurabāy family was addressed as "amīr ad-Darbayn," the emir of the two roads. In time, 'Assāf acquired too much power, which alarmed the Ottoman government. It refused him the governorship of Nāblūs, and in 1583 found the opportunity to capture him, banish him to Rhodes and assassinate him there. (Sharon 1975:26–27 and notes.) The government of the *Sanjaq* of Lajjūn remained, however, in the hands of the family whose greatest leader was Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy b. 'Alī. He ruled northern Palestine for almost 47 years from 1601–2, first as the governor of Ṣafad and then as the *sanjaq beg* of Lajjūn.

The Ṭurabāys did not alter the mode of their Bedouin life. They lived in tents, and used to roam along the coast between the Carmel and Caesarea where they spent the winter months. They clung to the nomadic life out of pride, and although they could move into a palace, they refused for a very long time to do so, as attested by the French traveller d'Arvieux who spent considerable time with them and left a detailed report about them, the best description outside the Arabic and Turkish sources. They introduced, however, two innovations as a mark of their official status:

they formed an orchestra composed of drums, tambourines, trumpets, and oboes, and hired a professional secretary who could both read and write, whose only duty was to deal with the correspondence with the government and their neighbors. They also made Jīnīn their administrative headquarters and buried their dead in the ‘Izz ad-Dīn cemetery there.

The relations of the Ṭurabāys with the government were based on two conditions. First, they were exempt from payment of taxes to the central government, and in return, they were supposed to participate with their people in the wars of the Empire. From this condition only the first half was fulfilled: the Ṭurabāy family did not pay taxes and did not take part in the imperial wars. Second, they had to safeguard the routes that traversed their territories. This they did, and brought peace to northern Palestine for almost a whole century. They developed good and effective relations with the sedentary population. In each village, they nominated a local sheikh to whom they sent their orders. He collected the taxes from the peasants which he transferred to the *amīr*. In return his life and property were safeguarded. In addition to the income from the taxes paid by the peasants, the Ṭurabāys collected customs from boats that came to the two “ports” which they controlled, in Haifa and Ṭanṭūrah.

Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy’s period of rule was disturbed by a long and bloody feud with the Druze leader of Lebanon, Fakhr ad-Dīn II. Only in 1633, was the danger of the latter removed following an attack of the government on him in which Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy was happy to participate. Aḥmad died in 1647. His son Zayn took over his position as the head of the family, and as the ruler of the *sanjaq* of Lajjūn. D’Arvieux and Muḥibbī describe him as a courageous, wise and modest man who, like his father, maintained peace in the country and safety on the roads. He died in 1660. He was replaced by his brother Muḥammad under whom the family began to deteriorate. D’Arvieux who visited him described an inefficient person completely addicted to hashish. He succeeded somewhat in keeping the roads safe, protecting the merchants, and safeguarding the imperial postal service. He even extended help to the government in putting down a rebellion in Nāblus. He died in 1671 and was buried in Jīnīn, the headquarters of the family. The family deteriorated even further after his death, and in 1677 the *sanjaq* was taken away from them and given to an Ottoman officer Aḥmad Pasha Ṭarazī. It is possible that the fall of the Ṭurabāys was due to the fact that their tribe of Banū Ḥāritha migrated to ‘Ajlūn and the Jordan valley. Of all the tombs of the members of this family only the epitaph of Ṭurabāy b. ‘Alī remained and is discussed below.

Epitaph of Muslim man

1010/1601–2

Half-cylinder shaped marble block, 0.70 × 0.22 × 0.20m., broken in two and damaged on top. 2 lines, within a sunken frame, professional Ottoman *naskhī*, interwoven letters in the second line, points, no vowels; in relief. Publication: Husseinī's report IAA files Jenin, no. 244, dated 14.09.1941. (Pl. 39 Figs. 55, 55a, P19, P20, P21, P22)

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٢) هذا ضريح الفقير الى ربه تعالى الامير طرباي بن علي سنة ١٠١٠

Basmalah. This is the tomb of the slave who is in need of his Lord, the Exalted, al-amīr Ṭurabāy b. 'Alī. The year 1010 (=1601)

Text Corrections

L.2 الفقير الى الله تعالى Correct Husseinī: الفقير الى ربه تعالى

بن سيد علي ١٠١٠ Correct Husseinī بن علي سنة ١٠١٠

Comments

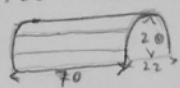
Ṭurabāy b. 'Alī was the first member of the family to get the governorship of Lajjūn and the first to be buried in his own mausoleum, a massive domed building in Jīnīn called Qubbat al-Amīr Ṭurabāy—the Dome of amīr Ṭurabāy (Pl. 40). That he was the *beg* of Lajjūn we learn from one of the Ottoman documents dated 3 Sha'bān 1002/24 Apr. 1594 (Heyd 1960:78 No. 31). In that year he was also nominated, temporarily, as the *beg* of the *sanjaq* of Gaza, during the absence of its *beg* who led the *hajj* caravan. The date of Ṭurabāy's death, 1010/1601 is indicated by Muḥibbī 1284, 1:221. It is identical to the date in our inscription. None of the graves of the other members of his family were preserved, not even the tomb of their greatest leader Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy to whom Muḥibbi dedicated an enthusiastic biography. (*Ibid.*) Husseinī, the antiquities inspector for the Department of Antiquities of the British Mandatory Government, left the following description of the mausoleum and the tombstone dated 14 Sept. 1941 (Pl. 39):

A ruined domed tomb chamber. Dome carried on arched pendentives. White and greenish marble slabs used in windows and doors. Of the grave of 'Amīr Tarabay (*sic!*) nothing remains, but scattered marble fragments, some of which bear geometrical and floral carvings (Fig. P22) and a carved marble tombstone. It contains two lines . . .

As far as I know, it does not exist anymore.

No. 244 Name of Inspector.
 Date 4.9.41 Hussein
 Subal al Amir Turabāy
 قبة الأمير طراباي

1. Site Jenin
 2. Map Ref. III. 179208
 3. Situation & approaches. In modern Cemetery N.E. of Jenin s. of check shielded by Din
 4. Description. A ruined domed tomb chamber. Dome carried on arched pendentives. white & greenish marble slabs used in windows & doors. Of the grave of Amir Turabāy nothing remains but scattered marble fragments some of which bear geometrical & floral carvings (Pl. 26. 445) and carved marble tomb stone 70 cm long, 22 cm thick & 20 cm high, it contains two lines which run as follows: -



(Pl. 26. 449)

١. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٢. صخره القبري الأمير طراباي
 ٣. صخره القبري الأمير طراباي
 The tomb chamber opens at the S. side into a ruined cross vaulted chamber with a well built prayer niche, marble fragments

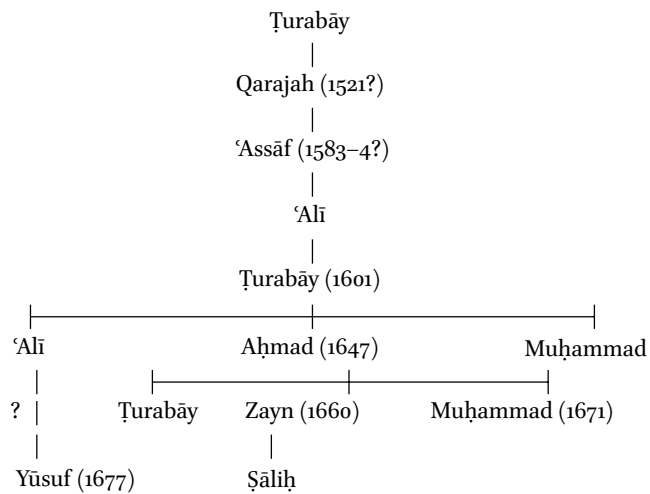
5. Condition. one also used in the structure (Pls 26. 444, 6-8)
 6. Recommendations.
 7. Remarks.

GPP. 5483 - 50 Bks - 22.5.38
 Huss

Pl. 39. Husseini's report and reading.

The simplicity of the text of this epitaph, which contains nothing more than the Basmalah, and the name of the deceased, is rather striking particularly when one takes into consideration the high social and governmental positions that he held. In what follows is a skeleton of the Turabāy family tree as far as I could reconstruct it from the available sources. (See, Sharon 1975 for more details.)

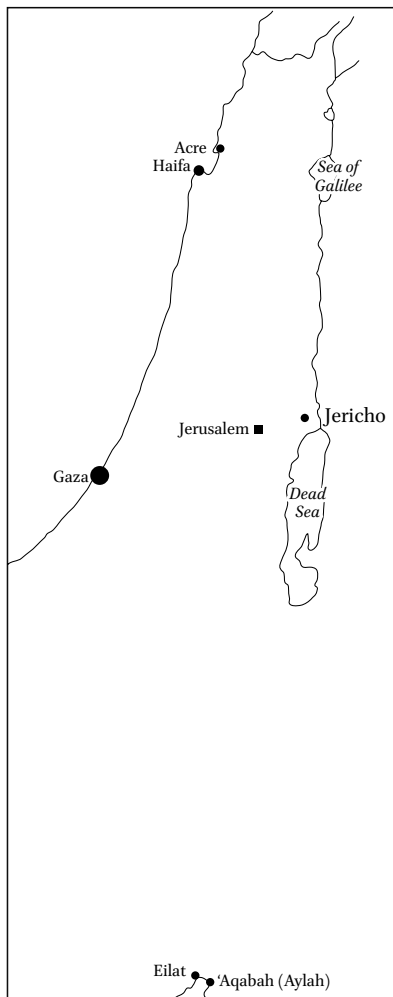
THE ṬURABĀY FAMILY OF BANŪ ḤĀRITHA
(In brackets the year of death if known)



Pl. 40. Ṭurabāy's Mausoleum, Jinīn (Courtesy IAA).

JERICHO—ARĪḤĀ. RĪḤĀ

Is. Gr. 193 140 N.Is. Gr. 243 640



The Arabic names Arīḥā—أريحا and ar-Riḥā—الريحا (essentially sound the same) as well as Riḥā (without the article) represent the ancient Biblical name Yereḥו יְרֵחַ (Numbers 22:1; 26:3, 63; Deut. 32:49) and once יְרִיחוֹה (IKings 16:34). The Greek name in the Septuagint (Brenton edition 1851) Ἰριχώ represents the exact Hebrew. (Joshua 6:1. Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, 2, 1938:357) This name indicates that like many other places it was called after a deity, namely the moon (Heb. יְרֵחַ) which was worshipped among many peoples in the near east. (Cf. Aharoni 1987:90)

One of the oldest places of advanced civilization in the world. Ancient Jericho was located at Tel as-Sulṭān, once to the north of the modern city bearing its name, and now incorporated into it. Jericho is also the most ancient city discovered in Palestine. Excavations in Tell as-Sulṭān, began already in the second half of the nineteenth century by the expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but systematic excavations started between 1907 and 1909 by Ernst Selling and Carl Watzinger heading an Austrian-German expedition, followed by John Gerstang in 1930–1936, and continued until the second half of the century. The most important of all the excavations were no doubt those that Kathleen M. Kenyon carried out between 1952 and 1958 in which the story of this city was clarified,

and its chronology largely established. The excavations revealed the remains of a great, well-defended city with many public buildings and strong fortifications as well as rich material culture. It was found out that the earliest fortifications date from the eighth millennium until the fifth millennium BCE. During this long period, Jericho was a flourishing city protected by strong walls and towers, and with many public buildings, clear evidence of the existence of a highly developed social and



Pl. 41. Jericho in Madaba Map.

Bellow, in the middle, the walled city with palm trees, its famous symbol. On top in Greek its name Ἰεριχώ.
Above: the Jordan pouring into the Dead Sea.

political order. At the same time in the rest of the country (even in most of the Middle East), people were living in caves or scattered in primitive dwellings. What caused this unusual development of a highly sophisticated civilization in this city, which preceded similar development in the rest of the country by 3000 years, is not clear. Some of the reasons could be connected with the availability of water from several rich springs that flow near the city, and the favorable climate that enabled intensive agriculture and the formation of social order, two important conditions for the development of an organized society.

The oasis of Jericho (called in the Bible and in post Biblical literature “City of Palms” Judg. 3:13; 2Chron. 28:15; *cf.* Abel, *op. cit.* 1938:358) is situated 10 km. to the north-west of the Dead Sea and 7 Km to the west of the Jordan River. One of the few west-east routes, which connected Palestine with the territories of Trans-Jordan, passed through it. Like river basins elsewhere in the Middle East, the basin of the Jordan River also supported the development of a sophisticated civilization, although not to the degree that we encounter in the basins of the great rivers. The description of the “plain of the Jordan” in the book of Genesis (13:10), though belonging to a much later period, points to the fertility of the area. This is how the Biblical account describes it in the story of the separation of Lot from Abraham:

And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld the plain of the Jordan well watered everywhere . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt . . . (*Cf.* Aharoni 1988:109–110)

The Biblical story about the conquest and destruction of Jericho corresponds well with the archeological evidence about its fall in the last quarter of the 14th century BCE, or a century later. (The details of the story in the book of Joshua, however (Josh. 6:17–26), are a legend since Jericho at that time was no more than a fortress on the top of the hill. (Aharoni 1988:169).

It was allocated to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. 15:5–11, 18:11–20) and after the split of the united kingdom, it was part of the Kingdom of Israel (the border with

the Kingdom of Judah passed to the south of it. (I kings 16:34; Aharoni 1988:247; Abel, *loc. cit.*) For a while, following the destruction of the First Temple (587 BCE), it became part of the Babylonian domains, and returned to the revived Jewish autonomous territory under the Persians late in the sixth century BCE. The discovery of many stamps with the word YHD on jar handles in the excavations attests to the rebuilding the city, and of its affiliation to Judaea of the second Temple Period. (Ezra 2:34; Aharoni *op. cit.* 320–322; Abel *op. cit.*, 359)

For a very long time the city was famous for its agricultural products and perfume plants particularly balsam. Under the Muslims it was famous for its superb indigo, (Muqaddasī 1906: 174; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 1840:236) and for its sugar canes. The sugar produced in its sugar mills was praised for its excellent quality (Yāqūt, *Dār Ṣādir* 3:111), and its production continued under the Crusaders as well as under the Muslim rulers that supplanted them.

There is a detailed discussion of Jericho in *CIAP* 3. Readers are advised to follow my study there on pp. 75ff and particularly pp. 84ff. (See Abel *op. cit.*, 357–360; Le Strange 1890:396–397; Maramardji 1951:8–9; Hoade 1984:505–517)

In 1936, Dimitri C. Baramki and Michael Avi-Yonah, excavating a site to the east of the tell of Jericho on behalf of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities of Palestine, (DAP) discovered a mosaic floor of a synagogue from the end of the Byzantine period. (Probably the time of Justin I 518–527 CE. Avi-Yonah, 1970:207.) The mosaic floor represents a carpet divided by fine crisscrossing chains into equal sized squares filled with alternating hearts and rhomboid geometrical combinations of tiny squares. In the middle of the floor is a representation of the Torah scroll arc with a conch on top. In front of it there is a menorah—seven branches candlestick—encircled by a round double lined mosaic frame (pl. 42), flanked on one side by a ram horn (*shofar*) and on the other by a palm branch (*lulav*). Underneath it there is a one line Hebrew inscription in formal Jewish script reading שלום על ישראל “Peace on Israel,” hence the synagogue was named in modern times “Shalom ‘al Yisrael” Synagogue. (Baramki and Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 6:73–77; Tsafirir 1984:296–r99, 422)



Pl. 42. Copy of “Peace on Israel” inscription.

DEDICATION OF MOSAIC FLOOR

At the entrance to the synagogue, in the same mosaic floor, there is an inscription in Aramaic, damaged at the bottom left and slightly in the second line, thanking the members of the community for helping to make the mosaic. Six lines formal Jewish script, encircled by two-lined frame of black mosaic. (Pl. 43 Jericho 3)



Pl. 43. Aramaic dedication of mosaic floor.

(1 דכירן לטב יהוי דכרונו[נ] הון לטב כל 2) קהלה ק(די)שה רביה וזעוריה דסייע
(3 יתהון מלכיה דעלמה ואתחזקון ועבדון 4) פסיפסה דידע שמהתון ודבניהון ודאנ
שי 5) בתיהון יכתוב יתהון בספר חיים [עם] 6) צדיקיה. חברין לכל ישראל של(ום)."

May they be remembered for good; let their memory be for good, all (members of) the holy community, old and the young whom the King of the World helped, and they strengthen (themselves) and made this mosaic, since He knows their names and (the names) of their sons and of the members of their families. Let Him write them in the Book of Life together with the righteous. Friends (they are) to all Israel. Peace.

Khirbat al-Mafjar

194 143 N.Is. Gr. 244 643

All the inscriptions studied in this entry do not come from Jericho proper but from the site of Khirbat al-Mafjar. In Khirbat al-Mafjar, situated to the north of Jericho, are the ruins of a great palace complex containing a castle, a mosque and a bath as well as an enclosed agricultural plot (*ḥayr*). The name of the site is a local, popular name; neither the site nor the palace appear in the Arabic sources. The word *mafjar* in Arabic means outlet for water, and it seems that popular name refers to the water breaking through from the mountains into wādī an-Nu‘aymah that flows next to the place (See summary Hoade 1984:517–520).

Because of one inscription, (below, Jericho 12) which mentions the name of Caliph Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (105/724–125/743) the site received the popular name of “Hishām Palace,” although there is no real proof that it was built by this Caliph.



(Hamilton 1959:42–44) The inscriptions found in the extensive excavations, which exposed the whole complex, only prove that among the fragments of documents written (by pen and ink) on small pieces of marble, there is also one containing the beginning of a letter that does not contain much more than the name of the addressee

(Hishām) and the polite opening, customary in such correspondence. Even if one accepts that the palace was built by Hishām, the last great caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, it should be pointed out that it was never used (except for the bath), and it is questionable whether it was actually finished before it was ruined in the massive earthquake of 747. The theory that it was finished, or almost finished, by Walīd II (125/743–126/744), as some think, (Hamilton 1959) seems improbable since the latter ruled for only about a year. Similarly, the claim that the place was occupied almost until the Mamlūk period seems far-fetched in spite of what is presented as the ceramic evidence (Cf. E. Baer, *EI*².s.v. “Khirbat al-Mafjar.” It seems that Dimitri Baramki who led the excavations in the palace from 1935 to 1948 for the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities, (Baramki, *QDAP* 8, 1939) toyed with this idea and was followed by Whitcomb (1988).

Although the site had been known since the late 19th century, it was Baramki’s 13 years of work that uncovered the palace and its dependencies, and Robert William Hamilton, who wrote the detailed study of the palace with Oleg Grabar, (*Khirbat al-Mafjar: an Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley*. 1959) followed him.

The palace is no doubt a gem of architecture and of unusual decorative art particularly in mosaic, sculpture and stone carving. The Islamic prohibition of the production of human representation particularly in sculpture was ignored. Highly sophisticated mosaic carpets were uncovered everywhere, the most significant of which is the panel in the private room attached to the bath, where a delicate and highly sophisticated mosaic floor was uncovered in which geometric patterns were employed and with a vivid scene of a lion hunting a gazelle under a tree. (See insert above on the left.) This picture became the symbol of the whole palace. The superb quality of this mosaic picture, the perfect reality of the various elements in it, can be compared only to the glass mosaics ornamenting the walls of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. I have no doubt that the same school of Byzantine artists produced both. “The delicacy of the design, the superior quality of the colour settings, in the progressively lighter tones of the tree, and the vivid opposition between the ferocious lion, the trapped gazelle still on the run, and the two unconcerned gazelles nibbling at the tree make this panel a true masterpiece.” (Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987:55 pl.26)

The dome of “the private room” attached to the bath, which Ettinghausen and Grabar call *divan* is decorated with six sculptured human heads set around a perfectly carved flower (*ibid.*, 61, pl. 35), and to this should be added the painted full figure stucco sculpture of the “standing prince” at the bath entrance. (*Ibid.*, 56 pl. 28) The sculptures represent the eastern influence of the Sassanian, being very far from the strict iconoclast Islam, which developed after the fall of the Umayyads. From this point of view, the decorations in Khirbat al-Mafjar furnish the idea about the time of the prohibition on images in Islam. It could not have been introduced before the end of the 8th century.

Although there is no real proof connecting the building of the palace with Hishām, the inscriptions point to 2nd/8th century as the approximate date of the building, particularly since the name of the caliph is mentioned in one or two of them. That the Mafjar complex belongs to the Umayyad period is sure also because of another reason. The ‘Abbāsids who supplanted the Umayyads moved the center of all their activity, governmental, cultural and economic to the east and premeditatedly neglected Syria, the home of the Umayyads and their supporters.

The Inscriptions

All the inscriptions found in the ruins of Mafjar seem to belong to this site. They represent, however, a few types of paleography, which do not necessarily suggest different dates, but rather different writers. The marble fragments on which these documents were written, were not broken after the texts were written on them. The texts were originally written on small pieces of marble found in the masons’ debris, and were used later for the filling of the trenches dug for the foundation of the southeastern tower of the palace (*idem*, 42). In that period, the available surfaces for writing were papyri, parchment or an occasional hard substance. Professional scribes used papyri. It was expensive and rare outside the circles of the bureaucracy. Parchment was even more expensive and rare. However, pottery shards and pieces of broken marble slabs were easily available as cheap writing surfaces. The question is where, and when these marble fragments reached the writers, and why were they written? Only a few are beginnings of letters, two inscriptions sound like a talisman of a kind, or a writing exercise. Another is an obscene inscription using vulgar language. The letter to Hishām does not seem genuine. For what reason was it written if it does not contain any proper message? Moreover, if it was supposed to be sent why was it left behind? The only logical suggestion to the provenance and nature of this haphazard collection is that in most cases people played with ink and pens scribbling on the easily available marble rubble discarded by the builders, as some kind of a game. There is a very remote possibility that some of the letters that were not sent were copies or drafts. (See Hamilton *loc. cit.*)

58

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724-125/743

Broken fragment of a slab of marble, 0.147 × 0.067m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.59), remains of a few words are visible, 11 lines, written in black ink, early papyri script. Mentioned by Hamilton 1959:42-44. Fig. 56.

What follows is an attempted reading of a few words in the way of a hesitant suggestion. In most cases only traces of letters survived and I tried to make out something of some of them. The following outcome is not coherent, but it seems to reflect a draft of a letter.

(١) . . . من ابنه (٢) الأمير هشام (٣) بن عمار من (٤) من هذا اود / اور (٤) والعشرة من (٥) الأمير من
(٦) وينصر الدين / الذين (٧) . . . اليها الكتاب (٨) . . . ربه (٩) هايل ما خبرته . . . (١٠) وهذا
ما شاء الله (١١)

From his son . . . The amīr Hishām b. ‘Ammār . . . from . . . and the friendship (or: the ten) . . . from the Amīr . . . and he shall protect the religion (or: protect those who . . .) . . . the letter to her . . . ? what I informed him . . . and this is what Allah wishes

This attempt to read something into this badly defaced fragment does not allow normal translation of the text. It is remotely possible that it is another one of the “Hishām’s correspondence.” I read the name Hishām in the traces of the faded letters in line 2 but this is a mere guess.

59

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Obscene message

105/724-125/743

Slab of marble, 0.082 × 0.085m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.72) broken diagonally at the bottom right before being used as a writing surface. 7 lines, early papyri cursive script written in black ink. On the other side of the stone is a quadrupedal animal, which I define as a hyena. Publication: Baramki 1939 Discussed by Hamilton 1959:43). Fig. 57, 58 (reverse).

(١) ايرال كاتب في است القاري (٢) وكب الكاتب (٣) وهو يسئل اسمه من (٤) كبه ويكتب الكاتب
اثناه (٥) الكتاب وهذا مـ [ن] (٦) الشاب ؟ هاني (٧) بن هاني

The penis of the writer in the behind of the reader. And he is enquiring his name: who wrote it? The writer writes, while writing the message “and this is from Hānī b. Hānī.”

L.4: The three letters of the word which I read *athnā*(?) are clear but one cannot rule out other readings which added a few letters, considering the word to be an incorrect beginning of the word *al-kitāb* which is repeated correctly in the following line. The repetition of the word *kitāb* seems to be part of the fooling around with the pen.
 L.5: *wa-hādhā min* seems to me a better proposal here than *mā* which does not connect with the following word *ash-shāb*. It may be that the intended word was *wa'ihdā* namely “offer”, “a present,” which could mean that the obscene language was Hānī b. Hānī’s “gift” to a certain person, or to any reader of this “letter.”
 L.6: the word *shābb* a young man, youngster is quite clear although the *shīn* seems to have one tooth too many, which is negligible in this type of scribble.

I have never encountered an inscription with this kind of language before, although in Arabic poetry there are examples in which poets used, sometimes boastfully, this language though not in the form of a scornful message as here. It is not unusual to encounter writers busy with the parts of the body that we meet in this inscription as well as “philosophical” observations on the subject such as the one attributed to no less than ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib or the verse quoted in the *Lisān* (3:36a) which is in no need of translation.

60

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble, 0.197 × 0.11m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (IAA catalogue No. 42.60), completely defaced, only illegible remains of 5 lines, papyri undefinable script originally written in black ink. Mentioned by Baramki 1939; Hamilton 1959:42–44. Fig. 59.

Apart from a few letters, any attempt to read anything in this text would be a wild guess.

61 61a

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Slab of marble, 0.133 × 0.19m, written on both sides, broken into seven small pieces now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.64): The fragment displays on the obverse two types of script. On the right, there are traces of five lines, angular letters written in black ink; on the left, larger side, traces of six lines, cursive letters, early papyri script. On the reverse (Fig. 61), there are traces of probably five lines in cursive papyri script. Mentioned by Hamilton 1959. Fig. 60 (obverse), 61 (reverse).

60 Right side

(١) . . . (٢) . . . ليطمئن (٣) . . . الذنوب (٤) . . . (٥) . . . دوره (٦) . . .

60 Left side

(١) كاف / كاتب (٢) . . . (٣) . . . سبب (٤) . . . القبر / الفين ايد / لقد (٥) امن عمر
بن شبيب (٦) . . .

As it stands, the text suggested above, far from being sure, is meaningless. It seems like a scribble of drafts of two letters. If I am right in reading line 5 then at least we have here the name of a certain 'Umar.

Reverse 61

In addition to the text, there is an attempt to draw some figure, which looks like playing with the pen and ink.

Four or five lines cursive papyri script.

(١) محمد (٢) بن عريان (٣) غفر لك نزولك (٤) حبيب (٥)

Line five completely defaced. The suggested reading is not sure and does not allow any meaningful translation. This scribbled piece seems also to be a note or a draft of a letter, but it could well be a playful exercise in writing. The "drawing" over the text and the unorderedly arrangement of lines strengthen this possibility.

62

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724-125/743

Slab of marble 0.105 × 0.099m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.61), broken at the bottom, 3 lines, cursive papyri script, written in black ink. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:43. Fig. 62.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن (٢) الرحيم من عبد (٣) الله بن عمر

Basmalah. From 'Abdallah b. 'Umar.

This seems to be the entire original text on the stone. There could have been another word at the end of the third line: *ilā*- "to . . ."

'Abdallah b. 'Umar is the supposed author of the letter addressed to Caliph Hishām (No. 69 below). The fact that 'Abdallah starts the letter with his name, and

not with Hishām's name, as protocol would require, means that this letter, like the rest of the texts found in the palace, was not intended for the caliph, or for anybody in particular. It is almost sure that 'Abdallah b. 'Umar is also a fiction. (Hamilton 1959:44, 103–105) On the real 'Abdallah b. 'Umar see in detail No. 69 below.

63 63a
KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Talisman

105/724–125/743

Slab of marble, 0.054 × 0.142m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.36), text written on both sides of the stone 63: three lines angular script with full points written in black ink, early provincial angular text, full points, no vowels. 63a: five lines, clearer face, same script; the text as in 63. Seen by Hamilton 1959: 42–44. Figs. 63 (obverse), 64 (reverse). The definitions on the obverse and reverse of the stone are arbitrary since the text on both faces is the same.

63 Obverse

Most of this face is covered with black substance, which could be ink that was spilt on it, or black smoke, or some fungus that attacked the stone. Most of the text on this face is lost but since the whole inscription repeats the same incantation, this loss is not serious.

(١) عطشعشش دنوش دنوش (؟)
(٢) عطشعشش نخوش نخوش
(٣)

Reverse 63a

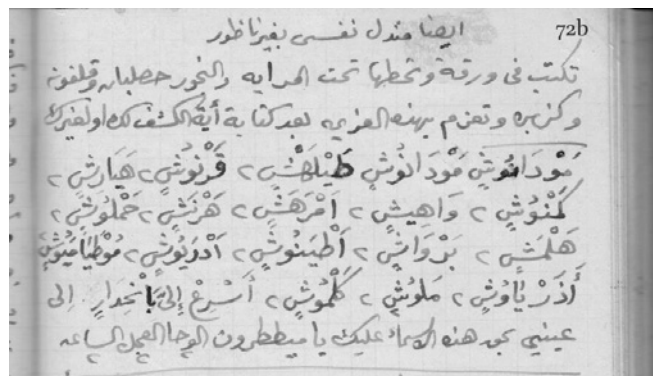
This face is clear and enables the reading of the whole text, which is the same meaningless incantation.

(١) عطشعشش قوش دنوش دنوش
(٢) عطشعشش ذبوش ذبوش ذبوش
(٣) عطشعشش دنوش
(٤) عطشششش دنوش دنوش
(٥) عطشششش دنوش دنوش

If this inscription has any purpose beyond a play of the writer, then it could well be some kind of a talisman. The usage of a combination of letters creating bizarre and strange sounding, as well as meaningless “names” is a well-known technique in Islamic practical magic. Magic and sorcery defined by the word *mandal*, involve a medium (*nāẓir*) who repeats these or similar “names” compelling the supernatural entity (usually an angel) to come and fulfil his wish while contemplating a mirror-like surface. See below a similar example composed of many combinations of letters from a manuscript dedicated to practical magic. It reads as follows:

(Instructions for preparing) a spiritual (personal) *mandal* without a leader (a professional medium): You write (the following) on paper and put it under the mirror, and the incense of rosemary, rosin and coriander. You invite, using this invitation formula, after writing the verse of *kashf* (Q, 50:22) for yourself and for others, saying: “*mawdanūshⁱⁿ mawdanushⁱⁿ taylahshⁱⁿ qarnūshⁱⁿ hayārshⁱⁿ* etc. etc. . . . *malūshⁱⁿ kalamūshⁱⁿ* come quickly to me, descending onto my eyes. I invoke you by the binding truth of these names O Mayṭaṭrūn (come) immediately, speedily at this moment. (Pl. 44)

The name Mayṭaṭrūn is the Arabicized form of Meṭaṭron or Maṭṭaṭron (Heb. מטטרון) the archangel nearest to God in Jewish mysticism. He entered into Islamic mysticism and magic with his name and his supreme status in the celestial host.



Pl. 44. Page 72b from a manuscript on magical practice: *bahjat an-nufūs wa-al-arwāḥ fī trākīb aṣ-ṣanā'i' wa funūn al-arwāḥ* (privately owned) teaching how to use meaningless combinations of letters. Note full points and vowels.

64

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Slab of marble 0.11 × 0.335m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.53), neatly broken (before writing) on the top left. 3 lines, written in black ink, cursive papyri script. Seen by Hamilton 1959: 42–44; Baramki, *QDAP* 8. Fig. 65.

١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [حيم] ٢) من اسحاق بن قنطرة الى عبد ٣) الله بن عمر سلم عليك

Basmalah. From Ishāq b. Qaḥṭabah (or Muḥammad) to ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar. Peace be on you . . .

L.2: Ishāq b. Qaḥṭabah. In Baramki’s reading: Ishāq b. Muḥammad which is possible (Hamilton, 1959:43) This reading ignores a clear *tā marbūṭah* (or, *hā’*) at the end of the word. although quite a common name it does not figure in the sources of the time. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar, son of the second caliph, did not live at the time of the writing of this letter. He died in Mecca in the year 73/692. (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr 1412/1992:952). Here the person intended is the son of the eighth Umayyad Caliph, ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz discussed in entry No. 69 below. Again, we encounter only the beginning of a letter on a piece of marble, which had this shape before its usage as a surface for writing.

65

Khirbat al-Mafjar
Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Slab of marble 0.083 × 0.085m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.56), broken into two pieces, the right half completely defaced; only a few letters are legible on the left half. 2 lines, written probably with a brush; black ink, cursive script, thick letters. Seen by Hamilton 1959:42–44. Fig. 66.

١) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] . . . ٢) [من عبد الله بن عمر الى . . .]

Basmalah. From ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar to . . .

See notes on the previous entry, and No. 69 below.

66
KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Attempted graffiti

2nd/8th

Slab of marble 0.115 × 0.066m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.32), broken on top, bottom and right side. Two words(?), early provincial angular script, no points, no vowels; incised. Seen by Hamilton 1959. Fig. 67.

عبد الله؟ هشام[م]؟

Slave of Allah Hishām?

This reading is far from sure. The writer incised only these few letters on the stone. It is possible that two hands were involved in this attempted graffiti, one (on top left) better than the other.

67
KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Remains of a letter (?)

105/724–125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble 0.053 × 0.55m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.80). One word, written in black ink, papyri cursive script, discussed by Hamilton 1959:42–44. Fig. 68.

فقدتا(؟)

Not enough material to form an idea about the text, not even that it is the remains of a letter.

68
KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble 0.219 × 0.128m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.65), broken in several places on the left side and lower right corner, before it was used as a writing surface. 10 lines, papyri script written in black ink. The middle part on the left obscured by black substance. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:43. Fig. 69.

(١) بسم الله الر (٢) حم (٣) الرحيم من (٤) كلثوم بن عيا (٥) ض الى محمد بن (٦) عبد الملوك (!) (٧)
 سلم عليك (٨) فاني احمد اليك (٩) الله الذي لا اله الا (١٠) هو اما بعد . . .

Basmalah. From Kulthūm b. ‘Iyāḍ to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik: peace be on you. I praise to you Allah Who there is no god but He. Now then . . .

In a few places, the writing faded away but when enlarged most of the above text can be retrieved.

L.6: **الملوك** when enlarged, a tooth after the *lām* of al-Malik is clearly visible, which is definitely an unintentional mistake that the writer did not bother to correct.

Muḥammad the son of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (ll.5–6) figures a few times in the annals of the Umayyads. In 126/744, he was active in the province of Filastīn during the popular rebellions there, and in the neighboring province of Urdunn, against Yazīd III. (Ṭabarī 2:1831–32) Caliph Hishām nominated him as the governor of Egypt. (Khalīfah, *Tarīkh* 1414/1993:285) In 127/744–45 we meet him supporting Marwān II (Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 1890), and in 130/748 he was the leader of the *hajj* caravan of that year. (*Ibid.*, 2017, but see Khalīfah, *ibid.*, 317) About two years later, he must have been killed, together with the rest of the Umayyads, by the ‘Abbāsīd ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alī. It seems that this letter was intended for him when he was active in Palestine after the death of Hishām, during the turbulent year of the three caliphs Walid II, Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm.

Kulthūm b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Qasrī (ll.4–5), a bitter opponent of his relative, Khālid b. ‘Abdallah al-Qasrī the famous and able governor of Iraq for Hishām. Kulthūm was the governor of Damascus for quite a while under Hishām (Ṭabarī, 2: 1814–1817) who nominated him in 123/741 as the governor of Ifrīqyah. (Khalīfah, *op. cit.* 279, 281, 285) In the Khārijī rebellion in the same year he was killed. (Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 1871; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, 1, 1414/1994:161 calls him al-Qushayrī as does Hamilton 1959:44, pl. XCIV, 3 based on a variant in Ṭabarī.). The presence of names of people who belonged to the close circle of Hishām’s entourage place these texts in the second half of Hishām’s rule, although it is very difficult to decide their real function since not one letter contains any information beyond the polite (or impolite) opening. (Cf. Hamilton, *loc. cit.*)

69

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Rectangular fragment of a slab of marble 0.15 × 0.09m, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.245), broken in middle and repaired, 7 lines, professional cursive papyri script written in black ink. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:42–44. Fig. 70.

(١) لعبد الله هشام امير المؤمنين من عبد (٢) الله بن عمر سلم عليك (٣) فاني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو (٤) لا هو (٥) اما بعد عافا الله الامير بحفظه ونصر (٦) جند ه كتبت اليك كتي هذا (٧) وانا

To the servant of Allah Hishām Commander of the Faithful from ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar: Peace be on you. I praise to you Allah Who there is no god but He. Now then, may Allah safeguard the amīr with His shelter and bestow victory on his armies. I am writing to you this letter of mine while I am . . .

This letter, which does not contain any meaningful message beyond the formal preamble, is one of the grounds for attributing the palace in Jericho to Hishām. However, other fragments also place the collection of the texts in the time of Hishām and his immediate successors. Among the identifiable figures, the name of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar (not ‘Ubaydallah. Hamilton 1959:43) appears quite frequently. It is almost sure that the person intended was ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al ‘Azīz, son of the pious eighth Umayyad Caliph ‘Umar II (99/717–101/720). In the Arabic sources, we meet him as the governor of Iraq during the turbulent period of the tribal war there. This was the time of the twilight of the Umayyad dynasty, when four caliphs followed each other within a period of less than two years, and one (Walīd II) was assassinated (126/744). The Umayyad family was torn apart by internal strife, and the revolutionary army of the ‘Abbāsids was on the verge of hoisting the black banners of revolt in Khurāsān, and moving westwards. I dealt in detail with the career of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar as the governor of Iraq between 126/744, when Yazīd III, nominated him to his post, until his death in the custody of Marwān II in Ḥarrān in 132/749. (Sharon, *Black Banners*, 2, 1990:128–139, 245. Governor of Iraq and the civil war 126–127/744: Ṭabarī, 2:1854–55, 1864, 1866–67, 1885. 128/745–746 initially opposing Marwān II, while still active in Iraq: *idem*, 2:1897–1907, 1917, 1938, 1942; died in 132/749 in the plague which struck Mesopotamia that year: *idem*, 3:32. See also for the period of his activity in Iraq, Khalifah b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh* 1414/1994:294, 298–299.)

There is no information about his activities in Hishām’s time. He appears in the sources only after the time of Yazīd III and active only in Irāq. It is quite possible that until he moved to his place of governorship in 126, he had been active in Syria, as we learn from the present document, only if we accept it as a real historical text, and not as “mere scribblings.” (Hamilton 1959:43)

70

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR
Talisman?

105/724–125/743

A fragment of a slab of marble, no measurements, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 23.247), text obscured in the middle by black substance. 5 lines, primitive scribble of mostly meaningless text, written in black ink with a brush, great part faded away. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:42–44. Fig. 71.

(١) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) محمد جميله ؟ جميله [هـ] ؟ (٣) عطش عطش دنوش دنوش ؟ (٤)
دنوش دنوش اللهم (٥) [صلّ] على محمد وسلم

Basmalah. Muḥammad. (Meaningless combination of letters which might be read as “thirst, thirst” a few times and then something which looks like *danūsh*, *danūsh* or *dhanūsh* repeated a few times. See above No. 63). O Allah, bless Muḥammad and give (him) peace.

This gross scribble was produced by the same hand that produced No. 63 above. It could well be intended as a talisman or just playing around with brush and ink. Most of the text faded away, but there was not much in it beyond the above reconstruction.

71

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

Triangular fragment of a slab of marble, 0.225 × 0.26m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.19), fractured vertically. 6 lines, papyri script written in black ink, discussed by Hamilton 1959:43, Pl. XCV, 7. Fig. 72.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) من سالم بن مسلم الى عبد (٣) الله بن سليم سلم عليك فاني (٤) احمد
الك [الله] الذي لا اله (٥) الا هو (٧) اما بعد فاكتب اليك . . .

Basmalah. From Sālim b. Muslim to ‘Abdallah b. Sulaym. Peace be on you. I praise to you Allah Who there is no god but He. Now then, I am writing to you . . .

Ll.2–3: It is difficult to know whether these persons were real people or the writer was just playing around with the letters *s-l-m* in various combinations. I could not find the name ‘Abdallah b. Sulaym in the sources dealing with the early 2nd/8th century.

72

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Al-Fātiḥah

105/724–125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble 0.18 × 0.21m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.26). 9 lines only three of which are still partly visible, papyri script written in black ink. Horizontal lines were drawn on the stone in equal distances above which the text was written. Publication: Hamilton 1959:42–43. Fig. 73.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) الحمد لله رب (٣) العالمين الرحمن الرحيم (٤) ملك يوم الدين ايا (٤)
ك . . .

Basmalah. Beginning of the *fātiḥah*.

L.4: ملك Thus written in the Qur'ānic spelling similar to *ar-rahmān* and *al-ālamīn*.

73

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Lost text

105/724–125/743

3 fragments of marble slabs, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.41, with only faint remains of writing visible, but not enough to decipher anything. One fragment covered by black substance. Mentioned by Hamilton 1959: 42–44. Fig. 74.

74

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter

105/724–125/743

A fragment of marble 0.068 × 0.052m., now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.29), only parts of letters are visible, but not enough to allow reading, written in black ink. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:42–43. Fig. 75.

75

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Qur'ānic fragment

105/724–125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble 0.11 × 0.075m., broken at the bottom, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.31). Only four visible lines, angular script, big, very well defined letters drawn by thick pen or fine brush. In this particular case, it is clear that the original slab was much bigger, since the fourth line is clearly broken in the middle. Discussed by Hamilton 1959:42–44 Fig. 76.

(١) بسم الله الرحمن (٢) الرحيمان (٣) لذين كفروا [سوا عليهم انذرتهما] (٤) لم تنذرهم لا
يومنون]]

Basmalah. Q, 2:6 fragment.

76

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Lost text

105/724-125/743

Three fragments of marble, the large one $0.1 \times 0.055\text{m.}$, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.34), broken in upper left corner, only parts of words, and a decorative (?) crude sign are visible, not enough to allow reading, written in black ink. Fig. 77.

77

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Remains of a letter?

105/724-125/743

A triangular fragment of a slab of marble $0.14 \times 0.12\text{m.}$, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.79) fractured vertically. 2 lines of completely faded, hardly recognizable letters. Papyri script, written in black ink. Fig. 78.

(\ لا اله الا الله

(First part of the *shahādah*): There is no god but Allah.

78

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR

Lost text

105/724-125/743

Fragment of a slab of marble, $0.053 \times 0.049\text{m.}$, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 42.30), top broken in several places., 3 lines crude, early papyri script written on both sides of the stone in black ink. 79.

There is not enough text to enable any meaningful reading.

79

KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR ?

Qur'ānic text

C250/864

Oblong block of limestone, $0.50 \times 0.25\text{m.}$, with good *tabula ansata* carved on it. Provenance unknown, it could have been found near Khirbat al-Mafjar although it is not part of the complex, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue

No. I.4503), slightly broken on bottom left side. 7 lines, primitive provincial angular script most of which is worn out, but much of it recognizable. The text is engraved all over the stone and not restricted to the *tabula ansata*. It ends at the top left corner of the stone, above the left “handle” of the *tabula ansata*, no points, no vowels; incised. Fig. 80.

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ

“Verse of the throne” (Q, 2:255)

According to tradition, this verse “the lady of the Qur’anic verses” equals one quarter of the Qur’an. It is supposed to have magic power particularly for driving devils away. Cf. *CIAP* 1:148–149. The reading above is based on the recognition of many words of the verse, which enable the complete reconstruction of the inscription.

80

SYNAGOGUE AREA

Qur’anic text

C250/864.

A small fragment of a slab of marble 0.09×0.10 m., found in the excavations of the synagogue (see introduction) together with a few other fragments bearing remains of Greek inscriptions (Fig. 82a) now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. 38.1152). 2 visible lines, 3rd/9th century angular script, letters decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Seen by Baramki 1939. Fig. 81.

(١) [أُولَئِكَ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ عَدْنٍ (٢) تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهِمُ الْأَنْهَارُ]

For those are Gardens of Eden with the rivers flowing beneath them... (Q, 18:31. Trans. Bell Q, 18:30)

This and the following inscription, as well as at least some of the Greek fragments, were incised on pieces of marble taken from the debris of luxurious buildings or large marble objects. It is very possible that for this secondary usage, in the 9th century, the debris of Mafjar were used, probably for tombstones, and then used again, broken into small pieces, as building material and lime furnaces. These few fragments survived the hammer, whose handler must have worked not far from the synagogue site.

The script of this and the following inscription is typical for the time suggested as their date. The few surviving letters enable the identification of the Qur'ānic verse accurately.

81

SYNAGOGUE AREA
Epitaph? -Qur'ānic text

250c./850c.

A very small fragment of a slab of marble, about the same size as the previous one (Fig. 81), found in the synagogue, now kept in Rockefeller Museum (IAA catalogue No. S.2373). A few letters from three visible lines, 3rd/9th century angular script, letters decorated with barbs, no points, no vowels; incised. Seen by Baramki 1939. Fig. 82.

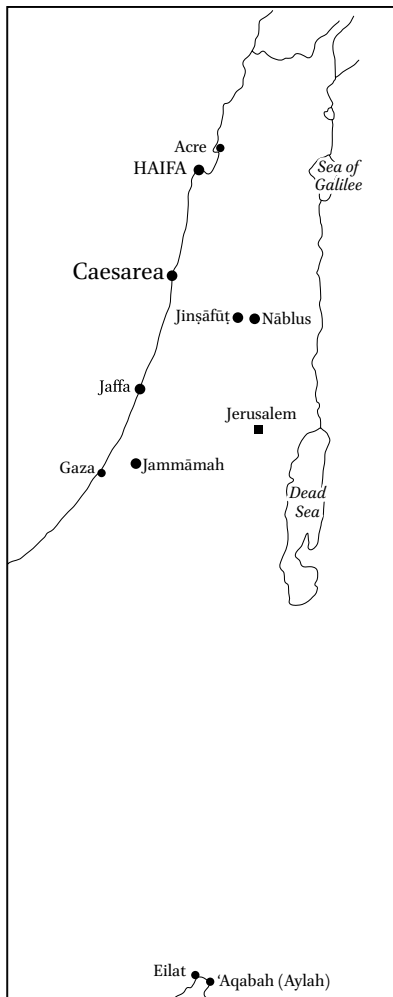
١) ولم يكن له كفـ [وا] [احد] . . . ٢) [الـ] [عابـ] [دين] [؟] ٣) [هـ] [ذا] [قبر] [؟]

End of surah 112. . . This is (the tomb of. . . ?)

See notes in the previous entry. The identification of the Qur'ānic verse is not sure. The continuation of the inscription is also a guess, but this the best I could do with the few available letters.

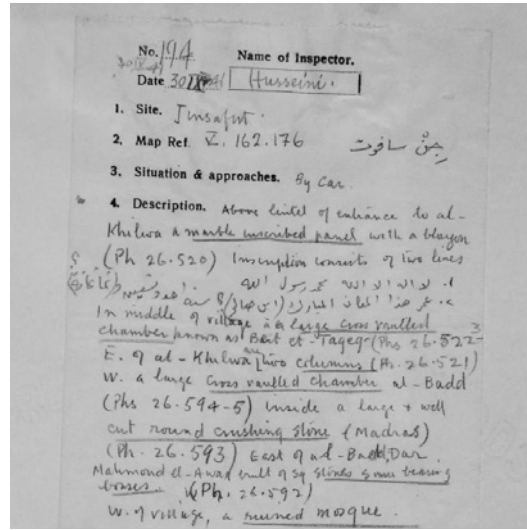
JINŠĀFŪṬ

Is. Gr. 162 176 N. Is. Gr. 212 676



A village midway between Nāblus and Qalqīyah, 15 km. west of Nāblus, 18 km. east of Qalqīyah. There are many spellings of the name, the one above, is the name used nowadays—Jīnšāfūt (جينصافوط). Mayer (see below) spelt it Jinsāfūt (جنسافوت) and Guérin spelt the name in two words Jins Šāfūt (جنس صافوت) probably thinking about some combination of two Arabic words. He did not visit the place but saw it from far. (*Samarie* 2, 1875:180) Combination of two words we find also in the Ottoman census of 1596: جيم صافوط (Hütteroth 1977:39). Finally, there is also the spelling of Jins Sāfūt (جنس سافوت). In a report prepared by Husseini for the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities (DAP) he transcribed the name in yet another form Jinn Sāfūt (جنّ سافوت) bringing the *jinn* into this collection of names. (See insert of his report below). The strange name of the village, which is not mentioned in the Arabic sources, points to the fact that like many other places in Palestine it echoes an ancient name. One theory says that Jīnšāfūt preserves the name of a town called *Qiryat ha-Mishpaṭ*, mentioned in a 14th century Samaritan chronical. It says there that the town was opposite a village called ‘Uskūr or ‘Askur and in actual fact east of Jīnšāfūt there is a site called Khirbat ‘Uskūr

(N.Is. Gr. 213417 676630). The Hebrew name was probably *ha-Mishpaṭ* (המשפט), which could well develop to Jīnšāfūt. The preceding word “*qiryah*” is probably a Samaritan addition. (See full details and bibliography in Elitzur 2012:34, 140, 354, 441. Cf. *SWP* 2:164, 183). There are two sanctuaries of local saints in Jīnšāfūt, Shaykh Aḥmad in the north, and Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd in the south, and in the middle of the village a *khilwah*, or *zāwiyah*. Both terms refer to a small sanctuary for private meditation (Figs. P23, 24).



Pl. 45. Husseni's report for the DAP dated 30.9.1941.

82

JINŠĀFŪṬ

Construction text

791/1389

Slab of marble 0.90×0.20 m. over the lintel of the entrance to a shrine known locally as *az-Zāwiyah* in Mayer's report, and *al-Khilwah* in Husseni's report. (See insert above and Figs. P23, P24) The only information about the *zāwiyah/Khilwah* is that which Husseni's report supplies. 2 lines, intersected by an heraldic shield, provincial *naskhī* crowded in the second line, no points no vowels; in relief. Scattered ornamental elements interfere with the text. Publication: Mayer, *Heraldry*, 157, pl. xxiv, 3; Husseni's report; *RCEA*, 18, 1991:117; cf. Mayer, *Islamic Architects*, 59, s.v. "Dāwūd." Fig. 83.

١) لا اله الا الله (shield) محمد رسول الله (٢) عمر هذا المكان مبارك ابن (!) صالح
 (same shield) الوسي (الوشي؟) بتاريخ سنة احد (!) وتسعين وسبع مائة عمل داوود

There is no god but Allah Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Has built this edifice Mubārak Ibn Ṣāliḥ Alūsī in the year 791 (=1389). The work of Dāwūd.

L.2: المبارك Correct Husseni: المبارك

الوسي not in Husseni (See above Pl. 45.)

سنة احدى instead of سنة احد

The Blazon

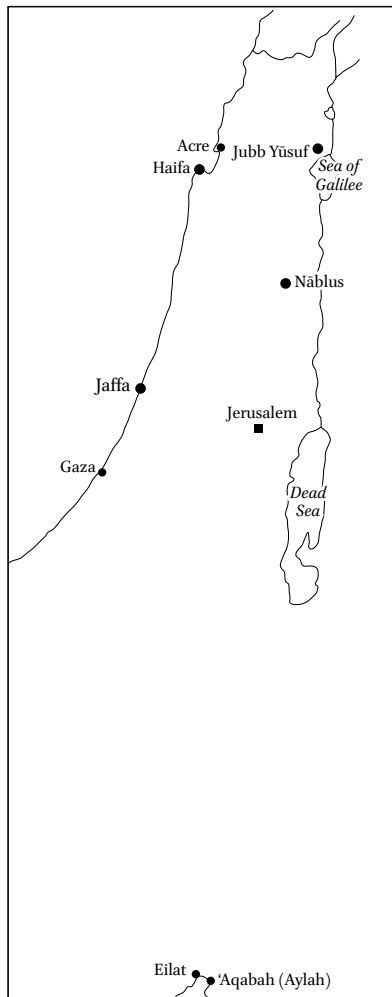
Cup placed between two daggers in the middle field of a shield divided into three fields. (Mayer, *loc. cit.*) Mubārak b. Šāliḥ was not a Mamlūk officer, since the name of his father and his *nisbah* show that he was born a free Muslim, for if he were a manumitted Islamized Mamlūk he would have been called “Ibn ‘Abdallah.” Nevertheless, he held the high official office of cup-bearer (*sāqī*) as the cup on his blazon indicates. The office of managing the sultan’s drink (*sharāb*) which involved a sophisticated operation in a special building (*sharāb khānah*), and many specialized workers, was entrusted to one of the highest Mamlūk officers, usually an Amīr of Hundred (*amīr mi’ah*). Under him worked a deputy who was directly involved with the actual preparation of the various types of drink, and for purchasing and guarding the highly expensive vessels in which each type of drink was served. (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 2:10; 4:21; 5:469)

The fact that in the inscription no attachment to a master accompanies the name of Mubārak is another proof that Mubārak was born a free Muslim, yet, it seems strange that he was not attached to the sultan whom he served, who could well be aẓ-ẓāhir Sayf ad-Dīn Barqūq (784/1382–791/1389; 792/1390–803/1399). In such a case, we would expect the *nisbah* an-Nāṣiri as-Sayfī, but for this, a much larger slab of stone was needed. However, I could not find him in the sources, which I checked. Is it possible to learn from this inscription that under the Circassian line of Mamlūks (mistakenly called “burjī”) civilians received offices which until then were reserved only for amīrs belonging to the military (*arbāb as-suyūf*)?

L.2: الوشي (الوشي) The word is not very clear. Mayer read *Alūsī*, which is not a proper *nisbah*, and not a word with any proper meaning. I am not sure about its function. The other reading, which I could think about, is *al-washiy*, which means many-colored ornamentation, silk garments. It could be used as a nickname of endearment. None of the two suggestions is satisfying. The common *nisbah*—*al-washshā*’, seller of *washiy* would have been a better proposition of course. (Sam’ānī, *Ansāb*, 5:604)

JUBB YŪSUF

Is. Gr. 200 258 N. Is. Gr. 250 758



A site of a khān, a cistern, and from time to time a small settlement between Tiberias and Safed, overlooking the sea of Galilee on the main road to Damascus via the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters (*jisr banāt ya'qūb*). The Muslims identified the cistern, originally about 10 metres deep, and always containing water, as the pit into which Joseph's brothers threw him before he was finally sold to the Midianites who took him to Egypt where he eventually became the viceroy of Pharaoh. (Q, 12:15, 19–29) The Biblical story (Genesis 37:8ff.) places the whole event of the selling of Joseph in Dothan, (*ibid.* 37:17) which was finally identified as a place north of Shechem (Nāblus). The story of Joseph and his brothers was exciting and fascinating, and no doubt constituted an important part of the repertoire of every story teller (*qāṣṣ, qaṣṣāṣ*). The Qur'ān defines it as “the best of all stories” (*aḥsana al-qaṣaṣi*), and the traditionalists augmented the Qur'ānic story by adding details easily gleaned from Jewish and Christian written and verbal sources. (See for instance, Ibn Kathīr, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* 1407/1987:194ff: “*qālā ahl al-kitāb.*”) The pit into which Joseph was thrown in the Biblical story “was empty there was no water in it.” In the Qur'ānic story, there was water in the pit and Joseph was discovered by one of the members of the Midianite caravan who lowered

his bucket into the pit to draw water. For this reason, there was nothing strange in identifying Joseph's pit with the deep well of Jubb Yūsuf. It is doubtful whether this identification existed before the Islamic conquest. It is not mentioned in any pre-Islamic Christian source, and had it been identified as being connected with such an important Biblical figure it would be commemorated by some Christian edifice. However, since all the archeological remains are late medieval, it is clear that the site and its connection with the story of Joseph are entirely Islamic.

This is attested already in the earliest books of the Arab geographers. Qudāmah b. Jaʿfar (d.320/932) describes the route from Damascus to Tiberias and says: “From Kafarlaylā to Ṭaiberias (the distance is) 15 miles and on this way is Joseph’s pit (*Jubb Yūsuf*) peace be on him.” (Qudāmah 1889:219). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346/957) who wrote a few years after him says: “and Jubb Yūsuf is twelve miles from Tiberias towards Damascus.” (Iṣṭakhrī 1927:59) However, this popular identification was not universally accepted. The existence of the Biblical traditions which placed the story of Joseph far to the south is reflected in thirteenth century sources in spite of the fact that the Crusaders accepted, on the whole, the early Muslim identification of Jubb Yūsuf (calling it *cisterna joseph*). Harawī (d.611/1215) who is clearly acquainted with some of the Biblical material (“*madhkūr fī tawrāt*”) says: “and on the way to Bāniyās . . . Jubb Yūsuf peace be on him, but the truth is that he is on the way to Jerusalem near a village called Sinjīl.” (Harawī 1953:20). Further on in his report he says: “and the pit (*jubb*) into which Joseph was thrown is between Nāblus and Sinjīl and the pit is to the right side of the way and this is the truest of all that has been reported. Sinjīl is the town next to which is Jubb Yūsuf.” (Harawī, 1953:24. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) follows the same line of report, and after repeating the usual account about Jubb Yūsuf being twelve miles from Tiberias, he says that there is another report which identifies the place between Sinjīl and Nāblus. (Le Strange 1890: 465–466; Marmardji 1951:43. Cf. Marāšid 1954, 1:310) There is no mention of a *khān* in the place by these writers. During the Mamlūk period, Jubb Yūsuf was a station on the *barīd* route connecting Cairo with Damascus but a *khān* was built in it only after the Ottoman conquest.

Part of the project of Sultan Barqūq (784/1382–791/1389; 792/1390–801/1399) to ensure better control over the main road to Damascus was to build bridges (e.g. *Nujūm* 12:11–114). However, it was at the time of sultan Jaqmaq (842/1438–857/1453) around 1440, that a series of *Khāns* were built along the route. The nearest *khān* to both Tiberias and Jubb Yūsuf was built around 1440 in al-Minyah on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee and, about the same time, the *khān* near the Jordan Bridge of Jacob as well. (*Atlas of Israel* 13/IX) Jubb Yūsuf was a halting place for both merchants, travellers, and a station for the Imperial Post (*barīd*) particularly because the presence of the holy place and good water, however, no *khān* was built in it probably because of the proximity of these two khans to the south and the north of it. When Ibn Baṭūṭah (d. 1368/9 or 1377. Elad, *JRAS*, 1987:256) visited the place around 725/1325 (*Rihlah* 1388/1968:58). He mentions that “the pit (*jubb*) is in the courtyard of a small mosque and on it there is a *zāwiyah* (the dome described by other travellers MS). The *jubb* is large and deep. We drank from its water, which accumulates from the rain, but its attendant told us that the water also comes from spring source (*yanbuʿ minhu*).”

After the Ottoman conquest, in 1517, there was a little village in Jubb Yūsuf in which there was a toll post. (Heyd 1960:123 n. 3; Cohen – Lewis 1978:57–58; 166.) In the early 17th century, we hear about the existence of a small *khān* built adjacent to

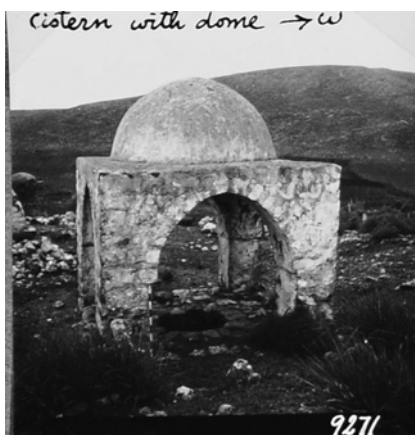
the mosque and the well. The Karaite Jewish traveller Shmuel Ben David describes his journey from Jerusalem to Damascus in 1641 saying: “we came to the well into which they threw Joseph the Just, peace be on him, and they built over the well a small dome over four marble pillars, and we drew out water from the well and drank happily. In front of the well there is a house of prayer (a mosque MS) and a guest house (*khān* MS). We left there and came to the Bridge of Jacob.” (Eisenstein 1926:200).

In 1812, Jubb Yūsuf was visited by John Lewis Burckhardt who left the following description:

Khān Djob Yousef, or the Khan of Joseph’s Well (is) situated in a narrow plain. The Khan is falling rapidly into ruin; near it, there is a large Birket. Here is shown the well into which Joseph was let down by his brothers; it is in a small courtyard by the side of the Khan, is about three feet in diameter, and at least thirty feet deep. I was told that the bottom is hewn in the rock: its sides were well lined with masonry as far as I could see into it, and the water never dries up, a circumstance, which makes it difficult to believe that this was the well into which Joseph was thrown. The whole of the mountain in the vicinity is covered with large pieces of black stone; but the main body of the rock is calcareous. The country people relate that the tears of Jacob dropping upon the ground while he was in search of his son, turned the white stones black, and they, in consequence call these stones Jacob’s tears (*dumū’ Ya’qūb*). Jacob’s well is held in veneration by Turks as well as Christians; the former have a small chapel just by it, and caravan travellers seldom pass here without saying a few prayers in honour of Yousef. The Khan is on the great road from Akka to Damascus. (Burckhardt 1822:318)

The SWP description of the site from 1881 says that:

“the khān was built on the great Damascus road at the same date as Khān Minyeh and Khān et Tujjār (Only the latter was built in the 16th century. Heyd, 1960: 115. MS). It is still in very good repair and is used as a resting place by merchants on the road. Long vaults for stabling animals, with small dwelling rooms and places for prayer, are the principal points. Near the khan, on the hill to the north-north-east, is a cistern which is traditionally that in which Joseph was thrown by his brothers . . .” (SWP, 1, *Galilee*, 1881:234 and the plan of the *khān* there)



The *khān* must have been repaired during the 19th century for how can one understand the contradiction between Burckhardt’s description of “the Khan is falling rapidly into ruin” and the SWP description of “it is still in very good repair.”?

During the early twentieth century the khān and the small mosque fell into ruin as one can see in the photographs of the site taken in the early part of the British Mandatory rule in Palestine. (Figs. P25, 26, 27, 28.) The dome over the well remained, however, intact and was repaired lately. (On the left, the dome over pit before modern repairs.).

The inscription discussed below is said to have been placed on the revamped dome by an Indian Muslim pilgrim. The dome structure was rebuilt anew from local black stones replacing the one built with limestone (Pl. 46 below).

83

Renovation text
Dome over the well

1318/1900–1901

A slab of marble 1.10 × 0.45m. (approx.) attached to the top left corner of the northern side of the dome structure. 4 lines, Monumental *nesta'liq* script, points, no vowels; in relief. The whole inscription engraved in a stylized field. (Fig. 84)

١) هو الله ٢) جب يوسف ٣) عليه السلام ٤) سنة ١٣١٨

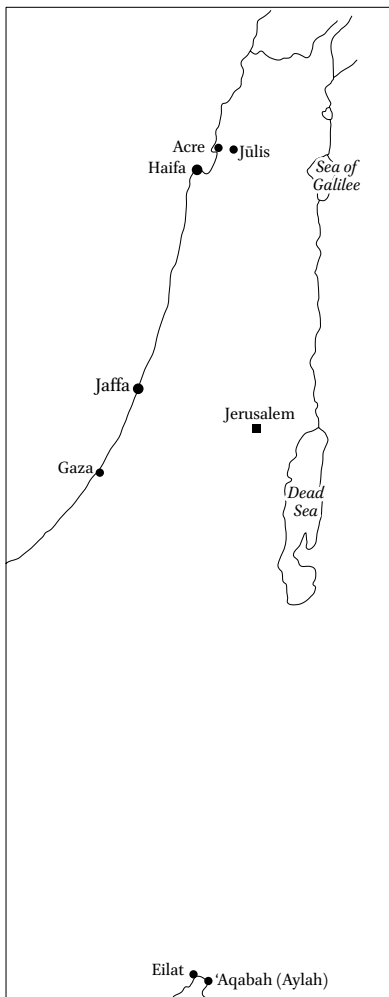
He is Allah. Joseph's pit peace be on him the year 1318. (=1900–1901)



Pl. 46. Jubb Yūsuf: present state. Inscription top left.

JŪLIS

Is. Gr. 267 260 N. Is. Gr. 317 760



A village in the western Galilee 13 km. to the east of Acre ('Akko, 'Akkā) inhabited by Druzes. Today it is a town (6500 inhabitants), and the home of the spiritual leader of the Druze community in Israel. When Guérin, (*Galilee* 2, 1880:8) visited the place, he found there some 40 houses. He also indicates that on a low hill near the village there was a sanctuary (*weli*) dedicated to Shaykh 'Alī. In the SWP there is a quotation of this passage from Guérin and a short description of the village, mentioning a population of 200 souls. (*SWP*, 1: Galilee, 1881:146, 169) In the 14th century a few Jewish families lived in the village as we can learn from the colophon of a Hebrew book which was copied in "the city of Jūlis... near 'Akko" (1388). In the Ottoman Register of Public Affairs, (*Mühimme Defteri*) and other registers from the 16th century, a few Jews were registered in Jūlis. (Lewis 1952:9)

As far as I could discern there is no mention of the village in the Arabic sources. In an Ottoman document from 1573, Jūlis is mentioned as taking part, alongside other Druze villages in the Galilee, in a rebellion against the Ottoman government and a raid against other villages, which belonged to the Ottoman imperial domains. (Heyd 1960:84) It is interesting to find the name of the village in many of the documents dealing with various aspects of

the Ottoman administration in Palestine: population census, taxation and government duties. (Lewis 1952:17–21)

MAQĀM ASH-SHAYKH ‘ALĪ FĀRIS

Construction text

Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1167/Began 20 Aug.1754

A slab of marble or limestone 0.54 × 0.48m., fixed over the gate of Maqām ash-Shaykh Fāris. 8 lines, provincial late Ottoman naskhī, points and many vowels; in relief. Figs. 85,85a.

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ (٢) سَأَلْتُكَ يَا نَاطِرَ بَعِينِ
 الْبَصِيرَةِ وَيَا دَاخِلًا حَتَّى تَزُورَ لِقْبَةَ (٣) سَأَلْتُكَ يَا ذَا الْحِجْرِ عَطْفًا بِدَعْوَةِ عَلِيِّ فَاضِلٍ يُسْمُو بِكُلِّ فَضِيلَةٍ
 (٤) شَيْخٌ عَلِيٌّ فِي الْبِرِّ أَيُّ مَفْضَلٍ أَمَا طَالَ مَا قَدَ قَامَ فِي كُلِّ لَيْلَةٍ (٥) سَأَلْتُ إِلَهَ الْعَرْشِ يَرْحَمُ رُوحَهُ
 وَيَنْفَعُنَا مِنْهُ بِصَالِحِ دَعْوَةٍ (٦) وَبَعْدَ فَهَذَا تَارِيخُ هَذِهِ الْقُبَّةِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ الَّتِي (٧) قَدْ احْتَوَتْ عَلَى
 الشَّخْصِ (٧) الْفَضِيلِ الْمَرْجُوعِ الْمَغْفُورِ لَهُ الْعَالَمِ الْعَامِلِ الشَّيْخِ عَلِيِّ فَارِسٍ تَعْمَدُهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ أَمِينِ
 (٨) عَمِرَتْ فِي ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ مِنْ شَهْرِ سَنَةِ ١١٦٧ وَعَمَرَهَا الشَّيْخُ حَسَنُ طَرِيفٍ وَرَخِمَ الْحَفْرَ؟
 ظَرِيفٌ؟

Basmalah, and may Allah bless our master Muḥammad and his family, and give (them) peace. I ask you, O you who are seeing within the actuality of vision, and O you who enters to visit the dome; I ask you, O man of mind: be humble when invoking the eminent, the gracious (person), who soars high in every virtue—eminent shaykh, (he is), venerated among the creatures; surely, long was the time of his remaining awake (in devotion) every night! I asked the God of the Throne to have mercy on his soul and that we gain from him the best supplication. And now, this is the date of this blessed dome, which incorporated the person who is eminent, authoritative, the pardoned (by god) the scholar the caring the Shaykh ‘Alī Fāris may Allah engulf him with his compassion. Amen. It was built in Dhū al-Qa‘dah, of the months of ١١٦٧ by the Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭarīf with marble beautifully engraved(?).

L.2: The saint, the dweller of the shrine (“the dome”), and the pilgrim who comes to visit him are both the objects of this appeal

تُزُورُ الْقُبَّةَ sic! Instead of تَزُورُ الْقُبَّةَ.

Note the repetition of the adjective *‘Aliyy* twice (ll. 3–4) before mentioning the proper name of the saint—‘Alī.

L.3: يَا ذَا الْحِجْرِ “O man of mind” the person intended here is the visitor, and one may probably translate “O mortal.” The word *ḥijr* is written with vowels. The dictionary meaning is “forbidden, “unlawful” as well as “mind.” Could the clause mean “O thinking man?” or “O restricted person?”

عَظْفًا Here also, the vowels are in the original. The usual meaning is “compassionately,” “considerably” and “kindly.” Here it means “humbly.”

L.7: *الفاضل المرجوع* Not the usual forms of these two adjectives, which seem to mean *الفاضل المرجع* “the eminent and authoritative (especially in scholarly and theological matters).”

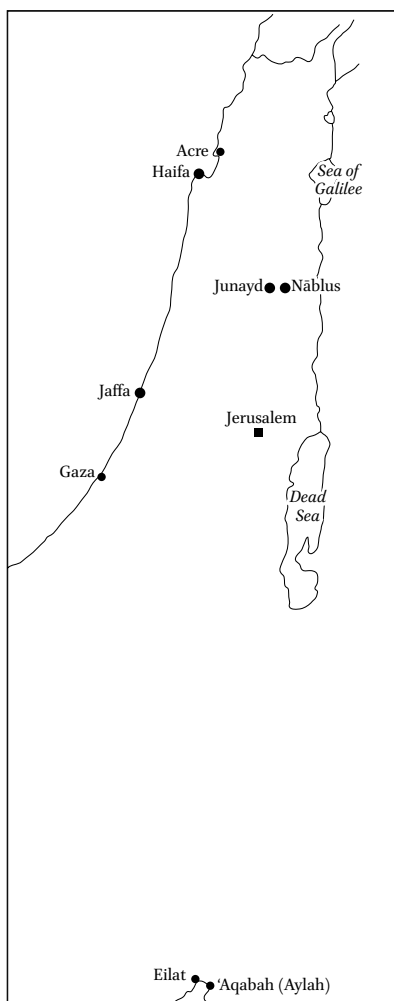
L.8: The builder was a member of the Ṭarīf family, one of the most famous and influential families of the Druze community. The family has supplied religious leaders to this very day, and it is not surprising that one of the heads of the family was responsible in the middle of the 16th century for building the sanctuary for the local saint, Shaykh ‘Alī Fāris.

The last three words in the inscription, though seemingly clear, escape my ability to read them meaningfully. The reading and the translation proposed above are far from convincing. I leave the present text as is for lack of better solution. However, it is very possible that the text is the date given in the numerical value of two words after *wa-arrakhahu*—“and he fixed its date” or *wa-arrikhhu* “and you fix the date”

وارخه لحضي طريق which give the exact value of 1167 but mean nothing. It is not impossible that the writer knowingly inserted these letters, which give the impression of being two words in order to achieve the exact date.

JUNAYD

Is. Gr. 170 180 N. Is. Gr. 220 680



A village to the west of Nāblus. It is called after the sanctuary of the famous Muslim mystic-saint Junayd Abū al-Qāsīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Junayd. al-Khazzāz al-Qawārīrī an-Nihawandī, native of Baghdād who died in Iraq in 298/910, and was buried in the graveyard of ash-Shuwaynaziyyah, or ash-Shwanīziyyah in Baghdad (Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, 2:230; Yāqūt, *Dar Sādir*, *Buldān*, 3:374) but his grave is shown in his sanctuary in the village. The sanctuary is defined as *maqām*—sanctuary, shrine, and *mazār*—a site of *Ziyārah*—visitation. The practice in Palestine of attaching sanctuaries to famous saints and important historical figures is quite common. Tewfik Canaan drew attention to a list of a few “saints having shrines with tombs, where the saints are known not to have died in Palestine.” (Canaan 1927:298). The list is only a sample of such sanctuaries.

A later hand, surely with good intentions, but with little skill, mutilated the inscriptions found in Junayd’s sanctuary, in the process of renovation and painting. The last full refurbishing of the site took place in 1991. (Fig. P29) A large size inscription commemorates this work and the person who initiated and funded it. Because of its historical value I decided to analyze it in spite of its late date (outside the chronological limits of the *CIAP*).



Pl. 47. Junayd 1412/1991. Modern inscription.

85

Renovation text

1412/1991

A large slab of marble $1.50 \times 1.00\text{m}$ fixed above the gate of the Maqām/Mazār of Junayd. Five lines, modern *nasta'liq*, machine produced script, points, no vowels, professionally black painted letters; incised. Pl. 47.

(١) هذا مقام أبو (!) القاسم الجنيدي البغدادي الحسيني العلوي (٢) ولد سنة هـ ٢٢٨ الموافق
 ٨٠٧ م وتوفي سنة هـ ٢٩٨ الموافق ٨٧٧ م (٣) علم الإسلام مفتي الثقلين وسيد الطائفتين وتاج
 العارفين (٤) واستاذ الصوفية قاطبة وقرّة عين المتصوفين رضي الله عنه (٥) وقد قام بترميمه
 الحاج حسين أبوشوشة ١٩٩١ م

This is the snactuary (*maqām*) of Abū al-Qāsim al-Junaydī al-Baghdādī al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī. He was born in 228 AH corresponding to 807 CE, and he died in 298 AH corresponding to 877 CE. The banner of Islam, the mufti of the two weighty things (*ath-thaqalayn*) the master of the two sects the crown of the knowledgeable mystics, the teacher of entire of the *ṣūfī* doctrine and solace of the eye of the *ṣūfis* may Allah be pleased with him. The Ḥājj Ḥusayn Abū Shūshah refurbished it in 1991.

L.1: Read *maqām abī* (not *abū*) al-Qāsim.

L.2: The two dates of Junayd's birth and of his death are given according to the *hijri* and the general calendars. The latter are wrong in both cases: 228 AH is not 807 CE but 842 CE and 298 AH is not 877 CE but 910 CE.

L.3: The string of Junayd's complimentary titles appear in this order or another, in all the sources dealing with him. (See, Farīd al-Mazīdī, *al-Imām al-Junayd Sayyid at-Ṭāʾifatayn*. Beirut, 1427/2006:5ff.)

Muftī ath-thaqalayn—the mufti of the two weighty things. The reference in this title is to the famous *ḥadīth* ascribed to Muḥammad in which he said that he was bequeathing for the believers to guard, two weighty things namely “the Book of Allah (the Qur’ān) and my progeny (*‘itrati*) the members of my household (*ahl bayti*).” This tradition appears in all the collections of canonical *ḥadīth*. (See e.g. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* bk. 44, *Faḍā’il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah* 36. No. 3408; English translation by Ṣiddīqī, Beirut 1972 No. 5920.) The saint therefore is the authority on the interpretations of these “two weighty things.” The fact that he is defined as Ḥusaynī and ‘Alawī, means that he is a member of the ‘Alīd family and this makes him a Sayyid, member of the Prophet’s family. As such, he is the Sayyid of the two communities (*sayyid at-ṭā’ifatayn*) which probably means the Shī’ites and the Sunnis (or the ṣūfis and the general orthodox community.) Junayd was the exponent of the “sober” type of ṣūfism in Orthodox Islam.

L.5: note that the date of the renovation is according to the general calendar.

(On Junayd and his position in the ṣūfī world, see *EI* and *EI*² *q.v.*; Ibn al-‘Imād, *op.cit.* 3:228–230; al-Mazīdī, *op. cit.*)

86

Restoration text

Rajab 707/1308

A slab of marble about 0.80 × 0.30 fixed to the head of a low cenotaph built on the ground above an alcove for lighting candles. The cenotaph is supposed to be over Junayd’s grave. (See above) 2 lines, divided by bands, provincial Mamlūk *naskhī*, professionally produced, a few points, no vowels; in relief. The letters were unprofessionally painted black, which faded in many places and it makes the reading rather difficult. The stone with the inscription was fixed in a careless manner, and its borders were covered by plaster, painted green. (Figs. 86, P29; P30)

١) جدد هذا المكان العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى سيف (?) الدين ٢) الا . . . السعدي وذلك في شهر رجب الفرد سنة سبعة (١) وسبعماية

Has renovated this place the slave who is in need of Allah the Exalted, Sayf ad-Dīn(?) . . . as-Sa’dī and this was in the months of the solitary Rajab the year 707 (=began 27 December 1307)

Unfortunately, the hand that covered it with black paint, which partly faded away, mutilated the inscription. I am unable to read the name of the restorer in l.2 and I am not sure about Sayf ad-Dīn, which could also be Sharaf ad-Dīn. Initially, the inscription could not have been attached to the cenotaph. It has nothing to do with the grave itself but rather with the sanctuary. It was attached to the tomb by a later hand, probably during the restoration of 1991.

L.2: I am sure about the date including the wrong spelling of *sab'ah* instead of *sab'*. Rajab began in 27 December 1307, but since it is unlikely that the work was completed exactly in the first day of the month, it is not far-fetched to date it at the beginning of 1308.

“The solitary Rajab” (*rajab al-fard*) refers to the fact that this holy month, the seventh in the *Hijrī* calendar, does not follow or precedes another holy month, unlike the other three holy months: Dhū al-Qa‘dah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram that follow each other (*thalāthah sard wa wāḥid fard*—“three consecutive and one solitary.”)

87

MAZĀR

Construction text

1117/1705

Slab of marble or limestone 0.50 × 0.45m. (approx.), fixed in the old masonry above the gate of *mazār* Junayd under the inscription of 1991 built into the modern stonework above it. 5 lines, Ottoman provincial *naskhī*, small letters, points, some vowels and signs; in relief. The inscription is covered with heavy green paint, which makes it difficult to read. Lines divided by bands. Fig. 87. (Courtesy Z. Ehrlich)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) عَمْرَهَا ذَا (!) الْمَزَارِ الْمُنِيرِ (؟) نَصَرَ اللَّهُ (٣) ابْنَ الْمَجْدُوبَةِ (؟) غَفَرَ
اللَّهُ (٤) لَهُ وَلِوَالِدَيْهِ وَلِجَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ (٥) سَنَةَ ١١١٧ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ [عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلَّم]

Basmalah. This radiant place of visitation was restored by Naṣr-Allah b. al-Majdhūbah. May Allah pardon him, his parents, and all the Muslims. The year 1117 (=1705) and may Allah bless (Muḥammad and give him peace.)

This inscription too was badly damaged by the thick green paint that covers it. Still except for one word, which I doubt, the rest of the reading is sure.

L.2: The inscription defines the sanctuary as “*mazār*” the status, which the site acquired since the first inscription of 707/1307 which defined it simply as “*makān*.” The reading of *al-munīr* is questionable, because of the particularly thick paint covering this word.

L.3: The reading *Ibn al-Majdhūbah* or *Ibn al-Majdhūbah* (with the same meaning) is quite clear although such a name (“son of the lunatic” or “possessed”) is very strange to say the least. I could not find a different reading.

There is not enough information for identifying Naṣrallah, the 18th century restorer of the sanctuary.

L.5: The end of the inscription is badly mutilated by paint and plaster. It seems, however, that there is no more text of historical importance there.

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FIGURES 1-87

INSCRIPTIONS



Fig. 01. Haifa 1326-9.



Fig. 02. Jaffa 390 or Ashqelon.

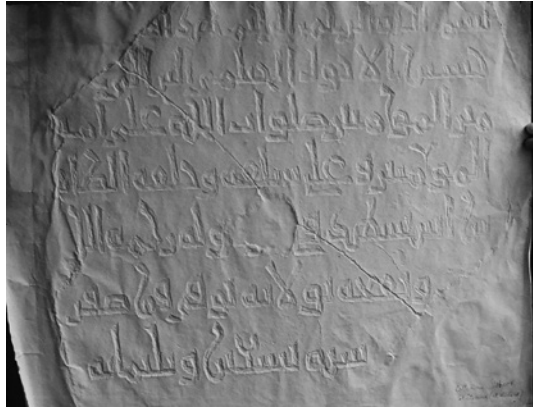


Fig. 2a. Jaffa 390 or Ashqelon full.



Fig. 03. Jaffa 626 Frederick II. Original full block.



Fig. 3a. Jaffa 626 Frederick II IAA Original.



Fig. 3b. Jaffa 626 Frederick II IAA copy.

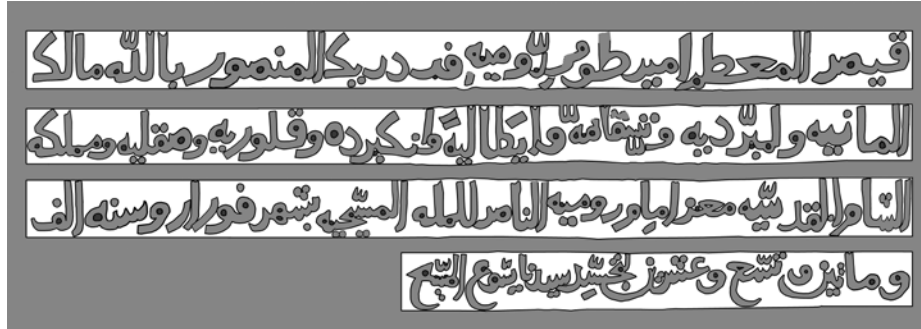


Fig. 3c. Jaffa 626 reconstruction.



Fig. 3d. Jaffa 626 reconstruction.



Fig. 04. Jaffa 770.



Fig. 05. Jaffa 784a 1st part.



Fig. 5a. Jaffa 784b 2nd part detail.



Fig. 5b. Jaffa 784c 2nd part.



Fig. o6. Jaffa 1143.



Fig. 07. Jaffa 1215 turkish epitaph.



Fig. 7a. Jaffa 1215a.

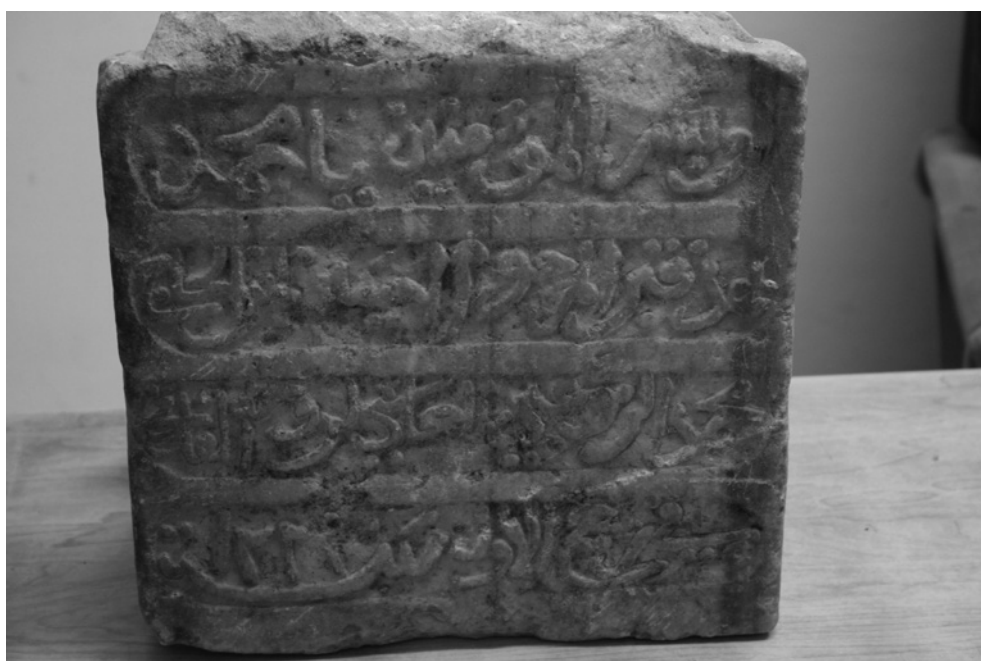


Fig. 08. Jaffa 1224.



Fig. 09. Jaffa 1224a slab I.



Fig. 9a. Jaffa 1224a slab II.

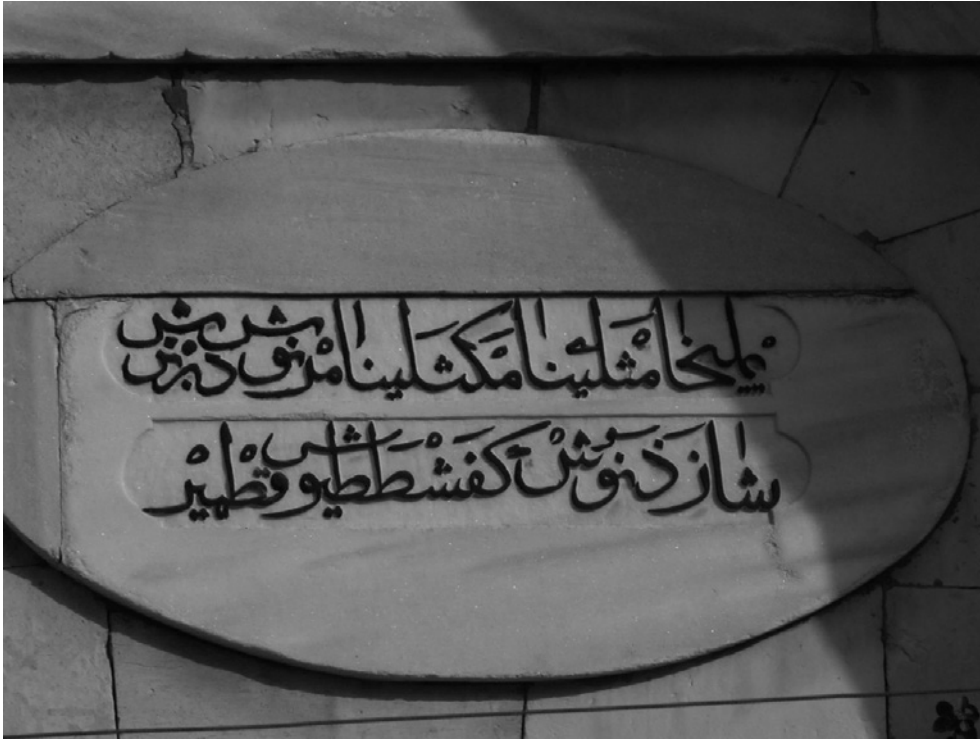


Fig. 9b. Jaffa 1224a slab III.



Fig. 9c. Jaffa 1224a slab IV.

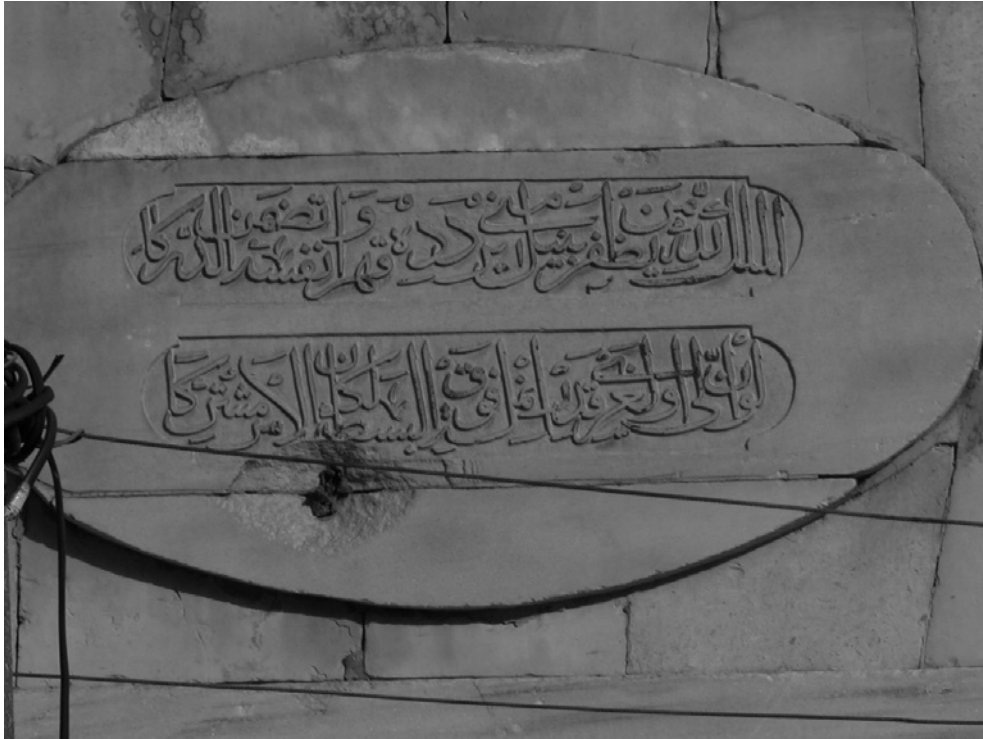


Fig. 9d. Jaffa 1224a slab V.



Fig. 9e. Jaffa 1224a slab VI.



Fig. 9f. Jaffa 1224a slab VII.

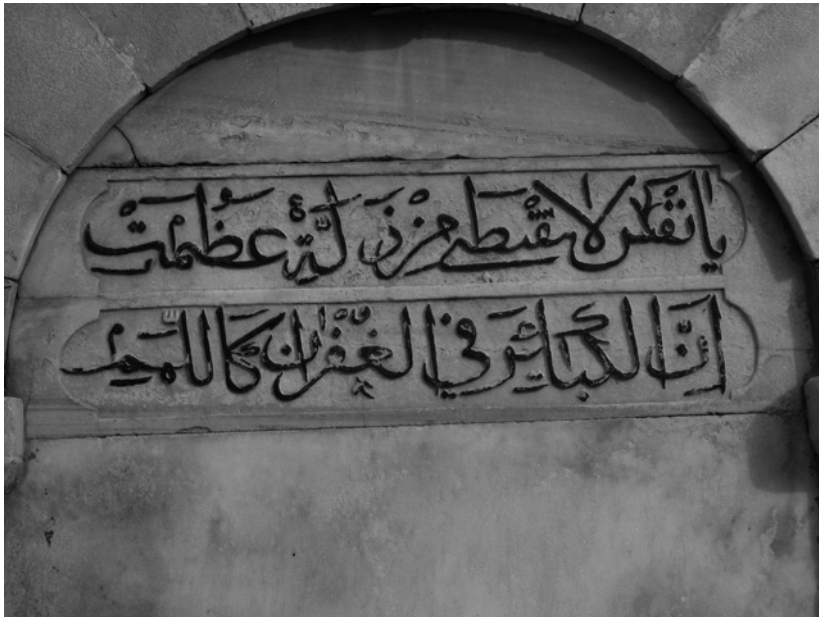


Fig. 9g. Jaffa 1224a slab VIII.



Fig. 10. Jaffa 1227.



Fig. 11. Jaffa 1227a right.



Fig. 11a. Jaffa 1227b left.



Fig. 12. Jaffa 1229 full.



Fig. 12a. Jaffa 1229a right.



Fig. 12b. Jaffa 1229b left.



Fig. 13. Jaffa 1230.



Fig. 14. Jaffa 1245.



Fig. 15. Jaffa 1250.



Fig. 16. Jaffa 1257a 1841.



Fig. 16a. Jaffa 1257b 1841.



Fig. 17. Jaffa 1261.



Fig. 18. Jaffa 1272 full.



Fig. 18a. Jaffa 1272 left(1).



Fig. 18b. Jaffa 1272 right.



Fig. 19. Jaffa 1287.



Fig. 20. Jaffa 1300.



Fig. 21. Jaffa 1300a.



Fig. 22. Jaffa 1304.



Fig. 23. Jaffa 1305.



Fig. 24. Jaffa 1307.

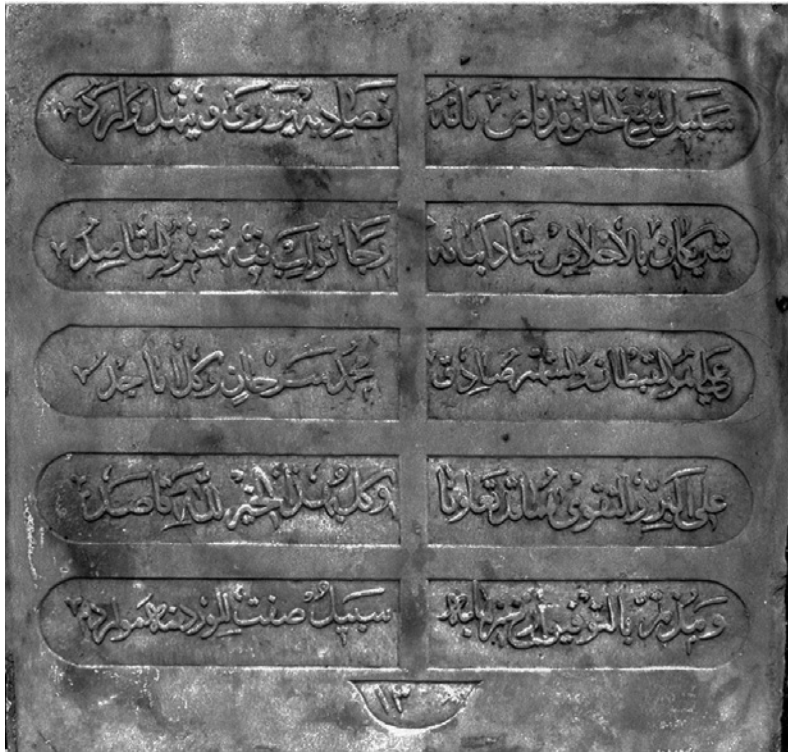


Fig. 25. Jaffa 1308 full.

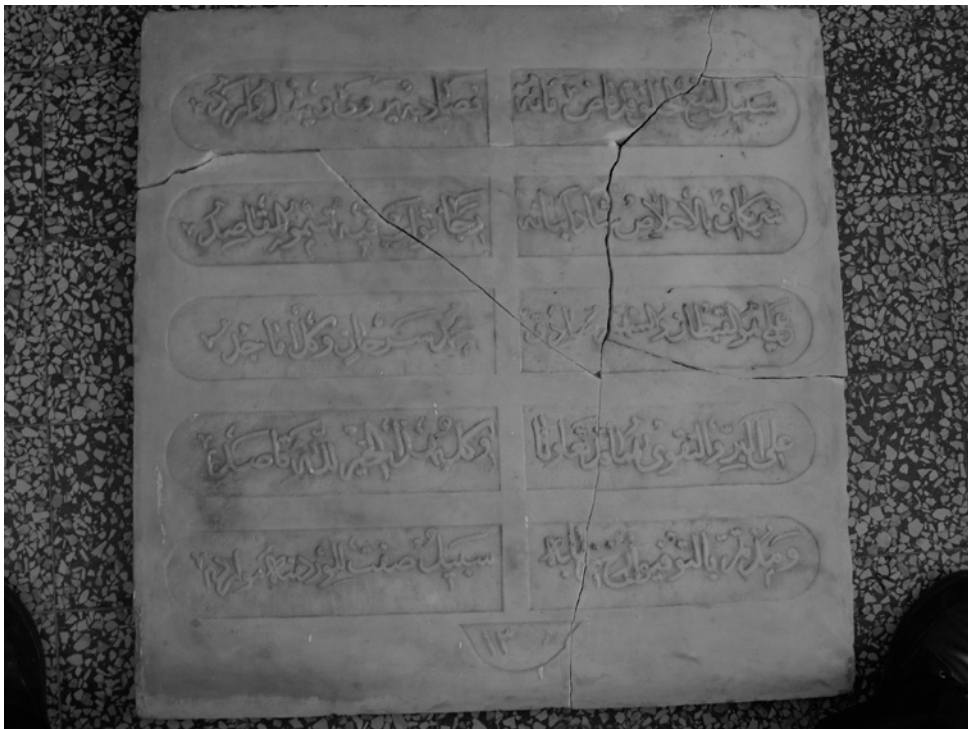


Fig. 25a. Jaffa 1308a.



Fig. 26. Jaffa 1310.



Fig. 26a. Jaffa 1310 left.



Fig. 26b. Jaffa 1310 right.



Fig. 27. Jaffa (1313) 1895.



Fig. 28. Jaffa (1314) 1896 Ang. cemetery.



Fig. 29. Jaffa 1317.



Fig. 30. Jaffa (1319) 1901 Ang. Cemetary.



Fig. 31. Jaffa 1319a.



Fig. 31a. Jaffa 1319b.



Fig. 32. Jaffa (1320) 1902.



Fig. 33. Jaffa 1322 1904 Maronite Church.



Fig. 34. Jaffa 1325 1907 Ang. Cemetary.



Fig. 35. Jaffa 1325.



Fig. 36. Jaffa (1328) 1910.



Fig. 37. Jaffa (1331) 1912 Maronite Church.



Fig. 38. Jaffa 1331 Maronite Church a.

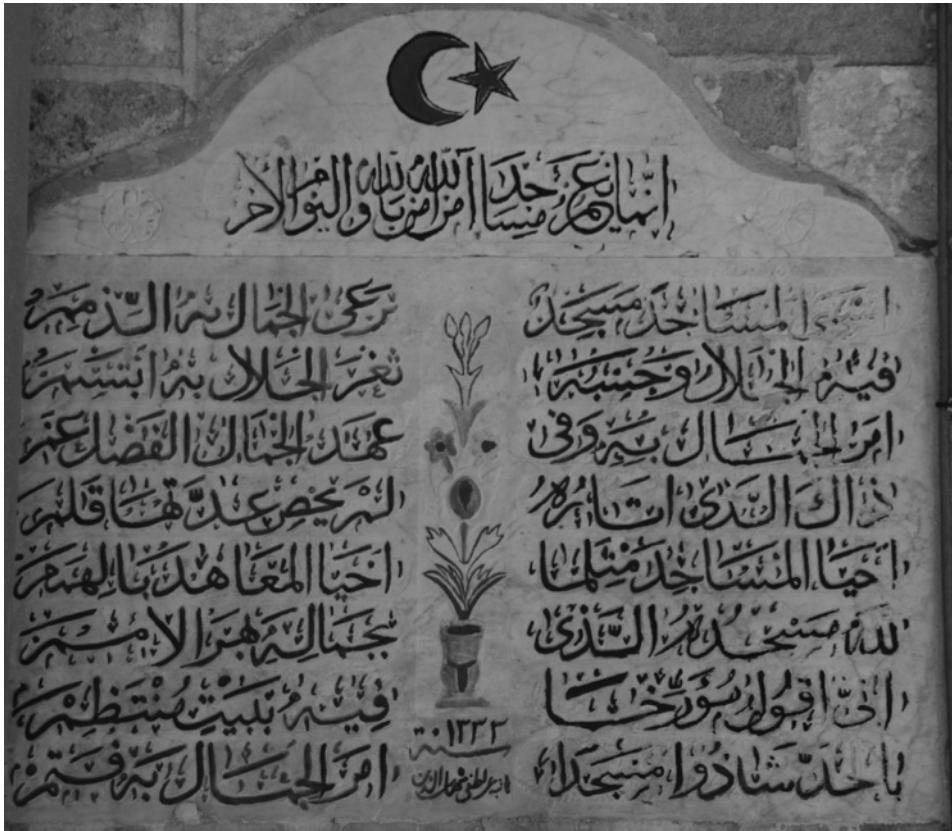


Fig. 41. Jaffa 1333.



Fig. 42. Jaffa 1334.



Fig. 43. Jaffa 1415 Masjid al-Bahr.



Fig. 44. Jaffa late 13th century(1).



Fig. 45. Jaffa late 13th century(2).



Fig. 46. Jalamah 5.



Fig. 47. Jalamah 1a.



Fig. 47a. Jalamah 1b.



Fig. 47b. Jalamah 1c.



Fig. 47c. Jalamah 1d.



Fig. 48. Jalamah 2.



Fig. 49. Jalamah 3.

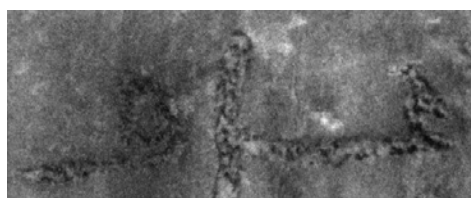


Fig. 49a. Jalamah 3 detail.



Fig. 50. Jalamah 4.

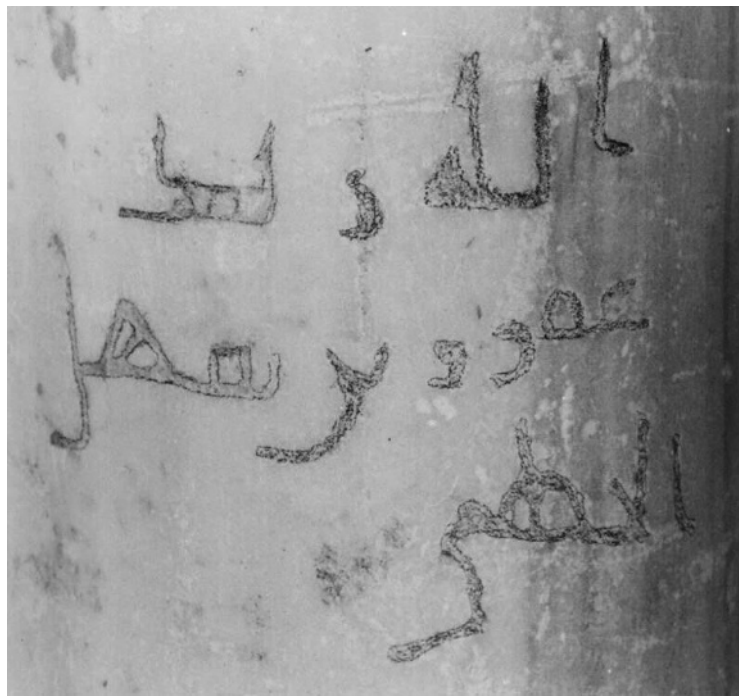


Fig. 51. Jammāmah 1.

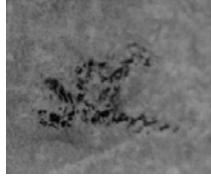


Fig. 52. Jammāmah 3.



Fig. 53. Jammāmah 2.



Fig. 54. Jāniyah 731.



Fig. 54a. Jāniyah 731a cartouche.



Fig. 55. 1 Jenin 1010.



Fig. 55a. 2 Jenin 1010a.



Fig. 56. Jericho (Mafjar)01.



Fig. 57. Jericho (Mafjar)02.



Fig. 58. Jericho (Mafjar)02a.



Fig. 59. Jericho (Mafjar)03.

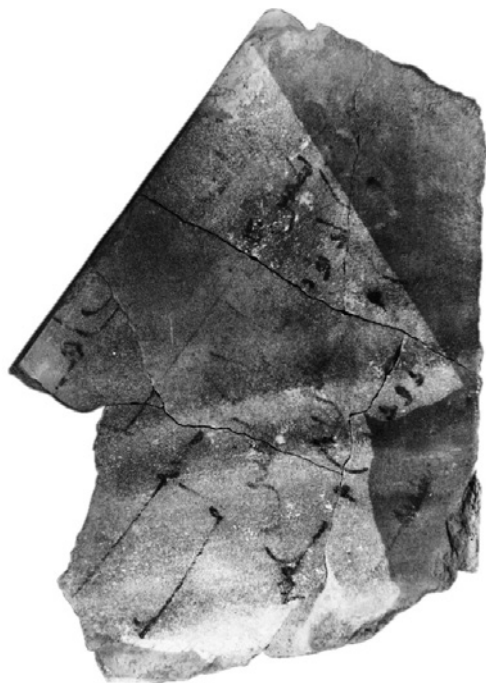


Fig. 60. Jericho (Mafjar)04.

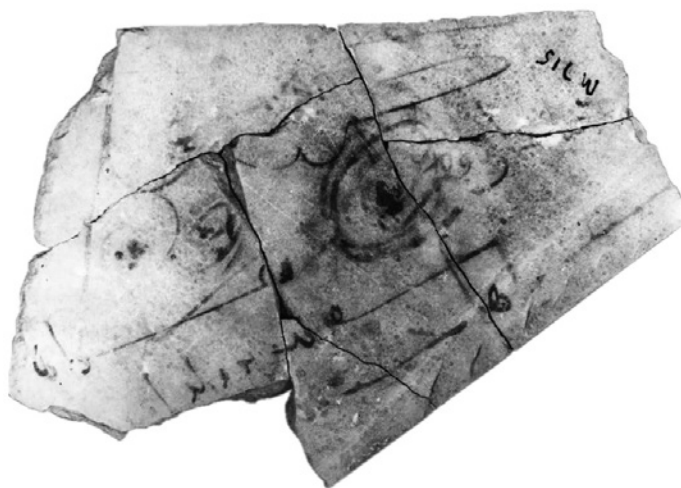


Fig. 61. Jericho (Mafjar)04a.

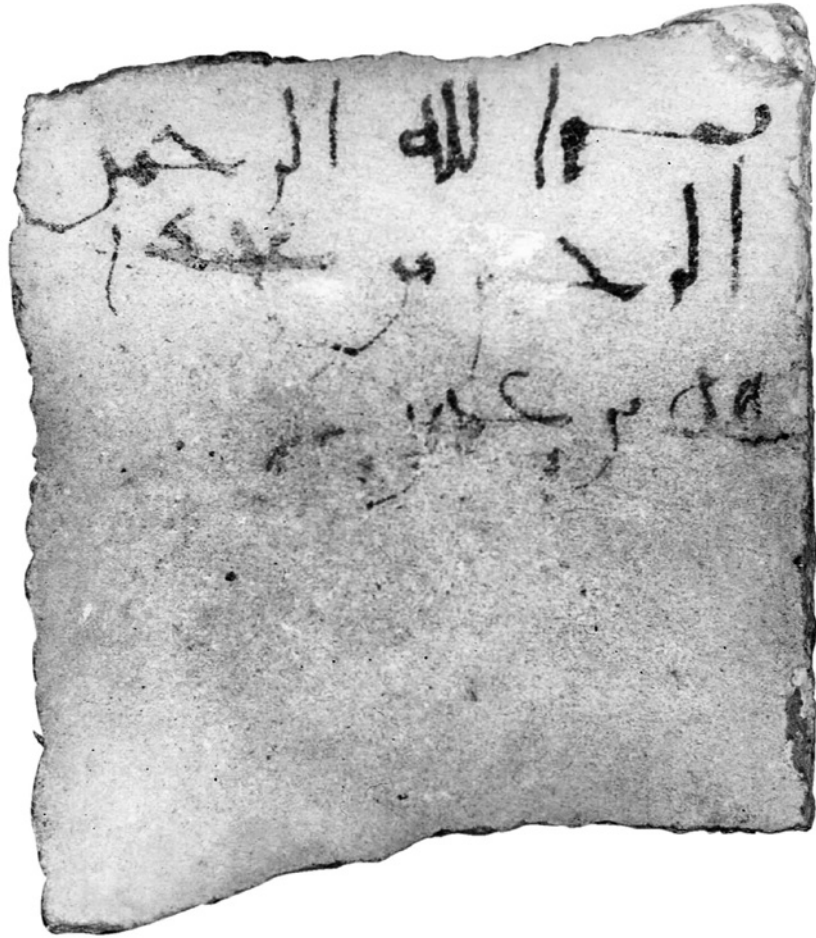


Fig. 62. Jericho (Mafjar)05.



Fig. 63. Jericho (Mafjar)06.



Fig. 64. Jericho (Mafjar)06a.

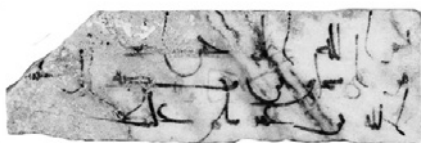


Fig. 65. Jericho (Mafjar)07.



Fig. 66. Jericho (Mafjar)08.

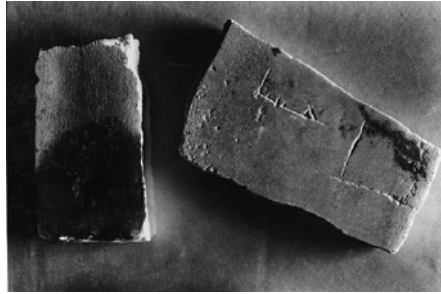


Fig. 67. Jericho (Mafjar)09.

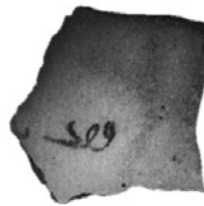


Fig. 68. Jericho (Mafjar)10.



Fig. 69. Jericho (Mafjar)11.



Fig. 70. Jericho (Mafjar)12.



Fig. 71. Jericho (Mafjar)13.



Fig. 72. Jericho (Mafjar)14.



Fig. 73. Jericho (Mafjar)15.

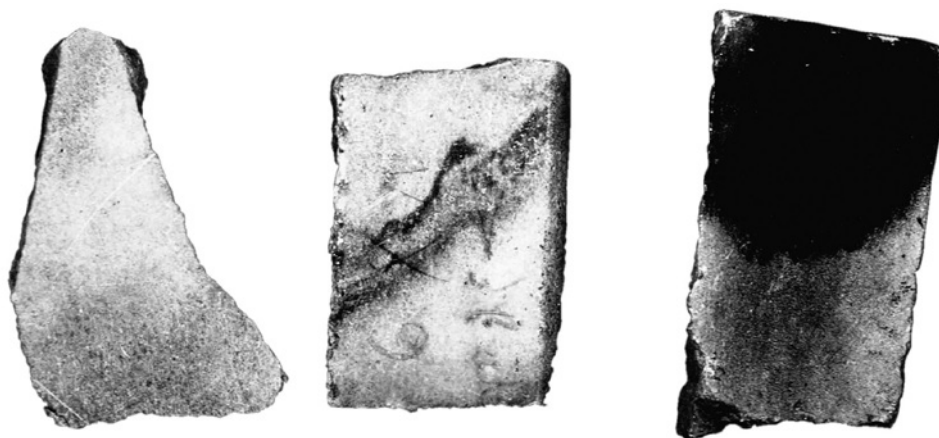


Fig. 74. Jericho (Mafjar)16.

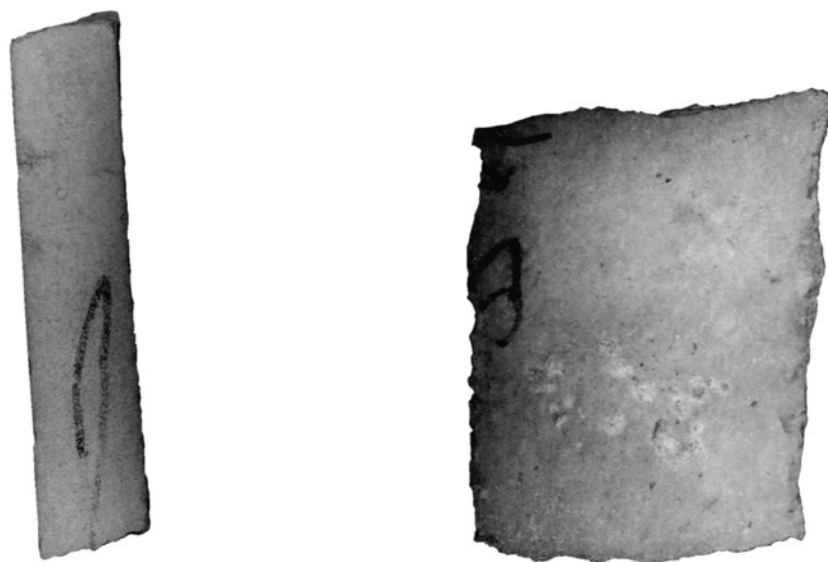


Fig. 75. Jericho (Mafjar)17.

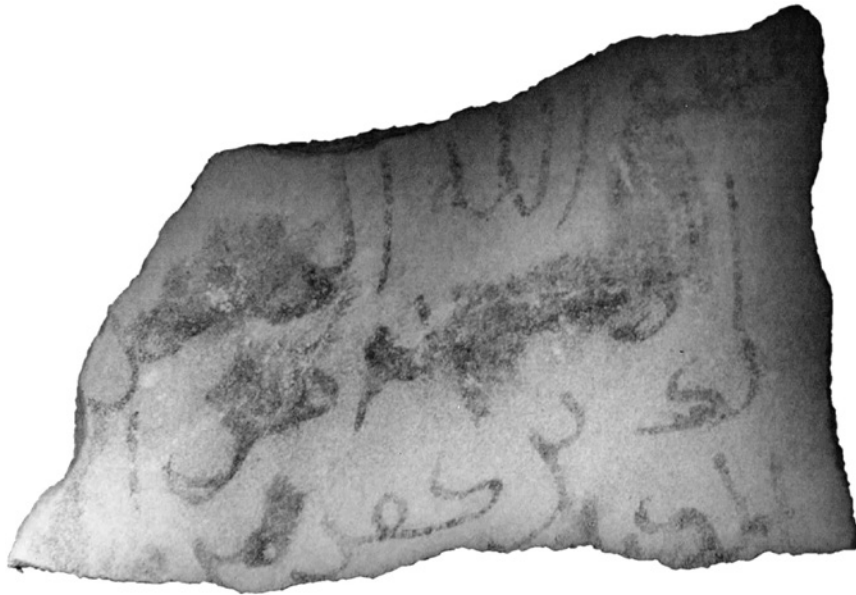


Fig. 76. Jericho (Mafjar)18.



Fig. 77. Jericho (Mafjar)19.

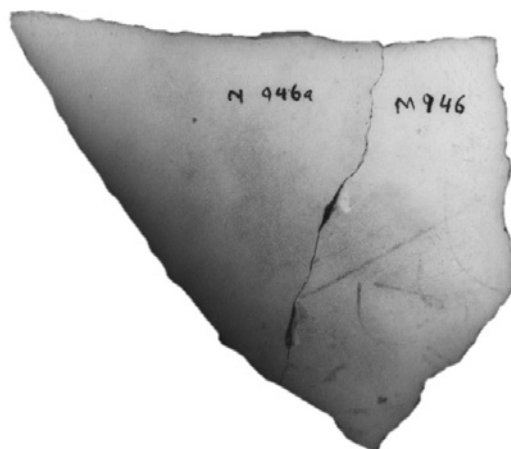


Fig. 78. Jericho (Mafjar)20.



Fig. 79. Jericho (Mafjar)21.



Fig. 80. Jericho (Mafjar)22.



Fig. 81. Jericho (Mafjar)23.



Fig. 82. Jericho (Mafjar)24.



Fig. 82a. Jericho (Mafjar)24a.



Fig. 83. Jinsāfūt.



Fig. 84. Jubb Yūsuf.



Fig. 85. Jūlis.

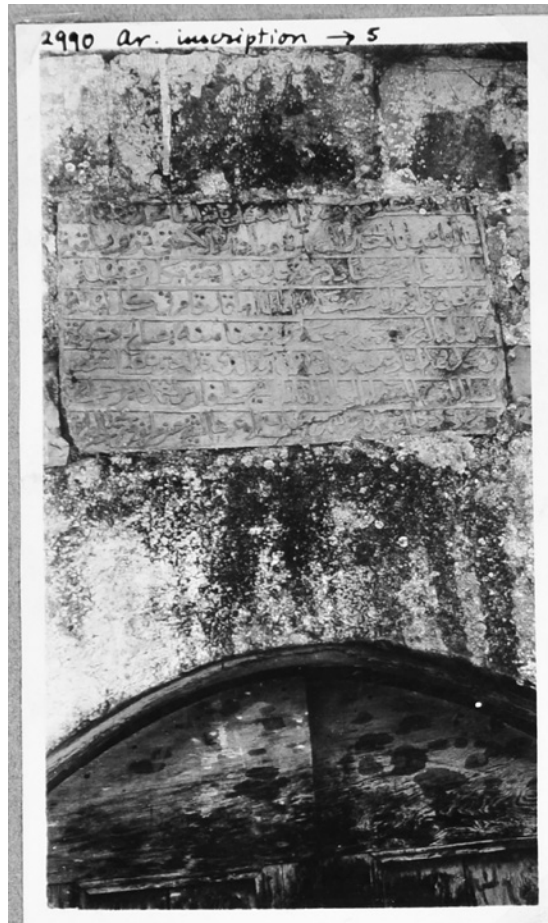


Fig. 85a. Jūlis (IAA photo).

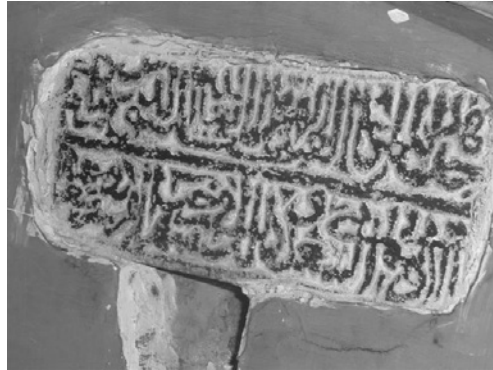


Fig. 86. Junayd 707.



Fig. 87. Junayd 1117.

FIGURES P1–P30

SITES



Fig. P1. Frederick II's inscription on southern wall of the open courtyard of Shaykh Murād.

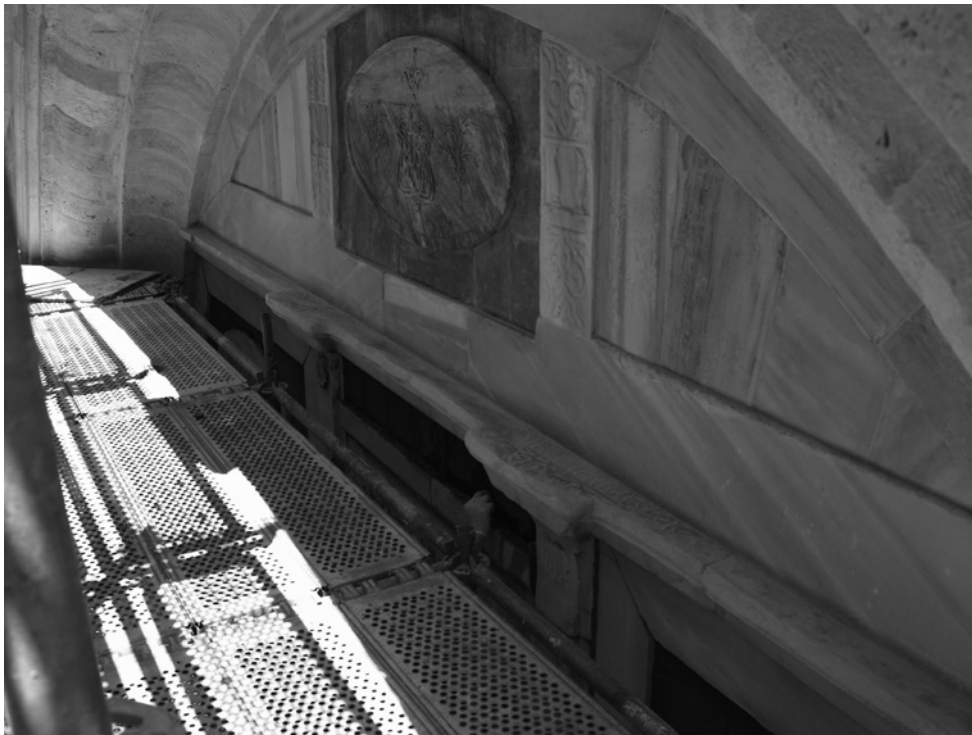


Fig. P1a. 784 Two pieces of the original slab inserted into the wall Sabil Maḥmūdī.



Fig. P2. Sabîl Maḥmûdi.



Fig. P3. Mosque courtyard.

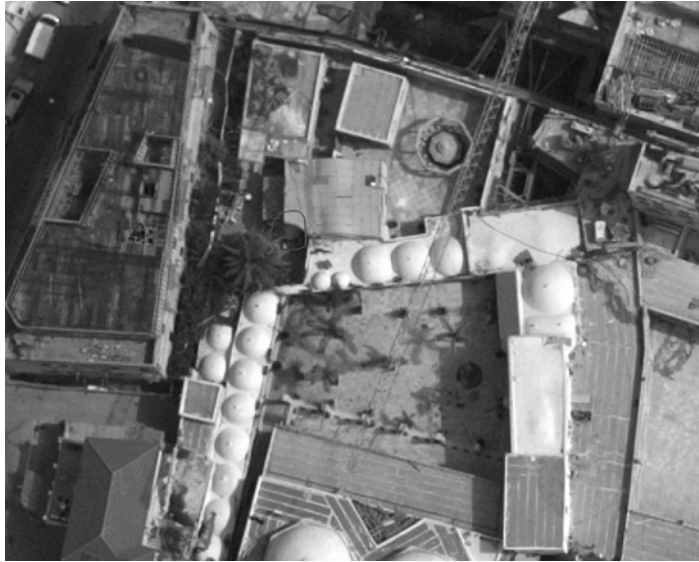


Fig. P4. Mosque well.



Fig. P5. The two wells.



Fig. P6. Sūq al-faraj.



Fig. P7. Sabīl as-shifā' modern.

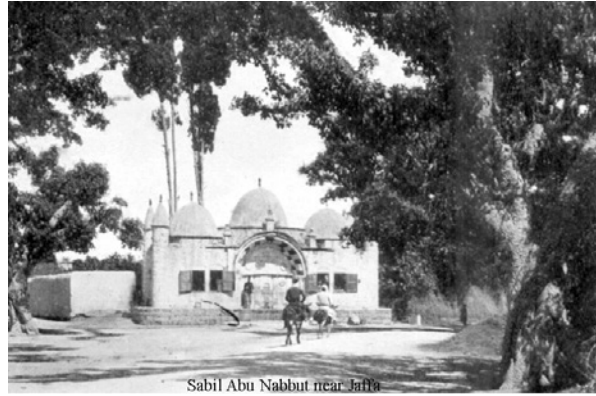


Fig. P8. Sabil ash-shifā' surrounded by trees.



Fig. P9. Sabil ash-shifā' domes.



Fig. P10. Anglican cemetery.



Fig. P11. Sabil Siksik.



Fig. P12. Jaffa Redif deposu.



Fig. P13. Kazakhānah cemetery.



Fig. P14. Kazakhānah cemetery the elements.



Fig. P15. Kazakhānah tomb.



Fig. P16. Ajami cemetery.



Fig. P17. Hasan Bek mosque.



Fig. P18. Jammāmah column.

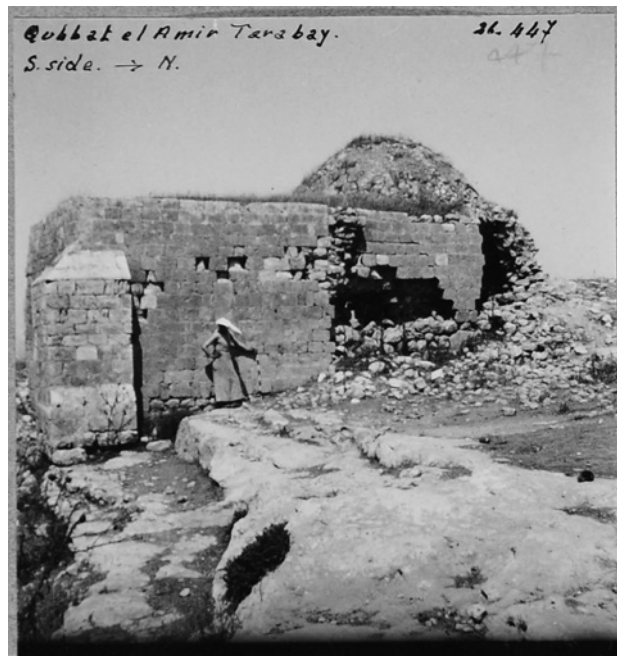


Fig. P19. Qubbat Ṭurabāy.



Fig. P20. Shaykh 'Izz ad-Din cemetery.

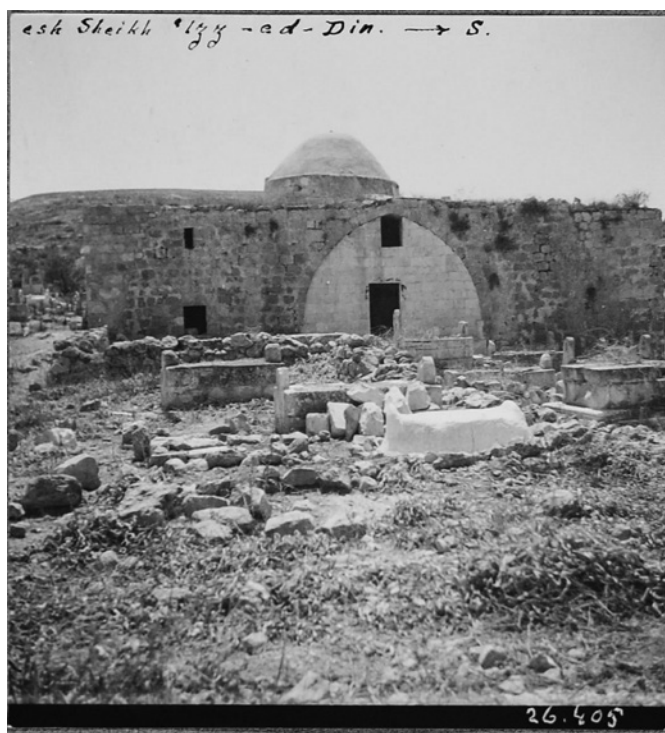


Fig. P21. Shaykh 'Izz ad-Din cemetery.



Fig. P22. Qubbat Ṭurbāy detail.

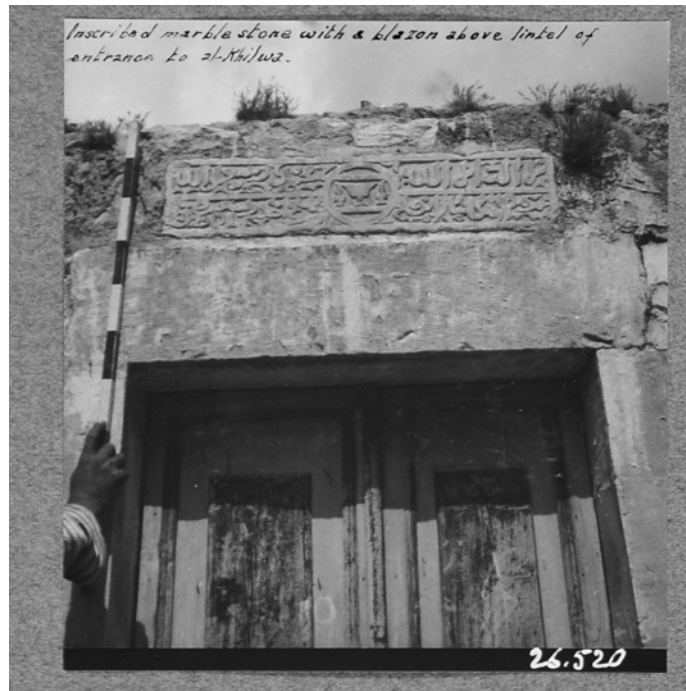


Fig. P23. Jnṣāfūt inscription.



Fig. P24. Jnşāfūṭ columns.

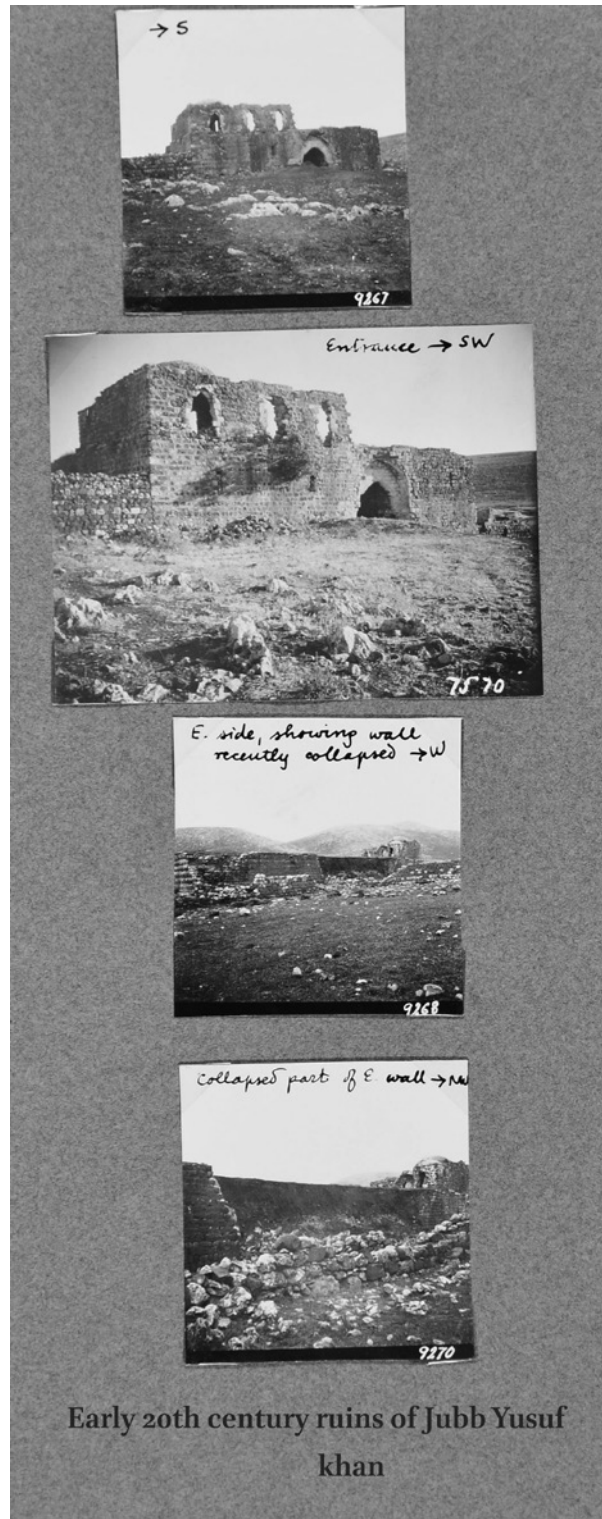


Fig. P25. Khān Jibb Yūsuf.



Fig. P26. Khān interior.



Fig. P27. Cistern before repairs.



Fig. P28. Cistern after repair.



Fig. P29. Junayd maqām.



Fig. P30. Junayd cenotaph.