

Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine (1648-1650)

Also known as [Çelebi](#).

Translator from Turkish: [Stephan Hanna Stephan](#).

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EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE

EVLIYA MEHMET ZILLI B. DERVISH (A.D. 1611/12-1679), better known as Evliya Tshelēbi, travelled for 'over thirty years through seventeen countries'. Of the ten volumes of his travels, called *Seyāhat-nāmē*, eight have been published so far, and the first two translated.

He visited Palestine twice, the first time in 1059 A.H. (towards the end of A.D. 1649), and again in 1071 A.H. (A.D. 1670-1), when he continued his way to Mecca in order to perform his pilgrimage. He was a pious Moslem, anxious to recite his prayers at every site with which holy memories were connected, on the whole firmly believing in whatever his guides told him. It is the fact that he visited so many of these sites which makes his account particularly valuable to the archaeologist who seeks information about the monuments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to the folk-lorist who collects legends and local interpretations of Qur'anic stories.

The description given in the manuscript of the Topkapu Sarayı Library (Vol. IX, fols. 85-101) has formed the basis of the translation. It has been amplified by several passages taken from the third volume of the printed edition, describing either sites not visited by Evliyā Tshelēbī during his second pilgrimage, or supplying additional details with regard to those mentioned *en route*.

THE SANJĀQ OF ŞAFAD, WHICH IS THE VILĀYET OF TABARISTĀN, i.e. THE PROVINCE OF KAN'ĀN

fol. 85^r
l. 35.

All chronicles mention these places as *Kan'ān*. To the south of it,¹ at a distance of two hours' walk, is the village of Tīrzāt, comprising two hundred houses with vineyards and orchards (around). The climate is good. The inhabitants are sympathetic and 'well beloved' Moslems. There is the shrine of Hesiān (the son of Ya'qūb),² whose prophethood is, however, contested. Yet the chronicles mention that Yahūda and all sons of Ya'qūb are prophets.

¹ This refers obviously to Ma'raka, the last station mentioned. Evliya Tshelēbi arrived at Tīrzāt from the north-west (via Qāsimiyya, Tyre, and Rās el-'Uyūn).

² In Turkish *hazret-i Hesiān* and *hazret-i Ya'qūb*. The title *hadrat*, originally a prerogative of the Sultan, in our days given freely to anybody, was for a long time one of the titles given to holy men, especially in Turkish-speaking countries, cf. e.g. *hazret-i mevlānā Jelāl ūd-dīn Rūmī*. It has been left untranslated, as an expression like *St. Hesiān*, the nearest in form and in meaning, seems inappropriate for a person venerated as a Moslem prophet. Cf. the similar expression *se'adetleri*, usually translated by 'His Excellency', used for the Caliph 'Alī (*infra*, p. 106, l. 1).

Ya'qūb is of course the patriarch Jacob. Hesiān b. Ya'qūb does not appear in the regular manuals of Moslem hagiology. It is not impossible that he owes his existence to a confusion—on the part of Evliya or one of the latter's guides—with Hoshea b. Beerī, whose shrine to the west of Şafad is well known.

This Hesiān and Ibn Yamīn¹ and Yahūda are amongst those of them who descended to Yūsuf into Egypt to buy grain. He is considered to have been buried in this village under a high dome, which is venerated as a shrine.

The country-side² around this village is embellished with mulberry plantations and olive groves. But the inhabitants are true heretics, *rāfiḡīler*. I was their guest for one night.

fo. 85^r There is a mountain rising high into the sky. Climbing it we beheld the
l. 40. 'White Sea',³ *baḡr-i ebyaz*, the citadel of 'Akkā, the Pass of Nāqūra (*Nāqūra bōghāzī*), while from the East the plain of Ba'albak, Mount Lebanon, Qal'at ash-Shaqīf, and Qal'at Zabadāniyye were quite visible, the land looking like a piece of shot-silk stuff.⁴ When ascending the summit of that high mountain one hears the voices of the Cherubim. It is called Jabal Nātūr and is widely known. On this mountain all sorts of stones and trees are to be met with. Yet the sycamore does not grow on it, as this blessed tree is to be met with (only) in the coastal plains.

We passed the mountains and rocky stretches with the post in a southerly direction, and arrived at the shrine of Şayyāḡ b. Yākhūd (r. Yahūda b. Ya'qūb).⁵ This Şayyāḡ has been called so by exaggeration, as he used to shout and cry loudly. He is one of the descendants of Ya'qūb. Holy books state that he was a prophet. His monument is a lofty dome. Yet it is furnished only with a rush mat. There are no lamps nor a keeper of the mausoleum. The villages in the vicinity of the shrine are all [those of] heretic
fo. 85^r Druzes. The accursed people of these mountains speak a different language.
l. 45.

One may see from the post road different domes surrounding the shrine of Hesiān, at a distance of an arrow's or a bullet's range. All these shrines belong to Ya'qūb,⁶ Is-ḡāq, 'Īsu, Ifrāin, and Yahūda, his illustrious sons, bearing their written names. For this country is the Province of the Children of Israel.⁷ Here their prophets and their (= the prophets') sons are met with, and individual shrines have been built here as their monuments. They are all mentioned in their chronicles. Yet the humble (writer) has noted down only those saintly men and prophets (the shrines of) whom were near to our
fo. 85^v route and which he has visited himself. And although we have visited another
l. 1. twenty-eight shrines, gleaming with light, their names have not been taken down, being unknown to us. We met nobody whom we could ask about

¹ i.e. Benjamin.

² Lit. 'mountains and rocks', *dāḡh dāsh*.

³ i.e. the Mediterranean.

⁴ With regard to this kind of textiles, cf. Karabaçek, *Namen*, s.v.

⁵ Palestine Exploration Fund Map, sheet I, Nc.: Neby Seiyāḡ.

⁶ *Ḥazret-i Ya'qūb*, but the following names without *ḡazret-i*.

⁷ With regard to place-names connected with the sons of Jacob, often found in Galilee, cf. Mayer, 'Satura Epigraphica Arabica II' (*QDAP*, Vol. II, pp. 128 ff.).

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them. In fact, the Druze inhabitants of this country know from the times of their ancestors the sites where the prophets and their sons lie buried, as well as their individual names. Yet it is difficult to inquire (about them). At any rate it is difficult to get familiar with a set of rebellious people. Their language resembles Arabic, yet it is a different dialect, requiring an interpreter.¹ They would kill a Moslem for a piece of bread.

Thank God I have visited the thirty-seven prophets and sons of prophets under (!) the prophet Kan'an. I have recited a noble *Yā Sīn* Chapter (Qur'ān, Sura xxxvi), as well as the *Fātiḥa*, i.e. the *sab' al-maṭāni* (Qur'ān, Sura i), for each of their holy souls, asking for their intercession and for succour from their sanctity (lit. 'spirituality', *rūḥāniyyét*). fo. 85^v
l. 5.

Thank God we passed the road again safe and sound and went for about one hour in a southerly direction.

THE SHRINE OF THE TREE OF OUR LORD 'ALĪ

(may Allah ennoble his Face).

Beside the public road there stretches a vast meadow with a tree, which reaches with its top to the sky. Its trunk cannot be embraced by five men. It is an indescribably lovely tree, unequalled by either plane, poplar, or sycamore. Here, in this very place, when 'Alī (coming thither by the permission of the Apostle) (i.e. Muḥammad) called the heroes who died peacefully, saying: 'O 'Ānter', some of the heroes raised their heads from the dust (all of them having been buried in their full equipment) and said, 'Yes, O 'Alī.' 'Alī, on seeing them, took a club from the hand of one of them. It was a *nabbūt*, that is to say, a stick, which he thrust into the ground. By the order of Allah verdant leaves sprouted from that dry wood. Seeing this miracle of 'Alī, some of the heroes exclaimed, 'O 'Alī, I believe in Allah'. When 'Alī told them, 'Die by the order of Allah', they became dust again. That site is known as the 'Valley of 'Anter' (*'Anter deresi*).² fo. 85^v
l. 10.

The lofty Tree of 'Alī which sprung up from the stick is still there. Now, even after one thousand and eighty years, it is good and shadowy like a young tree.³ When it grew, 'Alī tied up his mule Duldul to it, while his noble self fo. 85^v
l. 15.

¹ The question of the Arabization of the Druzes is a vexed problem in the literature dealing with the subject. Evliya Tshlebi gives us no valuable terminal date.

² One may infer from l. 9 that in this case 'Anter does not refer to the knight errant, but is merely being used as a synonym of *hero*. Cf. the Arabic *al-farādiq al-ashraf* 'the noble Fredericks' in the sense of 'the noble knights' (Ibn al-Furāt, MS. Vienna, fo. 2^v), an expression in which the name of the Emperor Frederick II became a symbol of chivalry.

³ The date of Evliya's second pilgrimage is 1071 A.H. 'Alī, born either 18 or 23 before the Hijra, is supposed to have performed this miracle at the age of 9 or 14, i.e. before he was a Moslem.

rested in its shadow. There is a stone, hollowed like a bowl, on the spot where he (*se'ādetlerī*) was lying down. Awaking from sleep, he wanted to renew his ablution. But finding no water, he dug up the ground with his blessed hands, and lo, living water gushed forth in the shadow of that high tree, whereupon he performed his ablution. Up to the present day this spring is called '*ain*' *Alī* (the Spring of 'Alī). It is a limpid spring, resembling in its purity the eye of the crane.¹ Its liquid revives the (lit. 'life of the soul', *hayāt-i jāndir*) thirsty wanderer. The feet of Duldul made here an impression on a stone: the marks of them are still visible. Having seen and considered (it) we went south for an hour, passing through valleys and over hills.

DESCRIPTION OF 'AIN TIBNĪN²

fo. 85^v These are ten springs gushing forth in ten places. Each has its peculiar
l. 20. taste, name, and speciality. A huge Caravanserai is built near by. Every year in spring several thousands of people would flock to this site to stay here, bringing their tents and pavilions. It would be a high society, living and enjoying life there. According to one's ailment one would drink from each of these springs and recover. Each spring has been tried times and again.

First comes '*Ain-i Tibnīn* (the Spring of Tibnīn). It is good against bad stomach, as well as a weak and palpitating heart, and also against palsy. By the help of Allah any one would be cured who drinks from it on seven successive days.

'*Ain-i Rādīm* (the Noisy Spring?) is effective against gout, dropsy, leprosy, and jaundice.

'*Ain-i Sarī*' (the Quick [flowing] Spring) is good against leprosy, baldness, and other skin troubles. It has been called so as it is a most quickly acting 'potion' (*sherbet*). Anybody using this drinking cure must guard himself very carefully, eat nourishing food, and protect himself against cold.

fo. 85^v '*Ain-i Dilbiyye* (Spring of the Plane Tree?) gushes forth from the rock like
l. 25. a fountain to a height of about ten feet. Sheikh Mas'ūd is buried there under a huge dome. The rivulet flows beneath the shrine and disappears. The particular effect of this spring is that a man would get rid of his fever if he 'entered' it on three successive mornings. Yet a ritually unclean person would be lost in it. Any one who wants to drink from this spring would go to the source and implore, 'O Sheikh Mas'ūd, I am thirsty' (*yā sheikh Mas'ūd, 'aṭshāni*⁽³⁾). By the order of Allah the spring would then immediately overflow

¹ Turcicism denoting the clarity of a liquid.

² Palestine Exploration Fund Map, sheet II, O c.

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and the man would drink. Its water is delicious. As months wear into years such is its continuous nature of flowing. Some people would call the Spring *Mas'ūd 'atshāni*, after the Sheikh. It is a shrine with pleasant water.

'*Ain-i Khāṣṣ* (the Special Spring). A person drinking from this spring for forty consecutive days will get bright, radiant eyes. By Allah's order they will be endowed with such a brightness that he will be able to see the stars in the sky in broad daylight. He will become generally healthy. fo. 85^v
l. 30.

'*Ain-i Ḥayāt* (the Spring of Life) is effective against all sorts of illnesses affecting the brain, as well as against melancholy, haemorrhoids, and white morphew. It is generally very useful.

'*Ain-i Rūḥ* (the Spring of the Soul(?)). A person drinking from it on seven consecutive days will get rid of any boils or swelling in his body, as well as of mange and inflammation of the joints and other bodily defects. He will find power for his spirit by God's will.

'*Ain-i Ḥazret-i Ya'qūb* (the Spring of Jacob) on him be peace. After keeping abstinence for seven days, a person drinking from this source will have a body cleansed and purified from all sorts of ailments. Not the slightest pain or ache will be left in his body. God willing he will become a person of a joyous disposition.

'*Ain-i Nisā* (the Spring of Women). A man drinking from it will become a real 'hero', and be perfectly sound, after observing abstinence for seven days. He will attain such a degree of bodily strength and virility that, should he have ten slave girls and would like to please them all, he could do so. It is a very fortifying and limpid spring.

'*Ain-i Dhirdhib* (?) (the Spring of Dhirḍib). Anybody will get rid of his dullness who drinks from this spring for forty consecutive days, morning and evening. He will become a serene and clever person. His memory will improve to such an extent that he will instantly commit to memory all words heard from people; the meaning of those forgotten will be refreshed (lit. 'again in his mind', *khāṭiriné gelip*). Even a mediocre brain will remain clever (?). And that is all (*we-s-selām*). fo. 85^v
l. 35.

Now, dear friends, know ye, that Allah has granted all these springs owing to a miracle of Ya'qūb. The reason was that his contemporaries did not believe in him in spite of their having witnessed several miracles of his. When he thereupon cursed them, they all fell ill. This illness lasted heavily on them (lit. 'on their spirit'). So they 'undertook' (*ta'ahhud*) to believe, telling him, 'Relieve us from this ailment and we shall believe'. Then Ya'qūb implored the Creator and his prayer was answered. A voice from the sky (*hātif*) ordered, 'O Ya'qūb, go with your ten sons to a certain plain. There fo. 85^v
l. 40.

each of your sons should dig a place. They (i.e. the sick people) should drink the water streaming therefrom'.

On receiving this order Ya'qūb and his sons at once repaired to this site of the Springs of Tibnīn. Each of them dug up a place, whereupon these springs gushed forth. Then the reliable Jibrā'il (ج. *emīn*) descended from Allah and caused each spring to flow with two certain peculiarities, *viz.* knowledge and wisdom. All people began to drink and by the order of Allah they became as white (-skinned) as a girl. With one accord they exclaimed, 'There is no God but Allah, and Ya'qūb is the prophet of Allah'. They were honoured by embracing Islām. Their descendants are living in the neighbourhood of these springs, even until this very day. Any person afflicted with a disease comes to them, drinks from the springs according to their instructions, and regains health and vigour by a miracle of Allah's grace.

fo. 85^v
l. 45. Because these springs were dug up by Ya'qūb for his sons (!) they were called 'Uyūn-i Tibnīn, i.e. the Springs of the Sons of Adam. They are a mysterious creation of Allah. Some learned men coming here wrote and engraved on the (walls of the) rooms outside about their beneficial use.

Thank God this humble servant among others has drunk from them, with the hope to recover. I recited the Chapter of *Yā Sīn* (Qur'ān, Sura xxxvi) for the souls of Sheikh Mas'ūd 'Atshāni and Ya'qūb and continued my way.

The Castle of Tibnīn is in the vicinity of these springs of Tibnīn. In the year¹ this castle was built by the Children of Israel, who took refuge in it, because Bukht an-Naṣr (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar) was victorious. He came to Jerusalem, devastated and ruined it, and took this castle and burned its people.

fo. 86^r
l. 1. Then in the year¹ al-Malik aḏ-Zāhir took it² from Spain (*Ishpānia*) and had it pulled down in several places, so that the unbelievers should not covet it again. At present no other building is there besides the 'House of Ibrāhīm (= Abraham), the Friend of Allah'.

As to the administrative point of view it is a district (*nāhiyē*) in the country (*ḥāḳ*) of Ṣafad. Some Beduin tribes come thither and pitch their tents, because of the (neighbourhood of the) 'House of Allah's Friend'. This felicitous 'House' is an ancient building of masonry. When Jibrā'il descended with the Books of the Minor Prophets (*suḥuf*) to Ibrāhīm, the masonry wall split asunder, like a piece of cheese cut into two halves. It is a finely polished crack.

¹ Year not mentioned, nor space provided for in manuscript.

² Tibnīn was captured in 664 A.H.; cf. Nuwairī, s.a. (MS. Leyden, Or. 2).

ST. H. STEPHAN.

Annotated by L. A. MAYER.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. II.¹

fo. 86^r,
1. 5. **T**HERE is a yellow, oblong, whetstone-like stone in this auspicious House. Ibrāhīm, the Friend of Allāh, used it as a pillow for his head, the impression of which is still visible. Several of the detestable Franks tried to extract it from its place and to steal it. Yet they were unable to chip off even one *qīrāt* of it. So they left it as it was. Some of them perished thereby. The survivors fled. The noble 'House' is still a shrine for high and low. Many thousand thanks to the Creator that I too have been enabled to visit it.

In a rocky stretch of land north of this shrine is the sanctuary of Ṣiddīq, son of Ifrāin, son of Yūsuf, son of Ya'qūb—peace be on both of them. It is a large shrine which Ghāzi Sinān Pāsha² built over the place where Ḥaḏret-i Ṣiddīq was buried. Schismatics (*rāfiẓiler*) are yet living in it. They believe in him, and when they take an oath they swear 'by Ḥaḏret-i Ṣiddīq'.

fo. 86^r,
1. 10. Farther south lies the village of 'Anebta, situated in a valley and inhabited by one hundred Druze families.

Another hour's journey to the south is the village of *Sūq-i 'Atīq*. 'Anōq, the father of 'Ōj, is buried there in a cave in a ravine. This village consists of two hundred houses of loathsome Druzes. It is called *Qaryat as-Sūq* (village of the Market) because of the market held there once a week.

Then comes the village of *Ḥīsh*,³ with one hundred houses of accursed believers in the transmigration of souls (*tenāsukhi mezhebindén*). Yet what beautiful boys and girls they have! And what a climate! Every one of these girls has queenly, gazelle-like, bewitching eyes, which captivate the beholder—an unusual sight. The following hemistich is about them.⁴

We passed this village by. The bottom of the slope is called *Wādi al-Ḥīsh* (the Valley of *Ḥīsh*), and it is like the bottom of Hell (*derek-i esfel*), a terrifying, dangerous, and insecure place. Our comrades, detailed to accompany us
fo. 86^r,
1. 15. (on our tour) from Ṣaida, lost their heads. With our arms in readiness, we passed it safely and without being plundered, thank God. From this village we had a narrow escape to the village of *Yāzūn*,⁵ which also consists of one hundred houses of schismatics. Thence. . . .

¹ Continued from p. 108.

² With regard to other buildings erected by Sinān Pāsha in Galilee cf. Samuel Yemshel in *Ozar Massa'oth*, ed. Eisenstein, 1926, p. 200 (Mosque at Sa'sa'); Ḥājjī Khalifa, *Ḥihānumā*, p. 568, l. 7 (Caravanserai at 'Uyūn at-Tujjār), and the bazaar at Ṣafad, *v. infra*, p. 145.

³ P.E.F. map, IV, P.e.

⁴ The hemistich is not mentioned in the manuscript nor is a space provided for it.

⁵ Yāzūn, cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, London, 1841, Vol. III, p. 371, P.E.F. map, IV, O.e.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF 'AIN AZ-ZEITŪN¹ (SPRING OF OLIVES) AND 'AIN MEIRŪN¹

These are two springs in the village of *Yāzūn*, on the slopes of Mount Zābūl,² west of Şafad. There are huge caves above 'Ain Meirūn, each holding from one to two thousand people. There is also a cave dating back to the times of 'Ād b. Shaddād. It has huge rock-cut basins, but they do not contain a single drop of water. When the time of the Jewish feast approaches, i.e. the notorious (Feast of the) Tabernacles (*qāmish*),³ all people ('*Arab ve 'ajem*), mostly Druzes, Timānis, Yezidis, and Mervānis, are wont to assemble there—a dangerous crowd, counting several thousands. Like a great body of soldiers they assemble inside the cave and wait there.

Now on the day of the Jewish Festival a thunder comes from those rocks (by ^{fo. 86^r,} divine agency), and clear water wells up, filling to the brim all those tanks and ^{l. 20.} reservoirs which remain empty throughout the year. The ground (sc. in front of the caves?) becomes like a parade ground (or: a 'battle-field', *kuran kurang*). All the different communities go in and bathe. Every one who lies under a spell, or any one who is poisoned, or any one who suffers from recurrent fever or rheumatism, or any one afflicted by any other trouble, will so recover from his unhappy condition and gain a new lease of life, as by a miracle (*hikmēt ilē*).

Thus for three days and nights several thousands of people enjoy life in this way. They fill their bottles, flasks, and jars with this life-giving water in order to obtain a blessing (*tabarrukan*). As 'Meirūn Water' they send it over land and sea to every country, as it is a remedy for seventy ailments. After three days the water disappears again. Late comers have to drink from what remains in the tanks and take it away with them.

The belief held by the inhabitants of the district about it is that it represents ^{fo. 86^r,} a single tear of Ya'qūb. They say that Ya'qūb and Ishāq inhabited these ^{l. 25.} caves. (In fact they offer a magnificent view.) As it was not the season when I happened to visit the place, not a single drop of water was to be found in the tanks. I merely made my two prostrations and recited my prayers. Within eleven hours we had left behind the villages so visited.

¹ P.E.F. map, IV, P.f.

² For the tradition that Şafad is in the territory of the tribe of Zebulon cf. also Hājji Khalifa, *Jihānnumā*, p. 568, l. 7 from bottom.

³ This is a pardonable mistake. The Jewish festival which attracts crowds of pilgrims to Meiron is held on the so-called Lag be-Omer, the 18th Iyar, on the 33rd day after the beginning of Passover.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITADEL OF THE COUNTRY
OF THE JEWS, ŞAFAD¹

The first borough (*qaşaba*) on the face of the mountains to be inhabited after the Deluge was that of Jūdi, near the town of Mōşul. About it the verse was inspired (Qur'ān, XI. 46), 'And it [sc. the Ark] rested on the Jūdi'.² Then Sām, son of Nūh, built Damascus and this town of Şafad.

fo. 86r,
l. 30. It was inhabited till the time of Ya'qūb, when an innumerable host lived in its valleys and on the hills (around it). It was the original home of the Children of Israel. Later on, when Nebuchadnezzar sought the blood of Yaḥya, the Prophet, he massacred the Israelites and devastated Şafad as well. In short, it came into the possession of seventy nations.

Vol. III, p. 118.³

DESCRIPTION OF KAḤR NĀḤŌN, i.e. THE TOWN OF ŞAFAD

After the Deluge its founder was Sām, son of Nūh—peace be on him. At the time of Ya'qūb this town prospered so much that even 'bustling' (lit. 'whispering', *zaghzagha gibi*) towns, like Asqalān, Beisān, Filistin, Ṭabaristān,⁴ and Jerusalem were not so prosperous as this city of Şafad.

Because all the Children of Israel originated from this town of Şafad, and had their ancient Temple there, it is like the Ka'ba to them, even to this day.

In the year⁵ Selīm Shāh took it from the despicable Circassians without a blow. The troops who could not go on to Egypt he stationed there as garrison, before himself proceeding.

It is still a *sanjāq* in the province (*eyālét*) of Şaida. It is administered by farming the public revenues. The *Mīr-i Livā* collects for the private purse of His Majesty 373,800 *yük* of *aqçe*,⁶ one thousand rifles for the musketeers, and . . .⁷ *yük* of *aqçe* for the Imperial Treasury. A sum of one hundred *kīsē*⁸

¹ With double spelling, Şafad and Şafat.

² Cf. Yāqūt, II, 653, s.v. Dair al-Jūdi.

³ These sections in smaller type are translated from Vol. III of the printed edition (ed. by Aḥmed Jewdet, Istanbul, A.H. 1314/A.D. 1896/97) p. 118.

⁴ In the printed edition طبرشان, an obvious mistake for طبرستان which in itself stands for طبرية Tiberias.

⁵ No year mentioned nor space left for it in the MS. Of course it should be A.H. 922 (Ibn Iyās, III, 101, l. 5 from bottom). In the diary of Sultān Selim, published in Feridūn's *Münshē'at* (German translation by Halil Edhem Pasha, *Tagebuch der ägyptischen Expedition des Sultans Selim*, I, p. 16) the occupation of Şafad is not mentioned at all. On the 9th Sha'bān, 923 (25th September, 1517) it was granted together with the şanjāqs of Jerusalem and Gaza to Jānbirdi al-Ghazzālī (*ibid.*, p. 27).

⁶ An *aqçe* had in the seventeenth century the value of 1/80 *gīrsh*.

⁷ No sum mentioned; neither is there a lacuna for its insertion.

⁸ A *kīsē* is equal to five hundred piastres.

per annum is left for him. Previously it belonged to the province of Damascus, and at the time of its 'delivery' [sc. from the Mamluks] it had one hundred ^{fo. 86^r.} and six *tīmārs*¹ and nine *za'āmets*.² The holders of these were not required to ^{l. 35.} go to war, but were put in charge of travellers and Moslem pilgrims visiting Jerusalem, Damascus, and the sea-port towns, to escort them hither and thither.³

There are regiment commanders and commandants of Janissaries in this city. Three hundred *aqçe* a year are for the office of the *qādi*. The sub-district (*nāḥiya*) consists of four hundred villages, difficult of access ('*āṣī*). Every year the sum of six *kīsé* accrues from sentences passed.

The castle is ruined. It has neither a warden (*dizdār*), nor feudal retainers to defend it (*hiṣārji*), nor a provincial colonel-commandant of the feudal levies (*ketkhuda yeri*), nor a colonel of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri āghāsi*), nor notables. But there are many Jews.

Each of the four orthodox rites has its *sheikh al-Islām*. There is also a Chief of the descendants of the Prophet (*naqīb al-ashrāf*).

Continued from Vol. III, p. 119.

When Sultān Selīm Yāvūz I took this city from the Sultān al-Ghaurī of the Egyptian Circassian dynasty, it had, according to the Register of the eunuch Sinān Pāsha, a *kharāj* tax of six times one hundred thousand taxpayers. To-day between seventy and eighty thousand Jews still live there.

The town consists entirely of Jewish houses. According to their vain belief a Jew cannot be considered anything but a 'black Jew' (*qara jifūt*) if he does not visit this city once in his life; or, if being unable to do so, he does not rub his face with its dust; or if he does not drink from its water; or does not fumigate himself with the (smoke of the) autumnal leaves of its trees.

Certain chronicles include the description of this city and the manner in which it is built together with its public edifices and buildings. In the volume about the Holy Pilgrimage I have written a detailed account of all shrines of the sons of Ya'qūb and Ismā'il there, well-known names and features; of the 'House of Sorrows' (*beit al-aḥzān*) of Ya'qūb, the Houses of Ifrāim, son of Yūsuf, Iṣḥāq, Ismā'il, and Ayyūb, together with a thousand other notes.

The citadel rises high into the sky. It is a lofty castle, which is inside an hour's walk from the valleys and city below. On top of its mountain is a round masonry building, an ancient, wonderful castle. At the time of the conquest, al-Malik az-Zāhir took it from the Franks only with great difficulty.⁴ He had ^{fo. 86^r,} it dismantled at several places.⁵ Nowadays goats and sheep are kept there ^{l. 40.}

¹ Fief with a yearly revenue of less than 20,000 *aqçe*.

² Fief with a yearly revenue of at least 20,000 *aqçe*.

³ See p. 140, n. 3.

⁴ On the 18th of Shawwāl 664 (23rd July 1266).

⁵ This is, of course, incorrect. Far from dismantling the walls, Baybars repaired the damages to the

during winter. But no human beings nor any buildings are there, though the suburb below is inhabited. The houses are built one above the other, overlooking places like the abyss of Ghayya in Hell.

The city has seven quarters with thirteen hundred inhabited houses, built of mud and lime, all being synagogues (?) (*ve jümlé mihrābdir*). Yet it is densely populated.

The mosque of Sheikh Ni'me is in the Market of Mālik. A lofty dome of elegant design covers a square enclosure. It is an imposing Friday mosque, measuring 50 feet each side. The interior is revetted with marble slabs to a height of a man. For two ells above the marble the surface is painted with fruit blossoms in a great variety of colours. The borders are wonderfully inscribed porcelain tiles.

fo. 86^r,
l. 45. The following verse is written on glazed Kāshān tiles over the prayer niche: 'But he only shall visit the Temples of God who believeth in God and the last day' (Sale: Qur'ān, Sūra IX. 18). Over the windows flanking (and written also on Kāshān tiles) is the verse (Qur'ān, Sūra LV. 26), 'Every creature which liveth on the earth is subject to decay'.

citadel caused by his own machines, as may be seen from the wording of his inscription embedded in a wall of the citadel. The Arabic text of this inscription, which has disappeared long ago, has been preserved by Nuwairī and Maqrizī (*Sulūk*, MS. Paris, Ar. vol. 726, fol. 172^v, l. 5 from bottom ff., trsl. by Quatremère, *Sultans mamelouks*, I b, p. 48). Maqrizī's text quoted above is abridged and shows slight changes in the remaining part of the text but as it has not been published in its original form, I transcribe it here according to Nuwairī's *Nihāyat al-'arab*, MS. Leyden, Or. 2 m, fo. 182^r. l. 3 from bottom ff.:

ولقد كتبنا في الزبور من بعد الذكر ان الارض يرثها عبادى الصالحون

(Qur'ān, XXI. 105) اوليك حزب الله الا ان حزب الله هم المفلحون (Qur'ān,

LVIII. 22) امر بتجديد هذه القلعة المحروسة وتحسينها وتكملة عمارتها وتحسينها

من خلصها من ايدي الفرنج الملاعين وردها الى ايدي المسلمين ونقلها من

مسكن اخوة الداوية الى سكن اخوة المؤمنين فاعادها للايمان كما بداها اول مرة

وجعلها للكفار حسارة وحسرة ولم يزل بنفسه يجتهد ويجاهد حتى عوض عن

الكنائس بالجوامع والبيع بالمساجد وبدل الكفر بالايمان والناقوس بالآذان

والانجيل بالقران ووقف بنفسه التي هي انخى النفوس حتى حمل تراب

Sheikh Ni'me, the founder (*ṣāhib*) of the mosque, lies buried outside the southern door.

Near this mosque is the *jāmi' al-mu'allaq* (the 'Overhanging' Mosque). Its lower part is empty, being used as store-rooms, which fact gave rise to the name. It is reached by a flight of seven stone steps from either end. It is a large, ancient Friday mosque.

The *jāmi' al-aḥmar* (Red Mosque) is lower down. It is the largest of all. The Commandant of the city, Ṣāleḥ Bey, had it repaired and restored so that it is now a place like paradise. It measures 120 feet in length and 80 feet in width. Its interior is solid masonry, domed, with groined vaults. fo. 86v,
l. 1.

The dated inscription on the pulpit relating to its restoration runs as follows:¹

چه صالح کی یلقی الرضا عند القضا یاد الله مولاه الکریم
'O *Ṣāliḥ* who will meet with pleasure on judgement day, remembering Allah, thy generous Lord' (?) The date would be summed up by the words *lak ar-riḍa*, i.e. A.H. 1082.²

Over the prayer niche the Verse of the Throne (Sura II, v. 256) is written in very clear script. Under the mosque and sanctuary there is a cistern built with columns. In winter-time it is filled to the brim with water, which is drunk in July by all the populace to quench their thirst. It is collected rain-water, ice-cold, clear, and refreshing.

خنادقها وحجارتها منه ومن خواصه علی الرووس سلطان الاسلام والمسلمین؛ ومسترد
ضوال الدین مبیّد التتار فاتح القلاع والحصون والامصار وارث الملك سلطان
العرب والعجم والترک اسکندر الزمان صاحب القران ابو الفتح بیبرس قسیم
امیر المؤمنین خلد الله سلطانه فمن صارت الیه هذه القلعه من ملوک الاسلام
ومن سکنها من المجاهدين المشاغرین علی الدوام³ فلیجعل لهذا السلطان فاتحها
ومجددها نصیباً من اجره ولا یخلیه من الرحمة فی سره وجهه فی طول عمره
فانه جعلها دار یمان وامان بعد ان كانت دار کفر وطفیان وصار یقال عمر الله
صرحها بعد ان کان یقال عجل الله فتحها والعاقبة للمؤمنین الی یوم الدین .

¹ No attempt was made at correcting this faulty inscription which is no more *in situ*.

² ل + ک + ا + ر + ل + ا = 30 + 20 + 1 + 30 + 200 + 800 + 1 = 1082⁽⁰⁾.

³ MS.: الدواب

The length and breadth of this sanctuary is 100 feet. Over its southern entrance there is a towering minaret roofed with lead. The roofs of the mosque are plastered with lime.

fo. 86^v,
l. 5. The dated inscription over the entrance to the Sanctuary is:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ . امر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك⁽¹⁾ مولانا السلطان
الملك⁽¹⁾ الدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين قاتل الكفرة والفجرة والمتمردين
سرير الصالح اقسام⁽¹⁾ امير المؤمنين وذلك في سنة اربع وسبعين وستمائة.¹

'In the name of the most merciful God. Ordered the building of this blessed Friday mosque our Lord the Sultān, al-Malik az-Zāhir, [rukn] ad-dunya wa-d-dīn, the Sultān of Islām and Moslems, slayer of infidels, heretics and rebellious people, . . . Baybars az-Sālīh, joint partner (qasīm) of the Commander of the Faithful, in the year 674.' (1275-6.)

There are, besides, the Insī Mosque, that of اثر طه *Athar Tāha*, which is that of the Forty Martyrs; and in the Şawābīn Quarter that of Sheikh 'Īsa; also the mosque in the Quarter of the Kurds, and the Sinimmāriyye Mosque,² called also the Mosque of the Medresé. Besides these Friday mosques (*jāmi'ler*) there are smaller ones (*mesājidler*) and six *medresés*, the first of which is the Sinimmāriyye with its large building, with large *waqfs*, one *Dār al-qurrā'*, and seven elementary schools for small boys.

fo. 86^v,
l. 10. There are also seven *zawāya* and six public baths; three of which are open all the year through. Near the palace of the Pāsha is the Ambergris Bath (*ḥammām-i 'amberiyye*⁽¹⁾). Honestly and truly it is *jem'i* (?). Its walls are amber-coloured, all the way round. Its deep, bubbling, boiling water, its temperature, and architecture are all very fine. (A similar public bath is that

¹ I read on a squeeze of this inscription, kept in the Records Office of the Department of Antiquities, the following:

(1) بسملة . امر بإنشاء هذا الجامع المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر

(2) entirely obliterated and the beginning of (3)

... الكفرة والمشركين قاهل⁽¹⁾ الخوارج (4) والمتمردين بيبرس الصالحى

two to three words missing وذلك في سنة اربع وسبعين وستمائة.

The translation of Evliya's text has been corrected accordingly.

² Written Sitmār.

of Güzel Hissār in Āidīn, known as the 'Bath of the Sulṭān'.) There is another bath, the 'new one'. Yet this is not so richly adorned. Still another bath was built by public donations, while one bath is now closed to the public.

There are three caravanserais. One, the Pāsha Khān, is below the citadel. It is a large caravanserai, with an iron gate like that of a castle, and square in plan. Right round it measures six hundred paces. It stands four stories high. Previously twelve thousand Jews lived in it. But at present they number only two thousand.

The city has three covered markets, two of which are unoccupied, their shops being locked up. They have now become guest-houses for travellers. Yet the market of Sinān Pāsha, near the mosque of Sheikh Ni'me, is flourishing and in repair (*ma'mūr ve müzeyyendir*). A flight of fifteen stone steps leads to it. At both ends it is provided with iron doors. It consists of twenty shops, all built of stone. Besides these, there are another hundred and twenty shops in this city. All contain valuable things, and all are built of masonry, their quoins being of white stone. There is no wooden building whatsoever. Yet the doors of the houses are richly adorned and strongly made.

The magnificent palace, airy and elevated, is that of the Pāsha. It consists of seventy rooms richly adorned, and complete. It is reserved as the governor's residence. Over the central hall the following inscription is placed:

الا يا داري لا يدخلك ظلمي⁽¹⁾ ولا يندرك⁽²⁾ صاحبك الزماني⁽³⁾
فنعيم الدار تأوى كل ضيف⁽⁴⁾ اذا جاء الضيف به ضاق المكاني⁽⁵⁾

*'My House, oppression never enter thee!
Misfortune never do thy owner wrong!
A charming house that shelters every guest,
And grows more spacious as each guest appears.'*

وهذه عمارت⁽¹⁾ سنة ٩٨٠ محمد بن برى سنة ٩٨٠ لمولانا

عزنا⁽²⁾ السلطان الملك [lacuna] الظاهر ابو سعيد

fo. 86v,
l. 20.

'This is the building [A.H. 980] of Muhammad b. Peri, [A.H. 980]. Honour be to our Lord, the Sulṭān al-Malik [lacuna] az-Zāhir Abū Sa'id.'

The gardens of this town of Şafad are (mostly) olive groves and mulberry plantations. Because it is situated on a high mountain its climate is healthy and agreeable. Its waters are exceedingly sweet. There are two springs of al-Malik az-Zāhir, which flow from the hills about the city.

Yet, because of oppression, the inhabitants of the city are poor. The Jews are more numerous than the Mohammedans. The capitation tax from all the seven Jewish quarters is paid for nine thousand. With previously seventy thousand Jews living here, this was a magnificent city. Now it is built on terraces, the houses are still inhabited, but there is no outstanding person amongst them (*beni ādemdén bir ferd-i āferīd*). All have moved off to the city of Saloniki.

fo. 86^v, In former times Şafad boasted of three thousand felt manufactories, of which
1. 25. only forty have survived. The felt of Şafad was known all over the inhabited world.

The reason for the large number of the Jewish inhabitants is this, that it was the original home of the Children of Israel, and, comparison apart, is their *Ka'ba*. In this *beit al-aḥzān* ('House of Sorrows') all the Prophets and their children lived and grew up here; here too they are buried. In their chronicles there is a book of seven volumes treating of Şafad.

Above the Jewish quarter there are two Kurdish quarters. All their people wear striped cloaks, '*abāyas*'. There are few boys and girls there. The women folk wear a white sheet [sc. of cloth over their clothing].

Of the renowned kinds of food and drink, pure white bread, olives, and honey may especially be mentioned. Their handicraft and manufactures are *kilīms*, felt and prayer carpets, which are famous. May Allah increase them!¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHRINE OF ŞAFAD

fo. 86^v, First comes the Sanctuary of the shrine of Ya'qūb. When parting from
1. 30. Yūsuf, he shut himself up and lived in seclusion in the cave known as *beit al-aḥzān* ('House of Sorrows'), which is a huge cave south of the citadel. It forms a mosque, yet it is not built. Its prayer niche (*miḥrāb*), points to Jerusalem. However, according to the calculation of the 'zones' it is also directed towards the *Ka'ba*. For whosoever goes from this city of Şafad to the *Ka'ba*, goes first straight to Jerusalem, thence to the 'Aqaba of Egypt and thence along the coast of the Red Sea—direct to the noble Mecca.

From remote times the *miḥrāb* of the 'House of Sorrows', carved into the rock, has pointed towards Jerusalem.² But no traces of any constructions whatsoever are there, all being caves. Outside are gardens, like the earthly paradise of *Irm* (sc. *dhāt al-'imād*; cf. Qur'ān, LXXXIX. 6), which was made by
fo. 86^v, the hand of God Almighty. It is also a *tekké* of the Prophets of Allah (i.e.
1. 35.

¹ *zādaka-llāh for zādaha-llāh!*

² Cf. the plan of the cave published in this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, p. 129.

Ya'qūb?). In its garden, all round it, several thousand great saints, pious and godly people, sheikhs and notables, are buried.

Over the narrow, low entrance to the 'House of Sorrows', facing eastward, is an oblong, white marble slab let into the rock, on which the following is written. Inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. فلما انجاء⁽¹⁾ البشير القاه على وجهه فارتد بصيرا.
 امر بعمارت⁽¹⁾ هذا المزار المباركة⁽¹⁾ على ضريح سيد⁽¹⁾ الذي⁽¹⁾ بقميص حاجور⁽¹⁾
 الصديق الى ابيه يعقوب عليهم السلام من⁽¹⁾ العبد الفقير الى الله المقر السيفى
 فوزى اولاد⁽¹⁾ ادهمى⁽¹⁾ التمنى⁽¹⁾ المعظمه⁽¹⁾ بقلعه⁽¹⁾ صفت⁽¹⁾ المحروسه⁽¹⁾ (three words)
 الادهمى رحمت⁽¹⁾ الله عليه بتاريخ شهر ربيع الاول سنة خمس وعشرين⁽¹⁾
 وثمان⁽¹⁾ ومائة⁽¹⁾.

This door leads into a huge cave used as a mosque. All four sides of it are fo. 86v, embellished with tambourines, kettle drums, axes, cymbals, and drums (*tabil-* l. 40. *ler*). On either side of the *mihrāb* there are banners of Ya'qūb and of 'Abbās, on a pair of poles. It is a mosque embellished with various lamps, candle lights, and oil lamps. On Monday and Friday nights, as well as on every other holy night, all the sheikhs of the town and the Sheikh [sc. of the order of] 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī (who is *serčeshme*), would come with all their dervishes at nightfall to this mosque. They would play the tambourines and perform the *zikr*, thus enflaming the hearts of all those who love Allah, leaving them amazed. Such is the time-honoured ceremony.

Behind the mosque to the south is the door to yet another cave. This is the 'House of Sorrows' (*beit al-aḥzān*), where Ya'qūb used to sit in a cell (*hujra*) like a window bay. It is a spacious cave. In the four sides there are twelve fo. 86v, small caves each with a small opening. Within them the twelve 'respected' l. 45. (*dhu'l-ihtirām*) sons of Ya'qūb used to retire (sc. for meditation). On entering it one is amazed. There is an odour of sanctity (*rūḥāniyyét*), which perfumes the mind of the pious visitor (*'āshiqān-i zuvvār*) with a fragrance like musk and ambergris.

It was in this cave that Ya'qūb wept for forty years over the loss of Yūsuf,

¹ No translation of this badly corrupted text is given as the correct transcription and translation of this inscription has been already published, cf. L. A. Mayer, 'Satura Epigraphica Arabica', II, *QDAP*, II, p. 127

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until he became blind. The stones were pierced by hollows caused by the constant drip of his tears. The chronicles mention his sorrow.

On this spot the faithful Jubrā'il descended to Ya'qūb. By the will of Allah fo. 87^r, the rock was split asunder at the place through which he entered. It is a polished, shining rock, as if it has just left the hand of the sculptor. This is a place which ought to be seen, as it can be neither explained nor described.

Couplet:

شنیدن کی بو دمانده دیده
مضونجه ید قدرت اثار بریادر

*'You who pray, perceive the precious thing you see
Is living rock, the work of God's almighty hand.'*

In this cave is the shrine of Khidr (= Elijah) and that of Dānyāl (= Daniel). In fact, Nebuchadnezzar, when devastating this country, found Dānyāl in this cave and took him as a prisoner to Persia.

Outside the cave, to the right-hand side of the one which is used as a mosque, fo. 87^r, is a huge cavern. According to the chronicle *ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* ten out of the thirteen children of Ya'qūb are buried here. First comes the shrine of Yahūdā, yet it is doubtful whether he was a prophet.

Dūvīl was not a Prophet; while they are at variance as to the prophetic office of Sammūl. Mas-hara' again was not a prophet, nor were Zāhēl and Dārem, [lacuna] though the latter was a learned and a wise man. Lāvī was not a prophet, neither was 'Azarya nor Radām. All these children of Ya'qūb are buried in this cave, yet two sons of his, Mayā'ēl and Hesyān, having been already mentioned with their villages, have been enumerated there. Yet Ya'qūb, Ishāq, Yūsuf, and Ibn Yamīn lie buried in Egypt. These rest at Hebron, near Jerusalem (!). Besides, there are buried in this cave of *Beit al-aḥzān* the sons of Ismā'il, whose names are as follows: Masma', Demā, Tābit, Mash, Idbīl, Qais, and Mu'īna. All of them are buried in one cave.

Yet the cave under the citadel is called the 'Grotto of Qeṭūr' (or: 'the dripping grotto'). Again, sons of Ismā'il have been buried here, viz. Qeṭūr, fo. 87^r, 'Azarya, Keda, Fetdemā, and Ṭīmā. The entrance to the cave is closed. Yet l. 10. they are visited. Their visitors are mostly Jews, who come thither very often. They do this because it is written in their chronicles.

(To be continued)

Translated by St. H. STEPHAN.
Annotated by L. A. MAYER.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. III¹

THE Tomb of Sām is built in another part of the 'House of Sorrows'. In fo. 87^r the mosque containing the tombs of the children of Ya'qūb there is a^{l. 13} place with the impression of Yahūda's footprint. There is also a huge cave with its entrance overhung with a green curtain. Nobody may enter it, as the fo. 87^r wife of the Apostle of Allah rests there. Her honoured name is unknown. l. 15 However, Ayyūb's spouse, Rāhima Āna, was buried in the 'House of Ifrāim'—peace be on him. She is the daughter of Ifrāim, the prophet, son of Yūsuf. She rests in that cave.

All the members of the families of those prophets who lived in this country were buried in this cave. At times female voices are heard from within. Sometimes people have been stupid enough to peep from behind the screen into the interior. By the act of God they were struck with blindness. Both door-keepers and guardians of these shrines prevent any one from looking into it.

Thank God, I have duly visited this shrine, recited my morning prayer fo. 87^r there, as well as a *khatm*, from beginning to end, which lasted until the late l. 20 afternoon. I finished it and assigned its merit to the noble souls, after having prayed for help from their spiritual power (*rūḥāniyyét*), and having felt very close to them. May Allah's mercy be on all of them!

Near the 'House of Sorrows' is the House of Ishāq, consisting of a natural but partly built cave. Ishāq's children are buried within. Yet I do not know their honourable names.

About fifty paces eastwards from there is the 'House of Ismā'il', with pleasant water. It is a cave high up. Near by is the 'House of Ayyūb'. When he married the daughter of Ifrāim, son of Yūsuf, all the wolves of the desert (*jevdén*) fed in this city and were satisfied (*ḥayāt bulmush*). He attained the age of (1)31 years. I have no idea where his tomb is, though the inhabitants of Şafad state that he lies buried somewhere by the side of the avenue (*ḥayabān*) near their city.

Amongst the foremost sages (*'ulema*) of Anatolia buried in the ground of the fo. 87^r 'House of Sorrows' is 'Alemshāh 'Abdurrahmān Effendi. His tomb is con- l. 25 structed of natural white marble. He was one of the pious men of the nation, a learned and virtuous person. His abode was in the good city of Constantinople. He was the honoured son of Sācly Emīr Effendi. He is stated to have passed away on a sudden. Previously the office of Qāzi of Şafad was conferred on him. It is said that this happened only recently, as I have ascertained myself from the vestiges of the construction (*sc.* of the tomb). His learned

¹ Continued from Vol. IV, p. 164.

works, written in a fine hand, are kept there (*sc.* in Şafad) amongst the records. The shrine of Sheikh Ni'me is within his mosque. Near the new bath is that of Sheikh Aḥmad al-Fuḥeiş, while Sheikh Adīb rests above the vaults. Above the Kurdish quarter is Sheikh Shamsu-d-dīn al-'Ajami. In the open
 fo. 87^r praying place (*muşalla*) is Seyyid 'Abdulqādir b. Ḥabīb; near by, on an
 l. 30 elevated site, lies Sheikh Ḥasan Hindi. Sheikh Ḥaidari is beside him. Near the *Ḥāmi* 'al-mu'allaq is Sheikh 'Ammār.¹ The shrine of Sheikh Kurīl(?) is in a small praying place in front of the Serai of the Pasha. Near by is the shrine of the Forty (Martyrs). Sheikh 'Īsa and Sheikh Musmār are buried in one place within the 'Mosque of the Two Brothers'.

We then mounted our weak, patient horses and rode to the south of the city, whence in an hour the avenue of '*Beitu-l-aḥzān*' led to Jabal Kan'ān. Ya'qūb used to bring his children to this wood to let them have some fresh air. It is an avenue unequalled in any country. (Dark) as the Arabian coverings (*kisvetler*),² its branches are intertwined, making a shady place which the sun cannot penetrate at all. It is an arrow-proof thicket; a lovely place to go to for sightseeing and promenading.

fo. 87^r As this site offers a most lovely view, the notables of Şafad resort here for
 l. 35 outings. These mountains abound with springs from the flow of tears which once gushed forth from the eyes of the prophet Ya'qūb. This site is therefore known as the 'Avenue of Sorrow' (*ḥayabān-i uẓn*). Yet the visitor to this site will grow happy and joyful, for—as the 'ulema of Şafad maintain—on this site seven hundred prophets are venerated. Thank God, I visited this place too.

Taking leave of the present governor and his nephew Mīr 'Assāf, we went down the hill at a distance of one hour and a half from Şafad, with ten comrades. To the left was the citadel of *Jabal 'Iqāb*,³ which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed in olden times. In this mountain there are over five hundred caves, which seem to be unique (*yetimānde nīshān vermek*). The Children of Israel
 fo. 87^r fled from the plague and hid themselves in these caves. Thereupon Allah sent
 l. 40 them a barren breeze (*rīḥ-i 'aqīm*) so that all of them died in those caves. Their skeletons, heaped up, can still be seen there. At times people of the district (*vilāyet*) keep their sheep and goats there during winter time.

Passing that place in a southerly direction for an hour, we reached the

¹ Şafad town plan (Survey of Palestine), 195-260.6.I.

² This may refer to the hangings of the Ka'ba, which, since the fourteenth century at least, have been black (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-abşār*, Vol. I, p. 100, ll. 12 ff.) or to the Beduin tents.

³ Obviously identical with the Oued el-A'kab of V. Guérin (*Description de la Palestine, Galilée*, Vol. II, p. 402 f.).

famous Vale of the Lemons¹ (*lēmūn deresi*), where there is a limpid spring. It has its source at the Jebel 'Antar² and falls (lit. mixes itself with, *mahlūt o.*) into the Lake of Minya³ (*Buḥeire-i Minya*). In A.H. 1059 this place was passed (*sc.* by the author on his way to Damascus) with Murtaḏa Pasha. Going fo. 87^r from there through valleys and over hills, mountains and slopes (*bāyerler*) and l. 41 climbing barren mountain ranges we arrived at the 'Ain et-Tīn, i.e. the 'Brook(!) of Figs'. It has its source in the mountains of Mecca and falls near this road into the Lake of Tiberias, i.e. the Lake of Minya. Its water is palatable and easily digested (lit. pleasant to swallow and easy to digest, *khōsh guvār*). The borders of this brook abound with exceedingly awe-inspiring, dangerous ambush places and are the hunting-grounds of the brigands of the Terābi tribe (*Terābi oghlu*). We passed the place in safety. The spring comes fo. 87^r from the Valley of the Terābi mountains and falls into the Lake of Minya l. 45 too. It is a small brook with delicious water. At this site was the great fortress of Ṭabaristān, on the shore of the Lake of Minya.

The 'blind' Tīmūr Lenk (*Tīmūr bī-nūr*) devastated Damascus, had this fortress also destroyed from its very foundations, and continued his way to Jerusalem. It is related that this citadel was of the size of that of Aleppo. The traces of its buildings are still visible and evident (*bāhir*). The lake is called after this fortress. Yet its popular name is 'Lake of Minya', though the correct one is 'Lake of Ṭabariyya'.

Here ends the country of Canaan. At present the vilāyet of Ṭabaristān fo. 87^v belongs to the territory of Şafad as it did when it was conquered by the l. 1 Ottomans.

At a distance of a cannon's range (*top menzili*) to the west of this lake is a barren rock which rises to a considerable height (lit. it pushes its summit into the sky, *evj-i semāyē ser çekmiş*), with a watch-tower. The rocks were sculptured (*oymaq*) by 'Ād b. Shaddād. The Arabs call it Qal'at Qa'qa'.⁴ It has been made by the hand of God (*yed-i qudret*). No marks are seen on its walls.

¹ The name of Wādi al-Leimūn, which has caused so much confusion in earlier days (cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. III, p. 286 and note 1) has disappeared from some later maps (P.E.F. map; Karte von Palästina (1:50,000) of the Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme; Smith, *Atlas of the Holy Land*), but is still used by the local inhabitants for the Wādi due west of Kh. Zāhiriyye, cf. Survey of Palestine, village maps, Şafad sub-district, sheet ez-Zāhiriyye, V, IX, and the Wādi north-west and north of esh-Shūne, *l.c.*, sheet esh-Shūne, III, IX.

² The Oued Deir Antar of Guérin (*ibid.*, p. 406).

³ This name which survives in 'Ain Mīnya and Khān Mīnya is otherwise unknown.

⁴ A place called Qa'qa'iyye (spelt ققبة, K'āk'iyeh) appears on the P.E.F. map VI, Q. h., to the south of Tiberias at a distance of over a kilometre from the shore, but as the following description shows, Evliya has confused to a certain extent Qal'at Qa'qa' (قلعة ققبة, قلعة ققبة) with Qal'at Ibn Ma'n to the west of Majdal and north-west of Tiberias.

In the year (*omitted*) some Druzes, the vile people (*hasharāt*) of the son of Ma'n, hid themselves with their spoils (*sc.* in this tower). Küçük Ahmed fo. 87^v Pasha sent an army (against them), which dug a hole from the summit of the l. 5 high mountain and fired into those caves, whereupon the accursed inmates of those caves were scared to death. The caves were taken and safe conduct was granted. The wealth of Croesus (*māl-i Qārūn*) which was brought out from there was divided amongst the Moslem *ghāzis*. It is a wondrous fortress, difficult of access. Its gate looks towards the west. The rock has been so cut that a way for only one man was opened. It is impossible to approach it from elsewhere. Arriving at the gate one has to ascend by a scaling ladder to the height of a minaret, thus gaining access through the gate. The caves are profusely gilded from within and painted in many colours. Water gushes forth from the rocks. Each cave could take in a thousand persons. The caves communicate with each other. That high mountain is honeycombed from top to bottom with similar caves. At present they are not inhabited.

A similar fortress is that called after Armenag in the Şanjaq of Selefke (Seleucia Trachaea or Seleucia Ciliciae). That one too is an impregnable fo. 87^v fortress, yet the Qal'a Qahqaha is higher. After having visited this fortress l. 10 (*seyr ve tamāshā*) we went for an hour in a western direction. . . .

. . . It is a village in the territory of Şafad, consisting of two hundred Moslem houses. No Druzes live here. It is like a flourishing little town (*buleide*), abounding with vineyards, orchards, and gardens. Water and air are refreshing. A large fair is held there once a week, when ten thousand men would gather from the neighbourhood to sell and buy. It is situated in a spacious valley (*uz*), bordered on both sides by low rocks. There is a mosque, a public bath, and a caravanserai in it. A shrine, called the Teyké Mughraby, inhabited by over one hundred dervishes, lies amidst verdant gardens, like that of Iram, where lemons, citrus medica, olive and fig trees and date palms grow. Here travellers are entertained freely. It is an unequalled tekyé.

fo. 87^v The reason for reviving (*ihya*) this shrine is that the Sheikh 'Imād ed-dīn, l. 15 of the issue of the prophet Shu'eib, lies buried there. The family of the prophet Shu'eib is connected with this tekyé. On one side of it are caves, while gardens extend on the other. The saint lived in this shrine, as did also his forefathers. Sheikh 'Imād ed-dīn lived for two hundred years in continence and in fighting the infidels (*mujāhid*). When Saladin, sultān of Egypt, came to visit him, the saint honoured the sultān by putting his blessed head

¹ The name of this village is not mentioned, but as can be inferred from the mention of the shrine of Nabi Shu'eib, a few lines further, it must be identical with Ḥaṭṭīn. The shrine is still venerated there.

on the sultān's lap, as he breathed his last. He was then buried in this place. Sultān Saladin appointed to (the service of the shrine of) this saint a Moghrabi sheikh from his retinue who was a descendant of the Fatimids. This sheikh built the tekyé, wherefore it is called the Moghrabi tekyé. Sheikh Manşūr al-Mughrabi rests there—may Allah sanctify his soul.

Three hundred paces above this tekyé is that of the prophet Shu'eib,—God's fo. 87^v prayers and peace be on him. There are huge caves (!) under rocks in this valley, l. 20 to the right of the public road. He lies buried in that illuminated cave.

According to the chronicles of Azarya¹ in the times after the Flood the Hermen Mountains in Egypt were called by the people 'Mountains of Pharaoh'. Inscriptions found after the Flood in these mountains were written by the prophet Idrīs and other priests on bones and shoulder-blades of camels, oxen, and sheep, in Arabic and Aramaic script. These inscriptions were collected and put down in writing by a son of Sām, called Azarya. Historical records are still extracted from his chronicles, which contain the narratives fo. 87^v and histories of all prophets and sons of prophets. They are highly valued l. 25 chronicles, held at present in high esteem by the Copts of Egypt. We visited the (shrines of the) prophets following those esteemed statements, copying their description as best we could. May the Creator increase the honour of those whom we visited on our rightly guided visits! May our visits be divinely facilitated (so that we may accomplish them)!

Transl. by ST. H. STEPHAN.
Annotated by L. A. MAYER.

¹ This is the Coptic reckoning.

(To be continued)

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV¹

fo. 88^r

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITADEL OF 'AIN ET TUJJĀR²

l. 10 THIS citadel was constructed by Sinān Pāsha, the conqueror of Yemen, in the year [],³ in order to ensure the safety of the high roads between Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo. It is a square, perfect fortress, built of masonry in the midst of a large, verdant meadow. It has a circumference of six hundred paces. The garrison consists of a warden and 150 men. It has a 'double' (*iki qāṭ*) iron gate facing north. Inside the fortress are between forty and fifty rooms for the garrison. It is the seat of a police magistrate, [situated] on the borders of the territory of Şafad, being also an administrative sub-district (*nāḥiye*). Here the territory of Şafad ends and that of Nāblus begins.

fo. 88^r The garrison of the fortress have the charge of the travellers (*āyendé ve*
l. 15 *révendé*), pilgrims and merchants by land and sea, in order to conduct them to the places of their destination. As a rule they charge the merchants six *aqçe* per load. They guard and protect these roads.

Inside the fortress is the Mosque of Sinān Pāsha, an artistically constructed work, with a lead roof, full of light. Its windows have light blue glass enamel fixed symmetrically with rock crystal and crystal (?). It measures eighty feet each side. The sanctuary has three graceful and lofty minarets—Praise be to the Creator, as if they were three young coquettish muezzins—and seven high domes.

The wayfarers (*āyendé ve révendé*) are lavishly given a loaf of bread and a tallow candle (*rūghemī*) for each person, and a nosebag of barley for each horse—free of charge.

On either side of the fortress is a caravanserai with eight shops. No buildings are outside, except a public bath, now out of use.

fo. 88^r The limpid springs in front of the entrance to the fortress are called '*Ain*
l. 20 *et Tujjār*. Beside them is a porch with benches and a few roofless houses, in the shadows of which travellers rest. The fortress is known under the name of the Spring.

At a distance of two hundred paces to the west of this fortress is another

¹ Continued from Vol. V, p. 73.

² To-day called Khān at-Tujjār and Khān as-Sūq, *PEF.*, Map VI. O. i. Both buildings mentioned by Evliya, the caravanserai, after which the village is called nowadays, and a small fort on a slight eminence above it, are still in existence.

³ Year not mentioned, nor space provided in MS. Sinān Pāsha was connected with Palestine several times. First as *mīr-i liwā* of practically the whole of Syria as far as Gaza (Hammer, III, 551) until 1568, when he became Governor of Egypt (Ibn Zambal, MS. Paris, Ar. 1832, fo. 121^r–122^v, Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭulūnī, MS. Paris, Ar. 1814, fo. 81^v–82^r), and later, as Governor of Damascus, until April 1589 (Hammer, IV, 185). Within these dates, therefore, the fortress must have been built.

ancient one [as well preserved] as if it had just left the hand of the architect. It has no additional buildings (*hawālīsi*) whatever. Its gate faces east and is situated on an elevated site. It measures six hundred paces in circumference. There are eight watch-towers, yet it is not inhabited. When winter sets in, sheep and goats of the guardians of the fortress are kept there.

At a distance of a thousand paces to the south is the *Jebel Ṭūr* (TABOR).

DESCRIPTION OF THE ṬŪR-I HERĀVEN¹ AND THE ṬŪR-I SĪNĀ

A luminous mountain rises from a vast plain. Though it is not so very high, yet because of the nearness of Allah it is a 'Mountain of God' higher than high and undescrivable—a vision place for all the prophets. Its summit is crowned by a fortress. Yet nobody lives there. Besides, there are opportune places ^{fo. 88^r} for meditation (lit. 'caves'), whither pious men from the country of Ṭabaristān,² l. 25 Filistīn, and Jāsān come and stay for forty days in those 'caves', thus fulfilling the requirements of the 'mystical path' (*tekmīl-i ṭarīq*).

On this mountain are the shrines of the prophets Mūsa, Shu'eib, Ya'qūb, Ishāq, in fine, there are shrines for all the prophets, as it is the mountain of their secret prayers. According to a learned historian³ six hundred prophets were buried on this luminous mountain. In this Holy Land three mountains are known as *ṭūr*. This means, that this is one of the three mountains where prophets spoke directly with the Creator and prayed to Him. Another *ṭūr* is the Ṭūr Zaita in Jerusalem, about which the verse was inspired 'By the figs and by the olives' (Sūra XCV, 1). According to the commentators *Zeitūn* stands for Jerusalem and Mount Olivet.

A third one is the Mount Sinai, on the road from Egypt to Mecca, near the ^{fo. 88^r} eighth station, at an hour's distance from the shore [of the Red Sea] in a rocky ^{l. 30} country. The *Ṭūr Sīnīn* intended by the verse (Sūra XCV, 1) is Mount Sinai.

We ascended the mountain with our horses and visited [the site], thanks to God. We then descended, and, keeping to the right of the road to Egypt,

¹ Perhaps a misspelling for Ṭūr Hārūn (*v. Yāqūt, Mu'jam*, III, p. 559) and in this case a mix-up with the well-known mountain west of Petra. In Arabic literature Mount Tabor is always called simply aṭ-Ṭūr.

² With regard to Evliya's constant spelling Ṭabaristān instead of Ṭabariyya cf. vol. III, p. 118, ult., MS. (Vol. IX) foll. 87 v., l. 46, 88 v., l. 25 et al.

³ So far as I am aware no Muslim author before Evliya ever considered this part of Palestine specially fertile in tombs of prophets. But early in the sixteenth century J. Luria, the famous Jewish cabbalist of Şafad, during his peripatetic lessons with his pupils, has indicated the sites of hundreds of holy tombs (cf. Ḥayyim Vital, *Shā'ar hag-gulgūlim*, Jerusalem, 1863, fo. 73^vff.), thus creating a special literature and a tomb-worship hitherto unknown, at least so far as his followers were concerned. It is not unlikely that Evliya's information about the numerous tombs of 'prophets', both in the neighbourhood of Şafad and in that of Mount Tabor, are derived directly or indirectly from a Jewish guide.

(which runs below 'Ain et Tujjār), the humble writer followed for an hour the left branch, leading to Jerusalem through a dry stretch of land, until the village of *Ṭabbāgha* was reached. This is a Moslem village with a hundred houses and a small (*mukhtaṣar*) mosque. Here end the boundaries of [the territory of] Ṣafad. It is the boundary of the Terābīn (Terābī-Oghlū), yet it is under the administration [of the *ṣanjāq*] of Jebel 'Ajlūn. The inhabitants of all these villages are sturdy people.

Passing by it, we went again in a southerly direction to the village of *Nā'ūn* (*Nā'in?*)¹ which consists of a hundred Moslem houses and is [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. Thence we continued our way to the village of *Zer'in*,² a Moslem village of two hundred houses and [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. At the end of the plain stretching south of it the fortress of Jebel 'Ajlūn is visible at a distance of three [days' journey].

fo. 88^r We did not go beyond that village but went to 'Akkān. This too is [the
l. 35 seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder] and consists of one hundred houses of Moslem inhabitants.

The shrine of Sheikh Dāhi,³ one of the noble Companions of the Prophet, is on the mountain to the north of these villages. He is buried under a high dome. The mausoleum has a[n appointed] keeper and *waqfs* are assigned to it. The belongings of the inhabitants living around the shrine are frequently deposited within. Nobody ever dares to appropriate such goods. In fact, it is a high[ly honoured] shrine.

Thence we went to the village of *Dāhi*, a Moslem village of about fifty houses. It is [the seat of] a *tīmār* fief [holder] and has a small mosque. The plain stretching to the south of this village is called *Merj ibn 'Amir*. The road to Egypt passes through it. *Khān el Lejjūn*⁴ is visible from here. Yet we went from 'Ain et Tujjār for seven hours through a plain with flourishing villages.

fo. 88^r DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS OF JENĪN⁵

l. 40 It was built in the year []⁶ by the Sulṭān []⁶ of Egypt. Later on it was enlarged under the Ottomans, so that it became a strong fortress. It

¹ PEF. Map IX, O.j.

² PEF. Map IX, N.k.

³ PEF. Map IX, O.j.

⁴ PEF. Map VIII, M.k.

⁵ PEF. Map VIII, N.l. It is not our intention to give here a list of all the references to Jinīn (sometime spelt Jinīn), so often mentioned as a camping-field of Mamlūk armies. According to Arab geographers it was a pleasant townlet (*bulaida ḥasana*, Yāqūt II, 180/1; *Marāsid*, I, 279) known for the holy tomb of Dihya al-Kalbī, one of the companions of the Prophet (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, IV, 154, l. 15 f.; *Ḍaw aṣ-ṣubḥ*, 307, l. 5 f.; many other tombs of Dihya have been known to exist in the Near East, so in Shajara, PEF. Map VI, O.h, Yāqūt III. 260 bot.; in Mizzeh near

For continuation of note 5 and for note 6 see opposite page.

belongs to the private Imperial *waqfs* in Jabal 'Ajlūn, which have been set down in writing at an early date (*maqṭū'-i qalem ve mefrūz el-qidam*). The Governor is its *mutevelli*. A warden with a garrison of two hundred soldiers lives in it. It is a small, yet strong, rectangular, flourishing fortress, situated on a raised terrace, measuring a thousand paces in circumference. Yet it has no ditches. Its two gates face south and north respectively. From within it is fully occupied with guest-chambers. In its very centre rises a lovely mosque with a well proportioned minaret covered with a lead roof. It is a delightful mosque. In its inner court is a huge water-basin ten by ten [paces]. Out of the revenue of the building the travellers receive freely a loaf of bread and a bowl of soup [for each person] as well as a tallow candle light to each hearth [*ujāq*]. (Should, fo. 88^r however, a distinguished person arrive, then the traditional table [*simāt-i* l. 45 *Muḥammadi*] would be set, and he would be treated for three days as a guest.) As a rule, a nosebag of barley and fodder is given for every horse. It is a well-endowed *waqf*.

On both sides of the arches of the high road are one hundred masonry-built shops, with iron gates at both ends. South of the suburb of the fortress a flourishing townlet of one hundred houses stretches over an ascending slope. It has a mosque and a public bath. Near the caravanserai seven date palms rise to a considerable height, similar to those found in the oases of Egypt. Amidst them, under a white dome, is the shrine of Sheikh 'Izz-ed-dīn bin esh Sheikh Muḥammed er Rifā'i. Beside him the ancestors of the Terābī Oghlū [chieftains?] are buried within.

Damascus, *id.*, IV, 522, l. 10; in Cairo, *id.*, IV, 555, l. 1). During his wars with the Crusaders Saladin attacked Jinīn several times; he plundered it in Rabī' I, 578 and destroyed it in Jumāda II, 580 (Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 333/4; Abu-l-Fidā', s.a., ed. Reiske, IV, 50) (Bahā' ad-dīn, ed. Schultens, p. 59; Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafa Ziāda, I, 84, ll. 6 ff.). In 657 (1259) Baybars was granted by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo half of Jinīn together with half of the town of Nāblus and the command of 120 horses (Maqrīzī-Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, p. 83). In the truce between Qalāūn and the Franks in Ṣafar 682 (May 1283) Jinīn and its districts are specially mentioned (*Sultans Mamlouks*, II a, p. 225). Under the Mamlūks, Jinīn was one of the eleven—later on twelve—districts (*a'māl*) of Ṣafad (Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS. Paris, Ar. 2325, fo. 223 r, l. pu.; Dimishqī, p. 212, bot.; *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, l.c.; *Ḍau aṣ-ṣubḥ*, l.c.); it ranked as a *wilāya* (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Ta'rif*, 182, l. 16), with a non-commissioned officer (*jundī*) at its head, appointed by the governor of Ṣafad (*Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*, iv, 240 f.; *Ḍau aṣ-ṣubḥ*, 331, l. 10). Situated as it was on the main road from Cairo to Damascus it became an important post-station. It is mentioned in several lists of relays between Faḥme and Hiṭṭīn (Khalīl az-Zāhiri, ed. Ravaisse, p. 119, l. 12; *Ta'rif*, p. 192, l. 1 f.); in the list of stations for the transport of snow from the Lebanon, which, of course, was a sort of express-service, Jinīn appears between Irbid and Qāqūn (Khalīl, p. 118, l. 4). It was a station in the pigeon post-service, too (*ibid.*, p. 117, l. 11 f.). Cf. also Hartmann, *Geographische Nachrichten*, pp. 72, 84, 86.

⁶ Not mentioned, nor space provided for. Most probably Baybars was meant, cf. preceding note.

fo. 88^v The sheikh and emīr of the Terābī Oghlū [tribe]¹ lives in the fortress of
 l. 1 Jenīn. He invited the humble writer to the Government House, situated
 in the *qaṣaba* of the Terābī Oghlū [territory], across the mountains west of
 Jenīn.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TERĀBĪ OGHLŪ

It is [the seat of] a perpetual *mīr-i livā* in the *ṣanjāq* of Jebel 'Ajlūn, in the
 province of Damascus. Because these [chieftains of the tribe of Terābī Ogh-
 lū] went at the head of the Turkish army when Sulṭān Selīm I went to
 Egypt, this office was granted to them in perpetual tenure. They hold an
 official Imperial Rescript (*līgh-i belīgh-ī shāhīler*) of dignity since the times
 of the 'Abbasides. They trace their noble genealogy through their
 uncle (?) ('*amminjé*) up to Sām, the son of Nūḥ, may peace be on him. They
 follow the Shāfi'ī rite. Because their country is rocky and thickly wooded,
 their nature is secretive. They number about twenty thousand musketeers,
 fo. 88^v including cavalry men on *kuḥeilān* breed horses. Their houses, built of mud
 l. 5 and lime, number seven hundred. There is a Friday mosque and other small
 mosques as well as tiny shops, gardens, and orchards. The climate is extremely
 agreeable. I was their guest for a night. The sheikh-emīr presented the
 humble writer with a horse, fifty piasters, and a striped *kereké*.

Accompanied by fifty armed mounted beduins we went for five hours in a
 southerly direction, then for another hour through the valley of Jinīn, passed
 the village of *Qabāṭye*² and arrived at 'Arrābe.³ It consists of a hundred
 Moslem houses and [its revenue] is set aside for the pāsha, who is governor
 of Nāblus.

Then followed *Qal'at Maghāra*,⁴ a *tīmār* fief, the whole revenues of which are
 [derived from] olives. It is a Moslem village of two hundred houses. Thence
 we went to the village of *Sīle*,⁵ also a *tīmār* fief. All its inhabitants are Moslems.
 fo. 88^v Thence we made our way to the Moslem village of *Qurqāgh*,⁶ which
 l. 10 abounds with olive groves and mulberry plantations; thence to *Fandaqūmye*⁷
 and thence to the large village *Sabaṣṭya*,⁸ a prosperous townlet on a slope. It
 has at present Moslem and Christian inhabitants.

Over this slope rises a high monastery, the buildings of which bewilder the

¹ In the days of Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, Boston, 1860, Vol. I, Section 7, p. 186) the Terābīn were 'dwelling near Suez to the region of Gaza'. Cf. also *Quarterly Statement*, 1869-70, p. 135; *Schedule of Villages and Tribal Areas* published by the Government of Palestine in 1934, p. 15 f.; 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Ta'rīkh Bīr as-Sab'*, 1934, pp. 77 ff. The Terābīn still inhabit that region.

² PEF. Map XI, M.m.

³ 'Arrāba PEF. Map XI, M.m.

⁴ Maghāra, PEF. Map XI, M.m.

⁵ Sīlet eḍ Ḍahr, PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁶ Probably Burqa, PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁷ PEF. Map XI, M.n.

⁸ PEF. Map XI, M.n

onlooker. It is built artistically and is well worth seeing. The inhabitants of both monastery and town were massacred on the occasion of the caliph el-Ma'mūn's halting at this city, when he came up from Egypt on his way to Tarsūs and the Qara Görgis (Qara Kürfüz). Ever since that time no monks live in this monastery. It lies in ruins.

In the neighbourhood of this monastery is the 'House of Yaḥya' in Beit Sabastya. The townlet is called after this blessed shrine. At the time of Ḥazret-i Yaḥya—peace be on him—there was a tyrant, who intended to marry his own daughter. He wanted a *ferva* from Yaḥya, who did not give it to him, fo. 88^v stating that 'according to our religion, God had forbidden' [such a union]. l. 15

Therefore, and [for the statement] that the Virgin Maryam had given birth to a fatherless male child, Yaḥya was put to death whilst praying in this Monastery of Sabastya. His head was sent to the accursed [king] to Damascus, while his noble body was kept by the Greeks in a marble sarcophagus in this monastery. They had him buried according to their time-honoured customs.

Later on, the tribes of Behīje and Hinādi of Alexandria in Egypt deserted their king Philopater and came to [settle in] Acre under the protection of Spain. Here they remained for two hundred years, living and increasing. Now because of the disturbances under the Greek Ptolemies, these Behīje and Hinādi people had taken the fortress of Acre from the western infidels of Malta, holding it in possession as independent lords (*beyler*). They aban- fo. 88^v doned their Arab religion and embraced Christianity. Ever since that time l. 20 the Greeks used to come to visit the body of Yaḥya once a year, presenting their votive offerings to the attending monks. In their greed to appropriate the votive offerings presented there, some of these Maltese pilgrims took the above-mentioned town of Sabastya by surprise. They removed the body of Yaḥya, the prophet, to Acre, where it was laid in a richly adorned sarcophagus.

They instituted a sanctuary under the name of San Juan, and, finding the skeleton of the donkey of 'Īsa in Ramle, brought it thither. Acre was made a shrine for pilgrimages by them, so that all Christians would visit it with their votive offerings. Thus they used to receive riches equal to several years' revenue of Egypt. They lived in Acre in this way until the time of el Melik eḏ Zāhir.

[Fo. 88^v, ll. 24-9 omitted.]

[The following is mentioned in connexion with the skeleton of Ezra (and not 'Īsa) in vol. III, p. 124 (er-Ramle)]:

'During the reign of the ruler of Egypt, el Melik el Kāmil, the Spaniards and other Christians reconquered Jerusalem. Yet they did not dare to lay hands upon the tomb of 'Uzair (Ezra) though they have exhumed the bones of his donkey and taken them

away. At present the two forelegs of the said donkey are kept in a box within an 'etui' richly adorned with jewels in the Treasury of the Emperor of Austria. The hindlegs, however, are . . . in Rome, Italy. The rest of the skeleton is buried near 'Uzair.

When Jerusalem fell for the first time into the hands of the Franks, the Knights of Malta seized the opportunity and stole the body of Yaḥya from the village of Sabastya, near Nāblus. They carried it to their headquarters at the Fortress of Qara Kürfüz near Ṭarsūs. Seeing that there they would have no peace from the Moslems they went (with the body) to Rhodes. . . .

The felicitous head of Yaḥya, however, is placed at present on a golden tray, under the ground, in the centre of the Omayyad Mosque in the fortress of Damascus. In A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395-6) Timūr Lenk had the shrine opened and visited it.'

The year of its (Rhodes) fall [A.H. 929-A.D. 1522-3]¹ answers to the word fo. 88^v فتحها *fataḥtumā*. Sulṭān Soliman took it with a mighty power, at the said l. 30 date, when they—at the date mentioned above—had sent the body of Yaḥya immediately to Malta. The remainder of the force fled from Rhodes to settle in Malta, where they built a strong fortress like the 'Rampart of Alexander' (*sedd-i Iskender*). Please God that its decline be approaching! For their stay in whatever country did never exceed a period of two hundred years. They, too, knowing that within a short time Malta would fall, have built it up in their precaution against a new order of things. During my stay in Germany this was related to me by monks.

In short, the respect shown to Malta by seven kings, seven margraves (*bān*), forty dukes (*hersek*), one 'Primus Maris' (*baḥer prīmī*), and an honourable fo. 88^v czar, that is, by the whole of Christendom, is because of the noble body of l. 35 Yaḥya, whom they call San Juan. For this reason they come to its aid, hold it in estimation, and paint one arm of Yaḥya on their banners and flags, carrying them about. . . . But if they should go there with six ships they would carry off a rich booty.

Even at present the infidels of Malta boast about the body of Yaḥya. The truth about their having stolen it from Sabastya (as already mentioned), has been set down in the Greek Chronicles. It has also been noted by Yaḥya Tshlebi, one of the poets of the Sulṭān Urkhān, the Ghāzi, in his chronicle *tevārīkh-i tuḥfa*.

Muezzin-Zādé, who was kept prisoner in Malta for forty-seven years [relates about it as follows:]

'I have seen it with my own eyes. There is a marble sarcophagus of the length of a man. It is covered with a lead lid. His (i.e. St. John's) body is fo. 88^v lying in that sarcophagus. His blessed knees are bent. He has no head. It l. 40 is an imposing body. Under it fine sand is spread. Once a year the monks attending to it open the lid of the sarcophagus. They anoint that holy body

with dark, saturated salt water. I was the prisoner of that priest, and used to hold the golden basin containing the salt water. "You wild Turk", he would address me, "touch it [and see] whether your Mohammed is so soft." But out of tact I would not touch it. Yet whenever they rubbed his holy body with the salt water, the priest would thrust his finger into it.'

'Once it was the Day of Khizr Ilyās (St. George's Day, 23rd April). He took me with him to look at the sarcophagus. Blood was issuing from the blessed neck. "See", he said, "on this very day the Jews have killed this prophet in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Therefore his blood is flowing to-day." So I asked him, "Signore, where is his blessed head?" He answered, fo. 88^v "Damashq[d]a" ([in] Damascus). Only then did I become aware [of the fact] l. 45 that the body of Yaḥya was with them.'

Such was the statement given under solemn oath by the imprisoned Muezzin Zādé Tshelebi, who witnessed to that, stating, 'I have seen it with my own eyes'.

Even now the blood of Yaḥya still stains a white stone in the 'House of Ḥazret-i Yaḥya' (which I visited) in Sabastya, in the northern part of the said monastery, where Ḥazret-i Yaḥya was put to death. Once a year, on the Feast of el-Khizr, that blood would overflow, submerge those cells and rooms, soiling and covering them. Witness was borne to this fact by some people of the town and by some saintly sheikhs (lit.: *ahl-i karāmāt* i.e. wonder-working). I, fo. 89^r myself, have seen some blood poured on a hard rock. It was ruby-coloured. l. 1 Yet, as it was not then the feast of el-Khizr, I could not discern whether it was real blood. However, it was the blood of Yaḥya, and resembled that of human and animal beings to a most evident and manifest degree.

Opposite this Monastery of the Blood of Yaḥya, at a cannon's range to the east of it, is the village of *Ṣarapetye* (Sarepta), also situated on a hill. It has a hundred houses and is [the seat of] a *za'āmet* fief [holder]. Again, opposite it rises the Tekye of Sheikh Sha'le on an ascending slope, like a fortress.¹ The sheikh used to worship in this convent during the day-time, and in the dark fo. 89^r night he would gather his dervishes around him, when he would begin to l. 5 lecture to them without using any torches or lights. His holy talk would illuminate his holy assembly until the morning. They therefore call him Sheikh Sha'le. He is a high[ly honoured] Lord (*ülü sulṭān*) and his is a flourishing shrine.

I visited it and was honoured by kissing the hand of his descendant, the present Sheikh Ṣun'ullah, and of being blessed by him.

¹ Alt, 'Ein vergessenes Heiligtum des Propheten Elias', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. XLVIII, (1925), pp. 393-7. [S.]

From vol. iii, p. 105.

DESCRIPTION OF ACRE

This is of strong, firm, ancient 'build'. The first one to build it was a Christian contemporary of Yaḥya. Before A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4) the King of Spain rebuilt it and made it a great harbour for Jerusalem.

At that epoch this Acre was exceedingly populous and prosperous. It had up to seven hundred convents and three hundred khans and baths. The ships transporting pilgrims to Jerusalem made it more prosperous from year to year.

p. 106 The sultān Yūsuf Ṣalāḥu-dīn (Saladin), who was minister of the Mamlūks in Egypt, in order to expel the Crusaders who were occupying this site, first conquered Damietta from them and then proceeded to Manṣūra. Meanwhile his lord, Nūru-d-dīn, died as martyr in Damascus. So he became independent king of Egypt. With an army as large as the sea he arrived at Jerusalem and conquered it from the Franks in forty days, and destroyed its citadel from the very foundation.

After the time of Saladin a council was held during the reign of el Melik ez Zāhir Baybars, because 'as long as Acre is in the hands of the Franks they will certainly try to reconquer Jerusalem'. On this consideration the fortress of Acre was besieged by an army, which neither sea nor land could hold. It was besieged with seven hundred ships from the sea side and from the land. For seven years they 'stayed beneath' the fortress. They planted [in the meantime] vineyards, took wives unto themselves, and children were born to them. Yet, nevertheless, they were unable to take the fortress of Acre.

One night, ez Zāhir Baybars was told in his dream: 'Unless the Sheikh Ābdīn of Aleppo comes [to your help], this fortress cannot be taken'. Ez Zāhir at once sent somebody to him with a letter of credentials. The man arrived at his destination. Whilst he was handing the letter to the Sheikh, who then happened to be performing his ritual ablutions, an eye of the Sheikh 'suffered martyrdom'. The man, who had just arrived, was astonished. But the Sheikh told him: 'The fortress will be taken instantly'. Taking off his shoes he then threw them into the air.

Then he addressed the man again: 'Go to el Melik ez Zāhir, give him my salutations, and let his warriors be strong. We, too, in the unseen world, whilst taking part in the fight beneath that fortress, have lost a small, valueless eye of ours'. He then put his dead eye into the man's bag and sent him back to ez Zāhir.

Afterwards, when the messenger got back to the fortress, he found the citadel razed to the ground and completely ruined. That is to say, the moment when he had handed over the letter to the Sheikh the pair of shoes thrown by the Sheikh into the air came and hit the fortress walls, which trembled greatly. Thus was brought about the destruction and ruin of all its foundations, together with some round and square towers of the castle walls, which sunk into the ground. Now, my dear (reader), the miracles of the saints are real truth. It behoves one not to deny the hidden things, for our holy books of faith state themselves that the miracles of the saints are true.

The noble eye of the Sheikh Ābdīn, which 'suffered martyrdom', is still kept in an 'etui' profusely adorned with jewels in the treasury of the richly illuminated mausoleum of el Melik ez Zāhir at Damascus. However, I have not seen it myself.

Thus happened the conquest of the fortress of Acre. Although later on Acre passed into the hands of the Franks, yet it did not remain theirs for a long period. When the Ayyūbid el Melik el Kāmil ruled over Egypt he had some slight repairs carried out and a wing (?) (*qal'a qōlu*) of the fortress erected.

Whilst Acre was still in the possession of Sultān el Ghaurī of the Circassian dynasty, its inhabitants offered their submission to Sultān Selīm I in A.H. 921 (A.D. 1515-16) and during his journey to Egypt handed over the fortress to him.

At present it forms part of the province of Syria and of the District of Şafad. Its public revenues are 'farmed' for three hundred purses. The Governor occupies a high rank and has a number of troops at his disposal. There remain another hundred purses for the Lord of Acre. p. 107

The town of Şafad is a day's journey from it, while Jerusalem is three days' journey off. It is the port of both cities.

There is a judge-substitute, a chief excise officer, a customs officer, and the officer commanding the Janissaries of Syria. Yet there is no office of the *ket-khuda* of the *sipāhis*. However, there is a *duzdār* and a *Sheikhu-l-Islām*. There is no trace of Nobles and Notables whatever, as all inhabitants are boatmen or some sort of merchants.

In the khan at the 'head' of the harbour are the ambassadors of seven kings, where they have taken up their abode.

THE CITADEL OF THE FORTRESS OF ACRE

It is an old square fort, without a mole, situated on an even and sandy beach, at the end of a bay, on the shore of the Mediterranean. The fort has five storeys. Every wall of it is twenty yards wide, one row being built with cement and tiles (*tegula*) the other row consisting of well-dressed square ashlars. Between each of the fivefold walls is a moat, fifty yards wide. Altogether there are five moats, through which the water of the Mediterranean flows. It has altogether seven large gates. Its circumference measures nine thousand paces. Gates and walls, however, have fallen into ruin and are covered with dust. In the spacious fort are orchards with fig and mulberry trees, yet there is no trace of its being inhabited.

Qoja Lāla Mustāfa Pāsha, a minister of Soliman the Magnificent, has built at the south side of this fort on the seashore a square, towerlike, small fortress, eight hundred paces in circumference. Its gate gives to the west. There the *duzdār* lives with the garrison. Seven long (range) cannons with all the requisite ammunition, overlook the harbour. Inside are granaries, water cisterns, and the Mosque of Soliman the Magnificent.

There are about one thousand graves of various forms (some being hidden by reeds) outside, in the suburbs.

The finest building is the so-called Ambassadors' Khān of Sinān Pāsha at the 'head' of the harbour. In fact, it is stronger and better fortified than even the fortress itself. The adjoining Mosque of Sinān Pāsha, though of small dimensions, has a very large attendance. Yet there are few shops (at Acre). Anything of any value can only be had at the Ambassadors' Khān.

Outside the city is a public bath of moderate dimensions. Its interior has a pleasant odour, as its floor is laid out with asphalt. This bath is, however, day by day encroached

p. 108 upon by sand(dunes). Whilst living in this city Alexander the Great had a talisman made against the sand dunes. The said talisman being nowadays no more effective, the sand dunes are enfolding the city.

Near the public bath is a ruined palace on the shore, overlooking the sea. With the exception of Ayaslogh (Hagios Logos?) and Aindinjiq one would look in vain for similar remarkable ruins. Far and wide it is known as the Palace of Alexander. . . .

p. 113 In the sands amidst the ruins of the citadel of Acre there is a low-domed, cosy 'nest' of moderate dimensions—the *Shrine of Şāleḥ*, peace be on him. This fortress has prospered and has been inhabited only through the blessings of this shrine. Once the unbelievers took this fortress and tried to exhume the body of the saint, in order to transport it to the great city of Italy, the legendary city of *Qizil Elma* (= Rome). But a painful cry was heard out of the depth of the tomb. All those who had put their hand to it died. They died from this cry and were buried near the palace of Alexander. . . .

A MIRACLE OF ŞĀLEḤ

Şāleḥ was sent to the people of Thamūd to call them to the right faith. Yet no one of them would accept 'Islām', though they were asking him daily to perform a miracle. Some of them, requesting a manifest sign of him, said to him: 'Get us a she-camel out of that barren rock over there that we may perceive it ourselves. Let her become pregnant without coming into contact with a male camel. Let her give birth to a young camel, so that her milk may be sufficient for our sustenance. Only then we shall believe you.' Instantly the prophet Şāleḥ opened his hands and prayed. And by the will of Allah—exalted be He—that barren rock split asunder and a she-camel appeared. Within a short time she gave birth to a tiny, lovely camel. These

p. 114 camels were grazing in that desert for exactly thirty years. All the people of Thamūd were maintained by her milk.

Yet, nevertheless, none of them would come and tell him 'O Şāleḥ, you are a wonderful, ideal master and sorcerer, who have got us a camel out of the reddish rock'. Nor did anybody believe in him. Finally they killed the she-camel.

On the prayers of the prophet Şāleḥ the rock split in twain again, and the young camel entered it and was lost to sight. I myself have seen that place and have looked at it whilst on my pilgrimage, on the road of Damascus. It is called the 'Rock of the She-Camel'. It is a reddish rock, which lifts up its summit to the perihelion of the sky.

The places where the old camel appeared and the younger one disappeared, respectively, are as visible as if a master sculptor had worked for centuries at it to embellish it!

On both sides of it is a narrow pass. Since olden times there was from rock to rock a gate in this rocky region, forming the frontier between Syria and Ḥejāz. That gate is still visible in the above-mentioned rock.

Previously no camel could pass this place. Whilst passing they would hear a shouting and die of its noise. At last the Syrian pilgrims said: 'We cannot have our camels die in great numbers like this'. So when they used to arrive at the 'Rock of the She-Camel' they all would shout together 'Allah, Allah' and escape at the cry. Firing some hundred thousand shots from their rifles, and the *emiru-l-ḥajj* also firing six cannons between these rocks, they would make the camels pass with a great noise of confused war-cries.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV

Some believers, monotheistic holders of the true faith, told me by word of mouth, 'I have heard the voice of the she-camel of the prophet Şāleḥ'. I myself, however, did not hear any such voice whilst passing there.

When the camel of the prophet Şāleḥ—peace be on him—had disappeared within this rock, he received a divine order: 'Go to Syria' (*rūḥ ila-sh-Shām*). When Şāleḥ had left for Syria, Allah — exalted be He — sent down his punishment in thunder and lightning on the people of Thamūd. At a heavenly voice the gall-bladders of all the people of Thamūd burst and the ground covered them (lit.: their residence was made to be under the ground). Their rock-hewn cave-dwellings were ruined. Even nowadays the lintels of their house-doors, the rock-hewn ceilings, their boxes and cupboards are sunk into the ground topsy-turvy. When the Syria pilgrims pass here the fear of God increases within their hearts, being seized with trembling out of fear of the divine anger.

Here, that is to say at Acre, is the private and general shrine of Şāleḥ, peace be on p. 115 him. In fact there is no large shrine, though a keeper and dervishes are attached to it. The *turbé* is slowly being filled with sand. The people of the city gather yearly here, to 'demand help from the spirituality of Şāleḥ'. On this occasion they carry out several hundreds of thousands of loads of sand on their backs, each of them making several journeys, thus cleaning the mausoleum of Şāleḥ. With the intention of doing my duty I carried sand on my back several times, and threw it into the sea. We took leave after having recited the noble Sūra of Yā-Sīn (xxxvi) for the soul of the Prophet Şāleḥ.

VISIT TO THE SANCTUARY OF ADAM

Peace be on him

When the pure man before God, our ancestor Adam, was ploughing in the plains of Ḥaurān, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, he came several times to Acre. At present this sub-district of Ḥaurān (when measured with our paces) is a six days' journey off. The site where Adam used to pray at Acre is in a rock-carved alcove in the antechamber of his revered sanctuary, situated amidst verdant meadows.

THE SHRINE OF 'AIN EL BAQAR

(i.e. 'Spring of the Kine')

Outside the fortress of Acre, at a distance of one thousand paces to the east, amidst verdant meadows, there is a sweet, clear water spring, to which one descends by a staircase of forty stone steps. As some prophets have descended into this spring and have washed themselves, any sick man coming to this spring and having a bath in it is healed. The inhabitants of Coelesyria and Acre believe that the Prophet and 'Ali once came here. If a weak and feeble ox is watered from this spring for seven consecutive days, it will recover, be it even at the point of death, and it will become fat and sturdy. In Arabic they call a stout slow person 'an ox of Acre' (*iṣr 'Akka*).

THE SHRINE OF THE TWO LARGE SPRINGS OF BLESSING

There are two springs near 'Ain el Baqar. Their water disappears on the spot where they gush forth. By Allah's order the first one tastes as sweet as milk, whereas the other exhales a different smell. According to the eternal laws of the Creator each water

has its taste, though it has no smell. Only these two Springs of the Blessings have a smell, so that the Lord of All has made it so sweet that he who drinks a drop thereof would feel as if he had found new life, his brains becoming 'perfumed' by it. According to the saying of the sages, this water has 70 peculiar properties. Anybody bathing
 p. 116 in it will become immune from all diseases. Even I, after having washed myself in it, in the hope to be healed, have started to mount my horse without stirrup, and have become so lively and strong that even youths are unable to twist my hand.

DESCRIPTION OF THE 'TWO SMALLER BLESSINGS'

These two are a spring of living water near by. One descends on a wide staircase to it. Its taste resembles the sweetness of the water of the Spring of Siloam in Jerusalem. Christians and members of Frankish nations mostly wash themselves here, as it is believed that 'Christ washed himself in this Spring'. Jews visit it, too, and drink from it in the belief that 'Moses had washed himself here'. They frequent the spring very much.

In the Chronicles called *منظره انهار وعيون وبئر كرماب* (the Sight of Rivers, living and hot Springs) the following occur about the origin and names of these two blessed springs: 'The Apostle Muḥammad was charmed by some sorcerers. Yet by divine inspiration the Prophet came on business to Bostra near Damascus. There was a monk called Baḥirā who told him on his arrival: 'O Muḥammad, verily there is a charm on you. Do not hesitate, but go directly to the two springs called the "Two Blessings" at Acre. Moses entered one of them and was safe from Pharaoh's charm. He then rescued the Children of Israel from Egypt. Christ entered the other one and was saved from the hands of the Israelites, and then ascended into heaven. You, too, have to enter those springs and to wash yourself to become immune from the charm of the Bani Quraish. O Muḥammad, there are many springs at Acre. Enter whichever of them tells you "I am the Spring of the Two Blessings of Paradise" and wash yourself.' The Prophet, acting in the manner indicated, entered the water, pronouncing the name of Allah, and washed himself therein. After having been (ritually) purified by these two Springs of Blessings, he ascended a rock and performed his prayers. The trace of his head, which touched the rock, is still quite visible there.

IN EULOGY OF THE TWO DATE-PALMS¹

These are two date-palms east of Acre, which stretch their crowns to the perihelion of the sky. Each stretches itself three times to the sky, with an intertwined and very crooked stem, like a camel's neck.

According to the elders of Acre this crooked shape of these palm trees is due to the fact that they used to bow their crowns to the great prophets.

Yet, according to another version, when Mary gave birth to a fatherless boy, hiding herself from the people, and whilst coming from Nāblus with 'Īsa, she gathered fresh dates from these two palm trees, which until then were withered, and she dwelt under them.

¹ With regard to these palm-trees cf. also Stephan, 'Note on the definite article in two Palestinian place-names' in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, 1933, p. 233, n. 3 [S.].

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. IV

God forbid, yet the noble Verse of Sūra XIX (v. 25) viz.: ' . . . fresh dates, fit for p. 117 gathering; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye . . . ' is related by a story to have been inspired with regard to these two date palms.

Certain *'ulema* of Acre have it that the twists in the stems of these palm trees are a sign of their having prostrated before God Almighty. One is male and the other female. They yield twenty bunches of dates each year. If the Franks could get a single date of them, they would readily pay a high price for them, in order to get blessed thereby. A sick man who sleeps for three consecutive days under them will recover.

Whilst 'Isa was sleeping in the shadow of a palm grove, lying on His back, He hit a stone with the blessed heel of His felicitous foot. The trace of His foot is still visible. People fill those cavities with rosewater and rub their faces and eyes with it. Christians however, would fill it in squat, round, long-necked bottles, and take them as far as Europe.

Being an ancient town Acre has many shrines. But as I was too busy with the journey, and had other occupations, I do not intend to write about all of them, contenting myself with so much.

In exactly two months we collected in the city of Acre sixteen hundred purses of money. Then we left it together with the troops 'going down' eastwards. After having passed for four hours in the land of Canaan over mountains planted with olive groves, we arrived at the village of Beni Wāma, in the *ṣanjaq* of Şafad. It is a prosperous *Tīmāni* village and the seat of a *ze'āmet*. It has one hundred houses, a mosque, a khān, a public bath, and is situated amidst olive groves and mulberry plantations.

Going thence again eastwards, and passing over mountains, through olive groves, we reached the village of Wādi-l-Lēmūn.

(To be continued)

Translated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

Annotated by L. A. MAYER.

THENCE we went to the village of *Nāqūra*, and thence to *Deir Shar[af]*, fo. 89^r and from there to the village of *Beitīla* (= *Beit Iba*): so many prosperous, l. 7 inhabited villages did we pass within seven hours [since we left] the fortress of *Jinīn*.²

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTIFIED ANCIENT TOWN OF NĀBLUS³

This is a Samaritan⁴ *ṣanjāq* in the Province of Damascus.

The annual fixed sum for the post of governor therein has been set aside by the Sultān to be 29,645 *aqshe* a year. The *ṣanjāq* has seven *za'āmet* and forty-four *tīmār* fiefs.

[The revenue of] this *ṣanjāq* is granted to the commander of the caravans of Pilgrims to Mecca in Damascus. The *tīmār* holders are ordered to accom- fo. 89^rpany him with the inhabitants of their districts (*jenbelüler*) to the honoured l. 10 [town of] Mecca. The district commandants of Nāblus and Jerusalem [*mīr-i leva*] may be appointed to be commanders of the caravan of pilgrims [*emīru-l-ḥajj*] and have (under their orders) a convoy of five hundred men ready to travel to Mecca.

The pasha receives a yearly income of seventeen thousand piasters; the noble office of the *qādi* (is endowed with) one hundred and fifty *aqshe* (a year). There are two hundred villages in this district,⁵ and a yearly revenue of six thousand piasters accrues to the judge.

The town is Samaritan. Its fortress is situated on a hill. The Children of Israel built it, because of the victory of Nebuchadnezzar. Then in the

¹ Continued from Vol. VI, p. 97.

² *Jinīn* is no more fortified. Under Mamluke administration it was an important post station. Hartmann, 'Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo' in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXIV, p. 689, quotes relevant texts from the works of el-'Umarī, Khalīl ez-Zāhiri and el-Qalqashandī. Cf. also *QDAP*, VI, p. 86.

³ Nāblus is spelt throughout with a long vowel (thus following the Aramaic spelling of the name (Nāblūs). Cf. R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, fasc. vii, col. 2258. According to William of Tyre (chap. xiv, 27) it was under the Crusaders an unfortified town. It was sacked by the Saracens in 1154 and 1187, and largely destroyed by earthquakes in 1837 and 1927.

⁴ This is in agreement with the *Chronicle of Joshua* and other Samaritan works. Yet the present-day inhabitants of many former Samaritan villages would resent being considered of Samaritan origin.

⁵ Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Halil ez-Zāhiri's zubdat kaṣf al-mamālik* (Kirchhain, 1907), p. 55, quotes the following: 'Die Stadt Nābulus ist eine schöne Stadt. Es ist dort eine Burg, die aber zerstört wurde. Sie hat ein Gebiet, das 300 Ortschaften umfasst. Sie gehört ebenfalls zum Distrikt von Damaskus.'

year¹ . . . the abominable Franks² governed it for seventy years and took hold of the country.

Again in the year¹ . . . Saladin, minister of the 'martyr' Nureddin, came, besieged it, and took possession of it.³ Yet, as he had encountered many difficulties during the siege, he destroyed its fortress.⁴ Its ruins are still visible on Mount Ebal.⁵

fo. 89^r A Janissary colonel and a captain are stationed here. There are also notables
l. 15 and the representative of the *naqību-l-ashrāf* (Registrar of the descendants of the Prophet).⁶ But the mufti resides in Jerusalem.⁷

It is a beautiful town situated in a spacious valley between two mountains, stretching from east to west, and consisting of eighteen quarters⁸ and four thousand and sixty masonry built houses, including a lofty government house and other buildings. There are no houses whatever constructed of timber in this city. It has irrigated gardens. The fortress-like houses are well built and plastered. All of them serve as mosques.⁹ The high people gather, among other places, on Fridays in the large mosque,¹⁰ situated in the Sultan's Bazaar.¹¹ Formerly it was a church. Yet Saladin converted it into a mosque.

fo. 89^r The present prayer niche was the entrance at the time of the infidels, situated
l. 20 on the east side of it. On both sides of the entrance are eight well-proportioned, slender marble columns, supporting its arch—a marvellous piece of masonry. The length of this mosque is three hundred paces from one end to the other,

¹ No year mentioned or space provided for it in the manuscript.

² Usāma b. Munqid̄ in his memoirs (ed. P. K. Hitti), *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York, 1929, Columbia Univ. Press), pp. 164 ff., relates some amusing incidents from the daily life of the Franks in Nāblus.

³ Saladin took the town in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187) after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn. Cf. Shihābu-d-Dīn, *Kitābu-r-raudatāin* (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1286), II, p. 87, where it mentions only the occupation of Nāblus.

⁴ More probably this fortress on Mount Gerizim was destroyed by the emperor Zeno about 474. He built a church there and fortified it. The fortress on Mount Gerizim measures 230 ft. east and west and 180 ft. north and south (*Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 189). The exterior wall was built by Justinian after 529. The site is known as *el-Qal'a*.

⁵ The *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, 186, mentions a large building of stones built up without mortar, on Mount Ebal (*Jebel Islāmiyye*), known also as *el-Qal'a* and measuring 92 ft. square externally, with walls 20 ft. thick.

⁶ Several families of Nāblus, such as Tuffāḥa and Bīṭār, claim descent from the Prophet.

⁷ Twenty years later in 1691 Nābulusī visited the town and mentioned a mufti of the Hanbalite School. See his work *el-ḥadratu-l-unsīyya fi-r-riḥlati-l-qudsīyya* (manuscript in the Khālidīyya Library, Jerusalem).

⁸ The *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 203, enumerates only seven quarters.

⁹ See also *QDAP*, IV, 1935, p. 158.

¹⁰ This mosque is the present-day *Jāmi'u-l-kabīr*. *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 203.

¹¹ 'Abdu-l-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, *op. cit.*, mentions that this large mosque was situated in a quarter of the town known as *Bimāristān* (Hospital).

its width is one hundred paces. The aisles are narrow. If they were wide, the mosque would have had the dimensions of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus. There are altogether fifty-five rose-hued columns in it, with some square pillars here and there, to sustain the arches of the ancient masonry of the mosque. The prayer niche is very spacious and holds twenty persons. The pulpit is of ancient make. Yet the inner court is in no way proportional with the mosque, being exceedingly small, standing as it does in a narrow valley.

Around the mosque are vaulted bazaars and the public road. At the entrance to the courtyard is a square, tower-like well-proportioned minaret.¹ The mosque and its open prayer place is a shrine.

The Jāmi' en-Naṣr (Mosque of the Victory) was formerly a large monas- fo. 89^r
tery.² The garnet-coloured monoliths within are nowhere else met with. l. 25

The Mosque of el-Khaḍr is a square building measuring eighty seven paces each side.³

There are other mosques besides these, as well as seven Qur'ān schools, seven Dervish monasteries (*zāwiya*), seven elementary boys' schools and two public baths. The 'Sultan's Bazaar', with stone-built gates at each end (closed daily at nightfall) measures twelve hundred paces between them and consists of three hundred and seventy shops on each side, all well arranged. Although it has no brocade mart, yet everything can be had there. In the centre of the market are one hundred shops on both sides of a vaulted passage. To the left stands a fortress-like huge caravanserai with one hundred and fifty contiguous hearths. In the very centre rises a mosque with a lead roof.⁴

The buildings of this market as well as all the pious foundations belong to fo. 89^r
Qoja Muṣṭafa Pasha.⁵ They are indeed considerable. With the exception of l. 30
this mosque in the caravanserai there is no other lead-covered building in the city.

This most lovely town is situated between two mountains, which embrace it. It has an excellent climate. Boys and girls abound. Should you ask any

¹ This tower is probably of Crusader construction. *SWP.* II, p. 203, quotes a Samaritan tradition according to which it once belonged to one of their synagogues, as it has a Samaritan inscription. It stands close by the Mosque of el-Khaḍr, itself formerly a Christian chapel, but nowadays known under the name of Jāmi' Ḥizn Ya'qūb.

² It cannot be ascertained what Christian monastery stood in its place. It has now been rebuilt (1937) and little remains of its former plan, as it suffered much from the earthquake in 1927.

³ This was 'originally a chapel, traditionally the site of Jacob's mourning, when the coat of Joseph was brought to him'. *SWP.* II, p. 203.

⁴ Probably the present-day *Khān et-Tujjār*, towards the middle of the main northern street.

⁵ I am unable to state whether this Qoja Muṣṭafa Pasha (not mentioned in Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs*), is the same as Lalé Muṣṭafa Pasha.

one about his person or ancestors he will trace his pedigree back to some prophet.¹ Yet its inhabitants are rather curious people. They are poor. The men wear a brownish overcoat ('*abāye*) or the like and wrap their heads with a white muslin turban. Their woman-folk, too, envelop themselves in a white sheet.

The town is surrounded by mountains with vineyards and orchards embellished by lemon, orange (*turunj*), pomegranate, olive, and fig trees as well as date palms.

All Government Offices and other (large) houses boast a water-mill, flowing fo. 89^r water, ponds, and fountains with pure, limpid water. The market abounds l. 35 with merchandise.

THE SHRINES OF NĀBLUS

Firstly (comes the shrine of) the servant of Allah, Samson.² He was not a prophet, but he called the people to follow the religion of Jesus, as St. George, Jonas, and Samson lived during the period between St. John the Baptist and Jesus. Yet it is stated that Samson was a prophet. His plastered shrine is situated amidst orchards north of the town. He is said to have been buried there and it is visited.

Also to the north of the town, beside a paradise-like orchard, is the shrine of the Children of Isaac and of those of Esau.³ There is a huge cave on the mountain slope, wherein twelve noble corpses are lying at rest without ever fo. 89^r having been buried, as there is no dust (covering them). Some are in the l. 40 posture of sitting, others in that of praying, and others again are prostrating themselves—all in a state of tranquillity. According to the Chronicles they are prophets, who received divine revelations and recorded them. The keepers of the mausoleum do not suffer any one to approach them, as their shrouds

¹ A number of Moslem families in Nāblus are known to have been converted to Islam as recently as two generations ago, the foremost of whom are the Darwaza.

² Samson, *Abu-l-'Azāyim*, *Abu-l-'Azm* (the man of the miraculous feats), may have been connected with the sanctuary of the 'Men of the Pillar' (*Rijāl el-'Amūd*) for the deeds he performed in Gaza (Judges xvi. 3). He is venerated in Šar'a, where his shrine occupies the crest of the hills above 'Arṭūf.

The only shrine east of the town with this one is that of *Rijāl el-'Amūd* (perhaps originally in the singular: *rijjāl*), signifying a 'pillar-saint'. Nābulus's account (1690) runs as follows: 'through the cemetery of that region we entered a huge burial ground, containing several tombs. . . . There is a cave . . . with a column, from which the site derived its name. . . .'

³ The present-day *Ĵāmi' Aulād Ya'qūb el-'Ashara*(?); NābulusI visited it inside the city. 'We entered a beautiful mosque, containing a high cenotaph. Underneath is a cave. It is believed that the Children of Jacob lie buried there. . . .'

It is situated in the north-eastern corner of the town and was already in Christian times believed to be the site mentioned in Acts vii. 16 ('Journey of Sta Paula', *Patrol. Latin. XXII*, c. 889).

are threadbare and mouldering (away). Some women with uncovered hands were also forbidden to enter into their presence. Prayers are therefore offered at the entrance to the cave. The humble writer, acquiescing in this procedure, prayed outside, too, asking for their intercession.

Beyond the cave, in a fairy-like orchard, rises on a rock a high dome over the shrine of Esau, son of Isaac (may peace be on both of them!). It is quite certain that Esau received divine revelations. His age was . . .¹ The Byzantines (*rūm*) are from his issue. It is no matter of marvel that the Jews visit this shrine, because it is mentioned in their chronicles. They visit also that one of the children of Isaac.

Near by is the shrine (*maqām*) of Yūsha'.²

fo. 89^r

To the east of the town is the Shrine of the Gate of Paradise³ (*Jennet*^{l. 45} *gapusu*). Mu'āwiya, coming in his life-time with several thousands (of men) to this town, three thousand of the Companions of the Prophet (amongst them) died here as martyrs, by Allah's decree. The bodies of them rest within this cave. Some of them are soft and fresh, of others only the skin and the bones are left, while the bodies of still others are mere skeletons. Once a boy, running away from his father, entered this cave and asked unwittingly for succour. He was struck with blindness and left it. The gate to this cave is ever since closed.

Then comes the Well of Jacob,⁴ where he used to stay before his blindness. fo. 89^v
By his own holy hands he had dug up this well with life-giving water. The l. 1
taste of it still resembles that of the (water of the) Well Zamzam (in Mecca). All inhabitants, the governor, pious people, and whosoever is afflicted by different diseases drink from it (for a period of) forty or fifty days and (the latter) recover by Allah's decree.

¹ No year mentioned or space provided for it in manuscript.

² Evliya confuses Hoshea (Yūsha') with Joshua (Yashū', Ishwa'). The former has a shrine in es-Salt (en-Nebi Ōsha'). The traditional site of the tombs of Joshua (Nebi Nūn) and Caleb (Nebi Kifl) is shown at Kafr Hāris, a tradition also upheld by the Samaritans. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 285.

³ The nearest 'shrine' at present is the traditional Tomb of Joseph, outside Balāṭa. But there is no source in its immediate neighbourhood.

⁴ See *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, pp. 172-8. It is known to all under this name, though Christians of Nāblus may still call it *Bir es-Sāmiriyye*, according to St. John iv. It is not a spring. In 1922 I noticed that the water was scarce. It is the property of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. A church was started there before the War but had to be left unfinished owing to the hostile attitude of the people of Nāblus.

The *Quarterly Statement* for 1893, 1894, 1900, 1903, and 1908 contains articles and plans about the well and the church. Cf. also *Revue biblique*, 1893, pp. 242-3 (plan).

R. P. Donatus Baldi, O.F.M., *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1935, has collected a good number of passages relating to the 'Well of Jacob' from pilgrims' texts (pp. 273-86).

Near this place is the shrine of the Prison of 'Īsa¹ (peace be on him). The Jews imprisoned him here for forty days and did not give him water to drink. 'Īsa, looking at the rock east of that cave, made a hole in the rock with his holy finger, and life-giving water gushed forth. When he left the door of the cell of his prison, the warders fled and reported the miracle to the governor, who, however, passed in silence over it.

fo. 89^v The water is still pure and limpid. Those afflicted with heart diseases use it
l. 5 with success. The site of the Prison of 'Īsa is still a large monastery with seventy to eighty monks. Pilgrims from the countries of the infidels flock thither in (large) numbers. If some unbeliever is afflicted with a mental disease he will be relieved from his suffering by God's permission, if he is kept imprisoned for several days in the Prison of 'Īsa.

(The shrine of) the Sheikh Faqīr is situated amidst orchards. To the right of it, also surrounded by orchards, is that of Sufyān eṭ-Ṭauri of the noble Companions of the Prophet.²

The shrine of Sheikh 'Imādu-d-Dīn rises on the crest of a high mountain east of the town.

Outside these orchards is the shrine of Sheikh Mujāhid with that of Sheikh Mujīru-d-Dīn beside it.

The shrine of Sirri es-Saqāṭī³ rises on a high mountain to the west of the town. He was the 'spiritual pole' (*qutb el-aqṭāb*) of his time—may Allah sanctify his soul. It is a huge shrine. Yet he is not buried there but in the fortress of
fo. 89^v 'Ash(shā)ry beside the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab,⁴ near the lovely, prosperous Baghdād.

l. 10 But he lived in Nāblus and this shrine was built for him. It is a large monastery (*tekye*). The chief sheikh of the Dervishes used to celebrate the *zīkr* every Thursday evening, with tambourines and drums, until the following morning.

The shrine of Sheikh Ghānem Muḥdisī (Muḥadditī, Muqaddisī?) is situated on the high mountain east of the town.⁵

On the top of the high mountain to the right of the town is the shrine of Sheikh Junaid eṭ-Ṭayyār (i.e. the 'Flyer').⁶ He was called so, because he used to fly repeatedly in a miraculous way whilst he was performing the *zīkr*.

¹ This may be identified with the ruins called Deir el-Bunduq 'on the south side of a narrow lane immediately west of Nāblus . . . near 'Ain el Kusab'. *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 179.

² He was not of the 'Companions' but of the 'followers' (*eṭ-tābi 'in*) and lived in the second century A.H. He was a famous theologian, traditionalist, and ascetic, who refused to accept Government employment (office as *qādi*) and was persecuted for it.

³ He was the founder of the Dervish order of the Saqāṭī, and died in Baghdād in A.H. 295 (A.D. 907). Cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Vol. IV, p. 622.

⁴ 'Ash-shār is a suburb of Baṣra.

⁵ His shrine is on Mount Garizim, near the ruins of the octagonal church. *SWP*, II, p. 189.

⁶ A Baghdād mystic of Persian origin, who died in A.D. 910.

In the cemetery of the town, near a grassy open-air praying place is (the shrine of) our Lord the Qāḍi Shujā'u-d-Dīn, famous for his vast learning in *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *ferā'id* (Canon Law relating to the division of inheritances), and the *sherī'a*. Molla Shujā'u-d-Dīn was a courageous man, of an exemplary character, eloquent and wise. At his death he was the *qāḍi* of the town. He is known as the Turkish (*rūm*) molla and (his shrine) is visited.

How many thousands of pious men of God are in this city! Yet the humble fo. 89^v writer has visited only (the shrines of) those which he has recorded. May l. 15 Allah's mercy be on him! May he be allowed to meet the many thousands of pious men, whose prayers are heard, and may he participate in the (blessings derived from) their prayers!

The Commander of the Caravan of pilgrims (*emīru-l-ḥajj*), Kharmūsh¹ Pasha, having detailed ten musketeers to accompany me, I left the town, crossing the open country to the south of it, and passing (through) the following villages.

First comes the village of 'Askar(?),² then *Balāta*, 'Awerta,³ *Huwwāra*, *Beni-Tā*, *Beita*.⁴ Here the noble House of Ezra⁵ still stands and is being used as a mosque. From it the village derived its name (!). Certain people afflicted

¹ Khar-mūsh means 'rat'. It is Persian (cf. the Latin *mus*). ² Misspelt *Khry*, probably 'Askar.

³ 'Awerta was visited also by Nābulusi, who mentions a cave under the mosque, reputed to be the burial place of forty prophets. He visited other shrines in the villages. 'The villagers know nothing of their names or history, yet they consider these "saints" . . . as their forefathers.' These are known nowadays as el-'Ezeirāt, and are the traditional tombs of Phinehas, son of Aaron, Abishua and Ithamar. See also *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 196. 'Awerta is the Aramaic diminutive form of (Kafr) 'Aweira, a former name of this village. Goldziher, 'Mohammedanische Traditionen über den Grabesort des Josua', in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. II (1879), p. 15, quotes s.v. 'Awarta, Yāqūt (III, 745) who mentions the tombs of Joshua, Ezra (Eleazar?) and the Seventy Elders (Prophets).

The account of the Casale Pilgrim (written in 1597-8) and edited by Cecil Roth, London, 1929, mentions the following under 'Awerta (p. 53): 'Avarata. There is the House of Study of Phineas and Eleazar. . . Beneath the village, among the olives, lies Itamar: and among the threshing-floor is a dome, they say, (where) lie the Seventy Elders'.

Rabbi Jacob, Messenger of Rabbi Jehiel of Paris (1238-44), (Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, p. 117) says of *Avarata*, that 'there is the grave of Ithamar the Priest' . . . and 'another grave there, said to be the grave of Phineas, the son of Eleazar the Priest, and the Moslems have a place of prayer near to the grave. There is also in that village a cave in which the Seventy Elders are buried, and there the Ishmaelites have a house of prayer. And on the second hill to the right of the Jerusalem Road is the grave of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the High Priest, and it is a very glorious building.'

Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte (13th-17th cent.) translated by E. Carmoly, has a similar account (pp. 386, 412 (n. 211), and 445). Mujīru-d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 423, mentions the tomb of Eleazar at 'Awerta.

⁴ Perhaps *Beita-l-Fōqa* and *et-Tahta* respectively.

⁵ el-'Uzair is the Arabic form of Ezra (Sura ix, 30). In this particular instance Eleazar, son of Aaron, is meant. His traditional tomb is shown at 'Awerta, while that of Ezra, 'the Scribe', is venerated in el-'Uzair, in Southern 'Irāq.

with certain diseases would recover after spending there a few days in prayer and contemplation. It is a well-kept mosque.

Then follow the villages of *'Aqraba*, *Yānūn* (?), *Sāwi*(*ye*); in fact, all of them fo. 89^v are situated in these valleys. In the hill-country there are (another) forty l. 20 flourishing, inhabited villages, with mosques, and surrounded by olive groves, fig and mulberry-tree plantations. Yet the villages mentioned are only those which we passed on our way. All of them belong to the district of Nāblus. We passed them within six hours, and reached the ascent of el-Khān (*'Aqabet el-Lubban*).¹ There is a spacious caravanserai at the foot of a huge, lofty mountain, with no inhabited places around. Climbing it, we experienced a thousand difficulties before we reached the top. It is an exceedingly difficult and stony pass.

Leaving it behind we entered the village of *Sinjil*,² situated within the boundaries of the district of Jerusalem. It consists of two hundred houses. Its inhabitants are Moslems, yet rebellious.

Thence we reached the village of *Bōrēth*³ (el-Bīre), which belongs to the pious foundations dedicated to [the Mosque of] Abraham [at Hebron].

Leaving the public road in an opposite direction, and going southwards, we arrived at the village of *Shimwēl*,⁴ perched on the top of a high mountain. It fo. 89^v is a flourishing townlet consisting of two hundred houses, amidst orchards l. 25 and vineyards, and has a mosque. The buildings show traces of a fortified place. The inhabitants are very prosperous. Here is

THE SHRINE OF SHIMWĒL (SAMUEL), SON OF ISHMUEL⁵

peace be on both of them. They both are descendants of Moses and were of those prophets who received inspirations. Shimwēl is buried in a high shrine connected with the mosque. It is a place for pilgrimage for all and sundry.

¹ Misspelt *'Aqb el-Hallān*, which gives no meaning. Nābulusī saw a pool there.

² This village was known to the Crusaders as Saint Gilles. Nābulusī stayed on his home journey one night in Sinjil, 'We pitched our tents in the verdant meadow. It was a glorious night, yet dangerous from the fear of robbers.'

³ This is the Aramaic form of the name, meaning 'wells', and not springs. Twenty years later, when Nābulusī passed through that village, he mentioned its present-day name (twice).

⁴ This sanctuary is still known as *Nebī Shimwēl*, while the Arabic form, *Nebī Samwīl*, is more recent and due, probably, to Christian influence. Mujirū-d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 423-4, also mentions the Prophet Shimwīl and states that his village is called Rama by the Jews.

The *waqfs* of the village are administered by the senior member of the well-known 'Alamī family of Jerusalem.

⁵ The form of this name in firmāns differs between *Ishmū'in* (A.H. 1033, A.D. 1624), *Ishmuwēl* (A.H. 1192, A.D. 1778), and the present form *Shimwēl*. The form *Samwīl* appears already in the 'Plan of the Town and environs of Jerusalem, constructed from the English Ordnance Survey and measurements of Dr. T. Tobler' by C. W. M. Van de Velde, 1858.

But it is uncertain whether Ishmu'el too is buried under the high dome. I passed the night as guest of the shrine and was generously entertained.

We left it and reached the high road after half an hour and, going in a southerly direction, arrived at the village of *'Ain ez-Zāher Baybars*.¹ It has two hundred houses and is surrounded by vineyards and orchards. Its main yields are olives. It is a Moslem village. Its clear spring gushes from four places and has limpid water.

We left it and marched on a cleanly kept high road, which leads through the orchards of Jerusalem to the Shrine of *Sheikh Jarrāh*,² situated by the road-side. He was a noble Companion of the Prophet. Yet when the strata- gem of the blessed Prophet was carried out at Uḥud, and people died on the battle-field as martyrs, he girded himself to serve the Prophet, as the surgeons had become tired. His shrine is large. I prayed there the *Fātiḥa* and assigned it to the benefit of his noble soul. fo. 89^v
l. 30

Thus we marched for six hours in a southerly direction from the caravan-serai at the Ascent (i.e. *Khān el-Lubban*) [till here,] the way leading through orchards and vineyards.³

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT FORTRESS AND FORMER
QIBLA BEITU-L-MAQDIS, i.e. JERUSALEM

It is called in Greek (!) the Province of *Aelia*, in Syriac *Maqdisha*, in Hebrew *Has* (!)⁴ and in Arabic *Beitu-l-Maqdis* or *Quds*. It contains the shrines of one hundred and twenty-four thousand Prophets. Before and after the Deluge it was the *qibla* of mankind.

When the Prophet, in response to a divine order, fled from Mecca to Medina, he was fifty-one years and nine months old. He lived for ten years in Medina. In the second year (of his stay there) the verse 'Turn thy face towards the Noble Sanctuary' (Sura ii, v. 144) was transmitted by divine message to him through the trustworthy Gabriel, from God. Thus the *qibla* fo. 89^v
l. 35

¹ This is probably the spring near the church in (*Qaryet*) *el-'Inab* (= *Abu Ghāsh*), as the hill above is known as *Deir el-Azhar* (identified by L. H. Vincent, O.P., as Eleazar, vide *Revue biblique*, 1899, p. 469). Evliya may well have confused *el-Azhar* with the name of the Mamluke sultan *ez-Zāher Baybars* (A.D. 1223-77).

² Mujīru-d-Dīn el-Ḥanbali states in his *Chronicle* (Būlāq, A.D. 1866-7), p. 399, that the shrine of Sheikh Jarrāh was situated north of Jerusalem, and that pious foundations and offices were attached to it, and that it was bequeathed by an emir of Saladin, a certain Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Ḥusein b. Sharafi-d-Dīn 'Isa-l-Jarrāhī, who died in Ṣafar A.H. 958 (began 22 Nov. 1199), and was buried there.

³ Evliya seems to have forgotten that he spent a night in the village of *Nebi Shimw'el* (*Nebi Ṣamw'el*). The distance from there to Jerusalem via (*Qaryet*) *el-'Inab* is about six hours on horseback, with a caravan, averaging four miles an hour.

⁴ حاس. Possibly misspelt for *ha-'Ir* 'the city' *par excellence*.

was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. It was ordered that fast should be kept in Mecca. Yet the former *qibla* was Jerusalem, and it served as such for the Christians. In short, it was the desire of every one of its possessors, especially the Christians, as Christ left his mother's womb here, in Jerusalem. Besides, all wars have been waged for this city. Yet, other wars were also waged by the Christians for (the possession of) Mecca. [The story of] the people of the Elephant,¹ Abraha, and the people of the Tubba'² of Yemen are well known.

The fortress of Jerusalem was originally built during the reign of David, at the hands of Saul (*Tālūt*), because Goliath (*Ĵālūt*) attacked Jerusalem repeatedly on account of its most sacred sites. After having waged several campaigns against it, he succeeded in taking it. Then King Saul and David fought a very great battle against Goliath in Merj Dābiq, near Aleppo, where David with well-directed pebble-stones killed Goliath according to the Verse (Sura ii, 252) 'And David slew Goliath. And God gave him the Kingdom. . .'

David became thereupon independent king and returned safely with much booty to Jerusalem, and embellished the city with the booty from Goliath's kingdom. In spite of his being a prophet and a king he occupied himself with smithery and produced mail coats. David is therefore the patron of the smiths.

Then, in the year³ . . . Nebuchadnezzar wished to revenge the blood of St. John the Baptist. He left the town of Nisibin in Kurdistan (!) and arrived at Jerusalem. He destroyed all its buildings and caused its people to suffer intensely, killing many thousands of the Israelites. He did not stop killing them until he had shed blood as worthy as that of St. John.

Daniel was taken prisoner from Safad and was brought to Mosul.

Jerusalem flourished again. During the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, in the year⁴ . . . of the Hijra, it was besieged by 'Umar in person with sixty thousand warriors. It surrendered against safe conduct. Yet the inhabitants stipulated that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is their (main) place of worship, should be left to them. Including this stipulation in a covenant,⁵ they thus surrendered Jerusalem. 'Umar had a mosque built over

¹ These were the invading Abyssinians, mentioned in Sura cv. The bibliography of this incident is collected in Noeldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 93.

² *Tubba'* (pl. *tabābi'a*) was the pre-Islamic title of the kings of Arabia Felix.

³ No year mentioned or space provided for its insertion.

⁴ No year is mentioned. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 932 ff. fixes the year as A.H. 17 (A.D. 638), while Ṭabarī in his *Annals* (V, p. 2360) states that Jerusalem surrendered in the year A.H. 14 (began 25 February A.D. 635).

⁵ See the translation of this covenant below, p. 147, note 5. No stipulation is contained in that covenant.

against the Anastasis.¹ He left ten thousand warriors in the citadel and re- fo. 90r
turned to Mecca, sending 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ to conquer Egypt. l. 1

Then again, the infidels took Jerusalem in the year . . .² Saladin, whilst minister of the martyr Nūr ed-Dīn, in Damascus, advanced towards Jerusalem with one hundred thousand soldiers and conquered it in a desperate fight.³ He had the citadel dismantled, so that the infidels might not fortify it again, should they reconquer it.

When Jerusalem was in the possession of the Circassian Mamlukes all the fo. 90r
'ulema and pious men went out to meet Selim Shāh in A.H. 922 (=A.D. l. 5
1516). They handed him the keys to the Mosque el-Aqṣa and the Dome of the Rock of Allah.⁴ Selīm prostrated himself and exclaimed: 'Thanks be to Allah! I am now the possessor of the (Sanctuary of the) first *qibla*' (direction of prayer). He then made presents to all the notable people, exempted them from onerous taxes and confirmed them (sc. in their posts = *musellem itti*).

He then passed the Documents of 'Umar,⁵ which were in the possession of

¹ Eutychius mentions only that 'Umar prayed on the step of the eastern entrance to the Anastasis. *Annales*, II, p. 17.

The mosque referred to is that restored by Saladin's son, el-Malik el-Afdal 'Alī in A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193), mentioned by Mujfrū-d-Dīn, p. 397, among his *awqāf*. Van Berchem, *Jérusalem, Ville*, I, p. 95-6, published its foundation inscription.

² No year mentioned, or space provided for it.

³ This took place in 1187.

⁴ A firmān granted in 1517 by Selim I, 'in the Desert of the Noble Sanctuary', states after the preamble, that 'by the help of Allah . . . I came to the House of Allah in Jerusalem on the 25th Šafar (A.H. 923 = 20 March 1517). . . . In accordance with the august Covenant granted them (i.e. the Christian monks) by his Lordship the Caliph 'Umar, . . . and according to the noble orders (given them) since the days of Saladin . . . they are now confirmed in their rights and possessions. . . .' (MSS. in possession of Greek and Armenian Patriarchates).

⁵ Ṭabarī, *تاريخ الرسل والملو*, *Annales*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Vol. V (ed. by E. Prym), pp. 2405-6 gives the full text of the Covenant of 'Umar, translation of which follows. M. de Goeje has given another translation in his *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leiden, 1900, pp. 152-3.

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate.

'This is the security (*amān*) accorded by the servant of Allah, Umar, to the inhabitants of Aelia.

'He guarantees them (the security of) their persons, possessions, churches, crosses, their healthy and sick persons and of all their community (*millat*).

'Their churches will not be inhabited, nor destroyed, nor will anything be taken therefrom or from the ground on which they stand, nor of their cross (*ṣalīb*), nor of anything of their possessions.

'They will not suffer for their religion, nor will any one of them be molested and injured.

'No Jews whatever will live together with them in Aelia.

'The inhabitants of Aelia shall pay poll-tax (*jizya*) like those of other towns (sc. occupied by Arab forces).

'They have to turn out the Byzantines (*er-rūm*) and brigands (*luṣūṣ*) from their city. Those of them who leave (the town) will be granted safe-conduct for their persons and their property till they arrive at their place of security.

'But those of them who remain, will be safe, too. Yet they are to pay the same poll-tax as the inhabitants of Aelia.

the Greek and Frankish Monks (!),¹ over his face and eyes and gave them a Royal Writ (*haṭṭ-i shérif*), confirming to the monks the contents of the documents, to wit, that they were exempted from paying taxes² and that the Anastasis was their (main) praying-place, as heretofore.

He installed Pasha³ as Governor. Mevlāna Akhfesh-Zadé, the chief of the *Mevlevi* (= Whirling or Dancing) Dervishes, was confirmed in his office and granted 500 *aqṭchés* as 'alms' (*ṣadaqat*).⁴

The 'province' (*eyālet*) (of Palestine) was 'delivered' (from the Mamlukes). It is still considered as a kind of 'barley-fief' ministry (*arpalyq*).⁵

'Those inhabitants of Aelia desiring to accompany the Byzantines—leaving behind them their churches and crosses (*ṣulb*)*—will enjoy safety for themselves, their churches and crosses, until they reach their place of security.

'Those of the peasants who have been in the city before the murder of N.N. (*fulān*)** and desire (now) to remain there, may stay (in town), if they pay the same poll-tax as the inhabitants of Aelia. Those who wish, may leave with the Byzantines, or, if they desire, return home. Nothing will be taken from them before the harvesting of the crops.

'Allah's Covenant will be observed regarding the contents of this letter.

'The protection of the Apostle of Allah, his Caliphs and the Faithful (is assured to them), if they pay the poll-tax imposed on them. Witnessed by Khālid b. el-Walid (*ob.* A.D. 642 ?), 'Amr b. el-'Āṣ (*ob.* A.D. 663), 'Abdurrahmān b. 'Auf (*ob.* A.D. 652) and Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān (*ob.* April 680), who was present as secretary, in the year A.H. 15 (A.D. 636).'

The version given by Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in his *Annales* (ed. by Cheikho, Beirut, 1909), Pt. II, p. 17, is much shorter and runs as follows:

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate. From 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to the inhabitants of Aelia. They are safe for their lives, their children, properties and their churches, which will neither be destroyed nor inhabited.'

¹ The author does not realize that communities of Latin monks did not exist in Palestine at the time of 'Umar.

² al-Wāsiṭī, *fada'il beiti-l-maqdis* (A.H. 482, A.D. 1089, MS. in the Jazzār Mosque Library, Acre) states that the taxes mentioned in 'Umar's covenant were five, four, and three denarii *pro capita* according to the status of the Christians. Aged men and children were exempted. The contemporary firmān states this as follows: ' . . . They will be entirely exempted and free from paying custom duties, tolls, and other oppressive taxes levied at the gate of Jerusalem, the escort fees for the Arabs and the harbour and inspection fees.' This firmān was granted separately to Armenians and Greeks in Jerusalem, in A.H. 923 (= A.D. 1517).

³ A blank is left in the manuscript for the name of the Pasha. Firmāns issued in that year (A.H. 923, A.D. 1517) to communities in Jerusalem were addressed to them through the Governor, who is not mentioned by name.

⁴ This 'present' has nothing to do with the usual *qudūmiyyet*, the so-called 'arrival' present given to high officials upon taking up their new appointments. The text mentions it expressly as 'alms'.

⁵ The 'barley' pension was originally a fief bestowed by the Sultan to high dignitaries, governors-general, &c., ostensibly to furnish barley for their stables. This fief was situated usually outside the province administered by them. Later a stipend was paid by government instead; the recipients were also judges of the first class.

* *Ṣulb* may tentatively be taken to stand also for 'immovable property', though no classical nor Islamic reference could be quoted to illustrate this. ** This refers to a high personage purposely left unnamed.

The revenues for the Sultan are 357,485 *aqtchés*. There are nine *za 'āmet* fo. 90^r and 106 *tīmār* fiefs. The pasha of Jerusalem has five hundred soldiers at his^{l. 10} command and is the commandant of the pilgrims' caravan of Damascus. He is the leader of the Mecca pilgrims to (!) Damascus and back. He receives an annuity of 40,000 piasters.

It is a prosperous province. Yet its fief-holders are not ordered to serve in the field, but only to accompany with their banners the pilgrims arriving (and to conduct them) to the place of their pilgrimage. Altogether they number six hundred men.

The judge (or civil governor)¹ of Jerusalem receives as much as the pasha, because his district counts altogether sixteen hundred villages—to all of which judge-substitutes are appointed, as his is a noble dignity of jurisdiction (*mevleviyyet*). And when it sometimes appears that patriarchs, priests and deacons (lit. cross[-bearers]), monks, and married priests leave some money, the molla² and the pasha receive from that money between forty and fifty thousand piasters. This is especially the case at the infamous feast of Easter, fo. 90^r when the molla and the pasha go to the door of the Anastasis, which would^{l. 15} not be opened (sc. on that day) before their arrival there. The priest would take from each of the five to ten thousand Christians ten to fifteen piasters and give the molla and the pasha 20(000?), which is a considerable sum.³

When the country was delivered (from the Mamlukes) by Selīm the *pashalik* (Province) (of Palestine) consisted of the following Districts: 1. Gaza, 2. Jebel

One instance may suffice to illustrate this practice. Von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. VI, p. 161, relates of Sultan Muṣṭafa IV, 'Der Günstling Mustafa erhielt die Sandschake von Tire und Magnesia als "Gerstengeld"' (12 July 1665).

¹ The highest posts of judges under the early Turkish Administration were those of Constantinople (*Istanbül mollasi*, *Istanbül qādisi* or *Istanbül efendisi*), followed by the supreme judges of the 'four towns' (*bilād-i arba' a mollasi*), i.e. those of Adrianople, Brussa, Damascus, and Cairo.

The judges were appointed by Royal Rescript (*berāt*) upon the recommendation of the *sheikhu-l-Islām*, the highest judicial authority. Cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Vol. IV, Pt. ii, pp. 495-583.

Imperial Rescripts (*firḡāns* as well as *berawāt*) dealing with administrative problems were generally addressed to the governor, usually a pasha, then to the *qādi*, then to the 'ulemā' as a body, and finally to the nobles and notables, all mentioned in this order on the same document. The section addressing a *qādi* runs thus: '. . . and the most authoritative of Moslem Judges, the best of the Governors believing in one god, the mine of munificence and sure belief, the uplifter of the banners of Sharī'a Law and (Moslem) religion, the inheritor of the (esoteric) knowledge of Prophets and Apostles, who is especially adopted by the abundant grace of the succour-giving King—our Lord, the Qādi of Jerusalem—may his excellent qualities increase. . . .' This preamble is quoted in extenso in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, 1933, p. 108.

² *Molla*, *Monla* (Turkish corruption of the Arabic *maula*, Lord, Master) is the title of the *qādi*.

³ The original shows the word 'twenty'; the contemporary practice, however, shows that 20,000 is meant.

'Ajlūn, 3. Lejjūn, 4. Nāblus, 5. Jerusalem.¹ These districts are administered by the pasha. Besides there are five districts under the rule of the desert chieftains (*tshol beyleriy*) which they administer like their own possessions, yet at the same time they owe fealty to the Sultan.

There are in this province some villages set aside as pious foundations,² yet the greater part of the villages belong to the *za'āmet* and *tīmār* fief holders, the chiefs of the mounted feudal yeomanry. There is also a colonel of the troops (*sanjaghi alāy beyisi*) as well as a Janissary colonel.

The fief holders convey the Moslem pilgrims to Hebron and to the birth-fo. 90^r place of Jesus in Bethlehem and to the Nebī Mūsa,³ as the roads are insecure l. 20 from the Arab rebels.

There is a colonel of the mounted troops (in Jerusalem) as well as the headquarters of the officer commanding the Janissaries and the officer commanding the Damascus Janissaries; the office of the four sheikhs of the four orthodox 'schools', a *naqību-l-ashraf*;⁴ the nobles and notables, '*ulemā*' and pious men being excessively numerous. There is also a commandant of the fortress (*duzdār*)⁵ with a garrison of two hundred men.

The molla sends troops from the garrison to difficult parts of the country to be at the disposal of the judges stationed at Jerusalem, Hebron, Nāblus, Ramleh, Kerak, Lejjūn, Jenīn. These districts have all been joined and form his *mevleviyyet* (office and jurisdiction). Districts are sometimes annexed (to fo. 90^r that of Jerusalem) according to the ability of the molla. But sometimes a l. 25 *qādi* (judge) is appointed for some years only for Jerusalem. In short, forty thousand piastres accrue annually to the legal administration of Jerusalem.

There are twenty officers (*āgha*) under the molla of Jerusalem, appointed by Imperial Rescript.⁶ The first is the *muḥzir bashi*,⁶ appointed by the Sultan on a state occasion. He is the night guardian of the gates and carries this duty with imperial troops (*ru'ūsi humāyūn*). The second *āgha* is the police inspector appointed especially for Jerusalem (to that office) which is a coveted

¹ M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, Vol. VII, p. 304, mentions these five districts among the nine forming Syria, Jerusalem being then governed by a pasha, Gaza by a civil governor, and the other districts by *mutesellims*.

² See, e.g., Evliya's statement about el-Bīre (Bērōth) in this connexion, p. 144.

³ For inscriptions about the foundation of the shrine of Nebī Mūsa see *QDAP*, Vol. II, 1932, pp. 27 ff. 'Two Inscriptions of Baybars' by L. A. Mayer.

⁴ This office is hereditary, and as a rule is filled by members of the Ḥasanī or Ḥuseinī families throughout the Moslem world. In Jerusalem the holder of this post belongs to the Naqīb family, a branch of the Ḥuseinīs. In Baghdād the *naqību-l-ashraf* is a member of the Senate, and wields great influence.

⁵ The Duzdār family of Jerusalem traces its descent from a *duzdār* of the 17th century.

⁶ Such Imperial Rescripts of appointment (*berā'et*, *barā'a*) were issued on two occasions, as a rule; viz. on the accession to the throne of a new Sultan, or on a high government post becoming vacant.

high post. The third *āgha* is the chief architect; the fourth is the chief engineer, the fifth the chief steward, the sixth the chief cashier, who personally pays to the 'ulemā' the yearly gifts (*ṣirra*)¹ of the Sultan. The seventh *āgha* is the treasurer, the eighth the police officer, the ninth the market inspector, the tenth the mayor, and the eleventh the chief of the mart of brocade. In fine, the chiefs of all classes of merchants are daily present at the Sherī'a Court for duty.

There are seven 'resplendent' *awqāf* in Jerusalem, the *mutevelliler*² of which fo. 90^r attend the Court, each coming there with a present for the molla. It is a large l. 30 legal administration and Judge's Court.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS OF JERUSALEM

All chronicles call this country the Land of Palestine. Allah has praised it in the noble Qur'ān in forty-two passages, implicitly and clearly.

When in former generations all kings were anxious to get hold of Jerusalem, it was besieged one hundred times and its citadel was destroyed. It was a huge fortress, constructed of ashlars, when it was built by the order of Sultan Selīm by Muṣṭafa Lālē Pasha³ with (the revenues? of) twelve *sanjaqs*, in an indescribable manner. The citadel, destroyed in olden times, rises to something between forty and fifty Mecca yards⁴ from the foundations. It was built outside (the walls), while the mosques of el-Aqṣa and of the Rock are within them. It is a square, strong (*vāry*) citadel of huge construction, each fo. 90^r ashlar having the size of a lion or the hind-parts of an elephant. l. 35

The circumference of the 'body' of the citadel may be described as follows:

First comes the Dung Gate (Gate of the Maugrebins), opening to the south; it is a small gate. It has been given this name because the Maugrebins have taken it in the war. Its date has been thus expressed:

امر بانشاء هذا الباب في ايام (ال)سلطان الاعظم السلطان سليمان خان ابن سليم خان خلد
الله ملكه (١) تاريخ محرم الحرام في سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة⁵

'Order has been issued to construct this Gate during the reign of the great Sultan, the Sultan Suleimān Khān, son of Selīm Khān, may Allah perpetuate

¹ See above, p. 147. The distribution of similar presents to members of 'ulemā' families continued even under Ibrāhīm Pasha.

² This post is a post of confidence, either given or approved by the *qāḍī*, under a special writ. The *mutevelli* is in charge of the immovable property of a *waqf*, under a *kitābu-t-tauliya*.

³ It is doubtful whether Muṣṭafa Lālē Pasha (died in A.D. 1580) who was Governor-General of Syria (Damascus) for eight years, reconstructed the walls of Jerusalem. Hanauer says the architect who built the walls was later on beheaded, because he did not include the suburb of en-Nebi Dā'ūd in the walls. *Folklore of the Holy Land*, London, 1907, p. 96.

⁴ See note 2, p. 155.

⁵ See Van Berchem, *GIA, Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 443.

his reign—in the holy month of Muḥarram of the year 947 (=A.D. May 1540).¹ This inscription has been recorded on all gates and towers of the citadel, and on the corner ‘bends’ in very clear writing.

fo. 90^r Going along the city wall (which has here no moat) and leaving this Gate
l. 40 of the Maugrebins in a western direction there are to the water tower five hundred large paces. From thence, again upwards to the westernmost point there are one thousand paces until one reaches the Gate of David.

This gate, too, looks towards the south. It is new and twelve ells high. From here again to the corner of the citadel there is a distance of two hundred and fifty paces in a western direction. This site is one corner of the fortress. One goes from here in a northern direction. Following the edge of the moat to the north one reaches, after six hundred ‘stretched’ paces, the Jaffa Gate (*Bāb Khalīl er-Raḥmān* = The Gate of the Friend of the Compassionate, i.e. Abraham). This gate opens to the west and is ten ells high. It has a high double iron gate. It, too, has the chronological inscription written above the upper lintel.² Passing from this *Bāb el-Khalīl* along the moatless skirt of the citadel in a western direction, one reaches the ‘leaning tower’³ after a distance
fo. 90^r of four hundred paces. This tower is the other corner of the fortress. From
l. 45 this place, too, one goes in a northerly direction (!).

Going east of this ‘leaning tower’ in the moat, one beholds gardens and orchards, till one comes to the foot of the ascent to the Gate of the Iron Wurmace (*Bozdoghān Qapu*),⁴ at a distance of nine hundred paces off. It looks towards the north and consists of two strong iron gates. Since the time when a Kurdish (or Georgian?)⁵ wrestler was executed at this gate it is called *Bozdoghān*. Outside this gate one follows the moat in an eastern direction and comes after one hundred paces to the rock-cut Cave of the Ghosts, who were here imprisoned by the Prophet Solomon.⁶ It is a mysterious cave,

¹ This does not agree with the inscription given by Max van Berchem in his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, II^e Partie, *Syrie du Sud, Jérusalem, Ville*, 1923, p. 442, where it is quoted as *امر بانشاء هذا السور المبارك مولانا سلطان سليمان بن سليم خان بتاريخ في سنة سبع واربعين وتسعمائة*

² All these inscriptions have been published by van Berchem in his work quoted above.

³ There is no trace at present of this Turkish name, nor is there any indication that this ‘fortress of Goliath (*Qal’at Jalūd*)’ is a ‘leaning tower’. It was known to the Crusaders as Tancred’s Tower, and it is possible that this name was so corrupted that Evliya understood it to be the equivalent of the Turkish *egri*.

⁴ The Damascus Gate is called in Arabic either *Bāb el-‘Amūd*, the Gate of the Column, or *Bāb en-Naṣr* (Gate of Victory), alluding to the triumphal entry of Saladin into Jerusalem, according to local tradition.

⁵ The letters allow a double reading, though ‘Kurd’ may be preferable. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Gurjistān*, about the different Turkish spellings of that name.

⁶ This is the so-called ‘Cotton-Grotto’, the ‘Royal Caverns’ of Josephus; described by E.

protected by a talisman and worth while seeing. Going for another three hundred paces from the place over against the tower above this cave, in an eastern direction, in the moat, one comes to *Bāb ez-Zāhira*,¹ a small iron gate facing east (!). Thence, walking along the edge of the moat towards the east there is the corner of the tower of Rustem Pasha,² after five hundred paces.

From here one turns now to the south, walking in the moat, and being within the range of the fire,³ until one reaches the Gate of the Tribes.⁴ It is also called the Gate of Mary, since she lies buried there. After five hundred paces we come to an exposed double iron(!) gate,⁵ on the east side, facing the Mount of Olives.

From the Gate of Mary along the moatless walls of the Aqşa Mosque there are six hundred paces until one reaches the corner of the Shrine of Mary.⁶ Here is the fourth corner of the fortress of Jerusalem, which is therefore square.

From the Shrine of Mary to the west no moat is passed as one goes by steep

Pierotti in his work *Jerusalem Explored* (Vol. I, p. 226; Pl. IX of Vol. II); London, 1864, and Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeol. Researches*, I, pp. 239-46.

¹ *Bāb ez-Zāhira*. The current pronunciation led writers to translate it as 'Flower Gate'. The form with *sin* is that used by the Arabic geographer al-Bashshāri, better known as al-Muqaddasī; in his *أحسن التقاسيم في معرفة الأقاليم* *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, ed. de Goeje, p. 172, he states on the name of Sāhira

... وموضع يسمونه الساهرة وحدوثنا عن ابن عباس ان الساهرة هي ارض القيامة بيضاء لم يسفك عليها دم
'... and a place they call *es-Sāhira*. We have been informed by traditional "chain", on the authority of ('Abdullāh) Ibn 'Abbās (*ob.* A.D. 688?) that *es-Sāhira* is the stretch of land of the Resurrection; it is "white" (= bleak) and no blood has ever been shed on it'. Yāqūt, in his *mu'jamul-buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), Vol. III, p. 25, quotes the same, mentioning el-Bashshāri as a further traditional source. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Bk. I, Pt. 4, p. 1452, col. 1 bottom, explains *es-Sāhira* as 'a certain mountain of Jerusalem' on the authority of Wahb ibn Munabbih (A.D. 654-732) in the *Qāmūs*. el-Wāsiṭī in his *fada'il beitu-l-maqdis* (A.D. 1089), fol. 85, quotes authorities for *es-Sāhira*, whose eschatological meaning is Hell (cf. Baidawi, *s.v.*, Sura 79, v. 14). He adds that it is the *baqī'* (cultivated land) near the Mount of Olives.

² This is not Rustem Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Vizier and historian (1500-61), who never visited Jerusalem.

³ Conjectural translation of the Turkish *atesh ashāghy*.

⁴ The text seems here to have been tampered with. No distance is given from the present-day Burj el-Laglag (north-east corner tower, the 'Rustem Pasha Tower' of the text) and the Gate of St. Stephen, the 'Gate of Mary (*Bāb Sittna Maryam*) or 'Gate of the Tribes' in the text.

⁵ The so-called 'Golden Gate', known nowadays as *Tūma-Tūma*, had been blocked up since the 6th century; the iron gates are those within. Its present-day name is *Bāb ed-Dāhiriyye* (Gate of Eternity), alluding to the legend that the last day will be at hand when this gate is reopened.

⁶ The 'Shrine of Mary' is known to-day as the 'Cradle of Jesus' (*mahd 'Isa*), where the Virgin Mary is said to have suckled her child whilst in the Temple (or, as another version has it, whilst she was hiding from Herod in consequence of the incident related in Matthew ii, 5). The shrine is reached from the south-east corner, by a staircase descending to the so-called 'Stables of Solomon.' No trace of the Turkish name is nowadays known to the guides.

fo. 90^v and awe-inspiring places until one passes in front of the praying-niche of the
 1. 5 Aqşa Mosque and arrives again at the Gate of the Maugrebins, making finally eight hundred paces.

According to this calculation the circumference of the fortress is seven thousand and fifty paces.¹ It has fifty-seven well-fortified towers and seventy-three bends which command the other walls. There are altogether four thousand and forty embrasures between the battlements of the wall.

Passing from the Shrine of Mary to the Gate of the Maugrebins and David's Gate and thence to the northern (!) corner, one encounters no moat for a stretch of seventeen hundred yards over very stony ground. The moat is not quite necessary there; besides, there is no space for it. The two moats on the western side are not very deep; they may be perhaps something between two and three paces deep.²

Within the Gate of Jaffa the citadel is connected on one side with the main fortress.³ It is another small, inner fortress, four hundred paces in circumfer-
 fo. 90^v ence with three exposed iron gates giving to the large fortress. From the first
 1. 10 gate one crosses a wooden bridge leading to the citadel. This building, grey with age, has a *divān-khāné* (Council chamber, or a Court of Justice), embellished with very many war implements, situated within the citadel.

In the citadel live the commandant (*duxdār*), the agent of the governor (*kehya*), an *imām*, a preacher, a *muezzin* and soldiers. There are altogether seventy stone-built rooms within, and exceedingly small ones at that. The garden of the commandant of the citadel is a small flourishing one, situated in the moat of the citadel.

The corner-tower at the right-hand side of the entrance to the citadel is the tower and noble dwelling built by David himself. For sentimental reasons it is not inhabited, but used as an ammunition depot and treasury. It has an iron door. The tower is built with ashlar measuring five to six yards.

¹ According to his enumeration the city wall has the following dimensions:

(a) South: 500 and 500 and 1,000 and 250	2,250 paces
(b) West: 600 and 400	1,000 „
(c) North: 900 and 100 and 300 and 500	1,800 „
(d) East: 500 and 600 [and 800 mentioned south]	1,900 „

i.e. a total of 6,950 paces against his 7,050. The difference of 100 paces may be accounted for by the fact that Evliya seems to have omitted in this account the measurements of the gate towers.

² This moat was, however, even after the Great War, very deep. It has been filled up since. The ground levelled serves now as a stand for taxicabs and motor-buses.

³ Illustrations of this may be quoted from several books on Jerusalem and Palestine during the last century, e.g. *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, ed. by Sir C. W. Wilson (London, n.d.), Vol. I, pp. 3 and 5; E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored* (London, 1864), Vol. II, Pl. VI; D. Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1855), Vol. I, Pls. 13 and 24.

Verily, there is no doubt whatever about it having been constructed by spirits.¹

The moat of this citadel outside the Jaffa Gate is about forty ells deep and fo. 90^v fifty Mecca² ells broad. The citadel has three stories strongly built. Each l. 15 ashlar has the size of the body of an elephant.

The prayer niche of the Mosque of David in the citadel is directed towards the north (!) to the Mosque el-Aqşa. When thereafter the verse 'Turn thou thy face to the noble Sanctuary' (Sura ii, v. 144) was transmitted by inspiration to Mohammed, the direction during prayers was instituted towards Mecca.

Sultan 'Isa of the Ayyūbids had this prayer place of David transformed into a mosque and placed a white marble slab in the left wall of it with the following chronological inscription:³

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (آيه) ام من اسس بنيانه على تقوى من الله نصر من الله وفتح قريب وعمل هذا البرج المبارك من مولانا الملك المعظم شرف الدنيا والدين عيسى ابن ملك (!) العادل بن سيف الدين بن ابي بكر بن محمد بن ايوبيان (!) بن شادى خلد الله دولته وتولى عمارته عز الدين وعمر عمارته بارض فلسطين في شهور سنة عشر وستماية والى (!) الله رب العالمين

'In the Name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate.'

'There is no God but Allah; Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah.'

'Whether therefore is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of God and his good will. . . .' (Sale, Qur'ān ix, 110.)

'Assistance from God and a speedy victory.' (Sura lxi, 13; Sale.) 'This blessed tower was built by (order of) our Lord, el-Melik el-Mu'azzam, the glory of the world and of religion, 'Isā, son of el-Melik el-'Ādil, son of Saifu-d-Dīn, son of Abu Bekr, son of Muḥammad, son of Ayyūb, son of Shādi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and lengthen his life. 'Izzu-d-Dīn⁴ directed

¹ This refers to the common legend, that King Solomon built the Temple by ordering the spirits to carry the stones and build it.

² Possibly the usual 'architect's cubit' of 29½ inches. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Pt. III, *Mesures de Capacité* (Paris, 1887), mentions on pp. 217-40 all kinds of *dirā'* but not this one.

³ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 131, corrects this faulty inscription.

⁴ This supervisor was 'Izzu-d-Dīn b. Yaghmūr. There are families in Hebron with this name, who trace their ancestry to an Emir Yaghmūr. They are of Turkish stock, yet have become Arabs.

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its construction and built it in the land of Palestine during the months of A.H. 610 (A.D. 1213-14). And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe.' fo. 90^v There are no buildings whatever around the fortress of Jerusalem, except l. 20 for the suburb of David, which consists of forty houses.¹

Except the gardens, vineyards, and flower gardens, all buildings are within the fortress. All quarters are Moslem. There are altogether one thousand fortress-like lofty palaces. The buildings within this town are of masonry; there are no wooden constructions at all. Yet the doors are made of wood. The houses are covered with lime and are all prayer places.²

There are two Friday mosques, the one within the citadel, and the other being that one which has been designed as such by a decisive text, the Aqşa Mosque, mentioned by the Creator in the noble Qur'ān (xvii, 1). Besides these there are no Friday mosques, all others being ordinary ones.

Translated and annotated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

¹ This seems to have been the case until the middle of the last century, cf. S. N. Spyridon, 'Annals of Palestine, 1824-1841', published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 63-132.

Evliya seems to have ignored the Church over the Tomb of the Virgin, and perhaps Deir Abu Tör (St. Mark), as lying outside the walls, to say nothing of Sheikh Jarrāḥ (p. 145) and the Sheikh 'Ukkāshe (opposite the present-day German Consulate-General). But these constructions are shrines and not immediately 'around the fortress'.

² This sweeping statement need not be taken too literally. It has been made also in the case of Şafed, *QDAP*, Vol. IV, 1935, p. 158, and Nāblus (p. 138).

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. VI¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAND MOSQUE EL-AQŞA (*al-Masjidul-Aqşa*)

DAVID is supposed to have begun the building. The cause of its construction was that during the time of David a plague broke out among the Children of Israel, for the passing of which David prayed. When it had subsided, the *Masjidul-Aqşa* was built on the site of David's prayer. Before its completion, however, David passed away, and Solomon carried on the construction. Having raised the foundations to the height of a man, David died in peace, after having subdued Goliath. Thus the kingdom was taken over by Solomon. He was lord over all creatures and ordered the (evil) spirits to build this mosque el-Aqşa. fo. 90^v l. 25

After a long period it was completed. On that very day Solomon was leaning on his royal staff whilst watching the finishing of the mosque. Yet the divine order came forth: 'Return to thy lord',² and his noble soul ascended to heaven, whilst his body was still leaning on the staff. No creature whatever knew of this. Yet during the ritual cleaning of the mosque el-Aqşa, Āşif Berakhya,³ a wise man of Solomon, his vizier and Keeper of the Privy Seal, used to dismiss all spirits and fairies before sunset from their daily work, and at the end of it he would imprison them all in the old prison⁴ situated in the moat outside the Damascus Gate. This he did by means of a talisman. In course of time they all perished. Even nowadays one may witness their skeletons there. It is a very dark place; one shudders on looking into it. fo. 90^v l. 30

Later on a worm was hollowing the staff of Solomon, who thus fell to the ground. All learned men agree that, according to holy writ, he was buried beside his father David.

Then a divine order⁵ turned the mosque el-Aqşa into a *qibla*. Many kings followed. Each built an annex to the mosque so that it became as beautiful as Paradise. fo. 90^v l. 35

When the Prophet had spent ten years in Medina after his *hijra*, he received the order, 'Turn thy face towards the Noble Sanctuary' (Sūra ii, 144 and 145), whereupon the *qibla* was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. Nevertheless it was with reference to Jerusalem that the verse was sent down: 'Let them go

¹ Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 137.

² Sūra lxxxix, 28.

³ This vizier plays an important role in folk-lore; cf. the Story of the Fisherman and the Ghost, *Arabian Nights*, Vol. I, p. 21 (Beirut ed.).

⁴ The so-called Cotton Grotto, the Royal Caves of Josephus. Cf. also Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, pp. 239 ff.

⁵ Sūra ii, 144 and 145.

around the most ancient House' (Sūra xxii, 30). At present this mosque is the Ka'aba of the mystics.

It is a large, serene mosque, measuring exactly three hundred paces from the South Gate¹ to the prayer-niche. Its width from the prayer-niche of 'Umar fo. 90^v in the East to the corner of the *mihṛāb* of the Mālikites is four hundred paces. l. 40 Altogether it has seventy large and small columns of exquisite shape, of sumac-red and other colours. Each column is a jewel in itself, worth the 'treasure of Egypt'.

Both aisles of the mosque are later additions; they rest on piers while the dome rises on massive arches.

The building is in tiers, one above the other, with arches above the strong pillars. Over them rests the throne-like roof with a wooden ceiling, on twenty beams of cypress wood, painted in various colours—a marvellous sight.

The rotunda rises forty ells from the floor. The buildings beside it are twenty ells high. From within, the mosque rests on one hundred and twenty arches, both large and small. The dome over the prayer-niche is the highest part of the building. It is serene and is unequalled on earth. Its height is fifty ells, being the king of all domes around. It is not spheric like other domes but elliptic.

Inside it is embellished with gilt glass-mosaic designs in iridescent colours representing the Paradise cypress tree (*tūba*) and the blossoms of fruit-trees. It is a rotunda of 'light above light' (Sūra xxiv, 35). Round it the verse is inscribed: 'Allah is the Light of Heaven and Earth' (Sūra xxiv, 35). It was restored by Suleiman Khān. Prayer-niche and pulpit cannot adequately be described by words of mouth, as they are beyond description and definition. fo. 91^r True, the *minbar* is of wood, yet, in order to show his skill, the accomplished l. 1 master has made the pulpit as if it were the work of witchcraft. As to the *mihṛāb* it is profusely gilded, as if it were a lapis-lazuli enamel work studded with jewels. Whatever of precious metals or stones is known on earth has been inserted, in the size of a bird's eye, by the accomplished master into that prayer-niche, so that it has become a prototype of a prayer-niche of indescribable beauty.

Having considered the construction of the prayer-niche, the pulpit, and the dome, Suleiman Khān selected from personal acquaintance the gifted master, the glass-mosaicist, the Drunkard 'Abdullah (*Serkhosh 'Abdo*), who has performed marvels in this prayer-niche of the Noble Mosque, by using twelve fo. 91^r kinds of glass of different fine and iridescent colours, so much so that the l. 5 reflected rays, falling on the ground, lighten the entire mosque and fill the

¹ Here and elsewhere the author confuses the north with the south.

whole large congregation with light and meditation, inspiring them to reverent submissive prayers.

Besides the glass panes of twelve colours already mentioned there are one hundred and five glass panes in all, crystals, rock-crystals, and violet-coloured glass included.

To the right and left of the prayer-niche panels of choice timber¹ are set into the wall, each measuring three feet and painted with masterly skill in rainbow colours. They are encased with marble. The more one looks attentively at them, the more one admires them, as if one were perceiving God's work, so nicely polished and embellished are these large marble flags.

There are seven windows in this wall on both sides of the *mihrāb*, overlooking it.²

Facing the pulpit is the place for the *muezzins*,³ rising on twelve well-balanced slender tiny pillars, like a pavilion. There is also the 'Seat of Solomon'⁴ and a chair for the preacher. The accomplished master has embellished it artistically and made it a gorgeous sight for ennobling purposes. fo. 91^r l. 10

The silk prayer-carpets in this mosque are marvellous. They are Anatolian, Arabic and Persian, and no carpets of other mosques could equal them in beauty.

About one thousand costly and artistic pendants hang from the ceiling, besides seven thousand small oil lamps.⁵ Every night about a thousand lamps are lit, and during the *lailatu-l-qadr* all are lit,⁶ so that the interior of the mosque, already luminous, becomes 'light on light', whilst the outside of it is also bathed in light.

The mosque has in all ten gates, seven of which open to the south. The central gate rises to a height of fifteen ells. It is of ancient make and of enamelled brass.⁷ On either side of it are three others, master-works and worth while seeing.

To the left is the Gate of el-Khidr,⁸ whilst to the right is that of the Mālikites. fo. 91^r l. 15

¹ This panel is not of choice timber, but a marble plaque richly adorned with geometrical designs; other slabs around are beautifully veined.

² These windows do not strictly overlook the prayer-niche.

³ The place opposite the pulpit is reserved for the *muballigh* and not for the *muezzin*.

⁴ No dais or platform or seat in the Aqşa carries nowadays the name of Solomon.

⁵ The number of lamps hanging now in the Aqşa is stated by the Guardians of the Sanctuary to be four thousand. Electric light has been installed for the precincts only.

⁶ The 'blessed night' of the 27th Ramadān, mentioned in Sūra xcvi.

⁷ The gates of the mosque are of brass, but painted over in parts. No trace of the enamel mentioned can now be seen.

⁸ This Gate of el-Khidr (Khadr, Khizrillez, el-Khadr Ilyās) has no legends attached to it similar to that connected with the room reserved or dedicated to the Prophet Elijah in the Synagogue of Yōhanan ben Zaccai in the old city.

Behind the pulpit is the entrance to a *madrasa*.¹ Outside the south gates there are vaults over six piers, and the vestibule.

VISIT TO THE MOSQUE EL-AQṢA²

First, in the east corner is the prayer-niche of 'Umar.³ After the conquest he performed his prayers there during a whole week. Next to it comes the *mīhrāb* of David, where prayers used to be offered whilst the foundations were dug. To the left of it are Qur'ānic verses written evenly in Cufic characters by the Caliph 'Uthmān. It seems as if these verses were written by the Almighty Hand.⁴

To the right of the pulpit is the Shrine of Jesus,⁵ a praying-place behind an artistic grill. It has a separate entrance.

The Shrine of el-Khiḍr is at the left gate of the mosque. Thank God I have visited all of them and offered at each two prostrations humbly beseeching fo. 91^r God through their intercession.

l. 20 There are eight hundred salaried servants employed at this mosque el-Aqṣa. That is to say it has *imāms* for the four 'schools' and as many preachers. On Fridays the preacher ascends the pulpit with the sword in his hand.⁶ The 'split'

¹ The *madrasa* is about fifty yards off and at the extreme south-western corner of the Ḥaram enclosure. Its former name, *el-Madrasa-l-Bakriyya* has been substituted by that of *el-fakhriyya*, or *Zāwiyet Abu-s-Su'ūd*. At present it is the property of the well-known family of *Abu-s-Su'ūd*, a member of which was the hereditary holder of the title *sheikhu-l-mashāyikh* among dervish fraternities in Jerusalem. Since c. 1876 the title is no more hereditary. The once large and famous library has been split up among the various branches of the family.

² This is the religious 'visit of a pilgrim'.

³ The mosque built by 'Umar after taking over the Temple Area was to the south-east of the structure of the Dome of the Rock and not in the Aqṣa Mosque, where it is nowadays shown.

⁴ These Qur'ānic verses were probably those written during the reconstruction of the mosque under the Ayyūbids. They are really beautiful and artistic, the writing being in glass mosaic with gilt border lines embellished by vine-leaves and scrolls. They are on the wall to the right of the *mīhrāb* of the Aqṣa Mosque.

⁵ This Shrine of Jesus is only one part of the Refectory of the Templars. Its eastern section serves now as mosque for the women; the grill, dating from the time of the Latin Kingdom, separates this mosque from the body of el-Aqṣa. During prayers curtains are drawn in front of the grill. The western part of this hall served as a mosque for the Maghribis till in 1927 it was converted into a Museum attached to the mosque.

⁶ Although it is well known that a preacher should lean during his *khuṭba* on a sword in towns which had been conquered, yet, as Jerusalem surrendered under a treaty, the preacher is supposed to lean on a staff while delivering his Friday sermon from the pulpit. He wears a green silk garb and red leather sandals. Towns in Palestine where the preacher holds a sword are Nāblus, Jaffa, Gaza, Nazareth, Acre, and Hebron. Not even the fact that Saladin reconquered Jerusalem from the Crusaders has been taken by the succeeding *khaṭībs* as a pretext to hold the sword during the *khuṭba*. Accordingly, the *khaṭībs* in Damascus hold the wooden sword in those mosques lying in the quarters which had been taken by the Moslem armies, and the staff in mosques situated in the eastern

sword is that of 'Umar.¹ Each preacher is on duty for a week. There are altogether fifty *muezzins*,² reciters of litanies,³ 'transmitters',⁴ other readers,⁵ 6 and reciters,⁷ as well as guardians.⁸

All these offices are paid from the private purse of the Sultan;⁹ the private treasurer comes year by year to distribute to them these gifts and presents.

The dome of the Mosque el-Aqşa is wholly covered with lead. The vaults are inside richly gilt with ornaments to the height of a man, thus puzzling the onlooker by their splendour.

And that is all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSQUE OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH¹⁰

fo. 91^r

This Mosque of the Rock of Allah (*ṣakhratu-llāh*) lies to the north of the Aqşa Mosque already mentioned. From this latter mosque one goes through a meadow over (a pavement of) two hundred paces of white unhewn marble flagstones, laid out by order of Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent). Thence one directs one's steps to the huge marble water-basin,¹¹ made of a single block according to Sultan Suleiman's own directions¹² . . . a monument unequalled

l. 25

quarters of the town, where the inhabitants had surrendered them at the time of the siege of Damascus, September 635. The office of preacher is hereditary. The present holders are of the Jamā', a clan of the Kināna tribe, from which the Quraish descended. During the Friday sermon (*khutba*) the preacher is clad in a green coat, wearing a pair of red sandals (*khuff*), and—in the case of a sermon held in the Aqşa Mosque—has beside him the banner of the Nebī Dā'ūd on his right-hand side, and that of the Aqşa Mosque on his left, both placed against the posts of the pulpit.

¹ This 'split' sword is Dhū-l-*fiqār*, owned by 'Alī. Both names occur very often in magic texts in this formula: *lā fata(n) illa 'Alīyy lā saifa illa Dhū-l-*fiqār** (there is no 'knight' except 'Alī, there is no sword but Dhū-l-*fiqār*). It was presented to him by the Prophet himself.

² This number has been reduced; at present there are only twelve.

³ *musebbih*, *muezzins* for the Ḥaram.

⁴ *mu'arrif*. This is an inferior functionary in a large mosque, who acts during prayer time as a sort of chorister. During Friday prayer at noon it is the custom in Jerusalem for the *mu'arrif* or *muballigh* to occupy the 'summer pulpit' of the Qādī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a (south-west of the Dome of the Rock, on the platform). He repeats the injunction of the Imām in the Aqşa Mosque to the congregation in the Dome of the Rock (concerning prostration, &c., to which fourteen verses refer in the Qur'ān). The present-day *mu'arrif* (*muballigh*) is Sheikh Maḥmūd ed-Danafī el-Anṣārī, who has inherited his post. Most of the posts attached to this Sanctuary are hereditary.

⁵ *Na'ti-kh(w)ān*; who recites the 'beautiful names of God'.

⁶ *Devri-kh(w)ān*, reciter of antiphons (?) or one of several reciters of a large section of the Qur'ān.

⁷ *Ejza-kh(w)ān*: Reciters of one of the thirty parts of the Qur'ān.

⁸ *qayyimān*. These are called in Arabic *sadana* (pl. of *sādin*). This title applies to those in Jerusalem as well as in Mecca, Medina (and Hebron), to show their hereditary attachment to the respective sanctuaries. They used to be appointed or confirmed in their offices by royal rescripts.

⁹ They are paid nowadays from the revenues of the Awqāf, according to *berāwāt* issued to them (or their predecessors and the heirs of these by the Turkish sultans).

¹⁰ This term is no more in use; the Sanctuary is called simply that of the 'Rock' (*eṣ-ṣakhra*).

¹¹ Known for generations as *el-Kās* (the Cup).

¹² The text is not clear.

(for beauty) on earth. It is exquisite and occupies the centre of the platform. On passing it in a northerly direction one comes after about twelve paces to a flight of steps leading to the Dome of the Rock. These steps are twenty-two in number and are of white marble. Their width is twenty ells, so that a thousand persons could ascend them without crowding. From the top of this flight of steps one beholds the Holy Rock. The Dome over it is a palace constructed in the very centre of the Sanctuary and covered with white polished marble. One is struck dumb at the very sight of it. When beholding it¹ this fo. 91^r prayer is offered: 'O God, let there be light in my heart, and in my eye and l. 30^o in my ear. Give me (inward) light by your compassion, O most kind and merciful One.'

Coming from the direction of the Aqşa Mosque one sees a pulpit opposite the southern gate of the Dome of the Rock.² There the pilgrims take their shoes in their hands and walk barefoot for a hundred paces over the white marble flagstones of the Sanctuary, until they arrive at the Gate of the Mosque of the Rock of Allah. Here they leave their shoes in the custody of the doorkeepers and start their visit.

It was 'Abdu-l-Malik b. Marwān who in [A.H. 72]³ first started the construction of this Dome of the Rock. Since it is the former *qibla* many kings and sultans after him built annexes to it, embellishing it wonderfully and making it a most serene place.

In the year [A.H. 926]⁴ Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent) acceded to the throne, conquered the fortress of Belgrade and later on the island(s) of Rhodes and Malta (!) and accumulated thereby immense wealth. When he became an independent (!) king, the Prophet appeared to him in a 'blessed night'⁵ and fo. 91^r told him: 'O Suleiman, you will attain the age of forty-eight⁶ and will make l. 35 many conquests. Your offspring will not die out till the end of time. My kindness will be always extended to you. You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse the unbelievers, when they attempt to take possession of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its Sanctuary with a water-basin and offer annual money gifts to the dervishes there, and also embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem.'

¹ The Rock is not visible, although the grill and the columns before it are easily discernible.

² This is the so-called summer pulpit of the Qāḍī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a (A.H. 780-839 = A.D. 1378-1436), whose descendants still enjoy some inherited prerogatives in the Ḥaram.

³ A.D. 691. Not mentioned in manuscript.

⁴ A.H. 926 (A.D. 1520). Not mentioned in manuscript.

⁵ There are eight 'blessed' nights, of which that of the 27th Ramaḍān (*lailatu-l-qadr*) is the best known.

⁶ Suleiman I, the Magnificent, reigned for forty-eight lunar years.

Such being the order of the Prophet, Suleiman Khān at once rose from his sleep and sent from his spoils one thousand purses (*kissé*)¹ to Medina and another thousand purses to Jerusalem. Together with the required material he dispatched the master architect Qoja Sinān² to Jerusalem, and transferred Lalé Mustafa Pasha³ from the governorship of Egypt to that of Syria.^{fo. 91^r l. 40}

[This latter] having been ordered to carry out the restoration of Jerusalem, gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo and sent them to Jerusalem to rebuild it and to embellish the Holy Rock, so much so that the verse 'These are the Gardens of Eden . . . enter ye them . . .'⁴ was justly written on the Gate of Paradise⁵ in the Dome of the Rock. Verily, it is a replica of a heavenly palace.

During these thirty-eight years whilst I travelled through seventeen countries, this site stands unique amongst the buildings I have seen, as if it were one of the eight Paradises.⁶ Man stands dazed at the sight of it and the mind is carried off by the exquisite beauty of a serene mosque, rising like a Palace of Khawarnaq⁷ in the centre of a sanctuary paved with white marble flagstones.

The circumference of the octagonal building is three hundred paces.⁸ It is encased with variegated veined marble (*'arqānī*), porphyry (*yashm*), Santa Croce (*summāqī*), and multicoloured veined marble (*eburu*) to the height of three men.⁹ And even this marble witnesses in a thousand ways to the wonders of the Creator.

From above the marble encasement to the 'fringe' the building is embellished artfully by multicoloured tiles, the most perfect ones on earth. On these tiles the Sūra *Yā Sīn* (xxxvi)¹⁰ is written round the building by Aḥmed Qara Hīṣāri. At each corner (of the octagon) some such 'verses' as *Sūrat Yā Sīn, salāmun, qaulan min rabbīn raḥīm* (Sūra xxxvi, 58); *wa mā taufīqi illa bi-llāh* (Sūra xi, 90) are added in large clear letters (*haṭṭ-i jeli*).¹¹

fo. 91^v
l. 1

¹ The *kissé* was worth five hundred piasters.

² Sinān was known as the 'old master', and constantly referred to with that title in contemporary and later Turkish chronicles.

³ He was for eight years governor of Syria and died in October 1580.

⁴ This is a paraphrase of a number of Qur'ānic verses such as iii, 194; vii, 47; xiii, 23; xliii, 70.

⁵ The North Gate.

⁶ Should be only seven, as in Sura ii, 27; xvii, 46, &c.

⁷ Palace near el-Hīra and the Euphrates in Middle Mesopotamia, built by a Greek architect called by the Arabs Sinimmār.

⁸ The circumference of the substructure of the Dome of the Rock is 160 metres, each side of the octagon being 20 metres long.

⁹ The height of the marble encasing is 4.30 metres.

¹⁰ These tiles have been admirably described in E. T. Richmond's standard work, *The Dome of the Rock*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 23-76.

¹¹ This *haṭṭ-i jeli* (clear 'hand') is used for official documents only.

Above these inscribed tiles are spouts for the rain-water made of tinned copper. Above the crenellations of the octagon the roof is covered all around by lead sheets. Farther above, the drum is enclosed with tiles inscribed; the characters being ten feet high and of excellent execution. Then the serene dome rises to the height of the sky. Yet it is not spheric like other domes, but fo. 91^v elliptic, like the dome over the Shrine of Jelālu-d-Dīn Rūmī¹ at Qōnia.² Its
l. 5 point reaches to the clouds. The noble crescent is twelve ells high.³ They say that it has been so richly gilt that its glittering can be seen at a distance of a day's journey.⁴ Indeed, it is luminous. Under this lofty dome is the Rock of Allah.

This shrine has four gates. There is a door looking south, another looking east, a third one, not covered (sc. from outside), looking north—it is the Gate of Paradise—and a fourth one looking west. These double doors are of bright yellow bronze, glittering like gold. No master could nowadays execute such a work. Each is ten ells high. Each door has double curtains of embroidered cloth,⁵ for the rainy season in Jerusalem is severe.

The interior of the building is also, like the exterior, encased with marble fo. 91^v slabs from top to bottom, such as porphyry, veined ('*arqānī*), saffron (*safrānī*),
l. 10 jaundice-yellow (*yeraqānī*), sumac-red and white variegated marble, marvelously veined. Each sort of marble is the very best of its kind. These flagstones are so cut as to form pairs; placed one beside the other they produce many curious beautiful (symmetrical) designs. Even outside the Southern Gate, on entering the Dome of the Rock, there is the picture of two cocks, beak against beak, with outspread wings, on the encasing marble to the right-hand side of the gate—fixed to the veined marble by divine miracle.⁶ They are so beautifully designed as to attract attention. Besides there are many floral and other designs in this veined marble.

¹ The famous mystic Jelālu-d-Dīn Rūmī, with the epithet *mevlāna*, 'our Lord', died in A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273). He is the founder of the order of the Whirling or Dancing Dervishes, who are called *mevlevi* after him. There is only one sheikh of this order in Jerusalem. The *zikr* cannot be celebrated by them with less than ten participants. The last *zikr* was celebrated in Jerusalem in 1922.

² The Dome over the Shrine of Mevlāna Jelālu-d-Dīn in Qōnia is not elliptic but conical (similar to other domed Seljūk monuments in Central Asia Minor, and to those of the Armenian ecclesiastical monuments throughout the Near East). Cf. Sarre, *Konia*, Pl. XXV.

³ This crescent is now exhibited together with the tiles of Aḥmed Qara Ḥiṣārli in the Museum of the Aqṣa Mosque. It is altogether 2.85 m. high. It is a ring (diameter 1.40 m.) and not a crescent.

⁴ This is not in agreement with facts. The greatest distance from which the Dome of the Rock is visible in the vicinity of Jerusalem does not exceed three miles as the crow flies, as the mountains around Jerusalem do not allow a view of the Ḥaram from a place farther off. The crescent is of sheet bronze.

⁵ These curtains are no longer *in situ*.

⁶ This 'picture' of the 'two pigeons' (and not cocks) is known to pilgrims the world over.

Windows in the first concentric wall overlook the Sanctuary. On their wonderful iridescent stained glass one reads either the words *lā ilāha illa-llāh* (There is no God but Allah) or the verse, 'God is the light of heavens and earth' (Sūra xxiv, 35), or the names of the first four caliphs. It is a bewilderingly beautiful stained glass.¹

The second wall is strictly speaking not a wall, but a circular row of columns within the first one. It has altogether twenty-four columns, connected by arches supporting the high dome. Yet sixteen out of these twenty-four columns are monoliths, wrought by the hand of God Almighty Himself. They are of sumac-red colour (Santa Croce marble) and of indescribable beauty. The remaining eight are square piers standing at the cardinal points. The master builder lavishly adorned them with richly gilt ornamentations, as well as variegated paintings so that, when the sun rays fall through the stained window glass on these piers, a stranger, not accustomed to the sight, would be bewildered. fo. 91^v
l. 15

The ceiling between these twenty-four monoliths and the walls is masterfully painted on camel-brown background by the painters Bihzād² of Calcutta, Māni, Shāh Qu[li], Weli Jān, and Āghā (Āqa) Rizā.³ The ceiling is divided into eight parts, each being painted in a different pattern. fo. 91^v
l. 20

Under the arches supported by this colonnade are balconies for people to walk around and light the oil lamps. In front of this row of columns there is also, in the wall, the prayer-niche for the Ḥanefite rite, where a large congregation offers the five daily prayers.⁴

¹ Frames with great sections of stained glass from the clerestory windows of the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el-Aqṣa are now exhibited in the Aqṣa Museum, the former Mosque of the Maghribis.

² It is impossible that the greatest of the Persian miniature painters, Bihzād of Herāt (and not of Calcutta), who lived from 1440 to 1514, painted the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock, although the ornaments used there are Persian and Turkish. Muẓaffar 'Alī, a pupil of Bihzād, decorated the walls and ceilings of the Chihil Sutūn palace at Iṣpahān. Persian artistic influence is also traceable in the tiles covering the octagon and drum of the Dome of the Rock. In some instances the ornaments show a great resemblance to those of the Mosque of Sheikh Ṣafiyu-d-Dīn (died A.D. 1334) at Ardebīl.

³ Weli Jān (flor. end of sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century) was a disciple of Āqa Rizā of Iṣpahān, both rivals of Bihzād. Ph. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 185, and Sir Thomas Arnold tried to prove the identity of Rizā 'Abbāsī, 'Alī Rizā, and Āqa Rizā (cf. *Burlington Magazine*, No. CCXV, Vol. XXXVIII, February 1921). Shāh Qulī (Rūmi) of Tabriz, the chief painter at the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, belongs to the second generation of artists of the Bihzād School. Māni may be identified with the Turkish painter of illuminations, Qara Māmi of Constantinople, a pupil of Shāh Qulī.

⁴ While the official rite under Turkish rule was the Ḥanefite (followed also by families of government officers and notables in the larger towns, especially Jerusalem), the great majority of the population remained Shāfi'ite.

There are *imāms* and *muezzins* [attached to this sanctuary].

Over the door leading to the cave of the Rock there is the tribune for the *muezzins*.¹ But no pulpit exists (in the Dome of the Rock). Costly silken carpets are spread out on the floor.

Within this second colonnade there is a third circular row of columns, numbering twelve in all, sumac-red and variegated, each worth the annual revenue of Asia Minor. They are monoliths.

fo. 91^v The dome above, full of divine lights, rests on these circular colonnades.

l. 25 The ceiling between the second and third row of columns is also painted on a camel-brown background in an unusual way. This ceiling is divided into sixteen fields, each being painted with the skill of a past master in painting in a bewitching way.

Between these columns of the third row an iron grill has been placed. It is a masterpiece, marvellously wrought and attributed to David.²

There are doors through this iron grill to enter to the Rock. They, too, are artistically wrought gratings and open on all sides. Within this grill a railing of cypress-wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl³ surrounds the Holy Rock, and has no door whatever. No one whosoever may enter to the Rock. Only persons of high rank and noble birth may enter the enclosure to clean and wipe off the dust from the Holy Rock with a towel,⁴ once a year, while all pilgrims usually circumambulate it outside.⁵

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH

fo. 91^v
l. 30 May my brother pilgrims not entertain any mysterious thoughts about it. That which is called the Rock of Allah is enclosed by this railing. It is a white rock. According to the circumference of the railing its size is one hundred paces.⁶ Through the railing one perceives a white stone, called the Rock of Allah. Some commentators are of the opinion that the verse 'To him are given the keys of heaven and earth' (Sūra xlii, 12) means (that God indicates thereby): 'First I have created my beloved Muḥammad on the face of the earth, and then I closed the earth with its keys, i.e. set its moun-

¹ The preacher's 'tribune' is to the right of the door leading to the grotto under the Rock.

² This is work dating from the time of the Latin Kingdom.

³ The present-day balustrade has no inlaid work whatever.

⁴ This office, too, is hereditary and is carried out by members of the Danafi Lel-Anṣāri family.

⁵ Pilgrims go round the iron grill for a 'visit'; they are allowed to pray inside close to the balustrade when not participating in the congregational prayers.

⁶ The author warns his fellow pilgrims not to expect a miraculous stone, like the Black (meteorite) Stone of Mecca, which is built in a high position. Here, in Palestine, he may call the Rock in the Temple area 'white', comparing its creamy colour with the weathered appearance of the rocks in the field, which are exposed to sun and rain and are grey.

tains.¹ Other commentators have it that by the keys primarily the Mountain of 'Arafāt² is hinted at and then the Rock of Allah. This latter is suspended by the power of the Almighty, as it is the *qibla* for all spirits who worship at fo. 91^v Jerusalem, both good and evil ones. Even in that remote time the Rock of l. 35 Allah was a shrine.³ It was the *qibla* for Adam himself, as already mentioned.

The Prophet received the gift of prophecy at the age of forty in Mecca, where he lived for another thirteen years thereafter. At the age of fifty-three years and nine months Gabriel descended from God Almighty to him and told him: 'O Muḥammad, God Almighty sends you his peace saying, indicate a place where a sanctuary may be inaugurated.' So the Beloved of Allah⁴ assigned such a place to the trusted Gabriel.

Some erring persons say, 'No, he (i.e. Muḥammad) left Mecca for Jerusalem on the Burāq';⁵ but opinions differ widely on that subject.⁶ At any rate the fo. 91^v Prophet came to Jerusalem,⁷ where all the souls of the prophets welcomed him. l. 40 He performed his prayers in the grotto under the Holy Rock. No sooner did he pass his hands over his face⁸ than Gabriel descended from God and told him, 'O Muḥammad, God sends you his *salām* and has sent you the Burāq to fly to Paradise, ordering and saying, "Let him mount it, and come and

¹ Cf. the Mohammedan belief about the original substance of which the whole universe has been created, termed as *nūr Muḥammad*, the 'light of Muḥammad'.

² *Jebel 'Arafa* or *'Arafāt*, the 'Mountain of Recognition', is so called because according to a legend it was here that Adam recognized Eve. It is situated 18·333 km. south-east of the Mecca Sanctuary, and is one of the *manāsiku-l-hajj* (shrines and stations of the pilgrim route in and around Mecca). There the great sacrifice is offered on 'Idu-l-*Aḏḥa* (10th Dhū-l-*ḥijja*) in commemoration of the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac) by Abraham. (Cf. Rif'at Pasha, *mir'ātu-l-ḥaramain*, Vol. I, pp. 226 ff.)

³ There is no doubt that the cave under the Rock was a sanctuary in prehistoric times. The tradition clung later on to the Rock. The entrance faces south-south-west, and not the east.

⁴ One of the epithets of Muḥammad, reminding one vividly of the Egyptian 'Beloved of Horus'. Similarly, Abraham is the 'Friend of Allah' (*khalīlu-llāh*), Moses the 'Interlocutor of Allah' (*kalīmu-llāh*), whilst Christ is the 'Spirit of God' (*rūḥu-llāh*).

⁵ The sphinx-like 'horse' (smaller than a mule and larger than a donkey), mounted by the Prophet during the Night Journey (*lailatu-l-isrā'*, *lailatu-l-mir'āj*, 27th Rajab). It is stated that its human face showed definite feminine traits.

⁶ Moslem commentators and traditionalists differ about this Night Journey. 'Āyisha, e.g., is reported to have summarized the time required by it with that of replacing a pitcher (which had been knocked over by the Prophet whilst rising from his bed), before any drop of water could be spilled. Cf. also Ibnu-l-Firkāh, *fi faḏā'il baiti-l-maḥdīs*, ed. by C. D. Matthews in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, 1935, pp. 73 ff., where different, mostly Umayyad traditions are given about the Holy Rock and the Night Journey.

⁷ There is no conclusive evidence that the Prophet Muḥammad ever visited Jerusalem in one of his commercial travels to Syria.

⁸ It is usual for a Moslem after praying to pass with his hands over his face, as if to impart blessing to it (*tabarrukan*).

behold my Throne,¹ the Eternal Tablet,² my Pencil³ as well as my eight Paradises. Let him see me without medium and behold my splendour.” Thereupon the Prophet obeyed the divine order, left the grotto of the Rock and fo. 91^v made two prostrations⁴ on the Rock of Allah. Even unto this very day the l. 45 marks of his noble head whilst prostrating, and the impressions made by his knees on the Rock are still visible—so they say. Yet one is not allowed to visit them. After that the Apostle of Allah said: ‘In the Name of the Most Merciful God’, mounted the Burāq and flew, reciting the verse: ‘Embark thereon, in the Name of God while it moveth forward and while it standeth still, for my Lord is gracious and merciful’ (Sūra xi, 43).⁵ Saying this he spurred the Burāq (horse) and easily arrived at the highest heaven. Then he heard the rumbling of a thunder. Turning his blessed head towards the noise he beheld the Rock of Allah behind him, (as if) imploring him: ‘O Muḥammad, take me along into the Presence of Allah’, speaking with a tongue. Immediately fo. 92^r the Apostle of Allah addressed the Rock thus: ‘O Rock of Allah, remain sus- l. 1 pended, by God’s permission.’ Thereupon the rock remained in that suspended position in the air, by God’s permission. Even now it is still hanging and in no way connected with the ground. And because it is suspended between heaven and earth it is called the ‘Hanging Stone’. But it is the Rock of Allah. They say that the words of the Chroniclers hold true in this case, namely, that it is the second key⁶ created on the face of the earth.

The chroniclers relate also that there are two rocks which came from the heavenly paradise. One is the Black Stone⁷ which was originally of ruby colour. During the great Flood of Noah it remained in the water of the abyss, and sinners wiped their faces against it. Thus it changed its colour and became the ‘black stone’. The other is said to be this Rock of Allah—yet only God knows the truth of it.

fo. 92^r The late Sultan Aḥmed⁸ had a richly gilt canopy made, the cover of which l. 5 was a curtain studded with gold and jewels. The corners were fastened with

¹ Sūra ix, 130.

² *el-lauḥu-l-mahfūz*, the preserved Tablet (Sūra lxxxv, 22) on which God’s decrees with reference to mankind are written.

³ *el-qalam*, the (reed) Pen with which God wrote everything to be created or to happen once for all. It is the title of Sūra lxxviii.

⁴ These two prostrations are considered to be the ‘saluting of the Mosque’ (*taḥiyyatu-l-masjid*) and must be offered upon entering the mosque, before being seated.

⁵ The following translation is offered as an alternative of that rendered by Sale: ‘Embark in it; its moving and anchoring is in the name of God.’

⁶ The first ‘key’ is Jabal ‘Arafāt, near Mecca.

⁷ For a picture of this meteorite see Ibrahim Rif‘at Pasha, *mir’ātu-l-ḥaramain*, Vol. I, p. 298.

⁸ Ahmed I, 1589–1617, the fourteenth Ottoman sultan.

silken cords, thus covering the Holy Rock. From this canopy to the highest point of the dome was a height from forty to fifty ells. The interior of this dome, indigo-coloured, looks as if it was painted all over its whole surface with gold, studded with precious stones set in enamel. The painter's name is Shāh Quli.

When the Rock flew after the Prophet of Allah a cavity remained underneath, when it was stopped in its course through the air by the orders of the Apostle.¹ This cave is the resting-place of two hundred people.² Its entrance is behind the prayer-niche of the Ḥanefite rite, just under the tribune of the *muezzins*. Access is gained to it by a flight of stone steps. Its door is of grilled iron. Below it there is a spacious room and a prayer place for pious pilgrims. fo. 92^r
l. 10

One of the caliphs of bygone days had a thin partition wall erected under the Holy Rock, in order that pilgrims desiring to visit the cave might not be awed, but could offer their prayers with presence of mind and in peace. For the sight of the suspended rock frightened pilgrims and caused many a pregnant woman to miscarry at the very sight of it. Yet a finger may easily be introduced, or even at some places a hand, between the rock and the wall.

THE SHRINES (*maqāmāt*) OF THE CAVE OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH

As you descend the steps, the shrine of Gabriel and his prayer-niche are to the right-hand side of the cave, while the shrine of David is on the left. Whilst praying there the Prophet touched the Holy Rock with his noble turban and left some hollowed marks (in the stone).³ A visitor to the place should first stroke that place with his hand and then his face, praying: 'O Allah, make my face shine, by the blessing of the crown of the ascension of Muḥammad—may peace be upon him.' Coming from the recess of el-Khiḍr and the cell of Solomon to the Prophet, the trusty Gabriel did not enter from the side of the cave, but the Rock split above it asunder. From this hole, through which he ascended, is a large oil lamp kept burning ever since the night of the heavenly night journey. Servants always replenish the oil, renew the lamp-wick, and are in charge of this service. The interior of the cave is thereby so lighted that he who prays two prostrations under this most luminous light, will never be left destitute of God's favours—with God's help. fo. 92^r
l. 15

And that is all.

Then there is a small, slender marble column near the entrance to the cave.

¹ These time-honoured quaint legends are still a favourite subject with the present-day guides.

² The cave could scarcely hold forty persons standing. The reference may be to the 'spirits of the departed' who assemble in the Well of the Souls on every Friday to attend the congregational prayers.

³ These are shown from the cave underneath. They figure in every Arabic guide-book to the Ḥaram area.

fo. 92^r It is placed against the Holy Rock in the hope of supporting it in case the
 l. 20 Rock should tremble, so that people will feel safe from danger. The entrance to this cave is facing south. All these monuments are within the Dome of the Rock of Allah. It is a huge elliptical dome, as if it had descended from the crown of the celestial spheres. No such building was ever erected since the Fall of Adam, neither have travellers seen anything similar in all the inhabited quarters of the world.

THE SHRINES OUTSIDE THE BALUSTRADE OF THE HOLY ROCK

First there is a silver grating over a cupboard, wherein the blessed trace of the Prophet's right foot is filled with rose-water day and night. Pilgrims used to 'bathe' their faces with it. Opposite is the Buckler of Ḥamza¹ placed on a re-entering angle (*bujāq*). It is known to some people as the Mirror of Alexander. On one side it is concave (?) (*mājūr*), and a great talisman, as if it were the mirror of the universe. Should a thousand men look into it at the same time, each of them would be visible. It is a most remarkable piece of work.

fo. 92^r The humble writer testifies to its being the Mirror of Alexander.²

l. 25 On the grill of the Rock of Allah David made pomegranates³ of iron; they are really a marvel of the Apostle of God and an artful work of David, our prophet—peace be upon him!

On the four cardinal points are the shrines of the first four caliphs—may Allah be pleased with all of them. To the east is the shrine of 'Alī, to the south that of Abu Bekr, the Truthful, at the western gate that of 'Umar, and at the north or Paradise Gate that of 'Uthmān, 'of the two Lights' (*dhū-n-nūrain*).⁴

The Rock receives its light from the lantern hanging down from the Dome. Whosoever prays two prostrations under these oil lamps, a thousand exactly in number, will most assuredly attain the greater part of his heart's desires.

Besides, there are hanging in this shrine another three thousand lamps, as if they were branches of sunshine—to say nothing of several very expensive candelabra.

fo. 92^r Each of them is the masterpiece of an accomplished artist. They are so
 l. 30 costly that not even the revenue of Egypt from a number of years would buy them, to say nothing of the precious crystal works.

¹ Described at length in Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff.

² It disappeared about 1886. Cf. *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* for 1903, p. 175.

³ Schick, *Beit el Makdas*, Jerusalem, 1887, p. 12, mentions the 'pomegranates of David' as having been a candelabrum with pomegranates, then no more *in situ*.

⁴ Honorific title of the third caliph, because of his marriage to two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm.

The rugs and carpets in this shrine are for worship, and no similar carpets could be found even in a king's palace. As at present the Ottoman *pādishāh* is the most honoured and respected sovereign the world over, and famous amongst all kings as far as the Empire of China, and as this heart-rejoicing news is repeated by each wind, and the sultan is praised for his unlimited bountifulness,¹ he has made this shrine a paradise unequalled on earth, and embellished it with paintings of Bihzād. For the Ottoman sultan alone could be the possessor of the House of Allah.

Thank God I visited each site (in the Ḥaram area) ten days before the feast of Ramaḍan A.H. 1082 (A.D. 22-31 January 1672), accomplished a *khatm* at the *lailatu-l-qadr* (27th Ramaḍan) in the Aqṣa Mosque, within the House of Allah, and offered its merits to the spiritual benefit of those departed believers buried in Jerusalem.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ḤARAM, THE AQṢA, AND THE ROCK OF ALLAH fo. 92^r

The platform of the Holy Rock is a field covered with white marble, to begin^{l. 35} with. From seven places doors lead to it. They are double-arched and have no door-leaves. On the east is a door with a single arch. By a flight of eighteen stone steps one ascends to the platform of the Holy Rock.

The approach from the north is through three doorways, by stone staircases of twenty steps each. On the south there are three other arched doorways. They too have no door-leaves. Also through them access is gained by a flight of twenty steps each, leading up to the platform of the Holy Rock. Thus it may be reached from all sides. It is seven Mecca ells higher than the ground around it. For the sanctuary is situated like a palace amidst a verdant valley, fo. 92^r with the Rock of Allah as its centre. The ground underneath is honeycombed^{l. 40} with caves from one end to the other. It was in these caves that Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. The traces of their fetters and chains are still visible. People who are courageous enough enter these caves and have a look round. It is a dark and frightful place. Even at present it is the sleeping-place of evil genii, and is completely filled with dust. Through splits in the doors one may peep into them. These caves are filled to the brim with skeletons. The Rock of Allah is above them. Its dome is called the white villa (*āq yayly*) because it is covered with natural white marble. Persons weary and distressed will leave the sanctuary full of hope and joy (by God's permission). The Ḥaram does away with grief.

I have also measured the whole circumference of its raised platform. Its width is two hundred paces from east to west, another two hundred paces from

¹ The text is here corrupted and the translation of this sentence conjectural.

the western side, while the southern and northern sides are each three hundred
fo. 92^r paces long. Thus reckoning the area of the platform of the Rock of Allah,
l. 45 the circumference of the precincts is one thousand paces. And in the centre
of these thousand square paces the luminous dome rises into the sky.
And that is all.

SITES TO BE VISITED WITHIN THE ḤARAM (*maqāmāt*)

First comes the Dome of the Rock of Allah.

Between the western and the northern gates of the Dome, looking to the
north, and close to the outer walls of the building is a 'red prayer-niche',
qubbet en-Naby. A small dome rises over four slender small columns. Its
fo. 92^v prayer-niche is low and of natural reddish stones. It was in ancient times ruby-
l. 1 coloured. Affected by the blackness of the primordial waters of the abyss,
during the flood of Noah's time, it changed its colour and has now a reddish
hue.

To the right of this prayer-niche is a nice octagonal edifice¹ with a dome, the
Dome of the Night Journey of the Prophet (*qubbet el-mi'rāj*). It has two
alabaster colonnettes at each corner, set in by a master mason. Its structure is
encased in white marble, and the dome covered by fine lead, with a golden
crescent on its top. Its door looks to the north, but it is now closed on all
sides. Its contents are unknown. It has no windows. It would seem indiscreet
to enter it, as it has been closed. Above the entrance this dated inscription and
the Qur'anic verses are written:² 'In the Name of the most merciful God. May
Allah be pleased with his Prophet our Lord Muḥammad and his Followers.
fo. 92^v God knows whatever good deeds you perform. (Sūra ii, 193, in part); Whoso-
l. 5 ever does a good action, no matter how small it be, will find it(s compensation)
(Sūra xcix, 7). This is the dome of the Prophet (may Allah be pleased with
him and his followers), which has been mentioned by the historians in their
chronicles. The (soul) yearning for the grace of his Lord, the noble prince,
the great general . . .³ of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu 'Umar b.
'Uthmān b. 'Azīz b. 'Abdullāh personally undertook with his own money to
make it conspicuous after it had disappeared and to rebuild it after it had been
ruined—in the months of [A.H.] 577 (A.D. 1181-2).'⁴

The Well of the Spirits is in front of the Northern Gate.⁵ The rain-water

¹ This was the baptistery of the Crusaders.

² For a correct rendering of this inscription see Van Berchem, *C.I.A. Jerusalem, Haram*, pp. 37 ff.

³ Thirteen words are missing in the original. The name 'Azīz seems to be misread from *el-a'azz*, the most glorious. . . .

⁴ The correct date of this inscription is, however, A.H. 597 (A.D. 1200-1).

⁵ The present-day Well of the Spirits is under the central flagstone of the grotto under the Holy

collected from the shrine flows into this Well of the Souls. Because it revives the souls of those people drinking from it in July, it has been called the Well of Souls. It is said to be a huge cistern.

At the South Gate of the Ḥaram is a pulpit which the Prophet ascended in fo. 92^v the night of his heavenly journey to admonish the souls of all the Prophets. l. 10^v It is a small pulpit. In times of drought people of the province gather around it to offer prayers for rain.¹

Near by is the Dome of the Souls and close to that the Gate of the Balances, where are painted balances and scales.²

In front of the Eastern Gate of the Dome of the Rock, at a distance of some seven paces, is the Judgement Seat of the Prophet David—may peace be upon him. Built below like a palace, its dome rests wholly on columns, there being no wall whatever.³ The outer circle is made up of nine precious columns, fo. 92^v while the inner circle consists of six columns. The dome rises above them. l. 15^v The interior and exterior of this dome is covered with pure Kāshān tiles of lapis-lazuli colour. The dome itself is covered with well-wrought lead similar to that of the Suleimāniye Mosque at Istanbūl.

The circumference of this edifice is fifty paces. The floor is paved with white natural marble flagstones.⁴ It has a prayer-niche, where I offered some prayers and praise.

Here end the sites of the Dome of the Rock to be visited.

Again, in arriving at the Gate of the Balances from within the Sanctuary, one notices a sun-dial constructed on the marvellous system of Pythagoras.⁵ It is unique and unequalled within the inhabited parts of the world. The *muezzins* for both the Mosques of the Holy Rock and el-Aqṣa perform their calls to prayer in agreement with this dial. Accordingly the call to prayer

Rock. The cistern referred to, lying due north of this Gate, is *bīr el-janne* (Cistern of [the Gate of] Paradise), which word Evliya may have confused with *arwāḥ* (spirits) owing to the similarity in the pronunciation of *janne* (Paradise) and *jinn*, or *jān* (spirits, genii). It is described at length in *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, p. 217, under No. 1; Schick, *Stiftshütte und Temple*, p. 302, No. 31, and Kuemmel, *Materialien zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, p. 153, No. 1. Of medieval travellers Ibn Fadl Allah el-'Umari mentions fifteen cisterns in the Ḥaram area; cf. his *masālik el-abṣār* (ed. Ahmed Zaki Pasha), Cairo, 1924, p. 151.

¹ This is the summer pulpit of the Qāḍī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a, built of some old material, composed of marble and local stones. For his many building activities see Mujīru-d-Dīn, *el-uns el-jalīl*, p. 512.

² There are nowadays no traces of paintings on that gate.

³ This is the present-day *Qubbet es-Silsile* (Dome of the Chain), constructed originally to hold the treasury of the Sanctuary, similar to those in the Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, and the great mosque at Ḥama dating from the Umayyad period.

⁴ The pavement is now of marble and local stone, arranged in geometrical designs.

⁵ No trace of this sun-dial is left.

resounds from the minarets of the *madrasas*, as there is no special minaret for either the Mosque of the Holy Rock or that of the Aqşa.

On all sides of the Shrine of the Holy Rock are rooms belonging to forty *madrasas*.¹ In each of them live pious people considered to be wonder-working dervishes. Some of them break their fast only once a week, while others
fo. 92^v may not have tasted meat for forty or fifty years. Such are these pious souls
l. 20 who lead here a mystical life, while they are at the same time well versed in worldly knowledge and sciences.

Here ends the description of the Sanctuary of the Holy Rock of Allah.

And that is all.

The two Sanctuaries of the Holy Rock and the Aqşa described above are surrounded by a great plain. It is so large that standing at one end of it one cannot discern the people at its other end whether they are men or women. It is verdant meadow. Here are the measurements of its circumference: at the side of the Aqşa four hundred paces; from the north, on the side of Bāb Hıṭṭa, there are also four hundred paces. The east side, being the wall of the fortress,
fo. 92^v measures six hundred paces, and the western side, that of the Sheri'a Court,
l. 25 measures as much. On this reckoning this area is two thousand paces in circumference. It is a promenading-place embellished with roses, hyacinths, myrtle, filled with the intoxicating twittering of the nightingale, abounding with trees, where birds have their nests, other trees bearing fruits of the kind of the good Ṭūba tree in Paradise.² Besides, there are mahaleb trees, poplars,

¹ Most of these *madrasas* have been converted into private dwelling-houses. An official Turkish list of these colleges and religious buildings (dated 2 November 1907) enumerates fifty-one, of which five only were then in a ruinous state.

² This Ṭūba tree has the shape of a cypress. The name is an Aramaic loan-word (cf. Sūra xiii, 28) denoting beatitude or bliss.

According to a legend it is so large and so densely covered with evergreen foliage that a horse galloping at full speed for a hundred years on end would not be able to leave its shade. The stem is of pure gold, its fruits are talismans in many precious stones. They would drop either delicious meals or costly garments, according to the wish of the really true believers. The unbelievers, however, cannot perceive the tree. There are branches of this tree ('with flowers and fruits of every imaginable kind all the year round') in the house of every just man; they have the same distinctive features of the tree. The Ṭūba tree is represented in Moslem Art perhaps more than any other tree. Selected references may show the extent to which it enjoyed popularity.

A. *Persian*. Pottery and Tiles: *Survey of Persian Art*, pls. 672, 675, 676, 687, 688, 693, 723, 726, and 804. Manuscripts: *Survey of Persian Art*, pls. 847, 870, 873, 874, 876, 878, and 922. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, pls. 74 and 78 (both from Herat). Brocade: Glück and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, pl. 368. Satin: *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 1011. Silk: *op. cit.*, pl. 1035. Velvet: *op. cit.*, pl. 1057. Carpets: *op. cit.*, pls. 1245 and 1258.

B. *Turkish*. Pottery and Tiles: Koechlin, *Oriental Art*, pl. 46; Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, pls. 15 and 86; *Exposition d'Art musulman*, pls. 27, 40, 41, and 43; Raymond, *Alltürkische Keramik*, i, pls. 24 and 34. Granjean, *Céramique orientale*, pl. 27 (for Damascus: pls. 7 and 10); Prisse

weeping willows, and several thousands of olive and fig trees as well as remarkable cypress trees of well-balanced shape.

On eighty-three sites small platforms are to be met with for prayers in the open, established in the shadow of lofty trees. Each of them has a prayer-niche, each being the abode of a saint of Allah.

DESCRIPTION OF GATES OF THE ḤARAM LYING ON PUBLIC ROADS

The portico at the Gate of Mary, which looks north, is the abode of Indians. In the same line is the Ḥuṭṭa Gate mentioned in the second Sūra (verse 55): 'Say "Ḥuṭṭa", and he will forgive you your sins.' From there to the corner of the lesser Bāb Ḥuṭṭa, also on the same line, is the Bāb en-Nāẓir, just behind the Palace of the Pasha.¹

These five (!) Gates open to the north and have wooden doors. Beyond them is the Gate of the Ghawārne and the Iron Gate. About iron the noble verse has been inspired in the Chapter of the Iron (Sūra lvii, 25), 'And we caused iron to come down'.

Then comes the Cotton Gate (*Bāb el Qaṭṭānīn*) and the Gate of the Place of Ablutions (*Bāb el-Mutawadda'*) and that of the Chain (*Bāb es-Silsile*). This latter is a double gate with bronze leaves. It is also known as the Gate of the Court of Justice (*Bāb el-Maḥkame*) and is very crowded.

Then follows the Gate of the Maghribis (*Bāb el-Maghārbe*), a small gate with an iron door. These are six gates in all, counting from the (western) corner of the Palace of the Pasha. They all are on the western side (of the Ḥaram area).

The southern side, i.e. that of the Aqṣa, and the eastern one are taken up by the walls of the fortress. Both have no gates, as there are ravines and escarpments along them. These are the ten high portals of the Ḥaram, as mentioned.

All along the southern, western, and northern side of the Ḥaram enclosures are porticoes with domes, resting over three hundred and sixty columns (and piers). All porticoes are lit every night by oil lamps. They become as bright as broad daylight. In these porticoes live dervishes from India, Sind, Balkh, Persia, and Kurds, Tartars, Moghuls, and Turks. They need by night no special candle lights, for (the oil lamps give so much light that) they can read the Qur'ān (by that light), and recite the *zīkr* and offer God the best prayers.

d'Avannes, *L'Art arabe d'après les monuments du Caire*, ii, pl. 103 (Turkish tiles from Egypt); J. de la Nozière, *La Décoration marocaine*, publishes an embroidery on pl. 46 with a Ṭūba tree as main motive.

¹ This is the present-day College of *Rawḍatu-l-ma'ārif* (the first Station of the Via Dolorosa). It was used as a cavalry barrack by the Turks before the War. Formerly it was the Governorate. The square minaret at its south-western end is still known as the *mēdanit es-sarāy(a)*, minaret of the Government Offices.

Roads lead between these porticoes to the gates mentioned. They are enclosed on both sides by walls (?). Each portico has a prayer-niche.¹ No porticoes are along the eastern wall, as this is at the same time that of the fortress. Yet there are some cells in a number of bastions. From each gate
fo. 92^v paved paths, five to ten ells wide, laid out with white marble, lead through
l. 40 verdant meadows to the Aqşa Mosque or the Dome of the Rock, so that no atom of dust would touch the foot of the passer-by.

There are two hundred rooms for *madrāsas* around this large enclosure surrounding the lower sections of the Sanctuary of the Rock of Allah. The total number of *madrāsas* in Jerusalem amounts to some three hundred and sixty *madrāsa* and *zāwiya*, both large and small.

Yet the *madrāsa* which is the best and the most cared for is that of Bāb Ḥuṭṭa. It has a minaret. Then comes that of Bāb en-Nāzir. It is just behind the Palace of the Pasha, in the corner (of the Ḥaram enclosure). It has a slender minaret.

The Madrasa Ghōraniye at the Bāb el-Ghawārneh has no minaret. The
fo. 92^v Madrasa Sulṭāniye at the Bāb el-Mutawaḍḍa is the best.² It has a minaret
l. 45 with three storeys which is one hundred and thirty feet high. The humble writer ascended it and enjoyed a complete view over the whole town.

Besides these three there are no other minarets in the Ḥaram area. Neither have the mosques of el-Aqşa and that of the Holy Rock any minarets. The Islamic call for prayer is recited from the heights of this latter minaret, as it is near the town. As the mosques of el-Aqşa and that of the Holy Rock in this meadow are far from the town no minarets were built for either of them.

Behind the Bāb el-Maghārbe in this enclosure stands the massive, beautiful building of the Mosque of the rite of the Mālikites.³ It measures three hun-
fo. 93^r dred feet from the north door to the prayer niche, and is seventy feet wide.

l. 1 Yet it has no minaret either. But after the first morning prayer a chanting of the *zikr* and prayers is offered here in such a way as to bewilder lovers of prayer and mystics. It is a mosque covered with lead and well frequented.

The courtyard of the Sheri'a Court over against the Gate of the Chain⁴ gives on to the great platform. Near by is a royal palace of four storeys, a lofty marvellous building, yet not to be compared with the Dome of the Holy Rock. On all sides it is encased with jasper-coloured, variegated, sumac-red marble of different kinds.

fo. 93^r It would take us too long if we would try to describe the buildings around
l. 5

¹ The text is not quite clear.

² The *madrāsa-l-ashrafiyya* of the Sultan Qayt Bāy.

³ It was known till 1927 as the Mosque of the Maghribis, and has since been converted into a Museum.

⁴ This is not a proper courtyard but a gateway.

the platform as best we could. Suffice it that we describe the shrines around it, for this too is meritorious.

THE SHRINES OF THE AQŞA MOSQUE

Behind the Mosque of the Maghribis is that of the Mālikite rite, then comes the Aqşa proper, and the shrine of el-Khiḍr, and the Dome of the Prophet David at the farthest end of the Aqşa Mosque. In the east corner of this sanctuary is the Mosque of the Ḥanbalite rite, built over twelve piers. It is domed. Caves extend in the ground beneath it, until they reach the Aqşa.¹ Here, in these caves, too, Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. In some places there are caves resting on seventy columns.

East of these caves, at the angle of the walls, a stone staircase of twenty steps leads down to the Shrine of Mary, where she lived. Here she took refuge from the comments of people that offended her. This cave has a small prayer-niche facing east. In it is the Cradle of Jesus, a nest-like polished shining stone.² fo. 93^r
l. 10

Within this cave is another shrine to commemorate the followers of Jesus, called his disciples (*ḥawāriyyūn*), and farther off that of Gabriel. These 'five' shrines are in these caves. Yet the amazing thing about them is that one has to descend twenty steps on a stone stairway, where not even the least gleam could penetrate. It is a dark room. The Creator, however, ordained that daylight should be around the Cradle of Jesus, and lo, the cave was light by the power of God's almighty Eye.³ Though there is no fire in this cave, yet it is luminous. Nor is there anything burning, neither an oil lamp or a candle light. Such is the Light of Allah!

To the right of this cave there is a small hole. Through it some devil-daring fo. 93^r
l. 15 persons enter to have a look. It is such a dark place that one could not tell another man. The cave is large, extending as far as the Aqşa Mosque. In fact it was the prison where Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. It is a dark passage, where the skeletons of spirits and fairies abound. Even a small skeleton measured seven spans. Some skulls were as large as those of the Greeks.⁴ Farther back one encounters in this cave birds of the size of a pigeon, who whirl about and attack man in the face (= bats).

The floor of the caves is covered with a fine sand resembling the sand of the hour-glass. In bygone days the evil spirits used to soil the sand and sleep on it. In some holes of the rock we saw some ends of rope made of palm fibre. The

¹ These are the underground structures of the Temple area, known as Solomon's Stables.

² *Mahd 'Isā* is a large stone block, lying flat, hollowed out regularly. It has a conch at its top and is Byzantine. The form gave rise to the belief quoted above.

³ There is an arrow-slit at the top of the staircase.

⁴ *rūm kellesi*.

fo. 93^r guides showing us round stated that Solomon used to fasten the evil spirits
 l. 20 with these ropes. Indeed, it is illogical. But let us suppose that he really did
 tie those spirits in a miraculous way. According to the chronicle of Muḥam-
 mad ibn Iṣ-ḥāq¹ there is a period of sixteen hundred years between Solomon
 and the birth of the Prophet. Adding to these years the time elapsed between
 that birth and our visit to Jerusalem, it totals to two thousand and forty-three
 years, since I visited it in A.H. 1083 (1672). The Apostle of Allah lived for
 sixty-three years. Taking all this into account and the time from Solomon
 until A.H. 1083, one wonders how these ropes wherewith the spirits have been
 fastened resisted decay for three thousand and six hundred and forty years.
 Upon this question of mine the 'ulema of Jerusalem deigned to answer the
 humble inquirer that Solomon was lord over men and spirits, beasts, and birds.
 This being so he very ably made ropes from the palm fibres, strong enough
 to tie up the evil spirits. And the work of his own hand could not decay.

fo. 93^r This answer satisfied me.

l. 25 In short, one may see on the sand in these caves many traces of animals bear-
 ing no resemblance whatever to the painting of any human being.

Our guides returned forthwith. At the entrance of one of the caves some of
 them piled up five to ten stones on the sand at the hole, so that the visitors were
 able to leave the caves. After having left the Grotto of Mary we offered God
 our praise and thanks.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PILLAR OF THE SIRĀṬ BRIDGE²

Ascending from there and going to the north we came to the shrine of the
 Sirāṭ bridge, protruding from the walls of the fortress. It is a round, polished
 fo. 93^r reddish stone, well smoothed, so that a bird could only fly round about it with-
 l. 30 out being able to perch on it. Yet the bird in the air above it cannot remain there,
 as the valley below is some thousand ells deep. It reminds one of the deepest
 pit of Hell (*ghayya*). In fact it is called the Valley of Hell, for it contains all
 the tombs of the Jews and is the site of perdition of those irreligious people.

This column which resembles the Sirāṭ bridge was built into the wall already
 before the time of (the restoration of the fortifications by) Sultan Suleiman
 (the Magnificent). It was built over the foundation rock protruding from the
 wall. A culprit would be caused to walk over this column to its end, when

¹ Flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. He was an authority on Mohammedan
 tradition. The 'chronicle' referred to is his *kitābu-l-mubtada'*, which deals with the biography
 of the Prophet.

² This is the bridge across the infernal fire, which all mankind will pass on the Day of Judgement.
 It has Zoroastrian and Jewish parallels. It is believed to be thinner than a hair and sharper than the
 edge of a sword.

he would be set free: if he fell, they would not worry about burying him, as he would anyway go to Hell; they would leave his corpse to decay in that valley.

Ever since pre-Islamic times this column remained in its position. In the year . . .¹, whilst the fortress was being rebuilt by order of Sultan Suleiman, the foundations of the fortification happened to be laid on the site of this column. It was removed from its position and built into the wall, but in a fo. 93^r higher place than before, protruding from its course. It was therefore called l. 35 the 'Bridge of Sirāṭ'.

We left it and went to sites and places, cisterns and corners connected with the wall, and to different shrines and prayer places on the platform, situated here and there all over the verdant meadow and then went to the Moslem quarters within the fortress.

The shrines of the Gate of Repentance (*Bābu-t-Tauba*) and that of Mercy (*Bāb er-Rahma*)² of the Children of Israel are connected with the walls of the fortress. People in bygone days would repent at the one gate and receive mercy and be delivered from their pain and anxiety at the other.

Above the Gate of Mercy is a monastery of the Dervishes of the Order of Yazīdu-l-Biṣṭāmī,³ where a magnificent *zīkr* is held every Thursday night.

In the line of buildings falls also the Shrine of Solomon and his Throne,⁴ which are connected with the wall of the fortress, having two high domes and seven windows. Here is the Throne of Solomon. These shrines have been mentioned after that of the Grotto of Mary. They lie on the east side of the Ḥaram enclosure.

ENUMERATION OF THE SHRINES ON THE NORTH SIDE

fo. 93^r
l. 40

Bāb Ḥuṭṭa is the shrine of the prophet Qaffāḥ b. . . .⁵ Nearby is the Dome of the Spirits (*qubbatu-l-arwāḥ*), with its small dome rising over eight slender columns.

Opposite the Dome of Solomon and the Gate of the *Maḥkama*, near the water-basin of el-Imām esh-Shāfi'i, is the Dome of Moses⁶ and the public

¹ Not mentioned in manuscript.

² These two gates are the present-day Bāb Ḥuṭṭa and *Bābu-l-Asbāṭ* (of the Tribes). The belief about them is of Jewish origin.

³ Order founded in A.H. 261 (A.D. 874). At present it has no representative in Jerusalem. The late Sheikh Nāji-l-Qazzāz used to hold the usual *zīkr*s there during the winter season. He belonged to no particular order.

⁴ *Kursi Slimān*, perhaps connected with Suleimān b. 'Abdu-l-Malik, A.D. 691. It is close to the Golden Gate, and in part higher than the Wall.

⁵ Space provided in MS. for his father's name. No such name could be found in Moslem hagiography.

⁶ Known also as the *qubbet es-sakhra-s-sghira* (Dome of the Small Rock) or, more commonly, as *qubbet shaqfit es-sakhra* (Dome of the 'Chip' of the Rock). It is a Crusader building. Cf. Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, ii, p. 604 and Fig. 248 (a).

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fountains of the great Imām Abu Ḥanīfa and of the Imām 'Alī. These were rebuilt by Dāniāl Pasha in honour of the Imām 'Alī.

As to the Shrines of Ezra,¹ the Prophet of Allah, the invisible spirits, the trustworthy pious people, the Four 'supports' of the Moslem faith, the Ṣūfis in their different classes, and the spiritual leaders of their age—these are on separate daises situated in the Ḥaram enclosure.

fo. 93^r
l. 45 Yet the lead-roofed monuments, shrines, and domes in the Sanctuary of the Rock, their *madrasas*, *zāwiyas*, and other buildings, with their livid colour, extend from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem.

(*To be continued*)

Translated and annotated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

¹ No such shrine exists now in the Ḥaram area. The other shrines mentioned in the same sentence are also not traceable.