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## Arabic Studies of Mamluk Jerusalem: A Review Article

The study of Islamic Jerusalem by Arab scholars over the last century has been less important than the work of non-Arab scholars, but the situation is now changing. Arab scholarly studies of Islamic Jerusalem have blossomed since the early 1980s and publications by Arab authors now predominate in terms of number, and increasingly also in terms of quality. This is especially the case since the mid-1990s with the M.A. theses of the students at the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, and other institutions. Arab scholarship has reached the point where it is scarcely possible to do thorough research about Mamluk Jerusalem without an awareness of Arabic publications. This article has the objective of presenting what recent Arabic scholarship has to offer for the study of Mamluk Jerusalem. It does not attempt to survey the work of Western or Israeli scholars, whose publications are better known and more easily accessible than Arabic ones.<sup>1</sup>

Arabic publishing activity about Mamluk Jerusalem began as early as 1866, when Muġīr al-Dīn's fundamentally important history about Jerusalem and Hebron was first edited.<sup>2</sup> But the first significant scholarly work had to wait until after the First World War with Kurd 'Alī in the 1920s,<sup>3</sup> and Mukhliṣ in the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>4</sup> and more substantially until after the Second World War with al-'Ārif, starting in 1947<sup>5</sup> and culminating in his *Mufaṣṣal* of 1961,<sup>6</sup> and al-Dabbāgh in the

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<sup>1</sup>This article borrows heavily from my forthcoming publication, *The Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem* (Beirut, 2000), which is intended to provide encyclopedic coverage and comprehensive bibliography for all the Islamic sites and monuments.

<sup>2</sup>Muġīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Cairo, 1866). His history in manuscript form remained well-known throughout the Ottoman period to Jerusalemites and travellers/pilgrims, such as the late seventeenth-century sufi author 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.

<sup>3</sup>Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1925-28).

<sup>4</sup>See his collected articles reprinted in Kāmil al-'Asalī, ed., *Turāth Filasṭīn fī Kitābāt 'Abd Allāh Mukhliṣ ma'a Dirāsah Mufaṣṣalah 'an Ḥayātihi wa-Shakhṣiyatihi al-'Ilmīyah* (Amman, 1986).

<sup>5</sup>See especially 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Tārīkh al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī* (Jerusalem, 1947); idem, *Tārīkh al-Quds* (Cairo, 1951); and idem, *Tārīkh Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah al-Musharrafah wa-al-Maṣjid al-Aqṣā al-Mubārak wa-Lamḥah 'an Tārīkh al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1958).

<sup>6</sup>'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1961). It does not completely supersede his earlier books.

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1970s.<sup>7</sup> Those studies covered the fuller history of Jerusalem, of which the Mamluk period is only a part. The first lengthy studies focused on the Mamluk period were by al-Imām in 1976,<sup>8</sup> and Ḥamūdāh in 1979,<sup>9</sup> but those studies were largely reworkings of the information that Mujīr al-Dīn had provided. Only al-‘Ārif’s studies included much additional documentation, such as the texts of building inscriptions.

But it was in the 1980s that the shelf of Arabic publications about Jerusalem in the Islamic periods, and specifically in the Mamluk period, began to fill up, in particular with the publications of Kāmil al-‘Asalī.<sup>10</sup> While not attempting to cite every Arabic publication, this article will present the most important publications, arranged by topic.

### TEXT EDITIONS

Many Arabic manuscripts have been edited over the years, but a sizable number still await editing. The single most important text for the history of Mamluk Jerusalem, Mujīr al-Dīn’s *Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, written in 900–902/1495–96, was first edited in the nineteenth century, while the most commonly cited version, which contains editing mistakes and misprints, was published in 1973.<sup>11</sup> An index was produced in 1988.<sup>12</sup> A careful new critical edition was published in 1999,<sup>13</sup> but because it does not have an index, it does not fully obviate the need for the 1973 edition.<sup>14</sup> A second major text for the later

<sup>7</sup>Muṣṭafā Murād al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn*, pt. 2, vols. 9 and 10, *Fī Bayt al-Maqdis 1–2* (Amman, 1975 and 1976, with numerous other editions and printings).

<sup>8</sup>Rashād al-Imām (Rached Limam), *Madīnat al-Quds fī al-‘Aṣr al-Wasīṭ (1253-1516)* (Tunis, 1976).

<sup>9</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān Sa‘īd Ḥamūdāh, “Bayt al-Maqdis fī ‘Ahd al-Mamālīk” (M.A. thesis, al-Azhār University, 1979).

<sup>10</sup>There are two festschrifts for Kāmil al-‘Asalī: *Kāmil al-‘Asalī, al-‘Alāmah al-Maqdisī wa-Qaḍīyat al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1996) and Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥamārnāh, ed., *Dhākhīrat al-Quds: Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Muḥdāh li-Dhīkrā Kāmil Jamīl al-‘Asalī* (Amman, 1996), and a biography: Muḥammad Ghūshāh, *Al-Quds fī Turāth Kāmil al-‘Asalī* (Jerusalem, 1998). A full bibliography of Kāmil al-‘Asalī can be found in my *Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem*.

<sup>11</sup>Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973).

<sup>12</sup>Ishāq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and Ḥasan al-Silwādī, *Fahāris Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl li-Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī* (Jerusalem, 1988).

<sup>13</sup>Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, volume 1 edited by ‘Adnān Yūnis ‘Abd al-Majīd Abū Tabbānah and volume 2 edited by Maḥmūd ‘Awdāh al-Ka‘ābnāh (Amman, 1999). This is the published version of their M.A. theses of 1999 and 1997 respectively for Jāmi‘at al-Najāḥ al-Waṭanīyah, Nablus.

<sup>14</sup>One should note the following studies about Mujīr al-Dīn: Kāmil al-‘Asalī, “Mujīr al-Dīn al-‘Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī: Mu‘arrīkh al-Quds: Naṣṣ Jadīd ‘an Ḥayātihi wa-Naṣṣ Dhayl Kitābihi *al-Uns*

Mamluk period by Mujīr al-Dīn, his general history entitled *Al-Tārīkh al-Mu‘tabar fī Anbā’ Man ‘Abara fī al-Tārīkh*, remains unedited.<sup>15</sup> The other text of fundamental importance for Mamluk Jerusalem, especially for the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, which al-‘Umarī wrote around 745/1345, was first edited in 1924.<sup>16</sup>

A recently edited text is by Ibn Nubātah, a native of Cairo and a poet who was the superintendent of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Christian pilgrimage in the 1330s under Amīn al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh, the governor of Damascus. While normally resident in Damascus, Ibn Nubātah made frequent trips to Jerusalem, especially around Easter. In 733/1333 or 735/1335–36 Amīn al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh traveled to Jerusalem to inspect his newly constructed al-Madrasah al-Amīnīyah and its endowments. Ibn Nubātah accompanied him on that trip and wrote an account that is most interesting for the description of al-Madrasah al-Amīnīyah.<sup>17</sup>

The genre with the largest number of texts is the “Islamic Merits of Jerusalem” literature, surveyed by al-‘Asalī and Ibrāhīm in the 1980s.<sup>18</sup> Three recently edited “Merits of Jerusalem” texts from the Mamluk period are Ibn ‘Asākīr’s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*,<sup>19</sup> al-Maḥmūdī’s *Muthīr al-Gharām*,<sup>20</sup> and al-Suyūṭī’s *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā’ bi-Faḍā’il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá*.<sup>21</sup> There are many additional unedited manuscripts, but their value as independent works is lessened because the authors

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*al-Jalīl*,” *Dirāsāt* (University of Jordan) 12, no. 8 (1985): 115-35; Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Mu‘arrīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl Mujīr al-Dīn Abū al-Yumn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Umarī al-‘Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī: Ḥayātuhu wa-Mawḍa‘ Qabruh* (Jerusalem, 1986). Mujīr al-Dīn is the subject of a Ph.D. thesis in progress by Muḥammad As‘ad at Jāmi‘at al-Qadīs Yūsuf, Beirut.

<sup>15</sup>Photocopied manuscript in the possession of Fahmī al-Anṣārī, Jerusalem.

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (Cairo, 1924).

<sup>17</sup>Ḥamd Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh Yūsuf, ed., *Riḥlat Ḥazīrat al-Uns ilá Ḥaḍrat al-Quds li-Ibn Nubātah 733 H./1332 M.* (Jerusalem, 1994) (reprinted in 1995 with the same pagination of edited text, but different supplementary editorial pages). Yūsuf cites his name as Ibn Nubālah.

<sup>18</sup>Kāmīl al-‘Asalī, *Makhtūṭāt Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis: Dirāsah wa-Bibliyūghrāfiyā* (Amman, 1981); Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis fī Makhtūṭāt ‘Arabīyah Qadīmah: Dirāsah Taḥlīliyah wa-Nuṣūṣ Mukhtārah Muḥaqqaqah* (Kuwait, 1985). See also Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Silwādī, “Adab Faḍā’il al-Quds: Ahammīyatuhu wa-Ifādat al-‘Asalī minhu fī Tārīkhihi lil-Quds al-Sharīf” in *Kāmīl al-‘Asalī*, 113-73.

<sup>19</sup>Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ‘Umar ibn Gharāmah al-‘Umarawī (Beirut, 1995), especially volume one.

<sup>20</sup>Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Maḥmūd ibn Tamīm al-Maḥmūdī, *Muthīr al-Gharām ilá Ziyārat al-Quds wa-al-Shām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Khaṭīmī (Beirut, 1994). This is the published version of al-Khaṭīmī’s 1985 Ph.D. thesis.

<sup>21</sup>Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā’ bi-Faḍā’il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá*, ed. Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad (Cairo, 1982-84).

frequently reworked earlier texts. That makes the study of the “Merits of Jerusalem” literature relatively unfruitful.

One should also note the three publications by al-Dabbāgh, al-‘Asalī, and al-Tāzī with excerpts of travellers and pilgrims from all periods writing in Arabic about Jerusalem,<sup>22</sup> such as for the Mamluk period Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad al-‘Abdarī, a native of North Africa, who went on pilgrimage to Mecca and spent five days in Jerusalem in 690/1291—the brief information about Jerusalem in his *al-Riḥlah al-Maghribīyah* focused on the Ḥaram—and Khālīd ibn ‘Īsā al-Balawī, a qadi and native of Spain, who went on pilgrimage to Mecca and spent two months in Jerusalem in 737/1337. His account of his travels, *Tāj al-Mafraq fī Taḥliyat ‘Ulamā’ al-Mashriq*, concentrated on the Ḥaram and the religious scholars in the city.

### PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

There are a number of collections of documents covering both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, such as Darrāj’s collection of documents connected with the Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion,<sup>23</sup> al-‘Alamī’s publication of *waqf* documents related to the Maghribi Quarter (the area of the Western Wall plaza today),<sup>24</sup> and al-‘Azīzī’s presentation of some documents related to the Christians.<sup>25</sup> The 800-odd documents found in the Islamic Museum in the mid-1970s, known as the Ḥaram Documents, studied in most detail by Donald Little, have attracted only limited attention from scholars writing in Arabic. While al-‘Asalī<sup>26</sup> and al-Ṣāliḥīyah<sup>27</sup> published the texts of some of the documents, information derived from the documents rarely appears in Arabic studies of Mamluk Jerusalem. Abū Ḥāmid’s

<sup>22</sup>Al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn*, pt. 2, vol. 10 (1976), 420-509; Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Kutub al-Riḥlāt ‘inda al-‘Arab wa-al-Muslimīn* (Amman, 1992); ‘Abd al-Ḥādī al-Tāzī, *Al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl fī al-Riḥlāt al-Maghribīyah: Riḥlāt Ibn ‘Uthmān Numūdhajan* (Rabat, 1997). See also Yusrā Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh, “Al-Quds fī Kitābāt Raḥḥālah wa-Jughrāfī al-Qarn al-Sābi’ wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijriyayn,” *Al-Mu’arrikh al-Miṣrī* 21 (1999): 337-84.

<sup>23</sup>Aḥmad Darrāj, *Wathā’iq Dayr Ṣahyūn bi al-Quds al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1968).

<sup>24</sup>Aḥmad al-‘Alamī, *Waqfiyāt al-Maghāribah* (Jerusalem, 1981). The text is error-filled.

<sup>25</sup>Rūksī ibn Zā’id al-‘Azīzī, “Min Tawṣiyāt wa-Mawāthiq al-Mamālīk lil-Ruhbān fī al-Quds wa-Ḍawāḥihā,” *al-Dārah* 7, no. 2 (1981): 208-32.

<sup>26</sup>Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Wathā’iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 1 (Amman, 1983); idem, *Wathā’iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 2 (Amman, 1985); idem, *Wathā’iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 3 (Amman, 1989).

<sup>27</sup>Muḥammad ‘Īsā al-Ṣāliḥīyah, “Min Wathā’iq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf al-Mamlūkīyah,” *Ḥawliyat Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi‘at al-Kuwayt* 26 (1985).

M.A. thesis about the Islamic law court judges in the Mamluk period is one notable exception.<sup>28</sup>

But by far the most important documentary source for Mamluk Jerusalem is the Ottoman *sijills*, the records of the Islamic law court in Jerusalem during the Ottoman period. Most of the annual volumes survive, including some from the first years of the Ottoman period, each containing summaries of hundreds of court cases written in Arabic.<sup>29</sup> A thorough examination of the documents in the *sijills* is a mammoth task that remains to be undertaken, but would reveal hundreds of court cases related to such topics as property ownership and endowments that shed light on the Mamluk period. For example, many Ayyubid and Mamluk period endowment documents, lost in the original, are preserved because they were copied into the *sijills*. Al-‘Asalī throughout his numerous books and articles,<sup>30</sup> along with ‘Abd al-Mahdī,<sup>31</sup> largely pioneered the practise of using the *sijills* extensively for documenting the history of the Islamic institutions in Jerusalem, and most other scholars have subsequently included *sijill* citations in their publications. But citations of the *sijill* documents must be used with caution because they are prone to errors, and regrettably some authors deliberately cite erroneous or incomplete *sijill* references as a way to prevent rivals from finding the specific documents. The Ottoman Islamic law court *sijills* represent a vast source of as yet untapped information about Jerusalem and they are far and away the most potentially fruitful topic for research into Mamluk Jerusalem.

As an example of what remains to be learned about Mamluk Jerusalem from the Ottoman *sijills*, Ghūshah has come across a number of citations that refer to the location of the various city gates both before and after the rebuilding of the city wall by the Ottomans in the 1530s. Those *sijill* references, such as the ones to both an old and new Bāb al-Khalīl (Jaffa Gate), seem to demonstrate that the Ottomans did not always build their city wall on top of the derelict Ayyubid-Mamluk walls, but rather in the west and south the Ottomans expanded the area enclosed

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<sup>28</sup>Muḥammad Ḥusayn ‘Alī Abū Ḥāmid, “Quḍāt al-Quds fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī” (M.A. thesis, Jāmi‘at al-Qadīs Yūsuf, 1998).

<sup>29</sup>For the best presentation of what the *sijills* have to offer, see the chapter by Khaḍr Salāmah in Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld, eds., *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City* (London, forthcoming 2000). The most easily accessible microfilm copy of the *sijills* is at the University of Jordan.

<sup>30</sup>He published numerous documents in his *Wathā’iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* volumes. See Fahmī al-Anṣārī, “Sijillāt al-Maḥkamah al-Shar‘īyah wa-Wathā’iqhā wa-Dawr Kāmil al-‘Asalī,” in *Kāmil al-‘Asalī*, 245-54. (Response by Khaḍr Salāmah, pp. 255-73).

<sup>31</sup>‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Al-Madāris fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī: Dawruhā fī al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah* (Amman, 1981).

by their city wall to include some neighborhoods that had built up over the previous centuries outside the earlier derelict walls.<sup>32</sup>

### INSCRIPTIONS

The bulk of the Arabic inscriptions from the Mamluk period were published by Max van Berchem in the 1920s. Only a handful of new inscriptions have been identified since then, notably by Maṣṣūr, who included in his M.A. thesis several previously unpublished Mamluk inscriptions in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> A complete catalogue of the Arabic inscriptions in the Islamic Museum, including a number of previously unknown Mamluk period inscriptions, is in preparation by Khaḍr Salāmah and Robert Schick.

### ARCHITECTURE

Little architectural study was done prior to Michael Burgoyne's *Mamluk Jerusalem*,<sup>34</sup> the fundamentally important work, but one should note the dissertations by Nāṣir,<sup>35</sup> the general corpus of Islamic monuments in Jerusalem prepared by Najm and others,<sup>36</sup> and studies of the Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah, al-Turbah al-Kilānīyah, and the Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy.<sup>37</sup> Al-'Asalī's publications are less studies of architecture than they are documentary histories based on the Ottoman *sijills*.<sup>38</sup>

As recent additions to the architectural study of the city, one should note Hawari's study of the Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem,<sup>39</sup> and Natsheh's study of

<sup>32</sup>Part of Muḥammad Ghūshah's Ph.D. dissertation research in progress on sixteenth-century Jerusalem, presented at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem, Fall 1999.

<sup>33</sup>Ḥamdān 'Abd al-Rāziq Ḥusayn Maṣṣūr, "Dirāsah lil-Nuqūsh al-'Arabīyah fī al-Mathaf al-Islāmī bi-al-Quds" (M.A. thesis, University of Jordan, 1995).

<sup>34</sup>Michael Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (with additional historical research by D. S. Richards) (London, 1987). An Arabic translation has been prepared by Aḥmad al-'Alamī, but awaits publication.

<sup>35</sup>Jalāl As'ad Nāṣir (Quzūh), "'Amā'ir al-Sulṭān Qāyṭbāy fī Bayt al-Maqdis" (M.A. thesis, Cairo University, 1974); idem, "Al-'Amārah al-Mamlūkīyah al-Jarkasīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis, 784 H.-922 H./1382 M.-1517 M." (Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1983). See also idem, "Al-Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis 784 A.H.-1382 A.D." in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Dawlī al-Thālith li-Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām: Filasṭīn*, vol. 1, *Al-Quds* (Amman, 1983), 52-79.

<sup>36</sup>Rā'if Najm, et al., *Kunūz al-Quds* (Amman, 1983). It contains many mistakes.

<sup>37</sup>Idārat al-Awqāf al-Islāmīyah, *Al-Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah: Dirāsah Raqm (1) Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsilah* (Jerusalem, 1977); Yūsuf Natshah, *Al-Turbah al-Kilānīyah*, 753 A.H./1342 A.D. (Jerusalem, 1979); Muṣṭafá Najīb, *Dirāsah Jadidah 'alá Sabīl al-Sulṭān Īnāl al-Mundathar wa-al-Sabīl al-Ḥālī lil-Sulṭān Qāyṭbāy bi-al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf bi-al-Quds* (Cairo, 1984).

<sup>38</sup>Especially Kāmil al-'Asalī, *Min Āthārinā fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1982).

<sup>39</sup>Mahmoud Hawari, "Ayyubid Jerusalem: An Architectural and Archaeological Study" (Ph.D.

sixteenth-century Ottoman public architecture in the city.<sup>40</sup> Al-Anṣārī's studies of some secondary mosques in the Old City from the Mamluk period concentrate more on their recent history.<sup>41</sup> Rizq has compared the monuments in Jerusalem with those that the same patrons built in Cairo.<sup>42</sup>

There are numerous Mamluk buildings in the Old City that are not included in Burgoyne's study, while the historical documentation provided by Richards from the Ottoman *sijills* is far from exhaustive. But only a few more Mamluk buildings have been added to the documented corpus of buildings. Al-Dajjānī's study of the Tomb of David on Mount Zion and Ṭaha's study of the Golden Gate in part covered the Mamluk period.<sup>43</sup> But more significantly, Abū Rayyā's study of the Islamic monuments on the Mount of Olives covered much new ground.<sup>44</sup> Abū Rayyā was remarkably successful in combining attestations from Western Christian pilgrims and Arabic sources; that enabled him to determine that the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives was converted from an open structure into an enclosed mosque just prior to 737/1337. He also documented for the first time the Maqām al-Arba'īn, located in the middle of the Muslim cemetery near the Mazār Salmān on the east side of the Mount of Olives. It may be the same monument as the mausoleum of al-Sittah Zahrah, the wife of the amir Tughān al-'Uthmānī, the inspector of the two Ḥarams and the governor of Jerusalem in the 840s/1430-1440s.

Another addition to the corpus of Islamic buildings in the city is Ghūshah's study of the Sa'dī Quarter, the area between Damascus Gate and Herod's Gate north of the Via Dolorosa.<sup>45</sup> Ghūshah's book is the first comprehensive study of

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diss., University of London, 1998).

<sup>40</sup>Yusuf Natsheh, "Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Public Buildings in Jerusalem: A study based on the standing monuments and the evidence of the Jerusalem sijill" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1997); forthcoming in Hillenbrand and Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem*.

<sup>41</sup>Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Masjid al-Sultān Barqūq* (Jerusalem, 1994); idem, *Masjid al-Shaykh Rīhān, Masjid Qalāwūn, Masjid al-Qaymarī* (Jerusalem, 1995).

<sup>42</sup>Āṣim Muḥammad Rizq, "Ba'ḍ Madāris Rijāl al-Dawlah al-Miṣrīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis Khilāl al-'Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī (671-923 H./1171-1517 M.) wa-Dirāsāt Takmilīyah min Madārisihim bi-al-Qāhirah," *Dirāsāt Āthārīyah Islāmīyah* 5 (1995): 103-45.

<sup>43</sup>Amāl al-Dajjānī, "Masjid al-Nabī Dā'ūd 'alayhi al-Salām wa-Maqāmuḥu, Bayt al-Maqdis: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Atharīyah Mi'mārīyah" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1996); Aḥmad Ṭaha, *Al-Bāb al-Dhahabī fī al-Fatrah al-Islāmīyah: Dirāsah Atharīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Jerusalem, 1999) (the published version of his 1996 M.A. thesis for the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University).

<sup>44</sup>Rafa' Abū Rayyā, "Al-Mawāqī' al-Islāmīyah 'alā Jabal al-Zaytūn/Ṭūr Zaytā: Dirāsah Mi'mārīyah, Atharīyah, Tārīkhīyah" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1999).

<sup>45</sup>Muḥammad Ghūshah, *Ḥārāt al-Sa'dīyah fī al-Quds al-'Uthmānī* (Jerusalem, 1999) (a greatly expanded version of his M.A. thesis for the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1998).

one of the residential neighborhoods in the Old City, in which he provides historical and architectural documentation for some forty buildings, most previously unstudied. While most of those buildings date to the Ottoman period, he presented architectural documentation or information derived from the Ottoman *sijills* about the Bāb al-Dā'īyah gate, removed when the Ottomans rebuilt the walls, the Zāwīyah al-Lu'lu'īyah, endowed in 775/1373, the *dār* of the amir Ṭūghān, founded in 864/1459, and the oven and mill of Dā'ūd ibn al-Asyad, endowed in 879/1474.

There is little architectural documentation left to be done for the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf and the other major public monuments in the Old City, but much remains to be documented elsewhere, such as the little-known northeast area of the Old City, east of Herod's Gate and north of the Via Dolorosa. A number of Mamluk madrasahs and other buildings attested in historical sources such as Mujīr al-Dīn's history have yet to be identified on the ground, while there are numerous extant buildings with architectural features suggesting a date in the Mamluk period that have not been identified or documented. A thorough examination of the Ottoman *sijills* should provide information to help resolve the numerous outstanding questions of identification.

## ART

Little about Islamic art of Mamluk Jerusalem has been written, despite the riches of the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which houses a large collection of Quran manuscripts, lamps, incense burners, and other objects that were endowed to the al-Aqsa Mosque, Dome of the Rock, or other Islamic institutions over the centuries. Beyond Abū Khalaf's thin study that includes photographs of a mosque lamp from the time of the governor Tankiz, there is little to note.<sup>46</sup> A catalogue of some, but by no means all, of the exquisite Quran manuscripts in the Museum, including a number of Mamluk period ones, is currently in press.<sup>47</sup>

## GENERAL HISTORY

Several authors, notably Ghawānmah and 'Alī, have produced general studies of the Mamluk period.<sup>48</sup> There are also numerous recent general multi-period histories of Jerusalem that include the Mamluk period; al-'Asalī's work on medicine is of

<sup>46</sup>Marwan Abu Khalaf, *Islamic Art Through the Ages: Masterpieces of the Islamic Museum of al-Haram al-Sharif (al-Aqsa Mosque) Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1998).

<sup>47</sup>Khaḍr Salāmah, *The Qur'ān Manuscripts in the Islamic Museum, al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem* (Paris, forthcoming).

<sup>48</sup>Yūsuf Ghawānmah, *Tārīkh Niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982); al-Sayyid 'Alī 'Alī, *Al-Quds fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1986); Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, "Ba'd Aḍwā' 'alā Madīnat al-Quds fī 'Aṣr Salaṭīn al-Mamālīk" in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Dawī*, 80-127.



especial interest.<sup>49</sup> Many others are not worth listing here. Evidence for the first years of Ottoman rule sheds much light on the preceding late Mamluk period; the best study of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jerusalem is the one by Ya‘qūb.<sup>50</sup>

### EDUCATION

Islamic education has been the topic of several studies.<sup>51</sup> The histories of the numerous madrasahs in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, focusing on information derived from the Ottoman *sijills* about their administrators and teachers, have generated numerous studies.<sup>52</sup> The information that Mujīr al-Dīn provided about the madrasahs in Jerusalem has been rehashed more times than is worth citing here, most recently in al-‘Alamī’s thin study.<sup>53</sup>

### PEOPLE BURIED IN JERUSALEM

Studies of famous Muslims buried in Jerusalem is a sub-field of its own, with information for the Mamluk period largely derived from Mujīr al-Dīn. Kāmil al-‘Asalī wrote about each of Jerusalem’s cemeteries and mausolea,<sup>54</sup> while al-Anṣārī studied the Māmīllā Cemetery, and collected the names of the people known to be buried there.<sup>55</sup>

### VARIOUS

A number of other studies on specific topics are also worth noting, such as Yaḥyá’s study of libraries,<sup>56</sup> and Tasan’s study of administration.<sup>57</sup> Jerusalem in

<sup>49</sup>Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Muqaddimah fī Tārīkh al-Ṭibb fī al-Quds mundhu Aqdam al-Azminah ḥattā Sanat 1918 A.D.* (Amman, 1994).

<sup>50</sup>Muḥammad Aḥmad Salīm Ya‘qūb, *Nāḥiyat al-Quds al-Sharīf fī al-Qarn al-‘Āshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ‘Ashar al-Mīlādī* (Amman, 1999).

<sup>51</sup>‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah fī Ḍill al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1980); idem, “Al-‘Ulūm al-Dīnīyah wa-al-Lisānīyah fī Ḍill al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī” in *Al-Mu’tamar al-Dawli*, 141-203; Kāmil al-‘Asalī, “Al-Madāris wa-Ma‘āhid al-‘Ilm wa-al-‘Ulamā’ fī Filasṭīn (al-Qarn al-Khāmis—al-Thānī ‘Ashar lil-Hijrah/al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar—al-Thāmin ‘Ashar lil-Mīlād,” in Hādīyah al-Dajjānī-Shakīl and Burhān al-Dajjānī, eds., *Al-Ṣirā’ al-Islāmī al-Faranjī ‘alá Filasṭīn fī al-Qurūn al-Wuṣṭá* (Beirut, 1994), 494-529.

<sup>52</sup>Especially Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Ma‘āhid al-‘Ilm fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981) and ‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Al-Madāris fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī: Dawruhā fī al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah* (Amman, 1981).

<sup>53</sup>Aḥmad al-‘Alamī, *Al-Madāris al-Mamlūkīyah fī al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1999).

<sup>54</sup>Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Ajdādunā fī Tharā Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981).

<sup>55</sup>Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Tarājīm Ahl Maqbarat Māmīllā* (Jerusalem, 1986); idem, *Tārīkh Maqbarat Māmīllā* (Jerusalem, 1987).

<sup>56</sup>Mahāh Aḥmad Yaḥyá, “Al-Maktabāt al-Islāmīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī”

Arabic literature during the Crusades has been the subject of two books by ‘Abd al-Mahdī.<sup>58</sup> The biography of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī Sharīf at the end of the Mamluk period has been studied in detail by Abū Sanīnah.<sup>59</sup>

#### POPULAR ARTICLES

Occasional brief popular articles about Islamic Jerusalem are published in the Islamic magazines *Hadī al-Islām*, published by Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu’ūn wa-al-Muqaddasāt al-Islāmīyah bi-‘Ammān since 1956; *Hudā al-Islām*, published by Idārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu’ūn wa-al-Muqaddasāt al-Islāmīyah bi-al-Quds since 1982; *al-Isrā’*, published by Dār al-Fatwā wa-al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīyah fī al-Quds wa-al-Diyār al-Filasṭīnīyah since 1996, and *Al-Minbar*, published by Dā’irat al-Awqāf al-Filasṭīnīyah since 1997. Those articles do not warrant separate mention here. But one should also be aware of the popular magazine *Al-Quds al-Sharīf* published between 1984 and 1994. Of particular interest are the many articles that al-‘Asalī published there. Occasional details in those articles are not found in his other publications.<sup>60</sup> The publications of the Yawm al-Quds conferences held annually in Amman, Jordan and at al-Najah National University in Nablus are of limited interest.

#### ACCESSIBILITY

While I have attempted to show the range of current Arab scholarship, tracking down the references I have given is a difficult problem, especially the various unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. The numerous interesting publications of the Qism Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-Islāmī (Department of the Revival of Islamic Heritage) in Abū Dīs,<sup>61</sup> regrettably are also very poorly distributed. One needs to be in Jerusalem itself to track the citations down; Fahmī al-Anṣārī’s library in East Jerusalem is the place to start.<sup>62</sup>

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(M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1999).

<sup>57</sup>Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ al-Tasan, “Al-Waḏā’if al-Dīnīyah wa-al-Idārīyah bi-al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī ‘Ahd Dawlat al-Mamālīk,” *Al-‘Uṣūr* 5, no. 2 (1990): 283-310.

<sup>58</sup>‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Adab al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah 492-648 h.* (Amman, 1989); idem, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Shi’r al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah 492-648 h.* (Amman, 1989).

<sup>59</sup>Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Abū Sanīnah, *Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Islām Malik al-‘Ulamā’ al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Abī Sharīf* (Jerusalem, 1990).

<sup>60</sup>A complete list can be found in my *Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem*.

<sup>61</sup>They are the publishers of, for example, the books by Fahmī al-Anṣārī cited earlier.

<sup>62</sup>I must extend a special word of thanks and appreciation to Fahmī al-Anṣārī, for his assistance over the years from December 1994 to January 2000, when I was the Islamic Studies Fellow at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.